

A Phonological Sketch from the Tomyang Wordlist	<i>Madhav P. Pokharel</i>	1
The People's Choice: Introducing English at the Primary Level in Government Schools in Delhi	<i>Naresh K. Jain</i>	5
Nepali Kinship Terms: A Study in Componential Analysis	<i>Shanti Basnyat</i>	18
Linguistic Approach to Blakes's "The Tyger"	<i>Tikaram Paudel</i>	29
Bote 'Be' Verb	<i>Kamal Poudel</i>	36
The Auxiliary 'be' in Kumal	<i>Bhim Lal Gautam</i>	45
Logical Structure of Nepali Verbs	<i>Ganga Ram Pant</i>	51
Pronominal Anaphors in Nepali	<i>Bhim Narayan Regmi</i>	60
The Bhojpuri Language	<i>Yogendra P Yadava</i>	65
Valency Increase in Nepali Predicates: Processes of Transitivization and Causativization	<i>Ram Raj Lohani</i>	71
Complex Predicates: Evidence from Kumal Causatives	<i>Balaram Prasain</i>	83
An Experience of Experimental Translation	<i>Govinda Raj Bhattarai</i>	93

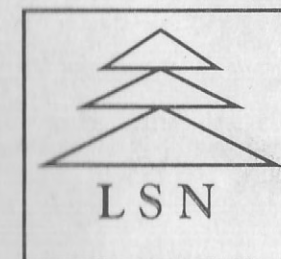
# NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

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**Contents**

A Phonological Sketch from the Tomyang Wordlist	<i>Madhav P. Pokharel</i>	1
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## A Phonological Sketch from the Tomyang Wordlist

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### 1. Introduction

Tomyang (also called Changkha) is a Tibeto-Burman Kiranti language spoken in Kogatak and Ibadevitar of Num Village Development Committee (Lubang Tol) in Sankhuwa Sabha district of eastern Nepal. According to the informant, Mr. Bal Kumar Rai (20M) the total population of Tomyang speakers is about twenty houses, that is, roughly about 100. Most of the speakers are bilingual. Tomyang is not found mentioned in Hanson (1991), thus it is believed that the language is not attested yet. Bal Kumar Rai can speak Tomyang as a second language. His first language is Nepali. It is, therefore, natural to believe that there is superstratum influence of Nepali over his Tomyang pronunciation. About one-fourth of his basic vocabulary is found replaced by Nepali. In addition to an introduction to the Swadesh 100 word list of the language, this paper attempts to give some phonological generalizations on the basis of the limited data.

### 2. Word List

Following is the 100 word list of Tomyang:

1. <i>kaŋ</i> 'I'	16. <i>meŋ</i> 'woman'	31. <i>sekkowa</i> 'bone'	46. <i>saraŋ</i> 'foot'
2. <i>hjaŋ</i> 'you'	17. <i>waŋaŋgusa</i> 'man'	32. <i>sasik</i> 'fat'	47. <i>ghũŋo</i> 'knee'
3. <i>kaniŋ</i> 'we'	18. <i>jaŋmi</i> 'person'	33. <i>waŋin</i> 'egg'	48. <i>huk</i> 'hand'
4. <i>iko</i> 'this'	19. <i>ŋa</i> 'fish'	34. <i>saŋ</i> 'horn'	49. <i>ruŋma</i> 'belly'
5. <i>akko</i> 'that'	20. <i>piŋwama</i> 'bird'	35. <i>mira</i> 'tail'	50. <i>saŋ</i> 'neck'
6. <i>asa</i> 'who?'	21. <i>huŋwa</i> 'dog'	36. <i>pwāk<sup>h</sup></i> 'feather'	51. <i>dudu</i> 'breast'
7. <i>imaŋ</i> 'what?'	22. <i>sik</i> 'louse'	37. <i>taŋ</i> 'hair'	52. <i>muŋtu</i> 'heart'
8. <i>tue</i> 'is (existential)'	23. <i>singu</i> 'tree'	38. <i>nindaŋwa</i> 'head'	53. <i>kled<sup>o</sup></i> 'liver'
9. <i>maŋā</i> 'in not (existential)'	24. <i>biu</i> 'seed'	39. <i>njaŋak</i> 'ear'	54. <i>uŋma</i> 'to drink'
10. <i>ŋammi</i> 'all'	25. <i>simmak</i> 'leaf'	40. <i>mik</i> 'eye'	55. <i>ŋama</i> 'to eat'
11. <i>betlo</i> 'many'	26. <i>ŋara</i> 'root'	41. <i>naŋu</i> 'nose'	56. <i>hjaŋe</i> 'to bite'
12. <i>ikko</i> 'one'	27. <i>bokra</i> 'bark'	42. <i>jabuk</i> 'mouth'	57. <i>k<sup>h</sup>akse</i> 'to see'
13. <i>ŋit<sup>i</sup></i> 'two'	28. <i>ŋ<sup>h</sup>ala</i> 'skin'	43. <i>kjaŋ</i> 'tooth'	58. <i>khepse</i> 'to hear'
14. <i>beŋema</i> 'big'	29. <i>sa</i> 'flesh'	44. <i>lem</i> 'tongue'	59. <i>sikhaŋ<sup>i</sup>imma</i> 'to know'
15. <i>arjaŋma</i> 'small'	30. <i>h<sup>i</sup>ari</i> 'blood'	45. <i>senduma</i> 'claw'	60. <i>ipse</i> 'to sleep'

61. <i>sigaka</i> 'to die'	71. <i>ruse</i> 'to say'	81. <i>mjakhu</i> 'smoke'	91. <i>makuĵima</i> 'black'
62. <i>t'ene</i> 'to kill'	72. <i>nam</i> 'sun'	82. <i>mi</i> 'fire'	92. <i>makuĵima</i> 'night'
63. <i>paḷuḷimu</i> 'to swim'	73. <i>d'un</i> 'moon'	83. <i>kʰarani</i> 'ash'	93. <i>kuje</i> 'hot'
64. <i>bekʰaḷa</i> 'to fly'	74. <i>tara</i> 'star'	84. <i>wabokʰaḷa</i> 'burn'	94. <i>t'iso</i> 'cold'
65. <i>ramma</i> 'to walk'	75. <i>jomma</i> 'water'	85. <i>maram</i> 'path'	95. <i>djammai</i> 'full'
66. <i>abe</i> 'to come'	76. <i>wari</i> 'rain'	86. <i>dāḷo</i> 'mountain'	96. <i>t'oŋ</i> 'new'
67. <i>kaŋgaḷma</i> 'to lie'	77. <i>ruḡgowa</i> 'stone'	87. <i>ḡarama</i> 'red'	97. <i>nuba</i> 'good'
68. <i>pene</i> 'to sit'	78. <i>baluwa</i> 'sand'	88. <i>ḡariyo</i> 'green'	98. <i>golo</i> 'round'
69. <i>jopopkʰaje</i> 'to stand'	79. <i>akʰama</i> 'earth'	89. <i>paḷhēlo</i> 'yellow'	99. <i>uba</i> 'dry'
70. <i>pise</i> 'to give'	80. <i>badal</i> 'cloud'	90. <i>uḷrīma</i> 'white'	100. <i>niḡ</i> 'name'

### 3. Phonology

(a) Tomyang has a six-vowel system similar to Nepali and it may be a superstratum influence of Nepali, because the informant is a bilingual native speaker of Nepali. All six vowels of Nepali appear in the data, e.g.,

1.	i	u
	e	o
		ʌ
	a	

(b) Breathy consonants are lacking except for the glottal fricative [ɦ], e.g.,

2. *fijaŋ* 'you'
3. *fiuʔwa* 'dog'
4. *fiuk* 'hand'

(c) There is consonantal length (gemination), e.g.,

5. *ikko* 'one'
6. *ḡitt'i* 'two'
7. *simmak* 'leaf'

Vowel length is missing in the data. The reason may also be an influence of Nepali.

(d) Diphthongs are also found in the data, e.g.,

8. *makuĵima* 'black, night'

(e) Vowel sequence is permitted, e.g.,

9. *tue* 'is (existential)'

(f) Syllable-final dental stop [t] coarticulates with the glottal stops, e.g.,

10. *betʔlo* 'many'

(g) Following is the inventory of consonants in Tomyang:

Place	Voiceless		Fricat.	Voiced					
	Stop			Stop	Nasal	Glide	Trill	Lat.	Flap
	Inasp.	Asp.							
Glotal	ʔ								
Velar	k	kʰ		g	ŋ				
Palatal						j			
Retroflex									ɽ
Apico-alveolar				d	n		r	l	
Lamino-alveolar	tʰ		s						
Dental	t	tʰ							
Bilabial	p	pʰ		b	m	w			

(h) Nasalization is found only in a single occurrence, e.g.,

11. *maʔā*

This nasalization can be correlated with spreading of the nasal feature from the nasal consonant [m].

(i) Voiced apico-alveolar stop [d] is found after the apico-alveolar nasal [n], e.g.,

12. *nindaʔwa* 'head'

This consonant is found also in the intervocalic position in one occurrence, e.g.,

13. *ḡjaḡe* 'to bite'

Since we (Bhandari, Gautam, Timilsina and I) collected the data on a bus because of our inconvenience, we are not sure whether this [d] was flap or nonflap.

Except for these two occurrences, there is no other apical plosive in the data.

(j) The retroflex flap [ɽ] is found in the intervocalic position, but it is not sure whether it is phonemic or an allophone of any phoneme. Since this sound is found in the same environment with the apico-alveolar voiced stop [d], they may not be in an allophonic relation, e.g.,

14. *ḡjaḡe* 'to bite'
15. *waḡaḡusa* 'man'

Since other liquids [r] and [l] are not found in the syllable-final position, the retroflex flap may be a neutralized variant of both the liquids. If the occurrence of

(f) Syllable-final dental stop [t] coarticulates with the glottal stops, e.g.,

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	Inasp.	Asp.							
Glotal	ʔ								
Velar	k	k <sup>h</sup>		g	ŋ				
Palatal						j			
Retroflex									ɭ
Apico-alveolar				d	n		r	l	
Lamino-alveolar	t <sup>s</sup>		s						
Dental	t	t <sup>h</sup>							
Bilabial	p	p <sup>h</sup>		b	m	w			

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## The people's Choice: Introducing English at the Primary Level in Government Schools in Delhi

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Sometimes a person has to go a long distance out of his way to come back a short distance correctly

Edward Albee, *The Zoo Story*

The decision to introduce English as a subject from the first standard in government schools in Delhi from this year, though little noticed by the media and the academics alike, is a remarkable development in language policy in India in more ways than one. English is the language of power and opportunity. And if the new decision is implemented with the required earnestness, it will have far-reaching consequences: it will promote greater equalization of career opportunities for the common people whose children throng these schools and it could also alter the power equation between the haves and the have-nots. It can also be seen as an example of pragmatism triumphing over principle, of the needs and aspirations of the people overriding a strong antipathy towards English as a colonial hangover.

Rajagopalachari once described<sup>1</sup> English as 'Goddess Saraswati's gift to India' but such exaggerations apart, the response of the Indian intelligentsia to English has understandably been ambivalent. As part of the colonial baggage, English symbolized, in the words of Robert D. King "servility meekness, and bowed heads, before the sahib and the memsahib....."<sup>2</sup> But there was at the same time a realization that English has been serviceable in several ways. It had played a significant role in welding the country together as an administrative and a political unity. Moreover, though Hindi in the pre-Independence India was the language of mass participation, English also, paradoxically, helped the cause of nationalism by being a link language among the nationalist leaders coming from different parts of the country. This ambivalence is reflected in some of the key statements made in pre- and post-Independence India.

Gandhi's ideas about English are representative of this dual perception. In 1921 he said that English had "usurped the dearest place in our hearts, and dethroned our mother tongues."<sup>3</sup> And in *Hind Swaraj* he went to the extent of saying that to "give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them."<sup>4</sup> But he also recognized that 'knowledge of English is necessary to us for the acquisition of modern knowledge, for the study of modern literature, for knowledge of the world,

and such other purposes. As things are we have to learn English even if we do not wish to. English is an international language.<sup>5</sup> Even Nehru who was himself an accomplished and sensitive user of English and who was chiefly instrumental in the continuance of it after 1965 as an additional official language of the Union resented English as the language of the colonizer. In 1935 he wrote: "Some people imagine that English is likely to become the lingua franca of India. That seems to me a fantastic conception, except in respect of upper-class intelligentsia.... It may be, as it is partly today, that English will become increasingly a language used for technical, scientific, and business communication, and especially for international contacts...."<sup>6</sup>

This dual recognition also appears in post-Independence pronouncements on English. For example the University Education Commission in 1948 said: "English has become so much a part of our national habit that a plunge into an altogether different system seems attended with unusual risks. It appears to us, however, that the plunge is inevitable.... Use of English as such divides the people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed, the one unable to talk the language of the other..."<sup>7</sup> But in 1955 the Kunzru Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission cautioned against haste in switching from English over to an Indian language as the medium of instruction and recommended that it was "in our educational interest that English should be retained as a properly studied second language in our universities."<sup>8</sup> This ambivalence towards English as being both abhorrent and useful still persists in some form or the other. This double-mindedness has certainly not helped our educational planners to arrive at a clear well-considered long-term policy. It has also led to an excess of caution which borders on a conservative unwillingness to change or even experiment. An example of this statusquoism is furnished by what happened to one of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1964-66 headed by Professor D.S. Kothari. The Commission realistically recognized that "the provision of qualified and competent teachers for teaching the language [English] to millions of children in our primary schools would be a very formidable task"<sup>9</sup> but it also laid down the introducing English before Class V was "educationally unsound."<sup>10</sup> This fateful observation which has led to the exclusion of English from government primary schools remains unchallenged till today. In practice the formula has been diluted in Central Schools or what we call Kendriya Vidyalayas, and Sarvodaya and Navodaya Schools where English begins from Class I. Moreover, the thirty years that have passed since the statement was made, many advances have been in the field of language acquisition learning but no commission or committee—and there have been several—has thought it fit to question or reexamine the soundness of it.

While government schools have thus banished English till class V, private and expensive English medium schools which offer English from Class I have come up in large numbers to supply education to those who can buy it. Since no one wants to miss the opportunities that accrue from a mastery of English, there has been a lot of double talk about English medium schools, particularly among political leaders, between public professions and private practice.

I suspect that one reason why the government attitude to English at the primary level has remained frozen is the class character of the decision makers. Most of these decision makers whether in politics, bureaucracy or education belong to the English-knowing elite whose fortunes are not adversely affected by the poor state of health of primary education. No wonder the educational set up at the primary level is in a state of disrepair.

The latest decision to introduce English from Class I is a landmark because it unfreezes the old policy and because it shows an attitudinal change among our politicians and educationists and holds promise for the revitalization of the system at its base.

A brief view of the situation of English in India and of primary schools in Delhi would be in order here. The Indian Constitution has tried to keep a wise balance between iconicity or symbolism and practical necessity, between Hindi and English, between Hindi hegemonists and their opponents from the non-Hindi speaking areas. Hindi has been recognized as the official language of the Union—the words *national language* has been scrupulously avoided—but for practical purposes English has also been retained as an associate language.

At first this provision was to last for fifteen years from the date of the commencement of the Constitution, that is, till 1965. But in 1963 after large-scale language riots when the end of the 15 year period was two years away, the Official Language Bill was passed which provided that English may continue to be used after 1965 in addition to Hindi for all official purposes of the Union and in Parliament. As for the regional languages all of them have been recognized as national languages of India and have been listed in the Eighth Schedule. The Schedule lists 18 languages including Nepali. All this has helped to maintain a linguistic-political equilibrium in multilingual India, which has remained more or less undisturbed.

Now even after three decades since the Official Languages Act was passed, English is nowhere near to being replaced by Hindi. In fact English has come to play a very important role in administration, higher and technical education, the learned professions, and commerce and industry. The entry of the multinationals and the explosion of IT industry have made English even more relevant. It has of course also served as the link language between the Centre and

the States and also among the educated elite in the country. Besides, a great deal of journalistic, literary and artistic activity is carried on in English.<sup>11</sup>

Now a word about primary education, Primary education in Delhi at the government level is administered largely through the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD). There are other government agencies also like the New Delhi Municipal Committee (NDMC), Directorate of Education (DE) and the Cantonment Board (CB). Besides, there are private schools which offer English from Class I and where the medium of instruction is also English. Table 1 gives the details of the government and private schools managed by various agencies in Delhi.

Table 1  
Agency-wise Distribution of Primary School in NCT Delhi

Controlling Agency	Types of Primary School			Total No. of Schools
	Govt. Schools		Private Schools	
	Owned	Aided	Unaided	
MCD	1800	50	415	2265
NDMC	72	04	03	79
DE	226	116	600	942
CB	08	02	00	10
Total	2106	172	1018	3296

In 1986 the MCD decided to introduce English in Class I in 58 schools out of a total 1800 as a pilot project. This number went up by an additional 122 schools by 1992. At present English is taught as a second language in about 200 schools of the MCD.<sup>12</sup>

The widespread demand of English is clear from Table 2 which shows that private schools have grown by over 400% during 1988-1998.

Table 2  
Growth in the Number of Schools at Primary Level in Government and Private Sector during the Last Decade [1988-1998]

Types of School	No. of Schools		Average Growth Rate (Percent)
	1987-88	1997-98	
Government	1611	2278	41.46
Private	196	1018	419.39
Total	180	3296	121.36

Source (for Tables 1 and 2): *Reflections on School Education* (Special Issue on Teaching of English at Primary Level) Vol. VI (I), May 1999, p.5.

The new decision to teach English from Class I will affect all the 1800 Municipal primary schools in the Capital.

Education in India is in the Concurrent List in the Constitution, which means that both the Centre and the States can legislate on it but the education system of the State falls within the purview of the State government. The general education policy which includes language policy also has however evolved through a process of dialogue and consensus between the Centre and the States. In this they have been helped by the recommendations of the various Commissions and Committees appointed by the Centre from time to time since independence. Latterly a central agency called the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) has played an active part in formulating a national curriculum.

In so far as the place of English at the primary level is concerned, we need to understand the provisions of what has been called the three language formula. This is important because the formula has played a decisive role in determining the place of English at the primary level in Delhi and some other places. This formula, theoretically at any rate, takes into account the multilingual character of the country—which means, that apart from the importance of mother tongue, it takes into account the importance of the regional language, the necessity of an indigenous link language and the importance of English as an international language. The three language formula has been a long time evolving—it dates back to 1949 when it was first suggested by the University Education Commission. But it was interpreted by States different and was not always implemented in the spirit in which it was meant. Finally a modified and graduated form of the formula was recommended by the Education Commission of 1964-66. This is given in table 3.

According to the formula, the student would be taught one language—mother tongue/regional language during the first four years, i.e. the lower primary level and two languages—mother tongue/regional language and English/Hindi during the next years, i.e. the higher primary level. The medium of instruction was to be the mother tongue and the student would start learning English only at the higher primary level, i.e. from the 5<sup>th</sup> standard onwards and would continue learning it till the tenth standard. As I said earlier, this recommendation more or less set the pattern for government schools in Delhi. Accordingly in Delhi English in government schools was introduced from the sixth standard and this situation prevailed till March 2000. The situation in several other states in India is also more or less identical.



Table 3

Modified and graduated three language formula				
Stages	Lower Primary	Higher Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary
Age	6789	10111213	1415	1617
				Any two of the following
Compulsory languages	Mother tongue or regional language	Mother-tongue or regional language or Hindi	1. Mother tongue or regional language 2. Hindi or English 3. Any other not covered under 1 and 2	1. Modern Indian language 2. One or more classical Indian or foreign languages 3. Modern foreign languages
No. of Languages	One	Two	Three	Two
Optional Languages	Nil	One	One or more	One or more

Source: *Applied Linguistics*. Vol.IV (*Studies in Language and Linguistics*) Delhi: Kalinga Pub. 1995, p.177.

The decision by Delhi to introduce English at the primary level represents a complete turnabout in language policy and is a sign of changing times.

In the rest of the paper I propose to go into the dynamics of this change in Delhi, some details of the scheme in actual operation, and also its likely consequences.

Innovations in education, particularly in primary education, don't make news. So it has been with the introduction of English, except in West Bengal where the issue stirred a fierce controversy in the press on two occasions—once when English was abolished from primary schools in 1983 and again in more recent times when the Left Front Government has been under pressure to reintroduce English. In the words of Professor Bhabatosh Datta, the issue has become "a political scare and also a political scoring-point."<sup>13</sup> Some of the arguments used in the debate to support the abolition of English are:

1. A good knowledge of English is required only by a small percentage of people. Also a knowledge of English will entitle one to a privileged and exclusive class status.
2. The burden on the primary student should not be increased.

3. The teaching of English at the secondary and higher secondary levels should be considered enough.
4. Teaching through Bengali only would help the spread of education among the masses.

Language acquisition and language learning theories<sup>14</sup> have also been invoked to support the abolition. Nothing of this kind has happened in Delhi. But though the innovation has not been debated, there has not been any political opposition to it either. In this situation a sympathetic write up in the form of a special report<sup>15</sup> on the progress of the new scheme on the front page of a leading daily in the capital on 12 November 2000 is very welcome.

In order to understand the reasons and the direction of change it is important to focus on a document entitled *National Curriculum Framework for School Education*<sup>16</sup> brought out by the NCERT in January this year. Though it is called a Discussion Document and its recommendations are not final, it makes a serious effort to provide a curricular framework for all the stages of school education.

At the back of the discussion document is the recognition that the student needs to be equipped with skills with the help of which he could meet the new challenges posed by globalization and by the information and communication technologies.

The proposed new curriculum framework envisages an elementary education of 8 years (2+3+3 years). This includes a primary stage of 5 years (2+3) and an upper primary stage of 3 years. In this scheme the first two years would be devoted to *one* language—the home language/the regional language. In the next three years the student would learn two language—the home language/the regional language and English. This means that English would be introduced from the third standard. Since this early introduction of English is a major shift in language policy in India, the framers of the Framework have thought it fit to explain the change.

In the changed socio-economic scenario and individual and national requirement generated by the process of globalization and information technology, introduction of English at this stage [at the Primary stage] seems to have been necessitated. (37)

The felt need for English is so strong that it is reiterated under the Section on *Language* under Chapter 2:

... the process of globalization now *forces* educationists and education planners to ensure that children acquire sufficiently effective communication and language skills and are able to use effectively not

only their own language but also English—probably the world language now—and the other regional languages of the country. (38, Italics added)

Later the document refers to the increasing relevance of English in the modern world:

English has increasingly been recognized as a tool for access, success, prosperity, prestige and upward mobility. (40)

The document openly acknowledges the widespread demand of the common people for English:

Even the rural first generation learners aspire for learning English to secure for themselves a place in the successful and respected social class. Hence, there has been a continuous pressure for initiating the teaching of English in the very pre-primary stage or latest by the first standard. (40-41).

As already stated the document recommends that "the formal learning of English" be introduced in Class III. But its approach is flexible: "If some organizations/institutions still insist on starting English in Class I, it may be done only informally, mostly in the preparatory oral mode, in Classes I and II" (41)

Delhi's decision, taken independently is on the lines suggested in the document and for much the same reasons. The only exception is that instead of starting English from the third standard, the MCD has decided to start English from the first. As suggested in the document the formal learning of English will begin in Class III and the first two years will be spent in doing oral work. The decision has also been prompted by the need to arrest failing enrolment and dropouts and the remedy was to provide what the parents were asking for—English.

Probably the most important feature of the new language policy is that it is oriented towards the common people. It appears to have virtually been forced upon the authorities by the pressure of public opinion. A recent pilot study<sup>17</sup> covering people belonging to the low economic strata with a monthly income of not more than Rs. 2,500/- per month expectedly reveals that there was an undisputed demand for the introduction of English at the primary level in government schools in Delhi. The sample chosen randomly consisted of 190 persons, which included drivers, class IV employees, domestic servants, mechanics, security guards, petty businessmen and slum-dwellers. These were parents who either sent their children to government schools, or who would send them to government schools if these schools started teaching English at the primary level. Among these, 171 parents preferred English for "better job opportunities" and 5 preferred English for reasons of "equality with other".<sup>18</sup> Seventeen parents made no response. The figure showed that some of the respondents gave more than one reason for their preference for English. Clearly

the demand for teaching English at the primary level has percolated down to the people living at or near the bottom rung of the economic ladder and is widespread.

The new language policy is bold and revolutionary in intent but the implementation of it involves considerable advance planning and sustained hard work in the areas of teacher training, curriculum development, material production, classroom practices and evaluation procedures. Since English was so far optional for teacher trainees whose minimum qualification is a pass in 10+2, special packages will have to be worked out for pre-service and in-service training to equip them with both competence in English language and in teaching techniques. Priorities in learning objectives will need to be worked out and materials suitable for these disadvantages learners most of whom will be first generation learners will have to be produced. Classroom practices matching the learning objectives will also have to be decided. The effort has to be to decolonize and demystify English. Moreover, care has to be taken to see that gender bias is removed from the materials and the activities used in teaching. The task of implementation is truly daunting.

Work on the new decision has already started. The State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) and the District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETS) had collaborated to provide in-service training to 1800 handpicked MCD primary teachers, one teacher in each school. The school walls now display a new piece of information in bold letters—namely that the school now provides for the teaching of English. Originally the teaching was meant to start in Class I only. But now in response to public pressure the other four classes from Class II to Class V are also being taught English. There was to be no primer in the first two years and the students were meant to do oral work. But it seems that the Municipal education authorities under pressure from the Municipal councillors have produced a primer for Class I. Besides, the SCERT has already prepared a resource book for teachers, which is a collection of poems, games, stories and nursery rhymes with lots of pictures and the book is ready to go for printing. The students appeared to be enthusiastic about learning English and seemed to enjoy it. If the newspaper report cited earlier is to be believed, the MCD schools have made a good start.

The decision makes an attempt to reduce the hiatus between public schools and government school students so far as the competence in English is concerned. The attempt is also likely to give a psychological boost to government school students. By providing them with English language skills the early introduction of English will hopefully extend their access to better course and careers than before—courses and careers which though theoretically available to everyone were virtually closed to most of them. This should ultimately lead to

greater equalization of opportunities. Also in the long run the new policy by increasing the number of English-knowing people will help to demystify the language. Another obvious advantage will be that those who drop out after Class VIII and join the world of work or some technical course will have read English for eight years instead of for three years. The longer exposure to English should stand students in good stead in life.

But even more importantly the new decision will help to focus attention on the problems of primary education in Delhi at the government level. The introduction of English could be seen as a bleated attempt to legitimize the system and restore its relevance for the people.

India's language policy has rightly been criticized for being elitist. But this decision is people-oriented and is meant to empower the common man and increase his access to money and status.

Brian Weinstein in his anthology *Language Policy and Political Development* has suggested<sup>19</sup> the criterion of political development to examine and judge language policies and he also suggests other possible criteria like the contribution of the language policy to human equality, the rule of law and the secularization of the state. So far as political development is concerned, this new decision could ultimately "promote access to social and political power and status on the part of the relatively lower groups"<sup>20</sup> in the country and thereby help to change the power equation between the haves and the havenots. And by reducing the gap between them it will hopefully help to promote human equality. When this happens, this decision to introduce English at the primary level will become the third most important language policy decision made in India.

Language choice discussed in this paper concerns a comparatively small area, Delhi. But the foreseeable benefits of it are so many that this area is likely to expand. The Chief Minister of Haryana has already announced the start of a similar policy in Haryana. The West Bengal government is also under pressure to start teaching English from Class I. Through demonstration effect or otherwise, the example of the capital city is likely to be followed by other states also. How far the experiment succeeds only time will tell. Meanwhile we can keep a watch on the process of the experiment.

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- I need hardly say that the views expressed in the article are my own.

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<sup>2</sup> Robert D. King, *Nehru and the Language Politics of India* (Delhi: OUP, 1998), p.90.

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- <sup>4</sup> *The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. Four, Gen. Ed. Shriman Narayan (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1968; rpt 1994), p.184.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.196.
- <sup>6</sup> Quoted in Robert King, pp. 90-91.
- <sup>7</sup> Quoted in R.N. Srivastava, p.178.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79.
- <sup>9</sup> *Educational and National Development: Report of the Education Commission*, 1964-66, Vol.2: School Education (1966; rpt. New Delhi NCERT, 1970), p.334.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 398.
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## Nepali Kinship Terms: A Study in Componential Analysis

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The material for this paper is taken from my Ph.D. thesis entitled 'Semantics of Nepali Vocabulary'. In this paper I have presented a componential analysis of some selective nominals that belong to one particular field i.e. kinship terms. This paper was presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal on 26-27 Nov 1990.

The method of componential analysis is founded on the assumption that the meaning of words can be best described and explained by decomposing words into their ultimate semantic components which constitute their meaning. To take a well worn example, the meaning of the word 'bachelor' may be characterized as having the components '+male', '+human', '+ adult' '-married' and again 'spinster'. an item incompatible with 'bachelor' as having the components '-male', '+human', '+adult', '-married'. By using the method of componential analysis 'bachelor' differs from 'spinster' in the feature of sex specification and thus is represented by the value '+' or '-of one feature.

But incompatible lexical items are not binary sets always. Moreover, features may overlap. But here, too, the method of componential analysis can still be applied, since the method proceeds by grouping words which share at least one feature into one domain or field and then establishes semantic components which separate the terms of the domain into contrasting sub-sets, so that every items is differentiated from every other item by at least one component.

Componential analysis has a long history in Linguistics. It was used successfully by anthropologists to state the relationship and meaning of kinship terms and also by Linguists such as Goodenough (1956), Lounsbury (1956,1964a, 1964b), Burling (1970) etc. The main advantage of componential analysis is that with the help of a few features like generation, sex, lineage and consanguinity the meaning and relation of a large number of kinship terms can be ascertained. But the method of componential analysis is not restricted to kinship terms only. It has been applied to other areas of the vocabulary too. The works of Fillmore (1958), Benedix (1970), Nida (1975), Lehrer (1974) and Wierzbica ( 1984) provide excellent examples of componential analysis in various areas of vocabulary. Although componential analysis has been applied extensively to English vocabulary, this method of analysis is new to the Nepali language. Hence, 59

kinship terms from standard Nepali spoken in Kathmandu among the chhetris have been selected for analysis in this paper.

The following abbreviations have been used

P	-	parents	D	-	daughter
F	-	father	H	-	husband
M	-	mother	W	-	wife
B	-	brother	O	-	offspring
Si	-	sister	Sb	-	sibling
So	-	son	Sp	-	spouse
Am	-	appellative of mention	l	-	lineal
Aa	-	appellative of address	col	-	collateral
G	-	generation	con	-	consanguineal
e	-	elder	aff	-	affinal
y	-	younger	u	-	uterine
m	-	male	ag	-	agnate
f	-	female	~	-	in free variation

A sequence like PSbD is to be interpreted as 'parent's sibling's daughter', e (elder) y (younger) can be added to B, Si, thus HBe is 'husband's elder brother'; Sie is 'elder sister'.

These terms refer to person standing in that relationship to ego. The given terms are used for both mention and address unless mentioned otherwise. The above terms from 1-31 refer to consanguineal relations while those from 32-59 refer to affinal relations.

### KINSHIP TERMS

	Term	Denotata	Semantic Features
1.	bAraju	PPF	G <sup>+3</sup> 1 m con
2.	hAjur buwa	PF	G <sup>+2</sup> 1m con
3.	hAjur muwa	PM	G <sup>+2</sup> 1f con
4.	same as 2	PFB	G <sup>+2</sup> col m con
5.	same as 3	PMSi	G <sup>+2</sup> col f con
6.	buwa	F	G <sup>-1</sup> 1 m con
7.	muwa	M	G <sup>-1</sup> 1 f con
8.	kaka	FB, FFBSO	G <sup>+1</sup> col m con ag

9.	same as 7	MSi, MFBD	G <sup>+1</sup> col f con u
10.	phupu	FSi, FFBD	G <sup>+1</sup> col f con ag
11.	mama	MB, MFBSO	G <sup>+1</sup> col m con u
12.	diju	Sie, PSbDe	G <sup>+0</sup> col f con e
13.	bAini	Siy, PSbDy	G <sup>+0</sup> col f con y
14.	dai	Be, PSbSoe	G <sup>+0</sup> col m con e
15.	bhai	By, PSbSoy	G <sup>+0</sup> col m con y
16.	bhAda	BSo, PSbSoSo	G <sup>-1</sup> col m con for f ego
17.	bhAdAi	BD, PSbSoD	G <sup>-1</sup> col f con " " "
18.	bhAtij	BSo, PSbSoSo	G <sup>-1</sup> col m con for m ego through m Sb
19.	bhAtiji	BD, PSbSoD	G <sup>-1</sup> col f con " " " through m Sb
20.	bhanja	SiSo, MSbDSO	G <sup>-1</sup> col m con " " " through f Sb
21.	bhanji	SiD, MSbDD	G <sup>-1</sup> col f con " " " f through Sb
22.	chora	So	G <sup>-1</sup> l m con
23.	chori	D	G <sup>-1</sup> l f con
24.	nati	OSo	G <sup>-2</sup> l m con
25.	natini	OD	G <sup>-2</sup> l f con
26.	pAnati	OOSo	G <sup>-3</sup> l m con
27.	pAnatini	OOD	G <sup>-3</sup> l f con
28.	khAnati	OOOSo	G <sup>-4</sup> l m con
29.	khAnatini	OOD	G <sup>-4</sup> l f con
30.	jAnati	OOOOSo	G <sup>-5</sup> l m con
31.	jAnatino	OOOOD	G <sup>-5</sup> l f con
32.	sAmdhi	OSpF, OSpPB	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff
33.	sAmdhini	OSpM, OSpPSi	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff
34.	sasu	SpM, SpPSi	G <sup>+1</sup> f aff
35.	sAsura	PpF, SpPB	G <sup>+1</sup> m aff
36.	kaki	FBW, FFBSOw	G <sup>+1</sup> f aff ag
37.	maiju	MBW, MFBSOw	G <sup>+1</sup> m aff u
38.	buwari	SoW	G <sup>-1</sup> f aff
39.	same as		
38.		ByW	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff y
40.	bhauju	BeW	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff e
41.	jwaisab	DH	G <sup>+1</sup> m aff
42.	same as		
41.		Siy	G <sup>+1</sup> m aff y
43.	bhinaju	SieH	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff y
44.	jeThan	Wbe	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff <sup>1</sup> e for m ego
45.	saDo dai	WSieH	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff <sup>2</sup> e for m ego

46.	saDo bhai	WsiyH	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff <sup>2</sup> y for m ego
47.	sala	WBy	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff <sup>1</sup> y for m ego
48.	solTi	WByW	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>2</sup> y for m ego
49.	sali	WSiy	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>1</sup> y for m ego
50.	jeThi sasu	WSie	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>1</sup> e for m ego
51.	jeThaju	HBe	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff <sup>1</sup> e for f ego
52.	jeThani	HBeW	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>2</sup> e for f ego
53.	dewAr	HBy	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff <sup>1</sup> y for f ego
54.	deurani	HByW	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>2</sup> y for f ego
55.	amaju	HSie	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>1</sup> e for f ego
56.	nAndA	HSiy	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff <sup>1</sup> y for f ego
57.	logne	H	G <sup>+0</sup> m aff for f ego
58.	sAutA	HW (other than ego)	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff e y for f ego
59.	swasni	W	G <sup>+0</sup> f aff for m ego

#### List of kinship terms with their variants

##### 1. bAraju - PPF

This is used only as appellative of mention. There is no corresponding female counterpart of this term. Both these kinsmen are addressed by the same term as that used for one's grand parents.

##### 2. baje~ hAjurba~ hAjurbuwa ~jijubuwa PF, PFB

baje is used as appellative of mention only. jijubuwa and hAjurbuwa are used in free variation for ego's grandfather his brothers german and cousin brothers among the chhetris caste (like Shahs, Ranas, Thapas etc.) hAjurba is the alternative term for grandfather in the other castes other than the chhetris.

##### 3. bAjAi~ hAjurama~ hAjurmuwa ~jijumuwa PM, PMSi

Like its male counterpart baje, bAjAi is used as appellative of mention only. Sometimes they are used together ' baje bAjAi ' to refer collectively to ego's grand parents. The use of hAjurmuwa and jijumuwa vary from family to family among the chhetris. hAjurama is used by other castes.

##### 4. Same as 2

##### 5. Same as 3

##### 6. ba~ buwa~ DyaDi - F

All these terms are used for father. ba is used by other castes while buwa is used by the chhetris. DaDi or DeiDi are loan words from English, and is frequently used nowadays by children of all castes.

##### 7. ama ~ muwa~ mAmmi - M

These terms are used for one's mother. Like its male counterpart ba, ama is used among other castes while muwa is used among the chhetris. mAmmi is

borrowed from English and it varies with mamu, mami etc. which are used by all children of the present generation irrespective of castes

8. kaka~ba~buwa – FB, FFBSO

These terms are used for paternal uncles i.e. father's brothers german as well as for his cousin brothers. ba is used by other castes while buwa is used by the chhetris. kaka is used by all castes. But buwa is preferred over kaka and when kaka is used it is generally followed by buwa producing a compound 'kakabuwa'. kaka is also used for any other non relative male who is close to ego's maternal aunt's father's generation. Buwa and ba are also used for ego's husband. All these terms are preceded by proper pre-fixes like Thulo 'big', sano 'small', mahila 'second born', sahila 'third born' etc. or by first name to show the relative age difference between the father and his brothers and between the mother and her sisters.

9. ama~muwa – MSi, MFBD

They are used for maternal aunts only i.e. mother's sisters german as well as for her cousin sisters. ama is used by other castes while muwa is used by chhetris. They are usually preceded by proper prefixes like Thulo 'big', sano 'small', jeThi 'first born' or by first name to show the relative age difference between the mother and her sisters.

10. phupu~phwa~diju – FSi, FFBD

These terms are used for ego's father's sister's german or cousin sisters. The first two are rather old-fashioned terms diju is the more common term used for such a relative nowadays. However, in many families these terms are still used in free variation. They may be preceded by proper prefixes.

11. mama – MB, MFBSO

It is used for ego's mother's brother german or for her cousin brothers.

12. diju~didi – Si, PSbDe

All sisters german as well as cousin sisters are referred to and addressed by these terms. diju is used by the chhetris while didi is used by the others. They may be preceded by proper prefixes or by first name.

13. bAini – Siy, PSbDy

It is used for younger sister german of ego as well as for cousin sisters.

14. daju~dai~dada – Be, PSbSoe

All these are used for ego's parents' sons and for parents' sibling's sons who are elder to ego. They may be preceded by proper prefixes or by first names. daju and dai vary freely while dada is used generally by small children and by others in a more endearing or loving sense.

15. bhai – By, PSbSoy

It is used for younger brothers of ego german as well as for cousin brothers.

16. bhAda – BSo, PSbSoSo

For a female ego her brother's son or a cousin brother's son will be her bhAda. This term is generally used as AM, the AA is by first name usually.

17. bhAdAj – BD, PsSSoD

It is the female counterpart of 16 above. The conditions and situations of its usage are similar to 16

18. bhAtij~bhAtija – BSo, PSbSoSo

For a male ego his german brother's son or his cousin brother's son is his bhAtij. bhAtija is used only as AM. bhAtij is used both as AA and AM, but the AA is generally by first name. The term chora is also used for a bhAtij.

19. bhAtiji – BD, PSbSoD

It is the female counterpart of 18 above.

20. bhanij~bhanja – SiSo, MSbDSo

For a male ego his german sister's son or his cousin sister's son is his bhanja. The two terms vary freely.

21. bhanji – SiD, MSbDD

It is the female counterpart of 20 above.

22. chora – So

Ego's male offspring is his/her chora. In addition to this to a female ego her german sister's son or her cousin sister's son is also her chora.

23. chori – D

It is the female counterpart of 22 above.

24. nati – OSo

A grandson from both sides i.e. from son's side or from daughter's side is ego's nati. Son of nephews or nieces is also ego's nati.

25. natini – OD

It is the female counterpart of 24 above.

26. pAnati – OOSo

It is used for grandson's son. But is used as AM only. The AA being by first name generally.

27. pAnatini – OOD

It is the female counterpart of 26 above.

28. khAnati – OOOSo

It is used for one more descending generation of 26 above that is it is used for pAnati's son.

29. khAnatini – OOOD

It is the female counterpart of 28 above.

30. jAnati – OOOOSo

Ego's khAnati's son is his/her jAnati.

**31. jAnatini – OOOOD**

It is the female counterpart of 30 above. All these terms from 28-31 although they exist in the kinship terminology of Nepali are hardly used in real life situations. But whenever used they are used as AM only.

**32. sAmdhi – OSpF, OSpPB**

Ego's offspring's spouse's father is his/her sAmdhi. The suffix 'jyu' is added to sAmdhi to show extra honorificness.

**33. sAmdhini – OSpM, OSpSi**

It is the female counterpart of 32 above.

**34. sasu – SpM, SpPSi**

It is used as AM only. Today both husbands and wives address their mothers-in-law with the same term as they address their own mother i.e. either muwa or ama is used as the case may be.

**35. sAsura – SpF, SpPB**

It is the male counterpart of 34 above. To both these terms the suffix 'jyu' may be added to show extra honorificness.

**36. aki~ muwa~ ama – FBW, FFBSoW**

All these terms are used for ego's paternal aunts. kaki is used among chhetris as well as others. muwa is used among the chhetris and ama is used among other castes. But among chhetris when kaki is used it is followed by muwa to produce the compound kakimuwa.

**37. maiju – MBW, MFBSoW**

It is used for ego's mother's brother's wife. It is the female counterpart of 11 above.

**38. buwari – SoW, ByW**

Ego's son's wife as well as his/her younger brother's wife is his/her buwari. Sometimes to maintain the distinction buwari may be preceded by proper nominal e.g. chora buwari meaning 'son's wife' and bhai buwari meaning 'younger brother's wife'. But when preceded by such nominal they are used as AM only the AA being buwari only, or first name.

**40. bhauju – BeW**

Elder brother's wife and elder cousin brother's wife are all ego's bhauju.

**41. jwai~ jwaisab – DH, SiyH**

A daughter's husband or a younger sister's husband is ego's jwai. Both these terms are used in free variation, the latter term is used more often to show extra honorificness. He is never addressed by name. Sometimes to maintain the distinction, appropriate nominal may precede these terms e.g. chori jwai meaning 'daughter's husband' and bAini jwai meaning 'sister's husband'. But when

proceeded by such nominals they are used as AM only. The AA being jwai or jwaisab. The former is used as AM also but not the latter.

**42. Same as 41****43. bhinaju – SieH, FsiH**

Ego's elder sister's whether german or cousin, husband is ego's bhinaju. The same term is used for father's sister's husband without a reference to age, i.e. both father's elder or younger sister's husband is ego's bhinaju. The old term for such a relative is phwaju but it is hardly used these days.

The following terms from 44-50 and 59 are for male ego only.

**44. jeThan~ dai – Wbe**

Wife's elder brother both german and cousin, is ego's jeThan. It is used as AM only the AA being dai, the same term as that used by the wife. A husband generally addresses his wife's kins in the same way as she does.

**45. SaDo dai~ dai – WSieH**

Wife's elder sister's husband is one's saDo dai. But this term is used as AM only the AA is dai.

**46. saDo bhai~ bhai – WsiyH**

Wife's younger sister's husband is one's saDo bhai. It is used as AM only the AA is bhai or first name.

**47. sala~ bhai – WBy**

Wife's younger brother is one's sala, both german and cousin brother. But sals is used as AM only, the AA is bhai or first name.

**46. Solti – WbyW**

It is not a common term although it is used in some families. There is no proper appellative for such a relation. The AA is by first name generally.

**48. sali~bAini WSiy**

Wife's elder sister both german and cousin is ego's sali. This term is used as AM only AA is bAini or by first name.

**49. jeThi sasu~ diju – WSie**

Wife's elder sister both german and cousin is ego's jeThi sasu. It is used as AM only AA is diju.

**50. swasni~ patni~ srimAti ~ dulsab – W**

The first two are general terms for one's wife, they are used as AM, but pAtni is more formal and is generally used in literary style. In the past a husband usually addressed his wife as dulsab but today she is commonly addressed by her husband by first name. srimAti is used as AM by her husband and by others.

The following terms from 51-58 are for female ego only.

**51. jeThaju~ dai – HBe**



Husband's elder brother, german and cousin, is ego's jeThaju. This term is used as AM the AA is dai, the same term as that used by the husband. jeThaju's wife is ego's jeThani. It is used as AM the AA is diju. But the husband addresses her as bhaju.

53. dewAr~ raja~ babu – HBy

Husband's younger brother, german and cousin, is ego's dewAr. It is used as AM only the AA is first name followed by raja or proper prefixes followed by raja among the chhetris, or by babu among the other castes. For example, Bikas raja. Bikas babu. Bikas is a name; mahila raja, mahila babu mahila meaning 'second in birth'. raja and babu are suffixed to first name or proper prefixes while addressing one's dewAr.

54. deurani~ bAini – HByW

A dewar's wife is ego's deurani. It is used as AM the AA is bAini.

55. amaju – HSie

Husband's elder sister, german and cousin is ego's amaju. Today it is used as AM only the AA is diju.

56. nAndA ~ marani~ mAisab~ mAiva – Hsiy

Husband's younger sister, german and cousin, is ego's nAndA. It is used as AM only. The AA is first name or proper prefixes followed by marani, mAisab among the chhetris and by mAiva among other castes. When there is only one sister then these terms may be used alone to address one's nAndA.

57. logne~ pAti~ sriman~ raja – H

The first two are general terms and used as AM only. pAti is more formal and is usually used in literary style. raja is used as AA by the wife but sometimes among close friends and family members it is also used as AM by the wife. sriman is used as AM by the wife but more often by others. A husband is not addressed by name by the wife generally.

58. sAuta – HW (other than ego)

A husband's wife other than herself is ego's sAuta. It is used as AM only the AA is either diju or bAini depending on whether the sAuta is married to her husband before or after herself.

The semantic features that have been used in distinguishing these kinship terms have been given below.

1. Consanguineal vs Affinal – kinship relation may be based on birth (blood or consanguineal) or marriage (affinal) The terms from 1-31 are all consanguineal relations and from 32-59 are all affinal relations. Thus the first set of terms contrast with those of the second on the basis of this feature.

2. Difference of generation – Three ascending generations  $G^{-3}$   $G^{-2}$   $G^{-1}$ ; zero or same generation  $G^{+0}$ ; and five descending generation  $G^{-1}$   $G^{-2}$   $G^{-3}$   $G^{-4}$   $G^{-5}$  have been used to distinguish these terms.

3. Difference of Linkage – (a) lineal vs collateral, (b) linked through different kinsmen e.g. 36 and 37 kaki and maiju have the same semantic components namely;  $G^{+1}$  col f aff but they are differentiated on the basis of the linking kinsmen that is, kaki will have the additional feature '+agnate' that is, linked through agnate uncle, while maiju will have the feature '+uterine' that is, linked through uterine uncle. Again 6 and 7 buwa and kaka will be differentiated on the basis of the feature lineal vs collateral.

4. Difference of age marked by (e) elder and (y) younger is also an important feature in distinguishing kinship terms in Nepali. For example, Nos. 12 diju and 13 bAini have the same features but are differentiated on the basis of this feature. This feature is used to differentiate many other kinship terms like in Nos. 14-15, 39-40, 42-43, 44-47, 49-50, 51-53, 55-56 etc.

5. Sex – male vs female is an important factor in discriminating the kinsmen; (a) the sex may be of the kinsman himself, this feature has been used throughout to distinguish kin as in Nos. 6, buwa 7, muwa 12, diju 14 dai etc. (b) the sex of the ego is also relevant in distinguishing the kinship terms in Nepali. For instance, in 44-50 the kinship terms are only used by a male ego, i.e. only a male ego can have such relatives. While the terms in 51-56 are only used by a female ego i.e. only a female ego will have such relatives. For example, brother X's child is related as bhAtij to X's brother, but the same child will be related as bhAda to X's sister. Similarly sister Y's child is related as bhanja to her brother but as chora to her sister.

6. Affinity is an important feature used to distinguish kinship terms in many languages. But even in affinal relations a distinction between the degree of affinity had to be devised in order to distinguish certain terms as in 44 jethan 45 saDodai; 52 jeThani and 55 amaju. Thus affinal is to be taken as first degree of affinity just as we have first degree of collateral relations and first degree of ascending and descending generation. Affinal+2 is to be taken as second degree of affinity in conformity with second degree of collateral relations. Thus jeThan and saDo dai are distinguished on the basis of this feature, all the semantic components being identical. JeThan will be marked for the feature '+aff' and saDo dai will be marked for the feature '+aff+2'; the same is true for 55 amaju and 54 deurani.

Kelkar 1962 in his analysis of Marathi kinship terms had ignored such relation saying how far and to what extent such relations should be traced and whether semantic features should be extended to include such affinal relations. But I feel that since such affinal relations do exist in our culture we should extend

semantic features to include them. Thus the addition of the feature 'Aff2' has been included here. The addition of this single feature has helped to distinguish a number of kinship terms as explained above. Moreover, these terms (in 44,45; 47,48; 48, 51,52; 53;54) are very common kinship terms in Nepali, no study on kinship terms will be complete without including them.

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### Linguistic Approach to Blakes's "The Tyger"

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Literature is the art that uses language. As language is medium of literature, it is important to make a systematic study of language to equip ourselves with the systematic functioning of language in general and to apply those generalizations in the study of literature. Linguistics, the formal science of language, is the study of language and the principle governing their combinations and organization (Abrams 1993:103). The main concern of this paper is to make a systematic and linguistic analysis of William Blake's 'The Tyger' applying the modern linguistic approach.

It has been argued that language of literature is different from the language used in other domains. Therefore, the language of literature is often identified as a distinct variety of language use. 'Literary language has been elected and manipulated by its user with greater care and complexity than the average language user either can or wishes to exercise.' (Chapman, 1986:4) Aristotle had also similar view, "Tragedy is, then, a representation of an action that is heroic and complete and of certain magnitude, by means of language enriched with all kinds of ornament (Aristotle, 1962:387). Horace was also aware of the distinct variety of literary language. According to him, the best possible effect of literature could be produced "with a nice taste and care in weaving words together (1962:390)." Longinus thought that sublimity in literature is possible through "consummate excellence and distinction of language.(1962:393)". Not only the ancients but also the moderns realised that literary language is of distinct quality. To Wordsworth the language of literature is the "language really used by men, and that the same time, to throw over them certain colouring of imagination. (1962:164)"

Although much had been talked about the language of literature, no systematic analysis of literary texts was made until the twentieth century. The systematic study of language was made and the linguistic findings were applied to the study literature in the twentieth century.

The systematic study of language began with Ferdinand de Saussure (1916). Saussure's work is important because it developed a different perspective of looking into language and this was not the common trend in the earlier centuries. Saussure's work provided basis for the scholarly discussion on language in general. Consequently different approaches to the study of language emerged. Crystal (1987:408) identifies five major approaches of linguistics. The Prague School of Linguistics used functional sentence perspective. They analysed utterances in terms of their information content. Lucien Tesnière developed

dependency grammar to explain grammatical relationships by setting up dependencies between the elements of a construction. K.L. Pike's Tagmemic approach relates linguistic forms and functions. Lamb (1966) developed stratificational grammar which views language as a system of related layers of structures. Halliday focused on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of analysis. Chomsky (1957, 1965) developed the transformational generative grammar.

All the approaches mentioned in the above paragraph and other minor approaches contributed a lot in the development of many other approaches to literary studies such as stylistics and Russian Formalism. Stylistics is the study of literary style using the tools of linguistics. It makes distinction between the content and the form of a text. In stylistics content is often called to have information or message or propositional meaning. It makes the use of modern linguistic concepts to identify the stylistic features of a text. These features may be phonological or lexical or syntactic. A stylistician can analyse a literary text in terms of paradigmatic or syntagmatic relations or in terms of deep and surface structures. In stylistics linguists and literary critics work together helping each other. Stylistics is the study of the use of language in the literature. (Leech, 1969). Linguistic criticism and stylistics are often differentiated (Gurien et al, 1999 : 324 ).

Modern linguistics immensely influenced Russian Formalism. Most of the practitioners of this approach were linguists too. Linguistic concepts such as *langue* and *parole* significantly influenced the study of folklore by Russian Formalists. They systematically distinguished the literary language from non-literary language. Most of the practitioners of these approach agreed that the language of literature is strange and defamiliarised.

Whether linguistic approach to literature really helps to understand literary texts is still a matter of debate. Many believe that linguists may tell us a great deal about language but they tell us nothing about literature. Such opinions can be outright rejected if we look at some of the great works of scholars who believed that linguistic is really helpful in the study of literature. Jakobson (1960) claimed that the language of literature and the language of non-literary texts are the *differentia specifica*. He argued that literary texts have internal patterning and repetition far exceeding the texts of non-literary discourse. Prior to Jakobson, stylistics concentrated on obvious poetic devices such as refrains, stanzas, rhymes, alliterations, meter, and so on. The interest of Jakobson is not in such explicit poetic devices but in less frequently discussed features such as parallels between meaning and syntactic structures or between syntactic and phonological structures. In poetry, roughly equivalent structures in sounds, morphemes or grammatical categories or some other aspects tend to combine in a linear order or sequence.

Modern linguistics has been a distinctly modern approach to the study of literature since the second half of the twentieth century. It has helped us to questions such as: Is literature part of language? What are the differences between linguistic criticism and literary criticism of a literary text? If there are differences between literary and non literary language, what are those specific to literary language? Such an approach gives us a new way of thinking in the study of literary texts. The analysis can be carried out in the framework of any modern linguistic approaches. Traugott and Pratt (1980) is a pioneer example of the application of especially TG grammar to the study of variety of texts. In the following section, an attempt has been made to analyse William Blake's 'The Tyger' in the frame work of modern linguistic theories.

### THE TYGER

Tyger! Tyger burning bright  
In the forest of the night,  
What immortal hand or eye  
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?

In what distant deeps or skies  
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?  
On what wings dare he aspire?  
What the hand dare seize the fire?

And what shoulder, and what art,  
Could twist and sinews of thy heart?  
And when thy heart began to beat,  
What dread hand? & what dread feet?

What the hammer? what the chain?  
In what furnace was the brain?  
What the anvil? What dread grasp  
Dare its deadly terrors clasp?

When the stars threw down their spears  
And water'd heaven with their tears,  
Did he smile his work to see?  
Did he who made the lamb make thee?

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright  
 In the forests of the night,  
 What immortal hand or eye  
 Dare frame thy fearful symmetry? (Blake: 41)

In the phonological level, some of the devices like rhyme scheme e.g. bright/night, chain/brain, grasp/clasp, etc., alliterations such as 'burning bright' 'distant deep,' assonance i.e. night/bright/eye are obvious. If we analyze the sounds used in the poem in deeper level, we can explore more complex and subtle devices. As the title of the poem suggests, the word 'tyger' is very significant. It has two syllables with stress on the first and the second is unaccented. The poem has /t/ sound repetition. This is repeated for thirty times in the poem and the diphthong /ai/ is also repeated in important words such as bright, night, eye etc. These two sounds are repeated in important words like forests, bright, night, symmetry, distant, what, heart-beat, watered, immortal and in many others. Both these sounds are repeated in the three important key words night, bright and symmetry. The poet prefers to pronounce the final syllable of the word 'symmetry' with a diphthong, as it rhymes with 'eye'. These phonological repetitions make us think that these words to be taken beyond their conventional meanings. The word 'night' is the symbolic representation of the wrath of god or the fierce forces of soul whatever we can them, it has a negative aspect. The word 'bright' is symbolic for wisdom, knowledge, life and the gentle aspect of life. In the creation of art the artist should both-night and bright- to have symmetry in art and symmetry is symbolic for the perfection in artistic creation. Two times repetition of the word tiger with its deviated spelling 'Tyger' in the opening line of the poem makes us think the tiger in the poem is not merely a tiger made of flesh and blood but requires a special interpretation to understand the poet's sense in the poem. The deviated spelling of tiger and exclamation mark after it suggests that the speaker has seen it out of sudden by his 'inward eye'. Therefore he deviates the spelling as if the diphthong needs to be pronounced longer than the usual one. This perspective helps us understand that the tiger in the poem is a tiger at the time of creation as well as a symbol of perfect art. Another phonological aspect of the poem is the combination of sounds. The final sounds of the words are combined with the initial sounds of the next words in such a way that they can be pronounced with great ease. This makes the reading of the poem very smooth. The implication is that the creation of the tiger is as easy to the 'immortal hand or eye' as it is easy to read for us.

In the metrical pattern of the poem, the poet does not follow any particular fixed metrical pattern of English poetry. The first line seems to be trochee.

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright

But the question is whether it is trimeter or tetrameter. The next line seems to be anapestic.

In the forest of the night.

Here, the second syllable of 'forests' links the two anapestic feet, the syntactic parallel structures of preposition plus noun are parallel metrically, too. The third line has the same metrical pattern as that of the first line.

What immortal hand or eye.

This establishes a semantic link between 'bright' and 'eye' suggested by similar metrical pattern. The last line of the first stanza is iambic tetrameter:

Could frame thy fearful symmetry.

All these variations make us conclude that the poet is not following any fixed metrical pattern but makes the language dance with perfect natural rhythm.

In the lexical level, the poem seems very simple but it is not so. The words do not have only their conventional meanings but they become images and they need special interpretation. The words like 'thy', 'thine' and 'thee' make us feel the presence of the biblical theme. The words like 'hammer', 'furnance', 'anvil', etc. compel us to imagine a scene of modern manufacturing factory. The words like 'eye', 'heart' are the parts of the tiger's body. 'Deeps' and 'skies' representing the two extremes of depth and height suggest the theme of cosmic dimension. 'Night' and 'stars' are related because stars are visible at night but when they are interpreted as images, night refers to unknown aspect of soul and stars the fallen angels. These words are foregrounded by suspending their conventional meanings and new meanings to them are projected to achieve the linguistic sublimity essential for its cosmic content. Another lexical effect is created by the device of semantic opposition, the words like bright/ night, deep/skies, tiger/ lamb make us think that the theme of the poem includes what is bright and its opposite extreme, night. Its spatial setting is from deeps to the skies. The outcome of whole effort is the creation of dreadful tiger and the meek lamb. The pair bright/ night relates to time suggesting a never -ending process. The place is suggested by the pair deeps and skies. The pair tiger and lamb suggests the finished product of the factory as suggested by furnace and anvil.

In its syntactic level, the entire poem consists of questions. Apparently, the questioner has no answer to the question he asks. But this device of questioning in the poem contributes much to our understanding of the poem. The incomplete questions in third stanza "What dread hand and what dread feet?" and

in the fourth "What the hammer, what the chain./what the anvil?" suggest that the Creator and his Creation are momentarily fused.

The question in the first stanza "What immortal hand or eye / Could frame thy fearful symmetry?" suggests that the questioner has no experience how the 'Tyger' has been created but as we read the last stanza the questioner changes the 'could' into 'dare'. Keeping the same syntactic structure the poet makes us feel that the questioner has understood the process of the creation of the 'Tyger' through the series of questions he has asked in the preceding stanzas. The parallel syntactic structures of the incomplete questions in the third and fourth stanzas suggest that the questioner as experienced the process of creation of the 'Tyger'. He understands that this event took place when Satan was defeated by God and the questioner wonders. "Did he smile his work to see? / Did he who made the lamb make thee?" Then, he repeats almost all the first stanza suggesting that his doubts, which he has in the beginning, have been cleared.

Syntactically, embedded clauses in the fifth stanza serve as reference to identify the 'He' and the 'creator, of the main clause. This syntactic device also contributes to the recognition that the creator is not Satan but God himself. And it has been created not in 'distant deeps' but in 'skies'.

In the semantic level, the poet has used the words referring to the parts of animate beings like 'hand', 'eye', 'wings', 'shoulder', 'sinews', 'heart', and 'feet'. These are attributed to the creator of the 'Tyger'. Another group of words suggesting terror such as 'night', 'forests', 'seize', 'twist', 'dread', 'grasp', 'clasp', 'deadly', 'tears', 'distant', 'deep', and 'terrors' itself. Still another group of words suggest creation, permanence or life such as 'immortal', 'frame', 'symmetry', 'began to beat', 'smile', 'make', 'art', 'skies', 'aspire', etc. For any artistic creation, the artist has no pass through different kinds of difficulties. The questioner is in 'the forest of night' in the state of confusion and terror. He is enlightened with the fire. He has burnt himself with the fire though still in 'in the forest of the night' but now he achieves his end i.e. enlightenment, thus, the fire is the means for this metamorphosis of the questioner.

In its pragmatic level, the event has the sublimity of cosmic drama. God is at work. He has created the whole universe, defeated Satan. Evil is destroyed and peace maintained. The questioner knows the answers through his questions. The poet uses simple words to describe this content but he attributes the words symbolic meanings to achieve the sublimity both in form and content.

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### Introduction

Bote is one of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal by the Bote people. They live by the banks of the Gandaki river and its tributaries. It is one of the endangered languages of Nepal. Many speakers are gradually shifting their tongue to other language for various reasons. In addition, with pace of time, speakers are scattering sporadically over different places, which may have two results: either the emergence of dialects or the gradual loss of the language. Bote in many places is facing the situation referred to by the latter. However, the language still retains the strong linguistic identity.

This article discusses the different forms of the Bote 'be' verb. There are three different forms of the 'be' verb. First *baT-* and its past *rəh-* are existential, second *ho* is identificational and third *hokh-* refers to the change of state, property and general truth.

### The Be Verb

The predications of identification, existence and general or universal truth are corresponded by three distinct forms of the 'be' verb *ho*, *baT-* and *hokh-* respectively.

*ho*

To obtain identification, the be verb *ho* is used. It is invariant frozen form to all numbers, persons. It has the function of copula in the sentence.

- (1)
- a. *som moro bhai ho*  
Som my younger brother is  
'Som is my brother.'
  - b. *use macho moro ho*  
that fish my is  
'That fish is mine.'  
[ That is my fish.]
  - c. *unyan boT-han ho*  
they Bote-PI is  
'They are Bote people.'

The identificational 'be' verb *ho* always indicates present references, so its tense is present, because identification is regardless to time, and if anything or anybody is identified it is assumed that the identified object exists around the speaker's proximity or at least its existence must be in present.

*baT-*

*baT-* is an existential 'be' verb which occurs in 'existential construction'. It can have the possessive function also.

- (2)
- a. *māi khola-ma baT-in*  
I stream-L be-PRES1s  
'I am by the stream.'
  - b. *hami khola-ma baT-hu*  
we stream-L be-PRES1PI  
'We are by the stream'
  - c. *tāi khola-ma baT-er*  
you stream-L be-PRES2s  
'You are by the stream.'
  - d. *tahan khola-ma baT-o*  
you-PI stream-L be-PRES2PI  
'You are by the stream.'
  - e. *tohā khola-ma baT-huk*  
you-h stream-L be-PRES2s  
'You are by the stream'
  - f. *toh-an khola-ma baT-huk*  
you-h-PI stream-L be-PRES2PIh  
'You are by the stream'
  - g. *aphui khola-ma baT-e khin*  
you-hh stream-L be-INF PRES2shh  
'You are by the stream'
  - h. *suk khola-ma baT-i*  
Suk stream-L be-PRES3s  
'Suk is by the stream.'
  - i. *sunil rā māngal khola-ma baT-ai*  
Sunil and mangal stream-L be-PRES3PI  
'Sunil and Mangal are by the stream.'
  - j. *bhena khola-ma baT-nik*  
brother-in-law stream-L be-PRES3sh  
'Brother-in-law is by the stream.'

- k. *bhena-han khola-ma baT-ai*  
brother-in-law-PI stream-L be-PRES3hPI  
'Brother-in-law is by the stream.'
- l. *jawai khola-ma baT-ai*  
son-in-law steam-L be-PRES3hh  
'Son-in-law is by the stream.'

The table 1 presents the paradigm of the existential 'be' verb *baT-*.

Table 1: The be verb *baT-*

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	<i>baT-in</i>	<i>baT-hu</i>
Second	<i>baT-er</i>	<i>baT-o</i>
Second Honorific	<i>baT-huk</i>	<i>baT-o</i>
Second High Honorific	<i>baT-e khin</i>	<i>baT-e khin</i>
Third	<i>baT-i</i>	<i>baT-ai</i>
Third Honorific	<i>baT-nik</i>	<i>baT-ai</i>
Third High Honorific	<i>baT-ai</i>	<i>baT-ai</i>

The past form of *baT-* is *rəh-*. Like *baT-*, it can also have possessive function.

- (3) a. *mai khola-ma rəh-in*  
I stream-L be-PST1s  
'I was by the stream.'
- b. *hami khola-ma rəh-u*  
we stream-L be-PST1Pl  
'We were by the stream.'
- c. *tai khola-ma rəh-er*  
you-S stream-L be-PST2s  
'You were by the stream.'
- d. *tahan khola-ma rəh-o*  
you-PI stream-L be-PST2Pl  
'You were by the stream'
- e. *toħ khola-ma rəh-huk*  
you-h stream-L be-PST2sh  
'You were by the stream.'

- f. *tohan khola-ma rəh-o*  
you-hPI stream-L be-PST2hPI  
'You were by the stream.'
- g. *aphui khola-ma rəh-e khin*  
you-hh stream-L be-PST2hh  
'You were by the stream'
- h. *suk khola-ma rəh-ik*  
Suk stream-L be-PST3s  
'Suk was by the stream.'
- i. *sunil rə mæŋgəl khola-ma rəh-wai*  
Sunil and Mangal stream-L be-PST3PI  
'Sunil and Mangal were by the stream.'
- j. *bhena khola-ma rəh-nihik*  
brother-in-law stream-L be-PST3sh  
'Brother-in-law was by the stream.'
- k. *bhena-han khola-ma rəh-wai*  
brother-in-law-PI stream-L be-PST3Plh  
'Brother-in-laws were by the stream.'
- l. *sasura khola-ma rəh-wai*  
father-in-law stream-L be-PST3hh  
'Father-in-law was by the stream.'

Sentences (2e-f),(3e-f) refer to honorificity of existential construction of be verb; sentences (2) and (3) refer to high honorificity of existential construction, and remnants of the sentences refer to non-honorificity of existential construction.

The table 2 presents the paradigm of the 'be' verb *rəh-*.

Table 2: The be verb *rəh-*

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	<i>rəh-in</i>	<i>rəh-u</i>
Second	<i>rəh-er</i>	<i>rəh-o</i>
Second Honorific	<i>rəh-huk</i>	<i>rəh-o</i>
Second High Honorific	<i>rəh-e khin</i>	<i>rəh-e khin</i>
Third	<i>rəh-ik</i>	<i>rəh-wai</i>
Third Honorific	<i>rəh-nihik</i>	<i>rəh-wai</i>
Third High Honorific	<i>rəh-wai</i>	<i>rəh-wai</i>

**hokh-**

The inchoative function is accomplished by the 'be' verb *hokh-* which, like main verbs, can be conjugated in all tenses, past, present and future. But, it is always in present tense when it refers to general or universal truth. Since generality of truth is assumed to be timeless.

- (4) a. *narayani-ma pani hokh-tai*  
Narayani-L water be-PRES3s  
'There is water in Narayani.'  
b. *kaThmanDu-ma ciso hokh-tai*  
Kathmandu-L cold be-PRES3s  
'It is cold in Kathmandu.'  
c. *bagkhor-ma boT-han hokh-tat*  
Bagkhor-L Bote-Pl be-PRES3Pl  
'Bote people are in Bagkhor.'

Besides, indicating general truth or universality, *hokh-* indicates the notion of propriety also.

- (5) a. *boT-i raksi kha-e hokh-tai*  
Bot-E wine eat-INF be-PRES3s  
'It is proper for a Bote to drink wine.'  
b. *beTimanis-i philim cah-e hokh-tai*  
woman-E cinema watch-INF be-PRES3s  
'It is proper for a woman to watch cinema.'

In (5a-b), *hokh-* conveys the meaning of propriety. When *hokh-* occurs as a verb follows an infinitive verb. In (5a) the infinitive verb is *kha-e* and in (5b) *cah-e*.

If *hokh-* is employed to give the notion of 'becoming', it is liable to be conjugated in all three tenses: past, present and future. The notion of 'becoming' is understood as change of state. In this context the inherent meaning of *hokh-* is 'to become'.

- (6) a. *santə hulaki hokh-tai*  
Santa postman become-PRES3s  
'Santa becomes a postman.'  
b. *məi pale hokh-ti*  
I gatekeeper become-PRES1s  
'I become a gatekeeper.'

In (6a-b), *hokh-* indicates the change of state, *santə* and *məi* are going to be employed as postman and gatekeeper. Present tense form of *hokh-* (like in 6a-b) can indicate futurity also. The following examples are corresponding past of (6a-b).

- (7) a. *santə hulaki hokh-ik*  
Santa postman become-PST3s  
'Santa became a postman.'  
b. *məi pale hokh-in*  
I gatekeeper become-PST1s  
'I will be a postman.'

Conjugation of *hokh-* in future tense is described by the sentence (8a-b).

- (8) a. *santə hulaki hokh-b-i*  
Santa postman become.MOD.3s  
'Santa will be a postman, perhaps.'  
b. *məi pale hokh-lahar baT-in*  
I gatekeeper become-FUTPTPL be-PRES1s  
'I will be a gatekeeper.'

Sentence (8a) refers to presumption, so, it is presumptive future and (8b) is absolute future.

The tables 3 and 4 present the conjugation of 'be' verb *hokh-* in present tense and past tense respectively.

Table 3: *hokh-* in present tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	<i>hokh-ti</i>	<i>hokh-tahu</i>
Second	<i>hokh-ter</i>	<i>hokh-tau</i>
Second Honorific	<i>hokh-tahuk</i>	<i>hokh-tau</i>
Second High Honorific	<i>hokh-hek tyan</i>	<i>hokh-hek tyan</i>
Third	<i>hokh-tai</i>	<i>hokh-tat</i>
Third Honorific	<i>hokh-tatnik</i>	<i>hokh-tat</i>
Third High Honorific	<i>hokh-tat</i>	<i>hokh-tat</i>



Table 4: *hokh-* in past tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	<i>hokh-in</i>	<i>hokh-u</i>
Second	<i>hokh-er</i>	<i>hokh-o</i>
Second Honorific	<i>hokh-huk</i>	<i>hokh-o</i>
Second High Honorific	<i>hokh-e khin</i>	<i>hokh-e khin</i>
Third	<i>hokh-ik</i>	<i>hokh-wai</i>
Third Honorific	<i>hokh-nihik</i>	<i>hokh-wai</i>
Third High Honorific	<i>hokh-wai</i>	<i>hokh-wai</i>

In the table 5, the verb *hokh-* is in proximate future form. The proximate future marker *-lahar* is suffixed to the stem *-hokh* to which preset stem of 'be' auxiliary follows.

Table 5: *hokh-* in future tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	<i>hokh-lahar baT-in</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-hu</i>
Second	<i>hokh-lahar baT-er</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-o</i>
Second Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar baT-huk</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-o</i>
Second High Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar baT-e khin</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-e khin</i>
Third	<i>hokh-lahar baT-i</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-ai</i>
Third Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar baT-nik</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-ai</i>
Third High Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar baT-ai</i>	<i>hokh-lahar baT-ai</i>

The table 6 presents futurity in past of the 'be' verb *hokh-*. The proximate future form of *hokh-* is followed by the past stem 'be' auxiliary *rəh-*. In Masica's (1991) term, it can be identified as 'Proximate Contrafactual', for its truth-value experiment is beyond present's control. Hence it is 'unreal' too.

Table 6: The proximate contrafactual form of *hokh-*

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-in</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-u</i>
Second	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-er</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-o</i>
Second Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-huk</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-o</i>
Second High Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-e khin</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-e khin</i>
Third	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-ik</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-wai</i>

Third Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-nihik</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-wai</i>
Third High Honorific	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-wai</i>	<i>hokh-lahar rəh-wai</i>

The interrelation between the different forms of the 'be' verb can be represented in the following way:

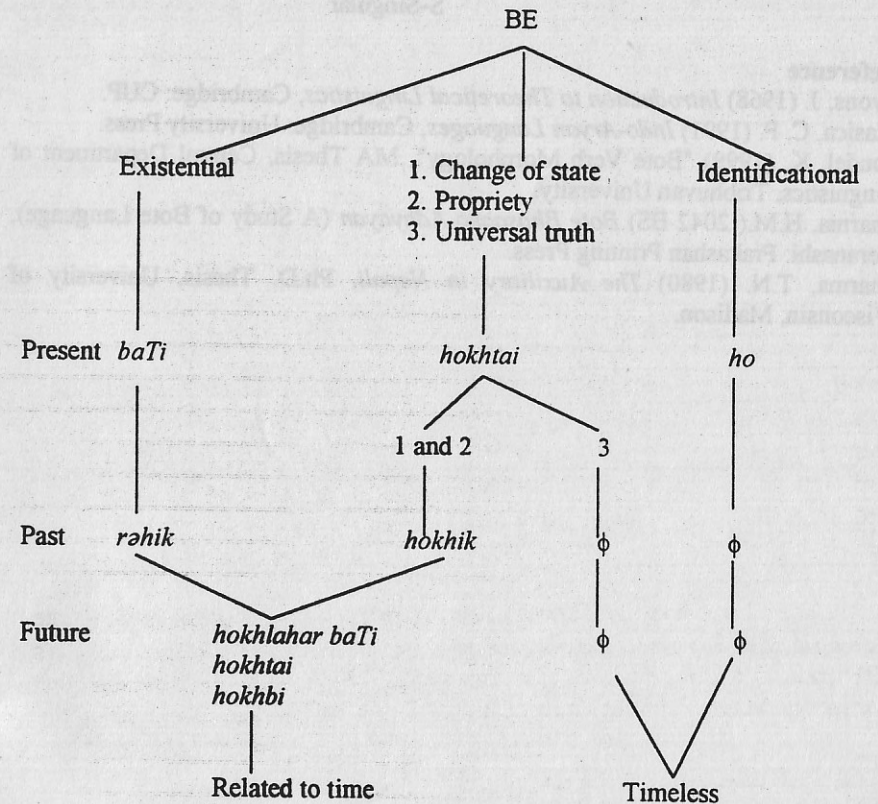


Figure 1: The interrelation between the different forms of the be verb in Bote.

## Abbreviations

FUT-Future	MOD-Mood
hh-High honorific	Pl- Plural
h-honorific	PRES-Present
INF-Infinitive	PST-Past
L-Location	PTPL-Pariticiple
	S-Singular

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## The Auxiliary 'be' in Kumal

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## Introduction

Kumal is one of the languages of the minority languages of Nepal belonging to Indo-Aryan language family. It is described only a little since its detailed study has not been done yet. Kumal is spoken by a minority people called 'Kumal' in different corners of the country like Palpa, Arghakhanchi, Gorkha, Nuwakot and Nawalparasi. In the comparison to Kumal population, its speakers are decreasing day by day because of their traditional soci-economic condition and the heavy influence of surrounding languages like Nepali, Maithili, Tharu and so on.

Only a few works have been done to this language from various aspects. Except sociological and other studies Sharma (2043 BS), Gautam (2000) and Parajuli (2000) are the major works done in linguistic studies. Sharma is limited to Palpa and Parajuli is limited to Arghakhanchi district whereas Gautam (2000) is specified to the speakers of Nawalparasi district.

The auxiliary 'be' in Kumal seems to be borrowed from Nepali language though it has its own meaning in various use and situations.

## 1 The Auxiliary 'be' according to tense system

In Kumal language, there are four different stems of auxiliary verb corresponding to two tenses, past and non-past.

Past → *rəh-*, *bhə*

Non-past → *baT/ hək*

## 1.1 Past Tense Auxiliary 'be'

*rəh* and *bhə* are the past tense auxiliary 'be' in Kumal language which indicate the action happened or finished. Both follow the main verb and sometimes construct the complex verb too. For example 1(a-d)

1.
  - a. *u ghəre gəi-lək rəhi*  
 he house-L go-PERF be.PST3S  
 'He had gone to home.'
  - b. *məi ghər gəi-sək-lək rəh-nu*  
 I house go-finish-PERF be-PST1S  
 'I had gone to home.'

- c. *akas-ma euTa cilgadi rahi*  
sky-L one aeroplane be.PST3S  
'There was an aeroplane in the sky.'
- d. *tyo keTo jac-ma pas bhai-l*  
that boy exam-L pass be.PST3S  
'That boy passed in exam.'

### 1.2 Non-Past Tense Auxiliary 'be'

*baT* and *hakh* are non-past tense auxiliary 'be' in Kumal which indicate the action in present or future time. Generally they indicate imperfective and habitual aspect of the verb. For example 2(a-e).

2. a. *rames ghār-ma gai-lək hakhai sək-la*  
Ramesh house-L go-PERF be.INF finish-NPT3S  
'Ramesh may be gone to his home.'
- b. *nepal euTa syano des hoi*  
Nepal one small country be.NPT3S  
'Nepal is a small country.'
- c. *ram-ko bhāisi Thulo baT.*  
Ram-G buffalo big be.NPT3S  
'Ram's buffalo is big.'
- d. *sita-le əhile pəni pəDhdəi baT*  
Sita-E now also read.PROG be.NPT3S  
'Sita is also reading now.'
- e. *hamre okər ghər dekh-ni baTi*  
we.E his house see-NPT1P be.NPT1P  
'We will see his house.'

## 2. The Auxiliary 'be' according to Semantic Interpretation

Semantically Kumal auxiliary 'be' has the various functional meanings which are classified into three forms.

### 2.1 Existential (*baT/rəh*)

Existential in Kumal expresses the meaning of existence. It indicates something or someone's presentation which can be easily seen. Generally *baT* and *rəh* are used to express the meaning of existence. For example 3(a-d)

3. a. *tyhā euTa ghər baT*  
there one house be.NPT3S  
'There is a house.'

- b. *tyha euTa ghər rahi*  
there one house be.PST3S  
'There was a house.'
- c. *māi sitə euTa məcho baT*  
I with one fish be.NPT1S  
'I have a fish.'
- d. *thal-ma euTa məcho rahi*  
plate-L one fish be.PST3S  
'There was a fish on the plate.'

The tables shows the various inflectional marker with auxiliary

Table 1: *rəh-* in past tense

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>rəh-nu</i>	<i>rəh-li</i>
2nd	<i>rəh-le</i>	<i>rəh-lə</i>
2nd honorific	<i>rəh-lən</i>	<i>rəh-lən</i>
3rd	<i>rəh-l</i>	<i>rəh-i</i>
3rd honorific	<i>rəh-lən</i>	<i>rəh-lən</i>

Table 2: *lag-* 'start' in non-past tense with aux. *baT*.

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>lag-Tu</i>	<i>lag-Ti</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>lag-Te</i>	<i>lag-Tə</i>
2nd honorific	<i>lag-Thin</i>	<i>lag-Thin</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>lag-laT</i>	<i>lag-Thin</i>
3rd honorific	<i>lag-Thin</i>	<i>lag-Thin</i>

### 2.2 Identificational (*həkh*)

It indicates the identification of someone or something else. Generally the persons or things are identified by using auxiliary *həkh* in Kumal language. Sometimes it expresses the indicative mood of the sentence too. For example 4(a-f)

4. a. *rāmes ghār-ma gai-lək həkhai sək-la*  
Ramesh house-L go-PERF be may-NPT3S  
'Ramesh may be his home.'
- b. *yo mor chora həkhai*  
this my son be.NPT3S  
'This is my son.'
- c. *unāhār-le palpa dekh-lək hoi*  
they-E Palpa see-PERF be.PST3PI  
'They may have seen Palpa.'
- d. *hamre bās-lək həkhai-la*  
we sit-PERF be-PST1PI  
'We may have sat.'
- e. *tai bhōli baTo-ma hīDi-rakh-lək həkhai-le*  
you tomorrow way-L walk-PROG-PERF be-NPT2S  
'You will be walking on the way tomorrow.'
- f. *māi tyo gaū-ma jānmə-lək həkhai*  
I that village-L born-PERF be.PST1S  
'I was born in that village.'

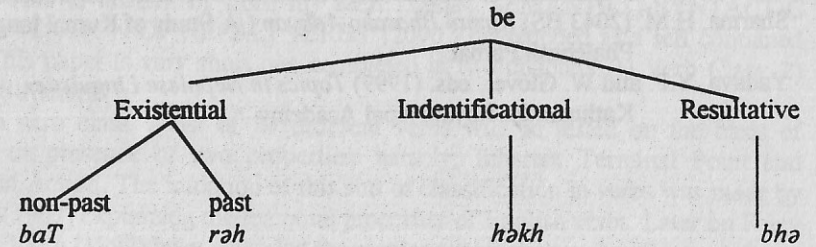
So identificational is an evidential type of mood which indicates the kind of observation (e.g. visual versus non-visual) on which the statement is based, it becomes clear that their whole purpose is to provide an indication of the degree of commitment of the speaker: he offers a piece of information, but qualifies its validity for him in terms of the type of evidence he has.

### 2.3 Resultative (bhə)

Resultative type of auxiliary 'be' tells the result of some activities which happened in the past. Generally results are calculated after the activities done by the participants. For example 5(a-c)

5. a. *keTo pas bhāi-l*  
boy pass be-PST3S  
'The boy passed.'
- b. *Dhan dās muri bhāi-lək-rāhi*  
rice ten 'muri' be-PERF-be.PST3S  
'The amount of rice became ten 'muri'.'
- c. *u caina jani bhāi-l*  
he China to go be-PST3S  
'He is sure to go to China.'

From the data we can find the relation between two kinds of auxiliaries having their own meaning which can be presented in the diagram below.



### Abbreviations

1-First Person	L-Locative
2-Second Person	G-Genitive
3-Third Person	E-Ergative
D-Dative	PST-Past Tense
PERF-Perfective Aspect	P-Plural
INF-Infinitival Participle ending	PROG-Progressive Aspect
NPT-Non-past tense	S-Singular

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## Logical Structure of Nepali Verbs

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This paper is an attempt to explain logical structures of Nepali verbs. Here, the main objective is to construct logical structure in Nepali in all of its own pattern. This is an extract from my M.A.Thesis- 'SEMANTICO-SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION OF NEPALI VERBS' (2000 ) developed as a self contained paper. This paper is very short one completed in two chapters: 1) Verb Class, 2) Logical Structure

In verb class, a list of 20 different verbs will be tested on the basis of absence or presence of two properties: namely; Inherent Terminal Point and Process of Action. The initiation of this sort of classification in verbs was made by Vendler (1967) explaining the temporal properties of English verbs. Later on Foley and Van Valin (1997) have extended the similar explanation and proofs in order to classify English verbs. Here the research will be similar for Nepali verbs.

The logical structure will try to construct and formulate logical structures of different classes of verbs as mentioned in the verb class. The objective of this attempt is to see whether the logical structure varies according to verb class, and to see the Logical-structure-pattern in Nepali verb keeping in mind that each different structure carries its own logical meaning.

### 1. Verb Class

English verb 'learn' is in the class 'Achievement' in Vandler's article in Van Valin (1993:140), while the same verb is in the class 'Accomplishment' in Foley and Van Valin (1997:92). Moreover Van Valin (1997:140) states Dowty (1979) that only states have habitual simple present tense. But Van Valin (1997:94) states that stative verbs present only simple present tense but not 'habitual' simple present tense. This sort of variation is seen very often. So I will not fully depend on the previous works on verbal classification but try to find out differences and perhaps language specific criterion to separate the verb classes. At first I will discuss about the inherent lexical meanings of Nepali verbs. The derivational pattern is very complex where we will have to discuss the relation among verbs, other adpositions etc. Dowty (1979) (as referred to by Van Valin, 1993) presents state verb like 'be', 'know', 'have', etc. to be primitives and other three classes as derived from states using operators as in (1).

1.	State	Derivational	Structure	Derived Class
	be	BECOME	be =become	Achievement
	know	BECOME	know =learn	Achievement
	have	BECOME	have =receive	Achievement
	know [...]	CAUSE [BECOME know]	= teach	Accomplishment
	be [.....]	CAUSE [BECOME be]	= put	Accomplishment

But since Dowty has not given derivational pattern for 'Activity', Van Valin has claimed that it is not the State verb but the activity is primitive and other are derived.

Here I am listing 20 different Nepali verbs and first there will be marking of the absence or presence of inherent terminal point or telic vs atelic situation and process vs non-process. That is, I will first classify verbs in terms of [ $\pm$  telic] & [ $\pm$  process]. It is to be understood that [ $\pm$  process] is [ $\pm$  durative] too and [-process] is instantaneous or punctual. And also, [-telic] naturally implies indefinite process, technically atelic situation. Some internal process of nonvolitional things cannot be caused, e.g. *makinu* (which is a biochemical factor).

2.	Verb	Inherent terminal point	Process
	1. <i>ākmak</i> - 'waver'	-	-
	2. <i>alpanu</i> - 'disappear'	+	+
	3. <i>cin</i> - 'recognize'	+	-
	4. <i>uphri</i> - 'bounce'	-	+
	5. <i>Dhal</i> - 'tilt/fall'	+	-
	6. <i>bhāāc</i> - 'break'	+	-
	7. N/Adj + <i>hu</i> -		
	8. N/Adj + <i>laag</i> -		
	9. N + <i>par</i>		
	10. N/Adj + <i>gar</i>		
	11. <i>pug</i> - 'reach'	+	-
	12. <i>khas</i> - 'fall'	+	-
	13. <i>ghoc</i> - 'pinch'	+	-
	14. <i>bas</i> - 'sit'	+	-
	15. <i>uTh</i> - 'stand'	+	-
	16. <i>cyat</i> - 'tear'	+	-
	17. <i>Tāās</i> - 'sticken'	+	-
	18. <i>taach</i> - 'unskin'	-	+
	19. <i>her</i> - 'look'	-	+
	20. <i>dekh</i> - 'see'	-	-

Now let us limit our concentration, at least for this moment, in this list of 20 verbs. The verbs which have the properties [+ process] and [- telic] look that their form-of-action implies durative action consisting of different phases. But this action has no certain inherent point to come at perfect end. [These types of activity verb must take volitional agent if they carry a causative factor]

These verbs which have the properties [+ process] and [+ telic] show that the verbs carry an inherent terminal point where the activity consisting of different phases ends in compilation. Those verbs which carry the properties [- process] and [+ elic] show that the action of time verb certainly ends at definite point. But the time taken by the lexical form of the verb is instantaneous which cannot have different phases. Those verbs which have the properties [-process] and [-telic] show that these verbs have neither a telic situation nor any process of activity. It is only the present situation irrespective of the time span and activity phases. So the result we find can be concluded as :

- i. [+ process, - telic] => ACTIVITY
- ii. [+process, +telic] => ACCOMPLISHMENT
- iii. [-process, +telic] => ACHIEVEMENT
- iv. [-process, -telic] => STATE

In the list (2) we can see a group of dependent verbs which is different from those given between No. 7 to 10. For example.

3. N/Adj + *hu* => N/Adj + 'be' (proto-bhu)

a. *raam Thulo bha-yo*

Ram big become-P3nhSM

'Ram became big.'

b. *hari daaktar ho*

Hari doctor be (indication)

'Hari is a doctor.'

c. *Doko tayar bha-yo*

basket ready become-P3nAgr

'The basket is ready.'

[N/Adj + *hu*] implies a situation, which is in Foley & Van Valin concept. 'right now' the state of being i.e. the static situation. Foley & Van Valin also have category State-of-affairs for the form-of-action type of state verbs as situation (see Van Valin and Lapolla, 1997:42).

4. N/Adj + *laag*

a. *raamro laag-nu*

good feel/find

- b. *maaTo laag-nu*  
soil adhere/stick
- c. *ghin laag-nu*  
disgust feel
- d. *baadal laag-nu*  
cloud cover

Here the modal *laag* produces verbs which are both stative & dynamic. For example *ghin laagnu* 'disgust feeling' is stative *raamro laagnu* 'good feel' is also stative but *maato laagnu* 'soil adl.ere' and *badal laagnu* are dynamic as well as telic. That's why the modal *laagnu* derives stative verb with Adjective and Accomplishment verbs with nominals.

i.e. N + *laag* => Accomplishment

Adj + *laag* => State

5. N + par.

a. *paani parnu*  
water fall (=rain)

b. *dangga parnu*  
wonder feel (=wonder)

c. *raat parnu*  
night fall (=become dark)

d. *jhagaDa parnu*  
quarrel fall (=quarrel/to take place)

Here *paniparnu* is definitely activity which is N + *parnu*. But is *raat parnu* an activity? Can we compare falling of rain water and rotating of the earth? Can we go that far that the rotation of the earth carries an inherent point of time at which the day ends and the night begins? This sort of complex decision, I think, is beyond the capacity of this dissertation. So let us take only the lexical form (form-of-action) which Vendler calls Aktionsart type.

One of my claim in the classification of Nepali verb is that when we add '-i-rah-eko hunu' to any Aktionsart of verb then it implies the situation at the right moment of speaking then that is the present state of affairs. For sentence (6) implies, on the one hand, activity of *keTo*, on the other hand the present state of affairs.

6. *keTo dagur-i-raha eko chha*  
boy run-ABS-in the state of-PERF-be-(EXIST)

So, though the form-of-action of verb be any of State, Achievement or Accomplishment, we can generate the present state. But in the lexical form i.e. aktionsart form, only a few verbs like *akmakaunu*, *sahanu*, *dekhnu*, are stative which have the effect at the moment of speaking. So here, since we can derive

state from other classes then Dowty's theory of State to be primitive fails. Foley and Van Valin also have put the correspondence among the state of affairs type and Aktionsart-types as in example (7).

7.	<b>State-of-affairs-type</b>	<b>Aktionsart-type</b>
	Situation	State
	Event	Achievement
	Process	Accomplishment
	Action	Activity

But this correspondence is also not firmly acceptable. Can we just stop talking of situation in other than state? OR, Can we just minus process from Activity class? OR, is there no action in Achievement? OR, Do not these all four state of affairs have certain type of common relation? There are just the questions here, I think this is a thought in progress.

## 2. The Logical Structure

Let us first compare these two tables representing logical structure of the four basic Aktionsart types of verbs:

Table: A (from Foley & Van Valin: Syntax (1984:102 table 3.3))

Verb Class	Logical Structure
State	Predicate (x) or (x,y)
Activity	Do (x, [Predicate (x) or (x,y)])
Achievement	INGR Predicate (x) or (x,y)
Accomplishment	BECOME Predicate (x) or (x,y)

Table 2a

Table: B (From an article A Synopsis of RRG edited by S.K. Verma & V. Prakasan, P.142. New Horizon in Functional Linguistics by Van Valin referred to Dowty (1979).

Verb Class	Logical Structure
State	Predicate (x) or (x,y)
Activity	BECOME Predicate (x) or (x,y)]
Achievement	(I Agentive) (DO (x))[Predicate (x) or (x,y)
Accomplishment	φ CAUSE φ

Table 2.b

where φ is normally an activity predicate and φ an achievement. So, these two tables clearly show that the total concept of logical structure has not been formulated yet. This situation compels me ignore this sort of logical structure for Nepali verbs. And further, Nepali has a different system of causativity and

other derivational pattern. I will first present some verb class and their possible logical structures in the following sentences following Dowty (1979).

## A. State

Verb Class	Logical Structure
i) <i>raam Doktor ho</i> Ram doctor be(IND) 'Ram is a doctor.'	<i>hunu (raam, doktor)</i>
ii) <i>ainaNaN phuteko cha</i> mirror break-PERF be (EXIST) 'The mirror is broken'	<i>phuTeko hunu (aina)</i>
iii) <i>patrika tebal-maa cha</i> magazine-N table-L be (EXIST) 'Magazine is on the table.'	<i>-maa cha (patrikaa, tebal)</i>

Table 2.c

## B. Achievement

Verb Class	Logical Structure
i) <i>sitaa-le ghoDa dekhi</i> Sita-E horse see-P3nhSF 'Sita saw a horse.'	<i>dekhi (sitaa, ghoDa)</i>
ii) <i>ghaDi phuT-yo</i> watch break-P3nAgr 'The watch broke.'	<i>phuTnu (ghaDi)</i>

Table 2.d

## C. Accomplishment

Verb Class	Logical Structure
i) <i>hari-le bhaat pakaayo</i> Hari-E rice cook-CAUS-P3nhSM 'Hari cooked rice.'	<i>paak- (hari, bhaat )</i>
ii) <i>raam-le sitaa-laai ghoDa dekhaa-e</i> Ram-E sita-D horse look-P3mhSM 'Ram showed horse to Sita.'	<i>paak (hari, bhaat) aau (bhaat)</i> i) <i>(paak-aau-[hari, bhaat])</i> ii) <i>ghoDaa [dekh-aau](raam, sita)</i>
iii) <i>raam Doktor ban-yo</i> Ram doctor become-P3nhSM 'Ram became a doctor.'	<i>bannu (raam, doktor)</i>
iv) <i>sitaa-le ghoDaa her-i</i> Sita-E horse look-P3nhSF 'Sita looked a horse.'	<i>(gar) her (sitaa, ghoDaa)</i>

Table 2.e

## D. Activity

Verb Class	Logical Structure
i) <i>keTa-keTi-haru ro-e</i> boy-girl-PI cry-P3PI 'The children cried'	<i>(gar) ru- (keTakeTi )</i>
ii) <i>bhakunDo guDguDi-yo</i> ball roll-P3nAgr 'The ball rolled.'	<i>guDguDi (bhakunDo)</i>
iii) <i>krishna-le suntalaa khaa-yo</i> Krishna-E orange eat-P3nhSM 'Krishna ate orange.'	<i>(gar) khaa (krishna,, suntalaa)</i>

Table 2.f

This types of logical structure seems to fall under Dowty's formula that: Activity [motion, creation, consumption] => Accomplishment. Given an activity LS:

[ $\phi$ ..... predicate..] and CAUSE [ $\phi$  BECOME predicate.....] to form a  $\phi$  CAUSE  $\phi$  accomplishment.

Van Valin has put 'BECOME a doctor' into the achievement group but is there any sudden change in two states of being a doctor and the previous state ?. Becoming a doctor is the total effect of years' progress; a very long run activity. Of course, to get something is achievement in straightforward sense. But this is not an instantaneous change in state. So, 'Became a doctor' should be an Accomplishment.

## 3. Conclusion

Verb classification has not got a consistent pattern yet. There are variations observed. The logical structure of a verb can not be generalized. It depends how the semanticity of the particular verb is perceived in a particular language structure though in a broad fame all the verbs can be categorized in to four classes: stative, achievement, accomplishment and activity. But, activity is the internal component of achievement and accomplishment (in underlined structure).



## Abbreviations

Adj. - Adjective	GEN. - Genitive
N. - Noun	EXIST. - Existential
S. -- Singular	PERF. - Perfective
M. - Masculine	nAGR. - Non Agreement
F. - Feminine	CAUS. - Causative
DAT - Dative	nh. - Non honorific
P. - Past	E. - Ergative
L. - Locative.	IND. - Indirect

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### 1. Introduction

Anaphor has no capacity for inherent reference, this is bound to an another NP which c-commands it, and the anaphor and the antecedent must be within the same minimal S., or in brief, anaphor is the locally bound NP, as it is introduced in the literature (see Yadava 1992:11-23).

This paper is an attempt to observe the anaphoric relations of pronominal anaphors in Nepali in terms of data.

Nepali has three types of anaphors - pronominal, non-pronominal and NP trace. In this paper I discuss on pronominal anaphors - these are of two types - Reflexives and reciprocals.

### 2. Reflexives

There are two reflexive anaphors in Nepali *aphu* and *swayam*. These give reflexive meaning and occur with nominative, accusative, ergative, locative, and genitive case markers (see ex (1)).

- (1) a. *hari aphai-le bhat pak-a-yo.*  
Hari self-ERG rice cook-CAUS-PT.  
'Hari Cooked rice himself.'
- b. *māi-le aphai/swayam-lai cin-i-ñ*  
I-Erg self-ACC know -PT-Neg  
'I did not know myself.'
- c. *u aphai/swayam-ma hāra-yo*  
he self-LOC lose-PT  
'He lost in himself.'
- d. *timro aph-no/swayam-ko kam gərə*  
You-GEN self-GEN work do-IMP  
'Do your own job.'

e. *u aphu tə ramrāi chə*  
She self: Nom PART beautiful is  
'she is beautiful.'

All the sentences in example (1) follow the definition presented in section

1. But there are some examples of reflexive anaphors in Nepali which don't have their antecedents within the same minimal S. See example (2).

2. a. *Ram-le; hari-lai aphu/swayam-lai; ciya lyauna bhānyo*  
Ram-ERG Hari-ACC self tea carry-INF tell-PT.  
'Ram told Hari to carry a cup of tea for him/ for himself.'

b. *ram-le; hari-lai; aphu/swayam-ma; biswas gər-nə bhān-yo*  
Ram-ERG Hari-ACC self-LOC believe do-INF tell-PT.  
'Ram told hari to believe on him/himself.'

These sentences are ambiguous sentences because there are two reflexives *aphu* and *swayam* which can be co-referential with either of the two preceding NPs in the sentences.

### 3. Reciprocals

There are two types of reciprocal anaphors in Nepali - free and bound.

#### 3.1 Free reciprocals

Free reciprocals are those which occur freely or as a word. These are *ek arka*, *pərəspər*, *aphu aphu*, *ek apəs*. These give reciprocal meaning and occur alternatively with nominative, accusative, ergative, locative and genitive case markers. But there are some restrictions in which some them can not occur with specific case markers and verbs. These restrictions are beyond this study. See example (3).

- (3) a. *ti pərəspər/\*ek arka/aphu aphu/\*ek apəs səllahə gər-chə-n*  
They each other consult do-PRES-P1  
'They consult each other.'

b. *Ram rə hari ek/arka/pərəspər/\*aphu aphu /ek apəs-lai maya*  
Ram and Hari Each other -ACC love  
*gər-chə-n*  
do-Press-P1  
'Ram and Hari love each other.'

c. *Krisnə rə deb ek ərka/pərəspər/aphu aphu/ek apəs-ma kura*  
 Krishna and Deva each other -LOC talk  
*gər-chə-n*  
 do- Press -PI  
 'Krishna and Deva talk to each other.'

d. *daju bhāi-le ek ərka/pərəspər/\*aphu aphu/ek apəs-ko jhola*  
 Brothers-ERG each other -GEN bag  
*khol-e*  
 open(vt.)-PT.PI  
 'Brothers opened each other's bag.'

### 3.2 Bound reciprocals

Bound reciprocals are those which occur as a bound morpheme. These are used as affixes in Nepali. These are *-a-* and *-a-i*. These morphemes give reciprocal meaning and occur within an NP derived from reduplicated verb and function as NP to make complex VP.

Anaphors in Nepali are described in most of the traditional grammars. But they have not accepted *-a-* and *-a-i* as reciprocal bound morphemes, instead, they have taken these as extra elements which are inserted during the morphophonemic process of reduplicating the verbs which show reciprocity. By thus, this bound reciprocal is included under reduplication. For example, Pandit (1969(2051BS:345)) and Adhikari (2055BS:336). Dahal (1974:407-8) has given the rule  $B+Sfx_1+B+Sfx_2$  for reciprocal state of affairs, where B is verb root and  $Sfx_1$  is *-a-* and  $Sfx_2$  is *-i*. Yadava (1992) has not mentioned these bound morphemes. Lohani (1999:128) has taken *-a-* as reciprocal morpheme. It is the first work for this. These bound anaphors are presented in example (4).

- (4) a. *ram rə həri kuT-a-kuT gər-e*  
 Ram and Hari beat-RECIP-beat do-PT.PI  
 'Ram and Hari beaten each other.'
- b. *ram rə həri-ko kuT-a-kuT pər-yo*  
 Ram and Hari-GEN beat-RECIP-beat befall-PT.PI  
 'Ram and Hari beaten each other.'
- c. *ram rə həri pərəspər ləur-a ləur-i gər-e*  
 Ram and Hari each other stick-RECIP-stick-RECIP do- PT.PI.  
 'Ram and Hari hit (with stick) each other.'

d. *tinihəru-ko pərəspər-ma mar-a-mar pər-yo*  
 they-GEN each other-LOC hit-RECIP-hit befall-PT  
 'They hit each other.'

These *-a-* and *-a-i* are morphophonemic variations. First one occurs with monosyllabic roots or light syllabic roots and second occurs with heavy syllabic roots which contain either a consonant cluster or a diphthong (see example (5)).

- (5) a. *mar-a-mar* 'hit each other;  
*pit-a-pit* 'beat each other'  
*her-a-her* 'look each other'

- b. *ləur-a-ləur-i* 'hit (with stick) each other'  
*mukk-a- mukk-i* 'hit (with fist) each other'  
*latt-a- latt-i* 'kick each other'

### 4. Conclusion

Nepali has two types of pronominal anaphors - reflexives and reciprocals. *aphu* and *swayam* are reflexives. Reciprocal anaphors are of two types - free and bound. Free reciprocals are *aphu aphu*, *ek ərka*, *ek apəs* and *pərəspər* and bound reciprocals are *-a-* and *-a-i*. It is not necessary to Nepali reflexive anaphor to have its antecedent within the same minimal S.

### Abbreviations

ACC-Accusative	NOM-Nominative
ERG-Ergative	PI-Plural
GEN-Genitive	PRES-Present
IMP-Imperative	PT-Past
INF-Infinitive	RECIP-Reciprocal
INF-Infinitive	Sg-Singular
LOC-Locative	Vt-Transitive
NEG-Negative	

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**THE BHOJPURI LANGUAGE**

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**INTRODUCTION**

Bhojpuri is a major living language spoken mainly in India and Nepāl, the two adjacent South Asian countries with a long tradition of geographical and cultural proximity. As evident from its nomenclature, Bhojpuri language derives its name from Bhojpur, which was earlier a famous town but is now a small village near the city of Baksar in Bihār state, India. This language has also been sometimes referred to as *Bajpuri*. Another local and lesser used name is *Purbi Boli* 'eastern speech' ( or just *purbi* 'eastern' ). It is also called *Banarsi* after the city of Banaras or *Bangarboli*, i.e. 'the speech of Bangar'.

**Geographical distribution**

Apparently, modern Bhojpuri-speaking community can be visualized as politically split into the adjacent parts of the two different nations- Nepāl and India. It, however, exists as an integrated cultural entity mainly due to the frequency of regular interaction and cultural affinity among Bhojpuri speakers of the two nations. It is spoken over an area exceeding 43,000 square miles ( Shukla 1981:3 ). As mentioned above, this speech community is not confined to any political boundary. To the east of the community lies the area where Maithili and Magahi languages are spoken. To the west lies the Son river. The north boundary line of the Bhojpuri-speaking area touches Nepali-speaking area with Awadhi area on the left and Maithili area on the right. In India, the Bhojpuri language is mainly spoken in the eastern Uttar Pradesh and the western districts of Bihār, viz. Shāhābād, Sāran and part of Champāran districts. Bhojpuri is also used marginally in adjoining areas like Purnea district of Bihār, Āssām, Madhya Pradesh and western Uttar Pradesh.

According to an earlier estimate ( Hayes *et al*, 1977 ), the Bhojpuri language is spoken by about 41 million people. The 1951 and 1971 census reports of India give the two different figures: 23,500,000 and 14,340,564, respectively. It has, however, been argued that Bhojpuri speakers have probably

been underrepresented in these census reports with many speakers returning their mothertongue as Hindi.

In Nepāl, it is the language of approximately 8 per cent (1,379,717) of the total population and figures third in terms of the number of speakers- next only to the two languages, viz. Nepāli, the language of the nation, spoken by a little over 50 per cent and Maithili, spoken by about 12 per cent of the total population (CBS 1991).

Bhojpuri is also used marginally in adjoining areas like Purnea district of Bihar, Assam, Madhya Pradesh and western Uttar Pradesh. It has also been carried by emigrants to Calcutta and some other countries like Surinam, Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius and Africa.

### Regional dialects

This language is divided into four regional dialects.<sup>1</sup> These dialects are Northern Bhojpuri, Southern Bhojpuri, Western Bhojpuri and Nagpuria Bhojpuri.

Northern Bhojpuri<sup>ii</sup> is found in use in the districts of Sāran, eastern Gorakhpur, western Deoriā, and in the vicinity of the river Sarju.

Southern Bhojpuri is mainly spoken in and around Bhojpur. It is also spoken in the districts of Palāmu and part of Ghāzipur.

The area where Western Bhojpuri is spoken comprises the districts of western Ghāzipur, Southeast of Mirzāpur, Banāras, eastern Jaunpur Ājamgarh and eastern Faizābad. This dialect is called *Jaunpuri*, *Banarsi* or *Sonapari*.

Nagpuria Bhojpuri is spoken in the area south of the river Son comprising parts of Palāmu and some parts of Rānchi. This dialect is very much influenced by the other languages in contact, viz. Magahi, Bengāli, Mundāri, etc.

The dialect of Bhojpuri spoken in Nepāl is the Northern Bhojpuri. According to the Census Report ( 1991 ), it is mainly spoken in the Terai districts of Rauthat, Bārā, Parsā and Chitwan.

The division of the Bhojpuri language into four regional dialects is mainly based on U. N. Tiwari's important work, entitled *Origin and Development of Bhojpuri* (1960). This division has been made on the criteria traditionally employed in dialectology to draw imaginary boundaries which separate the geographical areas or regions using different linguistic items. In this connection, Tiwari (1960) has shown how the four regional dialects of Bhojpuri differ at phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels of language. Here, it would be in order to discuss some of these linguistic features distinguishing the Bhojpuri dialects:

(i) All the Bhojpuri dialects except Southern Bhojpuri are characterized by nasalization in some lexical items. Thus, the lexical items [ bhāt ] 'rice' and [ pēr ] 'tree' are spoken with nasalized vowels in all the dialects except in Southern Bhojpuri, where their non-nasalized alternants ( viz. [ bhāt ] 'rice' and [ pēr ] are used.

(ii) Certain lexical items end in the vowel [ i ] in Northern and Southern Bhojpuri dialects. Thus, we have [ ā:k<sup>h</sup>i ] 'eye', [ pāk<sup>h</sup>i ] 'wing', [ dhuri ] 'dust' and the like. In Western and Nagpuria Bhojpuri dialects, however, there is loss of the final vowel, e.g. [ ā:k<sup>h</sup> ] 'eye', [ pāk<sup>h</sup> ] 'wing' and [ dhur ] 'dust'.

(iii) In Southern Bhojpuri the medial retroflex [ R ] alters into a nonretroflex apical [ r ]. Thus, [ g<sup>h</sup>o:Ra: ] 'horse' changes to [ g<sup>h</sup>o:ra: ]. In all the Bhojpuri dialects, however, the medial retroflex ( as in [ g<sup>h</sup>o:Ra: ] ) is retained.

(iv) The consonant-final or o-final lexical items in Southern and Nagpuria Bhojpuri dialects tend to end with the vowel [ a: ] in Western and Northern Bhojpuri dialects. Thus, words like [ k<sup>h</sup>ā:c ] 'a big basket' and [ lakT<sup>h</sup>o ] 'a kind of candy' in Southern and Nagpuria Bhojpuri are replaced by [ k<sup>h</sup>ā:c ] and [ lakT<sup>h</sup>o ], respectively, in Western and Northern Bhojpuri.

(v) The Nagpuria Bhojpuri generally raises the low vowel [ a ] to the mid vowel [ o ], e.g. [ sab ] ~ [ sob ] 'all'.

The linguistic features listed above are only a few parameters to distinguish the regional dialects of Bhojpuri. They are, however, not adequate enough to arrive at a satisfactory account of the phenomenon in question. In addition, no attempts have so far been made to study the social dialects of the language. It is time to undertake a comprehensive study to determine the extent of dialect variation of the Bhojpuri language in India and Nepal.

### Genetic affiliation

By 'genetic affiliation', we mean a systematic divergent development of a particular language from a common ancestor. This development can be visually presented by *Strammbaum*, i.e. a branching tree-diagram. There have been proposed several tree diagrams showing the genetic classification of Indo-Aryan languages. The major classifications are stipulated by Hoernle (1880), Grierson (1903,1931), Chatterji (1926), Turner ( 191966), Katre (1968), Cardona (1974) and Nigam (1974). Of them we consider the classification by Nigam (1974) a more reasonable approach to the discussion of Bhojpuri. This classification is as follows:

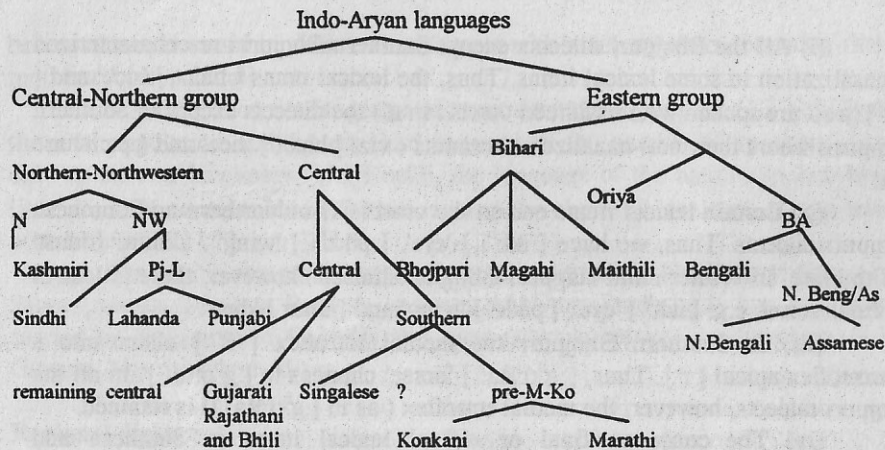


Figure 1: The classification of New Indo Aryan languages ( Nigam 1974)

As shown in Figure 1, Nigam (1974) considers Bhojpuri a distinct Indo-Aryan language on its own. It is unlike Hindi, as the latter belongs to the central group of Indo-Aryan languages, while the former is affiliated to its eastern group (Masica 1991:436-7). It constitutes a subgroup with Maithili and Magahi and is linguistically nearer to Assamese, Bengali, and Oriya than to its more contiguous languages, namely, Hindi and Nepali. It is, therefore, a misconception held by foreign linguists like Hoernle (1880) and recently propagated also by some Hindi-speaking zealots to treat it as a Bihari or eastern dialect of Hindi.

#### Writing system and literature

Earlier records indicate that Bhojpuri sometimes employed its own script, called *Kaithi* script, which was also used by Kāyasthas (belonging to a caste of writers and clerks), especially in keeping written records at government and private levels and is now almost extinct. It has now been replaced by Devanāgarī script. This script originated from *Brahmi* of North Semitic origin, the earliest evidence of which is found in the third century BC Asokan inscriptions. The writing systems of most of the New Indo-Aryan languages, including Devanāgarī, have evolved from the ancient Brahmi script. Besides Bhojpuri, several New Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Nepali, Maithili, Awadhi as well as some Tibeto-Burman languages like Newār have adopted

Devanāgarī as a writing system. Such uniformity in script has an advantage for learning languages in this region. In addition, it also lends expediency in printing and typing.

The Devanāgarī script used in Bhojpuri mostly facilitates the writing of spoken forms. It is obviously because of the fact that there exists a close correspondence between the phonemes and their written symbols in the language unlike in modern English, where pronunciation and its related spelling are mostly arbitrary. As pointed out by Shukla (1981: 62), all the alphabets in this script are not, however, distinctive and phonemic. In other words, the phonemes and alphabets are not always in one-to-one relation. For example, the three Devanāgarī symbols ;, if, and z represent a single phoneme /s/. Additional instances may further be explored, but it is sufficient to cite just one example for the present purpose<sup>iii</sup>.

Bhojpuri, unlike Hindi, Maithili and Nepali, does not exhibit a long and rich tradition of written literature. Despite such a dearth, it has an enormous stock of oral literature in the forms of folk tales in both prose and verse, ballads, songs, etc.

#### Multilingualism

Bhojpuri speakers, no doubt, cherish strong loyalty to their mother tongue. They hold positive attitude to promote their native language and start initiatives to introduce it as a medium of education at primary and other levels. They are, however, not indifferent to other languages in use. It has been observed that in addition to Bhojpuri, they are also found proficient in Hindi and Nepali as second languages, which are used in wider communication. Bhojpuri speakers have developed their knowledge of these second languages through schooling, pragmatic motivation, or/and frequent exposure. Most of the schooled Bhojpuri speakers are also more or less proficient in English as a foreign language. Note that English is a compulsory subject right from class 4 to the undergraduate level of education in Nepal. This language situation suggests that Bhojpuri speakers are generally multilingual or at least bilingual. It is certainly a great advantage for Bhojpuri speakers, in the sense that it will not only facilitate them to communicate effectively with the speakers of other languages but also benefit them conceptually and intellectually as different language reflect varying world views and ways of thinking.

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<sup>i</sup> For details, see Tiwari (1960:xxxiv), Shukla (1981: 4) and Masica (1991: 424).

<sup>ii</sup> According to Masica (1991), Northern Bhojpuri also comprises three western subdialects: *Sarwaria* in Basti district, *Gorakhpuri* in Gorakhpur, and *Madhesi* in Camparan.

<sup>iii</sup> See Shukla (1981) for further details.

## Valency Increase in Nepali Predicates: Processes of Transitivity and Causativization

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### 1. Introduction

The notion of transitivity is purely syntactic and the notion of causativization is semantic. Perhaps being semantic notion, causativization has been considered universal. Moreover, it has been assumed that it gets reflected in the structure of all languages by any means. The process of causativization adds the causer argument in the a-structure of base predicate and it is ipso facto transitivity. But it is not necessary that all transitivity are causativizations.<sup>1</sup>

According to Shibatani (1976), causative situation consists of two events, and the latter event is due only to the first event. The first event may be coercive or persuasive to make the second event effective. It still remains to clarify where the burden of the situation lies. It becomes transparent from the following examples from Nepali.

- [1] a. *choro hiD-yo*  
son-N walk-P3nhSM  
'The son walked'
- b. *aamaa-le chora-laai hiD-aau-nu-bha-yo*  
mother-E son.OBL-DAT walk-CAUS-GER-be-P.nAgr  
'The mother made the son walk.'
- [2] a. *raam-le srimati-laai piT-yo*  
Ram-E wife-DAT beat-P3nhSM  
'Ram beat the wife.'
- b. *hari-le raam-dwaaraa srimati-laai piT-aau-yo (piTaayo)*<sup>2</sup>  
Hari-E Ram-OBLQ wife-DAT beat-CAUS-P3nhSM  
'Hari caused the wife be beaten by Ram.'
- [3] a. *ma laD-ē*  
1S-N fall-P1S  
'I fell down.'
- b. *hari-le ma-laai laD-aa-yo*  
Hari-E 1s-DAT fall-?-P3nhSM  
'Hari caused me fell down.'

- [4] a. *bernaa umri-yo*  
seedling-N produce-P3SN  
'The seedling produced (itself).'  
b. *mai-le berna umaarē<sup>3</sup>*  
1S.OBL-E seedling-N produce-?-P1S  
'I produced seedling.'
- [5] a. *din bit-yo*  
day-N pass-P3SN  
'The day passed.'  
b. *us-le din biT-aa-i*  
3SF.OBL-E day-N pass-?-P3nhSF  
'She passed the day.'
- [6] a. *cangaa uD-yo*  
kite-N fly-P3SN  
'The kite flew.'  
b. *choraa-le cangaa uD-aa-yo*  
son.OBL-E kite-N fly-?-P3SM  
'The son flew the kite.'
- [7] a. *mai-le pachyauraa oDh-ē*  
1S.OBL-E shawl-N cover-P1S  
'I covered myself with a shawl.'  
b. *aamaa-le ma-laai pachyauraa oDh-aau-nu-bha-yo*  
mother-E 1S-DAT shawl-N cover-?-GER-be-P.nAgr  
'The mother covered me with a shawl.'

In the examples above the question mark in the gloss represents a morpheme in the predicate due to which the role of the subject of the base predicate has been changed. But none of these constructions can be split up into two situations in pragmatic sense so that the first event does something on the subject of base predicate due to which the second event occurs.<sup>4</sup> The predicates of all the construction, except of [7a], are unaccusative (or ergative);<sup>5</sup> and that the subject of [7a] is the thing the action is acted upon besides it being agent.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, for the time being, I avoid this problem by assuming those morphemes as transitivity carrier since the subject of the base predicate is patient of the situation. Hence, the proposal is that if the base verb is unaccusative and if the subject of the dyadic verb is also patient or theme, the derivations are only

transitivization, not causativization. And if the base verb is unergative and if the subject of dyadic verb is agent, the derivations are causativization.

But, there still remains fuzziness at the borderline of transitivized and causativized predicate due to following reasons:

1. For both types of derivation the same morphemes are found to be attached to the base predicate.

- [8] a. *murali baj-yo*  
flute-N blow-P3SN  
'The flute blew.'  
b. *krisna-le murali baj-aa-ye*  
Krishna-E flute-N blow-TRANS-P3mhSM  
'(The Lord) Krishna blew the flute.'
- [9] a. *gaaiharu car-cha-n*  
cow-PI-N graze-be-nP3PIN  
'Cows graze.'  
b. *goThaalo gaai-haru car-aaū-cha*  
herd-N cow-PI-N graze-TRANS-be.nP3nhSM  
'The herd grazes the cows.'
- [10] a. *keTo dauD-yo*  
boy-N run-P3nhSM  
'The boy ran.'  
b. *guru-le keTaa-laai dauD-aa-e*  
teacher-E boy.OBL-DAT run- CAUS-P3mhSM  
'The teacher caused the boy run.'
- [11] a. *celo paaTh paDh-cha*  
disciple-N text-N read-be.nP3nhSM  
'The disciple reads the text.'  
b. *guru celaa-laai paTh paDh-aau-cha-n*  
teacher-N disciple.OBL-DAT text-N read- CASU-be-nP3mhPI  
'The teacher teaches disciple the text.'

The main difference found between these two types is that the causative construction due here to the morpheme can also be causativized periphrastically by causative predicate *lagaau*. Hence the ungrammaticality of [12(a) and (b)]:

- [12] a. \**krisnle murali bajna lagaae*  
b. \**goThaalo gaaiharulaai carna lagaaucha*  
c. *gurule keTaalaai dauDina lagaae*  
d. *guru celaa-laai paaTh paDhna lagaauchan*

2. Predicates with *-aau/aa* suffix are found basic in some cases, and no further suffixation can be possible.



- [13] a. *bacca karaa-yo*  
child-N cry-P3nhSM  
'The child cried.'
- b. *tyes-le ma-laai ThaTaa-yo*  
3S.OBL-E 1S-DAT beat-P3nhSM  
'He beat me.'
- [14] a. \**paisaa luk-yo*  
money-N hide-P3SN  
'Money hid (itself).'
- b. *netaa luk-yo*  
leader.OBL-N hide-P3nhSM  
'The leader hid (himself).'
- c. *janataa-le paisaa lukaa-e*  
people-E money-N hide-P3PI  
'People hid money.'
- d. *janataa-le netaa-laai luk-aa-e*  
people-E leader.OBL-DAT hide-CAUS-P3PI  
'People hid the leader.'
3. With *-aau* suffix, predicates are found ergative (in Lyons (1968)'s sense);
- [15] a. *paani selaa-yo*  
water-N cool-3PSN  
'Water cooled down (itself).'
- b. *mai-le paani selaa-ē*  
1S.OBL-E water-N cool-TRANS-IPS  
'I cooled down water ( I let water to cool down).'
4. Predicates are derived with *-aau* suffix without changing the argument structure.  
But when argument increases, only the derived form is acceptable.
- [16] a. *mai-le bhut ghar-maa raat kaaT-ē*  
1S.OBL-E ghost house-L night-N pass-P1S  
'I passed night in the ghost-house.'
- b. *mai-le bhut ghar-maa raat kaaT-aau-ē (kaTaaē)*  
1S.OBL-E ghost house-L night-N pass-P1S  
'I passed night in the ghost-house.'
- [17] a. *ma thaak-ē*  
1S-N tire-P1S  
'I tired'

- b. *ma thaak-aau-ē (thakaaē)*  
1S-N tire-CAUS-P1S  
'I tired'
- c. *yo bhaari-le ma-laai thaak-aau-yo (thakaayo) /\* thaakyo*  
3SN.Prox. luggage-E 1S-DAT tire-CAUS-P3SN  
'This luggage caused me tired.'
- [18] a. *jholaa-maa saamaan aT-yo*  
bag-L goods-N fill-P3SN  
'The goods made place into the bag ( itself).'
- b. *jholaa-maa saamaan aT-aa-yo*  
bag-L goods-N fill-CAUS-P3SN  
'The goods made place into the bag.'
- c. *raam-le jholaa-maa saamaan aT-aa-yol \* aTyo*  
Ram-E bag-L goods-N fill-CAUS-P3nhSM  
'Ram sucessfully filled the goods into the bag.'
5. The *-aau* suffix ditransitivizes the base.
- [19] a. *goli cal-yo*  
shot-N move-P3SN  
'It shot'
- b. *pulis-le janataa-laai goli cal-aa-e*  
police-E people-DAT shot-N move-CAUS-P3PI  
'Police fired on people.'

## 2. Problems in Verb Root Identification

In the Nepali verb morphology root finding of the some verb is still problematic.

### 2.1. C aC ↔ CaaC Alternation

- [20] *mar* 'die' — *maar* 'kill'  
*Dhal* 'fall' — *Dhaal* 'fell'  
*jhar* 'fall(ripen grain or fruits)' — *jhaar* 'thresh/cause to fall'  
*tar* 'cross (river)' — *taar* 'cross ( something)'  
*bal* 'ignite (itself)' *baal* 'ignite ( something)'

The verbs of second column are transitive, and when they are causativized by suffixing *-aau*, the vowel *aa* changes to *a*.

- [21] *maar* — *maraaau*  
*Dhaal* — *Dhalaau*  
*jhaar* — *jharaau*  
*taar* — *taraau*

*baal — balaau*

In the previous works done so far, the intransitive forms have been considered basic and the other two sets as two series of causatives as in [22]

- [22] a. *keTo mar-yo*  
 boy-N die-P3nhSM  
 'The boy died.'
- b. *raam-le keTo-laai maar-yo*  
 Ram-E boy-DAT kill-P3nhSM  
 'Ram killed the boy.'
- c. *sitaa-le raam-dwaaraa keTo-laai maar-aau-i (maraai)*  
 Sita-E Ram-OBLQ boy-DAT kill-CAUS-P3nhSF  
 'Sita killed the boy by Ram.'

This explanation needs two rules in vowel alternation:

- i. *a* → *aa*, and then  
 ii. *aa* → *a*

But, as we scrutinize the Nepali morphology, we get conflicting facts. Diadic verbs of *CaaC* structure have no intransitive counterpart in [23] and some verbs [24] themselves are intransitive.

- [23] \**caT* — *caaT* 'lick' — *caTaaU* 'cause to lick'  
 \**bajh* — *baajh* 'to feud verbally' — *bajhaau* 'to cause to feud verbally'  
 \**majh* — *maajh* 'to clean (utensil)' — *majhaau* 'to cause to clean (utensil)'  
 \**DhāT* — *DhāāT* 'to tell untrue' — *DhāTaaU* 'to cause to tell untrue.'  
 \**bāD* — *bāāD* 'to distribute' — *baDaau* 'to cause to distribute.'  
 \**Tās* — *Tāās* 'to attach on' — *Tāsaau* 'to cause to attach on'  
 \**kaT* — *kaaT* 'to cut' — *kaTaaU* 'to cause to cut'
- [24] \**hās* — *hāās* 'to laugh' — *hāsaau* 'to cause to laugh'  
 \**phaT* — *phaaT* 'to wear out' — *phaTaaU* 'to cause to be worn out'  
 \**Than* — *Thaan* 'to consider' — *Thanaau* 'to cause to consider'  
 \**pak* — *paak* 'to ripe' — *pakaau* 'to cook'

Still there are verbs which do not have *CaaC* counterpart but forms with suffix -*aau*, [25].

- [25] *phal* 'to yield itself (in cultivation)' — *phalaau* 'to yield'  
*jal* 'to ignite (itself)' — *jalaau* 'to ignite'  
*ban* 'to make (itself)' — *banaau* 'to make'  
*baDh* 'to increase (itself)' — *baDhaau* 'to increase'  
*caDh* 'to climb (itself)' — *caDhaau* 'to cause to climb'  
*gan* 'to count' — *ganaau* 'to cause someone to count'

*bhan* 'to tell' — *bhanaau* 'to cause to tell'

The findings can be summarized as follows:

Type	<i>CaC</i>	<i>CaaC</i>	<i>CaCaau</i>
1	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	No	Yes	Yes
3	Yes	No	Yes

From this table, we get the problem mainly in type 1. Meanings of these verbs in a construction justifies the fact that it favors the derivation that includes only *CaaC* → *CaCaau*, not those both rules. Similarly type 2 provides the clue only for *aa* → *a* alternation. Further that some other derivations also provide *aa* → *a* alternation when suffixing some morpheme at the stem, [26].

- [26] *kaam* 'work' — *kamaai* 'earning'  
*DhāāT* 'to tell untrue' — *DhāTuwaa* 'one who tells untrue'  
*ghaam* 'sun rays' — *ghamaailo* 'full of sun rays'  
*laaj* 'shame' — *lajaalu* 'shameable'  
 — *lajaau* 'to feel shame'  
*jaade* 'a male from Jaad' — *jaDini* 'female from Jaad'  
*kaami* 'male blacksmith' — *kamini* 'female blacksmith'  
*jhāākri* 'male witch-doctor' — *jhākrini* 'female witch-doctor'  
*raat* 'night' — *ratyauli* 'musical program played by female in groom's house at night'

From these we can conclude that in Nepali morphology, *aa* → *a* alternation is a trend.<sup>7</sup>

Another types of vowel alternation is also found in Nepali morphology, i.e. *o* ↔ *u* and *e* ↔ *i*, [27].

- [27] *khul* 'open (itself)' — *khol* 'open' — *khulaau* / *kholaau* 'cause to open'  
*ghul* 'solve (itself)' — *ghol* 'solve' — *ghulaau* / *gholaau* 'cause to solve'  
*bik* 'be sold itself' — *bec* 'sell' — *becaau* 'cause to sell'

Though there are other pairs like this alternation, e.g., *bol* 'speak' > *bolaau* / *bulaau* 'to cause to speak', *ru* (*ro*) 'weep' > *ruwaaau*, *dhu* (*dho*) > *dhuwaaau*, *boT* 'tree' > *buTaa* 'small tree', there is no sufficient evidence to take for granted this alternation. But instead, there is a difference in meaning between the causatives derived from the words of first column from that of second column in that the causee of the former is unspecified [28]. And as we have considered in *aa* ↔ *a* alternation that the lower vowel is basic, so we can extend our argument for *o* → *u* and *e* → *i*.<sup>8</sup> It may arise the question that whether the vowel lowering or vowel

heightening is the universal trend in phonology. And so this proposal needs more criticism and further investigation.

- [28] (a). *sarkaar-le gaau gaau-maa iskul khul-aa-yo*  
government-E village-REDP-L school-N open-CAUS-P3SN  
'Government caused the school be opened itself in the village.'  
[Government created such environment that....]
- (b). *sarkaar-le gaau gaau-maa iskul khol-aa-yo*  
government-E village-REDP-L school open-CAUS-P3SN  
'Government caused (villagers or somebody else) the school be opened in the villages (Government directed or persuaded or forced to open the school)'

## 2.2 Verbs with -i Ending

Most of the verbs with -i ending are unaccusative, but there are some examples like *ubhi* 'stand' *di* 'give', *li* 'take' which are not. Multi-syllabic verbs *CaLki* and *(C)VCCi* mean that 'the action referred to by the verb takes place itself' (similar to *phuT* 'break' in *phuldaani phuTyo* 'the vase broke itself'). It may be deemed some unspecified reason worked in these processes.

- [29] a. *keTo phark(i)yo* 'the boy returned'  
b. *ghar thark(i)yo* 'the house shivered ( maybe due to earthquake)'  
c. *chaanaa Talk(i)yo* 'the roof shined ( may be due to sun rays )'  
d. *pillar ThaD(i)yo* ' the pillar erected ( by the result of labour )'  
e. *Topi Dhalk(i)yo* 'the cap slanted' ( because of style )  
f. *bas palT(i)yo* 'the bus prostrated' (because of accident )  
g. *cor umk(i)yo* ' the thief evaded' ( due to recklessness of others )  
h. *bhiDle malaai kulc(i)yo* 'the crowd stood over me.'

All these verbs can be transitivized by suffixing -*aa* ((a) and (h) are causativized indeed). There are some verbs without such basic forms, [30].

- [30] a. *bhāisi kamlaaūcha* 'the buffalo gets conceived'  
b. *kasaahile baakhraa chapkaayo* 'the butcher cut the goat with a heavy stroke'

The main problem appears in the following set.

- [31] *phakri* 'blossom' — \*  
*cighra/i* 'scream' — \*  
\* — *tikhaar* 'hone'  
\* — *khakaar* 'to phlegm' (Intr.)  
\* — *pachaar* 'to throw (from above on the floor)'

- \* — *baDhaar* 'sweep'  
\* — *siṛaar* 'make up'  
*ghisri* — *ghisaar* 'to move something against friction.'  
*umri* — *umaar* 'to grow plant ( out of seed providing necessary caretaking )'  
*nikhri* — *nikhaar* 'to finish something completely'  
*ughri* — *ughaar* 'to open ( door, etc.)'  
*uksi* — *ukaas* 'to raise (wick, etc.)'  
\* — *pakhaal* ' to wash ( utensils, etc.)'  
\* — *baraal* 'to cause to wander ( someone)'  
\* — *saraap* 'to curse'  
*orli* — *oraal* 'to bring someone down ( through ladder, etc.)'  
*phukli* — *phukaal* 'to disassemble'  
*umli* — *umaal* 'boil'  
*pagli* — *pagaal* 'melt'  
*latri* — *lataar* 'to let the lower end of the cloth to rub with the floor'  
*parsi* 'to quiver — \*  
( itself) goat, etc.,  
before being sacrificed'  
*bigri* — *bigaar* 'spoil'  
*birsi* 'forget' — \*  
[32] *phakri* — *phakraau* 'to cause to blossom'  
*umri* — *umraau* 'to cause to grow plant'  
*uksi* — *uksaau* 'to cause to rise'  
*birsi* — *birsaau* 'to cause to forget'  
*phukli* — *phuklaau* 'to cause to disassemble.'  
*umli* — *umlaau* 'to cause to boil'  
*latri* — *latryaau* 'to cause to the lower end of cloth to rub with floor.'  
*nikhri* — *nikhraau* 'to cause to finish something completely.'  
*parsi* — *parsaau* 'to make the goat quiver for sacrifice.'

Pokharel (2054 BS:11-12) treats the verbs that are without first column correspondences in [31] as basic in themselves and those with first column correspondences he treats the second column comes as derived. No mention is found for set like [32]. The first column of [31] consists of intransitive verb. We would like to propose, in this connection, that the derivation is from right to left in

[31] and left to right for [32].<sup>9</sup> The main support for this argument is our earlier proposal that the vowel *aa* changes into *a* while intransitivizing is a general rule of Nepali (schwa gets deleted because of following liquid sound). The existence of alternative way of intransitivization by gemination (fn.9) corroborates this thesis.

Hence two - basic and derived - types of verbs with final *-i* are proposed here, but it needs further research.<sup>10</sup> The derived verbs from nouns, adjectives and others are considered basic if the derived is due to *-i* (e.g., *bhitra* 'inside' > *bhitrinu*, *laamo* 'long' > *laminu*, *Doro* 'thread' > *Dorinu*, etc.).

### 3. Conclusion

From the discussion above our conception appears in consonance with Alsina (1997:204)

"Morphological concatenation of a causative morpheme and a verb stem and that the causative morpheme is a predicate that involves not only a relation between a causer and a caused event but also a relation in which the causer affects or acts upon a participant of the caused event: this participant, by virtue of being acted upon by the causer, is said to be the **patient of the causative predicate**; because it is also an argument of the caused event it bears **another thematic role to the predicate of the event.**" (Bold is not original.)

The highlighted portion explains that the role of the causee in a-structure of the derived predicate is ambiguous with respect to causer and the caused event. Hence there can be drawn a demarcation line between this and the construction in which the shared argument in the derived structure bears the same role with respect to 'both events'; the latter derivation is transitivization.<sup>11</sup>

#### Abbreviations

N-Nominative at Nominal	CAUS-Causative
-Neutral Gender at Verbal	GER-Gerundive
P-Past	nP-Non-Past
nh-Non-honorific	nAgr-Non-Agreement
S-Singular	F-Feminine
M-Masculine	TRANS-Transitive
E-Ergative	Pl-Plural
OBL-Oblique	mh-mid-honorific
DAT-Dative	L-Locative

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<sup>1</sup> It may be argued that every transitive predicate is causative, and hence transitivization, by definition, is causativization. If this is the case nothing remains to argue over. On the other hand, in the case of Nepali, Adhikari (2055:174) says that sentence with the derived transitive can be considered consisting of two sentences, but is not like causer-causee relations (though the example given here can be understood as having causer-causee relation). His example to explain is also controversial whether the verb *jhaar* 'to fell' is derived, it is argued later in this section.

<sup>2</sup> When the morpheme *-aa* is succeeded by high front vowels or palatal glide, *u* gets deleted by morphophonemics. And in other appearances it may become *-aa*.

<sup>3</sup> For the moment, I have followed this type of derivation only in this example. But, I have argued it otherwise below.

<sup>4</sup> [3(b)] can be interpreted in this fashion since the subject is also experiencer of the event.

<sup>5</sup> Lyons (1968: 352,359) uses the term 'ergative verb' to the verbs which occur in both intransitive and transitive sentences. The term 'unaccusative' has its credit in the literature of Relational grammar. I have slightly departed from this in this work using the terms. The intransitive predicate of which the role of its only argument is patientive (non-agentive), has been considered unaccusative. But Lyons (ibid, 365) uses the term 'ergative verb' also for agentive intransitive predicate like 'walk', for which term 'unergative' is preserved for the purpose of this work. For verbs like *aa* 'come', *jaa* 'go', *pug* 'reach', since *aa* and *pug* each take an argument and because the constructions focus on resultative (less agentive) situations these are considered unaccusative. Since the latter refers to more agentive, it is considered unergative.

<sup>6</sup> Since traditionally transitivity means that the effects of the action expressed by the verb 'pass over' from the agent (or actor) to the patient (or goal) (Lyons;1968:350), in this example the action of the verb *oDh* is expressed upon the actor whereas the role of the object *pachyauraa* 'shawl' is theme, not patient, or we may say both of these are themes (?).

<sup>7</sup> There are some pairs not related in meaning, i.e. underived from each other, but with same form of causative predicate.

*har* 'abduct' — *haar* 'lose' — *haraau*  
*khap* 'bear' — *khaap* 'to put over' — *khapaau*  
*thap* 'add' — *thaap* 'to place something so that someone put something in it' — *thapaau*

<sup>8</sup> Adhikari (2055 BS:106) has proposed this derivation as back formation. In the same work (2055 BS:107) he uses *a* → *aa* alternation for transitivization. The same examples used for *a* → *aa* (2055 BS:107) are given for *aa* → *a* (2055 BS:171). The latter derivation is also followed (2055 BS:175) for two way derivation of same transitive verb: intransitivization and causativization.

<sup>9</sup> These verbs can also be intransitivized by gemination: *tikhaar* > *tikhaarri*, *pachaar* > *pachaarri*, *thachaar* > *thacaarri*, *ghisaar* > *ghisaarri*, *pakhaal* > *pakhaalli*, *phukaal* > *phukaalli* meaning 'it happened itself'. These can be examples for derived middle voice or simple intransitive (perhaps, so called anti-causativization!).

<sup>10</sup> There is a good list of *i*-final verbs, not like these, which are basic.

<sup>11</sup> The different way of defining causative and transitive in contrast with permissive is discussed in Lohani (1999: 99-100).

## Complex Predicates: Evidence from Kumal Causatives

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Kumal has two kinds of causative constructions, namely: morphological and syntactic. The former is formed from the combination of a non-causative verb stem and a causative morpheme <-ai>, whereas the latter is formed from the concatenation of an independent verb *laga-* 'adhere' and other verb. This is illustrated as in the examples [1] and [2] respectively.

- [1] a. *ram-le k<sup>h</sup>ola tar-al*  
 Ram-E river cross-P3s  
 'Ram crossed the river.'  
 b. *bhai-le ram-ke k<sup>h</sup>ola tar-ai-l*  
 brother Ram-D river cross-CAUS-P3s  
 'The brother caused Ram cross the river.'
- [2] a. *c<sup>h</sup>au<sup>n</sup>a ro-al*  
 child weep-P3s  
 'The child wept.'  
 c. *ama-le c<sup>h</sup>au<sup>n</sup>a-ke ro-ai laga-al*  
 mother-E child-D weep-INF cause-P3s  
 'The mother caused the child to weep.'

This paper is an attempt to examine the syntax of Kumal causative constructions. While forming the causative construction, one of the arguments of the matrix predicate information and one of embedded predicate information are semantically identified by sharing this argument the complexity takes place.

Although the argument structures of both types of causative in Kumal are the same, this argument structure in morphological causative corresponds to one single verb form whereas it corresponds to two verb forms in syntactic causative. This difference in the phrase structure can be explained by assuming that the complex argument structure of morphological causative is formed in the lexicon and that of syntactic causative in the syntax.

This paper is divided into two sections, the former deals with the morphological causative and latter deals with the syntactic causative. In this paper,

I have attempted to explain the complex predicate in the Lexical Function Grammar (LFC)-model proposed by Alsina (1997).

## 1. Morphological Causative

### 1.1 Causative Formation in Kumal

The causativization, in Kumal, is a morphological process like other South Asian languages. A causative morpheme <-ai> is suffixed to the non-causative verb root resulting into a causative verb stem. This formation of the causative verb brings various changes in argument structure (a-structure) and semantic structure (s-structure) with respect to its non-causative counterpart. Let us observe the causative examples as in [3b] and [4b] with their non-causative counterparts as in [3a] and [4a].

- [3] a. *c<sup>h</sup>əuna ro-əl*  
child cry-P3s  
'The child cried'
- b. *ram-le c<sup>h</sup>əuna-ke ro-ai-əl*  
Ram-E child-D cry-CAUS-P3s  
'Ram made the child cry'
- [4] a. *c<sup>h</sup>əuna-le b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-il*  
child-E rice eat-P3s  
'The child ate rice'
- b. *ama-le c<sup>h</sup>əuna-ke b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>-(w)ai-il*  
Mother-E child-D rice eat-CAUS-P3s  
'The mother fed rice to the child'

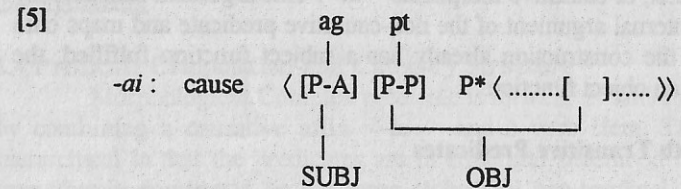
In [3a], the verb *ro-* 'cry' takes a nominative argument *c<sup>h</sup>əuna* 'child' whereas in [3b], causative verb *ro-(w)ai-* 'cry cause' takes an agentive argument in Ergative case, 'Ram' with a marking <-le> and earlier nominative argument *c<sup>h</sup>əuna* 'child' of [3a] has been demoted to object function in Dative case with a marking <-ke> i.e. the argument of subject function is lowered to transitive object function. In the same way, in [4a], the verb *k<sup>h</sup>a-* 'eat' takes two arguments i.e. an agentive argument 'Ram' in Ergative case (subject) and patientive argument *b<sup>h</sup>at* in accusative case (object), but in [4b] the causative verb *k<sup>h</sup>-(w)ai-* 'eat cause' takes another agentive argument (new subject) *ama* 'mother' and the subject of the base predicate has been demoted to indirect function. Thus, both verbs *ro-ai-* in [3b] and *k<sup>h</sup>-(w)ai-* in [4b] take the causers in subject function and subjects of [3a] and [4a] have been lowered to object function. Because of causative morpheme <-ai> here, an agent, i.e., causer has been assigned the agentive role and the subject of

base has been demoted to the causee and assigned the Experiencer role. Thus the causative verb lexically seems simple but, in fact, it is internally complex. The causative verb syntactically increases the valency, i.e., number of the arguments of the verb and semantically adds the another predicate, i.e., 'CAUSE'. So, the sum of predicates, one of base verb and another of causative morpheme, is not simplex but complex. Therefore, the causative verb in Kumal forms the complex predicate. The argument structure and syntactic functions in the morphological causatives in Kumal will be discussed below.

### 1.2 Argument Structure and Syntactic Function

For our purpose, the arguments in a construction are classified in terms of the Proto-Roles (Alsina, 1997). Depending on the semantic properties of the argument, it is classified as Proto-Agent [P-A], or Proto-Patient [P-P], or neutral.

The argument structure of the causative morpheme <-ai> (which is incomplete predicate) is underspecified and is represented by P\*, meaning the position can be filled by any predicate. On composition, a-structure of embedded predicate, which is fully specified, fills the vacant position. The a-structure of causative morpheme can be semantically represented as in [5].



This structure predicts the possible problem on argument calculus to identify the syntactic function of the CP. The external argument, that is the logical subject of the least embedded predicate, maps onto the subject function.

#### 1.3.1 Structures with Intransitive Predicates

- [6] *gagri p<sup>h</sup>uT-əl*  
water-vase-N break-P3s  
'The water-vase broke.'

The argument structure of [6] is as presented in [7].

- [7]  $p^h uT-$ : break  $\langle [P-P] \rangle$   
 pt  
 |  
 < [P-P] >

When this a-structure is embedded in [5] we obtain the structure [8], and the resultant construction formed from this phenomenon is in [9].

- [8]  $p^h uT-ai$ : cause  $\langle [P-A] [P-P] p^h uT \langle [P-P] \rangle \rangle$   
 ag pt pt  
 | | |  
 < [P-A] [P-P] > < [P-P] >  
 | |  
 SUBJ OBJ

- [9] *ram-le gagri p<sup>h</sup>uT-ai-il*  
 Ram-E water-vase-N break-CAUS-P3s  
 'Ram broke the water vase.'

On causativization, the argument of the base predicate, which is a logical subject, loses its status as an external argument when the predicate is embedded in another a-structure, i.e., of causative morpheme <-ai>. This argument semantically identifies with the internal argument of the non-causative predicate and maps onto direct function. As the construction already has a subject function fulfilled, the causee behaves like an object function.

1.3.2 Structures with Transitive Predicates

- [10] *ram-le b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>a-il*  
 Ram-E rice-N eat-P3s  
 'Ram ate rice.'

The argument structure of this construction is as in [11].

- [11]  $k^h a-$ : eat  $\langle [P-A] [P-P] \rangle$   
 ag th  
 | |  
 < [P-A] [P-P] >

When these a-structure is embedded in [5], we get [12] and the syntactic realization in surface structure of [12] is as [13].

- [12]  $k^h-(w)ai-$ : cause  $\langle [P-A] [P-P] k^h a \langle [P-A] [P-P] \rangle \rangle$   
 ag pt ag th  
 | | | |  
 SUBJ OBJ OBJ OBJ

- [13] *ram-le syama-ke b<sup>h</sup>at k<sup>h</sup>-(w)ai-il*  
 Ram-E Shyam-D rice-N eat-CAUS-P3s  
 'Ram caused Shyam eat rice.'

In this type of structure also, the external argument, the causer, maps onto a subject function. And the argument of an embedded predicate that identifies semantically with the internal argument of the causative predicate maps onto the object function. This argument is the external argument of the embedded predicate. The internal argument also maps onto object function. But the former marks with Dative case. If both objects are marked, the word order identifies the function of the arguments.

1.4 Predicate Composition and Category Structure

Morphological Complex predicate is formed, as said above, in the lexicon by combining a causative affix <-ai> and a verb stem. This composition is hierarchical in that the predicates are in structural sisterhood relations which are immediately dominated by the more embedded non-terminal node (of causative verb stem). That is to say, the morphemes in the verb are organized into a binary branching structure as shown in [14]. The dotted line refers to a-argument structure of the morpheme.

- [14]  $k^h-(w)ai-$  ..... cause  $\langle [P-A] [P-P] eat \langle [P-A] \rangle \rangle$   
 / \  
 $k^h a-$  -ai-  
 .....  
 cause  $\langle [P-A] [P-P] P^* \langle \dots [ ] \dots \rangle \rangle$   
 .....  
 eat  $\langle [P-A] [P-P] \rangle$

The PRED value of the entire verb stem, that of the highest node in the tree, is composed of the PRED values of its daughter nodes.

Category structure of such CPs can be explained with respect to coordination and separability. Causative morphemes cannot be conjoined. And the no particles can be inserted in between the verb root and the causative morpheme. These will be clear from the ungrammaticality of [15] and [16].

[15] \* *sita-ṛ bācca-ke [kʰa- rə ro-]-ai-il*  
Sita-E child-D [eat and weep]-CAUS-P3s  
'Sita caused the child to eat and weep.'

[16] \* *sita-ṛ māsi bācca-ke piT-pāni-ai-il*  
Sita-E I-ABL child-D beat-also-CAUS-P3s  
'Sita caused the child to be beaten by me.'

## 2 Syntactic Causative

In Kumal, besides morphological causatives, there is another type of causativization, i.e. syntactic (periphrastic) causative which is formed by the concatenation of infinitival form of the base verb (both non-causative and causative) and a verb *lāga-* 'adhere'. The verb *lāga-* is an independent verb, but in this process of causativization, it acts as the causative vector and is equivalent to the causative morpheme <-ai> in morphological causativization. In derivation, the argument of the base predicate maps onto the object function as discussed above in morphological causative.

The argument structure of incomplete predicate *lāga-*, like that of 'causative morpheme' <-ai>, is given in (17). Existence of P\* represents the underspecified a-structure.

[17]

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{ag} \quad \text{pt} \\
 | \quad | \\
 \text{lāga-} : \text{cause} \langle [P-A] [P-P] P^* \langle \dots [ ] \dots \rangle \rangle \\
 | \quad | \\
 \text{SUBJ} \quad \text{OBJ}
 \end{array}$$

## 2.1 Argument Structure and Syntactic Function

[18] *cʰəuna cicya-il*  
child-N cry-P3s  
'The child cried.'

The a-structure of this construction [17] is given as in [19].

[19]

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{ag} \\
 | \\
 \text{cicya-} : \text{cry} \langle [P-A] \rangle
 \end{array}$$

When this a-structure of [13] is embedded in [11], we get [20].

[20]

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{ag} \quad \text{pt} \quad \text{ag} \\
 | \quad | \quad | \\
 \text{cicya-i lāga-} : \text{cause} \langle [P-A] [P-P] \text{cicya} \langle [P-P] \rangle \rangle \\
 | \quad | \\
 \text{SUBJ} \quad \text{OBJ}
 \end{array}$$

The realization of this a-structure of [20] can be exemplified as in [21].

[21] *ram-le cʰəuna-ke cicyai lāga-il*  
Ram-E child-D cry-INF cause-P3s  
'Ram caused the boy to cry.'

The argument of the base construction [18] is mapped onto the object function in the derived construction [20] and the object is marked with a dative marker.

Hence the pattern of causativization is similar: new agent is added, agent of the base predicate is subject to become a causee marked by a dative.

## 2.2.3 Constituent Structure

Unlike morphological causative complex predicate, periphrastic causative complex predicate in Kumal, like in Nepali, is formed in syntax by putting together two phrase structure nodes. The fact supports this claim.



## 1. Conjoining

- [22] a. *sita-le ram-ke pani* [[<sub>v</sub> *jəma-i*] *rə* [<sub>v</sub> *pəgal-ai*]] *ləga-il*  
Sita-E Ram-D water-N freeze-INF and melt-INF cause-P3s  
'Sita caused Ram to freeze and melt water.'
- b. *sita-le ram-ke* [[*pani jəma-i*] *rə* [*dudh umal-ai*]] *ləga-il*  
Sita-E Ram-D water-N freeze-INF and milk boil-INF cause-P3s  
Sita caused Ram to freeze water and to boil milk.'
- c. *sita-le* [[*ram-ke ro-əl*] *rə* [*purnə-ke hās-əl*]] *ləga-il*  
Sita-E Ram-D weep-INF and Purna-D laugh-INF cause-P3s  
'Sita caused Ram weep and Purna laugh.'
- d. [[*sita-le ram-ke ro-əl*] *rə* [*gita-le purnə-ke hās-əl*]] *ləga-il*  
Sita-E Ram-D weep-INF and Gita-E Purna-D laugh-INF cause-P3s  
'Sita caused Ram weep and Gita caused Purna laugh.'

Thus, in the periphrastic causative construction, two embedded predicates [22a], embedded predicates with incorporated noun (non cause) (22b), embedded predicates with causer [22c] and embedded predicates with cause and causer [22d] can be conjoined. Thus, the incomplete predicate in causativization bears an independent phrase structure node. That is to say, complexity is formed in syntax rather than in the lexicon. Hence c-structure includes two sister nodes, one headed by causative predicate and another headed by the embedded predicate.

## 2. Separability

- [23] *sita-le ama-ke b<sup>h</sup>at pək-ai-i* *ləga-il*  
Sita-E mother-D rice cook-CAUS-INF cause-P3s  
'Sita caused mother to cook the rice.'
- [24] a. *bhat pəkəe sita-le ama-ke ləga-il*  
b. *sita-ī bhat pəkəe ama-ke ləga-il*  
c. *sita-ī ləga-il ama-ke bhat pəkaii*  
d. *sita-le ama-ke bhat pək-a-e pəkai pəni ləga-il*  
Sita-E mother-D rice cook-CAUS-INF surely also cause-P3s  
'Sita surely caused mother to cook the rice.'

The constituents of the construction are freely scrambled [24a-c] without meaning loss and, in [24d] an extra material is inserted without causing any ungrammaticality. Thus, CP and the host, both are phrasal categories.

## 6. Conclusion

The syntactic causative complex predicates claim the one-to-many correspondence between the different levels. The morphological and syntactic causatives can be accounted for in the similar way though the former is formed in the lexicon and the latter in the syntax. In Kumal causative, a single syntactic structure is jointly determined by two predicative information. Hence the causative construction in Kumal is a complex predicate.

## Abbreviations

ABS- Absolutive	N- Nominative
CL- Classifier	-Neutral (at verb inflection)
CAUS- Causative	OBJ- Object
DAT- Dative	OBL- Oblique
E- Ergative	P- Past
GEN- Genitive	PI- Plural
INF- Infinitival	Prox- Proximate
L- Locative	S- Singular
M- Masculine	SUBJ- Subject

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## An Experience of Experimental Translation

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This paper is an attempt to make an enquiry into a most interesting facet of translation – translating from a language one does not know. Although this sounds strange, many experiments of this nature have been recorded especially to get insight into the nature of translation process, and to infer how 'pragmatics' helps reshaping a text into its natural form out of some fragmented cribs. Ezra Pound (1885-1972) experimented this for the first time in his 'translation workshops' and later on he himself exercised this technique while translating the Chinese poems into English.

During the 1980s this technique was revived in America. We can record the best examples of this in Angela Elston's efforts in *Modern Poetry in Translation (MPT)*, which was founded by Ted Hughes and Daniel Weissbort in 1965. In its 39th Volume, that is Spring 1980 issue of *MPT*, Elston published 25 versions of a Tang Dynasty Poem edited by herself as *The Golden Crane Anthology of Translation*. Those who did not know the source text language carried out those translations from the Chinese into English. They translated by the help of what Elston (1980) calls 'crib' or 'pony' after they took training in Translation Workshop conducted by Daniel Weissbort. *The Golden Crane Anthology* is one of the best, appraised models of this technique.

Angela says, in the 'Editorial' of the *Anthology* that to translate from languages one does not know is becoming an increasingly common practice among translators and poets. Thus by the help of word-for-word renderings, notes, literal versions (cribs, pony, or trot) the translators turn it into a poem (or a full text). There are two ways as Elston (1980) suggests in which cribs are used: Sometimes the crib-maker and the poet who turns the trot into a poem work as a team and publish their work jointly; sometimes the poet does not know the crib-maker personally, nor does he let his readers know that he was *not* working from the original language.

Many critics question the legitimacy of such an endeavor and ask, "Can this be called translation?" Many critics and translators would say 'no'. But the answer is not so simple. Angela convinces the readers that knowing two languages

is not a guarantee of literary ability, many bad translations have been produced by bilingual translators, while Good poets like Robert Bly (1936 - ) and David Young (1938 - ) working with such cribs have produced fine versions that are more or less true to the original. Each version in the anthology reads differently yet shows the translators' ingenuity.

In fact to work out a text from the 'cribs' is like an activity of post-editing machine translated texts. One draws largely on pragmatics and his encyclopedic knowledge so as to establish coherence and meaning in fragmented "signs". I would like to relate here how, in course my study; I had also tried to replicate the technique of experimentation in translation. I did this according to the suggestion and guidance of my supervisor Prof. U N Singh of the University of Hyderabad during 1996-1997.

The data of the experimentation constituted 24 Master's Level learner-translators -LTs- (14 from English Literature and 10 from Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies) and an equal number of translations that were carried out from Nepali to English. The LTs belonged to nine different linguistic groups, namely Kannada, Telugu, Manipuri, Arabic, Urdu, Tamil, Bengali, Oriya, and Hindi. The LTs were doing the Translation Theory and Practice course prescribed for the semester. As a part of their assignment this experiment stretched over two semesters. The process followed then was like this:

First, I prepared different sets of crib texts (each source text, that is ST, under study having its three steps (i) Devanagari text juxtaposed by its Roman transliteration (ii) line-by line glossing of each text, and (iii) plain, literal (prose) translation. Then those cribs were deposited as assignments for the 'Translation Theory and Practice' with the course instructor. In course of teaching the teacher involved thirteen students during 1996 in recreating 'best texts' out of the cribs provided. The learners, who were quite motivated, had to be naturally serious because these assignments formed part of internal evaluation. As instructed, they recreated the texts, returned for evaluation and they were rated accordingly, mainly by comparing them with the free, literary versions of the researcher. The following year, twelve more students underwent this experimentation.

The learner translators (LTs) were spoke different mother tongues and confronted by a new language, and their results are interesting though they at times result in ridiculous versions. But when they are interpreted psychologically, the whole exercise becomes very insightful. All the learner translators' texts (LTTs) cannot be presented for discussion. Therefore, one of them, that is the most remarkable piece, is analysed hereafter.

### *Valuable 'protocols' of translation process*

The objective of this 'experimentation' was two fold, firstly, to see the outcome, that is the LTT itself, and secondly, to 'elicit' the 'protocols' from the learners so that their 'experience' and 'problems' could be compared with those of bilingual translators.

The students did not simply recreate the texts, they also wrote down the experience of those moments when they were negotiating with themselves, they were groping for meaning, taking one clue form here and another form there, interlocking what was expressed in the cribs and what was left untold together pragmatically. One of the LTs rightly calls this 'extra-lingual reality'. They were instructed by their teachers to write *protocols* of what they felt while doing it and how they did it, and if at all they failed, why was it that they failed to do so. These anecdotal details of pathways leading to one's black-box and out of it are extremely important "pieces of advice" (cf. Gentzler 1981:23). So valuable insights can be elicited from them. This is what translation psychologists call 'think aloud process' or 'think aloud protocol', the only way to reading the workings of black-box during translating however partially it is. The interpretations of the LTTs are, therefore, drawn heavily from the translation process.

While discussing the LTT, its 'interpretation' or 'protocol' is also presented. The text (translation) reads marvelous, the LT has shown here her full concentration on it, and made it a most beautifully wrought piece. Whether or not it deviates from fact is a secondary question, primarily the intuition, ingenuity, and objective perception required in a translation are measured. The LT has retained the shape, followed the lines, numbered them, spaced and indented like in the target text (TT) and related her experience of how she made some changes, why she clipped one, why she added a bit to another and how the overall impact has been focused. These most revealing pieces are self-explanatory. The following is the LTT followed by the learner-translator's experience of working on it. (No improvement is made on the language or interpretation of this LTT). The original text is a poem entitled तिमि ता नचिनिने भएछौ<sup>1</sup> *timi ta nacinine bhaychau* by Agam Singh Giri of Darjeeling. Its English recreation carried out by P. Radhika, a Kannada speaking student of M.A. English is as follows:

### *How Unrecognizable Become*

1. You here unrecognizable have become!
2. cheeks pallid -

3. eyes lusterless –
4. you slept like a
5. child crying itself to sleep
6. Like a dejected prisoner
7. Under a severe trial
8. seized of food, shorn of shelter
9. Like the ill-fated felled
10. How different you are
11.           How unrecognizable become
12. Your bright face –
13. The glow of a glorious past, on
14. it, Now poisonous lines of remorse drawn
15. like an orchid laughing in
16. the vernal forest you had been
17. but now dark lines of grief etch your face
18. you yield not to affliction
19. You have Now learnt to bear.
20. How different you are
21.           How unrecognizable become
22. 'This is you' – to reveal I come not
23. To talk of your past glory I come not.
24. To hearten your grief – ridden heart I come not.
25. The seized food
26. The shorn shelter to replace I come not
27. The heart's deep cut to cure I come not
28. *If this is you* – only to find that I have come.
29.           But, you here unrecognizable have become!

Having restructured the text in this shape, the LT wrote her experience of how she undertook this. She wrote "Before I start discussing my translation of the poem` (timi ta nacinine bhaechau) I'd like to admit that I thoroughly enjoyed working on it.

#### Coming to the point

1. I intended to keep the form of the poem, i.e. 'one in terms of its similarity. You have the refrain तिमी ता नचिनिने भएछौ (timi ta nacinine bhaechau) which ties up the beginning and end, and even the stanzas in between. However I have changed it slightly in the second and third verse so that it goes with 'How different you are'.

Hence 'you here unrecognizable have become' changes to 'How unrecognizable become' in the first three stanzas, but it did not sound good at the beginning. So I dropped the idea. Essentially I wanted to retain the तिमी ता (timi ta) of the first shifting to तर, तिमी ता (tara, timi ta).

2. I have tried to retain the poetic quality by using alliterations, parallelisms, and even visual parallelism. Hence I divided the 19<sup>th</sup> line चोटमा (cotama) into the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> so that visually you have all the 'News' coming in here. Also the way the argument is presented in the original with respect to the second stanza. you have the 'past' described in one line and the 'present' ('Now') in the next. So I took the liberty to change the 19<sup>th</sup> line, i. e. break it up to fit the line of argument. Since that meant an inclusion of an extra line, I joined the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> line and made it the 17<sup>th</sup> line.

3. The metaphor of a child crying itself to sleep is not used in English; at least I have not come across it. It is a local metaphor and a very beautiful one. So I've retained it. Though it has not been properly captured, I supposed that the metaphor on its own would evoke certain images, associations for the reader. There is also the fact that you cannot literally translate रुदा रुदै (ruda rudai), 'weeping'. Hence you lose the emphasis that the original conveys. This loss occurs even in केवल तिमी ता (kebal timi ta) which is very important. I have to make do with a single 'you' which I have italicized for emphasis.

4. I have replaced 'wild flower' with 'orchid'. At one level the orchid is a wild flower. But it is also a rare one, which I thought was a striking metaphor. I had to drop the 'mountains' in the 'mountain's vernal forest' (according to the gloss) because of the length of the line. It would have meant having 'the vernal forest in the mountains you had been.' Without 'you had been' the line did not sound complete. Anyway I did not think that the dropping of the word would do much damage to the poem as a whole.

5. With seized of food, shorn of shelter (line 8), I could retain the parallelism as in the original but not the end rhyme – गाँस खोसिएको, बास लुटिएको (gas khosieko, bas lutieko).

6. In line 9, I added a new word 'felled' instead of विह्वल 'bihwal' (=troubled). I could not resist it frankly. Even if it meant an over-translation, I thought it read well and went with the mood of the stanza.

7. I am unhappy with my translation of the 27<sup>th</sup> line. गहिरो खोपिला पुर्न (gahiro khopilta purna) – (= fill that deep hole) can mean

1. to fill the emptiness and
2. it refers to a wounded heart.

I have sacrificed the first meaning for the sake of alliteration.

8. Since the original does not use any capital letters, I have added them not according to grammar but only to highlight a particular word.

Though there are problems of both under and over translation in my translation, I am not apologetic about it. I feel that, a translator can be creative and make changes he / she feels, within limits, especially if it reads / sounds better. But I do admit that I haven't, and could not capture some of the nuances of the Nepali language in English".

- P. Radhika

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<sup>1</sup> तिमी ता यहाँ नचिनिने भएछौ !

गालाका रगतहरू सुकिसकेछन्  
 आँखाका ज्योति सब हराइसकेछन्  
 तिमी ता रूँदा रूँदै निदाएको  
 बालकजस्तो  
 कठोर कारागारको यातना भोगी  
 विरक्त, बन्दीजस्तो  
 गाँस खोसिएको बास लुटिएको  
 विहल हतभागी जस्तो  
 कस्तो कस्तो भएछौ  
 तिमी ता यहाँ नचिनिने भएछौ ।  
 अतीत-गौरवले घपक्क बलेको  
 अधिको चहकिलो अनुहारमा

ग्लानिका विषाक्त रेखाहरु कोरिएछन्  
 पहाडका वैशाखी वनमा  
 तिमी जङ्गली फूल भै हँसिलो देखिन्थ्यौ  
 तर अब ता चेहरामा तिम्रा  
 विषादका काला घसाहरू कोरिएछन्  
 चोटमा भुक्न होइन बरु सहन सिकेछौ  
 अब ता अकैँ अकैँजस्तो भएछौ  
 तिमी ता यहाँ नचिनिने भएछौ ।  
 'तिमी को हो' - चिनाउन आएको होइन म  
 बितेका गौरव-गाथा कहन आएको होइन म  
 तिम्रा सन्तप्त छातीका पीरहरु उखेल आएको होइन म  
 सजिलै खोसिएको गाँस  
 हलुकै लुटिएको बास दिलाउन आएको होइन म  
 छातीको त्यो गहिरो खोपिला पुर्न आएको होइन म  
 केवल तिमी 'तिमी' नै हो कि चिन्न आएको म  
 तर, तिमी ता यहाँ नचिनिने भएछौ ।

नेपाली समसामयिक कविताहरु / ४५२

## The Presidential Address

*21st Annual Conference  
of the Linguistic Society of Nepal  
Kathmandu  
Nov. 26 -27, 2000.*

The chairman,  
Distinguished guests and linguists,  
Ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, it is my great pleasure to extend warm welcome to all the guests and participants from Nepal and abroad attending its 21st Annual conference on November 26 and 27, 2000.

At this 21st conference, coinciding with the beginning of the new millennium and 21st century, we note with immense satisfaction that the Linguistic Society of Nepal has, to a large extent, successfully completed the two decades of its operation. During this period it has made quite a few notable achievements. Since its inception in 1979 it has been serving as a venue for interaction among native and foreign linguists and dissemination of their linguistic studies. It is gratifying to all of us that it has been holding its annual conferences without any interruption on the same dates and venues (with a single exception and that too justified), apart from organizing its periodic talks and seminars and publication of its journal. In all these enterprises the role of language departments has been crucial even before the department of linguistics was conceived.

Besides being serving as a forum for creating awareness for linguistic studies in general and languages of Nepal in particular, it succeeded, rather strenuously, in realizing its long-cherished recurrent and 'recursive' dream at every LSN annual conference and otherwise, namely, the setting up the first and only department of linguistics in the entire nation, which is a 'home' of a large number of languages and dialects often having one-to-one relation with their own distinct ethnic groups of speakers. It is a dream which has now come true. The Central Department of Linguistics, set up in 1997 at Tribhuvan University, is teaching-cum-research department. It has been running the two-year master's level programme with a full-fledged curriculum with focus on the latest trends in linguistic theory in general, ranging from Panini's *Vyākaran* through Plato's to

Chomsky's *The Minimalist Program* and the description of particular languages (esp. languages of Nepal) in particular. This curriculum also addresses itself to the practical aspects of linguistics, i.e. its utilization in relevant needs of Nepalese community like literacy in mother tongues and the national language, dictionary making, translation, etc. In addition, there have been recent accessions to the linguistics programme at the department, namely, the Bachelor's level and doctoral programmes. These programmes will serve to feed the department with adequate input to the Master's level and enhance opportunities for research activities in linguistic field.

We have, no doubt, made significant achievements in the field of linguistics. It is, however, not the time to cross our fingers and hope that everything will happen as we want it to. We have still to make strenuous efforts in this respect. What strikes me as an issue of immediate concern in the present Nepalese context is to preserve and promote our unique heritage of cultural/linguistic diversity and foster the sense of national unity and integration through mutual tolerance, interaction and understanding. To achieve this goal it is high time that all the organizations concerned with languages of Nepal including the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Department of linguistics, university language departments, CNAS, Royal Nepal Academy, and the like make a concerted effort to set up a national institution for Nepalese culture and languages on par with what is going on in some other democratic countries. As a blueprint for how such an institution should look like, I have in mind an institution like Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysore, which was set up in India in the post-independence years for a similar purpose.. Such a step would, I believe, usher in developing an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding among diverse language communities and help strengthen national integration and unity.

Linguistics is now a vibrant discipline in Nepal. Apart from Central Department, there are language departments at TU and CNAS involved in the teaching and research in linguistics. Royal Nepal Academy is also entrusted with the objective to promote and preserve all the national languages. Rastriya Janjati Vikas Samiti has recently shown interest in the study of Nepalese languages along with cultures. Above all, there has been noticeable an awareness among various ethnic communities to develop and use their mother tongues. These and other factors give us a feeling of optimism for the future of linguistics in Nepal despite some problems. The Linguistic Society of Nepal, I hope, will play a vital role in this pursuit in years to come in collaboration with other agencies concerned.

Finally, I am convinced that there will be lively and productive discussions at this conference, which comprises the presentations of 27 interesting papers in the various areas of linguistics. I wish all the participants a pleasant time during the conference.

Thank you.

Prof. Dr. Yogendra P Yadava  
(Acting President)

## Abstracts of the Papers Presented at 21<sup>st</sup> Annual Conference, 2000

### CASE MARKING AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN SOME INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

*C.M. Bandhu*  
*Central Department of Linguistics*  
*Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur*

This paper attempts to explore the system of case marking and grammatical relations in some Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal. For this purpose data have been taken from the dialects of Nepali and other lesser known languages of Nepal like Danuwar, Darai, Bote, Majhi and Kumal.

This typological comparison helps us to see the relationship of some minor and unwritten languages spoken in Nepal with those major IA languages of the area such as Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Hindi. This also indicates the process of convergence and creolization.

### CONCIOUSNESS-RAISING (C-R) AND GRAMMAR TEACHING

*Dr. Anjana Bhattarai*

It is not so easy to decide whether grammar should be taught explicitly or implicitly in the context of teaching a target language communicatively. In general it is thought that grammar should be learnt intuitively to acquire the communicative competence which is possible only through the great deal of exposure to target language. Although we are aware of this fact we cannot change the existing situation, that is insufficiency of the target language materials, overnight. To help this situation a fairly new technique - consciousness-raising - in teaching targeted grammar is introduced in language teaching methodology. In consciousness-raising a learner's cognitive domain is triggered so that he can fully utilize his reasoning capacity. This paper is an attempt to discuss how the learner's L1 language can be utilized in learning his target language, of course English in our context.

### A CLIMATE IN WHICH TRANSLATION CAN PROSPER

Dr. Govind Raj Bhattarai  
Tribhuvan University

Translating is an age-old activity. It has existed and proliferated over the centuries together with the original authorship or creation. Many languages in Nepal (mostly Nepali and Nepal Bhasa) have a large body of literature in translation – now termed as Literature-3. But until recently the activity has continued to grow chaotically without any systematic plan or principle. For most of those who have contributed substantially to the development of this discipline, the term TRANSLATION has stood merely for the activity of rendering labour of love. More than this, theoretically speaking, Translation (now Literature 3) should incorporate into it the record of its history, criticism, theory and techniques together. During the recent years, however, it (TRANSLATION) has started taking a clear direction. This paper is an attempt to present an overview of recent activities that have started steering translation towards the right direction in Nepal.

### THE FOCUSING FUNCTIONS OF *yin* AND *yö* IN *émigré* DOKPA TIBETAN

Nancy J. Caplow

University of California at Santa Barbara

Like other dialects of Tibetan, Dokpa Tibetan employs a set of morphologically complex clause-final markers to indicate epistemic uncertainty. In this paper I present an analysis of the complex epistemics *yin sa re*>, *yö*> *sare*>, *yin Do* and *yö*> *Do*, which indicate reference and guessing. In addition to accounting for the pragmatic use of these complex epistemics (which have received little discussion in the literature), my analysis also serves to illuminate the functions of *yin* and *yö*> as they are independently in other types of constructions.

The focusing functions of *yin* and *yö*> in complex epistemics are illustrated below. The context for these examples is that a friend<sub>1</sub> has promised the speaker<sub>1</sub> that he<sub>1</sub> will buy something. In (1) the subject is known and the predicate is guessed at (as indicated by underlying), while in (2) the predicate is known and the subject is guessed at:

- (1) The speaker does not know if the shopping was completed and has no evidence from which to judge, but is hopping or guessing that it was. (VII/79):

<i>khö</i>	<i>nyö:</i>	<i>yö Do</i>
3.SG.M.ERG	buy.PST	GP

'He might have bought it.

- (2) The speaker can see evidence that the purchase has been made, and is guessing that it was done by the person who had promised to do so, but is aware that it might have done by someone else. (VII/79).

<i>khö</i>	<i>nyö:</i>	<i>yin Do</i>
3.SG.M.ERG	buy.PST	GS

He might have bought it.

This pattern of focus is confirmed for other complex epistemics in Dokpa. Furthermore, in Dokpa, as in other dialects, the correspondents of WT<sup>1</sup> *yin* and *yod* are also independently –i.e., not as part of complex epistemics. My "focus" interpretation provides new insight into the marked and unmarked uses of *yin* and *yod* as described by Chang and Chang (1984), Delancy (1986, 1990), and Bielmeier (1999) in subordinate clauses, as well as in simple clauses in which the predicate is a nominal, location, existential, or possessive.

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WT = Written Tibetan; GP = 'guessed predicates'; GS = 'guessed sub

### TIBETAN DIALECT OF NORTHEASTERN NEPAL)

Nancy J. Caplow

Fulbright / UCSB

In this paper I present an initial inventory of the contrastive sounds observed in Tokpe Gola, a Tibetan dialect spoken in the Taplejung district of northeastern Nepal. This overview includes descriptions of the following:



- a.. word-initial consonant phones
- b.. pitch levels and pitch melodies
- c.. phonation types

A table will be presented summarizing the word-initial consonant phones. As in many other Tibetan dialects, Tokpe Gola=92s stop consonants manifest a three-way distinction between voiceless, aspirated, and voiced phonemes. The inventory of consonants is somewhat unusual in including both voiced and voiceless nasals (as well as voiced and voiceless laterals and rhotics). Of further interest is an apparent four-way distinction in terms of place of articulation between dental-interdental /t0 /, apical-alveolar /t/, retroflex /=FF / and the cluster /=FF r/. Examples will be provided illustrating these contrasts. Five pitch levels have been identified: 1extra low, 2low, 3mid, 4high, and 5extra high. Pitches 2, 3, and 4 are most common, while 1 and 5 occur only rarely. It appears that pitch is rarely truly phonemic (though see =91year=92 and =91cough=92, below). Often distinctions in pitch are accompanied by differences elsewhere in the syllable; e.g., differences in onset or coda consonants, vowel quality, and/or phonation. Level tones at the five pitches are illustrated by the following:

- |                                    |                                   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 guh =91nine=92                   | 13 b=F6mbu =91thick-waisted=92=20 |
| 2 loh =91year=92                   | 2 mbu =91insect=92                |
| 3 sum =91three=92                  | 3 tsh=F6 =91painting=92           |
| 4 phu =91upper part of a region=92 | 4 kha =91mouth=92=20              |
| 5 loh =91cough=92                  | 5 qha =91snow=92=20               |

In addition to these five pitch levels, three pitch melodies have been observed on monosyllabic and polysyllabic words: rising, falling, and rise-fall:

Rising	Falling	Rise-fall
mpia =91rat=92	go: =91head=92	nang =91house=92
lungba =91village=92	nyamba =91some=92	dokti =91totally=92

Three phonation types have been noted: modal, breathy, and creaky voice. Modal and breathy voice constitute phonological distinctions, while creaky voice is a sentence-final phonetic feature (laryngealization). These features of Tokpe Gola=92s sound system will be compared to those described for other Tibetan dialects spoken nearby, including Lhomi (Vesaleinan and Vesaleinan, 1976), Sherpa (S. Watters, 1999), and Walungchung Gola.

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### EXPLANATION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF TAMANG MORPHEMES: - PA/-BA, -LA AND -SYE MYTH AND REALITY

*K.P. Chalise*

The functions of the morphemes have become a dilemma for the researchers who are newly introduced in the research of Tamang language or are doing research in the field. As the result various analysis in the literature contradict to each other. The discrepancies are the result of the multiple functions of the morphemes.

The paper is an attempt to explain the possible functions of the morphemes and to establish their functional status. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part contains the review of the previous explanations and second part my own explanation and justification.

### MULTIETHNICITY AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN NEPAL

*Ballav Mani Dahal*

*Subhadra Subba Dahal*

This paper is an attempt to investigate multiethnicity, multilingualism and bilingual education in Nepalese context. It consists of two sections. The first section deals with multilingual situation in Nepal along with the status and role of Nepali language. The second section is addressed to the rise of ethnic nationalism as a result of ethnic groups' assertion of their language rights and the government's efforts in this regard. Finally, the paper tries to explain why bilingual education is needed in Nepalese context.

### THE AUXILIARY 'BE' IN KUMAL

*Bhim Lal Gautam*

*Tribhuvan Univeristy*

This paper overviews the general introduction of auxiliaries of Kumal language. There are four kinds of auxiliaries used in Kumal language

corresponding to tense and semantic interpretation. Four different stems of auxiliary verbs which follow the main verb are as shown in the tables below.

Table 1 : 'be' verb in tenses

Past	Non-Past
<i>rāh</i>	<i>baT</i>
<i>b<sup>h</sup>ā</i>	<i>hāk<sup>h</sup></i>

Table 2: 'be' verb in semantic interpretation

Name	Verb Form
Existential	<i>baT/hāk<sup>h</sup></i>
Identificational	<i>hāk<sup>h</sup></i>
Resultative	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ā</i>

### THE PROCESS OF CONVERSION OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK IN *astādhyai*

*Dr. Devi Prasad Gautam*  
*Central Department of Nepali*

PāNini has developed the concept of Pratyāharas (sets) from the phonemes sharing similar features and Sagnyās (particular labels) from the morphemes, words and various grammatical as well as methodical notions. He classified the structure of Sanskrit language into Source Structures, Converted Structures and Contextual structure. He developed Feature-order Principle (as described in Sutra स्थानेऽन्तरतमः 1.5.50) and Respective-order Principle (as described in Sutra यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् 1.3.10) to link one other. He also developed the theoretical concept of Genitive-marker Replacement to attach the sets representing the Source Structure (as described in Sutra वक्ष्ये स्थानयोगाः 1.1.49). To identify a Contextual Structure he developed the Locative-marker Replacement principle (as described in Sutra तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य 1.1.66) and to disambiguate the contextual structure he developed the Ablative-marker Replacement principle (as described in Sutra आदेः परस्य 1.1.54). Because his system of rules are entirely interdependent, the principle of **Borrowing** known as अध्याहार plays a vital role in converting his

conceptual framework in his Sutras. What is obvious is that the whole interpretations of *astādhyai* has been absolutely guided by these principles.

The conversion of his conceptual framework operates as follows :

- 1a. {i, u, R, L} → {y, w, r, l} / [— a, i, u, R, L, e, o, ai, au] Applying the concept of label ↓
- 1b. ik → yaN / [— ač ] Applying genitive marking Replacement
- 1c. ika: yaN / [— ač ] Applying locative marking Replacement
- 1d. ika: yaN ač →
- 1e. iko yaNači "इको यणचि" 6.1.77
- 2a. ečoṣayawAyAw: (ači) "एचोऽयवायावः (अचि)" 6.1.78
- 2b. eča: ayawAyAw: / (ači) ↑
- 2c. eča: ayawAyAw: Borrowing अचि from इको यणचि" 6.1.77 ↑
- 2d. eč → ayawAyAw: Applying genitive marking Replacement ↑
- 2e. {e, o, ai, au} → {ay, aw, Ay, Aw} Applying the concept of label ↑

### AN APPROACH TO SENTENCE FINALS

*E. Austin Hale*

&

*Kedaar P. Shrestha*

The role that the various sentence finals play within the larger context of a Newar text is both significant and elusive. We have found it useful to trace certain of these sentence finals through a number of texts. Larger configurations of sentence final constructions have emerged which seem to carry fairly consistent relational interpretations.

This paper presents briefly the approach we have been taking and a sample of our findings.

### THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE: INTRODUCING ENGLISH AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN DELHI

*Naresh K. Jain*

The paper examines a major shift in language policy in India, namely, the introduction of English at the primary level in government schools in Delhi from this academic year and its likely consequences. The new decision envisages teaching of English in municipal schools, informally from class III. This is an

example of the needs and aspirations of the people triumphing over a settle antipathy to English as a colonial hangover.

The policy shift is meant to reduce the hiatus between the students of expensive public schools where English is taught for at least 12 years, if not more, and government school students who presently study English only for seven years from class VI. By trying to narrow the gap between them, the early introduction of English will, hopefully, make better careers and courses more accessible to children belonging to the less advantaged sections of society and will lead to greater equalization of opportunities. The policy, revolutionary in intent, will involve advance planning in the area of teacher training, curriculum development, materials production, classroom practices and evaluation, all woven round the needs of the marginalized learner. Successful implementation of it in Delhi could result in snowballing effect in other states and could alter the power equation between the haves and the havenots in our society and promote human equality.

**ORTHOGRAPHIC COMMENTS ON NEPALBHASA VERBAL MORPHOLOGY**

S.K. Joshi

**1. Introduction**

Nepalbhāsa (NB) an open syllabic language with verbal bases checked by -n, -t, -l and -k (*san-*, *twā:t-*, *wal-*, *pārk-*) and some V-ending verbal bases with /-təl/ or /-ləl/ in Non-Self Past (NS-P) and /-nal/ or /Yal/ in Self-Past (S-P), e.g.,

meaning base		NS-p		S-P
tear	<i>khu-</i>		<i>-tə</i>	<i>-na</i>
eat	<i>nə-</i>		<i>-lə</i>	<i>-ya</i>

**2. Inflection Chart**

C-ending bases

meaning	base	inf	S-P	NS-P	S-NP	NS-NP	PP	sta/hab	imp
move	<i>sən-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ə</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i:</i>	<i>a:</i>	:	ϕ
blend	<i>wal-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ə</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i:</i>	<i>a:</i>	:	ϕ
leave	<i>twə:t-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ələ</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i:</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>u:/ə:</i>	<i>i</i>
patch	<i>pārk</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ələ</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i:</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>u:/ə:</i>	<i>i</i>

V-ending bases

scratch	<i>ki-</i>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-lə</i>	<i>-ye&gt;i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ya:</i>	<i>u</i>	
winnow	<i>ha-</i>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-lə</i>	<i>-ye&gt;e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ya:</i>	:	ϕ
cost	<i>tu-</i>	<i>-ye</i>		<i>-lə</i>	<i>-ye&gt;i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ya:</i>	:	ϕ
tear	<i>khu-</i>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-lə</i>	<i>-ye&gt;i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>na</i>	:	ϕ

allomorphs e, ye a, ya ə, ələ e i:i a:, ya: :u:, u i, u  
na, lə, tə ye?i/e na:

**3. Comments on today's NB-writing system-**

- 3.1 S-NP sfx ye>i after high vowels  
e.g., *ju-i-gu* "be (determinative)" morphophonemic change  
ye>e after low vowels  
e.g., *Ya-e-gu* "do (determinative)"  
'-umlaut' may be proposed for solution.

To the NB literary society the earlier *ju-i-gu* is acceptable, the latter *ya-e-gu* not. Against their own speech they write *ya-ye-gu*. The same type of pronunciation in other parts of speech with certain morphophonemic changes is acceptable to them, e.g., *kayə>kae* 'son'(n), *mhyacə>mhyae* 'daughter'(n), *gathe>gæ* 'how (interrogative prn), *əthe>æ* 'this way'(adv.) etc.

- 3.2 NS-NP sfx -i: (-wə) after C-ending bases  
e.g., *wan-i:>wani:*, "goes"  
-i after v-ending bases  
e.g., *wə-i>wəi*, "comes"

but never *wən-i-i>wəni-i* (an imitation of the Locative form of case inflection like *khusi-i* "river(loc)", according to the opinion of NB literary society.

**DEICTIC CATEGORIES IN THE WEST BODISH LANGUAGES OF NEPAL**

**A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

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The topic of deixis or indexical expressions concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event. This paper will attempt to explore the deictic categories in certain West Bodish languages of Nepal, which consist of two distinct groups, the Tibetan group includes Ghale, Kaike, and Dura, and the so-called Tamangic group includes Gurung, Thakali, Chantyal, Rohani, Manangba and Tamang, to compare and contrast the categories found in these languages. The categories will include features of nominal morphology, person, deictic verbs and adverbials derived from deictic roots. The main aim of this paper will be to show that although these

languages share many deictic information, they differ in form, function and processes of grammaticalization. The data from Tamang and Gurung, for example, reveal interesting developments in agentive/ergative marking and the role of the auxiliary in the deictic orientation of the main verb. These developments may be due partly to language contact relations with the Tibetan group where the notion of volitionality has a more important role and there are finer distinctions of the aspectual and person categories in the auxiliary system. It may thus be revealing to make typological distinctions between the Tibetan and Tamangic groups on the one hand, and the split within a single language group. The paper in conclusion will summarize its main findings and indicate certain areas for future research.

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### WANE (TO GO) AND WAYE (TO COME) IN NEWARI

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This study examines the phenomenon of the motion verbs in Newari, specifically *wane* 'to go' and *waye* 'to come', in which their extended use of auxiliary verbs is widely accepted and several interpretations are obtained. In example (i), *wala* is understood as describing the ongoing aspect of the situation.

1. *ji-i~ nepaala bhaasaa thu-yaa wal-a* (wan-aa not permitted)  
I-ERG Newari language understand-PP come-PD  
'I am beginning to understand Newari.'
- 2a. *nhinhi~ khaa-ta sin-aa wal-a* (evidential, process reading)  
everyday chicken-PL die-PP come-PD  
'Chickens have been dying everyday.'
- 2b. *nhinhi~ khaa-ta sin-aa wan-a* (evidential, resultant reading)  
everyday chicken-PL die-PP go-PD  
'Chickens have died everyday.'
- 3a. *ji-i~ wa jyaa lwa:man-aa wan-aa* (evidential)  
I-ERG that work-ABS forget-PC go-PC  
'I have forgotten the work entirely.'
- 3b. *wa kha~ saka-syaa-lwa:man-aa wan-a*  
that matter everyone-ABL forget-PC go-PD  
'The matter has gradually been forgotten from people.'

Example (2a) also has the same kind of ongoing interpretation, that is, it means that the chickens are dying one after another in front of the viewer. On the other hand, the possible interpretation in (2b) is that the chickens have all died and there remains the resultant state. It seems that in the auxiliary use *wane* denotes the resultant state, on the other hand, *waye* indicates the ongoing gradual process. However, in spite of the fact the same verbs (V1 and V2) are used in the example (3), the interpretations are different. (3a) indicates the resultant state of the speaker's forgetfulness, whereas (3b) denotes that the gradual forgetting of the matter is an ongoing process.

In order to account for these differences, the present study pursues the basic characteristics of *wane* and *waye* verbs and focuses on what constraints they acquire various aspectual meanings. Although lexical semantics is a promising approach nowadays, it is claimed that not only the template-oriented lexical semantics and its integrity, but also mapping them into the fine-grained aspectual field and the speaker's conceptualization in the whole system play the major role for deeper understanding of the phenomenon.

### LANGUAGE TEACHING THROUGH AFFECTIVE APPROACH

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The core of the present paper is to make the language teachers aware of the fact that only "affective" education would serve the objectives of effective education. Man possesses a mind and feelings both. To integrate these two is to help him realize what he might be. The paper seeks to provide some specific ways of foreign language teaching which would help the teachers in weaving humanistic strategies into their existing curriculum. In this regard, the "awareness exercises" framed by Moskowitz seek to blend what our students feel, think and know and thereby nurture the ideals of self actualization and self-esteem development.

### TENSE ASPECT INCORPORATION IN ATHPARIA

*Tanka Prasad Nyaupane*

Among the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal, Athparia is considered to be a South-Eastern language of the Rai group of Kirat branch. The tense and aspect in this (Athparia) language are found to be different from what was discussed in Nyaupane aspect in this language. Because if the affixes considered to be tense morphemes occur in subordination even a nominalizer affix (which is not considered tense morpheme) can also indicate aspect, therefore, tense marker affix is not found in this language. Instead, we find here the incorporation of tense in the aspect.

To achieve this end there emerges two phases – base and special-structure. The base indicates location in totality referring to the situation of the verb at the moment of utterance. This adapts affixation in order to show a close relationship with the tense. Some may take this for a marker as well, whereas the special phase expresses the internal situation of the verb.

Another point to justify why Athparia attaches no importance to tense structure is that the paradigm for the negative (verb) does not follow the rules of affixes in the affirmative. The aspect marker of the affirmative form changes into a different one in negative; the aspect is incorporated even in negative.

Thus the objective of this paper is to present a new approach to the study of Athparia as a tenseless as well as a tense aspect incorporated language.

### MANAGING LINGUISTIC RESOURCES FOR NEPALESE LANGUAGES

**LONIMS**

*P. Oatley*

Nepal contains a rich language culture that provides many opportunities for research. However, such diversity may give rise to fragmented or duplicated research. A large volume of reports, papers and books have already been published in many places but the task of tracking down relevant publications is not easy for the linguistic researcher. The Languages of Nepal Information Management System (LONIMS) project was begun in 1997, in response to the need for a centralized resource to aid linguistic research in Nepal.

The aim is to produce a computer database that is capable of storing information about the languages of Nepal. It will contain two main types of data: data about the language itself and bibliographic data. The language data is divided into several areas: typological, literacy, demographic, etc. Bibliographic data will be linked to languages and other bibliographic data by subject keywords.

LONIMS will therefore provide a resource for researchers who wish to discover what is known about a language or language family and what has been published. It will also facilitate documenting the progress of research into the languages of Nepal.

### AGGLUTINATION IN GARO

*Lekhanath Sharma Pathak*

Garo is a language of Tibeto-Burman family spoken mainly in the Garo hills district of Meghalaya in North Eastern part of India. Agglutination is an important word formation feature of Tibeto-Burman languages: a very large chunk of languages in Nepal belong to this family. Present paper looks into how agglutination operates in Garo in the word formation process. The paper is a result of my field work. It will confine mainly to nominal and verbal agglutination realized as affixes.

**CONVERBS IN NEPALI AND MANIPURI**

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Nepali and Manipuri, also known as Meitei, are both SOV languages but both are genetically very different. Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language whereas Manipuri is a Tibeto-Burman. Both languages use converbial constructions to form adverbial non-finite sub-ordinate clauses as it is common characteristic of all SOV languages. Manipuri does not have finite adverbial sub-ordinate clauses and this feature makes abundant use of converbs. Nepali is also somehow similar to Manipuri as both have converbial constructions for adverbial functions. Unlike Manipuri, Nepali has finite adverbial clauses. Adverbial sub-ordination can be accomplished by means of a set up specialized non-finite verbs (Noonan:1999). In this paper I argue that converb is one of the major devices of adverbial sub-ordination in Nepali and Manipuri, and it is also true of many, if not all, SOV languages spoken in the Himalyan region. An attempt is also made to point out the areas of typological interests in converbial constructions of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman SOV languages.

**MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN BOTE**

*Kamal Poudel*

Causative construction is a universal phenomenon found across all languages of the world. Causative can be expressed through different ways. The Bote language employs morphological device as one of different ways for causative expression. Morphological causative construction in Bote can be obtained with the help of different devices like affixation, internal modification. In morphological causative, as Comrie (1989) asserts, 'the causative is related to the non-causative predicate by morphological means, for instance by affixation.'

**RELATIVIZATION IN TAMANG**

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On the basis of the language corpus collected from some Tamang villages of Dhankuta District, relativization in Tamang is described in this paper. Relative clauses in Tamang are basically pronominal but they may occur even postnominally with slight syntactic variation. To a small extent, internally headed

and headless relative clauses are also in use. Marginal relative clauses are possible because of the fact the deverbal adjectives precede the heads. Relativizers are of two types: human and non-human. They can be suffixed with case markers and thereby refer to the subject, object and genitive. That is why, Tamang is rich in relativization.

**COMPLEX PREDICATES: EVIDENCE FROM KUMAL CAUSATIVES**

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the syntax of causative construction in Kumal. It shows that the morphological and syntactic causatives are identical at the level of argument structure, although they differ at the phrase structure level in an important way. In morphological causatives, the argument structure corresponds to one single verb whereas in syntactic causative, to two verb forms. This difference in phrase structure predicts that the complex argument structure of morphological causatives is formed in the lexicon and in syntactic causatives, in the syntax. This paper also demonstrates the mapping of arguments to the syntactic function as proposed by Alsina (1997).

**PRONOMINAL ANAPHORS IN NEPALI**

*Bhim Narayan Regmi*

This paper presents a description of the pronominal anaphors in Nepali. These are found to be locally bound; and their relationship with the antecedents. The following two types are the pronominal NPs in Nepali:

1. Reflexives –*aphu* (*aphno*, *aphai*), *swayam* 'self'
2. Reciprocals –*ekarka*, *paraspār*, *aphu-aphu* (*aph-aphai*, *aph-aphno*), *ek apas*, *-a*, *-a-i*

Some examples of these anaphors are given here.

- i. *māi-le aphu-lai herē*  
 I-ERG self-ACC looked  
 'I looked myself'
- ii. *uni-haru piT-a-piT gare*  
 s/he-pl hit-RECIP-hit did  
 'They hit each other.'

- iii. *hamro lāur-a-lāur-i pāryo*  
we-poss stick-RECIP-stick-(RECIP) happened  
'We hit each other with stick.'
- iv. *ram. rā hāri pāraspār tan-a-tan gāre*  
Ram and Hari each other pull-RECIP-pull did  
'Ram and Hari pulled each other.'

### THE WORD ORDER TYPOLOGY IN ENGLISH AND NEPALI AND ITS PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

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*Lecturer in English*

With respect to the ordering of major grammatical functions such as S(subject), O(object and V (verb) the majority of world languages fall into three types: SVO, SOV and VSO. Of these, SVO and SOV are the most and VSO the least frequent. In the light of facts about English and Nepali, the former is an SVO and the latter is SOV language. Moreover, English is a configurational (i.e. fixed word order) language whereas Nepali is neither configurational nor non-configurational (i.e. free word order) language. It is to be noted that at the underlying level, it is almost fixed but it is relatively free at the surface level. Keeping these syntactic characteristics in consideration, in this paper, an attempt has been made to present some specific structural similarities and differences in terms of grammatical functions in basic clauses in Nepali and English. Apart from this, we will try to predict some areas of ease and difficulty with reference to English language teaching in Nepal. At the end, we will discuss in short the pedagogical implications with respect to word order typology in English and Nepali.

### NOMINAL INFLECTION IN BADIKHEL (PAHARI DIALECT)

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The preparation of this paper is based on my own collections of data. Nominal inflection includes number, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and classifiers with numerals. Beside case markings this will also include the deletion of stems, base alternants, and insertion of epethetic forms before adding case markers. But mainly the purpose of the presenting of this paper is to show the uniqueness in distribution of the varieties of plural markers; e.g. *l-tāl* as in *mujā* 'wife', *mujā-tā*

'wives'; *l-sil* as in *māmāmanā* 'younger sister', *māmāmnā-si* 'younger sisters'; *l-rāul* as in *māka:cā* 'spider', *māka:cā-rau* 'spider'; *l-ri* as in *ji* 'I', *jā-ri* 'we'; *l-kāri* as in *hū*: 'he/she/that', *hū:-kāri* 'they', etc.

### REALLY ?

#### (SOME SUBTLE MORPHEMES THAT HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH REALITY IN CENTRAL EASTERN TAMANG)

*Bryan K. Varenkamp*

This is a brief look at some morphemes in Central Eastern Tamang that provide into the perceptions of reality in or degree of veracity of an utterance in the speaker's mind. These morphemes that encode much of the epistemology of the language are catalogued with examples and hypotheses regarding the use of them. Concepts such as mirativity, validationality, and probability are explored.

### A TONAL TYPOLOGY BASED ON SOME TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES OF THE HIMALAYA

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The Himalayan tone typology is best described as the intersection of voice register and melody (sometimes referred to as 'pitch pattern') (Pike 1970, Yip 1993). The diachronic routes by which these languages arrived at this common typology, however, is different one from another and the modern systems reflect these differences. I aim to look at this common typology, and to see the ways that these languages differ one from another within the typology.

In this paper, I look at three subgroups of Tibeto-Burman in Nepal: Kham Magar as reported by D. Watters (99), TGTh as reported by Mazaudon (86) and Varenkamp (00), and the Tibetan-type languages in which I have done extensive acoustic research. The focus of the paper will be on my findings for this sub-grouping.

Kham Magar and the TGTh cluster are proposed to have had the proto-TB tones \*A and \*B (Benedict 72, Watters 99, Mazaudon 86). From this, they developed a voice register system through the loss of voicing on the initial consonant. This secondary development appears to be relatively new for the TGTh cluster, as compared with Kham Magar where voice register is a completely independent phonological feature and voicing is once again contrastive. The Tibetan languages, however, are thought to have not had proto tones \*A and \*B at

the time when Written Tibetan was developed, and it is in this context that they now undergo voicing neutralization through which a register system develops.

There are also reported differences between these sub-groups of languages as to the domain of tone. Watters (99) reports for Kham that it retains much of its monosyllabic tonal character, and as such that all roots and most affixes still have their own inherent tonal status. Mazaudon (86) for TGTh reports word tone. The domain of tone seems to be the most controversial in descriptions of Central Tibetan with suggestions of a morphemic domain (Hari: 80), word tone templates (Mazaudon 86, Yip 93), and syllabic domain (Edmondson et. al 96). My data for the Tibetan dialects point to two systems: word tone and syllable tone.

I suggest that the syllable as a tone domain is a newer system, but that there is a general drift towards word tone whereby syllables and morphemes are forced to give up some of their distinctiveness where tones collide and come into conflict, and it is the extent to which languages have done this that make them different from one another within a shared typology.

#### CONVERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN SOME NEW INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES EVIDENCE FROM NEPALI, HINDI AND MAITHILI

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New Indo-Aryan languages (NIA) typically employ non-finite clauses instead of finite clauses to realize clause linkage. In this paper were chosen one of such constructions, viz. converbial constructions and tried to analyze and compare them in three NIA languages-Nepali, Hindi and Maithili from typological perspectives.

This paper is organized into two major sections. Section 1 presents the morpho-semantic analysis of the converbial construction in Nepali, Hindi and Maithili. In section 2 explore the syntactic features associated with these constructions from typological perspectives. Finally we sum up the findings of the paper.

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