

# NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

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Linguistic Society of Nepal envisages to share its co-operation with Ratna Pustak Bhandar in various academic publications or activities in the days to come.

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# A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHILDREN'S LITERATURE TRANSLATED INTO NEPALI

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## Abstract

The main objective of the present paper is to discuss the situation of children's literature translated into Nepali. As a bilingual activity, translation connotes to the author of the original text, its publisher, date and place of publication. Likewise, the translation is judged in terms translator, its publisher, date and place etc. But since there is hardly any serious study carried out in this context, the present paper will be limited to the preliminary discussion of how we can categorize children's literature in translation.

## 1. Beginning of translation

A missionary forerunner named William Carey translated the English Bible into Nepali and published it from Calcutta in 1821, that is 182 years ago. This is perhaps the first work translated from the western writing into Nepali, however, it was influenced by religious enthusiasm. In Nepal the government policy towards Christianity had remained illiberal so no transitional activities took place even if it were for religious purpose, that is, translation was not used as a medium. But Darjeeling remained a fertile ground from the angle of missionary activities so Nepali language, though not its land and people, was used as a medium of translation.

Through translation, even children's literature also entered into Nepali from Darjeeling and it developed gradually. Among the forerunners in Darjeeling was Ganga Prasad Pradhan. But he mostly concentrated on the translation of religious (biblical) works. For example *Geet Sangraha*, the Nepali translation of *Christian Hymns* published by Gorkha Press in 1920, and other similar works.

Paras Mani Pradhan made a substantial contribution towards the development of children's literature from literary point of view. He produced children's literature since 1940 from Darjeeling. He wanted to develop Nepali language, standardize it as fast as possible and include Nepali language and literature in the curriculum from the lowest to the highest level of education. He wanted to fill the void in this language both by authoring and translating works profusely. So he translated many works of children's literature from the English language. They were more adapted than translated, for example, *Ghichaure Ago*, *Chepangada*, *Hussu Kukhuri*, *Mayako Chiya* etc. Many scholars and writers followed Paras Mani in the sense that they also translated profusely and tried to fill the treasure in Nepali literature. Gokul Chhetry's *Kliyopyatra*,<sup>1</sup> Okiyuyama Gwain's *Budho Ra Samudra*,<sup>2</sup> Prakash Kobid's

<sup>1</sup> *Kliyopyatra* – Rider Haggard's novel *Cleopatra*

<sup>2</sup> *Budho Ra Samudra* – Ernest Hemingway's *Old Man and the Sea*



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Pinokiyo<sup>3</sup> and *Gadhanko Khoji*,<sup>4</sup> Kamala Thapa's *Pahadi Phul*<sup>5</sup> Bhaichandra Pradhan's *Dryakula*<sup>6</sup> etc.

## 2. In the Nepalese context

In the context of Nepal, *Adbhut Katha Sangraha* is the first children's literature translated into Nepali. It was published under 24 Books Project by Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti in 1927. It was the Nepali translation of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes* rendered by Tulsi Prasad Dhungyal.

Since then 111 titles of children's literature have been translated so far from Nepal and India. The list of all these works is available from *Anubad Grantha Suchi* (Bibliography of Translated Works) prepared recently by Royal Nepal Academy.

In course of preparing the list, many writers of Nepal were consulted and the study carried out by R P Lama of Darjeeling too had been utilized, however, the Bibliography is still far from being complete. It is incomplete especially for two reasons – firstly some works of children's literature available in Nepali are still missing and secondly the information furnished is not adequate for a researcher in this field. For instance, in many cases, the source of the original work is not given, in others the publishers are not given, in some places the writers are unknown, year and place of publication are missing. So whoever tries to study this areas will certainly face many problems.

The Bibliography has adapted a six-point style – Title of the translated work, original work, original writer, translator, and publishers of the translation and date of publication. For example:

Indrajali Rukh (Enchanted Tree – English)	- Title of the translated work
	- Title and the language of the work
- Aenid Blyton	- Original writer
Tr. Ramesh Vikal	- Translator
Publisher – Nepal Bal Sahitya Samaj	- Publisher of translation
Date of publication – 2035	- Date of its publication

## 3. Problem before a researcher

When analyzed from the angle of a researcher, the publisher of the original text, publisher, place and date of publication are missing whereas, the place of publication is missing in the translation. Sixty-eight works out of 111 have no original titles. Such works are marked \* below (see, Appendix I). In the same way many works have no publishers mentioned, such titles are marked P, those that have no date are marked D and those without translator

<sup>3</sup> Pinokiyo – Kolodi Carlos' *Pinocchio*

<sup>4</sup> *Gadhanko Khoji* – Robert L. Stevenson's *The Treasure Island*

<sup>5</sup> *Pahadi Phul* – John Spyn's

<sup>6</sup> *Dryakula* – Bran Stoker's *Dracula*

are T. In fact only a very serious study can fill in such a void. One can obtain information on such gaps by consulting different old libraries, bibliographical works, writers, publishers and wide reading. The following questions could be answered provided the study is based on the above points.

- How many works came into Nepali and from which foreign language?
- Which of the foreign writers are most popular in Nepali?
- Which of the foreign publication produces largest number of children's literature?
- Which publisher/institution in Nepal produces largest number of works on children's literature?
- In which period did children's literature enter Nepal mostly? What is the per year average? What is its ratio in comparison to other literature?
- Among the translators who have made remarkable contribution in Nepal?
- Which genre is translated most of all?
- What type of translation is popular in Nepal?

Once, answers to such questions are obtained, the total picture of children's literature emerges, otherwise any study on it remains incomplete and partial.

## 4. Root of the problem

A translation carried out from a filter language (instead of the original source language) is called secondary translation. Title No 4, (appendix I) is *Apurba Grahako Katha*, a translation of the *Legend of Planet Surprise*, a work in English. Kshetra Pratap Adhikari rendered the English text into Nepali, however the original author is the Japanese writer Tajimiya Sinji. Maybe the original text was in the Japanese but the details about the title and original authorship are not given in the translation. Many such secondary translations are available in Nepali. In course of such secondary translations, the text travels via two or more such languages and cultures and thus consequently much of its originality is lost on the way to the target language world. Research studies in case of such translations become extremely difficult when required details are not given.

Another example of this is *Ichhako Simana* (No. 9 below) a translation of Alexander Pushkin's work. This was translated by Durga Lal Shrestha but the filter language of this work is not mentioned neither is the original title written there. Likewise the original writer's name of *Ekaisath Hasau*, rendered by Kishor Pahadi is nowhere mentioned. Thus the Academy's list shows 111 titles of children's literature, however, a list produced by an institution called Bal Sansar (Children's World) shows 240 titles. Among these only 40 are translations. With a glance at these titles, a glimpse of children's literature in translation is obtained (see, Appendix II).

Viewed from this angle, authentic researches on children's literature is lacking. And many problems surface on the way to this. This has resulted due to the lack of knowledge about this on the publishers and translators.

The list shows that most of the titles are stories. The stories too are not true stories in modern sense. There is not even a single book of children's verse or play. Some of the works have double or more versions of translations. For example stories of Anderson, Gulliver's Travel, Alice in Wonderland etc. Most of the works are translated from the English language, whereas, there are some from the Russian, Chinese, Indian and other European languages on well. A detail accounts of these all is yet to be drawn. Most of these are fairy tales, folk tales, moral stories selected and rendered with the objective of teaching some moral lessons. There is hardly any translation of contemporary, western literature. A change in this trend is very necessary because we should not limit our selection to merely moral and imaginary stories for our children, this is likely to fetch than far away from the real world which is changing tremendously, which is harsh, real, different. Modern life is thousands of miles away from the world of fairy tales and folk tales; it is a very complex and fast changing.

#### 5. A proposal for solution

Some translation recently published by Bal Sahitya Prabardhan Kendra, Himal Association contain some valuable information useful for the writers critics and especially the researchers of the future. Despite this, still further information is lacking, for instance:

Original work:	Grasshopper on the Road
Original author:	Arnold Lobel
Introduction to the original author:	No
Original language:	English
Original publisher:	No
Date of original publication:	No
Place of original publication:	No
Edition of the original work:	No
Artist of the original work:	No
Title of the translated work:	Phatyangro Ghumna Jada
Translator:	Prerana Dixit, Manesh Shrestha, Mandakini Karki
Introduction to the translators:	No
Translated language (target text):	Nepali
Artist of the translation:	Subhash Rai
Publisher:	Bal Sahitya Prabardhan Kendra

Another feature of this work is that the artist's (of the translation) name is given together with the original writer. Actually it is the artist who gave life to this work. In fact very few works put the artist on the same level as

the author. Besides, there is also a provision of editor in this text. Despite this, the choice of edition and the introduction to the works and writer/translator is missing here – this information should be given in the preface to the work. In this context both Shanta Das and Chuda Mani Bandhu have translated the same work *Alice in Wonderland* but the former is more adapted and brief, the latter comparable to the original. The translator or publisher should make the reasons for this difference clear. Each translation should give brief introduction to the original author as well on the translator both. For example, *Sanbabuka Chara* (No 101 translated by Kamal Dixit) gives a brief introduction to both. A translator/publisher should incorporate these points so as to make the publication complete.

#### 6. Two faces of the problem

All literary translation has two facets. A groups of scholar claims that to translate a piece of literature means to introduce the foreigners in native, that is the target culture's garment. This has been made clear in the translations published by Bal Sansar thus.

*The present work entitled Rajakao Phohara was written by the American writers Loyd Alexander. We have made this effort so as to give the Nepalese children an opportunity to enter into the best works of children's literature in the world. Although this is a translation from English, the illustrations here are original (Nepali) and through the illustrations, efforts have been made to Nepalicise the story.*

In fact, the illustrations and highly adapted language shows that the book was written in the context of Nepali culture. Viewed from this angle, this work supports the maxim "A translation should not read like a translation."

Another claim is: "Translation should read like translation." The names, places, illustrations and cultures should look different from those of the target culture. This should give a glimpse of the original. This has been made clear in the Preface to *Sukhi Raj Kumar*, a publication of Rato Bangala Kitap. And the illustrations in this translation are like those given in the original text and it cultural world. It is made clear in the Preface:

*We have tried to maintain the originality of the source text in the translation as far as possible, however, in order to make the story suitable to the Nepali context and environment in some cases, it has been Nepalicised too.*

If our effort is to introduce the world to our culture, ways of life and philosophy, the second principle should be followed. It is not for the lack of the moral stories that we look for some other languages. We have done so (decided to translate) to introduce our culture and ways of life to them, to tell the small children (also the grown up) that a world different from ours also exists. So the second principle should be followed.



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### 7. A new direction

Mere imaginary stories, moral stories, and the pictures of unreal world should not be selected for the children. The summaries of world classics and of real literature should not only be translated from others' literature into our language, we should take our works to other languages as well. In this age dominated by technoculture, the present day children's literature should also bear the impression of complexity, postmodernist impression, science and technology like the series of Harry Potter. Our efforts should be focussed towards science, scientific writing, and biographical works more and more.

In this context, Kanak Mani Dixit should be regarded as a forerunner. He is perhaps the first Nepali writer that has been writing in a new theme and is trying to convey Nepali literature to other readership. His *Kaubudhi* is a story of the balance in the ecosystem and biological harmony in the environment. His stories set new trend and stand against traditional connection. In most of the children's stories animals like wolf, fox, jackal etc. are presented as wicked, cunning, clever, of one and all. Whereas, Dixit has given the message that now our attitude should be based on equality and love the biological foundation of ecosystem. This is a new thought. His translation of *Dhumdhamko Ghumgham* into different languages introduces Nepal to different countries. This is a new and glorious dimension. In this context Gopal Parajuli's *National Heroes of Nepals* (Parts 1 – 11) also introduce Nepal to others. Likewise Bijaya Chalise and Sarubhakta are also praiseworthy.

The children's literature to be translated now should be objective, full of variety and relative to life. More importantly, there is a lack of criticism on this genre so, criticism on children's literature should be emphasized. This is not written. While doing so, there should be the evaluation of the text from different angles – original author, publisher, translator, its publisher, involved languages, readers etc.

For the children of every age, old books need to be translated into new forms. Whereas, new works too should undergo translation. Translating should be a bi-directional activity from and into different language pairs. Likewise such activities should be conducted across languages inside the country too.

## Appendix I

Titles of 111 works mentioned in the Bibliography of Works in Translation

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Agyani Bhaluko Baccha* P              | 2. Anuutho Deshma Elis PD          |
| 3. Anautho Bhumima Elis                  | 4. Apurba Grahako Katha            |
| 5. Arabka Dui Phul* PD                   | 6. Allare* P                       |
| 7. Allauddinko Batti* PD                 | 8. Eliska Katha* P                 |
| 9. Ichhako Simana*                       | 10. Indrajali Rukh                 |
| 11. Upahar* P                            | 12. Ek Dui Tin*                    |
| 13. H. C. Andersanka Kehi Kathaharu      | 14. Ekaisathai Hasaun              |
| 15. Asiyali Lokakatha Bhag – 1*          | 16. Asiyali Lokakatha Bhag – 2*    |
| 17. Asiyali Lokakatha Bhag – 3* T        | 18. Asiyali Lokakatha Bhag – 4* T  |
| 19. Kaubudi Ra Aru Katha* P              | 20. Kalu Iskul Jandaichha          |
| 21. Kukkur, Dhade Biralo Ra Kukhuri*     | 22. Kharab Ke Ho Bes Ke Ho?* P     |
| 23. Gaddhanko Khoji                      | 24. Gulibharko Yatra* P            |
| 25. Gulibharrko Yatra                    | 26. Greeceka ra Antarikshayatri* P |
| 27. Gyanka Ramaila Kathaharu*            | 28. Ghichaure Ago                  |
| 29. Dhokre Phul                          | 30. Chatak* P                      |
| 31. Charaharuki Rani                     | 32. Chandiko Khur* P               |
| 33. Chepa Ganda                          | 34. Jahaj Chalchhan Samudrama *PD  |
| 35. Tamko Bahaduri                       | 36. Tari Ra Sathiharu              |
| 37. Timur Ra Usaka Sathi* P              | 38. Timro Bhojan Ani Timi*         |
| 39. Dani Rukh P                          | 40. Dumsiko Panja*                 |
| 41. Dhumdhamko Ghumgham                  | 42. Nal Ra Damayanti* P            |
| 43. Nilo Kap*                            | 44. Nepalbhasaka Bal Lokageet      |
| 45. Paneroma Gaigayo Musa* P             | 46. Paralko Bachho                 |
| 47. Panko Pat* P                         | 48. Pinokiyu                       |
| 49. Pipinanisanga Chinaparchi Tatha* P   | 50. Puchhar Gharama Chor*          |
| 51. Prithiviko Akarko Khoji* D           | 52. Phucche Bhangero* P            |
| 53. Phyauro Ra Sarrou* P                 | 54. Baggidekhi Raketsamma* P       |
| 55. Baccha Ra Bacchi* P                  | 56. Baccho Kukhuro* P              |
| 57. Baunneko Deshma Apolo                | 58. Badsahko Naya Poshak           |
| 59. Banarbata Manistarpha Sankramanma* P | 60. Bapuka Jiwanka Kathaharu*      |
| 61. Bampudkeko Desh                      | 62. Balkatha Sangraha*             |
| 63. Balkatha Sangraha*                   | 64. Balkatha Sangraha* P           |
| 65. Bal Gothalo Ha-wa*                   | 66. Balbodh – 3                    |
| 67. Balbodh – 4                          | 68. Bal Sipahi Chang Ka-j* T       |
| 69. Brahamanda, Hamri Jijubajyai* P      | 70. Bharatka Bir Balakharu*        |
| 71. Bharatiya Bir Bala* P                | 72. Byaguttako Saphar* PD          |
| 73. Ma Bal Suraksha Gard Hunechhu        | 74. Mother Teresa*                 |
| 75. Malai Euta Katha Bhandinus Na        | 76. Makuro Ra Jhinga* P            |
| 77. Machhako Hukum* P                    | 78. Masako Piraha Takiya* P        |
| 79. Manyako Chiya P                      | 80. Mita Ani Usako Jutta*          |
| 81. Mero Sano Ghoda*                     | 82. Mohini Ra Rakshash*            |
| 83. Manguko Ghurra*                      | 84. Ragatko Kura D                 |
| 85. Ranibanako Bansuriwala               | 86. Rankodekhi Riektorsamma*       |



87. Rupa Hatti\*  
 88. Liu Hulanko Balkhkalaka Kathaharu\* *P*  
 89. Leninko Muskan\* *P*  
 90. Lau Bhana Ta Ma Ke Gardaichhu\* *T*  
 91. Banako Basti\* *P*  
 92. Bideshi Bagaichaka Char Thunga Phul  
 93. Bideshi Bagaichaka Panch Thunga Phul  
 94. Bideshi Bagaichaka Chha Thunga Phul  
 95. Bidyarthiharulai Mahatma Gandhi\* *P*  
 96. Biswaka Bal Kabita  
 97. Sarpako Dactor Ra Aru Kathaharu  
 98. Sachitra Katha\*  
 99. Sanbabuka Chara  
 100. Sannani Ra Hatti\* *P*  
 101. Sanbabuka Chara  
 102. Sanu Rajkumar\*  
 103. Sukhi Rajkumar Ra Aru Kathaharu  
 104. Sunaulo Nadiko Raja\* *PD*  
 105. Seti Pari Kali Pari  
 106. Sauriyik Batas\*  
 107. Sinha Kukur\* *PD*  
 108. Hamra Upayogi Banaspatiharu\*  
 109. Hindu Dharma Ke Ho?\*  
 110. Hussu Kukhuri  
 111. Hyamelinko Murale

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## TENSE-ASPECT INCORPORATION IN ATHPARIA: A REINTERPRETATION

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 Mahendra Multiple Campus

### 1. Introduction

Within the periphery of Dhankuta District of Eastern Nepal, a specific language – variously known as Athpagari, Athpahari, Athpre, and Athpare – is spoken by a group of Rais, the residents of Santang, Tekunala, Charagaun, Okmalung, and Bhirgaun. Although, in Belhara, there is another group of Rais with the same denomination of Athpre, ethnically and culturally closely related to the Athpres of Dhankuta District, Athparia language is, even today, only associated with the Athparia language spoken in Santang, Tekunala, and Charagaun of Dhankuta Municipality.

This language was first of all mentioned by Bal Krishna Pokharel (2027 VS), who classified it with the Austro-Asiatic Language Family. Since then, it has been established in studies by Neupane (2041 VS), Ebert (1990), Hanson (1991), and Ebert (1991) as a south-east (classified by Ebert) language of Kirat-Rai group of the Tibeto-Burman Family of languages spoken in Nepal. This paper focusing on the “tense-aspect” of this very language, reinterpreting the studies by Neupane and Ebert, has tried to present this language as a “tense-aspect incorporated” language.

### 2. Tense strategy

Although both – time and aspect – are generally related to time, they are variously expressed. Tense is a deixis; it situates/anchors an utterance in external contexts (Comrie 1981 5). Its function is to situate an utterance with reference to a deictic centre. However, there are differences in the ways different languages perform this function. Although it has become customary to treat tense as the class of a sentence as a whole (12), in this paper it has been treated as one of the grammatical categories of the verb, very much like the number or gender. As a grammatical category, tense is supposed to have been bounded by the situational time represented by the morphological structure of the verb. It is because of this that languages like the Burmese and Dyrbal represent time by temporal adverbs or modal auxiliaries, whereas the ungrammaticalised time is not treated as the tense of the sentence in this paper. Western African languages like Yoruba and Igbo do not possess tense markers, whereas they do possess aspect markers. What this means is that tense is not a language universal. Consequently, a verb may not have any tense at all. Time can be represented by subordinate or non-finite verbs. In the following examples from Nepali (1a) and Athparia (1b), past time is verbally expressed although there is no tense.

1a. *U ghara gayEra Ayo.*

[*u: g<sup>h</sup>əɾə gəjɛrə ɑ:jo*]

*u g<sup>h</sup>əɾ-ə dʒɑ ~ gə-j-erə au-j-o*

He went home and came back.

1b. *un khAlAngAī khAdAū noktE.*

[*un k<sup>h</sup>aləŋgɑɪ k<sup>h</sup>adaū noktɛ*]

*un k<sup>h</sup>aləŋgɑ-ŋɪ k<sup>h</sup>at-ɑ-uŋ nokt-ɑ-e*

[he market-locative go-?-sequential return-?-?]

He went to market then returned.

(Presently the interrogative marker [?] is used for latter discussions.)

Therefore, in this context, there cannot be any tense in the subordinate or non-finite verbs, but is a grammatical category of absolute or finite verbs only.

### 3. Survey of Athparia verbs

Following are some examples (2, 3) of verbs in Athparia that can be associated with tense:

Verb: *jūŋ* : stay

2a.	<i>jūŋe</i>	<i>jūŋ-ɑ-e</i>	(past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular)
b.	<i>jūŋace</i>	<i>jūŋ-ɑ-ci-e</i>	(past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person dual)
c.	<i>ojūŋe</i>	<i>o-jūŋ-ɑ-e</i>	(past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural)
d.	<i>ɑjūŋe</i>	<i>ɑ-jūŋ-ɑ-e</i>	(past, 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular)
e.	<i>jūŋie</i>	<i>jūŋ-ɑ-i-e</i>	(past, 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural inclusive)
3a.	<i>jūŋjuk</i>	<i>jūŋ-juk</i>	(non-past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular)
b.	<i>jūŋcici</i>	<i>jūŋ-ci-ci</i>	(non-past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person dual)
c.	<i>ojūŋjuk</i>	<i>o-jūŋ-juk</i>	(non-past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural)
d.	<i>ɑjūŋjuk</i>	<i>ɑ-jūŋ-juk</i>	(non-past, 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular)
e.	<i>jūŋiti</i>	<i>jūŋ-i-t-i</i>	(non-past, 1 <sup>st</sup> person pl inclusive)
f.	<i>juŋɑā</i>	<i>juŋ-ŋɑ-ŋɑ</i>	(non-past, 1 <sup>st</sup> person singular)

All the examples in 2 have <-ɑ> and <-e>, which indicate the past time, whereas in examples 3, <-ɑ> and <-e> are absent. Instead there are <-juk> (as in 3a, c, and d), <-t> (3e), and <-ø> (3b), which do not indicate past time. It is, perhaps, for this reason that Neupane (2041VS 141), and Ebert (1994 29 & 1997 41) seem to have accepted two basic tenses – past and non-past. Neupane has taken <-e> and Ebert <-ɑ> and <-e> as past tense markers.

Finding two affixes added to the same verb for the same tense and the same aspect not legible, Ebert has termed <-ɑ> as “past base” and <-e> as past marker. According to her, <-ɑ> is an old morpheme whereas <-e> is a new development. Similarly, <-juk> and <-t> are non-past markers. At this point one question arises – is it possible to have two affixes indicating the same tense and the same aspect added to the same verb simultaneously? Is it possible to have two markers for a certain person and number (3a, b, d, and e) and none for the other (3b)? Why is it possible that a certain tense marker appears not in a tense slot but in an aspect slot (3e)? Let us look for the answers to these questions in the following examples.

4a. *wet tajaū make nasa lise*

*wet taj-ɑ-uŋ make nasa lis-ɑ-e*

rain come-?-seq maize loss be-?-?

After the rain, maize shall be lost.

b. *asen tajana japmi k<sup>h</sup>ade*

*asen taj-ɑ-na japmi k<sup>h</sup>at-ɑ-e*

yesterday come-?-nom man go-?-?

[lit.: yesterday come man went.]

The man who had come yesterday has gone.

Here, in both the examples in 4, <-ɑ> is present – in (a) as sequential and in (b) in the form of adjectivised verb used as participle. There is no past tense in the verb; it is sentential because the same verb in example 5 indicates a future context:

5. *un tajaū ā k<sup>h</sup>atnaā*

*un taj-ɑ-uŋ aŋ k<sup>h</sup>at-ŋɑ-ŋɑ*

he come-?-seq I go-1<sup>st</sup> person-copy

[he having come I go]

I shall go after he comes.

This creates the strongest possibility that <-ɑ>, instead of being a tense marker, is an aspect marker. Perhaps, Ebert (1997 41) has interpreted her use of the term “past base” in this way. Thus <-ɑ> appearing in all the perfective participles that function as finite verbs is justified.

6.

<i>tajana</i>	<i>taj-ɑ-na</i>	come-?-nom	come
<i>tajaettana</i>	<i>taj-ɑ-ett-ɑ-na</i>	come-?-inst-?-nom	coming
<i>tajasana</i>	<i>taj-ɑ-s-ɑ-na</i>	come-?-perfect-?-nom	already come
<i>tajagondana</i>	<i>taj-ɑ-gond-ɑ-na</i>	come-?-habitual-?-nom	used to come



Thus <-α> seems to be more of an aspect marker than a tense marker. <-e> in the above example 2 cannot be a past marker since it again appears in the following examples in the context of the present:

- 7.
- |                             |                                   |   |                      |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| <i>k<sup>h</sup>adase</i>   | <i>k<sup>h</sup>at-α-s-α-e</i>    | go-?-perfect-?-?                            | has gone             |
| <i>k<sup>h</sup>adasace</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>at-α-s-α-ci-e</i> | go-?-perfect-?-dual-?                       | (they two) have gone |
| <i>ok<sup>h</sup>adase</i>  | <i>o-k<sup>h</sup>at-α-s-α-e</i>  | -3 <sup>rd</sup> person pl-go-?-perfect-?-? | (>2) have gone       |

The verbs in the above examples 6, when used as finite verbs, the past time relevance is indicated by the nominaliser:

- 8.
- accho bo nihī jusana tajana/tajasana/tajagondana*  
*accho bo na(h)ṇi jusana taj-α-na/taj-α-s-α-na/taj-α-gond-α-na*  
 long time ago—part. this (h)-locative—tiger come-?/nom/come-?-perfect-?-nom/come-?-habitual-?-nom  
 long time ago a tiger came/had come/used to come here.

<-e> does not appear in the negative structure; all types of negatives have either <-nα> or <-gα>. Even the supposed past marker <-α> and non-past markers <-juk> or <-t> do not appear in negative constructions.

- 9a.
- |                 |                    |                     |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>juṇnina</i>  | <i>juṇ-ni-na</i>   | does not sit        |
| <i>juṇcinga</i> | <i>juṇ-ci-n-gα</i> | (they 2) do not sit |
| <i>ojuṇniga</i> | <i>o-juṇ-ni-gα</i> | (>2) do not sit     |
- 9b.
- |                    |                           |                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>juṇnatnina</i>  | <i>juṇ-ni-att-ni-na</i>   | (he) did not sit      |
| <i>juṇjaccinga</i> | <i>juṇ-ci-att-ci-n-gα</i> | (they 2) did not sit  |
| <i>ojuṇnatniga</i> | <i>o-juṇ-ni-att-ni-gα</i> | (they >2) did not sit |

In examples 7, <-α> and <-e> appear in the present relevance, in examples 8 and 9b <-nα> is used instead of <-e> to indicate the past time relevance. These examples force us to conclude that <-e> is not a past marker. Examples 1, 5, 7, and 9b have already shown <-α> not to be a past marker. Similarly, <-juk>, <-t>, and <-∅>, in examples 3, are not tense markers. Had they been tense markers, they would not have appeared in the slot for the aspect marker and would also have appeared in 9a. All these examples indicate the only possibility of their being aspect markers.

#### 4. Aspect strategy

Athparia seems to have fixed two "situation constituencies" to express aspect in verbs – base situation and specific situation. Base situation is the first stage in which the temporal frame of the verb in its totality is divided into certain sequences. These sequences then dissociate into the perfective and imperfective domains of the verb. Here the aspect, having closest ties with the tense, compensates for the loss of tense. The basis for this division is the presence or absence of the morpheme <-α>. In the second stage – the specific situation – the internal situation of the verb is located. In this process, aspects like general, continuous, habitual, instantaneous, complete, etc. are constructed.

#### 5. Aspect spectrum

The verb in Athparia has two types of construction – absolute and subordinate. The morpheme <-nα> represents the absolute and <+nα> the subordinate. Both of these have the perfective and imperfective aspects. The presence or the absence of the morpheme <-α> represents the perfective or the imperfective respectively. The imperfective has general and continuous, and the continuous has habitual and instantaneous divisions. On the other hand, the perfective has general and perfect under the subordinate division and general, perfect, and continuous under the absolute division. The classification can be represented by the following chart:

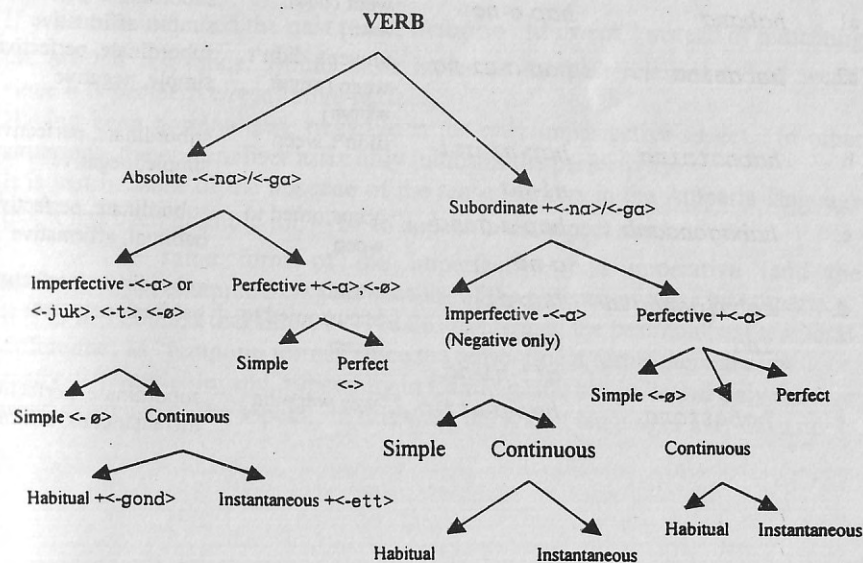


Fig. Aspect spectrum in Athparia



## 14 / Tense-Aspect

According to this chart, there are the following aspects of the verb in the Athparia language:

10.			
a.	<i>habjuk</i>	<i>hap-juk</i>	weeps absolute, imperfective, simple, affirmative
b.	<i>habjugon</i>	<i>hap-juk-gond</i>	usually weeps absolute, imperfective, habitual, affirmative
c.	<i>habjuet</i>	<i>hap-juk-ett</i>	is weeping absolute, imperfective, instantaneous, affirmative
11.			
a.	<i>habe</i>	<i>hap-α-e</i>	wept absolute, perfective, simple, affirmative
b.	<i>habase</i>	<i>hap-α-s-α-e</i>	has wept absolute, perfective, perfect, affirmative
12.			
a.	<i>habnina</i>	<i>hap-ni-na</i>	doesn't weep subordinate, imperfective, simple, negative
b.	<i>habnigon nina</i>	<i>hap-ni-gond- ni-na</i>	isn't accustomed to weep subordinate, imperfective, habitual, negative
c.	<i>habniget nina</i>	<i>hap-ni-gett- ni-na</i>	wasn't weeping subordinate, imperfective, instantaneous, negative
13.			
a1.	<i>habana</i>	<i>hap-α-na</i>	wept (रोएको, रुन्थ्यो) subordinate, perfective, simple, affirmative
a2.	<i>habanina</i>	<i>hap-α-ni-na</i>	unwept, didn't weep (नरोएको, रुदैनथ्यो) subordinate, perfective, simple, negative
b.	<i>habnatnina</i>	<i>hap-ni-att- ni-na</i>	didn't weep subordinate, perfective, simple, negative
c.	<i>habagondana</i>	<i>hap-α-gond- α-na</i>	accustomed to weep subordinate, perfective, habitual, affirmative
d.	<i>habnigonnatn ina</i>	<i>hap-ni- gond-ni- att-ni-na</i>	wasn't accustomed to weep subordinate, perfective, habitual, negative
e.	<i>habettana</i>	<i>hap-α-ett-α- na</i>	was weeping subordinate, perfective, instantaneous, affirmative

f.	<i>habnigetnina</i>	<i>hap-ni-gett- ni-na</i>	hasn't wept wasn't weeping subordinate, perfective, perfect, instantaneous, negative
g.	<i>habasana</i>	<i>hap-α-s-α-na</i>	had wept absolute, perfective, perfect, affirmative
h.	<i>habnigetnatni na</i>	<i>hap-ni-gett- ni-att-ni-na</i>	hadn't wept subordinate, perfective, perfect, negative

## 6. Findings

The following inferences can be drawn from the above discussion:

1. There is no tense in Athparia; there are only aspects.
2. <α> indicates the perfective aspect.
3. <e> is a finite marker, which occurs only in the perfective aspect. This is, as Ebert (1999 397) has said "a recently developed finite marking style," as is the case with Northern Munda.
4. Most of the verbs are subordinate [i.e. 12, 13].
5. Subordination being the main tendency of the Athparia language, there is no tense-aspect opposition.
6. If there had been tense-aspect opposition, the absolute imperfective *habjugon* "is accustomed to weep," and *habjuet* "is weeping" should have their past perfective complements *habagonde* "was accustomed to weep," and *habette* "was weeping." Instead they have been nominalised as *habasana* "was weeping."
7. If <e> had indicated the past tense, *habase* "has wept," instead of indicating the present relevance, would have indicated the past relevance "had wept" since it is perfective/resultative perfect.
8. Having been nominalised, negative is the only imperfective aspect. In other situations, the nominaliser affix only indicates the perfectivity.
9. It is just because of the absence of the tense markers in the Athparia language that it has been possible for <t> to appear in the aspect slot.

The same form of the imperfective, and imperative (and the affirmative) in example 3f is just because of the absence of tense in Athparia. It is in this context that Ebert (1997a 26) has termed the past/non-past temporal differences as "temporal terms" since the tense-aspect forms there are not easily differentiable; and, especially in Camling, she has indicated only the basic existence of the aspect. In this way, the Kirant languages may have no

tense-aspect opposition, which has yet to be confirmed. The Komi (Finnic-Ugric: Russia) clauses reveal a contrast between nonpast and future tense. In the negative, however, the tense distinction is not made, leaving the meaning ambiguous between a present and future reading (Whaley 1997: 230). Athparia, therefore, is a language, like the Burmese, Yoruba, or Igbo, without the tense markers and having only aspect markers; or, like the Arabic, a language in which tense and aspect are incorporated.

#### Abbreviations

1. inst	instantaneous
2. lit	literally
3. nom	nominaliser/ nominalised
4. part	participle
5. pl	plural
6. seq	sequential

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#### O-ENDING NOMINALS IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

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#### 1. Introduction

O-ending nominals are characteristic features of some of the New Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Kumaoni, European Romany or Gypsy dialects (like Belgaun Garodi, Belgaun Myanwale, Sitapur Kanjari and Belgaun Kanjari), Sindhi, some Dardic languages (like Maiyan, Shina, Tirahi, Kalasha, Torwali, Gawarbat, Palola, Garvi, and Pashai), Gujarati, some Kafir languages (like Waigeli), Western Pahadi and Rajasthani dialects (like Marwadi, Jaipuri, Mewati, Malvi, Nemadi and Bundeli). We mean nouns, predicative and attributive adjectives and also possessives by the word 'nominals' in this paper.

1. (a) kāco(Nepali), kaco(Sindhi and Dardic language Shina), kāco(Kumaoni) 'raw'
2. (a) khuTTo(Nepali), khuTo(Kumaoni), khūTo(Gujarati) 'leg or foot'
3. (a) baRo (Nepali, Western Pahadi, Kumaoni), baro (European Romani), baDU (Kashmiri), Thulo(Nepali) 'big or great'
4. (a) ghōDo(Nepali, Sindhi, Gujarati, Western Pahadi, Kumaoni, Rajasthani dialects like Marwadi, Jaipuri, Mewati, Malvi and Nimadi), khoDo(European Romani), ghwaRo(Rajasthani dialect Bundeli) 'horse'
5. (a) mero(Nepali, Gujari, Rajasthani dialect Mewati, Gypsy dialects like Belgaun Garodi, Belgaun Myanwale, Sitapur Kanjari and Belgaun Kanjari), mAro(Rajasthani dialects Marwadi and Malvi), mhAro(Rajasthani dialects Jaipuri and Nimadi), mairo(Yusufsai) 'my'
6. ghano (Nepali and Dardic language Kalasha) 'bamboo cane', ho (Nepali and Dardic language Torwali) 'is', apNo (Western Pahari), ko (Nepali, Kannauji, Kumaoni, Garhwali) 'of' (Source: Kellogg 1875, Grierson 1908, 1916, Turner 1931: )

This characteristic stands out against the ā-ending languages like Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Panjabi and Marathi.



1. (b) kaccā (Hindi, Panjabi, Lahanda), kācā (Marathi)
  2. (b) khūTā (Assamese, Bengali, khuNTā (Oriya), khuTā (Marathi))
  3. (b) baRā (Hindi), baRa (Oria, Bengali), ThulA (Marathi)
  4. (b) ghoRā (Hindi, Marathi, Lahanda, Panjabi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese)
  5. (b) merā (Hindi), mājhā (Marathi)
  6. (b) apnā (Hindi), kā (Hindi)
- (Source: Kellogg 1875, Grierson 1908, 1916, Turner 1931:)

This paper tries to establish historical and geographical relations to this o-ending and A-ending dichotomy.

## 2. O-A Dichotomy in New Indo-Aryan

Masica (1991:220) shows that o-ending masculine forms are found in Konkani, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Sindhi, Braj, Bundeli, Kashmiri, Western Pahadi, Garwali, Kumaoni and Nepali. Among them Konkani is spoken in Southern Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa, Kashmiri and Pahadi languages like Nepali, Kumaoni and Garhwali and the Dardic language Kashmiri are spoken in the northwestern part of the Himalayas. Among the languages with o-ending nominals, Pashai and Gawarbatī are Western Dardic languages spoken in Pakistan and Afghanistan, Maiyan is a Nuristani language of the Dardic group, also spoken in Pakistan. Shina and Kashmiri are Eastern Dardic languages in that Shina is spoken in Pakistan while Kashmiri is spoken in India. Gujarati is spoken in Gujarat while 80% of Sindhi is spoken in Pakistan and 20% is spoken in India. Western Pahadi languages are mainly spoken in Himachal Pradesh of Northern India and only a few are spoken in UP and Jammu & Kashmir. Tihri is a language of Afghanistan (Breton 1997:192).

Hoernle (1880:xxvii-xxviii) has correlated the o-ending nominals with the Western Gaudian and the Northern Gaudian. Gujarati and Sindhi are categorized as Western Gaudian and Nepali is categorized as Northern Gaudian. Except for Braj and the Rajasthani dialect Bundeli spoken in Central India, o-ending nominals are commonly used in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Northern and Western India and Nepal. Gypsy or European Romany clearly seems to have been an offshoot of this northwestern group of the New Indo-Aryan.

On the other hand, languages like Panjabi, Lahanda, Hindi, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and Marathi comprise a central and southeastern group. In this way the o-a dichotomy bisects all the New Indo-Aryan languages into northwestern group on the one hand and central and southeastern group on the other respectively.

On the basis of the comparative word-list in Turner (1931) the percentage of o-ending words in the northwestern group of New Indo-Aryan is as follows in the descending order:

7. Kumaoni (51.7) > European Romany (23.7) > Nepali (22.6) > Sindhi (20.2) > Dardic Maiyan (14.1) > Gujarati (12.9) > Avesta (12.5) > Kafiri language Waigeli (8.3) > W. Pahadi (7.6) > Shina (5.9) > Tihri (5.6) > Kalasha (5.5) > Torwali (4.7) > Western Dardic Gawarbatī (3.5) > Polala (3.4) > Garvi (2.8) > Western Dardic Pashai (2.2) > Syrian Romany (1.4)

But numerically the languages with o-ending nominals go as follows:

8. Kumaoni (881) > Sindhi (566) > Gujarati (422) > European Romany (102) > W. Pahadi (52) > Shina (30) > Torwali (13) > Maiyan (11) > Kalasha (10) > Tihri (6) > Gawarbatī, Garvi and Pashai (3) > Waigeli and Syrian Romany (2)

Since Turner (1931) is a dictionary of Nepali, here we have left counting Nepali words in the numerical order.

## 3. Constraints on nasalized [O] in Nepali

Nepali does not tolerate nasalized [o]. It means the underlying nasalized [o] in Nepali is realized as [u]:

9. sāno [sānu] 'small', lāmo [lāmu] 'long', tāmo [tāmu] 'copper', chāno [tshānu] 'roof' rāno [rānu] 'queen bee', cāno [tsānu] 'slice' (a classifier)

This characteristic of Nepali is shared by Sindhi, the Dardic language Shina and partly by the Western Pahadi languages, e.g.

10. Sindhi: aDkinu (Nepali), aTkiNu (Sindhi) 'get trapped', aDinu (Nepali), aDaNu (Sindhi) 'to stop', ukhelnu (Nepali), ukhilaNu (Sindhi) 'to uproot', kāmnu (Nepali), kambaNu (Sindhi) 'to shiver'
11. Shina: budyoonu (Nep. bujhnu) 'understand', cukyoonu (Nep. cuknu) 'commit mistake', hazooonu (Nep. hānsnu) 'laugh'
12. W. Pahadi: kasNu (Nep. kasnu) 'tighten', kaahNu (Nep. kahanu) 'say', khuaaNu (Nep. khuwaaunu) 'feed'



Kashmiri also shares nu by applying the rule of metathesis, e.g.

13. Kashmiri: bolun (Nep. bolnu) 'speak', bigaarun (Nep. bigaarnu) 'spoil', carun (Nep. carnu) 'graze', asun (Nep. haasnu) 'laugh'

Nepali nominalizing suffix nu corresponds to Kumaoni, Baitadeli and partly Western Pahadi suffix No:

14. Kumaoni: ghumNo (Nepali ghumnu) 'roam', chopNo (Nepali chopnu) 'to cover', bitāuNo (Nepali bitāunu) 'to pass time or to kill'  
15. W. Pahadi: kaTNo (Nep. kaaTnu) 'cut', gaNNo (Nep. gannu) 'cut', bharNo (Nep. bharnu) 'fill'

Gujarati has the suffix vū for the Nepali infinitive and gerundive suffix nu, but nasalization of [o] seems to be constrained even in Gujarati, e.g.:

16. aapNu (Nep. aaphnu) 'self's', oDhNu (Nep. oDhnu) 'cover', kaaNo or kaaNu (Nep. kaano or kaanu) 'blind of one eye', chaaNu (Nep. chaanu) 'roof'

This correspondence suggests that Nepali suffix nu is derived from the underlying form no. It also points to the closer historical ties of Nepali with Sindhi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, the Dardic languages Shina and Kashmiri and Western and Central Pahadi languages like Garhwali, Kumaoni and others. In addition to that, the underlying form No is retained by Kumaoni and some of the Nepali dialects like Baitadeli. According to Turner (1931) Nepali nu-suffix corresponds to the following forms in other New Indo-Aryan languages:

17. Hindi: aghaanaa (Nep. aghaaunu) 'get satisfied', aRnaa (Nep. aRnu) 'stop', nahaanaa (Nep. nuhaaunu) 'bathe', ukasnaa (Nep. uksinu) 'come through'  
18. Bengali: olaana (Nep. orlanu) 'get down', kaTaana (Nep. kaTaaunu) 'cause to cut', karaana (Nep. garaaunu) 'cause to do'  
19. Punjabi: aTakNaa (Nep. aDkanu) 'get stuck', ukaasNaa (Nep. ukaasnu) 'enkindle', ukheRNaa (ukhelnu) 'uproot', ucaalNaa (ucaalnu) 'uplift'

Assamese and Oriya share the citation form with baa

20. Assamese: uribaa (Nep. uDnu) 'fly', karibaa (Nep. garnu) 'do', kuTibaa (Nep. kuTnu) 'beat',  
21. Oriya: kuTibaa (Nep. kuTnu) 'beat', karibaa (Nep. garnu) 'do', kudibaa (Nep. kudnu) 'run'

Marathi has the citation form with the suffix ne maybe because the resultant verbs are in masculine gender. Sinhalese is another exception, because it has also the nominalizing suffix nu like that of Nepali. This feature may take Sinhalese to the northwestern group.

#### 4. Conclusion

This nu/no alternation and the frequency of o-ending nominals in the northern and western groups of the New Indo-Aryan bring them to a common historical stock, the northwestern.

The languages with o-ending nominals are spoken:

1. Along the Himalayan Range from Kashmir to Nepal,
2. The Hindu Kush Range of Afghanistan and Pakistan,
3. The Aravalli Range and the Plateau of Malva in Rajasthan and the Indus valley

The aa-ending languages are spoken mainly in the Magadhi and Sauraseni areas that coincide roughly with the plains of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra rivers.

According to Grierson (1916), the Khasa people came from the Hindu Kush to the Indian subcontinent earlier and settled along the Himalayas. They were followed by the Gurjara people who entered the subcontinent in about 500 AD and who occupied the western part of the peninsula in the Aravalli Range and the Plateau of Malva in Rajasthan and the Indus Valley area. If we correlate Grierson's hypothesis with the o-aa dichotomy in the New Indo-Aryan, we incline to conclude that the o-dialect of New Indo-Aryan must have taken shape somewhere in the northwest like Afghanistan, Kashmir or Pakistan.

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## THE SYNTACTIC STATUS OF TAMANG MORPHEMES

<-pa/-ba>, <-sye> and <-la>

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### 1. Introduction

The syntactic status of the morphemes has been a dilemma for the researchers both who are doing research in the language and who are newly introduced in the field. As the result various analysis in the literature contradict each other. The discrepancies are the result of their multi-functions. They can be used to indicate the temporal setting of the situation (tense marker). A part from this they are used as modality markers as well as nominalizers. But what they are basically or what is their syntactic status has not been established yet. In this paper I have tried to establish their syntactic status of the morphemes. My explanation is based on the western dialect of Tamang.

### 2. Hypotheses and their justifications

To establish the syntactic status of the morphemes I have made three hypotheses which are mentioned and justified below.

Hypothesis 1: <-pa/-ba> and <-sye> are basically nominalizer

Evidence-1

Most of the Tamang adjectives are derived from the verbal roots nominalized by <-pa/-ba>.

- |    |               |        |               |           |
|----|---------------|--------|---------------|-----------|
| 1. | kam+pa =      | kampa  | jya+pa =      | jyaba     |
|    | to become+NOM | better | to become+NOM | beautiful |
|    | bitter        |        | beautiful     |           |
|    | reh+pa =      | rehba  | koŋ+pa =      | koŋba     |
|    | to become+NOM | long   | to become+NOM | hard      |
|    | long          |        | hard          |           |

Evidence-2

Dependent nominal clauses are formed by adding <-pa/-ba> or <-sye> to the verb stem.

- 2a. bajar nyi-ba mih curi kha-ji  
market go-NOM man here come-PST  
'The man who went market come here.'
- b. ken ca-sye mih-da ŋa-ce puŋ-ji  
rice eat-NOM man-DAT I-ERG hit-PST  
'I hit the man who would eat rice.'

Evidence-3

Verbal nouns are formed adding <-pa/-ba> or <-sye> to the verb stem.

- 3a. paŋ-ba-ce namthar syet-ci  
say-NOM-ERG story tell-PST  
'Story teller told story.'



- b. doŋbo tha-sye kha-but-ci  
tree cut-NOM come-finish-PST  
'The tree cutter already came.'

The evidences presented above justify that <-pa/-ba> and <-sye> are nominalizers. Similarly, we can justify that the morphemes are nominalizers in the following clauses and the clauses are nominalized clauses.

- 4a. ta-ce sun ca-ba  
horse-ERG paddy eat-NOM  
'Paddy eating by the horse.' (The horse eats paddy.)

- b. ŋa namsyo dihm-ri Ti-sye  
I tomorrow home-LOC stay-NOM  
'Tomorrow my sitting at home.' (Tomorrow I stay at home.)

The above given clauses are so called finite clauses in Tamang, but they can be used as relative (nominalized) clauses as shown in the following examples.

- 5a. [ta-ce sun ca-ba] namsa  
[horse-ERG paddy eat-NOM] village  
'Village in which the horse eats paddy.'

So, we can say that the constructions given in 4(a,b) are non-finite, i.e., they are nominalized clauses. With the help of the evidences we can conclude that <-pa/-ba> and <-sye> are basically nominalizers.

#### Hypothesis-2: <-la> is 'do' verb.

##### Evidence-1

Its dictionary meaning is 'do'

##### Evidence-2

It makes verbs form nouns.

6. ku:-la            yoh-la  
stoop-do        thief-do  
'stoop'        'steal'

##### Evidence-3

It functions as a 'do' verb in the causative construction.

7. ŋa-ce the-da nyi-na-la-ji  
I-ERG he-DAT go-CAUS-do-PST  
'I made him go.'

##### Evidence-4

Another evidence to prove la as 'do' verb can be taken from the 'self-benefactive' construction.

8. ja-ce ji thuŋ-la-ji  
son-ERG wine drink-do-PST  
'Son drank wine.' (Father was suggesting not to do.)

With the help of the above given evidences, we can say that la is basically 'do' verb. We can justify it in the following clauses also.

9. ŋyaŋ-ce mangu lahp-la  
we-ERG bear chase-do  
'We bear chase do.' (We chase bear.)

Here, one interesting question may arise why lahp needs 'do' verb since it itself is a verb. When we study Tamang language we find a different concept of verb in it. Tamang verbs, for some extent, are the name of the actions. Grierson (1909) writes 'the base alone is used as a verbal noun; thus, ca-kham-na 'to eat unable'. Several such examples are found in the language when the base itself functions as verbal noun.

- 10a. the-ce ken ca-yam-ji  
he-ERG rice eat-expect-PST  
'He expected to eat rice.'

- b. the-ce ca-but-ci  
he-ERG eat-finish-PST  
'He already ate rice.'

So, in the constructions like (9) the verb stem is somewhat like a verbal noun and takes 'do' verb to make itself a full verb. In the construction, however la functions as a verbalizer, it doesn't carry any tense because in the constructions like (7), (8) and other it is followed by past tense marker <-ci/-ci>

#### Hypothesis-3: Tamang non-past is unmarked.

##### Evidence-1

There is a past tense marker <-ci/-ji> which regularly occurs with positive verb in past statements as in (2), (3), (7), (8) and (10), but there is not such a non-past marker. A non-past positive verb in a statement has one of the following suffixes. <-pa/-ba>, <-sye>, <-la> and <-nem>. If we suppose all of them as non-past markers, we have to establish four non-past tenses in the grammar which is very much inconvenient. It violates the principle of economy.

##### Evidence-2

Another important thing to remember is that function of the suffixes is modal not temporal. However, they indicate time for some extent, that is derived from modality not from tense. So we can conclude that the suffixes have some kind of relation with time but not with tense. There is no non-past marker in Tamang or Tamang non-past is unmarked.

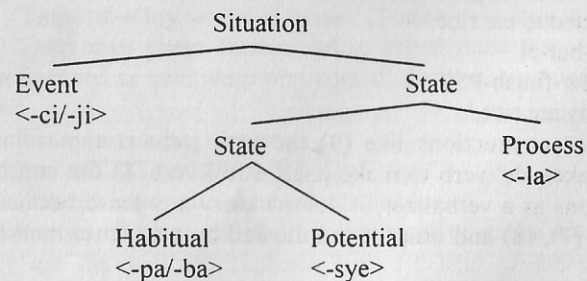
#### 3. Explanation:

Tamang syntax classifies the situation into two classes: events and states. An event is the narration that indicates the process of action which is perfective in aspect and indicates that the situation referred to is complete with respect to some point that is generally now. It means the situation is past. It is

marked with <-ci/-ji>. So a clause referring an event is a finite clause because it is marked for absolute tense.

A state is a statement that indicates the existence. A state can be either a state of situation or state of process. State of situation indicates that the situation is permanent one, habit or a feature. It can be classified into habitual and potential. Habitual indicates that the feature is permanent or habitual. It is marked with <-pa/-ba>. Potential indicates that the feature occurs in future. It is marked with <-sye>. State of process indicates that the situation is temporary one. It represents the process of an action. It is marked with <-la>.

The classification of situations according to Tamang syntax can be shown in a tree diagramm as shown below.



#### 4. Conclusion

<-pa/-ba> and <-sye> are nominalizers and <-la> 'do' verb. They are modal and refer non-past time but don't carry tense. So, the non-past clauses in Tamang are non-finite.

#### Abbreviations

CAUS- Causative  
 DAT- Dative  
 ERG- Ergative  
 ERG- Ergative  
 GEN- Genitive  
 LOC- Locative  
 NOM- Nominalizer  
 PST- Past

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## THAKALI CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Narayan Prasad Sharma

### 1. Introduction

Thakali is one of the endangered languages of Nepal spoken by an ethnic group of the same name as their mother tongue that belongs to Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum mostly related to Gurung and Tamang languages.

The majority of Thakalis living outside their traditional homeland, Thak khola, speak Nepali (an Indo-Aryan language) as their first language and many have little or no knowledge of the Thakali language. As a result, mother tongue retention rate of Thakali is 51.8 percent recorded in 1991 census.

This paper attempts to illustrate the Thakali Clause Structure with the help of categorial rules in terms of Subject (S), Object (O), Complement (C), Adverbial (A) and Verb (V). However, this paper will not examine clauses with variant position of the same item in detail.

This paper constitutes an important part of my MA dissertation (Sharma, 2001). The notion of categorial rules and the model of tree structure have been adopted from Chomsky (1957, 1965) and Lester (1976). For the purpose of this paper, clause means a single independent sentence. The categorial rules analyse the clauses at the phrase level like NP (noun phrase), VP (verb phrase), AUX (auxiliary), AP (adverbial phrase), PP (postpositional phrase), etc. because it is considered that a clause consists of NP, AUX and VP. The clause structure refers to the strings of linguistic constituents like NP, AUX, VP in the linear sequence. Such a structural organization may vary from language to language. The sentence in Thakali consists of NP followed by VP and AUX together in the following order:

$$S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$$

### 2. Basic Thakali clauses

The main verb largely determines clause structure. The basic clause types in Thakali are SV, S<sub>d</sub>V, SOV, SCV, SAV, SOOV, SOCV and SAOV.

The structure of each types with the analysis of categorial rules is illustrated below.

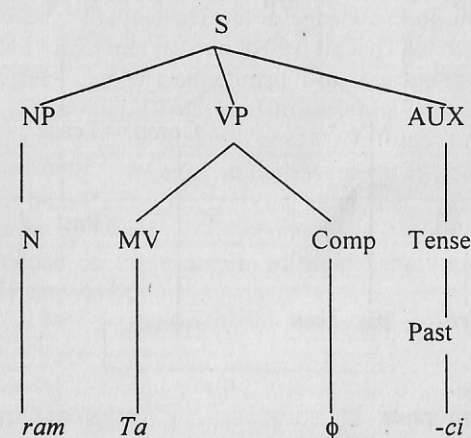
#### [1] Type SV

*ram Ta-ci*  
Ram weep-PT3s  
'Ram wept'

This sentence is an instance of type SV (intransitive) which consists of NP, VP and AUX.

|ram| |Ta-ci|  
NP VP

- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow N$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow MV \widehat{Comp}$
- iv)  $AUX \rightarrow Tense \widehat{Past}$



#### [2] Type S<sub>d</sub>V

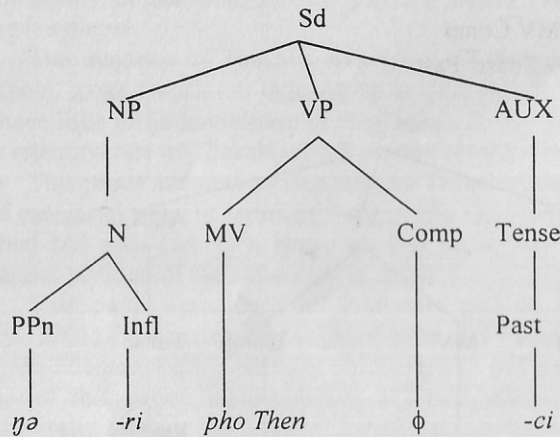
Within the framework of type SV, we can find other type of clause in Thakali which lacks in English. The subject used in such clauses is not purely the grammatical subject, rather dative subject, e.g.,

*ṅə-ri pho Then-ci*  
I-DAT hunger-feel-PT3s  
'I felt hunger'

This sentence consists of NP, VP and AUX. 'I' is the dative subject in this example.

|ṅə-ri| |pho Then-ci|  
NP VP

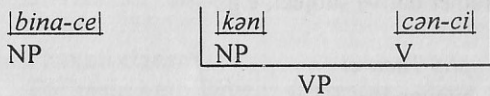
- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow N \widehat{INFL}$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow MV \widehat{Comp}$
- iv)  $AUX \rightarrow Tense \widehat{Past}$



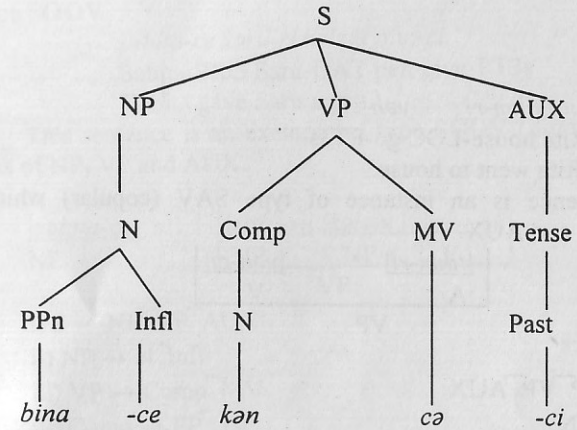
[3] Type SOV

*bina-ce kən cə-ci*  
 Bina-ERG rice eat-PT3s  
 'Bina ate rice.'

This sentence is an instance of type SOV (monotransitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.



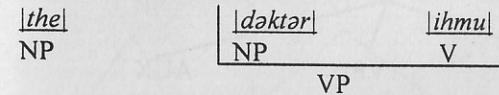
- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow N \widehat{Infl}$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow Comp \widehat{MV}$
- iv)  $Comp \rightarrow N$
- v)  $AUX \rightarrow Tense \widehat{Past}$



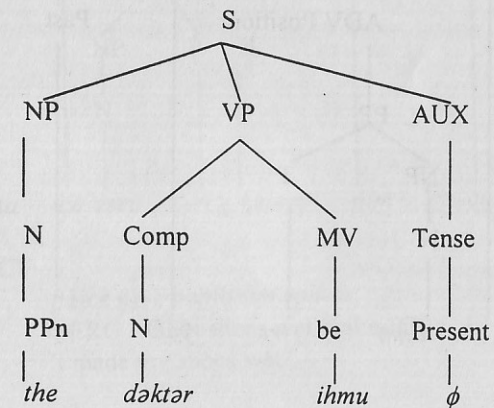
[4] Type SCV

*the daktər ihmu*  
 she doctor be.NPT3s  
 'She is a doctor'

This sentence is an example of type SCV (copular) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.



- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow PPn$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow Comp \widehat{MV}$
- iv)  $Comp \rightarrow N$
- v)  $AUX \rightarrow Tense \widehat{Present}$

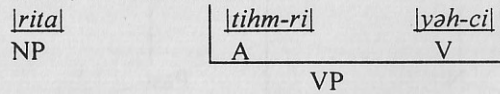




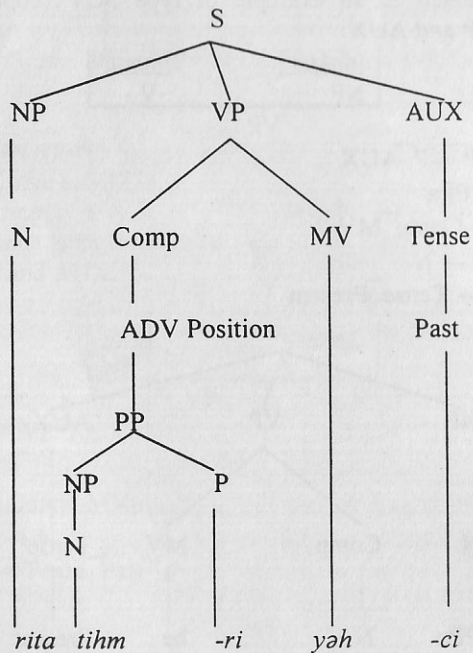
[5] Type SAV

*rita tihm-ri yah-ci*  
 Rita house-LOC go-PT3s  
 'Rita went to house.'

This sentence is an instance of type SAV (copular) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.



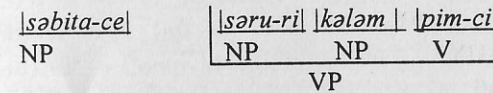
- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \overline{VP} \overline{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow N$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow \text{Comp} \overline{MV}$
- iv)  $\text{Comp} \rightarrow \text{ADV Position}$
- v)  $\text{ADV Position} \rightarrow PP$
- vi)  $PP \rightarrow NP \overline{P}$
- vii)  $AUX \rightarrow \text{Tense} \overline{\text{Past}}$



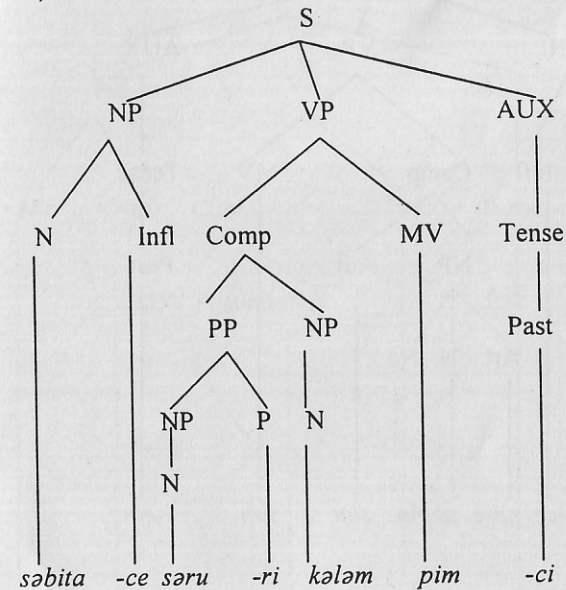
[6] Type SOOV

*sabita-ce saru-ri kalam pim-ci*  
 Sabita-ERG Saru-DAT pen give-PT3s  
 'Sabita gave Saru a pen.'

This sentence is an example of type SOOV (ditransitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.



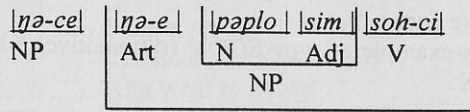
- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \overline{VP} \overline{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow N \overline{Infl}$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow \text{Comp} \overline{MV}$
- iv)  $\text{Comp} \rightarrow PP \overline{NP}$
- v)  $PP \rightarrow NP \overline{P}$
- vi)  $NP \rightarrow N$
- vii)  $AUX \rightarrow \text{Tense} \overline{\text{Past}}$



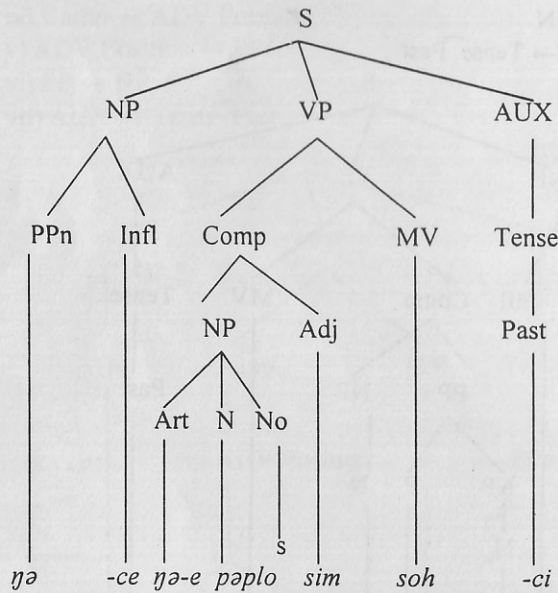
[7] Type SOCV

*ḡa-ce ḡa-e pəplo sim soh-ci*  
 I-ERG I-GEN shoes wet make-PT3s  
 'I made my shoes wet.'

This sentence is an instance of type SOCV (complex transitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.



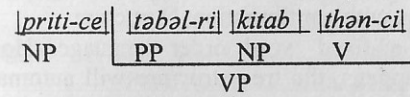
- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow PPn \widehat{Infl}$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow Comp \widehat{MV}$
- iv)  $Comp \rightarrow NP \widehat{Adj}$
- v)  $NP \rightarrow Art \widehat{N} \widehat{No}$
- vii)  $AUX \rightarrow Tense \widehat{Past}$



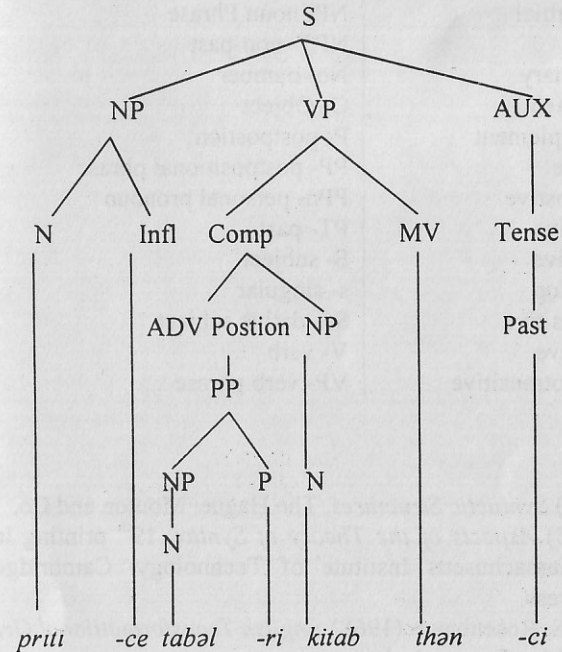
[8] Type SAOV

*pṛiti-ce tebəl-ri kitab thən-ci*  
 Pṛiti-ERG table-LOC book put-PT3s  
 'Pṛiti put a book on the table.'

This sentence is an example of type SAOV (complex transitive) which also consists of NP, VP and AUX.



- i)  $S \rightarrow NP \widehat{VP} \widehat{AUX}$
- ii)  $NP \rightarrow N \widehat{Infl}$
- iii)  $VP \rightarrow Comp \widehat{MV}$
- iv)  $Comp \rightarrow ADV \widehat{Position} \widehat{NP}$
- v)  $ADV \widehat{Position} \rightarrow PP$
- vi)  $PP \rightarrow NP \widehat{P}$
- vii)  $NP \rightarrow N$
- viii)  $AUX \rightarrow Tense \widehat{Past}$





### 3. Conclusion

All the basic clause types in Thakali can be generated following the conventional hierarchical configurational structure. The following arguments assure us to analyse Thakali clauses with configurational structure.

a. Thakali is basically a fixed word order language. However, sometimes it may vary. If this happens, the tree structure will automatically vary.

b. Grammatical relations such as subject, object, etc. can be identified through the word order. Regarding this type of clause element, the clause element's relation can be established as exemplified in type SOV.

c. As in English, the noun phrase (NP) in Thakali immediately dominated by sentence (S) is subject and the NP immediately dominated by verb phrase (VP) is the object. Generally, the former precedes the latter.

#### Abbreviations

A- adverbial	MV- Main verb
Adj- adjective	N- noun
ADV- adverbial	NP- noun Phrase
Art- article	NPT- non-past
AUX- auxiliary	No- number
C- complement	O- Object
Comp- complement	P- postposition
DAT- dative	PP- postpositional phrase
Ditra- ditransitive	PPn- personal pronoun
ERG- ergative	PT- past
GEN- genitive	S- subject
Infl- inflection	s- singular
intra- intransitive	Sd- dative subject
LOC- locative	V- verb
mono- monotransitive	VP- verb phrase

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## THE ERGATIVE MORPHOSYNTAX IN NEPALI

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### Outline

This paper is an attempt to analyze ergativity in Nepali clauses. It consists of four sections. Section 1 provides the theoretical background where we explain the concept of ergativity. Section 2 deals with the morphology of ergativity in Nepali. In section 3, we analyze the syntax of ergativity in the language in terms of constituent order, transitivity, tense and aspect constraints, verb agreement, anaphoric relation, control site, case demotion, and coordinate construction. Finally, we summarize the main findings of the paper.

### 1. Theoretical background

Natural languages exhibit different morphosyntactic characteristics in organizing their grammatical relations at clause level in terms of the three basic semantico-syntactic roles, viz. S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) (Dixon, 1998:6-8). Some languages code S and O in the same way but A differently, as exemplified in Nepali sentences in (1).

- (1) a. *raam aa-yo* → single argument clause  
Ram-Ø come-PT 3sm  
"Ram came."
- b. *raam-le kitaab padh-yo* → multi-argument clause  
Ram-ERG book read -PT3sm  
"Ram read a book."

In these examples, (1a) is an intransitive clause having a single argument (S) and it is unmarked. But (1b) is a transitive clause with two arguments, one as a subject (A) and another as an object (O). In this clause, O is also unmarked as in (1a) but A is marked differently, viz. with the ergative case marker - *le*. In Nepali, S and O are morphologically unmarked in the same way but A is marked differently. If languages organize their grammatical relations in this way, they are called ergative languages.

Ergative languages are opposed to accusative languages, which mark S and A in the same way but O differently. This is exemplified in Sanskrit sentences in (2).

- (2) a. *raamah agatchhat* - a single argument clause  
Ram - Øgo- PT3  
"Ram went."
- b. *raamah pustakam apathat* - multi-argument clause  
Ram - Øbook - ACC read - PT  
"Ram read a book".

In these sentences, (2a) is an intransitive clause having a single argument (S) whereas (2b) is a transitive clause having one argument as a subject (A) and another as an object (O). In clause (2a) the argument (S) is marked by the case inflection. In the same way (A) argument in (2b) is also marked by the same case inflection but O is marked by the accusative case marker - *am*. A language which organizes its grammatical relations in this way is called accusative language.

### 2. The morphology of ergativity in Nepali

In Nepali, the ergative subject is invariably marked with the case inflection - *le*. It is suffixed to a nominal stem, e.g.

- (3) a. *ramesh-le kaalo topi kin-yo* (Adhikary, 2055 B.S: 38)  
Ramesh -ERG black cap buy-PT3SM  
"Ramesh bought a black cap".
- b. *biraalaa-le dudha khaa-yo* (Sharma, 2057 B.S: 170)  
cat-ERG milk drink-PT3SM  
"The cat drank milk."
- c. *hawaa-le chaanaa cyaat-yo* (Gautam, 2042 BS:45)  
wind-ERG roof tear-PT 3SM  
"The storm tore the roof".
- d. *chhuraa-le bhaat khaa-yo* (Pokhrel, 2056 B.S:36)  
son -ERG rice eat-PT3SM  
"The son ate rice".

These examples show that the nominal stem is a root unless it ends with -*o*. Thus, *ramesh* (3a) and *hawaa* (3c) inflect with -*le* without any change in their form. But when we attach the ergative -*le* to *biraalo* (3b) and *choro* (3d) the word final singular form -*o* changes into -*aa*, as in *biraalaa* (3b) and *churaa* (3d). Such morphophonemic alternations occur with other cases.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note, however, that some western dialects of Nepali do not induce o→aa change. Thus we have the following:

*biraalo-le dudh khaa-yo.* ( cf. 3b )  
*chhoro-le bhaat khaa-yo* ( cf. 3d )



The pronominal ergative subjects are also invariably marked with the case inflection *-le* as nominal subjects. The following table reveals the ergative marking on pronominals in Nepali.

Pronominal roots		Ergative marking
<i>ma</i>	'I'	<i>mai-le</i>
<i>haami</i>	'we'	<i>haami-le</i>
<i>tā</i>	'you'	<i>tāi-le</i>
<i>timi</i>	'you'	<i>timi-le</i>
<i>tapaai</i>	'you'	<i>tapaai-le</i>
<i>u</i>	'he'	<i>us-le</i>
<i>uniharu</i>	'they'	<i>uniharu-le</i>
<i>uni</i> (hon.)	'he'	<i>un-le</i>
<i>tini</i>	'they'	<i>tin-le</i>

Table 1: Ergative marking on Nepali pronominals

In Table 1 we can see that when the ergative case-marking *-le* is suffixed to pronouns like *ma*, *tā*, *u*, *uni*, and *tini*, their forms have changed into *mai-*, *tāi-*, *us-*, *un-*, and *tin-*. At this stage we have not been able to explain these morphophonemic changes. They require further study and exploration.

Apart from ergative marking, the nominals and pronominals in Nepali also inflect for gender and number. The relative position of the inflectional categories affixed to these nominals and pronominals is presented in (4).

- (4) Noun/pronoun - (Gender) - Number - ERG
- ket-i-haru-le* 'girls'
  - maanis-haru-le* 'men'
  - haami-haru-le* 'we'

In these examples, the ergative case marker *-le* in Nepali is suffixed to gender and number inflections following the nominals and pronominals.

It is to be noted that the ergative marker *-le* is homophonous with the instrumental marker *-le*. It is a widespread phenomenon in several South Asian languages.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> . See Masica (1991) for details

### 3. The syntax of ergativity in Nepali

In this section, we try to analyze the properties characterizing ergativity at clausal/sentential level in Nepali. Cases and grammatical relations (subject/object) often have no one-to-one relation in Indo-Aryan languages including Nepali. Thus, not all nominative nominals are subjects and conversely, not all subjects are nominative nominals. However, ergative case is unique in the sense that it always has unidirectional relation with the subject. That is to say, all ergative nominals are subject though all subjects are not ergative, as shown in (5).

- (5) a. ERG → SUBJECT  
b. \* ERG ↔ SUBJECT<sup>3</sup>

This formulation implies that all ergative nominals must be subject. If so, then we assume that all the properties of subjecthood (proposed by Keenan (1976)) will naturally follow. In this section we examine the syntactic behaviour of the ergative subject in the various facts about Nepali syntax. They include the following:

- constituent order
- transitivity, tense and aspect
- verb agreement
- anaphoric relation
- control site
- case demotion
- coordinate construction

#### 3.1 Constituent order

We assume that the basic constituent order in a Nepali transitive clause is SOV and only for special semantic and pragmatic effects the basic constituent order is permuted (see Regmi, 1988). This assumption implies that the nominals with ergative marking *-le*, which are always subjects, occur clause initially. For example, consider the following sentence in (6).

- (6) *raam-le haari-laai kut-yo*  
Ram-ERG Hari-ACC beat-PT  
"Ram beat Hari."

<sup>3</sup> This also operates in several South Asian Languages including Hindi (Mohanani 1994)

### 3.2 Transitivity, tense and aspect

Nepali ergative marking *-le* on the subject is a complex product of the properties associated with its verb. There are three verbal properties which conspire to yield the ergative marking *-le* on the subject of a clause. These properties are transitivity, tense and aspect. With a transitive clause in past tense and/or perfective aspect the subject is obligatorily marked by the ergative *-le*. But in a non-past or imperfective aspect with an intransitive clause the only nominal argument is unmarked. Consider the examples in (7).

- (7) a. *\*raam/raam-le laatthi dobaar-yo*  
 Ram-ERG stick bend-PT  
 "Ram bent a stick."  
 b. *\*Ma/mai-le yo kitaab padh-eko ch-u*  
 1s -ERG this book read -PRES PERF Aux PRES1s  
 "I have read this book."  
 c. *\*raam/raam-le laatthi do-baari rahe-ko thi-yo.*  
 Ram-ERG stick bend-PCL IMPERF AUX-PT3sm  
 "Ram had been bending the stick."  
 d. *\*Ma/mai-le yo kitaab padhi raheko ch-u*  
 1S-ERG this book read-PCL IMP AUX.PRES1s  
 "I have been reading this book".  
 e. *ma/\*mai-le ghar ga-yē*  
 1S - O/ -ERG home go-PT3sm  
 "I went home".

The ergative marking cannot always be licensed by a conflation of transitivity, tense and aspect in Nepali. Consider the following examples in this regard.

- (8) a. *ketaa-le bhui-maa lad-nu par-cha.* (Pokhrel, 2056 B.S.: 50)  
 boy-ERG ground-LOC fall-INF OBL.NPT  
 "The boy should/has to fall on the ground."  
 b. *mai-le vidyalaya ja-nu cha.* (Adhikary, 2052 B.S.: 8)  
 I-ERG school go-INF AUXNPT  
 "I have to go to school."

In both these examples, the verbs are intransitive marked with non-past tense and non-perfective aspect and yet they trigger ergative marking on their subjects. It seems we need to look for some semantic explanation like 'necessity'/'obligation' for the choice of an ergative subject. Suppose that this semantic basis is encoded by deontic modality. If so then the morphosyntactic factors conspiring for the choice of the ergative subject fall into two disjunctive

groups: transitivity and tense/aspect vs. deontic modality. This leads to the generalization that Nepali has split ergativity. We have ventured this analysis on the basis of limited data and it needs to be further explored.

### 3.3 Verb agreement

Like nominative subjects, ergative subjects also control the verb agreement in Nepali, e.g.

- (9) *u/us-le aphaabhaa-lai kuti raheko ch-alkut-yo.*  
 3s/ERG own brother-ACC beat-PRESPROG AUXPRES3sm/beat-PT3sm  
 "He has been beating his younger brother/  
 He beat his younger brother".

It is to be noted that the subjects associated with cases other than nominative and ergative do not trigger the verb agreement in Nepali<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.4 Anaphoric relation

Unlike English type languages, Nepali behaves rather differently in terms of anaphor-antecedent relation. In English type languages, anaphors invariably take subjects within their minimal clauses or NPs as their antecedents, e.g.

- (10) a. *John<sub>i</sub> showed Jim<sub>j</sub> his<sub>j</sub> house.*  
 b. *John<sub>i</sub> likes [Jim<sub>j</sub>'s pictures of himself<sub>j</sub>]*

In Nepali, however, anaphors can have not only subjects (including ergative ones) but also objects as their antecedents, e.g.

- (11) a. *raam-le svaasni-laai aaphnai, saari di-yo*  
 R.-ERG wife-DAT REFL sari:NOM give-PT3sm  
 "Ram gave his wife her own sari."

<sup>4</sup> Nepali, thus, contrasts with Hindi, in which an ergative subject cannot control verb agreement. e.g.

- a. *raam roti khaataa hai*  
 Ram bread eat be pres 3s  
 "Ram eats bread."  
 b. *raam-ne roti khaa-yii*  
 pt 3sfem



- b. *shiksak<sub>7</sub>-le vidyaar<sub>7</sub>thi,-haru-laai aphnaa aphnaa<sub>7</sub> kaapi*  
 teacher:NOM student-p-DAT REFL notbook:NOM  
*pharkaai-di-yo.*  
 return-give-PT3sM  
 "The teacher returned the students their notebooks."  
 (Bickel and Yadava, 2000:368)

Given these data, it does not come as a surprise that in some other Indo-Aryan languages reflexives can even appear in subject position (see Dixon, 1994:138 and Lazard, 1998: 86 and Bickel and Yadava, 2000 for typological parallels). This is notably the case in Nepali (11a), first explored in Yadava (1992). Madhav Pokharel (in personal communication to Bickel) suggested the example in (11b), which is even more striking:

- (12) a. *aaphai-le raam-laai barbaad gar-yo.*  
 self:EMPH-ERG R.-DAT spoiling do-PT3sM  
 "Ram got himself spoiled." (lit '\*Himself spoiled Ram.')
- b. *aaphu-le aaphu-laai chin-na sak-ena.*  
 REFL-ERG REFL-DAT know-INF be.able-3sNEG.PT  
 "One could not know oneself."

### 3.5 Control site

As in other languages, the control site in a Nepali converbal construction is the ergative or other types of subject of the matrix clause, e.g.

- (13) *raam<sub>7</sub>-le hari-laai[ PRO, na-daraau-na] bhan-yo*  
 R.-ERG H.-DAT 3sNOM NEG-fear-INF tell-PT3sM  
 "Ram told Hari not to get afraid."

### 3.6 Case demotion

Nepali is different from Hindi and Maithili in overtly allowing subjects without enforcing any case demotion rule (cf., among others, Verma, 1976). Both nominative and ergative are fine in complement (13), attribute (14) and converb (15) clauses (See Bickel and Yadava, 2000 for details):

- (14) a. [*raam ghar jaa-nu*] *thik hoina.*  
 R.: NOM home go-INF right is not  
 'It's not good for Ram to go home'.  
 b. [*raam-le yasto kitaab padh-nu*] *thik hoina.*  
 R-ERG such book: NOM read-INF right is not  
 "It's not good for Ram to read such books."

- (15) a. [[*raam ga-eko*] *baato*]  
 R.:NOM go-P way  
 "The way Ram went"  
 b. [[*raam-le gar-eko*] *kaam*]  
 R.-ERG do-P work  
 "The work done by Ram"
- (16) a. *timi bharai na-n-ikana haamro gaph-ai*  
 2sNOM evening NEG-come-CONV 1pGEN chat-EMPH  
*ja-daina.*  
 go-NPT3sNEG  
 "Unless you come in the evening, our chat can't go on". (Clark, 1989: 164)  
 b. *timi-le bhan-era maatrai yo kaam gar-yo.*  
 2mh-ERG say-CONV only DEM work:NOM do-PT3sM  
 "He did this only because you told him so."

### 3.7 Coordinate construction

Except for the presence of a PRO-element, conjunction reduction has similar properties as converbal chaining (and earlier literature often conflates the two, e.g., Kachru et al., 1976). In the pragmatically unmarked case, the dropped element (pro) can be an ergative subject (16a), but this is not a syntactic constraint. The examples in (16b-d) show that under some conditions, the dropped element can also be the object.

- (17) a. *raam-le kitaab kin-yo ra \_ghar ga-yo.*  
 R-ERG book buy-PT3sm - home go-PT3sm  
 "Ram bought the book and went home."  
 b. *raam aa-yo ra sabai-le pit-na lag-e.*  
 R.:NOM come-PT3sM and all:ERG hit-INF begin-PT3p  
 "Ram came and every body started to hit him."  
 c. *mai-le gilaas phyaa<sub>7</sub>-e ra pro phut-yo.*  
 1sERG glass:NOM throw-PT1s and break-PT23sM  
 "I threw the glass and it broke."  
 d. *raam-le svaasni-laai aaphno saari di-yo*  
 R.-ERG wife-DAT REFL saari:NOM give-PT3sM  
 "Ram gave his wife her own sari."

**Conclusion**

To sum up, the ergative morphosyntax in Nepali is characterized by a set of properties. It is morphologically marked with the case particle *-le*. In an unmarked construction, the ergative subject appears clause initially usually in a transitive past clause. Like the nominative subject, it shows agreement with the verb. The antecedent of an anaphor is not only the ergative or non-ergative subject but also the object. The control site in a Nepali converbal construction is the ergative or other types of subject. Nepali overtly allows subjects without enforcing any case demotion rule. In the pragmatically unmarked case, the dropped element (*pro*) can be an ergative subject (16a), but this is not a syntactic constraint in a pro-drop language.

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# THE CATEGORY OF ASPECT IN NEPALI AND MANIPURI

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## Abstract

This paper aims at documenting and analyzing the morpho-syntactic structures and semantics of verbal aspects in Nepali, a modern Indo-Aryan language and Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language of North East India, within the framework of modern linguistic approaches such as Comrie (1976), Bhat (1999) and Bybee et al (1994).

## 1. Introduction

The category of aspect is closest to the verbal stem (Hopper and Traugott, 1993:143, Bybee, 1985:34). More than half of the languages of the world have inflectional aspect (Lyons, 1995:323, Bybee, 1985:32). Aspect can be expressed by means of inflections as in 'on proclitic (Pfv)'he read' and 'onclitic' (Ipfv) 'he was reading' in Russian (Comrie, 1976:1), lexical verb as in 'cough'(SEMEL) and 'know' (STAT), etc. in English and periphrastic expressions such as English progressive 'be+v-ing' and past habitual 'used to-v'. As aspect is the closest category to the verbal stem, it is the most grammaticalised and has the dominant role in the meaning of verbal groups. The most explicit universal semantic features of aspect are perfective, imperfective, telic, atelic, continuous, progressive, durative, inceptive, etc. These have closely linked relation with change of a situation or less time stability. Givon(1984:64) notes that verbs tend to code less time stable experience and transitory situations. Verbs may code rapid changes or processes of certain duration or relatively less stable states. These common semantic features of the aspect and verbal stem bring these categories closest to each other morphologically.

The category of aspect is widely discussed topic in linguistics. Comrie(1976:3) defines aspect as different ways of viewing the internal temporal consistency of a situation. Comrie(1976) based his study mainly on Slavic and other European languages. To Bhat (1999:43), aspect is the temporal structure of an event denoted by the verb. Aspect is grammaticalised verbal category, which views the internal structure of a situation. Aspect is not only restricted to verbs but extends to the whole predicate (Lyons, 1995: 322). According to Givon (1984: 272), boundedness of time span is essential feature of aspect and it involves phasal values of verbal meanings such as beginning, ending and middle.

Based on the studies of these scholars, the category of aspect includes concepts such as anterior, continuous, durative, punctual, habitual, progressive,

perfective, etc. These are cross-linguistically valid concepts related to aspect. The languages of the world have different ways of expressing these meanings. Three types of strategies employed by the languages of the world to express aspectual meanings are identified. They are by means of inflections, lexical verbs and periphrastic expressions.

## 2. Nepali aspect system

Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, is predominantly a verb final language. Abdulky (1974:14) lists four types of aspectual markers: the perfective marker '-eko', perceptive marker '-e', imperfective marker '-ne' and progressive marker '-dai'. Sharma (1980:34) notes the distinction between perfective and imperfective in which the suffixes '-eko' and '-e' denote perfective and '-nda', '-ndo' and '-ne' denote imperfective aspect. Peterson (1999:340) also notes the aspectual distinction between perfective marked by '-e' and imperfective marked by '-nda' with different allomorphic variations of '-n-' after vowel, nasalisation after diphthong and *O* after consonant.

### 2.1 Perfective aspect

In Nepali, '-e-' occurs with attributive marker '-ko', with conjunction '-ra' in a sequential converb, with different temporal words in conditional and concessive sentences, with explicator verbs (also called vector verbs) of serial or compound verbs and with non past tense marker of be '-cha'. Sentence (1) is an example of perfective plus attributive marker:

- |             |       |           |               |
|-------------|-------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>Padh</i> | -e-   | <i>ko</i> | <i>manche</i> |
| read        | -pfv- | ATT       | man           |

'Educated man.'

In sentence (1) perfective marker '-e' plus attributive marker '-ko' changes the verbal stem '*padh-*' into a participial adjective.

- |           |                |           |   |          |   |           |             |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|---|----------|---|-----------|-------------|
| <i>ma</i> | <i>pokhara</i> | <i>ga</i> | - | <i>e</i> | - | <i>ko</i> | <i>chu</i>  |
| I.s.      | pokhara        | go        | - | pfv      | - | ATT       | be.NPT.I.s. |

'I have been to Pokhara.'

'*ga-e-ko*' in sentence (2) is not participial as '*padh - e - ko*' in sentence (1). It

has the meaning of experiential perfect similar to English as shown by the translation. The perfective marker '-e' occurs in sequential converb. The sequential converbs link the two clauses. They are also called conjunctive participles sentence (3) illustrates the use of perfective '-e' in a converbal construction.

3. *ma ghara ga -e -ra bhat kha -n -chu*  
 I.s. home go -pfv- and rice eat- NCNT- NPT.I.s.  
 'I will have rice after going home.'

The action denoted by 'ga - e -ra' is viewed perfectly. It means concession if it is followed by 'tapani' or 'pani' meaning 'also' as illustrated by sentence (4).

4. *ra: m-le na -padh -e pani paisa ra : mro kama:-e-ko*  
 ra:m -ERG NEG -read - pfv also money good earn-pfv-ATT  
*cha*  
 be.NPT

Although Ram is not educated, he has earned a lot

With temporal words such as 'pachi' after' and 'samma' 'until', it forms the temporal background for the action in the matrix clause:

5. *timi ga -e pachi ma ja : -n -chu*  
 2.s.MH go-pfv after 1.s. go- NCNT-NPT.1.s  
 I will go after your leaving.

In sentence (6) the morpheme '-e' gives perceptive meaning. The speaker was not aware of the education of Hari's son, when he came to know it, he made this utterance with a sense of surprise.

- 6 *Hari -ka chora -le dher -ai padh-e-cha*  
 Hari -GEN son-ERG much -Foc read -Pfv-NPT.3.s  
 Hari's son has got higher education.

The past tense marker morpheme with its various forms of person, number and gender marker also gives perfective meaning. Sentence (7) is from Pokhrel, (1999:195).

7. *us -le ka:m gar -yo*  
 3.s - ERG work do- pfv  
 'He worked.'

Pokharel (1999:195) glosses '-yo' as perfective but it has other function as marker of past tense, of person, number and gender marker. It has all the semantic features of perfective as discussed in the opening paragraph of this section. The present participate plus certain adverbs give perfective meaning in modern Indo-Aryan languages. Here is an example from Hindi (Porizka, 1981: 127):

8. *Pani khaul -jate hi: ca : y par da:l di:jie*  
 Water boil - p part .adv tea on put give - NPT.2.HH  
 'As soon as water boils, pour it on the tea.'  
 Similar condition holds for Nepali. Sentence (9) illustrates it.

9. *Rita ma -lai dekh -ne bittikai bhitra bhag-in*  
 Rita 1s - DAT see -ppart adv inside ran-Pfv.PAST.3.S.F  
 As soon as Rita saw me, she went in.

The expressions 'khaul-jate hi:' in sentence (7) and 'dekh - ne bittikai' are viewed perfectly. Another perfective morpheme is '-i' and its negated counterpart is '- ikana'. It is homophonous with the binding morpheme between the main and explicator verb of a serial verb as in 'gar-i- di-em,' and the past and perfective feminine marker as in sentence (10).

10. *Rita ghara gai-i*  
 Rita home go - Pfv. PAST.3.S.F  
 'Rita went home.'

Sentences (12-16) illustrate the use of binding morpheme between the main verb and explicator of a serial verb (abbreviated BM hereafter). The perfective marker '-i' that occurs only in converbal construction is replaceable by '- e -ra' constructions. Sentences (3) and (11) have same meaning.

11. *ma ghara ga -I bha:t kha -n -chu*  
 1.s home go - pfv rice eat - NCNT-NPT.1.S  
 'I will have rice after going home.'

The explicator verbs of serial verbs that occur after BM imply perfective and modality meanings. Some lexical verbs are grammaticalised and used as explicator verbs to give perfective meanings. They are: 'saknu', 'dinu', 'magnu', 'codnu' and 'halnu'.

- 12 *ra:m le ka : m gar -i sak -yo*  
 ra:m - ERG ka:m do - BM finish - PFV.PAST.3S.NF  
 'Ram finished all the work.'
13. *us -le us-ko ghar bec-i di-yo*  
 3.s - ERG 3 .s- GEN house sell - BM give - PFV.PAST.3.S.NF  
 'He already sold his house.'
14. *us -le masu kha -i chod -yo*  
 3 s - ERG meat eat - BM leave - pfv.PAST.3.S.NF  
 'At last he ate the meat.'

Sentence (14) means that the person was trying to eat the meat, but could not eat because of some reasons, now everything is clear and his long awaited desire is fulfilled.

15. *ka:m dhama: dham gar -i hal-a*  
 work fast fast do - BM put-NPT.IMP  
 'Do the work immediately.'
16. *Us -le ma -sanga cithi lekh -i ma:g -yo*  
 3s - ERG I.s - with letter write - BM request -pfv.PAST.3S.NF  
 'He requested me to write a letter for him.'



'*magnu*' in sentence (16) also has the meaning of causation. Sentences (12-16) have the emphasized perfective meaning. In all these, the termination of the action is focused rather than the arguments of the predicate. The meanings expressed by the arguments are shared information in the context of the discourse.

### 2.1.2 Imperfective aspect

Unlike perfective, the actions are viewed internally in imperfective aspect. Imperfective aspect views actions in different phases. It views events as on going or habitual process and do not terminate as a result. In imperfective aspect a situation is viewed without any specific beginning or end (Comrie, 1976: 4). An imperfective situation is viewed in progress either in past tense or present. An imperfective situation may also refer to a habitual one, which includes the reference time (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 125).

The suffix '*-dai*' the progressive aspect in Nepali refers to an on going action at reference time (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994:126). It applies to dynamic predicates and the actions need effort to keep going on. Sentence (17) is an example of progressive in Nepali.

17. *ra : m padh - dai cha*  
 Ra : m read - PROG be.NPT.1.s  
 'Ram is reading.'

In finite clauses progressive is followed by '*cha*' form of be verb, which indicates tense, person, number and gender markers. Peterson (1999: 340) notes that '*MDA*' is the imperfective marker. It has three allomorphic variations '*-n*' in conjunction with vowels as in '*ja-n-cha*' he goes', nasalisation after diphthongs as in '*gau-m-cha*' he sings and zero morpheme '*O*' as in '*gar-O-cha*' he does'. The zero morpheme '*O*' can be replaced by '*-da*' without any change in meaning as in '*gar-da-cha*'

Habituality in past is expressed by '*-th*' and it is always followed by person, number and gender markers. Participle suffix '*-ne + v -th*' is also used to express past habituality without any change in meaning. Sentences (18) and (19) have the same meaning.

18. *ma tyas-bela dher - ai padh - th - em*  
 1.s. that-time much -Foc read -HB-PAST.1S  
 At that time I used to study hard.
19. *ma tyas - bela dher -ai padh-ne gar-th-em*  
 1.s that time much -Foc read -ppart do - HAB- PAST.1.s  
 'At the time I used to study hard.'
- The durative marker '*-da*' occurs in non - finite clauses.

20. *ma ghara ja: m -da purano sathi bhet - em*  
 1.s home go DUR old friend meet- PAST.1.s  
 'I met my old friend when I went home.'

Sentence (20) means that the speaker met his friend any time from his leaving for home, during his stay at home or on his way back from home. When the durative marker '*-da*' and progressive marker '*-dai*' occur in reduplicated stems give continuative meaning.

21. *hami hid-da hid-dai da: mda pa:ri*  
 1p walk-DUR walk-PROG hill other side  
*pug-yum*  
 reach - pfv.PAST.1P  
 Walking continuously we reached other side of the hill.

The three explicator verbs '*rahanu*', '*ra : khnu*' and '*a:unu*' are inherently imperfective and give imperfective meaning even if combined with perfective suffix. These verbs as explicator verbs are not compatible with progressive marker '*-dai*'.

22. *ma bihan dekhi padh - i rah - e - ko chu*  
 1.s. morning from read BM remain -pfv- ATT be.NPT.1.s  
 'I have been reading since morning.'

The explicator verb '*a:unu*' is different from '*rahanu*' and '*r:akhnu*', because it also takes '*-dai*' as the binding morpheme.

23. *ha: mi pahuna - lai bhagawan - ko rup man- dai*  
 1.P guest - DAT god - GEN form respect- PROG  
*a:- e - ka cha-um*  
 come- pfv -ATT be - NPT.1p  
 'We have been respecting guests as god.'

The sentences, which have the copula as only predicate, are aspectually neutral. The two forms of copula verb '*cha*' and '*ho*' and past form of '*cha*' and '*ho*', '*thiyo*' occur with adjectives, post-positional phrases and with nominal arguments respectively and they do not show any aspectual distinction.

### 3. Manipuri aspect system

Manipuri verbs have highly grammaticalised system of viewing at the internal structure of an event. The aspectual distinction of perfective and imperfective is dominant. Manipuri verb morphology is very complex. Chelliah (1997: 200-42) discusses Manipuri verb. According to her, a verb in Manipuri consists of a stem plus derivational morphemes and inflectional morphemes. The verbal derivational morphemes are classified into three levels on the basis of meaning they represent. The first level derivational category means the

desire or intention of the agent and manner and direction in which the action is performed.

The second level derivational categories have commutative, habitual, directional and causative meanings. The third level derivational categories express aspect. Citing the evidence from (Matisoff, 1973) and (De Lancey, 1980) Chelliah (1997:226) argues that directional markers imply aspectual meanings in Tibeto-Burman languages. Manipuri proximal marker '-la' can have similar meaning to English present perfect as Comrie (1976:106) argues that in the English sentences 'I have just written a letter', the speaker is seen as physically emerging from an activity. The morpheme '-la' is homophonous with prospective aspect marker.

24. *angangsing ashida tumlarani*  
*angang - sing ashida tum - la - la - ni*  
 Child - p here sleep- DIR PROS-COP  
 'Children are going to sleep here.'

Another directional marker - *lak* ' indicates perfective aspect.

The meaning of '-lak', as illustrated in sentence (25) is the completion of an action and moving towards the place of speech.

25. *aina isingdu thaktoklakpa ni*  
*ai - na ising-tu thak - tok - lak - pa - ni*  
 1.s - cont water-EMPH drink-compl-DIR - NOM-COP  
 'I have drunk all the water.'

The directional marker - *lu* ', which means the action performed away from the speech event, signals experiential perfect aspect.

26. *ai dilli chatlure*  
*ai dilli chat - lu - la - e*  
 1.s Delhi go-DIR- pfv- NFUT  
 'I have been to Delhi.'

The lexical verb root '-haw-' meaning 'start' is grammaticalised and functions as inceptive marker. The inceptive marker '-haw-' indicates the beginning of an action or initiation of an action or encouraging someone to initiate an action.

27. *ma: thabak tauhawre*  
*ma: thabak tau - haw - la - e*  
 3.s work do - START- pfv - NFUT  
 'He has started his job.'
28. *ma: ca:k thonghawrabani*  
*ma: ca:k thong-haw -laba-ni*  
 3srice cook - START- Having-COP  
 She has started cooking. (She is still cooking).

29. *nahak ashi lairik pahawde*  
*nahak ashi lairik pa - haw - ta - la - e*  
 2s.HH this book read -START-NEG- pfv-NFUT  
 'You haven't read this book (please read it).'

The suffix '-la-' is the perfective marker in Manipuri. This morpheme is realized differently depending on the final sound of the verbal root and tense marker. It is realized as / -le, -me, -nge, -re/. Sentences (30-33) illustrate the use of perfective marker:

30. *ai chatle nang laihawro*  
*ai chat - la - e nang lai-haw-la-o*  
 1.s go - Pfv-NFUT 2.s remain-START-PROX-IMP  
 'You remain here after I have gone.'
31. *ai chatpa kanda thong hangamme*  
*ai chat-pa kanda thong hang - lam - la - e*  
 1.s go-nom while door open-EVD-pfv-NFUT  
 'When I went the door was open.'
32. *ma: army change*  
*ma: army chang - la - e*  
 3.s army enter pfv-NFUT  
 'He has been recruited in army.'
33. *ai ca:k care*  
*ai ca:k ca: - la - e*  
 1.s rice eat - pfv-NFUT  
 'I have eaten rice.'

The progressive marker - *le* ' indicates an actions on progress.

34. *ma: ca:k ca:ri*  
*ma: ca:k ca: - li - i*  
 3s rice eat -PROG-NFUT  
 'He is eating rice.'

The suffix '-lam' occurs between stem and aspect marker and indicates remoteness both in past or in future.

35. *ma: ca:k caramme*  
*ma: ca:k ca: - lam - la: - e*  
 3.s rice eat - REM - PFV - NFUT  
 'He had eaten rice...'
36. *oja regmi paper ihawramlagani*  
*oja regmi paper i-haw-ram-la-gani*  
 Mr. Regmi paper write - START-REM-PROS-FUT  
 'It is possible that Mr. Regmi will be writing paper.'



## 4. Conclusion

Aspect as a cross linguistically valid category is further proved by the close examination of the aspectual systems of Nepali and Manipuri. One fundamental point of interest is that Nepali has aspect marker closest to the verbal stem where as in Manipuri modality markers occur between verbal roots and aspect marker (Chelliah, 1997). The directional markers also imply aspectual meaning. Therefore modality markers are more grammaticalised and semantically more important than aspect markers in Manipuri. Aspect is more prominent in Nepali than in Manipuri because, except the 'cha' and 'ho' forms of 'be' verb, all the predicates in Nepali are aspectually marked. On the other hand, Manipuri does not aspectualise all the predicates.

## Abbreviations

0 - Zero morpheme	Ipfv - Imperfective
1 - first person	MH - middle honorific
2 - second person	NCNT - non continuous
3 - third person	NF - non-feminine
Adv - adverb	NFUT - non-future
ATT - attributiviser	NOM - nominaliser
BM - serial verb binding morpheme	NPT - Non-past
compl. - completive	PAST - past tense
cont - controller	Pfv - perfective
COP - copula	p - plural
DAT - dative	ppart - present participle
DIR - directional	PROG - progressive
EMPH - emphasizer	PROS - prospective aspect marker
ERG - ergative	PROX - proximity marker
F - feminine	REM - marker that denotes an action away from speech
FUT - future	s - singular
Foc - focalization particle	SEMEL - Semelfactive
GEN - genitive	STAT - stative
haw - start	- verb
HH - high honorific	

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3. a. *māi bhat pākai-ke lag-əTu*  
I-ERG rice cook.INF-PROS-begin-be.NPT1S  
'I am about to cook.'  
[I have begun the act of cooking.]
- b. *u bhat pākai-ke lag-laT*  
he rice cook.INF-PROS begin-be.NPT2S  
'He is about to cook rice.'
- c. *māi bhat pākai-ke lag-lək-rəhi*  
I-ERG rice cook.INF PROS-begin-PERF be-PST1S  
'I was about to cook rice.'
- d. *u-le bhat pākai-ke lag-rəhi*  
he-ERG rice cook.INF PROS begin-PERF be.PS2S  
'He was about to cook rice.'

Table a: The verb *sut-* 'sleep' in Non-past Prospective Aspect.

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

Table b: The verb *pak-* 'cook' in Past Prospective.

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-nu</i>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-li</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-le</i>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-lə</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> honorific	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-lən</i>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-lən</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rəhi</i>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-lən</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> honorific	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-lən</i>	<i>pəkai-ke-lagə-lək-rə-lən</i>

### 3. Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect represents the action pure and simple, without any additional over tones (Comrie, 1976:21). It technically draws attention to the internal time structuring of the situation.

In Kuaml <-ə> is suffixed to the verb stem except third person personal pronoun to indicate the meaning of perfective aspect in Non-past tense.

4. a. *māi ghəre gə-ə-Tu*  
I-ERG house-LOC go-PERF-be-NPT1S  
'I have gone home.'
- b. *tuhure ghəre gə-ə-Thin*  
you.h house go-PERF-NPT2Sh  
'You have gone home.'
- c. *timəhar ghəre gə-ə-Tə*  
you house-LOC go-PERF-NPT2PI  
'You have gone home.'
- d. *unhər ghəre gə-ə-Thin*  
they house go-PERF-NPT3PI  
'They have gone home.'

Table a: *kha-* 'eat' verb in Non-Past Perfective

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>kha-ə-tu</i>	<i>kha-ə-ti</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kha-ə-te</i>	<i>kha-ə-tə</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> honorific	<i>kha-ə-Thin</i>	<i>kha-ə-Thin</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>khai-la-Tə</i>	<i>khai-la-Tə</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> honorific	<i>kha-ə-Thin</i>	<i>kha-ə-Thin</i>

Sometimes particle <-sək> is added which means 'finished' to express perfective meaning in non-past tense.

5. a. *māi kam gəri-sək-ə-Tu*  
I-ERG work do-finish-PERF-be-NPT1S  
'I have done the work.'
- b. *hamre kam ni-g,,ri-s,,k,,-Ti*  
we work NEG-do-finish-PERF-be-NPTPI  
'We have not done work.'

Table b: *gər-* 'do' verb in Non-Past Perfective

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



On the other hand, <-lək> is suffixed to indicate the meaning of perfective aspect in past tense.

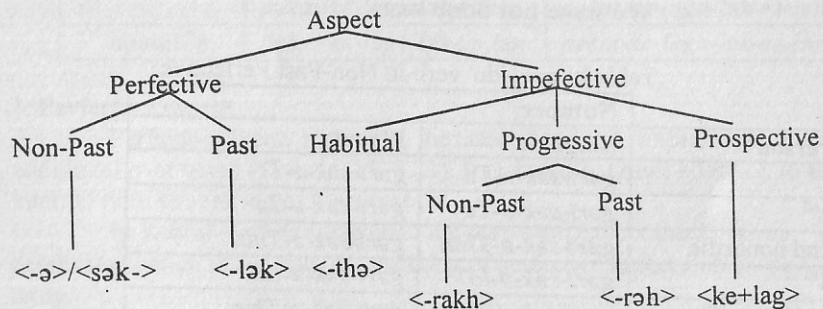
6. a. *māi ghāre gai-lək-rə-nu*  
I-ERG house-LOC go-PERF-be-PST1S  
'I had gone home.'
- b. *hamre ghāre gai-lək-rə-li*  
we home go-PERF-be-PST1Pl  
'We had gone home.'
- c. *u ghāre gai-lək-rāhi*  
he house go-PERF-be-PST3S  
'He had gone home.'
- d. *tinhar ghāre gai-lək-rāhi*  
they house go-PERF-be-PST3Pl  
'They had gone home.'

Table c: *piu*- 'drink' verb in Past Perfect Aspect.

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>piu-lək-rə-nu</i>	<i>piu-lək-rə-li</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>piu-lək-rə-le</i>	<i>piu-lək-rə-lən</i>
2nd honorific	<i>piu-lək-rə-lən</i>	<i>piu-lək-rə-lən</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>piu-lək-rāhi</i>	<i>piu-lək-rāhi</i>
3rd honorific	<i>piu-lək-rə-lən</i>	<i>piu-lək-rə-lən</i>

#### 4. Conclusion

From the data described above we can classify the following aspectual opposition in Kumal language.



#### Abbreviations

1-First Person	I/INS-Instrumental
2- Second Person	L/LOC-Locative
3- Third Person	NEG-Negative
E/ERG-Ergative	PST-Past
EXIS- Existential (Aux)	PART-Participle
G/GEN-Genitive	PERF-Perfect aspect
h-honorific	Pl-Plural
INF-Infinitival Participle ending	PROG-Progressive Aspect
INS-Inferential Mood	S-Singular

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## AGGLUTINATION IN GARO

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## 1. Introduction

Grierson, in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. III, Part II, 1903) classifies Garo under Bara or Bodo group. Shafer(1955) puts it under North Central Barish Sub-division of Baric Division of Tibeto-Burman family. However, Robbins Burling who has been working on Garo for a large part of later 20<sup>th</sup> century puts it under the reasonably well established sub-group of North East India, a group which he calls "Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw": a classification based on the names of the languages used by the local people themselves instead of creating arbitrary nomenclature which many earlier scholars had done (see Burling 1998). He tries to clarify the confusion created by Benedict by mixing ethnic and linguistic relationship of Garo by calling A'tong and Ruga "Garo A" and Garo proper "Garo B" (1972:6fn.20)<sup>1</sup>

Garo is an all inclusive term for several dialects spoken in Garo Hills of Meghalaya and some languages (or dialects) spoken in the Assam valley and in hill areas to the south.

Achik is considered to be the standard<sup>2</sup> dialect. It is the form of the Garo language which is used for literary purposes, which is fast superceding other dialects. It is spoken in its purity in the centre of the Garo Hills. The data used for this paper is from Achick.

Though several scholars and linguists have worked in this language, and works on Garo grammar also exist, this paper attempts to look at the morphological typology of this language. Garo is an agglutinating language at its best. Words in Garo typically contain a linear sequence of morphs: where each morpheme corresponds to a single lexical meaning or grammatical function.

This paper will consider agglutination operating at nominal and verbal category realised as affixation to the roots.

## 2. Nominal agglutination

## 2.1 Nominal classifier

Garo nouns are marked by the presence of classifiers affixed to them. Whenever a noun is followed by a numeral, a classifier is prefixed to the numeral. A classifier refers to a particular class of nouns. Let's look at a few of them:

A. *Sak* is the classifier for (+) human, as in

- 1a. *Mandi sak sa*                      1b. *mechik ma sak sa*  
Person CL one                      woman fem CL one  
'One person'                      'one woman'

B. *mang* for (+) animate, (-) human

- 2a. *achak mang sa*                      2b. *achak mang gni*  
dog CL one                      dog CL two  
'one dog'                      'two dogs'

C. *ge?* for (-) life and potential (-) life or something that withers

- 3a. *choki ge? sa*                      3b. *bijal ge? sa*  
chair CL one                      flower CL one  
'one chair'                      'one flower'

D. *king*<sup>3</sup> for flat things and things made of flat things like books

- 4a. *kitap king sa*                      4b. *ampatchi king bonga*  
book CL one                      bamboo mat CL five  
'one book'                      'five bamboo mats'

E. *rong* for fruits, stones and something that is round

- 5a. *ro?ong rong gni*                      5b. *komila rong sa*  
rock CL two                      orange CL one  
'two rocks'                      'one orange'

## 2.2 Generic classifier

Another set of classifier that Garo exhibits is in the form of generic nouns. For example, *do?* means 'hen/cock family'. This is extended as a generic classifier to mean 'bird' and is prefixed before the name of any specific bird. For example,

- 6a. *Do? sep*                      6b. *do? chok*  
CL duck                      CL sparrow  
'duck'                      'sparrow'

Similarly, to refer to words related to plant, the classifier *bi* is prefixed. For example, *bipang* 'tree', *bigil* 'bark (of a tree)', *bibal* 'flower', *bijak* 'leaf', *bitip* 'nest', *bitchil* 'fruit' etc.

## 2.3 Pluralization

*Rang* is the plural morpheme, which is used to suggest a group or collection. For example, *bol-rang* is 'trees', but it also means 'forest', which is



an agglomeration of trees. But when one uses a numeral with a noun, then *rang* is not used : the mention of the number itself is sufficient, as seen under classifier. One says *mandi-rang* to mean 'men', but one cannot say \* *mandi-rang-sak-gni* or \* *mandi-sak-gni-rang* to mean 'two men'. It should be *mandi-sak-gni*.

#### 2.4 Gender

The gender is marked by suffixing *bipa* 'male'(or masculine) or *bima* 'female'(or feminine) obligatorily subsequent to the respective nouns in case of animates other than human. For example, *singho* says nothing about gender-either male or femal, *singho-bipa* is ' male lion'(there is no morphme other than this to indicate gender). Human male or man is *measa* and female or woman is *mechik* (*mechik -ma* if she is married and has children). The endings- *pa* and - *ma* , generally refer, to 'fatherhood' and 'motherhood' respectively.

##### A. Human

a. <i>Chakol measa</i>	b. <i>chakol mechik</i>
Servent male	servant female
'(male) servant'	'maid servant'

##### B. Non-human

a. <i>Singho bipa</i>	b. <i>singho bima</i>
Lion masc	lion fem
'(male)lion'	'lioness'
c. <i>matcha bipa</i>	d. <i>matcha bima</i>
tiger masc	tiger fem
'tiger'	'tigress'
e. <i>matchu bipa</i>	f. <i>matchu bima</i>
ox masc	cow fem
'ox'	'cow'
g. <i>do? de bipa</i>	h. <i>do? de bima</i>
bird peacock masc	bird peahen fem
'peacock'	'peahen'

#### 2.5 Diminutive

*Bi?-sa* means 'child '(human child). This concept is transferred and extended to other animates to suggest their young ones.

#### Animal

a. *Matchu bima* ♣  
cow fem  
'cow'

b. *mes-bima*  
sheep fem  
'sheep'

young one  
*matchu bi?sa*  
cow child  
'calf'

*mes-bi?sa*  
sheep child  
'lamb'

#### 2.6 Case

Garo shows nominal declension in well formed case marking

##### A. Nominative = Ø

*Samson Nelson-ko dok'-a*  
Samson Nelson Acc beat pres  
'Samson beats Nelson.'

##### B. Accusative = ko

*Samson Nelson-ko dok'-a*  
Samson Nelson Acc beat pres  
'Samson beats Nelson'

##### C. Dative = na

*Anga nang?-na kitap-ko ron'-a*  
I you Dative book -Acc give-pres  
'I give you a book'

##### D. Ablative = oni chini

*ua Tura -oni re? baha*  
s/he Tura Abl come past  
's/he came from Tura'

##### E. Instrumental = chi

*Ua pen-chi sea*  
S/he pen Inst write-pres  
'S/he writes with a pen'

##### F. Genitive = ni

*Anga ang-ni nok- o dong'- a*  
I Nom I Gen house Loc exist pres  
'I am in/at my house'

**G. Locative = o**

*Anga ang-ni nok- o dong'- a*  
 I Nom I Gen house Loc exist pres  
 'I am in/at my house'

**3. Verbal Agglutination**

Every verb in Garo ends in '-a', which is an 'unmarked' tense ('-a' ending suggests neutrality or unmarked feature which is reflected in adjectives and adverbs also). There are number of morphemes to express manner, degree, or character of the action, actor, or object acted upon, tense, aspects etc. by placing the morpheme after the verbal root. This can be observed in the following examples.

**3.1 Tense and aspect**

Present	Past	Future
<i>Cha? -a</i>	<i>cha ?-a-ha</i>	<i>cha ?-gen</i>
Eat pres	eat past	eat fut
'Eats'	'ate'	'will eat'

**A. Perfect** There are different ways to express perfective.

<i>Cha ? -jok</i>	<i>dal?-jok</i>
Eat perfective	big perf
'Eaten'	'has become big'

*aha* is past marker in an unmarked order. *Chim* is suffixed to *aha* in marked order which also makes it perfective. *man* is placed after the verb root and before the past marker *aha*.

*Man* suggests 'completion'.

**B. Progressive** *Eng-a* is a progressive marker, as in,

Present	Past	Future
<i>Cha ? - eng -a</i>	<i>Cha ? - eng -a-ha</i>	<i>Cha ? - eng -gen</i>
Eat prog pres	eat prog past	eat prog fut
'Eating'	'was eating'	'will be eating'

In future progressive *-ku* is also used in place of *-eng* which is quite closer to progressive but means 'still / yet' or 'more' as in,

<i>grap -ku -gen</i>	<i>cha? -ku -gen</i>
cry still /yet futeat	still/more fut
'will still cry'	'will still eat'(or 'will eat more')

*-ok* is suffixed to future marker *-gen* to express immediate or intentional future which is realised as *-ginok*, as in:

<i>cha? -gin -ok</i>
eat fut intentionality
'will eat'

*-na* expresses 'wish', *-be* expresses intensity, as in,

<i>cha? -na -be</i>
eat wish intensity
'wishes to eat intensely'

**3.2 Imperative**

*-bo* is the morpheme for imperative, as in:

<i>cha? -bo</i>
eat imperative
'eat'

**3.3 Causative**

Causative marker *-at* can be infixd between the root and the imperative marker *-bo*, for example,

Simplex Imperative	Causative
<i>asong -a asong -bo</i>	<i>asong-at-bo</i>
sit pres sit imp	sit cau imp
'sit(s)'	'sit' 'make/cause someone to sit'

<i>cha?-a</i>	<i>cha?-bo</i>	<i>cha?-at -bo</i>
eat pres	eat imp	eat cau imp
'eat(s)'	'eat'	'feed'

**3.4 Negation**

*-ja* is the morpheme for negation, as in,

<i>cha? -ja -a</i>	<i>cha? -ja -ha</i>	<i>cha? -ja -wa</i>
eat Neg pres	eat Neg.past	eat Neg.fut
'do(es) not eat'	'did not eat'	'will not eat'

Unlike in positive future, negative future morpheme is *-wa*



## 70 / Agglutination ...

All these above verbal phrases become full sentences by simply adding a subject before them. For example, *anga cha? -ja -ha* means 'I did not eat', *na? a cha -ja -wa* means 'You will not eat' etc.

(Garo exhibits agglutination in quite a large number of larger constructions, as in,

*Re' -ba -pil' -tai -ku -ja -eng -a*  
 Move here return again yet/still not prog pres  
 Come 'not yet coming back again')

## 4. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to describe the language morphologically. The scope of the paper is very vast, therefore, it has been limited to only nouns and verbs selecting only few representative items. It shows a possibility to describe a language like this taking a structural aspects in consideration. Though this is a traditional and perhaps an old fashioned way to describe a language, yet it might be quite useful in taking up many lesser known dialects in Tibeto-Burman languages.

## Abbreviations

ʔ- glottal stop	Gen- Genitive
Abl- Ablative	Imp- imperative
Acc- Accusative case	Inst- Instrumental
cau- causative	Loc- Locative
cl- classifier	Neg- negative
Dat- Dative	Nom- Nominative
exist- existential	Perf- perfective
fem- female/feminine gender	Pres- present tense
fut- future tense	Pros-prospective

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## Notes:

1. " It has always been obvious to those who speak the languages that Rabha is close to A'tong' and Ruga, and Benedict duly includes Rabha as "GaroA", even though no one regards the Rabha as Garos. It is important to realize that by calling A'tong and Ruga " Garo A" it is common *ethnicity* that is recognized. To extend "Garo A" to Rabha, however, is to recognize a *linguistic* relationship. Mixing ethnic and linguistic criteria in this way has resulted in confusing the classification of these languages in non-Indian publications, though the correct classification is obvious to those on the ground". – Robbins Burling (1998) in " The Tibeto-Burman Languages of Northeast India".
2. Abeng is the dialect of the western half of the Garo Hills, Achik of the centre, awi of the north-east and Atong of the lower Simang valley in the south-east of the Garo Hills and the north-east of Mymensingh. Chibok and Ruga are spoken in Bungi valley, Dual in upper reaches of Simang. Chisak occupies contiguous position from Matchi and Dual spoken in the south, Garo-Ganching in the mid-south eastern portion of Atong and Kotchu in the mid-eastern part. Garo is the all-inclusive term for all these varieties.
3. Garo does not make a contrast between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops.

## PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN HINDI

Deepak Kumar Adhikari

### Abstract

This paper aims at the description and analysis of the phonological processes in Hindi. It specifically discusses the process of assimilation and dissimilation focusing on sandhi.

### 1. Introduction

When morphemes are combined to form words, the segments of neighbouring morphemes become juxtaposed and sometimes undergo change. For example

Electric: electrical: electricity

Fanatic: fanatical: fanaticism

Changes also occur in the environment other than those in which two morphemes come together e.g., word initial and word final position, etc. All such changes will be called phonological processes. Phonological processes are of the following types:

- Assimilation (segments become more alike)
- Syllable structure (there is alternation in the distribution of consonants and vowels)
- Weakening and strengthening (segments are modified according to their position in the word)
- Neutralization (where segments merge in a particular environment)

### 2. Assimilation

Assimilation occurs when one sound is influenced by a neighbouring sound to such an extent that it moves phonetically in the direction of his neighbour. So, the process of the result of the two sounds becoming identical, or similar due to the influence of one upon the others is known as assimilation.

Assimilation is of three types: Progressive, regressive, neutral. In the progressive assimilation, the previous sound assimilates, i.e., changes the following sound. In Hindi, examples of this type of assimilation are not really available, even in the Sanskrit too.

In the regressive assimilation, the following sound assimilates, i.e., changes the previous sound. This type of assimilation is found in Sanskrit sandhi and in Hindi one of the final sounds that is consonant m and vowel a is deleted. For example,

OIA Sanskrit (skt) mahat+chakram> mahacchakram, Hindi-mahaccakra.

### Rule

Skt (i) t → c?—c

Hindi (i) m → φ /v—

Skt. Sat+jana>sajjana

Hindi vowel final is deleted sajjan

Rule (i) t → j /—c

(ii) v → φ /c—

All the changes are voiceless unaspirated stop to voiceless unaspirated and voiced unaspirated stop. And final consonant m and vowel a is deleted, i.e., appocope rule.

In the mutual assimilation, both the sounds are changed to another sound.

Sanskrit final 'b' sound is deleted in Hindi (i.e. appocope rule). For example,

Skt mahan+sabdah>mahanchadbah

Hindi- mahachadba

Rule (i) Vd. → V1

(ii)h → φ /v—

Fricative palatal voiced sounds change into palatal voiceless aspirated

stop.

Assimilation is found in Hindi both external and internal sandhi.

### 3. External Sandhi

Sound changes in external sandhi in Hindi are vast and varied. There are many rules for sandhi having assimilation in Hindi. Let us see the examples:

#### 3.1 Contraction

Two homogenous sounds are generally contracted; where two vowel sounds are combined together, they become another one i.e., long vowel. Final h sound from Sanskrit is deleted in Hindi. For example,

a+a>a: skt, rama+ayan >ra:ma:yan

a+a>a skt, vidya+alayah>vidya:layah;Hindi vidyalaya

Rule (i) v → [ + long v]/c—c

(ii) h → φ /v—

Procope and appocope rule are in function here.



## 3.2 Diphthongization (guna and vrddhi)

## a. Guna sandhi assimilation

In Hindi, if a short or long vowel i,u,r(i,u,r) comes after short or long vowel 'a', then the result will be a+i>e, a+u>o and a+r>ar

a+i>e	sura+isa>suress
a+i>e	maha+isa>mahes
a+u>o	surya+udaya>suryodaya
a+r>ar	deva+rsi>devarsi

- Rule (i) [2 α short V] → e/c—c  
β long
- (ii) [α short V] → ar/c—c  
β r

## b. Vridhi sandhi

In Hindi, if e,e,o,ai and au come after short or long vowel 'a', then the result is a+e>ai, a+r>ai, a+o>au examples are,

a+e>ai	eka+eka>ekaik
ā+e>ai	sada+eva>sadaiva
ā+ai>ai	maha+aishwarya>mahaisworya
a+o>au	jala+ogha>jalaugha
a+o>au	maha+audarya>mahaudārya

- Rule: (i) [αv ]-diphthong/c-c  
β long v  
diphthong

## c. yan sandhi:

When a short or long i,u and r is followed another type of a dissimilar vowel or diphthong then it is changed to its corresponding semi-vowel

(y, v, ) or i>y>, u>v	
i+a>y	yadi+api>yaddapi
u+a>v	manu+antar>manvantar
i+u>ya	nasi+urmi>naddhurmi

- Rule (i) [α v ]-semi-vowels/c  
β long v  
diphthong

## d. Ayadi sandhi

If either e or ai or o or au is followed by any vowel the sequence changes as

e>ay,	
ai>ay,o>av and au>av	
e+a>ay	ne+an>nayan
ai+a>ay	gai+ak>gayak
o+a>av,	po+an>pavan
au+a>av,	pau+ak>pavak

When o is followed by a short vowel 'a', then 'a' assimilates with 'o' and 's' this sign will be written in the place of 'a'. For example,

mano+abhilasa>mano s bhilasa	o+a>o
mano+adhikar>mano s dhikar	

- Rule (i) a → s/v—c

Assimilated sandhi is possible between heterorganic consonants, but here in Hindi there are many rules how one sound is assimilates with one another and become another sound, for example

The k,c,t,(dental), changed into g,j,d,d (dentak), & b. The voiceless unaspirated stops sounds into its corresponding voiced unaspirated stops e.g.,

dik+anta>diganta
ac+adi>ajadi
sat+ripu>sadripu
sat+acar>sadacar
ap+j>abja

- Rule (i) [-vd.] → [+vd.]/v—c(v)

If k,c,t,(dental), p, is followed by any nasal voiced then changes into nasal sounds. For example,

k>n, p>m, t>n
vak+maya>vanmaya
ap+maya>ammaya
tat+maya>tanmaya
sat+maya>sanmukh

Rule (i)

[-vd] → [nasal]/v—c

The dental sound t, d changed into c, j, d (dental), d or t, and n changes into (nasalized l)

Examples are given below.

sat+charitra&gt;saccaritra

ud+jwal&gt;ujjwal

ut+dayan&gt;uddayan

tat+lin&gt;tallin

mahan+lab&gt;mahallabh

sat+jan&gt;sajjan

Rule (i)

[-vd.] → [+vd.]/v—c

(ii)

[dental] → [lateral]/v—c

(iii)

n → l (nasalized)

The t (dental) or d (dental) is changed into c and following is changed into ch.

sat+sastra&gt;sacchastra

sarad+sasi&gt;saracchasi

Rule (i)

t or d → c, s → ch

[vd] → [vl.]/—ch

The t (dental) changed into d (dental) and h>dh (dental), for instance,

tat+hit&gt;tasshita

ud+har&gt;uddhar

Rules

(i) [vl.] → [vd.]/v—c

(ii) h → dh

The 'c' comes additionally in the middle, suppose if any vowel comes before ch, then we use c before ch. For examples:

a+chasan&gt;acchasan

pari+ched&gt;parieccched

Rule (i) insertion Rule

∅ → c/v—c

The m changes into ng and n.

sam+gati&gt;sangati

param+tapa&gt;parantap

m → ŋ → n

The n changes into n.

nir+naya&gt;nirnaya

bhus+ana&gt;bhusan

var+n&gt;varna

r+n&gt;rin

The dental s is changed into alveolar s.

vi+sam&gt;visam

The r is deleted or lost and first vowel becomes long.

nir+ras&gt;niras

nir+rog&gt;nirrog

Rule (i)

r → ∅/long v—

**e. Visarga sandhi**

When a vowel or a consonant comes after visarga (:) then visarga is replaced by any other sounds. Such changes are called visarga sandhi. For example:

(i) man+rath&gt;manorath :&gt;o

yas+gan&gt;yasogan → o/c—c

(ii):&gt;o and a&gt;s : → o/—s

yas+abhilasa&gt;yasobhilasa

(iii):&gt;r

ni:+akar&gt;nirakar

du:+asa&gt;duras

: → r/v—long v

(iv) :&gt;s,s,s

ni: + cay&gt;niscaya

nama:+ta&gt;namaste

ni:+tha&gt;nistha

: → s/v—c

(v) If i or u and visarga are preceded by any one of the k, kh, p, ph sounds then (:) is changed into s. For instance,

ni:+kalank&gt;niskalank

ni:+pap&gt;nispap

ni:+phal&gt;nisphal

ni:+kapat&gt;niskapat

:-s/V-VI. C

(v) When kar comes after pur:, nam:, bir: and vac: then visarga (:) is changed into s.



pur:+kar>puraskar  
 nam:+kar>namaskar  
 tir:+kar>tiraskar  
 vac:+kar>vacaspati  
 : → s/v—c

(vi) if 'a' occurs before visarga and any other sound after it then visarga is lost.

at:+eva>ataeva  
 man:+eva>manaeva  
 :-e/c-v

#### 4. Internal Sandhi

The rules of internal sandhi, though many of them agree with those of external sandhi, are not varied. Only few of them I can able to give them here e.g.,

sansar+ik>sansarik, here a>a in the middle or internal or gath+jod>gathjod, here a>a,

Rule:

(i) v → longv/c—c  
 (ii) longv → v/c—c

skt.saphalata-Hindi saphalta  
 v → Ø/c—c

#### 5. Some other rules

In Hindi, sandhi with (a) prefixed+nature(word or mental)

(b) nature+nature &(c) nature+suffixed

Two types of sandhi are found in Hindi:

(i) Hindi's own sandhi (2) sandhi which comes from Sanskrit but we use in Hindi.

1 Sandhi in Hindi has also two types:

(a) Possible in both pronunciation & written purpose

(b) Possible in only pronunciation.

a(i) is+hi>isi, h is deleted is+hi>is+i>isi

kisi,jisi usi

(ii) yaha+hi>yahi a and n deleted and nasalized a to 'i' a—'i'

Rules:

h → Ø/c—v

→ Ø/c—v(c)

(iii) ab+hi>abhi and b+h>bh

h → bh/v—v

These are the system of Elison i.e. loss of phoneme.

Another phoneme comes.

Suppose, jati+a>jatiya here y comes

so+a>soya and this process, which is metathesis, where the sounds interfere with each other, and an exchange of places or interchange of phonemes.

ā → y..

and shortened the phonemes.

cām+dā>camda

long v → v/c—c

Here position is changed .

yahā+hi>yahi the nasalized ā goes to i. (loss of Z &

h) kahi.

\*Here loss of the phonemes

is+hi>isi, yaha+hi>yahi, yahā +hi>yahi

h is lost and (final a is also lost)

h → Ø

\* Here b is lengthened.

ab+hi>abhi

\*Here shortened the pa: and gha: i.e pa and gha

e.g pani+gha:t>panghat (i is lost)

\* a+a>ya

Sandhi only in the pronunciation.

If unaspirated voiced consonants occur before the voiceless consonants then they become voiceless.

g>k

j>c,

d(dental)>t(dental)

b>p

nāgpur>nākpur

ājkal>āckal

badatmij>battamij

abki>apki

Rule(i)

[Vd.] → [-Vd.]/v—c

Aspirated voiceless before voiced consonant becomes unaspirated voiced.

e.g, kh>g, th(dental)>d(dental)

bhuk lagi>bhuglagi, sathdo>s□ddo

Rule (i)

[Vl.] → [Vd.]/v—c

Aspirated voiceless before voiceless consonants becomes unaspirated voiceless. e.g,

kh>k

ch>c

th(dental)>t(dental)

lekhpal>lekpāl

pucht āh>pucht āh

h āth-pāw>hatpāw

The sandhi which comes from Sanskrit to Hindi is used in only in the 'tatsam' (i.e, the Sanskrit word is used in same way in Hindi or any IA languages) words. It has two types:

- (i) the two free morphemes can be used differently.  
nyāyālaya < nyāya + ālaya, jagadis < jagat + is
- (ii) the two free morphemes cannot be used differently.  
nai + ak > nāyak,  
pau + ak > pāwak

### 7. Dissimilation

When there is a recurrence of the same sound or of sounds which are formed in the same way, one of them is changed into a dissimilar sound. Grassmann's law is sort of dissimilation.

Sometime two similar sounds are avoided by displacement or change of one of them. It can be both progressive or regressive like assimilation. e.g.,  
badhra > bradhra  
caskanda > skanda  
Hindi:- kankan > kangan, here 'k' is replaced by 'g'

Rule (i)  $k \rightarrow g/C-V$

### 7. Elision

Elision is the loss of phoneme. This loss may be of a consonant or of a vowel.

#### a. Syncope

The loss of a sound, vowel, letter or syllable from the middle is called syncope. For example, English-Deputy, Hindi-dipti

Aguru > agru

Suvarna > svarna

Rule:-  $V \rightarrow \emptyset - c$

#### b. Appocope

Appocope is the loss of one or more sounds or syllables at the end of word.  
e.g.,

atma > atmp

pāda > pāt

māsa > mās

Rule: (i)

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / c - \#$

### c. Procope

The loss of a sound at the beginning of a word is called procope, e.g.  
anaj > naj, sneh > neh, isphurti > phurti

Rule (i)

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / - C$

(ii)  $C \rightarrow \emptyset / - n(c)$

### 8. Metathesis

When two sounds interchange their places in a word, the change is called metatheses; e.g., (Persian) Janvar (Hindi) Janvar

sasur > susur

anguli > ungali

pagal > pagla

lajja > laj

$a \rightarrow u, u \rightarrow a$

### 9. Morpho-phonemics

The analysis and classification of the different phonological shapes in which morphemes appear, or by which they are represented, both in an individual language or in languages in general, is often called morphophonemics. e.g.,

nakkata > nakata

khariddar > khridar

Rule(i)

$C \rightarrow \emptyset / c -$

(ii)

$V \rightarrow \emptyset / C - C$

### 10. Compensatory Lengthening

In Sanskrit words if the vowel before a constant cluster is short- in Hindi one of the consonant is deleted and the vowel before it is lengthened. Thus  $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{a}, \text{I} \rightarrow \text{i or e}, \text{U} \rightarrow \text{u or o}.$

(i) kərma > kəmma > kam

səpta > səttə > sat

bhiksa > bhikkhaə > bhikh

'work'

'seven'

'beg'



siksa>sikkhə>sikh	'education'
chldra>chiddə>ched	'hole'
dugdhə>duddhə>dudh	'milk'
pPustika>putthIka>PotthIə>Pothe	'book'
(ii) Centralization (ə) of vowels:	
Fr and bk Vs become centralized (a)	
a-aəabhira-əhir	'milkman'
l-ə tIttIra- titər	'quail'
i-ə pariksa-pərək	'test'
u-ə aguru-əgər	'incense stick'
(iii) əkə-a (əkə-ərə,əgə-h-əə-a)	
ghotəka-ghora	'horse'
canəka-cəna	'gram'
cItrəkə-cita	'leopard'
(iv) -Ika-i(Ika-Iga-Ira-Ia-Iə-i)	
satIka-sari	'watch'
ghətika-ghəri	'festival name'
holIka-holi	
(v) Aspirated stop-h	
kh-h mukhə-muh	'mouth'
gh-h meghə-keh	'discharge of urine'
th-h meghə-keh	
dh-h dədhi-dahi	'curd'
	'daughter-ijn-law'
	'jackfruit'
ph-h kəntəkphəl-kəthəl	'deep'
bh-h gəmbhirə-gəhrə	
(vi) Voicing	
k-g sakə-sag	'green vegetables'
	'bracelet'
c-j pəncək-pənjə	'claw'
t-d-r ghətIka-ghədIa-ghəri	'watch'
p-b/w pupəkə-puwa	'sweetmeat'
vItəpək-birwa	'a tree'

(vii)m-w and then nasalization goes to the preceding vowel.

amləkə-āwla	'awla'
bhrəmər-bhəwər	'bee'
gram-gaw	'village'
(viii) n-n	
pərnə-pan	'drinking'
kərnə-kan	'ear'
kənkən-kəngən	'bracelet'
(ix) v-b	
vədhu-bəhu	'daughter-in-law'
varid-badəl	'cloud'
vanər-bəndər	'monkey'
(x) y-j	
yəmunə-jəmunə	'river's name'
yəv-j	'which'
səyya-səj	'appearance'
(xi) s-s	
musəl-musəl	'rat'
vərsə-bərəs	'year'
sometimes s → kh	
pUrUsə-pUrkhə	'race'
Vərsa-bərkə	'rain'
(xii) s → s	
swasə-sās	'breathe'
sətə-s	'low'
sraṅən-sawən	'name of month'
(xiii) r sometimes changes to l	
varId-badəl	'cloud'
hərdIra-hərdi	'turmeric'
(xiv) sometimes l-r	
lsls-rsl	'saliva'
kəvəl-kəur	'morceI(of food)'
srgal-sIyar	'fox'

**11. Conclusion**

Phonological processes is also called sound change. Sound change may be defined as the creation or disappearance of phonemes (when two morphemes come together, e.g., word initial, medial and final positon, etc.) is fourther proved by the close examination of the phonological processes of Hindi. One fundament point of interest is that changing sound does not bring semantically differences.

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**ADDENDA TO  
 A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEPALESE LANGUAGES AND  
 LINGUISTICS**

Revised Nov, 2002

*Sueyoshi Toba*

It is good to see papers on Nepalese languages continually being published. There may be many more than those listed here, published in different countries, and therefore not accessible in Nepal.

**Abbreviations**

- JNLAC- Journal of Nepalese Literature, Art and Culture, Royal Nepal Academy.  
 NL- Nepalese Linguistics  
 RNA- Royal Nepal Academy

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
ON THE 22<sup>ND</sup> CONFERENCE  
OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEPAL

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Honorable Chief Guest,  
Distinguished Guests and Linguists  
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is my pleasure to welcome you all to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. Today the linguistic scenario of Nepal and the world is drastically changing. English language with its culture and functions is expanding its boundaries through various media like internet, radio, television, video-cassettes and CD roms, films, newspapers, magazines, books, schooling and syllabus designing. Power attained by the English speaking Western countries in technology and business has attracted people of the world like Nepal to learn English at any cost. The attraction is realized in the number of English boarding schools flourishing in Nepal. The demand and supply of English teachers is determining their price. Hindi is another language of media commonly sold in Nepal through television, video cassettes, CD roms, films, newspapers, magazines, and books. Nepali, declared as the official language of Nepal, is the *lingua franca* of speakers whose ancestral original home is the kingdom of Nepal.

There are roughly hundred languages spoken in Nepal. More than three-fourth of them is Tibeto-Burman. Others are Indo-Aryan, Austroasiatic, Dravidian and an unclassified language Kusunda. The original Tharu language seems to have been lost and today Tharu speak four varieties of languages. According to Hansson (1991) ten Rai-Kiranti languages have already been extinct and other twelve of them are on the verge of extinction.

The linguistic survey of the Rai languages was completed under the leader of Dr. Werner Winter, final report of which has appeared in Hansson (1991), but a comprehensive survey of all the languages spoken in Nepal has not been completed yet, therefore, the exact language scenario is difficult to crystalize.

The present constitution of Nepal has recognized two varieties of languages, the official language Nepali and other national languages. It has

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opened up the door for all the mother tongues in the country to develop but each of the mother tongues in not in the equal state of development. Illiteracy, lack of education and poor financial condition have acted as a great hindrance to their progress. The government of Nepal set up a commission for the recommendation of language planning under the leadership of Mr. Bairagi Kainla. The commission recommended measures, but almost a decade has gone, the government has not followed the recommendation as it was expected. As a result, more languages may have come to the process of extinction. The government's progress towards preservation of decaying mother tongues is very slow, irrational and unsatisfactory. Even the so-called privileged language Nepali is not adequately developed. Nepali speaking youths are replacing their vocabulary with Hindi or English words in order to be more impressive to the listeners. Very often they speak Nepali with English accent like a Kathmandu FM radio announcer. As a result of this process, an ample amount of everyday vocabulary in the language of journalism is Hindi.

Classical language Sanskrit has been used as a language of modernization in South Asian languages. Thus, in order to screen a lot of borrowings, Sanskrit morphemes and morphological rules are used to coin words by calquing. Therefore, a standard dictionary of any South Asian language irrespective of the genealogical affiliation is natural to witness almost all of the new vocabulary (like technical terms) by the use of Sanskrit, in addition to a lot of cultural words. In spite of such a substantial contribution there are slogans of strong opposition against Sanskrit as a compulsory subject in the lower-secondary level. It shows that the country needs proper planning for the use of Sanskrit.

With this situation at hand, the country needs not less than a hundred trained linguists to cope with the multifarious language problems today. Linguists and researchers working on the languages of Nepal acknowledge this problem, but our planners have not been adequately sensitive to the issue. A number of native and foreign linguists have studied aspects of some of the language problems and solutions for the far sighted language policy and a justified language planning. There is not a single institution which documents all the research reports, investigates the basic needs of mother-tongue speakers at both micro-and-macro levels, plans for language development measures, coordinates with linguists in Tribhuvan University and elsewhere, arranges required funds and suggests the government for a justified language planning. I think we need an institution comparable to the Central Institute of the Indian Languages (CIIL), since the existing institutions are not sufficient to solve the overall problems of multilingualism in the country.

Linguistic Society of Nepal has acted a forum for more than two decades, where linguists around the world working on languages of this region and elsewhere participate in the annual conference to discuss and share various aspects of language problems they have witnessed. Since its inception linguists

have been discussing various issues and suggesting measures which our planners could have properly taken. At present linguists affiliated to the Linguistic Society of Nepal or the Central Department of Linguistics could work together with RONAST, Central Department of Physics, Institute of Engineering and other faculties of science and technology for the phonetic analysis of various languages. Similarly, institutions like National Committee for the Development of Nationalities and Royal Nepal Academy could initiate a joint effort for the development of languages in the county, but due to lack of coordination among various parts of the government machinery, we feel, our manpower has not been adequately planned and utilized. In spite of all that, LSN has always been optimistic for a better future.

Lastly, I believe that lively and fruitful discussions will make this conference successful. I also wish our participants to experience a wonderful time during the conference.

Thank You.

## Abstracts

22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference  
Linguistic Society of Nepal  
(November 26-27, 2001)

### Functional Distribution of Nepali Particles *ni*, *ta* and *po*

*Uttam P Bajgain*

*Central Department of Linguistics, TU*

This paper includes three emphatic Nepali particles namely *ni*, *ta* and *po* aiming at to present their typical meaning they carry, their normal positional occurrence and functional distribution with the help of which different shades of meaning they express can be observed.

### Genre-Based Approach to Writing Improvement

*Keshar Mohan Bhattarai*

In traditional literacy scholarship, the term 'genre' has been loosely defined to mean literary forms such as tragedy, comedy, fairy tale, poetry, the novel and the epic. Nowadays scholars extend the definition of 'genres' beyond these traditional forms and consider recount, instruction, narrative, report, explanation, and arguments as six major types of genres (Derewianka, 1990). Contrary to the traditional scholars, these scholars think the various types of recurring communicative acts such as the novels, the fairy tales, job applications, lab reports, service encounters, and weather reports, etc., as the 'text-types'. At present, many Australian schools are using genres-based approach (together with the text-types) to improve their students' writing. Furthermore, genre-based approach is used to teach at the UK's various universities and professional communities (see, Swales, 1990 and Dudley-Even, 1994). This paper briefly introduces the various written genres (and text-types) that are required or found at the school, universities, or at business/professional communities. Furthermore, it will illustrate the linguistic rhetorical characteristics inherited in various genres and text types. The final part of this paper highlights how such genres or text-types can be taught in the classroom.

### Ideophones in Chepang: Their Nature and Sub-Categorization

*Ross Caughley*

The Chepang language of South-Central Nepal has a large number of words of the category often called onomatopoeia. In Chepang there are at least 1,200 lexical items which are of this type, more than 15% of the total lexical inventory. The majority of these forms are not sound imitative, but rather relate to visual impact, so the term 'onomatopoeic' is not really appropriate. Hence the use of the alternative term 'ideophone'.



Chepong is, of course, not unique in having such forms, in fact there are a large number recorded for Nepali, but it is certainly rich in the number and variety that do occur. In previous papers I have discussed some of the more unusual features of Chepong ideophones, including the relation of vowels to the size of the object being described. In this paper I want to look at the different types of ideophone that occur in Chepong, and to categorise them according to their syntax, as well as their phonological shape and semantic function. Also I will look at the relationship of ideophones as a linguistic category to the more regular speech categories of noun, verb, adjective and adverb.

### Using Tibetan Characters for Minority Language Orthography

*Brad Chamberlain*

This paper attempts to arrive at some guidelines which could be followed for developing a minority language's orthography using the Tibetan script. It bases these suggestions on innovations already initiated by Dzongkha orthography. As one of the only major language other than Tibetan to have a developed orthography which uses the Tibetan script, the choices made in its development have some relevance to any other orthography development using Tibetan script.

The reasons why an orthography might be using the Tibetan script are many-fold, and vary from country-to-country and from people-group to people-group. For Tibetan-related language varieties in China, Tibetan script would be necessary to gain the cultural and religious acceptance of the Tibetan people. For any language in Bhutan, Tibetan script is already used for writing the national language and it is the accepted standard for any Bhutanese language development. In the highlands of Nepal and India, the Tibetan-related cultures may very well feel that their language is best represented by the Tibetan script. Further, many feel that the Devanagari script is for Hindus, while Buddhists should only use the Tibetan script. Surely there are other reasons as well that may make the use of Tibetan script appropriate.

When using Tibetan script, and immediate practical problem arises. The traditional Tibetan orthography is fairly complex and seemingly convoluted. It is not intuitive to new readers. Further, there is very little literacy in most of the areas where the Tibetan script would be appropriate. The language developer may opt for representing the language phonemically using the Tibetan character set, to create a simple-to-read orthography. The problem is that often there are many sounds that aren't represented by the Tibetan character set, but for which the Tibetan orthography has ways to deal with it. Another problem is that in almost all of these language groups, there are at least religious leaders (lamas, etc) who have studied written Tibetan. These people have strong influence in their community and will almost always believe that

the Tibetan orthographic system should be used to represent their words. It is important to remember that though Tibetan related languages are often completely unintelligible between language groups, they consider themselves as one Tibetan people, using dialects of one Tibetan language. For this reason, the use of not only Tibetan script but also the traditional orthography conventions is seen as obvious to many of the people.

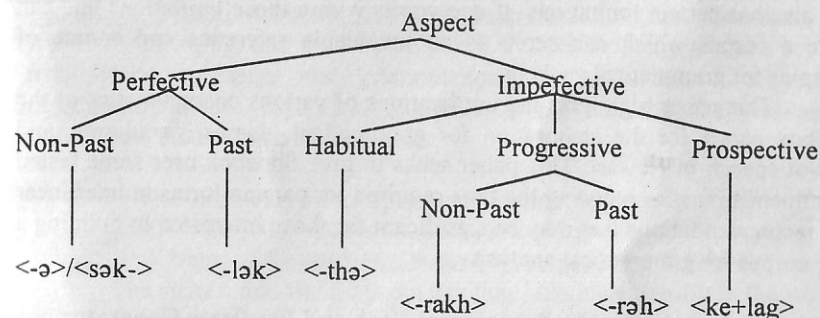
This paper first explains the basic workings of the Tibetan script and its orthography (the way the script is used to generate words). It then looks at differences between traditional Tibetan orthography and Dzongkha orthography, in an attempt to recognize not only what innovations Dzongkha has employed, but on what principles these innovations were based. It is hoped that this will provide some basic guidelines developing orthographies using the Tibetan script.

### Aspect System in Kumal

*Bhim Lal Gautam*

*Central Department of Linguistics, TU*

This paper presents a brief outline of aspectual opposition in Kumal language. The classification is based on Comrie (1976) which is given below.



\* <-ke> prospective marker

### Noun Phrase Modifiers in Limbu

*Govind Bahadur Tumbahang*

*Department of English*

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Noun Phrase modifiers in Limbu can be grouped into two broad categories in terms of their distribution:

#### 1. Pre-modifiers

- a. Determiners
  - i. specifying
  - ii. Non-specifying

- b. Adverb
- c. Adjective
- d. Relative Clause

## 2. Post modifiers

**Optimizing the Shoebox Parser for Newari***E. Austin Hale*

(With special reference to paradigms, parts of speech and grammatical glosses)

The question addressed by this paper is "How can a Shoebox parser be optimized for the automatic interlinearization of Newari text and what are the implications for the treatment of the representation of paradigms, parts of speech, and grammatical glosses in such a parser? All descriptions of the parser and examples given are drawn from a Newar implementation of the system.

The linguist's Shoebox is a tool accessible to anyone with a fairly ordinary Windows or Mac-based system. It is a good tool for field linguists who desire to build a corpus or parsed text in a database with good search, concordance, word-list, and dictionary-building functions. It can be used effectively by linguists who are not programmers and who do not wish to become programmers. It is, in other words a handy, user-friendly tool, and as such also has certain limitations. If one works within those limitations one can create a corpus which can serve as an invaluable reference and source of examples for grammatical analysis.

This paper highlights the implications of various characteristics of the Shoebox parser for the elaboration for grammatical glosses, paradigms, and parts-of-speech in Newari. This paper seeks to give Shoebox user some tested recommendations for reducing the time required for parsing forms in interlinear text, recommendations that may be significant for those interested in building a large corpus for grammatical analysis.

**Status of *gar* in Nepali: Pronominal Verb and Predicate Generator***R.R. Lohani**Central Department of Linguistics, TU*

In Nepali, the verb *gar* is not a full verb on par with other main verbs. It is pronominal something equivalent to English *do*. Besides its pronominal status, it has another function in that elements of varied status are made predicates when they conjoin with *gar*. Non-verbal elements like nouns, adjectives and adverbs, reciprocal verbs, dual verbs, echo verbs, and nominalized verbs, conjoined nominals and onomatopoeic words are verbalized by *gar*. Both of these elements, *gar* and the form verbalized by it, don't have their own a-structure. But when they come together, they jointly determine an a-structure. Therefore, these derived predicates are indeed complex predicates.

Since the constituent elements hold their own lexical status, the complexity takes place at syntax and the identified wordhood is phrasal.

**Nonnominative Subject in Nepali***R.R. Lohani**Central Department of Linguistics  
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Subject and other grammatical relations are realized by nominals, but coding properties and behavioural properties of each of these relations vary from language to language. Among these the Subject has been the subject of great interest. Pragmatically Subject is the something talked about and realizes the old information in a construction. It is typically coded by nominative case which is the citation form of the nominal. But there is no one-to-one relation between Subject and nominative case for there exists nominative Object and nonnominative Subject in natural languages. Like in other Indo-Aryan languages this phenomenon exists in Nepali, too. Besides nominative, dative, genitive, locative, accusative, and instrumental and/or ablative are the cases of Subject in Nepali.

This paper attempts to present coding and behavioural properties of nonnominative Subjects in Nepali. Arguments will be presented on the bases of word order, reflexive binding, control, passivization, case demotion, verb agreement, meaning, and so on. The paper will be divided into three sections. First section presents the phenomenon, second section analyses the Subjecthood in the light of mentioned properties, and the last section summarizes the findings of the paper.

**The Indo-Aryan Language and contemporary Bangla***Sikder monoare murshed**Dept. of Linguistics, Dhaka University, Bangladesh*

The richest and the most outstanding Language Family in the world is the Indo-European (I E). A large numbers of people of Europe, Middle East and even the Southeast Asia use the different branches of this Language Family. Indo-Aryanian (IA) is one of the most remarkable branches of IE. A great number of languages in India, Bangladesh and Nepal have been originated from the IA. Bangla language through its evolution and the shipment has crystallized about one thousand years ago. The origin and development of Bangla language has been studied and discussed by a group of linguists, Sir George Abraham Grierson, Sunitikumar Chatterjee and Muhammad Shahidullah are very noted of them. They all agreed that Bangla language has originated within tenth to twelfth century AD, from old IA, Middle IA and New IA. The Bangla language, Asamese, Oria, Maithili and Hindi have originated within this span of time.



We have passed thousand of years, since the origin of Bangla. In the course of time various linguistic changes have been occurred in Bangla. Noting here that the changes in Bangla are more prominent in its surface structure than to its inner domain. Bangla is now the State Language of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. But we have to go back to stress the present situation and structure of Bangla. We need to flash back in the days of thousands years ago when Bangla has taken its birth. To discuss the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of Bangla in the twenty-first century, we are to mention the Ancient and Mediaeval changes through which Bangla has come to these stages. I tried my best to make a comparative study of it from the standpoint of Historical Linguistic.

### The Vivaksha Theory in Sanskrit Language Thought

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Those who deal with language analysis have to analyse the utterance of the speaker. What the speaker intends to transmit is expressed through the use of his style and syntactic structures. It is through these utterances that the analyst or the hearer can reach the core of the speaker's meaning intention. Language expresses the meaning; meaning manifests the mind, concept. Meaning doesn't exist in any natural object-it exists in the word. Therefore, for us, grammarians, there is no knowledge beyond the word. The speaker selects the best alternative among the numerous available in the language with the help of his intuition, imagination, or user's inherent feelings. Under these conditions, language basically depends on use and practice, contemporary wisdom and psychology.

The particular condition arising from such productive interactions is by Sanskrit grammarians, known as 'Vivaksha'.

In this paper (written in Nepali), I have try to establish 'Vivaksha' as a Linguistic Theory and, Therefore, discussed assimilation, number, gender, tense, transitivity, voice, and case where 'Vivaksha' plays a crucial role.

### Honorific System in Nepali

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The paper will focus on how honorific system operates in Nepali. It will observe mainly three processes at work: (i) constant subject versus inconstant honorifics-that honorifics may change for the same subject depending on factors like presence/absence of the subject, emotional state toward the subject; (ii) the vogue and popularity of the 'royalese' among the urbanites; and (iii) neutralization-when the similarity on the level of the

interlocutors rules out any particular honorific, the use of inclusive 1<sup>st</sup> person plural 'hāmi'

### Causativization in Bote

*Kamal Paudel*

This paper makes an attempt to describe the process of casativization in the Bote language. In Bote two types of Causative construction are found: Morphological and syntactic.

### The Category of Aspect in Nepali and Manipuri

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This paper aims at documenting and analyzing the morpho-syntactic structures and semantics of verbal aspects in Nepali, a modern Indo-Aryan languages and Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language of Northeast India, within the framework of modern linguistic approaches such as Comrie (1976), Bhat (1999) and Bybee et al (1994).

### O-Ending Nominals in New Indo-Aryan

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O-ending nominals are characteristic of some of the New Indo-Aryan languages like Nepal, Kumaoni, European Romany or Gypsy (like Belgaun, Garodi, Belgaun Myanwale, Sitapur Kanjari and Belgaun Kanjari), Sindhi, some Dardic languages (like Maiyan, Shina, Tirahi, Kalasha, Torwali, Gawarwati, Palola, Garvi, and Pashai), Gujarati, some Kafiri language (like Waigeli), Western Pahadi and Rajasthani dialects (like Marwadi, Jaipuri, Mewati, Malvi, Nemadi and Bundeli). We mean nouns, predicative and attributives and also possessives by the word 'nominals' in this paper.

1. (a) *kāco* (Nepali), *kaco* (Sindhi and Dardic language Shina), *kāco* (Kumaoni) 'raw'
2. (a) *khuTTo* (Nepali), *khuTo* (Kumaoni), *khuTo* (Gujarati) 'leg or foot'
3. (a) *baRo* (Nepali), Western Pahadi, Kumaoni), *baro* (European Romani), *baDU* (Kashmiri), *Thulo* (Nepali)
4. (a) *ghoDo* (Nepali, Sindhi, Gujarati, Western Pahadi, Kumaoni, Rajasthani dialects like Marwadi, Jaipuri, Mewati, Malvi and Nimadi), *khoDo* (European Romani), *ghwARo* (Rajasthani dialect Bundeli) 'horse'
5. (a) *mero* (Nepali, Gujuri, Rajasthani dialect Mewati, Gypsy dialects like Belgaun Garodi, Belgaun Myanwale, Sitapur Kanjari and

Belgaum Kanjari), *māro* (Rajasthani dialects Marwadi and Malvi), *mhāro* (Rajasthani dialects Jaipuri and Nimadi), *mairo* (Yusufsai) 'my'

6. (a) *ghano* (Nepali and Dardic language Kalasha) 'bamboo cane', *ho* (Nepali and Dardic language Torwali) 'is', *apNo* (Western Pahari), *ko* (Nepali, Kannaui, Kumaoni, Garwali) 'of'

(Source: Kellog 1875, Grierson 1908, 1916, Turner 1931: 655-931)

This characteristic stands out against the *a*-ending languages like Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Panjab: and Marathi.

1. (b) *kaccā* (Hindi, Panjabi, Lahanda), *kācā* (Marathi)
2. (b) *khūTā* (Assamese, Bengali), *khūNTā* (Oriya), *khūTā* (Marathi)
3. (b) *baRā* (Hindi), *baRa* (Oria, Bengali), *Thula* (Marathi)
4. (b) *ghoRā* (Hindi, Marathi, Lahanda, Panjabi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese)
5. (b) *merā* (Hindi), *mājhā* (Marathi)
6. (b) *apnā* (Hindi), *kā* (Hindi)

(Source: Kellog 1875, Grierson 1908, 1916, Turner 1931: 655-931)

This paper tries to establish historical and geographical relations to this o-ending dichotomy. The o-ending languages are spoken along the Himalayan Range from Kashmir to Nepal, the Hindu Kush Range of Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Aravalli Range and the Plateau of Malva in Rajasthan and the Indus valley while the a-ending languages are spoken mainly in the Magadhi and Sauraseni areas that coincide roughly with the Ganga and the Brahmaputra rivers. This paper attempts to established historical correlation with this o-ending in the New Indo-Aryan languages.

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### Anticausativization in Nepali

Bhim N. Regmi

Kathmandu

Nepali predicates have valency changing processes - both increasing and decreasing. Anticausativization and passivization include valence decreasing process. This paper attempts to present an analysis of anticausativization in Nepali in that intransitive verbs are derived from transitive ones. Nepali includes three ways of anticausativization - phonological alternation, suffixing and gemination. In this paper, we attempt to observe their syntax and semantics in brief.

### The Ergative Morphosyntax in Nepali

Dan Raj Regmi & Yogendra P Yadava

Tribhuvan University

This paper is an attempt to analyze ergativity in Nepali clauses. It consists of four sections. Section 1 provides the theoretical background where we explain the concept of ergativity. Section 2 deals with the morphology of ergativity in Nepali. In section 3, we analyze the syntax of ergativity in the language \$ in terms of word order constraints, tense and aspect constraints, coordination and subordination. Finally, we summarise the main findings of the paper.

### Some Aspects of Khaling discourse.

Sueyoshi Toba

UNESCO

Discourse is defined as the communication of ideas through a set of spoken or written words within a situational context. In normal usage discourse refers to units of speech longer than a sentence because it usually takes more than one sentence to communicate a complete thought. The meaning of a discourse is discerned from analysing a set of inter-related features, such as genre, structure, cohesion, propositions, prominence, and setting.

Of these I will focus on two only:

Genre types:

- chronological	- prescription	+ prescription
+chronological	EXPOSITION	HORTATORY
	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL

Cohesion: the glue that holds a discourse together. It refers to the chain of discourse elements that form a linear thread throughout the whole discourse.

There are four kinds of cohesion:



*Grammatical cohesion* is conveyed by agreement between subject and verb, noun and adjective, etc.

*Lexical cohesion* is the use of the same or similar words from the same semantic domain.

*Relational cohesion* is signalled by conjunctions and other relational devices such as adverbial participles.

*Referential cohesion* refers to coreferential links between an element in the immediate text and something else. One type is anaphora which links to a prior element in the immediate text.

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#### Nonnominative subjects in Maithili

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In Maithili, as in several other Indo-Aryan languages, there exists no one-to-one relation between the grammatical relations of nominals and their cases. A nominative nominal, for example, can be the subject of a clause, but it can also function as the object in another construction. On the other hand, the subject is typically coded with nominative case; however, it can also be realized with other case markings. In other words, Maithili clauses also involve nonnominative subjects, apart from the nominative one.

This paper is an attempt to analyze the nonnominative subjects in Maithili in terms of their coding properties, esp. morpho-semantic and syntactic properties associated with them. It is organized into three main sections. Section 1 introduces the various types of nonnominative subjects in Maithili clauses. In section 2 we deal with the morphological realizations of the nonnominative subjects and their accompanying semantic properties in the language. Section 3 attempts to give an account of the syntactic properties associated with the nonnominative subjects in relevant constructions. These properties include reflexivization, pronominalization, gapping in coordinate structures, verb agreement, controllers in participial constructions, case demotion, and so on. Finally, we sum up the important findings of this study.

#### Limbu verbs 'to be' and compound tenses

*Boyd Michailovsky*

*CNRS/LACITO*

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