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Chief Editor: Madhav P Pokharel
Editors: Ram Raj Lohani
                         Kamal Poudel
                         Bhim Narayan Regmi
                         Bhim Lal Gautam

Contents

Languages of Nepal
UNESCO Kathmandu Report 2002:
A Brief Overview

Sueyoshi Toba
Ingrid Toba
Novel K. Rai
TU, CNAS

Nepal is a country rich in its cultural and linguistic diversity. The national language is Nepali. It is spoken throughout the country and all education is conducted in this language. But Nepali is the mother tongue of only about half of the total population. Besides Nepali, there are an additional 60 to 70 languages spoken in Nepal. This number refers to such languages as are spoken by indigenous peoples of Nepal.

With respect to the general language situation in Nepal, the minority languages are used in the areas where a particular language group lives, along with Nepali as a means of communication with Nepali speakers in the area. Bilingualism is prevailing all over the country of Nepa, while multilingualism is found especially along the borders. Multilingualism is also found among the educated elite in the cities as a result of the availability of English as the medium of education.

The following remarks to the questionnaire have been written to enable the reader to understand certain important language issues in Nepal. The comments follow the numbers in the questionnaire.

1. The Languages and Dialects of Nepal

Each language has dialectical differences to a greater or smaller extent. Such differences stand out for languages that have a large number of speakers or that are spread out either over a large area, or over an area divided by rivers or mountains thus separating the different settlements. Areas at the edge of a linguistic community may be prone to not only be bilingual but also speak a particular dialect containing vocabulary or other items from two languages. In addition, specialised occupation of sections of a language group may create a kind of dialect. Many times several of these factors work together in creating a dialect.

For Nepali, we can observe changes in dialect from west to east and in the south of the country. Other languages of Nepal also frequently show dialectical differences. In some cases, it is difficult to decide whether what is spoken is a language or simply a dialect. Mutual intelligibility and acceptance are not always helpful criteria. Eastern and Western Tamang, Eastern and Western

Gurung are cases in point for large language groups. The different dialects of Kham are likely to be caused by the inaccessibility of the terrain. The definition of Kagate (which is listed in the National Census 2001 as a language) as a dialect of Yohlmo is based on the occupation of these people as makers of paper and on their proximity to Tamang neighbors. At the same time, some of these groups, while affirming their speech differences, also affirm their ethnic unity.

2. The Writing Systems of the Languages of Nepal

Unlike in some other countries, where there are large groups of indigenous peoples whose languages are written, the languages of Nepal's indigenous peoples are for the most part unwritten ones. The Devanagari script is used for the major Indo-Aryan languages, such as Nepali, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojpuri as well as Newari (the latter is a Tibeto-Burman language). For Limbu, the Kirati "Srijanga" script is used. Lepcha also has its own script, the "Rong" script. For Tamang and Sherpa, the Lamas use the Tibetan script. Magar are trying to use their own script, "Akkha". The Sunuwar have also developed their own script. Lastly, the Satar brought the Roman alphabet from India to write their own language.

However, since the national language, Nepali, has been considered a unifying factor for the country, indigenous peoples have received little encouragement to develop their own writing systems. Instead, they have been encouraged to become competent in the national language and its writing system. Thus, all of these people, including those having their own scripts, have been using the Devanagari script as well.

3. Standard Forms of Languages of Nepal

In Nepal, most of the indigenous languages have not developed their own standard forms yet. Only fairly recently, linguistic studies have been conducted, and these have prepared the way for standardization with the publication of grammars, dictionaries, orthographical studies, and literacy materials. Even more recently, people from minority groups have begun to write and publish in their own languages.

4. Respondents to the Questionnaires

The majority of the respondents in this report are mother-tongue speakers. Those respondents who are not mother-tongue speakers have acquired knowledge through extensive studies and research in those languages and are therefore competent respondents.

5. The Geographical Distribution of the Languages of Nepal

Nepali is spoken all over Nepal wherever Nepali mother-tongue speakers live. Nepali is also the medium of education and the language of the government and the media. Nepali serves as the lingua franca for people of different linguistic communities. The languages of the indigenous peoples are used within the territory where these people live, that is, mainly in the hilly regions for Tibeto-Burman languages and in the southern lowland of the Tarai for Indo-Aryan languages.

6. Changes in the Geographical Boundaries of the Languages in Nepal

As Nepal as a nation continued to grow, so did the area where Nepali is spoken, expanding from west to east and at the same time causing some of the linguistic communities to move eastward as well. It is believed that the Kiranti languages were pushed eastward at that time. From the north, the Tibetan related linguistic communities moved south into Nepal.

7. The Physical Terrain of Nepal

Nepal consists of high mountains in the north, mid-hills in the center and sub-tropical lowland in the southern plains. The high mountain areas are occupied by linguistic communities speaking Central Bodish, West Himalayan, and West Bodish languages. In the mid hills we find linguistic communities speaking Central Himalayan and Kirati languages. In the lowland, the majority of Indo-Aryan languages, Munda, and Northern Dravidian languages are spoken. Nepali is spoken throughout the country.

8. Distribution of Language Use in Different Areas of Nepal

Although Nepali is spoken all over the country, it is more prevalent in urban areas, and in areas where different linguistic communities meet as it serves as the language of instruction in the schools and as the lingua franca for people of different linguistic communities. Therefore, apart from very remote villages, we find that most people are bilingual to some degree as needed for communication or education. Along the international border in the south, multilingualism is common. Multilingualism also frequently occurs among people involved in the tourism industry, that is, in the urban centers such as Kathmandu and Pokhara as well as along frequently used trekking trails in the hills and mountains.

9. Maps showing the Distribution of the Languages of Nepal

For maps showing the distribution of the languages spoken in Nepal, see Appendix 3. Acknowledgements for the maps go to Roland J.-L. Breton, 1997 and Karen Ebert, 1994. These maps show the approximate areas and population size. Some very small linguistic groups are indicated by their names on the maps.

10 Distribution of the Languages of Nepal in Other Countries

This question was not well understood by most respondents. The reason for their failing to understand may be the fact that with outsiders and those outside one's own language area, people invariably speak Nepali. However, some of the large language groups (e.g., Rajbansi) in the Tarai originated in India and some of their members moved north into present-day Nepal. On the other hand, the linguistic community of Maithili speakers historically lived in the area that nowadays is divided by the international border with India. Nepali is spoken in areas outside of Nepal's present day borders because Nepali speakers have been living in those areas before the borders were fixed. Other Nepali speaking communities are found even as far away as Burma (Myanmar).

11. The Population of Nepal

See Appendix 2 for population statistics.

Frequently, the numbers for population given by respondents does not match with those in the recent census conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 2001.

12. Numbers of Speakers of the Languages of Nepal

Comparing responses to this question in the questionnaire, we find that the literacy rate given here contradicts the answers to questions two and three referring to written forms and standardisation. For if there is no written form of the language, the answer here should also show zero for the number of readers and writers. Therefore any numbers given here as to the number of those who read and write invariably refers to those who are literate in Nepali. This reflects the fact that mother-tongue education is yet to be realised in practice, though the right to mother-tongue education has been granted in the constitution of 1990. Even for Limbu, Lepcha, Magar and Sunuwar, languages having their own script, the literacy rate in that script is very likely less than the literacy rate in Nepali. There is, however a small number of pioneers who tried to write their own languages using the Devanagari script. In most cases, they gave up because their languages contained sounds not represented in the Devanagari script.

13. Monolingual Speakers

Monolingual speakers of the national language, Nepali, are those whose mother tongue is Nepali. They are distributed over the whole country of Nepal. Among the indigenous peoples, monolingual speakers are mostly found among people of the old generation and among those living in remote villages without contact to outsiders.

14 Bilingual Speakers

In urban areas, and wherever there is access to schools, bilingualism is prevalent among young people of all ethnic groups who acquired knowledge of Nepali in school or through work. It must be said, however, that bilingualism for Nepali mother-tongue speakers refers to their bilingualism in Nepali and English, whereas bilingualism for members of indigenous language groups refers to Bilingualism in the indigenous language and Nepali. In areas along the border between two linguistic communities, bilingualism in the two languages is frequently found, though by no means the rule. If one of the two languages enjoys a higher prestige because it has a greater number of speakers, members of this group tend to remain monolingual; whereas those speaking the language of lesser status will be bilingual. But it is also common that in such border areas, members of both communities communicate in Nepali rather than in one of the indigenous languages. For the Terai, bilingualism is very common, as many people speak Nepali and Hindi with equal competence.

15. Multilingual Speakers

Multilingualism in diverse languages of indigenous peoples is not found as a rule, but in a small number of individuals who acquired competence in several languages due to their personal circumstances. Due to service in the Gurkha Regiments of the British and Indian armies and, more recently, due to the tourism industry, multilingual speakers are found all over the country. Multilingual Nepali mother-tongue speakers are mostly using Nepali, English and Hindi. Members of indigenous language groups might speak, in addition to their mother tongue, Nepali, English and Hindi. Those who are employed in the tourism industry and in mountaineering speak a number of languages used by expeditions and trekking groups. Most frequently, these are Japanese, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and other languages, as some trekking agencies specialise in providing guides for foreigners other than English speakers. Professionals who studied abroad, most frequently in English-speaking countries, Russia or Japan, are usually fluent in these languages.

16. The Residential Situation of the Language Communities of Nepal

Compact communities of Nepali mother-tongue speakers are found throughout Nepal. However, in indigenous language areas, such communities are not the rule, but there may sections of villages or towns that are predominantly ethnically and linguistically Nepali communities. In recently settled areas like the Tarai, settlers belonging to all the different ethnic and linguistic groups including Nepali mother-tongue speakers are living side by side.

In indigenous language areas, communities are for the most part composed of one linguistic community along with a few members of Nepali mother-

tongue speakers who are supplying services as blacksmiths, tailors, or day laborers in agricultural work. These people frequently speak the language of the predominant linguistic community.

17. Changing Trends in the Numbers of Speakers over time

The number of speakers of Nepali has been increasing not only because of population growth, but also because of urbanization whereby individuals moving to the urban areas for education or work go through a transitional stage of bilingualism with Nepali increasingly replacing the original mother tongue. This trend leads to a decrease in the number of speakers of some of the indigenous languages (e.g., Thakali, Sherpa, some languages of the Rai group). In other cases, the decrease is upset because of an increase in population in the villages of the indigenous language areas. In addition to this shift towards Nepali, a shift towards the language of an adjacent larger language group has been observed in the case of the Dhimal who have adapted to using Rajbansi, thus creating two dialects of Dhimal, the eastern dialect containing many loans from Rajbansi.

Again, the Tarai area is special. Hill people who moved there to settle used Nepali as the language of communication, thus forcing the original inhabitants to adopt Nepali more and more.

A very small number of foreign educated Nepalese from different linguistic groups have been observed to teach English to their small children because of their intention to send their children to English-medium schools.

18. Future Developmental Prospects

Nepali as the national language has been passed down from generation to generation and continues to be spoken and written by each new generation, stimulated by all education being conducted in Nepali.

Basically and traditionally, the other languages of Nepal have been passed down from one generation to the next in the places of the indigenous language areas where people lived without contacts to the outside world.

This is now changing dramatically. Schools are now found in every village, providing education in Nepali medium. Since the teachers mostly come from the urban areas of the country, awareness of the outside world also increased and with it, the desire to see other places. Even in areas with no roads, people are now traveling much more than in earlier times, meeting and mixing with members of other linguistic groups.

Intermarriage outside one's own linguistic group is much more common now than even one generation ago. Oftentimes, partners in such intermarriages end up speaking Nepali rather than opting for the language of one of the partners. Very small linguistic communities are most threatened in this respect. Kusunda is a primary example.

The absence of writing systems and written literature in the indigenous languages also contributes to decreasing use of indigenous languages while those languages that are written and have written literature are stable. (Newari is an exception because the majority of the Newar live in urban areas where the influence and use of Nepali is all pervasive.

19. Frequency of Use in Informal Situations

In the villages where the indigenous people live in compact communities, the language is used consistently, especially so in the family and among the older generation. Young adults also use their mother tongue with their elders as a sign of respect. School age children and young people among themselves tend to use Nepali to varying degrees according to the situation and the depth of their education. In urban areas where people of different ethnicity live together the use of the mother tongue is greatly decreased. The longer the stay in such urban areas, the greater the possibility that the mother tongue is abandoned completely. In rare cases (like in a marriage of partners from different language groups, long-time service in a Gurkha regiment or other long absence from the village area), families may choose Nepali as their means of communication even in their home village.

20. Use by Speakers of Other Languages

Generally speaking, indigenous languages are used only by members of that particular language group. Exceptions are work relationships (Nepali mother-tongue speakers working for members of an indigenous group as agricultural day laborers), marriage between members of different language groups, and a mixed population living in villages that straddle a language border.

21. Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting the Linguistic Community
Historical factors

From the beginning of the unification of Nepal in the 18th century, the spread of the Nepali language was actively promoted by the rulers. In order to achieve a mixing of the population and to penetrate the country with Nepali as the national language, Nepali mother-tongue speakers were sent into indigenous areas as schoolteachers, miners, or as retired soldiers who were given land in those areas. For this last reason, in some of the large language groups such as Gurung and Magar, abandonment of their mother tongue began early. Today, Gurung and Magar are found outside their original area, especially in the east of Nepal, more than other non-Nepali mother-tongue speakers. Concentrated settlement of Gurung such as Rumjatar (Okhaldhunga) and Magar miners in Wapsa (Solu-Khumbu) are examples for early loss of the mother tongue.

Political Factors

During the time of the Panchayat System (1961 – 1990) the use of indigenous mother tongues was actively discouraged under the policy of "One Nation, One Language". Still, a few organizations tried to promote indigenous people's languages and cultures. But because of the policy, they had to work largely underground and therefore were not successful. The government did not recognise the existence of the many indigenous groups, each with their own language and culture that constitute the nation of Nepal.

The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 finally recognised the multi-lingual reality of the country: "All languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the languages of this nation" (Article 6.2). This constitution also states that: "Every community residing within the kingdom of Nepal shall have the right to protect and develop its language, script and culture. Each community shall have the right to establish schools for providing education to the children up to primary level in their mother tongue." (Article 18, 1 and 2). For the first time since the existence of the state of Nepal, the right to primary education in the mother tongue was granted. It is, however, still a long way to implementation.

Economic Factors

Most indigenous people live in the countryside making their living as peasant farmers, producing more or less enough to live but no cash crops. The environment has been increasingly deteriorating through landslides, floods, and deforestation. Together with the steady increase in the population, the situation in the majority of the villages is now such that the arable land is not enough to support the population. Thus, migration for economic reasons has become prevalent. Migration to the Tarai in search of land, or to the cities in search of work has drastically changed the language use, that is, from the indigenous language to Nepali by necessity.

22. Other Factors Affecting Growth or Future of the Language.

The fact that education still is conducted only in Nepali affects the use of the indigenous mother tongue, leading parents to teach Nepali to their children in order to make them successful in school. Thus, we can say that lack of education in the mother tongue is responsible for language loss among indigenous peoples.

The absence of a written form and literature in written form in the indigenous languages also negatively affects the growth and future of the indigenous languages.

23. State of Endangerment of the Languages of Nepal

The situation of different languages in Nepal varies greatly. There are some very small language groups that are near extinction. But there are large linguistic communities where there is not much interest in the mother tongue, or only recently an awakening interest to preserve and cultivate it.

In order to accurately assess the situation of endangerment, an in-depth study is needed. At present, only a rough guess on endangered languages is possible. A list of possibly endangered languages may contain the following languages: among the Indo-Aryan group: Kumal, Majhi, Bote. Among the Tibeto-Burman group: Bramu, Dura (by some considered a dead language), Pahari, Raute, Sunuwar (surprisingly, according to Rapacha, 1994), and other Kirati languages of small size such as Mewahang, Koi, Puma, Hayu and Tilung, in addition, Kusunda.

. The size and location of the group, availability and quality of education, frequent contact with outsiders, especially Nepali mother-tongue speakers, influence the attitude to the mother tongue and consciousness of linguistic identity. Occupation in trade, service in the army or police force all result in increased contacts with members of other language groups. Many occupations that are only available in urban areas require literacy in Nepali, and all this can be a negative influence on the continued use and preservation of indigenous languages.

24. Endangerment of the indigenous communities in Nepal

The reasons for endangerment of indigenous language communities are of a different nature. There may be destruction of traditional habitat through deforestation (as in the case of the Raute and Kusunda), or landslides (which wiped out almost completely the only two villages where the Koi are located). Also due to steady growth of population, arable land may get scarce and people lose their livelihood. This then causes them to leave their original settlements and disperse among speakers of other languages.

25. Internal and External Movement

Traditionally, population movement in Nepal has been eastward even across the border to work in the tea gardens of the Darjeeling District in India. More recently, when the lowland in the south was opened and made available hill people moved south as the population in the hill villages increased beyond sustainability. A third movement is directed towards urban centers, in particular the Kathmandu Valley, for work and higher education. The fact that so many speakers of the languages of Nepal could be found in Kathmandu shows how widespread and massive the migration from the original location to urban areas has become in recent years.

The most recent massive wave of migration is due to the threat from Maoist activities in the countryside and is directed not only to Kathmandu, but other towns as well, including overseas locations in countries in the Middle East. This is accelerating the abandonment of indigenous mother tongues dramatically.

26. Economic Activities

Indigenous linguistic communities in Nepal mainly engage in some form of agriculture. Exceptions are the Raji, Majhi, and Bote communities who are fishermen and, in the case of the two latter ones, those who used to ferry people across the rivers as long as there were no bridges.

Speakers of Byansi, and Thakali, in addition to agriculture also practice trading. As far as language is concerned, there has been a shift from Tibetan (needed as a second language for trade in the areas to the north of their settlements) to Hindi (needed nowadays for trade in areas to the south). The Sherpa traditionally were traders and herders doing some farming as well. Nowadays, they are mainly occupied as trekking guides and in mountaineering at high altitudes. The Newar have been merchants traditionally and also artisans, especially those living in the Kathmandu valley.

27 Influence of Religion

Religion affects the different linguistic communities of Nepal in different ways. The Indo-Aryan peoples follow the Hindu religion wherever they live in Nepal. In the north, the Sherpa, Lhomi, Jirel, Yohlmo, Tamang, Gurung and Thakali practice Lamaistic Buddhism that permeates all spheres of their lives. The Buddhist scriptures read by the lama are in Tibetan.

In the mid hills the indigenous people practice a form of animism that includes nature and ancestor worship. Religious literature is orally transmitted and the relevant parts are recited at various religious observances among the Kirati communities. To some extent the Limbu have a written form of their religious texts called "Mundum". In communities of mixed population, animism together with Hindu rites (especially those connected with festivals) is practiced.

28. Official Status

Nepali is the national language and the lingua franca of the people in Nepal. It is the language of government offices, banking, business, and all education throughout the country of Nepal. The languages of the indigenous peoples are recognised as languages of the nation, but not for official use.

29. Use in Administration

The indigenous languages are not used in any government offices. In recent years, two linguistic communities, namely the Newar and the Maithili requested use of their respective languages in city offices, but the Supreme Court rejected their request.

30. Use in Education

Nepali is by far the preferred medium of education. Only recently, English medium schools have sprung up first in the Kathmandu Valley and then also in many outlying districts. Indigenous languages have been the medium of education only in a very few cases, that is, Newari (one school in the Kathmandu valley), some of the Kirati languages, namely Bantawa, Limbu and Khaling (classes for adult literacy in the indigenous language). While the use of indigenous languages as a medium of education has not been granted, the number of teachers from indigenous language groups has increased over recent years as a result of increasing access to education although it still is in Nepali. At the same time, the high dropout rate in village schools continues unabated due to the insistence on Nepali as the medium of instruction.

31. Use of Language in the Media

In addition to Nepali, Radio Nepal broadcasts news in Newari, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Sherpa, Limbu, Bantawa, Tamang, Gurung, and Magar. Some of these broadcasts are done from regional stations in the areas where these indigenous people live. Radio Nepal has also broadcast folk songs from various indigenous language groups. Some FM stations have programs in some of the local languages.

Newari, Limbu, and a few other language groups produce their newspapers, newsletters and magazines.

A private TV station in Nepal recently produced an excellent film on life in a Limbu village, using the Limbu language. Similar films have been produced by private producers in the Newari, Maithili and Bantawa languages.

32. Use in Religious Activities

Hindu religious scriptures are available in Sanskrit and have been translated into Nepali. The translation of the Ramayana done by Bhanubhakta is the most famous one and read by many to this day.

Buddhist scriptures are mainly in Tibetan and Pali. Recently some Buddhist texts were translated into Nepali from the Japanese version.

Indigenous people who follow Islam have recently received a translation of the Koran in Nepali. This translation also contains the Arabic original in a diglot edition.

A portion of the Bible was first translated into Nepali in 1822 in India. This was the first printed book in the Nepali language. The New Testament and hymnbooks are available in Nepali as well as in several other languages.

The oral forms of the respective languages are usually used for religious activities such as Bantawa, "Dowong Dum Samkaling" (Rites of Passage)

33. Use in Business and Labor Relations

In general, the Nepali language is used for economic activities in Nepal. Business activities between members of an indigenous language group may be conducted in their own language. But where written documents are required they are in Nepali unless the language has a written form.

34. Use in Other Domains

In the areas of legislation, administration of justice and information processing in Nepal, Nepali is used. Since in Nepal the indigenous languages are for the most part without written forms, they cannot be used for these purposes.

35. Organizations Responsible for Linguistic Planning and Policy

On the national level a government-sponsored venture on the languages of Nepal was the formation of a National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission. The Commission submitted its report to the Minister of Education, Culture and Social Welfare in 1994. The main recommendations in the report were the following:

- Conduct a linguistic survey of Nepal in order to identify and determine the actual number of languages spoken in Nepal.
- Identify endangered languages in Nepal.
- Promote monolingual or bilingual education in the mother tongues and/or Nepali.
- Establish a language academy.

In the different indigenous language groups there are a number of different organizations such as Kirat Rai Yayokkha, concerned with language planning and preservation. However, most of these organizations suffer from financial restraints.

36. Cultural or Linguistic Organizations

On the national level, the Linguistic Society of Nepal has been in existence for the past 22 years. The Society publishes an annual linguistic journal and meets annually for their annual conference where papers on various linguistic topics are presented and discussed. Indigenous languages provide the majority of topics. The Central Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University was established to train Nepali linguists to do research on the languages of Nepal. Also on the national level, the Royal Nepal Academy was established by King Mahendra for the preservation and development of the Nepalese cultures.

On the local level among the indigenous peoples there are a number of organizations concerned with preservation and cultivation of the respective culture, manifested mainly in costume and dance. It is only in the last decade that indigenous language groups have begun to see their mother tongues as an asset worth to be preserved and cultivated rather than being a hindrance to their joining the mainstream of society.

37. Literary Traditions

Nepali has a rich literary tradition beginning with Bhanubhakta who wrote and translated many works. He was followed by many other writers who wrote in different genres and on a great variety of topics. Present day Nepali literature also is very much alive. In addition to Sanskrit, Maithili and other Indo-Aryan languages have their own literatures.

Newari, among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, has its own literature of various genres, reaching back over a period of several hundred years. Other indigenous peoples have oral traditional literature that is only now being published in written form. The Limbu Mundum, the Bantawa Dowong Dum Samkaling, and the Tamang Tambakaiten are examples. The Royal Nepal Academy has published many folk stories from different language groups, translated into Nepali. There is also a wealth of folk songs among a number of indigenous language groups. Such songs are often created on the spot in contests or just as plain entertainment. The Gurung "Rodi" and the Tamang song contests are examples. Dance accompanied by singing, such as the Limbu 'Palam' and the paddy dance are examples of traditional oral literature alive and practiced in the present. Drama is another literary genre that is orally transmitted and very much alive in the Nepali literary scene of today.

38. Attitude of Members of the Language Communities

The majority of Nepali mother-tongue speakers are monolingual. Dialects differ from west to east in the areas where they are spoken but are still mutually intelligible. Because of the prestige the Nepali language enjoys as the national language and lingua franca for all of Nepal, Nepali mother-tongue speakers of any dialect have pride in it.

As many of the indigenous languages were suppressed under the Rana and Panchayat period's "One-Nation-One-Language" policy, indigenous people considered their language inferior to Nepali and tried to improve their competency in Nepali rather than cultivating and preserving their own mother tongue. For the smaller language communities, this attitude has had dire consequences. But large groups such as the Limbu never lost confidence and pride in their own language, although they, too, were harassed by the government . Still, the Limbu continued to use and develop their own writing system.

39. Attitude of Members of Neighbouring Communities

Nepali mother-tongue speakers have little knowledge of and regard for the languages of the indigenous peoples of Nepal. Thus, speakers of indigenous language groups feel discriminated against . On the other hand, speakers of local languages have only recently become concerned about the inroads Nepali has made upon their mother tongues that has led to the neglect of their mother tongues in favor of Nepali.

40. Notes and References

On the questionnaires this question has been omitted for two reasons. Firstly, our respondents were for the most part educated mother-tongue speakers but not trained linguists. Therefore, they felt there was no need for this question. Secondly, Toba, S., 1998 and 2002 contains detailed bibliographical information.

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Appendix I

The Languages of Nepal
(those included in this survey)

1. Indo-European Language Family
1.1 Indo-Aryan Group

Language	Subgroup	Distribution (by zone)
Nepali	Eastern Pahari	All over the country
Awadhi	Mid-Eastern	Bheri, Lumbini
Bhojpuri	Mid-Eastern	Narayani
Maithili	Mid-Eastern	Janakpur, Koshi, Narayani, Sagarmatha
Tharu	Mid-Eastern	Seti, Lumbini, Narayani, Rapti, Koshi, Janakpur, Sagarmatha
Rajbansi	Eastern	Mahakali, Mechi
Bote	Nepal Group	Narayani
Danuwar	Nepal Group	Narayani
Darai	Nepal Group	Narayani
Kumal	Nepal Group	Gandaki
Majhi	Nepal Group	Janakpur, Lumbini, Narayani

2. Sino-Tibetan Language Family
2.1 Tibeto Burman Group

Language	Subgroup	Distribution (by zone)
Lepcha	Mirish	Mechi
Meche	Bodo	Mechi
Chantyal	West Bodish	Dhaulagiri
Dura	West Bodish	Lamjung
Ghale	West Bodish	Gandaki
Gurung	West Bodish	Gandaki
Tamang	West Bodish	Bagmati, Narayani
Thakali	West Bodish	Dhaulagiri
Dhimal	Dhimalish	Morang, Jhapa
Chepang	Central Himalayan	Narayani, Gandaki
Kham	Central Himalayan	Rapti
Magar	Central Himalayan	Bheri
Newari	Central Himalayan	Bagmati
Pahari	Central Himalayan	Bagmati
Raji	Central Himalayan	Bheri, Seti
Raute	Central Himalayan	Bheri, Rapti, Seti, Karnali
Hayu	East-Himalayan	Janakpur
Baramu	West Himalayan	Gandaki
Byansi	West Himalayan	Mahakali
Thami	West Himlayan	Janakpur

Athapaharia	Kirati	Koshi
Bahing	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Bantawa	Kirati	Koshi, Mechi, Sagarmatha
Belhare	Kirati	Koshi
Chamling	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Chintang	Kirati	Koshi
Dumi	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Khaling	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Koyu	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Kulung	Kirati	Koshi, Sagarmatha
Limbu	Kirati	Koshi, Mechi
Lohorung	Kirati	Koshi
Mewahang	Kirati	Koshi
Puma	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Sangpang	Kirati	Koshi
Sunuwar	Kirati	Janakpur, Sagarmatha
Thulung	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Wambule	Kirati	Sagarmatha
Yakkha	Kirati	Koshi
Yamphu	Kirati	Koshi
Dolpike	Central Tibetan	Dolpa
Jirel	Central Tibetan	Janakpur
Lhomi	Central Tibetan	Koshi
Mugali	Central Tibetan	Karnali
Sherpa	Central Tibetan	Sagarmatha
Yohlmo	Central Tibetan	Bagmati

3. Austro-Asiatic Language Family

Language	Group	Subgroup	Distribution (by zone)
Santhali	Munda	North Munda	Koshi, Mechi

4 Dravidian Language Family

Language	Group	Subgroup	Distribution (by zone)
Dhangar	Northern Dravidian	Northern Dravidian	Janakpur

5 Other

Language	Group	Subgroup	Distribution (by zone)
Kusunda	not known	not known	Beri

Appendix II

CBS Report on Languages (2001)

The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), HMG/Nepal has recently published its population census report, 2001. According to this report, the following is the list of languages used in Nepal.

SN	Mother Tongue	Number	%
1	Nepali	11053255	48.98
2	Maithili	2797582	12.40
3	Bhojpuri	1712536	7.59
4	Tharu (Dagauri/Rana)	1331546	5.90
5	Tamang	1179145	5.22
6	Newar	825458	3.66
7	Magar	770116	3.41
8	Awadhi	560744	2.48
9	Bantawa	371056	1.64
10	Gurung	338925	1.50
11	Limbu	333633	1.48
12	Bajjika	237947	1.05
13	Urdu	174840	0.77
14	Rajbansi	129883	0.58
15	Sherpa	129771	0.58
16	Hindi	105765	0.47
17	Chamling	44093	0.20
18	Santhali	40193	0.18
19	Chepang	36807	0.16
20	Danuwar	31849	0.14
21	Dhangar/Jhangar	28615	0.13
22	Sunuwar	26611	0.12
23	Bangala	23602	0.10
24	Marwad (Rajsthani)	22637	0.10
25	Majhi	21841	0.10
26	Thami	18991	0.08
27	Kulung	18686	0.08
28	Dhimal	17308	0.08
29	Angika	15892	0.07
30	Yakkha	14648	0.06
31	Thulung	14034	0.06
32	Sangpang	10810	0.05
33	Bhujel/Khawas	10733	0.05
34	Darai	10210	0.05
35	Khaling	9288	0.04
36	Kumal	6533	0.03

37	Thakali	6441	0.03
38	Chhantyal	5912	0.03
39	Sanketic (Nepal Symbolic Sign)	5743	0.03
40	Tibbetan	5277	0.02
41	Dumi	5271	0.02
42	Jirel	4919	0.02
43	Wambule/Umbule	4471	0.02
44	Puma	4310	0.02
45	Yholmo	3986	0.02
46	Nachhiring	3553	0.02
47	Dura	3397	0.02
48	Meche	3301	0.01
49	Pahari	2995	0.01
50	Lepcha/Lapche	2826	0.01
51	Bote	2823	0.01
52	Bahing	2765	0.01
53	Koi/Koyu	2641	0.01
54	Raji	2413	0.01
55	Hayu	1743	0.01
56	Byangshi	1734	0.01
57	Yamphu/Yamphe	1722	0.01
58	Ghale	1649	0.01
59	Khadiya	1575	0.01
60	Chhiling	1314	0.01
61	Lohorung	1207	0.01
62	Punjabi	1165	0.01
63	Chinese	1101	0.00
64	English	1037	0.00
65	Mewahang	904	0.00
66	Sanskrit	823	0.00
67	Kaike	794	0.00
68	Raute	518	0.00
69	Kisan	489	0.00
70	Churauti	408	0.00
71	Baram/Baramu	342	0.00
72	Tilung	310	0.00
73	Jero/Jerung	271	0.00
74	Dungmali	221	0.00
75	Oriya	159	0.00
76	Lingkhim	97	0.00
77	Kusunda	87	0.00
78	Sindhi	72	0.00
79	Munda	67	0.00
80	Hariyanwi	33	0.00

81	Magahi	30	0.00
82	Sam	23	0.00
83	Kurmali	13	0.00
84	Kagate	10	0.00
85	Dzonkha	9	0.00
86	Kuki	9	0.00
87	Chhingtang	8	0.00
88	Mizo	8	0.00
89	Nagamise	6	0.00
90	Lhomi	4	0.00
91	Assamise	3	0.00
92	Sadhani	2	0.00
93	Unidentified Languages	168340	0.75
	Total	22736934	

Source: The Population Census Report, 2001

Appendix III
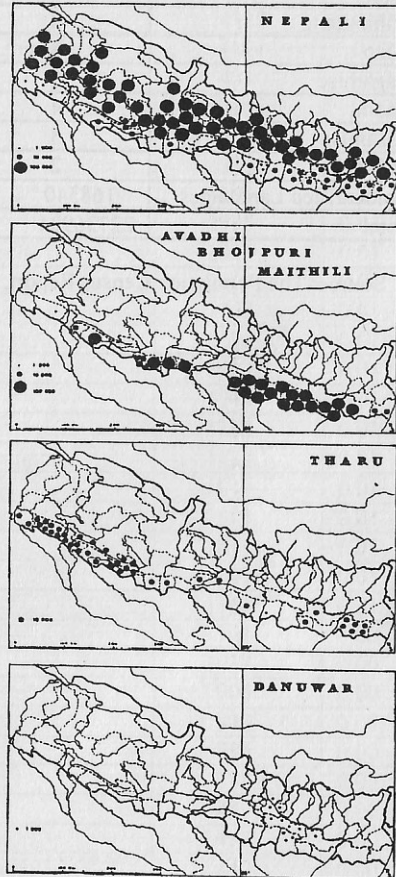
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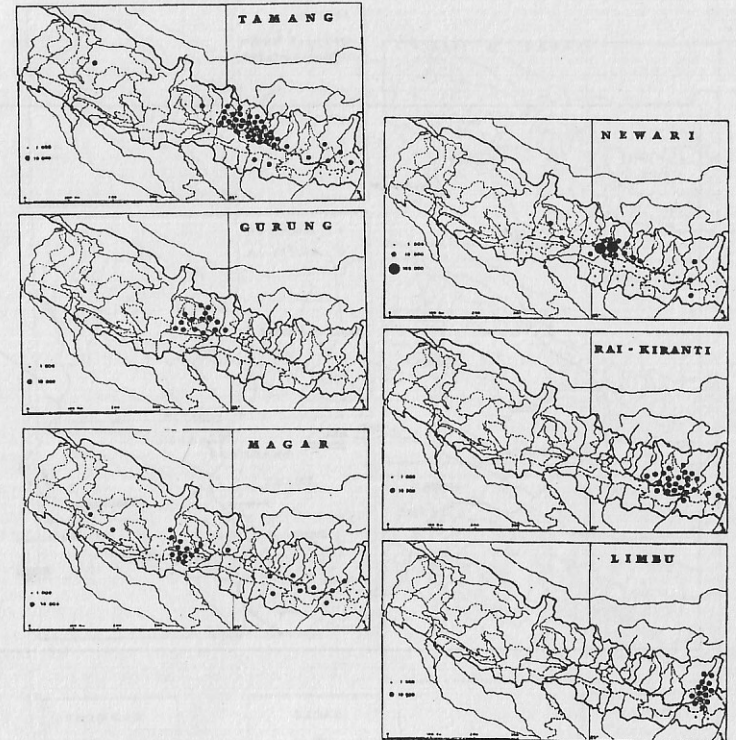
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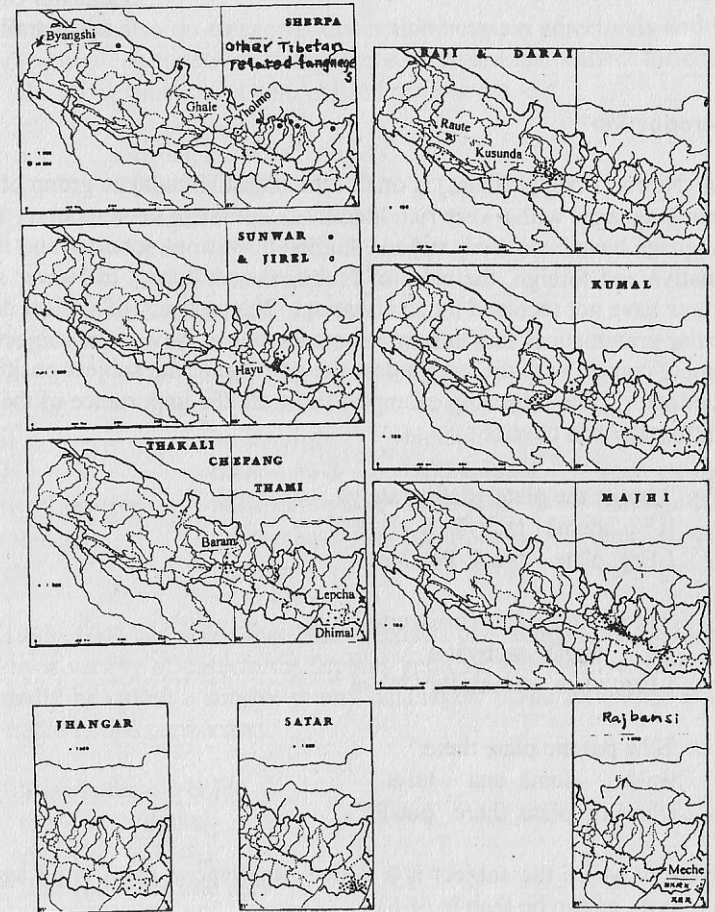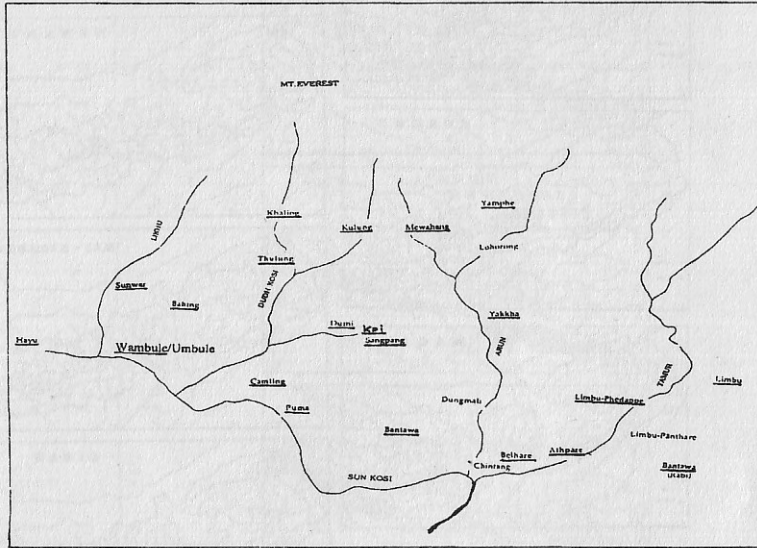
The Notions of Subject and Topic in Newar

Tej R. Kansakar
Tribhuvan University
tejk@mail.com.np

1. Introduction

Newar (Newari / Nepal Bhasa) is one of the oldest Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman languages with a very rich literature. Although contemporary forms of the language have been analyzed and studied by various scholars and linguists, both native and foreign, the roles of "subject" and "topic" in Newar sentence structures have not received much attention. The category of subject denotes a particular grammatical function in a sentence but in Newar the subject has no agreement control with the verb unless the nominal in the subject position is an agent or actor. The following examples illustrate the importance of the notions of volitionality and control :

(1)   'I broke the plate' (deliberately)
        ji-ĩ   demā   tachyān-ā
        I-Erg   plate   break-Pc / Vol

(2)   'I broke the plate.' (inadvertently)
        ji-ĩ   demā   tachyāt-a
        I-Erg   plate   break-Pd / NVol

(3)   'S/he put the plate there.'
        wa-ã   demā ana   tal-a
        s/he-Erg plate there put-Pd

In sentences where the subject is a dative experiencer, there is no agreement with the verb, as can be seen in (4-6) :

(4)   'I have a fever.' (lit. a fever came to me)
        ji-ta   jwar wal-a
        I-Dat fever come-Pd

(5)   'I am tired.'
        ji-ta   tyānul-a
        I-Dat tired-Pd

(6)   'I am hungry.'
        ji-ta   na-e   pityāt-a
        I-Dat eat-Inf feel-Pd

In Newar there is also no categorial distinction between adjectivals and verbs. While adjectives can function as state verbs, they can also inflect for case and number when they function as nominalized noun heads, e.g.

(7)   a.   a strong animate being / s
                ballāmha (animate) / -pĩ
                strong-Nom (Sg) / -Plu
        b.   a strong (inanimate) object / s
                ballā-gu (inanimate) / (-ta)
                strong-Nom. Sg / (-Plu)

(8)   Singular   Plural
Inanimate
Nominal   ballā-mha   ballāpĩ: ballā-gu
Agt/Abl   ballā-mha-ã   ballā-pi-sa-ã   ballā-gu-li-ĩ
Comitative/Locative   ballā-mha-yā-ke ballā-pĩ-ke   ballā-gu-li-i
Dative/Objective   ballā-mha-e-si-ta ballā-pin-ta ballā-gu-yĩ-ta
Genitive   ballā-mha-yā   ballā-pĩ-ni   ballā-gu-yĩ

Malla (1985: 104) has noted that "the functions of a subject are performed in Newari by a variety of case forms such as genitive and locative which would not normally be called a subject in any language". The following examples may be noted in this connection :

(9)   'Ram is feeling cold.'
   rām-yā   cikul-a
        rām-Gen cold-Pd
(10)   'The room became dark.'
        kothā-e   khyūl-a
        room-Loc dark-Pd

Hale and Watters 1973: 194) have also suggested that "the notion of subject in Newar probably isn't needed at all". We however need to recognize the non-nominative (or non-ergative) subjects in the Dative, Genitive and Locative case roles which are widely attested in many language families including the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia. Bickel (2001: 212) however states that "dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-European type are not a general feature of Tibeto-Burman", but examples of these can be found in

Newar (4-6) above and also in Tibetan. He defines the dative subject as 'experiencer-as-goal', and genitive-marked experiencer as 'experiencer-as-possessor' (9) above. Bickel (216) also points out the genitive / dative subject alternations in Kathmandu Newar where both the experiencer-as-goal and experiencer-as-possessor constructions are to be found. The following examples are from Hale (1997), quoted by Bickel (218) :

(11)   Kathmandu Newar (Hale 1997) :

    a.   'Mira became tired.'
            mirā-yāta tyānhul-a
            mirā-Dat   tired-Pd.Agent
    b.   'Mira became tired.'
            mirā-yā   tyānhul-a
            mirā-Gen   tired-Pd.Agent

Although the gloss given for (11 a.) and (11 b.) are similar, an important distinction in context needs to be made here. While the dative-marked (11 a.) can be interpreted as a resultant state, the (11 b.) that is genitive-marked must be seen as an on-going process. The dative construction can therefore be interpreted as 'Mira is tired' (after the long walk), and the genitive construction as 'Mira is getting tired' (so I notice). This distinction, although semantic in nature, serves to explain why the dative / genitive alternation cannot strictly be regarded as a free variation. Such semantic concepts provide essential information on the organization of particular grammars that are based on the notions of theme, topic and focus rather than on strict grammatical relations.

The notion of 'topic', in the above sense, is often recognized as a discourse-oriented identity and is therefore more difficult to define its properties. The basic question I wish to examine here is whether the syntactic constructions in Newar are oriented more to topic relations than subject-predicate relations, i.e. can we argue for Newar as a topic-prominent or a subject-prominent language ? It will be the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the subject-verb relationship in Newar is not well established as in subject-prominent languages like English and other Indo-European languages, and that semantic concepts such as topic and comment, theme and focus are of primary importance in the organization of its grammar. In this connection, I shall also discuss the correlations between topic and various syntactic constructions such as non-finite clause chains with subordinating functions which is a prominent feature of Newar narrative discourse in particular.

2. Case roles of subject nouns and object nouns

The case markers most commonly define the function of nouns and are attached to nouns in various syntactic positions in their roles as subject agent, direct or indirect object. Consider example (12) :

(12)   'The / that man gave money to his son.'
        wa   manukha-ã wa-yā   kāe-yāta dhebā bil-a
        s/he man-Erg   s/he-Gen son-Dat   money give-Pd

where the subject is marked as an agent with ergative marker (manukha-ã), the possessor pronoun as a genitive (wa-yā), the object or recepient as a dative (kāe-yāta), and the accusative / patient is an unmarked absolutive (dhebā). As mentioned earlier, the subject in Newar has often been defined in terms of a volitional actor or agent rather than a category that is grammatically related to a transitive or intransitive verb. We can however identify the case roles of various categories of subject-nouns in Newar as an   agent, patient and dative-experiencer subject and their relationship with the object nouns. Such grammatical relations are a part of what Givon (1984: 139) refers to as the "topic accession hierarchy" which 'is a ranking order of the various semantic case-roles according to the likelihood of their becoming the more continuous topic in discourse ... and occupying the pragmatic case-roles of subject or direct object in simple clauses'. Givon refers to access-to-subject as 'subjectization' and goes on to formulate a subject / topic hierarchy as follows :

(13)   Agent > Dative / Benefactive > Patient > Locative > Instr /Assoc > Manner

where a simple clause with an agent argument will be the subject. If the clause has no agent, the next candidate for subjecthood in the hierarchy is the dative/benefactive (if present). If the clause however has no agent nor dative/benefactive, the patient argument will be the subject, and so on. The examples and discussions given below serve to support the idea of topic hierarchy (13).

The examples in (14 a-c) below have agent as subject :

Agent as subject :
14.   a.   'The mother scolded the child.'
                māma-ã   macā-yāta bwa: bil-a
                mother-Erg child-Dat scold give-Pd
                            (Agent > Dative)

b.   'The child broke the plate.'
macā-ã̄   demā   tachyāt-a
child-Erg   plate   break-Pd
                    (Agent > Patient)

c.   'The son went to the shop.'
kāe: pasala-e   wan-a
son   shop-Loc   go-Pd
                    (Agent > Locative)

The examples (15 a-c) are constructions with dative subject or dative experiencer.

Dative subject / experiencer :

15.   a.   'The woman came to understand about the matter.'
misā-yāta   khã   thu-yā   wal-a
woman-Dat   matter   understand-Pc   come-Pd

b.   'S/he is in need of money.'
wa-ita   dhebā   māl-ā   cwã-gu   du
s/he-Dat   money   need-Pc   Prg-Nom   is

c.   'There is nothing here that you need.'
chan-ta   mā:-gu   thana   chã   ma-du
you-Dat   need-Nom   here   any   Neg-is

d.   'I have a headache.'
ji-ta   kapā: syāt-a
I-Dat   head   ache-Pd

e.   'The child is feeling sleepy.'
macā-yāta   nhya: wal-a
child-Dat   sleep   come-Pd

The following examples (16 a-c) illustrate Patient as Subject.

16.   a.   'The book fell on the floor.'
saphu: bā-e   kutu   wan-a
book   floor-Loc   fall   go-Pd
                    (Patient > Locative)

b.   'The son came to have fever along with his father.'
kāe   bau-nāpā   jwar   wae-kal-a
son   father-All.   fever   come-Caus-Pd
                    (Patient > Allative)

c.   'I got soaking wet in the rain.'
ji-ta   jhu: cāeka   wā-ã̄   dāl-a
I-Dat   soak   wet   rain-Abl   hit-Pd
                    (Patient > Manner)

The subject, as suggested earlier, highlights the primary topic in the sentence. The case role of the direct or indirect object, on the other hand, codes the secondary topic in the clause. The syntactic functions of these object-nouns in Newar can be illustrated with examples in the following contexts :

17.   a   Question :   'Who did Manju give the book to ?'
manju-ū   su-yāta   saphu: bil-a ?
manju-Erg   who-Dat   book   give-Pd
                    (Patient-Topic; Dative-Focus)

b.   Reply 1 :   'She gave the book to Bina.'
wa-ã̄   saphu: binā-yāta   bil-a
she-Erg   book   binā-Dat   give-Pd
                    (Patient is Direct Object)

c.   Reply 2 :   'She gave Bina a book.'
wa-ã̄   binā-yāta   saphu: bil-a
she-Erg   binā-Dat   book   give-Pd
                    (?Dative is Direct Object)

18.   a.   Question :   'What did Manju give to Bina ?'
manju-ū   binā-yāta   chu   bil-a ?
manju-Erg   binā-Dat   what   give-Pd

b.   Reply 1 :   'She gave her a book.'
wa-ã̄   wai-ta   saphu: bil-a
she-Erg   she-Dat   book   give-Pd
                    (Dative is Direct Object)

c.   Reply 2 :   'She gave a book to her.'
wa-ã̄   saphu: wai-ta   bil-a
she-Erg   book   she-Dat   give-Pd

The following alternations of Direct Object (DO) and Indirect Object (IO) also illustrate the same topic-focus relation, with the DO being more topical :

19.   a. Question :   'What did s/he do with the wine ?'
wa-ã̄   aelā   chu   yāt-a
s/he-Erg   wine   what   do-Pd

b. Reply :   '(S/he) served it to guests at the feast.'
(not to all the guests)
bhwae   wa:-pin-ta   twã-kal-a

                                feast   come-Plu-Dat drink-Caus-Pd

20.   a. Question :   'What did s/he give the guests at the feast to drink ?'
                         wa-ã   bhwae wa:-pin-ta   chu twã-kal-a
                         s/he-Erg feast   come-Plu-Dat what drink-Caus-Pd
      b. Reply : 'S/he served wine (to the guests).'   (not all the wine)
                         wa-ã   aelã twã-k-ã   bil-a
                         s/he-Erg wine drink-Caus-PC give-Pd

3.   Subject vs Topic

The examples under (17-20) above also support the arguments put forward by Li and Thompson (1976: 445-489) on the typology of subject-prominent and topic-prominent languages. They argue that a typological distinction can be made between languages with subject-predicate relations and topic-comment relations. They also claim that the subject is a sentence-internal notion and topic a discourse notion with no selectional relationship with the verb. In the examples (19-20) above, the topic-focus is on *aelã* 'wine' which is not dependent on the argument of the verb but is oriented more to the definiteness of the noun or NP. The focus on *wa-ã aelã* (direct reference) and *bhwae wa:-pin-ta twã-k-* (indirect reference) reflects the role of topic as the theme of discourse. A shift in topic or focus can also occur as in the following sentences:

21.   a.   'That woman's nephew sold the house.'
                 wa misã-yã   bhinca-ã   chẽ   mil-a
                 that woman-Gen nephew-Erg house sell-Pd
      b.   'As for this house, that woman's nephew sold it.'
                 tho chẽ-lã   wa misã-yã   bhincã-ã   myu:-gu
                 this house-Emph that woman-Gen nephew-Erg sell-Nom

In (21 a.) the subject is *wa misã-yã bhincã* 'that woman's nephew' or the topic could be simply *wa misã* 'that woman'. But in (21 b.) the topic shifts to *tho chẽ-lã* 'as for this house', and the rest of the sentence constitutes a comment on the topic. So while a subject is directly related to the lexical predicate, a topic on the other hand is only indirectly related to it. The remaining clause of a topic therefore represents 'what is being talked about'. According to Shibatani (1991: 103) "it is this indirect connection between a topic and a lexical predicate that permits certain unique expressions seen in topic-prominent languages". In languages such as Japanese or Korean which have mixed subject-prominent and topic-prominent structures, both the subject and topic are obligatorily marked. The following examples are from Li and Thompson (1976: 462) :

22.   'The present time (topic), there are many schools.'
      siban-in   hakkjo-ga   manso   (Korean)
      now-Top   school-Subj many
23.   'School (topic), I was busy.'
      gakkoo-wa   buku-ga isogasi-kat-ta   (Japanese)
      school-Top   I-Subj   busy-Pst tense

The topic marked by <-in > in Korean and <-wa > in Japanese however does not have any inflectional relation with the verb. Here too we find that the verb may determine the subject but not the topic. On the other hand, the subject may have no functional role as in the "empty" or "dummy" subjects like 'It' or 'There' in English, e.g. 'It is raining', 'It is hot today', or 'There is a bucket in the garage', 'There is no telephone in this house' where the subject has no prominent role. Such empty subjects are not required in Newar, as can be seen in (24 a-b) :

24.   a   'Here is very hot.'
                 thana yekwa tã:nwa
                 here very   hot
      b.   'Cat, a black one is in the garden.'
                 hãku-mha bhau cha-mha keba-e   du
                 black-Nom cat Num-Clf garden-Loc is

where the topic-focus can be locational *thana* 'here' or on specific NP like *hⵡku-mha bhau* 'a cat that is black / a black cat' and not 'It is hot in here' or 'There is a black cat in the garden'. Further, Shibatani (1991: 104) refers to "double subject" constructions in Japanese and Chinese to show the relationship between subject and topic. Examples (25 a-b) are from Shibatani (104) :

25.   a.   'An elephant has a long trunk.'
                 zoo   wa hana ga   nagai   (Japanese)
                 elephant Top nose Nom long
      b.   'An elephant has a long trunk.'
                 Dã xiang   bizi chang   (Chinese)
                 big elephant nose long

Newar also often has 'double subjects' which too have no grammatical relationship with the verb, although the nominals in the language are not

marked for topic or subject as in Japanese or Korean. Consider the following examples :

26. a. 'In meat soup, fish is not put.'
    bullā-e nȳ ta-e ma-jyu:
    soup-Loc fish put-NPc Neg-is
  b. 'In this field, much paddy grows.'
    tho bū-ĩ: wā yekwa sa-a
    this field-Loc paddy much grow-Stat

where the verbs *ta-e ma-jyu:* 'is not put' and *sa-a* 'grows' do not in any way relate to the double subjects which are pervasive in topic-oriented languages. While *nyā* and *bullā* in (26 a.) both constitute the topic, the locative noun *bū-ĩ* in (26 b.) is the topic, not the subject *wā* 'paddy'. It is also the case that passive sentences are rare or non-existant in topic-prominent languages, and this is true for Newar as well. These arguments thus seem to indicate that the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal, including Newar seem to be topic-prominent in orientation and not governed by any strict subject-predicate relation. As noted earlier, the verbs in the language agree not with the subject but only with the agent or volitional actor. The object of such a verb is also marked only on the indirect object while the direct object is always in the unmarked absolutive case.

4. Ergativity and Transitivity

Anderson (1976: 22) suggests that ergative constructions require that the object is centrally involved in the action, i.e. the action is presented from the object's point of view. In accusative constructions, however, the action is more directly related to the subject's point of view, where the object is less in focus. This means that the category that is in focus can be said to be 'topicalized', and ergative languages obviously involve a different form of topicalization as compared to accusative languages. We can thus argue that the notion of subject in transitive / intransitive contexts may not be applicable to the vast majority of morphologically ergative languages like Newar and many other T-B languages in Nepal. The examples below illustrate the distinction between ergative and non-ergative subjects in transitive and intransitive constructions where the subject – verb relations do not hold in both nominative and non-nominative subjects :

27. a. 'The child fell asleep'
    macā den-a
    child sleep-Pd

  b. 'The mother put the child to sleep.'
    māma-ā macā-yā-ta then-a
    mother-ERG child-Obl-Dat made sleep-Pd
28. a. 'The child felt sleepy.'
    macā-yā-ta nhya: wal-a
    child-Obl-Dat sleep come-Pd
  b. 'The child has fallen asleep.' (lit. The child has caused himself to sleep.)
    macā-ã nhya: wae-kal-a
    child-Erg sleep come-Caus-Pd

5. Topic and Non-Finite Clauses

The category 'topic' also has an important function in various syntactic constructions such as the non-finite clause chains in Newar discourse. Such clause combining is often achieved through embedding of one clause or a series of clauses within the main or host clause with a full finite verb. The embedded clause in such constructions functions as the grammatical or semantic predicate of the complex sentence. The embedded clause is normally conncted by various embedding markers such as a long vowel-final participial verb ,e.g. wan-aì: 'on going'; the quotative / complementizer dhakaì: /dhai-gu for an embedded NP in the reported speech; the nominalizers <-mha>, <-pi:~> and <-gu> for adjectivals; and <dhaì:saì>, <-guli>, <sã̄>, <-bale>, <-kunhu>, <-ki> for adverbials. The process of clause chaining in the language can produce quite an elaborate hierarchy of non-final participial verb forms followed by a finite verb at the end of the sentence. Consider the following examples :

29. 'He told me that Manju has arrived.'
   wa-ã ji-ta manju thyāka: wal-a dhakā: dhāl-a
   he-Erg I-Dat manju arrive come-Pd Comp say-Pd
30. 'I liked the shoes (you) wore at the feast.'
   bhoja-e nhyān-ā wa:-gu lākã̄: ji-ta bã̄lā tāl-a
   feast-Loc wear-Pc come-Nom shoes I-Dat beautiful feel-Pd

Hale and Shrestha (1999: 297-336) analyzes the various functions of the conjunctive participle <-ā:> in linking a series of clauses in a complex sentence. The following examples serve to illustrate the meaning of cause-reason, manner and joining of clauses with thematic relationships with the main clause :

31.   Hale and Shrestha (1999 : 313, 319, 327) :

a.   'Being bashful, just smiling, she kept quiet.'
ma-chāl-ā: nhi jaka nhil-ā: sūka cõ-con-a
Neg-dare-Cp   smile only smile-Cp   quietly stay-Prg-Pd

b.   'Lovingly like a father or a mother, he had given her to eat and drink.'
mã-bau-nã   thē māyā   yān-ā: wa-ì-ta
mother father-Abl   like   compassion do-Cp   s/he-Obl-Dat
na-ke   twã-ke   yān-ā ta:-gu
eat-Caus   drink-Caus   do-Pc   Pf.stat-Nom

c.   "When the stepmother saw that the stepdaughter, whom she made to work from the time she got up until the time she went to bed (jnt) and whom she fed only rice chaff, was better looking than her own daughter, for whom she made life pleasant by feeding her ghee and milk (jnt) and by not making her do any work, she became suspicious.'

ghya: duru nak-ā: nã   chū: jyaa ma-yā-ku-se
ghee   milk feed-Nf   also   any   work Neg-do-Caus-Prt

yāū-ka   ta-yā ta-yā-mha   tha: mhyæ-sikā:
pleasant-adv   put-Pc put-Pc-Nom   refl   daughter-than

dã-senisẽ ma-dyã-tałè   jyā yā-k-ā: nã
get.up-from Neg-sleep-until   work do-Caus-nf   also

himo   jaka nak-ā   ta-yā-mha   nhyesu-mhyæ
rice.chaff   only   feed-Pc   put-Pc-Nom step-daughter

soy-e   jiu:-gu   khan-ā: cihri-mã-mhe-si-yā
look-inf   be.OK-Nom   see-Nf   step-mother-Nom-Obl-Gen

nugala-e aneka khã   lhāt-a
heart-loc various matter   talk-Pd

These examples also show that the role of the grammatical subject is not syntactically important. In (31a.) the two CP clauses and the host clause share the same embedded subject . In (31b.) Hale interprets the CP clause *māyā yān-ā:* not as a separate action but as the manner in which she was given food and drink. The focus here is not on the actor but on the manner of the action or

event. Example (31c.), however, presents various situations followed by a certain resolution or conclusion in the host clause. These discourse patterns can thus be clearly   seen as topic-oriented which highlight the action or situation rather than the subject or actor.

6.   Conclusion

When we review the subject-topic relations as a typological concept, we may recall the different viewpoints put forward by various linguists. Dixon (1979) says that topic is what we talk about, and subject is a union of the agentive nominal of a transitive clause { A } and the obligatory nominal of an intransitive clause { S }. Comrie (1981: 106)) states that the prototypical subject is the intersection of agent and topic. Shibatani (1991), on the other hand, holds the view that "the concepts of the grammatical 'topic' and that of the grammatical 'subject' need to be clearly separated at the theoretical level". In English, for example, topic and subject are either merged into a single category or grammaticalized from topic to subject. But we have shown that the syntactic organization of English and Newar is very different, and it is important to understand that the topic and the subject have different realizations in diverse languages affiliated to I-A and T-B families. The notions of topic and subject therefore need to be recognized as typological categories in our survey of language groups in Nepal.

Abbreviations

Agt / Abl	agentive / ablative	Pc	past conjunct
Caus	causative	Pd	past disjunct
Comp	complementizer	Pst	past
Cp	conjunctive participle	Pf	perfective
Clf	classifier	Prt	particle
Dat	dative	Prg	progressive
Emph	emphatic	Plu	plural
Erg	ergative	Ptp	participial
Gen	genitive	Subj	subject marker
Loc	locative	Stat	stative verb
Neg	negative	Q	question marker
NPc	non-past conjunct	Refl	reflexive
NPd	non-past disjunct	Sg	singular
Nvol	non-volitional	vol	volitional
Nf	non-finite verb		
Obl	oblique marker		

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Some Light Verbs in Bote

Balaram Prasain
Tribhuvan Univeristy

1. Introduction

In Bote, verbs can be divided into three classes when they appear in a verbal chain. The first (polar) of these brings semantic burden and the last one (auxiliary) bears grammatical burden like tense, person, number and honorificity. The verbs that appear between these two, generally called vectors, can also be divided into two groups that one bears only grammatical meanings, whereas the next group influences in argument structure (a-structure) of the main verb. The first one deserves to be called 'vector' in our sense. The second set of such verbs are the product of 'concomitant emptying' in the lexical meaning of the full verb (Masica, 1976:141) or potential grammatical marker (Masica, 1991:329), or something 'equivalent to a denominal verb forming suffix' (ibid., 369). The second group of verbs which, when combine with some non-verbal elements, namely nouns, adjectives and adverbs, partially emptying their lexical meanings, form non-verbal complex predicates and with verbal element, they form verbal complex predicates. The set of such verbs can be called 'light verbs'. Thus, the light verbs in Bote are partially emptied verbs which need further investigation for the full interpretation. This paper attempts to present the a-structures of those light verbs while forming the complex predicates.

Following are individual treatment of some light verbs in Complex Predicates against its simple counterparts in Bote. Symbols within the angular brackets represent the thematic roles, or say grammaticalizable meanings, of the arguments. And if there are more notations within parentheses, it only means the case marker traditionally not assigned to that role.

2. Light Verbs

a. *deh-* 'give'

As a full predicator, its valency is three and it takes one argument with agentive role, one with recipient role and the next with patientive role. It can be represented as (1).

(1)   *deh-* 'give' 〈agent, recipient, patient/theme 〉

This can be illustrated with the following example.

sita-ī   ram-ke   biskut deh-ik
Sita-ERG Ram-DAT biscuit give-P3s
'Sita gave Ram a biscuit.'

But in following constructions the status of *deh-* 'give' is as a light verb.

i. CP ⟨agent, recipient, Xcomp⟩

(2)   *ram-ī   hari-ke   kəh-e   ənumati deh-ik*
   Ram-ERG Hari-DAT speak-INF permission give-P3s
   'Ram permitted Hari speak.'

ii. CP ⟨agent, recipient, patient⟩

(3)   *ram-ī   bahun-ke   gai dan deh-ik*
   Ram-ERG priest-DAT cow donation-N give-P3s
   'Ram donated cow to priest.'

iii. CP ⟨agent, recipient, theme (Genitive)⟩

(4)   *hari-ī   mərai   biha-ko   nimta dehi-ik*
   Hari-ERG 1S.OBL.DAT marriage-GEN invitation-N give-P3s
   'Hari invitee me on marriage.'

iv. CP ⟨agent, recipient, theme⟩

(5)   *deuta-ī   jakri-ke   dərsən deh-ik*
   god-ERG healer-DAT appearance-N give-P3s
   'God appeared in front of natural healer.'

vi. CP ⟨agent, benefactive⟩

(6)   *ram-ī   həri-ke-lagi   bəDko bʰərosa dehi-lo baTi*
   Ram-ERG Hari-DAT-BEN big reliance-N give-PERF be-nP3s
   'Ram has supported Hari a lot.'

vi. CP ⟨agent, Locative⟩

(7)   *ama-ī   apʰno   bəcca-ma   dʰyan deh-e pər-tai*
   mother-ERG REFL-GEN child-LOC attenton-N give-INF befall-nP3s
   'The mother has to pay attention to her child'

b. *lag-* 'adhere'

   There are numbers of meaning referred to by the verb *lag-*. However, 'attaching some concrete thing on some surface' is considered basic. It takes locative (or destination) and theme roles as a simple predicate and it is illustrated as in (8).

(8)   *lag-* ⟨goal, theme⟩

The status of *lag-* as a light verb is shown in following constructions.

i.   CP ⟨experiencer, theme⟩

(9)   *ram-ke   curoT-ko   lət lag-ik*
   Ram-DAT cigarette-GEN habit-N adhere-P3s
   'Habit of smoking befell to Ram.'

ii. CP ⟨experiencer, theme⟩

(10)   *mərai bɔcca upro dəya lag-ik*
   1S.OBL.DAT boy upon pity-N adhere-P1s
   'I felt pity on the boy.'

iii. CP ⟨agent⟩

(11)   *məi cup lag-in*
   1S.OBL.ERG quiet-N adhere-P1s
   'I became quiet.'

iv. CP ⟨experiencer⟩

(12)   *ram-ke kʰoki lag-ik*
   Ram-ERG cough-N adhere-P3s
   'Ram got cough.'

v. CP ⟨experiencer, genitive⟩

(13)   *mərai toro maya lag-ik*
   I-DAT you-GEN love-N adhere-P1s
   'I love you.'

c. *pər-* 'befall'

   pər- takes two arguments of thematic roles locative and theme as in (55). The theme may be understood as something that comes form unspecified source. It may be static existence or something concrete. The example is shown as in (56).

(55) *pər-* ⟨locative, theme⟩

(14)   *bakʰor-ma pani pər-ik*
   Baghkhora-LOC water-N befall-P3s
   'Rain befall at Baghkhora.'

   Some of the CPs that this verb makes with certain nominals have illustrated as in (57) and (58).

i. CP ⟨patient (Locative)⟩

(15)   *Dori- (ma) gāTʰo pər-ik*
   string-(LOC) knot befall-P3s
   'The string got knotted.'

ii. CP ⟨locative⟩

(16)   *rame-ke apat pər-ik*
   Ram-DAT problem befall-P3s
   'Problem appeared to Ram.'

d. *kha-* 'eat'

kha- is diadic verb and it takes two arguments of agent and patientive role as in (59), (60).

(17)   eat ⟨ agent, patient ⟩
(60)   *ram-ī bʰat kʰa-ik*
        Ram-ERG rice eat-P3s
        'Ram ate rice.'

When it appears as a constituent in a CP, the a-structure gets reanalyzed.

i. CP ⟨ recipient (E/N), source (GEN / ABL)⟩
(61)   *ram-ī guru-ko kuTai kʰa-ik*
        Ram-ERG teacher-GEN hitting eat-P3s
        'Ram got beating from teacher.'

ii. CP ⟨ recipient , source ⟩
(62)   *ram-ī sita-bʰi dʰoka kʰai-ik*
        Ram-ERG Sita lover-ABL treacherous eat-P3s
        'She got treachery from the lover.'

iii. CP ⟨ agent, patient ⟩
(63)   *ama-ī bɔcca-ke mõhi kʰa-ik*
        mother-ERG child-DAT kiss-N eat-P3s
        'The mother kissed the child.'

e. *leh-* 'take'

This verb takes three arguments one agent , one source and another patient as in (64), (65)

(64)   *leh-* ⟨ agent, source, patient ⟩
(65)   *ram-ī hэri-bʰi kitab leh-ik*
        Ram-ERG Hari-ABL book take-P3s
        'Ram took book from Hari.'

As a constituent (i,e, light verb), this verb forms following types of CPs.

i. CP ⟨ agent, theme (Locative).⟩
(66)   *ram-ī pэisa hэri-bʰi sapэt li-ik*
        Ram-ERG money-ABL borrow take-P3s
        'Ram borrowed from Ram.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent, patient (Genitive/Dative ⟩
(67)   *jal deuta-ī manus-ko əbэtar leh-ik*
        water god-ERG man-GEN incarnation-N take-P3s
        'The water God incarnated as human being.'

f. *ja-* 'go'

ja- is an unergative verb, that is , it takes agent and goal as in (68), (69).

(68)   *ja* ⟨ agent, goal ⟩
(69)   *bɔ́cca gʰər ja-ik*
        child-NOM house-N go-P3s
        'the child went home.'

Following two types of CPs have been found to exist in Bote being *ja-* as a light verb.

i. CP ⟨ patient (Locative) ⟩
(70)   *DãDã-ma pəiro gэ-ik*
        hill-LOC erosion go-P3s
        'It eroded in the hill.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent ⟩
(71)   *chauDi poila gэ-ik*
        girl-NOM elopement go-P3s
        'The girl eloped .'

g. *gər-* 'do'

i. CP ⟨ agent ⟩
(72)   *ram-ī banta gэr-ik*
        Ram-ERG vomit do-P3s
        'He vomited.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent, recipient ⟩
(73)   *babu-ī cʰuna-ke aŋkəmal gar-ik*
        father-ERG son-DAT caress do-P3s
        'The father caressed son.'

iii. CP ⟨ agent, patient (Genitive/Dative ⟩
(74)   *sita-ī ram-ke/ko əpэman gar-ik*
        Sita-ERG Ram-DAT/GEN insult-N do-P3s
        'Sita insulted Ram.'

iv. CP ⟨ agent, goal, theme ⟩
(75)   *ram-ī sak*ʰ*-an-ke biha-ko* **nimta gar-ik**
       Ram-ERG friend-Pl-DAT marriage-G invitation-N do-P3s
       'Ram sent massage of marriage to friends '

h. *par-* 'make'. It makes CPs with other nominals.

i. CP ⟨ agent, patient ⟩
(76)   *sita-ī ap*ʰ*no saman* **poko par-ik**
       Sita-ERG REFL-GEN luggage package-N make-P3s
       'Sita packed up her luggage.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent ⟩
(77)   *ləuT*ʰ*a duləhi baD*ʰ*ikəi* **nəkkəl par-tai**
       new bride-NOM more artificiality make-be-P3s
       'New bride behaves more artificially.'

iii. CP ⟨ agent, theme ⟩
(78)   *ram-ī hərailo b*ʰ*əiya* **p*ʰ*ela par-ik**
       Ram-ERG lost brother-N accomplishment make-P3s
       'Ram succeeded to find lost brother.'

i. *bis-* 'sit'
       bis-   takes two arguments, one as agent and other to which locative
role is assigned as in (79), (80).

(79)   *bis-* ⟨ agent, locative ⟩
(80)   *bəcca b*ʰ*ui-ma* **bis-ik**
       child-NOM floor-LOC sit-P3s
       'Child sat on the floor.'

As a light verb it can be found in the following CPs.

i. CP ⟨ agent ⟩
(81)   *ram* **brətə bis-ik**
       Ram-NOM fasting sit-P3s
       'Ram fasted.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent, locative ⟩
(82)   *ram-ī moro ghər-ma* **bas bis-ik**
       Ram-ERG I-GEN house-LOC selter-N sit-P3s
       'Ram stayed in my home.'

j. *ləga-* 'attach'
       Following types of constructions have been identified as nominal CP
with this verb.

i. CP ⟨ agent, recipient, theme (Genitive) ⟩
(83)   *ram-ī həri-ke sita-ko* **kura ləga-ik**
       Ram-ERG Hari-DAT Sita-G matter adhere-P3s
       'Ram complained Hari about Sita.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent, patient ⟩
(84)   *buba-ī b*ʰ*əiya-ke* **kora ləga-ik**
       father-ERG brother-DAT whip-N attach-P3s
       The father whipped the brother.'

k. *hok*ʰ*-* 'become'
       *hok*ʰ*-* is a productive light verb in Bote since it forms CP with
Adjectival and Adverbial other than Nominals. In basic it is auxiliary that
identifies something as equivalent of some together thing. Hence it is said that
this is also a complement verb. But when it makes CP, the roles and case
markers of arguments remarkably change. Following types are clearly
identified CPs.

i. CP ⟨ agent, source ⟩
(85)   *bəDko b*ʰ*əiya g*ʰ*ər-b*ʰ*i* **aləg hok*ʰ*-ik**
       elder brother-NOM house-ABL separate be-P3s
       'Elder brother separated from home.'

ii. CP ⟨ experiencer / recipient⟩
(86)   *mərai* **banta hok*ʰ*-ik**
       I-DAT vomit-N become-P1s
       'I vomited.'

iii. CP ⟨agent, locative ⟩
(87)   *manis-han k*ʰ*ola-ma* **jamma hok*ʰ*-wai**
       man-Pl river-LOC crowd-N become-P3pl
       'The men gathered in the river.'

l. *mar-* 'kill'
       mar- as a transitive verb, takes an agent and patient role arguments.
Different types of CP with different argument structure are as follows.

i. CP ⟨ agent, recipient ⟩

(88) *uī mərai əŋgalo mar-ik*
      He/she-ERG I-DAT embrace kill-P3s
      'S/he embraced me.'

ii. CP ⟨agent, patient (Genitive) ⟩

(89) *ram-ī sita-ko maya mar-ik*
      Ram-ERG Sita-GEN love-N kill-P3s
      'Ram forgot Sita.'

m. *gʰal-* 'put into'

The meaning of *gʰal-* refers something 'to put into' so that the object reaches to a little depth, like (90).

(90) *ram-ī paisa goji-ma gʰal-ik*
      Ram-ERG money pocket-LOC put-P3s
      'Ram put money into the pocket.'

Following are the examples CPs with *gʰal-* as light verb.

i. CP ⟨ agent, experiencer ⟩

(91) *sita-ī ama-ke əŋgalo gʰal-ik*
      Sita-ERG mother-DAT embrace put-P3s
      'Sita embraced mother.'

ii. CP ⟨ agent, theme ⟩

(92) *ram-ī ciTTʰa gʰal-ik*
      Ram-ERG lottery put-P3s
      'Ram bought a lottery'

n. *a-* 'come'

a- is an unaccusative verb. It takes an animate theme as an argument and locative destination. In following constructions, *a-* functions as light verb.

i. CP ⟨ Experiencer ⟩

(93) *ram-ke banta a-ik*
      Ram-DAT vomit come-P3s
      'Ram vomited .'

ii. CP ⟨ Experiencer, theme ⟩

(94) *həri-ke kətʰa yad a-ik*
      Hari-DAT story memory come-P3s
      'Hari remembered the story.'

o. *dʰar-* 'keep'

dʰar- means to keep some concrete object. It takes agent and theme as thematic roles. Following are the construction of CP with *dʰar-* as light verb.

(95) *ram-ī sita-ko dʰyan dʰar-ik*
      Ram-ERG Sita-GEN attention keep-P3s
      'Ram paid attention to Sita.'

(96) *unyan-ī bəcca-ko nam dʰar-ik*
      they-ERG child-GEN name-N keep-P3pl
      They named the child.'

p. *uTʰ-* 'raise'

uTʰ- takes one conscious agent as its argument, but in CP, we find following construction.

(97) *ram-ke ris uTʰ-ik*
      Ram-DAT anger raise-P3s
      'I angered.' [lit. anger raised at me.']

(98) *ram-ke aj ris hãs uTʰ-ik*
      Ram-DAT today anger-N raise-P3s
      'Ram got agree today.'

In the similar fashion, the a-structures of verbs like *kəs-* 'tighten', *bok* 'carry', *pʰer* 'change', *mag-* 'beg', *bəna-* 'make', etc. can also form the CP with nominal elements.

Conclusion

From the discussion made above, we can conclude that the both nominal and verbal elements contribute in the formation of complex predicates. The a-structure of the CP differs from the a-structure of the light verbs as full predicator. The difference is realized either by different thematic roles of the arguments or by different morphological marking. Thus, the sequence of N and V in the CP form a single predicate, which expresses a single unit of event or action or state.

Abbreviations

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

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Final Report on the Research and Development of a Computer Database System for the Central Department of Linguistics*

Peter W. Oatley

1. Introduction
1.1. Project Rationale

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

The aim was to produce a computer database structure that is capable of storing information about the languages of Nepal. It describes two main types of data: data about the language itself and data about the research resources that are available. The language data is divided into several areas: typological, literacy, demographic, etc. Resource data is linked to languages and other resource data by subject keywords.

It is possible to reference types of data other than books or papers. If items such as audiotapes or video footage have been archived information about these can also be entered into the database.

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

1.2. Objectives

➢ To provide a practical database structure to organise language information on issues including:
- Demographics: location, Population, Alternate names for the language and its speakers.
- Society: Culture, History, Religion, and Economy.
- Education and Literacy
- Status of language Development: Script, Orthography, Written materials, Radio, TV.
- Multilingualism: Use of Mother Tongue and Nepali.
- Language Variation and Relationships to other languages.
- Resources available: Published materials, Organisations/Contacts, Data collected.
- Structural Information: A minimal summary of relevant details.

➢ To provide tools for the collation of information within and across language varieties.

➢ To provide the capability to add new language information without forcing the replacement of language information already in the database.

➢ To provide the capability to identify the source of each piece of information.

➢ To provide a system capable of dynamically retrieving references to resources existing elsewhere. This retrieval maybe specified according to a variety of perspectives, including language, author, and geographic location.

➢ To provide the capability to generate printed reports on these various kinds of information

2. Project Description
2.1 Project History

The project was begun in 1997 by Mr Daniel R McCloy. He completed one year before having to return home because of ill health. I took up the project in 1999 and unfortunately my family has also suffered health problems This has delayed completion of the project until now.

2.2 Data Model

The data is centred on two main hubs: the language variety data and the Resource data. Initially the language data was structured hierarchically. That is Language groups were related to languages, which were related to dialects. However, the language situation in Nepal is complex and fluid. A rigid hierarchy was not suitable in this case. Some languages varieties can be designated as groups and/or languages, some as languages and/or dialects. Language varieties can change status as more research is done.

In order to accommodate the need for flexibility the design was changed so that in terms of informational content language varieties were equal. A tree diagram was added which shows how language varieties relate to one another. This diagram can indicate the ambiguities that arise and it is easy to reposition a variety if that is required.
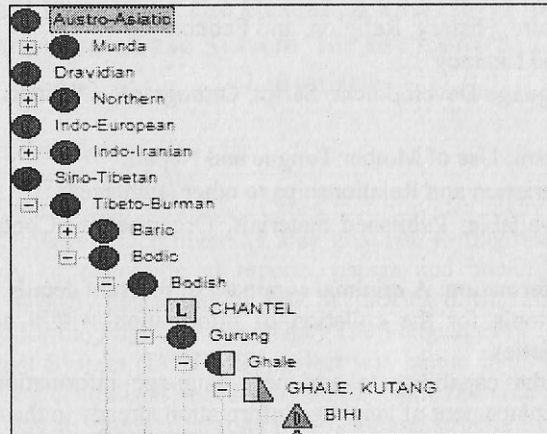
Structuring the resource data was simpler; each item stands on its own. Resources can be linked to language varieties, subjects and each other.

3. Description of Database

Although the underlying data structure is quite complex, the presentation of information to the user is clear. The main database screen shows the tree diagram and basic information about the language.
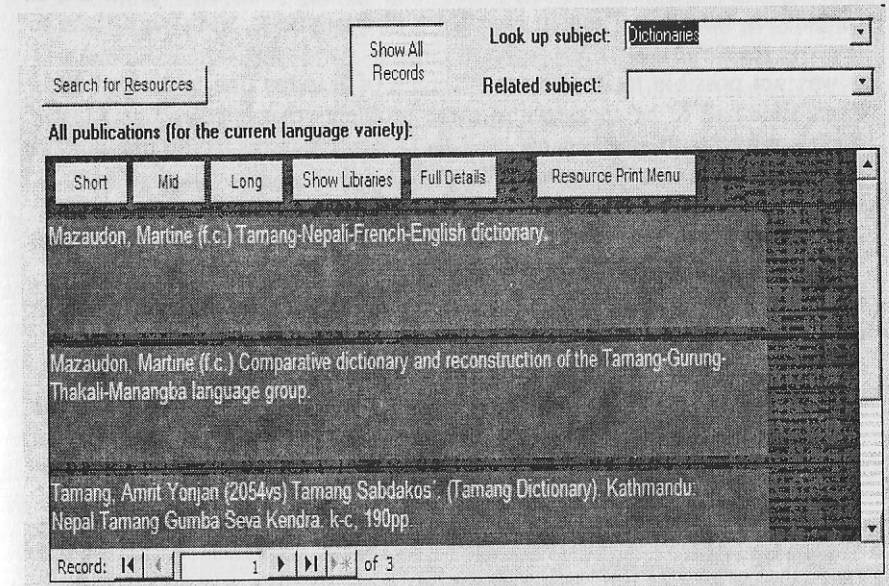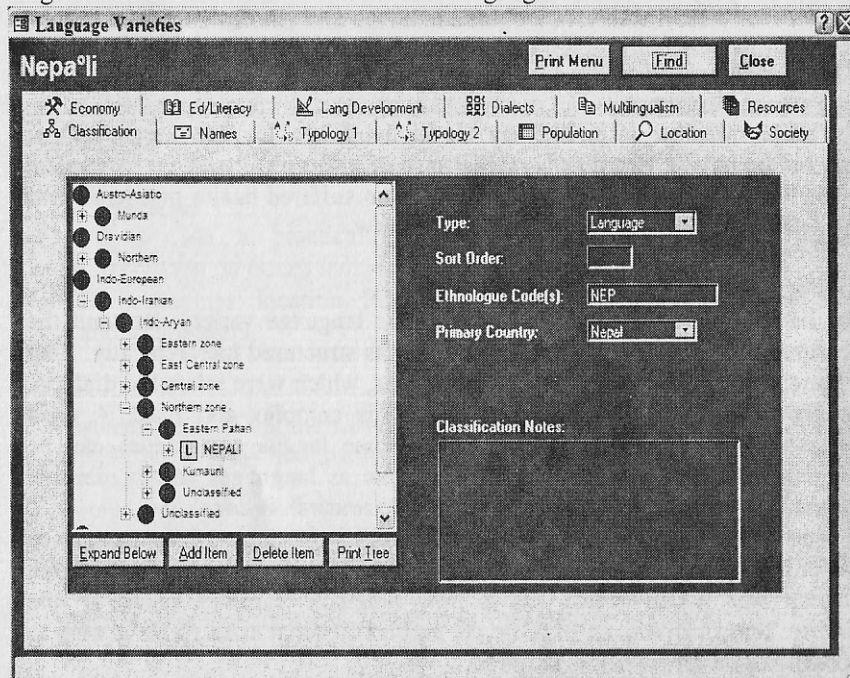
The user can then click on one of the named pages (tabs) to access information about that subject area.

To help locate a language variety quickly a find button is provided. This provides the ability to search across groupings, languages, dialects, alternative names or any combination of these.

Print menus give access to different hard copy reports for a language or grouping.

The Resource page is defined as part of the information about a language since that is the context in which it will most often be used. The page lists the resources connected with a particular language variety and can be filtered by subject.

Resources can also be viewed independently of language varieties. They can be listed by subject, author, library and related items. Related items might be a multi-part series, a review or other closely related work.

Resources can be displayed in various ways depending on how much information is required. This same information is available in printed format.

4. Project Status

The project has been completed. However, a computer project is never complete and improvements can always be made. There will also be the need to iron out problems that only appear through regular use of the system.

The Database has now been handed over to the Central Department of Linguistics but while I am in Nepal, I will continue to work with them to improve the database.

It was not possible to implement a couple of features due to lack of time. Extra time had to be spent fixing some problems that appeared as I tested various modules. It also became clear that certain features would not work as first thought and changes were needed.

Below are suggestions for further development of the database:

- Change report queries to make-table queries. Reports run faster from tables. See Access Tips for examples.
- On the Print Menus indicate the number of records that will be printed.
- Allow printing from resource details screen.
- Need an option to print only the current resource?
- Need to modify how language data is displayed or stored. On some occasions it is not clear under which grouping a sub-group occurs. For example, there are several instances of Southern in the database. This shows up clearly when using Find.
- Linking Subjects – Should the subjects automatically have a reverse link inserted?
- A checking to the link tables so that if a subject is added to list but it is not in the subject table it is automatically added with a query to the user.
- Make data entry for the minor tables more robust.
- Add setup Printer Option? Printer Setup is available from the file menu but a button on the menus might be more friendly.
- Does Dialect Tab need two sub-tables?
- Ethnologue HTML file has a lot of unavailable links that need to be resolved or the file needs to be removed from the database.

5. Project Results

The following products are the results of the Project:

- The LONIMS Database

This is an MS Access Database which will hold the Language and bibliographic data.

- System Administrator's Guide

A manual to help the system administrator understand the structure and design of the database. This will be helpful if changes are needed or problems arise.

- User Guide

A manual to help users understand how to use LONIMS. The manual describes each of the data screens and the fields on those screens.

- Online Help File

The Online help file is similar in structure to the user manual and provides information on how to use the database. The help file is linked to LONIMS and can be easily accessed when using the database.

All the products are provided on a CD-ROM as well as the manuals being provided in paper form.

The database is capable of meeting the objectives set out at the beginning of this report. However, the real success now depends on data being entered into LONIMS and the database being updated regularly. LONIMS will not be a helpful resource until it contains data and unless it is kept up to date.

Nonnominative Subjects in Nepali

Ram Raj Lohani
ramlohani@yahoo.com

1. Phenomenon

Subject and other grammatical relations are realized by nominals, but coding properties and behavioral properties of each of these relations vary across languages. The grammatical relation Subject has been the subject of great interest. Pragmatically, Subject is something talked about. It 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 non-nominative Subject in natural languages as well. Nepali interestingly exemplifies this phenomenon. This paper is an attempt to present a description of nonnominative subjects only. Dative, genitive, locative, accusative, and instrumental and/or ablative are the cases of Subject besides Nominative.

The subjecthood of the nominals is tested against some basic characteristics of Nepali and other universal characteristics of languages. For example, the basic word order of Nepali is SOV. This order is pragmatically least marked. Therefore, if any nominal is found not in citation form but occupies the sentence initial position, and if the order of words is the most preferred in pragmatically neutral context, then we will consider the nominal Subject. Nevertheless, it is not the absolute criterion. The fact will be supported with additional evidences and arguments which have been commonly considered as the characteristics of a Subject. Passivazation, agreement, gapping in coordination, reflexive binding, control and case demotion are other criteria. Besides, we will also consider the arguments from participle modification, nominalization of verbs and meaning.

To begin with, we will first present in this section the summary of case markers that the nominals can come together with. It will be followed by the presentation of the phenomenon. That is to say, we will present the examples that illustrate the phenomenon in question. In succeeding sections, the paper proceeds with the discussion of basic sentences with nonnominative nominals at their onset position vis-à-vis the above mentioned criteria.

Cases	Markers
Nominative (N)	Ø
Ergative (E)	le
Accusative (ACC)	lai
Instrumental (I)	le
Dative (D)	lai
Ablative (A)	batə
Genitive (G)	ko/ro/no (Singular masculine)
	ki/ri/ni (Singular feminine)
	ka/ra/na (Plural)
Locative (L)	ma

In the following example, (1) presents a case of Subject in citation form. keţo 'boy' is in nominative case. And we see there is another nominal bhat 'rice' is also in citation form. The traditional sense of Subject, i.e., it is something in the sentence about which some remark is made, is predicated by keţo. If we reverse the order of two nominals, the sentence is not acceptable, (2). We might topicalize the verb as in (3). But it is stylistically marked. It systematically shifts the focus.

(1)   keţo   bhat   khanchə
        boy-N   rice-N eat-be.nP3SN
        'The boy eats rice.'

(2)   * bhat keţo khanchə

(3)   khanchə, keţo bhat
        'The boy eats rice, nothing else (i.e., he likes eating rice.)'

Examples (4) to (10) respectively represent the Subjects in Ergative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative. More analyses will be presented in the following sections. But I would like to tell some specific remarks in advance. Unlike (1) which contains two nominals both in Nominative cases, the following examples with two nominals can be restructured in terms of nominals' positions. Interestingly, the Genitive marker ko does not behave as if it is Genitive in usual sense. In that, it does not inflect for person, number and gender which it usually does to express possession and relations. Only the basic forms, namely ko/ro/no, are used as Subject marker.

(4).   keţole   bhat   pəkayo
        boy-E   rice-N cook-P3SM
        'The boy cooked rice.'

(5).   keţolai   piţiyo
        boy-ACC   beat-PASS-P3SM
        'The boy was beaten.'

(6).   sãcole   dhoka   kholchə
        key-I   door-N   open-be.nP3SN
        'The key opens the door.'

(7). a. keţolai dər lagchə
boy-D fear-N attach-be.nP3SN
'Fear falls to the boy.'

b. keţolai keţi mən pəryo
boy-D girl-N wish-N befall-nP3SN
'The wish to the girl befell to the boy.'

(8). a. məntribaţə pərkhalko udghaţən
bhəyo
minister-A wall-G inauguration-N
be-P3SN
'The inauguration of the wall was occurred from the minister.'

b. pitaɉibaţə bhuɉa ɉyunar bhəyo
father.h-A rice-N eating.h be-P3SN
'The father ate rice (lit. rice has been eaten from the father)'

(9). a. ramko chorilai ciţţhi
lekhnu chə
Ram-G daughter-D letter-N
write-GER be.nP3SN
'Ram has (a work) to write a letter to the daughter.'

b. ramko curoţ · khane bani
chə
Ram-G cigarette-N eat-PROS habit-N
be.nP3SN
'Ram has habit of smoking.'

c. timro bhər gəriyo
you.mh-G reliance-N do-PASS-3SN
'You have been relied.'

d. behuliko behulosəŋgə ɉoɖa milyo
bride-G groom-COM pair-N suit-P3SN
'The pair of the bride with the groom is suited.'

(10). a. timima sip chə
you.mh-L skill-N be.P3SN
'You have skill.'

b. bəhinima dəya chə bhane
sister-L pity-N be.P3SN if
'If the sister has pity...

c. ɖorima gāţho pəryo
rope-L knot-N befall-P3SN
'The rope got knotted.'

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d. pərikshyama pas bhəiyo
exam-L pass be-PASS-P3SN
'(We) passed the exam.'

2. Syntax of nonnominative subject
2.1 Word order

Subjects in all cases, examples (4)-(10), lie in the leftmost slot, which is the canonical position for subject. When two nominals have the same case, the former is the subject, (1) and (22). The reordering of two nominals does not create unacceptability. Instead it deemphasizes the Subject nominals and shifts the focus rightwards. They are nonnormal and their relative frequency of use is low. Topicalization of predicates – irrespective of simple or complex – does the same effect as we have seen in (3).

2.2 Passivization

Normally, passivization is the process of suppressing the old information. In syntactic structure old information is expressed by subject. Active constructions undergo passivization by deleting the subject, or by making it non-prominent. In the following examples, the corresponding (b)s are the passive counterparts of (a)s. Since the nominals marked with different cases are demoted or deleted, we can argue in support of our claim that there exist nonnominative Subjects in Nepali. The process of passivization also supports the argument of word order in pragmatically neutral structure. We have remarked above the concomitant shifting of emphasis in relative permutation of nominals. The marked nominals gets emphasized in reversal. But, however, we cannot demote the topicalized nominals. In the following instances, for example in (11), neither keţole pəkaiyo, nor keţo pəkaiyo (in intended sense) is possible.

1. Ergative
(11) a. keţole bhat pəkayo
b. bhat pəkaiyo

2. Instrumental
(12) a. sãcole talcahəru kholchə
key-I padlock-Pl open-be.nP3SN
'The key unlocks the padlocks.'

b. talcahəru kholiyo / talcahəru kholiye

The argument on Subject-Verb agreement is made in the following section. Here, in (12b), the verb optionally agrees with nominal talcahəru 'padlocks'.

3. Genitive

(13)   a.   mero ramlai   citti   lekhnu
                     chə
                     I.OBL-G Ram-D letter-N write-GER   be.nP
                     'I have to write letter to Ram.'
      b.   ramlai citthi lekhinu chə

In the above examples (11-13), Ergative, Instrument and Genitives are suppressed. Since the sentences with Locative, Ablative and Dative convey semantically passive meaning, passivization is redundant. For instance, let us see (14), a dative subject construction.

(14)   a.   keṭolai keṭi mən pəryo / pəri
      b.   keṭi mən pəryo / pəri

But, interestingly, these two constructions differ in meaning unlike other active-passive pairs. (14b) is reflexive. This is the speaker's feeling unless the context modifies. On the other hand, the nominals in Accusative become subject after passivization. Depending upon the type of passive variety, there may or may not be Subject-Verb agreement, (15a, b). In bhai piṭiyo, there is agreement. Compare with bhaihəru piṭiye 'brothers are beat.'

(15)   a.   ramle bhailai piṭyo
            Ram-E brother-ACC   beat-P3SN
            'Ram beat the brother.'
      b.   bhailai piṭiyo /bhai piṭiyo

2.3 Agreement

     (15) is an interesting example. The nominal in agreement is in Nominative. Verbs also agree with Ergative and Instrumental nominals. (4) is exemplifies former. Let us see (16) and (17). They illustrate how the Instrumentals also are in agreement.

(16)   euṭəi sācole səbai talcahəru kholchə/*kholchən
         one-EMP key-I   all   padlock-Pl-N open-be.nP3SN/*Pl
         'The same one key opens all the padlocks.'
(17)   səbəi sācahərule euṭəi talca kholchən /*kholchə

2.4 Participle Modification

     When the verb is in prospective form, the verb phrase modifies the Subject. This modified subject becomes nominative whatever be the case of the Subject formerly. This transformation is interesting test. Nominals in

Nominative (18), Ergative (19), Accusative (20), Instrumental (21), Dative (22), Ablative (23), Genitive (24) and Locative (25) get modified by participle clauses otherwise predicates (in traditional sense) of the original sentences. These examples help argue similarities in all these nominals, which, arguably, is Subjecthood.

(18)   ram sutyo > sutne ram 'Ram the person who slept.'
(19)   ramle bhat khayo > bhat khane ram 'Ram the man who ate rice.'
(20)   bhailai piṭiyo > piṭine bhai 'The brother who got beaten.'
(21)   sācole talca kholyo > talca kholne sāco 'The key that opens the door.'
         key-I   padlock-N opened
(22)   ramlai bhailai citti lekhnu chə > bhailai citthi lekhne ram
         Ram-D   brother-D letter-N write-GER be.nP
         'Ram who wrote letter to the brother'
(23)   məntribaṭa pərkhalko udghaṭən bhəyo >
         pərkhalko udghaṭən gərne məntri
         minister-A   wall-N   inauguration-N became
         'The minister who inaugurated wall'
(24)   keṭako keṭisəngə joda milyo > keṭisəngə joda milne keṭo
         boy-G   girl-COM   pair-N suited
         'The boy who suited good to the girl.'
(25)   bəhinima dəya chə > dəya bhəyeki bəhini
         sister-L   pity be (exist.).nP
         'The sister having pity.'

2.5 Reflexive Binding

     Reflexive binding is another test of Subjecthood. Nepali reflexive pronouns are ambiguously bound if the construction has two potential antecedents. If there is only one nominal, which is Subject by default, it binds the reflexive pronoun. The case of nominals does not matter. As in (26), (27), (28), (29) and (31), Ergative, Genitive, Dative, Locative and Ablative bind the reflexives. The ambiguity is illustrated in (30). (30b) might be reflexive in meaning. The alternate referent may be the speaker oneself. But if the reflexive is not preceded by two potential nominals, though there is shifting emphasis, there will not be ambiguity. We can marginally argue of Accusative being the antecedent of reflexive in (30a, b).

(26)   keṭole$_i$ aphno$_i$ luga dhoyo
         boy-E   self-G   cloth-N wash-P3SN
         'The boy washed his own cloth.'

(27) a. ramko$_i$ aphulai$_i$ ḍhãṭne bani chə
Ram-G self-ACC lie-PROS habit be (exist.).nP
'Ram has a habit of lieing himself.'

b. ramko$_i$ aphno$_i$ chorilai ciṭṭhi lekhnu
chə
Ram-G self-G daughter-D letter-N write-GER
be (exist.).nP

(28) bəhinilai$_i$ aphno$_i$ daiko maya lagchə
sister-D self-G brother-G love attach-be.nP3SN
'The sister feels love to her brother.'

(29) nagərikma$_i$ aphno$_i$ rasṭrəko maya chə bhəne
citizen-L self-G notion-G love be (exist.)nP if
'If the citizens have love to their naiton...'

(30) a. dajule$_i$ bhailai$_j$ aphno$_{i/j}$ ghərbəṭə
nikalyo
elder brother-E younger brother-ACC self-G house-A
oust-P3SM
'The elder brother$_i$ ousted the younger brother$_j$ from his$_{i/j}$
house.'

b. bhailai$_i$ aphno$_{i/j}$ ghərbəṭə nikaliyo
younger brother-ACC self-G house-A oust-PASS-P3SN
'The younger brother was ousted from his own house.'

c. dajule$_i$ aphno$_i$ ghərbəṭə bhailai nikalyo
'The elder brother ousted the younger brother from his
house.'

(31) gurubəṭə$_i$ aphna$_i$ celalai dikshya diiyo
teacher-A self-G.h desciple-ACC initiation-N give-PASS-P3SN
'Initiation from the teacher to his desciple has been offered.'

2.6 Gapping in Coordination

Syntax of coordination in Nepali is Subject based. Deletion of co
referential Subject is its principle. Therefore, the antecedent Subject nominals
control the gapping in coordination. Interestingly, the case of the controller
matters not. Arguably, all these nominals are Subject. The Ergative,
Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Locative and Genitive control the gapping in
the examples (32) to (38). The cases of the controller and the controllee may
not match each other. For example, in (34), the Instrumentally marked nominal
controls the nominal of an intransitive verb, which always Nominative.

(32) keṭole$_i$ bhat khayo rə _____ kam gəryo
boy-E rice-N eat-P3SM and work do-P3SM
'The boy ate and did the work.'

(33) bhailai$_i$ piṭiyo rə _____$_i$ ghərbəṭə nikaliyo
brother-ACC beat-PASS-P3SN and house-A oust-PASS-P3SM
'The brother was beaten and ousted from home.'

(34) sācole$_i$ talca tə kholyo tərə _____$_i$ bhãcciyo
key-I padlock-N EMP open-P3SM but break-INTR-PASS-P3SM
'The opened the door, but, however, it got broken.'

(35) məlai$_i$ bhok lagyo rə _____$_i$ dər pəni lagyo
I-D hunger-N attach-P3SM and fear-N also attach-P3SM
'I felt hunger and also fear.'

(36) məntribəṭə$_i$ pərkhalko udghaṭən pəchi ___$_i$
yəsko nirikshən bhəyo
minister-A wall-G inaguration-N after
that-G inspection become-P3SM
'After the inaguration of the wall, it was inspected by the minister.'

(37) təpaĩma$_i$ sip chə, _____$_i$ jāgar chə rə _____$_i$ dakshəta
chə bhəne
you.h-L skill be(exist.)nP strength be (exist.)nP and efficiency
be (exist.)np if
'If you have skill, strength and efficiency...'

(38) ramko chora lai phon gərnu chə rə _____$_i$ chorilai
Ram-G son-D phone do-GER be (exist.)nP and daughter-DAT
ciṭṭhi lekhnu chə
letter–N write-GER be(exist.)nP
'Ram has to phone the son and to write letter to the daughter.'

2.7 Control

Subjects of a finite (matrix) clause control the invisible subject of
nonfinite clause in a complete sentence. That is, the visible subject, whatever is
its case realization, controls PRO. The characteristic property of the Subject to
control PRO is shared by all the nominals Ergative, Accusative, Dative,
Ablative, Genitive and Locative respectively in (40) to (45). The case disparity
between the controller and controllee is even more clear here. In (42), the
Subject of transitive verb is controlled by Dative nominal. And so by Ablative
in (43). Genitive controls Subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in (44),
and in (45), Subject of intransitive verb is controlled by Locative nominal.

(39) keṭo$_i$ [φ$_i$ bhat khanə] ghərə gəyo
boy-N rice-N eat-INF house go-P3SM
'The boy went home to eat rice.'

(40) keṭole$_i$ [φ$_i$ bhat khanə] kam gəryo
boy-E rice-N eat-INF work-N do-P3SM
'The boy did work to eat rice.'

(41) bhailai_i [φ_i piṭera] ghərbaṭə nikaliyo
brother-ACC beating   house-A   oust-PASS-P3SM
'The brother was ousted from home beating.'

(42) keṭolai_i [φ_i bhat khanəko lagi] dinbhəri kam gərnu pərchə
boy-DAT   rice-N eat-INF-G-BEN   whole day work-N do-GER-befall-be.nP3SM
'The boy has to work whole day long to get eating rice.'

(43) məntribaṭə_i [φ_i pərkhal nagherə]   pərkhalko udghaṭən bhəyo
mininster-A wall-N   cross-CONJP wall-G inauguration-N become-P3SN
'The inauguration of the wall did occur from the minister by crossing it.'

(44) ramko_i [φ_i uṭhne bittikəi]   [φ_i curoṭ khane]   bani chə
Ram-G   raise-PROS immediately   cigarette eat-PROS habit be (exist.)nP
'Ram has habit of smoking immediately after leaving the bed.'

(45) keṭakeṭima_i [φ_i mamaghər jane] rəhər chə
children-L   maternal uncle's home go-PRO wish-N be(exist.)nP
'The children have a wish to go to the maternal uncle's home.'

2.8 Nominalizaiton of Verb

When the verb of a construction is nominalized, the subject becomes genitive. It is another interesting case. In the following examples (46), (47) and (48), Ergative, Nominative and Dative are shown to be behaving similarly. Each of them changes into Genitive in the syntactic process of verb nominalization.

(46) ramle bhat khayo > ramko bhat khuwai
'Ram ate rice.' > 'Rice-eating of Ram'

(47) ram sutyo > ramko sutai
'Ram slept.' > 'Sleeping of Ram'

(48) məlai ghau dukhyo > mero ghau dukhai
'I suffered from pain of boil.' > 'Feeling of boil pain to me'

2.9 Meaning

This is another argument. Nominals with different case endings mean same thing. It is matter of personal choice. Somewhere Ergative and Dative (49), somewhere Genitive and Dative (50), somewhere Ergative and Ablative

(52) cases can be used interchangeably. Constructions with subject in two cases have the same meaning. Whatever is the case marker, notionally they are Subjects for they are the old information about which some remarks are made.

(49) məile kuro thaha paẽ 'I learned of the thing.'
məlai kuro thaha bhəyo 'The matter became known to me.'

(50) ramko chorilai ciṭṭhi lekhnu chə 'Ram has a work of writing a letter to the daughter.'
ramlai chorilai ciṭṭhi lekhnu chə 'Ram has a work of writing a letter to the daughter.'

(51) timro bhər gəriyo 'Reliance is done on you.'
timilai bhər gəriyo 'Reliance is done on you.'
timima bhər gəriyo 'Reliance is done on you.'

(52) məntrile pərkhalko udghaṭən gəre 'The minister inaugurated the wall.'
məntibaṭə pərkhalko udghaṭən bhəyo 'Inauguration of the wall did occur from the minister.'

2.10 Case demotion in infinitival clauses

This is another strong argument to establish the multiple casehood of Subject nominals. In the instances produced below, we can see the canonical cases are being demoted. In (53), the verb bəs 'sit' is intransitive and its Subject's canonical case is Nominative. But this is not acceptable. It has to be demoted to Dative. Similarly in (54), both Dative and Ergative case is possible for the Subject of embedded clause, the otherwise default case is Nominative. (54) represents, perhaps, a transition case. But (53) is a clear example of case transition – an instance of demotion. Since demotion is possible, there is no more left canonical case for any grammatical relations. And for that matter no canonical case marker for Subject. Nonnominative Subject is a natural corollary.

(53) [* guru / gurulai bəsnə] məile asən choḍidiẽ
*teacher/teacher-DAT sit-INF I-E   seat l eave-ABS-give-P3SM
'He left the seat for the teacher to sit.'

(54) məile sitalai/le piyano bəjaũdəi gəreko dekhẽ
I.OBL-ERG Sita-D/-E piano-N play-CONT-do-PERF-GEN see-P1S
I saw Sita playing piano.

3. Conclusion

In this way, the subjecthood in Nepali is not restricted only to Nominative case. Evidences and arguments presented above help to conclude

the existence of Ergative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative cases for Subject nominals.

Abbreviations

E- Ergative	CONT- Continuant
N- Nominative	D- Dative
Neuter Gender	GER- Gerundive
P- Past	PROS- Prospective
S- Signifier	mh- Mid-honorific
ACC- Accusation	L- Locative
PASS- Passive	COM- Commitative
nP- Non-past	Pl- Plural
S- Singular	I- Instrumental
M- Masculine	OBL- Oblique
A- Ablative	EMP- Emphatic
G- Genitive	exist.- Existential
h- Honorific	INTR- Intransitive
nh- Non-honorific	INF- Infinitive

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The Gap Filling Words in the Novel of the Spanish Writer Miguel Delibes, Five Hours with Mario[1], 1988.

Betsie Devi Chhetri
Lecturer in English
Padmakanya Multiple Campus

1. Introduction

The language that people use in the street, bars, buses, in the underground trains are full of colloquial expressions. We hear such expressions everyday in the cinema halls, theatres, TV, radios, etc. Most of the time swear words, the insulting words and the padding words are heard. The padding words or the gap-fillers are also heard in the teaching centres where the teachers use formal language in the class but they use individual pet words because of the habits or to give fluency to their discourse or to gain time to think what they are going to say in continuation. Sometimes, the teachers forget what they have to say; above all, in the lecture method of teaching in which the teachers talk for one hour or more and the students listen passively. Everything said by the teachers is written or recorded. Therefore, the teachers are very careful not to say unnecessary things. When they get stuck while giving lectures they use gap fillers to give fluency to their speech and sometimes, they use proverbs in an ironic manner to hold the attention of the disturbing students to keep them quiet.

Werner Beinhauver[2] in his article *Two Antagonist Tendencies in the Colloquial Spanish Language* calls these expressions padding, delaying formulas, substitutes, pet words, expletives, etc. Citing textually to Beinhauer:

Delaying Formulas: Those words which the speakers use to gain time to look for the appropriate expression which needs mental effort.

Substitutes: They are the words with vague sense to substitute in case of emergency; Those words which the speaker does not remember at the time of speaking or he does not know exactly what he wants to say.

Pet Words: Some favourite expressions of some individuals who use them frequently and
also they can be nicknamed by the pet words they use.

Expletives: The function of these words are to fill the gaps or loopholes which threaten the fluency of the explanation. Luckily, the expletives maintain

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[1] Miguel Delibes, *Five Hours with Mario,* Destino Editions, Barcelona, 1988.

[2] Werner Beinhauer, *The Colloquial Spanish*, Ed. Gredos, Madrid, 1985. W. Beinhauer, *Two Antagonist Tendencies in the Colloquial Spanish Language* (Delaying Expressions, Substitutes, Pet Words, Expletives). *The Current Spanish Journal,* No. 6. 1965

continuity. Francisco Yndurain[3] in his article *More About Colloquial Language* and *On the Colloquial Language* calls these expressions Pet words, Backing lexicons, Omnibus Words or slow bus words. Yndurain says that these uses of conversational backings are born because of the mental laziness. Yndurain also includes the proverbs and the sayings which have the conversational function of gap fillers.

The verbs of senses like *see, look, hear, listen* are used to draw the attention of the interlocuters. The verbs like *say* and *know* are used to show the importance of the speaker for self-assertion of the things. The reflexive verbs like *to imagine, to take notice, to realize, not to believe, to be flabbergasted,* etc. in the imperative forms function as commands or requests. There are also onomatopoeic words like *bang, whack, crash,* etc. which are used by the speakers to impress or to hold the attention of the interlocuters and then explain the things in continuation. The colloquial linking words or the connectives such as *well, so, know, nothing,* have various functions. Some set expressions like *and all, that's how the things are, and so on and so forth,* etc. summarize what the speaker continues saying in enumeration. Other expressions like *that's all there is to it; and that's the end of it;* show the satirical character of the speaker; on the surface they appear peaceful with the interlocuters but in the depth they have the meanings like *I don't care a fig.* The purpose of the proverbs is to satirize or give lessons to the interlocuters.

2. The analysis of the novel

Let us see the uses with some examples of the above mentioned expressions.

See

Valentina, Carmen's friend says to Carmen who has become a widow:

- You should sleep a little, [...]. The nerves don't let you stop. *You'll see* tomorrow. (p.9). The use of the expression *You'll see* at the end of the sentence gives the nuance of prediction, at the same time it clears the things.

Carmen, the main protagonist, talking about her husband Mario's death, says to Valentina:

- Last night, he dined just like that and read till late. And this morning, *you see.* How was I to imagine such a thing (p.11).

The expression *you see* precedes immediately after the explanation of something. Also it is used in the beginning of the sentence to capture the attention of the listener and to clear the things.

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[3] Francisco Yndurain, *On the Colloquial Language; More on the Colloquial Language, The Current Spanish Journal,* Vol. 3, 1964-65

Look

It maintains the attention and takes time for the speaker to reach further appropriate expression; it has the function of a mandate or a request in the imperative form.

Encarna, Mario's sister-in-law, to the corpse:

- *Look at me,* Mario! I am alone! Again alone! All my life alone (p.28).

Carmen's interior monologue:

- And when all the portraits with naked women are held, [...], imagine, I didn't know *where to look* (p.66).

The speaker wants to express his surprise and exaggerates a bit.

- *You look wherever you look,* the guard was doing his duty and if they had killed you, then in the act of service, (p.80).

This expression gives the emphasis.

- Mario, I swear, *look at me,* or I'll get mad. Come on, please [...]! (p.283)

It has the nuance or persuasion.

Hear

It draws the attention of the participant and to subdue him to obey.

Carmen to Valentina:

- Do you know Valen, if Mario has the title of His Lordship? (Valentina didn't reply) *Do you hear me?* (p.15)

Appealing the listener in the form of rhetoric question:

- Mario! Aren't you listening to me? Pay heed, please, I have never been more frank, I could swear you (p.281)

Say, Tell:

Carmen to Valentina:

- It is like this sweater, Valen, *don't tell me,* it is like the mourning of the poor mother, who may rest in peace (p.16)

Here the expression is of the individual flapping word because it has no conceptual meaning, it serves to pause and nothing else.

Carmen talking alone:

- *Tell me one thing,* come on, please, why didn't you read me your verses, you didn't even tell me you used to write (p.56).

The expression is a *Substitute* to maintain the attention of the listener and then manifest what he has to say.

To know

Carmen to Valentina:

- Sleep, no, Valen, I don't want to sleep, I have to be with him. It is the last night. *You know it.* (p.10)

It includes the listener in something that the listener knows it or he does not know.

-   *May I know* what you were doing there, smoking for so long? [...] (p.51)

The verb *to know* is used in the form of rhetoric question but the speaker does not wait for the

answer, he answers himself to impress the listener or impose his authority on the same.

The Onomatopoeic words: *bang, whack, crash,* etc.

With these words the speaker captures the interest of the interlocuter and in continuation

clarifies the things. Let's see some examples:

-   And now the complications start, *crash*! goodbye!, like the first night. Dou you remember? You go out and you leave me alone to do all the donkey work (p.39).

-   Mario we have to accept whether we like it or not, that a country is like a family, the very same, you take away the authority and *whack*!, the catastrophe. (p.244)

Carmen talking about her admirer says:

-   And when he held me by my shoulders, the heart like mad, *bang*! *bang*! that I believe firmly that I was hypnotized (p.229)

The onomatopoeic words like *bang*!*bang*!, imitate the beating of the heart, that'swhy it has the nuance of interjection and a pause. With these onomatopoeic words the speaker surprises the listener anchoring his attention.

The Reflexive Verbs:

Now, let's see some reflexive verbs which indicate an order or a request in the form of imperative; Besides, it adds the emotional tone to the expression. The speaker wants that the

listener feel the importance of what he is saying.

Carmen to Valentina:

-   Still it seems to me to be a lie, Valen *imagine,* it is impossible for me to believe (p.9).

Carmen's monologue:

-   Well, these arguments are the ones which interest the people, Mario, *don't you believe it,* (p.49).

The speaker is giving the lesson or an advice to the listener.

-   Mario, Mario, twenty-two years and everyday reading and thinking, and read and think is bad, dear, *believe it.* (p.60)

-   They are the type, but *be careful,* they are the ones who commit suicide or get a heart attack (p.210).

It warns about the danger. All these verbs have an emphasizing value and at the same time they stimulate the listener. They are used to beg the attention of the listener in an expressive way.

The Demonstrative Pronouns:

The demonstrative pronouns are used to show something the name of which the speaker does not remember. It is a delaying formula that the speaker uses to gain time while he looks for the adequate expression.

-   And *that* University, how do you call it? I will never be able to learn it. (p.258)

-   *That* stuff with seven tails, how do you call it, I understand *that* the foreigners used to put around the waists of the troublesome persons. (p.81)

And all

The last element of an enumeration which strengthens the value of inclusion.

-   Because she wasn't doing anything rather than shouting, like a hysteric person, [...] but

The Dora and I, with all our strength, made her open her eyes *and all.* (p.23)

And that's how the things are:

This expression is equivalent to *etcetera.*

-   and she thinks that the sister is obliged to occupy the elder brother's post *and that's how the things are.* (p.40)

In such a way that:

This expression stimulates the speaker to continue speaking. It works to get the information from somebody.

-   You make a sentence *in such a way that* you are able to sell your soul to the devil.
    (p.143)

Proverbs, Sayings:

The proverbs and the sayings are used to emphasize what is been said to impress the interlocuter.

-   Encarna is a good girl who has become reckless for her misfortune, you see, *it's like licking one's finger*[4]. (p.41)

Sometimes the speaker uses the proverb to give a lesson to the listener. The sayings are also used to make fun of people.

3. Conclusion

Miguel Delibes, the Spanish novelist from the city called Valladolid in Spain of the post Spanish Civil War uses the interior monologue through the colloquial language to project the work of great psychological penetration.

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[4] To like something very much.

There is only one female protagonist Carmen, who talks before her husband's corpse, Mario, the impotent interlocuter. The author narrates us the long soliloquy of Carmen in which she remembers the years that she had lived with Mario and criticizes him using all the colloquial expressions. Through Carmen's soliloquy we come to know that Mario was an honest and intelligent writer who lived and died with dignity. If these expressions are used superfluously, it will show inculture These uses arise to give fluency to the expressions or because of the individual habit. They could be employed for various functions. Spanish language is very rich in such colloquial expressions.

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Deontic Modality System in Thakali

Narayan P Sharma
Central Department of Linguistics

0. Introduction

Thakali is one of the minority languages of Nepal spoken by an ethnic group of same name as their mother tongue that belongs to Tibeto-Burman family. This present paper attempts to present the deontic modality system in the Thakali language, which is a part of my MA thesis (Sharma, 2001) The paper is confined within only imperative and hortative. This paper is divided into three sections, the former deals with the imperative, the second section and the third deals with honorifics.

1. Imperative

Imperative tends to the least marked form in language (Ebert, 1994:47). Imperative is the unmarked member of the deontic system… (Palmer, 1995:108). However, in Thakali, there are four types of imperative markers, i.e. <-o>, <-u>, <-ko> and <-to>. The imperative marker <-o> occurs after stems ending with a consonant except after /y/ whereas marker <-u> occurs stems ending with <ə>, marker <-ko> occurs after stems ending with a vowel except /ə/ and /y/, and marker <-to> occurs with some irregular verb stems like *pi, pih, sye, syuh, cəhy*, etc. The imperative in Thakali has the form '{stem + <-o>/<-u>, <-ko>, <-to>, <-cyo>}. The hortative is marked with suffix <-cyo>. The hortative in Thakali has the form 'stem + cyo'. The prohibitive prefix <thə> precedes the verb stem in imperative but the prohibitive prefix <a-> precedes the verb stem in hortative. Thus, the negative imperative in Thakali has the form '{thə + stem + <-o>, <-u>, <-ko> and <-to>}' whereas the negative hortative has the form 'a + stem + cyo'. The summarized form of these markers can also be illustrated in the table 1.

Table 1

Deontic Modality	Stem Final Segment	Markers	Prohibitive
	Any C (except /y/)	-o	
	Any V (except /ə/ and /y/)	-ko	
Imperative	/ə/	-u	*thə-*
	Some irregular stems: *pi, pih, sye, syuh cəhy*	-to	
Hortative		-cyo	*a-*

Moreover, the suffix <-le> can be affixed to any imperative to make the order a bit softer and politer. This suffix is usually affixed with honorific stems. Now, let us observe the imperative examples with four types of markers.

(1) a. *yuhl-ri-yəhr-o*
         village-LOC go-IMP
         'Go to the village.'
     b. *yulh-ri thə yəhr-o*
         village-LOC PROH go-IMP
         'Do not go to the village.'
     c. *kyu khimce-cah-ri cuŋ-o*
         water neighbour-PL-DAT sell-IMP
         'Sell water to the neigbhours.'
     d. *kyu khimce-cah-ri thə cuŋ-o*
         water neighbour-PL-DAT PROH sell-IMP
         'Do not sell water to the neigbhours.'
     e. *kohy pun-o-le*
         song sing-IMKP-POL
         'Sing a song, please.'
     f. * *yuhl-mih-cah-ri ŋohy-to*
         village-man-PL-DAT call-IMP
         Intended meaning: 'Call the villagers.'

In (1a), the verb stem ends with /r/ whereas in (1c) the verb stem ends with /ŋ/ and in (1e), the verb stem ends with /n/. The marker <-o> is affixed with these stems. (1b) and (1d) are the negative imperative counterparts of (1a) and (1c) in which <-thə-> is prohibitive marker. Similarly, (1e) is the example of more politer form of imperative in which the marker <-le> is affixed with imperative marker. In (1f), the verb stem ends with /y/ and the marker affixed with it is <-to>.

Suffix <-ko>

(2) a, *tuhŋ-cah thə tha-ko*
         tree-PL PROH cut-IMP
         'Don't cut the trees.'
     b. *Tihm-ri thə Te-ko*
         wall-LOC PROH climb-IMP
         'Don't climb on the wall.'
     c. *kompə kyapŋelə-cah kyuh-ko*
         expensive toy-PL buy-IMP
         'Buy expensive toys.'

In (2a), (2b) and (2c), the verb stem ends with /a/, /e/ and /uh/ respectively in which the marker <-ko> is affixed with the verb stem to make imperative. Similarly, in (2a) and (2b), negative imperative is marked with the marker <thə->, k become g when it is occurred between two vowels, i.e., k→ g/ V__V.

Suffix <-u>

(3) a. *tihm-ri yəh-si kən cə-u*
         house-LOC go-SEQ rice eat-IMP
         'Go home and eat rice.'
     b. *copro khə-u*
         here come-IMP
         'Come here.'
     c. *a-kyohwə keh thə lə-u*
         NEG-good work PROH do-IMP
         'Don't do bad work.'

In (3a), (3b) and (3c), the verb stem ends with /ə/ in all three stems in which imperative marker <-u> is affixed with the verb stem. In (3c), negative prefix <a-> is affixed with the adjective *kyohwa* to make it's meaning opposite and the other prefix <thə-> is affixed to make the negative imperative.

The suffix <-to>

(4) a. *yuhl thowə pi-to*
         village big leave-IMP
         'Leave the town.'
     b. *cu keh cəhy-to-le*
         this work do(H)-IMP-POL
         'Please, do this work.'
     c. *pe- pih-to*
         story say-IMP
         'Tell the story.'

This marker <-to> occurs after some irregular verb stems ending with any vowel or with /y/. In (4a), the verb stem ends with /i/, in (4b) with /y/ and in (4c) with /ih/ in which the suffix <-to> is affixed. (4b) is the example of honorific in Thakali in which honorific stem *cəhy* 'do' has been added.

2. Hortative

Hortative, in Thakali, is marked with the marker <-cyo>. Allophonic variation can also be found with it. This suffix becomes voiced when it is followed by voiced consonants, i.e.,

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} cyo \rightarrow \quad jyo/\text{Voiced C} \_\_\_ \\ cyo/ \text{ elsewhere} \_\_ \end{array} \right\}$$

Let us observe the examples of hortative.

(5) a. *ciThi pruhp-cyo*
         letter write-HOR
         'Let's write a letter.'

     b. *ciThi a-pruhp-cyo*
         letter PROH-write-HOR
         'Let's not write a letter.'

     c. *bəs tehm-cyo*
         bus top-HOR
         'Let's stop a bus.'

     d. *bəs a-tehm-cyo*
         bus PROH-stop-HOR
         'Let's not stop a bus.'

     e. *Tihm-ce pləu chyum-cyo*
         wall-ABLT jump down-HOR
         'Let's jump down from the wall.'

     f. *ale tuhy-cyo*
         money collect-HOR
         'Please, collect money.'

(5b) and (5d) are the negative counterparts of (5a) and (5c) in which negative prefix <a-> is attached with verb stem to make it negative. From (5a) to (5f), hortative marker <-cyo> is affixed with verb stem.

3. Honorific

In the Thakali honorific verbal sequences the main verb stem has the infinitival form with the marker <-lə> as suffix and is followed by the honorific verb form <cəhy> 'to do'. For example.

(6) a. *prəh-lə cəhy-to*
         walk-INF do(H)-IMP
         'Please walk.'

     b. *ale cahŋ-lə cəhy-to*
         money send-INF do(H)-IMP
         'Please send money.'

In this way, any verb can be used in a verbal sequence for honorific speech. However, all the verb stems do not follow this pattern 'verb stem + <-lə>+ cəhy', but they have two different stems, one is used in honorific speech and the other in non-honorific speech. The table 2 given below illustrates the Thakali honorific stems.

Table 2

Honorific Stems	Non-honorific stems	Gloss
cəhy	lə	to do
cyoh	khə	to come
sye	yəhr	to go
suŋ	pih	to say
sol	cə	to eat
nahŋ	pih	to give
suhm	nuh	to sleep

However, the majority of the verbs do not have different stems for honorific and non-honorific speech, and for these, the honorific verbal sequence in Thakali has the form 'stem + <lə>+ cəhy'. The table 3 given below illustrate the derived Thakali honorific stems.

Honorific Stems	Non-honorific stems	Gloss
kyuh-lə cəhy	kyuh	to buy
thən-lə cəhy	thən	to keep
pruhp-lə cəhy	pruhp	to write
cih-lə cəhy	cih	to remember
mle-lə cəhy	mle	to forget
cuŋ-lə cəhy	cuŋ	to sell
prəh-lə	prəh	to walk

Let us observe the other examples.

(7) a. *coprə cyohŋ-lə cəhy-to*
         here come(H)-INF do(H)-IMP
         'Please, come here.'

     b. *coprə khə-u*
         here come-IMP
         'Come here.'

     c. **coprə khə-lə cəhy-to*
         here come-INF do(H)-IMP
         'Please come here.'

     d. *ŋə-ri kitap nahŋ-lə cəhy-to*
         I-DAT book give(H)-INF do(H)-IMP
         'Please, give me a book.'

     e. *ŋə-ri kitap pin-o*
         I-DAT book give-IMP
         'Give me a book.'

f. *ŋə-ri kitap pin-lə cəhy-to
    I-DAT book give-INF do(H) do(H)-IMP
    'Please give me a book.'

g. tihm thowə soh-lə cəhy-to
    house big build-INF do(H)-IMP
    'Please build the big house.'

h. tihm thowə soh-ko
    house big build-IMP
    'Build the big house.'

i. kyu thuŋ-lə cəhy-to
    water drink-INF do(H)-IMP
    'Please drink water.'

j. kyu thuŋ-o
    water drink-IMP
    'Drink water.'

(7a), (7d), (7g) and (7i) are the counterparts of (7b), (7e), (7h) and (7j) respectively in which the former are the examples of honorific speech whereas the latter are the examples of non-honorific speech. In (7c) and (7f), the verb stems <khə> and <pin> have different stems for honorific. Thus, use of these verbs in the honorific forms is ungrammatical. However, in the case of (7g) and (7i), the verb stems <soh> and <thuŋ> do not have different stems for honorific. Therefore, use of these verbs in the honorific forms is grammatical. Any verb stems can be used in the honorific forms except that which do not have two different stem, one for honorific speech and the other for non-honorific speech.

Conclusion

In Thakali, deontic modality is the affixation process. Any Thakali verb stem can be used in a verbal sequence for honorific speech except that which do not have two different verb stems. The verb stems which have two different verb stems, one is used in honorific speech and the other in non-honorific speech.

Abbreviations

ABLT-Ablative	LOC-Locative
DAT-Dative	NEG-Negative
H-Honorific	PL-Plural
HOR-Hortative	POL-Polite
IMP-Imperative	PROH-Prohibitive
INF-Infinitival	SEQ-Sequence

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Struggling for an Impossibility

Govinda Raj Bhattarai
Central Department of Education,
Tribhuvan University
e-mail- arisgod@enet.com.np

Abstract

The present paper draws on the writer's experience of attempting to translate a peace of Nepali folk song which is intricately bound to folk music, folk instrument, folk tunes, folk culture and folk life and becomes an untranslatable entity. This paper shows how the translator failed in his attempt.

Recently some members of the Arun Valley Cultural Group met me. This group consists of many young people from the Arun Valley region of eastern Nepal. For quite some years this group is dedicated to the noble cause of preserving and promoting folk culture, contained in folk songs, folk melodies, folk tunes, folk instrument, digging into the folk memory of the mountain life.

The group came to me with a collection of folk songs and appropriate dances for each. The dance naturally includes costumes, outfit, steps etc. accompanied by a shared feeling, experience and memory that could convey the audience to the very native place where these customs are preserved for centuries. The group showed me some audio-visual recordings of this folk life preserved in the form of songs and dances.

They had altogether nine dances each tuned to a particular song. The song or the dance evokes in the mind of the audience a total picture of the occasion, time of the year, of the month, of the day and the participants, their age, attire, speech, activity, mood, the locale and the total atmosphere. For instance each of the *maruni nach, damai nach, magar nach, sakewa nach, ropai nach* etc. is a different dance accompanied by appropriate songs each for a different purpose and situation.

The Cultural Group had by now won countrywide appreciation, they were felicitated and honoured for their excellence and now they had set an objective of introducing their research, that is the typical souvenirs from the hills, to the outside world. So they were looking for an expert translator who could render their songs into English – perfectly, without distorting the sense, without ignoring the nuances of meaning so that the target audience feels no gap, no space left between the two incompatible worlds.

The Group was working hard. It had requested many experts, specially University lecturers of English, for rendering the songs into English and consequently three versions of the texts (about 24 A4 pages) were produced

and computerized but still the Group were not satisfied with the rendering and were looking for a final authority. They went to Prof. Abhi Subedi and Prof. Taranath Sharma but these Professors knew it was an impossible thing to do so they simply diverted the Group towards me. For them I was an authority as I was teaching Translation Studies at Tribhuvan University.

I tried to convince them that the translation of a culture-bound text is impossible. And that the effort will result into a complete distortion, a sheer destruction and even the mutilation of a text. But as I was for them an authority in translation they did not believe me at all and thought I was simply pretending to avoid labour.

So they gave me nine songs and nine weeks' time to accomplish the task. They also played the audio-visual cassettes for me so that I could perceive every nuance of meaning and grasp for a fitting equivalent in English.

Compelled in this way, I firstly thought of improving upon the texts someone had attempted before. Then I studied the translation of a *damain nach*, a dance attributed to native Damai people, whose traditional profession is tailoring, singing and dancing on festive occasions. This song is performed during marriage ceremonies. Two lines of the song are:

(Transliteration)

ha..ha..ha.. (ghintang ghintang madal bajyo hau)[2] .. koshi kinaraima hau.. ghintang ghintang madal bajyo.. kurrai ... kurrai
ha... ha... ha... (kanchha bhaiko bhagya chhaina hau)[2] ... majha nidharaima hau ... kanchha bhaiko bhagya chhaina ...
ahai .... ahai................... ahai .... ahai ....

Music

ha..ha..ha.. (sikar khelyo sikarile hau)[2] .... dhanubansko tirle hau ... sikar khelyo sikarile ... kurrai .... kurrai ...
ha..ha..ha.. (banai khayo dadhelole hau)[2] ... manai khayo pirle hau ... banai khayo dadhelole ....
kurra .... ra .... ra .... ra .... aahai .... aahai ....

(Translation)

Ha... Ha.. Ha... Ghintang.. Ghintang Sounded Madal at the river bank of koshi .... Ghintang Ghintang Sounded Madal ....

Ha... Ha... Ha... (ill-fated for youngest brother)[2] on the middle of forehead.... ill-fate for youngest brother ..
Ahai .... Ahai .... Ahai .... Ahai ....

Music

HA… Ha…. Ha… (hunter hunted)[2] hunter hunted by using bamboo bow and
arrow ………. hunter ….. hunted ….
Ha… Ha… Ha… (destroyed the jungle by the inferno)[2] heart destroyed by the
grief … destroyed the jungle by the inferno …
Kurra ……… Ra……….Ra…………Ra…………..ahai …………..♦

It is all ridiculous, a sheer no-sense effort. The words cannot convey
the substance because only a small portion of it is contained in words. Whoever
attempted to translate this must be a helpless figure like me who bluntly did
this ignoring the mutilation of meaning, ignoring the target audience ignoring,
the fact that this is an impossibility.

I felt I could not improve at all. Then I thought of making a fresh
attempt, all on my own. So I kept the previous translation aside and the
following week I started with a song sung to accompany a Magar *nach*, a dance
attributed to the culture of the Magar people. This dance is popular among and
performed by the Magar people who dwell in the Arun Valley of the Koshi
hills of Nepal. This takes place during the festival of Tihar when brothers and
sisters eat and dance joyously. The song started as:

♦ हा.. हा.. हा… (घिन्ताङ घिन्ताङ मादल बज्यो हौ)[2] .. कोशी किनारैमा हौ… घिन्ताङ
घिन्ताङ मादल बज्यो .. कुरैं…कुरैं

हा.. हा.. हा… (कान्छा भाइको भाग्य छैन हौ)[2] …. माझ निधारैमा हौ …………. कान्छा
भाइको भाग्य छैन …

आहै…………………………………..आहै……………आहै…………………आहै

……………………….

संगीत

हा.. हा.. हा… (शिकार खेल्यो शिकारीले हौ)[2] …. धनुबासको तिरले हौ …. शिकार खेल्यो
शिकारीले .. कुरैं…कुरैं

हा.. हा.. हा… (बनै खायो ढलेलोले हौ)[2] … मनै खायो पीरले हौ ….. बनै खायो डढेलोले

…………………….

कुरैं …………र……र……र…………….. आहै………….आहै…………….आहै

…….

(Transliteration)

Boy: ha… ha… ha…
         chhamama ra chhama … bhangerini nachyo…. chhamama ra chhama
hai bhageri nachyo …
         lai.. lai.. lai…. barima lai lai …. chula ra chaukaima …..
         hasihaima rakhaun… bolihaima rakhaun….. hasihaima rakhau hai
bolihaima rakhaun …
         lai… lai… lai… barima lai.. lai bhetbhako moukaima……….*

(Literal translation)

The female sparrow
danced very beautifully in the kitchen floor
Let us smile and speak
whenever we meet each other

But as I tried to transport the sense into English, I felt as if I was
walking, a long distance, from the ice cream parlour to my home with a stick of
ice-cream in my hand for my little one. This melted down on the way, all
colour, flavour, test and the whole substance was gone. This could not be
transported, this is perishable in the process of transportation. A song like the
above consists of sounds, largely different units of such sound form a pattern
and create an aura, a tune, a harmony where a unit in isolation has no meaning
of its own. The sound units are language specific, moreover, culture specific.

They have tried to record some of such sound units in graphic symbols
such as *ha… ha… ha…* Even then graphic symbols *ha…ha…ha…* do not
convey exactly the degree of pitch and tonality, the length and height, the
duration, tempo and the smallest of details perceived in oral performance. So
the illiterate people have preserved this in oral tradition, they start humming
ha…ha…ha… with a great excitement whenever proper situation occurs. We
cannot translate, we cannot carry, we cannot convey simply converting this into
the roman scripts *ha … ha … ha …*it does not give us any sense. The particles
like *ni*, fillers *hai, lai, lai*, and *barilai* etc. are untranslatable feelings – not even
at word level. These are language specific units that weave the structure of
music.

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* केटाः   हा…हा…हा…
         छममा र छम … मंगेरीनी नाच्यो … छममा र छमहै … भंगेरीनै नाच्यो …
         लै.लै.. लै…. वरीमा लै लै… चुला र चौकामा …
         हांसीहैमा राखौं …..बोलीहैमा राखौं….. हांसीहैमा राखौं है बोलीहैमा राखौं …
         लै… लै… लै वरीमा लै..लै भेटभाको मौकामा …

In the first line of the couplet *chhamama chhama* is a kind of compound word, an onomatopoeic word, in which an echo of how one dances is heard or just experienced. *Chhama chhama* is reduplicative. English does not have this whereas Nepali is very very rich in reduplicative forms. *bhagerini nachyo* – that is female sparrow danced – does the female sparrow dance really in this way? No, we have never seen this. It is the imagination of those who composed this for the first time so the recipient culture may find it strange to hear that a female sparrow dances in this way. Another collocation is *chula ra chaukaima* – the word *chula* collocates with *chauka*. *chula* is a fireplace – and *chauka* a specially designed space for sitting and eating made of mud in a Brahmin's or Chhetri's kitchen. There is a common understanding or a feeling shared by that community for generations and generations. They know everything about a *chauka,* its structure, how high it is, in which part of the kitchen floor, how it is cleaned and maintained, who is allowed to go there, etc. This is a rare culture-specific concept, it has a deep meaning in this society but how can we reproduce these concepts into English? In no way.

The words *chaukaima* and *maukaima* rhyme together. The first line is in no way connected with the second one in meaning except for fitting into a rhyming pattern. Thus a piece of folk song is inseparable from folk memory, folk culture, folk tradition where every concept, every artifact every ritual connected to this becomes untranslatably significant to the native community. It is felt, heard, seen and observed but not translated. At last my case was more hopeless than that of other translators. They were daring, bold and blunt. I was conscious and careful, could perceive all intricacies involved in it. So I returned the typescripts untranslated after ten weeks. For weeks I simply struggled for an impossibility.

Reference: aanawin@wlink.com.np
Arun Upatyaka Sanskritic Samuha
(Arun Valley Cultural Group)

Personal Pronouns in Koyu

-*Bhim Narayan Regmi*

1 Introduction

Koyu is one of the endangered and least studied languages of Nepal. The term 'Koyu' refers to both the language and the people. The language is called *Koyu, Koi, Koibo* and *Koyubo* alternatively. *bo* is the word for 'language' in this language.

Koyu belongs genetically to the Sino-Tibetan language family and falls under marginal Northern, western group of Kirati languages of Eastern Himalayan subsection of Bodic section of Tibeto-Burman sub-family.

The original place of the Koyu language is Sungdel village in Khotang District of the Eastern Nepal. Dumi and Khaling are its as the neighboring languages closure in affinity. Now it is spoken also in Morang, Jhapa and Kathmandu Districts by migrant peoples. The number of the Koyu speakers is mentioned 2641 in the Population Census 2001 Report which is about 0.01% of the total population of Nepal - 22736934.

Very few studies have been done on the Koyu language. Toba (2003) is made a linguistic survey on Koyu and other Rai languages. He has presented a word list, some sample sentences and the linguistic map. Michailovsky (1975) has mentioned Koyu on a linguistic map. Hanβon (1991) has made a mentioned of Koyu in his survey of Kirati languages. He has gathered information about Koyu language, specially on sociolinguistics. Driem (1993) has mentioned Koyu as neighboring language of Dumi. Rai (1995) has mentioned the original place of Koyu. Ebert (1997) has mentioned Koyu in a linguistic map. Grimes (1996) has presented information on Koyu which is based on Hanβon (1991). Regmi (2003) has made a morphological analysis of Koyu and prepared a tentative phonemic inventory.

This article is a modified version of the paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, 2002. It presents a brief account of personal pronouns of the Koyu language. Since this is a descriptive study, the personal pronouns of the language are classified and presented with sentences as examples. To make the examples explicit and clean the same object and the verb are taken with all the different pronouns as subjects.

2 Koyu Personal Pronouns

Koyu personal pronouns are divided into three persons - first, second and third. These are described in the following subsections.

2.1 First Person Pronouns

First person pronoun is the pronoun for the speaker or the addresser. There are five first person pronouns in Koyu - one singular, two dual and two

plural. The singular is used for one, the dual for two, and the plural for more then two. Both the dual and plural first person pronouns have inclusive and exclusive. Inclusive includes the hearer but the exclusive excludes. Here are the examples of these pronouns in the sentences.

(1) *aŋ-a*   *gu:*   *suru-ŋa*
    I-ERG.   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'I washed cloth.'

(2) *inci-ya*   *gu:*   *sura-si*
    We.dl.Incl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'We (I+you) washed cloth.'

(3) *iŋkiy-a*   *gu:*   *sura-ki*
    We.pl.Incl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'We (I+you) washed cloth.'

(4) *ʌncu-wa*   *gu:*   *sura-su*
    We.dl.Excl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'We (I+s/he) washed cloth.'

(5) *ʌŋkʌ-wa*   *gu:*   *sura-kʌ*
    We.pl.Excl.-ERG.   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'We (I+they) washed cloth.'

Among the above examples (1) is first person singular, (2) is first person dual inclusive, (3) is first person plural inclusive, (4) is first person dual exclusive, and (5) is first person plural exclusive.

2.2 Second Person Pronouns

Second person pronoun is the pronoun for the hearer or the addressee. There are six second person pronouns in Koyu. These are grouped into the honorific and the non-honorific. Honorific pronouns show the respect toward the hearer or the addressee but non-honorific pronouns do not show. Both of them have singular, dual and plural forms. Some sentences are presented here as examples of these pronouns.

(6) *an-a*   *gu:*   *suru-na*
    You.nH.sg.-ERG.   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'You washed cloth.'

(7) *ancy-a*   *gu:*   *sura-sina*
    You.nH.dl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'You (two) washed cloth.'

(8) *aniy-a*   *gu:*   *sura-ni*
    You.nH.pl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'You washed cloth.'

(9) *aniy-a*   *gu:*   *sura-ni*
    You.H.sg.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
    'You washed cloth.'

(10) *ancinusy-a*   *gu:*   *sura-sina*
     You.H.dl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
     'You (two) washed cloth.'

(11) *anicʌ-wa*   *gu:*   *sura-sina*
     You.H.pl.-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.-AGR.
     'You washed cloth.'

Among these examples (6), (7) and (8) are non-honorific singular, dual and plural, and (9), (10) and (11) are honorific singular, dual and plural second person pronouns, respectively.

2.3 Third Person Pronouns

The third person pronoun is the pronoun for the person or thing other than the speaker and addresser or hearer or addresser. Koyu has ten third person pronouns. These are classified into proximal, distal, far distal and referential. The proximal pronoun is used for the person or the thing closer to the speaker or the addressee. The distal pronoun is used for the person or the thing far from the speaker or the addressee, and the far distal pronoun is used for the person or the thing farther from the speaker or the addressee. All these pronouns have singular, dual and plural forms. These are also the demonstrative pronouns. There is one referential third person pronoun in this language. It is used for the person or the thing that is previously mentioned or remembered. Some sentences are presented here as examples.

(12) *id-a*   *gu:*   *suru*
     S/he.sg.Prox-ERG.   cloth   wash.pt.
     'S/he (the person here) washed cloth.'

(13) *idʌnusy-a*   *gu:*   *suru-si*
     S/he.dl.Prox-ERG   cloth   wash.pt-AGR.
     'They (the two persons here) washed cloth.'

(14) *idʌcʌ-wa*   *gu:*   *suru-ni*
     S/he.pl.fDist-ERG   cloth   wash.pt-AGR.
     'They (the persons here) washed cloth.'

(15) *um-a*   *gu:*   *suru*
     S/he.sg.Dist-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.
     'S/he (the person there) washed cloth.'

(16) *umnusy-a*   *gu:*   *suru-si*
     S/he.dl.Dist-ERG   cloth   wash.pt-AGR.
     'They (the two persons there) washed cloth.'

(17) *umcʌ-wa*   *gu:*   *suru-ni*
S/he.pl.Dist-ERG   cloth   wash.pt-AGR.
'They (the persons there) washed cloth.'

(18) *yam-a*   *gu:*   *suru*
S/he.sg.fDist-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.
'S/he (the person over there) washed cloth.'

(19) *yamnusy-a*   *gu:*   *suru-si*
S/he.dl.fDist-ERG   cloth.   wash.pt-AGR.
'They (the two persons over there) washed cloth.'

(20) *yamcʌ-wa*   *gu:*   *suru-ni*
S/he.pl.fDist-ERG   cloth   wash.pt-AGR.
'They (the persons over there) washed cloth'

(21) *dham-wa*   *gu:*   *suru*
S/he.Ref-ERG   cloth   wash.pt.
'S/he (the person mentioned before) washed cloth.'

Among the above examples pronouns in (12), (13) and (14) are proximal singular, dual and plural; (15), (16) and (17) are distal singular, dual and plural; and (18), (19) and (20) are far distal singular, dual and plural third person pronouns, respectively. The pronoun in the example (21) is referential third person pronoun.

All the pronouns presented above are summarized in the table 1.

Table 1: Koyu Personal Pronouns

		Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	Inclusive	*aŋ*	*inci*	*iŋki*
	Exclusive		*ʌncu*	*ʌŋkʌ*
2nd person	Non-honorific	*an*	*anci*	*ani*
	Honorific	*ani*	*ancinusi*	*anicʌ*
3rd person	Proximal	*idʌ*	*idʌnusi*	*idʌcʌ*
	Distal	*umu*	*umnusi*	*umcʌ*
	Far-distal	*yam*	*yamunsi*	*yamcʌ*
	Referential	*dham*	------	-------

3 Conclusion
This descriptive study can be concluded with the findings about the Koyu personal pronouns. Koyu has three number system - singular, dual and plural. The language has inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns in dual and plural numbers. It shows two grades of honorific - honorific and non-honorific

- in second person pronouns. It has three degrees of diecticity - proximate, distal and far distal - in third person (and demonstrative) pronouns. It has a third person referential pronoun.

Abbreviations

AGR.	Agreement	Incl.	Inclusive
Dist.	Distal	nH.	Non-honorific
dl.	Dual	pl.	Plural
ERG.	Ergative	Prox.	Proximal
Excl.	Exclusive	pt.	Past
fDist.	Far distal	Ref.	Referential
H.	Honorific	sg.	Singular

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The Indo-Aryan Language and Contemporary Bangla

Sikder Monoare Murshed
Dept. of Linguistics, Dhaka University, Bangladesh

Abstract

The richest and the most outstanding Language Family in the world is the Indo-European (IE). A large numbers of people of Europe, Middle East and even the Southeast Asia use the different branches of this Language Family. Indo-Aryan (IA) is one of the most remarkable branch of IE. A great number of languages in India, Bangladesh and Nepal were originated from the IA. Bangla language through its evolution and the shipment was crystallized about one thousand years ago. The origin and development of Bangla language has been studied and discussed by a number of linguists, Sir George Abraham Grierson, Sunitikumar Chaterjee and Muhammod Shahidullah are very noted of them. They all agree upon that Bangla language was originated within tenth to twelfth century AD, from old IA, Middle IA and New IA. The Bangla language, Asamese, Oria, Maithili and Hindi also 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 occurred in Bangla. Noting here that the changes in Bangla are more prominent in its surface structure than in 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.

Every living language of the world has passed through different changes in the course of time. The Bengali language is no exception to that. The linguists of today do not agree that these changes occurred in all languages in the same way. As the change of sounds occurs because of the ease of articulation (e.g. Hashpatal [haʃpaṭal] of Bengali language from the English word Hospital, Box>Bakhsho [bakʃo], Platoon>paltan [pɔlton], bomb> boma [boma] etc), in that way because of social, cultural & political reasons words and the meaning of the words also get altered. Even so the old words are replaced by new words, this also happens in the case of Bengali language. Until the 19th century, the Bangla language was deemed to be an integral part of Sanskrit that had originated from the Aryan language. Bangla as a language has undergone many changes over the past centuries and evolved as a crossbreed language. For this evolution, we had to wait until the 20th century. Because of

the effort and inclination to link Bangla Language with the elements of Aryan origin, the actual identity of the language remained unexpressed and subdued for a long time (Monsur Musa; *Bangladesher Rastrabhasha*; 1995:5). Rabindranath, Suniti Kumar, Shahidullah, Sukumar Sen and many others intensely analyzed the origin of Bangla language, its evolution and identity.

Now the question may arise why this write-up? One should be aware that after Suniti Kumar and Shahidullah, about half a century of Bangla Language has passed. Over these fifty years, although this language has not changed a larger extent, structurally no language can be confined to a frontier in the globalized world of the 21st century. The recent phenomenon is that all consumer goods including luxury ones from multinational companies have spread all over the world by dint of technological advancements and new innovations. In this globalized and polarized era, brand items like America's *Gillette Razor* and Germany's *Head & Shoulder Shampoo* have grabbed the markets of the remotest villages of Bangladesh owing to the concept of free market economy. Like these consumer goods, words and expressions from other languages have entered into other languages facing no resistance. As such these elements lose their regional appeal within a short period of time and then open out itself to the universal use. This has been possible because of burgeoning growth of information technology all over the world.

At present, the practice of translation of a word from one language to another has become outmoded; for instance, the equivalent term of Chemistry had been *Rasayon* [rɔʃayon] in Bangla. In the present day world, new technology-related words have been acceptable more than anything else. As a result, no language and its rules and regulations can be confined to the four-walls. Therefore, this write-up tries to look at the present identity and features of Bangla language, and to search for the relationship with the languages which originated from IE. When the ancient literary symbol of Bengali literature *Charyapada* [corʈapɔd] was written, most of the Tatshama words denoted from Sanskrit language were found in it.

After 300 years the change that took place is the social & political history of Bangla, influenced the Bengali language too. At that period (mainly in 13th century) Bangladesh was under Turkish-Mughal power. For that reason, influence and dominance of Sanskrit words is Bengali language was reduced & the appearance of Arabic & Persian words were noticed. During the 5 hundred years reign of Mughal-Turkish power, in the Mid Bengali language the usage of Persian-Arabic words were noted 10-20%. On the other hand, the percentage of words deriving from Sanskrit language was reduced. Although in the literary symbol of old period *Shrikrisnakirtana* [srikriʃnokirʈon], 6 Arabic & Persian words were traced, but in the Bengali literature starting from 16th century, the use of the Arabic and Persian words were increased. The evolution of the Bengali language in the middle stage is regarded as the second stage. Because

of the reign of ruler, not only the vocabulary was enriched, there was also influence on the grammar. Persian suffixes & participle started to get used in Bengali language. (I don't know if it's also present in other language including Nepalese language). But at the beginning, the Bengali language did not have any grammar of its own. Sanskrit grammar was basically dominantly used.

The third stage of the evolution of Bengali language was noted from the 18th century. The East Indian Company came for trading and business purpose in India and within a short period of time, they established themselves as the rulers from being just merchant. As the foundation of British power in Bengal was getting stronger, the use of English words, phrase and corrupted English vocabulary entered into Bengali language. Moreover, from the beginning of the 19th century, in the textbooks taught in the Fort William College, the influence of English sentences was noticed. Although the French and Portuguese merchants came to Bangladesh for the purpose of trading. And for that Portuguese words such as Shaban [ʃaban] (soap), perek [perek] (pin), achar [acar] (pickles), anarosh [anaroʃ] (pineapple), peyara [peyara] (Guava), girja [girʒa] (church), paddri [paḍḍri] (preacher), ishpat [iʃpaṭ] (iron), kerani [kerani] (Clark), chabi [cabi] (key), janala [ʒanala] (window), botam [boṭam] (button), behala [behala] (violin) etc & French words such as, burjoa, [burʒua] garage, [gæareʒ] restora [rsṭora] etc, these words entered into Bengali language easily. And till now their uses in Bengali language are still visible. During the British rule Bangladesh underwent various educational development and social reformation. With the cooperation of English language, various branches of Science in Bengali language were expanded. The educated citizens of the country adopted the English language and began to use it in the Bengali literature, which marked a new chapter and era to the Bengali literature. The noted personalities who were known as the pioneers were Michael Madhushudan Dutt and Bangkim Chandra. Micheal Madhushudan composed epic and comedy drama. Bangkim Chandra composed novels and light comics and advanced the Bengali language one step ahead.

Before 19th century, only poems were written in Bengali language. Besides letters, deeds and documents were present in the prose form sporadically. If we notice the examples of Bengali language of Old and middle stage, we will see the prominent use if Prakrata language than the Sanskrit. But it should be noted that

1. Sanskrit was an artificial literary language.
2. Pali was retained & used as literary language by the Buddhists.
3. Only few educated people used Sanskrit.
4. The old people used Prakrita language in the everyday life.

There is no doubt that, of the Indian Aryan languages, Sanskrit was the most well arranged and influenced language. But it should also be reminded that Sanskrit was the language of educated Brahmin class, it was never the language of common people. For that reason this language was incorporated in notes and books and turned into a dead language. So even after the Bengali language was Sanskritized, from the beginning of Bengali language, there was influence of colloquial Prakrata, Pali etc which were prevalent among the speakers of this country. Still now many sound, proverbs and idioms of Pali language are still being used in Bengali language. As because the Pali language & its articulation have gone through many changes in the following years, the authentic form of the language cannot be distinguished anymore. For the many Bengali words known as Tatshama of Sanskrit origin have in fact derived directly from the Pali and Prakrita language.

Tatshama	Pali & Parakrata
চ্যুত [cuṭo]	চুক্ক [cukko]
মধু [modʰu]	মহু [mohu]
হৃদয় [hriḍoy]	হিঅঅ [hiɔɔ]
স্নেহ [sneho]	নেহ [neho]

We saw these words in our old and middle age inscription. Many analysts & linguists have marked that--

It is a fact that the method of Pali pronunciation and many Pali Words and phrases unknown to the later prakratas stick to Bengali ...a genuine genetic bond of affinity exist between Pali and Bengali (Bijoychandra Mazumdar; 1927:227)

As Pali was the literary symbol of middle Aryan language, there for not only Bengali language but also the languages of the different region of India got a major influence of Pali on them.

According to Atindra Majumdar, a language expert, Pali as a source language has a tremendous influence on the modern Indian subcontinent languages like Bangla, Hindi, Ohomya and others (Atindra Majumdar; 406:50). Nepali and Uttara (south), Indian Aryan branches are affiliated with hilly areas, i.e. Khas-Kura. Until 18th century, Maithili language was very popular and widely spoken in this area (Sukumar Sen; 134). According to Suniti Kumar Chaterjee this language had a very intense relationship once with Hindi and Bangla. In this regard, he (Origin and Development of Bengali Language: 1975: 10) also mentioned:

Khas-Kura seems to be disappearing rapidly from the Tibeto-Burman speeches of Nepal. It originally spread from western Nepal and its remains did not go beyond the latter part of the 18th century. Maithili

seems to have been a colloquial language in southeastern Nepal before the advent of Khas-Kura; in any case, Awadhi, Maithili and Bengali were used as language of culture in the court of the (Tibeto-Burman speaking) Newari Kings, who ruled before the Gurkhas. As evidence, it is seen that a number of dramas were written in the above language in Nepal from the middle of the 18th century.

We rightly perceive the sentiment of Suniti Kumar from the fact that many members of the lower caste Hindu and Buddha community took refuge in the terrain of the Himalayas (especially around Nepal) because of oppression during the regime of the Sen rulers from 11th to 12th century. *Charyapada*, an ancient collection recovered from the Palace of King proves that refugees kept up the use of Bangla language while they were refugees. As such, it is seen that many of our Bangla words are being used in the Nepali language. For example, ghar [gʰɔr] ('house'), aaj [aɟ] ('today'), bishwash [biʃʃaʃ] ('trust'), jodi [ɟodi] ('if'), garom [gɔrom] ('hot'), shwikari [ʃikari] ('hunter'), jhola [ɟʰola] ('bag') etc.

Apart from this, I observed one of the write-ups (GIPAN; volume 1:1 June 1999: Tribahavan University, Katmandu, Nepal) relating to Bote Language. I also notice a lot of similarities, (especially in phonetics and aesthetics) between Bangla and Bote (*Majhis*, i.e. boatman) Language, which is under the Magadhi group of the IA. A comparative analysis between Bangla and Bote Language relating to phonetics, word, formation of word, pronoun and verb is presented below:

Bangla Phoneme (vowel)   Bote Phoneme (vowel)
/ i e æ a ɔ o u /   / i e a ɔ o u /

Minimal pairs for consonants—Bangla and Bote language:

/p/ vs /pʰ/	পুল; ফুল	[pul]; [pʰul]	bridge; flower
/d̪/ vs /d̪ʰ/	দান; ধান	[d̪an]; [d̪ʰan]	Charity; paddy
/t̪/ vs /t/	তিন; টিন	[t̪in]; [tin]	three; tin
/k/ vs /kʰ/	কর; খড়	[kɔr]; [kʰɔɽ]	task; one kind of grass

noun	word	Bangla	Bote
	fire	[agun]	[agi]
	tongue	[ɟibʰ]	[ɟibʰi]
	leaf	[pat̪a]	[pat̪]
	seed	[biɟ]	[biɟa]
	smoke	[d̪ʰōa]	[d̪ʰwā]
pronoun	I	[ai]	[mɔī]

	you	[t̪umi, t̪ui]	[t̪ɔī]
	who	[ke, kon]	[kunko]
word formation	to enjoy	[mɔɟa kore]	[mɔɟa-gɔra]
	to sympathy	[d̪aya kore]	[d̪ɔya-gɔra]
word & meaning	abuse	[gali]	[gali]
	application	[nibed̪on]	[nibed̪on]
	bed cover	[cad̪or]	[cyd̪ɔr]
	birth	[ɟɔnmo]	[ɟɔnm]
	blue	[nil]	[nilo]
	brown	[kʰɔeri]	[kʰoiro]

Here we have tried to show the evolution of Bengali language and its current position by presenting the percentage of various vocabulary used in different stages of Bengali language with the help of statistical data's from the Bengali phrase and lexicon of 19th and 20th century.

The statistical report of the average use of words applied in the various volumes of Ishwarchandra Vidiyasagar (1820-1891) since the time of publication from 1847 to 1892 is shown in the following (See Navendu Sen; 1990: 85)-

Tatshama	Tadbhaba	Native and foreign words
53.33%	40.66%	6.01%

Suniti Kumar from the 1916 publication of the Bengali language dictionary compiled by Ganendromohon, shows the percentage of added words in the following order (ODBL: 218)

Tatshama	Tadbhaba and native	Foreign words
44.00%	51.45%	4.55%

Navendu Sen shows the statistical data of the addition of the vocabulary from the collection of Paramath Choudhury (1868-1946) in the following order:

Tatshama	Tadbhaba	native	foreign
39.33%	56.66%	1.33%	2.66%

Dr. Muhammad Enamul Haq in 1952 has shown in the following the percentage of Vocabulary used in the writing of Rabindranath, Sharat Chandra, Jasim Uddin-

Tadshama	half-Tadshama	Tadshama	native	foreign
25%	5%	60%	2%	8%

The development of pronouns in Bangla language from old age to present time are as follows:

Old Bangla	First person	hɔ̃u, hãu, ɔmhe, amhe, mo, moi, ɔmhe, ɔhme, etc.
Mid Bangla (early)		amhi, amha, mõ, moi, moe, hɔu, etc.
Mid Bangla (later)		amhi, muĩ, ham, ami
Eighteenth Century		ami
Ninetieth Century		ami, āi (dialect), mui (dialect)
Present		ami

The development of numerals and verbs in Bangla language are as follows:

Numerals:

Old Bangla	Mid Bangla	Present
æk	æk	æk
d̪ui, d̪o	d̪ui, d̪o	d̪ui, d̪o, d̪u
t̪in, t̪iɔ	t̪in, t̪ri	t̪in, t̪ri, t̪e
ʃɔpt̪o, ʃat̪	ʃat̪. ʃɔt̪a	ʃat̪
ʃhossro	ʃhossro, haɹar	haɹar
ʃɔl	ʃɔkol	ʃɔb

Verbs:

Old Bangla	Mid Bangla	Present
ɹai	ɹae	ɹayi
colsi	colila	col, ɹao
kɔhon	kɔhn, kɔt̪ʰon	bɔla
ɹaibē	ɹaibo	ɹabo
koribo	koribo, koribak	korbo
cɔmi, colhu	cɔlo, colie	cɔlsi, coli, ɹai

Letters, deeds, documents were also created through language in creative literatures. For that as the language underwent changes as process of the language evolution, the change was also reflected on the languages. The example of an application written in Bengali language about 200 years ago is shown in the below-

EXAMPLE-1

Some Ananda Charma Sharma wrote an application to the Councilor of Forte William College (Calcutta) on November 28 in 1810.

মহামহিম শ্রীযুত কালেজ কৌনসলর সাহেবান বরাবরেষু

বাঙ্গালা সেরেস্তার পণ্ডিত শ্রী আনন্দচন্দ্র শর্মার দরখাস্ত নিবেদন শ্রীযুতামন্তর কেনেডি সাহেবের নিকটে দুই বৎসর হইল আমি হাজির আছি ২৫ নবম্বর শনিবার নিরপরাধে আমাকে অনেক ঘুষা ও থাবড়া এমন মারিয়াছেন যে আমি দুই দিবস শয্যাগত ছিলাম ইহার পূর্ব্বে আন্দাজি ২৫ দিবস হইবেক একদিবস এইরূপ মারিয়াছিলেন তাহা আমি সহ্য করিয়া পূর্ব্বমত কর্ম্মে হাজির ছিলাম তাহার পর আরবার এই ইহা তিনি যদি অপলাপ করেন তাহা সাক্ষী দ্বারা প্রতিপন্ন করিতে পারিব ম্বসাহেবে লোকদের পাঠকালীন মুন্সি লোক ব্যতিরেকে অন্যকেহ থাকে না সে দিবসে হিন্দি মুনশি আমি যখন থাকি তখন গিয়াছিলেন মারিবার সময় হাজির ছিলেন না অতএব সাক্ষী দ্বারা এ বিষয় আমি প্রতিপন্ন করিতে পারিব না লোক চাকরি করে আপনার প্রাণরক্ষার্থে এঁহার নিকটে যাওয়াতে কখন কি হইবে ইহার নিশ্চয় করিতে না পারিয়া যথেষ্ট ভীত হইয়াছি অতএব অনুগ্রহপূর্ব্বক হুকুম হয় আমি অন্য সাহেবের নিকট হাজির থাকি ইতি তারিখ ২৮ নভেম্বর (সূত্রঃ শিশিরকুমার দাশ, ১৯৯৯: ৫৩)

Example-2:

An application written by Azizur Rahman published in the *Daily Ittefaque* of Bangladesh on October 26, 2001

পিডিবি-র ট্রেড ইউনিয়নের কার্যক্রম স্থগিত করিবার আবেদন

বিদ্যুৎ বিভাগ জনসাধারণের সবচাইতে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সেবা বিভাগ। কিন্তু এই বিভাগে শক্তিশালী ট্রেড ইউনিয়নের কারণে সেবার পরিবর্তে দুর্ভোগই পোহাইতে হয় বলিয়া অভিযোগ দিলে দিনের পর দিন কোন ব্যবস্থা নেওয়া হয় না। বিল-- সে তো মিটার রিডারের মর্জির উপর নির্ভরশীল। সংযোগ পাওয়া অর্থের বিনিময়ে ছাড়া কল্পনাও করা যায় না। অনেক গ্রাহক ইহার প্রতিবাদ করিতে গিয়া ট্রেড ইউনিয়কর্মীদের হাতে

নাজেহাল হইয়াছে। গ্রহক ঠিক মত বিল পান না। বিল খাতায় জমা হয় না। বাংলাদেশের এমন কোন পিডিবি গ্রহক পাওয়া যাইবে না, যিনি হয়রানির শিকার হন নাই। সিস্টেম লসের পরিমাণ কাগজে ৩০/৩৫ শতাংশ হইলেও বাস্তবে আরো বেশী। আবার কোন কোন স্থানে শতকরা ৭০ ভাগেরও বেশী যাহার ক্ষতির মূল্য প্রতি শতাংশে ২০ কোটি টাকারও বেশী। ক্ষতির কারণে বহু লাইন পিডিবি পল্লী বিদ্যুতে হস্তান্তর করিয়াছে। ইহাতে সিস্টেম লস শতকরা ১০ ভাগে নামিয়া আসিয়াছে এবং গ্রহক সেবার মান বৃদ্ধি পাইয়াছে ইহার একমাত্র কারণ পল্লী বিদ্যুতে কোন ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন কার্যক্রম নাই। সরকারী প্রতিষ্ঠান হিসেবে বিদ্যুৎ বিভাগের সকল কর্মচারীর চাকুরীর নিশ্চয়তা রহিয়াছে এবং তাহাদের প্রতি অবিচারের কোন সম্ভাবনা নাই বিধায় জনস্বার্থে অনতিবিলম্বে এই বিভাগে সকল প্রকার ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন কার্যক্রম স্থগিত করিবার জন্য সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্তৃপক্ষের নিকট বিনীত আবেদন জানাইতেছি।

আজিজুর রহমান (বুলবুল), ছোটরা, কুমিল্লা।

If we analyze the language of Instance-1 we will see that beside the Sanskrit, the enormous application of Arabic and Persian words (*Darkhasto* [dorkʰasto], *Hazir* [haɟir], *Andaji* [andaɟi], *Chakri* [], *Hukum* [], *Tarikh* [], etc.) is quite visible. Nowadays the words, which are not frequent in use are still used to some extent; for instance, *Shaheban* [ʃaheban], *Ghusha* [guʃʃa], *Thabra*, *Hoibek* [hoihek], *ehar* [ehar], *Batireka* [bæʈirik], etc. The formation of complex, long and conjunctive sentence is also visible. Until then it was not the rule in the then Bangla. As such discrepancies are observed in the usage of Bangla notation; for instance, *Kormmey*, *Purbba*. If expression is the main dividend of a language, the necessity in written language should be easy to understand. But it is learnt from the above Instance-1 that at the outset of Bangla Prose, the quality of being simple had not been attained.

From the language of Example-2, it is observed that although it is written in formal language, the simplicity in expression and in formation of words is apparent. Here, the usage of words from Tatshama and Arabic-Persian is less; rather the usage of English words is more here. For instance, *Trade Union, Meter, Bill, Readers, System, Loss, PDB*, etc. Apart from that, short-sentences and punctuation according to the expression are practiced [grahok tʰikmoto bill panna. bil kʰaṭai ɟoma hoy na]. But in Instance-1, because of lack of application of punctuation and pause, the absolute meaning of the language does not appear transparent. The application of verb has been easily and intricately made in formal language so that Instance-2 does not seem to be written in formal expression. The reason behind this is that the words and clustered sentences from spoken language have been used. In this way, the Bangla language has undergone much evolution in about two centuries.

Besides letters, newspapers keep us informed about the day-to-day developments of the world. The languages used in the newspapers are very close to the colloquial language. It is relevant to mention that the readers of the newspapers range from educated to less educated persons. Newspapers and magazines that deem to be the mirror of society reflect the day-to-day life and

harsh reality. In order to get a clear picture about the present form of daily news, now I would like to draw a comparative analysis between a news from a Bangla Daily, *Samachar Darpan* that was published in 1822 and another one from the daily of the 21st century. Nowadays the meaning of *Sangbadpatra* (The daily paper) has changed a bit. At present, the word Sangbadprata is being used as *Dainik Kagoj/Dainik/Kagoj/Paper*. It is noteworthy to mention that most of the news are related to *Khun* (murder). The first one is presented in formal language and another one is in spoken or colloquial language (Instance 1 and 2). Instance-1 shows that there is no English word but there are about 12 Arabic-Persian words (total words are 172) which contains 60 % words from *Tatshama* and *Tadbhaba* (the words come from Sanskrit to Bangla directly and indirectly). In contrast, Instance-2, which contains 164 words, shows that there are eight English words and only four Arabic words. Another aspect is that the headline word used in the first one is [kʰun] and [hoṭṭa] is in the second one. It becomes crystal clear from the two instances that the words used centuries ago in Newspaper have become easy to understand, flexible, useful and even informative. Instance-2 proves that the present language, which has evolved giving up the identity of long and conjunctive sentences turned into more timely, spoken language oriented and short sentences.

The following two paper cuttings also show the difference between the Bengali language of the artificial literary language and standard colloquial language in two different times:

Instance-1
খুন।

গত শনিবার ৯ অক্টোবর তারিখে পটলডাঙ্গার মঙ্গলাতে মনিক নামের এক মুসলমানের কন্যা খুন হইয়াছে তাহার বিস্তারিত এই সনাউল্লা নামে এক জন খেজমতগারের সহিত ঐ কন্যার সম্বন্ধত্র হইয়াছিল পোনর দিন হইল ঐ খেজমতগারের কন্যার মাতার নিকট গিয়া বিবাহ দিতে ত্বরা করিল এবং কহিল যে এই পক্ষের মধ্যে শুভ কর্ম্ম সম্পন্ন করিতে হইবে তাহাতে কন্যার মাতা কহিল যে আমি এই পক্ষের মধ্যে বিবাহ দিতে পারি না কিন্তু দিব্য করিতেছি যে এই মহরমের মধ্যে বিবাহ দিব তাহার মরণের দিন বৈকালে ঐ কন্যা ও তাহার মাতা বেড়াইয়া রাত্রে আপন ঘরে শয়ন করিয়াছিল কতক রাত্রে কন্যার ছটপটানিতে ও শরীরের রক্ত লাগাতে কন্যার মাতা উঠিল এবং জ্যোৎস্নাতে দেখিল যে সনাউল্লা এক ছোরা হাতে করিয়া দাঁড়াইয়া রহিয়াছে। পরে আপন কন্যার নিকট গিয়া দেখিল যে তাহার গলা কাটিয়া খুন করিয়াছে। সনাউল্লা যখন দেখিল যে কন্যার মাতা তাহাকে দেখিয়াছে তখন জনরব । না হইতে ২ ঐ বাটীতে আর এক ছোট ঘরে প্রবেশ করিয়া আপন গলায় ছুরি দিল কিন্তু মরিল না পরে থানাদার আসিয়া এই সকল দেখিয়া ঐ ব্যক্তিতে হাসপাতালে পাঠাইয়া দিল এবং ঔষধি দিয়া তাহাকে কিঞ্চিৎ সুস্থ করিয়া কলিকাতার জেলখানায় কয়েদ রাখিয়াছে আগামী মিসিলে তাহার মোকদ্দমা হইবে। (*সমাচার দর্পণঃ শনিবার ১৬ আক্টোবর ১৮১৯/১ কার্ত্তিক ১২২৬*)

Translation
Murder

Monik, a daughter of a Muslim man was murdered at Molonga under Potoldanga last Saturday (9th October). Detail says that a marriage was arranged between the daughter and Sanaullah, a daily labourer. After fifteen days, the labourer went to see the bride's mother and insisted that she should have the marriage arranged within a fortnight. But the mother did not agree with the timetable set by the prospective groom. However, she promised to tie their nuptial knot by this Moharrom. On that unfortunate evening, the bride and her mother came back from a pleasure outing and slept in their room. In the middle of the night, her mother woke up owing to fidgeting and bleeding of her daughter and saw Sanaullah with a knife in the moonlight. Then she saw her daughter's throat was cut open. When Sanaullah sensed that the girl's mother came to know about the incident he entered another room of the same house and cut his throat himself without screaming. But he did not succumb to his injuries. Later on, the police came to the scene and sent Sanaullah to hospital. After his treatment and recovery, he was sent to the prison at Calcutta. His case will start next month. (*Samachar Darpan*, Saturday October 16, 1819/1st Kartik, 1226)

Instance-2

খুলনায় মৎস্যজীবী সমিতির সভাপতিকে গুলি করে হত্যা

সন্ত্রাসীরা প্রকাশ্য দিনের বেলায় গুলি করে হত্যা করেছে খুলনা মৎস্যজীবী সমবায় সমিতির সভাপতি আলহাজ রুহুল আমিনকে (৪৫)। নিষিদ্ধ ঘোষিত পূর্ববাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি এ হত্যাকাণ্ডের দায়িত্ব স্বীকার করে এলাকায় লিফলেট ছেড়েছে। পুলিশ জিজ্ঞাসাবাদের জন্য তিনজনকে আটক করেছে। ঘটনাস্থল থেকে পুলিশ তিনটি বন্দুকের গুলির খোসা উদ্ধার করেছে। নিহতের একমাত্র ছোটভাই সাত্তার গাজীকেও সন্ত্রাসীরা একইভাবে গুলি করে হত্যা করেছিল।

প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী ও পুলিশ সূত্র জানায়, গতকাল সকাল ৮টায় নিরালা প্রান্তিক আবাসিক এলাকার বাড়ি থেকে রুহুল আমিন মৎস্যজীবী সমবায় সমিতির উদ্দেশে বের হন। প্রান্তিক শিশু পার্কের পাশ থেকে রিকশায় ওঠার সময় একটি সাদা মাইক্রোবাসে পাঁচজন এবং একটি মোটর সাইকেলে করে তিনজন সশস্ত্র সন্ত্রাসী তার পথ আগলে দাঁড়ায়। সন্ত্রাসীরা খুব কাছ থেকে তাকে লক্ষ্য করে তিন রাউন্ড গুলি ছোড়ে। বুকে, মাথায় এবং পিঠ গুলিবিদ্ধ হয়ে তিনি ঘটনাস্থলেই মারা যান। ঘাতকরা ঘটনাস্থল ত্যাগের আগে নিষিদ্ধ ঘোষিত পূর্ববাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির নামে কয়েকটি লিফলেট ছড়িয়ে দেয়।

খুলনার সদর হাসপাতালের মর্গে ময়নাতদন্ত শেষে তার লাশ পরিবারের সদস্যদের কাছে হস্তান্তর করা হয়। এ ব্যাপারে গতকাল নিহতের ভাগ্নে নুরুল ইসলাম বাদী হয়ে খুলনা থানায় মামলা দায়ের করেছেন। (প্রথম আলো, ৩১ অক্টোবর ২০০১/ ১৬ কার্তিক ১৪০৮)

Translation
President of Fish-Traders' Society shot and killed

A group of miscreants shot and killed the President of Khulna Fish-Traders' Cooperative Society Alhaj Ruhul Amin (45) in broad daylight. The

outlawed political party Purba Banga Communist Party circulated a leaflet admitting the murder. The police arrested three persons in this connection and recovered the shell of three bullets from the spot. The miscreants murdered Sattar Gazi, younger brother of the deceased in the same way. According to witnesses and police, Ruhul Amin came out of his house, which is in Nirala Prantik Housing, to go to the office of Fish-Traders' Cooperative Society. Five miscreants in a white microbus and three riding on a motor bike obstructed him while boarding a rickshaw at a place close to Prantik Children Park. The murderers shot him point blank. Having been shot in the chest, head and back; he died on the spot. The murderers spread some leaflets belonging to the banned political party before leaving the spot.

After the autopsy at the morgue of Khulna town Hospital, the dead body was handed over to the members of the family. Nurul Islam, the victim's nephew filed a case at Khulna Thana on behalf of the family. (*Prothom Alo*, October 31, 2001/Kartik 16, 1408)

Since the creation of Bangla language, more than a thousand years have gone by. After going through a lot of changes, this language has made its own mark in the 21st century. In addition, because of enormous struggle and sacrifice in 1952, this language has observed the International Mother Language Day on February 21, which is one of the memorable days for those who speak in Bangla. At the last leg of this write-up, I have tried to present some characteristics (linguistic) of the contemporary Bangla language.

1. After the commencement of Bangla Prose in 1900, the use of formal Bangla language started. Instead of artificial or formal language, massive use of spoken or colloquial language is quite successful in creating Bangla literature. Except for a few newspapers and official purposes, the relevance of formal Bangla (literary Bangla/ Sadhubhasha) language is getting extinct.

2. The immense usage of words from Arabic-Persian in Bangla Language in the Middle Ages has given way to the massive application of English words. The educated persons but also the less educated ones have conducted not only these usages.

3. In the 19th century, the emphasis on accent (vowel harmony) was very less. But at present this propensity is quite evident especially in the spoken language of West Bengal India. For instance, *Bilati>Bilti* [bilaṭi> biliṭi], *Vikha>Vikhey* [bʰikkʰa> bʰikkʰe], *Puja>Pujo, Dhula>Dhulo, Mula>Mulo, Mutha>Mutho*, etc.

4. The imitative words in written language has increased owing to the influence of colloquial language. *Konkoney Thanda* [konkone tʰanda], *Dhupdap Sobdo* [dʰupdʰap ʃobdo], *Chupchap Bosey Thako, Tuktuk Babsha*, etc.

5. In some cases, the assortment of regional dialect accentuating the spoken language is quite noticeable. Apart from words, the influence of regional

language on the verb or the fragment of sentences is evident. For instance, *Jachchi>Jaitachi* [ɟaccʰi > ɟaiṭacʰi], *Bosh>Boy* [bɔʃo > boyi], *Ashchi>Aitachi, Aaj>Aij, Kal>Kail,* etc.

6. Negative words like *Na* (no) was used in the sentence before the verb in the Bangla language of the Ancient and Middle Ages. At present, *Na, Nai* and ni are used at the end of the sentences (Ami Jabo Na, Se kaini, etc.) and negative meaning apart, it implies different meanings. For instance, *Se Na Kheley Na Khabey* [ʃe na kʰele na kʰabe], *Tumi Na Eloyo Khoti Chilo Na* [ṭumi na eleo kʰoṭi cʰilo na], *Ki Jey Ananda Pelo Na–Boley Bojhano Jabey Na.*

7. Contemporary new words and synonyms are introduced in the language. For instance, *Lagatar* [lagaṭar], *Bonsai* [bonʃai], *Ad, Share Bazar, Mukta Bazar* (open market), *Overbridge, Gabhir-Nolkup*, etc.

8. The significant aspect of contemporary Bangla language is the easiness of spelling and the tendency to write it according to accent. After the commencement of a regulation in Bangla spelling in Calcutta University in 1936, the usage of notation in consonant (for instance *Karyya, Kommoy*, etc.) was stopped. Similarly, except *Tatsoma* (the word directly from Sanskrit) the tendency to write the consonant words broken into pieces is noticeable. For example October>October, Ulto>Ulto, Tatvovo>Tatvovo, etc. At present, Bangla authors once in a while spell according to spoken English. For instance Galo>Galo [gelo > gælo], Kano>Kano, Dekha>Dekha, Kosto>Kosto, Ratri>Ratri, Shotrurr, etc.

9. Since the inception of Bangla language, we noticed a very small-scale usage of compound verb in it. The compound verb has increased in both form (colloquial and written) of the language in the 21st century. Now we cannot think of any write-up in Bangla prose without using the compound verb. For instance, *Porey Jawa* (fall down), *Namey Jawa* (to die), *Pan Kora, Mara Jawa*, etc.

10. The prime feature of contemporary Bangla language is the use of simple words and idioms without using any formal and complex expressions. Instead of using long and complex sentences, the tendency to use short sentences is quite evident. By using conjunction, a number of long sentences can be made into one sentence. Two examples are given in support of the above mentioned discussion–

    a) Khaleque Shaheeb can not distinguish instantly whether his friend's words are cordial or sarcastic. He was well aware that he was not a very good advocate. As such his friend might have killed two birds with one bullet. (Abu Rushd; Dhahon, Selected Stories; Muktadhara; 1995)

    b) He is supposed to meet with Mr. Haque this morning. Haque means dependence. A poem written by someone has been under this title,

whose? I can't remember whether it is a line from a poem or not. (Moinul Ahshan; Jogajog, Dibaya Prakalpa; 1998)

11. Initially the influence of Persian was evident in Bangla prose in the 19th century and later on it was the influence of English. As a result, a modern and innovative approach is seen in formation of sentences and fragmented sentences (Sukumar Sen; 1998; 275). At present, with the predominance of English words, the practice of translation from English Idiom-Phrases has had an impact on it. For instance, *Pa Theke Matha Porjantya* (From head to tale); *Fuler Bichana* (Bed of roses), etc.

12. Another feature of contemporary Bangla is that the authors take a bit of flexibility in structuring Bangla sentences. According to the rules of Bangla sentence structure, verb should be put in place at the end of it. But modern Bangla authors put it in other places to signify something. For example:

[baŋladeʃer ɔdikanʃo ʃikkʰiṭo loker dʰarona ɟe baŋlai iŋreɟi ɟoyti cinhere r proṭʰom bæbohar kɔren iʃʃar candra biddaʃagor. ai dʰaronar mul karo n duti]

Almost all of the educated persons in Bangladesh think that Ishwar Chandra Bidya Sargar first introduced English punctuation in Bangla. There are two reasons behind this concept.

Both of the sentences have not ended with a verb.

13. Signs like *Khondoktiya* (ৎ), *Bishorgo* (ঃ) and *Hosh* (্) are not used much in contemporary Bangla.

14. Clipping inclination: In English, the contracted form of Laboratory is Lab. Similarly, in Bangla, *phone* (*Telephone*), *Kata* (*Katarifle*), *Baby* (*Babytaxi*), *Chobi* (*Chayachobi*), etc. are now widely used.

15. Formal verb, pronoun and preposition have been contracted in the present form of Bangla language. For example: *Koritechi>Korchi* [koriṭecʰi > korcʰi], *Tahader>Tader* [ṭahaḍer > ṭaḍer], etc.

16. Adjective abbreviation: Like other foreign languages including English, first alphabet from each word (it may be an organisation or person) can reveal the actual meaning. For example, *Bangladesh Unmukto Bishawbidyalaya*> BUB, DIT, PDB, etc.

17. The practice of acronyms, maxims and idioms is quite prevalent in contemporary Bangla Language.

The language does not change itself. Men change the language themselves. But the change does not happen all at a time or over night. The smaller units of language get transformed for various incidents through the passage of time. And this transformation cannot be recognized and realized only by the language users of one generation.

" Languages are spoken by people for purpose of communication. Consequently, speakers change languages, although this is not to say that

they are necessarily conscious of doing so, or that they intend to make changes. Indeed, the history of any language, from a sociolinguistic point of view, is the story of an unbroken chain of generation speakers, all able to communicate with theirs parents and children while perhaps noticing minor differences inter-genarational usage, and all believing they speak the same language. (April, Mcmahon; 1995;8)

Similar comments are applicable to Bangla language as well as Benagli speakers. Still the aim of a linguist is to identify the changes and I tried my best do so in this write up.

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3. *Samachar Darpan*, 1819; 16 October

Word Order Typology in English and Nepali and It's Pedagogical Implications

Dan Raj Regmi
Lecturer in English

1. Introduction

Broadly speaking, linguistic typology is concerned with classification, generalization and explanation of grammatical phenomena across languages on a broad empirical basis. It assumes that absolute universals as very difficult to identify; however, there are certain devices recurred in natural languages which motivate us to look for further predicable characteristics in a language having a particular construction. Thus, linguistic typology is interested in implicational universals[1]. Word order typology is a 'typology' of linguistic structure, which tries to classify natural languages in terms of relative ordering of major grammatical functions such as S(ubject), O(bject) and V(erb) in a least 'pragmatically neutral clause'[2]. In this type of typology word order plays a vital role as a basic syntactic device. In short, word order typology is based upon at least three assumptions, Burridge 1994). They are as follows:

i.   There is a basic word order pattern in a declarative clause in natural languages;

ii.   Functional categories like subject, verb and object are basic linguistic entities of all languages; and

iii. Alternative orders of these functional categories are pragmatically marked and occur only in a very well defined discourse environment.

Theoretically, a six-way typology is possible for natural languages; however, in reality, the majority of world languages fall only in three types: SVO (e.g., English), SOV (e.g., Nepali) and VSO (e.g., Welsh), and of these SVO and SOV are the most and VSO the least frequent pattern (Burridge, 1994).

The nature of this paper is partly theoretical and partly applied. Thus, the main purpose is to examine predictable (implicational) correlations in syntactic characteristics of Nepali (as an SOV) and English (as an SVO) language in terms of areas of ease and difficulty with reference to English language teaching in Nepalese order to see some pedagogical implications. In this paper, we will, first of all, examine the typology of English and Nepali in terms of

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[1] A universal such as: if a language has a particular pattern of subject, verb and object organization, it also likely to have prepositions (rather than postpositions).

[2] It is a clause with a transitive verb with two full NPs. In other words, it is a declarative main clause which has high text frequency, productive use, wide grammatical distribution and lack of specialized or pragmatic connotations.

order of functional categories and then we will present structural similarities and differences by giving examples from both Nepali and English with the help of some Greenberg's universals (1963); and after doing this, we predict some areas of ease and difficulty; and at the end we will suggest some pedagogical implications with reference to English language teaching in Nepal.

2. Word Order Typology of English and Nepali

This typological study of syntactic structure of a declarative clause of English and Nepali is based on the traditional two-way distinction between subject and object, instead of the three-way distinction among the agent like argument of a transitive clause (A), only argument of an intranstive clasuses (O) and other argument of a transitive clause (P) (i.e. 'semantico-syntactic roles') Comrie (1978). So far as English is concerned, there is no disagreement among syntacticians regarding the configurationality of the language. It is fairly consistent configurational language, i.e. SVO is a basic word order in English. Let's consider these two examples.

(1) a. *I like tea.*   [SVO]
     b. *Tea, I like.*   [OSV]

In the above examples, (1a) is a basic order of grammatical functions in a pragmatically neutral clause and (1b) is an alternative order, so it is pragmatically marked, i.e., object has been fronted to make it a topic. And moreover, the word order determines the grammatical functions in English. In case of Nepali, there is no unanimity among writers and linguists about its configurationality. Nepali is generally regarded as extremely flexible with respects to order of constituents of the clause(Abdulky, 1974). However, Regmi(1978) and Sharma(1980) both have assumed Nepali as a fixed word order language. In this connexion, let us consider these examples:

(2) a. *ram kera khanchə*   [SOV]
        Ram banana eat.3S.Pres
        'Ram eats a banana.'
     b. *kera ram khanchə*   [OSV]

The sentence (2a), for a native speaker, is basic which is pragmatically neutral whereas (2b) seems pragmatically marked. It means "As for banana, it is Ram who eats it." From this observation it is clear that at underlying level Nepali does have fixed word order and only at surface level there are alternative orders for different semantic values. Thus, Nepali does have an SOV word order in the pragmatically neutral clauses in (2a).

From the point of view of verb position, Nepali is a verb-final and English is a verb-medial languages. Now we have assumed that English is a consistent SVO and Nepali is consistent SOV language.[3] After making observation of basic pattern of grammatical functions in Nepali and English we would like to examine the correlation of syntactic characteristics in the two languages in terms of certain parameters. Let us consider the following table:

	Parameter	Correlation	
		English	Nepali
i.	A transitive declarative basic clause	SVO *Ram eats bread*	SOV *ram roTi khanchə*
ii.	Adpositions	Prepositions *at home.*	Postpositions *ram gharəma cha*
iii.	Genitive and head noun	N-G/G-N *Ram's/of Ram*	N-G *ram-ko*
iv.	Head noun and modifier (attributive adj)	M-N *cleaver boy*	M-N *chəlakh keTa*
v.	Relative clause and head nouns	N-RelCl *This is the place where I was born*	RelCl-N *jo dhilo ãuchə tyo pachhi baschə*
vi.	Comparatives	Adj-Mkr-Std *more beautiful than this girl*	Adj-Mkr-Std *tyo keTi bhanda ramro*
vii.	Auxiliary/Main Verbs	Aux V *can go*	V-Aux *janə səknu*
viii.	Numerals	Num-N *ten cats*	Num-N *dəs woTa birala*
ix.	Demonstrative Adjective and Nouns	DeM-N *that pen*	DeM-N *tyo kələm*
x.	Description Adjective	Descrip-N *black bird*	Descrip-N *kalo choro*

From the above observation it is clear that Nepali differs from English only in terms of parameters such as (i), (ii) and partially (iii) and (iv). In the remaining parameters English is harmonious (similar) with Nepali. One of the reasons may be that English has completed its shift from SOV into SVO pattern

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[3] Burridge (1994) argues that some noun phrase patterns of English (except relative clauses and prepositional genitives) are harmonious with SOV type. So he says English is an inconsistent SVO language.

(Burridge 1994). However, the noun phrase ordering has still remained principally that of modifier: noun, e.g. a black cat.

Theoretically speaking structural dissimilarities cause difficulty and similarities cause ease in learning second/foreign language. As we have already observed that Nepali differs from English in case of order of functional categories such as subject, verb and object of preposition and noun. In these aspects a Nepali learner of English feels difficulty, however, in the relative order of constituents in a noun phrases he will certainly feel ease and he is not likely to make as much errors as he is likely to make in basic order in the clause.

3. Word Order (Syntactic) Typology and Language Teaching[4]

In section 2 we have tried to compare Nepali as an SOV with English as an SVO language. Fries (1945) argues the "the most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner." This argument strongly motivates us to argue that a cross-linguistic comparison (especially in terms of word order) is fundamental for pedagogical (i.e. practical) purpose. Lado (1985) observes that the teacher who has made a comparison of foreign language (say English) with the native language (say Nepali) of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them. He gains an insight into the linguistic problems involved that cannot easily be achieved otherwise. It entails that a comparison based on grammatical structure will suggest that teacher what methods he should consider while teaching, how to devise test items and techniques as well as what he should test and what he shouldn't test. Rulon and Rulon (1994) state that a native speaker of typical VSO language who wishes to learn English has one set of adjustment to make whereas a native speaker of a typical SOV, say Nepali, has another set of adjustments. The VSO speaker who tries to master the structure of an SVO language as English presumably can easily grasp the basic order of elements in grammatical structures. In this connection, we can assume that a Nepali speaker has many problems in mastering the structures of English and it would be viable to argue that one of the reasons why it is difficult to master English structures for a Nepali speaker is the typological differences in terms of ordering of constituents in a clause.

It would be justifiable to present syntactic typological characteristics observed in English and Nepali (though we have tried so far in section 1.2) before examining the significance the study of word order (syntactic) typology of Nepali and English for pedagogical purpose.

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[4] Rulon and Rulon (1984) have discussed in detail how syntactic typology can be effective tool in teaching second or foreign languages.

4. Typological characteristics of Nepali and English

English: SVO	Nepali: SOV
a. Verb precedes objects	a. Object precedes verbs
b. Adpositions are preposed	b. Adpositions are postposed
c. Permutation of words within the clause is not possible. e.g., *A cat ate a rat.* *A rat ate a cat*	c. Permutation of words within clause is permissible and common, e.g., *biralole musa-lai khayo* *musa-lai biralole khayo*
d. (i) Head nouns precede the genitive, e.g, *Ram's* (ii) Genitive precedes the head noun, e.g., *of Ram*	d. Head nouns precedes the genitive, e.g., *ram-ko*
e. Attributive adjectives precedes the head noun	e. Attributive adjectives precede the head noun
f. Degree precedes pivot which precedes standard, e.g., *very good boy* *more beautiful*	f. Degree precedes pivot which precedes standard *dherai ramro keTo*
g. Titles precede family name *King Birendra*	g. Titles precede family name *raja Birendra*
h. Head nouns precede the relative clause *Ram who is poor is honest*	i. Relative clause precede the head nouns *mə je khojchu, tyo tyahā chəinə*
i. Negative precedes verbals: *He doesn't go.*	j. Verbal precedes negative *u jannə*

The typological characteristics so far listed above might not have encluded all phenomena; however, it could be claimed that they are basic to show the typological relationships (correlation) that hold for Nepali and English languages and the relationships have great significance for the learning and teaching of both foreign and native languages.

We have already pointed out that effective teaching/learning materials for a foreign language, say English, can be prepared by making a cross-linguistic comparison between the foreign and native language. With reference to English language teaching to Nepali speakers, while designing the curriculum and syllabus (especially for the beginners), typological characteristics (a), (b), and (c) if (4) should be taken into consideration and the main focus should be on these distinctive characteristics. In the text books of English, too, these items should be presented in such a way that the main emphasis should be on the proper ordering of words in the clauses and the textbooks must be well-equipped with exercises for further restrengthening of the concepts. Word order typology is not only important while making syllabus and textbooks, it is equally important while handling the textbooks in the class. A teacher having basic insight of typological similarities and differences between Nepali and English can better help the students grasp the syntactic structures of English.

4. Conclusions

Fundamentally, typology is not meant to observe different between/among the languages studied. Specially, in case of ordering of elements in noun phrase structures English seems to be harmonious with Nepali; however, English stands different from Nepali basically in the ordering of functional categories like subject, verb and object in a pragmatically least marked clause. Thus, a Nepali speaker attempting to master the structures of a clause not in the structure of formal constituents of clause (esp. noun phrase structure) feels difficulty thanks to the different typological characteristics. Thus, it would be better to conclude that whether you are a syllabus designer or text book writer, or a classroom teacher, you are sure to be highly benefited with the insights of typological study, especially word order typology.

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Causative Construction in Tamang

Krishna Prasad Chalise
Central Department of Linguistics, TU

1. Introduction: Tamang Causative

Tamang has a system of causativization that can be applied to all types of basic clauses. Verbs having any valency can under go causative construction. Tamang causative construction can be formalized as:

Verb – causative morpheme + do verb.

V – *na* + *la*

Each of the examples in (1) shows i) non-causative and ii) causative construction of the same verb.

(1) i) *ale-ce ram-da brigu pin-ji*
brother-ERG Ram-DAT pen give-PST
'The brother gave Ram a pen.'

ii) *the-ce ale-ce ram-da brigu pin-na la-ji*
he-ERG brother-OBLI Ram-DAT pen give-CAUS do-PST
'He made the brother give a pen to Ram.

b. i) *ale-ce ken ca-ji*
brother-ERG rice eat-PST
'The brother ate rice.'

ii) *apa-ce ale-da ken ca-na la-ji*
father-ERG brother-DAT rice eat-cause do-PST
'Father made brother eat rice.'

c. i) *the nyi-ji*
he go-PST
'He went.'

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

Each of the causative constructions, in (1), shows two situations: i) causative macro-situation and ii) resultant micro-situation. The first situation shows that one causes another do something and second situation shows that the situation takes place as the result of the cause of the first situation. The above examples can be analysed as follow:

Causative macro-situation		Resultant micro-situation
a.	He caused to give	brother gave
b.	Father caused to eat	brother ate
c.	I caused to go	he went

2. Structural Status of Tamang Causative

Tamang causative construction is not morphological because there are separate predicates expressing the notion of causation and the notion of effect. So, it is a periphrastic construction.

In all the causative sentences in (1), there are two different verbs *la* 'do' and the verb of non-causative construction expressing the notion of causation and effect.

3. Valency Change in Causative Construction

Tamang causative construction does not change the valency of the individual predicate because each of the two predicates expressing cause and effect retains its own set of arguments. But, each of the causative construction has one more argument than in its corresponding non-causative construction. The examples in (2), show a set of i. non-causative and ii. causative construction of the same verb.

(2) a.i) *e:-ni-ce syamo ca-ji*
you-Pl-ERG mushroom eat-PST
'You ate mushroom.'

ii) *ŋa-ce e:-ni-da syamo ca-na la-ji*
I-ERG you-Pl-DAT mushroom eat-CAUS do-PST
'I caused you eat mushroom.'

b.i) *jame ŋet-ci*
daughter laugh-PST
'Daughter laughed.'

ii) *ja-ce jame-da ŋet-na la-ji*
son-ERG daughter-DAT laugh-CAUS do-PST
'Son caused daughter to laugh.'

In the sentence (2a,i), the predicate *ca* has two arguments. In the corresponding causative construction (2a,ii) there is one more argument *ŋa*, that is added because of the additional predicate *la*. The case is the same in the sentences in (2b) also. So, each causative construction has one more argument than its corresponding non-causative construction. The addition of argument is caused by the addition of the predicate *la*.

la 'do' is bivalent predicate, its one argument is that one which is added in the corresponding causative construction, i.e., causer. It is always in ergative form. The other predicate of *la* is the whole non-causative situation. So the whole non-causative situation is the direct object of the causative construction.

It shows that there is no valency growth of predicate in causative construction but as whole, causative construction has one more argument than its corresponding non-causative construction.

4. Status of Arguments in the Causative Construction

Generally, the argument of mono-valent predicate that is subject in non-causative construction is demoted to direct object of causative construction. Because the causer always occupies the subject-position.

(3) a.i) *the kyal-ji*
he swim-PST
'He swam.'

ii. *lopkhen-ce the-da kyal-na la-ji*
teacher-ERG he-DAT swim-CAUS do-PST
'Teacher made him swim.'

b.i) *gliŋ nyuh-ji*
snow melt-PST
'Snow melted.'

ii) *ŋa-ce gliŋ nyuh-na la-ji*
I-ERG snow (ABS) melt-CAUS do-PST
'I got snow melted.'

Generally, the agent of bivalent predicated is demoted to dative form in causative construction. Because, the subject position is already occupied by the causer.

(4) a.i) *the-ce mrap Thoŋ-ji*
he-ERG door open-PST
'He opened the door.'

ii. *ŋa-ce the-da mrahp Thoŋ-na la-ji*
I-ERG he-DAT door open-CAUS do-PST
'I got him to open the door.'

b.i) *ale-ce doŋbo tha: -ji*
brother-ERG tree cut-PST
'Brother cut the tree.'

ii) *apa-ce ale-da doŋbo tha:-na la-ji*
father-ERG brother-DAT tree cut-CAUS do-PST
'Father got brother to cut the tree.'

Generally, the agent of trivalent predicate is demoted into oblique object form in causative construction.

(5) a.i) *ram-ce sita-da pustak pin-ji*
Ram-ERG Sita-DAT book give-PST
'Ram gave Sita a book.'

ii. *syam-ce ram-ce sita-da pustak pin-na la-ji*
Shyam-ERG Ram-OBLI Sita-DAT book give-CAUS do-PST
'Shyam had Ram give a book to Sita.'

5. Conclusion

There is only one type of causative construction found in Tamang which can be formalized as:

$$V - na + la$$

The construction is periphrastic, not morphological. So there is no valency change of verb, but the valency of the whole causative complex is increased. One more argument is found in the causative construction than in its corresponding non-causative construction. The additional argument is not the result of valency change of the verb, but because of the additional verb *la* in the causative construction.

Abbreviations

ERG	-	Ergative
DAT	-	Dative
PST	-	Past
CAUS	-	Causative
Pl	-	Plural
ABS	-	Absolutive
OBLI	-	Oblique

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Tense System in Danuwar

Bhabendra Bhandari
bhandaribb@yahoo.com

1. Introduction

Danuwar is one of the languages belonging to Indo-Aryan Language Family. It is spoken in Nepal by Danuwar people. According to the report of Population Census 2001, the total number of Danuwar people in Nepal is 53,229. It is 0.23 percent of the total population. Although they are found in different parts of the country, Central Development Region and Eastern Development Region are the main areas of Danuwar people.

They have been living by the forest side and at the riverbanks since long. Their traditional occupations are fishing and hunting, but most of them are found to be engaging in agriculture as well.

Danuwar is one of the endangered languages of Nepal. Most of the Danuwar children and young people do not speak this language. The census report shows that only 31,849 people can speak this language. It means only 59.83 percent of Danuwar people can speak their language. This report shows that the total percent of the Nepalese people speaking Danuwar language is 0.14.

The language has developed different dialects because of geographical distance and the influence of other surrounding languages. Mainly, it is influenced by Tharu, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Hindi in Southern region and by Nepali in Hilly region.

Though 59.83 percent of the Danuwar people speak Danuwar language, their language is highly influenced by the neighbouring languages. All the Danuwar speakers are bilingual. In Kabhre districtthey use Nepali as lingua franca. So, here, it is very much influenced by Nepali.

Although it is very much influenced by other languages, this language still retains its strong linguistic identity.

In this paper, I briefly discuss its tense system from the data collected from Kabhrepalanchok district. The data were collected for my MA. thesis (Bhandari, 2001).

2. Tense in Danuwar
2.1 Tense

The category **tense** indicates the time of the predication in relation to some particular moment. This moment is typically the moment of speaking or writing the utterances (Abbi, 2001:147). Tense, thus, indicates whether the event or activity happened prior to the moment of speaking (past tense), is contemporaneous with it (present tense), or subsequent to it (future tense).

Different affixes are added to the verb stem of this language to mark tense according to the person, number, honorificity and gender of the subject.

(1) a. *kanu ram ramrosu pəDi-lək*   b. *ram sədhəiə ramrosu pəDi-s*
    'Yesterday Ram read well.'   'Ram always reads well.'
  c. *kanu ram ramrosu pəDi-s.*
    'Tomorrow Ram will read well.'
(Note: *kanu* means both yesterday and tomorrow.)
(2) a. *moro buma bhat pakəi-lik*   b. *moro buma bhat pakəi-s*
    'My grandmother cooked rice.'   'My grandmother cooks rice.'
  c. *aju moro buma bhat pakəi-s.*
    'Today my grandmother will cook rice.'

In the above sentences, it is seen that the same form of verb is used to mark the present and future time. To mark the past time, only the verb form is different. So, Danuwar verbs show that this language has only two tenses: past and non-past. Only the time adverbials help to indicate the meaning of present or future time.

2.1.1 Past Tense

Past tense simply locates the situation in question prior to the present moment.

In Danuwar language, various past tense affixes are added to the verb stem to agree with person, number, honorificity, and gender of the subject.

(3) a. *mui   bhat   khai-nu*
    I   rice   eat-PST 1 S
    'I ate rice.'
  b. *haməi   bhat   khai-nu*
    we   rice   eat-PST 1 Pl
    'We ate rice.'
  c. *tui   bhat   khai-ləs*
    you(M)   rice   eat-PST 2 S
    'You ate rice.'
  d. *tui   bhat   khai-ləs*
    you(F)   rice   eat-PST 2 S
    'You ate rice.'
  e. *torlok   bhat   khai-ləi*
    you(Pl)   rice   eat-PST 2 Pl
    'You ate rice.'

f. *aphnəke*   *bhat*   *khai-nən*
you(H)   rice   eat-PST 2 H
'You ate rice.'

g. *aphnəkelok*   *bhat*   *khai-nən*
you(H, Pl)   rice   eat-PST 2 H
'You ate rice.'

h. *oi*   *bhat*   *khai-lək*
he-Erg   rice   eat-PST 3 S, M
'He ate rice.'

i. *oi*   *bhat*   *khai-lik*
she-Erg   rice   eat-PST 3 S, F
'He ate rice.'

j. *oləkhe*   *bhat*   *khai-la*
they-Erg (M)   rice   eat-PST 3 Pl
'They ate rice.'

k. *oləkhe*   *bhat*   *khai-la*
they-Erg (F)   rice   eat-PST 3 Pl
'They ate rice.'

From the above sentences, it is clear that the past tense suffixes in Danuwar language to represent number, person, honorificity and gender are: *-nu, -nuk, -ləs, -ləi, -nən, -lək, -lik* and *-la*. In the above examples, it is also found that the gender distinction is found only in the third person singular number.

The past tense suffixes in this language are presented in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1: Past Tense Suffixes in Danuwar

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	*-nu*	*-nuk*
2	*-ləs*	*-ləi*
2 H	*-nən*	*-nən*
3 M	*-lək*	*-la*
3 F	*-lik*	*-la*

2.1.2 Non-past Tense

It has already been obvious that Danuwar language has only one tense to refer to both present and future time. Only the time adverbials help to indicate the meaning of present or future. So, the term non-past is used to describe this tense.

(4) a. *mui*   *ai-chu*
I   come-NPST 1 S
' I come.'

b. *kanu*   *mui*   *ai-chu*
tomorrow   I   come-NPST 1 S
'I'll come   tomorrow.'

c. *haməi*   *ai- chuk*
we   come-NPST 1 Pl
We come.'

d. *tui*   *ai-chəs*
you(M)   come-NPST 2 S
'You come.'

e. *tui*   *ai-chəs*
you(F)   come-NPST 2 S
'You come.'

f. *torlok*   *ai-chəi*
you(Pl)   come-NPST 2 Pl
'You come.'

g. *toləkhe*   *ai-tən*
you(H)   come-NPST 2 H
'You come.'

h. *aphnəke*   *ai-tən*
you(H)   come-NPST 2 H
'You come.'

i. *aphnəkelok*   *ai-tən*
you(H, Pl)   come-NPST 2 H
'You come.'

j. *u*   *ai-s*
he   come-NPST 3 S
'He comes.'

k. u   ai-s
she   come-NPST 3 S
'She comes.'
l. olok   ai-chət
they   come-NPST 3 Pl
'They come.'
(Note: Both *toləkhe* and *aphnəke* are second person honorific pronouns.)

From the above sentences, it is clear that suffixes *-chu, -chuk, -chəs, -chəi, -tən, -s* and *-chət* are added to the verb stem to represent number, person or honorificity in the non-past tense. The same honorific suffix *-tən* is added both in singular and plural verb. There is no gender distinction in this language in the non-past tense.

The following table shows the non-past tense suffixes in this language.

Table 2: Non-past Tense Suffixes in Danuwar

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1	-chu	-chuk
2	-chəs	-chəi
2 H	-tən	-tən
3	-s	-chət

3. Conclusion

- Danuwar language (Kabhre dialect?) has binary tense system: past and non-past.
- Verbs are inflected in these tenses to agree with the person, number, honorificity and gender of the subject.

- Gender distinction is found only in the past tense if the subject is in third person singular number.

Abbreviations

1-	first person	M-	masculine
2-	second person	NPST-	non-past
3-	third person	Pl-	plural
Erg-	ergative	PST-	past
F-	feminine	S-	singular
H-	honorific		

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Aspects in Darai

Dhakal Dubi Nanda
Department of Engineering Science and Humanities
Institute of Engineering
Purwanchal Campus, Dharan

1. Introduction

Darai is one of the minority languages and least described among the languages of Nepal. There are altogether 10759 Darai people in the kingdom and the Darai speakers even small in number amounting to 6520. They are the linguistic minority without any written literature and own written script. It is therefore written in Devnagari script. Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Tanahu of western Nepal are the major concentration areas of this language. The language bears remarkable influences from the neighboring languages like Nepali, Maithili and Bhojpuri. Although Darai is an Indo Aryan in basic character, it also marked differ from the other Indo-Aryan languages to a remarkable extent. This article attempts to highlight the aspects in the same language based on the data collection for the report, Dhakal (2003)

2. Aspect

Aspect is a 'grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb' (Crystal, 1994: 29). Aspects have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour (Hockett, 1970: 237). Aspects in Darai are expressed mainly by morphological means. Often, the aspects are expressed by participle suffixes and their constraints.

2.1 Imperfective Aspect

Imperfective aspect is an explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within; as also will be the general point that imperfectivity is not incompatible with perfectivity, and that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so (Comrie, 1976: 4). The imperfective aspect therefore looks at the situation from inside. Imperfective aspect is the situation in which the action is in progress and not completed in relation to some point in time. They are mainly divided into habitual, progressive, prospective and durative aspect.

2.1.1 Habitual Aspect

The feature that is common to all habituals, whether or not they are also iterative, in that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 1976: 27). In a sense the verbs show the repetitions of action. They may be further categorized as past and non past.

2.1.1.1 Past Habitual

The past habitual is often expressed by suffixing -te (k∂rte 'doing') to the verb. The morphological derivation thus takes place mainly in the finite forms of auxiliary verb r∂h∂m (past) and bat∂m (non-past) which also inflect for number, gender and honorificity. However, the past habitual marker -r∂hei of the main verb remains unchanged.

(1) u   kam   k∂r-te-r∂hei
     he   work   do.HAB-P3SG
     'He used to work.'

The past habitual aspect of the verbal inflection is set out in the following table.

Table 1 Past habitual aspect forms of Darai verb *p∂Dike* 'to read'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First Person	p∂D-te-r∂h∂m	p∂D-te-r∂hi
Second Person	p∂D-te-r∂h∂s	p∂D-te-r∂h∂s
Second Person H	p∂D-te-r∂h∂u	p∂D-te-r∂h∂i
Third Person	p∂D-te-r∂h∂i	p∂D-te-r∂h∂i
Third Person F	p∂D-te-r∂hi	p∂D-te-r∂hi
Third Person H	p∂D-te-r∂h∂	p∂D-te-r∂h∂s∂b

Sometimes, the past habitual is also expressed simply through the past form of the main verbs. Past habitual in Darai is expressed by suffixing inflectional morpheme -l∂ and -li to the verb. They also agree with the gender, level of levels of honorificity and person in Darai.

(2) a. m∂i   kam   k∂r-l∂
         I-E   work   do-P1SG
         'I worked.'

     b. m∂i   kam   nij-k∂r-l∂
         He-E   work   NEG-do-P1SG
         'He did not work.'

     c. uwa   kam   k∂r-li
         she-E   work   do-P3SG
         'She worked.'

d. uwa kam nij-k∂r-li
 she-E work NEG-do-P3SG
 'She did not work.'

Table 2 Past habitual aspect forms of *marike* 'to kill'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First	mar-l∂	mar- l∂hai
Second	mar - l∂sai	ma - l∂hai
Second H	mar -l∂hou	mar-l∂hou
Second HH	mar -kebh∂ il∂	mar-kebh∂ il∂
Third	mar -l∂,-li	mar-l∂khai
Third H,H H	mar-kebh∂ il∂hai	mar-kebh∂ il∂

2.1.1.2 Non past Habitual

The non past habituals in Darai refer to both the tenses, present and the future generally expressing by the same form of the verb. The adverbials determine whether the action expresses the present or the future time. They also agree with person, number, gender and honorificity of the subject. The verbal inflections of the present habitual are set out below. Type first includes the intransitive verbs and type second includes transitive and bitransitive verbs.

(3) a. m∂i s∂dahun m∂ndir j∂it∂-m
    I-E   always   temple   go-nP1SG
    'I always go to temple.'

  b. hame m∂ndir j∂ita-hi
    We-E temple go-nP1Pl
    'We go to temple.'

  c. t∂i m∂ndir j∂it∂-s
    you-E temple go-nP2SG
    'You go to temple.'

  d. t∂i-s∂b m∂ndir j∂ita-hou-s∂b
    you-E temple go-nP2Pl
    'You go to temple.'

  e. pau-s∂b m∂ndir jai-ke-bh∂i-t
    you-E temple go-nP2Pl.h
    'You go to temple.'

  f. u/uhi m∂ndir jai-t
    he-E temple go-nP3SG
    'He goes to temple.'

  g. uhi m∂ndir jai-t
    she-E temple go-nP3SGF
    'He goes to temple.'

  h. u/unen-s∂b m∂ndir j∂i-ta-h∂t
    they-E temple go-nP3Pl
    'They go to temple.'

Table 3 non-past habitual aspect forms of Darai verb *jaike* 'go'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	j∂it∂-m	j∂ita-hi
Second Person	j∂it∂-s	j∂ita-hos∂b
Second Person h	j∂i-ke-bh∂it	j∂i-ke-bh∂it
Third Person	jai-t	j∂ita-m
Third Person F	jai-t	j∂ita-m
Third Person h	j∂ita-t	j∂ita-h∂t

Use of pronominal suffixes in transitive and bitransitive verb is rather complex. Kotapish (1975) presents the inflection non past habitual aspect in in the birtansitive verbs as set out below. The pronominal cross referents mark the subject as well as the receptor referents of the verb. The following chart illustrates the occurrence of the pronominal cross referents in the bitransitive verb. The left vertical column represents the subject cross referent while the upper horizontal column represents the receptor cross referent. Combined, the suffixes read subject referent plus receptor marker –*i* plus receptor referent.

	me	you(SG)	him	us	you(Pl)	them
I		o	-mis		-mik	o	-miu
	-mikan					
you(sg)	+	o	-sik	+	-o		-sikan
he		+	-Xis	-ik	+		-Xiu
	-Xikan					
we		o	+		+	o	+
	+		you(pl) +		o		-u∅k
	+	o	-u∅kan				
they		+	- Xis	- Xik	+		- Xiu
	- Xikan					

Abbreviation Conventions

 o =   reflexive not included
 + =   no recptor referent, subject marked by Set 1 suffixes

Ø =   receptor marker reduces following -*u*
i =   receptor marker
m =   1 SG subject referent
s =   2 SG subject or receptor referent
x =   3 SG , 3 pl subject referent reduces before –*i*
k =   3 SG receptor referent
u =   2 PL subject or receptor referent
kan = 3 PL receptor referent

Table 4 Inflections in bitransitive Verbs (Kotapish,1973:142)

m∂i deta-mis		'I give to you.'
m∂i deta-mik		'I give to him.'
m∂i deta-miu		'I give to you (pl.).'
m∂i deta-mikan		'I give to them.'
tay meraike detas	+	'You give to me.'
t∂i deta-sik		'You give to him.'
t∂i hamraike detas	+ '	'You give to us.'
t∂i deta-sikan		'You give to them.'
uwai merai-ke dit	+	'He gives to me.'
uwai deta-is		'He gives to you.'
uwai deta-ik		'He gives to him.'
uwai hamrai-ke dit	+	'He gives to us.'
uwai deta-ui		'He gives to you (pl.).'
uwai detai-kan		'He gives to them.'
hame terai-ke deta-ir	+	'We give to you.'
hame ukrai-ke deta-ir		'We give to him.'
hame teurai-ke deta-ir		'We give to you (pl)'
hame onen-ke deta-ir	+	'We give to them.'
tahe meraike deta-u		'You (pl.) give to me.'
tahe deta-uk		'You(pl.) give to him.'
tahe hamrai-ke deta-u	+	'You (pl.) give to us.'
tahe deta-ukan		'You(pl.) give to them.'
onen merai-ke deta-t	+	'They give to me.'
onen deta-is		'They give to you.'
onen deta-ik		'They give to him.'
onen hamrai-ke detat	+	'They give to us.'
onen deta-iu		'They give to you(pl.).'
onen deta-ikan		'They give to them.'

2.2 Progressive Aspect

    The progressive aspect refers to activity in progress, and therefore suggests not only that the activity is temporary (i.e. of limited duration), but that it need not be complete (Leech and Svartvik; 1999:69). The progressive indicative is thus formed by the addition of –*te* and -*r∂te* to the root of the verb and followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb *r∂h∂m* (past) and *bat∂m* (non-past). They are also categorized as past and non-past progressive aspects.

2.2.1 Non-Past Progressive Aspect

(4)   a.   *m∂i*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bat∂-s*
            I-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-nP1SG
            'I am writing a letter.'

       b.   *hame*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *batihi*
            we-E   letter   write-PROGbe.EXI-nP1Pl
            'We are writing a letter.'

       c.   *t∂i*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bat∂s*
            you-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-nP2SG
            'You are writing a letter.'

       d.   *t∂is∂b*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bat∂u*
            you-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-nP2Pl
            'You are writing a letter.'

       e.   *pau*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bat∂i*
            you-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-nP2SGh
            'You are writing a letter.'

       f.   *uhi/use*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bat∂i*
            you-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-P3SG
            'He is writing a letter.'

       f.   *uhi*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bati*
            you-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-P3SGF
            'She is writing a letter.'

       f.   *us∂bei*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *bat∂i*
            they-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-P3Pl
            'They are writing a letter.'

Table 5 non-past progressive aspect forms of Darai verb *lekhike* ' to write'

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
First Person	*lekh-te-bat∂m*	*lekh-te-batihi*
Second Person	*lekh-te-bat∂s*	*lekh-te-bat∂i*

Second Person H	*lekh-te-batə̃*	*lekh-te-batə̃*
Third Person	*lekh-te-batə̃*	*lekh-te-batə̃m*
Third Person F	*lekh-te-bati*	*lekh-te-batə̃*
Third Person H	*lekh-te-batə̃m*	*lekh-te-batə̃*

2.2.2 Past Progressive Aspect

(5)   a.   *tə̃isə̃b*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *rəhə̃s*
            you-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-P2Pl
            'You are writing a letter.'

       b.   *mə̃i*   *ciTTi*   *lekh-te*   *batə̃s*
            I-E   letter   write-PROG   be.EXI-nP1SG
            'I am writing a letter.'

Table 6 Past Progressive aspect forms of Darai verb *lekhike* 'to write'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	*lekh-te- rəhə̃m*	*lekh-te -rəhi*
Second Person	*lekh-te- rəhə̃s*	*lekh-te- rəhə̃s*
Second Person H	*lekh-te- rəhə̃u*	*lekh-te- rəhə̃i*
Third Person	*lekh-te- rəhə̃i*	*lekh-te- rəhə̃i*
Third Person F	*lekh-te- rəhi*	*lekh-te- rəhi*
Third Person H	*lekh-te- rəhə*	*lekh-te- rəhə̃sə̃b*

Past progressive aspect forms of the verb *gaike* 'to sing' are set out in the following sentences.

(6)   a.   *tə̃isə̃b*   *git*   *gai-rəte*   *rəhə̃m*
            you-E   song   sing-PROG   be.EXI-P2Pl
            'You are singing a song.'

           uhi   *git*   *gai-rəte*   *rəhi*
            she-E   song   sing-PROG   be.EXI-P3PlSGF
            'She is singing a song.'

Table 7 Past Progressive aspect forms of Darai verb *lekhike* 'to write'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	*lekh-rəte- rəhə̃m*	*lekh-rəte-rəhi*
Second Person	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃s*	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃s*
Second Person H	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃u*	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃i*
Third Person	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃i*	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃i*

Third Person F	*lekh-rəte-rəhi*	*lekh-rəte-rəhi*
Third Person H	*lekh-rəte-rəhə*	*lekh-rəte-rəhə̃sə̃b*

2.3 Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect is mostly derivational. Often they are marked by participial suffixes. As Comrie writes the perfective aspect looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation (1976:4). In Darai language, perfective aspects are marked by -*səklə* both in past and non past. The differences between past and non past are observed in the forming finite forms of 'be' verbs which inflect for gender, number and honorificity. Therefore the auxiliary (copula) is conjugated according to number, gender and honorificity. The inflections for the perfective marker are thus -*səklə* and different inflections are due to person, gender, and number.

2.3.1 Non-Past Perfective Aspect

(7)   a.   *mə̃i*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *batə̃m*
            I-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP1SG
            'I have cooked rice.'

       b.   *hame*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *batihi*
            We-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP1Pl
            'We have cooked rice.'

       c.   *tə̃i*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *batə̃s*
            You-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP2SG
            'You have cooked rice.'

       d.   *tə̃i-sə̃b*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *batə̃u*
            You-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP2Pl
            'You have cooked rice.'

       e.   *pau*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *batə̃i*
            You-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP2Pl-h
            'You have cooked rice.'

       f.   *use/uhi*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *batə̃i*
            he-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP3SG
            'He has cooked rice.'

       f.   *use/uhi*   *bhat*   *pakai-səklə*   *bati*
            she-E   rice   cook-PERF   be.EXI-nP3SGF
            'She has cooked rice.'

Table 8 non-past perfective aspect forms of Darai verb *pak* 'cook'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**

First Person	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂m*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-batihi*
Second Person	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂s*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂i*
Second Person H	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂i*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂i*
Third Person	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂i*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂-m*
Third Person F	*pakai-s∂kl∂-ba-i*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂i*
Third Person H	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂m*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-bat∂i*

2.3.2 Past Perfective Aspect

Table 9 Past Perfective aspect forms of Darai verb *pakike* 'cook'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂m*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂hi*
Second Person	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂s*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂s*
Second Person H	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂u*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂i*
Third Person	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂i*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂i*
Third Person F	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂hi*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂hi*
Third Person H	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂*	*pakai-s∂kl∂-r∂h∂s∂b*

2.4 Durative Aspect

The durative aspect marker is *-r∂∂* in Darai. The aspect is expressed. In the morphological process, the durative marker *-r∂∂* is suffixed to root of the the verb. They are illustrated in the following examples.

(8) a. *keta-i   kitap   anir-r∂∂-bela-ke u   uchhin r∂h∂-i*
    boy-E book bring-DUR he there EXI-P3SG
    'While the boy was bringing the book, he was there.'

b. *j∂haj udi-r∂∂-bela-ke m∂i   koTha-N□   p∂sl∂*
    plane-E fly-DUR I room-L EXI-P1SG
    'While the plane was flying, I entered the room.'

2.4 Prospective Aspect

In Darai language, the prospective aspect is expressed though the conjugation of the main verb *kahike* 'to tell' to the root of the verb and followed by the conjugation of auxiliary verb *r∂h∂m* (past) and *bat∂i* (non-past). They are also categorized as past and non-past prospective aspects.

(9)   a.   *t∂is∂b   ciTTi   lekhike   bat∂m*
          you-E letter write-PROG be.EXI-P2Pl
          'You are to write a letter.'

b.   *m∂i   ciTTi   lekhike   r∂h∂m*
    I-E letter write-PROG be.EXI-P1SG
    'I was to write a letter.'

Table 8 non-past prospective aspect forms of Darai verb *lekh* 'write'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	*lekhike-bat∂m*	*lekhike-batihi*
Second Person	*lekhike-bat∂s*	*lekhike-bat∂i*
Second Person H	*lekhike-bat∂i*	*lekhike-bat∂-i*
Third Person	*lekhike-bat∂i*	*lekhike-bat∂m*
Third Person F	*lekhike-bat∂i*	*lekhike-bat∂i*
Third Person H	*lekhike-bat∂m*	*lekhike-bat∂i*

Table 11 Past Prospective aspect forms of Darai verb *lekhike* 'write'

Person	Number	
	Singular	**Plural**
First Person	*lekhike- r∂h∂m*	*lekhike-r∂hi*
Second Person	*lekhike-r∂h∂s*	*lekhike-r∂h∂s*
Second Person H	*lekhike-r∂h∂u*	*lekhike-r∂h∂i*
Third Person	*lekhike-r∂h∂i*	*lekhike-r∂h∂i*
Third Person F	*lekhike-r∂hi*	*lekhike-r∂hi*
Third Person H	*lekhike-r∂h∂*	*lekhike-r∂h∂s∂b*

3. Conclusion

Darai, a linguistic minority, has not been described with proper linguistic approaches. Although the language is Indo Aryan in basic characgter, it differs from other Indo Aryan languages in the pronominal cross reference markings. It is seen in present habitual with transitive or bitransitive verbs. These features are worth detecting as they may widen avenues for further linguistic analysis.

Abbreviations

C:Consonant	INF:Infinitive
D:Dative	INS:Instrument
DUR: Durative Aspect	L:Locative
E: Ergative Case	M:Masculine
EXI: Existential	N:Noun
F: Feminine	NEG:Negative
G: Genitive	NOM:Nominal
HAB: Habitual Aspect	OBJ:Object

HH:High honorific   P:Past
H:Honorific   PERF: Perfective Aspect
HH: High Honorific   Pl:Plural
IMP:Imperative   SG:Singular
    SUB:Subject

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Influence of Hindi on Nepali

Lekhnath Sharma Path
Dept. of English Education, T.
P.O.Box 21697,Kathman
lekhnathspathak@yahoo.co

This paper dose not seek to make any statement, rather it is only tryir to raise a question about the linguistic development that we have often be witness to. Touching certain sensitive areas of language is like touching hornet's nest – that can sting the people around it. And because language inextricably connected with our identity itself and our entire whole bein people tend to be touchy when any of its sensitive cord is plucked. Nepali, as language, has been influenced by many languages- English, Persian, Arabi Hindi from outside the boarder and from the languages of Indo-Aryan an Tibeto-Burman family within.

But because of geographical, cultural, political, social, anthropologica and linguistic proximity with India, it has had the most impact in Nepa language than any other since time immemorial. And in the likeness of big fis eating small fish there is a tendency among the languages to dominate and b dominated. Perhaps, something like this may or may not be happening in ou case is a question of debate (language dominance is not necessarily the concer of present paper). This paper tries to point at how Hindi has been infiltrating i Nepali and affecting certain areas. The study of the extent of influence is i itself a massive area of research. The scope of present paper is very limited. I only tries to touch just the tip of the iceberg or rather the tip of the tip only And saying 'Hindiisation' is surely being unfair to Nepali because it is reall not so at the moment and we can hope that it will not be so and Nepali wil always maintain its Nepaliness. This paper is an attempt to ring a warning bel that if things go unchecked and uncontrolled we might, perhaps, move in tha direction only. Or otherwise, we will have to accept this as a natural course tha the languages take

Language contact results in language change. 'Borrowing,' as we cal it (perhaps, 'push' or 'pull' would justify the process better) takes place chiefl – (i) when there is no appropriate word to express a concept in a language, anc –(ii) when the extant word cannot express a concept entirely. A word entering a language this way becomes fully assimilated in that language and becomes a part of it. However, a word may also enter a language when there are not necessarily the above two conditions. The 'guest' words or expressions entering this way normally replace or push out the counter part 'host' words and expressions because there cannot be two words for exactly the same concept (the synonyms convey different shades of meaning) .

Hindi and Nepali belong to the same language family: Indo-Aryan. And because both the languages have Sanskrit as their progenitor, often it is difficult to say whether a particular word is either only Hindi or only Nepali. However, there are differences in both the languages. And they are two different languages because of the inherent difference in them. There are differences at phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic levels. We see Hindi affecting Nepali, rather than Nepali affecting Hindi in all these levels (the reasons for the phenomena is not the domain of present paper). This paper tries to look at the influence of Hindi in Nepali at different levels.

Now, let us look at sum of the areas where the influence is apparent:

1. **PHONOLOGY**

There are certain words in Hindi and Nepali which have the same meaning but are pronounced differently. The difference is because of the difference in syllabification. As in –

	Hindi		Nepali
a.	dusht	'evil'	dush-ta
b.	raashtr	'nation'	raash-tra
c.	kasht	'pain'	kash-ta
d.	vansh	'pedigree'	van-sha
e.	shiv	(the god)	shi-va
f.	indr	(the god)	in-dra
g.	pra-panch	'scheme' or 'design'	pra-pan-cha

The final syllable that ends in a vowel in Nepali is closed by a consonant in Hindi thus combining the syllable that is splitted in Nepali. The Nepali affected by Hindi this way is pulled closer to Hindi in pronunciation, even in certain purely Nepali words like *bi-haa-na* 'morning' becoming *bi-haan*

2. **MORPHOLOGY**

Morphologically, there is less of change seen. However, there are forms which seem to have Hindi influence, as in

Hindi		Nepali
Jaanwar	'animal'	Janaawar

Likewise, Nepali *nimantranaa* and *aamantranaa* 'invitation' have not yet completely become *nimantran* and *aamantran* but occasionally show the sign of change. But in one area Nepali has been successful in regaining or creating Nepali form away from Hindi replacing - *kaar* with – *karmi*. The addition of the morpheme -*karmi* in nouns to mean 'doer' or 'practitioner' as in *saahityakarmi* literatteur, *kalaakarmi* artist, and so on. This is perhaps in tune with *shikarmi* and *dakarmi* 'carpenter' and

'mason' respectively.(karmi literally means 'manual worker'. Here *karmi* is a separate morpheme, perhaps, Sanskrit in origin meaning 'doer')

3. **LEXIS**

At lexical level, there are plenty words which have come from Hindi and are even replacing their Nepali counterparts. There are words for which Nepali already has its own equally effective set of words, but still words have entered from Hindi and are even becoming nativised in some cases, in some they are used as it is. This is happening despite the fact that Nepali already has its own words for all the Hindi words entering into Nepali. Let us look at some of them:

I. Nepali expressions which have taken Hindi form –

Hindi	Hindiised Nepali form	Nepali Equivalent
a. ap-naa-naa 'accept'/'embrace'	ap-naa-u-nu	ã-gaal-nu
b. ni-bhaa-naa 'fulfill'(as responsibility)	ni-bhaa-u-nu	nir-bah-gar-nu

(ni-bhaa-u-nu in Nepali means 'to extinguish (a fire)

c. kyõ-ki 'because'	ki-na-ki	ki-na-bha-ne
b. ba-ha-naa 'to flow'	ba-ha-nu	bag-nu
c. u-tar-naa 'get down'	u-tra-nu	or-li-nu

II. There are words which have been taken exactly as they stand. As :

Hindi	Nepali Equivalent
Chhaa-paa 'press'(newspaper, magazine)	patra-pa-tri-ka
Dhup 'heat of the sun'	ghaam
u-par 'up'	maathi
chat 'roof'	chhaa-naa
bar-shaat 'rain'	bar-shaa
twa-chaa 'skin'	chhaa-laa
tar-faa 'toward'	ti-ra
mud-da 'issue'/ 'court case'	sa-ma-sya

These Hindi words are used very frequently in Nepali. So much so, that words like *ach-chhaa* 'good' or 'Ok' has almost become a part of Nepali repertoire and perhaps, in a generation or two people may forget that *phul* 'egg' was the original Nepali word for *andaa*

4. COMPOUND WORDS

In the compounding of following nature there is the direct influence of Hindi. The expressions are used exactly the same way both in Hindi and Nepali, for which Nepali has no corresponding native form. However, there are forms which are closer in some cases.

I Hindi	Nepali
a. kam-se-kam 'at least'	kam-ti-maa
b. aaf-se-aaf 'by itself'	no exact equivalent
	(ãã-fai ãã-fai is a poor
	counter part)
c. ek-se-ek (roughly 'one after another')	no exact equivalent
	(ek-pa-chhi-ar-ko is
	equally poor)
d. baap-re-baap (exclamation of surprise)	no equivalent

There is also the compounding of following nature, which is again the Hindi form:

II
  a. khoj-talaash 'search'
  b. aamne-saamne 'face to face'
  c. muth-bhed 'encounter'
  d. dudh-malaai 'cream of the milk'

These expressions are used in the same form in Nepali as well.

5. IDIOMS AND PHRASES

Some idiomatic and phrasal expressions of Hindi also have found their way into Nepali, as in-

Hindi
Nepali

a.   ba-dha-wa-de-na 'to encourage'   ba-dha-wa-di-nu
Perhaps, for this, Nepali could have expression like *prot-saa-han di-nu* or *abhi-brid-dhi gar-nu*(but perhaps they don't catch the same nuance)

b. range-haath-pakad-na 'to catch red handed'   range-haat-pakad-nu
(The expression must have entered Hindi also from English which ultimately found its way into Nepali).

6.   SYNTAX

Hindi Syntax also seem to be wielding sufficient influence on Nepali.
  a.   The use of *ki* –subordinating conjunction 'that'
  Hindi- us -ne   kah -aa   ki aaj baarish ho-gi
     He ERG say-past that today rain be-past,sg,fem

'He said that it will rain today'
Instead of *ki* the Nepali sentence may have –
Us-le   ke bhan-yo   bhane   aaja paani par-chha
He ERG   what say-past   conjunctive today rain   fall be
- non past
                          Participle   (lit. 'water')

'He said that it will rain today'

  b.   The use of *yadi* 'if'
    Hindi- yadi tum aaye   to main kah□ nahi jaa -
□- gaa
       If you come-pt. then I   anywhere neg. go i[st]
fut,sg,m

    Nepali- yadi timi aayau   bhane ma kah□   jaan
na
       If   you   come-pt then I   anywhere go
neg,fut,sg, i[st]
      'If you come, I won't go anywhere'

Nepali can do equally well without the use of *yadi*

  b.   The use of *raheko* (the -ing form)
    Hindi- wah jaa   rahaa   thaa
         He   go   progressive was

    Nepali- u   gai raheko   thi-yo
        He go progressive was
        'He was going'
Instead of the above form Nepali has-
   U jãã dai   thi-yo
He go progressive was
      'He was going'
The Nepali *dai* progressive form is at the risk of being pushed away by Hindi *rah* form.

CONCLUSION

Looking at the development even superficially like this, it is apparent that we are sufficiently flooded by Hindi. There might be several factors responsible for this, as has been pointed out before. But the major ones are the media- be it visual or print. Therefore, it might be in the interest of everybody concerned to find out the factors and causes and evolve some sort of regulative mechanism- which we don't have so far. Perhaps, a consensus on language planning and a language policy would be the answer. One way in this direction could be that linguists and the practitioners of word craft: Journalists, writers, academicians, form a body to decide on what should or should not be permissible, at the same time keeping in mind the fluid nature of language that keeps changing constantly. Any of the existing apex bodies in this field – be it Royal Nepal Academy or Tribhuvan University can initiate. Though it is easier said than done and there is the question of whether we really want to do it or it ought to be done. The choice is ours.

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Obituary

PROFESSOR DR. BALLAV MANI DAHAL

Professor Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, a noted linguist, educationist and political thinker, passed away on the 7th of November, 2003. He is survived by his wife Dr. Subhadra Subba Dahal. He was born in 1934 in Madi village of Sankhuwasabha district of eastern Nepal. He got interested in linguistics when he was a student in Bananas during the late 1950s through his companionship with Professor Bal Krishna Pokharel, Dr. Taranath Sharma and Mr. Kosh Raj Regmi. They started a linguistic movement called *Jharrovada*, a movemnet for linguistic purism. It rejected the influences of Sanskrit as well as English and Hindi on Nepali and tried to preserve the Nepaliness of the Nepali language.

After being active in political field for some time, he decided to enter into the academic field and joined the Department of Nepali as lecturer in 1968 together with Dr. Basudev Tripathi and Mohan Himanshu Thapa where C.M. Bandhu was already engaged. Appearing of these four new aspiring faces in the department of Nepali was helpful to give a timely new shape to the department and promote teaching and research activities. It was the time when Nepali linguists were motivated to do basic field researches and draw conclusions on the basis of collected corpus. The SIL scholars studying the unwritten languages of Nepal and British scholar like Prof. Alan Davies were instrumental to prepare new atmosphere for the development of the study of modern linguistics in Nepal. I remember the days of Chepang village when Prof. Dahal, Dr. Coughley and myself started a field work. Within the period of our field work we learned the methodology and were able to analyse the phonological aspect of the language. As a result of this field work, we published   two papers: "Chepang Segmental Phonemes" and "Notes on Chepang Culture".

In 1970 Dahal, Bandhu , Hale and Holzhausen co-authored "Nepali Segmental Phonology." This paper was based on the methods of phonological analysis in American structuralism. It provided us a very good basis for the second time to do independent studies of the phonological system. Later, Dahal worked again with additional data of Nepali at Deccan College Poona when he joined the Linguistics Department at Pune for his PH.D. Thesis on the descriptive studies of Literary and Colloquial Nepali, which he submitted in 1974 .

After completing his Ph.D. he returned to teach at the Central Department of Nepali, where he taught linguistics and Nepali until his retirement in 2001.During this period he wrote several papers in Nepali and English languages. He took interest in the modernization of Nepali by simplifying the spelling system and by encouraging several teachers to work on various aspects of Nepali. He chaired the Nepali Subject Committee which worked to develop curriculum and programs as a compulsory subject in the higher education. He advocated for the need of communicative Nepali for the students who will be working with common people after their education. He held the view that the curriculum should be functional so that their communication skill could be developed with the application of knowledge. Learning and transfer of learning becomes easier if the subject matter is available in the language in which they already have their competence. He presented numerous papers and gave lectures on the role of Nepali in developing higher education.

Professor Dahal played an important role in establishing Linguistic Society of Nepal In 1979 and was founder member of the society. He was also elected as a president of the Society for a term of two years. He had been always active in the sessions of the society and strongly argued to establish the Department of Linguistics within Tribhuvan University which was established in 1996. Professor Dahal was professor emeritus in the department until his untimely death.

Professor Dahal's contribution in Nepali lexicography is notable. He worked as one of the editors of the Nepali dictionary published by the Royal Nepal Academy. This   dictionary was important in several different ways. One of the important facts with this dictionary was that it helped to systematize the spelling system of Nepali which was being practiced by the students and teachers of the Tribhuvan University. He was also a co-editor of a Nepali English dictionary with Ruth Laila Schmidt, published by Ratna Sagar of New Delhi.

Professor Dahal co-authored with his wife Dr. Subhadra Subba .As Dr.Subba has been working in the field of sociolinguistics at the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies he developed his expertise in sociolinguistics. Dr. Dahal held a balanced view on the sociolinguistic situation of Nepal. He pleaded that all the national languages of Nepal should be promoted by using them effectively for primary education. He held the view that the linguistic pluralism is a reality as well as the beauty of the country. He also co-authored a book on phonological process and phonological theory with Bal Krishna Pokharel. He published some of the papers related to the historical linguistics and historical study of the Nepal language. He inspired his students to work hard in historical linguistics.

Professor Dahal worked in various committees related to language and education within TU and HMG . He had been always transparent in his views strongly pleading to work for the benefit of the country. He outlined the policies and programs for education in general and higher education in particular.

Professor Dahal was a man of multi-faceted merits. He had keen interests in many fields. Some of the fields outside linguistics can be counted as Tibetan studies, Ethnology, Folklore and Literature. Communication etc.

After the retirement, he was more active with his students and colleagues. As a Founder Principal of S.M. College, where he was working as a Principal until his death, he has put his missions and visions. He had been always inspiring for the academic progress of the students whom he met. He always spoke with spirits of national development and academic excellence.

Untimely death of professor Dr. Dahal is a great loss to the Nepalese. The country has lost a patriot Nepali, a linguist and a thinker. He was our Guru, friend and philosopher in real sense.

Following is a partial listing of his works in Linguistics written in Nepali and English languages:

1970   "Phonesthetic elements in Nepali". **Proceedings of the Fist All India Conference of Linguistics,** Poona: Linguistic Society of India and also in eds. Yadava , Yogendra P. and Warren W. Glover **Topics in Nepalese Linguistics**, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy

1974   "Description of Nepali: Literary and Colloquial", Poona University Ph.D. dissertation.

1975   "Linguistic Perspectives and Priorities in Nepal " in eds. P. R. Sharama, L.C. Friedman **Seminar Papers in Linguistics, problems and perspectives in linguistic studies,** Kirtipur:INAS,pp.153-167

1976   "Nepali Bhasha ra Kosh" (Neapali Language and Dictioanary) Nepali Language and Dictionary"

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2037vs   "nepalma ciniya tibbati bhashaharuko parivarik vargikaran" (Classification of Sino-Tibetan falguage family in Nepal) Vadngmaya 1:21-38.

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Dahal and Schmidt

1993   Schmidt, Ruth Laila and and Ballabh Mani Dahal, APractical Dictionary of Modern Nepali, Delhi: Ratna Sagar.

Dahal,Sharama, Bandhu, Adhikari and Subedi

2001   Dahal, Ballabhamani, Mohan Raj Sharma, Churamani Bandhu, Hemanga Raj Adhikari and Lala Nath Subedi, **Sikshak Nirdeshika** "Teacher's Guide" , Kathmandu : Curriculum Development Centre,

Dahal and Regmi

2059   rastra bhasha ra rashtriya bhashaharuko saha yatra , a paper read at the conference organized by the Royal Nepal Academy

(Prof. Dr. C.M. Bhandhu, Department of Linguistics, TU)

Abstracts-2002

Exclusivity and Inclusivity in Chamling Rai
Bagdevi Rai

In this paper, I examine factors of exclusivity and inclusivity in Chamling Rai, a Kiranti Tibetan-Burman language spoken in eastern Nepal. The language has exclusive vs. inclusive distinctions in the dual and plural first person, both for the non-past and past tense. A table will be presented summarizing all the 8 different of types of exclusive and inclusive markings.

Discourse in Short Term Memory
Elif Leyla

During the process of discourse in short term memory, various structures are assigned to the propositions gathered from the text. Some of these structures are assigned to the micro-structural level, i.e. local or global coherence. To reach to the macro-structural level, macro-rules are applied to the propositions gathered at the micro-structural level and enriched by the contribution of old knowledge. Finally, the information obtained at the macro level is organized into supper-structures, i.e. narrative super-structures.

It seems that each language constrains its user with a language and culture specific narrative schema. More precisely, this could be referred to as just culture specific schema since the cultures of a society includes the language(s) of the society.

EFL students who start learning and FL usually bring their culture specific narrative super-structure to the learning process. Learners' own-culture specific narrative schemata may help them in interpreting narratives in the target language when their own culture-specific schema resembles the narrative schemata of the target language.

The next step in the present paper will be to include super-structure activities which are designed to ease the job of the FLL's (Foreign Language Leaners) who have narrative schemata other than English culture specific narrative super-structures.

Remarks on Origin and Evolution of Causatives in Newāri
Yogesh Raj
sutha@unlimit.com

This paper begins with the ways in which lexical and syntactic causative constructions are formed in Newāri and goes on to evaluate different claims on the origin and evolution of these in the light of ancient Classical Newāri data (NS 235/ 1114 AD - NS 520/ 1400 AD). It will be argued here that more reliable hypothesis could be formed when first, spatial and temporal dialects of Newāri are explored for the clues and then, the hypothesis is verified against the data from other TB cognate languages.

The Nature of Narrative Text in Dzongkha: Evidence from Connectives and Deitic Elements
Stephen A. Watters

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the two functions ascribed to connective relations in Rudolph (1988) in Dzongkha narrative texts, and to demonstrate that 1) the complementary distribution of connectives (and the semantic relations they encode) correlates almost perfectly with its function as a connective, 2) that this function mirrors other deictic encoding at work in the text, and 3) to posit that these systems mirror some sort of deictic center inherent in narrative text in Dzongkha. I analyze several texts which come from an anthology of classic Bhutanese stories. The text demonstrates narrative surface encoding, but is underlyingly hortatory (Longacre 1983). I use the approach outlined by Rudolph (1988) for determining connective relations. In addition, I use the approach outlined by Mann and Thompson (1988) for determining the hierarchic nature of the text.

This study confirms that narratives encode an implicit deictic element. This deictic element is encoded in place, person, and time deictic elements. Somewhat uniquely, however, connectives in Dzongkha correlate with the distribution found in deictic elements. This is posited to be a function of the nature of narrative text and connective relations in Dzongkha. Events in the past are distant, and the semantic relations which join those events are mostly predetermined by the way the speaker views those events through time and distance. Quoted speech on the other hand is present, and the semantic relations which join those events are less predetermined and encode a variety of opinions and views. This distribution, however, is not obligatory, but rather is posited to be stylized for the view point particular to narrative-legend.

The Category of Tense in Manipuri
Tika Ram Poudel
trpoudel@hotmail.com

Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages are mood prominent languages (Bhat 1999, Kansakar 2001). According to Bhat (1999), the criteria to determine the prominence of verbal categories are grammaticalization, obligatoriness, systemeticity and pervasiveness. Following Bhat's criteria, Manipuri, a major TB language, is not a mood prominent language. Greater prominence to tense and aspect, rather than to mood, makes Manipuri typologically

different from the languages of TB family. In this paper, I argue that the historic contact of Manipuri with Indo-European languages is the possible reason of this trend in Manipuri because Indo-European languages are either tense or aspect prominent, rather than mood prominent languages.

Deontic Modality System in Thakali
Narayan P Sharma
Kathmandu

This paper is an attempt to explore the deontic modality system in the Thakali language. There are four types of imperative markers. In hortative, the suffix <-cyo> is affixed with the stem. The prohibitive prefix <-thə> precedes the verb stem in imperative but the negative prefix <-a> precedes the verb stem in hortative. The suffix <-le> can be attached to any imperative to make the order a bit softer and politer. We can find some specific honorific stems in Thakali but the majority of the verbs do not have different stems for honorific. Any verbs can be used for honorific speech by adding suffix <-lə> within the stem as well as other separate stem <cəhy>.

Orthography issues in Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal
Anna Maria Hari

Though most of the TB lanugages in Nepal are still basically unwritten languages, in many groups some people have made individul attempts to write some things down. In those amateur attempts we generally observe that people are heavily leaning on the Tibetan orthography system. This especially concerns the representation of low register morphemes in those languages. The question arises whether an orthography modeled on Tibetan does justice to the phonological system of the language in question.

In persuing this matter we will first look at the phonemic contrasts of Lhasa Tibetan, and then compare these with the phonemic systems of some of the TB languages of Nepal. In particular, I will be discussing Yohlmo (=Helambu Sherpa), Thakali, and Western Tamang, since these are the languages I have had most contact with.

In this brief presentation I will not be able to say anything about the vowel representation in those languages. We will concentrate on the consonants, since this is the area with the most knotty issues.

The Foregrounding, Defining, And Topicalizing Functions Of The Possessive Pronominal Clitic, "a-", In Bahing Rai
Maureen Lee

The 3rd person singular possessive pronominal clitic, "a-", is a very productive one that occurs frequently in the discourse of Bahing Rai, often in contexts in which its genitive value is obvious to the native-speaker, but not

immediately so to the non-native speaker.   Upon closer examination, it is found that this clitic, while retaining a default third person possessive pronominal sense, may sometimes have other accompanying functions.
This paper, a work still in progress, attempts to explore the pragmatic functions of this clitic, as well as the relationship between these functions and the clitic's inherent genitive value.

Towards an Explanation of Diphthongization of Mid-vowels in Dangaura Tharu
Edward Daniel Boehm

Diphthongization is a prominent phonological process in Dangaura Tharu, an Indo-Aryan language, spoken in the Inner Tarai and Tarai of Midwestern and Western Nepal. Specifically, the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/, in certain instances, are diphthongized to [ja] and [wa] respectively, as in:

(1a)	['kʰel.na]	'play'	['kʰja.ləl]	'he/she/it played'
	['bol.na]	'speak'	['bwa.ləl]	'he/she/it spoke'
(1b)	['don.drəm]	'in the cave'	['d̥wã.d̥ɾer]	'cave'
(1c)	['t̥ʰek.na]	'waist' (used by men)	['t̥ʰja.kən]	'waist' (used by women)

(Note the locative suffix is [-əm])

In this brief sketch, a simplified lexical phonology framework, in conjunction with an autosegmental view of syllable structure and timing units, is used to demonstrate that the above instances of diphthongization are, in essence, special cases of compensatory lengthening. This lengthening is triggered by the addition of a vowel-initial suffix (1a & b) or a vowel infix (1c), which prompts resyllabification, leaving the first syllable open, that is, with an empty timing slot. This empty slot is then filled through diphthongization of the mid-vowel to fill two timing slots, the semi-vowel, [j] or [w], plus [a].

However, further complexity is encountered with mid-vowels in open syllables that apparently do not diphthongize, as well as cases o diphthongization in consonant-final monosyllabic words:

(2)	['kʰe.lu]	'I used to play'	['kʰja.ləs]	'You (LGH) used to play'
	['kʰe.lo]	'You (MGH) used to play'	['kʰja.lə]	'He/she/it (LGH) used to play'

Note: LGH = Low-grade honorific, MGH = Mid-grade honorific, HGH = High-grade honorific

(3)   [ṭjal]   'oil'   [ɾwaɡ]   'disease'

       [pjaṭ]   'belly'   [bʰwadʒ]   'wedding'

Again a basic lexical phonology framework, with additional stratums of vowel harmony (2) or suffix deletion (3), are proposed to explain the above data.

In addition, the diphthongization of mid-vowels is discussed in a cross-linguistic context, as similar processes are found in other Indo-Aryan and Indo-European languages. This raises the question: Why does diphthongization of mid-vowels often occur cross-linguistically as a sequence of /ua/ or /ia/ or vice versa? In answer to this question, a brief look at the merits of one dependency phonology account of diphthongization will be discussed in conclusion.

Language Shift in the Newar Communities of the Kathmandu Valley

Nirmal M. Tuladhar
Reader in Linguistics
Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University

Newar or Nepal Bhasa is the language spoken in the Kathmandu valley since prehistoric times. The 2001 National Census reports there are 1.24 million Newars living in Nepal, half of who are in the Kathmandu valley. Newar has linguistically recognized as an important language belonging to the Himalayan subgroup of the Bodic languages with a literary tradition. About 66% of them speak Newar as their mother tongue while the rest have switched over to Nepali, the national language of Nepal.

This paper will attempt to examine the factors contributing to the language shift among the Newars living in the Kathmandu valley. With the narration of case studies it would identify the causes of language shift such as:

- Sanskritization
- Nepali-Only legislation
- The education system
- Religion
- Attitude of the native speakers

The second part of paper would present an overview of the current status of Newar after the dawn of democracy in 1990 and the implementation of new constitution that recognizes all languages of Nepal as languages of the nation while Nepali as national and official language. It would further investigate

whether a tendency of reversing language shift has emerged because of a surge of use of Newar both on print and electronic media.

The meanings of the auxiliary verb *mâle* in Newar

Kazuyuki Kiryu
Mimasaka Women's College

In this presentation, I will take a deeper look at the usages of the auxiliary verb *mâle* in Kathmandu Newar. The auxiliary verb is often described as meaning 'to need to, to be necessary to' or 'must' in the Newar-English dictionaries. When we give a careful examination in discourse, however, we will find out that it means more than those attested, and that even when they mean necessity or obligation, they differ depending of tense, aspect and modality. This point is well illustrated in the following examples:

(1)   *cyâ twane   mâla.*
         tea drink.FC AUX.PD
         'I want to drink some tea.' (desire)

(2)   a. *burhâ-burhi-pin-ta   hane   mâ:*
          elder.people-PL-DAT respect.FC AUX.ST
          'We must/need to respect elder   people.'(obligation/necessity)

       b. *pulis-yâta   dhâe mâli:*
          police-DAT   say.FC AUX.FD
          'We will have to tell the police.' (obligation/necessity)

       c. *ji   kanhae   yê-e   wane ma-ni*
          I.ABS tomorrow kathmandu-LOC go.FC AUX-still.
          'I have to go to Kathmandu tomorrow.' (obligation/necessity)

       d. *pokharâ-e   cha-ka: wane mâli:*
          Pokhara-LOC one-time go.FC AUX.FD
          'I think I will go to Pokhara once.' (yet-to-be-determined future plan)

(1) shows that the auxiliary verb can also mean desire, but this use of the auxiliary is more restricted than 'want to' in English, which, in Newar, often corresponds to *V+mâste wa:* or *V+gu mâ du*, all expressing 'desire/hope'. In this presentation, for one thing, I will discuss the differences among the three expressions for desire/hope.

Secondly, I will discuss the differences among the three possible expressions '*mâ:*', '*mâni*', and '*mâli:*' when they express obligation/necessity meanings and describe how they are different from other expressions for obligation/necessity.

Finally, I will discuss about the verb forms shown by the auxiliary verb in terms of tense, aspect and modality as far as discussing the modality-oriented feature of Newar verb system.

On Phonemic Numeral māgha (329)
From the Early Licchavi Inscription of Cabahi
Kashinath Tamot

We have single inscription from Varman period (185-407) of Nepalese history. There are more than 200 inscriptions from Licchavi period (407-879). Among them inscription from Cabahil is the earliest according to Dhanavajra Vajracharya (22nd in H.R. Joshi, 1974, 12th in D.R. Regmi, 1983). But historians describe the inscription without having date and incomplete. Actually, the inscription is complete as it is and there is date māgha mentioned as phonemic numeral (Regmi, 1983) explains māgha as Jupiter's month, which could not be so as the style of writing here. There are five types of numerals used in inscription and manuscripts to indicate the time of issue. Here is cited of year 329.

1. Syllabic numeral - i (graphic, with one more stroke in ā) tha ḍo (300+20+9)
2. Phonemic numeral - m-ā-gh-a (25+200+4+100)
3. Figure - Pronouncing word numeral:
   (Sanskrit): una-triṃsa-uttara (or adhika)
   tri-satam [(30-1) + (3 x 100)]
   Nepali: Tina-saya unan-tisa
   [(3 x 100) + (30-1)]
   Newari: sva-sah va hi-i-gu
   [(3 x 100) + (2 x 10) + 9]
4. Free word numeral- nidhi-nayana-agni
   [nine-eyes-fire]
   [923=329]
5. Figure numeral- 329[(3 x 100) + 20 + 9]

Plural Marker in Dhulikhel Newari Dialect: A Comparative Study
Dr. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha
Central Dept. of Nepalbhasa
TU

As a preliminary step, this paper is prepared based on my own collections of data. The object of presenting this paper is to show the use of plural marker in Dhulikhel Newari dialect which is different from other dialects of Nepalbhasa. In this dialect the plurality is marked with the only one of the proto-plural morpheme /-pā:/ without any change, suffixed to the animate nouns including kinship terms, pronouns, adjectives, participles, etc. even today.

A Typological Introduction to Lohorung
Tanka Prasad Neupane

Lohorung is a language of Rai-Kirant family as well as an ethnic group of Sankhuwasabha. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the habitation, population, genetic affiliation, phonology, morphosyntax, constituent order and genitive construction of the Lohorung.

Bridging Gaps in Translation: An Experience of Rendering Nepali Short Fiction into English

Dr. Govinda Raj Bhattarai

Translating literary texts is practically an impossible yet an unavoidable activity. It is the gaps or voids between two languages that render translating difficult, sometimes an impossible activity. The gaps are created by different factors. The present paper is an attempt to record some of the practical problems created by gaps of different sorts while Nepali shorter function into English.

Hindiisation of Nepal ?
Lekhnath S. Pathak
Dept. of English Education
TU

Language contact results in language change. 'Borrowing' as well call it, (perhaps, 'push' or 'pull' would justify the process better) takes place chiefly, either -(I) when there are no words to express a particular concept in a language, or (II) when the extant word can not express the concept entirely. The word entering in a language like this gains its full legitimacy in the language and is well assimilated. However, a word may also enter a language when there are not necessarily the above two conditions. In such a case the 'guest' enters the host language and may replace the counterpart 'host' that is rendered redundant by the presence of a new comer of equal status. There can not exist two words in a language that express exactly the same concept (the synonyms convey different shades of meaning).

Hindi and Nepali belong to the same language-family: Indo-Aryan. Because both the languages have Sanskrit as their progenitor and since both the language have plenty of lexical items which are exactly the same in the both the languages for many concepts, it is difficult to say categorically that a particular word is either only Hindi or only Nepali. However, there are differences at lexical level itself and phonological, morphological and syntactic level. That is why we have two different languages. And they are two different languages because of inherent differences in both of them. More than Nepali influencing Hindi, Hindi has been influencing Nepali (the reason for the phenomena is not the domain of the present paper). This paper will attempt to

show how Nepali is being affected by Hindi in phonological, lexical, morphological level and how in certain cases it is even replacing or pushing out Nepali forms.

The Notions of Subject and Topic in Newar

Tej R. Kansakar
Tribhuvan University
tejk@ccsl.com.np

Newar is one of the oldest Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman languages with an old written tradition. Although contemporary forms of the language have been analyzed and studied by various scholars and linguists, both native and foreign, the roles of 'subject' and 'topic' in Newar sentence structures have not received much attention. The category of subject denotes a particular grammatical function in a sentence, but in Newar the subject has no agreement control with the verb unless the nominal in the subject position is an agent or actor. The notion of 'topic', on the other hand, is often recognized as a discourse-oriented identity and is therefore more difficult to define its properties. The basic question that is raised in this paper is whether the syntactic constructions in Newar are oriented more to topic relations than subject-predicate relation, i.e., can we argue for Newar as a topic-prominent rather than a subject-prominent language ? This subject-topic relation in Newar supports the arguments put forward by Li & Thompson (1976:445-489) that a typological distinction can be made between languages with subject-predicate relations and topic-comment relations. The subject in this sense is a sentence-internal notion and topic a discourse notion with no selection relationship with the verb. Further, we can identify the case roles of nominal and non-nominal subjects in Newar as an agent, patient or dative-experiencer subject and their relationship with the direct/indirect object nouns. Such grammar relations are a part of what Givon (1984:139) refers to as the "topic accession hierarchy" which is a ranking order of the various case-roles of subject or direct object as topics in discourse. The primary purpose of this paper, therefodre, is to demonstrate that the subject-verb relationship in Newar is not well established as in subject-prominent languages like English and other Indo-European languages, and that semantic concepts such as topic and comment, theme and focus are of primary importance in the organization of its grammar. This may well be the case with the majority of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal.

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Personal Naming in Sherpas of Thame and Khumjung Valley of Khumbu region of Solu-khumbu District, Sagarmatha zone

Amrit Yonzan-Tamang
amrityongan@yahoo.com

The Sherpa language belongs to Tibetan language family. This paper deals with a personal naming in Sherpa community of Khumbu region of Solu-khumbu district of Sagarmath zone. Personal naming in Sherpa community is mainly based on the name of the days of the weeks: **Nima** (Sunday), **Dawa** (Monday), **Mingma(r)** (Tuesday), **Lhakpa** (Wednesday), **Phurba** (Thursday), **Pasang** (Friday) and **Pemba** (Saturday). These names are common for male and female. Secondly, *remporche-* 'incarnated lama' or head *lama* of the monastery gives name on written form when child is in the womb. This is disclosed in the time of the name giving ceremony of the child. It is called *phoming* (*pho*-womb, *ming*- name). Thirdly, when first child died then an inauspicious name is given to the child by their parents. Lastly, religious name is given by the *lama guru* on the time of *taptse* – 'hair shaving ceremony.' Second name of the community indicates the gender of the children.

Teaching of English for Science and Technology (EST) with Reference to IOE

Dr.R.N. Khanal

This article is concerned with an application of ELT principles and procedures for specific purposes towards preparing a ground for devising an English curriculum for the Institutes of Engineering. This article covers two major aspects-English in the Nepalese context and an ESP approach for developing an ELT curriculum for engineering students.

In today's context of Nepal where English language is essential to learn scientific and technical skills and ideas, the emphasis on teaching English for engineering students is highly desirable. Without this language in the present context, the learning of engineering subjects is not possible. This language is essential not only for teaching and learning engineering knowledge and technology but also for engineering students to perform their jobs effectively in future. Without English in Nepal, the entire process of scientific and technical communication breaks down in the present context. The technical brilliance of the engineers remains unused and eventually it remains unnoticed and unappreciated without this language. In fact, the importance of English can hardly be exaggerated in the technical fields in the present context of the nation.

The realization of the importance of teaching English for scientific and technical purposes naturally inspires every one who is concerned with this problem to endeavour towards making teaching of this language at the technical institutes more useful, effective and efficient. The problem of developing a need based curriculum is very complex and demands a consideration on a number of factors connected with linguistics and language teaching/learning along with many other factors associated with educational principles and practices. At the same time, it demands considerations of the prevailing ELT situations at the educational institutes.

The present article stresses that the practice of developing a model English curriculum for the Institute of Engineering therefore should be based on a theoretical framework formulated through a study of relevant materials, and should be supported by the collective experience of the teachers and students in the Institute.

Causativization in Tamang
Krishna Chalise
Central Dept. of Linguistics
TU

There is only a system of causativization in Tamang which is appplicable to all types of basic clauses. The construction can be formalized as following:

V-*na* + *la*
Verb-causative morpheme + 'do' verb
The construction is periphrastic one.

Spatial Deixies in Some Kirati Languages
Novel K. Rai

This paper is based on ten different Kirati languages from the eastern Nepal. They are Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling, Thulung, Chhintang, Wambule, Jero Koyu, Sunuwar and Limbu. Some verbs, cases and pronouns of these languages will be presented in order to show spatial deixies marking. Some of the languages such as Bantawa, Chamling and Khaling are marked overtly and extensively and the rests are marked only in the verbs. the sample verbs are 'come' and 'bring' for this purpose.

Verb Agreement in the Languages of Nepal
Madhav P. Pokharel
Central Dept. of Linguistics
Tribhuvan University
madappokhrel@yahoo.com

In this typology survey of languages spoken in Nepal we can classify the languages basically into two groups, viz. languages that have verb agreement and those that do not. Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Hyolmu, Meche (endonym Bodo), Sherpa and Jirel are the languages that do not have verb agreement. The rest of the languages have verb agreement of the type of the other. The languages that have verb agreement can be further classified into two groups. In the one there are languages that show Nominative-Accusative pattern, in the other there are languages with Ergative-Absolutive pattern. Standard Nepali, Churete, Majhi, Darai, Danuwar, Magar, Dhimal, Kusunda, Newar and its dialects like Pahari and Dolakha represent Nominative-Accusative split while the pattern found in Chamling and Nepali dialects of Darchula, Baitadi, Bajhang and Achham has Ergative-Asolutive split in a subset of data. Among these languages Magar, Dhimal and Kusunda show subject pronominalization, but Chamling possibly has complex pronominalization. If we follow Givon (1979, 1984) verb agreement of other languages could also represent historical development of pronominalization.

The rest of the languages in our data represent complex pronominalization. The languages that follow this pattern are Austroasiasatic Satar (or Santal), Limbu, Tibeto-Burman Bantawa, Belhare, Athpare, Yamphu, Khaling, Yakkha, Thangmi, Chhiling and Indo-Aryan Maithili and Darai. Verb-agreement of Limbu and several other Kiranti languages noted above also shows the contrast of transitivity in that if the verb is intransitive, it is in the middle voice and if the verb is transitive, it is in the active voice.

Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali (dialects), Churaute, Majhi and Darai show difference of gender and honorificity in verb agreement. Some of the languages of this family like Danuwar and Rajbamshi do not show contrast of gender. Maithili has gender distinction only in a subset of data, but it has developed honorificity with different intricacy and delicacy.

Verb agreement in the language of Nepal shows the interplay of different grammatical categories like number (singular, dual, plural), gender (feminine, nonfeminine), person (first, second and third), animacy hierarchy, participant roles, inclusiveness of the listener, honorificity, transitivity, ergativity, role played by postpositions, obligation, volitionality, reflexivity, reciprocity and other voice-categories like active-middle or active-passive paradigms. Maithili stands out in its verb agreement patterns dominated by pragmatic factors.

Verb Serialization in Nepali
C.M. Bandhu
Tribhuvan University

Nepali, the national language of Nepal shares some of the linguistic features with other Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of the area. Verbal concatenation for predication and clause chaining is one of them.

Nepali is remarkable in the use of verbs in sequence. Various Nepali tenses and aspects are expressed in combination with participles and auxiliary

verbs. Compound verbs are used to give additional meaning to the verb as predicates. The participles are also used for clause chaining.

This paper attempts to describe the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of Nepali verb serialization. In the first of this paper a review of various earlier studies in verbal tense-aspect construction, compounding, clause chaining, verb serialization and converbal constructions will be made. The second part of the paper presents analysis of various types of verb serialization in Nepali and their morpho-syntacti and semantic features. The concluding part of the paper outlines the findings of the paper.

Tense System in Danuwar
Bhabendra Bhandari

This paper presents some Danuwari sentences collected from Kabhre. The paper attempts to analyze the tense system in Danuwar and the morphemes that mark tenses. Past and non-past tenses are marked by different suffixes in the verb stem. The paper will also summarize the findings.

Personal Pronouns in Koyu
Bhim Narayan Regmi

Koyu is a Kirati language. It is one of the endangered and undescribed languages of Nepal. It is spoken originally in Khotang district of Eastern Nepal and in Morang, Jhapa and Kathmandu districts by migrated peoples. As other Kirati languages, Koyu has three number-singular, dual and plura-system, inclusive and exclusives in dual and plural first person pronouns, two grades of honorificity - honorific and nonhonorific - in second person, three degrees of diecticity - proximate, distal and far distal - in third person (and demonstrative) pronouns, and one third person referential - pronouns. This paper presents a brief account of personal pronouns, in the Koyu language.

Negativization in Kumal
Bhim Lal Gautam
Tribhuvan University

Kumal one of the minority languages of Nepal describes the following negativization process:
1. General Negative < - *ni* >
   For negation particle <-*ni*> is prefixed with the verb for general statements.
2. Special Negative < - *jin* >
   In all kinds of imperative expressions particle < *jin*-> is added with the verb.

English in Nepal
Mohan Sitoula

The following major topics are dealt with in this discourse:
1. The First Nepali Beginners of English: Nepalese of various walks of life living in India, the British. Gorkha soldier, porters, watchman, students, teachers, writers, publishes and pilgrims working and roaming in India.
2. The Role of Non-Nepalese writers to bring English in Nepal: Christian missionaries, English diplomats, tourists, researchers and other writers, educationists and advisors.
3. The Bulk of English Produced by the Nepalese in Nepal:
   a. A Great Tradition and Development: Previous and later Government writings, Durbar H, School, TC College, Journals like 'Indreni' and individual efforts, Tribhuvan University and etc the followings:
   b. English in Education
   c. English in the Literary Field
   d. English in the Fourth State of Nepal
   e. English in Translation Scenarios of Nepal
      I.   In defense of Translation
      II.   A Short history of Translation in Nepal
      III. Translation Abuses
4. English in the Miscellaneous Areas
5. Conclusion
6. Some Suggestions

The Process of Languages Acquisition and Language Loss: the Case of Kusunda Speakers
Ingrid and Sueyoshi Toba

A mother of a young child told us how far her son replied; "I am not patient, I am baby." thus equating an adjective 'patient' with a noun. This is an illustrative example for the process of language acquisition, showing that nouns learnt first, later verbs and other parts of speech.

On the other hand, language loss processes in reverse order as we observed in the case of one Kusunda speaker who remembers only nouns while thirty years ago an old Kusunda man could give us many phrases and tell us a short story.

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Linguistic Research in Nepal so far
Sueyoshi Toba

As I compiled Addenda to <u>A Bibliography of Nepalese Languages and Linguistics</u> (B.N.L.L.). I found out that so many thesis and dissertations have been out to say nothing about articles. It is good to note that many scholars and students have made a great effort to learn Nepalese languages and written down in a systematic way for the other linguists.

My attempt here is to show you what has been accomplished in language-wise as much as possible. Scholars who want to do field research will find which language and topic need more attention through this report. I hope that more linguists will engage in the linguistic work fresh from the living field. These are much to be done in Nepal. Then general linguists can do the comparative work as well as language universal research.

Relativization in Saptariya Tharu
Kedar Prasad Poudel
Mahendra Multiple Campus, Dharan

Tharu belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. The Tharu people who live in the Terai regions of Sunsari and Morang districts speak two different dialects: Saptariya Tharu and Morangiya Tharu. This paper describes the relativivation in Saptariya Tharu as spoken in Sunsari district.

Saptariya Tharu is rich in relativization. Relative clauses in this dialect are two types: prenominal: and postnominal. Prenominal clauses may be finite and non-finite, whereas postnominal clauses are only the finite. Demonstrative pronoun can be retained within the postnominal relative clauses. In surface structure prenominal relative clauses may occur as headless clauses. Only the relative pronouns may occur as relativizers.

This paper is divided into 6 sections: introduction in (1), positions of relatives clauses in (2), pronoun retention in (3), the occurrence of headless clauses in (4), relativizers/relative pronouns in (5) and conclusions in (6).

Endangered Language, Moribund Language, 'killer' Language ...
Vishnu S Rai

There are over 6000 languages in the world and over 100 languages in Nepal, and new languages are still being discovered. But statistics show that some 1500 languages have fewer than 1000 speakers. Languages are dying fast. It is estimated that 90% of the world language will be dead by 2100 if steps are not taken preserve and promote them. Languages in this respect, are classified as dead, endangered and 'killer' languages. We find all three kinds in Nepal. Languages should be preserved because they give us identity, foster culture, and help maintain bio-diversity. If a language dies a culture dies too, and it affects bio-diversity in the long run. Many languages are in the verge of

extinction in Nepal. They should be and can be saved–a good language policy and planning is needed to serve this purpose. Nepal can learn from the languages policies adopted or being adopted in India, Turkey and Papua New Guinea. Languages can be preserved and promoted by providing them opportunity to be used, by making them medium of instructions in schools, by introducing bilingual education in schools, and so on. Nepal is a multilinguistic country, and her languages should be taken as an asset and not as a hindrance to the national development.

Relativization in Newar Syntax
Jyoti Pradhan

This study deals with relativization in terms of *movement, position, copying and chopping* of the head in Newar syntax.

There is no distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause found in Newar data. Relativization from movement if more common tendency evident in Newar expression. Both clause-initial and clause-medial positions of the relative pronoun are clearly evident. Chopping of the head is also clearly evident. So far as the tendency to copy, correlate and modifying the head is concerned, they are found used for emphatic expression. Regarding the presence of the head, the relative clause without a head is found common in Newar speech. The Newar data show relativization on possessives, finite as well as non-finite verbs. They also reflect embedded and adjoined relative clauses.

Awadhi Phonology
Vishwanath Pathak

Awadhi is a language of Indo-European Family of Indo-Aryan Sub-branch. This language is spoken in India and Nepal. The language community of Awadhi lies between the community of Bhojpuri in east and Kannauji in west. In Nepal, it extends from the Narayani river in the east to the Nepalese border in west and the Tharu and the Nepali langauge in North.

1. Phonology
2. Supra-segmental Phonemes
3. Morphophonemic Alternations
4. Features of Awadhi Phonology

Morphophonemics of the Bote Verbs
Kamal Paudel
Tribhuvan University

This paper discuses different types of morphophonemic alternations of the verbs when they undergo the affixation process, for example the verb *kha-* is transformed into *khəi-* when it is followed by a verbal affix *-tihi.* In this, *a-* is changed into *əi-*. We know this process as diphthongization.

Presidential Address
Yogendra P Yadava
President, Linguistic Society of Nepal

Honorable Vice-Chancellor and Chief Guest, Shree Naveen Prakash Jung Shah, Secretary-Treasurer, University Grants Commission
The Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Distinguished linguists and scholars
as the President of the Linguistic Society of Nepal for the dur
Ladies and Gentlemen:ation 2002-2003. With the support of its execu
Let me first express my thanks to the LSN Assembly to elect me tive committee and other linguists, it will be, I hope, possible for us to sustain and consolidate the great On behalf of the LSN, we take this opportunity to extend our tradition of this society and fulfil its mission.

Warm welcome to the Chief Guest, Honorable Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, Shree Naveen Prakash Jung Shah. Similarly, we would like to welcome ...., University Grants Commission, the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, distinguished linguists and scholars. There will be 35 paper presenters and a sizable number of other participants. We very much appreciate their interest and enthusiasm in contributing to the success of this event in particular.

Since its inception in 1979, the LSN has been organizing its annual conferences uninterruptedly and also occasional seminars and workshops. The Society has served as a forum for both the Nepalese and foreign linguists to articulate and discuss their findings in theoretical and applied research related to language and linguistics, esp. grounded in Nepalese context but with universal implications. For a broader and more lasting resource for the dissemination of knowledge, the LSN has so far published 19 volumes of its journal *Nepalese Linguistics* and one monograph, entitled *Occasional Papers in Nepalese Linguistics* as a supplement to the journal. We are glad that we could manage to bring out the improved issue of the journal with the generous offer made by a foremost publisher in Nepal, namely, Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

The LSN has completed 22 years of its strenuous efforts in advocating the importance and utility of linguistic studies and promoting them. We note with great satisfaction that with the policy and interest of Tribhuvan University in incorporating fresh academic fields within its curricula, the Society succeeded in opening the Central Department of Linguistics (CDL) at the University campus, Kirtipur. The CDL, set up in 1996, has been functioning as a teaching-cum-research centre comprising its faculty of both native and foreign linguists, Master's and doctoral level students. In upgrading the programmes and activities of the Department, we have been receiving support from the Dean (HSS), CNAS, Faculty of Education (English), and, above all,

the senior linguists from Nepal and abroad. We are glad to inform you that our students have formed Kathmandu Linguistis Club to boost up linguistic activities and bring out *Newsletter* on regular basis. In addition, we are delighted to announce that Tribhuvan University has introduced the teaching of linguistics as a subject at B. A. Level. Initially, it has been launched at S.M.B. Campus, Rajbiraj and is to be extended to other campuses later. The teaching of linguistics already exists at Higher Secondary level; there are more than half a dozen institutions running this programme.

More recently, the linguistic community in Nepal as well as abroad has envisaged to enhance the scope of linguistic studies in tune with our national requirements. Some of the major agenda are the following:

(1) Linguistic Survey of Nepal

The Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LINSUN) project proposes to identify and analyze Nepal's languages including details about their lexicon, grammar, variation, anthropological aspects, and other facts related to an interdisciplinary approach to research. The major significance of this project is as follows:

"While the ethnic groups of Nepal and their languages have been studied by foreign and national scholars alike for well over a century, it is only in the last decade that ethnic and linguistic sensitivities have risen to a national consciousness. Many within the Nepalese context are calling for the rights of ethnic and linguistic communities, but those in leadership are often unable to act even though the Constitution guarantees the right to mother tongue education for everyone. One problem is that much remains to be understood about the ethnic groups of Nepal and their languages: how many languages are spoken within her boundaries, how the speakers of these languages interrelate with one another and the broader national community, and how distinct the cultures and languages within a broad ethnic group are.

The fact that there are varying reports as to the number of languages spoken in Nepal highlights the need for a clearer understanding of the current picture. The recent census conducted by Central Bureau of Statistics, HMG (2001) lists 92 identified and some unidentified languages in Nepal. The 14th Edition of the *Ethnologue* (Grimes, 2000) suggests 125 languages......

In addition to the internal pressure within Nepal, the international community is concerned about the loss of diversity in the world's languages and cultures. All languages give us specific and unique expressions of human thought and social organization. However, it is predicted that many languages will cease to be spoken in this country, and many more in the following century given the current state of extinction. It is believed that there are many such language communities in Nepal. There is, therefore, a call from the international community to begin documenting languages which appear to be on the verge of extinction, and to do so before they and the cultures they

signify are irretrievably lost." (*Proposal for the Linguistic Survey of Nepal,* p. 1)

The LINSUN project has just been conceived and efforts have been made to develop its organization and archive. In this regard we have so far received sufficient support and encouragement from both native and foreign linguists. Now, we intend to apprise Tribhuvan University, government agencies, ethnic/linguistic organizations, other related NGOs and INGOs . We hope to receive necessary cooperation from them in achieving the goals of this academic enterprise.

(2) Encyclopedia of Nepal's Languages

In collaboration with some foreign linguists working on languages of this area, Encyclopedia of Nepal's Languages project is going to be started very shortly to compile entries on languages spoken in this country. Initially, this project will focus on the described languages.

(3) Archive

To assist both these projects, it has been proposed to develop an archive for housing published and unpublished materials on Nepal's languages. We would like to use this opportunity to extend our request to all linguists and scholars to contribute the materials in their possession or knowledge to develop this archive.

Apart from these endeavours, it is important to visualize the applications of linguistic expertise to practical fields such as basic education through mother tongue, literacy, translation, and the like to cope with our societal needs.

Conversely, linguistics can also benefit from disciplines such as information technology. This new field, called computational linguistics, can best be applied to Nepalese context to develop the database for undocumented languages and prepare their lexicon and grammar. In recent past we have tried to make ourselves familiar with this innovative device, esp. SHOEBOX programme. However, there is a need for a concerted effort to incorporate it as an integral part of linguistic studies. We have made some progress in getting over this demand.

This conference will, we hope, arouse immense interest in the discussions to be held in the academic sessions and stimulate interest in linguistics geared to the documentation of a large number of endangered languages in Nepal.

Once again, I would like to extend my welcome to the Chief Guest, distinguished dignitaries, linguists, and scholars. Above all, we are very much optimistic of our young colleagues and students who are now getting prepared to shoulder the responsibility of continuing and enriching the great tradition of linguistic studies in Nepal.

Thank you !

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156. Ms. Rasmi Adhikari, Manmohan Memorial College, Sorakhutte

157. Mr. Aw Vanden Hock
158. Mr. B.K. Rana
159. Mr. Nabin K. Singh, CDC, Sanothimi
160. Mr. Tila Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kainla), Royal Nepal Academy
161. Mr. Khadaka K.C., Sanothimi Campus, Bhaktpur
162. Mr. Kedar Prasad Poudel, Mahendra M. Campus, Dharan
163. Mr. Ram Prasad Dahal, Kanya Campus, Dillibazar
164. Mr. Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang, Mahendra M Campus, Dharan
165. Mr. Keshar Mohan Bhattarai, Chabahil
166. Mr. Omkareswor Shrestha, Patan Multiple Campus, Lalitpur
167. Mr. Binda Lal Shah, Dhankuta Multiple Campus, Dhankuta, Nepal
168. Mr. Deepak Kumar Adhikari, Assam, India
169. Mr. Begendra Subba, Dharampur, Jhapa
170. Mr. Ganga Ram Panta, Central Department of Linguistics, Kirtipur
171. Mr. Tika Ram Paudel, P.N. Campus, Pokhara
172. Mr. Bharat Neupane, Central Department of Linguistics, Kirtipur
173. Mr. Bharat Kumar Bhattarai, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur
174. Mr. Stephen Watters, Central Department of Linguistics, Kirtipur
175. Mr. Bhabendra Bhandari, Morang.
176. Mr. Vishnu Prasad Singh Rai, Department of Education, Kirtipur
177. Dr. Viswanath Bhandari, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan
178. Mr. Dilli Ram Bhandari, Surkhet
179. Mr. Ananta Lal Bhandari, Surkhet
180. Mr. Tek Mani Karki, M.R. Multiple Campus, Tahachal
181. Mr. Dip Karki, M.R. Multiple, Campus, Tahachal
182. Dr. Nandirh Adhikari, Patan, Multiple Campus
183. Mr. Hari Prasad Kafle, Tahachal Campus
184. Mr. Dubi Nandi Dhakal, Dharan
185. Narayan P Sharma, Central Department of Linguistics, TU.
186. Krishna P Parajuli, Central Department of Linguistics, TU.
187. Mr. Nawin Khadka, Arun Valley Cultural Group, Kathmandu,
     aanawin@worldlink.com.np
188. Dr. Kedar P. Sharma, Central Department of Education, T.U., Kritipur