Nepalese Linguistics

Volume 25   **November 2010**

Chief Editor: Govinda Raj Bhattarai

Editors: Balaram Prasain
              Krishna Prasad Chalise

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT AESTHETIC APPROACH TO LITERARY TRANSLATION

Bal Ram Adhikari[1]

balram34@yahoo.co.uk

This article is based on the data collected mainly from English translation of Stories of Conflict and War translated and edited by Govinda Raj Bhattarai. Also some pieces of evidence come from Country is yours translated by Manjushree Thapa. This article explores with examples how an aesthetic approach can be best employed to represent the translated language and its culture (here Nepali) in the translating language (here English). Similarly, how literalness in translation can play a significant role to allow minor languages like Nepali to resist dominant languages like English.

1 Introduction

Literary translation in the true sense of the word is an act of cultural representation. True or undistorted representation should be against any form of discrimination and it obviously calls for the acknowledgement of cultural differences. Translation has its life only because of differences (both linguistic and cultural) and hence the success of literary translators depends on the extent to which they have been able to represent the translated culture in the translating one without frustrating the target readership. In other words, the real challenge is to maintain a balance between ethics of difference and textual intelligibility, and this balance requires an aesthetic approach to and resistant strategies of translation.

---

[1] This article is a revised version of the paper presented at the 30th Annual Conference of the Linguistics Society of Nepal held in Kathmancu, 26-27 November, 2009.

To write metaphorically, to translate any literary text is to uproot cultural elements from one culture and to transplant them into another alien culture. The chances of their survival are subject to various socio-cultural and political factors, and the target readership as well as the translation approach and procedures adopted by the translator.

Recent translation theories take translation as cultural practice, an agent and product of cross-cultural communication. Much focus has been laid on cultural visibility of the translated language in the translating one by means of representation on the one hand, and cultural enrichment of the translating language by importing unique entities from the translated one on the other. In both cases, the cultural entities which are unique to and hence different from the translated and translating languages respectively are the prime concern of this actual act of cultural representation and cultural enrichment.

2 Aesthetic approach

The aesthetic approach to translation is concerned with what Tirumalesh calls "the twin problems of allowing differences and disallowing discriminations" (www.uiowa.edu/~iwp /EVEN/documents/Dialogue-Tirumalesh). Conventionally cultural differences are regarded untranslatable nuisances--- the source of unbridgeable chasms between languages which, when imported and retained in the translating language, are believed to distort intelligibility, impair fluency and frustrate textual readability. This is a negative approach to translation. The translator swayed by this approach (also called a popular approach), practises discrimination and disallow differences by resorting to translation procedures, such as erasure, manipulation, camouflage, substitution and so on. Drawing on the work of Sharma (1990a), Bhattarai (2000:83) writes "Nepali scholars have expressed their deep sense of anguish to see the poems of Mahakavi Laxmiprasad Devkota

mistranslated in Rubin". Similarly, Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, who won the Nobel Prize for his translated version of Gitanjali, is often blamed for adopting the popular approach and resorting to submissive strategies while translating his own literary works into English.

Tagore and Rubin seem to have stressed on oppression, simplification and erasure of cultural differences in contrary to what Venuti calls " 'the aesthetic approach' which stresses on the notions that translation is characterized by 'differences' and therefore cultural differences must be respected and preserved in translation. This approach ultimately leads to 'textual multilingualism' or Gustavo Perez-fimat's 'transculturaction' or Tirumalesh's 'Literature-3' or Bhabha's 'cultural hybridity'" (Adhikari, 2009:24).

3 The ethics of difference and intelligibility

When a literary text written in one language is hurled into a different culture by means of translation, there are three possibilities: translation assimilation, translation alienation, translation autonomy.

 In translation assimilation the translated text assimilates into the target culture losing its status as a translation. This happens when the translator disregards cultural differences in the interest of serving the target readership only. This is the result of translation procedures such as deletion, addition, substitution and paraphrasing. These procedures lead to a high degree of manipulation and distortion.

 In translation alienation the translated text remains as the 'other' under the domination of the target culture. This happens when the translator is slanted towards source cultural properties, disregarding the target readership. The frequently adopted translation procedures are borrowing without a footnote, word-for-word translation, literal translation without a footnote or contextual meaning and so on. This makes the translation communicatively too heavy and very obscure. The target readership may not welcome and accept the translation. As a result the translated text may suffer diasporic alienation and displacement.

In translation autonomy the translated text remains as a literature of its own, occupying a status which is different from source and target languages both. This is possible only when there is a balance between ethics of differences and textual intelligibility. The mostly adopted translation procedures are borrowing of unique cultural elements, often combined with a footnote and explanation given in the text itself; borrowing accompanied by literal translation or explanation in the form of a footnote; borrowing-cum-literal translation, and literal translation. These procedures show a close affinity to resistant strategies.

4 Resistant strategies

The aesthetic approach to translation calls for a strategy of resistance to the dominant target language so as to preserve source cultural elements in the translated text.   Consider the following expression:

"Don't you have whey, baje? If you have, bring some!"
<div style="text-align:right">[Stories of Conflict and War: 131]</div>

The English translation retains the term of address *baje* preserving the difference, which has been accompanied by a footnote, a term of address for a Brahamin man (also to any elderly man). Here, the source term of address, which is unique to Nepali culture, has been retained along with a footnote. This borrowing-cum-footnote has eschewed the fallacy of transparency. It is an example of importation of source cultural features into the target language. It does not frustrate the target readership either, because the translator has provided cultural information in the form of a footnote. The same strategy is evident in the translation of the following:

Are you in a mood for getting and setting in this place mʊkʊnde?

[Stories of Conflict and War: 56]

Here the proper noun *mukunde* goes with a footnote. This is the requirement of the context in which this proper noun occurs. In the Nepali language most of the first names can be made informal or even derogatory by adding the vowel -*e* at the end. This unique feature is absent from the English language. The translator has used a footnote to give the information about this feature as too informal or derogatory form of *mʊkʊndʌ* becomes *mʊkʊnde* in Nepali.

Borrowing-cum-paraphrase can be employed to maintain a balance between differences and intelligibility. Consider the following:

dɪlmaya picks up a big sickle lying nearby and hurls at them with it, like *rʌŋʌcʌndɪ*.

[Story of Conflict and War: 29]

 The ferocious image associated with the female character *dɪlmaya* has been imported into English by borrowing the source term *rʌŋʌcʌndɪ*, which is combined with a footnote as a form of war-goddess in Hindu mythology. Here borrowing preserves the difference and the footnote gives accurate information associated with the source term.

The ethics of difference require the translator to be more slanted towards the source culture. The translator's attempt is to make the source text, its unique properties and even its structure, evident in the translation. However, too much inclination towards the source culture without taking account of intelligibility often frustrates the target readership, while the undue focus on transparency and fluency fails to acknowledge the value of the differences that deserve and are to be reflected in the translation. This means the translator has to balance these two forces, one pulling the other in the

reverse direction, to preserve source cultural properties on the one hand and to facilitate the target readership on the other.

5 The notion of an aesthetic distance in literary translation

Literary translation functions on pleasure principle. Surely enough, like the source writer, the translator has to move away from 'habitualisation', which is possible only when the translator, like the source writer, shuns the fallacy of simplification, smoothness, transparency and fluency, and creates an aesthetic distance, so as to challenge the target readership by serving them with some properties which seem unusual, both linguistically and culturally. Differences create an aesthetic distance between readers and a text.

6 Linguistic and cultural hybridity in translated text

Retention of differences results in linguistic and cultural hybridity in the translated text. Such a text can be regarded as a bi/multilingual community in miniature that prizes multiple voices and identities. Hybridity is a locus of multiple voices, a dynamic space, where two or more cultural and linguistic forces come together and interact with each other. According to Wolfreys and Robins, "hybridity foregrounds the work of difference in identity resistant to imposition of fixed, unitary identification" (cited in Adhikari, 2009:26). Consider the following extract from a poem:

Here… there is great difficulty

In keeping our culture alive

There are no Shilee dancers for the Tosi puja

There are no Risiwa singers

There is no one to recite veda and mundhum texts

Also so… will you come back to the village

Before the Knaling language of Knaling is lost

Before the mundhum vedas of Khaling are forgotten….
[The country is yours: 111]

(Rai/Khaling, Sanskrit/Nepali and English in a single text)

This can be an example of textual multilingualism where the words from four different languages, namely Sanskrit (vedas), Nepali (puja), Khaling (Mundhum, Risiwa, Shilee) and English have co-existed in harmony.

Hybridity prizes cultural differences and focuses on the aesthetic approach and resistant strategies. According to Venuti, "The translation project motivated by the ethics of difference alters the reproduction of the ideologies and institutions of the dominant target culture that provide a partial representation of source culture. The translator of such a project, contrary to the notion of loyalty, is prepared to be disloyal to the target dominant cultural norms" (1998:56).

7 Literalness

Literalness should not be mistaken for word-for-word translation or clumsy reproduction of the source text by adhering to the surface aspects of the message. Rather, it should be regarded as the mode of expression which, to the extent possible, follows the source text both semantically and pragmatically without losing its purchase on the target culture and its readership. It is probably the most secure way to represent the source culture by transporting its unique properties which in the long run enriches the target culture as well. Consider the following:

One among them said–Hurry up, there's a mouse running in my belly. There were mice running in everyone's bellies. … Me, the mouse isn't just running, it's started jumping in my belly.

[The country is yours: 18]

The idiom *peʈma mʊsa dʌʊɖʌnʊ* has been translated literally as 'there is a mouse running in my stomach', rather than being substituted by the possible English equivalent: 'I'm so hungry my stomach's rumbling'. Here the translator has retained the images implied in the source idiom, and the translation is meaningful in the given context. Similarly, *kalo bhʊt jʌsto mʌdhyʌ rat thɪyo* has been translated literally as:

The midnight was pitch dark like a ghost.
[Stories of Conflict and War: 110]

The colour imagery associated with the ghost in Nepali is different from the one associated with the ghost in English. In Nepali the ghost evokes the colour black and the use of the ghost to describe the dark and eerie midnight is quite common in Nepalese culture, whereas this is not the case in English because English culture associates the colour white or pale with the ghost. Despite such cultural differences the translator has resorted to literal translation to preserve the source cultural image in the target language, and it is the context that ensures the intelligibility of this metaphoric expression.

8 Conclusion

Literary translation is a major activity of cultural exchange. To translate a cultural element from one language into another is more than the mere replacement of the source cultural term. Rather it is an act of importation of the whole system and values implied in that term. Hence literary translation is concerned with the twin goals of source culture representation and target culture enrichment. For these goals to materialize, the translator has to be open to aesthetic values of cultural differences and act against discriminations. He has to admit, welcome and register the foreignness of the foreign text. This is possible only when the translator is guided by an aesthetic approach and adopts resistant strategies to allow the

source text to come through in the translation, without frustrating the target readership. Thus the literary translator has to act like 'Janus-face'--- looking towards two different directions at the same time ---, and   has to bear equal responsibilities towards both cultures.

References

Adhikari, Bal Ram. 2009. *Procedures of bridging cultural gaps in the translation of dwʌndʌ rʌ yʊddhʌka kʌtha as stories of conflict and war*.   Unpublished Master's Thesis. Central Department of English. Kirtipur.

Adhikari, Bal Ram. 2009. *Theoretical and practical considerations about aesthetic approach to literary translation.* paper presented at the 30th annual conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal.

Bhattarai, G. R. 2000. *An introduction to translation studies*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

Bhattarai, G. R. 2007. (trans. and ed.). *Stories of conflict and war*. Kathmandu: NELTA.

Bhattarai G. R. and Ghimire, Bishnubibhu (eds.). 2006. *dwʌndʌ rʌ yʊddhʌka kʌtha*. Kathmandu: NELTA.

Thapa, Manjushree.   2009. *The Country is yours*. Nepal (trans.): The Printhouse.

Venuti, Lawrence. 1998. *The scandals of translation*. London: Routledge.

www.uiowa.edu/~iwp/EVEN/documents/Dialogue-irumalesh.

DATA COLLECTION IN AN ENDANGERED LANGUAGE:
EXPERIENCES FROM THE LEDBL PROJECT

Dubi Nanda Dhakal, Tej Ratna Kansakar,
Yogendra Prasad Yadava, Balaram Prasain,
Krishna Prasad Chalise & Krishna Paudel
dndhakal@yahoo.com

Collecting data for a specific purpose is not as easy as some people think. The conventional method of text collections may be improved by making the fieldwork planned and systematic. The task of data collection becomes more challenging and even frustrating if a specific community does not use it in natural settings. We are retelling the experiences of Linguistic and Ethnographic Documentation of the Baram Language (LEDBL) team's field work on Baram. Baram is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the central-western part of Gorkha district, in western Nepal.

1 Introduction

LEDBL has been supported by Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. The recent census reports that there are 342 speakers of the Baram language (Yadava 2001: 84). However, our sociolinguistic survey shows that the number of active Baram speakers is below fifty.

2 Data collection

Keeping in mind the objectives of LEDBL as the focus, we tried to capture varied and representative corpus. Our purpose therefore is to record as many communicative events as possible based on Himmelmann (1998). The communicative events or the manner people communicate in their language may vary from one speech community to another. As Himmelmann notes, the events are cultural-specific and the linguists working on the documentation of a language should capture all possible speech genres. He proposes the parameters of communicative events based on spontaneity.

The speech events from 'planned' to/and 'unplanned' form a continuum rather than distinct antonymic pairs. Unplanned represents the pole of a continuum of spontaneity along which particular communicative events may be placed. Exclamation, for instance, is an unplanned communicative event. On the other hand, the rituals are performed after rehearsing several times before it is performed. In a sense, these communicative events stand at poles apart in terms of 'planning of communication' and spontaneity.

Since our aim is to, "to develop the resources such as lexicon, sketch grammar, ethnographic profile, orthography, and primer" we need to document a list of communicative events. At the outset, we were not sure whether there are any speakers who could speak fluently for a long time. We tried to expand the different topics that we would like to capture. The ethnographic topics based on Franchetto (189) were expanded and the whole cycle of ethnographic topics was listed. This included annual cycle of festivals, cultural rituals from menstruation to death. Capturing the ethnographic topics covered has multiple advantages: first, they cover the texts for preparing the ethnographic sketch, and second, they provide special kinds of texts for the language documentation. On its close observation, we noticed that the speech genres can be expanded by personal stories, reminiscences, and historical events and so on. Lupke's (2003) inventory of speech genres helped us to identify the existing speech genres, and those which are indeed very rare in the Baram community. We adopted a rather general idea of genre rather than being very specific. We have followed Lupke (2003) in identifying and making use of genres. In addition to this, we consulted some grammars in order to plan the texts based on grammatical

structures and topics. These grammatical topics were immensely useful to obtain specific language structures.

We expanded the genres and communicative events primarily for two reasons. Firstly, we are also making use of the genres in a very broad sense focusing mainly on the language documentation. Instead of discussing whether this can be a narrative or a travelogue, or to assign it any specific category, we are using genres in a broad sense. Secondly, we have elicited various sessions aimed to elicit data for language use and structure. They mainly consist of several grammatical features like prohibition, conditional clauses, request, question and answer and so on. For example, we give them a hypothetical situation like, "If you got Rs. 50,000, what will you do?" and they would speak for some minutes. In addition to the texts used for the language documentation, they provide us specific language structures. We collected these sessions based on Leech and Svartvik (1995). These diverse communicative events, genres and grammatical sessions as a whole form our inventory of communicative events.

3 Inventory of communicative events

We have expanded the communicative events proposed by Himmelmann (1998) and prepared an as presented in Table (1). This helps us capture the texts traditionally attested but also those related to diverse grammatical structures. Secondly, some speech genres need to be specific as they have several categories within a single genre. For instance, narrative is a universally common genre. This can further be categorized as 'historical narrative', 'personal narrative', 'reminiscences' and so on.

4 Speakers

Data of good quality depends upon the fluent language consultants of particular languages. We have considered ideal language speakers (Newell 1995:29), and talked about good

speakers of a language to be chosen for a particular kind of work. However, in a speech community with a handful of language consultants, we did not have manifold options regarding the selection of the language consultants. At the beginning of the field work, we were not sure whether we would be fortunate to have fluent speakers who could speak for an hour.

Grinevald (2003:64) presents the spectrum of language speakers and classifies the speakers of endangered languages into four categories (a) native fluent speakers (b) semi-speakers (c) terminal speakers and (d) rememberers.

Baram communities do not consist of the speakers of the first category. We do not have the speakers who are monolingual in the language, and whose dominant language is Baram. We therefore have to rely on the semi-speakers. The language consultants we are working with are bilingual whose dominant language is Nepali although they are fluent in Baram. They do not use the language regularly and naturally. One of the language speakers commented that she was happy to talk with her sister in Baram at an interval of a few months. However, they are capable of producing 'the best texts' ever existed in the language, which otherwise are likely to be lost permanently.

We have the speakers of the third and the fourth categories as well, namely terminal speakers and rememberers. On the basis of their mastery of the language, and mastery of the different genres, we rely heavily on the texts produced by the speakers of the second category. We involved the speakers of the second category, but not the others except for a few sessions because that is the best option we had.

These language consultants are the best contributors we have for language documentation. They are all bilingual, learned Baram as their mother tongue, but now gradually shifted to

Nepali as a language for day to day communication. Although they are 'semi-speakers', they possess the best features of the Baram language. Once these speakers die, the language will go to oblivion.

Only one language consultant has passed grade three among all the speakers, whereas our remaining language consultants are either illiterate or hardly literate. This makes the task of transcribing and translating more difficult and elicitation of grammatical items and preparation of paradigms even more challenging.

5 Methods

If you are working on an endangered language, it is difficult to obtain the kinds of data you try to capture without preparation. For example, all our speakers can contribute to some extent to the 'personal narratives' or 'reminiscences' but we find it difficult to obtain data on specific topics like 'prohibition' or 'hortative' and so on. It is even more difficult to get specific paradigms unless some necessary preparations are made. The followings are some of the techniques we used during our fieldwork.

5.1 Direct elicitation

This is the technique we use for preparing glossaries, making paradigms, and data for specific topic while writing a grammar. Some speakers are capable of this whereas others are not. One speaker can tell us the paradigm very easily but may not be sure of some linguistic knowledge. The person who knows better cannot understand what we are trying to do. A group of language informants seated together and eliciting the glossaries and paradigms is extremely useful instead of working with a single speaker. Some features of the language are not well probed unless we work with multiple speakers. We hope to continue this process till the end of the project until a sketch grammar is written and a dictionary is prepared.

We realize that a person who has some formal education is extremely useful for this kind of elicitation.

5.2 Narration

In a general sense everyone is a storyteller. All people tell stories and thus narration is a skill all people are familiar with. This is the main method we used for collecting large amount of texts. The language consultants tell us about their personal narratives, or reminiscences, or travelogues. We tried to correct, advice, or orient them if the texts they produce deviate in content. No sooner we realize that the speakers deviate from the theme, we immediately stop them. We rehearsed somehow to make them tell the stories in the manner we intend. Sometimes, we tell them about describing incidents, telling personal reminiscences, and so on before they actually produce the texts. The speakers were trained in this way when they worked with us for some weeks.

"Could you tell us about …."How is wine prepared?" or "How did you travel from Dandagaun to Gorkha?...." Several texts were obtained using this technique. Although we were not sure whether we could collect the data we intended, we were very successful by using this technique.

5.3 Role play and simulation

A large number of speech genres can not be obtained simply by narration. We therefore tried to obtain the corpus by role play and simulation. The data related to specific grammatical items are difficult to obtain. In order to obtain these kinds of data, we advise the speakers to be involved in role play/simulation. For example, we have a session where a speaker asks permission of his elder brother to visit his relatives. His brother replies that this is the season of farming, and he should not go now.

Using these techniques, we got specific grammatical items. Imperative sentences may be elicited but if they are obtained through role play and simulation we get repeated structures. If the same structures or constructions are repeated again and again, it is easy to be certain about specific grammatical constructions. We have several recordings obtained through role play and simulation. Several dialogues were recorded using this technique. We intended to use this method to construct specific grammatical structures. In fact, there are no contexts where Baram speakers ever make a speech. However, we have some speeches. Similarly, there are neither riddles nor proverbs in Baram of their own! However, we asked them to tell us some and made recordings related to such expressions.

5.4 Stimuli used

It was necessary to use stimuli in the process of data collection. Some kinds of structures are related to certain kinds of activities, or objects. People can easily describe the things they see. For example, we found that the pictures can be used to elicit structures like, 'This is ….on/in/back/forward' or 'There is a stone on ….'. We have sessions related to postpositions, and adverbs. If one intends to obtain structures like these, or the use of postpositions, or general descriptive texts, the use of stimuli is very effective. We describe below the various ways of using stimuli in data collection.

(a)   We showed them the documentary films and later asked them what happened in the film. Several speakers described the film as they understood it.

(b)   We showed them the songs and later asked them what the song clips are about. They then describe what happened in it.

(c)   We showed them the pictures of objects and asked them what they are used for, how something is prepared and so on. We had sessions like 'Use of Bamboo' by showing them the picture of bamboo and bamboo objects.

(d)   Questions were shown and displayed on a lap top. One reads the questions (asks the question to the target language consultants and the target speaker gives the answer). They were very useful to obtain certain kinds of structures, i.e. purposive clause, answer of 'wh-question', and so on. These kinds of structures are very specific.

These sessions were rather short in terms of duration but were very useful.

Table 1: Stimuli used

S.N.	Stimuli used	Session names
1	Photographs	PhotoDes
2	Documentary/ Films/ Songs clips	VideoRem
3	Questions (Typed on Laptop)	Howmuch1

6 Problems

During the annotating period we had a number of problems which can be listed as follows:

i. It is difficult to get fluent and cooperative speakers. Some language speakers are good speakers but are unwilling to work. There is an aged woman who could tell good texts but her articulation is not clear. She has her front teeth missing! Some speakers are useful but the language they retain is not very good.

ii. Several texts have no coherence at all. This causes difficulties in translation and annotation is more difficult. We realize that we are unable to say why such irrelevant utterances occur throughout the texts. We also need to

notice that lack of coherence is related to particular language consultants.

iii. Such texts also lack richness of linguistic features. In the discourse data the language seems to be merely the translation of 'Nepali texts' into the Baram language rather than Baram texts *per se*. Therefore, the richness in terms of 'native features' and 'linguistic richness' should be assessed before we continue to record the texts.

iv. Sometimes, fieldwork is hampered by equipments. We encountered several problems with the video recordings. It is therefore a good idea to purchase good quality equipments like video camera, still camera, microphone and laptops for the fieldwork.

v. Since fieldwork is related to language documentation, and this is also associated with the kinds of facilities they receive, the facilities given to the language informants should be clearly mentioned before they are employed. It is natural that the dealing with language consultants must be settled very fairly and honestly.

7 Conclusion and recommendation

All the texts we have collected are extemporaneous and oral texts. Our corpus basically lacks very formal genres like speeches, announcements, and so on although we have some texts obtained through simulation. Collection of quality data is really a challenging task when we work with minority and endangered languages. It is even more difficult if the speakers do not use the language in natural setting. In our case, all data we obtained were by the speakers who have stopped speaking their language in natural settings. Although we became desperate in the earlier phase of our field work, we finally recorded and made the data representative. Sometimes we were happy to record the sessions which ran for a long period of time but the quality of linguistic contents in such sessions

was not rich. An analysis of the linguistic features of each speaker leads us to further confirmation that the speakers are worth working with. We like to conclude this paper with a few suggestions for the field linguists:

i. Make an inventory of different genres, communicative events and ethnographic topics before beginning the fieldwork. This helps you capture diverse sessions with different uses of the language. The objectives of the research also determine the method of collecting data.

ii. Work with different speakers. One may be good at narrating stories, another at giving instructions and another perhaps at data elicitation for making paradigms. As a field worker, we need to be aware of the capability of different speakers.

iii. Make a proper analysis of data you have collected before you record texts for several hours! You will be surprised to see that the linguistic contents of the speaker who speaks for a long time is perhaps worthless! A sample analysis of each informant you are working with will suffice to determine whether the text one contributes has coherence, unnecessary repetitions, hesitation markers, unusual pauses, unusual breathing and so on. We find that one of the speakers we worked with always clears his throat at the interval of a few sentences!

iv. Make your sessions of moderate length. If they are very long, i.e. for an hour, the data may be difficult to handle in some computer software like ELAN, Toolbox, Audacity when these files are edited and annotated. In our long files, the speakers deviate from the topics they speak on. If your sessions are very short, there may be innumerable files but they can neither increase the size of the corpus nor the total duration.

v. Record some sessions which are directly related to the grammar, i.e. 'conditional clause', 'purposive clause', etc. This will be a better way of obtaining a specific structure rather than to ask them to translate the constructed texts.

vi. The language speakers should be properly trained before recording some sessions. The language speakers should be properly oriented while recording these specific topics.

vii. Dealing with the language consultants is a key factor during the data collection period if a documentation project runs for a few years. They should be honestly and fairly treated.

References

Abbi, Anvita. 2001. *A Manual of Linguistic Fieldwork and Structures of Indian Languages*. Lincolm Handbooks on Linguistics, No.17. Munchen: Lincom Europa, 2001.

Bouquizux, Luc and Jacqueline M.C. Thomas. 1992. *Studying and Describing Unwritten Languages.Trans.* James Roberts. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1992.

Franchetto, Bruna. 2006. 'Ethnography in language documentation'. *Essentials of Language Documentation*. ed. by Jost Gippert, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann and Ulrike Mosel. Berlin and New York; Mouton de Gruyter. 183-212.

Grinvald, Colette. 2003. 'Speakers and documentation of endangered language'. *Language Documentation and Description Vol. 1*. ed by Peter K. Austin. London: Endangered Language Project: 53-72.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus. 1998. 'Documentary and Descriptive Linguistics'. *Linguistics* 36:161-95.

Leech, Geoffrey and Jan Svartvik. 1994. *A Communicative Grammar of English*. Singapore: ELBS.

Lupke, Fiederike. 2003. 'Small is beautiful: contributions of field-based corpora to different linguistic disciplines, illustrated by Jalonke'. *Language Documentation and Description Vol 3*. Ed. Peter K. Austin. London: Endangered Language Project. 75-105.

Newell, Leonard E. 1995. *Handbook on Lexicography*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Prasain, Balaram and Krishna Prasad Chalise (eds.). 2004. *A Basic Baram-Nepali-English Dictionary*. Kathmandu: The National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities.

Samarin, William J. 1967. *Field Linguistics: A Guided to Fieldwork*. New York: Holt Rinehart and sinston, Inc.

Vaux, Bert, and Justin Cooper. 2003. *Introduction to Linguistic Field Methods*. Munchen: Lincom Europa.

Yadava, Yogendra P. 2001. Language. *Population Monograph of Nepal I*. Kathmandu: Centreal Bureau of Statistics and UNFPA. 137-172.

UNESCO. 2009. 'International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme: Safeguarding of Endangered Languages'. www.unesco.org/culture/inh/doc. [13 February].

THE COMPARISON IMPACT OF WORD-MEANING AND GUESS TECHNIQUES ON WORD-MEANING AND FILL-IN-THE BLANK TESTS PROCEDURES FOR SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM RETENTION OF VOCABULARY ITEMS

Seyed Hossein Fazeli

fazeli78@yahoo.com

The purpose of research described in the current study is to investigate comparison of impact of Word-meaning and Guess techniques on word-meaning and fill-in-the blank tests regarding both short-term and long-term retention of vocabulary items in the condition that the learners are not allowed to use Guess technique.

1 Introduction

The basic foundation of language learning is vocabulary acquisition which is a crucial and in some sense, the central component in successful a second/foreign language acquisition. Development of lexical knowledge occupies an important position in the learners' struggle to master a second language (Atay and Ozbulang, 2007).

Schmitt and Nation argue that Vocabulary acquisition is indeed a very complex issue (as cited in Fuente, 2006) and it cannot be assumed that acquisition of a word's basic meaning will imply acquisition of formal aspects of words.

Second language acquisition has come under strong criticism from a number of sources for a little attention it has paid to lexical acquisition (Scafaru and Tofan, 2006) and Levert and Mear mention that recently vocabulary acquisition has been one of the most actively researched in second language acquisition due mainly to the impact vocabulary has on successful communication (as cited in Nikolova, 2004). Nowadays, it is widely accepted that vocabulary teaching should be part of the syllabus and taught on a well-planned and regular basis but there still remains an enormous amount of research to be done in the area, and Paribakht and Weche argue that it is still far from clear how learners acquire (as cited in Browne, 2003)

which due to the controversial problem to be arisen along types of tests to score the vocabulary knowledge, their correlation and their procedures on short-term and long-term retention of vocabulary items.

The vocabulary assistance during reading (through word-meaning) as a first technique, and guess plus vocabulary assistance as a second technique are applied in the current study to test if there is any significant effect of Guess technique to answer word-meaning and fill-in-the blanks tests of vocabulary on short-term and long-term retention of vocabulary items in the condition that the learners are not allowed to use guess technique or randomly answer the questions.

It should be mentioned that firstly, before the current study, the students were taught to practice their lessons productively and they should not answer the questions without a reason as they were asked to do for the tests. In fact, such strategy was applied for them to avoid guess and randomly to answer the questions. Secondly, in word meaning test and fill-in-the-blank test ,as the core meaning sense of words were in the text, as Carter argued (as cited in Schmitt, 2000), were suggested to be as the answer.

2 Methodology

2.1 Participants

The population for subject recruitment was all undergraduate students from second semester at a large University in Iran in academic year 2008-2009 that were volunteered to participate in this study. The participants were 64 (both male and female) that were told this study would not affect the final results of their course. Randomly they were divided into two groups that were same number of members. The first group is taught through Word-meaning technique (here, it is called as a word-meaning group includes 16 male and 16 female) and the second group is taught through Guess technique plus word-meaning technique (here, it is called as a guess-using group includes 17 male and

15 female). The range of all participants' age was varied from 19 to 32 years old, and the mean of their age was 23.7.

2.2 Instrumentation

The following instruments were used in the current study:

i.   Questionnaire elicited information regarding demographic profile of the respondents (e.g. age.),

ii. Materials which are prepared for the treatment phase,

iii. Materials which are developed as pre-test and post-test that related to materials of treatment and in order to test learners' performance on vocabulary retention,

iv. Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP) 2007, in order to homogenize recruitment of the population of learners regarding their English language knowledge.

2.3 Procedure

2.3.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaires were distributed two weeks before the treatment in order to elicit information regarding demographic profile of the respondents. The students completed answering the questionnaires in the class and returned the forms to the lecturer. The needed details regarding questionnaire, were explained by the lecturer.

2.3.2 Proficiency test

Michigan Test of English language proficiency was used to determine the level of the students' English proficiency one week before the treatment. The mentioned proficiency test was studied in pilot study to find out its' reliability that it was estimated 7.

2.3.3 Pre-testing

Sixty printed words on single paper were given to 90 students and the students were asked to write the meaning of any word in Persian as L1 (mother tongue) in that paper if they know, and then returned the paper to the lecturer. 15 out of 60 words that were completely unknown to the students were chosen. These fifteen words include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs and they were again reprinted.

Regarding fifteen chosen words, fifteen unseen sentences to the students were developed that in each of them, one lexical item was lost, which should be completed with one of unknown vocabularies that in fact it would be fill-in-the-blank test. These fifteen sentences were printed on single paper .The meaning of all English words in L1 in the bottom of that page (except 15 unknown words) and the structure of all fifteen sentences was so easy to be understood to the students.

The students who were asked to participate in the pilot study in order to choose 15 out of 60 vocabularies, to estimate reliability of word meaning and fill-in-the-blank tests, were as same as academic year, university and grouping majors of the experimental group. The order administration of pre-test was first, the word-meaning test second and then fill-in-the- blank test last.

The word meaning test and the fill-in-the-blank test in the aforementioned order were taken by the students. In word meaning test, the students were asked to write the meaning of English words in L1 and after collecting the test papers, the fill-in-the-blank test papers were distributed. For this test, the students were asked to complete any one of the fifteen sentences with one of fifteen given words and also they were asked to write the meaning of the sentence in L1 after completion to show that they do not use Guess technique or randomly answer the questions.

2.3.4 Treatment

In the current study, immediately after pre-test, the printed text on single paper that includes those fifteen unknown words was given to the students. The first group, word-meaning group, is taught through Word-meaning technique. However, all words

are included in text (except, 15 unknown words) were so easy to be understood semantically, their meanings were retold with the focus on the meaning of 15 unknown words. Enough time and needed help was provided that the students understand all the text well. The second group, guess-using group, firstly, was asked to use Guess technique to guess the meaning of fifteen unknown words in the text. As Nation and Meara argue the un-known word to be guessed has to have plenty of comprehensible supporting context (as cited in Mohseni-Far, 2007); hence, all the words included in text, are so easy to be understood semantically and it was to guess the meanings of fifteen unknown words easily. Enough time and needed help was provided in order to have successful guess, secondly, the meaning of words were told to the students for guess-using group .In both guess-step and word meaning step, the focus was on fifteen un-known words. Same as word-meaning group, enough time and needed help to word meaning understanding was provided. Enough time was given to practice text and if the students have any question to ask.

2.3.5 Post-testing (immediate and delayed tests)

In post-testing the same tests in pre-testing and in the same order were administered, but such administration occurred in two steps. The first step, immediately after finishing treatment (as an immediate post test) and the second step was two weeks later (as a delayed post test).The students were not aware about immediate and delayed post tests.

3 Data analysis

In the word-meaning test, each of correct answer is scored as one point and in the fill-in-the-blank test, each correct answer that has the meaning of the sentence in L1, is scored as one point, otherwise as the probable effect of guess or random factor, even the answer is correct, the answer is not accepted and scored, as was told to the student before the beginning the tests.

In this study, analysis of obtained data was performed using the SPSS software version 16, T-test was used to test the research through the vocabulary gain score of the sample.

4 Results and findings

Table 1 display Mean, Std. Deviation and Std. Error Mean of pre-testing and post-testing (immediate and delayed post tests) of both the word-meaning and the fill-in-the blank tests for both groups i.e. the word-meaning group and the guess-using group.

Table 1: Mean, standard deviation and standard error mean of pre-testing and post-testing

	teaching strategies	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
pretest vocabulary meaning	Word-meaning technique	32	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
	Guess technique + Word-meaning technique	32	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
pretest fill-in-the-blank	Word-meaning technique	32	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
	Guess technique + Word-meaning technique	32	.0000	.00000[a]	.00000
Immediate post test vocabulary meaning	Word-meaning technique	32	5.8750	2.48544	.43937
	Guess technique + Word-meaning technique	32	5.0625	2.31318	.40892
Immediate post test fill-in-the-blank	Word-meaning technique	32	1.5938	1.75719	.31063
	Guess technique + Word-meaning technique	32	1.0625	1.50134	.26540
Delayed posttest	Word-meaning technique	32	2.0625	1.60518	.28376

vocabulary meaning	Guess technique + Word-meaning technique	32	2.0625	1.62516	.28729
Delayed posttest fill-in-the-blank	Word-meaning technique	32	1.2812	1.65070	.29180
	Guess technique + Word-meaning technique	32	.5312	1.07716	.19042
a. t cannot be computed because the standard deviations of both groups are 0.					

Table 2: Levene's test and T-test, results regarding the existing data

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Immediate post test vocabulary meaning	Equal variances assumed	.021	.885	1.354	62	.181	.81250	.60021	-.38731	2.01231
	Equal variances not assumed			1.354	61.683	.181	.81250	.60021	-.38743	2.01243
Immediate post test fill-in-the-blank	Equal variances assumed	1.328	.254	1.300	62	.198	.53125	.40857	-.28547	1.34797
	Equal variances not assumed			1.300	60.526	.198	.53125	.40857	-.28587	1.34837
Delayed posttest vocabulary meaning	Equal variances assumed	.041	.840	.000	62	1.000	.00000	.40380	-.80718	.80718
	Equal variances not assumed			.000	61.991	1.000	.00000	.40380	-.80719	.80719
Delayed posttest fill-in-the-blank	Equal variances assumed	3.923	.052	2.152	62	.035	.75000	.34844	.05348	1.44652
	Equal variances not assumed			2.152	53.349	.036	.75000	.34844	.05123	1.44877

5 Discussion and conclusion

It should be mentioned that firstly, before the current study, the students were taught to practice their lessons productively and they should not answer the questions without a reason as they were asked to do for the tests. In fact, such strategy was applied for them to avoid guess and answer the questions randomly. Secondly, in the word meaning test and the fill-in-the-blank test ,as the core meaning sense of words were in the text, as

Carter argued (as cited in Schmitt, 2000), were suggested to be as answer.

The analysis of the data indicates the following results:

i. In vocabulary teaching and learning, there is no significant difference along the impact of Word-meaning technique and Guess technique in meaningful learning regarding the word-meaning test and fill-in-the blank test procedures on short-term and long-term retention of vocabulary items,

ii. In testing, it should prevent the students to use Guess technique or answer the questions randomly, because the real scale of vocabulary knowledge are estimated through this factor,

iii. In meaningful learning, Guess technique cannot help the students to retain the lexical items in testing situations of the fill-in-the blanks test,

iv. It is difficult to suggest the Guess technique as learning technique for vocabulary that it is one of the strategies often discussed in the literature (Mohseni-Far, 2007),

v. Word meaning knowing only, cannot help the students to answer the fill-in-the-blank test and some other knowledge is essential to be applied .Such knowledge is dominate to answer the fill-in-the-blank test. Learning a word in isolation does not enable the learners to use it adequately as words it might need other particular words to company them (Suberviola and Mendez, 2002). And as it was shown in Table one, we can see there is big difference between the word-meaning test and the fill-in-the-blank test.

vi. Memorization of meaning of vocabularies could not increase the results when the base is meaningful learning,

viii. In meaningful learning to answer the fill-in-the-blank test, it is necessary to learn the essential meaning of words; and guess cannot be successful and meaningful technique to

answer; in other words, one should avoid guess. Because guess cannot be real and meaningful learning type and also in testing, such factor should be applied to evaluate and score the answers of the learners.

The current study suggests that the type of pedagogical approach of the L2 vocabularies learning may have an impact on retention of new L2 vocabularies. The findings clearly demonstrates some results that can be applied in the preparation of teacher training programs, curriculum development, material preparation, syllabus design and the importance of type of the test which is administered to learners in order to score their knowledge of vocabulary as achievement test. If it will be comparison among the learners' aspects of vocabulary size, depth of processing and degree of organization with their pre- and post- levels, the conclusion appears to be well supported.

It should be high correlation as much as possible along techniques and person's knowledge of vocabulary in teaching and testing of vocabulary, that hereby the investigator aims to test if there is any significant impact of the Guess technique compare to the Word-meaning technique regarding both types of tests procedures for short-term and long-term retention of lexical items, that the results do not show any positive support for Guess technique.

Implications for vocabulary learning from this study include the following:

Firstly, in vocabulary teaching and learning, it should not consider the Guess strategy as the headway of teaching and learning of vocabulary as it is considered somewhere. Guess technique may help in the understanding of what one text includes such as vocabularies and phrases or even find the answer in the fill-in-the blank test type but such technique is as guess using and it does not mean than the learner sure about his answer weather it is really correct or wrong answer semantically and he does not have any support for his answer semantically. In this situation, the teacher cannot claim that the learner knows the word or examiner sure that the learner knows the words' formal aspects, and sometimes even the meaning of words; in other words, guess-using is not learning and it should not be considered as learning is. Secondly, in language testing it should be applied some strategies to show that the learners do not answer through the guess-using or randomly, otherwise, there is not any positive support for the choice of the answer, and we cannot claim that the learners because of learning they answer the test.

Although this study, clearly contributes to our understanding of impact of the Word-meaning and the Guess techniques on the word-meaning and the fill-in-the blank tests procedures for short-term and long-term retention of vocabulary items but there are some limitations. Firstly, the focus of the study was on language testing for statistical significance. Future research should consider mixed design or studies for that examine qualitative aspects of the topic. Secondly, the frequency of the vocabularies is another area. Several of the limitations to this study are ones common in the literature, the needs for a large n-size; need to conduct similar experiments with different population and proficiency levels and so on. At last, further research is needed to better determine the strength of the association among other strategies regarding such study. A future agenda for vocabulary learning researchers should specifically and thoroughly address to the methods and techniques to be applied to teach and assess the vocabulary knowledge better and help the learners that better retention will take place.

References

Aguiar, L. and Brady, S. 1991. 'Vocabulary acquisition and reading ability'. *Reading and writing: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. Vol 3. 413-425.

Alessi, S. and Dwyer, A. 2008. 'Vocabulary assistance before and during reading'. *Reading in a Foreign Language*. Vol 2(2). 246-263.

Atay, D. and Ozbulgan, C. 2007. 'Memory strategy instruction, contextual learning and ESP vocabulary recall'. *English for specific purposes*. Vol 26. 39-51.

Browne, C. 2003. 'Vocabulary acquisition through readings, writing and asks:A comparison'. www.wordengine.jp/pre. search/pdf/ vocabulary_acquisition.pdf. [Feburary 5, 2009].

Fuente, M. J.D.L. 2006. 'Classroom L2 vocabulary acquisition: investigation the role of pedagogical tasks and form-focused instruction'. *Language Teaching Research*. Vol 10(3). 263-295.

Marefat, H. and Ahmadishirazi, M. 2003. 'The impact of teaching direct learning strategies on the retention of vocabulary of EFL learners'. *The Reading Matrix*. Vol 3(2).

Mohseni-Far,M. 2007. 'Techniques and Strategies utilized for Vocabulary Acquisition: The necessity to design a multifaceted framework with an instructionally wise equilibrium'. *Porta Lingurum*. Vol 8. 137-152.

Moss, D. and Ross-Feldman, L. 'Second Language Acquisition in Adults: From Research to Practice'. www.cal.org/caela/esl_resources /digests/SLA.html. [June 5, 2009].

Nielsen, A. 'A review of research into vocabulary learning and acquisition'. www.kushiro_ct.ac.jp/library/kiyo/kiy036 /brain.pdf. [June 3, 2009].

Niolova, O.R. 2004. 'Effects of Visible and Invisible Hyperlinks on Vocabulary Acquisition and Reading Comprehension for High- and Average-Foreign Language Achivers'. *Apprentissage des Langues et syst'ems d'lformation et de communication*. Vol 7. 29-53.

Scafaru, M. and Tofan, M. 2006. 'Management and socio-humanities'. www.afahc.ro/revista/Nr_2_2006 /Art_scarfan.pdf. [December 1, 2008].

Schmitt, N. 2000. *Vocabulary in language teaching*: Cambridge University Press.

Suberviola, E.S. and Mendez, R.V. 2002. 'Vocabulary acquisition strategies'. *Dida'ctica (lengua y literatura)*. Vol 14. 233-2509.

Weil, N. 2008. 'Vocabulary size, background characteristic and reading skills of Korean Intensive English students'. *The Asian EFL Journal Quarterly*. Vol 10(4). 26-59.

LAMJUNG YOLMO: A DIALECT OF YOLMO, ALSO KNOWN AS HELAMBU SHERPA[1]

Lauren Gawne
gawnel@unimelb.edu.au

This article is a brief introduction to the previously undocumented language Lamjung Yolmo. This article will present basic ethnographic information about the community and an initial comparison of Lamjung Yolmo and closely related languages will be made. The documentation work that is being undertaken will also be outlined.

1 Introduction

Lamjung Yolmo is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Lamjung district of Nepal. It is most likely a dialect of Yolmo (also referred to as Helambu Sherpa), which is spoken in and around the Helambu valley northeast of Kathmandu. It is also closely related to Kagate. This paper is the product of an initial field investigation into Lamjung Yolmo conducted September-December 2009. This paper will provide ethnographic information about the speakers of Lamjung Yolmo. An initial comparison between Lamjung Yolmo and closely related languages will be made. Finally, the work being undertaken to document this language will be outlined.

2 Lamjung Yolmo: the Language and its speakers

Lamjung Yolmo originates in four culturally homogeneous villages 3 hours walk northwest of Besisahar in the Lamjung district of Nepal. Lamjung Yolmo speakers are homogeneously Tibetan Buddhist and many speakers take the surname Lama.

---

[1] This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 30th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2009.

Lamjung Yolmo speakers generally agree that their community originates in the migration of a group of Yolmo people from the Sindhupalchok and Nuwakot districts of Nepal, some 200 kilometres to the east, around the Helambu valley. This migration is said to have taken place around five to six generations ago, although there is no definitive date. While Thurgood (2003:5) notes that it is dangerous to rely on folklore when working with any Sino-Tibetan language, the similarity between the language and culture of the two groups lends sufficient weight to the Lamjung Yolmo speakers' claims.

Lamjung Yolmo speakers are occasionally referred to as 'Kagate', although they should not be confused with the Kagate of Ramechhap, with whom they share this name as well as a common origin (see §3 below). This is a reference to the profession of paper making that Lamjung Yolmo speakers undertake. Papermaking is considered to be a low caste occupation in the strict Hindu caste system that exists in Nepal. It seems that while the Yolmo in the Helambu area are of a relatively high social standing (Clarke, 1980b; 1990), those who left the area do not hold a similar social standing in their new environments. Whether this reflects their historic social position within the Helambu society, or came about as a result of travelling has not been established.

The area Lamjung Yolmo speakers now live in is heavily agricultural, with rice and potatoes being primary crops. Surrounding villages are populated by Gurungs, Tamangs, Chetri, Brahmin and, increasingly, retired soldiers of the UK Ghurka regiment. Lamjung Yolmo speakers do not use their language with outsiders, instead resorting to Nepali, and occasionally Gurung.

Gauging speaker numbers is a difficult task. There has been a lack of population retention in the villages in Lamjung in recent years. Many have left to seek employment

opportunities in larger cities of Nepal, such as Besisahar, Pokhara and Kathmandu, or overseas, with Israel and various Arab countries being popular destinations. Others have moved to the Terai, further south in Nepal, where farming is easier and the weather is less harsh. Community members do not always leave as family units, quite often the male will leave to find employment leaving his wife and children in the village, which results in the majority of those still resident in the home villages being predominantly female. This is a pattern found in many of the villages in the area according to data from the 2001 census extracted by Digital Himalaya (2010). To give one example of the effect of migration on village life, one village that had a population of 64 families 30 years ago now has 4 families remaining, only one of those with children. Another one of the four villages has suffered a similar fate, however the two remaining villages are in a stronger position with some 20-30 families between them, and strong evidence of language transmission to children.

In regards to language use, as Desjarlais (2003:14) also notes for Yolmo spoken in Helambu, speakers frequently switch between Yolmo and Nepali. More frequently, Nepali is also more commonly being used in the home and with children. This appears to be especially true of those that have moved away from Yolmo-speaking villages.

Given the population movement and reduction of domains in which Lamjung Yolmo is being used the best we can do is establish a speaker population of anywhere from 500-1500 speakers. This figure is largely dependent on whether those who have left their villages still use their mother tongue, and the level of intergeneration transmission.

There is no known previous documentation of the Lamjung Yolmo. There has been work done with the main body of Yolmo speakers in the Sindhupalchok and Nuwakot districts, with a dictionary (Hari and Lama, 2004) and forthcoming grammar (Hari n.d.). There was also work undertaken on Kagate in the 1970s with work being published on the phonology and discourse of the language (Höhlig and Hari 1976 and Höhlig 1978 respectively).

3 Comparison of Lamjung Yolmo and related languages

Lamjung Yolmo is most closely related to Yolmo (also known as Helambu Sherpa, Ethnologue code SCP) and Kagate (Ethnologue code SYW). There are estimated to be between 10,000 to 50,000 speakers of Yolmo (Hari and Lama, 2004:702-03), and around 1000 speakers of Kagate (Höhlig and Hari, 1976).

The oral history of the migration of Lamjung Yolmo speakers from the Helambu area is reflected in that of the Kagate of the Ramechhap district (Höhlig and Hari, 1976). Their stories are almost identical, except that while the focus language community of this paper moved about 200 kilometers west of the Helambu valley, the Kagate moved almost the same distance to the east, and settled in the Ramechhap district. Both groups left at around the same time (5-6 generations ago).

Given their common history, we would expect a strong level of similarity between the Yolmo of the Helambu area and the diaspora communities that have developed in Ramechhap and Lamjung. Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009) states on the Helambu Sherpa information page that the language is not mutually intelligible with Kagate, however Hari (n.d.:1), who has worked extensively with both languages, argues that 'to quite a large extent they are mutually intelligible dialects.'

Impressionistically, there appears to be a high level of lexical and syntactic similarity. One clear difference between Lamjung Yolmo and the main community of Yolmo speakers is the lack of alternating verb stems (Hari and Lama,

2004:830) in the Lamjung variety. There are also some variations in the copular system of the two groups of speakers.

A small-scale lexical survey has been undertaken, following the method outlined in Blair (1990:26-34) to allow for a stronger quantitative understanding of the degree of lexical similarity. This survey technique involves lexical level comparison where words are assessed as being 'similar' or 'different' based on their degree of phonological similarity. The 100-word Swadesh list was used for data. Lamjung Yolmo data was collected during the primary field trip, the Yolmo data was taken from the Yolmo dictionary (Hari and Lama, 2004) and the Kagate data was from an elicitation session with a speaker undertaken by myself and supplemented by the data in Höhlig and Hari (1976).

The lexical similarity between the three languages (Yolmo, Lamjung Yolmo and Kagate) is shown below, ordered from least to most similar.

Table1: Lexical similarity (shown in percentages)

Languages compared	Lexical similarity
Yolmo and Kagate	79%
Yolmo and Lamjung Yolmo	85%
Lamjung Yolmo and Kagate	88%

The first thing to note is that all three have a very high lexical similarity. This is evident compared to other Tibeto-Burman languages that Yolmo is often discussed as being similar to; according to Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009) Yolmo has a lexical similarity of 65% with Lhasa Tibetan and 61% with Sherpa. Also interesting to note is that Kagate and Lamjung Yolmo have a higher lexical affinity with each other than with the main body of Yolmo speakers, which may lend weight to the folk history of their con-current migration.

There are, of course, some limitations to this data. Firstly, this project is focused on Lamjung Yolmo, and so the data for the other languages was less easy to access and validate. Secondly, this is only a small-scale manual analysis of the cross-linguistic lexical variability and thus may not be a strong measure of the mutual intelligibility of these languages.

Given the high level of lexical similarity between Lamjung Yolmo and the main group of Yolmo and the oral history of the Lamjung community, it is likely more correct to say that Lamjung Yolmo is a dialect of the major group of Yolmo speakers, rather than a separate language. This appears to also be likely true for Kagate based on the above data, however it is often referred to as a separate language due to its different name and prior attention in linguistic publication. In regards to speaker attitudes, Lamjung Yolmo speakers I have met so far generally consider themselves to speak a variety of Yolmo, or a variety of Lama Bhasa – that is, the language of Tibetan Buddhist people. There appears to be no general attitude that they speak a different language, but rather that they speak a dialect of some larger body of languages

As a side note, recent fieldwork carried out by students of Tribhuvaun University as part of the Nepal Linguistic Survey and presented at the LSN annual conference in 2009 indicates there is also a pocket of Yolmo speakers living in the Ilam district in the very far east corner of Nepal (Thokar, 2009). Thus the spread of this language through isolated diaspora communities appears to not have been a one-off event.

4 Documentation of Lamjung Yolmo

The documentation of Lamjung Yolmo is currently being undertaken as part of the author's PhD. This project consists of the production of a short grammar of the language, and more detailed focus on the copular system of the language, which, like in related Bodic languages such as Sherpa (Kelly,

2004) and Lhasa Tibetan (Tournarde and Dorje, 2003) is the source of much epistemic modal information. Community materials, including the production of a small dictionary, are also being made at the community's request.

5 Conclusion

This paper has been a brief introduction to the Tibeto-Burman language Lamjung Yolmo. This small group of speakers is a timely reminder that Nepal's rich tapestry of languages is made more complex by the movement of people and the establishment of independent diaspora communities.

References

Blair, F. 1990. *Survey on a shoestring*. Arlington: SIL International and The University of Texas.

Clarke, G. E. 1980. 'A Helambu History'. *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* . Vol 4. 1-38.

Clarke, G. E. 1990. 'Ideas of merit (Bsod-nams), virtue (Dge-ba), blessing (byin-rlabs) and material prosperity (rten-'brel) in Highland Nepal'. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford.* Vol 21:2. 165-184.

Desjarlais, R. R. 2003. *Sensory biographies: lives and deaths among Nepal's Yolmo Buddhists*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Digital Himalaya. 2010. http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/. [12 February, 2010].

Hari, A. M. n.d.. *Yohlmo Sketch Grammar*.

Hari, A. M. and C. Lama. 2004. *Hyolmo-Nepālī-Angrejī śabdakośa* (Yohlmo-Nepali-English dictionary). Kathmandu: Central Dept. of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University.

Höhlig, M. 1978. 'Speaker orientation in Syuwa (Kagate) '. *Papers on discourse*. J. E. Grimes. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 50: 19-24.

Höhlig, M. and A. M. Hari. 1976. 'Kagate phonemic summary'. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies.

Kelly, B. F. 2004. 'A grammar of Sherpa'. *Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: Manange and Sherpa*. C. Genetti (ed.) Pacific Linguistics: 232-440.

Lewis, M. P. 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Sixteenth edition. http://www.ethnologue.com. [11 February 2009].

Thokar, R. 2009. 'Linguistic fieldwork in Jhapa and Ilam districts'. A paper presented in the 30th Annual conference of Linguistics Society of Nepal. Kathmandu.

Thurgood, G. 2003. 'A subgrouping of the Sino-Tibetan languages: the interaction between language contact, change, and inheritance'. *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. G. Thurgood and R. J. LaPolla (eds.). London, Routledge: 3-21.

Tournarde, N. and S. Dorje. 2003. *Manual of standard Tibetan: Language and civilisation*. Ithaca: Snowlion Publications.

NEOLOGISATION OF TERMS IN BANGLA: THE SOCIO-LINGUISTIC APPROACH IN BANGLADESH

Mohammad Daniul Huq
daniulhuq@yahoo.co.in

Suitable terms in Bangla have been a major concern of the Linguists. This paper attempts to take up the issue from the view point of socio-linguistic approach that has been thought to be prime aid. The writer tries to come up with an accommodative strategy which can linguistically be viable and optimal.

1 Background

Addressing the problem of suitable terms in Bangla Language has been a major concern for the language `Pundits' and Linguists let alone of the common scholars. Efforts to an effective use of proper terms in Bangla dates back to the turn of 18th century, while some workable prescripts could not be developed, for the educated gentry's practicing, even after Bangla language gained its momentum during the silver age of 19th century. Nonetheless, with the advancements of Bangla language and culture this vibrating language had assimilated quite a good number of terms for varied use in different fields catering the needs of pragmatic use.

Of the plausible practice `neologisation' had played a role in combating the problem of proper terms in Bangla.

Neologism has been described in dictionary as `creating or using new words'. We take the advantage of using the term "Neologisation (not generally found in dictionary) as the process or the activities regarding creating new words/terms or coining some lexical item that are necessary for fortifying any live language. In this presentation we would hold not to words as such, but new uses in the light of terminology practice and dissemination.

Bangla language with its unique feature of assimilating elements from other languages has been going through the vintage of Lexical Expansion for quite some times from during the turn of the modern age. This will be the base of our forthcoming discussion.

Academicians (theorist for that matter) would hold that terminology does not grow "naturally" but has to be implied to specific institutions that define fields of work, creation procedure, interests, normative values and educational system which allow people to acquire knowledge and skill in different areas and consequently their corresponding terminology. This may be labeled as "cultivated terminology'.

Since there is no organized way of receiving foreign terminologies and spreading those through our language community, present social, economical (political as well) and scientific influences determine terminology adaptation.

1.1 Two kinds of terminologies

Here comes by a `phenomenon' which we can call "practical terminology" as against "cultivated terminology". The first one mentioned above appears in school books, scientific and technical works, translations from English or other foreign languages and spread among cultivated people : professors, researchers and all practitioners. But the second one, not contained in books and high variety of language, develops "naturally" from common people -- may be : technicians of "low skills, advertisers, employees of different jobs of rank and file. The difference between "high" and "low" jobs is, of course, a socially conditioned distinction appearing at least in Bangladesh context.

1.2 Basic facts

Terminologists, translators and linguists have been paying attention to cultivated terminology, while the practical one is

usually considered as 'jargons'. Some basic facts about practical terminology can be put forth. (a) How does it work? (b) From where does it proceed? (c) How does it communicate?

Rest of the presentation attempts to relate these questions altogether.

Since there is no organized way for receiving foreign terminologies and spreading those throughout our language community, present social, political, economic and scientific influences determine, as indicated above, terminological adaptation. The linguistic problem always has a solution, but the best of it will be of no use if it does not consider social and political variables.

In our present context it is implied that, one can create new terms in Bangla, recycle old words with new meaning, borrow from our common Sanskrit roots, adapt foreign language terms, borrow them, create acronyms etc., but one always has to pay attention to such preconditions like language attitude, social differences, political and economic dependency, etc.

2 Need of terms in Bangla

Bangla, besides being the state language of Bangladesh, is the general medium of education, the prime language of daily life (let alone a strong base for a rich literary heritage and vibrant culture), is at a brisk need of coping with the speed of digital age. Term innovation and adaptation has thus become a vital factor for the language `care-takers' and the users-on-the-ground.

But terminology planners of Bangla users from the very beginning have been searching for a viable technique, coupled with problems of dissemination and acceptability.

2.1 How to go about it

Several different views and techniques were advocated and practiced as experiments, but with little acceptability. Some of the views may be recalled for our present reference:

- European terms should be transferred as they were, without any formal change except for script.

- Except for names, objects, equipments, apparatus and binomial names, all other technical terms should be translated into the language (Choudhury, 1975).

- Throughout the 19th century there was a persistent demand to avoid as far as possible the crude transfer of expressions in accordance with graphical equivalence.

- Deliberateness of term innovation was stressed on the plea that "if one courageously introduced a term, it would somehow gain currency. (Trivedi, 1894).

- The necessity of terminological innovation in language and viewing of terminology were from the vantage point of lexical borrowing. It was argued that the nature of term innovation depended on the characteristics of the language concerned. (Chetterji, 1953).

- Three principles and techniques of coining terms in Bangla were taken well: borrowing, loan translation and word-building (innovation). One of the most favoured source of expression forms for Bangla was 'indigenous' one. (Ray, 1972). In Bangladesh, Muhammad Enamul Haque (1973), an active organizer of a number of language planning agencies, himself a term innovator, enunciated two principle: (1) Translation and (2) Assimilation. He advocated most the 'Folk creativity' for the adaptation of exogenous words (though he proposed that if a term is found to be used in six languages without any change, then the term should be considered as

international and there should be no need for coining a new form for the term).

3 The nomenclature

The general masses of the country are, as we understand, not closely involved with these technical things. They are used to creating their own terms and eulogizing which are in most cases Folk-etymological in nature (This is what we mentioned as 'neologisation'). This process continues: folk-etymologies are created by the half-educated masses of the country according to either the principle of assimilation or the principle of translation.

How do they go about it?

3.1 Principle of assimilation

A strong oral tradition gives uneducated people a real capacity for adapting foreign words. They transfer a foreign word by transference of the sound-segment in the word into a sound of their own language. Examples:

bomb বোমা [boma]; *life-buoy* বয়া [boya]; *burge* বজরা [bɔzra]; ইস্কুরুপ [iskurup] ; *bolt* বল্টু [boltu]

These terms are created out of their own enthusiasm for innovation and their immediate need to communicate. We must note that, the capabilities of the masses to adopt foreign terminologies in their own ways are not commonly found in the so-called sophisticated technical people.

The principal objective of a term, as we understand it, is to inspire or illuminate, express or signify one or more than one thing, mood or act to the mind of the listener/reader. But in most cases, it is difficult to find terminology parallel to foreign term. Consider, for example, the following term:

Latin: *Alma mate* "cherishing or fostering mother"

the school, college or the university one has attended.

A parallel Bangla term can be coined for this- মাতৃকল্প বিদ্যায়তন meaning "the educational institution that is like a mother".

But for a term like Japanese *Tsunami* there is no other way than to retain the main phonological structure and accept the nearest possible one ''সুনামী'' [sunami]. That is how English Kala azar a chronic, (usually fatal disease that used to occur in Asia, especially in the Indian subcontinent) was derived from Hindi কালা আজর [kala-azar] meaning *black disease*. And Bangla, being genealogically close to Hindi, adopted ''কালাজ্বর'' [kala:jɔr] meaning *black fever*.

3.1.2 Translation principle

The second consideration can be as follows:

Most of the people responsible for introducing and making new words/terms widely usable hold that the original foreign one are made to express certain connotations, clearly and vividly, which Bangla terms will lack. But the nature, versatility and power of assimilation by Bangla can take well care of these problems. Example:

English terminology	Translated wrongly	Correct version
economic function	অর্থনৈতিক কর্মকাও	অর্থনৈতিক কর্মধার (economic variety)
heart transplantation	হৃদয় বদল	হৃ পিও সংযোজন (exchange of heart)

4 The social aspect

From the examples presented above we would now shift to our locus where neologisatin can be viewed as social aspect as it is. At the age of digital devise and time Bangla has to tackle with flow of global input of new lexical items. A classic

example can be the "*mobile phone*" that has taken the urban as well as rural lives over. Now the very 'word' mobile has lost its original semantic value indicating some think that is movable or can go around. The grammatical category of the word 'mobile' (an adjective) has taken a new dimension with the coined term 'mobile phone'-- some times only 'a mobile' being changed to the noun category. The smart Bangla society has radiantly neologised it to the name of ''মুঠোফোন'' [muthofon] conversely meaning 'a phone set that is held within the palm grip'.

This very term mobile has already drifted to another dimension, having expression like 'mobile' being used as a verb : ওনাকে মোবাইল করো [onake mobail koro] --- "make him a call through a mobile phone".

4.1 The commoners' technique

There are some classical examples of neologiging by the commoners in catering the social need.

(a) *Shallow* is an English word becoming a particular term in Bangladesh meaning "a typical mechanized country boat -- powered by a motor-engine that is used in agriculture power tiller". Power tiller motor being the most easily available was fitted in shallow water tube-wells, consequently powering country boat by indigenous technology in the 80's. That instantly gave the notion to the commoners to call the converted boats with a neat name of *shallow.*

(b) The innovative indigenous technicians went further to use this motor-engine for powering yet another typical country-vehicle, a three wheeler, neologiging that by even more a sarcastic term "*nosimon*" নসিমন [nɔsimən]. No folk-tale or etymological explanation or background can be had of except that it denotes "a kind of three wheeled country transport vehicle, run by power tiller motor-engine, which can carry a load of some 2 tons or 12 passengers". The social acceptance does not care about the linguistic error or proto-type semantic values, but vintage is the gain of the game. We take all these along the whole gamut per. se.

5 Conclusion

Term coining had never been a prime concern of Language Planners in Bangla. There has not been great deal written in the Bangla morphological literature about 'new terms' either, despite the fundamental importance of this topic with its striking phenomenon suitable for many / diverse analysis. Bangla being the 5th Language of the present world is highly enriched by very many reasons with its versatility and linguistic features. As a member of the largest language family of the world (Indo-European), Bangla is unique and markedly advanced due to its "Sound System" and adaptation of lexical items from any language. Further, being genetically related to Sanskrit, its etymological compatibilities are no less capable of handling and organizing morpho-phonemic process quite amicably in diversified situations. Socio-cultural mosaic then becomes as one important contribution to this area that may lead us to newer attributes to lexical expansion.

Reference

Anisuzaman 1966. 'PoroBhasha O PoriBhasha'. reprinted in *BanlaBhasha*. 1970. Dhaka: Khan Brothers and Publications .

Bangla Academy Publication 1973. *Boigganik O Karigori PoriBhasha Obhidhan* (Scientific and Technical Terminology Dictionary). Dhaka: Bangladesh.

Cheterjji, S.K. 1926. *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*. University of Calcutta.

Cheterjji, S.K. 1928. *Bhasha Prokash Bangla Baykoron* (Bangla Grammar : Language Expression). Calcutta.

Cheterjji, S.K. 1942. *Indo Aryan and Hindi*. Ahmedabad. India.

Cheterjji, S.K. 1953. 'Bangla Bhasaye Boigganik PoriBhasha' (Bangla Terminology for Science in *Bangla Bhasha Proshonge*. Calcutta.

Choudhury, Rama. 1975. 'Bigganer Bangla PoriBhasha' (Bangla Terminology for Science). *JISTA*. Vol. 3-4.

Government of Bangladesh Publication. 1975. *The National Education Commissiona Report*.

Government of Bangladesh Publication 1981. *The Census Report of Bangladesh*.

Haq, Muhammad Enamul. 1973. 'PoriBhasha'. *Proceedings of the Seminar on use of Bangla in Higher Education and Practical Life*. Dhaka: Jahangirnagar University.

Hai, Muhammad Abdul. 1961. 'Amader PoriBhasha Somoshya' (Our Terminology Problem) in *Ittefaq*. Dhaka.

Ibrahim. Mohammad. 1972. 'Boigganik PoriBhasha Niti' (Scientific Terminology Principles) in *Biggan Shamoiki*. Dhaka.

Thakur, Rabindranath. 1929. 'Shobdo Choyon' (Compiling of Words) in *Bangla Shobdotattaya*. Calcutta: Vishya Bharoti Publication.

Thakur, Rabindranath. 1940. 'Bangla Bhasha Poricoy' (Introduction of the Bangla Language) in *Works of Rabindranath*. Calcutta: Vishya Bharoti Publication.

Ray, Punnya Sloka. 1972. 'Bangla PoriBhasha Shankalaner Riiti Niiti' (Rules and regulations: Compilation of Bangla Terminology). in *Probashi.* Calcutta.

Trivedi, Ramendra Sunder. 1894. 'Boigganik PoriBhasha' (Scientific Terminologies), in *Shahittya Parishat Potrika.* Calcutta.

University of Dhaka Publication. 1972. *The History of Bengal*.

SOCIAL STATUS AND INTIMACY IN
THE CHARACTERS OF SHAKESPEARE

V. K. Jain
Meena Jain
vinayprof@gmail.com

Thee is generally used in Shakespeare by a master to a servant. Being the appropriate address to a servant, it is used in confidential and good-humoured utterances. *You* was received by a master. Hindi *tu* and *aap* express roughly the same social meanings as English *thou/thee* and *you* used to express respectively.

1 Introduction

The pronouns *thou*, *thee* and *you* have been reduced to *you* whereas in Hindi we still have all the three pronouns: *aap*, *tum* and *tu*. It reveals that our society has not yet reached the unidimentional solidarity semantics toward which the present European pronominal usage seems to be moving.

"Farewell to *you*; and *you*; and *you*, Volumnius,
Farewell to *thee*, too, Strato".

[Julius Caesar**.** V.5.33]

The difference between *thee* and *you* is well illustrated by the farewell address of Brutus to his schoolfellow Volumnius and his servant Strato. *Thou/thee* is generally used in Shakespeare by a master to a servant. Being the appropriate address to a servant, it is used in confidential and good-humoured utterances. During Elizabethan age, pronoun *you* and *ye* were considered as honorific pronoun used to address to a single person in reverence and polite distance and pronoun *thou* and *thee* were nonhonorific- used by a superior to his inferior.

Pronouns are linguistic reflections of human relationships. "They indicate systematically a person's social status in terms of class, age, sex, education and so on. Their use also seems to be geared to a complex of attitudes, sentiments, and traditions and reveals a deeper cognitive and emotional aspect of the interlocutor's personality. Pronouns serve not merely as a bridge between the individuals but also as a kind of "Emotional capital" which can be invested and manipulated in order to achieve a specific result. The differential usage of pronouns has been institutionalized as a means of defining and affirming both the identity and the status of the speaker and the person addressed. In fact, a good deal of information regarding the social structure and psychological make-up of the addressing dyad can be inferred from an examination of these verbal art forms in their two indispensable and interrelated dimensions-linguistic and sociological. Friedrich's work on the pronouns of nineteenth century Russian literature has led "to the inference of a relational system of positional slots in the status system and of other culturally specific categories" (1966:252).

Brown and Gilman (1960:253) who studied the use of *tu* and *vous* among the Parsian students at university in Boston affirm that "a man's consistent pronoun style gives away his class status and his political views". They also maintain that "society is now changing rapidly and, consistent with that change, the norms of pronouns usage are also changing". Some other linguists have identified Brown and Gilman's 'power' and 'solidarity' dimensions as formality and informality (Beidelmen, 1963; Pride, 1971; and politeness levels (Martin, 1964), confidence and respect (Moles, 1973), and 'socially remote', 'socially close'.

A sociolinguistic description of pronouns will describe not only the forms that occur but also how their choice is affected

by the contexts in which they occur. In normal usage a speaker may use one pronoun for a person, but in his use of non-normal pronoun he encodes some additional information he wants to convey in that particular context. The two dimensional analysis of Brown and Gilman in terms of 'power' and 'solidarity' is valuable for the study of the pronominal usage of marginalized characters of Shakespeare with a view to determine and analyze their normal and contextual meaning. It is in this framework that we have studied the pronouns used in English (*thou*, *thee ye*, *you*) and compared it with Hindi pronouns ('*tu*', '*tum*' and '*aap*') with a view to determine and analyze their normal and contextual meanings. Let us discuss the formal features of pronouns and their usage in different contexts.

In modern English we have only one second person pronoun, *You*, used both as singular and plural, whereas in Hindi we have pronouns *tu*, *tum* and *aap*. The Hindi pronominal system makes a distinction between honorific, non-honorific and general uses, but English does not make such distinctions.

In Middle English, it was still possible to express the idea of number in personal pronouns. As the singular of the second person pronoun *thou* was used as subject and *thee* as dative and accusative object, while in the plural ye served as subject and *you* as dative and accusative object. These grammatical functions *ye* and *you* were widely observed until the middle of the sixteenth century, and survived in the Biblical language. In the fourteenth century, however, the form *you,* with reference to one or more, sometimes replaced *ye* in the usual intercourse and later, during the sixteenth century, became more common than *ye*. In the Biblical language *ye* was uniformly employed as nominative and *you* as dative and accusative, as can be seen in the present version of the king James' version of the Bible.

Shakespeare's : *thou, thee* and *you* vs. Hindi: '*tu'*, *'tum'*, and '*aap*'

Like Hindi, *aap*, *tum* and *tu* Shakespearean English has second person singular (*thou*/*thee*) and plural (*ve*/*you*) pronouns. But in the thirteen century, under the influence of French, the plural form became a mark of politeness in general and was used in speaking to an equal as well as to a superior. The new polite form of addressing one person by the plural *ye* and *you* did not at once displace the older usage of employing *thou* and *thee*.

1.2 Thou

Thou is the nominative singular second person pronoun derived from old English *þu* (cf. Old Teutonic *þu*, Latin *tu*, and Sanskrit *twam*). The paradigms of *thou* in modern English are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	thou	ye, you
Dat./Acc	thee	you
Poss. (absol.)	thine	yours
(adj.)	thy	your

Thou and its transforms, *thee*, *thine* and *thy*, were in Old English (OE) used in ordinary speech; in Middle English they were gradually superseded by the plural forms, *ye*, *you*, *your* and *yours*, in addressing a superior, and (later) an equal, but were long retained in addressing an inferior. *Thou* is also used in addressing God or Christ, in homiletic language and in poetry, apostrophe, and elevated prose. *Thou* was also used in familiar intercourse, and *you* was employed as a polite form in formal relations.

Thou in Shakespeare's time was, not unlike *du* in German, the pronoun of: (i) affection towards friends; (ii) good-humoured superiority to servants; and (iii) contempt or anger to strangers. It has, however, already fallen into disuse, though it is seen occasionally in a higher poetic style and in the language of solemn prayer.

In Two Gentlemen of Verona, Valentine and Proteus in the first twenty lines of earnest dialogue use nothing but *thou*. But as soon as they begin to jest, "thou art" is found too seriously ponderous and we have, "*you* are over boots in love" (I.i.25) while the lighter *thee* is not discarded in "it boots thee not" (I.i.28). So in the word-fencing *you* and *your* are preferred, but an affectionate farewell brings them back again to *thou*.

Thou is generally used in Shakespeare by a master to a servant. Being the appropriate address to a servant, it is used in confidential and good-humoured utterances. The master, however, finding fault, may often resort to the unfamiliar *you*, (To the newly-engaged servant, Julia says: "I'll do what I can", Proteus blandly replies: "I hope *thou* wilt. (To Launce) How now, *you* whoreson peasant, where have *you* been these days loitering?")

                    [Two Gentlemen of Verona. iv.4.48.]

During the Elizabethan period, *thou* towards strangers who were not inferiors was an insult, "*If thou thouest* him some thrice, it shall not be amiss" (Twelfth Night. III.ii.48) is the advice given to Sir Andrew Aguecheek when he is on the point of writing a challenge. In present times, however, the pronoun *thou* is reserved for prayers and naive poetry, which was the form of familiar address to a single person in the past.

1.3 Thee

Thee is the accusative and dative singular second person pronoun, which was derived from: (i) OE accusative *dec*, *deh.* later *de* (cf. Latin *te*); (ii) OE dative *de*, *þe*. *Thee* is also used as nominative instead of *thou.* The Elizabethans reduced *thou* to thee.

"Hear thee, Gratiano !" (The Mercant of Venice. II.ii.189)
We have gone further and rejected it altogether.

1.4 Ye

Ye is the nominative plural (singular) second person pronoun, which was derived from OE Ze (cf. O. Teutonic *jus*, *juz;* Skt. *yuyam*). In ordinary use it is replaced by *you*. The first uses of ye as a reverential singular occurred in the thirteenth century (Kennedy, A.G. 1915) and seem to have been copied from the French nobility. When *you* displaced it as the ordinary nominative, it came to be used as objective singular and plural.

As the nominative or vocative plural of *thou*, OE *ye* was used in addressing a number of persons. In Middle English *ye* was used, instead of *thou*, in addressing a single person in order to show respect or deference. It was also used instead of *you* as objective singular or plural in 1449 (cf.OED).

The use of *ye* is found in the Bible but was disregarded by Elizabethan authors by whom it seems to have been generally used in questions, entreaties and rhetorical appeals. Ben Jonson said: "The second person plural is for reverence sake to some singular thing". He quotes from Gower:

"O good father dear,
    Why make ye this heavy cheer?"

A similar use is found in Shakespeare:

    "Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong".
                                        [Julius Caesar. III.i.91]

1.5 You

You is an objective (nominative), plural (singular), second person pronoun, which was derived from OE accusative and dative plural *eow*. Originally restricted to accusative and dative plural uses, *you* gradually replaced *ye* as nominative plural in 14th- 15th centuries and also by extension of the deferential plural came into general use for *thou* and *thee*. *You* is now, in ordinary use, the second person pronoun for any number and case.

The singular *you* is used in addressing a person (or thing) in reverence and polite distance.

(At last) in the thirteenth century, under the influence of French, the plural form became a mark of politeness in general and was used in speaking to an equal as well as to a superior. In the Standard English prose of the eighteenth century, *thou* and *thee* were entirely replaced by *you*, so that the form of polite address became general in the common intercourse.

2. Pronouns in Hindi

2.1 Tu

Skt. *tvaya*> Prakrit tuam > Apbhransha tuham > Hindi tu.

Children use it obligatorily for each other. Parents normally teach their children not to use pronoun tu for each other. Quite a few children reported that they did not say or did not like to say tu, but it just slipped out of the mouth. An attitude of shame and self-hatred connected with tu makes it an 'undesirable' pronoun.

The use of tu for superiors like parents, teachers, boss, etc., is one of the few prohibited usages of Hindi. Probably on account of the connotation of disrespect and insult associated with it, tu has become one of the most stigmatized words in the Hindi language.

2.2 Tum

Tum is derived from the Sanskrit pronoun tvam : Skt. tvam > Prakrit tumha > Apbhransha tumhai > Hindi tum. Tum is the most common form of the nominative plural of the second person, which has arisen from skt. Nominative singular tvam. Hindi tum is like English plural pronoun you.

The contexts in which tum is marked are less than those of tu and aap. It can be said that marked usage of an alternate is in inverse proportion to its normal usage. The greater the contexts of normal usage, the less the contexts of marked usage and vice versa. Tum tends to co-vary either both tu and aap in unmarked contexts. As a result, it loses its markedness in frequency as well as in intensity. That may be one reason why it is the most favoured of all pronouns. The relationships where tum is marked are parents-children, brother and sister, school friends and master-servant.

2.3 Aap

Aap has decended from Skt. aatman:, aatman > Prakrit appo > Hindi aap (Vajpei, 1966:255).

It is an 'honorific' pronoun used instead of tu or tum whenever it is intended to show respect to the person addressed. Like tum, aap is also a plural pronoun used for singular to express more respect.

Among all the pronouns, aap shows maximum social distance between the speakers and the addressee. It is a pronoun of high respect and, whenever such respect is due to the addressee, aap is used for him. Brown and Ford (1961:377), while analyzing the address system in American English, have suggested that "it is to be expected in a society whose values are more strongly linked to achieved personal attributes than to ascribed attributes... that occupation would prevail over age in the determination of deference". In the traditional Yiddish community, however, where values are at least as strongly linked to ascribed personal attributes such as age, family history, learning, inherited wealth, etc., age prevails over occupation in the determination of deference (Slobin, 1963).

The process of personal interaction in a given society and its pronominal usage and address forms indicate differences of dominance, intimacy of distance, equality or differential status of the addresser and the addressee. The nature of the relationship between linguistic structures and social and cultural patterns is a central issue in sociolinguistics. Palkornkul's (1957:27) study of the Thai pronominal system has revealed that "A choice of a pronominal variant is not made arbitrarily. On the contrary, there are systematic variant rules to guide and govern the speaker's choice". Paul Friedrich's (1972:273) work on the Russian pronoun also points the same fact. His announced purpose is to demonstrate "how speech usage is determined by cultural principles" by positing a new set of semantic categories. Friedrich has supplemented Brown and Gilman's (1960) two dimensional (i.e. Power and Solidarity) analyses with an additional eight-fold system of his own, comprising topic of discourse, contexts of the speech event, age, generation, sex, kinship status, direct spoken, and group membership. Relative jural and political authority and emotional solidarity are also features of Friedrich's system. He asserts that the ten discrimination and their patterns of combinations account for nearly all the variability in his corpus.

3 Conclusion

Thus Hindi *tu* and *aap* express roughly the same social meanings as Shakespeare's *thou* and *you* used to express respectively. Like Hindi pronouns, Old English and Middle English used to make the distinctions between honorific (ye, you) and non-honorific (thou, thee), general and specific uses of pronouns. A pronoun of intimacy is observed among friends, family, colleague of same age group and other familiar persons etc. People of higher status use lower pronoun to the people of lower status as to younger children or subordinate. Modern English does not make such distinctions and uses you in singular as well as in plural contexts. The pronouns *thou, thee* and *you* have been reduced to *you* whereas in Hindi we still have all the three pronouns - *aap, tum* and *tu*. It reveals that our society has not yet reached the unidimentional solidarity semantics toward which the present European pronominal usage seems to be moving.

The semantic system of modern English is quite different from that of the Elizabethan English, so much so that we can no longer even follow the shifts which take place in the

personal relationship of Celia and Rosalind in *As You Like It*, indicated by their sensitive switching between *thou* and *you* (Mc Intosh, 1963).

References:

Beidelman, Thomas O. 1963. 'Terms of address as clues to social relationships'. In Gouldner, A.W. (eds). *Modern Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Human Interaction*. New York.

Brown, Roger W. and Gilman, A. 1960. 'The pronouns of power and solidarity'. In Sebeok, Thomas A. (ed). *Style in Language*. Cambridge/Mass: The MIT Press.

Brown, Roger W. and Ford, Marguerite. 1961. 'Address in American English'. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. Vol 62. 375-85.

Friedrich, Paul. 1966. 'The structural implications of Russian pronominal usage'. In Bright, William (ed). *Sociolinguistics*. The Hague: Mouton.

Geertz, Clifford. 1960. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Kellogg, S.H. 1876. *A grammar of the Hindi language*. London: Kegan Paul.

Kennedy, A. G. 1915. *The Pronoun of Address in English Literature of the Thirteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Martin, Samuel E. 1964. 'Speech levels in Japan and Korea'. In Hymes, Dell (ed). *Language in Culture and Society*. New York. Harper and Row. 407-15.

Moles, Jerry A. 1974. 'Decision and variability: The usage of address forms, pronouns and languages by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Peru'. *Anthropological Linguistics* Vol 16/9. 442-63.

Palakornkul, Angkab. 1975. 'A sociolinguistic study of pronominal usage in spoken Bangkak Thai'. *Linguistics*. 165: 11-39.

Pride, J. B. 1971. *The social meaning of language*. London: OUP.

Pritchard, Evans. 1964. *Institutions of Primitive Society*. Oxford: Baril Blackwell.

Scholberg, H. C. 1955. *A basic grammar of modern Hindi*. Delhi: Central Hindi Directorate.

Slobin, Dan. 1963. 'Some aspects of pronoun address in Yiddish'. *Word*. Vol 19. 193-202.

A CHUNK ALIGNMENT MODEL FOR STATISTICAL MACHINE TRANSLATION ON ENGLISH-NEPALI PARALLEL CORPUS

Shashidhar Ram Joshi   Yoga Raj Joshi
sashi@healthnet.org.np   joshi.yogaraj@gmail.com

The alignment model first performs tagging by using the TnT tagger and then does chunking of the both tagged sentences using the grammatical rules of bracketing the chunks. And finally it gives the alignment between the source chunks and target chunks using the statistical information gathered from bilingual sentence aligned corpus.

1 Introduction

Chunk alignment is the process of mapping the chunk correspondence between the source language text and the target language text which will further help on the other application of the NLP tasks including the Machine Translation. The alignment model consists of three steps: Tagging, Chunking and Alignment. Tagging of the test corpus is done by the famous TnT tagger and the chunking is done by using the grammatical rules of bracketing the chunks. And finally alignment is done between the source and target sentences. The IBM model-1 has been used for the alignment algorithm in which the total alignment probability only depends on the lexicon probability for the given sentence pair. The knowledge-base for statistical information in the alignment is generated by training the bilingual sentence aligned corpus using Expectation Maximization (EM) algorithm. Our alignment model relies on the information from tagging and chunking process of the given sentence pair. Hence the model accuracy not only depends on the alignment algorithm and the training corpus but also on the former two models tagger and the chunker. It has been observed that the

training corpus having the large quantity of high quality bilingual data and the sufficient chunking rules for bracketing the chunks of the given sentence pair will enhance the accuracy of the model.

1.1 Statistical machine translation

Statistical Machine Translation is an approach to the whole translation problem that is based on finding the most probable translation of a sentence, using data gathered from a bilingual corpus (Jurafsky and Martin 2006). The goal is the translation of a text given in some source language into a target language. We are given a source ('English') sentence $e_1^m = e_1 \ldots e_i \ldots e_m$ which is to be translated into a target ('Nepali') sentence $n_1^n = n_1 \ldots n_j \ldots n_n$. Among all possible target sentences, we will choose the sentence with the highest probability:

$$\hat{n}_1^n = \arg\max_{n_1^n} \left\{ P\left(n_1^n \mid e_1^m\right) \right\}$$

The argmax operation denotes the search problem, i.e. the generation of the output sentence in the target language.

In probabilistic model, the best target language (Nepali) sentence N= $n_1^n = n_1 \ldots n_j \ldots n_n$ is the one whose probability P (N|E) is the highest, where E= $e_1^m = e_1 \ldots e_i \ldots e_m$ is the source language (English) sentence. Where e_i is the ith chunk of English sentence and n_j is the jth chunk of Nepali sentence and m and n are the length of English and Nepali sentence respectively. The length is measured in terms of number of chunks present in a sentence. This can be expressed by the application of Bayes' rule:

$$Best-translation \ \hat{N} = \arg\max_N \ P(N \mid E)$$

$$= \arg\max_N \frac{P(E \mid N) * P(N)}{P(E)}$$

$$= \arg\max_N P(E \mid N) * P(N)$$

This rule says we should consider all possible target language (Nepali) sentences N and choose the one that maximizes the product $P(E \mid N) * P(N)$.

We can ignore the denominator P (E) inside the argmax operation since we are choosing the best Nepali sentence for a fixed English sentence E, and hence P (E) is a constant.
The factor P (N) is the Language Model for Nepali language; it says how probable a given sentence is in Nepali. P (E|N) is the Translation Model; it says how probable an English sentence is as a translation, given a Nepali sentence.

1.2 Chunk alignment

Chunk alignment can be viewed as an extended idea of word alignment, the process of mapping the chunk correspondence between the source language text and the target language text. Chunk is a group of related words which forms the meaningful constituent in sentence. It is a grammatical unit of a sentence.

According to Abney (1991), a typical chunk consists of a single content word surrounded by a constellation of function words. And Bharati et al. (n.d.) define the chunk as- "A minimal (non recursive) phrase (partial structure) consisting of correlated, inseparable words/entities, such that the intra chunk dependencies are not distorted".

Before aligning the chunks in the bitext, the first step is to divide the sentence in to the smaller units called chunks. The process is known as chunking. Chunking is sometimes called shallow parsing which involves dividing the sentences in to non-overlapping elements on the basis of very superficial analysis. It includes discovering the main constituents of the sentence (NCH, VCH, ADJCH).

Example:

 [This book] [is] [on the table]

[यो किताब] [टेबुल मा] [छ]
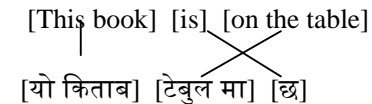
Detection of corresponding chunks between two sentences that are translations of each other is usually an intermediate step of SMT but also has been shown useful for other applications of bilingual lexicons (phrase level dictionary), and projection of resources and cross language information retrieval. In addition it is also used to solve the computational linguistics tasks such as disambiguation problems.

2 Problem definition

A key issue in modeling the sentence translation probability P(E|N) is the question of how we define the correspondence between the words of Nepali sentence and the words of English sentence. The idea here is extended to the chunk level. Chunk alignment lies between word alignment and sentence alignment. When a person speed-reads through a text, he or she looks for key phrases rather than fully parse the sentence and the stress falls either in the beginning of the chunk or at the end of the chunk. And one of the psycholinguistic evidence is; while the human translator translates the sentence from one language to other he/she pick the chunk of a source sentence at a time in his/her mind and translate it to the target language. And another thing of bracketing the sentence at the chunk level reduces the length of the sentence and hence reduces the complexity of the alignment. Hence the motivation is towards the chunk level alignment.

Formally, the following definition of alignment at chunk level is used:

We are given an English (source language) sentence E=$e_1^m = e_1 \ldots e_i \ldots e_m$ and a Nepali (target language) sentence N=$n_1^n = n_1 \ldots n_j \ldots n_n$ that have to be aligned. We define an alignment between the two sentences as a subset of the Cartesian product of the chunk position; that is, an alignment A is defined as:

$$A \subseteq \left\{ (i, j) : i = 1 \ldots m; \ j = 1 \ldots n \right\}$$

The alignment mapping consists of associations i→j, which assigns a chunk e_i in position i to a chunk n_j in position j=a_i.

For a given sentence pair there is a large number of alignment, but the problem is to find out the best alignment:

$$\hat{a}_1^m = \arg\max_{a_1^m} P(e_1^m, a_1^m \mid n_1^n)$$

The alignment $\hat{a}_1^m$ is also called the Viterbi Alignment of the sentence pair (e_1^m, n_1^n). We propose to measure the quality of the alignment model using the quality of the Viterbi Alignment compared to a manually produced reference alignment.

3 Specification of the model
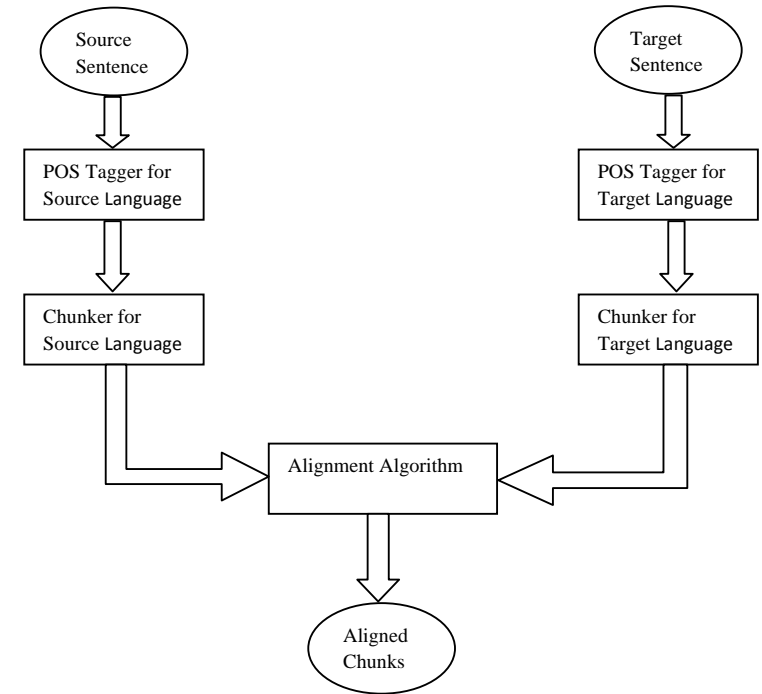
3.1 Description of the model

The total work is mainly divided into the series of steps of tagging, chunking and alignment of the chunk annotated sentence pair. The model first takes a sentence pair on both languages and feeds into the tagger used by the model. Here TnT tagger (Thorsten n.d.) is used as a POS tagger for providing the part-of-speech category to the every words of the sentence. The chunker will then used for bracketing the words of a sentence and provide them a chunk category based on the chunk rules. The chunk rules are the regular

expressions in which, the symbols are POS tags of the words associated with the words of the sentence. The chunker here used is thus a regular expression based chunker. The aligner will then align the chunks of both sentences based on the knowledge gathered from the training of the bilingual corpus and the different heuristics of the linguistics.

4 Alignment in SMT

Among the different alignment between the chunks of the given sentence pair, the best alignment will be obtained. The word translation probability table is found from running the training corpus by EM algorithm.

4.1 Alignment algorithm

IBM model-1 is used to formulize the parameter of the model (Brown et al 1990).

$$\hat{a} = \arg\max_{a} \quad P(a \mid e, n)$$

$$= \arg\max_{a} \quad P(a, e \mid n)$$

$$= \arg\max_{a} \quad P(a \mid n) * P(e \mid a, n)$$

$$= \arg\max_{a} \quad \frac{1}{n^m} * \prod_{j=1}^{m} P(e_j \mid n_{a_j})$$

$$= \arg\max_{a_j} \quad P(e_j \mid n_{a_j}), \qquad 1 \le j \le m$$

The advantage of IBM Model-1 is it does not need to iterate over all alignments. It is easy to figure out what the best alignment is for a pair of sentences (the one with the highest $P(a \mid e, n)$ or $P(a, e \mid n)$). This can be done without iterating over all alignments.

The lexicon probability (here in our model chunk translation probability) can be calculated in terms of lower level word translation probability.

$$P(e_c \mid n_c) = \arg\max_{a} \prod_{p=1}^{K} t(e'_p \mid n'_{a_p})$$

Where, K is the length of the English chunk in terms of number of words.

The word translation table is generated from the training of bilingual corpus by EM algorithm.

The alignment algorithm described above can be summarized as:

Let $e = e_{c_1}...e_{c_i}...e_{c_m}$ and $n = n_{c_1}...n_{c_j}...n_{c_n}$, where e_{c_i} is

English Chunk and n_{c_j} is Nepali chunk and assume,

$$e_{c_i} = e_{w_1}...e_{w_p}...e_{w_K} ,$$

$$n_{c_j} = n_{w_1}...n_{w_q}...n_{w_l}$$

For each English chunk e_{c_i} of English sentence

For each Nepali chunk n_{c_j} of Nepali sentence

For each word e_{w_p} in English Chunk

For each word n_{w_q} in Nepali chunk

Find the most probable word pair with greatest probability $t(e_{w_p} \mid n_{w_q})$

End For

End For

Find the most probable chunk pair with highest probability

$$P(e_{c_i} \mid n_{c_j}) = \prod_{p=1}^{k} t(e_{w_p} \mid n_{w_q})$$

End For

End For

5 Testing and analysis

The result is evaluated in terms of alignment precision and recall, as defined in the following:

$$Alignment\ \Pr ecision = \frac{\#chunks\ correctly\ aligned}{\#chunks\ aligned}$$

$$Alignment\ \operatorname{Re} call = \frac{\#chunks\ correctly\ aligned}{\#chunks\ should\ be\ aligned}$$

Precision is the number of correct results divided by the number of all returned results and *Recall* is the number of correct results divided by the number of results that should have been returned. The F_1 score can be interpreted as a weighted average of the precision and recall, where an F_1 score reaches its best value at 1 and worst score at 0.

The F-measure (**F₁ score**) is the harmonic mean of precision and recall:

$$F-measure = \frac{2 \times recall \times precision}{recall + precsion}$$

$$AER = 1 - F-measure$$

We have examined our implementation over a bilingual corpus containing 20 sentences. The result came to the following conclusion.

Precision= 75%

Recall= 80%

F-score = 77.4 %

AER=22.6%

The Precision rate gives the alignment accuracy when it is compared to the total alignment given by the model for the particular sentence where the Recall rate gives the accuracy of the alignment when it is compared to the actual alignment given by the human annotator. Here in our alignment model the Recall rate has been found greater than the Precision rate. i.e The model gives the better alignment accuracy against the human annotated alignment than the total alignment given by the model. The Alignment Error Rate (AER) is found to be 22.6%.

6 Conclusion

The alignment model first performs tagging by using the TnT tagger and then does chunking of the both tagged sentences using the grammatical rules of bracketing the chunks. And finally it gives the alignment between the source chunks and target chunks using the statistical information gathered from bilingual sentence aligned corpus. Our alignment model does rely on the information from tagging and chunking process of the given sentence pair. Hence the model accuracy not only depends on the alignment algorithm and the training corpus but also depends on the former two models tagger and the chunker. It has been observed that the model accuracy seems high for the sentences defined on the training corpus and the accuracy has been decreased for the sentences which are unknown to training corpus. So to obtain the better accuracy

of the model it is necessary to define training corpus having the large quantity of high quality bilingual data and the sufficient chunking rules for bracketing the chunks of the given sentence pair.

References

Abney, S. 1991. *Parsing by Chunks. In: Robert Berwick, Steven Abney and Carol Tenny (eds.), Principle-Based Parsing*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht.

Bharati, A.; Sharma, D. M.; Bai L. and Sangal, R. (n.d.) *AnnCorra: Annotating Corpora Guidelines for POS and Chunk Annotation for Indian Languages,* Technical Report (TR-LTRC-31), Language Technologies Research Centre IIIT. Hyderabad. http://ltrc.iiit.ac.in/MachineTrans/publications/technicalReports/tr031/posguidelines.pdf

Brown, P.; Cocke, J.; Della Pietra S.; Della Pietra, V.; Jelinek, F.; La_erty, J. D.; Mercer, R. and Roossin, P.S. 1990. *A statistical approach to machine translation*, Computational Linguistics. Vol. 16. no 2. 79–85. http://www.coli.uni-saarland.de/~thorsten/tnt/

Jurafsky, D. and Martin, J. H. 2006. *Speech and Language Processing: An Introduction to Speech Recognition Natural Language Processing and Computational Linguistic*.

Thorsten, B. n.d. *TnT- Statistical Part-of-Speech Tagger*.

CASE MARKING IN TAPLEJUNGE LIMBU

Sakindra Kumar Limbu

sakinsubba@yahoo.com

This paper tries to describe the case marking system in Taplejunge Limbu, a dialect of the Limbu language. This study investigates some case markers with regard to different case roles of noun (nominal) in this language.

1 Introduction

The Limbu people designate themselves by the name Yakthumba and their language by the name Yakthungpan or Yakthumba pan. This language belongs to Kirati branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-group of the Sino-Tibetan language family. The origin of the Limbu language is in the eastern parts of Nepal, especially Panthar, Taplejung, Terhathum, Dhankuta, Sankhuwasabha, Illam, Jhapa and Sunsari districts. The mother tongue speakers of Limbu are about 3, 33,633 (CBS Report of Nepal, 2001).

Taplejunge dialect is a variety of the Limbu language (i.e. Taplejunge including Tamorkhole, Yangrupe and Maiwakhole), other dialects are Phedappe, Pacthare and Chhathare (Weidert and Subba, 1985; Van Driem, 1987 and Chemjong, 2002). But, the five dialects of the Limbu language are Yangwarake/ Yangrupe, Tammarkhole, Panthare, Chathare, Phedappe (Mabo, 2008). Mabo (2008) writes that Taplejunge includes the Yangwarake/Yangruppe and Tammarkhole. So this study is concerned with Tammarkhole or Mewakhole Taplejunge dialect of the Limbu language.

The majority of speakers of this dialect reside in the Tamor valley and Mewakhola area of Taplejung district in the Eastern Nepal.

2 Case marking

Regarding the case marking, some studies have been carried out in Limbu. Weidert and Subba (1985) have shown five cases such as ergative, absolutive, vocative, comitative and locative in Limbu. Van Driem (1987) has described thirteen types of cases such as absolutive, ergative, instrumental, genitive, vocative, locative, comitative, meditative, elative, allative, intrative, comparative, the loan –*la.gi* and the genitive infinitive in Phedappe Limbu. Tumbahang (2007) has given twelve types of cases such as absolutive, ergative, instrumental, genitive, vocative, locative, comitative, meditative, ablative, allative, directive and comparative in Chhathare Limbu. Limbu (2007) has described nine types of cases such as absolutive, ergative, instrumental, genitive, comitative, locative, ablative, dative and vocative in Panthare Limbu. But, the case system of Taplejunge Limbu has not been studied yet.

2.1 Ergative

It takes ergative case when the NP is subject of the transitive verb in the past tense. There are two ergative markers such as <-re> in (1a) and <-le> in (b). But both markers can be used to denote the same ergative case.

(1)   a.   mohən-re sapla-ø ni-ru
           Mohan-ERG book-ABS read-PT
           'Mohan read a book.'

       b.   ram-re/le ṭək-ø cə-o
           Ram-ERG rice-ABS eat-PT
           'Ram ate rice. '

2.2 Absolutative[1]

There is not found absolutative case marker. The subject of the intransitive verb and object of the transitive verb are not marked.

(2)   a.   kʰune-ɸ   keŋ-e
            he-ABS   fall-PST
            'He fell down.'

       b.   məna-ɸ- n   se
           man- ABS- DEF   die.PT
           'The man died.' [Definite: The man died but not others.]

       c.   məna-ɸ   se
           man-ABS   die.PT
           'A man   died.' [Indefinite: Any man died.]

In (2a), there is absolutative case but not absolutaive case marker. In (2b), <-n> is not absolutative case marker but the marker of 'definiteness.

2.3 Locative

The suffix <-mu> occurs as a locative marker which denotes the spatial meaning.

---

[1] In spite of the gloss 'ABS' in Van Driem's grammar of Limbu, there is no absolutive case marker in kirati languages. The Limbu suffix <-in> is a marker of definiteness (Ebert, 1994: footnote-6). My study also shows that there is definite marker but not the absolutive case marker in Taplejunge Limbu.

(3)   a.   him-mu   a-mma   waʔ
           home- LOC PNM mother be-NPT
           'My mother is at home.'

       b.   bəzar-e-mu   jərik mana-ha me-wa-je
           market- LOC   many man-PL PL-be-PT
           'There were many people in the market.

2.4 Genitive (possessive)

Two suffixes <-re> and <-le> are used to employ the genitive case in Limbu.

(4)   a.   ram-re   kumpʰu-n   tə-e
           Ram-GEN brother- DEF come-PT
           'Ram's brother came.'

       b.   ram-le ku-him   maŋgʰa wa
           Ram-GEN DEF-house   far be.NPT
           'Ram's house is far.'

2.5 Comitative

The suffix <-nu> (meaning 'with' is used to mark comitative case.

(5)   səmaz-nu təŋ-ma-aŋ juŋ-ma po-ŋ
       society- COM adjust-INF live-INF be-NPT
       'We should adjust with the society.'

2.6 Instrumental

Two suffixes <-le> and <-lle> are the instrumental case markers in Limbu.

(6)   a.   ram-le cəmca-le   tək co   cə-wa
           Ram-ERG spoon-INST rice eat-NPT
           'Ram ate rice with the spoon.'

b. cukwa-hukki-lle tək cə-e
    right hand-INST rice eat-IMP
    'Eat rice with the right hand.

2.7 Mediative

The suffix <-lam> is used to denote the meditative sense (i.e. to achieve something by doing this) in Limbu.

(7) iŋga kancʰa-le   huk-lam   saman   pʰett-uŋ
     1SG brother-GEN hand-MED   luggage   bring-PT
     'I brought the luggage from the youngest brother's hand.'

In (7), the subject gets something (i.e. bag or luggage) after the work done by others' hand.

2.8 Ablative

Two suffixes <-mu> and <-munu> are used to denote the ablative case in Limbu.

(8) a. aŋga a-him-mu   je-aŋ
         1SG PNM-house-ABL come –PT
         'I came from my house.'

     b. aŋgaʔ nalbo   gabisə-munu   pʰer-aŋ
         1SG   Nalbo   VDC-ABL come-PT
         'I came from Nalbo VDC.'

     c. siŋbuŋe-munu pʰuŋ mutʰe
         tree -ABL   flower   fall-PT
         'The flower fell down from the tree.'

In (8a-b), there is ablative case marker <-mu> but in (8c), there is ablative case marker <-munu>.

2.9 Comparative

The suffix <-nulle> is a comparative case marker since it is a composite of the comitative suffix <-nu> and genitive suffix <-le>.

(9) a. kʰuneʔ aŋga- nulle-aŋ   keleba co-k
         3SG   1SG COMR-PRT   clever be-NPT
         'He is clever than I am.'

     b. krisnə   kusik/hekke iŋga pim-ma me-suk-nan
         3SG   COMR   1SG jump-INF NEG-can-NPT
         'I can't jump as much as Krishna does.'

The suffixes <-nulle> in (9a) and <-kusik/-hekke> in (9b) employ the comparative case.

2.10 Vocative

The suffix <-e> marks vocative case in Limbu.

(10) a. ansuwa-e etna pʰer-e
         brother (younger)-VOC here come-IMP
         'Brother (younger)! Come here. '

     b. anne-e him-mu pe
         elder sister-VOC home-LOC go-IMP
         'Sister (elder)! Go to home.'

3 Conclusion

In Taplejunge Limbu ten types of cases such as <re/le>, <nu>, <lam> etc. are found in this language. Even if Limbu has absolutaive case; there is not absolutive case marker. Same case markers can have different case roles.

Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
2SG	seconf person singular
3 SG	third person singular
ABS	absolutive
ABL	ablative
COM	comitative
COMR	comparative
DEF	definite
ERG	ergative
GEN	genitive(possesive)
INST	instrumental
INF	infinitive
IMP	Imperative
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NPT	non-past
MED	mediative
PRN	pronominal
PT	past
PNM	prenominal
PRT	particle
VDC	Village Development Committee
VOC	vocative

References

Blake, B. J. 1994. *Case*. Cambridge: Syndicate.

Chemjong, Iman Singh. 2002. *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Ebert, Karen H. 1994. *The structrure of kirati languages*. Zurich: University of Zurich.

Limbu, Birendra Kumar. 2007. 'Case in English and Limbu: A Comparatiove study'. M.ED. Thesis: T.U.

Mabo, Padam. 2008. 'Limbu Bhasa Ra Bhasika'. *Ningwaso smarika-2*. Kathmandu: Limbu Student Forum. TU. Kirtipur.

Payne, T.E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: a guide to field linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tumbahang, Govinda Bahadur. 2007. *A Descriptive grammar of Chhathare Limbu*: Ph. D. Thesis. TU.

Van Driem, George. 1987. *A grammar of Limbu*. Berlin, New York and Masterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.

Weidert, A. and B. Subba. 1985. *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary*. Amsterdam: Lobster Publications.

RELATIVIZATION IN BHOJPURI

Gopal Thakur Lohar
gtbs@ntc.net.np; gthakurvk@gmail.com

Though Ojha (1915), Shukla (1981), Tripathi (1987), Awadhut (1994), and Sharma & Ashka (2007) have written Bhojpuri Grammars and shed light on the relative clauses; they all have described the phenomenon either traditionally or structurally. This paper will try to discuss the morphosyntax of relativization in Bhopuri with Functional-Typological perspective.

1 Introduction

Ojha (1915), Shukla (1981), Tripathi (1987), Awadhut (1994), and Sharma & Ashka (2007) have written Bhojpuri Grammars and shed light on the relative clauses. Shukla and Tripathi have discussed relative clauses in Bhojpuri but structurally and the others look exactly traditional. Thus relativization in Bhojpuri has not yet been studied with a perspective of Functional-Typology. This paper will try to discuss the morphosyntax of relativization in Bhopuri with this new perspective. It will follow the following three parameters (Payne, 1997):

(i)   The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head;
(ii) The mode of expression of the relativized noun phrase, and;
(iii) The very grammatical relations that can be relativized: Givón (1990/2001).

The paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 presents the general phenomena of relativization in Bhojpuri. In the third section, the relative clauses are analyzed from the typological perception. The fourth, and the last, section summarizes the findings of the paper.

2 The Phenomena

(1)   a.   kʰʌʈiɑ pʌr bəiʈʰ-ʌl ɑdmi
           cot LOC sit-PP man
           'The man who is sitting on the cot'

      b.   mʌŋʌru ke kin-ʌl ɦɑ̃suɑ
           Mangaru GEN buy-PP sickle
           'The sickle that Mangaru bought'

      c.   [jʌon ɦɑ̃suɑ mʌŋʌru kin-lʌkʰ] u ɦɑ̃suɑ
           which sickle Mangaru buy-PT that sickle

           tej bɑ
           sharp be-NPT
           'The sickle that Mangaru bought is sharp.'

      d.   [jekʌr kes ujjʌr bɑ] u ɑdmi ɦʌmʌr bɑbɑ
           whose hair white be-NPT that man my grand-father
           hʌuʌn
           be-NPT.3.H
           'The man whose hair is white is my grand-father.'

The clauses in (1a) and (1b) are considered non-finite participial relative clauses as the verb in each clause is inflected with participial marker suffix *-ʌl*. They either restrict or modify the head noun. But the clauses in brackets in (1c) and (1d) are initiated by correlative relative clauses like *jʌon* and *jekʌr*, so, they are considered finite relative clauses. As in both the cases the relative clauses modify the head noun, non-finite or participial and finite or correlative relative clauses are nominal modifiers in Bhojpuri.

3 Typological parameters of the relative clauses

In this section, the relative clauses are analyzed in terms of the typological parameters (Payne, 1997):

i.   The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head;
ii. The mode of expression of the relativized NP, and;
iii. The very grammatical relations that can be relativized.

3.1 The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head

In Bhojpuri, there are three types of relative clauses in terms of their positions with respect to the head noun: externally headed, internally headed and headless.

3.1.1 Externally headed relative clause

In Bhojpuri, there are two types of externally headed relative clauses: pre-nominal and post-nominal relative clauses.

3.1.1.1 Pre-nominal relative clause

The pre-nominal relative clause precedes the head noun:

(2)   [jekɑ se ɦʌm rɑstɑ pucʰ-ni] u ɦʌmʌr
      whom DAT I way ask-PT that my

      sɑri ɦiʌ
      sister-in-law be-NPT.3S.nH
      'The woman whom I asked the way is my sister-in-law.'

The clause in brackets that is placed before the head noun and 'normally' modifies *u* and restricts the head NP *u ɦʌmʌr sɑri* is a correlative relative clause.

3.1.1.2 Post-nominal relative clause

In Bhojpuri, the correlative relative clause can also succeed the head NP:

(3)   u sʌb ke bʰɑwelɑ [je miʈʰ bolela]
      that all GEN like-Pass.NPT.3S.M who sweet speak-
      NPT.3S.M
      'All like the man who speaks sweetly.'

The clause in brackets that is placed after the head noun and has 'nominally' modified and restricted the head NP *u* is a correlative relative clause.

3.1.2 Internally headed relative clause

The head noun can also occur within the relative clause in Bhojpuri:

(4)   [jetnɑ log pʌhile rʌh-e] ʌbʰin nʌikʰe
      as many people before be-PT now be-NPT.NEG
      'There are not as many people as they were before.'

In this example, the head noun *log* is within the relative clause.

3.1.3 Headless relative clause

We also find some relative clauses in Bhojpuri, which themselves refer to the noun that they modify. They are considered headless Bhojpuri relative clauses, e. g.

(5)   a.   [je niyʌm toɽ-i] piʈ-ɑi
           whoever rule break-3.NPT beat-PASS.3.NPT
           'Whoever breaks the rule will be beaten.'

      b.   [je rʌɦ-i] rʌɦ-o
           whoever live-3.NPT live-3.IMP
           'Whoever will live here, let him live.'
           'Whoever will be here, let him be here.'

The clauses *je niyʌm toɽi* in (5a) and *je rʌɦii* in (5b) are the headless relative clauses.

3.2 The mode of expression of the relativized NP

The grammatical role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such role can be identified in a natural language by

using different syntactic strategies. In this sub-section, the main strategies that can be used in Bhojpuri relative clauses will be discussed. They include gap, pronoun retention and the use of different correlative pronouns.

3.2.1 The gap strategy

The relativized noun phrase can be left out in a relative clause or we can say, there can be a 'gap' after the correlative pronoun in a relative clause. This strategy helps identify the grammatical relation of the 'left out' noun phrase within the relative clause:

(6) u ʌorʌt [je hɑkim ke piʈ-lʌkʰ] pʌkʌɽ-ail
     that woman who officer-DAT beat-3S.PT.nH catch-
     3S.PASS.NPT.nH
     'The woman who beat the officer was caught.'

A gap is created after the relativizer *je* for the relativized NP *u ʌorʌt*. The grammatical role of this NP is the subject.

3.2.2 The pronoun retention strategy

In this strategy, a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the relativized NP by its position, its form, or both is retained within the relative clause:

(7) u uhe lʌika hʌ [je hʌm okʌr cehra kʌhio nɑ bisʌr-em]
     that the same boy is who I his face when NEG forget-NPT
     'That is the boy whose face I can never forget.'

The relative clause in the brackets has retained the possessive pronoun *okʌr*. This pronoun indicates the grammatical relation of the relativized NP. However, this type of strategy is not very frequently used in Bhojpuri.

3.2.3 The correlative pronoun strategy

The correlative relativizer *je/jʌon* (human singular*), jekʌni* (human plural) and *je/jʌtʰi* (non-human) are used in the relative clauses in Bhojpuri:

(8) a. [jʌone ɦᷪɑ̃ɽlʌgʌni] tʌone bʰʌnsiɑ
         who eats in the cooking pot s/he cook
         'The wo/man who eats in the cooking pot is the cook.'

     b. [je log kɑlʰ bʰẽʈ-ʌl rʌh-e] se sʌbʰekehu
         who people yesterday meet-PP be-PT that all

         bʰɑsɑsɑstri rʌh-e
         linguist   be-PT
         'The people who met yesterday were all linguists.'

     c. [je/jʌtʰi kʰɑ-eke mʌn lɑge] se/tʌtʰi kʰɑĩ
         whatever eat-INF wish that eat-IMP.H
         'Whatever you like, please eat.'

The relativizer *jʌone* in (8a) presents the grammatical role of the relativized NP as the subject (human singular). Similarly in (8b) the relativizer *je* shows the relativized NP is the subject (human plural) and in (8c) *je/jʌtʰi* is the direct object of the honorific imperative verb *kʰɑĩ.*

3.3 Grammatical relations that can be relativized

Most of the grammatical relations such as subject, object (direct and indirect), oblique, possessive, instrument, source and locative can be relaivized in Bhojpuri.

3.3.1 Subject

The NP in the subject position can be relativized:

(9)   [je kʌr-i] se kʰai
      who do-3S.NPT s/he eat-3S.NPT
      'The one who works gets benefited.'

The relativized NP is *je* placed in the subject position.

3.3.2 Direct object

The NP in the direct object position can be relativized:

(10) [je-ke hʌm apʌn bujʰ-ʌni] u hʌme birʌn bujʰ-lʌkʰ
      whom-DAT I my own think-PT s/he me-DAT
      unfamiliar consider-3S.PT.nH
      'The one who I believed ignored me.'

The NP *je-ke* is relativized in the direct object position.

3.3.3 Indirect object

The NP in the indirect object position can be relativized:

(11) [je-ke tu ɦĩʌsua de-lʌ] o-ke ɦʌm ɦĩtʰʌuʈi de-ni
      whom-DAT you sickle give-2.PT s/he-DAT I hammer
      give-PT
      'Who you gave a sickle; I gave him/her a hammer.'

The NP *je-ke* is relativized in the indirect object position.

3.3.4 Oblique

The NP in oblique position can be relativized in Bhojpuri:

(12) [je be-kʌh-ʌle kursi pʌr bʌiʈʰ-ela] se
      who without-speak-PP chair LOC sit-3S.NPT.nH.M he

      hʌmra mʌn na pʌre
      I-POSS like-NEG
      'I don't like the one who sits on the chair without
      information.'

The NP *je bekʌhʌle kursi pʌr* is in the oblique case and is relativized.

3.3.5 Possessive

The NP in the possessive position can be relativized in Bhojpuri:

(13) [jekʌr kes lʌmʌhʌr ba] se hʌm-ra nimʌn lag-eli
      whose hair long is s/he/it-DAT I-DAT nice feel-
      3S.NPT.F
      'I like her whose hair is long.'

The NP *jekʌr kes* is in the possessive position and is relativized.

3.3.6 Instrument

The NP in the case of instrument can be relativized:

(14) [jʌtʰi se kaʈ-ae] tʌtʰi se kaʈ
      what INS cut-OPT that INS cut-IMP.nH
      'Cut it with whatever it can be.'

The NP *jʌtʰi se* is relativized in the position of instrument.

3.3.7 Source

The NP in the case of source can be relativized:

(15) [jʌɦã se ɑ-il] otʌɦẽ jɑ-i
      where from come-3.PT.nH there go-3.NPT.OPT.nH
      'Where it came from will go there.'

The NP *jʌɦã se* is in in the case of source and is relativized.

3.3.8 Locative

The NP in the locative case can be relativized in Bhojpuri.

(16) [jʌɦã̃ cɑɦi] tɑɦã̃ rɑɦi
      where will there way
      'Where there is will, there is a way.'

The NP jʌɦã̃ cɑɦi is in the locative case and is relativized.

4 Summary

The analysis of the process of relativization in Bhojpuri sheds light on a number of features of typological interests. There are two types of relative clauses presented in section 2: non-finite (participialized) like $k^hʌʈia\ pʌr\ bəiʈ^h$-ʌl admi and finite (correlative) like jʌon ɦĩ̃sua mʌŋʌru kin-lʌk^h, although, they function in the same way as a nominal modifier of the head NP. The relativization in Bhojpuri has been analyzed in section 3 with relation to its three typological parameters: its position with respect to its head NP i. e. *the position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head*; *the mode of expression of the relativized NP* and *the very grammatical relations that can be relativized*. The paper also reveals position of the relative clauses: pre-nominal *[jekra se ɦʌm rasta puc^h-ni] u ɦʌmʌr sari ɦiʌ,* post-nominal *u sʌb ke b^hawela [je miʈ^h bolela],* internally headed *[jetna log pʌhile rʌh-e] ʌb^hin nʌik^he* and headless *[je rʌɦi-i] rʌɦi-o.* It discusses the gap strategy *u ʌorʌt [je hakim ke piʈ-lʌk^h] pʌkʌɽ-ail,* pronoun retention strategy *u uhe lʌika ɦʌ [je ɦʌm okʌr cehra kʌhio na bisʌr-em]* and use of correlative pronouns *[jʌone ɦĩ̃ɽlʌgʌni] tʌone b^hʌnsia.* At last but not the least, the paper sheds light on the grammatical relations such as subject, object (direct & indirect), oblique, possessive, instrument, source and locative that can be relativized in Bhojpuri. The feature of relativization in Bhojpuri is typologically similar to Maithili, Nepali and Hindi. Some relativizers in the three languages are as follows:

Bhojpuri	Maithili	Nepali	Hindi	English
jekra	*jekra*	*jʌs/jo*	*jin/jis*	whom
je	*je*	*jʌs/jo*	*jo*	who
jetna	*jatek*	*jati*	*jitna*	as much
jʌon	*jʌon*	*jo*	*jo*	who
jʌthi	*jʌthi*	*je*	*jo*	which

Abbreviations used:

DAT	Dative	F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive	H	Honorific
IMP	Imperative	INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrument	LOC	Locative
M	Masculine	NEG	Negative
nH	Non-honorific	NP	Noun Phrase
NPT	Non-past	OPT	Optative
PASS	Passive	POSS	Possessive
PP	Past Participle	PT	Past
3	Third Person	3S	Third Person Singular

References:

Acharya, S. A. 1994. *adʌrʃ b^hojpuri byakʌrʌn* (Ideal Bhojpuri Grammar), Kalikata-700039: ɑnʌndmɑrg prʌkɑʃʌn (Anandmarg Publication).

Ashka, G.; Thakur, G.; Singh, R.; Acharya, M. and Adhikari, S. 2059 BS. *b^hojpuri* (Bhojpuri) Class 9. Bhaktapur: Ministry of Education and Sports. Curriculum Development Center. Sanothimi.

Ashka, G.; Thakur, G.; Singh, R.; Acharya, M. and Adhikari, S. 2060 BS. *b^hojpuri* (Bhojpuri) Class 10. Bhaktapur:

Ministry of Education and Sports. Sanothimi: Curriculum Development Center.

Chaudhary, A. K. 2060 BS. *Sociolinguistic Survey of Tharu Language, (Central Nepal).* Dessertation for M. A. Linguistics. Central Department of Linguistics. TU.

Givón, T. 2001. *Syntax*, Vol. 1 & Vol. 2, Amsterdam /Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Givón, T. (ed.) 1997. *Grammatical Relations: A Functionalist Perspective*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Grierson, G. A. 1903. *Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol V (II). Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Lohar, G. T. (2006). *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bhojpuri Language.* M. A. Thesis. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics. TU.

Masica, C. P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambrige: CUP.

Ojha, S. D. 1915. *bʰojpuri vyakʌrʌn* (Bhojpuri Grammar). Patna: Bhojpuri Academy.

Payne, T. E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: a Guide for Field linguistics.* Cambridge: CUP.

Regmi, D. R. 2004. *The Morphosyntax of Relativization in Nepali: A Typological Perspective*. Kathmandu.

Sharma, V. K. and Gopal 'Ashka'. 2064 BS. *bʰojpuri vyakʌrʌn* (Bhojpuri Grammar). Birganj: District Development Committee.

Shukla, S. 1981. *Bhojpuri Grammar*. Washington: George Town University Press.

Tripathi, R. D. 1987. *bʰojpuri vyakʌrʌn* (Bhojpuri Grammar). Patna: Bhojpuri Academy.

Yadav, D. N. 2008. 'The Relative Clause Formation in Maithili: A Functional Typological Study'. *Nepalese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal.

PRONOMINALIZATION IN SANTHALI

Shobha Kumari Mahato
shobha357@yahoo.com

This paper discusses the pronominalization in Santhali, a Austro-Asiatic language of Nepal. Santhali exhibits both subject and object pronominalization. The parts of personal pronouns are not only affixed to the verb but to the objects. The suffixes are based on hierarchy of the participants.

1 Background

The Santhali language is a part of the Austro-Asiatic family. The history of Santhals may be traced to Africa from where started the human migration. It was found that humans from Africa started to migrate towards the eastern part of the world or Asia. In this way Santhals were migrated to India, Nepal and Bangladesh. According to the 2001 census, Santhali speakers are 40,260 which is the 0.18% of the total population of Nepal. Santhali has different alternate names like Satar, Santhali, Santhal, Sonthal, Sangtal, Santal, Sentali, Sainti, Har, and Hor. But the native speakers in Nepal prefer to call it 'Santhali language' as they are of Santhal ethnic group. They have also been called as a sub-group speaking a language belonging to the Munda family. Santhals belong to the North Munda of Austro-Asiatic family. The Austro-Asiatic language family comprises two languages in Nepal viz. Santhali of the north Munda group and Khariya of the southern Munda group.

2 Pronominalization

Pronominalization is the process of copying full or part of the phonetic form of pronouns with different case roles by the head of a sentence or phrase. It was Brian Hodgson (1856), who made the first mention of verb pronominalization, or pronominalized languages (in Nishi, 1994). Half a century

later, Sten Konow (1909), through the contrastive use of 'pronominalized and non-pronominalized' referred to the non-Tibetan TB languages spoken in the Himalayas.

Konow suggested the influence of a Munda substratum on the development of pronominalization, together with other features, peculiar to Himalayan languages (1909:179). According to Grierson and Konov (1909), pronomonalization refers to the use of pronominal suffixes for indicating the person and number of the subject (and sometimes the object as well) among the Himalayan Languages. Pronominalization has to do with the affixation of pronouns-like formatives to the root verb to indicate agreement to the subject and object (Kansakar, 1993)

Santhali is a complex pronominalized language in which the personal pronoun representing the subject and also object can be affixed to the verb. Santhali has very unique type of pronominalization where subject pronoun is not only copied to the verb but also to the object of the sentence. It has person hierarchy system also. Santhali has 12 personal pronouns system having three persons, namely first, second, third and three numbers,i.e. singular, dual and plural.

The following is the list of personal pronouns in Santhali language regarding its person, number, honorificity, inclusive/ exclusive, proximal/distal .

Table: 1 Personal pronouns in Santhali

Number Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	iɲ	alaŋ (inclusive) ʌliɲ (exclusive)	abu (inclusive) ale (exclusive
2nd	am abin(hon.)	aben	ape

3rd	uni (S/he)	akin	aku
	uni (far)	unkin (far)	unku (far)
	hʌni (very far)	hʌnkin (very far)	hʌnku (very far)
	nui (very near)	nuking (verynear)	nuku (verynear)

3 Subject pronominalization

Santhali shows pronominalization process with each personal pronoun in present tense and in past tense. Examples are in given in (1).

(1) a. iɲ daka dzʌmaiɲ

    iɲ   daka   dzʌm-a-iɲ
    1SG rice   eat-PRS-1SG
    'I eat rice.'

    b. ʌliɲ ul dzʌmaliɲ

    ʌliɲ   ul   dzʌm-a-liɲ
    1DU.EXCL mango eat –PRS -1DU.EXCL
    'Two of us (excluding the listener) eat mango.'

The pronominalization process with past tense sentences can be seen in (2).

(2) a. iɲ daka dzʌmkidaɲ

    iɲ   daka   dzʌm-kida-ɲ
    1SG rice   eat-PST-1SG
    'I ate rice.'

b. ʌliɲ daka dzʌmkidaliɲ

    ʌliɲ   daka   dzʌm-kida-liɲ
    1DU.EXCL rice   eat-PST-1DU.EXCL
    'Two of us (excluding listener) ate rice.'

c. alaŋ daka dzʌmkidalaŋ

    alaŋ   daka   dzʌm-kida-laŋ
    1DU.INCL rice   eat-PST-1DU.INCL
    'Two of us (including listener) ate rice.'

d. abu daka dzʌmkidabu

    abu   daka   dzʌm-kida-bu
    1PL.INCL rice   eat-PST-1PL.INCL
    'We (including listener) ate rice.'

e. ale daka dzʌmkidale

    ale   daka   dzʌm-kida-le
    1PL.EXCL rice   eat –PST-1PL.EXCL
    'We (excluding listener) ate rice.'

f. am daka dzʌmkidam

    am   daka   dzʌm-kida-m
    2SG. rice   eat-PST-2SG
    'You ate rice.'

g. abin daka dzʌmkidabin

    abin   daka   dzʌm-kida-bin
    2SG.H   rice   eat-PST-2SG.H
    'You ate rice.'

h. aben daka dzʌmkidaben

    aben daka   dzʌm-kida-ben
    2DU rice   eat-PST-2DU
    'Two of you ate rice.'

i.   ape daka dʌmkidape

ape   daka   dʌm-kida-pe
2PL   rice   eat-PST-2PL
'You ate rice.'

j.   uni daka dzʌmkidai

uni   daka   dzʌm-kida-i
3SG   rice   eat-PST]-3SG
'S/he ate rice.'

k.   unkin daka dzʌmkidakin

unkin   daka   dzʌm-kida-kin
3DU   rice   eat-PST-3DU
'Two of them ate rice.'

l.   unku   daka dzʌmkidaku

unku   daka   dzʌm-kida-ku
3PL   rice   eat-PST-3PL
'They ate rice.'

In the examples (2a-l), the subject pronouns *iɲ, ʌliɲ, iɲ, liɲ, ɲ, laŋ, bu, le, m, bin, ben, pe, i, kin and ku* are pronominalized to the verbs.

 In Santhali, pronominalization process is optional. Here the subject pronoun may be copied either to the verb or to the object of the sentence. It depends upon the speakers own desire or style. These following examples can clarify it.

(3)   a.   iɲ dakaɲ dzʌmkida

iɲ   daka-ɲ   dzʌm-kida
1SG   rice-1SG   eat-PST
'I ate rice.'

b.   ʌliɲ dakaliɲ dzʌmkida

ʌliɲ   daka-liɲ   dzʌm-kida
1DU.EXCL   rice-1DU.EXCL eat-PST
'Two of us (excluding listener) ate rice.'

c.   abu dakabu dzʌmkida

abu   daka-bu   dzʌm-kida
1PL.INCL   rice-1PL.INCL eat-PST
'We (including listener) ate rice.'

d.   am dakam dzʌmkida

am   daka-m   dzʌm-kida
2SG. rice -2SG eat-PST
'You ate rice.'

e.   aben dakaben dzʌmkida

aben daka-ben dzʌm-kida
2DU rice-2DU   eat-PST
'Two of you ate rice.'

f.   ape dakape dʌmkida

ape   daka-pe   dʌm-kida
2PL   rice-2PL eat-PST
'You ate rice.'

g.   uni dakai dzʌmkida

uni   daka-i   dzʌm-kida
3SG   rice -3SG eat-PST
'S/he ate rice.'

h.   unkin dakakin dzʌmkida

unkin daka-kin dzʌm-kida
3DU rice-3DU eat-PST
'Two of them ate rice.'

i. unku dakaku dzʌmkida

unku daka-ku dzʌm-kida
3PL rice-3PL eat-PST
'They ate rice.'

j. iɲ dakaɲ dzʌma

iɲ   kaka-ɲ dzʌm-a
1SG rice-1SG   eat-PRS
'I eat rice. '

Here, in the above sentences from (3a-j) subject pronouns *iɲ,*

ʌliɲ, alaŋ, abu, ale, am, abin, aben, ape, uni, unkin, unku are pronominalized to the objects of the sentences whether the sentence is in present tense or in past tense.

4 Object pronominalization

 Santhali has a complex pronominalization system because not only its subject but also its object agrees with its verbs.It has another characteristic that is person hierarchy system.e.g.,

(4) a. uni iɲ pʌtʌbe imadiɲja

uni   iɲ   pʌtʌbe   imad-iɲ-ija
3SG 1SG   book-3SG.AN give-1SG- PST
'He gave me a book. '

b. iɲ uni pətəb imadiɲa

 iɲ   uni   pətəb   imad-iɲ-ija
1SG 3SG   book   give-1SG-PST
'I gave him a book.'

c. am iɲ pətəbem imadiɲa

am   iɲ pətəb-em   imad-iɲ-ija
2SG 1SGbook-2SG give-1SG-PST

'You gave me a book.'

d. am uni pətəb imamija

 am   uni   pətəb   imad-m-ija
2SG 3SG   book   give-2SG-PST
'You gave him a book.'

e. uni am pətəbe imamija

 uni am pətəb-e imad-m-ija
3SG 2SG book-3SG.AN give-2SG-PST
'He gave you a book.'

In examples from (4a-e) the objects iɲ, em, m are copied to its verb to show its agreement to object. Regarding person hierarchy, we see that if there is first person in subject or in object position it dominates the 2nd and 3rd person and it attached to its verb, if 2nd person is in subject or object position and 3rd person in subject or object position again it dominates 3rd person and it is attached to the verb. Though there is 3rd person in subject position and 1st or 2nd person in object position it is dominated by those 1st or 2nd person and higher pronoun (1st, 2nd) copied to the verb and 3rd person copied to the object of sentence as in examples (2a,c,e).

5 Pronominalization with intransitives verbs

With the intransitive verbs the subject pronoun is copied to either verb or to the complement or adjunct of the sentence.e.g,

(5) a. unku gitidzinaku

unku gitidz-ina-ku
3PL sleep-PST-3PL
'They slept.'

b. iŋ oɽaʔiŋ tsalauina

iŋ   oɽaʔ-iŋ   tsalau-ina
1SG house-1SG go-PST
'I went home.'

c. ʌliŋ landakidaliŋ

ʌliŋ   landa –kida-liŋ
1DU EXCL   laugh-PST-1DU EXCL
'Two of us (excluding listener) laughed.'

d. ape gitidzinape

ape   gitidz-ina-pe
2PL   sleep-PST-2PL
'You slept.'

Here, in the sentences (5a, c, and d) the subject pronouns are copied to the verbs. But in the sentences (5b) it is copied to the complement *oɽaʔ* 'house'.

Sometimes if the subject pronoun is not copied to the verb and the complement or adjunct is absent then the subject itself is reduplicated. e.g.

(6)   a. iɲiɲ landakida

iɲ-iɲ   landa-kida
1SG -1SG   laung-PST
'I laughed.'

b. unkinkin gitidzina

unkin-kin   gitidz-ina
3DU-3DU   sleep-PST
'Two of them slept.'

c. alaŋlaŋ landakida

alaŋ–laŋ   landa–kida
1DU.INCL– 1DU.INCL laugh–PST
'Two of us (including listener) laughed.'

d. abenben gitidzina

aben-ben   gitiz-ina
2DU-2DU   sleep-PST
'Two of you slept.'

Here in the sentences (6a-d) the subject pronouns are not copied to the verbs but they themselves are reduplicated.

6 Conclusion

Santhali is rich regarding its pronoun and its pronominalization system. It has varities of ways for the affixation of pronouns with the verb. Personal pronouns are affixed to its verb whether the sentences are in present tense or in past tense. It has optional affixation system where the pronoun may be copied to its verb or to its object. Its hierarchy system is very wonderful where 1st person dominates the 2nd and 3rd person and 2nd person dominates the 3rd person. But if the 2nd or 3rd person is in subject position and 1st person in object position in ditransitive verb, 2nd or 3rd person copied to the object of the sentence and 1st person pronoun affixed to the verb of that sentence.

Abbreviations

1	First person	2	Second person
3	Third person	H	Honorific
SG	Singular	PL	Plural
DU	Dual	PST	Past
INCL	Inclusive	EXCL	Exclusive
AN	Animate	PRE	Present

References:

Grierson, George A. and Konow, Sten. 1909. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol III:I. Delhi/Venarasi: Motilal Banarsidas.

Kansakar, Tej R. 1993. 'Three Tibeto-Burman languagesnof Nepal: a general survey'. *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*. Vol 20:L2. 165-173.

Kumari, Shobha. 2008. 'Nominal Morphology of Santhali Language'. M.A. dissertation. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics.

Pokharel, M. P. 2005. 'Strategies of Pronominalization in Kusunda'. *Contemporary Issues in Nepalese Linguistics*. Linguistic Society of Nepal. 189-192.

Thakur, I. and Kumari, S. 2008. 'The Documentation of the Santhali Language'. Lalitpur: NFDIN.

Yadava, Y. P. 2003. 'Language'. *Population monograph of Nepal: Central Bureau of Stastistics*. 137-171.

COPULAR VERBS: EVIDENCES FROM THE DURA LANGUAGE

Kedar Bilash Nagila
kedarnagila@yahoo.com

This paper is based on a preliminary description of form, functions and basic clause patterns of copular verbs in the Dura language spoken mainly in southern Lamjung.

The people who speak this language refer their mother tongue as tandraŋge bʰu in southern Lamjung, western Tanahun and eastern part of Kaski. The Dura is classified as the seriously endangered Bodish languages (Driem, 2001:811; Noonan, 2007; Lewis, 2009) spoken in southern Lamjung in west Nepal. There are no recorded and written literature of the language. The literacy activities are lacking. The language is verb final, agglutinative (prefixing and suffixing), and has both head marking and dependent marking morphology. There are no agreement patterns of the number, gender, person the verb in this language.

Crystal (2008:116) has defined the copular verbs as linking verb and whose main function is to relate other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement. The copular verb has multiple functions to perform in various types of constructions in the different languages of the world. They are of course different in terms of their constructions. The most important of them are the predictions of identification, existence, general or universal truth, prediction of possession and some other uses which are described in the subsequent paragraph. Copular verbs in the Dura language are defined as those forms which can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix i.e <mo-> <muni-> <ma->, and causative prefix <ha->. The Dura has two types of verbs corresponding to English be. They are <po> for existence and

attribution and <le> for identification. The existential copular verb <po> is also used as equational copular whereas <le> as locational copular verb in this language. However, the absence of copular is very frequent in colloquial discourse. The main objective of this article is to describe and examine the Dura words equivalent to be verbs in English so that the following situation is illustrated respectively.

1 Existential copular <po>

There is one existential copular verb in the Dura language, <po>. It serves all existential functions. It is found to be optional in the Dura language in the sense it does not occur in all nominative and attributive clauses.

(1) mami tato po
     sun   hot EXIT.COP.NPT
     '(The) sun is hot.'

(2) mami tato muni
     sun   hot NEG.NPT
     '(The) sun is not hot.'

(3) mami   tato po-una
     sun   hot EXIT.COP.PT
     '(The) sun was hot (yesterday).'

(4) mai tato muni-una.
     sun hot NEG.EXIT.COP.PT
     '(The) sun was not hot (yesterday).'

In the copular clause (1) <po> is the exitential copular verb that is used to denote general existential for the people and animal. In the sentence (2) the <muni> is negative marker of the copular <po> in negativization. In the sentence (2) the <-una> is suffixed to the copular verb <po> to mark past tense whereas muni-⇐una is the past negative marker of the po-una in the sentence (4).

2 Identificational copular verb <le>

There is one identicational copular   verb in the Dura language i.e that function to identify   the complement of the clauses. Examples are given in (5-8).

(5) i kini re   le
     I my daughter EXIT.COP.NPT
     'This is my daughter.'

(6) i   kini re   ma-pi
     This my   daughter NEG-COP. NPT
     'This is not my   daughter'

(7) i   kini re   po-una
     This my son COP.EXIT.PT
     'This was my son'.

(8) i   kini re muni-una.
     This my   son NEG.PT
     'This was not   my son.'

In   the clause (5) the <le> is the identificational copular verb whereas *ma-pi* is the negative form of the verb <po> in example (6). Similarly, the suffix <*-una*> is suffixed to the copuar verb <po> the sentence (7). The sentence (8) shows the example of negation of the past copular verb <po-una> in the Dura language .

3 Possession/ predicate of possession

(9)   gusa-ni   duɖa   sono   po
      Cow -Gen   two   horn   EXIT. COP. NPT
      'A cow has   two horns.'

(10) gusa-ni   duɖa   sono ma-pi
      cow -Gen   two   horn   NEG.EXIT.COP. NPT
      'A cow has no two horns.'

(11) nakju-ni ćarwoda   sepe le
      dog   four   foot. IDENT. COP. NPT
      'A   dog has   four feet.'

In examples (9-11), <po> is the copular verb and the case <ni> is genitive that is mostly used to denote possession in the language. Of course dative case <la> is also used   if there is a transfer or attribution of the possession but genitive case is commonly used to express   possession.

4 Attribution

Attribution is generally done with adjectives which function as   adjectives which function as intransitive predicates as in (12) but for a slightly different rhetorical effect an adjective can be nominalized and then take the copula as in (13)

(12) gusa-ni busi cʰabli po.
      cow -GEN   baby   red EXIT.COP.NPST
      'The baby cow is red'.

(13)   no mastər   le.
       you teacher   IDENT.COP.NPAST
       'You   are a teacher'

5.   Multiple   existential verbs

In my preliminary analysis of the data, I find the a pattern of multiple   existential   or locative verb   with reference to between them being, if there are only two as in the in Idu (Sun 1983: 72) a difference between an animate   and inanimate referent. La Polla (2003:33) has   remarked that a language may have as many as seven different verbs with distinction between the verbs being of the type animate vs inanimate, abstract vs concrete locational within a container vs location on a plane, and others. With same token, the Dura language   has this feature like Tamang   and other Tibeto-

Burman languages. Examples (14-23) illustrate the cases in the language.

The following sentences illustrate   this   clearly.

(14) ŋi hamro   le
I   Gurung   IDENT.COP.NPT (animate)
'I am (a) Gurung.'

(15) ŋero bro-domo le.
we   man-Pl   IDENT.COP.NPT
'We are   men.'

(16) kini   kiu damauli le   (Inanimate)
my   house Damauli Ident.Cop.Npt.
'My house is   (in) Damauli.'

(17) ŋi ila   po. (Locative/directional)
I   here.-Loc. Exit. Cop.Npt
'I am here.'

(18) i kini dai   le bhai mapi. (Animate)
this my elder brother Ident. Cop.Npt. younger
brother. Neg. Exist.Cop.Pt
'This is my   elder brother   but not younger brother.'

(19) hui-la   nakju le   (Animate)
There-Loc dog.   COP.NPT
'There   is a dog'

(20) i   kiu katʰe le   (Animate)
This house   big . Cop. npt
'This house is big'

(21) bʰroʃ-la   gusa   po.   (Animate)
cowshed –Loc cow   Exit. COP. Npt
'A cow is in cowshed'

(22) bʰroʃla   gusa   po -una
cowshed –Loc cow   EXIT.COP.PT
'(A) cow was in cowshed.'

(23) i   gumi   le. (Inanimate)
'This.   money' IDENT.COP.NPT
'It is money.'

6 Summary and conclusion

From this analysis of the Dura   copular verbs, our finding is that   the copular verbs <po> and <le> are equivalent to the English 'be' verb .They have multiple functions like other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. An   intensive research is needed   for further   analysis of the   critically endangered language of Nepal.

Abbreviations

Exit   Existential Copular verb
Iden   Identificational Copular
Npt   Non Past Tense
Pt   Past Tense
Pl   Plural
Neg   Negative
Loc   Locative
Gen   Genitive

References

Bradley, D. 2003. 'Lisu'. *The Sino-Tibetan languages.* Thurguood, Graham and LaPolla, Randi J. England: Curzon Press.

Crystel, D. 2008. *A dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics.* Sixth edition   Blackwell Publishing.

van Driem, G. 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas as ethonolingustuc handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region.* Vol II. Leiden. Brill.

Glover, W. 1969. 'Three Gurung Equivalents of English be'. *Journal of Tribhuvan University, Special Linguistic Paper.* Kathmandu. Nepal.

Poudel, Kedar. P. 2006. *A Descriptive Grammar of Tamang (as spoken in Dhankuta).* Ph. D thesis. Tribhuvan University. Kirtipur.

Lapolla, Randy J. 2003. 'Overview   of Sino Tibetan morphosyntax' . *The Sino-Tibetan languages.* Thurguood, Graham and LaPolla, Randi J. England: Curzon Press.

Lewis, M. Paul. (ed) 2009. *Ethnologue*. SIL international Dallas. Sixteenth edition.

Nagila, Kedar B.2008. 'Aspect: Evidences from Dura language'. *Nepalese Linguistic*. 157-167. Linguistics Society of Nepal. Kirtipur.

Pokharel, M. P. 2000. 'Aspect in Nepali'. *Journal of Nepali Studies*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Sun, Hongkai. 1983. 'Yidu Luobayu   Gaiyao' (A brief description of the Idu Lhdoba language). *Minzu Yuwen.* Vol 6. 63-79.

www.uwm.edu./ noonan/ Iceland. handout pdf.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE GHALE LANGUAGE[1]

Krishna Paudel
krishnabinnyas@hotmail.com

This paper attempts to present a sociolinguistic profile of Ghale language spoken mainly in the Barpak village of Gorkha district of Nepal. More specifically, this paper presents a sketch of language name, genetic affiliation, population, resources, multilingualism, language uses, endangerment, code mixing, attitude and appreciate inquiry.

1 Language name

The language which is called *lilə ke* 'Ghale language' by its native speakers and *ghəle bhasa* 'Ghale language' by other people. Both language names- autoglotonym *lilə ke* and hetroglotonym *ghəle bhasa* are derived from same ethic-group. Sometimes, the language is named as Ghale Gurung because the language is used by both Ghale and Gurung.

2 Genetic affiliation

Genetically, the Ghale language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of Sino-Tibetan phylum. Ethnologue (2009) reports that this language is related with the Tamangic sub-branch of Tibetic subgroup in Tibeto-Kanauri branch within the Himalayish group of Tibeto-Burman family.

---

[1] This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 30th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2009.

3 Population

According to the Census of 2001 the total mother tongue speakers of the language is 1649. Although the Census does not include any population in Barpak village, the Barpaki Society has estimated the ethnic population to be more than 9,000 in Barpak. In my field study, the people reported that the number of total population of Ghale in Barpak village is around 5700.

4 Setting of the Barpak village

There are four castes in Barpak village viz. Ghale, Gurung, Dalit (traditionally so called Kami and Damai). Ghale and Gurung people speak the language commonly as mother tongue and other castes have learned Nepali as first language and Ghale as the second language. Therefore, the Ghale language in this locality is only in contact with Nepali speaking areas, where the other languages in neighboring villages are Gurung and Tamang.

5 The dialects

There are three geographical variations of the language. The varieties spoken in Mandre, Barpak, and Pokhari villages are more or less similar. And the varieties spoken in Laprak, Uhiya, Sirdibas, Lapu, Isinan, Gumda, Singla, Yaye and Sorapani villages are a little bit different. Similarly, the varieties spoken in Lamjung, Swara and Swarpani are more different from each other. The people in Barpak find themselves difficult to understand the varieties. Most of the speakers suggest that the variety spoken in Barpak, Laprak and Gumda might be taken as a standard variety.

6 Language resources

Only some oral literature like religious literature is available in the Ghale language. Yadava and Shakya (2008) has also shown the lack of language resources on Ghale. It is reported

that the language is not used in newspapers, magazines, journals, learning materials, poems, plays, fictions (short story/novel), folk songs (CD/Cassette), tele-films, and films.

7 Multilingualism

7.1 The languages spoken in the Barpak village

The Ghale languge is the first language and Nepali the second language of all the Ghale people who live in Barpak. Most of the speakers can't read and write in the Ghale language because of the lack of script. The Ghale people learn Nepali language at home, in village and in school. They learn English in school.

7.2 Familiar scripts

Devanagari is the most familiar script for most of the speakers in Ghale communities but educated people are also familiar with Roman script as well. However, there are some speakers who do not know about the script.

7.2 Languages they can translate

Nepali is one and only language from which or to which 95%, in my sample, Ghale speakers can translate into or from other languages. There are 5% speakers who know English.

8 Domains of language use

Both Ghale and Nepali languages are often used in daily life communication. The Ghale people use the Nepali language to communicate with speakers of other languages in Nepalese context. Nepali is also used when a group of friends belonging to different language groups visit them.

Table 1: Language used most frequently (in %)

	Ghale	Nepali	Ghale and Nepali
Counting	70	30	0
Singing	0	100	0
Joking	50	5	45
Bargaining/Marketing	55	45	5
Story telling	50	15	35
Discussing/debate	45	10	45
Praying	30	45	25
Talking to household helpers	35	10	55
Abusing	90	5	5

Table 1 shows the use of language for different purposes. The Ghale language is mostly used in counting, bargaining and abusing, where as Nepali is used in singing, and praying. Both Ghale and Nepali are used in joking, story telling and talking to household helpers.

Table 2: The domains of language use

Domains	Ghale	Nepali	Ghale & Nepali
Telling stories to children	10	0	90
Singing at home	0	100	0
Learning/ nursery rhymes	0	100	0
Talking to playmates	5	0	95
Talking to a household helper	5	0	95
In marriage invitations	100	0	0
Writing minutes	0	100	0
In dreaming	90	0	10
In family gathering	100	0	0
In public meeting	0	100	0

Table 2 shows that the Ghale language is used in marriage invitations. Ghale and Nepali are mostly used in telling stories to children, talking to playmates, talking to household helpers. On the other hand, Nepali is used mainly in four domains:

singing at home, learning nursery rhymes, writing minutes in community meetings and in public meetings.

In this study, while writing letters or telephoning to grandfather, grandmother, father and mother the Ghale language is used by all respondents. But while writing letters or telephoning to spouse only 20% people use the Ghale language and 80% use both Ghale and Nepali languages.

Table 3: Languages preferred as the medium of instruction

	Primary	L. secondary	Secondary	Higher
Ghale	25	5	0	15
Nepali	10	15	10	0
Ghale, Nepali	5	5	0	0
Ghale, Nepali, English	10	10	10	10
Nepali, English	15	25	30	25
Don't know	35	40	50	50

Table 3 shows that the Ghale language is preferred for the primary level and for higher education level. There are many speakers who do not know about the language plan for this kind of education system.

9 Language endangerment

Ghale is reported as an endangered language. Though the people of Ghale community are highly motivated and positive to preserve and promote their language, no effort has been made yet by government and indigenous institutions. The state of language endangerment is shown in figure 1.
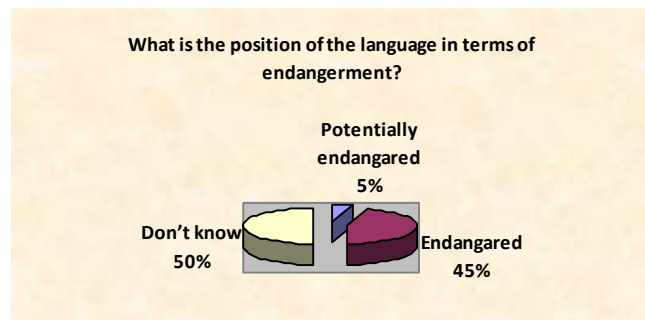
Figure 1: The state of language endangerment

10 Code mixing

Most of the speakers (80% in this sample), generally switch to other languages while speaking their language, while 20% answered that they do not switch into another languages. This is because the appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages. Sometimes it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages. Some people think that mixing words from other languages will not only spoil the beauty and purity of their language but also make the Ghale language more intelligible.

11 Language attitude

The Ghale people believed the Ghale language is precise, sweet, prestigious, pure, ancient and secret against other languages. They think the Ghale language may not be considered as a useful against other languages in jobs, social mobility, and literature, medium of instruction and science and technology. Some speakers (10%) agreed that the Ghale language may be useful only for business. Sometimes, some (30%) speakers believed embarrassed when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Very few people (20%) have faced the problem because of being the native speaker of the Ghale language. Specially, Gurung people who live in Barpak village have responded that nobody can understand the language they speak when they are in contact with Gurung people from Syangja, Pokhara, Lamjung etc. Along with this, sometimes they feel as if they have less proficiency in Nepali learning. As a result, they have less chance to get job in the future. However, most of the speakers (80%) have responded that they do not have any problem because of being the Ghale native speakers.

There are 75% speakers who are sure when the children of their village grow up and speak the Ghale language.
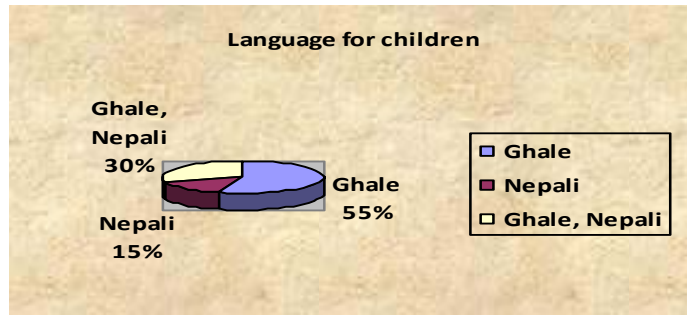
Figure 2: What language should your children speak first?

Figure 2 shows that half of the people want their children to learn the Ghale language first. Similarly, there are some (30%) speakers who want to teach both Ghale and Nepali languages to their children. Finally, only 15% respondents want to teach only Nepali language to their children.

12 Appreciative enquiry

There are a number of reasons that make Ghale people feel proud of their language. Most of the speakers (30%) identified the Ghale language as their own language. Some other (20%) suggest that there are proper names in this language and anyone can find the ancient and historical traces in the language.

The following list presents the dreams of Ghale people:

- Development of the script to standardize Ghale language
- Building learning materials for children and adult speakers
- Teaching activities in school level children (at least primary education in the Ghale language)
- Study of history and tone of the language

- Songs and videos development in Ghale language
- Dictionary and grammar development

They believe that the government, linguists and language community should be involved to materialize these dreams. To preserve and promote the Ghale language the community can make school for language teaching, can help the government and can speak the Ghale language. To preserve and promote the Ghale language the Government and non-government organization should help by making textbooks in the Ghale language and can provide financial support to materialize dreams of Ghale people.

References

CBS Report. 2001. *Statistical Year Book of Nepal (Western Development Region)*. Kathmandu: HMG.

Gordon, Raymond G. and Grimes, Barbara F. eds. 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world.* 16th edition. Dallas: SIL International. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=ght.

Nishi, Yosho. 1982. 'A brief survey of the linguistics position of Ghale'. Paper presented at the XVth international conference on Sino-Tibetan language and linguistics. Beijing.

Paudel, Krishna. 2008. 'Case Markers in Ghale (Language): An Overview'. A paper presented in the 29th Annual Conference of Linguistics Society of Nepal, Kathmandu.

Paudel, Krishna. 2008. 'Ghale Language: A Brief Introduction'. *Nepalese Linguistics.* Vol 23:168-185. Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal.

Yadava, Yogendra P and Shayka, Purnaman. 2008. 'Linguistic issues in contemporary Nepal and inclusive language policy'. A paper presented in a one day seminar conducted in CNAS. TU.

NON-FINITE ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATION IN CHINTANG

Netra P. Paudyal, Balthasar Bickel, Robert Schikowski,
Sabine Stoll, Elena Lieven, Goma Banjade, Ichchha P. Rai,
Manoj Rai, Martin Gaenszle, Novel K. Rai, Toya N. Bhatta
netrapaudyal@yahoo.com

In Chintang (Sino-Tibetan, Kiranti) both finite and non-finite adverbial clauses are found. In this paper we discuss only non-finite subordinate clauses in terms of their control behaviour, S/A coreferentiality, scope and other morpho-syntactic properties. An interesting feature of Chintang non-finite adverbial clause is their the person and number marking.

1 Introduction[1]

Traditionally, non-finite subordinate clauses are defined as subordinate clauses whose verb does not bear any person, number, mood and tense markers.[2] In Chintang this definition does not seem to hold. Even though all non-finite clauses lack tense, and mood, in Chintang we encounter person and number marking in purposive clauses as possessive prefixes. The covert S/A argument of the embedded clause is identical with the S/A of the superordinate clause. A survey of the Chintang corpus shows that the texts are full of many complex structures which contain a great number of converbal clauses. The purpose of this paper is to describe the converbal clauses of Chintang, which are non-finite adverbial clauses.

2 Converbs in Chintang

2.1 The simultaneous converb -*saŋa*

The simultaneous converb -*saŋa* 'CVB' is suffixed to a verb stem, and it indicates that the action of the embedded clause takes place simultaneously with the matrix clause event. It combines two different actions expressed by two different verbs but happening at the same time or temporally overlapping. In most of the cases, the simultaneous converb clause precedes the matrix clause. The S or A argument of the converbal clause is always corefential with that of the main clause. The converb -*saŋa* appears mostly with motion verbs. However, there are a few examples in the corpus where it is also found with some other types of verbs including stative verbs like *yuŋ*- 'stay'.

Ebert (1993) describes converbal clauses under the maximally reduced clause group. Like in many other languages, the S/A argument of the embedded clause is always coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause in most if not all of the Kiranti languages (Ebert 2003a, 2003b). The converbal suffix is attached directly to the uninflected verb stems.

Both the embedded and matrix clauses can be intransitive with shared S argument as in (1a) or the matrix verb can be transitive, as in (1b).

(1)   a.   rei?-saŋa＝ta yu-i-yakt-i-ŋa＝kha   abo
                 laugh-CVB=FOC stay-PL-IPFV-PL-e=BGR now
                 'We were staying, laughing.'
<div align="right">[appa_katha_talk.032]</div>

---

2 Chintang corpus currently includes approximately 600,000 words, and is deposited in the dobes archive. (www.mpi.nl/dobes)

b. cek-saŋa   ca-no
   speak-CVB   eat-NPST
   'S/he eats, speaking.'

In example (2a), both the embedded and matrix clauses are transitive, where the embedded A argument is corefential with the matrix A. The embedded A can also be corefential with matrix S argument, as in (2b).

(2) a. teĩ-saŋa = ta   khatt-e   khoku
         beat-CVB=FOC take-PST   Khoku
         'They took (him) to Khoku, beating him.'
                                                    [chintang_sahid.185]

     b. cuwa tak-saŋa   khaiʔ-ya-ʔã
         water bring-CVB go-1sS-NPST
         'I go there when I go to bring water.'
                                                    [CLLDCh1R10S09. 711]

According to our corpus, more than 80 % of converbal constructions do not contain any overt argument. This means that both the embedded and matrix clauses are constructed with out overt arguments. If there is any overt S/A argument, it belongs to the matrix clause. It is impossible to have an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause. In example (3), the embedded verb cannot assign an ergative case to its argument.

(3) *[phak-ŋa ca-saŋa]   ti-e
      pig-ERG   eat-CVB   come-PST
      'The pig came, eating.'

However, it is possible to have an overt P argument in an embedded clause. Unlike it is the case for S/A arguments, it is not necessary for the P to be identical in the embedded and matrix clauses. The embedded and the matrix clause can have

two different objects, e.g., (4a). However, it is impossible to have a shared P with S, as in (4b).

(4) a. gol khoŋ-saŋa akka biskut ca-kku-ŋ
         ball play-CVB 1s biscuit eat-NPST-1sA
         'While playing with a ball, I eat a biscuit.'

     b. *khaŋ-saŋa   thoms-e
         watch-CVB   do.a.shamanic.session-PST
         'Intended: He did a shamanic session while everybody   was watching him.'

Bickel (1993) reports that it is common for converbs to be repeated for emphasis in the neighboring language Belhare. This also holds true for Chintang.

(5) khi-saŋa   khi-saŋa   rɨkt-e
     quarrel-CVB   quarrel-CVB   chase-PST
     'He chased, scolding him.'
                                                    [CLLDCh4R13S05.568]

As in the above examples, a converb generally precedes the main clause. But, in addition to this, a converbal clause can also appear following the main clause. However, the position of the converbal clause does not influence the interpretation or the choice of the controller.

(6) khim-beʔ = ta   yuŋ-no o   chap-saŋa
     house-LOC=FOC be-NPST EMPH write-CVB
     'He stays at home writing.'
                                                    [CLDLCh3R01S02.479]

2.1.1 Complex converbal construction

It is possible for a converb to form a complex converbal construction in Chintang. In this case, a converb is dependent on another converb. All the simulatneous converbs form an order like V_1-CVB, V_2-CVB and V-matrix, where the event marked by V_1-CBV do not need to happen prior to the V_2-

CVB. Both actions can happen simultaneously, as in (7). Moreover, bipartite or compound verbs can also form converbal constructions, as in (8).

(7) tɨŋ-saŋa   tɨŋ-saŋa   khel-a mes-saŋa   thapt-u-kho
     kick-CVB kick-CVB play-N.NTVZ do-CVB
     bring.across-3P-IMP
     'Bring it here by kicking and playing it.' CLS02.0542

(8) phan-a=lo   yoʔ-ni   omba-pak-saŋa khac-ce
     walk-IMP=FOC DEM.ACROSS-DIR crawl-crawl CVB go-d
     'Please come! Let's go there, crawling.' CLS02.463

2.1.2 Scope of Negation

Like in Belhare (Bickel 1993) and in Puma (Schackow et al. in press), the scope of negation can have an effect on the embedded clause in Chintang. In the example (9a), what is negated is not the fact of 'going' but the mode of 'going' even though the negation marker is on the matrix verb 'go'. The same thing is also noticed in (9b), though the matrix verb is negated the effect of negation is not on 'sleeping' but on 'drinking', which is a cause for sleeplessness of the participant.

(9) a. phaĩ-saŋa akka khaiʔ-ya-ʔã-nɨŋ   khim
         walk-CVB 1s go-1sS-NPST-NEG   home
         'I don't go home by foot.' (...but by bus)

     b. arkha   hop-saŋa   im-ma-ʔã-nɨŋ
         local.alcohol drink-CVB   sleep-1sS-NPST-NEG
         'I don't get sleepy from drinking alcohol.'

The negation marker on the embedded converbal clause is not attested in Chintang except in the lexicalized verb *mahima* 'be sick' (literally 'not be able to').

(10) utti=ta   ma-hi-saŋa   ti-e
      then=FOC NEG-be.well-CVB   come-PST
      'He came back being sick.'

[appa_katha_talk.035]

2.1.3 Scope of question

We do not have any clear evidence so far for *sa* 'who' questioning an argument inside the embedded clause. In the example (11a), though the question word precedes the embedded clause, it does not belong to the embedded but to the matrix clause. In example (11b) where the question word questions an element inside the subordinate clause, was rejected by the consultants.

(11) a. sa-nɨŋ   haĩ-saŋa   a-yuŋ-no
          who-COM   talk-CVB   2-be-NPST
          'Whom did you stay while talking.'

      b. *sa-nɨŋ   khoŋ-saŋa i-laŋ   od-e
          who-COM play-CVB 2sPOSS-leg   break-PST
          'Intended: Whom did you play with and break your leg.'

But we have many clear evidences where the interrogative pronouns *them* and *aŋ,* unambiguously belong to the embedded clause, as in (12).

(12) a. them khem-saŋa a-yuw-a-kha elo
          what listen-CVB 2-stay-PST-BGR OR
          'What were you listening to and sitting?'

[CLLDCh4R07S05.1554]

      b. aŋ   num-saŋa   a-yuŋ-no
          what do-CVB   2-stay-NPST
          'What are you doing being here?'

The scope of a question is sometimes ambiguous. *aŋ* in example (13) may question either the mood of going 'by

climbing' or simply fact of 'going'.

(13) waŋ-saŋa   khaʔ-no aŋ
      climb-CVB   go-NPST   PTCL
      'Does he GO by climbing?' or
      'Does he go (up) by CLIMBING?

[CLLDCh2R14S03.0732]

2.1.4 Argument sharing

The converbal construction of Chintang involves a strict syntactic constraint on argument sharing. The examples discussed in this section illustrate the following configurations: (1) Two intransitive clauses sharing their S argument: S=S (1a), (8b). (2) Two transitive clause sharing their A argument only: A=A (4a). (3) Two transitive clause sharing both their A and P arguments: A=A, P=P (2a), (8a). (4) Coreference between the A of matrix clause and S of embedded clause: A=S (1b). (5) Coreference between the S of matrix clause and the A of embedded clause: S=A (2b).

Argument sharing between embedded and matrix clauses is obligatory. We have no examples where there is no argument sharing in the converbal constructions. However, not all possible relations are equally common. The systematic study of our corpus constituted by the first 600 converbal constructions in the various annotated sessions shows that the S=S configuration is the most popular one. The study also shows that relatively long chains of converbs describing successive events (more than three events) are not typical of Chintang discourse, and in the corpus, sentence such as (7) is quite rare.

2.2 The purposive clause

The purposive clause is marked by the suffix *-si,* which is glossed as 'PURP' in this paper. Like in other Kiranti languages, the purposive suffix *-si* is typically restricted to

verbs of motion: a person or an animal moves somewhere in order do something. In the embedded clauses, a *-si* marked constituent functions as the head of the clause which appears in the periphery of another clause. Like in the converbal clauses, the participants of the main clause must have control over the embedded clause as well.

(14) a. siŋ   khop-si   khatt-u-ku-ŋ
         wood   search-PURP   take-3P-NPST-1sA
         'I take (him/her) to search wood.'

     b. kappe huŋgoi-ʔ   im-si   lɨk-no
         K.   DEM-LOC sleep-PURP   enter-NPST
         'Kappe goes there to sleep.'

[CLLDCh3S12R04 211]

In our corpus *-si* very rarely occurs with stative verbs, as e.g. in (15). The same constraint has also been noted for neighboring Belhare (Bickel 2004).

(15) beuli   cop-si   yuw-e
     bride   look-PURP   be-PST
     'He sat down there to see the bride.'

Like in the simultaneous converbal clause, there is no overt appearance of an S or A argument in the embedded clause (16a). But it is possible to have e.g. a locative argument and a P argument in an embedded clause, as in (16b).

(16) a. *menuwa-ŋa sencak ca-si   kuŋs-e
         cat-ERT   mouse eat-PURP   come.down-PST
         'The cat came down to eat a mouse.'

     b. ama akka jarkin-be cuwaphas-si   khaiʔ-ya-ʔã
         mother 1s jerrycan-LOC water fill-PURP go-1sS NPST
         'Mother, I go to fetch water in the jerrycan.'

[CLS04.212]

Like the -*saŋa* converb clause, the purposive embedded clause can also appear in the middle position (17a) and at the final position of a sentence (17b). Postposed purposive clauses are quite common in Chintang.

(17) a. a-ti-a-c-e   kina ba-iʔ ladai num-si akka-be
          2-come-PST-d-PST SEQ DEM.PROX-LOC fight
          do-PURP 1s-LOC
          'You came here to fight with me.'

[origin_myth.049]

b. ama akka khaiʔ-ya-ʔã   caklet   khes-si
    mother 1s go-1sS-NPST chocolate buy-PURP
    'Mother, I am going to buy a chocolate.'

[CLS06.012]

Both the embedded and the matrix clause can be focused with additive focus clitics and topicalizers (18).

(18)   akka = yaŋ kok ca-si = na   kuŋ-ŋa-ʔã
        1s=ADD rice eat-PURP=TOP come.down-1sS-NPST
        'I also come to have rice.'

[CLLDCh1R11S03.279]

Like in the simultaneous converbal clause, we have no clear example for *sa* 'who' questions in the purposive clauses. But the examples in (19a) and (19b) show that the *them* and *aŋ* questions can occur inside the embedded clause.

(19) a. them cop-si   khad-e
          what see-PURP   go-PST
          'What did he go to see?'

b. aŋ   num-si   ti-e
    What   do-PURP   come-PST
    'What did he come for?'

Person agreement can be expressed in the dependent clause, but it is quite different from independent clauses. In example (20), the P argument of the verb in the embedded clause is marked by a possessive prefix which expresses a different person from the one in the main clause.

(20) i-cop-si   u-ti-a-ŋs-e   naŋ
      2sPOSS-see-PURP 3nsS-come-PST-PERF-PST PTCL
      'They have come to see you.'

[CLLDCh1R02S03a.108]

2.2.1 Scope of negation

As we do not have any clear evidence yet, we are not sure whether the scope of negation is extended over the embedded clause in purposive clauses.

But, we have some examples where it is possible to negate the embedded clause, as in (21). For this Chintang employs a different form of negation to code negative purpose.

(21)   cuwa la-si   maha khus-si khad-a-ŋs-a=kha
        water bring-PURP NEG steal-PURP go-PST-PERF-
        PST=BGR
        'He did not go to bring water, but to steal things.'

[CLLDCh1R02S03a.108]

2.3 Negation converb

The negation converb is the third most frequent non-finite clause marker in Chintang. In the negation converb clause, the embedded infinitival form of the verb is marked with a regular negation marking prefix *mai-*. Thus, a combination of a *mai-* 'NEG' + -*ma* 'INF', makes an embedded negation converb clause, which is quite different from a mere negation of a converb. This is because if it were simply a negation of an infinitival form of the verb, it would have been possible to formulate the clause without a negation marker too. As the negation marking on the infinitival form of verb is obligatory, this makes it different from general negation.

Like the other converbal clauses, the negation converb clause is also nonfinite and fully dependent in nature. The negation converb indicates that an action takes place without being supported by an another event.

(22) mai-kham-ma＝ta   min-no
      NEG-chew-INF=FOC   swallow-NPST
      'He swallows without chewing.'

Unlike in -*saŋa* and -*si* nonfinite clauses, there is no obligatory correferentiality in negative subordinate clauses. A negative converb clause can take its own arguments which are not necessarily identical with the arguments of the matrix clause, as in (23).

(23) mai-pi-ma＝ta   akka   pi-ŋa-ʔã-nɨŋ
      NEG-give-INF=PTCL   1s give-1sA-NPST-NEG
      'I do not give it before (someone) gives me.'

According to Ebert (2003a:31), all Kiranti languages except Camling have a negative converb. In a number of Kiranti languages, the regular negation marker also forms the negation converbal clauses. But unlike in other Kiranti languages which use -*sa/ saŋa* to mark simultaneous converb, Hayu reserves -*sa* only for the negation converb (Ebert, 2003a).

3 Summary

In this paper, we have dealt the three different types of converbal clauses in Chintang. Like in other Kiranti languges, the -*saŋa* converbal clause and -*si* purposive clause obligatorily share arguments between embedded and matrix clauses. But there is no obligatory control of any arguments in negation converb clause. Moreover, all types of converbal clauses do not allow an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause, but they do allow other arguments. All types of converbal clauses have in common that they all license some

sort of focus marker on the embedded clause. Like in Puma and Belhare, the question and negation scope is extended to the embedded clause in Chintang as well. Furthermore, unlike other languages, Chintang non-finite clauses can bear person and number marking in purposive structures.

[Glossing & abbreviation: This paper follows the Leipzig Glossing conventions, with the addition of the following abbreviations: BGR 'background information', DIR 'directional', e 'exclusive', N.NTVZ 'noun nativizer', SEQ 'sequential', PTCL 'particle']

References

Bickel, Balthasar. 1993. 'Belhare subordination and the theory of topic'. In Ebert, Karen H. (ed.) *Studies in clause linkage*. 23-55. Zurich: ASAS.

Bickel, Balthasar. 2004. 'Hidden Syntax in Belhare'. In Saxena, Anju (ed.) *Himalayan language: past and present*,   141-190. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ebert, Karen H. 1993. 'Kiranti subordination in the South Asian areal context'. In Ebert, Karen H. (ed.) *Studies in clause linkage.* 83-110. Zurich: ASAS.

Ebert, Karen H. 2003a. 'Equivalents of 'conjunctive participles' in Kiranti languages'. In Kansakar/Turin 2003: *Themes in Himalayan Languages and Linguistics*. SAI Heidelberg and Tribhuvan   University. Kathmandu.

Ebert, Karen H. 2003b. 'Kiranti languages: an overview'. In Thurgood, Graham & Randy LaPolla (eds.). *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. 505-517. London: Routledge.

Schackow, Diana; Bickel, Balthasar; Rai, Shree Kumar;Sharma (Gautam), Narayan; Rai, Arjun and Gaenszle, Martin. In press. Morphosyntactic properties and scope behaviour of 'subordinate' clauses in Puma (Kiranti).

A STRATEGIC SEARCH FOR THE GENERAL FORMULA OF VERB ROOT DERIVATION IN NEPALI

Madhav P. Pokharel
madappokhrel@gmail.com

1 Derivation from citation form

Nepali grammatical tradition (Pandit, 1912:118) accepts the deletion of the suffix <nu> from the citation form of a verb to derive roots in Nepali as in (1).

(1) a. Citation forms:

<kʰanu>	'to eat'	<gʌrnu>	'to do'
<aunu>	'to come'	<dinu>	'to give'
<ḍunu>	'to wash'	<birsinu>	'to forget'
<sʌhʌnu>	'to endure'	<duɦunu>	'to milk'

 b. Root forms:

<kʰa>	'eat'	<gʌr>	'do'
<au>	'come'	<di>	'give'
<ḍu>	'wash'	<birsi>	'forget'
<sʌɦʌ>	'endure'	<duɦu>	'milk'

2 Phonological constraint on nasalized <o>

Nepali phonology (Pokharel 1989: 34-36) does not supply nasalized <o> (and there are a few cases of change of nasalized <e> to <i> in the data) on the surface. This constraint has two implications: the citation suffix <nu> may have its underlying form <*no> and the roots ending in mid vowels like <*de> and <*dho> may have assumed the surface forms of <di> and <ḍu> respectively before <nu> due

to the prenasalized spread of [nasal] feature. The following forms of the mid vowels in the nonnasal environment may hint to the presumed underlying forms:

(2) a. <ɦunu>   'to be':
<ɦo>	'is' (equative)
<ɦola>	'maybe'
<ɦos>	'Let it be!'
<ɦou>	'you are'

 b. <tsʰunu>   'to touch':
<tsʰo>	'Touch!'
<tsʰoyo>	'He touched'
<tsʰola>	'He may touch'

 c. <ḍunu>   'to wash':
<ḍo>	'Wash!'
<ḍoyo>	'He washed'
<ḍola>	'He may wash'

 d. <dinu>   'to give':
<de>	'Give!'

 e. <linu>   'to take':
<le>	'Take!' (in some dialects)

These data are against the traditional <nu> 'Deletion Rule' to derive Nepali verb roots.

3 Imperative singular form

In the majority of languages imperative singular form coincides with the root form (Pokharel, 1997:18). This strategy correctly supplies mid vowels in the roots in (2).

(3) a. <ɦo>   'Be!'
     b. <tsʰo>   'Touch!'
     c. <ḍo>   'Wash!'
     d. <de>   'Give'
     e. <le>   'Take!'

This strategy also helps to derive most of the root forms, eg:

(4)   <kha> 'Eat!'   <gʌr> 'Do!'   <au> 'Come!'
       <de> 'Give!' <ḍo> 'Wash!' <birsi> 'Forget!'
       <sʌhʌ> 'Endure' <duhu> 'Milk!' (Dialectal variant)

However, it does not derive diphthong final roots like:

(5) a. <aunu> 'to come': <a>   'Come!',
        <gaunu> 'to sing': <ga>   'Sing!',
        <tsʰaunu> 'to roof': <tsʰa> 'Mend the roof!',
        <daunu> 'to train bullocks': <da> 'Train the
                                       bullock!',
        <ḍaunu>:   'to attend to': <ḍa> 'Attend to!',
        <paunu> 'to get':   <pa> 'Get it'

     b. <piunu> 'to drink': <pi> 'Drink!',
        <siunu> 'to sew':   <si> 'Sew!'

     c. <lyaunu>   'to bring': <lya> 'Bring!',
        <nuhaunu> 'to bathe': <nuha> 'Have a bath!'

Typically, this group of roots undergoes monophthongization by deleting the second member of the diphthong. This situation labels the imperative singular strategy not a general rule of root derivation in Nepali.

4 Probabilitative singular form

Deletion of <la>, the probabilitative morpheme, from a 3rd person singular form is another possibility of root derivation of verbs in Nepali (see Pokharel 1999: 25-26), eg:

(6)   <kʰala> 'He may eat'   <gʌrla> 'He may do'
       <dela> 'He may give'   <ḍola> 'He may wash'
       <aula> 'He may come'   <siula> 'may sew'
       <birsela> 'may forget' <sʌɦʌla> 'He may endure'
       <duɦula> 'He may milk' (Dialectal form)

This strategy is also found problematic in a few roots.

5 Comparison of the strategies

The following table shows that the different strategies mentioned above may give different outputs in a few roots:

Table 1: Root derivation through different strategies

	Rules	C-ending	ɦ-ending	CC-ending	V-ending	Vv-ending
a	<nu> deletion:	gʌr	sʌɦʌ-/duɦu-	birsi-/birsʌ-	di-/ɦu-/ḍu-	au-/siu-
b	imperative sg:	gʌr	sʌhi-/duhi-	birsi-	de/ɦo/ḍo	a-/si-
c	<la> deletion:	gʌr	sʌɦʌ-/duɦo-	birse-	de-/ɦo-/ḍo-	au-/siu-

(7) a. duɦiu-/duɦio-/doɦio-/ duɦiʌ-/ duɦii-/duɦie-

    b. sʌɦiʌ-, sʌɦii-

(8) birsi-, birsʌ-, birse-

(9) de-, di-

None of the three strategies mentioned above can resolve the problem of root allomorphy of the vowel ending roots.

6 Mathematical strategy of generative phonology

To resolve this problem of allomorphy we can propose a fourth strategy, the mathematical strategy of HCF (Highest Common Factor). This strategy is common in the derivation of the underlying form in generative phonology (Chomsky and Halle, 1968). According to this strategy, if all the verb forms of a root are taken together and calculated the HCF, it will generate the root form and this will be the general formula of verb root derivation in Nepali. Thus root forms of the verbs listed in (1b) will be as follows:

(10) a.   <kʰa> 'to eat',   <gʌr> 'to do',

        <au> 'to come',   <de> 'to give',

        <ḍo> 'to wash',   <birs> 'to forget',

        <sʌɦi> 'to endure'   <duɦi> 'to milk',

    b. Citation forms:

        <kʰanu> 'to eat',   <gʌrnu> 'to do',

        <aunu> 'to come',   <dinu> 'to give',

        <ḍunu> 'to wash',   <birsinu> 'to forget',

        <sʌɦiʌnu> 'to endure' <duɦiunu> 'to milk'

    c. <ɦunu> 'to be':

    <ɦo> 'is' (equative),   <ɦola> 'maybe',

    <ɦos> 'Let it be!',   <ɦou> 'you are',

    d. <tsʰunu> 'to touch':

    <tsʰo> 'Touch!', <tsʰoyo> 'He touched',

    <tsʰola> 'He may touch'

    e. <ḍunu> 'to wash':

    <ḍo> 'Wash!', <ḍoyo> 'He washed',

    <ḍola> 'He may wash'

    f. <dinu> 'to give': <de> 'Give!'

    <linu> 'to take': <le> 'Take!' (In some dialects)

    e. <ɦo> 'to be', <tsʰo> 'to touch!',

    <ḍo> 'to wash', <de> 'to give'

7 Comparative method

The shapes of roots thus derived can be verified against Indo-Aryan cognates (See Turner, 1931) as in (11).

(11) Cognates of <ɦo> 'be':

    < *bhoti> (Rigveda)   <hoti> (Pali)

    <bhomi>,   <hoi> (Prakrit)

    <hor> (Syrian Romani)   <bhoṇo> (W Pahadi)

    <bhoṇ> (W Pahadi)   <hoya> (Bengali)

    <hoeb> (Maithili)   <hona> (Hindi)

    <hovaṇ> (Lahanda)   <hovũ> (Gujarati)

    <hoṇe> (Marathi)

(12) Cognates of <ḍo> 'wash':

      <dhāvati> (Skt)   <dhopati> (Pali)

      <dhovai> (Prakrit)   <thovel> (Eur Ramany)

      <thovyu> (Arm Romany) <dhoṇo> (Kum)

      <dhoiba> (Assam)   <dhoya> (Bengali)

      <dhoiba> (Oriya)   <dhona> (Hindi)

      <dhoṇa> (Pan)   <dhovũ> (Guj)

(13) Cognates of <ro> 'weep'

      <roditi> (Sanskrit)   <rodati> (Pali)

      <rodai> (Prakrit)   <rovel> (Eur Rom)

      <roar> (Syrian Rom)   <roya> (Bengali)

      <rona> (Hindi)   <roṇa> (Panjabi)

      <rovan> (Lahanda)   <rovũ> (Guj)

These data show that Nepali <o>-ending roots have changed into <u>-ending ones in a nasalized environment.

However, between <tsʰo> and <tsʰu> forms (10d) comparative data reveal that the underlying root form is <tsʰu> rather than <tsʰo>. Here, <tsʰo> is not basic, but derived due to analogy with other <o>-ending roots presented in (10b, c, e). The comparative Indo-Aryan data reveal this hypothesis, eg:

(14)   <chu> 'touch'

      <chupati> (Sans)   <chupati> (Pali)

      <chuvai> (Prakrit)   <chuhṇa> (W Pah)

      <chũya> (Bengali)   <chuĩba> (Oriya)

      <chuhuṇa> (Pan)   <chuna> (Hindi)

      <chuhaṇu> (Sindhi)   <chuvũ> (Guj)

8 Raising of nasalized mid vowel

The tendence of raising the nasalized mid vowel is found even with the front vowel <e> (see Pokharel, 1989:34-36).

(15)   <de> 'give'

      <deti> (Pali)   <dei> (Pali)

      <deṇu> (W Pah)   <deba> (Oriya)

      <dena> (Hindi)   <deṇa> (Pan)

      <devũ> (Guj)   <dena> (Ben)

      <deṇa> (Oriya)   <dena> (Hindi)

      <deṇe> (Marathi)   <dinu> (Nep)

      <deṇu> (Guj)   <deṇe> (Marathi)

9 <nu> or <no> in the citation form?

One of the implications of this stance also predicts that the <nu> suffix of the Nepali citation form on the surface finds its cognate in <*no>. The Baitadeli dialect and one of the subdialects of Tanahu also use <ŋo> and <no> as the cognates of the <nu> in the standard Nepali.

(16)   Standard Nepali <khanu> 'to eat'
        Baitadeli <khaŋo> 'to eat'

10 Mismatch in writing and pronunciation

The foregone hypothesis of the raising of the underlying <*o> as the surface <ũ> also helps to explain why some <o>-ending

Nepali nouns and adjectives in the written forms are pronounced as <u> in the nasalized environment.

(17)   लामो /lamo/ [lãmũ] 'long'

(18)   सानो /sano/ [sãnũ] 'small'

(19)   चानो /tsano/ [tsãnũ] 'slice of fruits/ vegetables'

(20)   छानो /tsʰano/ [tsʰãnũ] 'roof'

11 Correction of Pradhan's rule

Pradhan (1951:14) writes that both <o>-ending and <u>-ending nouns become <a>-ending before the pluralizing particle हरू <ɦʌru>. While making this rule he has overlooked the nasalized context. In fact, the rule applies only to the <o>-ending nouns, not to the <u>-ending.

(21)   कानो /kano/ [kãnũ] 'blind of one eye'

        कानाहरू /kana-ɦʌru/ 'blinds'

(22)   आलु /alu/ [alu] 'potato'

        आलुहरू /alu-ɦʌru/ (not *आलाहरू /ala-ɦʌru/ 'potatoes'

In the examples the final vowel of the word for blind is phonetically nasalized, but that is not the case for the final vowel of the word for potato; therefore Pradhan's prediction has failed for (22).

12 Conclusion

The mathematical strategy of root derivation, which is commonly adopted to discover an underlying form in classical generative phonology, is general and more reliable to derive roots in Nepali.

References

Chomsky, Noam and Morris Halle. 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper & Row.

Pandit, Hemraj. 1912. *Gorkha bhasha vyakaran candrika* [In Nepali]. Dhokatol: Author.

Pokharel, Madhav P. 1989. *Experimental analysis of Nepali sound system*. PhD thesis. Pune: University of Poona.

Pokharel, Madhav P. 1997. *Nepali vakya vyakaran* [In Nepali]. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Pokharel, Madhav P. 1999. *Nepali vakya vyakaran* [In Nepali]. Kathmandu: Ekta Books.

Pradhan, Paras Mani. 1951. *Nepali vyakaran*. Calcutta: McMillan.

Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1931. *A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner.

EVIDENTIALITY IN MANIPURI

N. Pramodini

npdini@yahoo.co.in

This paper examines the evidentiality in Manipuri, a TB language. There are three types of indirect evidential: the first one based on the result state of a prior event and the speaker's reasoning, -ləmə; the second one based on reportative/quotative/hearsay evidential, -ye and the third one based on strictly on hearing, -dai.

1 Introduction

Evidentiality is a grammatical category indicating the source of information whether the speaker has personally seen the situation, inferred it from evidence or heard it from other people or perceived. Evidentials in Manipuri can be broadly classified into three categories: direct, indirect and deferred. In direct evidentials Manipuri has four types of evidentials based on different sensory information: -khə, first hand personal experience including visuals; -həw, perceived by speaker (strictly visual); -bə, speaker's source and (-bə)-mal, perceived by the speaker (auditory, feeling, seeing, etc).

2 Direct evidentiality

In an extensive study of typology of evidentials, De Haan (1999) finds that direct evidentials, typically arise from one of two sources: either from dietic or demonstrative morphemes; or from (default) tense or aspect markers. He finds that the dietic to visual path of development has been followed in Northern California as well as the Amazon, in languages such as Wintu, Hupa and Sanuma. The development of direct evidentials from dietic makes good sense in Manipuri too. In Manipuri, a speaker uses a visual evidential based on dietic markers, he or she is saying that the action was witnessed

personally because it occurred in the some deictic sphere as the location of the speaker.

2.1 -həw

The enclitic -həw is an illocutionary operator that modifies the sincerity condition of simple speech acts by adding the condition that the speaker sees the event described by the sentence, which is illustrated in comparison between simple assertive sentences.

(1) noŋ ta-həw-re
     rain fall-DEV-ASP
     'It was raining (the speaker saw it).'

In the cross-linguistic study of evidential morphology Bybee (1985) showed that evidentials are usually highly infinite. In the study of grammaticalization of evidential in many cases, verbs of perception, cognition and utterance have eroded giving rise to an evidential system whose meaning is fairly transparent (Anderson 1986, Weled 1988). Likewise in Manipuri too, we can see or demonstrate the origin of evidential markers from verbs of 'say', 'know' 'hear' and 'see'.

Manipuri marks a visual evidential with the verb root *u* 'see'. For example, ma *cak cahəwri*. He was eating food/rice (the speaker has witnessed which the subject of the sentence concerned was taking food.) It is probably derived from a compound verb as *ca-u-ri* 'eat-see-ASP' which later became *ca-həw* ASP. Why do I claim that this evidential marker -həw is derived from -u 'see', because the meaning of the sentence is still very transparent that only when one see the act being performed, then the speaker can use the -həw suffix. This is a direct evidence which the speaker has witnessed the person having food. One might also argue that this suffix -həw is

derived from *həwbə* 'start or begin' which is homophonous with this suffix. It is also quite likely that it is derived from this word because semantically it does confirm to the meaning generated by the sentence that the speaker has actually witnessed the subject of the sentence concerned taking his food. Here, it may also be argued that the speaker has actually seen the subject of the sentence beginning performing the act.

Though there is a little difficulty in interpreting the derivation of *-həw* enclitic, I would however, say that the first interpretation is more appropriate as clue is contained in the dialogue given below:

(2)   1st speaker

ma thəbək-tu   təw-həw-i
he work-DET do-EVD-ASP
'He was doing the work.'

(3)   2nd speaker

nəŋ manə thəbək-tu   təseŋ-nə təwbə   u -rək-prə
you he ERG work-DET really-do NOM   see-ASP-INT
'Did you really see him doing the work?'

(4)   1st speaker

əŋ ma-nə   təw-həw-i
yes he ERG   do-EVD-ASP
'Yes he was doing the work.'

It may be noted that at the time of reporting, the reporter is no more at the place where the subject of the sentence is performing the act.

2.2 *-khə*

This direct evidential is contributed by assertion. I refer to this evidential property as *khə* 'know' as it is derived from the lexical verb *khəŋ* 'know'. This is a convenient label for the fact that when a person says something he presents himself as knowing that thing. As the enclitic *-khə* imposes or enforces as observability restriction which requires a situation described to have been directly observed by the speaker.

(5)   huranbə-du som-də   cen-khi
       thief DET   this way LOC run DEV
       'The thief ran away this way.'

Here, the speaker saw the thief running away that he directly observed the situation. Further the enclitic *-khə* also imposes a locatibility restriction on direct evidentiality. Unlike the use of enclitic *-həw*, the enclitic *-khə* is essentially used by the speaker, where exactly the speaker saw the thief running away.

2.3 *-bə*

It expresses speaker point-of-view and indicates that the speaker is the source of the evidence for the assertion. In conversation *-bə* is often used to indicate for which the speaker has direct experience and hence direct evidence. This form of evidentiality in Manipuri is based on nominalization. In all the examples nominalizers are placed after the verb. The whole sentence becomes nominalized which is followed by the copula *-ni*. Sometimes the copula *-ni* is optional and when it is optional it expresses mirativity.

(6)   əynə   hay-bə   ni
       I.ERG   say-NOM   COP
       'I said (this).'

(7) əynə   hay-bə
     I.ERG   say-NOM
     'I said (this) (so what's matter).'

When the nominalizer -bə is the phrase final then it expresses mirativity. The nominalizer -bə functions with the notion of evidentiality to specify the relation of the speaker to the information presented in the sentence that one comes to know the information from speaker's own experience. This enclitic expresses the validity the person feels towards the information, the degree of assertion or force the speaker intends that it is a valid or known information rather than unknown or probabilistic.

2.4 -(bə)-mal

Other sensory information can be turned into an evidential as well. For example in Manipuri we can show that an auditory evidential which shows that the action described is perceived by hearing or by other sensation such as feeling and seeing.

(8) noŋ ta-male
     rain fall-seem ASP
     'It seems it is raining.'

This sentence is uttered when the speaker hears the rain drops falling on the roof. The same enclitic is used for other sensations.

(9) ma tələ-male
     he lazy-seem ASP
     'He appears lazy.' (by seeing the person)

(10) ma caniŋ -male
     he eat wish seem ASP
     'It appears that he wants to eat (something).'

The -(bə)-mal evidential marker is part of the verbal morphology system which adds the sense of 'appearing to be'. This enclitic when appended to the verb stem, describes its meaning as to show a sign of and to behave like.

The same enclitic is also used as an inferred/indirect evidential when the speaker does not want to assert the truth value of the statements for the reasons known to him. He pretends to show his appearance like; he does not really know the truth and what is being told is something that has been gathered from hearsay or from other sources. This usually happens in a situation when the speaker does not want to take a stand or when he wants to be in a safer position by appearing not knowing fully the truth value of the statement.

3 Indirect evidentiality

Indirect evidentials are used when the speaker was not a witness to the event but when he/she learned of it after the fact. There are three broad categories of indirect evidential: inference, quotative and strictly hearing.

3.1 -mə

Inferential evidentials are used when the speaker draws an inference on the basis of available physical evidence.

(11) ma lak(l)ə - mə-ni
     he come   IEV ASP
     'He has come.'

The evidential use is ordinarily an inferential evidential. It applies to the whole sentence, indicating that the speaker obtained the knowledge he/she bases his/her statement on indirectly via inference. Thus the sentence indicates that although the speaker did not witness the event of John's coming she/he inferred the event based on the result state. For example, the sentence above with -(l)əmə enclitic is an

evidential sentence that conveys the speaker's inferred based on his/her reasoning. It can be said that it is an assumption based on the logical reasoning and general knowledge.

3.2 *-ye*

In Manipuri the *-ye* enclitic is being used for reportative, quotative or hearsay. Any information that speaker has learned through others, he uses it with *-ye* enclitic.

In Manipuri this *-ye* enclitic is a grammaticalized form a verb *hai* 'say'. This is a very common phenomenon which occurs in several languages of the world. More often than not indirect evidence, especially quotative evidentiality, is expressed with a grammaticalized form of the verb meaning 'to say' (Harris and Campbell, 1995:171). The important part of this evidential is to denote that the speaker had no role in observing the action he or she describes. In the use of *hai* as quotative, it expresses that the information came to the speaker as the second hand information.

(12) tombə lak-e-ye
Tomba come ASP IEV
'Tomba has come.' (It is said that Tomba has come)

(13) mi əmə si-re-ye
person one die ASP IEV
'One person died.' (It is said that one person died or one person is reportedly dead or one person is said to have died)

The same enclitic is also used in narratives or in storytelling. This may be because evidential marking is an important grammatical feature of the artistic genre of the traditional story (includes, myth, folktales and community history. It is probably the speakers want to evidentially frame stories as

reported information. The same enclitic *-ye* is used when one describes one's own experience in the past when the speaker is being told about it. For example, when one describes one's own childhood what has been told to him. This is not surprising because the notion of distant past allows an interpretation of non-witnessed, reported etc.

(14) əy ənaŋ oyriŋəydə ŋawsinəy-ye
I child while naughty-IEV
'While I was a child I was naughty.' (While I was child I have been told that I was very naughty)

3.3 *-dai*

Another evidential marker used in Manipuri is *-dai*.

(15) ma səyreŋ i-(ye)-dai
he poetry write-ASP-IEVD
'He is said to write poetry.' (Literally: It is heard or learnt that he writes poetry.)

(16) ma si-re-dai
he die-ASP-IEVD
'He is said to have died'
(literally - It is heard or learnt that he died)

This enclitic *-dai* is used by a speaker indicating that he/she obtains the knowledge strictly based on what he heard.

4 Deferred evidentiality

Another striking feature of Manipuri is the existence of Deferred Evidence (hereafter DE). Similar situation of DE is reported by Maslova (2003). She describes it as an extremely broad semantic domain of the non-eyewitness term that the inferential form is used between witnessed state the situation that brought. This is evident in the example given below

(17) john   yamnə   cao-rəm-me
     John   very   big DE ASP
     'John has grown big.'

Here, inferential form signals that the speaker did not witness the process of John's growing big, but only saw the result, i.e. the state of being big. It signals just that the information on the situation was obtained later the situation had taken place, even though the speaker has first-hand eyewitness evidence of that event by the time of speech.

The meaning of DE is particularly clear in description of speaker's own actions, which cannot be accounted for in terms of inference.

(18) ŋa yamnə pharəm-me
     fish many catch DE ASP
     'It turned out that he had caught many fishes'.

Here, even though the speaker participated in fishing, yet the fish was counted only afterwards or catching of too many fishes is realized later.

5 Conclusion

We have discussed that Manipuri shows rich morphosyntactic markers of evidentiality. Manipuri has both direct and indirect evidentials. There are four direct evidentials namely *-khə* which shows first hand personal experience which includes visual, the enclitic *-həw* perceived by speaker is strictly visual, another marker *-bə* expresses speaker's point of view and the speaker is the source of evidence for the assertion and *-(bə) mal* marker which is used for other sensory information such as auditory feeling and seeing. Three indirect evidentials *-(l)ə-mə* based on the logical reasoning and general knowledge, the *-ye* enclitic used for Reportative /quotative/Hearsay and the

dai enclitic based on strictly what the speaker hears, have also been discussed. Another interesting phenomenon worth observing is the existence of Deferred evidential in Manipuri i.e. the morpheme *-ləm* signals that the information on the situation was obtained later the situation had taken place, even though the speaker has first-hand eyewitness evidence of that event by the time of speech.

Abbreviations:

DEV   - Direct Evidential
IEV   - Indirect Evidential
ASP   - Aspect
LOC   - Locative
COP   - Copula
DE   - Deferred Evidence

References

Agha, Asif. 1993. *Structural form and utterance context in Lhasa Tibetan.* New York: Peter Lang.

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Dixon, R. M. W. 2003 (eds). *Studies in Evidentiality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Anderson, Lloyd. 1986. Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries, Chafe and Nichols (eds.). 1986 : 273-312.

Bybee J. 1985. *Morphology*. TSL 9. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Chafe, Wallace L. and Nichols, Johanna. 1986. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic coding of Epistomology*. Norwood. N.J.: Ablex Pub. Corp.

Chang, Betty Shefts and Chang, Keen. 1980. 'Ergativity in Spoken Tibetan'. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academica Sinica*. Vol 51: 15-32.

Chang, Betty Shefts and Chang, Keen. 1981. 'Perfective and imperfective in spoken Tibetan'. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academica Sinica.* Vol 52: 303-321.

Chang, Betty Shefts and Chang, Keen. 1984. 'The certainty hierarchy among spoken Tibetan verbs of being'. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academica Sinica.* Vol 55 (4): 603-634.

De Haan, F. 1999. 'Evidentiality and epistemic modality: setting boundaries'. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics.* Vol 18: 83-101.

De Haan, F. 1998. 'The category of evidentiality'. Manuscript. University of New Maxico.

DeLancey, S. 1990. 'Ergativity and the cognitive model of event structure in Lhasa Tibetan'. *Cognitive Linguistics.* Vol 1(3): 289-321.

DeLancey, S. 1986. 'Evidentiality and Volitionality in Tibetan'. Chafe, W. and Nichols J. (eds). *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology.* 203-13. Ablex.

Denwood, Philip. 1999. *Tibetan.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Floyd, Rick. 1999. *The structure of evidential categories in Wanka Quechua.* SIL and UTA. 131.

Garrett, Edward. 2001. *Evidentiality and Assertion in Tibetan.* PhD. Thesis. UCLA.

Hale, Austin. 1980. 'Person markers: finite conjunct and disjunct forms as Newari'. R. Trail et al. (eds), *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics.* Vol 7: 95-106.

Hargreaves, David. 1991a. 'The Conceptual Structure of intentional action: data from Kathmandu Newari'. Sutton,

L.; Johnson, C. and Shields, R. (eds). *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics society,* Berkeley: 379-389.

Hargreaves, David 1991b. *The concept of intentional action in the grammar of Kathmandu Newari.* Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Oregon.

Harris, Alice and Cambell, Lyle. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johanson, Lars and Utlas, Bo. 2000. *Evidentials: Turkic, Izranian, and neighbouring languages.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Maslova, Elena 2003. *Evidentiality in Yukaghier.* In Aikhenvald, A. Y. and Dixon, R. M. W. (eds). 237-241: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

SchÖttelandreyer, Burkhard. 1980. 'Person markers in Sherpa'. Trail, R. et al. (eds); *Papers in South East Asian Linguistics.* Vol 7. 125-130. Canberra: Australian National University.

Tournadre and Dorje. 1998. *Manuel de Tibetan standard langue et civilization.* Paris: Langues and Mondes L'Asiateque.

Willet, Thomas. 1998. 'A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality'. *Studies in Language.* Vol 12 (1): 51-97.

A COMPUTATIONAL ANALYSIS OF NEPALI BASIC NOUNS: A FINITE STATE APPROACH

Balaram Prasain
prasain2003@yahoo.com

This paper is an attempt to analyze the Nepali basic nouns with reference to their properties and implement them computationally to create a lexical finite state transducer using Xerox Finite State Toolkit. The created lexical transducer can be directly used to analyze and generate the Nepali basic nouns.

1 Background

Nepali nouns show various kinds of morphological features which are discussed and analyzed in the subsequent sections. The primary approach to classify the nouns is formal one because the formal representation can be implemented for the computational process. However, the semantics of a particular group of nouns is also considered for the classification to capture the formal behavior. The classification is partly based on Adhikari (1993) and Pokharel (2054 BS); and partly on the research carried out by the researcher.

2 Nepali noun characteristics

2.1 Number

Nepali nouns show two dimensions of the number feature: singular and plural. The unmarked (or the citation) form is always singular whereas the feature plural is indicated either by the change in the citation form (from o-ending nouns to a-ending nouns) or by a plural/collective marker -ɦʌru:. The o-ending nouns as *tsʰoro* 'son' in (1a) change into *a*-ending as *tsʰora* 'sons' in (1b) to mark the plurality and non-*o*-ending nouns as *gʰʌr* 'house' in (1d) take postposition -*ɦʌru:* '-PL' to indicate the plurality as *gʰʌr-ɦʌru:* 'houses' in (1e). The plural

marker -*ɦʌru:* can also occur optionally with *o*-ending nouns as *tsʰora* 'son' in (1c). But the *o*-ending noun stems change to *a*-ending oblique form.

(1) a. tsʰoro kam gʌr-tsʰʌ
son.SG work do-3SG.NPST
'The son works.'

   b. tsʰora iskul dza-n-tsʰʌn
son.PL school go-ϕ-3PL.NPST
'The sons go to school.'

   c. tsʰora-ɦʌru: iskul dza-n-tsʰʌn
son.OBL-PL school go-ϕ-3PL.NPST
'The sons go to school.'

   d. gʰʌr ramro tsʰʌ
house.SG good.SG be.3SG.NPST
'The houses are good.'

   e. gʰʌr-ɦʌru: ramra tsʰʌn
house-PL good.PL be.3PL.NPST
'The houses are good.'

2.2 Gender

2.2.1 Lexical gender

The gender of the nouns, which do not have any kind of gender marker can be interpreted from their semantics. These nouns inherently carry the gender features. As in (2a) the noun *bʰai* 'younger brother' does not have any kind of marker in it but it is masculine and in (2b) the noun *bʌɦini:* 'younger sister' also does not have any marker in it but it's feminine. This type of feature is found in a small set of the human nouns and has the grammatical implication as the verb agrees with

subject NP in terms of gender whereas the animate feminine do not show this kind of agreement.

2.   a.   bʰai dzã-dʌi tsʰʌ

younger brother go-IMPF be.3SG.MASC.NPST

'The younger brother is going.'

b.   bʌɦiini gʰʌr-ma bʌs-tsʰe

younger sister house-LOC sit-3SG.FEM.NPST

'The younger sister stays at home.'

2.2.2 Morphological gender

Nouns in which the gender indicated either by certain change or by some sorts of marker are said to be having morphological gender. The citation form is always masculine gender as *beɦulo* 'bridegroom' in (3a) and *nati* 'grandson' in (3c). The *o*-ending nouns change into *i:*-ending as *beɦuli* 'bride' in (3b) and non-*o*-ending nouns take the feminine gender markers -*i:* or -*ni:* as *natini* 'grand daughter' in (3d).

(3)   a.   beɦulo sundʌr tsʰʌ

bridegroom.MASC handsome be.3SG.MASC.NPST

'The bridegroom is handsome.'

b.   beɦuli: kurup tsʰe

bride.FEM ugly be.3SG.FEM.NPST

'The bride is ugly.'

c.   nati bʰat kʰa-n-tsʰʌ

grandson.MASC rice eat-ɸ-3SG.MASC.NPST

'The grandson eats rice.'

d.   nati-ni: iskul dza-n-tsʰe

grandson-FEM school go-ɸ-3SG.FEM.NPST

'The granddaughter goes to school.'

2.3 Form

Nepali nouns show two forms morphologically: direct and oblique. Traditionally the nouns which appear as the citation forms are direct and those appear with postpositions are oblique. The *o*-ending nouns as *biralo* 'cat' in (4a) change to *a*-ending as *birala* 'cat' in (4b) to take the oblique form. This happens only in *o*-ending nouns when they are followed by any postpositions. The non-*o*-ending nouns do not show such changes whether they are followed by postpositions or not as *ru:kʰ* 'tree' in (4c). Therefore, the non-*o*-ending nouns are not considered as oblique form in this study.

(4)   a.   biralo dudʰ kʰa-n-tsʰʌ

cat.SG milk eat-ɸ-3SG.NPST

'The cat drinks milk.'

b.   birala-le musa mar-tsʰʌ

cat.OBL-ERG mouse.PL kill-3SG.NPST

'The cat kills the rats.'

c.   ru:kʰ-ma euʈa tsʌro bʌs-eko tsʰʌ

tree-LOC one.CL bird sit-PERF be.3SG.NPST

'A bird is sitting in the tree.'

2.4 Honorificity

Nepali nouns show two levels of honorificity morphologically: non-honorific and honorific. The honorificity distinction can be found only in *o*-ending human nouns. Those nouns with *o*-ending as *beɦulo* 'bridegroom' in (5a) change into *a*-ending as *beɦula* 'bridegroom' in (5b) indicating non-honorificity and honorificity, respectively.

And the non-o-ending human nouns use some other strategies to indicate honorificity.

(5) a. befiulo hatti-ma tʰi-jo
         bridegroom.NHON elephant-LOC be.3SG.NHON.PST
         'The bridegroom was on the elephant.'

     b. befiula hattima tʰi-e
         bridegroom.HON elephant-LOC be.3SG.HON.PST
         'The bridegegroom was on the elephant.'

2.5 Evaluation

From the evaluative point of view, Nepali nouns show two distinctions: augmentative and diminutive. This distinction is found only in o-ending inanimate nouns which indicates the size of the object whether it is bigger or smaller. The *o*-ending as *ḍalo* 'a normal size basket' in (6a) changes into *i*-ending as *ḍaliː* 'a small basket' in (6b) indicating augmentative and diminutive forms, respectively. The non-*o*-ending inanimate nouns do not show this distinction, therefore, they are not considered here.

(6) a. ram ḍalo bʌna-unʌ dzan-dʌ-tsʰʌ
         Ram basket.AUG make-INF know-φ-3SG.NPST
         'Ram knows to make the basket.'

     b. jo tsidz ḍaliː-ma rakʰ!
         this thing basket.DIM-LOC keep.IMP
         'Keep this thing in the small basket!'

2.6 Significant stem finals

The Nepali basic nouns end with various sound segments. But from the significance point of views, they are in a binary division: *o*-final nouns and non-*o*-final nouns. The o-final noun stems show different changes to indicate various kinds

of morphological features as discussed above such as number, gender, form, evaluation, honorificity and vocative case. These features are significant grammatically as visible in subject NP-verb agreement. Although some non-*o*-final noun stems take gender inflection, there is no change in the noun stems. And the rest of the nouns stem do not change their form for anything.

3 Classification of Nepali nouns

On the basis of characteristic features discussed above, Nepali nouns can be grouped into fourteen classes which comfortably fit into the finite state machine at least for the present purpose. The features like number, gender, form, honorificity, evaluation and vocative case are considered while grouping the nouns (section 5).

4 Level of representation: lexical and surface

Words in the written or spoken text, in fact, represent the outer form, i.e. surface form. But a word carries various kinds of information which can be represented at least in two levels. Lexical level is a canonical form or lemma of the word and a set of tags showing its syntactic category and morphological features such as a possible part of speech and/or inflectional properties such as gender, number, person, tense, aspect, mood, etc. Thus, the lexical level represents the sequence of morphemes in a certain fashion. These morphemes including stem correspond to a certain form which is actually spellings of word in written text is known as surface form. Therefore, the representation of actual spelling of a particular word that corresponds to its lexical form is said to be the surface level (Koskenniemi, 1983). Table 1 shows the two levels of representation of the words.

Table 1: Lexical and Surface levels representation

Lexical Level	Surface Level
केटो+NOUN+MASC+SG	केटो

5 Implementation

The computational implementation of two-levels of representation of the noun morphology as discussed in section (4) is based on Beesley and Karttumen (2003). The morphotactics is implemented in lexc grammar and morphophonemic rules are implemented in xfst interface. Two kinds of tags are designed, the first normal tags which appear in upper language indicating features and second special tags which are used in the lower language to create certain environment for the application of rules and they are removed at the end. The lexc grammar and xfst interface presented below are only the sample one. The encoding used in this implementation is Devnagari Unicode (UTF-8). The tags +MP and +FE are used for creating environment for applying rules and rest are for morphological features.

5.1 Lexc grammar

Multichar_Symbols +NOUN +MASC +FEM +OBL +PL +SG +DIM +VOC +HON ^MP ^FE +PLACE +PROPER

```
LEXICON ROOT
        Nouns;
LEXICON Nouns       !! Noun Lexicon
केटो    inflection_1a;   !! Type 1a Nouns
मुसो    inflection_1b;   !!Type 1b Nouns
डालो    inflection_1c;   !!Type 1c Nouns
फोटो    inflection_1d;   !!Type 1d Nouns
काका    inflection_21a;  !!Type 21a Nouns
```

```
नाति    inflection_21b;  !!Type 21b Nouns
बाघ     inflection_21c;  !!Type 21c Nouns
बिस्ट   inflection_21d;  !!Type 21d Nouns
दाइ     inflection_22a;  !!Type  22a Nouns
दिदि    inflection_22b;  !!Type 22b Nouns
राम     inflection_22c;  !!Type 22c Nouns
सीता    inflection_22d;  !!Type 22d Nouns
खेत     inflection_22e;  !!Type 22e Nouns
पोखरा  inflection_22f;  !!Type 22f Nouns
LEXICON        inflection_1a
+NOUN+MASC+SG:0              #;
+NOU N+MASC+PL:^MP           #;
+NOUN+MASC+OBL:^MP           #;
+NOUN+MASC+HON:^MP           #;
+NOUN+MASC+VOC:^MP           #;
+NOUN+FEM:+FE                #;
LEXICON        inflection_1b
+NOUN+MASC+SG:0              #;
+NOUN+MASC+PL:^MP            #;
+NOUN+MASC+OBL:^MP           #;
+NOUN+FEM:+FE                #;
LEXICON        inflection_1c
+NOUN+SG:0           #;
+NOUN+PL:^MP         #;
+NOUN+OBL:^MP        #;
+NOUN+DIM:^FE        #;
LEXICON        inflection_1d
+NOUN+SG:0           #;
+NOUN+PL:^MP         #;
+NOUN+OBL:^MP        #;
LEXICON        inflection_21a
```

+NOUN+MASC:0   #;

+NOUN+FEM:ी   #;

LEXICON   inflection_21b

+NOUN+MASC:0   #;

+NOUN+FEM:नी   #;

LEXICON   inflection_21c

+NOUN+MASC:0   #;

+NOUN+FEM:िनी   #;

LEXICON   inflection_21d

+NOUN+MASC:0   #;

+NOUN+FEM:ेनी   #;

+NOUN+FEM:िनी   #;

LEXICON   inflection_22a

+NOUN+MASC:0   #;

LEXICON   inflection_22b

+NOUN+FEM:0   #;

LEXICON   inflection_22c

+NOUN+PROPER+MASC:0   #;

LEXICON   inflection_22d

+NOUN+PROPER+FEM:0   #;

LEXICON   inflection_22e

+NOUN:0   #;

LEXICON   inflection_22f

+NOUN+PLACE:0   #;

END

5.2 xfst interface

clear

define cons

कागघङचछजझञटठडढणतथदधनपफबभमयरलवस
षशह;

define liquids रल;

define change   [[ो %+MP -> ा || _ .#.]

.o.

[ो %+FE -> ी || _ .#.]

.o.

[ा -> [ ] || _ ?* %^b ि न ी .#.]

.o.

[ा -> [ ] || _ े न ी .#.]

.o.

[ा -> [ ] || _ ि न ी .#.]

.o.

[ा -> [ ] || _ ी .#.]

.o.

[ी -> ् || liquids _ न ी .#.]

.o.

[ी -> ि || _ न ी .#.]

.o.

[[. .] -> ् || cons _ न ी .#.]

.o.

[य ा -> [ ] || _ न ी .#.]

.o.

[ी -> [ ] || _ ि न ी .#.]

.o.

[ू -> ु || _ ?* %^b ि न ी .#.]

.o.

[ी -> [ ] || _ %^b ि न ी .#.]

.o.

[%^b -> [ ]]

.o.

[ि -> [ ] || ु _ न ी .#.]

      ];

read lexc <nouns.txt
define nouns;
read regex nouns .o. change;
save stack nouns.fst

6. Conclusion

The Nepali basic nouns are analyzed with reference to the characteristic features that they carry and classified into 14 classes. These groups of nouns are fed into the lexc grammar to create a lexicon finite state transducer and separate finite state transducers for morphophonemic rules. And finally these finite state traducers are composed to create a lexicon which can be directly used to analyze and generate the basic nouns.

Abbreviations

φ-Null	INANI-Inanimate
1-Firs person	INST-Instrumental
2-Second Person	LOC-Locative
3-Third Person	MASC-Masculine
ABL-Ablative	NOM-Nominative
ADJ-Adjective	NOUN-Noun
AUG-Augmentative	NP-Noun Phrase
CC-Coordinate	NPST-Non past
CL-Classifier	OBL-Oblique
COM-Commitative	PART-Particle
DAT-Dative	PST-Past
DIM-Dimunitive	PERF-Perfect
DIR-Directional	PL-Plural
ERG-Ergative	POSTP-Postposition
FEM-Feminine	SG -Singular
GEN-Genitive	SUPER-Superlative
HON-Honorific	VERB-Verb
IMPF-Imperative	VOC-Vocative

References

Adhikari, Hemanga. 1993. *Samasaamayik Nepali Vyakaran* (Contemporary Nepali Grammar). Kathmandu: Vidhyarthi Pustak Bhandar.

Beesley, Kenneth R. and Karttumen, Lauri. 2003. *Finite State Morphology*. CSLI Publications.

Koskenniemi, K. 1983. 'Two-level morphology: A general computational model of word-form recognition and production, Technical Report. *Publication No. 11.* Department of General Linguistics. University of Helsinki.

Pokharel, Madhav P. 2054 BS. *Nepali Vakya Vyakaran* (Nepali Syntax). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

STRATEGIES OF PRONOMINALIZATION IN KOYEE[1]

Tara Mani Rai

raitaramani@yahoo.com

Koyee is one of the complex pronominalized Kiranti languages in which the personal pronouns representing the subject and sometimes the object of the sentence can be affixed to the verb.

1 Introduction

Hodgson (1857) is supposed to be the first person to coin the term 'Pronominalizaiton'. It means that the process of copying full or part of the phonetic form of pronouns with different case roles by the head of a sentence or phrase.

Pronominalization refers to the use of the subject (and sometimes the object as well) among the Himalayish languages (Grierson and Konow, 1909). Pronominalization has to do with the affixation of pronouns-like formatives to the root verb to indicate agreement to the subject and object (Kansakar, 1993).

Koyee [2] is a complex pronominalized language in which personal pronouns representing the subject-occasionally also the object of the sentence, can be verb found attached to the verb. In order to understand pronominalization in Koyee, we need to look at the table 1 of personal pronoun.

---

[1] This is a revised version of the paper presented in the 30th Annual Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal   (LSN) held on 26-27 November, 2009 at CEDA Hall, Katmandu

[2] Koyee is one of the Kirat Rai languages of the Himalayish sub-group within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. This language is spoken by an estimated 3000 people in Sungdel and Dipsung VDCs of Khotang district of Sagarmatha Zone in the eastern Nepal.

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Koyee

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	aŋ	intsi (INCL) ʌntsu (EXCL)	iŋki (INCL) ʌŋkʌ (EXCL)
2nd Person	an	antsi (INCL) antsinusi (EXCL)	ani (INCL) anitsʌ (EXCL)
3rd Person	umu	umunsi	umtsʌ

2 Pronominalized suffixations in verb

Koyee pronominalization can be realized in dual and plural of the agent in the first person but not in the singular agent.

(1)　　a.　intsija olon hʌptsisi

intsi-ja　　　　　olon hʌptsi-si
1DU.INCL-ERG milk drink-NPST.1DU.INCL
'We (two) drink/will drink milk'

b.　ʌŋkʌa olon hʌptsekʌ

ʌŋkʌ-a　　　　　olon hʌpts-e-kʌ
1DU.EXCL-ERG milk drink-NPST.1DU.EXCL
'We (two) drink/will drink milk'

c.　iŋkija olon hʌptsiki

iŋki-ja　　　　　olon hʌptsi-ki
1DU.EXCL-ERG milk drink-NPST.1DU.EXCL
'We (two) drink/will drink milk'

d.　ʌŋkʌtsʌa olon hʌptsekʌ

ʌŋkʌtsʌ-a　　　　olon hʌpts-e-kʌ
1PL.EXCL-ERG milk drink.-NPST-1DU.EXCL
'We (two) drink/will drink milk'

e.　iŋki mo:ki

iŋki mo:-ki
1PL.INCL stay-NPST.1PL.INCL
'We all stay/will stay.'

f. ʌŋkʌ mo:kʌ

ʌŋkʌ mo:-kʌ
1PL.EXCL stay-NPST.1PL.EXCL
'We all stay/will stay.'

From the above mentioned instances (1a-f), what can be found is that in both inclusive and exclusive of the first person dual and plural pronouns are affixed to the finite verb form to show the agreement of the subject with the verb. The first person dual inclusive and exclusive pronoun markers <-tsi> and <-kʌ> respectively show the agreement as <-si> and <-kʌ> in the verb. Likewise, the first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronoun markers <-kʌ> and <-ki> appear the same in the verb respectively.

Similarly, the second person pronominal agreement is given below.

(2) a. ana olon hʌptsina

an-a olon hʌptsi-na
You-ERG milk drink-NPST.2SG.
'You drink/will drink milk.'

b. anija olon hʌptsini

ani-ja olon hʌptsi-ni
You (HON)-ERG milk drink-NPST.2SG.
'You drink/will drink milk.'

c. antsija olon hʌptsina

antsi-ja olon hʌptsi-sina

You-ERG milk drink-NPST.2DU.
'You (two) drink/will drink milk.'

d. anitsʌa olon hʌptsisini

anitsʌ-a olon hʌptsi-sini
You-ERG milk drink-NPST.2PL
'You (all) drink/will drink milk.'

From the above mentioned examples, what we can see is that the second person non- honorific marker <-na> shows the agreement as <-na> in the verb. On the other hand, honiorific marker <-ni> shows the agreement as <-ni> in the verb. The second person dual and plural marker <-ntsi> and <-nitsʌ> show the agreement as <-sina> and <-sini> in the verbs respectively.

The pronominalization in the third person pronoun appears only in the dual of the agent.

(3) a. umua olon hʌpda

umu-a olon hʌp-da
he/she-ERG milk drink-NPST.3SG.
'He/she drinks/ will drink milk.'

b. untsia olon hʌpdasi

untsi-a olon hʌpda-si
they-ERG milk drink-NPST.3SG.
'They (two) drink/ will drink milk.'

c. umtsʌa olon hʌpdani

umtsʌ-a olon hʌpda-ni
they-ERG milk drink-NPST.3PL.
'They drink/ will drink milk.'

In the above examples (3a-c), the third person dual suffix marker <-tsi> shows agreement as <-si> with the verb. Similarly, the third person plural suffix marker <-tsʌ> shows agreement as <-ni> in the verb.

In the case of object pronominalization, only third person dual of object shows the pronominalization in the verb.

(4) a. umu-a umnusi (-lai) jʌmdasi

umu-a umnusi(-lai) jʌmda-si
he/she-ERG 3DU. (-ACC) hit-NPST3DU.obj.
'He/she hits/ will hit them (two).'

b. um-a umtsʌ (-lai) dʰaŋdani

um-a umtsʌ(-lai) dʰaŋda-ni
he/she-ERG 3DU.(-ACC) hit-NPST3DU.obj.
'He/she hits/ will hit them (two).'

In the above examples (4a-b), it can be realized that the third person dual object suffix <-nusi> shows pronominalization process as <-si> in the verb.

3 Non-past tense and pronominal sufifixes

In Koyee, the non-past tense marker is restricted to the first, second and third person singular.

(5) a. aŋa olon hʌpdʌ

aŋ-a olon hʌp-dʌ
I-ERG milk drink-NPST.1SG.
'I drink/ will drink milk.'

b. aŋ hutʌ

aŋ hu-tʌ
I come-NPST.1sg.
' I come/ will come.'

c. anija dza: dzeni

ani-ja dza: dze-ni
you-ERG rice eat-NPST.2H.
'You eat / will eat rice.'

d. uma pi:n dzada

um-a pi:n dza-da
he/she-ERG potato eat-NPST.2H.
'S/he eats / will eat potato.'

4 Past tense and pronominal sufixes

(6) a. intsija olon hʌptsasi

intsi-ja olon hʌpts-a-si
1DU.INCL-ERG milk drink-PST-1DU.INCL
'We (two) drank milk'

b. ʌŋkʌa olon hʌptsakʌ

ʌŋkʌ-a olon hʌpts-a-kʌ
1DU.EXCL-ERG milk drink-PST.1DU.EXCL
'We (two) drank milk'

c. iŋkija olon hʌptsaki

iŋki-ja olon hʌpts-a-ki
1DU.EXCL-ERG milk drink-PST-1DU.EXCL
'We (two) driank milk'

d. ʌŋkʌtsʌa olon hʌptsakʌ

ʌŋkʌtsʌ-a olon hʌpts-a-kʌ

1PL.EXCL-ERGmilk drink.-PST-1DU.EXCL
'We (two) drank milk'

e. iŋki mʌ:ki

iŋki   mʌ:-ki
1PL. INCL stay-PST.1PL.INCL
'We all stayed.'

f. ʌŋkʌ mʌ:kʌ

ʌŋkʌ   mʌ:-kʌ
1PL. EXCL stay-PST.1PL.EXCL
'We all stayed.'

From the above mentioned instances (6a-f), we can see that in both inclusive and exclusive of the first person dual and plural pronouns are affixed to the finite verb form to show the agreement of the subject with the verb. The first person dual inclusive and exclusive pronoun markers <-tsi> and <kʌ> respectively show the agreement as <-si> and <-kʌ> in the verb. Likewise, the first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronoun markers <-kʌ> and <-ki> in the verb appear the same.

5 Conclusion

In Koyee, the strategies of pronominalization process in the first person and the second person appear only in dual of agent and plural of agent. The first person dual inclusive and exclusive pronoun markers <-tsi> and <-kʌ> respectively show the agreement as < -si> and <-kʌ> in the verb. Likewise, the first person plural inclusive and exclusive pronoun markers <-kʌ> and <-ki> show the agreement. The second person non- honorific marker <-na> shows the agreement as <-na> in the verb. On the other hand, honiorific marker <-

ni> shows the agreement as <-ni> in the verb. The second person dual and plural marker <-ntsi> and <-nitsʌ> show the agreement as <-sina> and <-sini> in the verbs respectively. The third person dual suffix marker <-si> shows agreement as <-si> with the verb. Similarly, the third person plural suffix marker <-tsʌ> shows agreement as <-ni> in the verb.The third person dual object suffix<-nusi> shows pronominalization process as <-si> in the verb.

Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACC	Accusative
DU	Dual
ERG	Ergative
EXCL	Exclusive
HON	Honorific
INCL	Inclusive
NPST	Non-past
obj	Object
PL	Plural
PST	Past
SG	Singular

References

Grierson, George A. and Konow, Sten. 1909. *Linguistic survey of India* III.I. Delhi/Venarasi/Patna: Motilal Benarsidas

Hodgson, B.H. 1857. 'Comparative vocabulary of the languages of the broken tribes of Nepal'. *JASB*, Vol XXVI.

Kansakar, Tej R. 1993. 'The Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: a general survey'. *Contribution of Neplese Studies*. Vol. 20:2. 165-173.

Rai, Tara M. 2010. 'Koyee verb morphology'. M.A. thesis submitted to the Central Department of Linguistics. TU.

Rai, Tara Mani and Budhathoki, Mohan Bdr. 2008. 'A documentation of Koyee Language'. Report submitted to National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN). Central Department of Linguistics. Kathmandu.

Regmi, Bhim Narayan. 2003. 'Koyu Bhasako Rupbislesan' (Morphological analysis of Koyu Language). A mini reaserch report presented to University Grant Commission. Kathmandu.

Thokar, Rajendra. 2006. 'Pronominalization in Bahing' *Recent studies in Neplese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal.

MORPHOSYNTAX OF RELATIVIZATION IN KAIKE[1]

Ambika Regmi
ambikaregmi@gmail.com

Kaike primarily employs two nominalizers: -pa and -nan to form relative clauses under the grammar of nominalization. Such clauses formed with -pa followed by genitive and those with -nan followed by dative marker code perfective and imperfective aspects. The gap strategy is mainly used to form relative constructions *in Kaike.*

1 Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to look at the morphosyntax of relativization in the Kaike language from the functional-typological perspective. Tibeto-Burman languages extensively make use of nominalization for a wide range of grammatical purposes. One of the main functions of nominalization is to construct the relative clauses in these languages. DeLancey (1999) argues that nominalization is the main process of relativization in Bodic languages. Kaike is a seriously endangered and poorly described Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodish group spoken in the three villages, viz. Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot under Sahartara Village Development Committee of Dolpa district of Nepal (Gurung et al. 2006). According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, the total population of the speaker amounts to 792.[2]

Tibeto-Burman languages of the Bodish group primarily employ nominalization as a morphosyntactic process of relativization (Genetti, 1992; DeLancy, 1999; Bickel, 1999; Watters, 2006a) and so does Kaike.

We organize this paper into five sections. In section 2, we present an overview of the basic features of the nominalizers in Kaike. Section 3 presents the formation and classification of relative clauses in the language. In section 4, we examine the case recoverability strategy in the language. Section 5 provides the summary of the findings of the paper.

2 Basic features of the nominalizers

Before dealing with the morphosyntax of relativization it would be better to present an overview of the basic features of the nominalizers in the Kaike language. They are as follows:

i. There are three forms of nominalizers: -*pa*, -*nan*, and -*ma*.

ii. Both -*pa* and -*nan* are affixed to the verb as suffixes whereas -*ma* is attached to an adjective to show the comparison between the two entities of the clause (Regmi, 2007)

iii. Only the nominalizers -*pa* and -*nan* are employed to form relative constructions in Kaike.

iv. The nominlizer -*pa* may be followed by genitive marker and -*nan* by the dative marker.

3 Formation and classification

Primarily as in Tibetan (DeLancey, 1999) the relative clause in Kaike is syntactically a nominalized clause marked by the nominal marker and functionally a nominal modifier of the head noun. Kaike presents a slightly complex system of relativization in the sense that it makes use of two different nominalizers characteristically followed by two types of case

---

[1] This is the revised version of the paper presented in the 30th International Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal held in Kathmandu, 26-27, 2009.

[2] Moseley (ed. 2007:330) notes Kaike, which belongs to Tamangic branch of Tibeto-Burman language, is an endangered language of the world.

markers, namely, genitive and dative and shows aspectual reference of the relative clause.

We may classify the relative clauses in Kaike morphologically and aspectually. Morphologically there are two types of relative clauses in Kaike: relative clause consisting of nominalizer followed by the genitive marker and relative clause consisting of nominalizer followed by the dative marker.[3] These two types of relative clauses can be further classified in terms of the time reference of the relative clause (i.e. aspectually): perfective and imperfective. Figure 1 presents the classification of the relative clauses morphologically and aspectually.
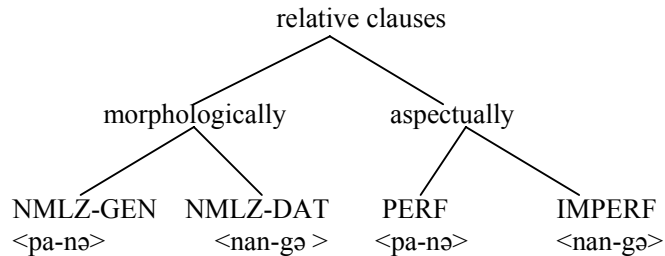
Figure 1: Classification of the relative clauses in Kaike

The following are the examples:

(1)   Nominalizer followed by genitive <pa-nə>

yim   doŋ-pa-nə   simi   sowa-bo
house   make-NMLZ-GEN   man   come-PST.DJ
'The man who has made house came.'

(2)   Nominalizer followed by dative <nan-gə>

ŋa-i   raksi   thuŋ-nan-gə   pʰyaŋ-pa
1SG-ERG alcohol drink-NMLZ-DAT   beat-PST.CJ
'I beat the man who drinks alcohol.'

The relative clauses in (1 and 2) are positioned before the head noun. Both -pa and -nan are the relativizers affixed to the root of the verb in Kaike. The choice between these two nominalizers as relativizers is determined by the time reference of the relative clause. In other words, the relative clause in (1) consisting of -pa followed by the genitive marker -nə characteristically differs from the relative clause in (2) consisting of -nan followed by the dative marker -gə in terms of aspect. In (1) -pa followed by the genitive marker codes perfective aspect whereas in (2) -nan followed by the dative marker -gə codes imperfective aspect.

The correlative types of relative clauses marginally exist in Kaike. As in Newar and other TB languages like Bhujel (Regmi, 2007) Kaike does not have relative pronouns. It makes use of interrogative pronouns for making correlative relative clauses.[4] The following are the examples.

(3) a. [su   ŋə-i   prasnə   lop-pa]
         who   1SG-ERG   question   ask-PST.CJ
         ənə   simi   lə   ɲya
         that   man   good   COP
         'The man whom I asked the question is good.'

     b. [su-i   cʰoy   lə   ɲya]
         who-ERG   read   good   COP
         ənə-je   pas   kʰɛ̃

---

[3] In many TB languages relative clauses consist of the default nominalizer with genitive marking (DeLancey, 1999).

[4] They are simply innovations under the influence of the contact language, Nepali.

he-ERG   pass   do.NPST
'The man who reads well passes (the examination).'

In examples, (3a-b), *su* 'who' is an interrogative pronoun. However, it has been used as a relative pronoun in the formation of correlative relative clauses in Kaike.

4   Case recoverability strategy

In common with other Bodish languages a restricting relative clause in Kaike is syntactically embedded as a subordinate clause functioning as a noun modifier in the NP. The relative clause misses one argument that is co-referential to the head noun. In Kaike the referential identity of the missing argument inside the relative clause is fully recoverable from the head noun itself because the missing argument of the relative clause is obligatorily co-referent with the head noun. However, the case role of the missing argument cannot be likewise recovered because the head noun bears its case role (semantic and grammatical) in the main clause whereas the missing co-referent noun may occupy any case role within the relative clause.[5] Following are the examples:

(4) a. əku   tʰot-pa-nə   simi
         honey   extract-NMLZ-GEN   man

         la   cim-nan
         hand   lick-NMLZ
         'The man who extracts honey licks the hand.'

     b. ŋə-i   rowa-pa-nə   simi-je
         1SG-ERG believe-NMLZ-GEN   man-ERG

---

dʰoka   bim-bo
cheat   cheat give-PST
'The man whom I believed cheated me.'

     c. ram-je   kələmə   bim-pa-nə
         Ram-ERG   pen   give-NMLZ-GEN

         simi   ŋə-i   kapi bim-pa
         man   1SG-ERG   exercise book give-PST.CJ
         'I gave the exercise book to the person whom Ram gave a pen.'

In example (4a) the missing co-referent noun occupies the grammatical case role of subject whereas in (4b) the co-referent noun takes the case role of direct object. Similarly, in (4c) the case role of the missing co-referent noun is referred to as indirect object.

There have been proposed various strategies to solve the problem of identifying the case roles of the missing arguments. One of the very popular case recoverability strategies is referred to as the gap (zero) strategy, other being the non-embedding, the anaphoric pronoun, relative pronoun, the verb agreement and gap, the word order, nominalization, the equi-case, verb coding and standard case marking (Payne, 1997; Givón, 2001) Kaike primarily employs the gap strategy for the relative clauses formed under the grammar of nominalization.[6] In Kaike, this strategy simply puts the verb of the relative clause in a participial form and leaves a gap in the relative clause to indicate the position of the head noun (Subbbarao, 2009).[7] Consider the following example.

---

[5] The head noun bears its case-roles vis-à-vis the main clause but the relativized noun may realize a variety of case-roles within that clause (Givón, 2001).

[6] Kaike seems to be using other strategies for the correlative relative clauses formed with the use of interrogative pronouns.
[7] See Watters (2006b) for conjunct-disjunct distinction in Kaike.

(5)   [yim   doŋ-pa-nə -∅]   simi   sowa-bo
       house   make-NMLZ-GEN   man   come-PST.DJ
       'The man who has made house came.'

In example (5), the verb is nominalized and the gap is left in order to identify the case role of the missing argument in the relative clause. Diagram 1 presents how the gap strategy is employed in the relative clauses constructed under the grammar of nominalization in Kaike.
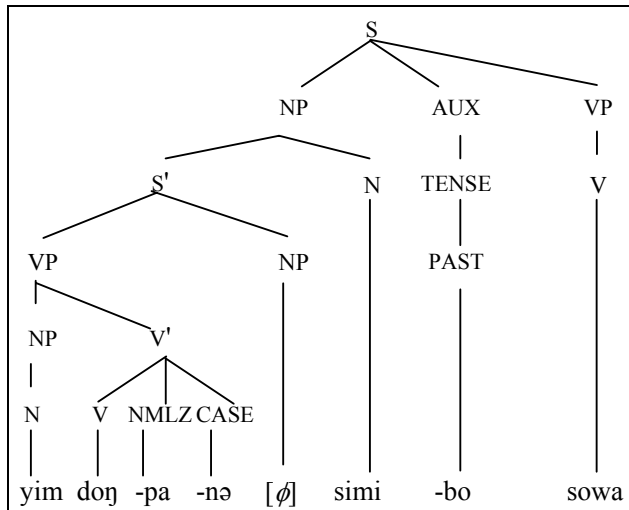
Figure 2: Gap strategy in the relative construction

In Figure 1, S' represents the relative construction formed by employing the nominalization strategy. In this construction, the NP directly dominated by S' represents the referential identity of the missing argument of the relative clause. This is represented by [-∅] in the tree diagram.

5 Summary

In this paper, we have tried to analyze the morphosyntax of relativization in Kaike. In common with other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Bodish group, Kaike primarily employs nominalization as a morphosyntactic process of relativization.

In section 2, we presented three forms of nominalizers: -*pa*, -*nan*, and -*ma*, in which -*pa* and -*nan* are affixed to the verb as suffixes whereas -*ma* is attached to an adjective. Apart from this, only -*pa* followed by genitive marker and -*nan* by the dative marker are employed to form relative constructions in Kaike.

In section 3, we presented two types of relative clauses morphologically and semantically. The relative clauses with nominalizer followed by the genitive marker and nominalizer followed by the dative marker constitute the morphological typology of the relative clauses in Kaike. Semantically the relative clauses with nominalizer followed by the genitive marker codes perfective, and nominalizer followed by the dative marker codes imperfective aspect in Kaike.

In section 4, we examined the case recoverability strategy in the language. Kaike primarily employs the gap strategy for the relative clauses formed under the grammar of nominalization. According to this strategy, the verb is nominalized in Kaike and the gap is left in order to identify the case role of the missing argument in the relative clause.

Abbreviations

1	First person
AUX	Auxiliary
CJ	Conjunct
COP	Copula
DJ	Disjunct
DAT	Dative
ERG	Ergative

GEN   Genitive
NEG   Negative
NMLZ   Nominalization
NPST   Non-past
PST   Past tense
SG   Singular

References

Bickel, Balthasar. 1999. 'Nominalizations and focus in some Kiranti languages'. In: Yadava, Yogendra Prasad; and Glover, Warren W. (eds). *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. 271-296. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

DeLancy, Scott. 1999. 'Relativization in Tibetan'. In: Yadava, Yogendra Prasad and Glover, Warren W. (eds). *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. 231-249. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Genetti, Carol. 1992. 'Semantic and grammatical categories of relative clause morphology in the languages of Nepal'. *Studies in Language*. Vol 16. 405-427.

Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction*. Vols I-II. Philadelphia. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Moseley, Christopher (ed). 2007. *Encyclopedia of the world's languages.* London/New York: Routledge.

Noonan, Michel.1997. 'Versatile nominalizations'. In: Joan Bybee et al. (eds.), *Essays on language function and language type*. 373-394. Amsterdam: Bejamins.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997**.** *Describing Morposyntax: A Guide for Field Linguist*s. Cambridge: CUP.

Regmi, Dan Raj. 2007. *The Bhujel Language.* Ph.D. diss. Tribhuvan University. Nepal.

Regmi, Ambika. 2007. 'Nominalization in Kaike'. In: Rai, Novel K; Yadava, Yogendra P; Regmi, Bhim N and Prasain, Balaram (eds). *Recent Studies in Nepalese Linguistics*. 15-24. Kathmandu: LSN.

Subbbarao, Karumuri V. 2009. 'Gap relations in South Asian languages with special reference to the comitative PP as a head'. Paper presented as felicitation lecture delivered in honour to Prof. Bh. Krishnamurti at the 31st All-India Conference of Linguists. University of Hyderabad. India.

Waters, David E. 2006a. Nominalization in Himalayish languages. Paper presented at the 12th Himalayan Languages Symposiums and 27th Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. Tribhuvan University. Nepal.

Watters, David E. 2006b. 'Conjunct-disjunct distinction in Kaike'. *Nepalese Linguistics*. Vol 22: 300-319.

NOMINALIZATIONS IN BHUJEL[1]

Dan Raj Regmi
danraj_regmi@hotmail.com

Bhujel, in common with many Bodish and Himalayish languages, employs morphological strategy to adjust the grammatical category of the root of the verb in the grammar of nominalization. It utilizes two nominalizers, viz., -məy and -o to express a wide array of language specific functions apart from the 'expected' functions.

1 Introduction

The main purpose of this paper is to look at morphosyntactic properties of nominalization in Bhujel, an endangered and preliterate language spoken by about 3,923 ethnic Bhujel, most of them living along the Mahabharata mountain range of Tanahun, Gorkha, Chitwan and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal. Natively referred to as *pukʰgyal ŋur* (*pukʰgyal* 'Bhujel' and *ŋur* 'language') this language belongs to the east Himalayish languages of Himalayish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family (Regmi, 2007b).[2]

In Bhujel, in common with many Himalayish branches of Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancy, 1999; Bickel, 1999; Watters, 2006) nominalization is one of the very productive as well as pervasive derivational morphosyntactic strategies to adjust the grammatical category of the root of the verb. There are two forms of nominalizers in Bhujel: *-məy* and *-o*. Similar

to other Himalayish languages, Bhujel makes use of nominalization for a wide range of functions other than the main two 'expected' functions of nominalizations in Bodic languages: reifications of events and processes and expressions of clauses as arguments of predicates (Noonan, 1997). Moreover, nominalizers express modal as well as aspectual properties in the language.

This paper is organized into four sections. The first section is the introduction. In section 2, we deal with the classification and distribution of the nominalizers in Bhujel. Section 3 discusses the functions of the nominalization in this language. In section 4, we summarize the findings of the paper.

2 Classification and distribution

Typologically, there are three types of derivational strategies employed by different languages of the world to form nominalization from the verb: lexical, morphological and analytic (Payne, 1997). Bhujel neither makes use of lexical strategy as English nor analytic as Mandarin. In common with many Bodish and Himalayish languages Bhujel utilizes morphological strategy. Figure 1 presents the classification of nominalizers in terms of forms, modality and aspects in Bhujel.


Figure 1: Classification of nominalizers in Bhujel

---

[2] Moseley (ed. 2007:323) notes Bhujeli, which belongs to Chepangic branch of Tibeto-Burman language, is a severely endangered language of the world.
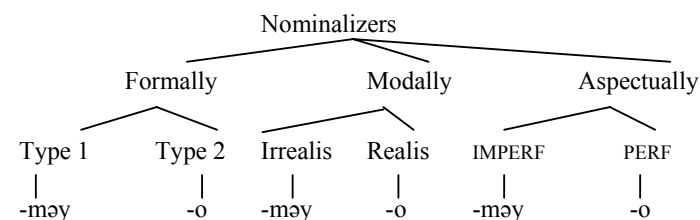
Figure 1 shows that the nominalizers in Bhujel may be formally classified into two types: Type 1 (<-məy>) and Type 2 (<-o>). They can be further classified modally and aspectually. Modally they are classified into irrealis (<-məy>) and realis (<-o>) and aspectually into imperfective (<-məy>) and perfective (<-o>).

The nominalizers in Bhujel exhibit interesting distribution typologically. Both type 1 and type 2 nominalizers are primarily affixed to the root of the verb as suffixes at three levels: the word, clause and sentence level.

They are affixed to the root of the verb at the word level, as in (1).

(1)   a.   (i)   hin   'sell'   hin-məy   'seller'
             (ii)   le   'buy'   le-məy   'buyer'
             (iii) je   'eat'   je-məy   'eater'

        b.   (i)   rup   'stich'   rup-o   'tailor'
             (ii)   kʰaŋ   'cook'   kʰaŋ-o   'cook'
             (iii) syan   'teach'   syan-o   'teacher'

These nominalizers are affixed to the root of the verb at the clause level, as in (2).

(2)   co   kim-haŋ   mu-o
       son   house-LOC   stay-NMLZ
             'The son stayed at home.'

They are affixed to the root of the verb at the sentence level, as in (3).

(3)   wa   sat-o   mancʰe   waŋ-əl
       bird   kill-NMLZ   man   come-PST
             'The man who killed the bird came.'

The irrealis nominalizer -*məy* may be best exemplified in the sentence level, as in (4).

(4)   goyco-koy   kim-taŋ   wa-məy   pər-na
       man-GEN   house- EMPH   go-NMLZ   OBLG-NPST
             'It is necessary to go to the man's house.'

The realis nominalizer -*o* may be best exemplified in the sentence level, as in (5).

(5)   kuy   sat-o   ja   waŋ-əl
       dog   kill-NMLZ   tiger   come-PST
             'The tiger which killed the dog came.'

The nominalizers classified aspectually in Bhujel may be best differentiated from the formation of the relative clauses (See, 3.2.5 for details).

3 Functions

Nominalizations in Bhujel can be used to express a wide array of functions. Following Noonan (1997), such functions in Bhujel may be broadly divided into two categories: 'expected' and language specific functions. They are discussed as follows:

3.1 'Expected' functions

There are two 'expected' functions of nominalizations: the reifications of events and processes and the expressions of clauses as arguments within the clauses (Noonan, 1997).

3.1.1 Reifications of events and processes

Nominalizations basically reify inherent aspects of the verb, as in (6).

(6)   a.   (i)   ŋa-i   ja-kay   apa-al-u-ŋ
                    1SG-ERG   tiger-DAT   shoot-PST-DIR-1/2
                    'I shot the tiger.'

             (ii)   ŋa-i   ap-o   ja
                    1SG-ERG   shoot-NMLZ   tiger
                    'The tiger I shot'

b.　(i)　dyo　lyuŋkh-al
　　　　　3SG　fall-PST
　　　　　'S/he fell.'

(ii)　dyo　lyuŋkh-o　siŋ
　　　　3SG　fall-NMLZ　tree
　　　　'The tree from which s/he fell'

In example (6a-i), the verb *ap* 'shoot' inherently expresses an event. In the same way, in (6b-i*) lyuŋkh* 'fall' articulates a process. However, in (6a-ii) and (6b-ii), the inherent aspects of the verbs have been reified.

3.1.2 Expressions of clauses as arguments of predicates

The nominalized expressions may function as the arguments of predicates. Such expressions are nouns and may be case-marked, as in (7).

(7)　nyamtyau　tuŋ-məy-kəy　　wa　sat-al
　　　alcohol　　drink-NMLZ-ERG　fowl　kill-PST
　　　'The man who drinks killed the fowl.'

In example (7), the nominalized form of the verb the *tuŋ* 'drink' has been ergative-marked functioning as the subject of the predicate.

3.2 Language specific functions

The constructions headed by the nominalizations in Bhujel can be used to express a wide array of functions. They are discussed as follows.

3.2.1　Naming of activities or states

What is to be noted here that the root of the verb suffixed by type 1 nominalizer –*məy*, in Bhujel, is used as citation form of the verbs. In discourse, it is used to express the names of activities or states, as in (8).

(8)　nyamtau　tuŋ-məy　　dyaŋ-la
　　　alcohol　drink-NMLZ　good-NEG
　　　'Drinking alcohol is bad.'

3.2.2　Verb complementation

Only type 1 nominalizer in Bhujel can be used as verb complements, as in (9).

(9)　ŋa　ihaŋ　mu-məy　　luŋ　ge-yal
　　　1SG　here　stay-NMLZ　heart　be-PST
　　　'I want to stay here.'

3.2.3　Noun complementation

Both type 1 and 2 nominalizers　may function as noun complements. The following are the examples.

(10)　a.　pas　ge-may　　bat-i　　　ŋa geum-ala-ŋ
　　　　　pass　be-NMLZ　matter-ERG　1SG happy-PST-1/2
　　　　　'That I pass made me happy.'

b.　apa　waŋ-o　　bat-i　　　ŋa geum-ala-ŋ
　　　F.　come-NMLZ　matter-ERG 1SG happy-PST-1/2
　　　'That the father came made me happy.'

3.2.4　Purpose clauses

Only type 1 nominalizer in Bhujel may be used to code purpose clauses, as in (11).

(11)　dyo　je-məy-kay　　waŋ-al
　　　3SG　eat-NMLZ-DAT　come-PST
　　　'S/he came to eat.'

In (11) the nominalizer requires to be followed by the dative marker -*kay* in Bhujel.

3.2.5　Relative clauses

Many TB languages employ nominalization as one of basic morphosyntactic strategies for relativization (Subbarao, 2009). So does Bhujel. The roots of the verbs are affixed with the nominalizers: -*məy* and -*o* to form relative clauses, as in (12).

(12)　a.　wa　　　sat-məy　　kuy　　waŋ-əl
　　　　　　fowl　　kill-NMLZ　dog　　come-PST
　　　　　　'The dog which kills birds came.'

　　　　b.　ram　　mum-məy　　kim
　　　　　　Ram　　stay-NMLZ　house
　　　　　　'The house in which Ram lives'

　　　　c.　wa　　　sat-o　　　kuy　　waŋ-əl
　　　　　　fowl　　kill-NMLZ　dog　　come-PST
　　　　　　'The dog which killed birds came.'

　　　　d.　kuy-kəy　　jəyk-o　　　plom
　　　　　　dog-ERG　　beat-NMLZ　grandson
　　　　　　'The grandson whom the dog bit'

In examples (12a-b) the roots of the verb are attached with the suffix -*məy* whereas in (12c-d) they are marked by the suffix -*o*. These two verbal morphemes are in a paradigmatic relationship.[3] The relative clause in which the verb is suffixed by -*may* may be referred to as perfect participle (INF PTCP) and the clause with the verb suffixed by the morpheme -*o* may be referred to as infinitival participle (PRF PTCP) (Genetti, 1992). In Bhujel their distribution does not distinguish grammatical relations as in Kham (Watters, 2001) or semantic role.

Moreover, the relative clauses formed by the affixation of -*məy* contrast modally and aspectually with those formed by the

---

[3] Chepang (Caughley, 1982:42) unlike Bhujel has a single verbal morpheme /-o/ for relativization. Thus, the relative clause morphology unlike Bhujel does not code additional semantic or grammatical categories.

affixation of -o in (12a-d). The clauses in (12a-b) represent irrealis modaliy and imperfective aspect whereas the clauses in (12b-d) codes realis modality and perfective aspect.

3.2.6　Marking plural

Type 1 nominalizer in Bhujel, though unproductively, is used as a plural marker, as in (13).

(13)　a.　gami-məy
　　　　　　villager-PL
　　　　　　'villagers'

　　　　b.　daju-məy
　　　　　　brother-PL
　　　　　　'brothers'

3.2.7　Formation of adjectives

There exist three adjectives in Bhujel which are derived from the demonstrative pronouns (proximate, distal and remote) with type 2, as in (14).

(14)　a.　i　　PROX　i-o　　[ito]　　'like this/ this kind'

　　　　b.　u　　DIST　u-o　　[nuto]　　'like that/ that kind'

　　　　c.　dyo　REM　dyo-o　[duto]　　'like that/ that kind'

Most of the adjectives in Bhujel are derived from descriptive verbs. These adjectives consist of a root of the verb followed by the nominalizer -o as in (15).

(15)　a.　gal　　'blacken'　/galo/　　[galt]　　'black'

　　　　b.　pʰam　'whiten'　/pʰam-o/　[pʰamo]　'white'

　　　　c.　dun　　'fatten'　/dun-o/　　[dunto]　'fat'

　　　　d.　gren　' be thin'　/gren-o/　[grento]　'thin'

Some of the adjectives in Bhujel are derived from stative verbs with type 2 nominalizer.

(16) a.   ge   'become'   /ge-o/   'been something'

b.   na   'have'   /na-o/   'having something'

c.   na-lə   'not have' /na-lə-o/ 'having nothing '

Some adjectives in Bhujel can be derived from a root of the verb followed by the type 1 nominalizer as in (17).

(17) a.   lu-məy   'over sexy'

b.   si-məy   'man/ animal to die'

c.   chop^h-məy 'having sharp edge'

Table 1 presents the constraints in the use of type 1 and type 2 nominalizers in Bhujel.

Table 1: Constraints in type 1 and type 2 nominalizers

	Functions	Nominalizers	
		Type 1	Type 2
1.	Naming of activities or states	√	x
2.	Verb complementation	√	x
3.	Noun complementation	√	√
4.	Purpose clauses	√	x
5.	Relative clauses	√	√
6.	Marking plural	√	x
7.	Formation of adjectives	√	√

4 Summary

Bhujel stands having two nominalizers which may be classified formally and semantically. They are suffixed to the root of the verb at the word level, clause level and sentence level. Apart from the main two 'expected' functions of nominalizations: reifications of events and processes and expressions of clauses as arguments of predicates the constructions headed by the nominalizations in Bhujel can be used to express a wide array of functions: Naming activities and states, verb complementation, noun complementation, purpose clauses, and relative clauses. There are some more functions of nominalizers in Bhujel. Quite interestingly Type 1 nominalizer in Bhujel, though unproductively, is used as a plural marker. Basically, type 2 nominalizer is used to derive adjectives from the demonstrative pronouns (proximate, distal and remote). Moreover, many adjectives are productively derived with the help of the nominalizers in Bhujel.

Abbreviations

1	First person	ERG	Ergative
½	1 or 2 person	LOC	Locative
1SG	First person singular	NMLZ	Nominalizer
3SG	Third person singular	NPST	Non-past
AUX	Auxiliary	OBLG	Obligatory
DAT	Dative	PROX	Proximal
DIST	Distal	PST	Past tense
DUR	Durative	REM	Remote
EMPH	Emphatic	SG	Singular

References

Bickel, Balthasar. 1999. 'Nominalizations and focus in some Kiranti languages'. In: Yadava, Yogendra Prasad and Glover, Warren W. (eds). *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics* 271 296. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Caughley, Ross C. 1982. *The syntax and morphology of the verb in Chepang*. Canberra: The Australian National University.

DeLancy, Scott. 1999. 'Relativization in Tibetan'. In: Yadava, Yogendra Prasad and Glover, Warren W. (eds). *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. 231-249. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Genetti, Carol. 1992. 'Semantic and grammatical categories of relative clause morphology in the languages of Nepal'. *Studies in Language*. Vol 16. 405-427.

Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction*. Vols I-II. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Moseley, Christopher (ed). 2007. *Encyclopedia of the world's languages*. London/New York: Routledge.

Noonan, Michel. 1997. 'Versatile nominalizations'. In: Joan Bybee et al. (eds). *Essays on language function and language type*. 373-394. Amsterdam: Bejamins.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997**.** *Describing Morposyntax: A Guide for Field Linguist*s*.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Regmi, Dan Raj. 2007. *The Bhujel Language*. Ph.D. diss. Tribhuvan University. Nepal.

Subbbarao, Karumuri V. 2009. 'Gap relations in South Asian languages with special reference to the comitative PP as a head'. Paper presented at the 31st All-India Conference of Linguists. University of Hyderabad. India.

Watters, David E. 2002. *A Grammar of Kham*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waters, David E. 2006. 'Nominalization in Himalayish languages'. Paper presented at the 12th Himalayan Languages Symposiums and 27th Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal. Tribhuvan University. Nepal.

RAJI PRONOUNS

Krishna Kumar Sah
krishnaksah@gmail.com

In this paper, we discuss the personal, indefinites, interrogatives, reflexives, demonstratives, relative-correlatives and possessive pronouns in the Raji language.

1 Introduction

The Raji people reside primarily in the districts of Surkhet, Kailali, Kanchanpur, Bardiya and Banke in the Mid-Western and Far-Western Nepal. It must be noted that a linguistically and culturally contiguous small group of roughly 496 Rajis live in Pithoragarh district of the Kumaon Himalayan region of Uttar Pradesh, India. They have lived as hunter-gatherers in the forests of Uttaranchal (Krishnan, 2001:449 and Rastogi, 2006:52). The Government of Nepal has recognized the Raji as an official nationality.

2 The personal pronouns

It has a set of independent first, second and third person pronouns in singular, dual and plural forms. Demonstratives function as the third person pronouns on the order of 'this' (proximal), 'that' (distal) and 'that' (remote). Gender is not inflected in the pronoun.

The first person and second person independent personal pronouns are *ŋa* 'I' and *naŋ* 'thou'. The first and second person singular pronouns are identical to the pronouns reconstructed for Proto-Tibeto-Burman **ŋa* 'I' and **naŋ* 'you' (Benedict, 1972:93; Matisoff, 2003:264; Ebert, 1994:76).

The singular is unmarked category and the dual marker is *-dzi* in both first and second persons. However, *-giŋ* is the dual

marker in the third person pronoun. The plural marker is *-i* in the first person, *-ni* in the second person and *-la* in the third person.

2.1 First person singular

The first person singular pronoun is *ŋa* in Raji.

(1)   ŋa bʌtaŋ dzakŋ

       ŋa   bʌtaŋ   dza-k-ŋ
       1SG rice   eat-SD-1
       'I eat rice.'

2.2 First person dual

The first person dual pronoun is *ŋʌdzi*.

(2)   ŋʌdzi nʌmfia swakɨtsĩ

       ŋʌ-dzi nʌm-fia   swa-k-ɨ-tsĩ
       1-DU house-LOC go-SD-NPST-DU.1
       'We (two) go home.'

2.3 First person plural

The first person plural is *ŋʌi*.

(3)   ŋʌi nʌmfia swakĩ

       ŋʌi nʌm-fia   swa-k-ĩ
       1-PL house-LOC go-SD-1.PL
       'We go home.'

2.4 Second person singular

The second person singular is *nʌŋ*.

(4)   nʌŋ bʌtaŋ dzakɨ

    nʌŋ bʌtaŋ dza-k-ɨ
    2SG rice   eat-SD-NPST
    'You eat rice.'

2.5 Second person dual

The second person dual is *nʌŋdzi*.

(5)   nʌŋdzi bʌtaŋ dzakɨtsĩ

    nʌŋ-dzi   bʌtaŋ   dza-k-ɨ-tsi
    2-DU   rice   eat-SD-NPST-2DU
    'You (two) eat rice.'

2.6 Second person plural

The second person plural is *nʌŋni*.

(6)   nʌŋni bʌtaŋ dzaki

    nʌŋ-ni bʌtaŋ dza-k-i
    2-PL   rice   eat-SD-PL
    'You eat rice.'

It is to be noted that the technique of horification in Raji is the use of dual and plural person pronouns for singular second persons. There are two levels of honorific namely, the mid and high in Raji. The mid level honorificity is expressed by the use of dual marker *-dzi* which gets suffixed to both the personal pronouns and the verb. On the other hand, the high level honorificity is expressed by the use of plural marker *-ni* which also gets suffixed to both the personal pronouns and the verb. However, honorificity in Raji is restricted to whether the speech act participants are the kins or kiths (affinal or not affinal). It is necessary to use honorificity within not affinal relations. The following are the examples:

(7)   a.   nʌndzi ti tuŋdzi

      nʌn-dzi ti   tuŋ-dzi-ø
      2-MHON water drink-MHON-IMP
      'You (to sister-in-law) drink water.'

    b.   nʌŋni bʌtaŋ dzani

      nʌŋ-ni   bʌtaŋ   dza-ni-ø
      2-HHON rice   eat-HHON-IMP
      'You (to father-in-law) eat rice.'

2.7 Third person singular

The third person singular is *ɦun*.

(8)   ɦun bʌtaŋ dzakɨ

    ɦun bʌtaŋ dza-k-ɨ
    3SG rice   eat-SD-NPST
    'He eats rice.'

2.8 Third person dual

The third person dual is *ɦungiŋ*.

(9)   ɦungiŋ bʌtaŋ dzakɨtsi

    ɦun-giŋ bʌtaŋ dza-k-ɨ-tsi
    3-DU   rice   eat-SD-NPST-DU
    'They (two) eat rice.'

2.9 Third person plural

The third person plural is *ɦunla* in Raji.

(10)   ɦunla bʌtaŋ dzaki

    ɦun-la   bʌtaŋ dza-k-i
    3-Pl   rice   eat-SD-PL
    'They eat rice.'

The personal pronouns in Raji are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Raji

Person \ Number		Singular	Dual	Plural
First person		ŋa/na 'I'	ŋʌdzi 'we two'	ŋʌi 'we'
Second person	LHON	nʌŋ 'you'	nʌndzi 'you two'	nʌŋni 'you'
	MHON	nʌŋdzi 'you'		
	HHON	nʌŋni 'you'		
Third person	Proximal	in 'this'	ingiŋ 'these two'	inla 'these'
	Distal	ɦun 'that'	ɦungiŋ 'those two'	ɦunla 'those'
	Remote	an 'that'	angiŋ 'those two'	anla 'those'

Table 1 shows that the Raji language has the distinctions between the first, second and third persons and the singular, dual and plural pronouns.

3 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronoun in Raji is *dzaŋ*. The following are the examples:

(11) a. ŋakɨ ɦuna dzaŋ lʌ uilʌ mʌnn̥ʌŋ glakɨ̃

ŋa-kɨ   ɦun-a dzaŋ-lʌ ui mʌnn̥ʌŋ gla -k -ɨ̃
1SD-DAT there-LOC whatever be that like feel-SD-NPST.1
'I like whatever there is.'

b. ɦun dzaŋlʌi dʌrku pʌni dzakulʌ

ɦun   dzaŋ-lʌi   dʌrku pʌni dza-ku lʌ
3SG   whatever-INT find   too eat-IND be
'He eats whatever he gets.'

4 Interrogative pronouns

Bhat (2004:47) says that the interrogative pronouns are also considered to be 'indefinite' in the sense that the speaker himself is incapable of identifying its referents.

The following are the examples of interrogative pronouns:

(12) a. gʰwa   b. gʰesʌ
          'where'   'how much'
      c. gʰesʌ   d. gusʌ
          'when'   'how'
      e. gun   f. gun
          'who'   'which'

The interrogative words are used to ask questions about human or non-human subject, object, reason, frequency, etc. The following are the examples:

(13) a. ɦun gʰwalʌi swaka

ɦun   gʰwa-lʌi   swa-k-a
3SG   where-INT   go-SD-PST
'Where did he go?'

b. nʌŋi ʌŋlʌi dzaka

nʌŋ-i   ʌŋ-lʌi   dza-k-a
you-ERG   what-INT   eat-SD-PST
'What did you eat?'

d. tsaŋi gʰesʌlʌi bʌtaŋ dzaka

tsa-ŋ-i   gʰesʌ-lʌi   bʌtaŋ dza-k-a

son-1POSS-ERG howmuch-INT rice   eat-SD-PST
'How much rice did my son eat?'

e. kui gʰwalʌi woŋkɨ

kui   gʰwa-lʌi   woŋ-k-ɨ
dog   where-INT come-SD-NPST
'Where does the dog come from?'

5 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns can be used to refer to 'self'. In Raji, the reflexive pronoun is *apulʌ*. It has been borrowed from Nepali. It can be used with all the persons. The following are the examples of reflexive pronouns:

(14) a. ŋa apulʌ nʌmfia swakŋ

ŋa   apulʌ   nʌm-fia   swa-k-ŋ
1SG   REF   house-LOC go-SD-1
'I will go home myself.'

b. ŋa apulʌ tsitʰi krʌkŋ

ŋa   apulʌ   tsitʰi   krʌ-k-ŋ
1SG   REF   letter   write-SD-1
'I write a letter myself.'

c. fiunla apulʌ woŋkasi

fiun-la apulʌ woŋ-k-a-si
3-PL   REF   come-SD-PST-PL
'They came themselves.'

The reflexive marker -*si* is suffixed to the verb. The following are the examples:

(15) a. nʌŋi lʌtta tsursika

nʌŋ-i   lʌtta tsur-si-k-a
2SG-ERG cloth wash-REF-SD-PST
'You washed clothes yourself.'

b. ŋa apʌnaŋ tsitʰi krʌksikŋ

ŋa   apʌnaŋ tsitʰi   krʌk-si-k-ŋ
1SG   own   letter   write-REF-SD-1
'I write my own letter myself.'

6 Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun *dzaŋ* might have been borrowed from Nepali and modified in accordance with Raji phonology. The following are the examples:

(16) a. dzʌŋ ramrʌu uilʌ pitkʌi

dzʌŋ   ramrʌ-u   uilʌ   pit-kʌi
which good-NATZ   that   bring-OPT
'Bring whichever is good.'

b. fiunfia dzʌŋ lʌ ŋakɨ mʌnʌŋ glakɨ

fiun-fia dzʌŋ   lʌ ŋa-kɨ   mʌnʌŋ gla-k-ɨ
DIST-LOC whatever be 1SG-GEN like feel-SD-NPST
'I like whatever there is.'

7 Demontrative pronouns

The demonstratives have to do with spatial orientation, specially the location of some object with respect to the speaker and hearer in a speech act (Watters, 1998:339). The demonstrative pronouns and the third person pronouns are the same in Raji. The following are the examples:

(17) a. in madza lʌ

    in   madza   lʌ
    PROX good   be
    'This is good.'

    b. ɦun ŋakɨ tsaŋ

    ɦun   ŋa-kɨ   tsa-ŋ
    DIST   1SG-GEN   son-1
    'That is my son.'

8 Relative-correlative pronouns

As Keenan (1985) shows, as quoted in Watters (1998:337) correlatives are the functional equivalent of relative clauses in many languages. The correlative in Raji might be a borrowing from Nepali. Correlatives in Raji occur obligatory in pairs, and the other members of the pair is a pronoun referring back to the correlative. The relative-correlative pronouns in Raji is *dzʌŋ…ɦun.*

(18) a. dzʌŋ mʌntsʰe kuja wanani ui mʌntsʰe ŋakɨ tsaŋ

    dzʌŋ mʌntsʰe kuja wan-a-ni ui mʌntsʰe
    REL man yesterday come-PST-was COR man

    ŋa-kɨ tsa-ŋ
    1SG-GEN son-1
    'The man who came yesterday is my son.'

    b. dzʌŋ trontja rukʰaŋɦa tʰutitɨ ɦun ŋakɨ tsaŋ

    dzʌŋ   trontja rukʰaŋ-ha tʰuti-tɨ ɦun ŋa-kɨ tsa-ŋ
    REL boy tree-LOC climb-PERF COR 1SG-GEN son-1
    'The boy who has climbed up the tree is my son.'

    c. dzʌŋ ŋa pʌdʰʌia ɦun iskul bʰʌtkʌika

    dzʌŋ ŋa pʌdʰʌ-i-a   ɦun iskul bʰʌtkʌ-i-k-a
    REL 1SG read-NATZ-PST 3SG school fall-NATZ-SD PST
    'The school where I read fell down.'

9 Possessive pronouns

In Raji, the pronominal possessors take the same genitive case suffix. The following are the examples:

(19) ŋakɨ

    ŋa-kɨ
    1SG -GEN
    'my'

Abbreviations

1	First person	2	Second person
3	Third person	COR	Correlativ
DAT	Dative	DIST	Distal
DU	Dual	ERG	Ergative
GEN	Genitive	HHON	High Honorphic
IMP	Imperative	IND	Indefinite
INT	Interrogative	LOC	Locative
MHON	Mid Honorphic	NATZ	Nativizer
NPST	Non Past	OPT	Optative
PERF	Perfective	PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive	PROX	Proximal
PST	Past	REF	Reflexive
REL	Relative	REM	Remote
SD	Same day	SG	Singular

References

Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bhat, D.N.S. 2004. *Pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ebert, Karen. 1997. *A Grammar of Athpare*. München: LINCOM EUROPA.

Khatri, Ramesh and Sah, Krishna K. 2008. 'The Documentation of the Raji Language'. A Report submitted to the National Foundation for Development of Indigeneous Nationalities (NFDIN).

Khatri, Ramesh. 2065 BS. 'The Structure of Verbs and Sentences of Raji'. M.A. Thesis. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics, T.U.

Krishan, Shree. 2001. 'Sketch of Raji Grammar'. *New Research on Zhangshung and Related Himalayan Languages.* Yasuhiko Nagano and Randy J. Lapolla (eds). 449-501.

Matisoff, James A. 2003. *Handbook of proto-Tibeto-Burman: system and philosophy of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction.* Berkeley/Los Angles/London: University of California Press.

Rastogi, Kavita. 2006. 'Language Obsolescence: An Assessment of Rawati'. *Bhasha Chintana.*

Sah, Krishna K.2065 BS. The Nouns and Noun Phrase in Raji. An Unpublished. M.A. Thesis. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics, T.U.

Watters, David E. 1998. *The Kham Language of West-Central Nepal (Takale Dialect).* An Unpublished Ph. D dissertation. Department of Linguistics and the Graduate of the University of Oregon.

LANGUAGE POLITICS OF NEPAL IN PRESENT DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Suren Sapkota
surensapkota@yahoo.com

This paper is an attempt to discuss the language politics of Nepal focusing mainly on the context of present democratic transition. It simply has tried to explain the concept, context with its various aspects, and ended with some tentative conclusions.

1 Background

In countries where there are more than one main language, there are often political implications in decisions that are seen to promote one group of speakers over another, and this is often referred to as language politics. An example of a country with this type of language politics is Nepal. Language politics also relates to dialect, where speakers of a particular dialect are perceived as speaking a more culturally 'advanced' or 'correct' form of the language. Politicians may therefore try to use that dialect rather than their own when in the public eye. Language politics sometimes is seen to be mismatched with the politics of language which in fact is language management. Generally it is done by the government of that state or country. It is what a government does either officially through legislation, court decisions or policy to determine how languages are used, cultivate language skills needed to meet national priorities or to establish the rights of individuals or groups to use and maintain languages. For this different language policies can be adopted by the government in accordance with the language situation and the number on languages and their vitality and necessity. Although many nations historically have used language policies most often to promote one official language at the expense of others, many countries now have policies designed to protect and promote regional and ethnic languages whose viability is threatened. One of the important tasks of language management as Neustupny (1986) views is to investigate what the language problems are and what they are likely to be the future: the decipline concerned with language problems is language management.

From political point of view language is the most powerful factor in bringing the elite and the masses together for strengthening social and national integration. It makes a scientific and technical knowledge easily accessible to the people in their own languages and, thus, helps in the process of democratization, acculturation and socialization as well as for the creation of new political and scientific outlook. The political interpretation of language in the view of Mclean (1996) is, in most sense has been considered, 'a contest over words, a language game.' Language politics has become a universal phenomenon and has become a quite fashionable term which denotes the relationship between the languages and politics and the influence of the former to the latter. In order to understand the entire political process and structure, it is essential to study which language citizens utilize for their overall development. The recognition of a particular language in a civil and political society is an important aspect of the legitimatization of a particular culture, values, norms, belief history and a lot of socio-economic and political factors.

2 The context

Nepal possesses an amazing cultural diversity including ethnic richness and linguistic plurality. Nepal can be a language lab as there exist about 125 languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks: Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic and (Munda) Dravidian. Kusunda language in recent years on the other hand for example has found to be a distinct isolate language; it is not the the member of any

linguistic group (Watters et al. 2005). In this way, still the reality about some of the languages of Nepal and their affiliation are found to be unknown.

After the restoration of democracy in 1990, and mainly after the people's movement in April 2006, new waves of enthusiasm awakened widespread interest in the minority languages and cultures among many indigenous groups as well as among the advocates of their causes. After Nepal has adaped the Interim Constitution in 2007 after the restoration of democracy in the form of republican Nepal made the linguistic issue more contextual. As this constitution decleares on restructuring the state ending all forms of exploitations including linguistic one, and the promotion of inclusive democracy, the scope of language politics in Nepal has further been accelerated.

2.1 The politics of Nepalbhasa movement and linguistic minorities

The Nepalbhasa movement in 1920s was grounded in its very forming the concept of strong ethnic identites with its glorious past, a distinct language, a unique culture, an old literature, a particular script and territory etc. It aims at the recognition and usage of Nepal Bhasa along with other Nepalese languages for official purposes. Similarly the latter half of the 1970s may be said to be a period of beginning for the minority language issues. The issues of linguistic minorities and official language/s have never been as sensitive in Nepal as it is now. While the interim statute maintains the continuity of Nepali, in Devanagari script, as the language of official communication, some members of the Constituent Assembly want to add 11 more languages to the list, giving them the same status, while others are advocating for the addition of Hindi. Otherwise, the members will resort to writing "notes of dissent", unwittingly using an English expression to press their point. One contention is that since Nepal is now a republic, it should adopt a language policy to de-link the country's monarchical past. If all 11 languages gain equal status with Nepali as demanded, that will still leave Nepal's 81 other languages. On the other hand, Nepali is the mother tongue of 49% of the population and has been in use for official communication for centuries. It is a language with an enriched vocabulary, grammar and literature. Besides being the official language, Nepali has provided a link between and among communities speaking local languages and dialects.

2.2 The politics of Hindi language

Language controversy remained a burning issue in Nepal since the political change of 1951 to till now. Hindi language has been in the center of political debate from the then leader of Nepal Terai Congress Veda Nand Jha to present Vice President Parama Nand Jha, the main objective of which has been the recognition of Hindi as an autonomous Terai state language. Mainly Terai based political parties, with loaded regional overtones, suddenly felt strong enough to demand that Hindi, spoken mainly in northern India and popularized by India's Mumbai-based film industry, be given the status enjoyed by Nepali. To enjoy Hindi movies and music, which is done even in America and Europe, cannot be a basis to accept it as a serious language of mass communication. Hindi, although given national language status in India, is not widely used. Television viewers have seen Indian Interior Minister P. Chidambaram handling Hindi questions in English. English continues to be the language of Indian law courts. This happened on the eve of the national polls of April 2008 that were held to elect the constituent assembly.

Language experts do not consider Hindi's case as a tenable proposition as the percentage of the population using Hindi as its mother tongue is 0.47%. If Hindi is accepted as an official language this would pose a direct threat to Terai's existing regional languages such as Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi and

Thaaru. Some language-political experts view that Hindi would spark the highly sensitive issue of nationalism. Languages, they view, need to be placed in four categories: mother tongues of all communities; the link language, which is Nepali; cultural languages such as Sanskrit, used by Hindus and Buddhists alike for religious rites and Arabic/Urdu which are essential for Muslims; and English.

2.3 The politics of language standardization and modernization

Most of the languages of Nepal are facing the problems of standardization. No doubt, some languages of Nepal are rich in literary heritage but they have mostly amassed literary and religious vocabulary earlier usage, which have restricted to certain social groups. But the process of the standardization of language in Nepal has been seriously challenged and threatened by the corrupt political leaders and administrators. Most of the top ranking political leaders, senior administrators, army and police officers in Nepal use bad, abusive or slang words which has virtually degraded or corrupted the language. If this process continues in future, the language of these seniors would be considered as a base or vulgular language, which is always disliked by the civilized linguists and academicians. If thought corrupts language in the words of Orwell (1985), language can also corrupt thought. The corruption of man is followed by the corruption of language (Schlesinger, 1985).

Linguists often express their dissatisfaction over the differences between the standard language and local dialects. Because there is nothing like standard language of the civil people and that the rest are dialects and are the languages of the working class. Why is it called a dialect? Why is the language and considered a standard language? Why is the Brahmin's language; called a standard language and the working people's dialect. The differences between standard

language and local dialects in some cases are symptomatic of the majority-minority; dominant-subordinate; privileged, under privileged dynamics relating to ethnic, cultural, social and politico-economic spheres of life of a particular nation-state. It represents state intervention in language programs, policies and planning which have serious implication as far as issues of language vis a vis power, privilege, economic and educational opportunities and national-regional identities are concerned. Regarding the standardization of language, teachers and the native speakers of a particular language differ much. The teachers stressing the standardization of school text books, view that their students would remain backward if they are taught *dehate* or *Gaunle Bhasa* (Village language) instead of a standard language. But others feel that the mother tongue should be used in instruction, examination and for other purposes. These local languages continue to discharge a pre-functionary role limited to routined communicative expressions. In certain areas of social communication, the local languages, except English, may become the medium of cultural expression, whereas English dominates other technical and advanced fields, matters of higher educational research and development. Language cannot grow on their own to a standardized level of communication unless they have a determined state or institutional support as the minorities languages of Nepal have. The present legal system of Nepal has tried to escape from this inequality. But these legal provisions are yet not to be realized in practice in Nepal due to the lack of a number of factors including the lack of resources, educational materials, teachers, and so on.

2.4 The politics of spoken languages and medium of instruction

With the extension of party networks in Nepal after 1990 and post April movement, the increasing number of NGOs, INGOs and educational institutions, the activation of

educational lights, local party cadres and leaders, E-media have gradually influenced, shaped and replaced the traditional languages by the modern ones even in the backward villages. In the urban centers, the modern languages are used but the illiterate masses do not easily understand the modern language used by the urbanite elites. Thus, a clear distinction is noticed in the use of the language in the rural and urban areas and between the elites and the masses.

The study of attitudes towards spoken languages and the medium of instruction in educational institutions are important aspects of language politics. The use and practice of standard languages in educational institutions, as some linguists believe, has led to an attitude of neglect, humiliation and depreciation to local/substandard languages. The concept of a standard language has some how reduced the role of spoken language as a symbol of backwardness. The whole education system has very hostile and demeaning attitudes towards spoken languages. Lack of knowledge of a particular standard language is many times reduced to not having a language as innocent villagers cannot speak so called standard language. So even if there are primers in the mother tongues, the teachers prefer to talk in the standard language and is hostile towards his students' language. The purpose of making primers in mother tongue is totally defeated. The middle class, at times overly, and at other times subtly, use our command over a dominant language, or the language of the rulers, to subjugate and dominate the toiling masses. The rise of regional linguistic identities had developed themselves as a reaction to the domination of standard language (Saxena and Kamal Mahendru, 1995). The teachers prefer to use standard language in school instruction and consequently, the languages of the minority groups remain neglected. Even the textbooks are written in standard languages.

2.5 The politics of link language and English language

In the multilingual society like Nepal, the study of inter-community communication or lingua franca which is often referred to as a link language or auxiliary language becomes an important aspect of language politics. Nepali is broadly used as the lingua franca in Nepal among different communities. In the hills and in the mountains, the speakers of the Tibeto Burman Languages are often found to use Nepali as their link language. Educated native speakers of the Tarai, in most cases, tend to use Hindi as lingua francas for inter-community communication (Yadava, 2004). The Bantawa Rai among the Rai communities in some parts of eastern hill and Bhojpuri and Maithili in some parts in southern plains also perform this role in a limited form. The voice of using Tibetan in Himalayan region, Nepali in Mountainous region and Hindi in Terai region has also been raised in the recent time.

However, missing links are also seen in link language. Several factors have contributed to the consolidation of English language as the lingua franca and its maximum use in higher administrative, educational, political and diplomatic fields in Nepal. Though the present constitution has not specifically mentioned the role of English in Nepal, but in practice it has become a language of mass media, academic seminar and symposium, the library, public administration, diplomatic business, higher level academic and research institutions and register level language. Nepal's heavy dependence on foreign aid, its diplomatic relations with more than 100 nation-states; the growing of NGOs and INGOs and job opportunities to Nepal and abroad and a number of factors have contributed the gravity of English in the lives of Nepalese people.

2.6 The political parties and political register

The both major and minor political parties of Nepal, after 1990 hold almost similar views regarding languages in their election manifestos. But the situation of the country got changed slowly when Nepal Communist party Maoist took language as one of the major tools for its revolution after 2000. It mainly raised the voice of ethnic languages; of them, Tamang, Newar, Magar, Gurung and Limbu were the major.

Socio-linguists stress that effective communication demands not only the grammatically correct utterances but situationally appropriate also. Language has to be appropriate to the speaker, receiver, situation and subject matter (Rai, 1995). In this direction, the study of political register becomes particularly important. The politicians during their political gaming, commonly use political and constitutional registers. Nepali, however, is not enough to meet all the technical terms and for this reason, the use of English is growing day by day. Besides political register, medical, legal, technical, engineering and other registers are flourishing these days in Nepal. The general people who are mostly illiterate express their dissatisfaction with the fact that the language of law, constitution, government document and party leaders are not easily understood because they are not culturally grounded in social lives of people.

2.7 The politics of language and power struggle

All language is ideological in the sense that it encodes a certain world view; a certain conception of life. As such language (Connoly, 1983 as quoted by Tariq Rahaman, 2003) always wields ideological, often covert power. Thus, language is the site of competing views on how life should be lived. The dominance of a language, then, always favors a certain conception of life and, by implication, those who believe in it. It is not merely at this deep level of ideology that language is part of the struggle for power between different groups. Language is a powerful tool by which politicians transmit political conception, and symbols of political power, ideologies and values. It is equally important medium of interest articulation, aggregation and communication, from society to polity and polity to society thereby affecting decision making process. During the election, political leaders who express their views clearly in the public gatherings can garner more votes and popular support than those who cannot. Political leaders can manipulate ideas through language and can attract the voters towards their political ideologies and beliefs. As language is a powerful means of political communication, the choice of words by political leaders largely reflects their attitudes, style, capacity, vision and performance. Language is also related with leadership pattern which is a quality that signifies the ability of a person or a group of people to persuade and force others to act or not to act by inspiring them and making them believe and not to believe that a proposed course of action is the best or correct one (Robertson, 1993). Language is thought to be the most powerful component of group individuality. Language is the most powerful factor in bringing the elite and the masses together for strengthening social and national integration. It makes a scientific and technical knowledge easily accessible to the people in their own languages and, thus, helps in the process of democratization, acculturation and socialization as well as for the creation of new political and scientific outlook (Khuller, 1995). The present Nepal has been transited with language-based conflict as language plays in an overt power struggle between pressure groups and political powers. Language is attuned to the expression of status and power (Sapkota, 2010). The lack of compromise can result in communal tension.

3 The conclusion

The issues of linguistic minorities and official language/s have never been as sensitive in Nepal as it is now. The accelerated

process of globalization, democratization and human rights set primary condition for post modernism, language-politics being one of the key aspects for accelerating social change in Nepal. Though linguistic movement in Nepal, particulary in post April, has made some important achievents, lots of practices have still remained in its practice.

In today's globalized world, language politics has become a universal phenomenon and has become a quite fashionable terms which denotes the relationship between the languages and politics and the influence of the former to the latter. In order to understand the entire political process and structure, it is essential to study which language citizens utilize for their overall development. The recognition of a particular language in a civil and political society is an important aspect of the legitimatization of a particular culture, values, norms, belief, history and a lot of socio-economic and political factors. Language politics has become more pronounced in the Third World country as Nepal, because it has become an important factor in national integration and national unity. How all languages of Nepal should be manazed by applying apprprite language planning should be the main concern of these days. Political parties and even the language activists are seen to be used language issues just to fulfill thier interests.

References

Fishman, J.A. 1984. 'Language modernization and planning in comparison with other types of national modernization and planning'. In Chis Kennedy (ed). *Language Planning and language education*. London: George Allan and Unwind.

Khuller, K. K. 1995. 'Language development: with special reference to the eight schedule of the constitution of India'. In Gupta; Anvita and Agrawal. (eds). op. cit.

Mclean, Iain (eds). 1996. *Oxford concise dictionary of politics*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Neustupny, J, V. 1986. 'Inquiry for language management'. Paper prepared for the Conference on Language Policy and Planning in Honkong. December 19-21.

Orwell, George. 1985. 'Politics and English language'. In Baker, Sheridan and Howard, C. Jeriel (eds). *The essayist*. 5th ed. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Rahaman, Tariq. 2003. *Language and politics in Pakistan*. Pakistan: Ameena Saiyid. Oxford University Press.

Rai, Vishnu S. 1995. *Fundamentals of applied linguistics*. Biratnagar: Nagar Publications.

Robertson, David. 1993. *Dictionary of politics*. London: Penguin Books.

Sapkota, Suren. 2010. 'A language politics of Nepal'. A dissertation submitted to Central Department of Political Science. TU.

Schlesinger, Arthur Jr. 1985. 'Politics and the American language'. In Baker, Sheridan and Howard, C. Jeriel (eds). *The essayist*. 5th ed. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Teitelbaum, M. S. and Wiener, Myron. 1995. *Threatened peoples in threatened borders*: *world migration and US policy*. Delhi: The American Assembly.

Watters David E. et al. 2005. *Notes on Kusunda grammar (a language isolate of Nepal)*. Lalitpur: NFDIN.

Yadava, Yogendra P et al. 2004. 'Language of indigenous nationalities, Phase I'. A report submitted to NFDIN. Kathmandu. Nepal.

THE CLASSIFIERS IN NEWAR AND JAPANESE

Arun Shrestha
ruibetsushi@wlink.com.np

This paper is an outcome of comparison of 93 noun classifiers and verb classifiers (34 pure classifiers, 41 quasi-classifiers, 9 reduplicative classifiers, 4 direct quantifies, 5 directly quantifiable nouns) of Newar with their parallel classifiers of Japanese. This is a preliminary work therefore needs further analysis.

1 Introduction

Newar and Japanese are both classifier languages. Newar is taught in government schools, colleges and university in Nepal. According to the CBS Report of Nepal, 2001 the Newar population stands at 1,245,232. There are over 200 classifiers in Newar and are over 500 in Japanese.

Japanese is spoken by over 130 million people in Japan and Japanese emigrant communities around the world in Brazil, Peru, Argentina and Melbourne, in Davao, Philippines. Many major universities throughout the world provide Japanese language courses, and a number of secondary and even primary schools worldwide offer courses in the language. International interest in the Japanese language dates back to the 1800s but has become more prevalent following Japan's economic bubble of the 1980s and global popularity of Japanese pop culture (such as anime and anime-based video games) since the 1990s.

2 Newar and Japanese classifiers

Newar classifiers are known as 'tajigo:' (Joshi, NS. 1112: 179-202). Japanese classifiers are known as 'ruibetsushi' as well as 'ryoushi'. Japanese nominal classifiers and verb classifiers are collectively known as 'josuushi'. There are over 200 classifiers in Newar whereas there are over 500 classieiers in Japanese (Iidạ Asako and Machida Ken: 2004).

3 Nominal classifiers

Order of placement of the classifiers: objects can be classified in two ways in Newar.

i. Classifiers in front of a noun following the numeral as in (chǝ -pa: bhõ:) [One-CL: DIMENSION paper] 'a folio'.

ii. Classifiers after the numeral preceded by a noun as in (bhõ chǝ -pa:), also meaning 'A leaf'.

But, in Japanese normally, classifiers come after a noun followed by the numeral as in (kami ici –*mai*) meaning 'A folio'. But, (ici-*mai* kami) would be grammatically incorrect. In this case a genitive marker *no* must be inserted between the Cl. and the object. Hence, (ici- *maino* kami) is grammatically correct. However, in this sentence (ici-*maino* kami) -*mai* (枚) works as a quantifier and therefore, it would mean 'a folio out of some or many folios'. This is because, under normal situations Jp. nominal-Cls. come after a noun followed by the numeral as in (kami ici -*mai*) meaning 'A leaf'. But, in case of (ici-mai kami) a genitive marker /no/ must be inserted between the Cl. and the object for it to be grammatically correct.

Use of classifiers in both languages is governed by definite parameters. In Newar, -*mhǝ* is used for counting all animate objects, as well as objects treated and perceived as animate, or having an animate's figure, as scarecrow, dolls, ghosts, gods, goddesses etc, irrespective of habitats but –*ma* is the general classifier for Plants.

In Japanese -*nin* (人) classifies human beings, -*hiki* (匹) classifies insects, fishes, and small four -footed animals. -*tou* (頭) classifies big animals and birds -like cow, horse, tigers,

elephants, lions; ostriches; and big sea-animals like shark, whale, dolphin, seals. -*wa* (羽) classifies birds. -*shi* (氏) classifies personal names being recommended as candidates. -*ei* (名) classifies human beings in formal speech in Jp. -*ri* (人) classifies 'a person and 'two persons'. For counting '3 persons' and beyond -*nin* (人) is used. -*tai* (体) classifies dead persons and objects regarded as dead including dead gods and goddesses, statues of gods and goddesses. -*wa* (羽) also classifies 'hare' which is an exceptional case. -*hon* (本) is a general Cl. for plants. -*rin* (輪) classifies stalkless flowers. -*on* (本) classifies flowers with stalk.

Table 1: Classifiers attributing to the shape of objects in Newar

Nw. Cl.	Gloss	Noun Heads	Jp. Cl.
-*gə:*	round objects	Stomach, buttock, ankle, eye	-*ko*(個)**, -*tsu*(つ)
-*gə:*	small round objects	grain	-*tsubu* (粒)
-*gə:*	temples of varied purposes	temple	-*ken*(軒)**, -*ji*(寺), -*u*(宇), -*san*(山)
-*gə:*	vehicles: land,	Car, bi-cycle	*dai*(台)
-*gə:*	vehicles: air	aero plane	-*ki*(機)
-*gə:*	vehicles: sea, river	Boat, ship	-*sou*(艘)**, -*seki*(隻)
-*gə:*	kitchen utensils and containers	bucket, kettle	-*ko*(個)**, -*kou*(口)
-*gə:*	flat surfaces	wall, ceiling	-*mai*(枚)
-*pa*	flat objects , paired objects	Loaf, glove, sock, leg, hand	-*mai*(枚), -*hon*(本)

-*pu*	long thin objects	pen, necktie, rod, rope	-*hon*(本)
-*gu:*	spectacles	Spectacles	-*hon* (本)
-*gu:*	dead idols	Statues	-*tai* (体)
-*gu:*	tools and furniture	Chair, table	-kyaku (脚), -*taku* (卓).
-*ca:*	circular objects	Wheel, ear-rings	-*rin*(輪)**, -*ko*(個)
–*ku:*	small pieces	fabric, edible objects, splinters	-*kire*(切)
-phwə:	small button-like objects	flower	-*hon*(本)**, -*rin*(輪)

Table 2: Classifiers attributing to geographical locations

-*gu:*	locations	Country, mountain, pond, place	-*kakoku*(カ国)**, yama*(山)**, -*men*(面)**, -*kasho*(箇所)**, -*tsu*(つ)
-*ku:*	rooms	ordinary room	-*heya* (部屋)
-*ku:*	rooms	partitioned room	-*ma* (間)
-*ku:*	location	Garden,	-*tsu*(つ)

Table 3: Classifiers attributing to the nature and activities

-*kha*	houses	all kinds of houses	-*ken* (軒)
-*gu:*	houses	Building and mansion	-*tou* (棟)
-*gu:*	houses	Buildings meant for human's residence	-*ko* (戸)
-*gu:*	buildings	apartment	-*mune*(棟)
-*gu:*	buildings	schools	-*kou*, (校),

-gə:	electrical machinery objects for domestic uses	iron, radio, watch	-dai(台)
-gə:	equipments for communications	telephone, computer, television	-dai(台)
-gə:	celestial objects	earth, universe	-tsu (つ)
-gə:	explosives	bullet, bomb fire cracker,	-hatsu(発)
-gə:	heaters, stoves	Electric stove, heater	-dai(台)
-gu:	documents meant for dispatch	Application, document, letter	-tsuu (通) -tsuu (通) -tsuu(通) -tsu(つ)
-gu:	proverbs	proverb	-tsu (つ)
-gu:	celestial object	universe	-tsu(つ)
-gu: .	abstract objects	Problem, question	-ken(件) , -tsu(つ)

Table 4: Pairs

-ju	clothes	Gloves, western dresses, socks	-sou(双), -cyaku(着), -soku(足),
-jwə:	ornaments	Ear rings	-kumi(組)
-jwə:	Pairs	Birds, ear-rings.	-tsui(対)
-ju	set of	dresses	-shiki(式),

Table 5: Miscellaneous

-gə:	miscellaneous	soap, pillow, bag, cage, closet, box, trunk, bell, hand mill, basket, stone, grain	-ko(個)

Quantity or Volume (Quasi-Cls. / reduplicative Cls.):

Table 6: Quantity or volume (Quasi-Cls. / reduplicative Cls.)

-bhwa:	flat palmful morsel	Beaten rice	-kuci (口)
-pe:	fingerful morsel	Cooked rice	-kuci (口)
-phəN	combs	bananas	-phusa (房)
-pasə:	palmful of	grains, flour, water	-sukui (掬)
-khəN	a plentiful wholesome of	meal	-hai (杯)
-ku	loads of solid or liquids	Water, firewood	-taba (束)

Table 7: Groups of people, animals, birds, grains, cereals, diamonds

Nw. Cl.			Jp. Cl.
-bəthã̄:	large groups of people	people	-mure(群)
-thvə:	small groups of people	people	-guru:pu(グループ)
-pucə:	a bunch of people	people	-atsumari (集),

-*pucə*:	a bunch of peas, flowers, jewels	peas, diamonds, sepals, petals, small flowers	-*matomar i* (纏)
-*mure*(群)	herd of cattle, flocks of birds	Cattle, birds	-*bəthã*ː
-*hitodakari*	large mass of people	people	-*lawaləskər*

In Japanese usages of classifiers attributing mainly to the following parameters.

Table 8: The parameters

Parameters:	Japanese	Newar
Abstract nouns	-*tsu*(つ)	-*gu:*, -*gə:*, -*pu*,-*pa:*
Letters and printed matters	-*tsuu* (通)	-*gu:*
Explosives and fire crackers	-*hatsu* (発)	-*gə:*
Monuments and graves	-*ki* (基)	-*gu:*, -*gə:*
3-dimensional objects	-*ko* (個)	-*ca:*, -*pva:* , -*pu*
Means of navigation		
small ships	-*sou* (艘)	-*gə:*
yachts	-*tei* (艇)	-*gə:*
big ships	-*seki* (隻)	-*gə:*
Items	-*ten* (点)	-*gu:*, -*ta*
Parts and copies	-*bu* (部)	-*gu:*
Ways of thinking	-*kou* (考)	-*gu:*
Medicines:		

Elixirs, syrups	-*saji* (匙)	-*gu:* (cəmca)[1]
Powdered medicines	-*phuku* (服)	-*gu:* (puriya)[2]
Capsules/Tablets/Suppositories	-*jou* (錠)	-*ca:*
Stone walls, brick walls	-*kabe* (壁)	-*gə:*
Nights	-*ban* (晩)/-*ya* (夜)	-*ca*

9 Semantic similarities

Newar classifiers

-*pva:* is used to count kerosene stoves being lit or used at the time of its counting and -*gə:* is used to count kerosene stoves on display for sale at the time of its counting.

Japanese classifiers

-*mai* (枚) a general classifier of flat objects including shirts is also used to count pants when worn in the body and -*hon* (本) a general Cl. for long and thin objects, scrolls of same size, sky scrapers, towers, bridges, tunnel, wells, cassette tapes, video tapes, oil fields, films, number of telephone calls, gutters etc also classifies pants on display for sales.

10 Morphophonemic changes:

Japanese classifiers -*hiki*, -*hon*, -*hai* change into *piki*/ -*pon*; -*biki*/ -*bon*; and –*piki*, respectively when immediately preceded by the numerals 'one'; 'three'; 'six', 'eight', 'ten', and 'one

---

[1]cəmca is a loan-word.

[2] Puriya is a loan-word.

hundred' up to 'nine hundred'. -*hiki* (匹) changes into -*biki* (匹) after numerals 'three'; and '10,000' - '1000, 0000'; and into -*piki* (匹) after numerals 'one', 'six', 'eight' , 'ten'; & '100' - '900'.

-*hiki* changes into -*biki* following the numerals 'one thousand' and beyond up to 'ten million' (but, applicable only for figures which are directly divisible by the numeral: 'ten' with quotients starting with any numeral from 'one' to 'nine' leaving no remainders).

-*hon* (本)) changes into -*bon* (本) after numeral 'three'. -*hai* (杯) changes into -*bai* (杯) after numeral 'three'. In Newar only in the Verb Cl. -*thu* geminates itself following the numerals 'one' up to 'nineteen' except 'seven'.

11 Newar verb classifiers and their parallel Japanese classifiers:

-*thu* is used for classifying actions requiring extra physical force to conduct. ~ -*kai*(回) and -*do*(度) the two general classifiers.

-*kə:* is used substituting most of other discrete Nw. verb Cls. such as -*dhu:*/ -*rhu:* (specific classifiers of an unusual or unprecedented actions or events).~ -*kai* (回), -*do* (度).

-*hĩ:* is used to classify the act of fastening of sash around one's waist. ~ -*maki* (巻).

-*tu* is used to classify the act of scooping ~ -*sukui*(掬).
Japanese verb classifiers and their parallel Newar classifiers.

-*tabi* (度) is used for classifying actions and events in literary language. ~ -*kə*.

hen (遍) used for classifying an action committed only once in life time.~ -*kə:*

Direct quantifiers in Newar and parallel Japanese classifiers:

lə-chi (one month)	~ *ikkagetsu*
də-chi (one year)	~ *icinenkan*
nhi-chi (the whole day)	~ *icinicijuu*
cə-chi (the whole night).	~ *hitobanjuu*

Direct quantifiers in Japanese   ~ parallel Newar classifiers

hatsu-ka (twentieth of a month) ~	*bi:s tarikh*
hata-ci (twenty years old person) ~	*ni:rhədumhə*
you -ka (eighth of the month)	~ *ath tarikh*.

Directly quantifiable nouns in Newar ~ parallel Japanese classifiers:

chə -*dã*/ *də-chi* (direct. quantifier) (one year) ~'*ici-nen*'.
chə -*thay* (a place) ~ -'*ik-kasho*'/ '*hito-tokoro*'(a gathering place).
chə -*paẽ* (a big semi solid lump formed from liquid, specially blood) ~ '*hito- katamari*'.
chə -*pva:* (a hole) ~ '*ik-ketsu*', '*ippon*'.

12 Conclusion

The most frequently used Japanese classifiers in modern days are -*ko* (個) and -*hon* (本), and -*gə:* and -*gu:* in Newar.

Out of the two pronunciations one each of Chinese and Japanese of 'Kanji', the Chinese characters, 'On'yomi (the Chinese pronunciation)' is mostly used in Japanese Cls. The orders of placement of the Classifiers in Newar and Japanese are different and have different implications. Japanese Cl. –*tsu* (つ) may also be used substituting the Cls. - *ko* (個) and -*hon* (本). Objects with only slight change in their uses enjoy varieties in classifiers in both languages. Homographs (Same

spellings, different meanings /origins) of 'kanji' characters are prevalent in Japanese classifiers.

Abbreviations

Nw.   Newar
Jp.   Japanese
Cl./ Cls.   Classifier/s

Reference

Iidạ Asako. 2004. *Khạjoe kạtano jiten* (Dictionary of ways of counting). Tokyo: Shogakukan.

Joshi, Sundar Krishna. NS.1112. *Nepəl bhaṣayabhaṣa vəigyanik vyakərən* (A Linguistic Grammar of Nepalbhaṣa). Yẽ: Nepal Rajkiy Prəgyaprətiṣthan. 179-202.

Kiryu, Kazukyuki. 2002. *Newarugo goi shuu* (Collection of Newar words). Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Shrestha, Arun. 1129 NS. *Nepal bhaṣaya tajigvə: wo japani bhaṣaya tajigvə:ya tulənatmək ədhyəyən* (Comparative Study of Newar and Japanese Classifiers). MA Thesis. Kathmandu: Central Department of Nepalbhaṣa. TU.

Shrestha, Rudra Laxmi. 1125 NS. 'Cini wo japani bhayya **s**əndərbhəy Nepal Bhaṣaaya tajigo: ' (Classifiers of Nepal bhaṣa in the context of Chinese and Japanese languages). *ənushədhanmulək pətrika.* Yələ: Nepal bhaṣa kendriy bibhag. TU. 100-113.

HOW DO YOU ADDRESS YOUR WIFE? SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS AND FIRST NAMES IN NEPALI

Uma Shrestha
shrestu@wou.edu

This study concerning the use of first names and second person pronouns in the daily interactions between Nepali-speaking husbands and wives show that the linguistic behavior mirrors the social obligations, expectations and values related to the gender roles of husband and wife. Furthermore, it depicts the role of language as a resourceful tool for maintaining and negotiating the roles of the married couples in their daily lives.

1 Introduction

This paper discusses the sociolinguistic analysis of the use of second person pronouns and first names by Nepali-speaking couples in their daily interactions as well as the different social expectations of men and women by the society at large (Broude, 2003; Salami, 2004).

2 Methodology

The data for this paper was collected during a period of eight weeks in Kathmandu, from September 2005 to November 2005. Eight Nepali-speaking married couples were interviewed and observed closely as a couple and in groups at various times and on different occasions. Their face-to-face conversations were also taped. These couples range in age from early twenties to early sixties, have at least four years of college education, are financially comfortable, and belong to upper Hindu Newar castes. Drawing on the concept of community of practice as proposed by Eckert and McConell Ginet (1999), eight married couples were selected in such a way that they are aligned to each other in some social manner. Five of the wives are siblings and the rest are first cousins of

these five wives. These couples meet regularly for festivities and occasional outings and card games. They are, therefore, connected in terms of their relationships, their interests, their shared beliefs and values. Also, the information thus collected was supplemented by my own introspection as a native Nepali speaker belonging to a similar speech community.

3 Traditional patterns of pronominal choices for married couples

Nepali, as in many other Indo-European languages (Brown and Gilman, 1960), has the deferential 'you' and the familiar 'you.' The deferential 'you' consists of two forms: *hajur* and *tapāī*. Grammar books describe *tapāī* as an honorific form used to address someone higher in status. These books indicate *tapāī* as the normal form wives use to their husbands. (Adhikari 1993; Bhattarai 1976). *Hajur* is used for those who command a great deal of power, prestige, and respect. Some women use this for their husbands.

Nepali has two forms of familiar 'you': *tã* and *timi*. *Timi* is used among friends and between people who assume no difference in power while *tã* carries a greater degree of subordination or intimacy and solidarity between the speaker and the addressee. *timi* is the most popular pronominal form used by husbands for their wives (Bhattarai, 1976; Matthews, 1984). And husbands use *tã* too.

In the present data, three men use *tã* while the rest use *timi* to their wives. For three men *tã* is the unmarked form, while *timi* is the unmarked form for five men. On the other hand, all wives use *tapāī* to their husbands.

The table below provides the forms of second person pronouns in Nepali. Verbs agree with pronouns in terms of person and levels of respect.

Table 1: Forms of second person pronouns

Nominative	*tã*	*timi*	*tapāĩ*	*āphu*	*hajur*
Ergative	*tãile*	*timile*	*tapāĩle*	*āphule*	*hajurle*
Dative	*tãlāi*	*timilāi*	*tapāĩlāi*	*āphulāi*	*hajurlāi*
Genitive	*tero*	*timro*	*tapāĩko*	*āphno*	*hajurko*

4 Men's use of second person pronouns in their everyday interactions with their wives

The husbands switch pronouns strategically for various purposes. The men who normally use *tã* to their wives switch to *timi* while those who normally use *timi* switch to *tã*. On rare occasions, they also switch to *tapāĩ*.

4.1 Switches for face saving purposes

Men often switch from *tã* to *timi* in situations where they may lose their face; that is, they may find themselves in situations where they perceive their authority or status is being compromised by their wives. Consider the following excerpt.

(1) a. [Five people --two women, a man and a couple-- are playing cards. The couple, Binod and Rekha, is sitting next to each other. Rekha, (wife) is losing the game; Binod is trying to help her.]

Binod: (pulling on his wife's sleeves)

khai, **tero** tãs   herũ
PRT you-GEN card see-1s.NPST
'Let me see your cards.'

Rekha: (pulling away angrily and raising her voice)

ke   garnu   bhaeko/ ma kheli hālchu   ni

what do-INF be-2s.HON-PERF I play-EMPH hal
1s.FUT PRT
'What are you doing? I will play.'

Binod: (smiles awkwardly)

timile   khelna   jāndaina   bhaneko chaina ni
you-ERG play-INF know-2s.NEG say-PERF be-
1s.NPST PRT
'I didn't say you don't know how to play.

Obviously, the husband feels disrespected by the wife when she expresses her anger publicly. To save the situation, he shifts from *tã* to *timi*.

b. [Prakash is talking to his wife, Usha, and his sisters-in-law about missing his children who live in America. His son is married to foreigner; his daughter is in school.]

Prakash: (slowly)

khai dipak nepāl āune   man gardaina
PRT deepak nepal come-INF like do-3s.NPST-NEG
'Deepak does not like to come to Nepal.'

Nepāli bibāha gareko bhae   āũthyo holā
nepali marry do-3s. PERF if come-3s.PST perhaps
'If he had married a Nepali, he would visit us.'

Usha: (smiling)

hāmi gaera chorā chorisãga   basũlā   ni
we go-PCP son daughter-with stay-1pl.FUT PRT
'We will go and stay with our daughter and son.'

Prakash: (softly)

tã   gaera   bas
you-NOM go-PCP stay-2s.NHON.IMP
'You go and stay with them.'

Usha: (turning toward her sisters unhappily)

bhinājule   kurā garne nai malai manpardaina
brother-in-law-ERG talk do-INF PRT I-DAT like-1s.NPST-NEG
'I do not like the way your brother-in-law talks.'

malāi   dikka lāgchha
I-DAT sad feel-1s.NPST
I feel too depressed.'

Prakash: (getting up slowly)

timi   jāu   na/ ma po jādina   bhaneko
you go-2s.NHON.IMP PRT/ I PRT go-1s.NPST-NEG say-PERF
'You can go. I said I don't want to go, not you.'

The conversation began in a light hearted spirit, but as the wife expressed displeasure toward the husband in the presence of his sisters-in-law, he switched to *timi* to save his face.

4.2 Switches for expressing displeasure, annoyance and anger.

(2)   a.   [Bikas is showing his wife a shirt that he has just bought.]

Bikas: yehā   her ta/ yo kamij kasto cha
here look-2s.IMP (agrees with tā) PRT/ this shirt how be-3s.NPST
'Look here! What do you think of this shirt?'

Wife: (unenthusiastically)

rāmrai   cha
beautiful-PRT be-3s.NPST
'It's nice.'

Bikas: (wears it and shows)

tālāi   rāmro   lāgena

you-ERG beautiful feel-3s.NPST-NEG
'You don't like it.'

Wife: (calmly)

thikai   cha
All right-PRT be-3s.NPST
'It's okay.

Bikas: (taking off his shirt hurriedly)

timilāi maile   kineko   kehipani manpardaina
you-DAT I-ERG buy-PERF anything like-2s.NPST-NEG
'You don't like anything I buy.'

Wife: maile testo kehi bhaneko   chaina
I-ERG such any say-PERF be-1s.NPST-NEG
'I didn't say anything like that.'

The husband's switch to *timi* expresses his annoyance at his wife's failure to accommodate his desire, thereby failing to be a 'good' wife so to speak.

    b.   [One morning, Hari is strolling leisurely in the garden. He calls his wife and asks her to telephone the gardener.]

Hari: **timile**   āja kānchādāilāi   bolāu   hai
you-ERG today Kancha-older brother-DAT call-2s IMP PRT
'You call Kanchadai today.'

sabai phulharu marisakyo
all flower-PL die-3PL.PST
'All the flowers are dead.'

Wife: yetā hernus tehā kunāmā pani phohar cha
here look-2s.IMP.HON there corner-in too dirt be-3s.NPST

'Please look here. There is dirt in that corner too.'

sabai saphā garna lagāunu parne
all clean do-INF make-INF should
'We need to have it cleaned too.'

Hari: **tãile** dekhāunu parchha
you-ERG show-INF should-2s.NPST
'You don't have to show that to me.'

The husband's switch from *timi* to *tã* expresses his annoyance at his wife, who never pays any attention to the garden. The husband is essentially saying, "what do you know about the yard?"

4.3 Rare switches to *tapāĩ*

We also find a few rare switches to *tapāĩ* by husbands.

(3) a. [Bharati and Ram's house is being repainted for their daughter's wedding. They are discussing about the repairs.]

Bharati: uniharulāi seto pāip nachunu bhannus
PL-OBJ white pipe NEG-touch-INF say-2s.HON.IMP
'Please ask the painters not to touch the white pipe.'

Ram: kun seto paip
which white pipe
'Which white pipe?'

Bharati: māthi jhyāl bāta jhundeko cha ni
up window from hang-PERF be-3s.NPST PRT
'The one that hangs down from the window above.'

Ram: **tãile** bhane pani huncha
you-ERG say-INF too be-2s.NPST
'You can tell them too.'

Bharati: **tapāĩle** bhannubhayo bhane uniharule māncha
you-HON-ERG say-INF.HON-PST if they ERG obey-3p.NPST
'They will obey, if you tell them.'

Ram: tyo pāiple ke garcha
that pipe-ERG what do-3s.NPST
'What does that pipe do?'

Bharati: māthi solār hitarmā joḍeko cha
up solar heater-with join-PERF be-3s.NPST
'It is joined to the solar heater.'

bigryo bhane dherai paisā lāgcha
damage if much money apply-3s.NPST
'If it is damaged, it will cost a lot of money.'

Ram: **tapāĩle** thahā cha sabai kura
You-HON-ERG know 3s.NPST all talk
'You know everything.'

tapāĩle nāi bhannus na
you-HON-ERG PRT say-2s.IMP.HON PRT
'You tell them.'

Bharati: huncha sabai kurā maile nai garchu
Ok all talk I-ERG PRT do-1s.NPST
'Okay, I will do everything.'

tapāĩ chup lagera basnus
you-HON quiet keep-PCP sit-2s.IMP.HON
'You can keep quiet and sit idly.'

Here the switch from non-honorific *tã* to honorific *tapāĩ* indicates irony—if you know so much why do you need me to ask the workers.

b. [Five couples meet at a sister's house to play cards. Only six can play this game. Rama asks her husband to play.]

Rama: **tapāĩ** khelnus ma herchu
you-HON play-2sIMP.HON I see-1sNPST
'You play and I will watch.'

Pratap: (stepping away politely making room for his wife)
hoina **tapāĩ** khelnus ma herchu
no you-HON play-2sIMP.HON I see-1sNPST
'No, you play and I will watch.'

The husband's switch indicates that the wife is no position to decide for him. He is entitled to play. If he does not want to play, only then can she play.

5 Wives and their use of second person pronouns and first names as forms of address:

In this study, all women invariably use *tapāĩ* in addressing their husbands which confirms the traditional usage described in the grammar books.. In Nepali culture, like in many rigidly static societies, people younger in age or status are not allowed to use non-honorific pronouns and first names to those higher in status or older. To break these rules would be rude and grossly impolite. In the present data, men address their wives with their first names freely and women never do so. In fact, Gothale (1996) maintains that the first thing a new bride has to learn when she begins her new life as a wife is not to address her husband by his first name.

The nonreciprocal use of first names between spouses also characterize a feudalistic tradition, where husbands are supposedly a reincarnation of gods and their names are not to be taken in vain. When asked about this tradition, wives say that using their husbands' first names may shorten their husbands' life span--(*logneko ayu ghatcha re*).

Using another's first name is a sign of considerable intimacy; therefore, the nonreciprocal use of first names by husbands for their wives exhibits a power differential—men are allowed to show their intimacy but women are simply allowed to express respect for their husbands. As Salami (2004) remarks regarding a Yoruba woman's address terms for her husband:

As a wife, the Yoruba woman is expected to humble herself before her husband and, therefore, should defer to him. …it is the 'good wife' who does not use her husband's first name while she also demonstrates an example of virtuous behaviour to her child(ren) when she does not address the child(ren)'s father by his first name.

6 Social perceptions and evaluation of norm-breakers:

Of course, there are some norm-breakers. These mistakes can cause uncomfortable situations for wives.

(4) [Binod walks into the room, hot and hungry]

Binod: ke cha khanalai
what be-3s.NPST eat-DAT
'What is there to eat?'

Rekha: (walking towards the kitchen)
timilai ke manparcha (immediately corrects herself
and uses *tapāĩ*)
you-DAT what like-2s.NPST
'What would you like?'

Binod (shocked):
aba malāi timi pani bhanna thālyo
now I-DAT you too say-INF start-2s.PST
'Now you have begun to use *timi* for me.'

Rekha, without responding to her husband's displeasure, begins to prepare something for him to eat.

This exchange clearly exhibits the censure that women may face when they misuse the pronouns. Men enjoy greater freedom in their pronominal usage for women while women not only have a restricted usage but also a greater likelihood for being reprimanded for their mistakes. It is quite insightful to hear frequent criticisms by the wives of other women who break the norms of usage.

'Did you hear how Sangita spoke to her husband yesterday? I thought she was speaking to her daughter. Sometimes she uses *tã* to her husband. Speaking in that manner in the presence of others looks bad.'

Such comments work as a mechanism for maintaining the linguistic norms while preventing other women from being innovative in their usage. Similar comments about norm breakers as being inappropriately liberated are also a recurring theme in TV programs. In one of the episodes of Santosh Pant's highly acclaimed weekly television program *Aja Bholiko Kura* (News of Today and Tomorrow), an educated working woman is portrayed; she uses both the first name and the pronoun *timi* to address her husband. This is what one of the female relative says:

> *afno lognelai* **timi** *bhanya ta citta bujhena hai/ ali chadha jasto cha* ('I don't like her using **timi** for her husband. She seems to be ill-mannered/spoiled.')

With the use of *timi* and the first name of the husband, the wife is understood to disregard all the traditional values that adorn a typical wife in Nepali society. She fails to respect the relatives; she does not bow to greet the in-laws; and she goes out to work. She does not act like a traditional housewife. The use of the word *timi* clearly corresponds with the negative portrayal of a nontraditional wife.

7 Conclusion

This paper reveals some important aspects about interaction between social roles and linguistic behavior. The husbands switch pronouns to create and enforce relationships at every turn in their conversations with their wives. There is no neutrality—status and relationship is emphasized all the time. Although men use non-honorific forms of pronouns to them, women appear to be quite comfortable with this asymmetric usage. They seem to be rather conscious of their role as a wife and the social importance of fulfilling that role appropriately so much so that they are quick to censure those women who do not follow their usage.

Since marriage is regarded as the most important social and religious bind between men and women, any kind of disturbance within it can cause a great deal of disgrace to both, but more so for wives. Therefore, the most important factor in governing the linguistic behavior of these wives is the tradition that defines the roles of wives and husbands. This is also clearly depicted in Vijay Malla's story *Shrimati Sharada*. Marriage in Nepali society is a sacred social bind wherein the role of a husband is regarded as superior to that of a wife. Deference toward the husbands and the maintenance of traditional norms is expected from women. Age and profession seem not to matter at all at least for this group. The traditional forms express the rigid social hierarchy present in the community and the subordinate status of wives in relation to the husbands. We must, however, remember that the idea of male superiority has been ingrained in the minds of both men and women so deeply that any change of a social nature will take time.

Abbreviations

DAT	Dative	NOM	Nominative
ERG	Ergative	NPST	Non-Past
FUT	Future	PCP	Participle

GEN	Genitive	PRT	Particle
HON	Honorific	PST	Past
IMP	Imperative	1s	First person
INF	Infinitive	2s	Second person
NEG	Negation	3s	Third person

References

Adhikari, H. 1993. *Samsāmāyik Nepāli Byākaran* (Comprehensive Nepali Grammar). Kathmandu: Vidhyarthi Pustak Bhandar

Bhattarai, R. P. 1976. *Brihad Nepāli Byākaran* (Comprehensive Nepali Grammar). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Broude, Gwen J. 2003. 'Husband-Wife interaction and aloofness'. *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Men and Women in the World's Cultures*. Vol I ed. by Carol R. Ember and Ember, Melvin. 194-202. New York: Springer Science and Business Media.

Brown, R. and Gilman, A. 1960. 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity'. S*tyle in Language*. ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok*, pp. 253-276. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Eckert Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, Sally. 1999. Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 461-90.

Gothale, Govinda M. 1996. *Arpana*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Bagar Sahityik Prakashan.

Malla, Vijay. 2000. "Shrimati Sharada." *Samakalin Sahitya* 4(36): 21-56.

McConnell-Ginet, S. 2003. "What's in a Name?" Social labeling and gender practices. *The Handbook of Language*

and Gender ed. by Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff, 69-97. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Mühlhausler, P and Harré, R. 1990. *Pronouns and People: The linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity*. Cambridge, England: Basil Blackwell.

Salami, L.O. 2004. Deference and subordination: Gender roles and other variables in addressing and referring to husbands by Yoruba women. *Linguistik Online*, 21(4).

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN SANTHALI[1]

Indresh Thakur
indreshthakur@gmail.com

This paper presents a linguistic analysis of the personal pronouns of Santhali. In Santhali personal pronouns have separate forms for the dual and the plural. The pronoun of the first person has, moreover, two forms each in the dual and in the plural, i.e. exclusive and inclusive. For each of the personal pronoun in Santhali, there is a corresponding bound emphasizer, and for the subjects, which are animate nouns, the emphasizers are the same as those of the corresponding personal pronouns in third person. The present paper also attempts to analyze the case markers on different personal pronouns.

1 Background

This paper presents a linguistic analysis of the personal pronouns of Santhali, an Austro-Asiatic language of Kherwarian group of North Munda spoken in Nepal. Santhali has fairly a large community of speakers as it is spoken by 40,260 people (Census Report of Nepal, 2001) mostly in two districts of Nepal: Jhapa and Morang. Santhali is a well described and studied language in India but is poorly described Austro-Asiatic language Nepal. Personal pronouns in Santhali have three persons and three numbers. Santhali is a pronominalized language with a unique type of pronominalization system. In Santhali language subject pronoun is not only copied to the verb but also to the object of the sentence.

---

[1] This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 30th Annual International conference of Linguistic society of Nepal held at Kathmandu, 26-27 November, 2009.

2 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns have separate forms for the singular, dual and plural. The pronoun of the first person has, moreover, two forms each in the dual and in the plural, one excluding and another including the person addressed i.e. exclusive and inclusive. For each of the personal pronouns in Santhali, there is a corresponding bound emphasizer, and for the subjects which are animate nouns, the emphasizers are the same as those of the corresponding personal pronouns in third persons. Santhali has three numbers for nouns and pronouns, viz., singular, dual, and plural. Gender distinction is not found in Santhali personal pronominal system. Honorificity is found for the second person singular number only. Personal pronouns with its person, number, honorificity, inclusive/ exclusive, proximal/distal are presented in table 1.

Table 1: Personal pronouns in Santhali

Person	Number	Pronouns	Meaning in English
First	Singular	iɲ	I
	Dual (inclusive)	alaŋ	Two of us (including listener)
	Dual (exclusive)	ʌliɲ	Two of us (excluding listener)
	Plural (inclusive)	abu	We (including listener)
	Plural (exclusive)	ale	We (excluding listener)
Second	Singular	am	You
	Singular(Honorific)	abin	you
	Dual	aben	Two of you
	Plural	ape	You (Plural)
Third	Singular (proximal)	nui	S/he (proximal)
	Dual (proximal)	nukin	Two of them (prox.l)

Plural (proximal)	nuku	They (proximal)
Singular (distal)	uni	S/he (distal)
Dual (distal)	unkin	Two of them (distal)
Plural (distal)	unku	They (distal)
Singular (remote)	hʌni	S/he (remote)
Dual (remote)	hʌnkin	Two of them (remote)
Plural (remote)	hʌnku	They (remote)

Table 1 shows that Santhali distinguishes 18 pronominal categories, viz. first, second and third person singular, dual and plural, and there is an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural. The third person pronouns are divided into categories in terms of the remoteness: proximal, distal and remote.

Some examples in sentence level are as follows:

(1)   a.   iɲ   daka   dzʌmiɲkida

iɲ   daka   dzʌm-iɲ-kida
1SG   rice   eat-1SG-PST
'I ate rice.'

b.   alaŋ   dakalaŋ   dzʌmkida

alaŋ   daka-laŋ   dzʌm-kida
1DU.INCL   rice-1DU.INCL eat-PST
'Two of us (including listener) ate rice.'

c.   ʌliɲ   dakaliɲ   dzʌmkida

ʌliɲ   daka-liɲ   dzʌm-kida
1DU.EXCL   rice-1DU.EXCL eat-PST
'Two of us (excluding listener) ate rice.'

d.   abu   dakabu   dzʌmkida

abu   daka-bu   dzʌm-kida
1PL.INCL   rice-1PL.INCL eat-PST
'We (including listener) ate rice'

e.   ale   dakale   dzʌmkida

ale   daka-le   dzʌm-kida
1PL.EXCL   rice-1PL.EXCL eat –PST
'We (excluding listener) ate rice.

f.   am   dakam   dzʌmkida

am   daka-m   dzʌm-kida
2SG. rice -2SG   eat-PST
'You ate rice.'

g.   abin   dakabin   dzʌmkida

abin   daka-bin   dzʌm-kida
2SG.H rice-2SG.H eat-PST
' You ate rice.'

h.   aben daka   dzʌmbenkida

aben daka   dzʌm-ben-kida
2DU rice   eat-2DU -PST
'Two of you ate rice.'

i.   ape   daka   dʌmpekida

ape   daka   dʌm-pe -kida
2PL   rice   eat-2PL -PST
'You ate rice.'

j.   uni   dakai   dzʌmkida

uni   daka-i   dzʌm-kida
3SG   rice -3SG   eat-PST
'S/he ate rice.'

k. unkin dakakin dzʌmkida

unkin daka-kin dzʌm-kida
3DU rice-3DU eat-PST
'Two of them ate rice.'

l. unku dakaku dzʌmkida

unku daka-ku dzʌm-kida
3PL rice-3PL eat-PST
'They ate rice.'

From the examples (1a-l), apart from three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural) distinctions, the following observations can be made about the personal pronouns in Santhali.

i. The personal pronouns show inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in first person dual and plural.

ii. There are three categories of the third person pronoun in terms of remoteness: general, proximal and distal.

iii. Personal pronouns do not show gender distinction in Santhali.

3 Patterns of cases of personal pronouns

The personal pronouns take different forms of cases. Table 2 presents the different categories   of personal pronouns and their case forms.

Table 2: Personal pronouns and some major case markers

Cases		LOC	GEN	NOM	INST	DAT	ABL
Pronouns		-re	*-ren,* *-aʔ,* *-rijaʔ*	0	-te	0	*-kʰʌi* *-kʌiʔ*
1SG	iɲ	+	+	-	+	-	+
1DU INCL	alaŋ	+	+	-	+	-	+
1DU EXCL	ʌliɲ	+	+	-	+	-	+
1PL INCL	abu	+	+	-	+	-	+
1PL EXCL	ale	+	+	-	+	-	+
2SG	am	+	+	-	+	-	+
2DU H	abin	+	+	-	+	-	+
2DU	aben	+	+	-	+	-	+
2PL	ape	+	+	-	+	-	+
3SG PROX	nui	+	+	-	+	-	+
3DU PROX	nukin	+	+	-	+	-	+
3PL PROX	nuku	+	+	-	+	-	+
3SG DIST	uni	+	+	-	+	-	+
3DU DIST	unkin	+	+	-	+	-	+
3PL DIST	unku	+	+	-	+	-	+
3SG REM	hʌni	+	+	-	+	-	+
3DU REM	hʌnkin	+	+	-	+	-	+
3PL REM	hʌnku	+	+	-	+	-	+

4 Other pro-forms

This section deals with other pro-forms in the Santhali language. They include demonstrative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

4.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Santhali displays the three way distribution of the demonstrative pronouns. They are on the basis of number; singular vs plural; proximity: proximal, distal, far distal and remote; and animacy: animate and inanimate.

The distribution of demonstrative pronoun can be shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Demonstrative pronouns in Santhali

Number		prox.	dist.	far dist.	remote
Singular	Animate	nui	uni	hʌni	hʌnihʌni
	Inanimate	nuã	unã	hana	hanahana
Plural	Animate	nuku	unku	hʌnku	hʌnkuhʌnku
	Inanimate	nijʌ̃	unaku	hanaku	hanhanaku

Some examples are provided in (2).

(2) a. nui   merʌm iɲren   kanai

        nui   merʌm iɲ-ren   kana-i
        DEM.PROX.AN goat 1SG-GEN be.PRS-3SG.AN
        'This goat is mine.'(proximal animate)

     b. nuã   oɽaʔ kʌʈi gija

        nuã   oɽaʔ kʌʈi gija
        DEM.PROX.INAM house small be.PRS
        'This house is small.'(proximal inanimate)

     c. uni   sitai   hende gija

        uni   sita-i   hende gija
        DEM.DIST.AN dog-3SG.AN black be.PRS
        'That pen is black.' (distal animate)

     d. hʌnihʌni   hʌti   pũɖ gijai

        hʌnihʌni   hʌti   pũɖ gija-i
        DEM.REM.AN elephant white be.PRS -3SG.AN
        'That elephant is white.' (remote animate)

     e. hʌnku hʌɽ   kʰetre minaʔkuwa

        hʌnku hʌɽ   kʰet-re minaʔ-ku-wa
        DEM.FDIST.AN.PL man field –LOC be-PL-PRS
        'Those men are in the farm.' (far distal animate flour)

It is found that there is metathesis between proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns as in (3).

(3)   Promixal   Distal
      nui   uni
      nuã   unã
      nuku   unku

Similarly, remote demonstrative pronouns are the reduplication of far distal demonstrative pronouns as in (4).

(4)   Far distal   Remote
      hʌni   hʌnihʌni
      hana   hanahana
      hʌnku   hʌnkuhʌnku
      hanaku   hanhanaku

4.2 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive refers to a verb or construction where the subject and the object relate to the same entity. Santhali uses reflexive pronouns to express their relationship. Reflexive pronouns in Santhali are marked by *-te* meaning 'self/selves'. Reflexive pronouns in Santhali are provided in Table 4.

Table : 4 The reflexive pronouns in Santhali

Person	Number	Reflexive in Santhali	English equivalance
1st	Singular Dual(INCL) Dual(EXCL) Plural(INCL) Plural(EXCL)	te-giɲ te-laŋ te-liɲ te-bu te-le	myself ourselves ourselves ourselves ourselves
2nd	Singular Dual Plural	te-gin te-bin(H) te-ben te-pe	yourself yourself yourselves yourselves
3rd	Singular Dual Plural	aiʔ-te akin-te-kin aku-te-ku	himself/herself themselves themselves

Some examples of reflexive pronouns in sentence level can be presented as in (5).

(5) a. alaŋ telaŋ dzʌmkida
     alaŋ te-laŋ dzʌm-kida
     1DU.INCL REFL-1DU.INCL eat-PST
     'Two of us (including listener) ate ourselves.'

   b. ale tele tsʌlauina
     ale te-le tsʌlau-ina
     1PL.EXCL REFL-1PL.EXCL go-PST
     'We (excluding listener) went ourselves.'

   c. aben teben dakaben dzʌmkida
     aben te-ben daka-ben dzʌm-kida
     2DU REFL-2DU rice-2DU eat-PST
     'Two of you ate rice yourselves.'

   d. uni aiʔte tsʌlauina
     uni aiʔ-te tsʌlau-ina
     3SG 3.SG -REFL go-PST
     'S/he went himself/ herself.'

In examples 5 (a-d) reflexive pronouns are *telaŋ* 'yourself', *tele* 'ourself', *teben* 'yourself' and *aiʔte* 'himself/ herself.' respectively.

4.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Santhali are *tseʔ* 'what', *ʌkʌi* 'who', *unkare* 'where', *tisem* 'when', *tsida* 'why' and *uka* 'which'. Some examples are illustrated in (6).

(6) a. amaʔ ɲitum tseʔ kana
     am-aʔ ɲitum tseʔ kana
     2SG-GEN name what be.PRS
     'What is your name?'

   b. am ʌkʌi kanam
     am ʌkʌi kana-m
     2SG who be.PRS-2SG
     'Who are you?'

c. amaʔ　　　　oɽaʔ　　unkare　minaa

　　am-aʔ　　　oɽaʔ　　unkare　mina-a
　　2SG-GEN　house　where　be-PRS
　　'Where is your house?'

d. am　　tisʌm　heʔinam

　　am　　tisʌm　heʔ-ina-m
　　2SG　when　come-PST-2SG
　　'When did you come?'

e. am　　hula　　　　　tsida　baŋheʔina

　　am　　hula　　　　　tsida　　baŋ-heʔ-ina
　　2SG　yesterday　　why　　NEG-come-PST
　　'Why didn't you come yesterday?'

f. am　　uka　　pʌtʌbem　　　　parhau

　　am　　uka　　pʌtʌb-em　　　parhau
　　2SG　which　book-2SG　　　read-PRS
　　'Which book do you read?'

Here, the examples 6(a-f) show the interrogative pronouns viz. *tseʔ* 'what', *ʌkʌi* 'who', *unkare* 'where', *tisem* 'when', *tsida* 'why', *uka* 'which' respectively.

Abbreviation

1	First person	FDIST	Far distal
2	Second person	GEN	Genitive
3	Third person	H	Honorific
ABL	Ablative	INAN	Inanimate
AN	Animate	INCL	Inclusive
DAT	Dative	INS	Instrumental
DEM	Demonstrative	LOC	Locative
DIST	Distal	PL	Plural
DU	Dual	PROX	Proximal
EXCL	Exclusive	PRS	Present
		PST	Past

REFL	Reflexive	SG	Singular
REM	Remote		

References

Acharya, T. 2055. 'Nepali ra Satar Bhashaka Padsangatiko Tulnatmak Adhyayan'. M.A. Thesis. Kathmandu. Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus.

Grierson. G.A. 1909. *Linguistic survey of India: munda and dravidian languages*. Vol IV. Delhi /Venarasi / Patna: Motilal Banarsidas.

Hansdah, R.C. and Murmu, N.C. 2005. 'A framework for learning and understanding Sanghali in Ol Chiki script'. http://www.wesanthals.org.

Mahato, S.K. 2009. 'Noun morphology of the Santhali language'. MA thesis. Kathmandu. Central Department of Linguistics. TU.

Niraula, G.D. 2057. 'Satar Bhashako Varnanatmak Adhyayan' (A descriptive study of Satar language). MA thesis. Kathmandu. Central Department of Nepali. TU.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax*: *A Guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Regmi, A. 2008. 'Personal pronouns in Kaike'. *Nepelese linguistics*. Vol 23. 322-333.

Sinha, N. K. 1975. *Mundari grammar*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Thakur, I. and Kumari, S. 2008. 'The documentation of the Santhali language'. Lalitpur: NFDIN

Thakur, I. 2008. 'The structure of verbs and sentences of Santhali'. MA thesis. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics. TU.

COPULAR VERBS IN CHHATTHARE LIMBU

Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang
gb_tumbahang@hotmail.com

Copular verbs exist in Panthare Limbu (Wiedert and Subba1985:156), Phedappe Limbu (vanDriem 1987: 55), Athpare, Chamling, Thulung, Khaling and Bantawa (Ebert 1994:103-4) and Kham (Watters 2002:218). They are important features of Chhatthare Limbu, which cover various senses of English 'to be' verbs. They are used to express identity, show locations and positions and describe inchoative state and descriptive and attributive qualities. This article discusses these verbs in brief.

1 Introduction

Crystal (2003) defines copula as a 'linking verb' which relates subject and complement in a clause structure and says that the main copular verb in English is 'be'. Apart from 'to be' verbs, other verbs like 'to become' and 'to seem', 'to look' etc. are also used as copular verbs in English. Chhatthare Limbu has mainly ten types of copular verbs to express the meanings of English copular verbs.

2 Copular verbs

Table 1: The copular verbs in Chhatthare Limbu

----

identity operator	suffixal 'to be'
wa-ma	existential 'to be'
ahop- ma	negative existential 'to be
yuŋ-ma	locational 'to be'
keŋ-ma	adhesive 'to be'
cuk-ma	attributive 'to be'
puŋ-ma	inchoative 'to be'
lo-ma	descriptive 'to be'

ɛp-ma	vertical 'to be'
nɛ-ma	horizontal 'to be'

2.1 Identity operator

Copular verb functions as an identity operator, which occurs in a two-nominal argument syntagm and indicates the second argument as identical to the first. For example, in the sentence, *a yakthuŋba-ŋa* 'I am a Limbu' the second nominal *yakthuŋba* is identical to the first nominal a. The suffix < -ŋa> operates the identity of the speaker. It constitutes a conjugation consisting of a set of adnominal suffixes. For examples,

(1)   khunɛ yakthuŋba
       3SG   yakthungba
       'He/she is a Limbu.'

(2)   khunchi yakthuŋba-si
       3NSG yakthungba-3NSG
       'They are Limbus.'

(3)   khɛnɛ yakthuŋba-na
       2SG   yakthungba- 2SG
       'You are a Limbu.'

(4)   khɛnchi yakthuŋba-na-chiŋ
       2DL   yakthungba-2-DL
       'You are Limbus.'

(5)   khɛni yakthuŋba-na-niŋ
       2PL   yakthungba-2-PL
       'You are Limbus.'

(6)　　a yakthuŋba-ŋa
　　　　1SG yakthungba-1SG
　　　　'I am a Limbu.'

(7)　　anchi yakthuŋba-si
　　　　1SG　yakthungba-NSG
　　　　'We are Limbus.'

(8)　　anchi-ŋa yakthuŋba-si-ŋa
　　　　1SG-EXCL yakthungba-NSG-EXCL
　　　　'We are Limbus.'

(9)　　ani yakthuŋba-si
　　　　1PL yakthungba-NSG
　　　　'We are Limbus.'

(10)　ani-ŋa yakthuŋba-si-ŋa
　　　　1PL-EXCL yakthungba-NSG-EXCL
　　　　'We are Limbus.'

The third person singular form of the identity operator is zero. However, its dual and plural forms are marked by <-si>. The second person singular form of the identity operator is <-na>, its dual marker is <-chiŋ> and plural marker is <-niŋ>. The first person exclusive form of the identity operator is <-ŋa>, and its dual and plural numbers are marked by <-si>. The first person inclusive is unmarked, but its dual and plural numbers are marked by <-si>. According to Ebert (1994:105), 'the 'suffixal be' used in identificational sentences is a unique phenomenon of Limbu. However, Singh (2002:49) presents the same type of equational copula in Taron as given in (11), (12) and (13).

(11)　kəy dəktər əŋ
　　　　1SG doctor 1SG
　　　　'I am a doctor.'

(12)　nəŋ dəktər ce
　　　　2SG doctor 2SG
　　　　'You are a doctor.'

(13)　əmai dəktər
　　　　3SG doctor
　　　　'He is a doctor.'

2.1.1 Negative identity operator

The identity operator is negated by *ekhan* which functions only as a negative particle. The following are the examples.

(14)　khunɛ yakthuŋba ekhan
　　　　3SG　yakthungba NEG
　　　　'He/she is not a Limbu.'

(15)　khunchi yakthuŋba-si　ekhan
　　　　3NSG　yakthungba-NSG NEG
　　　　'They are not Limbus'

(16)　khɛnɛ yakthuŋba-na ekhan
　　　　2SG　yakthungba 2SG NEG
　　　　'You are not a Limbu.'

(17)　khɛnchi yakthuŋba-si ekhan
　　　　2DL　　yakthungba-NSG NEG-
　　　　'You are not Limbus.'

(18)　khɛni yakthuŋba-si ekhan
　　　　2PL　yakthungba-NSG NEG
　　　　'You are not Limbus'

(19)   a yakthuŋba-ŋa   ekhan
        1SG yakthungba-1SG NEG
        'I am not a Limbu.'

(20)   anchi yakthuŋbasi ekhan
        1DL yakthungba-NSG NEG
        'We are not Limbus.'

(21)   anchi-ŋa yakthuŋba-si-ŋa   ekhan
        1DL-EXCL yakthungba-NSG-1 NEG
        'We are not Limbus.'

(22)   ani yakthuŋba-si ekhan
        1PL yakthungba-NSG NEG
        'We are not Limbus.'

(23)   ani-ŋa yakthuŋba-si-ŋa   ekhan
        1PL-EXCL yakthungba-NSG-1 NEG
        'We are not Limbus.'

2.2 Existential 'to be' and 'not to be'

The availability or existence of a thing is expressed by the verb *wa-ma* 'to be'.

(24)   hamba paŋbhɛ-o a-dak wa
        that   village-LOC my-friend be
        'My friend is there in that village.'

(25)   kuwa-o   cwat   wa
        well –LOC   water   be
        'There is water in the well.'

(26)   pyaŋsi-ŋaŋ   ku-beso-o thaŋ wa
        paddy-field-GEN   3SGPOSS-near-LOC cowshed be
        'There is a cow-shed beside the paddy-field.'

Wiedert and Subba (1985:156) give the paradigm of this verb. Rai (1985:181) lists two types of existential 'to be ' in Bantawa language. In Chhatthare Limbu the existential 'to be' uses a negative counterpart *hopma*   to index negative meaning.

(27)   hamba paŋbhɛ-o a-dak hop
        that   village-LOC my-friend be not
        'My friend is not there in that village.

(28)   kuwa-o   cwat   hop
        well –LOC   water   not be
        'There is no water in the well.'

(29)   pyaŋsi   ku-beso-o thaŋ hop
        paddyfield 3SGPOSS-near-LOC cowshed not be
        'There is no cow-shed beside the paddy-field.'

Negative affixes are used if *wa* functions as a main verb.

(30)   hamba paŋbhɛ-o a-dak ma-wa-nɛn
        that   village-LOC my-friend NEG-stay-NEG
        'My friend does not stay in that village.

(31)   hamba paŋbhɛ-o adak-khachi ma-wa-chin
        that   village-LOC my-friend-d NEG-be-NEG
        'My friends do not stay in that village.'

(32)   hamba paŋbhɛ-o adak-kha ma-ŋwa-nɛn
        that   village-LOC my-friend-p 3PL- NEG-be-NEG
        'My friends do not stay in that village.'

2.3 Locational 'to be'

Locational 'to be' *yuŋ-ma* situates the subject in a place.

(33) kunda-o cwa? yuŋ
jar-LOC water be
'There is water in the jar.'

(34) harpɛ-o khyu yuŋ
bottle-LOC ghee-be
'There is ghee inside the bottle.'

(35) luŋghuri-o na yuŋ
stone-hole-LOC fish be
'The fish is inside the stone-hole.'

wama can also replace *yuŋma*.

(36) kunda-o cwa? wa
jar-LOC water be
'There is water in the jar.'

(37) harpɛ-o khyu wa
bottle-LOC ghee-be
'There is ghee inside the bottle.'

(38) luŋghuri-o na wa
stone-hole-LOC fish be
'The fish is inside the stone-hole.'

(39) sumbak-ŋo yum wa
dal-LOC salt be
'There is salt in dal.'

2.4 Adhesive 'to be'

The verb *keŋ-ma* 'to be' indicates the object in a hanging position in the superior location such as fruits in a tree or cloud, stars, moon and the sun in the sky.

(40) siŋbuŋ-ŋo ambɛ keŋ
tree-LOC mango be
'A mango is there on the tree.'

(41) taŋsappa-o laba keŋ
sky-LOC   moon be
'There is the moon in the sky.'

(42) taŋsappa-o nam keŋ
sky-LOC   sun be
'There is the sun in the sky.'

It conveys both locational and existential sense when referring to body parts.

(43) ɔn-naŋ   ku-milak   keŋ
horse-GEN 3SGPOSS-tail   be
'The horse has a tail.'

(44) khunɛ-ŋ   ku-mik   keŋ
3SG-GEN   3SGPOSS-eye be
'He has an eye.'

(45) pi?-naŋ   ku-milak   keŋ
cow-GEN   3SGPOSS -tail   be
'A cow has a tail.'

keŋ can be replaced by *wa*.

(46) ɔn-naŋ   ku-milak wa
horse-GEN 3SGPOSS-tail be
'The horse has a tail.'

(47) khune-ŋ   ku-mik wa
3SG-GEN   3SGPOSS-eye be
'He has an eye.'

(48)   pi?-naŋ   ku-milak wa
       cow'-GEN 3SGPOSS -tail be
       'A cow has a tail.'

However, the locational 'to be' *yuŋ* cannot replace *keŋ*.

2.5 Attributive 'to be'

The verb *cuk-ma* 'to be' is used in the intransitive form to describe an attribute or trait to a subject. The predicate may contain an adjective with a descriptive meaning.

(49)   khunɛ kemba cuk
       3SG   tall   be
       'He is tall.'

(50)   khɛnɛ nuba ka-juk
       2SG   good 2-be
       'You are good.'

(51)   a siŋsiŋba cuk-ŋa
       1SG serious be-1SG
       'I am serious.'

2.6 Inchoative 'to be'

The verb *puŋ-ma* 'to be' describes the transition from one state to another in the past or non-past.

(52)   hamba hɛnja   kumakla puks-a
       that   child   black   become-PT
       'That child became black.'

(53)   ba lɔghe? taphɛmba puks-a
       this cloth   bad   be
       'This cloth became bad.'

(54)   khunɛ kapoba puks-a
       3SG   old   become-PT
       'He became old.'

It also indicates an inherent quality.

(55)   napmi-ŋaŋ nɛcchi ku-huk puŋ
       man-GEN two   3SG POSS-hand be
       'Man has two hands.'

(56)   samyaŋ kuhikla puŋ
       gold   yellow be
       'Gold is yellow.'

(57)   ɔn-naŋ   ku-daŋ ma-buŋ-nɛn
       horse-GEN 3SGPOSS-horn NEG-be-NEG
       'A horse has no horn.'

2.8 Descriptive 'to be'

The verb *loma* 'to be' describes the manifestation of an attribute.

(58)   khunɛ ku-na mak lo
       3SG   3SGPOSS-face black be
       'His face is black.'

(59)   ba sukwa he? lo
       this bag   red be
       'This bag is red.'

(60)   pitnu phɔ lo
       milk white be
       'Milk is white.'

2.9 Vertical 'to be'

The verb *yep-ma* 'to be' indicates person or object in a vertical position.

(61)   hamba paŋbhe-o lɔthik numa mɛnchɛ yɛp
      that   village-LOC one beautiful young lady be
      'There is a beautiful young lady in that village.'

(62)   lam-beso pi? yɛp
      road-side cow be
      'There is a cow beside the road.'

(63)   tambhuŋ-o siŋbuŋ-gha mu-yɛp
      forest-LOC tree-p   3PL-be
      'There are trees in the forest.'

2.10 Horizontal 'to be'

The verb *nɛ* 'to be' indicates the object in a horizontal position.

(64)   sapla kham-mo nɛn
      paper floor-LOC be
      'Paper is on the floor.'

(65)   a-byaŋsi paŋbhɛ-o nɛn
      my-house village-LOC be
      'My paddy field is in the village.'

(66)   yodhambi nuba lajɛ nɛn
      across the river good paddy-field be
      'There is a good paddy-field across the river.'

3 Conclusion

In Chhatthare Limbu, ten types of copular verbs are used to express the meanings of English copular verbs. Apart from marking identity, the copular verbs show the existence of person, animal or thing in general or specific locations or positions and describe their inchoative state and attributive and descriptive qualities.

Abbreviations

1	First person
1DL	First person dual
1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2DL	Second person dual
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
3SGPOSS	Third person singular possessive
EXCL	Exclusive
GEN	Genitive
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NSG	Nonsingular
PT	Past tense

References

Cystal, David. 2003. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. UK: Blackwell Publishing Limited.

Ebert, Karen H. 1994. *The structure of Kiranti languages*. Zurich: Zurich University.

Rai, Novel K. 1985. *A descriptive sudy of Bantawa.* A Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Pune.

van Driem, George. 1987. *A grammar of Limbu*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Watters, E. David. 2002. *A grammar of Kham*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weidert, A and Subba, B. 1985. *Concise Limbu grammar and dictionary*. Amsterdam: Lobster Publications.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN MAITHILI

Dev Narayan Yadav
dnarayan.yadav55@gmail.com

This article is organized into three sections. Section 1 presents the definition of clause combining and its syntactic devices/processes. In section 2 we briefly try to discuss morphological analysis of Adverbial Clause and classify its types. In section 3, we explore the syntactic features associated with adverbial constructions to identify them from typological perspectives. Finally, we sum up the findings of the article.

1 Introduction

Most of the South Asian languages (including Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian and Austric languages) typically employ non-finite clauses instead of finite clauses to realize clause linkage (cf. Masica, 1976 and Yadava, 2005). In this article we have chosen one of the major strategies employed for clause combining in the Maithili language, viz. adverbial clauses both from formal and functional-typological perspectives.

2 Definition of clause combining and its types

A clause is a group of words forming a grammatical category/ unit higher than phrase and smaller than sentence. Functionally, a clause has subject and predicate. Most of the multi-verb constructions involve one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. An independent clause is one that is fully inflected and capable of being integrated into discourse on its own. A dependent clause is one that depends on some other clause for at least part of its inflectional information. Consider the example in (1).

(1)   He came in locking the door behind him.

                                              [Payne, 1997:306]

In (1) *he came in* is the independent clause on which *locking the door behind him* depends because the subject and tense of the dependent clause are only understood via the subject and tense of the independent clause. The dependent clause by itself does not qualify as a fully inflected clause, able to be integrated into discourse on its own. Sometimes fully inflected verbs are called finite verbs, whereas dependent verbs are termed non-finite.

In other words, a finite clause is a clause with a finite verb. A main clause is a clause that may stand alone as a complete sentence and expresses the focal predication when occurring in a complex sentence.

The following example sentence contains two clauses:

(2)   It is cold, although the sun is shining.

The main clause is *it is cold* and the subordinate clause is *although the sun is shining*.

2.1 Types of clause combining

Sentences can be combined by means of two syntactic devices in English syntax: subordination and coordination. The examples of coordination are as follows.

 (3)   a.   I remember. I saw the jewels.

         b.   I remember seeing the jewels.

(4)   a.   Ram is a bachelor. His sister is married.

         b.   Ram is a bachelor but his sister is married.

2.2 Subordination in Maithili

Subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. Unlike coordinators, the subordinators assign unequal rank to

the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to the other (Yadav, 1996).

The subordinators in Maithili are of two types.

i. Full words with lexical content, e.g. *jakhan* 'when'; *jan* 'if'; *je* 'that' *kiaek tə* 'because', etc. The examples are given below.

(5) a. həm jən-əit ch-i   je   o
     I   know IMPERF Aux-PRES-1   COMP he.H

     mar-əl   jae-t-ah
     kill-PST PCPL go-FUT-3H
     'I know that he will be killed.'(Yadav, 1996:344)

   b. u   chə̃ra   je   kailh   ..l̂
      that boy   REL   yesterday   come-PERF

      cḥəl bəd cəlak cḥəl
      Aux-PST (3NH) very clever be-PST (3NH)
      'The boy who came yesterday was very clever.'

ii. Non-finite verb forms which lack agreement categories by definition:

(6) u   hamara   əbạkạlel   kahạlak
    he I Accu   come INF   ask-past
    'He asked me to come.'

There are three types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. But I will only talk briefly about adverbial clauses in this paper.

1.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an "adverbial function".They modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. They are not an argument of the clause. Sometimes adverbial clauses are termed "adjuncts". The adverbial subordinate

clauses in Maithili can be divided into the following types: time, condition, place, manner, reason, result, purpose, converbs; sequential and simultaneous.

1.3.1 Adverbial of time

The adverbial clauses of time signal temporal as well as sequential relationships and utilize both the strategies of subordination as shown below.

i. Temporal relationship

It is signalled by the use of subordinators which are full words with lexical content; usually these are correlatives, one of which is optionally deleted, e.g., *jəkhən-təkhən* 'when-then', *jəhiya-təhiya* 'when-then', *jabət-tabat* 'as long as-until then'.

(7) jəkhən həm pəhũc-1-ahũ (təkhən) əhã   nəi
    When   I   arrive PST (I)   then   you (H) not

    ch-əl-əhũ
    be-PST-(2H)
    'When I arrived, you were not (there).'

                                    [Yadav, 1996:361]

Temporal relationship is also signalled by the use of non-finite verb forms that appear in combination with forms (postpositions) which explicitly identify temporal relationships and may also be combined with the emphatic enclitic.

(8) pərh-əit kaal pərhə ber me həlla
    read PSTPCPL time read INF time in

    nəi kər-u!
    noise not do-IMP. (2H)
    'Do not make a noise while studying' (lit: 'during the time of studying!')

                                    [Yadav, 1996:362]

ii. Immediate succession

The locative adverbial *jahã* 'where' coupled with *ki* 'that' signals immediate sequence of events:

(9) (jəhã) sãjh pər-əl ki
     Where evening lie PST (3NH) that

     əhã ghər bəhair le-l-əhũ
     You (H) house sweep take PST (2H)
     'As soon as the evening set, you swept the room.'
                                    [Yadav, 1996:362]

Non-finite verb forms are also used in signalling immediate succession of events:

(10) nokri-hoit (sath) ho-it-e (sath)
     Job bePRESPCPL with be PRESPCPL-EMPH with

     ham khabar de-b
     I news give (Fut-(I + 2H)
     'As soon as I get the job, I will inform you.'
                                    [Yadav, 1996:362]

iii. Cause

Occasionally, the time adverbial morpheme (either with or without the emphatic enclitic-e) may signal cause as well:

(11) jəhiy-e sə babu mər-l-əinh
     When-EMPH from father die PST-(3H + 3H)

     o gam choir de-l əinh
     he (H) village leave give PST (3H)
     'After his father died, he left the village.'
                                    [Yadav,1996:363]

Non-finite forms, too, convey the meaning of cause.

(12) i bat sun-əit o uith ge-l-ah
     This matter hear PRESPCPL he (H) rise go-PST-(3H))
     'When he heard it he left immediately.'
                                    [Yadav, 1996:363]

1.3.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed by adding the subordinator *jõ* (also *jadi~yadi, əgər*) 'if' to the clause which signals the condition and *tə* 'then' to the main clause which states the outcome will happen if the condition is met.

(13) jo pain pər tə tə rəih ĵb
     if water fall-FUT (3NH) then live go-FUT-(2H)
     'If it rains, please stay.' (lit: then you will stay)'
                                    [Yadav, 1996:369]

1.3.3 Locative clauses

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *jətə* 'where' or *jətəkətəu* 'wherever'

(14) jətə pəthæ-b həm jæ-b
     Where send-FUT-(2H +I) I go-FUT-(I)
     'I will go where you send me.'
                                    [Yadav, 1996:363]

Usually, however,locative clauses in Maithili have the shape of a relative-correlative clause:

(15) həm otə ohi tham jæb
     I there that place go (FUT-(I)

     jətə jahi tham həm-ra kəh-əb
     where which place I ACC/DAT say-FUT (2H+1)
     'I will go there where you ask me to.'
                                    [Yadav, 1996:363]

1.3.4 Manner clauses

Adverbial clauses of manner are introduced by *jena* 'as' or *jahina* 'exactly as'.

(16) la   an -o   jəhina malik
     take bring-IMP-(2NH) exactly as master

     kəh-əl-khunh
     say-PST-(3H+2NH)
     'Fetch it exactly as the master said.'

                              [Yadav, 1996:364]

1.3.5 Reason clauses

Adverbial clauses of reason are formed by the use of a cluster of subordinating morphemes such as *tæ̃* 'so' *tahi sə̃* (colloquially) *təi/təhi sə̃* 'due to', *tahi sə̃/tahi karn-ẽ'* due to that reason', *karən je* 'the reason being that' or *kı̂k tə/lki/lje* 'because (of)', e.g.:

(17) gari   chuit ge-1 tahi sə̃   ə-hĩ otə
     train leave go-PST-(3NH +I) due to that you(H) IMPH place

     rəih   ge-l-əhũ
     live   go-PST-(2H)
     'I missed the train, due to that reason I stayed at your place.'
                              [Yadav, 1996:364]

1.3.6   Result clauses

An adverbial clause of result is formed by the use of *jahi sə̃* (colloquially) *jəi sə* 'so that/ as a result of which'.

(18) bhai ji paisa bhej-nai   choir de-l-əinh
     elder brother HP money send leave give PST-(3H)

     jahi sə̃   pərhai chor-ə   pər-əl
     consequently   study   leave INF MOD-PST-(3NH+I)

'I had to quit my studies because elder brother stopped sending money.

1.3.7   Purpose clauses

The adverbial clauses of purpose typically use the different types of bare infinitival verb forms, as exemplified below:

(19) rakesh kitab kin-ə   bazar   ge-l
     Rakesh   book buy-INF bazar   go-PST (3NH)
     'Rakesh went to bazar to buy a book.'

1.3.8 Converb clause and its types

The converb is one of the characteristic devices for linking sequences of clauses to the host clause in Maithili. The converb in Maithili is a linguistically valid category (Yadava, 2005; Mahato, 2009).

There are two types of   Maithili converb clauses: sequential and simultaneous.

1.3.8.1 Sequential converb clause

A sequential converbal clause is normally joined to the left of the matrix clause in Maithili. The sequential converbal marker in Maithili is -ka/-ke, which follows the verb stem.

(20) Snaan ka ka/ke   o   khaa-it   ch-aith
     Bath   having done he   eat-Hab   Aux-Pr.3 (H)
     'Having taken bath, he eats.'
                    [Jha 971:74 cited in Yadava, 2005:444]

The equi-subject of the embedded clause is deleted. The action as denoted by the embedded clause is considered to happen a bit earlier than the embedding clause. In (20) the doer is supposed to take bath first and only then he eats.

1.3.8.2 Simultaneous converb clause

The simultaneous or progressive converbal clause encoded 'simultaneity', i.e. the activity overlapping with the activity

encoded in the matrix clause. Maithili uses repeated verb forms marked with the progressive aspect -əit, The simultaneous converb clause is marked with -it. They are exemplified in (21).

(21) o   bhat   kha-it   kha-it   məir ge-lah
     he (H) rice   eat-IMPERF eat IMPERF die go-PST (3H)
     'He died while eating rice.'

The equi-subject *o* is deleted in the embedded clause *bhat kha-it kha-it* in (21). Both works of embedded and embedding clauses are to be performed simultaneously.

The aspect of the embedding clause may not affect the aspect of the embedded clause, as the latter is always considered to be in the progressive aspect.

1.4 Conclusion

To sum up, the adverbial clauses in Maithili tend to have the same-subject as their main clause. In addition to this referential coherence (Givon, 2001; Yadava, 2005), they also have temporal coherence with their main clauses; i.e. they tend to exhibit a rigid temporal-aspectual relation vis-a-vis their main clauses.

References

Givon T. 2001. *Syntax: An Introduction.* Vol. II. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Jha, G. 1971. *Uccattar Maithili vyaakaran* (Advanced Maithili grammar). Patna: Maithili Saahitya Academy.

Mahato, Dinanath. 2009. 'Subordination in English and Maithili: A Contrastive Study'. M.A Thesis. Central Department of English. TU.

Masica, C. P. 1976. *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morpho-syntax: A guide for field linguists.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yadav, Ramawatar. 1996. *A Reference Grammar of Maithili.* Berlin/NewYork: Mouton de Gruyter.

Yadava, Yogendra P. 2005. 'Sequential converbal constructions in Nepali, Hindi and Maithili'. In *Contemporary issues in Nepalese linguistcs.* Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal.

LINGUISTIC HERITAGE IN NEPAL

Subhadra Subba Dahal

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen

This is the 30th annual conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal and to be holding 30 conferences in unbroken succession is not an easy job to do. My compliments are to LSN for the great job.

The first conference of LSN was held in 1980 and I happened to address the conference as the vice chairman of the society since the first chairman, Prof. K.P. Malla was away to America. The theme of my address was language right in Nepal, most probably the denial of this right. I was caught up with some terms like language right and other ideas. Over the years, I have mellowed and I have come to understand things more clearly. Today, personally, I think, we need to sort out our priorities.

Over the passage of three decades we are still standing at the same place. We have not been able to come out of 'poverty and squalor'. We still live in illusion of सुख, शान्ती र प्रगति which we have not seen yet. We are still denied access to our basic needs. What do we need, language right? Or right to live, right to survive and sustain or right to access to a descent life? There are still questions. I do not need answers, but let us be honest to view things in correct perspectives.

Today, the LSN and its members and all fraternity fellows have before us a heritage of linguistics. This linguistic heritage was built in our life time; we did not inherit it from our proceeding peers or from historical past.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the work of all those individual scholars who have been 'the pointer' to this heritage.

I fondly and gratefully like to mention the names of Brian Hodgson for his interest in Nepalese studies, G.A. Grierson for his linguistic Survey of India which includes a volume on the languages of Nepal, R.L. Turner for his monumental Etymological Dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages and the Dictionary of Nepali, Prof. G. Tucci who undertook his two scientific expeditions in western Nepal during 1930s and discovered the Khasa Kingdom of Mallas. I am referring to these reports and the book on the Mallas because they carry resourceful socio-cultural on Western Nepal. He discovered a few stone inscriptions and he reconstructed a glorious history, hitherto dormant, out of them. The Dullu inscription carrying the chronology of Malla Kings was dated 1354 A.D. It is interesting to know the languages used in those inscriptions. Most of the inscriptions began with invocations to God, interestingly not ॐ श्री गणेशायः नमहः but ॐ मणि पद्मे हुम in Tibetan script followed by text in Sanskrit and Sinjali. Personally, the reports of the expeditions and the book enthrathed me. Geographically the Malla Kingdom included the present Garhwal and Kumao of Himanchal Pradesh of India which removes some linguistic confusion created over many western dialects of Nepali. In fact, the whole western region of western Nepal and Garhwal and Kumao are socio-culturally and linguistically a liquid zone, an imaginary political border line divides the area into two political zones, but still a strong linguistic cultural continuum exists in this area. If seen from historical linguistic view, many divergences developed after the political division yet cultural convergence is strong.

Let me continue with the names. There have been native traditional grammarians in language like Nepali, Newar,

Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Their works deserve acknowledgement.

When Tribhuvan University opened or the Royal Nepal Academy was installed, they certainly accomplished some work in language studies. Institute for Nepal and Asian Studies, present CNAS initiated social science researches in linguistics, history, culture and anthropology. But the real founding of linguistic heritage was done by the Summer School of Linguistics. When a number dedicated linguists worked on many lesser known languages of Nepal. Descriptions of many languages were published. SIL guided and trained many scholars and their work remains most abiding for this linguistic heritage building. Some names of the dedicated scholars cannot be forgotten like Dr. Hale, Grovers, Coughley, Watters (Sr and Jr both), Maria Hari and Toba and many more, I regret my loss of memory of other great names.

I like to mention the name of a German scholar here. He is Prof. Bernard Kolver who initiated the linguistic survey of Eastern Nepal and who introduced the cultural heritage of Kathmandu valley to outsiders. He was an Indologist and yet his interest in the studies of language, culture and old manuscripts of Nepal had been his labour of genuine love for Nepal.

The Royal Nepal Academy included native linguists as its members, like Bal Krishna Pokharel, C.M. Bandhu, Yogendra Yadava and Bairagi Kainla who made solid contributions to linguistic studies of Nepal in their capacity as members.

And when native linguists returned from outside after their studies like K.P. Malla, B.M. Dahal, C.M. Bandhu, T.R. Kansakar, they launched their efforts by applying their expertise to give new orientations to language departments like English and Nepali. They introduced several small scale

projects on studies of several lesser known language of Nepal and study of English as a Second Language. The small scale project reports, although without linguistic sophistication, have been invaluable store house of linguistic information. Their new orientations to language department building introduced new attraction and new approaches to language studies.

In 1979 linguistic society was formed subsequently enough trained fresh linguists like Ramavatar Yadav, Shisir Sthapit, Abhi Subedi, Madhav Pokharel, Jaya Raj Awasthi, Yogendra Yadava, Sundar Krishna Joshi, Novel Kishor Rai, Govinda Raj Bhattarai, Nirmal Man Tuladhar rallied forth with the old ones to build a solidarity group of linguists. And when the linguistic department opened in 1996, under able leadership of C.M. Bandhu, Yogendra P Yadava, and T.R. Kansakar a strong linguistic faculty was built and they have groomed and trained, confident, energetic and hardworking new linguists. These new linguists have their own visions, perhaps more insightful, perhaps much broader, perhaps arrogant also. Yet they want to do something. I like young arrogance because it often, points at old mistakes, let us tolerate it, but if it continues it turns into prejudice which we must avoid. We have retired yet we are still a part of this linguistic heritage solidarity. We all should be proud that we built it in our life time, however, we should always be careful that how best we all can work together in order to consolidate it, protect it so that future generations will look back and remember our work fondly and gratefully, as all of us are doing now. Allow me now to acknowledge my humble tribute to the above mentioned scholars and scholar linguists for the work they have done for this linguistic heritage building.

Now, I wish to refer to some theoretical aspects regarding our present language problems.

My first concern is how is the new constitution going to treat our language? Finding it relevant to our situation, I like to refer to what Joshua A. Fishman, Jyotirindra Das Gupta and Heinzkloss write about similar situations like what we are facing now.

Joshua A. Fishman in his essay on 'Nationality, Nationalism and Nation-Nationalism' says that the relationship of language and nationalism is a central question for all those concerned with language problems of the developing nations.

Nationalilsm is the result of socio-cultural integration in a nation. At the socio-cultural level, it is the transition between ethnic group and nationality. To arrive at this stage of group or ethnic identity is to arrive at acceptance of a common identify that is to accept a common nationality. Nationalism is awareness, an idolized transformation from group behaviour to a common sense of togetherness or to own a sense of belonging to each other. Fishman further says sometimes nationalism crosses political geographic border. Political geographic boundary does not constrain the spread of nationalism. It is socio-cultural integration of giving awareness to a sense of belonging to one common identity, wherever you are, may be outside your own country.

Fishman explains situation of nationalism. In this case, political boundaries are most salient and most efforts are made towards maintaining or strengthening it regardless of socio-cultural character of the population, whenever political geographic momentum and consolidation are paid more attention than socio-cultural momentum and consolidation we might prefer a term nationism or political integration whenever the boundaries of a nation is more ideolised than that of the nationality, it is nationism but then may also begin to find pressure building up for authentic socio-cultural unification or integration at some time or stage.

For buildings up of nationalism some sort of building up symbols simultaneously emerge like a national language, a national anthem, a national flag, a national costume etc. If nationalism also consequently works toward a socio-cultural unification, then some binding symbols are needed. There comes the need for a national language, its maintenance, reinforcement and enrichment at the same time other languages need careful treatment for education, administration and media use.

Functions of a national language and other languages must be recognized, clear and just a language policy and its honest implementation is needed.

Fisherman concludes that at some point or stage, all languages chosen for education, administration and media must face the need for technology and one must realize technology has no ethnicity; it is uniformized throughout the world. And diglossia needs to be identified so that mistake could be avoided in regarding it as a different language.

Jyotirindra Das Gupta presents two situations that may cause language as well as socio-cultural issues. Most nations (clearly Nepal) are based on a plurality of segmental groups. More often feelings of attachment of segmental groups is stronger that their attachment with the nation. This segmental attachment is sometimes referred to as primordial attachment.

This dichotomy between primordially to civility can be explained as group loyalty or civic loyalty to the nation.

This social cleavage is ultimately threatening to nationalism, working towards disintegration of a nation. This dichotomy and this phenomenon do seem to be emerging speedity in present Nepal.

Lastly Heinz Kloss presents language nation typology of new nations after several countries of South East Asia and Africa became independent nations from the British Empire.

Although, finding his typology interesting, we may reject his typology in Nepal, even hypothetically on the ground that Nepal has never been under any foreign domination that is under British Empire. But his basic definitions like Nation State, Multination, State, endoglossic and exoglossic states. Exoglossic are those countries which have adopted non-indigenous languages as national official languages. And endoglossic states are those which have made their own native languages as their national official language.

Nepal is a multiethnic and multilingual country. Even Prithivi Narayan Shah who founded Nepal State had recognized the fact by his statement that 'नेपाल चार जात छत्तीस वर्णको देश हो।' and 'वडा दुःखले अर्ज्याको देशलाई' meaning he earned this nationalhood not easily but by great hardship. Should we let it go? Would we do that? At least this kind of fraternity of people like ours (linguistic fraternity) would not let it happen.

Roles of languages should be sorted out. There are some theoretical measures by which we select a national language for the solidarity of our nationalism and as a symbol of this nationalism. We surely wish to remain endoglossic state by selecting one of our indigenous languages as our symbol of national identity and solidarity. That any indigenous language could be selected if it qualifies the following criteria.

a. It should have a long history of its authenticity and autonomy.
b. It should have a long written heritage of literature and written documents.
c. It should enjoy a large social credibility of its use, acceptance and preference over a large part of the country

and outside the country where its people have spread over.

I hope all are interested in the selection of one national language ad other languages for their roles as language of education, official and media use. In order to do the selection job, we must honestly give up the following:
a. ethnic prejudice
b. language prejudice
c. political party prejudice

And our goal should be:
a. socio-cultural integration
b. to regard civic loyalty higher than group loyalty
c. to promote indigenous languages
d. and adopt technology for development which has no ethnicity and nor does it suffer from language prejudice.

Lastly, we all know that there is a difference between what we desire and what we see happening around. Yet I believe, although absolute socio-cultural integration is not possible but it could be achieved to a large degree if rulers give us:
a. good governance
b. social justice
c. and room for healthy exercise of civic rights and duties

Let us all hope for a constitution to be written by those individuals who regard socio-cultural linguistic diversity of Nepal as more abiding factors than political ones and work aiming at fostering a strong unity in this diversity.

I wish good luck to all of us. Thank you all once again for inviting me for this speech. I take leave with a final note that we linguists have a duty to our country in sorting out correct priorities. And, at critical time like now, we could measure

national interest as higher than our other interest. Let us not allow language factor to be used for politics.

[Keynote address: 30th LSN Conference, 26th Nov 2009]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Govinda Raj Bhattarai
tu.govinda@gmail.com

Chief Guest, Dr. Kamal Krishna Joshi, Chairman, University Grants Commission; Keynote Speaker, Dr. Subhadra Subba; Chief Editor Prof. Jai Raj Awasthi; Distinguished guests; presenters and participants from home and abroad; and LSN colleagues, media persons, ladies and gentlemen.

I remember my first entry into this institution as a student member during its inception in 1976. Today, after three decades, I feel a great pleasure and regard it as a matter of great honor to speak to this august gathering of scholars, linguists, researchers and a host of aspiring young people as a President of LSN. Such gatherings made regularly for the last three decades have nurtured a rich 'linguistics culture' in Nepal and this has also drawn the attention of different scholars and institutions in the world. We have achieved this through presentations, discussions, and shared ideas and opinions.

Today, I would like to record the names of some pioneers and eminent linguists like Prof. KP Malla, Prof. TR Kansakar, Prof. Ballabh Mani Dahal, Prof. CM Bandhu, Prof. Shishir K. Sthapit, Prof. Ramawatar Yadav, Prof. Abhi Subedi, Dr. Subhadra Subba, Prof. Shanti Basnyat, Prof. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, Dr. Sundar Krishna Joshi and many others who have made a substantial contribution in laying the foundation of this discipline whereas, the following generation torch bearers are, among others, Prof. YP Yadava, Prof. CP Sharma, Prof. MP Pokhrel, Prof. Novel Kishor Rai and Prof. JR Awasthi. They are the leaders followed and supported by innumerable young generation enthusiasts students and researchers alike. Consequently, Linguistic Society of Nepal, which is underpinned by the Central

Department of Linguistics, Department of English Education, Central Department of English, as well as Central Department of Nepali, to a large extent, has developed itself into an incomparable pioneering center of learning and research in Nepal. A host of young academicians are involved in learning about their own native tongues and in exploring the wide horizon of the linguistic diversity of Nepal. Started by a small group of linguists 29 years ago, the Society has expanded its family now with about three hundred life members, across the geographical, linguistic and topical borders.

Obviously, LSN is the oldest of organizations in Nepal that has survived innumerable obstacles-- even wars, insurgencies, emergencies and many hindrances, political and economic, that has maintained its vibrancy throughout the years that is growing richer and stronger everyday. No other discipline in Nepal has experienced such a rigorous journey and growth in its content and form. The LSN survived everything as it remained ever an apolitical organization-- a forum dedicated solely to the promotion of academic activities--- study and research in linguistics.

As a result, linguistic discourse in Nepal has crossed all its traditional boundaries. During the early days, the papers included topics as *English vowels and consonants* or *syntax and morphology*. Today, at the other point of time, our young linguists are contemplating the application of computational linguistics in many indigenous languages. We have, for instance, papers like *Maintenance of Nepali among Nepali Children in Oregon, A Documentary of the Baram Language and its People, Case marker in Sherpa, genitive in Limbu, LinSuN initiatives, the Raji dialects, A componential analysis of basic Nepal nouns, Linguistic analysis of English-Arabic translation English lexical borrowings in Kashmiri* and so on. We have traversed a long way from structural to

computational, from lithographic machines to high-tech equipments. Over the years, Linguistic Society has played a leading role in creating this atmosphere; even the Central Department of Linguistics owes to it. These together have created awareness in our student-researchers and many projects are being carried out which aim at the preservation, protection and promotion of indigenous languages of Nepal. Many papers in this conference are the outcomes of the rich experience drawn from the field works. Such a linguistic and cultural awareness among the people has also strongly supported Nepal's political move towards *loktantra*. It is the right to language and culture of the marginal and deprived section that has commanded the highest attention at this hour. At the same time we are compelled to think over and practice the application of IT in our activities like language study, planning, documentation and machine translation.

At this moment I would like to remind the august gathering of some issues that have been raised time and again. These help LSN drive further and widen its scope in the new challenging perspectives. These are:
- Materializing the Linguistic Survey of Nepal.
- The establishing Language Academy for which the linguistic communities have shown their serious concern time and again is very urgent call of time.
- The development of Nepali as a second language curriculum with the widely expanding Nepali diaspora and the different linguistic groups of the nation in mind needs accelerating.
- The promotion of linguistic and cultural harmony is a must because language is ultimately only a means that functions in society, and the study and researches related to language are not merely theoretical subjects of discussion and debates, rights and duties, they should be utilized as powerful instruments for nurturing and strengthening social harmony as well.
- We have to make the government realize that LSN is a forum of expertise required to preserve and promote different

languages as such they have to be invited to design courses. and materials for mother tongue education as envisaged by the government.
- One of the most effective means of preserving languages and promoting an existence among each other is through translation. We need more expertise in translation so it is high time our Departments give high priority to activities related to translation studies course and research.

The editorial board consisting of Mr. Bhim Regmi, and Mr. Ganga Ram Gautam headed by Prof. Jai Raj Awasthi has produced a voluminous work, the regular issue of **the Journal of Linguistics** volume, the Board deserves special thanks for their untiring and meticulous work required to produce such a great treasure in a very short period of time.

I am thankful to my colleagues and Executive Members of LSN who have worked hard, incessantly nights and days, have spent their time, sometimes money and energy in making this mega event a success. It is difficult to survive without any resource in all voluntary basis. We are thankful to UGC, TU, NFDIN and Ratna Pustak Bhandar for their kind cooperation. We hope the government will recognize the contribution our predecessors have made in sustaining the LSN and will allocate some amount of annual fund towards its sustenance.

The presenters from home and abroad deserve our due thank, the contributors in the journal, the audience, the volunteers for making this success.

Thank you very much.

[Presidential address delivered at the 30th annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal]

LIST OF THE LIFE MEMBERS OF LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF
NEPAL

1. Honorary Members

Late Ralph L. Turner
Austin Hale
Balkrishna Pokharel
Bernard Kolver
Late Kenneth L. Pike
R.K. Sprigg
Werner Winter

2. Late Life Members

Ballabh Mani Dahal, CDN, Kirtipur.
Khadga Bahadur K.C., Sanothimi Campus, Bhaktapur.
Mohan P. Banskota, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Shambhu Acharya, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan.
Sushma Regmi, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Tika B. Karki, American Peace Corps, Kathmandu.
Harihar Raj Joshi, Kathmandu.

3. Life Members

Abhi Narayan Subedi <abhi@mail.com>.
Ajit Man Tamang, Nepal Tamang Ghedung, Kathmandu,
    <ajitman4@yahoo.com>.
Ambika Regmi, CDL, Kirtipur, <ambikaregmi@gmail.com>.
Amma Raj Joshi, CDE, Kirtipur.
Amrit Hyongen Tamang, Baneshwor, Kathmandu,
    <amrityonjan@yahoo.com>.
Anand Sharma, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Ananta Lal Bhandari, Gulmi.
Anjana Bhattarai, DEE Kirtipur.
Anju Giri, DEE Kirtipur.
Anuradha Sudharsan, India.
Anusuya Manandhar, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Arun Kumar Prasad, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
Austin Hale, Erli-Huebli, 8636 Wald (ZH), Switzerland,
    <austin_hale@sall.com>.

Baburam Adhikari, Manamohan Memorial College, Kathmandu.
Bag Devi Rai, Anamnagar, Kathmandu,
    <pakucha2002@yahoo.com>.
Baidaya Nath Mishra, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
Baidyanath Jha, R. R. Multiple Campus, Janakpur.
Bal Gopal Shrestha, CNAS, Kirtipur.
Bal Mukunda Bhandari, Department of English Education, Kirtipur,
    <bhandaribm@yahoo.com>.
Balaram Aryal, CIL, Kathmandu.
Balaram Prasain, CDL, Kirtipur, <prasain2003@yahoo.com>.
Balthasar Bickel, Max-Planck Institute, The Netherlands,
    <bickel@rz.uni-leipzig.de>.
Bed P. Giri, USA.
Beerendra Pandey, CDE, Kirtipur.
Begendra Subba, Dharampur, Jhapa, <begendra@yahoo.com>.
Bernhard Kolver, University of Kiel, Germany.
Bert van den Hoek, University of Leiden, The Netherlands.
Beverly Hartford, Indiana University, USA.
Bhabendra Bhandari, Madhumalla, Morang,
    <bhandaribb@yahoo.com>.
Bharat Kumar Bhattarai, CDN, Kirtipur.
Bharat Raj Neupane, Gramin Adarsha Campus, Kathmandu.
Bhesha Raj Shiwakoti, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Bhim Lal Gautam, CDL, Kirtipur, <bgautam2003@yahoo.com>.
Bhim Narayan Regmi, CDL, Kathmandu,
    <bhim_regmi@yahoo.com>.
Bhusan Prasad Shrestha, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Bhuvan Dhungana, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, Samakhusi, Kathmandu.
Bijay Kumar Rauniyar, CDE, Kirtipur,
    <bijayrauniyar@hotmail.com>.
Binay Jha, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Binda Lal Shah, Sanothimi Campus, Bhaktapur.
Binod Luitel, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.
Bir Bahadur Khadka, Maharanijhoda-7, Jhapa.
Bishnu Raj Pandey, CDE, Kirtipur.
Boyd Michailovsky, LACITO/CNRS, France,
    <boydm@vjf.cnrs.fr>.
Burkhard Schottendreyer, Spartado Aereo 100388, Columbia.

Carl Grove, SIL International.
Chandra Khadka, Madan Bhandari Memorial College, Kathmandu.
Chandra Devi Shakya, Lalitpur.
Chandra Prakash Sharma, CDE, Kirtipur.
Chandreshwar Mishra, DEE, Kirtipur.
Chuda Mani Bandhu, CDN, Kirtipur, <cmbandhu@yahoo.com>.
Colin S. Barron, Britain
Dan Raj Regmi, CDL, Kathmandu, <danraj_regmi@hotmail.com>.
Deepak Kumar Adhikari, Assam, India.
Dev Narayan Yadav, Patan Multiple Campus.
    <devnarayan_yadav@yahoo.com>.
Devi P. Gautam, CDN, Kirtipur.
Devi Prasad Sharma Gautam, CDE, Kirtipur.
Dhruba Ghimire, Saraswati Campus, GPOB 13914, Kathmandu,
    <sugdhi@enet.com.np>.
Dilendra Kumar Subba, Patan, Lalitpur.
Dilli Ram Bhandari, Surkhet.
Dip Karki, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.
Dubi Nanda Dhakal, CDL, Kirtipur, <dndhakal@yahoo.com>.
Durga P. Bhandari, Baneshwar, 4473033
Ganga Ram Gautam, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.
Ganga Ram Pant, CDL, Kirtipur.
Gautami Sharma, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Geeta Khadka, CDE, Kirtipur.
Gelu Sherpa, Baudha, Kathmandu, <g.sherpa@gmail.com>.
George van Driem, G. P.O. Box 991, Kathmandu,
    <george.van.driem@gmail.com>.
Goma Banjade, CPDP, Kirtipur, <gbanjade@yahoo.com>.
Gopal Thakur, Constitutional Assembly/, Kachornia-1, Bara,
    <gtbs@ntc.net.np>.
Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang, CNAS, Kirtipur,
    <govindatumbahang@yahoo.com>.
Govinda Raj Bhattarai, DEE, Kirtipur, <tu.govinda@gmail.com>.
Gunjeshwari Basyal, Palpa Campus, Tansen.
Hari Prasad Kafle, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.
Hemanga Raj Adhikari, Department of Nepali Education, Kirtipur.
Horst Brinkhaus, University of Kiel, Germany.
Hriseekesh Upadhyay, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Ian Alsop, Panipokhari, Kathmandu.

Ichha Purna Rai, CPDP, Kirtipur, <timma.rai@gmail.com>.
Indresh Thakur, Central Department of Linguistics, TU.
J.P. Cross, Pokhara.
Jai Raj Awasthi, DEE, Kirtipur, <jrawasthi@gmail.com>.
James J. Donelly, St. Xavier's School, Kathmandu.
Jivendra Deo Giri, Central Department of Nepali, TU.
John P. Ritchott, USA, Kathmandu.
Jyoti Tuladhar, Kathmandu.
Jyoti Pradhan, CDL, Kirtipur, <jyoti100np@yahoo.com>.
K.B. Maharjan, Bernhardt College, Balkhu.
K.V Subbarao, CDL, Delhi University, India.
Kalpana Pandey, c/o Beerendra Pandey.
Kamal Poudel, CDL, Bharatpur-9, Chitwan,
    <kpoudelnp@yahoo.com>.
Kamal Mani Dixit, Madan Puraskar Pustakalaya, Patan Dhoka,
    <kmldxt@wlink.com.np>.
Kamal Prakash Malla Maitidevi, <mallacorp@gmail.com>.
Karnakhar Khatiwada, CDL, Kirtipur,
    <karnakhatiwada@yahoo.com>.
Kedar Bilash Nagila, CDL, Kirtipur, <kedarnagila@yahoo.com>.
Kedar Prasad Poudel, Mahendra Campus, Dharan,
    <kedarpdpoudel@yahoo.com>.
Keshab Gautam, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Keshar Mohan Bhattarai, Chabahil, Kathmandu.
Khagendra K.C., Patan Multiple Campus, Patan.
Khagendra Prasad Luitel, CDN, Kirtipur.
Kishor Rai, GPOB 10866, Kathmandu, <raikishor@hotmail.com>.
Komal Thoklihang, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Krishna Pradhan, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Krishna Paudel, Amalachaur-8, Baglung,
    <kpbinnyas_23@yahoo.com>.
Krishna Prasad Paudyal, Ratnanagar, Chitwan,
    <krishnapdyl@gmail.com>.
Krishna Chandra Sharma, CDE, Kirtipur.
Krishna Kumar Basnet, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Krishna Kumar Sah, CDL, Kirtipur.
Krishna P. Parajuli, CDL, Kirtipur, <parajuli2025@yahoo.com>.
Krishna Prasad Chalise, CDL, Kirtipur, <krishna40e@yahoo.com>.
Kwang-Ju Cho, <kwangjucho@hotmail.com>.

Lal-Shyākarelu Rapacha, Research Institute of Kiratology,
    Kathmandu, <kiranti_rapachalal@yahoo.com>.
Larry L. Seaward,USA,Kathmandu.
Laxman Ghimire, Greenfield National College, Kathmandu.
Laxmi Sharma, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Laxmi B. Maharjan, Central Department of English Education, TU.
Laxmi Prasad Khatiwada, Madan Puraskar Pustakalaya, Patan.
    Dhoka, <lkhatiwada@mpp.org.np>.
Lekhnath Khanal, Hillbird English School, Chitwan.
Lekhnath Sharma Pathak, CDL, Kirtipur,
    <lekhnathspathak@yahoo.com>.
Lok Bahadur Chhetri, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kathmandu.
M.S. Ningomba, Manipur University, Imphal, India.
Madhav P. Pokharel, CDL, Kirtipur, <madappokhrel@yahoo.com>.
Mahendra Jib Tuladhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Mahesh Kumar Chaudhari, Mahendra Bindeswory M. Campus,
    Rajbiraj.
Manfred G. Treu, CIL, Kathmandu.
Marshal Lewis, Indiana University, USA.
Martin W. Gaenszle, University of Heidelberg, South Asia Institute.
Maya Devi Manandhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
Mazaudon Martine, LACITO/CNRS, France.
Meena Karki, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.
Meera Shrestha, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.
Megha Raj Sharma, CIL, Kathmandu.
Mohan Sitaula, CIL, Kathmandu.
Mohan Himanshu Thapa, Balkhu, Kirtipur.
Mukunda Raj Pathik, CIL, Kathmandu.
N Pramodini, Department of Linguistics, University of Manipur,
    Imphal, India.
Nabin Khadka, Arun Valley Cultural Group, Kathmandu.
Nabin K. Singh, CDC, Sanothimi.
Nanda Kishor Sinha, Birgunj.
Nandish Adhikari, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan.
Narayan P. Gautam, CDN, Kirtipur.
Narayan P. Sharma, CDL, Kirtipur,
    <narayangautam_55@yahoo.com>.
Nayan Tara Amatya Amatya, R. R. Campus, Kathmandu.
Netra Sharma, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal, Kathmandu.

Netra Prasad Paudyal, CPDP, Kirtipur,
    <netrapaudyal@yahoo.com>.
Nirmal Man Tuladhar, CNAS, Kirtipur,
    <nirmal_tuladhar2006@yahoo.com>.
Nirmala Regmi, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Nishi Yoshio, College of Liberal Arts, University of Kyoto, Japan.
Nivedita Mishra, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Novel K. Rai, CNAS, Kirtipur, <drnovel4@yahoo.com>.
Omkareswor Shrestha, Central Department of Nepalbhasa, Patan,
    <omkareshwors@yahoo.com.in >.
Padma P. Devakota,Maitidevi, Kathmandu.
Parshuram Paudyal, CIL, Kathmandu.
Peshal Bastola, CDL, Kirtipur.
Phanindra Upadhyay, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Philip Pierce, Nepal Research Center, Kathmandu.
Pradeep M. Tuladhar, Patan Campus, Patan.
Pramila Rai, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Prem B. Phyak, DEE, Kirtipur, pphyak@gmail.com.
Punya Prasad Acharya, Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
Puspa Karna, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal, Kathmandu.
Rajendra Thokar, Chandranigahapur-1, Rautahat,
    <raaj_062@yahoo.com>
Rajendra P. Bhandari, Department of English, Kirtipur.
Ram Ashish Giri, Melborne, Kirtipur.
Ram Bikram Sijapati, Patan Multple Campus, Patan.
Ram Hari Lamsal, Saraswati Multiple Campus, Kathmandu.
Ram Prasad Dahal, Kanya Campus, Dillibazar, Kathmandu.
Ram Raj Lohani, CDL, Kirtipur, <ramlohani@gmail.com>.
Ram Nath Khanal, IOE, Pulchowk, Kathmandu.
Ramawatar Yadav, Purwanchal University,
    <ramyadav992@hotmail.com>.
Ramchandra Lamsal, Dept. Nepali Education, Kirtipur.
Ramesh Khatri, Central Dept of linguistics, Kirtipur.
Rameshwar P. Adhikari, Baneshwar, Kathmandu.
Ramhari Timalsina, CDL, Kirtipur.
Rasmi Adhikari, Manmohan Memorial College, Sorakhutte,
    Kthmandu.
Richard R. Smith, United Mission to Nepal, Kathmandu.
Rishi Rijal, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal.

Ronald Bielmeier, University of Berne, Switzerland.
Ross C. Caughly, Australian National University, Canberra,
    <ross_caughley@sil.org >.
Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, Lalitpur.
Rupa Joshi, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Sajag S. Rana, CDE, Kirtipur.
Sangita Rayamajhi, CDE, Kirtipur.
Sanjeev K. Uprety, CDE, Kirtipur.
Sashidhar Khanal, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu,
    <sashidhar7@hotmail.com>.
Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Calcutta University, India.
Shailendra Kumar Singh, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Shanti Basnyat, DEE, Kirtipur.
Shree Krishna Yadav, Kathmandu.
Shreedhar P. Lohani, Maitidevi, Kathmandu.
Shushila Singh, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Siddhi Laxmi Baidya, CIL, Kathmandu.
Silu Ghimire, P. K. Campus, Kathmandu.
Simon Gautam, Bhaktapur Campus, Bhaktapur.
Shishir Kumar Sthapit, Baneshwar.
Shova K. Mahato, Central Department of Linguistics, TU.
Shova Lal Yadav, <relative_nepal@yahoo.com>.
Stephen Watters, CDL, Kirtipur, <steve_watters@sil.org>.
Subhadra Subba, Kirtipur.
Sueyoshi Toba, G. P.O. Box 991, Kathmandu, <si_toba@sil.org>.
Sulochana Dhital, CIL, Kathmandu.
Sulochana Sapkota (Bhusal), CDL, Kirtipur,
    <sapkota_sulochana@hotmail.com>.
Sundar K. Joshi, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan.
Suren Sapkota, CDL, Kirtipur.
Swayam Prakash Sharma, Mahendra Campus, Dharan.
Tanka Prasad Neupane, Mahendra Campus, Dharan.
Tej Ratna Kansakar, Kathmandu, <tejk@mail.com.np>.
Tek Mani Karki, Kathmandu, Tahachal, Kathmandu.
Tika P. Sharma, Mahendra Ratna Campus, Tahachal, Kathmandu.
Tika P. Uprety, Devkota Memorial School, Biratnagar-2.
Tika Ram Paudel, P.N. Campus, Pokhara, <trpoudel@hotmail.com>
Tila Bikram Nembang, Nepal Academy, Kathmandu.
Tsetan Chonjore, University of Wisconsin Program, Nepal.

Tulsi P. Bhattarai, Kathmandu.
Toya Nath Bhatta, Maryland College, Kathmandu.
Ulrike Kolver, Germany.
Usha Adhikari, Institute of Engineering, Pulchok, Kathmandu.
Uttam Bajgain, Baneswor, Kathmandu, <upb2062@yahoo.com>.
Uma Shrestha, Western Oregon University, USA.
Vishnu Prasad Singh Rai, Department of English Education,
    Kirtipur, <vpsrai@yahoo.com>.
Viswanath Bhandari, Patan Multiple Campus, Patan
Werner Winter, Germany.
Yogendra P. Yadava, CDL, Kirtipur, <ypyadava@gmail.com>.

Abbreviations used in this list

CDE Central Department of English
CDL Central Department of Linguistics
CDN Central Department of Nepali
CIL Campus of International Languages
CPDP Chintang and Puma Documentation Project
DEE Department of English Education

Note: We have tried our best to update the list of the life members
    of Linguistic Society of Nepal (LSN). We would be grateful
    to your kind help for further updates.