

SOME ASPECTS OF  
HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES



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J.C. SHARMA



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDY  
Rashtrapati Nivas, Shimla-171005

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# Introduction

**J.C. SHARMA**

This volume is the product of the 13th Himalayan Languages Symposium, organized at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, from 22 to 24 October 2007. Prof L.M. Khubchandani, an eminent sociolinguist of the country, was the Keynote Speaker and scholars from various countries like Japan, U.S.A, Netherland, Nepal and India, working on Himalayan languages, participated in this symposium that saw presentation of 33 papers, of which 19 papers are being published in this volume.

The volume begins with the paper of Prof. Khubchandani, which elaborates the multiplicity of languages in India including Himachal that lies in Western Himalayas where languages of two language families are spoken and forms a good area of language convergence study. He stressed on the multiple linguistic identity of an individual in modern Indian society due to cross-cultural settings and spread of education. Under such circumstances, it becomes imperative to question the sanctity of language purity. He also stressed usefulness of speech profiles of different language groups and examined the patterns of language use in intimate and formal domains. He illustrated his points of view with lots of demographic details. He also mentioned about India as a linguistic area identified in 1956 by Emeneau, a noted linguist, and India as a sociolinguistic area identified in 1972 by Prof. P.B. Pandit, an eminent linguist. Prof. Khubchandani in 1993 also described the entire Indian sub-continent as sociolinguistic area focusing on the symbiotic networks evolved among language groups

belonging to more than one family—a typical feature of Indian communication ethos, of animals and ancestral order.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 deal with phonological aspect of Chhatthare Limbu, Kangri and some glimpse of Kurtöp Morphophonemics. Govind Bahadur Tumbahang, in “Vowel Length Deletion in Chhatthare Limbu”, has stated that there was no vowel length in the language which developed later. In the beginning, Chhatthare Limbu had no vowel length contrast and it became phonemic after the deletion of the final consonant of a geminate. Later, with the development of voiced stops /b/ and /g/ as independent phonemes, the vowel length disappeared. Robert D. Eaton, in his paper “Representing Kangri Tones”, has tried to represent two tones, that is two phonemes with one grapheme in Kangri. He has given different models of tones and a good review of earlier studies on tone with respect to Kangri. He has shown through the analysis that the tones are in complementary distribution at the graphemic level. This insight simplifies the orthographic inventory and suggests a specific orthographic convention which has been discussed in this paper. In Chapter 4, Gwendolyn Hyslop gives an account of phonological alternations in Kurtöp, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Bhutan. This article has described alternations in verbal stems to a great extent. She has given the limitation of her paper as some affixes have not been dealt with as not all the processes underlying Kurtöp morphophonology have been examined. More investigation of these processes can yield some interesting results especially in the direction of historical sound changes in the language.

A good number of papers are devoted to morphology, syntax and typology. To draw a line between these sometimes become difficult. Chapters 5 to 16 deal with these areas. Ambika Regmi’s paper on “Case Marking in Kaike” shows a case of syncretism of a Bodish language in contact with Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language. In Chapter 6, Hiroyuki Suzuki, while dealing with Tibetan numerals, tries to give linguistic description of special cardinal numerals in some Tibetan dialects and compares it with the written Tibetan. This paper

aims to introduce the special cardinal numeral forms from ‘one’ to ‘hundred’ in multiple dialects spoken in three areas: (a) Songpan-Jiuzhaigou area, (b) Danbar Gyalrong area, and (c) Shangri-La area. Chapter 7 is Dan Raj Regmi’s paper “Tense and Aspect in Bhujel” which is also a Tibeto Burman language spoken in Nepal and explains how tense and aspects are differentiated in Bhujel. It is stated that Bhujel tense, aspect and modality (TAM) form a single complex category. It is discussed how tense and aspect interact with each other so intensively in linguistic expression that sometimes it may be impossible to analyse one without another. A single affix may encode information from more than one of the domain of tense-aspect or tense-modality. A verb in Bhujel may inflect for five subcategories as further elaboration of two main aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective: past-perfective, perfect, completive, durative and habitual.

The author has shown that Bhujel verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past and past. The past tense distinguishes two degrees of distance: recent past and remote past. This paper is very interesting as it presents a good theoretical background on this topic along with analysis. In Chapter 8, Sabitri Thapa discusses gender system of Tamang and Nepali at morphological as well as syntactic level. She explains different markings for masculine and feminine at lexical level and at syntactic level. Genitive marker does not reflect the gender of the possessed noun in Tamang which is there in Nepali. She did point out the influence of Nepali on Tamang, a Tibeto Burman language. In Chapter 9, Kedar Prasad Poudel, in his paper on moods in Dhankute Tamang, describes various kinds of moods in this Tibeto Burman language. The paper is in a descriptive mode and describes five distinctive moods: indicative, imperative, hortative, optative and irrealis in Dhankute Tamang. It contains two distinctive uses: epistemic and deontic. Epistemic uses deal with the speaker’s knowledge of situation. Possibility, deduction and prediction can be expressed by using modals:  $\kappa\eta\alpha\mu$ – $\lambda\alpha$  and  $\tau\omicron$ – $\lambda\alpha$ . Deontic uses refer to the permission, prohibition and

obligation. Dhankute Tamang is productive in mood and rich in modality as shown in this description.

In Chapter 10, Bhabendra Bhandari deals with “Causation in Danuwar” and gives an introduction of Danuwar in its sociolinguistic setting, while mentioning the lexical causatives in Danuwar as a causation process. <a> serves as a causativizer to the verb stem like Nepali. Syntactic causation is another process of causation. According to the author, it shows the influence of Nepali, Tharu, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Hindi. In the hilly region, some influence of Tibeto-Burman languages can also be observed. The author has explained transitivity and also pointed out that a causative is a transitive verb but the syntactic area of a causative and a transitive verb may not always be a causative verb. It shows lexical, morphological and syntactic causation and all these have been demonstrated with ample examples from the language. In Chapter 11, Dubi Nandan Dhakal focuses on Genitive (Nominal) Agreement in Darai, an Indo-Aryan language, as to how it deals with morphological markings as well as its use at phrase and clause level. The paper points out its peculiarities which are quite distinct within Indo-Aryan languages. In Chapter 12, J.C. Sharma and Anil Thakur, in their paper, discuss the grammatical agreement pattern in two western Pahari languages, namely Outer Siraji and Sirmauri, both spoken in Himachal Pradesh (India). Sirmauri agreement rules are very distinct as this language has gender number agreement not only in genitive, like many Indo-Aryan languages but locative and ablative postpositions also show gender number agreement. Sirmauri has stronger ergativity than other western Pahari languages. Outer Siraji is also unique in western Pahari group as it has SVO order. Both languages show gender-number or person-number agreement in the forms showing agreement.

Anish Kosy, in Chapter 13, deals with Pronominal Clitics in Pnar and Khasi, both from Mon Khmer group of languages. Anish Koshy has taken two languages, Pnar (Jaintia) and Khasi from Mon-Khmer group for the analysis of pronominal clitics. Khasi has only proclitics, while Pnar has a large class of nominals

defined by the proclitic [i-]. He concludes that the pronominal as clitics suggest that these languages are polysynthetic and not isolating, thus bringing them closer to the other Austro-Asiatic languages of the country. There was a discussion that there are many Munda languages sharing this phenomena. Not such work is available on such minor languages. It is a very detailed paper which gives lots of references on the works done on these languages. In Chapter 14, Kazuyuki Kiryu deals with Negation with the data from Newari language spoken in Nepal. He presents Newari with conjunct and disjunct states and compared the negative with Chinese, Thai, Japanese, English, etc. It is a typological study on negation. He finds five meanings of negative attained situations. It is a functional-based analysis to deal with concepts.

There are two papers from the field of semantics and pragmatics. Narayan P. Sharma, in Chapter 15, on "Spatial Deixis in Puma" is trying to encode space in Puma. He has described various kinds of situations like distance, geometric dimensions, a region, a referent, etc. Deixis persons are divided into speech participant and non-speech participant. Demonstrative pronoun (non speech participant) refers to a person either proximate or in distance location.

In Chapter 16, Vishnu S. Rai deals with the semantics of 'cut' in Puma. He lists 16 different meanings of 'cut' in Puma based on the object cut, instrument used and manner, etc. He analyses the meaning of 'cut' using instrument, manner, outcome, object and so on. It proves Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

Three papers fall in the area of Discourse Analysis and Folklore. In Chapter 17, on Oral Tradition of Karkha singers of Nepal, Dr Bandhu states that Karkha is a song composed in memory of some feat or person. Gandarva is a respected name for singers who sing devotional songs like Mangal, Nirguns and Sakthis. He categorizes Karkha songs: i) karkha related to fighters such as Balbhadra, Amar Singh; ii) karkha on the kings and queens; iii) karkha on ordinary people such as Bal Thapa. Some of the famous Karkhas are: *Danghe ra Murali*, *Lahureko Sandesh*, etc. Shree K. Rai and others in Chapter

18 presents a study of *Hopomachham* and ordinary songs in Puma. This paper presents a case study of a ritual song. *Hopmachham* and other ordinary songs found in *Puma Rai* community are different in many respects. The *Hopmachham* gives more focus on the historical event, especially mythology which is not found in the ordinary songs. The ordinary songs are focused on the musicality only but the *Hompmachham* is rather focused on both musicality and the content. The content is strong which is based in the *Mundum* philosophy. So, this paper attempts to draw the typical characteristics of the *Hopmachham* and the ordinary songs which are sung in the Puma community. The *Hopmachham* is sung only by shamans to a large extent and knowledgeable elders to a certain extent. So singers of the *Hompmachham* are found in few numbers in the *Puma Rai* community. On the contrary, the ordinary songs are sung by everybody irrespective generation, age, sex, etc. in the Puma language. It analyses the different aspects like setting, place, status of singer, etc. of both kinds of songs. This paper gives an account of one cultural aspect of Puma in detail and also stresses the need for documenting folk music and songs of Puma tribe before it gets lost. In Chapter 19, Ron Ahlebrecht tried to show how grammatical structures play role in the narrative discourse of Gojri from the beginning to the climax and the end of the story. Gojri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by semi-nomads mainly in J&K. He has based his analysis mainly on two narratives which are already documented. He has mainly followed Longacker's model of discourse analysis. It is a very exhaustive study and can be an eye opener to take up such more studies. Pre and post-peak episodes are structurally similar entities. New characters and props are usually not introduced in pre or post-peak episodes. Peak episodes are characterized by an increased use of intensive compound perfective verbs, clause chains with more than one medial verb, tail-head linkage and other forms of repetition, along with the introduction of new participants and or props. Closure is often in the form of a thematic coda. It gives an evaluative summary of the story and often makes

the theme explicit. It conveys the message that in such manner, the central participant (protagonist) triumphed and the non-central participant (antagonist) went away defeated. The discourse studies are a good means to understand culture and mental make-up of a community.

Through this monograph, various aspects of 22 languages belonging to four language families, namely Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic and Japanese spoken in India, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and Japan are covered.

This volume has been possible with the help of fellow scholars who contributed these papers on different aspects of some Himalayan languages and the authorities of IIAS, Shimla. I am sorry that we could not accommodate all the papers in this volume due to some restrain. I am thankful to all and own full responsibility of any shortcomings.

# The Himalayan Range as a Language Convergence Area with Particular Focus on Himachal Pradesh

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

## 1.1 Introduction

The Himalayan mountain range is spread over 10 states in India, from Jammu and Kashmir in the north-west to Mizoram in the north-east, along with Nepal, Bhutan and the Tibetan region in China. The 2001 Census records nearly 37 million population in these 10 states, as enumerated in Table 1:

**Table 1:** Population of Indian States in the Himalayas: 2001

Jammu & Kashmir	10.0 million
Uttarakhand	8.5 million
Himachal Pradesh	6.1 million
Tripura	3.2 million
Meghalaya	2.3 million
Manipur	2.2 million
Nagaland	2.0 million
Arunachal Pradesh	1.1 million
Mizoram	0.9 million
Sikkim	0.5 million

The paper aims at providing a few glimpses of the socio-linguistic profile of communication patterns and issues of



language identity in the Himalayan Region. It takes a panoramic sweep of the Himalayan states in India, with particular focus on Himachal Pradesh. My first-hand experience of working with a few tribals over past two decades in Himachal Pradesh, and also in the North-East, particularly Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Manipur, has drawn my attention to a glaring phenomena of convergence between two language families—Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman.

India has been a laboratory of living with a plurilingual ethos since the ages. There are plural ways of understanding plurality. The Indian experience demonstrates that an understanding of plural societies will largely be guided by viewing language as a *synergic* network inspiring *trust* in cross-cultural settings, along with the complementarity of empowering the 'particular'. Varied processes of language convergence have emerged in different areas. Indian ethos is marked by an amalgamative approach to diversity in which liaison languages like Hindi and Tibetan play a significant role. This contact phenomenon gets manifested by transient adaptation processes such as an 'open-ended' transfer of words and phrases from other languages, called 'relaxification'. One such typical feature is an ongoing re-Sanskritization in different periods of history, with *tatsama* and *tadbhava* forms (Khubchandani 2003).

A noted linguist, Emeneau, dealing with the convergence phenomena among languages of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric families, has labelled India as a unique *linguistic area* (1956); Pandit (1972) and Khubchandani (1993) describe the entire Indian subcontinent as a *socio-linguistic area*, focusing on the symbiotic networks evolved among language groups belonging to more than one family—a typical feature of Indian communication ethos. The Indian subcontinent comprises many areas of convergence, such as the entire central belt extending from Madhya Pradesh to Andhra Pradesh and Orissa-Wset Bengal, particularly Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand, which traces the histories of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric languages co-existing and converging over the centuries (for

a detailed account of these processes in the context of tribal languages, cf. Reddy 2005).

Over one hundred tribal communities representing Tibeto-Burman languages cover the entire Himalayan Range. Though the Tibeto-Burman language family comprises mere 11 per cent of the total tribal population in the country, it is marked by exclusive domination of distinct linguistic groups in most parts of the North-East (along with Khasi, an Austric language). Traditionally, the area is characterized by the assertion of many small language groups, to the extent of even nurturing hostilities among one another, particularly in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. But in recent years, it is interesting to note that parallel efforts are being made to form new alliances among erstwhile hostile language groups in Nagaland. As an illustration, a new language acronym Zeliangrong has emerged in recent years by clustering tribes speaking *zemi* in Nagaland, *Liangmei* in Manipur and *Nruanghmei* (Rongmei) in Cachar district of Assam.

## 1.2 Himachal Landscape

Himachal Pradesh is the third largest state in the region. As per the 1991 Census, 88.9 per cent (about 4600 thousand) population claims Hindi, and 6 per cent (325 thousand) claim Punjabi. The state also has many Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman groups listed as 'Scheduled Tribes', comprising 4 per cent (250 thousand) of the state population. In addition, there are other smaller groups: Nepali: 47 thousand, Dogri: 39 thousand, and Kashmiri: 29 thousand, concentrating in urban and border areas.

Himachal Pradesh represents an exemplary case of Indian plurality where relationship of language and culture is interwoven in a unique manner among Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman groups. Indo-Aryan groups, claiming *particularist* identity of various Pahari vernaculars, display a pattern of 'fluid' complementation with Khariboli Hindi in formal domains such as in education, administration, mass media, etc. On the other hand, higher claims of subsidiary languages

among speakers of Tibeto-Burman groups reveal the tendency of 'egalitarian' bilingualism, leading to the convergence of Hindi, Kinnauri, Lahauli and Spiti.

Half of the population (nearly 3 million speakers) expresses a strong 'Pahari' mother tongue identity by reporting different vernaculars which are classified under the generic term 'Pahari' in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (1903-30). Populations reporting Pahari varieties as mother tongue in the 1991 Census are given below:

**Table 2:** Pahari Vernaculars in Himachal Pradesh: 1991

Pahari, unspecified	2,180 thousand
Mandeali	440 thousand
Kulvi	152 thousand
Chambeali	63 thousand
Churahi	45 thousand
Sandwari	38 thousand
Bharmauri	18 thousand
Pangwali	15 thousand
Sanori	12 thousand

Different elicitation and classification techniques of language data in the census can be explained through an analogy of the 'tip of an iceberg'. These devices help us getting insights of the fuzzy *grassroots* reality. Since 1971, Indian census tabulates all Pahari varieties of Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal (mainly Garhwali and Kumauni) under the 'rationalized' Hindi Amalgam.<sup>1</sup> Nepali (Gorkhali), another

<sup>1</sup> The 'rationalized' classification of Hindi amalgam makes a significant departure from the Grierson's classification of Hindi, Pahari, Rajasthani and Bihari languages, based on genealogical relationship; for a critical review see L.M. Khubchandani 1983, *Plural Languages Plural Cultures: Communication, Identity and Sociopolitical Change in Contemporary India* (Ch.5) "Plural Speech Communities", pp. 89-116), East-West Center Book, Univ. of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.

**Source materials:** Govt. of India, 1972, *Pocket Book of Population Statistics*, Census of India 1971, Census Centenary Publication,

variety of Pahari spoken in Sikkim and W. Bengal, is treated as an independent language; it has been included in the Eighth Schedule of Languages in the Constitution in 1992. Hindi 'proper', as mother tongue, is reported by approximately 1600 thousand, that is nearly 36 per cent, of the Hindi Amalgam.

### **1.3 Tribal Population**

Tribals belonging to Indo-Aryan group are concentrated in Chamba district (118 thousand), nearly 31 per cent of the district population: prominent among them are Gaddis, Gujjars and Pangwals. Indo-Aryan tribes are spread in small numbers in other seven districts as well: Kullu 11.4 thousand, Mandi 10.6 thousand, Bilaspur 9.2 thousand, Sirmaur 6 thousand, Shimla 4.1 thousand, Solan 2.4 thousand, and Kangra 1.6 thousand.

Most of the Indo-Aryan tribals speak a variety of Hindi: over 84 thousand (99%) Gaddis, 13 thousand (99%) Pangwals and 28.5 thousand (86%) Gujjars report Hindi as mother tongue. A minority of them, 2.4 thousand (27%) Gaddis and 3.7 thousand (11.3%) Gujjars, also claim Punjabi. A negligible number of Gaddis and Pangwals identify with Bhotia and Lahauli as well. Surprisingly, nearly 500 Gujjars register Khandeshi, an Indo-Aryan tribal vernacular from Maharashtra, as their mother tongue.

Two northern districts—Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti—are dominated by tribals with Tibeto-Burman ancestry: 56 thousand, constituting 75 per cent of the Kinnaur district population, belong to Kinnar Scheduled Tribe; 24 thousand, constituting 74 per cent of the Lahaul-Spiti district population, belong to Lahaul and Spiti tribes. Out of total 12 districts,

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Registrar Gen. of India, N. Delhi; R.C. Nigam 1972, *Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census 1971*, Census Centenary Monograph no. 10, Registrar Gen. of India, N. Delhi; A. Chandra Sekhar 1977, *Social and Cultural Tables: Census of India – 1971, Series 1, Pt. II-C (i)*, Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India, New Delhi; A.N. Mitra 1964, *Census of India 1961, Vol. I – India, Pt. II – C (ii)*, Govt. of India, Delhi.

remaining two districts at the foothills of Shivalik range—Hamirpur and Unna—have a negligible number of tribals.

As per 1991 language census, Kinnauri, a language classified under the Himalayan group of Tibeto-Burman family, is reported by 62 thousand in Himachal Pradesh. Other languages of the group in the state are: Kanashi, Jangaali, Rewati and Ban Bhasha. Outside Himachal Pradesh, other prominent languages of the group are Lepcha in Sikkim and West Bengal, along with Tamang, Rai, Mangari, Gurung, Newari, Toto, and extending to Nepal.

The Bhotia group of Tibeto-Burman family is represented by 22 thousand Lahauli, and 16 thousand Spiti speakers. Tibetan, claimed by 70 thousand speakers, and Bhot (Bhotia) by 56 thousand speakers, have emerged as pan-Himalayan languages. Other languages of the Group are Ladakhi and Balti in J&K; Dukpa (Dzongkha) in Bhutan and Sikkim; and Monpa, Jadd (Niyam) and Sherpa in the North-East.

Nearly 6 per cent (2.7 thousand) Kinnars in Himachal Pradesh claim Hindi, a negligible number (about 400) claim Urdu as mother tongue; and 5.3 per cent (1.3 thousand) Bhots also register Hindi as mother tongue.

Apart from the Himalayan and Bhotia groups, other prominent groups of Tibeto-Burman family, mostly prevalent in the North-East, are: Bodo, Naga, Kuki-Chin, NEFA, Burma, and Kachin. One significant socio-political feature to note is that major Tibeto-Burman languages in India, numbering over one hundred, belong to 'Scheduled Tribes' as per the provisions of the Indian Constitution. One major exception is of those speaking a Kuki-Chin language Manipuri. The Ninth Schedule of the Indian Constitution accords special privileges to the tribes listed for safeguarding their socio-economic and cultural development. On the other hand, Manipuri, the state language of Manipur, has been recognized in the Eighth Schedule as a 'national' language.

The number of Tibeto-Burman languages enumerated in the Indian census every decade varies between 105-115, as claimed by over one thousand speakers each. We do not

have complete record of those languages spoken by smaller populations as these are not counted in the census. This phenomena leads to several issues of *language identity* and *language communication* (details in Khubchandani, 1992, *Tribal Identity: A Language and Communication Perspective*. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, p. 37).

### 1.4 Language Contact

Himachal Pradesh presents an interesting landscape of language contact among Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman language groups. Literacy rate in the state has been pretty high —65.5 per cent in 2001. Himachal Pradesh can be characterized as a typical diglossia state where colourful language diversity is managed by using mother tongue (Pahari vernaculars, tribal and other minority languages) in informal/intimate situations and promoting Hindi for formal ‘high’ functions. Primary and secondary education is mostly imparted through Hindi. There are quite many ‘convent’ schools in towns conducting education though English medium from Class I. Even in Hindi medium schools, English, being a compulsory subject in school from the initial stage (introduced from Class I, II, or III), has acquired the position of a prominent subsidiary language.

Scanning multilingual profiles of five prominent language groups in the state, displayed in the 1991 *Language Atlas*, we get the following picture (Table 3):

**Table 3:** Profiles of Prominent Multilingual Groups: 1991

Kinnauri	62	60.3	47.4	12.9	Hindi: 37 thousand (60.3%) English: 8 thousand (12.9%)
Punjabi	325	60.1	34.9	25.2	Hindi: 187 thousand (60.1%) English: 80 thousand (25.2%)
Nepali	47	53.2	44.8	8.4	Hindi: 25 thousand (53.2%) English: 4 thousand (14.1%)
Dogri	37	35.4	21.3	14.1	Hindi: 16 thousand (35.4%) English: 8 thousand (14.1%)
Hindi Amalgam*	4,596	23.6	22.6	21.0	English: 967 thousand (21%)
Other Groups	104	54/4	36/1	18.3	—

\* including ‘Pahari’ vernaculars

For non-Hindi bilingual groups, Hindi is the *first* subsidiary language: Kinnauri bilinguals claim 60 per cent, Punjabis 56 per cent, Nepalis 52 per cent, and Dogris 38 per cent. The largest claims of English contact language come from Hindi bilinguals: 21 per cent—nearly one million.

Among trilinguals, English is the *second* subsidiary language: Punjabis claim 22 per cent, Dogris 16 per cent, Kinnars 13 per cent, Nepalis 7.4 per cent. There are 1 per cent trilinguals among Hindi mother tongue speakers.

### **1.5 Plural Society**

The experience of *living together* (in botanical context, a popular term *symbiosis*) in multilingual milieu brings a distinct scenario, knitting together plural heritages. Many speech communities in South Asia grow up with multiple identities. Individuals in such societies belong to different identity groups, clustered around cultural, linguistic and social traits (such as nationality, religion, caste, language/dialect) and share only *core* of experience, crisscrossing in more than one manner, hardly coterminating within the same boundary. Language boundaries in such milieu remain fuzzy and fluid, and individual's verbal repertoire gets blended across well-knit systems.

Many tribals in the North-East and the centre-east carry a strong sense of distinct identity, generally expressed by attributing 'in-group' label to their members and the mother tongue spoken by them. The generic label *naga* in the name of the state Nagaland is traced to the term *nok* 'people'; Kachari tribes in the Assam valley call themselves boro 'man'.

One notices many permutations-combinations marking assertion, erosion or blending of ancestral languages among tribals. The Jharkhand identity among tribals in the centre-east represents a convincing case of the amalgamative perception transcending language families—Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric, as pointed out by a noted linguist-activist Ram Dayal Munda (1989). Such cultural synthesis, described as

grassroots Aryanization (distinct from elitist Sanskritization, a characteristic of upper classes and of standard literary languages) defines the super-layered *Jharkhandi* identity. It is explained by asserting a *particularist* identity through their ancestral languages (Santali, Kurukh, Munda, etc.), a *regional* identity through the consensus over creolized Sadani/Nagpuria, and the *national* identity through the super-consensus over Hindi. All three identities are in harmony organizing their verbal repertoire through fluid complementation of different vernaculars/languages surrounding them.

The characteristic of maintaining two mother tongues is a notable feature of plurilingual India. Developing equal competence in more than one languages, fluidly mixing between each of them in everyday life becomes a routine feature in their repertoire. Many such bilinguals find it difficult to identify themselves as native speakers of "a" language. Many people in Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, though equally comfortable with Kangri, Hindi and Punjabi, variedly claim one of them as their mother tongue. The 1961 Census treated Kangri as a variety of Punjabi; but in 1971 it was re-classified as a variety of Hindi. Boundaries between languages in such milieu remain fuzzy and fluid, calling into question our ability to sharply mark one language from another.<sup>2</sup>

Tribals with oral cultures seem to carry the heterogeneity in everyday communications very lightly on their shoulders, unlike the squabbles over the hierarchization of different languages in use among literate cultures in the contemporary India. In the light of this, it becomes imperative to question the sanctity of language *enclosures* and language *purity* conceived around normative entities as per the dictates of language custodians (such as an obsession with concrete 'standardized' languages in many technologized societies). The issues of language endangerment are primarily linked with the

<sup>2</sup> Hutton (1933) reports the case of tribal communities in Ganjam district of Orissa speaking both Oriya (Indo-Aryan) and Telugu (Dravidian) without distinguishing which to return as their mother tongue.



concerns of language enclosures and language purity. These questions also lead us to a philosophical enquiry of language as *Being* and, at the same time, as *Becoming*: language as an organic process, an activity as a *live theatre* and language as a *normative entity*.

In the midst of the demographic diversity, discussed above, it will be useful for language planners to compile speech profiles of different language groups, and examine the patterns of language use in intimate and formal domains (namely home, neighbourhood, school, market, administration, entertainment) by eliciting attitudes towards language *variations* surrounding them. Language development programmes should give weightage to these patterns in teaching materials such as in preparing bilingual readers. Features of language convergence in a multilingual milieu have a great potential in contributing to the *quality* of communication in a changing society.

# Vowel Length Deletion in Chhatthare Limbu

GOVINDA BAHADUR TUMBAHANG

## 2.1 Introduction

Chhatthare Limbu is spoken in the Chhatthar area, which includes Marekkatahare, Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur, Ghorlikharka, Sanne, Hattikharka, Murtidhungga, Tangkhuwa, Teliya and Parewadin VDCs in the Dhankuta district and Panchakanya Pokhari, Phakchamara, Hamarjung, Okhre, Sudap, Angdim, Dangappa, Phulek and Basantapur in the Terhathum district. This area is a Western part of *pallo kirant* “far kirant” or *Limbuwan* “the land of the Limbus”, which spreads from Arun river to Mechi river of eastern Nepal. The whole Limbu population totals 3,33,633 to which Chhatthare Limbu adds 17,782 population (population census 2001).

Limbu language is called *Yakthungbapan* by the natives and *Limbu bhasa* in the Nepali language. Wiedert and Subba (1985), Van Driem (1987), Webster (2001) and Kaila (2002) have classified Chhatthare Limbu as a dialect along with Panthare Limbu, Phedappe Limbu, Taplejungnge and Mewakhole Limbu. Now, Panthare Limbu is used as the standard dialect of Limbu for reading, writing, teaching and communication purposes. However, the fact is that it cannot represent Chhatthare Limbu, which is unintelligible to the speakers of other Limbu dialects.

Chhatthare Limbu has developed new phonemes such as voiced velar stop /g/ and voiced bilabial stop /b/ deleting

vowel length from the existing phonological system, which differentiates it from other Limbu dialects such as Panthare, Taplejungnge and Phedappe. Originally, it had no vowel length but developed it as a compensation for the deletion of /p/ and /k/ in a syllable final position. It lost vowel length after the development of originally allophones [b] and [g] of the phonemes /p/ and /k/ as phonemes. This article highlights the present scenario of the phonemes /b/ and /g/ and of existing vowel system, and discusses their historical development.

## 2.2 Present Scenario

Chhatthare Limbu has voiceless plosives such as /p/, /ph/, /t/, /th/, /k/ and /kh/. Among them, /p/ has voicing contrast in identical environment in the initial position as in Table 1 (a-c) and in analogous environment in the medial position as in Table 2; /k/, on the other hand, has voicing contrast only in the medial position as in Table 3 (a-c).

**Table 1**

a.	[pa]	'father'	[ba]	'this'
b.	[po]	'it grows'	[bo]	'here'
c.	[paŋ]	'house'	[baŋ]	'its'

**Table 2**

	[hapu]	'he wept for'	[haba]	'he wept'
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**Table 3**

a.	[heku]	'he begins it'	[hegu]	'he cuts it'
b.	[laku]	'he treads on it'	[lagu]	'he licks it'

The examples in Table 1 (a-c), Table 2 and Table 3 (a-c) establish /p/, /b/, /k/ and /g/ as distinct phonemes. However, in some environments /p/ and /b/ and /k/ and /g/ occur as each other's allophones.

**Table 4**

a.	[paŋ]	'house'	[ku-baŋ]	'his house'
b.	[pyaŋsi]'paddy-field'	[a-byaŋsi]	'my paddy-field'	
c.	[piʔ]	'cow'	[ka-biʔ]	'your cow'
d.	[sup]	'he closes'	[sub-u]	'he closes it'
e.	[thup]	'he pierces'	[thub-u]	'he pierces it'
f.	[hap]	'he weeps'	[hab-a]	'he wept'

**Table 5**

a.	[kaŋ]	'spade'	[ku-kaŋ]	'his spade'
b.	[kunda]'jar'	[ka-gunda]	'your jar'	
c.	[hek]	'he cuts'	[heg-u]	'he cut it'
d.	[ok]	'he scratches'	[og-u]	'he digs it'

/t/, on the other hand, has no voicing contrast. After the prefix ending in a vowel or a nasal, it becomes voiced but before the suffix, it remains unchanged. The examples in Table (6) show allophonic variation of /t/ after the prefix.

**Table 6**

a.	[tak]	'friend'	[ku-dak]	'his friend'
b.	[teʔ]	'cloth'	[ka-deʔ]	'your cloth'
c.	[tak]	'friend'	[a-dak]	'my friendl'
d.	[tak-u]	'he received it'	[ka-dak-u]	'you received it'
e.	[tok]	'it sells'	[ma-dok-nən]	'it does not sell'
f.	[ta]	'he comes'	[ma-n-da-nən]	'they do not come'

The examples in Table 7 show its unchanged form before the suffix.

**Table 7**

a.	[nat]	'he chases'	[nat-u]	'he chases it'
b.	[lot]	'he sleeps in'	[lot-u]	'he slept in'
c.	[pat]	'he speaks'	[pat-u]	'he spoke it'

/ph/, /th/ and /kh/ occur only in initial position and undergo voicing change after the prefix ending in vowel or a nasal.

**Table 8**

a.	[phat-u]	'he fills it'	[a-bhat-u]	you fill it'
b.	[phett-u]	'he brings it'	[ka-m-bhett-u-n]	you do not bring it'
c.	[phur-u]	'he disconnects it'	[u-bhur-u]	they disconnected it'
d.	[theks-u]	'he tears it'	[a-dheks-u]	you tore it'
e.	[thoks-u]	'he ploughs it'	[u-dhoks-u]	they plough it'
f.	[thok-u]	'he cooks it'	[a-n-dhok-u-n]	hey do not cook it'
g.	[kheks-u]	'he breaks it'	[ka-gheks-u]	you broke it'
h.	[khob-u]	'he picks it up'	[ka-ghob-u]	you pick it up'
i.	[lek-k-u]	'he changes it'	[mu-lekk-u]	'they cut it'

The examples in Table 8 show that [bh], [dh] and [gh] are allophones of the phonemes /ph/, /th/ and /kh/ respectively. Therefore, they can be represented phonemically.

**Table 9**

a.	/ka-phat-u/	'you fill it'
b.	/ka-m-phett-u-n/	'you do not bring it'
c.	/ mu-phur-u/	'they disconnected it'
d.	/ka-theks-u/	'you tore it'
e.	/ mu-thoks-u/	'they plough it'
f.	/ ma-n-thok-u-n/	'they do not cook it'
g.	/ ka-kheks-u/	'you broke it'
h.	/ka-khob-u/	'you pick it up'
I	/mu-lekk-u/	'they changed it'

However, the voiced variations [b] and [g] of the phonemes /p/ and /k/ cannot be represented phonemically alone. In the examples of Table 10, [b] can be phonemically represented.

**Table 10**

a.	[paŋ]	'house'	/ku-paŋ/	'his house'
b.	[pyaŋsi]	['paddy-field'	/a-pyaŋsi/	'my paddy-field'
c.	[pi?]	'cow'	/ka-pi?/	'your cow'

Similarly, [g] can be represented phonemically.

**Table 11**

a.	[kon]	'he searches'	/ka-gon/	'you search'
b.	[kaŋ]	'spade'	/ku-kaŋ/	'his spade'
c.	[kunda]	'jar'	/ka-kunda/	'your jar'

Native speakers have no difficulty in understanding these phonemic representations. However, in the position before the suffixes, they cannot be phonemically represented.

**Table 12**

a.	[sup]	'he closes'	[sub-u]	*supu	'he closes it'
b.	[thup]	'he pierces'	[thub-u]	*thup-u	'he pierces it'
c.	[hap]	'he weeps'	[hab-a]	*hap-a	'he wept'
d.	[hek]	'he cuts'	[heg-u]	*hek-u	'he cut it'
e.	[lak]	'he licks'	[lag-u]	*lak-u	'he licks it'

The reason why they cannot be represented is that the root ending in [p] and [k] can take single consonant, double consonants or voiced counterpart which cannot be predicted.

**Table 13**

a.	[sup]	'he closes'	[sub-u]	'he closes it'	[supp-u]	'he covers it'
b.	[thup]	'he pierces'	[thub-u]	'he pierces it'	[thupp-u]	'he makes it touch'
c.	[hap]	'he weeps'	[hab-a]	'he wept'	[hap-u]	'he wept for him'
d.	[hek]	'he cuts'	[heg-u]	'he cut it'	[hækk-u]	'it caught him in the throat'
e.	[ok]	'he scratches'	[og-u]	'he scratches it'		
f.	[lak]	'he licks'	[lag-u]	'he licks it'	[lak-u]	'he trample it'
					[lakk-u]	'it boiled'

Voiced stops or consonant cluster cannot occur in the coda position. As a result, the final consonant is deleted in the case

of consonant clusters and the final consonant is devoiced in the case of voiced stops.

**Table 14**

a.	[supp-u]	'he covers it'	[sup]	'he covers'
b.	[thupp-u]	'he makes it touch'	[thup]	'he makes touch'
c.	[hɛkk-u]	'it caught him in the throat'	[hɛk]	'it catches in the throat'
d.	[sub-u]	'he closes it'	[sup]	'he closes'
e.	[thub-u]	'he pierces it'	[thup]	'he pierces'
f.	[lag-u]	'he licks it'	[lak]	'he licks'

In fact, the final consonant of the gemination is the substitution of the proto-Tibeto-Burman transitivity suffix \*-t resulting from its assimilation to the preceding consonant for the place of articulation. They are available in other dialects of Limbu such as Panthare (Wiedert and Subba 1985, Kainla 2001), Phedappe (Driem 1987) and Mewakhole (Michailovsky 2002).

**Table 15**

Dialects

	<i>Phedappe</i>	<i>Taplejungnge</i>	<i>Panthare</i>	<i>Chhatthare</i>	<i>Glossing</i>
a.	lɛptu	lɛptu	lɛpt-u	lɛppu	'he threw at him'
b.	cɛpt-u	cɛpt-u	cɛpt-u	cɛpp-u	'he caught him'
c.	napt-u	napt-u	napt-u	napp-u	'he snatched him'
d.	lɛkt-u	lɛkt-u	lɛkt-u	lɛkk-u	'he changed it'
e.	hakt-u	hakt-u	hakt-u	hakk-u	'he sent it for him'
f.	cɛkt-u	cɛkt-u	cɛkt-u	cɛkk-u	'he to him'
g.	phett-u	phett-u	phett-u	phett-u	'he brings it'
h.	ett-u	ett-u	ett-u	ett-u	'he locked it'
i.	itt-u	itt-u	itt-u	itt-u	'he though it'

Chhatthare Limbu has developed a tendency to delete the final consonant of the geminate and compensate the loss by lengthening the vowel.

**Table 16**

a.	sipt-u	sipp-u	si:p-u	'he milked her'
b.	hapt-u	happ-u	ha:p-u	'he wept for him'
c.	ept-u	epp-u	e:p-u	'he treaded it'
d.	sekt-u	sekk-u	se:k-u	'he pinches him'
e.	lakt-u	lakk-u	la:k-u	'he trampled it'

The vowel length shown above is deleted as a result of voicing contrast.

**Table 17**

a.	hekt-	hekk-	he:k	heku	'he started it'
b.	sek-	sek	sek	segu	'he chooses it'
c.	lakt-	lakk-	lak	lak-u	'he tramples it'
d.	lak	lak-	lak-	lag-u	'he licks it'

The example in Table (17), a-b shows that the half close front vowel /e/ has a length contrast in verb stems. However, the contrast is neutralized in their inflected forms due to the presence of voiceless and voiced stops. In Table (17), c-d vowel length is elided even in verb stems as its meaning is determined by the following consonant. Since /e/ is always long and /ε/ is always short, the vowel length contrast assumes vowel quality contrast because length has disappeared in other vowels due to the rise of [b] and [g] to a phonemic status.

## 2.3 Conclusion

In the beginning, Chhatthare Limbu had no vowel length contrast. Later, it assumed phonemic shape after the deletion of the final consonant of a geminate. Still later, the vowel length disappeared as the voiced stops /b/ and /g/ developed as independent phonemes.

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## THREE

# Representing Kangri Tones

ROBERT D. EATON

### 3.1 Introduction

Punjabi, Dogri, and Kangri,<sup>1</sup> each has three tonal patterns, which are generally considered to be contrastive (Sharma 1974, Chauhan 1992, S.R. Sharma 1998, Bahl 1957, Bhatia 1975). However, while it is possible to list minimal pairs, which differ only by tone, these are not the same kind of tonal contrasts exhibited by East Asian languages generally. This brings into question the phonemic status of these tones while representing them orthographically. This study presents an alternate analysis which assumes the predictable nature of tones. I posit that the existence of two phonemes can orthographically be represented by /ṝ/ which accounts for two of the three tones. The third tone, that is 'level' tone, then, simply corresponds to the lack of /h/. With this analysis, then, the tones are in complementary distribution at the graphemic level. This insight simplifies the orthographic inventory and suggests a specific orthographic convention which will also be discussed.

### *Tone Languages*

Tone languages in the world are of several distinct types (Yip 2002). In prototypical tone language, such as Chinese and Thai, each syllable, or more specifically each tone bearing unit (TBU), is assigned a tone in the lexicon which affects the meaning of the word. The classic Mandarin example is the syllable /ma/ on which five different tones can occur producing five distinct words.

**Table 1:** Minimal pairs in Mandarin based on tone

mā	high level (aka. 5-5)	‘mother’
má	high rising (aka. 3-5)	‘hemp’
mǎ	low falling-rising (aka. 2-1-4)	‘horse’
mà	high falling (aka. 5-1)	‘scold’
ma	neutral (aka. 3-3)	‘<Yes-no question (YNQ) marker>’

Another kind of tone language, which occurs more frequently in Africa, involves much fewer minimal pairs based on tone, likely due to a larger set of possible word forms. Since the number of syllable types and word forms is quite limited in Mandarin, there’s more need for distinctions based on tone than in languages which have fewer restrictions on allowable syllable types and word forms. In this other kind of tone language, it is also typical that not every syllable (or TBU) is assigned a tone, and autosegmental phonology has been useful in explaining the details of this kind of tone.

Much of the literature regarding tone in Indo-Aryan languages (Punjabi, Kangri, Dogri, etc.) seems to characterize it as more of a Mandarin-like phenomenon, but this paper will show an alternate analysis of Kangri tone which argues that it exhibits a more African-like tonal system rather than East Asian.

Palampuri Kangri is especially useful for this study because the tonogenesis process appears to be more recent than in Punjabi and can shed light on the diachronic process that has led to tone in these languages.

### 3.2 Tone in Kangri

S.L. Sharma (1974), Chauhan (1992), S.R. Sharma (1998), all describe Kangri as having three tones: high-falling, low-rising, and level. Chauhan, for example, suggests that the three tones are phonemic as shown by the contrast in the following minimal pairs:

**Table 2:** Minimal pairs in Kangri based on tone  
(Chauhan 1992: 12)

ê	high falling	'this one'
ě	low-rising	'(they) are'
e	level	'this'

Regarding the final form, it should be noted that the level tone is overwhelmingly the default tone specification for Kangri syllables.

If we assume that every tone-bearing unit in the language has a lexical specification for tone, then their analysis follows—there would be a need for three distinct tones in the phonemic inventory to account for the data. However, in the analysis I am presenting, I assume that no tone bearing units have a lexical specification for tone. Instead, the tone is an allophonic alternation of the underlying phoneme /h/.

The dialect of Kangri in Palampur, Himachal Pradesh, is slightly different from the variety described in Chauhan (1992). In that work, there is no surface [h] sound. In Palampur, the [h] phone still exists in the word-initial environment.<sup>2</sup> Consider these words:

**Table 3:** Words with an explicit [h] sound in  
Palampuri Kangri

[hæ]	'PRES:sg'
[hən]	'PRES:pl'
[həkk]	'justness'
[həttʰ]	'hand'

However, it should be noted that in terms of distribution, the [h] phoneme never occurs elsewhere in the word. According to the analysis presented here, when the underlying /h/ phoneme occurs elsewhere in the word, it surfaces as one of two tones rather than [h].

And herein lies the benefit of studying the Palampur variety: it still has vestiges of the source of tone in Kangri, which not only gives us a clue to the genesis of tone in these languages, but also allows for a different analysis of tone

which, while it is still lexical, does not involve phonemic tone, thereby reducing the total inventory of phonemic elements.

Under the earlier account, the phonemic inventory lacks the /h/ phoneme, but includes three lexical tones to account for tone in the language.<sup>3</sup> In the analysis presented here, the phoneme /h/ does exist, but can be used to account for the [h] sound in the word-initial environment as well as both the low-rising and high-falling tones. In this account, then, the level tone, is simply the result of no adjacent /h/ in the syllable.

Furthermore, no tone bearing units need have a lexical specification for tone as is the case with more prototypical tone languages. Instead, the tone is an allophonic alternation of the phoneme /h/ in different environments. It is therefore lexical.

Specifically, the phon/tonetic alternation is governed by the following rule (for Palampuri Kangri):

1. → /h/ [h] / # \_  
     → [v̌i] / C \_\_ vi  
     → [v̌i] / vi \_\_

This rule indicates that there are three alternations for ह् /h/: first, it surfaces as [h] when it occurs word-initial (e.g. /हन/ [hən] 'PRES: pl'). Then the other two alternations are allotones: the second row indicates that /h/ surfaces as a low-rising tone on a vowel when it occurs before that vowel and after a consonant (e.g. /न्हैणा/ /nhɔɳɑ/ [nɔɳɑ] 'to bath'). The final row indicates that ह् /h/ surfaces as a high falling tone on a vowel when it follows that vowel (e.g. /सैह्/ /sæh/ [sæh] '3: NOM').

This analysis is supported by the fact that many Kangri writers (P. Guleri, B. S. Thakur p.c.) want to write the tone 'sound' with an /h/ followed by a halant (e.g. ह्). That is, they think of it as 'half an h'.

Another way to think about this tone is that since the low tone side of both contour tones corresponds to the side of the vowel that the /h/ phoneme occurs, you could consider the /h/ to simply be a 'pitch well' (cf. Einstein's 'gravity well') which causes a reduction in the pitch. Then the low-rising tone

(caused by the /h/ in the onset of the syllable) is simply the pitch ‘springing back’ to normal and the high-falling tone is the pitch being reduced due to the presence of a ‘pitch well’ in the coda.

The following table (Table 4) shows the derivation of three different Kangri words in which the /h/ phoneme occurs in each of the three environments of rule (1):

**Table 4:** Derivation of words affected by /h/ tone rule

	/ # __	/ C__V	/ V__
Underlying form	/hən/ ‘PRES:pl’	/nhəŋə/ ‘to bathe’	/səh/ ‘3.NOM’
/h/ becomes tone		ǝ	ǎ
Surface form	[hən]	[nǝŋə]	[sǎh]
Recommended orthographic form	हन	न्होणा	सैह

Notice from the recommended orthographic forms that when /h/ surfaces as [h], I used the standard Devanagari letter, /ह/. When it surfaces as a tone in the latter two columns, I used the same Devanagari letter, but with the *nyukta* (i.e. /ह्/) in order to indicate the different pronunciation.

From a purely linguistic point of view, there’s no overriding reason to use a different letter or symbol to represent them since their placement in the lexical item resolve the ambiguity. In a way one grapheme represents two phonemes. However, given the history of the Devanagari script being considered a *phonetic* writing system, most people I’ve worked with prefer to show the difference by using a diacritic for the tones. Otherwise, they feel that reading it without the diacritic (and specifically, with the background of literacy in Hindi) would give the wrong pronunciation for the word (e.g. the difference between [sǎh] and [səh]).

Another question arises regarding the use of the *nyukta* rather than the historically traditional halant as the diacritic to indicate the difference in pronunciation. The reason I recommend the *nyukta* over the halant is because it is

more consistently used in Indic languages to express slight pronunciation differences (c.f. /फ/ = [p<sup>h</sup>ə] vs. /फ़/ = [fə]). By contrast, the halant is normally used to express a pure consonant without the vocalic release and generally found in cluster (e.g. /ट्ट/ = [t̪t̪]). With the inevitable transition to Unicode, character semantics must adhere to standard definitions and using the halant to express a ‘slightly different pronunciation’ will eventually become problematic.

Here are some additional Kangri words with tone to show how they can be accounted for by the occurrence of /h/ in the onset or coda of the syllable.

**Table 5:** Additional Kangri words with tone

/ C <u> V</u>	/ V <u> </u>
/भरना/ /bhərna/ [b̥r̥.na] ‘to fill’	/एह/ /eh/ [ê] ‘3.prx.nom’
/पहाड/ /phaṭ/ [p̥ṭ] ‘mountain’	/तांह/ /tāh/ [t̪ā] ‘this direction’
/ममहारा/ /mhara/ [m̥ṣ̥.ra] ‘our (ms)’	/रेहआ/ /reha/ [r̥ê.a] ‘lived (ms)’
/न्यूहालना/ /n̥ha[na/ [n̥ṣ̥̌.na] ‘to wait’	/कदेहआ/ /kədeha/ [k̥ə.d̥ê.a] ‘what kind of’
/बेस्हारा/ /beshara/ [be.s̥ṣ̥̌.ra] ‘unsupported’	/इहआं/ /īhyā/ [î.y̥ṣ̥̌] ‘this way’
/बहाणा/ /bhaṇa/ [b̥ṣ̥̌.ṇa] ‘to cause to flow’	/कहिआं/ /kīhyā/ [k̥î.y̥ṣ̥̌] ‘what way’

Now let’s look again at Chauhan’s minimal pairs. From the perspective that the tone is a result of the underlying phoneme /h/, we can see that they aren’t minimal pairs after all because they have different underlying forms.

**Table 6:** Chauhan’s minimal pairs with a new interpretation

/eh/ [ê] ‘this one’	high falling
/he/ [ê] ‘(they) are’	low-rising
/e/ [e] ‘this’	level

Notice that these three words have surface representations which are minimally different, but they also have different

underlying form. The source of the tone is *lexical*, in the sense that the position of the underlying /h/ is required in order to determine the proper tone, but it is not *phonemic*.

This analysis, then, reduces the phonemic inventory so that there are no tonemes and only a single consonant /h/ to account for the word-initial [h] phone as well as the two non-default tones in Kangri.

### *Voiced, Aspirated Consonants*

Voiced, aspirated obstruent in Hindi cognate words become tonal in Kangri (c.f. Masica 1991 regarding Punjabi). The following table (Table 7) shows the correspondences of voiced, aspirated consonants in Hindi, Kangri, and Punjabi/Dogri.

**Table 7:** Comparison of voiced, aspirated consonants in Hindi, Kangri, and Punjabi/Dogri

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Kangri</i>	<i>Punjabi/Dogri</i>
घ	[g <sup>h</sup> ə]	/ghə/ [gə̃]	/ghə/ [kə̃]
झ	[dʒ <sup>h</sup> ə]	/dʒhə/ [dʒə̃]	/dʒhə/ [tʃə̃]
ढ	[d <sup>h</sup> ə]	/d̪hə/ [d̪ə̃]	/d̪hə/ [t̪ə̃]
ध	[d <sup>h</sup> ə]	/dhə/ [d̪ə̃]	/dhə/ [t̪ə̃]
भ	[b <sup>h</sup> ə]	/bhə/ [b̪ə̃]	/bhə/ [p̪ə̃]

Notice that the /<sup>h</sup>/ from Hindi has the underlying form of /h/ in Kangri and Punjabi/Dogri. This distinction is important because the latter is the source of the tone, while the aspiration is not. In a sense, then, for Kangri and Dogri, these letters don't represent actual phonemes that exist in the language, but rather a pair of phonemes. In this, they are more of a short cut for the corresponding unaspirated consonants followed by the tone letter /h/ (e.g. घ as a short-cut for writing, गह; c.f. ल्हास 'corpse', स्हाब्बे 'according', where an arbitrary consonant can be clustered with the tone letter).

Another difference to note between Kangri and Punjabi/Dogri is that these letters represent voiced consonants in



Kangri, but voiceless consonants in Punjabi/Dogri. That is, Kangri has lost the aspiration (in gaining tone), but Punjabi/Dogri has lost both aspiration and voicing.

It is likely that these were separate innovations which originated in the West (Punjab or Jammu & Kashmir) and have spread outwards. The loss of aspiration (and gaining of tone) has fully been realized in all three languages, but the loss of voicing has not yet reached Kangri.

### *Movement of /h/*

As Bhatia (1975) points out regarding Punjabi, however, there are situations which seem to argue against this allophonic interpretation. For example, consider the following words in which the tone is not occurring as would otherwise be expected from (1).

**Table 8:** Words with unexpected surface tone

समझा 'understand-imp.pol'	भरौणा 'fill-pass-inf'
/səmd̪ʒh/ + /a/	/bhər/ + /o/ + /ṇa/
/səmd̪ʒha/	/bhəroṇa/
[səm̄.d̪ʒa]	[bə.rō.ṇa]
'(you, pl) understand!'	'to be filled'

Notice in the first word, the /h/ occurs in an environment which should have triggered a low rising tone on the vowel of the second syllable (i.e. following the consonant, /d̪ʒ/, and before a vowel, resulting in the surface form [\*səmd̪ǯə]). But instead, the tone surfaces on the vowel of the first syllable. Since this word is cognate with the Hindi, समझाए [səmd̪ǯaie]—where the aspiration is clearly following /d̪ʒ/—there's no reason to suspect that in Kangri the /h/ is in the position that would otherwise be needed to trigger the surface form as shown above (i.e. /\*səhmd̪ʒa/).

In the second word, the /h/ occurs, after a consonant and before a vowel, which ought to have become a low rising tone on the first vowel (i.e. [\*b̌ə.ro.ṇa]), but instead, the tone surfaces

unexpectedly on the vowel of the second syllable. Since this word is morphologically related to the non-passive form भरना /bhərɳɑ/ 'to fill', there's no reason to think that it has the underling form which would give the proper surface form according to (1) (i.e. /\*bərɳoɳɑ/).

In both of these examples, it is as if the underlying /h/ phoneme has shifted position at some stage of the derivation prior to the operation of the "h becomes tone" rule in (1).

With respect to Punjabi tone, the suggestion has been made that the tone is attracted to the stressed or accented syllable (Bhatia 1975, Bahl 1957). However, they give no independent definition of how stress is assigned and admit that exceptions exist. Several studies have been made regarding stress placement in Hindi and Urdu (Dyrud 2001, Hussain 1997) in which stress is argued to fall on the last heavy syllable in a word. If there are no heavy syllables (i.e. if the word consists of light syllables only), then the penultimate syllable is stressed (Losey 2002). But with this characterization, a caveat is required: "In morphologically complex words, morphological rules may supersede the normal stress placement rules. For example, in verb stems formed with the causative suffix, the causative suffix is always stressed, superseding stress placement based on syllable weight."

The analysis presented here involves the movement of /h/ that is based on an independent and theoretically interesting criterion for stress assignment. The key is to note that when the tone surfaces in an unexpected place, it always surfaces on the vowel of the last syllable of the stem of the word. This leads to the following rule:

2. Stress is always assigned to the last syllable of the word stem, and /h/ always moves adjacent to the vowel of that stressed syllable.

For the first word, [səm.ja], the vowel of the second syllable is the polite imperative suffix, /ɑ/ 'imp.pol'. The /h/ underlying is immediately before this vowel suffix, and therefore would otherwise surface on this vowel according to

(1). However, by rule (2), it is moved to a position adjacent to the vowel in the final syllable in the word; in this case, the first syllable of the word. This yields the following derivation:

**Table 9:** Derivation of ‘understand’ + IMP.POL

	‘understand’ + IMP.POL
Underlying form	/səmd̪ɜh/ + /a/
Move /h/ to $\sigma_{\text{stem}}$ final	səhmd̪ɜa
/h/ becomes tone	ḁ
Surface form	[sə̃m.d̪ɜa]

With [bə.rǒ.ŋa], the situation requires a bit more explanation. The /o/ ‘pass’ (passive) morpheme is a suffix and yet the tone occurs on that suffix in apparent contradiction to (2) above. However, as Payne (1995) points out, morphological operations which involve a reduction or increase of valence are more properly thought of as “derivational”, rather than “inflectional”. So, in this word, the /o/ vowel—being a derivational affix—is actually part of the stem of the verb. This yields the following derivation:

**Table 10:** Derivation of ‘fill’ + PASS + INF

	‘fill’ + PASS + INF
Underlying form	{/bhər/ + /o/}stem + /ŋa/
Move /h/ to $\sigma_{\text{stem}}$ final	bərhoŋa
/h/ becomes tone	ǒ
Surface form	[bə.rǒ.ŋa]

In comparing these two derivations, notice that the movement of /h/ is *directional*. When the underlying position of /h/ is to the right of the final syllable of the stem, it will move to the coda-initial position of that final syllable (c.f. Table 9). When the underlying position of /h/ is to the left of the final syllable of the stem, it will move to the onset-final position of the final syllable (c.f. Table 10). This directionality can be expressed graphically as in Figure 1:

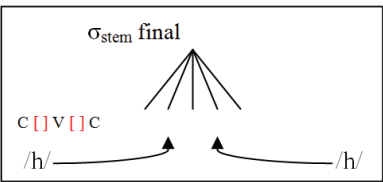


Figure 1: Directionality of /h/ movement

The question arises as to whether the movement rule in (2) always operates? The answer is *yes* and always before rule (1) in the derivation process as above.

Thus, it is important to note again that, in this analysis, there are no tones in the lexicon; only  $/h/$ . The  $/h/$  is assumed to have a specific segmental position in the word, which is defined in the lexicon. (2) is the rule that re-positions  $/h/$  based on whether or not it is adjacent to the vowel of the stem final syllable. This feeds (1), then, which turns the  $/h/$  into one of the two tones and generates the proper surface intonation pattern.

There are four permutations of interaction between rules (1) and (2):

Table 11: Interaction between rules (1) and (2)

$/h/$ is already in the stem final syllable before the vowel	(1) generates a low-rising tone on that vowel
$/h/$ is already in the stem final syllable after the vowel	(1) generates a high-following tone on that vowel
$/h/$ is linearly to the left of the stem final syllable	(2) moves $/h/$ to the right and (1) generates a low-rising tone
$/h/$ is linearly to the right of the stem final syllable	(2) moves $/h/$ to the left and (1) generates a high-falling tone

This interaction is important and provides further evidence that the lexicon does not contain any tone specifications on tone bearing units.

Most of those who have written about tone in these languages suggest that the tones are phonemic and are in the lexicon as contour tones: a *high-falling*, a *low-rising*, and for some, a third *level* tone (Chauhan 1992, S. R. Sharma 1998, Bahl

1957, Bhatia 1975, Yip 2002, and Masica 1991). But consider these two related words:

**Table 12:** Tone contour change between morphologically-related words

	'understand' + caus + IMP. POL	'understand' + IMP.POL
Underlying form	{/səmd̪ʒh/ + /a/}stem + /a/	/səmd̪ʒh/ + /a/
Move /h/ to $\sigma_{\text{stem}}$ final		səhmd̪ʒa
/h/ becomes tone	ǎ	â
Surface form	[sə̃m.d̪ʒǎ:]	[sə̃m.d̪ʒâ]

Notice in the surface forms of these two morphologically-related words that not only are the tones surfacing on different syllables—which could potentially be explained by a “stressed syllable” movement rule—but that they surface with different contours as well. If the phonemic inventory and the lexicon contained contour tones as argued, then since the tones here both come from the same aspirated, voiced consonant in the verb root, one would expect both words to have the same contour tone. The fact that the tones are different would require not only a “stressed syllable” movement rule, but an additional rule to change the tone to the opposite contour.

Such a “contour changing” rule would be difficult to justify as well, because there are analogous cases where the tone shifts left (as in [sə̃m.d̪ʒa] above), but does not change its contour. Consider these two other morphologically-related words:

**Table 13:** Tone change between morphologically-related words

	'cut' + CAUS + FUT	'cut' + FUT
Underlying form	{/kəʈ/ + /a/}stem + /hŋga/	/kəʈ/ + /hga/
Move /h/ to $\sigma_{\text{stem}}$ final		kəhʈga
/h/ becomes tone	â	kâ
Surface form	[kəʈâŋga]	[kâʈga]

Notice that in both of these words that the tone surfaces as a high-falling tone even when it occurs on different syllables.

### *Residue*

There are two other situations involving about five words in the language where two additional rules are needed to cover the data. These involve a Metathesis and a Deletion rule.

### *Metathesis*

There are two words in Kangri where the /h/ occurs word-initially followed by a short vowel and the letter /m/. In this situation, rule (1) would otherwise allow /h/ to surface as [h]. These two words and their Hindi cognates are shown in the following table:

**Table 14:** Metathesis rule

Meaning	Hindi cognate	Kangri form
'Himachal'	हिमाचल [himatʃəl]	म्हाचल /mhatʃəl/ [mắtʃəl]
'our'	हमारा [həmarə]	म्हारा /mhara/ [mắra]

Comparing the Kangri forms with the Hindi cognate forms, notice the relative position of the /h/ and /m/ are swapped, and the intervening short vowels (i.e. /ɪ/ and /ə/) are deleted. Aside from the deletion of the vowel, this could almost be considered a case of movement of /h/ according to rule (2). In the case of म्हारा /mhara/, the final /a/ is an inflectional affix, which is the agreement suffix for the gender, number, and case of the following noun. So /h/ could be said to have moved according to (2).

At first glance, म्हाचल /mhatʃəl/ 'Himachal' appears to be a case where rule (2) does not operate since the /h/ is not moved to the final syllable of the word stem (which would have resulted in /\*matʃhəl/ [\*matʃə́l]). However, this word is formed from a noun-adj compound: [him] 'ice' + [ətʃəl] 'immovable'. In this case, rule (2) does not move /h/ to the final syllable of the compounded word, but rather only to the final syllable of

the original, non-compounded stem. This implies that rule (2) operates at a level of the phonology earlier than compounding or at least that compounding doesn't remove all vestiges of stem boundaries.

In any case, since the deletion of the intervening short vowel is not a regular feature of rule (2), either a separate deletion rule is needed which presumably is triggered when /h/ is moved from a word-initial position, or we must say that these two words are explained by a metathesis/deletion rule.

### *Deletion*

There are two other words in Kangri in which /h/ occurs intervocalically in the underlying form, but which behave tone-wise as if the preceding vowel, /ə/, is deleted at an earlier stage of the derivation than rule (2). This can be expressed by the following rule:

1.  $/C_1əhV_2/ \rightarrow /C_1hV_2/$

Consider these examples:

**Table 15:** Deletion rule

Meaning	Hindi cognate	Kangri form
'story'	कहानी [kə.ha.ni]	क्हाणी /kha.ɳi/ [kǎ.ɳi]
'hill'	पहाड़ी [pə.ha.ɽi]	प्हाड़ी /pha.ɽi/ [pǎ.ɽi]

It should be noted that /h/ disprefers the onset position of a non-initial syllable (except when following a consonant) and this deletion (as well as the preceding metathesis) rule could be a way to avoid this situation. More data is needed, however, to make a more complete evaluation.

### **3.3 Conclusion**

The analysis presented in this paper shows an account both of tonogenesis in Kangri, and also reduces the phonemic inventory by removing the need for: a) phonemic tones, and b) lexical tone specifications on tone bearing units. Specifically,

the tone can be accounted for by the presence of the underlying consonantal phoneme /h/, which has allotones in non-initial environments. The surface tone is determined by the side of the vowel where /h/ finally occurs: if before the vowel (and after a consonant), it surfaces as a low-rising tone; if after the vowel, it surfaces as a high-falling tone.

This paper also discusses a movement rule to account for the variation seen in the surface form of the tone, and which provides an independent criteria of stress assignment: stress is always assigned to the final syllable of the word stem and /h/ will always move to the (near) adjacent side of the vowel of that word stem final syllable.

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## FOUR

# A Glimpse into Kurtöp Morphophonemics<sup>1</sup>

GWENDOLYN HYSLOP

### 4.1 Introduction

Kurtöp is an East Bodish language of Bhutan (van Driem 1995a) which has been described only marginally in literature. Lowes (2006) and Hyslop (to appear a) addressed the phonology and, to some extent Hyslop (to appear c) has addressed the lexicon of Kurtöp. However, to date little examination of

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morphology or syntax has been carried out. Based primarily on fieldwork conducted in Bhutan (naturally occurring data and elicitation), this paper offers the first description of Kurtöp morphophonemics.

This article begins with background information on the Kurtöp language in Section 2, while Section 3 is devoted to the phonological alternation present in verbal stems. Section 4 illustrates the morphophonological alternations associated with the perfective morpheme *-pala*. Section 5 offers a brief summary of the article.

## 4.2 Background

Kurtöp is spoken in Dungkar, which lies within the political district of Lhüntse, approximately 50 kilometers west of the border with Arunachal Pradesh in India, and 15 kilometers south of the border with Tibet, shown in Figure 1. Van Driem (1995a) estimates there are 10,000 speakers of Kurtöp.



Figure 1: Map of Bhutan<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Map downloaded from <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/world-guide/destinations/asia/bhutan>. Reproduced with permission from the Lonely Planet website [www.lonelyplanet.com](http://www.lonelyplanet.com) (c) 2006 Lonely Planet Publications.

Kurtöp has been previously studied by Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1994). They based their findings on data from one speaker, living in Delhi in 1977-78 and verified their data with other speakers in Kathmandu in 1993.

### *Genealogy*

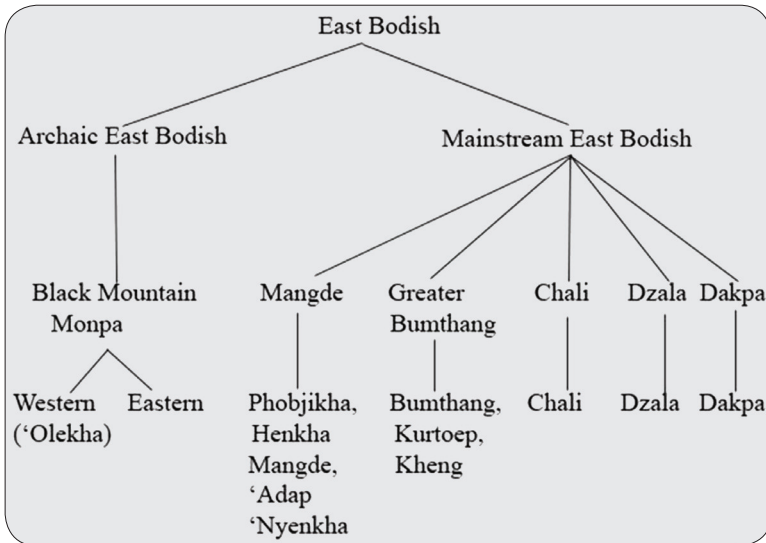
Kurtöp is considered an East Bodish language. Shafer (1954) appears to be the first to use the term 'East Bodish'. For him the term represented the proto-language from which Dwags, a language spoken south-east of Lhasa, had come. Bradley (1997) proposes that East Bodish is most closely related to Central Bodish (i.e. the Tibetan dialects). In addition to the languages mentioned above, he includes Sherdukpen and the somewhat ambiguous 'Eastern Monpa' in East Bodish. This group joins with its closest genealogical neighbors, the Central Bodish languages. Central and East Bodish together are coordinate with Western Bodish (e.g. Kinnauri, Tamang). The Bodish family then joins with Tshangla and West Himalayan. These three together comprise one side of the Bodic family.

A comparison of lexical items in Dwags (Shafer 1954) with the corresponding cognates in Kurtöp indicates the two languages are closely related. Van Driem (1995a, 1995b, 2001) confirms the placement of Kurtöp in the East Bodish branch. There are some problems with this analysis, however. Preliminary comparison of Kurtöp morphology reveals some striking but unusual similarities with Tshangla, rather than Tibetan. The exact position of East Bodish within Tibeto-Burman remains subject to debate.

Van Driem (1995a) provides an overview of the languages in Bhutan. His proposal situates 19 different Tibeto-Burman languages within six different Tibeto-Burman branches. Two of these, Central and East Bodish, are composed of a handful of languages. The other four are represented by one language each: Tshangla, Lhokpu, Gongduk, and Lepcha. Tshangla is spoken by the largest population of speakers (138,000) and is considered the *lingua franca* of eastern Bhutan. The latter three are spoken by just a few thousand speakers each. Central

Bodish is the sub-branch which contains Tibetan, Dzongkha (the national language of Bhutan) and five other languages spoken in Bhutan (Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha, Brokpa, Brokkat, Lakha and B'ökha). East Bodish consists of Bumthang, Kheng, Kurtöp, Nupbikha, 'Nyenkha, Chali, Dzala, Monkha and Dakpa.

Within East Bodish there is at least one fairly obvious sub-grouping; a handful of languages show enough similarity to be considered part of one large dialect chain consisting of Bumthang, Khen, and Kurtöp. Sometimes described as languages of the 'Bumthang' group, these languages also show considerable similarity with Central Bodish, perhaps more so than other East Bodish languages. The proposed relationship amongst the East Bodish languages is illustrated by figure 3 below.



**Figure 2:** Relationship among East Bodish Languages  
(adapted from van Driem 1995b)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Note that van Driem (1995b) does not include Sherdukpen in his diagram of East Bodish. Needless to say, much more research is needed to understand the relationship amongst the East Bodish languages as well as the relationship of East Bodish to other families within Tibeto-Burman. An important step is to tease

## Phonology

Kurtöp exhibits a three-way contrast in voice (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced) at five places of articulation (labial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar). A set of voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated dental affricates are found, as well as a voiceless and voiced dental fricative. Nasals contrast at four places of articulation (labial, dental, palatal, velar). One rhotic is found<sup>4</sup>, two laterals (voiceless and voiced) and two glides (labiovelar and palatal) are also found. The glottal fricative /h/ is found in a few items and a glottal stop is often present word-initially preceding high-toned vowels and sometimes as a realization of word-final /k/ though does not appear to possess any phonemic weight.

The phonemes found in Kurtöp are illustrated in Figure 3 below.

	<i>labial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
stops	p, ph, b	t, th, d	ȳ, ȳh, ê	c, ch, j	k, kh, g	
affricates		ts, tsh				
fricatives		s, z		sh		h
nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
laterals		l, lh				
rhotics		r				
glides	w			y		

**Figure 3:** Kurtöp Phonemes

In Figure 4, we illustrate the possible onset clusters in Kurtöp and in Figure 5, we show which of the phonemes may be syllable codas.

apart the borrowings from Central Bodish in Kurtöp and the other languages of the Bumthang group, as it remains unclear whether most of the cognates between Kurtöp and Classical Tibetan are multiple layers of borrowings over the centuries of close contact, or actually represent shared cognates.

<sup>4</sup> However, see Lowes (Hyslop) (2006) for evidence that a contrast amongst multiple rhotics could have recently collapsed.

pr- pc- pc <sup>h</sup> - p <sup>h</sup> r-
br- bʝ- bl-
kw- k <sup>h</sup> w- gw-
mr- mj-

Figure 4: Kurtöp Onset Clusters

-p -t -k
(-s) (-h)
-m -n -N
-r (-l)

Figure 5: Kurtöp Coda Consonants<sup>5</sup>

Kurtöp contrasts seven vowels, which are shown in Figure 6. Note the two front vowels are long and often vary with the corresponding diphthongs. The other two diphthongs are /iu/ and /au/.

i	y: ~ ui	u
e	ø: ~ oe	o
		a

Figure 6: Kurtöp Vowels

In open syllables only a contrast is found between short and long vowels. In this article, vowel length is indicated by a circumflex above the vowel (e.g. â). Tone is also found in Kurtöp. High and low tone contrast following the sonorant consonants and palatal fricative onsets in word-initial position. Following all other consonants in word-initial position tone is high if the consonant is voiceless and low if the consonant is voiced. For more details on Kurtöp tone and the diachronic development of the system please refer to Hyslop (to appear b). For more information on Kurtöp phonology in general the reader may refer to Hyslop (to appear a).

4.3 Verb Stems

Verb stems adhere to the Kurtöp syllable structure, which is maximally CCVC (Hyslop 2008) with the following possible

<sup>5</sup> A set of parentheses indicates the marginal status of the segment as a possible coda consonant. Coda /s/ has not been found for all speakers; some have coda /t/ in its place. Coda /h/ has only been found in a handful of words to date. The coda lateral occurs in one word in normal pronunciation (the name *Chophel*) but may also occur in discourse as the result of deletion of final vowels.

codas: *-k, -ng, -t, -n, -r, -p, -m*, open syllable. Open syllables can be divided into two sets: those which were historically closed with coda *-l* and those which were not.

Unlike other Bodish languages such as Tibetan (Beyer 1992) and Dakpa (personal field notes) which exhibit alternation in vowel quality of verbal stems, depending on aspectual and other factors, Kurtoep stems exhibit variation only in the realization of stem-final *-k* and voicing of stem-final consonants. We first discuss the loss of coda *-k* in some contexts in section 3.1 and then describe the voicing of stem-final codas in the imperative construction in section 3.2.

### *Coda k*

Verb stems with final */k/* lose their coda consonant word—finally. Examples of this alternation are illustrated in Table 1. Note when the verb takes the suffixes *-ta* or *-shang* the stem-final consonant */k/* is present but while the suffixes *-male* or *-wala* (allomorph of *-pala*, as described below in 4.1) are used the stem-final */k/* is absent and vowel length is found in its place.

**Table 1**

<i>drak-ta</i>	<i>drak-shang</i>
sound-IMPCT	sound-PFCTV
<i>drâ-male</i>	<i>drâ-wala</i>
sound-FUR	sound-PFCTV
<i>tshok-ta</i>	<i>tshok-shang</i>
cook- IMPCT	cook- PFCTV
<i>tshô-male</i>	<i>tshô-wala</i>
cook-FUT	cook-PFCTV

### *Imperative Construction*

In the Kurtöp imperative construction non-coronal stem-final stops are voiced. That is, */p/* becomes *[b]* and */k/* is realized as *[g]*. These alternations are demonstrated below in Table 2. Note in the first column to the left the verb is illustrated in the

imperative, while in the columns to the right displays examples of the verb in other verbal paradigms and as a bare stem. The allomorphy of the imperative suffix is discussed below.

**Table 2**

<i>phab-e</i>	<i>phap-shang</i>	<i>phap-ta</i>	<i>phap</i>
bring.down-IMP	bring.down-PFCTV	bring.down-IMPFCT	bring down
<i>bab-e</i>	<i>bap-shang</i>	<i>bap-ta</i>	<i>bap</i>
go.down-IMP	go.down-PFCTV	go.down-IMPFCT	go down
<i>kug-e</i>	<i>kuk-shang</i>	<i>kuk-ta</i>	<i>kû</i>
gather-IMP	gather-PFCTV	gather-IMPFCT	gather
<i>trug-e</i>	<i>truk-shang</i>	<i>truk-ta</i>	<i>trû</i>
stir-IMP	stir-PFCTV	stir-IMPFCT	stir

To date one verb stem has been found to have irregular morphophonemics when in the imperative construction. The verb *khör* ‘take’ loses its final *-r* in the imperative construction to give the form *khole*.

### Discussion

This section has illustrated alternations in Kurtöp verbal stems. We have illustrated that Kurtöp stem-final *-k* is lost, with the preceding vowel lengthening, when suffixed with *-wala*, and stem-final non-coronal stops (i.e. *-k*, *-p*) are voiced in the context of the imperative suffix. Note that the former sound change (loss of /k/ leading to long vowel) is familiar within the Tibeto-Burman family. For example, loss of /k/ led to a long vowel with a falling tone in Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 2003). Loss of final *-k* in other contexts in Kurtöp has led to a long vowel but no falling tone (Lowes 2006). The voicing of *-k* and *-p* in the environment preceding the imperative suffix (*-e* in both instances) can be seen as the voicing of a stop intervocalically. Thus, Kurtöp stem alternations can perhaps be better envisioned as reflecting straightforward phonological processes, unlike the instances in Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992) and Dakpa (personal field notes), in which stem alternations are also associated with grammatical differences.



#### 4.4 Verbal Morphology

Much of Kurtöp verbal morphology does not exhibit morphophonemic alternation, such as the perfective *-shang* and the future/intentional *-male*, for example, which do not change form. In this section we describe the allomorphy of two verbal suffixes. Namely, we discuss the allomorphy of the perfective suffix *-pala* and the allomorphy of the imperative suffix *-le*.

##### *Perfective -pala*

The perfective form *-pala* marks perfective aspect when the speaker has direct evidence of the event; therefore it tends to be used to refer to first person more than second or third. This suffix has the form *-wala* when following *-k*, *-ng*, *-r* and open syllables which were historically closed by a coda *-l*. The alloform *-sala* is found when suffixed to an open syllable which was not historically closed by coda *-l*, and the form remains *-pala* in all other contexts. This allomorphy is illustrated by the data in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Allomorphy of Kurtöp *-pala*

Stem Type	Example Bare Stem	Gloss	Stem with <i>-pala</i>
<i>-k</i>	kuk	‘gather’	kû-wala
<i>-ng</i>	thong	‘drink’	thong-wala
<i>-r</i>	chir	‘chop’	chir-wala
historical <i>-l</i> <sup>6</sup>	phre	‘separate’	phre-wala
<i>-t</i>	dot	‘sleep’	dot-pala
<i>-n</i>	gin	‘put on’	gin-pala

<sup>6</sup> Because synchronic open syllables in verbs may come from at least two different sources (i.e. open syllable remains open or coda *-l* is lost and fronts the vowel) a verbal stem in it of itself does not show whether or not a coda *-l* was present historically. Thus, comparative data is used to discern whether or not the stem had a *-l* coda historically. For example, with regard to the present data, comparison with Classical Tibetan sP+l.b. <spralba> supports the hypothesis that this form had a historically present *-l* final stem.

-p	phap	'bring down'	phap-pala
-m	ngom	'become drunk'	ngom-pala
open syllable	Se	'die'	se-sala

### *Imperative -le*

The imperative suffix *-le* also evidences some morphophonemic alternations. Following non-coronals, the form *-e* is found and following open syllables which were not historically closed by *-l* the form *-ye* is used. In all other contexts *-le* remains unchanged. This allomorphy is displayed in Table 4.

**Table 4:** Allomorphy of Kurtöp *-le*

Stem Type	Example Bare Stem	Gloss	Imperative
-k	kuk	'gather'	kug-e
-ng	thong	'drink'	thong-e
-p	phap	'bring down'	phab-e
-m	ngom	'cry'	ngom-e
-r	chir	'chop'	chir-le
historical -l	phre	'separate'	phre-le
-t	dot	'sleep'	dot-le
-n	gin	'put on'	gin-le
open syllable	se	'die'	se-ye

### *Discussion*

In this section, we have illustrated that the perfective suffix *-pala* has allomorph *-wala* when following stems with final velars, *-r* or a diachronically present *-l*, and allomorph *-sala* when following stems with synchronic open vowels that did not have a coda *-l* present at a previous stage in the language. The motivation for the allomorphy surrounding *-pala* is less clear than for that associated with the verbal stems. In case of the stem-final velars, it might be best to hypothesize that /p/ > [w] is an assimilation to velar place of articulation, and that the change /p/ > [w] following *r* and *l* is an assimilation in sonority. Regarding the allomorph *-sala*, there is evidence that in Classical Tibetan an *-s* suffix was associated with perfective

aspect (Beyer 1992). Perhaps, this was also true of an older stage of Kurtöp, in which case it remained in the context of open syllables and the *p-* of *-pala* assimilated to the *-s*.

The allomorphy of the imperative suffix *-le* is also interesting. If the verbal stem terminates (or terminated, in the case of stems which had an *-l* coda at a previous stage of the language) in a coronal consonant, then there is no change in the form of the imperative. However, following a non-coronal consonant, the *l-* of the imperative will delete. Such restrictions on deletion seem intuitive if we assume two adjacent consonants must agree in coronality in this context. Of further interest is the sound change */l/ > [y]*. While it may be considered another example of assimilation in terms of sonority (c.f. */p/ > [w]* *\_l, r* in the case of *-pala*, above), the sound change *l > y* has happened elsewhere in the language. Consider, for example, the data in Table 5.

**Table 5:** Examples of Kurtöp *y* corresponding to Classical Tibetan *l*

Kurtöp	Classical Tibetan	Gloss
yâ	lg.p. <lagpa>	'hand'
yanga	LV. <lnga>	'five'
yam	lm. <lam>	'road'
yô	lug. <lug>	'sheep'
yang	lvs. <langs>	'stand'

#### 4.5 Summary and Discussion

This article has addressed allomorphy in Kurtöp, a Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan. The full extent of alternations in verbal stems has been described here. Namely, we have illustrated that Kurtöp stem-final *-k* is lost, with the preceding vowel lengthening, when suffixed with *-wala*, and stem-final non-coronal stops (i.e. *-k, -p*) are voiced in the context of the imperative suffix.

Morphophonemics of some verbal affixes have also been addressed. We examined morphophonemics of the perfective suffix *-pala* and the imperative suffix *-le*. The former had the

allomorph *-wala* following *-k*, *-ng*, *-r*, and old *-l* final stems. If stem was vowel final but did not have a *-l* coda at a previous stage in the language, then the form *-sala* was employed. In all other contexts *-pala* has remained *-pala*.

Most instances of Kurtöp morphophonemics discussed in this article may attribute their alternations to simple phonological processes, such as assimilation and deletion. We also noted that at least two instances morphophonological alternations are also reflected in historic sound change. That is, the alternation of *-k* with  $\emptyset$  and lengthened preceding vowel in verbal stems mirrors the sound change  $k > \emptyset$ , which has happened elsewhere in the language, triggering a long vowel (Lowes 2006). Also, the alternation of *l* with *y* in the imperative mirrors the sound change  $l > y$ , which was illustrated in Table 3.

This article has not considered morphophonemics of other affixes, such as the negative prefix, locative and genitive suffixes, and other verbal suffixes. These also display allomorphy and a more detailed examination of Kurtöp morphophonemics should indeed consider these as well. Thus, not all the processes underlying Kurtöp morphophonology have been examined, and a further investigation of these processes promises to yield interesting results, especially in light of the historic sound changes in other aspects of the language.

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## FIVE

# Case Marking in Kaike

AMBIKA REGMI

### 5.1 Overview

This paper attempts to analyse the case marking system in the Kaike language. Kaike is a seriously endangered and not properly described Tibeto-Burman language of the Bodish group spoken in three villages, viz. Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot under Sahartara Village Development Committee of Dolpa district of Nepal. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, the total population of the speaker amounts 792.<sup>1</sup> It is a consistently ergative-absolutive language. Kaike exhibits the relational functions such as ergative, instrumental, dative, genitive, ablative, locative, allative, comitative, path and inessive. However, Kaike presents typologically very interesting patterns of case syncretism in its relational morphology like other Bodish languages (Noonan, 2006).

This paper is organized as follows: In section 2, we deal with the Kaike case forms and their functions from the typological perspective. Section 3 discusses the patterns of case syncretism in the language. In section 4, we summarize the findings of the paper.

### 5.2 Case Forms and their Functions

The Kaike case forms, their description and glossing are presented in Table 1.

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<sup>1</sup> The framework of the analysis is the functional-typological grammar mainly developed by Talmy Givón (2001).

**Table 1:** Kaike case forms, their description and glossing

<i>Morphemes</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>-ø</i>	Absolutive	ABS
<i>-ĩ-je</i>	Ergative	ERG
<i>-ĩ-je</i>	Instrumental	INS
<i>-ga</i>	Benefactive	BEN
<i>-na</i>	Genitive	GEN
<i>-ɣrabo</i>	Comitative	COM
<i>-lai</i>	Ablative	ABL
<i>-gã-mã-je</i>	Locative	LOC
<i>-kya</i>	Allative	ALL
<i>-jiã</i>	Inessive	INES
<i>-k<sup>h</sup>eke</i>	Path	PAT

We discuss the case forms and their functions in Kaike as follows:

- i. <ø>  
     Morph:     *-ø*  
     Label:     -ABS

The case clitic <-ø> marks the nominals in absolutive case. In Kaike the direct object of the transitive and the subject of the intransitive clauses are marked by <-ø>, e.g.

- (1)  
 a. *ɣai sai japa*  
    *ɣa-i*           *sai-ø*           *ja-pa*  
    1SG-ERG       rice-ABS       eat-PST  
    'I ate rice.'  
 b. *ɣa raybo*  
    *ɣa-ø*           *ray-bo*  
    1SG-ABS       laugh-PST  
    'I laughed.'

In (1a) the direct object of the transitive and in (1b) the subject of intransitive verb is zero-marked. Both the direct object and the intransitive subject are inflected for absolutive case.

ii. < *-i-je* >Morphs: < *-i-je* >

Label: -ERG/INS

The case clitics < *-i* > and < *-je* > mark ergative and instrumental cases in Kaike. These two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned. The allomorph < *-i* > is affixed to the noun stem ending in the vowel sounds other than the high back vowel. The allomorph *-je* is used following the high front vowel and consonant sounds.

The following are the examples:

## (2)

- a. *hari*     *-je*  
Hari     -ERG
- b. *simi*     *-je*  
man     -ERG
- c. *ram*     *-je*  
Ram     -ERG
- d. *ŋa* *-i*  
1SG     -ERG
- e. *nu*     *-i*  
3SG     -ERG
- f. *sita*     *-i*  
Sita     -ERG
- g. *wo* *-i*  
axe     -INS

In 2 (a-c), the nominals are suffixed by the allomorph *-je* because each nominal in (2a-c) ends either in the high front vowel or the consonants. However, in (2d-g), the allomorph *-i* is used. The phenomenon presented in (2a-g) can be formally presented as follows:

## (3)

$$/ -je/ \rightarrow / -i/ \ / \chi \_$$

where, X refers to any vowel segment other than the high front vowel.



### *Ergative*

As mentioned earlier, the subject of the transitive clause irrespective of tense-aspect or person is obligatorily marked by the ergative suffix *-i-je* as in (4)

(4)

- a. *ya siɲina jili jili nai rara*

<i>ya</i>	<i>si-ɲi-na</i>	<i>jili</i>	<i>na-i</i>	<i>ra ra</i>
1SG	die-COND-GEN	king	2SG-ERG	say say

*ɲana ɲojo camega turi bindara*

<i>ɲa-na</i>	<i>ɲojo</i>	<i>came-ga</i>	<i>turi</i>	<i>bin-dara</i>
isg-GEN	boy	girl-DAT	grief	give-NPST

‘If I die, king, king, you too might give grief to my son and daughter.’

- b. *anna ramma ma canje homa bindã ru*

<i>an-na</i>	<i>ramma</i>	<i>ma-can-je</i>	<i>homa</i>
this-GEN	beside	mother-EMPH-ERG	milk

*binddã ru*

<i>bind-dã</i>	<i>ru</i>
give-MIR	RPST

‘Beside it the mother would give milk, it is said.’

- c. *ale yaɲ tuimu canje raydã ru*

<i>ale</i>	<i>yaɲ</i>	<i>tui-mu</i>	<i>can-je</i>	<i>raydã</i>	<i>ru.</i>
then	again	witch-FEM	emph-ERG	see-MIR	RPST

‘The again the witch herself saw them, it is said.’

In examples 4(a-c), all the subjects of the transitive verb are marked by ergative suffix.

### *Instrumental*

The case clitic *-i<sup>x</sup>-je* are affixed to the nominals to code an implement noun, i.e. a tool, inanimate or not, by which an agent accomplishes an action, e.g.

(5)

- a. *ramje kalamje cit<sup>hi</sup> sarbo*  
*ram-je kalam-je cit<sup>hi</sup> sar-bo*  
 Ram-ERG pen-INS letter write-PST  
 'Ram wrote a letter with a pen.'

- b. *ramje perkai bulen p<sup>h</sup>yaybo*  
*ram-je perka-i bulen p<sup>h</sup>yaybo*  
 Ram-ERG stick-INS snake beat-PST  
 'Ram beat a snake with a stick.'

- c. *harije wai taypu t<sup>h</sup>umbo*  
*hari-je wa-i taypu t<sup>h</sup>um-bo*  
 Hari-ERG axe-INS tree cut-PST  
 'Ram cut a tree with an axe.'

In examples (5a-c) the nominals marked by *-i* or *-je* function as instrument in the clauses.

### *Locative*

The case clitic *-je* also marks the locative case in Kaike. Following are the examples:

(6)

- a. *payer puru yigije thunan*  
*payer puru yigi-je thu-nan*  
 family whole day-LOC bathe-NMLZ  
 'The whole family take bathe every day.'
- b. *ale nyaje dho nanpa*  
*ale nyja-je d<sup>h</sup>o nan-pa*  
 then evening-LOC fire tree pu-NMLZ  
 'After that they put fire tree in the evening.'
- c. *ale nyaje la sol sol payer puru*  
*ale nyja-je la sol sol payer puru*  
 then evening-loc god worship family whole  
 worship

<i>daykyal</i>	<i>japa</i>
<i>daykyal</i>	<i>ja-pa</i>
lump	eat-nmlz

'After that they worship the god and the whole families eat in the evening.'

In 6(a-c) unlike in 4(b-c) and 5(b) *-je* marks the locative case in Kaike.

- iii. < -ga >  
 Morph: <-ga >  
 Label: LOC/BEN/DAT

### ***Locative***

The case clitic *-ga* marks the locative case in Kaike. Following are the examples:

(7)

- a. *kitab tebulga nya*  
*kitab      tebul-ga      nya*  
 book      table-LOC      be.NPST

'The book is on the table.'

- b. *to bindara ban tablāga we we yay yo nya ru*  
*to   bindaraban   tablā-ga      we      we*  
 up   dark jungle   forest-LOC      bring bring  
*yay                      yo                      nya ru*  
 again                      lake Be.NPST      RPST

'Taking them into the deep dark forest, there was a huge lake, it is said.'

In 7(a-b), the locative case is marked by the morpheme *-ga*.

### ***Benefactive***

Apart from marking the locative case the relational marker *-ga* marks the nominal to be benefitted by the action of the nominal agent. Following are the examples:

(8)

a. *ŋa siŋina jili nai rara*

*ŋa si-ŋi-na jili jili na-i ra ra*  
 1SG die-COND-GEN king king 2SG-ERG say say

*ŋana ŋojo camega turi bindara*

*ŋa-na ŋojo came-ga turi bin-dara*  
 1sg-gen son daughter-DAT grief give-NPST

“If I die, king, king, you too might give grief to my son and daughter.”

b. *nai ren ru ru yeŋ ŋana nojo*

*na-i ren ru ru yeŋ ŋa-na nojo*  
 2sg-erg oath swear swear even 1SG-GEN son

*camega turi binnan*

*came-ga turi bin-nan*  
 daughter-LOC suffer give-INF

“Even though swearing an oath, you have caused suffering to my son and daughter.”

iv. &lt; -na &gt;

Morph: &lt;-na &gt;

Label: GEN

The case clitic *-na* marks the genitive case in Kaike. Following are the examples:

(9)

a. *taŋbo diŋ ŋya ru ale jilina yim ŋya ru*

*taŋbo diŋ ŋya ru ale jili-na yim ŋya ru*  
 Long there be RPST then king-GEN house be RPST

‘Long ago it was so, they say, that there was the house of a king, it is said.’

b. *ale ti ŋi c<sup>h</sup>upcana ma can si-dã ru*

*ale ti ŋi c<sup>h</sup>upca-na ma can si-dã ru*  
 Then one day sparrow-GEN mother-EMPH die-mir RPST

‘Then one day the sparrow’s mother up and died, it is said.’

- c. *ale nuna palo ren ru dǎ ru*  
*ale nu-na palo ren ru dǎ ru*  
 Then 3SG-GEN turn oath swear-MIR RPST  
 'Then he in turn swore an oath, it is said.'
- v. < -ma >  
 Morph: <-ma >  
 Label: POSS/LOC

### Possessive

The case clitic *-ma* marks the possession in the clause. Following are the examples:

- (10)
- a. *ramma kitap jya*  
*ram -ma kitap jya*  
 Ram -POSS book be.NPST  
 'Ram has a book.'
- b. *ramma kitap majya*  
*ram -ma kitap ma-jya*  
 Ram -POSS book neg-be.NPST  
 'Ram does not have any book.'

### Locative

Another function of the case clitic *-ma* is to mark the location of the things or persons. Following are the examples:

- (11)
- a. *ɳ<sup>hi</sup> ɳ<sup>hi</sup> swa swa ale yimma swadǎ*  
*ɳ<sup>hi</sup> ɳ<sup>hi</sup> swa swa ale yim-ma swadǎ*  
 after after come come then house-LOC come-MIR  
 'Coming behind they arrived at the house.'
- b. *ta jyen yimma naswa yo*  
*ta jyen yim-ma na-swa yo*  
 now 2du house-LOC PROH-come okay  
 'Now you two don't come to the house, okay?'

- c. *b<sup>h</sup>ai yimma woina tuimui satnan*  
*b<sup>h</sup>ai yim-ma woi-na tuimu-i sat-nan*  
 brother house-LOC go-GEN witch-ERG kill-INF  
 'Younger Brother, after you go to the house the witch  
 (is intent) to kill us.'

- vi. <-lai>  
 Morph: <-lai>  
 Label: ABL

The case clitic *-lai* marks the ablative case in Kaike. Following are the examples:

- (12)
- a. *syor syor s<sup>h</sup>yalai ale nuna palo mind<sup>h</sup>wa*  
*syor syor s<sup>h</sup>ya-lai ale nu-na palo mind<sup>h</sup>wa*  
 escape escape there-ABL then 3SG-GEN turn flower  
*ti t<sup>h</sup>umpa nyu ru*  
*ti t<sup>h</sup>umpa nyu ru*  
 one spring Be.NPST RPST  
 'Escaping and going from there, then, in turn, one  
 flower was sprung up, it is said.'
- b. *ale azu rami ti ji ale yajs<sup>h</sup>yalai ma swatao*  
*ale azu ra-mi ti ji ale yajs<sup>h</sup>ya ma*  
 then same say-AFTER one day then again mother  
*swatao ma can d<sup>h</sup>o-dã ru*  
*swatao ma can d<sup>h</sup>o-dã ru*  
 come-when be EMPH meet-MIR RPST  
 'Then after saying like that, again one day when the  
 mother came from there, they mettheir mother, it is  
 said.'

- vii. <-nyabo>  
 Morph: <-nyabo>  
 Label: COM

The case clitic *-nyabo* is used to express accompaniment. It

follows the genitive marker-na. The case form which expresses accompaniment is referred to as comitative case. Following are the examples:

- (13) *ŋa ram-na-nyabo yim woipa*  
*ŋa ram-na-nyabo yim woipa*  
 1SG Ram-GEN-COM house go-PST  
 'I went to the house with Ram.'

viii. <-kya>

Morph: <-kya>  
 Label: ALL

- (14) *ana lam yimkya sace*  
*ana lam yim-kya sa-ce*  
 this road house-ALL reach-NPST  
 'This road reaches towards home.'

ix. <-jiã>

Morph: <-jiã>  
 Label: INES

(15)

- a. *ale nu-na palo ŋojo came can*  
*ale nu-na palo ŋojo came can*  
 then 3SG-GEN turn son daughter EMPH  
*yimnajiã kyũ-dã ru*  
*yim-na-jiã kyũ-dã ru*  
 house-GEN-INES hide-MIR RPST  
 'Then he in turn hid his son and daughter inside the house, it is said.'
- b. *yimnajiã kyũ kyũ ka nu p<sup>h</sup>ujyal*  
*yimnajiã kyũ ka nu p<sup>h</sup>ujyal*  
 house-GEN-INES hide hide 3SG hunting  
*k<sup>h</sup>ema woidã ru*  
*k<sup>h</sup>ema woidã ru*  
 do-PURP go-MIR RPST

‘Hiding and keeping them inside the house he went off to hunt, it is said.’

viii. <-k<sup>h</sup>eke>

Morph: <-k<sup>h</sup>eke>

Label: PAT

(16) *ya batolna lamk<sup>h</sup>eke yim woice*

*ya batlo-na lam-k<sup>h</sup>eke yim woi-ce*  
1SG Butwal-GEN road-PAT house go-NPST  
‘I go home through Butwal.’

5.3 Case Syncretism

In section 1.1, we have seen that a given relational marker in Kaike is used to mark more than one relational function. Table 2 presents a set of relational functions in Kaike determined on the basis of functions.

Table 2: A set of relational functions in Kaike

Ablative	from
Allative	to, toward
Comitative	with, together with, accompanied by
Dative	indirect object or primary object
Ergative	marker of the A argument in transitive clauses, or marker of agents
Genitive	possessor
Inessive/illative	in, into
Instrumental	with, by means of
Locative	‘unmarked locative’ or static location [‘at’, ‘on’]
Path	along, via, through
Subessive/sublative	under
Superessive/superlative	over

Kaike marks more than one of these relations with a single marker. Not only the ergative and instrumental is marked by the same form in Kaike but also other case relations. Table 3 shows the patterns of case syncretism in Kaike:



**Table 3:** The patterns of case syncretism in Kaike

<i>Morphemes</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>-ø</i>	Absolutive	ABS
<i>-i</i>	Ergative, instrumental	ERG/INS
<i>-je</i>	Ergative, instrumental, locative	ERG/INS/LOC
<i>-ga</i>	Benefactive, locative	BEN/LOC
<i>-na</i>	Genitive	GEN
<i>-nyabo</i>	Comitative	COM
<i>-lai</i>	Ablative	ABL
<i>-ma</i>	Locative, possessive	LOC/POSS
<i>-kya</i>	Allative	ALL
<i>-jiã</i>	Inessive	INES
<i>-k<sup>h</sup>eke</i>	Path	PAT

Table 3 presents a very interesting pattern of case syncretism in Kaike. As we can see that the relational function of locative, for instance, may be expressed in Kaike by three relational markers. Similarly, a given relational marker may express more than one non-core relation other than its core relation. Due to the preference for syncretism the specific function of a particular case marker can be contextually disambiguated in Kaike.

## 5.4 Summary

In this paper, we have attempted to discuss the case forms and their functions in Kaike. Moreover, we have provided a bird's eye view on case syncretism in the language. Kaike is a consistently ergative language. Kaike exhibits the relational functions such as ergative, instrumental, dative, genitive, ablative, locative, allative, comitative and inessive. We saw that Kaike presents very interesting patterns of case syncretism in its relational morphology like other Bodish languages. We also stated that due to the preference for syncretism the specific function of a particular case marker can be contextually disambiguated in Kaike.

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# Some Particular Word Forms in Tibetan Numerals

## Special Reference to the Dialects Spoken in Eastern Tibetan Area

HIROYUKI SUZUKI

### 6.1 Introduction

The word form of the numeral in Tibetan is very stable among basic words, fundamentally the oral forms which correspond to the ones of Written Tibetan (WrT). It is well known that Tibetan 'seven' is the same morpheme derived from WrT *bdun* in all the dialects (Beyer 1992: 7-8).

About the numerals, previously the vigesimal system has been remarked among Tibetic (Bodic) languages, especially in Dzongkha (Mazaudon 1985). But several Tibetan dialects, especially spoken in the Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan, that is, the most eastern peripheral region where Tibetan dialects distribute, partially possess some different words and the numeral morphology from those in WrT.<sup>1</sup>

This paper aims to introduce the special cardinal numeral forms about 'one' to 'hundred' in multiple dialects, and to give possible explanations for these forms.

<sup>1</sup> This paper does not deal with the vigesimal system, because this system is not found among the dialects spoken in the Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan except for gSerrong-Lungwa dialect, spoken in mBrugchu, Gansu (Kun-chogs rGya-mtsho 1987).

## 6.2 One to Ten

The numerals ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are the basis of the Tibetan numeral system.

- ONE (WrT *gcig*)  
On the initial, generally an alveopalatal affricate is included.  
Special examples are followings:
  1. with an alveolar affricate  
/°tʂiʔ/ (gZari), /htʂiʔ/ (sKyangtshang)  
These forms could originate from Old Tibetan (OT) \*gtsig (Pad-ma Lhun-grub 2006)
  2. with a palato-alveolar fricative  
/^de ʒi/ (sProsnang)  
The second element corresponds to WrT *zhig*, in addition different from the normal correspondence to *c/ch/j/zh/sh* in sProsnang, which is retroflexes.
  3. ‘normal’ exceptional form  
/^hʈʂiʔ/ (rGyalthang), /ʔtʂiʔ/ (nDappa)  
These examples are normal forms but in each dialect above the correspondence with WrT *c/ch/j* is not alveopalatal; retroflexes in rGyalthang<sup>2</sup>, and alveopalatal plosive in nDappa.<sup>3</sup>
- TWO (WrT *gnyis*)  
On the initial, generally an alveopalatal nasal is included.  
Special examples are followings:
  1. with a labial nasal  
/^mã/ (Melung, Yanmen, partial patois of Budy)  
Obscure etymon, which may be related to /m̩55/ ‘two’ in Nusu (Sun & Liu 1986) spoken near to these dialects.
  2. with an alveolar nasal  
/^h̥nãj/ (gTorwa), /nã, nã/ (sPomtserag)  
Obscure etymon, which may be related to *ne* ‘two’ in Zhangzhung among Bodic languages.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. /ʔtʂa/ ‘tea’ ja and /ʔtʂʰu/ ‘water’ chu.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. /ʔto/ ‘tea’ ja and /ʔtʰu/ ‘water’ chu.

## 3. with a particular rhyme

/<sup>h</sup>nã/ (Askyirong), /<sup>h</sup>nũ/ (Phremgme, Ragwo)

Doubtful forms of the direct descendent from WrT *gnyis*.

- THREE (WrT *gsum*)

No special word forms are found.

- FOUR (WrT *bzhi*)

The vowel of the example /<sup>h</sup>zã/ (Melung) does not perfectly correspond to WrT form, it can be comparable to Prinmi /<sup>h</sup>zã/ 'four' in Tibeto-Burman languages.

- FIVE (WrT *lnga*)

On the initial, generally a velar nasal is included, and the example /nã/ (Hongtu) is characteristic.

- SIX (WrT *drug*)

The word form of 'six' will be problematic on its tone, generally the tone is low type, but several dialects possess a form with high type as follows:

/<sup>h</sup>tsu?/ (sProsang), /<sup>h</sup>tu?/ (Sogpho);

/<sup>h</sup>ɬɔ?/ (Sagong, Phrengme), /<sup>h</sup>ɬɔ?/ (Chaphreng, Yanmen, Melung)

The forms above may originate from Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) \*d-k-ruk or \*k-d-ruk.<sup>4</sup>

- SEVEN (WrT *bdun*)

The form of 'seven' is similar among the Tibetan dialects, some oral forms may not be supposed as a normal correspondence as follows:

/<sup>o</sup>wtã/ (Askyirong), /<sup>h</sup>dã/ (dGudzung), /<sup>h</sup>dã:/ (rGyalhang)

The correspondence between the rhyme *-un* and /a/ is characteristic, thus the forms above can originate from a little different form from WrT *bdun*.

- EIGHT (WrT *brgyad*)

The example /<sup>n</sup>la/ (Yanmen) does not correspond to WrT form, this etymon is unclear.

<sup>4</sup> PTB forms are cited from Matisoff (1997: 81-84).

- NINE (WrT *dgu*)  
No special wordforms are found.
- TEN (WrT *bcu*)  
The example /dʒa: mba/ (gZari) does not perfectly correspond to WrT form, but it can be supposed as a contraction of the first two syllables of WrT *bcu tham pa*. And this form is comparable to Baima 'ten' /tʃa<sup>53</sup>nba<sup>53</sup>/ (Nishida & Sun 1990). All the tens in gZari dialect have the voiced initial.

Special forms cited above are found in the dialects which are spoken especially in three areas: Songpan (Shar Tibetan<sup>5</sup>), Danba (rGyalrong Tibetan<sup>6</sup>) and Shangri-La (southern Khams Tibetan).

### 6.3 Eleven to Nineteen

The tens in Tibetan is composed with the morpheme 'ten' and each 'one'. The sound of the rhyme of 'ten' and the initial of each 'one' can be changeable with contrast to each independent morpheme (i.e. ones and 'ten'). Below only special forms and their explanation are listed.

- ELEVEN (WrT *bcu gcig*)
  1. /<sup>p</sup>tɕuik ts<sup>h</sup>ək/ (rNgawa), /<sup>p</sup>tɕiq ts<sup>h</sup>əq/ (dMarthang) < \*bcug tshig < \*bcu gtshig  
This process is supposed by Pad-ma Lhun-grub (2006).
  2. /dʒu ʰtsiʔ/ (gZari), /<sup>p</sup>tɕe° tsi:/ (Askyirong) < \*bcu gtsig
  3. /<sup>̃</sup>tɕu: ji/ (Sogpho), /<sup>̃</sup>tɕu: jiʔ/ (Chaphreng, Thangyang) < \*bcu yig < WrT *bcu gcig*
  4. others  
/<sup>̃</sup>tɕu: ʒiʔ/ (sProsnang), /<sup>̃</sup>tɕu: fiuʔ/ (Ragwo)

<sup>5</sup> Shar Tibetan is a new dialect group parallel to Central, Khams and Amdo, which is characterized with the opposition of the register/phonation type.

<sup>6</sup> Note that this is not rGyalrong language but a kind of Khams Tibetan.

- TWELVE (WrT *bcu gnyis*)
  1. with a labial nasal as the initial of the second syllable  
/ᵐt̚so mǎ/ (Melung), /ᵐt̚cu: mǎ/ (Yanmen), /ᵐpt̚co: mǎ/ (Budy)
  2. with a alveolar nasal as an initial of the second syllable  
/ᵐht̚so: nǎ/ (rGyalthang, Nyishe), /ᵐhco: nǎ/ (sPomtserag)
  3. special vowel  
/ᵐpt̚cu ʱnǎ/ (Askylorong)

Compare TWO for all the examples above.
- THIRTEEN (WrT *bcu gsum*)  
No special wordforms are found.
- FOURTEEN (WrT *bcu bzhi*)  
As in FOUR, the vowel of the example /ᵐht̚su: ʷza/ (Melung) does not perfectly correspond to WrT form.
- FIFTEEN (WrT *bco lnga*)  
Compared with FIVE, the example /t̚co: ŋa/ (Hongtu) is normal.
- SIXTEEN (WrT *bcu drug*)
  1. glottal stop at the end of the first syllable  
/ᵐt̚cu? t̚u:/ (Phyugtsi), /ᵐt̚cu? t̚u?/ (Lhagang), /ᵐht̚se? t̚so?/ (gTorwa)  
< \*bcud k-ruk? < \*bcu d-k-ruk?7
  2. /r/ as an initial consonant of the second syllable  
/ᵐht̚cu ru?/ (Babzo), /ᵐt̚cu ru?/ (dGudzong)
  3. /ᵐt/ as an initial consonant of the second syllable  
/dz̥u ʰt̚u?/ (gZari), /ᵐpt̚co ʰt̚uq/ (dMarthang)
  4. /ᵐd/ as an initial consonant of the second syllable  
/ᵐt̚ce ʳd̥ʱ:/ (gZhungwa) only<sup>8</sup>
- SEVENTEEN (WrT *bcu bdun*)  
No special wordforms are found.

<sup>8</sup> cf. SIX in gZhungwa dialect: /<sup>o</sup>tɕɛ/, normal form. But SIX as in twenty-‘six,’ the prenasalized form is used such as /...<sup>oh</sup>tsaŋɕɛ/.

- EIGHTEEN (WrT *bco brgyad*)  
No special wordforms are found.
- NINETEEN (WrT *bcu dgu*)  
No special wordforms are found.

## 6.4 Twenty to Hundred

Problematic forms are attested especially in the morphology of the unrounded number.

### *Rounded Number*

Below only special forms and their explanation are listed.

- TWENTY (WrT *nyi shu*)  
No special wordforms are found.
- THIRTY (WrT *sum cu*)
  1. /<sup>̄</sup>s<sup>h</sup>õ n̩u/ (gDongsum), /<sup>̄</sup>s<sup>h</sup>õ tɕ<sup>h</sup>u/ (Rwata) characterised with the first rhyme.
  2. /<sup>̄</sup>nə̃ n̩a:/ (Melung) is obscure form in the etymon.
- FORTY (WrT *bzhi bcu*)  
/rə̃ <sup>h</sup>tɕu/ (dGudzung), /rə̃ <sup>h</sup>tɕu/ (gDongsum) characterised with the first initial.
- FIFTY (WrT *lnga bcu*)  
No special wordforms are found.
- SIXTY (WrT *drug cu*)
  1. /<sup>̄</sup>ʈu: tɕu/ (Grongsum) characterised with the high-tone initial.
  2. /<sup>̄</sup>ʈu <sup>w</sup>z̥u/ (sProsnang) characterised with the retroflex initial in the second syllable.<sup>9</sup>
  3. /<sup>̄</sup>ʈu<sup>w</sup> z̥u/ (dGudzung) characterised with the fricative initial in the second syllable.
- SEVENTY (WrT *bdun cu*)
  1. /<sup>̄</sup>de: <sup>w</sup>z̥u/ (sProsnang) characterised same as SIXTY

<sup>9</sup> The retroflex initial of the second syllable is observed only about 60, 70, 80 and 90 in sProsnang dialect, and about 60 and 70 in Sogpho dialect.



2. /'dō m̥t̪ɕhu/ (Rangakha) characterised with the prenasal in the second syllable.
- EIGHTY (WrT *brgyad cu*)
  1. /ʔd̪a w̥z̪u/ (sProsnang) characterised same as SIXTY.
  2. /ʔ̥dzə ja/ (Phrengme), /ʔ̥dzɔː fia/ (gDongsum) characterised with the second initial.
- NINETY (WrT *dgu bcu*)
  1. /ʔfigu w̥z̪u/ (sProsnang) characterised same as SIXTY.
  2. /ʔgũ t̪ɕu/ (Yanmen) characterised with the nasalised vowel in the first syllable.<sup>10</sup>
- HUNDRED (WrT *brgya*)  
No special wordforms are found.

### Connecting Element

The Tibetan normal construction of the unrounded number (more than twenty) is “tens + connecting element + ones.” There are two types about the morpheme connecting the tens with the units:

1. different forms for each ten  
WrT: *rtsa* for ‘twenties<sup>11</sup>,’ *so* ‘thirties,’ *zhe*, *nga*, *re*, *don*, *gya* and *go* ‘nineties’
2. only *rtsa*  
All the connecting morphemes are identical.  
This type is used in Phyugtsi, sKyangtshang, Thangskya, gDongsum, Nyishe dialects, etc.

### Unrounded Number

1. Bisyllabic wordform
  - (a) omission of the first two syllables (the part of the tens)  
normal omission for the simplified style to say, for only each connecting morpheme can express each ten.
  - (b) dialects which have only bisyllabic wordforms

<sup>10</sup> NINE in Yanmen is /ʔ̥gu/ , which include no nasalized vowel.

<sup>11</sup> Another morpheme *nyer* also exists, but the usage of it is not observed in the dialects mentioned here.

Yungling: e.g. /<sup>h</sup>tsa: <sup>h</sup>tɕi?/ '21,' /sō <sup>h</sup>ɳə/12 '32,' /<sup>h</sup>zə <sup>h</sup>sō/ '43,' etc.

gTorwa: e.g. /<sup>h</sup>tsa <sup>h</sup>tɕi?/ '21,' /<sup>h</sup>s<sup>h</sup>u <sup>h</sup>ɳə/ '32,' /<sup>h</sup>ŋa <sup>h</sup>ɳə/13 '55,' etc.

These are not authentic in Tibetan, the influence of non-Tibetan languages may exist. Native speakers can understand also the quadrosyllabic forms but they recognize them as a standard (non-dialectal) form.

## 2. Trisyllabic wordform

### (a) limited trisyllabic wordform (21 to 29)

Phyugtsi: '20' /<sup>h</sup>ɳu ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɕ/ , which can be directly connected to the ones, such as:

/<sup>h</sup>ɳu ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɕ <sup>h</sup>tɕi?/ '21,' ...

Melung: the same type as above, /<sup>h</sup>ɳi ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɕ <sup>h</sup>tɕi?/ '21,' ...

### (b) unstable trisyllabic wordform

Budy: e.g. /<sup>h</sup>sō <sup>h</sup>tsaw mə/ '32,' which can be analysed as:

"tens (1 syl.) + common connecting morpheme (1 syl.) + ones (1 syl.)"

but /<sup>h</sup>ŋə <sup>h</sup>tɕu <sup>h</sup>tsa: zə/ '54' (4 syl.), which is a common form.

This may originate from the simplified system of the quadrosyllabic numerals with *rtsa*, for this connecting morpheme cannot represent the tens. Concerning the stress of the polysyllabic (more than two syllables) words, the second syllable is pronounced the weakest in the dialects such as Budy, gDongsum, etc.

## 6.5 Conclusion

The etymology of the particular numerals is divided into two types: (a) simple but with special sound change, and (b) influenced by other languages.

<sup>12</sup> This form does not correspond to WrT so *gnyis* but rather *gsum gnyis*.

<sup>13</sup> This form does not correspond to WrT *nga lnga* but rather *lnga lnga*.

Dialects possessing special numerals are mainly spoken in the following three areas: (a) Songpan-Jiuzhaigou area, (b) Danba rGyalrong area, and (c) Shangri-La area.

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## Tibetan Dialects and Area

dialect name : Village, County, Prefecture (A = Aba, G = Ganzi, L = Liangshan, D = Diqing)

- gZari : Reer, Ruoergai, A
- Askyirong : Axirong, Ruoergai, A
- Babzo : Baozuo, Ruoergai, A
- sTaglo : Dalu, Jiuzhaigou, A
- gZhungwa : Yuwa, Jiuzhaigou, A
- gTsangtsa : Dajisi, Zhangza, Jiuzhaigou, A
- Phyuqtsi : Shuzheng, Zhangza, Jiuzhaigou, A
- rNgawa : Zhong-Aba, Aba, A

- Anchams : Anqiang, Aba, A
- dMarthang : Qiongxi, Hongyuan, A
- Amphel : Shuijing, Songpan, A
- sKyangtshang : Shanba, Songpan, A
- Ketshal : Gaodunzi, Shili, Songpan, A
- Thangskya : Dadun, Shili, Songpan, A
- Serpo : Anhong, Songpan, A
- Hongtu : Hongtu, Songpan, A
- gYokhog : Jiazong, Daofu, G
- sProsnang : Zhonglu, Danba, G
- Rongbrag : Zhanggu, Danba, G
- Sogpho : Suopo, Danba, G
- dGudzong : Gezong, Danba, G
- Morim : Muru, Daofu, G
- Basme : Bamei, Daofu, G
- Lhagang : Tagong, Kangding, G
- Rangakha : Xinduqiao, Kangding, G
- Sabde : Shade, Kangding, G
- Grongsum : Zhusang, Yajiang, G
- Lithang : Gaocheng, Litang, G
- mBathang : Xiaqiong, Batang, G
- Sowanang : Suwalong, Batang, G
- mTshola : Cuola, Batang, G
- nDappa : Jinzhu, Daocheng, G
- Mundzin : Mengzi, Daocheng, G
- Sagong : Sagong, Xiangcheng, G
- Nyersul : Nisi, Xiangcheng, G
- Chaphreng : Xiangbala, Xiangcheng, G
- Phrengme : Qingmai, Xiangcheng, G
- gDongsum : Dongsong, Xiangcheng, G
- Ragwo : Ranwu, Xiangcheng, G
- Rwata : Reda, Xiangcheng, G
- Tsiu : Ziwu, Derong, G
- sDerong : Songmai, Derong, G
- Zhulong : Xulong, Derong, G
- Zulung : Rilong, Derong, G
- Muli : Mairi, Muli, L

- Thangyang : Tangyang, Muli, L
- rGyalthang : Dazhongdian, Xianggelila, D
- gTorwa : Dongwang, Xianggelila, D
- Nyishe : Nixi, Xianggelila, D
- gYagrwa : Yangla, Deqin, D
- sPomtserag : Benzilan, Deqin, D
- nJol : Shengping, Deqin, D
- Yungling : Yunling, Deqin, D
- Yanmen : Yanmen, Deqin, D
- Thoteng : Tuoding, Deqin, D
- Byagzhol : Xiaruo, Deqin, D
- Budy : Badi, Weixi, D
- mThachu : Tacheng, Weixi, D
- Melung : Yongchun, Weixi, D

### **Other languages mentioned here**

Language name : Prefecture, Province

- Nusu : Nujiang Pref., Yunnan
- Prinmi (Muli) : Liangshan Pref., Sichuan
- Zhangzhung : non-oral language of Bonpos
- Baima : Pingwu and Aba Pref., Sichuan / Gannan Pref., Gansu

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## SEVEN

# Tense and Aspect in Bhujel

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### 7.1 Introduction

This paper attempts to analyse the tense and aspect in Bhujel.<sup>1</sup> Bhujel is an endangered and previously undescribed Tibeto-Burman language spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1,17,644 ethnic Bhujel (Gurung et al. 2006). Based on the field survey, this language is actually spoken by an estimated 3,923 of 5418 (i.e. 72.4%) ethnic Bhujel, most of them living along the Mahabharata mountain range of Tanahun district of Nepal.

Tense, aspect and modality (henceforth TAM) may form a single complex category.

In this paper we, however, deal with only the tense and aspect in the language.

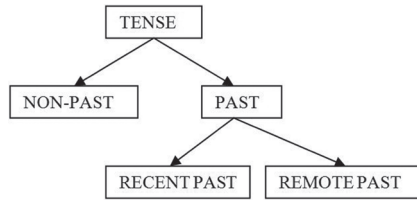
This paper is organized as follows: Section 1 deals with the categories of tense in Bhujel. Section 2 examines the lexical aspect of the verb. In section 3, we present the grammatical aspect of the verb in the language. Section 4 summarizes the findings of the paper.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of the paper presented at the 13th Himalayan Languages Symposium, 22-24<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, IIAS, Shimla, India. The general framework of the study is the functional-typological grammar developed mainly by Talmy Givón (2001).

## 7.2 The Categories of Tense in Bhujel

Bhujel finite verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past and past. The past tense distinguishes two degrees of distance: recent past and remote past. The categories of tense including two subcategories of past tenses are presented in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** Tense categories including two degrees of distance in the past tense

We discuss the categories and subcategories of tense as follows:

### *Non-Past Tense (NPST)*

The non-past tense marker in Bhujel is *-n*. It is also realized as *-na* when it is followed by another suffix with the initial consonant sound. It is normally affixed to the stem of the verb along with PNR (person, number and role) affixes. There are two main functions of the non-past tense in Bhujel:

- (a) To code events (or states) that occur right at the time of speech (i.e. reference time) as in Table 1:

**Table 1**

- a. *ŋai am jetimunay*  
*ŋa-i am je-ti-mu-na-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-DUR-AUX -NPST-1/2  
 'I am eating rice.'
- b. *dvoi am jetimuna*  
*dvo-i am je-ti-mu-na*  
 3SG REM-ERG rice eat-DUR-AUX-NPST  
 'S/he is eating rice.'

In Table 1 (a-b), the non-past indicates that the events occur right at the time of speech (i.e. reference time).

- (b) To code events (or states) that occur following the time of speech (i.e. reference time).<sup>2</sup> Following are the examples:

**Table 2**

- a. *ŋa ten kim alnaŋ*  
*ŋa ten kim al-na-ŋ*  
 1SG today house go-NPST-1/2  
 'I go home today.'
- b. *ŋai syaŋ am jenuŋ*  
*ŋa-i syaŋ am je-n-u-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG tomorrow rice eat-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 'I will eat rice tomorrow.'
- c. *naji am jetenuŋ*  
*naji am je-te-n-u-ŋ*  
 2SG-ERG rice eat-2-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 'You will eat rice.'

In Table 2 (a-c), the non-past marker indicates the events that occur following the reference time (i.e. the time of speech).<sup>3</sup>

### *Past Tense*

The past tense (recent and remote) in Bhujel codes events (or states) that occurred before the time of speech (i.e. reference time).

<sup>2</sup> Bhujel does not contain a separate marker to code events (or states) which are anticipated to happen in the future time (i.e. after the reference time).

<sup>3</sup> The non-past tense has aspectual and modal functions apart from coding the relation between reference time and event time. The non-past tense suffix is imperfective in aspect and indicates that the situation referred to is incomplete with respect to some point in time.



*Recent Past Tense (PST)*

The recent past tense is marked by *-al*. Normally this suffix is attached to the base of the verb along with PNR affixes.<sup>4</sup> It codes the events (or states) occurred preceding the time of speech (i.e. reference time), eg.:

**Table 3**

- a. *ɲa kim alalay*  
     *ɲa*       *kim*       *al-ala-ɲ*  
     1SG       house    go-PST-1/2  
     'I went home.'
- b. *naji am jetetaluɲ*  
     *naji*       *am*       *je-te-tal-u-ɲ*  
     2SG-ERG   rice     eat-2-(2)PST-DIR-1/2  
     'You ate rice.'

The events coded by this tense in Table 3 (a-b) did not only occur but also are completed and terminated before the time of speech. Thus, this tense interacts with perfective aspect.

*Remote Past Tense (RPST)*

The remote past tense is marked by *-t*. It is normally affixed to the root of the verb in combination with PNR affixes. Unlike in recent past tense, the events or states coded by this tense have the following features:

- (a) They are supposed to have occurred a long time ago.
- (b) The speaker has not directly witnessed them. They have come to be known to the speaker through either hearsay or inference.
- (c) They are basically found in narrative discourse.

The following are the examples:

<sup>4</sup> *-al* is homophonous with a lexical verb *al* 'go'. Thus, it appears that this is a grammaticalized form from the lexical verb meaning 'go'.

Table 4

- a. *ŋa kim altaŋ*  
     *ŋa*       *kim*     *al-ta-ŋ*  
     1SG       house go-RPST-1/2  
     'I went home long ago.'
- b. *ŋai am jetuŋ*  
     *ŋa-i*     *am*     *je-t-u-ŋ*  
     1SG-ERG rice eat-RPST-DIR-1/2  
     'I ate rice long ago.'
- c. *naŋi am jetetuŋ*  
     *naŋi*     *am*     *je-te-t-u-ŋ*  
     2SG-ERG rice eat-2-RPST-DIR-1/2  
     'You ate rice long ago.'

### 7.3 The Lexical Aspect of the Verb

In this section, first, we discuss the states of affairs and types of lexical aspect in general. Secondly, we propose the tests for determining the lexical aspect of the verbs in Bhujel. Lastly, we examine how semantically defined verb classes in Bhujel evoke distinct morphosyntactic treatment.

#### *The States of Affairs and Lexical Aspect*

There are four basic types of states of affairs: situations, events, processes, and actions. These states of affairs can vary in terms of number of participants there are, whether there is a terminal point, whether the states of affairs happens spontaneously or is induced (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 83). These states of affairs in Bhujel are coded by lexical aspect of verbs (also referred to as Aktionsart): states, achievements, accomplishments, and activities (Vendler 1967). Givón (2001) also classified the verbs in terms of their inherent temporal properties as stative verbs, compact verbs, accomplishment verbs and activity verbs.

**Table 5**

<i>Vendler (1967)</i>	<i>Givón (2001)</i>
States	Stative verbs
Achievements	Compact verbs
Accomplishments	Accomplishments
Activities	Activity-process

The lexical aspect of verbs (Vendler, 1967) is defined as follows: States are non-dynamic and temporally unbounded. Activities are dynamic and temporally unbounded. Achievements code instantaneous changes, usually changes of state but also changes in activities as well. They have an inherent temporal point. Accomplishments are temporally extended changes of state leading to a terminal point. The lexical aspect of the verbs may be characterized by [ $\pm$  static], [ $\pm$  telic] and [ $\pm$  punctual]:

**Table 6**

a.	State	[+static], [-telic] and [-punctual]
b.	Activity	[-static], [-telic] and [-punctual]
c.	Accomplishment	[-static], [+telic] and [-punctual]
d.	Achievement	[-static], [+telic] and [+punctual]

These lexical aspects of the verbs correspond to the state-of-affairs.

**Table 7**

	<i>Lexical aspect of verbs</i>	<i>State-of-affairs</i>
a.	States	Situations
b.	Achievements	Events
c.	Accomplishment	Process
d.	Activities	Actions

### ***Lexical Aspect Tests***

In order to determine the Aktionsart type of each verb in Bhujel, we have slightly modified the tests proposed in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). The tests consist of a set of criterion along with the lexical aspect types which are evaluated in

terms of whether a particular criterion is met by a lexical verb type.

**Table 7:** Tests for determining the Aktionsart type in Bhujel

	Criterion	States	Achievements	Accomplishments	Activities
1	Occurs with durative <i>-ti</i>	No	No	yes	yes
2	Has terminal boundary	No	No	yes	no
3	Occurs with period of time <i>-sammu</i>	yes	No	irrelevant	yes
4	Occurs with adverbs like <i>guniguni</i> 'slowly' and other adverbs borrowed from Nepali	No	No	yes	yes
5	Occurs with adverbs <i>nato</i> 'much' <i>besrak<sup>h</sup>bet</i> 'actively, much, heavily, etc.'	No	No	no	yes

On the basis of the tests in Table 7, the following verbs in Bhujel fall in the following lexical aspect of verbs:

**Table 8:** States

a.	<i>lujjikti</i>	'be sad'
b.	<i>lujdyumti</i>	'be happy'
c.	<i>riscikti</i>	'be angry'
d.	<i>t<sup>h</sup>akti</i>	'be hot'
e.	<i>cahamay</i>	'to wish'
f.	<i>patyaymay</i>	'to believe'
g.	<i>citimay</i>	'to know'
h.	<i>mu</i>	'have'
i.	<i>brawmay</i>	'be tall/big'
j.	<i>duwomay</i>	'be red'

**Table 9:** Achievements

a.	<i>dyurmay</i>	'to spit'
b.	<i>syuprmay</i>	'to cough'
c.	<i>apmay</i>	'to shoot'

d.	<i>tyukmay</i>	'to kick'
e.	<i>jyosmay</i>	'to jump'
f.	<i>dāk<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to beat/ hit'
g.	<i>pak<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to slap'
h.	<i>mlikmay</i>	'to blink'

**Table 10: Accomplishments**

a.	<i>dak<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to arrive'
b.	<i>waymay</i>	'to come'
c.	<i>nyak</i>	'to leave'
d.	<i>almay</i>	'to go'
e.	<i>dyummay</i>	'to finish'
f.	<i>dak<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to accomplish'
g.	<i>cewmay</i>	'to obtain'
h.	<i>lyuyk<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to fall'
i.	<i>simay</i>	'to die'
j.	<i>comay</i>	'be born'
k.	<i>cyuyjmay</i>	'to sit down'
l.	<i>ciymay</i>	'to stand'

**Table 11: Activities**

a.	<i>klek<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to break'
b.	<i>kormay</i>	'to bend'
c.	<i>camay</i>	'to step'
d.	<i>c<sup>h</sup>omay</i>	'to walk'
e.	<i>rak<sup>h</sup>may</i>	'to work'

### *Lexical Aspect and Morphosyntactic Treatment*

In this subsection, we observe the inherent aspectuality of the verbs by combining them with various grammatical aspects: past-perfective, past-durative, past-habitual, present-durative and habitual. These grammatical aspects add communicative perspective to states or events above and beyond their inherent aspectuality.

The stative verbs in Bhujel tend to reject the perfective interpretation because they lack terminal boundary. They automatically take on an imperfective interpretation. They normally also reject the durative aspect, presumably because their perspective is already focused on the ongoing state. However, in Bhujel the stative verbs can be combined with grammatical imperfective aspect and it yields a durative interpretation as in Table 12:

**Table 12**

- a. *ŋa citimunaŋ*  
*ŋa ci-ti-mu-na-ŋ*  
 1SG know-DUR-AUX-NPST-1/2  
 'I know.' (Literally 'I am knowing')
- b. *ŋa dyumtimunaŋ*  
*ŋa dyum-ti-mu-na-ŋ*  
 1SG be happy-DUR-AUX-NPST-1/2  
 'I am happy.' (Literally 'I am being happy')

When we combine a stative verb with grammatical perfective aspect the inherent state is converted into an event. It may yield a perfective interpretation, as in:

**Table 13**

- ŋa dyumalaŋ*  
*ŋa dyum-ala-ŋ*  
 1SG be happy-PST-/2  
 'I became happy.'

In Table 13, the inherent lexical aspect of the verb *dyum* is a state. It is temporally unbounded. When it combines with perfective aspect the inherently stative verb *dyum* provides a shade of the meaning that is typically associated with grammatical aspectual category of perfective.

The achievement verbs appear much more commonly in discourse in the perfective aspect. When they are combined with imperfective aspect, they tend to yield a repetitive sense as in Table 14:

**Table 14**

- a. *ɲa dyurtimunay*  
*ɲa dyur-ti-mu-na-ɲ*  
 1SG spit-DUR-AUX-NPST-1/2  
 'I am spitting.' (repeated events)
- b. *ɲa aptimunay*  
*ɲa ap-ti-mu-na-ɲ*  
 1SG shoot-DUR-AUX-NPST-1/2  
 'I am shooting.' (repeated shots)

When an accomplishment verb is combined with the imperfective aspect the event lacks sharp terminal boundary and shows that the preceding process leads to that terminal boundary. The following are the examples:

**Table 15**

- a. *ɲa kim nyakalay*  
*ɲa kim nyak-ala-ɲ*  
 1SG house leave-PST-1/2  
 'I left the house.' (I was there, then gone.)
- b. *ɲa kim nyaktimuto na*  
*ɲa kim nyak-ti-mu-to na*  
 1SG house leave-DUR-AUX-PTCP cop  
 'I was leaving the house.' (ongoing process before leaving)

When an activity verb is marked by the grammatical imperfective aspect, it yields a state, ongoing or habitual-repetitive. The following are the examples:

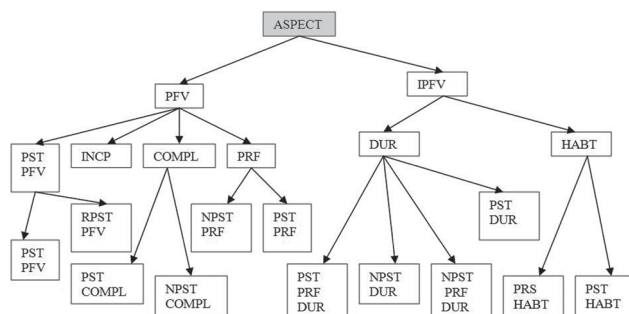
**Table 17**

- a. *dʒo syak<sup>h</sup>al*  
*dʒo syak<sup>h</sup>-al*  
 3SG REM dance-PST  
 'S/he danced.' (and finished)

- b. *dyo syak<sup>h</sup>timuto na*  
*dyo syak<sup>h</sup>-ti-mu-to na*  
 3SG REM dance-DUR-AUX-PTCP COP  
 'S/he was dancing.' (ongoing)

## 7.4 The Grammatical Aspect of the Verb

Bhujel exhibits a complex aspectual system. In order to distinguish different temporal contours of a situation a verb may inflect, along with tense and PNR inflections, for five subcategories of aspects: past-perfective, perfect, completive, durative and habitual. In this section we analyse these subcategories of aspect in Bhujel as further elaboration of two main aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective (Givón, 2001: 345).<sup>5</sup> Apart from the major categories and subcategories of aspects Figure 2 shows the combinations of aspects and tenses in Bhujel.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 2:** Aspect and aspectual distinctions in Bhujel

<sup>5</sup> Caughley (1982:104) notes that Chepang, a closely related language, lacks a pure tense system. He describes tense markers from the perspectives of aspectual or modal functions.

<sup>6</sup> The motivations for such analysis may include:

- Bhujel as a TB language is aspect prominent.
- The non-past tense marker *nA* and past tense markers *al*, *ak* and *t* have aspectual and modal functions other than indicating tense.
- A single affix in Bhujel may encode information from more than one of the domain of tense-aspect, tense-modality.



We first deal with perfective aspect and then we discuss imperfective aspect in Bhujel.

### *Perfective [PFV]*

The events (or states) of which perspective focus is on termination and boundedness in Bhujel are analysed under perfective aspect.<sup>7</sup> The perfective aspect in Bhujel is further elaborated into morphologically distinct three subcategories: past-perfective, perfect and complete. They are discussed as follows:

#### *Past-Perfective [PST PFV]*

The past-perfective aspect codes a situation (i.e. events, processes, and change of state) which was terminated and bounded before one absolute reference point, the time of speech. The past-perfective aspect is strongly associated with past tense and realize modality. It contrasts with perfect aspects in many respects. It is further categorized into recent past-perfective and remote past-perfective. They are discussed as follows:

##### *A. Recent past-perfective [PST PFV]*

*-al* indicates the temporal reference in Bhujel. This affix has aspectual function as well. The events coded by this affix exhibit a cluster of four properties. They are summarized as follows:

**Table 18**

- (a) To happen preceding only one (absolute) reference time, the time of speech
- (b) To be completed and bounded before the reference time
- (c) To happen in-sequence in discourse proposition
- (d) To be relevant only at the time of event

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<sup>7</sup> Givón (2001: 345) has elaborated perfective aspect into past, perfect, past-durative and imperfective into present-durative, future, habitual.

In Bhujel, events characterized by the properties summarized in (18a-d) may have a perfective interpretation, e.g.:

**Table 19**

- a. *ŋa yo kim alalaŋ*  
*ŋa yo kim al-ala-ŋ*  
 1SG yesterday house go-PST-1/2  
 'Yesterday I went home.'
- b. *ŋai am khayaluŋ*  
*ŋa-i am kʰaŋal-u-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG rice cook-PST-DIR-1/2  
 'I cooked rice.'
- c. *uhaysaiko momcokay gotaluŋ*  
*uhaysaiko momco-kay got-al-u-ŋ*  
 After that wife-DAT call-PST-DIR-1/2  
 'After that I called my wife.'
- d. *momco wayal*  
*momco wayal*  
 wife come-PST  
 'The wife came.'
- e. *momcokus ŋai am jealuŋ*  
*momco-kus ŋa-i am je-al-u-ŋ*  
 wife-COM 1SG-ERG rice eat-PST-DIR-1/2  
 'Then I ate rice with the wife.'

The events coded by the recent past tense marker in (18 a-e) happened in-sequence and completed proceeding only one (absolute) reference time. They are relevant only at the time of event. Such aspect which is strongly associated with past tense is referred to as recent past-perfective aspect.

*B. Remote past-perfective [RPST PFV]*

The past tense, which is marked by *-t*, has also aspectual functions. The main functions of remote past-perfective are as follows:

- (a) To code events which happened a long time ago preceding the reference time, the time of speech.
- (b) To code events not only happened preceding the reference time, the time of speech, but completed and bounded a long time ago before the reference time.
- (c) To code events not only happened preceding the reference time, but happened a long time ago in-sequence in discourse proposition.
- (d) To code such events which were relevant only a long time ago at the time of event. The following are the examples:

Table 20

- a. *ɲakoy haulam indiya altay*  
*ɲa-koy hau-lam indiya al-ta-y*  
 1SG-GEN brother-PL India go-RPST-PL  
 'My brothers went to India long time ago.'
- b. *albet kam cewmabet*  
*al-bet kam cew-ma-bet*  
 go-SEQ work find-NEG-SEQ  
*hotalhay b<sup>h</sup>āda thuttay*  
*hotal-hay b<sup>h</sup>āda t<sup>h</sup>ut-ta-y*  
 hotel-LOC utensils clean-RPST-PL  
 'Having gone and not having found any job they cleaned the utensils in a hotel.'
- c. *uhajsaiko duk<sup>h</sup> cewbet kim wajtay*  
*uhajsaiko duk<sup>h</sup> cew-bet kim wajta-y*  
 After that hardship find-SEQ house come-RPST-PL  
 'After that they came back home having found very hard to live there.'

The events coded by *-t* in, Table 20 (a-c) may be interpreted as happened in-sequence and completed a long time ago. They were also relevant only to the event time.

### *Perfect Aspect [PRF]*

The perfect aspect in Bhujel has a strong but not absolute similarity with past-perfective aspect. Both aspects may code events which either occurred or at the very least were initiated prior to the temporal reference time. Such events are supposed to have completed and bounded prior to the reference time. However, perfect aspect differs from the past-perfective both functionally and formally.

The main function of the perfect aspect in Bhujel is to code 'out-of-sequence' events which are relevant not to the event time but to some subsequent time reference. As mentioned, the perfective aspect in Bhujel is marked by a separate morpheme which may co-occur with any tense categories: non-past or past tense.<sup>8</sup> Thus, there are two perfect aspects: non-past perfect and past-perfect. They are discussed as follows:

#### *A. Non-past perfect [NPST PRF]*

The non-past perfect is a combination of perfect aspectual marker *-je* with the non-past tense marker.<sup>9</sup> The form of a verb in non-past perfect aspect is shown in Table 20.

**Table 21**

Base+ (*-te*) + *-je* + NPST (+PNR)

The form in Table 21 requires the following two clarifications:

- (a) Except the actor in second person, the perfect aspectual marker is directly affixed to the base of the verb and followed by tense and PNR affixes.
- (b) Except the actor in the third person singular the non-past perfect form of the verb contains PNR affixes.

<sup>8</sup> In a closely related language Chepang (Caughley, 1982) and Bhujel (Caughley, 1999) this marker has been analysed as one of the emphatic marker. Quite contrary to this analysis, we analyse this marker to code the perfect event.

<sup>9</sup> The perfective marker is homophonous with the lexical root verb *je* 'eat'. Thus, it might be inferred that the perfective marker is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *je* 'eat'.

In Bhujel, the non-past perfect is basically used to code events that may have occurred earlier (i.e. prior to the temporal reference time) but are viewed relevant right now. The functions of the non-past perfect aspect are discussed as follows:

- (a) The non-past perfect may be used to code a result state. This can be referred to as resultative aspect or perfect of result. The following are the examples:

**Table 22**

- a. *syanyo iskulhay wajjena*  
*syanyo iskul-hay wajje-na*  
 teacher school-LOC come-PRF-NPST  
 'The teacher has already come to school.'
- b. *ηai krut camjenuη*  
*ηa-i krut cam-je-n-u-η*  
 1SG-ERG hand cut-PRF-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 'I have cut the hand.' (It's bleeding now)
- c. *ηai ra kyakjenuη*  
*ηa-i ra kyak-je-n-u-η*  
 1SG-ERG winnow weave-PRF-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 'I have made a winnow.' (You can see it.)

In Table 22 (a-c) the events are supposed to have happened prior to the reference time the results can be perceived in the present time.

- (b) The non-past perfect may be used to code a situation that began in the past and continues up to the present moment, e.g.:

**Table 23**

- ηai naykay sayjenuη*  
*ηa-i naykay say-je-n-u-η*  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT hear-PRF-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 'I have heard you.'

The event coded by non-past perfect in Bhujel may be described as ‘perfect of persistent situation’. In this case non-past perfect lacks the terminal boundary.

- (c) The non-past perfect may be used to code a past event which is relevant to the present situation, e.g.:

**Table 24**

*ŋai naŋkay dāk<sup>h</sup>jenuŋ*  
*ŋa-i naŋkay dāk<sup>h</sup>-je-n-u-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT beat-PRF-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 ‘I have beaten you.’

The event coded in Table 24 can be described as ‘perfect of recent past’.

- (d) The non-past perfect may be used to code an event has occurred at least once in the past, without specifying any particular time, e.g.

**Table 25**

*ŋai nyamtyaw tuŋjenuŋ*  
*ŋa-i nyamtyaw tuŋje-n-u-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG spirit drink-PRF-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 ‘I have drunk spirit.’

The event coded in Table 25 can be described as ‘experiential perfect’.

#### *B. Past perfect [PST PRF]*

The past perfect is a combination of perfect aspectual marker *-je* with the past tense marker.<sup>10</sup> The form of a verb in non-past perfect aspect is shown in (25).

**Table 26**

Base + (-te) + -je + PST (+PNR)

<sup>10</sup> Theoretically, the perfect marker may combine either with recent past or remote past. However, the combination with recent past is more natural and more frequent than the combination with remote past tense.

The past perfect aspect is used to code an event in the past that occurred before another event in the past. Basically the past perfect codes out-of-sequence events happened prior to the temporal reference time, e.g.:

**Table 27**

*nay dak<sup>h</sup>waygul ηai krut cam*  
*nay dak<sup>h</sup>waygul ηa-i krut*  
 2SG arrive-when 1SG-ERG hand  
*camjealuη*  
*cam-je-al-u-η*  
 cut-PRF-PST-DIR-1/2

‘When you arrived I had cut the hand.’

The two events in Table 27 did not occur simultaneously in the past. The event which occurred first had to occur first in the narrative discourse. However, in Table 27, it occurs out-of-sequence and it has been coded by past perfect form of the verb. Such events are relevant only to some subsequent reference time.

### *Completive Aspect [COMPL]*

This aspect is used in Bhujel to code events in which the perspective focus is on the end of the event. The completive aspect is a combination of completive aspectual marker -lak with any categories of tense: past and non-past.<sup>11</sup> Thus, there

<sup>11</sup> Caughley (1982, 1999) has analysed this verbal affix as an ‘intensive’ marker. It is to be noted that in my initial study of the Bhujel, I took his analysis for granted. However, a detailed analysis of the texts revealed that this marker maybe insightfully analysed, though provisionally, as a perfective marker. In this study this aspect has been referred to as completive aspect. There are mainly three reasons:

- (a) This marker is mutually exclusive with other aspectual markers.
- (b) It does not occur in durative aspect.
- (c) It occurs with all persons.
- (d) It combines with all tenses.

are two types of completive aspect: non-past completive and past completive. They are discussed as follows:

*A. Non-past completive [NPST COMPL]*

The non-past completive is a combination of completive aspectual marker *-lak* with the non-past tense marker.<sup>12</sup> A verb in non-past completive form consists of as shown in Table 28.

**Table 28**

Base + (-te) + *-lak* + NPST (+ PNR)

In Bhujel, the non-past completive aspect is basically used to code events which may have been initiated prior to the temporal reference time but are viewed as completed right now. The examples are as follows:

**Table 29**

- a. *ɣai am jelaknuɣ*  
*ɣa-i am je-lak-n-u-ɣ*  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-COMPL-NPST-DIR-1/2  
 'I have finished eating rice.'
- b. *ɣa n<sup>h</sup>ilaknaɣ*  
*ɣa n<sup>h</sup>i-lak-na-ɣ*  
 1SG rice-COMPL-NPST-1/2  
 'I have finished laughing.'
- c. *rami j akay satlakna*  
*ram-i ja-kay sat-lak-na*  
 Ram-ERG tiger-DAT kill-COMPL-NPST  
 'Ram has finished killing the tiger.'

(e) The perfective interpretation is more plausible than the so-called 'intensive' one.

<sup>12</sup> The completive marker is homophonous with the lexical root verb *lak<sup>h</sup>* 'finish'. Thus, it might be inferred that this marker is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb *lak<sup>h</sup>* 'finish'.



*B. Past completive [PST COMPL]*

The past completive is a combination of completive aspectual marker *-lak* with the past tense marker. A verb in non-past completive form consists of as shown in Table 30:

**Table 30**

Base + (-te) + *-lak* + PST/RPST(+PNR)

In Bhujel, the non-past completive aspect is basically used to code events which may have been initiated prior to the temporal reference time but are viewed as completed before the reference time. The examples are as follows:

**Table 31**

- a. *ŋai am jelakal/ tuŋ*  
*ŋa-i am je-lak-al/t-u-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-COMPL-PST/RPST-DIR-1/2  
 'I had finished eating rice.'
- b. *ŋa nɦilakalaŋ*  
*ŋa n<sup>h</sup>i-lak-ala-ŋ*  
 1SG rice-COMPL-Pst-1/2  
 'I had finished laughing.'
- c. *rami j akay satlakal*  
*ram-i j a-kay sat-lak-al*  
 Ram-ERG tiger-DAT kill-COMPL-PST  
 'Ram had finished killing the tiger.'
- d. *rami khuijekay dākh-taklakal*  
*ram-i k<sup>h</sup>uije-kay dākh-tak-lak-al*  
 Ram-ERG thief-DAT beat-CAUS-COMPL-PST  
 'Ram had finished killing the tiger.'

*Inceptive Aspect [INCP]*

The past inceptive aspect contrasts with the completive aspect. The completive aspect highlights the end of the event whereas the inceptive aspect highlights the beginning of the event. In

addition to this the completive aspect can combine with any tense category: past and non-past. However, the inceptive aspect can co-occur with only past tense in Bhujel. The inceptive aspect consists of a combination of inceptive aspectual marker *-ak* with the past tense marker. A verb in inceptive aspect has the following structure, e.g.:

**Table 32**

Base+ (-te ) + *-ak* + PST / RPST(+PNR)

In Bhujel, the inceptive aspect is basically used to code events in which the main focus is that they began prior to the temporal reference time. The examples are as follows:

**Table 33**

- a. *ɲai am jeakal/tuɲ*  
       *ɲa-i        am        je-ak-al/t-u-ɲ*  
       1SG-ERG    rice        eat-INCP-PST / RPST-DIR-1 / 2  
       'I began eating rice.'
- b. *ɲa n<sup>h</sup>ilakalay*  
       *ɲa        n<sup>h</sup>i-ak-ala-ɲ*  
       1SG        rice-INCP-PST-1 / 2  
       'I began laughing.'

### ***Imperfective Aspect [IPFV]***

The main function of imperfective aspect in Bhujel is to code events which are viewed as non-terminated and temporally unbounded. The imperfective aspect in Bhujel is broadly categorized into two subcategories: durative and habitual.

### ***Durative Aspect***

The general durative marker in Bhujel is *-ti*. It can be combined with any tense categories: past and non-past. There are four types of durative aspect in Bhujel: non-past durative, past-durative, non-past perfect durative and past perfect durative. They are discussed as follows:

### A. Non-Past Durative [NPST DUR]

The non-past durative is the combination of the durative marker *-ti* with the auxiliary *-mu* along with non-past tense marker. The form of the verb in non-past durative aspect is schematized in Table 34.

**Table 34**

Base+ (*-te*) + *-ti* + *-mu* + NPST + (PNR)

The main function of non-past durative is to code the events which are not terminated and bounded the temporal reference time. The general functions of this aspect are illustrated as follows:

- (a) To indicate present time reference, e.g.:

**Table 35**

*ɲai am jetimunay*  
*ɲa-i am je-ti-mu-na-ɲ*  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-DUR-AUX-NPST-1/2  
 'I am eating rice.'

- (b) To express temporary event, e.g.:

**Table 36**

*momcoco kraptimuna*  
*momcoco krap-ti-mu-na*  
 Daughter cry-DUR-AUX-NPST  
 'The daughter is crying.'

- (c) To express planned event, e.g.:

**Table 37**

*momcoco ten kim altimuna*  
*momcoco ten kim al-ti-mu-na*  
 Daughter today house go-DUR-AUX-NPST  
 'Today the daughter is going to (her husband's) house.'

### B. Past-Durative [PST DUR]

The past-durative is the combination of the durative marker *-ti* with the auxiliary *-mu* along with past tense marker. The form of the verb in non-past durative aspect is schematized in Table 38:

**Table 38**

Base + (-te ) + -ti + mu + PST + (PNR)

The main function of past durative is to code the events which were not terminated and bounded prior to temporal reference time, e.g.:

**Table 39**

*ŋai am jetimualəŋ*  
*ŋa-i am je-ti-mu-u-ala-ŋ*  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-DUR-AUX-DIR-PST-1/2  
 'I was eating rice.'

**Table 40**

*momcoco kraptimuta*  
*momcoco krap-ti-mu-ta*  
 Daughter cry-DUR-AUX-RPST  
 'The daughter was crying.'

### C. Non-Past Perfect Durative [NPST PRF DUR]

The non-past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker *-ti* plus *-la* with the auxiliary *-mu* along with non-past tense marker. The form of the verb in non-past perfect durative aspect is schematized in Table 41:

**Table 41**

Base + (-te ) + -ti + -la + -mu + DIR + NPST + (PNR)

The non-past perfect durative in Bhujel codes temporally unbounded events which were initiated prior to temporal reference time but not terminated till the reference time, e.g.:

**Table 42***ŋai am jetilamunay**ŋa-i      am      je-ti-la-mu-u-na-ŋ*

1SG-ERG    rice    eat-DUR-POST-AUX-DIR-NPST-1/2

'I have/will have been eating rice.'

*D. Past Perfect Durative [PST PRF DUR]*

The past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker *-ti* plus *-si* with the past tense marker. The form of the verb in past perfect durative aspect is schematized in Table 43:

**Table 43**

Base + (-te) + -ti + -si + PST + (PNR)

The past perfect durative in Bhujel codes a temporally unbounded event which was initiated and not terminated till the reference time before another temporally bounded event occurred in the past, e.g.:

**Table 44***ŋai am jetisialuy**ŋa-i      am      je-ti-si-al-u-ŋ*

1SG-ERG    rice    eat-DUR-ANT-PST-DIR-1/2

'I had been eating rice (when the bomb exploded).'

*Habitual*

The verbs can inflect for two types of habitual aspect. They are referred to as habitual and past-habitual. They are marked by separate morphemes. They are discussed as follows:

*A. Present Habitual [PRS HABT]*

The present habitual is a combination of nominalizer/participializer marker *-o* with non-past tense. The verb in non-past habitual aspect does not inflect for agreement markers. The non-past habitual has the following structure:

**Table 45**

Base + (-te) + -o + NPST

The present habitual codes a situation which is viewed as customary or usual, repeated on different occasions over a period of time.

The following are the examples:

**Table 46***ŋai nyamtyaw tujto na**ŋa-i nyamtyaw tuj-o na*

1SG-ERG spirit drink-PTCP cop

'I have the habit of drinking spirit or I always drink spirit.'

#### B. Past-Habitual [*PST HABT*]

The past habitual is a combination of nominalizer/participializer marker -o with remote past tense. The verb in past habitual aspect does not inflect for agreement markers. The non-past habitual has the following structure:

**Table 47**

Base + (-te) + RPST + -o + na

The past habitual codes a situation which is viewed as customary or usual, repeated on different occasions over a period of time in the past.

The following are the examples:

**Table 48***ŋai nyamtyaw tujto na**ŋa-i nyamtyaw tuj-t-o na*

1SG-ERG spirit drink-RPST-PTCP cop

'I had the habit of drinking spirit or I used to drink spirit.'

## 7.5 Conclusion

In this paper we discussed the tense and aspect in Bhujel. We saw that Bhujel verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past

and past. The past tense distinguishes two degrees of distance: recent past and remote past. In Bhujel tense, aspect and modality (TAM) may form a single complex category. We also discussed that tense and aspect interact with each other so intensively in linguistic expression that sometimes it may be impossible to analyse one fully apart from another. A single affix may encode information from more than one of the domain of tense-aspect or tense- modality. Thus, Bhujel exhibits a complex aspectual system. In order to distinguish different temporal contours of a situation a verb in Bhujel may inflect, along with tense and person, number and role inflections, for five subcategories as further elaboration of two main aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective: past-perfective, perfect, completive, durative and habitual.

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EIGHT

Gender System in Nepali and Tamang

SABITRI THAPA

Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language, whereas Tamang belongs to Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. According to Census 2001, Nepali is spoken by 48.61 per cent and Tamang by 5.19 per cent of total population (Yadava 2003: 141). The objective of this paper is to present a comparative study of gender system in Nepali and Tamang, two neighbouring languages. Moreover, Nepali is their *lingua franca*.

This paper has three sections. Section 1 deals with gender system at morphological level, whereas gender system at syntactic level is described in Section 2. It is studied on the basis of pronoun substitution, verb concordance, number agreement, genitives and adjectives. Lastly, Section 3 presents the findings.

8.1 Gender System at Morphological Level

Gender in Nepali and Tamang is based on natural recognition of sex, and thereby it is applied only to animate substantives.

Masculine		Feminine	
(1) a.i.	<i>dazu</i> 'elder brother'	ii.	<i>didī</i> 'elder sister'
b.i.	<i>bag<sup>h</sup></i> 'tiger'	ii.	<i>bag<sup>h</sup>ini</i> 'tigress'

c.i.	<i>goru</i> 'ox'	ii.	<i>gai</i> 'cow'
d.i.	<i>kuk<sup>h</sup>uro</i> 'cock'	ii.	<i>kuk<sup>h</sup>uri</i> 'hen'

Masculine words *dazu* (1 a.i.), *bag<sup>h</sup>* (1 b.i.), *goru* (1 c.i.) and *kuk<sup>h</sup>uro* (1 d.i.) refer to a man, a male wild animal, a male domestic animal and a male bird. *didī* (1 a.ii.), *bag<sup>h</sup>ini* (1 b.ii.), *gai* (1 c.ii.) and *kukhuri* (1 d.ii.) are their feminine counterparts.

In Tamang:

Masculine		Feminine	
(2) a.i.	<i>zyot</i> 'elder brother'	ii.	<i>nana</i> 'elder sister'
b.i.	<i>cyan</i> 'tiger'	ii.	<i>cyan-mama</i> 'tigress'
c.i.	<i>mhe-glap</i> 'ox'	ii.	<i>mhe-mama</i> 'cow'
d.i.	<i>naga</i> 'cock'	ii.	<i>naga-mama</i> 'hen'

Masculine words *zyot* (1a i.), *cyan* (1b i.), *mhe-glap* (1c i.) and *naga* (1d i.) refer to a man, a male wild animal, a male domestic animal and a male bird, respectively. Similarly, their feminine counterparts are *nana* (1a ii.), *cyan-mama* (1b ii.), *mhe-mama* (1c ii.) and *naga-mama* (1d ii.).

Morphologically, human nouns and names of bigger animals and birds in Nepali and Tamang are masculine and feminine. Gender is transformed by two types of markings: covert and overt.

### Covert Markings

Some nouns do not show morphological connections in any male and female noun pairs. Some covert markings are as follows:

*In Nepali*

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
(3) a.i.	<i>dazu</i> 'elder brother'	ii.	<i>didī</i> 'elder sister'
b.i.	<i>bhai</i> 'younger brother'	ii.	<i>bāhini</i> 'younger sister'
c.i.	<i>logne</i> 'husband'	ii.	<i>swasni</i> 'wife'
d.i.	<i>goru</i> 'ox'	ii.	<i>gai</i> 'cow'
e.i.	<i>bhale</i> 'cock'	ii.	<i>pothi</i> 'hen'
f.i.	<i>matta</i> 'male elephant'	ii.	<i>dhoi</i> 'female elephant'

*In Tamang*

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
(4) a.i.	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ea</i> 'grand father'	ii.	<i>mam</i> 'grand mother'
b.i.	<i>cyon</i> 'elder brother'	ii.	<i>burij</i> 'elder sister'
c.i.	<i>gyolon</i> 'monk'	ii.	<i>ani</i> 'nun'
d.i.	<i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'husband'	ii.	<i>mrij</i> 'wife'
e.i.	<i>ken</i> 'father-in-law'	ii.	<i>sumi</i> 'mother-in-law'
f.i.	<i>a<sup>h</sup>pa</i> 'father'	ii.	<i>a<sup>h</sup>ma</i> 'mother'

Both male and female nouns in Nepali (3a-f) and Tamang (4a-f) contain the covert markings, i.e. they lack the markings of morphological correspondence.

*Overt Markings*

Overt markings occur to mark the morphological gender in both languages: Nepali and Tamang. Male nouns can

be changed into females in three different ways: phonemic change, affixes and compounding.

### Phonemic Change

Male nouns can be changed into females by shifting phonemes, e.g.:

#### In Nepali

Masculine		Feminine	
(5) a.i.	<i>kaka</i> 'paternal younger uncle'	ii.	<i>kaki</i> 'aunt'
b.i.	<i>bəd<sup>h</sup>a</i> 'paternal elder uncle'	ii.	<i>bəd<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'aunt'
c.i.	<i>kanc<sup>h</sup>o</i> 'youngest boy'	ii.	<i>kanc<sup>h</sup>i</i> 'youngest girl'
d.i.	<i>p<sup>h</sup>upa</i> 'uncle-in-law'	ii.	<i>p<sup>h</sup>upu</i> 'aunt'

#### In Tamang

Masculine		Feminine	
(6) a.i.	<i>a<sup>l</sup>pa</i> 'father'	ii.	<i>a:ma</i> 'mother'
b.i.	<i>kuk<sup>h</sup>uro a<sup>l</sup>gu</i> 'paternal uncle'	ii.	<i>a<sup>l</sup>su</i> 'aunt'
c.i.	<i>c<sup>h</sup>aja</i> 'grand son'	ii.	<i>c<sup>h</sup>uja</i> 'grand daughter'
d.i.	<i>wa<sup>l</sup>a</i> 'great grandson'	ii.	<i>wu<sup>l</sup>a</i> 'great grand daughter'

In Nepali, only a final vowel \a\ or \o\ as in (5a-d) can be changed into \i\ . In Tamang \p\ and \g\ of masculine nouns in (6 a-b) are replaced by other consonants \m\ and \s\, respectively. Vowels \a\ and \a'\ of the first syllables of masculine nouns in (6 c-d) is replaced by the other vowels \u\ and \u'\.

### Affixes

Affixes can change the gender in Nepali and Tamang, e.g.:

*In Nepali*

Masculine		Feminine	
\-ək\ is replaced by \-ika\ to mark femininity			
(7) a.i.	<i>balək</i> 'male child'	ii.	<i>bal-ika</i> 'female child'
b.i.	<i>gayək</i> 'male singer'	ii.	<i>gay-ika</i> 'female singer'
-a\ is replaced by \-eni\ to mark femininity			
(8) a.i.	<i>subba</i> 'male Limbu'	ii.	<i>subb-eni</i> 'female Limbu'
b.i.	<i>mukhiya</i> 'male Kshatri'	ii.	<i>mukh-eni</i> 'female Kshatri'
\-ini\ is added to mark femininity			
(9) a.i.	<i>mit</i> 'male bond friend'	ii.	<i>mit-ini</i> 'female bond friend'
b.i.	<i>guruy</i> 'male Gurung'	ii.	<i>guruy-ini</i> 'female Gurung'
\-ni\ is added to mark femininity			
(10) a.i.	<i>nati</i> 'grandson'	ii.	<i>nati-ni</i> 'granddaughter'
b.i.	<i>newar</i> 'male Newar'	ii.	<i>newar-ni</i> 'female Newar'

*In Tamang*

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
\-sya\ or \-ni\ is added to mark femininity			
(11) i.	<i>mas tar</i> 'teacher'	ii.	<i>mas tar-ni</i> 'female teacher' <i>mas tar-sja</i> 'teacher's wife'
\-me\ is added to mark femininity			
(12) i.	<i>za</i> 'son'	ii.	<i>za-me</i> 'daughter'
-bo\ -mo\ -bu\ -mu is added to mark femininity			
(13) a. <i>saj-sjaj</i> 'mother's/wife's parent's clan			
i.	<i>saj-bo</i> 'wife's brother'	ii.	<i>saj-mo\ saj-mu</i> 'wife's sister'

b.	<i>gjal</i> 'royal'		
i.	<i>gjal-bo</i> \ <i>gjal-bu</i> 'emperor'	ii.	<i>gjal-mo</i> \ <i>gjal-mu</i> 'empress'

Morphophonemically, \-ək\ in (7 a-b) is changed into \-ik\, and thereafter \-a\ in (7 a ii & b ii) is added to mark femininity in Nepali. Similarly, \-a\ in (8 a-b) is changed into \-e\ and feminine marker \-ni\ is added in (8 a ii & b ii). \-in\ in (9) and \-ni\ in (10) are distinct feminine markers in Nepali.

-*sja* and -*ni* in (11) are added to mark femininity but they are not free variants, as -*sja* refers to 'wife' and -*ni* refers only to a 'female'. -*me* in (12) is feminine marker, which is added to the masculine noun *za*. -*mo* and -*mu* are also feminine markers but they are affixed to the common nouns *say-sjay* in (13. a ii.) and *gjal* in (13.b ii.). -*bo* and -*bu* in (13.a.i. & b. i) are masculine markers affixed to the common gender nouns.

### Compounding

Nouns of one gender may be transformed into another gender in Nepali and Tamang even by compounding two words, e.g.:

#### In Nepali

Formation of masculine by compounding			
(14) a.i.	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ori</i> 'daughter'	ii. <i>zwai</i> '(male) in-law'	iii. <i>c<sup>h</sup>ori-zwai</i> 'son-in-law'
b.i.	<i>bəhini</i> 'sister'	ii. <i>zwai</i> '(male) in-law'	iii. <i>bəhini-zwai</i> 'brother-in-law'
c. i.	<i>nənde</i> husband's sister'	ii. <i>bhai</i> 'brother'	iii. <i>nənde-b<sup>h</sup>ai</i> 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)'
d. i.	<i>amazu</i> 'husband's sister'	ii. <i>dai</i> 'e. brother'	iii. <i>amazu-dai</i> 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)'
Formation of Feminine by Compounding			
(15) a.i.	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ai</i> 'y. brother'	ii. <i>buhari</i> 'female-in-law'	iii. <i>b<sup>h</sup>ai buhari</i> 'sister-in-law (brother's wife)'

b.i.	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ora</i> 'son'	ii. <i>buhari</i> 'female-in-law'	iii. <i>c<sup>h</sup>ora buhari</i> 'daughter-in-law'
c.i.	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ər</i> 'house'	ii. <i>beṭi</i> 'female'	iii. <i>g<sup>h</sup>ər beṭi</i> 'landlady'
d.i.	<i>zeṭ<sup>h</sup>ani</i> 'elder woman'	ii. <i>didi</i> 'e. sister'	iii. <i>zeṭ<sup>h</sup>ani didi</i> 'sister-in-law (wife's sister)'

Second word in compounding fixes the gender in Nepali, as the first word may be masculine, feminine or inanimate. In the above-mentioned examples, the second word in the compounding is gender marker. *zwai* in (14.a-b), *bhai* in (14.c) and *dai* in (14.d) refer to masculine gender. *buhari* in (15.a-b) *beti* in (15.c) and *didi* in (15.d) are feminine words, and thereby they are feminine markers in the compounding.

### In Tamang

#### Formation of feminine by compounding

(16) a.i. <i>naga</i> 'cock'	ii. <i>joma</i> 'young female'	iii. <i>naga joma</i> 'young hen'
b.i. <i>nagi</i> 'dog'	ii. <i>mama</i> 'mother'	iii. <i>nagi mama</i> 'mother bitch'
c. i. <i>za</i> 'son'	ii. <i>caṇ</i> 'female-in-law'	iii. <i>za caṇ</i> 'daughter-in-law'
d. i. <i>mai</i> 'female'	ii. <i>t<sup>h</sup>e-ba</i> 'first (male) by birth'	iii. <i>mai-t<sup>h</sup>e-ba</i> 'first (female) by birth'

All second words *joma*, *mama*, *caṇ*, and *mai* in (16a-d) fix the genders in compounding, as they are feminine markers, and thereby they are feminine compound words.

## 8.2 Gender System at Syntactic Level

At sentence level, biological genders in Nepali restrict pronouns, verbs, numbers and genitives, whereas they do not restrict in Tamang.

### ***Pronoun Substitution***

Third person non-honorific pronouns in Nepali refer to biological gender, e.g.:

- |      |                 |                         |                           |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| (17) | <i>us-le</i>    | <i>k<sup>h</sup>ana</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-yo.</i> |
|      | He-ERG          | food                    | eat-Pt:3:sg:Masc          |
|      | 'He ate food.'  |                         |                           |
| (18) | <i>un-le</i>    | <i>k<sup>h</sup>ana</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>a-i.</i>  |
|      | she-ERG         | food                    | eat-Pt:3:sg:Fem           |
|      | 'She ate food.' |                         |                           |

*us-le* in (17) and *un-le* in (18) are distinct pronouns to refer to gender in Nepali.

Pronouns in Tamang are not restricted by the biological gender, e.g.:

- |      |                                 |            |                  |
|------|---------------------------------|------------|------------------|
| (19) | <i>ai</i>                       | <i>dim</i> | <i>ni-mu-la.</i> |
|      | you (one)                       | home       | go-be-NML        |
|      | 'You (male\female) go home.'    |            |                  |
|      | <i>t<sup>h</sup>e</i>           | <i>dim</i> | <i>ni-mu-la.</i> |
|      | s/he (one)                      | home       | go-be-NML        |
|      | 'S\he (male\female) goes home.' |            |                  |

Same pronouns are used to refer to male or female in Tamang, as distinct biological sex marker in pronouns do not occur. In (19-20) *ai* and *the* may refer to any sex.

### ***Verb Concord***

Verbs in Nepali contain grammatical gender markers except in highly honorific verbs, e.g.:

- |      |                  |                        |                      |
|------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (21) | <i>u</i>         | <i>g<sup>h</sup>ər</i> | <i>zan-cho</i>       |
|      | he: Non HON      | home                   | go-be:NPST:3:sg:MASC |
|      | 'He goes home.'  |                        |                      |
| (22) | <i>u</i>         | <i>g<sup>h</sup>ər</i> | <i>zan-che.</i>      |
|      | she:3:SG:Non HON | home                   | go-be:NPST:3:sg:FEM  |
|      | 'She goes home.' |                        |                      |
| (23) | <i>uni</i>       | <i>g<sup>h</sup>ər</i> | <i>zan-cha</i>       |
|      | he:3:SG:HON      | home                   | go-be:NPST:3:sg:MASC |
|      | 'He goes home.'  |                        |                      |



- (24) *uni*                                      *g<sup>h</sup>ər*                      *zan-chin*.  
       she:3:sg:HON                      home                      go-be:Npst:3:sg:Fem  
       ‘She goes home.’

Verbs are affected by the subjects of biological sex. Verb inflections *-cho* and *-cha* in (21 & 23) are masculine and *-chin* in (22 & 24) are feminine markers. They are restricted by the gender of the subjects.

Verbs lack grammatical gender markers in Tamang, e.g.:

- (25) *kunc<sup>h</sup>ay-se\maicayse*                                      *kan*                      *ca-zi*.  
       Kunchhang-ERT\Maichang-ERT                      b. rice                      eat-PST  
       ‘Kunchhang \ Maichang ate  
       boiled rice.’
- (26) *kunc<sup>h</sup>ay-se\maicayse*                                      *kan*                      *ca-bala-mu-t<sup>h</sup>jo*.  
       Kunchhang-ERT\Maichang-ERT                      b. rice                      eat-PERF-be-PST  
       ‘Kunchhang\Maichang had  
       eaten boiled rice.’
- (27) *kunc<sup>h</sup>ay\maicay*    *kan*                      *ca-la*  
       Kunchhang\Maichang    b. rice                      eat-NPST  
       ‘Kunchhang\Maichang will eat  
       boiled rice.’

*kunc<sup>h</sup>ay* refers to male proper noun, whereas *maicay* refers to female one. In above-mentioned examples (25-27), verbs are unaffected by the subjects of any biological sex.

### Number Agreement

Gender of singular subject restricts the verbs in Nepali, e.g.:

- (28) *ram-le*    *pani*                      *pi-yo*.  
       Ram-ERG    water                      drink-PST  
       ‘Ram drank water.’
- (29) *sita-le*    *pani*                      *pi-i*.  
       Sita-ERG    water                      drink-PST  
       ‘Sita drank water.’
- (30) *euta manc<sup>h</sup>e*    *ban*                      *zan-c<sup>h</sup>a*.  
       one man    forest                      go-NPST:3SG:MASC  
       ‘One man goes to forest.’

- (31) *euti aimai*                      *ban*              *zan-c<sup>h</sup>e*.  
 one woman                      forest              go-be:3sg:Npst:Fem  
 'One woman goes to forest.'
- (32) *duita manc<sup>h</sup>e(-hau)*              *ban*              *zan-c<sup>h</sup>an*.  
 two man-Pl                      forest              go-be:3Pl:Npst:Masc  
 'Two men go to forest.'
- (33) *duita aimai(-hau)*              *ban*              *zan-c<sup>h</sup>an*.  
 two woman-Pl                      forest              go-be:3sg:Npst:Fem  
 'Two women go to forest.'

Gender of singular subject (28-31) restricts the verbs in Nepali, whereas plural subjects in (32-33) do not restrict any verb. The same verb *zan-chan* is used for both male and female plural nouns.

Gender does not restrict any number in Tamang, e.g.:

- (34) *kunc<sup>h</sup>ay-se*                      *kui*              *θuy-zi*.  
 Kunchhang-ERG                      water              drink-PST  
 'Kunchhang drank water.'
- (35) *maicay-se*                      *kui*              *θuy-zi*.  
 Maichang-ERG                      water              drink-PST  
 'Maichang drank water.'
- (36) *gik m<sup>h</sup>i*                      *ban*              *ni-la*.  
 One man                      forest              go-NPST  
 'One man goes to forest.'
- (37) *gik mriy*                      *ban*              *ni-la*.  
 One woman                      forest              go-NPST  
 'One woman goes to forest.'
- (38) *n<sup>h</sup>i m<sup>h</sup>i-dugu*                      *ban*              *ni-la*.  
 two man-Pl                      forest              go-NPST  
 'Two men go to forest.'
- (39) *n<sup>h</sup>i mriy-dugu*                      *ban*              *ni-la*.  
 two woman-Pl                      Forest              go-NPST  
 'Two women go to forest.'

In (34-39), number of biological sex does not restrict any grammatical categories.

### Genitives

Biological sex restricts the singular genitive markers in Nepali, e.g.:

- (40) *sita-ki*            *bāhini*            *itti*            *che*.  
 Sita-GEN            sister            here            be:NPt:3sg:Fem  
 'Here is Sita's sister.'
- (41) *ram-ko*            *b<sup>h</sup>ai*            *itti*            *c<sup>h</sup>ə*  
 Ram-GEN            brother            Here            be:NPt:3sg:Masc  
 'Here is Ram's brother.'

Genitive premodifies the head in the noun phrase. On the basis of the biological gender of the headword, *-ko* and *-ki* are used as the masculine and feminine genitive markers.

Gender does not restrict any genitive marker in Tamang, e.g.:

- (42) *maicay-la*                            *c<sup>h</sup>oi*            *itti*            *mu-la*.  
 Maichang-GEN                            Book            here            be-NPT  
 'Here is Maichang's book.'
- (43) *kunc<sup>h</sup>ay-la*                            *c<sup>h</sup>oi*            *itti*            *mu-la*.  
 Kunchhang-GEN                            Book            here            be-NPT  
 'Here is Kunchhang's book.'

The same genitive marker *-la* is used with both male noun *kunchay* and female noun *maicay*.

### Adjective

Biological sex restricts adjectives in Nepali, whereas in Tamang it does not, e.g.:

#### In Nepali

- (44) *ram*                            *ramro*                            *c<sup>h</sup>ə*  
 Ram                            good-NML                            be:3Sg: Mas: NonHon  
 'Ram is good \ handsome.'
- (45) *sita*                            *ramri*                            *c<sup>h</sup>e*  
 Sita                            good-NML                            be: 3Sg: Fem: NonHon  
 'Sita is good \ beautiful.'

*In Tamang*

- (46) *pasay*<sup>1</sup>      *zya-ba*      *mu-la*  
 Pasang      good-NML      be-NML  
 'Pasang is good \ handsome.'
- (47) *pema*<sup>1</sup>      *zya-ba*      *mu-la*  
 Pema      good-NML      be-NML  
 'Pema is good/beautiful.'

In Nepali, *ramro* in (44) and *ramri* in (45) are restricted by biological sex and thereby they are masculine and feminine genders, respectively. In Tamang *pasay* in (46) and *pema* in (47) do not restrict the adjective *zya-ba*.

**8.3 Findings**

Morphologically, masculine nouns can be transformed into feminine nouns, and feminine nouns can be transformed into masculine nouns in both languages: Nepali and Tamang.

In sentences, biological genders restrict pronouns, verbs, numbers, genitives and adjectives in Nepali, whereas there is no such restriction in Tamang.

To conclude, Nepali has gender system in both morphological and syntactic levels but Tamang contains only at morphological level.

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<sup>1</sup> *pema* is a female proper noun, whereas *pasay* is a male proper noun.

## NINE

# Mood and Modality in Dhankute Tamang

KEDAR PRASAD POUDEL

### 9.1 Introduction

Tamang is spoken in hilly areas of Nepal, India and Tibet of China. They form a large ethnic group in Nepal (Tamang 1992: 2). Population Census Report 2001 shows that it possesses the fifth position in Nepal (Yadava 2003: 169). Hofer and MacDonald (as quoted in Varenkamp 1996:9) have categorized Tamang into two dialects: Western and Eastern. Another dialect has been described in Poudel (2002) and it has been named as Dhankute Tamang in Poudel (2006).

This paper deals with Mood and Modality in Dhankute Tamang. As a grammatical category, mood applies to the inflectional system of verb. Some lexical items occur with modal meanings. Some operator and non-operator catenatives can also refer to certain modalities. While dealing with moods, modalities are also studied as grammatical moods obviously indicate some modalities. Along with the moods, other structures or items that refer to modalities are separately described and analysed. Prosodic expression and sentence adverbials of modality have not been included in this study.

This paper contains four sections. While Section 1 is Introduction, Section 2 deals with grammatical moods in Dhankute Tamang. It describes five distinctive moods: indicative, imperative, hortative, optative and irrealis. Section 3 deals with modalities in Dhankute Tamang. It contains two

distinctive uses: epistemic and deontic. Finally, Section 4 mentions the findings.

## 9.2 Moods in Dhankute Tamang

On the basis of grammatical markings to the verbs, moods are categorised into five groups. They are: indicative, imperative, hortative, optative and irrealis. They are described in detail (2.1-2.5).

### *Indicative Mood*

In Dhankute Tamang, adding tense and aspect markings in the usual sentence pattern of SOV forms all basic clauses, e.g.:

1. *pasay*            *chjoi*            *pinla.*  
Pasang            Book            give-NPT  
'Pasang will give a book.'
2. *t<sup>h</sup>e*            *tilma*            *dim-ri*            *ni-zi.*  
s/he            Yesterday            home-ALL            go-Pt  
'She went home yesterday.'
3. *ai*            *dim-ri*            *ni-la ?*  
you            home-ALL            go-NPT  
'Will you go home?'
4. *ai*            *k<sup>h</sup>ai*            *ni-la ?*  
you            Where            go-NPT  
'Where will you go?'
5. *ŋa*            *kan*            *a-ca-la.*  
I            rice            NEG-eat-NPT  
'I do not eat rice.'

On the basis of the word order, these sentences do not differ to a great extent. They have S (A) (O) V. Based on meaning, sentences (1-2) are declaratives. Sentences (3-4) contain question marks. Sentence (3) contains a rising tone, and thereby it is a polar question. Sentence (4) has the same structure but contains an interrogative word that forms an information question. Sentence (5) has negative marker as a prefix to the verb.

Consequently, the above-mentioned examples of indicative mood denote facts. Grammatically, all declaratives, negatives and interrogatives end at tense markers.

### ***Imperative Mood***

The mood suffixes *-o* (6) *-u* (7) and *-go* (8) may be added to the base verb to mark the imperative mood, e.g.:

6. *k<sup>h</sup>ap-o*.  
vehicle overtake-IMP  
'Overtake the vehicle.'
7. *cu-ri* *k<sup>h</sup>a-u*.  
this-LOC come-IMP  
'Come here.'
8. *hoza-ri* *cja-go*.  
That-LOC look-IMP  
'Look there.'

The imperative markings *-o* (6) *-u* (7) and *-go* (8) are not free variants, as the stem finals and its preceding consonant may restrict the imperative markings. Let's see:

**Table 1:** Restriction of Imperative Markings

	Markings	Conditions	Examples	
			Base	IMP
i.	<i>-u</i>	...C <sup>1</sup> V (C <sup>1</sup> = Consonant except /j/)	<i>ni</i> 'go'	<i>ni-u</i>
ii.	<i>-o</i>	...C	<i>rit</i> 'beg'	<i>rit-o</i>
iii.	<i>-go</i>	...C <sup>1</sup> C <sup>2</sup> (C <sup>2</sup> = Consonant/j/)	<i>kja</i> 'bury'	<i>kja-go</i>

The stems ending at vowel may take the imperative marker *-u* but if the onset has double consonants and the latter is /j/, *-go* is added in place of *-u*. The stems ending at coda take the imperative marker *-o*.

### ***Hortative Mood***

Hortative mood is indicated by base *-ge* to put a proposal forward that the speaker and audience should perform, e.g.:

9. *hjaŋ*            *ni-ge*.  
       we:i            go-HORT  
       'Let's go.'
10. *hjaŋ*            *kan*        *ca-ge*.  
       we:i            rice        eat-HORT  
       'Let's eat rice.'

In (9-10) the speaker puts a proposal forward that both the speaker and audience should perform the given work.

### ***Optative Mood***

In Dhankute Tamang the optative mood is indicated by base -*gai* to express the wishes, e.g.:

11. *i*            *<sup>h</sup>iriŋ-gai<sup>ʔ</sup> a*  
       you        live long-OPT  
       'May you live long!'

The speaker expresses the best wishes to the audience in sentence (11).

Even the curse may be expressed using the same type of structure, e.g.:

12. *ai*            *si-gai<sup>ʔ</sup>*  
       you        die-OPT  
       'May you die!'

In (12), the speaker curses the audience that he wants the death of the audience.

### ***Irrealis Mood***

The irrealis<sup>1</sup> in Dhankute Tamang is indicated by the suffix

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<sup>1</sup> The time reference of irrealis mood is indicated by the tense of the principal clause. So, irrealis seems to be a non-finite clause but a few people, in the communities where this work has been conducted, use tense markings even in irrealis clause, e.g.:

- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>ca-la-sam</i> | b. <i>ca-zi-sam</i> |
| eat-NPt-IRR         | eat-Pt-IRR          |
| 'If (someone) eats' | 'If (someone) ate'  |



-sam added to the 'base,' or 'base+ aspect marker'. This mood may refer to an independent statement to lament the irreality of something, e.g.:

13. *ŋa*                      *ni-sam*  
I                              go-IRR  
'If I go!'
14. *ŋa*                      *ni-bala-sam*  
I                              go-PROG-IRR  
'If only I had gone!'
15. *t<sup>h</sup>e-ni*                      *ni-ban-sam*  
s/he-Pl                      go-PROG-IRR.  
'If only they were going!'

The irrealis marking may follow the base as in (13) and it may follow base+ aspect as in (14-15).

The irrealis may occur as a dependent clause in a sentence, e.g.:

16. *ŋa*                      *ni-sam*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-da*                      *pay-ta-la*.  
I                              go-IRR                      s/he-DAT                      tell-be-NPT  
'If I go, I will tell him/her.'

*ŋa ni-sam* in (16) is a dependent clause to *t<sup>h</sup>e-da pay-ta-la*, as in this sentence *ŋa ni-sam* may not complete the sentence without depending upon the main clause.

### 9.3 Modalities

In this study modalities are dealt with on the basis of meanings. They are classified into epistemic uses and deontic uses.

#### *Epistemic Uses*

Epistemic uses involve the speaker's knowledge of the situation. The speaker's knowledge of situation may be expressed in the following uses:

- (i) The speaker may not know exactly but thinks to be possible to take place.
- (ii) The speaker may have noticed some clues and thereby deduces something to take place.

- (iii) Without having any direct observation, sometimes the speaker may predict.

The following examples can justify the above-mentioned uses:

- |     |                              |            |                |   |
|-----|------------------------------|------------|----------------|---|
| 17. | <i>pasang</i>                | <i>dim</i> | <i>ni-ba</i>   | <i>k<sup>h</sup>am-la.</i>              |
|     | Pasang                       | home       | go-NML         | may-NPT                                 |
|     | 'Pasang may go home.'        |            |                |   |
| 18. | <i>pasang-se</i>             | <i>dim</i> | <i>ni-ba</i>   | <i>to-la.</i>                           |
|     | Pasang-ERG                   | home       | go-NML         | must-NPT                                |
|     | 'Pasang must go home.'       |            |                |   |
| 19. | <i>pasang</i>                | <i>dim</i> | <i>ni-bala</i> | <i>ta-ba</i> <i>k<sup>h</sup>am-la.</i> |
|     | Pasang                       | home       | go-PERF        | be-NPT      may-NPT                     |
|     | 'Pasang may have gone home.' |            |                |   |

In (17), the speaker is not sure whether Pasang goes home. Example (18) refers to the situation in which the speaker has noticed some clues, and thereby deduces that Pasang has to go home. In (19), the speaker has not seen Pasang to go home but makes a prediction.

### ***Deontic Uses***

Deontic uses refer to the binding concerned with permission, prohibition and obligation in Dhankute Tamang. Modal verb *k<sup>h</sup>am-la* may refer to permission, whereas its negativity *a-k<sup>h</sup>am-la* denotes prohibition, e.g.:

- |     |                                  |             |              |                              |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| 20. | <i>ai</i>                        | <i>syau</i> | <i>ca-ba</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>am-la.</i>   |
|     | You                              | apple       | eat-NML      | may-NPT                      |
|     | 'You can\may eat apple(s).'      |             |              |                              |
| 21. | <i>ai</i>                        | <i>syau</i> | <i>ca-ba</i> | <i>a-k<sup>h</sup>am-la.</i> |
|     | You                              | apple       | eat-NML      | may-NPT                      |
|     | 'You can't\mayn't eat apple(s).' |             |              |                              |

Sentence (20) is permission given to the listener by the speaker to eat apples, whereas in (21) the speaker prohibits the listener to eat them.

Obligation can be imposed to the listener by using emphatic marker -non and modal verb *to-la*, e.g.:

22. *ai hoza-ri ni-ba-non to-la.*  
 You that-LOC go-NML-EMPH may-NPT  
 'You must go there.'

In (22), the listener is imposed on going there.

The speaker may put his/her obligation of undertaking certain duty by using emphatic marker *-non* and modal *-ta-la*, e.g.:

23. *ŋa ai-la paisa naygar-non pin-ta-la*  
 I You-POS money Tomorrow-EMPH Give-be-NML  
 'I will certainly pay your money tomorrow.'

In (23), emphatic marker *-non* and verb phrase *pin-ta-la* are used to express the obligation of taking responsibility.

## 9.4 Conclusion

Verbs in Dhankute Tamang inflect for five different moods: indicative, imperative, hortative, optative and irrealis. Tense markers refer to indicative mood. Stem final and its preceding consonant restrict the mood markers in imperative mood. Hortative, optative and irrealis moods contain one marker each.

Grammatical moods obviously refer to certain modality. Besides, modality can be divided into Epistemic and Deontic uses. Epistemic uses deal with the speaker's knowledge of situation. Possibility, deduction and prediction can be expressed by using modals: *kham-la* and *to-la*.

Deontic uses refer to the permission, prohibition and obligation. In Dhankute Tamang modal verbs *ham-lak* and *a-kham-la* are used to refer to permission and prohibition, respectively. Obligation can be expressed by *to-la* and *pin-tala*.

Dhankute Tamang, therefore, is productive in mood and rich in modality.

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# Causation in Danuwar

**BHABENDRA BHANDARI**

## 10.1 Introduction

Danuwar is one of the languages belonging to Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European language family. It is spoken in Nepal by an ethnic group which is known by different alternative names, viz., Danuwar, Dhanvar, Danwar, Denwar, Donwar, Rai Danuwar or Danuwar Rai (Kuegler and Kuegler 1974). These names are slightly different only in pronunciation or in spelling used by different foreign scholars. The Danuwars of Kabhre use the terms /*Donelok*/ for 'Danuwar people' and /*Done kura*/ for 'Danuwar language'.

The 2001 Census report shows that out of 53,229 people, 31,849 (59.83%) can speak this language. These people are generally distributed in different districts of Bagmati, Janakpur and Sagarmatha zones in the central and eastern Nepal. All the Danuwar living at different places do not speak the same language; it has developed different dialects because of geographical distance and the influence of other surrounding languages. Mainly, it shows influence of Nepali, Tharu, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Hindi. In the hilly region, some influence of Tibeto-Burman languages can also be observed.

Since no detailed study has been carried out yet, it is difficult to ascertain exactly how many dialects of Danuwar language there are. But, one thing is obvious that the Danuwar language spoken in Kabhre is different from that of Lalitpur, Nuwakot, or Sindhuli (Bhandari 2005). Kuegler and Kuegler

(1974:1) mention three dialects: Rai Danuwar (spoken in Sindhuli and (spoken in Rautahat). On the basis of Swadesh, 100-word list, Rai Danuwar is 73 per cent cognate with Nepali. Similarly, Don Danuwar and Kacharya Danuwar are 90 per cent and 62 per cent cognate with Nepali, respectively. And, within themselves, Don Danuwar is 41 per cent cognate with Rai Danuwar and Kacharya Danuwar is 49 per cent cognate with Rai Danuwar.

The scope of this paper is the description of causation of present-day Danuwar language spoken in Kabhre district. So it is data-oriented rather than model-oriented. For the purpose of this paper, language materials have been obtained from the native speakers of Mahadevsthan Mandan and Devbhumu Baluwa VDCs of Kabhrepalanchok district. Bhandari (2001) is also exploited in the preparation of this paper.

## 10.2 Causation

Causative construction is universal phenomenon found across all languages of the world. It has been a controversial term among linguists for years; it is treated differently by the traditional and the modern linguists. Traditional grammarians have generally used the term to refer to an overtly marked verbal category, whereas the modern usage refers to the inferable presence of a causative component in the deep structure of the verb, whether or not it has any immediate surface manifestation (Masica 1976: 40).

- (1) *dhəl-*      *dhəl-a-*  
       fall        cause to fall

In this example from Danuwar, *-a* marks causation.

Any causative situation (event) involves two component situations, the cause and its effect (result).

- (2) I was late because there was traffic jam.

In this sentence, there being traffic jam functions as cause, and my being late functions as effect. These two micro-situations thus combine together to give a single complex macro-situation, the causative situation.

Comrie (1985: 330-31) points out syntactically one of the main differences between non-causative and causative constructions will be the increased valency (or potential valency) of the latter. In general, a given causative verb will be expected to have one more noun phrase argument than the corresponding non-causative verb, there will be a noun phrase expressing the person or thing that causes, brings about, the action. Therefore, if the caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive; and if the caused event is transitive, the causative is bitransitive, etc.

- (3) a. *ram-e*                      *bhat*              *khai-lək*  
          Ram-ERG                  rice              eat-PST 3 SG M  
          'Ram ate rice.'
- b. *mui ram-ləi*              *bhat*              *khwa-nin*  
          1 SG Ram-DAT          rice              feed-PST 1 SG  
          'I caused Ram to eat rice.'

Palmer (1994: 214) states that causative does not promote a term, but adds a new argument that represents notional causer, which can be considered as having a new grammatical role of causer, placing it in subject position, while demoting the original subject to oblique or peripheral statuses. So, (3b), which is the causative counterpart of (3a), has a new argument, *mui* in the subject position, and it has a role of causer. The original subject *rame* has become *ramləi* demoting to the object of the causative verb.

### *Transitivity and Causation*

The traditional 'notional' view of transitivity suggests that the effects of the action expressed by the verb pass over from the agent (or actor) to the patient (or goal) (Lyons 1968: 350).

- (4) *ram-e*                      *həri-ləi*              *mar-ilək*  
      Ram-ERG                  Hari-DAT              kill-PST 3 SG M  
      'Ram killed Hari.'

In this example, the effect of the action *mar* expressed by the verb *marilək* passes over from agent *ram* to the patient

(5) a. *bərda*                      *mər-ilək*  
           ox                        die-PST 3 SG M  
           ‘The ox died.’

b. *bikrəm-e*            *bərda-ləi*            *mar-ilək*  
       Bikram-ERG    OX-DAT            cause to die-PST 3 SG M  
       ‘Bikram killed (caused to die) the ox.’

(6) *ram-e sita-ləi kut-is*  
 Ram-ERG Sita-DAT beat-NPST 3 SG  
 'Ram beats Sita.'

[illegible]



- (8) a. *oi*        *khēt*        *khen-ti*    *rə-is*  
          3 SG        field        dig-PRG    be-NPST 3 SG  
          ‘He is digging the field.’  
      b. *mui*        *okhləi*    *khēt*        *khen-əi*    *lai-nin*  
          1 SG        3 SG DAT   field        dig-INF    CAUS-PST 1  
          ‘I made him dig the field.’

### 10.3 Types of Causation in Danuwar

According to Comrie (1985: 331), there are three basic ways in which a causative situation may be expressed in terms of the linguistic device used in a language. These are lexical, morphological and syntactic. Morphological and syntactic are often called synthetic and analytic, respectively, especially in typology. These are expressed by either or all of the devices in the language. In Danuwar language, all these types of causation can be attested.

#### *Lexical Causation*

This label is used for the verb that includes the sense of causation as a part of their basic semantic content. Most, if not all, languages have some lexical causatives. In lexical causation, the relationship between non-causative and causative is established through purely lexical means; and the relationship between non-causative verb and causative verb cannot be established by any productive rules. The relation between the expression of effect and the expression of causative macro situation is so unsystematic as to be handled lexically, rather than by any productive process (Comrie 1989: 168).

Some of the examples of lexical causation in Danuwar language are illustrated below.

- (9) a. *ram*        *ghər*        *jə-ilək*  
          Ram        home go-PST    3 SG M  
          ‘Ram went home.’  
      b. *syam-e*    *ram-ləi*        *ghər*        *pəθha-ilək*  
          Shyam-EGR   Ram-DAT    home    cause to go-PST 3 SG M  
          ‘Shyam sent Ram home.’

- (10) a. *mui*            *ichi*            *ai-chu*  
           1 SG            here            come-NPST 1 SG  
           'T'll come here.'
- b. *oi*            *məlai*            *ichi*    *bola-is*  
           3 SG            1 SG DAT        here    ask to come-NPST 3 SG  
           'He/She'll call me here.'

### *Morphological Causation*

In morphological causation, "the causative is related to the non-causative predicate by morphological means, for instance by affixation, or whatever other morphological techniques the language has at its disposal" (Comrie 1989: 167). So, unlike lexical causation, morphological causation involves a productive change in the form of the verb, that is, if we have any predicate, we can form a causative from it by using appropriate morphological means.

Different ways of obtaining morphological causation in Danuwar language are as follows.

### *Affixation*

The causative marker *-a* is affixed to the verb root to obtain the notion of causation if the verb ends with consonant phonemes. So, the causative stem of the non-causative verb *pəD-* of (11a) becomes *pəDa-* in (11b).

- (11) a. *beTek*    *ciThi*            *pəD-ili*  
           daughter letter            read-PST 3 SG F  
           'Daughter read the letter.'
- b. *mui*            *beTekhə-lai*    *ciθhi*    *pəD-a-inin*  
           1SG            daughter-DAT letter    read-CAUS-PST 1 SG  
           'I made daughter read the letter.'
- (12) a. *sitə-i*    *git*            *sun-ti*    *rə-is*  
           Sita-ERG song            listen-    be-NPST 3 SG  
   PROG  
           'Sita is listening a song.'

- b. *daya sita-lai git sun-a-ti rə-is*  
 elder Sita-DAT song hear-CAUS- be-NPST  
 sister PROG 3 SG  
 'Elder sister is making Sita listen a song.'

But, when the verb roots end with a vowel, they are not causativized by adding *-a*. The causative counterpart of non-causative root *kha-* for example, is *khwa-*.

- (13) a. *chawə-i bhat kha-ilik*  
 child-ERG rice eat-PST 3 SG  
 'The child ate rice.'
- b. *maikh-e chawakhə-lai bhat khwa-ilik*  
 mother-EGR child DAT rice cause to eat-PST 3 SG F  
 'Mother fed rice to the baby.'

### Internal Modification

In the process of internal modification the verb roots are changed into transitive form by ablauting process. Some Danuwar verbs, especially those borrowed from Nepali, undergo such change. Let's consider these examples:

- (14) a. *chagre mər-ili*  
 goat die-PST 3 SG  
 'The goat died.'
- b. *bag-e chagre-lai mar-ilik*  
 tiger-ERG goat-DAT cause to die-PST 3 SG  
 'Tiger killed the goat.'

The vowel segment *-ə* of *mərili* (14a) is changed into *-a* in *marilik* (14b) to mark causation of the same activity. Similarly, *Dhəlilik* (15a) and *tərti rəinu* (16a) are changed into *Dhəlilək* (15b) and *tərti rələk* (16b) to mark causation of the same activity. All these verbs (14-16) are same as in Nepali and in Nepali, too, they are causativised in the same way.

- (15) a. *boT Dhəli-lik*  
 tree fall down-PST 3 SG  
 'The tree fell down.'

- When non-causative verbs change into causative ones, transitivity of these verbs increases. In illustrations (14a), (15a) and (16a), the first two have zero degree of transitivity and the last one has one degree of transitivity. When they are causativized in (14b), (15b) and (16b), their transitivity increases by one.

Some verb roots in Danuwar language are causativised by the phenomenon of affixation and internal modification, simultaneously. When they undergo the process of causation, their transitivity, as mentioned in the earlier examples, increases. Let's examine the following examples:

- (17) a. *u* *kāḍ-ilək*  
3 SG weep-PST 3 SG M  
'He wept.'
- b. *ram-e* *okhləi* *kāḍa-ilik*  
Ram-ERG 3 SG DAT cause to weep-PST 3 SG M  
'Ram made him weep.'
- (18) a. *rame* *boT* *dhal-ilək*  
Ram tree fell down-PST 3 SG M  
'Ram felled down the tree.'
- b. *sobite* *ram-ləi* *boT* *Dhəla-ilək*  
Sobite Ram-ABL tree fell down-CAUS-PST 3 SG M  
'Sobite made Ram fell down the tree.'

## Syntactic Causation

In the above illustrations, it is observed that the vector verb *lai* follows the infinitive form of the verb and it is inflected so as to agree with the subject NP of the clause. Like lexical and morphological causation, syntactic causation also helps to increase transitivity of the verb. In the above illustration, (19a) and (20a) both have one degree of transitivity, but when they are changed into causative in (19b) and (20b), respectively, their transitivity increases to two. Both these constructions employ one new argument, i.e. *haməi* and *mastəre* in (19b) and (20b), respectively.

## 10.4 Summary/Conclusions

In this language, causation can be expressed in different ways. It shows lexical, morphological and syntactic causation. In lexical causation, the relationship between causative and non-causative verb is established through purely lexical means. Morphological causation is productive in nature. Causative constructions can be obtained by morphological processes like affixation, internal modification and by affixation and internal modification simultaneously. In syntactic causation, the vector *lai* is used which bears the meaning 'cause'. When the verbs are causativised, their degree of transitivity increases by one, since they need one new argument in the causative construction.

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# Genitive Agreement in Darai

DUBI NANDA DHAKAL

## 11.1 Introduction

Darai is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in central and western Nepal in the districts of Chitwan, Tanahun and Nawalparasi. Interestingly, although Darai as an ethnic group is considered to be Mongoloid in their origin but they speak a language of the Indo-Aryan language family. Very few studies have been conducted on this language. One of the typologically interesting feature observed in the language is pronominal suffixes in the genitive construction. Although several Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal are dependent-marked in the genitive construction, Darai is primarily head-marking but it is also dependent-marking. This paper is an attempt to highlight genitive agreement in Darai nouns.<sup>1</sup> The term ‘nominal agreement’ is used to refer to the “certain dependents within a noun phrase which are morphologically marked to agree with the number and gender of the head noun” (Kroeger 2005:117). In Darai, for example, nominal agreement markers must agree with the possessor dependent. Regarding this phenomenon, Nichols (1986:56) maintains, “Morphological

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Prof. Lachhman Khubchandani, Prof. J.C. Sharma, Prof. K.S. Nagaraja and Dr. Shobha Satyanath for their comments on this paper when it was presented at 13<sup>th</sup> International Himalayan Language Symposium at Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, India on 22-24 October 2007. Special thanks must go to Christopher Wilde who read the paper thoroughly and gave me detailed and useful comments. All errors are, however, mine.

marking of grammatical relations may appear on either the head or the dependent member of the constituent (or on both or on neither)."

### 11.2 Pronominal Suffixes in Darai

Kotapish and Kotapish (1975: V) state, "a noted difference between Darai and Nepali and other Indo Aryan languages, and one of the highlights of Darai language is the pronominal cross reference markings found in both nouns and verbs. When ownership is expressed the cross reference is optionally marked". In this way, agreement in person and number is obligatory between possessors and possessed. Table (1) contains the pronominal suffixes attached with the nouns particularly to express kinship relations, ownership and body parts from two dialectal areas of the language. As slight differences were observed in two dialectal regions between the language spoken in Chitwan and Tanahun, they are incorporated in table (1).<sup>2</sup> The dialect chosen for this study is Chitwan.

**Table 1:** Pronominal Suffixes in Darai

	Pronouns		Pronominal suffixes	
	Pronouns	Possessive pronouns	Chitwan dialect	Tanahun dialect
1 SG	<i>mai</i>	<i>me-ra</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-m</i>
1 PL	<i>hame</i>	<i>ham-ra</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-ø</i>
2 SG	<i>tai</i>	<i>te-ra</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-r</i>
2 PL	<i>tai-sab</i>	<i>terasab-ka</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-u</i>
3 SG	<i>u</i>	<i>uk<sup>h</sup>-ra</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-u</i>
3 PL	<i>u-sab</i>	<i>usab-ka</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-kan</i>

The possessor of a possessed noun is identified either by a possessive pronoun preceding the noun (2) or by a genitive

<sup>2</sup> Kotapish and Kotapish call the suffixes "cross reference markers", Watters (2005) calls similar affixes found in Kusunda "possessive affixes". Pokhrel (2006) calls similar phenomenon merely as "pronominalization". I have, however, used the term "pronominal suffixes" throughout this paper.



suffix /-k<sub>Λ</sub> / and /-r<sub>Λ</sub> / attached with nouns or pronouns. The genitive markers are pronominal suffixes between possessor and the possessed noun is shown by adding suffixes to the possessed noun.

### 11.3 Head-Marking and Dependent-Marking

In analysing the universal grammar of head-marking and dependent-marking, Nichols (1986: 56) accounts for this phenomenon. She cites the examples from English and Hungarian respectively to claim that languages are mainly either head-marking or dependent marking.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) a. the man-M's <sup>H</sup>house  
       'The man's house'  
       b. *az ember <sup>H</sup>ház-a*  
           the man house-3 SG  
           'the man's house' (Nichols 1986: 62)

The syntactic relation between these two examples (1a-b) is one and the same but the principles for marking that relation morphologically are diametrically opposed because in the example (1a), the dependent is marked whereas in (1b) the head is marked. Thus, in (1b), the head-marking is the bearer of syntactic information. The clause relations are marked only by nominal suffixes which index person and number, and the ordering indexes the syntactic relations of the nouns as in (2). As illustrated in (1), the dependency relations in the construction are between possessor and the possessed nouns. Let's consider the examples from Darai where pronominal suffixes are optionally marked (2-3).

- (2) a. *<sup>H</sup>me-<sup>M</sup>r<sub>Λ</sub> <sup>H</sup>b<sup>H</sup>ai-<sup>M</sup>m* 'my younger brother'  
       *<sup>H</sup>te-<sup>M</sup>r<sub>Λ</sub> <sup>H</sup>b<sup>H</sup>ai-<sup>M</sup>r* 'your younger brother'  
       (Kotapish and Kotapish 5:138)

Typologically, head-marking and dependent-marking languages are widespread throughout the world. According

<sup>3</sup> Heads are indicated by superscript <sup>H</sup> and affixal markers by <sup>M</sup>.

to this cross-linguistic study, she classifies the languages into head-marking, dependent-marking, double-marking and split-marking. Some of the languages which are head and (or) dependent-marked are Burushaski, Finnish, Hebrew, Turkish and so on. Nichols does not, however, mention any other languages from the Indo-Aryan languages which are very close to Darai. I will present three parameters (i.e. possessive phrases, attributive phrase and clause relations) to show that Darai can be categorized as a predominantly dependent marking language despite the evidence that it is also double-marked.

In addition to what Kotapish and Kotapish mentioned, the markings are even observed not only in expressing ownership and kinship terms but also in body like *mera muhu-m*—‘my mouth’. Castillo (1996: 38) suggests, “It has been often suggested in one way or another the possession involving body-parts and kin relations is more basic than the type of possession associated with non-relational nouns”. Therefore, whether alienable and inalienable distinction will be meaningful in this language needs further probe and investigation.<sup>4</sup>

### *Possessive Phrases*

As included in example (2), the pronominal suffixes of head-marked pattern agree with the first noun. Since the head noun in Darai is optionally marked, we do not get consistent pattern.

- (3) a. *ram-m kʌ*      *ʰbʰai-m*  
           ‘Ram’s younger brother.’  
       b. *ram-m kʌ*      *ʰbʰai*  
           ‘Ram’s younger brother.’

This justifies the fact that Darai does not strictly have head or dependent marking pattern in possessive phrases. This feature has also been described as ‘pronominalization’ by Pokhrel (2006: 150).

<sup>4</sup> A full analysis of the text count only justifies the frequency of such morphemes being attached to the nouns.

### Attributive Phrases

Attributive phrases are generally dependent-marking type. We see that both head and dependent are marked in (3) whereas only the dependent is marked in (3b). In connection with the dependent marking of Nepali language Pokhrel (2006:152) remarks, “Nepali represents a dependent marking language where number, gender and honorific categories of the head nouns are attached to its dependent modifier”. This holds partially true for Darai.

- (4) a. <sup>m</sup>mor-lə            <sup>c</sup>hahom  
          ‘(my) dead son’  
      b. <sup>m</sup>mor-li            <sup>c</sup>hahim  
          ‘(my)dead daughter’

Attributive phrases are of dependent marked type. In (4), the adjective shows its agreement with the covert gender class of the head noun.

### Clause Relation

Clause relation in Darai shows that it is dependent-marked type in which the construction is (Nouns + <sup>M</sup>Case Noun + <sup>M</sup>Case Noun + <sup>M</sup>Case <sup>M</sup>Verb).

- (5) *uh-ĩ*            *merake*            *taŋgi-ĩ*            *tʰok-lə*  
      he-ERG        I-DAT            axe-INS            hit-PST  
      ‘He hit me with the axe.’

In (5), the nominal cases are the only bearers of syntactic information. Unlike this, the head-marking languages show that the nouns may be caseless and the clause relations are marked only by verbal affixes which index person and number. The examples show that genitive constructions are double marked in Darai whereas the remaining constructions are dependent marked. Contrary to this, in head-marked construction, the verbal affixes index person and number, and ordering indexes the syntactic relations of nouns.

### 11.4 Some Other Relations

In several languages, alienable/inalienable distinction has bearing on person agreement. Siewierska (2004: 30) mentions that, “If a language has person agreement with alienable nouns, it also has agreement with inalienable nouns, but not vice versa”. This is relevant in Darai because the frequency of nominal agreement is found with the kinship terms. Siewierska (ibid) continues, “Another way in which the alienable/inalienable opposition may reflect on person agreement is in relation to the form of person agreement markers...with inalienable, where person agreement is found in all types of possession. This generalization is relevant in Darai because the same agreement markers also occur in a class of copula, which comes in possessive construction.”<sup>5</sup>

- (6) a. *tera*            *bāis*            *ati-r*  
          you.GEN    youth        be-NP.2.SG  
          ‘You have your youth.’  
       b. *uk<sup>h</sup>ra*        *bāis*            *ati-k*  
          he.GEN        youth        be-NP.3.SG  
          ‘He has his youth.’

Table (2) presents how the copula inflects for the persons particularly in the genitive construction. Interestingly, the copula does not agree with the head noun of the noun phrase which happens to occur as its modifier but rather it agrees with the modifier of the head. In other words, the examples would be useful in that they would show the relation between possessor agreement on the noun and the verb. For example, in table (2), the copula agrees with various forms of possessive nouns, but not with brother, and ‘his’ respectively which are in fact the modifiers of the *bāis*—‘youth’.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Although Nichols (1986) establishes the relationship of head/dependent marking and other grammatical relation, I have not included this relation in this paper owing to the space.

<sup>6</sup> One of the participants pointed out that agreement of copula somehow resembles with Maithili.

**Table 2:** Inflection of the Copula *atΛ*

	<i>Genitive Forms</i>	<i>Inflection of Copular Verb</i>
1 SG	<i>merΛ b<sup>h</sup>ai-m</i>	<i>ati-m</i>
1 PL	<i>hamrΛ b<sup>h</sup>ai-ø</i>	<i>atΛ-i</i>
2 SG	<i>terΛ b<sup>h</sup>ai-r</i>	<i>ati-r</i>
2 PL	<i>terΛsΛbkΛ b<sup>h</sup>ai-r</i>	<i>atΛ-i</i>
3 SG	<i>uk<sup>h</sup>rΛ b<sup>h</sup>ai-k</i>	<i>ati-k</i>
3 PL	<i>usΛbkΛ b<sup>h</sup>ai-ø</i>	<i>atΛ-i</i>

As seen in table (2), the same suffixes occur both in nominal agreement and a fixed set of verbal suffixes appearing in a category of verbs.

### 11.5 Areal Relation

Kotapish and Kotapish pointed out that Darai has two sets of pronominal forms which are suffixed to the verb stem which distinguishes it from Nepali, as well as other Indo-Aryan languages. It is also of interest to note that Dravidian Brahui also shares this feature as well as Sindhi, Lahanda, the Dardic and Iranian languages – Kashmiri, Pashto, Balochi, and Persian (1975: V). As Pokhrel has pointed out, this feature is evident in Kusunda, a language isolate in Nepal and several Kiranti languages.<sup>7</sup>

### 11.6 Conclusion

Since this language has not been properly described its relation, genetic relation is yet to be established. However, both head and dependent marking feature is very rare among the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal, if not in other parts of this region. As Pokhrel (2006:152) introduces, such head marking languages of Nepal includes Darai, languages of Kiranti group and Kusunda.

<sup>7</sup> Prof. L.K. Khubchandani pointed out that such pronominal suffixes are evident in Kashmiri. He further added that this might have resulted from contact with Tibeto-Burman languages (personal communication).

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Appendix: Verb Agreement

Table 3: Inflection of the verb ‘to bring’ anike in the non-past tense

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	<i>an-tʌ-m</i>	<i>an-ta-hĩ</i>
Second person	<i>an-tʌ-s</i>	<i>an-tah-sʌb</i>
Third person	<i>an-i-t</i>	<i>an-tah-sʌb</i>

## TWELVE

# Some Observations on the Agreement Patterns in Outer Siraji and Sirmauri

J.C. SHARMA AND ANIL THAKUR

### 12.1 Introduction

Agreement is a widespread linguistic phenomenon with significant typological and theoretical implications. It plays a significant role in typological classifications and morpho-syntactic analysis of a natural language. There has been a wide range of research on this topic within different typological and theoretical perspectives (Corbett 2006, Chomsky 1995). However, the issue is still far from settled even for well-studied languages. It has been an indispensable tool to explain a number of linguistic phenomena across various theoretical frameworks. One of the complexities to study agreement has been its being used differently in the various levels of linguistic analysis such as lexicon, morphology, syntax and semantics. It is a major interface between morphology and syntax and hence appears particularly difficult when viewed purely from the point of view of either component (Corbett 2006). Thus, it becomes difficult even to define the term “agreement” in linguistics. According to traditional literature, agreement is a kind of mapping of grammatical features from one word/phrase onto other words/phrase(s) in a sentence. Agreement is defined in Wikipedia as “a form of cross-reference between different parts of a sentence or phrase”. A typical situation of agreement is when certain words or phrases change



their form because of their relation/dependence to/on a particular word/phrase in the sentence. Some people also maintain difference between agreement and concord. Within this assumption, agreement is only between a head and its arguments in a clause and 'agreements' within a phrase such as a noun phrase (between the head noun and its modifiers) is called 'concordance'. Recent researches on linguistically newly-addressed languages throw interesting light as to the categorization and theoretical explanation of various aspects of agreement. Agreement, as a tool for grammatical analysis, plays an important role in the typological as well as syntactic analysis of a language. It is one of the displacement properties of the human language and has always perplexed both the grammarians and the philosophers of language. Hence it has been recognized as one of the most significant grammatical phenomena in both traditional and modern approaches to the study of a natural language. The term 'agreement', however, has a number of interpretations in both syntactic and typological literature. Linguists have defined the term in more than one way (Melcuk 1993). Sometimes different grammatical phenomena are clubbed under agreement. One of the reasons is that agreement involves so many components of grammar (Anderson 1992, Corbett 2006). Let's take the definition of agreement given by Steele (1978: 610, as reported in Corbett 2006): 'the term agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another' has not been put to serious linguistics study till recently.

In syntactic studies of different theoretical persuasions, agreement has been analysed in detail, receiving various sorts of analyses. The study in the present paper, however, will not discuss the theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of agreement in natural languages in any detail. In this paper, we rather describe some of the morpho-syntactic and typological aspects of agreement. We take two grammatically less described languages: Outer Siraji and Sirmauri. We examine the morpho-syntactic behaviour of agreement in these

languages. Both Outer Siraji and Sirmauri are languages of the Western Pahari group of languages spoken in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh. The Grierson's Survey mentions these languages as Pahari languages spoken in the parts of present day Himachal Pradesh. Sirmouri is spoken in Sirmour district. Outer Siraji is spoken in the southern part of the Jalori Hill, which is surrounded on the south by river Satlaj is called Outer Siraj and the language spoken in this area is named as Outer Siraji. The Outer Siraj area is, although, part of Kullu district but in terms of physical accessibility it is closer to and easily accessible from Shimla. The river Satlaj flows between Outer Siraj and Shimla district. The languages of Outer Siraj and Inner Siraj are different from each other. However, neither of these languages has been studied in any detail to say any thing concrete with regard to their actual linguistic and typological status. Grierson's study mentions some data of Inner Siraji (however, this contains a lot of linguistic discrepancies such as the structure of Inner Siraji shows prominent SVO order which is not at all found in Grierson's sample) it does not at all mention any data from Outer Siraji. This should not be surprising because the area of Siraj has remained inaccessible from outside world for a long period of time. It is only in the recent times (with the development of modern transportations and communications) that these areas have become accessible for proper linguistic research.

In this paper, we examine data from two Western Pahari languages spoken in Himachal Pradesh of India: Outer Siraji and Sirmauri. The Pahari languages under discussion show a number of interesting characteristics with respect to both verbal and nominal agreement morphology. For instance, in Sirmauri as well as in Outer Siraji, the present tense copula /*aso*/ and /*a/do* not inflect for agreement with the subject/object whereas the past tense copula inflect for agreement with the subject nominal in, gender and number. examples (3 to 11) below.

As has been noted above, agreement can manifest itself through different ways. There is a lot of indeterminacy as to

The Pahari languages under discussion show a number of interesting characteristics with respect to both verbal and nominal agreement morphology. For instance, in Sirmauri as shown above the present tense copula *aso* does not inflect for agreement with the subject/object whereas the past tense copula inflects for agreement with the subject nominal in gender and number. Another interesting characteristic is agreement inflection found on locative and ablative postpositions in Sirmauri. Both Outer Siraji and Sirmauri exhibit ergative pattern and show a richer ergative system than Hindi. It would be interesting to relate the agreement patterns in these languages with existing typological as well as syntactic generalizations across the Indic languages.

The present study is an attempt in this direction. The study in the present paper provides certain new insights into the phenomenon of agreement, particularly in the context of the typological characteristics of the Indic languages. For instance, for a postposition to behave like a verb with respect to agreement is a new insight into the morpho-syntactic typology of Indic languages (Payne 1995). The examples in (1) from Sirmauri illustrate this point.

1. a. *tiye apɲi dostɲi fa ek aŋda laya*  
 he.erg self friend from one egg brought  
 (f.sg) (m.sg) (m.sg) (m.sg)  
 'He brought an egg from her friend.'
- b. *tiye apɲi dostɲi fe aŋdɛ laye*  
 he.erg self friend from egg brought (m.pl)  
 (f.sg) (m.pl) (m.pl)  
 'He brought eggs from her friend.'

Interestingly, we notice that it is not the source nominal with which either the verb or the postposition agrees. In fact, it is the object nominal that trigger agreement inflection on both the verb and the postposition. In (1a),  $\text{ʃ-a}$  is inflected for masculine singular ( $-a$ ) and in (1b),  $\text{ʃ-ε}$  is inflected for masculine plural ( $-\epsilon$ ) with the respective object nominal *anda* ‘egg’ and *and ε* ‘eggs’. In the next sections, we examine data for agreement patterns in Outer Siraji and Sirmauri.

## 12.2 Data

### *Subject-Verb Agreement*

The verb inflects for agreement with the subject noun phrase in both Sirmauri and Outer Siraji. However, when an auxiliary verb is present the agreement inflection also occurs on the auxiliary. In the case of copula verb, agreement inflection does not occur in the present tense form.

#### *Copula and auxiliary*

- the present tense copula/auxiliary *aso* in Sirmauri and *a* in Outer Siraji do not inflect.
- the past tense copula/auxiliary inflects for agreement with the subject.

#### *Sirmauri: Invariant Copula in the Present Tense*

- |    |    |                          |               |             |             |
|----|----|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| 2. | a. | <i>εʃɪ</i>               | <i>dʰɪŋtɪ</i> | <i>kalɪ</i> | <i>aso.</i> |
|    |    | this                     | girl          | black       | is          |
|    |    | ‘This girl is black.’    |               |             |             |
|    | b. | <i>εʃi</i>               | <i>dʰɪŋti</i> | <i>kalɪ</i> | <i>aso.</i> |
|    |    | these                    | girls         | black       | are         |
|    |    | ‘These girls are black.’ |               |             |             |
| 3. | a. | <i>sεʃɪ</i>              | <i>dʰɪŋtɪ</i> | <i>kalɪ</i> | <i>aso</i>  |
|    |    | that                     | girl          | black       | is          |
|    |    | ‘That girl is black.’    |               |             |             |
|    | b. | <i>sεʃi</i>              | <i>dʰɪŋti</i> | <i>kalɪ</i> | <i>aso</i>  |
|    |    | those                    | girls         | black       | are         |
|    |    | ‘Those girls are black.’ |               |             |             |

4. a. *tu        tɒŋdʒkɔtə    aso*  
       you     boy        is  
       'You are a boy.'
- b. *tue        tɒŋdʒkɔtɛ    aso*  
       you     boys        are  
       'You are boys.'
- c. *ame        tɒŋdʒkɔtɛ    aso*  
       we        boys        are  
       'We are boys.'
- d. *ame        d<sup>h</sup>ɪŋti        aso*  
       we        girls        are  
       'We are girls.'
5. a. *ɛjɪ        olmarɪ        aso*  
       this     almirah    is  
       'This is an almirah.'
- b. *ɛji        olmari        aso*  
       these    almiras    are  
       'These are almiras.'

*Sirmauri: Inflected Copula in the Past Tense*

6. a. *se        ʒ<sup>h</sup>oʈu        thiy-o*  
       it        child        be.pst-n.sg  
       'It was a baby.'
- b. *se        ʒ<sup>h</sup>oʈu        thiy-e*  
       they    children    be.pst-n.pl  
       'They were babies.'
7. a. *se        daktər        thiy-a*  
       he        doctor     be.pt-m.sg  
       'He was a doctor.'
- b. *se        daktər        thiy-ε*  
       they    doctor     be.pt-m.pl  
       'They were doctors.'
- c. *se        daktər        th-i*  
       she        doctor     be.pt-f.sg  
       'She was a doctor.'
- d. *se        daktər        th-i*  
       they    doctor     be.pt-f.pl  
       'They were doctors.'

*Outer Siraji: Invariant Copula in the Present Tense*

8. a. *sɔ*            *a*            *ɖaɖɔ*  
       he            is            strong  
       'He is strong.'
- b. *se*            *a*            *ɖaɖi*  
       she            is            strong.  
       'She is strong'
- c. *mũ*            *a*            *ɖaɖɔ*  
       I            am            strong  
       'I am strong.'
- d. *tu*            *a*            *ɖaɖɔ*  
       you            are            strong  
       'You are strong.'
9. a. *sɔ*            *a*            *merɔ*            *sɔngɔ*  
       he            be.pr    my-m.sg    friend-m.sg  
       'He is my friend'
- b. *sɛ*            *a*            *mere*            *sɔnge*  
       they            be.pr    my            friends-m.pl  
       They are my friends.
- c. *se*            *a*            *merɪ*            *sɔngɪ*  
       she            is            my f.sg    friend f.sg  
       'She is my friend'
- d. *si*            *a*            *meri*            *sɔngi*  
       they.f.pl    are            my.f.pl    friends f.pl  
       'They are my friends'

*Outer Siraji: Inflected Copula in the Past Tense showing agreement of gender-number*

10. a. *sɔ*            *t-ɔ*            *ɖaɖɔ*  
       he            be.pt.m.sg    strong.m.sg  
       'He was strong.'
- b. *sɪ*            *t-ɪ*            *ɖaɖɪ*  
       she            be.pt.f.sg    strong f.sg  
       'She was strong.'
- c. *mũ*            *t-ɔ*            *ɖaɖɔ*  
       I            be.pt..m.sg    strong.m.sg  
       'I was strong.'

- d. *hame*      *t-ε*      *ɖaɖε*  
 we.m.pl    be.pt.m.pl    strong.m.pl  
 'We were strong.'
11. a. *teue*      *bab*      *t-ɔ*      *ɖaɖtər*  
 his          father      be.pt-m.sg    doctor  
 His father was a doctor.
- b. *hiz*      *meri sɔŋgi*      *t-i*      *idi*  
 yesterday    my friend    be.pt-f.sg    here  
 My friend was here yesterday.
- c. *jε*      *mɔʃ*      *t-ε*      *lambe*  
 those      people      be.pt-m.pl    tall  
 Those people were tall
- d. *ji*      *cʰoʈi*      *t-i*      *lambi*  
 those      girls      be.pt-f.pl    tall  
 Those girls were tall

### *Sirmauri: Inflected Auxiliary*

In Sirmauri, progressive auxiliary marks tense and shows agreement of gender-number. The agreement paradigm of a verb root *ro-* progressive auxiliary is given below:

	Sg	Pl
M	ro-a	ro-ε
F	ro--I	ro-i
N	ru-o	ro-e

12. a. *ã*      *cale*      *ro-a.*  
 I          walk      aux.1.m.sg  
 'I am going/walking.'
- b. *ã*      *cale*      *ro-I*  
 I          walk      aux.1.f.sg  
 'I am going /walking.'
- c. *hame*      *cale*      *ro-ε.*  
 we          walk      aux.1.m.pl  
 'We are going/walking.'
- d. *hame*      *cale*      *ro-i*  
 we          walk      aux.1.f.pl  
 'We are going/walking.'

- e. *sa*                      *cale*                      *ro-a*.  
       he                      walk                      aux.3.m.sg  
       'He is going/walking.'
- f. *sε*                      *cale*                      *ro-ε*  
       they                      walk                      aux.3.m.pl  
       'They are going/walking.'

*Sirmauri: Inflected main verb*

The agreement is for either number and person or number and gender, the paradigms of which are given in tables below:

Number –gender agreement

	Sg	Pl
M	-a	-ε
F	-e/-I	-i
N	-o	-e

Number-person agreement

	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
Sg	-ũ	-e	-o
Pl	-ō	-o	-o

The examples in (13) are illustrative.

13. a. *aũ kɔr-ũ*                                      b. *ame kɔr-ō*  
       I work-1.sg                                      we work-1.pl  
       'I work.'    'We work.'
- c. *tu kɔr-e*    d. *tuē kɔr-o*.  
       you work-2.sg                                      you (pl) work-2.pl  
       'You work.'    'You work.'
- e. *se kɔr-o*    f. *se kɔr-o*  
       s/he work-3.sg                                      they work-3.pl  
       'S/he works.'                                      'They work.'

Outer Siraji: Inflected Auxiliary for progressive aspect is quite a complex construction as main verbal form occurs after the object which follows the auxiliary verbal forms (tense auxiliary+aspect auxiliary).



- Outer Siraji: Inflected main verb*

- ### Object-Verb Agreement

Object-verb agreement exists both in Outer Siraji and Sirmauri. Like Hindi, object-verb agreement in these languages is conditioned by ergative constructions. Sirmauri exhibits richer

ergative pattern and, therefore, has more instances of object-verb agreement than those in Outer Siraji.

### *Sirmauri: Ergative constructions*

In Sirmauri, the subject of a transitive verb (in all the three tenses in perfective as well as in some imperfective aspects, except simple/indefinite aspects) occurs in the ergative case form and in this case agreement between subject and verb is blocked and the verb agrees with the object nominal. The ergative case inflection is *-ε* (sometimes also realized as *-e*). Some illustrative examples are presented below.

16. a. *kukr-ε*            *adme*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-ya*  
          dog-ERG        man            bite-pt.m.sg  
          'The dog bit the man.'
- b. *kukr-ε*            *tirōi*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-yi*  
          dog-ERG        women        bite-pt.f.pl  
          'The dog bit the women.'
- c. *kukr-ε*            *tirōe*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-ye*  
          dog-ERG        woman       bite-pt.f.sg  
          'The dog bit the woman.'
- d. *kukriy-ε*        *adme*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-ya*  
          bitch-ERG       man           bite-pt.m.sg  
          'The bitch bit the man.'
- e. *kukr-ε*            *adme*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-ya*  
          dog-ERG        man           bite-pt.m.sg  
          'The dogs bit the man.'
- f. *kukriy-ε*        *tirōi*            *k<sup>h</sup>a-yi*  
          bitch-ERG       women       bite-pt.f.pl  
          'The bitch bit the women.'
17. a. *mō-ε*            *paŋi*            *pe lu-o*  
          I-ERG            water (n.sg)   drink prog-n.sg  
          'I am drinking water.'
- b. *tiniy-ε*            *[ɕl saŋde*        *lo-e*  
          he-ERG            works (n.pl)    do prog-n.pl  
          'He is doing works.'

*Outer Siraji: Ergative constructions*

18. a. *mənju-ε kiɔ ɡ<sup>h</sup>ɔr sap<sup>h</sup>*  
 Manju-ERG did house clean  
 Manju cleaned the house.
- b. *rubin-ε diɦɪ bapɪ lɛ ʕit<sup>h</sup>ɪ*  
 Rubina-ERG gave father for letter  
 Rubina sent a letter to father.
- c. *teuε t-i katab pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 He-ERG Be-F.Sg Book (F.Sg) Read-F.Sg
- d. *tɛ t-i katab pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 She-ERG Be-F.Sg Book (F.Sg) Read
- e. *mere a katab pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 I-ERG be book(f.sg) read-f.sg  
 'I have read a book.'
- f. *mhare a katab pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 we-ERG be book(f.sg) read-f.sg  
 'We have read a book.'
- g. *teuε a katab pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 he-ERG be book(f.sg) read-f.sg  
 'He has read a book.'
- h. *tɛ a katab pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 she-ERG be book(f.sg) read-f.sg  
 'She has read a book.'
- i. *teuε a upanyas pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 he-ERG be novel(m.sg) read-m.sg  
 'He has read a book.'
- j. *tɛ a upanyas pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 she-ERG be novel(m.sg) read-m.sg  
 'She has read a book.'
- k. *tine a upanyas pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 they-ERG be novel(m.sg) read-m.sg  
 'They have read a book.'
- l. *tine a upanyas pɔ[-i-n-i]*  
 they-ERG be novel(m.sg) read-m.sg  
 'They have read a book.'

The indirect objects in a ditransitive verb construction are in the dative Case form. Generally postposition *le* 'for' is used to express the dative relation of a noun/pronoun and the noun/pronoun occur in the oblique form. Like Hindi *ke-liye* 'for' Outer Siraji also makes use of a similar compound postposition *kə-le* 'for' to express dative Case in some constructions.

19. a. *t-ε*                      *b<sup>h</sup>εji*                      *baɸu lε ɕiɸ<sup>h</sup>i*  
          She-ERG                      sent-f.sg                      father for letter  
          She sent a letter to her father.
- b. *anil-ε*                      *dini*                      *rubina kə-lε ek kətab*  
          Anil-ERG                      gave-f.sg                      Rubina for ek book  
          Anil gave Rubina a book.

In Sirmauri genitive postposition, like many other Indo-Aryan languages, agrees with the head noun in number and gender. However, more interestingly in Sirmauri, ablative and locative postpositions also inflect to agree with the subject or object noun. The other postpositions such as dative, committative and instrumental do not inflect. Below we present some of the illustrative examples.

The ablative case marker is sh- that inflects for agreement.

20. a. *tiye apni dostne fa ek anda laya*  
 he.ERG self friend from one egg brought  
 (f.sg) (m.sg) (m.sg) (m.sg)  
 'He brought an egg from her friend.'  
 b. *tiye apni dostne fe ande loy-e*  
 he.ERG self friend from egg brought (m.pl)  
 (f.sg) (m.pl) (m.pl)  
 'He brought an egg from her friend.'

- c. *teniye chokre fi bat pɔchi*  
 she- boy- from matter asked (f.sg)  
 ERG OBL (f.sg)  
 'She asked the matter from the boy.'

### Locative Postposition

The locative marker is *d-* which inflects for agreement.

21. a. *mũ ejja amb fɔrke d-a pɔɾa hon-da phab-a*  
 I-OBL this mango. road on-m. lying be- found-  
 m.sg sg prtp m.sg  
 'I found this mango lying on the road.'
- b. *pacce bhũi d-e jʰɔɾe*  
 leaves (n.pl) ground on-n.pl fell-n.pl  
 'The leaves fell on the ground.'

### Genitive Postposition

The genitive case expresses relation of a noun/pronoun with another noun. The marker is *k-* that inflects for agreement in number and gender with the head noun. Below are given some illustrative examples.

22. a. *tonde k-o jʰogtu*  
 boy gen-n.sg shirt (n.sg)  
 'Boy's shirt'
- b. *tirõi k-o jʰogtu*  
 girl gen-n.sg shirt (n.sg)  
 'Girl's shirt'
- c. *devo k-e pujiya*  
 god gen-m.pl priest (m.pl)  
 'God's priest'
- d. *devo k-i pijiya*  
 god gen-f.pl priest (f.pl)  
 'God's priest'

### Outer Siraji – Genitive Case

In case of nouns, the genitive case is marked by an invariable

suffix *-e*, it doesnot inflect to agree with the head noun. However, in the case of pronouns the genitive/possessive pronouns agree with the head noun in number and gender and hence have different forms. There is also some variation with respect to genitive case marking as is shown in (23b and 24d) (note: In case of the genitive subject of infinitive nominals genitive suffix is - /o.).

- |        |                                       |                          |
|--------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 23. a. | <i>merɔ</i>                           | <i>g<sup>h</sup>ɔr</i>   |
|        | my                                    | house                    |
| b.     | <i>teue</i>                           | <i>b<sup>h</sup>au</i>   |
|        | his                                   | brother                  |
| c.     | <i>t<sup>h</sup>ari</i>               | <i>tɔpi</i>              |
|        | your                                  | cap                      |
| 24. a. | <i>rubin-e</i>                        | <i>sari</i>              |
|        | rubina-gen                            | sari-f.sg                |
|        | Rubina's sari                         |                          |
| b.     | <i>kitab-e</i>                        | <i>kimət</i>             |
|        | book-gen                              | price-f.sg               |
|        | Price of the book                     |                          |
| c.     | <i>ghɔr-e</i>                         | <i>k<sup>h</sup>iɽki</i> |
|        | house                                 | window-f.sg              |
|        | Window of the house                   |                          |
| d.     | <i>sɔr-o</i>                          | <i>paŋi</i>              |
|        | pond                                  | water-m.sg               |
|        | Water of the pond.                    |                          |
| e.     | <i>hat<sup>h</sup>r-e</i>             | <i>dɔd</i>               |
|        | elephant-gen                          | tooth-f.sg               |
|        | Tooth of the elephant                 |                          |
| f.     | <i>rubin-e</i>                        | <i>rɔd</i>               |
|        | Rubina-gen                            | leg-m.sg                 |
|        | Rubina's leg                          |                          |
| g.     | <i>anil-e</i>                         | <i>rɔd</i>               |
|        | Anil-gen                              | leg-m.sg                 |
|        | Anil's leg                            |                          |
| h.     | <i>c<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>ɽI-e</i> | <i>ak<sup>h</sup>i</i>   |
|        | girl-gen                              | eye-f.pl                 |
|        | Girl's eyes                           |                          |

- i.  $c^h o^h \text{ʈu-e}$        $ak^h i$   
 boy-gen      eye-f.pl  
 Boy's eyes.

### *Adjectival Agreement in Sirmauri*

Adjectives inflect for number and gender agreement with the head noun. The paradigm is given below in (25):

25.	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>N</i>
Sg	-a	-e	-o
Pl	-ε	-i	-e

Some illustrative examples are presented for an adjective *kɔɽua* 'bitter', as in (26) below:

26.	Sg	<i>kɔɽua</i>	<i>kɔɽue</i>	<i>kɔɽuo</i>
	Pl	<i>kɔɽue</i>	<i>kɔɽui</i>	<i>kɔɽue</i>

In Outer Siraji, adjectives inflect gender agreement with the head noun (*accho* 'good.m' vs. *Acc<sup>hi</sup>* 'good-f').

### 12.3 Observations

Agreement patterns in Outer Siraji and Sirmauri presents some interesting data for the analysis of agreement patterns in Indic languages. We can present the major observations briefly as below:

- Both Outer Siraji and Sirmauri exhibit rich agreement pattern
- Both Outer Siraji and Sirmauri exhibit Ergative pattern
- Sirmauri has richer Ergative system than Outer Siraji
- Ergative system in Outer Siraji is like that in Hindi
- Agreement between the verb and the object nominal is attested in both Outer Siraji and Sirmauri
- In Sirmauri, Ergative Case is marked on the subject in the progressive aspect as well.
- Postposition agreement is an interesting feature in Sirmauri that has further implications for the categorization of the

language typologically. This also present data in support of the claim for the existence of adpositional inflections

- Locative and ablative (source marker) postpositions inflect for number and gender of the object nominal in Sirmauri
- When the subject is in the direct Case form, locative postposition agrees with the subject nominal.
- Adjectives in both Sirmauri and Outer Siraji exhibit agreement inflection
- Existence of richer Ergative Case system in Sirmauri can also have typological and syntactic consequences
- Footnote: Both the languages under study show a number of variations across different speech groups. Hence, the inflectional markers reported in this paper may also have different forms.

### *Some Implications*

Some of these observations have rich implications for further research studies on the issues of agreement particularly with respect to the determination of:

- Controllers
- Targets
- Domains
- Features

This is because of the fact that:

- Nouns are canonical agreement controllers and verbs and adjectives are canonical agreement targets (Corbett 2006).
- Adpositions as agreement targets is rare, except possessive/genitive adposition (Payne 1997).
- Adpositional phrase as the domain of agreement (as in Sirmauri) complicates the theory to account the agreement phenomenon in a natural language.
- It might be accounted by “agreement spreading” approach, as it happens in noun phrases containing multiple adjectives. This point needs to be investigated further for detail conclusions.



- Both in Outer Siraji and Sirmauri, the nominal phrases that are closed off by adpositions are no longer agreement controllers in the clause (see Ergative constructions)
- This supports the thesis that Case is the uppermost syntactic layer in a nominal phrase

## 12.4 Concluding Remarks

Agreement has been an important topic of research across different theoretical frameworks in linguistics. Works on lesser known and less described languages have presented with either supporting or counter examples for various theoretical and empirical hypotheses in linguistics. The work reported in this paper is an attempt in this direction: to present a description of the languages under study here. Some of the examples of agreement that come from these languages are supporting the existing findings and observation whereas some others refute them.

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## THIRTEEN

# Pronominal Clitics in the Mon-Khmer Languages of Meghalaya: Insights from a Comparative and Contrastive Study of Pnar (Jaintia) and Khasi<sup>1</sup>

ANISH KOSHY

### 13.1 The Mon-Khmer Languages Pnar and Khasi

The Mon-Khmer languages constitute a major sub-group of the Austro-Asiatic<sup>2</sup> family of languages. These languages are mostly represented in Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, India, Bangladesh and China. Most of the Mon-Khmer languages are spoken outside the Indian sub-continent. In India, these languages are spoken in Meghalaya and in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Diffloth and Zide

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on my work for my M.Phil. dissertation titled 'Pronominal Clitics in Pnar and Khasi' submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in July 2007. I am indebted to the help and guidance I have received from my dissertation supervisor Prof. Anvita Abbi in this regard.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of an Austro-Asiatic family of languages, or the relationship between Munda languages and Mon-Khmer languages, has been contested by various scholars. The debate is far from being settled. See de Hevesy (1930) for reservations against W. Schmidt's postulations favouring an Austric family of languages.

(1992) consider the Austro-Asiatic language as probably the most ancient of languages in South-East Asia and East India. Meghalaya represents the Khasian sub-branch of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, namely Khasi and Pnar (War is mostly spoken in Bangladesh, though there are some speakers in Meghalaya also). Diffloth and Zide make a very crucial comment regarding the “so-called Khasi dialects, such as Synteng (Pnar), Lyngngam, and Amwi (also called War)” that they “are clearly distinct but related languages” (1). The Nicobar languages, namely, Car Nicobarese, Chaura, Teresa, Southern Nicobarese, Central Nicobarese and Shom Peng are spoken by the tribal groups inhabiting the Nicobar Islands (Diffloth and Zide 1992; Gordon 2005).

According to the last Census report published by the Government of India on the languages of India in 1991, Khasi is spoken by 700047, Pnar/Synteng by 169388 and War by 26735 people, which is around 0.11 per cent of the total Indian population. The total number of Nicobarese speakers (all the tribes) in India is 26261, which is not even 0.01 per cent of the Indian population. Both Nicobarese and Khasi have been given the status of ‘non-scheduled languages’. The 2001 Census report on ‘Language’ has not been published yet.

Langstieh et al. (2004) study shows that the tribal populations in Meghalaya are relatively homogenous with no other population barring the ‘War-Khasi and Pnar’ showing ‘any semblance of genetic identity’ (569). They find ‘a relatively low co-efficient of gene differentiation’ and believe ‘the short history of separation of the Meghalaya tribes’ to be the reason for their homogeneity. The term ‘Khasi’ was traditionally understood to cover all the seven/eight Mon-Khmer tribes inhabiting Meghalaya. However, the term is now increasingly used to refer to a particular sub-tribe called Khyriam, whose variety of Khasi has been adopted as the standard form and used in education, literature and media. The term Khasi used in this work, unless otherwise specified, refers to this sub-tribe Khyriam and its variety of the language. What we find in standard literature on the Khasi language is the description

and analysis of this particular variety of the language spoken mainly in Cherrapunjee<sup>3</sup> (called ‘Sohra’ locally) and called [ka-tien-sohra] ‘the language of Sohra’. The Khasis follow two religious traditions—that of Christianity and the indigenous form called Sen-Khasi. Pnar is the spoken language of the second largest sub-group among the Khasi/Mon-Khmer tribes after Khyntiam. Pnar is spoken by the Jaintias in the Jaintia Hills District of Meghalaya. The Pnars follow mainly two religious traditions – Christianity and the indigenous religion called *jiamtre*.

### 13.2 Methodology

The primary material for this study came from my fieldwork among the speakers of Khasi and Pnar in Meghalaya from October 2006 to December 2006. Linguistic samples were collected by translation of model sentences, designed specifically to extract structures showing various syntactic and morphological features of pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi. The basic sentences for collecting field data from Abbi (2001: 248-252) were used as a model in this task. Secondary material in terms of descriptive grammars is available only for Khasi, namely Rabel (1961) and Nagaraja (1985). Pnar has largely remained ignored, subsumed as a dialect/variety of Khasi. There is no published material available on the Pnar language.

### 13.3 Pnar

A prototypical assertive sentence in Pnar has the following structure:

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<sup>3</sup> On 5 July 2007, the Government of Meghalaya unanimously adopted the resolution to replace the name Cherrapunjee and officially adopt the original name of the place ‘Sohra’, by which it has always been referred to by the local people (Source: “Soon Cherrapunjee to be called Sohra”, 06.07.2007, *The Times of India*, New Delhi edition, page 9).

[PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] [VERB-ENCLITIC] [ACC/DAT-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (1):

- 1 *u-k<sup>h</sup>inna/*      *a/-u*      *ya-u-sapeŋ*  
 3MSGCL-child   cut-3MSGCL   ACC-3MSGCL-mango  
 'The boy cut the mango.'

This structure may be expanded by modifying the subject and other nominals, like (2):

- 2 *u-k<sup>h</sup>inna/*      *u-wa-jrɔŋ*   *a/-u*      *ya-u-sapeŋ*   *u-wa-da-i/*  
 3MSGCL-child   3MSGCL-   cut-      ACC-3MSGCL-   3MSGCL-RP-  
                          RP-tall      3MSGCL      mango      PERF-ripe  
 'The tall boy cut the ripe mango.'

### ***Personal Pronouns in the Nominative Case and Verbal Enclitics in Pnar***

In the nominative case, the personal pronouns in Pnar are as follows:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ <i>ya</i> ]	[ <i>i</i> ]	[ <i>me</i> ]	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> ]	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>i</i> ]	[ <i>o</i> ]	[ <i>ka</i> ]	[ <i>i</i> ]	[ <i>ki</i> ]

In the nominative case, all personal pronouns have an enclitic form that comes as an enclitic on the verb. All the enclitic forms of the pronominals are as follows:

1SGCL	1PLCL	2MSGCL	2FSGCL	2PLCL	3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3plcl
[ ]	[ <i>i</i> ]	[ <i>mi</i> ]	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup> ]</i>	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>i</i> ]	[ <i>u</i> ]	[ <i>k</i> ]	[ <i>i</i> ]	[ <i>ki</i> ]

All personal pronouns like the one highlighted in (3) appear in a discontinuous form and have two parts, a part that comes in the subject position, if the pronominal subject is not dropped, and the other part comes as a post-verbal enclitic. It should be clarified here that these verbal enclitics come only when the pronouns occupy the subject position.

- 3 *ŋa*   *da-pin-k<sup>h</sup>re/-*      *u-su*      *ya-ka-bai-tiket*   *yɔŋ-ŋa*  
 1SG   PERF-CAUS-ready-1SGCL   INF-pay   ACC-3FSGCL-   GEN-1SG  
    cost-ticket

'I am ready to pay for my ticket.'

Pronominals in the subject position are in general dropped in Pnar. The post-verbal enclitic acts as the subject agreement marker. This can never be dropped in assertive sentences.

- 4 *ya-chem-ɔ ki mne-i-step. ɔŋ-ki wa daŋ-ya-kɪnde/ke-ki.*  
 RECIPRO<sup>4</sup>- 3PL today-3ESGCL- say- COMP PROG-RECIPRO-  
 meet-1SGCL morning 3PLCL play-3PLCL  
 'I met them in the morning today. They said they were just playing.'

In the first person, we find no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the plural as can be seen in (5) and (6):

- 5 *lai lipait-baisk p-i mnin*  
 go see-movie-1PLCL yesterday  
 'Yesterday we had gone to see the movie'
- 6 *pi-lai-n /-i*  
 HORT-go-away-1PLCL  
 'Let us go now'

In the second person, Pnar maintains a three-way distinction of masculine and feminine in singular and of a gender-neutral plural. These are exemplified through (7), (8) and (9) below:

- 7 *me hap su-jayer-mi ya-ka-bai-tiket-mi.*  
 2MSG MOD:OBLIG pay-DISTR-2MSGCL ACC-3FSGCL-cost-ticket-  
 2MSGCL  
 'You have to pay for your own ticket.'

<sup>4</sup> This verbal particle [ya-] has exactly the same phonological and syntactic properties as the Khasi [ya-] which also comes as part of the verb. This verbal marker should not be confused with the nominal [ya-] in both Pnar and Khasi, which marks accusative/dative case. The verbal [ya-] has been described variedly for Khasi by different scholars. While Abbi (2001: 212) terms it as a 'verbal reflexive', Rabel (1961: 58) calls it a 'reciprocative', Singh (1904: 84) calls it a marker of 'plurality and mutuality' and Nagaraja (1985: 27), while finding it difficult to describe, feels that 'it conveys a sense of collectivity'. While all these senses are conveyed by the particle in Pnar also, the gloss RECIPRO has been adapted for glossing convenience.

- 8 *p<sup>h</sup>a wim-ɔ/-k<sup>h</sup>ana-p<sup>h</sup>ɔ ya-ŋa ya-ka-pɪrtuit yɔŋ-ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim*  
 2FSG RP+NEG-HAB- tell- DAT-1SG ACC-3FSGCL- GEN-3FSGCL-  
 2FSGCL name movie

You never told me the name of the movie.

- 9 *im poi-pɪrk<sup>h</sup>at-ɔ beɪt-saŋ-p<sup>h</sup>i*  
 NEG reach-think(believe)-1SG ignorant/foolish-INTENS-2PLCL  
 'I can not believe you (both) guys can be so ignorant.'

The second person plural is also used as the second person honorific pronominal as is exemplified in (10):

- 10 *da-dɛp-e- ya- p<sup>h</sup>i le/ tɔ/ u-e-p<sup>h</sup>i ya-ka i-yi-re-*  
*k<sup>h</sup>əwai-kɔ p<sup>h</sup>i.*  
 PERF-COMPL- DAT- 2PL also MOD: INF- DAT- some-  
 give-party- 2PL OBLIG give- 3FSG thing  
 3FSGCL 2PLCL

'She had given you a party. You must also give her something.'

In the third person, there is a four-way distinction of masculine, feminine and epicene<sup>5</sup> in singular and that of a gender-neutral plural. The feminine pronominal has been exemplified in (10) above. The masculine and the plural pronominals are exemplified in the examples (11) and (12) below:

- 11 *o ye-u u-wan wa-i.*  
 3MSG MOD:ABIL-3MSGCL INF-come SOC-1PLCL

'He can come with us'.

- 12 *lai-fil ŋ-ki*  
 go-Shillong-3PLCL  
 'They are going to Shillong.'

### *Proclitics and Enclitics in Pnar*

Of all the pronominals in Pnar, only the third person pronominals are used as proclitics on nominals and various

<sup>5</sup> The term 'epicene', which is used to refer to entities belonging to both the sexes, is not the apt term for these forms. See discussion later.



other grammatical classes discussed below. The different proclitics in Pnar are as follows:

3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
$[u]$	$[ka]$	$[i]$	$[ki]$

While the phonological shape of the proclitics in Pnar are similar to the third person pronominals, the third person masculine proclitic [u] does not have the same phonological shape as the 3rd person masculine pronoun which is [o] as in (11) and (13). Though these two sounds are found to alternate in many languages, Pnar speakers are very particular about the difference in pronunciation between the proclitic and the pronoun.

The corresponding enclitic forms of the proclitics listed above are as follows:

3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
$[u]$	$[k]$	$[i]$	$[ki]$

All nominals in Pnar are marked with the proclitic form and when in the subject position have a corresponding ENCLITIC agreement marker on the verb. Proclitics appear on nominals, nominal modifiers (adjectives and relative clauses), demonstratives, reciprocal pronouns, some interrogative pronouns, all derived indefinite pronouns, universal quantifiers and the numeral 'one' exemplified through examples (1), (2), (13), (14), (15), (16), (17) and (18) respectively:

- |    |  |   |   |                                    |   |
|----|--|---|---|------------------------------------|---|
| 13 | <i>pait</i><br>look                          | <i>i-tai</i><br>3ESGCL-DISTDEM              | <i>i-dur</i><br>3ESGCL-picture          |                                    |   |
|    | 'Look at that picture.'                      |   |   |                                    |   |
| 14 | <i>ki-so-ɣut</i><br>3PLCL-four-<br>CL:HUM    | <i>ki-k<sup>h</sup>inna/</i><br>3PLCL-child | <i>ya</i><br>ACC                        | <i>spaut<sup>h</sup>ɔ/</i><br>Like | <i>u-wi-ya-u-wi.</i><br>3MSGCL-one-ACC-<br>3MSGCL-one |
|    | 'The four children are fond of one another.' |   |   |                                    |   |
| 15 | <i>ka-yi</i><br>which                        | <i>ka-p<sup>h</sup>lim</i><br>3FSGCL-movie  | <i>pait-p<sup>h</sup>i</i><br>see-2PLCL | <i>ka-tai</i><br>3FSGCL-DISTDEM    | <i>ka-təyau</i><br>3FSGCL-week                        |
|    | 'Which movie did you see last week?'         |   |   |                                    |   |

- 16 *em ki-wan-ki-wan ki-wa-ye u-e ya-i ka-b r.*  
 be/have anyone 3PLCL-RP- INF- ACC- 3MSGCL-  
 MOD:ABIL give 1PL permission  
 Is there anybody here who can give us the permission?
- 17 *u-wi-pa-u-wi em-kam u-k<sup>h</sup>ay ya-ka-mobail yɔŋ-ki.*  
 Everybody have-need INF-close ACC-3MSGCL- GEN-3PL  
 (MOD:OBLIG) mobile  
 Everybody must switch off their mobiles.
- 18 *u-wi u-k<sup>h</sup>inna/ u-wa-jrɔŋ ya-le/-bɔl-b<sup>h</sup>a-u*  
 3MSGCL- 3MSGCL- 3MSGCL- RECIPRO-play-ball-good-3MSGCL  
 one child RP-tall  
 One tall boy plays football very well.
- 19 *i-yi wa-pin-yap ya-u-ɔn*  
 3MSGCL-Q RP-CAUS-die ACC-3MSGCL-John  
 Who killed John?

For all the word classes listed above, the form of the proclitic is decided by the head nominal. While in all the cases above it is possible to know the gender/number of the nominal and hence specific third person proclitics are used, if the gender/number specification of the head nominal is not known, then the third person proclitic [*i-*] is used as a default proclitic as in (19). Unlike Bhoi Khasi, which according to Nagaraja (1993:2) ‘uses the same classifiers but with non-identical class membership’, Pnar does not differ from standard Khasi in the classification of nominals except in the class of nominals marked with [*i-*] which is discussed in the next section. All the nominals marked with [*i-*] in Pnar are marked with [*ka-*] in Khasi, except those which show intimacy, diminutiveness, respect, etc.

### *The Third Person Proclitic [i]*

The entities marked with this clitic in Pnar do not belong to either of the morphologically masculine or feminine classes and hence the inappropriateness of the label ‘epicene’ for them. Interestingly most of these nominals belong to the

morphological feminine class in Khasi. Some of them have the option of taking [i] or the feminine marker. The [i-] class nominals in Khasi are epicene entities, as it is not morphological characteristics that define the [i-] class nominals in Khasi. In Khasi as noted by Nagaraja (1985: 9), this 'marker' is used to mark 'respect as well as close intimacy. It is also used to refer to very small things.' The use of the same term in Pnar though inappropriate, has been used for glossing convenience. The third person epicene pronominal exemplifies a wide ranging set of nominals which include various semantic features like abstractness, bodily waste, many body-parts, body-part ornaments, temporal nouns and diverse semantic fields including nominals like 'forest', 'medicine', etc. Very often the small vs. big (related to the feature of 'size' as found in Khasi), mine vs. others' (related to the feature of 'intimacy' as found in Khasi) and near vs. far distinctions are made using proclitics, with the proclitic [i-] being used for small, personal and near things/entities. While a good number of body parts listed below like head, mouth, nose, eye, ear, lip, etc., take this proclitic, there are some others like leg, hand, thigh, stomach, hair, teeth, tongue, heart, etc., which take the feminine proclitic. Thus, while the use of this proclitic in Khasi is more of a pragmatic feature, in Pnar it is a morphological feature. Apart from satisfying morphological functions of the kind mentioned above, the proclitic [i] is used extensively in Pnar as a frozen clitic in forms like [heiwan] 'where', [heini] 'here', etc., and as a third person generic proclitic, when the number/gender specifications of a particular entity is not known (as in indefinites and interrogatives). The diverse fields marked with this proclitic make Pnar very distinct from Khasi. This diversity also makes it difficult to define the exact nature of the proclitic, and needs further investigation. The term used for this proclitic 'epicene' in this dissertation is only a stop-gap measure. A representative list of nominals that take the proclitic [i] in Pnar is given below:

<i>Pnar</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>i-d<sup>h</sup>a/ri/</i>	verandah	the difference is that of small vs. big.
<i>i-syi</i>	day	temporal; (also with [ka-])
<i>i-met</i>	night	temporal; (also with [ka-])
<i>i-snem</i>	year/age	temporal (?); (also with [ka-])
<i>i-sɲiau</i>	night	Temporal
<i>i-snam</i>	blood	Body waste
<i>i-aitk<sup>h</sup>mat</i>	eye-waste	Body waste
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>ak</i>	phlegm	Body waste
<i>i-yimbar</i>	saliva	Body waste
<i>i-ait</i>	shit	Body waste
<i>i-sma</i>	smell	Body waste
<i>i-sk<sup>h</sup>mut</i>	snort	Body waste
<i>i-c<sup>h</sup>it</i>	sweat	Body waste
<i>i-umk<sup>h</sup>mat</i>	tear	Body waste
<i>i-juŋ</i>	urine	Body waste
<i>i-dɔ/</i>	flesh/meat	Body part; with [ka-] it means the 'body'.
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>ten</i>	mouth, word, language	Body part; Abstract Noun (?)
<i>i-tɪrsim</i>	nail	Body part; (also with [ka-])
<i>i-c<sup>h</sup>ɪkɔr</i>	ear	Body part
<i>i-sɲiuk<sup>h</sup>mat</i>	eyebrow	Body part
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>mat</i>	eye	Body part
<i>i-pəryəm</i>	finger	Body part
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>le/</i>	head	Body part
<i>i-snik<sup>h</sup>teɲ</i>	lip	Body part
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>mut</i>	nose	Body part
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>sa/c<sup>h</sup>ukɔr</i>	earring	Body Decorators
<i>i-lakadom</i>	earring	Body Decorators
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>sa/k<sup>h</sup>mat</i>	nose-pin	Body Decorators
<i>i-yi-re-i-yi</i>	anything	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-yi-i-yi</i>	anything	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-wi-ya-i-wi</i>	each other	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-ajit</i>	everything	as a default generic clitic
<i>ha-i-ni</i>	here	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-te</i>	that	as a default generic clitic

<i>Pnar</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>c<sup>h</sup>a-i-tai</i>	there	as a default generic clitic
<i>ha-i-tai</i>	there	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-ni</i>	this	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-yi</i>	who	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-yɔŋ</i>	whose	as a default generic clitic
<i>i-jiɣmut</i>	idea, meaning	Abstract Noun; (also with [ka-])
<i>i-rɔŋ</i>	colour	Abstract Noun (?); (also with [ka-])
<i>i-dak</i>	symbol	Abstract Noun (?); (also with [ka-])
<i>i-pər</i>	time	Abstract Noun (?); (also with [ka-])
<i>i-yac<sup>h</sup>ɔ/</i>	fight	Abstract Noun (?)
<i>i-sur</i>	music/song	Abstract Noun (?)
<i>i-bɪnta</i>	portion/part	Abstract Noun (?)
<i>i-ruwai</i>	song	Abstract Noun (?)
<i>i-b<sup>h</sup>a/</i>	turn/share	Abstract Noun (?)
<i>i-jiɣc<sup>h</sup>lur</i>	courage	Abstract Noun
<i>i-ma</i>	danger	Abstract Noun
<i>i-bam</i>	eatable	Abstract Noun
<i>i-kmeɲ</i>	happiness	Abstract Noun
<i>i-maya</i>	love	Abstract Noun
<i>i-ja/burɔm</i>	scandal	Abstract Noun
<i>i-jiɣt<sup>h</sup>ɔ/</i>	writing	Abstract Noun
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>ɔnbo</i>	child	(also with [u-] and [ka-]); the distinction is that of small [i] and grown-up.
<i>i-sim</i>	bird	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
<i>i-yuɣmane</i>	church	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>ne</i>	mouse	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
<i>i-skur</i>	school	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of small vs. big.
<i>i-c<sup>h</sup>mɔŋ</i>	village	(also with [ka-]); the difference is that of mine vs. others.
<i>i-yuɣ</i>	home/house	(also with [ka-]): with [i] it's one's own house, with [ka] it's someone else's.
<i>i-step</i>	morning	(also with [ka-]): [i] is used in the present; [ka] in the past/future

<i>Pnar</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
<i>i-p<sup>h</sup>ay</i>	issue	(also with [ka-])
<i>i-rukəm</i>	manner	(also with [ka-])
<i>i-parom</i>	story	(also with [ka-])
<i>i-t<sup>h</sup>ma</i>	war	(also with [ka-])
<i>i-kam</i>	work	(also with [ka-])
<i>i-mak<sup>h</sup>ən</i>	butter	
<i>i-t<sup>h</sup>anɛr</i>	feather	
<i>i-k<sup>h</sup>ɔ</i>	forest	
<i>i-yale/ki</i>	game	
<i>i-t<sup>h</sup>lu</i>	hole	
<i>i-kamram</i>	homework	
<i>i-duwai</i>	medicine	
<i>i-pirtuit</i>	name	
<i>i-jɪdro</i>	painting	
<i>i-dur</i>	picture	
<i>i-t<sup>h</sup>au</i>	place	
<i>i-lɪyəŋ</i>	side	

### 13.4 Khasi

The prototypical structure of an assertive sentence in Khasi is as follows:

[PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] [PROCLITIC-(ASPECT)-VERB] [ACC/DAT-PROCLITIC-NOMINAL] as in (20):

- 20 *u-ɔn*                      *u-day-bam*                      *ya-u-sɔ/-piɛŋ*  
 3MSGCL-John   3MSGCL-PROG-eat   ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-fruit-mango  
 John is eating a mango

This structure can be further expanded by modifying the nominals, as in (21):

- 21 *ka-meri*                      *ka-day-bam*                      *ya-u-sɔ/-piɛŋ*                      *u-ba-la-i/*  
 3FSGCL-Mary   3FSGCL-PROG-   ACC/DAT-3MSGCL-   3MSGCL-RP-  
    eat                      fruit-mango                      PERF-ripe  
 Mary is eating a ripe mango

### Personal Pronouns in the Nominative Case

In the NOMINATIVE CASE, the personal pronouns in Khasi are as follows:

1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2PL	3MSG	3FSG	3ESG	3PL
[ <i>ɣa</i> ]	[ <i>ɣi</i> ]	[ <i>me</i> ]	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>a</i> ]	[ <i>p<sup>h</sup>i</i> ]	[ <i>u</i> ]	[ <i>ka</i> ]	[ <i>i</i> ]	[ <i>ki</i> ]

Unlike Pnar, Khasi does not have a combination of PROCLITIC and ENCLITIC form as part of each pronominal. The Khasi proclitics have the same shape as the personal pronouns. All the personal pronouns listed above, thus, appear as proclitics on the verb phrase with pronominal subjects (which are always dropped). Since nominal subjects only take third person proclitics, the corresponding third person proclitics appear on the verb with nominal subjects. Pronominal subjects are always dropped, and hence the PROCLITIC comes at the beginning of the VP to which it cliticizes as can be seen in (22):

- 22 *ki-ya-kren*                      *ʃap<sup>h</sup>ay*      *ɔɔŋ-u*  
 3PLCL-RECIPRO-speak    about      GEN-3MSGCL  
 They are talking about him.

In the first person we find no inclusive/exclusive distinction in the plural as can be seen from (23) and (24):

- 23 *minhunnin*      *ɣi-ya-lait-peit-baiskop*  
 yesterday      1PLCL-RECIPRO-go-watch-cinema  
 'Yesterday we had gone to see the movie'
- 24 *ya*              *ɣin-ya-lait-nɔ/*                      *munta*  
 HORT      1PLCL+FUT-RECIPRO-go-away      now  
 'Let us go now'

In the second person, Khasi apparently maintains a three-way distinction of masculine and feminine in singular and of a gender-neutral plural. The second person pronominals in Khasi present a very interesting case. The only form that has been attested in all my data is the second person plural form [*p<sup>h</sup>i*] which is used as either second person plural [with or without marking honorificity] as in (25) or as the second person singular honorific form as in (26):

- 25 *leit ma-p<sup>hi</sup> bad sa-wan.*  
 go EMPH-2pl CONJ FUT-come  
 You guys go and come.
- 26 *p<sup>hi</sup>-la-ai ya-ki ha-u*  
 2PLCL-PERF-give ACC/DAT-3PLCL DAT-3MSGCL  
 You have given them to him

However, other forms belonging to the second person are attested in the literature. In his Khasi-English dictionary, U Nissor Singh lists forms like [*me*] and [*p<sup>ha</sup>*]. The explanation for [*p<sup>ha</sup>*] according to Singh (1904:131) is that it is a feminine personal pronoun. The explanation for [*me*] goes like this:

thou (applicable to male only); this word is not used in polite society, but is used in addressing God.

In the third person, there is a four-way distinction of masculine, feminine and epicene in singular and that of a gender-neutral plural. The epicene singular is used with either genders to mark honorificity, diminutiveness and intimacy. This proclitic is restricted to a small set of nominals and is governed more by pragmatics than by syntactic/morphological factors. The plural form has been exemplified in (22). The masculine and feminine forms are exemplified in (27) and (28):

- 27 *u-la/ ban-leit bad-ŋi*  
 3MSGCL-MOD:ABIL INF-go SOC-1PLCL  
 He can come with us.
- 28 *ka-ai-ŋiyk<sup>h</sup>əwai ya-ŋa*  
 3FSGCL-give-party ACC/DAT-1SG  
 She gave me a party.

Similar to the function of the enclitic on the verb closing the VP in Pnar, the proclitic on the VP in Khasi marks the beginning of the VP. All the pronouns are used as proclitics in Khasi with verbs as has been exemplified in (22-28), while the third person pronominals are used as proclitics on nominals and modifiers as exemplified in (20-21) and (29):



- 29 *i-mei*                      *in-sa-ſet-jij-ſet*                      *mintā*  
 3ESGCL-mother    3ESGCL+FUT-FUT-cook-ABSNOUN-cook    today  
 Mother will cook now.

The gloss that I have used for the pronominal particles in the beginning of the verb phrase in (22-24, 26-29), as a pronominal clitic, does not conform to the traditional descriptions of these particles as “personal pronouns” or “pronouns”. In this paper, I have taken up the reasons for not considering these pronominal particles as “personal pronouns” or “pronouns”. I have also discussed why I consider them to be clitics and not merely inflectional affixes showing Gender, Number, Person (GNP) agreement; (25) presents to us, the only occasion when the pronominal subject is not dropped in Khasi. The pronominal subject is not dropped when it is preceded by the emphatic particle [*ma*]. This distinction is also made in the gloss. All other pronominal elements which come in the beginning of the verb phrase have been called clitics, while this use of the pronominal has been marked as that of a personal pronoun. Another significant aspect about (25) is that when the overt pronominal subject has been used along with an emphatic marker, both the finite verbs in the sentence do not have any pronominal element beginning the verb phrases. This aspect of the verb morphology needs to be taken up for further study.

### *Proclitics in Khasi*

Of all the pronominals in Khasi, only the third person pronominals are used as proclitics on nominals and various other grammatical classes discussed below except in the verb phrase. In the verb phrase, as has been discussed already, all the pronominals appear as proclitics. This is in keeping with the fact that in Pnar, verbal enclitics appear with all the three persons, while only the third person forms are used as proclitics. Since Khasi has no enclitics, in the verb phrase, all the pronominal forms of all the three persons, come as proclitics and have the same phonological shape as the personal pronouns and have

been discussed before. Many grammatical classes make use of the third person proclitics which are listed below.

3MSGCL	3FSGCL	3ESGCL	3PLCL
[u]	[ka]	[i]	[ki]

The different grammatical classes making use of third person proclitics include nominals as in (20-21), adjectives as in (21), relative clauses as in (30), interrogatives as in (31), demonstratives as in (32), derived indefinites as in (33), the numeral 'one' as in (34), and universal quantifiers as in (35).

- 30 *u-jak bad ka-jil ka-ba-day-armet/ ki-day-ya-bam-*  
*punk<sup>h</sup>ɔn sɔ/-pieŋ*  
 3MSGCL- CONJ 3FSGCL- 3FSGCL-RP-PROG- 3PLCL-PROG-  
 Jack Jill pregnant RECIPO-eat-  
 fruit-mango

Jack and Jill who is pregnant are eating a mango.

- 31 *ka-ei ka-kirteŋ jɔŋ-u.*  
 3FSGCL-Q 3FSGCL-name GEN-3MSGCL  
 What is his name?

- 32 *bam ki-to ki-sɔ/-pieŋ.*  
 eat 3PLCL-DISTDEM 3PLCL-fruit-mango  
 Eat those mangoes.

- 33 *lada don ka-no-ka-no ŋan-sa-yat<sup>h</sup>o/ ya-p<sup>h</sup>i hapɔ/.*  
 COND be 3FSGCL-Q- 1SGCL+FUT- ACC/DAT- inside  
 3FSGCL-Q FUT-tell 2PL  
 If there is anything I will tell that inside.

- 34 *ka-wei ka-k<sup>h</sup>inna/*  
 3FSGCL-one 3FSGCL-girl  
 One girl.

- 35 *i-wei-pa-i-wei i-dei ban-pin- ya-ki- jɔŋ-ki.*  
*lip mo:bail*  
 3ESGCL-ONE- 3ESGCL- INF-CAUS- ACC-3PLCL- GEN-  
 EPTDR-3ESGCL-ONE MOD:OBLIG close mobile 3PLCL  
 Everybody must switch off their mobiles.

For all the word classes listed above, the form of the proclitic is decided by the head nominal. Khasi, unlike Pnar, does not have a third person default proclitic that can be used when the gender/

number specifications are not known. The use of [i-] in (35) as a proclitic is a very rare instance of the use of [i-] outside its pragmatically defined boundaries. Khasi makes use of other particles like the particle [ma-] used in 'who' when the gender/number specifications are not known. Pnar would use [i-] in these cases.

The agreement pattern in Khasi as reflected in sentences like (129), (146), (150) and (175), among others, is what has been termed as 'alliterative agreement' or 'alliterative concord' in the literature (for details see Dobrin, 1995; Corbett, 2006). According to Corbett (2006:15-17) an agreement construction is called alliterative agreement if the agreement marker on the target is identical to a formative on the controller and if different targets all show the same formative. In Khasi, the targets would be all the words/phrases that host the proclitics; the formative is the proclitic which appears as an agreement marker on all the eligible words/phrases and the controller is the subject nominal. In its restricted sense, when it was only used for prefixal agreement markers, the term 'alliterative agreement' would not be applicable to Pnar because of the verbal enclitic that marks agreement with the subject. However, in terms of the essence of the notion, it would be applicable to both Khasi and Pnar.

### **13.5 Perspectives on Pronominal Element (called 'clitics' in this paper) in the Traditional Descriptions of Khasi**

Rabel (1961) and Nagaraja (1985) state that Khasi nominals, modifiers (including adjectives, relative clauses), demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, the numeral 'one' and the indefinite pronouns begin with a third person pronominal element. According to them, the same pronominal element begins the VP too.

Rabel terms the pronominal element preceding nominals, verbs and the numeral 'one' as a 'gender article' (48), which she uses as a tentative term (67); she at another place calls the same pronominal element preceding the verbs as 'a personal

pronoun' (58). While she talks of how negation as an affix 'fuses with the preceding pronoun' (61), she offers no explanation for the same, as to how a verbal element can fuse with a nominal element. She argues that demonstratives and interrogatives are compounds, made up of a personal pronoun compounded with a demonstrative and interrogative base, as the case may be. She defines 'word' as a 'morpheme with a lexical meaning... (with) inability for further analysis' (100). Going by this definition she concludes that 'affixation plays a decidedly minor role in Khasi' (102). Even if she does not use the term, Khasi according to her description comes out to be a classical example of an isolating language. She considers SVO to be the Basic Word Order of Khasi, with the OSV structure also permitted (126). She also discusses the permissible omissions of 'the pronoun belonging to the verb construction' (128-29).

Nagaraja (1985) also contends that 'in Khasi very little of morphology is found' (3). He calls the pronominal element preceding the nominals, relative clauses and demonstratives as 'pronominal markers' (7, 21), and significantly considers the 3<sup>rd</sup> person personal pronouns as being 'the same morphemes' as those called 'pronominal markers' (11). He looks upon demonstratives, interrogative pronouns and the indefinite pronouns as composite forms, containing demonstrative and interrogative bound elements and 'pronominal markers' (11). As for the pronominal element in the verb phrase, Nagaraja says that 'a verb phrase obligatorily consists of a pronoun... (which) occurs in the initial position of the verb phrase' (29). He also discusses how the future tense marker [-*n*] and the negative marker [-*im*] appear 'as part of the preceding word' (30, 35). In other sections, he discusses how these preceding words are the relativizing particle [*ba*] or the pronoun of the verb.

### **13.6 The Status of the Pronominal Element Preceding the Verb Phrase**

Traditional descriptions of Khasi like Rabel (1961) and Nagaraja (1985) necessarily mention a very significant aspect of the verb

morphology of Khasi, namely the presence of a pronominal element in the verb phrase. Both scholars discuss this element in slightly different ways. For Rabel, it is a gender article. She defines a verb as 'a word preceded by a gender article' (48). She states that 'except for impersonal verb constructions, verbs are always preceded by a personal pronoun which agrees in number and gender with the grammatical subject' (58). She also notes that the 'gender article which precedes almost all nouns is identical with the forms of the third person personal pronoun...' (66). Thus, Rabel makes a distinction between the pronominal element that comes with nominals and those that come with verbs. She calls the one with nominals as a 'gender article' while those in verbal constructions as a 'personal pronoun'. Talking of the future tense morph and the negative morph, she holds the position that these affixes 'fuse with the preceding pronoun...' (61). Nagaraja (1985) calls these pronominal elements occurring with the nominals as 'pronominal markers' and asserts that 'the third person forms *u*, *ka*, *ki* and *i* are the same morphemes as those called pronominal markers' (11). With respect to the verb phrase, he says that 'a verb phrase obligatorily consists of a pronoun. Pronouns occur in the initial position of the verb phrase' (29). While talking of the future morph [-*n*] and the negative morph [-*im*], Nagaraja makes a very significant point that they always 'occur as part of the preceding word' (30, 35). The so-called 'preceding word(s)' include most importantly the pronominal element of the verb phrase. Nagaraja's statement accords the pronominal elements the status of a 'word'. Though he refers to the verbal pronominal element as a 'pronoun', he also makes a significant point that 'pronouns are not overtly used as subject NP' (86) which is in direct contrast to what Rabel says in her discussion of pronouns in Khasi that 'personal pronouns occur in all places where nouns occur (subject and object positions) and they precede almost every verbal construction, regardless of the presence or absence of a subject expressed by a nominal' (66).

The above discussion throws up very significant questions

regarding the status of the pronominal element of the verb phrase. Is it a 'personal pronoun', as Rabel calls it? Is it different from the so-called 'gender article' which comes with nominals? Is the verbal pronominal element which comes at the initial position of a verb phrase a 'pronoun' in Nagaraja's terms? Is it different from the so-called 'pronominal marker' that comes with nominals? Are these pronouns in the verb phrase 'words' as Nagaraja calls them? Is Nagaraja's position that the pronoun in the VP is not the subject NP correct or Rabel's position that the personal pronoun occurs in all places where nouns occur, including the subject and object positions? What is the evidence to decide?

Let us consider the following set of sentences (36) and (37). (36) has a 'gender article' or 'pronominal marker' [*u-*] with the nominal [*jən*] and a 'personal pronoun' or 'pronoun' [*u-*] in the verb phrase. (37) is a similar sentence to (36) where the nominal subject has been replaced and has the so-called 'personal pronoun' or 'pronoun' [*u-*] in the verb phrase.

- |    |                               |             |                |                      |                      |             |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 36 | <i>u-jən</i>                  | <i>u-ɔŋ</i> | <i>ba</i>      | <i>ka-meri</i>       | <i>ka-syəutinnad</i> | <i>ya-u</i> |
|    | 3MSGCL-                       | 3MSGCL-     | COMP           | 3FSGCL-              | 3FSGCL-like          | ACC/DAT-    |
|    | John                          | say         |                | Mary                 |                      | 3MSG        |
|    | John said that Mary likes him |             |                |                      |                      |             |
|    |                               |             |                |                      |                      |             |
| 37 | <i>u-ɔŋ</i>                   | <i>ba</i>   | <i>ka-meri</i> | <i>ka-syəutinnad</i> | <i>ya-u</i>          |             |
|    | 3MSGCL-say                    | COMP        | 3FSGCL-Mary    | 3FSGCL-like          |                      | ACC/DAT-    |
|    |                               |             |                |                      |                      | 3MSG        |

He said that Mary likes him

(37) is a classic instance of pro-drop because if one were to consider the [*u-*] in (37) to be a "personal pronoun" or "pronoun" and not some kind of an agreement marker on the verb/verb phrase, one would have to argue that while Khasi has a system of verbal agreement with the subject using pronominal elements with nominal subjects, it has no verbal agreement system with pronominal subjects. This would be a very difficult position to sustain. One never talks of subject-verb agreement in terms of whether the subject is a nominal or a pronominal. The subject-verb agreement is never affected by

that. It is the GNP (Gender/Number/Person) specifications of the subject that affects the subject-verb agreement. No language has a different subject-verb agreement based on whether the subject is a nominal or a pronominal. Therefore, what (37) represents is a clear case of the pronominal subject, which has the same phonological shape as the pronominal element of the verb phrase, being dropped. The pronominal element that one finds in the verb phrase is a pronominal agreement marker. Thus, the question if Nagaraja's position that the pronoun in the VP is not the subject NP is correct or Rabel's position that the personal pronoun occurs in all places where nouns occur, including the subject and object positions is correct is answered in favour of Nagaraja's position. (37) can be looked upon as a derivative of (36). If it is a derivative then [*u-*] is a reference tracker, i.e. referring to the truncated nominal 'John'.

Next we need to address the issue of the status of this pronominal element – is it a 'word' or an affix? The terms in which this element has been described in both Rabel and Nagaraja, would suggest that the pronominal element in the verb phrase is a 'word'. I argue here that the pronominal element cannot be considered a 'word' and I offer two language-internal arguments and another by comparison with Pnar in support of my argument. My language internal arguments come from the negative morph and the future morph, which are discussed by both Rabel and Nagaraja. In the future tense, the future marker [*-n*] comes fused with the 'personal pronoun' or 'pronoun'. The same happens with negatives as can be seen in (38-40):

- 38    *u-ɔn*                      *un-pa:s*                      *ya-ka-eksam*  
       3MSGCL-John    3MSGCL+FUT-pass    ACC-3FSGCL-exam  
       John will pass the exam
- 39    *un-pa:s*                      *ya-ka-eksam*  
       3MSGCL+FUT-pass    ACC-3FSGCL-exam  
       He will pass the exam
- 40    *p<sup>h</sup>im-la/*                      *ban-pait* *ya-ka*                      *minta-ka-sji*.  
       2PLCL+NEG-MOD:ABIL    INF-see    ACC-3FSGCL    today  
       You can not see that today

If one were to assume that the forms [un] and [p<sup>h</sup>im] are independent pronouns or personal pronouns which have these grammatical morphs fused in them, one will have to explain how negation and tense, the inflectional categories associated with the verb, are affixed to pronominals whereas if one were to assume that these pronominal forms are verbal affixes, and as such part of the verb phrase, one finds no incongruence in explanation as the negation and the tense morphemes are still within the domain of the verb, though not directly attached to it. This position seriously questions the status of these pronominal elements as 'words' or 'personal pronouns' or 'pronouns'. As part of the verb phrase which takes grammatical morphemes associated with verbs onto themselves, they not only lose their free word status, but rather suggest that the whole complex beginning with these pronominal elements till the verb is a single word morphologically because even though independent words can make up a verb phrase, none of these independent words other than the verb can act as hosts to bound morphemes of tense and negation unless all the morphemes in the verb phrase constitute a single word morphologically.

Apart from these language-internal arguments, in favour of considering the pronominal elements in the verb phrase as grammatical affixes, one can also draw an analogy of similar particles in Pnar, a language which is very closely related to Khasi genetically and has many similar features. Though Pnar does not share this fusion of tense and negation with the pronominal element of the verb phrase with Khasi, it does share the presence of a pronominal element in the verb phrase with Khasi. Significantly, this pronominal element in the verb phrase in Pnar is very different from the Khasi pronominal element. While the pronominal element in Khasi comes at the beginning of a verb phrase, thus marking the beginning of the verb phrase (and according to the argument in the preceding paragraph the beginning of the complex word that constitutes the verb phrase), the Pnar pronominal element comes at the end of a verb phrase, thus marking the end of the verb phrase itself



(and in similar terms to Khasi, the end of the complex word that constitutes the verb phrase). In addition to this difference between the pronominal elements in terms of their position in the verb phrase, another significant difference between the two is that the pronominal element of the verb phrase in Pnar has a completely different phonological shape compared to the corresponding personal pronoun and thus is very clearly distinguishable from it. By structural analogy, both these pronominal elements in Khasi and Pnar must be considered syntactically the same element. Pnar personal pronouns are always dropped in the subject position and are recovered from these pronominal elements in the verb phrase, where they appear as an enclitic on the verb phrase. A similar argument can thus be extended for Khasi also. Thus, comparison with Pnar, suggests that the Khasi pronominal element in the verb phrase is not a 'personal pronoun', but a verbal agreement marker.

Pnar maintains a complete list of pronominal elements in the verb phrase with a completely different phonological shape from the independent personal pronouns, thus marking them out from the latter. There has been a practice in traditional descriptions of Khasi to consider the third person pronominal forms in the verb phrase differently from the first and second person pronominals. This type of segregation is based on the fact that only the third person pronominal forms come along with nominals. However, the arguments presented here do not allow us to view the first and second person pronominals in the verb phrase differently from the third person pronominals. The analogy with Pnar also would argue against such a differentiation between the pronominals. Not only do the third person forms take tense, negation etc but also the first and second person forms. All the pronominal elements in the verb phrase are the same in terms of their syntactic functions even when they do not take these inflectional markers of the verb, a position further strengthened when we look at Pnar, which has verbal enclitics in all the three persons.

A very significant issue as far as the current paper is

concerned is the status of these so-called 'gender articles' or 'pronominal markers' of the nominals and the 'personal pronouns' or 'pronouns' of the verb phrase. I contend that these pronominal markers on nominals and verbs, as well as adjectives, demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinites, etc., are the same, and due to these varied grammatical categories of the hosts, these pronominal markers must be considered as 'clitics'. In this way they operate as reference trackers.

Calling them gender articles captures the fact that they mark all nominals in the language and classify them into one of the morphological classes of gender. However, it misses out on the fact that these so-called gender articles have exactly the same phonological shape as the personal pronouns in these languages. Since they are exactly the same shape as the personal pronouns, one may argue that they are personal pronouns. But how does one explain then that this personal pronoun can come inside the VP, and also come with nominal modifiers, demonstratives, indefinites and interrogatives, the last three being pronouns by themselves. One cannot argue either that they are personal pronouns which are bound morphemes. Personal pronouns as bound morphemes generally come only inside the VP and not on so many other word classes. Moreover, in Khasi, verbal inflectional categories like negation and future tense morphemes occur fused with these pronominal elements. This is impossible to explain if one is to assume that these pronominal elements are personal pronouns of the language. One has to assume that these pronominal elements are not the independent personal pronouns of the language but some kind of pronominal element within the VP. This is also attested by comparing Khasi with Pnar, which has an enclitic on the VP, which has a different phonological shape from the personal pronouns and the proclitics in the language (which have the same shape as the personal pronouns). Similarity in most structures and close genetic relatedness between the two argues for a similar treatment of the pronominal element in the VP in Khasi as the pronominal element in the Pnar VP. If one is to argue that they are not personal pronouns but are GNP

markers in the VP, one then assumes that these pronominal elements are inflectional affixes. One then has to explain how an inflectional affix can be so free to choose its host. Inflectional affixes are very strict about the stems to which they attach. Here if one assumes the pronominal elements to be GNP markers, one is confronted with the inflectional affix's co-occurrence with nominal elements like demonstratives, indefinites and interrogatives, the VP, as well as the adjectives, and relative clauses. They are clearly clitics on three important parameters:

- a. Clitics are less selective about their hosts; whereas inflectional affixes are very strict about the stem to which they attach.
- b. Affixes of a language are never full-fledged words of that language, unless those words have undergone a process of grammaticalization, leading to semantic bleaching. In Pnar and Khasi, these pronominal elements are also full-fledged pronouns in the language, and lose none of their semantic import in these usages. Clitics are generally understood to be full words of a language which attach to other full words either incompletely or in their full form itself without any semantic bleaching.
- c. Inflectional affixes cannot be separated from their stems while clitics can be separated from their host-words by other elements that are inserted in between.

Thus, the 'pronominal element' in Khasi which allows the negative and the future tense affix to fuse with it, has to be part of the verbal complex, and hence bound, and can not be a free pronoun interacting with verbal inflectional affixes. A free pronoun cannot interact with verbal inflectional categories. The freedom with which the pronominal element attaches to different word-classes, strongly suggests that these elements are 'clitics'. As far as the two languages are concerned, Khasi has only proclitics, while Pnar has a verbal enclitic, apart from proclitics. Pnar has a large class of nominals defined by the proclitic [*i-*], where as this proclitic is used more for pragmatic purposes in Khasi like marking intimacy, respect, etc. In constructions with pronominal subjects, both Pnar and Khasi

compulsorily drop their subjects. The subject is recoverable from the proclitic on the verb in Khasi, and the enclitic on the verb in Pnar. The pronominal element preceding the verb in Khasi in constructions with pronominal subjects is not the bare pronoun but the proclitic on the verb. Evidence for this comes from enclitics in Pnar and from constructions involving nominal subjects in Khasi. This reanalysis of the pronominal element as clitics suggest that these languages are polysynthetic and not isolating, thus bringing them closer to the other Austro-Asiatic languages of India, the Munda languages.

The following is an appraisal of the pronominal clitics in these two Mon-Khmer languages in a typological perspective based on extensive parameters suggested in Aikhenvald (2002), which includes parameters suggested by other scholars as well.

### **13.7 Pronominal Clitics in the Mon-Khmer Languages Pnar and Khasi: An Appraisal**

Clitics are one of the most debated notions in current linguistic formulations, with differences in understanding ranging from definitional properties, to the very notion of 'clitics' themselves. There are also differences considering clitics and their position in sentences as falling within the domain of phonology, morphology or syntax or all. While many useful insights can be drawn from formulations based on particular theoretical frameworks like the Optimality theory, Generative syntax, HPSG, etc., many of these formulations also fall prey to the limitations imposed by the over-riding principles of these theoretical frameworks. Considering the fact that identification of clitic elements relies on analysis of all levels of linguistic description, namely phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, and on the identification of other form classes, such as affixes and words, Sadock (1995) is justified in saying that "a clitic is an element whose distribution linguists cannot comfortably consign to a single grammatical component" (260).

According to Aikhenvald (2002), 'clitics occupy an intermediate position between a full-fledged phonological word and an affix...a clitic attaches to a HOST, a morpheme with which it forms one phonological word' (43). She characterizes clitics in terms of the following parameters:

- a. The direction in which they attach to a host – 'proclitics' before the host and 'enclitics' after it – or the position they occupy within a clitic-only phonological word.
- b. Their selectivity: whether they may attach to anything, or must attach to a particular kind of host (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991)).
- c. The type of host they attach to; for example, the first word in a clause, the last word in an NP, any noun.
- d. Whether they form an independent phonological word or not (covering their relationship with stress) (also discussed in Sadock (1991)).
- e. Segmental and phonotactic properties of clitics (compared with other morpheme types).
- f. Phonological cohesion (that is, processes occurring on a clitic-host boundary or between clitics) [also discussed in Sadock (1991)].
- g. The relationship of clitics to pauses.
- h. Combinations of clitics; and the status of words including clitics, and of clitic-only words.
- i. Relative ordering in clitic strings [also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991)].
- j. Position with respect to what can be defined as affixes [also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991)].
- k. The correlation of clitics with grammatical words (also discussed in Sadock (1991)).
- l. Their syntactic scope (also discussed in Sadock (1991)).
- m. Possibilities of lexicalisation, and semantic and morphological idiosyncrasies (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991)).
- n. Clitic-specific syntactic rules (also discussed in Zwicky and Pullum (1983); Sadock (1991)).

- o. Correlation of clitics with word classes (also discussed in Sadock (1991)).

As per Aikhenvald's (2002) parameters:

- a. As far as the proclitic vs. enclitic distinction is concerned Khasi has only proclitics. Pnar has both proclitics and enclitics. The enclitics in Pnar have limited distribution compared to the proclitics. The enclitic appears only with verbs (where proclitics are not allowed) and with possessed nominals in genitive constructions. Khasi has only proclitics with verbs and does not show any interaction with possessed nominals, of the kind found in Pnar.
- b. The pronominal clitics are not selective about their hosts. They attach to nominals, nominal modifiers, interrogatives, indefinites, verbs and the numeral 'one' simultaneously if present in a sentence. So the freedom of clitics to take any host in the case of Pnar and Khasi is different from the way this phenomenon has been recorded for various languages in the literature. In Pnar and Khasi, the pronominal clitics do not take just one host, rather they appear on more than one host simultaneously, establishing gender-number-person agreement between all of them.
- c. The host of the pronominal clitic in Pnar and Khasi cannot be said to be a word as described by Aikhenvald. The choices she sets in terms of the first word in a clause, the last word in an NP, any noun etc is not a sufficient condition. The clitics are phrasal as has been argued by various scholars (Klavans, 1979, 1985; Anderson 1992). They attach to complex words which also function as phrases. The verb phrase to which they attach may consist of tense/aspect markers, negation, passive, causative morphemes, etc. The nominal modifier is a derived phrase consisting of a relativizing particle and a verb or an adjective and hence is a phrasal host to the clitic. The other instances of hosts to the pronominal clitic in the indefinites and interrogatives and the numeral 'one' are themselves bound elements. The only word that can act as a host to the clitics is the nominal.

- d. They do not form any independent phonological word and cannot be stressed. They have the same phonological shape as the third person pronominals, except for the enclitics in Pnar which have a different phonological shape compared to the personal pronouns.
- e. As far as the segmental properties of the pronominal clitics are concerned, their phonological shape is same as the third person pronouns. Some of them just have a [V] structure while others have a [CV] structure. Phonotactically clitics (especially the enclitics) undergo voice assimilation. The enclitics with a [CV] shape all of which begin with a voiceless stop, are voiced after words (verbs or incorporated nominals) ending with voiced consonants especially after nasals. There are no phonotactic constraints between the clitics and their host phrases.
- f. As far as the relationship of clitics and pauses are concerned, enclitics are never separated from their hosts by a pause. This includes even the clitic of the object nominal which follows the subject enclitic on the verb in Pnar in many cases. Both the clitics are pronounced as part of the verb phrase. The proclitics are also not separated from their hosts by any pause.
- g. Clitics in Pnar and Khasi never combine to form a word of their own, i.e. one never finds a clitic-only word in Pnar and Khasi. Only nominals as heads can host clitics. All other hosts are phrasal in nature. Clitics do not affect the grammatical category of their hosts. They act like connecting elements between different phrases and words by establishing gender-number-person concord between them.
- h. Khasi has no instance of clitic strings. The only instance of clitic strings in Pnar is the string formed by object clitics following subject enclitics. The ordering of clitics in these strings follow a strict order of the subject enclitic being followed by the object clitic (which due to its phonological association with the verb phrase must be also called an enclitic).

- i. The pronominal clitics have a strict position with respect to affixes. The clitics whether proclitics or enclitics attach to their hosts only after all other affixation has been completed and then close the derivational and inflectional process of the word/phrase. While affixes select their hosts, for example, relativizing particles come only with verbs and so do tense-aspect markers and negation, causation etc., the clitics on the other hand do not choose any particular host. They appear on all forms that in some way modify or are connected to the head nominal. While subject nominals mark their proclitic/enclitic on the verb phrase, object nominals do not generally, except for the object enclitics in Pnar.
- j. Pronominal clitics in Pnar and Khasi have no direct correlation with grammatical words. Grammatical words like case markers, aspect markers are assumed to be bound affixes in this paper. Their status as bound affixes is based on the argument that since the pronominal clitics, especially the verbal clitics in Khasi interact with inflectional morphemes like tense and negation of the verb, the clitics must be assumed to be not just part of a phrase headed by the verb, but as part of the complex word headed by the verb. Since verbal proclitics begin the verb/verb phrase, these grammatical words which come in between them must be assumed to be bound affixes. As for case/directional markers are concerned, the evidence for their bound affix status comes more readily from Pnar than from Khasi. These markers can be followed by a nominal which may or may not contain a proclitic and gives us no clue about the independent status of these markers. However in fossilized forms like [*heini*] 'here', [*heitu*] 'there' etc, we find that the third person proclitic comes preceding the deictic markers and are fused with the locative/ablative/allative markers. Hence the occurrence of [*ha*] and others with nominal phrases must also be considered as a complex word and not merely a PP, where the P is an independent grammatical word.



- k. As far as syntactic scope of these clitics is concerned, their scope is phrasal. They generally do not take words as hosts (except for nominals and some other underived forms). Their scope is limited to each such complex word/phrase and hence they are copied before each such eligible word/phrase.
- l. These clitics do not show any morphological or semantic idiosyncrasies. While the choice of a particular clitic is always governed by the head nominal, one never finds any idiosyncratic exceptions in their use. These pronominal clitics which establish concord among the various elements on which they appear, do not appear to undergo any semantic or phonological bleaching. The presence of grammaticalized words like [*p<sup>h</sup>a*/] used as a causative in Pnar which as a verb means 'send', shows semantic bleaching which is not attested for the pronominal clitics when compared with their pronominal counterparts.
- m. While clitic-specific syntactic rules have not been investigated in detail, syntactic constructions which affect clitic distributions have been observed, especially with negation in Pnar and with passives in both Pnar and Khasi. Modal verbs in Pnar also show modal-specific behaviour vis-à-vis the verbal enclitics. In VSO structures, Pnar shows the verbal enclitic to be a mere copy of the subject nominal and probably a position where the subject is base generated. As the subject moves to the post-verbal position it occupies with its proclitic the same place that the enclitic occupies. In Khasi, though a VSO pattern is possible, speakers are divided over the presence and absence of the verbal proclitics in VSO structures. However since the subject nominal with its proclitic does not replace the verbal clitic in its position like in Pnar, a movement analysis for Khasi is difficult to explain, while it provides a neat explanation for Pnar.

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## FOURTEEN

# A Typology of How Negative Attained State is Expressed

KAZUYUKI KIRYU

### 14.1 Introduction

Logically speaking, the negation of a given proposition  $P$  is obtained by adding the negative operator  $\sim$ , hence  $\sim P$ . This affirmative-negative correspondence usually holds true to a great extent in the actual expressions in a given language. For example, the negated sentence of an English sentence 'John is a doctor' will be 'John is not a doctor'. Here the negative operator *not* corresponds to  $\sim$  in the propositional calculus. English is one of the languages that the logical affirmative-negative pair corresponds to the actual expressions. Here are some more examples.

(1) $P$		$\sim P$
John goes to school by bus.		John doesn't go to school by bus.
John has eaten lunch.		John hasn't eaten lunch.
John is drinking a cup of tea.	$\leftrightarrow$	John isn't drinking a cup of tea.
The book was expensive.		The book was not expensive.

However, when we look at some other languages, the logical correspondence sometimes does not hold true with the actual instances of the semantic contents expressed by the propositional calculus. It is often the case with the perfect meaning that the negation of the affirmative is not obtained simply by adding the negative operator. Here are some examples of present perfect and its negation.

(2) Japanese

- a. *John wa ohiru o tabe-ta.*  
 John TOP lunch ACC eat-PAST  
 'John has eaten lunch./John ate lunch'
- b. *John wa ohiru o tabe-te i-nai.*  
 John TOP lunch ACC eat-CONV stay-NEG.PRES  
 'John has not eaten lunch. yet'
- c. *John wa ohiru o tabe-naka-tta.*  
 John TOP lunch ACC eat-NEG-PAST  
 'John did not eat lunch.'

The negative sentence expressed by the negative operator *naka* logically corresponds to  $\sim P$  of the affirmative in (2a). Japanese is not a special language in the failure of showing formal correspondence in terms of perfect and imperfect. Many languages in Asia show similar phenomena.

In this paper, I will bring up another type of puzzling expressions observed in Newar. And then, based on the observation of the expressions in Newar, I will discuss some typological tendency to express those Newar expressions carry. The analysis here is based on functional linguistics.

## 14.2 Newar Past Disjunct Puzzle

Newar, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal, has an interesting phenomenon similar to the aforementioned failure of correspondence between the propositional calculus and the actual linguistic expression. First look at the following affirmative and negative correspondence with the conjugations of a verb *wane*.

(3)

	Conjunct		Disjunct	
	Affirma- tive	Negative	Affirma- tive	Negative
Future	<i>wane</i>	<i>wane-makhu</i>	<i>wani<sup>l</sup></i>	<i>wani<sup>l</sup>-makhu</i>
Habitual	<i>wanā</i>	<i>ma-wanā</i>	<i>wā:</i>	<i>ma-wā<sup>l</sup></i>
Past	<i>wanā</i>	<i>ma-wanā</i>	<i>Wana</i>	<i>ma-wā<sup>l</sup></i>

In most cases, the negative form is derived by the addition

of a negative marker to the affirmative form. However, the negative of past disjunct cannot be *ma-wana*, which would be obtained by the rule applied to the other cases. Interestingly, the negative form *ma-wana* does exist, but it does not function as the ~P version of *wana*. Some previous discussions on the negation in Newar treat the two negative forms *ma-wā*: (First Past Disjunct Negation, henceforce PDN1) and *ma-wana* (Second Past Disjunct Negation, henceforce PDN2) as the same thing. Others simply ignore the meaning difference between the two.

Morphologically, PDN1 is the negated form of what is called in the literature 'stative' or 'imperfective'. PDN2 is the negated form of past disjunct form.

Let us compare the following contrasts observed between PDN1 and PDN2:

- (4) a. *ram isku<sup>l</sup>-e ma-wā<sup>l</sup>*  
       Ram school-LOC NEG-go.ST  
       'Ram didn't go to school./Ram doesn't go to school.'
- b. *ram isku<sup>l</sup>-e ma-wan-a*  
       Ram school-LOC NEG-go-PD  
       'Ram didn't go to school after all/Ram doesn't go to school anymore.'

The interpretation of PDN1 is simply the negation of 'Ram went to school' or as indicated in the gloss, it is interpreted as habitual negation. (3a) expresses either the negation of the two propositions that are different in terms of tense/aspect: past individual event and habitual. The sense of negation in (3b) is somewhat different. One interpretation is the negation of expectation and the other interpretation is a loss of habitual action.

Verbs of change of state in PDN2 expresses a different sense.

- (5) a. *sekhā<sup>l</sup> ma-cā<sup>l</sup>*  
       cold NEG-feel.ST  
       'I don't have a cold/didn't catch a cold.'

- b. *sekhā:*      *ma-cā-la.*  
 cold            NEG-feel-PD.  
 'I don't have a cold anymore/I didn't catch a cold after all.'

(5.b) expresses in one sense a negative-attained state, which means the speaker, who had cold, is now well. *Ma-cā-la* expresses the opposite state of what the affirmative *cā:* otherwise expresses.

- (6) a. *ji-ta<sup>l</sup>*      *ā<sup>l</sup>*            *sekhā<sup>l</sup>*      *cā<sup>l</sup>*  
          1SG-DAT    now            cold            feel.ST  
          'I have a cold now.'  
 b. *ji-ta<sup>l</sup>*      *mhiga<sup>l</sup>*      *sekhā<sup>l</sup>*      *cā-la.*  
          1SG-DAT    yesterday cold            feel-PD.  
          'I caught a cold yesterday.'

The affirmative past disjunct expresses the change of state from one in which the speaker didn't have a cold to the other in which he has a cold. The PDN2 in (4b) expresses something the other way round: it expresses a change from a positive state to a negative state.

It might be possible to argue that the affirmative past disjunct expresses inchoative aspect, while the PDN2 expresses cessessive aspect. However, in both cases, the function of the past disjunct marker may be analysed as marking attainment to a certain state, whether it is inchoation or cessession. The function of the past disjunct marker is illustrated as follows:

(7)

affirmative	-----	*	+++++
negative	+++++	*	-----
	presupposed state	↓	implied attained state
	expressed change		

The past disjunct marker expresses either simply a change of state or resultative, that expresses a current state as resulted from the change of state expressed by the verb. This sense is more clearly expressed when a time adverb that expresses the starting point of the current state.

- (8) a. *ji-ta<sup>l</sup>*      *mhiga<sup>l</sup>-nisē<sup>l</sup>*      *sekhā<sup>l</sup>*      *č̣-la*.  
          1SG-DAT    yesterday            cold            feel-PD.  
          'I have had a cold since yesterday.'
- b. *ji-ta<sup>l</sup>*      *mhiga<sup>l</sup>-nisē<sup>l</sup>*      *sekhā<sup>l</sup>*      *ma-cā-la*.  
          1SG-DAT    yesterday            cold            NEG-feel-PD.  
          'I have not had a cold since yesterday.'

The relation of the negative marker to the past disjunct marker is a matter of scope. In many languages, the past marker does not scope over the negation, but in Newar, this past disjunct marker does. The semantic representation of the PDN2 is expressed as follows:

- (9) *ma-wa-la*  
       [ [NEG-V] PD] → ATTAIN (~P)

The representation is not at the syntactic level, but at the morphosyntactic level. Due to this fact, in Newar, negative-attained state is expressed by the negation of past disjunct form. In many languages, the negation of the past form of a given verb only expresses propositional negation.

In Newar, the functional meanings of PDN2 expresses are summarized as follows:

- (10) 1. negative attained state  
       2. loss of habitual action  
       3. termination of action/process  
       4. attainment of resistance to change  
       5. counter-expectation

Here are some illustrative examples of the above three meanings.

### *Negative Attained State*

Negative attained state pertains to change of state verbs. This is the exactly the opposite state to that is expressed by affirmative form.

- (11) *chyā<sup>l</sup>*      *ma-sỹ-ta*.  
       head    NEG-ache-PD.  
       'I don't have a headache anymore.'



### *Loss of Habitual Situation*

'Ram has stopped drinking.'

'The water stopped running suddenly.

'He was watching a while ago, and now he's stopped watching.'

Attainment of resistance to change expresses the situation

where the argument has become resistant to the change expressed by the verb.

- (16) *kḥp̃*            *ma-ti-ta*.  
 door.ABS    NEG-close-PD.  
 'The door won't close anymore.'
- (17) *amrita*    *twā<sup>l</sup>-gul<sup>l</sup>*    *wa*    *manu<sup>l</sup>*    *si<sup>l</sup>-makhu-ta*.  
 holly.        drink.ST-        that    man.ABS    die-NEG.FUT-PD  
 water        because  
 'Since the man drank the holly water, he has become immortal.'

### Counter-Expectation

Counter-expectation sense expresses a situation in which an expected action or change does not happen. Even copula verbs can express this meaning.

- (18) *řm-ă*            *me*            *ma-ř-la*.  
 Ram-ERG    song.ABS    NEG-shout-PD  
 'Ram didn't sing a song after all.'
- (19) *ae<sup>l</sup>*,            *thwa*            *ma-khu-ta*.  
 Oh,            this            NEG-COP-PD  
 'Oh, it's not this one.'

Example in (18.) expresses a situation in which it was expected that Ram would sing, but that for some reason, this expectation is betrayed. In (19.), the past disjunct form of the copula expresses the sense of 'something is not what the speaker has in mind'.

### 14.3 Typological Comparison

As discussed in the previous section, the PDN2 form of verbs expresses the five negative meanings. Here I briefly take a look at how those five meanings are expressed in other languages. I investigated how these five meanings are expressed in Japanese, Chinese, Meche, Thai and English. Jump to the conclusion, there are ??? patterns to express them.

- (20) a. Perfect construction  
 b. inchoative auxiliary verb

- c. lexical derivation
- d. suffixes
- e. comparative expression

In the followings, I will illustrate the above five strategies.

### ***Perfect Construction***

The languages that employ perfect construction are Chinese and Thai. In Chinese, the negative marker is *bu* and the perfect marker is *le*, which occurs at the end of a clause. The combination of the two can express 1) negative attained state, 2) loss of habitual action, 3) termination of action/process, and 4) attainment of resistance to change, but not counter-expectation.

- (21) a. 

<i>zuotian</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>mingbai</i>	<i>le,</i>	<i>tanshi</i>
yesterday	1SG	under-	PFT	but
		stand		
<i>xianzai</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>mingbai</i>	<i>le.</i>
now	again	NEG	under-	PFT.
			stand	

  
 'I understood it yesterday, but now I don't understand it again.'
- b. 

<i>yinggai</i>	<i>bianchang</i>	<i>hong</i>	<i>si,</i>	<i>tanshi</i>
should	change	red	color	but
<i>bu</i>	<i>bian</i>	<i>le.</i>		
NEG	change	PFT		

  
 'The color should change, but it doesn't change anymore.'
- c. 

<i>zuijing</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>gei</i>	<i>wo</i>
recently	mother	NEG	give	1sg
<i>linghuaqian</i>	<i>le</i>			
allowance	PFT			

  
 'My mother has stopped giving me allowance nowadays.'
- d. 

<i>gancai</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>dong,</i>	<i>xianzai</i>
a.while.ago	yet	PROG	move,	now
<i>bu</i>	<i>dong</i>	<i>le.</i>		
NEG	move	PFT		

  
 'It was moving a while ago. Now it isn't moving anymore.'

The sense of cancellation of a future plan will be expressed by simple past negative *meiyou*.

- (22) *ta mai yi-ge mantou, tanshi zuizhong meiyou chi.*  
 he buy one- mantou but after.all NEG eat  
 CL

‘He bought a mantou, but he didn’t eat it after all.’

Thai has a quite similar construction with that of Chinese. The negation marker is *mai* and the perfect marker is *leew*. Thai also expresses 1) negative attained state, 2) loss of habitual action, 3) termination of action/process, and 4) attainment of resistance to change.

- (23) a. *mai pen aacaan leew.*  
 NEG become teacher PFT  
 ‘He isn’t a teacher anymore.’  
 b. *furii mai kin khaawmankai leew.*  
 Surii NEG eat boild.chicken.with.rice PFT  
 ‘Surii has stopped eating chicken rice.’  
 c. *thaan koon nii may may leew.*  
 charcoal CL this NEG burn PFT  
 ‘The charcoal is not burning anymore.’  
 d. *pratuu nii mai pəət leew*  
 door this NEG open PFT  
 ‘The door won’t open anymore.’

In Thai, the sense of cancellation of future plan will be expressed by the past negation, *maidai* and the perfect marker.

- (24) *maidai pen aacaan leew.*  
 NEG become teacher PFT  
 ‘He didn’t become a teacher after all.’

If the perfect marker removed, the meaning of the sentence exhibit a simple negation in the past, ‘He didn’t become a teacher.’ Compare the difference between (23.a) and (24).

### *Inchoative Auxiliary Verb*

Japanese is such an example. The verb *naru* means ‘become’, but it can function to express a newly attained situation. In

Japanese, The negation is expressed by a negative adjective *nai*. Since it is an adjective, it can take an auxiliary verb that expresses the sense of inchoation, *naru*. The compound form *naku-naru* expresses 'to cease to exist', but together with a verb or adjective, that expresses the discussed negative senses. The form can express 1) negative attained state, 2) loss of habitual action, 3) termination of process, and 4) attainment of resistance to change.

- (25) a. *atama ga ita-ku na-ku-na-tta.*  
 head NOM hurt-ADV NEG-ADV-become-PAST  
 'My head stopped aching.'
- b. *taroo wa gakkoo e ko-na-ku-na-tta.*  
 Taro TOP school LOC come-NEG-ADV-  
 become-PAST  
 'Taro stopped coming to school.'
- c. *tokee ga ugoka-na-ku-na-tta.*  
 clock NOM move-NEG-ADV-become-PAST  
 'The clock stop working.'
- d. *saikin kaze o hika-na-ku-na-tta.*  
 recently cold ACC catch-NEG-ADV-become-PAST  
 'I don't catch cold anymore these days.'

The sense of cancellation in Japanese is not expressed this form. Like English, an adverb *kekkyoku* 'after all' carries this meaning in the simple past negation.

- (26) *taoroo wa kekkyoku ko-na-katta.*  
 Taro TOP after.all come-NEG-PAST  
 'Taro didn't come after all.'

### Lexical Derivation

English is a good example of this case. In English, the negative operator usually has scope over the entire proposition; so that it is syntactically impossible to reflect ATTAIN (~P). However, English has a morphological derivation that adds negative sense to the root morpheme, such as *un-*, *in-*, *no-*, *non-*, etc. The sense of attainment is expressed by the inchoative copula or the sense that is expressed by these lexical derivations seems to be quite limited. Only negative attained state is possible.

- (27) a. He became non-socialist.  
 b. It has become unproblematic.

This kind of derivation is particularly common in Indo-Aryan languages, but the lexical derivation using the prefixes with a sense of negation usually expresses a state, but not a change. Therefore, without a support of a context or the auxiliary, it simply means a stative sense. This strategy can be said to be quite different from what I discuss here, which exhibits a situational change.

### *Suffixes*

Some languages have an aspectual suffix that expresses the sense of negative attained situation. Meche (Bodo) is such a language. In Meche, 1) negative attained state and 2) counter-expectation are typically expressed by *-le* and *-chəi*.

- (28) a. *aŋ ja-nə ha-le.*  
 1SG eat-CP can-NEG.ANYMORE  
 'I can't eat anymore.'  
 b. *bi mia phəy-yā khə-chəi.*  
 3SG yesterday come-PST NEG-CHANGE  
 'He didn't come yesterday after all.'

The two suffixes are lexically complex, including both negation and change sense.

### *Comparative Expression*

Comparative expressions are expressions like *anymore*, *no longer*, etc. The comparative expressions covertly compare the presupposed situation with the situation at the reference time. By doing so, it gives rise to a sense of situational change in negative sense. This is quite productive and it can express the meanings except termination of action/process, which is expressed by *stop ~ing* instead, and counter-expectation.

- (10) a. I'm not a teacher anymore.  
 b. Due to the recent desertification, it doesn't rain in July anymore.

- c. He doesn't drink beer anymore.
- d. The door won't open anymore.
- e. Many people don't die anymore because of current blood alternatives.

#### **14.4 Conclusion**

In this paper, we have dealt with a phenomenon in which the negated expression does not always reflect the logical negation, starting with Newar negated disjunct past forms and then discussion some typological patterns of the expressions that carry the five meanings of negative-attained situations. The discussion here is based on the functional analysis that deals with how a certain concept is realized in a given language.

## FIFTEEN

# Spatial Deixis in Puma

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### 15.1 Introduction

Deictic expressions can only be understood in the immediate context. Therefore, deictic expressions are mostly used in face-to-face spoken interaction. To see how important the sharing of the same physical context by speaker and hearer is, imagine a situation where such information is lacking:

(1) Meet me here a week from now with a stick about this big.

In this case it is impossible to understand the exact meaning of the utterance unless we know who to meet, where or when to meet him or her, or how big a stick should be (Levinson, 1983: 55).

The example (1) shows that we rely heavily on deictic elements in every-day language. We refer to places, objects, persons, times, and many more things by means of deixis. Therefore, the study of deixis is not only interesting to linguists but to anyone who is engaged in language in general.

The relation between language and context is observed in the phenomenon of deixis. Essentially deixis concerns those elements of language whose meaning is determined by the context of the utterance, some time adverbials (e.g., today), some verbs (e.g., come and bring), demonstratives and some locationals.

### 15.2 Categories of Deixis

Traditionally, deictic expressions are subdivided into the three major categories of person, place and time. Of late, one can



add the categories of social and discourse deixis. This paper basically concentrates on spatial deixis, but will also add a short general overview on other kinds of deixis in Puma. Ronald Breton (1991: xvi-xix) has identified six dimensions of operation, i.e. spatial, societal, economic, temporal, political, and linguistic. Consequently, language development is seen as a '...process, combined with territorial, demographic-societal, ecomediatic, historical and politico-linguistic spread, that constitutes the heart of language dynamics' (Breton 1991: xvii). However the given below deixis are presented here.

- (I) Person deixis
- (II) Temporal deixis
- (III) Social deixis
- (IV) Discourse deixis
- (V) Spatial deixis

### *Person Deixis*

Person deixis usually localizes an entity in relation to the position of the Speaker and/or Hearer. First and second person pronouns typically refer to the speaking and hearing speech-participant(s), where as third person pronouns designate the non-speech or narrated participant (Anderson and Keenan, 1985). Person deixis is strongly influenced by the dominance that the speaker (first person) exerts over the discourse. The speaker is the deictic centre, the listener is anchored to that centre (second person), and all other entities are outside of that deictic centre (third person).

### *Demonstrative Pronoun*

Kiranti languages have proximal and distal roots which can be used as demonstrative pronouns. In Puma, both short and long forms of pronouns are commonly used, e.g.

- (2) *o* (short form)    *ɸkaku* (long form)    3s (PROX)    'This'
- (3) *to* (short form)    = *ɸkku* (long form)    3s (DIST)    'That'

- (4) *o hen cah-a-li pahar-di* (convers\_02.17)  
 PROX now need-v. mountain-  
 nativ-be UP.LOC  
 'But it is needed now, up in the mountains.'

The demonstrative pronouns *ɔkku* and *tɔkku* can be used both for ± animate. However, referential pronoun *khokku* can only refer to + human. e.g.

- (5) *...ɔkku beuli-lai pv-itd-um-min- ni mv-rvŋ* (coribiha.008)  
 PROX bride- 3nsS/A-give-1p- 3p-say  
 DAT NEG-REP  
 'It shouldn't be given to this bride, it is said.'
- (6) *tohya khula-ya-ni tɔkku cabha dhi-a-ŋes- (myth\_02.40)*  
*a-ni-ku*  
 there forest-LEVEL. DIST tiger be.fell-PST-keep-  
 (Level) LOC-REP PST-REP-NMLZ  
 'That tiger was lying there in the forest.'
- (7) *ẽ oku-ci saro dukha pv-tok -aŋ -ci* (myth\_orph\_012.c)  
 FILLER 3-d very. pain 3S/A-get-  
 much IPFV-3nsP  
 'They (dual) were in much trouble at the time of coming when they found.'
- (8) *ŋa-a ɔkku setlamvŋ jãc itd-ma pvr-ne* (LH\_M\_01.312)  
 1s-ERG PROX tomorrow test give must  
 -INF -PURP  
 'I have to take a test this tomorrow.'
- (9) *tɔkku tɔkku metdŋ pv-li-nin* (convers\_02.24)  
 DIST DIST NEG.EXIST.NPST NEG-be-NEG  
 'Without that it can't be'.

In (5) and (7), '*ɔkku*' refers to animate but in (8) inanimate. Similarly in (6), '*tɔkku*' refers to animate but in (9) inanimate.

- (10) a. *khokku rvŋ -a* (LH\_M\_01.029)  
 3s say-PST  
 'He said.'

Here, '*khokku*' obligatorily refers to third person singular animate referent.

- (10) b. °*khokku*            *doro-ku*            (children\_04.047)  
              3s                    what-NMLZ  
              'What is this?'

(10) b is an ungrammatical example that demonstrates that *khokku* can not be used for inanimate.

Unlike many other Kiranti languages, Puma demonstratives distinguish not only between singular and nonsingular but also between dual and plural:

- (11) *khokku*            *khim-do*            *yuy-yay*  
        3s                    house-GEN.LOC       be-IPFV  
        'He is in the house.'
- (12) *khokku-ci*       *khim-do*            *pw-yuy-can-ci*  
        3s-d                   house-GEN.LOC       3S/A-stay-IPFV-d  
        'They (two) are staying at the house.'
- (13) *khokku-ci*       *khim-do*            *mw-yuy-yay*  
        3s-ns                   house-GEN.LOC       3pS/A-stay-IPFV  
        'They (p) are staying at the house.'

In other Kiranti languages, unlike Puma, while first and second person distinguish dual and plural, this difference is neutralized in the third person pronoun. The ambiguity is resolved by verb agreement forms (Sharma [Gautam] and et al., 2005).

### *Temporal Deixis*

Temporal deixis, as proposed by Anderson and Keenan (1985), localizes the speech event in time by means of adverbs ('now', 'then'). Tense inflection on verbs can also be analysed as temporal deixis in this respect. It is reference made to particular times relative to some other time, most currently the time of utterance. It is, thus, concerned with those elements in discourse whose interpretation depends on knowing the time at which the proposition was uttered. E.g.

- (14) *ahepmny en-cha-ci mw- pukd-i lotd-i-ci* (coribiha.40)

later 1PIPOSS- 3pS/A- take.out  
child -ns carry-3P -3P-3nsP

'Later they take away our children (daughters)'.

- (15) *ai odho bhvrti khol-a li-yan* (LH\_M\_01.326)

today here recruit open be -IPFV  
-V.NATIV

'Today recruiting starts'.

- (16) *pnj hen tollb keci wasa-ku ni* (myth\_orph\_030.a)

CONN now PTCL 1di bird-NMLZ REP

'Then now we became birds'.

In (14), they did some kind of ritual tasks and only then they took away their child. 'Later' refers here to the time deixis. Similarly, in (15)-(16), 'today' and 'now' have been used as time deixis respectively.

### ***Social Deixis***

Social deixis is the use of different deictics to encode the social identities of participant, the social relation between them and entities referred to. It indicates the relative social status of the addressor and the addressee. The examples of social deixis would be 'polite pronouns' (Sie in German, *Bы*/ *Vы* in Russian) (Olga, 2006), using titles to address a person (Dr., Prof.), other forms, which are reserved for authorized recipients (like Your Honour, Your Majesty, Sir/Madame).

However, Puma has no different pro-form to address those of higher social rank, those of the same social rank and those of lesser social rank. It has no different expressions to describe a higher social status.

### ***Discourse Deixis***

Discourse deixis concerns the usage of deictic expressions which refer to some portion of discourse that contains that utterance (including the utterance itself). It is a relation of an utterance to the surrounding discourse (Olga, 2006). It is the

reference encoding to the current discourse or part thereof.  
E.g.

- (17) *tokku monna nicce hapd -a ηess -a -ku rvichw* (LH\_M\_01.319)  
 DIST man really stop TEL -PST MIR  
 -EMPH -PST -NMLZ

‘The man was really stopped (at some point of his learning)’.

- (18) *tpppvgvri ñ vpbela yatayat men- (myth\_orph\_01.027.b)*  
 -vηsvη lipd-a-paa  
 that.time FILLER this.time- transportation  
 like IMP.NEG-  
 return-PST-  
 NMLZ

‘At that time, there was no today’s facility like transportation.’

- (19) *koina kvci-nicha ñ ips-a-d- mattvi (myth\_orph\_01.033)*  
 a-ku rvichw  
 but 3NSPOSS- FILLER sleep-PST- FOC MIR  
 younger. TEL-PST-  
 brother NMLZ

‘But their brother was just sleeping.’

In (17)-(19), discourse deixis like ‘*nicce*’, ‘*tpppvgvri*’ and ‘*koina*’ have been used to refer the some portion of earlier discourse.

### *Spatial Deixis*

Spatial deixis is an important feature of many Kiranti languages. Elements that refer spatial location relative to the location of the speaker are called local or spatial deictics. Local deixis is the most commonly cited type of deixis in scientific literature (cf. ANDERSON and KEENAN 1985: 259). Spatial deixis ‘comprises local adverbs, demonstratives, deictic particles, deictic verbs (e.g. movement verbs, such as to come or to go in English)’ (HAASE 2002: 760). My main focus is here on demonstratives and local adverbs. The basic function of spatial deixis is demarcation of a space surrounding the speaker to encode distance, geometric dimensions, a region, a referent, geographic axes and cardinal directions.

Kiranti languages have proximal and distal roots, from which adverbs are derived. In Puma, the words for 'here' and 'there' consist of deictic root + locative case suffix.

- |      |               |           |       |
|------|---------------|-----------|-------|
| (20) | <i>o</i>      | 3s (PROX) |       |
| (21) | <i>to</i>     | 3s (DIST) |       |
| (22) | <i>o-dho</i>  | PROX-LOC  | here  |
| (23) | <i>to-dho</i> | DIST-LOC  | there |

'Here' refers to places close to the speaker's position in a space containing the speaker and 'there' refers to further away from the speaker in a space. These PROX and DIST are marked by locative markers. As a result, all these are used with geometric dimensions (up, down and across). Also allative and ablative case markers are attached with proximal and distal deixis.

Spatial deixis are encoded by means of locative positions.

Spatial deixis can be either bounded (indicating a spatial region with a clearly defined boundary, e.g. in the box) or unbounded (indicating a spatial region without a clearly defined boundary, e.g. over there).

- (24) *pəŋ* *uŋ* *pa* *həttə-pəttə* *waŋ-hat-əŋ*  
 SEQ 1sPOSS- 1sPOSS turn hurriedly get.in-TEL-  
 GEN 1SS/P.PST  
*kʰim-kəŋ-i* (LH\_M\_01.253)  
 house-inside -DOWN.LOC  
 ‘I hurriedly entered into the house’.
- (25) *odho-ŋa* *en-bo* *en-bhəlai-ni* *pə-lid-əŋ* (LH\_M\_01.101)  
 here 1piPOSS- 1pi POSS- 3S/A- tell  
 -EMPH GEN well.being- -1sS/P.  
 REP PST  
 ‘Only here (in this) is our well being’, he told me’.
- (26) *tu-hi* *ips-aŋ-nin-ka* (LH\_M\_01.679)  
 DIST-DOWN.LOC sleep -IPFV-1/2p -e  
 ‘Down there we slept’.

- In (24) spatial region is bounded within the house while in (25) – (28), the spatial region is unbounded though in (25) it refers to neutral region, in (26) Distal down region, in (27) across and in (28a) far.

Spatial deixis localizes both speech participants and narrated participants in space. It is common for many languages to show at least a two-term or three-term referential distinction in their deictic system: proximal (near or closer to the speaker), and distal (far from the speaker and/or closer to the addressee). However, some languages in East-Nusantara, as for example Ewaw (SE Maluku) only have one term, for which it is very difficult to define its meaning (Anderson and Keenan, 1985). English exemplifies this with *this* versus *that* and *here* versus *there*. Spatial deixis usually defined as concerned with the encoding of spatial location relative to the location of the participants in the speech event.

In many Kiranti languages, there are three locative dimensions designating locations in space with reference to the position of the speaker (proximal, distal and remote, i.e. far from both Speaker and Addressee). There are other languages like Korean, Japanese and Thai and a few Romance languages in which the distinction is three way—proximal, medial (near the addressee) and distal (far from both)—as in Kiranti languages but the context is rather varies. It is deictically anchored to the Speaker/Hearer at least in three levels (PROX, DIST and REMOTE).

28. b. *odho ni-tv-itd-aj-e-paa*  
 LEVEL.PROX nsA/S- 2- give -IPFV -1/2p -while  
 'While you are giving it to us here.'
28. c. *pukd -i pɔŋ todho khɔnna kabo tit -ci khapd -i -ci*  
 carry -3P FILLER DIST 2s 2SPOSS cloth-d put.  
 on -3P -d  
 'After you carry it there put on your clothes to it.'
28. d. *khoci-a ayakhya bhitra pv- mu*  
 3p-ERG REMOTE inside 3S/A- do  
 'Far there they bring it in.'

In (28b), the locative designates proximal dimension and in (28c), the locative refers to distal reference and in (28c), the locative denotes the reference for remote. These dimensions are also marked for three levels which can be found in geometric dimension in detailed.

### Geometric Dimension

Kiranti languages distinguish levels of dimensions. Puma uses 'ayakkha' for the notion of 'on' if the referent is on remote of the same level with the speaker, uses 'adikkhi' if the referent is located above the speaker and uses 'aikkhi' if the referent is located below the speaker. Similarly, proximal (uhi, udhi, ohya) and distal (tuhi, tudhi and tohya) spatial locatives are used with three levels (Up, Down and Level).

- (29) *koŋpi -ci ayakkha cakd-ma-dot-ni mv- rɔŋ* (coribiha.28)  
 match. DIST. send.the.ritual. 3p- say  
 maker-ns ACROSS gift-INF-OBLG-REP  
 'The match maker and others perform the rituals outside'.
- (30) *vk -ta uŋ-bo to-hi uŋ pvkka*  
 one-CLF 1SPOSS- DIST-DOWN. 1SPOSS elder.brother  
 GEN LOC NPST.EXIST  
*yunyan mɔŋgaldhoj-ni-ku* (LH\_M\_01.043)  
 a\_person-REP-NMLZ  
 'One of my brother named Mangaldhoj lives there.'



- (31) *aikhi aieme -i yuŋ-ni* (LH\_M\_01.220)  
 REMOTE. a\_place -DOWN.LOC live-REP  
 DOWN.LOC  
 He lives in I.M.A. someone said.
- (32) *uhi-tni puks-a-ni vk-ta mɔnna-a lam*  
 PROX.DOWN.LOC-ALL go-IMP-REP one-CLF man-ERG way  
*khay-pv-metd-ɔŋ* (LH\_M\_01.228)  
 see-3S/A-CAUS-1sS/P.PST  
 'Saying 'go downward', a man showed me the way.'

In (29) the referent is on remote of the same level with the speaker. In (30) the referent is located distal down level with the speaker. Similarly in (31) the referent is located below the speaker and in (32) the referent is located proximal down level with the speaker.

### *Geographic Dimension*

Puma language prefers mountains and rivers in its linguistic conceptualization of spatial expressions. A location is principally perceived in relation to the river or the mountain. Though Puma has separate word to call mountain, the Nepali word is found while using in the text as in (33).

- (33) *o hen cah-a-li pahar-di* (convers\_02.17)  
 PROX now need-V.NATIV - be mountain -UP.LOC  
 'But it is needed now, up in the mountains.'

### 15.3 Postposition

The locative markers are conditioned by the location of the object in terms of height relative to the speaker and addressee. These can be proximate and distal, up and down, front and back and so on. Such locatives never occur without the co-reference of locative postpositions. There are locative adverbs '*dhuŋ*' and '*khuk*' in Puma which are used to refer the postposition of the object. E.g.

- (34) *mahes-bo kɔ-khim dhuŋ-i tuppasawa pat-a*  
 a\_name-GEN 3s-house up-DOWN.LOC a\_bird chirp-PST  
 'The bird chirped on the house of Mahesh'.

- (35) *sojje pɔŋ kho-dho-ŋkɔŋ kɔ-dhuŋ-ya cɔi kalpɔnik*  
 false SEQ there-GEN-ABL TOP imaginary  
 3SPOSS-up-LEVEL.LOC place  
*ʈhau pak-u-ŋ ʈhegana* (LH\_M\_01.442)  
 offer-3P-1sA address  
 'After that, I wrote an imaginarily address at the top.'

In (34) postposition *dhuŋ* is marked with down locative marker and in (35) with across locative marker. The other postposition *daŋ* (behind) also obligatorily occurred with locative marker as in example (36). E.g.

- (36) *a-daŋ-di ʈhulo amba-la-ku* (LH\_M\_01.625)  
 1pPOSS-back- big mango -place -NMLZ  
 UP.LOC  
 'There was our big mango grove.'

### Vertical Case

Marking of the vertical dimension in locative case suffixes is a unique feature of Kiranti languages. The vertical case suffixes specify whether a person or object is located at or moves towards a higher, lower, or same-level place (Ebert 1994). E.g.

- (37) *khim-ya* in the house across  
 (38) *o-hya* across here  
 (39) *to-hya* across there  
 (40) *khim-di-ŋkɔŋ* from the house higher up  
 (41) *u-dhi-ŋkɔŋ* from up here  
 (42) *tu-dhi-ŋkɔŋ* from up there

### Locative

The locative expresses location at a place or identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb and is marked by <-do> specifies neutral or general level, <-ya> parallel or same level, <-di> higher level, and <-i> lower level. Locative marker specifies neutral (general), higher, lower, and same-level (parallel) relating to the place where the speaker is located (Sharma [Gautam], 2005).

- (43) *ŋa bakka -i dha -a -ku pɔ- ca -nɔŋ* (folk\_tale\_01.084)  
 1s floor -DOWN. fall.off NEG- eat  
 LOC -PST -NMLZ -1s NEG  
 'I don't eat things that fell on the ground.'
- (44) *khim -di mɔ- puks -a jɔmmvi* (convers\_01.013.a)  
 house-UP.LOC 3pS/A- go -PST all  
 'All went to home.'
- (45) *tohya khula -ya ni tɔkku cabha*  
 there forest -LEVEL.LOC REP DIST tiger be.fell -PST  
 (Level)  
*dhi -a ŋes -a - ni -ku* (myth\_02.40)  
 keep-PST-REP-NMLZ  
 'There was lying the tiger in the forest.'

In (43) the speaker is at the lower place than the addressee but in (44) higher and in (45) the speaker is at the same level (parallel) as with the addressee.

### Ablative

Ablative follows a locative suffix. As a result, this also specifies level of location (neutral, higher, lower and parallel) as in locative. <-ŋkoŋ> serves as ablative marker which is suffixed with locative (Sharma [Gautam], 2005).

- (46) *pɔŋ baje thɔtni beltar-i-ŋkoŋ ta-a-ni*  
 CONN grand.father in.that.way a\_place- come-  
 DOWN-ABL PST-REP  
*ta* (story\_lang.040)  
 PTCL  
 'Thus, grandfather came from Beltar.'
- (47) *sɔrɔrɔ ni saikɔl-do-ŋkoŋ thoŋ-a-ŋa* (LH\_M\_01.256)  
 IDEOPH PTCL bicycle -GEN-ABL come.up-  
 PST-IPFV  
 'He was riding a bicycle.'
- (48) *lam-ya-ŋkoŋ*  
 road-LEVEL-ABL  
 'From the road'

- In (49) ablative is marked to refer higher location while in (46) lower location. (47) specifies neutral or general location but (48) same level or parallel location.

Allative also follows a locative suffix. As a result, this specifies level of location (neutral, higher, lower and parallel) as in locative. <-itni> serves as allative marker which is suffixed with locative (Sharma [Gautam], 2005).

- In (50) it refers to the same level or parallel location with the addressee while in (51) down level.

Specification of the vertical dimension is a pervasive trait of Kiranti languages and culture (cf. Allen 1972, Rai 1988, Ebert 1989, Bickel 1997). Whether an object is located at, or moving to or from a higher or lower place is indicated not only in the local adverbs, but also in the local case suffixes (Ebert 1994). In Kiranti languages, the deictic verbs 'come' and 'bring' (but not 'go' and 'take') distinguish the vertical dimension and marked for location of the speaker. E.g.

- (52) *bhwrti lis-i i-oy-ku cha pee-ku* (LH\_M\_01.333)  
 recruit be-3P come.down- ADD not-  
 1sS/P.PST- NMLZ  
 NMLZ  
 ‘Also I didn’t come to get recruited.’
- (53) *pvŋ na co-a-u pvŋ thoŋ-nin-ka* (LH\_M\_01.570)  
 FILLER PTCL eat -PST-3P CONN come.up  
 -1/2p -e  
 ‘After we ate, we came up.’
- (54) *rvŋ-a pvŋ ben-a-nin-ka* (LH\_M\_01.610)  
 say-PST CONN come.level -PST -1/2p -e  
 ‘After he said, we came.’
- (55) *maki abo ta-a-ku* (story\_lang.015)  
 why FILLER come-PST-NMLZ  
 ‘Why did the man come?’
- (56) *pvŋ-na tho-ŋa-kina pv-khɔnt-oy pukd-oy* (LH\_M\_01.418)  
 SEQ-FOC bring.up 3S/A-pull- TEL-  
 -1sS/P.NPST 1sS/P.PST 1sS/P.PST  
 -PTCL  
 ‘Then, they pulled me.’
- (57) *pvŋ betd-u-ŋ* (LH\_M\_01.654)  
 FILLER bring.from.level -3P -1sA  
 ‘I brought them.’

In (52), the speaker is down than the addressee, in (53) up than the addressee and in (54) across with the addressee but in (55), it doesn’t refer any more vertical dimension, just neutral. Similarly in (56), the speaker is bringing something from the up level than the addressee and in (57) the speaker is bringing something from the level in which the addressee is also present there.

### 15.5 Cardinal Direction

Spatial deixis is concerned to the topography of the area where the language is spoken. East and West are cardinal points of orientation for Puma, obviously connected with the rising and setting of the sun. In Kiranti languages, generally, North

is considered as up and South as down, while East and West are considered as across. In Puma, North and South are rather perceived as the main directions, even though the language doesn't provide separate words for them as in example (61) in which Nepali word to refer south has been borrowed. E.g.

- (58) *ŋa nam-lon-kha-ya-tni kha-cop-oy*  
 1s sun-appear-PLACE-ACROSS-ALL ANTIP-see-1ss/P.PST  
 'I watch towards east'.
- (59) *khokku nam-lun-kha-ya-ŋkɔŋ bena*  
 3s sun-sink-PLACE-ACROSS-ABLT come.ACROSS-PST  
 'He came from west'.
- (60) *toŋwama purbɔ-ya-tni puks -a rɔchɔ* (myth\_orph\_01.046)  
 a\_person east -ACROSS-ALL go -PST MIR  
 'Tongwama went towards east'.
- (61) *khiwama- dɔkchin -ya -tni pɔ-puks- rɔichɔ* (myth\_orph\_047)  
*ni-ku a-ci*  
 a\_person- south-LEVEL. 3S/A-go- MIR  
 REP-NMLZ LOC-ALL PST-d  
 'Khiwama went towards south'.

Though Puma has a separate word for East, they tend to use borrowed Nepali word to refer to East as in the case of South in (60).

## 15.6 Oblique Case

Unlike other Kiranti languages like Bantawa and Chintang, Puma has a unique feature of oblique case. It differentiates between proximal (*ɔkku*) and proximal particular (*ɔppɔ*) and distal (*tɔkku*) and distal particular (*tɔppɔ*). It just like in Nepali (*yo*) and (*yɔs*) and (*tyo*) and (*tyɔs*). These can only occur with -animate with suffixing only general locative marker (-do) where as others can be occurred elsewhere. E.g.

- (62) *ɔppɔ/tɔppɔ khim-do kɔ-yuŋ munima-ci*  
 PROX/DIST house-GEN.LOC 3s-stay cat-ns  
 'The living cats in this/ that house.'

**Table 1:** Overview of Puma Deixis

Deixis		Persons					
Personal Deixis	1 <sup>st</sup> (Speaker)	<i>la</i>	<i>keci</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>keci</i>	<i>keka</i>	
	2 <sup>nd</sup> (Hearer)	<i>khanna</i>	<i>khannaci</i>	<i>khannanin</i>			
	3 <sup>rd</sup> (non-SAP)	<i>khokku</i>	<i>khokkuci</i>	<i>khokkuci</i>			
	DEMON PRO	PROX	<i>o</i>	<i>pkku</i>			
		DIST		<i>to</i>	<i>tokku</i>		
	REMOTE		<i>kho</i>	<i>khokku</i>			
Spatial Deixis							
	Distance	Geometric	neutral	<i>odho</i>	Geographic	Cardinal Directions	
					hill	East	<i>namlonkha</i>
					con/com		
		up here		<i>udhi</i>	river	West	<i>namlunkha</i>
					wahut		
			down here		<i>ulhi</i>		North
	across here	neutral	<i>todho</i>	<i>ohya</i>	South	*	
				Postposition/Relational Nouns			
					up on	down on	
	up there	down there	across there	<i>tudhi</i>	Geometric	<i>dhuu</i>	<i>khuk</i>
				<i>tuhi</i>	neutral	<i>dhuundo</i>	<i>khukdo</i>
				<i>tohya</i>	up	<i>dhuundi</i>	<i>khukai</i>

Deixis	Persons					
	REMOTE	Neutral	akkha	down	dhugi	khuki
		that up there	adikkhi	across	dhunya	khukya
		that down there	aikkhi	far	mankha	
		that across there	ayakkha	near	cvk	
	OTHER	Side	cup			
			ben			
		In front	busit			
		Behind	dag			
		Interior	koy			
		Exterior	buukha			
Temporal Deixis	now	then	later	ago	before	immediately
	Hen	hwtui	warog	atdi	asuyu	ppp belage
Deictic Case	neutral	up	down	across		
Locative	-do	-di	-i	-ya		
Ablative	-ŋkoy	-diŋkoy	-iŋkoy	-yaŋkoy		
Allative	-tŋi	-ditŋi	-itŋi	-yatŋi		
Deictic verb	neutral	up	down	across		
Come	tama	thoŋma	ima	benma		
Bring	tatma	thoma	itma	betma		



- (63) *ɒkku/tɒkku mɔnnə si-a*  
 PROX/DIST man die-PST  
 'This/that man died.'
- (64) *°ɔppɔ/tɔppɔ mɔnnə si-a*  
 PROX/DIST man die-PST  
 'This/that man died.'
- (65) *ɒkku/tɒkku khim-bo kɔ-luɟ bis hɔjar*  
 PROX/DIST house-GEN 3s-cost twenty thousand  
 'The cost of this/that house is twenty thousand'
- (66) *°ɔppɔ/tɔppɔ khim-bo kɔ-luɟ bis hɔjar*  
 PROX/DIST house-GEN 3s-cost twenty thousand  
 'The cost of this/that house is twenty thousand.'

Table 1 shows the overview of deixis in Puma.

## 15.7 Conclusion

The most fascinating and amazing feature of Kiranti languages is the encoding of space. The geometric dimension (up, down and across) is marked by locative case markers in at least three levels of distance (proximal, distal and remote). In Kiranti languages, the deictic verbs 'come' and 'bring' (but not 'go' and 'take') distinguish the geometric dimension and marked for location of the speaker. Linguistic conceptualization of spatial expressions is principally perceived in relation to the river or the mainland. In Kiranti languages, generally, north is considered as up and south as down while east and west are considered as across.

It is assumed that the basic function of spatial deixis is the demarcation of a space surrounding the speaker to encode distance, geometric dimensions, a region, a referent, geographic axes and cardinal directions. Postpositions like *dhuj* and *khuk* are never occurred without locative case markers. Also, demonstrative pronouns are marked for three levels of distance (proximal, distal and remote). Ablative and allative cases are marked for locative markers. Unlike other Kiranti languages, Puma has a unique feature of oblique case (*ɒkku* vs *ɔppɔ* and *tɒkku* vs *tɔppɔ*).

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## SIXTEEN

# The Verb 'Cut': What, How and Why? (Examples from the Puma Language)

VISHNU P.S. RAI

### 16.1 Introduction

Puma is a highly endangered language which is spoken by about 4000 persons in the hilly region of eastern Nepal. It is a highly endangered language for several reasons, migration, inter-caste marriage and the influence of Nepali, which is the national and official language of the country and is used in all areas (education, media, etc.) of the nation. Puma is being documented along with the Chintang language under



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## 16.2 Word and Concept

A word might have different meanings and vice versa, that is, the same concept or meaning might be expressed with different words. A word having different meanings in a language is quite common. Puma is a language which have many words that expresses the same basic concept. This paper presents how the concept of cutting is expressed through different words by Puma people. So far, 16 different words have been found to express the act of cutting. It is interesting to note that these different words are, however, not interchangeable: the use of one in the place of another in most cases will not be acceptable. Their use depends on the (a) the kind of instrument is used for cutting, (b) the object of the verb cut, (c) the manner in which something is cut, and (d) the purpose for which something is cut. In a few cases, even the agent, the person who cut is important for the use of a particular verb. Therefore, to say 'I cut' in Puma, one has to learn 'what does he cut?', 'with what does he cut?', 'how does he cut?' and 'why does he cut?'

### *Examples and Explanation*

*Cut 1: bhama <bha/bho> 'to cut'*

*Bhama* is the most common verb used to mean 'cut'. It refers to the action of cutting when someone raises a large weapon such as an axe or *khukuri* (a large Nepali knife) to cut something usually a tree or firewood or an animal, even a man. The action expects an outcome the the object of the action will be cut into two pieces or in many pieces. As *khukuri* is the most common weapon for cutting, the verb *bhama* invariably refers to *khukuri* unless specified.

ram-a      asemwɨ      swɨpa-lai      bho-o.  
 Ram-ERG   yesterday   tree-DAT   cut-PT  
 'Yesterday Ram cut a tree (with a khukuri).'



**Cut 1:** The khukuri

*Cut 2: cakma <cak/cakd>*

*Cakma* is similar to *bhama* in the sense that they both refer to *khukuri* as the instrument for cutting. However, the object of cutting is obligatorily a tree, or a piece of log and the purpose of cutting is to make foothold so that one can climb the tree, or the log which is used to go upstairs (in this case, the log serves the function of a ladder). The object is, therefore, not cut into two parts. The best equivalent English word for *cakma* could be 'to carve'.

khokku-a   wasoɨma   puwa   cakd-i   kina   wɨa-a  
 3S-ERG   a.tree   tree   cut-3P   climb-PT  
 'He carved the tree (to put his foot on) and then climbed it.'

*Cut 3: cenma <cen>*

Verb *cenma* is neither like *bhama* or *cakma* because its outcome is restricted. For example, it can be used to refer to a piece of bamboo cut into long, thin pieces, as shown in the picture below. Pumas usually make thin strips of bamboo for various purposes such as to make *dokoci* 'baskets' or a *kokro* 'baby cot'. *Cakma* can be translated into English as 'to saw'.

*vkku bhaṭa-bo basṇ sa-q cen-i-ku?*  
 This log-GEN plank who-ERG cut-3P-NOMLZ  
 'Who has cut (sawed) this wood plank?'



Cut 3

*Cut 4: chamma <cham>*

Chamma is similar to *bhama* as it refers to the same instrument, e.g. an axe, in manner as the hand is raised high and then strike the object forcefully, and in the outcome as the object is necessarily cut into two or more pieces. The difference is in the object of cutting: the object of cutting which this verb takes is obligatorily firewood. The verb is therefore object restricted.

*khooku-a bhatti-a ṣṇ cham-i*  
 3S-ERG axe-INSTR tree cut-3P)  
 'He cut the firewood with an axe.'

*Cut 5: chokma <chok>*

This verb *chokma* is both instrument and manner restricted. The instrument must be a basula (see the picture of the instrument)



or if it is not available, then a *khukuri*. The manner can be best described with the English word ‘to chisel’. The outcomes are thin layers of wood.

*sirane-a yonɕɔŋ-bo hɔlo chok-i.*

Sirane-ERG a\_tree-GEN plough cut-3P

‘Sirane cut (chiselled) the plough wood.’



Cut 5

*Cut 6: dhɔkma <dhɔkd>*

The instrument which this verb refers to is either a *khukuri* or a sickle. What makes it different from other cuts is the purpose for which it is used, and the purpose is to cut fodder. Fodder here denotes the small branches of a tree with green leaves, which are given to the cattle, particularly cows and bullocks.

*uŋ-pa-a khuksi ghas-a dhɔkd-i.*

1SPOSS-father-ERG a.tree grass-NNATVZ cut-3P

‘My father cut the fodder.’

*Cut 7: hekma <hek/hekd>*

*Hekma* is similar to *dhɔkma* because the purpose of both the verbs is the same: they both are used to cut fodder for cattle.



The difference, however, can be noted in the fact that *dhvkma* is restricted to the small leafy branches whereas *hekma* is to grass, although for both object, they have the same term *ghasa* 'grass', which was borrowed from Nepali and then nativized into Puma (*ghas-a*: grass-NNATVZ 'grass'). The second difference is in the instrument. *dhvkma* can take a *khukuri* or a sickle as instrument, but *hekma* can take only sickle.

*khvonna-a ase todho-ku ghas-a tv-hekd-i.*  
 2s-ERG yesterday there-GEN grass-NNATVZ cut-3p  
 'Yesterday you cut the grass over there.'

### Cut 8: *hipma* <hip>

It is a very special verb, which is used for very special purpose and for a special person. The object is also special because a green bamboo branch is selected, and as you can see in the picture with a *khukuri* it is chiselled in thin layers which remain at the other end of the bamboo so that the outcomes look like a flower on a stick. Then it is used by a shamn for ritualistic purposes, such as to get rid of an evil spirit from somebody.

*kenchariwa-a dnyrit-bo svknypkwa hip-i*  
 Shamn's helper-ERG bamboo-GEN bark-cut-3p  
 'The helper of the shamn made a bamboo.'



Cut 8

*Cut 9: kɔpma <kɔp/ kɔpd>*

It is mainly instrument and partially object restricted. The instrument of this verb is invariably a pair of scissors and in most cases the object is hair. However, the verb can also be used for other objects, e.g. paper. As the instrument is always a pair of scissors, its also manner restricted because to cut with scissors needs a special kind of manner. In this respect, this is a very specific verb as it needs special instrument, manner and object.

*ka-bo demkha ka-tɔŋ-mukwa tw-kɔpd-i?*  
 2SPOSS-GEN when 2SPOSSpf-head-hair 2-cut-3P  
 'When did you get your hair cut?'

*Cut 10: khoma <kho/khos>*

For the verb *khoma*, instrument can be as varied as a razor, a knife or a spade. The purpose is to clean the surface, e.g. moustache from your upper lip with a razor, rotten residues from a wood with a knife, grass from your courtyard with a spade. Purpose and manner, however, remain the same: to clean the surface by pulling the instrument through the object.

*umese-bo kɔ-tɔŋ-mukwa demkha khos-i?*  
 Umes-GEN 3POSSpf-head-hair when cut-3P  
 'When did Umes get his hair saved.'

*Cut 11: khokma <khok/ khokd>*

This verb is the most unusual one as it is neither instrument nor object and purpose is restricted. What makes it special is the fact that it is used when you cut something (usually meat) by putting it on a piece of log called *acano* (see the picture). The instrument is usually *khukuri* and the outcomes are small pieces.

*khɔnnna-a sacen-khɔŋ-do ŋes-i-kinan sariwa tw-khokd-i rvichɔ.*  
 2S-ERG log-UP.LOC- put-3P-SEQ bone 2-cut-3P REP  
 GEN-LOC  
 'You cut the bone on the log.'



Cut 11

Cut 12: *khopma* <*khop*>

This verb is used only with the object firewood. It is, therefore, object restricted.

*rita-a      vk      doka      svŋ      khop-a*  
 Rita-ERG   one   basket   firewood   cut-PT  
 'Rita cut a basket of firewood.'

Cut 13: *pekma* <*pek*>

*Pekma* is similar to *khopma* because both are object restricted, but they are used for different objects. While *khopma* takes the object firewood, the object of *pekma* is either fruit or vegetable.

*minma-a      mela-ya      amba      pek-i      co-o*  
 Minma-ERG   market-LEV.LOC   mango   cut-3P   eat-PT  
 'Minma cut a mango and ate it in the market.'

Cut 14: *sinma* <*sil*>

*Sinma* can also take the object vegetable, but the manner is different. For *sinma* the object is put onto the instrument and then pulled though the instrument to be cut into pieces.

*tɔkku-a purup beru-a sil-i*  
 3S-ERG cucumber sickel-INSTR cut-3P  
 'S/he cut the cucumber with a sickel.'

*Cut 15: sipma <sip> 'to cut'*

*Sipma* like *sinma* or *pekma* takes the object fruit or vegetable. The difference among them, however, is in the manner of cutting. In *sipma*, the object is put onto the instrument, which is a sickel or a *culēsi* which is put under one food, then both hands holding, the object is pushed through the instrument (see the picture).

*ŋa-a atloŋ sa-khan sip-uŋ.*  
 1S-ERG ago meat-edible cut-1SPT  
 'Sometime ago I cut the meat.'



**Cut 15**

*Cut 16: taŋma <taŋt>*

It is both purpose and manner restricted. The purpose is to level the surface, for which one hand holds the object and the other holding the weapon used it gently (see the picture). The verb is usually used to level the end of a stick.

*dilepa-a      kv-lburo      ʔaŋt-i-kinan      tomt-aŋ-i.*  
 Dilepa-ERG   3SPOSSpf-stick   cut-3P   use-3P  
 'Dilepa cut his stick and is using it.'



Cut 16

*Cut 17: weŋma <weŋ>*

The verb *weŋma* takes fruits as objects or vegetables. The instrument, usually a knife, is put at the one end of the fruit or vegetable, and pulled forcefully so that the bark of the object come out as shown in the picture.

*kho-a   alu-lai      pek-i   kinan   weŋ-i*  
 3S-ERG   potato-DAT   cut-3P   SEQ   cut-3P  
 'He peeled the potato and then cut it.'



Cut 17

### 16.3 Conclusion

There are many kinds of cut in Puma. Which cut is to be used depends on the instrument used for cutting, object to be cut, how it is cut, what's the outcome of cutting and what is the purpose of cutting.

<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Manner</i>	<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Com</i>
Cut 1					khukuri
	Cut 2			Cut 2	Tree/log: foothold
			Cut 3		Long pieces
Cut 4	Cut 4				Axe: firewood
Cut 5			Cut 5		Basila: long and thin pieces
	Cut 6				Fodder: small branches
	Cut 7	Cut 7			Grass: instr. is dragged through the object
	Cut 8		Cut 8	Cut 8	Bamboo: to heal the sick
Cut 9	Cut 9	Cut 9			Scissors: hair
		Cut 10	Cut 10		Drag/pull gently: clean and smooth
*Cut 11					Achano: on which something is cut
	Cut 12				Firewood
	Cut 13				Fruit
	Cut 14	Cut 14			Vegetable: instrument is pulled though the object
		Cut 15			<i>Culêsi</i> object is pushed through the instrument
	Cut 16	Cut 16			Stick: surface is levelled
	Cut 17	Cut 17			Edible things: instr. is pulled

Sapir-Whorf hypothesis claims that language is the shaper of ideas, that we see the world in a particular way because of our language. The different Puma words for the same basic concept 'cut' seem to support the claim. In other languages, e.g. Nepalese and English, native speakers do not realize these 17 different kinds of cutting most probably because their languages do not have as many words as Puma has for the concept 'cut'.

## SEVENTEEN

# Oral Traditions of Karkha Singers of Nepal

C. M. BANDHU

### 17.1 Introduction

This paper attempts to purport the oral traditions of Karkha singers of Nepal. Karkhas are the oral poems specially performed by the traditional singers called traditionally a *Gaine*, which means a singer. Nowadays, they are known as the Gandharvas—the singers of the heaven. They come from the Dalit class who rank at the lowest level of the social hierarchy. They have been earning their livelihood by singing for their masters going from door to door with their *sarangi* in the villages of central Nepal. They are known as the singers of Karkhas, the stories of national heroes, their deeds and braveries. They also sing portions of Ramayana and Mahabharata, tragic narratives, various religious and seasonal songs, and songs of entertainment and satire. As Karkha singing was also part of Rajasthani, Punjabi and Hindi oral traditions, a kind of historical relationship can be traced.

The contents of these narrative poems are the deeds of the heroes who have been fighting for the protection and unification of the country against the British rulers. The Gandharvas served the general people by telling them the tales of the past and present. A ballad known as 'the message to the mother' has been most appealing to the mothers of the villages whose sons have been fighting on the frontiers.

Karkhas are started directly without any invocation or introduction. Some words, phrases or lines are repeated again



and again. The structural formulae of the Karkhas are different than those of other performances. The singers are the creators and performers at the same time. They have established a culture of Karkha listening which the people of old generation still demand, though the new generation prefer to listen to popular songs of folk styles but it seems that the days of the Karkha singing are gone. The trends that we find among these Karkha singers of Nepal are that there is less continuity and more change in their oral traditions.

### **17.2 Gaine/Gandharva: The Karkha Singers**

Traditionally the Karkha singers were called Gaines 'the singer'. Only for last half a century they have been given a prestigious name of the *Gandharva*. However a proverb says, "the Gaines, saints, snakes and tigers do not stay at a certain place". The main settlement of the Gandharva people is central hill districts of Nepal, especially of Gandaki and Lumbini zones. They are also in some other districts of Baglung and Pyuthan of the hills and migrated to Jajarkot, Surkhet and Kathmandu. They have also migrated recently to Jhapa in the eastern and Kailali and Kanchanpur in the western Terai of Nepal. According to the National Census of 2001, the total number of the Gaines (Gandharvas) is 5887.

Gandharvas are mainly Hindus and Batulechaur of Pokhara is their largest and oldest settlement. King Jagati Khan, who was later renamed as Kulamandan Shah, built his winter palace there. He was given the title of Shah by the Emperor of Delhi in the early years of 16th century A.D. His ancestors were Jaimal Rana and Patta Rana of Chittaur of Rajasthan and the Gandharvas still perform a narrative of Jayamal and Patta. It is said that king Jagati Khan brought and settled these musicians at Batulechaur for entertainment.

### **17.3 Karkha**

Karkha is a song "composed in memory of some feat or person" (Turner, 77). It is a narrative song in praise of the fighters of

war. There is the tradition of Karkha for the last five centuries. It is a pity that the Gandharvs, who make their livelihood by telling the history of others, cannot tell the history of their own. Now they feel dignified of being the descendents of the mythological Gandharva Rishi. Several versions of their mythological origin exist. But very little has been done about their social origin. The word “karkha” is also related to the tradition of Hindustani music. It is mentioned in *Ain-i Akbari* (1597) that the Dhadi musicians used to sing the warlike and heroic songs called *Karkha* and *Sadra* in various languages. Imam wrote in 1857 that Dharhi were said to be the oldest of the musician and that they were originally Rajputs who sang the warlike *Karkhas*. Later they developed their tradition of classical music in Punjab. Thus, the word “karkha” is found in Rajasthani, Punjabi, Lahanda, old Hindi and Nepali traditions. The Sikh Encyclopedia also says, “*Karkha* is a poetic form mostly used in war poetry in old Hindi.”

According to Faquirullah (1665/66) *dhadhis* were the oldest community of musicians, and originally Rajputs. They sang Karkha, which was “composed in four to eight lines to sing the praises of war lords, the brave soldiers, and to narrate the affairs of battles and war.” It is said that the Dhadis sang the ballad of Dhola Maru and the devotional songs. As a poetic genre the texts were in Doha couplets. The poet-saints of North India and Punjab also sang Sakhis in Doha couplets. After the Partition of India the tradition of Dhadis of Punjab developed with Sikh musical tradition while in Pakistan they have become the bearers of the Sufi traditions. It is interesting that the Nepalese Gandharvas do not know about the Dhadis. Probably Dhadi singer were appointed in the court of the Ranas in Nepal but their relation with the Ganes is also not known. One version claims that the Gandharvas came with the ancestors of Kulamandan Shah (G.C., 1987) while another describes about their migration to Nepal from Almora (Nepali, 2003). Thus, the social origin of the Gandharvas is still a matter for further work.

### 17.4 Gandharva and the Ragas

Some old Gandharva singers claim that there are several *raagas* of their music. The singers from Pokhara perform these *raagas* during different time of the day while the singers from Gorkha sing these songs in different seasons (Sharma, 2002). The names of these *raagas* are very much related to the musical traditions of north India. Some of them are: Belol *raag* (*raag* Bilawal), Dhanasiri *raag* (*raag* Dhanashri), and Malsiri *raag* (*raag* Malashri). Ramkali *raag* (*raag* Ramkali), Saranga *raag* and Maluwa *raag* (*raag* Malawa). The terms of some of the *raagas* are localized like **Baase raag** which is sung to request for a stay at night during their visits in the villages. The Gandharva singers learnt these ragas from their ancestors. But the singers of new generation do not practice the *raagas*, neither can they perform.

### 17.5 Devotional Songs: Mangal, Nirguns and Sakhis

Another traditional form of the Gandharva music is Mangal. Mangals are of devotional songs sung as prayers for Hindu gods and goddesses like Ganesh, Saraswati, Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar, Gorakhanath and Krishna Gandaki, etc. These songs describe the power of these classical and folk gods and goddesses and their devotion. Another type of the Gandharva devotional music is *nirgun*. The *nirguns* are the prayers to the invisible supreme god and spirituality. These *nirguns* again show their relationship with north Indian tradition of the saints and singers. The *sakhis* are closely related to the saint-poets of Punjab and northern India. Nepalese Gandharvas also sing *sakhis* when they perform the *karkhas*. The tradition of reciting of *sakhis* by the Gandharvas help to relate them with the Gorakhanath who had great impact in the oral traditions of Nepal and India.

### 17.6 Collection of the Karkhas: A Review of the Earlier Works

Both native and foreign scholars have studied various aspects

of the Gaine people, generally their music. A. A. Bake studied Gandharva folklore in 1959 which was followed by A. W. Macdonald. Macdonald studied the music of the Gains of Kathmandu and Salyan in 1961 and 1967 respectively. He also analysed how these songs of the Gandharvas reflect the life of the ordinary people. French scholars C. Jest (in 1965) and Mireille Helffer (in 1966) studied Gandharva music. In the same year, Rimal (1966) collected the Karkha of Bhakti Thapa while R. D. and L. L. (1967) introduced the *karkhas* in their book on Nepali songs. In 1970, Felix Hoerbuerger wrote on the Gandharvas and their songs and in 1975 Terry Beck collected some *karkhas* of the Gandharvas. Darnal (1979), while writing on the *karkhas* mentioned that Mireille Helffer has collected a total of 53 *karkhas*. Gurung (1980) wrote on Sarumai Rani, the heroine of a *karkha*, and established her as a historical person. Parajuli collected some *karkhas* while he was studying social ballads of Pokhara. Sardar Pande (1982) described the tradition of *karkha* singing in Nepalese society in his book of oral history. Giri (1983) collected the *karkha* of Nawalsing Baniya from Surkhet while Thapa and Subedi (1984) presented the text of *karkhas* in their book on Nepali folk literature. Subedi (1985) confirmed and added some more facts on the historicity of Sarumai Rani. An article by Manandhar (1987) also discussed the significance of *karkha*. Likewise G. C. (1987) presented historical aspect of the Gandharvas while Sharma (1993) described the folk literature of the Gandharvas in general. A study of the music of Gains was done by Hans Wisethaunet (1997) of Norway; a report on the Gains of Pokhara was also published by Kusumakar Neupane (2000). Subi Shaha (2003) wrote an article on Karkha performance while the anthropological dissertations of Emai Fumiko (2002), Beena Sharma (2003) and Stiphney Spray (2003) analysed the continuity and changes of the life and folklore of the Gandharvas. Purna Nepali published his book on the music and culture of Gandharvas in 2004. In 2005 a group of four scholars studied the folk life and folklore of the Gandharvas under Nepali Folklore Society in 2005.

Recently, awareness among the Gandharvas has been developed to promote their cultural heritage in an organized way. They also collaborated with other organizations. In this connection, Sarangi day is celebrated with seminars and performances and one of the paper presented by Raj Kumar Gandharva (2002) also gives brief information on their life and verbal art. Again in 2003 a three-day Gandharva festival was organized at Yala Maya Kendra by *the friends of Gandharvas*. Similarly one-day Karkha singing competition was held on 24 September 24 at Pokhara which was jointly organized by Gandharva Community Development Centre and Nepali Folklore Society. The 4th Sarangi day was celebrated by NFS and Gandharva Art and Culture Organization. Papers related to research activities were presented and folk songs and dances were performed.

### 17.7 Karkhas

A survey of the *karkhas* which are available at present are collected and published. They can be divided into three types: (1) Karkhas related to the fighters such as Balabhadra, Amar Singh, Bhakti Thapa, Budhi Bal Rana, (2) Karkhas of the kings and queens such as Sarumai Rani, Drabya Shah, Prithwi Narayan Shah, Kirti Mahoddam Shah, Shah Dynasty, Shrinanda, Birendra, Jung Bahadur Chandra Shamsheer etc., (3) Karkhas of the ordinary people such as Bal Thapa, Hom Bahadur Kaji, Padama Gurungseni, etc.

Balabhadra was the famous warrior of the Anglo-Nepal war. In *karkha*, the singer addresses the brave fighter Balabhadra who kept the dignity of the country. Nepalese fought bravely under his leadership. According to the *karkha*, Buddhi Bal died while fighting and his wife came forward and asked other brave fighters to fight against the enemies. Balabhadra himself was in the frontline of Gorkhali warriors. This was the war when Nepalese womenfolk encouraged their husbands to fight and they also participated in the war willingly.

The *karkhas* of Bhakti Thapa describes how he extended his territory of western part of Gorkha and went up to Mahakali.

The singers describe how he cut his head and offered to goddess Kalika. Kalika came herself to join his body and head and blessed that he would not die in any battlefield. After he crossed Mahakali river, he was asked to stop and was called off by the court of the king of Nepal. Bhimsen Thapa wanted to go to Kangara, the king sent Bhakti Thapa again. But suddenly, the Gorlali army was asked to return as the treaty was signed which is known as the Sugauli Treaty.

Nepali (2003) has given a text of the *karkha* of Prithwi Narayan Shah in his book. It describes the biography of Prithwi Narayan Shah. The *karkha* describes how he lived in Bhaktipur for three years and how his brother lost one of his eyes in the battle of Kirtipur. On the day of Indraajatra, he won Kathmandu and a foundation of modern Nepal was laid. The Gandharva used to sing the *karkha* of Madan Kirti Shah, who was the brother of Prithwi Narayan Shah. Nepali (2003) has also given the *karkhas* of the Shah dynasty and king Birendra. Another set of *karkhas* is related to the Rana Prime Ministers mainly Jung Bahadur and Chandra Shamsher. The texts of these Karkhas are longer and show variations. The Gandharvas sang the *karkha* of Jung Bahadur and Chandra Shamsher until the middle of the 20th century. Thus, during the Rana regime, these *karkhas* were quite popular.

Sometimes the story of Saruma Rani is also called a tragic *karkha*. Historians have cited that she was the queen of Jalal Shah, who was the son of Kulamandan Shah and the king of Kaski. Years passed and one day, queen Saruma found that her hair had turned white. She remembered her parents and asked for king's consent to visit her parental home. The king said that it was rainy season and a difficult time to travel. So she could go after the rains were over and he offered her to make a golden blouse. But she replied that she would wear the golden blouse as long as the king is alive but she might not see her parents. As she was determined to go, preparations were made. But all of them indicated some inauspicious happenings. Any way, she arrived at her parent's home overcoming all the troubles. The step-mother asked the daughter to sit on the silver seat and her

son-in-law to sit by the side of the door. Then Saruma greeted her father who asked her to sit on the golden seat and requested his son-in-law to sit on a diamond seat. When Saruma was out for bathing, the step-mother gave poisoned food to the son-in-law and he died. After she returned, she found that the king was dead. Saruma burnt herself on the pyre of her husband cursing for a complete loss of her step-mother's family.

Gandharvas of this locality also sing the story of queen Mana Koila. King Udauchandra of 12 years left his queen Mana Koila who was just five years old when they were married. After 12 years of their separation, the queen expresses her pain of separation. She remembers her husband and feels that she has seen him in dreams. When a crow made some sounds on the branch of sandalwood, she expected a message from her husband. Seasons come and go but the king never came. Every ritual was performed but nothing was successful. This is the only narrative which contains a *Barahamasa* 'description of twelve months' and is peculiar to the literature of Nepali and north Indian languages.

### 17.8 Characteristics of the Karkhas

*Karkhas* are generally started without invocation but are closed with some marks of ending. Sometimes they introduce themselves and ask for some rewards for singing. In one of the *karkhas* of Chandra Shamsher, the singers ask for the rewards of gold and silver as well as a horse which the minister used to ride on. *Karkhas* are composed in asymmetrical lines with repetitive words and phrases showing the nature of a formulaic poetry. Unlike the semi-literary forms, *karkhas* are performed from their memory. They can recite the names of characters, the years, months, dates and times of the events. *Karkhas* also have variations because of time and place as found in other genres of folklore. During the performance, the *karkha* singers sing the text and sometimes explain and tell the details, play the Sarangi and also express by body movements and dances if the contexts demand.

### 17.9 Change of Style: Some New Narratives

'*Danpe ra Murali*' (The Pheasant and Murali Bird) is most important symbolic narrative that the Gandharvas have created. In this narrative, the pheasant, the national bird of Nepal, is symbolized as an inspired young man. The story extends from birth to his tragic death. The narrative symbolizes the individual and national characters through the picturesque narration of the growth of the Danphe. The narrative depicts vivid life of the ordinary Nepalese and the narration is full of folk similes and metaphors. The *lahure danphe* dreams for a beautiful mate, he decided to set out in search of the "murali cari" or "murali bird". He was able to meet and persuade the beautiful bird "murali cari" for a conjugal life. One day, the Danphe entered into a millet field and fell in a trap of the owner of the field.

During the unification period, the *karkha* singers sang to unite and join the army to protect the country. The heroic *karkhas* were most popular in those days. After the Anglo-Nepal War, the war itself was a matter of *karkha* singers. After the world wars, they sang the events of the wars. Thousands of Nepalese were recruited in the British army and recruiting of the Nepalese took place at Lahore. When they returned, they were called *lahure* by the villagers. This word became synonymous to those who go out of the country for earning.

'Lahureko sandesh' is a message of Lahure to his mother who died while fighting at the frontiers. It has become the most touching performance of the *karkha* singers. The message of the Lahure to his mother sang by one of the most celebrated *karkha* singer of the time, Jhalak man Gandharva, is very popular. Pande (1982) has rightly remarked that Gandharvas served as messengers especially to the families of the lahures who were fighting in the battlefields. In those days when there was no modern media of information, the Gandharvas were the only source of information. They were able to tell what is going on at the frontiers, in the capital of the country and court of the king of Nepal and also in the neighbourhood.



### 17.10 Some Semi-Literary Texts

Though orality has been always the primary medium of expression in Gandharva folklore, they have used some creative works as written texts in their repertoire. Some of them are related to accidental events of the society termed as *ghatana*. It is a new genre development in Gandharva community which describes a true event like self-sacrifice, murder, earthquake, firing, etc. As Ghatanas are the real events of the past, people pay attention to listen to them. Some of the popular *ghatanas* among the Gandharvas are related to (1) a man who killed his sister-in-law in Chitaur in 1993, (2) how a maternal uncle killed his daughter-in-law, (3) how a daughter killed her mother, (4) how a father killed his daughter, (5) how Bishnu Maya Thakurni killed her son and daughter, and (6) how Bishnu Maya Gurungseni killed the robbers. This genre is found as a composed text by someone and the lines are symmetrical. Sometimes this appears as a *kavita* (poem) with or without the name of the author.

Gandharvas contributed to popularize the semi-literary genres of *Ramayana* and parts of *Mahabharata*. The texts of *Ramayana* that they sing show that they were written by someone. Unlike the *karkhas*, they are literary works. But the *Gandharvas* are not aware of the authorship of the texts. They sing because the religious-minded people in the villages want to listen to them. Some of them are ritualistic and contextual. For example, Krishna Lila is sung during the time of Krishnashtami and the *Ramayana* on the day of Ram Navami. In Pokhara, the *Gandharvas* sing a version of *Ramayana* which is written by Rabi Lal Sharma in 1940. There are other versions of *Ramayana* too. But the *Gandharvas* themselves are not aware of the printed versions and their authors. Similarly a devotional song composed by Mitrasen Thapa is also being sung by the *Gandharvas* though they did not identify Mitrasen Thapa as one of pioneers of the Nepali folk songs. *Swasthani*, which is read as a prose text in Hindu houses in the month of *magha*, middle of January to February, is also sung by the *Gandharvas*.

*Swasthani* is portion of Skanda Purana related to the story of Shiva and Parvati. These texts do not show the structure of the *karkhas* which are merely oral, but they are similar to *ghatanas* to some extent and share the nature of semi literary type of work. These are composed by someone, but are transmitted orally by the Gandharvas. The oral versions of these texts, which are independently recited, also have variations.

### **17.11 Continuity and Change among the *Karkha Singers***

There is continuity in Gandharva oral traditions and those who are aware of protecting their cultural heritage want to continue them. In those old days, Gandharvas probably did several works for their livelihood such as singing with *sarangi*, making *sarangi*, fishing and faith healing. For centuries, no land was registered for these Gandharvas (Pande, 1982). Only after the dawn of democracy were they able to acquire some land to build their houses and to cultivate. But they were skilled in music than the average Nepali who do farming and animal husbandry. Traditionally the Gandharvas traveled from door to door singing on their Sarangi and some of them have maintained this tradition even today. They used to go for a short visit around the village and come back to their residence in the evening or they used set out for a longer period for weeks and travel distant districts. During their time of visits they used to sing various types of songs depending on the demands of the listeners.

In the process of modernization, the lifestyles of the Gandharvas have also changed. Those living in Kathmandu and Pokhara are in close contacts with the foreigners. Some of the good Ghandharva singers have been appreciated by the native and foreign music lovers alike. Many of the people of younger generation go to school and are attracted to other types of jobs than heir traditional profession.

The thinking that they have been destined to begging has been changed. Now, they think that they are artists and professionals. They sing contemporary songs, satires, *mangals*,

prayers, *ghatana*—the genres that they know. But, the *karkhas* are disappearing. It was observed that not many *karkhas* were sung during the *karkha* competition held in September 2005. They participate in the festivals, in competitive programmes, school activities and celebrations, etc. They are also engaged in radio and television programmes. The Gandharvas also participate in the entertainments programmes of the hotels and restaurants. In most of the performances, the male singers sing and play the *sarangi*. There is only one female Gandharva singer and a *sarangi* player Tika Maya who served for some years in Kurseong and Kathmandu Radio stations, but she has now returned to her ancestral profession of earning her livelihood by singing door to door with her *sarangi*. During the festivals the women sing the songs of Tij and Rateli in their own group. The old women used to sing *mahal* during the rituals related to the life cycles, but this practice is almost stopped. Today, women in the Gandharva community participate in the singing of general, satirical and seasonal songs like Deusi and Bhailo. But, again 12 years of internal conflict had put an end to many folklore events that were held at night. Schooling for children, opportunities in other jobs, migration, modernization and lack of awareness as well as resources for cultural preservation have helped to bring a change in Gandharva community. Continuity in the tradition can be seen, but there is less continuity and more change.

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## EIGHTEEN

# A Comparative Study of the Hopmachham and Ordinary Song in Puma

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MARTIN GAENZSLE

### 18.1 Introduction

*Puma Rai* language is a *Sino-Tibetan Kiranti* language spoken in Southern part of *Khotang* district, east of Nepal. Puma, which is also known as the southern *Kiranti* languages, is spoken in the area which is sandwiched between two big *Kiranti Rai* language, i.e. *Bantawa* and *Chamling*. Multilingualism is the main feature of this community. There are many kinds of interesting and undocumented features and aspects of Puma Rai language and culture, preserved very well by this *Rai Kiranti* group. A project named *Chintang Puma Documentation Programme* run by *Leipzig University of Germany and Tribhuvan University of Nepal* is documenting the language and ethnographic functions in audio-video form to supply in archives. The programme has found many important and researchable data.

Kiranti community has rich cultural rituals. Some are well preserved from the earliest time while some others are dying and some are already dead. The community had a vast store of *chham*, songs, some of which are extinct, i.e. *Rungpuwachham*, *Hakparechham*, *Yari/hiyo / hiyarichham*, *Saima/ sahimachham*, but some are still preserved, viz., *Sakelachham*, *Dolokupmachham*,

*Risiya/risiwa*, *Hopmachham* which are sung for different purposes on specific occasions. This paper focuses on an endangered melody known as *Hopmachham* which is extinct in several other Kiranti languages, e.g. Bantawa, Chamling, Chintang. *Hopmachham* is a song which is sung by members of the Puma Rai community. This song narrates the origin and development of the earth and man. To prepare this paper, audio-video data of the Chintang Puma Documentation Project has been used. The data are from both the ritual texts as well as from everyday conversation, and it should be noted that the language of a ritual text and that of an everyday conversation differ.

*Hopmachham* is a great song based on Kiranti scriptural music. Etymologically, it is made up of two words *hopma*, 'drink' and *chham*, 'song': a drinking song or more accurately a song that makes you feel drunk with its charm. In other words, listening to this song one is drugged and enchanted with its magical properties. In order to sing this song, the knowledge of Kiranti oral tradition (Mundhum) is necessary. According to the Kiranti belief, not anybody can sing the song even if he knows it; only the person who has gained the knowledge to sing it in his dream and has not learned it, can sing it.

Ordinary song, on the other hand, is a part of living language, which is also found in many Kiranti languages. Puma Rais sing many kinds of ordinary songs on various occasions, i.e. in festivals, at works, on the way, etc. The ordinary songs are easier to understand than the cultural songs such as *Hopmachham*. The most popular ordinary song in Rai community is 'Sakela song', which is sung on the occasion of the greatest *Kirati* festival '*Sakela/Sakenwa/Tosi*'. The Puma Rai community celebrates *Sakela* as *Phagu* and they called the song as '*Phagu chham*'.

The ordinary songs express the real experiences to their life and the world. Especially, the ordinary songs are sung to express love, humanity, affection, jokes, awakenings, loneliness, sorrow, etc. Almost all ordinary songs are shorter

and easier to sing and understand. It can be sung either mono or duet. Ordinary songs have not any specific time and place to sing. Various types of ordinary songs recorded by Chintang Puma Documentation Programme are used to prepare this paper.

This paper presents a case study of a ritual song. *Hopmachham* and other ordinary songs found in *Puma Rai* community are different in many respects. The *Hopmachham* gives more focus on the historical event, especially mythology which is not found in the ordinary songs. The ordinary songs are focused on the musicality only but the *Hompmachham* is rather focused on both musicality and the content. The content is strong which is based in the *Mundum* philosophy. So, this paper attempts to draw the typical characteristics of the *Hopmachham* and the ordinary songs which are sung in the Puma community. The *Hopmachham* is sung by only *shamans* to a large extent and knowledgeable elders to a certain extent so singers of the *Hompmachham* are found very few in the *Puma Rai* community. On the contrary, the ordinary songs are sung by everybody irrespective generation, age, sex, etc. in the Puma language. This paper presents short video clips of both types of songs for a few minutes. And it expresses and analyses the different aspects like setting, place, status of singer etc. of both kinds of songs.

## 18.2 Language, Literature and Songs

Puma is an endangered language, which is spoken in the hilly regions of eastern Nepal. The total speakers of this language is only 4310 according to the national census, 2001. The speakers are from only a few villages of Khotang and Udayapur districts. The well spoken areas of the language are Diplung, Mauwabote, Devisthan, Pauwasera VDCs of Khotang district and a few villages such as Siddipur, Chaudandi, Beltar and Basaha of Udayapur district. Due to the migration, interlanguage marriage, lack of education in mother tongue and lack of preservation, the speakers of this



language are decreasing day by day. Even the speakers from the generation of 60 are using Nepali language in their daily conversation.

There is not much literature in Puma. Only oral tradition of the literature are found. The speakers use it traditionally and only for cultural functions. They use the literature of their language to say myths, folktales and sing some songs only.

There were many traditional/cultural songs in the past such as *Rungpuwachham*, *Hakparechham*, *Yari/hiyo/hiyarichham*, *Saima/sahimachham*, *Hopmachham*, *Dolokupmachham*, *Risiya/risiwa*. Most of them are extinct. The singers of such great cultural songs are very hard to find. These songs are getting extinct because they are not in written forms, they are sung on specific occasions only and they can be sung only by those shamans who have gained the knowledge to sing them in the dream by the grace of god. *Hopmachham* is only one traditional/cultural as well ritual song still found in Puma Rai community and thanks to Chintang Puma Documentaion Project which has recorded it in audio-video.

The young literate people of the Puma community have started creating literature in the Puma language, which is mostly songs, short poems, ghazals, short stories, etc.

### **18.3 Literal Contents in Hompachham and Ordinary Songs**

#### ***Hopmachham***

*Hopmachham* is song in ritual language which is different from ordinary songs not only in content but also in language. Seven *shamans* singing *hopachham* were audio-video recorded by CPDP. Most singers are above 60 and out of the seven recordings, one is a general talk on *hopmachham* delivered by Sain Dhoj Rai (75) of Mauwabote. According to him, *hopmachham* is a great tradition to song which is sung in various ceremonies or functions.

- Man Bahadur Rai (66), a resident of Diplung-8, was only one who sings *hopmachham* while dancing the *Phagu*. By dancing on the beatings of drum and cymbal, in this song, he has briefly narrated the origin of mankind and the world. It is a great old tradition that forms a bond between man and god.

- It is good to make a bond between human with the goddess.  
(hopma\_dance.003)

In the rest five recordings done by CPDP, *hopmachham* songs are sung by *shamans* or ritual priests above 65 years in age. Hopmacham\_01 by Kamal Bahadur Rai (71) of Mauwabote-3, hopmacham\_03 by Man Bahadur Rai (78) of Mauwabote-2, hopmacham\_04 by Lal Dhan Rai (76) of Diplung-7, hopmacham\_05 by Guman Sing Rai (73) of Diplung-7 and hopmacham\_06 by Dal Bahadur Rai (83) of Diplung-6. While Guman Sing Rai and Dal Bahadur Rai are reknowned *shamans*, others are ritual priests called *ngapong*. All of them have sung *hopmachham* to explain the origin of the gods/goddesses, earth, sky and everything existing in this world from the very earliest time. They have narrated the happenings in this world from the

time of *Sumnima* and *Paruhang* (the greatest creators according to the *Mundhum* mythology). All of them said that it would take at least seven days without a break to sing *hopmachham* completely because the song deals with the origin and history of not only the mankind but of the whole universe.

- c. i. *aseyu -donkoŋ* *nam - yuŋŋ* *nawari* *suntumri - lam*  
*-a -kina*  
 very.begening sun - stay ancestral. ancestral.way -  
 -GEN.ABLT -PST -PTCP way path  
 Through the ancient, time-honoured path of the elders...  
 (hopmacham\_01.022.a)
- ii. *decha niki dondam mu khuwa mu namyuŋ -a*  
*-ma -ku -e*  
 how CONN ancestral. do ancestral. do to.exist -PST  
 talk -INF talk -INF -EMPH -TEK.  
 GEN  
 How to talk on the ancestral talk for the first existence...  
 (hopmacham\_03.03)
- iii. *hvi busuyu -i busu -i -lo depa - lis -a nɔmma - lis -a*  
 EXCLA long.time. long.time. what - what -  
 ago -EMPH ago -EMPH become -PST become -PST  
 -SIM  
 What was happened in the very begening...  
 (hopmacham\_04.01)
- iv. *hai sari mun -ma henkhama mun -ma mamun -sa*  
*-ben*  
 EMPH disease originate earth originate to.originate  
 -INF -INF -SIM -NMLZ  
 When the disease and the earth was originating...  
 (hopmacham\_05.005.b)
- v. *sumnima -i duŋ -iŋkɔŋ paruhang -bo duŋ -iŋkɔŋ*  
*a\_goddess -PST age -DOWN. a\_god -GEN age -DOWN.*  
*ABLT ABLT*  
*namyuŋ -moho namyuŋ -a -o*  
 to.exist -PTCL to.exist -PST -VOC  
 It existed/originated in the time of Sumnima and  
 Paruhang. (hopmacham\_06.04)

*Hopmachham* can also be sung as ritual journey. There are many ritual functions in Puma Rai community performed by shamans or priests through ritual journey. In the recording *hopmacham\_01*, Kamal Bahadur Rai goes on a ritual journey while singing *hopmachham*. The singer walks along the river from the place where he starts his singing, then travels upto *Chatara Wadera*, which is accepted as the holy place in *Mundhum* philosophy. Then the singer takes a boat up to there, where *Arun*, *Tamor* and *Sunkoshi* rivers meet together. After visiting *Chatara/Wadera*, the singers returns at the same place from where he started singing the song. But he does not forget to explain that all these incidents happen through the permission of the God *Paruhang*. He prays to raise the soul and luck of every listners, singers as well as of the forthcoming generations.

- d. *uj -ko          rɔŋri sikhi   rɔŋri hoŋcha   rɔŋri chiya*  
 1SPOSS -GEN luck pure luck human luck life.expectancy  
*man- dha          man- dha          onei*  
 IMP.NEG- fall IMP.NEG- fall VOC  
 My good luck, pure luck, human luck, may the life span  
 not be diminished! (*hopmacham\_01.243*)16:48

In *hopmacham\_04*, Lal Dhan Rai expressed his view on how to live and let others to live in this world. He appeals to live happily following and preserving the elders' customs and traditions.

- e. i. *has -i   mu -so   khel -i          mu -so   lappa          mu -so*  
 laugh do -SIM game -EMPH do -SIM competition. do -SIM  
 -EMPH in.dance  
*sili          mu -so          namyuy -in -ne*  
 dancing.style do -SIM to.exist -1ns -PURP  
 Lets live laughing, playing, and dancing.  
 (*hopmacham\_04.20.a*)
- ii. *papa   riti          namyuy -yaŋ -so          namyuy -i -ne*  
 father custom be.spread -IPFV -SIM be.spread -1/2p -PURP  
 Lets spread the long lasting customs of our fore-father.  
 (*hopmacham\_04.23*)

Guman Sing Rai, in *hopmacham\_05*, narrates that termite was the first living being in this world and what was its role to build earth in the pre-historic age. The Kirati mythology *Mundhum* is varifeid by this *hopmachham*.

- |    |               |                 |                   |                           |                  |
|----|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| f. | <i>hai ma</i> | <i>henkhama</i> | <i>mun -ma</i>    | <i>mamun -a -o</i>        | <i>boboyoŋma</i> |
|    | EMPH FILLER   | the.earth       | originate<br>-INF | to.originate<br>-PST -VOC | termite          |

The termite was the origin of the earth. (hopmacham\_05.011)

No female singer of *hopmacham* was found, although there are some female *shamans*. Most Puma people cannot understand the semantic meaning of *hopmachham*. Only the persons who sing it and only the persons from old generation, who have interest in it, understand the semantic meaning of *hopmachham*. Every line of *hopmachham* keeps equal importance in mythological or cultural varies. There is not any specific criterion for the lines and stanza in *hopmachham*. It is known as song but done as a narrative story.

## Ordinary Songs

Many ordinary songs are found in Puma community sung by every gender and every age group. There are a few young Puma people who have started to write songs to sing on various occasions, specially in two festivals—Phagu dance and Tihar (Deepawali). Chintang Puma Documentation Project could record some such Puma ordinary songs. They are 26 in number and can be sung for the various purposes. A few songs, which have their base in the folk-songs, have made their appearance in local magazines. These songs are easy to understand in comparison to the ritual songs such as *hopmachham*.

According to the singing place, season or time, ordinary songs can be divided as follows:

### A. Festivals

There are many festivals celebrated in Puma Rai community. Some of them are celebrated nationally such as *Tihar (Deepawali)*. Some of them are celebrated only in Kirat Rai community such

as *Sakenwa/Sakela* or *Phagu*. Here we discuss only two festivals in which ordinary songs are sung.

### *Phagu*

*Phagu* is a great Puma festival, which is celebrated as *Sakela/Sakewa/Toshi* in other Rai group once a year at the month of Baisakh of Bikram Sambat calander. On this occasion, Puma people dance and sing in groups. They sing in their own language as well as in Nepali. Most *Phagu* songs which were recorded by CPDP, appeal the people to follow and preserve their culture, i.e. the example numbers g) and h). *Phagu* songs can express love, affection and friendship too, i.e. Example number I). *Phagu* songs have couplets and only the second line in the couplet marks the theme of the poem, as is shown in g.ii), h.ii) and i.ii).

- g. i. *wahut -i    ɲasa kupp -i -ne    soi soila    ho    soi soila*  
 rivulet    fish pick.up    VOC - VOC    EXCLA    VOC - VOC  
 -DOWN.LOC    -1ns -HORT  
 soi soila, let's catch fish in the rivulet (phagu\_song\_01.04).  
 LR(38/F) & DMR(40/F)
- ii. *ke    puma    ʝɔmma tupp -i -ne    soi soila    ho    soi soila*  
 1pi Puma total    meet -1ns    VOC - VOC    EXCLA    VOC - VOC  
 -HORT  
 soi soila let's meet all Puma. (phagu\_song\_01.06) -LR(38/F)  
 & DMR(40/F)
- h. i. *bela -na    bokwa    selele    selele*  
 a\_plant -FOC    leaf    IDEOPH    IDEOPH  
 The sound of the sinkauli leaves "as the wind blew them".  
 (pum\_song\_07.01) MR, DuR,DR,DeR
- ii. *phagu    lak    mu -e -ne    pelele    pelele*  
 nature. candi.    do -1/2p -OPT    queue.    queue.  
 worship dance    of.people    of.people  
 Let us celebrate the Phagu dance in a row. (pum\_song\_07.02.a) MR, DuR,DR,DeR
- i. i. *dabe -na    bit -ma    chimarɔŋ    chin -ma -kina*  
 a.large.deadly.    put.on -INF    waist.band    tighten -INF  
 knife -EMPH    -PTCL  
 To put Khukuri on big waist belt. (pum\_song\_19.016)  
 DMR(69/M)

- ii. *ŋa -na ben -oŋ khɔnna sin -a -kina soi - soi*  
 1s -EMPH come.level 2s know -PST -PTCL VOC - VOC  
 -1sS/P.PST

I came here seeing just you. (pum\_song\_19.017) DMR(69/M)

### *Tihar*

Puma people also celebrate the *Tihar* as a great national festival once in a year. The young people organize *Deusi* team (a group of people who goes door to door singing and dancing) at every villages. They sing mostly in Nepali language and sometimes in their own language. Four *Tihar* songs were found audio recorded 10 years before. Those are the first documented songs in the Puma language by Puma themselves. CPDP has three recordings of Puma songs, which are sung in *Tihar*. One gives information about the *Tihar*, the rest two greets and bids farewell.

- j. i. *tihar ta -yaŋ ɔkdoŋdo*  
 tihar come -IPFV one - year -GEN.LOC  
 Tihar comes once a year. (pum\_song\_09.01 BR-26/F)
- ii. *buŋwa bet -yaŋ khim - cheu -do*  
 flower bloom -IPFV house - side -GEN.LOC  
 Flower blooms near the house. (pum\_song\_09.03) BR-26/F
- k. i. *doŋbuŋ saskritik klɔb -bo sewa sewa jhara -lai*  
 a\_club cultural club -GEN greeting greeting all -DAT  
 Dongbung cultural club greets to everyone. (pum\_song\_12.01-BBR/M)
- ii. *sarɔŋgi oŋ mandola -bo sewa sewa*  
 a\_musical. CONN a\_drum -GEN greeting greeting  
 instrument  
*jhara -lai jhara -lai*  
 all -DAT all -DAT  
 Greetings with Sarangi and Madal to everyone! ((pum\_song\_12.03-BBR/M)
- l. i. *mama papa -ci -o ta -a -nin -ka deusi khipd -yaŋ -so*  
 mother father -ns -VOC come -PST singing- play -IPFV  
 -1ns -e dancing -CVB  
 Oh! elders! We came playing Deusi. (pum\_song\_11.01-NR/M/25)

- ii. *aipɔdɔŋ -lai puks -i -ka -ne sewa mu -yaŋ -so*  
 this.year -DAT go -3P -e -HORT salute do -IPFV -CVB  
 Let us go, for this year greeting to you. (pum\_song\_11.03-NR/M/25)

### B. Anytime

There are many ordinary songs which can be sung anytime and at any place. Most of these are documented as folk songs, which appeal on the awakening of the people, show expectation towards the clan brothers or other relatives beyond the native land, express love, loneliness and romance. Most of the *Tihar* and *Phagu* songs are also related with similar themes. In the following example, singer Prem Dhoj Rai (54/M) makes an appeal to the Pume people to wake up.

- m. i. *puma -ci -o hen -na ke cha khups -i -ne*  
 Sub-ethnic\_ now 1pi ADD wake.up -1/2p -PURP  
 group -ns -VOC -EMPH  
 Now, let's wake up all of us Pumas. (pum\_song\_13.01)
- ii. *henkhama khaŋ -so khaŋ -so puks -i -ne*  
 the.earth see -SIM see -SIM go -1/2p -PURP  
 Seeing the earth, let's go ahead. (pum\_song\_13.02)

Mina Rai (30/F) and Kumari Rai (28/F) have expressed their love for the brother who is going abroad to earn money. It shows the real socio-economic culture of the community. The following is the first stanza of the song sung by them.

- n. i. *daju khɔnna tɔ - puŋ -yaŋ bidesh*  
 elder.brother 2s PTCL - go -IPFV aboard  
 Brother, you going far places. (pum\_song\_17.01)
- ii. *ŋa na yuŋ -ŋa kabo -ŋe ka -asa*  
 1s PTCL stay -1ss/P.NPST 2sPOSS -EMPH 2sPOSS- hope  
 I wait you expecting you ever. (pum\_song\_17.03)

There are some songs that express love and loneliness in the absence of lover or spouse. Sakunta Rai(29/F) has expressed her affectional feelings through sakun\_song\_01.



- o. i. *uy - minma hu - hot -yaŋ khɔnna -lai -ŋa lam -so*  
 1SPOSS - heart move.round - 2s -DAT -EMPH search -CVB  
 TEL -IPFV  
 My heart is moving around looking for you. (sakun\_song\_01.01)
- ii. *demkha yuŋ-ma khap -so khap -so demkha dha -ma si -so*  
 when stay weep weep when fall die  
 -INF -CVB -CVB -INF -CVB  
 Sometimes to live crying and sometimes getting fall as die.  
 (sakun\_song\_01.02)

There are also romantic songs sung in mono and duet in ordinary language in Puma. Romantically mono songs are pum\_song\_15, pum\_song\_16, pum\_song\_20 and so on. In pum\_dohori\_01 and pum\_dohori\_02, Mitra Man Rai (71/M) and Padam Maya Rai (68/F) sang the duet song romantically. It is interesting that Mitra Man Rai and Padam Maya Rai are husband and wife in real life. These kinds of songs show humour, recreation and intense.

- p. i. *chɔmkɔne bhoŋo chɔmmɔmɔ*  
 colourful vest IDEOPH  
 Colourful vest is Chhammama. (pum\_dohori\_01.05) -MMR
- ii. *he kanchi -o cham mu -ci -ne amɔmɔ*  
 VOC last.fem.sibling -VOC song do -d -HORT IDEOPH  
 Oh! My dear, let's sing a great song. (pum\_dohori\_01.05)  
 -MMR
- q. i. *khɔnna -a nicce -ŋa tɔ -mu -u -ku khɔnna -a maya -ŋa*  
 2s -ERG really 2- do -3P -NMLZ 2s -ERG love -EMPH  
 -EMPH  
 Do you really love to me? (pum\_dohori\_01.05) -PMR
- ii. *atdi -ŋa ŋa -lai khɔnna -a maya tɔ -mu -oŋ nɔŋ*  
 the.last. 1s-DAT 2s-ERG love 2-do -1ss/P.PST PTCL  
 day -EMPH  
*nalo tɔpɔ -i nɔŋ*  
 COND understand -3P PTCL  
 If you loved me before, understand yourself. (pum\_dohori\_01.05) -PMR

## 18.4 Short Comparative Analyses of Hopmachham and Ordinary songs

### *History*

The elder people who know a little about *hopmachham*, believe that *hopmachham* is a very old tradition of singing in Kiranti communities. People assume that the origin of this song is as old as the Kiranti cultures and *Mundhum/Mundum* philosophy. But ordinary songs are modified form of previous language and songs as *hopmachham*.

### *Historical/cultural importances*

*Hopmachham* is precious because it contains pre-historic knowledge about mankind and universe and because it is related to the *Mundhum/Mundum* ideology and Kiranti cultures. Ordinary songs, on the other hand, are related to everyday life and carry modern trend in development of literature of Puma language.

### *Singers*

The singers of *hopmachham* are almost above 60 years, They are *shamans* who have gained knowledge to sing it in their dream by the grace of god. Only these *shamans* can sing it. But the singers of ordinary songs are from all kinds of age group who know the Puma language. Numerically, ordinary songs are sung by young generations.

### *Singing time and place*

There is specific time and place to sing *hopmachham*, but there is no limitation of time and place to sing ordinary songs.

### *Begginning and ending antaraa*

The starting line of each stanza in *hopmachham* is mostly started with a vocative word, ordinary song has no such speciality.

### ***Use of songs***

The using purpose of *hopmachham* is specially to explain the origin of the world to the listners. It is an oral culture. Ordinary songs can be sung on any occasion such as festivals, works, etc.

### ***Restrictions in singing song***

Only *shamans* who have gained the knowledge to sing it in their dream can sing *Hopmachham*. It is, therefore, restricted. But there is no such restriction to sing an ordinary song: anyone can sing it.

### ***Status/influences***

*Hopmachham* is highly endangered because it is sung by only the elderly *shamans* of 70 and because they are allowed to sing by their god. After the death of these *shamans* it might be extinct as the new generation is not learning the Puma language let alone learn shamanism. In comparison to *hopmachham*, ordinary songs is in better position, that is, they do not seem to be in the danger of being extinct.

## **18.5 Some Special Features of Hopmachham and Ordinary Songs**

Special features of *hopamachham* and ordinary songs are given below in points.

### ***Homachham*<sup>4</sup>**

- *Hopmachham* is learnt in dream.
- Only a few singers of *hopmachham* are left in Puma Rai community.
- It is a verbal and ritual journey.
- *Hopmachham* and *mundum* are strongly related.
- It explains the origin or creation of the world.
- Queries and answers between two parties (duet).
- It is sung both in pleasure and tragedy.

- It is sung at work and on cultural rites.
- It's the origin of many kinds of Kiranti songs.
- It's a historical oral document.
- It is related to the real life and living style.
- It represents endangered culture.

### *Ordinary Songs*

- Ordinary songs are learnt in real life through practice.
- The singers of ordinary songs are increasing day by day in Puma Rai community.
- Ordinary songs are influenced by modernization in the songs of other languages.
- Ordinary songs and a small part of living of the people are related.
- Can be sung on every occasion and everywhere.
- Found in individual writing tradition but singing is found in mono, duet or group.
- Some documented by the native speakers are found.

### 18.6 Conclusion

*Hopmachham* and *chham* are etymologically not so different. But *hopmachham* is not an ordinary song. It is a great storage of cultural heritage in *Puma Rai* community. It explains all the history of origin relating to living being to human performances such as language, cultures, etc. *Hopmachham* is very much endangered because there are many restrictions to sing this song. Only a few old people who are alive can sing it. Proper documentation and preservation of such a great mythological and historical wealth is, therefore, absolutely necessary. Ordinary songs are not really related with *hopmachham* in these days but it was a small part of *hopmachham* in the past. It can be sung at any time and everywhere to express every human feeling and different emotions. The practice of singing and documenting it by the same community members is growing by the day.

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# Gojri Discourse Profile Analysis

RON AHLBRECHT

## 19.1 Introduction

This paper uses a 'profile analysis' of two stories to discover the grammatical forms used by Gojri speakers to tell a good story. These grammatical forms will be seen to be the tools for setting the stage, building tension, reaching a climax, releasing or resolving tension, and wrapping up. For some narratives, there may also be a formal title at the top and a characteristic 'The End' (at the end, of course).

Profile as used here is a graphic portrayal of the linguistic reflexes of mounting and declining tension (or excitement) within a discourse (Christian 1983: 19). The profile of a wave displays the degree of tension as it builds and fades with the excitement contained in the 'plot' of the story. Of particular importance is the ability to draw a wave-like 'picture', or an 'excitement wave' of a story and then describe the features, both surface and notional<sup>1</sup> which brings on the tension or loosen it up. The possible surface structure slots include the title, aperture or 'opening line(s)', the setting of the stage, episode(s) which build the tension, the peak or highest point of tension, the easing of tension, and the finis or 'closing line(s)', i.e. a simple phrase like 'The End'. In the notional structure, we have exposition, inciting moment, climax, denouement and conclusion. While these may correlate with

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<sup>1</sup> Notional structure relates to the 'understood' meaning which does not necessarily correspond to the literal meanings of words or structures used.

the surface structure features, they are not the same and may be substantially skewed by metaphorical usages, or by some embedding of other discourse levels and types.

This paper begins with an overview of the discourse constituency structure normally found in Gojri narrative discourse. Next, some distinctives are given for the four Gojri narratives forming the basis of the current study. This is followed by a profile analysis of two of the narratives showing clearly, 'how the plot thickens (and thins)' in these and other stories.

## **19.2 Discourse Constituents**

Discourse structure consists of various surface and notional structure constituents. The correlation of these notional and surface structure features is shown in Figure 1. In Longacre's model, plot 'is the notional structure of narrative discourse' (1996: 33). He uses the term to refer to such structure regardless of the presence of a perceptible climax. In this way the term has broader significance and is a useful device to 'uncover emic structures in given languages'. Although there are similar features between the two structure levels, one should not expect a complete correspondence of the constituents. Figure 1, below, shows suggested correlation within a narrative discourse that does include climax. On the bottom of the chart is what Longacre calls 'the rhetorician's schema', the notional structure plot which can be used to get at the emic structures that build each section of the discourse. Since the surface structure features of Title and Aperture don't show up on this deeper level, it begins with (1) exposition described as the 'lay it out' stage or setting episode. This is where we learn important details of who, where, when, and/or what the story is about. Next, the (2) inciting moment comes in to 'Get something going'. Here, 'the planned and predictable is broken up in some manner'; something happens to create tension or bring a problem that must be resolved. Further episodes (one or more) continue with (3) developing conflict, and 'Keep the heat on',



Surface structure	Title	Aperture	Stage	(Prepeak episodes)	Peak episode	Peak' episode	Postpeak' episode	Closure	Finis
		Formulaic Phrase/sentence	Expository paragraph/discourse Narrative paragraph/discourse	Paragraph/discourse (usually narrative or dialogue) articulated by means of: 1. Time horizons in succession 2. Back reference in paragraph/discourse to preceding 3. Conjunctions 4. Juxtaposition, i.e. clear structural transition to another paragraph or embedded discourse	Paragraph/discourse Marked by: Rhetorical underlining Concentration of participants Heightened vividness Shift of tense Shift to more specific person Narr-pseudo-dialogue-drama Change of pace Variation in length of units Less conjunction & transition Change of vantage point orientation	See peak	See prepeak episodes	Of varied structure: specially expository paragraph, but can be expository discourse, narrative discourse, hortatory discourse (moral?)	Formulaic phrase/sentence
Notional structure (plot)	Surface features only	1. Exposition 'lay it out'	2. Inciting moment 'get something going' 3. Developing conflict 'keep the heat on'	4. Climax 'knot it up proper' 5. Denouement 'loosen it'	A. Climax may encode as peak and denouement as peak B. Climax may encode as prepeak episode and denouement as peak C. Climax may encode as peak and denouement as postpeak episode	6. Final suspense 'keep untangling'	7. Conclusion 'wrap it up'		Surface feature only

Figure 1. Narrative discourse with surface peaks (Longacre 1996: 36)

until finally coming to (4) the climax, 'Knot it all up proper', event which forces a confrontation and demands some kind of resolution. (5) The denouement, 'Loosen it', episode is just that event which brings in the potential for resolution. (6) Final suspense, 'Keep untangling', continues to unravel the solution while (7) conclusion, is the 'Wrap it up', phase, which 'brings the story to some sort of decent-or indecent-end'. In other words, it may not be a happy ending, but it is, in fact, the end.

As mentioned earlier, the title and aperture features, along with *finis*, are only in the surface structure. 'Aperture' and 'finis' mean the formulaic beginning and ending phrase or sentence, which characterizes certain genre such as the English fairy tale, 'Once upon a time...' and 'The End'. It is noted that while orally recorded stories seem mostly to be without title or aperture, this author has observed Gujjars appending a *finis* of the sort 'this story is now finished' when recording a story orally. In publications, the title shows up on nearly all narrative discourses. In the collections of folk stories published by the Jammu and Kashmir Academy for Art, Culture and Language (JKAACL) several do have an aperture such as 'a story from a peaceful time/place', or 'it's an old time story'. There are a few other variations of this, and it roughly approximates the function of the English phrase, 'once upon a time...'. It identifies the story as coming from mythical or ancient sources.

The 'stage' is generally set with an expository paragraph that introduces the main characters, a 'good guy' and a 'bad guy', and some point of contention or a problem to be resolved. In many short stories, this introduction can be said to contain the inciting moment as well, though the conflict may have merely been inferred by the introduction. For example, in the story of the Monkey and the Crocodile, the introduction of these two as friends is enough to bring to mind potential conflict of interest. More properly, though, the inciting moment would be the first move made by the bad guy to attempt to take advantage of the good guy. This event and any number of succeeding episodes are referred to in the surface, peak profile structure as 'Pre-peak episodes'. Longacre uses the term *peak* 'to refer

to any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the climax or denouement in the notional structure.' If there are two such units, one for climax and one for denouement, then 'peak (climax)' is the term used for the former and 'peak' (denouement)' for the latter. With reference to the peak (and peak') episode, other episodes are termed pre-peak and post-peak episodes. Some stories may also have a further *didactic* (or *thematic*) peak in addition to an action peak. Longacre references the Genesis flood account where 'there is an action peak in Genesis 7: 17-24 (where the flood waters come to crest), ...[and] a didactic peak in Genesis 9: 1-17, the covenant and blessing.' Woods (1980: 281) developed this concept for Halbi (India), and Christian shows the same for Gujarati (1987). In Gojri, peak features are not evident and the term didactic or thematic coda serves better to describe what is happening at the end of the narratives under study here. Episodic narratives are those having no distinguishable surface structure climax or denouement, only a series of surface structurally equivalent episodes. This may occur even if the notional (plot) structure does contain climax and denouement. Following the various peak related episodes comes the closure that naturally corresponds to conclusion in the notional structure. It may be parallel to or be in place of the didactic peak, serving the function of delivering a moral or merely drawing the story to a reasonable end. Many stories in Gojri actually end abruptly after the peak or peak' with no further wind down postpeak episodes. Christian finds this for Gujarati, as well. The story moves straight into the closure such as, 'In this way he saved his life and ran away' (MC 023).

### 19.3 Distinctives of the Four Narratives

Before going into the analysis, a few words need to be said about the distinctives of the four narratives used in this study. The classification of various genres other than narrative is beyond the scope of this paper. For the sake of brevity, Longacre's diagram on Notional types (1996: 10) is included here with a few comments, in order to pave the way to a discussion of how

the four stories in this study fit in as narrative genre. First, as mentioned above, notional and surface structure features do not necessarily correlate neatly across levels. Longacre (1996: 8) gives the following examples:

a moral lesson given in story form, or a set of procedures given as a story of how a master craftsman implemented them, or a first person account recounted as if it were a set of procedures. In brief, notional structures of discourse relate more clearly to the overall purpose of the discourse, while surface structures have to do more with a discourse's formal characteristics.

Under the heading, 'Notional Etic Types', Longacre posits a series of four binary parameters that can be used to classify 'all possible discourses in all languages'. *Contingent (temporal) succession* means that all or most events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings. *Agent orientation* means that the general movement of the discourse is in reference to some at least partially identified agent. *Projection* refers to situations or actions which are yet to be realized, but which are 'contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated'. In some cases, the events or doings may never be realized. For example, a political campaign speech, which is certainly plus projection, may present actions or events that never come to fruition. History on the other hand is minus projection as it refers to that which has been done already. Finally, *tension*, refers to whether a discourse 'reflects a struggle or polarization of some sort'. The episodic, peakless, narrative discussed earlier is minus tension by definition, as opposed to climactic (plus tension) narrative. Since this parameter would unnecessarily complicate the diagram with further sub-type divisions, it is left off.

As for Emic Surface Structure types, Longacre explains:

The features outlined above are applicable to the surface structure of discourse in particular languages provided that (a) we add drama as distinct from

narrative of the story variety; (b) we take account of the typical surface structure markings which encode the notional parameters; (c) we provide for skewing of notional and surface features...; (d) we recognize embedding relations among surface structure types; and (e) we realize that emic systems of discourse types appropriate to particular languages eventually replace the etic scheme given above (1996: 11).

Now we turn to a description of the four narratives treated in this study. 'The Avalanche Story' and 'The Four Advices' were both collected and used during socio-linguistic surveys of Gujjar areas and were delivered orally without titles. Titles have been ascribed to them for ease of reference. The other two stories were collected by J. C. Sharma. They were included in his volumes as appendices; namely, 'A Good Girl and a Bad Charactered Mullah' found in his *Gojri Grammar* (1982) and 'A Monkey and a Crocodile' from his *Gojri Phonetic Reader* (1979). 'The Avalanche Story' is the only one of these four that recounts an event that actually occurred in the personal history of the narrator. Two stories, the one about the good girl, from Sharma, and the one about the four advices<sup>2</sup>, from the surveys, are didactic parables with real life local colour, yet without reference to the narrator himself or any person or event is supposed to have encountered in actual fact. The Monkey story is very much like one of Aesop's fables where two animals are anthropomorphized and interact.

In the avalanche story, the narrator begins by introducing himself and how he and his family came to live in this area. Such an introduction referring to his family history in the area has little to no bearing on the story about to be told, but could serve as justification for being allowed to participate in the

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<sup>2</sup> Although the plural of this word is unusual in English, it is appropriate to use it this way according to Webster's dictionary. It is also consistent with glosses and free translations of the story referred to as 'The Four Advices'.

survey of the local area. This introduction is also part of a longer introduction that is very common among Gujjars who meet for the first time. Most Gujjars still practice the transhumant lifestyle of seasonal migrations or are directly connected to someone who does. As a result of this and other historical factors mentioned in paper two, when Gujjars meet, they like to find out the name of the new acquaintance, what clan group he is from, what his ancestral home is, where his summer and winter pasture lands are, where he is currently staying, and often the number and names of his family members even across several generations. Often at least one and probably more of these factors will coincide between them and they will quickly begin to act as if they have always known each other. After dispensing with the formalities, this narrator begins to talk about the normal condition of the weather as part of what is a slightly longer expository discourse. After the finding and removal for burial of the body, the narrator philosophizes on the effects of local climate on the already hard lives of the people of this region. In this regard, the calm normal weather patterns are set in stark contrast with the blizzard that caused the tragic event of this story.

The story on the four advices is very similar to 'A Lach of Rupees for a Bit of Advice', a much larger text analysed by Handoo. As a Hindu Kashmiri folktale, the background, characters and events are all linked to Hindu culture and worldview, whereas the 'Four Advices' expresses these things in a distinctively Muslim milieu. The common thread in both is that somebody who is down on his luck purchases some advice, which at first seems disappointingly plain and irrelevant, but which later proves to save the man's life and make him rich. There is one element in the 'Four Advices' that corresponds to the 'Good Girl and Bad Mullah' story. A false accusation against a girl leads to the requirement that she be killed by her brother. In the 'Four Advices', the brother is the main character and he applies one of the advices, i.e. 'think before you act' which allows him to discover the deceit behind the accusation and avert being a murderer of his sister.

All the narratives here are plus with regard to agent orientation, contingent succession, and tension but minus in projection. The story of the four advices contains portions, the advices themselves, which are plus projection but the storyline is basically minus projection. It should be noted then, that the parameters involved relate to the discourse as a whole in its categorization as narrative genre. They may also relate to embedded portions within a given paragraph or episode of a discourse. Often, Gujjars will use stories to illustrate some truism that relates to faith or conduct. In such cases, stories like that of the girl and the mullah can be used to influence someone's behavior. This is an example of skewing of notional and surface discourse types.

#### 19.4 A Profile Analysis of Gojri Narrative: How the Plot Thickens (and Thins)

##### *Structure of 'The Avalanche Story'*

Profile is like a side view of the 'excitement-wave' of a story. Spectrum (to be described in the next paper) is sometimes referred to as 'Vertical Prominence'. Profile is called 'Horizontal Prominence'. Notionally, what we are looking at is the 'plot' structure of a narrative discourse. The following questions are used as a guide for discovering the formation of the plot constituents: How does it start? How does it build tension? What happens at the most crucial moments? How does it release tension? And, how does it end? Figure 2 below gives the plot and episode structure of the Avalanche text. Figure 3 gives a visual portrayal of the plot structure of this narrative in a wave profile. Both of these figures help to clarify the description to follow.

<i>Plot</i>	<i>Tension</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Sent.#</i>
Setting	1	Stage	Statements regarding residence and normal weather patterns	1-4
Tension	4	Prepeak	An unusually heavy snowfall causes great consternation.	5-8

<i>Plot</i>	<i>Tension</i>	<i>Episode</i>		<i>Content</i>	<i>Sent.#</i>
Further tension and climax	10	Peak	Climax	The land owners notice the glacier break away and try to warn a watchman. The watchman is introduced along with some props. Heeding the warning of the landowners he tries to flee. His demise is given by euphemism rather than as an event.	9-21
Loosen tension	6		Den	The process of the glacier's movement, enveloping everything in its path is given piece by piece.	22-30
Closure	2	coda		The author transitions to a discussion commenting on the tragedy and the hard lives of the people living in those mountains.	31ff

Figure 2. Plot and Episode Structure of Avalanche Text

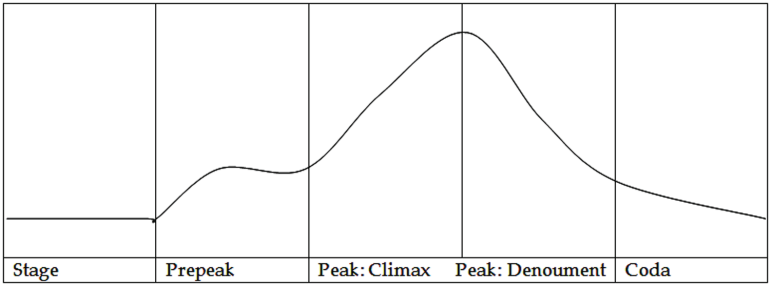


Figure 3. Wave Profile of Plot Development

*Title/Aperture*

In literature, a discourse or narrative story might have a title, and in many languages, there might be an aperture, a special phrase or sentence formula for beginning stories. These surface structure elements have no correlating notional structure. None of the stories gathered orally for use in Gojri sociolinguistic surveys had the surface structure features of title or aperture.



On the other hand, among the many published texts produced by the JKAACL, Sharma and others, nearly every text in every genre has a title of some kind. For the purpose of this discussion, this Gujjar text is called 'The Avalanche Story'. More will be said about title formulae later with regard to a story that has a title. There is no aperture in this story or any of the other three included in this thesis, but, as mentioned earlier, some folk stories do have the rough equivalent of the English phrase, 'once upon a time...'. Its application is not consistent, e.g. some animal fables have it and some don't; some human parables have it and some don't. A more extensive study of Gujjar stories will be required before a definitive statement can be made about the usage of the aperture feature.

### *Stage*

The stage is set in sentences AV 001-004 with all non-event verbs describing the speaker/narrator's residency status and what he and the local people consider to be typical winter weather patterns. The notional structure of exposition correlates well with this. It is a matter of laying out the normal situation so that the next main body of the text stands out in stark contrast. The first event marks a dramatic departure from the norm of life in this area. Christian (1987) refers to this structure as typical for the stage episode of event-oriented narrative in Gujarati as opposed to participant or agent oriented narrative. The other three narratives in this study are participant oriented narratives which not only have a central figure, but the events being described tell a great deal about the character of the main participants. In the Avalanche story the narrator is not seen as a central figure in the story although AV 001, 002 do introduce the fact of his own residence in the local area. Some possible reasons for this are given above regarding the need to give a personal autobiographical introduction on first meeting somebody. Such introductions often set the stage not merely for an isolated story but for ongoing dialogue which can last from a few minutes or, broadly speaking, for a lifetime of friendship or acquaintanceship. AV 003, 004 are more directly

leading up to the story at hand. The fact that it usually snows very little in this area is emphasized with repetition and then restatement as not only the narrator's opinion, but also that of the larger community as seen by the use of the first person plural subject pronoun in AV 004. Further emphasis is laid first on the smallness of the normal snowfall by repeating 'small' twice *thori thori*, then on the normality of the smallness by the repetition of the imperfective tense verb 'fall' three times, *peti peti peti*.

### *Pre-Peak Episodes*

In the Avalanche Story, for notional structure we have the Inciting Moment with the only pre-peak episode in AV 005-8 beginning with the word *acanak* 'suddenly', and extensive time reference in a pre-posed clause indicating when the event began to occur, 'suddenly, in one night, from evening, *ùiru hoi* it began'. Something out of the ordinary has just occurred. The following clause expounds the subject of exactly what began which was left unstated in this clause, i.e. snow continuously fell (or accumulated). There is a clear structural transition marked, not only by the time adverb 'suddenly', but also by a set of surface structure changes in the succeeding clauses. There is a shift of verb tense aspect from the predominant use of stative and non-punctiliar tense aspect and relatively simple verb phrase structure to the use of clause chaining, compound verb structures and the predominant usage of the perfective (punctiliar) tense aspect. More will be said about these structures in paper four.

Another issue deserves mention. The repeated verb *baõtige*, glossed for the survey document as 'falling', has caused some confusion. Actually, this should be re-segmented as a compound verb *baõtí geyi* and glossed 'grow-impf.-fs. go-pf-fs'. The nature of survey work precludes the opportunity to study a language deeply enough to get a full understanding of the languages being surveyed. A closer look at the language lexicon and grammar is needed. First, while other verb roots for 'fall' such as *pe*, *tj*, and *bun* can be found, no such word

as *baōtīge* can be. Likewise it cannot be *baōti ge* ‘grow-impf-fs conjctv’ as the conjunctive can only occur after a verb root without the attendant tense aspect gender number suffixation (Sharma 1982: 273). On the other hand, the compound verb *baōti geyi* ‘grow-impf-fs go-pf-fs’ is not only an acceptable verb form, it fits perfectly as the head of the first sentence in the first pre-peak episode. A simple verb in this position would have seemed out of place. In this regard it marks the inciting moment for the narrative with a change in verb phrase structure, a tense-aspect shift, as well as being in direct contrast with sentence 4b as seen in the following illustration:

AV 004b

*phəl thori thori peti peti peti*  
 snow little-fs little-fs fall-impf-fs (Vb times 3)  
 It usually snows just a little bit.

AV 005

*phəl baōti geyi baōti geyi baōti geyi baōti geyi*  
 snow grow-impf-fs go-pf-fs (Cmpd Vb times 4)  
 ‘It snowed very very heavily.’

*Example 1. Comparison of stage in AV 004b with inciting moment in AV 005*

The four-fold repetition of *baōti geyi* further emphasizes the contrast with *peti* for ‘fall’ in AV 004. What was noted before about the lack of participant, i.e. agent, orientation is seen in that human activity is only incidental to the effect of the snow storm, ‘after getting up all the landowners open their doors, then through their doors (saw that) snow had accumulated, and become great’. In fact, the snowfall had been so great that the people were afraid their houses would cave in, so they got up with their brooms to throw the snow down.

Before moving on to the next episode, there is one further feature to discuss, i.e. Rhetorical underlining by repetition. Everything significant that has been said so far in this story has been said twice. In AV 001, his being a resident of Naltar area was stated in two noun phrases (NP), the second, more specific, modifying the former, general NP. This same stative

clause has an unusual sentence final postpositional phrase (PostPP) of location, *əthar mə* 'in here'. This gets repeated in AV 002 pre-posed clause margin for the main clause after the pre-posed dependent conjunctive clause which indicates that becoming an inhabitant of the current location, i.e. Naltar Bala, his grandfather had come from the Swat area. So AV 002 is a reiteration of AV 001 adding the detail of his grandfather's previous residence and that it was probably his grandfather who moved here. AV 003 goes on to talk about the weather in generic terms and AV 004 repeats the part about six months of cold weather in winter as a community wide opinion. Later in AV 004b, we have the negative restatement of the positive 'a little snow falls, much snow never fell'. This pattern continues through much of the discourse. Further study on particular styles, degrees and uses of repetition or the absence of it will prove enlightening later.<sup>3</sup>

The tension, leading toward the notional structure of climax, builds with this single pre-peak episode. In AV 007b there is a series of three conjunctive clauses that begins with the subject agentive, *lokane* 'the people,' followed by an infinitival purpose clause and then coming to the final verb. Altogether, the four are preposed dependent clauses leading up to the perfective tense, main verb clause. This illustrates one usage of the conjunctive clause. Each clause in this sentence adds information about the main verb rather than specifying a sequence of actions. There are two main functions of the conjunctive clause in Gojri. One, to show a series of chronological events and the other to give more information about the main verb, describing manner, time, etc. In this case,

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<sup>3</sup> Various kinds of repetition occur in other areas of Gojri communication, particularly in didactic dialogue where one pattern observed frequently is the rhetorical question used to reiterate a main point. First a declarative statement is made, then a question is asked in a way that begs the answer just given in the declarative statement. After a brief pause the first speaker may give the answer, wait for the 'student' to supply the answer or the teacher and student may provide the answer in unison.

in AV 007 the first clause reiterates the fact that the people had gotten up, a reiteration of AV 006, indicating when the action of the main verb was completed. The second clause gives the reason why they wanted to clean the snow off their houses. The third conjunctive refers to how they were to get the snow off their houses, i.e. by getting up with brooms (instrument) to clean their houses (purpose).

The predominant verb form in this prepeak episode is a simple verb with perfective aspect or a series of chained clauses with a simple perfective tense verb as head. The exception was the inciting incident in which a compound verb was used to get the story going. Other verbs were used to supply background material.

### *Peak*

At AV 009 a new episode begins. This is marked by the sentence margin introducer 'then all at once...' Here is where, as Longacre says, 'the author gets untidy, brings in contradictions and adds all sorts of tangles.' This is the climactic episode, which encodes the peak of the story. The main clause is straightforward, 'the landowners looked there.' Then there is an interruption in the flow as an extensive post-posed clause margin gives extensive elaboration on the location adverb 'there', i.e. 'before them, in front of the Air Force Mess tent, a mountain'. AV 010 back references to 'that mountain' and further specifies 'on top of' it. The clause itself finally tells us what happened, 'snow broke'. The verb is an intensive compound with perfective tense, but the full import of the statement is not given in the monotone intonation and otherwise insignificance of 'snow breaking'.

At this point, a note regarding the phonological intonation and use of pause, reflected only in the sound recording of this

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<sup>4</sup> Malik, in his *Phonology and Morphology of Panjabi* (1995), indicates that the conjunctive participle *ke* with the verb root *kžr* 'do', has an idiomatic meaning of 'on account of'. That is the obvious meaning here as well. More will be said about this in the section on clause chaining in paper 4.

story, is in order. The mild terms used and normal sentence level, intonation that occurs in AV 010 sounds bland at first. Then, after a pause before AV 011, the speaker/narrator uses loud, excited intonation and changes to a term that gives a much more evocative meaning in this context, 'a glacier broke away'. Then, in the descriptive post-posed clause margin, there is an elaboration on the great size of the glacier that broke away from the top of the mountain, which we know to be immediately above the Air Force Mess. With AV 012, there is an interruption in the flow of this intense excitement and the intonation of the speaker/narrator suddenly drops off to matter-of-fact, almost monotone for the beginning of an embedded agent-oriented narrative discourse. AV 012-14 introduces a new participant with a series of stative sentences, stating his existence, what was with him and what he used to do as a habit: 'There was an Air Force watchman. Beside him was a wild goat. He used to put fodder out for the wild goats.'

AV 015 jumps back to the landowners, who see that the glacial avalanche is about to come down on the man below and try to warn him. 'They shouted of death, your death has come, you hide and run, a glacier is coming from above.' In response to their dire warning, the man ran for his life. AV 017 has the subject-agent marker on the oblique relative-distant pronoun, for the watchman, an accusative suffix for the phrase referring to the voice of the landowners, and a series of conjoined verbs signaling a sequence of actions related to his attempted escape. *dex k̥, nas k̥, ja k̥* 'saw, ran, went'. But, instead of putting the final verb in the end, we have another interruption by a stative clause introducing the existence of a bush. Then the main clause comes with its final verb for the end of the clause chain. The free translation of AV 017-019 runs like this:

'Because of the sound of the land-owners he saw it and ran, heading (toward) a bush (that) was nearby went. He got to that bush.' Here we are at the apex of peak. In the next moment we are to discover whether the man lives or dies. There is no separate episode of peak', or denouement. The resolution of

tension begins, with this potentially happy ending, 'he caught that bush' (AV 019). However, there is a pause in the oral telling that is short yet ominous. The sudden mixing in of an otherwise background prop at this point further signals this pivotal moment in the story. AV 020 begins with tail-head linkage, taking the last thing from the previous sentence and appending it to the head of the next. The clause margin, author evaluation, 'it was the will of God', pre-posed to the main clause, 'his death had come' and its restatement in the negative, 'he could not be saved' further complicate the grammar of this moment in the episode and finally we see that resolutions are not always as a 'happy ending'.

Generally climax corresponds to surface structure peak and is the place of highest tension. In some texts, there may be a secondary peak' which corresponds to the notional structure of denouement. In this story there is no secondary peak' episode, so the notion of denouement is simply the downside of the peak curve. In the storyline of sentences 9-11, tension of climax builds as the farmers, who are throwing the snow off of their houses, happen to look up and see a large glacier above an Air Force compound break away and begin falling down the mountainside. The zenith in the arch of tension occurs as the farmers shout dire warnings to the man in AV 015, who, having been alerted by their voices sees, runs, and goes for a bush nearby in AV 017. Moreover, he makes it to the bush (AV 018, 19). Nevertheless, there is, at that point, an anti-climactic commentary, or 'author comment' as Jones (1983) calls it, inserted in AV 020 to say that it was the will of God for the man to die.

Meanwhile, surface marking features for both the up and downhill portions include a higher percentage of mainline information and a significant increased use of clause chaining. Other stories make more use of intensive compound verbs at peak. Instead, this story demonstrates heightened vividness by putting the action in slow motion. Sentences AV 012-13, 18, 23a and 24a introduce several items that would be props but are here promoted to minor participants with stative existential

clauses. In each case, the information then becomes part of the following predicate as crucial information. This pause-for-further-information results in heightened vividness and an increase in tension. In the case of AV 012-13, it is the introduction of a man and a goat that are about to be swept away by the avalanche. The introduction of this man and goat, right after we have found out that a huge avalanche is occurring, serves to greatly intensify the gravity of the situation. Later in AV 018, we have the first potential for unraveling the tension by the same formula of introducing a participant with an existential clause and the word *k̥* 'one'. Unraveling continues to occur as it is learned that 'by the will of God his death had come'. This clause is a past perfective intensive compound using a passive aspect as euphemism. The idea of the tragedy is restated in another euphemistic clause in the negative, 'That one could not be saved'. Further unravelling comes with the introduction of a shelter, some grass, and the river at the bottom where, item-by-item, everything mentioned gets combined in one big heap. In the climb toward the zenith of peak, in AV 015-16, there is the very emotive warning and imperative to 'run and hide', using compound verbs for the reported reason statements, 'your death has come!' in AV 015b and 'a glacier has come!' in AV 016b. AV 017 is a clause margin of three consecutive medial verbs. These clauses in AV 017 are marked with *-k̥ʔ*, and could be considered as chronological sequence or simultaneous action.

Repetition happens in four different ways and seems to mark a different structure in each. First, it occurs as part of an evaluation of normalcy for winter snowfall in sentence 4 where *peti* is repeated three times in a row and a fourth time with a negation to give the evaluation that while there may be several successive snow falls, it usually doesn't snow too much. The second repetition is in the next sentence (AV 005) that happens to define the inciting moment of the story. The English meaning is still the idea of progressive accumulation of snow, but the Gojri word is now a compound verb using a different term for the snow's growth: *barti geyi*. This time the purpose is to show



the magnitude of the snowfall and is in direct contrast to the previous notion. Various forms of this same verb are repeated in a series of phrases in sentences six and seven to describe the extent of accumulation. Then, still in 6 and 7, there is the repetition of the verb *utge* (notice the-*g* conjunctive) for how the people 'had gotten up' to do something about the snow. Three occurrences of the verb come in close proximity to point to the action of the glacier as it broke away from the mountain in AV 010.

AV 006

*m̐ndre ut g sara zamindarne apna*  
 morning up, there cnjctv all-msobl land-owner- self, you-  
 ag. gentv.

*bua khol liya t bua mə phal baba*  
 door open take-pf--mp and door in snow build,grow-mp  
*babke der l g᳚.*  
 build, grow-cnjctv much, late apply-3p

Having gotten up one morning, all the land owners opened their doors and a great amount of snow fell in through the door.

### Example 2

Appropriate forms of the verb for 'be' are used to introduce key nouns, whether animate or not, which are to be patients of action predicates (see sentences 12 for Watchman and wild-goat, 18 for the nearby bush, 20b for the death that came, and 23 for the shelter, grass, and river, each previously un-introduced) which were 'combined'. Connected to this is the anaphoric repetition in AV 025 using the intensive compound verb structure with conjunctive *le ja kʸ* 'having taken' to refer comprehensively to everything mentioned being taken clear to the river. Another occasion of rhetorical underlining by repetition occurs across sentence boundaries. This is a form of tail-head linkage, e.g. the verb *samri* 'throw' at the end of AV 008 and the beginning of AV 009. Finally, the three-fold occurrence of *dhund dhudke* 'they searched searching' in AV

016 portrays vividly the three or four hour drudgery of looking for the dead man.<sup>5</sup>

### *Denouement*

The downhill, relieving of tension, is the notional structure called denouement, and occurs in AV 022-030. There are no other surface structures episodes so the Denouement is simply the down side of the peak episode. AV 020 starts with another instance of tail-head linkage, surface reiteration of the previous clause with its fully inflected main/final verb, as opposed to the -gY suffixed bare verb stem. This, along with the pause of action to insert a euphemistic statement about the man's demise, marks the end of peak and a transition to denouement, releasing tension. The notional structure provides an interesting twist of its own in that just when the man has 'caught the bush' and you think he is safe, we find instead that 'it was the will of God that he should die; he was not able to escape'. On the surface this seems to be stated so matter-of-factly as to be a piece of casual news, including the use of tY a coordinating conjunction usually meaning 'and,' but which can also be used as a mild adversative. His death, resulting from his failure to escape, is expanded in AV 030 involving a rather pathetic combination in both deep structure meaning and in its surface structure clause formations. Even the rhythm and sound of the *dhund dhundke* 'searched searching' process leaves one with a sense of the morose consequences of the snowstorm.

### *Post-Peak and Closure*

Post-peak episodes generally employ the same grammatical structures as pre-peak. The difference lies in its content and the mode of decreasing, rather than increasing tension. There is a switch back out of the more emotive lexical items and

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<sup>5</sup> Of lesser interest is the concept repetition which seems inherent in the phrase *lash murdo* 'dead corpse' and the warning roughly translated, 'You've done died, your death has come; run and hide!'

intensive compound verbs. There are no separate post-peak episodes in this story.

Closure on many stories may occur as a kind of thematic coda in which an evaluative statement is given. In the case of the avalanche story the narrator transitions into an extended evaluation of the tragedy of the avalanche as illustrative of the kinds of perils faced by those who live in these mountains. More will be said about both post-peak and closure in regard to the story of the four advices to be described next.

### *Structure of 'The Four Advices'*

The following story, called 'The Four Advices', is longer and more fully developed than the preceding story. Although no title has been handed down with this oral version, it will be seen that Gujjar stories often do have titles. In fact, in another version, from a different language, this story does have a title. It also has a much more involved episode structure with parallel of two peaks, the second one being the climactic peak. It may be suggested that these are two embedded discourses, each having its own plot structure. The story is easily divided into two parts. Part one is the inciting incident which leads to part two, the climax. The difficulty with the idea of two separate embedded discourses is that they are mutually dependant. None of the events of part one are resolved in part one. Instead, for each of the four episodes of part one, there is a corresponding resolution episode in part 2. The first peak will be referred to here as the "inciting peak" and the second, the "climax peak". The series of three pre-peak episodes can then be numbered sequentially in order of occurrence and can be referred to as "inciting prepeak 1-3" and "climax prepeak 1-3". At the end of this story there is a typical closure in the form of a thematic coda, a kind of evaluative moral to the story. Error! Reference source not found. Below provides an easy reference to the plot and episode structure of the Four Advices text. The centre column gives a summary of the content of each section with references to sentence numbers and positions within the

plot structure of the narrative. The wave profile in Figure 4 below gives a graphic portrayal of the plot structure of this story showing rising and declining tension. The dotted lines draw attention to the parallel plot development by connecting each episode in part one with its corresponding episode in part two.

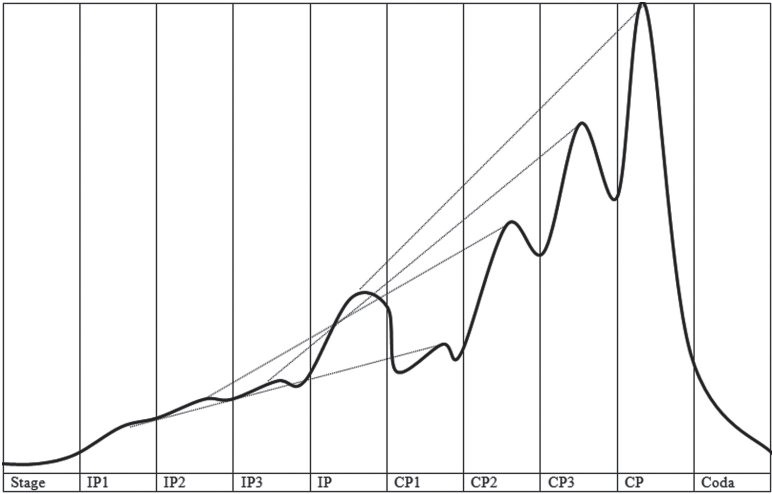


Figure 4. Wave Profile of Parallel Plot Development

*Title/Aperture*

The story called “The Four Advices” came orally to socio-linguistic surveyors for use in Recorded Text Testing without a title or an aperture. This is not to say that orally delivered stories do not have titles, only that these do not. In fact, this story is at least related to one covered by Handoo as an example of Kashmiri folklore. It is probable that other versions of this story exist in other regions of the Indian subcontinent beyond Kashmir. The fact that Gojri is a significant minority language spoken throughout Kashmir points to the almost certain connection between the two stories. The Kashmiri version has a title but no aperture. The English title recorded in Handoo’s book is *A Lakh<sup>6</sup> of Rupees for a Bit of Advice*. That story was taken

<sup>6</sup> Lakh means 100,000 and is usually not translated.

from a publication dated 1893, by J. Hinton Knowles, called *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*.

### *Stage*

The story of “The Four Advices” is about a young man who at the beginning of the story gets beaten and kicked out of his home. With nowhere else to go, he heads for the bazaar and sees a pious man selling four advices. He finds that the advices are going for five thousand rupees, which is all the money he has. After some thought in four successive episodes, he ends up purchasing all four advices. Each time he is disappointed because he hasn’t understood the relevance of the advice, but thinks the next would be better. By the conclusion of this first part, it looks as if this poor lad destined for misery. He has four confusing bits of advice and has gone from having ₹ 5,000 to none. The next scene opens with him wandering along the beach. A series of four events occur, each of which stirs the memory of one of the pieces of advice. When he follows the counsel he finds great success, and in the end he lives happily ever after.<sup>7</sup>

The overall discourse plot structure of this story is that of an event oriented first person, autobiographical, narrative with stage, three pre-peak episodes, peak (climax), peak’ (denouement), a series of three post-peak’ episodes and closure. At least in this oral version there is neither title nor aperture. Concerning Gujarati discourse structure, Christian says that event oriented narratives like this would have a short title made up of a gerund phrase. His dissertation includes the example titled in English, ‘Receiving Rewards’ (Christian 1983: 329). The stage in this narrative is set in one sentence (FA 001). This is a stative coordinate sentence, introducing the

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<sup>7</sup> This motif of a young man, down on his luck, who meets someone who gives seemingly irrelevant advice which later turns out to save life and make the man rich occurs not only in Handoos Kashmiri story but also in one of the stories studied by Christian in his discourse analysis of Gujarati (1983).

narrator as the main participant who experienced the events of the story. At that time he was small and had never been away from home. For emphasis, there is also a post-posed first person, personal pronoun. (See paper 5 for more on reference marker usage).

### *Pre-Peak Episodes*

This portmanteau stage serves as an introduction for the entire story, and for this first pre-peak episode. FA 002 is the inciting moment, for the inciting episode of the story. It gets things off to a running start with a catenative sentence having a single “medial” verb root, followed by the now familiar *kY/gY* conjunctive marker, followed by the main verb, fully inflected with masculine singular, perfective tense. Audience sympathy is no doubt with the lad as he goes into the bazaar where he sees the pious man selling his four pieces of advice, declaring that whoever takes them will meet with success. FA 005 gives additional background material with another stative clause about the amount of money he possesses. As it turns out that is the price that the pious man had set for the four advices. After some thought, the lad gives a thousand Rupees for the first advice. The pious man whispers the advice into the lad’s ear: “Just as you were met by me, you help someone else.” With that, the episode ends. In this episode, including the stage at FA 001, there have been approximately 99 words including 17 verb structures.

The next paragraph begins with the sentence introducer, relative time margin *us to bad* ‘after that’. The structure of the other two pre-peak episodes is basically the same. The first sentence of each episode has a pre-posed sentence time margin, with either a clause chain (FA 002 in inc.prepk 1 and FA 016 in inc.pre-pk 3) or a compound verb (FA 009 in inc.prepk 2). Most other verb slots have only simple verbs and the perfective tense maintains the event-line throughout. Report clauses for direct oral quotes or of thoughts or sights are all structured basically the same, i.e. *ki* ‘that’ subordinating conjunction, plus the report. There is no distinction between

direct and indirect quote as in English. Pre-peak episode 1 ends without a distinctive closure just after the report clause giving the content of the first advice. Pre-peaks 2 and 3 both close with the lad going home including the use of a sequence conjunction *fir* 'then' before the final clause. Pre-peak 3 adds a catenative *g¥/k¥* clause linking the completion of the advice purchase directly to the final event of going home.

### *Inciting Peak*

The inciting and climax peak episodes have a similar structure that differs substantially from that of non-peak episodes. The differences between them are more of degree than of kind. The structure of the inciting episode will be treated in this section and that of the climax in the next section. The peak of the inciting series of episodes is the only episode up to this point, which does not start with a time margin or a complex verb structure. It has the pious man's shortest report formula. Simply *S+ne* 'agent' plus perfective tense *V* followed by *ki* 'that' and the quote, which is equal in brevity only to that in pre-peak 1, containing only the object and its value. That value is double that of the previous three advices! In previous episodes, his announcement had included some sentence level subordination and additional comment. The report formulas had each included compound verbs. On the other hand, the lad's own reported thoughts are longer and more complex than in the previous episodes. This goes a long way to communicating the degree of tension in the lad's mind about his dilemma. He has already spent three thousand rupees and he has not found the relevance of any of it. Yet, he still thinks it could be possible that this fourth, doubly expensive advice might have something. Included in this report of his thoughts are mental contradictions, hesitations, and a high degree of

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<sup>8</sup> Sharma (1982) has only the *gi* form of this marker. It is not clear whether the *ki* form which shows up in the data here and at other places is in free variation, phonologically determined or a result of lectical choice [idiolectical or dialectical].

contingency on both notional and surface levels with the use of *mumkin* ; 'it is possible' 'we would be' (contingent form) in FA 024 and *le li-* 'take should take' which uses a contingent form in an intensive compound in FA 025. In the end, (FA 026) is very precise:

č̣thi      nžsižt    mε   do   šzar      rupiā      buzvovg-na   ḍtto  
fourth   advice   I   two   thousand   Rupees   Pious   gave.  
Man-ACC

I gave the Rs 2000 for the fourth advice.

### Example 3

The report clause in FA 027, giving the actual fourth advice in the lad's ear, is the first such to employ a clause chain.

ṭ      BS-ŋ      kžn m̄   b̄Bla   ḳ      ŋ-na      džssyo  
then   that-ag.   ear in   spoke   cnjctv.   me-ACC   said  
Then, speaking in my ear he said to me.

### Example 4

This peak episode includes a clause chain indicating that the lad took the four advices and ran from there. In two previous episodes, there was specific reference to going "home". Here he is merely going "from there" to an undisclosed location or direction. This tends to add to the despondency of the lad's predicament. He still has nowhere to go; he has no money. He only has four bits of advice, which he cannot understand. FA 029 marks the end of a major section involving the pious man as an active participant, indicating that he had done his work. It employs an intensive compound verb emphasizing the state of completion of his work. It is significant that the second member of the compound is *d<tto* 'gave' in the perfective tense. If it had been *liyo* 'took' it would imply that he did the work for his own benefit. Using the verb for 'give' implies that he did his work for the other's benefit. This use of the compound to signify 'self' vs. 'other' as benefactor occurs in Urdu as well (Glassman, 1977; see also Smith and Weightman, 1994 for Hindi).



### *Climax Peak*

As noted earlier the two peaks of this narrative share a parallel plot development, making them inseparably two parts of one discourse rather than independent embedded discourses. The inciting and climax peaks are not equal in respect to degree of tension or amount of peak marking features. The inciting peak, described above, has the central participant in a quandary about the four advices he has just finished buying. Has he done the right thing by spending all of his money on four ethereal admonitions? The answer comes in the four succeeding episodes, where each advice comes into play enabling the hero to succeed in each of four situations. One might have expected the denouement episode to occur immediately following the climax. It is the nature of denouement to at least begin to relieve tension. However, denouement, if it occurs as a separate peak' episode is also expected to have a structure matching that of peak. That is, it should be marked by the increased use of intensive compounds, and a mixture of other structures like clause chains with more than one medial verb, and extensive tail-head linkage. But the tension, however mild, of part one, and especially of the inciting series peak, is not resolved in part one at all. In fact, it takes the entirety of part two, including the climax peak to bring this resolution. In the process, much more tension is brought to bear, episode by episode, until, finally, in the climax peak the questions of the efficacy of the four pieces of advice and of the vindication and success of the hero are answered.

Christian (1987) has a story called "Receiving Rewards", which is similar to "The Four Advices" in many respects. He presents a chiastic structure for that story in that the protagonist meets a series of antagonists along a road who each present a problem. At the end of that road, the protagonist is given the wherewithal to resolve those problems which he does on his return. In this way the problems are each resolved in reverse order from that given in the first section. In the Four Advices, resolution comes episode by episode in the same

order as that in which the problems were presented. So the episode immediately following that in which the fourth advice is given does not resolve the problem of the fourth advice, but the first. In that it does resolve the first episode from part one, it begins to relieve tension for part one. But since tension is greatly increased by the gravity of the succeeding episodes, a true discourse peak and corresponding denouement has not occurred. The vocabulary and grammar are rather bland and generic at this point. As the final episode brings the final resolution of all tension demonstrating that by means of all four advices the central participant has met with great success in terms of safety and wealth. The situation in the final episode, which is used to prove the efficacy of the final bit of advice, is the climax peak episode. It has the requisite notional intensity as well as the forms, which are used to indicate such intensity, i.e. the increased use of intensive compound verbs, chained clauses with more than one medial verb, tail-head linkage, and other insertions of new characters or props.

### *Closure*

Following that is closure, which, as has been said before, is often in the form of a thematic coda, evaluation summary. It often begins with some phrase equivalent to "in this way...." In this story it makes explicit that the four advices, acting as agent, brought success to the protagonist.

## **19.5 Conclusion**

In this paper, the constituents or building blocks of discourse were discussed as a framework for analysing the grammar that develops Gojri narrative story. Two stories were analysed as to their surface structure markings of notional structure functions. Gojri stories were said to often omit the surface constituents of stage, aperture, and finis. It was also noted, however, that published stories regularly have titles and occasionally use aperture in the first sentence of the story. Finis has not been observed. Pre and post-peak episodes are

structurally similar entities and in Gojri are characterized by non-compound, perfective verb forms, and clause chains, usually with only one medial verb. New characters and props are usually not introduced in pre or post peak episodes. Peak episodes are characterized by an increased use of intensive compound perfective verbs, clause chains with more than one medial verb, tail-head linkage and other forms of repetition, along with the introduction of new participants and or props. Closure is often in the form of a thematic coda. It gives an evaluative summary of the story and often makes the theme explicit. It conveys the message that in such manner, the central participant (protagonist) triumphed and the non-central participant (antagonist) went away defeated.



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