

Evidence and stance in Kusunda

Mark Donohue

The Australian National University
mark.donohue@anu.edu.au

Bhoj Raj Gautam

Tribhuvan University
br.gautam42@gmail.com

Kusunda has been described in sketch form (Watters et al. 2006), but a number of morphemic and syntactic structures remain unclear. In particular, the Watters et al. description was based on elicited materials, resulting in confusion about some morphemes. Following the collection of a naturalistic corpus we discuss the function of two verbal suffixes with interesting uses.

1. Introduction: Kusunda*

Kusunda (ISO code: kgg) is a highly endangered language isolate spoken in western Nepal (in Dang-Deukhuri and in Rolpa). Based on our survey 2 people speak the language in 2013; this is at variance from the National Census' report of 28 speakers (2011). The language is typologically isolated as well as genealogically isolated, with many of the morphological categories found in surrounding languages absent from Kusunda. One category, evidentiality, has been reported for many languages of the Himalayan region, but was not reported in Watters et al.'s (2005/2006) description of Kusunda. We present data, based on a large collection of naturalistic texts gathered in a village environment (Donohue 2013), which indicate that evidentiality is present in Kusunda in the form of a verbal suffix *-dzi*, and that a motion-associated suffix *-ta'ŋ* is also found, encoding speaker involvement in the outcome of the event. The first of these suffixes was mentioned, but not understood, in Watters et al.; the other was not found in their work.

This paper presents the description offered in Watters et al.'s account of Kusunda for the *-dzi* suffix; presents data showing that evidentiality (specifically, speaker certainty) is in fact the category encoded by the suffix in Kusunda,

though with complications depending on the person of the subject; and describe the functions of the associated motion suffix *-ta'ŋ*, with a brief typological comparison to nearby languages.

The paper finishes with a discussion of why the functions of *-dzi* and *-ta'ŋ* were not clear to the authors of Watters et al., with suggestions for greater clarity in data collection.

2. Previous descriptions of Kusunda and the *-dzi* suffix

Most earlier work on Kusunda is confined to wordlists, and some brief paradigmatic elicitation. For an overview of most of the literature, see Watters et al. (2005/2006). Notably lacking is the category of naturalistic texts (in the sense of van Oostendorp and Zwaan 1994, amongst others).

The Watters et al. description presents numerous details of the verbal template in Kusunda. Since the language has a number of inflectional possibilities, no single simple (or complex) template can describe the language's verbs: rather, a number of inflectionally distinct templates have to be set up, as shown in Table 1 (drawing on data and analysis from Watters et al.). According to this description agreement can be, depending on the verb class, prefixal ('1'), suffixal (preceding TAM marking) ('2'), suffixal (following TAM marking) ('3'), double-suffixing (for the same argument), or absent. TAM marking is universally suffixal, but in the case of one verb is not a marked category.

* Thanks to Gyani Maiya Sen, for sharing her knowledge of Kusunda, and funding from the Australian Research Council through grant FT100100241.

Table 1: Verbal inflection for different verb types

Morphemes	Example:
V	<i>tsu</i> 'exist'
V TAM	<i>bəl-n</i> 'descended'
V 2 TAM	<i>ə-d-i</i> 'I became'
V TAM 3	<i>sip-n-tsi</i> 'I entered'
V 2 TAM 3	<i>hulə-d-n-tsi</i> 'I cooked'
1 V TAM	<i>t-əm-ən</i> 'I ate'

In Watters et al. the suffix *-dzi* is mentioned, but not included explicitly in any description of the interaction of different morphemes. Watters et al. (2006: 103) mention that the *-dzi* suffix is 'not well understood', and later state 'Some intransitive verbs make use of a suffix *-dzi* for adjectivals. This is one of the most puzzling suffixes we have encountered because of its occurrence in numerous and varied contexts.' Watters et al. (2006: 108).

Examining all occurrences of *-dzi* in Watters et al., we find twelve different descriptions of this morpheme, shown in Table 2. Glosses include both past and present tense, realis and irrealis, third person, unspecified TAM marker, adjectival, and habitual.

Table 2: Glosses and descriptions for *-dzi* in Watters et al. (2006)

Page:	Description
35	'(a frequently occurring) aspectual marker'
54, 56, 134	3:PAST
58, 125	PAST
70, 71, 119, 127, 130	TAM
71	3:IRR
94	'third person suffix (+realis)'
99	HAB
103	'present tense (not well understood)'
103, 105, 108, 123	TAM (?)
118	'adjectivals'
119	3:REAL
123	??

3. Explaining the *-dzi* suffix

We shall now examine some instances of the occurrence of the morpheme from Watter et al.'s compilation. Note that in all of these examples the verb marked with *-dzi* has a first person subject. The first three examples denote personally observed events, either nominal or full sentences. (Examples taken from Watters et al. are presented with the glosses found in the original, even where we disagree with some of the glossing conventions employed there. The only exception to this is that the morpheme *-dzi* has been glossed simply as DZI, pending the analysis to be presented at the end of this section.)

- (1) Tsi əgi tu ts-ā'-dzi.
 ISG live snake 1-see-DZI
 'I saw a live snake.'

(2) Gina amba habə-g-i
3SG meat roast-3-PAST

tsi ts-ã^s-dzi.

1sg 1-see-DZI

'I saw him roasting meat.'

(3) Tsi-gimtsi wi ə-g-ən
1SG-friend house do-3-REAL

tsi ts-ã^s-dzi.

1SG 1-see-DZI

'I saw my friend building a house.'

By contrast, in this next example the verb with a third person subject, 'hear', does not take the *-dzi* suffix. It is not impossible for a third person subject to occur with the *-dzi* suffix, as shown in example (5).

(4) Tsi wa t-ug-un məbə-g-i.
1SG home 1-come-REAL hear-3-PAST

'He heard me coming home.'

(5) Wa u-g-i ip-dzi.
home come-3-PAST sleep-DZI

'He came home and slept.'

Similarly, not all first person subject clauses require the *-dzi*, as shown in (6) - (7); similarly, the suffix is not found in non-verbal clauses, even when there is a first person participant involved, as shown in (8).

(6) Tsi dan tʃ-a^s-an
1SG Dang IRR:1-go-SUBORD

imba-d-i.

think-1-PAST

'I think I will go to Dang.'

(7) Tsi pətsəttər bərsə ə-n-i.
1SG 75 year do-1-PAST

'I am seventy-five years old.'

(8) Na gimī tsi-yi.
that money 1SG-GEN

'That money is mine.'

These examples present an important dimension of the *-dzi* suffix: it is used in detecting (and asserting) knowledge, by a first person. In examples (2) and (3) we saw the assertion not

only that the subject had witnessed the events described (roasting meat, building a house), but also the assertion by the first person speaker that this information is reliable. We have found, using our data, that 26% of clauses in a sample of fourteen narrative, descriptive texts employ the *-dzi* suffix; and all of these expository texts involve description of events within the speaker's experience. This suffix will henceforth be glossed as ASSERT, for 'asserted truth'.

As shown in example (5), the *-dzi* suffix is not restricted to first person subjects. Other examples of *-dzi* with third person subjects from our corpus include (9) and (10), describing aspects of traditional life, a domain over which the speaker has certain knowledge (as the only living person to have grown up in a nomadic Kusunda band), and so is licensed to assert her knowledge and surety.

(9) Dzəgui-da wen-wen ə-g-ən-dzi.
sick-ACC good-REDUP do-3-REAL-ASSERT

'He (the shaman) makes the sick ones well.'

(10) Jəmpəlaq-da
witch-ACC

pat ə-g-ən-dzi.

kill do-3-REAL-ASSERT

'They kill the witch.'

We have seen that the *-dzi* / (-Ø) distinction marks a contrast in evidentiality. The suffix is used when the speaker is certain about the state/event, and wishes to assert the truth of that state/event (examples (1) - (3)), or when the speaker wishes to assert her authority to speak on the subject matter (examples (5), (9) and (10)). The suffix is absent in (4) because the speaker is not trying to assert the truth of the statement, but merely to make a (potentially refutable) observation. Example (6) is a less certain statement, and so lacks the *-dzi* suffix. In (7) the statement is certain, but there is no assertion involved: firstly, the speaker is not entirely sure of her actual age, secondly it is not an important part of the local discourse. In (8) both the elements of certainty and assertion are found, but

being a non-verbal clause the sentence has no host for *-dzi*, and so it is not found.

4. The *-ta'ŋ* suffix

Unlike *-dzi*, which is attested but unexplained, the *-ta'ŋ* suffix is completely unattested in Watters et al. (2006). Comparing our corpus and the data reported in Watters et al., we find that the verbs that we attest with *-ta'ŋ* appear without this suffix in Watters et al. (we also attest the same verbs without *-ta'ŋ*).

The suffix has been attested so far only with the two directed motion verbs with *ug* 'come' and *u* 'take (away)'. The suffix always (in the data collected so far) co-occurs with the assertion suffix *-dzi* in naturalistic texts (we have elicited sentences with *-ta'ŋ* but without *-dzi*, but have not heard such sentences spontaneously produced). Further, the *-ta'ŋ* suffix only appears with third person subjects, implying that it has either a pronominal feature.

The *-ta'ŋ* suffix is rare, occurring in only 3% of clauses in the fourteen text sample. Based on the fact that it can only occur with 'come' and 'take away', we gloss this morpheme as MOTION, with further elaboration following. The difference between a verb with and without *-ta'ŋ* can be hinted at by examining the following two sentences, one from Watters et al., one from our own corpus. In Watters et al.'s sentence the verb 'come' appears without the *-ta'ŋ* suffix; in our data it almost invariably appears with this suffix. In (11), the coming verb does not have a particular goal, since the subject was not successful in reaching the goal 'home'. In (12), by contrast, the destination is reached. The suffix *-ta'ŋ* is employed in this second case, where the motion has a specific, achieved goal.

Watters et al. (2006):

- (11) Wa u-g-a k^ha:ʔi un-da
 home come-3-IRR NEG path-LOC
 ip-dzi.
 sleep-ASSERT
 'He didn't come home, he slept on the trail.'

Our data:

- (12) Wfia u-ta'ŋ-dzi.
 home come-MOTION-ASSERT
 'He comes home.'

Examining a wider range of data, we quickly come to the impression that the *-ta'ŋ* suffix often has the behaviour of a agreement marker. The following extract from the middle of a text about the activities of a shaman, show the use of the *-ta'ŋ* suffix with 'come' and 'take away', and with an understood or assumed participant. (The text can be accessed online via Donohue 2013). In this extract of fifteen intonation units, with ten main verbs (underlined), we see ten instances of the assertion suffix (plus three more on subordinate nominalisations), and four instances of *-ta'ŋ*, very high frequencies in both cases, even for this text in which both morphemes occur at high frequency compared to other narratives we have. We can also see the high frequency of ellipsis of established arguments; the verb can carry agreement morphology, but in many cases does not, and yet ellipsis is common.

Of particular interest is the use of *-ta'ŋ*. Occurring in (15), (16), (24) and (27), *-ta'ŋ* is used in this text whenever there is a specific location in mind. In (15), and its repeat in (16), the location is the place that has been referred to in (13) and (14): the place where the person has died, the place where the salt-discontinuing ceremony has to be held. Once this location has been established, it is referenced again in (15) with *-ta'ŋ*. In (17) - (23) the text discusses generic activities, and in (24) - (27) we find a return to specific activity, the taking of the shaman to the river. The most interesting aspect of the use of *-ta'ŋ* in these

clauses is fact that the anaphora is forwards-looking in (24), in terms of overt mentions in the story: he location that the shaman is taken to is only mentioned in line (26), and yet it is prominent enough *in the speaker's mind* for a use of *-ta'y* to be licensed. These aspects of the text are summarised in Table 3.

- (13) Qaitə nu mjfiəq ɔ̃^s-dzi bela,
next man Kusunda die-ASSERT time
'When the next Kusunda has died.'
- (14) fiuki dzfiakpen ə-g-ən bela,
salt leave do-3-REAL time
'when it is time to leave the salt.'
- (15) gina u-ta^sŋ-dzi moŋ.
3SG come-MOTION-ASSERT leader
'he comes there, the leader.'
- (16) Gina moŋ u-ta^sŋ-dzi
that leader come-MOTION-ASSERT
moŋ un.
leader hey
'The leader comes there; the
leader.'
- (17) Nətn nətn uflen
what what various
ə-g-ən-dzi.
do-3-REAL-ASSERT
'He does different things.'
- (18) Uflen ə-g-ən-dzi.
various do-3-REAL-ASSERT
'He does different things.'
- (19) fiuki ə nu,
salt uh that
'That salt.'
- (20) Qadzi in-da ə-g-ən bela
rice feed-PURP do-3-REAL time
in-da ə-g-ən-dzi.
feed-PURP do-3-REAL-ASSERT
'he feeds the salt at the time of the
rice-feeding (ceremony).'
- (21) Nu-da pəidzi dzaq. ə-de
person-DAT clothes buy do-SEQ
g-in-dzi moŋ.
3-bring-ASSERT leader
'(The leader) brings clothes for the
people buying them.'
- (22) Tul ə-g-ən-dzi
wear do-3-REAL-ASSERT
g-in-dzi;
3-bring-ASSERT
'He brings something to wear;'
- (23) bap ə-n-dzi g-in-dzi.
spread do-REAL-ASSERT 3-bring-ASSERT
'He brings something to spread.'
- (24) Qadzi in-da ə-g-ən bela
rice feed-PURP do-3-REAL time
adzi mjfiəq g-u-ta^sŋ-dzi.
other Kusunda 3-take.away-MOTION-
ASSERT
'Other Kusundas take him for the
rice-feeding ceremony.'
- (25) Qadzi in-da.
rice feed-PURP
'For the rice-feeding (ceremony).'
- (26) K^hola tə fulab ə-n-da;
river CONTR cook do-REAL-PURP
'At the river, to cook;'
- (27) G-u-ta^sŋ-dzi.
3-take.away-MOTION-ASSERT
'They take **him** away.'

Table 3. Fifteen lines of text examined for the assertion and motion suffixes and coding of the key arguments involved

Line	Clause	Subject?	verb	leader
(13)	subord.			
(14)	subord.			
(15)	main	NP	-ta ^s ŋ-dzi	NP, subj
				• location of (15): subj of (13), obj of (14)
(16)	main	NP	-ta ^s ŋ-dzi	NP, subj
				• location of (16): subj of (13), obj of (14)
(17)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(18)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(19)	–			
(20)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(21)	main	NP, verb	-dzi	NP, subj
(22)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(23)	main	verb	-dzi	subj
(24)	main	NP, verb	-ta ^s ŋ-dzi	object
				• location of (24): topic of (26)
(25)	subord.			
(26)	subord.			subject
				• location of (26): topic in clause
(27)	main	verb	-ta ^s ŋ-dzi	object
				• location of (27): topic of (26)

In (28), showing some later lines in the same text, we see the use of *-ta^sŋ* with a clear sense of direction towards the most prominent argument in that stretch of the discourse – the shaman.

- (28) Nā^sdi getse dzəgui gəje,
 wife child sick if
 nā^sdi-ba u-ta^sŋ-dzi.
 wife-ALSO come-MOTION-ASSERT
 'If the woman is sick, the wife also comes to **him**.'

We can summarise the findings. The *-ta^sŋ* suffix marks directed or associated motion, with strong pragmatic implications: the motion must be towards the most prominent location in the local discourse, even if that location has not yet been mentioned overtly: prominence is a matter of the speaker's preferences. Indeed, details of location of the goal of the motion does not even have to be known to the speaker, as long as it is pragmatically salient. In (29) the speaker describes how birds of prey come and fly away with young chickens; their nests are in the jungle, at unspecified locations, but they are pragmatically salient in the context of the utterance and its real-world context.

- (29) fiana g-u-ta^sŋ-dzi,
 where 3-take.away-MOTION-ASSERT
 fiana g-u-ta^sŋ-dzi.
 where 3-take.away-MOTION-ASSERT
 'It takes (them) away to (the nest).'

From this analysis it follows that the suffix *-ta^sŋ* can have an 'applicative-like' or 'dative-like' function, in that it implies motion with a participant, or towards a participant. Additionally, because *-ta^sŋ* is only found when the sentence contains a high degree of 'speaker involvement', it frequently co-occurs with the assertion evidential suffix.

5. Further notes on the *-dzi* suffix

We should also note other uses of the *-dzi* suffix that are logical, but nonetheless noteworthy, extensions of the assertion/speaker knowledge senses described in section 3. The essential description of evidentiality is most unproblematic when a (first person) speaker reports on a third person subject's activities. We have seen that this

same suffix can also be used with a first person subject, in examples (1) – (3), and here the evidential interpretation is present, but some element of speaker assertion is also found. There are other instances of the use of *-dzi* in which ‘assertion’ is the strongest semantic factor that can be singled out, and the only trace of ‘evidentiality’ lies in the speakers assertion of the future evidence.

In (30) the translation is not past; the event described (*tsi qasn wfii ətn*) is not yet real, and yet the verb is marked with the realis, and that realis is followed by the asserted evidence suffix.

- (30) Tsi qasn wfii
 1SG one house
 ə-t-n-dzi.
 do-1-REAL-ASSERT
 ‘I want to build a house.’ or
 ‘I must build a house.’

We believe the suffix to be the same, with the difference being one of interpretation of the central notion of ‘assertion’. When the speaker reports her own assertion, she has access to the inner workings of her own mind, and can assert desires and deontic needs. When the speaker asserts events that have been undertaken by a third person, for which she has no direct knowledge of the state of the subject’s mind, she can only report on the workings of her own mind, and so assert the truth status of that event; that is, that she is a reliable witness to the event.

We have only limited data on the use of *-dzi* with second person subjects. In (31) we have a sentence in which a daughter was insisting that her mother should stay with her for a few more days, asking when the next time a visit might happen. She uses a second person verb with realis and assertion marking. The *-dzi* cannot be referring to the speaker’s state of mind, since the speaker does not know when the desired state of affairs will come about; yet there is definitely an element of the speaker wanting the *nugun* event to take place. The speaker cannot be asserting the truth of future, questioned event, yet there is an

element of assertion of the truth that it will not be easy to arrange a subsequent visit. We suggest that with second persons we find that the interpretation of *-dzi* is half-way in between the preferred interpretation found with first persons and that found with second persons.

- (31) Qaitə fera əsa.
 next timewhen
 n-ug-(u)n-dzi nu.
 2-come-REAL-ASSERT 2SG
 ‘Next time, when will you be able to come?’

6. Conclusion

We have seen that the suffix *-dzi* is a suffix that marks speaker assertion; it belongs to the category of morphemes that mark epistemic information, evidentiality and egophoricity. The other suffix under discussion, *-ta’η*, marks associated motion with a high level of pragmatic salience.

These suffixes were hard for earlier researchers to identify for two reasons. The first reason is that of expectation, in that the Kusunda morphological categories do not map on to typical Himalayan categories. Secondly, the circumstances in which earlier data was collected were not conducive to the elicitation of these morphemes.

When it is encoded by means of verbal or phrasal morphemes, the evidentiality system of a typical Himalayan language marks the contrast between hearsay/indirect knowledge on the one hand, with an overt morpheme, contrasted with a more ‘certain’ category that is morphologically null. For instance, examine the following sentences from Qiang and from Nepali. In both these languages, typical of other languages of the region, the hearsay category is marked, and the \emptyset -marked category is the one associated with personal assertion or knowledge. This is the reverse of the Kusunda system described here, in which asserted knowledge is marked overtly, and the \emptyset -category is used for hearsay (see also, eg., Delancey 2001, Grunow-Hårsta 2007, Lidz 2007, Post 2010, Satoko 2007, and others on this topic;

note that this is an areal, not global, tendency; see Chafe and Nichols 1986).

Qiang (LaPolla and Huang 2003)

(32) the: de-xtse.
3SG DIR-go.away
'S/he went away.'

(33) the: fia-qə-i nua?
3SG DIR-go-HEARSAY QUESTION
'Did he go?'

Nepali

(34) U ga-eko
3SG go:PAST-PTCPL
'S/he's gone.'

(35) U ga-eko re.
3SG go:PAST-PTCPL HEARSAY
'S/he's gone, so I've heard.'

Similar confusion is found with the associated motion suffix. Since the *-ta'ŋ* suffix is used to monitor pragmatically-salient locational information, it would be very hard to discover in a fixed interior location using direct elicitation, since there is no locational context. Furthermore, a typical Himalayan directional system contrasts more than one different kind of motion, and typically has a semantic orientation that is (purely?) based on absolute direction. The following Dhimal examples show part of the paradigm of directional suffixing in Dhimal, which contrasts five different suffixes in the same position, one of which (*-lha* 'intensive') has a modal sense, one has an applicative sense (*-dhi* 'relinquitive'), and three of which have primarily directional meaning. In addition to the two specific suffixes illustrated here, there is a third suffix (*-gil* 'indeterminate').

Dhimal (King 2009)

(36) tauli to:-pa-nha?
towel move-VENITIVE-2
'Did you bring the towel in?'

(37) He?-kilo cum-pu-a-na?
how.many-kilo hold-DISTAL-FUT-2
'How many kilos do you want to take?'

The other reason why Watters et al. failed to analyse the *-dzi* suffix as a marker of evidentiality, or to even elicit the *-ta'ŋ* suffix, concerns the manner of data collection. It is true that direct elicitation is a useful, fast, and necessary tool, but it can only be effectively applied *after* some knowledge of the language's structures is already available, through the observation of naturalistic data.

When we examine the fourteen texts that form the corpus used in this study we find that there is a clear correlation between the kind of material described in the narratives and the frequency with which the two morphemes in question are employed. To discuss just the extreme cases, in the text 'Survive breaking stones', which talks about how the speaker had been making a living breaking up stones for use in cement, there are no instances of either *-dzi* or *-ta'ŋ*. The subject matter is such that the speaker is sure of the truth of the utterances, but does not see any need to assert, or to associate any particular pragmatic salience to any of the utterances. By contrast, in the text 'Go different places' the speaker is talking about the activities of her parents and other adults in the Kusunda band in which she grew up, and their nomadic lifestyle. This is a text that involves a high degree of emotional involvement, and a lot of pragmatically salient material, and it includes many instances of both *-dzi* or *-ta'ŋ*. This is a strong indication that native speaker intuitions, and not prescriptive judgements, are the best kind of data to collect, and that naturalistic texts that uncover new morphemes and new contexts for their use are the best way to find contexts in which cross-linguistically unusual structures emerge.

Table 4. Stories examined for the assertion and motion suffixes

Frequency		Date	Days
-dzi	-ta ^h ŋ-dzi	recorded	passed*
Survive breaking stones:			
0%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Bow and arrow:			
8%	3%	2 nd Feb	3
Food pollution:			
8%	0%	19 th Feb	20
Nothing to eat:			
8%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Firewood:			
8%	0%	13 th Feb	14
Hunt:			
12%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Kusunda language:			
16%	0%	31 st Jan	1
Our jungle lifestyle:			
18%	0%	1 st Feb	2
Jungle village:			
21%	5%	30 th Jan	0
Dance:			
33%	6%	31 st Jan	1
Shaman:			
43%	19%	15 th Feb	16
Bow and arrow game:			
45%	1%	2 nd Feb	3
Dance, sing and love:			
46%	2%	3 rd Feb	4
Go different places:			
62%	15%	1 st Feb	2

*Since start of fieldwork

With -ta^hŋ in particular we can see that there is a correlation between the degree of familiarity that

the Kusunda speaker felt with the researchers and the number of instances of -ta^hŋ that surface in the texts. Some texts do not contain material that is relevant to the motion aspects of -ta^hŋ, but there is nonetheless an overall correlation ($r = 0.21$, Pearson's correlation) between the length of time that the linguists had been working with the speaker and the use of the pragmatically informative morphemes.

We have seen that evidentiality and stance are marked on the verb in Kusunda, as are pragmatically salient goals. We have also seen that being too well-versed in the typological normalcies of an area can make departures from those norms hard to detect, even for experienced language workers. Similarly, even experienced linguists cannot investigate much of the uniqueness of languages by elicitation alone, since the manner of data collection influences the kind of data collected. For a full investigation of the quirks of a language, a maximal corpus of naturalistic data is essential.

References

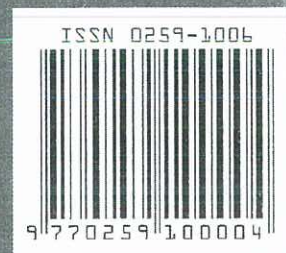
- Central Bureau of Statistics. 2012. *National Population and Housing Census 2011*. Government of Nepal: Kathmandu.
- Chafe, Wallace, and Johanna Nichols, eds., 1986. *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 369-382.
- Donohue, Mark. 2013. Kusunda linguistics. (<http://kusunda.linguistics.anu.edu.au>)
- Grunow-Härsta, Karen. 2007. Evidentiality and Mirativity in Magar. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30 (2): 151-194.
- King, John T. 2009. *A grammar of Dhimal*. Leiden: Brill.
- LaPolla, Randy, and Chenglong Huang. 2003. *A Grammar of Qiang, with Annotated Texts and Glossary*. Berlin: Mouton DeGruyter.
- Lidz, Liberty A. 2007. Evidentiality in Yongning Na (Mosuo). *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30 (2): 45-87.

- Post, Mark W. 2010. On the frontiers of person-marking and evidentiality: Egophoricity and alterphoricity in Tibeto-Burman. MS, The Cairns Institute, James Cook University.
- Satoko, Shirai. 2007. Evidentials and evidential-like categories in nDrapa. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30 (2): 125-150.
- Van Oostendorp, Herre, and Rolf A. Zwaan. 1994. *Naturalistic Text Comprehension*. Norwood: Ablex.
- Watters, David E., with Yogendra P. Yadava, Madhav P. Pokharel and Balaram Prasain. 2006. *Notes on Kusunda grammar*. Himalayan Linguistics Archive 3: 1-182. (Previously published as Watters et al. 2005. *Notes on Kusunda Grammar*. Kathmandu: National Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities.)

Volume 28
November 2013
**Journal of the
Linguistic Society of Nepal**

Nepalese Linguistics

Linguistic Society of Nepal
Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal
www.lsn.org.np



Contents

Shifting linguistic identity of Chepangs	<i>Rishiram Adhikari & Ramesh Kumar Limbu</i> 1
Words of human body parts, birds, animals and other insects used among the Boro, Garo, Rabha, Dimasa and Kokborok languages	<i>Phukan Ch. Basumatary</i> 7
Coordination in Baram	<i>Laxman Chalise</i> 12
Relative clauses in Magahi	<i>Shweta Chandra</i> 15
Case marking in Balami	<i>Binod Dahal</i> 25
Verb agreement in Majhi	<i>Dubi Nanda Dhakal</i> 31
Evidence and stance in Kusunda	<i>Mark Donohue and Bhoj Raj Gautam</i> 38
An acoustic analysis of Balami basic vowels	<i>Bhoj Raj Gautam</i> 48
Mother tongue-based education and the heritage languages of Nepal	<i>Laxman Ghimire</i> 55
Age-related sociolinguistic variation in sign languages, with particular reference to Nepali sign language	<i>Upendra Khanal</i> 64
Case marking in Dhimal	<i>Karnakhar Khatiwada</i> 71
Clitic <i>-e</i> in Bhojpuri	<i>Gopal Thakur</i> 77
Participant Tracking in Nepali Sign Language Narrative	<i>Michael W Morgan</i> 86
Negation: evidences from the Dura language	<i>Kedar Bilash Nagila</i> 95
Person, number and gender system in Bodo	<i>Parijat Narzary</i> 100
Exploring strategies for translation of onomatopoeic words: A case of <i>Muglan</i>	<i>Nabaraj Neupane</i> 109
Lexical reduplication in the Chitoniya Tharu	<i>Krishna Prasad Paudyal</i> 117
Issues of v-v compounds in Chintang	<i>Netra Prasad Paudyal</i> 125
Finite State Approach to Nepali Adjectives	<i>Balaram Prasain</i> 132
Subordination in Dumri	<i>Netra Mani Rai</i> 137
Discourse continuity in Koyee	<i>Tara Mani Rai</i> 146
A Contrastive Study of Chhintang and English Pronouns: Problems and Teaching Strategies	<i>Ichchha Purna Rai</i> 155
Multilingualism, domains of language use and language vitality in Magar Kaike	<i>Ambika Regmi</i> 160
Contact induced changes in Bhujel	<i>Dan Raj Regmi</i> 167
Some perspectives on Maithili	<i>Krishna Kumar Sah</i> 177
State restructuring and language policy in Nepal	<i>Suren Sapkota</i> 187
Dynamic of Nepali public's opinion on the linguistic issue	<i>Pawan Kumar Sen</i> 197
Puma phonology: a descriptive analysis	<i>Narayan Sharma</i> 209
Interactive evaluation of quasi-synonyms extracted from the bilingual dictionaries	<i>Potemkin</i> 216
Font identifier and unicode converter for Hindi	<i>UmrinderPal Singh, Vishal Goyal</i> 223
Relativization in Maithili	<i>Indresh Thakur</i> 228
Tense system in the Bahing language	<i>Rajendra Thokar</i> 236
The interaction of weight effects and extrametricality in Nepali	

phonetic stress assignment	<i>Daniel M. Tucker</i>	245
Status of Limbu mother tongue education in Nepal	<i>Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang</i>	251
Linguistic context and language endangerment in Nepal	<i>Yogendra P Yadava</i>	260
Importance of paralanguage in learning English as second language	<i>Ayesha Zafar</i>	273
Presenditia Presidential speech	<i>Krishna Prasad Parajuli</i>	281
List of the life members of linguistic society of Nepal		286