

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General background

Despite its small area and population, Nepal accommodates amazing cultural and linguistic diversity. Although the latest census 2001 has recorded only 92 languages, the linguists claim that there are more than 100 languages which are spoken in Nepal. The ongoing Linguistic Survey of Nepal, launched in 2009, has thus far identified 104 languages with genetic affiliations to four different language families viz. Indo-European (Indo-Aryan), Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian (Giri, 2009). Kusunda is such a language which does not belong to any of the four language families mentioned above. Linguists call it 'language isolate'. Therefore, Nepal is a '**linguistic paradise**'(Moriarty, in Nepalese Linguistics, vol.22, 2006) and '**one of the richest living laboratories**'(Bhattarai and Gautam, 2007). Nepal is no doubt rich in its culture and tradition; it is a homeland to different distinct cultures and languages. It has become the pilgrimage of linguists who come to this beautiful country, enjoy a lot and quench their thirst by having varieties of linguistic and cultural flavor. Once they come to Nepal, they are hooked again.

We are, on the one hand, proud of having Nepal as a linguistic paradise, but the major threat we can also see today is the number of languages heading to their extinction. Along with the death of languages, so many indigenous people are losing their ethnic identities, histories and cultures since Crystal(2000:119) says, "...language expresses their identity and their history...so much of their culture is expressed in language that it is not possible to be a member of their community if one does not speak its language". In case of Nepal, very few languages are safe and most of the languages are endangered. Watters (2001) has classified the language spoken in Nepal into three groups:

a. Moribund languages

This group includes those languages which extinct along with the extinction of their old native speakers. There are 10 languages in Nepal that belong to this group. Some of them are Linkhim, Chukwa, Koyee, Raute, Nanpa, Narphu , Rankhasa etc.

b. Endangered languages

Languages whose speakers are more than 1000 and less than 100,000 come under this group. There are 80 identified languages and 20 unidentified languages belonging to this group, out of which 95 languages are of the

indigenous people. Of all the languages belonging to this group, 48 languages have less than 5,000 speakers, which have the greater possibility of being extinct.

c. Safe languages

Languages having more than 100,000 speakers belong to this group. There are 17 languages in Nepal which come under this group. Among them, Nepali, Bhojpuri and Maithili have greater number of speakers, that's why; they are safer than other languages.

The Population census 2001 classifies the languages of Nepal into five groups:

- i. **Safe languages:** Languages having more than 100,000 speakers are safe languages. There are 9 languages that come under this group.
- ii. **Endangered languages:** Languages having more than 10,000 and less than 100,000 speakers are endangered languages. There are 15 languages that come under this group.
- iii. **Moribund languages:** Languages having more than 1000 and less than 10,000 speakers are moribund languages. There are 25 languages that come under this group.
- iv. **Critically moribund languages:** Languages having more than 2 and less than 1000 speakers are critically moribund languages. There are 15 languages that come under this group.
- v. **Native speakers unidentified or dead languages:** The census 2001 shows that there are 23 languages whose native speakers are unidentified. They are no more than dead languages.

Historically, many indigenous languages were suppressed under the Rana regime and the panchayat era which actively pursued “one nation-one language” policy. As a result, indigenous people have come to consider their languages not only unsuitable for education and business, but also inferior to Nepali in general. Therefore, they try to improve their competence in Nepali rather than cultivating and preserving their own mother tongues (S. Toba, I. Toba and Rai, 2005, in Giri, 2009). The advocacy of mother tongue education in Nepal began only after 1990 A.D. The main reason behind mother tongue education includes helping children learn by breaking barriers of language in the school and preserve and promote endangered languages through education. The Article 18:1 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal-1990 has made a provision that “each community residing within the kingdom of Nepal shall have the right to preserve and promote its language, script and culture”

(Ministry of Law and Justice, 1990:13, cited in Awasthi, 2006:489). The Constitution also deserves the right of each community "...to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children" (18:2:14, as mentioned in Awasthi 2006:489). Although the attempts have been made to impart primary education through mother tongue, mother tongue education is not being pedagogically effective due to the lack of monitoring and support from the part of the government of Nepal. There are not any training and supplementary materials for teachers to teach mother tongue. A dozen of mother tongue education schools are in operation in various parts of the country (Yadava, 2005, as cited in Giri, 2009:39) but they are experiencing a decline of students. What is needed is an inclusive language policy which is progressive in its principle and accommodative in its approach is the way forward (Giri, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) categorizes Yakkha under the disadvantaged groups (NHDR, 2004) and in terms of population, following Watters (2001) and the Census 2001, Yakkha is an endangered language. Because of the dominance of English and Nepali, migration from the original homelands to other places, lack of mother tongue education and other various reasons, it is gradually losing its native speakers. With the diminishing educational and economic value, the people of young generation do not value their language at all. They themselves point out the fact the knowledge of their language does not have the same value in employment, trade, media and education as English and Nepali.

Yakkha is neither rich in its literature nor does it have its own script. Yakkha people still use the Devnagari Script while writing articles, poems and folklore although it is claimed that Srijanga Script is the common script for all Kirati languages. Yakkha has not yet been well-documented, recorded and described for research and academic purposes except Kongren's 'Yakkha- Nepali-English Dictionary' published in 2007 AD and some theses carried out in M.Ed. In this context, the basic problems of this research are as follows:

- a. What are the case marking system in Yakkha?,
- b. What are the Yakkha case markers and how are they identified?,
- c. What are the Yakkha cases or case roles?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the case systems in Yakkha from the formal and functional perspectives. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- a. to identify the case marking systems in Yakkha,

- b. to identify Yakkha cases and case markers,
- c. to present their analysis

1.4 Literature review

Although the traditions of the studies of the Tibeto-Burman languages are not new, precise studies on Yakkha have not been done yet. Very few researches have been carried out on Yakkha . The review of the earlier literature related to the present study is as follows:

Dewan(2005), the researcher himself, has identified that the Yakkha negative markers are ‘-n’ and ‘-ni’ which occur in different situations; the nasal sounds /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are added in the initial position of the verb which results the change of sounds i.e. the voiceless sounds are changed into their corresponding voiced sounds; Yakkha yes/no question is formed by adding the interrogative particle ‘i’ at the end of the verb and the interrogative particle in wh-question is ‘la’ which is optional.

Dewan (2009) has identified that:

- i. Yakkha has the past and present tenses. It codes futurity periphrastically with the help of future time adverbials.
 Present tense markers: -ma, -wa
 Past tense markers: -a, -I, -u etc.
- ii. Yakkha codes the perfect and progressive aspects in all tenses.
 Present perfect markers: Vstem + -i, -u, -uk etc. + -su + concord
 Future perfect markers: Vstem + -u, -uk, -i, -ine, -swa + concord
 Past perfect markers: Vstem + -a, -a , -ata, -u, -uta, -u , -ita, -sa + concord
 Present progressive markers: Vsimple form + -si, -a, -tu, -i, -ta etc. + concord
 Past progressive markers: Vsimple form + -si + -me,-wa etc. + concord
 Future progressive markers: Vstem + -u , -yu , -nu + -me + concord

Grierson (1909) first made an attempt to study Yakkha spoken in Darjeeling. His study was on pronunciation, prefixes, articles, nouns, gender, number, verbs, verb substantives, tense, passive voice, negative verb, interrogative particle and order of words. His study was very superficial.

Jadranka Gvozdanovic, in 1984, made an attempt to study Yakkha . She collected data from Lal Bahadur Rai, who was the inhabitant of Omruwa-3, Panchyat Ankhibuin, Sankhuwasabha. In 1987, Gvozdanovic published data of ‘Yakkhaba’ transitive verbal paradigm. She also found some Yakkha pronouns:

ka ‘I’	kenci ‘we’(dual inclusive)
kanci ‘we’(dual exclusive)	kening ‘we’(plural inclusive)

kaning 'we' (plural exclusive)	nda 'you'(singular)
ningda 'you'(dual and plural)	ung 'he/she'
ungaci 'they'(dual and plural)	

Kongren(2007) has prepared a trilingual dictionary called 'Yakkha- Nepali-English Dictionary' which comprises about 2460 Yakkha words. The dictionary was published by Kirat Yakkha Chhumma, Central Committee, Kathmandu. The dictionary is based on Yakkha language spoken in five Majhiya and ten Majhiya regions. This is the first dictionary in Yakkha.

Limbu (2007) has identified eight Limbu cases viz. ergative, absolutive, instrumental, genitive, comitative, locative, dative and vocative.

Rai (1985) has indentified five cases and their case markers in Bantawa. They are:

- a. Agentive case: /-a/
- b. Instrumental case: /-a/
- c. Locative case:
 - /-Da/: No level; no direction
 - /-Du/: higher level
 - /-ya/: even level
 - /-yu/: lower level
- d. Ablative case: /-Nka/
 - Locative suffix + ablative case
 - Da + Nka: DaNka('from')
 - Du + Nka: DuNka('from (the higher level))
 - yu + Nka: yuNka('from (the lower level))
 - ya + Nka: yaNka('from(the even level))
- e. Genitive case: /-ko/(after a consonant) and /-wo/(after a vowel)

Russel(1992) did his his PhD. on 'The Yakkha: Culture, Environment and Development in East Nepal' from the University of Oxford. The major bulk of his fieldwork was conducted in Tamaphok, Sankhuwasabha, Nepal. He carried out a social anthropological study of Yakkha. In his thesis, he has discussed about Yakkha identity in history, caste, food, religion, language, migration, the Yakkha house and other related factors. He has also mentioned Yakkha word lists and Yakkha kinship terms.

Tolsma (1997) has included the following ten Kulung cases and case markers:

- a. the ergative: - ?a
- b. the absolutive: unmarked
- c. the instrumental: -?a
- d. the genitive: -mi
- e. the vocative: -?a

- f. the locative: -pi, -pa, -pu,
- g. the comitative: -l
- h. the ablative: -pka
- i. the elative: -pika
- j. the meditative: -la

Tambahang(2007) has identified twelve cases and their different case markers in Chhatthare Limbu. They are:

- a. Absolutive: Ø
- b. Ergative: - a~na~ma
- c. Instrumental: - a
- d. Genitive: - a
- e. Vocative: -o or –
- f. Locative: -o
- g. Comitative: -nu
- i. Meditative: -lam or –nu
- j. Ablative: -lam or –nu
- k. Allative: -d^harik
- l. Directive: -na or -l k^ha
- m. Comparative: -a or -nu

van Driem (1987) has identified the following eleven cases and case markers of Limbu :

- a. Absolutive: - ?in
- b. Ergative: - ?ille,-le,-re,-lle
- c. Instrumental: - ?ille, -le
- d. Genitive: - ?ille,-le
- e. Vocative: -e
- f. Locative: - ?o
- g. Comitative: -nu
- h. Mediative: -lam
- i. Elative: - ?o-lam, - ?o-nu
- j. Allative: -thak
- k. Intrative: -lum- ?o, -lummo

van Driem (1992) analyzed the Omruwa Yakkha verbs. He has identified that the prefix <m> marks the transitive relationship between a third person plural agent and a singular patient, the suffix <-ng> marks exclusive of addressee i.e. exclusive morpheme, the dual morpheme <-ci> marks dual actant number, the suffix <-u> marks third person patient, the suffix <-m> marks plural number of

a first exclusion or second person agent, the suffix <-ci> in suffixal slot 6 marks non-singular number of a third person, the suffix <-ga> marks involvement of the second person in all forms and the suffix <-na> marks singular patient in all forms. He has also concluded that Gvozdanovic's Yakkhaba data are actually Yakkha data, not the language data of Lohorong, Yamphe and Yamphu which Gvozdanovic called 'Yakkhaba'. Yakkhas too call themselves or their language 'Yakkhaba'.

Watters (2002) has identified the following cases and case markers in Kham:

- a. the genitive: -e/-ye
- b. the instrumental: -e/-ye
- c. the comitative and associative: -s
- d. the nominative: zero marking
- e. the ergative: -e/-ye
- f. the objective case: -lai

Yakkha Rai(2002) discusses the history of Yakkha indigenous people in his book 'Kirat Yakkhako Itihas: Ek Chhalphal'. This is the first book which provides more information about the history of Yakkha indigenous people.

Although some researches have been carried out on the case system in some languages, research on the case system of any language becomes a new topic since the case forms or markers vary from language to language i.e. case forms or markers are language-specific. In the case of Yakkha, the research on the Case System has not yet been carried out. In this sense, this topic is still untouched or virgin.

1.5 Methods of data collection

The researcher used both primary and secondary sources in order to collect data. The primary source of data was the four Yakkha native speakers above age 30 living in Angna VDC, Panchthar, who were selected through judgmental sampling procedure. The researcher visited the selected VDC, made a good rapport with the selected Yakkha native speakers and told them the purpose of doing his research.

The techniques he used to collect data were elicitation, interview and recording. As a secondary source, he used the data he collected for his M. Ed. Thesis. Besides, the different books, journals, theses, dictionary, periodicals and magazines were consulted as the secondary sources. Some of them were Rai (1985), Regmi(2007), Tumbahang(2007), Kongren (2007), Dewan (2009), Limbu (2007), and so on. The data collected were described modality based on Givon(2001) and Comrie(1989).

1.6 Significance of the study

The present study has the following significance:

- a. Very few researches have been carried out on Yakkha . So this research will be invaluable for the Central Department of Linguistics itself and for other departments as well.
- b. Understanding Yakkha case systems will enhance language development efforts, particularly, in the fields of non-formal and mother tongue education at the primary level.
- c. This study will be significant for the syllabus designers and textbook writers who are writing syllabuses and textbooks in Yakkha for Yakkha students, and other people who are interested in this field.
- d. This study will be equally invaluable for pure linguists as features of Yakkha are documented by only few researchers.

1.7 Scope and delimitation

The study was restricted to the case system of the eastern dialect of the Yakkha language i.e. only the Yakkha native speakers of Angna VDC of Panchthar district were consulted for data collection. The total study population was limited to only four Yakkha native speakers.

1.8 Organization of the study

This study is organized into five chapters. The chapter 1 presents background, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, significance of the study, scope and delimitation, methods of data collection, methodology and organization of the study. In chapter 2, we discuss Yakkha and Yakkha language. The chapter 3 deals with case, case grammar and different case marking systems such as nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, neutral, tripartite and A/P-S systems. In chapter 4, we analyze the cases and case markers identified in Yakkha. The chapter 5 includes the synopsis of the thesis. Finally, the reference is mentioned.

CHAPTER 2

YAKKHA AND YAKKHA LANGUAGE

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Yakkha in terms of origin, naming, demography and distribution, tradition and culture, profession, and academic status. It also introduces Yakkha language in terms of genetic affiliation, phonology, syllable structure and dialects. Finally, we discuss about language maintenance, transmission and vitality.

2.1 Yakkha

The Yakkhas are the indigenous people of eastern Nepal with their distinct language, culture, tradition, custom, rites and rituals, which separate them from other ethnic groups such as the Limbu and the Rai. The culture, custom, tradition, way of life as well as the land of the Yakkha are ancient and historic. The Yakkhas have their own ancestral geographical territory and their original history. Despite being distinct and separate from other ethnic groups, the Yakkha had not been officially recorded as a separate ethnic group before 2001 AD. Because of the perennial efforts of the conscious Yakkha people, Yakkha as a separate ethnic group was officially registered only in 2001 AD.

2.1.1 Origin

In the name of so-called unification of Nepal, Gorkhali King Prithivi Narayan Shah destroyed the traditional bases of the Kirant Region. The Far Kirant of the Ten Limbuwan area to the east of the Arun river was divided into 'Seventeen Thum'. Among these 'Seventeen Thum' the 'Panch Khapan', 'Panch Majhiya' and 'Das Majhiya' Tin Thum 'Yaksalen' are regarded as the traditional areas of the Yakkha. They are the areas where the Yakkha people, their language and culture are said to have begun. Following Kongren(2007), the Far Kirant region to the east of the Arun river which includes the 'Panch Khapan' area comprising Syabun, Jaljala, Siddhapokhari, Siddhakali and other villages of Sankhuwasabha district; the 'Panch Majhiya' area comprising Kharang and Baneshwor(Chapabhuin) villages; the 'Das Majhiya' area comprising Madi Rambeni, Begha, Madi Mulkharka(Waleng), Tamaphok, Tellok, Salle, Namlang, Namisore and Ankhibhuin villages, along with Dandagaun(Yaiten), Chanuwa and other villages of Dhankuta district are known as the traditional homeland of the Yakkhas.

2.1.2 Naming

There is no universal opinion regarding the origin of the word 'Yakkha'. The derivation of the word 'Yakkha' is mostly based on the historical facts and hearsay. Following Yakkha Rai (2059 B.S.),

- i. The word 'Yakkha' came from the Nepali word 'Yaha kha' which means 'eat here' or 'reside here'.
It has come to be known that the traditional homeland of the Yakkha is around Chainpur municipality of Sankhuwasabha district. And it is said that the winner gave this place to the loser saying 'Yaha kha', meaning 'reside here'.
- ii. The word 'Yakkha' was derived from 'Yaksa' since the Yakkha used to live in 'Yaksa' ('Yaksa' in the Yakkha language means a temporary hut and Turner (1965:523) includes the meaning of 'Yaksa' as 'any small building or shed or booth'). The community or groups of people who first built houses to live in came to be known as Yakkha.
- iii. 'Yakkha' is the modified form of 'Yaksha'. Yaksha was a Himalayan race or ethnic group.

Kongren (2007:87) says, "The word Yakkha is etymologically related to the word "Yakma", which means to stay for the night." The word 'Yakkha' is, in everyday usage, used as Yakkhapa or Yakkhaba to denote the male Yakkha person and Yakkhama to denote the female Yakkha person. Kongren (2007) mentions that the word 'Yakkha' was derived from the word 'Yaksa' which means 'a thatched hut' in the Yakkha language. The Kirati people of Far Kirat who inhabited in the 'Yaksalen' area by making Yaksa or huts came to be known as Yakkha. It means, from the word 'Yaksa' or 'hut' the people residing in those Yaksa or huts received the name Yakkha.

Hudson (1880) has a little different view as regards the derivation of the word 'Yakkha'. He views that the word 'Yakkha' was derived from the Pali word 'Yakkha' (pronounced as /y kkh /) which later came to be known as 'Yaksha' and Yakkha was later derived from the word 'Yaksha' (i.e. Yakkha Yaksha Yakkha, pronounced respectively as /y kkh / /y ksh / /yakkha/)(Dewan, 2005:11).

Extracting from Finegan, Chemjong (2005:43) writes "Archaeological Museum of Mathura has the oldest Indian stone statue which is eight feet eight inches high and under it Sanskrit word 'Yakkha' is written". As regards the word 'Yakkha' the Limbus call those with plenty of wealth as Yakkha and the Rais call those with a big house as Yakkha.

The Yakkhas are known as Yakkhaba or Yakkhapa, Yakkhaba Cea, Yakkha Sala, Dewan, Majhiya, Mukhiya, Jimi and other alternatives. According to

Dewan (2002:33, as mentioned in Dewan, 2005:13), “Majhiya, Jimi and Dewan are the posts assigned to Yakkha people.” Those posts were mainly categorized on the basis of the ownership of the land. After the conquests of Prithivi Narayan Shah to the Far Kirat, new titles were created to be conferred upon the indigenous Yakkha living in the ‘Yaksalen’ area. Kongren (2007:88) writes:

The Yakkha were not only given ownership of the movable and immovable property of the “Yaksalen” area, but were also given the responsibility of collecting taxes from the lands utilized by the Yakkha and the non-Yakkha living in the area. The “Majhiya and Jimmawal” who collected the taxes had to deposit them in the government offices at Chainpur. Also, the “Majhiya” and “Jimmawal” were given the responsibility of looking into and adjudicating the disputes that arose in the villages. Thus, from that time the Yakkha came to adopt the title “Majhiya”. Along with “Majhiya” the Yakkha have also adopted the surname “Jimindar” (Jimi). A Yakkha living in a village called Madi Rambeni Pualunggaun of Sankhuwasabha district, in order to look after the administrative affairs of the area, was conferred the title of “Dewan”. Following this practice other Yakkhas over time also came to adopt as their name “Dewan”. The surname “Dewan” is especially found among those who have left their ancestral homeland and migrated to other areas. Most of these migrants use the surname “Dewan”.

Regarding the name of ‘Dewan’, Chemjong (2005:157) says, “The Dewans were the third grade officers. They were the revenue officers of the State. Their annual commission was one tenth part of the total income of their districts”. Similarly, ‘Nepali Sabdakosa’ compiled and edited by Bal Chandra Sharma (2019:524, as mentioned in Dewan, 2005:13) includes the meaning of ‘Dewan’ as ‘Advisor of the King, Minister and Secretary’. Similarly, Turner (1965:318) includes the meaning of ‘Dewan’ as ‘Magistrate, minister of state’. But Hanpon (as cited in Kongren, 2007:88) makes some interesting observations about the word “Dewan”. According to him, ‘Dewan’ is the ethnic label for the Yakkha. In Darjeeling and Sikkim “Dewan” is used as a synonym of Yakkha.

2.1.3 Demography and distribution

As mentioned earlier, the Yakkhas regard the ‘Yaksalen’ of Far Kirant as their traditional homeland. Specifically, the ‘Panch Khapa’, ‘Panch Majhiya’ and ‘Das Majhiya’ areas are the traditional homeland of the Yakkha. Today, the Yakkhas are found residing not only within their ancestral homeland, but also in various parts of the country as well as beyond. The Population Census 2001 shows the Yakkhas residing in 44 districts of Nepal and their total population is 17,003(0.07%). Besides Nepal, the Yakkhas also live in different parts of India, Hongkong, the U.K. and other various countries. The district-wise population

of the Yakkhas, according to the Census 2001, is shown in the following table.

Table No.1: The district-wise population of the Yakkhas

S.N.	District	Population	S.N.	District	Population
1.	Sankhuwasabha	7001	23.	Kailali	10
2.	Dhakuta	4973	24.	Baglung	10
3.	Ilam	1287	25.	Arghakhachi	9
4.	Morang	938	26.	Surkhet	8
5.	Panchthar	627	27.	Mahottari	6
6.	Sunsari	416	28.	Dang	5
7.	Jhapa	384	29.	Makawanpur	5
8.	Parsa	289	30.	Khotang	4
9.	Taplejung	204	31.	Gorkha	4
10.	Terhthum	180	32.	Ramechhap	2
11.	Kathmandu	146	33.	Kapilvastu	2
12.	Rautahat	140	34.	Nuwakot	1
13.	Dhanusha	58	35.	Dolakha	1
14.	Nawalparasi	57	36.	Solukhumbu	1
15.	Udayapur	53	37.	Okhaldhunga	1
16.	Rupandehi	47	38.	Chitawan	1
17.	Lalitpur	45	39.	Lamajung	1
18.	Saptari	32	40.	Myagdi	1
19.	Sindhuli	16	41.	Parbat	1
20.	Bara	14	42.	Sarlahi	1
21.	Siraha	13	43.	Bardiya	1
22.	Bhaktapur	12	44.	Dailekh	1

(CBS, 2001)

2.1.4 Tradition and culture

The Yakkhas are the indigenous people of Nepal with their distinct tradition, culture and identity. They are neither Rai nor Limbu. The typical Yakkha tradition and culture is described in terms of pregnancy, birth and name-giving ceremony, marriage, death, festivals, food, customs and ornaments, occupation/profession and religion.

a. Pregnancy

In Yakkha community, the pregnancy is taken as a matter of joy and celebration. When a Yakkha woman becomes pregnant, the ceremony called 'Chelangma Chyang' (the worship of the womb) is performed to raise the morale of the pregnant woman and for the good health of the infant in the

womb and of the mother. The ceremony is undertaken after six or seven months of the conception. According to Kongren (2007:111),

For the ceremony various items like an egg, a hen, four pairs of banana leaves, two gourds of home-brewed liquor, garland (Punwala-mala), lettuce, ginger as well as a type of moss(Yang pen) that grows on trees, lentil and assortment of food are required.

Similarly, a piece of pure land outside the house is cleaned and scrubbed with red clay for cooking various food items. The ceremony is performed by Manghangma, Chamba and Bijuwa. It is believed that a pregnant woman should neither cross the big rivers, hills and cliffs nor look at a corpse.

b. Birth and name-giving ceremony

When a Yakkha woman gives birth to a child, the cord attached to the child is put on a silver coin and is cut with a clean and sharp knife or blade. Then, the cord is put in a bamboo pipe and is placed on the branch of the tree that produces milk-like substances (dudhilo, kabro, khirlo) with the belief that the mother will give abundant milk if the cord is put on either tree. After this the mother and the child are washed and kept on a warm place inside the house and hot and nutritious food is given her to eat. After five or six days of the child birth, the piece of the naval, when it dries up and falls, is put in a small brass or silver box and is tied around the child's neck like a garland so that the child, it is believed, will not be afraid of spirits and the spirits will not haunt the child.

The name-giving ceremony ('Ningyunma') is performed on the fourth day in the case of a male child and on the third day in the case of a female child. On the very morning the house is cleaned and scrubbed and then the house is purified by sprinkling water on it with the branches of a particular type of plant (titepati). All the relatives, neighbours and friends gather to give name to the child. They wash the child, rub olive oil on his/her body, tie pieces of thread around his/her waist, wrist and ankle, and so on. The name is given to the child taking into account of the year, month, day, date and the time of the birth of the child. All those gathered offer blessings and good wishes to the health of the child and the mother. There will be feasting on that very day.

c. Marriage

In Yakkha community, there is the practice of arranged as well as love marriage. Arranged marriage (Nak Thanchheng) is not eligible with the families sharing the same sub-group (Sametling or Pachha) for five to seven generations. In this type of marriage, the bridegroom, along with Lengtamwe (Lami or Kutuni), is sent to the girl's house and the Lengtamwe puts forth the marriage proposal to the girl's parents. If the girl's parents approve the

proposal, the girl's parents and relatives are greeted with a bottle of liquor from the boy's side and the date of the marriage is fixed.

A day before the marriage the bride, her sister or brother, her relatives and friends come to the bridegroom's house. They are put in a temporary shed near the groom's house. The house is decorated with flowers and colourful papers, with a gate built in the courtyard of the house. On the second day, i.e. the day of the marriage proper, Panchebaja and the drum (Kei) are played and danced. In the afternoon, the clothes and jewelry from the groom's side are handed to the bride. These clothes and jewelry along with the bride are taken to a nearby place 'chautari'. The groom is also prepared for the marriage ceremony. He wears a white daura suruwal, Dhaka topi (cap), head cloth, girdle, and a piece of cloth worn from the shoulder to the waist known as 'Lakpai'. A garland of flowers and a sliver or a gold necklace is put on the groom's neck. His parents, relatives and villagers put on white tika on his forehead. After being given curd to eat as a good omen, the groom is taken to the bride with Panchebaja and drums (kei). The best man holds an umbrella over him. Then the bride moves around the groom three times in a clockwise direction pouring clean water from a kalas. The bride puts a garland of flowers and grass around the groom's neck and the groom puts white tika on her forehead. Then, the bride touches the groom's feet with her forehead. After the bride and the groom arrive at the courtyard of the house, all the family members, relatives and villagers of the groom shower the bride and the groom with the rice mixed with curd and put on tika on the bride's and the groom's forehead with blessings. After the groom's mother feeds curd to the groom and the bride, the bride is taken inside the house by the groom's mother and the groom himself. The main door is scrubbed with clay and water and two pots full of water are put on both sides of the door. A particular type of plant (titepati) and flowers are struck in the mouth of the pots. When the bride is taken inside the house, the water from the pots is splashed.

In the evening, the marriage proper (lagan) is performed for which two pairs of banana leaves, a pair of cock and hen, tongba, liquor, water in a pair of jugs, home-brewed liquor in two gourds covered with two bananas and so on are required. All these and other food items are put on a winnow (nanglo). After everything is made ready, the Manghangma announces the lagan ceremony in Yakkha. When he strikes the cock, the groom has to stand up and when he strikes the hen, the bride has to stand up. When both stand up, the best man (lokonta) and bridesmaid (lokonti) too have to stand up. After this the groom puts vermilion powder (sindhur) on the bride's forehead and puts a necklace (pote) around her neck. In return, the bride touches the groom's feet with her forehead. The interesting thing that is worth-watching is a competition between the best man and the bridesmaid in feeding the food items on the winnow to the groom and the bride. It is believed that if the best man wins the first born child of the couple will be a son but if the bridesmaid wins the first born child

will be a daughter.

On the following day, the 'Behuli Bhattar (literally the bride's feast) is practiced. On that day, the bride will clean and scrub the house inside as well as outside. She will give food and drinks to the guests. During the whole wedding ceremony, the 'Panchebaja' and drums are played. The guests, other relatives and villagers take enjoyment by playing drums and dancing (keilak). Some people are involved in 'Dhan Nach' (Chawak Lak). According to Kongren(2007:132), " Among the Yakkha following the marriage of one's daughter there is the practice of marriage as the first step, "Bagdata" as the second step and seeing off the daughter(Chyangkulung Samma or Bidabari) as the third step."

d. Death

When a Yakkha male or female dies, a bamboo mat is purified by sprinkling water washed with gold and the dead body is laid on it. Then clean water is sprinkled on the body, the body is rubbed with olive oil and clothes are put on the dead person. The hair of the dead person is combed and coins are put on his or her chin, forehead, nose, mouth, hand etc. To carry the corpse, two seven feet long bamboo pieces are required to make a ladder and they are joined by four smaller bamboo pieces in the case of male and three smaller bamboo pieces in the case of female. The smaller pieces are tied and a new white or yellow piece of cloth called 'tapchi' is put as an umbrella to cover the head. The dead body is covered with new white cloth (katro) and decorated with flowers. All the family members, relatives and villagers put flowers on the body, bow their heads and show respect to the dead person. The daughter-in-law of the dead person or a woman from the household goes through the motion as if she is pouring grains from the 'mana' into the 'pathi'. She does this four times in the case of male and three times in the case of female.

When the dead person is taken to bury, the body is first carried by the dead person's sons. A man walking in front of the corpse carries a white flag on a bamboo stick and some fried paddy and coins in a white handkerchief. The paddy and coins are dropped at the crossroads with the beliefs that children are not afraid of the dead body and the spirit of the dead does not cause suffering in the house. The house is cleaned and scrubbed.

In Yakkha community, the dead body is either buried or burnt down. If the person is to be buried, the corpse is moved clockwise around the proposed burial site four times in the case of male and three times in the case of female. The shaman (Manghangba) recites from the 'Munthum'. All those in the funeral procession throw soil in the pit with their left hand once and the pit is filled with soils and stones. Four layers are raised above the pit in the case of male and three layers in the case of female. Similarly, four stones are put on the

top of the layers in the case of male and three stones in the case of female. Then the sons of the dead person bathe and shave their hair, moustache, beard, eyebrow etc. and return home with new white cloth wrapped to their head and other body parts. The people in the funeral procession wash their hands, mouth and feet, and water is sprinkled on their body with a particular type of plant (titepati). The persons involved in the purification ceremony i.e. 'Kiriya Putri' are put on the woolen mats on the hay. They are not allowed to meet and talk with anyone apart from their Yakkha relatives, nor are they allowed to eat salt, oil, meat etc. The purification ceremony is performed on the fourth day in the case of male and on the third day in the case of female. On the purification day, the meat of chicken is cooked with oil, lettuce, ginger and salt. Pieces of meat, rice, tongba, a drinking pipe etc. are put on the winnow. The nettle is cooked and put in a clay pot. The shaman calls the spirit of the dead person. The main door is closed and the household members and relatives all offer the food items to the dead person. Clean water is sprinkled on all with a particular type of plant (titepati). The cooked meat and nettle is offered to the 'kiriya Putri' first, then to the family members and finally to the relatives. The person offering the food has to touch it with his or her left hand. The sons of the dead person put on new cap and new clothes.

After 15 or 45 days of the purification day, 'Barkhanta' ceremony has to be undertaken. At night the shaman undertakes 'Miawa Tukma' (ceremony to wipe away the tears of pain or sorrow through the 'Munthum') in the courtyard of the dead person's house, where a bamboo is struck. For the ceremony, the leaves of plants like 'Ghungring' and 'Kaulo' and other things are required. The shaman's disciples also sit alongside the shaman as assistants. The shaman recites from the 'Munthum' (the 'Thuthure Veda') and his disciples follow after him. Then clean and pure water collected from seven sources is put in a copper pot and boiled. A particular type of plant (Kaulo Seuli or Chamching) is dipped in the water and the water is sprinkled not only on the main pillar and the fireplace in the house but also on the household members and other relatives. The shaman puts banana leaves in the courtyard and makes figures or drawings on it with maize flour. A particular type of plant (Ghungring or Mukthup) is spliced with a knife and made into a flower-like design and tied with thread. The shaman recites from the 'Munthum' and the men have to jump four times and women three times by throwing grains like maize, soybean, lentil, rice etc.

e. Festivals

Chasowa (Udhauli) and Yucchyang (Ubhauli) are the two major cultural festivals of the Yakkha which are celebrated on the full moon in Mangsir and Baisakh, respectively. The word "Chasowa" in the Yakkha language means 'taste it' or 'eat it'. Thus, 'Chasowa' refers to the tasting or eating of the recently harvested crops. This festival occurs when the crops like rice and

millet are harvested. The festival 'Yuchyang' is celebrated by worshipping nature either before or after planting the crops. The Yakkhas on the very day gather at a tap, water resource or well outside the village. Pigeons, chicken, eggs and goats are sacrificed. The Yakkhas worship the nature with a belief that the weather remains conducive for the planting of their crops and that their crops remain safe from wind, storm, hailstone, insects and so on.

f. Food, dresses and ornaments

Most Yakkhas are dependent on agriculture, so the food items that they have are what they grow in their fields. They particularly grow crops like millet, maize, wheat, rice, buckwheat, olive etc. and vegetables like potato, pumpkin, ginger, lettuce, onion, soybean, bean etc. which are their food items.

Traditionally, the Yakkhas would wear clothes made up of cotton. The men would wear cap, daura suruwal, girdle, waistcoat etc. and the women blouse, girdle, multi-colored saris, coverings etc. Because of the influence of the western culture, the Yakkhas have started wearing modern clothes too.

Following Kongren(2007), the jewelry worn by Yakkha women include those worn on the head(a round flat object made of gold-sunko phul), ear(madauri, mundri), nose(bulaki, mundri, phuli, dhungri), neck(gold naugedi, gold kantha, punwala mala, chandrahari), wrist(gold and silver bangles) and the ankle(silver anklet).

2.1.5 Profession/ occupation

The Yakkhas living in the hills have agriculture as their main profession. They grow rice (chawak), olive (phungpheawa), wheat (chichama), maize (chalong), buckwheat (khoriamang), millet (pankhi), philinge (phungpheawa), soybean (chempek) etc. They also raise livestock like cow, buffalo, pig, goat, chicken etc. Some Yakkha youths have joined in the Nepalese as well as Indian and British armies. A large number of Yakkhas have gone to various countries to earn money.

The Population Census 2001 shows that only 2.22% Yakkhas are legislators, senior officers and professionals; 1.14% are technicians and associate professionals and 0.84% are clerks and office assistants (CBS, 2001).

2.1.6 Academic status

The Population Census 2001 shows that out of the total Yakkha population, the literacy rate of the Yakkha is 59.84%, SLC and equivalent is 0.14%, Certificate and equivalent is 0.10% and Graduate and above is 0.04% (CBS, 2001). Very few Yakkhas have completed the Master degree. There are some Yakkhas who

have involved in teaching profession in some schools and colleges. There is no representation of the Yakkhas in the political sector beyond the local level.

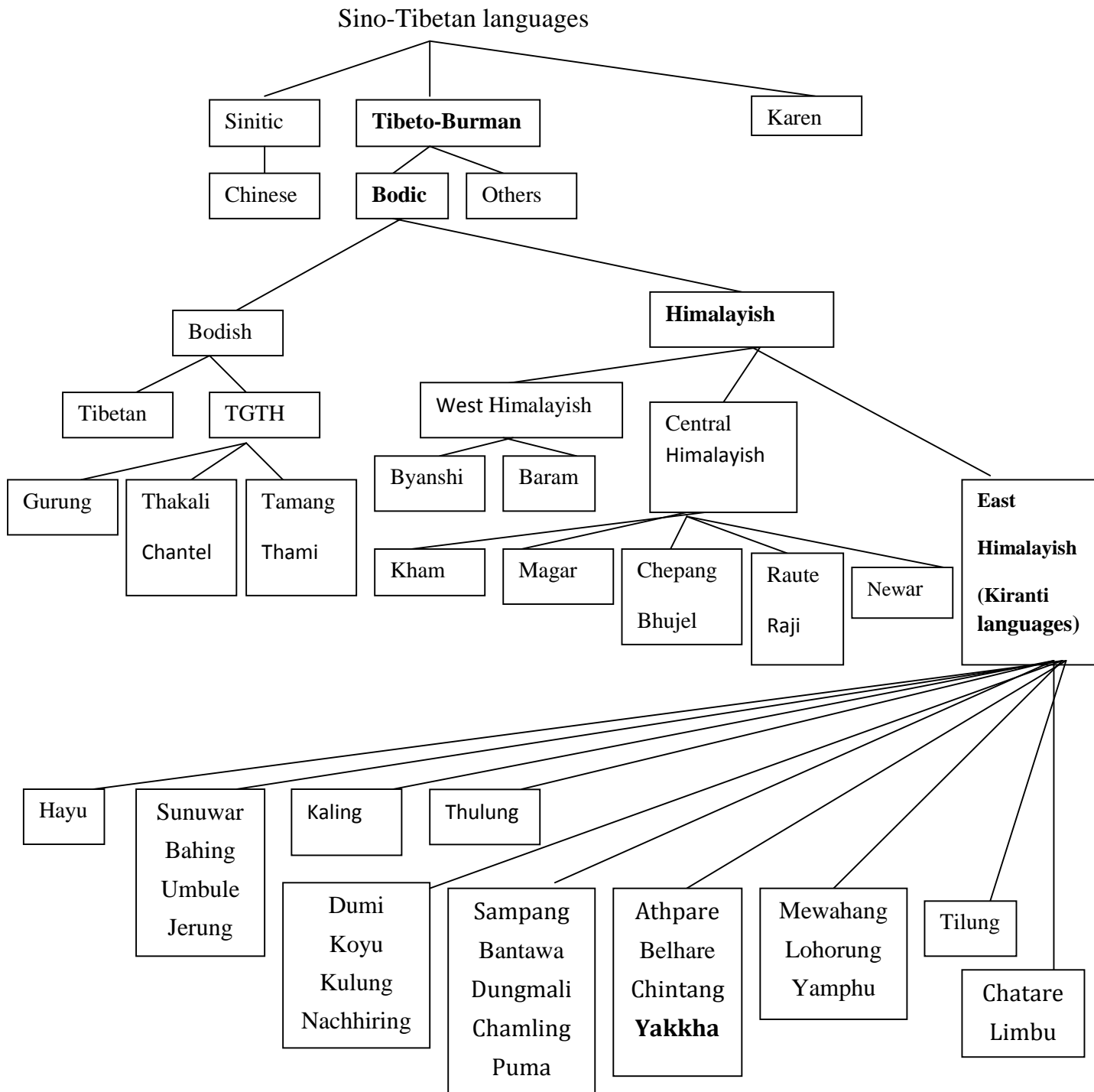
2.2 Yakkha language

Out of 92 national languages recorded in the CBS 2001, Yakkha is one of them, which is spoken by the Yakkha indigenous people of Nepal and Yakkha people living in different parts of India and other countries. The latest Census 2001 reports that the total number of Yakkha native speakers is 14648 i.e. 86% of the total Yakkha population and 0.06% of the total population of Nepal (Yadava, 2003).

2.2.1 Genetic affiliation

Yakkha is one of the eastern Kirati languages of Nepal which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family. The genetic affiliation of the Yakkha language with those of other languages is shown in the following diagram(Yadava, 2003):

Figure No.1: Position of Yakkha in Sino-Tibetan language family



Yakkha is a complex pronominalized language and is agglutinative in nature. It does not have its own written script/ tradition. The Yakkhas still use Devnagari script in their writing.

2.2.2 Phonology

The precise study on phonology has not been carried out in Yakkha. Kongren (2007) lists the following vowels and consonants:

a. Vowels

i. Monophthongs

IPA : /a/ /i/ /u/ /e/ /o/

Kongren has mentioned only these five vowel sounds which are monophthongs or pure vowels but the researcher, in the process of doing his term paper on ‘Yakkha-English-Nepali Dictionary’ (2009), has found other vowels which he has termed diphthongs or gliding vowels. The diphthongs he has found are listed below.

ii. Diphthongs

IPA : /ai/ /ui/ /ei/ /oi/ /ae/

(Diphthongs rarely occur in word initial position)

b. Consonants

IPA : /k/ /kh/ / / /c/ /ch/ /t/ /th/ /n/ /p/

IPA : /ph/ /m/ /y/ /l/ /w/ /s/ /h/ /ʔ/

The researcher, while doing his term paper on ‘Yakkha-Nepali-English Dictionary’ (2009), has found some more consonants which are as follows:

IPA : /b/ /d/ /g/ /r/

(The Yakkha sounds /d/, /b/, /g/ and /r/ do not occur in word initial position)

2.2.3 Syllable structure

Yakkha has the following syllable structure:

V : i ‘what’, a.ga ‘my’

VC : on ‘horse’, om ‘bright’, a ‘eight’

CV : ka ‘I’, la ‘moon’, wa ‘chicken’

- CVC : kak ‘all’ set ‘night’ sik ‘louse’
- CCV : hwa ‘hurt’, cya ‘baby’, chwa ‘sugarcane’
- CCVC: swak ‘quiet’, cya ‘good/goodness’, hawk ‘branch, stem’
- CVCC: kahk ‘all, everything’

2.2.4 Dialects

The dialectal study of Yakkha has not yet been carried out by any linguists. However, the Yakkha people say that Yakkha spoken in Sankhuwasabha is a little bit different than that of Dhankuta, Panchthar and Ilam and vice-versa. The variation is largely found at the word level. Yakkha is said to have the following three geographical or regional dialects:

- a. Northern Yakkha: Yakkha spoken by Yakkha people living in Sankhuwasabha district is the northern dialect of Yakkha .
- b. Eastern Yakkha: Yakkha spoken by Yakkha people living in Ilam and Panchthar districts is the eastern dialect of Yakkha .
- c. Southern Yakkha: Yakkha spoken by Yakkha people living in Dhankuta district is the southern dialect of Yakkha .

2.3 Language maintenance, transmission and vitality

Linguists claim that any language which has at least 100,000 speakers can maintain its existence, languages having less than 100,000 speakers remain tolerable and languages spoken by fewer than 10,000 speakers are in the verge of extinction. Following Watters (2001), languages whose speakers are more than 1000 and less than 100,000 are endangered languages. If so, we can say that Yakkha is an endangered language since the 2001 census has shown that the total number of Yakkha native speakers is only 14648.

Crystal (2000) views that only 600 of the 6000 or so languages in the world are ‘safe’ from the threat of extinction. On some reckonings, the world will, by the end of the 21st century, be dominated by a small number of major languages. He further views that over the next century, something like 2 languages will die each month. Yakkha is not safe in the sense that it is also losing its native speakers due to the dominance of English and Nepali, lack of mother tongue education, lack of standardization, intermarriage and other various reasons. It is immediately threatened with extinction in its own homeland. Except some old Yakkha people, very few Yakkha children and youths speak this language.

Therefore, there is an urgent need of its preservation and promotion. To promote and preserve Yakkha and its culture, the Yakkhas established their organization in 2051 B.S. This organization has stepped some activities to promote and preserve Yakkha and its culture but that is not sufficient. Recently, some textbooks are being prepared on Yakkha for primary level. There are limited books about Yakkha and its culture. Kongren's 'Yakkha-Nepali- English' (2007) dictionary is the first dictionary in the history of the Yakkhas. There are very few researches carried out on Yakkha. There is no Yakkha grammar. There is an urgent need of its precise documentation and research.

2.4 Summary

Yakkha is an ethnic tribe living in 44 districts of Nepal and beyond Nepal. The total population of Yakkha, according to Census 2001, is 17003 (0.07%). The Yakkhas have their own distinct geographical history, culture, language, rites and rituals which separate Yakkha from Rai and Limbu. It is one of the eastern Kirati languages of Nepal which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family. Only 14648 Yakkha native speakers can speak Yakkha. It has its own phonological systems. It has five monophthongs and five diphthongs. There are 21 consonants in Yakkha. It has its own syllable structure. The maximum number of consonants occurring before and after nucleus (vowel) is two. It has three geographical dialects.

CHAPTER 3

CASE, CASE GRAMMAR AND CASE MARKING SYSTEM

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with case, case grammar and different case marking systems viz. nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, neutral, tripartite and A/P-S found in different languages in the world.

3.1 Case

Almost all the grammatical terms are traced back to Greek and Latin origins, so is the case of the term 'case'. According to Robins (1987:35) "Case in its modern usage as an inflection category of nouns and other words inflected like them was the creation of the Stoics". In the Greek tradition, Dionysius Thrax divided the words into eight parts of speech: noun, verb, particle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb and conjunction. He grouped all Greek words in terms of case, gender, number, voice, mood etc. He described case in terms of inflections of nouns.

Anderson (1977) discusses about case and case relations in his study on case. According to him, the term 'case' was traditionally employed to refer to both to certain inflectional categories that are added to nouns and to the set of syntactic and/or semantic distinctions carried out by forms of that category. These can be differentiated as case forms and case relations or case functions respectively. Generally, case is defined in traditional grammars as 'the relation in which a noun stands to some other word, or change of form (if any) by which this relation is indicated-grammatical relation as well as the change of form' (Nesfield, 1934:21, cited in Verma and Krishnaswamy, 1989:185). Traditional grammarians use the following cases:

- a. **Ram** saw Sita. (nominative)
- b. Ram saw **Sita**.(accusative or objective)
- c. Ram gave a book **to Sita**. (dative)
- d. **Ram's** book (genitive or possessive)
- e. He was standing **on the table**.(locative)
- f. He cut it **with a knife**.(instrumental)
- g. He fell down **from the table**.(ablative-i.e., removal)
- h. He came **with his wife**.(comitative –i.e., accomplishment)
- i. **Ram!**(vocative or the nominative of address)

(Verma and Krishnaswamy, 1989:185)

In traditional grammars, the case forms are categorized sometimes on the basis of their syntactic functions and at other times on the basis of their semantic functions. It results in inconsistency. According to Lyons (1968:289),

Case was the most important inflectional category of the noun, as tense was the most important category of the verb. It is significant that the term case (originally more or less synonymous with what was later called inflection) was restricted to one particular inflectional category. The reason for this would seem to be that most of the other categories—gender, number, tense, person, etc.—could be related to a principle of semantic classification.

Noam Chomsky proposed the Standard Theory of TG grammar in his book ‘Aspects of the Theory of Syntax’ in 1965, which is also known as 1965 Model. This theory lays emphasis on grammatical categories such as NP, VP, PP etc. as a tool for analyzing sentence structure. This theory assumes the notion of deep structure characterized by grammatical categories and grammatical functions such as subject, object etc. The deep structure of a sentence is conceptualized as the underlying network of syntactic relationships which determine the semantic representation of that sentence. Everything needed for the semantic representation of a sentence is present in the deep structure of the sentence. It means the deep structure of a sentence comprises all the information relevant to its meaning; it is, therefore, an adequate base for semantic interpretation.

Although Chomsky (1965) brought revolution in the area of grammar, he has restricted his analysis up to the syntactic level. Charles Fillmore in the late 1960s gave a reaction against the Standard-Theory analysis of sentences. Case, for Fillmore, is a universal type of ‘underlying syntactic-semantic relationship’ which may or may not manifest itself in the form of morphosyntactic markers on the surface. Fillmore (1968, in Verma and Krishnaswamy, 1989:186) writes:

- (1) The grammatical notion ‘case’ deserves a place in the base component of the grammar of every language.
- (2) What is needed is a conception of base structure in which case relationships are primitive terms of the theory and in which concepts such as ‘subject’ and ‘direct object’ are missing.
- (3) He uses the term case to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationships, and the term case form to mean the expression of a case relationship in a particular language—whether through affixation, suppletion, use of clitic particles, constraints or word order.
- (4) The sentence in ‘its basic structure consists of a verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship’.

Fillmore (1968) discussed mainly six cases namely agentive, instrumental, dative, locative, factitive and objective/patient. In 1971, he extended the number up to eight namely agentive, instrumental, patient/ objective, experiencer, source, goal, locative and time.

3.2 Case grammar

Case grammar is a type of generative grammar developed by Fillmore in the late 1960s, primarily in reaction against the Chomsky's Standard Theory (1965) analysis of sentences, where notions such as subject, object etc. are neglected in favour of analyses in terms of NP, VP etc. It is an approach to grammar which stresses the semantic relationships in a sentence. According to Richards et al. (1999:46), "In case grammar, the verb is regarded as the most important part of the sentence, and has a number of semantic relationships with various noun phrases. These relationships are called cases."

Case grammar is essentially similar to the Aspects Model in that they are both generative in principle. Case grammar too accepts the notion of transformation and attempts to account for differences in surface structures in terms of case relations in deep structure. Fillmore (as mentioned in Yadava, 2004) argued that Case grammar could bring semantic, syntactic and lexical advantages to a generative theory of grammar. The basic concepts of case grammar are described as follows:

3.2.1 Syntactic function

The concept of syntactic function (the sentence level function) is the traditional notion related to case grammar. Syntactic function in case grammar is the function of NP according to its position in the structure of a sentence. Subjective (that comes in the very beginning of a sentence), objective (undergoer of the action that comes in the middle or at the end of a structure) and complement (that is needed to complete a sentence) are examples of syntactic functions.

- a. ram a ghas tubuna
'Ram cut grass.'
- b. hari a puchak sisuna.
'Hari killed a snake.'
- c. honta hoksana
'The window opened.'

In these examples, 'ram a', 'hari a' and 'honta ' have the subject function; 'ghas' and 'puchak' in the first and second sentence, respectively have object function in Yakkha.

3.2.2 Morphosyntactic form

Morphosyntactic form is a word level concept. The morphosyntactic forms in case grammar refer to prepositions or inflections, postpositions and case endings that show particular relationship of related noun or noun phrase with the verb. By morphosyntactic form Fillmore refers to the different cases which stand in a certain relationship within a structure. Morphosyntactic forms give some functional and categorical information. Different morphosyntactic forms that mark cases are inflections, prepositions, postpositions, word order, intonation, suppletion etc. The morphosyntactic forms are language-specific. In Yakkha , the following morphosyntactic forms show the case relation. For example,

<u>Morphosyntactic forms</u>	<u>Case</u>
- a	Ergative/instrumental/dative
-ka, -ga	genitive
-nu	comitative/mediative
-pe/be	locative
-bo , -nda	ablative
-capma	allative
-eo, -o	vocative etc.

3.2.3 Semantic role

Semantic role in case grammar is a dominant and recently developed concept. It is the concept at meaning level. Fillmore has described his case grammar from the point of view of semantic role what he calls case or case relationship. In an underlying structure, there is one verb and one or more noun phrases having particular semantic relationship with the action or state represented by the verb. This is related with semantic role. From the point of view of semantic role, Fillmore (1971) assigns cases as agent, object, instrument, source, goal, experiencer, location, time and path. The concept of semantic role of a noun or pronoun can be clarified in Yakkha as follows:

- a. ram a cabi a walumsi hoksana.
'Ram opened the door with a key.'
- b. cabi a walumsi hosu.
'The key opened the door.'
- c. walumsi hoksana.
'The door opened.'

Syntactically, 'ram a', 'cabi a'(in b) and 'walumsi '(in c) in the above sentences have subject function but their semantic roles are different.

'rama a' in the first sentence has an agentive role, 'cabi a' in the first and second sentence is the instrument and 'walumsi' in all the sentences (syntactically direct object function in the first and second sentence and subject function in the third sentence) has objective role.

3.3 Case marking systems

In addition to case marking systems based on semantic and/or syntactic criteria, recent linguistic research has also uncovered languages where pragmatic criteria are also important in assigning case, as in Japanese and Tagalog, for instance. According to Comrie (1989), there are five possible case marking systems. They are:

3.3.1 Nominative- accusative system

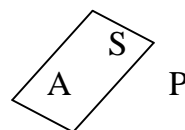
The nominative-accusative system groups S and A (nominative) together against P (accusative). The S is defined as the only nominal argument of a single argument clause, also referred to as an intransitive clause. The A is defined as the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause, also referred to as a transitive clause. The P is the 'most PATIENT-like' argument of a multi-argument clause.

- a. Single argument
"Bob left."
S V (verb)
 - b. Multi-argument
"Bob greeted Aileron."
A V P
- (Payne, 1997)

The grammatical relation of subject can be defined as S together with A, while direct object or simply "object" can be defined as P alone. Some languages pay more attention to this grouping than do others.

According to Payne (1997), languages may treat S and A the same, and P differently. The following English examples illustrate this fact with pronominal case forms—one form, he, is used for third person singular masculine pronouns in both the S and the A roles. A different form, him, is used for third person masculine singular pronouns in the P 'role':

- a. He left.
- b. He hit him.



The Quechuan languages (a group of languages spoken throughout the

Andes mountains in South America) manifest this system in morphological case marking on free noun phrases. In the following examples the same case marker, 0(zero), occurs on noun phrases in both the S and A roles. Another case marker, -ta, occurs on noun phrases in the P role (Weber, 1989, as mentioned in Payne, 1997:134).

- a. Juan - 0 aywan "Juan goes."
 Juan-NOM goes
 S
- b. Juan – 0 pedro - ta magan "Juan hits Pedro."
 Juan-NOM Pedro-ACC hits
 A P

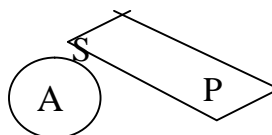
This system is referred to as a nominative/accusative system. If any morphological case marks both S and A roles, it is called the nominative case, while the case that marks only the P is the accusative case.

3.3.2 Ergative-absolutive system

The ergative-absolutive system groups S and P (absolutive) together against A (ergative). Yakkha has the ergative-absolutive system. The following examples from Yakkha illustrate another system for grouping S, A, and P.

- a. ram- Ø khy-a-na
 Ram-ABS go-PT-3rd SG "Ram went."
 S
- b. hari – a ram- Ø mokt-u-na
 Hari-ERG Ram-ABS beat-PT-3rd SG "Hari beat Ram."
 A P

In these examples, the S argument of an intransitive clause (a) and the P argument of a transitive clause (b) is unmarked. The case marker – a marks only the A of a transitive clause. If any morphological case marks A alone it can be called the ergative case. Similarly, any morphological case that marks both S and P can be termed the absolutive case.

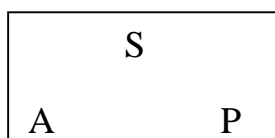


This system is known as an ergative/absolutive system.

The case marking systems mentioned above are widespread across the languages of the world.

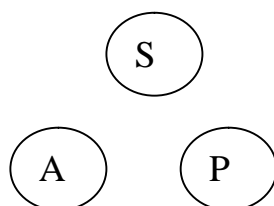
3.3.3 Neutral system

The neutral system would have the same form for all three primitives, but since this is tantamount to lack of case marking for these relations, it is not directly relevant to our considerations: as a system, it is, of course, widespread in the languages of the world, but most languages with this system have other means such as verb agreement or word order to indicate which noun phrases A and which is P in the transitive construction.



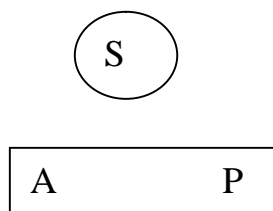
3.3.4 Tripartite system

The tripartite system would have distinct cases for each of the three primitives. This system is very rare across the world's languages. In a number of languages it is found with a subset of the noun phrases in a language, namely where nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive systems co-existing in a language intersect. But there is only one language for which it has been reported that this tripartite system exists for all noun phrases in the language, namely Wunggumara.



3.3.5 A/P-S system

This system would group A and P together as against S. This system seems to be equally rare: the only reliable attestations known to us are for certain classes of noun phrases in certain Iranian languages, where it represents an intermediate diachronic stage in the breakdown of an earlier ergative-absolutive case marking system in the direction of a nominative-accusative system.



According to Comrie (1989:126),

The nominative-accusative system simply chooses to identify S with A, and have a separate marker for P; while the ergative-absolutive system chooses to treat S the same as P, with a separate marker for A. The tripartite system is unnecessarily explicit, since in addition to distinguishing A from P, it also distinguishes each of these from S, even though S never cooccurs with either of the other two. The A/P-S system is, from a functional view point, singularly inefficient, failing to make the most useful distinction (between A and P), and making a useless distinction (between A and S, likewise between P and S).

3.4 Summary

Traditionally, case was viewed as the inflectional category of the noun. Later, in 1960s, Fillmore came with the idea that case is a universal syntactic-semantic relationship which may or may not manifest itself in the form of morphosyntactic markers on the surface. Case is the role played by the noun phrase in relation to the verb. Case is a universal concept in the sense that all languages have cases but case markers and case marking systems are language-specific i.e. case markers and case marking systems vary from language to language. Comrie((1989) mentions five possible case marking systems viz. nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, neutral, tripartite and A/P-S but Givon(2001) mentions only three major case marking systems viz. semantically-oriented case marking, pragmatically-oriented case marking and transitivity-oriented case marking systems. Yakkha has transitivity-oriented case marking system i.e. the ergative-absolutive case marking system.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF YAKKHA CASES AND CASE MARKERS

This chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of the data collected for identifying Yakkha cases and their case markers. To achieve the objectives, the data elicited from the four Yakkha native speakers were intensively studied, analyzed and interpreted descriptively with the help of table and illustrations.

4.0 Outline

This chapter first deals with three case marking systems in Yakkha viz. zero marking, case clitics and postpositons, and analyzes different Yakkha cases and case markers which were identified on the basis of the collected data.

4.1 Case marking systems in Yakkha

Givon(2001) mentions three main types of case marking systems: semantically-oriented case marking, pragmatically-oriented case marking and transitivity-oriented case marking, and Comrie(1989) mentions five possible case marking systems: nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, neutral, tripartite and A/P-S. Case marking systems vary from language to language i.e. case marking systems are language-specific. In the case of Yakkha, following Givon(2001) and Comrie(1989), there is transitivity-oriented case marking system which is called the ergative-absolutive system. According to Givon(1989:208), "The ergative-absolutive case-marking system is governed by the principle of transitivity. It is, first and foremost, a system where case-marking codes the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses." In an ergative-absolutive language like Yakkha, the subject of the transitive clause displays ergative case-marking, while both the object of the transitive and the subject of the intransitive clause share an absolutive case-marking, most commonly *zero*.

- (1) kucuma-Ø sy-a-na
 dog-ABS die-PT-3rd SG
 ‘A dog died.’
- (2) a-ba- a ka- Ø mokt-a- na
 my-father-ERG I-ABS beat-PT-3rd SG SUB 1st OBJ
 ‘My father beat me.’

In sentence (1), sy-a-na is an intransitive verb and its intransitive subject is kucuma which is unmarked or zero marked. In sentence (2), mokt-a- na is a transitive verb whose transitive object is ka which is also unmarked. These

examples show absolutive system in Yakkha.

- (3) hari- **a** pusuma- Ø in-u-na
 Hari-**ERG** cat-ABS buy-PT-3rd SG
 'Hari bought a cat.'

In sentences (2) and (3), *mokt-a- na* and *in-u-na* are transitive verbs and their transitive subjects *ba* and *hari* code ergativity i.e. marked by ergative case marker – **a**.

There are three case marking systems in Yakkha. They are:

4.1.1 Zero-marking

In Yakkha, zero marking is found in absolutive case, ergative case (in the case of first person and second person pronouns) and dative case.

Absolutive case

- (4) sita- **a** pu dikhuba- Ø up-wa-na
 Sita-**ERG** money-**ABS** earn-Pres-3rd SG
 'Sita earns money.'
- (5) ukhi- Ø ips-a-na
 s/he-**ABS** sleep-PT-3rd SG
 'S/he slept.'

In (4), the transitive object *pu dikhuba* and in (5), the intransitive subject *ukhi* are zero-marked.

Ergative case

- (6) ka- Ø cicthi- Ø chebt-u- na
 I –**ERG** letter-ABS write-PT-1st SG
 'I wrote a letter.'
- (7) khi- Ø cama- Ø cwa-ka-i?
 you(SG)-**ERG** rice-ABS eat-Pres-IP
 'Do you eat rice?'

In (6) and (7), the first and second person transitive subjects *ka* and *khi* are unmarked or zero-marked for ergativity.

Dative case

- (8) ka- Ø ukhi- Ø pu dikhuba- Ø haks-u- na
 I -**ERG** s/he-**DAT** money-ABS send-PT 1st SG
 'I sent him/her money.'

In this example, *ukhi* is the indirect object of the di-transitive verb *haks-u-* *na* which is also zero-marked.

4.1.2 Case clitics (suffixes)

Regmi (2007) states that case clitics mark cases in Bhujel. Majority of Yakkha cases are also marked by case clitics or suffixes which are known as case markers. The case clitics or suffixes (case markers) are attached with nouns or pronouns. Except the absolutive, ergative (in the case of first and second person pronouns) and dative cases, all other Yakkha cases are marked by case clitics or case markers.

- (9) *ka- Ø* *pa -pe* *yu- a*
 I-ABS house-LOC stay-PT 1st SG
 'I stayed at home.'
- (10) *ka- Ø* *ukhi-nu* *khy-a- na*
 I-ABS s/he-COM go-PT-1st SG
 'I went with him/her.'

In (9), *-pe* is a case clitic or case marker which denotes the location 'at' i.e. the locative case and in (10), *-nu* is a case clitic or case marker which shows the togetherness i.e. the comitative case. The different case clitics or case markers are discussed in 4.3 in detail.

4.1.3 Postpositions

As in Bhujel(Regmi, 2007), the postpositions also mark the cases in Yakkha. Rai(1985) states that postpositions follow nouns and pronouns and the postpositional element is combined with some other suffixes such as locative or ablative. In Yakkha, the postpositional element is combined with the locative marker *-pe/be* and is also attached with the possessive prefix.

- (11) *ukhi- a* *thawa- Ø* *honta -u-wak-pe* *yuks-u-na*
 s/he-ERG ladder-ABS window-3SG-**under**-LOC place-PT-3rd SG
 'S/he placed the ladder under the window.'
- (12) *ma cuwa- Ø* *a-la hup-u-cho -pe* *tas-u-na*
 water-ABS my knee-3SG-**above**-LOC come-PT-3rd SG
 'The water came above my knees.'
- (13) *a-yum-pe* *yu -a*
 my-**near/by**-LOC sit-IMP
 'Sit by me.'
- (14) *ram- Ø* *a-heksa -pe* *ips-i-wa-na*
 Ram-ABS 1st SG-**behind**-LOC sleep-Prog-be-Pres-3rd SG
 'Ram is sleeping behind me.'

- (15) nabin-Ø hari nu sita-ga u-lum-pe ips-a-na
 Nabin-ABS Hari and Sita-GEN 3rdSG-between-LOC sleep-PT-3rd SG
 ‘Nabin slept between Hari and Sita.’

In (11), (12) and (15), the postpositions wak, cho and lum have been combined with the locative suffix –pe and attached with the third person singular possessive prefix u-. In (13) and (14), the postpositions yum and heksa have been combined with the locative suffix –pe and attached with the first person possessive prefix a-.

4.2 Cases and case markers identified in Yakkha

The researcher identified thirteen cases and their different case markers in Yakkha . They are:

- a. Absolutive case: Ø
- b. Ergative case: - a, Ø
- c. Instrumental case: - a
- d. Genitive case: -ka, -ga
- e. Comitative case: -nu
- f. Locative case: -pe/be
- g. Ablative case: -bo , -nda
- h. Allative case: -capma
- i. Vocative case: -eo, -o
- j. Dative case: - Ø
- k. Meditative case: -nu
- l. Similarity case:- -dok
- m. Inessive case: -bhitra

4.3 Analysis of Yakkha cases and their case markers

The cases and their case markers which were identified in Yakkha are presented and analyzed below:

4.3.1 The absolutive case

In many languages of the world, P (the transitive object) is expressed in the same way as S (the intransitive subject). According to Croft (1990:102), “the case marking associated with S and P is called the absolutive.” The absolutive case marks the subject of an intransitive verb and object of a transitive verb. It is unmarked in Yakkha.

- (16) puchak-Ø sy-a-na
 snake-ABS die-PT-3rd SG
 ‘A snake died.’

- (17) ukhi- Ø lomphi-be ips-a-na
s/he-ABS bed-LOC sleep-PT-3rd SG
'S/he slept in the bed.'
- (18) ka- Ø po -me- na
I-ABS get up-Pres-1st SG
'I get up.'
- (19) kanci - Ø po -me- ci a
we (dl)-ABS get up-Pres-1st dl
'We (dl) get up.'
- (20) walumsi - Ø heks-a-na
door-ABS open-PT-3rd SG
'The door opened.'

In (16)-(20), sy-a-na, ips-a-na, po -me- na, po -me- ci a and heks-a-na are intransitive verbs, and puchak and walumsi are nominal subjects which are unmarked. Similarly, ukhi, ka and kanci are pronominal subjects which are also unmarked. This shows that intransitive subjects whether they are nominal or pronominal take absolutive case. In Yakkha, the transitive object also takes absolutive case.

- (21) wa- a puchak- Ø sis-u-na
hen-ERG snake-ABS kill-PT-3rd SG
'A hen killed the snake.'
- (22) ka- Ø uki- Ø mokt-u- na
I-ERG s/he-ABS beat-PT-1st SG
'I beat him/her.'
- (23) ka- Ø walumsi - Ø hoks-a- na
I-ERG door-ABS open-PT-1st SG
'I opened the door.'
- (24) isa- a kucuma- Ø sis-u-na?
who-ERG dog-ABS kill-PT-3rd SG
'Who killed the dog?'
- (25) ukhi- a pu dikhuba- Ø up-wa-na
s/he-ERG money-ABS earn-Pres-3rd SG
'S/he earns money.'
- (26) ukhi- a ka- Ø mokt-a- na
s/he-ERG I-ABS beat-PT-3rd SG SUB 1st OBJ
'S/he beat me.'

In (21)-(26), sis-u-na, mokt-u- na, hoks-a- na, up-wa-na and mokt-a- na are transitive verbs and their transitive objects such as puchak, ukhi, walumsi, kucuma and pu dikhuba are unmarked. These examples show that the object of a transitive verb is unmarked no matter whether the object is a noun or a pronoun. In Yakkha, the following personal pronouns mark the absolutive case.

Table No.2: Yakkha personal pronouns and their case functions.

Number	Person	Absolutive
Singular	1 st	ka
	2 nd	nta, khi
	3 rd	ukhi
Dual	1 st incl	kanci
	1 st excl	enci
	2 nd	nci khi
	3 rd	unci khi
Plural	1 st incl	kani
	1 st excl	eni
	2 nd	ni khi
	3 rd	uni khi

All the pronouns mentioned in the table no. 2 function as the absolutive case.

For example:

- (27) ka- Ø ips-a- na
I -**ABS** sleep-PT-1st SG
'I slept.'
- (28) ka- Ø khi- Ø ka-me- na
I -**ERG** you (SG)-**ABS** call-Pres-1st SG
'I call you.'
- (29) ukhi- Ø sy-a-na
s/he-**ABS** die-PT-3rd SG
'S/he died.'
- (30) kanci - Ø ips-a- ci a
we (dl incl)-**ABS** sleep-PT-1st dl
'We (dl incl) slept.'
- (31) enci - Ø pok-me- ci a
we (dl excl)-**ABS** get up-Pres-1st dl
'We (dl excl) get up.'
- (32) ka- Ø nci khi- Ø mo -me- ci a
I -**ERG** you (dl)-**ABS** beat-Fut-1st dl
'I beat you (dl).'
- (33) unchi khi- Ø hab-a-ciha
they (dl)-**ABS** cry/weep-PT-dl 3rd SUB
'They (dl) cried/wept.'
- (34) kani -Ø pa -pe khe-i-ha
We (pl incl)-**ABS** home-LOC go-PT-1st pl.
'We (pl incl) went home.'
- (35) uni khi- Ø khe-i-ga
They (pl)-**ABS** go-PT-3rd pl.
'They (pl) went.'

In the examples mentioned above (from 27-35), *ips-a- na*, *sy-a-na*, *ips-a- ci a*, *pok-me- ci a*, *hab-a-ciha*, *khe-i-ha* and *khe-i-ga* are intransitive verbs, and *ka-me- na* and *mo -me- ci a* are the transitive verbs. The personal pronouns *ka*, *ukhi*, *kanci* , *enci* , *unchi khi*, *kani* and *uni khi* are the subjects which are unmarked in Yakkha.

4.3.2 The ergative case

Ergative is the case of nouns in ergative languages that would generally be the subject of transitive verbs in the translation equivalents of nominative-accusative languages such as English, and it is equivalent to semantic role agent. Following Croft (1990), the case marking associated with A is called the ergative, where A is equivalent to the subject of a transitive clause. Only third person subjects of transitive clauses are marked with the ergative case marker ‘- a’ in Yakkha.

- (36) *pakna- a* *pa - Ø* *in-u-na*
Kancha-ERG **house-ABS** **buy-PT-3rd SG**
 ‘Kancha bought a house.’
- (37) *ukhi- a* *ghas- Ø* *tupma-si-meʔ-na*
s/he-ERG **grass-ABS** **cut-Prog-be-Pres-3rd SG**
 ‘S/he is cutting grass.’
- (38) *ni khi- a* *ka- Ø* *mokt-a- na*
they-ERG **I-ABS** **beat-PT-3rd PL**
 ‘They beat me.’
- (39) *wa- a* *wakin- Ø* *int-u-na*
hen-ERG **egg-ABS** **lay-PT-3rd SG**
 ‘The hen laid eggs.’
- (40) *sita- a* *bhada-Ø* *nant-u-na*
Sita-ERG **dish-ABS** **wash-PT-3rd SG**
 ‘Sita washed the dish.’

In (36)-(40), *in-u-na*, *tupma-si-meʔ-na*, *mokt-a- na*, *int-u-na* and *nant-u-na* are all transitive verbs and *pa* , *ghas*, *wakin*, *ka* and *bhada* are objects which are unmarked but *pakna*, *ukhi*, *ni khi*, *wa* and *sita* are subjects of the transitive verbs which are ergatively marked by – a. The examples also show that the subject of the transitive verb is marked in the case of a nominal subject (36, 39 and 40) and only in the case of a third person pronominal subject (37 and 38) no matter whether the third person is a singular, dual or plural. But the first person and second person pronouns (the Yakkha first person and second person pronouns are given in table no. 2) are unmarked in Yakkha.

- (41) ka- Ø cama- Ø ca-wa- na
I-ERG rice-ABS eat-Pres-1st SG
 'I eat rice.'
- (42) ka- Ø yakkha cea- Ø cim-me- na
I-ERG yakkha language-ABS learn-Fut-1st SG
 'I will learn the Yakkha language.'
- (43) nci khi- Ø cawak- Ø nu -me-cukha
 you (dl)-**ERG** rice-ABS tread-Fut-2nd dl SUB 3rd SG OBJ
 'You will tread the rice.'

In (41)-(43), ca-wa- na, cim-me- na and nu -me-cukha are transitive verbs but their first person (ka) and second person (nci khi) pronominal subjects are unmarked in Yakkha.

Dhakal(2007) mentions that crosslinguistically, the South Asian languages exhibit split-ergativity systems. Although ergative system in South Asian languages is conditioned by aspectual split, the split system in Yakkha is conditioned by nominal (personal) split. In other words, Yakkha presents personal split system consistently. The sentences (41), (42) and (43) manifest that the first person pronouns and second person pronouns do not code ergativity but the sentences (37) and (38) show that the third person pronouns are marked for ergativity, whether they are singular, dual and plural.

- (44) ka- Ø sa- Ø ca-wa- na
I-ERG meat-ABS eat-Pres-1st SG
 'I eat meat.'
- (45) ka- Ø sa- Ø ca-m- a
I-ERG meat-ABS eat-PT-1st SG
 'I ate meat.'
- (46) kanci - Ø kolekma- Ø u -me -cu a
 we (dl incl)-**ERG** beer-ABS drink-Pres-1st dl incl
 'We (dl incl) drink beer.'
- (47) kanci - Ø kolekma u -a -cu a
 we (dl incl)-**ERG** beer drink-PT-1st dl incl
 'We (dl incl) drank beer.'

The sentences (44)-(47) manifest that the first person pronouns do not code ergativity in the past and non-past tense, so is the case in progressive(past and non-past) and perfective(past and non-past) in Yakkha.

- (48) ukhi- a ambeboci- Ø inj-wa-na.
 s/he-**ERG** mangoes-ABS sell-Pres-3rd SG
 'S/he sells the mangoes.'

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|
| (49) | ukhi- a
s/he- ERG | ambeboci- Ø
mangoes-ABS | inj-o-na.
sell-PT-3 rd SG |
| 'S/he sold the mangoes.' | | | |
| (50) | uni khi- a
they(pl)- ERG | ka- Ø
I-ABS | mo -me- na
beat-Pres-1 st SG OBJ |
| 'They(pl) beat me.' | | | |
| (51) | uni khi- a
they(pl)- ERG | ka- Ø
I-ABS | mokt-a- na
beat-PT-1 st SG OBJ |
| 'They (pl) beat me.' | | | |

The sentences (48)-(51) show that the third persons, whether they are singular or plural, are marked for ergativity in past and non-past tense.

A split ergative language is one in which some transitive clauses, but not all, are ergative construction (DeLancey, 1979:626, in Dhakal, 2007:63). Therefore, the ergative languages are inclined to exhibit one kind of split than others among these patterns: (i) The empathy-hierarchy pattern (SAP) (ii) The aspectual split and (iii) The active/stative split. They are also referred to as the nominal split, aspectual split and syntactic split respectively. This kind of split is also called a nominal (personal) split (Dixton, 1979, and DeLancey, 1979, as cited in Dhakal, 2007:63).

SAP's > 3rd persons > human > animate > natural forces > inanimate

Figure No. 2: Personal split (DeLancey, 1881:644, in Dhakal, 2007:63)

DeLancey(1979:627, in Dhakal, 2007) states that this pattern shows, 'hierarchy of 'animacy', 'agentivity', 'topicality', 'salience' or empathy', by which 1st and 2nd persons outrank human 3rd persons, which outrank non-human animates, which in turn outrank inanimate.

4.3.3 The instrumental case

The instrumental makes a tool, inanimate or not, by which an agent accomplishes an action. In other words, the noun or noun phrase that reflects to the means by which the action of the verb is performed is in the instrumental case. Fillmore (1968:24) defines instrumental case as “The case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb”. Similar to Fillmore, Blake (1994:69) defines instrumental case as “the means by which an activity or change of state is carried out.” These definitions show two main features of the instrumental case: firstly it is typically inanimate and secondly it is the force or object used as a weapon or means to carry out the action or state.

As in Chhatthare Limbu(Tambahang, 2007), the instrumental case is Yakkha is also marked by the case marker ‘- a’.

- (52) ka- Ø cabi- **a** walumsi - Ø hos-a- na
 I-ERG key-**INS** door-ABS open-PT-1st SG
 ‘I opened the door with a key.’
- (53) cabi- **a** walumsi - Ø hos-u
 key-**INS** door-ABS open-PT-3rd SG
 ‘The key opened the door.’
- (54) ukhi- a ka- Ø latthi- **a** mokt-a- na
 s/he-ERG I- ABS stick-**INS** beat-PT-3rdSGSUB 1st SG OBJ
 ‘S/he beat me with a stick.’
- (55) mi- **a** a-muk- Ø namd-u-na
 fire-**INS** my hand-ABS burn-PT-3rd SG
 ‘The fire burnt my hand.’
- (56) ukhi- a nwak- Ø chichik- **a** apw-a-na
 s/he-ERG bird-ABS catapult-**INS** hit-PT-3rd SG
 ‘S/he hit the bird with a catapult.’
- (57) ukhi- a kontalik- **a** ohon- Ø hoks-u-na
 s/he-ERG spade-**INS** hole-ABS dig-PT-3rd SG
 ‘S/he dug the hole with a spade.’
- (58) nam- **a** tek- Ø hes-a-na
 sun-**INS** cloth-ABS dry-PT-3rd SG
 ‘The sun dried the cloth.’

In the above examples (from 52 to 58), ‘cabi’, ‘latthi’, ‘chichik’ and ‘kontalik’ are the weapons or means to carry out the action. But ‘mi’ and ‘nam’ themselves cause something to happen. However, all are functioning as the instruments.

As in Limbu(van Driem, 1987), instrumental actants also take part in intransitive verbal scenarios in Yakkha.

- (59) cama- **a** sarik a-ni sis-u
 Rice-**INS** very my-gall be-release-PT
 ‘I’m fed up with cooked rice.’
- (60) kolekma- **a** u-ni sis-u
 Millet beer-**INS** his-gall be-release-PT
 ‘He’ll be fed up with millet beer.’

4.3.4 The genitive case

The genitive case refers to the form of a noun or noun phrase which usually shows that the noun or noun phrase is in a possessive relation with another noun or noun phrase in a sentence. As in Bhandawa(Rai, 1985), the genitive

suffix in Yakkha also has two allomorphs: ‘-ka’ and ‘-ga’ which occur in different contexts.

(a) The allomorph '-ka' occurs after a voiceless consonant.

- (61) pik-**ka** umi
cow-**GEN** tail
‘The cow’s tail’
- (62) nuwak-**ka** oho
bird-**GEN** nest
‘The bird’s nest’
- (63) cabak-**ka** casak
paddy-**GEN** rice
‘The paddy’s rice’
- (64) ak-**ka** pa
I-**GEN** house
‘My house’
- (65) waphik-**ka** ya lik
cucumber-**GEN** seed
‘The seed of the cucumber’

In (61)-(65), the words pik, nuwak, cabak, ak and waphik end with the voiceless consonant sound /k/ which is attached with the genitive marker '-ka'. In (61), pik is in possessive relation with umi; in (62), nuwak with oho ; in (63), cabak with casak; in (64), ak with pa ; and in (65), waphik with ya lik.

(b) The allomorph '-ga' occurs after a voiced consonant

- (66) luna-**ga** cheptap
luna-**GEN** book
‘Luna’s book’
- (67) puba -**ga** umilak
monkey-**GEN** tail
‘The monkey’s tail’
- (68) kucuma-**ga** cama
dog-**GEN** rice
‘His/her house’
- (69) chemogla-**ga** utap
banana-**GEN** tree
‘Banana tree’
- (70) na kalam anci -**ga**
this pen we(dl)-**GEN**
‘This pen is ours’

In (66)-(70), luna, kucuma and chemogla end with a vowel sound/a/ (vowels

are voiced) and *puba* and *anci* end with a voiced nasal sound/ / so that the allomorph '-ga' has been attached to them.

Yakkha possessive pronouns which can function as determiners are given in the following table:

Table No.3: Yakkha possessive pronouns

Number	Person	Possessive pronouns
Singular	1 st	aga-/a-
	2 nd	ga-/m-
	3 rd	uga-/u-
Dual	1 st incl	anci ga- / kanci ga-
	1 st excl	enci ga-
	2 nd	nci ga-
	3 rd	unci ga-
Plural	1 st incl	ani ga- / kani ga-
	1 st excl	e ga-
	2 nd	nni ga-
	3 rd	uni ga-

The following are the examples,

- (71) *aga-pa*
1st SG house
'My house'
- (72) *ga-pa*
2nd SG house
'Your house'
- (73) *uga-pa*
3rd SG house
'His/her house'

As in Chhatthare Limbu(Tumbahang, 2007), the singular personal pronouns have possessive prefixes **a-**, **m-** and **u-** in Yakkha.

In Yakkha , the prefix '**a-**' expresses the meaning of 'my' as in (74)

- (74) *a-pha*
1SG uncle
'My uncle'

In Yakkha , the prefix '**m-**' expresses the meaning of 'your' as in (75).

- (75) **m-ba**
 2SG house
 'Your house'

(/p/of pa is changed into the voiced sound /b/ due to the influence of preceding voiced sound /m/.)

In Yakkha, the prefix 'u-' expresses the meaning of 'his/her' as in (76).

- (76) **u-duruk**
 3SG head
 'His/her head'

(/t/ of turuk or tukhruk is changed into the voiced sound /d/ due to the influence of the preceding voiced sound /u/.)

Some more examples about possessive pronouns are the following:

- (77) **anci ga-chebla**
 1(dl) book
 'Our (dl) book'
- (78) **nci ga-phophom**
 2(dl) cap
 'Your (dl) cap'
- (79) **unci ga-pa**
 3(dl) house
 'Their (dl) house'
- (80) **ani ga-cea**
 1(pl) language
 'Our (pl) language'
- (81) **nmi ga-pik**
 2(pl) cow
 'Your (pl) cow'
- (82) **uni ga-kucuma**
 3(pl) dog
 'Their (pl) dog'

Tambahang(2007) states that genitive case and possessive case are to be studied together as they simultaneously index the meaning of possession or ownership. In Yakkha, the possessor noun or pronoun is marked for a genitive case by a suffix -ka or -ga and the possessed noun is marked by its corresponding possessive prefix.

- (83) ak- **ka** a-ba
 1st GEN 1st POSS-father
 'My father'
- (84) u-**ga** u-pha
 3rd GEN 3rd POSS-uncle

'His/her uncle'

- (85) **-ga** m-ba
 2nd GEN 2nd POSS-house
 'Your house'
- (86) a- sim **-ga** u- duruk
 1st POSS-aunt-GEN 3rd POSS -head
 'My aunt's head'

4.3.5 The comitative case

The comitative case is a case form taken by a noun or a pronoun when it expresses the meaning of 'along with' or 'accompanied by'. Blake (1994:198) defines comitative case as "A case expressing with whom an entity is located, usually used of animates". It is marked by the suffix '-nu' in Yakkha .

- (87) ukhi-**nu** khy-a
 s/he-COM go-IMP
 'Go with him/her.'
- (88) ukhi- Ø ka-**nu** khy-a-na
 s/he-ERG I-COM go-PT-3rd SG
 'S/he went with me.'
- (89) ram- Ø sita-**nu** tay-a-na
 Ram-ERG Sita-COM come-PT-3rd SG
 'Ram came with Sita.'
- (90) ukhi- Ø lu khak- Ø cama-**nu** khamd-u-na
 s/he-ERG stone-ABS rice-COM chew-PT-3rd SG
 'S/he chewed stone with rice.'
- (91) hari- Ø syam-**nu** lukt-a-na
 Hari-ERG Shyam-COM run-PT-3rd SG
 'Hari ran with Shyam.'
- (92) ka- Ø ukhi-**nu** ips-a- na
 I-ABS s/he-COM sleep-PT-1st SG
 'I slept with her.'

The suffix -nu in (87)-(92) is the comitative case marker because it carries the meaning 'accompanied by' in (87),(88), (89) and(91) and 'with' in (90) and (92).

As in Limbu(van Driem,1987), when two or more nominal arguments are connected through the comitative suffix, the verb agrees with the coordinated group in Yakkha. In other words, the comitative relays the sense of English 'with' i.e. togetherness. The comitative suffix '-nu' is also used (1) to coordinate nominal groups as a conjunction 'and' e.g. apha -**nu** asim 'my uncle and aunt', achen-**nu** hen 'yesterday and today', (2) as an instrumental suffix, e.g. tabe-**nu** 'with a knife', (3) as a spatial meditative sense, e.g. bajar-

nu ‘by the way of the market’ and (4) as an ablative in a spatial sense, e.g. *ilam-nu* ‘from Ilam’.

4.3.6 The locative case

The case which denotes the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb is called locative case. It expresses the basic relationship between the location and the object involved with it. It holds the attitude of being oriented, depending upon, consisting of or inseparable relationship between the object and the location or spatial orientation of the action or state identified by the verb. According to Blake (1994:69), locative is “the position of an entity”. In Yakkha, the locative case is marked by the case marker suffix: **-pe/be** (identically used).

- (93) *ukhi- Ø lomphi-pe ips-a-na*
 s/he-ABS bed-LOC sleep-PT-3rd SG
 ‘S/he slept on the bed.’
- (94) *ka- Ø pa -pe khy-a- na*
 I- ABS house-LOC go-PT-1st SG
 ‘I went home.’
- (95) *kani caran-pe lakt-i- a*
 we(pl incl) yard-LOC dance-PT-1st pl
 ‘We(pl incl) danced at the yard.’

4.3.7 The ablative case

The entity that signifies the ‘separation’ and the starting point of the action identified by the verb is said to be ‘ablative case’. Fillmore (1968) calls this case as ‘source’ and defines it as “the place from which something moves,...the starting point,...the earlier state,...the start of period”. The ablative case expresses the role of source or origin of an action. In Yakkha, the ablative case is marked by the suffix ‘**-bo**’ / ‘**-nda**’.

(a) **The case marker ‘-bo’ denotes both ‘coming from...’ and ‘going from...’**

- (96) *ambebo- Ø uthap-bo hokhy-a-na*
 mango-ABS tree-ABL fall-PT-3rd SG
 ‘A mango fell down from the tree.’
- (97) *ram- Ø dharan-bo tay-a-na*
 Ram-ABS Dharan-ABL come-PT-3rd SG
 ‘Ram came from Dharan.’
- (98) *hari- Ø hetauda-bo pokhara tay-a-na*
 Hari-ABS Hetauda-ABL Pokhara come-PT-3rd SG
 ‘Hari came to Pokhara from Hetauda.’

- (99) bibek- Ø na-**bo** yo khy-a-na
 Bibek-ABS here-**ABL** there go-PT-3rd SG
 ‘Bibek went there from here.’
- (100) ukhi- Ø pa -**bo** ilam khy-a-na
 s/he-ABS house-**ABL** Ilam go-PT-3rd SG
 ‘S/he went to Ilam from the house.’

In (96)-(98), the ablative case marker '-bo ' denotes 'coming in' and in 99 and 100, the case marker denotes 'going from'.

(b) **The case marker '-nda ' denotes from which direction the action starts.**

- (101) ukhi- Ø to-**nda** uks-a-na
 s/he-ABS up-**ABL** come-PT-3rd SG
 ‘S/he came from up/upwards.’
- (102) ka- Ø mo-**nda** khy-a- na
 I-ABS down-**ABL** come-PT-1st SG
 ‘I came from down/downwards.’
- (103) bina- Ø yo-**nda** ab-a-na
 Bina-ABS there-**ABL** come-PT-3rd SG
 ‘Bina came from there (straight).’

4.3.8 The allative case

The allative case refers to the case which expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place suggesting destination and goal. In Yakkha, the allative case is marked by the suffix ‘-capma ’.

- (104) ka- Ø pu da-**capma** khy-a- na
 I-ABS forest-**ALL** go-PT-1st SG
 ‘I went to/towards the forest.’
- (105) ukhi- Ø pa -**capma** khy-a-na
 s/he-ABS house-**ALL** go-PT-3rd SG
 ‘S/he went towards the house.’
- (106) ram- Ø ka-**capma** ab-a-na
 Ram-ABS I-**ALL** come-PT-3rd SG
 ‘Ram came towards me.’
- (107) nuwak- Ø ta khe -**capma** pes-a-na
 bird-ABS sky-**ALL** fly-PT-3rd SG
 ‘The bird flew towards the sky.’

These examples show that the allative case marker ‘-capma ’ can be attached to both animate and inanimate entity.

4.3.9 The vocative case

Vocative refers to a case form taken by a noun or a pronoun when it is used in the function of address. According to Blake (1994:9), “The vocative is used as a form of address.” It is used to draw the attention towards the self. To Quirk et al. (1985:773), “A vocative is an optional element, usually a noun phrase, denoting the one or more persons to whom the sentence is addressed.” In Yakkha, the vocative case markers are ‘-eo’ and ‘-o’ which occur in different context.

(a) The vocative case marker ‘-eo’ is attached to a noun ending in a consonant, no matter whether it is voiced or voiceless.

- (108) a-pha -eo!
my-uncle-VOC
‘Uncle!’
- (109) a-sim-eo! khepsuso
my-aunt-VOC! listen
‘Aunt! Listen.’
- (110) a-yep-eo!
my-uncle(father’s elder brother)-VOC!
‘Uncle!’
- (111) ya malek-eo! puga
grandson-VOC! get up
‘Grandson! Get up.’

(b) Another vocative case marker ‘-o’ is attached to a noun (singular or plural) ending in a vowel.

- (112) a-pa-o!
my-father-VOC!
‘Father!’
- (113) kamnibak-ci-o! yu ino
‘friend-pl-VOC! let’s sit
‘Friends! Let’s sit.’
- (114) a-sim-ci-o! khepsanu
my-aunt-pl-VOC! listen
‘Aunts! Listen.’
- (115) a-ma-o!
my-mother-VOC!
‘Mother!’

4.3.10 The dative case

The dative case typically expresses an indirect object relationship. In case grammar, it refers to the case or animate being affected by the verb's state or action. It is equivalent to semantic role 'recipient'. According to Blake (1994:9), "the dative is a syntactic case that can encode a variety of roles,...its central function is to encode entities that are the target of an activity or emotion." In Yakkha, the dative case is unmarked.

- (116) hari- a ka- Ø yakkha cea- Ø sikacug-u-na
Hari-ERG I-DAT Yakkha language-ABS teach-PT-3rd SG
'Hari taught me the Yakkha language.'
- (117) sita- a rita - Ø pu dikhuba- Ø haks-u-na
Sita-ERG Rita-DAT money-ABS send-PT-3rd SG
'Sita sent money to Rita.'
- (118) ka- Ø ram- Ø kalam- Ø piy-o- na
I-ERG Ram-DAT pen-ABS give-PT-1st SG
'I gave a book to Ram.'

In (116)-(118), sikacug-u-na, haks-u-na, and piy-o- na are ditransitive verbs which take direct object and indirect object. In the above examples, ka, rita and ram are indirect objects which are unmarked in Yakkha.

4.3.11 The mediative case

As in Limbu(van Driem, 1987) and Chhatthare Limbu(Tumbahang, 2007), the mediative case is found in Yakkha. The spatial mediative meaning is expressed by the suffix '-nu' in Yakkha.

- (119) ilam-**nu**
Ilam-MED
'through/by the way of Ilam'
- (120) ten-**nu**
village-MED
'via the village'

4.3.12 The similarity case

As in Bhujel(Regmi, 2007), Yakkha also has the similarity case which is marked by the suffix '-dok'.

- (121) ram puba -**dok** leks-a-na
Ram monkey-SIM become-PT-3rd SG
'Ram became like a monkey.'

- (122) ka kucuma-**dok** leks-a- na
 I dog-**SIM** become-PT-1st SG
 'I became like a dog.'

In the case of the copula 'be' and personal pronouns, the similarity case is marked by the suffix '**-dokna**'.

- (123) bina u- ma **-dokna** weʔ-na
 Bina 3rd SG-mother-**SIM** be-Pres 3rd SG SUB
 'Bina is like her mother.'

- (124) ka a- ba **-dokna** weʔ- na
 I 1st SG-father-**SIM** be-Pres 1st SG SUB
 'I am like my father.'

- (125) a-pha ka-**dokna** weʔ-na
 1st SG-uncle I-**SIM** be-Pres-3rd SG SUB
 'My uncle is like me.'

4.3.13 The inessive case

Crystal(1996:195) defines the term 'inessive' as 'a term used in GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION to refer to a type of INFLECTION which expresses the meaning of location or position within a place.' As in Bhujel(Regmi, 2007), Yakkha also has an inessive case. The case clitic '**-bhitra**' marks the inessive case in Yakkha.

- (126) sankar pa **-bhitra** weʔ-na
 Shankar house-**INE** be-Pres-3rd SG SUB
 'Shankar is inside the house.'

In (126), '-bhitra' is an inessive case marker which is borrowed in Yakkha from Nepali.

In Yakkha, the case system is found in pronouns (many examples have already been presented above). The case system in pronouns is the same as in nouns. However, there are less number of cases in it but the case markers for each pronoun are the same in Chhatthare Limbu(Tumbahang, 2007) and so is in Yakkha.

Table No.4: Case markers of first person pronouns

Case	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive
Locative	ka-pe	kanci -pe	enci -pe	kani -pe	eni -pe
Comitative	ka-nu	kanci - nu	enci - nu	kani - nu	eni - nu
Ablative	ka-bo	kanci - bo	enci - bo	kani - bo	eni - bo
Allative	ka-capma	kanci - capma	enci - capma	kani -capma	eni -capma
Mediative	ka- nu	kanci - nu	enci - nu	kani - nu	eni - nu
Similarity	ka- dokna	kanci - dokna	enci - dokna	kani - dokna	eni - dokna

The table 4 shows that six case systems are found in first person pronouns in Yakkha.

Table No.5: Case markers of second person pronouns

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Locative	khi-pe	nci khi-pe	ni khi-pe
Comitative	khi -nu	nci khi -nu	ni khi -nu
Ablative	khi- bo	nci khi - bo	ni khi - bo
Allative	khi -capma	nci khi -capma	ni khi -capma
Mediative	khi - nu	nci khi - nu	ni khi - nu
Similarity	khi - dokna	nci khi - dokna	ni khi - dokna

The table 5 also shows that six case systems are found in second person pronouns in Yakkha.

Table No.6: Case markers of third person pronouns

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Locative	ukhi-pe	u ci khi-pe	uni khi-pe
Comitative	ukhi -nu	u ci khi -nu	uni khi -nu
Ablative	ukhi - bo	u ci khi - bo	uni khi - bo
Allative	ukhi -capma	u ci khi -capma	uni khi -capma
Meditative	ukhi - nu	u ci khi - nu	uni khi - nu
Similarity	ukhi - dokna	u ci khi - dokna	uni khi - dokna

The table 6 also shows that six case systems are found in third person pronouns in Yakkha.

Similarly, demonstrative pronouns are also marked by different case markers in Yakkha. Yakkha has two demonstrative pronouns: na'this'(proximate or proximal) and nna'that'(remote/distal). The demonstrative pronouns inflect for case in the following way:

- (i) **Proximate/ proximal demonstrate pronoun: na 'this':** Yakkha demonstrative pronoun 'na' shows nearness or nearer from the speaker.

Table No. 7: Case markers of proximate demonstrative pronoun

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Absolutive	na	nakhaci	nakhaci
Comitative	na -nu	nakhaci -nu	nakhaci -nu
Ablative	na- bo	nakhaci - bo	nakhaci - bo
Allative	na -capma	nakhaci -capma	nakhaci -capma
Meditative	na - nu	nakhaci - nu	nakhaci - nu
Similarity	na - dokna	nakhaci - dokna	nakhaci -dokna
Ergative	na- a	nakhaci- a	nakhci- a
Locative	na-pe	nakhaci-pe	nakhaci-pe
Dative	na- a	nakhaci- a	nakhci- a

The table 7 shows that except the absolutive case (since this case is unmarked in Yakkha), all cases are marked by their corresponding case markers. The proximate demonstrative pronoun 'nakhaci' is used to refer to both dual and plural number in Yakkha.

- (ii) **Remote/distal demonstrative pronoun: nna'that':** Yakkha demonstrative pronoun 'nna' shows remoteness or far away from the speaker.

Table No. 8: Case markers of remote/distal demonstrative pronoun

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Absolutive	nna	nnakhaci	nnakhaci
Comitative	nna -nu	nnakhaci -nu	nnakhaci -nu
Ablative	nna- bo	nnakhaci - bo	nnakhaci - bo
Allative	nna -capma	nnakhaci -capma	nnakhaci -capma
Meditative	nna - nu	nnakhaci - nu	nnakhaci - nu
Similarity	nna - dokna	nnakhaci - dokna	nnakhaci -dokna
Ergative	nna- a	nnakhaci- a	nnakhci- a
Locative	nna-pe	nnakhaci-pe	nnakhaci-pe
Dative	nna- a	nnakhaci- a	nnakhci- a

Since the absolutive case is unmarked in Yakkha, it is not marked in the case of demonstrative pronoun as well, but all other cases are marked by their corresponding case markers.

Similarly, interrogative pronouns are also marked by different case markers in

Yakkha. Following Tambahang(2007), interrogative pronouns are of two types: human and general.

- (a) **Interrogative human pronouns:** isa 'who' is an interrogative human pronoun that can be used only for human beings.

Table No. 9: Case markers of interrogative human pronouns

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Absolutive	isa	isaci	isaci
Comitative	isa -nu	isaci -nu	isaci -nu
Ablative	isa-ga - bo	isaci-ga - bo	isaci-ga - bo
Allative	isa -capma	isaci -capma	isaci -capma
Meditative	isa - nu	isaci - nu	isaci - nu
Similarity	isa - dokna	isaci - dokna	isaci – dokna
Ergative	isa- a	isaci- a	isaci- a
Locative	isa-ga-pe	isaci-ga-pe	isaci-ga-pe
Dative	isa- a	isaci- a	isaci- a

The table 9 shows that the absolutive case is unmarked in Yakkha and all other cases are marked by the case markers. In case of ablative and locative cases, the genitive marker '-ga' has been attached to the interrogative human pronoun 'isa'.

- (b) **Interrogative general pronouns:** Tambahang(2007) views that interrogative non-human pronouns refer to non-human referents like animals, birds etc. and other inanimate things. In Yakkha, the interrogative general pronoun i 'what' declines like any other nominals in the following way:

Table No. 10: Case markers of interrogative general pronoun: i 'what'

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Absolutive	i	ii	ii
Comitative	i -nu	ii -nu	ii -nu
Ablative	i- bo	ii- bo	ii - bo
Allative	i -capma	ii -capma	ii -capma
Meditative	i - nu	ii - nu	ii - nu
Similarity	i - dokna	ii - dokna	ii – dokna
Ergative	i- a	ii- a	ii- a
Locative	i-pe	ii-pe	ii-pe
Dative	i- a	ii- a	ii- a

The table 10 shows that the interrogative pronoun 'i' is reduplicated in dual and

plural case in Yakkha.

4.5 Summary

Yakkha has ergative-absolutive case marking system i.e. transitivity-oriented case marking system. It has three case marking systems viz. zero marking, case clitics and postpositions. In Yakkha, absolutive case, dative case and ergative case(in the case first person and second person pronouns) are zero marked. Most of the cases are marked by case clitics or case markers. The postpositions also mark cases in Yakkha which come with the locative marker. There are altogether thirteen Yakkha cases viz. absolutive, ergative, instrumental, locative, allative, ablative, dative, comitative, mediative, similarity, vocative, genitive and incessive. The same case marker marks different cases in Yakkha. Yakkha also has case marking systems in pronouns.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Yakkha is an eastern Kirati language spoken by 14648 population of Nepal. This language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is a pronominalized language and is agglutinative in nature.

Case is a universal feature and case markers are language-specific. Yakkha is an ergative-absolutive type of language. It treats subject of a transitive verb in one way but subject of an intransitive verb and object of a transitive verb in another way. There are twelve cases and their case markers in Yakkha. Some cases are marked, while others are unmarked. The Yakkha cases are marked in three ways: zero-marking suffixes/case clitics (morphologically bound forms) and postpositions. The absolutive, the ergative (in the case of first and second person pronouns) and dative cases are zero-marked or unmarked. Except them, ergative (in the case of third person pronoun and nominal subjects), instrumental, genitive, locative, ablative, allative, vocative, mediative and similarity cases are marked by case clitics or case markers. The postpositions also mark cases in Yakkha which come with locative marker as suffix. The cases and their case markers identified in Yakkha are shown in the following table.

Table No. 11: Yakkha cases and their case markers

S.N.	Cases	Case markers
1	Absolutive	-Ø
2	Ergative	- a, -Ø(first and second pronouns are unmarked)
3	Instrumental	- a
4	Genitive	-ka, -ga
5	Comitative	-nu
6	Locative	-pe/be,
7	Ablative	-bo , -nda
8	Allative	-capma
9	Vocative	-eo, -o
10	Dative	-Ø
11	Mediative	-nu
12	Similarity	-dok/-dokna
13	Inessive	-bhitra

The table 11 shows that the same case marker can occur with various cases in Yakkha, for example, - a is the common case marker of both ergative and instrumental cases. Both absolutive, ergative (in the case of first and second subject pronoun) and dative cases are unmarked. Similarly, '-nu ' is the case marker for both comitative and meditative case.

In Yakkha, there is the existence of inclusive and exclusive personal and possessive pronouns for first person dual and plural. There is no male-female distinction for third person singular personal and possessive pronouns since Yakkha is not a sexist language. The Yakkha personal and possessive pronouns are categorized under three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The singular personal pronouns have possessive prefixes a-, m- and u-. Yakkha case systems are also found in other pronouns. Six cases such as locative, comitative, meditative, ablative, allative and similarity are marked in the case of first, second and third persons. Nine cases viz. absolutive, ergative, locative, comitative, meditative, ablative, allative, dative and similarity are marked in the case of demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns.

The verb plays a central role in determining cases in Yakkha. However, some cases occur without main verb in a sentence.

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