Conferences and Seminars

CONFERENCES

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION 86th ANNUAL MEETING
Phoenix, Arizona, November 16-20, 1988

Panel on Moral Dimensions of Narrative in South Asia

PARISH, Steven (UC-San Diego)
MORAL KNOWING AND NEWAR NARRATIVES: ANTIHIERARCHICAL MORALITY TALES FROM AN ARCHAIC HINDU CITY

The Newars of Nepal use narratives to help create a Hindu "turn of mind," and many stories affirm the values of traditional caste hierarchy. But not all do so; some narratives challenge hierarchy. Newar narratives, like Newar rituals, help organize moral consciousness: Newars know themselves as moral beings through narratives and rituals. But narratives are more fluid than ritual; narratives permit a range of revaluations of social roles and self. In antihierarchical narratives, caste hierarchy can be reimagined or neutralized, and an alternative moral awareness established.

SWEETSER, Anne T (Harvard)
RE-CREATION OF LEGITIMACY: MORALITY AND POWER IN THE ORAL HISTORY OF KAGHAN VALLEY, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, PAKISTAN

The aim of oral history in the Kaghan Valley is reassertion of the moral legitimacy of domination by the landlord family. Semimythologized events, laden with religious symbolism, constitute the unchanging core of the story. Details are adjusted to suit the composition of the audience. Each telling is an emotionally forceful performance intended to evoke awe or pride and reawaken dedication to greater religious and moral values in terms of which legitimacy of authority is asserted. This is emphasized through contrast with the British conception, as revealed in archival materials, of history as the guided development of bureaucratic consciousness.

Panel on Language and Linguistic Usage

AGHA, Asif (Chicago)
HONORIFIC NOUN CLASSIFIERS IN LHASA TIBETAN

A categorization of the nominal lexicon into distinct semantic classes by means of noun classifiers is widely attested in the language of the world. The occurrence of noun classifiers in the honorific register of Lhasa Tibetan, however, has scarcely received adequate mention. This paper has three goals: (1) to describe the morphosyntax of the system of classifiers and to enumerate major semantic classes; (2) to explain the phenomenon of iconicity inherent in a classificatory system built in large part out of words for parts of the human body ; (3) to discuss [in the light of (1) and (2)] the pragmatic meanings associated with the use of these classifiers in honorific speech.

Panel on Political Changes in Transforming Societies

DES CHENE, Mary (Stanford)
IN SERVICE TO COLONIALISM: THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AMONG THE GURKHAS

Drawing upon both archival and field research, this paper treats the historical role of British colonial ideology in producing a sense of nationalism among the Gurung people of west-central Nepal. The experiences of Gurung men who served as soldiers in the British-Indian and British armies are shown to have significantly shaped Gurung understandings of national identity and of Nepal itself as a nation. The paper contributes to recent debates about the continuing role of colonial ideology in indigenous historical processes, and draws attention to a hitherto unexamined effect upon Nepal of British rule in India.

Panel on the Cultural Construction of Speech and Silence

MARCH, Kathryn S. (Cornell)
TALKING ABOUT NOT TALKING

On several occasions during the collection of 14 Tamang women's life history narratives and song compositions from north central Nepal, the women involved talked about not talking. This paper will look at some of these cases to explore the ambiguities in their silences as they spoke of them. At communicative stake are the interlocutors' relative abilities to define the relations between (non)speaker and listener which make their silences intelligible. How each communicates an understanding of what is not said is the subject of this paper.

Panel on Through Children's Eyes and in Children's Voices: Doing the Ethnography of Children

SKINNER, Debra G (North Carolina-Chapel Hill)
NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY THROUGH NARRATIVE: NEPALI CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF SELF AND OTHERS

Recent work on cultural models and neo-Vygotskian approaches to development suggests that cultural devices such as life stories and other scripted narratives are an important way in which individuals represent and organize their experiences, including their understandings of self and others. This paper focuses on Nepali children's negotiations and understandings of social identities. Children's life narratives are analyzed as cultural products, created and performed in a social context, which constitutes a basis for their understanding of caste, gender and age-related identities.

Panel on Ethnicity, Identity and the Chinese State: Field Research on Minorities in China's Border Worlds

GOLDSTEIN, Melvyn C, and Cynthia M BEALL (Case Western Reserve)
CHINA'S NEW POLICIES AND CULTURAL REVITALIZATION AMONG THE NOMAD PASTORALISTS OF WESTERN TIBET

The paper will discuss the changes experienced by the nomad pastoralists of Western Tibet from the semifeudal days of the old society, through the implementation of communes and the cultural revolution, to the current situation following the dramatic shift in China's Tibetan policy after 1980. The paper will discuss the salient economic, social and religious changes that have transpired since 1981 and will argue that the nomads are in the process of reconstituting essential elements of the old society. The paper is based on more than a year of fieldwork in Western Tibet.

Panel on Murder, Feud and Revenge

FRENCH, Rebecca (Yale)
THE "TONG" MURDER COMPENSATION LAWS OF TIBET
      Perhaps the most extensive murder compensation system ever discovered was the Tibetan "tong" payment schedule first recorded 1300 years ago and still in use in the 1950s in Tibet. Tied to the social level of the victim, this graduated payment schedule was the basis for numerous other payments to employers, spouses, relatives, monasteries and the court. Through this payment system and other sanctions, the Tibetans developed a technique for restoring social equilibrium and avoiding feuds and revenge.

SAX, William (Harvard)
RITUAL AND RIVALRY IN HIMALAYAN PROCESSION
      This paper analyzes the ways in which ritual forms in a periodic central Himalayan Hindu procession were manipulated by two rival factions of priests in order to further their political goals. The order of procession, appropriateness of animal sacrifice and proper role of participating journalists were all subjects of heated public disputes among the priests, followers and oracles of the goddess in honor of whom the procession was performed. Analysis of the procession leads to the hypothesis that public spectacles of this sort tend to become arenas for the dramatization and prosecution of long-standing rivalries.

NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION
FOR ASIAN STUDIES
Annual Meeting, October 29, 1988
Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut

Panel on Problems of Bureaucracy and Politics in China, India, and Tibet

FRENCH, Rebecca (Yale University)
COURTS IN THE DALAI LAMA'S BUREAUCRACY

Panel on Indian Women: Texts, Images, and Realities

RAHEJA, Gloria (University of Chicago)
A CUCKOO SINGS IN THE FOREST: IMAGES OF KINSHIP, SEXUALITY, AND POWER IN NORTH INDIAN RITUAL THOUGHT

Panel on Defining Sacred Space in South Asia Through the Visual Arts

STANGROOM, Cynthia P. (Harvard University)
THE HINDU TEMPLE AS RITUAL PERFORMANCE SPACE, PART 1

NAPIER, David (Middlebury College)
THE HINDU TEMPLE AS RITUAL PERFORMANCE SPACE, PART 2

DAVIS, Richard (Yale University)
POTS, DIAGRAMS, AND IMAGINED DEITIES: CREATING SPACE IN SAIVA RITUAL

Session I: Historical and Comparative Linguistics
Chairman: K.P. Malla

SPRIGG, R. K.
TONE CLASSES IN TAMANG AND TIBETAN: A COMPARISON

In the Tamang language words can be analysed into four classes on the basis of their pitch patterns. In the case of disyllabic words containing a verb and the past-tense suffix ji, for example, the four distinctive pitch patterns are (i) high-low ([\.]), (ii) high-high ([-\] or ['\]), (iii) low-low ([\.] or [^.]), and (iv) low-high ([_\]), as for the words (i) shi-ji '(he) died', (ii) Khru-ji ' (he) washed', (iii) so-ji '(he) prepared', and (iv) drup-ji '(he) sewed'.

In the Lhasa dialect of spoken Tibetan, however, and in the style of pronunciation used for reading Tibetan, words can be analysed into only two tone classes, with, as their distinctive pitch patterns in disyllabic words containing a verb and the past tense suffix song, (i) high-low ([\.]) and (ii) low-low ([\.]), as for the words (i) shi-song '(he) died'; khrus-song '(he) washed' (ii) bzos-song 'he made', and drub(s) - song '(he) sewed'.

Tamang belongs to what Mazaudon has called the TGTM sub family (Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manangba), corresponding, for the most part, to what Shafer has termed the Gurung Branch of the Bodish section of the Bodic Division of the Tibeto-Burman Family; therefore, it is closely enough related to Tibetan for a comparison to seem useful. In particular, one might wonder how the four tones of Tamang can be related to the two tones that can be distinguished in at least some dialects of Tibetan, and, assuming the direction of development to have been from Tibetan to Tamang, whether the two tone classes of Tibetan can have split into the four tone classes of Tamang. The relationship is further explored in this paper.

BANERJEE, Satya Ranjan (Calcutta University)
DIONYSIUS THRAX AND PANINI ON PARTS OF SPEECH

Though there is a gap of over two hundred and fifty years between Panini (400 B.C.) of India and Dionysus Thrax (2nd Cent. B. C.) of Greece, a comparative study between them on parts of speech can be made on a general level. It should be borne in mind at the very outset that the grammar of Thrax is written in prose, and that of Panini in a sutra form (aphoristic approach), and the approaches of the two grammarians are quite different. As the comparison between the two on all aspects of grammar is not posssible in this short limited space and time, I have selected only the parts of speech in order to understand the approach of the two grammarians towards language in general.

The name of Thrax's grammar is the grammatike takhne and that of Panini is Astādhyāyi. The parts of speech discussed by Thrax are noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition and conjunction. Adjective is included under noun and interjection is not discussed separately. Though Panini has not discussed the parts of speech, he has incidentally mentioned the names of different parts of speech and there are - Visesya (noun), sarvanāma (pronoun), Visesana (adjective), kriya (verb) and avyayas (indeclinable). Kriya-visesana is not mentioned by Panini but by Patanjali; and other parts of speech are included under avyayas.

In conclusion it is shown in this paper that a detailed study between the two will reveal the fact that the germs of some of the modern conceptions on parts of speech are found in both Panini's and Dionysius Thrax's grammar.

DUTTA, Indrani
ON THE TREATMENT OF "Y" IN OLD INDO-ARYAN

While studying the Siksas and the Pratisakhyas, I came across some interesting phenomena with regard to the treatment of Semi - vowels y and v. It appears from these Siksa tents that the quality of y and v are not the same throughout its history. I shall here only discuss the treatment of the Semi - Vowel Y and its development in different branches of Indo-Aryan languages.

On examination, it appears to me that there were perhaps two types of semi-vowels Y which could be represented by two different symbols as y and j. Here y (<4£*j) is a simple semi-vowel which is normally vocalised, whereas the semi-vowel j (<4£* j sperant) is not. Whether the non-vocalic semi-vowel could be considered as fricative or not depends on the evidence of language. The difficulty is that in the devanagari script the semi-vowel y is represented by only one symbol (य). It can be surmised that when y is semi-vowel it is vowelised and when it is fricative, it is not.

The evidence of this conjecture has a support in the Yajnavalkya Siksa as well as in the Laghu Amoghananoini and Parasari and in the other Siksas. This evidence in the Sanskrit texts has a strong proof to infer that the treatment of y is not uniform throughout its history. In fact, in the Yajnavalkya Siksa three different kinds of y ('Heavy' 'light' and 'very light') are recognised. So also in other Siksas. These points have been fully discussed by Yajnavalkya, we say that y is heavy (tara) initially, medially it is light (laghu) and finally very light (laghutara). There is hardly any evidence of orthographically by which we can prove the heavy qualities of Yakara. But in the Madhyandina School of Satapathe Brahmana as published in the Acyutagranthamala series, we find that the initial y is printed double i.e. yy (printed as य्य) as in the case of the semi-vowel v (=व्व). The v initially is printed double perhaps to distinguish it from the semi-vowel v, so also here. The initial y is printed double to distinguish it from the semi-vowel y.

It is to be noted that in Prakrit the initial y is to be replaced by j (cf. HC. ader yo jah, Prakrit Grammar, I - 245) which perhaps indicates the heavy pronunciation of y initially represented phonetically by j, Medially it is light, and perhaps that is why in Prakrit this light semi-vowel y is elided leaving behind the vowel - quality e.g. ayu au (cf. also HC. I - 177). The very light pronunciation of y at the final stage is often pronounced as vocalic (even at the present day in Hindi and other languages).

To trace back the history of this fact we can only say that in Avestan this initial y is also treated spirant, i.e., heavy (Jackson, Avesta, Grammar,£91). In Greek, of course, semi-vowel is not represented by any phonetic symbol, but can be inferred on the basis of Sanskrit and other languages. When the semi-vowel y (<4£*i) is elided the consonantal element is reduplicated e.g. Greek leusso (I cook)< * Leusio, so also in Sanskrit -sya, Gk. Oio < *Osjo, s being elided in Greek. There is one interesting point to know that sometimes Sanskrit y is represented by Greek voiced palatal spirant Z (=) e.g. Sannskrit yava, 'corn'= GK. Zeia, Sanskrit yugam= GK. Zogon and so on.

This transformation of Sanskrit y into Greek Z, which is a spirant, shows that there was a semi-vowel j which was also spirant in Sanskrit. Besides, in Sanskrit the root yam 'restain' is yayama (RV. VII 38. 1) in the perfect, where y is not vocalised. That is why Brugmann and others accept a spirant semi-vowel j in Indo-European.

To conclude we can say that whenever we see any semi-vowel y not becoming vocalic, we can infer that those y's are coming from fricative j in Indo-European. This, of course, depends on the type of pronunciation of these two y's probably in two different places and naturally may be regarded as a dialectical variation.

This paper is intended to understand correctly the initial doubling of y as found in the Madhyandin School of Satapatha Brahmana and to elicit opinions from Scholars to show me the path in the right direction to solve this riddle.

VAN DRIEM, George (University of Leiden)
A STRUCTURED EXPLORATION OF PROTO-KIRANTI VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Verbs in Kiranti languages are not segmentable in the same straightforward way as in agglutinating languages such as Turkish. The presence of fused or portemanteau morphemes and allomorphy, often conditioned by co-occurence with other morphemes in the same affixal string and often involving zero allomorphs, render a thorough morphemic analysis of the verb in any given language a desideratum in the study of the affixal morphology of the proto-language. On the basis of a morphemic analysis of Dumi Rai verbal affixes and what has been published on the pronominal verbal morphology of a number of other Kiranti languages, I shall explore the flectional morphology of proto-Kiranti.

In order to establish the form and the semantic content of the proto-Kiranti morpheme reflected by, say, the Dumi first plural suffix <-k>, the Limbu exclusive suffix <-ge>, the Kulung exclusive morpheme <-ka>, the Hayu first plural morpheme <-ke> and the Thulung exclusive suffic <-ki>, both a comparison must be made of the way the proto-meaning has been re-analysed in the respective daughter languages, and the semantic common denominator which emerges from this comparison should also ideally form part of an organic morpheme inventory in the proto-language. Reconnaissance of the verbal morphology of a number of Kiranti languages will lead to a provisional inventory of affixes of the proto-Kiranti system

TAMOT, Kashi Nath (Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee)
NOTES ON PROTO NEWARI NUMERAL

Newari has Tibeto-Burman cognate numeral system. It extends one(1) to a thousand (1000) number as in Tibetan and Burmese. Newari numeral system is more close with Tibetan than with Burmese. Here an attempt is made to reconstruct the Proto-Newari numeral forms comparing with Tibetan, Burmese and Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB). Here Proto-Newari means the language used before the Classical Newari period (AD 879-1769). In Nepalese history it covers Licchavi (AD 100-879) and Pre-Licchavi period (BC 1000-AD 100). Proto-Newari is supposed to be used initially in Pre-Licchavi period, that is, Gopal-Kirat period of Nepalese history. Proto-Newari has y and r cluster and consonant ending lexemes as in Non-Sanskritic vocabulary of the Licchavi inscriptions. It will be closely related with Himalayan languages of Nepal. It will be a bridge in between PTB and the Himalayan language of Nepal, as Newari is one of the five oldest languages of Sino-Tibetan, which has written documents since the beginning of 12th century. About 400 TB cognate Newari lexemes have been compiled. Here only 12 Proto-Newari numerical lexemes have been presented. They are:

1. *tshik	5. *na	9. *gu
2. *nis	6. *khruk	10. *jip
3. *sum	7. *nhas	100. *srya
4. *pri	8. *tsryat	1000. *don

Session II: Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics
Chairman: C.M. Bandhu

GUPTA, Sagar Mal
BREAKDOWN OF COMMUNICATION IN NEPALESE, HINDU AND ARABIC

It has been observed that even in the same culture, interlocutors sometimes fail to understand each other. They share the same cultural assumptions even then the communication between them breaks down. The reason for the breakdown of communication is attributable to the age, sex and education of the interlocutors. Thus the interaction between the socio-biological variables (age, sex, eductaion) and the linguistic variable (shared cultural assumptions) may lead in certain circumstances to the breakdown of communication.

The supporting data are taken from Nepalese, Hindi and Arabic. The data were collected by the researcher in actual conversation.

SUBBA, Subhadra (Tribhuvan University)
LEXICAL DIFFUSION: NYSE AND MEDIA GLOSSARY
      Whenever the need arises for new kinds of activity and new kinds of discourse to meet these needs, similar variety of language innovations take place in all languages.

      The innovations may be of various kinds. In the first place the language may draw upon its own contemporary repertory, extending the applicability of existing registers, then gradually modifying and differentiating subtle shades of meaning in the interest of easy and simple comprehension for the users.

      Examples are drawn from the language spoken and used in the New York Stock Exchange market and Press, Radio and Television world.

CROSS, J. P.
A SPECTRUM OF THE ASIAN LANGUAGES
      1. Sanskrit spread eastwards from its linguistic heartland thousands of years ago, possibly even before the Asoka empire of 250 B.C.

      2. Chinese influence also spread westwards and southwards from its linguistic heartland, reaching Vietnam possibly before 258 B.C., when the country was known as Au Lac.

      3. I have studied languages across the spectrum of this range, including Urdu/Hindi, Nepali, Cantonese, Malay, Temiar, Iban, Thai, Vietnamese and Lao. I have found similarites and differences of words in these languages and my paper would tell my audience some of what these are.

      4. As some of what I have is tonal and in script I would not intend to produce a hand-out but, rather, regard this paper (if you were to want it) as a little light-hearted linguistic refreshment.

RANA, Mahendra D. (Tribhuvan University)
MODERNISING THE TEACHING APPROACH IN ELT IN NEPAL
      The main purpose of this short paper is to highlight some of the important recent developments in language teaching and consider their potential and applicability in the context of ELT in Nepal.

      This paper deals with the issues related to developments such as the communicative approach, learner-centred teaching, skills-based teaching and exam pattern, authenticity in language teaching materials, and positive attitude towards errors, etc.

      It is an attempt to make aware of the urgent need for an overall renewal of the ELT curriculum, textbooks, teacher training programmes and above all, the exam pattern both at school and campus levels.

Session III: Tibeto-Burman Linguistics
Chairman: R. K. Sprigg

MALLA, K.P. (Tribhuvan University)
TO BORROW OR NOT TO BORROW: A LEXICOGRAPHER'S DILEMMA
      The Classical Newari Dictionary Project has now a draft computerised file of about 30,000 records of attested forms of Newari words drawn from the bi-lingual lexicons, narrative texts, plays, poems, didactic works and chronicles--all texts dated between AD 1380-1900. In the following year or two we hope to access additional records form historical diaries, chronicles, and inscriptions and technical literature.

      The file has a large component of Indo-Aryan loans (estimated 30-35%) both transparent and opaque ones (as in column 1 and 2 of the handout). As numerous elements of Newar literature and culture are drawn from Sanskritic sources this is all but natural. Borrowing from the Great Tradition by the Little Tradition is inevitable in the typical language contact situation of the Nepal Valley. Our source-texts came from a highly Sanskritized elite. Except for the diaries and the chronicles, the source-texts are all modelled on Sanskrit originals either as translations or as free recensions.

Confronted with such a corpus, we as lexicographers are facing difficult choices. The easiest course would have been to compile all the attested items--loans as well as native words. However, this will have some serious consequences. In the first place, the Dictionary will have a disproportionately large component of Indo-Aryan loans, giving a distorted impression of the lexical structure of the Classical Newari language. Secondly, apart from the cost and time factors involved, few persons are likely to consult a Classical Newari Dictionary to check the meaning or usage of Sanskrit or Middle Indo-Aryan words unless they have deviant meaning or usage in Newari texts.

Our main focus should be the native stock of words, words which have been assimilated or indigenised even though they are loans (as in column 3 and column 4). Ordinarily, loans which are semi-transparent (as in column 2) are preferable to loans which are transparent (as in column 1). However, this is not to suggest that we reject Sanskrit loans altogether. Attested loans are also significant to study the displacement and decay of native vocabulary.

While working on an edition of a palm-leaf Sanskrit-Newari manuscript, Naradasmrti dated NS 500/AD 1380, some 12,998 words were identifiable in the Newari portions. Eliminating repetitions, 6,242 separate words can be identified which included all orthographic, morphological, and inflected forms of the stems. While preparing the glossary of the manuscript I decided to eliminate all transparent Sanskrit loans (1820 words in all), retaining the semi-transparent loans (column 2) some of which are only orthographic variants of Sanskrit loans. There were about 50 loan verbs in which the root was Sanskrit whereas the suffix was Newari (column 3). About 20 more (column 4) were New Indo-Aryan (Hindi-Maithili) verb-roots, again with Newari suffix rap-e. The remaining stock of vocabulary in the manuscript seems to be all native.

In the following centuries, however, the pressure of Indo-Aryan was too visible, very often displacing the native words altogether. Today the entire numerals, direction words and even kinship terms are completely replaced by loans.

One of the committed functions of a historical dictionary such as the Classical Newari Dictionary should be to rediscover the lexical wealth of the language buried beneath several strata of loans which often give comparative and historical linguists false clues to the unique lexical structure of Newari.

TOBA, S.
GRAMMATICAL MARKING OF SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANTS IN KIRANTI LANGUAGES

It is known that empathy hierarchy plays a crucial role for the syntactic organization of the sentence in a number of languages. The purpose of this paper is to show how the upper part of the empathy scale, i.e. the speech situation with:

Speaker	>Hearer	>Third Person
center of the speech act	speech act participant SA participant	non-participant

is reflected in the grammar of some Kiranti languages in Nepal. Its relevance will be shown for (a) agreement, (b) role marking, (c) direction marking on the verb.

SHRESTHA, Rudra Laxmi
CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN DOLAKHA NEWARI DIALECT

RAI, Novel Kishore
LOCATIVE SUFFIXES IN BANTAWA

Session IV: Maithili Linguistics
Chairman Satya Ranjan Banerjee

YADAV, Ramawatar
MAITHILI VERB AGREEMENT

YADAVA, Yogendra P.
ANOTHER NOTE ON PRO: CHOMSKY REVISITED

JHA, Sunil Kumar.
GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS IN MAITHILI
       This paper briefly surveys previous studies done on the consonant gemination of various languages of the world, including the Indo-Aryan family of languages. The paper then distinguishes betwen "long" and "geminate" consonants and presents an account of consonant gemination in Maithili.

YADAV, Dev Narayan
A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF MAITHILI COMPOUND VERBS

Session V: Nepali Linguistics
Chairman: Ballav Mani Dahal

POON, Pamela G.
A STUDY OF VOICE ONSET TIME IN TEN ADULT MALE SPEAKERS OF NEPALI
       Speech samples (720 CVC words) from ten adult male Nepali speakers are analyzed with the aid of a video spectorgraph. The speakers are analyzed with the aid of a video spectorgraph. The distributions of VOT based on group data for each of four phonemic stop categories show that only three of the categories can be differentiated by VOT alone: voice lead, short lag and long lag stops. The fourth category, voiced aspirate, contains VOT values form both pre- and post-release areas of the VOT timeline. It is theorized that further analysis employing short-term spectral measurements may reveal some non-temporally related acoustic characteristics that differentiates all four stop categories, Analysis of individual data reveals marked intersubject variability in the VOT distribution of the voiced aspirate category supporting the necessity of multiple subject samples in acoustically based cross-linguistic studies.

GAUTAM, Devi Prasad (Tribhuvan University)
RULE ORDERING OF INFL IN NEPALI
       The INFL (= verb inflection) consists of aspect, tense and agreement in Nepali. There are five aspects: ({ }{   }) for habitual indefinite, 'ne' for habitual indefinite, ({ek} ~ {YA ~ {A}) for perfective ({n}{d-} ~ {n}{dai}) for progressive and (Past + AGR) for receptive.
       Contrary to the argument of different scholars, there is no future tense in Nepali. The 'la' and 'ne' which are assumed as future makers in traditional grammars do not distinguish the time-factor instead 'ne' denotes, opposite to the 'la' definiteness.
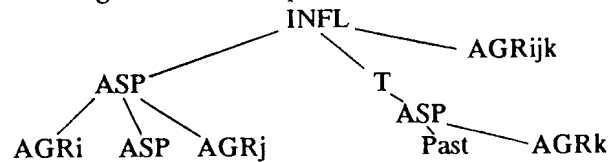   The past is marked by 'y' or 'Aux with y' and Nonpast is by Aux 'ch'.
       AGR consists of person, number, gender and honorificity in Nepali. It is interesting to note that in Nepali, Unlike to English-type languages, AGR can occur with both aspects and tense. ASP is always followed by tense. It can be structured as

<div align="center">

  ___ASP___
  Past + AGR

</div>

       AGR in Nepali can be ordered (i) only after the tense (ii) just before and after the Nonpast (iii) before the Past and before and after the Nonpast and (iv) before the aspect and the Past and before and after the Nonpast. Thus the AGR which follows the nonpast is obligatory and others are optional.

In deep and surface structure, the AGR which is obligatory co-indexes with all AGRs. The Rule ordering of INFL in Nepali can be structured as follows:

```
                    INFL
         _____/    |   _____
        /             |            \ AGRijk
     ASP              T
    /   \             \ ASP
   /     \             \   _____
 AGRi  ASP  AGRj      Past      AGRk
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MALLA, Uma
THE UNKNOWN PAST IN NEPALI

REGMI, Dan Raj
CATEGORICAL STRUCTURE IN NEPALI

NORTHEASTERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
29th Congress, March 16-18, 1989

The 29th Congress of the NEAA Annual Meeting was held in Montréal, hosted by the Département d'Anthropologie of the Université de Montréal.

Selected Paper Abstracts

Symposium: **Pattern and Person in Traditional Arts**

LEAVITT, John. (Université de Montréal).
GRAMMATICAL SHIFTERS AND IMAGINARY WORLDS
The properties of human language make it possible to refer to and so conjure up scenes and beings that have not been perceived directly. Thus all societies speak not only of perceived phenomena, but of imagined beings and worlds. Speakers' varying relationships to these beings and worlds are marked in the same way as their relationships to perceived beings and settings: through the use of linguistic shifters, such as personal pronouns and certain spatial and temporal markers, which locate the speaker with regard to others and the world. The manipulation of shifters in a Central Himlayan ritual illustrates the power of this aspect of language to change participants' orientation to imagined beings and worlds.

OWENS, Bruce McCoy. (Columbia University).
WHOSE MYTH IS THIS?: THE SELF AND THE SOCIOPOLITICS OF RITUAL INTERPRETATION IN THE KATHMANDU VALLEY
Ethnographers have often relied upon texts written by an elite for an elite, the privileged perspectives of elders, or the one-sided view of males to provide a conveniently consistent portrait of beliefs purportedly shared by many. This paper examines the varied roles and beliefs of four different participants in an important religious festival of the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal). It considers the sociopolitical component of ritual interpretation and performance as a means of understanding intra-societal variation in ritual practice and belief. The various particpants' social identities are marked by their different roles in the festival and their conflicting images of the god they all honor are reflections of their different social identities.

HART, Lynn M. (McGill University).
THE IDENTITY OF THE ARTIST: INDIVIDUAL GENIUS OR NAMELESS RITUALIST?
    The recent boom in multi-million dollar sales of paintings by famous names attests to the central role of the individuality and originality of the artist in contemporary Western culture. This paper considers the identity of the artist in three cultural contexts: that of modern Western art; that of a traditional art of the Himalayas, in which religious content is central while originality is generally avoided; and that of a North Indian region where issues of originality and individuality are now being raised. These cases challenge Western definitions that categorize the first of these examples as art and the second as craft. The limitations of such definitions are exemplified in recent laments over the lack of ritual meaning in today's art.

ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES
41ST ANNUAL MEETING
March 17-19, 1989, Washington, D.C.

Selected Abstracts:

Panel on **Paragons, Paradigms, and Paradoxes: South Asian Women in Varying Contexts**
SAX, William. (Harvard)
SEX AND VIOLENCE IN A HIMALAYAN FOLK EPIC

Panel on **Travels Through Tibet and China: Applications for the Classroom**
Chaired by Carolyn WHITE (Yale)

VANEVERY, Ivalyn (University of Nebraska)
TRAVELS THROUGH TIBET AND CHINA, DATA APPLIED TO THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

KELLY, Colleen A. (Fairfield Public Schools)
TRAVELS THROUGH TIBET AND CHINA, DATA APPLIED TO SECONDARY EDUCATION

HOLMES, Pamela (San Diego Public Schools)
TRAVELS THROUGH TIBET AND CHINA, DATA APPLIED TO SPECIAL EDUCATION

BERAN, Jamie (University of Nebraska Omaha)
TRAVELS THROUGH TIBET AND CHINA, DATA APPLIED TO STUDENT TEACHING

Panel on **Rationality in the Commercial Cultures of China and India**
FISHER, William F. (Columbia University)
CULTURE AND COMMERCE AMONG THE TAMHANG THAKALI OF CENTRAL NEPAL

Panel on **Political Leadership and Economic Development**
GOMBO, Ugen (SUNY Stony Brook)
ETHICS AND THE SPIRIT OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN TIBETAN SOCIETY: APPLYING WEBER'S CONCEPTS TO THE TIBETAN CASE

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