Continual Flow of Limbu Pa:la:m Song: A Politeness Principle Perspective

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Abstract
The paper aims to analyze the Limbu cultural specific song Pa:la:m from the perspective of the politeness principle. It attempts to reply the questions such as how the singing duet follows the communicative implicature and what the rationales or practical implications there are in life. The study design was based on the qualitative one which made the use of non-numerical data. The necessary data were elicited from the textual resources that were recorded in certain books of the Limbu culture. Moreover the data were discussed, analyzed and interpreted in relation to pragmatic theory, a part of linguistics. The analysis of the data showed that the Limbu cultural specific song Pa:la:m has readily followed the principle of politeness. As the Pa:la:m singers have learnt the polite form of speech, they can deal verbal behavior smoothly and successfully. It is expected that this study can help the individuals involving in the pragmatic study of the verbal behavior. In addition, the anthropologists can achieve certain insight into the Limbu ethnic culture and the traditional song Pa:la:m.

Keywords: Implicature, politeness principle, Pa:la:m, verbal behavior.

Introduction
The Limbu people are one of the ethnic groups in Nepal. Their traditional abode is the eastern hilly region, which covers six districts i.e. Dhankuta, Sankhuwasabha, Tehrathum, Taplejung, Panchthar and Ilam. They possess their own language, script and cultural tradition. Among many cultural and traditional practices, the Pa:la:m song is one of the predominant customs that is associated with the ethnic identity of the Limbu community. Introducing the Limbu traditional song Pa:la:m Mabuhang states that Pa:la:m literally denotes the way of speaking (pa:ʔma: 'speak' la:m 'way'); thus 'pa:ʔma:' + 'la:m' = 'pa:la:m') which is especially sung during the Dha:n Na:ch 'Paddy Dance'. This Dha:n Na:ch 'Paddy Dance' is natively termed as Ya:ra:kma:/Ya:la:kma: or even in the Chhathare dialect it is Cha:la:kma:. Here Ya:/Cha: means 'Paddy' and Ra:kma:/La:kma: means trample or dance. Referring to the
Chemjong holds the view as, "The Agricultural dance in Limbuwan is called Ya-Rakma or Paddy dance or Dhannach in Nepali language. Ya means Paddy and rakma means to trample. So Ya-Rakma means to trample paddy with a view to separate the grains or paddy from its ears," (73).

Chemjong's note indicates that Ya:-Rakma: could have originated with the group's activity to separate rice-corn by stamping the rice-stalk. But later on, over a period of time, trampling the rice-stalk changed into dance for entertainment. As the view of Chemjong, the Pa:la:m tradition has undergone remarkable alterations that is, from agro-based activity of trampling the paddy hay in the paddy field to activity of pure entertainment in the market-fairs, ritual ceremonies or other gathering in the Limbu community.

Most often Pa:la:m is not confined to singing alone rather it is accompanied by a pair or group dance–the Dha:n Na:ch 'Paddy Dance'. In this regard, Subba maintains the view as, "Palam is an improvised song of Yalang ('Ya' means paddy and 'Lang' means dance or harvest dance)" (51). As Subba has mentioned that the 'Pa:la:m' is an extempore song accompanying Ya:-La:ng; it is usually performed by the pair of opposite sex i.e. young boy and girl and again very important matter is that the pair/s cannot be of the same blood relations (kinship). The singing plus dancing pattern is very much like a serenade (i.e. vocal or instrumental performance that is given outdoors at night for a lover) in the form of competitive duet (e.g. a performance by two singers or dancers) between a young man and a young woman. It takes at least half an hour to one hour to propose something from one side. As a custom, the host initiates the Pa:la:m singing and dancing. Then, it is the turn of another (or the guest) side to make the reply. Tumbahang holds the view that this turn taking process is natively termed as charan which is but essentially distinct from the "Dohori Ga:yan (e.g. duet song of question and answer) of the Nepali folk-song. Unlike other general types of dialogues, the exchanges or technically termed as 'adjacency pairs' are somehow longer in the Pa:la:m singing. In other words, one exchange can include at least 20 to 30 exponents (utterances).

A very significant or interesting point for the person involving in linguistics such as pragmatics and stylistics is that how the Pa:la:m singers happen to follow the politeness principle formulated by H. P. Grice (1913-1988). The analytical discussion is done in order to find the way the Pa:la:m singers tacitly apply the necessary elements of the politeness principle. The analysis is also concerned with how the singers strive to achieve an optimal level of politeness in the duet. Similarly, the study focuses on possible reasons for the polite verbal behavior during the time of Pa:la:m singing.
Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

i. To analyze the elements of politeness principle employed in the Pa:la:m duet

ii. To discuss of how the pair attempts to achieve the polite form of utterances, and

iii. To interpret the rationales behind the polite verbal behavior

Methodology

This study was essentially based on a qualitative research design which relied on the unstructured and non-numerical data. The necessary data were collected through the related books, articles, journals, and research documents. The basic theory this study attempts to follow is the pragmatic stylistics theory which refers to a way of employing speech behavior for the specific meaning in a specific context. The study avails analytical approach to arrive at a description of the politeness principle used in the Limbu traditional song Pa:la:m, its possible types of utterance and significance of such verbal exchanges. Most of the texts for analysis are in the Devnagari script. So these extracts are transliterated into Roman then they are provided free translation into English. To have better idea about the theory of pragmatic-stylistics, the books by Robin Lakoff (1975), H. P. Grice (1975), G. N. Leech (1983), P. Brown and S. C. Levinson (1987), and D. Sperber and D. Wilson (1995) were consulted. Likewise, for the content and basic literature about the Pa:la:m, the books by K. M. Kandangwa (1963), S. V. Khamdak and P. M. Subba (1964), I. S. Chemjong (1967), G. B. Chongbang (1993), C. Subba (1995), and A. K. Sambahamphe (2016) were duly consulted.

The Principle Politeness

The matter of politeness is concerned with the both pragmatics as well as semantics because pragmatics is the sub-field of linguistics which is related to the context depended meaning whereas the semantics too, is a sub-field of linguistics, depends on the structural meaning. The pragmatists most often focus on the terms 'implicature' as well as 'explicature' in relation to the interpretation of an utterance. Regarding the term explicature, it is defined as, "The combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features is explicature," (Sperber and Wilson 182). Regarding the politeness principle or the communicative 'implicature', a considerable number of linguists such as Robin Lakoff, Herbert Paul Grice, Geoffrey Neil Leech, Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson have discussed on the sociolinguistic issue 'politeness' in their works. For instance, Robin Lakoff has proposed three maxims in the politeness principle. According to her, the three maxims are: "Don't impose, give option and make the receiver feel good" (295). As one considers these three points, they seem to be extremely general notions. Let us take the
third one 'Make the receiver feel good' as an example. The question rises, what are the ways of making the receiver feel good? She has not specified the techniques so far.

Herbert Paul Grice is another eminent linguist who has put forward four maxims of politeness principle but he designates these maxims as 'cooperative principles'. As he has named his theory 'cooperative principle' he is not dealing with the politeness rather he is referring to the quality, quantity, relevance and manner. The last item 'manner' is not about the courtesy but it is about the clarity of expression that is, avoidance of obscurity, ambiguity, and maintaining brevity and order (i.e. not zigzag/random). Even though, his theory is discussed under politeness principle, it is not overtly related to the said principle, and they are "cooperative principles" (Black 110).

Geoffrey Neil Leech has formulated six different elements of 'politeness principle'. These six maxims are: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy. Regarding the 'politeness principle' Leech admitted that "The principle maintains that for effective communication the participants should be polite to each other," (qtd. in Rai 79). Giving emphasis on the theory, Leech further claims that the importance of politeness in communicative activity can hardly be exaggerated. He means that communication process cannot move smoothly ahead when the participants are not polite to each to other. It is therefore, the six elements proposed by G. N. Leech are very important for natural, unhindered flow of communication.

On politeness theory, Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson have devised a bit different principle than the theories discussed above. These two linguists opine that the politeness theory is concerned with the 'face' - the 'face' in sociological sense, it is in general linked to the dignity and prestige that a person has in terms of his/her social relationships. Their theory is claimed to be widely accepted theory of politeness, which is considered cross-culturally valid. According to them, "people are motivated by their need to maintain their 'face', the need to be approved by others, and to maintain a sense of self-worth," (qtd. in Black 72). The 'politeness' theory propounded by P. Brown and S. C. Levinson is, however, not stating the politeness directly. It is rather referring to the individuals'/interlocutors' effort of maintaining the self-esteem during the verbal behavior.

Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson are closer to the theory of Grice i.e. 'cooperative principle' and they share the common ground of pragmatics and stylistics. The closer to Grice's theory is in the sense that Sperber and Wilson took up only one element that is, 'maxim of relevance' out of four elements from Grice's theory. In this regard, they maintain "it is a cognitive theory arising from their dissatisfaction with Grice's cooperative principle," (qtd. in Black 80). So they have named their theory as the 'theory of relevance'. They further state that their criticism is essentially that to search an utterance for meanings which might be implicated
gives excessive freedom of interpretation, since no bounds are set on the implicatures which might be generated. From the theory of relevance, it can be inferred that it is not referring to the politeness but it is advocating of how the meaning is linguistically and contextually deducted in the relevance theory.

The above discussion chiefly comprises a brief review of major writers of pragmatic stylistics who have devoted their writings on the communicative discourse. Their focus seems to be common at some points as well as essentially distinct at some other points. In this sketchy writing, it is impossible to include and analyze the all ideas given by the varied authors mentioned above. It is, therefore, this article intends to specify and analyze the Limbu cultural song Pa:la:m applying only the 'politeness principle' formulated by G. N. Leech. Following is the mention of six different maxims of politeness principle and application of them into the Pa:la:m song

**Results and Discussion**

The Pa:la:m is essentially a communicative activity in the form of song. It is usually performed by pair/s including boy and girl who can marry to each other or specifically the lovers. The Pa:la:m singing is accompanied by the popular traditional dance 'Dhan Nach' (literally denotes as "Paddy Dance"). While singing the Pa:la:m turn by turn, their exchanges or technically termed as 'adjacency pairs' are very carefully constructed in terms of the proper word choice so as to maintain courtesy and superb politeness. In this regard, the Pa:la:m discourse can be analyzed setting in line of G. N. Leech's 'politeness principle' or the 'politeness theory'. Now, it is better to turn the discussion as how the Pa:la:m discourse follows the maxims of politeness principle propounded by G. N. Leech (1983).

There are six maxims of politeness principle. They are given below:

1. **Tact Maxim**

The term 'tact' literally refers to a keen sense of what to do or say in order to maintain good relations with other or avoid offence. This maxim includes mainly two aspects such as 'to minimize cost to other' and 'to maximize benefit to other'. Let us see how this sense embodies in the Pa:la:m discourse.

Customarily the Pa:la:m singing is initiated by the host where the guests have visited. If the guests are ladies, the hosts are boys and the boys start singing Pa:la:m as:

Boy:  
*kesa:*ng-*la:* tehim lungma: pahim  
the:* nima:*ng hop-*lo* mengjo a:  
la:*bhu-*rak hike ke-*oma:*se
This is the sense expressed by the host. From this it is inferred that the boy (host) has minimized the cost to the new comer lady guest. Likewise, he has also maximized the benefit to the guest. He designates himself as an innocent having knowledge of nothing. The implicature of his expression can be he is poor, ignorant and good for nothing. On the contrary, the hearer (guest lady) is rich with sound knowledge towards life and world. She is superb beauty and the host thinks his village is brightened due to her presence. The implicature is that the lady is goddess and the boy is merely a devotee to offer the service in whatever way he can.

2. Generosity Maxim

This generosity maxim denotes that the speaker should minimize the benefit to self and maximize the cost to self. In the turn of the lady guest replies/responds to the host's remarks as:

sakwa:gen mu-ing me-sa:n-nen-chha:ng
ke-da:-jeng ke-rek me-da:-nen-sa:ng
yepla:be yep-lek yepte-sa:-re
ke-da:ba: ha:m-rik khep-se sa:-re (Sangbangphe 39)

[This poor girl may not clean up
The good news from you, the Young Man!
Gentleman! Maybe, I won't be able to respond to your saying properly!
However, it's my duty to reply as much as I can.] (English translation is mine)

The girl is the speaker and the boy is listener. The speaker seems to minimize the benefit to herself rather she maximizes the cost to herself. We can infer this from her saying 'poor girl'. She states that she would not be able to respond properly to the boy's query. The implicature is
that she is not as smart as her counterpart. In this way, the above lines aptly meet the maxim of generosity.

3. Approbation Maxim

This maxim is generally concerned with the point to minimize the dispraise to other and to maximize the praise to other. In the Limbu Pa:la:m this maxim is found pervasive. From the above given extracts, it is justified that the speaker no doubt whoever he or she is or guest or host, the speaker presents himself or herself as maximizing the dispraise to self. The following Pa:la:m lines prove the approbation maxim in which the host boy praises the lady.

\begin{quote}
pen-pen-na:ng lung-le mikkiphung-le \\
i:lema: phung-ing mese-kinchha:ng \\
sikkum-ding ning-wa me-be-kinchha:ng \\
sa:mmya:ng-ru yup-pa: yon-do thao:k-to \\
ke-ben-ba: ta:jeng tondo thao:kto (Sangbangphe 49)
\end{quote}

[You lady, flower like youth!
As the felled flowers cannot be separated one by one
So is the case to me to interpret different ideas.
I may have committed errors,
You astute lady correct them]. (English translation is mine)

In the Pa:la:m lines, the young boy (tha:ngben) praises the young girl (menchhya:) as having high intelligence to correct the mistakes made by the ignorant boy. The boy seems to confess his little knowledge. According to him, a person with limited knowledge cannot make the right decision. The expression shows that the speaker (tha:ngben) is minimizing self-praise and maximizing the praise to other i.e. the young girl (menchhya:).

4. Modesty Maxim

Modesty maxim refers to the quality of not being too proud or confident about self. Here, Leech suggests that the speaker should minimize the praise to self and maximize the dispraise to self. Following are the Pa:la:m lines in which the lady (menchhya:) is the speaker and she minimizes praise to self and maximizes dispraise to self as:

\begin{quote}
lising-nang pha:le inu sa:-le \\
nam-se-mi tiyeng o-ne-ro \\
le-mu nu tham:ga hop-ne-ro \\
me-yang-lung ma:ng-in se-wa-ne-ro
\end{quote}
tum-myang mim-me ke-wa:-ne-ro  (Sangbangphe 52)

[This distressful daughter of anguish father
Has very shallow knowledge;
You are the person of wisdom and knowledge;
It is, therefore, you can make a right judgment;
For choosing the best way of love and life]. (English translation is mine)

Here the speaker (the lady/menchhya:) has minimized the praise to self and she has maximized dispraised to self. She happens to address the listener (the boy/tha:ngben) as the person of having wisdom and knowledge. On the contrary, she confesses herself as distressful daughter of a troubled father. She further admits that she is the person of shallow mind.

5. Agreement Maxim

This maxim is related to minimize disagreement between self and other, and maximize agreement between self and other. This means that the communication does not occur smoothly when there arises the disagreement between the self (the speaker) and the other (the listener) or the interlocutors. When the participants desire to continue the conversation, they should increase the level of agreement. The following lines of the Pa:la:m has followed the maxim of agreement as:

The girl (menchhya:):

himbe-sa:ng pharli lising-pha:-ro
pa:p-mai-so lek-wa: hising-ba:-ro
ya:ng-ich-chhe chi-ghep khep-chu-re-ro
mel-lem-mi ta:zeng lep-chu-re-ro (Sangbangphe 82)

[Now, I would like to handover
The turn to my adoring Young Man,
This shallow minded person,
Wishes to stop speaking.] (English translation is mine)

The boy (tha:ngben):

pak-mik-la: ya-dhak yu-re ga-ra
pa:pmai-sa lek-wa: chu-re ga-ra
ik-sa:-ding kha:m-bek thonge-thong-lo
pa:p-mai-sa; lek-wa: ponge-pong-lo (Sangbangphe 83)

[My sweetheart! if have finished speaking your turn,
And if you grant me]
This opportunity,
I agree it with immense pleasure.] (English translation is mine)

In the above first quatrains stanza, the lady politely addresses the boy to take over the turn to speak. She states that she wants to stop speaking because she is not better at speaking. Likewise, in the next stanza, the boy readily accepts/agrees the speaking turn handed over to him.

6. Sympathy Maxim

Sympathy is one of the important ingredients of the friendship bond. If the partners wish to have a healthy and long lasting friendship tie, they ought to be sympathetic to each other in the right contexts and circumstances. Sympathy maxim refers to minimize antipathy between self and other, and to maximize sympathy between self and other.

In Pa:la:m singing, this situation may occur when the partners meet in the death rituals. When the cleansing rite is over, the singing and dancing are allowed. So, the guests and the hosts manage the program of Dhan Nach (“Paddy Dance”). The grown up children, so to speak, teen agers and the aged people watch the Pa:la:m singing and Dhan Nach very eagerly. The teen agers watch because they are to start the performance very soon and they want learn the techniques. Likewise, the old people watch and listen to the singing and dancing because they get a kind of satisfaction and through this, they recall back their colorful youth.

The meeting of duet singers during the cleansing ritual is not a happy moment. So the both hosts and guests pay their sympathy to the family which has just overcome the mourning period. The hosts, no matter whether they are boys or girls start the singing and they tell the situation in which they are meeting. Then in the turn of the guests they also pay sympathy to the mournful family. Let us see how the host party expresses the sympathy and how it is responded by the guests.

Hosts (Menchhya:/Tha:ngben):

ya: hak-ma: sa:n-la ya:-mmo a:lla
sa: khudo lim-mo ba: kan himmo,
ik-sa:-ding kha:m-bek me-dhong-in la
tuk-ma:-nu sa:kma: me-bong-in la
si-ma: nu ma:ma: me-bong-in la
la:-se-ni ti-yen ol-thang la
nu-ma: nu ta:ma: pong-la tha:ng la  (Sangbangphe 133)

[May the sufferings,
Illness and death
Not occur at this home again!
May the sorrowful family
Shake off all the sufferings
Today onward!
May the family be prosperous again!

Guests (Menchhya:/Tha:ngben):
yá: hak-ma: sa:n-la ya:n-mmo a:lña
sa: khudo lim-mo ba: kan himmo,
ik-sa:-ding kha:m-bek me-dhong-in la
tuk-ma:-nu sa:kma: me-bong-in la
si-ma: nu ma:ma: me-bong-in la
la:-se-ni ti-yen ol-thang la
nu-ma: nu ta:ma: pong-la tha:ng la. (Sangbangphe 137)

[May the sufferings,
Illness and death
Not occur at this home again!
May the sorrowful family
Shake off all the sufferings
Today onward!
May the family be prosperous again!] (English translation is mine)

From the two distinct stanzas above, both parties i.e. hosts as well as guests express their sympathy to the bereaved family first and they proceed to their own issues of love and life. Their sympathetic expression is identical but each expresses the matter of sympathy at his/her own turn.

After the discussion of how the Pa:la:m singing follows the maxims of the politeness principle, now it is the time to turn towards the issue of how the duet singers attempt to achieve such polite marked utterances. To the best of my empirical knowledge, most singers of four decades back have practiced the code-mixing or even code-switching in their expressions. What the singers best know about their native language is that it is devoid of the honorific terms or vocabulary. But unlike their language they find layers of honorific terms in the Indo-European languages such as Nepali or Hindi. The singers are somehow influenced by these languages and
their are National languages and used officially by a large population. The Pa:la:m singers can think of that their native language may not bear the higher degree of polite speech as in the Nepali or the Hindi languages. Their psychology may be that they wish to express the superb form of politeness in their expressions. This could be an obvious reason to deviate from the native terms to the nonnative terms such Nepali, Hindi or even English. Let us have a look how the Pa:la:m singers try to achieve the politeness by using different language terms as below:

\[
\text{ropain-ya: biu-ye topain jyu-e}
\]
\[
\text{si-mik-la: ka:ti tuppai kalam}
\]
\[
\text{dui-ha: jodi sewa sala:m}
\]
\[
\text{asta:yo ta:ra: jhul-ki-yo gha:m}
\]
\[
\text{Sendi-ro jya:-sa:ng Namaste Ra:m (Pandhak 56)}
\]

[Time has come
For separation,
So joining two hands (palms)
I salute you!
To bid farewell/say goodbye.] (English translation is mine)

When we consider the above lines, altogether there are 21 words. Of those words, only three words (e.g. \text{si-mik-la}/Sendi-ro/jya:-sa:ng "a kind of bamboo/reed; let's depart; anyway") belong to the native Limbu, and the rest 18 words are of the Nepali language. The ultimate motive behind using the Nepali terms is nothing more than the effort of maintaining higher degree of politeness. They have used Nepali term \text{ropain 'rice/paddy planting'} so that they can use the higher Nepali honorific word \text{topain, 'you'} likewise \text{biu/byu 'sprout of paddy'} for the honorific term \text{jiu/jyu} (suffix attached after someone's name to show respect or honor/honorific term), \text{kalam 'pen'} for \text{sala:m 'Salute'}; and \text{gha:m 'the sun'} for \text{namaste Ram 'Salute in the name of the Lord Ram'}. Again the interesting thing is that in the process of maintaining higher politeness expression, they have not only mixed the Nepali codes but also switched to the Nepali language. In the above, the first, third and fourth lines are the examples of the code-switching and the rest second and fifth lines are the instances of code-mixing.

From the discussions above, it is generally inferred that the Pa:la:m singing is performed with careful use of politeness. The Pa:la:m singers strive to maintain polite verbal behavior to the outmost level. It is said that certain Pa:la:m duet singers can continue their singing up to one week period. The obvious reason of such a longer period singing is by the politeness in the expression. When the politeness is retained on part of interlocutors, the communication is not interrupted and moves continuously. The politeness leads to the courteous manner and for this reason politeness is the golden rule in action. Good manner has
certain ingredients. One of such ingredients is courtesy. "Courtesy, according to Peale, is the key to a happier world," (117). Peale opines that the mystery of 'happiness in the world' lies behind the courteous behavior. Similar to this, there is a popular quip that nobody has ever yet lost anything by politeness but many people have lost much by rudeness. Likewise, politeness is sometimes called 'the oil of the social machine' because it is necessary to the smooth and easy working of the parts of a social organization as oil is to that of various parts of a machine. When a person is courteous, he/she easily acquires the qualities of good manner. Through the medium of politeness in Pa:la:m singing, the participants endeavor to improve the good manner by practicing courtesy. They can think in a courteous way and do not let others' bad manners make them feel rude. Similarly, they also learn to accept courtesy from others.

The Pa:la:m singing tacitly enhances polite verbal behavior. It thus cultivates courteous manner and later forms a good manner which is perhaps a great asset of one's own life. The Pa:la:m singing can provide the participants with multifaceted benefits in terms of cultural, linguistic, social, moral values. The Pa:la:m singers can understand different cultural aspects, and they begin to follow themselves and inspire the coming generations to follow the culture. The Pa:la:m singing can be a reliable source of gaining linguistic competence especially polite terms and utterances. The Pa:la:m singer can play the role model in the society in terms of good manner. They can exhibit a good moral quality.

Conclusion

The Pa:la:m is the traditional song with special association with the ethnic identity of the Limbu community which is one of the dominant ethnic groups dwelling in the traditional abode, the eastern part of Nepal. The Pa:la:m is extemporized or improvised song accompanying with the popular folk dance termed as Dhan Nach (Ya:la:ng). The analytical study has revealed that the singing unconsciously but rightly follows the politeness theories or more specifically the politeness principle propounded by the linguist H. P. Grice. By means of this cultural song Pa:la:m, the Limbu youths learn the courteous manner in their verbal behavior. In the recent years, the Limbu natives have been influenced by the Nepali and the Hindi languages especially in the field honorification. They, in the process of singing with the guest partners, strongly feel the desire of using higher degree of honorific terms in their expression. As a result, the duet singers have started to use code-mixing and code-switching of the Nepali language thinking that their native language cannot serve the purpose of employing the higher level of honorification in the utterances. Pa:la:m singing can have multifaceted dimensions regarding the cultural preservation, linguistic enrichment and cultivation of a good manner. Thus, the politeness to which the Pa:la:m singing yields, is the golden rule in action, a big asset in life.
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