

NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 11

NOVEMBER 1994



Linguistic Society of Nepal
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu

For membership enquires and copies of the
Nepalese Linguistics write to:
Secretary, Linguistic Society of Nepal
Campus of International Languages
Exhibition Road, Kathmandu,
NEPAL

For the last 30 years the Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University has been running language courses in Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Russian and Spanish exclusively for Nepali students and Nepali, Sanskrit and Tibetan for international students.

At present over 500 native and international students are enrolled at the Campus.

The following language courses are specially designed for international students:

| | | |
|----------|---------------|----------------|
| Nepali | 2 year course | (4- semesters) |
| Sanskrit | 2 year course | (4- semesters) |
| Tibetan | 2 year course | (4- semesters) |

Apply before March 1, 1995 to :

The Campus Chief

Campus of International Languages

Tribhuvan University

Exhibition Road

Kathmandu, Nepal

Tel: 226713

Application forms are available at the Campus.

Computer Typesetting and Printed at:

International Offset Press Pvt. Ltd.

Phone 223359, New Road, Dugambahil.

NEPALESE LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 11

NOVEMBER 1994

Chief Editor:

Mr. K. B. Maharjan

Editors:

Dr. Balaram Aryal

Mr. Simon Gautam

Mr. Amma Raj Joshi

Ms. Sushma Regmi

Contents

| Articles | Page |
|--|------|
| Relative Clauses in Sanskrit - <i>Anuradha Sudharsan</i> | 1 |
| Grammatical Person in the Jumli Dialect - <i>Ram Bikram Sijapati</i> | 17 |
| The Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhangi Dialect - <i>Amma Raj Joshi</i> | 21 |
| Tibetan: A Non-tense Language - <i>Tsetan Chonjore</i> | 26 |
| The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level - <i>Phanindra Upadhyaya</i> | 30 |
| Procedure, Context, Theme and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students - <i>Wayne Amtzis</i> | 32 |
| Linguistic Society of Nepal: A Brief History - <i>Nirmal M. Tuladhar</i> | 37 |
| Research Notes: | |
| The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-wide Bilingualism - <i>Bryan Varenkamp</i> | 41 |
| Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal - <i>Jeff Webster</i> | 43 |
| Education in the Mother Tongue: The Case of Newari - <i>Balgopal Shrestha and Bert van den Hoek</i> | 46 |
| LSN Newsletter 1993-94 | 48 |

Relative Clauses in Sanskrit*

- Anuradha Sudharsan**

This paper looks at the different relative clause (RC) types in Vedic and classical Sanskrit (Skt) in the light of typological theory. It will be shown that the presence of both prenominal and postnominal RCs in Sanskrit does not reflect a word order shift in Sanskrit. Also, data from modern Indic and several other OV languages show that there is no predictable correlation between the type of RC a language has and its surface structure word order. One has to see how the syntax of RCs works in Sanskrit. Word order in Sanskrit is quite flexible; the nominal and verbal modifiers can occur before or after their head. Relative clauses enjoy the same flexibility in that they can occur prenominally, postnominally or clause-finally. However there is one restriction. No relative clause can occur internally within the main clause. This constraint on clause-internal embedding interacts with different word orders in the matrix to motivate postnominal and extraposed RCs. In this paper I have proposed a psycholinguistic explanation for the above phenomenon.

The paper has three sections. In Section 1, we will look at the syntax of RCs in the Vedic and propose base rules and transformations to account for the different types of RCs. Following this, we will propose a Clause-internal Embedding Constraint (CIEC) to prevent embedding internally within a clause in Sanskrit. Later we will see that this CIEC interacts with different word orders in the matrix motivating postnominal and extraposed RCs. A psycholinguistic explanation will be proposed for this phenomenon. In section 2, further evidence for this phenomenon will be given from classical Sanskrit and modern Hindi and other Indic languages. In section 3 we will consider the important implications that our discussion has for word order typology.

1. The Vedic Language: One of the problems that we encounter in analysing Vedic syntax is that most of the data we will be looking at are in verse form. Hence, the word order is very much determined by metrical factors. One of the oldest samples of Sanskrit prose available to us is found in *Satapatha Brahmana*. Even this was composed at a time when there was no writing system for Sanskrit. Consequently, the style of the Brahmana language was, perhaps, determined by the oral tradition of the Vedic age. The introduction of a writing system for Sanskrit must have influenced the structure of the language to some extent. We come across analytic or expository prose only during the post-Vedic period. Since the Brahmana texts were composed before the language was written down, the prose texts are as much part of the Vedic tradition as the hymns are, although the prose texts are removed several centuries from the Vedic hymns. All said and done, some important syntactic constraints cannot be violated even in verse, however, flexible the word order would be.

Allowing for the fact that the Vedic language is removed from the post-Vedic language by at least 600-800 years, I will look at data representing both periods.

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov. 1993.

** Associated with R.R. Campus, TU, Kathmandu.

In the following discussion I have assumed two stages for the Vedic language - an early Vedic period represented by the Rgvedic hymns and late Vedic period represented by other Vedas such as *Atharvaveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, the *Bṛāhmanās* and the *Āraṇyakas* or the ten oldest Upanishads, which form the concluding part of the *Brahmanas*.

For the present analysis of the Vedic language, the data come mainly from the following texts: *Rgveda* (RV), *Atharvaveda* (AV), *Satapathabrāhmaṇa* (SB), *Aitareya Āraṇyakā* (AA), *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (BU), *Keṇōpanishad* (KU), *Kāthōpanishad* (KTU) and *Isōpanishad* (IU).

1.1 **Word Order in the Vedic:** Word order in the Vedic is quite flexible; and is also very much determined by metrical factors. Even in prose texts, such as *Satapathabrāhmaṇa* which is supposed to be one of the oldest prose works available in Sanskrit, word order is quite flexible. What I mean by this is that any of the word orders found in the Rgvedic hymns can be found in the prose texts of the Brahmanas, also, although the most frequent pattern in the prose texts is the verb-last one. It has been claimed that the Vedic language was an SOV language, with the subject-NP beginning the clause and the verb ending it. The pronominal subject-NP can be optional. It is true that the most recurrent word order, especially in the prose texts of the *Bṛāhmaṇas*, is SOV, as shown in the following examples:

- 1a. SB 1.3.2.15. Visāḥ kṣātriyāya baliṃ haranti
people to princes tribute pay
The people pay tribute to the princes
- b. SB 1.1.1.17. tataḥ devāḥ etaṃ vajraṃ dadṛśuḥ.
then the gods this diamond showed.
Then the gods showed the diamond.

However, sometimes, a clause can begin the finite verb also as in

2. RV 1.35.1 huāyāmi agniṃ prathamāṃ suastāye
call on (I) Agni first for welfare
I call on Agni, first, for welfare.

Macdonnel (1981) cites the following example from *Satapathabrāhmaṇa* as an instance of verb-initial clauses:

3. SB yanti vā āpa, eti āditya, eti candramā,
move the waters. moves the sun, moves the moon,
yanti nakṣatrāṇi.
move the stars.
The waters move, the sun moves, the moon moves, the stars move.

Sometimes, the object-NP can occur clause-initially, too.

4. RV 5.11.4 agniṃ naraḥ vibharante, gr̥he-gr̥he.
Agni men carry (in) every house
Men can carry Agni in every house
5. SB 1.6.35 tāṃ indraḥ didveṣa
him Indra hated
Indra hated him.

Also a non-subject constituent meant to be emphasized can occur in the clause-initial position as in the following.

6. RV 2.59.1 mitrāya havyam ghṛtāvāt juhota
to mitra the oblation with ghee offer
I offer the oblation to Mitra with ghee
7. SB 9.1.1.36 prayājaiḥ vai devāḥ
by means of Prayajas indeed the gods
swargam lokan ayan
heavenly world went.
The gods went to the heavenly world by means of Prayajas.

As we go through these hymns and the prose texts, we notice that some patterns of word-arrangements are recurrent, that is, the same lines or the same patterns occur repeatedly. This method of repetition is used not only for purposes of emphasis but also for purposes of achieving an incantatory effect; and this incantatory style was most suitable for mnemonic purposes also, since these compositions had to be preserved and transmitted orally. Sound-effect is a very important part of the Vedic tradition. Above all, what we have to bear in mind is the fact that Sanskrit allowed for all these variations in word order both in prose and verse.

As for the nominal and the verbal modifiers, they generally, occur before the word they modify as the following illustrate.

8. SB 1.6.3.2 tāsyā trīṇi evā mukhāni āsuḥ
he-gen three only heads were.
He (to him) has only three heads.
9. SB 1.3.3.6 tāsyā tāni sūrṣaṇi pra ciceda
his those heads off struck-he
He struck off his heads (those heads of his)

However, very frequently, both the nominal and the verbal modifiers can follow their head. Some examples follow.

10. RV 1.1.8 gopām ṛtāsyā didivim
guardian order-of shining
Shining order of the guardian
11. RV 1.35.1 huāyāmi agniṃ prathamāṃ suastāye
call on Agni first for welfare
I call on Agni first for welfare
12. SB 2.4.1.5 tāṭ pasūn evāmsa etaṭ pāridadāti gūptyai.
Then herds thus-to him that over gives-he for watching
In this way he gives over to him the herds for watching.

The above word orders are quite common both in RV and SB. However, there is a strong tendency for the verb to occur in the clause final position, especially in the prose compositions, even when other constituents are shuffled around in the clause.

According to Greenberg's findings the conjunctive morpheme in an SOV language generally occurs after the NPs conjoined; however, in both Vedic and classical Sanskrit, the conjunctive morpheme *ca* can occur either between the conjoined NPs or after them, or in both places, as shown in the following examples.

13. RV 1.160.2 ...pitā mātā ca bhuvanāni rakṣataḥ.
father mother and all (beings) protect.
14. RV 1.160.4 dhenūṃ ca pṛṣṇim vṛṣabhāṃ suretasāṃ
the cow and speckled bull abounding-in-seed

viśvāhā sukṛam pāyah asya dukṣata.
always shining milk (moisture) his milked.

He has always milked from the speckled cow and from
the bull, abounding in seed his shining moisture.

15. SB 2.6.1.47

āthaitāt barhiṅ anuśam asyati paridhiḥ ca
then that straw thereon he lays paridhih and.

Then he lays the sacrificial straw thereon and also the paridhis.

Also, Greenberg states that an SOV language has forward gapping while a VO language has backward gapping. Sanskrit, however, shows both. Consider the following.

16. SB 2.4.3.3

yajñena ha sma vai tad devāḥ kalpayante.
Through-sacrifice the gods carried-out

yad eṣām kalpam āśa rṣayaḥ ca
Which that feasible was Rsis and

For through the sacrifice the gods and the Rsis carried out what was
feasible.

17. SB 11.5.1.4

Katham nu avīram katham ajanam syāt

How now this void of heroes how destitute of men can be

How can this now be void of heroes, and how can this be destitute of
men?

As for the constituents discussed above, the Vedic shows both SVO and SOV patterns. However, this is not so with every constituent in the language. For instance the position of the negatives ma (imperativ) and na are fixed, in that they always occur preverbally, which is a VO trait, according to Greenberg's findings. Consider the following.

18. RV 10.34.8

ugrāsya cid mayāve nā namante
mighty even wratha neg bow

They bow not before the wrath of even the mighty.

19. RV 8.48.5

mā naḥ aryāḥ anukāmam pārādāḥ.

don't us enemy according to the wish of abandon

Don't abandon us according to the wish of our enemy.

20. SB 4.1.1.27

na hi etāsya āhuteḥ kācana para āsti

neg indeed this oblation anything higher is

For there is nothing higher than this oblation rite.

21. SB 9.1.1.24

āsām prajānām eṣām paśūnām mā bheḥ mā ron

these people dem. cattle-acc neg. frighten neg hurt

Don't frighten and hurt these people and these cattle.

As we see in the above examples, the negatives need not immediately precede the verb but can occur anywhere before it. Also, the order of teens posited for a VO language is numeral followed by ten; Vedic shows a VO pattern in this respect also as in *dvādaśa*, *pañcadaśa*. This order occurs in classical Sanskrit also.

Taking into consideration the order of negatives and teens we can even say that the Vedic and the post-Vedic language was an SVO language, since the order of these constituents are fixed. However, whether we assume the Vedic to be an SVO or SOV it does not make much difference in our analysis of RCs in Sanskrit, since the RCs, as we will see soon, give counter evidence for either of the assumptions. We can say that Sanskrit has been an "inconsistent" language throughout, but not an "ambivalent" one, since this inconsistency is found in the old,

middle and modern Sanskrit, inspite of its contact with the Dravidian, an OV family of languages.

The kind of word order posited for an OV language does not occur consistently either in RV or in any other Vedic texts, including the prose texts of Vedic and classical periods. This may be because the Vedic language was not a written language and was very much determined by metrical factors. And even, the unmarked word order that we generally find in prose texts does not really correspond with an SOV pattern in all respects, in that, certain traits - especially the order of teens and the negatives - are VO traits. Also the so-called postpositions can occur prenominally also. As we are aware, Greenberg himself cites many exceptions to his observations.

With this assumption we can, now, proceed to look at RCs in the Vedic.

1.3. The Vedic has three types of relative clauses: 1. prenominal type, which occurs before its antecedent, and generally precedes the main clause; 2. the postnominal type, which occurs immediately after its antecedent; 3. the extraposed type, which occurs after its antecedent post verbally, or clause finally. Earlier we assumed two stages for the Vedic - early and late Vedic. In the following discussion, it will be shown that all of the types of RCs occurring in the early Vedic occur in the late vedic also. Consider the following examples of prenominal RCs.

22. RV 1.1.4

yām yajñām visvātaḥ paribhūh

which worship sacrifice on every side encompassing

āsi sà id devésu gachati

thou are that indeed gods-to goes

(O Agni) the worship and sacrifice tht thou encompassest on all sides, that
same goes to the gods.

23. RV 2.33.7

kūa syā te rudra mṛṣayākuḥ hástah yāḥ ásti

Where your Rudra Merciful hands which is bheṣajāḥ jālāśah,
healing cooling

where is your merciful hand O Rudra, which is healing and cooling.

24. RV 7.63.3

eṣā me devāḥ savita cacanda yāḥ samanam ná

he to me god savita seemed who the uniform neg praminati dhama
infringes law.

25. SB a) 3.1.1.1

yaḥ dikṣate, saḥ sádeve

who consecrated-is, he with-gods

devayājane yajate

in-place-of-worship sacrifices

He who is consecrated sacrifices in the divine place of worship.

26. SB 9.1.1.36

Namaḥ ástu rudrebhyaḥ ye antarikṣa iti.

salutation be Rudras-to who dwelling-in-the-sky thus.

(Let there be) salutation to Rudras who are dweller-in-the-sky, thus.

27. SB c) 5.1.3.7

prajāpatiṃ va eṣa ujjyati yaḥ vajapayena

Prajapati-acc indeed he conquers who Vājapaya yajate

(sacrifice) performs (sacrifice)

He conquers prajapati who performs Vajapaya Sacrifice.

As we see in each of the above RCs, Sanskrit uses a relative pronoun to relativize. These relative pronouns are distinct from the interrogative pronouns *kah*, *kam* etc. and they generally occur in the clause initial position. However, very frequently, these pronouns can occur in positions other than the clause-initial one also. Some examples follow.

28. RV 10.135.7 *Idaṃ yamaśya sādānaṃ devānaṃ yād ucyāte.*
This (Is) Yama's seat gods' which is called
This is Yama's seat which is called the abode of gods.
29. RV 10.14.10 *āthā pīṭṛṇ suvidātrām ūpehi, yamēna ye*
then fathers bountiful approach, as Yama who
sadhamādāṃ mādanti
the same feast rejoice
Then approach the bountiful fathers who rejoice at the same feast as
Yama.

Since these relative pronouns occur only in relative clauses we can assume them to be complementizers (COMP). The occurrence of the COMP in the non-clause initial position may be assumed to be the result of a scrambling rule applying after the COMP-substitution rule proposed by Bresnan (1977). Also, each of these clauses may occur with or without an overt antecedent. Consider the following examples.

30. RV 1.35.5 *iha bravītu yaḥ u tat ciketaḥ*
here let him tell who ptc it understand.
Let him who understand this tell it here.
31. SB 11.3.2.1 *yaḥ ha va agnihotre śanmithunāni veda*
who indeed ptc Agnigotra's six couplets knows
mithunena-mithunena ha prajayate.
twin-by-twin indeed give birth to
He who knows the six couplets of Agnihotra (offering) will have twin
children.

Since the extraposed RC in 30 does not have an antecedent, we might as well consider it a postnominal RC without an overt antecedent. The three RC types discussed above represent only a very broad classification. There can be variation within these types; for instance, a prenominal RC need not always immediately precede its antecedent; The antecedent of an extraposed RC can occur anywhere within the main clause.

32. RV 2.33.5 *hāvīmābhiḥ hāvate yaḥ havibhiḥ*
invocations-with supplicated-is who with oblations
āva stōmebhiḥ rudrāṃ diśya
down songs-of-praise-with Rudra I-would-appease.
With songs of praise I would appease Rudra who is supplicated with
invocations and oblations.

Now let us consider each of these RC types separately. Consider the following examples of prenominal RCs.

33. RV 2.12.1 *yāśya suśmād rodasi ābhyasetām*
whose vehemence the two worlds trembled
nṛmṇāśya mahnā sah jānasah, indra.
of-valour greatness he O men, Indra (is)
Before whose vehemence the two worlds trembled by the reason of the
greatness of his valour, he, O men, is Indra.

As we see in the above examples, the antecedent of the RC occurs after the RC and that the COMP occurs clause initially. We can, therefore, propose the following base rules for the prenominal RC in the Vedic.

- A. (1) NP ⇒ S' NP
(2) S' ⇒ COMP S

We have seen that Sanskrit has prenominal RCs without an overt head and also that the head need not immediately follow the RC. So, we will modify our base rules by making the head NP optional with a variable between S' and the head-NP.

- B. (1) NP ⇒ S' (NP)
(2) S' ⇒ COMP S

As stated earlier, Sanskrit has postnominal RCs also. Consider the following.

34. SB 9.1.1.36 *nāmaḥ āstu rudrēbhyaḥ ye antarikṣa iti*
salutation be Rudras-to who (are in) the heavens thus Salutation to
Rudras who dwell in heaven.
35. RV 2.24.8 *tāśya sādhvīḥ isāvah yābhiḥ āsyati*
his accurate arrows which-with shoots-he.
Accurate are his arrows with which he shoots.

In the above, the RC immediately follows its head and the matrix clause in each of them has marked word order, that is they are not verb-last clauses.

We can postulate another set of rules to account for this type of RCs in Sanskrit.

- C. (1) NP ⇒ (NP) S'
(2) S' ⇒ COMP S

Actually (C-2) is superfluous since it is the same as (B-2).

Now, let us look at the extraposed RCs.

36. RV 8.48.10 *rdūdāreṇa sākhīyā saceya*
Wholesome friends I wish to associate with
yaḥ mā na riṣyet, dhariśva, pitāḥ
who me not injure O lord of the bays, having drunk
I wish to associate with wholesome friends who, having drunk, will not
injure me.
37. SB 5.1.3.7 *Prajāpatiṃ va eṣa ujjayati yah vājapayena*
Prajapati-acc indeed he conquers who Vajapaya yajate
performs (sacrifice)
He conquers Prajapati who preforms Vijapa sacrifice.

In 36 and 37, the main clause has verb-final order.

We will postulate the following rules for the above type of RC.

- D. (1) NP ⇒ (NP) X S'
(2) S' ⇒ COMP S

In (D-1), 'X' stands for a variable, since the relative clause does not immediately follow its antecedent as in the above. Now that we have looked at each of the three RC types in Sanskrit, we can sum up the rules as follows:

- E. (1) NP ⇒ S'X (NP)
(2) NP ⇒ (NP) S'
(3) NP ⇒ (NP) X S'
(4) S' ⇒ COMP S

As we notice, our little grammar seems to treat each of the RC types as separate, distinct phenomenon. However, as the rule (E-4) shows these seemingly different types of relative clauses do not differ from each other in their internal structure. Only their positions with respect to their antecedents differ. What this means is that each of the RC types we have looked at is only a positional variant of the same phenomenon, that is, relativization. That is how a child would learn these different instances of relative clauses in Sanskrit. However, the rules above are descriptively inadequate since they treat each of the relative clauses as a separate, distinct phenomenon.

One possible way of characterizing these different relative clause types in terms of significant generalizations is to generate the relative clause preminally by the following base rules.

- F. (1) NP \Rightarrow S' (NP)
 (2) S' \Rightarrow COMP S

and move it to the postverbal or postnominal positions by a transformational rule like the following.

- F. (3) Moves - S'

I have proposed a transformational rule for the following reasons. First, we cannot specify the distribution of RCs by means of a single phrase structure rule; secondly, since there are extraposed RCs in Sanskrit, a movement rule would take care of both extraposed and postnominal RCs.

However, there are problems with such a transformational rule. The rule *Move-S'* may overgenerate moving the S' to any position in a sentence. Since (F-3) is a very general rule, it raises the question whether the relative clause can be moved into any position, or whether there are any restrictions on its movement. Now consider the following which show the general distributional constraints on the RC.

38. RV 1.1.4 yaṃ yajñam adhvarām visvataḥ paribhūḥ aśi,
 Which worship sacrifice everywhere encompassed is sā id deveṣu gachati
 that same to gods goes
 Which sacrifice and worship thou hast encompassest on all sides, that
 same goes to the gods.
39. RV 2.24.8 tasya sādhuṣṭiḥ isavaḥ yabhiḥ aśyati
 his accurate(are) arrows which with the shoots.
40. RV 8.48.10 rdūdareṇa śakhiyā saceya
 wholesome friends I wish to associate with
 yah mā nā riṣyet, dhariaśva, pītaḥ
 who me not injure, O lord of the bays, having drunk.
 I wish to associate with wholesome friend who, having drunk, will not
 injure, O lord of the bays.
41. SB 3.1.1 yaḥ dikṣate saḥ sādve devayājane
 who consecrated-is he gods-with in-place-of worship
 yajate
 sacrifices-he
 He who is consecrated sacrifices with gods in the place of worship.
42. SB 9.1.1.36 namaḥ astu rudrebhyaḥ ye antarikṣa iti
 salutations be Rudras-to who dwell in the sky, thus
 Samtations be to Rudras who are disellers in the Sky.

43. SB 5.1.3.7 Prajāpatiṃ va esa ujjayati yaḥ vājapayena
 prajapati indeed he conquers who Vajapaya sacrifice
 yajate.
 performs (sacrifice).
 He conquers prajapati who performs Vajapaya Sacrifice

Examples (38-43) represent the three types of relative clauses in Vedic Sanskrit-Viz., the prenominal RC, the postnominal RC, and the extraposed RC. These examples are not just random ones, but represent extraposed RC distribution in the Vedic. As we notice, in each of these examples the RC occurs outside of the main clause; that is, it is not embedded internally within the main clause, but is embedded outside of it. Thus the RC does not interfere with the contiguity of the constituents S, V and O of the matrix. Sentences of the following type where a clause is embedded within the main clause are not acceptable in Sanskrit.

44. RV rdūdareṇa śakhiyā yaḥ mā nā riṣyet, dhariaśva, pītaḥ, saceya (cf. eg. 40)
 45. RV sa yam yajñam adhvarām visvataḥ paribhūḥ aśi id deveṣu lachati (cf. eg. 38)
 46. BU Saḥ yaḥ dikṣate sādve devayājane yajate (cf. eg. 41.)

Even in the case of RCs with no overt antecedent, the RD itself acts as the subject or the object of the main clause verb. Following these observations we can propose an Clause-Internal Embedding Constraint (CIEC) to prevent the occurrence of the RC within the main clause.

G. Clause-Internal Embedding Constraint (CIEC)

no relative clause can occur internally within the main clause at the surface structure.

I have assumed that the RC generates preminally in the base because of the following reasons. First, the prenominal RCs are more frequent than the postnominal or extraposed RCs. Second, extraposition has shown to be a rightward movement rule. and the movement rule proposed above would take care of both extraposed and postnominal RCs. Hence. the RC is assumed to be prenominal at the base structure, and the above constraint is a surface structure constraint. However, the above constraint would even make the movement rule unnecessary, as the RC can occur anywhere in a sentence as long as it obeys the CIEC Now let us look at some examples which give further evidence for the CIEC.

- 47 RV 10.85.3 somam yaṃ brahmāṇaḥ viduḥ
 Soman of whom the brahmans know
 na tasya aśṇāti kaḥ ca na
 Not of the eats anyone.
 Somam of whom the brahmans know, nobody eats of that.
48. SB 5.1.1.8 saḥ yaḥ vājapayena yajate,
 He who Vajapeya sacrifice performs,
 Saḥ idam sarvam bhavati
 He here(in this world) everything becomes.
 He who performs the Vajapaya sacrifice can become anything in this
 world.

In 47 the RC occurs immediately after its head *Somam*, which is the object of the main verb *asnati*. Again, there is also a pronoun *tasya* after the RC. This genitive pronoun refers back to *Somam*. Thus a pronoun has to be used so that the integrity of the main constituents of the matrix clause is maintained. Examples (47-48) can also be viewed as cases of leftward dislocation, which seems to take place when the RC seem to violate the CIEC. Thus pronominalization gives further evidence for CIEC.

Consider, again, the following examples from SB in which both the particle *sa* and the pronoun *sa* occur with the RC.

49. SB 14.1.1.6 *sa yaḥ sa viṣṇuḥ, yajñāḥ saḥ;*
 he who ptc Vishnu (is), sacrifice (is) he
 sa yaḥ sa yajñāḥ asau sa ādityaḥ.
 he who ptc sacrifice this, he the sun (is).
 He who is Vishnu, he is sacrifice; he who is this sacrifice he is the sun.

In the above sentence, there are two postnominal RCs. The first instance of *sa* in each of them is a pronoun, whereas the second instance of *sa* (occurring immediately after the relative pronoun *yaḥ*) has to be a particle.

Now we can sum up the rules we have proposed to account for the RCs in Vedic Sanskrit.

- H. 1) NP ⇒ S' (NP)
 2) S' ⇒ COMP S
 3) MOVE ⇒, S'
 4) Clause-internal Embedding Constraint (CIEC).

2. Motivation for Postnominal RCs in the Vedic. It is difficult to pinpoint the factor that motivated postnominal RCs in Sanskrit. In section 1. we considered the RC without making a distinction between restrictive RCs and non-restrictive RCs; the reason for this is that both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses can be post-nominal or extraposed as shown in the following sentences.

50. SB 14.1.1.6 *soman yaṃ brahmāṇaḥ viduḥ,*
 Soman of whom the brahmans know,
 Na tasya asnāti kaḥ ca na
 not of that eats anyone.
 Soman which the brahmans know, nobody partakes of that.
51. RV 8.48.10 *ṛdūdāreṇa sakhīyā sacya*
 wholesome friends I wish to associate pitah
 who me not injure, O lord of the bays, having drunk.
52. BU 1.5.20 *saḥ vai daivaḥ prānaḥ yah sancaran ca*
 that(is) truly divine vital formce which moving nd
 asncaran ca na vyathte athah na risyati
 not moving and not get perturbed also not perishes
 That is the divine vital force which, moving or not moving never suffers
 or perishes.
53. KN 1.6 *tat eva brahmattvam vidhi; na idam*
 that alone as Brahma understand not this
 yat idam upāsate
 which as this worship
 Understand that alone as Brahma, not this which (people) worship as
 this.

Sentences (50-51) have non-restrictive RCs and sentences (52-53) have restrictive RCs. However, the non-restrictive clauses do not generally occur pre-nominally. It is possible that non-restrictive clauses could have originated in the post-nominal position, since they could not probably be expressed pre-nominally. Gradually the post-nominal position was perhaps extended to restrictive clauses also. However, we cannot characterise the distributional

distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs in any general terms unless we have done intensive study in this direction. If it can be shown that non-restrictive RCs do not at all occur pre-nominally then we can say that non-restrictive relativization could have been one of the factors which motivated postnominal RCs. This would also necessitate the postulation of a separate PS rule for non-restrictive RCs.

In addition to this, different word orders seem to correlate with the type of RC we get. This is not a general syntactic rule but a general tendency rooted, perhaps, in psychological factors. Keeping in mind the CIEC, we will see that there are two possibilities when the word order is SOV. First when the subject NP is relativized, the RC is invariably prenominal so that CIEC is not violated or it is sometimes extraposed.

Second, when the preverbal object-NP is relativized, the RC cannot be either prenominal or postnominal; that is it can not immediately precede or follow the object - NP. It has to be extraposed to the postverbal position in obedience to the internal-clause constraint as in

54. RV 8.48.10 *ṛdūdāreṇa sakhīyā sacya*
 good friends I wish to associate with
 yaḥ mā na riṣyet, dhariaśva, pitah.
 who me not injure, O lord of the bays, having drunk.
 I wish to associate with good friends who, having drunk.
 will not injure me, O lord of the bays
55. SB 5.1.3.7 *prajāpatim va eṣa ujyati yaḥ*
 Prajāpatim indeed the conquers,
 yaḥ vājapayena yajate.
 who Vajapaya sacrifice performs.
 He conquers Prajapati who performs Vajapaya sacrifice.

When the word order is SVO, and when the object-NP is relativized, the RC is invariably pushed to the postnominal position; or, when the antecedent of the RC occurs clause-finally, the RC is postnominal. Thus the word order seems to interact with CIEC motivating different RC types. This is only a general tendency, and not a general rule. However, the chief factors determining the position of the RC are flexible word order and its interaction with CIEC, and the restrictive and the non-restrictive nature of RC. In the Vedic hymns, where the word order is determined by metre, the RC can cooccur with any word order as long as the clause-internal constraint is met.

The CIEC phenomenon, where several factors are at work, has, perhaps, a psychological basis. It is a perceptual strategy that Sanskrit is used to compensate for lack of any fixed word order, to promote ease of comprehension. In the absence of any fixed word order, the CIEC becomes the main information conveyed by the matrix clause and the additional information contained in the RC, thus facilitating comprehension. Besides, the RC keeps close to its head by moving to the postnominal or the postverbal position.

It is true that the prenominal RCs are definitely more frequent than the postnominal or the extraposed RCs. I have not made any statistical study of the distribution of each RC type. It seems to me that frequency of occurrence has nothing to do with syntactic constraints. Frequency of occurrence is determined by factors such as, emphasis, metrical requirements, and other stylistic factors. The fact that the RC in the Rgvedic hymns is pushed out of the main clause inspite of the vagaries of the meter shows that the clause constraint is a very strong one.

2.1 Relative Clauses in Postvedic Sanskrit. In this section I would like to show that classical Sanskrit also has all the three types of RCs that the Vedic has and that the internal-

clause constraint holds for the language of this period also. Each of the three types of RCs discussed above are attested in the Upanishads also. The examples discussed below are taken from the following texts: the epics: the *Ramayana* (RA), the *Mahabharata* (MB), the *Bhagavadgita* (BG), *Bhagavatam* (BV); the classical texts: Bhasa's *Svapnavasavadatta* (SV), *Panchatantra* (PT).

Now consider the following.

Prenominal Relative Clause.

56. RA 2.109.23 yāsām strīnām priyah bhartā
which-to woman dear husband
fāsām lokah mohodayah
them-to world (of) great hapiness
Those women who love their husbands they have world of happiness.
57. BG ya enām veti hantāram
ya ca enām manyate hantam
ubhau tau na vijānīto
na ayam hanta na hanyate.
Who believes him a slayer,
Who thinks him slain,
Both these understand not,
He slays not, is not slain.
58. PT 1.9 yasya yadā vibhavā syāt
Whom-to when money (there) is
tasya tadā dāsaśam yanti
its then slave become
Whoever has money, they become its slave.
59. RA Ch 26. kim nu tat kāraṇam yena rāmaḥ
what indeed that reason that is which-by raham
Waht indeed that reason is which-by Rama
dr̥ḍha parākramah rākṣasāpahr̥tam bhāryām iṣtam
firm, brave abducted by the demon dear yah na abhipadyate.
Who not come
What could be the reason (because of which) Rama has not come to free
his dear wife, abducted by the Demon.
60. SV Act 3 Vāsavadattā: dhanya khalu cakravāka vadūḥ
blessed indeed the Chakravaka bride
yah anyonya virahita na jivati
who from the other seperated not lives
Blessed indeed in the Chakravaka bride who can not live seperated from
its partner.

Extraposited Relative Clause:

61. MB 68. 39.40 sā bhāryā yā gr̥he dakṣā
sā bhāryā yā prajāvatī
sā bhāryā yā patiprāṇā
sā bhāryā yā pativrata
She is a wife who is skillful in home
She is a wife who bears children

She is a wife whose life is her husband
She is a wife who is devoted to her husband.

62. BV 2.5

tad vijānīhi yat jñānam ātmatatva
that teach which knowing knowledge-of the self
nidarsanam
realization (is attained)
Teach that by which we attain the knowledge of the self.

The above examples are quite self explanatory and need no elaboration. Now we will look at some Hindi sentences.

- 63 a) Jo ādmi skūl me padhāta hari vō mere pita hai
Which man school in teaches that(man) my father is
Which man teaches in school that man in may father.
- b) Vo ādmi mere pita hai jo skūl me padhāte hai
that man my father is who school-in teaches is
- c) vo hi hai mere pita jo skūl me padhāte hai.
He alone is my father who in school teaches
- d) vo ādmi jo skul me padhāte hai, vo mere pita hai
that man who in school teaches, he my father is.
- e) us billi ko han bahut pyār karte hai jo bhāg gayi
that can acc we very (much) love do is which ran away.
We very much love that cat which ran away.
- f) vo billi jo bhāg gayi, usko ham bahut pyar karte hai.
that cat which ran away, that-acc ham bahut pyar karte hai.
- g) vo billi jo bhag gayi, ham bahut pyar karte hai.

In 63, sentences (a), (b) and (c) have prenominal, extraposed, and postnominal RCs respectively. Sentence (d) is an example of a dislocated postnominal RC. My Hindi informants confirmed that sentences like (g) are not acceptable in Hindi. They said that in such sentences there is a comma after the relative clause, followed by a pronoun. The above examples show that Hindi relative clauses work the same way that Sanskrit relatives work. The same can be said of other modern IA (Indo-Aryan) languages of India (see Nadkarni, 1975).

3. Relative Clause and Word Order Typology. In this section we will see what implications our analysis of RCs have for word order typology. According to typological criteria an SOV language has prenominal relative clauses since in an OV system the nominal modifiers are supposed to precede their head. However, if an OV language has both prenominal and postnominal relative clauses, then the language is supposed to be in an ambivalent state reflecting a typological shift towards a VO or an OV structure. We are aware that Sanskrit has both types of clauses.

Now as regards the typological shift in Sanskrit, I would like to consider the three points that Lehmann (1974 and 1975) makes regarding the development of Sanskrit as an OV type. Infact, several other scholars have tried to explain the use of postnominal RCs in Sanskrit in terms of typological shift.

First on the basis of normal word order in Rgvedic Sanskrit, Lehmann argues that early Vedic Sanskrit was an OV type. Second, he argues, on a priori grounds, that Vedic Sanskrit had only prenominal RCs since in an OV language the nominal modifiers are supposed to precede their head. Third, he observes that Vedic Sanskrit had developed some VO characteristics such

as the pattern of gapping employed, the use of datives in codas etc. He says that this shift to VO structure is evident in *Satapathabrahmana* and classical Sanskrit also. However, this shift, observes Lehmann, was not completed as Sanskrit came under the influence of an OV family of languages, that is, the Dravidian family. Lehmann cites examples from Sinhalese as pieces of evidence for the Indic's backward shift to the OV pattern.

We are aware that Sanskrit has both types of RCs. However, the fact that Indic possessed prenominal, postnominal and extraposed RCs at all stages of its development invalidates Lehmann's hypothesis. As we have seen earlier, even the oldest of the Rgvedic hymns have instances of postnominal and extraposed RCs. They were an integral part of Sanskrit syntax. As the nominal could occur before or after the word they modified, Sanskrit, analogically, extended this flexibility to RCs also; and CIEC was a syntactic device that Sanskrit used to avoid internal-clause embedding, which became necessary for Sanskrit, in the absence of fixed word order. The postnominal and the extraposed RCs were a result of an interaction of these traits in Sanskrit and were not the result of its typological shift towards a VO pattern. And the modern Indic languages like Hindi, Gujarathi, Marathi, etc., have postnominal RCs, too. Besides, the existence of a constraint on clause-internal embedding in the old, middle and modern Indic gives further evidence against Lehmann's hypothesis. Lehmann and Ratanjoti (1975) cite the following example from Sinhalese as a piece of evidence for their hypothesis.

64. mās Kāpu ballave jon dakka
meat ate dog Jogn saw
Jogn saw the meat eating dog.

The above has a prenominal relative clause. Lehmann and Ratanjoti are, perhaps, not aware of the fact that the Indic(IA) languages have two kinds of relative clauses. One, the inherited type with a relative pronoun, discussed in this paper. This type, as we saw, can be either prenominal or postnominal. The other kind is always necessarily prenominal and has no relative pronoun. This type was perhaps, borrowed from the Dravidian languages. 64 is an example of the borrowed type. If Sinhalese does not have the inherited type, it must have, perhaps, lost it under the influence of the Dravidian. A similar change has taken place in a dialect of Konkani, an IA language spoken in a Dravidian-speaking area sec (Nadkarni, 1975). However, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarathi, Goan Konkani, etc. have still both kinds of RCs. Hence, Lehmann's hypothesis is not valid.

Anderson (1982) has shown that the use of datives in codas is not typical of a VO language, but of an OV one. Besides, Ross (1973) has argued that gapping principle cannot be used as a typological criterion.

In the same way, we can say that the type of relative clause that a language has does not decide the typological status of the language or vice versa. Even the so-called consistent OV languages like Kannada, Turkish, Hungarian, and Persian differ from each other in the type of RCs they have. Consider the following.

Kannada:

- 65 a) nānu bīdiyalli kuṇiyuttīruva huḍuganannu
I in the street dancing-aux-re boy-III sg. mas acc
attīsikoṇḍu hōde.
Chasing-aux went (I)
I went chasing the boy who was dancing in the street.
- b) nānu yva huḍuganu bīdiyalli kuṇiyuttiddano
I which boy in the street dancing-is-II sg. mas ptc.

avanannu attisikondu hōde
that boy-aacc chasing aux went (I)

Turkish:

66. a) eti yiyen köpegi gördu
meat eating dog saw-he
He was the meat eating dog.
- b) bir köpek ki etic edi
a dog that te meat

Persian:

- 67 mardha-i ke ketabhara be anha dade budid raftand
me-i that books to whom you had given went
The men that you had give the books to (them) went.

As we notice, Kannada has two types of RCs; example (65-a) represents the inherited type, and examples (65-66) represent the borrowed IA type. The inherited type has no relative pronoun, but uses the interrogative pronoun as the relative pronoun, as in English. However, both types are always necessarily prenominal. According to Lehmann (1974) the use of relative pronouns is typical of a VO language, not of an OV one. Turkish also has two types of RCs. The inherited type has no relative pronoun but the borrowed one has the COMP-like *ki*. However, example (66-b), which represents the type borrowed from Persian, is postnominal. According to typological predictions an OV language is not supposed to have a postnominal RC. However, Turkish, defying all typological constraints imposed upon it acquired one. Again, in Persian which is an OV type the relative clause is exclusively postnominal.

What I am trying to say is that languages with the same basic word order can have different types of RCs and that there is not always a predictable correlation between the surface structure word order and the type of relative clause that a language has. Besides, languages can change in most unpredictable ways when they come in contact with other languages. Structural 'inconsistency' in a language need not be a reflection of its ambivalent status, that is, of shift towards another pattern. As Sanskrit RCs show structural 'inconsistency' may become necessary for some languages to overcome other syntactic problems that they may have. Thus languages could be inherently 'inconsistent', or they can become 'inconsistent' through contact with other languages, if this borrowed 'inconsistency' does not violate the major syntactic constraints that they have inherited.

References

- Anderson, Paul Kent. (1962). On the Word Order Typology of *Satapathabrahmana*. JIE. 10.37-42.
- Bresnan, Joan. (1970). On Complementizers: Toward a syntactic Theory of Complement Types. *Foundations of language*. vol. 5.
- Comrie, Bernard. (1981). *Language Universal and Linguistic Typology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Greenberg, Joseph. (1966). *Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements*. *Universals of Language*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press.
- Hume, Robert Earnest. (1931). *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Kellog, H.H. (1965). *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Lehmann, Winfred. (1974). *Proto-Indo-European Syntax*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lehmann, Winfred and Ratanjoti, U. (1975). Typological Syntactical Characteristics of the *Satapathabrahmana*. JIES.3. 147-160.

- Macdonell, A.A. (1981). *A Vedic Reader of Students*. 11th ed. Madras: Oxford University Press.
- Nadkarni, M.V. (1975). *Bilingualism and Syntactic Change*. Lg. 51. 672-684.
- Radhakrishnan, S. (1969). *The Principal Upanishads*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. New York: Humanities Press Inc.
- Staal, J.F. (1966). *Word Order in Sanskrit and Universal Grammar*. Dodrecht-Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Whitney, W.D. (1889). *Sanskrit Grammar*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Footnotes

* This paper is an improved and more detailed version of the term paper I wrote for the course "PIE Syntax", taught by Prof. J.R. Costello in the spring of 1984 at New York University. On returning to India in '84 fall, I met Prof. Nagaraja Rao of the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, and Prof. Virabhadra Misra of BSNV College, Lucknow and several other Sanskrit scholars and had several discussions with them about my paper. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Misra and Prof. Nagaraja Rao who have been of tremendous help in recasting this paper and presenting the data more systematically. The discussion on *garbhitam vakyam* 'pregnant clause' is a later addition and is due to Prof. Misra. (See FN. 2) The paper, otherwise, remains faithful to the original, especially in its theoretical claims.

1. The following are supposed to be the ten oldest Upanishads: Isa, Kena Katha, Mandukya, Mundaka, Prasna, Taittiriya, Aiteraeya, Brihadaranyaka, and Chandogya.
2. Prof. Virabhadra Misra of BSNV College, Lucknow, India, confirms my intuitions about the constraint on internal-embedding in Sanskrit grammarians and literary critics as early as 10 century A.D. Mammatacharya (about 10 century A.D.) talks about *garbhitam vakyam* "pregnant clause" in his "*Kavya Prakasa*" a work on Sanskrit poetics. He rules out 'pregnant clauses' as ungrammatical and unacceptable. He defines *garbhitam vakyam* "pregnant clause" as one which has another clause embedded internally within itself. In the chapter on *Dosa Prakaranam* 'Exposition of defects' he defines pregnant clause thus:

garbhutam yatra-

pregnancy (of clause takes place) wherein

Vakyasya madhye vakya antaram anupravisati,

clause-gen into-the-midst clause internally enter-in.

A clause enters internally into the middle of a vakyam.

Here we have to interpret *vakyam* as a clause and not as a sentence. Bhartrhari in his *Vakyapadiyam* defines *vakyam* as 'ek tin vakyam' meaning, 'one finite verb constitutes a vakyam' (since the subject-NP is optional in Sanskrit). 'tin' is the term used by Panini to denote a finite verbal ending. Several other literary critics in Sanskrit speak of this constraint in Sanskrit. Prof. Misra is of the view that this constraint exists in Hindi also as the subject-NP is repeated, invariably, as a pronoun whenever the RC seems to interfere with the contiguity of the constituents S, O and V.

3. I feel that pronominalization is obligatory when the head of the RC is non-nominative NP, since the occurrence of the subject NP at the surface level is optional in Sanskrit.
4. I am grateful to Prof. Costello of New York University, New York, for this citation.
5. This example is taken from Comrie, 1981:

Grammatical Person in the Jumli Dialect

- Ram Bikram Sijapati*

1. Defining Grammatical Person

Person is that grammatical category which determines the pragmatic circumstances involving the participants in course of conversation.

According to Pokharel (1990) person constitutes the way of reckoning from the angle of a speaker. From the standpoint of the speaker, the speaker's I constitutes the first person, the hearer or addressee is the second person and the rest comprises the third person.

Pokharel (1993) observes most grammatical systems categorise the speaker, hearer and non-participant in a conversation into different classes of grammatical persons. This difference in person is reflected in the forms of pronouns, verb conjugation or other contrasting constructions.

The tradition of written Nepali grammar was pioneered by an English scholar J.A. Aton (1820). He categorised speakers in Nepali (म, हामी) into second person and the non-participants in a conversation (त्यो, तिनीहरू) into third person. But most native Nepali grammarians have followed the nomenclature of Sanskrit grammar to describe the grammatical person of the Nepali language. According to this classification the non-participant in a conversation (त्यो, तिनीहरू) is defined as first person, the hearer (तँ, तिमि, तपाईं) as second person and the speaker (म, हामी) as third person. This shows a clear difference in the perception of grammatical person in Aton and Sanskrit tradition.

In the absence of a generally agreed nomenclature to describe grammatical person in Nepali, the approach followed here is defining the speaker as first person, hearer and addressee as second person and the non-participant in the conversation as third person.

The grammatical person in Jumli dialect is analysed on the basis of the following features:

2. Person Determined by Pronouns

| Person | Jumli dialect | Nepali |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Third person | त्यो, ति | त्यो, तिनीहरू |
| Second person | तो-तौ, तुमि | तँ, तिमिहरू |
| First person | मु, हामि | म, हामीहरू |

Looked at on the basis of pronominal forms, the grammatical persons of Jumli as above are similar to standard Nepali and most Indo-European languages. It has three distinct

* Dr. Sijapati is Lecturer in T.U. Patan Campus who received Ph. D. In descriptive study of the Jumli dialect.

persons in relation to the speaker, addressee and the rest of the referents: first person, second person and third person. One of the obligatory forms मु-तो-तौ, ऊ must be chosen on the basis of speaker, hearer or non-participant role in a conversation.

2.2 Person Determined by Verb Conjugation

Besides the pronominal forms, verbal affixes also distinguish the persons in the Jumli dialect. The following illustrates this distinction:

Optative Forms

| Person | Singular | Plural |
|---------------|----------|--------|
| Third person | - अलै | - उन् |
| Second person | - याइ | - या |
| First Person | - ऊ | - औ |

Simple Past

| Person | Singular Honorific | Plural Honorific |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Third person | -यो / -इ | -या / इन् / - या |
| Second person | -एइ-ऐ | |
| First person | इश्-छै-यौ | -यौ |
| | -यो-यौ | -यौ |

Simple Non-past

| Person | Singular Honorific | Plural Honorific |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Third person | * -न् | -न् |
| Second person | -श -औ | -औ |
| First person | ऊँ -औ | -औ |

2.3 Differences in Conversational Participant and Non-participant

In the Jumli dialect various situations require clear distinctions between the conversational participants (first person and second person referents) and non-participants (third person referents). Therefore the study of grammatical person is possible only with clear contrastive knowledge of conversational participants and non-participants.

2.3.1 Contrastive Pronominal Forms

The followings forms are realized by the addition of 'ले' (subject/instrument marker) and 'को' (possessive marker) in the pronouns of the Jumli dialect:

| | Pronoun | -ले | -को |
|---|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| A | मु | मुइले | मेरो |
| | हामु~हामि | हामु | हाम्मो |
| B | तो~तौ | तोइले | तेरो |
| | तुमि | तुमिले | तुम्मो |
| C | त्यो | त्यै~त्यइले | त्यै~त्यइखो |
| | ऊ | उइले | उइखो |
| | तिन~तिनु | तिन~तिनुले | तिन~तिनुको |
| | उन् | उनुले | उनुको |

The above forms indicate transformation to "रो/खो/मो" for possessive construction. However, in the non-participant pronominal forms (third person) possessive 'को' does not change to 'रो'. The Jumli dialect still retains the second person familiar 'you' and as such it does not have equivalent honorific expressions to "तपाईं, हजुर, मौसुफ" found in standard Nepali. The Jumli "तुमि" is used to denote all layers of honorific expressions.

The above table shows that the conjugation of "ले" also requires an insertion of "इ" after the participant pronominals (मु, तो~तौ) resulting into मुइले, तोइले. If the pronominal already has 'इ' in its form, it takes null (Ø) addition such as तुमि, हामि, यइ, तोइ etc. Similarly the 'इ' insertion is not required for the 'ले' conjugation in case of pronominals of non-participant forms.

2.3.2 Participant Factor in the Use of 'ले' Conjugation

The non-past transitive verb construction of the Jumli dialect uses 'ले' form extensively for non-participant (third person) agent, while 'ले' form is absent in participant agent (second and first person). However 'ले' form is absent in all pronominals of first person subjects. This is illustrated in the following:

- माइठर पाठ घोकाउनाहन ~ छन्
 - माइठरले पाठ घोकाउना हन ~ छन्
- तोइले कामु अददो ~ गददो छै
 - तो कामु गददो छै
- मुइले कामु अददो गददो छुँ
 - मु कामु अददो गददो छुँ

2.3.3 Participant Factor in Verb Forms

In Jumli dialect the presence of participant in the verb forms is expressed in the following way:

| | Singular | Plural |
|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| Third person | भुन्योन/भुनिन | भुन्यानन् |
| Second person | भुनिनै | भुन्यानौ |
| First person | भुनिन | भुन्यानौ |

This illustration reveals the gender marking in the third person (non-participant) singular verb forms only in भुन्योन/भुनिन while such difference does occur in participant (second/first person) forms.

2.3.4 Grammatical Person in Impersonal Voice

In Jumli dialect, impersonal voice of an intransitive verb is permissible if the subject is a participant of an action ; such a form is not permissible for non participant subject. For example:

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--------------|
| a) | Active Voice | मु भयौं |
| b) | Impersonal Voice | (आफू) भइयो |
| a) | Active Voice | तुमि भयाछौ त |
| b) | Impersonal Voice | भयाछौ त |

* Indicates unacceptable forms.

Only participant subject can apply reflexive 'oneself' to describe some action while non-participant subject cannot bring oneself into the picture. The reflexive construction provides a contrastive use to denote participant action, but in Jumli dialect the reflexive "आफु" is used in honorific sense.

2.3.5 Basic Participant Forms

The following are the basic participant forms in the Jumli dialect.

| Person | Singular | Plural |
|---------------|-------------------|----------|
| Third person | भुन्ला~भुन्ला | भुन्लान् |
| Second person | भुन्ले~भुन्ले | भुन्लौना |
| First person | भुन्लौना~भुन्लौना | भुन्लौना |

The Jumli dialect also conforms to the patterns of most of the languages of the world that the third person singular verb provides the basic verb form. Other verbal forms are derived adding affixes to the root form. The illustrations of the non-past forms above are derived adding the following affixes to the root forms:

भुन्ला~भुन्ला:

| Person | Singular | Plural |
|---------------|----------|--------|
| Third person | * | -न् |
| Second person | -श | -औ |
| First person | -ऊँ | -औ |

Thus the affixes with vowel in them occur between the verb and "ना" as in "भुन्लौना", "भुन्लान्". This observation is supported by Pokharel (1993) who believes that third person singular constitutes the basic verb form which in turn establishes the distinction of participant forms.

Unlike the standard Nepali, Jumli dialect does not have high honorific forms and as such it is not discussed here.

2.3.6 Differences in Imperative and Potential Mood

There is a marked difference between Imperative and Potential Mood in Jumli dialect:

- तो घम्म अर ~ गर -Imperative
- तो घम्म अयाइ ~ गन्याश -Potential

However difference is noted in imperative and potential moods with third person and first person subjects.

- तै त्यइले घम्म अरोश ~ गरोश Third Person
- मु घम्म अरें ~ गरें First Person

3. Conclusion

The notion of grammatical person in Jumli dialect is determined by pronominal forms, verbal forms, contrastive participant roles and limited use of honorific expressions in contrast to the standard Nepali.

References

- Pokharel, Balakrishna. 1990. *Nepali Grammar*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
 Pokharel, Madhav P. 1993. *The System of Grammatical Person in Nepali* in *Madhupark* No. 288. pp 39-40.

The Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhang Dialect*

- Amma Raj Joshi **

Bajhang dialect occupies its prominent position among the dwellers of lower hills, valleys and the banks of the River Seti. The inhabitants of northern hills and the western part of Bajhang speak a dialect similar to the dialects spoken in Baitadi and Dadheldhura. The influence of Doteli dialect in Thalara (south eastern part of Bajhang) and Achhami dialect in Chhanna (the eastern part of Bajhang) has been found responsible for making the dialects spoken there different from the Bajhang dialect. Though the range of similarity between the dialects spoken in all these areas is greater, significant differences in terms of gender, number, and particles have been encountered which are, in some sense, completely idiosyncratic. Besides various geographical variations in the dialect, Bajhang dialect still unites the majority of the population.

Bajhang dialect is on the verge of disappearance because of gradual exposure of the people to standard Nepali speaking community. But it has survived among its indigenous inhabitants who have very little exposure.

Bajhang dialect has been included in the category of Kendriya Nepali (Upadhyaya Regmi 2036) and a sub-dialect of Orapachhima (Pokharel 2040). Whatever demarcation it may have, it remarkably contributes much in the making of the standard Nepali- the *lingua franca* of Nepal. This dialect has its unique syntactic and phonological attributes which demand scholastic linguistic inquiries for its preservation and for consolidating language research activities, too. Needless to say Bajhang dialect is not fairly analogous to standard Nepali besides its etymological similarity. Therefore, a rigorous language research activity needs to be carried out in this field.

This paper is limited to the clarification of phonological inputs in the pluralization process in Bajhang dialect.

Unlike Nepali pluralization in Bajhang dialect is mainly the outcome of phonological variation and the use of agglutinatives rather than morphological change. Though some similarities between Nepali and this dialect are encountered, the range of differences is greater. This can only be solely justified by the omission of 'haru' plural marker used in Nepali for pluralization. Bajhang dialect never makes the use of this marker for pluralization.

Pluralization of nouns in standard Nepali retains some characteristics of this dialect so far as the phonological significance for morphemic implication for plurality is concerned. For example,

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov., 1993.

** Associated with Campus of International Languages (CIL) TU, Kathmandu.

| | | | |
|----------|---------|-----------|------------|
| Choretto | (boy) | Chhoretta | (boys) |
| Mulyo | (child) | Mulya | (children) |
| Gholo | (horse) | Ghola | (horses) |

Such stems change into plural when the final /o/ sound is changed into /a/ sound. But generalizing nouns this way will be invariably misleading as there is no change in feminine gender for number. For Example,

| | |
|-----------|----------------------|
| Chhoretti | (girl-girls) |
| cheli | (daughter-daughters) |
| bhaji | (sister-sisters) |

There are nouns which neither change for number nor take any plural markers to determine number. In nouns where /o/ sound is changed into /a/ for denoting plural number, plural suffix 'haru' is completely redundant. The phonemic change from /o/ to /a/ and the verb forms coming afterwards are primary determinants of plural forms. Bejhangi dialect reduces the extravagance of plural forms used in Nepali and very economically completes this business without any affixes.

For example,

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| bhaja s ^h ya | (Brother slept) |
| bhaji s ^h i | (Sister, slept) |

But there is an idiosyncratic plural marker used as to replace 'haru' suffix of Nepali and that is 'mau'. It is worth mentioning here that 'mau' is not a regular plural marker used after all nouns. This use limits to common noun denoting person and the frequency is very low. For example:

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| chelakimau | (sons) |
| bhajikimau | (sisters) |

Adverbial determinants, sometimes, decide plurality coming before the nouns in this dialect. 'masta', is an important plural determinant. For example:

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| masta māisa aya | (Many people came) |
| Masta bakhra marya | (many goats died) |

Although some morphological additions for plurality can be observed occasionally in this dialect, phonological change in the noun form with zero morpheme, in terms of suffixes, works as the prominent plural determinant.

In most cases, pronouns have either singular or plural form stems demanding verb agreement for indicating number. Such pronouns don't need plural agglutinatives as they themselves stand for either singular or plural number. For example:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| mu khanas ^h u | (I eat) |
| hame khanas ^h au | (we eat) |
| tu kha non ^h ai | (You eat) |
| tame khanas ^h au | (You eat) |

The sound change here is from /o/ (for singular) to /a/ (for plural) and from s^hau and s^ha in the verb form.

But the plural number determinant in third person pronoun is not a distinct plural stem but nasalization of the same pronoun used before as singular. This nasalization interestingly changes third person singular pronouns into plural with final vowels change in some cases and mere nasalization in the other. It defies the notion that pluralization is a morphemic and not a phonemic process. For example,

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| u ayo | (He came) |
| u aya | (They came) |
| yo nokos ^h a | (It's good) |
| yi nikas ^h an | (They're/these are good) |
| tyo nikos ^h a | (That's good) |
| ti nikas ^h an | (They're/those're good) |

When singular pronouns are changed into plural in feminine gender, they are invariably nasalized. e.g.

| | |
|-----------|---------------|
| tyo mulei | (That girl) |
| ti mulei | (Those girls) |

Possessive pronouns follow a usual process of pluralization similar to nouns - that is the change of /o/ sound into /a/ or /i/ case of feminine gender. For example,

| | |
|-------|---------------|
| mero | mera / meri |
| huro | haura / hauri |
| tauro | taura / tauri |
| unko | unka / unki |
| tanko | tanka / tanki |
| eiko | eiko / eiki |
| taiko | taika / taiki |

Pronouns have neither adverbial determinant preceding them nor suffixes used as plural agglutinatives- even those used with noun - for pluralization. It is exclusively a subject to phonemic or allophonic change of grammatical morpheme and not a complete morphemic change in Bajhangi dialect.

Adjectives decline for plurality similar to nouns. But all adjectives do not have grammatical morpheme denoting plural forms. In adjectives where plurality can be noticed, phonemic change at the end is main determinant. Usually the sound change is from /o/ to /a/, /u/ to /a/ and /o/ to /i/ with some degree of nasalization. It is interesting to note that the plural marker also works as gender marker. For example,

| | | | |
|---------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| ballyo | - | ballya / balli (f) | (strong) |
| kanu | - | Kana / Kani (f) | (blind) |
| ramno | - | ramna / ramni (f) | (good, beautiful) |
| kanfuto | - | kanfuta / knafuti (f) | (deaf) |
| dublo | - | dubla / dubli (f) | (thin) |
| tannu | - | tanna / tanni (f) | (watery thin) |
| musinu | - | musina / musini (f) | (smooth) |

Phonemic changes followed by nasalization tend to work as plural determiners of adjectives in the case of feminine gender. But all adjectives do not inflect plurality. Many adjective forms, even qualitative ones, similar to those given above remain unchanged. No morphemic or phonemic change at the adjective ending for plural forms can be observed. Similarly no gender discrimination can be made. For example,

| | |
|---------------------|----------|
| chhattu | (clever) |
| alsi | (idle) |
| birami | (sick) |
| alki | (false) |
| s ^h achi | (true) |
| dhat | (thug) |

The plurality of numerical adjective is only decided by preceding noun and verb forms. There is no provision of phonemic or morphemic change for plurality. For example,

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| dui chana | (two birds) |
| das bota | (ten plants) |

Verb endings play decisive role for pluralization in this dialect. But a perfect agreement is essential. Since plural forms denoted by verb forms require a detailed study ; this paper is limited to simple present verb forms, only.

The tendency of sound variation rather than morphemic and suffix variation for plurality retains in simple present verb forms, too. This sound change is from /o/ to /a/ in masculine gender and /i/ to /i/ in feminine gender and the suffixes change from /u/ to /au/, /s^hai/ to /s^hau/ and /s^ha/ to /s^han/. For example:

| | |
|---|------------|
| mu kha ^o s ^h u | (I eat) |
| hame kha ^o na s ^h au | (We eat) |
| tu kha ^o s ^h au | (You eat) |
| tame kha ^o na s ^h au | (Your eat) |
| tu kha ⁱ na s ^h a | (She eats) |
| u kha ⁱ na s ^h an | (They eat) |
| u kha ^o na s ^h a | (He eats) |
| u kha ^o na s ^h an | (They eat) |
| tyo kha ^o na s ^h a | (He eats) |
| ti kha ^o na s ^h an/ kha ⁱ na s ^h an | (They eat) |

In negative forms sound variations are slightly different from the sounds mentioned above. Negative markers are also used.

For example:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| mu kha ^o naina | (I don't eat) |
| hame kha ^o naina | (We don't eat) |
| tu kha ^o naina | (You don't eat) |
| tame kha ^o naina | (You don't eat) |
| u kha ^o naina | (He doesn't eat) |

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| u kha ^o naina | (They don't eat.) |
| u kha ^o nina (f) | (She doesn't eat.) |
| u kha ^o ina (f) | They don't eat.) |

The /ai/ sound changes into /ai/ for pluralization in the case of masculine gender in negative sentences and /i/ sound changes into /i/ in negative sentences denoting feminine gender.

To sum up, phonemic and allophonic changes determine pluralization in most cases in Bajhang dialect. Additional morphemes and suffixes deciding pluralization are redundant features.

References

1. Langacker, Roland: , *Language and its structure*. 2d. ed; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc, (1973).
2. Pokharel, Bilkrishna: *Rastrabhasha*, Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan, (2040).
3. Turnbull, A: *Nepali Grammar and Vocabulary*, -3d ed. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1982.
4. Upadhyaya Regmi, Chudamani; *Nepali Bhashako Utpatti*, Kathmandu, Sajha Prakashan, 2036 B.S.

Tibetan: A Non-tense Language*

- Tsetan Chonjore **

Today, English has become *the language* for international communication. Historically, during the British rule in India, Young Husband marched to the Forbidden City of Tibet through Gyang-tshe in 1904. With this event, the English language was introduced into Tibet and, thereby, became the principal standard for interpreting and explaining Tibetan linguistically. Unfortunately, the linguistic structures of English are *not* comprehensive nor necessarily appropriate when used to categorize Tibetan verbal constructs and common usage.

By examples of common usage, it can be shown that the Tibetan language - unlike English - is not a tense language. Scholars have tended to think that:

- (1) it is the conjugation that exclusively determines the tense values, and, thereby,
- (2) students automatically assume that these conjugations are used for the purpose of distinguishing present, past and future tense.

By superimposing the English language structures, scholars seem to have been unaware of the variance inherent to the Tibetan language verbal usage. English, although providing convenient linguistic categories, has imposed an over-simplified view that has actually limited students' ability to understand, comprehend and, thereby, to use Tibetan effectively in a wide variety of contextual settings.

Infact, every language is learned and understood by contextual relationships. Linguistically, however, explanations of the Tibetan language should be expanded to include the wider and more comprehensive categorical distinctions, i.e. using a "Tibetan" approach, which are inherent to common usage. From this perspective, both teaching methodology and effectiveness may be improved significantly.

The auxiliary verbs 're' and 'yin'

The verbs 're' and 'yin' are two of the six basic auxiliary verbs of Lhasa Tibetan.

In general, any of the auxiliary verbs can occur in a number of different constructions in the Tibetan language, yielding different types of complex constructional meanings. Despite these possibilities of constructional variation, we can speak of these verbs as having basic independent meanings as well. Both verbs are basically akin to the English verb 'to be'. However, there are some important differences: the finite forms of the English verb 'to be' distinguish categories (1) of tense (e.g. *is* vs *was*) and (2) of person (e.g. *I am*' vs *'you are*' vs *'s/he is*') and (3) of number (e.g. *I am*' vs *'we are*'). **The Tibetan verbs lack all three distinctions.**

There is, moreover, a difference in meaning between the verbs *yin* and *re* (which is basically a difference in emphasis); but, I will not discuss this aspect here. For the time being,

the reader should treat these two verbs as near-synonyms, and focus on the *shared meaning* of these two auxiliary verbs.

The verbal categories of Tibetan are organised rather differently from those of English. For example, Tibetan verbs lack any category of tense in the strict sense. So, in general, the same Tibetan sentence can have either a *past* or a *present* meaning.

Let us see the chart below:

Adverbs of time

| | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | x | John lubtru re | - John is / was a student. |
| 2. | Diring-sang | John lubtru re | - These days, John is a student. |
| 3. | Nyai-ma | John lubtru re | - Before, John was a student |

In '1', 'John lubtru re', one can translate this sentence as 'John is a student'. But, since the Tibetan verb 're' is itself tenseless, the sentence could also mean 'John was a student' depending on the context. So, strictly speaking, sentence '1' should be glossed as follows:

John lubtru re' --- John is / was a student.

It is possible, of course, to distinguish between 'past' and 'present' time in Tibetan. Temporal adverbs, for example, can make the time more specific:

2. **Diring-sang** John lubtru re -- These days, John is a student
3. **Nyai-ma** John lubtru re -- Before, John was a student.

According to the linguistic point of view, the English language is a 'tense' language. Because, the auxiliary verb 'is' in English speaks of and about only events occurring in the present and 'was' speaks of and about only events occurring in the past. Therefore, they are not interchangeable with each other without also changing meaning. However, if you could interchange 'is' and 'was', obviously then, English would be a non-tense language. Consequently, *the English language is categorically a tense language.*

Based on my research, *the Tibetan language is a non-tense language.* We do have past, present and future *time* in Tibetan language, of course, but not *tense*. Despite this, one of the pervading 'categorical' influences has been that many scholars have written Tibetan language books in the past treating the language as "inferior" to English. According to these scholars, Tibetan conjugations are treated as follows:

| | | |
|---------------------|-----|---------------|
| MV + gi yo / gi du | --- | present tense |
| MV + pa yin / pa re | --- | past tense |
| MV + gi yin / gi re | --- | future tense |

The above presumption, which is an 'over-simplified view', has actually *limited* students' understanding, comprehension and ability to use Tibetan appropriately. For example, scholars tend to think that:

- (1) it is the conjugation that exclusively determines the tense values and thereby,
- (2) students automatically assume that these conjugations are used only for the purpose of distinguishing present, past and future tense. If this were true, then the Tibetan language would be no different from English.

By superimposing the English language structures, scholars seem to have been unaware of the variance inherent to the Tibetan language verbal usage. Tibetan is *not* the same as English and should be limited to the distinctions of English verbal categories and/or constructions.

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov. 1993.

** Associated with University of Wisconsin, USA.

Let us see the following examples:

CHART - 1: ADVERBS OF TIME

| | | |
|----|--------------|--|
| 1. | X | Nga coffee thung gi yo -- I am drinking /drink/ used to drink coffee |
| 2. | Dhan-ta | Nga coffee thung gi yo -- Now, I am drinking coffee. |
| 3. | Tsam tsam la | Nga coffee thung gi yo -- Now, Sometimes, I drink coffee. |
| 4. | Nyai-ma | Nga coffee thung gi yo -- Before, I used to drink coffee. |

Sentence 1. It is an *ambiguous* sentence. In this sentence neither the adverb of time is given nor is the context presented. So, the translation could be any one of the above three.

However, temporal adverbs, for example, can make time values more specific.

Sentence 2. Now, I am drinking coffee -(present continuous).

3. Sometimes, I drink coffee - (simple present).

4. Before, I used to drink coffee. - (past habitual).

If the only function of 'gi yo' in this sentence was to indicate 'tense' and has not other meaning whatsoever, then Tibetan would qualify as a tense language. But it is not the case because tense, in most cases of Tibetan usage, is indicated by the temporal adverb and/or contextual reference, therefore, the basic sentence structure remains unchanged.

Thus, from the above example, we have now come to a clear conclusion that the conjugation 'gi yo' itself does not determine or bear tense values. It is temporal adverbs and the context that determine the tense values. This is also true for conjugation 'gi re' and 'pa re' as well. (See charts 2 & 3 at the end of this paper.)

It is my contention that the "approach" to the teaching of Tibetan should not be limited by using English constructions and terminology - this only serves to confuse the language learner. In itself, the Tibetan language is rich, profound and precise - it is the limitation imposed by English categories that makes Tibetan appear "inferior".

In fact, every language is learned and understood by contextual relationship. Linguistically, however, explanations of the Tibetan language should be expanded to include the wider and more comprehensive categorical distinctions, i.e. using a "Tibetan" approach, which are inherent to common usage. From this perspective, both teaching methodology and effectiveness may be improved significantly.

CHART 2: ADVERBS OF TIME

| | | |
|----|--------------|--|
| 1. | x | John ngey kangpaa yong gi re -- John will come to/comes to/ used to come to/ my house. |
| 2. | Sang-nyi | John ngey kangpaa yong gi re -- Tomorrow, John will come to my house. |
| 3. | Tsam tsam la | John ngey kangpaa yong gi re -- Sometimes, John comes to my house. |
| 4. | Nyai-ma | John ngey kangpaa yong gi re -- Before, John used to come to my house. |

Sentence 1. It is an *ambiguous* sentence. In this sentence neither the adverbs of time is given nor is the context presented. So, the translation could be any one of the above three.

However, temporal adverbs, for example can make time values more specific.

Sentence 2. Tomorrow, John will come to my house - future

3. Sometimes, John comes to my house. - present

4. Before, John used to come to my house. - past

Thus conjugation 'gi re' in the above sentences represents not only future time but is also represents past time.

CHART 3: ADVERBS OF TIME

| | | |
|----|--------------|--|
| 1. | x | John chu-tshoe sumpaa lang pa re -- John got up / gets up / used to get up at three o'clock. |
| 2. | Khai-sa | John chu-tshoe sumpaa lang pa re -- Yesterday, John got up at three o'clock. |
| 3. | Tsam tsam la | John chu-tshoe sumpaa lang pa re -- Sometimes, John gets up at three o'clock. |
| 4. | Nyai-ma | John chu-tshoe sumpaa lang pa re -- Before, John used to get up at three o'clock. |

Sentence 1. It is an *ambiguous* sentence. In this sentence neither the adverb of time is given nor is the context presented. So, the translation could be any one of the above three.

However, temporal adverbs for example, can make time values more specific.

Sentence 2. Yesterday, John gets up at three o'clock. (past)

3. Sometimes, John gets up at three o'clock. (present)

4. Before, John used to get up at three o'clock. (past)

Thus, conjugation 'pa re' in the above sentences represents not only past time but also present time.

Conclusion

Because of the limitation imposed by English categories Tibetan language appears "inferior".

In this paper I have proved that the Tibetan language is not a tense language and I have clearly demonstrated from my examples how different Tibetan language is from English (a tense language).

Tibetan language does have three times dhui sum nam shaa: past time dhi de pa, present time (dhui dhata wa); future time (dhui ma wong pa), but they are not used in the same way as English tenses.

According to linguistics, Tense is subject to time, but Time is not subject to tense. In fact, every language of the world has time, but not necessarily tense.

Therefore, the conceptual framework must be changed in both theoretical and applied learning.

I have tested this framework for many years with my students and I am fully convinced that this understanding is essential for learning this language effectively and completely.

The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level*

- Phanindra Upadhyaya **

Supervision is one of the most important and required aspects of teacher training and development. However, it is very disheartening to note that the systematic observation, analysis, and evaluation of the teaching performance of the university teachers, including the English language teachers, is virtually non-existent in Nepal. There have been some seminars here and there but with negligible impact. The Central Department of English has conducted a few workshops and seminars overtime to give way to effective teaching of English but due to various problems both fiscal and human, the coverage has been very inadequate. As doing something on a very large scale is still a big problem in Nepal, this paper attempts to suggest a means of teacher education which could be conducted with the minimum resources available at the campus level.

Before going into my suggestions I would first of all talk about the general attitude of the teachers towards Supervision. The word supervision has always carried a negative notion with it. Most of the teachers find supervision to be scary and unpleasant. They find it to be an invasion into their privacy as most of the teachers prefer to work in isolation. This attitude of the teachers, when observed carefully, reveals a very interesting fact that they are not against supervision but are hostile towards the style of supervision. They feel threatened when an unknown suspicious looking person enters their classroom and sits down to supervise. Cogan (1961), conducted various studies of teacher supervision and came to the conclusion that "psychologically supervision is almost inevitably viewed as an active threat to the teacher, possibly endangering his professional standing and undermining his confidence". Therefore, in order to promote supervision that is non-threatening and is directed towards professional growth, this paper suggests clinical supervision as a possible way out in our efforts to achieve effective second language teaching at the campus level.

First of all, What is Clinical supervision ?

In order to do away with all the negative feelings associated with teacher supervision Acheson and Gall, 1987, identified clinical supervision as a model that is "interactive rather than directive, democratic rather than authoritarian, teacher centered rather than supervisor centered". This model is based on the methods developed at Harvard School of Education in the 1960s. It is called clinical supervision because the teacher and the supervisor have a direct one to one relationship. Here the supervisor is well known to the teacher and there is an open communication between the two. Gaies and Bowers (1990), refer to clinical supervision as "an on going process of teacher development that is based on direct observation of classroom teaching performance. It is a cyclical process consisting of three stages: a preobservation consultation between the teacher and the supervisor, in which the general and the specific

* Presented at ISN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov. 1993.

** Associated with Padma Kanya Campus, Tribhuvan University.

goals of a classroom visit are established and in which the teacher and the supervisor discuss the context in which the observation will take place in other words, the general conduct and the problems in the course as a whole; the observation itself; and a post observation analysis and discussion, in which strength and weaknesses are examined and proposals are made to improve subsequent classroom performance". It can be observed from the above explanation of clinical supervision that the whole process is consistently supportive. Furthermore, the teacher is always at ease as nothing goes into his personal files thus lowering the effective filter.

Secondly Why Clinical Supervision ?

Talking about doing something at the national level and all at once has often proved disastrous in our context. Our plans and programs have faced dismal failures compelling us to either ignore the problem or criticize them. Therefore, instead of coming up with a nationwide over ambitious centralized supervision program, I endeavor to suggest supervision through clinical method. This method can be followed without any intervention from the Center. The only thing basically required is the desire of the concerned department to improve the quality of second language teaching. It requires sincere teachers willing to help and be helped by providing feedback and seeking feedback as and when required.

As most of our English Departments are small, the Department Chair can easily coordinate the process of clinical supervision. The first step therefore, would be identification of teachers who could help in the initial stages of clinical supervision. A Department meeting at the beginning of each session should emphasize on clinical supervision and create awareness among the teachers about the effectiveness of this technique. The goal of improving teacher performance in the classroom and improving student learning should be made clear.

After a general agreement is reached and all the teachers are convinced about the positive impact of clinical supervision, the whole department should sit together and work out a simple line of action. The general and the specific problems faced during teaching should be democratically identified. The teachers should reveal areas which they think need improvement through proper classroom supervision. Possible solutions should be identified through dialogues with the supervisor before and after the classroom supervision. As all teachers in the Department will be involved in the process of clinical supervision to ensure effective teaching, the role of supervisor will be played almost by every one during the session. The supervisor therefore, is just another teacher trying, to help his colleague improve classroom teaching and also learn something new and fruitful from him.

Finally, the details of the basic technicalities involved in clinical supervision can be worked out together if this proposal appeals to the distinguished teachers of second language present here today. One thing, of course, should be kept in mind that any proposal in this respect is not 100% foolproof. What we should, as teachers of English, aim at is one step forward towards effective Second Language teaching.

References

- Cogan, M.L. (1961). *Supervision at the Harvard-Newton Summer School*, Cambridge.
- Acheson, K.A. & Gall, M.D., (1987), *Techniques in the Clinical supervision of Teachers* (Preservice and Inservice Applications): New York & London, Longman.

Procedure, Context, Theme and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students*

- Wayne Amtzis**

Introduction

I attempt to portray an approach to EFL writing instruction that I have used with intermediate students of English in Nepal. Although the approach taken is one that tends towards a student centered classroom, the perspective in this paper is that of the instructor. The emphasis is on the instructor's role in enhancing EFL students' writing abilities. The categories used: procedure, context and voice, are categories that are perceived differently by students and teachers. From the students' viewpoint, voice is the dominant category; while from the teacher's view point procedure is the dominant category. Context mediates within the classroom both between teacher and student and between student and student. Context is therefore negotiable. The teacher, like the student must be willing to enter the teacher-student relationship with an open-ended perspective. He must come to grips with the texts as they emerge from classroom encounters. He must be willing to undertake tasks and assignments as if he were a student himself. His voice, however, his perspective, is construed in this paper as that of an instructor. That difference is recognized as the basis for utilizing these categories as devices for writing instruction in an EFL setting. The strategy presented here is one that relies on procedure as the means for identifying and enhancing student writing skills.

I. Preliminary Clarifications

1. Voice

Where the student is unsure of the source of his assertions, the strategy he strives to adopt bears the marks of his instructors. However, at the stage in which we are intervening here, if the Nepali student of English has something original to say, his misuse of the language may even serve him well. Thus it is neither a question of form or grammatical correctness, nor is it the substance of what is being communicated that immediately concerns us; it is the mode of presentation, the student's way with words, that needs to be considered evenhandedly. The student needs to find a way of working within the language, a way that allows him to write on his own.

2. Context

Where context is negotiable, i.e. where it is not largely predetermined by the content of the course, the students as a class and in groups need to consider what it is they are to write about and what emphasis thematically and analytically they are to give to their shared and varying assumptions.

3. Procedure

Within the classroom guise of student centered learning, the teacher displays in his interaction with the students the logic and form he assumes is a part of the proper use of

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov. 1993.

** Associated with Campus of International Languages.

English. This analytical stance enables the students to locate contextually the communal basis of their communicative endeavor. However, the teacher of necessity initiates miscommunication by allowing the students in the process approach to writing that we will recommend here the ambiguity of not knowing what it is they will say. It is then the interaction between process and analysis that the teacher negotiates for the students by the tasks he sets and by the input he makes that becomes the measure of his relevance as instructor. For the teacher to undertake the tasks himself and to evaluate his own efforts gives credence to the method.

4. Theme

As the consideration of theme has an important role to play in both limiting and expanding context, and in eliciting and supporting a student's attempts to define his own personal voice or indigenous perspective, it will be more thoroughly discussed in the body of this presentation.

5. The Teacher's Dual Role: as Instructor, as Student

By establishing himself as a doer of tasks set for the class as a whole, the teacher gains the students' attention. The teacher, however, undertakes these tasks as an instructor and not as someone primarily involved in creative expression. He is limited in what he writes by his need to model effective writing at the students' level of ability. So too are the students limited in what they can write by their need to be understood at the level at which they can effectively utilize the language they are learning. Thus the need for an analytical framework in the contextual development of the analytical framework in the contextual development of the essay. Seeing the teacher utilize both the process approach and an analytical review of what he has written (or a preview of what he will write), the students recognize how to reformulate their own writing.

II. Working with Context with the Class as a Whole

What follows are lesson plans with a specific breakdown of tasks. The procedure set forth enables the instructor to introduce the process approach to writing to intermediate EFL students and to provide them with simple guidelines for writing a paragraph. The method employed asks the students to write for themselves, to write for and with their classmates in small groups, and to write with the class at large.

LESSON 1

Writing for Oneself

Task 1. Ask all students to list three topics that they could write about.

Task 2. Ask the students to choose one topic and then to write for 5-10 minutes on that topic.

Task 3. (Homework) Ask the students to read what they have written. They should underline the most interesting or important sentence and circle other phrases that relate to the information in that sentence. Then at home they should write one paragraph, using the information they have identified, with that key sentence as the opening, and topic, sentence.

LESSON 2

Writing For and With Others

Task 4. Ask the students for one of the other topics they have chosen. Put up to ten on the board and as a class choose the most appropriate topic for all students to write about.

Task 5. All students should then write for 5-10 minutes on that topic. The teacher as well should write on the topic.

cohesive statement. However, they have a lot to say. Students want to write and they want to learn how to write. That I, as a teacher, monitor student discussions, and place their assertions in perspective, or offer help in developing strategies for presentation before students begin writing on their own, does not mean that students are not writing for themselves.

Without limiting their choices or undermining their traditionally held beliefs, though making distinctions between analytical and expressive (and incoherent) thought, I introduce the students to what are in fact culturally bound assumptions about the way one presents and represents information, ideas, feelings and opinions. In terms of procedure, this division into expressive and analytical is complemented by a classroom division of writing into free, guided, and thematic writing. Students are writing freely if they are thematic writing. Students are writing freely if they are permitting themselves to set down whatever comes to mind without being overly concerned with grammar and organization, or with explicit identification of topic or theme. Divisions between facts, impressions and opinions are held temporarily in abeyance, allowing writing students to draw on their inner feelings and perceptions as much as possible.

When students are writing for themselves and exploring their ideas, they are writing freely; when developing a paragraph for others to read, their concern is to communicate clearly and effectively; when writing thematically, students are doing both -exploring and communicating. Once students are more in touch with their subject and more aware of the organizational patterns one can work with, they can slip free of the framework they have devised instead of copying down and linking their notes. When the writing itself is taken up again as if for the first time, the focus may well shift.

Once familiar with process writing procedures, students can isolate on their own, with a classmate, or with the teacher's advice, that phrase or sentence which will provide a way into the essay. It is the unexpected phrase that catches the reader's eye. Preconceptions we bring to writing and what we learn in the classroom need to be filtered through the process of writing. Momentarily forgetting what they have been told, students returning to the writing per se, are more apt to express themselves in a voice that is their own.

The first time the students write, they are putting down all they have to say on a chosen subject, subsequently looking over what they have written and reflecting on what they have done, the words and phrases may appear amorphous, lacking an explicit form and focus. By linking like to like and identifying that which needs to be emphasized, they begin to logically synthesize. Phrases and sentences are eliminated and restated. After this, that form which is acceptable for the communication of thoughts on paper takes shape.

Having gained some facility in language use, many EFL students tend to write without contextualizing their assertions. Exercises designed solely to impart conceptual skills necessary for ordering, presenting and analyzing information, while imparting logic and objectivity, are often contrary to the student's manner of expression. Logic and clarity, however, need not be gained at the expense of expressiveness. Conceptual skills and strategies for effective writing can be introduced to the class at large by drawing on the students' own thoughts, expressions and manner of speaking. If the teacher works on theme and voice as suggested with the class as a whole, the students will have a basis when writing to do so on their own.

References

- Leki, I. (1989). *Academic writing*. New York: St Martin's Press.
Raines, A. (1987). *Exploring through writing*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Wajnryb, R. (1989). Dictogloss: A Text-Based Approach to Teaching and Learning Grammar. *English Teaching Forum* 25, 4.
Widdowson, H.G. (1984). *Explorations in Applied Linguistics 2*. Oxford University Press.

Linguistic Society of Nepal: A Brief History

- Nirmal M. Tuladhar

On November 26, 1979 a group of linguists met on Kirtipur Campus, Tribhuvan University to set up Linguistic Society of Nepal under the chairmanship of Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla. The meeting unanimously decided to found a linguistic society for the advancement of linguistic studies and research in Nepal. The meeting also formed a constitution drafting committee which consisted of the following members:

- Dr. Ballabha Mani Dahal
- Dr. Ramawatar Yadav
- Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit
- Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar
- Dr. Chudamani Bandhu

On December 14, 1979 the general meeting was held to discuss the draft of the constitution prepared by the drafting committee and to form an *ad hoc* committee. The meeting approved the constitution with some amendments and formed an *ad hoc* committee with following members:

- Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla, *Convener*
- Prof. Ballabha Mani Dahal, *Member*
- Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, *Member*
- Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit, *Member*
- Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, *Member*
- Dr. Chudamani Bandhu, *Member*
- Mr. Ramesh Shrestha, *Member*

On February 1, 1980 an election committee was formed with the following members:

- Prof. Yugeshwar Prasad Verma, *Election Commissioner*
- Dr. Rameshwar Adhikary, *Member*
- Mr. Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, *Member*

On April 7, 1980 the Election Commissioner declared the following members elected unopposed:

The First Executive Committee: 1980-1981

- Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla, *President*
- Dr. Subhadra Subba, *Vice-President*
- Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, *Secretary-Treasurer*
- Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit, *Joint Secretary*

cohesive statement. However, they have a lot to say. Students want to write and they want to learn how to write. That I, as a teacher, monitor student discussions, and place their assertions in perspective, or offer help in developing strategies for presentation before students begin writing on their own, does not mean that students are not writing for themselves.

Without limiting their choices or undermining their traditionally held beliefs, though making distinctions between analytical and expressive (and incoherent) thought, I introduce the students to what are in fact culturally bound assumptions about the way one presents and represents information, ideas, feelings and opinions. In terms of procedure, this division into expressive and analytical is complemented by a classroom division of writing into free, guided, and thematic writing. Students are writing freely if they are thematic writing. Students are writing freely if they are permitting themselves to set down whatever comes to mind without being overly concerned with grammar and organization, or with explicit identification of topic or theme. Divisions between facts, impressions and opinions are held temporarily in abeyance, allowing writing students to draw on their inner feelings and perceptions as much as possible.

When students are writing for themselves and exploring their ideas, they are writing freely; when developing a paragraph for others to read, their concern is to communicate clearly and effectively; when writing thematically, students are doing both -exploring and communicating. Once students are more in touch with their subject and more aware of the organizational patterns one can work with, they can slip free of the framework they have devised instead of copying down and linking their notes. When the writing itself is taken up again as if for the first time, the focus may well shift.

Once familiar with process writing procedures, students can isolate on their own, with a classmate, or with the teacher's advice, that phrase or sentence which will provide a way into the essay. It is the unexpected phrase that catches the reader's eye. Preconceptions we bring to writing and what we learn in the classroom need to be filtered through the process of writing. Momentarily forgetting what they have been told, students returning to the writing per se, are more apt to express themselves in a voice that is their own.

The first time the students write, they are putting down all they have to say on a chosen subject. Subsequently looking over what they have written and reflecting on what they have done, the works and phrases may appear amorphous, lacking an explicit form and focus. By linking like to like and identifying that which needs to be emphasized, they begin to logically synthesize. Phrases and sentences are eliminated and restated. After this, that form which is acceptable for the communication of thoughts on paper takes shape.

Having gained some facility in language use, many EFL students tend to write without contextualizing their assertions. Exercises designed solely to impart conceptual skills necessary for ordering, presenting and analyzing information, while imparting logic and objectivity, are often contrary to the student's manner of expression. Logic and clarity, however, need not be gained at the expense of expressiveness. Conceptual skills and strategies for effective writing can be introduced to the class at large by drawing on the students' own thoughts, expressions and manner of speaking. If the teacher works on theme and voice as suggested with the class as a whole, the students will have a basis when writing to do so on their own.

References

- Leki, I. (1989). *Academic writing*. New York: St Martin's Press.
Raines, A. (1987). *Exploring through writing*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Wajnryb, R. (1989). Dictogloss: A Text-Based Approach to Teaching and Learning Grammar. *English Teaching Forum* 25, 4.
Widdowson, H.G. (1984). *Explorations in Applied Linguistics 2*. Oxford University Press.

Linguistic Society of Nepal: A Brief History

- Nirmal M. Tuladhar

On November 26, 1979 a group of linguists met on Kirtipur Campus, Tribhuvan University to set up Linguistic Society of Nepal under the chairmanship of Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla. The meeting unanimously decided to found a linguistic society for the advancement of linguistic studies and research in Nepal. The meeting also formed a constitution drafting committee which consisted of the following members:

- Dr. Ballabha Mani Dahal
- Dr. Ramawatar Yadav
- Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit
- Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar
- Dr. Chudamani Bandhu

On December 14, 1979 the general meeting was held to discuss the draft of the constitution prepared by the drafting committee and to form an *ad hoc* committee. The meeting approved the constitution with some amendments and formed an *ad hoc* committee with following members:

- Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla, *Convenor*
- Prof. Ballabha Mani Dahal, *Member*
- Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, *Member*
- Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit, *Member*
- Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, *Member*
- Dr. Chudamani Bandhu, *Member*
- Mr. Ramesh Shrestha, *Member*

On February 1, 1980 an election committee was formed with the following members:

- Prof. Yugeshwar Prasad Verma, *Election Commissioner*
- Dr. Rameshwar Adhikary, *Member*
- Mr. Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, *Member*

On April 7, 1980 the Election Commissioner declared the following members elected unopposed:

The First Executive Committee: 1980-1981

- Prof. Kamal Prakash Malla, *President*
- Dr. Subhadra Subba, *Vice-President*
- Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, *Secretary-Treasurer*
- Dr. Shishir Kumar Sthapit, *Joint Secretary*

Dr. Chudamani Bandhu, *Member*
Dr. Shreedhar Prasad Lohani, *Member*
Mr. Ramesh Shrestha, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, *Chief Editor*
Dr. Ballabha Mani Dahal, *Editor*
Dr. Rameshwar Prasad Adhikary, *Editor*
Mr. Mohan Raj Sharma, *Editor*
Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *Editor*

The Second Executive Committee: 1982-1983

Prof. Chudamani Bandhu, *President*
Mr. Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, *Vice-President*
Dr. Abhi Subedi, *Secretary*
Dr. Shanti Basnyat, *Treasurer*
Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *Joint Secretary*
Dr. Ballabha Mani Dahal, *Member*
Dr. Jaya Rai Acharya, *Member*
Mr. Shiva Raj Upadhyay, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, *Chief Editor*
Dr. Shreedhar Prasad Lohani, *Editor*
Dr. Kamal Raj Pandey, *Editor*
Mr. Krishna Bahadur Gurung, *Editor*
Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi, *Editor*

The Third Executive Committee: 1984-1985

Prof. Ballabha Mani Dahal, *President*
Dr. Rameshwar Prasad Adhikary, *Vice-President*
Dr. Abhi Subedi, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *Joint Secretary*
Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava, *Joint Secretary*
Ms. Indira Shrestha, *Member*
Ms. Geeta KC, *Member*
Mr. Tika Bahadur Karki, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, *Chief Editor*
Mr. Shiva Raj Upadhyay, *Editor*
Mr. Arun Kumar Jha, *Editor*
Ms. Krishna Pradhan, *Editor*

The Fourth Executive Committee: 1986-1987

Dr. Rameshwar Prasad Adhikary, *President*
Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava, *Vice-President*
Mr. Nirmal Prasad Tuladhar, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Ms. Geeta Khadka, *Joint Secretary*
Dr. Novel Kishore Rai, *Joint Secretary*
Mr. Devi Gautam, *Member*
Mr. Kashi Nath Tamot, *Member*
Mr. Madhav P. Pokharel, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Dr. Abhi Subedi, *Chief Editor*
Dr. Shreedhar P. Lohani, *Editor*
Lt. Col. J.P. Cross, *Editor*
Mr. K.B. Gurung, *Editor*
Mr. Hemanga Adhikari, *Editor*

The Fifth Executive Committee: 1988-1989

Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, *President*
Ms. Geeta K.C., *Vice-President*
Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Ms. Suprabha Ghimire, *Joint Secretary*
Mr. Sajag S. Rana, *Joint Secretary*
Mr. Mohan R. Sharma, *Member*
Mr. Pramod K. Mishra, *Member*
Mr. Daya Ratna Shakya, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Dr. Abhi Subedi, *Chief Editor*
Ms. Krishna Pradhan, *Editor*
Ms. Sangita Rayamajhi, *Editor*

The Sixth Committee: 1990-1991

Dr. Abhi Subedi, *President*
Dr. Novel K. Rai, *Vice-President*
Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Mr. Jai Rai Awasthi, *Joint Secretary*
Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay, *Joint Secretary*
Dr. Shree Krishna Yadav, *Member*
Mr. Bed Prasad Giri, *Member*
Mr. Manfred Treu, *Member*

Publication Committee

Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *Chief Editor*
Ms. Geeta Khadka, *Editor*
Ms. Nayan Tara Bista, *Editor*
Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, *Editor*
Dr. Madhav P. Pokharel, *Editor*

The Seventh Executive Committee: 1992-1993

Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, *President*
Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi, *Vice-President*
Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Mr. Manfred Treu, *Joint Secretary*
Mr. K.B. Maharjan, *Joint-Secretary*
Ms. Pramila Rai, *Member*
Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, *Member*
Mr. Sajag Rana, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay, *Chief Editor*
Mr. Madhav P. Pokharel, *Editor*
Ms. Renu Lama, *Editor*
Mr. Bijay K. Rauniyar, *Editor*
Mr. Simon Gautam, *Editor*

The Eighth Executive Committee: 1994-1995

Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, *President*
Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, *Vice-President*
Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati, *Joint Secretary*
Ms. Betsie Chhetri, *Joint Secretary*
Ms. Usha Adhikari, *Member*
Mr. Keshav Gautam, *Member*
Mr. Bijay K. Rauniyar, *Member*

The Publication Committee

Mr. K.B. Maharjan, *Chief Editor*
Dr. Balram Aryal, *Editor*
Mr. Simon Gautam, *Editor*
Ms. Sushma Regmi, *Editor*
Mr. Amma Raj Joshi, *Editor*

RESEARCH NOTES:

The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-wide Bilingualism*

- Bryan Varenkamp **

In a country as ethnically and linguistically diverse as Nepal there are many groups who speak Nepali as a second language. In order to adequately understand their level of proficiency in the national language, the Nepali Sentence Repetition Test (NSRT) has been developed as a tool for assessing bilingualism on a community-wide basis. This paper briefly discusses the sentence repetition methodology and rationale for using such a test, as well as the procedures used and challenges faced during its development in the Nepali context. The results from the development of the NSRT prove that it is a dependable tool for assessing bilingualism in Nepali. The NSRT has now been used in several communities.

Sentence repetition test (SRT): A means of evaluating community-wide levels of bilingualism through testing the ability of second-language speakers to repeat 15 sentences of varying complexity in the target language. It is based on the premise that people can only repeat sentences in a second language to the level that they have full control of the morphology and syntax of that language.

Reported proficiency evaluation (RPE): A descriptive estimation of second-language proficiency, whereby mother-tongue Nepali speakers are guided through a detailed evaluation of their second-language friends' ability in the areas of accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension. The SRT scores are correlated with the RPE. The half-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of ability in the second-language.

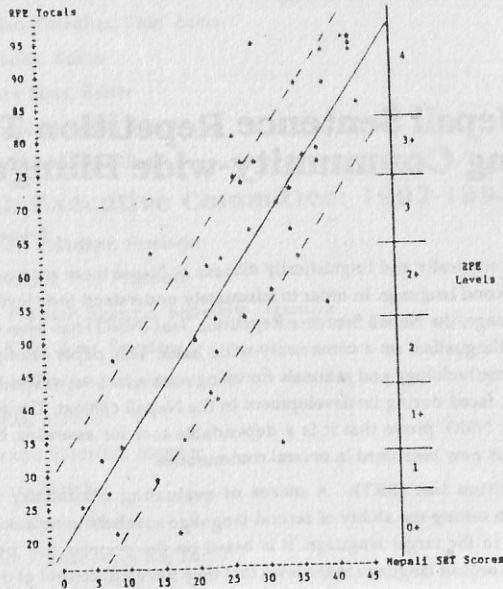
Nepali

| SRT score Out of 45) | = RPE Level | Proficiency Descriptions |
|-------------------------|----------------|---|
| 40 - 45 | = 4 | [Excellent proficiency -- domains of philosophy and humor] |
| 34 - 39 | = 3+ | [Very good, general proficiency -- technical /professional domains] |
| 28 - 33 | = 3 | [Good, general proficiency -- ease varied in social situations] |
| 21 - 27 | = 2+ | [Good, basic proficiency -- ease in nearly all daily life domains] |
| 15 - 20 | = 2 | [Adequate, basic proficiency -- day-to-day topics] |
| 9 - 14 | = 1+ | [Limited, basic proficiency -- ease in only a few domains] |
| 5 - 8 | = 1 | [Minimal, limited proficiency -- basic survival Nepali] |
| 0 - 4 | = 0+ | [Very minimal proficiency] |

Scattergram of correlation between Nepali SRT scores and RPE ratings

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 November, 1993.

** Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University.



Correlation coefficient $r = .817$; standard error of estimate (---) = 13.12 ; $n=44$; line of regression (—) is RPE score = $18.5 + 1.62$ (SRT score)

The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test

Practice Sentences:

१. म अर्को हप्ता भारत जान्छु ।
२. त्यसपछि दायोतिर लाग्नुोस् ।
३. मेरो बुबा काठमाडौंमा हुनुहुन्थ्यो ।

Test Sentences

१. म स्कूलमा काम गर्छु ।
२. हिजो आज पसलमा केही छैन ।
३. म नेपालमा बसेको धेरै वर्ष भयो ।
४. तिम्रो घरमा पनि बिजुली बत्ती रहेछ ।
५. यसले देशको विकास गर्छ ।
६. खाना पिरो भए तापनि मलाई मिठो लाग्यो ।
७. सिनेमा हेर्दा-हेर्दै म त भुसुक्कै निदाएछु ।
८. त्यहाँबाट त्यो मूलबाटोसम्म निकलनुहोस् ।
९. यसले स्वास्थ्य र सुरक्षाको लागि सहयोग गर्छ ।
१०. कुरा गरेको र काम गरेकोमा धेरै फरक पो हुन्छ ।
११. आज दिउँसो पानी पर्छ भन्ने कुरा हामीलाई थाहा छँदैथियो ।
१२. यसले जनताको सबै सुबिधाबारे विचार गर्छ ।
१३. रनेले बाबुको क्रिया-कर्म मुस्किलले गर्न सक्थे ।
१४. शिक्षक-शिक्षिकाहरूसँग पनि पाठ्यक्रमबारे कुरा गर्छु ।
१५. हाम्रो देशको आर्थिक अवस्थाले गर्दा पानी खाने धारा सबैतिर पुगेको छैन ।

Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal*

— Jeff Webster**

Use of the Nepali Sentence Repetition Test (NSRT) has provided a wealth of objective, quantitative data on the state of Nepali proficiency in rural areas of Nepal. Implicit in all everyone-speaks-Nepali-in-Nepal arguments on the one hand, or mother tongue education argument on the other hand, is the fact that there is some level of Nepali proficiency in virtually every village in Nepal. The notion that is absent from most such arguments is the fact that different speakers in different villages have differing ability to speak and understand Nepali. Results from testing the Nepali proficiency of several hundred people in a score of scattered villages give a clear profile of community wide proficiency. It is obvious from this profile that Nepali ability is significantly different depending on such factors as education, amount of travel, village location, and gender. This paper will examine the effect of these factors on Nepali ability in various villages across Nepal.

Figure 1. Summary of Nepali proficiency in four main speech communities.

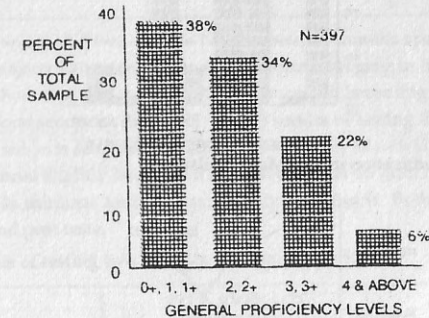


Figure 2. Comparison of most and least proficient segments of Magar communities.

| CATEGORY | RPE LEVELS | |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | BELOW LEVEL 2 N=126 | LEVELS 3 & ABOVE N=28 |
| AVERAGE | 36.5 YEARS | 22.9 YEARS |
| SEX | 66% FEMALES | 14% FEMALE |
| EDUCATION | 93% UNEDUCATED | 10% UNEDUCATED 79% PRIMARY ED. |
| TRAVEL | 10% LIVED OUTSIDE | 29% LIVED OUTSIDE |

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov., 1993.

** Associated with center of Nepal and Asian Studies, and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Figure 3. Average RPE (reported proficiency evaluation) level for subjects in two Magar villages.

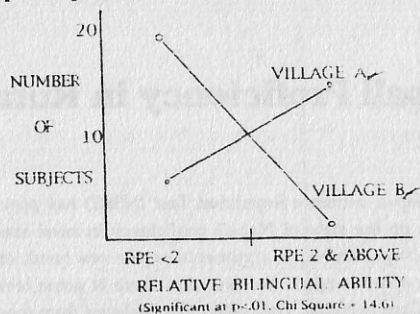


Figure 4. Comparison of Nepali proficiency among Gurungs of Gorkha District and Ghale/Bhotias of Northern Gorkha District.

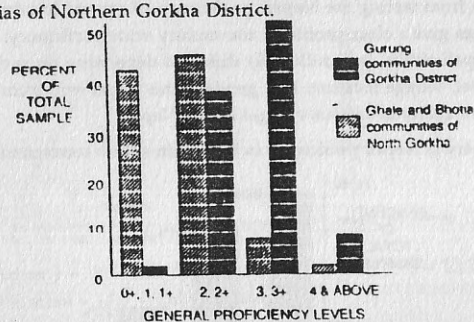


Figure 5. RPE level and education in two Magar villages.

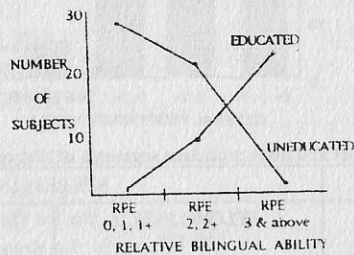


Figure 6. Average SRT score by years of formal education, in two Magar villages.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|
| YRS | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| X= | 13 | - | 18 | 20 | 19 | 24 | 26 | 25 | 28 | 31 | 33 | - | 33 |
| S= | 5.4 | - | 6.6 | 5.6 | 6.5 | 3.9 | 9.6 | 1.4 | 7.8 | 3.8 | 6.2 | - | - |
| N= | 116 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 1 |
| EO | E1 | | | E2 | | | E3 | | | | | | |
| | x=19, s=5.9, n=20 | | | x=26, s=7.1, n=24 | | | x=32, s=5.2, n=18 | | | | | | |
| RPE 1+ | RPE level 2 | | | RPE level 2+ | | | RPE level 3 | | | | | | |

(Pearson's 4-0.76)

Census results show that 75% of the population is uneducated: this group averaged 13 on the SRT, equivalent to an RPE level 1+. Performance on the SRT improves as education increases, as expected, and the population decreases. Only the 12% of the population in the most educated category, averaging RPE level 3, could be argued to be proficient enough in Nepali to handle complex material.

Figure 7. Average SRT score as a function of education in four speech communities.

| Community | Education | SRT Average | RPE level | Simple Size |
|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Gurung | Uneducated | 26 | 2+ | 39 |
| | Higher Primary | 27 | 2+ | 5 |
| | | 37 | 3+ | 11 |
| Thakali | Uneducated | 18 | 2 | 34 |
| | Higher Primary | 27 | 2+ | 14 |
| | | 35 | 3+ | 35 |
| Magar | Uneducated | 13 | 1+ | 116 |
| | Higher Primary | 21 | 2+ | 28 |
| | | 30 | 3 | 34 |
| Ghale & Bhotia | Uneducated | 10 | 1 | 63 |
| | Higher Primary | 17 | 2 | 11 |
| | | 33 | 3 | 2 |

A sample of 24 was tested twice on the NSRT, about 18 months apart. During the 18 month interval, 17 of the subjects had taken a Nepali NEF course ranging in length from 6.18 months. Results in figure 8 show two things clearly: 1) the process of becoming literate through an NEF course does not elevate scores on the NSRT; and 2) results of testing the NSRT are replicable—testing a sample of subjects for a second time gives virtually identical results to the first time. NFE participants scored slightly better than non-participants on both the pre and the post test, but the difference is minimal and not statistically significant. Both groups scored almost identically on pre and post tests.

Figure 8. Results of testing two samples 18 months apart.

| | SRT 1 AVERAGE (PRE NFE) | SRT 2 AVERAGE (POST NFE) |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| NFE PARTICIPANT (N=17) | 29.0 | 28.9 |
| NO NFE TAKEN (N=7) | 25.7 | 25.9 |

The results in figure 9 are mixed, but what is clear is that even in the cases where the difference is statistically significant, those who are uneducated and illiterate are nowhere near as proficient in Nepali as those who are educated and literate. The effect, then, if present, is minimal.

Figure 9. The effect of literacy in Nepali for uneducated subject in three communities.

| COMMUNITY | LITERATE ? | SRT AVERAGE | SIGNIFICANT ? |
|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| NORTH GORKHA | YES (N=10) | 15.3 | YES (P<.01) |
| | NO (N=53) | 9.4 | |
| GURUNG | YES (N=29) | 27.5 | YES (P<.01) |
| | NO (N=10) | 21.8 | |
| THAKALI | YES (N=11) | 18.8 | NO (P<.05) |
| | NO (N=23) | 18.3 | |

Education in the Mother Tongue : The Case of Newari*

—Balgopal Shrestha and Bert van den Hoek

It is barely a year ago that the Janajati Mahasangh (Confederation of Ethnic Groups) gained momentum in Nepal. The issue was the expected imposition of Sanskrit education on school children all over the country. Continuous demonstrations and seminars were organised in the summer of 1992 to protest against such a measure. Sanskrit education, it was argued, would only strengthen the political dominance of the Brahmin-Chhetri communities in Nepal. Yet how many members of this elite itself are able to understand Sanskrit? Sanskrit is not an ethnic, but a classical language, belonging to everybody.

The language which is actually boosting the power of the political elite is the National Language, Nepali, which is also the mother tongue of the Brahmins and Chetris. While Sanskrit was an easy target, the real attack was on the National Language (van den Hoek, 1992). As it appeared, Nepal should become a truly multilingual society not dominated by Gorkhali. Splitting it up into numerous smaller and larger language areas was not proposed as a serious option by the Janajati Mahasangh, although some of the ethnic groups assembled in the Janajati Mahasangh might favour such a solution.

The spin-off of the anti-Sanskrit campaign, however, was an increasing political demand for education in the mother tongue, though still impracticable in many areas. Apart from a few larger languages like Bhojpuri and Maithili in the Terai, the educational materials in other languages simply do not exist. On the other hand, the political demand to uplift the other languages of Nepal was most legitimate. From Rana times onwards, Gorkhali - only later renamed Nepali - had expanded at the cost of the other languages of Nepal (Shrestha, 1993).

Newari may even be called an exception: until 1972 it was taught in every school in the Valley and even beyond. The New Education Policy of 2028 (1972) made an end of it by enforcing children to make the choice between Newari and Science! This policy meant the final suppression of the education of the Newari language and literature at school level.

The new Constitution of 1990, which introduced again a multiparty system, also appeared to have a multilingual nature. Although Nepali was to remain the National Language [Article 6 (1)] all other languages were recognized as "languages of the nation" [Article 6 (2)]. Article 18(1) states that all communities living in the Kingdom have the right to preserve and promote their language, script and culture. And Article 18 (2) gives the right to primary schools to educate children in their mother tongue (Shrestha, 1991).

Yet, to date, only two such schools exist: A Magar school in Pokhara and one Newari school in Kathmandu. Only one Newari school for the whole Valley, which is flourishing with so-called English Boarding Schools? Yes, and that one Newari school is on the outskirts of the city and has, apart from nursery classes, only two primary school classes. It has 123 pupils in total, 36 of them subsidized by N.B. Japanese "foster-parents!"

The school has an impressive executive committee, fully dedicated to the ideal of education in the mother tongue. Yet it must be questioned to which extent those ideals as well as the political demands correspond to a popular demand for education in the mother tongue. To find this out, the only Newari school in the Valley was investigated from various viewpoints: the social background of the children, the motivation of the parents and the obstacles which the school itself experiences amidst the present Education Policy.

References

- Hoek, A.W. van den (1992) Sanskrit Education, An outsider's view. *Independent* 2-9
- Shrestha, B.G. (1991) Bhasa Dharmaya Khamy Nepaya Sambidhana 2047 (Constitution of Nepal 1990 on Language and Religion). *Nepal* 39:57 pp. 25-27
- Shrestha, B.G. (1993) Loka Sevaya Jmcaay Nepali Madyama Likayema (Nepali must not be made the medium in Civil Service Exam.) *Visvabhumi* 4:182

* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov. 1993.



LSN Newsletter

Activities

1. Election

An Election Commission was formed to hold the election of the 1994-95 office bearers of Linguistic Society of Nepal. It consisted of —

1. Prof Dr. Durga Prasad Bhandari - Election Commissioner
2. Mr. Amma Raj Joshi - Member
3. Mr. Anand Sharma - Member

The following nominees were elected uncontested for the 1994-95 office on May 22, 1994:

1. Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma - President
2. Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha - Vice-President
3. Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay - Secretary-Treasurer
4. Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati - Joint Secretary
5. Ms Betsie Devi Chhetri - Joint Secretary
6. Ms Usha Adhikari - Member
7. Mr. Keshav Gautam - Member
8. Mr. Bijay Kumar Rauniyar - Member
9. Mr. K.B. Maharjan - Member/Chief Editor

2. Editorial Board

An editorial board was constituted to publish the official journal of LSN - NEPALESE LINGUISTICS. The members are as follows:

1. Mr. K.B. Maharjan - Chief Editor
2. Dr. Balram Aryal - Editor
3. Mr. Amma Raj Joshi - Editor
4. Mr. Simon Gautam - Editor
5. Ms. Sushma Regmi - Editor

3. Talk Programme

A talk programme on "The Case of a Subjectless Construction in Kannada" was held at Campus of International Languages on May 22, 1994. The paper was read by Ms. Anuradha Sudharsan.

The paper concerns itself with a subjectless construction that arose in Kannada in the context of Kannada- English bilingualism. The syntactic and semantic characteristics of this construction parallel with those of the agentless passive in English in which the former ultimately originated. This construction has its immediate source in a Kannada translation of

the English agentless passive. The translated structure attested in the late 19th century and the early 20th century Kannada, was defective because it was based upon superficial similarities between the English agentless passive and superficially similar Kannada structure. This defective structure, however, went through a process of restructuring falling in line with other transitive verb structures in Kannada and eventually resulting in the contemporary subjectless construction. This can be called a case of 'motivated' borrowing in a restricted bilingual context.

4. Highlights of the 14th Annual Conference 1993.

The 14th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal was held at CEDA auditorium Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu during November 26-27, 1993. Altogether 98 linguists and academicians from Nepal and abroad attended the conference. This included 43 life members, 37 ordinary members and 18 foreign members. The conference provided forum for 19 papers in general linguistics, applied linguistics and language teaching, sociolinguistics and language planning, and syntax and semantics.

The conference was inaugurated by Professor Alan Davies, the reputed linguist of Edinburgh University and the pioneer of linguistics at the Department of English, TU in 1969.

The President of LSN Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar delivered his presidential address reiterating the demand for setting up a Department of Linguistics at TU and LSN's move towards the same.

The Secretary-Treasurer of LSN Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma welcomed the guests and participants to the conference. He also presented a brief report of LSN's activities and informed that the LSN has Rs. 100,000 in its account. He proposed to deposit the amount in a fixed deposit.

The chairman of the inaugural session Prof. Dr. Durga Prasad Bhandari commended the LSN's work and encouraged the Board for its movement towards setting up of a linguistics department at TU.

The following papers were presented at the conference:

Session I: General Linguistics

Chair: Dr. Ramawatar Yadav

1. Sunil Kumar Jha: The Inclusion of Aspiration in Distinctive Feature Theory
2. George van Driem: Archaic East Bodish in the Comparative Context
3. Roland Rutgers: The Status of Liquids in Consonants Clusters in Yamphu Rai
4. Amma Raj Joshi: Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhangi Dialect

Session II: Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching

Chair: Prof. Sunil Kumar Jha

1. Wayne Amtzis: Procedure, Context, Theme, and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students
2. Phanindra Upadhaya: The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level
3. Hemant Raj Dahal: An Overview of ELT Course at M.A. English
4. Sushma Regmi: Causes for the Deterioration of English in Higher Education.

Session III: Sociolinguistics and Language Planning

Chair: Prof. Kamal P. Malla

1. Jeff Webster: Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal
2. Warren W. Glover: Shoebox: Integrated Data Management and Analysis for the Field Linguist
3. Ramawatar Yadav: The Use of the Mother Tongue in Primary Education: The Nepalese Context
4. Bryan Varenkamp: The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-wide Bilingualism.
5. Bal Gopal Shrestha and Bert van den Hoek: Education in the Mother Tongue: A Case of Newari

Session IV: Syntax and Semantics

Chair: Prof. Abhi Subedi

1. J.P. Cross: The Derivation of Some English Words
2. Madhav P. Pokharel: Aspects in Nepali
3. Tej R. Kansakar: Classical Newari Verbal Morphology
4. Tsetan Chonjore: Tibetan: "A Non-tense Language"
5. Yogendra P. Yadava: Verb Agreement in Maithili
6. Amrit Yonjan Tamang: Tamang Grammar

Presidential Address of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal on November 26, 1993, at the CEDA Auditorium, Tribhuvan University.

Nirmal M. Tuladhar

President

Mr. Chairman

Members of the Society

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This is indeed an auspicious occasion for the Society to have Prof. Alan Davies with us this morning to inaugurate the Conference. It is Professor Davies who for the first time introduced linguistics at the department of English, Tribhuvan University in 1969 when he was in the Chair twenty-four years ago and also ran three short-term courses on linguistics and applied linguistics for college teachers of English. He paved the way for linguistic studies in our university.

In 1972 the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies in conjunction with the Summer Institute of Linguistics launched an MA in Linguistics for the postgraduates in English. This was the first and last programme. I happen to be one of its products. In 1973 Tribhuvan University took the initiative in establishing a department of Linguistics. To design and assess necessary inputs and teaching-research infrastructure a committee was formed under Professor Prayag Raj Sharma, then Dean of Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies. This institute held the first Seminar in Linguistics on November 4-7 1974 and also published the proceedings entitled **Seminar Papers in Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives in Linguistic Studies**. When INAS was converted into Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) as non-teaching institution in 1977 that was the end of the history of linguistic studies.

The history of linguistic studies began again in 1979 when the Linguistic Society of Nepal came into being.

Last year I wound up my thirteenth presidential address saying that more would follow in the fourteenth one. So more has to follow, but the preceding presidents had spoken on all aspects of linguistics so intensively and extensively that I cannot find any topic to speak about except the memorandum we submitted to Vice Chancellor.

After having waited for the department of Linguistics to be established since the first annual conference's resolution demanding the department, I ran out my patience and I blew up while giving the address last year. I proposed the department be forgotten within this university. But most of my teachers and colleagues were not happy about my proposition. They suggested that the Society form a committee to prepare a list of potential linguists who could

contribute to teaching and developing courses in various areas of linguistics. Their suggestion recharged my patience. We held a meeting on December 13, 1992 at Campus of International Languages and formed a curriculum committee under the chairmanship of Professor Kamal Prakash Malla, the founding President of the Society. The curriculum committee met on December 20, 1992 at the Central Department of English under the chairmanship of Professor Malla. The meeting decided to prepare a tentative list of courses along with the names of teachers who were committed to contribute to teaching and developing courses for the proposed department of linguistics. The third meeting held on December 27, 1992 at CNAS decided to submit a memorandum to the Vice Chancellor requesting him to commission a task force to study the feasibility of setting up a department. Professor Tej Ratna Kansakar, the founding Secretary and Treasurer, volunteered to prepare it. The memorandum was submitted to Vice Chancellor on January 8, 1993, the copy of which is published in the LSN Bulletin section of Nepalese Linguistics, Volume 10, pp. 153-155. We have been keeping track of the file since then because this time we cannot afford to let it disappear as the previous one did. Currently it is with Rector, and he is studying it for action. The other day, five days ago, to be exact, I saw him about the status of the file. He told me that he had received the experts' opinions he had sought from the faculty members of the concerning departments. He assured me that he would soon be commissioning a committee. We can be hopeful when there is a committee. Where there is a committee, there is hope.

Let us hope that once Department is established, several colleagues of ours will have an opportunity to utilise their specialization and training. They would also have an opportunity to compete for the positions in linguistics they deserve, and would no longer feel as refugees in other departments. They would be genuine linguists by profession as well as by position they would hold. The Tribhuvan University Service Commission will be equally relieved to do justice to the overdue promotion to the well-qualified linguists creating new positions in the proposed department of linguistics.

This year the conference is going to be more exciting. The First Annual Conference of Nepal English Language Teachers' Association (NELTA) held on November 22-24, 1993 has warmed up the participants for this conference. They discussed the place of the ELT in the national language education system, the medium of instruction, the strategies for instruction, native teaching materials and the optimum age for the introduction of ELT in school. I hope the NELTA participants would definitely contribute to the discussion in Session II: Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching.

And our conference would be followed by another one. Commission on Recommending the Policy on the National Languages is going to hold a three-day conference on "Policy on the National Languages of Nepal and Primary Education in the Mother tongue" on December 6-8, 1993. I hope that Session III: Sociolinguistics and Language Planning on the second day of the conference would benefit the participants who would also go to the British Council for bringing prof. Alan Davies to us via the NELTA Conference.

Thank you !

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Honorary Members

1. Late Ralph L. Turner
2. Prof. Kenneth L. Pike
3. Prof. R.K. Sprigg
4. Prof. Werner Winter
5. Prof. Bernhard Koelver

Life Members

1. Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
2. Prof. Dr. Kamal Prakash Malla, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
3. Dr. Chandra Devi Shakya, Institute of Education, Kirtipur
4. Dr. Yogendra P. Yadava, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
5. Dr. M.S. Ningomba, Manipur University, Imphal, India.
6. Dr. Bernhard Koelver, University of Kiel, Germany.
7. Dr. Ulrike Koelver, Germany.
8. Mr. Shailendra Kumar Singh, P.K. Campus, Kathmandu.
9. Dr. Burkhard Schottendreyer, Spartado Aereo 100388, Colombia.
10. Mr. Tika B. Karki, American Peace Corps, Kathmandu.
11. Dr. Richard R. Smith, United Mission to Nepal, Kathmandu.
12. Dr. Horst Brinkhaus, University of Kiel, Germany.
13. Mr. John P. Ritchott, American Culture Centre, Kathmandu.
14. Dr. Subhadra Subba, CNAS, Kathmandu.
15. Dr. Ross C. Caughly, Australian National University, Canberra.
16. Rev. James J. Donnelly, St. Xavier's School, Kathmandu.
17. Dr. Nishi Yoshio, College of Liberal Arts, University of Kyoto, Japan.
18. Prof. Dr. Shreedhar P. Lohani, Central Department of English, Kirtipur
19. Mr. Tika P. Sharma, Institute of Education, Tahachal.
20. Dr. Roland Bielmeier, University of Bern, Switzerland.
21. Mr. Ian Alsop, Panipokhari, Kathmandu.
22. Prof. Dr. Ballabh Mani Dahal, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
23. Dr. Colin S. Barron, c/o British Council, Kathmandu.
24. Prof. Dr. Sishir Kumar Sthapit, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
25. Prof. Dr. Chuda Mani Bandhu, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
26. Prof. Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
27. Prof. Dr. Rameshwar P. Adhikari, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
28. Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, CNAS, Kirtipur.
29. Prof. Dr. Abhi Subedi, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.

30. Dr. Beverly Hartford, Indiana University, USA.
31. Lt. Col. J.P. Cross, Pokhara, Nepal.
32. Dr. Marshall Lewis, Indiana University, USA.
33. Dr. K.V. Subbarao, Dept. of Linguistics, Delhi University, India.
34. Mr. Devi P. Gautam, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
35. Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
36. Prof. Werner Winter, Germany.
37. Dr. Baidyanath Jha, R.R.M., Campus, Janakpur.
38. Dr. Satya Ranjan Banarjee, Calcutta University, India.
39. Dr. Georg van Driem, P.O. Box 991, Kathmandu.
40. Mr. Birendra Pandey, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
41. Ms. Kalpana Pandey, C/O Mr. Birendra Pandey.
42. Mr. Chandreshwar Mishra, Institute of Education, Sanothimi.
43. Ms. Rudra Lakshmi Shrestha, Patan Campus, Patan.
44. Mr. Khagendra K.C., Patan Campus, Patan.
45. Mr. Shambhu Acharya, Patan Campus, Patan.
46. Prof. Dr. Durga P. Bhandari, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
47. Mr. Rajendra P. Chaudhari, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
48. Dr. Shree Krishna Yadav, S.S.M.Y. Multiple Campus, Siraha.
49. Mr. Jai Raj Awasthi, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
50. Dr. Novel K. Rai, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
51. Dr. Padma P. Devakota, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
52. Mr. Manfred G. Treu, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
53. Ms. Gautami Sharma, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
54. Ms. Sangita Raymajhi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
55. Ms. Bhuvan Dhungana, Law Campus, Kathmandu.
56. Mr. Baidya Nath Mishra, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
57. Ms. Krishna Pradhan, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
58. Mr. K.B. Maharjan, Pulchowk Campus, IOE, Patan.
59. Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
60. Ms. Nayan Tara Amatya, Ratna Rajya Campus, Kathmandu.
61. Mr. Sueyoshi Toba, P.O. Box 991, Kathmandu.
62. Mr. Sanjeev K. Uprety, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
63. Mr. Anand P. Shrestha, CNAS, Kirtipur.
64. Mr. Bishnu Raj Pandey, Public Youth Campus, Kathmandu.
65. Mr. Mohan P. Banskota, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
66. Ms. Rupa Joshi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
67. Mr. Keshab Gautam, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
68. Mr. Krishna Kumar Basnet, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
69. Ms. Nirmala Regmi, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
70. Dr. Jyoti Tuladhar, Kathmandu.
71. Mr. Bidya Ratna Bajracharya, ASCOL, Kathmandu.
72. Prof. Dr. Shanti Basnet, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
73. Dr. Madhav P. Pokharel, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
74. Prof. Dr. Ramchandra Lamsal, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.

75. Mr. Arun Kumar Prasad, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
76. Mr. Sajag S. Rana, Central Department of English, Kirtipur.
77. Dr. Balaram Aryal, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
78. Mr. Bijay K. Rauniyar, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
79. Mr. Bed P. Giri, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
80. Mr. Amma Raj Joshi, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
81. Mr. Parshuram Paudyal, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
82. Dr. Martin W. Gaenszle, Univ. of Heidelberg, South Asia Institute.
83. Ms. Maya Devi Manandhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
84. Mr. Pradeep M. Tuladhar, Birendra Sainik Campus, Bhaktapur.
85. Mr. Megha Raj Sharma, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
86. Mr. Mohan Sitaula, Campus of Int'l Languages, Kathmandu.
87. Mr. Anand Sharma, Ratna Rajya Laxmi Campus, Kathmandu.
88. Mr. Nanda Kishor Sinha, Central Dept. of English, Kirtipur.
89. Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati Patan Campus, Patan.
90. Mr. Punya Prasad Dhakal, M.A. Eng. Programme, R.R. Campus.
91. Mr. Narayan P. Gautam, Central Department of Nepali, Kirtipur.
92. Mr. Mahendra Jib Tuladhar, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
93. Mr. Govinda Raj Bhattarai, Institute of Education, Kirtipur.
94. Mr. Balthasar Bickel, Max-Planck Institute, The Netherlands.
95. Mr. Bhusan Prasad Shrestha, Saraswati Campus, Kathmandu.
96. Dr. Anuradha Sudharsan, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.
97. Mr Bert van den Hoek, University of Leiden, The Netherlands.
98. Mr. Harihar Raj Johsi, P.O. Box 2531, Kathmandu.
99. Ms. Pramila Rai, Padma Kanya Campus, Kathmandu.
100. Mr. Ram Ashis Giri, Faculty of Education, Kirtipur.
101. Dr. Tulsi P. Bhattarai, Sajha Prakashan, Lalitpur.
102. Mr. Tika P. Uprety, Devkota Memorial School, Biratnagar-2.
103. Dr. Mohan Himanshu Thapa, Central Dept. of Nepali, Kirtipur.
104. Ms. Anusuya Manandhar, Law Campus, Kathmandu.
105. Dr. Austin Hale, Huebli 3636 Wald, Switzerland
106. Mr. Larry L. Seaward, c/o American Embassy, Kathmandu.
107. Mr. Sashidhar Khanal, Trichandra Campus, Kathmandu.
108. Mr. Boyd Michailovsky, LACITO/CNRS, France.
109. Mr. Mazaudon Mastine, LACITO/CNRS, France.
110. Mr. Tsetan Chonjore, University of Wisconsin Program in Nepal.
111. Mrs. Sushma Regmi, R.R. Campus, Kathmandu.
112. Mr. Swayam Prakash Sharma, P.G. Eng. Program, Dharan Campus
113. Ms. Anjana Bhattarai
114. Ms Nivedita Mishra
115. Mr. Gunjeshwari Basyal
116. Mr. Philip Pierce, Nepal Research Centre, New baneshwor.

Name List of Ordinary Members (LSN)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Prakash A. Raj | 2. Mr. Krishna Bahadur Thapa |
| 3. Mr. Ramesh K. Bajracharya | 4. Mr. Bal Gopal Shrestha |
| 5. Mr. Binod Luitel | 6. Mr. Sharad Chandra Thakur |
| 7. Mr. Uttam Prasad Pant | 8. Mr. Til Bikram Nembang |
| 9. Mr. Kashi Nath Tamot | 10. Mr. Dev Narayan Yadav |
| 11. Mr. Guru P. Adhikari | 12. Mr. Bindeshwar Thakur |
| 13. Mr. Hemanta Raj Dahal | 14. Mr. Hemanta Kumar Jha |
| 15. Ms. Usha Adhikari | 16. Mr. Bishal Bhattarai |
| 17. Mr. Mukunda D. Shrestha | 18. Mr. Bhesh Raj Shiwakoti |
| 19. Ms. Meena Bajracharya | 20. Prof. Dr. Sunil Kumar Jha |
| 21. Mr. Mukunda D. Shrestha | 22. Mr. Lava Dev Awasthi |
| 23. Mr. Yuvaraj Brahmin | 24. Mr. Raju Manandhar |
| 25. Mr. Linley Dhondup | 26. Mr. Mangal Jha |
| 27. Mr. Phanindra K. Upadhyaya | 28. Ms. Raj Lakshmi Timila |
| 29. Ms. Gajab Kumari Timilsina | 30. Ms. Betsi Devi Chhetri |
| 31. Ms. Sulochana Dhital | 32. Mr. Ramesh Shrestha |
| 33. Mr. Amrit Yongon Tamang | 34. Mr. Ganga Prasad Uprety |
| 35. Mr. Simon Gautam | 36. Mr. Tej Man Subba |
| 37. Tanka Prasad Rai | |

Name List of International Participants

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mr. David Pottinger | 2. Ms. Mary-Jo O'Rourke |
| 3. Mr. Calvin Rensch | 4. Mr. Gi Hao Sue |
| 5. Ms. Ellen Bath | 6. Mr. Larry L. Seaward |
| 7. Mr. Bert Van Den Hoek | 8. Mr. Roland L. Rutgers |
| 9. Ms. Brigitte Merz | 10. Mr. Shichiro Soma |
| 11. Mr. George Van Driem | 12. Mr. Wayne Amtzis |
| 13. Mr. Stephan Bartram | 14. Ms. Cathy Baartram |
| 15. Mr. Brayan Varenkamp | 16. Mr. Warren Glover |
| 17. Mr. Jeff Webster | 18. Mr. Manfred Treu |

Linguistic Society of Nepal

Estd. 1979

Office Bearers For 1994-1995

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma | President |
| 2. Ms. Rudra Laxmi Shrestha | Vice President |
| 3. Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhyay | Secretary / Treasurer |
| 4. Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati | Joint Secretary |
| 5. Ms. Betsie Devi Chhetri | Joint Secretary |
| 6. Ms. Usha Adhikari | Member |
| 7. Mr. Keshav Gautam | Member |
| 8. Mr. Bijay Kumar Rauniyar | Member |

Price Rs. 200/-

In this issue

| Articles | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Relative Clauses in Sanskrit | 1 |
| Grammatical Person in the Jumli Dialect | 17 |
| The Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhangi Dialect | 21 |
| Tibetan: A Non-tense Language | 26 |
| The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level | 30 |
| Procedure, Context, Theme and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students | 32 |
| Linguistic Society of Nepal: A Brief History | 37 |
| Research Notes: | |
| The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-wide Bilingualism | 41 |
| Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal | 43 |
| Education in the Mother Tongue: The Case of Newari | 46 |
| LSN Newsletter 1993-94 | 48 |