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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Course Type</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>2 year course</td>
<td>4-semester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>2 year course</td>
<td>4-semester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>2 year course</td>
<td>4-semester</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

Chief Editor:
Mr. K. B. Maharjan
Dr. Balaram Aryal
Mr. Simon Gautam
Mr. Amma Raj Joshi
Ms. Sushma Regmi

Editors:

---

Computer Typesetting and Printed at:
**International Offset Press Pvt. Ltd.**
Phone 223359, New Road, Dugambahil.
# Contents

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

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, postonominally 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 section. 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 analyzing 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 Saipusha 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 constrictions 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.

** 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 Brahmanas and the Āryabhyāsas 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), Sāmaveda (SB), Āryabhyāsa (AA), Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad (BLU), Kaṭhāparvī (KU), Kaṭhāparvīśad (KU) and Ilīparvī (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 Sāmaaveda-sūtras 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 pronoun subject-NP can be optional. It is true that the most recurrent word order, especially in the prose texts of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, is SOV, as shown in the following examples:

1a. SB 1.3.2.15. Viśāḥ kṣatryāya baliṁ harantī people to princes tribute pay The people pay tribute to the princes

1b. SB 1.1.1.17. tatā devāḥ etam vajram daśāt, 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 huḥyāṁ agrāṁ prathamāṁ suśātye call on Agni first for worship I call on Agni, first, for worship.

Macdonnell (1981) cites the following example from Sāmaaveda-sūtras as an instance of verb-initial clauses:

3. SB yanti viśāpa, eti ḍīṣta, eti candramā, move the waters, move the sun, move the moon, yanti naḥkariṇī, 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 agrāṁ nāraḥ vibharantāṁ, ghe-ghe. Agni men carry (m) house Men can carry Agni in every house.

5. SB 1.6.35 idāṁ Indraḥ dudvāsa him Indra raised Indra raised 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 havyāṁ gṝjāvat jihotā to mitra the oblation with ghee offer I offer the oblation to Mitra with ghee.

7. SB 9.1.1.36 pṛayaḥ vaśi devāḥ by means of Prayaṇa indeed the gods swargam lokan lokan ayaṁ heavenly world went. The gods went to the heavenly world by means of Prayaṇa.

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 1.6.32 tasyā trīṇi eva mukhāḥ Tuḥ he-gen three only heads were. He (to him) has only three heads.

9. SB 1.3.3.6 tasyā dārśanā prā cedā his those heads off struck-he He struck off his heads (those heads of hit).

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

10. RV 1.1.8 goṇkīṁ pāśāṁ dīṣṭaṁ guardian order-of-shining guardian order of the guardian

11. RV 1.35.1 huḥyāṁ agrāṁ prathamāṁ suśātye call on Agni first for worship I call on Agni first for worship.

12. SB 2.4.1.5 ṭaṭ ṭaṭāḥ evāṁ sa eti pāḍāvāṁ gūpyāṁ. 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 ...pi ṭaṁ cā bhuvanāṁ rākṣataḥ, father mother and all (theings) protect.

14. RV 1.160.4 dhṛṇiṁ ca pṛṇāṁ avṝśāh mūrtisām the cow and speckled bull abounding-in-seed
vāvāhī sukṛṣuṁ 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
āhātri bāhir āhāraṁ āsyaṁ paridhiṁ ca
then that straw thereon he lays paridhiṁ and.
Then he lays the sacrificial straw thereon and also the paridhiṁ.

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 2.4.3.34
yajñāna ha soma vāi tād ṳvāh kalpaṁyanē.
Through-sacrifice the gods carried-out
yad eṣṭam kalpāṁ śāyaṁ pāyāḥ ca
Which that feasible was Rais and
For through the sacrifice the gods and the Rais carried out what was feasible.

17. SB 11.5.1.4
Kathāṁ na avītām kathāṁ sānāṁ sānāṁ
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 na (imperative) 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 10.3.8.8
ugṛṣya cīd maśye ma na maṁ
mighty even wrath he neg bow
They bow not before the wrath of the mighty.

19. RV 8.48.5
mā naṁ aṇyaṁ ahaṁ maṁ paridevaṁ.
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 etasya śatuḥ kacau para āṣī
don't indeed this obligation anything higher is
For there is nothing higher than this obligation rite.

21. SB 9.1.1.24
āṣāṁ praśāṇāṁ eṣaṁ paśūnamāṁ mā bheṣaṁ mā rōm
these people dom.-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 tens for a VO language is numeral followed by ten; Vedic shows a VO pattern in this respect also as in dātādhā, paśūnaḥ. This order occurs in classical Sanskrit also.

Taking into consideration the order of negatives and tens we can see 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 tens 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 postverbally, 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
yāṁ yajñāṁ vāvāhī paribhūḥ
which worship sacrifice on every side encompassing
āṣī sāṁ devāṁ vīkhāntaṁ
thou are that indeed gods-to goes
(O April) the worship and sacrifice thou encompassest on all sides, that
same goes to the gods.

23. RV 2.3.37.7
kī sam āte tudra mṛtyukhyāṁ hāśatī yāṁ āṣī
death your Raudra dreadful hands which is bheṣajah jākṣaṁ
healing cooling
where is your merciful hand O Raudra, which is healing and cooling.

24. RV 7.6.33
sīṁ ma devāṁ savita ca caneṁ yāṁ samanāṁ āṣī
don't to me god savita said-acc that which uniform neg pramīnaṁ uttamāṁ
infringes law.

25. SB a) 3.1.1.1
yaṁ dīkṣate, saḥ sādhaṁ
who consecrated to, he with-gods
devāyaṁ jāyaṁ
in-place-of worship sacrifices
He who is consecrated sacrifices in the divine place of worship.

26. SB 9.1.1.36
Nāmaṁ śuṣruṁ rudrāyah yah antarākaṁ iti
salutation be Rudras-who dwelling-in-the-sky thus.
(Let there be) salutation to Rudras who are dwelling-in-the-sky, thus.

27. SB c) 5.1.3.7
praśāṇāṁ ca yaṁ uṣayati yaṁ vaishampayena
Prajapati-etc indeed he conquers who Viṣṇu yaṣaṁ
sacrifice performs (sacrifice)
He conquers prajapati who performs Viṣṇu 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, kah 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.
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

ihā bravāyā yah u tat ciketat
here let him tell who pic it understand.
Let him who understand this tell it here.

31. SB 11.3.2.1

yaḥ ha va agnihotre saṁsādhunāt veda
who indeed pic Agnihotra's six couplets known
māthunena-māthunena ha prajaya.
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 2.35.5

bāvimābhī bhāvate yah bāvibhāh
invocations-with supplicated-is who with obligations
āva stōrebhā ṛudrāṃ dāya
down songs-of-praise-with Rudra 1-would-appease.
With songs of praise I would appease Rudra who is supplicated with invocations and obligations.

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

33. RV 2.12.1

yaśa suśāntā roṣasi śāhāyānti
whose vehemence the two worlds trembled
nṛṇāṇāya mahaṁ sāri jānasah, Indra.
of-valour greatness he O men, Indra 1a)
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 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 7.1.1.36

nāmaḥ āstu ṛudrābyyaḥ ye antarkaś iti
salutation be Rudras-who are (are) the heavens then Salutation to Rudras who dwell in heaven.

35. RV 2.24.8

tāya śāhivā śāhivā yāhāya asya
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

puṣtāmya puṣaṁhuṣa saceya
Wholesome friends I wish to associate with
yah mā na rāyey, dharṣāvā, pīśīḥ
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

Prajāpati va esa ujjaṣati yah vajāpayena
Prajāpati-acc indeed he conquers who Vajāpayya yajate performs (sacrifice)
He conquers Prajāpati who performs Vajāpayya 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 = SX (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 (I-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 prenominally by the following base rules.

F. (1) NP ⇒ $^S (NP)$
(2) $^S ⇔$ COMP $^S$

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

G. 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 phase 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 (I-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.

43. SB 5.1.3.7 Prajāpatiḥ va esa uñjaṇati yaḥ vājepayena praṣjapatiḥ indeed he conquers who Vajepaya sacrifice yajate. performs (sacrifice).
He conquers praṣjapati who performs Vajepaya Sacrifice
Examples (8-43) 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 ṛṣiśvaroṃśaṃsyaḥ yaḥ mā ni rṣyet, dharmasya, pītāḥ, saceya (cf. eg. 40)
45. RV sa yam yajtrikam adhikasya viścāstah parārdrab asīt iṣu devaṃ lokaḥ (cf. eg. 38)
46. BU Saḥ yaḥ aikṣate sadeva devaṃyajate (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.

47. RV 10.85.3 somam yam brāhmaṇaḥ viduḥ
Soman of whom the brahman know na tasya aṣṭādiḥ kah 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 vājepayena yajate;
He who Vajepaya sacrifice performs,
Saḥ idam sarvasvabhavati
He herein (in this world) everything becomes.
He who performs the Vajepaya 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 amati. 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 14.1.16**

sa yah sa visnuh, yajtah yah.
he who prc Visnuh (sa), sacrifice (sa) he
sa yah sa yajtah su su 3tilyah.
he who prc sacrifice this, he the sun (sa).
He who is Visnuh, 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 yah) has to be a particle.

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

1. **H.**
   - NP $\rightarrow$ S (NP)
2. **S.**
   - $S \rightarrow$ 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 14.1.6**

soman yah brhmamah vistu(u).
Soman of whom the brahman know,
na tasya anna kalah na
not of that eats anyone.
Soman which the brahmans know, nobody partakes of that.

**51. RV 8.48.10**

gudhina yah saklya yacaya
wholesome friends I wish to associate pitah
who me not injure, O lord of the bays, having drunk.

**52. BU 1.5.20**

sah vai daivat prnath yah sancaran ca
that(is) truly divine vital force which moving nd
sancaran ca na vyahte atah na rasyah
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 brhmatah sam yad
de idam
that alone as Brahma understand not this
yad idam utpaha
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 relativisation 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 relativised, the RC is invariably prenominal so that the CIEC is not violated or it is sometimes extrapolated.

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

**54. RV 8.48.10**

pradhyvaya sakhyodacaya
good friends I wish to associate with
yah maa nari rasya, dhstasaka, 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**

prajapati va esa ujyati yah
Prajapati indeed the conquerors,
yah vijayaya yajate.
who Vajapaya sacrifice performs.
He conquers Prajapati who perform Vajapaya sacrifice.

When the word order is SVO, and when the object-NP is relativised, 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 epic: the Ramayana (RA), the Mahabharata (MB), the Bhagavadgita (BC), Bhagavatam (BV); the classical texts: Bhusa’s Saptamarnanadadatta (SV), Panchatantra (PT).

Now consider the following.

Prenominal Relative Clause.

56. RA 2.109.23 yasāṁ śrīnām priyāḥ bhatrāṁ 
which-to women dear husband
śrīnām lokah mohodayah
them-to world (of) great happiness
Those women who love their husbands they have world of happiness.

57. BC 
yā evāṁ vetti hastāram
ca evāṁ manyahe hastam
ubhau tau na viṣṇiño
nā ayam hastanāh hastate.
Who believes him a slayer, 
Who thinks him slain, 
Both these understand not, 
He slays not, is not slain.

58. PT 1.9 
yasya yād vīhivarāya
Whom-to whom money (there) is
tasya tadā dīsāmin yanti
its then slave become
Whoever has money, they become its slave.

59. RA Ch. 26. 
kīm na tat kāranaṃ yena rāmāṁ
what indeed that reason that is which-by raham
Wahr indeed that reason is which-by Rama
dṛṣṭvā para kartārām rāgasyāpahātam bhāryām iṣṭam
brave ab duct 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 
Vivavāsataḥ bhāryāḥ khalu ca kriyavāya vadhūḥ
blessed indeed the Chakravaka bride
yah anyonya virahita na jivati
who from the other separated not lives
Blessed indeed the Chakravaka bride who can not live separated from its partner.

Extraposed Relative Clause.

61. MB 68. 39. 40 
sa bhāryāḥ ya gṛhe dākṣe
sa bhāryāḥ ya prajāvatt
sa bhāryāḥ ya pātīpārṇa
sa bhāryāḥ ya pātivratā
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 viśāhīya yāt pānām kīmāvatā
teach which knowing knowledge-of the self
nīdarsanam
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) Jā admi skīl me pādhā sa hari vā mere pita hai
Which man school in teaches that(then) my father is
Which man teaches in school that man in my father.

b) Vo admi mere pita hai jo skīl me pādhā hai
that man my father is who school-in teaches is

c) Vo hi hari mere pita jo skīl me pādhā hai.
He alone is my father who in school teaches

d) Vo admi jō skīl me pādhā hai, vo mere pita hai
that man who in school teaches, he my father is.

e) us biṭṭi ko han bāhū puṛā karte hai jo bāhū gayi
that can acc we very (much) love do is which ran away.

We very much love that cat which ran away.

g) vo bāli jō bāhū gayi, usko han bāhū puṛā karte hai
that cat which ran away, that acc him bāhū puṛā karte hai.

The above sentences (a), (b) and (c) have prenominal, extraposed, and postnominal RCs respectively. Sentence (d) is an example of a detached prenominal RC. My Hindi informants confirmed that sentences like (d) 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 Naskar, 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. In fact, 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 Rigvedic 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 Vedic 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 VO, 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, Gujarati, 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 (175) cite the following example from Sinhalese as a piece of evidence for their hypothesis.

64. mās Kāpu bālāvē jōn dakkā
meat ate dog jogs saw
jogs saw the most 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, Gujarati, Konkani, etc. have still both kinds of RCs. Hence, Lehmann's hypothesis is not valid.

Anderson (1962) 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 bīdāyali kunyutttraiva hudugananantu
I in the street dancing-ae-xre boy-III sg. mas acc
attikkindu bōde.
Chasing-aux went(I)
I went chasing the boy who was dancing in the street.

b) rānu yā hudugaru bīdāyali kunyßuddano
I which boy in the street dancing-ae-II sg. mas etc.
nu.
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 Pokhrel (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.

Pokhrel (1993) observes most grammatical systems categorize 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. Atten (1820). He categorised speakers in Nepali (य, र) into second person and the non-participants in a conversation (त्र, त्रिभिज्ञ) 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 (त्र, त्रिभिज्ञ) is defined as first person, the speaker (त्र, त्रिभिज्ञ) as second person and the speaker (य, र) as third person. This shows a clear difference in the perception of grammatical person in Atten 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Jumli dialect</th>
<th>Nepali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>यो, त्र</td>
<td>त्र, त्रिभिज्ञ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>त्रो, त्रु</td>
<td>त्र, त्रिभिज्ञ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>मू, हैहय</td>
<td>मू, हैहय</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looked at on the basis of pronounal 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 descripter 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 मुझे, तुझे, उन्हें, उन्हें, उन्हें 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Optative Forms</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>मैं</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>तुम्हारा</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>मैं / मैं</td>
<td>है / है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>तुम्हारा पादः / पादः</td>
<td>है / है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>उस्कैस् / उस्कैस्</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Non-past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>मैं / मैं</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>तुम्हारा</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
<td>है</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>मैं / मैं</th>
<th>तुम्हारा को</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A मूल</td>
<td>मूल</td>
<td>मूल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हामूल</td>
<td>हामूल</td>
<td>हामूल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B तो-को</td>
<td>तो-को</td>
<td>तो-को</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुम्हा</td>
<td>तुम्हा</td>
<td>तुम्हा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C तो</td>
<td>तो-को</td>
<td>तो-को</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
<td>उस्कैस्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The above table shows that the conjugation of "मे" also requires an insertion of "को" after the participant pronominals (मैं / मैं / मैं) resulting into "मैं / मैं / मैं". If the pronominal already has "को" in its form, it takes null (0) addition such as "माछा, हामूल, तुम्हारा" etc. Similarly the "को" insertion is not required for the "को" conjugation in case of honorifics of non-participant forms.

2.3.2 Participant Factor in the Use of "को" Conjugation

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

| 1. a) मात्र तो को कोक्सानाहि -- तो-को-कोक्सानाहि |
| 1. b) मात्र तो को कोक्सानाहि हामूल -- तो-को-कोक्सानाहि हामूल |
| 2. a) तोहु को को कोक्सानाहि -- तोहु को कोक्सानाहि तोहु को कोक्सानाहि |
| 3. a) मात्र तो को कोक्सानाहि मात्र तो को कोक्सानाहि |
| 3. b) मात्र तो को कोक्सानाहि मात्र तो को कोक्सानाहि |

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. सिंग्लर</th>
<th>पल्जर</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>मुख्यक्तिक्षेत्र / प्रशंसकक्षेत्र को</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>मुख्यक्तिक्षेत्र को</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>मुख्यक्तिक्षेत्र को</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This illustration reveals the gender marking in the third person (non-participant) singular verb forms only in मुख्यक्तिक्षेत्र / प्रशंसकक्षेत्र 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 intrasitive 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 | मैं भवानी त |
| b) Impersonal Voice | भवानी त |
| a) Active Voice | मैं भवानी त |
| b) Impersonal Voice | भवानी त |

* Indicates unacceptable forms.
The Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhangi Dialect

Bajhangi 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 Dadeldhura. 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 Bajhangi 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, Bajhangi dialect still unites the majority of the population.

Bajhangi 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.

Bajhangi dialect has been included in the category of Kendriya Nepali (Upadhyaya Regmi 2006) and a sub-dialect of Orasphalmi (Pokharel 2004). 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 Bajhangi 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 Bajhangi dialect. Unlike Nepali pluralization in Bajhangi dialect is mainly the outcome of phonological variation and the use of agglutinative 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 "hār" plural marker used in Nepali for pluralization. Bajhangi 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 morpheme implication for plurality is concerned. For example,

References


* Presented at LSN XIV Annual Conference, 26-27 Nov., 1993
** Associated with Campus of International Languages (CIL) TUL, Kathmandu.
Choretto (boy) Choretta (boy)
Mulyo (child) Mulya (children)
Cholo (horse) Chola (horses)

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

Choretta (girl-girls)
cheli (daughter-daughters)
bhaj (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. Bajhangi dialect reduces the extravagance of plural forms used in Nepali and very economically completes this business without any affixes.

For example,

bhaj aya (Brother slept)
bhaj a (Sister slept)

But there is an idiosyncratic plural marker used as to replace ‘haru’ suffix of Nepali and that is ‘mju’. It is worth mentioning here that ‘mju’ 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 (sone)
bhajkimau (sisters)

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

masta mju saha (Many people came)
Masta bahura mati (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 (I eat)
ha ma khanas (we eat)
tu kha non (You eat)
tu kha non (You eat)

The sound change here is from /o/ (for singular) to /a/ (for plural) and from /ha/ and /ya/ 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 nasal 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 nokes (It’s good)
yi nikes (They’re/these are good)
tyo nokes (That’s good)
ti nikes (They’re/those are good)

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

tyo mule (That girl)
ti mule (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 taua / tauri
unko unka / unki
tanko tanka / tanki
elko elka / elki
talko talka / talki

Pronouns have neither adverbial determinant preceding them nor suffixes used as plural agglutinators even those used with noun – for pluralization. It is exclusively a subject to phonemic or alogophonic 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 /i/ 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 / bali (strong)
kara - Kani / Kani (blind)
rambo - rambo / rambu (good, beautiful)
kanduto - kanda / kanduta (dead)
dublo - dubla / dublo (thin)
tanni - tanu / tanni (watery thin)
musinu - musuna / musini (smooth)
Phonemic changes followed by nasalization tend to work as plural determiners of adjective 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 (cute)
- alsi (dile)
- birami (sick)
- alki (false)
- s'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 /a/ to /ai/ in masculine gender and /a/ to /ai/ in feminine gender and the suffixes change from /u/ to /au/, /s'au/ to /s'au/ and /su/ to /s'au/. For example:

- mu khanos'au (I eat)
- hame khanas'au (We eat)
- tu khanos'au (You eat)
- tame khanos'au (Your eat)
- tu khanis'au (She eats)
- u khanis'au (He eats)
- u khanos'au (They eat)
- u khanas'au (They eat)
- tyo khanos'au (He eats)
- ti khanas'au/ khanis'au (They eat)

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

For example:

- mu khanain (I don't eat)
- hame khanain (We don't eat)
- tu khanain (You don't eat)
- tame khanain (You don't eat)
- u khanain (He doesn'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 Bajanghi dialect. Additional morphemes and suffixes deciding pluralization are redundant features.

References

Tibetan: A Non-tense Language

- Tseten Chonjor

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-thse 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, 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.

In fact, 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 'be' 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. I am vs was) and (2) of person (e.g. I am vs you are) vs (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.

---

** 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. Dha-\-ta  | Nga coffee thung gi yo – Now, I am drinking coffee.
3. Tsaam 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 conjunction '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 conjunction '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 ngay kangpaa yong gi re – John will come to / come to / used to come to my house.
2. Sang nyi  | John ngay kangpaa yong gi re – Tomorrow, John will come to my house.
3. Tsaam tsam la  | John ngay kangpaa yong gi re – Sometimes, John comes to my house.
4. Nyai-\-ma  | John ngay kangpaa yong gi re – Before, John used to come to my house.

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. Tomorrow, John will come to my house – *future*.

Thus, conjunction ‘gi re’ in the above sentence represents not only *future time* but is also represents *past time*.

**CHART 3: ADVERBS OF TIME**

1. x  | John chu-teshoe sumpaa lang pa re – John got up / gets up / used to get up at three o’clock.
2. Khai-sa  | John chu-teshoe sumpaa lang pa re – Yesterday, John got up at three o’clock.
3. Tsaam tsam la  | John chu-teshoe sumpaa lang pa re – Sometimes, John gets up at three o’clock.
4. Nyai-\-ma  | John chu-teshoe 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, conjunction ‘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 ditu sum nam shaa past time dbi de pa, present time (ditsu dba wa); future time (ditsu 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 over time 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 a scary and unpleasant thing. 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, Atchison and Gall, 1987, identified clinical supervision as a model that is "interactive, 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. Gais and Bowers (1990), refer to clinical supervision as "an ongoing 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 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 strengths 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 techniques 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


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

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 viewpoint 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 tasks 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.

1. Preliminary clarifications

1. Voice

Where the student is unsure of the source of his/her assertions, the strategy he/she uses is to adopt 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 even-handedly. 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 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 re-formulate 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 employs 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 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.
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. Ballabh Mani Dalal
Dr. Ramawatar Yadav
Dr. Shashir Kumar Shresta
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. Ballabh Mani Dalal, Member
Dr. Ramawatar Yadav, Member
Dr. Shashir Kumar Shresta, 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. Yogeshwar Prasad Verma, Election Commissioner
Dr. Ramoshwar Adhikari, 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. Shashir Kumar Shresta, Joint Secretary

References

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 Shapit, Joint Secretary
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. Nirmal Prasad Adhikary, Editor
Mr. Kashi Nath Tamot, Member
Mr. Madhav P. Pokhrel, Member
The Publication Committee
Dr. Abhi Subedi, Chief Editor
Dr. Shreedhar Prasad Lohani, Editor
Lt. Gen. J.P. Cross, Editor
Ms. K.B. Gurung, Editor
Mr. Hemanga Adhikari, Editor

The Third Executive Committee: 1982-1983
Prof. Chudamani Bandhu, President
Dr. Bidya Ratna Bejrajacharya, Vice-President
Dr. Abhi Subedi, Secretary
Dr. Shakti Basnyat, Treasurer
Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, Joint Secretary
Dr. Ballabh 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 Fifth Executive Committee: 1988-1989
Dr. Ramavatwara Yadav, President
Ms. Geeta K.C., Vice-President
Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, Secretary-Treasurer
Ms. Suprabha Ghimire, Joint Secretary
Dr. Nirmal Prasad Adhikary, Member
Mr. Mahesh B. 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. Nirmal Prasad Adhikary, Vice-President
Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Secretary-Treasurer
Mr. Jai Rai Awasthi, Joint Secretary
Mr. Hriseeesh Upadhyay, Joint Secretary
Dr. Shree Krishna Yadav, Member
Mr. Bed Prasad Giri, Member
Mr. Manfred Treu, Member
RESEARCH NOTES:

The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-wide Bilingualism

- Bryan Varentz

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 and fielding in Nepal. The results from the development of the NSRT prove that it is a dependable tool for assessing bilingualism in Nepal. 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 proficiency in the areas of accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension. The SRT scores are correlated with the RPE. The high-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of ability in the second-language.

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

Scattergram of correlation between Nepali SRT scores and RPE ratings.

---

** Campus of International Languages, Tribhuvan University.
Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RPE LEVELS</th>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>BELOW LEVEL 2 N=126</th>
<th>LEVELS 3 &amp; ABOVE N=28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AVERAGE</td>
<td>36.5 YEARS</td>
<td>22.9 YEARS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEX</td>
<td>66% MALES</td>
<td>14% FEMALES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>93% UNEDUCATED</td>
<td>10% UNEDUCATED 79% PRIMARY ED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAVEL</td>
<td>10% LIVED OUTSIDE</td>
<td>29% LIVED OUTSIDE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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

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.

NPE participants scored slightly better than non-participants on both the pre and post test, but the difference is minimal and not statistically significant. Both groups scored almost identically on pre and post tests.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>SRT Average</th>
<th>RPE level</th>
<th>Simple Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gurung</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Primary</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakali</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Primary</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magar</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Primary</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghale &amp; Bhotia</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Primary</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

NPE participants scored slightly better than non-participants on both the pre and post test, but the difference is minimal and not statistically significant. Both groups scored almost identically on pre and post tests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NFE PARTICIPANT (N=17)</th>
<th>SRT 1 AVERAGE (PRE NFE)</th>
<th>SRT 2 AVERAGE (POST NFE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMUNITY</th>
<th>LITERATE?</th>
<th>SRT AVERAGE</th>
<th>SIGNIFICANT?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH GORKHA</td>
<td>YES (N=10)</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>YES (z&lt;0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO (N=53)</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GURUNG</td>
<td>YES (N=29)</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>YES (z&lt;0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO (N=10)</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THAKALI</td>
<td>YES (N=11)</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>NO (z&lt;0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO (N=23)</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 schoolchildren 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-Chettri communities in Nepal. Yet how many members of this elite group 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 Gorkha. 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 Matihali 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, Gorkha - only later renamed Nepal - 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 multi-party 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 "loser-parents!"


References

Shrestha, B.G. (1993) Lok Sevayam Janmay Nepal Madyama Likayama (Nepali must not be made the medium in Civil Service Exam.) Vishamani 4:162
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. Besie Devi Chhatri - Joint Secretary
6. Ms. Usha Adhikari - Member
7. Mr. Keshav Gautam - Member
8. Mr. Bijay Kumar Rauniar - 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. Amardha 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 appeared 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.

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 academics 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. Ramawat 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 Yamnaya Raï
4. Amma Raj Joshi: Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bihang Dialect

Session II: Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching
Chair: Prof. Sunil Kumar Jha
1. Wayne Amzie: Procedure, Context, Theme, and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students
2. Phani Prasad Upadhaya: The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level
3. Hemant Raj Dahal: An Overview of E.T Course at M.A. English
Session III: Sociolinguistics and Language Planning

Chair: Prof. Kamal P. Malla

1. Jeff Webster: Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal
3. Ramawat Yadv: The Use of the Mother Tongue in Primary Education: The Nepalese Context
5. Gopal Shrestha and Bert van der Hoo: 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
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. Anrit Yojan 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 17, 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 6, 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 concerned 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 79-74, 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!
Name List of Ordinary Members (LSN)
1. Mr. Prakash A. Raj
2. Mr. Krishna Bahadur Thapa
3. Mr. Ramesh K. Bajracharya
4. Mr. Baj Gopal Shrestha
5. Mr. Binod Luitel
6. Mr. Sharad Chandra Thakur
7. Mr. Uttam Prasad Pant
8. Mr. Ti Bilkram Nembang
9. Mr. Kashish 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. Uma Adhikari
16. Mr. Bishal Bhattarai
17. Mr. Mukunda D. Shrestha
18. Mr. Bhusn Raj Shiwakoti
19. Ms. Meena Bajracharya
20. Prof. Dr. Surel Kumar Jha
21. Mr. Mukunda D. Shrestha
22. Mr. Laxmi Dev Awasthi
23. Mr. Yuvraj Brahman
24. Mr. Raja Murundhar
25. Mr. Limley Dhoodup
26. Mr. Mangal Jha
27. Mr. Phanindra K. Upadhya
28. Ms. Raj Lakshmi Thimma
29. Ms. Gajab Kumari Timsina
30. Ms. Betsi Devi Chhetri
31. Ms. Sulechana Dhital
32. Mr. Ramesh Shrestha
33. Mr. Anuradha Yongon Tamang
34. Mr. Ganga Prasad Upadhyay
35. Mr. Simon Gautam
36. Mr. Tej Man Subba
37. Tanka Prasad Rai

Name List of International Participants
1. Mr. David Potter
2. Ms. Mary Jo O'Toole
3. Mr. Calvin Rensh
4. Mr. GJ Hao Sue
5. Ms. Ellen Bath
6. Mr. Larry L. Seaward
7. Mr. Bert Van Den Hove
8. Mr. Roland L. Rutgers
9. Ms. Brigitte Merz
10. Mr. Toshio Soma
11. Mr. George Van Driem
12. Mr. Wayne Amiz
13. Mr. Stephan Bartram
14. Ms. Cathy Bartram
15. Mr. Braylan Varekamp
16. Mr. Warren Glover
17. Mr. Jeff Webster
18. Mr. Manfred Trew

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 Upadhay
   Secretary / Treasurer
4. Dr. Ram Bikram Sijapati
   Joint Secretary
5. Ms. Betsi 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relative Clauses in Sanskrit</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical Person in the Jumli Dialect</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhangi Dialect</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan: A Non-tense Language</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure, Context, Theme and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic Society of Nepal: A Brief History</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Research Notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-wide Bilingualism</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education In the Mother Tongue: The Case of Newari</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSN Newsletter 1993-94</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>