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Notes for an editorial

In the true spirit of the Spring season, the present edition of RABSEL is a garland woven of some of the finest flowes growing in our educational garden. A fascinating study on teacher attitudes done by Mr Sangay Jamtsho highlights the critical relationship between the mental climate of the educators and the quality of their performance.

Mr. Needrup Zangpo of the Centre traveled to some of the remotest corners of our country and made some insightful observations on the way the arrival of modern education has touched the lives of our rural communities.

Word Recognition Skills is an interesting look that Mrs. Tshering Wangmo takes at the way small children go about making sense of the mystery of sound and their myriad manifestations. Planning Career Lessons comes from the real-life experiences of a teacher as Mr. Pradeep Kumar explains the whys and the hows of approaching the important area of career education.

Strategies for Teaching Physics by Mr Meghraj Tamang contains some wonderful ideas to bring life to the teaching of learning of an important branch of science. A modest study on Profile of High School English Teachers of Bhutan by Mr Balamurugan and T S Powdyel reveals some interesting statistics.

In the portrait of an institute this time, Mr Dorji Thinley presents a wonderful account of the evolution and development of the National Institute of Education at Samtse. Finally, we have Mr Pema Wangdi's insightful research into the nominals and numbers of Sharchokpa-lo.

In the ceaseless journey called education and learning, it is often difficult to find neat and final answers to our questions. What appears in the garb of the ultimate today is often dislodged as only the tentative tomorrow. And that is the novelty of education: there is no end to learning.

We become uneducated each day, otherwise. The contributors to RABSEL give us opportunities to look at issues afresh and enable us to continue growing. Let it be your turn next.

Thakur S Powdyel

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ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN BHUTAN

By Sangay Jamtsho National Institute of Education, Samtse.

Background

Teacher qualities and characteristics have been a subject of research for a long time (Anderson & Burns, 1989). Stern and Keislar (1977) attest that "across the multitude of studies on teacher characteristics and effects, it has become almost axiomatic that the teacher has the most potent impact on the educational process in the classroom" (p. 64). On the other hand, Schuell (1996) points out that there is a tendency to think of teacher effects only in terms of cognitive factors, and ignore non-cognitive factors such as attitudes, emotions, and social relationships. This focus on cognitive factors resulted in there being very little information about teacher attitudes and their effects on learning.

This paper is an attempt to understand the attitude of teachers in junior high schools in Bhutan. Junior high school teachers in Bhutan comprise an unusually diverse group in that there are both trained and untrained teachers varying in the level and duration of their training; some are highly qualified in the subject areas they teach and others arguably under-qualified, and often come from different cultural backgrounds, not always akin to that of their students. They also vary widely in their teaching experiences.

The abridged version of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI-60), reported by Bell (1977), and Yee and Fruchter (1971), was used to measure the teachers' attitudes. The inventory consists of five factors: attitude towards 'children's irresponsible tendencies and lack of self-discipline', 'conflict between teacher's and pupils' interests', 'rigidity and severity in handling pupils', 'pupil's independence in learning', and 'pupil's acquiescence to the teacher'.

Literature Review What are attitudes?

Attitudes are defined as predispositions to react in a certain way to an object or experience. They are learned and they influence our actions (Alcock, Carment & Sadava, 1998). Attitudes are viewed to consist of the three components: affect, cognition, and behaviour. Attitudes consist of evaluative dimensions based on the three components in combination or on their own (Zanna & Remple, 1986). The affective component consists of physiological reactions and verbal statements of feelings; cognitive evaluations can be perceptual responses or verbal statements of beliefs; and overt actions and verbal reports of behaviour represent the behavioural component. It is, however, important to remember that attitude is a hypothetical construct. One can only infer the existence of an attitude from what people say or do. In this paper, teacher attitudes are defined as teachers' predispositions to respond or react in their interpersonal relationships, particularly in interacting with their pupils. **Can we attribute behaviour to attitudes?**

Earlier studies failed to prove that behaviour can be attributed to underlying attitudes. One such study was conducted by Bickman (1972) who found that only 2% bothered to pick up litter planted by the researcher although 94% of the 500 subjects when asked said that they felt personally responsible for the disposal of litter. Weigel and Newman (1976) believed that the study failed because too much reliance was placed on a single behaviour. They set out to study the relationship by requiring subjects to fill out questionnaires measuring their attitudes towards various aspects of pollution and conservation. Soon after that, participants were approached to participate in several environment related actions like petitioning, litter pick-up and recycling programmes. It was found that while correlations between attitudes and single behaviours averaged .29, when combined, the correlation was .62 indicating a clear relationship.

In his meta-analysis of several attitude-behaviour studies, Krauss (1995) concluded that there is a substantial relationship between attitudes and behaviour. It is, however, important to note that behaviour is influenced by much more than a specific attitude, and that a variety of personal and situational factors increase or decrease the predictability of behaviour on the basis of attitudes (Wicker, 1969). For example, someone holding an unpopular attitude may feel too ashamed to act on it in public; or, people may have attitudes about the negative environmental effects of extensive logging but may also fear losing their jobs in that industry.

How do teacher attitudes impact upon their students?

Stern and Keislar (1977) concluded from their review of research literature that "teacher attitudes *do* make a difference in the teaching-learning process" (p. 74). Zimbardo and Leippe (1991) contend that influences also occur at a level below our conscious awareness. According to them, normally people are conscious of only a small portion of the incoming stimulation on which they focus their attention; and they are mentally equipped to respond to a stimulus with feelings and preferences before they consciously think about it. Students remain exposed to teacher talk and actions for hours over a long period of time. Teacher attitudes perhaps impact their students in more ways than they may be aware of. For instance, Babad (1993) found that teachers were generally unaware of the negative affective messages that they provide students while students were often aware of such communication. Teacher expectation effects, a widely researched area of teacher effects in classroom, exemplifies this. Brophy and Good (1970, cited in Good & Brophy, 2000) propose the following model in summary:

- 1. Early in the year, the teacher forms differential expectations for student behaviour and achievement.
- 2. Consistent with these differential expectations, the teacher behaves differently toward different students.
- 3. This treatment tells students something about how they are expected to behave in the classroom and perform on academic tasks.
- 4. If the teacher's treatment is consistent over time, and if students do not actively resist or change it, it will likely affect their self-concepts, achievement motivation, levels of aspiration, classroom conduct, and interactions with the teacher.

- 5. These effects generally will complement and reinforce the teacher's expectations, so that students will come to conform to these expectations more than they might have otherwise.
- 6. Ultimately, this will affect student achievement and other outcome measures. High-expectation students will be led to achieve at or near their potential, but lowexpectation students will not gain as much as they could have gained if taught differently. (p. 79)

Thus, teacher attitudes and expectations about students can lead teachers to treat students differently to the extent of producing what they term as "self-fulfilling prophecy effects."

Ramsay and Ransley (1986) also provide some evidence that teacher attitudes bear a strong relationship with teaching behaviours that shape individual teaching styles. They found significant differences in student achievement when taught by teachers with differing styles. Noad (1979) reported a relationship between teacher attitudes and students' ratings of their teaching performance. In a study of personality characteristics of innovative physics teachers, Walberg and Welch (1967) found that a warm and positive teaching attitude significantly correlated with teachers' knowledge of the subject. These studies together provide evidence that teacher attitudes do exert an influence on students and their school life and outcome. This point is succinctly put forward by Smith, Neisworth and Greer (1978):

Of all the factors that contribute to the social environment in which children are educated, the teacher is by far the most decisive. The teacher's attitude toward children and education determines to a very real degree how children perceive school, themselves, and each other -- and how much progress they actually make. Teachers can make learning pleasant or punishing; they can create motivation or fear; they can produce excited anticipation or dread. A teacher's personal style and approach, more than anything else, create the climate and mood which will characterize the classroom. (p. 84)

Good and Brophy (2000) corroborate this when they stress that students develop inferences and beliefs about what teachers think of and expect from them from the ways in which teachers deal with them.

Measuring attitudes

Richardson (1996) notes that research on teacher attitudes has been limited due to a shift in the research paradigm as the disciplines of social psychology and educational psychology became more cognitively oriented. Consequently, the methods employed in the measurement of attitude in teaching underwent a considerable degree of change. The earlier large-scale measurements using inventories and multiple-choice surveys focussing on predictive understanding of attitude and behaviour became less used. In more recent times, the focus shifted to the use of qualitative methods such as observations, interviews, journals and portfolios to understand how teachers make sense of the classroom, emphasizing cognitive and behavioural aspects. However, the MTAI has been frequently used over the years since its publication in 1951. Numerous studies on it have also resulted in several short forms claiming equal reliability and validity (Wong, 1992). Cook, Leeds and Callis (1951), the authors of MTAI contend that

the attitudes of a teacher are the result of the interaction of a multitude of factors like academic and social intelligence, general knowledge and abilities, social skills, personality traits, energy, values, and techniques and, therefore, "attitudes afford a key to the prediction of the type of social atmosphere a teacher will maintain in the classroom" (p. 4). They conceptualize teacher attitudes on a continuum with a teacher ranking at the high end of the scale assumed to maintain a state of harmonious relations with pupils characterized by mutual affection and understanding, while the other extreme end represents the teacher who attempts to dominate the class creating an atmosphere of tension, fear and submission.

Research Methodology

The research sample for this study consisted of 31 grade seven teachers. The data was collected in 2001. Stratified random sampling was used to make samples representative of the four regions of Bhutan and the types of school location (i.e. urban, rural, or remote). The sample also consisted of teachers teaching various school subjects excepting Dzongkha, which had to be left out due to problems with instrumentation.

The abridged Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI-60) was used to collect the data for the study. The sixty-item abridged version of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI-60) was used to assess the teachers' attitudes. It is a perceptual measure that has been widely used and found to be valid and reliable (Bell, 1977). Using the shorter version of MTAI had a significant advantage for this study. It allowed the study to be conducted with a representative sample of the population under study in a relatively short period of time. Using the original version of MTAI, which consists of 150 items, would have overburdened the participants given the time constraints under which they work. Besides, shorter versions of MTAI have been consistently found to be as reliable (Wong, 1992). The MTAI-60 was also chosen because it had the advantage of being tested on both pre-service and in-service teachers.

Yee and Fruchter (1971) found that the 60 items in the MTAI provided the same information as the existing 150 items. They also found the MTAI to be consisting of five factors as opposed to the original uni-dimensionality of the MTAI. Bell (1977) compared the 60-item MTAI to the 150-item MTAI. Correlations computed between scores on the two forms for 675 undergraduate elementary, secondary, and all levels of education majors yielded coefficients of .96, .97, and .96 respectively. He also reported the correlations between 60 items and the remaining 90 items of the MTAI to be .88, .99, and .88 providing a basis for using the shorter form.

The MTAI-60 consists of statements that the respondents were required to answer on a five-point rating scale of 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' (scored -2, -1, 0, +1,+2). The MTAI-60 consists of 60 multiple-choice items categorized into five factors by Yee and Fruchter (1971). The total scores will range from a least favourable response of -120 to the most favourable response of +120. Individual factors, however, consist of unequal number of items. Therefore the maximum and minimum scores on individual factors will depend on the number of items in them.

Factor I consists of twenty statements related to teachers' attitudes towards classroom freedom and is titled "Children's irresponsible tendencies and lack of self-discipline".

Disagreement with Factor I items would imply a permissive, accepting, warm, sympathetic, supportive attitude toward children while extreme agreement would imply strict conformity to authority with the view that children are inherently untrustworthy and must be coerced and disciplined. It consists of items such as: 'Discipline in modern school is not as strict as it should be'; 'Children are not mature enough to make their own decisions'; 'Too many children nowadays are allowed to have their own way' etc.

Factor II named "Conflict between teacher's and pupils' interests," consists of 15 statements. Agreements with Factor II items suggests a fundamental disrespect for children's natural behaviour and thinking and a desire to subordinate pupil interest and inclinations to a strict subject-centred curriculum and authoritarian teacher expectations. In disagreeing with Factor II items, teachers would reflect more modern instructional views that hold pupils' interests, motivation, and open interaction with teachers basic to effective teaching-learning strategies (p. 125). It includes items like: 'Children have no business asking questions about sex'; 'It isn't practicable to base school work upon children's interest'; 'One should not expect pupils to enjoy school'.

Factor III has 12 items concerned with discipline; and is called "Rigidity and severity in handling pupils." It deals with the manner in which teachers address obedience and acquiescence. Agreement with items in this factor implies a punitive intolerance on the part of the teacher with respect to issues related to disobedience or non-acquiescence; while disagreement would imply a permissive tolerance of misbehaviour. Some example items are: 'The first lesson a child needs to learn is to obey the teacher without hesitation'; 'the child who misbehaves should be made to feel guilty and ashamed of himself'; 'A pupil found writing obscene notes should be severely punished'.

Factor IV comprising of seven statements describes an attitude that concerns facilitating pupils' interests and achievement; and strong agreement with the items imply greater pupil freedom and self-direction which extends from and is facilitated by teacher involvement and help. Disagreement with items may suggest a high degree of controlling attitude. Factor IV is titled "Pupils' independence in learning". Some example items are: 'There is too great an emphasis upon "keeping order" in the classroom'; 'There is too much emphasis on grading'; 'Children should be given more freedom in the classroom than they usually get'.

Factor V deals with student cooperativeness and Yee and Fruchter (1971) named it "Pupil's acquiescence to the teacher." It comprises of six statements. "Agreement with Factor V items might indicate teachers' beliefs that most children desire their teacher's favour and intend to help and comply" (p. 128) Some of the items were: 'Most children are obedient'; 'Most pupils are considerate of their teachers'; 'Keeping discipline is not the problem that many teachers claim it to be.'

In addition to the MTAI, a questionnaire to collect demographic information such as gender, age, experience, qualifications etc. was also included.

Results

Typically, a grade seven teacher held a minimum academic qualification of grade twelve (87.1%) with a B Ed degree in most cases (66.7%), while the remaining either held diplomas or certificates in teaching, mostly that of elementary school teaching. Close to a third (71%) of the participants were older than 30 years of age. Where teaching experience was concerned, 16.1 % had less than two years' teaching experience, while 64.5% had taught for more than five years. More than half of these teachers (64.5%) were also teaching in classes of 35 students or more. Most of them (61.3%) also reported teaching more than 30 periods of 35-40 minutes a week.

The MTAI-60 was used to measure the teachers' attitudes. The range and mean scores on the teachers' attitudes are presented in Table 1 below. Cronbach's coefficient alpha reliability for this study is as follows (N=31): Factor I (.78), Factor II (.65), Factor III (.80), Factor IV (.59), and Factor V (.58).

	Min.	Max.	Λ <i>Λ</i>	SD	
			101	02	
Factor- I	_24.00	14.00	-7.77	8.41	
Factor- II	-13.00	13.00	2.45	6.22	
Factor- III	-22.00	10.00	-7.26	7.99	
Factor- IV	-7.00	7.00	.84	3.21	
Factor- V	-6.00	3.00	-2.58	2.06	
Total Score	-40.00	28.00	-14.32	18.84	

Table 1: Teacher attitude scores on the five Factors of MTAI-60 (N=31)

The mean score for teacher attitude was -14.32 (SD = 18.84), with the maximum score of 28, and a minimum of - 40. If the attitudes are considered on the two dimensions of authoritarian and democratic attitudes as was suggested by Cook et al. (1951), the attitude scores tend to be indicative of a lesser degree of openness in the teachers' attitudes, while also observing wide variations in their attitude scores. This is strongly evident from the negative mean scores on Factors I, III, and V.

Negative scores on these three factors suggests a classroom discipline that implies strict conformity and a view that children are irresponsible and need to be coerced and disciplined. Factor I deals with the teachers' attitudes with respect to classroom freedom and children's sense of responsibility and self-discipline. The negative mean score on this factor implies that teachers tend to view children to be irresponsible and lacking in self-discipline and believe in imposing strict conformity to authority.

Factor III measures the teachers' attitude in handling pupils and discipline and hence the negative score implies a punitive intolerance of disobedience or misbehaviour. Negative mean scores on Factor V imply teacher attitudes that reflect compliance. The low mean score on Factor IV is suggestive of the teachers' tendency to view their learners as uncooperative and reflects a controlling attitude. On the other hand, the more positive Factor II score is an indication of a more modern instructional view that upholds learner interest and open interaction rather than authoritarian teacher expectations. Overall, teacher attitudes tend to be authoritarian while there is also some indication of openness to modern instructional views. It is, however, very important to note the comparatively wide range and variability of the scores, particularly those of Factors I and III.

One way of using ANOVA to ascertain differences in attitudes (Factors I-V) due to age, gender, professional or academic qualifications, teaching experiences, workload, and class-size did not result in any significant differences, except in the case of where there was a match between the teachers' qualifications and the subject being taught. Teachers teaching the subject in which they are qualified inclined more toward strict conformity to authority (Factor I) than those who did not have accredited academic qualifications to teach the subject (F(1,29) = 4.394, p<.05). The mean for the unmatched group was -4.00 while that for the matched group was -10.16.

Discussion

The attitudes of the teachers in this study indicate a more authoritarian and teachercentred approach. This is somewhat consistent with the cultural or societal expectations of a teacher in Bhutan. Teachers are traditionally viewed to be disciplinekeepers and knowledge-providers in control of their classes.

There is a strong indication that teachers in junior high schools in Bhutan view coercion and discipline in the classroom as very important. Negative mean scores on Factors I and III suggest this. They imply strict conformity to authority and punitive intolerance with respect to issues related to disobedience or non-acquiescence. Despite the emphasis on a learner-centred approach in both pre-service and in-service teacher education within the last fifteen years or so, it appears that the socio-cultural expectations of a teacher discussed earlier still hold sway over classroom practices. Besides, teacher attitudes or classroom discipline emphasizing conformity and punitive intolerance may be perceived as an efficient way to deal with student misbehaviour given the increasing teacher workload and class size in the face of limited resources.

It may be worthwhile to note here that Jakubowski and Tobin (1991), in their study report teachers with orientations toward controlling and managing the environment are typified by students who expect the teacher to teach them facts and procedures from textbooks to be memorized. They also report that teachers who saw their roles as facilitators and learning as meaning-making with emphasis on learners taking active responsibility in their own learning resulted in students taking more active and dynamic roles in their learning.

Teachers who taught subjects in which they were qualified held attitudes implying stricter conformity to authority, compared to those who did not have an accredited qualification in the subjects they taught. They were mostly those who had the required academic qualifications but only had teacher training programme of one year or less, or none at all. It does seem possible that longer periods of professional training may be related to a less authoritarian teacher attitude that is warm, accepting, and respectful of student needs and interests. Stern and Keislar (1977) assert that short programmes do not yield changes in attitudes. However, they believe that it is possible to alter teacher attitudes although some are believed to be more resistant than others.

The mean score for teacher attitude on Factor II was positive. This reflects a more modern instructional view that regards learners' interest and open interaction as basic to teaching-learning strategies. It is likely that this is a result of the numerous short in-service programmes and curriculum changes that followed the introduction of the New Approach to Primary Education (NAPE) in the mid-eighties. Coexistence of a highly traditional, authoritarian and controlling attitude with one reflecting modern instructional views can perhaps only be explained in the light of rapid changes in the instructional approach and the curriculum beginning mid-eighties.

While teachers remain rooted in the traditional attitudes, the Education Department's move to change through short programmes and curricular changes is also felt. It is indicative of a picture of a system straddling both the old and the new in a dilemma, perhaps lacking enough support in the transition. The mean score for Factor IV (.84) is also illustrative of such a dilemma. It represents a middle ground between greater student independence in learning and high teacher control.

Given that teacher attitudes do make a difference, it raises the issues of whether teacher attitudes can be changed or if they should be changed. Teacher attitudes represent a lifetime's history of learning and experience shaped by one's personality, environment and culture. It is rather obvious that any attempt to change attitudes may be met with resistance and cannot be accomplished within a short period of time. Stern and Keislar (1977) believe that given an accepting environment with enough time and opportunities for personal involvement and exploration, responsibility with commensurate authority, modelling, adequate support, and appropriate incentives, attitude change can be brought about. This will be no easy task. But it will be rather imperative to consider teacher attitudes as a part of any educational change process.

* * *

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EDUCATION'S ODYSSEY ACROSS THE REMOTE BACKWATERS

by Needrup Zangpo Assistant Researcher, CERD.

Introduction

It has been many years, several decades in fact, since the remotest parts of Bhutan saw the light of modern education. It is indeed gratifying to see that the royal government of Bhutan had taken a noble and farsighted initiative to establish schools among the far-flung communities in the rural backwaters as early as the 1960's. Many of the remote schools around the country are, therefore, as old as, if not older than, those in the urban areas. They are also as old as the beginning of planned economic development in the kingdom.

Many decades on, Bhutan has witnessed an unprecedented level of economic development. Modern education now has a strong bearing on the social and cultural lives of most Bhutanese. Education has, in short, transformed the face of the Bhutanese society. The impact of education on our society is, therefore, huge and real.

The impact of education, though, could not have been equal in degree and pace across the broad spectrum of our society. For instance, in remote areas, it is not as great or as express as in the urban areas. One can count some obvious reasons to this.

Which begs a host of compelling questions and issues. How have the remote communities around the country responded to the arrival of modern education amidst them? What have been the degree and the pace of the impact of education? What are the motivations and forces that spurred the impact and what have been the impediments and stumbling blocks that impeded it? These are some of the questions, among others, which need to be answered.

These questions will open up some of the issues pertinent to the system, but are perhaps lost in the sea of geographical remoteness. These questions will also open up new avenues for further research into this field and into the other aspects in the system.

It is to this end that the Centre for Educational Research and Development carried out a modest education impact study in some of the remote schools and communities in Trashigang Dzongkhag.

The schools which were visited are: Sakteng Primary School, Merak Primary School, Thongrong Community Primary School, Phegpari Community Primary School, and Kangpar Primary School. Besides these schools, I was also able to meet and talk with the head teacher, teacher and students of Phongmey Lower Secondary School and the head teacher of Joenkhar Community Primary School.

While in these schools, I talked and interacted with teachers and students and the people of the communities. Although it is very hard to glean information from the

humble people who know that their tryst with education has transformed their lives but cannot express the changes they witnessed, I was able to gauge some degree of impact they received.

The Road Travelled and the Distance Ahead

April 9, 2004. I halted at Trashigang town. At my friend's house, I came across three elderly men from Thongrong village under Phongmey *gewog*. They were intently discussing something. They looked concerned at the prospect of the loss of something precious to their community. One said, 'This should not be.' Another joined, 'Indeed.' The other added, 'This should not be. Once it is opened in the interest of the poor people of our village, it should remain for good.' They were discussing the possibility of the non-formal education centre in their village being closed.

The NFE centre has been in the village for some time now. There has been no dearth of learners. But, as the initial zeal of the people diminished, the number of learners declined and finally ebbed away. A letter from the *gup* stating the possibility of the closure of the Centre reached the head teacher of the community school who is in charge of the Centre. This sent a wave of concern across the village.

Back at Thongrong, most of the people too are of the view that they need the NFE centre in their village. 'Why?' I asked. 'Because education is very important,' they replied.

'Then, why don't you join the Centre and learn?' I was tempted to ask.

'We will join the Centre -'

'I mean, why haven't you joined it already?'

'Because, for poor farmers like us, it is hard to find time to learn. But please do arrange to keep it running.'

Everybody seemed to be worried, but not everybody indeed. The people of Breng, a hamlet two hours walk from Thongrong, think that the NFE centre is important only for those who learn at it. Sangay Karchung, for instance, bluntly declares that he, a poor farmer, has little need of education.

A host of mixed responses to education.

By and large, the people's response to education at Thongrong has been less than satisfactory. Thongrong Community Primary School has seen little increase in the rate of student enrolment over the past decade. When the school was established in 1991, it had a total of 41 students. Now, even after fourteen long years, the number has increased to only seventy-five, which is a mere two percent increase per year.

The dropout rate in the school is not encouraging either. Parents would rather have their school children work on the farmland and look after cattle than continue their education which they (children) 'cannot do'.

As one travels from Phongmey to Joenkhar, one finds a big difference in the impact of education the two communities, which are barely half a day's walking distance from each other, have felt. The people of Phongmey are more aware of the importance of education than the people of Joenkhar. While the head teacher of Phongmey Lower Secondary School says that he is overwhelmed by an influx of underage children each year when the school reopens, the head teacher of Joenkhar Community Primary School finds himself occasionally inundated by the gift of *araa* from parents with requests to relieve their children from school. This apparently speaks volumes about the level of the impact the communities have experienced. The degree of impact of education can be judged by the kind of response people elicit to the call of education.

The people of Joenkhar may have experienced far less impact of education compared with the people of Phongmey, but the pace of change for them has been drastic. When the school came in 1999, the people, the story goes, used to literally run away from education. Mr Pema Tshering recalls that when he came to the school as its first head teacher, the people would run away from his sight, perhaps in fear of their children being 'conscripted' into school. Now, barely six years on, the people, he says, have emerged much better.

Sakteng's tryst with education was not easy either. The *gewog* literally shunned education and destroyed the window of opportunity- the window to the outside world-when the community school first came there in the early 1960's (?). There is an interesting story about this. When the school was first set up, the government managed to coax some parents into sending their children to school. But the school was without students after some time for the parents regretted their decision to send their children to school. The next time the head teacher got back the students, he held them back at school. He locked them up in a room overnight. The school ran out of students the next morning though. The parents had sawn down the window of the window, the children. And the school had to be closed down. Virtually the same thing had happened in Merak and the school there too could not survive.

Education came back to Sakteng and Merak many years later in 1987. For that year, Sakteng school could mobilize a total of 135 students and Merak school 88 students. Again, the very next year, the parents all bemoaned their admitting their children to school. The enrolment in Sakteng school dropped to 5 students and in Merak school, only 3 students reported back to school. The survival of education was threatened. But the time for days of light had come and light eventually prevailed.

Today, seventeen years on, Sakteng Primary School and Merak Primary School have 186 and 75 students respectively. Today, Trashi from Merak wants all of his three children educated even at the expense of his cattle and yaks. Today, Sangay Khando, an alumnus of Merak Primary School has become the *gup* of Merak gewog after finishing his pre-university courses and two other alumni of the same school have come back to their alma mater as teachers. Today, many alumni of the schools have gone for professional training abroad and a few have graduated from Sherubtse College. Today, Trashi Wangdi, 23, who missed the formal schooling, learns Dzongkha at the Merak NFE centre and wishes to become a village health worker after completing his post literacy courses. Today, a man at Sakteng is nicknamed Chathrim for his good understanding and awareness of the laws of the country. Today, Zangmo, an illiterate herder, while tending her yaks sings a modern Bhutanese song, *druk gi gyel khab chhung ku nang* taught to her by her younger sister who studies in Class V. And today, many such changes have taken place and are taking place. In the communities of Merak and Sakteng, the impact of education is great and express. Many people are more or less aware of the plans and policies of the government. Many people are Dzongkha-literate. Still many are able to clearly define the priorities of their own and those of the government.

For these two communities, the pace of changes has been steady but not fast. There are numerous reasons for this. From now on, changes are definitely going to gain great momentum. Many young people, parents and potential parents, have a broader outlook than their parents. From the data I collected, I found out that a large majority of the new generation of parents send every child of theirs to school as opposed to their parents who either did not send any of their children or only a few of them to school.

For all that the communities of Merak and Sakteng manifest a substantial influence of education, there are a lot of views and opinions and ideas which are reminiscent of the 1960's traditional mindset. Quite a few people think that education is literally useless in the life of a herder. 'For us, what does education help?' They chuckle in amusement as if the mention of the relevance of education to a herder's life is utterly foolish. Leki Pem from Sakteng maintains that education is important, but does not know which class her little daughter Rinchhen is studying in. So is the case with Sang Lobzang from Merak. He talks with pride of his two little children who go to school. But he too does not know in which classes his children are learning. And there are many such cases.

One evening, when the head teacher of Sakteng Primary School and I were discussing an issue over a cup of tea, an elderly woman came in with her little daughter and a young girl. She, Yeshi, wishes the two girls to be enrolled as NFE learners. Her daughter is a little girl young enough to be a pre-primary student. So I asked her, 'Why don't you want your daughter to go to school? After all, she is still young enough to go to school.'

'No, I don't want her to go to school,' she bypassed my question.

'Why?' I asked, again.

'No, I want her to be an NFE learner,' she evaded my question, again.

'Why do you want your child to be an NFE learner and not a school student?' I asked her - this time, more emphatically.

'No, I don't want to send her to school,' she reiterated.

Then, I gave up the idea of drawing from her the reason for her particularly wanting her daughter to be an NFE learner. Instead, I tried to explain to her the reason why she must prefer formal schooling to non-formal education for a young child like hers. In the end though, she was the same Yeshi!

'Please, do me this favour, this once. Let her be an NFE learner,' she pleaded with me.

What can one say of her? What is her definition of education? Has she been influenced by the collective view of her community? How can one assess the impact of education through the people of her mentality? The answers to these and more questions will give an insight into the kind of impact education has had on the communities of which Yeshi is a representative. In the southern part of Trashigang Dzongkhag, the story is not different. Phegpari is a small community of 68 households hardly a few hours' journey on foot from Wamrong. The collective picture of this community is not as impressive as one would imagine. It may be because the community school in the village was established fairly recently, in 1999.

A majority of the people of Phegpari cannot outline their priorities clearly. In the course of my talks with them, I came to understand that many people do not know whether education is at all necessary for a farming community like them.

An NFE centre was opened in the village in 2002. There were 15 learners in the beginning. But in due course of time, the Centre ran short of learners. It could, therefore, barely survive for two years. It had to be closed down in 2003. Most people, however, do not seem to regret the closure. Sangay Chhoden doubts whether NFE does any good to the community. When asked if she thinks her community at all needs an NFE centre, she says that she does not know whether it is necessary!

However, there are a few of them who would like NFE returned to their village and Phegpari Community School upgraded to primary level. They hold these views with sound reasons.

Kangpar could be one of the remotest gewogs in the whole of the country. Its tryst with education could also have begun early on in the country. Kangpar Primary School was established in 1961. In the course of four decades and three years, batch after batch of students have moved beyond Kangpar. The village people, though, are still at Kangpar- very much at Kangpar- a remote place.

The enrolment rate in the school has not been consistent. There is an increase in the student number since the establishment, but in the recent years, the number has begun to fall. For example, in 1990, the school had a total of 225 students. This year, 2004, the number has fallen to 222.

Does this mean that the people of Kangpar are not changing much? Have they not felt much impact of education anyway? Why has the people's response to education been lukewarm? These are some of the disturbing questions in the light of the enrolment rate.

Yet, enrolment rate is arguably not the single most important yardstick to measure the impact of education. It is the people's general awareness and their way of life which should present a broader and clearer picture of the influence they have undergone.

In terms of general awareness, the people of Kangpar are quite naive. They are unaware of even the basic developments taking place in the vicinity, let alone the ones concerning the nation and the world.

Yet, the people are, it seems, struggling hard to shrug off the burden of ignorance.

On my way to Kangpar, I encountered a few Kangparpas who were also on their way to the village. They were carrying a back load of rice each. As they took rest beside the path, each of them took out from their bags an NFE textbook to study. They told me that they always snatched time to study in that way. I asked them why they took so much interest and trouble to study under the blazing sun and when they were physically strained. 'To shed off the load we are carrying,' they replied with confidence.

Again, when I was going back to Wamrong from Kangpar, I came across a couple taking rest beside the path. The woman had a book in her hand. 'What are you doing?' I asked. 'Nothing,' she said as she quickly put her book back into her bag. 'What do you study for? Do you want to become the *gup* of Kangpar *geog*?' I joked. 'No, I study for the sake of learning and nothing more,' she answered.

Back at Kangpar, at the five NFE centres in the *gewog*, there are 174 learners- an encouraging number. The head teacher and the teachers of the school say that the people show a good understanding of the plans and policies of the government. They could discern some positive changes in the people each year.

By and large, I discovered many a positive impact of education in the communities and schools I visited. Many people say that they have witnessed tremendous changes in the communities in terms of health and hygiene, general awareness, outlook, the way of life and so forth.

One healthy development I observed is that many of the people either want their children sent to school or a monastery. This is evidenced by a majority of school dropouts who are monks or *gomchhens*. Most of the NFE learners are also school dropouts. This is a positive trend because it sums up the people's strong desire for education, be it modern or monastic.

However, during my interviews with a large number of people, I hardly came across a person who prefers school to road and electricity.

In the huge transformation of the communities, there is no room for complacency. What there is is room for improvement. But there can be no room for improvement either if the system is not rid of the problems.

Some of the Speed-Breakers: The Impediments

I believe that the real impact of education can be enhanced in the community people only if the schools and the system as a whole, in the first place, share a common understanding and approach to education. If some schools remain oblivious of and unenthusiastic about the significance of education, the communities cannot help but languish in oblivion and remain unmotivated. Although there could be many impediments and problems confronting the schools on their way to transformation, I would like to mention some of the glaring ones that I observed.

1. **Shortage of teachers**: Many of the schools I visited are seriously understaffed. This is everywhere the overriding concern of the head teachers, teachers, and parents. Most of the teachers are overburdened and get bogged down with 8-9 periods a day. In Phegpari Community School, two teachers take nine periods a day, and two teachers in Thongrong Community Primary School have to manage five classes ranging from PP to V. One can only imagine the workload and the subsequent quality of input! The discouraging fact, however, is not really the shortage of teachers, they say. It is the obvious imbalance in transfer of teachers between urban and remote schools. Why imbalance in transfer? One might ask. It is because no teacher likes the hardships of a remote environment, many argue. And it is certainly true. If not, why should Thongrong Community Primary School suffer an acute shortage of teacher while Phongmey Lower Secondary School, accessible by motor road, does not?

This problem begs an urgent intervention.

2. Laboratory and library facilities: Many schools lack a proper library. Even if they have one, it contains only some scholarly books which are of little use to the young students. The books which are of interest to children like that of nursery rhymes, fairy tales, and simple short stories are in short supply.

It is the same with laboratory equipment. Many of the schools lack even a small but important laboratory apparatus like test-tubes. Given the diversity of the topic the syllabi touch upon, the apparatuses of immediate need must be available, if not abundantly, at least adequately.

- 3. **Infrastructure**: Many of the schools do not have enough proper classrooms, let alone other facilities like dining hall, hostel, auditorium, and so forth. For instance, the classroom for the Class VIII students of Phongmey Lower Secondary School is a makeshift bamboo hut that floods when it rains. For the Class VI students of Merak Primary School, the classroom is a rickety enclosure that is no protection against the harsh climate of the place. And the 43-year-old Kangpar Primary School's dining hall is a modest enclosure of CGI sheets.
- 4. **Morale of teachers**: The morale of the teachers in remote schools is cause for concern. The reasons are obvious and not far to seek. Apart from having to negotiate many difficulties, they have to make a lot of sacrifices. Therefore, to keep their morale high and commitment strong, a culture of understanding and encouragement should prevail in the system.

One head teacher recounts a story. He was once at an education conference. He raised his school's problem with the lack of test-tubes. He was told to fashion test-tubes out of bamboo shoots! He is still struggling to come to terms with the idea.

In another instance, he talked to an education official about the plight of the students in winter when it snows heavily. He proposed that heating equipment like *bhukari* be installed in the classes so that the teachers can teach better and students can learn better. He was told: It does not snow inside the classrooms!

The government may not be able to meet every petty need of every school, but a word or two of encouragement from a superior will warm up a person more than anything else.

5. **Boarding facilities and WFP meals:** The provision of boarding facilities and WFP items, many head teachers say, would certainly boost both the student enrolment and their performance. Many of the parents in Merak and Sakteng seem to have admitted their children to school partly because there is a free provision of WFP meals in the schools. This is evidenced by the fact that with the start of the WFP supply, the enrolment rate in both the schools witnessed a dramatic increase.

Boarding system is important for the remote students because this facility will reinforce proper guidance and care by the teachers. They will also have more time for studies and less distraction. Many students I spoke to in the schools do a lot of domestic chores like cooking, tending cattle and yaks, collecting firewood and so forth. They have no time at all for studies. Many little children of Merak and Sakteng look after themselves while their parents are away at *brangsa* (nomadic camp) almost all the year round. This has severely told upon their studies. This is the concern of all the teachers and parents. This should be, therefore, a concern for all the stakeholders in education.

Conclusion

All in all, our education's odyssey across remote backwaters has been marked by days of fair weather and days of sunless gloom. Much distance has been covered but much remains to be covered. It would in fact be a long time before education completes her pilgrimage across the remoter parts of Bhutan. The pace of the journey has been slow chiefly because there are literally and metaphorically uncompromising terrains to negotiate, torrential streams to cross, thick forests to thread one's way through, and unbeaten paths to tread. In the urban areas, however, the pace of the journey is relatively faster because the road there is relatively smoother.

But, a great length of our journey towards a hundred percent educated Bhutan must be travelled along the difficult remote 'road'. And travel we *must* and *should* along the difficult path for,

'Sitting at the bay, gazing at the sky, How can we reach up if we never try?'

We have come a long way. We have a longer way to go. But we are on the right track. And that is the important thing.

* * *

A Case Study on the Word Recognition Skills in Reading by Pre-Primary School Children.

- Tshering Wangmo, Lecturer, National Institute of Education, Paro.

Introduction

Success in school is very closely tied to success in reading. It is a common saying that a child learns to read and then reads to learn.

Definitely, reading is more than sounding letters, calling out words or responding to prints. It is a complex process, comprising of many identifiable aspects, each distinct, yet existing side by side and in some ways a product of each other. Various aspects of the children's development including their physical growth, mental maturity, emotional stability, social adjustment and the educational situation in which they find themselves are related and contribute to their development in reading.

The focus of all language arts is communication and one vital ingredient in communication is 'reading' a topic of major concern not only to teachers but to researchers, parents and society in general. Reading had been a persistent problem for my younger son. I tried buying him attractive books, which, to my dismay, he never read. One day I shouted at him for his lack of interest in reading. In response he said, 'I cannot even read the readers we have in the class, how can I read these strange books'. His response made me think. I agreed with him. He should be able to read the simple readers of his class first. Then only could he venture into reading other books.

My son had no problems in getting promotions to the next grade every year. However, this fact was nothing gratifying for me because of his weakness in reading. Each year he hopped, skipped and jumped with his readers. Each year, he read half of the readers of each grade and then hopped on to read the readers of the next grade. Thus, reading became more and more uninteresting and difficult for him. I wondered whether the other children too were hopping, skipping and jumping with their readers!

When I got this opportunity to work in the field for a month, I right-away decided to find out whether the other children too faced the same problems in reading. As mentioned earlier, reading on the whole is a complex process. However, I chose to work on certain specific areas. Although we do say that the ultimate aim of reading is comprehension, I chose to look more carefully at the word recognition skills of the children, because, I feel, the quicker and more skillful students become in word recognition, the better their chances for becoming good readers are. Success in reading usually comes when words are recognized quickly and accurately so that the reader can concentrate more efficiently on the meanings.

I wanted to find out some of the word recognition problems that the children faced and then discuss some solutions to these problems. I wanted to find out whether the teachers kept any reading records of their children. Their pre-primary English manuals do provide some ideas on keeping reading records although the information is not that substantial. The manual does not give sufficient ideas about remedial activities for the children who have problems in reading.

The pre-primary English manuals recommend three basic approaches to teaching reading at this level. They are the *Sight Words Method*, the *Phonic Method*, and the *Context Method*. And the most commonly used method is the first one. The other two approaches are dealt with quite superficially.

Purpose of the Case study

To find out:

- how many of the children in the sample could read all the seven readers of that level.
- some of the common problems faced by the children in reading.
- how the reading records of the individual children were kept.
- some solutions to the reading problems faced.

Sample used

163 children (85 boys and 77 girls) from the pre-primary classes of a good school. A good school in terms of its proximity to a town, having more educated parents and of good public opinion.

Strategy used

Listening to each of these children read and then keeping a written record of the findings.

Duration of the study

November 1 to 30, 2003.

As it was almost the end of the year, these children were supposed to have finished reading all the seven readers. After listening to all the children, these were my findings:

The Findings

1. 29 children out of 163 could read all the 7 readers without help, which was just 22% of the total number of children.

- 2. 7 of them could read all the books with some probing and prompting. Therefore, in total, 36 children could read all the books in PP.
- 3. 50 children could not read even book 1 that was 31% of the total.

4. When we look at the graph, we can see that 127 children in total can not read all the 7 readers.

5. From the 113 children who could read some books between Book 1 to 7, 55 of them had problems in differentiating *wh*-question words. 52 of them had problems in recognizing words such as *not*, *here*, *is*, *it*, *am* etc.

6. A few of them had reversal/inversion problems for words and letters. Some omitted words, some used repetitions, some read word-by- word and others stopped completely.

7. Reading records kept by the teachers needed more details.



Reading Results

Some discussions on the findings

As mentioned earlier, our teachers most often use the *Sight Word Method* or the *Look* and *Say Method* where a child looks at the words, pronounces them, discusses their meanings and then reads the reader in which the words are used. For certain words, such as *cat*, *dog*, *stone*, *flower*, the *Sight Word Method* is suitable. However, for certain other words such as *is*, *that*, *those*, *where*, *what*, *am* etc., *the Context Method* is the most meaningful way of introducing them.

Words which surround the unknown word help them in guessing the new word. Many children can read words on the card when they are in isolation, but cannot work them out when encountered in their reading. Therefore, it is advisable that these kinds of abstract words be first introduced in context and then be provided with many other examples. Just as the lesson should start with the word in context, it should also end with the word in the context of the story or in sentences of the child's own creation. By emphasizing the communication value of the words, we can help the children learn sight words more readily and meaningfully. From the findings, we can notice that the major problem faced by these children was word recognition. Besides the sight words, phonics and the context techniques the teachers should have some more knowledge about the various word attack skills such as:

Configuration - the shape or the outline form of a word and the unique appearance of certain combinations of letters.

Consonant blend - a combination of two or three consonants such as *bl* in blue or *fl* as in flower, where the letters retain their sounds.

Consonant digraph - a combination of two consonants which represent one sound, e.g. *ch* in chair.

Vowel digraph - a combination of two vowels which represent one sound, e.g. *ea* in teacher.

We can never recommend one particular approach to word attack to the exclusion of the others because the exact process that a given child uses is not known. Some can hear sounds very well and blend them easily. To them *the Phonic Method* is useful. Some others find context clues easy to use. Still others remember words from configuration with amazing accuracy. Therefore, it is quite essential for the teacher to provide instruction in all aspects of word attack skills and then permit the child to use those which are most effective for him. The goal is to have each child learn to successfully rely upon himself rather than upon the teacher when he encounters difficulty with words. This kind of independence in word attack leads to independence in reading.

I feel that a child should not be made to read the next grade's readers before he has completed the earlier readers. The learner should advance steadily from the first book to the next by very small steps in which the new learning is related to previous ones in a logical, sequential development. The wide differences among the children confirm that we cannot successfully use such a single-track approach with such a varied population. In fact, grade level limits should disappear and some attention should be paid to the individual's sequence of development before a truly successful job of teaching reading is possible.

Instruction begins at each learner's current stage and leads onward to whatever rate is possible. *Reading must be taught as a process, not as a subject.* Thus, I feel the readers should not be taught as a part of the English subject; they should be a separate programme. Each child should take his/her own time with each of the readers. That way a child could be reading book 4 of Class I at the end of the year and he could still continue with that series in Class II. He should start with the Class II readers only when he had successfully read all the Class I readers. When at last he manages to read all the readers of class PP to III, he could be given a certificate for Primary Reading or something of that order.

If we are going to look at the children's individual reading development, then the respective teachers need to take more care in maintaining the reading records. In fact, we would need to maintain a reading portfolio for each of the individual children,

which can be handed over to the next class teacher as the individual moves from one class to the next. Putting ticks in the columns of the reading record of an individual does not mean much. The recording should be much more substantial. The teacher should have some time for listening to individual children and then he/she should record the problems faced by the child. The teacher should then prepare some remedial activities for the ones who need it.

In the more advanced countries, they have people called a reading supervisor or a reading specialist or a reading consultant whose work with children centres around diagnosis and remediation. We aren't fortunate enough to have such special aids, therefore, the respective teacher is required to do this job in the best way he/she can.

A competent teacher should appraise the progress of a child in relation to repeated experiences with that child in the classroom. Tests are not the only way to determine the progress and amount of learning. Grades and marks in the class are often more likely to show the relative standing of a child in comparison with his or her peers. These grades do not, to any great degree, reflect the potential the individual may have, or how much he or she may have progressed during the course in a skill area of development such as reading. If ever tests are required, a single reading test, relatively early in the course, for diagnostic and planning purposes and another comparable test at the end to determine gains, is sufficient.

Should the above recommendations be taken seriously, then the teachers need to be given more information on how to organize their reading classes, what areas of concern to focus on, how to keep the reading records, how to plan remedial activities and the like because the manuals do not suggest much.

Conclusion

The work under discussion represents only on a small fraction of reading. There are many more avenues of reading that we can venture into. Much is known about reading yet our knowledge is not complete enough as to be able to give each teacher a model that he or she can use with assurance as an universally accepted, organized body of data with which to correlate reading. Each teacher must realize that his overview of the field can be only a tentative one. However, an overview is necessary so that the teacher does not work in a vacuum. The teacher should possess a general understanding of the reading process and keep an open-minded receptivity to new developments.

* * *

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PLANNING CAREER LESSONS: A SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

- PRADEEP KUMAR. K, Teacher Paro Lower Secondary School Paro: Bhutan.

Introduction

Career guidance is fundamentally a serious effort to conserve the priceless native capacities of youth and the costly education provided for youth in the schools. It seeks to conserve, by cherry-picking, these richest of all human resources, by aiding the individual to invest and use them, where they will bring greatest satisfaction and success to themselves and immense benefit to the society.

Career guidance is the process of helping the individual to choose an occupation that fits him or her best. This involves a thorough understanding of the individual's general and special capacities, interests and aptitudes. The process itself is slow and lengthy, but if done systematically the results are amazingly promising and evidently concrete.

The very recent incorporation of career lessons with the mainstream academic affairs, by making the career lessons a weekly activity, our government takes up yet another innovative step.

To get the whole business result-oriented, now pedal is at the right-foot of career master. When he keeps the following profiles at his heart, they propel him to be a guide, philosopher and friend of the desired community. The promoter's role, though in the beginning it seems unclear, keeping the functions, directed by properly stated aims and objectives, carves for the career master a niche of his own status. Saying so, let us glance at the aims of career guidance and functions of a career master in general.

Aims of career guidance

- 1. To assist the student to acquire knowledge of characteristic functions, duties and rewards of the group of occupations within which his or her choice will probably be as he or she may need for intelligent decision-making.
- 2. To enable the student to find what general and specific abilities and skills are required for the group of occupations under consideration, and what qualifications of age, preparation, gender... are for entering them.
- 3. To give an opportunity to experience the conditions of work outside school which assist the student to discover his or her own abilities.
- 4. To help the pupil understand that all honest jobs are worth-attempting and the most important bases for choice of an occupation are:

- (i) The particular service one can render to the society and to oneself.
- (ii) Personal satisfaction in the job.
- (iii) Aptitude for the concerned job.
- 5. To assist the pupil to know 'self' abilities, interest and values and need to wise choices.
- 6. To assist the pupil to explore the world of work, by providing him or her the information related to the facilities offered by various vocational and other training institutions territory and other non-mainstream establishments in the country age level, qualification, skill etc.

Functions of the Career Master

- a. To plan and implement career classes.
- b. To give educational and vocational information to pupils.
- c. To invite experts to school to give talks so that pupils might know how the world of work goes around them.
- d. To help the students to organise their career portfolios their career horoscope.

Career guidance at the secondary level

To implement the career education at school level, especially at secondary level, the masters must focus their attention on the following specified objectives for fruitful and satisfactory results.

Specific objectives

- 1. To write his or her own profile
- 2. To develop a sample curriculum vital from the profile.
- 3. To identify the abilities and interest of adolescent pupils.
- 4. To help the students to understand their own strengths and weaknesses.
- 5. To get information with regard to educational vocational opportunities.
- 6. To help pupils to make realistic educational and vocational choices.
- 7. To help them solve their problems related to career choices.
- 8. To develop positive altitudes towards blue-collar jobs.
- 9. To help building up confidence and surveillance.

10. To equip the pupils with a few choices of relevant careeropportunities.

Armed with the prescribed aims and objectives, the career master needs to set up the strategies and plans and integrate these to put up a brilliant career class every time he goes to the classes. This marks the importance of lesson planning as an effective instructional tool ready at hand.

A handy lesson plan proves the explorative nature of the teacher who is sincere in his or her task to bring out desired the outcomes. To this effect, any prepared lesson should have orchestrated all the components of career education, communion of each component complemented by the other.

To familiarize the readers with the experimented and effective lesson plan one is presented here for elucidating the method of lesson planning when it comes to career classes.

Lesson Plan

Topic: Dignity of labour

Aim: Developing the right attitude – focussing the importance of blue-collar jobs

Objectives:

- 1. To encourage students to think about possible alternatives to full-time employment and make students aware of the social significance of work.
- 2. To emphasize on changing world of work.
- 3. To let the students know how jobs are inter- related in the world of work.

Introduction

The career teacher asks a few relevant questions to link students' previous knowledge with the ongoing lesson.

To focus the lesson on the changing world of work, the teacher can make use of the following questions to supplement his or her strategy and trigger a lively discussion.

1. Find out/tell what kind of works your great grandparents and grandparents did.

(students respond)

2. What are your parents doing now?

(students respond)

3. What will you do in future?

(students respond)

Presentation

Strategy: Service to the Society

Teacher focusses on the above given strategy to be developed. Any work done by any person is vital and dignified.

Example

All cooks in our school are on leave!

What will happen if all the cooks in our school go on leave?

Similar examples to be thrown to the forum of students to make them realise by self-questioning that all the jobs are equally important and worthy.

Activity - the central theme

Students to seek the problems of the following workmen on the work, chaos caused by their immediate and long-term absenteeism from work.

In groups, students discuss the above strategy connected to the list given below.

- Electrician
- Sweeper
- Carpenter
- Plumber
- Mason
- Painter
- Singer
- Farmer

Teacher supplements the discussion by sandwiching the session with - an unexpected black-out and the people to be on immediate work to tackle the problem.

Assignment

Absence of any type of workman causes problems. Illustrate this.

The above given lesson was actually practised and found effective in correcting iconoclastic attitudes, which otherwise were normal to adolescence and to some extent, influenced undesirable habits.

A well thought-out and planned lesson could bring out sustainable and desirable results not only in main-stream subjects, but also in such challenging activities like career teaching, as found out by this writer.

Definitely, focussed and structured lessons become handy tools for the career teacher to march up with the set of objectives, and consequently achieve the set aims systematically to build a good culture in the world of work.

* * *

Strategies for Teaching Physics

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Introduction

For every ailment under the sun, There is a way or there is none. If there is one, try to find it, If there is none, never mind it.

- Anonymous.

The main objective behind writing this paper is basically to share my ideas and experiences on teaching physics with other physics teachers in the field. The encouragement and inspiration from my students, colleagues and educationist have been instrumental in enabling me to come up with this paper. The suggestions for its improvement are highly welcome from the readers.

Weiss (1987), Tobin and Gallagher (1987), Gallagher (1989) and Humrich (1988) report that most science curricula emphasize learning of basic facts and definitions from textbooks and relatively little emphasis is placed on the application of knowledge to daily life, or on the development of higher-order thinking skills. Nonetheless, our curriculum document on science appropriately states the rationale behind the science education as follows: 'Science in class 9 and class 10 should cater to equip the students who want to pursue higher studies in the field of Science and Technology. For others, this course should enable them to understand the natural and physical environment and in particular the technological environment.'

Unfortunately, Physics remains as one of the knotty subjects for the majority of our students with its many derivations, definitions, formulae, laws and most importantly its unending calculations. A great many students find it rather a dehydrated subject with a dearth of fun and savour which demands an aggressive memorization for its mastery and examinations. Above all, it is one of the core subjects of science and technology.

'If students are to benefit from a science programme, it is essential that learning tasks are potentially interesting and challenging (K. Tobin, J.B. Kahle and B.J. Fraser, 1998)'. So, how could we design and teach Physics lessons to make them lively and stimulating for our students.

Is it possible to teach Physics in a way that even the weaker students understand and enjoy it? Which strategies of teaching-learning could enrich it and make it more compatible to the level of our students?

In this paper, I would like to share some of the interesting and worthwhile teaching strategies which I have enjoyed using while teaching Physics in the

middle secondary classrooms. A survey was also carried out to authenticate the same by using a small number of students. A few bar graphs showing the degree of students' likes and dislikes of the different teaching strategies used in Physics teaching are attached at the end of this article.

STRATEGY I: Use of double-paged lesson recipe

The syllabus-based topic-wise gist of the cream of our lesson points, drawing activities, important questions and the numericals scribbled in distinct words with enough spacing provides a clear avenue for a teacher, before and during the teaching. It is also helpful for a teacher having heavy teaching load and for the ones who usually tend to lose their track of lesson flow after an activity in the class. It can be further modified as a teacher explores more strategies and useful information on the topics. This type of lesson guide could be preferably preserved in *Weld Type* clear book file having 20 transparent pockets.

Nevertheless, a lesson prepared on a format like the one shown below may be of more use at times.

	Name of the School:		
	Lesson No.: Date:		
	LESSON PLAN		
Name of the Teacher:			
Subject:	Class & Section:		
Topic:	Sub-Topic:		
1			

Teaching-Learning materials required

Teaching points	Specific objectives
-	-
-	-
-	-
-	-

Teaching Strategies

Introduction	Lesson Development (Teacher's activities)	Students' Activities
Qs on previous knowledge	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
-	-	-
Instructions on the lesson	Monitoring and	-
-	feedback	-
-	-	-
	-	

Closure of the lesson:

Homework Questions:

STRATEGY II: Use of simpler words and relevant examples

The usage of simpler yet meaningful words along with the Physics terms reduces the students' difficulties to understand the conceptual terms. Moreover, it encourages them to think more and enjoy the learning of new Physics terms. Some examples are as follows:

- 1. Reaction (supporting force),
- 2. Moment of a force or torque (turn),
- 3. Refractive index (bending number),
- 4. Weight (heaviness),
- 5. Oscillation (swing)
- 6. Equilibrium (balance) etc.

The use of relevant and live examples while discussing a subject matter enables both the teacher and students to be more comfortable and interactive during a lesson. Also the students come up with wonderful and interesting examples and ideas. As we explore more examples, the students enjoy the learning of Physics better. Some examples are:

- 1. Inclined plane roof, ladder, stairs, slide etc.,
- 2. Dynamic equilibrium spinning notebook by a student, spinning top, spindle etc.,
- Real image photograph, T.V. picture or movie picture and image formed by convex lens on white wall.
 Even though these practices demand a lot of reference work and research, it makes our teaching easier and effective.

STRATEGY III: Frequent demonstrations and investigations
In our middle secondary classrooms, materials like spring balance, measuring cylinder, lenses, test-tube, pen torch, laser key chain, hydrometer, plastic container, thermometers, beam balance, glass slab, prism, magnets, meter scale, syringe, wires and electrical appliances as well as portable apparatus are some of the items necessary for the demonstrations. A demonstration lesson is interesting and challenging_for the teacher. Despite the deviation of some of the result of new demonstrations, we should not get discouraged to carry them out. As we keep on trying them out by exploring more, often, we get more satisfactory results and encouragement in teaching.

The attention of students and their learning obviously improves a lot. It stimulates the interest and curiosity of the students. Hence students come up with several fascinating questions and ideas on the subject. Even a simple demonstration accompanied by challenging questions is well accepted by the students.

However, demonstrations alone cannot satisfy students' desire to try out investigations by themselves. Unquestionably, the experiments or investigations in the middle secondary level are exciting and educative stimuli for them. Depending on the availability of the apparatus, relevant experiments should be carried out by them individually by using circus method or others. Most of the investigations should be modified to match the students' aptitude and interests. It is a common concern that some students may damage or steal some laboratory items. Therefore, frequent reminders and check-up are essential to prevent such occurrences.

Some examples of demonstrations:

- 1. Demonstration on working of prisms in binoculars:
- 2. Inclined plane:
- 3. Refraction of light by a bottle of water:
- 4. Identification of lenses:

Examples of experiments:

- 1. Boiling under high and low pressure
- 2. To find the refractive index of a glass block
- 3. To find the mechanical advantage and velocity ratio of a block and tackle
- 4. To investigate the effect of steepness on the mechanical advantage

of an inclined plane

5. To investigate water wave (transverse wave)

STRATEGY IV: Use of humorous questions and explanations

This strategy motivates students to focus on the topic with increased enthusiasm. It encourages students to participate in the class-room discussions as they feel more relaxed and eased to participate to share their ideas and opinions with each other. This strategy should be used judiciously, only when it is necessary. It has some limitations also.

Examples

- 1. Why does a paper dance while falling?
- 2. The light rays undergo somersault while passing out through a convex lens.
- 3. Can a barometer indicate various moods of the atmosphere?
- 4. Is it the refractive index of a diamond which makes it so beautiful and expensive?
- 5. The current gets tired and sweats out heat and light in a high resistance wire.
- 6. Water has the largest stomach compared to other substance to absorb heat,

instead of repeating 'water has the highest specific heat capacity'.

STRATEGY V: Using diagrams to solve questions

This method is essentially helpful to solve numerical, questions as well as for explanations during any lesson. The use of diagrams helps the students to visualize the questions and numerical letters and gives them more clues and ideas to understand and solve problems. In addition, the use of cartoon drawings, which is easier to draw, generates more interest and questions from the students helping them to learn the subject with enjoyment.

Examples

- 1. Comparing the weight of sea water and river water displaced by a person while floating on them.
- 2. Numerical A man standing between two cliffs fires a gun. He then hears one echo after 1.5 seconds and the other after 3.5 seconds. Find the distance between the two cliffs. (Velocity of sound in air = 330ms⁻¹).
- 3. Density of gold=19.6gmcm⁻³.
- 4. Image formed by a magnifying glass and a concave lens.
- 5. Air pressure and gravity.

STRATEGY VI: Using acronyms of statements to learn the longer ones.

The students having difficulty to grasp and understand the longer statements enjoy and learn faster and better by using the shorter form of the statements having the same meaning. It could be used to teach various laws, principles, hypotheses, equations and explanations.

Examples

- 1. Newton's second law of motion: ROCOM (symbol to be inserted) F.
- 2. The Principle of Calorimetry equation: $HL_{HB} = HG_{CB}$
- 3. Ohm's Law: CFTC (symbol to be insert) PDAEOC
- 4. Archimedes' Principle : $U_L = WOLD$

STRATEGY VII: Application-based approach

This approach is basically helpful to a teacher to teach topics which are more technical. It induces the students to learn Physics by appreciating applications of subject matter which will allow them to think about the significance and technological uses of difficult subject matters to their everyday lives. Some of the topics like density, relative density, refraction, gravity, resistance, latent heat, and so forth could get a facelift and glow delightfully as we focus on their significance in our lives. We may use some of the questions like these to generate the students' interest, ideas, questions and opinion on the topic.

Examples

- 1. Is there any use of relative density for us? How can we use if for our benefit? Do any people use it?
- 2. Does specific heat capacity of a substance have any use in our kitchen?
- 3. What is the role of pressure in farming or carpentry?
- 4. In what way is the efficiency of a vehicle useful for us?
- 5. What are the uses of a resistor?

Despite this approach being challenging and strenuous for us, it is highly regarding while using it as the students find more meaning and develop taste in the subject in their endeavour to learn Physics by exploring its horizons in the world of technology and their day to day lives.

STRATEGY VIII: Using simpler explanations and questions

The use of simpler and alternative explanations along with sequential questions to clarify a concept and question is well recognized in the teaching-learning

process. By and large, simpler explanations mitigate the learning difficulties of students and motivate them to participate in the classroom discussions. In a way, more and more students also perceive the idea of solving problems by using alternative methods.

Examples

- 1. How does an inclined plane make our work easier?
 - a) What does a load do on an inclined plane?
 - b) What will happen to the load on an inclined plane as we make it steeper?
 - c) What does an inclined plane do to the load on it?

A teacher needs to demonstrate or ask the students to investigate by themselves by using a load on their palms

Examples

- 2. A tree growing on a steep cliff does not fall down even when there is a strong wind.
 - a) What is your opinion about its roots?
 - b) What about its adaptation for growing on the steep slope?
 - c) Tell us about its shape and the prevailing direction of the wind.
 - d) What type of stability does it have?
 - e) Will a strong wind make it more stable due to its arch shape?

STRATEGY IX: Assessment and evaluation of students work and achievements

'The way the teacher evaluates the works of the pupils and provides feedback influence [s] the way pupils learn', Dr. Jagar Dorji, Director, CAPSS, 1999. The continuous assessment components in practice at the middle secondary level are activities like class-work, home-work, monthly test, practicals, and project work which constitute 20% weighting. Some of the persistent issues related to homework are that students copy from their friends' notebooks, directly copy from the text, late or no submission of work and difficulty related to the correction of homework due to overload, and over crowded class rooms. Usually, these types of problems could be mitigated by giving a desirable amount of homework, by changing the correction strategy, and encouraging the students to work at home.

Like teachers, students can also be over-burdened by heavy load of homework given by different subject-teachers. One way of handling the homework could be by using the same questions at the beginning of our lessons the next day or at the end of a lesson. However, homework has several advantages like reinforcement, mastery, purposeful engagement of students at home, enhancement of their research and study skills along with writing skills and much more.

The assessment of class-work by checking their maintenance of textbooks and notebooks helps them to take care of text and notebooks and use these learning materials regularly. For the supervision and class-work, correction with feed-back, a slight change of seating arrangement of the class is required, so a teacher could freely move in the classroom resulting in easy access to individual students, provided class is not over-crowded or congested. The supervision of students' class-work by moving around and providing verbal and written feedback greatly helps them to rectify their mistakes like grammatical errors, drawing diagrams, calculations and accuracy of their work.

With regard monthly tests, the use of relevant questions of higher levels usually helps them to learn more on the topic. Nonetheless, the issues like copying, cheating from others and helping others during the test could be reduced and discouraged by being a vigilant and assertive vocal supervisor. The other methods are like conducting test in open area, serving different sets of questions in different rows and conducting oral tests in small groups.

The assessment criteria which are suitable for the practical lessons could be as follows:

- i. Involvement
- ii. Using the data obtained
- iii. Handling of apparatus
- iv. Helping each other, and
- v. Comparing the result by asking questions for clarification.

Besides these, care of materials and cleanliness of the work-place are also important. In relation to safety rules, the 'Laboratory Safety Rules' produced by the CAPSS is very helpful to a teacher.

The systematic details of continuous assessment including the project work with formats are provided by the CAPSS in a booklet named 'Continuous Assessment' class VI to X: Teachers' Guide, in 1999. In case of project work, interesting and relevant topics are more liked by the students. The students usually have the tendency to decorate and paste colourful pictures in their project work and they prefer to finish a project in a short duration.

Students need continuous feedback and encouragement to complete their project work successfully. By diversifying the topic on model making, exhibits and the topics of their liking, students come up with a more desirable project work. It helps to enhance their research skills and learn about the things beyond their textbooks. Finally, in the terminal examinations, the use of relevant questions of application category followed by synthesis, analysis, comprehension, knowledge and evaluation seems to be fruitful for their learning. The students are more challenged by the so-called 'twisted questions', which are basically higher level questions. They also like to discuss on the display of comparative statistical performance data of their examinations which gives them an idea about their achievement and need for improvement in subject in future.

STRATEGY X: Evaluation of Our Teaching

The growth and development of a teacher is a challenging, gradual and continuous process. As we strive for improvement, it is necessary to assess our teaching expertise to get a picture of ourselves. There are several methods of doing this - formal and informal. One of the methods is use of scale format (to be used by the students) which provides a substantial amount of information for our interpretation. This is a direct evaluation of the impact of our teaching on our students. It appears to be more somewhat reliable method as the evaluators are the immediate beneficiaries of our teaching. But this type of evaluation is highly controversial and bears several limitations. Inspite of that, it provides us interesting feedback for our improvement. A sample format of the same is give below. Nevertheless, the 'MIR Tools' developed by the Educational Monitoring and Support Services Division (EMSSD) are much more systematic and practical for the improvement of our teaching which is innovative and effective to boost the professional growth of a teacher.

Teaching is a dynamic process. "It involves change on an incremental and daily basis. If something does not work out well, the teacher often can put things right by making slight adjustments to the manner in which the curriculum is implemented" (Shulman, 1987). Tobin and Fraser (1987) report that science teachers identified by their colleagues as exemplary, focus on students' learning with understanding, use strategies to engage students in higher-level cognitive tasks and maintain classroom environment conducive to learning.

Yet, we may not deny the fact that students also play a vital role in the teachinglearning process. According to the Herb Walberg's review of hundred studies, nine general factors influence **student achievement**:

- i. Ability (I.Q)
- ii. Stage of development
- iii. Motivation
- iv. Instructional (teaching) quality
- v. Instructional quantity
- vi. Home environment
- vii. Class morale (Classroom social group)
- viii. Peer group and
- ix. Use of out of school time

Although students have the responsibility for what is learned, the teacher has a direct influence on the context in which classroom learning occurs. Consequently, factors likely to influence teachers' plans of implementing the curriculum include

- i. the belief of a teacher i.e. teacher's belief about what constitute the most effective classroom procedures (Power, 1987)
- ii. metaphors used to conceptualize teaching roles
- iii. knowledge of the science content to be taught and

iv. the knowledge of how to teach each specific science content (Kenneth Tobin, 1990)

"Teaching is both science and art. The science is based on the psychological research that identifies cause-effect relationship between teaching and learning. The art is how these relationships are implemented in successful and artistic teaching. Teaching excellence is not a genetically endowed power but a result of rigorous study and inspired performance" (Mendalin Hunter, Professor of Education, University of California).

Conclusion

Even though teaching is strenuous and challenging job, it is possible to modify one's teaching to suit the students in the classroom. Physics teaching could be made comparable to our students with lots of reference work, trials of experiments, adapting to the needs of students in learning as well as continuous hard work. Ultimately, this paper is a suggestions rather than indication to comply with some of the strategies of teaching Physics for the improvement of teaching and learning of the subject in our schools.

* * *

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* * *

Annexure 1

Evaluation of Teaching

Name of the teacher: Subject: Date: Class: Section:

Draw a circle on the appropriate number to indicate the competency level of the teacher in each area given below.

SI.No. Area of Rating					R	ating	g Sca	ale			
1.	Personality of the teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2.	Honesty and sincerity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
З.	Confidence in teaching	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4.	Sense of humour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5.	Role model for the students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6.	Subject knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	7. Punctuality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

8.	Good relation with students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9.	Planning and preparation		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10.	Ability to Communicate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11.	Maintaining class discipline	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12.	Giving questions, testing and even	alua	ating	g							
	with feedback	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
13.	Problem solving	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14.	Use of examples in teaching	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15.	Helpful, creative, resourceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16.	Ability to understand students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
17.	Arouses interest in the subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
18.	Uses demonstration/										
	Teaching Aids	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Hardworking (dignity of labour)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
20. E	Encourages students										
	to learn more	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
21.	Teaching effectiveness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
22.	Approachable to clarify doubts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
23.	Caring for the students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Any good points of the teacher:

Suggestions for the improvement:

(Acknowledgment: Mr. Nima Tshering, Co-ordinator, Research Centre, CAPSD, Paro, for the neat diagrams. CERD)

Profile of High School English Teachers of Bhutan: Some Issues and Concerns Balamurugan, Sr. Locturor in Mathematics, Shorubtso Collog

- R. Balamurugan, Sr. Lecturer in Mathematics, Sherubtse College, and T S Powdyel, CERD

Background and Purpose

Following the directive of the Department of Education to look at the standard of English in our schools, the Centre for Educational Research and Development conducted an extensive study to find out first-hand what factors were responsible for producing the scenario which became a matter of serious concern to the government and all other stake-holders. To begin with, CERD examined all the relevant curriculum documents in English, reviewed assessment practices, teacher preparation programmes, consulted current standards in the major English-speaking countries around the world and prepared a set of standards that spelt out the minimum level of performance in the different areas of English studies.

CERD then visited some twenty high schools in the western, eastern, southern and northern regions of the country between the last quarter of 2001 and the second quarter of 2003, met over 120 English teachers, made observations in more than 160 classes, conducted 2-3 hour workshops on the standards and held discussions with heads of schools, some parents, education officials and other relevant individuals.

CERD also conducted a simple assessment of the professional needs of the teachers and found out that a large majority of them mentioned knowledge of English as the area that required enhancement. This need was also evident in the observation of many classes that were made. It was then that CERD felt it necessary to build a professional inventory of the high school English teachers.

Method

A simple questionnaire was sent out to all the 35 high schools then in the country. Some other schools have since been upgraded! Among others, the questionnaire included variables consisting of personal biographical details, academic and professional qualifications, workshops and language development seminars attended, number of years of teaching and years of teaching English. The questionnaire also included items on the profile of an English teacher's work-day requiring the respondents to supply information on the time they spend on different activities such as time for preparation, time for teaching, remedial classes, evaluation/marking, self study, reflection and research, personal reading and other activities.

A total of 145 responses from all schools and high school English teachers was received. In the meanwhile, some more schools have been upgraded and additional English teachers appointed. This study does not include information on them

High School English Teachers: Some Highlights of the Study and Observations

I. Composition

As far as the composition of high school English teachers goes, there are some 59% Bhutanese and 41% non-Bhutanese teachers, out of the total of 145, teaching English at this level. Of this, the Bhutanese women teachers form the largest single group comprising 36% of the teaching force, followed by non-Bhutanese men teachers who comprise 33%, Bhutanese men teachers 23% and non-Bhutanese women teachers comprising 8%.



The nationality and sex-wise distribution is shown in the following pie chart (Figure 1):

Figure 1

One of the important constituents of any education system that determines its standard is its faculty. So, every education system must make determined and sustained efforts to recruit the best academic brains and try to retain them. Recruitment must be highly competitive and should avoid in-breeding. Further, teachers must be on a long probation period and tenure must be granted only after extensive external review and selection process. Though engagement of a good number of teachers of other nationalities encourages cross-fertilization of ideas, a balance has to be maintained.

II. Age Distribution

The age-wise distribution of the teachers (table below) shows that the average age of a high school English teacher (hereafter called teacher unless it is otherwise specified) is approximately 32 years. Out of 145 teachers, only 17 of them are above 40 years (please refer to table 1). This reflects a scenario of not having teachers with enough experience.

Age	Bhuta	anese	Expa	triates	Total			
(years)	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total			
20 to								
24	1	3	1	0	5			
25 to								
29	17	30	15	5	67			
30 to								
34	10	9	11	4	34			
35 to								
39	4	8	9	1	22			
40 to								
44	1	1	3	0	5			
45 to								
49	1	1	6	1	9			
50 to								
54	0	0	2	0	2			
55 to								
59	0	0	1	0	1			
Total	34	52	48	11	145			
Table 1								

It is a matter of concern that in an education system which is 40 years old, the average age of English teachers is very low, with only 7.4 years of average teaching experience.

III. Years of Teaching English

Out of this average of 7.4 years, most teachers have been teaching English only for 6.5 years. Just as educational planners and policy makers could do some thing to check the drop-out rate of school students, efforts should also be made to reduce the drop-out rate of the teachers, especially the experienced ones.

Category	Sex	Number of teachers	Average age	Teaching Experience	Years of teaching English				
Expatriato	Men	48	34.9	10.5	9.3				
Expatriate	Women	11	33.5	7.6	5.8				
Bhutanese	Men	34	31	5.7	5				
Dilutariese	Women	52	29.8	5.9	5.3				
Expatriate	Men	82	33.2	8.5	7.5				
& Bhutanese	Women	63	30.4	6	5.4				
Over all		145	32	7.4	6.5				
Table 2									

IV. Teacher Qualification

The study highlights another critical dimension of teacher quality. Even though the Department of Education has made every effort to recruit trained teachers, there is still a worrying number of untrained teachers in the field (please refer to the bar chart of the distribution of teachers by qualification– figure 2). The new graduates or postgraduates should be required to go through teaching methodology and pedagogy because it is critical for the teacher to understand the psychology of students and get into the basics of teaching. Though the existing composition may take time to change, any untrained teacher must be identified and given short-term training in teaching methodology, child psychology, evaluation method, counselling, among others.





V. Participation in Professional Development Activities/Workshops

The present survey responses show that only about 33 teachers (out of 145) have attended workshops for English teachers. Every education system should take special interest in the careers of their teachers and empower them to be better teachers and researchers. Only a fine teacher can make a fine student and only a fine student can be a fine citizen of the country tomorrow. Even though there have been workshops organized during the winter breaks, not all teachers have been reached out. There is an urgency to enable as many teachers to participate in professional development

workshops as possible. This is the only way at the moment to enable the teachers to deliver the goods more satisfactorily.

VI. Preparation Time and Teaching Time

In an education system which takes pride in being child-centred, the teachers are taken to be the guardians of students and look after their overall welfare and progress. So they need to spend more time with the students even after the classes. Keeping these in mind, the planners should decide on the teacher's teaching load. The bivariate distribution of time spent by teachers in Bhutan on teaching and preparation reveals some interesting facts as shown in the table below (table 3):

		Ti	me s					day (n hou		ding
		Up to 45'	45' - 1.30'	1.30' - 2.15'	3.00' - 3.45'	3.45' - 4.30'	4.30' - 5.15'	5.15' - 6.00'	over 6	Total
Ë	Up to 45'	7			1	3	1	1	8	21
ion	45' - 1.30'	2	3	4	1	9	6	3	9	37
barat s)	1.30' - 2.15'	1	3	5	1	10	10	12	17	59
s prep	2.15' - 3.00'			1		1	2		5	9
class (in l	3.00' - 3.45'		1			1	5	5	6	18
Time spent on class preparation in a day (in hours)	3.45' - 4.30'							1		1
sper	4.30' - 5.15'									
Time	5.15' - 6.00'									
	Total	10	7	10	3	24	24	22	45	145
	Table 3									

The clustering of frequency mostly in the top-right corner shows that most of the teachers spend more time in teaching and less time for preparing and planning for the classes. This is explained by the fact that teachers are over-engaged during the day in teaching and are left with little energy and interest for anything else after that. This may consequently lead to their inability to involve themselves in counselling, guidance and research. A strategy has to be evolved to strike a balance on the time spent by the teacher whereby his/her talents and time are effectively utilized in the larger interests of the students and the system as a whole.

VII. Participation/Involvement in other school activities

How much time a teacher should spend in teaching and on extracurricular activities is a question of debate. The controversy over teaching and counselling vis-à-vis research and co-curricular activities is yet to be resolved in almost all education systems. First and foremost, the primary responsibility of a teacher is to teach. No teacher can keep himself or herself from teaching in the name of research and other activities. In fact, both should go hand in hand. Too much of teaching load might make the teachers exhausted and leave them with little energy to take part in other activities, including research.

The variety of ways in which teachers spend their time is given by the following table (table 4) which also reveals that they are left with very less time for their personal reading and writing:

	Average
Category	time spent
Category	in a day (in
	hours)
Preparation	1.6
Teaching	3.4
Evaluation	1.3
Remedial Teaching	0.8
Extra-curricular	
activities	1
Meetings	0.6
Study	1.1
Research and reflection	0.9
Personal reading and	
writing	1.3
Talala	

Та	bl	е	4

In a system where we expect every teacher to be a role model, we want to be able to see our teachers regularly engaged in their own reading and writing and in reflection on teaching. As of now, reflection and research by teachers get just about 0.9 hours per day, and for the crucial activity of personal reading and writing, the time available or engaged averages to a mere 1.3 hours per day. However, the total time committed by our teachers to the act of preparation, teaching and doing all the related activities is quite considerable.

Discussion

As stated above, CERD carried out this study to try to get a picture of the educational qualifications, teaching experience as well as other professional development input that the teachers in the high school system possess. The then Director General, the current Secretary of Education, who followed and guided the development of *The Silken Knot: Standards for English for Schools in Bhutan* (CERD, 2002) very closely, had asked: How do we move forward – what do we do with the teachers we have in the system? How do we orient them to the standards prescribed in this document (*The Silken Knot*)?

Indeed, based on the needs assessment and the current study on the inventory of high school English teachers done by CERD, it was found out that some teachers had not

taken any English course beyond Class X, most had Class XII and the courses offered at the training institutes. On the happier side, some had taken English honours in Sherubtse College and gone on to take advanced degrees in English teaching. A good number have higher degrees from India and other countries.

CERD suggested several interventions to be put in place to equip the teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills required to measure up to the challenge of the job. Going by the expectations of the standards as laid down in *The Silken Knot*, especially Levels 7 and 8 which describe the work of the majority of students in class years 9 through 12 in all the areas of English, teachers need to be well-equipped with the knowledge and skills to match the requirements outlined in the Indicators of Teacher Input for the different areas.

In a system where the teacher is regarded as the central player on the educational stage and be a role model to the students both in personal and professional life, there can be no compromise on the quality of the teachers. Ill-equipped, unmotivated and uninitiated teachers could be doing more damage than good to the children as well as the system. The decline that many concerned members of the society bemoan should be arrested and the system revitalized.

The profile, albeit modest, of the high school English teachers holds up a mirror to a significant part of our education system.

Recommendations

Statistics do not tell the whole story, but they give us critical perspectives on the story. The revelations provided by the responses to the questionnaire confirm many of the concerns and cry for immediate action if the situation is to improve.

First and foremost, every effort has to be made to upgrade not only the qualification but really to enhance the level of knowledge of English of our teachers. The demands of the high school curriculum are very high indeed. Many of our students can handle much rigorous material and look for more. The various aspects of the English curriculum pose tremendous challenges to the teachers. Unless the teachers are confident with the subject matter themselves, they will not be able to inspire confidence in their students. We still seem to have a significant number of teachers whose knowledge of English needs to be upgraded to match the demands of high school teaching.

Second, it is crucial to recruit and retain fairly senior and more experienced teachers to teach at the critical high school level. The current average of 7.4 years of total teaching experience and an actual English teaching experience that averages at 6.5 years does not seem adequate enough to give that professional capability to marshal the demands of the curriculum. It is only fair to the students that they have teachers who demonstrate experience and knowledge and be examples to look up to.

Third, the study showed that not a single teacher had taken any course to in language development; less than one-third had participated in a workshop in English. This is serious given the fact that already the level of knowledge of the subject is weak. It is, therefore, crucial to reach out to as many teachers as possible as often as possible to

empower them to handle their responsibility more efficiently and confidently. Instead of the one 10-day workshop for some 50-60 teachers in the winter, there should be at least three workshops over the course of the holiday for three batches of at least fifty teachers each.

Fourth, the contemplated postgraduate diploma course in English needs to be implemented soon to cater to the needs of the teachers many of whom have been waiting since the proposal was broached. At the same time, the teacher training institutes could provide professional support in enhancing pedagogical skills and competence to some of the more senior teachers who have been in the system for a long time.

Finally, there has to be in place a proper mechanism to provide on-going, regular support to the teachers in the field. It is one thing to have high expectations of our teachers, quite another to be able to assist them in their need. What CERD is doing under the auspices of the *Rinpung Experiment* to involve the teachers of the Paro valley schools is often seen to be quite well received.

Conclusion

Know where you are going The great thing in the world is not knowing so much where we stand as in what direction we are moving. --- Anon

It was in the fitness of things that our far-sighted leaders recognized the strength that the engagement of the English language and exploiting the untold wealth of its literature would bring to our country. And sure enough, the English language has served us well: it has been our medium of instruction and a window to the wide world further a-field; it has enabled us to articulate our nation's voice and present its personality; it has been our medium of communication with the international community; it has enabled us to harness the power hidden away in the domain of science and technology and discover the treasure of the varied civilizations and cultures of the world, among others. The English literature is a bowl of plenty – a document of some of the finest of ideas of mankind in some of the finest of styles.

We want our children to be able to discover the richness of the English language and the treasure of its literature and engage them in a celebration of the power of words. The high school is too good a place to miss this opportunity. It falls upon our teachers to be the treasure-revealers. Let the good times roll.

* * *

Acknowledgements

The Centre for Educational Research and Development would like to thank all our principals and English colleagues of our high schools for your taking time and supplying the information we requested. You all have been always been very helpful and cooperative. Thank you, colleagues.

- Dorji Thinly, Lecturer in English, NIE, Samtse.

Name of the institute: Teacher Training Institute (from 1968-1983). With the introduction of the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) Secondary programme in 1983, the erstwhile TTI was renamed the National Institute of Education (NIE).

Established: 29th May 1968 as a Teacher Training Institute (popularly known as TTI) with an initial enrollment of 41 students. Our beloved Late King, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, inaugurated the institute.

Location: Spread over a total campus area of 25.72 acres, the National Institute of Samtse is situated in a thickly wooded grassy slope from whose many vantage points one can take contemplative views of the mighty Indian plains. The campus, located at a convenient distance in the east of the small Samtse town, has the reputation of being aesthetically and intellectually congenial to learning and growth. Although geographically inconspicuous, thanks to the Internet, NIE Samtse can now communicate globally.

The institute currently has a total number of 35 full-time lecturers teaching a wide variety of courses. Of this, 17% are expatriates.

Our Vision

• To nurture development-oriented citizens through an education that is qualitative, relevant, equitable and humane and one that prepares the students not only to lead a productive life but also to play effective roles in the development of the country.

Our Mission

- To provide facilities for quality teacher education, curriculum development and educational research aimed to promote the effective advancement of learning and knowledge in the field of teacher education.
- To provide an education that is responsive to the needs and aspirations of the Bhutanese children.
- To engage in research activities that will contribute to the development of innovative classroom practices.

Our Logo

Sgra Snyan, the traditional guitar: This symbolizes the goddess Lha Mo Dbyangs Can Ma who, it is believed, is a perfect representation of the supreme knowledge and wisdom of the Buddha of three times – past, present and future. The sacred and mellifluous tunes of Lha Mo Dbyangs Can Ma's guitar



generates in the hearer's mind extraordinary feelings of joy and delight that all obscurations that imprison the mind in ignorance are expelled. It, therefore, reminds those who teach that inspired teaching is the best form of transmitting knowledge and wisdom; and to the ones who are here in search of knowledge, it teaches that knowledge and wisdom are acquired best through patient devotion to the music-like nectar inherent in the act of learning.

The *Sgra Snyan*'s dragonhead: This symbolizes the far-reaching influence of the perfectly blended four major and eight minor forms of the `*Brug pa bk*` *brgyud* school of Buddhism from which the country's name derives. It is a constant reminder to the ones who teach that the transmission of knowledge and wisdom to the students should consistently be inspired by the spiritual and secular aspirations of the country and that the educative process should be to prepare the learners to actively participate in the larger process of nation-building.

Chos kyi gLegs bam, the volume of scriptures: This symbolizes the secular and spiritual components of human knowledge and how it continues to fuel the intellect to pursue knowledge and wisdom without rest. Also, knowledge and wisdom, so aptly represented by the book, as the very foundation of the human quest for peace and happiness, continues to spread far and wide. As a symbol of both the spiritual and secular components of knowledge and wisdom, the book constantly reminds the ones who teach that an unfailing devotion to the book (symbolized by its being so firmly tied all around by the pure bright girdle) as the primary source of knowledge, wisdom and truth is indispensable if one wishes to teach well and teach with the heart. And to the ones who are here to learn, it teaches that the love of learning, the quickest way to cultivate which is to love books, must imbue deep down in their thoughts and in their feelings; it should be a passion. The divine book bound horizontally across the *Sgra Snyan* is a constant reminder of the need to be passionate about learning.

Dar cha mdud phod, the white girdle (scarf): The knotted girdle symbolizes the unwavering, unconditional devotion that should be pledged to the supreme knowledge and wisdom emanating from *Lha Mo Dbyangs Can Ma's* celestial guitar and the book of dharma. As well, it teaches the students and teachers of this institute that one must view the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom with absolute faith and binding devotion, and with purity of mind and heart, which the intertwined silken girdle represents.

Dar gyi tshos gzhi dkarp, the white colour of the girdle: This symbolizes purity of mind and heart necessary in the task of both teaching and learning. If the transmission of knowledge by the teacher is done with purity of intentions, it is thought that the result will be positive; also, if the pursuit of truth, knowledge and wisdom is done with chaste and unsullied intentions, the result of learning will be positive. It reminds the ones who teach of the need to maintain purity of commitment to the task of producing teachers whose knowledge, wisdom and devotion should be as high and wide as the sky (symbolized by the logo's background colour) and as firm and reliable as the silken knot. It also reminds the institute of the need to produce teachers who are courteous, gracious, soft and gentle as the silken girdle.

Sa gzhi honm, *the blue background of the logo:* The sky-blue colour of the logo's background symbolizes the vastness of the sky which teaching as the sacred act of

transferring knowledge to the students and learning as the act of seeking truth, knowledge and wisdom shall aspire to reach.

Nus shugs, the inner energy: The word *Nus Shugs*, innate power, expresses the soul of all the six symbols - *sGra sNyan*, the traditional guitar, *sGra sNyan*'s dragonhead, *chos kyi gLegs bam*, the divine book, *dar cha mdud phod*, the white girdle (scarf), *Dar gyi tshos gzhi dkarp*, and *Sa gzhi honm*, the sky-blue background of the logo. The innate power of all that these symbols represent shall continue to inspire teachers and students alike to pursue truth, knowledge and wisdom in the service of the three foundations of the Bhutanese nation- state.

Inception and growth

The National Institute of Education (NIE) was founded as the first Teacher Training Institute in the country in 1968. It was inaugurated by our beloved late king, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck on 29th May 1968. The day is observed every year as the institute foundation day and is celebrated with much festivity and a lot of academic, cultural and literary fervour.

Over the years, the institute has grown from a small institute of some 41 students with modest facilities comprising 3 classrooms, small library and 3 other office cubicles in 1968 to the present one of 12 classrooms, 1 language laboratory, 3 separate science laboratories, 1 geography laboratory and a science resource room. It also has a dining hall with a seating capacity for 210 persons. NIE Samtse boasts of having perhaps one of the best auditoriums in the kingdom that has a seating capacity for over 300 persons. The institute sports complex is among the best in the kingdom.

TTI's first principal was Mr. M.K. Modak, a Bengali gentleman from B T College in Darjeeling. He had a short tenure of about one year and was succeeded by Mr. K R Shivadasan, an Indian teacher from Kerala who had already been working in Bhutan as a headmaster and inspector of schools. He served the institute as its second principal till August 1970. Mr. S. T. Dutt, from the Indian state of Punjab, who had earlier taught English at the Mayo College of Ajmer became the next principal and he continued in the post for about a year. Mr Dutt was succeeded by Mr Basu Mallick from West Bengal. Mr B S Sharma, from Uttar Pradesh in India, who had earlier worked as headmaster of Damphu Junior High School and later as lecturer of TTI, became the institute's fifth principal, holding perhaps the shortest tenure in this post.

Ms C K Gurung was the first Bhutanese to be appointed principal of TTI in 1976 and held a most respectable 17-year tenure till her retirement in 1992. Ms Gurung was succeeded by Mr Wangchuk Rabten, currently the Joint director of EMSD in the Department of School Education, Thimphu. With the up-gradation of TTI to its new status – the National Institute of Education (NIE) in 1983, Mr. Pema Thinley was appointed as its first director to head it from the latter half of 1984. He handed over the charge to Mr. Jagar Dorji in the middle 1993. Mr Dorji Tshering the erstwhile director of the Teacher Training College (TTC) in Paro and currently the principal of Sherubtse College took charge in August 1997. The present director, Thubten Gyatsho, took over as the new director in September 2001.

Types of Academic programme

The institute currently offers four different programmes, which include the one-year Post- Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) programme, the three-year B.Ed Secondary and B.Ed Primary programmes, and the five-year B.Ed distance education programme. While the first three are fulltime pre-service programmes, the last one is offered through the distance mode to in-service teachers and other in-service candidates who work in various sectors in the Bhutanese education system. The Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC) programme was discontinued in July 2000.

1. Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC)

This programme was offered to Class 10 graduates and was required to be completed in two years. The PTC graduates were trained to be able to teach at any level of schooling at the primary level, i.e. from PP to Grade 6. On graduation, they would be posted to community schools and community primary schools in the kingdom. The training required that they acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for teaching any subject in the primary curriculum including Dzongkha. The courses were jointly prepared by the erstwhile Teacher Training College (TTC) at Paro and NIE Samtse and was required to be approved by the Teacher Education Board (TEB), the highest body for teacher education in the country. As mentioned above, this programme was phased out in 2000.

2. Bachelor of Education (B.Ed Secondary)

This programme is offered to Class 12 graduates and comprise of a wide variety of courses that focus on personal and professional development and specialization in specific subjects of the students' choice. The programme also includes the study of current school curriculum subjects. A unique feature of the programme lies in the fact that it places equal emphasis on the learning of theory and of practice. A student enrolled for the B.Ed Secondary programme can choose between science and arts subjects based on his or her performance in the Class 12 examinations. The training requires that they acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for teaching the subjects of their specialization in secondary schools.

The B.Ed Secondary programme was launched in 1983 when the erstwhile TTI was upgraded and renamed the National Institute of Education (NIE). The curriculum developed for the degree programme was reviewed and revised by renowned academicians from developed and developing countries. A team of visiting professors from the University of London School of Education would make periodic visits to the institute and work as moderators and external examiners for the degree courses until a few years ago when NIE Samtse adopted an internally developed system of moderation, examination and evaluation of student progress and achievement.

3. Bachelor of Education (B.Ed Primary)

The Bachelor of Education (Primary) programme was launched in 1993 following a decision by the Teacher Education Committee (TEC) to develop a programme that would prepare a group of teachers with higher academic and professional

qualifications who could teach and provide the much needed instructional leadership at the primary level. Apart from resourcing the School Based In-service Programme (SBIP) in their own areas of specialty they were expected to form a pool from where PTC lecturers, inspectors and primary curriculum developers would be drawn.

4. Post Graduate Certificate in education (PGCE)

This course was launched in 1989 with a view to providing in-country professional courses for university graduate teachers. Selection interviews for the PGCE are conducted sometime in September-October each year and the selected candidates report to the institute in February when the academic session commences. The actual duration of the PGCE prgramme is approximately ten months during the students learn a wide variety of courses related personal and professional development and subjects of specialization. As the candidates normally have a fairly sound academic background, the emphasis is on professional development.

5. Diploma & B.Ed through distance mode

This is an award-bearing in-service program for primary school teachers. It is delivered through a distance-cum-residential school (during vacation) mode. It was launched in 1995 following a government policy to extend opportunities for continuing education to interested teachers. It is aimed not only to upgrade the professional knowledge and skills of these teachers but improve the principles underlying the dictum – 'Only a lighted candle can light another'.

Cohort	Year	Male	Female	Total
1	1995-96	09	05	14
2	1996-97	09	04	13
3	1997-98	16	06	22
4	1998-99	14	14	28
5	1999-00	31	26	57
6	2000-01	35	17	52
7	2001-02	26	15	41
8	2002-03	27	12	39
9	2003-04	41	14	55
TOTAL		208	113	321

Year-wise enrolment of distance education students for the period 1995-2004

A Brief Description of the Courses

In order to make the teacher training programme wholesome, effective, need-based and practical in nature, the courses are so designed that they provide depth and variety to the areas of learning. The four-year programme for the B.Ed. and one-year for the PGCE comprises of six areas of study including school experience and co-curricular activities.

 Professional Development Studies (EDN I) Professional Development Studies (EDN II) Personal Development Studies Subjects of Specialization Primary Curriculum Subjects 	10 modules 5 modules 13 modules 20 modules 10 modules
Total	58 modules

However, since the PGCE Course is of a shorter duration for graduates who have first degree in academic studies and who have already joined or would like to join teaching, all the aforementioned modules are not offered to them. Only the primarily important modules are selected for their one-year course of training on the basis of their importance and functionality to their teaching career.

School Experience (Practicum)

This is an important component of the teacher-training programme. All the B.Ed. trainee-teachers are required to spend a year as Apprentice Teachers in the various schools in the Kingdom before they join NIE. This is a crucial period as it is a prelude to the formal training in the Institute. In addition, the B.Ed. trainee-teachers are required to spend one semester in the second year in their school of placement for teaching practice and experience. The period of the practicum will be during the 3rd or 4th semester of the programme. The PGCE do practice teaching for six weeks in the first half of the 2nd Semester.

Co-curricular Activities

Co-curricular activities form a necessary part of the teacher training programme and students are assessed individually for their participation and ability in the areas included in the co-curricular component of the programme. There are five areas of co-curricular activities conducted on the dates reflected in the institute calendar. These are:

1. Cultural Activities: Most cultural activities are done in House groups. Once admitted all the trainees are put in one of the six Houses – Taag, Chung, Druk, Dhom, Singye and Zig. Each House is responsible for organizing a cultural programme once a year and it forms one of the bases for house competition.

2. Games & Sports: Apart from the various tournaments for volleyball, basketball, football and traditional games, the Annual Sports are organized to keep the trainees physically fit too.

3. Clubs (Vocational club in the first year and club of choice in the $2^{nd} \& 3^{rd}$ year): Currently there are twelve different clubs operating as follows:

- 1. Art & Craft Club
- 2. Badminton Club
- 3. Cricket Club
- 4. Home Science Club
- 5. Literary Club
- 6. Music Club
- 7. Photography Club
- 8. Basketball Club
- 9. Science for the Protection of Nature Club
- 10. Rovers Club
- 11. Cheyestho Club
- 12. Football Club

All students are expected to join one of the clubs. They are also expected to organize and run the clubs with a staff member as the advisor.

The following are Vocational Clubs and are offered for the B.Ed. 1st Year trainees:

- 1. Mushroom Farming
- 2. Social Forestry
- 3. Ornamental Plants
- 4. Electricity
- 5. Plumbing
- 6. Social Services
- 7. Printing Press
- 8. Carpentry

SUPW (Socially Useful and Productive Work): In order to inculcate the dignity of labour and respect for manual work, every Tuesday, the trainees are engaged in cutting the grass and cleaning the campus.

Agriculture and Social Forestry (in the first year): Both these activities are carried out in class groups and they are assessed.

Apart from these activities, the institute also organizes a number of programmes to observe auspicious occasions such as His Majesty the king's birthday, the coronation of His Majesty the King, Losar, World Water Day, World TB Day, Zhabdrung Kuchoe, Birth Anniversary of the third king, Teachers' Day, World No Tobacco Day, Social Forestry Day, Lord Buddha's Parinirvana, First Sermon of Lord Buddha, Death Anniversary of the third king, Blessed Rainy Day, Descending Day of Lord Buddha, and the Institute Foundation Day. Performance of cultural events and competitions form an essential part of the co-curricular learning at the institute.

Academic Facilities:

NIE Samtse provides academic facilities that aid effective teaching and learning in the institute. Today the Institute boasts of more than 70 computers installed in two

laboratories for students and one for the faculty. The Institute now has a lease-line internet service powered by a 64 kbps server, which will be upgraded to about 120 mb in the near future. The free use of basic educational technologies such as OHP machines, laptop and LCD projector, etc. has made teaching-learning at the institute much more relaxing, fun and effective for teachers and students alike.

The institute has a small but fast growing and regularly updated library which is used extensively by the students and teachers. The library currently has a total collection of 14,357 volumes including references, journals and government documents. It also equipped with computers that students can use any time of the day for academic purposes.

The institute also has workshop facilities for vocational skills such as carpentry, art and craft, and photography, which students use mainly for making teaching aids. We also have a video room that is increasingly used to supplement and aid teaching.

	BOARDERS	8	DAY SCHOLARS				ENROLME	νт
MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
22	9	31	10	6	16	32	15	47
19	8	27	3	0	3	22	8	30
12	16	28	4	4	8	16	20	36
26	8	34	1	0	1	27	8	35
33	13	46	2	0	2	35	13	48
21	25	46	0	1	1	21	26	47
37	6	43	0	0	0	37	6	43
36	12	48	1	0	1	37	12	49
25	6	31	0	1	1	25	7	32
11	26	37	1	3	4	12	29	41
35	5	40	1	2	3	36	7	43
26	11	37	1	0	1	27	11	38
303	145	448	24	17	41	327	162	489

STUDENT STATISTICS AS ON MAY 2004

The institute's contributions to the Bhutanese education system

The contributions NIE Samtse has to the system may consist largely in the fact that it has empowered the country in the vital field of education. The institute embarked upon the task of training PTC teachers at a time when the need to multiply the

number of trained Bhutanese teachers was the most immediate and pressing as the provision of modern secular education to meet the human resource needs of the economy became a priority in the 1960's.

During the past 36 years of its growth and development, the institute has been able to provide a total of 999 teacher graduates with primary teacher's certificate (PTC), 412 with bachelor's degree in secondary education (B.Ed Secondary), 156 with bachelor's degree in primary education (B.Ed Primary), 385 with post graduate certificate in education (PGCE), and 45 with bachelor's degree in primary education (B.Ed primary) through the distance mode. The figures add up to a total output of 1997 teacher graduates NIE Samtse has added to the pool of trained Bhutanese teachers for secondary and primary schools in the kingdom.

The introduction of the B.Ed secondary, B.Ed Primary and PGCE programmes in 1983, 1993 and 1989 respectively has, as the figures indicate, added significantly to the ever increasing demand for trained Bhutanese teachers at the at the secondary and primary levels. It is with a sense of deep satisfaction and pride that NIE Samtse thinks of its alumni who work as effective and dedicated teachers, as capable curriculum developers and textbook writers, as efficient district education officers, as well respected headmasters and principals of schools, as capable teacher educators, as noted administrators and policy makers in the myriad domains of Bhutan's education system.

The introduction of the B.Ed primary programme through the distance mode in 1995 is among the landmark events in the three and half decades old history of the institute. The total enrollment for the DE programme as of January 2004 was 321 and the number of graduates for the some period was 45.

The institute faculty members do more than just teach, being actively involved in many professional and academic tasks outside the institute. Many of the institute's lecturers are currently involved in projects related to the development of curriculum for primary and secondary schools, IT education, career education, continuous assessment, distance education and so on. At the moment the science lecturers of this institute are also involved in offering Three Year Diploma Course for the lab assistants.

A good number of NIE Samtse's alumni have not only committed themselves to the sacred task of teaching but have also excelled in the domains of administration in various capacities and have contributed significantly to the development of education in the country. Mention should be made of a few prominent ones: Dasho Zangley Dukpa, honourable Vice Chancellor of the Royal University of Bhutan; Dr. Jagar Dorji, Pro-Vice Chancellor of RUB and Director, NIE Paro; Dasho Zigme Zangpo, Secretary of the National Assembly; Dasho Migmo Dukpa, Managing Director of BBS; Mr. Karma Yeshey, Joint Director of CAPSSD. The institute remembers all of them and all of the rest with deep pride and philosophic joy.

A significant number of the institute's alumni hold critical administrative positions in the department of education, and yet many more teach with dedication in institutes of higher learning such as the ILCS, Simtokha, the NIEs, Paro and Samtse, Sherabtse College, Kanglung, and the Royal Institute of Management, Thimphu. A special characteristic of NIE Samtse as an institute of higher learning is the creativity, flexibility and resilience it demonstrates in the development of its academic and non-academic programmes. Over the years, it has effectively responded to the challenges of providing quality education and training even to students who were visually challenged. The institute congratulates Kunga Chogyel (PTC), Pema Dorji (PTC), Kesang Choden (PTC), Kesang Dorji (PTC), Pema Gyeltshen (B.Ed), Leki Chedup (B.Ed) and Pema Chogyel (PGCE), all of whom showed extraordinary ability and courage to adapt to the demands of academic and co-curricular learning at the institute. The institute wishes them all the best in their careers.

Programme	Year	Number of graduates
	launched	
B.Ed (Secondary)	1983	412 as of July 2003
B.Ed (Primary)	1993	156 as of July 2003
PGCE	1989	385 as of December
		2004
B.Ed through distance mode	1995	45 as of January 2004
PTC	1968	999 as of June 2000
TOTAL (as of May 2004)		1997

Number of graduates in respect of each programme type as of 2000-2004.

Looking ahead

As an institute of higher learning with the mandate of providing academically qualified and professionally competent teachers to the country's school system, NIE Samtse will continue to pursue excellence in the noble task of teaching, research and scholarship. It will continue to be imaginative, creative, resilient and willing to adapt wisely and intelligently to the changes that take place in the country's social, economic, cultural and political landscape as well as to scientific and technological advancements in the field of education outside Bhutan. More specifically, the institute aims to achieve the following in the foreseeable future:

- Develop the institute into a centre of excellence in teaching, research, scholarship and curriculum development.
- Increase the total enrollment to 800 by 2007.
- Engage more actively in action-oriented research that will benefit the system.
- Establish a separate unit for the distance education programme with resource centres around the country to enable the DE students to learn through IT connectivity.

- Develop additional infrastructure for library and IT, and self-catering hostels for both men and women, which will enhance our intake capacity.
- Review the existing curriculum in the light of emerging changes in the social, economic, cultural and political changes in the country.
- Review the current methods of teaching and make them more relevant and meaningful to emerging needs.
- Upgrade the academic and professional qualifications of the members of the faculty aimed to improve the quality of teaching, research and curriculum development.

* * *

This paper is devoted to the Sharchokpa-lo grammar of nominals. As it is not always easy to separate syntax and morphology in Sharchokpa-lo, the discussion of nominals is made considering both the syntax and morphology of each topic together. Although the syntactic aspects of nominals are discussed briefly wherever they arise, attempts have been made to give special priority to the morphological aspects.

It is quite hard to say which morphological model best explains the arrangement of morphotactics and their phonological shapes because Sharchokpa-lo seems to show some characteristics of both the patterns. Item and Arrangement (IA) may be proposed because some words are built up of arrangement of morphemes (Matthews 1991: 126). Each morpheme is realized by one or more alternating morphs in sequence and all of these alternating variants can be listed, thus avoiding the problem of arbitrariness of residual alternations (Bybee 1985: 6). For example, *ma-di-la* 'NEG-go-COP' can be listed as a sequence of three morphemes — the negative morpheme *ma*, the verb stem *di* 'go', followed by *la*, which is a copula marking tense here. There are also some compounds formed by the arrangement of two or more units that are easily identifiable because each unit is a word with a distinct meaning such as *lha* 'god' and *khang*¹ 'house' forming *lhakhang* 'monastery'.

An alternative model, Item and Process (IP), may be proposed because there are also cases where simple items (roots) undergo certain kinds of morphological processes such as internal change, *coth* ~ *ceth*, *khu* ~ *khi* and root extension *nan* ~ *nai*. In *coth-pa* 'prepare-PAST', *ceth-ca* 'prepare-COP', *ceth-pe* 'prepare-NPAST', the vowel of the root *ceth* changes from /e/ to /o/ in the past tense although the tenses are marked by the suffixes *pa*, *ca* (present tense in this case), and *pe*. *khu*, the general term for dog becomes *khi* when it takes the gender markers *pho-* 'male' and *mo-* 'female' as in *phokhi* 'dog', *mokhi* 'bitch'. *nan* '2 sg' becomes *nai-* when combined with *bak* 'PL'. Certain verbs take a verbal connector *-n-*, which connects an inflected verb or a copula to a verb root, to describe an action of one verb such as *pha-n-bi* 'bring-VC-give = give' (*phai* 'bring'), *za-n-thai* 'eat-VC-leave = eat' (*zai* 'eat'), etc.

Although both IA and IP may work in the analysis of Sharchokpa-lo morphemes, I think that IA approach is a better tool because the morphology of Sharchokpa-lo is agglutinating in nature. Where a word consists of more than one morpheme, the boundaries between the morphemes are quite clear-cut. A given morpheme has at least a reasonably invariant shape so that the identification of morphemes in terms of their phonetic shape becomes quite straightforward. Spencer (1991: 50) states that although both IA and IP are fundamentally agglutinative theories, in IA, all morphology is essentially agglutinative whereas, in IP, it need not necessarily look agglutinative, IA may be a better model than IP in the analysis of its word structure.

¹ This is a Tibetan loan. The native word for house is *phai*.

With this general background, I now proceed to describe the nominals of Sharchokpalo in detail beginning with word classes, their distinctive characteristics and their inflectional categories. The numeral system is also described as a sub-class of the nominal systems.

The nominals comprise the word classes: nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. Nouns used as nominal heads are specified for case and take postpositions. The ergative, locative, ablative, and dative cases are indicated by specifiers affixed directly to the last constituent of a noun phrase (NP). Most of the postpositions are formed by combination of nouns and case specifiers. Two suffixes, *kab* and *tan*, can be attached to the nouns and are treated as case specifiers, namely comitative and dative respectively. Two case specifiers may co-occur combined with a single noun (or a pronoun) such as *Pema-ga-gai* 'Pema-LOC-ABL', *ja-ga-tan* '1sg-LOC-DAT', etc. Nouns take classifiers when they are counted in terms of numerals; this is dealt with as a separate topic under Numerals.

Pronouns include personal, possessive, exclusive, etc. Demonstratives and interrogatives are treated as separate topics under nominals. Sharchokpa-lo has a rich pronoun system including honorifics for second person, rude forms (as opposed to polite forms) for third person, and the peculiar pronoun *rang*, which can be used for all the three persons and numbers depending on the context. Pronouns form a different topic under nominals and are dealt with in section 2. Demonstratives and interrogatives are discussed in section 3 and 4 respectively. Adjectives may be adnominal or predicative. They may also occur independently as nominal heads. Adjectives are discussed under section 5. Section 6 takes care of those words that are used adverbially. Numerals form the topic of section 7.

A word in Sharchokpa-lo may be considered as the smallest unit that can be spoken alone. Langacker (1972: 37) defines word as a phonological form that recurs with constant meaning. According to him, the smallest phonological units that recur with constant meaning are morphemes. In this sense of morpheme, Sharchokpa-lo words can be both monomorphemic and polymorphemic. Polymorphemic words are formed by morphological processes such as prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, compounding, etc. Nominal, adjectival, and adverbial stems are formed mostly by suffixation, compounding and, to a lesser extent, reduplication. Natural gender (section 1.5.2) is marked by the process of compounding.

1. Noun

Noun is a class of words that may function syntactically as heads of noun phrase (NP) serving as subject or object of the verb, etc., and may be specified, either morphologically or syntactically, for case, number, gender, and definiteness (Schachter 1985: 7). On morphological grounds, Sharchokpa-lo nouns may be defined by their ability to occur as a separate entity and by the fact that they are specified for case and number. There is no grammatical gender. Sex is indicated by separate words. In some nouns, sex is indicated by preposing or postposing the gender terms — *mo* for the feminine, and *po* or *pho* for the masculine. But this is not regular. Noun phrases can also be followed by postpositions that are formed by combination of nouns and case specifiers.

Nouns encountered in the language may be divided into three types on semantic grounds — common nouns such as *songo* 'person' and *semchen* 'animal', proper nouns such as *Pema* (person's name) and *Paro* (place name), and abstract nouns such as *ting* 'depth' and *damtshi* 'faith', etc. Sharchokpa-lo does not make any grammatical distinction between them except for those nouns which are formed by postposing a bound morpheme –*jan* to the loan colour terms (see section 1.3).

1.1 Nominal stems

Nominal stems in Sharchokpa-lo may be divided into three types: primary, derived or affixed, and compounded stems. Primary stems are those simple nouns which are either monosyllabic such as *sha* 'meat/teeth', *nga* 'fish', *ja* 'tea', *mom* 'curry', etc., or polysyllabic without compounding such as *gadang* 'hand', *zambuling* 'earth', *langpoche* 'elephant', etc.

The derived nominal stems are those words that are formed by morphological processes such as prefixation. For example, nouns denoting kinship terms can be said to be derived by prefixing *a*-, as in *a-pa* 'father', *a-ma* 'mother', *a-ta* 'brother', *a-na* 'sister', *a-jang* 'maternal uncle' *a-ni* 'paternal aunt', *a-ku* 'paternal uncle', *a-zim* 'maternal aunt', *a-bi* 'grandmother', etc.

The compound noun stems constitute the largest group of nominal stems in Sharchokpa-lo and there are different types of such complex stems. The components of some compounds may be free, which are potentially independent or bound, which are never independent. The bound morphemes, although they cannot occur by themselves, are still identified as members of the compound because they have identifiable meanings, which contribute to the meaning of the whole. These kinds of compound elements may be distinguished as obligatorily bound, as opposed to free stems. The members of the compounds may have a clear or a vague meaning such as 'digit'. They may be the dominant or the subordinate term, or they may occur in the first or the last position. All these different types of compound stems are discussed and illustrated in the following paragrphs.

The first is a compound stem where both the first and the second members are free forms. Such a compound stem is formed by a combination of two nouns with distinct meanings of their own. In the form of an equation, it is $N_1N_2 = Nc$. The resultant compound noun, which is symbolized here as Nc, can either have the same meaning as N_2 , the combination of the meanings of N_1 and N_2 , or entirely a new meaning. In the case of former, where the meaning is already contained in N_2 , they are still said together (compounded) for illocutionary purposes or for stylistic reasons. Some body part nouns also fall in this category as the second member of the compounds have meanings of their own and may be treated as separate nouns and not just digit. The following examples illustrate this:

NcGlossMeaningshing-joktangtree-potato'wild potasu-jabutter-tea'butter teanowang-lepchimouth-lips'lips'bi-tingpaleg-heel'heel'ming riovo water'tops'	
ming-ri eye-water 'tears'	

ming-tam pha-ma name-story father-mother 'reputation' 'parents'

The second type of compound stems consists of free forms as the first member and bound forms as the second or the last member. Such compound stems are formed by postposing -pa to the first lexical stem. This process is identified as compounding and not as suffixation because -pa clearly has a sense of 'person' when attached to other non-human nouns although it does not have any meaning in isolation and it cannot occur by itself. This -pa is attached to other nouns (which may be called primary noun stem) to become another complex noun conveying the meaning of what a person does in relation to the primary noun stem. Nc is a compound noun, which is formed by compounding two nouns where the second member of the compound is -pa 'person'. Examples are as follows:

Nc	Gloss	Meaning
tshong-pa	business-person	'merchant/businessman'
lai-pa	work-person	'worker/labourer'
thrai-pa	tax-person	'taxpayer/head of a household'
tson-pa	prison-person	'prisoner'

Some of the body part nouns also fall under the same compound stem where the first member is a free form and the last member is a bound form. Such compounds are usually whole-part combination where the second member has a vague meaning but when they are compounded, they form a new noun with a distinct meaning indicating that the bound form, which does not have clear meanings in isolation, also contributes to the overall meaning of the new noun of the same class (body parts). The free forms, namely - *bruma* and -*suum*, which I gloss as 'digit', do not have meanings in isolation and they have to depend on another noun, which can occur independently, to form a new meaningful noun. Nc is again a compound noun formed by the whole-part combination. The following examples indicate this:

Nc	Gloss	Meaning
gadang-bruma	hand-digit	'fingers'
bi-bruma	leg-digit	'toes'
ming-suum	eye-digit	'eyebrows'

There is another type of compound where the first member is bound but the second member is free. The bound forms *pho-* which has the sense of 'male' and *mo-*, which has the sense of 'female' are preposed to the non-human animates to distinguish their gender and the lexical superlative term *rab* 'best' to form the adjectives — 'handsome' and 'beautiful'.

Nc	
pho-khi	
mo-khi	

Gloss male-dog female-dog **Meaning** 'dog' 'bitch'

pho-dre	male-mule
mo-dre	female-mule
pho-rab	male-best
mo-rab	female-best

'male mule' 'female mule' 'handsome' 'beautiful'

Reduplication of syllables also contributes to the nominal stem formation. Although reduplication is more in case of adjectives, examples are also found in case of nouns. The reduplicated adjectives are of two types — without vowel change and with vowel change (see section 5.1) — whereas all the reduplicated compound noun stems are without any vowel change. Such nominal compound stems formed by reduplication are very few. They are usually the terms spoken of or referred to children and not among adults, which may be called 'baby talk'. The non-reduplicated bases do not occur.

Base	Reduplication	Meaning
се	ce-ce	'fruits',
ma	ma-ma	'food'
ko	ko-ko	'egg'
ka	ka-ka	'meat'

1.2 Nouns from verbs

Most of the nouns in Sharchokpa-lo are formed from verbs by the morphological device of suffixation. They may be categorized into different types of nominalization depending on the kinds of verb and the suffixes they take such as agentive nominalization, instrumental nominalization, manner nominalization, locative nominalization, etc. (Comrie and Thompson 1985). All these types of nominalization are discussed and their examples provided in the following paragraphs. Some of the verb roots are not the citation forms while others are. Those that are not have to be either in the imperative or in the non-past tense to be in the citation forms. Despite some irregularities, the verb roots that end in vowels are usually the non-citation ones. I gloss all the noun derivational suffixes as AGNOM (Agentive Nominalizer), INNOM (Instrumental Nominalizer), MANOM (Manner Nominalizer), LOCNOM (Locative Nominalizer), etc.

Action verbs are converted into nouns by suffixing *-khan* to indicate the doer of the action or the nouns meaning 'one which "verbs"', which Comrie and Thompson (1985: 351) call 'agentive nominalization'. N is the noun formed by verb root and the nominalising suffix *-khan*. Examples are as follows:

Ν	Gloss	Meaning
za-khan	eat-AGNOM	'one who eats = eater'
shi-khan	die-AGNOM	'one who dies = dead'
bi-khan	give-AGNOM	'one who gives = giver (person)'
cang-khan	play-AGNOM	'one who plays = player'

Verbs are converted into nouns meaning 'an instrument for "verbing"' by attaching the suffix *-tsham*. Comrie and Thompson (1985: 353) refer to such process as

'instrumental nominalization'. Verb root plus the nominalising suffix *–tsham* forms the noun N. Examples are:

Ν	Gloss	Meaning
thik-tsham	tie-INNOM	'thing for tying = tie'
dok-tsham	receive-INNOM	'thing for receiving = container/sack'
chok-tsham	open-INNOM	'thing for opening = opener'
lang-tsham	sit-INNOM	'thing for sitting = chair/mat'

Nouns meaning 'way of "verbing"' are derived by attaching suffix *-thang* to the verbs. Comrie and Thompson (1985: 354) refer to this derivation process as 'manner nominalization'. Verb root + the nominalising suffix *- thang* forms the noun N. Examples:

Ν	Gloss	Meaning
yip-thang	sleep-MANOM	'way of sleeping'
a-thang	do-MANOM	'way of doing'
cho-thang	stay-MANOM	'way of staying'
dang-thang	walk-MANOM	'way of walking/walking style'

Verbs are also changed into nouns meaning 'a place where "verb" happens' by attaching suffix *–sa*. Comrie and Thompson (1985: 355) call such a device as 'locative nominalization'. Verb root + the suffix *–sa* forms the noun N. Examples are:

Ν	Gloss	Meaning
rum-sa	meet-LOCNOM	'meeting place' (place of appointment)
cho-sa	stay-LOCNOM	'place for staying = residence'
di-sa	go-LOCNOM	'place for going = destination'
sho-sa	ooze-LOCNOM	'from where something comes out = source'

1.3 Nominalization of colour terms

The native colour terms are *changlu* 'black', *balingbi* 'white', *serbu* 'yellow', *tsalo* 'red', *ngokar* 'pink', *yenglu* 'blue', *jangkha* 'green', etc. These are free forms that can occur as adjectives. But one basic colour term, namely black, is nominalised by adding *-min* and *-pai* to the colour root *changlu* to refer to the male and female who have dark complexions. These two nominalizers cannot stand by themselves but have the sense of man and woman when compounded with the black colour term:

Nominal	Gloss	Meaning
changlu-pai	black-man	'a man who has dark complexion'
changlu-min	black-woman	'a woman who has dark complexion'

Besides the native colour terms, Tibetan colour morphs *kar* 'white', *nag* 'black', *mar* 'red', *ser* 'yellow', etc. have gone deep into the Sharchokpa-lo vocabulary so much so that they almost appear like native colour terms. In Tibetan, these are bound colour roots where free forms are formed by compounding *-po* and *-mo* with these colour morphs indicating masculine and feminine genders for animate nouns respectively. The Tibetan free forms with gender distinction are not used in Sharchokpa-lo, except for names of people and then only three of them, namely the colour term for white, black and yellow as in /Karma/ (female name), /Nagpai/ (male name), /Serpo/ (male name).

In addition to this, Sharchokpa-Io has developed a peculiar device of forming nouns from these colour terms by compounding *-jan* with the bound Tibetan colour morphs. These refer to non-human animates, especially as names of cows, which are named according to their body hair colour. Like all other nominalizers, *-jan* too doesn't have any meaning of its own but is used only in naming cows by compounding with the colour terms. Therefore, I am glossing it as 'cow' for the sake of analysis. Examples are:

Nominal	Gloss	Meaning
kar-jan	white-cow	'cow that looks white = whiteness'
nag-jan	black-cow	'cow that looks black = blackness'
ser-jan	yellow-cow	'cow that looks yellow = yellowness'
mar-jan	red-cow	'cow that looks red = redness'

1.4 Honorific nouns

Bhutanese people observe strict social hierarchy and, because of this, languages have developed honorific forms for certain nouns and verbs. The rules of honorific noun formation are similar across most Bhutanese languages; in that most of them have either adopted Tibetan system of using honorific forms fully or have borrowed certain forms of Tibetan and added to the native terms as prefixes to form their own honorific forms.

Sharchokpa-lo too has developed honorific counterparts for some nouns and verbs, which are used when addressing or referring to a person of higher social or religious status. The honorific forms may also be used among people of equal status during formal occasions or while talking to strangers in general. Honorific forms in Sharchokpa-lo are formed by one of the following ways: (a) by preposing components, which are largely Tibetan loans, to the monosyllabic nouns that may be native or Tibetan loan, (b) by substituting the ordinary forms with entirely new forms.

There are different mechanisms of forming honorific nouns by compounding. Some honorific nouns are derived by preposing a new honorific noun to an ordinary noun which doesn't have its own honorific counterpart. In this type, some Sharchokpa-lo ordinary nouns are replaced by the Tibetan terms in the honorific. The final syllable of the ordinary form is dropped for some, while it is retained for others. For example, the honorific form for /phrengma/ 'prayer beads' is /chak-phreng/ where /chak/, the honorific form for /gadang/ 'hand', is preposed to the ordinary /phreng/ after dropping the final syllable /-ma/. The examples are as follows. The components that turn the ordinary into honorific appear in bold:

Honorific	Gloss	Ordinary	Meaning
chak -yig	hand-letter	yigu	'letter'
chak -sen	hand-nail	senmo² (TBL³)	'fingernail'
ku -par	body-picture	par	'photo'
ku -cing	body-belt	cing4 (TBL)	'a belt'

Some honorific forms of nouns are formed by compounding honorific verbs with the ordinary nouns. Verbs are usually those that express actions in relation to, or use of, nouns. For example, /yuel/, the ordinary Tibetan loan word for village, is converted into honorific /thrung-yuel/ by compounding honorific verb /thrung/ 'to be born' with the related ordinary noun /yuel/ 'village'. They are related because the noun /yuel/ is a place where verb /thrung/ happens. As above, some of the native ordinary nouns in this category are also replaced by those of Tibetan and, also, the final syllable of some ordinary nouns is dropped while others are retained when forming the honorific counterparts. Examples are:

Honorific	Gloss	Ordinary	Meaning
joen -lam	walk-path	lam	'footpath'
zhug -dhen	sit-mattress	dhen⁵ (TBL)	'mattress'
zhe -thur	eat-spoon	thurmaé(TBL)	'spoon'
chib -ga	ride-saddle	gabcha	'saddle'
zhe -bang	eat-plate	bangcung	'plate'

Honorific forms for compound nouns are formed by replacing one member of the compound with its honorific counterpart and leaving the other member as it is. For example, in /mig-she/ 'spectacle' (lit. eye-glass), the honorific form is /cen-she/ where ordinary /mig/ 'eye' is replaced by its honorific counterpart /cen/ and leaving the second member of the compound /she/ 'glass', which does not have honorific counterpart, as it is:

Honorific	Gloss	Ordinary	Meaning
cen -she	eye-glass	mig-she	'spectacle'
thuk -sam	mind-thought	nog-sam	'thought'
zhug -thri	sit-seat	kang ⁷ -thri	'chair'
je -dhar	meet-scarf	kha-dhar	'meeting scarf'

² The native term for fingernail is /tsinang/.

³ Tibetan loan.

⁴ The native term for belt is /chudang/.

⁵ The native term for mattress is /tan/.

⁶ The native term for spoon is /lem/.

⁷/kang/ may be related to the verb root /lang/ 'sit'.
The second type of honorific nouns is formed by substitution, i.e. those formed by using entirely different forms for honorific reference. The honorific nouns formed by substitution are the largest among all in Sharchopa-Io. Some examples are:

Honorific	Ordinary	Meaning
seu cen tha zimcung tshen yum yap se	to ming nan phai ming ama apa za	'food' 'eye' 'you' 'house' 'name' 'mother' 'father' 'son'

1.5 Nominal specification/inflection

Under nominal specification or inflection are discussed inflectional categories of nouns such as case, gender, and number. Bybee (1985:85) argues that all morphological categories belong on a continuum that ranges from lexical to inflectional. Sharchokpalo number may be said to lie closer to the lexical end on this continuum than case. As the discussion of syntax and morphology is not separated in this paper, all the categories (both syntactic and morphological) are discussed together under the nominal but the explanation of whether a category is encoded syntactically or morphologically is given under each category.

The number morphemes are separate lexical items occurring immediately after the noun base. Although the case morphemes cannot stand on their own, they have relational meanings in that they combine with nouns to signal their relation with other constituents in the sentence. The case marking always occurs on the last constituent of the NP and, therefore, the number marking comes before the case marking when both of them occur together. The change in number creates change in the entities being referred to whereas case has no effect on their inherent qualities. Gender specification is not regular and is done arbitrarily. All these categories are discussed individually in the following sections.

1.5.1 Number

The number specification is done by syntax — by putting quantifiers after the relevant nouns. Sharchokpa-lo has many quantifiers, other than the numerals, referring to some specific values (exact numeral values) and less specific (referring to a range of numeral values). Before discussing the number specification, the list of quantifiers is given according to their meanings in terms of numerals and the range of quantities:

Specific quantifiers:

one	thur
two	du, cha (thur), dom(thur), nigtsing
sam	three, etc (from four, see section 5)

Less specific quantifiers:

few	tiktang, daso, nyungpu
some	halam, daso, phrothken
many	shama, dakpa
more	mangpu, theb
too many	jaktsi, namesame
all	thamchen

Sharchokap-lo nouns seem to have three numbers – singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked except in an additive construction, in which case the singular number is indicated by numeral morpheme *thur* 'one'. Examples:

songo	'person'
kala	'pot'
wa	'COW'
zamin	'girl'

Example of an additive construction:

(1) dangpo dingpo gyelkhab thur-ga pon thur cho-wa la Long long ago country one-LOC king one stay-PAST COP 'Long long ago, there lived a king in a country'

All the nouns given above may imply that they are singular even if the numeral term for one *thur* is not mentioned. But in (1), both the nouns *gyelkhab* 'country' and *pon* 'king' have to be followed by the numeral term *thur* 'one' to show that they are singular. So, *thur* here specifies only singularity and not indefiniteness. Where it indicates indefiniteness, *thur* occurs after postnominal quantifiers.

Duality is indicated by the numeral term *nigtsing* 'two' and the quantifiers *cha* 'pair' (inanimates and human animates), *dom* 'even', *du* 'pair' (non-human animates only) etc. which all indicate two referents. The quantifiers like *cha*, *dom*, and *du* take the numeric-ending *thur* 'one' optionally to indicate something like 'one pair'. Examples:

zamin-cha- (thur)	girl-pair-one	'two girls'
zamin-dom- (thur)	girl-even-one	'two girls'
zamin- nigtsing	girl-two	'two girls'

Dual terms vary according to the nouns or objects being counted. Duality of both animate and inanimate nouns can be expressed with *cha* and *dom* but there is another additional dual specifier *du* which is specifically for non-human animates. This only applies to non-human animates, especially to bulls, and won't make any sense if they are applied to human nouns. *du* also combines with *thur* 'one' optionally. The numeral dual term *nigtsing* 'two' can be used to refer to all kinds of nouns.

toka-du-(thur)	bull-pair-one	'two bulls'
jatsha-du-(thur)	jatsha-pair-one	'two jatsha [®] '
zo-du-(thur)	zo-pair-one	'two zo (a hybrid bull)'

Plurality is expressed in three different ways:

(i) by using the plural suffix *-bak*. *-bak* is identified as a suffix and not as a word because it cannot stand on its own. If it is said in isolation, then it refers to the noun 'mask' and has got nothing to do with number specification. The number marker *-bak*, as opposed to the noun *bak* 'mask', is treated as suffix because it has to attach itself to nouns to indicate its role of marking the plural number.

songo	'person'	songo-bak	'persons'
semcen	'animal'	semcen-bak	'animals'
lopen	'teacher'	lopen-bak	'teachers'
nga	'fish'	nga-bak	'fishes'
lung	'stone'	lung-bak	'stones'

(ii) by adding less specific quantifiers having a sense of 'few, some, many, too many, more, all', etc.

songo tiktang	'few people'
songo dasu	'some people'
songo dakpa	'many people'
songo mangpu	'more people'
songo namesame	'too many people'
songo thamchen	'all people'

(iii) by using specific numeral quantifier other than 'one' and 'two'.

songo sam	'three people'
songo nga	'five people'
songo se	'ten people'

1.5.2 Gender

As already said, there is no grammatical gender in Sharchokpa-lo. It, however, has different ways of distinguishing natural gender. We have seen, in the nominalisation of colour terms (section 1.3), that the bound forms *-min* as in *changlumin* refers to a woman whose facial complexion is dark and *-pai* as in *changlupai* refers to a man for the same complexion. There is no evidence for *-pai* marking masculine gender in nouns other than the one referred to above but *-min* certainly marks feminine gender for animates as the examples below show. Since *-min* does not have any meaning of its own, it may be considered as a derivational morpheme which forms feminine counterparts when postposed to the animate nouns. The gender distinction is confined only to the animate nouns and all the inanimate nouns are genderless.

⁸ The male sibling of a Mithun.

za	'son'	za-min	'daughter'
tsho	'grandson	tsho-min	'grand-daughter'
jatsha	'a type of bull'	jatsha-min	'female jatsha'
yangku	'another type of bull'	yangku-min	'female yangku'
yongba	'idiot' (male)	jong-min	'idiot' (female)

There are also two separate morphemes — *pho-* or *-po* and *mo-*, which distinguish natural gender irregularly. They are compounded with other words, and occur as the first, last, or middle element of the compound noun stems. Wherever they are, these morphemes are treated as separate words — 'male' for *pho, po* and *pa* and 'female' for *mo* and *ma*—because they have identifiable meanings although some of them (*pho* and *mo* can while *pa, po* and *ma* cannot) cannot stand in isolation.

Nouns	Gloss	Meaning
pho-khi	male-dog	'dog'
mo-khi	female-dog	'bitch'
kurta-pho-chhen	horse-male-big	'horse'
kurta-se-pa	horse-?-male	'stallion'
kurta-ge-ma	horse-?-female	'mare'
pho-dre	male-mule	'male mule'
mo-dre	female-mule	'female mule'

Other than the above-mentioned mechanisms, gender is distinguished by using separate lexical items. That is, by using distinctive terms for the paired groups of males and females. This gender feature of distinctive terms is mainly followed in respect of kin terms.

ара	'father'	ama	'mother'
ata	'brother'	ana	'sister'
meme	'grandfather'	abi	'grandmother'
ajang	'maternal uncle'	ani	'paternal aunt'
aku	'paternal uncle'	azim	'maternal aunt'
khothken	'brother-in-law'	mathang	'sister-in-law'

1.5.3 Case

Case is a grammatical category that marks the role of NPs basically in relation to other parts of the sentence. Blake (2001:1) states the role of case as typically marking the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level. Like other categories, case is also not separated for morphology and syntax. So, the discussion of case is made showing both — the form of case suffixes and the use of case suffixes expressing grammatical relations. Under the case forms, all variant forms of suffixes (allomorphy) and the environments conditioning the allomorphy are illustrated and discussed.

The grammatical relations or roles expressed by cases are quite varied and numerous — such as subject and object (agent and patient), instrument, location, source, path,

destination, recipient, purpose, manner, possession, separation, etc. Like the other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family such as Dzongkha and Tibetan, Sharhokpa-lo too takes case endings and postpositions. The case is marked just once at the end of the NP. In that respect, cases appear like postpositions making it hard to decide whether to describe them as suffixes or postpositions. As some case forms are phonologically conditioned, they are treated as suffixes, and therefore inflections.

The most important cases in terms, and order, of frequency are ergative, locative, dative, ablative, and comitative. Some case marker may occur after another. For example, the ablative and the dative sometimes occur after the locative case. Table 3.1 provides the forms of case markers in Sharchokpa-lo including the unmarked case, which is the absolutive. The k-initial forms occur after voiceless consonants and g-initial forms occur elsewhere. The locative -ga has an alternative -ha (see section 1.5.3.2).

ABS			0
ERG	ki	gi	
LOC	ka	ga	
ABL	kai	gai	
DAT			tan
СОМ			kab

1.5.3.1 Ergative

The ergative case is mainly used with the subject of a transitive verb. It is also sometimes used with the subject of an intransitive verb. In transitive clauses, it specifies the agent or subject from the two or more NPs, one of which is object or a patient. Without the ergative case, it may not be possible to distinguish these syntactic elements because the word order in Sharchokpa-lo is not very rigid. In intransitive constructions, the ergative case simply shows from whom a particular action or a thing came about. The ergative case is marked by suffix -ki after voiceless consonants and -gi elsewhere.

- (2) buchila-**gi** waktsa tho-wa snake-ERG child bite-PAST 'The snake has bitten the child'
- (3) *khu-bak-ki don-ga zug-la* dog-PL-ERG ghost-LOC bark-COP 'The dogs are barking at the ghost'
- (4) *apa-gi ngar-ba* father-ERG laugh-PAST 'The father laughed'

1.5.3.2 Locative

The locative case has several uses — spatial, temporal, and directional. It is also used to indicate possession and for identifying the recipient. The locative case is marked by -ka after voiceless consonants and -ga elsewhere. It has also got another allomorph – ha which are used after the first person plural pronoun a- as in a-ha '1PL LOC = ours', after the second person singular possessive pronoun na as in na-ha '2SG-LOC = yours⁹ (plural)' and after the third person plural pronoun roktey as in roktey-ha '3PL LOC = theirs'. In the last two examples, the suffix -ga can also be used interchangeably and the meaning remains the same but in the first one, the possession or the location is solely indicated by the suffix -ha. The locative case may co-occur with another case, namely the ablative -gai.

- (5) ro-ki pecha sa-ga tha-na¹⁰
 3SG-ERG book soil-LOC leave-COP
 'He is keeping the book on the ground'
- (6) *jang namning ngap-ka di-le* 1SG tomorrow sun-LOC go-NPAST 'I'll go during the day tomorrow'
- (7) *zamin morab-ka bi-wa* girl beautiful-LOC give-PAST '...gave to the beautiful girl'
- (8) jang phai-ga-gai throm-ka di-wa
 1SG house-LOC-ABL city-LOC go-PAST
 'I went to the city from home'
- (9) *uthu gari ja-ga gila* this car 1SG-LOC COP 'This car is mine'
- (10) na-ha gyelkhab hang-dabu ca ya? 2SG-LOC country what-like COP Q 'How is your country like?'

(11) *ja-ga cala-bak roktey-ha bi-le* 1SG-LOC thing-PL 3PL-LOC give-NPAST 'I will give my things to them'

1.5.3.3 Dative

⁹ Strangely, the second person singular possessive pronoun *na* becomes second person plural possessive when the suffix -ha is attached. However, if -ga is used here, it remains as the second person singular possessive or locative. ¹⁰ This *na*, which functions as copula, is different from another *na*, which expresses a wish, both positive and negative. The Copula *na* is used interchangeably with the copula *la*.

The dative case marks the role of the recipient of something given or transferred. It is marked by the suffix *-tan*. The suffix *-tan* occurs either directly after the stem or following a stem already inflected for locative. The recipient role may also be marked by the locative case above. Thus, the dative case can be substituted by locative case ending *-ka* or *-ga*. Blake (2001:42) states that such a substitution is a sign of relatively close relationship and an indication of marked relationship between the two cases that can be substituted for each other. These two case markers, i.e. dative and locative, can also co-occur like ablative and locative cases.

- (12) *zamin morab-tan bi-wa* girl beautiful-DAT give-PAST '...gave to the beautiful girl'
- (13) *songo chilu-tan yek-co* person big-DAT tell-IMP 'Tell to the big (important) person'
- (14) *zamin morab-(ga)-tan bi-wa* girl beautiful-LOC-DAT give-PAST '...gave to the beautiful girl'

1.5.3.4 Ablative

The ablative case, indicating movement away from some location or separation from a point, is expressed by *-gai* or *-kai* in Sharchokpa-Io. The ablative case marker adds the sense of 'from' or 'out of' or 'through' to earlier function of location in space but does not indicate the time relations. The different senses expressed by ablative case marker are illustrated with examples as follows:

The ablative case denotes source of motion:

- (15) *ri phu-gai sho-n-ca* water mountain-ABL release-VC-COP 'Water comes from the mountain'
- (16) si Iraq-kai pha-n-caoil Iraq-ABL bring-VC-COP'The oil comes from Iraq' (lit. the oil is brought from Iraq)

The ablative case also expresses a sense of 'via' or 'through':

- (17) *jang Canbarra-ga Sydney-gai o-pha* 1SG Canberra-LOC Sydney-ABL come-PAST 'I came to Canberra via Sydney'
- (18) *jang Bangkok-kai o-pha* 1SG Bangkok-ABL come-PAST 'I came via Bangkok'

(19) *aching songo-bak-ka cham-ka-gai di-wa* 1DU people-PL-LOC middle-LOC-ABL go-PAST 'Two of us went through the middle of people'

The ablative case has a sense of origin:

- (20) *jang Thimphu-gai gila* 1SG Thimphu-ABL COP 'I am from Thimphu'
- (21) rok Druk-kai gila 2SG Bhutan-ABL COP 'He/she is from Bhutan'

The ablative is also used as standard of comparison:

- (22) *ja-gai rok drak-la* 1SG -ABL 3SG better-COP 'He is better than me'
- (23) rok-kai jang chi-le 3SG -ABL 1SG big-NPAST 'I am/will be older than him'

1.5.3.5 Comitative

The comitative case is expressed by the case ending *-kab*. It has the meaning of 'together with' and expresses the sense of accompaniment or association. If there are more than two nominal heads in an NP, *-kab* occurs on the last noun of a coordinated noun phrase.

- (24) Wangmo pheoktsa-kab di-n-chowa Wangmo man-COM go-VC-be PAST 'Wangmo was going with her husband'
- (25) apa-kab charo a-nyi di-le khe-du Father-COM friend do-RES go-NPAST necessary-SUBJ 'I might have to accompany my father'
- (26) *jang apa dang ama dang ata-kab shonang phe-na* 1SG father and mother and brother-COM happiness do-WISH 'I am happy with father, mother and brother'

1.5.4 Case on non-nouns

Case marking is generally found only on nouns in most languages but, in Sharchokpa-lo, case marking also appears on non-nouns like pronouns (see section 2.2), determiners and adjectives. Although pronouns and nouns may be considered as the subclasses of the larger class 'nominal', other classes of words, like adjective and demonstrative, are certainly not nouns. An adjective can appear as the nominal head and can be specified for case. Demonstratives too can stand as the sole member of a noun phrase (for example they can function as pronouns) and can be specified for case. Examples (27) and (28) illustrate case marking on adjectives, and (29) and (30) for case marking on demonstratives. Case suffixes can occur with determiners also (see example 27 of chapter IV).

(27) uthu yigu zamin chilu-ga bi-na. morab-ka-tan
 this letter girl big-LOC give-WISH. beautiful-LOC-DAT
 'Give this letter to the big girl....to the beautiful one/the one who is beautiful'

(28) *ja-(ga) gari singma thur dang manma thur ca. manma-gi na-lo-ma-la 1SG LOC car new one and old one COP old-ERG agree-NC-NEG-COP*

'I have an old and a new car. The old one is not working'

- (29) *ona-ga songo mangpo la* that-LOC people many COP 'There are many people over there'
- (30) borang barka tshongkang thur la. ona-ga-tan di-wa jang forest middle shop one COP that-LOC-DAT go-PAST 1SG 'There is a shop in the middle of the forest. I went towards that (shop)'

1.5.5 Postpositions

The postpositions in Sharchokpa-lo are a separate class of words. They are independent forms with their own stress. Formally, some of them can be internally analysed as case forms of nouns. In terms of distribution, they combine with a preceding NP, which may or may not be marked for a case. If the preceding NP is marked for case, it is usually the locative. Semantically, the postpositions mark relations of space.

The postpositions are similar to case suffixes in that they occur with a whole NP and mark its relation to the rest of the clause. The case is marked only once in the NP at the end of it making it hard to decide whether as case suffixes or postpositions. The postpositions are, however, formally distinguished from case markers by the fact that they are a separate group of syntactic words, which are independent. The postpositions have more specific meanings as opposed to cases, which have more general meanings. Some of the case markers in Sharchokpa-Io may be termed as analytic case markers as opposed to synthetic case markers (Blake 2001:9). According to Blake, case affixes are phonologically integrated into their host word. The case suffixes, which are phonologically conditioned such as -ka/-ga are like this. But the postpositions are separate words that do not have any phonological conditioning.

There are large numbers of postpositions in Sharchokpa-lo. Some of the important ones with their meaning and use are illustrated as follows:

depka is similar to English 'with'. However, *depka* only has the sense of accompaniment and not that of instrumental as expressed by English 'with'. *dep* is from the verb *dephe* 'combine-NPAST' and *-ka* is the locative case marker. It is preceded by NP with no case marking.

- (31) *jang Karma* **depka** *di-le* 1SG Karma with go-NPAST 'I am/will going/go with Karma'
- (32) *waktsa-gi ai-(bak)* **depka** *na-lo- ma-la* child-ERG 1PL with not agree-NC-NEG-COP 'The child is not agreeing with us'

doengai or *yorkai* has the sense of 'for' or 'for the sake of'. A combination of noun *doen* 'reason' and the ablative case marker *-gai* or *-kai* form two separate but similar postpositions. *yor* is possibly from the verb *yorpe* 'bend-NPAST'. It is preceded by NP in the locative case.

(33) ja-(ga) apa gyelkhab-ka yorkai/doengai shi-wa 1SG-LOC father country-LOC for die-PAST 'My father died for/for the sake of the country' thungka is used to indicate the locative sense of 'on'. It is the locative case of a noun meaning 'edge'. The preceding NP has no case marking.

- (34) *ji-(gi) pecha kangthri thungka tha-wa* 1SG ERG book table on leave-PAST "I kept/left the book on the table'
- (35) *waktsa-gi ama thungka gong-la* child-ERG mother on climb-COP 'The child is climbing on mother'

nangka expresses the sense of 'in'. This postposition is formed by the combination of *nang*, which is used to refer the inside of anything, and -ka, which is the locative case marker. The preceding NP has no case.

- (36) *roktey-(bak) phai* **nangka** *cho-wa* 3PL house in stay-PAST 'They were in the house'
- (37) *ja-(ga) charo-bak-ki phai nangka di-wa* 1SG LOC friend-PL-ERG house in go-PAST 'My friends went inside the house'

raga or *phranga* are also two separate postpositions having the similar senses 'under', 'below', or 'near'. *ra* is the base of anything and *phrang* is 'underside of anything'. Another postposition *reka* also expresses the sense of 'near'. *re* is a verb 'to block' as in 'blocking the way'. The preceding NP has an optional locative case.

(38) meto-(ga) phrangga buchila thur la

flower -LOC under snake one COP 'There is a snake under the flower'

- (39) *kangthri-(ga)* **raga** phomting thur la table-LOC under pen one COP 'There is pen under the table'
- (40) *gurbu-(ga)* **reka** bu thur dang la cup-LOC near insect one walk COP 'An insect is walking near the cup'

brangka expresses the meaning of 'at/to the house of something'. A combination of *brang* 'bed' and the locative case marker *-ka* forms this postposition. Locationals generally can express either 'at' or 'to' functions. The preceding NP for this postposition also has optional locative case marker that expresses possession.

(41) ining jang charo-(ga) brangka yi-pha yesterday 1SG friend-LOC at sleep-PAST
'I slept at a friend's place yesterday'
(42) jang roktey-(ga) brangka ma-di-la
1SG 3PL-LOC at NEG-go-COP
'I don't want to go to them/ I'll not go to them'

2 Personal pronouns

Pronouns are a class of words that substitute nouns and noun phrases. Sharchokpalo distinguishes various subtypes of pronouns such as personal, possessive, exclusive, and a peculiar pronoun *rang*. The pronoun *rang* is not specified under any category of pronouns because this shows a unique characteristic of referring to all the persons and numbers depending on the discourse context. Morphologically, pronouns are inflected for case and number. They are discussed in the following sections.

2.1 Pronoun stems

This section discusses the contrasts made in the pronominal system and the forms that are used. The different types of pronoun stems found in Sharchokpa-lo may be described under the following topics.

2.1.1 Person-number pronominal stems

The personal pronouns are words used to refer to the person speaking (eg. *I, me*), the person spoken to (*you*), and other persons and things spoken of (*he, him, she, her, it,* etc.) (Schachter 1985). In Sharchokpa-lo, the personal pronouns differentiate three persons and three numbers. It has honorific forms in the second person and rude, as opposed to polite, forms in the third person for all the three numbers. Table 1.2 shows all forms of Sharchokpa-lo personal pronouns organised by number, person, and politeness:

Table 1.2 Personal pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1 st	jang	aching	ai(bak)
2 nd	nan	naching	nai(bak)
2 nd Honorific	tha	tha-nigtsing	tha-bak
3 rd	rok	rokching ¹¹	roktei-(bak)
3 rd Rude	dan	daching	dai-(bak)

Looking at the morphology of the forms of personal pronouns, there are some recurrent parts that we can isolate. Although the form for the first person singular is a little different from the root stem of first person dual and plural, we can say that a- is the stem for first person. The first person singular pronoun is jang, which is unanalysable. The number suffixes are *-ching* for dual and *-i*, and the optional *-bak*, for plural. For the second person, na- can be said to be the stem, the suffix -n as singular number marker and dual and plural number suffixes remain the same as those of the first person. The stem for the third person is *rok* and the singular number is unmarked; the marker for dual remains the same as second and first person, i.e. ching but for the third person, the plural is indicated by adding -tey to form roktey '3PL'. The plural marker -bak can occur optionally with the third person plural roktey. The second person honorific is formed by replacing *na*- with *tha* and the third person rude is formed by replacing rok with da-.

The third person pronouns denote only animate referents. For inanimate objects, the demonstrative onu 'that' has to be used. onsong is also used as a third person singular pronoun but it refers only to humans. It is formed by combining the contracted form (dropping the final vowel) of the demonstrative onu 'that' and the noun songo 'person' meaning something like 'that person'.

There is a system of using self-depreciating or self-demeaning adjectives, nouns or noun phrases instead of first person singular pronoun. These are like dukpu 'poor', zhenmu 'underprivileged', yongba 'idiot', khukorban 'vaqabond' (lit. stray doq), and dukpu waktsa 'poor child', zhenmu songo 'underprivileged person', and so on. On the contrary, the second person singular pronouns are often avoided in favour of polite nouns such as lopen 'teacher' (used in a broad sense like that of Japanese sensei to address both known and unknown people), gomchen 'religious practitioner', drasho¹² 'senior official' (lit. best), ama13 'mother', etc.

2.1.2. Honorific forms

Only the second person has honorific forms. There are no special terms of address for the third persons that may be termed as honorific pronouns but this does not mean

¹¹ The third person dual is also formed by adding the numeral term *nigtsing* 'two' to the third person singular *rok* to form *roknigtsing*.

¹² Drasho is a title given to some senior public servants who have distinguished careers. This is used more like a second person singular pronoun to address both known and unknown men whose appearance is like that of a senior public servant. ¹³ Ama used to address both known and unknown middle-aged women.

that one cannot be polite with a third person. If the speaker wants to be polite or wants to show respect to someone who is talked about, then he can either use the titles of the person talked of, if any, or he can use honorific verbs while talking about actions of a third person. As can be seen from table 1.2, the honorific form *tha* does not take the dual marker *-ching*, as opposed to the ordinary form *naching*. It, instead, takes the numeral *nigtsing* 'two'. **tha-ching* is unintelligible and it has to be said *tha-nigtsing* for showing respect or politeness to two people together.

2.1.3 Rude forms

Like the honorific, only one person has rude forms— the third person. The rude forms take the same number suffixes as those of ordinary forms or personal pronouns, viz. – n for singular, -*ching* for dual, and –*i*(-*bak*) for plural.

The rude forms of the third person pronouns are not the opposites of familiar forms because they can be used to refer to familiar people also. They may be said in a situation like this: "when I talk to A about B because I don't like B or I am not happy with B because B has done something to me". The following examples illustrate the use of rude forms of third person pronouns for all the three numbers:

(43) *ro-ki jang zema-ga bang tsong -ma. om dan gan-pa ji-gi kong-me.* 3SG-ERG 1SG small-LOC dominance sell-PAST now 3SGR old-PAST1SG-ERG beat-NPAST

'He bullied me when I was small. Now that he is old, I will beat him'

(44) gopa rokching thur-gi thur-ga namisami lek-cho-wa. om **daching** chamo ma-la before 3DU one-ERG one-LOC very like-stay-PAST. Now 3DU R friendly NEG-COP

'Before, they used to love each other very much. But now they don't get along'.

(45) onu songo-bak droban dakpa an-cho-wa. om dai-(bak) nang dok-la.

that person-PL steal too_much do-stay-PAST. now 3PLR suffering receive-

'Those people used to steal very much. Now they are suffering'.

2.1.4 Pronoun rang 'self'

This is a peculiar type of pronoun in that it can imply all the three persons and three numbers. It translates somewhat like 'one' or 'self' in English as in 'one must study oneself', or 'it' which can be used as a pronoun to refer to second person or third person depending on the context. The type of pronoun *rang* represents may be understood from the discourse context. It substitutes whatever pronominal or nominal element is used in the earlier context. In Tibetan, this *rang* is added to other forms of pronoun to form exclusive pronouns such as *ngarang* 'myself', *khorang* 'himself', *khyodrang* 'yourself', etc.

In Dzongkha too, the same is retained but in Sharchokpa-lo, it can stand as an independent pronoun. It doesn't combine with other forms of pronoun to function like a pronoun. If it is added to other forms of pronoun, *rang* becomes a particle showing

emphasis and does not remain a pronoun. Example of rang referring to different persons and numbers are:

(46) As first person singular:

rang**-gi** lekpo a-nyi yek-ca-na

self-ERG good do-NF tell-COP-WISH

'I am telling you something good/ I am telling thinking good about you'

(47) As first person plural:

forest

uthu borang roktey-ga mo rang-ga ya this

self-LOC 3PL-LOC or Ο

'Is this forest theirs or ours?'

(48) As second person singular:

nan pecha lamca mo. rang-ga doen-gai rang-ten tsa dreg-pe khe-le self-LOC reason-ABL self-EXC nerve bear-NPAST hit-2SG book learn or NPAST

'Are you studying? You'll have to work for your own sake'

(49) As second person plural:

naching-ga waktsa-gi ja-(ga) waktsa kongma la. rang-ga waktsa dakzing a-wa drak-pe

2DU-LOC child-ERG 1SG LOC child beat COP, self-LOC child care do-PAST better-NPAST

'Your (dual) child has beaten my child. It'll be better if you took care of your own child'

(50) As third person singular:

rok-ki yek-pa yenten са dang¹⁴. rang-gi sho rang rang khepa thongme

3SG-ERG tell-PAST knowledge COP RS. self-ERG TOP self EMP wise see-NPAST

'He says he is knowledgeable. One will feel one is wise'

(51) As third person plural:

roktey bedeng cho-khan sho rang-ten kau chath-pa drebu gila 3PI rich stay-AGNOM TOP self-EXC hardship cut-PAST result COP 'They are rich because of their own hard work'

2.1.5 Exclusive pronouns

The exclusive pronouns are formed by adding the suffix -ten to the first, second, and third personal pronouns. They specifically refer to the person mentioned and exclude references to any other participants. The following three examples illustrate the usage of exclusive or restrictive pronouns in this language:

jang-ten (52) *ji-(gi***)** rana¹⁵ phe-le do-NPAST 1SG ERG 1SG-EXC EMP 'I will do it myself'

¹⁴ This is different from the conjunction *dang* which is glossed as 'and'. *dang* here turns the clause into a reported speech.

¹⁵ This *rang*, indicating emphasis, is a homonymy of the pronoun *rang* with different meanings.

(53) *onu songo-gi rok-ten di-le yek -la* that person-ERG 3SG-EXC go-NPAST tell-COP 'That person says he'll go himself'

(54) *wai Karma, ona phai-ga nan-ten cho-wa drak-tu* hey Karma, there house-LOC 2SG-EXC stay-PAST better-SUBJ 'Hey Karma, it is better if you stayed yourself in that house'

2.2 Pronoun inflection

Under pronoun inflection is discussed the case marking on pronouns and the possessive pronouns. Pronouns take the same case markers as nouns. Table 1.3 shows the case markings on all pronouns in Sharchokpa-lo.

	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	2DU	2PL
ABS	jang	aching	ai-(bak)	nan	naching	nai-(bak)
ERG	ji-(gi)	aching-gi achik-ki	ai-gi ai-bak-ki	nan-gi	naching-hi nachik-ki	nai-gi nai-bak-ki
ABL	ja-gai	aching- gai	ai-gai a-hai ai-bak-kai	na(n)-gai	naching- gai nachik-kai	nai-gai na-ha-gai nai-bak- kai
DAT	ja-(ga)- tan	aching- (ga)-tan	ai-(ga)-tan a-ha-tan ai-bak- (ka)-tan	na(n)-(ga)- tan	naching- (ga)-tan nachik- (ka)-tan	Nai-ga-tan na-ha-tan nai-bak- (ka)-tan
СОМ	jang-kab	aching- kab	ai- kab a-ha-kab ai-bak-kab	na(n)-kab	naching- kab	nai-(bak)- kab na-ha-kab
LOC	ja-ga	aching- ga achik-ka	ai-ga a-ha ai-bak-ka	na(n)-ga	naching-ga nachik-ka	nai-ga na-ha nai-bak-ka

	3SG	3DU	3PL
ABS	rok	rok-nigtsing	roktey-(bak)
		rok-ching	
ERG	rok-ki	rok-nigtsing-gi/rok-nigtsik-ki	roktey-gi
		rok-ching-gi/rok-chik-ki	roktey-bak-ki
ABL	rok-kai	rok-nigtsing-gai/rok-nigtsik-	roktey-gai
		kai	roktey-bak-kai
		rok-ching-gai/rok-chik-kai	
DAT	rok-(ka)-	rok-nigtsing-(ga)-tan/rok-	roktey-(ga)-tan
	tan	nigtsik-(ka)-tan	roktey-baka-tan
		rok-ching-(ga)-tan/rok-chik-	
		(ka)-tan	
СОМ	rok-kab	rok-nigtsing-kab/rok-nigtsik-	roktey-kab
		kab	roktey-bak-kab
		rok-ching-kab/rok-chik-kab	
LOC	rok-ka	rok-nigtsing-ga/rok-nigtsik-ka	roktey-ga
		rok-ching-ga/rok-chik-ka	roktey-ha
			roktey-bak-ka

The first person singular pronoun also inflects, by changing the vowel from /a/ to /i/, in the ergative case *ji* '1SG ERG' but, strangely, the second person singular pronoun does not undergo the same inflection as **ni* in the same case. It has to be indicated as *nan-gi* '2SG-ERG'. The ergative marker *–gi* remains an optional case marker in the first person because the partial suppletive stem already indicates the ergative case whereas it remains obligatory in the second person. For the third person, the stem does not indicate the case and has to be marked by the case suffixes *–ki* or *-gi*. The dative case is formed by adding the suffix *–tan* either to the base stem or the stem + LOC.

The possessive pronouns have the expected locative case forms. In other words, the possessive marker in pronouns is the same as the locative case marker. There is an allomorph *-ha* but there is no meaning contrast between forms in *-ga* and *-ha*. The case suffix *-ka* occurs after voiceless consonants and *-ga* and *-ha* occur elsewhere. Although the possession of first and second person singular pronouns are already indicated by dropping the final consonant, *jang* becoming *ja* and *nan* becoming *na*, *-ga* or *-ha* can still occur as an optional possessive marker. The rest of the pronouns don't change (like first person and second person singular), except for the first person plural *ai* 'we', whose possessive counterpart can be formed in two ways, by attaching suffix *- ga* and by dropping the final vowel and attaching suffix *-ha*.

3 Demonstratives

A demonstrative is a word whose basic role is to locate a referent in relation to the speaker. As the demonstratives in Sharchokpa-lo can function with or without accompanying nouns, they may be only called 'demonstratives' rather than

'demonstrative pronouns'. The Sharchokpa-lo demonstratives can be divided into two categories: those whose basic role is to identify a person or a thing as closer to the speaker and those whose basic role is to identify a person or a thing as distanced from, rather than close to, the speaker. Table 1.4 provides the demonstrative with some of the most common case forms attested in Sharchokpa-lo:

Proximal	Distal	ERG	ABL	DAT	COM	LOC
othu	onu	-gi	-gai	(-ga)-	-kab	-ga
				tan		
otha	ona					
tha	nya/lela					
optur	omtur					
othen/othu	onen/onu -					
dabu	dabu					
otha-gang-ka	ona-gang-ka					

Table 1.4. Demonstratives

The meanings of the proximal demonstratives are: *othu* 'this', *otha* 'this/here', *tha* 'here/this side', *optur* 'this much', *othen/othu-dabu* 'like this', *otha-gang-ka* 'at this time', etc. The meanings of the distal demonstratives are just the opposites of the proximals — *onu* 'that', *ona* 'that/there', *nya/lela* 'there/that side', *omtur* 'that much', *onen/onu-dabu* 'like that', *ona-gang-ka* 'at that time', etc. All the demonstratives take all the case forms.

Although these forms of demonstratives are distinguished broadly into proximal and distal, some of them — the proximals such as *othu, otha, tha, optur* and distal such as *onu, ona, nya, omtur* etc., make finer distinctions as follows. *othu* is said to refer to something that is very proximal and *otha* to proximal but not as close as *othu. othu* is something that is 'right in one's hand' whereas *otha* can be near but not necessarily in one's hand or within the reach of the speaker. Likewise, *onu, ona,* and *lela* are all distal but not the same. *onu* may be said to refer to something that is away from the speaker but can still be seen with his or her eyes whereas *ona* and *lela* do not necessarily have to be seen by the speaker.

3 Interrogatives

4

Table 1.5 shows the interrogatives used at the beginning of questions in Sharchokpalo. Like demonstratives, the most case forms likely to occur with interrogatives are given. Table 1.5 Interrogatives

INTERROG	ERG	ABL	DAT	COM	LOC
ibi	-gi	-gai	-(ga)-tan	-kab	-ga
hang					
hangdabu					
oga					
hala/giti					

The meanings of the interrogatives are *ibi* 'who', *hang* 'what', *hangdabu* 'which one', *oga* 'where', and *hala/giti* 'when'. The interrogatives like *ibi, hala* and *hangdabu* take all the case suffixes but *oga* does not take the ergative and the comitative case suffixes. Likewise, *hala/giti* does not take the ergative, dative and comitative case suffixes.

hala or *giti* is more like a pro-adverb than a pronoun. *oga* can be both. The other interrogatives such as *hangteni* 'how' may be said as the interrogative pronoun of manner and *haptur* 'how much, how many, how big or small' may be called as the interrogative pronoun of quantity. The interrogative of time is *giti* 'when'.

5 Adjectives

Adjectives may be defined functionally as words modifying nouns. In Sharchokpa-lo, adjectives may be used as predicates or as nouns, in addition to their function as modifiers of nouns. Predicate adjectives are usually accompanied by a copula such as *zamin morab la* 'girl beautiful COP = the girl is beautiful'. Adnominally, adjectives generally follow the nouns they modify although they can also precede nouns but this is a rare case. Only when a speaker wants to stress or add a strong emphasis on the description of a thing or a person, do adjectives precede nouns. Otherwise, they only follow nouns in normal discourse. While most of the adjectives in Sharchokpa-lo are basic lexemes, there are also adjectives which are derived from, or inflected forms of, verbs and another group of adjectives which are formed by reduplicating the adjectival stems. They are discussed in the following section.

5.1 Formation of adjectives

Some adjectives are formed by changing the non-past tense markers of the verbs, such as *-pe*, *-me*, to *-pu*, *-mu*, etc. The meanings of the adjectives, derived in this way, are semantically related to the meanings of the verbs.

Verb

Adjective

nga-me	'bite-NPAST'	ngamu	'painful'
ring-me	'stretch-NPAST'	ringmu	'long'
nyam-pe	'adjust-NPAST'	nyampu	'comfortable'
lek-pe	'like-NPAST'	lekpu	'good'
sak-pe	'clear-NPAST'	sakpu	'clear'

Some adjectives show a process of reduplication in their formation. The nonreduplicated bases do not occur and they have to undergo complete reduplication to have adjectival meanings.

Base	Reduplication	Meaning
sing	sing-sing	'smooth'
leng	leng-leng	'oily/shiny'
dom	dom-dom	'flat'
pur	pur-pur	'egg shaped'
riu	riu-riu	'sphere-shaped'
chor	chor-chor	'pointed/piercing'
zir	zir-zir	'hairy'

Some adjectives are formed by a similar process to the above but there is no exact reduplication. The whole form is repeated but, in the reduplicated forms, the low central vowel /a/ is changed to other vowels such as /i/, /e/ and /o/. In other words, these are reduplications with vowel change. Here too, the non-reduplicated bases do not occur in the language and they become meaningful only when uttered in the reduplicated forms.

Base	Reduplication	Meaning
baka	baka-boko	'dull'
napa nyata	napa-nopo nyata-nyoto	ʻsillyʻ ʻslippery'
lama	lama-limi	'dim' as in 'dim light'
khara	khara-khoro	'crooked'
daka	daka-deke	'short' (uneven) 'blurred/unclear'
rapa yanga	rapa-ripi yanga-yingi	'vague'

5.2 Adjectives with intrinsic gender

Adjectives don't agree in case and number with the nouns they modify. But, some adjectives show agreement in gender with the nouns. There is no general rule in the agreement but it depends on the individual adjectives that modify nouns and the nouns that take adjectives as modifier. For example, only a few adjectives that modify nouns denoting human animates have one form for masculine and another for feminine genders. Usually, those adjectives beginning or ending with *po* or *pho* refer to the male human animates and those beginning or ending with *mo* refer to the female human animates (sex of a person is understood from the names because names of males generally end in *-po* as in *Wangpo, Zangpo, Lepo,* and names of females end in *-mo* such as *Wangmo, Karmo, Zangmo*).

For example, the look of a young man *phorab* 'handsome' starts with *pho-* and its feminine counterpart *morab* starts with *mo-* as in *za phorab* 'beautiful boy', and *zamin morab* 'beautiful girl' with the main stem *rab* meaning something like 'best' remaining the same. The adjective *changpo* 'clever' also has its feminine counterpart *changmo* as

in *apa changpo* 'clever father' and *ama changmo* 'clever mother'. Also the adjective *chaitola* is a description of a sexy man while *chaitomo* is that of a sexy woman. Since – *la* does not recur, it cannot be said to be the root but we can say that it is another morpheme marking masculine gender in human adjectives.

5.3 Degrees of comparison

Although the degrees of comparison do not involve any morphological processes, they are still discussed here as they fall within the domain of adjectives. The ablative case marker *-gai/-kai* marks the NP which is the standard of comparison followed by an optional emphasis (*ta*) to link entities under comparison. Their degrees of comparison are indicated by placing the quantifiers such as *mangpo* 'many/much', *zakpo* 'more', *thep* 'extra', etc. before the adjectives:

(55) Karma-gai (ta) Pema mangpo katang la

Karma-ABL EMP Pema many big COP

'Pema is taller than Karma'

(all other quantifiers can be used in the bolded slot and the meaning will remain same)

The ablative case marker is used for the superlative degree too but, instead of the optional emphasis (*ta*), an obligatory emphasis particle *rang* is used. This *rang* alone indicates the superlative degree.

(56) ai thamchen-kai rang Karma khepa ca 1PL all-ABL EMP Karma wise COP 'Karma is the wisest of us all'

6 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs (Schachter 1985: 20). As in other languages, adverbs in Sharchokpa-lo can be divided into different types such as directional adverb, degree adverb, manner adverb, temporal adverb, and so on. Each sub-type is explained briefly and examples provided.

Some demonstrative words are used adverbially. They function as directional or locative adverbs. They are: *otha*¹⁶'here', *onya*¹⁷ 'there', *thola* 'up there', *yola* 'down there'. As adverbs, they occur after the subject and before the other nominal arguments. The locative or directional adverbs, since they are the same as demonstratives, take the locative case suffix *-ga* optionally making them a kind of nominal. Examples are found in (57) to (60).

(57) ai-(bak)-gi('ki) lopen	otha-(ga)	rum-me	gila
1PL-ERG	teacher	here	meet-NPAST	COP
'We will meet	the teacher over	er here'		

 $^{^{16}}$ tha is the short form of otha.

¹⁷ *nya* is the short of *onya*. *lela* is also another word for 'over there'. They don't contrast in their meanings are used interchangeably.

(58) *nan onya-(ga) repkenthur o-do* 2SG there-LOC shortwhile.one come-IMP 'You come there for a while'

(59) *tha thola-(ga) jon-than pecha zig-pe mo?* 2SG (HON) up_there-LOC go(HON)-COMP book read-NPAST or 'After going up there, do you want to study?'

(60) *yola* Jagar-ga din-than ja-(ga) za-gi tshong thur phe-n- ca down_there India-LOC go-COMP 1SG LOC son-ERG business one do-VC-COP 'By going down there in India, my son does a business'

Similarly, some quantifiers are also used as degree adverbs. The degree adverbials are: *jaktsi* 'too much', *tiktang* 'little bit', *name-same* 'very much', *dazere* 'some/few', etc. Although they occur both after and before NPs, but in verbs, they only occur immediately before it and not after. Examples (61) through (64) illustrate the use of degree adverbs.

(61) *ja-(ga) bamruti jaktsi ca* 1SG-LOC cake too_much COP 'I have too many cakes'

(62) *rok-ki chai phe-le tiktang se-n-ca* 3SG-ERG swim do-NPAST little know-VC-COP 'He knows how to swim little bit'

(63) *jang unu zamin morab namei-samei lek-la* 1SG that girl beautiful very_much like-COP 'I like that beautiful girl very much'

(64) *ja-(ga) apa-gi tiru coth-pe dazere lek-ca* 1SG-LOC father-ERG money make-NPAST few like-COP 'My father somewhat loves to make money'

The manner adverbials in Sharchokpa-lo are *dozo* 'quickly/fast', *chabten* 'slowly'. They usually precede verbs but may also occur clause-initially. These two adverbs take an optional non-finite verb *a-nyi* 'do-RES' to describe the action of the verb in the clause. Examples are found in (65) through (68).

(65) nan dozo (a-nyi) o-do
2SG fast do-RES come-IMP 'You come fast'
(66) dozo (a-nyi) o-do nan fast do-RES come-IMP 2SG 'You come fast'

(67) *ro-ki chabten (a-nyi) dang-la* 3SG-ERG slowly do-RES walk-COP 'He/she is walking slowly'

(68) chabten (a-nyi) jam-sho slowly do-RES drink-IMP 'Drink slowly'

The temporal adverbs are *oma* 'now', *gopa* 'before', *ining* 'yesterday', *thenung* 'today', *namning* 'tomorrow', etc¹⁸. They also usually occur clause-initially before the subject. However, they can also occur immediately after the subject. Examples are found in (69) and (70).

> (69) *jang oma pecha lam-ca* 1SG now book study-COP 'I am studying just now'

(70) gopa rok tshong phe-n-cho-wa before 3SG business do-VC-stay-PAST 'He/she was doing business before'

7 Numerals

Numeral is treated as a separate topic under morphology as it undergoes certain morphological processes like compounding for example. It takes all the case suffixes that nouns take. Numerals always follow the nouns and if there are other morphemes like adjectival morphemes, or morphemes marking gender, or morphemes that may be termed 'classifiers', they follow all of them. If there are no such morphemes, numerals can immediately follow nouns.

The cardinal numerals from one to ten are mono-morphemic and from eleven to nineteen are multi-morphemic (two). The multi-morphemic numerals are formed by the morphological process of compounding. The first element of the numeral compound is *song*- which is the inflected form of the term *se* 'ten' and the second elements are the terms from 'one' to 'nine'. The term for twenty is *khe*- but this is not the citation form because it has to be compounded with other numerals from one to nine to make it 'one score', 'two scores' and so on. The subclasses of numerals are as follows:

7.1 Cardinals

The cardinal numbers from one to ten are just ten different lexical words but from eleven to nineteen, there is a process of compounding. The morpheme *song-* combines with the numeral terms from one to nine to form numerals from eleven to nineteen. Although the morpheme *song-* is a bound morpheme that cannot stand independently, it roughly means 'ten' and can be glossed as 'decade'. So, for eleven, it is somewhat like saying 'ten plus one', twelve 'ten

¹⁸ There are so many time adverbs in Sharchokpa-lo and these are just few examples.

plus two', and so on, although there is nothing like the 'plus' in English that adds two entities.

Tabla	1 4	Cardinals
Table	1.0	Carumais

Cardinals	Meaning	Cardinals	Gloss	Meaning
1-10	_	11-20		_
thur	one	song-thur	decade-one	eleven
nigtsing	two	song- nigtsing	decade-two	twelve
sam	three	song-sam	decade- three	thirteen
phshi	four	song-phrshi	decade- four	fourteen
nga	five	song-nga	decade-five	fifteen
khung	six	song-khung	decade-six	sixteen
zum	seven	song-zum	decade- seven	seventeen
yen	eight	song-yen	decade- eight	eighteen
gu	nine	song-gu	decade- nine	nineteen
se	ten	khe-thur	score-one	twenty

7.2 Vigesimals

Sharchokpa-lo makes a wide use of vigesimal system, a counting based on twenty, in counting most of the things. The word for twenty is *khethur* 'one score', which is formed by compounding the morpheme *khe* 'score' and the morpheme *thur* 'one'. To start counting from twenty-one, the conjunction *dang* is used between *khethur* and the numerals from one to nineteen, except for one score and ten, i.e. for thirty, which is said in another way *khe phedang nigtsing* 'half score less than two scores'. An alternative, *khethur dang se* 'one score and ten', may also be used. Table 1.7 provides the vigesimal system of Sharchokpa-lo:

Table 1.7 Vigesimals

Vigesimal	Gloss	Meaning
khethur	one score	Twenty
khethur-dang-thur	one score-and-one	Twenty one
khethur-dang-	one score-and-two	Twenty two
nigtsing		
khethur-dang-sam	one score-and-three	Twenty three
khethur-dang-	one score-one-and-our	Twenty four
phrshi		
khethur-dang-nga	one score-and-five	Twenty five
khethur-dang-	one score-and-six	Twenty six
khung		
khethur-dang-zum	one score-and-seven	Twenty seven
khethur-dang-yen	one score-and-eight	Twenty eight
khethur-dang-gu	one score-and-nine	Twenty nine
khe-phedang-	score-half-two	Thirty
nigtsing	one score-and-ten	Thirty
khethur-dang-se		
khethur-dang-	one score-and-decade-	Thirty one
song-thur	one	
khethur-dang-	one score-and-decade-	Thirty nine
song-gu	nine	

For forty, it is *khe-nigtsing* 'score-two = two scores' and from forty-one, *khe-nigtsing* combines with the same numbers from one to nineteen using the conjunction *dang*. The process is repeated up to five scores *khe nga* and then it is counted again from the beginning until it reaches twenty score because there is another term *nyishu-* 'twenty score'. Like *khe*, *nyishu* combines with numerals and is counted as *nyishu-thur* 'one twenty score', *nyishu-nigtsing* 'two twenty score' and so on.

7.3 Decimals

The decimal counting system is borrowed from Tibetan but unlike Tibetan, which has decimals up to a billion, Sharchokpa-lo and other languages of Bhutan have retained decimals only up to a million. Table 1.8 provides the decimals in Sharchokpa-lo:

Table 1.8. Decimals

Decimal	Meaning
cig	One
cu	Ten
ја	Hundred
tong	Thousand
thri	Ten thousand
bum	Hundred thousand
saya	Million

7.4 Ordinals

The ordinals are obtained either by suffixing -pa to the Tibetan or the native numerals. Since the suffix -pa converts the loan or native cardinals to ordinals, it may be treated here as the ordinalizing suffix and is glossed as ORD. The Tibetan ordinals, which may be called loan ordinals, are counted only up to twelve possibly because of the shared system of counting twelve lunar months in a year and their animal names based on the wheel of life. In the Tibetan loan, the first ordinal is *dangpa* 'first' as opposed to **cipa* where *cig* is 'one'. The native ordinals can go as far as the numerals simply by suffixing -pa to them. If the ordinals are below twenty, the Tibetan loan is, however, preferred. The loan ordinals are as provided in the following table:

Ordinal	Gloss	Meaning
dang-pa	one-ORD	First
nyi-pa	two-ORD	Second
sum-pa	three-ORD	Third
zhi-pa	four-ORD	Fourth
nga-pa	five-ORD	Fifth
drug-pa	six-ORD	Sixth
duen-pa	seven-ORD	Seventh
gye-pa	eight-ORD	Eighth
gu-pa	nine-ORD	Ninth
cu-pa	ten-ORD	Tenth
cug-ci-pa	ten-one-ORD	Eleventh
cung-nyi-pa	ten-one-ORD	Twelfth

Table 1.9 Ordinals

From thirteen, one may resort to the native ordinals by following the same rule, that is by suffixing -pa to the cardinals. For numerals 11 and above, the morpheme '10' has the form *cung* if followed by a nasal and *cug* if followed by other consonants.

7.5Classifiers

Sharchokpa-lo doesn't have a classifier like the Nepali numerical classifiers. In Nepali, 'three' is *teen* and 'three persons' is *teen jana manche*, where *jana* is the numerical classifier. In Sharchokpa-lo, *sam* is 'three' and *songo sam* is 'three

persons', with *sam* remaining the same. But there are certain lexical items, which may be termed as classifiers, which occur after nouns when they are quantified in terms of numerals. They occur only optionally between nouns and the numerals.

When nouns have adjectival modifiers, the classifiers occur after adjectives and before numerals. The constituent structure may be represented as N Adj [Class Num]. The classifiers are not treated as a separate word class because they always occur with numerals forming quantifier phrase. Some of the classifiers have meanings of their own whereas others don't. A given classifier can be used with one or more nouns or a single noun may take two different classifiers. For example, for *ashum* 'maize', either *namnang* or *budang* can be used interchangeably before numerals with no change in their meanings or quantities. Some classifiers are listed below. The ones with meanings are glossed while ones without are glossed CLASS 1, 2, etc.

tiru lep sam	money CLASS 1 three	'three tiru' (tiru is money)
solo namnang sam	chilli NOSE three	'three chillies'
ashum namnang/budang	g sam maize NOSE/CLAS	S 2 three 'three maize/corns'
mulai sharang sam	radish HEAD three	'three radish'
pecha poti sam	book CLASS 3 three	'three books'
joktang budang sam	potato CLASS 2 three	'three potatoes'
sono budan sam	people CLASS 2 three	'three people'
meto rachi sam	flower BASE three	'three flowers'
donai rachi sam	turnip BASE three	'three turnips'
solo shokpo namnang sar	m chilly hot NOSE three	'three hot chillies'
meto tsalo rachi sam	flower red BASE three	'three red flowers'

* * *

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABI	abilitative
ABL	ablative

AGNOM CLASS COM COMP COMPU COND COP DAT DEF DEM DU DUR EMP ERG EXC FUT.IMPFV FUT.PFV HON HORT IMP IMPFV INNOM INVI LOC LOCNOM MANOM NC NEG NPAST PAST.PFV PAST.PFV PAST.PFV PL PRES.IMPFV PRES.PFV Q R RES RS SG SUBJ	agentive nominalizer classsifier comitative completive compulsive conditional copula dative definite article demostrative dual durative emphatic particle ergative exclusive future imperfective future perfective future perfective honorific hortative imperative imperative imperfective instrumental nominalizer invitational locative locative nominalizer manner nominalizer negative connector negative non-past tense suffix past imperfective past perfective past perfective past perfective pural present imperfective pural present imperfective pural present perfective pural present perfective
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Centre for Educational Research and Development

The Centre for Educational Research and Development is an idea whose time has come. The Centre has the following goals, among others:

- to support and undertake comprehensive and systematic curriculum development activities aimed at bringing about improvements in our education programmes;
- to foster a culture of enquiry and analysis in the continuous search of knowledge through regular interaction with research centres and institutes of repute;
- to study the current educational practices and developments in relevant fields and provide findings to the Ministry for consideration of policy options in relation to relevant educational goals, content, and methodology;
- to provide a forum for educators and researchers to support action-research and professional development for enhanced performance by our education stake-holders.
- to promote a national pool of scholarship and professionalism in the best traditions of research and development, for the flowering of the Bhutanese mind.

The major thrust areas of the Centre are research, publications and the professional support. To date, the Centre has developed a set of national standards for English for schools in Bhutan called *The Silken Knot*.

It has carried out a study on and made recommendations for the improvement of primary education and initiated modest programmes like the *Rinpung Experiment* and professional development activities, apart from participating in the *National Education Assessment*, among others.

CERD is currently working on the development of national standards for Mathematics and intends to do so for other discipline areas in the near future.

The Centre has followed the evolution of our education system and published *The Call: Stories of Yesteryears*, and begun an educational journal called *Rabsel.* The Centre's latest publication is *Yontoen: the CERD Occasional Papers.*

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