

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF DHIMAL:
A TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGE**

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a sociolinguistic report of the Dhimal language spoken by one of the indigenous ethnic nationalities referred to as Dhimal residing primarily in Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal. According to the Census report (2012), the total ethnic population of Dhimal amounts to 26,298 whereas 19,300 (73.38%) speak Dhimal as their mother tongue. The authorities of Dhimal Jati Bikas Kendra (Dhimal Ethnic Development Centre) claim that the total number of Dhimal in Nepal is around 35,000. Dhimals, generally, like to introduce themselves as the brothers of Limbus and Rais of eastern hilly region of Nepal but linguistic evidences do not support their claim. It is a fact that Dhimal and the different languages spoken by Limbus and Rais belong genetically to Tibeto-Burman language family. However, the form of language spoken by the Dhimal speech community is different typologically from the languages spoken by Limbus and Rais. According to Divas (1973), Dhimal regard themselves as 'Kiratis' (Indo-Mongoloid) belonging to an ethnic category of the Kiratis who are believed to have settled down along the northern and north-eastern Himalayan region long before 1000 B.C.

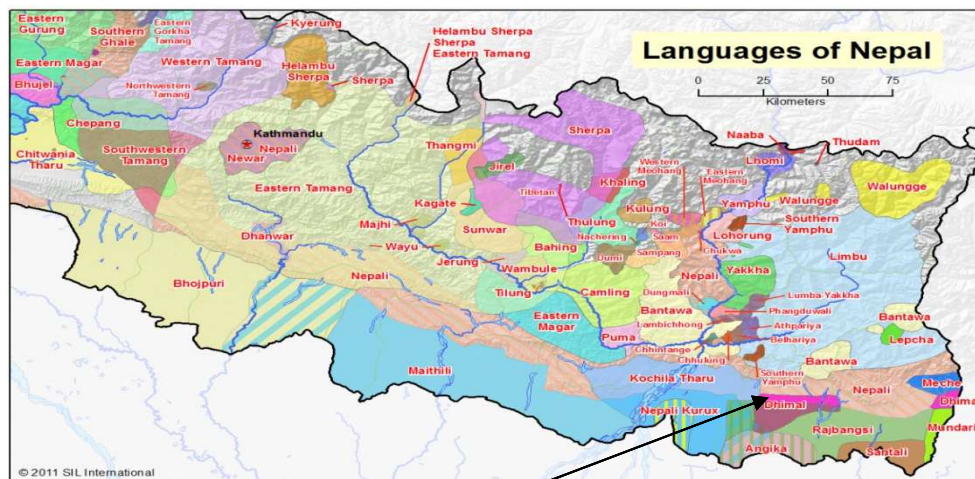
The existing literatures report that Dhimal language has two prominent dialects: eastern and western. These dialects are separated by the Kankai River. These two dialects differ primarily in syntax and vocabulary, though variation in pronunciation can be heard even within the same village (King, 1994: 121). Cooper (1999: 22) reports that the two dialects, eastern and western, can be distinguished by vocabulary. In eastern dialect, the vocabulary is often borrowed from Rajbanshi. Moreover, the verb morphology in eastern dialect is slightly simpler than that of the western dialect. King (2002) further reports that the western dialect is morphologically more conservative than the eastern dialect. In fact, the eastern dialect has not yet been studied comprehensively.

1.2 The Dhimal people

According to Gautam, et. al., (1994:176) prior to settling down, the Dhimal were nomadic hunters who practiced shifting cultivation. When the land was less available for shifting cultivation and there were fewer animals to hunt they began to settle in

specific areas. There are several legends as to the Dhimal origin as well. The most frequently told legend reads as follows: Once two Kirat brothers went on a pilgrimage to Varanasi. On the way home the older brother walked faster than the younger brother, cutting trees as he went. The younger brother became lost as the trees grew back and decided to remain on the plains, becoming the father of the Dhimal people. The older brother continued walking until he reached the mountains and founded the group known today as the Limbu people (Regmi 1991:56) referred to as in Dhimal et al., 2001)

To this day the people of the hills often refer to the Dhimals as “Limbu of the plains.” The language spoken by Dhimal is referred to as the Dhimal language. Dhimal is an autoglotonym. It does not have any alternative names as such. Map 1.1 present the areas where Dhimal is spoken in Nepal.



Dhimal speaking areas in Nepal

Map 1.1: Dhimal speaking areas in Nepal

1.3 Occupation

The majority of Dhimal make their living as agriculturalists growing rice, jute, millet, wheat, oil seeds, and corn. They sell these products for a profit at markets such as Damak and Urlabari. Several Dhimal families also own mills from which they earn some money. When families do not own land, they typically earn a living by working as labourers for other people (Regmi 1991:89-95). Others, though fewer in number, earn a living by driving rickshaws, selling homemade wine, weaving carpets in Kathmandu, raising fish in ponds, running tea shops, and working on the bus lines or

in small businesses (Gautam, 1994:177). During the times that fieldwork is at a minimum, the Dhimal women work using homemade looms to weave their local dress, called a *bona*. The most common type of *bona* worn by Dhimal females is black with red stripes across the middle. Typically, they are woven for personal wear but some women weave *bonas* as well as traditional Tharu and Rajbansi clothing in order to sell them for a profit (Regmi 1991:95-7) as referred to as in Dhimal et al.,2001)



Photograph1.1: A Dhimal woman weaving the traditional dress ‘bona’



Photograph1.2: Dhimal woman with her traditional dress ‘bonas’ and Researcher Dr. Ambika Regmi



Photograph 1.3 Kabindraraj Dhimal from Belbari Morang in his mushroom farm

1.4 Religion

Most of the Dhimal follow Hinduism. However, some of them follow other religions as well. Table 1.1 presents the religions observed in the Dhimal speech community.

Table 1.1 Religions in the Dhimal speech community

Religions	Number	Percentage
Hinduism	39	65%
Buddhism	-	
Kirant	2	3.33%
Shamanism	19	31.67%
Total	60	100%

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 1.1 shows the religions of the informants. Out of 60 informants 39 (65%) are Hindu and 2 (3.33%) are Kirant whereas 19 (31.67%) observe Shamanism. It shows that most of the informants are Hindu, some (31.16%) observe Shamanism and a very few (3.33%) follow the Kirant religion. In contrast, Nagendra Dhimal is quoted as "The Census is completely incorrect and moreover, Dhimals are also categorized as Hindus when we are actually the worshippers of nature (Republica, 26 Jan, 2014)."

1.5 Culture and traditions

According to Regmi (1991:143), “There are 13 exogamous patrilineal clans and 11 sub-clans. These clans appear to serve the function of providing a family name and also play a part in marriage customs. Marriage is not permissible between Dhimal who are of the same clan. After marriage, the woman takes on the clan name of her husband. Throughout Dhimal history, there are several customary ways for initiating marriage, though not all of them are presently practiced. These days arranged marriages, marriages through elopement, and marriages by force or abduction are in practice. Historically, another way to initiate a marriage was the *Supari Biwaha* or betel-nut marriage. In this custom, the male would offer a betel-nut to a female whom he admires. If she accepts the betel-nut, a marriage would be arranged (Gautam et.al. 1994:172-174). Young Dhimal, today, have much more freedom in regard to their choice of a marriage partner (Bista et.al. 2000:154). This freedom seems to extend to marriages with people outside the Dhimal people group, as several mixed marriages were observed during the survey. There are also known cases of polygamy.

1.6 Geolinguistic situation

The majority of Dhimal people live in Nepal in the far southeastern districts of Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal. Reportedly there are also a small number of Dhimal people located in the Indian state of West Bengal (King 1994:121). The districts of Jhapa (Mechi zone) and Morang (Koshi zone) lie within the flatland area of Nepal known as the Tarai. Both districts are bordered by India in the south with the Chure Mountain range lying to the north. From the southern borders to the mountain range in the north there is little altitude gain. This makes access to and travel within the area relatively easy. There is a main East-West Highway that runs through both districts. This is a heavily travelled road with regular bus service that provides access to both Kathmandu and India. There are also multiple smaller roads running north and south from the East-West Highway. All of these roads are accessible by bicycle and walking, and some have regular bus routes. The number of Dhimal living in a village varies from about 100 to 550 people. The majority of these villages are concentrated in two areas: the district of Morang, where about 51 villages are located, and the northwest corner of Jhapa, where about 24 villages are located. There is another group of approximately 16 villages in the northeastern corner of Jhapa just north of the East-West Highway (Cooper 1999:27). Most Dhimal villages are within a one to three hour

walk from the main East-West Highway. A significant geographical boundary is the Kankai River, located in Jhapa district, which is considered to be the dividing point between the Dhimal people living in the West and those living in the East. The temperatures in this area vary from 4 to 39 degrees centigrade. The monsoon rains fall during the months of June through August. The heavy rainfall and flat terrain of this area of Nepal make it optimal for farming. Besides the annual rains, another source of water is a series of rivers that run north to south throughout the districts (Dhimal et al. 2001).

1.7 Demography

Dhimal speech community has a small population as compared to many other communities. The latest census (2011) has recorded 26,298 total population of Dhimal by caste/ethnicity. It is about 0.07% of the total population of the country (CBS 2012). The total number of Dhimal mother tongue speakers according to that report amounts to 19,300 (female 10,445 and male 8,855). The 2001 census recorded that the total of Dhimal people was 19,537, out of which 19,308 were the mother-tongue speakers of Dhimal. However, the Dhimal Jatiya Bikas Kendra, an ethnic organization of Dhimal, solely devoted to serving Dhimal people claims that the total number of Dhimal is around 35,000. Dissatisfied over the census held in 2011, Dhimal community development centre has been recounting the population of Dhimal people (Republica, 26 January, 2014).

1.8 Social structure

Dhimal speech community is divided into different clans and sub-clans. The clans include Dhikiriya, Dinga mallik, Yongyang, Dingmoling, Ding, Wangmaliya, Dikriya, Maling, Simaldongiya, Rajdongiya, Rajding, Talipa, Tengmaliya, Tegre, Tharu, Sajdonge, Ling tharu, Kaserdonge, Amladonge, Suldonge, Later, Lasimadong Rajtharu and Sedadong. Dhimal speech community has been regulated since the beginning by five heads known as *Majhi Barang*, *Ojha*, *Dhami*, *Hanuwa* and *Patwari*. *Majhi Barang* is destined to regulate the culture and rituals of the western villages whereas *Deunya* is empowered to look at the culture and rituals of the Dhimal villages situated in the eastern part. Similarly, *Hanuwa* is responsible for assisting sorcerer while worshipping in the shrine of the villages. The responsibility of *Ojha* and

Dhamai is to play the role of shamans and to protect to villages from epedimics, respectively. In the family, the role of the wife is predominant.

1.9 Genetic affiliation

The Dhimai language is classified as a member of Tibeto-Burman language family. King (1994:122) notes that there is no unanimity as the subgrouping of this language. However, he notes that that placing Dhimai as a subgroup under Tibetic “appears to be the most organic and prudent” According to King (1994:122), Dhimai is related but not mutually intelligible with Rai, Limbu and other Bodic languages spoken in the hills of Nepal. Though, historically, the language may have been tonal, today’s spoken Dhimai is non-tonal. Words are borrowed freely from neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, predominantly, Nepali and Rajbansi (Dhimai et al. 2001). Figure 1.1 presents a genetic classification of Dhimai based upon (Eppelle et al. 2012). It is a member of Dhimalish under Sal sub-group of Tibeto-Burman language.

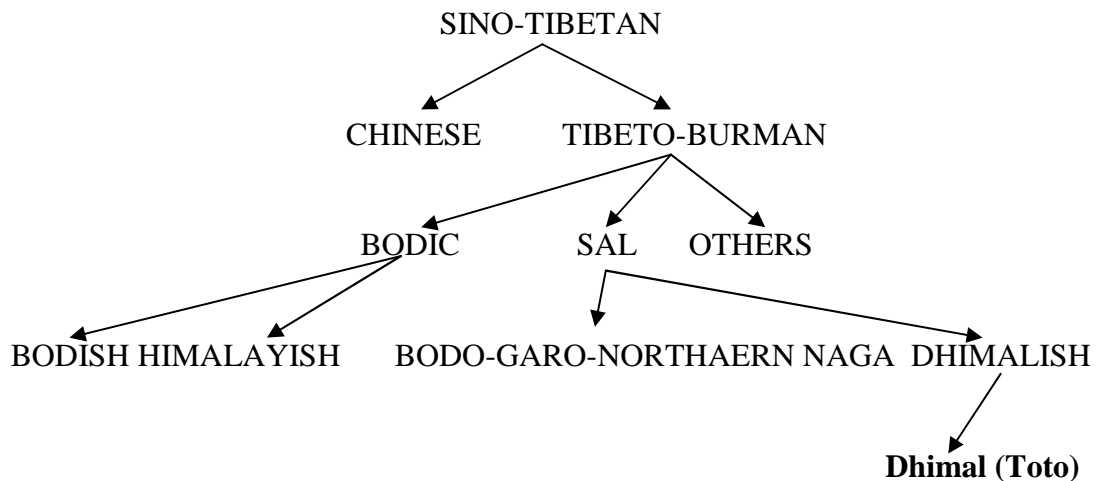


Figure 1.1: Genetic classification of Dhimai

1.10 Typological features

Dhimai reveals a number of typological features in the domain of phonology, morphology and syntax (King, 2009). They are briefly presented as follows:

1.10.1 Phonological features

- (a) It has 31 consonants with five places of articulation being distinguished: bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal.
- (b) Dhimai has five primary vowel qualities with contrast in terms of length and nasality, and six diphthongs.
- (c) The maximum syllable structure: (C) (G) V (X), X, a consonant or a vowel.

- (d) Dhimal is an atonal language.
- (e) The stress is not distinctive in Dhimal but intonation is distinctive.

1.10.2 Morphological features

- (a) There is no morphological gender in Dhimal.
- (b) There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural.
- (c) Dhimal uses two numeral classifiers (-long=Generic, -mi=Human).
- (d) Dhimal is a nominative/accusative language. It exhibits the relational functions such as agentive, instrumental, dative, genitive, ablative, locative, allative, comitative and inessive.
- (e) The human patient nouns or direct object nouns in a transitive clause are marked by the dative case inflection in Dhimal. It presents case syncretism.
- (f) Dhimal extensively employs nominalization and reduplication.
- (g) The personal pronouns show three persons (1s vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural). There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction.
- (h) Most of the adjectives in Dhimal are derived from descriptive verbs with nominalizing suffix <-ka>.
- (i) Causative is marked morphologically in Dhimal.

1.10.3 Syntactic features

- (a) SOV is the basic word order. However, the order of the constituent is relatively free.
- (b) Nominalization, both derivational/lexical and clausal nominalization, is a dominant morphosyntactic process in Dhimal.
- (c) Dhimal exhibits various types of complex expressions formed by employing various morphosyntactic strategies.
- (d) There are two types of relative clauses: Externally headed and relative-correlative.

1.11 Review of the earlier works

There are a few works about Dhimal language and Dhimal people. In this report, an attempt has been made to review chronologically. Table 1.2 presents a glimpse of the review of earlier works.

Table 1.2: A glimpse of the review of earlier works

	Works	Review
1.	Hodgson (1847)	This study first introduces Dhimal as a language and provides a collection of some vocabularies of the Dhimal language.
2.	Hodgson (1880)	It presents Dhimal vocabularies in detail and also discusses the grammatical pattern in sketch of the language.
3.	Hunter (1868)	It presents a collection of some vocabularies of the Dhimal language.
5.	Dalton (1872)	It presents a collection of some vocabularies in the Dhimal language.
6.	Grierson (1909)	It presents a short introduction of Dhimal spoken in Darjeeling Terai of India and discusses some aspects of the nominals and verbals in the language.
7.	Shrestha (1971)	It compares some Dhimal vocabularies with some other Tibeto-Burman languages like Limbu, Magar, Tamang and Gurung spoken in Nepal.
8.	Divas et al. (1973)	It presents some cultural information in Dhimal.
9.	Rimal (1992)	It is a comparative study of Dhimal and Nepali. It presents a comparison between some of the grammatical categories in Dhimal and Nepali in the traditional framework.
10.	King (1994)	It is a work in Dhimal after Hodgson. The paper entitled "Picking up where Hodgson left off: Further notes on Dhimal" is based on the western dialect of Dhimal spoken in Nepal. In this study, King has presented the introduction of phonology, morphology and syntax of Dhimal language. This study is a general outline of the Dhimal grammar.
11.	Lengbang and Toba (1996)	It discusses the origin of Dhimal people and their language. This is an introductory survey of the Dhimal ethnicity and the language.

12.	Cooper (1999)	It presents an introduction of Dhimal language and the morph syntactic issues of the language. The work includes constituent order, grammatical relation and cases, verb paradigms and a list of Dhimal phonemes. It also compared the eastern and western dialects with respect to some lexical items.
13.	Khatiwada (1999a)	It analyzes the verb morphology in Dhimal. This study is based on the western dialect of Dhimal.
14.	Khatiwada (1999b)	It presents a classification and morphophonemic processes in Dhimal verb stems.
15.	Toba (1999)	It is a compilation of a bilingual dictionary of Dhimal and English. This is based on the western dialect of Dhimal.
16.	King (2001)	It deals with the grammatical indexing of the affinal kin relations in Dhimal
17.	Dhimal et al.(2001)	It presents a sociolinguistic picture of the Dhimal language. It briefly discusses the geography, history, culture as well as the language. This study, by using the tools like Sentence Repetition Test (SRT), a set of Sociolinguistic Questionnaires, Word lists and Recorded Text Tests (RTT), has discussed the state of bilingualism, patterns of language use, attitudes towards language, and language vitality and dialectal variations in Dhimal speech community. It presents some recommendations for the development of the language.
18.	King (2002)	It tries to explore of the biactinal verb agreement in Dhimal.
19.	Khatiwada (2003)	It analyzes pronominalization in the Dhimal language.
20.	King (2008)	It presents a description of the grammatical structure of the Dhimal language.

1.12 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present a sociolinguistic situation of the Dhimal language. The specific goals/objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- b) To assess the mother tongue proficiency in the speech community.
- c) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;
- d) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language; and
- e) To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Dhimal.

1.13 Organization

The survey report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Chapter 3 examines the major domains of language use. In chapter 4, we evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Dhimal. Chapter 5 looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Dhimal. In chapter 6, we discuss language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Dhimal. Chapter 7 examines the possible dialectal variations in Dhimal. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes sociolinguistic questionnaire A, sociolinguistic questionnaire B, sociolinguistic questionnaire C, word lists and data collection (survey points, checklist and basic information of the participants).

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

This chapter deals, in detail, with the research methodology employed in the sociolinguistic survey of Dhimal. It is organized into five sections. Section 2.2 presents an overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods /tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.3, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.4 deals with the survey points, sample size and collection of data. In section 2.5, we present the limitations of the survey in relation to time, access, area, methods and informants.

2.2 Overview

This survey has employed three different methods/ tools in order to fulfill its goals. Table 2.1 presents tools/ methods used in the survey of the Dhimal language.

Table 2.1: Tools/ methods used in the survey of the Dhimal language

	Tools/ methods	
1.	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C
2.	Participatory Method (PM)	Domains of Language Use (DLU)
		Bilingualism (BLM)
		Dialect Mapping (DLM)
		Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)
3.	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	

Table 2.1 shows that the methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC) and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). Table 2.2 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used, and a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

Table 2.2: Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools

	GOALS OF THE SURVEY	RESEARCH METHODS/ TOOLS	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	FOCUS OF THE METHODS/TOOLS
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Dhimal ;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language vitality • Language maintenance • Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language attitudes • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.3 Research methods/tools

2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. Prior to the administration of this set, first, the Dhimal speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point (i.e. Sat number chok (Budhabare V.D.C ward No.7), a village located to the north east side of Jhapa District, Ayabari, Badaganu (Santinagar V.D.C Ward No.3) a village located to the north side of Jhapa District, Annakhadi (Damak Municipality, Ward.No.16) a village located to the South part of Jhapa District, Karikoshi (Keroung V.D.C Ward No 1) , a village located to the south west of Jhapa District, it lies in Morang District, Matiganu (Dangihat V.D.C Ward No 1) a village located to the west of Jhapa District, it lies in Morang District. Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey points.¹ Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Dhimal speech community.

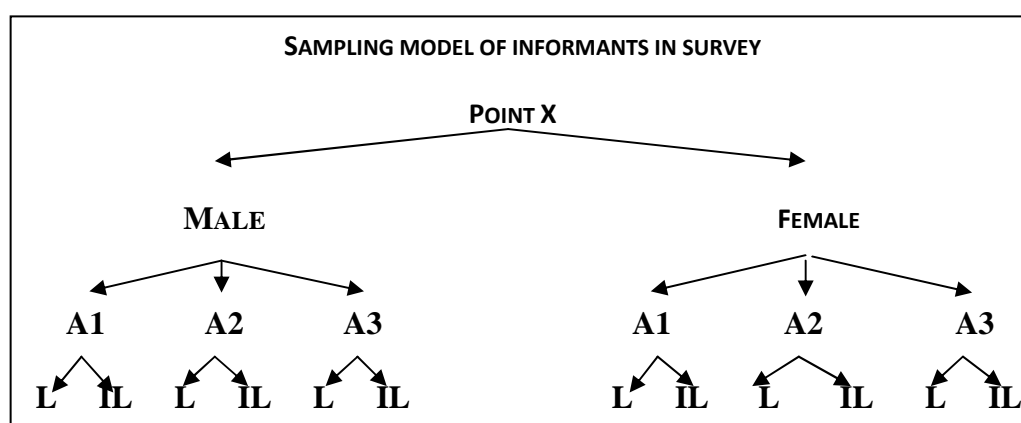


Figure 2.1: Sampling model of informants in survey points

¹ For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3).

Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. The questions were asked by the administrators in Nepali to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali.



Photograph 2.1: Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi filling up the sociolinguistic questionnaire A with a Dhimal Speaker

2.3.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Dhimal participants of different survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Dhimal, how bilingual Dhimal people are, in which situations they use Dhimal and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language.

In the questionnaire, each tool is equipped with well-written step-by-step procedures for the facilitators in the group. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

- a) The group should consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant should belong to the target mother tongue and his/her, at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants should be grown-up in the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below (See Annex E for detail).

2.3.2.1 Domains of Language Use (DLU)

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Dhimal community members to think about and visualize the languages which Dhimal people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Dhimal participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Dhimal and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Dhimal. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Dhimal and both Nepali and Dhimal. Next they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

2.3.2.2 Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of Dialect Mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Dhimal. The Dhimal participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Dhimal is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to

understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

2.3.2.3 Bilingualism/Multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Dhimal and Nepali by different subsets of the Dhimal community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Dhimal people who speak Dhimal well and the other the Dhimal people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Dhimal ‘well’ or not ‘so well’. Then they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Dhimal people that spoke Dhimal ‘well’. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

2.3.2.4 Appreciative inquiry

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Dhimal community members have in different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Dhimal language and culture, express they “dreamt” about how they could make their language or culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

Hasselbring (2009) points out that the first three tools helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language where as this tool helped them think about future possibilities.

2.3.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

This set contains 21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head. The main purpose of this set of questions is to assess the language maintenance,

language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development. This set was administered to at least two participants in each survey point in Dhimal.

2.3.4 Word list comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist is to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from the mother tongue Dhimal speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs (See Chapter 7 for detail)

From each survey points, at least six informants representative of different age, sex and educational status were chosen as the word list source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Dhimal as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Dhimal word from a mother tongue Dhimal speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as WordSurv (word survey) and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Dhimal. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.



Photograph: 2.2 Mr.Karnakhar Khatiwada recording the world list with a Dhimal speaker

2.4 Sampling

2.4.1 Survey points

Dhimal speaking areas were categorized into five survey points for the purpose of sociolinguistic survey. Table 2.3 presents the survey points used in the survey of the Dhimal language including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates.

Table 2.3: Survey points

	Survey points	Point types	VDCs	Ward No.	GPS coordinates
1.	Satnumber Chowk	Core	Budhabare V.D.C, Jhapa	7	[084 ⁰ 03'01.5" E; 026 ⁰ 42'10.1" N] Height=162m.
2.	Ayabari, Badaganu	North	Santinagar V.D.C, Jhapa	3	[088 ⁰ 07'00.1" E; 026 ⁰ 42'06.7" N] Height=160m.
3.	Arnakhadi	South	Damak M.C Jhapa	16	[088 ⁰ 07'00.4" E; 026 ⁰ 42'06.6" N]

					.Height=178m.
4.	Karikoshi	South West	Keroun V.D.C. 1, Morang	1	[087 ⁰ 29'10.0" E; 026 ⁰ 36'32.5" N] Height=100m.
5.	Matiganu	Far south	Dangihat V.D.C, 1, Morang	1	[087 ⁰ 27'41.1" E; 026 ⁰ 37'41.1" N] Height=125m.

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 2.3 shows that the survey was conducted in two districts, namely, Jhapa and Morang. Satnumber chowk was selected as a core point of survey, because it is an origin point of all the five areas of the Dhimal. Ayabari, Badagaun was selected as a point of survey (north point) because it is a big settlement of the speakers of Dhimal.



Photograph 2.3: Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi, Dr. Ambika Regmi and Patra Dhimal of Dhulabari heading away to Ayyabari Village.



Photograph 2.4: Dhimal people of Ayyabari (Badaganu) Jhapa with Prof. Dr. Dan Raj Regmi and Mr. Karnakhar Khatiwada

2.4.2 Sample size

Table 2.4 presents the sample size and different tools used in the survey.

Table 2.4: Sample size and different tools used in the survey

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires		
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory): DLU, DLM, MLT, APE	C (Language activist/head)
Core	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far north	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far south	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far west	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far east	12	1+1+1+1	2
Total	60	20	12

DLU= domains of language use, DLM= dialect mapping, MLT: multilingualism, APE= appreciative inquiry

2.4.3 Data collection

Table 2.5 presents the total number of the data collected by using different tools in survey points in Dhimal.

Table 2.5: Total number of the data collected in the survey points

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic questionnaires		
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory)	C (Language activists/head)
Sat number chowk	12	1+1+1+1	2
Ayabari, Badagaun	12	1+1+1+1	2
Arnakhadi	12	1+1+1+1	2
Karikoshi	12	1+1+1+1	2
Matigaun	12	1+1+1+1	2
Total	60	20	10

Source: Field study, 2013

2.5 Limitations: Time, access, area, methods and informants

Especially, it was very difficult to gather and find the people satisfying all the criteria for the qualified informants for the collection of the data. We used mainly three types of tools. However, there are other effective participatory tools like Cause and Effect Tree (a tool used to assist community leaders in thinking about the reasons they use the language they do and effects of the use of those languages on community members), Stakeholder Analysis (a tool used to help a small group of people to identify other stakeholders, categorize those stakeholders, select stakeholders to involve more and develop initial plans for involving them), Force field Analysis (a tool used to help a group who has a goal and wants to solve a problem) to identify the forces working for and against the goal or solution.

CHAPTER 3

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.1 Outline

This chapter examines the patterns of language use in different domains in the Dhimal speech community. It consists of eight sections. Section 3.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. In section 3.3, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains in Dhimal. Section 3.4 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.5, we evaluate the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.6 looks at the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.7, we present the information collected from the participatory tool referred to as Domains of Language Use in Dhimal. Section 3.8 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Language use in general domains

This section looks at the languages most frequently used by the Dhimal speakers in general domains. Such domains consists of counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. In this section, first, we present the general picture of patterns of language use and then, we present such patterns in terms of demographic category of sex.

3.2.1 Patterns of language use in general

Domains of language use are generally referred to as the patterns of language use among the speakers of a language. More specifically, they are the contexts or situations in which a speaker makes a choice, in most of the cases, a conscious choice among his/her mother tongue, a language of wider communication and both or other languages. Table 3.1 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains in the Dhimal speech community.

**Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains in the
Dhimal speech community (n=60)**

Domains of language use	Dhimal	Nepali	D+N	D+N +H	D+N +R	N+R
<i>Counting</i>	22(36.7%)	26 (43.3%)	12 (20%)			
<i>Singing</i>	24(40%)	8(13.3%)	17 (28.3%)	7 (11.7%)		4 (6.7%)
<i>Joking</i>	38(63.3%)	7 (11.7%)	13(21.7%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (1.7%)	
<i>Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing</i>	15(25%)	32 (53.3%)	13(21%)			
<i>Story-telling</i>	34(56.7%)	12 (20%)	13 (21.%)		1 (1.7%)	
<i>Discussing/ Debate</i>	35 (58.3%)	9 (15%)	16(26.7%)			
<i>Praying</i>	48(80%)	12(20%)				
<i>Quarrelling</i>	39(65%)	14 (23.3%)	7(11.7%)			
<i>Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)</i>	39(65%)	10(16.7%)	11 (18.3%)			
<i>Telling stories to children</i>	36(60%)	16 (26.7%)	7(11.7%)			1 (1.7%)
<i>Singing at home</i>	31 (51.7%)	12 (20%)	13 (21%)	4 (6.7%)		
<i>Family gatherings</i>	51(85%)	7(11.7%)	2(3.3%)			
<i>Village meetings</i>	15(25%)	16(26.7%)	28 (46.7%)			

Table 3.1 shows that in the Dhimal speech community, apart from Dhimal, Nepali, both Dhimal and Nepali, and Dhimal, Nepali and Hindi and Nepali and Rajbansi are used in different general domains of language use. Out of 60 informants, more than 43% have responded that Nepali is used in the domain of counting in the Dhimal speech community. Around 37% of the total informants have responded that Dhimal is used in counting. 40% of the total informants have responded that Dhimal is used in singing. More than two-third of the informants have replied that Dhimal is used in the domains like joking. In the domains like quarrelling, abusing and telling stories Dhimal is by more than 60% of the total informants. Similarly, in praying and family gatherings, Dhimal is predominantly used. Especially, in counting and bargaining, Nepali is also used.

Figure 3.1 presents the patterns of language use in different domains in Dhimal speech community.

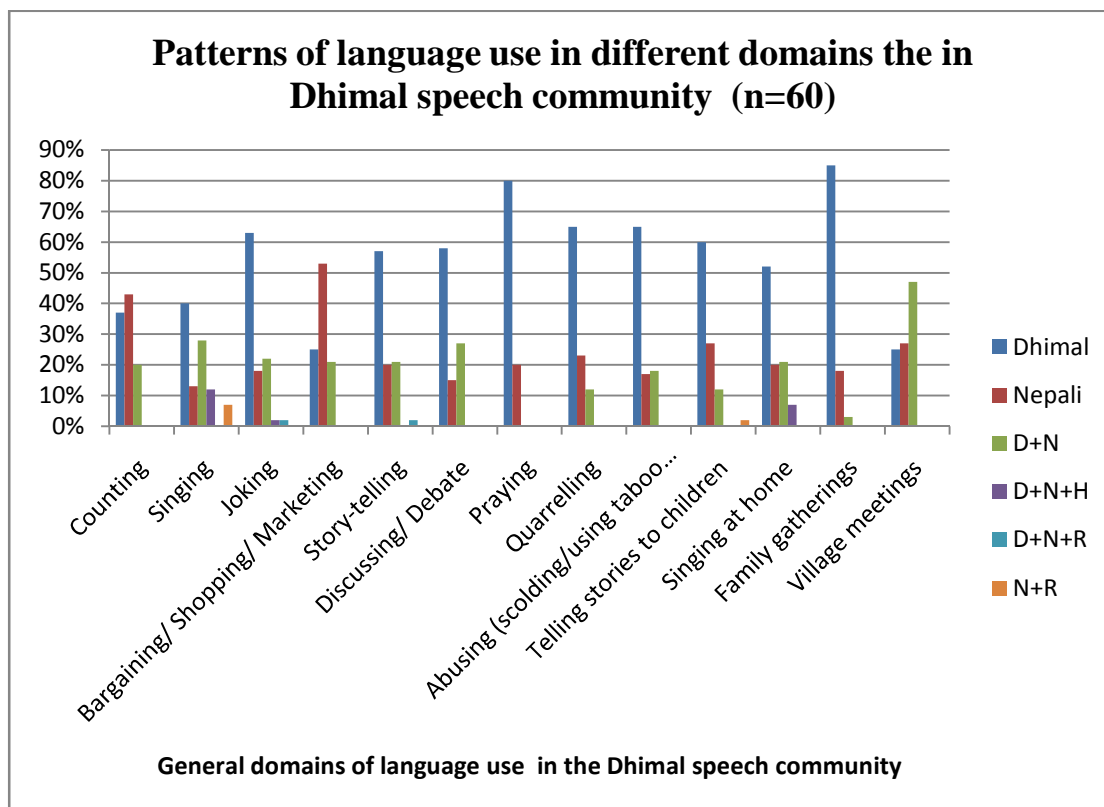


Figure 3.1: Patterns of language use in different domains in the Dhimal speech community

3.2.2 Patterns of language use by sex

Dhimal people mostly use their mother tongue at home whereas they use Nepali and Rajbansi while talking to the people other than their community. Table 3.2 presents the languages most frequently used by the Dhimal male speakers in different domains.

**Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male in
Dhimal speech community (n=30)**

Domains of language use	Dhimal	Nepali	D+N	D+N+H	D+N+R	N+R
<i>Counting</i>	10 (33.33%)	11 (36.66%)	9 (30%)			
<i>Singing</i>	12 (40%)	2(6.66%)	7 (23.33%)	7 (23.33%)		2(6.66%)
<i>Joking</i>	16(53.33%)	2 (6.66%)	10(33.33%)	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)	
<i>Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing</i>	6(20%)	17 (56.66%)	7(23.33%)			
<i>Story-telling</i>	14(46.66%)	4 (13.33%)	11 (36.66%)		1(3.33%)	
<i>Discussing/ Debate</i>	16 (53.33%)	3 (10%)	11(36.66%)			
<i>Praying</i>	26(86.66%)	4(13.33%)				
<i>Quarrelling</i>	15(50%)	9 (30%)	6(20%)			
<i>Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)</i>	16 (53.33%)	5(16.66%)	9 (30%)			
<i>Telling stories to children</i>	17 (56.66%)	10 (33.33%)	2(6.66%)			1(3.33%)
<i>Singing at home</i>	12 (40%)	6(20%)	9 (30%)	3(30%)		
<i>Family gatherings</i>	26(86.66%)	2(6.66%)	2(6.66%)			
<i>Village meetings</i>	7(23.33%)	8(26.66%)	15 (50%)			

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.2 shows that 33.33%, 36.66% and 30% male speakers use Dhimal, Nepali and both Dhimal and Nepali in the domain of counting, respectively. In singing, 40%, 6.66%, 23.33% and 6.66% male speakers use Dhimal, Nepali, Dhimal and Nepali, Dhimal, Nepali and Hindi and Nepali and Rajbansi, respectively. Similarly, 20%, 56.66% and 23.33% Dhimal use Dhimal, Nepali and Dhimal and Nepali while bargaining/shopping/ or marketing, respectively. In story-telling, 46.66% use their mother tongue. Similarly 40% Dhimal speakers use their mother tongue in singing at home and singing in general whereas 86.66% use Dhimal in family gatherings. Similarly, 53.33% use their mother tongue while abusing (scolding/using taboo words) and 50% Dhimal male speakers use their language in quarrelling. In the same way, 86.66% people use Dhimal in praying. Similarly, 33.33%, 36.66 and 30% male speakers use Dhimal, Nepali and Dhimal and Nepali respectively in counting. Figure

3.2 presents the patterns of language use in different domains in the Dhimal speech community by male.

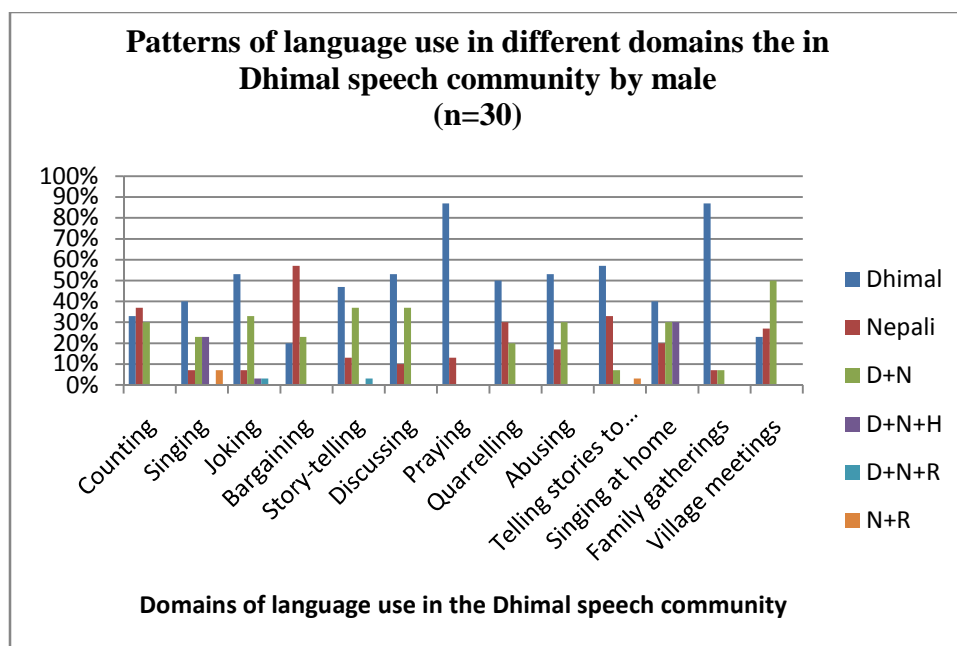


Figure 3.2: Patterns of language use in different domains in the Dhimal speech community by male

Table 3.3 presents the languages most frequently used by the Dhimal female speakers in different domains.

Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by female**(N=30)**

Domains of language use	Dhimal	Nepali	D+N	D+N+H	N+R
<i>Counting</i>	12(40%)	15 (50%)	3 (10%)		
<i>Singing</i>	12 (40%)	6(23.33%)	10 (33.33%)		2(6.66%)
<i>Joking</i>	22(73.33%)	5 (16.66%)	3(10%)		
<i>Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing</i>	9(30%)	15 (50%)	6(20%)		
<i>Story-telling</i>	20(66.66%)	8(26.66%)	2 (6.66%)		
<i>Discussing/ Debate</i>	19 (63.33%)	6 (20%)	5(16.66%)		
<i>Praying</i>	22(73.33%)	8(26.66%)			
<i>Quarrelling</i>	24(80%)	5 (16.66%)	1 (3.33%)		
<i>Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)</i>	23 (76.66%)	5(16.66%)	2 (6.66%)		
<i>Telling stories to children</i>	19 (%)	6 (%)	5(%)		
<i>Singing at home</i>	19 (63.33%)	6(20%)	4 (13.33%)	1(3.33%)	
<i>Family gatherings</i>	25(83.33%)	5(16.66%)			
<i>Village meetings</i>	8(26.66%)	8(26.66%)	13 (43.33%)		1(3.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.3 shows that 50% of the total female speakers use Nepali in counting whereas in singing 40% use Dhimal. Similarly, in the case of joking, more than two-third of the female speakers use Dhimal in joking, praying, family gathering and abusing. Similarly, more than 60% of the female speakers use Dhimal in the domains like story telling, discussing and singing at home. More than 33% of the female speakers have responded that they use Dhimal and Nepali while singing.

While comparing Table 3.2 and Table 3.3, it becomes clear that the female use Dhimal in most of the domains than the male in the Dhimal speech community. Figure 3.3 presents the patterns of language use in different domains in the Dhimal speech community by female.

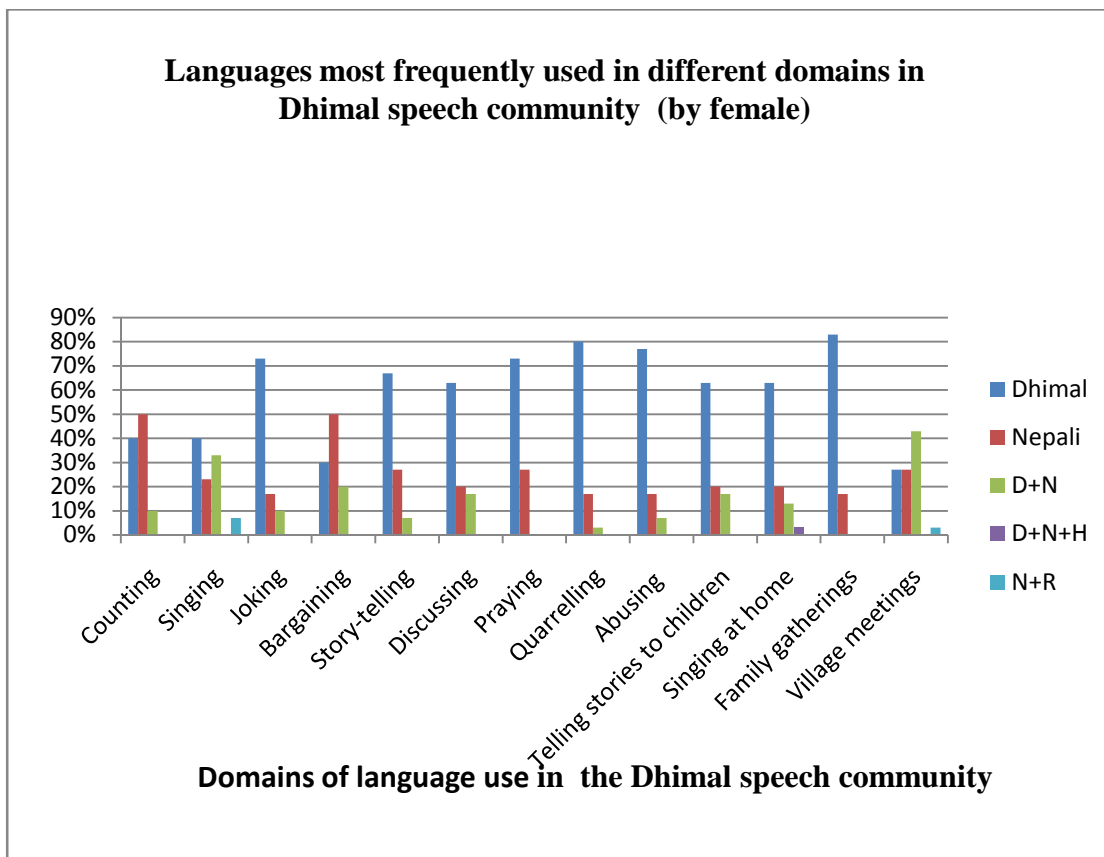


Figure 3.3: Patterns of language use in different domains in the Dhimal speech community by female

3.3 Language use in specific domains

In this section, we discuss the specific domains in which languages are used in the Dhimal community.

3.3.1 Language use at home

This section examines the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, ,teacher, etc) , discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) and in writing letters. Table 3.4 presents the languages most frequently used in the Dhimal speech community in certain situations.

Table 3.4: Languages most frequently used in the Dhimal speech community

<i>Language most frequently used at home while...</i>		MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
<i>WITH ...</i>	DOMAINS	DHIMAL	NEPALI	D+N	DHIMAL	NEPALI	D+N
GRAND-FATHER (N=60)	Education al matters	30(100%)	-	-	29(96.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Social events	30(100%)	-	-	29(96.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Writing a letters	5(16.6%)	25(83.3%)	-	10(33.3%)	20(66.6%)	-
GRAND-MOTHE R (N=60)	Education al matters	30(100%)	-	-	28(93.3%)	2(6.6%)	-
	Social events	30(100%)	-	-	29(96.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Writing a letters	5(16.6%)	25(83.3%)	-	10(33.3%)	20(66.6%)	-
FATHER (N=60)	Education al matters	30(100%)	-	-	27(90%)	3(10%)	-
	Social events	30(100%)	-	-	20(66.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Writing a letters	8(26.6%)	22(73.3%)	-	5(16.6%)	20(66.6%)	-
MOTHE R (N=60)	Education al matters	30(100%)	-	-	29(96.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Social events	30(100%)	-	-	29(96.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Writing a letters	6(20%)	24(80%)	-	7(23.3%)	23(76.6%)	-
SPOUSE (N=27)	Education al matters	23(76.6%)	3(10%)	1(3.3%)	26(86.6%)	193.33%)	-
	Social events	24(80%)	1(3.3%)	2(6.6%)	26(86.6%)	1(3.3%)	-
	Writing a letters	5(16.6%)	20(66.6%)	2(6.6%)	6(20%)	21(70%)	-
CHILDR EN (N=25)	Education al matters	19(63.3%)	4(13.3%)	296.66%)	21(70%)	3(10%)	3(10%)
	Social events	20(66.6%)	4(13.3%)	1(3.3%)	22(73.3%)	2(6.6%)	3(10%)
	Writing a letters	2(6.6%)	23(76.6%)	2(2.6%)	2(2.6%)	21(70%)	4(13.3%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.4 shows that Dhimal is most frequently used by both male and female while speaking with grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children about educational matters and social events whereas while letter writing Nepali is

overwhelmingly used. It is to be noted that in such situations, the male informants use Dhimal more than Nepali.

3.3.2 Language use in the community

In this sub-section, we look at the pattern of language use in the Dhimal speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings. Table 3.5 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings.

Table 3.5: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings (N=60)

<i>What language does the community use in/for ...</i>	MALE (30)			FEMALE(30)			
	DHIMAL	NEPALI	DHIMAL+ NEPALI	DHIMAL	NEPALI	D+N	NO IDEA
<i>Marriage invitations?</i>	6 (20%)	2 (6.6%)	22 (73.3%)	13 (43.3%)	2(6.6%)	15 (50%)	
<i>Writing minutes in community meetings?</i>	2 (6.6%)	27 (90%)	1(3.3%)	3 (10%)	25 (83.3%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.5 shows that 73.33% male and 50% female informants replied that they used Dhimal and Nepali for the marriage invitation. Similarly 20% male and 43.33% female informants responded they use Dhimal language for the marriage invitation. In the case writing the minutes in community meetings, more than 90% male and 83.33% female informants use Nepali. Similarly 6.66% male and 10% of the female informants used Dhimal while writing the minutes in community meetings. A very few informants (i.e., 3.33% both male and female) responded they use Nepali and Dhimal while writing minutes in community meetings. Thus, Nepali is used more than the Dhimal while writing minutes in community meetings.

3.3.3 Language spoken by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Table 3.6 presents the languages usually spoken by children in such situations.

Table 3.6: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains

<i>What language do your children usually speak while...</i>	Male(30)				Female(30)			
	D	N	D+N	N+R	D	N	D+N	N+R
Playing with other children?	5 (16.6%)	18 (60%)	3(10%)	4(13.3%)	6 (20%)	18 (60%)	4 (13.3%)	2(6.6%)
Talking with neighbors?	13 (43.3%)	9 (30%)	4 (13.3%)	4 (13.3%)	20 (66.6%)	3 (10%)	5 (16.6%)	2(6.6%)
At school?	-	26 (86.6%)	-	4(13.3%)	2(6.6%)	26 (86.6%)	-	2(6.6%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.6 shows that 60% of the informants (both male and female) replied that their children use Nepali while playing with other children. Similarly, 16.66% male and 20% female informants replied that while their children playing with other children. In the case of talking with neighbors 86.66% male and 66.66% female replied that their children use Dhimal while talking with neighbors. Similarly, 30% male and 10% female informants replied that they use Nepali while talking with neighbors.

As to the language used at school, 86.6% of the informants (both male and female) replied that their children use Nepali at school. Similarly 13.3% male and 6.6% female informants replied that their children use Nepali and Rajbansi at schools.

3.4 Use of mother tongue and language of wider communication

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in practical life. In the Dhimal speech community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 3.7 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in the Dhimal speech community.

Table 3.7: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Dhimal speech community (N=60)

<i>How often do you use ...</i>	THE FREQUENCY OF USE		
	Every day	Rarely	Never
Your mother tongue?	59 (98.3%)	1(1.6%)	-
Language of wider communication (LWC)?	34(56.6 %)	26(43.3 %)	-

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.7 shows that most of the informants use mother tongue every day. Only 1.6% uses the mother tongue rarely. It further shows that more than 56 % of the total informants use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day and 43.33% of the informants used the language of wider communication rarely.

3.5 Language preference for children’s medium of instruction at primary level

Generally, children gradually go on shifting to the language of the medium of instruction if their mother tongue is not used in education especially at primary level. So is the case with the children in the Dhimal speech community. However, at present, all the informants, both male and female, prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in Dhimal speech community.

3.6 Language used with the visitors at home

Almost all Dhimal are proficient bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi and Hindi. Table 3.8 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Dhimal speakers at home.

Table 3.8: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Dhimal speakers at home (N=60)

<i>Which language do you speak when speakers of other languages visit you at home?</i>	MALE(30)	FEMALE(30)	TOTAL
Dhimal	-	-	-
Nepali	30 (100%)	28 (93.3%)	58 (96.6%)
Nepali and Rajbansi	-	2 (3.5%)	2(3.3%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 3.8 shows that in Dhimal speech community, Nepali is overwhelmingly used with the persons of other languages visit them at home. Only 3.3% of the female used Nepali and Rajbansi with the persons of other languages visit at home.

3.7 Information from Domains of Language Use

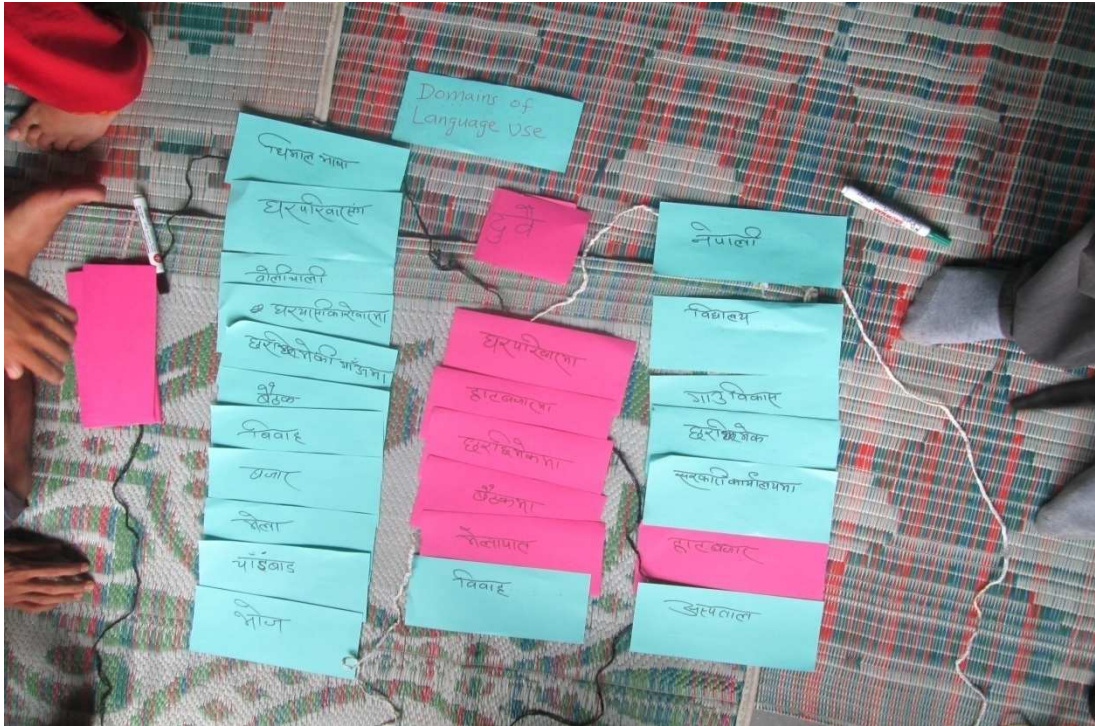
A participatory tool was administered in different survey points in the Dhimal speech community. It has provided some information about the pattern of language use in this community. Table 3.9 presents the major domains where different languages are used in the Dhimal community.

Table 3.9: Major domains where different languages are used in the Dhimal community

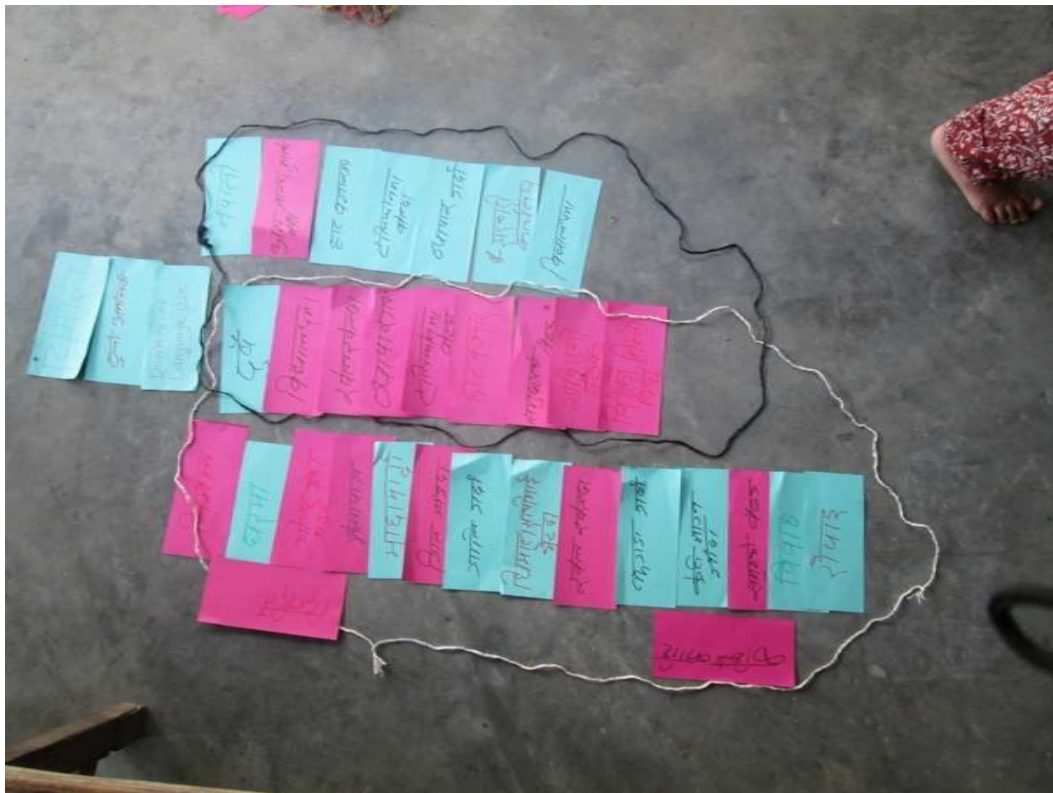
	Major domains	Dhimal	Nepali	Both
1.	At home	√	x	x
2.	Praying	√	x	x
3.	Counting	√	x	x
4.	Quarrelling	√	x	x
5.	While planting paddy	√	x	x
6.	At hospital	x	√	x
7.	Feast and festivals	√	x	x
8.	Dhimal cultural activities	√	x	x
9.	Working place	√	x	x
10.	While fishing	√	x	x
11.	While singing	√	x	x
12.	While scolding	√	x	x
13.	While meeting Dhimal speakers	√	x	x
14.	While playing	√	x	√
15.	While going for asking hands	√	x	x
16.	Village/ community meeting	x	x	√
17.	At school	x	√	x
18.	At government offices	x	√	x
19.	At business	x	x	√
20.	While talking on the telephone	x	√	x
21.	At the market	x	x	√
22.	VDC meeting	x	x	√
23.	Talking to non-Dhimal speakers	x	√	x
24.	Marriage invitations	x	x	√

Table 3.9 shows that Nepali, the language of wider communication, is exclusively used in school, hospital, government offices and while taking on the telephone. Both Nepali and Dhimal is used in marriage invitations, VDC meeting, markets, business and community meetings. In the rest of the domains, Dhimal, the mother tongue is

exclusively used. Photographs 3.1 and 3.2 present a glimpse the participatory tool referred to as Domains of Language Use in Dhimal.



Photograph 3.1: Domains of Language Use administered at Budhabare- 7/8, Jhapa.



Photograph 3.2: Domains of Language Use administered at Damak Municipality- 16, Arnakhadi, Jhapa

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the patterns of language use in different in different domains in Dhimel speech community. In the domains of singing in general and singing at home, Nepali is exclusively used by the respondents of both sexes. However, in other domains such as counting, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing , telling stories to children, family gatherings and village meetings Dhimel is overwhelmingly used by the respondents of both sexes. The Female uses the mother tongue more than that of the male one. Dhimel is exclusively used in almost all the domains while talking with family members about educational matters and social events social events and family matters. No matter whether the speakers are male or female most of the informants use Nepali, Hindi and Dhimel in singing and singing at home and use the mother tongue in the domain of family gathering in Dhimel speech community. In the domains of counting, joking, story-telling, telling stories to children, discussing, praying and village meetings, the female informants use the mother tongue more than the male informants in Dhimel speech community. However, in the domains like bargaining, quarrelling and abusing, may be in contrary to the general expectation, most of the informants (both male and female) used more mother tongue than t the other languages. In this community, most of the informants(male and female) use their mother tongue, i.e., Dhimel while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, ,teacher, etc) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc). However, while in writing letters all the informants, both male and female, exclusively use Nepali, the language of the wider communication. In marriage invitations mother tongue is overwhelmingly used in Dhimel speech community. To the contrary, in writing minutes in community meetings, Nepali is overwhelmingly used. The children while playing with other children and talking with the neighbors overwhelmingly use their mother tongue whereas at school Nepali is used. All the people use mother tongue every day. A significant number of speakers in this community use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day. At present, all the people prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in Dhimel speech community.

CHAPTER 4

BI/MULTILINGUALISM AND MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY

4.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Dhimal speech community. It consists of five sections. Section 4.2 discusses the state of affairs of bi/multilingualism in the Dhimal speech community. In section 4.3, we discuss the mother tongue proficiency in the Dhimal speech community. In section 4.4, we examine the level Dhimal children understand Nepali in school. Section 4.5 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

4.2. Bi/multilingualism

4.2.1 General situation of bi/multilingualism

Dhimal is a multilingual speech community. Dhimal people speak a number of languages. They are fluent speakers of their mother tongue and the language of wider communication i.e. Nepali. In addition to this, Dhimals can speak Hindi, Rajbansi, Tharu, Bengali, Maithili and Arabi. Table 4.1 presents the general situation of bi/multilingualism in the Dhimal speech community.

Table 4 .1: General situation of bi/multilingualism in the Dhimal speech community (N=60)

	<i>What languages can you speak?</i>	Male (N=30)	Female (N=30)	Total
1.	Dhimal	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Nepali	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
3.	Rajbansi	21 (70%)	9 (30%)	30 (50%)
4.	Hindi	17 (56.67%)	3 (10%)	20 (33.33%)
5.	English	9 (30%)	3 (10%)	12 (20%)
6.	Bangali	5 (16.67%)	-	5 (8.33%)
7.	Arabi	1 (3.33%)	-	1 (1.66%)
8.	Tharu	7 (23.33%)	2 (6.67%)	9 (15%)
9.	Maithili	1 (3.33%)	-	1 (1.66%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 4.1 presents the languages spoken in the Dhimal community. All the informants, both male and female can speak Dhimal and Nepali, the language of wider communication. In this community, 50% (i.e., 70% of the male and 30% of female) are bilingual in Rajbansi. Similarly, 33.3% (i.e., 56.67% of the male and 10% of the female) can speak Hindi. In the same way, 20% (i.e., 30% of the male and 10% of female) can speak English as well. Only a few people in the Dhimal community can speak Bangali, Arabi and Maithili. Similarly, 15% (i.e., 23.33% of male and 6.67%) can speak Tharu. We can present the situation of bi/multilingualism in the Dhimal speech community in Figure 4.1.

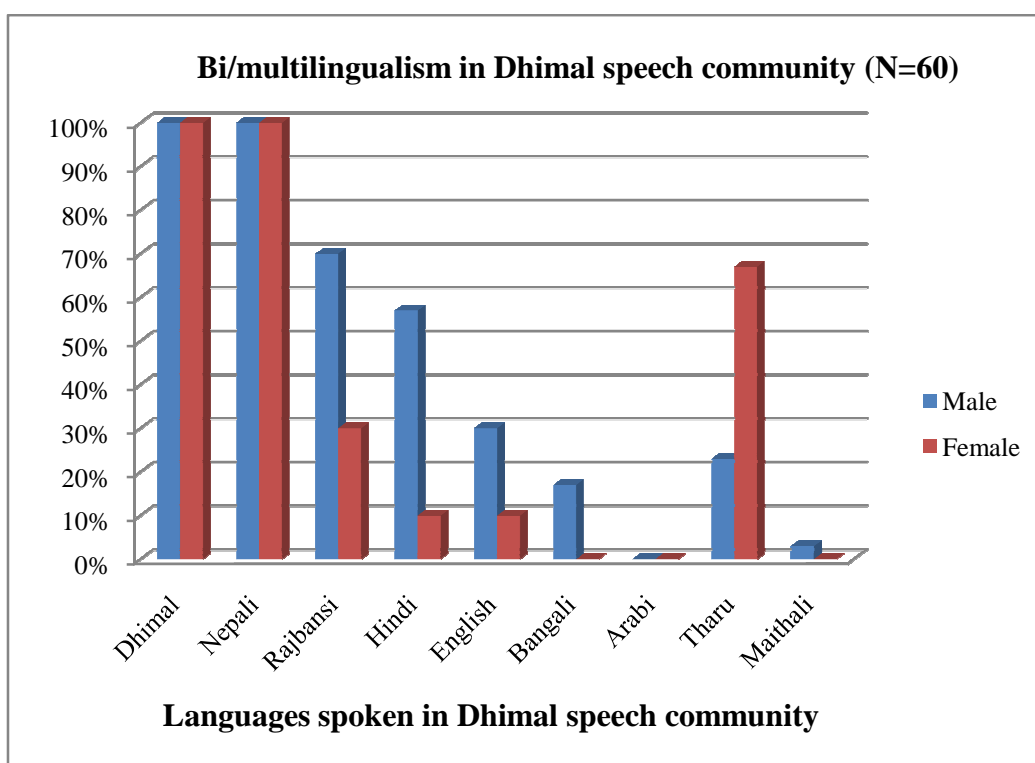


Figure 4.1: Bi/multilingualism in Dhimal speech community

4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in families

As discussed in 4.2.1, almost all the Dhimal speakers are bi/multilingual. However, in responses to the question: “What other languages are known to the family members, especially, father, mother and spouse, different responses have been recorded. Table 4.2 presents the list of languages known to the family members in Dhimal speech community by male.

**Table 4.2: Other languages known to family members by male
(N=30)**

<i>Other languages known ...</i>	Father	Mother	Spouse
Nepali	28(93.33%)	28 (93.33%)	18 (60%)
Hindi	5(16.66%)	2 (6.66%)	4 (13.33%)
English	1 (3.33%)		1 (3.33%)
Rajbansi	14(46.66%)	12(40%)	8 (26.66%)
Bengali	3(10%)	2(6.66%)	2 (6.66%)
Tharu	3 (10%)	1(3.33%)	2 (6.66%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 4.2 shows that out of 30 respondents 93.33%, 46.66%, 16.66%, 10% and 3.33% respondents' fathers are bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi, Hindi, Bengali, Tharu and English languages respectively. In the same way, 93.33%, 40%, 6.66%, and 3.33% speakers' mothers are bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi, Bengali, hindi and Tharu language. Similarly, 60%, 26.66%, 6.66% and 3.33% spouses' are bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi, Bengali, Tharu and English.

Similarly, Table 4.3 presents the list of languages known to the family members in Dhimal speech community by female.

**Table 4.3: Other languages known to family members by female
(N=30)**

<i>Other languages known ...</i>	Father	Mother	Spouse
Nepali	29(96.60%)	29 (96.60%)	22 (73.33%)
English	1 (3.33%)		1(3.33%)
Rajbansi	7(23.33%)	8(26.66%)	5 (16.66%)
Bengali		1(3.33%)	
Tharu		1(3.33%)	

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 4.3 shows that out of 30 respondents 96.60%, 23.33%, and 3.33% speakers' fathers are bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi and English respectively. In the same way, 90.60%, 26.66%, and 3.33% speakers' mothers are bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi, Bengali and Tharu language. Similarly, 73.33%, 16.66% and 3.33% spouses' are bilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi and English.

4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism in children

As Dhimal speech community is multilingual, most of the children in this community are multilingual as well. They speak Nepali, Hindi, English and Rajbansi. Table 4.4 presents bi/multilingualism in Dhimal children.

Table 4.4: Other languages known to Dhimal children (N=42)

<i>Other languages known...</i>	No. of responses	Where they learnt?
Nepali	42 (100%)	Community, school, college, market
Rajbansi	2 (4.7%)	Community
Hindi	5 (11.9%)	watching Hindi movies and television programs, community
English	4 (9.5%)	School, college

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 4.4 shows that all of Dhimal children are bilingual in Nepali. According to the total 42 respondents, 100%, 4.7%, 11.9% and 9.5% respondents' children are bi/multilingual in Nepali, Rajbansi, Hindi and English languages respectively.

Most of them learnt Nepali in the community schools, colleges and in the local markets. Similarly, they learnt Hindi by watching Hindi movies and television programs. They learnt English in schools and colleges and learnt Rajbansi in the community.

The situation of bi/multilingualism in the Dhimal speech community is further evidenced by the responses elicited in the Bilingualism, a participatory tool administered to the group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category in all the survey points in the Dhimal community. Photograph 4.1 shows the situation of bilingualism in the Dhimal speech community.

Photograph 4.1 shows that government personnel, teachers, businessmen, industrialists, political leaders and students are proficiently bilingual in both Dhimal and Nepali.



Photograph 4.1: Bilingualism in Karikoshi at Dangihat VDC, Morang

There are three common findings observed from this participatory method:

- a) There are no monolingual in Dhimal in the Dhimal community.
- b) The Dhimal speakers who, generally, do not go outside their village are women, farmers and elderly people. The pre-literates speak their mother tongue better than Nepali.
- c) School-going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers and students are better bilingual in both the Dhimal and Nepali languages.

4.3 Mother tongue proficiency

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQA was administered in the informants in the survey points of survey in Dhimal. Table 4.5 shows the present picture of mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Dhimal.¹

¹ Table 4.5 is based upon the responses to Q.N. (46-47) of SLQ A.

Table 4.5: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Dhimal

SPEAKING (N=60)				READING AND WRITING (N=31)		
Degrees	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total	Male n=19	Female n=11	Total
VERY WELL	30 (100%)	28 (93.33%)	58 (96.66%)	12(63.15%)	10 (20%)	22(70.96%)
SOME	-	1(3.33%)	1(1.66%)	5(26.315%)	1(10%)	6(20.68%)
ONLY LITTLE	-	1(3.33%)	1(1.66%)	3 (10.52%)	-	3(9.67%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 4.5 shows that 96.66% respondents speak their mother tongue very well. Similarly, Table 4.5 shows that 70.96% of the total respondents, who can read and write, said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. And 20.68% have responded that they can read and write their mother tongue to some degree. In the same way 9.67% of the respondents said they can read and write their mother tongue only a little. This situation implies that literacy in Dhimal is not sufficient and there are only a few reading materials.

In Dhimal speech community, all the family members, father, mother and spouse can speak at least two languages: Dhimal and Nepali well. Other languages spoken by Dhimal people are Hindi, Rajbansi, Tharu and Bengali. In Dhimal speech community, the children learn four languages: Nepali, English and Rajbansi and Hindi. They learn Nepali and English at schools and Rajbansi and Hindi in the society when they grow up to communicate with the people speaking these languages.

4.4 Level of understanding of Nepali in school

Most of the Dhimal children learnt Nepali in the community, schools and colleges but they have some difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.6 presents the level of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school.

Table 4.6: Degrees at which a small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says

Degrees	Male=30	Female=30	Total=60
Yes	7 (23.33%)	12 (40%)	19 (31.67%)
A little bit	18 (60%)	17 (56.67%)	35 (58.33%)
No	5 (16.67%)	1 (3.33%)	6 (10%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 4.2 shows that 31.67% responded their children can understand Nepali as used by the Nepali speaking teacher in school. Similarly, 58.38% responded that the children understand only a little bit whereas the informants response 'yes' 7(23.33%) male and 12(40%) female. Similarly 10% gave a negative response. The degrees at which a small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says can be presented in Figure 4.2.

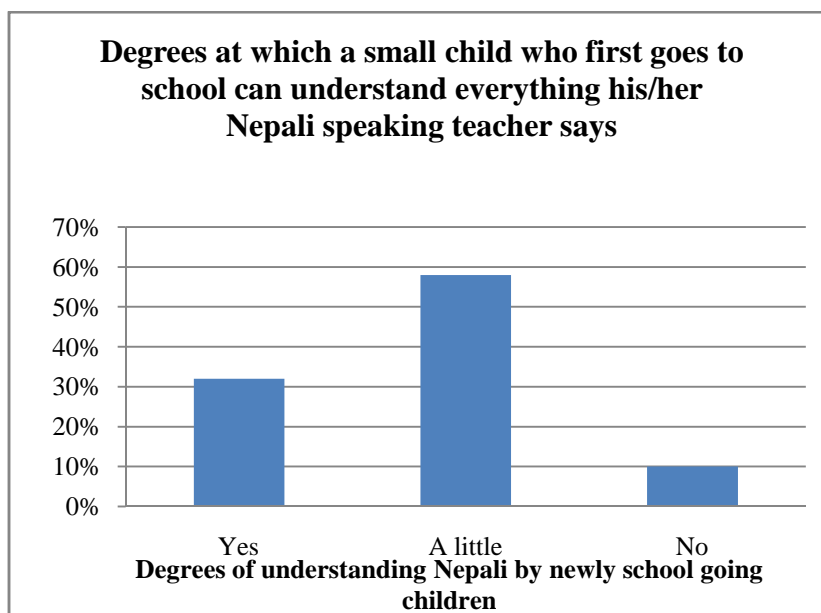


Figure 4.2: Degrees at which a small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says

Figure 4.2 shows that 31.67% responded their children can understand Nepali as used by the Nepali speaking teacher in school

4.5 Summary

Dhimal people are proficient in speaking their mother tongue. All the members of Dhimal speech community speak their language very well and only educated speakers of Dhimal can read and write in their language. Most of them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual. Similarly, majority of Dhimal families are bilingual as well as multilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, and Rajbanshi languages. Some of them also speak English, Bengali and Tharu.

Most of the Dhimal children are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi languages, and some of them are also bilingual in Rajbansi language. Most of them learnt Nepali in community, schools, and colleges and in markets. Similarly, they learnt Hindi

watching Hindi movies and television programs. They learnt English in school and colleges and learnt Rajbansi in the society. Majority of Dhimal children understand Nepali speaking teachers only a little when they first go to school. Since most of the Dhimals use their own mother tongue and Nepali at home. Consequently, their children are partially bilingual before going to school.

There are no complete monolingual speakers in Dhimal. The Dhimal speakers who do not go outside the village generally are women, farmers and elderly people. The pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali. Similarly, school-going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students are bilingual in both the Dhimal and Nepali languages.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE VITALITY, MAINTENANCE AND ATTITUDE

5.1 Outline

This chapter looks at the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitude in Dhimal. It consists of 5 sections. Section 5.1 examines language vitality in Dhimal speech community. In section 5.2 we discuss intergenerational transmission of the language. Section 5.3 looks at the way the language spoken by younger generation. Section 5.4 discusses language maintenance and in section 5.5 we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.2 Language vitality

Dhimal community in common with other indigenous communities is gradually shifting other language of the wider communication the Tarai areas in Nepal.

5.2.1 Language vitality in the children

A language cannot live for long if it is ceased to be spoken by the younger generation. In Dhimal speech community, more than 80% of the children speak Dhimal as mother-tongue. Table 5.1 presents picture of the language vitality in the Dhimal speech community.

Table 5.1: Language vitality of the children in the Dhimal speech community

<i>Do all your children speak your mother tongue?</i>			
Responses	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
Yes	21(70%)	27(90%)	48(80%)
No	2(6.67%)	2(6.67%)	4(6.67%)
No response	7(23.33%)	1(3.33%)	8(13.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.1 shows that 80% (i.e.,70% of the male and 90% of the female) informants responded that their children speak their mother tongue. A smaller number of respondents, i.e., 6.67% responded that their children do not speak their mother tongue. Some of the respondents, i.e.13.33%, did not respond to the question. This shows that the language is gradually shifting to Nepali.

5.2.2 Language used by the parents

Intergenerational transmission plays a pivotal role for language vitality. If the new generation is provided enough opportunity to speak their mother tongue, it will be acquired and spoken and transferred to generation to generation. To look at this aspect, the question: “What language do most parents in their village usually speak with their children?, was asked to the informants. Responses on this question are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: The language parents speak with their children

Languages	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
Mother tongue	26(86.67%)	28(93.33%)	54(90%)
Nepali	4(13.33%)	2(6.67%)	6(10%)
Other	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.2 shows that most of the parents speak mother tongue with their children. This table shows that 90% (i.e., 86.67% male and 93.33% female) responded that parents speak in their mother tongue with their children. Only 10% (i.e., 13.33% of male and 6.67% of female) said they do not speak their mother tongue with their children. It is clear that they speak in Nepali with the children. It shows that most of the children in Dhimal speech community get exposure of their mother tongue.

5.2.3 The way language spoken by younger people

In the Dhimal speech community, most of the younger people use their mother tongue in day-to-day communication. Table 5.3 presents the responses to the question “Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?”

Table 5.3: The way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation

Response	Male (30)	Female(30)	Total
Yes	26(86.67%)	28(93.33%)	54(90%)
No	4(13.33%)	2(6.67%)	6(10%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents 86.67% responded that young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken and only 13.33% said that the young people of their village/town do not speak their mother

tongue the way it ought to be spoken. Similarly, 93.33% female respondents have mentioned that most of the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken and 10% responded that they do not speak their mother tongue well, i.e. the way it ought to be spoken.

5.3 Language maintenance

Language maintenance in Dhimal is not awful. In the following sub-section, we briefly discuss the factors for language maintenance.

5.3.1 Intermarriage situation

Intermarriage is not common in the Dhimal speech community. Table 5.4 presents the situation of intermarriage in the Dhimal speech community.

Table 5.4: Situation of the intermarriage in the Dhimal speech community

<i>Is their intermarriage in your community?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total (60)
YES	17(56.67%)	17(56.66%)	34(56.66%)
NO	13(43.33%)	13(43.33%)	26(43.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.4 shows the intermarriage situation in Dhimal communities. It shows that out 56.67% of the total respondents told there is intermarriage in their communities whereas 43.33% responded there is not intermarriage system.

Similarly, in response to the question, “If there is inter-caste marriage in your community which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?” The answers are presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Common marital relationship with the Dhimal language group (N=34)

	Other language groups	No. of informants	%
1.	Rai	31	91.17
2.	Limbu	31	91.17
3.	Nepali	13	38.23
4.	Rajbansi	14	41.17
5.	Magar	7	20.58
6.	Bengali	5	14.70
7.	Tharu	2	5.88
8.	Newar	2	5.88
9.	Tamang	1	2.94

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.5 shows that 91.17%, 38.23%, and 41.17% respondents said that they have the common marital relationship with Rai/Limbu, Nepali and Rajbansi language speaking groups, respectively. Similarly, 20.58%, 14.70%, 5.88%, and 2.94% respondents said they have marital relationship with Magar, Bengali, Tharu, Newar and Tamang, respectively.

5.3.2 Use of mother tongue in education

The use of mother tongue in education fosters the vitality of the language. In the Dhimal speech community, more than 96.66% of the respondents like their language to be used in school. Table 5.6 presents the feeling of the informants if they like their children to be taught in their mother tongue.

Table 5.6: Feeling of the informants if they like their children to be taught in their mother tongue

<i>Do you like your children learnt/study in mother tongue?</i>	Male (30)	Female (30)	Total
YES	29(96.66%)	29(96.66%)	58(96.66%)
NO	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(3.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.6 shows that most of the informants (both male and female) like their children learnt/study in their mother tongue in primary level. The 96.66% of the informants (both male and female) like to their children learns/study in their mother tongue and very few only 3.33% of the informants (both male and female) do not like to their children learn/study in their mother tongue in primary level.

5.3.3 Support to the mother tongue school

Similarly, the informants were asked how they would support if school are opened for teaching their mother tongue. Table 5.7 presents the responses to how the informants to support if schools are opened for teaching their mother tongue.

Table 5.7: The ways informants support if schools are opened for teaching their language (n=60)

	<i>If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1.	By sending children?	22(73.33%)	16(53.33%)	38(63.33%)
2.	By encouraging other people to send their children?	24(80%)	8(26.66%)	32(53.33%)
3.	By providing financial help?	21(70%)	7(23.33%)	28(46.66%)
4.	By teaching?	10(33.33%)	-	10(33.33%)
5.	By helping with the school?	27(90%)	22(73.33%)	49(81.66%)
6.	Others?	1(3.33%)	-	1(3.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.7 shows that 63.33% of the informants (both male and female) responded that they will help the by sending their children if schools are opened for teaching their language.

Similarly, 81.66% of the informants (both male and female) responded that they will help the school in different ways if schools are opened for teaching their language. It also shows that 90% of male informants replied they will help the school by encouraging other people to send their children. Similarly, 46.66% of the informants replied that they will help the school by providing financial help. Only the male (33.33%) replied that they will help the school by teaching. No one of the female informants replied that they will help the school by teaching in the school.

5.4 Language attitudes

There is an extremely positive attitude of the Dhimal people towards their language. Table 5.8 presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they live most.

**Table 5.8: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most
N=60**

	<i>What languages do they love most?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1	Dhimal	29(96.66%)	28(93.33%)	57(95%)
2	Nepali	-	2(3.335%)	2(3.33%)
3	Rajbansi	-	-	-
4	Hindi	1(3.33%)	-	1(1.66%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.8 shows that 95% of the informants (both male and female) love their language (Dhimal) the most whereas 3.33% of the informants (only female) love Nepali .Similarly 1(1.66%) informants love Hindi.

The Dhimal speakers, in general, do not feel any embarrassment while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. Table 5.9 presents the feelings of the informants (in terms of literacy) while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 5.9: Feelings of the informants while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language

	<i>When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1	Prestigious	18(60%)	26(86.66%)	44(73.33%)
2	Embarrassed	2(6.66%)	-	2(3.33%)
3	Neutral	10(33.33%)	4(13.33%)	14(23.34%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.9 shows that more than 73% of the entire respondents feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. No female does feel any embarrassment when she speaks her mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language but 6.66% of the male respondent feels embarrassment when he speaks his mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. Around 23.34% of the respondents (3.33% male and 13.33% female) have expressed that they feel neutral while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages.

Table 5.10 presents the response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

Table 5.10: Response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue (n=60)

	<i>Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1	YES	2(6.66%)	-	2(3.33%)
2	NO	28(93.33%)	30(100%)	58(96.66%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.10 shows that more than 96 % of the entire respondents (93.33% male and 100% female) have responded that they had never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. Only 2(3.33%) of the total respondents (only male) entire respondents replied that he had faced some problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue.

Because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue, a man may have faced a number of categories of problems: Social discrimination, political discrimination, and economic discrimination, and hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure and economic pressure.

In Dhimal speech community, the male respondents who had faced a problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue had faced only the social pressure.

Table 5.11 presents different feelings of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language.

Table 5.11: Different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language

	<i>How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1	GOOD	-	-	-
2	INDIFFERENT	7(23.33%)	3(10%)	10(16.67%)
3	BAD	23(76.67%)	27(90%)	50(83.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.11 shows that around 83.33% of the total respondents (both male and female) replied that they would feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does

not know their language. Only 16.67% of the respondents said that they were indifferent in such case.

Table 5.12 presents the response to the question: When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?

Table 5.12: Response to the if future generation might speak the language

	<i>When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1.	YES	23(76.67%)	23(76.67%)	46(76.67%)
2,	NO	7(23.33%)	7(23.33%)	14(23.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.12 shows that more than 76.67% of the total respondents (both male and female) are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. Only 23.33% of the informants (both male and female) responded that that their children would not speak the mother tongue in future.

Table 5.13 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters speak of their language.

Table 5.13: Different feeling of the informants if their children speak of their language

	<i>How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
1	Good	30(100%)	30(100%)	60(100%)
2	Indifferent	-	-	-
3	Bad	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.13 shows that 100% of the total informants feel good if their children speak their mother tongue. No one of the informants has shown their indifference and bad in such case if their children speak their mother tongue.

In response to the question: What language should your children speak first?, the informants have given different responses about the preference. Table 5.14 presents preference of the informants their sons or daughters speak of the language at first.

Table 5.14: Preference of the informants their sons or daughters speak of the language first (n=60)

<i>What language should your children speak first?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
Dhimal	29(96.67%)	29(96.67%)	58(96.67%)
Nepali	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(3.33%)
English	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.14 shows that 96.67% (both male and female) informants have responded that they should first speak their mother tongue, Dhimal. Only 3.33 % (both male and female) responded Nepali their children should speak Nepali first. It means that all most all the people in this community are convinced that their children should speak Dhimal first.

Table 5.15 presents the responses to: if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

Table 5.15: Response to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents

<i>Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
YES	9(30%)	4(13.33%)	13(21.67%)
NO	21(70%)	26(86.67%)	47(78.33%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.15 shows that more than 78.33% of the total informants (both male and female) do not think that the language spoken by them is not different from their grandparents. It means that their language is still conservative.

Table 5.16 presents different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language.

Table 5.16: Different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language

<i>How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?</i>	Male(30)	Female(30)	Total
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(3.33%)
Bad	29(96.67%)	29(96.67%)	58(96.67%)

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 5.16 shows that more than 96% of the total informants (both male and female) feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. However, no one of the informants has replied that they would feel good when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. Similarly, a very few of the informants have replied they would feel indifferent when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. It indicates that the loyalty towards their mother tongue is increasing in the Dhimal speech community.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Dhimal. In terms of orality, Dhimal has a high level of vitality. Language maintenance in Dhimal is not appalling. In this community, intermarriage is gradually picking up the pace. Such marriage is arranged with the speakers of Tharu, Rajbansi, Rai, Limbu, Magar, Rajbansi is a dominant language of the area in terms of number of speakers. The community as a whole its children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level and the community is ready to support the schools opened for teaching their language in whatever ways they could. In this speech community, there is an extremely positive attitude towards the mother language. Almost people love their language the most. Moreover, almost people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and almost have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. In Dhimal speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all people are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. In this community, almost all people feel good if their children speak their mother

tongue and feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue. All the people are convinced that their children should first speak their mother tongue. The Dhimal language is still conservative. However, now-a-days, the loyalty towards their mother tongue is gradually slackening in Dhimal.

CHAPTER 6

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

6.1 Outline

This chapter assesses the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Dhimal. For this purpose, two tools were employed: Wordlist Comparison and Dialect Mapping. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 6.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Dhimal. In section 6.3, we discuss the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 6.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

6.2 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Dhimal speech forms the word lists represent. In this section, we discuss the methodology employed in lexical similarity study, evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages and the lexical similarity study results in Dhimal.

6.2.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the collection of wordlists and tool used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, namely, Budhabare 7/8, Shantinagar-3, Matigaun, Karikoshi and Damak-16 from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex D for 210 wordlist). Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages were calculated in the WordSurv.

6.2.2 Evaluation criteria

Normally, 60% has been generally taken as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. However, the 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using

such a method, the speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different languages. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or greater lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors. Table 6.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 6.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

	Lexical similarity %	Evaluation	Remarks
1.	60% similarity	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
2.	Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	
3.	60% or more similarity	Different languages or dialects of the same language	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT
4.	Higher than 85% similarity	Speech varieties likely to be related dialects	
5.	Higher than 95% similarity	Same language	

6.2.3 Lexical similarity

The wordlists collected from different five points of Jhapa and Morang districts of eastern region of Nepal are compared and the summary of the comparison is prepared. Table 6.2 presents the lexical similarity percentages among the survey points in Dhimal.

Table 6.2: Lexical similarity percentages among the key points

Variety	Budhabare 7/8	Shantinagar-3	Matigaun	Karikoshi	Damak-16
Budhabare 7/8	100%	88%	74%	78%	74%
Shantinagar-3	88%	100%	70%	75%	72%
Matigaun	74%	70%	100%	91%	89%
Karikoshi	78%	75%	91%	100%	88%
Damak-16	74%	72%	89%	88%	100%

Table 6.2 clearly shows that Dhimal has lexical similarity percentages ranging from 70 % to 91% in the different survey areas. Generally, the 60% is used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of the lexical similarity. When lexical similarity percentages are less than 60% the form of the speech spoken in different key points are considered to be different languages. If such percentages are 60% or more the intelligibility testing is required by using RTT (Recorded Text Test). Normally, percentages higher than 85% are taken as the indicators to conclude that the speech varieties being compared are likely to be related dialects. Looking at the lexical similarity percentages, which are higher than 74%, we can say that Dhimal presents dialectal variation.

6.3 Dialect mapping

In order to determine dialects among the Dhimal speakers, the dialect mapping tool was administered in all the reference points of the survey. Photographs 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5 show results of the dialect mapping tools used in different survey points.



Photograph 6.1: Dialect mapping at Budhabare 7-8 (Mailabari), Jhapa



Photograph 6.2: Dialect mapping at Shantinagar, Jhapa



Photograph 6.3: Dialect mapping at Thulo Arnakhari, Damak, Jhapa



Photograph 6.4: Dialect mapping at Karikosi 1, Morang



Photograph 6.5: Dialect mapping at Matigaun, Morang

The dialect mapping tool was administered to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any in the Dhimal. The language participants in group of 8 to 12 in each survey point were asked to write on a separate piece of paper the name of villages/town where Dhimal is spoken and place the paper cards on the floor representing different geographical location. The districts and villages were recognized as the Dhimal language speaking areas. Some of them are Mailabari, Sat nambar, Badakhali, Ninda, Garamani, Bagarabhitta, Nakalbanda, Mahurmadi, Bainsabari, Birtamod, Buttabari, Bansbari, Dhajjan, Ayyabari, Doghare Villages of Jhapa district (east to Kankai Mai river) and, Tarabari, Barhaghare, Nalbari, Baraghare, Kharkhare and Dakini villages of west Jhapa district. Similarly, Riguwa, Sanpakuwa, Jirikhimti, Jada, Dumre, Jamuwa Birta, Thapagaun, Dumrighat, Jada, Sanpakuwa, Kalabanjar, Telkundi, Khorsane, Belbari, Mainabari, Durgapuri Bhatagaunda, Pangrejhalas, Hasandaha, Bayarban, Matigaun, Pathari, Kirtipur and Khorsane of Morang district. Itahari of Sunsari was also named as the place where some Dhimal speakers reside. Dhimal speakers of some key points also pointed Chengadhari, Malabari, Nihalbasti and Bandarbasti areas of West Bengal (India) where Dhimal language spoken. When they wrote the name of different where Dhimal is spoken, they were asked to group them in terms of degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different places. Table 6.3 presents the names of the places where Dhimal is spoken.

Table 6.3: Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different places

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Dhimal		
	Group A	Group B	Group C
Budhabare-7 Jhapa	Tokla, Badagau, Bansbari, Ratekhal, Baisabari, Tutbari, Dhulabari, Mailabari, Lamasikari, Dhulabari	Jhapa, Kharkhare, Dakini, Doghare, Dapgachhi, Arnakhadi, Morang: Bhusi, Sunjhora, Durgapuri, Hasandaha, Jadha, Belbari, Rajghat	
Shantinagar-1 Jhapa	Badagaun, Nakalbanda, Itabhatta, Bansbari, Khaldangi, Aayabari, Ratekhal, Goldhap, Birtamod, Buttabari, Hattikilla, Narayan chowk, Mailabari, Tutbari	Group B: Doghare, Athiyabari, Jamujhar, Dapgachhi, Bayarban, Ramailo, Kharkhare, Baraghare, Beldangi, Arnakhadi,	Malabari, Chengadhari, Nihalbasti, Bandarbasti.
Arnakhadi, Damak, Jhapa	Thulo Arnakhadi, Sano Arnakhadi, Buttabari, Barhaghare, Dapgachhi, Athiyabari, Dakini, Kharkhare, Sanpakuwa, Jada, Dangihat, Doghare, Jada, Khorsane, Kirtipur etc.	Tokla, Badagaun, Dhaijan, Birtabazar, Bainsabari, Salbari, Bansbari, Tutbari, Goldhap, Hadiya, Budhabare, Nakalbanda, Buttabari, Dhulabari, Jyamirgadi	Malabari, Chengadhari (West Bengal, India)
Karikosi, Morang	Karikoshi, Jada, Bayarban, Matigaun, Bayarban, Jada, Dumrighat, Kakum, Telkundi, Khorsane, Itahari, Khorsane, Sunjhora, Chisapani, Madhumalla, Athiyabari, Pangrejhalas, Durgapuri, Jirait, Dharara, Belbari, Mainabari, Pathari, Hasandaha, Kirtipur, Bhusi, Ambari	Anarmani, Nakalbanda, Bagarabhitta, Magurmadi, Bainsabari, Tokla, Birtamod, Buttabari, Bansbari	
Matigaun, Morang	Matigaun, Kalabanjar, Kakom, Mainabari, Ringuwa, Kalabanjar, Butabari, Bhinda, Khorsane, Nalbari, Tilaighar, Jamujhar, Dumre, Belbari, Tinghare, Balahi,	Ayabari, Dhulabari, Bainsabari, Hadiya, Budhabari	Dhaijan

Next, they were asked to indicate the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic pieces to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly. Table 6.4 presents the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult in the Dhimal language.

Table 6.4: Ranking from easier to understand to the most difficult in Dhimal

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Dhimal		
	Very well	Average	Poorly
Budhabare-7 Jhapa	All the villages of Jhapa district east to Kankai Mai River,	All the villages of Jhapa (west to Kankai Mai River), Morang and Sunsari district	Dhimal language spoken in different villages of West Bengal (India).
Shantinagar-1 Jhapa	All the villages of Jhapa district east to Kankai Mai River,	All the villages of Jhapa (west to Kankai Mai River), Morang and Sunsari district.	
Arnakhadi, Damak, Jhapa	All the villages of Jhapa district west to Kankai Mai River and also all the villages/towns of Morang and Sunsari District.	All the villages of Jhapa district east to Kankai Mai River.	Dhimal language spoken in different villages of West Bengal (India).
Karikosi, Morang	All the villages of Jhapa district west to Kankai Mai River and also all the villages/towns of Morang and Sunsari District.	All the villages of Jhapa district east to Kankai Mai River,	Dhimal language spoken in different villages of West Bengal (India).
Matigaun, Morang	All the villages of Jhapa district west to Kankai Mai River and also all the villages/towns of Morang and Sunsari District.	All the villages of Jhapa district east to Kankai Mai River.	Dhimal language spoken in different villages of West Bengal (India).

Similarly, in response to the question “Which forms of speech they prefer for preparing reading materials”, the answers are presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.5: Preferences of speech variety for developing materials

Survey points	Preferences of speech variety for developing reading materials		
	First priority	Second priority	Third priority
Budhabare-7 Jhapa	Budhabare (Jhapa)	Dhimal language spoken to the west part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa).	
Shantinagar-1 Jhapa	Badagau (Shantinagar, Jhapa)	Dhimal language spoken to the west part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa).	

Arnakhadi, Damak, Jhapa	Damak (Jhapa)	Dhimal language spoken in the villages of Jhapa and Morang.	Dhimal language spoken to the east part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa).
Karikosi, Morang	Karikosi (Morang)	Dhimal language spoken to the west part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa)	Dhimal language spoken to the east part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa).
Matigaun, Morang	Matigaun(Jhapa)	Dhimal language spoken to the west part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa)	Dhimal language spoken to the east part of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa).

Table 6.4 shows that language participants in Budhabare (Jhapa) responded that the form of speech in their villages should be used while preparing reading materials. Similarly, the participants of Shantinagar (Jhapa) preferred their own variety for reading materials. The participants from Damak, 16 preferred their own speech variety for reading materials. Participants of all the five key survey points responded that the other variety of Dhimal other than their own spoken in Nepal is in their second priority.

6.4 Summary

All the varieties of Dhimal are mutually intelligible to each other. There is lexical similarity ranging from 70% to 91 % among the key survey points in Dhimal. It indicates that Dhimal at present shows two dialectal variations Eastern (spoken east to Kankai Mai River of Jhapa) and Western (spoken to the west of Kankai Mai River). Dhimal people say that Dhimal is also spoken in West Bengal of India but most of them do not know about the speech variety of Dhimal spoken there because they are not in regular contact with the Dhimal speakers residing in India. However, some Dhimal speakers residing at Mechinagar municipality said that their kins and relatives speaking Dhimal language have been residing in West Bengal of India for long.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGAUGE DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the language resources and organizations in general. It consists of three sections. Section 7.1 deals with the language resources available in the Dhimal language. In section 7.2, we list the organizations devoted to the development of the language and culture in the Dhimal community and their responsibilities. Section 7.3 presents the summary of the chapter.

7.2 Language resources

In this section we present the responses of the informants regarding the question about the available language resources in Dhimal. Table 7.1 presents the language resources in Dhimal.

Table 7.1: Language resources available in Dhimal

	Language resources	Yes/No
1.	Folk tales	yes
2.	Songs	yes
3.	Religious literature	yes
4.	Radio	yes
5.	Films	yes
6.	CD/DVD,	yes
7.	Other.....	-

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 7.1 shows the major kinds of language resources available in Dhimal are: folk tales, songs, religious literature, radio, films and CD/DVDs.

Similarly, we asked the respondents about the materials written in Dhimal language and the script being used to write it. Table 7.2 presents the responses regarding the question.

Table 7.2: The written materials available in the Dhimal language

	The material written	Yes/No	The language used in writing	Script
1.	Phonemic inventory	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari
2.	Grammar	No	-	-
3.	Dictionary	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari
4.	Textbooks	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari
5.	Literacy materials	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari
6.	Newspapers	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari
7.	Magazines	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari
7.	Written literature	Yes	Dhimal	Devanagari

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 7.2 shows that there are some written materials available in Dhimal language. The written materials, according to the respondents, are: phonemic inventory, dictionary, textbook, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines and written literature. The grammar of the Dhimal language is available in English but most of the Dhimals have no idea about this. Dhimal language is written in Devanagari script. Dhimal has no traditional script of its own.

There are some materials about Dhimal language available in English language. However, very few of the informants know about these materials. Table 7.3 presents the language resources produced in English about the Dhimal language.

Table 7.3: Language resources produced in English

	Title of works	Contributor/writer	Published in/by/ submitted to/ a paper presented at	Year
1.	On the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes	B.H. Hodgson	Reprinted in Miscellaneous Essays. Relating to Indian Subjects (1980)	1847
2.	Dhimal	G.A. Grierson	Linguistic Survey of India	1909
3.	Picking up where Hodgson left off: Further notes on Dhimal	John T. King	Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area 24(1)	1994
4.	Dhimal Verb Morphology	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Central Department of Linguistics	1999
5.	Classification and Morphophonemics of the Dhimal Verb Stems	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Gipan 1:2, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U.	1999
6.	The affinal kin register in Dhimal	John T. King	Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area.	2001

			24(1):163-182	
7.	Marked transitive scenarios and archaic biactinal agreement morphology in Dhimal."	John T. King	Acta Linguistica Hafniensa 34:39-69	2002
8.	Dhimal Nepali English Glossary	Sueyosi Toba, Nagendra Dhimal, Chandra Dhimal	Nepali National Languages Preservation Institute	2002
9.	Pronominalization in Dhimal	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Themes in Himalayan Linguistics	2003
10.	Dhimal Nepali English Glossary	Dhimal Ethnic Development Committee	Dhimal Ethnic Development Committee	2006
11.	A Grammar of Dhimal	John T. King	Ph.D. Dissertation, Leiden University	2008
12.	A Grammar of Dhimal	John T. King	BRILL: Leiden, Boston	2009
13.	Tense System in Dhimal	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Nepalese Linguistics 26, 4556 Linguistic Society of Nepal.	2011
14.	Aspects in Dhimal	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Curriculum Development Journal TU 40,p. 97-105	2012
15.	Moods and modality in Dhimal	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Nepalese Linguistics 27, p.77-81 Linguistic Society of Nepal	2012
16.	Case Marking in Dhimal	Karnakhar Khatiwada	Nepalese Linguistics 28, p. 71-76 Linguistic Society of Nepal	2013
17.	Differences in Eastern and Western Dhimal	Karnakhar Khatiwada	CERID journal TU	to appear

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 7.3 Shows that some native and foreign researchers have studied Dhimal language and some materials are published in it. However, Dhimal people have not yet been familiar with these materials. The reason behind it is that these materials are in English and very few Dhimal people have access to English language so far.

Regarding the organizations and their activities working for the welfare and betterment of Dhimal people, their responses have been presented in the table 7.4

Table 7.4: Dhimal ethnic organizations and their activities

SN	Name of the organizations	Kinds of activities
1	Dhimal jati bikas Kendra	To develop socio-cultural aspects of Dhimal
2	Nabakiran yuba samaj	To preserve Dhimal culture
3	Dhimal samaj bikas Kendra	To develop Dhimal ethnic group
4	Karikoshi gauntol samaj	To develop education and culture in the society
5	Saliberang bachat samstha	To help the Dhimal people for economic activities
6	Other	To help to develop the Dhimal people

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 7.4 shows the name of the organizations and their activities as told by the informants. There are a number of organizations in Dhimal. Among them Dhimal Jati Bikas Kendra is the highest body which serves Dhimal community in different ways and also facilitates, monitors and guides other local organizations like Nabakiran Yuba Samaj, Dhimal Samaj Bikas Kendra, Karikoshi Gauntol Samaj, Saliberang Bachat Samstha etc. Their activities are to develop social and cultural aspects of Dhimal, create awareness among Dhimal, develop the education and help the Dhimal people in their economic activities.

Table 7.5 presents whether the literate Dhimal speakers read the materials available in their language or not.

Table 7.5: Reading of the materials by the informants written in Dhimal language			
Response	Male	Female	Total
yes	13(43.33%)	8(26.67%)	21(35%)
no	17(56.67%)	22(73.33%)	39(65%)
total	30	30	60

Source: Field study, 2013

Table 7.5 shows that 35% replied that they read the materials available in their language whereas 65% respondents do not read these materials. Our observation is that Dhimal possesses some materials as included in the literature review section of this report either written in Devanagari or in Roman script. But, many of the literate Dhimal are not aware of it, and consequently, they do not read the materials.

The respondents were also asked whether there are organizations devoted to promote the knowledge and use of Dhimal language. Table 7.6 presents their responses.

Table 7.6: Availability of organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Dhimal			
Response	Male	Female	Total
yes	29(96.67%)	23(76.67%)	52(86.67%)
no	1(3.33%)	7(23.33%)	8(13.33%)
total	30	30	60

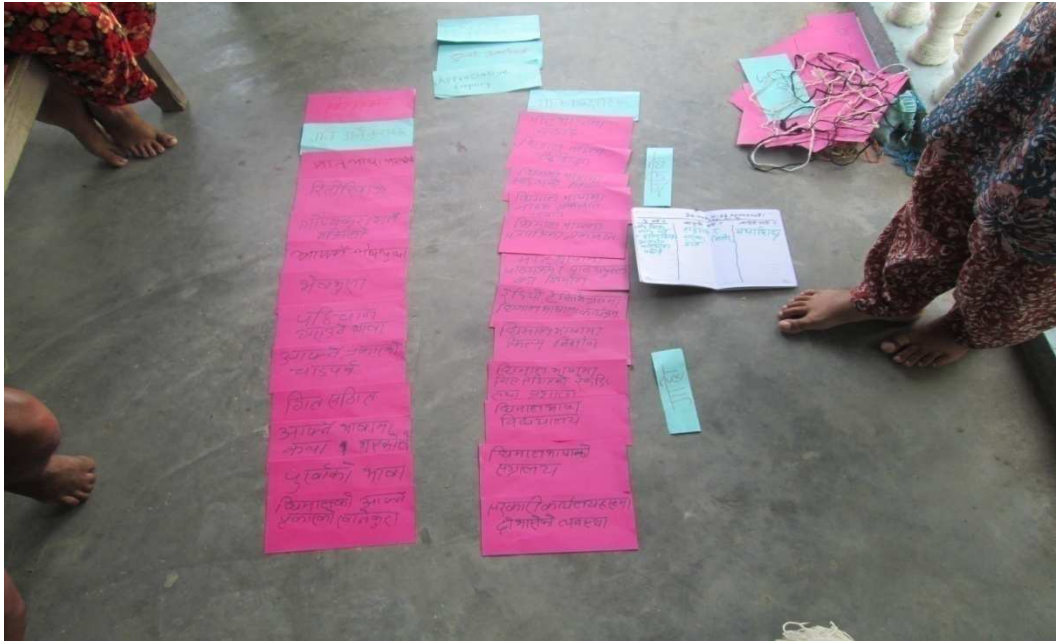
Source: Field study, 2013

Table 7.6 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 96.67% responded that there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Dhimal while 3.33% responded that there is no organization. Similarly, out of 30 female respondents 76.67% responded that there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of their language while 23.33% said that there is no organization devoted to promote Dhimal language, culture and community. Therefore, the figure shows that the organization is still to be recognized among Dhimals.

7.3 Appreciative inquiry

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all five key points in the Dhimal community. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Dhimal speakers for the development of their language as well as their culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex and education. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud of their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ on a piece of paper and place them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Dhimal language and culture, say they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture prosperous. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

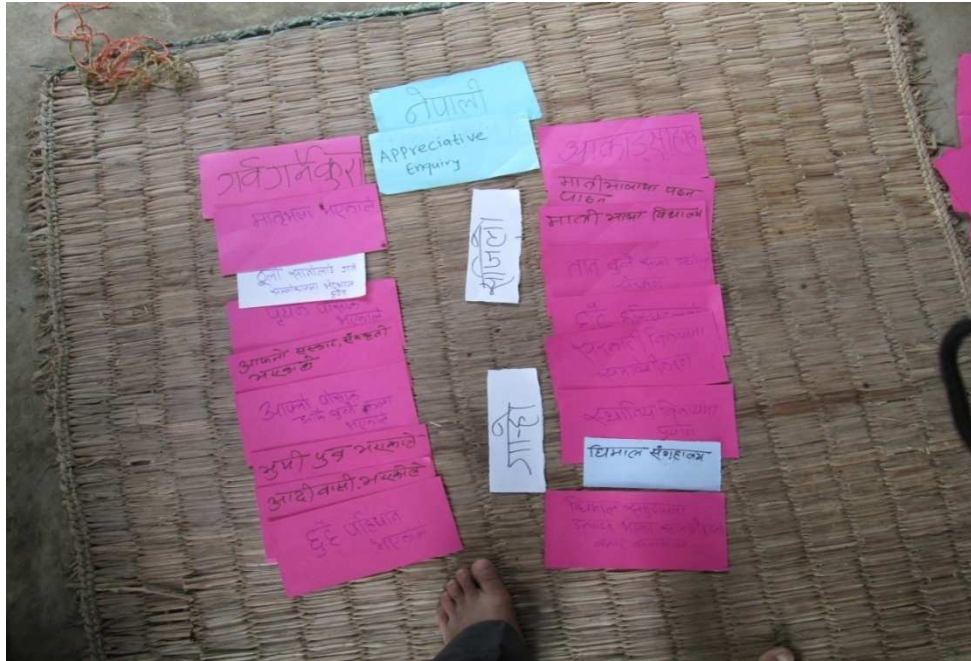
In order to develop the Dhimal language, an appreciative inquiry and a participatory tool were administered to the group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category in all the reference points of the survey in Dhimal community. Pictures 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 show the appreciative inquiry tools used in Budhabare-7, Jhapa, Shantinagar-3, Jhapa, Damak 16, Jhapa, Karikosi of Morang and Matigaun, Morang.



Photograph 7.3: Appreciative enquiry at Arnakhadi (Thulo), Damak 16, Jhapa



Photograph 7.4: Appreciative enquiry at Karikosi, Morang



Photograph 7.5: Appreciative enquiry at Matigaun, Morang



Photograph: 7.6 Mr.Karnakhar Khatiwada with Dhimal people of Arnakhari of Jhapa

In this survey, as already mentioned different participatory tools such as appreciative enquiry, dialect mapping, domains of language use and bilingualism were used. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already

know intuitively about their language and culture. However, an appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities of enhancement of their language and culture. Table 7.7 presents the summary of the responses to major queries related to preservation and promotion of the language on all five key points in Dhimal.

Table 7.7: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Dhimal

Survey points	Good things that made Dhimal people feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Budhabare 7, 8 Jhapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dhimal is the language of their ancestors. ▪ It's their mother tongue, so sweet and melodious. ▪ Dhimal language a a medium of ethnic unification. ▪ It is helpful to maintain secrecy. ▪ Dhimal language is the carrier of Dhimal culture and is also the language of identity. It is easy to speak being Dhimals' mother tongue. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education in Dhimal language ▪ Grammar of Dhimal be written. ▪ Newspapers in Dhimal. ▪ Radio and television programs in Dhimal language ▪ Use of Dhimal language in the local administrative offices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To establish mother tongue based primary school
Badagaun, Shantinagar-3, Kailali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dhimal is a language of identity and also ancestral language. ▪ It's their mother tongue, so easy to speak. ▪ It is helpful to maintain secrecy. ▪ Dhimal is the carrier of distinct Dhimal culture and is also the language of identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners in primary level. ▪ Textbook preparation ▪ Preservation and promotion of Dhimal culture ▪ Use of Dhimal language in media (Radio, Television and Newspapers) ▪ Preparation of textbooks for Dhimal learners ▪ Preparation of Dhimal grammar, dictionary and development of written literature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Television and Radio programs in Dhimal.

<p>Arnakhadi, Damal 16, Jhapa</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ancestral language ▪ It's a mother tongue of Dhimals. ▪ Easy to maintain secrecy. ▪ Bearer of Dhimal culture. ▪ It preserves Dhimal language and culture ▪ It reflects distinct identity of Dhimal ▪ Language of Dhimal ancestors. ▪ Dhimal possesses native folk literature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mother tongue based education. ▪ Adult education in Dhimal especially for women. ▪ Development of written literature in Dhimal. ▪ Publication of newspapers in Dhimal. ▪ Recordings and broadcasting of Dhimal songs and music. ▪ Radio and television programs in Dhimal language. ▪ Establishment of Dhimal museum. ▪ Use of Dhimal language in Tele films and cinemas. ▪ Placement of Dhimal interpreters in government offices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establishment of mother tongue based primary schools and adult education in Dhimal.
<p>Karikoshi, Keron 1, Morang</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ancestral language. ▪ Mother tongue of Dhimals. ▪ Bearer of Dhimal culture and religion. ▪ Helpful in maintaining secrecy. ▪ Language of Dhimal identity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To start mother tongue based schools in Dhimal. ▪ Appointment of Dhimal language teachers. ▪ Autonomous region for Dhimal. ▪ Opportunities for Dhimal ethnic people. ▪ Use of Dhimal language in local governmental bodies. ▪ registration of the land for Dhimal sacred place (Graamthan) ▪ Establishment of Dhimal museum. ▪ Programs to generate awareness. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establishment of moth tongue based primary schools in Dhimal communities and registration of the land for Dhimal sacred place(Graamthan)
<p>Matigaun, Morang</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dhimal is our mother- tongue ▪ No difference in honorificity. ▪ Since Dhimal preserves and bears 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education in Dhimal mother tongue. ▪ Schools teaching Dhimal language ▪ Recording of Dhimal songs ▪ Preservation of Dhimal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mother based education system.

	<p>our culture and tradition.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dhimal have distinct identity. ▪ Dhimals are the original inhabitants of this land. 	<p>indigenous knowledge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Inclusion in government services. ▪ Use of Dhimal in local government bodies. ▪ Establishment of Dhimal museum. ▪ Effective marketing of the local products in Dhimal communities. ▪ 	
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Source: Field study, 2013

7.4 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C

This questionnaire was especially designed for the evaluation views of the village heads/language activists how they could support for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 10 informants in all the key points of the survey. There are two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

- 1) Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?
- 2) In what ways do you support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language .However, in responses to the ways they could do vary in Dhimal community. Table 4.1 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Dhimal

Table 7.8: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Dhimal

S.N	ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue	N=	Number of respondents	%
1	by devising the script	10	8	80%
2	by making the spelling system systematic	10	9	90%
3	by compiling dictionary	10	9	90%
4	by writing grammar	10	9	90%
5	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	10	9	90%
6	by writing and publishing textbooks	10	9	90%

7	by publishing newspaper	10	9	90%
8	by making use of the language in administration	10	9	90%
9	By making use of language in the medium of instruction at primary level	10	9	90%
10	In any other ways	10	3	30%

7.5 Summary

The good things that make Dhimal speakers proud of their language is that it is their mother tongue and also the ancestral language. Dhimal language is the bearer of Dhimal culture. They can maintain the secrecy and also they can present their identity through Dhimal language.

Their dreams to make their language even better are establishment of Dhimal mother tongue based primary schools, preparation of text books for Dhimal children, writing a grammar, compiling a dictionary, use of Dhimal language in local administrative offices, promotion and preservation of Dhimal language, culture and religion including the coverage of Dhimal language in mass media such as radio, TV, and national level newspapers and journals.

Their important dreams are an immediate planning of mother tongue teaching schools for their children, development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education and use of Dhimal language in print and electronic media. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to make their dreams come true.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Major findings

Dhimals are one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who reside primarily in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts of far-eastern Nepal. They have their own culture, traditions and language. Government of Nepal has recognized Dhimal as one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal. The Dhimal use a distinct language belonging to Tibeto-Burman language family to communicate among them in the community.

Among the five survey points the researchers surveyed using different tools; it was found that Dhimals speak two varieties of their language. Dhimal language spoken in the eastern side of the Kankai Mai River in Jhapa is a bit different in terms of lexical items and grammatical structure from the variety spoken in the western side of Kankai Mai River (Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari).

In terms of language maintenance it is found that a substantial number of parents continue to transmit the language to their children whereas some Dhimals do not have. This situation reveals the fact that intergenerational transmission is high in Dhimal community so far. They often use their language in family gatherings and with their children. Majority of Dhimal children are able to speak their mother tongue. So, the vitality rate of the language is satisfactory to the present day. They have positive attitude towards their language. The major findings of this survey are presented as follows:

- a) According to the recent Census of Nepal, 2011, Dhimal is spoken by 19,300 people as their mother tongue i.e. 73.38% of the total ethnic population of Dhimal (26,298) in Nepal. It is about 0.07% of the total population of the country (CBS 2011). The authorities of Dhimal Jati Bikas Kendra (Dhimal ethnic development centre) claim that the total number of Dhimal in Nepal is around 35,000. Dhimal mother tongue speakers have been mainly concentrated in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari district in far-eastern development region of the nation. However, many Dhimal people are residing in Kathmandu valley and also other parts of the country making their livelihood in different ways.

- b) Religiously, out of the total 60 respondents, 65% said they follow Hinduism, 31.67% accepted they follow Shamanism and 3.33% observe Kirat Dharma. However, the authorities of Dhimal Jati Bikas Kendra claim that the original religion of Dhimal people is 'Nature Worshipping.' Majority of Dhimal speakers do not have access to higher education. The main occupations of Dhimals are farming, shopping and household works.
- c) The resources available in the Dhimal language are folk tales, folk songs and religious oral literature. Radio programs, cinemas and CD/DVDs are also available to some extent in Dhimal. Similarly, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines, and written literatures are available, though not enough, in the language. Some scholarly research works have been produced in English by the researchers from home and abroad. However, most of the Dhimals do not have access to these materials because of lack of enough access to English language.
- d) Majority of Dhimal people are proficient in speaking their language. But, only some educated speakers of Dhimal can read and write in their language. In our survey, no monolingual speaker of Dhimal was found. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali, and majority of them are multilingual in Nepali, Hindi, Rajbansi, Bengali and Tharu.
- e) Majority of Dhimal children do not understand everything Nepali speaking teachers deliver when they first go to school. Since most of the Dhimal use their own mother tongue at home and Nepali is used commonly in the community, their children speak Dhimal well and they speak a little bit of Nepali before going to school.
- f) Dhimal is used in some of the general domains such as joking, story-telling, discussing/debating, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home and communicating in family gatherings. Dhimal people use Nepali language in the domains like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debating, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), singing at home and discussing at village meetings.

- g) Some of the Dhimal people use their mother tongue with their family members while discussing educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in writing letters to their family members. Dhimal children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school. There is the dominance of Dhimal in rites and rituals. They use Nepali as the language of wider communication (LWC) with the non-native speakers.
- h) The Dhimal language has a good deal of vitality as 80% of their children speak their mother tongue; most of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and majority of the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken.
- i) All the 93.33 male and 86.67% female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue, and they are eager to help the mother tongue schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching themselves and by helping as expected by the school.
- j) Dhimal speakers have very positive attitude towards their language and culture. More than two-third of both male and female speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali, and only a few speakers said that they feel embarrassed or they have nothing to say about this.
- k) Most of the Dhimal speakers (96.67%) have not felt any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Majority of the Dhimal speakers feel bad if their son or daughter marry someone who does not know their mother tongue. All the Dhimal speakers said that their grand children will speak their language and most of them feel good if their grand children will speak their mother tongue.
- l) Most of the male and female speakers (96.67%) said that their children should speak their own mother tongue first while only 2 speakers (3.33%) were in favor of Nepali. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers

prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Dhimal as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and only very few have preference to English and Nepali languages.

- m) Majority of the Dhimal speakers both male and female (78.33%) do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Only 21.67% of both male and female Dhimal speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking.
- n) Dhimal community is rich in oral literature: folk tales and folk songs. The good things that made Dhimal speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are Dhimal is their mother tongue, it is their ancestral language, Dhimal language helps them to maintain secrecy, Dhimal is easy to speak, it is sweet and melodious, Dhimal is the bearer of Dhimal culture and it is the language of identity for Dhimal people.
- o) Regarding their dreams to make their language even better, they feel the activities and programs should be carried out: establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, having mother tongue teachers, development of their own script, using it as an official language in local administrative offices, writing a grammar, preparing Dhimal dictionary and textbooks, coverage of Dhimal language in print and electronic media; and, preservation of Dhimal language, culture and religion.
- p) Their most important dream is the establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. They also want Dhimal language be used language in newspapers and electronic media. They have made planning for these important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to realize their dreams and they should be done immediately.
- q) There is lexical similarity ranging from 72% to 89% of lexical similarity among the key survey points in Dhimal. It indicates that Dhimal at present

shows two varieties without much hindrance in mutual intelligibility among the Dhimal speakers residing in different key points.

- r) The participants in Budhabare 7,8 (Jhapa) responded that the form of speech they speak should be used for reading materials. Similarly, the participants of Shantinagar 3 (Jhapa) preferred their own variety for reading materials. The participants from Damak 16, Karikoshi and Matigaun reported that they speak almost the same variety and any variety could be used for reading materials. However, speakers of these varieties favored their own speech form to be used in textbooks when asked to be very precise.

8.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings, we suggest the following recommendations which are mainly related to the preservation and development of Dhimal language and culture.

- a) Dhimal people want to establish mother-tongue based multilingual schools in Dhimal speaking area and also are ready to support the school from the community level. So, immediate steps to establish mother tongue based schools are recommended to initiate from the government's side.
- b) Developing reading materials and language resources are necessary in Dhimal speech community.
- c) It is necessary to implement the mother tongue based multilingual education (MLE), mother tongue based adult literacy programs including different language development programs.
- d) It is necessary to inspire and help Dhimal to expand the domains of language use in education, media, local administration and literature.
- e) It is responsibilities of the Government to pay attention towards preserving the culture thereby preserving the Dhimal people, one of the flowers in the garden of Nepal.
- f) As Dhimal children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the medium and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.

- g) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they address the indigenous knowledge, local needs and aspirations.
- h) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened, the language cannot be preserved. The Dhimal community should be made aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue and should be encouraged to transmit their mother tongue to the younger generation through advocacy.
- i) In this speech community, most of the women over 50 in the age are pre-literate. Therefore by means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy classes must be conducted to foster reading and writing in those pre-literates.
- j) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue. And for that preparation of the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge is an urgent need.
- k) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Dhimal community.
- l) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve, promote and develop their language and culture. Specific language programs such as language documentation, developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately initiated.
- m) The folklore must be documented immediately and the cultural heritage and local expertise should be utilized immediately.
- n) The most important dreams are immediate planning for establishment of mother tongue teaching schools and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take an immediate action to help their dreams come true.

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Annexes

Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Introduce yourself first:

My name is I am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

ENTER THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING BEFORE THE INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
1. Interview Number	
2. Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month Year..... AD
3. Place of Interview	(a) Ward No: (b) Village/Town: (c) VDC/Municipality: (d) District: (e) Zone: (f) GPS Coordinates:E N
4. Interviewer Name	(a) (b) (c) (d)

	(e)
5. Language of Elicitation	
6. Language of Response	
7. Interpreter Name (if needed)	

8. Name of language consultant:
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other
10. Age group: (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
11. Are you literate?
(a) Yes (b) No
12. (If "Yes") How did you learn to read & write?
(a) Formally (b) Non-formally
13. (If "Formally") What year/level did you complete?
(a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary
(d) Higher (specify highest degree).....
14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried
15. (If "Married") Do you have any children?
(a) Yes (b) No
16. Caste
17. Ethnic group:
18. Religion:
(a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity
(e) Jain (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other
19. Your mother tongue's name:
(a) (Given by respondent).....
20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?).....
21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru naamle pani chinincha?)
(i)..... (ii)
(iii)..... (iv)
22. Your mother's mother tongue.....
23. Your father's mother tongue.....

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT.	YES <input type="checkbox"/>
NO <input type="checkbox"/>	

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife
25. What village were you born in?
(a) Ward No..... (b)Village/Town..... (c)VDC/municipality.....
(d) District..... (d) Zone.....
26. Where do you live now?
27. How many years have you lived here?
28. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
29. (if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:	YES <input type="checkbox"/>
-------------------------------	-------------------------------------

NO

Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.

B. Language resources

30. What are the major kinds of Oral literature available in your language?

- (a) folk tales,
- (b) songs,
- (c) religious literature,
- (d) radio,
- (e) films,
- (f) CD/ DVD,
- (g) Other.....

31. (If they mentioned radio programs) How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language?

- (a) Usually
- (b) Sometimes
- (c) Never

32. (only ask literate language consultants) What materials written about your language?

33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?

Material:	32. Yes or No	33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?
a. Phonemic inventory		
b. Grammar		
c. Dictionary		
d. Textbooks		
e. Literacy materials		
e. Newspapers		
f. Magazines		
g. Written literature		
h. Folklore		
i. Other		

34. (If they mentioned written materials) Do you read any of these things written in your language?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

35. (Only ask literate consultants, if their language has written materials):

What script(s) is your language written in?

36. Are there any organizations that promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

37. (If “Yes”) Please name those organizations. (enter below)

38. What kinds of activities do each organization perform? (enter below)

- (a) Cultural
- (b) Linguistic
- (c) Educational
- (d) Other.....

	36. Organization	37. Kinds of activities
--	-------------------------	--------------------------------

i.		
ii.		
iii.		
iv.		
v.		
vi.		

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

So you speak... (remind of Q. 38)

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

45. Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most?

46. (Only ask if MT was not best language) Please estimate how proficient are you in your mother tongue:

(a) Very Well (b) Some (c) Only a Little

47. Please estimate how well you can read and write your mother tongue:

(a) Very Well (b) Some (c) Only a Little

48. Other languages known to your father (enter below)

49. Other Languages known to your mother (enter below)

50. Other Languages known to your spouse (enter below)

Persons	Other Languages			
	A	B	C	d
48. Father				
49. Mother				
50. Spouse				

51. What languages are spoken by your sons/ daughters? (enter below)

52. Where did they learn those languages? (enter below)

	50. Other languages spoken by children:	51. Where learned:
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		

f.		
----	--	--

53. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?
 (a) Yes (d) A little bit (c) No

D. Domain of Language Use

54. Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes?

	Domain	Language
A	Counting	
B	Singing	
C	Joking	
D	Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	
E	Story telling	
F	Discussing/ Debate	
G	Praying	
H	Quarrelling	
I	Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	
J	Telling stories to children	
K	Singing at home	
L	Family gatherings	
M	Village meetings	

55. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:

(a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)
 (enter below)

(b) Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.) (enter below)

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
i. Grandfather:			
ii. Grandmother:			

iii.Father:			
iv.Mother:			
v.Spouse:			
vi.Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:
 (a) playing with other children?
 (b) talking with neighbors?
 (c) at school?
57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations?
58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings?
59. How often do you use your mother tongue?
 (a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never
60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?
 (a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never
61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?
62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?
 (a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?
 (a) Yes (b) No
64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?
 (a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....
65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?
 (a) Yes (b) No

F. Language Maintenance

66. Is there intermarriage in your community?
 (a) Yes (b) No
67. (If "Yes") Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?
 (i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....
68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?
 (a) Yes (b) No
69. (If "Yes") If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:
 (a) by sending your children?
 (b) by encouraging other people to send their children?
 (c) by providing financial help?
 (d) by teaching?
 (e) by helping with the school?
 (f) other.....

G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...
- (a) Prestigious (b) Embarrassed (c) Neutral
71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?
- (a) Yes (b) No
72. (If "Yes") What kinds of problems have you had?(These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)
- (a) Social discrimination.
 (b) Political discrimination.
 (c) Economic discrimination.
 (d) Hostile confrontation.
 (e) Discrimination in education.
 (f) Social pressure.
 (g) Political pressure.
 (h) Economic pressure.
 (i) Other
73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?
- (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad
74. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?
- (a) Yes (b) No
75. How do you feel about this?
- (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad
76. What language should your children speak first?
77. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?
- (a) Yes (b) No
78. (If "Yes") How?
- (a) pronunciation
 (b) vocabulary
 (c) use of specific type of sentences
 (d) mixing of other languages
 (e) way of speaking
 (f) Other.....
79. How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?
- (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad

80. Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
--	--

Annex B: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:.....

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४).....

(५).....

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४).....

(५).....

स्थान :

जिल्ला..... गाविस/नगरपालिका: वडा नं:..... गाउँ/टोल:.....

.....

भाषाको नाम: अन्तर्वार्तिको माध्यमभाषा:

	English	Nepali	Dhimal	
			Western variety	Eastern variety
1.	body	शरीर	dziu	dziu
2.	head	टाउको	puriŋ	puriŋ
3.	hair	कपाल	pusuŋ	pusuŋ
4.	face	अनुहार	r ^h ai	r ^h ai
5.	eye	आँखा	misjã	mi
6.	ear	कान	n ^h atoŋ	natoŋ
7.	nose	नाक	n ^h apu	n ^h apu
8.	mouth	मुख	nui	nui
9.	teeth	दाँत	tasiŋ	setoŋ
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	detoŋ	detoŋ
11.	breast	स्तन	dudu	dudu
12.	belly	पेट	hamu	nemeŋ
13.	arm/ hand	हात	k ^h ur	k ^h ui

14.	elbow	कुइनो	guru	hatu
15.	palm	हत्केला	k ^h ur	khuitʔla
16.	finger	औंला	aŋguli	aŋguli
17.	finger nail	नङ	k ^h ursiŋ	k ^h ursiŋ
18.	leg	खुट्टा	k ^h okoi	k ^h okoi
19.	skin	छाला	d ^h ale	tsamra
20.	bone	हाड	hara	hara
21.	heart	मुटु	tumsiŋ	koŋdaŋ
22.	blood	रगत	hiti	hiti
23.	urine	पिसाब	soʔ	chetso
24.	feces	दिसा	lisi	lisi
25.	village	गाउँ	dera	dera
26.	house	घर	sa	sa
27.	roof	छानो	tsale	tsale
28.	door	ढोका	p ^h inu	p ^h eno
29.	firewood	दाउरा	misiŋ	misiŋ
30.	broom	कुचो	p ^h esar	p ^h esar
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	siləuʔo	tisla
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	lohororo	sim
33.	hammer	हथौडा	hətəura	martol
34.	knife	चक्कु	tsəkku	korda
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	dup ^h e	dup ^h e
36.	rope	डोरी	diham	deha
37.	thread	धागो	sute	sute
38.	needle	सियो	bindu	bindu
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	lok ^h on	dhaba
40.	ring	औंठी	aũT ^h i	ʔŋthiŋ
41.	sun	घाम	sane	sane
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	tali	tali
43.	sky	आकाश	akas	akas
44.	star	तारा	p ^h uru	p ^h uru
45.	rain	वर्षा	barsa	barsa
46.	water	पानी	tsi	tsi
47.	river	नदी	dz ^h ora	dz ^h ora
48.	cloud	बादल	badle	badʔl
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	tsilkatsilka	Bijuli tsʔmkili

50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	d ^h ɛŋgur	indreni
51.	wind	बतास	b ^h erma	b ^h erma
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	ant ^h ui	unthur
53.	path	बाटो	dama	dama
54.	sand	बालुवा	bal ^h e	balu
55.	fire	आगो	me	me
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	d ^h wā	d ^h wā
57.	ash	खरानी	buʔsuri	buʔsuri
58.	mud	माटो	b ^h onoi	b ^h onoi
59.	dust	धुलो	d ^h ula	d ^h ula
60.	gold	सुन	sona	sono
61.	tree	रूख	siŋ	siŋ
62.	leaf	पात	l ^h aba	l ^h aba
63.	root	जरा	dzari	sikar
64.	thorn	काँडो	tsui	ka˜da
65.	flower	फूल	l ^h e	phul
66.	fruit	फलफूल	p ^h əlp ^h ul	p ^h əlp ^h ul
67.	mango	आँप	torse	torse
68.	banana	केरा	jump ^h i	ump ^h i
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	gom	gom
70.	barley	जौ	dzəu	dzəu
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	uŋk ^h u	uŋk ^h u
72.	potato	आलु	bilaiti	bilaiti
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	beŋgana	beŋana
74.	groundnut	बदाम	bədəm	bədəm
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	martsı	martsı
76.	turmeric	बेसार	juŋg ^h ai	juŋg ^h ai
77.	garlic	लसुन	mants ^h ar	lʒsun
78.	onion	प्याज	taŋgo	pyaji
79.	cauliflower	काउली	kob ^h i	kob ^h i
80.	tomato	गोलभँडा	golb ^h anda	bhadbogon
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	bəndakob ^h i	bəndakob ^h i
82.	oil	तेल	tsuiti	tsuiti
83.	salt	नुन	dese	dese
84.	meat	मासु	biha	bya
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	sau	sau

86.	fish	माछा	haja	naja
87.	chicken	चल्ला	kitsan	keitsan
88.	egg	अण्डा	tui	tui
89.	cow	गाई	gai	gai
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	dija	dija
91.	milk	दुध	dud ^h e	dud ^h
92.	horns	सिङ्	ɖaŋ	ɖaŋ
93.	tail	पुच्छर	meɽ ^h oŋ	meɽoŋ
94.	goat	बाख्रो	meʔsa	mesa
95.	dog	कुकुर	k ^h ija	k ^h ija
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	puhjã	puĩhjã
97.	monkey	बाँदर	n ^h ojã	n ^h ojã
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	dzahã	dzahã
99.	ant	कमिला	n ^h amui	n ^h amuhi
100.	spider	माकुरो	makra	makra
101.	name	नाम	mi	miŋ
102.	man	मान्छे	djaŋ	wabal
103.	woman	आइमाई	bebal	bebal
104.	child	बच्चा	dzamal	nunu
105.	father	बाबा	aba	aba
106.	mother	आमा	amai	ama
107.	older brother	दाजु	dada	dada
108.	younger brother	भाइ	one	jola
109.	older sister	दिदी	bai	bai
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	one	rime
111.	son	छोरो	tsan	tsan
112.	daughter	छोरी	tsamdi	tsamdi
113.	husband	लोभ्रे (श्रीमान)	ke	ke
114.	wife	स्वाम्नी (श्रीमती)	be	be
115.	boy	केटो	wadzan	wadzan
116.	girl	केटी	bedzan	bedzan
117.	day	दिन	din	din
118.	night	रात	belahoi	disiŋ
119.	morning	विहान	r ^h ima	r ^h ima
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	nitima	nitima

121.	evening	साँझ	dilima	dilma
122.	yesterday	हिजो	andzi	andzi
123.	today	आज	nani	nani
124.	tomorrow	भोली	dzumni	dzumni
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	at ^h ar	h ^h pta
126.	month	महिना	maina	maina
127.	year	वर्ष	basar	basar
128.	old	बूढो	purna	purna
129.	new	नयाँ	nawa	naja
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	remka	jelka
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	maremka	mayelka
132.	wet	चिसो	tsuŋka	dzhaka
133.	dry	सुख्खा	seŋka	seŋka
134.	long	लामो	r ^h iŋka	daidaika
135.	short	छोटो	poŋoka	konthoka
136.	hot	तातो	d ^h aŋka	saka
137.	cold	चिसो	tirka	tirka
138.	right	दाहिने	dahine	dahine
139.	left	देब्रे	debre	debre
140.	near	नजिक	b ^h erpa	tzenta
141.	far	टाढा	dure	dure
142.	big	ठूलो	barka	barka
143.	small	सानो	atuŋka	mhinka
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	l ^h ika	rhika
145.	light	हलुका	homka	homka
146.	above	माथि	ruta	rhuta
147.	below	तल	leta	leta
148.	white	सेतो	dze:ka	dze:ka
149.	black	कालो	da:ka	da:ka
150.	red	रातो	i:ka	i:ka
151.	one	एक	e?	e?
152.	two	दुई	n ^h e	n ^h e
153.	three	तीन	sum	sum
154.	four	चार	dja	dja
155.	five	पाँच	na	na
156.	six	छ	tu	tu

157.	seven	सात	n ^h i	n ^h i
158.	eight	आठ	yeʔ	yeʔ
159.	nine	नौ	kwa	kwa
160.	ten	दश	te	te
161.	eleven	एघार	eg ^h arə	eg ^h arə
162.	twelve	बाह्र	bar ^h ə	bar ^h ə
163.	twenty	बीस	eʔkuri	bis
164.	one hundred	एक सय	eʔ sae	eʔ sae
165.	who	को	hasu	su
166.	what	के	hai	hai
167.	where	कहाँ	hiso	hiso
168.	when	कहिले	helau	helau
169.	how many	कति	het ^h e	het ^h e
170.	which	कुन	hidoi	hide
171.	this	यो	idoi	wode
172.	that	त्यो	odoi	jode
173.	these	यिनीहरू	ebalai	ebalai
174.	those	उनीहरू	obalai	obalai
175.	same	उही	waŋ/odoŋ	waŋ/odoŋ
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	b ^h enaŋ	wamako
177.	whole	सबै	gottaŋ	sukmiŋ
178.	broken	फुटेको	b ^h oika	b ^h oi
179.	few	थोरै	atuisa	atui
180.	many	धेरै	hiŋts ^h a	istuŋ
181.	all	सबै	dz ^h araŋ	sukmiŋ
182.	to eat	खानु	tsali	tsali
183.	to bite	टोकु	ciʔli	ciʔli
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	m ^h ituli	m ^h utuhi
185.	to drink	पिउनु	amli	amli
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	tsi amli kiʔli	khiʔli
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	dzimli	dzimli
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	ulʔili	ulʔili
189.	to sit	बस्नु	jomli	jomli
190.	to give	दिनु	pili	pili
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	oʔpali	oʔhi
192.	to die	मर्नु	sili	sili

193.	to kill	मारुनु	seʔli	seʔli
194.	to fly	उडनु	uraili	uraili
195.	to walk	हिडनु	teli	higilli
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	d ^h aʔli	d ^h aʔli
197.	to go /go	जानु	haneli	hali
198.	to come	आउनु	loli	loli
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	nuid ^h uili	d ^h uili
200.	to hear/hear/liste n	सुनु	hiŋli	hiŋli
201.	to look/look	हेनु	k ^h aŋli	k ^h aŋli
202.	I	म	ka	ka
203.	you (informal)	तँ	na	na
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	na	nelai
205.	he	ऊ	wa	wa
206.	she	उनी	wa	jeb lai
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	kelai	kelai
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	kelai	kelai
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	nelai	nelai
210.	they	उनीहरू	obalai	obalai