

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0. Background

This study is an attempt to present a sociolinguistic situation of the Nepali language as spoken in Sikkim, one of the states of India. The language falls in the eastern dialect of Nepali which covers most parts of north-eastern Indian states and West Bengal with the variations in lexicons, intonations and inflections. The study relies on the Nepali language and the community of Sikkim.

The Sikkim is 22nd state of India. It is spreading over an area of 7,096 square kilometers with more than 6 lakh population. The state is surrounded by Tibet in the north and north east, by Bhutan in south-east and by Darjeeling district of West Bengal in the south. Historically, Sikkim was a princely state in the eastern Himalayas, with its original inhabitants called Lepcha people. Later on, they were encompassed and absorbed by other groups. The state becomes a part of India in 1975, when the people of Sikkim voted to merge with India.

Sikkim is administratively divided into four districts, i.e. south, north, east and west with Namchi, Mangan, Gangtok and Gyalshing as its district headquarters, respectively. As per the Census report of India conducted in the year 2011, east is the most populous district of Sikkim while, the north is least populous district.

According to the present composition, Sikkim comprises the main linguistic groups of Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbu and Hindi. Besides these, linguistic communities like Gurung, Sunuwar, Tamang, Magar, Newar, Rai etc. and other Terai people, who have migrated to Sikkim from other states of India, are also found as minority linguistic communities. Because of the fact that Nepalese are the most populous community of Sikkim, their language called Nepali is considered as lingua franca of the state.

Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language of Indo-European language family. It is official language of Nepal and is widely spoken throughout the eastern Himalayas, where it functions as one of the major vehicles of communication. It has also been adopted by peoples of the Himalayan region who belong to different linguistic groups, and is now spoken in the whole of Nepal, the Darjeeling district of west Bengal, Sikkim, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Himachal Pradesh etc. in India, Bhutan and parts of Tibet, where it has function of language of trade and commerce for well over two centuries. Nepali is recognized by Indian constitution as 23rd official language of India. It has official language status in the states of Sikkim and West Bengal.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

There are inadequate linguistic researches in Nepali language spoken in Sikkim. Till now, no attempt has been made to study the language from the sociolinguistic perspective. In this context, the sociolinguistic study of the Nepali language spoken in Sikkim is essential and worth doing. It can bring the facts and figures of the real situation, concept and attitude of the speakers of this language. The specific problems of the study are as follows:

- a. What is the sociolinguistic situation of Nepali language in Sikkim?
- b. What is the bi/multilingual situation in Sikkim?
- c. What is the attitude of the speakers towards their language?
- d. What are the domains of Nepali language use in Sikkim?
- e. How is the Nepali language maintained in Sikkim?

1.2. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to present some major sociolinguistic features of the Nepali language as spoken in Sikkim. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- a. to describe the sociolinguistic situation of Nepali Language in Sikkim;
- b. to analyze the bi/multilingual situation in Sikkim;
- c. to find out the attitude of Nepali speakers towards their mother tongue;
- d. to analyze the domains of Nepali language use in Sikkim; and,
- e. to describe how Nepali language is maintained in Sikkim?

1.3. Review of literature

There is a long tradition of research in Nepali language and a number of contributions have been made by Nepali and foreign scholars with respect to this language. But very few works have been found from the sociolinguistic perspective and no study is carried out in this language particularly spoken in Sikkim. However, if we made an overlook, we found some sporadic works in this regard. Major works related to this study are Grierson (1916), Dahal (1974), Kharel (2008) and Mukherjee, et al. (2009).

Grierson (1916) has presented almost all languages being spoken in India with brief linguistic features. In Linguistic Survey of India (Volume XI, Part IV), he treated Nepali as a language belonging to Pahari group of Indo-Aryan Language Family. He has discussed about the Pahari language and further he divided it into three main groups. In the extreme east, there is

Khas-kura or eastern Pahari, Grierson called it as Naipali. In central Pahari, he has included languages like Kumaon and Garwal and in western Pahari, he has included languages of northern India like Jaunsar, Bawar, Kulu, Mandi, uket, Chamba etc. In his work, George Abraham Grierson has made a brief sociolinguistic survey of Nepali language in pre-independent India.

Dahal (1974) has made a detailed descriptive study of eastern Nepali dialect. His work has focused on the descriptive study of eastern Nepali and hence, is only concentrated on the core aspects of the language like phonology, morphology, syntax etc. He has mentioned only few topics related with sociolinguistic aspect like Dialectal variation of Nepali etc.

Kharel (1988) discusses gender system of Nepali language mainly spoken in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Since, his study is centered in describing gender system of Nepali in special reference to Darjeeling variety, has no significance regarding sociolinguistic aspects of Sikkim Nepali. Though, the study is purposeful in order to understand the situation of Nepali language and its speakers in India.

Kharel (2008) discusses almost every core linguistic aspects of Sikkim-Darjeeling variation of Nepali language. He has made a descriptive study of Nepali language spoken in Darjeeling and Sikkim. He has tried to figure out the differences between Darjeeling-Sikkim Nepali and standard Nepali in terms of morpho-phonology, phrase structure, syntax, vocabulary etc. and obviously is not a study of sociolinguistic aspects.

Mukherjee, Baskaran, Samy, Nakkeerar (2009) as a Post-independent or Post -Grierson linguistic survey of India is based on the state wise linguistic study. Sikkim (part 1) volume of the study has been prepared with descriptions on important languages of the state of Sikkim. It is mainly concentrated on the sociolinguistic study of Tibeto-Burman languages of the state. The sociolinguistic descriptions included in the survey give a glimpse of the dynamics of the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in the state of Sikkim. Hence, is helpful to understand the linguistic situation of Sikkim as a whole.

1.4. Methodology

Data Collection: The primary data for the study were collected and recorded from various sources like media, conversations and socio-cultural gatherings. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (A) and 210 basic wordlist developed by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) were used as tool for the collection of data. The sources of data were based on researcher's informal field study like social talking, business talking, debate and conversations etc. rather than written sources. The secondary data were collected from different libraries and sources available.

Area: The data is collected from following areas of Sikkim:

East District: Gangtok

South District: Namchi and Melli

West District: Hee Bermiok

North District: Mangan

Tools:

a. Questionnaire

The main source of data collection is the sociolinguistic questionnaire ‘A’ prepared by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN). The questionnaire covers different aspects of language such as language proficiency, attitude, and patterns of contact, bilingualism/multilingualism, and domains of language use and so on.

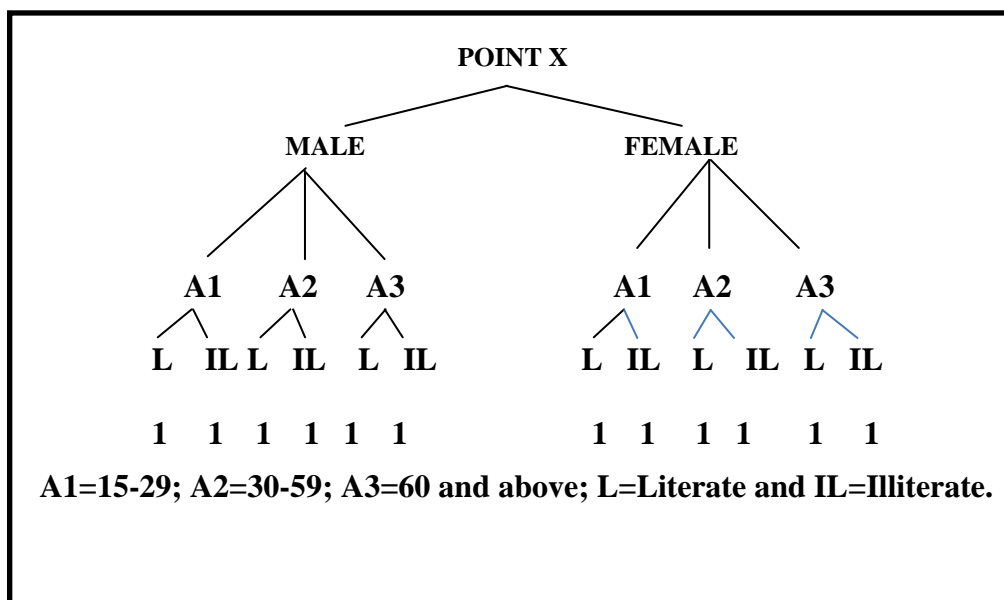
b. Wordlist

210 word list prepared by LinSun is used. The collection of words includes noun, verb and adjectives. The genres incorporated to collect the words are: time and weather, relationship among human beings, language and thoughts, wealth and property, human organs, building, utensils, weapons, food items, dresses and ornaments.

c. Sampling model

The figure below presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Sikkim Nepali speech community.

Figure 1.1: Sampling model of informants in survey.



Following the sampling method to the maximum, at least 12 informants will be selected age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30-59 (A2), 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. The questions were asked by the researcher and the answers given by the informants have recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali. After the data collection, the answers were entered into a database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

Area of data collection: For data collection, the study areas were different places of Sikkim from its four districts. The data were collected mainly from Nepali language speakers of four different groups as follows:

- 1) Nepali spoken by Bhutia speaking people.
- 2) Nepali spoken by Lepcha speaking people.
- 3) Nepali spoken by other Tibeto-Burman language speaking people.

1.5. Significance of the Study

In recent years, an interest in sociolinguistic research in the languages of the world has been rising both for the scholars and the indigenous speakers. From an academic perspective, the specific findings of the extent of dialectal comprehensibility and bilingualism and the understanding of prevalent language attitudes among speakers of the Nepali language will contribute to overall knowledge of the language situation in Sikkim. In particular, it will also address the questions of language vitality for linguists who are concerned with language preservation, development and promotion.

Moreover, from the perspective of applied linguistics, prerequisite to publish a grammar or dictionary of any specific language or dialect is to ascertain the variety of that language or dialect on which the grammar and dictionary will be based. The variety that is most indicative of the overall language or dialect group would be the most appropriate choice for analyzing the grammar and producing a functional dictionary. This necessitated sociolinguistic study.

Despite increasing research interest in the Nepali language/ dialects over the past few decades, sociolinguistic study has been scanty on the literature in this area. More specifically, sociolinguistic research is vital for the successful standardization of any language/dialect in language development efforts. The development of education materials and literature in the mother tongue requires effective standardization, especially if a vast relationship is sought. Because such materials are costly to develop the more extensive use of these materials, the more economical and feasible such efforts will be overall, it is hoped that this research may

provide a basis for future studies which could be applied for the enhancement of effective educational materials and literature among the Nepali people in Sikkim.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

The sociolinguistic study of the Nepali language spoken in Sikkim has the following limitations:

- a. This study is more descriptive, it is limited to some places of Sikkim.
- b. Limited number of speakers has been chosen for the interview and this survey is concentrated more on sociolinguistic aspect than theoretical one.
- c. This study is focused on some of major sociolinguistic features of the Language such as language attitude, domains of language use, proficiency of Nepali speakers in their mother tongue.

1.7. Organization of the Study

The study has been organized as follows: Chapter 1 presents the review of literature apart from the objectives and research methodology of the study. Chapter 2 deals with the Nepali language and the people whereas chapter 3 offers data analysis of multilingualism and domains of language use. Chapter 4 is about the dialect mapping, attitudes of the speakers, language endangerment and language loyalty. Chapter 5 deals with the language transmission, vitality and maintenance in detail and chapter 6 comprises summary and conclusion. The annexes comprise basic information data about the informants, socio-linguistic questionnaire (A) for the Nepali language, and 210 wordlist by LinSuN.

Chapter 2

The Nepali language and people

2.0. Background

Sikkim is a very small hilly state in the eastern Himalayas, extending approximately 114 Kilometers from north to south and 64 Kilometers from east to west, surrounded by vast stretches of Tibetan Plateau in the North, Chumbi Valley of Tibet and the kingdom of Bhutan in the east, Darjeeling district of West Bengal in the south and the kingdom in Nepal in the west. The state being a part of inner ranges of the mountains of Himalaya has no open valley and no plains but carried elevations ranging from 300 to 8583 meters above sea level consisting of lower hill, middle and higher hills, alpine zones and snow bound land, the highest elevation 8583 meters., being the top of the Mt. Kangchendzonga itself. It is situated in the Eastern Himalayas spread below the world's third highest mountain Kangchendzonga (8585m) revered by the Sikkimese as their protective deity. Sikkim is separated by the Singalila range from Nepal in the west, Chhola range from Tibet in the northeast and Bhutan in the southeast. Rangit and Rangpo rivers form the borders with the Indian state of West Bengal in the south. Though measuring just 65 Km by 115 Km- the size of Sikkim, it ranges from sweltering deep valleys a mere three hundred meters above sea level to lofty snow peaks such as Kangchendzonga. On its west side is the massive 31 Km long Zemu glacier. The people of Sikkim are warm, simple and friendly with a natural gaiety. The custom and rituals of Sikkimese are as diverse as the ethnic groups that inhabit the land. They have an impressive repertoire of folk songs and dances. People of Sikkim love to celebrated with a gay abandon and their way of life is inextricably bound up with nature. Just as Mt. Kangchendzonga is an indisputable part of the consciousness of the Sikkim's people, so too the rivers Tista and Rangit with deep ravines and their valleys allowing monsoon to penetrate in the northernmost parts which nourishes this "Garden of the Himalayas". At higher altitudes, monsoon mist cling to huge tracts of lichen covered forest, where every conceivable species of Rhododendron and giant magnolia trees, conifers and beautiful flowering plants as Primulas, Gentians, Blue poppies, Wild strawberry, Raspberry. All over Sikkim forest and wilderness areas are inhabited by the Snow- Leopard, Thar, Yaks, wild Ass in the Tibetan plateau, Bharal or Blue Sheep, Shapi and the symbol of Sikkim- the endangered Red Panda.

2.1. History

Little is known of Sikkim's history prior to the 17th century. The state's name is derived from the Limbu words *su him*, meaning "new house." The Lepcha were early inhabitants of the region, apparently assimilating the Naong, Chang, Mon, and other tribes. The Bhutia began entering the area from Tibet in the 14th century. When the kingdom of Sikkim was established in 1642, Phuntsog Namgyal, the first chhogyal (temporal and spiritual king), came from the Bhutia community. The Namgyal dynasty ruled Sikkim until 1975. Sikkim fought a series of territorial wars with both Bhutan and Nepal beginning in the mid-18th century, and Nepal subsequently came to occupy parts of western Sikkim and the sub-mountain Terai region to the south. It was during this period that the largest migration of Nepalese to Sikkim began. In 1816, these territories were restored to Sikkim by the British in return for its support during the Anglo-Nepalese War (1814–16), but by 1817 Sikkim had become a de facto protectorate of Britain. The British East India Company obtained the city of Darjeeling from Sikkim in 1835. Incidents between the British and Sikkim led to the annexation in 1849 of the sub-mountain regions and the subsequent military defeat of Sikkim, culminating in the Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty of 1861. The treaty established Sikkim as a princely state under British paramount (though leaving the issue of sovereignty undefined), and the British were given rights of free trade and of road making through Sikkim to Tibet. In 1890 an agreement was concluded between the British and the Tibetans that defined the border between Sikkim and Tibet. Tibet also acknowledged the special relationship of British India with the kingdom of Sikkim. A British political officer was subsequently appointed to assist the chhogyal in the administration of Sikkim's domestic and foreign affairs, in effect becoming the virtual ruler of the state. After India attained independence in 1947, political parties began to be formed in Sikkim for the first time. Among their aims were the abolition of feudalism, the establishment of popularly elected government, and accession of Sikkim to India—all demands resisted by the chhogyal and his supporters. The chhogyal was unable to hold his ground, however. The bulwark of the feudal system was dismantled in 1949, with the abolition of non-cultivating rent-collecting landowners. In 1950 the Indo-Sikkimese Treaty made Sikkim an Indian protectorate, with India assuming responsibility for the external relations, defense, and strategic communications of Sikkim. The terms of the treaty also included increased popular participation in government, and five general elections based on adult suffrage were held between 1952 and 1974. In the last of these elections, two rival parties merged to form the Sikkim Congress, which swept the polls. The party subsequently

launched a campaign to obtain greater political liberties and rights, and the chhogyal attempted to suppress the movement. When the situation got out of control, the chhogyal asked the government of India to take over the administration. India prepared a constitution for Sikkim that was approved by its national assembly in 1974. In a special referendum held in 1975, more than 97 percent of the electorate voted for the merger of Sikkim with India. Sikkim became the 22nd state of India on May 15, 1975.

2.2. Nepalese people as citizen of Sikkim

The culture, religion, customs and traditions of different communities of people living in Sikkim constitute a homogeneous blend. These three communities are the Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese. The Nepalese are third type of people that live in Sikkim after the Bhutias. Nepalese constitute more than 80% of the total population of Sikkim. Most of the Nepalese are the Hindus except the Sherpas and Tamangs, who are Buddhists. The Nepali people of Sikkim speak the Nepali language, which is understood by the people all over the state. There is a history of harmony and good relationship among the three cultural groups of this beautiful State Sikkim, the Bhutias, the Lepchas and the Nepalese. The treaty of Kabi Lungchok and the communal harmony maintained by the people during the regime of the erstwhile kings of the former kingdom are the true testimony to this fact. This relationship and harmony have remained as a traditional custom till today. The inhabitants of Sikkim, the Bhutias, the Lepchas and the Nepalese have their interesting characteristic features like varieties of flowers in a single beautiful garland.

The Nepali immigration in Sikkim started long after the Bhutia settlement. The Nepali community is composed of different sub-cultural stocks with considerable differences in physical characteristic and customs. Each tribe is sub-divided into many classes. The most important of these tribes are: Limbu, Gurung, Magar, Rai, Tamang, Newar etc. Of the caste Hindus, there are the Brahmins, Thakurs, Chettris etc. Among the low caste tradesman there are the Sarki, Kami, Damai etc. The Nepalese are spread throughout the east, south and west of Sikkim. They are mostly Hindus but some of them are Buddhists. They have terraced fields and also work on building roads. They are also good at trade and own many shops in the main Bazar at Gangtok and other small towns of the state.

2.3. The Nepali language

Nepali is a language in the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family. It is the official language and de facto lingua franca of Nepal and is also spoken in Bhutan, parts of India and parts of Myanmar (Burma). In India, it is one of the country's 23 official languages: Nepali has official language status in the formerly independent state of Sikkim and in West Bengal's Darjeeling district. The influence of the Nepali language can also be seen in Bhutan and some parts of Burma. Nepali developed in proximity to a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, most notably Kirati and Gurung, and shows Tibeto-Burman influences.

Historically, the language was first called *Khaskura* (language of the *khas* 'rice farmers'), and then *Gorkhali* or *Gurkhali* (language of the *Gorkha*) before the term Nepali was taken from *Nepal Bhasa*. Other names include *Parbatiya* ("mountain language", identified with the Parbatiya people of Nepal) and *Lhotshammikha* (the "southern language" of the *Lhotshampa* people of Bhutan). The name 'Nepali' is ambiguous, as it was originally a pronunciation of Nepal Bhasa, the Tibeto-Burman language of the capital Kathmandu.

Nepali is commonly written in the Devanagari script, like Hindi and Sanskrit. Like other Indo-Aryan languages, Nepali is believed to have evolved from Vedic and Classical Sanskrit through several intermediate stages of *Magadhi Prakrit*, Proto-Nepali and *Apabhramshas*. It emerged as a distinct modern Indo-Aryan language between A.D.1000 and 1200. Nepali developed a significant literature within a short period of hundred years in the 19th century, fueled by *Adhyatma Ramayana*; Sundarananda Bara (1833); *Birsikka*, an anonymous collection of folk tales; and a version of the South Asian epic the Ramayana by Bhanubhakta. The contribution of trio-laureates Lekhnath Poudyal, Laxmi Prasad Devkota and Balkrishna Sama took Nepali to the level of other world languages. The contribution of expatriate writers outside Nepal, especially in Darjeeling and Varanasi in India, is also notable. In the past decade, there are many contributions to Nepalese literature from Nepalese Diasporas in Europe, America and other Asian countries. Almost two-third of the population of Nepal speaks Nepali as a mother tongue. The Ethnologic website counts more than 17 million speakers worldwide; including 11 million within Nepal (2001 census). Nepali is traditionally spoken in the Hill Region of Nepal (*Pahad*), especially in the western part of the country. Though Nepal Bhasa was the dominant language in the Kathmandu valley, Nepali is the most dominant now days. Nepali is now used in government and as the everyday language of a growing portion of the local population. In Bhutan those who speak Nepali (known as

Lhotshampa) are estimated at about 35 percent of the population if all displaced Bhutanese refugees are counted (unofficial estimates of the ethnic Nepalese population ran as high as 30 to 40 percent, constituting a majority in the south, or about 242,000 people. Since the late 1980s, over 100,000 *Lhotshampas* have been forced out of Bhutan, accused by the government of being illegal aliens. A large fraction of them were expelled in an "ethnic cleansing" campaign and presently live in refugee camps in eastern Nepal. In India, there are a large number of Nepali-speaking people. There are an estimated 5,00,000 Nepali speakers in Sikkim. In Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal, there are about 1,400,000 Nepali speakers. In North-East India (states of Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh), there are several million Nepali speakers. A considerable number of Nepali-speaking people are also present in many Indian cities such as Kolkata, Delhi, Bangalore, Visakhapatnam, Chennai, Mumbai and Hyderabad. Combining the ethnologic figures with strong population growth in Nepal, the assumption of 20 million people with Nepali as their mother tongue is a reasonable estimate. Around 500 years ago, *Khas* from the Karnali-Bheri-Seti basin migrated eastward, bypassing inhospitable Kham highlands to settle in lower valleys of the Gandaki basin that were well suited to rice cultivation. One notable extended family settled in Gorkha, a small principality about halfway between Pokhara and Kathmandu. In 1559 AD a Lamjung prince Dravya Shah established himself on the throne of Gorkha with the help of local Khas and Magars. He raised an army of Khas with the command of Bhagirath Pant. Later, in the late 18th century his heir Prithvi Narayan Shah raised and improvised an army of Khasa (Chhetri), Thakuri, Gurungs, and Magars and possibly other hill tribesmen and set out to conquer and consolidate dozens of small principalities in the Himalayan foothills. Since Gorkha had replaced the original Khas homeland as their initiative, Khasura was redubbed Gorkhali, i.e. language of the Gorkhas. The most notable military achievement of Prithvi Narayan was conquest of the urbanized Kathmandu Valley, on the eastern rim of the Gandaki basin. This region was also called Nepal at the time. Kathmandu became Prithvi Narayan's new capital, from which he and his heirs extended their domain east across the Koshi basin, north to the Tibetan Plateau, south into the plains of northern India, and west across the Karnali/Bheri basin and beyond.

Expansion, particularly to the north, west, and south brought the growing state into conflict with the British and Chinese. This led to wars that trimmed back the territory to an area roughly corresponding to Nepal's present borders. Both China and Britain understood the value of a buffer state and did not attempt to reduce the territory of the new country further.

Since the Kathmandu Valley or Nepal had become the new center of political initiative, this word gradually came to refer to the entire realm and not just the Kathmandu Valley. And so Gorkhali, language of Gorkha, again came to be known as Nepali. Khaskura/Gorkhali/Nepali is spoken indigenously over most of Nepal west of the Kali Gandaki River, then progressively less further to the east.

2.3.1. Dialects of Nepali

On the basis of Geographical distribution, Nepali language has five dialects (Pokharel, 1983). They are:-

1. Eastern dialect;
2. Central dialect;
3. Western dialect;
4. Mid-western dialect; and
5. Far Western dialect.

Furthermore, these five dialects have their own sub-dialects as shown in the given table.

Table 2.1: Dialects and Sub-Dialects of Nepali.

S.No.	Eastern Dialect	Central Dialect	Western Dialect	Midwestern Dialect	Far Western Dialect
1	Khasani	Atidarali	Bajhanggi	Tumrakoti	Souradi
2	Parbati	Tibrikoti	Bajureli	Dhadheldhureli	Batadeli
3	Gorkhali	Humli	Achhami	Niroli	Mamali
4	-	Raskoti	-	-	Lekami
5	-	-	-	-	Chuhagadi
6	-	-	-	-	Puchadeli

(Source: Pokharel, 1983)

2.4. Social conditions

In order to have knowledge about the social conditions of Nepalese people in Sikkim, we have to look at some factors, which are closely related to social status of the people such as occupational, economic, political, religious, cultural etc.

The present day social condition of Nepali in Sikkim is determined by their occupational, economic and political factors. Most of the people are engaged in agriculture, as because the illiteracy ratio and unemployment problem is also increasing rapidly. Anyway, Nepali people in Sikkim are managing well their two square foot maintaining their livelihood. There are other avenues of earning their daily wages by doing different kinds of labor works as there are multiple chances of labor work in road and bridges constructions and other works. The Central Governments of India and the State Government trying its best implementing different types of schemes, plants and programs in rural and urban areas, in order to uplift and develop the life of poor people.

Sikkim's economy is based predominantly on agriculture, with the sector engaging more than half of the working population. Corn (maize), rice, buckwheat, wheat, and barley are produced in terraced fields along the valley flanks. Beans, ginger, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, and tea also are grown. Sikkim is one of the world's principal producers of cardamom. Many of Sikkim's farmers also raise livestock, including cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, and poultry. Cattle and buffalo are limited mainly to the subtropical humid belt, while yaks and sheep are herded in the higher elevations in the north. Besides, copper, lead, and zinc are mined in Sikkim. The state also has deposits of other minerals, including coal, graphite, and limestone. Only a fraction of Sikkim's mineral resources are commercially exploited. The hydroelectric potential of Sikkim's Teesta River system is considerable. There are a few large hydroelectric stations and many smaller plants that provide energy to Gangtok, Rangpo, Singtam, and Mangan. Rural electrification has remained a government priority. Until the early 1970s, Sikkim had only cottage industries, producing hand-woven textiles, carpets, and blankets as well as traditional handicrafts, such as embroidery, scroll paintings, and wood carving. Since that time, several small-scale industries have developed. These produce, most notably, processed foods (including liquor), watches and watch jewels, and small electronics parts.

Politically, Sikkim is a democratic state. The constitution of Sikkim provides for a governor appointed by the president of India as the head of state. The governor is aided by the state Council of Ministers, which is led by a chief minister. The Legislative Assembly is a

unicameral elected body, with a portion of the seats allocated to the combined Lepcha and Bhutia populations. One Lepcha-Bhutia seat is reserved for the nominee of the *lamas* (Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders); some seats also are reserved for representatives of the Scheduled Castes.

The culture of any place is often depicted through its cuisine, people, religion, custom, language, art & crafts, music and dance. In Sikkim, we find a perfect blend of all these attributes to make a distinct culture of its own. Sikkim culture has been swallowed from the neighboring countries without compromising on its own individuality. The state also easily embraces a synthesis of various communities along with their practiced religions. Sikkim has an interfusion of diverse communities, cultures, religions and customs. Sikkim is a fine specimen of harmony between people from different areas and regions. In Sikkim, the leading communities are the Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese. However, the municipal areas are dominated by the plainsmen, who have settled there, owing to their businesses and Government services. Just like the cultures and traditions of Sikkim which has a blend of Nepal, India, Bhutan and Tibet, so has the cuisine of this state. The bizarre combination of various cuisines has resulted into a specific cuisine, which is now called as cuisine of Sikkim. Today, Sikkim boasts of its own dietary culture that comprises food habits and some special exotic recipes.

Rice, dal and vegetable are staple food of Sikkimese People. Beside these, popular food in Sikkim is the *momo*, a steamed dumpling containing pork, beef and vegetables cooked in a doughy wrapping and served with watery soup. *Wai-Wai* is a packaged snack consisting of noodles which are eaten either dry or in soup form. A form of noodle called *thukpa*, served in soup form, is also popular in Sikkim. Other noodle-based foods such as the *chowmein*, *thanthuk*, *fakthu*, *gyathuk* and wonton are commonly available. Traditional Sikkim's cuisine includes *syaphaley* and *Gack-ko* soup. Restaurants offer a wide variety of traditional Indian, continental and Chinese cuisines to cater to the tourists. Alcohol is cheap due to low excise duty in Sikkim. Beer, whiskey, rum and brandy are frequently consumed by both locals and non-locals. *Chhyang* is a local frothy millet beer traditionally served in bamboo tankards and drunk through bamboo or cane straws.

Sikkimese is highly devout people and religion plays a major role in Sikkim. Buddhism and Hinduism are the two major religions of Sikkim. Buddhism comes into view as the predominant religious practice in Sikkim, although Hinduism is the actual religion that is followed by the majority of people. Sikkim is glorious with not only its natural beauty but

also its arts and crafts. The charm of this state is ever tempting and no one can remain abstain from its magnetism. The cultural richness of Sikkim is visible in its divinely designed, quality handicrafts. The cultural heritage of Sikkim is expressed in its traditional folk dances. Sikkim has many ethnic castes and tribes; each of them has its own interesting folk dances. These folk dances and music have become an inseparable part of Sikkim Culture.

Nepali is one of the ethnic indigenous groups living in hilly region in the four districts of Sikkim state of India. Nepali people are fair in complexion, cheerful, hospitable, affable, brave, laborious, and rustic in nature.

Sikkim Academy established in 1992, *Nepali Sahitya Parishad*, are the two most important organizations of Nepali community in Sikkim. Thereafter a number of Nepali Societies are established, such as *Dakshin Sikkim Sahitya Sammelan*, *Paschim Sikkim Sahitya Sammelan*, *Apatan Sahitya Parishad* etc. Besides, *Akhil Bharatiya Nepali Gorkha Parisangh* is another important organization, which looks after not only the literary and social issues but also the political issues of Nepali community of India have its sub branch in Sikkim.

2.5. Birth and death rituals

Traditionally, there are little differences among the Nepalese in performing a rite after a baby is born. In a family of the Chhetri and Bahun, when a baby is born *nwaran* (naming and purification) ceremony takes place on the fifth day for a girl baby and on the 7th, 9th or 11th day for a boy baby. A priest or Bahun performs this ceremony. *Pasni* (feeding rice) ceremony is done on the sixth or fifth month for son and daughter respectively. When the boy reaches the sixth year it is time for *Chhewar* (tonsure) ceremony. Bhujel, Kami, Damai and Sarki also perform similar ceremonies. The Thakuris is the only clan, among the Nepalese, who perform their customary rites facing the west. Thakuris perform *nwaran* on the six-day and *Pasnior Bhatkhwai* (rice feeding) ceremony on the sixth and the eight-month respectively for son and daughter. Thakuris instead of engaging a priest prefer to feed a baby through the hands of the eldest family members. This ceremony is also known as *Panch-gans* (five courses) since the feeder feeds the baby rice and milk five times. *Chhewar* (tonsure), according to Thakuri custom, is done between the eighth and twelfth year. Among the Newars, when the first baby is born to a Newari parent, they perform *machabu-byakegu* (purification) ceremony on the fifth or sixth day. For every new baby, this ceremony is performed on the third day. *Machajunko* (rice feeding) ceremony is held within sixth to seven months for a son and within five to seven months for a daughter. When a baby is born in a Rai family, like other

communities, they too perform *hangchhananglotma* (naming) ceremony on the sixth day in case of a son and on the fifth day in case of a daughter. This ceremony is performed by their community priest- *Bijuwa* or *Jhakri*. *Fedengma* or *Fedengba* is the main priest of the Limbu clan. Customary rites of the Limbus, who are also known as *Subba*, *Tsong* and *Yakthumba*, start from the sixth month of the pregnancy of the mother known as *Sapok-Chomen*. The fourth and third day after birth is the day for a boy and a girl, respectively, for *Yangdangfoma* (naming). When the boy baby becomes six months old and the girl five months old they are fed with the solid food *Taksi*. It is *nalingkenthangben*, for boys and *sisaken-menchhin*, for girls, through which their adulthood is declared. The Tamangs, basically Buddhists, perform *thapsang* (naming ceremony on the third or on the eleventh day, as convenient to the family. A Lama reads *Chhoi* (holy books) and names the bay. Same families use the services of a *Banbo* (community priest) for this purpose. When the new born son reaches the sixth month or the daughter reaches the fifth month they perform *Kankwaba*, feeding ceremony. They also perform *tapche* (tonsure) ceremony, according to the family's convenience between the third and the seventh year after the baby's birth. The Thami, another sub-community of the Nepalese, after performing *nwaran* does not perform any other ceremony for a new born baby till his or her marriage on attaining adulthood. The Sherpas perform simple rites at the time of the birth of child. The Lama fixes the day for the naming and purification ceremony. They serve *chhyang* (local rice beer) and *rotis* (breads) to relatives and friends present on the occasion.

The Nepalese are ritually very rigid so far as funeral ceremony is concerned. To be sure, they follow the pattern of ritual in all aspects of the religious life, from the pollution of birth to the cremation, mourning and pollution of death. All the nearest relatives observe the death pollution for 13 days, daughter of the dead person observes only 5 days and distance relatives for one day by bathing and fasting. The son of dead person has to restrict himself to a number of austerities during the period of 13 days mourning. He must shave all the hair from his body and wear only white loincloth called *Languti* and small scarf tied on his head. He eats only one meal a day consisting of boiled rice, ghee, sugar etc. and restricted to take salt and others. Besides this he has to conduct a ritual under the guidance of a Brahman priest that takes several hours daily for 13 days and requires bathing several times in cold water during the ritual performance. This funeral activity is called *Kriya*. At the end of this rite, big feast is given to the neighbors, relatives and particularly to all those who participate in the funeral procession and went to the cremation *Ghat*(cremated areas are near the river). After death, the

Brahman and Chhetri community perform the *Shraddha* rite and funeral rite on the death of 13 days, 45 days, monthly and yearly. Every year they perform the *Shraddha* rite. During the period, the family gives the household items including clothes, bed, utensils etc. to the priest. At least one year or six month or 45 days of the death, the son of dead wears white color dress and restricts to take meat and other foods.

2.6. Marriage system

Basically, there are two kinds of marriage system found in the Nepali society, *magi bihe* (arranged marriage) and *chori bihe* (marriage by elopement). *Magi bihe* i.e. arranged marriage in Nepali community unlike in other communities is finalized by the girl's family when the boy's family puts forward the proposal of marriage. Generally, a relative acts as the middleman (*lami*) in marriage negotiations until the transaction is completed. Mostly village exogamy is observed. The practice of comparing names by an astrologer, to see whether the proposed couple would make a good match, persists but it is done only in a perfunctory manner. Once the astrologer finds that the two people are good match, it is the job of the priests of the boy's family to discover an auspicious date, based on the Lunar Calendar, and it remains for one to be chosen. Marriage is not done in all months of the year. In *chait* (Mid-March to Mid-April) and *katik* (Mid-October to Mid-November) marriage is totally avoided. Once, the groom's party fixes the date, the bride's parents are informed on the prescribed date, the groom goes with friends. The number of people invited to take part in the procession varies according to the economic and social status of the groom's father. There are fifty to sixty people in case of ordinary peasant, four to five hundred in case of a wealthy peasant. The wedding party, the *janti*, consists of males and scarcely females also. The whole *janti* party is preceded by a musical band, and is received with great respect and enthusiasm by the bride's people at her home. They are entertained with a feast before the actual wedding ceremony takes place. There is one ceremonial rite to be completed preceding the final wedding rite. This is called *swayamvara* literally meaning "Choosing one's own husband" and the bride and groom exchange garlands of flower and gold engagement rings. The most important part of the entire wedding ceremony is *kanyadan*, when the parents of the bride make a gift of her to the groom. Just before the *kanyadan* moments; the bride and groom are seated on a bed, which is provided by the girl's parents as a gift to the new couple. While sitting there, the bride and groom hang their legs into a copper vessel or a silver vessel. The parents of the girl wash the feet of both bride and groom. Nearest relatives of the girl are expected to wash her feet. The groom receives his bride as a gift and whatever dowry the

parents are giving for the purpose of prestige is given at this time. The groom also hands over his presents mainly clothing and ornaments, to the bride. When the *kanyadan* and foot washing are completed, the bride is taken into her room dressed up by the clothes brought as present from the groom, and she is beautified with cosmetic and decorated with ornaments and *tika* which are also brought by the groom. When she is thus dressed, she is carried outside the house into the courtyard where sacrificial fire is burning and all sorts of offerings of food for sacrifices and other articles for various rituals are in readiness. The bride and groom sit on one side of the quadrangle that is built for them to sit. They spend several hours in the courtyard performing rituals of various descriptions, sometimes going around quadrangle, sometimes worshipping and making offering to various duties like *ganesh*, God of Fire, Sky, Earth, Wind and Water. Another ritual rite is putting the Vermillion powder in the forehead of the bride's hair by the groom. Vermillion in a woman's forehead is a sign of marriage; she is theoretically required to re-apply it daily with powder mixed in with the original powder presented at the wedding for as long as her husband lives. After completing all the rites, the bride is taken to her new home with dancing musical band. Once a new bride is taken home, she is more under the command of her mother in-law than of her husband. The bride is taken back to her parent's house after 16 days along with delicious food. This is known as *sinduresait*. After returning from their family, the marriage ceremony comes to an end. But in the first year of marriage, they must go to the bride's house in the month of *shravan* (Mid- July) to observe a ritual known as *saone pani chalnu*.

The Newars also observe the Vedic rites and rituals except the *belbibah* or *ehibibah* within seven to eleven years. After marriage the *bel* (wood apple) is kept carefully. The broken of *bel* is supposed to be the death of her husband. If the girl dies, the *bel* is thrown into the river. Other Kirati groups celebrate marriage according to their own tradition. But it should be noted that in all festivals and ceremonies of the Kirati group the rice beer is compulsory for them.

2.7. Clothes and Ornaments

The traditional dress for the males is *daurasuruwal* and for the women is *chaubandicholo* and *fariya*. *Daura* is a double-breasted shirt falling up to knee fastened by tuna (a rope-like piece of cloth) at four corners across the body. The lower part of the *daura* below the belly is a bit bigger in size. They put *askot* (waistcoat) over the *daura*. On the head they wear *Dhaka topi* (traditional cap). *Patuka* (a lengthy piece of cloth) is fastened at the level of waist under which a *khukuri* (traditional weapon) is placed. Women wear *chaubandicholo*, a naval-length

blouse similar to *daura*. *fariya* or *guniu* (saree) is worn below the waist. They also fasten *patuka* like men do. Another piece of cloth spread around body between bust and hip is called *hemmari*. They cover the head with a piece of cloth called *majetro* and *pachheuro* is their shawl to wrap the body. The traditional dress of Yakha women is called *meklin*, which is also worn by Rai women. Gurung and Magar men wear *bhoto* on the upper part of the body and cover it by *askot* (waistcoat). They spread a *kachhad* around their lower part of the body from waist to knee on the head they too wear *Dhaka topi*. Women wear *guniu* and *cholo* with *patuka* at the waist. The Sherpas wear *chuwa* and *nagorya*, similar to *daurasuruwal*. Under the *chhuwa* they wear *tutung*. The Sherpa women wear *bakhu* and *bangjur*. They also wear a small piece of cloth under the waist *pangden*. The women also prefer to wear similar piece of cloth, on the hind part of their body called *gemtel*. Limbu women wear *sardakpa*, *sim* and *thakume*, a dress which looks like Lepcha women's *dumdyan* and men wear *hanjamhangpen*.

The Nepali women are very fond of ornaments particularly golden and silver. The most important and popular ornaments are *potey* and *tilhari*, *potey* is a tiny bead. They make a necklace weaving together these *potey*s. *potey*, a traditional ornament is worn by only married women. *tilhari* is actually a necklace made of *potey* holding a *tilhari*, a hollow golden cylinder like locket, worn by married women. *tilhari*, in the Nepali society, is like *mangalsutra*, found in other Hindu communities. Other traditional ornaments usually worn by women are:

Head-shirbandi (for married women only), *kantha*, *lunswan*, *nyapusikha*.

Nose-*jhumkebulaki*, *dhungri*, *phuli*.

Ear-top, *mundri*, *silmundra*, *lurka*, *kundal*, *cheptesun*

Neck- *kanthahar*, *kanthashree*, *tilhari*, *potey*, *mohar*, *naugedi*, *tikh*, *tayo*.

Hand-*chura*, *bala*, *bain*, *aunthi*.

Leg-*kalli* and *tulibaki*.

2.8. Food culture

The traditional staple food of the Nepalese is *dal*, *bhat*, *achar* and *tarkari* (pulse, rice, pickle and curry). Their traditional food also includes *dhiro* (a paste like food prepared of flour or pounded finger millet) and of course *selroti* (round sweet bread made of pounded rice). They are very fond of milk, curd, ghee, butter, cream, meat, eggs, fish and country liquor. But the upper castes usually do not take liquor, pork, chicken. Their dishes also include *kinema* (a

fermented food made of soya beans), *gundruk* and *sinki* (chemically produced from the leafy vegetables and radishes respectively). The Newars prepare *chhoila*, by mixing boiled meat, especially buffalo's meat, with chilly, salt etc.

Dhakani is a special dish prepared by the women a day before the *teej*, by frying soaked and swelled rice mixed with milk and sugar.

Furaulla, small balls of pounded Bick-wheat fried in oil, are especially taken during *maghesankranti* with tuber-roots and hot pickles.

Kwanti is especially taken by Newars on *rakshabandhan* or soya beans or similar other seeds are soaked overnight and cooked.

Massyora, soaked gram seeds, after grounding in to a paste and mixing with turmeric powder and tuber roots, are left to a ferment for a couple of days. After fermentation the paste is molded into balls, which are known as *massyora*.

Besides, the Nepalese take offshoot of bamboo called *basketama*, *rakshi* (country liquor), *khalpi*, *khatte*, *kanchochhurpi*, *chamre* (pulao) etc, including pickles made of Sesame, *sungurkokhutta* (pig's trotter), *khasiko khutta* (He-goat's trotter) and so many things.

2.9. Festivals celebrated by the Nepali people

The Nepalese celebrate numerous festivals, big and small, throughout the year. Some of them are as follows:-

Dasai is the principal festival of the Nepali Community. From the first day of the *suklapakshya* to the month of *aswin* (September-October), marks the beginning of the *navaratra* or *nauratha*, which eliminates into the *Durga puja*. In *aswinamabashya*, *panchadhanya* or five types of seeds are sown for germination inside a place of the house known as *jamara*. From the first to ninth day, the hymns from *durgasaptasati* (chandi) are recited seeking blessings from the mother *durga* who has nine manifestations such as *mahakali*, *mahisasuramardinichamundi*, *kali*, *nanda*, *raktadanti*, *durga*, *bhairabi*. On the 8th day, they celebrate *phulpati* in which the goat is sacrificed generally in every house. On the 8th day, somebody celebrates *bhimsen* puja sacrificing the-goat. The celebration comes to an end on the 10th day. But especially for them this festival continues for another five days up to *purne* (Full Moon). The 10th day is called *vijayadasami*. On that day, the young Nepalese put *tika* (tilak mark) on the forehead by their parents and elders as a blessing of *vijayadasami*.

The elders bless the younger with the flowers of *panchadhanya*. This ritual continues up to *purne*.

Tihar, as *deepawali* or *diwali* is known to the Nepalese, is a festival of lights and the second biggest festival which they celebrate united. They celebrate *tihar* according to their customs and traditions, which is to some extent different from that of other Indian Societies. Their *tihar* starts from the 13th day of the Dark Moon of the month of *kartika* to the 2nd day of the brighter half of the moon of the same. It continues for five days and it is called *yamapanchaka*. It is believed that these days are dedicated to *yama* (the god of death). The first day of the *tihar* is known as *kag tihar* (crow festival) and *kukurtihar* (Dog Festival) and eatables are offered to crows and dog especially in the morning. It is also called *narke chaturdashi*. In the morning, the householder prepares different recipes. After taking bath in the morning they begin to worship cows, smearing oil on the horns and feet and garlanding the cows, they are given eatables. Night is for *diwali*, the festival of light. In all parts and corners, mustard oil lamps are lit. It is a belief that on that day *laxmi* abodes in the mustard oil. At night *laxmipuja* is celebrated. After *laxmipuja*, there starts a type of devotional song, which is called *bhailo*. Woman folk who sing *bhailo* accompanied by dance are called *bhailini*.

Next day is the *halitihar* or bull festival. In the morning oxen are worshipped. Like cows as done in the cow worship, they also worship bull. *Gobardhana*, mounting cow dung in the cowshed. At night both boys and girls go from house to house to sing *deusi* like oriental carol singer.

Pahilo-Baisakh (first day of the *baisakh* month) is the first day of the year according to the *vikramsambat* (era) calendar, which falls in the middle of April, is fast becoming an event of their cultural unity. It is the New Year; they celebrate it united as a common festival.

Chaite-dasain (festival of the *chait* month) falls on the last month of the *vikramsambat* calendar. On that day, the Nepalese pay a humble visit to their elder ones for a feast.

MagheSankranti (Mid-January) is an agricultural festival. Different delicacies are made and served and this festival is celebrated with great pomp.

AsarkoPandra (fifteenth day of the *asar* Month - 30th June) - It is an agricultural festival. It heralds the beginning of a busy farming season. The Nepalese eat *dahi* (curd) *chiura* (beaten rice) and have *masubhat* (rice and meat) on this day.

Teej- This festival is very important for the married women. This festival is celebrated from the 2nd day of brighter moon of *bhadra* (Last August) and continues up to three days.

SansariPuja (Worshipping the nature/creator) - a true animistic way of worshipping nature, which actually created this world, falls sometimes in the month of *chait/ baisakh* (March, April, May) before starting of monsoon. The Nepalese observe this puja in a jungle, away from human habitation, erecting stones as idols, planting lingo (bamboos) and fastening different colors, *dhajas* (small pieces of cloth)etc. The ritual includes sacrifice of animals. The daylong ceremony ends with agreed feast in the evening. Usually this puja is observed to please Rain God and *bhagawatimai* (Goddess of Power).

Lho-Chhar – It is the new year of the Tamangs, the Gurungs and the Sherpas.

Chapter 3

Multilingualism and domains of language use

3.0. Outline

This chapter presents a brief discussion of mother tongue proficiency, multilingual situations and a domain of language use. It brings out the analysis done from the collected data. In 3.1, nature and sources of data collection is discussed. In 3.2, mother tongue proficiency, bilingualism and multilingualism are analyzed. In 3.3, domains of language use are discussed. Similarly, 3.4 analyses the code switching and code mixing.

3.1 Nature and sources of data collection

This research was based on the data collection by using both the written and oral medium. Oral interactions, discussion, interviews, collection of different varieties of lexical items, filling up the sociolinguistic questionnaires were the main bases of the research. The attempt has focused to include the data on the basis of sex, age, education and economic levels of the language users.

3.2 Mother tongue proficiency, bilingualism and multilingualism

Bilingualism or Multilingualism are a special skill which denotes the mastery of two or more than two languages. These are relative terms since individuals vary greatly in types and degrees of language proficiency. The Nepalese people in Sikkim are naturally multilingual as they speak either two or more languages. The main languages they speak are Nepali, Hindi, and English. As Hindi and English are National and official language respectively, these two languages are given great importance in India nationwide. As a result the Sikkimese people also pay a great attention towards it. Lepcha, Bhutia, Nepali, Magar, Gurung, Rai, Tamang, Newar etc. are other languages which some of them can use in situations. There are almost no monolingual speakers in the Sikkim. Even, old people could speak a little Hindi. But there are many children under five who speak only mother tongue and can speak no other languages, indeed. It is due to a compact mother tongue usage at homes by mothers and old generation. Even school classes are dominated most of the time by usages of Nepali language; schools where children hesitate to use either Hindi or English. When children grow older and older their bilingualism increases.

The reasons of the bilingualism / multilingualism are English education system in the academic institutions; lack of mother tongue classes and literacy; involvement of the language speakers in trade, government services, foreign employment, politics, social services; contact language pressure and lack of independent script.

First language you learnt to speak

Most of the language consultants replied that Nepali is the first language/mother tongue they speak. It is the first language that they learnt at home. They speak it naturally, and spontaneously. Even non-Nepali people admit that their first known language is Nepali. As Sikkim is known for the homogenous society living three community people together, i.e. Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali, and as Nepali is Lingua Franca of the state, communities other than the Nepali also needs to have knowledge of this language in order to communicate each other. In this regard, we can say that Nepali has played as a key role of binding different community peoples in one thread.

Despite of above fact, the data also provides the fact that some respondents do not regard Nepali as their first language. Specially, the respondents of North Sikkim speak Bhutia and Lepcha as their first language at home and community. They say that they learnt to speak Nepali in the course of time or while they go to the school. The illiterate and above 50 years Bhutia and Lepcha respondents do not speak Nepali properly till now.

Table 3.1: Bilingual/Multilingual situation in Sikkim

S. No.	Different languages used by the informants in the studied areas	Number of languages	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
1	Nepali	1	1	1	---	---	2	4.1
2	Nepali/Hindi	2	1	1	2	---	4	8.3
3	Nepali/Hindi/English	3	2	1	2	---	5	10.4
4	Nepali/Bhutia	2	---	---	---	3	3	6.25
5	Nepali/Bhutia/Hindi	3	---	---	1	1	2	4.1
6	Nepali/Bhutia/Hindi/English	4	---	---	1	1	2	4.1
7	Nepali/Lepcha	2	---	---	1	2	3	6.25
8	Nepali/Lepcha/Hindi	3	---	---	1	1	2	4.1
9	Nepali/Lepcha/Hindi/English	4	---	---	1	1	2	4.1
10	Nepali/Magar	2	2	---	---	---	2	4.1
11	Nepali/Magar/hindi	3	4	---	---	---	4	8.3
12	Nepali/Magar/Hindi/English	4	1	---	---	---	1	2.08
13	Nepali/Tamang	2	2	---	---	---	2	4.1
14	Nepali/Tamnag/Hindi	3	---	---	---	---	1	2.08
15	Nepali/Tamang/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	0	0
16	Nepali/Limbu	2	---	2	---	---	2	4.1
17	Nepali/Limbu/Hindi	3	---	2	---	---	2	4.1
18	Nepali/Limbu/Hindi/English	4	---	1	---	---	1	2.08
19	Nepali/Rai	2	---	---	---	2	2	4.1
20	Nepali/Rai/Hindi	3	---	---	---	1	1	2.08
21	Nepali/Rai/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	0	0
22	Nepali/Newar	2	2	---	---	---	2	4.1
23	Nepali/Newar/ Hindi	3	2	---	---	---	2	4.1
24	Nepali/Newar/Hindi/ English	4	1	---	---	---	1	2.08

(Source: field Visit, 2012)

Table 3.1 above show the total number of language speakers along with the languages they speak and are more or less capable of handling two or more than two languages. Of course, the level of understanding can vary; the speakers know as many as four languages so far.

How proficient are you in other languages?

Table 3.2 below shows informant’s levels of proficiency in Nepali and other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Sikkim.

Table 3.2: Proficiency in the Nepali language.

Total No. of Respondents: 48			
Level of proficiency	Good	Average	Little
Understand	28 (58%)	12 (25%)	8 (17%)
Speak	24 (50%)	16(33%)	8(17%)
Read	20 (42%)	18 (37%)	10 (21%)
Write	13 (27%)	24 (50%)	11 (23%)

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The data shows that 58% , 25% and 17% respondents feels that they have good, average and little level of proficiency respectively, in understanding the Nepali language whereas 50%, 33% and 17% respondents have feelings of having good, average and little level of proficiency respectively in speaking the Nepali language. Likewise, 42% respondents say that they have good level of proficiency in reading the Nepali language, 37% have average and 21% have little level proficiency. On the other hand, 27%, 50% and 23% respondents feel they have good, average and little level of proficiency, respectively in the writing skill of said language. It is obvious by the above data that the most of the respondents feel; they are more proficient in understanding and speaking the language than reading and writing. It is due to the fact that some of the respondents are poor in educational background. Even some respondents are illiterate. Beside this, the above data shows the fact that most of the respondents have average level of proficiency in all the four skills.

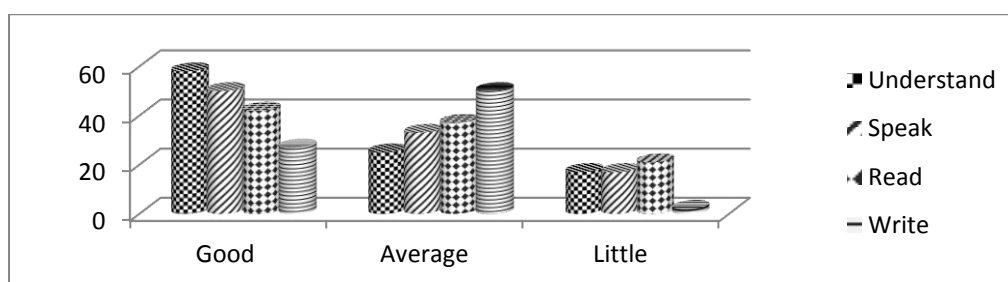


Figure 3.1: Speaker’s level of proficiency in Nepali as L1

Table 3.3: Levels of proficiency in Bhutia

Bhutia: 8 Respondents							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	3	---	---	---	3	43
	Average	2	1	---	---	3	43
	Little	1	---	---	---	1	14
Speak	Good	2	---	---	---	2	28.5
	Average	2	1	---	---	3	43
	Little	1	1	---	---	2	28.5
Read	Good	1	---	---	---	1	14
	Average	1	1	---	---	2	28.5
	Little	1	1	---	---	2	28.5
Write	Good	1	---	---	---	1	14
	Average	1	1	---	---	2	28.5
	Little	1	1	---	---	2	28.5
Can't Read & Write		2	1	---	---	3	43

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The Data shown in table 3.3 above were collected from Mangan and its adjacent areas in North Sikkim as well as from Gangtok town area in East Sikkim. Total eight Bhutia speakers (Native and Non- Native) of different age, sex and having different educational background, were selected for the collection of data. The above data show us the fact that respondents have good proficiency in understanding and speaking the language than reading and writing. 43% and 28.5% respondents respectively said that they understand and speak well whereas 43% have average level of proficiency in understanding and speaking the language. Out of total respondents, only 14% and 28.5% respondents show poor level of proficiency in understanding and speaking skill.

On the other hand, the data shows that respondents are less proficient in reading and writing skills. This is due to the fact that some respondents were not educated in their language or even, some of them were illiterate. Out of 8 respondents, only 14% have good proficiency in reading and writing whereas 28.5% have average and little level of proficiency. Remaining 43% respondents do not have knowledge of reading and writing their language at all.

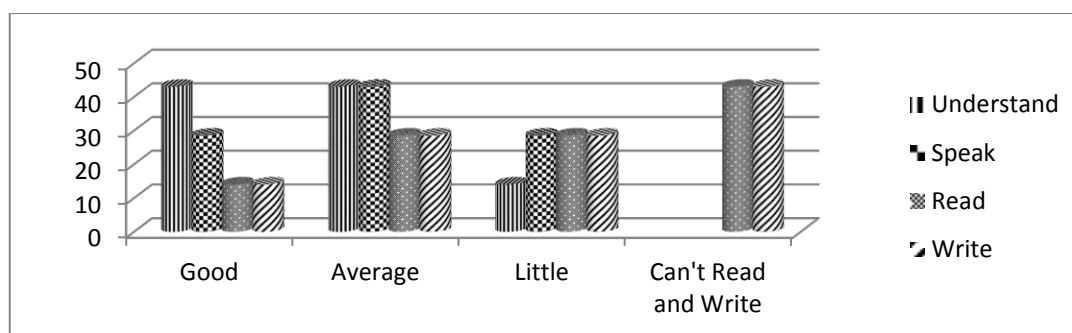


Figure 3.2: Speaker's level of Proficiency in Bhutia language.

Table 3.4: Levels of proficiency in Lepcha

Lepcha: 8 speakers							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	2	2	---	---	4	50
	Average	3	1	---	---	4	50
	Little	---	--	---	---	---	---
Speak	Good	2	1	---	---	3	37.5
	Average	3	2	---	---	5	62.5
	Little	---	---	---	---	--	---
Read	Good	1	---	---	---	1	12.5
	Average	1	1	---	---	2	25
	Little	1	1	---	---	2	25
Write	Good	1	---	---	---	1	12.5
	Average	1	1	---	---	2	25
	Little	1	1	---	---	2	25
Can't Read & Write		2	1	---	---	3	37.5

(Source: field visit, 2012)

As in the case of collection of data for Bhutia language, Mangan and its adjacent areas as well as Gangtok town area were selected for the collection of data regarding the proficiency in Lepcha language. It is because north is home district of Bhutia and Lepcha people, and as a district headquarter, Mangan have more concentration of these two community peoples. Similarly, Gangtok as a capital town of the state is the place where we found concentration of Bhutia and Lepcha people from all over the state. The total respondents for above data were eight and they were of different age group, sex and of having different educational background. The above data show that like in the case of Bhutia language, respondents are more or good level of proficiency in understanding and speaking the language. The fewer percentage of respondents have good and average level of proficiency in reading and writing the language as shown in the table and figure. 50% each respondents say that they have good and average level of proficiency, respectively in understanding the language whereas 37.5%

and 62.5% respondents have good and average level of proficiency in speaking skill. It is to be noted that all respondents who understand the language well are not good in speaking too. It means respondents are more proficient in understanding than speaking.

On the other hand, level of proficiency in reading and writing the language are not as good as in the case of understanding and speaking. Only 12.5% respondents each have good level of proficiency in reading and writing skills, respectively. Likewise, 25% each have average and little level of proficiency in reading and writing the language, respectively. Beside this, there are the cases of not having knowledge of reading and writing at all, i.e. 37.5% respondents do not know how to read and write their language. This is because some of them are not educated in their language and some are illiterate, mostly old age respondents.

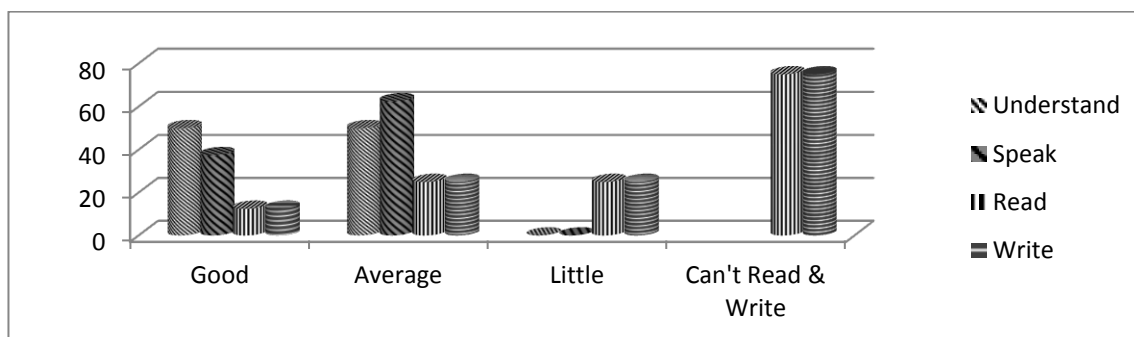


Figure 3.3: Speaker's Levels of Proficiency in Lepcha language.

Table 3.5: Levels of proficiency in Magar

Magar: 8 Speakers							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	---	---	3	1	4	50
	Average	---	---	2	1	3	37.5
	Little	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
Speak	Good	---	---	2	1	3	37.5
	Average	---	---	3	1	4	50
	Little	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
Read	Good	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Average	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Little	---	---	2	---	2	25
Write	Good	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Average	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Little	---	---	2	---	2	25
Can't Read & Write		---	---	3	3	6	75

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Mamley Gram Panchayat ward under Mamley-Kamrang Gram Panchayat Unit, located near Namchi town in South Sikkim, was taken as area of data collection for Magar language proficiency. Total eight native as well as non-native speakers of Magar were regarded as respondents. They were of different age groups, sex and having different educational background. Table and figure above show the fact that out of total respondents, 50% and 37.5% have good level of understanding and speaking the language, respectively whereas 37.5% and 50% have average and 12.5% each have little level of proficiency in understanding and speaking skills, respectively. The above data provide us the fact that understanding skill is more in speakers than speaking. All speakers who understand the language efficiently do not speak language well.

Likewise, the respondents are less proficient in skills like reading and writing. In fact, only 25% respondents have little knowledge of reading and writing, remaining 75% respondents do not know how to read or write the language. It is due to the fact that respondents are not educated in their language and some of them are illiterate.

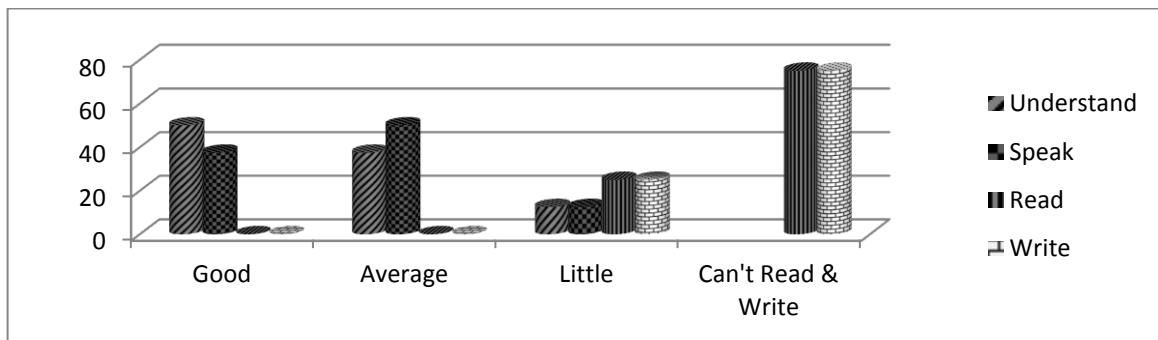


Figure 3.4: Speaker's levels of Proficiency in Magar language.

Table 3.6: Levels of proficiency in Limbu

Limbu : 8 speakers							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	---	---	---	5	5	62.5
	Average	---	---	---	2	2	25
	Little	---	---	---	1	1	12.5
Speak	Good	---	---	---	4	4	50
	Average	---	---	---	3	3	37.5
	Little	---	---	---	1	1	12.5
Read	Good	---	---	---	1	1	12.5
	Average	---	---	---	2	2	25
	Little	---	---	---	1	1	12.5
Write	Good	---	---	---	1	1	12.5
	Average	---	---	---	2	2	25
	Little	---	---	---	1	1	12.5
Can't Read & Write		---	---	---	4	4	50

(Source: field visit, 2012)

Area of data collection for Limbu language proficiency was Hee-Gaon village under Hee-Bermiok constituency in West Sikkim. Total number of respondents were eight and of different age groups, sex and having different educational background. The data above in table and figure provide us the fact that Limbu speakers also have more proficiency in understanding and speaking the language than reading and writing. 62.5% and 50% respondents have good level of proficiency in understanding and speaking the language whereas 25% and 37.5% are average, and 12.5% each have little proficiency in understanding and speaking the language, respectively.

Similarly, Limbu speakers also are less proficient in reading and writing skills. The data show that out of total respondents, 12.5%, 25% and 12.5% each have good, average and little proficiency in reading and writing, and remaining 50% respondents do not know how to read or write the language at all.

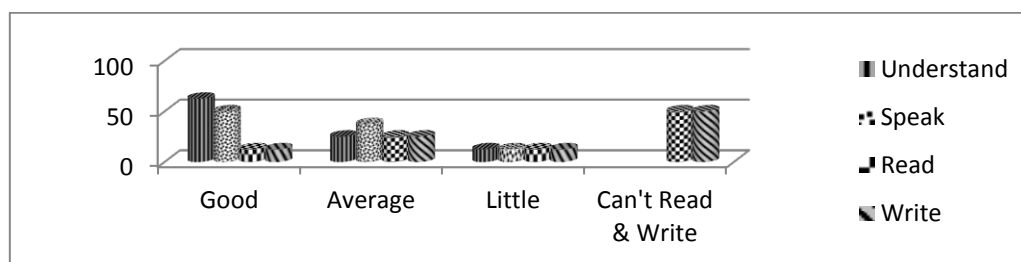


Figure 3.5: Speaker's levels of Proficiency in Limbu language

Table 3.7: Levels of proficiency in Tamang.

Tamang : 8 speakers							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	---	---	2	---	2	25
	Average	---	---	3	---	3	37.5
	Little	---	---	3	---	3	37.5
Speak	Good	---	---	2	---	2	25
	Average	---	---	4	---	4	50
	Little	---	---	2	---	2	25
Read	Good	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Average	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Little	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
Write	Good	---	---	--	---	---	---
	Average	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Little	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
Can't Read & Write		---	---		---	6	75

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Maniram Bhanjhyang under Namchi-Singithang constituency and Turung under Namthang-Rateypani constituency were the area of data collection for Tamang language. Total number of respondents for the study was eight with different age, sex and educational background. The data above in table and figure show us the fact that only 25% each respondents have good level of proficiency in understanding and speaking the language whereas 37.5% and 50% respondents are average and 37.5% and 0% have little level of proficiency in understanding and speaking skills, respectively. On the other hand, the respondents do not show good level of proficiency in reading and writing. Only 12.5% each respondents have average and little proficiency. Remaining 75 percent respondents say they do not have knowledge of reading and writing the language. Like in the case of other languages it is due to the fact that they are not educated in their language and some of them are illiterate.

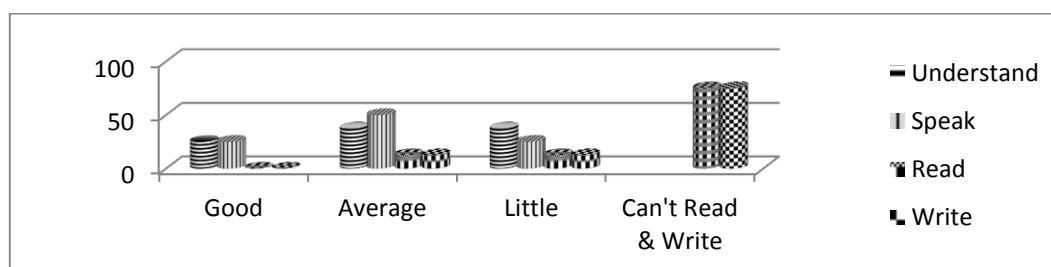


Figure 3.6: Speaker's levels of Proficiency in Tamang language.

Table 3.8: Proficiency in Rai

Rai: 8 speakers							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Average	---	1	3	---	4	50
	Little	---	2	1	---	3	37.5
Speak	Good	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Average	---	1	3	---	3	37.5
	Little	---	2	2	---	4	50
Read	Good	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Average	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Little	---	---	---	---	---	---
Write	Good	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Average	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Little	---	---	---	---	---	---
Can't Read & Write		---	3	4	---	7	87.5

(Source: Field Study, 2012)

The data for proficiency in Rai language was collected from Kopche Gram Panchayat ward under Namchi-Singithang constituency in South Sikkim and Lagamthang Gram Panchayat ward under Syari constituency in East Sikkim. Total number of Respondents was eight and they spoke specially Bantawa variety of Rai language. Out of eight respondents three were from East Sikkim and five were from South. The data above in table and figure provide us the fact that Rai speakers are well proficient in understanding and speaking the language than reading and writing. 12.5% each respondents have good level of proficiency in understanding and speaking the language, respectively, 50% and 37.5% respondents are average and 37.5% and 50% have little proficiency. In the same way, 12.5% each respondent have average level of proficiency in reading and writing the language. There are 87.5% respondents who do not know how to read and write the language. It is due to illiteracy and lack of education in their language.

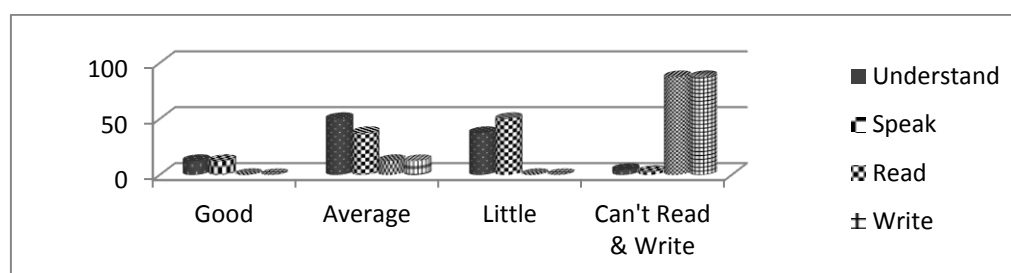


Figure 3.7: Speaker's level of Proficiency in Rai language

Table 3.9: Levels of proficiency in Newar

Newar:8 speakers							
	Level	North Sikkim	East Sikkim	South Sikkim	West Sikkim	Total	%
Understand	Good	---	---	2	---	2	25
	Average	---	---	4	---	4	50
	Little	---	---	2	---	2	25
Speak	Good	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Average	---	---	4	---	4	50
	Little	---	---	3	---	3	37.5
Read	Good	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Average	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Little	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
Write	Good	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Average	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
	Little	---	---	1	---	1	12.5
Can't Read & Write		---	---	5	---	5	62.5

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The area of data collection for Newar language was collected from Tek Gram Panchayat ward under Namthang-Rateypani constituency in South- Sikkim. Total number of respondents was eight and they were from different age groups, sex and educational background. The data above in the table 3.9 shows that like any other Tibeto-Burman language, speaker's ability to understand and speak Newar language is more than reading and writing. 25% and 12.5% respondents show good proficiency in understanding and speaking skills, respectively whereas 50% each show average, and 25% and 37.5% respondents have little proficiency, respectively. Out of total respondents, only 12.5% each respondents have good, average and little level of proficiency and remaining 62.5% respondents do not have knowledge of reading and writing the language, respectively.

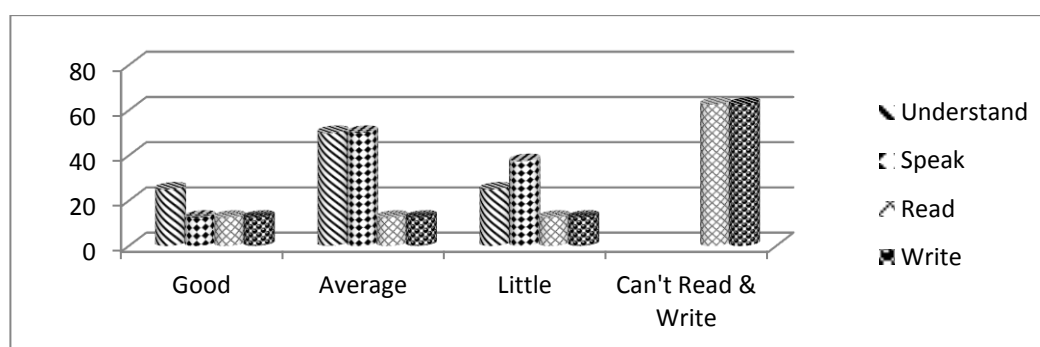


Figure 3.8: Speaker's Proficiency in Newar language.

Places where the languages were learnt

Most of the language consultants told that they learnt Nepali language at home, school, and while travelling or visiting to neighboring villages or outside. Most speakers learned other Tibeto-Burman languages like Bhutia , Lepcha, Limbu, Magar, Tamang, Rai, Newar, in the community and neighborhood. However, Languages like English and Hindi, they learned at Schools and places outside the state. The reasons are either they involved in trade or talked as a contact language. They also learned these languages through the mass media like Television, Radio and Newspapers.

Other languages known to the family members

Table 3.10: Family members' language capability

S.N	Different languages	No. of languages	Grand father	Grand mother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Sons /Daughter	Total	%
1	Nepali/Hindi	2	1	1	1	1	1	---	5	10.4
2	Nepali/Hindi/English	3	---	---	1	---	1	2	4	8.3
3	Nepali/Bhutia	2	1	1	---	---	---	---	2	4.16
4	Nepali/Bhutia/Hindi	3	1	---	1	---	---	---	3	6.25
5	Nepali/Bhutia/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	1	1	2	4.16
6	Nepali/Lepcha	2	1	1	1	---	---	---	3	6.25
7	Nepali/Lepcha/Hindi	3	---	---	1	---	1	---	2	4.16
8	Nepali/Lepcha/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	2.08
9	Nepali/Limbu	2	1	---	---	---	1	---	2	4.16
10	Nepali/Limbu/Hindi	3	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	4.16
11	Nepali/Limbu/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	4.16
12	Nepali/Magar	2	1	1	---	---	1	---	3	6.25
13	Nepali/Magar/Hindi	3	---	---	---	1	1	---	2	4.16
14	Nepali/Magar/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	2.08
15	Nepali/Tamang	2	1	1	1	---	---	---	3	6.25
16	Nepali/Tamang/Hindi	3	---	---	---	1	---	---	1	2.08
17	Nepali/Tamang/hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	2.08
18	Nepali/Rai	2	1	1	---	---	---	---	2	4.16
19	Nepali/Rai/Hindi	3	---	---	---	1	1	---	2	4.16
20	Nepali/Rai/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	2.08
21	Nepali/Newar	2	1	1	---	---	---	---	2	4.16
22	Nepali/Newar/Hindi	3	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	2.08
23	Nepali/Newar/Hindi/English	4	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	2.08

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Most family members are multilingual as they speak more than one language. Nepali is their mother tongue. Besides it, they can speak as many as four languages. The data shows grandparent generation knows or knew less number of languages in comparison to the parent generation. The flexibility is obviously read out since the son generation appears inclining to modernism by picking up the international language. But young generation has an increasing motivation to English as it is learned and taught at schools and colleges. On the other hand,

most fathers knew Hindi as it was essential to learn it for trade and business. The multilingual situation existed even in the prior and former generation.

Scripts you can read and write

The following list of script usages are found out after the study. Those who can read and write can use either of the scripts of Devanagari or Roman. Most informants used the word: Nepali for Devanagari. Anyway, that was what they perceived. Those who have used learning English can also use the Roman script.

Table 3.11 (a): Use of scripts

Scripts	Read	Write
Nepali/Devanagari	√	√
English/ Roman	√	√

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Table 3.11 (b): Use of scripts

Scripts	Read	%	Write	%
Devanagari	21	43.75	21	43.75
Devanagari+Roman	19	39.58	17	35.4
+(can't do)	6	12.5	6	12.5

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The percentage of the respondents capable of using Devanagari script is higher than Roman (English). But there is increasing ratio of using double or multiple scripts on the days ahead to come. It also can be represented with the help of figure:

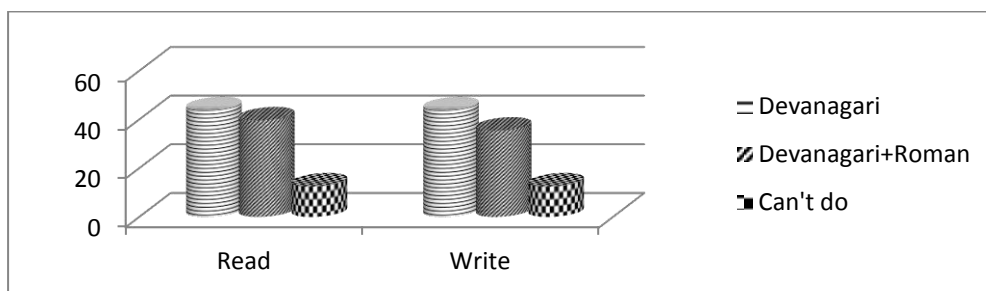


Figure 3.9 Ability of using the scripts

Translation capability

Table 3.12 shows the percentage of Nepali speakers who can translate from and to the mother tongue.

Table 3.12: Translation from and to mother tongue

Total No. of Respondents: 48									
Can Translate	Bhutia	Lepcha	Magar	Limbu	Tamang	Rai	Newar	Hindi	English
	7	7	7	5	3	3	5	6	5
	(14.5%)	(14.5%)	(14.5%)	(10.4%)	(6.25%)	(6.25%)	(10.4%)	(12.5%)	(10.4%)

(Source: Field Visit, 2012)

Table 3.10 shows that out of the total respondents 41% Nepali speakers of Sikkim can translate from and to mother tongue into Bhutia. Similarly, 66% can translate from mother tongue into Lepcha, 52% in Limbu, 33% in Rai, 20% can in Magar, 85% in Hindi and 77% in English.

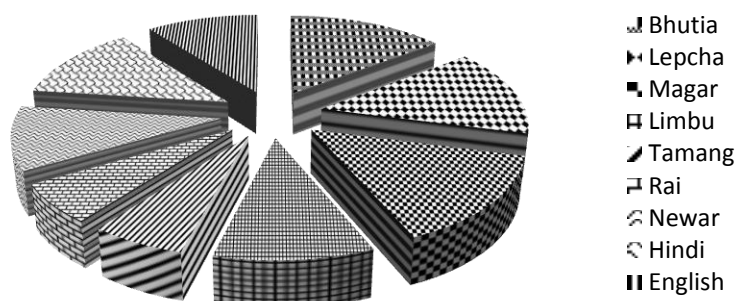


Figure 3.10: Speaker's Ability of translation to and fro their mother tongue.

Does a small child, who first goes to school, understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?

Figure 3.13 tries to show that a small child can understand language of wider communication (LWC) when he/she first goes to school.

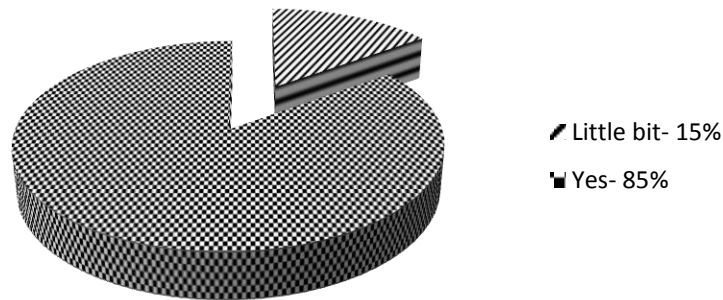


Figure 3.11: Understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Figure 3.13 shows that 85% Nepali children of Sikkim can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school whereas 15% can understand a little.

Which type of L1 people speaks language of wider communication (LWC) well?

The type of L1 people who speak language of wider communication (LWC) well are as follows:

- a. The people staying with other communities,
- b. People living in a place which is dominated by other speech community,
- c. People working in factories, industries, offices and business places,
- d. People of town and cities,
- e. People having higher education,
- f. People who lives away from home and villages,
- g. Children of inter caste parents, and
- h. Children kept in hostel.

Types of L1 people speaking LWC well

- a. People working together in the same community,
- b. Language teachers,
- c. Monolingual people and preliterate,
- d. Children of parents married with the same cast or community who speaks mother tongue,
- e. People of L1 dominated place,
- f. Those who have interest in L1.

Do you think the number of L1 speaker or LWC is increasing in your community?

Figure 3.14 shows that the number of L1 speakers or LWC is increasing in the Sikkim. The total number of speakers who responded to the question was 48.

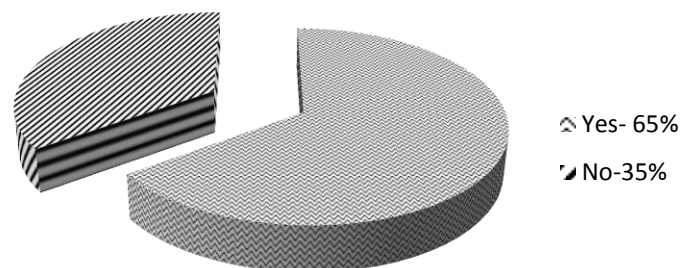


Figure 3.12: Increasing of L1 speaker or LWC in the community.

(Source: Field Visit, 2012)

Figure 3.14 shows that 65% respondents said L1 speaker is increasing in their community whereas 35% replied that language of wider communication (LWC) is increasing in their community.

3.3 Domains of language use

The Nepali language in Sikkim has extensive domains and fields of usage. As it is a language for wider communications, it encompassed from recreational field such as songs to religious fields. Out of the 48 respondents, the following statistics has been synthesized.

Table 3.13: Most frequently used languages with reference to different activities.

S. N.	Genres	Nepali	Bhutia	Lepcha	Hindi	English	Magar	Limbu	Tamang	Rai	Newar
1	Counting	31	7	6	---	4	---	---	---	---	---
2	Singing	32	6	4	4	2	---	---	---	---	---
3	Joking	34	6	5	2	1	---	---	---	---	---
4	Shopping/ Marketing	32	5	2	5	4	---	---	---	---	---
5	Debating discussing	31	5	3	4	5	---	---	---	---	---
6	Story telling	40	5	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
7	Praying/worshipping	15	7	7	---	---	4	4	3	3	5
8	Abusing	36	4	3	---	---	1	2	1	---	1
9	Talking to helpers at home	40	4	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
10	Telling stories to children	43	3	2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
11	Singing at home	37	6	5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
12	Learning nursery rhymes at home	20	---	---	7	21	---	---	---	---	---
13	Talking to mates and friends	31	6	4	---	2	1	2	1	1	---
14	While playing	43	2	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
15	In marriage invitations	28	---	---	---	20	---	---	---	---	---
16	Writing minutes in community meetings	27	---	---	---	21	---	---	---	---	---
17	In family gathering	20	7	7	---	---	4	4	2	2	2
18	In public meetings	35	3	3	---	2	---	---	---	---	---
19	Talking to household helpers	39	5	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The domains of language use have been classified under a number of headings and aspects as shown on the table 13. The domains are counting, singing, joking, shopping, debating, discussing, storytelling, writing minutes, and marriage invitations. Most of the respondents,

despite of their different communities tend to use Nepali frequently in almost all the aspects. Except Bhutia and Lepcha people, all the other communities have shifted to Nepali for every domain of life. Only, in the field like praying/worshipping and talking to intra-community mates or friends, they used their respective language but it is not the case for every respondents. So is the case for most old and illiterate speakers.

Frequently used language at home

What languages do you most frequently use at home in the following situations?

- a. Talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher)
- b. Talking about social events (like festivals, election, ceremonies, etc.) with
- c. Discussing family matters (like marriage, savings, spending, etc.)

In these domains of language, the informants' responses were the use of mother tongue. This is because, all of the informants use mother tongue within the community, most importantly, at homes. Although many of the speakers' grandparents and parents were no longer alive, they communicated or heard members to have communicated with them in mother tongue. Secondly, the elder people always talked in the mother tongue, and used less of the contact language. In such case, many of the older ladies and gents who have not been abroad use mother tongue all the time and can't use the contact language.

3.3 Code mixing and switching

Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?

Table 3.14 displays code mixing into other language in the Nepali language spoken in Sikkim. The total number of people who responded to the question is 48.

Table 3.14. Code switching and mixing into other language.

Question	Yes	No
Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?	41(85%)	7(15%)
Do your children mix other languages more than you do	48(100%)	0

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

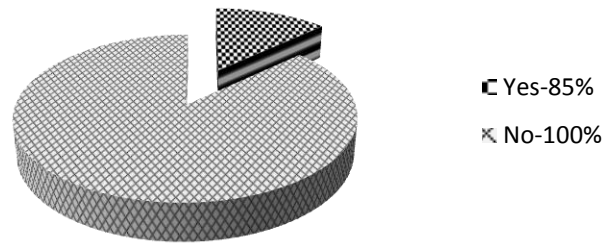


Figure: 3.13: Code switching and mixing into other language.

Table 3.18 and figure 3.15 shows that there are 85% Nepali speakers who mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language and 15% speakers do not mix or switch to other language while speaking their language. Why they switch to other language is because it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages and appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages. The Nepali language spoken by the speakers and their grandparents has differences in pronunciation. Similarly, 100% Nepali speakers said that their children mix other language more than they do. The respondents feel that the words from other languages will certainly spoil the beauty and purity of their language instead of enriching their language and making more intelligible.

Do you think that language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?

Table 3.15: Mother tongue variation from grandparents

Remarks	West Sikkim	South Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
Yes	10	11	12	9	42	87.5
No	2	1	0	3	6	12.5

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The speakers who said their language is different from their grandparents are 87.5% and those reporting no change are 12.5%. The first ones point out the difference is on the tunes or ways of pronunciation, code mixing, vocabulary, and so on.

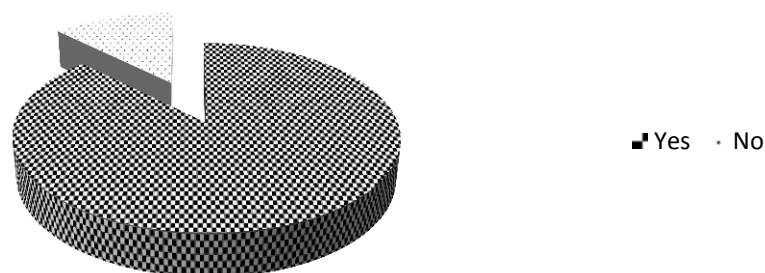


Figure 3.14: Opinions that show inter-generation L1 variation

The question in relation to difference from prior generation has been summed up in terms of the following points. The differences are seen in: (a) pronunciation; (b) vocabulary; (c) use of specific type of sentences; (d) mixing of other languages.

Table 3.16: Reasons specifying the mother tongue difference from the grandparents

Remarks	West Sikkim	South Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
pronunciation	1	2	4	3	10	20.8
vocabulary	2	2	2	4	10	20.8
Mixing of other language	2	4	1	2	9	18.75
way of speaking	4	3	3	2	12	25
no response	3	1	2	1	7	14.5

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Do your children mix other languages more than you do?

The response of this question is tabulated in 3.24.

Table 3.17: children mixing other language codes

Remarks	West Sikkim	South Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
Yes	10	11	12	12	45	93.75
No	2	1	0	0		6.25
Not known	---	---	---	---	---	---

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

It is obvious that the young generation mix codes more than the old generation due to multilingual reason. The percentage who said their children mix codes more than they do is nearly 93.75 %. Those against the ideas are 6.25 %.

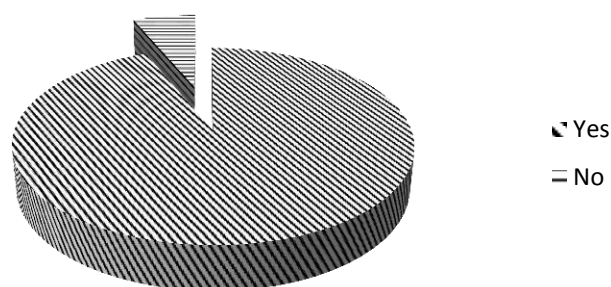


Figure 3.15: Children mixing other languages in mother tongue

3.5 Summary

We discussed some of the pertinent aspects in this chapter. The situations of bilingualism and multilingualism are the main aspects. Similarly, the code mixing was another section that was

discussed. Another section that we talked was the domains of language use. To sum up, most of the Nepali speakers can handle two languages and some of them can use more than two. Besides Nepali language, they have good access to Hindi and English. Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbu, Magar, Tamang, Rai and Newar are other languages which they understand and speak in their respective communities. There is much less code mixing among the older generation. But it is high in young generation mostly from Hindi and English.

Chapter 4

Dialect mapping, attitudes of language, language endangerment and language loyalty

4.0 Outline

In this chapter, dialect mapping and attitudes of the speakers are discussed in detail. In section 4.1, we discuss dialect mapping, language variation, and standardization. Language attitude is discussed in section 4.2. Language endangerment is analyzed in section 4.3. The last section (4.4) summarizes the findings of the chapter.

4.1 Dialect mapping, language variation and standardization

In order to get the data on dialect mapping of Nepali language spoken in Sikkim, the following questions were asked:

Are people of your community concentrated or dispersed?

The response of this question is given in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Concentration of Nepali speakers

Total no. of respondents = 48	Responses	Percentage
Concentrated	41	85
Dispersed	7	15

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

In response to the question whether the speakers live in concentrated or dispersed? The 85% respondents said that their villages are concentrated and only 15 % respondents answered that they lived dispersedly. The data reveals the fact that most of villages in Sikkim are compact, congested and dense. They place the tops, highlands or sloppy hills. There is always a historical aspect in developing the villages. The speakers of the Nepali do not get confined to a small area; rather they are dispersed or diffused to different places and cover a wide geographical areas.

The concentration of the Nepali speakers can also be displayed through the following diagram. Figure 4.1 indicates the concentration of the Nepali speakers in Sikkim.

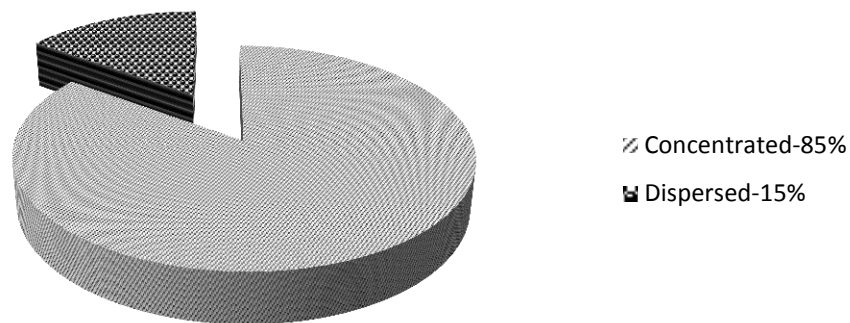


Figure 4.1: Concentration of Nepali speakers.

Where do people speak this language exactly the same as you?

According to the collected data, the Nepali native speakers from the communities like Magar, Rai and Newar, despite of their different locations, speak the same language as the speakers from the Chhetri and Bahun communities. Nepali spoken by Chhetri and Bahun community is taken as core variety of the Nepali language in Sikkim for the purpose of this research. However, there are differences in some lexical items, phonetic features and intonation patterns between languages spoken by these two different communities.

In another case, Nepali language spoken by Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbu and Tamang in Sikkim shows far dissimilarity with the Nepali spoken by Magar, Rai, Newar, Chhetri and Bahun communities. The differences are in vocabulary and intonation patterns.

The Nepali language spoken in Sikkim falls under eastern dialect, which is intelligible to all the Nepali people of Sikkim and other states of India and even in Nepal. The eastern dialect spoken in Sikkim is quite intelligible for every Nepali speaker and is also used in mass media such as radio, television, and newspapers.

4.2. Language resources

Table 4.2 shows the resources that are available in Nepali language are:

Table 4.2 Nepali Language resources in Sikkim.

Resources	Available
Oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc.)	Yes
Script	Yes
Phonemic inventory	Yes
Grammar	Yes
Dictionary	Yes
Textbooks	Yes
Literacy materials	Yes
Newspapers	Yes
Magazines	Yes
Films	Yes
Telefilms	Yes
CD/DVD	Yes
Written literature	Yes

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The data reveals that the language resources, available in the Nepali language are Devanagari script, descriptive grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, films, CD/DVD, folksongs, folk stories, cultural and religious books such and written literature.

In Sikkim, there are many organizations, such as Sikkim Sahitya Academy, Sikkim Sahitya Parishad, Apatan Sahitya Parishad, Dakshin Sikkim Sahitya Sammelan and so on. These organizations are involved in the preservation, promotion, and development of Nepali culture, religion, language and literature.

4.3 Language attitude

Table 4.3 shows the feelings about the Nepali language against other languages. The total number of people who responded to the question is 48.

Table 4.3: Feeling about Nepali language against other languages.

Feeling	Total No.	Respondents	Percentage
Rich	48	7	14.5
Precise		4	8.3
Musical		4	8.3
Prestigious		21	43.75
Literary		3	6.25
Pure		2	4.1
Ancient		2	4.1
Powerful		5	10.4

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Table 4.3 above shows that respondents have different kind of feeling about the Nepali language. Out of total respondents, 14.5% have feeling that Nepali is a rich language. Likewise 8.3% each feels it's precise and musical. Similarly, 43.75% and 6.25% respondents think Nepali is Prestigious and Literary, respectively. 4.1% each said that the language is pure and ancient. Lastly, 10.4% respondents have feeling that Nepali is a powerful language. The data about the feelings of speakers regarding the Nepali language when they speak in front of other language community can also be displayed through figure as follows:

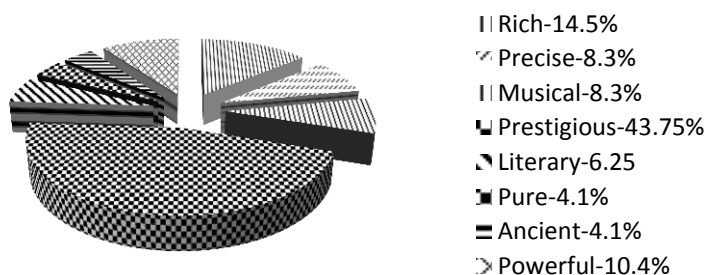


Figure 4.2: Speaker's feeling about Nepali language.

Usefulness of the Nepali language

Table 4.4 indicates the feelings of usefulness of Nepali against other language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 48.

Table 4.4: Usefulness of Nepali Language against other tongues in the following terms:

Domains	Total No.	Respondents	Percentage
Jobs	48	3	6
Business		4	9
Social		15	31
Literature		13	27
Medium of instruction		13	27
Science and technology		0	0

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Table 3.21 shows that 6% in jobs, 9% in business, 31% in social, 27 each in literature and medium of instruction, considered Nepali language more useful against other tongues. It can be represented in pie diagram as follows:

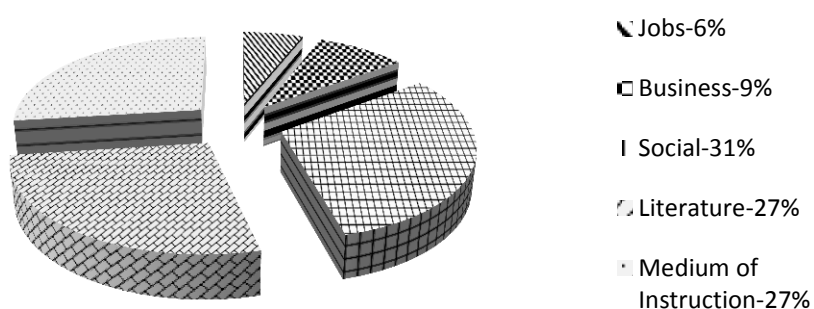


Figure 4.3: Speaker's feelings about usefulness of Nepali language.

Have you ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of your Nepali language?

Table 4.5: Problem facing being Nepali language speaker

Remarks	Total	%
Yes	5	10.4
No	43	89.6

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Almost all of the respondents felt no problem speaking Nepali language. The percentage is 89.6.

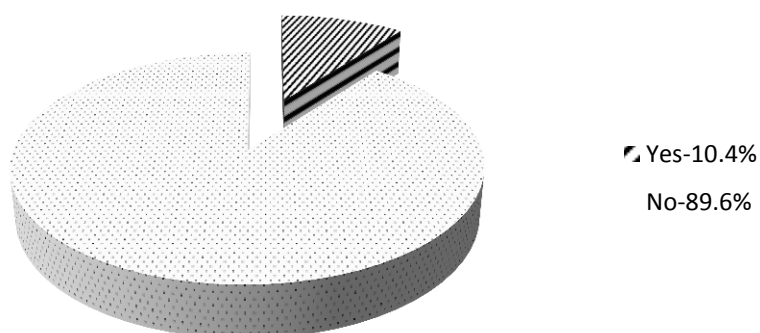


Figure 4.4: Problem showing being L1 speaker

If yes, what kind of problems have you ever had?

If there are problems due to mother tongue speaking, they have been back warded in education as there is interference of mother tongue in learning the second language. Other reasons equally support to the point.

Table 4.6: Problems due to an L1 speaker

Remarks	Total	%
No problem	43	89.5
Discrimination in education	2	4.16
Political pressure	1	2.08
Social pressure	1	2.08
Gender pressure	1	2.08

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

4.1% language consultants replied that the problem is on education while the majority i.e., 64.5% felt no problem. Very less percentage of consultants, i.e. 2.08% each have feelings of having problems due to political, social and gender pressure.

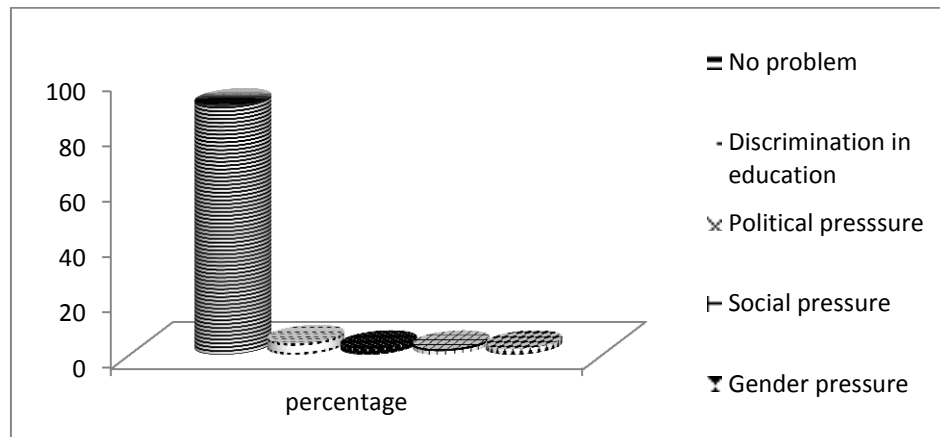


Figure 4.5: Problem faced by the mother tongue speaker due to L1

Would you like to marry your children to someone who does not know your language?

Table 4.7: Attitude to marriage to a non-Nepali language speaker

Remarks	Total	%
Yes, I do	12	25
No, I don't	33	68.75
not known	3	6.25

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Many speakers opined they didn't like their children being married to other ethnic language speaking people or non-mother tongue speakers. But there were 25 % of the consultants who opined to marry with non-mother tongue speakers provided that the candidates appeared decent and compatible. Among the respondents the single were more who were unmarried. On the other hand, there were also other opinions of the elderly people, they would accept if their matured children brought the wives home or their daughters went away with the non-mother tongue speakers. Anyway, the parents could do nothing if the children married to others.

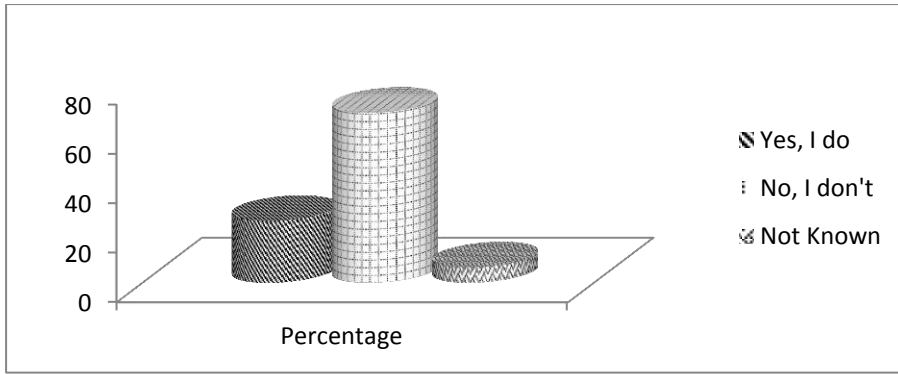


Figure 4.6: Attitude showing to marrying to other language people

When children of your village grow up and have children; do you think those children might speak your language?

Table 4.8: Attitudes to the coming generation's loyalty to Nepali language

Remarks	Total	%
Yes, they will	21	43.75
No, they won't	24	50
Neutral	1	2.08
Not known	2	4.1

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Regarding the attitudes of coming generation' loyalty to Nepali language, 50% consultants opined they won't use Nepali language while 43.5% consultants have thought they will definitely speak the language. 2.08% consultants are neutral about the question and 4.1% do not have any idea about next generation's loyalty to Nepali language.

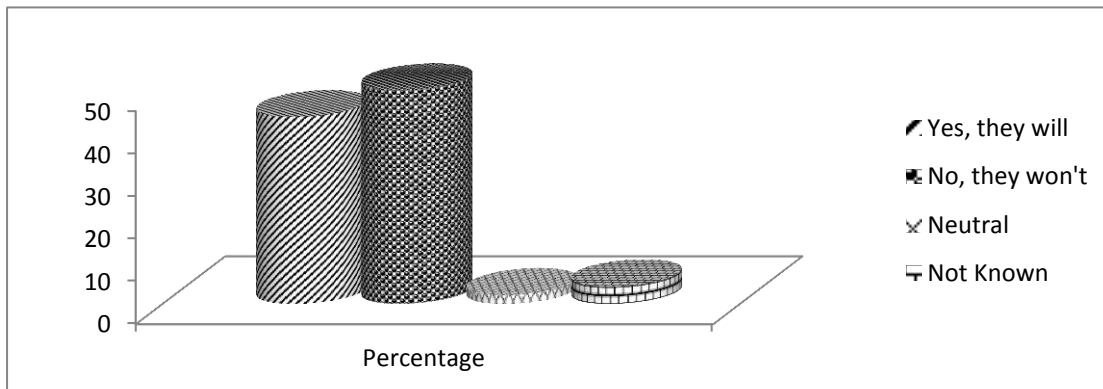


Figure 4.7: Probability of children speaking Nepali language when they grow old in future.

Table 4.9: Feeling to next generation's use of Nepali language

Remarks	Total	%
Good	43	89.5
Bad	3	6.25
Indifferent	2	4.1

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Majority of consultants, i.e. 89.75% replied that they feel good if their next generation continue to speak their mother tongue while only 6.25% consultants are against the use of their mother tongue. In another hand, 4.1% respondent feels indifferent regarding the issue of using mother tongue by coming generation.

What language should your children speak first?

The majority opined they wished their children speak Nepali language prior to other tongues as they have been speaking.

Table 4.10: Attitude testing on their children's priority to language learning.

Languages	Total	%
Nepali	19	39.6
Other languages	17	35.4
Nepali and English	8	16.7
Hindi and English	4	8.3

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The 39.6 % speakers have the opinion that their children should speak mother tongue first while 35.4 % speakers opined their children should speak their respective community's language first. It shows speakers have equal feelings about the priority of language learning by their children. Besides, 16.7% and 8.3% speakers prefer Nepali and English, and Hindi and English respectively as first language of their children.

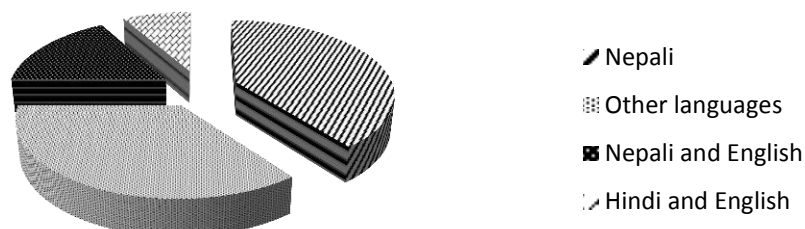


Figure 4.8: Attitude of the Language the Nepali children speak first.

What are the two languages you speak most?

Nepali and other languages, Nepali and Hindi, and Nepali and English are the two languages that the speakers speak most as it is obvious many of them do not use second language every day and only occasionally and in situation, however, after Nepali, Hindi or English language is the next most frequently speaking contact language due to compulsion.

Table 4.11. The two frequently speaking languages spoken by the Sikkimese Nepali speaker

Languages	Total	%
Nepali	33	68.75
Nepali and other	8	16.6
Nepali and English	4	8.4
Nepali and Hindi	3	6.25

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Nepali and Hindi, Nepali and Bhutia, Nepali and Lepcha, Nepali and Limbu etc. are the two most frequently used languages by Sikkimese people. While on one hand, they speak their respective mother tongues in home and community; on the other hand, they speak Nepali to communicate with peoples other than their communities. For those who speak Nepali language as mother tongue, they use Hindi most frequently inside and outside the state.

Out of total consultants, 68.75% speaks Nepali as their first language, 16.6% speaks Nepali and their respective community's language, 8.4% speak Nepali and English and 6.25% speaks Nepali and Hindi language as their first two frequently use languages. It shows the dominance of Nepali language in Sikkim.

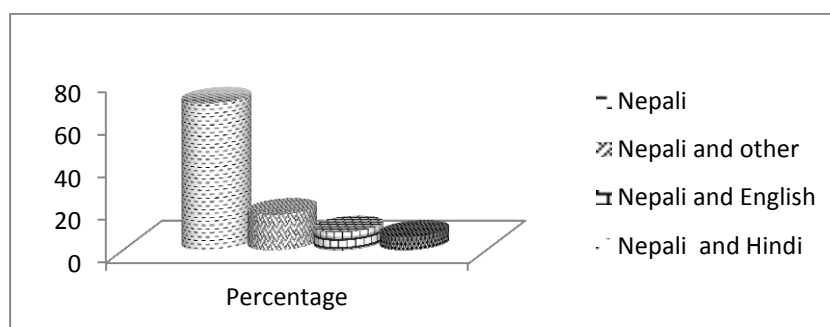


Figure 4.9: the percentage showing the two languages speaking the most.

Among the languages you speak which one do you love the most?

Table 4.12: The table to show most loved languages

Languages	Total	%
Nepali	17	35.4
English	4	8.3
Hindi	2	4.1
Bhutia	5	10.4
Lepcha	4	8.3
Limbu	6	12.5
Magar	3	6.25
Tamang	3	6.25
Rai	2	4.1
Newar	2	4.1

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

It is obvious here; the majority loves their own Nepali language ranging to 35.4 in percentage

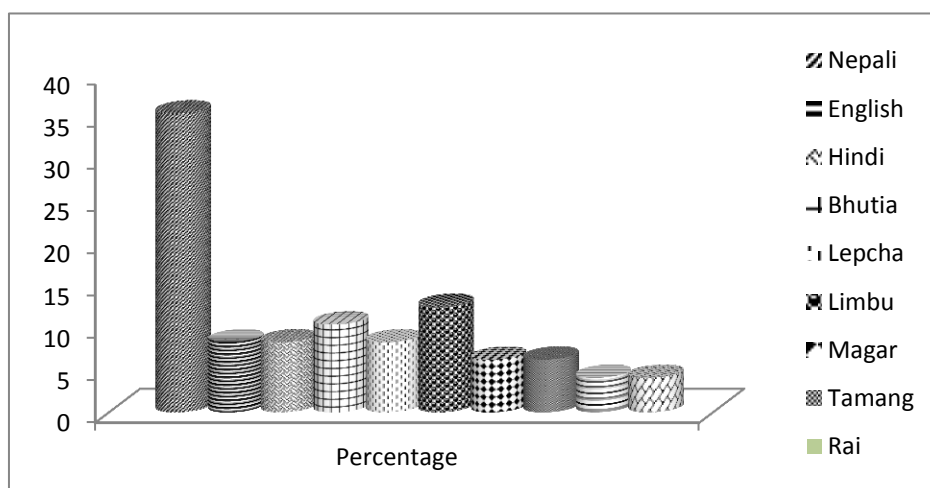


Figure 4.10: The languages most loved.

4.3. Language endangerment

In this section the researcher discusses about language endangerment. Figure 3.13 shows the responses on language endangerment in the Nepali language in Sikkim. The total number of respondents for the question was 48.

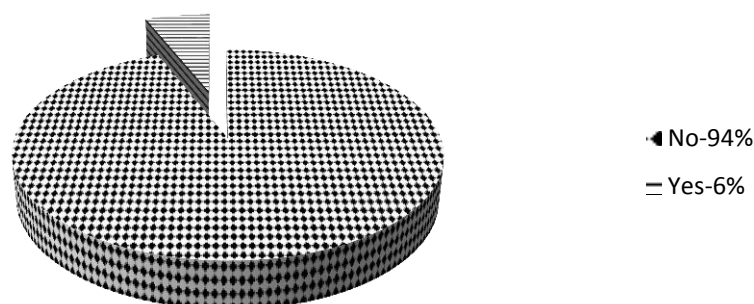


Figure 4.11: Language endangerment of Nepali in Sikkim

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Figure 4.11 shows that Nepali is a safe language. This is because only 6% of respondents said that it is an endangered language.

4.3.1 Position of L1 regarding language endangerment

Table 4.13: Position of Nepali language in terms of endangerment.

Position of language	Total No.	Yes	No
Potentially endangered		4(8.6%)	44(91.6%)
Endangered	48(100%)	1(2%)	47(98%)

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Table 3.13 shows that Nepali in Sikkim is not endangered. Out of 48 respondents only five said that Nepali is potentially endangered whereas remaining 44 said that it is not potentially endangered.

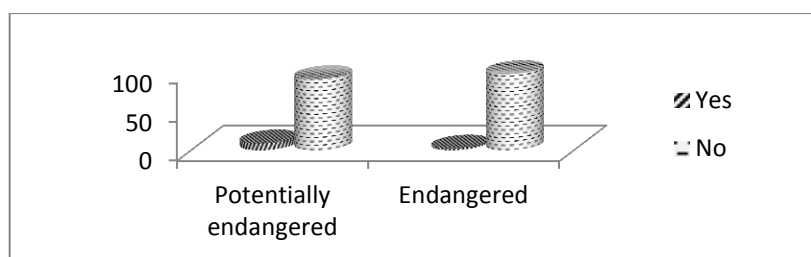


Figure 4.12: Position of Nepali language in terms of endangerment

4.4 Language loyalty

Many of the informants wanted to recognize as Nepali language speakers as almost all of them have ability to speak Nepali well. Very few held the opinion of not recognizing and those who have such an opinion are from Bhutia and Lepcha community. Most of the respondents reported they would encourage younger generation to speak Nepali language. It is because Nepali language holds their (community) identity. The following findings from the study prove this.

Do you recognize a speaker of Nepali language even if s/he has stopped speaking the language?

Table 4.14: Recognition table for capability of Nepali language speakers

Remarks	West Sikkim	South Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
yes	12	14	8	4	38	79.2
No	---	1	2	5	8	16.6
Neutral	---	1	1	---	2	4.2

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Data in the table reveals that most of the speakers, i.e. 79.2% are capable of recognizing a native speaker of their language even if he/she has stopped speaking the native language. However, 16.6% do not recognize and 4.2% are neutral regarding the question.

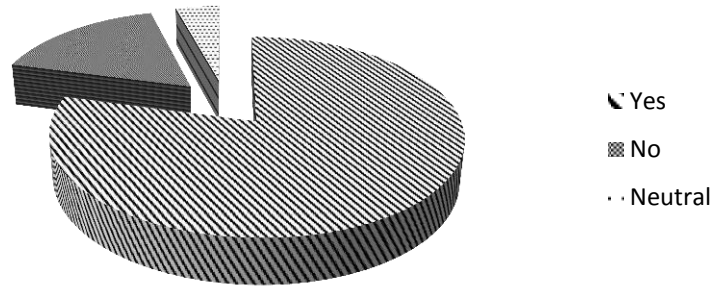


Figure 4.13: Chart showing the recognition of the Nepali speaker despite of the inability of speaking the language.

How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of the Nepali language?

Table 4.15: Feeling towards Nepali language speakers speaking other languages

Remarks	West Sikkim	South Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
Good	10	8	11	2	31	64.5
Bad	5	2	3	7	17	35.5

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

In this topic, the 35.5% of the consultants opined it feels bad to them. The remaining 64.5% feel good, if the young generation of the Nepali community speak other languages.

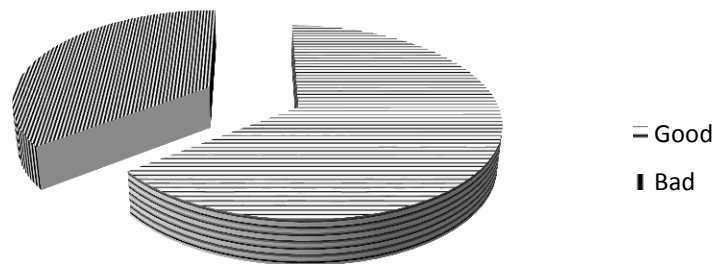


Figure 4.14: Feeling of L1 speakers towards L1 speakers speaking other languages.

Do you encourage the younger generation to speak Nepali language?

Table: 4.16 Encouragement for young generation to speak Nepali language

Remarks	West Sikkim	South Sikkim	East Sikkim	North Sikkim	Total	%
Yes	11	9	12	12	44	91.6
No	1	3	---	---	4	8.4

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

91.6% of the informants said they would encourage the younger generation to speak mother tongue. Remaining 8.4 % are against it. This analysis reveals to the fact that Nepali speaking people in Sikkim are loyal to their language.

4.5 Summary

We discussed four aspects in this chapter. First, we discuss about dialect mapping; second, language attitude; third, language endangerment and lastly, language loyalty. The data reveals that most of the people in Sikkim prefer to live concentrated as 85% of the respondents said that their villages are concentrated and compact rather than dispersed. According to the collected data, Magar, Rai, Newar, Chhetri and Bahun community people in Sikkim speak Nepali language differently from Bhutia, Lepcha , Limbu and Tamang community people. The difference is in some lexical items, phonetic features and intonation patterns.

Language resources available in the Nepali language are Devanagari script, descriptive grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, films, CD/DVD, folksongs, folk stories, cultural and religious books such and written literature.

Sikkimese Nepali people have positive attitude towards Nepali language as data provides us the fact that almost 50% consultants feel prestigious when they speak the language. Likewise, speakers have the feeling that Nepali is useful in different domains like business, education, employment, medium of instruction, literature etc. Almost 90% of respondents felt no problem speaking their Nepali language in Sikkim.

Many speakers opined they didn't like their children being married to other ethnic language speaking people or non-mother tongue speakers. But there were 25 % of the consultants who opined to marry with non-mother tongue speakers provided that the candidates appeared decent and compatible.

Regarding the attitudes of coming generation' loyalty to Nepali language, 50% consultants opined they won't use Nepali language while 43.5% consultants have thought they will definitely speak the language. 2.08% consultants are neutral about the question and 4.1% do not have any idea about next generation's loyalty to Nepali language. But the majority

i.e.39.6% respondents opined they wished their children speak Nepali language prior to other tongues as they have been speaking.

Nepali and Hindi, Nepali and Bhutia, Nepali and Lepcha, Nepali and Limbu etc. are the two most frequently used languages by Sikkimese people. While on one hand, they speak their respective mother tongues in home and community; on the other hand, they speak Nepali to communicate with peoples other than their communities. For those who speaks Nepali language as mother tongue, they use Hindi most frequently inside and outside the state. The majority of respondents love Nepali language ranging to 35.4 in percentage.

Nepali language spoken in Sikkim is a safe language. This is because only 6% of respondents said that it is an endangered language.

Regarding language loyalty, most of the respondents from communities other than Bhutia and Lepcha wanted to be known as Nepali speaker and they also encourage younger generation to speak Nepali language. This analysis reveals to the fact that Nepali speaking people in Sikkim are loyal to their language.

Chapter 5

Language transmission, vitality and maintenance

5.0 Outline

This chapter analyses the language variation, transmission and maintenance in the Nepali language, mainly spoken in Sikkim. In the 5.1 language transmission and vitality and related aspects are discussed and analyzed. In 5.2 we examine language maintenance and shift in Nepali language; and in the 5.3, we summarize this chapter.

5.1 Language transmission and vitality

Do all your children speak Nepali language?

Table 5.1: Children speaking Nepali language

Remarks	Yes	No	Total
Total	43	5	48
%	89.6	10.4	100

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The language consultants who said their children speak Nepali language are 89.6% in total. Only 10.4% of the consultants said no in this regard.

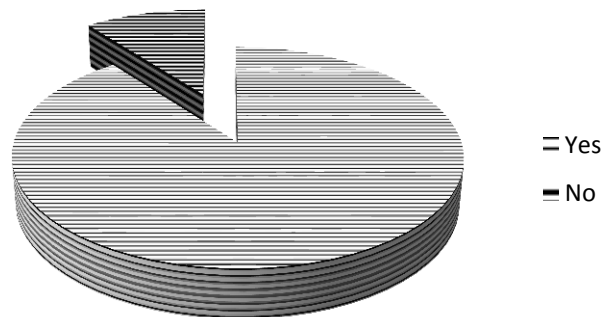


Figure 5.1: State of children speaking Nepali language

Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?

Table 5.2: Attitudes to children’s probability of Nepali language speaking after they grow up and married

Remarks	Yes	No	Total
Total	40	8	48
%	83.4	16.6	100

Source: Field visit, 2012

Those respondents who stated ‘yes’ fall 83.4% in total. It shows the high language fidelity in this case.

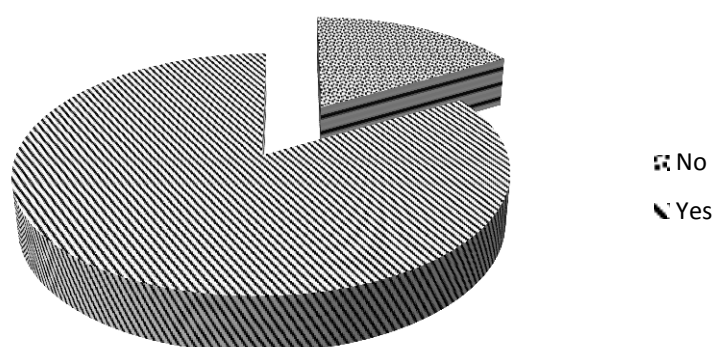


Figure 5.2: The probability of the children speaking Nepali language when they get married and become old.

If the same children will grow older?

Table 5.3: Probability at the old age

Remarks	Yes	No	Total
Total	41	7	48
%	85.5	14.5	100

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Again, those respondents who have stated ‘yes’ fall 85.5% in total.

Is the language passed down effectively to the new generations?

Table 5.4: Language transfer to new generations

Remarks	Yes	No	Total
Total	41	7	48
%	85.4	14.6	100

Source: Field visit, 2012.

The total percentage who said their language is passed down effectively to the new generation is 85.4% and 14.5% of the speakers declined to the support and said ‘no’ as they refer to the multilingual environment.

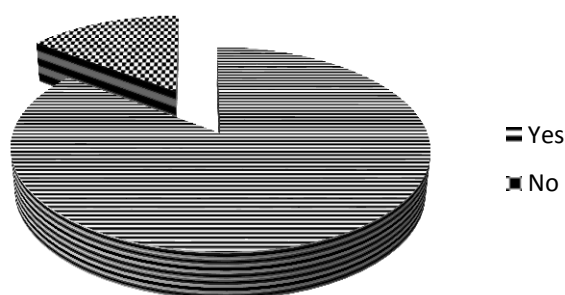


Figure 5.3: Agreement showing passing of L1 to new generation

Do young people in your village / town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

Table 5.5: The perfect use of L1 by village young people

Remarks	Yes	No	Total
Total	39	9	48
%	64.5	36.5	100

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Here, almost 65 % speakers said the young people still speak the language correctly, the way it ought to be spoken. Rest of them declined the agreement.

In short, the language transmission from the prior generation to the coming generation passing down effectively.

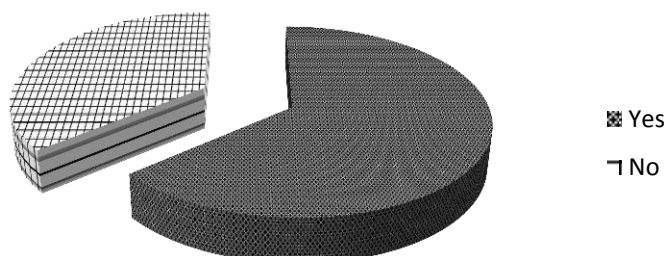


Figure 5.4: Attitude to show young people perfectly speaking L1 in the community.

5.2 Language maintenance and shift

In order to know the language maintenance and shift the under given questions were asked.

The questions are as follows:

What language did you speak when you were a child?

(a) At home..... (b) With friends.....(c) with neighbors...

Table 5.6: Language spoken during childhood.

Places and persons	Language				Total No.
	Nepali		Other		
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
At home	27	56	21	44	48
With friends	42	87.5	6	12.5	
With neighbors	41	85.5	7	14.5	

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The data above in the table 3.15 indicates that 56% speakers spoke Nepali and 44% spoke other Tibeto-Burman languages while interacting at home. Similarly, 87.5% spoke Nepali and 12.55 spoke other Tibeto-Burman languages with friends. Likewise, 85.5% and 14.5% respondents spoke Nepali and other Tibeto-Burman languages, respectively with neighbors during their childhood

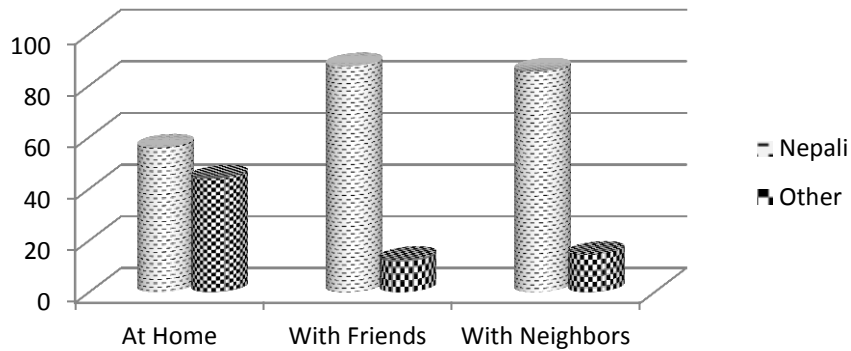


Figure 5.5: Language spoken during Childhood.

Is the use of language other than Nepali language increasing at home?

Table 5.7: Other languages use at home

The language use at home	Speakers	%
Yes	3	6.25
No	45	93.75

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

Out of the 48 respondents, only 3 speakers, i.e., 6.25% have said the use of other languages like Hindi and English is increasing to be used at home. 45 speakers, i.e. 93.75% speakers' reply were no other language is used at home.

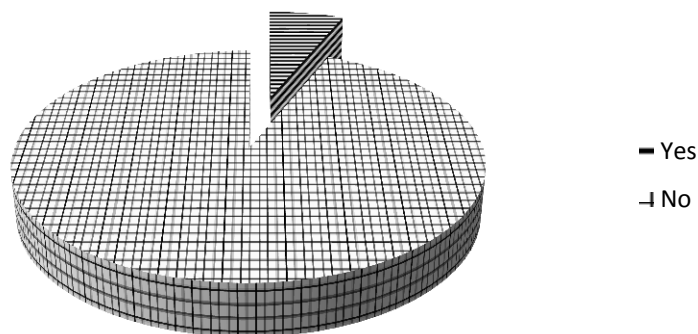


Figure 5.6: Other languages increasing at home

Is Nepali language taught at school or college?

All the respondents said that all the schools, colleges and even University have courses in Nepali language. It is taught up to post-graduation level. As Nepali is lingua franca and official language in Sikkim, it is taught as a compulsory subject.

Is there language teacher to teach Nepali language?

There are trained language teachers in schools, colleges and university to teach the Nepali language in Sikkim.

Do you like your children learn/study in Nepali language?

Table 5.8: Attitudes of parents to teach children in mother tongue

Mother tongue preference	Number of speakers	Total percentage %
Yes	42	87.5
No	6	12.5

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

87.5% language consultants opined to the necessity of implementing the Nepali curriculum at schools, colleges and universities for their children to learn/study in Nepali languages. Remaining 12.5% speakers seemed reluctant owing to the growing necessity of the English as the international language.

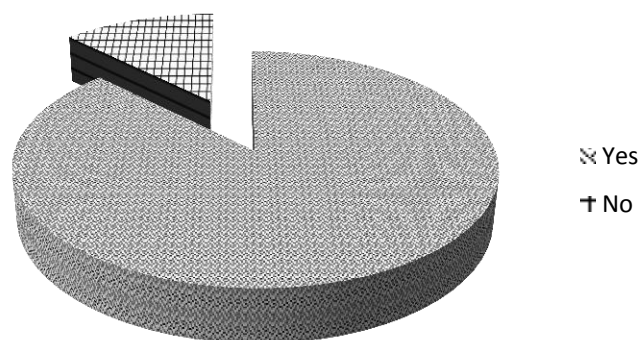


Figure 5.7: Parents preferring children to study in mother tongue

How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language?

Table 3.17 displays how often respondents listen to radio program broadcast in Nepali language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 48.

Table 5.9: Listening to radio programs broadcast in Nepali language.

Programs	Always	Usually	Sometimes
Radio broad casting in Nepali	20(42%)	14(29%)	14(29%)

(Source: Field visit, 2012)

The data in the table 5.9 reveals that 42% speakers always listen to radio programs in Nepali, 14% usually listen to radio broadcast while 14% listen only sometimes.

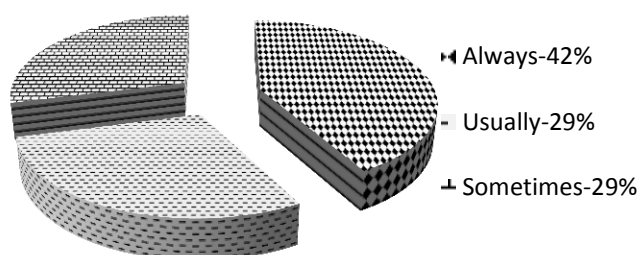


Figure 5.8: Listening to radio programs broadcast in Nepali language.

How often do you watch TV programs in Nepali language?

Table 5.10: Watching TV programs broadcast in Nepali language.

Programs	Always	Usually	Sometimes
Radio broad casting in Nepali	12(25%)	24(50%)	12(25%)

Source: Field visit, 2012.

50% speakers said that they watch TV programs in Nepali language usually whereas 25% each said they watch TV programs in Nepali language usually and sometimes. The data can also be represented through diagram as follows:

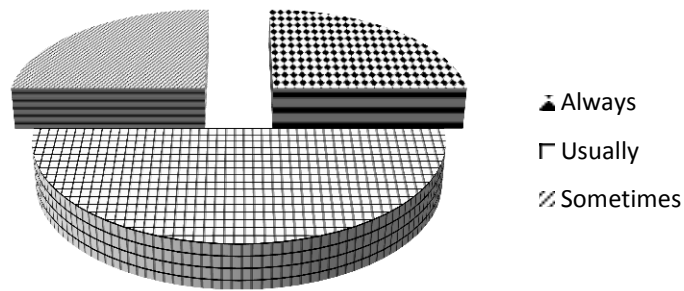


Figure 5.9 Watching TV programs broadcast in Nepali language.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discuss three aspects like language transmission, language vitality and, language maintenance and shift. The collected data provides the fact that Nepali is transmitted well to the younger generations; it has more vitality and is well maintained.

Almost 90% respondents said their children speak Nepali language well and 83.4% speakers responded that there is probability of Nepali language speaking after they grow up older and get married. The total percentage who said their language is passed down effectively to the new generation is 85.4%. It shows that Nepali language is transmitted well to the younger generation.

Nepali language in Sikkim is well maintained and no Nepali speakers in Sikkim have shifted to other languages. The collected data reveals the fact that it was spoken almost by all respondents from childhood and there is no case of increasing use of languages other than Nepali at home. Besides, there are schools, colleges, and university to teach courses in Nepali language and there are trained teachers to teach the language.

Finally, almost all the speakers listen and watch radio and TV programs broadcast in Nepali language.

Chapter 6

Summary and conclusion

6.0 Outline

This chapter summarizes and concludes the general themes of the previous chapters. 6.1 generally summarize the themes of the findings. It includes the main findings, socio-cultural status, language attitude, language use, multilingualism, language transmission and vitality, maintenance and shift, language loyalty.

6.1. General summary

The Nepali language is spoken by nearly 90% people in Sikkim. Genetically, Nepali belongs to Indo-Iranian language family group of Indo-European. Young people in Sikkim often avoid the use of their mother language. It is because that Nepali is the Lingua-franca in Sikkim. The non-Nepali speakers, therefore, need to develop proficiency in ‘Nepali’. The Sikkimese people have their own ethnicity, culture, festivals, rites and rituals food habit and life style. It makes them distinct from their ethnic groups. Like other Hindu people; they observe the festivals such as Dasain, Tihar, Saune and Mage Sakranti.

In Sikkim, there are eleven languages which have the status of state official languages. They are Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Limbu, Rai, Newar, Sherpa and Bhujel. Since Nepali is the Lingua Franca or Contact language of Sikkim, all the speakers are immensely positive and enthusiastic enough to learn and use it together with their mother tongue. Most of Sikkimese people use it as a first language.

The Nepali people of Sikkim feel neutral to speak in the presence of the speakers of dominant language. It is due to practical or pragmatic causes for the need of establishing relationship among other. The folktale and folklores, script and literature, rites and rituals, religion show the richness of this language. The result of data analysis shows that most of the children use Nepali more than their mother tongue in most domains i.e. inside and outside their community.

The most of the Sikkimese children use Nepali to talk with their relatives and neighbors who are other than their mother tongue speakers.

Most of the participants perceived that almost everyone in their village is bilingual as they speak Nepali or Hindi as a second language. The participants also tend to think that when the

young children first enter to school is able to understand their Nepali speaking teacher's teaching. It is estimated that no much time is needed for acquiring Nepali to understand in the school. It is found that the living adult people who speak their own language were bilinguals as they acquired their mother tongue prior to schooling and learned the Nepali, Hindi, English and other languages during school.

The language resources available in the Nepali language are written literature, like poems, plays, fictions, other genres, telefilms magazine, journals, and newspapers. The Nepali language is also used in government offices, textbooks, newspaper, magazines and social activities.

Sikkimese people are both bilingual and multilingual. They speak Nepali as well as Hindi, English, Lepcha, Bhutia, Rai and others.

Most of the Nepali speakers have good proficiency in understanding and speaking their mother tongue as well as in reading and writing the language respectively.

The Nepali speakers in Sikkim have positive attitudes towards their mother tongue since 90% of them said that they love the Nepali language most. They also said that their children should speak their mother tongue first. Most of the speakers said that medium of instruction for their children in primary level of education should be mother tongue.

The Nepali language is most frequently used in many domains of the language. They use their mother tongue in counting, storytelling, singing, joking, shopping, playing, and in public meeting.

6.2. Main findings

Most of the Sikkimese people frequently use Nepali language rather than other languages in most domains, particularly at home, with village friends, at local market, at religious activities and while expressing their deepest and suffocated feelings. Overall, the majority of them opined that Nepali is the most efficient language for communication. They use it both in private and public affairs within their community quite happily. Those who speak Nepali language as second language also speak Nepali quite efficiently. It means they have strong affinity and loyalty towards Nepali language. It also shows that language shifts from other languages to Nepali is high in Sikkim. It was also found that they sometimes use their neighboring languages like Lepcha, Rai, Bhutia etc. , Hindi and English which means most of the Sikkimese people are either bilingual or multilingual regardless of age, sex, occupation

and education. Their Nepali level is enough for meeting simple and routine needs and also may be enough for accurately understanding or discussing more complicated concepts necessary for gaining adequate employment and practical information in the area of health, agriculture, education, politics and civil affairs.

Sikkimese people are very optimistic and positive towards their Nepali language. They want to preserve and promote it and educate their children in this language.

Mainly, the other languages like Magar, Rai, Newar etc. are found to be spoken mostly by elder people. But the young generations almost avoid the use of their mother tongue because of dominance of the Nepali language. Whereas languages like Bhutia, Lepcha and Limbu are spoken by almost all generations as first language in their respective communities and they use Nepali only when they have to communicate with other community's people.

The language use and the attitude findings imply that the Nepali language does not have low vitality. The participants have positive attitude towards Nepali language.

There is no possibility of language loss or endangerment of Nepali language in Sikkim as it is spoken by almost all the people of Sikkim. Other language speakers also has adopted and shifted it as their mother tongue.

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Appendices

Appendix

1

Basic information data

The study is attempted to present the sociolinguistic profile of Sikkim variation of Nepali Language. The dominant concentration is on the Sikkim variety of Nepali mainly spoken in four districts of Sikkim.

The study is divided into four chapters in terms of the sociolinguistic profile researched during the three months from April to July, 2012 in the following villages: Maniram Bhanjyang, Mamley, Kopche, Tek, Turung, Melli Kerabari in Namchi (South Sikkim), Hee Yangthang in Hee Bermiok (West Sikkim) Pentok in Mangan (North Sikkim) Lagamthang and Development area in Gangtok (East Sikkim).

The absorbed topics fall under baseline information, dialect mapping, language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi-/multilingualism, domains of language use, language endangerment, language transmission and vitality, language loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, and language attitude.

The questions below concentrate on the baseline information or individual profile. These questions are related to names of the informants, total participants, medium that the questionnaires taken, sex, age groups, religion, family structure, education, occupation, families' bilingual or multilingual capacity with their mother tongue or the first language(i.e., father's, mother's, spouse's, children's) and other information.

Medium of interview

The data collection was done using the contact language Nepali. Sikkim needed no mother tongue retreat except on a few glosses as all the speakers are bilingual and all the respondents speak and understand Nepali Language well. However, mother tongue proficiency is still high in studied areas.

Date

This sociolinguistic data collection was begun in second week of April, 2012. It lasted up to the first week of July, 2012. The main focus for the collection of data was south Sikkim as this district comprises different Tibeto-Burman languages speakers.

Language Consultants

There were altogether 48 participants involved to embody the study, all the consultants assisted at filling up the questionnaires, providing data and information. Some of them helped as the language and culture teachers who helped as virtual sources of data. While most of the language consultants, I tried to sample them by spending more than two hours, almost four hours with some.

Sex

Out of 48 consultants: 24 were females.

Total participants: 48 Total informants: 48

Female: 24 Male: 24

Age group

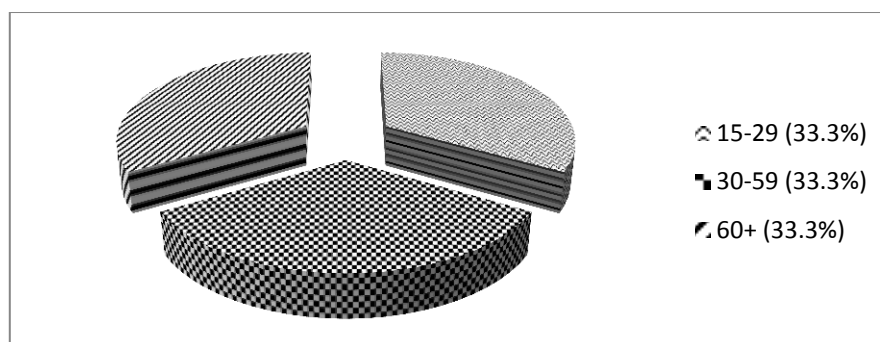
The consultants were attempted to be consulted in terms of the equal proportion of sex: male and female, yet some faults /flaws resulted which seems minor in this case.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
(i) 15-29	8	8	16
(ii) 30-59	8	8	16
(iii) 60 and above	8	8	16

Table Appendix1.1: Age group of the language consultants

Age Group	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
15-29	8	16.6	8	16.6	16	33.3
30-59	8	16.6	8	16.6	16	33.3
60+	8	16.6	8	16.6	16	33.3

Figure Appendix 1.1: Language consultants' age group



Marital Status

The number of married consultants was higher than that of single. There were altogether 35 married consultants in which 13 were single including 8 females.

Caste/ethnic group

The interviewees were the Bhutias, Lepchas, Magars, Limbus, Rais, Tamangs and Newars.

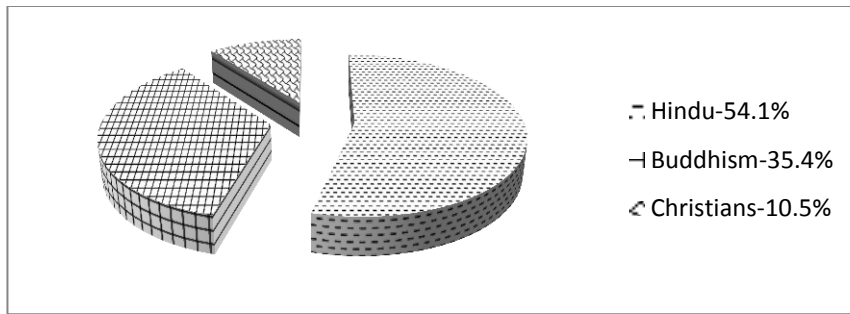
Religion

Most of the Language Consultants were Hindus and Buddhists, Remaining were Christians. Out of 48 consultants 26 were Hindus, 17 were Buddhists and 5 were Christians.

Table: Appendix1.2: Consultant's Religion.

Religion	Total	%
Hindu	26	54.1
Buddhism	17	35.4
Christians	5	10.5

Figure: Appendix 1.2: Religion



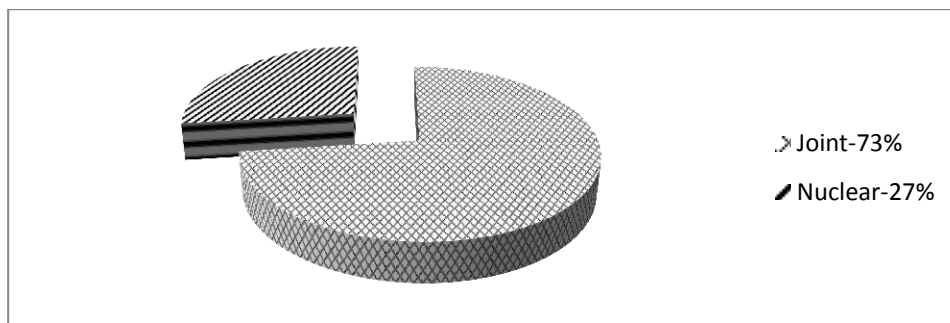
Family System

Most families are Joint as they prefer to live together, but these days families have started tending to stay isolate. Family System: (a) Nuclear: 13 (b) Joint: 35

Table: Appendix 1.3: Family system

Family system	No.	%
Nuclear	13	27
Joint	35	73

Figure: Appendix 1.3: Family system



Education

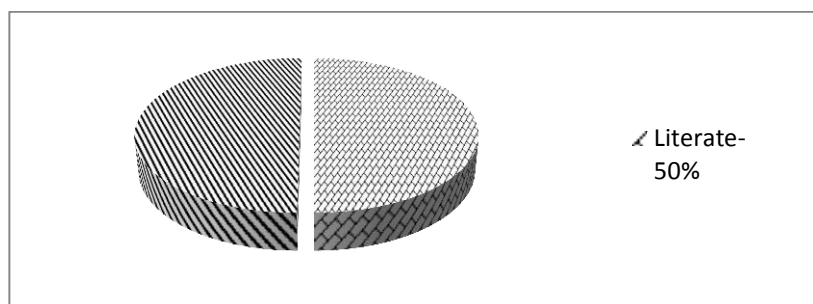
Education has played a vital role to make the Sikkimese multilingual, as each primary, lower secondary, and H/Secondary schools located in the area are run in Nepali medium which have dramatically changed the people to be bilingual.

The consultants have the following list of literacy as tabulated below.

Table Appendix 1.4: Literacy state of the language consultants

Education	Male	%	Female	%	Total No.	Total %
Illiterate	12	25	12	25	24	50
Literate	12	25	12	25	24	50

Figure: Appendix1.4: Literacy state of Language Consultants.



Occupation

The consultants replied their main occupation is agriculture. The main crop they grow is maize, rice, cardamom and ginger. Other crops are beans, potatoes, spinach, radish, pumpkin and cabbage. Orange is the fruit which some villages like Mamley produce. Some consultants from Melli and Namchi are in poultry and dairy farming. The main occupation is agriculture and livestock rearing. Few of them are in government and Non- Government services such as teaching and official jobs and some are engaged in business.

Appendix

2

Name and Basic Information of Language Consultants

Table: Appendix 1.6: List of 48 Consultants and their Basic Information

S.No.	Name of Consultants	Sex	Age	Occupation	Marital Status	Education	Ethnicity	Address
1	Phul Maya Rai	F	71	Farmer	Married	Illiterate	Rai	Lagamthang
2	Janga Bdr. Rai	M	76	„	„	„	„	„
3	Arjun Rai	M	30	Police	„	Graduate	„	„
4	Amuna Rai	F	28	Housewife	„	Illiterate	„	„
5	Jharna Rai	F	15	Student	Single	VIII	„	„
6	Tenzing lepcha	M	36	Farmer	Married	Secondary	Lepcha	Mangan
7	Rongmit Lepcha	F	32	„	„	Primary	„	„
8	Jamte Lepcha	M	73	„	„	Illiterate	„	Mangan
9	Eden Lepcha	F	64	„	„	„	„	„
10	Tsekit Lepcha	F	16	Student	Single	Secondary	„	„
11	Yon Tshering Lepcha	M	28	Contractor	Married	Graduate	„	Gangtok
12	Rukmit Lepcha	F	23	Housewife	„	Illiterate	„	„
13	Man Maya Magar	F	30	„	„	„	Magar	Mamley
14	Bhim Bdr. Magar	M	33	Driver	„	Primary	„	„
15	Hemanta Magar	M	21	Student	Single	+2	„	„
16	Buddha Maya Magar	F	16	„	„	Secondary	„	„
17	Damber singh Magar	M	67	Farmer	Married	Illiterate	„	„
18	Bali Maya Magar	F	65	„	„	„	„	„
19	Suk Maya Tamang	F	55	„	„	„	Tamang	Maniram
20	Santabir Tamang	M	61	„	„	„	„	„
21	Tara Maya Tamang	F	33	LDC	Single	Graduate	„	„
22	Urgen Tamang	M	36	Farmer	Married	Illiterate	„	„
23	Binod Tamang	M	35	Teacher	„	Graduate	„	Namthang
24	Palden Tamang	M	19	Student	Single	Secondary	„	Maniram
25	Sonam Tshering Bhutia	M	69	Bussiness	Married	Illiterate	Bhutia	Gangtok

26	Karma Ongmu Bhutia	F	61	„	„	„	„	„
27	Dadul Bhutia	M	37	Teacher	„	Graduate	„	Mangan
28	Diki Bhutia	F	32	„	„	„	„	„
29	Jigmi Bhutia	M	23	Student	Single	Gradutae	„	Mangan
30	Palmu Bhutia	F	15	„	„	Secondary	„	„
31	Sonam Tshering Bhutia	M	17	„	„	+2	„	„
32	Jit Bdr. Limbu	M	68	Farmer	Married	Illiterate	Limbu	Hee-Gaon
33	Sancharani limbu	F	62	„	„	„	„	„
34	Birbal Limbu	M	32	Teacher	„	Graduate	„	„
35	Hangma Limbu	F	30	Housewife	„	Illiterate	„	„
36	Sancha Hang Limbu	M	27	Student	Single	Master	„	„
37	Suja Hangma Limbu	F	25	Student	„	Master	„	„
38	Chet Bdr. Pradhan	M	68	Farmer	Married	Illiterate	Newar	Tek
39	Sabitri Devi Pradhan	F	64	„	„	„	„	„
40	Bikash Pradhan	M	43	Teacher	„	Graduate	„	„
41	Chanda Pradhan	F	35	„	„	„	„	Turung
42	Sapana Pradhan	F	19	Student	Single	+2	„	„
43	Pampha Devi Khanal	F	62	Housewife	Married	Illiterate	Brahmin	Melli
44	Hari Prashad Khanal	M	69	Farmer	„	„	„	„
45	Nagendra Basnet	M	29	Business	„	Graduate	Chhetri	„
46	Babita Khadka	F	24	Farmer	Single	Illiterate	„	„
47	Ambika Sharma	F	36	Housewife	Married	„	Brahmin	„
48	Chhabilal Sharma	M	41	Farmer	„	„	„	„

Appendix

3

(1)

Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu

With assistance from

National Planning Commission

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

1. Name of the investigator(s):

- (a) Mr./ Ms.
- (b) Mr. /Ms.....
- (c) Mr. /Ms.....
- (d) Mr./Ms.....
- (e) Mr. /Ms.....

(Mention other names if required)

2. Medium of the interview...

3. Date(s): Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day..... Month Year.....AD
Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day..... Month Year.....AD

Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day..... Month
Year.....AD

Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day..... Month Year.....AD

(Mention other dates if required)

4. Place of interview:

- (a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town(c) VDC/Municipality.....
- (d) District..... (e) Zone.....

5. Language consultant(s):

Name Tag (e.g. 5a, 5b) Address

(a).....

- (b).....
- (c).....
- (d).....
- (e).....

(Mention other if required)

6. Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Others

7. Age group:

- (a) (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
- (b) (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
- (c) (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
- (d) (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
- (e) (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+

8. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried (c) Other

9. Caste/ethnic group:

10. (a) What name does the Government/others use for you?

(b) What would you prefer to call yourself?

11. Religion:

- (a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity
- (e) Jain (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other

12. Place of origin:

13. What type of family system do you have?

- (a) Nuclear (b) Joint

14. Education : (a) Pre-literate (b) Literate (c) Primary (d) Lower Secondary

e) Secondary (f) Higher (specify degree).....

15. Occupation:

- (a) Your..... (b) Family's..... (c) Ancestral.....

16. Place of birth:

(a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town..... (c) VDC/municipality..... (d) District..... (e) Zone.....

17. Your mother's first language (mother tongue).....
18. Your father's first language (mother tongue).....
19. First language/mother tongue of your husband/ wife
20. Mother tongue or first language of your children
21. Your first language /mother tongue's name:
- (a) Given by the native..... (b) Given by the nonnative..... (c) Different names of the language if any
- (i)..... (ii)
- (iii)..... (iv).....
22. Other ethnic groups residing in your area or localities:
- (a)..... (b)
- (c)..... (d)
23. Other languages spoken in your villages or localities:
- (a).....(b).....
- (c)..... (d).....
-
24. What languages are spoken in neighboring villages?
- (a)..... (b).....
- (c)..... (d).....
25. Have you migrated?
- (a) If yes, earlier place
- (i)Ward No..... (ii)Village/Town..... (iii)VDC/municipality.....
- (iv) District(v) Zone.....
- (b) Number of years.....
- (c) Migrated: single or group
26. Which other ethnic or linguistic groups have common marital relationship with your ethnic group?
- (a)Ethnic group: (i)..... (ii).....(iii).....
- (b) Linguistic group : (i).....(ii).....(iii).....

B. Dialect Mapping

27. Are people of your community concentrated or dispersed?

(a) Concentrated (b) Dispersed

28. Where do people speak this language exactly the same as you?

(a)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

(b)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

(c)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

29. In which places do people speak this language a little bit differently?

(a)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

(b)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

(c)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

30. Where do people speak this language so differently that it is difficult for you to understand them?

(a)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

(b)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

(c)(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District.....(v) Zone.....

31. Which variety do you understand ...

(a) Best? ...

(b) Second best? ...

32. Which variety should be used as the one for writing or recording so that all the others will understand well?

C. Language resources

33. Tick the resources that are available in your language:

(a) Oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc.)

- (b) Script(c) Phonemic inventory (d) Grammar (e) Dictionary
- (f) Textbooks(g) Literacy materials(h) Newspapers(i) Magazines
- (j) Films (k) Telefilms(l) CD/ DVD (m) Written literature
- (n) Other.....

34. Which of the following factors has/have directly influenced the growth or threatened the future of the language?

- (a) Migration(b) Temporary labor(c) Deportations(d) Wars(e) Others.....

35. Is there any kind of organization or body which promotes the knowledge and/ or use of the language? If yes, tell them to name those organizations.

- (a) (b).....
- (c)..... (d).....

36 And, what kinds of activities does this perform?

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

37. What is/are the major festival(s) in your speech community?

- (a).....(b).....
- (c).....(d).....

D. Mother tongue Proficiency or bi/multilingualism

38. First language/mother tongue you learnt to speak:

39. How proficient are you in your mother tongue/first language? Estimate your level (Good-G, Average-A, Little-L).

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Speak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Read	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Write	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. What other languages do you speak?

- (a)..... (b).....
- (c)..... (d).....

41. How proficient are you in other languages? Estimate your level (Good, Average, Little)

(i) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Speak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Read	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(d) Write	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(ii) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Speak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Read	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(d) Write	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(iii) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Speak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Read	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(d) Write	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(iv) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Speak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Read	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(d) Write	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. Where did you learn the languages other than your mother tongue/first language?

<i>Language name</i>	<i>Where</i>	<i>How</i>
(a).....
(b).....

(c).....

(d).....

43. Other languages known to your grandfather:

(a)..... (b).....

(c)..... (d).....

44. Other languages known to your grandmother:

(a)..... (b).....

(c)..... (d).....

45. Other Languages known to your father:

(a)..... (b).....

(c)..... (d).....

46. Other Languages known to your mother:

(a)..... (b).....

(c)..... (d).....

47. Other Languages known to your spouse:

(a)..... (b).....

(c)..... (d).....

48. Other Languages known to your sons/ daughters:

(a)..... (b).....

(c)..... (d).....

49. Scripts you can: (a) Read:

(i)(ii).....(iii).....(iv).....

(b) Write:

(i)(ii).....(iii).....(iv).....

50. Languages from which you can translate into other languages

(a).....(b).....

(c).....(d).....

51. Languages to which you can translate from other languages

(a)..... (b).....

(c).....(d).....

52. 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

53. If not, at what age will he/she be able to understand everything?

.....

54. Which types of L1 people speak language of wider communication (LWC) well ?

(a).....(b).....

(c)(d).....

55. Which L1 people speak L1 well, but do not speak LWC well?

(a)(b).....

(c)(d)

56. Do you think the number of L1 speaker or LWC is increasing in your community ?

- (a) L1 speakers (b) LWC speakers

E. Domain of Language Use

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

(a) Counting.....(b) Singing.....

(c) Joking.....(d) Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing.....

(e) Singing.....(f) Story telling.....

(g)Discussing/debate.....(h)Praying.....

(i) Talking to household helpers.....(j)Abusing.....

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

(a) Talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)

(i) Grandfather: (ii) Grandmother:

(iii) Father:(iv) Mother:

(v) Spouse: (vi) Children:

(b) talking about social events (like festivals, election, ceremonies, etc.)

(i) Grandfather:(ii) Grandmother:

(iii) Father:(iv) Mother:

(v) Spouse:(vi) Children:

(c) Discussing family matters (like marriage, savings, spending, etc.)

(i) Grandfather:(ii) Grandmother:

(iii) Father: (iv) Mother:

(v) Spouse: (vi) Children:

59. Which language do you use?

(a) Telling stories to children :.....(b) singing at home:.....

(c) learning/teaching nursery rhymes:.....(d) talking to playmates:.....

(e) Talking to a household helper :.....(f) in marriage invitations:.....

(g) Writing minutes in community meetings:.....

(h) Indreaming :.....(i) in family gathering:.....

(j) in public meetings:.....

60. How often do you use your mother tongue?

(a) Every day (b) Every week (c) Every month (d) Never

61. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?

(a) Every day (b) Every week (c) Every month (d) Never

62. Which language do you use to communicate with speakers of other languages in Nepalese context?

63. While writing letters or telephoning to family members:

(a) grandfather:..... (b) grandmother:.....(c) father

(d) mother:.....(e) spouse:..... (f) children:.....

64. Which language do you use

(a) when a group of friends belonging to different language groups visit you at home?

.....

(b) to talk to neighbors belonging to different language groups?

.....

65. Which language is most frequently used in the following radio or TV programs?

(a) News:.....(b) Folk songs:.....(c) Film songs:.....

(d) Tele films (e) Public speech:.....

66. What languages do you prefer for your children's mediums of instruction at school?

(a) Primary level:.....(b) Lower secondary level:.....

(c) Secondary Level:.....(d) Higher education:.....

F. Language Endangerment

67 Is the language currently endangered?

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Not known

68 If yes, what can be the causes? (Please tick any one or the number of causes you think have endangered your language.)

- (a) Lack of intergenerational language transmission
- (b) Very low proportion of the speakers within the total population of the country
- (c) Loss of existing language domains
- (d) Lack of response to the new domains and media
- (e) Lack of materials for language education and literacy
- (f) Government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use in isolation
- (g) Community members' pessimistic attitude towards their own languages
- (h) Low amount and quality of documentation
- (i) Low economic and socio-economic status of the speakers
- (j) Lack of access in opportunities
- (k) Lack of motivation
- (l) Old age of speakers
- (m) Migration to urban areas and foreign countries for job or education

69. What is the position of your language in terms of endangerment?

- (a) Potentially endangered (b) Endangered (c) Seriously endangered
- (d) Moribund (e) Extinct/nearly extinct

G. Language, Transmission and Vitality

70. Do all your children speak your language?

(a) Yes (b) No

71. Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?

(a) Yes (b) No

72. If the same children will grow old?

- (a) Yes (b) No

73. Is the language passed down effectively to the new generations?

- (a) Yes (b) No

74. Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

- (a) Yes (b) No

H. Language Loyalty

75. Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?

- (a) Yes (b) No

76. How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?

- (a) Good (b) Bad

77. Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. If yes, why?

- (a).....(b).....
(c).....(d).....

79. If not, why not?

- (a).....(b).....
(c).....(d).....

I. Language Maintenance and Shift

80. What languages did you speak when you were a child?

- (a) at home..... (b) with friends.....(c) with neighbors.....

81. Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?

- (a) Yes (b) No

82. Is your mother tongue taught at school or college?

- (a) Yes (b) No

83. Is there the language teacher to teach your mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

84. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

85. If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:

- (a) by sending your children?
- (b) by encouraging other members to send their children?
- (c) by providing financial help?
- (d) by providing self service?
- (e) other.....

86. Is there any school run by your community to teach your mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

87. If your community has published newspapers, magazines and/or books, do you subscribe to them?

(a) Yes (b) No

88. Who will read the publications in your language? Your___

(a) Father (b) Mother(c) Self (d)Spouse(e) Children (f) Other

89. How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language? (If there is radio broadcast in the respondent's first language)?

(a) Always (b) Usually(c) Sometimes(d)Hardly(e) Never (f) No programs

90. How often do you watch TV programs in your language? (If there is TV telecast in the respondent's first language)

(a) Always(b) Usually(c) Sometimes(d) Hardly(e) Never (f) No programs

91. What languages do your children speak?

- (a) at home.....
- (b) with friends.....
- (c) with neighbors.....
- (d) at school.....

J. Code mixing

92. Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?

(a) Yes (b) No

93. If yes, give reasons:

- (a) Appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages

- (b) it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages
- (c) it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/ words from other languages
- (d) any other.....

94. How do you think about mixing words from other languages?

- (a) it will enrich your language
- (b) it will spoil the beauty and purity of your language
- (c) it will make your language more intelligible
- (d) any other.....

95. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

96. If yes, in terms:

- (a) Pronunciation
- (b) Vocabulary
- (c) use of specific type of sentences
- (d) Mixing of other languages
- (e) way of speaking

97. Do your children mix other languages more than you do?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

K. Language Attitude

98. How do you feel about your mother tongue against other tongues?

- (a) Rich
- (b) Precise
- (c) Sweet
- (d) Musical
- (e) Harsh
- (f) Prestigious
- (g) Literary
- (h) Pure
- (i) Ancient
- (k) Powerful

99. How do you consider your mother tongue useful against other tongues in following terms?

- (a) Jobs
- (b) Business
- (c) Social mobility
- (d) Literature
- (e) Medium of instruction
- (f) Science and technology

100. 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

101. Have you ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of your mother tongue/first language?
102. If yes, what kinds of problems have you ever had?
- (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
103. Would you like your son or daughter to marry someone who does not know your language?
- (a) Yes (b) No
104. When the children of your village grow up and have children done you think those children might speak your language?
- (a) Yes (b) No
105. How do you feel about this?
- (a) Good. (b) Bad (c) Indifferent
106. What language should your children speak first?
107. What are the two languages the first language people speak most?
- (a) (b)
108. Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most?

L. Appreciative Enquiry

109. What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?
- (a)..... (b).....
 - (c) (d).....
 - (e)..... (f).....
110. What are the dreams for your mother tongue?
- (a)..... (b).....
 - (c)..... (d).....
111. To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?
- (a) Government (b) Community (c) Other.....
112. To preserve and promote your language what the community can do itself?
- (a)..... (b).....
 - (c) (d).....
113. To preserve and promote your language what the Government and non-government should do?
- (a)..... (b).....
 - (c) (d).....
114. How can you support for the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?
- (a) by devising the script
 - (b) by making the spelling system systematic
 - (c) by compiling dictionary
 - (d) by writing grammar
 - (e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue
 - (f) by writing and publishing textbooks

- (g) by publishing newspapers
- (h) by making use of the language in administration
- (i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level

115. In your opinion, what things are to be done for the development of your language?

- (a)..... (b).....
- (c) (d).....

-

☺ The End



(2)

Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)

Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu

With assistance from

National Planning Commission

The 210 wordlist used by LinSuN

Name of the investigator(s):

Date...

- (a) Mr. /Ms.....
- (b) Mr. /Ms.....
- (c) Mr./Ms.....
- (d) Mr./Ms.....
- (e) Mr. /Ms.....

Language consultant(s)' name:

- (a)..... (b).....
- (c)..... (d).....(e).....

Place of interview: District.....Village/Town (VDC/Municipality).....Ward No.....Village..... Language Name:Medium of the interview:

English Gloss	Blood	Star	Fruit	Egg	Younger sister	Wet	Four	Different	Come
.Body	Urine	Rain	Mango	Cow	Son	Dry	Five	Whole	Speak
2. Head	Feces	Water	Banana	Buffalo	Daughter	Long	Six	Broken	Hear /Listen
3.Hair	Village	River	Wheat	Milk	Husband	Short	Seven	Few	look
4.Face	House	Cloud	Barley	Horns	Wife	Hot	Eight	Many	I
5.Eye	Roof	Lightening	Rice	Tail	Boy	Cold	Nine	All	You
6.Ear	Door	Rainbow	Potato	Goat	Girl	Right	Ten	To eat	You
7.Nose	Firewood	Wind	Eggplant	Dog	Day	Left	Eleven	To bite	He
8.Mouth	Broom	Stone	Groundnut	Snake	Night	Near	twelve	To be hungry	She
9.Teeth	Mortar(of wood)	Path	Chilly	Monkey: red/white	Morning	Far	Twenty	To drink	We
10.Tongue	Pestle\of wood	Sand	Turmeric	Mosquito	Noon	Big	One Hundred	To be thirsty	We

11.Breast	Hammer	Fire	Garlic	Ant	Evening	Small	Who	To sleep	You(pl.)
12.Belly	Knife/khukuri/ sickle(small/large)	Smoke	Onion	Spider	Yesterday	Heavy	What	To lie	210.They
13.Arm /hand	Axe	Ash	Cauliflower	Name	Today	Light	Where	To sit	
14.Elbow	Rope	Mud	Tomato	Man	Tomorrow	Above	When	To give	
15.Palm	Thread	dust	Cabbage	Woman	Week	Below	How many	To burn	
16.Finger	Needle	Gold	Oil/ fat/grease	Child	Month	White	which	To die	
17.Fingernail	Cloth	Tree	Salt	Father	Year	Black	This	To kill	
18.Leg	ring	Leaf	Meat	Mother	Old	Red	That	To fly	
19.Skin	sun	root	Fat(of meat)	Older brother	New	One	These	To walk	
20.Bone	moon	thorn	Fish	Younger brother	Good	Two	Those	run	
21.Heart	sky	flower	chicken	Older sister	Bad	Three	Same	Go	