

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This research work is an attempt to present a sociolinguistic survey of the Tamang language as spoken in Gorkha district of Nepal. It includes a brief description of the Tamang language and people, language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes, and lexical similarities among Dhawa, Prithivinarayan N.P., Deurali, Aruchanaute, and Chyangli VDCs of the Gorkha district.

Nepal is rich in its linguistic diversity. The four great language families namely: Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic and also include one possibly linguistic isolate i.e. Kusunda. According to *Ethnologue* (2012), there are 124 living languages and dialects spoken in Nepal. Similarly, the recent official census of 2011 records the number of speakers for 123 languages and also includes an additional category of 'other unknown languages and not reported' with more than half million speakers.

The language spoken by the Tamang people is called Tamang or Tamang Gyoi. In Tamang, *Gyoi* means speech or voice of Tamang. The Tamang people are one of the major aboriginal mongoloid groups of Nepal, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language speaking community. Tamang is one of the major languages spoken in the hilly regions of Nepal.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Many minority languages are in the verge of extinction. The main problem of this study is to present a sociolinguistic survey of Tamang as spoken in Gorkha district of Nepal. However, there are four specific problems of the study. The specific problems of this study are as follows:

- (a) What is the situation of bi/multilingualism in the speakers of Tamang in the Gorkha district?
- (b) What is the vitality state of Tamang in Gorkha?
- (c) What is the attitude of the Tamang speakers towards their language?

- (d) What are the lexical similarities among the Tamang language spoken in different locations in Gorkha?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this work is to present a sociolinguistic survey of the Tamang language as spoken in Gorkha district of Nepal. The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- (a) to present the situation of bi/multilingualism in the speakers of Tamang in the Gorkha district;
- (b) to find out the state of vitality in the Tamang community;
- (c) to determine the attitude of the native speakers towards their language; and
- (d) to compare the lexical similarities among the Tamang language spoken in different locations in Gorkha.

1.4 Review of literature

There are very few researches carried out in the Tamang language and linguistics. The major works available in Tamang language and linguistics are Hudson (1884), Grierson (1909), Taylor (1969a, 1969b, 1973, and 1978), Mazaudon's (1973, 1978, 1991, and 2002), Tamang (1992, 1993, 1994, and 1997), Varenkamp (1996), Yonjan (2003), Lama (2005), Tamang (2007), and Bamjan (2009).

Hudson (1884) is the earliest work in the study of Tamang language. In this work the author has collected 188 Murmi (Tamang) words.

Grierson (1909) in Linguistic Survey of India, presented a brief introduction of the Tamang language, and surveyed the detail characteristics of the Eastern Tamang language.

Taylor (1969a, 1969b, 1973, and 1978) presented phonemes, supra-segmental features of mono-syllabic noun, clause patterns and topicalization in Tamang. Taylor et al. (1972) compiled a Tamang-English vocabulary.

Mazaudon (1973, 1978, 1991, and 2002) focused mainly on phonology and tone system of Tamang of the Eastern variety from Risankhu, Sindhupalchok, and has done comparative study of tone system from Taglung, Kathmandu.

Varenkamp (1996) is a sociolinguistic study of Eastern Tamang dialects. The primary purpose for undertaking this study is to identify Tamang dialects. The results uphold the traditional distinction between Western and Eastern Tamang. This study has further shown that Eastern Tamang is made up of two distinct dialects, namely Outer-Eastern Tamang, and Central-Eastern Tamang. The Outer-Eastern group can be further divided into two sub-groupings, Dolakha/Ramechhap and Pakhar/Bangthali. Within the Central-Eastern group there are some less significant sub-groupings. In particular some varieties within the Central-Eastern dialect group show slightly more similarity to Western Tamang than do other Eastern varieties. Central-Eastern Tamang, as represented by the Phulbari variety, has proven to be most widely recognized, not only among Eastern Tamang speakers, but also including Western speakers. Contact with this dialect is greater than with any other, as it most influences the Tamang spoken in Kathmandu, the hub of national life. This dialect is most widely understood is spoken by more speakers than any other dialect in Nepal. Tamangs exhibit a love for their own language, whether it is one variety or another.

The language has a rich future ahead, as writers, singers, and educators promote its use through radio, film and literature. Dialect distinctions present a challenge to language planning efforts, but need not be divisive. Above all, many Tamangs who read these findings not fear that “the sky is falling,” but be encouraged to consider the complexity of their language as a part of its richness. If this work can contribute in any way toward the effectiveness of those involved in Tamang language development, it has been worth the effort.

Tamang (1992, 1993, 1994, and 1997) present grammatical categories and some grammatical analysis and compiled a Nepali-Tamang vocabulary and Tamang-Nepali dictionary. These works focus on the Eastern Tamang variety from Tilpung, Ramechhap.

Lama (2005) presents a comparative study of English and Tamang Pronominals. This study is based on the comparison and contrast of the pronominal system of two languages. The researcher has found that Tamang personal and possessive pronouns are categorized under three numbers: singular, dual and plural. This shows the distinction between inclusive and exclusive references in the first person, dual and plural numbers in the Tamang language.

Tamang (2007) is a comparative study of the forms of address of Tamang and English languages. This work tries to find out the forms of address used in Tamang and English languages and to compare the common equivalents in Tamang. Tamang language has several forms of address but English language lacks such concepts.

Among these works only Varenkamp (1996) is a sociolinguistic study of Eastern Tamang dialect that throws a bit light on sociolinguistic study of the language. On this background we would like to present a sociolinguistic survey of Tamang as spoken in Gorkha district.

1.5 Research methodology

In order to accomplish the goals of the study, different methods were used. Table 1.1 presents the study goals, the research methods used, a brief description of the methods and the focus of these methods.

Table 1.1: Research tools used in the survey

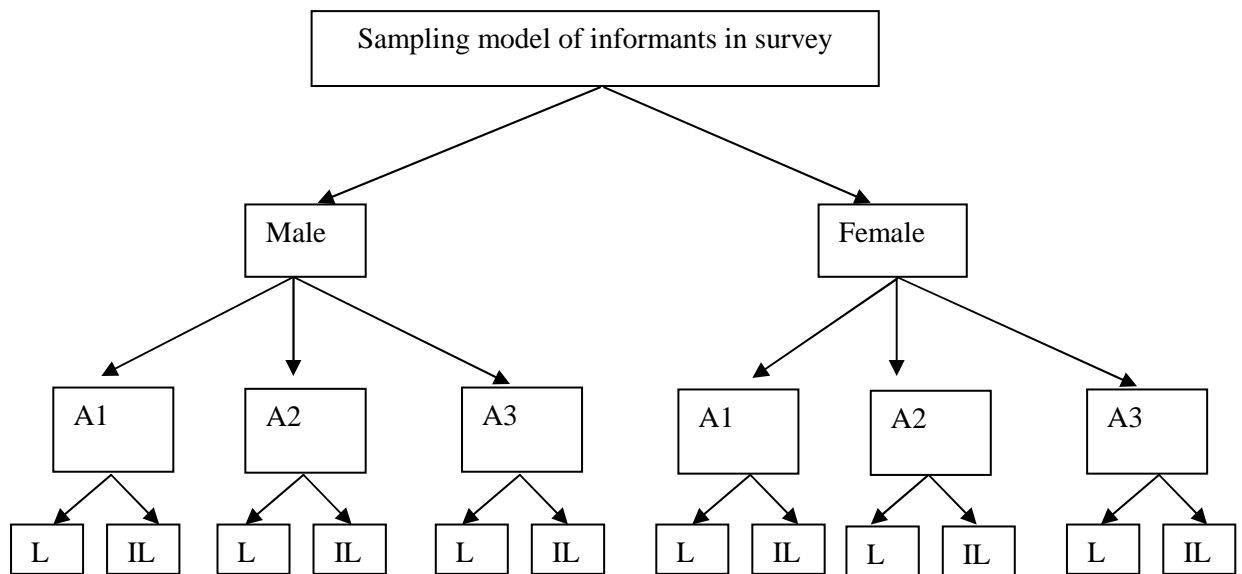
Survey goal(s)	Method	Brief description	Focus
Study which languages the Tamang speakers use in certain domains as well as language attitudes and vitality.	Questionnaires	115 questions (60 questionnaires)	1. Domains of language use 2. Bilingualism/ Multilingualism 3. Language attitudes 4. Language vitality
To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected survey points in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected survey points in the language

1.5.1 Sociolinguistics questionnaires

Purpose and description: A questionnaire is a list of questions asked by the researcher in order to collect various types of information. For statistical purposes, it is asked in the same manner each time.

Procedure: The researcher has used a 115-question questionnaire which was developed by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN), Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. It was administered by the researcher in Nepali. The researcher then translated the answers and recorded them in English. After the data collection the researcher has analyzed them for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfill the objectives of the study.

Sampling: The villages in which questionnaires were administered were chosen according to location. The main factors were varying levels of remoteness and the need to represent all large areas where Tamang people live. In order to get a range of opinions, which are often influenced by factors such as education, age and gender, people with differing combinations of these variables were chosen to answer the questionnaire. A minimum of 12 people were needed in each location in order to complete the sample. The individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.¹ Figure 1.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in these speech communities.



A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

Figure 1.1: Sampling model of the informants in the survey

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

1.5.2 Wordlist

Purpose and description: Wordlist containing 210 items was taken, compared and used to calculate approximate lexical similarity percentages between various language varieties.

Procedure: For each item on the wordlist, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Tamang word. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the researchers compared the lexical items in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled using wordsurv: a program for analyzing language survey wordlists developed by (Wimbish 1989).

Sampling: Villages were chosen based on previous knowledge of where differing language varieties were thought to be spoken. In each village, one person was selected as the wordlist source based on several factors. The person had to have been born in the village or in the near vicinity, speaking Tamang as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

1.6 Significance of the study

In recent years, interest in sociolinguistic research in the languages of Nepal 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 Tamang language will contribute to overall knowledge of the language situation in Nepal, in particular it will also address the questions of language vitality or linguists who are concerned with language preservation, development and promotion. Overall, it is hoped that this research may provide a basis for further studies which could be applied for the enhancement of effective educational materials and literature among the Tamang people. Such advancement in education opportunities will in turn reinforce their potential for contributing to the economic progress of Nepal.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

This sociolinguistic study of the Tamang language has the following limitations:

- a. This survey is based on the Tamang language spoken in Ghorkha district.
- b. Only five survey points: Dhawa, Prithivinarayan N.P., Deurali, Aruchanaute, and Chyangli VDCs are selected for the study.

- c. Only 12 speakers from each survey point were chosen for sociolinguistic questionnaire, and only one respondent from each survey point was chosen for wordlist.
- d. This survey is concentrated more on sociolinguistic aspect.

1.8 Organization of the study

This research has been organized into nine different chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory one that presents general background information about the language including the statement of problems, objectives, literature review, and research methodology used in the survey. In chapter 2, we describe Tamang language and people in brief. In chapter 3, we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Gorkha Tamang. Chapter 4 deals with the domains of language use. In chapter 5, we look at language endangerment, transmission, vitality, and loyalty. Similarly, chapter 6 deals with language attitudes, and chapter 7 deals with lexical variation in Gorkha Tamang. In chapter 8, we look at appreciative inquiry in the Tamang language spoken in Gorkha district. In chapter 9, we present the summary of the findings and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

THE TAMANG LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the Tamang language and people. It consists of three sections. Section 2.1 presents a brief introduction to the Tamang language, its dialects, sound system, and genetic affiliation. Similarly, section 2.2 deals with the Tamang people, demography and distribution of Tamang speakers, their religion, festivals, music, occupations and food. Section 2.3 presents the summary of this chapter.

2.1 The Tamang language

The Tamang language is one of the largest indigenous languages in Nepal. It is a language of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. It is mainly spoken in Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Sindhupalchowk, Kabhreplanchok, Rasuwa, Dhading, Nuwakot, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Makwanpur, and Gorkha districts. They are also found outside Nepal mainly in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Assam, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh of North-East India and Bhutan, Myanmar and even in Tibet. Tamang is the fifth largest widely spoken language in Nepal. According to the census report of Nepal 2011, Tamang is spoken by 1,353,311 speakers as their mother tongue which is 5.1% of the total population of the country. The Tamang language has its own classical written script, which is called Tamgyihig. Tamang community has also accepted Devanagari script that is named Tamghig Devanagari script. Most of the Tamang publications are based in Devanagari script.

Tamang is recognized as one of the languages of nation in the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal-2047 (1990 AD). Radio Nepal, a national broadcasting organization follows the constitutional spirit and started to broadcast Tamang language news and cultural program since August 1994. This language has also been used in formal as well as in non-formal education. Curriculum development centre (CDC) has developed curriculum and textbooks for grade (I-V) in Tamang language, and it has been started to teach as a subject in the public schools of Ramechhap, Dolkha, Sindhupalchok, Kabhre and Kathmandu district since 2000.

Tamang has a literary tradition of half century. Buddhiman Moktan's book entitled *jikten taam chyoli athwa tamang bangsaawaali raahmaa* is published in 1956 and it

became the starting point to the Tamang publications. After that Santbir Lama has published a book entitled *Taambaa kaaiten whaai rimthim* (Geneology, customs and songs of Tamang) in 1959 and it became the milestone in Tamang literary tradition. Since then more than a hundred books are published on Tamang people, language and linguistics, culture, politics, literatures as well as teaching materials (Yhonjan 1998: 44). After the restoration of democracy in 1990, the speakers of the language have been interested in the study and development of the language.

2.1.1 Dialects of the Tamang language

The present name of this language is derived from the Tamang ethnicity which was first mentioned in the 13th century (Tamang 2003: 3). Tamang is known under several appellations such as ‘Tamang Tam’, Tamang Lengmo; ‘Tamang kat’, ‘Tamang Kayi’, ‘Tamang Gyot’, and ‘Tamang Gyoyi within the Tamang communities (Tamang, 2003, p. 6). These words ‘Tamang Tam’, ‘Tamang Leregmo, ‘Tamang Kat’, ‘Tamang Kayi’, ‘Tamang Gyot’, and ‘Tamang Gyoyi’ stand for the ‘Tamang Language’.

McDonald (1979), as cited in (Tamang, 2003), the oldest historical record of the Tamang people appears to be the genealogical history of Ngari Gunthan kings by kah-tog rigdzin Tshé-dbang Nor-bu. Quoting the list of forts founded by king Bum-lde ingon who reigned from 1253 to 1280 AD. The term Tamang was banned to use for Tamang people as clan name for a long period until 1932 AD.

As the speakers spread over a wide geographical area, there appeared several dialects with corresponding variations in social and cultural practices. It is well acknowledged that there are two regional varieties of the Tamang language: eastern and western. The Trishuli River may be considered as the boundary line of these regional varieties. These varieties differ phonologically, grammatically as well as lexically. The Tamang language is divided into five different separate languages. They are Eastern Tamang, Eastern Gorkha Tamang, Northwestern Tamang, Southwestern Tamang, and Western Tamang (Appelle et al. 2012). However, in the census report of 2011, there is only one language ‘Tamang’.

i) Eastern dialect

This dialect is spoken in eastern side of the Trishuli River in Sindhupalchok, Kabhre, Makawanpur, Ramechhap, Dolakha, and eastern parts of Nepal. It is also spoken in the Northeastern region of India (Bamjan, 2009). This dialect has been regarded as the

standard form in which a variety of literature and linguistic descriptions are produced. Eastern Tamang is made up of two distinct dialects, namely Outer-Eastern Tamang, and Central-Eastern Tamang.

ii) Western dialect

This dialect is spoken in the western side of the Trishuli River mostly in Dhading, Nuwakot, Rasuwa and Gorkha districts (Bamjan, 2009). This dialect is regarded as less standardised variety in comparison with the eastern variety.

Claim from an ethnographic point of view is that “the Tamangs have generally been placed into three general groups defined largely by dialect similarities and geography” (Frick et. al. 1991: 4-5). The groups are western (toward Dhading districts, etc.), Central (encompassing the Kathmandu valley), and Eastern. The central variety is regarded as a bridge variety between western and eastern. While this interesting three-way division may be ethnographically revealing in some ways, the two-way distinction between western and eastern is more widely recognized, (Verenkamp, 1996, p. 9).

Eastern variety has been recognized as the standard form in which a variety of literature and linguistic description including its phonology, grammar, and lexicography, and teaching materials are available in comparison to western variety (Lama, 2005, p. 16).

2.1.2 The sounds of the Tamang language

The study of sound system falls under the field of phonetics and phonology. As phonetics and phonology is the most problematic area, most of the aspects of Tamang phonetics and phonology are not developed and identified yet (Bamjan, 2009). The Tamang language has twenty four consonants and five vowels.

i) Vowels

Kansakar (1999: 13-14) illustrates the following inventory of ten vowels in Tamang based on the systematic contrast and distribution of vowels in Eastern Tamang dialect. Table 2.2 presents the distribution of vowel phonemes in Tamang.

Table 2.1: Distribution of Tamang vowel sounds

Tongue position	Front	Central	Back
High	i/i:		u/u:
Mid	e/e:		o/o:
Low		a/a:	
Lip position	spread	neutral	rounded

(Source: Kansakar, 1999)

ii) Consonants

The inventory of thirty one consonant phonemes in Tamang can be presented as follows:

Table 2.2: Distribution of Tamang consonant sounds

Place of articulation	Bilabial		Apico-dental		Apico-Alveolar		Lamino-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glotal	
	vl	Vd	vl	Vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Stops	p ph	b	t th	d	ʈ ʈh	ɖ					k kh	g		
Affricates							c ch	j						
Fricatives					s								h	
Nasal		m mh				n nh						ŋ ŋh		
Lateral						l lh								
Trill						r rh								
Glide		w wh								y yh				

(Source: Kansakar, 1999)

2.1.3 Genetic affiliation

Some people believe that the Tamang language is a dialect of Tibetan language but Mazaudon (1993: 23) disagrees with this view, and according to him, Tamang is a language of the Tibeto-Burman language family belonging to the same branch as classical Tibetan, but it is not a descendant of classical Tibetan, it is not a dialect of Tibetan. To use a family metaphor, Tamang is a grandnephew of classical Tibetan, not a grandchild. The genetic affiliation of Tamang as presented in Eppele et al. (2012) is as follows:

Sino-Tibetan

 Tibeto-Burman

 Western Tibeto-Burman

 Bodish

 West Bodish

 Gurung-Tamang

 Tamang

 Tamang, Eastern [taj] (A language of Nepal)

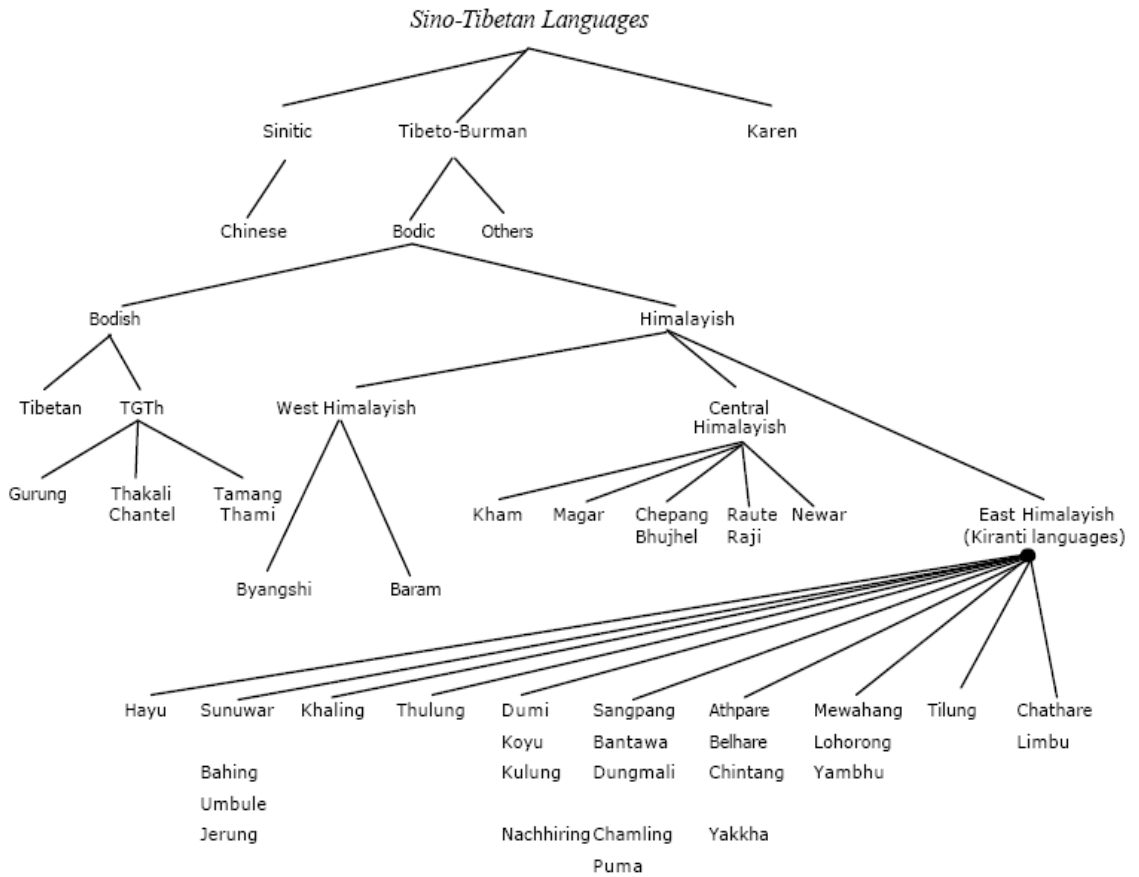
 Tamang, Eastern Gorkha [tge] (A language of Nepal)

 Tamang, Northwestern [tmk] (A language of Nepal)

 Tamang, Southwestern [tsf] (A language of Nepal)

 Tamang, Western [tdg] (A language of Nepal)

The Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in Nepal can also be subcategorized as follows:



Adapted from Bradley (2002) and David Watters as cited in Yadava (2003)

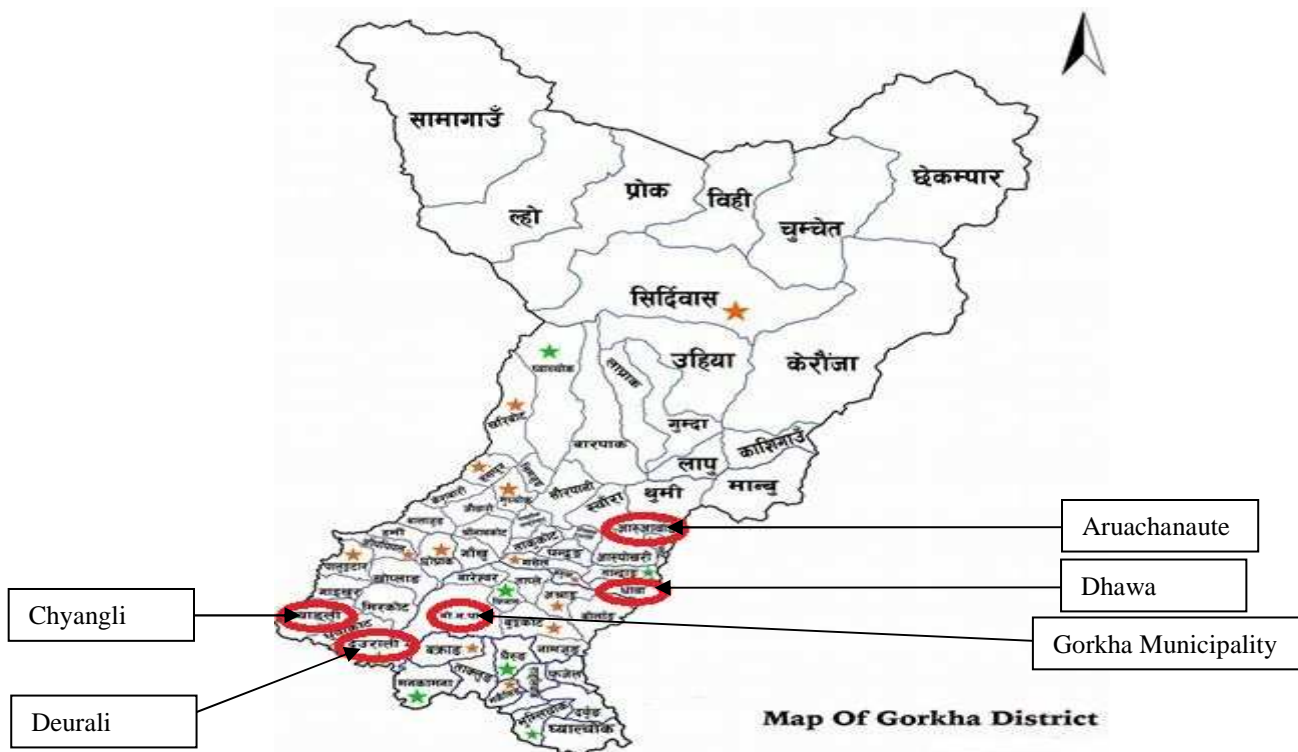
Figure 2.1 Genetic classifications of Sino-Tibetan languages

2.2 The Tamang people

Tamang people are one of the major indigenous nationalities in Nepal pertaining to the mongoloid sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman community. Tamangs are one of the largest ethnic groups of Nepal and constitute a major population in parts of India, Tibet, and Bhutan. They have a distinct culture, language, and religion. Tamang people possess specific modes of livelihood, social, and cultural identities.

2.2.1 Demography and distribution

It is predominately found in Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Sindhupalchowk, Kabhreplanchok, Rasuwa, Dhading, Nuwakot, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Makwanpur, and Gorkha districts of Nepal. In these districts they are densely populated. They are also found outside Nepal mainly in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Asam, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh of North-East India; Bhutan, Mynmar, and in Tibet (Tamang 2003:2). Here, we would like to present the map of the Gorkha district and the dark circled areas in the map are the key survey points.



Map 2.1: Map of the Gorkha district

Source: District Development Committee (2069), *District profile of Gorkha*.

Tamang is the fifth largest ethnic group of Nepal. According to the national census report of 2011, Tamang constitutes about 5.8% of the country’s population which is in figures 1,539,830. Among them 744,668 are males and 794,962 are females. Similarly, according to the census report, the Tamang language is spoken by 1,353,311 speakers as their mother tongue which is 5.1% of the total population of the country. Among them 653,623 are male speakers and 699,688 are female speakers. As the study is concerned with the Gorkha district, here, we would like to present the VDC wise distribution of Tamang speakers in Gorkha. Table 2.1 presents the distribution of Tamang speakers where they are concentrated.

Table: 2.3: VDC wise distribution of Tamang speakers of Gorkha district

S.N.	VDC	No. of speakers	S.N.	VDC	No. of speakers
1.	Aaruchanaute	212	16.	Khairbot	713
2.	Bhirkot	958	17.	Khoplang	95
3.	Bihi	65	18.	Lho	666
4.	Chhaikampur	963	19.	Manbu	723
5.	Chumchet	912	20.	Muchhok	120
6.	Chyangli	369	21.	Palumtar	123
7.	Deurali	238	22.	Prithvinagar N.P.	724
8.	Dhawa	413	23.	Prok	514
9.	Dhuwakot	209	24.	Samagaun	574
10.	Gaikhur	169	25.	Saurpani	118
11.	Ghyachok	201	26.	Shreenathkot	19
12.	Hanspur	158	27.	Simjung	424
13.	Jaubari	549	28.	Sirdibas	92
14.	Kashigaun	274	29.	Swara	117
15.	Kerabari	68			

Source: CBS 2011

2.2.2 Religion

Most Tamangs are followers of Nyingma, the oldest of the four major schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Historically, the Tamang people were adherents of Bon, a Tibetan school of Vajrayana, in which they practiced veneration of ancestors. Buddhism spread to the Tamang from nearby Tibet, and the Tamang were early adopters of Buddhism. The findings in Mustang of *viharas* and caves also prove this point. Ancestors and many deities and guardians are worshipped there, - the deities of Khappa soong, Foopshang, Mraap soong, family deity, clan deity, place deity, etc. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamang_people).

There are three main ritual specialists in Tamang community: *bonbo*, *lhabon*, and *lama*. They have their own duties to perform in the society. *Bonbos* are associated with the healing and appeasement to the evil spirit for prosperous social life and better orders. Similarly, *lhabons* are associated with their shamanic background, are more concerned with worshipping the *jyo-jyomo* ‘the clan deities’, evoking the genealogical history through the mythical accounts of the past. The *lamas* perform the rites-de-passages of Tamang ritual life. Within Tamang society, the death rituals are considered to be the most important ritual out of all of them; for this reason *Lamas* are requested by the society to perform them. It is the lama’s job to conduct large scale death feasts, throughout the feast, the lamas are busy ‘rescuing’ the dead souls and helping them achieve rebirth. Lamas in the Tamang community are generally married family men, during the ritual they don red robes, chant the sacred Tibetan texts and have scroll paintings out on display (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamang_people).

2.2.3 Festivals

The main festivals of the Tamang community are *Buddha Jayanti/ Saga Dawa* and *Lochhar*. Buddha Jayanti, or Saga Dawa in the Tibetan language, is the most important religious festival for Buddhist Tamangs. This festival is held on the full moon of the 4th month of the Buddhist calendar. On this day in different years of his life, Lord Buddha took birth, achieved enlightenment and attained nirvana. These three important events are celebrated in this festival. Tamangs pay a visit to the monasteries and offer *khatag* to Lord Buddha. A procession carries the holy scriptures of the teachings of Buddha from the monasteries. *Lochhar* is the New Year festival. *Lochhar* is a compound word in the Tamang language. *Lo* means “year”, and *chhar* means “new”. In tamang lochharr all Tamang people celebrate New Year in their communities. In this festival Tamang people go to the Lama Gurus (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamang_people).

2.2.4 Music

The Tamangs are a music loving people. Their favorite musical instrument is the damphu drum (tambourine). It is a small round drum where one side of the circular wood is covered by the skin of a goat and is joined with thirty two small bamboo pencil-like pieces (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamang_people).



Picture 2.1: Tamang people playing Damphu

Their songs are known for its humor and wit, philosophical thoughts, and of life's joys and sorrows. Tamang Selo has transcended the boundaries of linguistic, cultural and social limits. Many Nepali communities have adopted Selo into their music.

2.2.5 Occupations

Tamangs are farmers, just like virtually all groups of rural Nepal. In some areas, particularly the higher hilly regions, they are semi-nomadic pastoralists (Hall 1978:53). Mazaudon (1973) says that in areas populated with a majority of Tamangs, farmers tend to own their own land and produce enough food for their families, but in areas where the Tamang settlements are more mixed with other groups, they tend to be less prosperous. Tamangs are in general very skilled at a number of crafts, which they have preserved for ages in their traditional ways. Widespread is the making of woolen jackets of sheep's wool, worn during the winter months. This type of half-sleeved or sleeveless, open fronted thick woolen jacket is made by the Tamang women and found even in the markets of Kathmandu. Also woven are various types of bamboo baskets, receptacles for storing grain and leaf umbrellas for protection against rain. There are carpenters, masons, builders and wooden plough makers among Tamang men. Some Tamang Lamas, the Buddhist priests are well trained in painting Tibetan-type thangka religious scroll paintings and some others are expert in carving designs in wood. Tamangs also participate in mountaineering.

2.2.6 Food

Tamangs eat what they grow on their own lands: wheat and barley during the months may through July; potatoes in August through October; millet, maize and some rice from November to April or May (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamang_people). They will not allow buffalo meat, garlic, nettles or paha the treetoad to the forest in their houses, although there is no prohibition against eating these things if they are cooked outside in the open or in some other house. Momo and thukpa are a popular food eaten by most Tamangs.

2.3 Summary

The Tamang language is a language of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. It is mainly spoken in Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Sindhupalchowk, Kabhreplanchok, Rasuwa, Dhadhing, Nuwakot, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Makwanpur, and Gorkha districts. They are also found outside Nepal as well. It is the fifth largest widely spoken language in Nepal. According to the census report of Nepal 2011, Tamang is spoken by 1,353,311 speakers as their mother tongue which is 5.1% of the total population of the country. There are mainly five dialects of the language: Eastern Tamang, Eastern Gorkha Tamang, Northwestern Tamang, Southwestern Tamang, and Western Tamang. The Tamang language has twenty four consonants and five vowels. Tamangs are one of the largest ethnic groups of Nepal. There are three main ritual specialists in Tamang community: *bonbo*, *lhabon*, and *lama*. Buddha Jayanti, or Saga Dawa in the Tibetan language, is the most important religious festival for Buddhist Tamangs. Tamangs are a music loving people. Their favorite musical instrument is the damphu drum (tambourine). Tamangs eat what they grow on their own lands: wheat, barley, potatoes, millet, maize and rice are their main foods.

CHAPTER 3

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

3.0 Outline

In this chapter, we present analysis of mother tongue proficiency or bilingualism/multilingualism in general. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.1 deals with mother tongue proficiency, in section 3.2, we present the proficiency of Tamang speakers in other languages. Similarly, section 3.3 presents the bi/multilingualism of their family members in other languages. In section 3.4, we present the script they read and write and the languages they can translate from and to their mother tongue. Similarly, in section 3.5, we discuss levels of understanding of Nepali in school, in section 3.6; we deal with the language of wider communication. Similarly, section 3.7 presents the summary of this chapter.

3.1 Mother tongue proficiency

Tamangs are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Tamang speech community speak their language very well. All of them are fluent speaker of their mother tongue, i.e. Tamang. However, as literacy rate is not so good, less than half of the speakers are reported to be very good at reading and writing in their language. Table 3.1 presents the mother tongue proficiency of the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district. The total number of people who responded to the question is 60.

Table 3.1: Mother tongue proficiency of the Tamang speakers by sex

N= 60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	Good	Average	Little	Good	Average	Little
Understanding	30 (100%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
Speaking	20 (67%)	6 (20%)	4 (13%)	24 (80%)	6 (20%)	-
Reading	12 (40%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	8 (27%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)
Writing	12 (40%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	8 (27%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)

Table 3.1 shows that all the Tamang speakers including both male and female have good proficiency in understanding their mother tongue. Similarly, most of the Tamang speakers both male and female are good in speaking the language whereas only few Tamang speakers speak their mother tongue average and a little. Likewise, 40% male and 27% female respondents responded that they have good proficiency in reading and writing. Similarly only a few speakers are average in all the three skills of language: speaking, reading and writing. Very few Tamang speakers have little proficiency in reading and writing the language.

Mother tongue proficiency of the Tamang speakers can also be shown as in the figure 3.1.

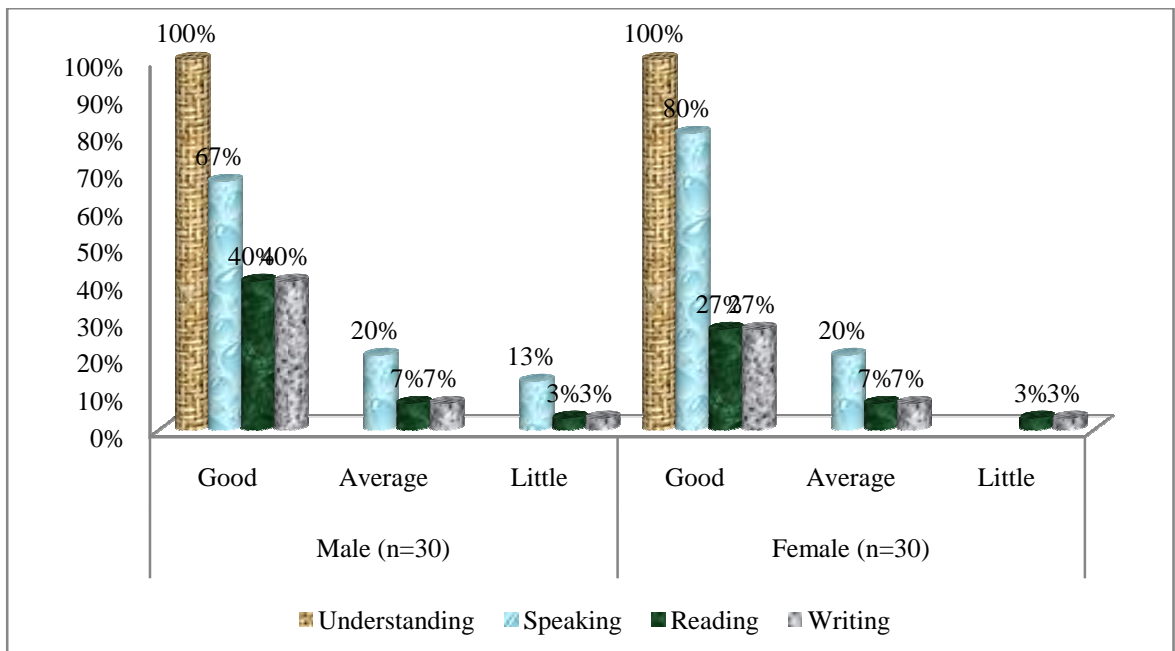


Figure 3.1: Mother tongue proficiency of Tamang speakers

Figure 3.1 shows that most of the Tamang speakers have good proficiency in all the four skills of language. Similarly very few speakers have average proficiency in these skills. In the same way, only a few speakers have little proficiency in speaking, reading and writing.

3.2 Proficiency in other languages

Most of the Tamang speakers are bilingual and some of them know even more than two languages. Table 3.2 displays the other languages known to the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district. The total number of people who responded to the question is 60.

Table 3.2: Other languages known to the Tamang speakers by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Nepali	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Hindi	9 (30%)	6 (20%)
English	5 (17%)	3 (10%)
Gurung	2 (7%)	3 (10%)

Table 3.2 shows that all the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district are at least bilingual in Nepali whereas 30% male and 20% female respondents are bilingual in the Hindi language. Similarly, 17% male and 10% female speakers are bilingual in English; and 7% male and 3% female speakers can also speak Gurung. Figure 3.2 can make the analysis more comprehensible.

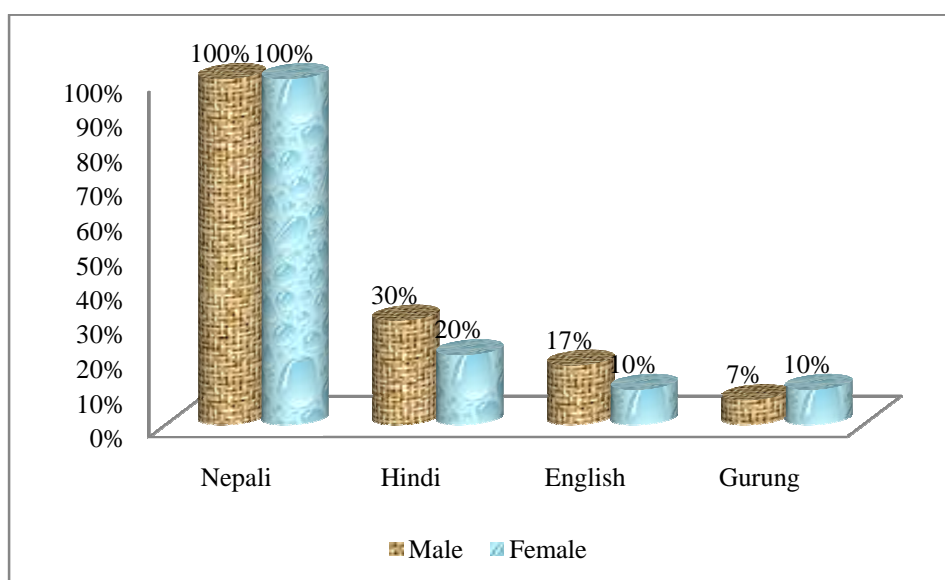


Figure 3.2: Other languages known to Tamang speakers

3.2.1 Proficiency in Nepali

Most of the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district are proficient in the use of Nepali. Table 3.3 presents the proficiency of Tamang speakers in the Nepali language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 60.

Table 3.3: Proficiency of Tamang speakers in the Nepali language by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	Good	Average	Little	Good	Average	Little
Understanding	27 (90%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	23 (77%)	4 (13%)	3 (10%)
Speaking	27 (90%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	23 (77%)	4 (13%)	3 (10%)
Reading	14 (43%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	10 (33%)	3 (10%)	2 (7%)
Writing	14 (43%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	10 (33%)	3 (10%)	2 (7%)

Table 3.3 shows that most of the Tamang speakers both male and female have good proficiency in understanding and speaking the Nepali language. Out of the total respondents 90% male and 77% female respondents responded that they are good in understanding and speaking Nepali whereas only a few speakers both male and female have average and little proficiency in understanding and speaking Nepali. Similarly, out of the total respondents 43% male and 33% female respondents said that they have good proficiency in reading and writing Nepali whereas only a few respondents have average and little proficiency in reading and writing Nepali. From this analysis we can conclude that most of the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district have good proficiency in understanding and speaking Nepali. Similarly, literate Tamang speakers have good proficiency in reading and writing too. Only a few Tamang speakers have average and little proficiency in all these four skill of language.

3.3 Other languages known to family members

As mentioned in 3.2 above, most of the Tamang speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual; their family members also seem to be bilingual in different languages. Table 3.4 presents the bi/multilingualism in Tamang family members.

Table 3.4: Other languages known to their family members

N= 60	Nepali	Hindi	English	Gurung
Grandfather	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	-	2 (3%)
Grandmother	48 (80%)	-	-	-
Father	52 (87%)	10 (16%)	4 (7%)	2 (3%)
Mother	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)
Spouse	54 (90%)	15 (25%)	6 (10%)	2 (3%)
Children	50 (83%)	8 (13%)	12 (20%)	-

Table 3.4 shows that most of the Tamang speakers in Gorkha district are bilingual in Nepali. Regarding the bilingualism most of the the grandparents, parents, spouses and children are bilingual in Nepali. Similarly, 7% respondent's grandfathers are also bilingual in Hindi and 3%'s grandfathers are bilingual in Gurung as well. Likewise, 16%'s fathers are bilingual in Hindi, 7%'s fathers are bilingual in English, and 3%'s fathers are also bilingual in Gurung. Similarly, 7%'s mothers are bilingual in Hindi and 3%'s mothers are bilingual in English and Gurung. Similarly, 25% respondents' spouses are bilingual in Hindi, 10%'s spouses are bilingual in English, and 3%'s spouses are bilingual in Gurung. Likewise, 13% respondents' children are bilingual in Hindi and 20%'s children are bilingual in the English language. Regarding multilingualism, it is not found at all among grandmothers but their grandfathers, fathers and mothers are found multilingual. Similarly some of the spouses and children are also found multilingual as they know their mother tongue, Nepali, Hindi and English languages.

3.4 Scripts and translation

Regarding the script majority of Literate Tamang speakers can read and write Devanagari script and only a few speakers can read and write in Tibetan scrip.

Table 3.5 displays the percentage of Tamang speakers who can translate from and to their mother tongue. The total number of people who responded to the question is recorded as N=.

Table 3.5: Translation from and to mother tongue by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	Nepali	Hindi	English	Nepali	Hindi	English
Languages from and to which you can translate.	18 (60%)	5 (17%)	3 (10%)	12 (40%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)

Table 3.5 shows that out of the total respondents 60% male and 40% female Tamang speakers can translate from and to the mother tongue into Nepali. Similarly, 17% male and 7% female respondents can translate from and to the mother tongue into Hindi, and 10% male and 3% female respondents of Tamang speech community of Gorkha district can translate from and to their mother tongue into the English language.

3.5 Levels of understanding of Nepali in school

As mentioned earlier most of the Tamang children are bilingual in Nepali, they do not have much difficulty in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 3.6 presents the levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school.

Table 3.6: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school

N= 60	Responses
Understand all	42 (70%)
Understand a little bit	12 (20%)
Do not understand at all	6 (10%)

Table 3.6 shows that most of the respondents said that their children understand Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Similarly, 20% respondents said that their children understand Nepali speaking teachers only a little bit his/her Nepali when they first go to school. Similarly, 10% respondents said that their children do not understand Nepali speaking teachers at all when they first go to school.

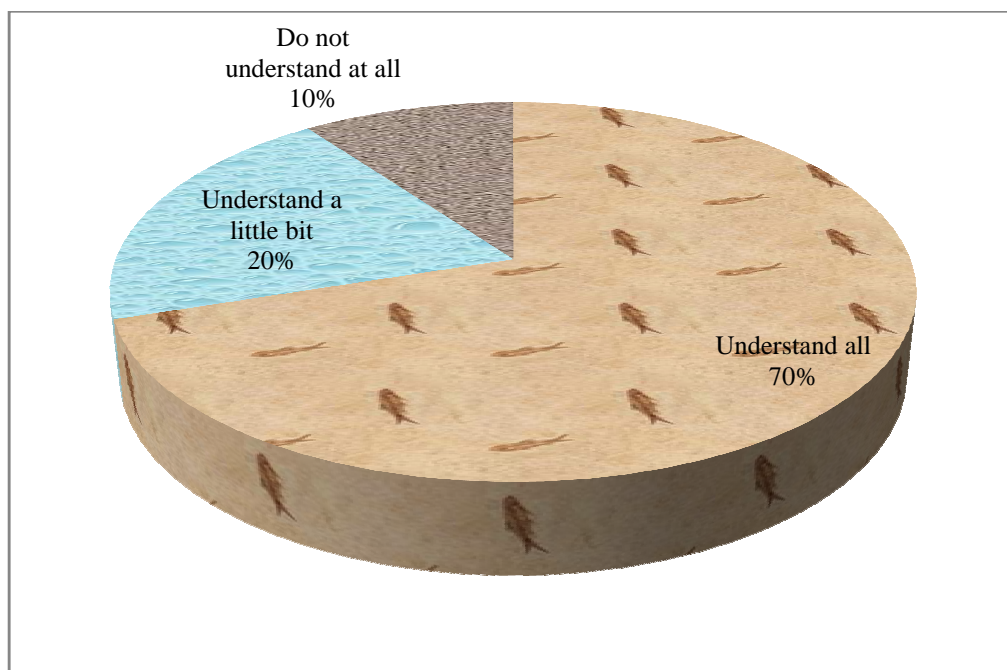


Figure 3.3: Understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school

Figure 3.3 shows that most of the Tamang children of Gorkha district understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school. Similarly, only a few children understand a little bit, and very few children do not understand at all of his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school.

3.6 Language of wider communication

The language of wider communication in Tamang speech community in Gorkha district is Nepali. Regarding the question ‘which types of L1 people speak language of wider communication (LWC) well?’ most of the respondents responded that younger people, people living in the place dominated by Nepali speech community, people working in offices, businessman, people of town and cities, educated people, people who live away from home and village, etc. speak language of wider communication well. The types of L1 people who speak mother tongue well are the people are grown up within the same community, language teachers, monolingual people and preliterate, people of L1 dominated areas, farmers, villagers etc.

Similarly, regarding the question ‘do you think the number of L1 speaker or LWC is increasing in your community?’ most of the respondents responded that the user of the language of wider communication (LWC) is increasing in their community.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingual of Tamang speakers of Gorkha district. Most of the Tamang speakers have good proficiency in their mother tongue. Most of them are at least bilingual in Nepali and some of them are also bilingual in the Hindi and English languages. They have good proficiency in understanding and speaking the Nepali language and majority of literate Tamang speakers have good proficiency in reading and writing Nepali. Majority of educated Tamang speakers can translate from and to the mother tongue into Nepali and very few of them can also translate from and to the mother tongue into Hindi and English languages.

Similarly, most of the Tamang children of Gorkha district understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school. The language of wider communication in Tamang speech community is Nepali. Younger people, people living in the place dominated by Nepali speech community, people working in offices, businessman, people of town and cities, educated people, people who live away from home and village, etc. speak language of wider communication well, and the types of L1 people who speak mother tongue well are the people are grown up within the same community, language teachers, monolingual people and preliterate, people of L1 dominated areas, farmers, villagers etc. The user of the language of wider communication (LWC) is increasing in their community.

CHAPTER 4

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with domains of language use in general. It consists of six sections. Section 4.1 deals with the language use in common domains, and section 4.2 presents language use in educational, social and family matters. Similarly, in section 4.3, we present the frequency in the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. Likewise, section 4.4 deals with the use of languages outside the home by Tamang children, and in section 4.5, we deals with the languages most frequently used in radio or TV programs. Section 4.6 presents the summary of this chapter.

4.1 Language use in common domains

The study of language use pattern attempts to describe which speech varieties people use in different social situations. These situations, or domains, are contexts in which the use of one language variety is considered more appropriate than other language (Fasold, 1984:183). Domains of language use are used for evaluating the vitality of the language. Tamang is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussion/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 4.1 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by the Tamang speakers.

Table 4.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Tamang mother tongue speakers

Domains	Tamang	Nepali	Both
Counting	10 (17%)	46 (77%)	4 (6%)
Singing	10 (17%)	46 (77%)	4 (6%)
Joking	15 (25 %)	6 (10%)	39 (65%)
Shopping/Marketing	12 (20%)	44 (74%)	4 (6%)
Story telling	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Discussing/debate	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Praying	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Talking to household helpers	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Abusing	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Telling stories to children	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Singing at home	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Learning/teaching nursery rhymes	6 (10%)	49 (82%)	5 (8%)
Talking to playmates	6 (10%)	49 (82%)	5 (8%)
Marriage invitations	6 (10%)	49 (82%)	5 (8%)
Writing minutes in community meetings	-	60 (100%)	-
Dreaming	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Family gathering	36 (60%)	7 (12%)	17 (28%)
Public meetings	6 (10%)	49 (82%)	5 (8%)

Table 4.1 shows that Tamang is very frequently used in most of the domains of language. Majority of Tamang speakers of the Gorkha district use their mother tongue for most of the domains of language uses mentioned in the table above. Out of the total respondents 60% responded that they use their mother tongue, Tamang in storytelling, praying, talking to household helpers, abusing, telling stories to children,

singing at home, dreaming, and in family gathering. Similarly, 17% respondents said that they use their mother tongue in counting, and singing; 25% use their mother tongue in joking, 20% use their mother tongue in shopping/marketing. Likewise, 10 respondents use their mother tongue in learning/teaching nursery rhymes, talking to playmates, marriage invitations, and in public meetings.

Table 4.1 also displays that 77% Tamang speakers of Gorkha district use Nepali, the language of wider communication in counting and singing. Similarly, 10% respondents use Nepali in joking, 74% use it in shopping/marketing. Similarly, 12% use the Nepali language in storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, talking to household helpers, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, dreaming, and in family gathering. Likewise, 82% respondents responded that they use Nepali in learning/teaching nursery rhymes, talking to playmates, marriage invitations, and in public meeting; and all the respondents i.e. 100% said that they use Nepali in writing minutes in community meetings.

Similarly, 6% Tamang speakers responded that they use both their mother tongue and Nepali in counting, singing, and shopping and marketing; and 65% respondents said that they use both Tamang and Nepali in joking. Likewise, 28% Tamang speakers use both the languages in storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, talking to household helpers, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, dreaming, and in family gathering. Similarly, 5% respondents said that they use both Tamang and Nepali in learning/teaching nursery rhymes, talking to playmates, marriage invitations, and in public meetings.

4.2 Language use in educational, social and family matters

Most of the Tamang speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing different family matters. The same is the case in talking about educational and social matters with their family members. Table 4.2 presents the situation of language use discussing educational matters with the family members in Tamang community.

Table 4.2: Use of languages while talking about educational, family, and social matters by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	Tamang	Nepali	Both	Tamang	Nepali	Both
Grandfather	12 (40%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	14 (50%)	5 (17%)	6 (20%)
Grandmother	12 (40%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	14 (50%)	5 (17%)	6 (20%)
Father	12 (40%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	14 (50%)	5 (17%)	6 (20%)
Mother	12 (40%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	14 (50%)	5 (17%)	6 (20%)
Spouse	11 (37%)	9 (30%)	5 (17%)	12 (40%)	9 (30%)	5 (17%)
Children	11 (37%)	9 (30%)	5 (17%)	12 (40%)	9 (30%)	5 (17%)

Table 4.2 shows that out of the total male respondents 40% respondents are using their own mother tongue, Tamang, while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social matters with their family members: grandparents and parents at home. Similarly, 20% male respondents use Nepali, and both mother tongue and Nepali while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social matters with their grandparents and parents at home. Likewise, 37% male Tamang speakers use their own mother tongue with their spouse and children. Similarly, 30% speakers use Nepali, the language of wider communication and 17% use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their spouse and children while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social matters.

Table 4.2 also shows that out of the total female respondents of Tamang speech community, 50% use their own mother tongue, 17% female respondents use Nepali, the language of wider communication, and 20% use both their mother tongue and Nepali at home with their grandparents and parents while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social matters. Similarly, 40% female respondents use their own mother tongue while talking educational and social matters with their spouse and children, 30% use Nepali with their spouse and children, and 17% use both Tamang and Nepali while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social events with the spouse and children at home.

4.3 Frequency in the use of languages

As mentioned earlier Tamang is the most prominent language in the Tamang community, and the speakers of the community use their mother tongue very frequently. All the members of the Tamang speech community of Gorkha district use their mother tongue daily.

Similarly, they responded that the languages of wider communication are Nepali both Nepali and Tamang. Table 4.3 presents the responses of the respondents about the languages of wider communication and their frequencies in key survey points.

Table 4.3: Languages for wider communication and their frequencies by sex

LWC	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	Total	Daily	Sometimes	Total	Daily	Sometimes
Nepali	24	18 (75%)	6 (25%)	20	14 (70%)	6 (30%)
Both T+N	6	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	10	6 (60%)	4 (40%)

Table 4.3 shows that out of total respondents, 24 male and 20 female respondents use Nepali as the language of wider communication, and 6 male and 10 female respondents use both Tamang and Nepali languages the LWC. Among them, 75% male use Nepali daily and 25% use it only sometimes as the language of wider communication. Similarly, out of the total male respondents who said that they use both the language, 67% use these languages daily and 33% use them sometimes as the language of wider communication. Similarly, out of the total female respondents who use Nepali as the contact language, 70% use it daily and 30% use it sometimes as LWC. Likewise, 60% female respondents use both Nepali and Tamang languages daily and 40% use both the languages only sometimes.

Similarly, Table 4.4 presents the data, related to the use of the language when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

Table 4.4 Language used when the speakers of other languages visit their home

N=60	Respondents
Nepali	50 (83%)
Tamang	4 (7%)
Tamang and Nepali	6 (10%)

Table 4.4 shows that out of total respondents 83%, 7%, and 10% usually use Nepali, Tamang, and both the Tamang and Nepali languages respectively, when the speakers of other languages visit at their home. The figure 4.1 presents it more clearly.

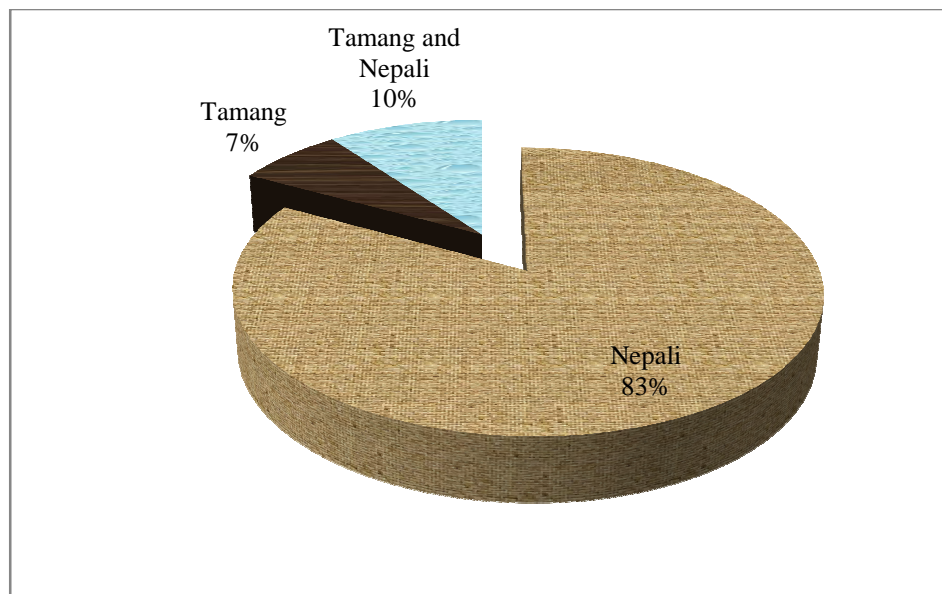


Figure 4.1: Language used when the speakers of other languages visit their home

4.4 Languages used outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbors and in school by the Tamang children. As Tamang speakers are bi/multilingual, their children also use their mother tongue, Nepali, and even English outside home. Table 4.5 presents the languages Tamang children usually speak while playing with friends, talking with neighbors and in school.

Table 4.5: Languages Tamang children usually speak by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	With friends	With neighbors	At school	With friends	With neighbors	At school
Tamang	16 (54%)	15 (50%)	-	18 (60%)	18 (60%)	-
Nepali	10 (33%)	12 (40%)	24 (80%)	7 (23%)	8 (27%)	22 (73%)
Both T & N	4 (13%)	3 (10%)	4 (13%)	5 (17%)	4 (13%)	5 (17%)
English	-	-	2 (7%)	-	-	3 (10%)

Table 4.5 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 54% and 50% said that their children use their mother tongue while playing with their friends and talking with their neighbors respectively. Similarly, 33%, 40%, and 80% respondents responded that their children use Nepali while playing with friends, talking with neighbors, and at school respectively. In the same way, 13%, 10%, and 13% respondents' children use both Tamang and Nepali while playing with friend, talking with neighbors and at school respectively. Similarly, only 7% children use English at school.

In the same way, out of 30 female respondents, 60% said that their children use their mother tongue while playing with their friends and talking with their neighbors. Similarly, 23%, 27%, and 73% female respondents responded that their children use Nepali while playing with friends, talking with neighbors, and at school respectively. Likewise, 17%, 13%, and 17% female respondents' children use both Tamang and Nepali while playing with friend, talking with neighbors and at school respectively, and only, 10% children use English at school.

4.5 Language most frequently used in radio or TV programs

Regarding the language/languages most frequently used in radio or TV programs it is found that Nepali is most frequently used in radio or TV programs as it is used in news, film, songs and telefilms, folk songs and public speech.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed domains of language use of Tamang in Gorkha district. Tamang is used in different common domains of language use such as

singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussion/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Only a few Tamang speakers use the Tamang language in counting. Majority of the male and female speakers are using their own mother tongue, Tamang, and both the mother tongue and Nepali (LWC) while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social matters with their family members at home some of them use only Nepali while discussing educational matters, family matters, and social matters with their spouse and children. Most of them use Nepali as the language of wider communication and they use it daily. They also use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home. Most of the Tamang children of Gorkha district use their mother tongue and Nepali while playing with their friends and talking with their neighbors. Similarly, they use Nepali at school and only a few respondents said that their children also use English in school.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT, TRANSMISSION, VITALITY, AND LOYALTY

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language endangerment, transmission, vitality, and loyalty in general. It consists of four sections. Section 5.1 deals with the position of language regarding language endangerment, section 5.2 presents the language transmission and vitality of the Tamang language, in section 5.3 we present language loyalty and in section 5.4 we present the summary of the findings of this chapter.

5.1 Language endangerment

The status of language regarding the endangerment is vigorous which has EGIDS 6a (Epele et al. 2012). In this section the researcher has retrieved the data on the endangerment of the Tamang language. Table 5.1 presents the responses on language endangerment in the Tamang language. The total number of respondents for the question was 60.

Table 5.1: Language endangerment of Tamang by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Yes	5 (17%)	3 (10%)
No	25 (83%)	27 (90%)

Table 5.1 shows that most of the respondents both male and female responded that their language is not endangered. Out of the total male respondents 83% said that their language is not endangered while only 17% responded that their language is endangered. Similarly, 90% female respondents said that their mother tongue, Tamang is not endangered while only 10% female respondents said that their mother tongue is endangered. The figure below makes it clearer.

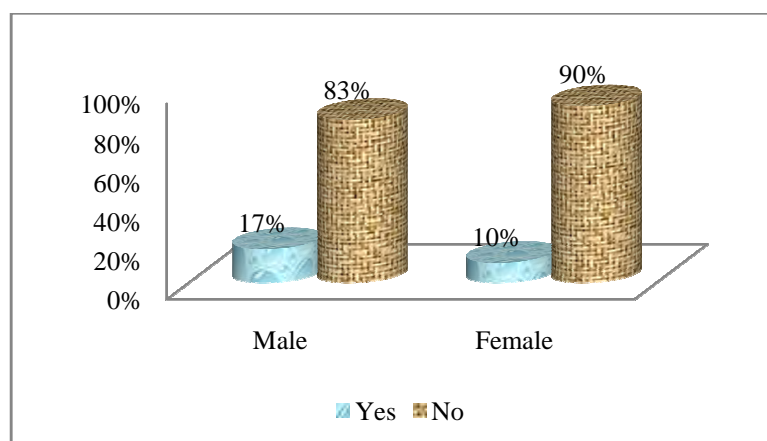


Figure 5.1: Language endangerment of Tamang

Figure 5.1 shows that Tamang is a safe language as almost all the respondents said it is not an endangered language but only very few respondents said it is an endangered language.

5.1.1 Position of language regarding language endangerment

Table 5.2 presents the position of Tamang language in terms of endangerment.

Table 5.2: Position of Tamang language in terms of endangerment by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Position of language				
Potentially endangered	4 (13%)	26 (87%)	2 (7%)	28 (93%)
Endangered	1 (3%)	29 (97%)	1 (3%)	29 (97%)

Table 5.2 shows that Tamang in Gorkha district is not found to be endangered. Out of the total respondents only 13% male and 7% female said that Tamang is potentially endangered whereas remaining 87% male and 93% female said that it is not potentially endangered. Similarly, only 3% both male and female speakers responded that Tamang is endangered while remaining 97% responded that it is not an endangered language.

5.2 Language transmission and vitality

Tamang community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low. Even small children of the community

speak their mother tongue. Table 5.3 presents the transmission and vitality of the Tamang language in Gorkha district.

Table 5.3: Transmission and vitality of the Tamang language

N= 60	Yes	No
Do all your children speak your language?	50 (83%)	10 (17%)
Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?	52 (87%)	8 (13%)
If the same children will grow old?	52 (87%)	8 (13%)
Is the language passed down effectively to the new generation?	52 (87%)	8 (13%)
Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?	48 (80%)	12 (20%)

Table 5.3 shows that out of the total respondents 83% respondents said that their children speak their language whereas 17% responded that their children do not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, 87% respondents said that their children will speak their language when they grow up and get married, and 13% respondents said that their children will not speak their language when they grow up and get married. Likewise, 87% respondents said that their children will speak their language even when they grow old and 13% respondents said that that their children will not speak their language even when they grow old.

In the same way, out of the total respondents 87% responded that Tamang language has been passed down effectively to the new generations whereas remaining 13% said it has not been passed down to the new generations effectively. Lastly, 80% respondents said that the young people in their village or town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken whereas remaining 20% said that they do not speak their mother tongue, the way it ought to be spoken.

5.3 Language loyalty

Table 5.4 presents the language loyalty in the Tamang language of Gorkha district.

Table 5.4: Language loyalty in Tamang

Uses of language	Good/yes	Bad/No
Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?	42 (70%)	18 (30%)
Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?	56 (93%)	4 (7%)
How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language instead of their first language?	6 (10%)	54 (90%)

Table 5.4 shows that out of total respondents 70% said that they do recognize a native speaker of their language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language while 30% respondents said that they do not recognize them as their own native language speaker. In the same way, 93% respondents said that they encourage their younger generation to speak their native language while 7% said that they do not encourage their younger generation to speak their native language. Similarly, only 10% said they feel good even when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their first language, whereas 90% respondents said that they feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their first language.

Similarly, Table 5.5 also presents the language loyalty of the Tamang language of Gorkha district regarding the use of mother tongue. The total number of people who responded to each question is 60.

Table 5.5: Use of mother tongue

Questions	Yes	No
Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?	45 (75%)	15 (25%)
Is your mother tongue taught at school or college?	52 (87%)	8 (13%)
Is there any language teacher to teach your mother tongue	52 (87%)	8 (13%)
Do you like your children learn in mother tongue?	40 (67%)	8 (13%)

Table 5.5 shows that out of total respondents, 75% said that the use of other language is increasing at home while remaining 25% said that there is no any other language which is increasing at home. Similarly, 87% respondents said that their mother tongue is being taught and for that purpose language teaches are also available in the community whereas only 13% responded that their mother tongue is not being taught and for that purpose language teaches are also not available in the community. Likewise, 83% respondents responded that they like their children learn in their mother tongue and remaining 17% responded that they do not like their children learn in their mother tongue. From this analysis we can conclude that they have strong feeling, willing and love towards their own language and they have mind to preserve and save their language, literature and wish to promote and develop it further.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed language endangerment, transmission, vitality, and loyalty. Most of the Tamang speakers of Gorkha said that their language is not endangered. It is a safe language as almost all the respondents said it is not an endangered language. Most of the Tamang children in Gorkha will speak their language when they grow up and get married. The language has been passed down effectively to the new generations and the young people in their village or town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. Most of them said that they do

recognize a native speaker of their language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language. They also encourage their younger generation to speak their native language and they feel good even when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their first language. They have strong feeling, willing and love towards their own language and they have mind to preserve and save their language, literature and wish to promote and develop it further.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language attitude in general. It consists of four sections. Section 6.1 deals with language attitude which includes feeling about mother tongue against other languages, feeling of the speakers about their language, problem because of being a native speaker of Tamang, feeling about children's marriage with non-Tamang speakers, grandchildren's language, first language of the children, and medium of instruction at primary level of schooling. Similarly, in section 6.2, we present language maintenance and shift, and in section 6.3, we present the situation code mixing in the Tamang community. Similarly, in section 6.4, we present the summary of this chapter.

6.1 Language attitude

In general, Tamang speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language.

6.1.1 Feeling about mother tongue against other languages

Tamang speakers are very positive towards their language and culture. Table 6.1 displays feelings about mother tongue against the other language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 60.

Table 6.1: Feeling about mother tongue against other languages by sex

Feeling	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Rich	9 (30%)	7 (23%)
Precise	25 (83%)	24 (80%)
Musical	4 (13%)	3 (10%)
Prestigious	18 (60%)	16 (53%)
Literary	21 (70%)	18 (60%)
Pure	5 (17%)	4 (13%)
Ancient	5 (17%)	4 (13%)
Powerful	4 (13%)	3 (10%)

The table 6.1 shows that 30% male and 23% female respondents responded that their language is rich in comparison to other language. Similarly, 83% male and 80% female that their language more precise than others. Likewise, 13% male and 10% female respondents responded that they feel that their language is musical and powerful. Likewise, 60% male and 53% female responded that they feel their language is prestigious in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 70% male and 60% female respondents said that they feel their language is literary in comparison to other languages; 17% male and 13% female responded that they feel their language is pure and ancient against other languages.

Similarly, Table 6.2 presents feelings of usefulness of Tamang language against other languages. The total number of people who responded to the question is 60.

Table 6.2: Usefulness of Tamang against other languages by sex

Domains	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Jobs	8 (27%)	4 (13%)
Business	4 (13%)	3 (10%)
Social	20 (67%)	18 (60%)
Literature	22 (73%)	15 (50%)
Medium of instruction	16 (53%)	13 (43%)
Science and technology	2 (7%)	-

The table 6.2 shows that only 27% male and 13% female respondents said that their language is usefulness in job against other language. Similarly, 13% male and 10% female responded that their language is useful in business, 67% male and 60% female responded that their mother tongue is useful in social works. Likewise, 73% male and 50% female responded that Tamang is more useful in terms of literatures. Similarly, 53% male 43% female respondents said that their language is more useful as a medium of instructions, and only 7% male respondents responded that their language is useful in science and technology against other languages.

6.1.2 Feeling of the speakers about their language

In general, Tamang speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language. In response to the question “When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...?” Table 6.3 presents the responses of the informants of the key survey points.

Table 6.3: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages by sex

Feelings	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Prestigious	22 (73%)	17 (57%)
Embarrassed	2 (7%)	3 (10%)
Neutral	6 (20%)	10 (33%)

Table 6.3 shows that majority of Tamanga speakers feel prestigious as being the native speakers of their mother tongue. Out of the total respondents of Tamang community 73% male and 57% female said that they feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali. Similarly, 7% male and 10% female respondents feel embarrassed when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. Likewise, 20% male and 33% female respondents feel neutral when they speak Tamang in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. It shows that they have positive attitudes towards their language. Figure 6.1 presents a clear picture of this analysis.

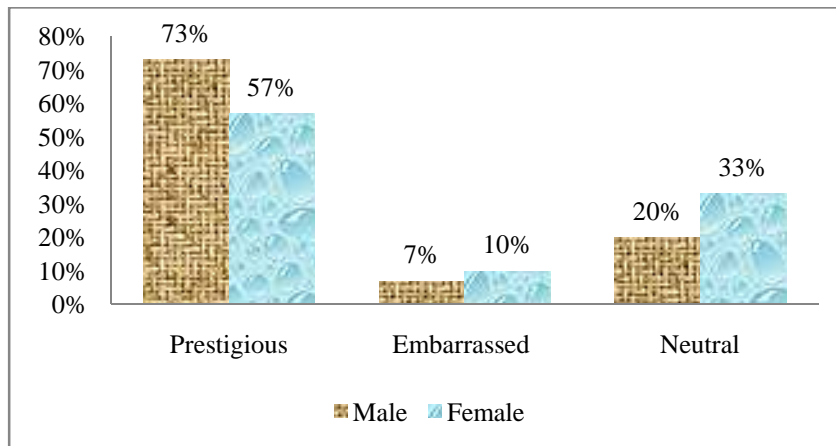


Figure 6.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages

6.1.3 Problem because of being a native speaker of Tamang

In response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” Tamang native speakers’ responses are presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Tamang

Yes	No
14 (23%)	46 (77%)

Table 6.4 shows that out of the total respondents 23% said that they face some problems because of being a native speaker of Tamang whereas most of them i.e. 77% responded that they have no problem at all. Figure 6.2 shows whether they have a problem because of being native speakers of Tamang.

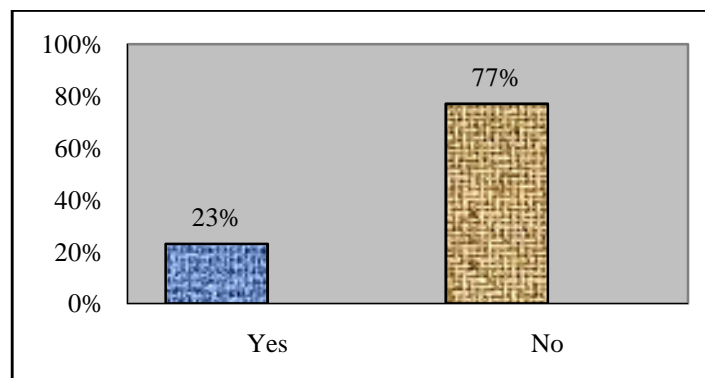


Figure 6.2: Problems because of being a native speaker of Tamang

Similarly, in response to the question “If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had?” Table 6.5 presents the lists of the problems and their frequencies.

Table 6.5: Problems because of being a native speaker of Tamang

N=14	Male (n=8)	Female (n=6)
Teasing	3 (38%)	2 (33%)
Understanding Nepali	4 (50%)	3 (50%)
Mental and social	2 (25%)	2 (33%)
In government offices	1 (13%)	1 (17%)

Table 6.5 shows out of the total 14 respondents who have had problems because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue, there are 8 male and 6 female respondents. Out of them 38% male and 33% female respondents have problems of teasing because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue. Similarly, 50% both male and female speakers have problems in understanding Nepali. Likewise, 25% male and 33% female respondents have have mental and social problems; and 13% male and 17% female have had problems in government offices because of being a native speaker of Tamang.

6.1.4 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Tamang speakers

Most of the Tamang speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question “How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?” Table 6.6 presents the responses of the respondents at the key survey points.

Table 6.6: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Tamang speakers

Good	Neutral	Bad
-	12 (20%)	48 (80%)

Table 6.6 shows that out of the total respondents most of the Tamang feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue, and only

20 % feel neutral. Figure 6.3 shows how they feel about their children’s marriage with non-native speakers of Tamang.

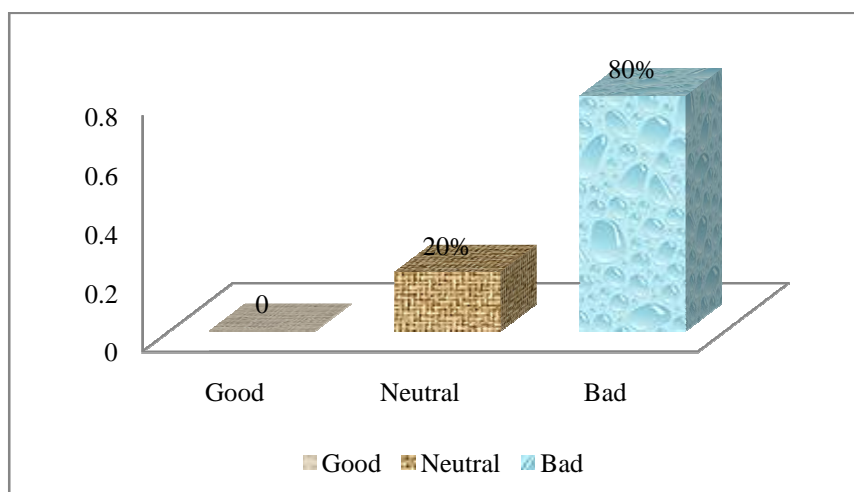


Figure 6.3: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Tamang speakers

6.1.5 Grandchildren’s language

Tamang speakers are positive towards their language and culture. Most of the Tamang speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language the way they do. Table 6.7 presents the responses from the survey points regarding the question, “Will the children of the present children also speak your language?”

Table 6.7: Will the children of the present children speak your language by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Speak	24 (80%)	22 (73%)
Will not speak	6 (20%)	8 (27%)

Table 6.7 shows that most of the Tamang speakers i.e. 78% male and 73% female respondents said that the children of the present Tamang children will speak their language. It shows that they are very positive towards their language. While only 20% male and 27% female respondents responded that their children of the present Tamang children may not speak their mother tongue.

Similarly, regarding the question “If speak, how do you feel about this?” all the respondents feel good if their grandchildren will speak their language. It shows that they have positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, in response to the question “If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?” most of them feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their language and very few of them feel indifferent if the children of the present children will not speak their mother tongue.

6.1.6 First language of the children

Since Tamang speakers have positive attitudes towards their language, most of them said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Tamang, first. Table 6.8 presents the responses for the question “What language should your children speak first?” from the respondents of Gorkha district.

Table 6.8: The languages Tamang children should speak first by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Tamang	26 (87%)	24 (80%)
Nepali	4 (13%)	6 (20%)

Table 6.8 shows that most of the Tamang speakers said that their children should speak their own mother tongue i.e. Tamang, first as 87% male and 80% female respondents said that Tamang is their first choice for their children’s language. Similarly, only 13% male and 20% female respondents said that their children should speak Nepali, the official language of the nation, first.

6.1.7 Medium of instruction at primary level of schooling

Regarding the question “What language do you prefer for your children’s medium of instruction at primary level of schooling?” Table 6.9 presents the responses of the Tamang speakers of the key survey points.

Table 6.9: Medium of instruction at primary level of schooling by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Mother tongue	24 (80%)	21(70%)
Nepali	4 (13%)	5 (17%)
English	2 (7%)	4 (13%)

Table 6.9 shows that most of the respondents i.e. 80% male and 70% female responded that they prefer their own mother tongue, Tamang as their children’s medium of instruction at primary level of schooling. Similarly, only 13% male and 17% female respondents prefer Nepali as their children’s medium of instruction at primary level of schooling. Likewise, 7% male and 13% female prefer English for their children’s medium of instruction at primary level.

Similarly, in response to the question “How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?” Table 6.10 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

Table 6.10: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their own

Good	Indifferent	Bad
-	12 (20%)	48 (80%)

Regarding the language attitude table 6.10 shows that most of the Tamang speakers feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Similarly, only 20% speakers responded that they feel indifferent and there is no one to say they feel good.

6.2 Language maintenance and shift

Tamang people have positive attitude towards the maintenance of their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. In response to the question “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” all the respondents i.e. 100% said that they like their children learn/study in their mother. It shows that they are very much positive towards the use of their language in teaching learning.

Similarly, in response to the question “If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?” the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
By sending your children?	22 (73%)	18 (60%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	25 (83%)	23 (77%)
By providing financial help?	23 (77%)	22 (73%)
By teaching?	8 (27%)	4 (13%)
By helping with the school?	20 (67%)	16 (53%)

Table 6.11 shows that 73% male and 60% female respondents said that they will support the schools by sending their children if schools are opened for teaching their language. Similarly, 83% male and 77% female respondents responded that they will support the school by encouraging other people to send their children. In the same way, 77% male and 73% responded that they will support the school by providing financial help. Similarly, 27% male and 13% female respondents are eager to support the mother tongue teaching school by teaching themselves. Likewise, 67% male and 53% female respondents will support the schools by helping with the school.

Figure 6.4 makes the ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools much clearer.

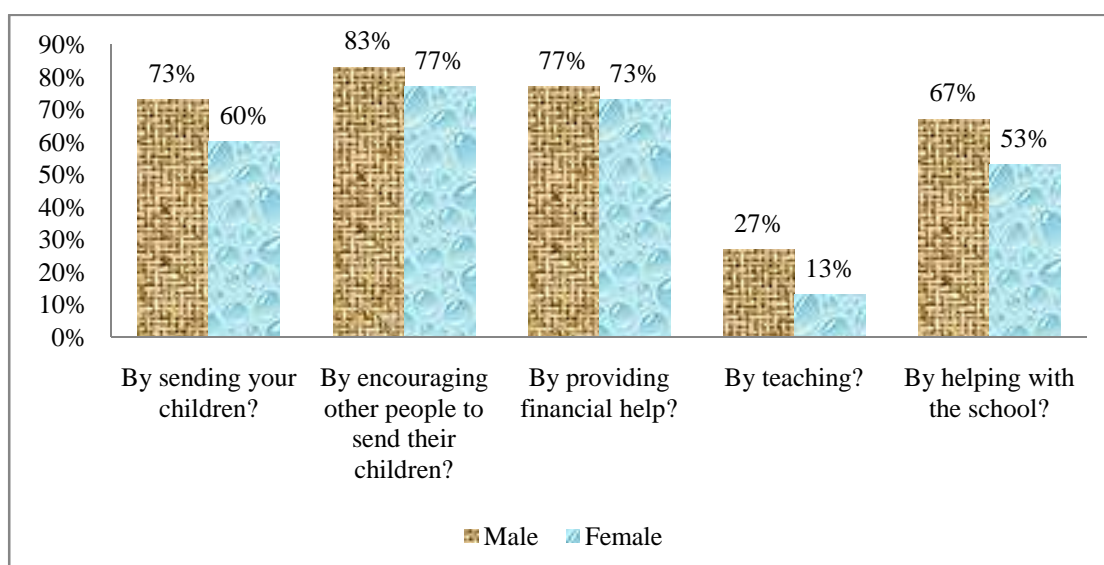


Figure 6.4: The ways of supporting mother tongue schools

Figure 6.4 shows that Tamang speakers are positive for the development of their language since they are ready to send their children to the mother tongue schools and also encouraging others to send their children. Similarly, they are also ready for financial support. Similarly, educated Tamang speakers can teach their language in the school themselves.

Similarly, Table 6.12 presents how often they listen to radio program broadcast in their language.

Table 6.12: Listening to radio program broadcast in Tamang

Programs	Everyday	Every week	Sometimes	Never
Radio Nepal news	15 (25%)	24 (40%)	10 (17%)	11 (18%)

The data in the table 6.12 reveals that there is only one radio program that is heard in Gorkha district in their mother tongue is Radio Nepal's news. Out of the total respondents, 25% listen to this program everyday, 40% of them hear every week, 17% respondents listen to it only sometimes, and 18% never listen to it.

6.3 Code mixing

Code mixing is very common in Nepalese context. Tamang speakers very often mix Nepali words or phrases in their speech. Table 6.13 displays code mixing of other language into Nepali. The total number of people who responded to the question is 60.

Table 6.13: Code mixing in the use of the Tamang language by sex

Question	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?	20 (67%)	10 (33%)	16 (53%)	14 (47%)
Do your children mix other languages more than you do?	25 (83%)	5 (13%)	20 (67%)	10 (33%)

Table 6.13 shows that out of the total respondents of Tamang speech community of Gorkha district 67% male and 53% female responded that they generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue whereas remaining 33% male and 47% female respondents do not mix or switch to other language while speaking their language. The reasons to switch to other language are: because it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages, appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages. Similarly, 83% male and 67% female respondents said that their children mix other language more than they do whereas remaining 13% male and 33% female respondents responded that their children do not mix other language more than them. The respondents feel that the mixing words from other languages will certainly spoil the beauty and purity of their language instead of enriching their language and making more intelligible.

Similarly, in response to the question “Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 6.14 presents their responses in the key survey points.

Table 6.14: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Yes	7 (23%)	5 (17%)
No	23 (77%)	25 (83%)

Table 6.14 shows that only 23% male and 17% female Tamang speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas most of them, i.e. 77% male and 83% female respondents do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Figure 6.5 presents the answers of the Tamang speakers to the question whether there are differences between the languages spoken by them and their grandparents.

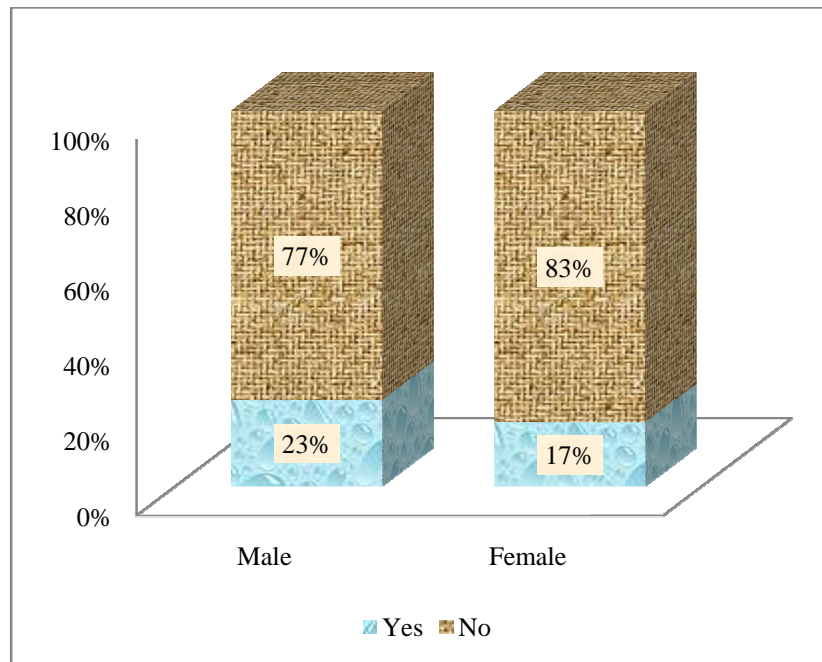


Figure 6.5: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations

Regarding the responses to the question, “If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” are presented in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: The ways of differences in language between two generations

	Male (n=7)	Female (n=5)
Pronunciation	5 (71%)	3 (60%)
Vocabulary	5 (71%)	4 (80%)
Use of specific type of sentences	3 (43%)	1 (20%)
Mixing of other languages	4 (57%)	2 (40%)
Way of speaking	5 (71%)	3 (60%)

Table 6.15 shows that out of the total participants, who think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, 71% male and 60% female said that their language differentiates from their parents in pronunciation and way of speaking. Similarly, 71% male and 80% female responded that their language differentiates from their parents in the use of vocabulary. Likewise, 43% male and 20% female respondents said that the differences between use of language in two generations is due to the use of specific types of sentences. Similarly, 57% male and 40% female respondents said that their language is different from their grandparents because of the

mixing of the words and sentences from other languages. From this analysis we can conclude that the language spoken by two different generations have some differences in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed language attitude of the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district towards their language. Majority of Tamang speakers of Gorkha said that their mother tongue is precise, prestigious, useful in social works, in terms of literature, medium of instruction, and literary against other languages. Similarly, some of them also said that their language is rich, musical, ancient, powerful, useful in job, and in science and technology against other languages. Majority of Tamang speakers feel prestigious as being the native speakers of their mother tongue. Some of the Tamang speakers have faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Tamang. They have problems of teasing, in understanding Nepali, social and mental problems and also have problems in government offices because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue. Most of the Tamang speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. They also said that the children of the present Tamang children will speak their language. They feel happy if their grand children will speak their mother tongue. It shows that they are very positive towards their language. Most of them said that their children should speak their own mother tongue.

Majority of them prefer their own mother tongue, Tamang as their children's medium of instruction at primary level of schooling. Tamang speakers feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. They will support the schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, and by teaching themselves if the schools are opened to teach their language. Most of them generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue whereas some of them responded that they do not mix or switch to other language while speaking their mother tongue. The reasons to switch to other language are: because it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages, appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages. Their children mix other language more than they do. The respondents feel that the mixing words from other languages

will certainly spoil the beauty and purity of their language instead of enriching their language and making more intelligible. Some of the Tamang speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas most of them do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. The language spoken by two different generations have some differences in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking.

CHAPTER 7

LEXICAL VARIATION

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with dialectal variation in general. It consists of three sections. Section 7.1 deals with dialectal variation in the Tamang language, section 7.2 presents the lexical similarities found in the survey points, and in section 7.3, we present the summary of this chapter.

7.1 Dialectal variation

In this section we analyze and interpret the data related to dialect mapping. In response to the question ‘Whether the Tamang people of your community are living concentrated or dispersed?’ most of the Tamang speakers said that Tamang people are living concentrated. Table 7.1 presents the living concentration of the Tamang people in Gorkha district.

Table 7.1: Concentration of the Tamang speakers in Gorkha

n= 60	Responses	Percentage
Concentrated	42	70%
Dispersed	18	30%

Table 7.1 shows that most of the Tamang speakers are concentrated as 70% respondents responded that Tamang people of their community are living concentrated while only 30% responded that their community are living dispersed. The concentration of the Tamang speakers in Gorkha can also be displayed through the following diagram. Figure 7.1 indicates the concentration of the Tamang speakers in Gorkha district.

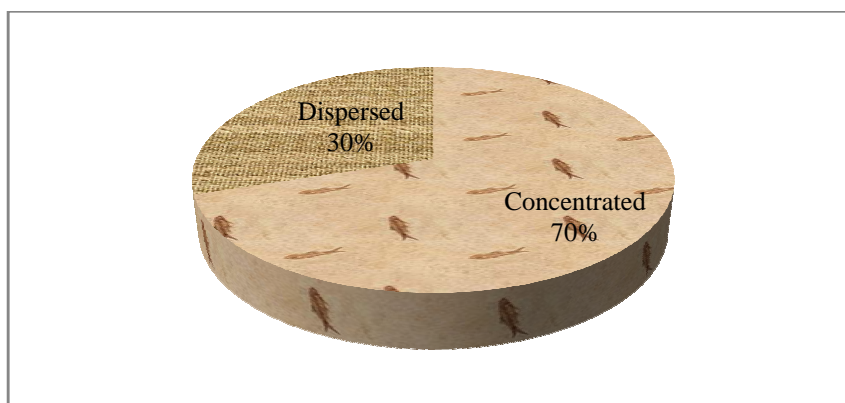


Figure 7.1: Concentration of the Tamang speakers in Gorkha

Figure 7.1 shows that most of the Tamang speakers are living in concentrated whereas only 30% responded that they are living in dispersed.

Similarly, regarding the question ‘Where do Tamang people speak this language exactly the same as you?’ most of the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district responded that the speakers of Aruchanaute speak the Tamang language exactly the same as they speak and it is quite intelligible to them. It is spoken a little bit differently in Dolakha, Ramechhap, Sindhuli, Sindhupalchowk, Kabhreplanchok, Rasuwa, Dhadhing, Nuwakot, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, and Makwanpur districts. They also responded that they understand their own variety best whereas they prefer the Dhadhing variety as second understandable.

7.2 Lexical similarities

Tamang is spoken in a vast stretch of geographical location. However, this study is concerned with the speakers of Gorkha district. Dhawa, Prithivinarayan N.P., Deurali, Aruchanaute, and Chyangli VDCs are mutually intelligible and generally do not show any variation. Table 7.2 presents the situation of lexical similarity comparison in Tamang.

Table 7.2: Lexical similarity comparison in Tamang

Variety	Dhawa	Prithivinarayan NP	Deurali	Aruchanaute	Chyangli
Dhawa	100%	69%	69%	72%	68%
Prithivinarayan NP	69%	100%	64%	69%	65%
Deurali	69%	64%	100%	76%	79%
Aruchanaute	72%	69%	76%	100%	78%
Chyangli	68%	65%	79%	78%	100%

Table 7.2 shows that the Tamang language spoken in Dhawa VDC has 69% lexical similarity with Prithivinaagar municipality and Deurali VDC. Similarly, it has 72% lexical similarity with Aruchanaute VDS and 68% similarity with Chyangli VDC. Likewise, the Tamang variety of Prithivenagar municipality has 69% lexical similarity with Dhawa VDC and Aruchanaute VDC. It has 64% lexical similarity with Deurali VDC and 65% similarity with Chyangli VDC. Similarly, the Tamang language spoken in Deurali has 69% lexical similarity with Dhawa VDC, 64% with Prithivinarayan municipality, 76% with Aruchanaute VDC, and 79% with Chyangli VDC. Likewise, the speech variety of Tamang spoken in Aruchanaute has 72% lexical similarity with Dhawa VDC, 69% with Prithivinarayan municipality, 76% with Deurali VDC, and 78% with Chyangli VDC. Similarly, the speech variety spoken in Chyangli has 68% lexical similarity with Dhawa VDC, 65% with Prithivinarayan municipality, 79% with Deurali VDC, and 78% with Aruchanaute VDC. From this analysis we can conclude that the Tamang language spoken in Dhawa, Prithivinarayan N.P., Deurali, Aruchanaute, and Chyangli VDCs are mutually intelligible to each other. There is not any dialectal variation among these survey points.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed lexical variation in Tamang. The Tamang language spoken in the survey points are mutually intelligible to each other. There is 65% to 79% lexical similarity among the survey points in Gorkha. There is not any dialectal variation among these survey points.

CHAPTER 8

APPRECIATIVE ENQUIRY

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with appreciative inquiry in details. It consists of seven sections. Section 8.1 deals with the language resources available in Tamang. Section 8.2 presents the things in the Tamang language to be proud of, section 8.3, deals with the dreams of the speakers for the development of their language, and section 8.4 presents the role of the concerned authorities for the development of the language. Similarly, section 8.5 presents the support for the development of the mother tongue, and in section 8.6, we deal their opinion towards the development of their mother tongue. In section 8.7, we present the summary of this chapter.

8.1 Language resources

The language resources, available in the Tamang language are its own script, phonemic inventory, descriptive grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, films, CD/DVD, folksongs, folk stories, cultural and religious books, and many written literatures.

In Gorkha district, there is only one organization i.e. Nepal Tamang Samaj, Gorkha that promotes the knowledge and /or use of the language. However, the organizations like Nepal Tamang Samaj, and Nepal Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) are working for their linguistic and cultural development.

Similarly, the major festivals of Tamang community are Sonam Lhosar, Buddha Jyanti, Maghe Sankranti, Phagu Purnima, Dasain, and Tihar.

8.2 Things to be proud

Good things that made Tamang speakers feel happy or proud about their language are having their own mother tongue and feeling of solidarity with their language, large number of speakers, stock of vocabulary, having songs, having their own cultural identity, having audio and videos or CD/DVD, different newspapers and journals, can express their feelings easily in their mother tongue, Being their ancestral language, having their own unique culture, tradition and costume, having their own rules and regulations, tradition, large number of population and mother tongue speakers.

8.3 Dreams for the development of mother tongue

Dreams that Tamang speakers have for the development of their language are preservation of their language, culture and religion; should be the language of daily uses in government offices; should be used in different national newspapers and telecast in national televisions; establishment of Tamang academy; grammar, dictionary, and curriculum development in Tamang; Tamang should be taught in university level; there should be equal opportunity for Tamang speakers in different organizations; establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners in primary level; textbook preparation; preservation and promotion of Tamang culture; use of the mother tongue in government and non-government offices; equal access in the government's bodies; others should also speak their language; preparation of grammar, dictionary and textbooks in Tamang; teaching learning of mother tongue; to have any program on T.V.; preservation and promotion of culture and tradition; and establishment of Tamang (language, culture, literature, history) research centre.

Most of the respondents said that to materialize these dreams there should be the involvement of government, community, social organizations, political bodies. They also responded that these authorities should take active roll and initiation, and every member of their community should be consciously awakened for the development of their language and culture.

8.4 Role of the concerned authorities

In response to the question 'What the community can do itself for the preservation and promotion of their language?' most of the respondents said that community should:

- continue to speak, read and write in their language,
- continue to practice and use of mother tongue in their family and in their community,
- write literary books and publish them,
- publish newspapers, journals and magazines and so on.

Similarly, in response to the question 'to preserve and promote your language what the government and nongovernment organizations should do?' most of the respondents opined that:

- The non governmental bodies like associations, societies, community members, family members should have the feeling of love and affective dedication towards their language.
- Nongovernmental organization should play active and vital role for the preservation and promotion of the Tamang language.
- The public organizations must take initiative role and give pressure to the government and its bodies for the enrichment of their language and culture.
- Must make some provisions of language preservation and promotion in the constitution.
- Must give recognition to the languages,
- Must act as safe guards of minority languages,
- Must give financial aids for the language development of each community and so on.

8.5 Support for mother tongue

In response to the question ‘how can you support for the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue’ most of the informants responded that they preserve and promote their language and culture:

- by making use of language in the medium of instruction at primary level of education,
- by publishing newspapers, journals, magazines,
- by encouraging people to write literature,
- by correcting writing system and adjusting spelling system of their language,
- by writing pedagogical grammar for the beginners,
- by making bilingual and trilingual dictionary of Tamang, and
- by writing and publishing text books and other literacy materials for primary classes etc.

8.6 Opinion towards mother tongue

In response to the question ‘what things are to be done for the development of your language’ most of the informants have opined in the following way:

- Use of the Tamang language should make compulsory in governmental schools as well as in private English schools,
- Publication of text books, magazines, newspapers journals should be increased,
- At least one Tamang language teachers should be appointed in each school in Tamang dominated area,
- Young generation should be encouraged to speak, read and write for the development of their native language,
- Every member of community should take interest of learning his/her own native language and should think it as their identity,
- The social organization bodies should approach to the government for the inclusion of their language in the constitution of Nepal.

8.7 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed appreciative inquiry and language resources in Tamang. The language resources, available in Tamang are its own script, phonemic inventory, descriptive grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, films, CD/DVD, folksongs, folk stories, cultural and religious books, and many written literatures. Good things that made Tamang speakers feel happy or proud about their language are having their own mother tongue and feeling of solidarity with their language, large number of speakers, stock of vocabulary, having songs, having their own cultural identity, having audio and videos or CD/DVD, different newspapers and journals, can express their feelings easily in their mother tongue, Being their ancestral language, having their own unique culture, tradition and costume, having their own rules and regulations, tradition, large number of population and mother tongue speakers. Dreams that Tamang speakers have for the development of their language are preservation of their language, culture and religion; should be the language of daily uses in government offices; should be used published in different national newspapers and telecast in national televisions; establishment of

Tamang academy; grammar, dictionary, and curriculum development in Tamang; Tamang should be taught in university level; there should be equal opportunity for Tamang speakers in different organizations; establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners in primary level; textbook preparation; etc.

Most of the respondents said that to materialize these dreams there should be the involvement of government, community, social organizations, political bodies. Similarly, most of the informants responded that they preserve and promote their language and culture, by making use of language in the medium of instruction at primary level of education, publishing newspapers, journals, magazines, encouraging people to write literature, writing grammars, dictionaries, textbooks and literacy materials.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Findings

This research work is an attempt to present a sociolinguistic survey of the Tamang language as spoken in Gorkha district of Nepal. The major findings of this study are:

1. Tamangs are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Tamang speech community speak their language very well.
2. All the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district are bilingual in Nepali and only some few speakers are also bilingual in Hindi and English languages.
3. Regarding the bilingualism all the grandparents, parents, spouses and children are bilingual in Nepali and only a few family members of the respondents are also bilingual in Hindi, English and Gurung languages. Some of the spouses and children are also found multilingual as they know their mother tongue, Nepali, Hindi and English languages.
4. Majority of literate Tamang speakers can read and write Devnagari script and only a few speakers can read and write in Tibetan script. Literate Tamang speakers can translate from and to the mother tongue into Nepali. Similarly, a few of literate speakers can also translate from and to the mother tongue into Hindi, and English languages.
5. Most of the children understand what their Nepali speaking teacher says in the classroom when they first go to school and only a few children understand Nepali speaking teachers a little bit when they first go to school.
6. Younger people, people living multilingual community, people working in offices, businessman, people of town and cities, educated people, people who live away from home and village speak language of wider communication well whereas the people, grown up within the same community, language teachers, monolingual people and preliterate, people of L1 dominated areas, farmers, villagers speak their mother tongue well. The user of the language of wider communication (LWC), Nepali is increasing in their community.

7. Tamang is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussion/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings.
8. Majority of the Tamang speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing different educational matters, social events, and family matters. They use Nepali, Tamang and both the Nepali and Tamang when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.
9. Majority of Tamang children use their own mother tongue while playing with their friends and talking to their neighbors whereas most of the Tamang children use Nepali at school and only a few use English at school.
10. Most of the Tamang children speak their language whereas only a few of them said that their children do not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, majority of respondents said that their children will speak their language when they grow up and get married.
11. Tamang language has been passed down effectively to the new generations effectively. The young people in their village or town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. They do recognize a native speaker of their language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language. They also encourage their younger generation to speak their native language. They feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their first language.
12. Tamang speakers have strong feeling, willing and love towards their own language and they have mind to preserve and save their language, literature and wish to promote and develop it further. All the Tamang people have positive attitude towards the maintenance of their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. They like their children learn/study in their mother tongue.
13. They will support the schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching themselves, by helping with the school if schools are opened for teaching their language.

14. Tamang speakers mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language. The language spoken by the speakers and their grandparents has differences in pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages, and in the way of speaking.
15. Majority of Tamang speakers said that their language is precise, prestigious, and literary against other languages. Similarly, most of the speakers responded that their language is useful in jobs, business, social, literature, and medium of instruction against other languages. Most of them feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali and only a few of them feel embarrassed and neutral.
16. Most of the Tamang speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. They also said that their children should speak their own mother tongue i.e. Tamang, first.
17. Good things that made Tamang speakers feel happy or proud about their language are having their own mother tongue, vocabulary, songs, cultural identity, CD/DVD, newspapers and journals, unique culture, tradition and costume, large number of population and mother tongue speakers.
18. Dreams that Tamang speakers have for the development of their language are preservation of their language, culture and religion; official language; national newspapers and telecast in national televisions; Tamang academy; grammar, dictionary, and curriculum; medium of instruction in primary level, university level as a subject; mother tongue teaching schools; textbook; equal access in the government's bodies; and establishment of Tamang (language, culture, literature, history) research centre.
19. To materialize these dreams there should be the involvement of government, community, social organizations, and political bodies. The community should continue to practice and use of mother tongue in their family and in their community. Nongovernmental organization should play active and vital role for the preservation and promotion of the Tamang language. Government must provide financial aids for the language development of each community and so on.
20. Most of the Tamang speakers are living in concentrated and only a few of them are living in dispersed.

21. The varieties spoken in Dhawa, Prithivinarayan N.P., Deurali, Aruchanaute, and Chyangli VDCs are mutually intelligible and the 64%-79% lexical similarities.

9.2 Conclusions

In this study we have presented a sociolinguistic survey of the Tamang language as spoken in the Gorkha district of Nepal. Tamang is a language of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. It is the fifth largest widely spoken language in Nepal. Tamangs are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Tamang speech community speak their language very well. Almost all the Tamang speakers of Gorkha district are at least bilingual in Nepali. Most of the children understand what their Nepali speaking teacher says in the classroom when they first go to school. Tamang is used in different common domains of language use. They use their mother tongue with their family members while discussing educational matters, social events, and family matters. Tamang children use their own mother tongue while playing with their friends and talking to their neighbors. But they use Nepali and English at school.

Most of the children speak their mother tongue, Tamang. The language has been passed down effectively to the new generations. They have strong feeling, willing and love towards their own language. All the Tamang people have positive attitude towards the maintenance of their language. Tamang is precise, prestigious, and literary against other languages; and it is useful in jobs, business, social, literature, and medium of instruction against other languages. They feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali.

The varieties spoken in Gorkha district are mutually intelligible and have 64% to 79% lexical similarities. The language resources, available in Tamang are script, phonemic inventory, descriptive grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, films, CD/DVD, folksongs, folk stories, cultural and religious books, and many written literatures. The Tamang language has too many things that make Tamang speaker feel proud of their language. Similarly, major dreams that Tamang speakers have for the development of their language are preservation of language;

grammar, dictionary, and curriculum; medium of instruction in primary level; and textbook. To materialize these dreams there should be the involvement of government, community, social organizations, and political bodies.

REFERENCES

- Bamjan, Labha Bikram. 2009. *Cases in English and Tamang*. A thesis submitted to Department of English Education, Faculty of Education. T.U., Kirtipur.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. 2001. *Population Census*. Kathmandu: National Planning Commission (NPC).
- Central Bureau of Statistics. 2012. *National Population and Housing Census 2011 (National Report) Volume 1 HPHC 2011*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Chalise, Krishna Prasad. 1999. *Morpho-syntax of Tamang Verbs*. A thesis submitted to Central Department of Linguistics. T.U., Kathmandu.
- District Development Committee (DDC). 2069. *District Profile of Gorkha*. Prithivinarayan Municipality: District Development Committee.
- Eppele, John W., M. Paul Lewis, Dan Raj Regmi, and Yogendra P. Yadava (Eds.). 2012. *Ethnologue: Languages of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics, TU and SIL International, Nepal.
- Fasold, Ralph. 1984. *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Fricke, Thomas E. William G. Axinn, Dilli Ram Dahal, Krishna P. Rimal and Arland Thornton. 1991. *Tamang family research project. Summary report on ethnographic and survey research conducted in the Budhanilkantha area, Kathmandu Valley and Tipling gaon pachayat in the Upper Ankhu Khola Valley (March 1987– January 1988)*. Kirtipur: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Grierson, G. A. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India, 3, 1*. India: Superintendent of Government Printing Press.
- Kansakar, T.R. 1999. 'The syntactic typology of Newar and Tamang languages'. In *Gipani* 1.1:1-42. Kirtipur: Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University.

- Lama, K. S. 2005. *English and Tamang Pronominal: A Comparative Study*. A thesis submitted to Department of English Education, Faculty of Education, TU. Kirtipur.
- Lee, Sung-Woo. 2011. *Eastern Tamang Grammar Sketch*. USA: Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.), 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Seventeenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: [http://www.ethnologue.com \(/country/np.\)](http://www.ethnologue.com (/country/np.))
- Mazaudan, M. 1973. 'Writing Tamang: a brief note on alphabetization, spelling and transcription in Tamang.' *Syomhendo* 14:15-26. Kathmandu: Tamang Language and Literary Council.
- Mazaudan, M. 1978. 'Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang Sub-family of Tibeto-Burman'. *Kailash* 6.3:157–80.
- Moktan, P. R. 1999. *A Study of Tamang Tense and Aspect*. A thesis submitted to Central Department of English. T.U., Kirtipur.
- Poudel, K. P. 2006. *Dhankute Tamang Grammar*. München: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Tamang, A. 2052 B.S. *Introduction to Tamang Alphabet and Writing System*. Kathmandu: Nepal Tamang Ghedung.
- Tamang, Amrit Yonjan. 1992. *Tamang Vyakaran Prarup*. Kathmandu: Sangrila Publication.
- Tamang, Amrit Yonjan. 2050VS. *Tamang bhasha bolchal* [तामाङ भाषा बोलचाल]. Kathmandu: Nepal Tamang Damphu Samaj.
- Tamang, Amrit Yonjan. 1994. 'Sarkari sancharbata Tamang bhashama samachar asaran'. In *Lhasso*. 5:13–15.
- Tamang, Amrit Yonjan. 1997. *Tamang shabdakosh*. Kathmandu: Nepal Tamang Gumba Sewa Kendra.
- Tamang, Amrit Yonjan. *Tamang Vyakaran*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

- Tamang, Amrit Yonjan. 2003. *Tamang Nominal Morphology*. A thesis submitted to Central Department of Linguistics. T.U., Kathmandu.
- Tamang, J. B. 2007. *The Forms of Address of Tamang and English: A Comparative Study*. A thesis submitted to Department of English Education, Faculty of Education, T.U., Kirtipur.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1969a. 'Tamang phonetic summary.' In *Tibeto-Burman phonemic summaries VII*. Kathmandu: SIL, TU.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1978. 'Topicalization in Tamang narratives.' In Grimes (1978) ed. pp. 149-156.
- Varenkamp, B. K. 1996. *Tamang Tam: A Socio-Linguistic Study Eastern Tamang Dialects (in Nepal)*. Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies.
- Wimbish, John S. 1989. *Wordsurv: A Program for Analyzing Language Survey Word Lists*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Yadava, Y.P. 2003. 'Language'. In *Population Monograph*. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

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.....

(Mention other names if required)

2. Medium of the interview:.....

3. Date: Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day.....Month Year.....AD

4. Place of interview :

(a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town(c) VDC/Municipality.....

(d) District..... (e) Zone.....

5. Language consultant(s):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Tag (e.g. 5a, 5b)</u>	<u>Address</u>
(a).....	<input type="text"/>

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

7. Age group:

(a) (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 village or localities:
 (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) in dreaming:.....

(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 do 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 ☺

Appendix B: Wordlist

नेपालको भाषिक सर्वेक्षण

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय

कीर्तिपुर, काठमाडौं, नेपाल

राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, नेपाल सरकारको

सहयोगमा सञ्चालित

२१० शब्दसूची

अनुसन्धाताहरूको नाम

मिति:

(१)

(२)

(३)

(४)

भाषासूचक(हरू)को नाम

(१)

(२)

(३)

(४)

स्थान: जिल्ला:..... गाविस/नगरपालिका:..... वडा न: गाँउ/टोल.....

भाषको नाम:..... अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा:

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	भाषा:.....
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	
4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	
6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	

8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	
11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	औंला	
17.	fingernail	नड	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्रु	
35.	axe	बञ्जरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	

39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औंठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	

70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	Tomato	गोलभेंडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भैंसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	

101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोगने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	पुरानो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	

132.	wet	भिजेको	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौं	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह	

163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	
174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	

194.	to fly	उडनु	
195.	to walk	हिंडनु	
196.	to run	दौडनु	
197.	to go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear	सुननु	
201.	to look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

Appendix c: Collected wordlist of 5 survey points

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	Prithivinarayan NP	Deurali	Chyangli	Dhawa	Aruchanaute
1.	body	jyu	jyan	jɽyu	jyan	jiu
2.	head	kra	krɽ	kra	krɽ	kra
3.	hair	krɽ	trɽ	kra	trɽ	kra
4.	face	ŋo	li	mili	ŋo	mili
5.	eye	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
6.	ear	ŋbiŋ	ni	nemin	ŋbiŋ	ni
7.	nose	ŋa	ŋa	nah	ŋa	ŋa
8.	mouth	suŋ	suŋ	suŋ	suŋ	suŋ
9.	teeth	sa:	sɽ	sa	sɽ	sɽ
10.	tongue	le	le	le	le	le
11.	breast	ne	dudh	ne	ne	dudh
12.	belly	pho	pho	pho	pho	pho
13.	arm/ hand	ja	jæ	yæ	jæ	jæ
14.	elbow	pui	kurtsi	puŋba	puŋba	kuino
15.	palm	pla	yæthin	yæthin	yæthin	hɽkelo
16.	finger	ãula	yæpipi	yæprimja	yæprimja	ãula
17.	fingernail	jashiŋ	jæsiŋ	jæsiŋ	jashiŋ	jæsiŋ
18.	leg	ple	bhɽle/kaŋ	kɽŋ	ple	kɽŋ
19.	skin	tivli	dhi	pago	tivli	pago
20.	bone	ɽghru	nɽri	nɽkrit	ɽghru	nɽkrit
21.	heart	tiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ	tiŋ
22.	blood	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
23.	urine	isæm	tsɽsæm	tsæm	tsɽsæm	pisab
24.	feces	kli	kli	khle	kli	kle
25.	village	nɽmsa	nɽmsa	nɽmsa	nɽmsa	nɽmsa
26.	house	tim	dhim	dim	tim	dim
27.	roof	tshano	tshana	yuŋba	tshana	tshano
28.	door	mrab	mɽrap	mrap	mɽrap	mrab
29.	firewood	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ
30.	broom	phɽya	phɽya	phæ	phɽya	phæ
31.	mortar	silɽuɽo	ʈhoktse	silɽuɽo	ʈhoktse	silauto
32.	pestle	phrehuŋ	pleŋti	timbo	pleŋti	timbo
33.	hammer	hɽthɽuɽɽa	hɽmar	hɽthɽuɽa	hɽthɽuɽɽa	martol
34.	knife	goja	tshuru	tsɽkku	goja	goja
35.	axe	tɽri	tɽri	tɽri	tɽri	tɽri
36.	rope	tsho	tsho	tshoda	tsho	tshoda
37.	thread	tup	tup	tup	tup	tup
38.	needle	tɽp	dhap	tɽp	tɽp	tɽp
39.	cloth	wan	yæn	yɽn	yan	yan
40.	ring	ɽuʈhi	tsæp	tsyæp	ɽuʈhi	ɽuʈhi
41.	sun	tini	din	tini	din	gham

42.	moon	lani	lani	lani	lani	lani
43.	sky	mu	megh/mun	mu	megh/mun	megh
44.	star	tara	sar	sar	sar	tara
45.	rain	nɔmyuju	dhari	nɔm	nɔmyuju	dhari
46.	water	ki	ki	kyu	ki	ki
47.	river	sɔyɔŋ	sɔyɔŋ	gandi	sɔyɔŋ	khola
48.	cloud	mupa	muka	mukpa	muka	mukpa
49.	lightening	bijuli tsɔmkinu	tiblik phirji	bijuli tsɔmkinu		bijuli tsɔmkinu
50.	rainbow	larkyuŋ	larkuŋ	larkuŋ	larkuŋ	larkuŋ
51.	wind	laba	laba	laba	laba	laba
52.	stone	yunba	yunba	yunba	yunba	yunba
53.	path	kyam	gæm	jam	kyam	gæm
54.	sand	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa
55.	fire	me	me	mi	me	me
56.	smoke	myingu	myu	migu	myingu	my
57.	ash	mebra	nepra	bupra	bupra	mebra
58.	mud	sɔbra	sepra	sɔh	sɔh	sepra
59.	dust	dhulo	dhulo	bhupra	dhulo	dhulo
60.	gold	mar	mar	mar	mar	mar
61.	tree	tonba	dhomo	taŋbo	tonba	taŋbo
62.	leaf	lɔpti	laiba	ba	laiba	lɔpti
63.	root	ɟara	ɟara	rin	ɟara	ɟara
64.	thorn	puju	pusu	puso	puju	puso
65.	flower	mendo	mendho	mendo	mendho	mendo
66.	fruit	phɔlphul	rowrow	roro	phɔl	roro
67.	mango	ãmba	ãm	ãmba	ãm	ãmba
68.	banana	moze	mɔze	mɔze	mɔze	mɔze
69.	wheat(husked)	wa	wa	wa	gɔhũ	wa
70.	barley	wa	ɟau	ɟau	ɟau	ɟau
71.	rice (husked)	sit	sit	sit	sit	sit
72.	potato	alu	te	teme	alu	alu
73.	eggplant	bhentɔ	bhantɔ	bhantɔ	bhantɔ	bhantɔ
74.	groundnut	bɔdam	bɔdam	bɔdam	bɔdam	bɔdam
75.	chili	mɔrtsi	khursani	khursani	khursani	khursani
76.	turmeric	besar	hilo	besar	hɔledo	besar
77.	garlic	no	no	no	no	no
78.	onion	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj
79.	cauliflower	kauli	kauli	kauli	kauli	kauli
80.	Tomato	golbhenda	golbhenda	golbhenda	golbhenda	golbhenda
81.	cabbage	bɔnda	bɔnda	bɔnda	bɔnda	bɔnda
82.	oil	tsibu	tshu	tshugu	tshu	tshugu
83.	salt	tsɔja	tsɔta	tsɔda	tsɔya	tsɔya
84.	meat	sya	syæ	syæ	sya	siya
85.	fat (of meat)	tshi	tsyu	tshi	tsyu	tsiu

86.	fish	tarja	tɑrja	tɑrja	tɑrja	tɑrja
87.	chicken	kola	nakla	tsida	kola	kola
88.	egg	phum	phul	nɑkhum	phul	phul
89.	cow	mʌhæ	me	me	me	me
90.	buffalo	mui	mui	mʌi	mui	mʌi
91.	milk	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne
92.	horns	ru	ru	ru:	ru	ru:
93.	tail	me	me	me	me	me
94.	goat	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra
95.	dog	nʌgi	ni	niki	ni	niki
96.	snake	pugri	puri	pukhri	pugri	pugri
97.	monkey	timyu	timyu	timyu	timyu	timyu
98.	mosquito	lamkhut̩te	lamkhut̩te	lamkhut̩te	lamkhut̩te	lamkhut̩te
99.	ant	naghru	nɑrɑ	lakhro	lakhro	nɑrɑ
100.	spider	makuro	rʌŋrɑŋ	wɑŋwɑŋ	makuro	makuro
101.	name	min	men	min	min	mi:n
102.	man	mi	mi	mi:	mi	mi:
103.	woman	amakola/mrink ola	mriŋkʌlɑ	mriŋkɔlɑ	mriŋkʌlɑ	amakola
104.	child	kolama	kola	kola	kola	kola
105.	father	aba	aba	bau/aba	aba/buwa	aba/baba
106.	mother	ama	ama	amʌi/ama	ama	ama
107.	older brother	ajo	dhʌdha	aju	dai	dai/ajo
108.	younger brother	ale	ale	ale	ale	ale
109.	older sister	nana	nana	ana	nana	ana
110.	younger sister	aŋga	aŋɑ	ãŋɑ	aŋɑ	aŋɑ
111.	son	tsɑ	jha	ja	jha	tsɑ
112.	daughter	tsʌme	jhʌme	jame	jame	jhʌme
113.	husband	khyakpa	rembo	rembo	remo	rembo
114.	wife	phuju	mriŋ	mriŋ	phuju	phuju
115.	boy	thitama	rembhokʌlɑ	ramkɔlɑ	ramkɔlɑ	ramkɔlɑ
116.	girl	tshʌmebɑ	mriŋkʌlɑ	amakɔlɑ	amakɔlɑ	amakɔlɑ
117.	day	din	dhin	din	din	din
118.	night	muna	muna	munʌ	muna	rat
119.	morning	syuri	syuri	sʌyo	syuri	syuri
120.	noon	tiguŋ	dhiri	dhineghum	dhiri	dhiri
121.	evening	mundaza	muntʌji	muntʌji	muntʌji	mundaza
122.	yesterday	tila	tela	tela	tila	tila
123.	today	tini	tini	tini	tini	tini
124.	tomorrow	mansyo	mʌnsyo	dhʌmsɔ	mʌnsyo	dhʌmsɔ
125.	week	pret	sʌtʌgi	preret	preret	preret
126.	month	laki	mʌhina	mʌhina	mʌhina	mʌina
127.	year	bʌrsɑ	bʌrsɑ	bʌrsɑ	sal	bʌrsɑ
128.	old	purano	duka	dhʌŋbɔlɑ	purano	duka

129.	new	tshar	tshɑrdim	tshar	tshɑrdim	tshar
130.	good	tsʌyaba	jyæbla	jyæba	tsæba	jyæba
131.	bad	atsʌyabamula	atsʌyaula	ajyæba	atsæba	ajyæba
132.	wet	wonpanji	bhʌptsi	papla	wonpanji	papla
133.	dry	sukhkha	khʌrpa	hʌrpa	sukhkha	sukhkha
134.	long	reŋba	rhinla	rimbla	rhinla	reŋba
135.	short	tunja	timla	timbla	timbla	tunja
136.	hot	lep	rotsi	lelep	lep	lelep
137.	cold	simba	simbla	simbla	simbla	samba
138.	right	ket	dahine	tsʌyat	dahine	dayǎ
139.	left	debre	debre	lom	lom	debre
140.	near	namaŋ	tsirina	jyædaŋ	namaŋ	tsarina
141.	far	thare	kyor	thariŋ	thare	thare
142.	big	ŋatsʌyaŋ	ŋatshæŋ	ŋatshen	ŋatsʌyaŋ	ŋatsyaŋ
143.	small	tsida	jiŋa	tsida	tsida	tsida
144.	heavy	lipa	lipa	libla	libla	lipa
145.	light	yaŋba	yaŋba	yʌŋbla	yʌŋbla	yaŋba
146.	above	tor	tor	pheraŋ	tor	tor
147.	below	mʌr	mor	deraŋ	mʌr	mor
148.	white	ŋar	tar	tʌr	tar	tar
149.	black	mʌŋ	mʌʌŋ	mʌŋ	mʌʌŋ	mʌʌŋ
150.	red	wʌʌa	wala	wʌʌa	wala	wala
151.	one	ki	ki	ji	ki	ki
152.	two	ni	ni	mi	ni	ni
153.	three	soŋ	som	som	som	soŋ
154.	four	pli	li	ble	bli	li
155.	five	ŋa	na	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
156.	six	tu	dhu	du	dh	tu
157.	seven	nis	nis	ŋis	nis	nis
158.	eight	pret	pret	bret	pret	prêt
159.	nine	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku
160.	ten	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi
161.	eleven	egharʌ	tsukhrit	tsukhri	egharʌ	egharʌ
162.	twelve	barhʌ	tsuŋgi	tsuŋji	barʌ	barhʌ
163.	twenty	bis	nesu	khæljji	bis	bis
164.	one hundred	mʌnaŋ	menaŋ	mʌŋ	ek sʌy	mʌŋ
165.	who	khʌʌa	khal	khʌju	khal	khala
166.	what	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
167.	where	khana	khana	khʌne	khana	khana
168.	when	khema	kyæ	khæma	khema	khæma
169.	how many	kʌte	ge	kʌde	kʌte	kʌde
170.	which	khʌju	khʌtsu	khʌyu	khʌju	khyu
171.	this	tsu	tsoba	tsu	tsu	tsu
172.	that	huju	uju	huju	uju	uju
173.	these	tsuma	tsuma	tsuma	tsuma	tsuma

174.	those	huzuma	uzuma	thema	ujuma	uzuma
175.	same	tsuri	tsuhal	hodeba	hodeba	tsuhal
176.	different	huzu	tsuano	lolo	lolo	lolo
177.	whole	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno
178.	broken	thiji	thiji	thibla	thiji	thiji
179.	few	tsekpa	tseke	tsek	tseke	tsekeke
180.	many	jago	yogana	yogo	jago	yago
181.	all	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno	ɟʌmʌno
182.	to eat	tsʌba	tsʌba	solo	tsʌba	tsʌba
183.	to bite	nepa	nepa	sʌbo	nepa	nepa
184.	to be hungry	phokrenji	khenji	phorenji	phorenji	khenji
185.	to drink	phunba	thuŋo	solo	solo	thuŋo
186.	to be thirsty	kiphiji	kitiji	phiji	kitiji	kiphiji
187.	to sleep	nobha	nuwa	nugo	nuwa	nugo
188.	to lie	nobha	phinba	pleŋo	nuwa	pleŋo
189.	to sit	syubo	tuba	syugo	tuba	syupo
190.	to give	pino	pino	pino	pino	pino
191.	to burn	khʌraŋbo	thæŋle	sʌŋlægo	khʌraŋbo	khʌraŋbo
192.	to die	siba	si	syu	siba	syu
193.	to kill	thaba	tshar	sædo	thaba	tshar
194.	to fly	phyanba	jyæba	khrego	khrego	jyæba
195.	to walk	prabha	ajyæba	brʌu	brʌu	ajyæba
196.	to run	tshonjba	tseŋgo	tshonjo	tseŋgo	tshonjba
197.	to go	seba	yæro	sego	yæro	sego
198.	to come	peŋgo	kho	kho	peŋgo	peŋgo
199.	to speak	tʌŋba	pʌŋo	pʌŋo	tʌŋba	paŋo
200.	to hear	ʈhetoji	thyæji	nʌyæn	nʌyæn	ʈhetoji
201.	to look	tsæba	tsyægo	tsyægo	tsæbo	tsæbo
202.	I	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
203.	you (informal)	ye	ye	yæh	ye	ye
204.	you (formal)	rʌŋma		yanemʌda	yema	yenema
205.	he	huju	huju	uju	huju	uju
206.	she	hujuma	hujuma	huju	hujuma	hujuma
207.	we (inclusive)	yʌŋma	ŋʌ ɟʌmʌno	yaŋ ɟʌmbano	ŋʌ ɟʌma	yʌŋma
208.	we (exclusive)	tsek	ŋi	tsek	ŋi	tsek
209.	you (plural)	tsægo	kijuma	hʌnema	yema	tsægo
210.	they	hujuma	hujuma	hujuma	hujuma	ujuma