

# **A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE LIMBU LANGUAGE**

**(AS SPOKEN IN WEST SIKKIM)**

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## DEDICATION

*My special dedication goes to my parents Mr. Harka Bahadur Subba (Limbu) and Mrs. Budha Maya Subba (Limbu)*

*And*

*My father-in-law Mr. Purna Man Subba (Limbu) and Mother-in-law Mrs. Sancha Roti Subba (Limbu), whose blessing is with me forever.*

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**Kirshna Bir Subba (Limbu)**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a Sociolinguistics study of Limbu spoken in West Sikkim under Soreng subdivision Block Development Office (BDO), Dentam and Geyzing circle. The purpose of this study is to assess the sociolinguistics situation of the Limbu language. The instruments utilized in this study were sociolinguistic questionnaires, interviews and 210 Swedesh wordlist.

The findings of the research include Limbu language spoken by as estimated roughly- 19000 people i.e. 60 percent of the population of West Sikkim. The Limbu people are bilingual in most and lesser are multilingual.

Young people often avoid the use of their language. It is because of the fact that Nepali is the lingua-franca in Sikkim. The Limbu people have their own ethnicity, culture, festivals, rites and rituals food habit and life style. It makes them distinct from their ethnic groups. Like other Hindu people, they observe the festivals such as Dasain, Tihar, Saune and Mage Sakranti. However, their special festivals are Dasain and Ballihang Tongnam (Tihar) and Sirijunga Sawan Tangnam which they celebrate in Aswin/Kartik and Mangsir every year.

Limbu people are both bilingual and multilingual. They speak Limbu as well as Nepali, Hindi, English, Lepcha, Bhutia, Rai and others. Besides their mother tongue, they also use the Nepali language as the second most frequently used language.

The participants also tend to think that when the young children first enter school are able to understand their Nepali speaking teacher's teaching. The language resources available in the Limbu language are written literature, like poems, plays, fictions, other genres, telefilms magazines, journals, and newspapers.

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

The Limbu language is most frequently used in many domains of the language. They use their mother tongue in counting, story telling, singing, joking, shopping, playing, and in public meeting. Most of the Limbu speakers use their mother tongue at home while talking about educational matters, social events and family matters.

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## LIST OF ABBRIVATION

BDO:	Block Development Office
BS:	Bikram Sambat
D.E.S.M.E.:	Development of Economic, Statistic, Monitoring and Evaluation
L1:	First Language
LWC:	Language of Wider Communication
SDM:	Sub-Divisional Magistrate
SQ:	Socio-linguistic Questionnaire

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 General background

This study is an attempt to present a sociolinguistic study of the Limbu language spoken in West Sikkim of India. Sikkim is a 22<sup>nd</sup> State of India situated in a mountainous region of Eastern Himalayas between 28.30N latitude and 88.30E longitudes of equator. It is bordered by Bhutan in the east, Nepal in the west, Tibet in the north and West Bengal in the south. Sikkim is blessed with a rich culture and linguistic heritage. It has a multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic society, where Nepali, Limbu, Lepcha, Bhutia, Rai, Gurung, Tamang, Manger, Sherpa, Newar, Sunuwar, Hindi and English languages are spoken. Among them Hindi and Nepali are national languages. Limbu, Lepcha, Bhutia, Bantawa Rai, Gurung, Tamang, Manger, Sherpa, Newar, Sunuwar are state languages and English is an international language. Except Nepali, Hindi and English all the other languages belong to Tibeto-Burman language family. The language spoken by Limbu is also called 'Yakthungpan' the dialect spoken in West Sikkim is similar to Panthare dialect of the language of Nepal. In all ages, the positive attitude of the Limbu people of Sikkim towards Panthare dialect is dominant. The script, they use, is called Srijunga script. The total population of Sikkim is 5,40,851 out of that 56,959 is the total population of Limbu community (Department of Economics, Statistics, Monitoring and Evaluation, Government of Sikkim (DESME) Gangtok 2005-2006), and the total number of Limbu speakers in Sikkim is 28,174 (Mishra, 2008) i.e. 49 % and 5 % of the total population of the state, and the data of Limbu speakers of the west Sikkim in relation to the total number of ethnic group is estimated to be 19,000 (DESME, 2005/06). The Limbu speakers in Sikkim are found in Assam-Lingzey, Aho-Senty, Marcak-Tumlabung, Basilakha, Beering, Mulukey, Losing (in the east); Mangshila, Upper Dzongu (in the north); Jorethang-Cisopani, Kitam, Namphok, Tokal-Bermiok (in the south) and Soreng-Singling, Timburbung, Yangthong, Thongling, Sombarey, Daramden, Tharpu, Samsing-Sisney, Chota Samdong, Phuncheybung, Bara-Samdong, Siribadam, Bermiok-Martam, Hee-Gaon, Sankhu, Uttarey-Sopakha, Lingchom, Titcek-Yangthang, Serdong, Darap, Nambu, Thingleng, Singpheng, Mangtabung-Yaksum and Nesha in the west. In addition to this, Limbu speakers are also found in some places of Darjeeling district of West Bengal, and some places of

Bhutan and Nepal. They are also found in Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, and Nagaland.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

There are inadequate linguistic researches in this language in Sikkim of India. Till now, no attempt has been made to study the Limbu language from the sociolinguistic perspective. An accurate figure of the sociolinguistic situation of the language though the speakers positive attitudes towards their language and other languages, relationship between languages and society. In this context, the sociolinguistic survey of the Limbu language of West Sikkim is essential and worth mentioning. It can bring the facts and figures of the real situation, concept and attitude of the speakers of this language.

The major research problems are:

- a. What is the current state of Limbu society vis-à-vis their own language?
- b. What is the social, cultural and demographic situation of Limbu?
- c. What is the sociolinguistic situation of Limbu?
- d. What is the attitude of the speakers towards their language?
- e. What is the variation of Limbu language among the Limbu speakers of West Sikkim?
- f. How is the language maintained?

To describe the main problems of this research is to present some major sociolinguistic features of Limbu language as spoken in the West Sikkim. This study will focus on the following questions related to the study:

- a. How proficient are the speakers in terms of mother tongue?
- b. What are the major domains of language use?

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

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

- a. to describe the current status of Limbu society of West Sikkim;
- b. to present social, cultural and demographic situation of the Limbu language;
- c. to examine the proficiency level of the Limbu mother tongue speakers;
- d. to find out the attitude of Limbu speakers towards their mother tongue;
- e. to analyze the domains of language use; and
- f. to analyze the variation of the Limbu language among the native speakers.

### **1.4 Research methodology**

This study is mainly based upon primary data collected from the Limbu speakers in the area of Block Development Office, Dentam, Sub-Division Megistrate's Office Soreng and Geyzing circle, Sikkim. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SQ) and 210 basic wordlist developed by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) is used for the collection of data. In this study, the researcher has used Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SQ), wordlist, observation, interview etc. as a linguistic tool. He has chosen informants from different ages, sex, literacy, marital status, religion, different geographical locations, family structure, occupation and divided them into different sample groups and he has filled 54 SQ. and 18 wordlists based on different sample groups.

#### **1.4.1 Data collection**

In order to carry out the research written questions were given to the respondents. The collection of different varieties of basic words and filling the sociolinguistic questioners were the main bases of the survey. Data were collected from the Limbu community of Soreng sub-division circle, BDO Dentam Circle and other places of Geyzing circle of West Sikkim from old, middle aged and adult, male and female people whose mother tongue is Limbu. An attempt was made to include data from different age grouped, sex, occupation, educational background, and economic level. The data which were collected consisted of language use, language attitude, bi-lingualism/multi-lingualism, language endangerment, language maintenance, transmission and

vitality. Sociolinguistic questionnaire and 2010 Swadesh word list were used in the field for the data collection.

#### **1.4.2 Research tools**

##### **a. Questionnaire**

A questionnaire employed in this study is a set of questions on topics design to be answered by respondents. The main source of data collection is a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The questionnaire was prepared in such a way that they could cover different aspects of language and attitude, patterns of contact, travel, and language opinion, bilingualism and so on. In the following headings, the researcher has briefly presented the data retrieved through a questionnaire developed on the topics of- use of language, language attitude, bi-lingualism/multi-lingualism, language endangerment, language maintenance, transmission and vitality. These questions were written in English but administered in Limbu and Nepali. All these questions are included in the appendices.

##### **b. Wordlist**

Swadesh 210 word list was used. The words collected include noun, verb and adjectives. The genres incorporated to collect the words are: time and weather, relationship among human beings, language and thoughts, wealth and property, human organs, building, utensils, weapons, food items, dresses and ornaments.

#### **1.4.3 Sampling process**

Sampling is the process by which inference is made to the whole by examining only a part. It is woven into the fabric of our personal and public life. Any way, purpose of sampling was to provide various types of quantitative or qualitative nature about the whole by examining a few selective units.

In this study, the purposive sampling process has been applied. The researcher himself chose the language informant of Geyzing district, West Sikkim from various age groups, sex, economic and educational back ground. The number of informants consists of fifty four native speakers of the Limbu language residing in Soreng sub-division, BDO Dentam and Geyzing circle, West district of Sikkim. Among them 22 respondents were the age group of 15 to 35, 21 were the age group of 35-60 and 11 were the age group of 60 and above. Similarly, out of fifty four



respondents 38 were males and 16 were females, in the same way, the respondents were from different levels of education, walks of life and occupations.

In this chapter, the researcher has discussed the methodology employed to carry out the research. Sociolinguistic questionnaire and Swadesh 210 wordlist are used in this survey. This survey is basically descriptive in nature. Therefore, the researcher has used figures, tables, pie-charts and bar-diagrams to describe the data explicitly or to show the factual information.

In the process of data collection for this survey, the written questions were posed to the respondents. The collection of different varieties of basic words and filling of the Sociolinguistic questionnaire were the main bases of the survey. Data were collected from the Limbu community of Geyzing circle, Soreng sub-division and BDO Dentam from the adults, middle and old aged males and females whose mother tongue is Limbu.

### **1.5 Limitations of the study**

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

- a. This study is more descriptive, it is limited to Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) Soreng, Block Development Office (BDO) Dentam and Geyzing circle of the Sikkim state of India.
- b. Limited number of speakers were chosen for the interview and this survey is concentrated more on sociolinguistic aspect than theoretical one.
- c. This study is focused on some of major sociolinguistic features of the language such as language attitude, domains of language use, proficiency of Limbu speakers in their mother tongue.

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

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

Moreover, from the perspective of applied linguistics, prerequisite to publish a grammar or dictionary of any specific language or dialect is to ascertain the variety of that language or dialect

on which the grammar and dictionary will be based. The variety that is most indicative of the overall language or dialect group would be the most appropriate choice for analyzing the grammar and producing a functional dictionary. This necessitated sociolinguistic study.

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

Concerned community leaders and Limbu scholars will also be benefited from this work.

Overall, it is hoped that this research may provide a basis for future studies which could be applied for the enhancement of effective educational materials and literature among the Limbu people. Such advancement in education opportunities will in turn reinforce their potential for contributing to the economic progress of Nepal.

### **1.7 Justification of the study**

As the Limbu language is one of the marginalized languages of West Sikkim, India. So it is inevitable to study and document this language. The present study will be significant in this respect. It will make a short exploration of sociolinguistic situation of the Limbu language in West Sikkim. This study will be beneficial to prepare dictionary, to write text books and to the linguistic researchers for the further study of this language.

### **1.8 Organization of the study**

This survey has been organized into five different chapters which are as follows:

- Chapter one : Introduction
- Chapter two : Literature review
- Chapter three : Limbu language and people
- Chapter four : Sociolinguistic data analysis and interpretations
- Chapter Five : Summary and conclusions

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a long tradition of research in Tibeto-Burman languages and a number of contributions have been made by Nepali and foreign scholars with respect to this language. From the sociolinguistic perspective, no study is carried out in this language in Sikkim. There are also some contributions in the socio-cultural aspects. The major works available in the Limbu language are Hodgeson (1864), Chemjong (2018 B.S.), Grierson (1967), Kumar et al. (1980), Subba (1980), Subba (1984), Driem (1987), Kainla et al. (2059 B.S), Subba (2004), Tumbahang (2007) and Lewis (2009).

Hodgeson's manuscripts (1864) are the correction of old documents written in Sirijunga script. Among the documents, there is a manuscript *mundhum* believed to have been written by Sirijunga Tye-Ongshi (the incarnation of the first Sirijunga King). He has collected 713 words in the manuscript.

Chemjong (2018 B.S.) wrote a *Limbu-Nepali-Angregi Subdakosh* (Limbu-Nepali-English dictionary) of 5,500 words with their meanings in Nepali and English. He has given grammatical classes of words within brackets. This is second edited trilingual dictionary published by Royal Nepal Academy.

Grierson (1967) has presented almost all languages being spoken in India with brief linguistic features. The number of Limbu speakers in Sikkim and Darjeeling for the purpose of his survey was estimated 24,045 according to 1971 Census of India.

Kumar et al. (1980) jointly wrote a trilingual dictionary *Hindi-Limbu-English*, in which they have mentioned the names of the days, months, seasons and etc.

Subba (1980) wrote *Limbu- Grammar* entitled *Thansing-Yakthung Huppan* (Grammar for Secondary and Senior Secondary classes), his study enumerates part of speech, place of articulations, morphophonemic process, synonyms and antonyms, phrases, persons etc.

Subba (1984) wrote a novel 'Thathama' (a person having mental condition caused by severe shock) based on the sociocultural traditions of Limbu community. In his book, he has described

the Limbu traditional customs and usages. The novel in the initial has been started with romantic plot and ended with the tragic death of the actress Thathama.

Driem (1987) wrote a grammar of Panthare dialect of Limbu. His study includes Limbu phonemes and the native phoneme system, allophones, assimilation and dissimilation, agreement in adjective, phonology and phonetics, nominal morphology, compounding, morphophonemic analysis of aspect and aspectivizers, mode, gerunds and periphrastic tenses, subordination, causatives and ergativity and other verbal constructions.

Webster (1999:28) has concluded that Chhathare is not a separate speech variety of Limbu. He also writes that Panthare is the largest dialect and has recognized as a lingua franca.

Kainla et al. (2059 B.S) wrote a Limbu dictionary entitled Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary which is re-edited and revised version of Chemjung's dictionary which was published by Nepal Rajkiya Pragya-Partisthan. This dictionary is trilingual which has followed IPA system.

Subba (2004) wrote a book entitled Mahatma Sirijunga Singthebe: the great social awakener. In his book, he has described the great awakening of Limbu community in which literature and Yuma religion has been stressed much. In this topic, he has mentioned the following points:

- a. Yumaism is a light and a source of power or energy and a source of creation.
- b. Only the bright soul causes light,
- c. Clean mind is the essence of life,
- d. Unsullied mind always remains free of trepidations and etc.

Tumbahang (2007:342-344) wrote of descriptive grammar of Chhatthare Limbu, he wrote that Chatthare is different from other dialects of Limbu. On the basis of pure linguistics analysis, Chathare dialect is a separate language because of phonology, morphology and lexical words. He mentioned that there are 20 consonant phonemes, 7 vowels having known vowel length contrast. Chatthare has finite verb marking person, number, case, reflectivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity of affixes. He says that Chatthare Limbu is a complex pronominalised, ergative language syntactically; it is almost a head right language because except for a few cases all the modifiers precede the head.

Lewis (2009:491) stated that the dialect spoken in Sikkim is as same as Panthare, inherent and intelligibility among the dialect speakers is 80 percent to 90 percent. Lexical similarity is above 80 percent among the dialects. All ages, positive attitude towards Panthare dialects is dominant and size. SOV, post postpositions, genitives, articles, adjectives, verb affixes mark subjects objects, indirect objects, split ergativity, reflexes conjugated intransitive can be used as a kind of passive, ant passive, causatives, comparatives, V,CV,CVC, CCV,CCVC, non - tonal.

## CHAPTER THREE

### LIMBU LANGAUGE AND PEOPLE

#### 3.1 Background

By nature, sociolinguistic survey incorporates a demographic description to the ethno-linguistic community, which is being studied or surveyed. In fact, it is a description of community that defines the location and population of the particular place. It also tries to record the distribution of various social characteristics, age, sex, education level, economic status and degree of contact with other language speakers and other physical and social amenities. Likewise, sociolinguistic survey also includes a demographic description of a parting of the ethno-linguistic community as the distribution of various social characteristics throughout the community as it is relevant to sociolinguistic phenomena.

This chapter deals with the Limbu language and people. The first section consists of, the Limbu language and genetic classification of the language. The second section incorporates the Limbu society and their social practices like food habits, clothes and ornaments, cultural festivals, marriage system, birth rites, etc. The third section is about household composition and the fourth section is about the social condition of the Limbu people.

#### 3.2 Origin of Limbus

The origin of Limbu is veild in great obscurity, through the most received account relates that they came from Kasi i.e. (Benaras). In the beginning of the creation, their existed an almighty God, *Tagera Ningwa Phuma*. This script entered into *mubuk wa-ma* and caused him to create women out of bamboo ashes married the wind. They had a son by name *Susu-Weng Hara-weng*. One day he went for hunting and met two women whose origin is unknown. They bore a daughter, *Laha-dang-ma*; their two marring became the progenitors of the whole human race.

After creating women, *mubok wama* seated himself on the right sides of *Khamba-Karma* (Mt. Kanchanjanga), and proceeded to invent four different kinds of alphabets. These were - (1) *Sam-bed*, (2) *Athar-bed*, (3) *Yajur-bed*, (4) *Rig-bed*, written on a doe-skin, and for many eras after their construction were lost.

The direct descendents of *Suwangbe-ba* are not known, but one branch appeared at Kasi (Banaras) in the persons of four brothers. One of them penetrated direct into the hills, where

there was uninhabited country, and setting there, his descendents were known as the *Khambung-ba*, 'Lords of the Soil'. This way is the Phedhap or Bhuiphuta branch. Another brother settled in *Sukhi-Gang-zi*, his descendent were called Kasi-Thang-ba, or the arrivals from Kasi.

The other brothers traveled east into the hills, where their descendents found their way west ward at a subsequent period: hence they were known as the *Muna-Phemba* 'the late comers', they are now known as the *Lhasa Gotra*, from having come from the direction of East Tibet. In this branch there were again four brothers, the two king *U-ba-hang* and *Chang-ba-hang*, and *Kajung-ma* and *Gammi-ma*, the two first names have evident reference to the two Tibetan provinces of *U* (Lhasa) and *chang* (Tashelhunpo); and in consequences of this because they came from the north (Chang, Lt, Pyang), the Limbus derive their subsequent of Chang, of Waddell Explains that the name Limbus has been given them by the Nepalese; they call themselves *Yakthumba* (Yak-herds), and the Lepchas and Bhutias call them Tsong which in their vernacular means 'a merchant' and the Limbus were the chief cattle-merchant and butchers in Sikkim.

It has been mentioned above that mubuk -wa -ma invented and hidden four different kinds of 'Bed'. These were found (1) by the Bishu Lama , the protecting duty or ruler of Kamis, (2) Mahisur a Bhutia Lama (3) Bishun Raja, the head of the Brahamans and forms the present Devanagari, while (4) Was found by the two Limbu Rajas mentioned above. Unfortunately the doe-skin on which the characters had been written had expanded and contracted so much with alternate damp and heat that the writing was undecipherable, the Limbu alphabet remained lost. Many generation later the great Limbu Sirijunga, called also the Dorze Lama of Yangrup, in a vision saw Mubuk-wama, who pointed out where another copy of Limbu writings inscribed in stone, was to be found. The saint thus found them and dictated to his eight chief disciples and that now remains Limbu literature. Sirijanga, however, was in this betrayed to the Raja of Sikkim and the Tasang Monks. They in jealousy or from the fear of the Limbus tried to shoot him. In this, they failed and also in an attempt to drown him, so finally capturing him alive, they put fowl's dung into his mouth, where upon his spirit fled way in the form of a bird. Singha Raja was that time king of Nepal. It may be, as Mr. Risley mentioned this Raja was Prithivinarayan Shah, but in that case it is authentic history that Sirijunga loss for 100 years.

Another interpretation of Kasi and Lhasa Gotra is that the former is Limbu on both sides, where as the later is the offspring of a Limbu father, but a Tibetan mother.

The country between the Arun and Kankaya was originally peopled by Limbus, who was distributed over ten districts; each subject had their own head-man, *Soubah* or petty Raja, who looked on his district as his own property. Formed it into *das* 'ten' divisions, the Limbus are often known as "Das Limbus" and from their head-man derived their title of 'Soubah' or 'Subba'. These ten main divisions (Thums) derived their names either from the name of the locality itself or from the number of the separate *Thars* or sub-division, with whom the Gorkha Government made settlement, after the conquest of the Malla Kings and submission of the Limbu Soubahs. It seems that the Limbus were not conquered by the Gorkhas, but voluntarily submitted, and in consequence retain several privileges; among others, the right to guard the Wallan Passes.

The Thums named from their locality are -

Yangrup	Mewa or Mai-Khola
Tamborkhola	Phedhap

The second class comprised the remaining six Thums

Viz-

Charkhola (four)	Terathar (thirteen)
Pannthar (Five)	Atharao (eighteen)
Chathar or Soodap	Chaubisa (twenty-four)
Chattarea (Six)	

The Thars or septs embraced in these ten Thums are verb numerous, but a full account will be found in Mr. Risley's the tribes and castes of Bengal" (The Gazetteer of Sikkim, H.H. Risley)

### **3.3 Limbu people as aborigine of Sikkim**

According to Gazetteer and Risley, it is understood that Limbu have been living in Sikkim since long time immemorial, and their origin place is Sikkim itself. They have inhabited in all four districts of Sikkim. The major areas of Limbu inhabited places in West Sikkim, comprises:

Hee-Gaon, Martam, Dentam, Uttarey and Sopakha BDO Dentam, Linchom, Titzek, Guruthang, Sardong, Chhangey, Darap, Nambu, Singpheng, Thinging, Yaksom, Gerthang under Geyzing



circle and Sombare, Chhota-Samdong, Samsing, Bada-Samdong, Timburbung, Yangthong, Thongling, Tharpu and Malbase under Soreng Sub-divisional Administrative Circle, West Sikkim.

It is an established fact that Limbus has been identified as one of the ethnic communities of Sikkim since many centuries back. The privileges being given by the successive government including the erstwhile Chogyal of Sikkim, authenticate the genuineness and originality of the community, and apart from various cultural and historical facts, the possession of 'Lalmohar', 'Nagara' and 'Subhangee' little apparently state the ethnicity of the Limbus in Sikkim (Subba, 1997).

The term 'Sikkim' was derived from Limbu language 'Song-Ghim', 'Sing-khim', 'Sukhim' and 'Sikkim'. Sikkim is a corrupted form of 'Song-Ghim', which was given a name to the new palace of the then King (in the name of his wife) of the Sikkim Kingdom, Tensing Namgyal. 'Song-Ghim' means a new house or a new palace in Limbu language. The King had a Limbu wife by name Thungwa-Mukma, was a daughter of a Limbu King of Limbuwan (Sprig, 1965 as cited in Dahal, 2000).

### **3.4 The Limbu language**

"Limbu" is one of the Kiranti languages of Himalayish section of Bodic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken in Sikkim and West Bengal states of India and also spoken in Panchther, Taplejung, Tehrethum, Dhankuta, Illam, Jhapa, and Sankhuwasabha districts of Nepal. West Sikkim is dominantly inhabited by Limbu speakers.

Chemjong (2031:4 as cited in Tumbahang, (2007)) says that the term Limbu is derived from the combination of *li* 'bow' and *a-bu* 'he shoots' and the Limbu means 'archer'. There are other interpretations too. In addition to this, Limbu is also called Limboo, Subba, Yakthung and Tshong in Sikkim. These words are synonymous words. 'Limbu' has been called tribal in Sikkim. So, Limbu is preferred to write in Sikkim. The Limbus designate themselves by the name Yakthungba and their language by the name Yakthung Pa-n or Yakthungba Pa-n, that means Limbu language in their mother tongue.

Limbus call themselves 'Yakthung' to refer to both male and female, while 'Yakthungba' refers to male and 'Yakthungma' to the female. The apex body of Sukhim Yakthung Sapsok

Sungjumbho i.e. Limbu Literary Society of Sikkim, Gangtok and Kirat Yakthung Chumlung, Kathmandu both use the word Yakthung to refer Limbu.

Sikkim is a multi-lingual as well as multi-cultural heritage of India possessing as many as eleven state official languages, such as Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbu, Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Sherpa, Newari and Sunuwar belonging to different linguistic stock. Amongst them, Nepali language holds the first position as a language of communication and a common lingua-franca with 400,000 speakers. English forms the heart of every people and nucleus of the medium of instruction in the institutions as L1. Then, it is followed by Nepali and Hindi in the communication and mass-media. Among the following three indigenous languages of Sikkim—Bhutia holds first position with 32, 593 speakers and 411 language teachers followed by Lepcha with 29,854 speakers and 308 language teachers and Limbu with 28,174 language speakers and 281 language teachers.

### **3.4.1 Dialects of Limbu**

The Limbu language has four dialects. They are Panthare, Chhathare, Phedappe and Taplejung including Tamorkhole, Yangrupe and Mewakole sub-dialects. This division was made on geographical consideration. Panthare is most commonly spoken and also used as lingua-franca among the Limbus for both communication and writings (Vandriem, 1987: XXII).

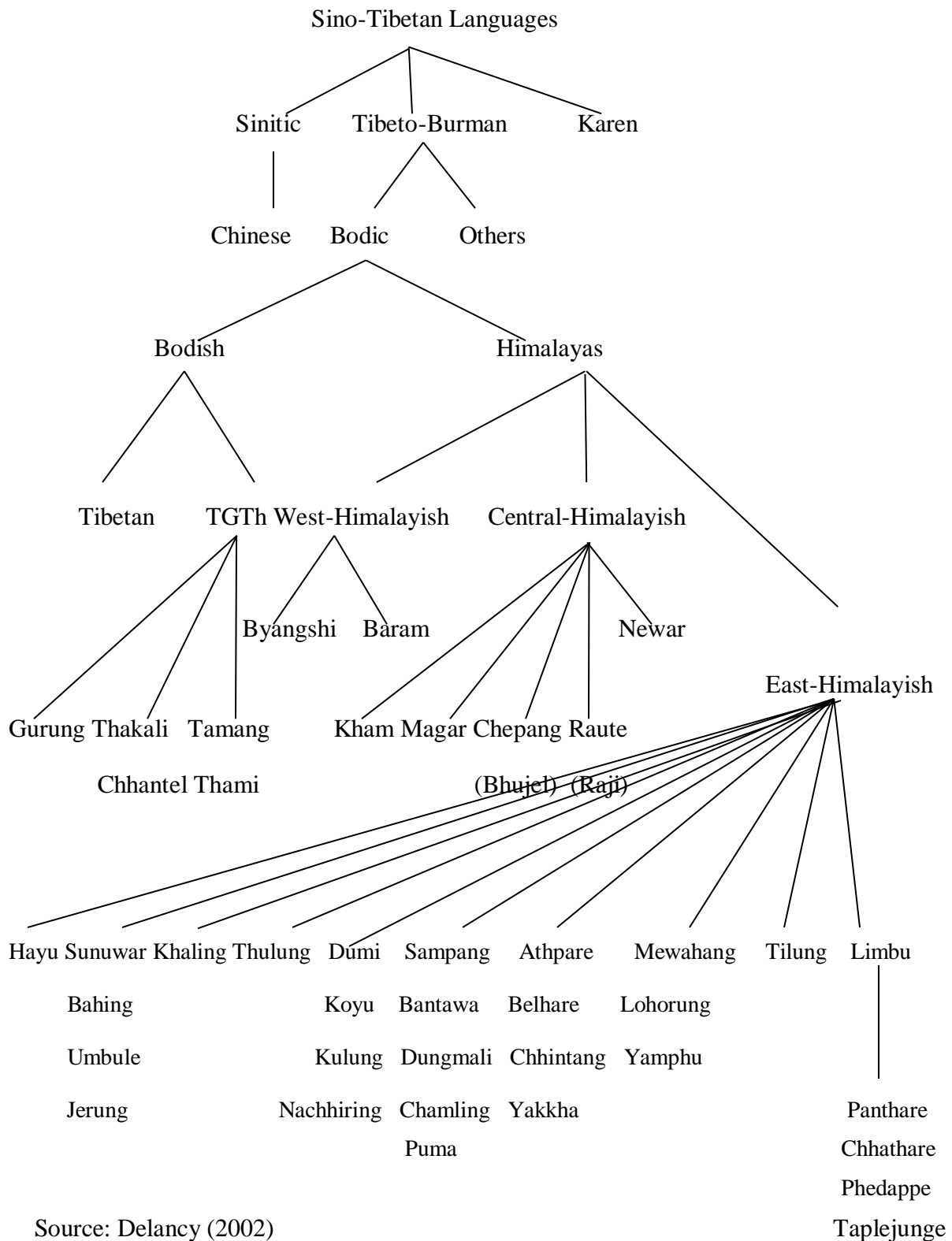
### **3.4.2 Genetic classification of Limbu**

Limbus are mongoloid people characterized by flat nose, fair complexion, oblique eyes, medium height with unique culture, language and script living in Sikkim, Darjeeling (West Bengal), Assam and some other places of India and in the eastern parts of Nepal. Limbu belongs to Kirati sub-group of Bodic group of Tibeto-Burman, sub-family of Sino-Tibetan language family.

Despite its small size, Sikkim is a fertile land for an amazing cultural diversity including linguistic plurality. This multilingual setting confers on Sikkim a distinctive position on the linguistic map of the India and renders it as one of the most fascinating areas of linguistic research. Languages of Sikkim historically belong to four major language families i.e. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda and Tibeto-Burman. Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan family is spoken by relatively less number of people than the Indo-European family but it consists of largest number of languages that is about 57 languages.

The Sino-Tibetan languages can be sub-categorized as follows:

**Figure 1: Genetic affiliation of the Limbu language**



Source: Delancy (2002)

### 3.4.3 'Sirijunga' the king and Teyongshi Sirijunga

In the history of Limbu literature, one often comes across two famous names known as Sirijunga King and Teyongshi Sirijunga. The former one is the king of the Limbus who lived during the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. in Limbuwan, and the later in the year 1704 A.D., and it is believed that the later Sirijunga was an incarnate of the Sirijunga King. So, the later one is called Teyongshi Sirijunga which means an incarnate Sirijunga in Limbu language.

Regarding script, the earlier Sirijunga is believed to be invented the script in 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (I.S. Chemjong, Kirat Itihas P.41& 42), so that it is called Sirijunga Sript. Chemjong in his book 'Kirat Sahityako Itahas' pg.7-9 states that "the great Limbu king Sirijunga" also was considered as the incarnate of Guru Padma Sambhava in a vision saw "Saraswati" the goddess of knowledge who took him to the place where Limbu sript was kept inscribed on stone. The goddess than bestowed upon him with the wisdom of the "script", which later came to be known as the Sirijunga sript or Limbu script when he began to teach it to his subjects, Sirijunga king is credited with its invention .

The script discovered by Sirijunga was believed to have been consisted Akaranta form of long sounding letters similar to the Tibetan alphabets like; ka, kha, la, pa. In order to make these letters short sounded; one had to add a vowel. This indicates that the script had its origin in Tibet or was influenced by Tibetan scripts (Subba, P.S. 1997).

According to Campbell and Hodgson's paper photocopy- Sirijunga script consisted of one vowel carrier, 20 big consonant letters, and 9 vowel signs. These documents are the only oldest manuscript of Sirijunga script available for reference today obtained from India Office Library London (Subba, J.R. 2004). The Sirijunga Script initially consisted of long sounding used to read it as: ka, pa, ma, ta, tha... and so on, but in the course of time the same script was revived, modified, reformed and has taken its new shape is consisted of the following sounds:

#### a) Vowels

c /ə/, cf/a/, cL/i/, c'/u/, c]/e/, c]]/ai/, cf[]/o/, cf]]/əu/, c[ /ε/

b) Consonants

s/k/, v/k<sup>h</sup>ə/, u/g/, i/ŋ/, r/c/, p/c<sup>h</sup>/, h/z/, g/n/, t/t/, y/t<sup>h</sup>/, b/d/, w/d<sup>h</sup>/,  
k/p/, m/ph/, a/b/, e/b<sup>h</sup>/, d/m/, o/y/, F/r/, n/l/, j/w/, z/<sup>ʃ</sup>/, ;/s/, x/h/, P/g<sup>h</sup>/.

c) Small Letters

/k/S, /ŋ/l, /n/ G, /t/ T /p/ K, /m/ D, /r/U, /l/ N.

d) Sub-joint letters

O /yə/, q /trə/, J /wə/

e) Phonetic Symbol

Glottal Stops (Mukh reng): /, /

Vowel Length (Kemph reng): /.. /

Coda Consonant (sai): /-/

However, after the Sirijunga’s demise, his successors could not forward the language and literary work he made so popular, consequently the Sirijunga script disappeared and remained disuse. It is a strange thing to know that there was a long gap in between 9<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century A.D. There was no trace of any record of this script in use, how then this script could survive this long period, and this period has been called.

**3.5 Social conditions**

**3.5.1 Occupational, economic and political factors**

The present day social condition of Limbu in West Sikkim is determined by thier ocupational, economical and political factors. The grain grown is mostly for their own daily need; surplus is used to make ale and arrack and sells. Besides these, some of the Limbu people of West Sikkim cultivate cardamom, ginger, orange and vegetables and they do piggery, goattery, poultry animal husbandry, dairy farming, and vegetable. Some are involve in carpentry, cane and bamboo basket making, business, driving, vehicles, contractors, government employees, state police forces, army and few works in industries and the rest are farmers.

Most of the people are engaged in agriculture, as because the illiteracy ratio and unemployment problem is also increasing rapidly. Anyway, Limbu people in West Sikkim are managing well their two square foot maintaining their livelihood. There are other avenues of earning their daily wages by doing different kinds of labour works as there are multiple chances of labour work in road and bridge constructions and other works. The Central Governments of India and the State Government trying its best implementing different types of schemes, plants and programs in rural and urban areas, in order to uplift and develop the life of poor people. In this matter, the contributions made by the both governments are creditable equally.

### **3.5.2 Religious, political and cultural factors**

Limbus are one of the ethnic groups of Sikkim, in Darjeeling district of West Bengal and North Eastern States of the Himalayan Region have a distinct religion of their own, known as 'Yuma Samyo' (Yuma Religion) or 'Yumaism'. Limbu people have a long tradition of narrating or reciting Mundhums and performing rituals and observing ceremonies in their own distinctive ways. Mundhum is legend, folklore, prehistoric accounts, sermons and moral or philosophical exhortations in poetic language. It is a scripture living in oral has tradition. This ethnic group is mainly found in an historic area of "Limbuwan", the area lying between the Arun River in the Western border of Nepal to the Tista river of Sikkim, inclusive Gorkhaland area of West Bengal. The Anthropological Survey of India has identified Limbu as one of the major ethnic groups having its distinct culture, tradition, religion, script and language in Sikkim (Singh, 1993).

Limbu believe that the Almighty Goddess Tagera Ningwa phuma created the universe, planets, every living and non-living objects of the universe; she created other Gods and Goddesses for helping her in her creation.

Teyongshi Sirijunga has discovered and disseminated the concept of inherent Yuma Samyo philosophy and teaching they are five in number, they are as under:

Behave as human beings,

Knowledge, intelligence and wisdom are gods,

Yuma-Sams a light,

Clean mind is the essence of life,

Vicious acts are sin and sin is more powerful:

Any socio-religions and cultural tradition cannot be sustained unless there is a continuous source of inspiration from its institution. Religion is a root of culture, tradition and civilization. A civilization or a culture could be sustained only through its religious institution. Religions are sustained by the continuous flow of ideas and inspirations from this institution, namely Hindu temples, Buddhist monasteries and Christian churches so on. The Limbu community has realized this fact very late. Now, there is an active process of institutionalization. It was only in 1993, a Mangheem was constructed at Mangshila, North Sikkim, at Hee Gaon (1997), Teyongshi Sirijunga Mangheem at Martam (1998), Soreng, Yongthong, Thambong, Tumlong, Darap in West Sikkim, Aho, Assam-Lingzey in the east and Rabitar in South Sikkim. Teyongshi Sirijunga statue is under construction and there is also a proposal to establish a Limbu Cultural Research Center at Hee Patal, West Sikkim.

One of the great awakenings of the Limbus in Sikkim took place on Limbu culture. The triggering effect of Teyongshi Sirijunga on Limbu culture was the result of establishment of 'Sirijunga Yakthung Sakthim Phojungbho' a socio-cultural organization dedicated to the Limbu cultural development on 23rd August 1980 at Tharpu, West Sikkim. The organization has contributed a lot on the cultural development of all the communities of Sikkim including the Limbu. Every year on its foundation day a cultural programme of different communities of Sikkim are staged with great pomp and show cultural competitions are organized and the best ones are awarded for encouragement.

With the financial assistance of the State Government to a tune of Rs.44.19 lakhs a beautiful cultural complex with the facilities of one practicing hall, library room, exhibition hall, stage for dancing, caretaker's quarter etc. has been constructed at Tharpu. Dr. Pawan Chamling Hon'ble Chief Minister, Government of Sikkim, on 23rd August 2003 inaugurated the Cultural Complex, with the great pomp. The Limbu cultural artists from this centre have participated in a number of cultural occasions both within and outside Sikkim. To maintain a few artists participated in the inaugural ceremony of Gangtok Radio Station in 1983; Participated in National Cultural Comes, independence and republic day celebration, Maghe Mella and cultural mella celebration, tourist festivals, Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre Programmes and so on.

The most popular and attractive items of Limbu culture are Ke-lang (Chyabrung dance), Ya-lang (paddy dance), Tamke Lang (Tamke dance), Palam and Hakpare and Khyali songs etc. This

could possible only through the explicit support of the then successive Government of Sikkim (Subba, 2004).

### **3.5.3 Limbu society and social practices**

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

Sukhim Yakthung Sapsok Songjungbho (Sikkim Limbu Literary Society) is an apex organization of Limbu community in Sikkim was established in 1979. Thereafter a number of Limbu Societies were established, such as Akhil Sukhim Yakthung Chumlung (All Sikkim Limbu Organization) in 1980, Sukhim Yakthung Sapsok Saplonchumbho (Sikkim Limbu Literary Publication), Sukhim Yakthung Nichamsa Chumbho in 1983, Sukhim Limbu Youth Association in 1994 etc.

### **3.6 Birth and death rites**

After the birth of the child, if it is son, on the fourth day and if it is daughter on the third day- Yangdang Phongma (name giving ceremony) is performed by Phedangba or by a Limbu elderly man.

Death rites are also done in the same way alike birth rites. In case of male, on the fourth day and third day of the funeral, the ritual of Yum sam is performed, and the Anthesty Kirya also shall be finished on the same day, but it differs from one place to another. When some one dies in Limbu family, the dead body is wrapped with white cloths and tied with bamboo thread and placed inside the box made up of wood. Then the corpse has to pick up and to carry by the sons, son-in-laws or relatives, through the back door of the house towards the graveyard. If a person dies exceptionally, the death burries or crimate in far away jungle, either pregnant women or untimely and unnatural death like suicide death etc. and the rituals won't be done in formal way but finishes all sermons on the same day of the funeral.

### **3.7 Marriage system**



Marriage is an important and sacred ceremony of life. In which a man and women tie in a family knot. The Limbu consider marriage indiscernible and very much essential for fecundity. It means marriage ceremony is seen as an especially emphasizing social bond between husband and wife and their kin groups. Marriage in Limbu may not be arranged between the kin of same patrilineal clan before gap of five generation. The prominent modes are given as under:

1. Sujah mekhim- an arranged marriage.
2. Khoot setup-pa mekhim- abducted marriage or forcible marriage.
3. Meen mekhim- love marriage.
4. Meme дума mekhim- widow marriage.
5. Laaba mekhim- marriage with another's wife.

Amongst these, the first three marriages are important and socially accepted one.

**Sujah mekhim:** When a boy's parents decide a girl to match for their son, the parents, first engaged and Eengmeba (elderly person who acts as the intermediater. When the bride is selected, the consent of her parent and that of the 'bride to be', has to be obtained, thereafter offers 'lungyang', then follows other rituals of marriage custom which are not possible to describe here in detail (Muringla, 1997).

**Khoot mekhim/ Meem mekhim:** If a girl elopes with the boy (having not family relation), she is accepted by the boy's family performing rules which have been practiced since early days in Limbu society. After some days, the girl's and the boy's family make easy settlement for boy and girl, and both families are accepted by society. Meen mekhim is more or less similar.

**Memeduma mekhim:** it is a mode of marriage in which a boy or man marriage a widow or a divorced women, and makes marry fest.

**Laaba mekhim:** it is also another mode of marriage in which a wife of man loves with another man or a boy is known as Laaba mekhim.

Sappok chomen: the parents or the father-in-laws and mother-in-laws of an expecting mother, at least two or three months before giving birth to the child performs Sappok chomen by Phedangba (Limbu priest) worshipping Yuma Sammang (Goddess of nature), Heem sammang

(Household divinity), Kudap Sammang (Nature divinity), and some others, for the safe of the baby and the mother of its family. (Subba, 2005).

### 3.8 Clothes and ornaments

#### Clothes:

Limbu people were various kinds of clothes depending upon seasons and occasions. They have their own traditional dress; namely: Paga (like muffler worn over head), Lage-sumba (similar to daura-suruwal), Sungkhewa (ascot) and Thak-khuk (Topi), Pho-e (patuka). Limbu female wears- Sim (sari), Chunglagek (choli), Pho-e, Hembari, Pat-thang (sawl) and etc. but school goes children wear as prescribed by the school.

Mainly old Limbu people are found wearing the traditional dress but the youth are seen wearing modern and light apparels.

#### Ornaments:

The Limbu male people wear golden or silver ring in the hand fingers but female are fond of wearing various kinds of ornaments made up of gold, silver and other things.

**Table 1: Ornaments worn by the Limbu women**

Body parts where in ornaments are worn	Ornaments
Head	clip (sribandi)
Forehead	ṭjka
Ears	nεseʔ
Nose	dhungri, mundri, bulaki (nose rings)
Neck	jaŋ-iṭchi (hari), tilahari, naugadi, kantha
hands	hukpaŋ-gi (wristlet), bracelet, bangle
Fingers	swagep (rings)
Legs	laŋbaŋi (anklet of silver)

Sources: Field survey, 2010

These ornaments are found using by old Limbu people only but the young youth uses hardly. These traditional dresses and ornaments are falling out of fashion with younger generation.

### 3.9 Food culture

The Limbu people practice sedentary agriculture, animal husbandry and diary-farming. The major crops they cultivate are: maize, millet, paddy, pulses, potato, cardamom orange etc.

Watchha duk (rice of paddy), Phak-saa (pork), Mangdok-thee (millet alcohol), Chembi-gheek (kinima) fermented soybeans, Phiringba-matchi (powder pickle), Kere-khareng (bread of buk wheat), Yangben, Sagi sumbak (sisnu curry), Nak-thuk (wild musroom) and Khe-su (roots) are the traditional food of Limoo people. Tongba (a container filled with millet alcohol) and Phak-saa (pork) or Wadhin (egg omelet) are food of respect for guests at home. Meat is occasionally eaten but Limbu people are fond of drinking alcohol.

**Table 2: Food items and drinks used by the Limbu people**

Limbu name of food and drinks.	English name of food and drinks.
tək	cooked rice.
t <sup>h</sup> εplo-dək	cooked rice of green maize.
sumbak	curry.
sa	meat.
maŋdak t <sup>h</sup> ee	millet fermented alcohol.
sɛnzunwa	local alcohol.
kari?sumbak	pulse curry.

Source: Field Surrvey 2009/10

### 3.10 Composition of household

Limbu houses generally found of low cost made up of locally available materials like bamboo, wood, mud, stone and thatched roof etc. The houses of well to do Limbu people are found of two or three story traditional houses, made up of local materials. The roof of the houses is four sided (Ghumaune ghar) having one main door in the front side in between two windows. The door plates and windows plates are all curved with different designs by skilled carpenter and keeps one back door also and other windows. There will be balcony all around the house in the upper floor. Inside the house, a fire oven is made up of three stone erected where in deities of fire exist, is to be believed and worship there.

The composition of Limbu household is not unique and different from other communities but somehow similar to other ethnic groups generally, we can find unitary and join households although there are few compound families. Here under given some kinship terms to reflect the family structure of the Limbu community.

Family structure of the Limbu Community:

- a. ʈakʈʰəba: grandfather's grandfather
- b. suʈʰəba: grandfather's father
- c. ʈak-juma: grandfather's grandmother
- d. sujuma: grandfather's mother
- e. ʈʰəba: grandfather
- f. juma: grand mother
- g. pa: father
- h. ma: mother
- i. ʈumba: father's elder brother
- j. ʈumma: father's elder brother's wife
- k. pʰəŋaʔ: father's younger brother
- l. sumaʔ: father's younger brother's wife
- m. ŋja: father's elder sister or younger sister
- n. kwaʔ: father's elder or younger sister's husband
- o. pʰuʔ/pʰupʰuʔ: elder brother
- p. nɛnɛdɾe: elder brother's wife
- q. nɛn-nɛʔ: elder sister
- r. kuŋbaʔ: elder sister's husband ( by brother in law)
- s. nu-e-maʔ: younger sister
- t. kuŋbaʔ: (sister-in-law's brother/brother-in-law's brother by brothers)
- u. nusaʔ: younger brother
- v. əŋekmaʔ: younger brother's wife( by husband's elder brother )
- w. pʰəŋaʔ: father's younger brother
- x. lamsaʔ: elder/ younger sister's son (by maternal uncle)
- y. lamsaʔma: niece(younger/elder sister's daughter, wife's brother's daughter)
- z. nākma: brother's son/daughter

aa. kwaʔ/kukkuʔ:	maternal uncle (mother's elder or younger brother)
ab. ŋiaʔ:	maternal uncle's wife (mother's brother's wife).
ac. nup-pa:	father in law
ad. nup-ma:	mother in law
a.e. icchaba:	son in law's or daughter in law's father
af. icchama:	son in law's or daughter in law's mother
ag. məncha:	grandson
ah. mənchaʔma:	granddaughter
ai. Su:məncha:	great grandson
aj. Su:mənchaʔma:	great grand daughter
ak. ʔak-məncha:	great great grandson
al. ʔak-mənchaʔma:	great great grand daughter
am. sa:	son
an. paŋli:	daughter in law
ao. e /e:ma:	daughter
ap. paŋlume:	son in law
aq. paŋli:	sister of son in law or daughter in law
ar. sɔʔmiʔ:	brother-in-law's brother by sister-in-law
as. sɔʔmiʔma:	sister of sister in law's sister (by brother in law's of sister-in-law)
at. p <sup>h</sup> uḍre:	elder sister's husband (by sister in law)
au. nən-neḍre:	elder brother's wife
av. kwaʔḍre:	father's sister's husband (by daughter of wife's e/younger brother both)
aw. kwaʔ(1):	father's sister's husband ( by wife's brother's son)
ax. sumaʔ:	mother's sister or father's younger brother's wife
ay. əŋekpa(1):	younger sister's husband ( by wife's elder sister)
az. əŋekma(1):	to husband's younger sister( by elder brother's wife) and etc.

Besides these, there are other kinships terms also, but the terms frequently occurred are only attempted to describe here above.

### **3.11 Festivals celebrate by the Limbu people**

Limbu people celebrate many festivals like Hindus. The festivals celebrated by them are presented in the following table:

**Table 3: Festivals of Limbu people**

Festivals	Day	Month
Kokphekwa Tungnan (Maghe Sankrati)	First day of Magh	January (Magh)
Sisekpa Tумыen	First day of Srawan	July (Srawan)
Tusi tungnam (Dasain)	Suklapakchha Dasami	October (Asoj/Kartik)
Balihang tungnam (Tihar)	New moon day	November (Kartik)
Teyongshi Sirijunga Srawan tungnam (Sirijunga birth anniversary)	Full moon day	December (Mangsire Purnima)

Source: Field visit 2010

### **Kokphekwa Tungnam**

In Limbu calendar Kokphekwa Tungnam started from the first day of Magh (New Year starts from this day) is marked a great festival by the Limbu people. They celebrate this day with a great enthusiastic. By early morning the Limbu people make their houses clean and they take bath and worship and pray to their deity goddess (Yuma) and offers aapsok (prasad) to the deity consisted of fresh fruits, roots, sweets and other food items. The family member of Limbu people gather together and they share and exchange their festive happiness; they eat fruits, roots different types of food items, and dishes and enjoy themselves with great enthusiasm. On this occasion they even perform paddy dances singing palam and makes marry. This day is called Kokphekwa tумыen.

### **Sisekpa tумыen**

Sisekpa Tумыen is another important festival celebrated by the Limbu people in West Sikkim. The first day of the month is called Sisekpa tумыen. This day is marked of prosperity. As because people could survive from famine and there is no more tension of food crisis. They can survive by eating any kinds of fruits, roots and cereals which are ripening in the field. On this happy mood they collectively gather together and makes marry. On the evening of the day, people of villages collect the new ripen fruits, roots, cereals, flowers and vegetables are tied in a

rope and hang over the four walls of their each houses. On this day also, they celebrate with a great marry making. This festival falls on the first day of Srawan or mid of July every year.

### **Tasi tungnam**

In the same way- Tusi tungnam is also one great festival. Limbu people marked this day as a victory of truth over the sin (false). They think that, the truth always wins the race. On this occasion, all the family members, relatives come together in order to pay respect to their parents, elders. At the same time, the elderly men put tika over the forehead and give blessing to his/her sons, daughter and younger and provide different food items and enjoy themselves. This day of festival falls on Suklapaksha Dasami of Asoj or Kartic (October) every year.

### **Balihang tungnam (Tihar)**

Balihang tungnam is another important festival celebrates by the Limbu people. Limbu people celebrate this festival as a mark of respect to incarnated Balihang. Balihang was a king. One day he was dead, but with the grace of God he got rebirth and on the occasion of the king's rebirth his countrymen prayed and worship to the god in their each house. The next day, each sister of every house worshiped their brothers as their guard and as a mark of respect in lieu of their king. This practice adopted year after year. This festival falls on new moon day in the month of Kartik (November) every year.

### **Teyongshi Sirijunga Sawan tungnam**

This is also one of the important festivals celebrate by the Limbu people of West Sikkim. This is the day of birth anniversary of Teyongshi Sirijunga. On this day, each Limbu people worship the Lord Teyongshi Sirijunga at their houses and also gather in the temple and worship in the temple in order to pay homage to him. This day of festival falls on full moon day (i.e. Mangsire Purne) in December every year. This day has been declared as government holiday as a mark of respect by the persent Sikkim Sate Government.

### **3.12 The dark age of Limbu literature**

‘Sirijunga Teyongshi’ as mentioned above was born in the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century in Yangrup Thum, Libuwan., revived, modified and dedicated his life towards teaching and propagating Sirijunga script and literature throughout the Limbu world including Sikkim. (Subba, P.S.1977).

Sirijunga Teyongshi has been regarded as a pioneer of modern Limbu literature and script, was prompted to enter Sikkim and started teaching Limbu literature and script to the Limbus. It is believed that Teyangshi Sirijunga was the first person who propagated and created literary renaissance in the history of Limbu in Sikkim, which culminated him martyrdom at Martam-Bermiok, West Sikkim in the year 1741 A.D., where Teyongshi Sirijunga Mangheem has been constructed now. After that a century back Lallshor Shendang was born in 1840 A.D. at Athrai Thum, Limbuwan. He came to Sikkim with great zeal and interest of teaching Limbu script and literature, biography and teachings of Teyongshi Sirijunga and passed way in 1926 due to cardiac complication.

Thereafter, I.S. Chemjong was born with an untiring zeal and interest of Limbu script and literature in 1904 at Kalimpong, Darjeeling. With his strong initiation, the first Limbu primer called “Yakthung Sapla” was published in 1928 from Calcutta by late Bajbir Thollong. In 1951, a Limbu primer called Tum Ningwaphu Yakthung Sapla, and its second edition were published jointly by four persons late I.S. Chemjung late M.B. Khamdhak., late S.B. Khamdhak, and late P.S. Subba (Subba, 1997).

Late I.S. Chemjong made tremendous contribution towards Limbu literature publishing various books. However an unprecedented, a historical day dated on 11-03-1968 appointed late Itchha Purna Das Subba of Samdong, West Sikkim as a first Limbu language teacher at Samdong Government School, West Sikkim, vides Memo No. (36) 62/990 Education thereafter teaching of Limbu language began as an optional subject in the schools of Sikkim.

The then king of Sikkim Chogyal Palden Thendup Namgyal (1923-82) approved the Limbu language for study. This was the foundation of Limbu language study initiated by the then Government of Sikkim Kingdom and considered as the greatest event in the history of Limbu language.

In May 16, 1975 Sikkim was integrated into the Union of India and became 22<sup>nd</sup> state of India under the leadership the then Chief Minister L.D. Kazi. Then in December 1975, B. B. Muringla and Chandra Mangyung were appointed to prepare Limbu text books for primary class and



subsequently for other higher classes also. Limbu was recognized as an official language in Sikkim in 1981 (Sikkim Government Gazettee No. 17 as dated 06-03-1981). In 1981 and 1983 Central Board of Secondary Education, New Delhi approved Limbu language as a compulsory language for classes IX-X and XI-XII, further in 1984 Limbu script was selected for national award for its designing and was conferred by the then President of India to Shree Sancha Man Limbu. Since the date 03-03-1983, All India Radio, Gangtok started broadcasting Limbu programmes. In 1996, a telefilm and Public Relation department of Sikkim, Gangtok began publishing Sikkim Herald in Limbu version. In the year 2000 North Bengal University granted Limbu language in Under graduate study and began to study in Tadong Government Degree Collage, Gangtok and in Kamrang Government Degree Collage, Namchi (Subb, J.R. 2004:29-30 Mahatma Sirijunga Singhthebe).

In due course, with the advent of Shree B. B. Muringla in the post of Limbu Text Book Writer, the Limbu script and literature took a new mould. Several books in Limbu language were published. Sirijunga font was developed in computer in 1975 further improvement was made in 2000. The present Sirijunga fonts are encoded in Unicode standard consist the following characters:

*9 vowels (kubung-sok), 8 vowel signs (sok-nam), 25 consonants (kudhok-sok), 8 conjoint letters (chuk-sok), 3 sub-conjoint letters (ektum-sok), 3 phonetic symbols (kusek-sok) and 10 punctuations (tuk-pe).*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.1 Background

In this chapter, the researcher presents the sociolinguistic findings retrieved from the analysis of the data on various aspects of the language. This chapter deals with the analysis of the data on dialect mapping, language resources, mother tongue proficiency or bilingualism/multilingualism, proficiency on other languages, status of Limbu in the use of education, domain of language use, language endangerment, language transmission and vitality, language loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, language attitude, and appreciative inquiry.

#### 4.2 Dialect mapping

Whether the Limbu people of your community are living in concentrated or dispersed?

Table 4 displays the concentration of Limbu speakers in West Sikkim. In response to the question whether the Limbu people of their community are living concentrated or in dispersed, out of 54 respondents, thirty-nine responded that Limbu people in West Sikkim are living in concentrated whereas 15 of them said that they are living in dispersed. This can be shown in the following table:

**Table 4: Concentration of the Limbu speakers**

n= 54	Responses	Percentage
Concentrated	39	72
Dispersed	15	28

Source: Field visit, 2010

The concentration of the Limbu speakers can also be displayed through the following diagram. Figure 2 indicates the concentration of the Limbu speakers in West Sikkim.

**Figure 2: Living in concentrated or dispersed**

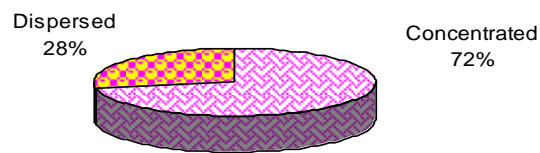


Figure 2 shows that out of the total respondents, 72% replied that Limbu speakers are living in concentrated whereas 28% of them responded that they are living in dispersed.

#### **4.3 Where do Limbu people speak this language exactly the same as you?**

According to the collected data, the Limbu native speakers of Bara-Samdong, Chotta-Samdong, Samsing, Timburbong, and Tharpu under Soreng S.D.M. Dentam Labing circle; and Lingchom, Titchek, Darap, Labing, Thingling under Geyzing circle speak the same language as the speakers of Hee-Gaon replied. Hee-Gaon is taken as core area of the Limbu language in West Sikkim for the purpose of this research.

The Limbu language spoken in West Sikkim is Panthare dialect, which is intelligible to all the Limbu people of Sikkim and other states of India and even in Nepal. But no Chhatharey speaker is found in West Sikkim. It is found only in Nepal. The Panthare dialect spoken in West Sikkim is quite intelligible for every Limbu speaker. It is also used in mass media such as radio, television, and newspapers.

#### **4.4 Language resources**

What resources are available in your language?

The language resources, available in the Limbu language are Sirijunga script, descriptive grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, films, CD/DVD, folksongs, folk stories, cultural and religious books such as Mundhum and written literature.

There are no immigrants and migrants in the state which has affected to their language till date.

In West Sikkim itself, there are many organizations, such as Sirijunga Yaktung, Sakthim Phojumbho (Sirijunga Limbu Cultural Society), Sukhim Yakthung Sapsok Sungjumbho (Sikkim

Limbu Literary Association). These organizations are involved in the preservation, promotion, and development of Limbu culture, religion, language and literature.

#### 4.5 Data on mother tongue proficiency or bilingualism/multilingualism

##### 4.5.1 First language you learnt to speak

Table 5 displays the mother tongue proficiency of the Limbu speakers. The total number of people who responded to the question is given in the column  $n=$ .

**Table 5: Mother Tongue Proficiency of Limbu speakers**

Level of proficiency	n=	Good	Average	Little
		Respondents	Respondents	Respondents
Understand	54	48 (88%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)
Speak		45 (83%)	5 (9%)	4 (8%)
Read		35 (65%)	5 (9%)	14 (26%)
Write		33 (61%)	4 (7%)	17 (32%)

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 5 shows that most of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in understanding and speaking the language whereas 65% and 61% of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in reading and writing the language respectively. Similarly, only a few speakers are average in all the four skills of language. Very few speakers have little understanding and speaking the language where as 26% and 32% of Limbu speakers have little proficiency in reading and writing the language respectively. Mother tongue proficiency can be shown as in the following diagram:

**Figure 3: Mother tongue proficiency of Limbu speakers**

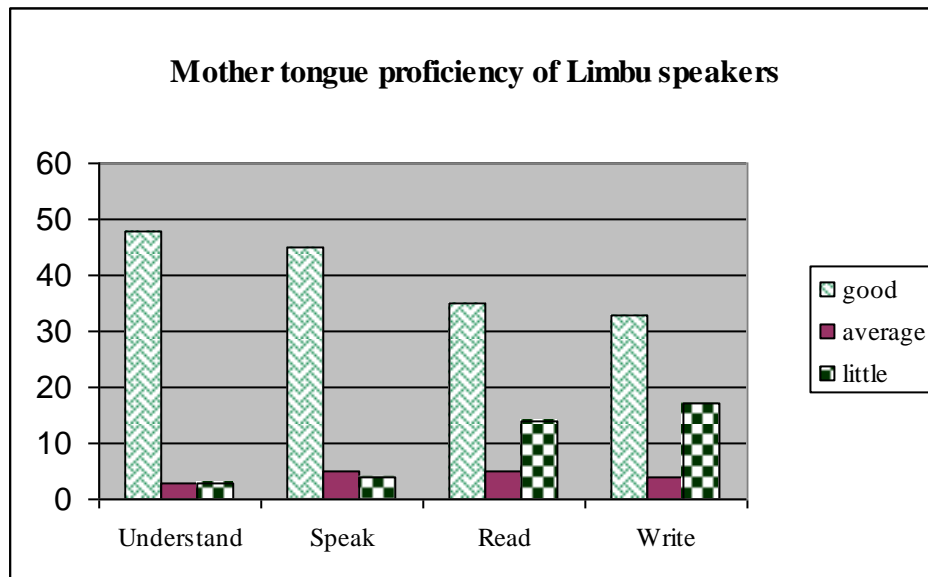


Figure 3 shows that most of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in all the four skills of language. Similarly, very few speakers have average proficiency in these skills. In the same way, very few speakers have little proficiency in understanding and speaking the language where as 26% and 32% of Limbu speakers have little proficiency in reading and writing the language respectively.

#### **4.5.2 Proficiency in other languages**

Table 6 displays the other languages known to the Limbu speakers. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 6: What other languages do you speak?**

Languages	n=	Responses
Nepali	54	54 (100%)
Hindi		40 (74%)
English		35 (65%)

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 6 shows that all the Limbu speakers are bilingual in Nepali where as 74% and 65% Limbu speakers are bilingual in Hindi and English respectively.

**a. Proficiency in Nepali**

Table 7 indicates the proficiency of Limbu speakers in Nepali. The total number of people who responded to the question is recorded as  $n=$ .

**Table 7: Proficiency of Limbu speakers in the Nepali language**

Level	n=	Good		Average		Little	
		Respondents	Percent	Respondents	Percent	Respondents	Percent
Understand	54	43	80	11	20	0	0
Speak	54	40	74	14	26	0	0
Read	52	25	48	14	27	13	25
Write	51	25	49	13	25	13	26

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 7 shows that most of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in understanding and speaking the Nepali language. Similarly, out of the total respondents 25 respondents said that approximately half of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in reading and writing Nepali. Some of the Limbu speakers have average proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading and writing the Nepali language. None of the Limbu speakers have little proficiency in understanding and speaking Nepali but some of them have little proficiency in reading and writing Nepali. This can be shown through the following figure:

**Figure 4: Proficiency of Limbu speakers in the Nepali language**

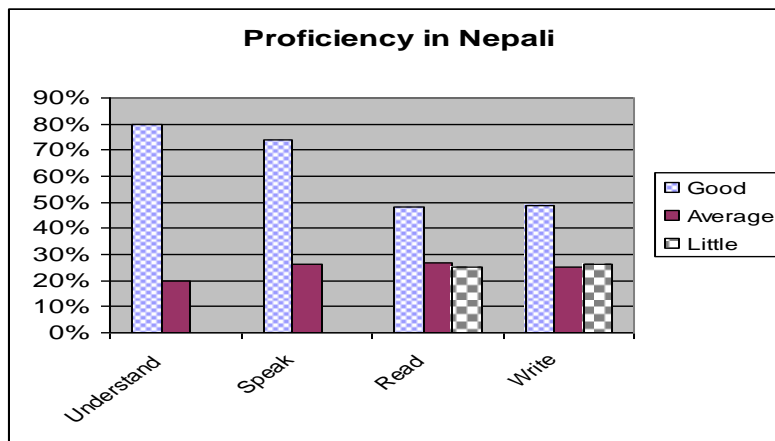


Figure 4 shows that 80% Limbu speakers have good proficiency and 20% have average proficiency in understanding Nepali. Similarly 74% have good and 26% have average proficiency in speaking Nepali. In the same way, 48% have good, 27% have average and 25% have little proficiency in reading Nepali and 49% have good, 25% have average and 26% have little proficiency in writing Nepali.

### b. Proficiency in Hindi

Table 8 displays the proficiency of Limbu speakers in Hindi. The total number of people who responded to the question is recorded as  $n=$ .

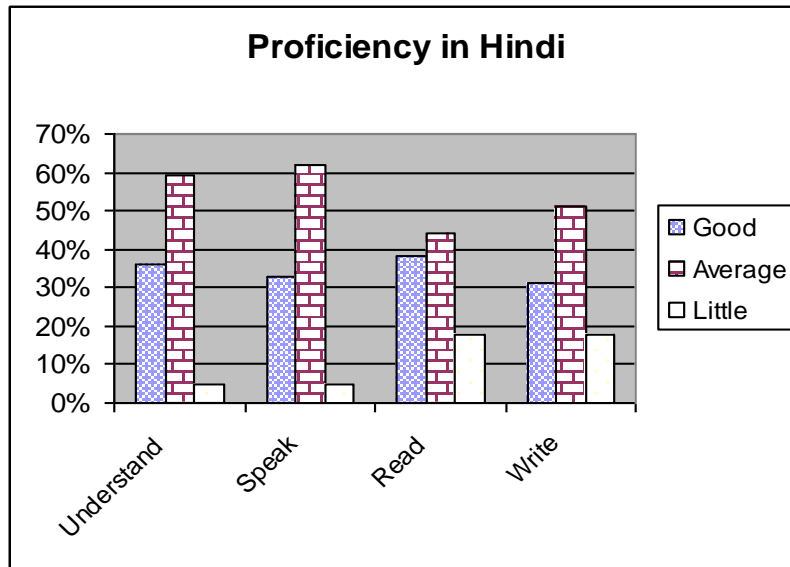
**Table 8: Proficiency of Limbu speakers in Hindi**

Level of proficiency	n=	Good		Average		Little	
		Response	%	Response	%	Response	%
Understand	39	14	36	23	59	2	5
Speak	39	13	33	24	62	2	5
Read	39	15	38	17	44	7	18
Write	39	12	31	20	51	7	18

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 8 shows that approximately one third of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading and writing the Nepali language. Similarly, out of the total respondents 23, 24, 17 and 20 said that they have average proficiency in Hindi in understanding, speaking, reading and writing respectively. Some of the Limbu speakers have little proficiency in all the four skills. Proficiency of Hindi can also be displayed through the following figure:

**Figure 5: Proficiency of Limbu speakers in Hindi**



Source: Field visit, 2010

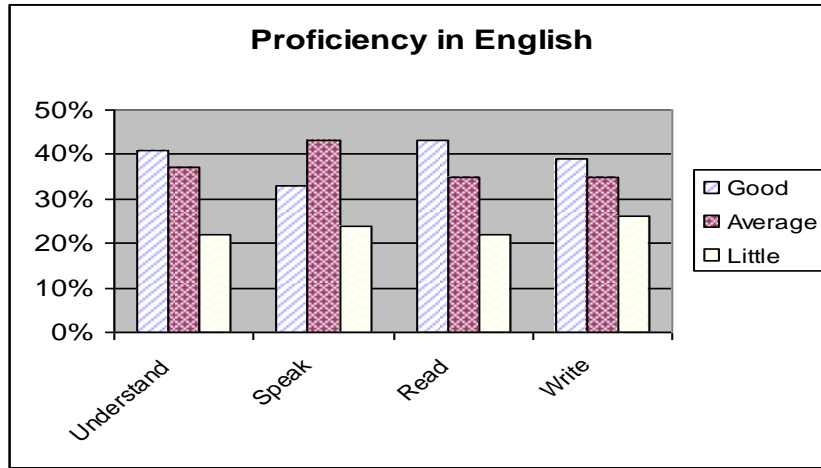
Figure 5 shows that 36% Limbu speakers have good, 59% have average and 5% have little proficiency in understanding Hindi. Similarly 33% have good, 62% have average and 5% have little proficiency in speaking Hindi. In the same way, 38% have good, 44% have average and 18% have little proficiency in reading Hindi and 31% have good, 51% have average and 18% have little proficiency in writing Hindi.

### **c. Proficiency in English**

Figure 6 indicates the proficiency of Limbu speakers in English. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.



**Figure 6: Proficiency of Limbu speakers in English**



Source: Field visit, 2010

Figure 6 shows that 41% Limbu speakers have good, 37% have average and 22% have little proficiency in understanding English. Similarly, 33% have good, 43% have average and 24% have little proficiency in speaking English. In the same way, 43% have good, 35% have average and 22% have little proficiency in reading English and 39% have good, 35% have average and 26% have little proficiency in writing English.

Table 9 indicates other languages known to their family members. The total number of people who responded to the question is recorded as n=.

**Table 9: Other languages known to their family members**

	n=	Nepali	Hindi	English
Grandfather	54	54 (100%)		
Grandmother		54 (100%)		
Father		54 (100%)	6 (11%)	
Mother		54 (100%)	4 (7%)	
Spouse		54 (100%)	15 (28%)	12 (22%)
Children		54 (100%)	23 (43%)	26 (48%)

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 9 shows that all the Limbu speakers in West Sikkim are bilingual in Limbu-Nepali. Similarly, 11% fathers and 7% mothers are also bilingual in Hindi. In the same way, Nepali is

known to all respondent's spouses; where as Hindi and English languages are known to 28% and 22% spouses respectively. In the same way, Nepali language is known to all the Limbu children, where as Hindi is known to 43% and English is known to 48% Limbu children in West Sikkim.

Regarding multilingualism, it is not found at all among grandfathers and grandmothers but their fathers and mothers are found multilingual. Similarly, some of the spouses and children are found multilingual as they know mother tongue (Limbu), Nepali, Hindi and English.

#### 4.6 Script

Regarding the script majority of Literate Limbu speakers in West Sikkim can read and write Sirijunga, Devanagari and Roman scripts.

#### 4.7 Translation into other languages

Table 10 shows the percentage of Limbu speakers who can translate from and to the mother tongue. The total number of people who responded to the question is recorded as n=.

**Table 10: Translation from and to mother tongue**

	n=	Nepali	Hindi	English
Can translate from and to mother tongue	54	48 (89%)	32 (59%)	31 (57%)

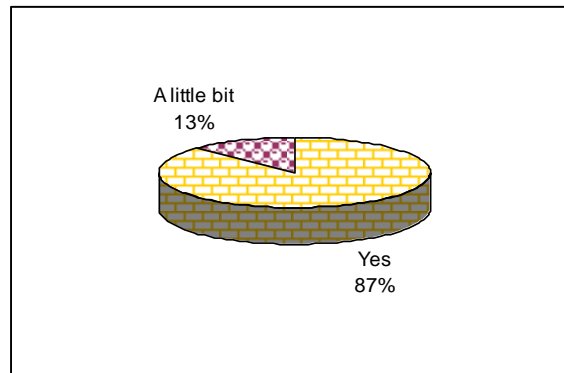
Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 10 shows that out of the total respondents 89% Limbu speakers of West Sikkim can translate from and to mother tongue into Nepali. Similarly, 59% can translate from mother tongue into Hindi and 57% in English.

#### 4.8 Understanding in Nepali

Figure7 tries to show that can a small child understand language of wider communication (LWC) when he/she first goes to school.

**Figure 7: Understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school**



Source: Field visit, 2010

Figure 7 shows that 87% Limbu children of West Sikkim can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school whereas 13% can understand a little.

#### **4.9 Language of wider communication**

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

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

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

##### **4.9.2 L1 speakers**

The type of L1 people who speaks mother tongue well are:

- a. People working together in the same community,
- b. Language teachers,
- c. Monolingual people and preliterate,
- d. Children of parents married with the same cast or community who speaks mother tongue,

- e. People of L1 dominated place,
- f. Those who have interest in L1.

### 4.9.3 Increase of LWC

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

Figure 8 shows that the number of L1 speakers or LWC is increasing in the Limbu community in West Sikkim. The total number of speakers who responded to the question were 54.

**Figure 8: Increasing of L1 speaker or LWC in the community**

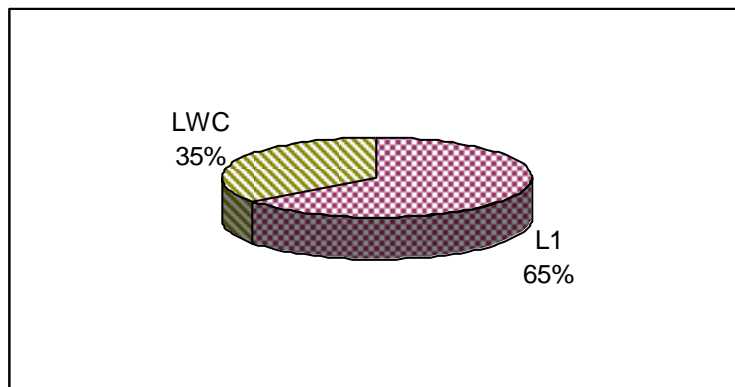


Figure 8 shows that 65% respondents said L1 speaker is increasing in their community whereas 35% replied that language of wider communication (LWC) is increasing in their community.

### 4.10 Domains of language use

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).

Table 11 shows the languages that respondents reported using in various domains. The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded in the column  $n=$ .

**Table 11: Most frequently used languages with reference to different activities**

<b>Purposes total</b>	<b>n=</b>	<b>Limbu</b>	<b>Nepali</b>	<b>Hindi</b>	<b>English</b>
Counting	54	38 (70%)	09 (17%)	0	07 (13%)
Singing		43 (80%)	07 (13%)	04 (7%)	0
Joking		45 (83 %)	08 (15%)	01 (2%)	0
Shopping/Marketing		42 (78%)	11 (20%)	01 (2%)	0

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 11 shows that Limbu is most frequently used in almost all the domains of language use. Most of the Limbu speakers of West Sikkim use their mother tongue for counting, singing, joking and shopping/marketing. Similarly, 17% speakers use Nepali and 13% use English for counting. 13% of the respondents said that they use Nepali for singing and 7% of the respondents said that they use Hindi for singing. For joking 15% speakers use Nepali and 2% use Hindi. Similarly, 20% use Nepali and 2% use Hindi for shopping/marketing.

#### **4.10.1 Frequently used language at home**

Table 12 indicates the languages that respondents reported using in various domains of language use. The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded as  $n=$ .

Language most frequently used at home with parents, spouse, children in relation of education, social events and family matters:

**Table 12: Languages most frequently used at home**

	Educational matters			Social events			Family matters		
	Limbu	Nepali	No response	Limbu	Nepali	No response	Limbu	Nepali	No response
Father	34	15	5	48	04	02	37	03	14
Mother	34	11	9	32	03	19	32	02	20
Spouse	37	17	0	35	04	15	36	03	15
Children	48	06	0	46	04	04	48	03	03

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 12 shows that most of the Limbu speakers use their mother tongue at home while talking about educational matters, social events and family matters. Similarly, 28% fathers, 20% mothers, 33% spouses and 11% small children use Nepali while talking about educational matters at home. In the same way, 6% mothers, 7% fathers, spouses and childrens use Nepali while talking about social events at home. Similarly, 4% mothers, and 6% fathers, spouses and children use Nepali while taking about family matters at home.

#### 4.11 Use of language

Table 13 indicates the languages that respondents reported using in various domains of language use. The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded in column  $n=$ .

**Table 13: Languages used in different domains of language**

	n=	Limbu	Nepali	Hindi
Telling stories to children	54	45 (83%)	9 (17%)	
Talking with playmates		39 (72%)	13 (24%)	2 (4%)
Singing songs		44 (81%)	2 (4%)	8 (15%)
In public meeting		43 (79%)	8 (15%)	3 (6%)

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 13 shows that most of the Limbu speakers use Limbu in telling stories to children, talking to playmates, singing songs and in public speech. Similarly 17% Limbu speakers use Nepali while telling stories to children, 24% use Nepali while talking with playmates, and only a few people use Nepali while singing songs and 15% use Nepali in public meetings. Regarding the use of Hindi which is the National language of the nation it is used in songs, with playmates and in public meeting. The data indicates that Limbu language speakers have strong hold in the west Sikkim regarding the domains of language uses.

#### 4.12 Mother tongue

Table 13 displays how often Limbu speakers use their mother tongue and language of wider communication (LWC). The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded in column *n*=.

**Table 14: Use of mother tongue and LWC**

Use of Language	Everyday	Every week	Every month	n=
Use of mother tongue	52 (94%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	54
Use of LWC	19 (44%)	1 (3%)	23 (53%)	43

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 14 shows that almost all the Limbu speakers use their mother tongue everyday, while 2% of the use their mother tongue every week and every month. Similarly 44% Limbu speakers use LWC everyday, 3% uses it every week and 53% of Limbu speakers use LWC every month. This can also be shown through the following diagram.

**Figure 9: How often mother tongue and LWC are used?**

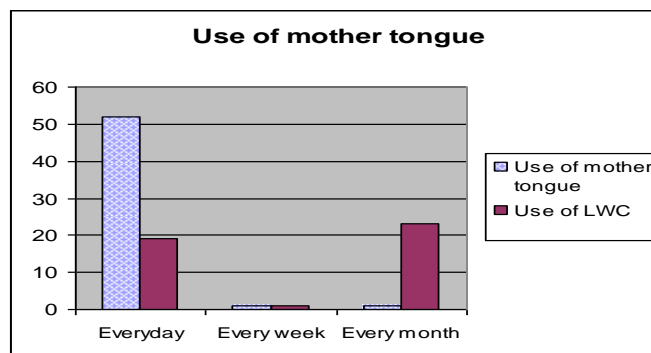


Figure 9 shows that mother tongue is used everyday by almost all the Limbu speakers of West Sikkim where as LWC is used everyday by only 44% of the Limbu speakers. Similarly, LWC is used by 53% of the Limbu speakers every month.

#### 4.12.1 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 Hindi is most frequently used in news, film songs and telefilms. Similarly, Nepali is most frequently used in folk songs and public speech.

#### 4.13 Language endangerment

In this section the researcher discusses about language endangerment. Figure 10 shows the responses on language endangeredment in the Limbu language. The total number of respondents for the question were 54.

**Figure 10: Language endangerment of Limbu**

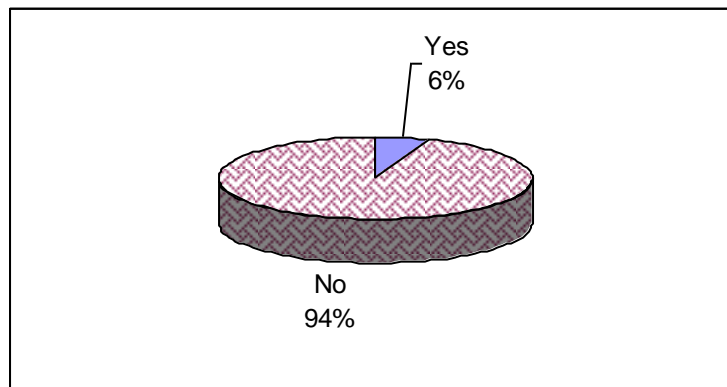


Figure 10 shows that Limbu is a safe language. This is because only 6% of them said that it is an endangered language.

#### 4.13.1 Position of L1 regarding language endangerment

**Table 15: what is the position of your language in terms of endangerment?**

Position of language	n	Yes	No
Potentially endangered	54	4	50
Endangered		1	53

Source: Field visit, 2010



Table 15 shows that Limbu in West Sikkim is not endangered. Out of 54 respondents only four said that Limbu is potentially endangered where as remaining 50 said that it is not potentially endangered.

#### 4.14 Language transmission and vitality

Table 16 shows that the transmission and vitality of the Limbu language of West Sikkim. The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded in column  $n=$ .

**Table 16: Vitality of the Limbu language**

Situations	n=	Yes	No
Do all your children speak your language?	54	49	05
Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?		48	06
If the same children will grow older, will they speak?		49	05
Is the language passed down effectively to the new generation		45	09
Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?		44	10

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 16 shows that out of the total respondents 49 respondents said that their children speak their language whereas 5 responded that their children do not speak. Similarly, 48 respondents said that their children will speak their language over when they grow up and get married and 6 respondents said no. Similarly, 49 respondents said that their children will speak their language even when they grow old and 5 respondents said they do not.

In the same way, out of 54 respondents said that Limbu language has been passed down effectively to the new generations where as remaining said it has not been passed down to the new generations effectively. Lastly, 44 respondents said that the young people in their village or town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken where as 10 said that they do not speak so.

#### 4.15 Language loyalty

Table 17 shows the language loyalty of the Limbu language of West Sikkim. The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded in column  $n=$ .

**Table 17: Language loyalty of the Limbu language**

Uses of language	Good/Yes		Bad/No		n=
	No.	Percent	No.	percent	
Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?	36	67	18	33	54
Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?	51	91	3	6	
How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language instead of their first language?	2	4	52	96	

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 17 shows that out of total respondents, 67% said that they do recognize a native speaker of their language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language whereas 33% respondents said that they do not recognize them as their own native language speaker. In the same way, 94% respondents said that they encourage their younger generation to speak their native language while 6 percent said they do not do so. Similarly, 4% said they feel good even when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their first language, where as 96% respondents said they feel bad.

Form the above discussion, it is presumed 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.

## 4.16 Language maintenance and shift

### 4.16.1 During childhood

In order to know the language maintenance and shift the undergiven questions was asked.

The questions are as follows.

**Table 18: What language did you speak when you were a child?**

Places and persons	Language				n=
	Limbu		Nepali		
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	
At home	52	96	52	96	54
With friends	48	89	42	78	
With neighbors	48	89	44	81	

Source: Field visit, 2010

The data of the table indicates that at home 96% Limbu speakers spoke both Limbu and Nepali equally at home during their childhood, 89% spoke Limbu language and 78% spoke Nepali language with friends. Similarly, with neighbors 89% spoke Limbu and 81% spoke Nepali during their childhood.

### 4.16.2 Use of mother tongue

Table 19 displays the language loyalty of the Limbu language of West Sikkim regarding the use of mother tongue. The total number of people who responded to each question is recorded is 54.

**Table 19: Use of mother tongue**

Questions	Yes	No
Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?	37 (67%)	17 (33%)
Is your mother tongue taught at school or college?	54 (100%)	
Is there any language teacher to teach your mother tongue	54 (100%)	

Do you like your children learn in mother tongue?	45 (83%)	9 (17%)
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Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 19 shows that out of total respondents, 67% said that the use of other language is increasing at home while remaining 33% said that there is no any other language which is increasing at home. Similarly, cent percent respondents said that their mother tongue is being taught and for that purpose language teaches are also available in West Sikkim.

Similarly, 83% respondents said that they like their children learn in their mother tongue, where as 17% respondents said they do not like it.

#### 4.16.3 Radio programme in Limbu language

Table 20 displays how often listen to radio program broadcast in their language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 20: Listening to radio programme broadcast in your language?**

Programmes	Always	Usually	Sometimes
	No.	No.	No.
Radio broad casting in Limbu	18 (33%)	24 (44%)	12 (23%)

Source: Field visit 2010

The data in the table 20 reveals that the radio programme in limbu listen by 33% Limbu speakers always listen to radio programs, 44% usually listen to radio broadcast while 23% listen only sometimes.

#### 4.17 Code mixing and code switching

Table 21 displays code mixing into other language in the Limbu language spoken in West Sikkim. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 21: Code switching into other language**

Question	Yes	No
Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?	27 (50%)	27 (50%)
Do your children mix other languages more than you do	35 (65%)	19 (35%)

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 21 shows that there are fifty-fifty Limbu speakers who mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language and who do not mix or switch to other language while speaking their language. Why they switch to other language is because it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages and appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages. The Limbu language spoken by the speakers and their grandparents has differences in pronunciation. Similarly, 65% Limbu speakers said that their children mix other language more than they do. The respondents feel that the words from other languages will certainly spoil the beauty and purity of their language instead of enriching their language and making more intelligible.

#### **4.18 Language attitude**

Table 22 shows the feelings about mother tongue against the other language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 22: Feeling about mother tongue against other languages.**

Feeling	n=	Respondents	Percentage
Rich	54	13	24
Precise		44	81
Musical		4	7
Prestigious		30	56
Literary		35	65
Pure		6	12
Ancient		2	4
Powerful		6	12

Source: Field visit, 2010

The table indicates that 7 percent respondents said that they feel their language is precise and 81 percent respondents said that they feel their language musical.

#### 4.19 Usefulness of mother tongue

Table 23 indicates the feelings of useful against other language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 23: Useful against other tongues in the following terms**

Domains	n=	Respondents	Percentage
Jobs	54	35	65
Business		4	7
Social		24	44
Literature		39	72
Medium of instruction		33	61
Science and technology		2	4

Source: Field visit,2010

The table 23 shows that 72 percent respondents in literature, 65 percent in jobs, 61 percent in medium of instructions, 44 percent in social, 7 percent in business and 2 percent respondents in science and technology, considered their mother tongue more useful against other tongues.

#### 4.19.1 Feeling on mother tongue

Table 24 displays feelings about mother tongue when they speak in the presence of the speaker of dominant language. The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 24: Feeling about mother tongue when they speak it in the presence of the speaker of dominant language**

Feelings	Respondents	Percentage
Prestigious	5	9
Embarrassed	8	15

Neutral	41	76
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Source: Field Survey 2009/10

Table 24 indicates that 76 percentage respondents are neutral, while 15 percent respondent and 9 percent respondent feel their mother tongue is embarrassed and prestigious respectively when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of other dominant language speakers.

#### 4.19.2 Language by children

Table 26 displays the responses on what language should Limbu children speak first? The total number of people who responded to the question is 54.

**Table 25: What language should your children speak first?**

Mother tongue		Neutral	
Response	Percentage	Response	Percentage
52	96	2	4

Source: Field visit, 2010

Table 25 shows that 96% Limbu speakers responded that their children should speak their mother tongue first while other four percentages remained neutral.

#### 4.19.3 First language of respondents

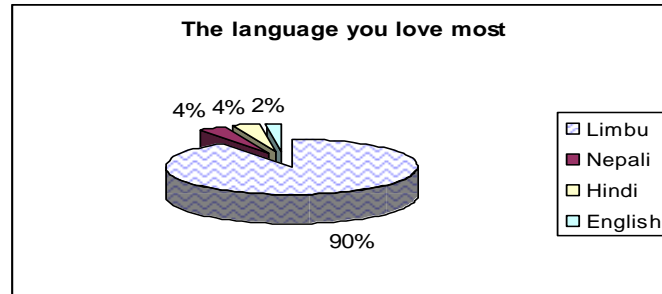
##### What are the two languages do you speak the most?

In response to the above question 52 respondents said Limbu and 2 respondents said Nepali, i.e. 96 percent and 4 percent out of 54 respondents.

#### 4.19.4 Attitude towards the language

Figure 11 displays the languages that the Limbu speaker the most. The total number of people responded the question is 54.

**Figure 11: The language you love most**



Source: Field survey 2010

The figure 11 shows that 90 percent respondents said that they love Limbu, 4 percent love Nepali and Hindi and 2 percent love English. These findings prove that they have strong positive attitude towards their mother tongue.

#### **4.20 Data on appreciative enquiry**

In order to know the appreciative enquiry the researcher place the following question to the informants. The questions are given below:

##### **4.20.1 Things to be proud**

What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?

The things found in their language that make them feel proud are: culture, script, literature, written text books, religion and etc.

##### **4.20.2 Dreams about mother tongue**

What are the dreams for your mother tongue?

The data reveals that the informants have the following dreams about their mother tongue:

- a. to see their mother tongue as one of the national languages in India,
- b. to see their language as a medium of education in primary level,
- c. to have different literary genres like Nepali, Hindi and English languages,
- d. to introduce in university level education.



### **4.20.3 Involvement**

To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?

As per the data, to materialize the dreams of those informants, government, community, social organizations, political bodies should take active role and initiation, and every member of their community should be consciously awakened.

### **4.20.4 Community**

In response to the question what the community can do itself to preserve and promote their language, respondents have said that community should:

- a. continue to speak, read and write,
- b. continue to practice and use of mother tongue by everybody in their family and in their community.
- c. to write literary books and publish and so on.

### **4.20.5 Government and non-government**

To preserve and promote your language what should the government and nongovernment organizations do?

In response to the above questions the respondents said that:

- a. The non-governmental bodies like associations, societies, community members, family members should have the feeling of love, affective dedication towards their language.
- b. They should play active and vital role for the preservation and promotion of their language.
- c. The public must take initiative role and give pressure to the government and its bodies
- d. In the constitution it should make some provisions of language preservation and promotion.
- e. The government must give recognition to the languages,
- f. They must safeguard of minority languages, and must give financial aids for the language development of each community.

#### **4.20.6 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 respondents said the following solutions:

- a. by making use of language in the medium of instruction at primary level,
- b. by publishing newspapers, journals, magazines,
- c. by encouraging people to write literature,
- d. by correcting spelling system,
- e. by writing grammar,
- f. by making dictionary ,
- g. by writing and publishing text books and etc.

#### **4.20.7 Opinion about 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 ways:

- a. Use of this language should be compulsory in governmental schools as well as in private English school,
- b. Publication of text books, magazine, newspapers journals should be increased,
- c. Language teachers should be appointed in large number,
- d. Young generation should be encouraged to speak, read and write of native language,
- e. Every member of community should take interest in learning own native language and should think it as their identity.
- f. The social organization bodies should approach to the government for the enclosing their language in the constitution of India.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Summary**

The summary of the research includes:

1. The Limbu language is spoken by nearly 19,000 people in some villages of Geyzing district in West Sikkim. Genetically Limbu belongs to Tibeto-Burman language family group of Sino-Tibetan.
2. Young people often avoid the use of their language. It is because of the fact that Nepali is the Lingua-franca in Sikkim. The non-Nepali speakers, therefore, need to develop proficiency in 'Nepali'. The Limbu people have their own ethnicity, culture, festivals, rites and rituals food habit and life style. It makes them distinct from their ethnic groups.
3. Like other Hindu people, they observe the festivals such as Dasain, Tihar, Saune and Mage Sakranti. However, their special festivals are Dasain and Ballihang Tongnam (Tihar) and Sirijunga Sawan Tangnam which they celebrate in Aswin/Kartik and Mangsir every year.
4. Besides their mother tongue, they also use the Nepali language as the second most frequently used language. Since Nepali is the national and official language, the Limbu speakers are immensely positive and enthusiastic enough to learn and use it together with their mother tongue. They use it as a second language in the market.
5. The Limbu people feel neutral to speak in the presence of the speakers of dominant language. It is due to practical or pragmatic causes for the need of establishing relationship among other. The folktale and folklores, script and literature, rites and rituals, religion show the richness of this language. The result of data analysis shows that most of the children use their own mother tongue more than Nepali in most domains i.e. inside their community.
6. The Limbu children speak their own language when they talk to their relatives. It is due to the identity affirmation and they feel easy to talk with their relatives who are linguistically similar, however, they use Nepali to talk with their relatives and neighbours who are other than Limbu speakers.

7. Most of the participants perceived that almost everyone in their village is bilingual as they speak Nepali as a second language. The participants also tend to think that when the young children first enter to school are able to understand their Nepali speaking teacher's teaching. It is estimated that no much time is needed for acquiring Nepali to understand in the school. It is found that the living adult Limbu people who speak their own language were bilinguals as they acquired their mother tongue prior to schooling and learned the Nepali, Hindi, English and other languages during school.
8. The language resources available in the Limbu language are written literature, like poems, plays, fictions, other genres, telefilms magazine, journals, and newspapers. They have developed and used in print and electronic media as well. The Limbu language, however, is not used in government offices, except the medium of subject books, newspaper, magazines and social activities.
9. Limbu people are both bilingual and multilingual. They speak Nepali as well as Limbu as well as Hindi, English, Lepcha, Bhutia, Rai and others.
10. Most of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in understanding and speaking their mother tongue where as 65% and 61% of the Limbu speakers have good proficiency in reading and writing the language respectively.
11. The Limbu speakers have positive attitudes towards their mother tongue since 90% of them said that they love the Limbu language most. They also said that their children should speak their mother tongue first. Most of the Limbu speakers said that medium of instruction for their children in primary level of education should be mother tongue.
12. The Limbu language is most frequently used in many domains of the language. They use their mother tongue in counting, story telling, singing, joking, shopping, playing, and in public meeting. Most of the Limbu speakers use their mother tongue at home while talking about educational matters, social events and family matters.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The conclusion of the research is as follows:

1. Most of the Limbu people frequently use their own language rather than other languages in most domains, particularly at home, with village friends, at local

market, at religious activities and while expressing their deepest and suffocated feelings. Overall, the majority of them opined that Limbu is the most efficient language for communication. They use it both in private and public affairs within their community quite happily. Besides their mother tongue, they also use Nepali language as second language. It means they have strong affinity and loyalty towards their language. It also shows that language shifts to other language is not so high. It was also found that they sometimes use their neighbouring language like Lepcha, Rai, Bhutia etc. which means most of the Limbu people are either bilingual or multilingual regardless of age, sex, occupation and education.

2. Their Nepali level is enough for meeting simple and routine needs and also may be enough for accurately understanding or discussing more complicated concepts necessary for gaining adequate employment and practical information in the area of health, agriculture, education, politics and civil affairs.
3. Limbu people are very optimistic and positive towards their language. They want to preserve and promote their language and educate their children in the Limbu language. They say that they feel proud of speaking their language. Limbu people are not only positive and loyal towards their own language but also towards other language too, like Nepali, Hindi and English.
4. Mainly, this language is found to be spoken by elder people. But the young generations almost avoid the use of their mother tongue because of dominance of the other language. Likewise, the children and the young ones do not use their own language while talking to their age group.
5. Similarly, the Limbu speakers have their own vocabulary to express situation, accent, sounds, sights and smells, etc which shows the vitality of their language. The trend of language maintenance of Limbu community particularly in religious and cultural activities, therefore, seems to be satisfactory. However, in other activities like education, administrative affairs, language shift seems to be greater than language maintenance.
6. The language use and the attitude findings imply that the Limbu language does not have so low vitality. The participants have overall positive attitude towards their

own mother tongue and mother tongue educations suggest that there is potential of sustainable community based language development efforts.

7. Language loss among the Limbu community is unlikely to the next few generations, but critically rigorous steps need to be taken to ensure its vitality.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix-A: Swadesh Worllist

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!%!	one	Ps	

!%@	two	b'O{	
!%#	three	tLg	
!%\$	four	Rff/	
!%%	five	Kff'r	
!%^	six	5	
!%&	seven	;ft	
!%*	eight	cf7	
!%(	nine	Gff}	
!^)	ten	Bz	
!^!	eleven	P3f/	
!^@	twelve	Affx	
!^#	twenty	aL;	
!^\$	one hundred	Ps;o	
!^%	who	sf]	
!^^	what	s]	
!^&	where	sxf'	
!^*	when	slxn]	
!^(	how many	slt	
!&)	which	s'g	
!&!	this	of]	
!&@	that	Tof]	
!&#	these	logLx?	
!&\$	those	pgLx?	
!&%	same	pxL	
!&^	different	km/s - cnu_	
!&&	whole	;a}	
!&*	broken	Kfm'6]sf]	
!&(	few	Yff]/}	
!* )	many	Wf]/}	
!*!	all	;a}	
!*@	to eat	Vffg'	
!*#	to bite	6f]Sg'	
!*\$	to be hungry	Ef]fsfpg'	
!*%	to drink	lkpg'	
!*^	to be thirsty	ltvf{pg'	
!*&	to sleep	;'Tg'	
!**	to lie	kN6g'	

!*(	to sit	Af:g'	
!()	to give	lbg'	
!(!	to burn	89fpg'	
!(@	to die	Dfg'{'	
!(#	to kill	Dffg'{'	
!(\$	to fly	p8\g'	
!(%	to walk	lx8\g'	
!(^	to run/run	bf}8\g'	
!(&	to go/go	Hffg'	
!(*	to come	cfpg'	
!((	to speak/	Aff]Ng'	
@))	to hear/listen	;'Gg'	
@)!	to look	x]g'{'	
@)@	I	Df	
@)#	you(informal)	T	
@)\$	you (formal)	tkfO{'	
@)%	he	Pm	
@)^	she	pgL	
@)&	we(inclusive)	xfdL - ;dfj]zL_	
@)*	we(exclusive)	xfdL - c;dfj]zL_	
@)(	you(plural)	ltdLx?	
@)!	they	pgLx?	

**Appendix-B: Swadesh 210 words in Limbu of different places**

S.N.	Word List	HeeGaon	Martam	Dentam/ Sopakha	Linchom/ Thingling	Hee-Patal
1	body	t <sup>h</sup> ək	t <sup>h</sup> ək	t <sup>h</sup> ək	t <sup>h</sup> ək	t <sup>h</sup> ək
2	head	t <sup>h</sup> agek	t <sup>h</sup> agek	t <sup>h</sup> agek	t <sup>h</sup> agek	t <sup>h</sup> agek
3	hair	t <sup>h</sup> agek-i:	t <sup>h</sup> agek-i:	t <sup>h</sup> agek-i:	t <sup>h</sup> agek-i:	t <sup>h</sup> agek-i:
4	face	nara	nara	nara	nara	nara
5	eye	mik	mik	mik	mik	mik
6	ear	neɣ <sup>h</sup> oʔ	neɣ <sup>h</sup> ak	neɣ <sup>h</sup> oʔ	neɣ <sup>h</sup> oʔ	neɣ <sup>h</sup> oʔ
7	nose	neboʔ	neboʔ	neboʔ	neboʔ	neboʔ
8	mouth	mura	mura	mura	mura	mura
9	teeth	heboʔ	heboʔ	heboʔ	heboʔ	heboʔ
10	tongue	lesoʔ	lesoppa	lesoʔ	mursoppa	mursoʔ
11	breast	nubək	nubək	nubək	nubək	nubək
12	belly	sap-pok	sap-pok	sap-pok	sap-pok	sap-pok
13	hand	huk	huk	huk	huk	huk
14	elbow	nəksumba	nəksumbo	nəksumba	nəksumba	nəksumb a
15	palm	hukʔappe	hukʔappe	hukʔappe	hukʔappe	hukʔappe
16	finger	hukco	hukco	hukco	hukco	hukco
17	fingernail	sēndi	sēndi	sēndi	sēndi	sēndi
18	leg	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ
19	skin	horik	howa	seho	horik	horik
20	bone	luŋsiʔ	yeppa	luŋsiʔ	luŋsiʔ	luŋsiʔ
21	heart	luŋma	luŋma	nerwet	nerwa	luŋma
22	blood	makk <sup>h</sup> i	makk <sup>h</sup> i	makk <sup>h</sup> i	makk <sup>h</sup> i	makk <sup>h</sup> i
23	urine	seʔmaʔ	seʔmaʔ	seʔmaʔ	seʔmaʔ	seʔmaʔ
24	feces	hi	hi	hi	hi	hi
25	village	paŋb <sup>h</sup> eʔ	paŋb <sup>h</sup> eʔ	paŋb <sup>h</sup> eʔ	paŋb <sup>h</sup> eʔ	paŋb <sup>h</sup> eʔ
26	house	him	him	him	him	him
27	roof	himg <sup>h</sup> am	Himlap	himg <sup>h</sup> am	himk <sup>h</sup> am bu	himg <sup>h</sup> am bu
28	door	lamd <sup>h</sup> et	lamd <sup>h</sup> et	lamd <sup>h</sup> et	lamd <sup>h</sup> et	lamd <sup>h</sup> et
29	firewood	Siŋ	Siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ
30	broom	ʔamsiri	ʔamduke	ʔamsiri	ʔamsiri	ʔamsiri
31	mortar	luŋg <sup>h</sup> oŋ	luŋg <sup>h</sup> oŋ	luŋg <sup>h</sup> oŋ	luŋb <sup>h</sup> eŋ	luŋg <sup>h</sup> oŋ
32	pestle	luŋsawet	məʔcima	luŋsawet	luŋsawet	luŋsawet
33	hammer	t <sup>h</sup> əwa	ʔəʔa	t <sup>h</sup> əwa	t <sup>h</sup> əwa	t <sup>h</sup> əwa
34	knife	sēŋi	sēŋi	sēŋi	sēŋi	sēŋi
35	axe	ʔə:ndi	ʔə:ndi	ʔə:ndi	ʔə:ndi	ʔə:ndi
36	rope	t <sup>h</sup> akpa	t <sup>h</sup> akpa	t <sup>h</sup> akpa	t <sup>h</sup> akpa	t <sup>h</sup> akpa
37	thread	k <sup>h</sup> i	k <sup>h</sup> i	k <sup>h</sup> i	k <sup>h</sup> i	k <sup>h</sup> i
38	needle	səmmeʔ	səmmeʔ	səmmeʔ	səmmeʔ	səmmeʔ



39	cloth	cirik	kuretlatet	tet	cirik	cirik
40	ring	swagepco	mundro	swagepco	swagepco	swagepco
41	sun	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam
42	moon	laba	laben	laba	laba	laba
43	sky	taᅇsak	taᅇsaᅇba	taᅇsak	taᅇsak	taᅇsak
44	star	k <sup>h</sup> esemik	k <sup>h</sup> esemik	k <sup>h</sup> esemik	k <sup>h</sup> esemik	k <sup>h</sup> esemik
45	rain	wəhiᅇ	wəhiᅇ	wəhiᅇ	wəhiᅇ	wəhiᅇ
46	water	cwa	wa	cwa	cwa	cwa
47	river	yong <sup>h</sup> oᅇ	yong <sup>h</sup> oᅇ	yong <sup>h</sup> oᅇ	yong <sup>h</sup> oᅇ	yong <sup>h</sup> oᅇ
48	cloud	k <sup>h</sup> apmi	k <sup>h</sup> apme	k <sup>h</sup> apmi	k <sup>h</sup> apmi	k <sup>h</sup> apmi
49	lightening	sələᅇgo	sələᅇgopek ma	sələᅇgo	sələᅇgo	sələᅇgo
50	rainbow	namᅇ <sup>h</sup> iᅇgo	namᅇ <sup>h</sup> iᅇgor iba	namᅇ <sup>h</sup> iᅇ o	namᅇ <sup>h</sup> iᅇ o	namᅇ <sup>h</sup> iᅇ o
51	wind	surit	surit	surit	surit	surit
52	stone	luᅇ	luᅇ	luᅇ	luᅇ	luᅇ
53	path	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam
54	sand	yəᅇᅇ <sup>h</sup> a	yəᅇᅇ <sup>h</sup> a	yəᅇᅇ <sup>h</sup> a	yəᅇᅇ <sup>h</sup> a	yəᅇᅇ <sup>h</sup> a
55	fire	me:	me:	me:	me:	me:
56	smoke	mik <sup>h</sup> o	mik <sup>h</sup> u	mik <sup>h</sup> o	mik <sup>h</sup> o	mik <sup>h</sup> o
57	ash	k <sup>h</sup> appu	k <sup>h</sup> appu	k <sup>h</sup> appu	k <sup>h</sup> appu	k <sup>h</sup> appu
58	mud	k <sup>h</sup> am	k <sup>h</sup> am	k <sup>h</sup> am	k <sup>h</sup> am	k <sup>h</sup> am
59	dust	k <sup>h</sup> appuᅇra	k <sup>h</sup> appuᅇra	k <sup>h</sup> appuᅇra	k <sup>h</sup> appuᅇra	k <sup>h</sup> appuᅇra
60	gold	samyəᅇ	samyəᅇ	samyəᅇ	samyəᅇ	samyəᅇ
61	tree	siᅇbuᅇ	siᅇbuᅇ	siᅇbuᅇ	siᅇbuᅇ	siᅇbuᅇ
62	leaf	p <sup>h</sup> əᅇᅇla	p <sup>h</sup> əᅇᅇla	p <sup>h</sup> əᅇᅇla	siᅇp <sup>h</sup> eᅇwa	p <sup>h</sup> əᅇᅇla
63	root	siᅇsa:p	siᅇsa:p	siᅇsa:p	siᅇsa:p	siᅇsa:p
64	thorn	ti:ᅇ	ti:ᅇ	ti:ᅇ	ti:ᅇ	ti:ᅇ
65	flower	p <sup>h</sup> uᅇ	p <sup>h</sup> uᅇ	p <sup>h</sup> uᅇ	p <sup>h</sup> uᅇ	p <sup>h</sup> uᅇ
66	fruit	ceseᅇpəkw a	ceseᅇpəkwa	pəkwa?	ceseᅇpəkw wa	ceseᅇpəkw wa
67	mango	ambe	ambe	ambe	ambe	ambe
68	banana	təᅇᅇlase	təᅇᅇlase	təᅇᅇlase	təᅇᅇlase	təᅇᅇlase
69	wheat(husked )	t <sup>h</sup> ə	t <sup>h</sup> ə	t <sup>h</sup> ə	t <sup>h</sup> ə	t <sup>h</sup> ə
70	barley	si:	si:	si:	si:	si:
71	rice(husked)	sya?	yasya?	sya?	sya?	sya?
72	potato	kaᅇwak <sup>h</sup> e	kaᅇwak <sup>h</sup> e	kaᅇwak <sup>h</sup> e	kaᅇwak <sup>h</sup> e	kaᅇwak <sup>h</sup> e
73	eggplant	cikkuna	cikkuna	cikkuna	cikkuna	cikkuna
74	groundnut	seᅇiyok <sup>h</sup> a mse?	seᅇiyok <sup>h</sup> a se?	seᅇiyok <sup>h</sup> a mse?	seᅇiyok <sup>h</sup> a mse?	seᅇiyok <sup>h</sup> a mse?
75	chili	məcci	məcci	məcci	məcci	məcci
76	turmeric	həᅇāᅇᅇ	həᅇāᅇᅇ	həᅇāᅇᅇ	həᅇāᅇᅇ	həᅇāᅇᅇ
77	garlic	kəkpa	kəkma <sup>h</sup> o	kəkpa	kəkpa	kəkpa

78	onion	makkoʔ	makkoʔ	makkoʔ	makkoʔ	makkoʔ
79	cauliflower	p <sup>h</sup> uŋak	p <sup>h</sup> uŋak	p <sup>h</sup> uŋak	p <sup>h</sup> uŋak	p <sup>h</sup> uŋak
80	tomato	lavenda	lavenda	lavenda	lavenda	lavenda
81	cabbage	nuɖ <sup>h</sup> igakm a	nuɖ <sup>h</sup> igakm a	nuɖ <sup>h</sup> igak ma	nuɖ <sup>h</sup> igak ma	nuɖ <sup>h</sup> igak ma
82	oil	ni:ŋe	ni:ŋe	ni:ŋe	ni:ŋe	ni:ŋe
83	salt	yum	yum	yum	yum	yum
84	meat	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
85	fat(of meat)	sɛsotɔ	sɛsotɔ	sɛsotɔ	sɛsotɔ	sɛsotɔ
86	fish	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
87	chicken	wasatɔ	wazyak	wasatɔ	wasatɔ	wasatɔ
88	egg	wad <sup>h</sup> in	wad <sup>h</sup> in	wad <sup>h</sup> in	wad <sup>h</sup> in	wad <sup>h</sup> in
89	cow	pipma	Pipma	pipma	pipma	pipma
90	buffalo	saŋwetɔ	saŋwetɔ	saŋwetɔ	saŋwetɔ	saŋwetɔ
91	milk	pitnu	pitnu	pitnu	pitnu	pitnu
92	horns	ta:ŋ	ta:ŋ	ta:ŋ	ta:ŋ	ta:ŋ
93	tail	me	kume	me	me	me
94	goat	mɛndak	mɛndak	mɛndak	mɛndak	mɛndak
95	dog	k <sup>h</sup> ya	k <sup>h</sup> ya	k <sup>h</sup> ya	koco	k <sup>h</sup> ya
96	snake	ɔsek	ɔsek	ɔsek	ɔsek	ɔsek
97	monkey	sɔb <sup>h</sup> a	sɔb <sup>h</sup> a	sɔb <sup>h</sup> a	sɔb <sup>h</sup> a	sɔb <sup>h</sup> a
98	mosquito	yɛŋg <sup>h</sup> ana	yɛŋlange	yɛŋg <sup>h</sup> ana	yɛŋg <sup>h</sup> ana	yɛŋg <sup>h</sup> ana
99	ant	sikcemba	sikcembu	sikcemba	sikcemba	sikcemba
100	spider	k <sup>h</sup> amɖakw a	k <sup>h</sup> amɖakwa	k <sup>h</sup> amɖak wa	k <sup>h</sup> amɖak wa	k <sup>h</sup> amɖak wa
101	name	miŋ	miŋ	miŋ	miŋ	miŋ
102	man	məna	yapmi	məna	məna	məna
103	woman	mɛnc <sup>h</sup> uma	mɛnc <sup>h</sup> uma	mɛnc <sup>h</sup> um a	mɛnc <sup>h</sup> um a	mɛnc <sup>h</sup> um a
104	child	hinza	oŋekwa	hinza	hinza	hinza
105	father	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa
106	mother	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma
107	older brother	p <sup>h</sup> uʔ/p <sup>h</sup> up <sup>h</sup> uʔ	p <sup>h</sup> uʔ	p <sup>h</sup> uʔ	p <sup>h</sup> uʔ	p <sup>h</sup> uʔ/ p <sup>h</sup> up <sup>h</sup> uʔ
108	younger brother	nusaʔ	nusaʔ	nusaʔ	nusaʔ	nusaʔ
109	older sister	nɛnne	nɛnne	nɛnne	nɛnne	nɛnne
110	younger sister	nu-ema	nu-ema	nu-ema	nu-ema	nu-ema
111	son	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
112	daughter	ema	ema	ema	ema	ema
113	husband	yɛmba	yɛmba	yɛmba	yɛmba	yɛmba
114	wife	metɔ	metɔ	metɔ	metɔ	metɔ
115	boy	hinzaʔ	hinzaʔ	hinzaʔ	hinzaʔ	hinzaʔ
116	girl	picc <sup>h</sup> u	picc <sup>h</sup> u	picc <sup>h</sup> u	picc <sup>h</sup> u	picc <sup>h</sup> u

117	day	lɛ̃ɖi	lɛ̃ɖi	lɛ̃ɖi	lɛ̃ɖi	lɛ̃ɖi
118	night	sɛ̃ɖi	sɛ̃ɖi	sɛ̃ɖi	sɛ̃ɖi	sɛ̃ɖi
119	morning	ɬanam	ɬanam	ɬanam	ɬanam	ɬanam
120	noon	lɛ̃zo	lɛ̃zoyɛm	lɛ̃zo	lɛ̃zo	lɛ̃zo
121	evening	yunc <sup>h</sup> ik	yund <sup>h</sup> oŋ	yunc <sup>h</sup> ik	yunc <sup>h</sup> ik	yunc <sup>h</sup> ik
122	yesterday	mi-pma	mi-pma	mi-pma	mi-pma	mi-pma
123	today	ain	ain	ain	ain	ain
124	tomorrow	ɬa-ndik	ɬa-ndik	ɬa-ndik	ɬa-ndik	ɬa-ndik
125	week	yɛ̃t nam	yɛ̃t nam	yɛ̃t nam	yɛ̃t nam	yɛ̃t nam
126	month	laba	saba	laba	laba	laba
127	year	ɬəŋbe	ɬəŋbe	ɬəŋbe	ɬəŋbe	ɬəŋbe
128	old	uc <sup>h</sup> emba	uc <sup>h</sup> emba	uc <sup>h</sup> emba	uc <sup>h</sup> emba	uc <sup>h</sup> emba
129	new	kusəŋ	kusəŋ	kusəŋ	kusəŋ	kusəŋ
130	good	nuba	nuba	nuba	nuba	nuba
131	bad	ɬap <sup>h</sup> emba	ɬap <sup>h</sup> emba	ɬap <sup>h</sup> emba	cizippa	ɬap <sup>h</sup> emba
132	wet	pi:ndɛba	pi:ndɛba	pi:ndɛba	pi:ndɛba	pi:ndɛba
133	dry	kuhɛdya	kuhɛdya	kuhɛdya	kuhɛdya	kuhɛdya
134	long	kɛ̃mba	kɛ̃mba	kɛ̃mba	kɛ̃mba	kɛ̃mba
135	short	ɬaŋsa	ɬaŋsa	ɬaŋsa	ɬaŋsa	ɬaŋsa
136	hot	kɛgoba	kɛgoba	kɛgoba	kɛgoba	kɛgoba
137	cold	kɛsemba	kɛsemba	kɛsemba	kɛsemba	kɛsemba
138	right	cukwa	cukwa	cukwa	cukwa	cukwa
139	left	p <sup>h</sup> ɛŋwa	p <sup>h</sup> ɛŋwa	p <sup>h</sup> ɛŋwa	p <sup>h</sup> ɛŋwa	p <sup>h</sup> ɛŋwa
140	near	niɬaŋ	niɬaŋ	niɬaŋ	niɬaŋ	niɬaŋ
141	far	maŋg <sup>h</sup> a	maŋg <sup>h</sup> a	maŋg <sup>h</sup> a	maŋg <sup>h</sup> a	maŋg <sup>h</sup> a
142	big	yɛmba	yɛmba	yɛmba	yɛmba	yɛmba
143	small	cuksa	cuksa	cuksa	cuksa	cuksa
144	heavy	kɛri:ppa	kɛri:ppa	kɛri:ppa	kɛri:ppa	kɛri:ppa
145	light	yaŋyaŋba	yaŋyaŋba	yaŋyaŋba	yaŋyaŋba	yaŋyaŋba
146	above	ɬ <sup>h</sup> a:ŋ	ɬ <sup>h</sup> a:ŋ	kuɖ <sup>h</sup> uŋɖ <sup>h</sup> o	ɬ <sup>h</sup> a:ŋ	ɬ <sup>h</sup> a:ŋ
147	below	mɔ:	mɔ:	mɔ:	mɔ:	mɔ:
148	white	p <sup>h</sup> əkɛrəʔba	p <sup>h</sup> əkɛrəʔba	p <sup>h</sup> əkɛrəʔb a	p <sup>h</sup> əkɛrəʔb a	p <sup>h</sup> əkɛrəʔb a
149	black	maɛrəʔba	maɛrəʔa	maɛrəa	maɛrəʔb a	maɛrəʔa
150	red	hɛɬ- kɛrəʔba	hɛɬ-kɛrəʔba	hɛɬ- kɛrəʔba	hɛɬ- kɛrəʔba	hɛɬ- kɛrəʔba
151	one	ɬ <sup>h</sup> ik	ɬ <sup>h</sup> ik	ɬ <sup>h</sup> ik	ɬ <sup>h</sup> ik	ɬ <sup>h</sup> ik
152	two	nɛɬ	nɛɬ	nɛɬ	nɛɬ	nɛɬ
153	three	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum
154	four	li:	li:	li:	li:	li:
155	five	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
156	six	ɬuk	ɬuk	ɬuk	ɬuk	ɬuk

157	seven	nu:	nu:	nu:	nu:	nu:
158	eight	yeṭ	yeṭ	yeṭ	yeṭ	yeṭ
159	nine	p <sup>h</sup> aŋs	p <sup>h</sup> aŋs	p <sup>h</sup> aŋs	p <sup>h</sup> aŋs	p <sup>h</sup> aŋs
160	ten	t <sup>h</sup> ibon	t <sup>h</sup> ibon	t <sup>h</sup> ibon	t <sup>h</sup> ibon	t <sup>h</sup> ibon
161	eleven	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- t <sup>h</sup> ik	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- t <sup>h</sup> ik	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- t <sup>h</sup> ik	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- t <sup>h</sup> ik	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- t <sup>h</sup> ik
162	twelve	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- neṭ	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- neṭ	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- neṭ	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- neṭ	t <sup>h</sup> ibonəŋ- neṭ
163	twenty	nibon	nibon	nibon	nibon	nibon
164	one hundred	kipt <sup>h</sup> ik	kipt <sup>h</sup> ik	kipt <sup>h</sup> ik	kipt <sup>h</sup> ik	kipt <sup>h</sup> ik
165	who	ha:t	ha:t	ha:t	ha:t	ha:t
166	what	t <sup>h</sup> e	t <sup>h</sup> e	t <sup>h</sup> e	t <sup>h</sup> e	t <sup>h</sup> e
167	where	atti	atti	atti	atti	atti
168	when	app <sup>h</sup> elle	app <sup>h</sup> elle	app <sup>h</sup> elle	app <sup>h</sup> elle	app <sup>h</sup> elle
169	how many	akk <sup>h</sup> en	akk <sup>h</sup> en	akk <sup>h</sup> en	akk <sup>h</sup> en	akk <sup>h</sup> en
170	which	attin	attin	attin	attin	attin
171	this	kən	kən	kən	kən	kən
172	that	k <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> en
173	these	kənha?	kənha?	kənha?	kənha?	kənha?
174	those	k <sup>h</sup> enha?	k <sup>h</sup> enha?	k <sup>h</sup> enha?	k <sup>h</sup> enha?	k <sup>h</sup> enha?
175	same	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> en	k <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> en
176	different	we?we?	we?we?	we?we?	we?we?	we?we?
177	whole	kerek	kerek	kerek	kerek	kerek
178	broken	hereba	hereba	hereba	hereba	hereba
179	few	sullik	sullik	sullik	sullik	sullik
180	many	yərik	yərik	yərik	yərik	yərik
181	all	kerek	kerekke	kerek	kerek	kerek
182	to eat	ca:ma	ca:ma	ca:ma	ca:ma	ca:ma
183	to bite	ha?ma	ha?ma	ha?ma	ha?ma	ha?ma
184	to be hungry	setlakma	setlakma	setlakma	setlakma	setlakma
185	to drink	t <sup>h</sup> uŋma	t <sup>h</sup> uŋma	t <sup>h</sup> uŋma	t <sup>h</sup> uŋma	t <sup>h</sup> uŋma
186	to be thirsty	wamikma	wamikma	wamikma	wamikma	wamikma
187	to sleep	imma	imam	imma	imma	imam
188	to lie	leŋsiŋma	leŋsiŋma	leŋsiŋma	leŋsiŋma	leŋsiŋma
189	to sit	yuŋma	yuŋma	yuŋma	yuŋma	yuŋma
190	to give	pima	pima	pima	pima	pima
191	to burn	mid <sup>h</sup> ukma	mid <sup>h</sup> ukma	mid <sup>h</sup> ukm a	mid <sup>h</sup> ukm a	mid <sup>h</sup> ukm a
192	to die	si:ma	si:ma	si:ma	si:ma	si:ma
193	to kill	sepma	sepma	sepma	sepma	sepma
194	to fly	pəma	pəma	pəma	əma	pəma
195	to walk	laŋg <sup>h</sup> ekma	laŋg <sup>h</sup> ekma	laŋg <sup>h</sup> ekm a	laŋg <sup>h</sup> ekm a	laŋg <sup>h</sup> ekm a
196	to run/run	lokma	lokma	lokma	lokma	lokma

197	to go/go	pe:kma	pe:kma	pe:kma	pe:kma	pe:kma
198	to come	ta:ma	ta:ma	ta:ma	ta:ma	ta:ma
199	to speak/	papma	papma	papma	papma	Papma
200	to hear/listen	k <sup>h</sup> emma	k <sup>h</sup> emma	k <sup>h</sup> emma	k <sup>h</sup> emma	k <sup>h</sup> emma
201	to look	omepma	omepma	omepma	omepma	omepma
202	I	aŋaʔ	aŋaʔ	aŋaʔ	aŋaʔ	aŋaʔ
203	you(informal) singular: plural:	k <sup>h</sup> eneʔ /k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eneʔ /k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eneʔ /k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eneʔ /k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eneʔ /k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ
204	you (formal) singular plural	aḍaŋba aḍaŋbahaʔ	aḍaŋba aḍaŋbahaʔ	aḍaŋba aḍaŋbaha ʔ	aḍaŋba aḍaŋbaha ʔ	aḍaŋba aḍaŋbaha ʔ
205/ 6	s/he	k <sup>h</sup> uneʔ/hu neʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uneʔ/hun eʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uneʔ/h uneʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uneʔ/h uneʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uneʔ/h uneʔ
207	we(incl) a.du b. plural	anchiʔ aniʔ	anchiʔ aniʔ	anchiʔ aniʔ	anchiʔ aniʔ	anchiʔ aniʔ
208	we(excl) a. du b. plural	anc <sup>h</sup> ige anige	anc <sup>h</sup> ige anige	anc <sup>h</sup> ige anige	anc <sup>h</sup> ige anige	anc <sup>h</sup> ige anige
209	you(plural) you (two)	k <sup>h</sup> eniʔ k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eniʔ k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eniʔ k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eniʔ k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> eniʔ k <sup>h</sup> enchiʔ
210	they(plural)  they (two)	k <sup>h</sup> uniʔ/hun iʔ k <sup>h</sup> unchiʔ/h unchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uniʔ/huni ʔ k <sup>h</sup> unchiʔ/h unchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uniʔ/hu niʔ k <sup>h</sup> unchiʔ/ hunchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uniʔ/hu niʔ k <sup>h</sup> unchiʔ/ hunchiʔ	k <sup>h</sup> uniʔ/hu niʔ k <sup>h</sup> unchiʔ/ hunchiʔ

## Appendix -C: 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.....
  - (e) 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"/>	.....
(b).....	<input type="text"/>	.....
(c).....	<input type="text"/>	.....
(d).....	<input type="text"/>	.....
(e).....	<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.....      (d) 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                                   

(d) Write                                

(iv) *Language name* .....

*G*                    *A*                    *L*

(a) Understand                        

(b) Speak                                

(c) Read                                 

(d) Write                                

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 -D: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire**

Participatory Approach

Place: Hee Gaon, West Sikkim

Date: 12 and 15-05- 2010

### **Participants (A)**

1. Anil Limbu
2. Arjun Limbu
3. Chandra Hang Limbu
4. Chandra Limbu
5. Hangpal Limbu
6. Hangswati Limbu
7. K.B. Limbu
8. Mani Raj Limbu
9. Meemjima Limbu
10. Mukesh Limbu
11. Praveshna Limbu
12. Sanchaman Limbu
13. Sujana Limbu

### **Participants (B)**

1. Budhi Raj Limbu
2. K. B. Limbu
3. Mon Bahadur Limbu
4. Manu Hangma Limbu
5. Mikki Limbu
6. Mingsho Limbu
7. Pravesh Limbu
8. Sen Hangma Limbu
9. Smika Limbu
10. Suhang Limbu
11. Sunu Hangma Limbu

Participants of (A) and (B) are participated in participatory approach in Dialect Mapping, Language Resources, Domains of Language and Language Attitude, respectively.

### Dialect Mapping

Hee-Gaon	Hee-Bazar
Sajbote	Hee-Patal
Hee-yangthang	Hee-Kengbari
Hee-Sapung	

### Language Resources

Text books	Khyali (a variety of Limbu song)
Hakpare (a variety of Limbu song)	Mangsewa (praying to God)
Palam (a song sing in paddy dance)	Mangkhoma (worshiping)
Kheda Sapma (to write stories)	

### Domains of Language Use

Home	Friends
Village	Meeting
Relatives	School

### Language Attitude

Language reading writing	To develop our language
Speaking our language	To protect our language
To save language	Language studying is important

**Appendix-E: Photographs**



A typical Limbu house at Hee-Gaon



A Limbu family



An elderly Limbu man with his great-grand daughter



Dialect mapping



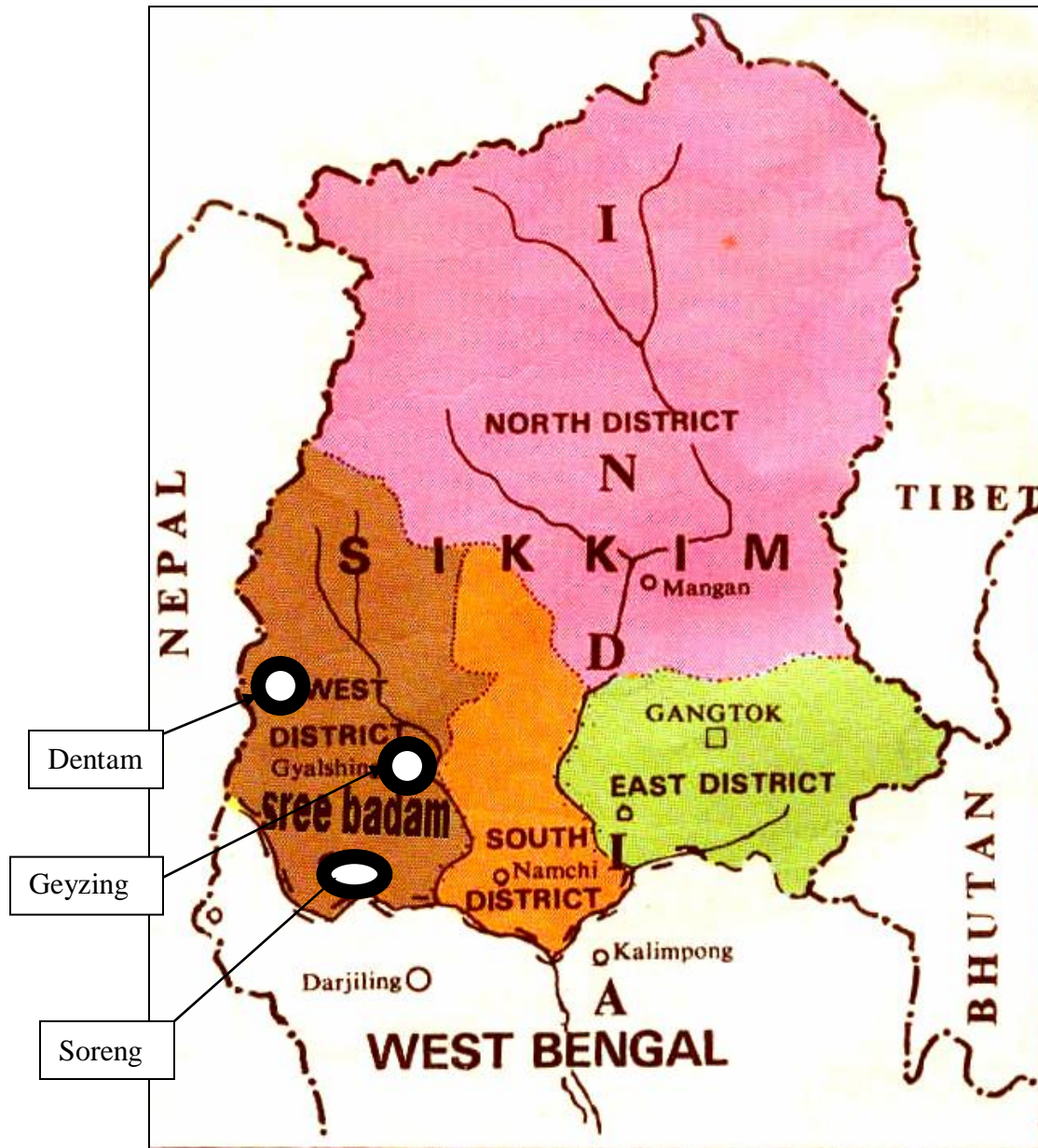


Participants group (A)



Participants group (B)

## Appendix F: The Map of Sikkim



Source: [www.sikkim-adventure.com](http://www.sikkim-adventure.com)