

Chapter – I

Introduction; Indigenous Culture Reflected in Athpahariya Language

1.1 Introduction

Nepal is a multilingual, multi-religious and multiracial country where more than 70 languages are spoken. Nepal has linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity. People living here are distinguished by their faces, garb and languages. They retain distinct identities maintaining their languages and traditions in hills, cities and valleys. The heartlands of these languages and cultures are the villages scattered across the mountains and plains of Nepal.

In the paper entitled “Multilingualism and the language situation in Nepal”, presented to the National Seminar by Tej Rana Kansakar observes that at least 60 different ethnic communities or castes and distribution of over 70 languages are spoken within the country’s present day political boundaries. There are four main different language families in Nepal namely: Tibeto- Burman, Indo- Aryan, Austro-Asiatic Munda and Dravidian.

Among the Tibeto-Burman languages, the Rai group has a typical characteristic. The word ‘Rai’ is used to signify a single ethnic group in literature, by government administration and in every speech. In reality, however, this is not the case.

According to local oral tradition, originally there were 10 Kirāti (Rai) groups. According to Northey W. Brook and C. J. Morris, writers of the book *The Gurkhas, Their Manner, Customs and Country*, these 10 kiratīs are – Athpahare, Bantawa, Chamling, Kulung, Lhorung, Newahang, Nechali, Sampang, Thulung and Chaurasia. However, this list differs from source to source. Some authors include more than 10 Kirātis in their list. Dor Bahadur Bista lists the 18 major *thars* (subtribes) with related habitats in his book *People of*

Nepal. He writes “Rais are divided into segmentary series of territorial units, territorial units at each level being linked to corresponding units of descent” (34).

Charles McDougal describes the Kulung Rai of the Hongu valley Sangkhuwasabha District in his article *Structure and division in Kulung Rai Society*. He says:

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Rais are divided into tribes, the latter are divided into subtribes, which in turn are divided into branches, each of which is composed of a number of clans. This is a structure of agnatic descent; recognized common ancestors from the points of articulation whereby clans are grouped into branches, branches into sub tribes, and sub tribes into tribes (Vol.1: 206).

Gerd Hansson lists thirty- two languages in his book *The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping Findings of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal*. All of them differ from each other even though they belong to the same group. None of them have their own script. The languages are as fallows:

Bahing	Waling	Thulung	Ramdali
Khaling	Umbule	Mewahang	Hayu
Sampang	Athpahariya	Yamphu	Phangduwali
Jerung	Chamling	Tilung	Dumi
Koyu	Kulung	Polmacha	Bantawa
Yakkha	Loharung	Chulung	Dungmali
Lambichong	Puma	Bangdel	Chukwa
Chintang	Mugali	Belhare	Nachering

In the research paper *An Ethnographic Study of Social Change among the Athpahariya Rais of Dhankuta*, Dilli Ram Dahal says:

Rais Themselves claim that every subgroup has its own language, each unintelligible to the others. In this context, there is saying prevalent among the Nepali speaking population of areas, *Jati Rai uti kura* (as many languages as there are Rais). From the linguistic standpoint, therefore, it is difficult to argue that the Rais were ever a single cultural group, nor were they considered as such before the conquest of Prithivi Narayan Shah of these traditional Kiranti areas (16).

In different sections of East Nepal, Rais are addressed by different terms. The Dhankuteli Rais or Athpahariyas are called Jimdar-Jimdarni by outsiders, while in Okhaldhunga, Khotang and Bhojpur districts, they are called Khumbu-Khumbuni. In other places they are addressed simply by their ethnic names. The Athpahariyas are called Jimdar-Jimdarni and this reflects the fact that they are recognized as the indigenous people of the area, because the words Jimdar-Jimdarni basically reflect the two concepts for the local people. First, the word signifies as land-owner of the area and secondly, they are the traditional worshipers of the local indigenous divinity, 'Jimi'.

The original homeland of the Rais is said to be *Manjh Kirat* (Middle Kirat). The district Bhojpur, Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Udaipur is the original settlement areas of all Rais. Rais migrated across the Arun River (the eastern boundary of Middle Kirat) and settled in Dhankuta, Ilam, Taplejung, Pachthar, Sankhuwasabha and even further east in India, Bengal, Sikkim and Assam.

The Athpahariyas are one of the many groups of Rais. They call their country in Nepali as *Nau Pagariko theka thiti Muluk* (the country administered to the rules and regulation of the

nice major clans of the Athpahariyas). Their traditional territories, they claim, include the areas east of river Tankhuwa, west of Dhankuta or Mangsuwa river north of Marga Pokhari and Hile and south of the river Tamar. These territories are said to be the original homeland where the vast majority of the Athpahariya people still live. These days, however, several other groups such as Brahmins, Chhetries, Newars, Magars, Limbus, Bhujels, Blacksmiths, Cobblers, etc. also the inhabitant of these areas.

Athpahariya were known as the Jimi Kirāti in the beginning but after a long time they became as the Athpahariya. They used to stay in many small groups later they unified due to the fear of their enemies. In the beginning Athpahariya had eight *pachha* (clan) but now days the numbers are being increased and become twenty-one *pachha* (clan) all together. They are; Tumyang Chhitlinge, Phokkhim, Kimdag, Chhara, Mangbhung, Hombarag, Chharingme, Lengsuwa, Khabaduk, Pangsung, Choongden, Roduwa, Chalne, Chamling, Parghari, Wasangri, Yakkha, Patrai, Tumchha, Pogyanggu, Ingwa. Ram Bahadur Kimdang Rai has given reasons that why the Athpahariya Rai is divided into many pacchas in his book *Athpahariya Rai ko Britanta* (the details of Athpahariya Rai). There is a word *chong* in the Athpahariya language meaning 'clan'. Thus, when an Athpahariya desires to know the clan of another Athpahariya, he asks, '*Pak chong ba*' (what clan are you)? Clan in the Athpahariya context signifies common descent from an original ancestor who may exist only in the mythological past and whose ancestry cannot be traced properly. F. M Kessing has described about clan in his book *Cultural Anthropology*. He says:

A unilateral descent group can have a more general character and membership: as such it is usually called a clan. Clans will over arch lineage if they are part of the social structure. A clan system assigns a number of individuals in each generation to a common descent category or class which, by the unilateral principle, may be either patrilineal or matrilineal. The clan

has been called a form of great family, extending either in the male or the female line, this grown to proportions where actual genealogies have usually been lost, but nevertheless based on a belief of the members that they have common descent from an original progenitor. Such a progenitor may be human or else a spirit being or “totemic” object of the animal or plant world (277).

Athpahariya clans are exogamous, patrilineal and with patrilocal residence. Sometimes, the residence can be virilocal as well. Sexual relations or marriage within the same clan is not at all permissible. Members of the same clan are *bangsa*, in other words, they are descended from one father and all of them have the same blood. Among the Athpahariyas sometimes two clan groups are also made ‘social brother’, and sexual relations between these two groups are then considered incestuous and intermarriage is forbidden. The two groups, however, do not consider themselves as blood brothers, but say that their ancestors had made *satya kabul* (true promise) which they are still following. For example Hombarak (clan) and Chhara (clan) do not intermarry. Their legend says they had two fathers and one mothers. Their legend; An Athpahariya woman was living with a Hombarak man. When she had a few sons, she left the man and ran away with a Chhara man. From him she had a few sons. Since then, they believe that members of both clans are brothers and sisters.

Presently, if a woman has two husbands one after the other and the husbands come from different clans, there cannot be intermarriage between the descendants of the half-siblings for three generations in spite of the fact that the children belong to the different clans.

The language of Athpahariya is unintelligible to the neighboring Rai and Limbu groups. If an individual comes from another language area, it takes him a considerable amount of time to master the Athpahariya language. Many Limbus and Rais who settled there quite long ago,

understand the Athpahariya language but cannot talk fluently in it. While communicating with the Athpahariya, they speak half Athpahariya and half Nepali Language. The majority of Newars of Dhankuta bazaar, however, speak the Athpahariya language fluently and many Athpahariya also speak Newari as well. “Athpahariya Language” is the language spoken by especially the Athpahariya speakers. The Athpahariya language is called the “Athpahariya Kura” by the speakers of Nepali and the “*Aani- Ring*” by the Athpahariya themselves.

Athpahariyas use Nepali in number of ways. In many areas of material culture and social life, the vocabulary has always been Nepali. It is also to note that all agricultural implements which the Athpahariya people use in their daily life are designated by Nepali words. Their cardinal numbers are different up to Three (*Thik, Epoke and Sumbok*), but after this other are the same as Nepali. The names of the days, months and cardinal directions are all in Nepali. The names for flora, fauna and the organs of the body are in Athpahariyas.

Athpahariya Rai has some special culture, custom and festivals which are totally different from other Rai groups such as: worshipping, dresses, birth and death rite etc. which are as follows:

1.2 Dress

An Athpahariya man or woman can be recognized by their pretty hand-woven dress called *lotning*. The word *lotning* covers all clothing. For women, this hand-woven garment is known as *mekhali*. It covers the body down to the ankles. It is a loose dress without sleeves and looks like an apron. When an Athpahariya woman is at work, she hoists her *mekhali* up on her hips for convenience. The *mekhalis* are sewn by Athpahariya women not by the tailors. A *seem* (skirt) 5 to 6 hands long, is sewn in the middle and is worn along with the *mekhali*. It is fastened to the hips with a belt or *foi* (patuka in Nepali). This is wrapped several times around the waist and covers the upper part of the skirt. Athpahariyas say that women shouldn't wear

blouses (*choli*) and the *mekhali* is the only dress which should be worn on upper part of the body. These days, however, blouses are common wear for Athpahariya women.

Women and girls of any age wrap themselves in a *takhombi* (shawl). The *takhombi* is a just like a common Nepali shawl, but slightly lighter, rectangular shaped cotton cloth worn on the head, which comes down over the shoulders. *Takhombi* is worn in different ways. When a woman is at work, she generally wears the smaller *Takhombi* and tucks her hair under it. But when she goes to the bazaar or attends some ritual or festival, it is worn on the shoulders covering the body. The *Takhombi* is not simply protection from the cold, heat or dust but it has social significance as well. A girl without a *Takhombi* is an immoral girl. The Athpahariyas feel that such a girl can make sexual relationship with a boy at any time. Thus, girls while dancing with boys and clapping their hands, wrap themselves in the *Takhombi*, though with the movements of the dance.

Men wear the usual Nepali *daura-suruwal and topi*. Shirts too have become common wear these days. A *topi* (cap) or *feta* (shawl as cap) is the usual head- wear. The male ties the *foi* (*patuka*) around his waist over his *daura* or shirt and sticks a *khukuri* (a long curved knife) in the waist band. When men are at work near their houses, they wear a *langauti* (*dhoti*).

Young girls upto the age of 8 or 9 wear a *ghagar* (*frock*). This is knee-length and looks like a woman's blouse and there are buttons on the back of the frock. Young girls also wear *mekhali* from their early child-hood. Young boys dress similarly to the men. Generally young boys and girls over the age of 10 begin to wear the same types of clothes as worn by their elders.

The hand-woven clothes are generally plain in colour, but the *Takhombi* is always embroidered with red, blue or yellow thread in the shape of flowers, tree or animals. Dilli

Ram Dahal says:

Among the Athpahariyas no special clothes are made for festive occasions. Even seasonal clothes are not found. They have no clothes which have symbolical or ritual value, but there is a belief that when a father or mother dies, the mourners should wear white clothes or at least a white cap. This is not strictly practiced. The Athpahariyas seldom have more than two to three sets of clothes for an entire year. On special occasions, for example, a marriage or festival, they wash their usual clothes and wear them. A *takhombi* is a must, however, for a woman outside her home (22).

These days, hand-woven clothes are less desired and both men and women prefer to go to the bazaar (market) to buy blue, black, red or white materials for their dress. This is mainly because hand-woven clothes are considered traditional dress and do not match equally with the colorful dress of the machine-made clothes.

1.3 Religious faith

Athpahariyas have different concept towards god. They frighten with god more than society. Girls sing the song with boys, they tease each other but they are not allowed to touch each other. They have faith that if they touch each other their god will be angry and there will be a disaster. They think god is in nature and especially in their fireplace. That fire place is called *hutlung* in their language. When the *hutlung* will build first, a rooster will be sacrificed in the place where the three stones are kept. If any one breaks stone, this is considered inauspicious and it has to be replaced again and a chicken must again be slaughtered.

Except for Athpahariyas, nobody is allowed to go near the fireplace. Other Rai groups (Kulung, Thulung, Bantawa and others), and the Limbus are also not allowed to touch the hearth, unless they have been integrated into Athpahariya society. The Athpahariyas believe that their ancestors live near the fireplace. If one would touch the hearth or fireplace, it will be

polluted and their ancestors would get angry and create problem, such as illness and quarrels, within the family. To avoid these difficulties one has to be careful. Among the Athpahariyas, when the bride (even an Athpahariya girl) enters her husband's house for first time, she must first be purified at the hearth. Above the fireplace, foodstuffs (maize, beans and chillies) are hung for drying. There are many pillars inside the house but the main pillar is ritually important for Athpahariya and its position is right side. Thus, nobody is allowed to touch main pillar except the Athpahariya once it is fixed. Small pillars are not ritually important and their position is left. The Athpahariyas believes that their ancestors live near this main pillar. If any other caste's people touch the main pillar, it is considered to be impure and must be purified by pouring water down from the top of the main pillar. The main door is ritually important and its position is always in right side. Nobody is allowed to stand here. The position of the main door is always protected at different festivals, because this is the place from where all the bad spirits like witches, evil spirits try to enter. The *jaskeli door* (side door of the main door) and windows have no ritual importance and their position is left.

In Athpahariya society, there are various kinds of gods and goddesses, evil, spirits, ghost and so on. These are exceedingly varies and differ from one clan group to another. There are some clan divinities or ancestors or village and household divinities, as well as ghosts and spirits. Various divinities preside over crops, rainfall, cattle, control various diseases or dwell in various places like rocks, mountains, trees or are associated with rivers and waterfalls. Among the Athpahariyas, there is no creator of the universe, but they have guardian spirits who keep watch over the village and save the people from calamities and look after their welfare and happiness. According to Dhan Bahadur Rai there are 23 divinities all together. He gives details about these divinities in his book *Athpahariya Sanskar ra Sanskrity*. They are *Marga, Jimi, Gainya, Kailasha, Budheni, Budhyauli, Pangsamang, Manggenna, Pandangwa, Sansari puja, Bali puja, Janawar puja, Goth puja, Devideuta puja, Dhulepuja,*

Thungdangwa, Upusangmang, Pumerihang, Pachthareni, Khalapuja, Yechen, Jhadkela and *Nachokpa*. These divinities are specially featured during particular festivals throughout the year of worshipped at least once a year, but there are some minor aggressive spirits, which are not usually discussed with outsiders.

These divinities in many cases are located at and worshipped in two places: in the house and in the village shrine but there are divinities like *Kholabhauni, Pangsamang, Pachthareni, Budeni and Sansari*, which have no fixed place either in the house or in the village shrine. A separate shrine is always built at the time of their worship. Dilli Ram Dahal categories the divinities of Athpahariya Rais into three different types: Household, Clan and Neutral divinities. These divinities are as follows:

<u>Household Divinities</u>	<u>Clan divinities</u>	<u>Neutral divinities</u>
Pangdangba	Marga	Kholabhauni
Pangmerihang	Jimi and Gainya	Panchthareni
Upusangmang	Hangmakcha	Sansari
Thungdangba	Tinkilla	Budheni
Achen	Hangsitala	Deurali
Manglenna		Witches
Pangsamang		Ghost
Dewa		Evil spirits

Sogha (105).

There are three festivals: *Badangmet* or *Chhonglarang (Mangsire) Chad*, *Chanunggi (Bhadaure Nuwagi) Chad* and *Rawanakma (Baishakhe) Chad*. These festival are celebrated in the intervals between the sowing and harvesting seasons involve unforeseen risks and therefore the beginning each of these agricultural activities is celebrated through certain public or private, individual or community religious rites to help to face the dangers. At the same time, various forms of worship, such as worship for livestock (*Goth puja*) and rain divinity worship and *udahuli* and *ubhauri* worship are the unique features among the Athpahariyas.

Rites of birth, marriage and death are the main rites in Hinduism, that one called *samskara* in Nepali. The word, *samskara* means religious purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual, so that *he* may become a full-fledged member of the community. These *sanskara* also create an awareness of social status and privileges of the individual. Furthermore, the idea that one may be released from physical bonds and attains spiritual life after death through the performance of religious ceremonies is also evident for the person. Fire, water, prayers and sacrifices are the important constituents for the purifying the body and mind for the Athpahariya. These constituents are, however, similar to those of the Hindu *sanskara*.

1.4 Birth

Among the Athpahariya, the birth of a male child, and especially the first male child, is extremely joyous. A special ceremony, known as *puttabadau* will perform in the name of the first male child. For other sons, the *puttabadau* will not be performed. This ceremony will perform in the first *Mangsire* festival. The neighbors and relatives of Athpahariya Rai will be invited in that occasion. Other castes know this ceremony as *Harkabadhai*. A special big feast will arrange, and a buffalo or goats and chickens will be slaughtered. The feast consists

of meat, rice, pickles, millet beer and liquors. Special *tongbas* with *pipa-sing* (bamboo containers with pipe) will prepare to keep *engnga* (millet beer), to serve the important guests.

The *dhole nach* (the drum dance) and the *maruni nach* (a dance where male dancer wears women's dress) are the special features of this ceremony. The *bhakti git* (a sacred religious song) will be sung. While singing *bhakti git* the singers also find out the life span of a child. They believe that if the lamp, which is lit on this occasion shines brightly, the child will have a long life. If it burns dimly, they believe that the child will not survive for long.

1.5 Death

Athpahariya society recognizes two types of death- natural death and unnatural death, although there is no linguistic differentiation between these two. They use the Nepali terms, *ramro* (good) and *naramro* (bad) exclusively. Natural death is also called ordinary death which is called *nunalisa siyana* in Athpahariya language, where person dies without injury. Unnatural death is termed abnormal death which is called *yekelen lisa siyana* in Athpahariya language. Unnatural death occurs in various ways: suicide, falling out of a rock or house, drowning in a river or a flood, death in landslide, in child birth or murder. When a person meets with accidental death, it is said that his soul cannot go to *ambapuri* (heaven) easily. Sometimes these deaths create evil ghosts that create troubles for the living, especially for close relatives. Such evil ghosts are known as *Sogha* (bad spirit). This type of evil ghost can only be warded off by properly appeasing one's own house-hold and clan divinities. The *dukh bahauni* rite or the final purification ceremony is sometimes simply called *dukh* by Athpahariyas. Among the Athpahariyas, it is not compulsory to observe the *dukh bahauni* rite for 13 days after the death as Hindus do; normally it is observed before *Kartike Purne*; if the person dies on the day of *Katike Purne* he is purified on the same day.

1.6 Marriage

Among the Arhpahariyas, marriage is rather a slow process. The first rite is called *kalle-halnu*, when the rite is paid to the maternal uncle. The second rite is *seuri* where rite payments are made to the girl's father and the final word for the girl is taken from him. The third rite is *sing-labak*, to all of the neighbors and relatives are invited. The fourth rite, which is most important rite of all, is the wedding ceremony, which includes many other ritual procedures like *sammari*, *kammari*, *walam*, *lagan* and *kabul*. The fifth rite is *langlokma* in which the maternal uncle bids farewell to the bride's house. Finally, the boy goes to the girl's father's house for three years' service after, which the *bagdatta* rite is performed and the girl is taken to the boy's house permanently.

Chapter - II

2. Historical survey of Athpahariya language

There are no local written languages, so there are no locally relevant historical documents. The few documents which do recount the history of other Rai and Limbu groups are so imprecise, that it is impossible to generalize to the Athpahariyas from them. We have no evidence that they ever fought against the Gorkhas. Indeed, the Athpahariyas have hardly ever been recruited into the army either in Nepal or outside Nepal.

The term 'Athpahariya' does not seem to be their original ethnic name. It is a Nepali word: *ath* means eight and *pahar* means time. One *pahar* means roughly three hours in the Hindu Calender and *athpahar* signifies about 24 hours (a day and night). Thus the term Athpahariya is derived from the word Athpahar and the meaning it gives is the person who dedicated himself to work for 24 hours. They also say that it was a title given to them by King Prithivinarayan Shah. It was conferred on them when they successfully guarded the Nisan divinity in Dhankuta (Khalanga) bazaar for 24 hours. The stories differ from person to person as to when and how the shrine of Nisahan divinity was erected in Dhankuta bazaar. The local people, however, say that the original inscribed stone was broken quite long ago. The Athpahariya themselves say that they were known as *Jimi*. *Jimi*, in fact, is the local indigenous divinity of the Athpahariya. The Athpahariyas say that *Jimi* existed when the earth was created. So *Jimi* is an earth divinity for them, but *jimi* or *jimin* is a Nepali term which literally means earth or land. The synonym of the same term is *Kham* in the Athpahariya language. That is why some Athpahariyas also call themselves Khambongba (originated from the earth). Thus, the term *Jimi* is a term, however, also used for some Rai groups and Yakhas of Eastern Nepal.

Athpahariyas are called by different ethnonyms such as Athpahariya, Athpariya, Athpare and Athapre. Chhatthare Limbus call them “Yakhaba” in their mother tongue and “Athpare” in Nepali. The ethnic organization of the Athpahariyas designates them as “Athpahariya”. In fact, Athpariya, Athpare and Athapre are only the corrupt forms of Athpahariya. They have their own language, which is called by different names by different linguist. Gerd Hansson and Tanka Prasad Neupane call it Athpariya, Karen H. Ebert calls it Athpare and Dilli Ram Dahal George vanDriem call it Athpahariya.

M. C Regmi thinks that the Athpahariya and Limbu community have some similarities. In his book *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, he writes: “Athpahariyas are the branches of the Limbu community” (263). Here he makes a general statement. If they were originally Limbus, why they are today called Rais poses a question. There is no doubt that the Athpahariyas themselves claim that they are one of the 10 Limbus. They are culturally closer than to other Rai groups. Moreover, certain limbu groups like Runghong, Khowa and Khundum living in Banchare Village of Tangkhuwa Village Development community of Dhankuta district are considered to be the blood brothers of Khambongbas of the Hombarak clan of Athpahariyas. Still the Athpahariyas do not intermarry with these Limbu groups. They do not even have any direct social contact with them, although they claim to be “blood brothers”. It is possible that one of the groups of Athpahariyas might have been reintegrated into Limbu culture. The fact remains that Athpahariyas are not recorded into Limbu genealogies. Iman Singh Chemjong, writer of “*Kiranti Itihas*” believes that the Athpahariys are the survivors of the Naga Kirāt people. He writes:

At the time of 880 to 915 A. D., the Naga chief Chhyongden Hang of Tokimden, now called Htikharka in the district of Dhankuta, fought against Tumbahang, a Limbu eader of an other territory for the independence of his country. However, in the battle, the Naga chief Chhyongden Hang was

defeated and he left his native land and migrated to Assam. The remnants of his tribe are still to be found in the district of Dhankuta in Limbuwan. Some old historians believe that they are the Athepry tribe, Tangkul tribe, or Angami tribes who are survivors of the Naga-Kiranti people. There are many old graves of such Naga tribes in Limbuwan where when dug, a kind of earthen beads are found which are always claimed by the Naga people of Assam as their tribal relics (42).

The Athpahariyas also claim that there were Naga graves in these areas. Many informants point to places like Nawang-dada, Leksere, Khungbedang of Chuliban, where Naga graves were to be seen up to a couple of decades ago. There are no documents, however, to substantiate this. It is possible that some Naga groups were originally here and for some reasons migrated to Assam and further east.

Some Comparative words between Athpahariya and Limbu language.

<u>Words</u>	<u>Athpahariya</u>	<u>Limbu</u>
Buffalo	Sangwa	Sangwa
Cow	Pit	Pit
Dog	Kochuwa	Cocha
Die	Sima	Sima
Drink	Thungma	Thungma
Eat	Cham	Chama
Eye	Meek	Mik

Earth	Khamnam	Khambekma
Fire	Mee	Mee
Foot	Lang	Lang
Fish	Na	Na
Give	Pima	Pima
Meat	Sa	Sa
Sit	Youngma	Youngma
Sleep	Imma	Imma
Stone	Lung	Lung
Sun	Nam	Nam
Water	Chuwa	Chwa
We	Aani	Aani
Wood	Sing	Sing

Athpahariya language has not its own script but they use devnagarik script to express their language and culture. Though it has not its own script, many researches have done to fulfill its social, economical, linguistic and agricultural concern. Those researches are as follows: - *A Profile of the Athpahariya Rai Community* by Shambhu Prashad Khatiwada (2004).

An Ethnographic Study of Social Change among the Athpahariya Rais of Dhakuta by Dili Ram Dahal (1985).

A Grammar of Athpare by Karen H. Ebert (1997).

Athpariya Rai jatiko shaikshik awastha, Dhanapako ek addhyan, Master Thesis by Janardan Ghimire (1988).

Athpahariya Rai samudhayako samajik ra arthik awastha: ek samajshastriya addhyan, Masters Thesis by Gajamsing Ghising (2001).

A synoptic glossary of Athpare, Belhare and Yakkha by Gerd Hansson (1996).

Athpahariya Rai Jatiko dincharya by Kajiman Kandangwa (1993).

Kirat rai Bhashaka Tulanatmak Shabdasangraha by Kirabha tatha sap. (2005).

Athpahariya Raiko Bhahik Addhyen by Tanka P. Neupane (2001).

Kirati Lokkatha Sangra by Rajesh Rai (2005).

“Lop hune sthitima chha Athpahariya Rai Jati” *Kantipur* by Lila Ballabh Ghimire.

Athpahariya Rai had not any magazines before 2006. When the Athpahariya Rais were also included in the study list of Nepal Folklore society, the magazines *Khawase Fung* (bihaniko ful) and *Fung Ning* were published.

There is only one novel *Haari* written by Khagendra Pradhanag and two types of songs, which is called *chhamlopma* in Athpahariya language: ‘Khalsari Chhamloma’, written by Saru Chiwatpang and ‘Hayari Chhamloma’, written by Airumaya Charinme.

Some creative writings are also found in Athpahariya Language, the individual poems: ‘Chhiwak’, written by Khebaswari Hombarak, ‘Sammang’, written by Rudra Mangbung Rai, ‘Tupyatni’, written by Shrawanlal Rai and ‘Aani parak ngibassi, lamboi lamtiyi’, written by Rudra Mabuhang Athpariya. According to the article “Bantawa Rai bhashama samacharko 13 barsha” written by Shyamraj Dubdenghang-Rai, there are seven recorded songs in Athpahariya language.

Chapter- Three

Methodology: Method of Data Collection, Analysis and Presentation of Data.

3.1 Method of Data collection

The act of data collection for this survey work was performed both in oral and written nature. The data were collected from the Athpahariya communities of Dhankuta district. The survey included children, teenager and adults whose mother tongue is Athpahariya. The total source of data was one hundred household and individuals from the same districts. The data were collected from people of different professions, ages, educational levels and sexes. The collected data consisted of language use and language attitude, educational level, bilingualism, word lists and socio-economic factors of the community.

There were three primary methodologies used to support the research work, such as: word lists, recorded text which includes folk tale, songs and the shopping language, interview questionnaires.

3.2 Word Lists

During the research work, a word list of two hundred and six words was collected from the survey areas. Especially, the word lists were collected from those adults who are the long-term residents of the areas, but children were also consulted the word collection. Some related oral or written literature and recorded shopping language were taken as the helping resources to some extent. The word elicited were a collection of the most general words, but not specific. In the case of variants and synonyms, each word was discussed and a discussion as made as to which from to include in the word list.

The elicited word lists were of the different parts of speech: noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, adverb and preposition. The word lists elicited for the first time from a set of native

speakers were checked again with a second set of speakers. The word lists were compared to find out what extent the language spoken in the two areas was different phonemically.

3.3 The Regional Variation

On the basis of the elicited word lists, the following regional dialects are presented below.

<u>Area One</u>	<u>Area Two</u>	<u>Words</u>
<i>Sobpe</i>	<i>Sabbai</i>	All
<i>Ohokwa</i>	<i>Hokwa</i>	Bark
<i>Aikha</i>	<i>Thena</i>	Big
<i>Tuwa</i>	<i>Nuwa</i>	Bird
<i>Taba</i>	<i>Aaba</i>	Come
<i>Kochhu</i>	<i>Kochhuwa</i>	Dog
<i>Ungma</i>	<i>Thungma</i>	Drink
<i>Numek</i>	<i>Nuvek</i>	Ear
<i>Waain</i>	<i>Wadhin</i>	Egg
<i>Aangsha</i>	<i>Ngaasha</i>	Fish
<i>Labhok</i>	<i>Labhab</i>	Leaf
<i>Lingdo</i>	<i>Lungawa</i>	Stone
<i>Lyapha</i>	<i>Lekpha</i>	Tongue

The dialect areas one represents the speakers of Belhara Village Development Community of Dhankuta district and the dialect area two represents the speakers of Bhirgaun Village Development Community of Dhankuta District. Though the variation is not very significant, we can easily identify the speaker's regional origin rather than his/ her social position.

3.4 Recorded Text

The recorded text on The Greedy Fox is a folk tale based on narrative event. It was recorded on the basis of event-focused story. Two folk songs were recorded as the strong illustration to support its hypothesis. A shop discourse was recorded in a shop. A mother is buying some cloth for her daughter. They are choosing the quality of cloth. The samples will be presented in Appendix B.

3.5 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires

Another important method applied in the survey was a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The questionnaires were prepared so usefully that they could cover different aspect of language use and attitude, patterns of contact, travel, language opinions, bilingualism and so on. The questionnaires were administered both in oral as well as written form. The questionnaires were asked in Nepali and also in Athpahariya languages. Those questionnaires will be shown in Appendix D.

3.6 Data Presentation

Data presentation includes data, which were collected from the survey work. The data were focused on the language use, language attitude, word list, and text recordings for the language productivity and other distinctive features. Those are as follows:

3.6.1 Reported Language Use Data

Data were collected from Dhankuta district. The Language Use Questionnaires were mainly administered to identify the language situation of those selected areas. Some of the most important and relevant questionnaires dealt more specifically with the topics were: What language the respondents use with their family members and in different situations in their community, like with friends and relatives, religious instruction, at the local market place, at work, for singing and discussing and with outsiders as well. A synopsis of the respondents to these situations are presented in the following table:

Table- 1

A summary of the Written Questionnaires on Language Use

Situations	Language Spoken		
	Athpahariya	Nepali	Others
-grandparents?			×
-parents?			×
-wife/husband?			×
-sister-brother?			×
-children?			×
-at local market place?			×
-grandson/daughter?			×
-at work?			×
-religious instruction and ceremonies?			×
-singing?			×
-jokes and stories?			×
-political and moral discussions?			×

-getting jobs?			×
-friends and relatives?			×
-govt.officials/unknown people?	×		×

3.6.2 Language Attitude Data

The chief focus of this section is to discuss on the attitude of the Athpahariya speakers toward their language and other languages in their community. Joshua A. Fishman has said in his book "The Sociology of Language: An interdisciplinary Social, Science Approach to Language in Society", "so far as language attitude is concerned, it is very difficult to measure even though its measurement are based on two theoretical standpoints: the mentalist and the behaviorist positions" (138). Norbert Dittmar has written an article in title of "Sociolinguistics" to clarify the mentalist and behaviorist concept of language attitude. He says "According to the mentalist concept, attitudes are a mental and neutral state of readiness. They can be inferred from a subject's introspection. While the behaviorists regard attitudes as dependent variable and it can be determined statistically by observing actual behavior in social situations" (181). In order to discuss on language use and attitudes, a questionnaires was employed which will be included in Appendix.

The following tables present the analysis of the most important written questionnaires and the speakers' response.

Table- 2

Should the Athpahariya children be taught Athpahariya language?

Age-group	No. of Respondents	Yes	No
10-20	20	16	4

20-30	20	15	5
30-40	20	17	3
40-50	20	14	6
50-	20	18	2
Total	100	80	20

The table-2 shows the respondents of the age-graoup '50-' has the highest number to support "Athpahariya language should be taught to Athpahariya children." And the age-group '40-50' has comparatively the lowest number of positive respondents to the question, "Should Athpahariya children be taught Athpahariya language?" However, the number of 14 positive respondents out of 20 is substantial that goes in favour of the mother tongue education. It is therefore concluded that most Athpahariyas of different ages prefer Athpahariya language to be taught to their children.

Table-3

What language should you use at home?

Age-group	No. of Respondents	Athpahariya	Nepali
10-20	20	5	15
20-30	20	15	5
30-40	20	15	5
40-50	20	18	2
50-	20	20	-
Total	100	73	25

In the table- 3, regarding the question: “What language should you use at home?”, the respondents of age-group ‘50-’ has the highest number to support Athpahariya language to be used at home. According to the table, out of hundred respondents, 73 choose Athpahariya language to be spoken at home. Most people are very positive towards their native tongue.

Table-4

Should all people learn Nepali also?

Age-group	No. of Respondents	Yes	No
10-20	20	18	2
20-30	20	19	1
30-40	20	17	3
40-50	20	19	1
50-	20	16	4
Total	100	89	11

According to the table- 4 the question “should all people learn Nepali also?” has been responded highly positively. The respondents of the age-group ‘20-30’ and ‘40-50’ have the highest number of preferring Nepali language as well. And the respondents belonging to the age-group ‘50-’ are less interested in Nepali in comparison with other age-group respondents. But out of 20, the number of 16 positive respondents toward Nepali is not bad. So this table shows that most Athpahariya like Nepali in addition to their native language. Most of them feel the need of Nepali language as the national language of Nepal.

Table – 5

What language do you like most?

Age-group	No. of Respondents	Athpahariya	Nepali
10-20	20	19	1
20-30	20	19	1
30-40	20	18	2
40-50	20	17	3
50-	20	20	-
Total	100	93	7

For the question: “What languages do you like most?” All respondents belong to the age-group ‘50-’ said that they liked Athpahariya language most. Other age-group respondents also showed their preference to Athpahariya language. This may be due to the Athpahariya language being their mother tongue. So the above table shows that Athpahariya people are still loyal toward their native language. Ninety-three out of hundred respondents choose Athpahariya as their favorite languages their favorite one.

Table – 6

Is it good for you or your children to marry a person who can speak
Nepali, but not the Athpahariya langugare?

Age-group	No. of Respondents	Good	Bad
10-20	20	4	16
20-30	20	4	16
30-40	20	3	17
40-50	20	4	16
50-	20	-	20

Total	100	15	85
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The question about the marriage with the other language speaker was rejected highly. All the 20 respondents belonging to the age-group '50-' were completely against the inter-caste marriage. Some respondents are of the lower age-group were slightly interested in it. The above table shows that out of hundred, eighty-five respondents are against the inter-caste marriage and fifteen people are in its favor. None over fifty years old like inter-caste marriage.

However, inter-caste marriage has been accepted in the form of deterioration of traditional marriage.

There were some other questions asked aiming to know the attitude of the Athpahariya speakers towards their own and other language. Though the numbers of respondents are variable on their views, most of them show positive response toward their native language would support the development.

3.6.3 Word List Data

Vocabulary items collected from the speakers of both key areas are discussed in this work. The words once collected were rechecked second time. They are grouped alternatively by putting them within the separate slants phonemically elicited to be dissimilar in the survey. Other groups of words are arranged in such a way that they represent two locations of the language found to be influenced by Nepali and loans from Nepali in the language. A sample of the data is shown below:

Phonemically Dissimilar Words

Words

Area One (Core)

Area Two (Peripheral)

Eat	<i>cham /tʃam/</i>	<i>chama /tʃa:ma/</i>
I	<i>aanga /a: a/</i>	<i>ka /ka:/</i>
Long	<i>kena /kena/</i>	<i>yefenna /yefenna:/</i>
Mouth	<i>yashi /jæʃi/</i>	<i>mun /mun/</i>
Night	<i>yusha /ju:sa:/</i>	<i>samba /sa:mba/</i>
Path	<i>lambo /la:mbɔ:/</i>	<i>lambu /la:mu:/</i>
Person	<i>yapmi /jæpmi/</i>	<i>maai /mai/</i>
Rain	<i>wet /wet/</i>	<i>wot /wɒt/</i>
Say	<i>matma /ma:tma/</i>	<i>chekma /tʃekma/</i>

Nepali Influence/ Loan Words

<u>Words</u>	<u>Athpahariya language</u>	<u>Nepali</u>
Chair	<i>kursi</i>	kursi
Grass	<i>ghash</i>	ghash
Door	<i>dhwarik</i>	dhoka
Dim light	<i>dum</i>	adhyaro
Head	<i>tehek</i>	tauko
Finger	<i>angulik</i>	aaula

Lie	<i>lengma</i>	letun
Name	<i>ning</i>	nam
Nose	<i>nabhu</i>	nak
Woman	<i>menchhema</i>	mahila
Cold	<i>china</i>	chiso

3.6.4 Recorded Text Data

This section especially concerns with the examination whether or not the language is rich enough to describe different moods and situations. The recorded folk tale text on A Greedy Dog is focused on event-based narration. There are two folk tale songs recorded as supplementary material for the support of the hypothesis. The folk songs present the different aspects of real human life, such as: love, passion, rural life, Athpahariya tradition, culture etc. Similarly, a shop discourse is also recorded in the survey area which shows daily conversation, narration, description of taste, sound, tone etc. The following excerpts are presented from the main recorded text:

Text One: Folk Tale

Thik kochhubanga chuwaina cheche uchokta hopmakoluegettuna hidnabelai unnana uyasingana uchechengana uchoktai yorok thay.

‘One dog was trying to pick up the piece of the meat from the water but he losses his own piece of meat which was inside his mouth.’ (English Translation)

Text Two: Folk Songs

‘Khotepma uchethnuna Barahi Dham, resha ra chomsa khachine Barahi Dham Matengma’.

‘A young man is charmed by the beauty of Barahi temple. And he is offering his beloved to go there with dancing and singing. (English Translation and Paraphrase)

‘Pit mendak hururu anchinga maya aswngago’.

Two beloved are confesses their love as past as they were shepherd. (English Translation)

Text Three: The Shopping Discourse

A. *Na lohtning khonapara meternga?*

B. *Na 500 meterngana.*

A. How much is a meter of this cloth?

B. ‘It is Rs 500 a meter’. (English Translation)

3.7 Data Analysis and Result

The different survey methods shown above were employed to collect data from those targeted Athpahariya speaking areas. Based on these data, it is found that Athpahariya is an independent language being used within the community from time immemorial. Athpahariya people use this language for various purposes, such as: talking with members of family, jokes, stories, songs, poems, religious instructions at home etc.

Despite of positive and hopeful language attitude data, it is seen that, many factors are affecting the language speakers. In the book Survey on a Shoestring: A Manual for Small-Scale Language Surveys, Frank Blair says “most often the individual speakers are bilingual

precisely because of community needs and pressure” (52). The degree of speakers’ exposure to the second language is particularly correlated with such factor is education. Jeffrey Webster says in his thesis in title Indicators of bilingual Proficiency in Nepal Among Tibeto-Burman People of Nepal “the number of years of formal education is the single greatest determinant of Nepali proficiency” (81). Other factors are occupation, military service, age, sex and frequency of contact with mother tongue speakers of the second language and so forth.

(Blair, 1990:53)

The responses to the sociolinguistic questionnaires show that both the younger and older generation have language and culture as their identity. People who are loyal to the language and cultural identity are sad in the degradation of them. They want their language to be taught at school for children. The ultimate wish of the speakers is that language must be preserved and promoted at any cost for the succeeding generations. All the respondents were quite positive toward the questions:

Will you go to study where Athpahariya language also is taught? And if there are two schools for children, one is the Athpahariya medium and the other is in Nepali, in which school you will send your children?

All of the respondents were found equally loyal to the Nepali language due to the fact that it is the national and official language while it is the most influential all over the country, Nepal and many people understand it. Though most of the respondents agreed with the view that Nepali language should be learnt by all, they do not prefer marrying a person out of their own language community. The percentage showing ‘Yes, to intercaste marriage’ is almost

zero in general. All these positive remarks show that they are very keen in the development of their language, and the children should learn their mother tongue first

“Do you read any written literature if they are available?” Everyone who was asked the question remarked enthusiastically, “Yes, of course, we do. We are pleased to read them if there are any in our language”. Many people said it is good to have some writings because it will maintain the culture and language. But for this they face two problems, on the one hand, many adults are illiterate within the community and their literature is unwritten for ages. On the other hand, only a few books, booklets and dictionaries are available and the rest is oral literature.

“Have you seen anything written in the Athpahariya language?” Most of the respondents said that they had not. It shows that the writing is not enough. So they accept the condition of their community is pitiable. When asked about varieties, they responded that there are only a few phonetic variations between Bhirgaun and Belhara Athpahariya because of geographical distance. But this is not so much and they can understand each other clearly.

It is already mentioned that the word list data were collected from Bhiragau Village Development Community and Belhara Village Development Community of Dhankuta District. The data show that both of them are influenced by Nepali. A total of two hundred words were collected during the course of study. They will be presented in the Appendix.

In the research project, the recorded text data are found to be very helpful to guarantee the language's separate identity. In spite of some Nepali loan word, Athpahariya language is rich in vocabulary. The speakers can express their different moods, tastes, smells and situations as needed. The living rites, rituals and religious instructions etc. in their own tongue can help these qualities.

Another important purpose of this study has been to know about the language use and attitude, bilingualism, patterns of travel and contact, language opinions and others. The questionnaires, word lists and recorded text results highlight that Athpahariya is a separate and unique language, but not a dialect of any other languages. It has 65% cognition with another Limbu language. This remark has also been strengthened each by the responses to the questionnaires by the speakers.

The responses to the linguistic questionnaires have revealed that the speakers of different ethnic communities have contact in each other. They are, like Tamang, Newar, Sherpa, Rai, Limbu, Magar etc. Mostly they have contact with Khas people. But they do not have inter-marriage relationship. They visit each other's communities for some social and economic purposes. They have mutual relationship sharing each other's sorrow and happiness. Different scholars have presented different domains of language use, such as: Frank Blair has recommended family, friendship and neighborhood, school, work, government and religion. On the other hand, Blair himself reported that another scholar Herman emphasizes perception of situation. He mentions that if a person is oriented toward personal needs, his/her language choices differ from what it might be if needs were socially oriented (Blair 1990:108-9). In fact, language use mainly depends on domains, topics and situations. This is always the characteristic of any bilingual and multilingual societies. In the Athpahariya community, too, literate, educated and a few others choose other languages as their necessities, but they use their own mother tongue in private domains, for instance: family, within various castes, at the local market etc.

Though no any formal bilingual testing was made among the Athpahariya speakers, some general information on the subject was revealed through the use of questionnaire, interview, face to face interaction and observation. They were found to have good knowledge in more than one language for social communication. In the book Linguistic

Issues in Nepal, Toba Sueyoshi says, “although education in this country has made much progress, those with a first language other than Nepali suffered a serious disadvantage. While it is true that Nepali is understood all over the country, it is also true that such understanding is often surficial” (14).

Although English is taught at school levels in those areas of various ethnic language speakers, there is only a small number of people who can speak broken English to communicate certain information.

3.8 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

“Do you have language and culture of your own?” The question may really be a bitter one for the Athpahariya people. There may come a sad time for them to answer the above question that they had their own language and culture in the past. This shameful situation may occur in the near future because of different reasons. As the language shifting is more rapid than the language maintenance.

The features of bilingualism and multilingualism, like code switching, mixing, borrowings have heavily been taking place even in Athpahariya language. The tendency of switching over to Nepali is based on the following example of Joshua A. Fishman (299-300). In the Nepali context, the instances referred to are:

- a. The vernacularization of Nepali through governmental, educational and cultural activities,
- b. The adoption of English, Sanskrit and Nepali as the languages of elite for wider communication throughout the country,

- c. The growing displacement of imported languages of wider communication and the parallel vernacularization of governmental, technical, educational and cultural efforts in the country.

As a result, not only are the verbal repertoires of communities and networks that experience the greatest socio-cultural change the most likely to be altered, but the repertoires of those who gain most in economic, political or other socio-cultural status are most likely to be adopted or copied by others who see opportunities for desirable changes in their own status by doing so (301).

The above factors are strong and inevitable. Any language has its own important place into the linguistic mosaic of a country. Therefore, effective efforts are to be made to promote and preserve a language. A language can develop and be richer when it is supported by creative community and the continuous use of the language. For this work, we should not only wait for the government, but also we should be interested, active ourselves in the development of our language. Otherwise we can certainly be accused of murdering our innocent mother tongues. In fact, no society desires its languages and cultures to be dead. And the government also should formulate an effective language policy with especial provisions by the way of promotional schemes to be provided in order to encourage literary activity, translations and publications. According to Kansakar “the situation that has prevailed in the country since the Rana Regime, is one of the single language policy where the non-Nepali speakers have been at disadvantage in education, employment and other social benefits”(37).

Chapter- Four

Conclusion

4.1 General Conclusion

Looking through all the threads of the present survey of the particular Athpahariya language community in Dhankuta district, Athpahariya is not a branch language of anyone, but an independent language of Nepal. Athpahariya language seems vital in terms of use, language attitude and necessity. Athpahariya like it, use it in all domains where it is understood, and not many speakers are yet adequately bilingual in Nepali. This study also forecasts the point that unless we take necessary steps to conserve this endangered language, it will face an irreparable loss of linguistic identity in the near future. All the respondents remarked that the language is on the verge of losing its identity and it must be preserved since it is a mark of ethnic identity.

4.2 Main Findings

These are the main findings of this study:

-) All the responses of the speakers reveal the clear status of the Athpahariya people and their language. So Athpahariya language has its own strong identity in the linguistic configuration of Nepal. Though Athpahariyas have themselves been working hard in developing literature and other types of media, their efforts have not been adequate.

Therefore, the language is on the open platform waiting for the continuous efforts to be developed from all sides, like government, speakers, linguists etc.

The collection of about 150 words from the language communities was one of the achievements of this survey. This remarkable job was performed to focus on the regional

) variation in pronunciation, showing the uniqueness and richness of the language. From the study on the language, there is no a big difference between the two key areas where the language is spoken. It is found that Belhara and Bhirgaun district Athpahariya have a great similarity. So it does not create any problems in the communication between Athpahariya speakers from those two areas.

) The Athpahariya language has high percentage of cognates with the Limbu language which will be shown in Appendix. The cognate percentage between the two languages is 45%. But it does not say that they are the dialect variations of each other's. they have their own clear characteristics as a language and some people are enthusiastically trying to develop its own script as well. Though the Devanagari script is being used in Athpahariya literature and it also seems good enough to develop the language in different aspects, including the historical study of the language. However, Devanagari has been the obvious and a choice for many languages to reach a wider audience, increase accessibility to literature, and facilitate education so as to give Athpahariya a stronger voice in the national life of the country.

) The Athpahariya have their own unique ethnicity, culture, rites and ritual, household composition resembling the whole Mongoliod Kirat Mundhum (The Kĩrat Religious Manifesto). The recorded text and folk songs also proved these facts. The positive response to the sociolinguistic questionnaires draw the conclusion that the Athpahariya is a separate language of the Athpahariya communities used in different domains of life: in

the family, at the local markets, with relatives, in religious instruction and within the various casts of Athpahariya.

-) The people surveyed during this research work show overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward their language. They use Athpahariya both in public and private affairs. They are enthusiastic about the development of the language. In fact they prefer primary education in the mother tongue for their children. Focusing on the need of primary education in mother tongue Ramawatar Yadav cites a 1953 UNESCO report on the use of vernacular language in education in his report entitled “The Use of the Mother Tongue in Primary Education: The Nepalese Context”. The report concludes: “_ _ _ Pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible.”(177).
-) Although some regional variations have been noticed in the Athpahariya language due mainly to social and geographical factors, the difference is not significant. The speakers from different areas can easily understand each other without any problem. They think that they speak the same language regardless of differences. They do not prefer intercast marriage, but they often travel to each other’s community according to their social needs. There is contact with the speakers of different ethnic communities, mainly other Rai subgroups, Newar, Magar, Limbu, Tamang, Gurung, Sherpa and Indo-Aryan family, like Nepali.
-) The Bhirgaun- Dhankuta Athpahariya is found less influenced by Nepali language than Belhara- Dhankuta Athpahariya, which is closely in contact with the speakers of Nepali. Nevertheless, both the key areas have greater similarity in lexical items. The variation between them caused only by geographical distance. There are other factors affecting the difference, like lack of language studies, education, communication gap, social interaction

with different types of community and so on. Though the number of Athpahariya language speakers is decreasing, the language is still being spoken influencing the other neighboring languages in the mid-eastern hills and it stimulates the linguist and non-linguists to do further research on it in the near future.

) Though the language is influenced by the dominant language especially Nepali, particularly in the style of speech in different regions where the language is spoken, it has its own native lexicons, cognate forms, pronunciation patterns, unique syntax and native words, which are fundamentals of any independent language. From all these significant features, the Athpahariya language is still healthy and vital. It also deserves a secured place of hope for the language to be developed and promoted. But it really requires the concerted effort from all sides, the speakers, linguists and non-linguists as well.

) Language and culture are the ornaments of society or a country. They introduce our society to outsiders. But the life of language, like Athpahariya, depends on ethnic commitment, social integration from within the community and research by linguistic and language planners. On the basis of language's background information and introductory analysis on the distinctive features of the language. This small-scale sociolinguistic profile will help us to draw informed conclusion about the language and dialectical variations of the Athpahariya language at the local levels in different regions. Thus the main aim of this research has been both to reveal the reality regarding the independent status of this language and provide at least some frameworks for further studies and research.

APPENDIX – A

Athpahariya Lexical/Functional

Word Lists

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>Core Area</u>	<u>Peripheral Area</u>	<u>English Synonym</u>
1.	<i>sabbai</i>	<i>sobpe</i>	all
2.	<i>thabut</i>	<i>thabut</i>	ash
3.	<i>hokwa</i>	<i>wohokwa</i>	bark
4.	<i>phok</i>	<i>phok</i>	belly
5.	<i>thena</i>	<i>yaikha</i>	big
6.	<i>nowa</i>	<i>tuwa</i>	bird
7.	<i>hama</i>	<i>hama</i>	bite
8.	<i>makna</i>	<i>makhorokhha</i>	black
9.	<i>halik</i>	<i>helik</i>	blood
10.	<i>sarukwa</i>	<i>khugwa</i>	bone
11.	<i>sadumarik</i>	<i>dumarik</i>	breast
12.	<i>hatte</i>	<i>hatte</i>	burn
13.	<i>khimima</i>	<i>khimiwa</i>	cloud
14.	<i>china</i>	<i>chikhuwa</i>	cold
15.	<i>aaba</i>	<i>tawa</i>	come

16.	<i>sima</i>	<i>sima</i>	die
17.	<i>kochuwa</i>	<i>kochhu</i>	dog
18.	<i>thungwa</i>	<i>ungma</i>	drink
19.	<i>siyana</i>	<i>haingaha</i>	dry
20.	<i>nubhek</i>	<i>numek</i>	ear
21.	<i>khamnam</i>	<i>kham</i>	earth
22.	<i>cham</i>	<i>chama</i>	eat
23.	<i>wadhin</i>	<i>waain</i>	egg
24.	<i>mik</i>	<i>mEEK</i>	eye
25.	<i>laptang</i>	<i>lafthang</i>	feather
26.	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	fire
27.	<i>ngasha</i>	<i>aangsha</i>	fish
28.	<i>sha</i>	<i>cheche</i>	flesh
29.	<i>pema</i>	<i>pema</i>	fly
30.	<i>lang</i>	<i>lang</i>	foot
31.	<i>tepna</i>	<i>ipngaha</i>	full
32.	<i>pima</i>	<i>pima</i>	give
33.	<i>chetnuna</i>	<i>khaikha</i>	good
34.	<i>wochhoma</i>	<i>achhot</i>	grease
35.	<i>pingna</i>	<i>ingna</i>	green
36.	<i>fyak</i>	<i>fiyak</i>	hair
37.	<i>muk</i>	<i>muk</i>	hand
38.	<i>tehek</i>	<i>tahekka</i>	head
39.	<i>khemma</i>	<i>khemma</i>	hear

40.	<i>khek</i>	<i>khoyat</i>	heart
41.	<i>tang</i>	<i>utang</i>	horn
42.	<i>Kona</i>	<i>kauikha</i>	<i>hot</i>
43.	<i>anga</i>	<i>ka</i>	I
44.	<i>setma</i>	<i>setma</i>	kill
45.	<i>tembhut</i>	<i>tumbhut</i>	knee
46.	<i>nima</i>	<i>nima</i>	know
47.	<i>labhab</i>	<i>labhok</i>	leaf
48.	<i>lengma</i>	<i>chhepma</i>	lie
49.	<i>lukma</i>	<i>lukma</i>	liver
50.	<i>kena</i>	<i>yefenna</i>	long
51.	<i>shik</i>	<i>shik</i>	louse
52.	<i>yembechha</i>	<i>khiktangwa</i>	man
53.	<i>jom</i>	<i>aakkash</i>	many
54.	<i>lalipmang</i>	<i>laccheuwa</i>	moon
55.	<i>samlangma</i>	<i>samlakma</i>	mountain
56.	<i>yashi</i>	<i>moon</i>	mouth
57.	<i>chhokmashik</i>	<i>chhokmashik</i>	nail
58.	<i>ning</i>	<i>ning</i>	name
59.	<i>towari</i>	<i>sokmali</i>	neck
60.	<i>wochhonggat</i>	<i>chhowat</i>	new
61.	<i>yusha</i>	<i>samba</i>	night
62.	<i>nabhu</i>	<i>nari</i>	nose
63.	<i>waina</i>	<i>wani</i>	not
64.	<i>tik</i>	<i>igida</i>	one

65.	<i>lambo</i>	<i>lambu</i>	path
66.	<i>yapmi</i>	<i>maai</i>	person
67.	<i>wet</i>	<i>wot</i>	rain
68.	<i>phana</i>	<i>phawelengha</i>	red
69.	<i>singolang</i>	<i>ujara</i>	root
70.	<i>koklik</i>	<i>upokalik</i>	round
71.	<i>matma</i>	<i>chekma</i>	say
72.	<i>kham</i>	<i>ukhamna</i>	sand
73.	<i>puma</i>	<i>hitma</i>	see
74.	<i>lalik</i>	<i>lalika</i>	seed
75.	<i>zungma</i>	<i>zungma</i>	sit
76.	<i>ahotwa</i>	<i>wohokwa</i>	skin
77.	<i>imma</i>	<i>imma</i>	sleep
78.	<i>natiuna</i>	<i>chiktuha</i>	small
79.	<i>mikhuma</i>	<i>mikhumang</i>	smoke
80.	<i>meba</i>	<i>thaba</i>	stand
81.	<i>chokchinget</i>	<i>chokchinget</i>	star
82.	<i>lungwa</i>	<i>lungdo</i>	stone
83.	<i>nam</i>	<i>nam</i>	sun
84.	<i>wajakma</i>	<i>wachakma</i>	swim
85.	<i>mola</i>	<i>umira</i>	tail
86.	<i>hona</i>	<i>ina</i>	that
87.	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	this
88.	<i>khan</i>	<i>han</i>	you
89.	<i>lekpha</i>	<i>lyapha</i>	tongue

90.	<i>kong</i>	<i>keng</i>	tooth
91.	<i>shingbhungma</i>	<i>singtang</i>	tree
92.	<i>ipok</i>	<i>sikkada</i>	two
93.	<i>lamtima</i>	<i>laumma</i>	walk
94.	<i>chwa</i>	<i>chuwa</i>	water
95.	<i>aani</i>	<i>ke</i>	we
96.	<i>paak</i>	<i>yeti</i>	what
97.	<i>phutna</i>	<i>phuturuha</i>	white
98.	<i>shak</i>	<i>shati</i>	who
99.	<i>menchhema</i>	<i>khintangma</i>	woman
100.	<i>harde</i>	<i>hardibyakha</i>	yellow

APPENDIX – B

Sample Recorded Text/Story in Interlinear Format

thik lovi kochhuba

A Greedy Dog

Folk Tale:

1. <i>thik</i>	<i>khalanga</i>	<i>deshi-nga</i>
one	market	in country
<i>thik</i>	<i>kochhuba</i>	<i>yungaisana</i>
one	dog	be

‘There was a dog in a market country.’

2. <i>unnana</i>	<i>uyashina</i>	<i>thik</i>
his-	in mouth	one
<i>chechengana</i>	<i>uchokta</i>	<i>yungaisana</i>
meat	piece	be

‘In his mouth there was a piece of meat.’

3. *hitna* *thik* *hongyi* *tasuwe*
 He one steam arrive
- chuwai* *unna* *thik* *kochhuwa* *nisuye*
 in water he one dog see
- hitna* *uyasicha* *cheche* *uchokta* *nisuye*
 his in mouth meat piece see

‘He arrived in a stream and he saw a dog in the water which had a piece of meat in his mouth.’

4. *hitna* *cheche* *napma* *uyashi* *ongsuye*
 that meat crap mouth open

‘He opened his mouth to crap that meat.’

5. *hitnung* *chuwai* *ucheche-rok* *thaye*
 then in water his meat drop

‘After then, piece of meat dropped in to water.’

6. *hitna* *unnana* *uchhaya* *ungaisena*
 that his shadow be- PST

‘That was his own shadow.’

7. *boo* *lova* *chokmanga* *hitna*
 Many greedy do he

Kochhubaga unnanga cheche mashe

Dog his meat lose

‘The dog lost his own meat due to his greediness.’

Athpahariya Chham

Athpahariya Songs

Song One:

khottepma uchetnuna Barahi dham

how much good Barahi dham- PST

resha ra chhomsa

loughing and danching

khachchi Barahi dham matengma

let’s go Barahi dham beloved

‘A young man asks his beloved *matengma* to go Barahi dham with laughing and dancing.’

lu chham-loshyak chham

let’s sing song

khammana- bhada chuwa- aptu lam-boi thungmana

in a soil pot carry water way for drinking

‘The man requests the woman to sing together and asks her to carry water in a soil-pot to drink on the way.’

Song Two:

<i>Pit-mendak</i>	<i>hururu</i>	<i>anchiga</i>	<i>maya</i>	<i>ashengago</i>
cow-goat	run	our	love	yesterday’s

‘The beloved confesses their love as past as they were shepherd.’

<i>Madhuhai khola</i>	<i>thupta-ungshe</i>	<i>hong</i>
Madhu khola	being big	stream
<i>wet- taye</i>	<i>lenna-yusha</i>	<i>pong</i>
rain	day- night	why

‘He is asking himself why the weather also anti for their love. Why the rain also coming continuously to prevent them to meet each other in the shepherd field (Madhukhola).’

<i>Barpipal</i>	<i>netang</i>	<i>chautara</i>
Barpipla	near	terrace
<i>hangnenne</i>	<i>mitsa</i>	<i>dautari</i>
wait	remember	couple
<i>ila- aaba</i>	<i>ka-lambo</i>	<i>punenne</i>
to come fast	your way	looking

‘He is expressing his eagerness to meet her and requesting her to come fast on the terrace under the trees, Bar and Pipal where he is looking her on the way.’

APPENDIX – C

Athpahariya and Limbu Congnate

Word Lists

<u>S.N.</u>	<u>Athpahariya Words</u>	<u>Limbu Words</u>	<u>English Synonym</u>
1.	<i>thukma</i>	<i>thungung</i>	cook
2.	<i>oppuk</i>	<i>oshek</i>	snake
3.	<i>pit</i>	<i>pit</i>	cow
4.	<i>yum</i>	<i>yum</i>	salt
5.	<i>sambok</i>	<i>mangdok</i>	millet
6.	<i>ladibo</i>	<i>tetlashi</i>	banana
7.	<i>hutlung</i>	<i>hatlung</i>	fireplace
8.	<i>sammeng</i>	<i>samyang</i>	gold
9.	<i>lhotning</i>	<i>changwa</i>	cloth

10.	<i>mabuk</i>	<i>sapok</i>	stomach
11.	<i>yaga</i>	<i>nakheng</i>	they
12.	<i>lekpha</i>	<i>lesho</i>	tongue
13.	<i>tingba</i>	<i>ting</i>	thorn
14.	<i>pak</i>	<i>the</i>	what?
15.	<i>khottepma</i>	<i>kongyarik</i>	how many?
16.	<i>marchi</i>	<i>mocha</i>	chilly
17.	<i>sambe</i>	<i>hambe</i>	ginger
18.	<i>aappa</i>	<i>aappa</i>	father
19.	<i>aambhu</i>	<i>aabhu</i>	brother
20.	<i>pong</i>	<i>hyang</i>	why?
21.	<i>sawase</i>	<i>setle</i>	to be hungry
22.	<i>chama</i>	<i>tok</i>	rice
23.	<i>omak</i>	<i>sumbak</i>	curry
24.	<i>chepma</i>	<i>chepma</i>	to cut
25.	<i>pinda</i>	<i>lokma</i>	to run
26.	<i>yekma</i>	<i>yengma</i>	to break
27.	<i>pang</i>	<i>him</i>	house
28.	<i>yoo</i>	<i>yoo</i>	down

29.	<i>too</i>	<i>tho</i>	above
30.	<i>likna</i>	<i>lik</i>	heavy
31.	<i>lapmang</i>	<i>na</i>	far
32.	<i>handeng</i>	<i>tendik</i>	tomorrow
33.	<i>netang</i>	<i>nitang</i>	near
34.	<i>asen</i>	<i>anchhek</i>	yesterday
35.	<i>unna</i>	<i>tang</i>	short
36.	<i>bhyanik</i>	<i>byandik</i>	morning
37.	<i>chha</i>	<i>kusha</i>	child
38.	<i>merba</i>	<i>mendak</i>	goat
39.	<i>kiya</i>	<i>nigi</i>	oil
40.	<i>rambheda</i>	<i>fenda</i>	tomato
41.	<i>tongen</i>	<i>fusuna</i>	mosquito
42.	<i>bijuli/NL</i>	<i>bijuli/NL</i>	lightening
43.	<i>lamtima</i>	<i>langghekma</i>	walk
44.	<i>riba</i>	<i>sikki</i>	rope
45.	<i>tamsereng</i>	<i>tamdukhi</i>	broom
46.	<i>uchhangwat</i>	<i>kusong</i>	new

47.	<i>uchafenna</i>	<i>kudavemba</i>	bad
48.	<i>komba</i>	<i>keboge</i>	to get up
49.	<i>dhwarik</i>	<i>lemdhe</i>	door
50.	<i>mikhuma</i>	<i>mikhuma</i>	smoke

APPENDIX – D

Survey Questionnaires

D.1 Ethnolinguistic Profile of the Speakers

(English Translation)

1. Name
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Data of interview
5. Education level
6. Medium of instruction
7. Tribe/Family
8. Where were you born?
9. Where did you grow up?
10. Where did you come from Nepal and when?
11. Are you indigenous people of Nepal?
12. Do you have a separate identity as a Athpahariya speaker?

13. Are you married? What is your spouse's mother tongue? Where is she/he from?
14. What is your religion?

D.2 Language Use Questions

(English Translation)

1. What do you call your language?
2. What language do you speak at home?
3. How often do you speak Athpahariya language?
4. How often do you speak Nepali?
5. How good are you at Athpahariya language?
6. What other languages can you work with?
7. What language do you speak with a friend or relative from far village?
8. What language do you use for:
 - jokes?
 - stories?
 - political discussions?
 - speaking to women?
 - singing?
 - counting?

- religious instruction at home?
 - talking to yourself?
 - consulting teachers about children?
9. What language do you speak at the local market?
 10. What language do you speak for getting a job?
 11. How often do your village children speak Athpahariya while playing or talking?
 12. How often do your village boys and girls use Athpahariya language while talking to each other?
 13. Do you switch or mix codes of other languages while talking or speaking?
 14. What language do you use within caste and between castes?

D.3 Language Attitude Questions

(English Translation)

1. What language should you speak at home?
2. What language should your children learn?
3. What language do you like most?
4. Who should learn Athpahariya language?
5. Should all people learn Nepali language?
6. In which school will you send your children if there are two schools for children one is in the Athpahariya medium and other is in Nepali?
7. What should be the situation of the language when Athpahariya marry with others from other languages?
8. Should Radio Nepal broadcast the news in your language?
9. Should your language is taught at school?

10. Is your language spoken differently in other areas?
11. Do you read the books, magazines, articles published in Athpahariya?
12. Is it good/ necessary to be Athpahariya speaking teacher for Athpahariya students?
13. In what languages should your children be taught at school?
14. What will be the situation of Athpahariya language in 20 years?

D. 4 Language Maintenance and Shift Questions

(English Translation)

1. What language did you use to speak in childhood?

Whom did you use to speak the language with?
2. Are there any languages except Athpahariya being used in your family? If yes, what are they?
3. Is your mother tongue taught in school?
4. Have you seen anything written in Athpahariya? If so, could you read it?
5. Is the language used in mass media? If yes, which communication field is the language used for?
6. What language do you use for the following purposes?
 - a. social activities
 - b. religious and cultural activities
 - c. political discussion
7. Do you think the language is useful for the following activities?
 - a. getting a job
 - b. education – higher – secondary – primary

- c. communication
 - d. social and cultural development
 - e. national unity
8. Are there any religious books in Athpahariya?
 9. Does the language have its own script?
 10. Is script essential for the language development?
 11. Are there any organizations for the language development?
 12. Do the political leaders use the language for the following purposes?
 - a. public speech
 - b. while talking to each other
 13. If a school is established for Athpahariya language teaching, will you offer your help to them? How?
 14. Is it good to speak Athpahariya? Why?

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