

CHAPTER I

***Dadeldhureli* Dialect: An Introduction**

Every language has different forms and varieties shared by different speech communities. The language spoken by every individual is unique and different from that of every other member of their language community; but, the language of a certain group of people functions by virtue of certain standard and shared patterns of sound, structure, meaning, and use. In this sense, groups of people speaking the same language but belonging to different regions, socio-economic classes, ethnic communities and even people of different age, sex, caste and level of education speak different varieties of that language.

Language and dialect are easy to recognize but very difficult to define and perhaps impossible to distinguish completely. The relation between language and dialect is very complex. In this context, R.A. Hudson claims:

There are two separate ways of distinguishing them, and this ambiguity is a source of great confusion. On the one hand, there is a difference of size, because a language is larger than a dialect. That is, a variety called a language contains more items than one called a dialect. We may refer to English as a language, containing the sum total of all the terms in all its dialects, with Standard English as one dialect among many others. (32)

Firstly, their relationship is said to be whole part relation: language is whole and dialects are its parts. In other words one language may have several different dialects. These different dialects may or may not be mutually

intelligible. If they are closer to each other in terms of distance or social status, they will be mutually intelligible but if they are far from each other in terms of distance and social status then they may not be mutually intelligible. For example, Nepali language has three major geographical dialects, eastern, western and far-western. They are different yet they are Nepali.

In other words, people from these different regions speak three different kinds of Nepali or three different dialects of the Nepali language. These three different dialects may or may not be mutually intelligible. The speakers of Eastern Nepali dialect, for example; can easily understand the western Nepali dialect and vice versa because they are close to each other. But the speakers of eastern dialect may not understand or may have trouble to understand the far-western dialect because of the geographical distance. However, the speakers of western and far-western dialects can easily understand each other because they are close to each other. Hudson also states:

The other contrast between language and dialect is a question of prestige, a language having prestige which a dialect lacks. If we apply the terms in this sense, standard English is not a dialect at all, but a language, where as the varieties which are not used in formal writing are dialects. (32)

It should also be noted that among the different dialects or varieties of a language one dialect or variety becomes a standard dialect. This standard dialect is picked up usually by the state and used in administration, education, media, and literature and therefore, it is usually used by the speakers of all other dialects. For example, eastern dialect of Nepali is the standard variety. So even the speakers of

far-western dialect can understand it, whereas the speakers of eastern dialect can hardly understand the far-western variety. This fact leads to another interesting fact: a language is also a dialect but a dialect is not necessarily a language, in the same way as all words are morphemes but all morphemes are not necessarily words (Rai 123). In such situation, politically speaking, one might say that a language is what is officially accepted as the national form of speech, a dialect what does not have such acceptance.

From the literary stand point, one might say that a language is a form of speech that has given rise to a literature, a dialect one that has not. So, dialect and language are separated on the basis of whether they have a writing system of their own. It is said that a language has a writing system of its own, whereas a dialect may or may not have the writing system.

Linguistically this view may not be accepted. If we follow this view, many languages of the world may be called just the dialects. In this context Vishnu S. Rai states:

In Nepal alone, there are more than seventy five languages and very few of them (*Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Newari, Urdu, Tamang, Limbu* etc.) have their scripts or written form. Rest, (e.g. *Dhimal, Kushunda, Rai Kiranties*, and many others) don't have their scripts or written forms but they have several varieties or dialects and have every right to be called languages. (124)

Besides, language and dialect are also distinguished from one another on the basis of mutual intelligibility. It is believed that if two linguistic forms are understood by the people of different regions or groups, it means these two forms

are the varieties of the same language. Hence they are dialects of the same language. But if they lack mutual intelligibility, then they are two different languages. For example, English and Nepali are two different languages and eastern dialect of Nepali and *Dadeldhureli* Nepali are two varieties of the same language, Nepali. But this too may not be taken as a universal criterion to distinguish language and dialect. For example, Nepali and Hindi have similar linguistic forms and are mutually intelligible and yet they are taken as two different languages.

Moreover, dialect is very often used to suggest informal or lower class rural speech and language to more prestigious, educated and urban one. It looks as if one of the varieties of a language is considered to be prestigious because it is used in various fields like education, media, administration, literature etc. to serve many functions. On the other hand, other varieties are used just to fulfill daily communicative needs usually within family or groups, and therefore are called dialects. Actually, there is no clear cut definition regarding the difference between language and dialect. Even linguists shrink from giving exact demarcation line between them.

Dadeldhureli dialect is spoken in *Dadeldhura* district of *Mahakali* zone. Balkrishna Pokharel says that "*Dadeldhureli* is a sub dialect of *Majhpaschima*" (41). But this dialect has its own linguistic characteristics which distinguish it from other dialects. The area of this dialect is *Simti Pahad*, *Faltude Pahad*, *Golma* and *Sat Pahad* areas on the west of the *Seti River*, south from *Thalakanda*, *Basera*, *Dainasila*, *Mangrawan Pahad* and *Saramaya Gadkhola* and the east from the *Mahakali River* and areas lying to the northern part of *Chure Pahad*.

The Nepali language written in the *Devnagiri* script is one of the branches of Indo-Aryan language. It is a lingua franca of Nepal. Nearly 50% of speakers use this language as their mother tongue. It is famous all over Nepal and some parts of India. The greater the number of language users, the greater the chances of its varieties known as dialects. The dialectical study records that there are more varieties in the western part of Nepal than those in the eastern part.

Doteli is one of the dialects of Nepali mainly spoken in the far-western part of Nepal. According to Pokharel, "the Nepali language has five dialectical varieties known as *Purbeli*, *Majhali*, *Orpaschhima*, *Majhpaschhima* and *Parpaschhima* in which *Doteli* lies in *Majhpaschhima*" (41). It is supposed to be the oldest dialect of the Nepali language. This dialect is closer to the original place of the Nepali language, the Karnali zone which contains 50% of vocabulary from standard Nepali. Moreover, this dialect is directly influenced by the *Parpaschhima* and the *Singali* dialects as well as the *Kumauni* language spoken in the *Uttaranchal* state of India. The above mentioned variety *Majhpaschhima* is further divided into other three sub- dialects; *Dadeldhureli*, *Dumrakoti* and *Nirauli* (Pokharel 57). This research mainly focuses on *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

Dadeldhura district lies between the two districts *Baitadi* and *Doti*. There are twenty village development committees and one municipality in *Dadeldhura*. In some villages people speak the *Dadeldhureli* language mixing *Baitadi* language because of the nearness with *Baitadi* district. The same thing happens in the village development committees which are near the *Doti* district. We can also find admixture of these dialects in some places as well because of marriage relationship of the *Dadeldhureli* people with other districts. Nowadays, the title

Doteli is accepted as the generic term for the whole group of far-western people. Thus the term became comprehensive in clothing almost all the cultural disciplines of the group regarding language.

The kingdom of Nepal, as a land of geographical, cultural and ethnic diversity is the home of several ethnic groups where people speak varieties of languages and dialects. In a paper entitled *Multilingualism and the Language Situation in Nepal* Kansakar observes that "at least sixty different ethnic communities or castes speak over seventy languages within the countries present day political boundaries" (12). The languages of Nepal are divided into four language families Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic. The *Dadeldhureli* language is a language of Indo-European family.

There is no complete difference between the *Dadeldhureli* and Nepali. But many differences in linguistic levels can be noticed. People using Nepali language as lingua franca feel difficult to understand *Dadeldhureli* dialect and vice versa. The dialects which are more or less similar to it are spoken in *Doti*, *Baitadi*, *Bajhang* and *Darchula* districts. It is a kind of spatial variation. *Dadeldhureli* has its own linguistic characteristics so that it is incomprehensible to the people who speak Nepali. So, this dialect establishes its own separate position. Its peculiar morphological and syntactical features defy the understanding of Nepali speakers.

Dadeldhureli dialect is spoken almost in all parts of *Dadeldhura* district. But some dialectical variations can clearly be noticed in these areas because every village has its own characteristic feature contributing to the dialect. We can find the pure form of the very dialect surviving in the interior inaccessible parts of the district where the light of education has not penetrated yet and the possibility of

penetration is dim. But this dialect is disappearing fast from the villages where the people are exposed to Nepali more and more and where people are better educated. This is because code switching takes place among those people. It is true that a verbally used language exists so far as it is used by the speakers. So, there is strong possibility of the disappearance in near future though the dialect has not disappeared yet. The main reason behind the disappearance of this dialect is that people should necessarily go out of the district for trade and higher education. More than this, the growing rate of migration, mainly seasonal, for earning livelihood, marital relations with the inhabitants of other districts and ever-increasing contact with the Nepali language speakers are the important factors in affecting the dialect.

There is the danger of gradual disappearance of this dialect from most parts of *Dadeldhura* where the native speakers are exposed to Nepali language speakers. *Dadeldhureli* people speak among themselves using their own dialect, but while conversing with Nepali speakers, they switch over to Nepali. Code switching takes place among educated dialect speakers too. Especially in *Baghbazzar (Khalanga)*, the district centre, people have started using standard Nepali with the residents of other villages of the district because they think that those who can use Nepali are superior to the dialect speakers. Consequently, using the dialect is becoming the matter affecting one's position and prestige. However, the uneducated ones always use their dialect because they have no knowledge of modern standard Nepali used almost all over the country. So the *Dadeldhureli* dialect is widely used by those people who are not exposed to the other parts of the country.

Along with different factors, age, sex, gender, seniority, caste, social status, religion or culture, geography etc. are the main elements of language variation. These kinds of variations of language forms can be observed in *Dadeldhureli* dialect as well. So, we can say that *Dadeldhureli* dialect is a conglomeration of several forms of speech in terms of these above mentioned levels.

People speak different language forms according to their age groups. Adolescent group is in many cases the most important linguistic influence. Children do not grow up speaking like their teachers but their speech patterns are those of their friends. They speak the social dialect in their families at home. When the children are in the first learning stage they learn the dialect in the pure form from their parents if the parents are not bilingual or exposed to other languages so far.

In case of *Dadeldhureli* dialect the beginner dialect speaking children start to learn the kinship term like *iza* (mother). When the children grow and enter the youth, the way of their language use changes. They probably leave to call *iza* to their mother because of their inferiority complex towards own mother tongue and starts to use the words like *m* , *mummy*, etc. They feel superior when they speak Nepali words and English words mixing with their dialect.

The young people go to schools, colleges, and other places for job and education and they switch over other languages or dialects because they speak related language and dialect.

People even go to India in search of job and return with some Indian and English vocabularies with them. They can be found using the English

vocabularies with their own unique pronunciation like *temparbali* (for temporary), *parmenty* (for permanent), *muncibalty* (for municipality) etc. So, the second language that the young people learn through their educational institutions like schools and colleges and the fields of their jobs influence their mother tongue. On the other hand, the old people who believe in old tradition and superstition strictly follow their natural language in their daily lives. Again, among them some old people who are the leaders of the community or the so-called respected person of the society bring Nepali language in their use when they talk in formal situation but use their own dialect in the informal situation.

Language forms also differ when there is difference in sex. Men and women are socially different and the society lays down different social roles for them and expects different behaviour patterns for them. The language simply reflects the social fact that men and women have linguistically different roles in the male dominated society. In such society, men speak on different topics as business, politics, legal matters, taxes, sports, drink and life style. But women's talk mostly revolves around the most domestic affairs inside the four walls of the house. They mostly remain busy in making their husband happy. So, both male and female have different roles to be performed in the society.

Gender variation also brings the difference in the speech of man and women. In some cases, the difference is quite small and is not noticed generally, but in some other cases, the difference is bigger and obviously noticeable. The difference may be due to various social pressures.

A certain kind of language is thought to be of this or that sex, because use of inappropriate language by either sex may be laughable, or perhaps the wrong

use may put the user to death as has been reported in the case of Zulu speakers (Trudgill 198). In cross-sex conversations men frequently interrupt women to challenge, dispute, ignore and try to control what topics are discussed but women very infrequently interrupt men. In their interactional patterns in conversation, men and women exhibit the normal power relationship that exists in society with men dominant and women subservient. It is certainly acceptable in the society for men to swear and to use taboo words that it is not for women.

Dadeldhureli women have comparatively less contact with outside world of other language community than men. As a result they are less influenced and they can be the sources of nativity of language. In such male-dominated society of *Dadeldhura* district, women always use respectful and honorific words for men, particularly for their husbands. They always address their husband with the honorific pronoun *tam*, whereas her husband never uses this form of address *tam* to his wife unless he is being very sarcastic.

According to seniority also language forms differ. For example, when a brother speaks with his elder brother, he should use honorific words like *tam* (you) but elder brother uses the non-honorific word *tu* to his brother. Same thing happens with the parents and children relationship. But this condition may not happen in the intimate situation. For instance, a brother or sister can use *tu* to address the elder brother and sister. The same address can be used to father and mother as well in such intimacy. Children use non-honorific pronoun *tu* to address mother more than they address to their father out of more intimate relationship with the mother. But, here, age also makes difference. When the children become young, they address to their parents and other seniors with honorific words than in

the childhood. It is because they learn the manners later especially from the school and other elders themselves.

The language forms also differ because of the difference in the castes. In *Dadeldhura* there are people of different caste levels viz. *Brahmin*, *Thakuri*, *Kshatriya* and *Sudra*. There are many sub-castes under these four general rubrics. We can find the various language forms used by these different people of different castes. There is caste hierarchy namely so called high caste and low caste. The language forms also sometimes differ in accordance with these castes in the society. There are some forms of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect which help to differentiate one caste from another. For example, *Thakuries* use their own language forms like, *iseyo*, *gaiseyo* to 'came' and 'went' respectively.

The caste of higher rank in *Dadeldhureli* dialect is *Brahmin* (*B man* in *Dadeldhureli* dialect). There are some forms of language in *Dadeldhureli* society which are only used for the *Brahmins*. The language *Kshatris* use for *Sudras* (*dum* in *Dadeldhureli* dialect) is different from the language used for the *Brahmins*. They call *Brahmin* by a special word i.e. *guru*, whether that is senior or junior person. The honorific word *hazur* is used in response to the calling by the upper castes. But there is another non-honorific or less honorific word in use to respond the calling of the lower caste people i.e. *hau*.

There is another interesting difference for greeting among the people of different castes. When the people of lower caste or *Sudras* greet the upper caste, they use the word *jaudd hazzur* or *jau hazzur*. And in its response the upper caste people say *b nchirayai* (May you live long.). On the other hand, when the people of *Kshatriya* caste greet *Brahmins*, they use the special word like *paul gi* and its response from the *Brahmin* is *swasti*. This greeting of *paul gi* is used in place of

saluting by touching the foot of the person being saluted. So, the people of so-called *dum* (untouchable caste) caste do not employ the very word *paul gi* to salute the people of upper caste because they are not supposed to touch the people of so-called upper castes. But when the *Kshatriyas* greet each other, they use the words like *puela* (means *dhog gare* in Nepali) and *bh gyab ni bhayai* in response. In this way, the system of salute and honorificity differs according to the caste relationship.

Besides, the *Brahmins'* mother tongue is influenced more by Nepali and Sanskrit languages. It is because they work as the priest in the society and do the job of reading and writing in Nepali and Sanskrit languages. They prepare the horoscope, (called *china* in *Dadeldhureli*) and provide mantras to the people. There are two kinds of *Brahmins* in *Dadeldhura*, the *Brahmins* who are not allowed to perform the duty of the priest are called *Khatkel b man* in *Dadeldhureli* language.

There is not so much difference in the forms of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect in terms of the status of the people in the society. Some may be rich and some may be poor but the language is spoken keeping the caste and other factors in the mind but not the social status.

The language forms people use in the religious matter is different from the language used in the day to day communication. In the religious ceremony *Dadeldhureli* people switch over the languages like Sanskrit and Hindi mostly. They recite hymns mixing their dialect with these very second languages. They have given local names to their gods and goddesses like *L to*, *Mus ni*, *Bhaudeuli*, *Bairy mus ni* etc. The people who are considered as the representatives of gods are called *dh mi*. When they perform as witch doctors, they use different types of vocabularies from the dialect which possess religious

meaning. *Dadeldhureli* people celebrate different religious festivals like *Gaur* (*Gor* in *Dadeldhureli* dialect) and fair like *j t*. The vocabularies used in relation to these fair and festivals are pure forms of *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

Moreover, there is a difference in language use among the people according to the religious beliefs. For example, Hindu wife, whether elder or younger than her husband, always addresses her husband respectfully using pronouns like *tam* (*tapai* in Nepali) or *hajur* means you where as her husband always addresses her by non-honorific pronoun *tu* (or *taⁿ* in Nepali) means you.

The recent political and social change in Nepal has brought many changes in Nepal's languages and ethnicity of speakers. As a result, the mother tongue as well as cultural status of the *Dadeldhureli* people today faces the crisis of identity although they have their own history, language and cultural rites and rituals in Nepal since time immemorial. There is also a big problem of language loyalty and migration. Therefore, there is strong need for adequate codification, description and expansion in the uses of this endangered language for its maintenance, development and standardization.

In this democratic nation, there is social integration and religious harmony. In such a condition, Nepali is becoming a dominant language. Other minority native languages are facing a loss in their identity including the *Dadeldhureli* language.

Hence, there are about seventy dialects of Nepali language; most of them are still unidentified. *Dadeldhureli* dialect also lies under the category of unrecognized one. It is because no substantial attempt has been made to linguistically analyze the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. However there exist a few scanty works directly or indirectly related to this dialect under study.

There is no systematic study of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. This research is an attempt to make a sociolinguistic study of the dialect as it is used. It will help to standardize the language by developing a writing system and a dictionary. It will also help to form a language policy. So the significance of this study is also to preserve a neglected language such as *Dadeldhureli*. Ignorance of a language can be taken as an irreparable loss of human culture.

Nation-wide linguistic unity is historically revealed to be largely man-made. The natural tendency of language is centrifugal, not centripetal, and this means that language tends to break up into local varieties whenever contacts are lost and political unity ceases to exert its pull toward the centre. Besides, dialects lend picturesque variety to language, and variety is the spice of life. So, it is necessary to study such cultural assets, like *Dadeldhureli* dialect, to preserve and prevent them from extinction.

The researchers of other dialects of Nepal have stated about different things related to their speech community and their linguistic situation. The attempt I have done in this research is to find the influence of the *Dadeldhureli* society upon the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. The attempts will be done to find the differences in the language forms in accordance with the factors like age, sex, gender, caste, social status, geography etc. Since no researchers have incorporated the sociolinguistic setting of *Dadeldhureli* dialect, the present researcher has chosen this subject for his study.

CHAPTER II

Socio-linguistic Parameters and Linguistic Assessment

Groups of people speaking the same language but belonging to different regions, socio-economic classes, ethnic communities and even people of different age, sex and level of education speak different varieties of that language. R.L. Varshney states, "A regional, temporal or social variety within a single language is a dialect; it differs in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary from the standard language" (297). He again says, "a dialect is a variation of language sufficiently different to be considered a separate entity within a language but not different enough to be classed as a separate language" (297).

Dialect means almost the same thing as variety of a language. Besides, the same individual or group will also switch from one type of language to another in accordance with several pragmatic factors like occasion, subject, genre, medium and the necessary degree of formality. The shifts contribute to the variability of language.

The same language varies according to geographical (regional varieties), socio-economic background of the speaker (social variations) and ethnic origin of the speaker. Besides, speech behavior reflects the basic categories of social structure. In fact, language variations take place as a result of age, sex, gender, seniority, caste, social status, religion and geography. These factors affect the social fabrics of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect spoken in *Dadeldhura* district as well.

Language and Age

Age is an important cultural category, an identity marker, and a factor in producing language variation within a speech community. The way we talk about

young children and the elderly reflects their special status in our society, a status which is partly determined by the amount of social and economic power which these groups possess.

People can have a variety of identities and a variety of ways of speaking. The language they use when they talk informally to friends of their own generation can be quite different from the one they use when they talk with their grandmother or when they speak with children or people of small age. The way one talks to her husband is not the same way she talks to her grown up sons. And the way she talks to her sons now is quite different from the way she talked to them when they were toddlers.

In this way, age like gender, profession, social class and geographic or ethnic origin, has often been studied as one of the factors that locates us in society and causes language variation. So, one of the important factors that would influence the way people talk in a given situation was the age of their conversational partners. For example, we can observe the morphological, phonetic and syntactic differences when one speaks with a toddler and an adult child. For instance, *bh ppu* (rice), *p pp* (bread), *duddi* (milk), *gady -gady* (bathing), *jhakku* (clothes) etc. are the words used in *Dadeldhureli* language for the toddlers by their parents or other elders. They are not used with the adult children .

We can also find different tonality and syntactical structures while speaking with different age groups. For example, when a *Dadeldhureli* woman calls her younger brother for meal, she uses the sentence structure like, *R ma! budi bh t kh .* (Ram ! hello brother! come to eat rice.). And for her elder brother, she employs the sentence structure like *bh t kh n un n ba, d i ?* (Elder brother ! Don't you come to eat rice ?) for expressing the similar thing.

Child directed language, sometimes called baby talk, is a special form used in speech to young children. For example, calling the child by name, often using a pet name and shorter and grammatically simpler sentences, more repetition, more use of questions or question tags, using of baby-talk words are characteristic features of such a language. Besides, child directed language also has a characteristic sound. For instance, higher pitch, slower speed, more pauses, more distinct pronunciation, exaggerated intonation i.e. some words in the sentence heavily emphasized, and a very prominent rising tone used for questions. These kinds of baby talk words, sentences and pronunciation are never employed to talk with the other age groups in *Dadeldhureli* dialect as well.

The teenagers use their own slang words in their speech while speaking with themselves and it may be difficult for the old people to understand. For example, when a teenager boy says *Yo mul i ta ky khatr chha*, the word *khatr* does not denote the general meaning 'danger' but connotes the secondary meaning for the very age group as 'beautiful'. Other words they use to connote 'beautiful' are *chw kh*, *gedi*, *pw t* etc.

Thus, age distinctions are frequently reflected in various world's languages. We can find the same kind of language varieties according to the age group of the speakers and hearers in *Dadeldhureli* dialect as in many other languages. In this dialect, the use of certain pronouns is partly governed by the age of the speaker and the hearer. For example, the pronoun *tu* (you) is used for juniors and *tam* and *hajur* for the people who are senior in age as in the following sentences,

tu k hai yai l ? (to junior brother)

tam k hai y ba? (to father)

It would be hard to imagine a culture which did not use age as a social category. Your age can determine whether you attend school, marry, drink alcohol, vote, draw a pension, etc. In the same way, language works differently in accordance with the age of the speakers and hearers. For instance, when a *Dadeldhureli* speaker employs the word like *badd u* (means the old man) to his friend, it gives different meaning from the situation when it is used to address an old person. In the beginning it was a respectful word to use for the aged person only but now it can be heard being used among the young people in terms of familiarity. When it is used to address the old people, it is not taken in a derogatory sense and it is not to insult or demean them. It should have positive evaluation. On the other hand, it gives an ironical meaning when it is used for a small child.

When we observe parents conversations with their children, we see several linguistic variations in the way the interaction proceeds. Young children are usually perceived to be incompetent turn takers with older speakers. There is a relatively high proportion of directive and instructive talk from adults, either by blunt commands: *hos ara* (be careful), *taso janarai* (don't do that), or by talking over.

Moreover, there may be communication misfire between the two age groups namely old and young in some cases of language use. For example, when teenager boys of *Dadeldhura* tease a girl of the same age as *tasi ho pachhy na* (It is the recognition.), other people of the old age confuse with the meaning of the utterance. On the other hand, the teenagers or young boys and girls use unique type of syntactical structure while talking among themselves. For instance, a young boy can use the following sentence structure to converse with another boy of the similar age:

Ter b iy , mal i lai laij ne haini l tu sanna? (Hey! Boy, don't you take me with you?). This sentence is never used for the old people by the young in the *Dadeldhureli* society.

Language and Gender

Women and men use language in different ways, and we can find gender based differences in their conversational styles. For this issue, it is better to explain the terms sex and gender. Thomas, Linda and Shan Wareing estimate that "Sex refers to biological category, which is usually fixed before birth. Gender refers to social category, which is associated with certain behavior. For instance, there is no biological reason why in some cultures women wear skirts and men do not" (66).

Sexist language represents women and men unequally, as if members of one sex were somehow less completely human and had fewer rights than members of the other sex. Sexist language also presents stereotypes of women and men, sometimes to the disadvantage of both, but more often to the disadvantage of women. However, whether this counts as sexist or not can be argued depending on the distribution of power in society as a whole. Generally speaking, men still hold more high status occupations in this society than women do. Men still own more property and earn more than women.

There is plenty of anecdotal evidence around that there are differences in the way men and women talk. A common stereotype is that women talk more than men. On the basis of this stereotype a proverb like: "women never stop talking" is in use. All the terms like gossip, chatter, nag, rabbit, yak and natters are used to refer predominantly to women's conversations in English language. In the similar manner, some words like *dukh* , *kuradi*, *mukh l*, *phask* , *bath i*, *gapph* etc. are related to

the women's conversations in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. They all imply that women's talk is plentiful but rather pointless. There has been a considerable amount of research in this area, and the findings have been that there are sometimes quite dramatic differences in the ways men and women talk. Sometimes there is the opposite of what you might expect. For example, in contradiction of the stereotype men talk far more than women on the whole talk. It shows ideology at work.

The differences between women's and men's use of language are remarkably many and varied. For example, there are evidences at the level of phonology that women and men may vary in their pronunciation. There are also evidences of syntactic differences, i.e. the kinds of grammatical constructions we use.

So, in *Dadeldhureli* society also we can find different language forms used for women and men. As stated earlier, the variation can be found in phonetic, morphological and syntactical levels. When a boy has speech sound like a girl, he may be teased by other boys as *sw iny* in *Dadeldhureli* society. Women may use different words while speaking among themselves than speaking with men folks. For example,

First girl: *gh sha j nehunu ba li bh yau?* (Don't you go to cut grass?)

Second girl: *pakhdini ba li ? j neyaihu ky "* (Don't you wait ? I will also go.)

On the other hand, when a boy speaks with other boy, the same conversation goes like the following,

First boy: *daruw k tta j nehunu ba l muleu?* (Don't you go to cut firewood?)

Second boy: *pakhd na ba l ? j ney hu ky .* (Don't you wait? I will also go.)

Similarly, some kinship terminologies of *Dadeldhureli* dialect used by *Dadeldhureli* women differ from their men folks. For example, a woman uses the

words like *rajbar* or *badjeu* or *sasur* or *raja* (father-in-law), *goshi* (brother-in-law). But a man may only say *sasur* to his father-in-law and *solo* to his brother-in-law not other forms which reflects the linguistic variation in terms of gender difference.

One of the very famous findings from research into language and gender differences is the extent to which men interrupt women. It appears that men disrupt women more than they break off other men. The finding that men suspend women so frequently is often argued to indicate that men act as if they have more right than women to speak in mixed sex conversations, and that women act as if they had less right to speak than men.

Women and men, on the other hand, grow up in the same families, go to school together, work together and socialize together. The difference in power between women and men is the main cause of discourse variation. It is statistically the case that men tend to have more power than women, physically, financially and in workplace hierarchies. The ways we talk may be a reflection of the material differences between the sexes. The strength of this explanation is particularly clear in some situations, such as business, meetings, where women often report that they have difficulty in gaining the floor (i.e. the right to speak), that they are more often interrupted, and that their points are not taken as seriously as men's are.

Women and men develop different styles of talking because, in fact, they are segregated at important stages of their lives. Thomas and Shan Wareing again estimate that "Playing in single sex groups as children, and having same sex friendships in adult life, leads men and women to have separate sub-cultures each of which have their own sub-cultural norms, that is, rules for behavior and in particular,

talking" (79). Within their own sub-cultural groups, women's and men's conversational norms work perfectly well for what they want to accomplish. The rub comes when women and men try to communicate with one another: their different styles lead to misunderstandings.

Some people link these characteristics to biological factor. For example, men's different hormonal balance makes them more aggressive than women. Others link it to socialization that girls are rewarded very early for behaving politely and putting the needs of others before their own, but are told off more than little boys for rough behaviors. Little boys, on the other hand, are praised, for being active and spirited. These gendered socialization patterns are not neutral, as you will probably have noticed: they still prepare women for being less socially powerful than men.

Another way of looking at the differences between the ways which women and men use language is to see the differences in the way we use language as part of what creates our perception of gender. New born babies cannot easily be identified outwardly as girls or boys if they are dressed identically. We use clothes and other physical attributes such as our jewellery, hair styles and use of makeup to indicate our gender. Similarly, perhaps women and men adopt certain style of talking as part of the process of demonstrating to the world what their gender is.

The concept of social network and normative pressure can help us understand the way in which sex correlates with the linguistic scores of an informant. The typical pattern in *Dadeldhureli* dialect is one in which female speakers use the prestige forms more frequently than do male speakers. For example, *Dadeldhureli* women always use respectful and honorific words for men, particularly for their husbands. They always address their husband with the honorific pronoun *tam* where as her husband

never uses this form of address *tam* to his wife unless he is being very sarcastic. It reflects the male-dominated social structure of the *Dadeldhureli* society. The data from many studies suggests that, in general, women are more sensitive to the social significance of speech than men. We can observe the subordinate status and role of women in the *Dadeldhureli* society as well. Women, for instance, are not permitted to use the original name of their husbands. Linguistic status-consciousness is seen as a reflex of subordination in social life.

Social status in stratified societies is ascribed or achieved in relation to the social role a person has in its public institutions: to a person's job or wealth. Everything else, like costume, residence, and lifestyle signal the social status of the individual. Adult men usually have direct access to these sources of social identity. Women as a group are relatively excluded from this direct validation of their status. Women are also usually subordinate to men with respect to their roles. This subordination produces a general social insecurity which again pushes women towards the overt linguistic signals of prestige as a form of compensation.

Men and women speak as they do because they feel a particular kind of language to be appropriate to their sex. This kind of appropriateness is reinforced by various social pressures. People using inappropriate linguistic behavior may be rewarded by being laughed at. In this way, we can account for the typical pattern of sex differentiation in terms of social networks.

Language and Caste

A given language will never be used in exactly the same way by every one of its speakers. Speakers vary considerably in their use of language, and this variation can be caused by a number of things. One of these things is caste and this chapter

explores the connection between a person's caste and the linguistic variety that they use. In other words, the way in which their social background affects the way they speak.

However, it is not possible in practice to separate regional and social linguistic varieties so clearly. Regional dialects are usually social dialects too. Speakers of the variety of a given geographical area tend to be associated with a certain position on the social scale. So two people may come from the same geographical area or region, but how they talk will also depend on their social position. For example, although two people of different castes come from *Dadeldhura*, they do not speak in the same way. It is because we associate features of speech with particular social groups. We also expect members of these groups to behave in linguistically appropriate ways. People of upper caste are usually considered to occupy comparatively high positions on the social scale and are not expected to use the stigmatized forms. Such people will (or should) automatically speak prestige variety, the variety which the society associates with higher caste and high social standing. Thomas and Shan Wareing report that:

Different sociolinguistic studies have used combinations of factors in calculating social class. For instance, Labov's (1966) major study of linguistic variation in New York City calculated social class according to the criteria of education, occupation and income resulting in categories of lower class, working class, lower middle class and upper middle class. In the UK Trudgill used income, education, housing, locality and father's occupation to classify his informants. (128)

They further say that "Labov also believed that speakers tend to shift towards the prestige variety when paying more attention to their speech" (129). Like Labov's

in New York City, Trudgill's research in Norwich illustrates that the higher a person's position on the social scale, the closer their linguistic variety is to prestige norms.

Unlike many urbanized countries of the world, the linguistic situation of developing country like Nepal is different. The above mentioned social classes are less important to make linguistic differences in Nepal. Again, the linguistic community of *Dadeldhureli* dialect is stratified according to the caste than other social classes. There is agricultural society in Dadeldhura. The main profession of the most of the *Dadeldhureli* people has been agriculture. In such society, the important category to determine the language variety has been the caste of the people. So, the caste locates a person in a particular linguistic position in *Dadeldhureli* society.

We can find *Dadeldhureli* society linguistically stratified according to caste. Stratification means dividing something into hierarchical layers so that one layer is above or higher up than another one. People on each layer have similarities with each other and are considered equals, but they are different from, and not equal to, the people on the other layers.

The internal differential of human societies is reflected in their languages. Different social groups use different linguistic varieties, and as experienced members of a speech community we have learnt to classify speakers accordingly.

It also seems to be the case that the greater the geographical distance between two dialects the more dissimilar they are linguistically. The development of social varieties can perhaps be explained in the same sort of way in terms of social barriers and social distance. The diffusion of a linguistic feature through a society may be halted by barriers of caste, social class, age, religion or other factors. And social distance may have the same sort of effect as geographical distance: a linguistic

innovation that begins amongst, say, the highest social group will affect the lowest social group.

Like in India, for example, society is stratified into different castes in Nepal. As far as the linguist is concerned, caste dialects are in some ways easier to study and describe than social class dialects. This is because castes are stable, clearly named groups, rigidly separated from each other, with hereditary membership and with little possibility of movement from one caste to another.

Similarly, we can observe the caste dialect differences in Nepal particularly in Dadeldhura district. There are some words, sentences and intonation that are only used by the particular caste groups. These language forms make the audience recognize the speakers and their caste. For example, Brahmin use the words like *n ni* to their daughter-in-law and *bad jeu* to the father-in-law where as non-Brahmin use *bw ri* to daughter-in-law and *rajb r* to father- in-law.

Besides, there are some other words and phrases like *gush i*, *rajb r*, *r j*, *perphu* or *pr vu*, *rithi* etc. in *Dadeldhureli* dialect which are used by the lower caste people to the upper caste people. If they are used by the upper caste people to address the lower case people, their language becomes ironical. In *Thaguri* language also there are some language forms employed by *Thaguries* like *muw* (to mother), *jijubuw* (to grandfather), *jijumuw* (to grandmother), *dulaini* (to daughter-in-law), *many s p* (unmarried girl), *jeth r j* (elder son or word used by a sister-in-law to her brother-in-law), *r nis b* (wife of *b bus b*), *bhuj* (rice or food), *dizzu* (elder sister), *b us b* (a word to address the male member of *Thakuri* by the people of other castes) etc. The terms mentioned above are not used by the people of other castes while speaking among themselves.

Besides these above mentioned kinship terms, many honorific form of the verbs and other terminologies are used by *Thakuries*. For instance, *darsan* (word of greeting), *jiun r arnu* (to eat), *najar hunu* (to see), *saw ri hunu* (to depart), *phirt saw ri hunu* (to return back), *marji hunu* (to give order), *binti garnu* (to request), *r j hunu* (to sit) etc. Some above mentioned terms of *Dadeldhureli* dialect like *darsan*, *jiun r*, *najar hunu*, *saw ri hunu*, *binti garnu*, *r j hunu* are similar to Nepali language. We can find the following syntactical structures in the *Thakuri*-dialect :

b us b Kathmandu kaile sab ri hoisinchha? (b bus heb Kathmandu kahile j nuhunchha?)

k nchh r j ! ekchhin hajurko kalam mal i diseu. (k nchh r j ! ekchhin hajurko kalam mal i dinuhos)

hajurb ta h maro iskulko abasth najar hos. (hajurle h mro iskulko abasth hernuhos)

bholi by n bhuj jiun r arna saw ri hoisial . (bholi bih n bh t kh n unu hol)

If we go to the bottom level of core *Dadeldhureli* dialect spoken area which has not been exposed to the light of education and changing social structure of the *Dadeldhureli* society, we may not find the honorific words like *hajur*, *tam* and others in the lower caste dialect. They may use *tu* pronoun to respect their elders as well. Vulgar, disrespectful and the language of scolding are used more in the language of lower caste people. Brahmin and *Kshetris* can use such language in anger but less in number.

Moreover, the people of Brahmin and *Kshetri* castes use different types of words related to their religion and customs like *g yatri mantar*, *rosy kh nu*, *pars d*, *dhup batti*, *dhoti phernu*, *deut pujju*, *garud pur n*, *jagy* , *janai mantarnu*, *chhodo*

h lnu etc. We can not find these words in the linguistic community of lower caste. Likewise, lower caste people use the words like *jaudda, daim cha, rithi* etc. which are not used by upper caste people.

These above mentioned language forms depend on the data taken from the *Nawadurga, Madilek* and *Ganeshpur* village development committees of *Dadeldhura* district. It shows a number of forms used by the higher castes and the lower castes in those village development committees.

Thus, because of this rigid separation into distinct groups, caste-dialect differences tend to be relatively clear-cut and social differences in language are sometimes greater than regional differences.

Social Hierarchy

A social hierarchy is a complicated construction and in no community can it be easily elucidated, but if the community openly recognizes certain factors creating or marking a person's status, understanding the social organization is more clear-cut. It is understood that a senior person will be more respected than a junior. In terms of marking status in the modern world, material possessions, such as automobiles, television sets etc are indicators of a certain level of achievement, but more universal sorts of status indicators are often linguistic in nature. The speech towards superiors differs from that toward inferiors in most every case. More polite vocabularies are used in addressing one's superiors in many languages. *Dadeldhureli* dialect is also one among such languages.

The network of social relations is multidimensional, but ultimately people are stratified by how alike or different they are in several different realms. Status is judged by totaling the varying degrees of power and solidarity between people. Power

is the vertical dimension, the hierarchical factor; it is non-reciprocal and points up the differences between people. Solidarity, on the other hand, is the horizontal dimension; the equality factor showing how much two individuals have in common.

The gradations of social distance usually correspond to gradations in formality and style of speech. In many of the Indo-European languages, there are separate pronouns to address persons at greater or lesser social distances from the speaker. In Nepali, for example, famous people, politicians, teachers etc. are often referred to as *un* (the third person plural pronoun) instead of *u* (the singular).

In Nepali, there is a four-fold system of honorific pronouns used among common people. But there are only three levels of the second person pronouns in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. These are in descending order of honor: *hajur* (*hajur* in Nepali), *tam* (*tap i* in Nepali) and *tu* (*timi* or *taⁿ* in Nepali).

| | Nepali | <i>Dadeldhureli</i> Dialect |
|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| T ₁ | <i>hajur</i> | <i>hajur</i> |
| T ₂ | <i>tapai</i> | <i>tam</i> |
| T ₃ | <i>timi</i> | <i>tu</i> |
| T ₄ | <i>taⁿ</i> | <i>tu</i> |

hajur is used in different contexts with different meanings. It is used to reply i.e. if someone is calling and the addressee is waiting for the message. Secondly, *hajur* with rising intonation, is used to mean “what?” or “pardon me?” when one has not understood or heard a statement clearly. Thirdly, *hajur* is used as an affirmative, meaning “yes, that's correct”, as in the case where someone asks, "you are writing thesis?" *hajur*.

Moreover, familiarity and unfamiliarity have something to do with the forms of language use. Hierarchy is blurred in the situation when the two professionally different ranked persons are familiar with each other. For example, when in some offices a *Dadeldhureli* speaker addresses to his lady staff like *A! budi bassini ba!* (Hey little sister! Come, sit down!), other staff who didn't understand their familiarity take it as inappropriate for a professional relationship.

Besides, an interesting place to investigate the importance of age as a factor affecting the language is in the family where everyone knows each others age. Within the blood-line there is a strict adherence to respecting ones elders.

In *Dadeldhureli* dialect there are separate terms for brothers and sisters older than oneself (*d i, didi*) and for those younger (*b^h i, baini*) as well as for paternal uncles older and younger than ones father (*t^hul b , kk*) and maternal aunts older and younger than ones mother (*jhayaz or t^huli m s ni m or kainsi*). Mothers elder sister is also called *jhayaz* in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Paternal aunts are called *puiju* and maternal uncles are called *mm*. One interesting kinship term used in *Dadeldhureli* dialect for married sister's sister-in-law is *bhin ju* instead of *sali*. Another unique term used in this dialect is *budi* (means brother or sister) which is used both for brother and sister. Any way, older siblings receive a more respectful pronoun than younger siblings. But sometimes age makes no difference; it is the relation that counts. Sister-in-laws (wives of elder brothers) are respected and honored whether or not they are younger than the speaker. Similarly, the spouse's, particularly husband's younger siblings are addressed with an honorific pronoun although they are juniors.

Outside the family one's social position more than relative age, dictates pronominal choice. In situations where occupation or social position is not obvious, age is used as the criterion for discrimination. The most solidarity relation between age-mates occurred in the school setting where caste proved not that important and all the students' occupation and status roughly the same. Although in college level age-mates are often addressed by using the honorific pronoun *tam* (*tap i* in Nepali) rather than *tu* (*timi* in Nepali), the pronoun *tu* is employed for the age-mates up to the school level. By the time one reaches the college level, one is aware of oneself as an individual in a larger social system, and becomes more careful about the pronominal system and chooses the pronouns according to the level of the addressee.

Ideally all members of a single caste are social equals, in practice factors of wealth, political power, education, occupational status, and so forth operate within as well as between castes to produce important internal inequalities of status. Although caste does not seem to be a significant factor in pronominal choice and status comparison, there are certainly differences in pronominal usage, general style of speech and language usage between castes. The use of *tu* is very prevalent among untouchable communities to the exclusion of most other forms of address. For example, they use *tu* even to father and mother and other elders too. I found that Brahmins as a group made the most numerous discriminations between address to men and women in an equivalent position or situation. They generally treat women more casually or with less respect.

Looking for differences in usage according to religious persuasion proved fruitless as no differences were discerned. I had hypothesized that Buddhists might be more democratic and treat every one with individual respect but this was not the case,

and their speech habits did not markedly differ from that of Hindus at all. They too are products of this stratified society and accept the norms of behavior there of.

There is a vague tension that exists between man and women of similar age because of the potential for a sensual relationship. It is necessary therefore to keep a certain distance, and besides avoiding familiarity, the responsibility factor of an intimate relationship must also be avoided. Women, for this reason, never use *hajur* to a man of their own age or a little older unless the man is a relative or in fact their husbands. Use of this form to any other man would imply a sort of responsibility on his part and a sort of indebtedness on her.

Nepali family structure, being patriarchal, makes no attempts to claim egalitarian status between husband and wife and the non-reciprocal pronoun usage in favor of the husband reflects this.

By Hindu tradition, a man is his wife's god and the preserver and she must treat him as such. But to whatever degree, the wife's relation to her husband is subordinate and unreciprocal. Her parents must also honor their son-in-law as Vishnu, the protector of their daughter. Above all, there is a pragmatic reason behind this good treatment because when parents send their daughter off to live with a man in a house of strangers, they would like their son-in-law to take good care of their daughter for her fate than lies in his hands. Even the woman's older siblings must treat their sister's husband with respect although he is junior to them.

Here the men wield power in the family as well as in the economic sphere. After father dies, often it is the son; the breadwinner that becomes the head of the household even though his mother whom he is supposed to respect and obey is still alive. In other cases, despite seniority of age domestic workers, peons are addressed

with less honorific terms. It happens in the case of caste discrimination as well. For instance, a person belonging to upper caste uses non-honorific terms to address the lower caste people (so called *dums*) despite their seniority *A! d i k j nn chhai ba?* instead of *O! da i k j nn chhau ba?*

Besides, intimacy also makes difference in language forms. For example, a father can mockingly put his son above him or one can grab a stranger into uncomfortable and embarrassing proximity with honorifics. One can also use the pronominal system to draw or hold someone close in a tender way. A typical example of this would be a mother who uses the *tu* command form of come to her son or daughter when she is feeling affectionate toward the child. So, more intimate relations lead to *tu* among many people, for instance, friends, lovers or wives etc. A woman's use of *tu* is basically confined to her intimate female friends, lower caste people, people she is angry with and very small children preferably her own.

Another important factor affecting the language forms is occupation. When factors of status clashed it was the occupational status that was weighted more heavily. A person with a poorly respected job may lose respect for his superior age because of his inferior economic position. If a person gets promoted, his new level of prestige undermines and destroys any bonds of familiarity he might had with co-workers on his former level of employment.

A large reason for the discrimination between the sexes in Nepal particularly in Dadeldhura seems to be that women are an occupationally backward group, and therefore separate and not comparable to men. They are treated in a stereotypical fashion reflecting their low socio-economic status.

Thus the results of this study indicate a hierarchical society where characteristics of age, sex, caste, occupation, education, relation and economic status lead to differentiation of linguistic forms. Age is, thus, the deciding factor in pronominal choice or language forms when economic factors are not present or relevant. In the similar manner, the sex of the addresser and addressee also determines the language forms of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Besides the patriarchal quality of the society adds respect for men over women. Discriminations of caste also seem to play their part in sizing up an addressee, but at least in the present setting where many castes are brought together in schools and elsewhere and where democracy and anonymity have their effect, occupational distinctions also seem to be relevant to sociolinguistic attitude.

Educational Impact on Language

Education is the prominent measuring rod of human civilization and development. Most of the people of *Dadeldhura* district are illiterate. The old people are mostly illiterate. Therefore, those illiterate people are not exposed to other languages like Nepali and English. They have become the real preserver of the native language of *Dadeldhura* from extinction. Nowadays, the number of literate people is increasing due to the opening of many schools. At the same time, people are getting educated more and more, and are not using their own mother tongue even in practical life.

Literate and illiterate speech in a language like *Dadeldhureli* is plainly different. Literate people are knowingly or unknowingly bilingual. Code switching to Nepali and English languages takes place in their speech. For example, people switch codes and use the terminologies like daddy, mummy, class, copy, headmaster, sir, and

m , *phupu*, *bh uju*, *tap i* etc in place of *Dadeldhureli* language. When the educated people get engaged in some kind of government jobs, they are compelled to use Nepali languages as lingua franca. So, there is a great possibility of loss of their mother tongue, the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. This loss indicates the loss of their native culture and native speech. In other words, to show their erudition the literate people switch over other so-called prestigious languages like English and Nepali. So they try to be unique among the illiterate people. This desire to be unique brings a change in their mother tongue.

The native speakers, particularly the old and adult people do not have interest to speak their mother tongue themselves. They like to use common Nepali language because Nepali is an official language and language of majority. Due to the lack of utility in the complex modern world, the speakers feel shy to speak their language. Then, the new generation adopts Nepali in this situation. Even the speakers of core area do not understand well enough that it creates a social problem of mother tongue disappearance.

The popularity of English is increasing for readers and authors due to its international status. Likewise the most significant books and newspapers are written in English and it overtakes the place of minority languages like *Dadeldhureli*. Thus in the age of globalization, English has become the most common language for people of the world today.

Besides, most of the Nepali cultural, historical, literary and academic textbooks are written either in Nepali medium or in English and the books which are written in *Dadeldhureli* language are not read by all readers today.

After democracy in Nepal, a large numbers of private school are established. The medium of the education is only English and Nepali. Parents like to send their children to the modern schools where the text books are taught in either English or Nepali but not in their mother tongue. The native speakers of Dadeldhura certainly have problem of Nepali and English utterances. But they achieve satisfaction from the good result of their children's education after the heavy amount of investment.

Moreover, the school is a multi-cultural society where the students must be bilingual speakers. This environment affects both parents and children on losing their own language.

On the other hand, TV, radio, telephone, journals and other means of communication are the most important organs of modern society. The TV and radio broadcast various programs in Nepali, English and Hindi languages that impress the other language speakers. English languages is given priority. For example, the *Dadeldhureli* dialect speaking youths use the English expression "Hello! bro" in place of addressing like *a ! budi* in *Dadeldhureli* language. It is one instance of the influence of TV on *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Some English terminologies like hero, heroine, villain, match (of sport), iron (a tool used to make clothes smooth) are used by *Dadeldhureli* speaking people. And other English words and phrases like cigarette and lemon tea are also used. *Dadeldhureli* dialect speakers now often say *pitho* to *dhullo*, *chiy* to *ch h* , *sam ch r* to *raib r*, *sal i* to *m rchis*, *kattu* to *katchhy* etc. It is the influence of Nepali language on *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Similarly, the Hindi words like *jy sti* to *badhat* , *fikiri* to *chint* , *kismat* to *bh gy* are employed in their conversation.

In the present situation of Nepal, many people are flying to foreign countries for employment and higher education. They are engaged with multi-lingual people. They are impressed by foreign life style, cultures and languages gradually. The result is that there is possibility of negating own customs and language. Other reason of cultural and linguistic influence in the indigenous society is that the employees, students, doctors, engineers who study in foreign lands bring new customs and languages at home. These situations ultimately invite a great change in our native language and customs.

Bilingual and Multilingual Influences

Most of the *Dadeldhureli* people are bilingual. The process of bilingualism often starts with the starting of school. Monolingual situation is going to end. Bernard Spolsky says, "the simplest definition of bilingual is a person who has some functional ability in a second language" (45). As the name suggests, bilingualism means being able to use two languages by a person or speakers. In this sense, today everyone is at least a bilingual. There is the fact that just using tidbit of two languages does not mean to be a bilingual but the speaker has to be like native speakers in both the languages. Broadly a bilingual can be classified into different types: natural vs school made and compound vs coordinate (Rai 143). The natural bilingual refers to the person who learns two languages informally before going to school. For example, the *Dadeldhureli* people living at *Khalanga (Baghbazzar)* learn Nepali as naturally as they learn their own *Dadeldhureli* dialect. They learn both their mother tongue and Nepali at the same time in their childhood before they join school. Naturally they are better bilinguals as they learn the languages in their natural setting. On the contrary, school made bilinguals are those who learn their first language at home and the second language in school.

A compound bilingual is a person who learns two languages informally in his early childhood. Coordinate bilingual might learn the second language in school or at work (Rai 143). So, compound bilingual is better than coordinate bilingual. One special point to be noted in bilingual situation is that the two languages are not used for the same purposes. One is used for one purpose and the other for other purposes. In Nepal, Nepali is used for administrative and specialized purposes, while other languages like *Dadeldhureli*, *Doteli*, *Baitadi* etc are used for domestic purposes. For example, *Dadeldhureli* people use *Dadeldhureli* dialect when they are at home or in domestic affairs but when they have to deliver speech at the public places they use Nepali as the medium. They speak Nepali at schools and government offices as well. But again if their government or private offices have employees of local origin, recurrent code-switching is a common phenomenon.

Nepal is a multi-lingual country where many individuals are either bilingual or multilingual. This multi-lingualism has also influenced the *Dadeldhureli* community today. Many speakers are bilingual in *Dadeldhura* district especially in the core area. They can speak both Nepali and *Dadeldhureli*. Besides the old people, the young generation of the speakers can speak more than one language with a fair degree of proficiency. So, the *Dadeldhureli* society appears to be a bilingual society. *Dadeldhureli* language does not have official status in Nepal. Because of the lack of preservation of this language, the speakers use Nepali as first language or mother tongue in the core area of *Dadeldhura*. So, we can say that *Dadeldhureli* language is influenced by Nepali and English languages. People learn Nepali and English from schools and colleges and they learn Hindi in course of their job in India and contact with Indian businessmen in Nepal. These facts invite the diglossic situation in *Dadeldhureli* society.

Diglossia

The term diglossia refers to the use of two or more than two languages in a society. Spolsky states, "two distinct varieties of the same language are used, side by side, for two different sets of functions. The term diglossia was coined originally to label this phenomenon" (63). When two distinct codes are used to serve different purposes in different situations in a society, we have diglossic situation. In a diglossic situation, two languages or two varieties or codes are used. But they are kept apart functionally. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. This is the main characteristics of diglossia that separates it from bilingualism. The two varieties have distinct features of their own. The first type is known as High Variety and the second as Lower Variety (Hudson 49). The High variety is used for certain functions in the society such as in government offices, educational sector, court, and media creating literature and so on. On the contrary, the Lower Variety is used in giving instructions to workers, household works, folk literature, family, among friends and daily communication. The same person may use High Variety and Lower Variety in different circumstances. For example, Nepali is High Variety and *Dadeldhureli* dialect is Lower Variety for *Dadeldhureli* people.

Thus, when two languages serve two different functions simultaneously, they are said to be in a diglossic relationship, for example, official Nepali and *Dadeldhureli* Nepali. Official Nepali is used in government and private offices and while speaking at public places but the *Dadeldhureli* Nepali is used while conversing with the family members and villagers in course of domestic affairs and for the domestic purposes. But the term diglossia is now extended to situations where different languages are involved. Actually, there is no real distinction between the terms diglossia and bilingualism. Typically, one language is held high in a diglossic

situation and we may find the same with bilingualism. Moreover code switching from Nepali to *Dadeldhureli* and vice versa occurs in such diglossic situation.

Code- Switching

Code-switching is the inevitable consequence of bilingualism and multilingualism (Hudson 51). Code generally refers to language. While talking to each other people shift from one code to another, which is called code switching. Code switching is a universal feature. Command of only one language or only one variety of a language is a rare phenomenon today. In other words, the word a speaker chooses to use on any occasion is a code. People are usually forced to select particularly a code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also decide to switch from one code to another or to mix codes. In a multilingual country like Nepal, the ability to shift from one language to another is accepted as quite normal. People speak one language in one situation and another in a different one. A change of topic requires a change in the language. The choice of code adds a distinct flavor. The choice encodes certain social values. Sometimes the situation is socially associated with ceremonial or religious functions. There are many reasons for code switching like:

A. Solidarity with the Listeners

It is one of the very good reasons for code switching. For example, the people living in core area of Dadeldhura are competent Nepali speakers, but as soon as one Dadeldhuri people meets another they start talking in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. This is to show that they belong to the same community. This creates a bond of affection and recognition among them. For instance, when *Dadeldhureli* dialect speakers use the expression *tap i pani j nuhuneho ra?* while speaking with persons having Nepali as

mother tongue, there is no code switching in the very sentence. The sentence is in the pure form of the Nepali language. But, at the same time, when they meet other *Dadeldhureli* dialect speakers, they switch codes over the *Dadeldhureli* and their expression becomes like *tam lai j nuhuneho ba ?* Here, the words like *tam*, *lai*, and *ba* are switched from *Dadeldhureli* to show the solidarity with the addressee.

B. Topic of Discussion or Subject Matter

People also switch their code to suit their topic of discussion or subject matter. It has been found that some topics are so complex that they can not be explained through code A so the speakers switch to another code B. For example, Nepali people find it difficult to discuss scientific topics in Nepali language, so they switch to English as soon as they have to deal with science. Same thing happens with the people speaking *Dadeldhureli* dialect. For example, *Dadeldhureli* people switch over the English terminologies like TV, radio, bus, telephone, film, mobile, x-ray etc while talking about them because it is often difficult to find equivalent words in *Dadeldhureli* language for them.

C. Prestigious position

Sometimes, speakers switch codes because they think that one variety or code is more prestigious than the other. Sometimes *Dadeldhureli* people switch from their own dialect to Nepali and English because they think that Nepali and English are prestigious languages, and to speak Nepali and English is the sign of being intellectual or elite. For instance, the *Dadeldhureli* speakers switch over the English terminologies like busy, bore, vomit, study, labour, homesick, memory and so on time and again while speaking the *Dadeldhureli* dialect as well because they think that English is prestigious language and switching the code over English language is taken

as the sign of being intellectual or elite. Sometimes *Dadeldhureli* speakers switch codes over Nepali language too for the similar purpose. For instance the *Dadeldhureli* speakers sometimes use the expression like *m ra bajyai gharb t hai unubhay ho?* (mother and grandmother came from home ?) in place of pure *Dadeldhureli* form like *iz i re jiu gharbat hai y hau ?* There are different types of code switching:

a. Situational Code Switching

The speaker speaks one language in one situation and another in a different one. In the context of Dadeldhura district students in their English classroom speak English but as soon as they come out of the classroom they start speaking *Dadeldhureli* language or Nepali. They switch from Nepali or *Dadeldhureli* to English in the classroom because of the demand of the situation. For example, when some *Dadeldhureli* students do not understand the English vocabulary like 'wall' they switch code over *Dadeldhureli* word like *bedi* and Nepali word like *parkh l*. Similarly, Nepali Hindus switch to *Sanskrita* when they perform certain religious rituals. This kind of code switching is called situational code switching.

b. Metaphorical Code Switching

When a change of topic requires a change in the language used, then we have metaphorical code switching. For example, *Dadeldhureli* speakers switch from *Dadeldhureli* to English when they have to talk about scientific topics. For instance, the words like TV, radio , freeze, helicopter, bus, rickshaw are employed by the *Dadeldhureli* speakers while talking about them.

c. Conversational code switching

The speakers choose one code but elements of another code are mixed up in the course of one single utterance. This is very common in a bilingual society. People

frequently choose words and phrases from English and Nepali in course of their conversation although they are talking in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. For example, *Dadeldhureli* speakers use many English terminologies like study, school, vomit, height etc. and Nepali Vocabularies like *h miharu* (for *h m*), *pachhi* (for *p chh*), *parsi* (for *porki*) etc in course of their conversation in *Dadeldhureli* dialect as well.

Thus, switching from one dialect, variety or language to another is called code-switching. Code-switching takes place in bilingual situations. Code-switching is also determined by situations, status, relationship between the participants, and topics and attitudes of the speakers.

Religious Factors

If we were to single out the one sociological factor that has had the deepest influence on the history of language and has in turn been most deeply influenced by language, religion would probably be the factor. The majority of languages have as their earliest written document a religious text. It might almost be suspected that writing was developed not as an auxiliary to speech, but as an aid to religion and a depository of religious tradition, for instance, religious hymns and rituals.

Dadeldhureli women sing different kinds of *phags* (religious hymns) on different occasions like marriage ceremony and other religious fair and festivals like *Gora*.

The influence of religion upon vocabulary in all civilized languages is immense. To cite examples from English, we have in the first place words that we have largely retained their religious meaning, like, "temple", "prayer", "heaven", "hell", etc. The history of religious terms is fascinating. These terms come from all languages and all religions. For example, *nirvana*, *mahatma*, *karma*, etc. are from Hindi and Sanskrit languages.

The religious world of *Dadeldhureli* people is heavily influenced by Hinduism. They believe in heaven, hell, reincarnation, spirit and witch. They worship various Hindu deities such as *Kaalika, Ganesh, Ram, Siva, Durga, Parbati, Vishnu, Krishna* etc.

Looking for differences in language usage according to religious persuasion proved fruitless as no differences were discerned. I had hypothesized that Buddhists might be more democratic and treat everyone with individual respect but this was not the case, and their speech habits did not markedly differ from that of Hindus at all. They too are products of this stratified society, and accept the norms of behavior there of.

However, the language people use in the religious matter is different from the dialect used in the day to day communication. In the religious ceremonies, people mostly switch over the languages like Sanskrit and Hindi. They recite hymns mixing their dialect with these very second languages. They have given local names to their gods and goddesses like *L to, Mus ni, Bhaudeuli, Bairy musani*, etc. The witch doctors who are considered as the representatives of gods are called *dh mi*. When they perform as witch doctors, they use different types of religious and symbolic vocabularies of the dialect which are complex to deduce meaning to the new generation without the help of their elders. For example, *chhatry* (*Kshetriy* in Nepali), *siun lli* (woman), *d mad* (money), *burki* or *by ged* (grains of rice), *mushy* (lower caste), *chhory* (*kshetri*), *t kl* (*br hmin*), *chitalo* (he-goat), *d ng rau* (all human beings), *pely* (ear-ring), *chhanchar* (sword), *taliy* (shoes or slippers), *jdingo* (buffalo), *kaili*(cow), *kany* (ox) *bhory* (he-buffalo) etc.

Culturally, *Dadeldhureli* community is very rich which has many rites and rituals, for instance god worshipping, ancestor worshipping, birth, death and marriage etc. are typical. The terminologies have their own religious connotations. No other English and Nepali equivalent words and terms can explain them but it is possible to describe how the rituals are performed. The tradition of practising Hinduism by calling Brahmins still exists. However, their religion is going to be contaminated by contact with other religions like Christianity etc.

In fact, *Dadeldhureli* people are nature-worshippers. They worship the rivers, rocks, trees etc. They offer new crops and fruits to their domestic Gods. They call it *Nwagi Puja for pitris*. They cut a bunch of paddy and stick it to the front part of the door with cow dung.

In case of religious activity, the speakers use pure, polite and honorific words to pray to gods and goddesses at a secret place. At that time religious spells are recited orally. Many religious practices prevalent in the society add to the longevity of the language. A priest (*b ban*) is the most important person for any kind of rituals.

Dadeldhureli people are superstitious in the sense that they believe in witches, ghosts and devils. They offer he-goats and cocks to their local gods and goddesses. They have belief in witch doctors (*dhami*) and think that they will help to protect the people from attacks by witches, and from diseases. Therefore, they call *dhami* for *deupuchhai* (a religious act of calling the *dhami* and asking about their problem).

Economic Factors

Nepal is an agricultural country and it is the main occupation of *Dadeldhureli* people as well. Agriculture is the main backbone of their economic development. They grow enough grains to meet their daily needs. Sardonicly, their economic

condition is almost below the poverty line because of traditional way of farming, untrained and unskilled manpower, geographical features, less irrigation and so on. Moreover, they are still backward and unable to make more benefit from their homemade items due to the lack of transport and skill. There are no other occupations and opportunities, for instance, good education, government service and teaching etc. for enhancing their poor economic condition. Because of this very reason, their economic development is very slow. Only a few *Dadeldhureli* people are in the government services, educational sectors, medical science, engineering etc.

In some remote hilly areas, some skillful people make bamboo baskets and other items like *doko*, *duro*, *suppo*, *chh paro*, *d lo*, *bh d* out of bamboo or *nig nlo* sticks. These people are called *p rki* in *Dadeldhureli* caste system. Another labourious caste is *tamat* who make *pholo* (pot made of copper for putting drinking water), *t ulo* (pot made of brass for cooking rice or *dall*), *par nt* (pot made of silver or brass for kneading flour into dough). Next type of people called *luh r* build the tools used for agriculture like *nshi* (sickle), *banjaro* (axe), *b uso* (tool for digging), *ph li*, (iron rod for the plough), and other important instruments. Other type of caste termed *dholi* (tailor) makes clothes in different villages. Especially they used to make traditional types of clothes like *g ban* (like *petikot*), *ngado*, (like blouse), dhoti, *paijama*, *topi* etc. in the past. But they are busy in sewing shorts and pants in the modern design now. They make modern dresses for the ladies instead of traditional *jhakulo* (clothes used only by the *Dadeldhureli* girls).

The people of *Dadeldhura* grow fruits and vegetables. But due to the lack of transportation facilities, they cannot export their local production and make greater profit.

Besides agriculture, some *Dadeldhureli* people work in India, some are in Nepal police, teachers and other government offices as well. But we can find a big population of *Dadeldhura* engaged in agriculture. The bigger number of the total population does not have good opportunities. So their economic status is still not much developed. So, the *Dadeldhureli* society is a kind of backward society in which a linguist can find the more words related to agriculture than business and modern technologies.

Geographical Variation

It is logical that language is often geographically oriented due to various causes. Distance is clearly an important factor in the spread of linguistic forms. Language can be influenced by both social distance and geographical distance. The linguistic forms spread from one regional or social variety of the same language to another. Then, language changes in different places where new word, new pronunciation and usage occur. The speakers' use of new vocabulary, phonology, and grammar can develop the linguistic areas. These words belong to the speakers of particular regions.

Lexically dissimilar words

| Navadurga | Mandilek | English |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>chh ncha</i> | <i>chh nyi</i> | churned milk |
| <i>deut</i> | <i>debat</i> | god |
| <i>sangai</i> | <i>d gad</i> | together |
| <i>kody</i> | <i>kodo</i> | millet |

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>manany</i> | <i>tity</i> | a branch of a tree to settle the straw |
| <i>d mlado</i> | <i>koselado</i> | instrument to beat harvested wheat |
| <i>un barsa</i> | <i>upari</i> | next year |
| <i>ashaji</i> | <i>g do</i> | difficult |
| <i>nar mado</i> | <i>gatto</i> | bad |
| <i>badt</i> | <i>jhikka</i> | more |
| <i>bhin</i> | <i>kan la</i> | mound |
| <i>utha</i> | <i>pundo</i> | there |
| <i>bassai</i> | <i>batthai</i> | sit down |
| <i>thega</i> | <i>dhakan</i> | bottom |
| <i>karetthi</i> | <i>kanauli</i> | backside of the house |
| <i>rosy</i> | <i>chulo</i> | oven |
| <i>arkh</i> | <i>akk</i> | other |
| <i>thulo</i> | <i>thulko</i> | big |
| <i>bas itika</i> | <i>b s</i> | evening |
| <i>ulti</i> | <i>ukh l</i> | vomit |
| <i>theluw</i> | <i>thello</i> | instrument to blow fire |

The words listed above are found to be lexically dissimilar. We can see the significant difference in lexicon between the dialects of *Dadeldhureli* language spoken in *Navadurga* and *Mandilek* village district committees, though there are

similarities too. The speakers understand these dialects in their areas despite regional variations.

Phonetically dissimilar words

| Nawadurga | Mandilek | English |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>tukhi</i> | <i>tokhi</i> | you |
| <i>surya</i> | <i>surj</i> | sun |
| <i>jod</i> | <i>jaun</i> | louse |
| <i>mundo</i> | <i>munao</i> | head |
| <i>mudad</i> | <i>munad</i> | ear-ring |
| <i>mudelo</i> | <i>munaelo</i> | eye-lash |
| <i>puchhad</i> | <i>puchhadi</i> | tail |
| <i>dherai</i> | <i>dherai</i> | many |
| <i>kody</i> | <i>kodo</i> | millet |
| <i>and</i> | <i>ād</i> | egg |
| <i>dhug</i> | <i>dhuk l</i> | smoke |
| <i>baika</i> | <i>baiga</i> | adult male |

The words listed above are found to be phonetically dissimilar; despite of regional variations of the same *Dadeldhureli* dialect, the speakers understand these dialects in their areas. These dialect groups have same grammatical construction that

is common and share a number of phonetic features. These words can be borrowed from one variety to another.

Language and culture

There is an intricate relationship between language and culture. Folk songs, proverbs, tales etc. are very popular in *Dadeldhureli* culture. *Dadeldhureli* people perform a song and dance named *Deud* during the ceremonies like *J t*, *Gaur* and others in their own mother tongue. They play their own cultural musical instruments like *dhol*, *dam u* etc. in such ceremonies.

Among different activities, *deud* is an important asset of *Dadeldhureli* culture. *Deuda* is a combination of oral poetry and dance. It is performed in two ways a. lyrical, in which a single individual sings mostly without an addressee b. *Deuda khel*, in which two parties play the songs in a group before a large audience. *Deuda khels* (dance and poetry) are essentially organized during the feasts and religious festivals like *Gaur Perba*, *bary t*, *j t*, etc. It is played among the male members and female folks separately and sometimes among both male and female members of the society. But this kind of *khel* which is played between women and men together has no social acceptance. It is played among the females mostly on the occasion of *Gaur Perba* and *bary t* (marriage ceremony, especially of their male relative). *Deud* played on such occasion of marriage ceremony is named as *jagaram* in *Dadeldhureli* language. It is played during the night time when the marriage procession stays at the home of the bride's parents.

The world of *Deuda khel* is serene, joyous, colorful and ceremonious although the singers of both sides discuss or complain against the miseries of life. The purpose of their complaints and expression of pathos is not to invite the hostilities of life nor to

promote worldly miseries, but to exit from them for the time being and to be free from the mundane world. In such ritualistically performed comic theatre of *Deuda khel*, daily suffering of peasant life and the pain and restlessness one has to undergo get full expressions. In this context, Amma Raj Joshi states:

Deuda is one of such rich cultural folk loric traditions in which the inhabitants of this region find the expression of their hearts. Love, hate, happiness, sorrow, comforts or discomforts, pitiable or joyous social conditions, richness, poverty, death, decadence, upliftment and romance are things which come out purely in loric forms from the hearts of original inhabitants of this locality. (5)

In the expression above, the phrases 'this region' and 'this locality' refer to the whole far-western part of Nepal. In fact, *Deuda* is one of the common cultural folk loric tradition of the far-western Nepal including Dadeldhura district.

Deuda poetry sung in *Deuda khel* is a powerful discourse because of its metaphoric and ironic expression throughout the text. As it is poetry, much is said in a few words so that the mind of the audience is involved in forming meaning. In fact, we can find a fruit of bare emotions and feelings of *Dadeldhureli* people in such folk songs. Joshi further claims that "*Deuda* varies in tone. It can be didactic, satirical, pangyric, humorous, or amorous depending on the mood or situation" (5).

In such songs they employ the words from *Dadeldhureli* language which make these people feel comfortable and at home. For example, the following pieces of *Deuda* will depict it:

b gh bolyo₂ bhann b gh boly ki hamr i
aun din kas ba chhan gay dinki samr i

The lines above exhibit the sense of longing and pathos. The singer remembers the bygone days and expresses the nostalgic feeling at a time when he is unknown about his future.

bhadau m Gamar holi k ttikam j ta
mero man kasari ral chirij lo nta

The singer in the above lines remembers the very important religious festivals of the *Dadeldhura* district like *Gamar* and *j t* even if s/he is far from the native land. The feeling of pain of being detached from own cultural celebration get expression in their song.

dh sarka lisy b dal dha sarka jun chha
av gi karmak l gd kaso kaso hunchha

The discrimination existing in the society has been described symbolically using the image of the sky in the above lines of *Deuda*. The sky is half clouded and half moon- lit. Clouds represent the troubles prevailing into the society and the moon light represents happiness. Life is not joyful for all. For some people, it is joyous and for others troublesome. Whatever may be, it is all because of man's destiny which can not be averted.

koi chh nn chhan r t chol koi chh nn chan s di
tuire mai gh male suky dheki phula bh di

A widow, in these lines, says to her widowed friend, “ the young husbands of some young women bring beautiful clothes to adore their wives, but we are

unfortunate and do not get that opportunity. Moreover, most women get old along age, but our youth is sun dried since we did not get that opportunity to enjoy the love of the husband. Thus, the pieces of song above beautifully exhibit a woman's pathetic state of mind on the death of her husband who was the only support for her in a patriarchal society.

rojyo phul ark le laiyo k j u kaik khoja

sule bh t michi kh y s ik janti bhoja

The pathos expressed in the pieces of *Deuda* above reflect the tragic moment taken place in the life of a lover. The term *phul* symbolizes a girl and she is married to another boy leaving her lover alone. Unfortunately, the lover is invited in the marriage party of his beloved. The internal pain of the lover's heart in such pathetic condition finds full expression in these very lines.

Not only the feeling of pain and suffering but also the romantic feeling of love gets expression in the form of *Deuda* song. The following lines beautifully exhibit the longing of a girl for her erotic union with the boy in a lonely alpine area where nobody can disturb them. She even wants to defeat time by wishing very much prolonged nights.

khark bhari bhais hunu char uny ban hunu

tero mero bhet hoij nu duir tko ek hunu.

Thus the *Deuda* songs are medium to express the feelings of pain, pathos, suffering, sympathy, longing, gloom, love etc. They can be didactic, satirical and humorous as well. *Deuda*, thus, exists as a cultural asset and pervades through out the far western part of Nepal.

Many words which are used in the *deud* songs above bestow the identity of the *Dadeldhureli* people. In case of *Deuda* people switch over other dialects like *Doteli, Bajhangli, Baitadi* and other languages like Sanskrit etc.

The folk tales of *Dadeldhureli* people are related with ghost stories, stories of God etc. They mingle supernatural elements with the real-like events while telling such folk tales. In their language folk tale is given a special term *b t* which is told especially by the older members of the family to younger ones during the night time in their own language. They believe that these *b ts* should not be told during the day time. Besides, they use proverbs of their culture in course of talking. For example, *bw bhann chelo j ny* (A lamp before the sun. A dull boasting before the wise) *h ny chel dhumo hatiy rai mudo hatiy rai* (Every little thing is an instrument in the hands of experts)

peta chelo h ta kanjeudi (Counting chickens before they are hatched)

The words which are underlined above are the pure forms of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

The elderly members encourage learning their language and culture to the new generation. They even appreciate these cultural activities. The speakers socially acquire the knowledge of tradition, culture, occupation etc. They learn manner and habits of respecting the guests politely. The language reflects the culture of people. They value the culture. They come to use their language that reflects what they value and what they do.

In fact, cultural needs certainly influence how a language is used. A *Dadeldhureli* syntax like *hajur baisek ariyeu or hajur baisek ara*. (Please, sit down) denotes the polite and honorific language. At this time the speaker shows the sitting place for the guest at home. Next example, *hajur, jeun r ariyeo* (Please, have a meal.)

indicates that the host allows or invites his guest to have a meal at home. Another example, *bhitarai bashiyo ban, saw ri ara*. (Please, come inside of home.) refers that the host allows his neighbour or guest to come inside of home. He calls him respectfully. So, *Dadeldhureli* culture respects politeness. The addressee in the above sentence is elder or a respected person. Similar polite forms can be used for plurality.

Dadeldhureli language has terminologies for different items like kinship, organs of body, kitchen articles, foods and drinks, corns, fruits, flowers, mammals, grass, insects, musical instruments, festivals etc. These social and cultural articles, animals and plants identify this language to be alive and standard language. The speakers desire to use these words because they are the parts of their culture. So, this language is closely associated with their culture. The following words are about the social and cultural things of *Dadeldhureli* community:

Kinship

b (father), *iz* (mother), *bajy* (grandfather), *jeu*(grandmother),
k khi (aunt), *rajb r* or *sasur* or *bad jeu* (father- in- law), *jeu* or *s su* (mother-
in-law), *jetho d i* (elder brother), *mujillo d i* (second elder brother), *k nso d i*
(younger elder brother), *mm* (maternal uncle), *bauju* (elder brother's wife),
baur ni (younger brother's wife), *jhyaij* (father's elder brother's wife or
mother's elder sister), *bhin ju* (elder sister's husband, elder sister's brother-in-law
and sister-in-law), *kasb* ,(mother's sister's husband), *kansi* (mother's sister),
gosi (husband's sister or brother).

Tools and instrument

nshi (sickle), *b uso* (the digging instrument), *dally tho* (the levelling instrument or tools), *bh talo* (a big round pot to cook rice or *dal*), *pholo* (a big pot to keep water), *kasinno* (a small pot used for drinking water), *jitar* (a tool made of stone to grind wheat, rice, millet etc), *rosby* (a hearth made of three stones), *thyegy* (a pot to keep milk), *p ro* (a big pot for making yogurt out of curd), *theluw* (a rolling bamboo stick to make bread), *chh paro* (a kind of bamboo basket to keep breads), *sil uto* (a flat stone to grind spices and other things) and *lodo* (a round stone for grinding), *bh d* (a tool made of bamboo sticks to dry firewood or other things), *jeudo* (a rope especially made to carry grass), *mijuro* (a small tool for weeding), *b sulo* (an instrument to chop or cut something), *banzaro* (axe), *ph udo* (a tool for digging or leveling the soil), *nik n* (an instrument to make hole in wood), *rokh ni* (a *nik n* like tool to make a big hole), *duro* (a big round basket to keep rice), *d lo* (a big basket to put breads or other food items), *bhak ri* (a kind of big wooden box to keep rice) etc.

Organs of body

l do or *pet* (stomach), *jibado* (tongue), *thol* (lips), *k ni* (shoulder), *pudel* (back), *tinad* (thighs), *kanna* (waist), *kichchi* (vagina), *ch ni* or *channi* (forehead), *gothi* (backside of the head), *kaljo* (liver), *phaushy* (lungs), *khun* (blood), *jundh* (public hair), *kanpado* (cheek) etc.

Foods and drinks

rot (bread), *bh t* (rice), *tiun* (dal), *s g*(vegetable), *mand* (an especial bread made of rice flour), *b bar* (a round bread of rice flour cooked in oil), *m lpok* (a type of bread made of wheat flour by mixing sugar in it), *l un* or *koseli* (a bread of wheat flour cooked in oil), *sik r* (meat), *heluw* (a sweet tasting food made of wheat flour by mixing sugar), *jhy uko* (an especial food made by frying rice flour in ghee), *khir*(rice pudding), *nisasy* (an unique food prepared by mixing rice flour, curd and sugar), *batuk* (round balls made of *dal* by cooking in oil), *dubk* (a round ball like item prepared by mixing *dals* like *m s* and *gahat*), *d ru* (wine), *pind u* (taro root), *taud* (yam) etc.

Grass

g jo (hay), *by by* (a kind of grass having hair like leaves), *nal*(stems of millet that have been cut and dried), *kurj* (a grass having bitter taste), *ruino* (a grassy plant), *b singa* (a small bushy plant whose leaves are used to make bed for animals) , *gatady* (a bushy plant), *chiuro* (a big plant whose flowers are the main source for bees to collect honey), *simal*(a big plant from whose fruits cotton can be collected), *sesuno* (a small plant having bristle), *siru* (a grass having sharp and blade like leaves) etc.

Birds

kuaiy (*dhukur* in Nepali or dove), *sindeul* (a kind of brown bird), *kukud* (cock and hen), *sw* (parrot), *kauw* (crow), *titaro* (partridge), *ch khudo*(a bird like partridge but a little bigger), *chil* (eagle), *bas* (a hawk), *hamr g* (a big bird having face like

owl), *teply* (a small bird having crest on the top of its head), *ged* (very small sexy birds which fly in groups), *bhegud* (small birds which are always in groups), *l mpuchhy* (a dove like grey bird having a long tail), *kauk to* (a bird like *l mpuchhy* but having a bit short tail) etc.

Mammals

g i (cow), *billo* (cat), *kukur*(dog), *bhaiso*(buffalo), *b kharo* (goat), *khad* (rabbit), *boky* (he-goat), *balla*(ox), *b nner* (monkey) etc .

Fruits

ambh (guava), *kathar*(jackfruit), *m* (mango) , *ru* (peach), *amilo* (a sour fruit), *dh dim* (pomegranate), *lichi* (lychee), *khany* (a fruit that grows inside the soil), *bedu* (fruits having garlic like structure), *timlo* (a fruit like *bedu* but having bigger fruits), *k nkado* (cucumber), *lpokhar* (round sour fruits), *k phal* (berry), etc.

Crops

ghog (maize), *bhatta* (*soyabean*), *gaun* (wheat), *kody* (millet), *ph par* (millet like crops), *kal u* (a small black or brown seed that is taken as dal), *sott* (a type of grain having black spot on the white surface), *jaun* (barley), *musuro* (lentil), *gat* (a kind of seed which is useful to make *dal* in the winter season), *k kun* (a millet like grain having white colour) etc.

Insects

kirmallo (ant), *m kho* (housefly), *patingo* (grasshopper), *baduw* (spider), *maur* (bee), *up i* (flea), *jodo* (louse), *pany ri* (dragonfly), *bichhi* (scorpion) etc.

Festivals

Bishau Perba, *Ashad Pandra*, *Hariyali Sakranti*, *Nagpanchami*, *Olke*, *Gora*, *Dashian*, *Tihar*, *Puse Pandra*, *Magesagranti*, *Shripanchami*, *Holi*, etc.

Musical Instrument

dhol (a big musical instruments made of leather), *dam u* or *d in* (a small form of *dhol*), *b suli* (flute), *jh li* (having two round metal plates), *bikul* (a small trumpet), *mijur* (structure like a strainer), *m dal*, *hudko* (a small drum especially used in the marriage ceremony), *bhokkar* (a kind of trumpet) etc.

Dadeldhureli society is an agricultural society. The speakers use different types of words for different goods which are related to agriculture in the agricultural society. These above mentioned words refer to the social and cultural values and they are related with lifestyle, customs of *Dadeldhureli* people. For the tools they need, they use their own language. Their forefathers named the things. Therefore, the use of these tools denotes their culture and tradition. They use some natural plants and birds as their basic needs. Then, they have more vocabularies about nature, they use the herbal plants in purpose of healing sick people in the community, grass for cattle rearing etc. The speakers traditionally use these *Dadeldhureli* vocabularies today. Some words are borrowed regarding modern scientific things like computer, television, telephone, and rocket etc. People feel difficulty to talk about advanced things, for instance, the words related to science and technology, due to the lack of words. Therefore, they are compelled to borrow the words from other languages.

Language and Social Practices

Different societies have various kinds of social practices. These social customs and traditions give the identity to the particular community. People living with the same kinds of social practices have the feeling of attachment towards themselves comparatively than with the other kinds. Since these social activities are locally constructed behaviours, they have great impact on the language that is spoken locally. We can find same kind of sociolinguistic impact on *Dadeldhureli* language. The social practices that *Dadeldhureli* people are associated with are mentioned below:

Food Habit

The food culture of *Dadeldhureli* people has its own characteristics. They prepare different food items in their own traditional ways. Generally they eat wheat bread or millet bread (*roto* in D.) and vegetable (*s g* in D.) in the night time and rice and *dal* in the morning time but some poor people eat rice or bread both in night and day time according to the season of harvest. For breakfast they take *ch h* (tea) and *roto*. In special occasion they eat different types of food items such as *m d* , *koseli* or *l wn*, *khir*, *dubk* , *batuk* , *nishsy* , *m lpok* , *b bar*, *mayari* etc. Many food items are prepared out of rice and wheat. From *rice-b bar*, *t lem d* , *korom d* , *m derot*, *nishashy* , *jhy uko* etc. and from *wheat-roto*, *l wan*, *root*, *m lpok* , etc are prepared. In special occasion they eat meat, fish, yam, pumpkin etc. People eat yam on the occasion of *Uttar in*, a kind of small festival, and pumpkin on the day of *Shivar tri*.

Clothes and Ornaments

Clothes and ornaments give the recognition of the people. *Dadeldhureli* people have their own traditional way of wearing clothes and ornaments. They

are named in *Dadeldhureli* language. Traditional male used to wear *dhoti, kurt* , *suruw l, shkot, kulai or topi* etc. and female used to wear *g ban, ngado*, etc. Young girls had especial clothes like *jhakulo*. Women used to wear different types of ornaments like *mudadi, mudad* , *phuli, kalli (p il), sungedi, b l* , *nuthu, sut* etc. But now their culture is contaminated by modern way of wearing clothes. There is much change in their socio-cultural lives at present. The women prefer colorful clothes. They generally wear red colorful sari and blouse now. These women often use these ornaments on the special occasions like *jaat* (fair), *Gaur perba, mel* , *bary t* (marriage ceremony) etc.

Cultural Festivities

Dadeldhureli society is rich in cultural festivities. They are always ready to celebrate festivals; they celebrate all the Hindu festivals (*Dashian, Tihar, Tija, Saune Sagaranti and Maghe Sangranti* etc.). Apart from these they celebrate their special festivals, for instance, *Nwagi, Gaur* , *Bishau* etc. and other local festivals like *j t. Durg j t, Dy i j t, Bad l j t* are important *j ts* and other many local *j ts* are celebrated in Dadeldhura district. They never worry about expenditure on the festivals. They consume all the grains during festival period.

Important Festivals of Dadeldhureli People

| Month | Day | Festivals name |
|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Baisakha</i> | <i>Baisakha Sakranti</i> | <i>Bishu Perba</i> |
| <i>Sawan</i> | <i>Sawan Sakranti</i> | <i>Budib lli</i> |
| <i>Bhadra</i> | <i>From Sukla Chauthi</i> | <i>Gaur (Gor)</i> |
| <i>Asoj/kartik</i> | <i>Sukla Asthami</i> | <i>Dashain</i> |
| <i>Kartik</i> | <i>Aunshi (dark night)</i> | <i>Tihar</i> |
| <i>Magh</i> | <i>1st day</i> | <i>M ghe Sankr nti</i> |
| <i>Chaitra</i> | <i>Asthami</i> | <i>Chaite Dashain</i> |

Bishau Perba

Bishau Perba is celebrated on the first day of every new year according to Bikram Sambat. This festival is also called *Bishau Sakranti*. For the preparation of this festival people clean and decorate their houses. The young people who have gone to foreign countries for earning money return back to their home to celebrate this festival. People cook different types of delicious foods like *mandu*, *bar*, *lwan*, *lpuw* etc and kill goats for meat. On the first day of new year, people take a bath early in the morning. They believe that evil things of the year are washed away by this bathing. *Dadeldhureli* women welcome the new year by giving farewell to their vices and evil thinking of the past by taking bath early in the morning on the very first day of new year. In some places, there is the custom of playing, *Deud Khel* on this auspicious occasion. Both women and men do not play *Deud* together. Women and men make their own groups to play it. This *Deud* has got social acceptance so that no one hesitates to take part in their own groups.

Some where, the youngsters play *Chor Deud* among the boys and girls together at this time. The type of *deud* has not got social support or validity. So the young girls and boys play it in the jungle or in an isolated places where their parents do not notice them. In this kind of *deud* girls and boys express their feelings, pain and mental agony through the medium of *deud*. They sing the *deud* s related to love between boys and girls. They can even spend the whole night playing *deud* and return to their home before morning. In this way, these kinds of *deud* s make the hillsides and forests as if they were singing themselves in the night time.

Hariyali Sakranti

This festival lies on the first day of *S un*. It is observed all over the country in the name of *S une Sangr nti*. The whole earth looks green in the month of Shrawan. People believe that after *S une Sankr nti* (the first day of the month) happiness will come and disaster will disappear. On this very first day the people of Dadeldhura plant the branches of *kurjo* (*titep ti* in Nepali) in their fields believing that their crops would grow all over the fields and say *hario, pario mero gado bhario*. But it has another connotative meaning as well. In the time of rainfall, there is the possibility of flooding and landslide. To prevent it they have given cultural value to plantation. Now, it has also been proved that this *kurjo* plant helps to kill and remove the germs from the fields.

Nagpanchami

Nagpanchami deserves nation-wide celebration and it is also observed in Dadeldhura district. *N g* (snake) is taken as the water god in their tradition and it is believed that if the nag is made happy, it makes the rainfall in time. It makes the crops grow well and saves their wealth. So, *Dadeldhureli* people worship *n gs* (snakes) to please them. The farmers are afraid of drought and over rainfall. So this festival keeps importance to agricultural country like Nepal. People worship the eight *n g s* viz. *ananta, b suki, padma, mah padma, takshaka, kulira, karkat, sankha* on the day of *N gpanchami*. They draw the picture of these eight *n g s* and stick it to the front part of the door. Mostly, the priest (*b ban* in D.) gives this picture to every family and people give rice as a religious gift or charity which is called *nishr* in *Dadeldhureli* language in return to him. The rice given to the Brahmin on such occasion is not called *ch mal* but

nishr . It exemplifies the reflection of the society or culture in the language that they use. And it shows how culture affects the language.

Olke

Olke festival is observed on *Bhadra Sankranti*. In this festival the so-called lower caste people and other people of low status go to the house of the so-called upper caste people and people having high standard by bringing some gifts for them. This gift or offering is called *olko* in *Dadeldhureli* language and so this festival is named after this very term.

The gifts that are bestowed on that very day are mainly fruits (banana, apple , oranges, guava, etc.) , milk , curd, ghee and honey etc. While putting such pieces of gift on the threshold of their *rithis* (owners), they utter the words of greeting like *diam cha! daim cha!*. Those respected persons give rice and other foods to them in return in the name of blessings. It is seen as the sign of exploitation by the authoritarian tradition. But it was taken as the tradition in *Dadeldhureli* society more than evil thing.

Gora (Gamara, Gaura)

Gor is taken as the famous festival of Dadeldhura and far-western region of Nepal as a whole. It is celebrated from *Bhadra Sukla Chauthi* to *Dwadashi/Triyodashi* for ten/twelve days. In this festival God *Siva* and *Parvati* are worshipped. This festival is seen affected by *kum uni* tradition and it is observed in *Baitadi, Darchula, Bajhang, Kailali* and *Kanchanpur* along with *Dadeldhura*.

People eat *birud* (*kwanti*) as the *pras d* of *Gaur* . *birud* is made of five types of grains like *gur unsa, gahat, m sh, ker u* etc. and called *panchanna* in totality. In this festival, people worship the statue of *Gaur or P rvati*.

On the first day of Gaur , the corns of *birud* are washed by taking them to well or *n ulo*. On the second day of *panchami*, they worship the *n ulo* by those *birud* s. The women sing *ph g* while going to pray and in the returning period. On the day of *saptami* ,the *s w* (a kind of grass) is uprooted from the field and the statue of *Gaur* is created out of it. On the next day of *ashthami* another statue of *Gaur* is built which is called *k nchhi* or *saut Gaur* . *saut Gaur* is worshipped after the first *Gaur* was disposed of.

This festival is related with the Hindu god and goddess *Siva* and *Parvati*. It is believed that *Parvati* took fast to get *Mahadev* (God *Siva*) as her husband. So, the girls and women take fast (*barta* in D). on the auspicious occasion of *Gaur Perba*. Besides, women and men play *deud khel* on the occasion of this festival as well.

Dashain

Dashain has become an important festival of Hindus. It is greatly celebrated in Nepal like in other Hindu kingdoms. It is also a national festival and usually observed on the month of September. It starts from the day of *ghatasth pan* (*pratipad*) by keeping *jamar* (*gor* in *Dadeldhureli*) in every home and celebrated for ten days through out the country. It is observed and organized all over the country in the similar manner. People invite all the married daughters and sisters for *tik* . It is observed as a victory of good over evil. The words like *atthami* (*asthami* in Nepali), *gor* , *naur t* (*nabar tri* in Nepali), *dakchhin* (*dakshin* in Nepali), *boky* (*bok* in Nepali), etc. are related to Dashain festival in relation to *Dadeldhureli* dialect and give the local color of the dialect. So, we can say that there is the deep rooted impact of *Dadeldhureli* culture in its language.

Tihar

In *Dadeldhureli* dialect, Tihar is referred as *Dutty* . It is celebrated for five days as a popular festival in Dadeldhura district. So, it is also known as *panchak*. It is generally celebrated on the month of October. The farmers harvest rice during this time. In this festival people worship crow, dog, ox, cow etc and the goddess *Laxmi* who is regarded as the goddess of wealth. Sisters worship their brothers on the very day of *Bh i Tik* . It is a golden opportunity to meet the brothers and sisters who live in different places. Besides, boys and girls sing *bhailo* and *deusure* during this festival. People even play cards in this time which they call *juw* .

Puse Pandra

Puse Pandra as a local festival of *Dadeldhureli* people is observed on the very day of fifteenth of Push (January), so, it is named after this month. It is the day of rest. People believe that any work should not be done on this very day, otherwise god will be angry. So, people take rest through out the day and do not sleep in the night time. They sing religious songs and hymns overnight and tell *b ts* (stories) gathering in groups. At this time people eat *taud* (yam) by boiling them in water. It is celebrated as a minor festival in my survey area.

Magesagranti

From the religious point of view the month of *M gh* is taken as holy month by *Dadeldhureli* people. On the first day of this month, people bath early in the morning and give *dakshin* to niece and nephews (*bhanj and bh nji*) and daughters after putting *tik* on their forehead. They celebrate it by inviting women kins mainly married daughters and sisters. If they do not come to their

m iti (parents' home), some special food is sent to their home within this month. It is called *roto dinu* in *Dadeldhureli* language.

Shripanchami (Saraswati puja)

In the local language of *Dadeldhura*, this festival is called *Sirpanchami* which is observed on *M gh*. It is believed to be the holy festival to start letters by the child. People worship goddess *Saraswati* on this occasion. It is taken as the good time for the girls to make hole in their nose and ear for wearing the traditional rings after marriages.

Hori

Playing *Holi khel* (hori in *Dadeldhureli*) and singing holies of different gods and goddesses are the main ritualistic activities performed in the Hori festival which is observed on the month of *Ph lgun*. People play with different kinds of colors in this festival. People even go to each house in a group and collect money (or *chand*) to do some important work of the village.

Social Rituals

The cultural ceremonies performed by *Dadeldhureli* people are rich and diverse in their nature; they range from birth to death. After the birth of the child, the women in the neighborhood start to sing *ph gs* along with cleanliness. In that *ph g* of child (in a religious sense the child is termed as *b lo*) birthday, the *phag nni* women explain about the condition of the child in the womb from one month up to the birth.

On the sixth day after birth, *sasthi puj* is celebrated. It is also called *chhaiti* in *Dadeldhureli* language. In the night time, the things related to agricultural field like *kuto*, *kod lo*, *ansi*, etc. are put under the pillow of the child. But, nowadays the graduate parents keep pen, copy, book etc. under the pillow of

the child. People sing the *dham ri of chhaiti* on the very night of that occasion. In such *dham ries*, people sing about the bravery of gods and goddesses and the bravery of their ancestors.

Naming process of the child is termed *naw ran* in *Dadeldhureli* language. Specially, the name of the child is kept on the basis of god's name. It is believed that the god after whose name a child is named safeguards the very child. The pregnant women are made holy after the praying and worshipping finished. The neighbor women sing *ph g* in this time as well. And in such *ph gs*, they sing about the condition of the child for the whole year like how the child will crawl, how s/he will start to stand etc. While naming the child, the priest whispers the name of the child through the hole of wrapped leaf of *pipal* tree to the ear of the very child. Such process of providing name by the priest depends on the culture.

We can find difference in names according to the caste that they belong. For example, *bah dur* is written after the name of the people who belong to the *Kshetri* caste but not after the name of the *Brahmin* people. So, we can identify the caste of a person by knowing his/her name to some extent. Actually surname makes us clear about the caste of the people. For example, *Joshi, Panta, Bhatta, Paneru, Ojha, Chatauta, Pande, Upreti, Pathak, Awasthi* etc. belong to *Brahmin*, *Saud, Deuba, Air, Khadka, Bohara, Bhandari, Rawal, Rawat, Bista*, etc. belong to *Kshetri*, *Chanda, Singh, Sahi*, etc. belong to *Thakuri, Sannyasi, Nath, Yogi, Mager, Tamang to Baishya and Tamata, Kami, Parki, Sarki, Bhul, Dholi, Chunara, Luhar to Sudra*.

The culture of rice-feeding is called *bh t chakh i* in *Dadeldhureli* language. It is called *bh t chakh une* because the child is fed rice for the first

time on this occasion. The child is given ghee, curd, honey etc. to be tasted. And the relatives are given party by sacrificing the he-goat. The women sing the *ph gs* of *p sani* (rice-feeding) on this occasion. They wish for the long life of the child.

Hair-shaving is another ritual performed in the life of male member of the society. This work is often done on the occasion of *bratbandha*. This culture is concerned with son only. In this auspicious time, the hair, which was not been cut before is cut for the first time. *ph gs* are recited on this occasion as well. But, on such *ph gs* we can get the explanation of the child's feeling of sorrow or unhappiness for removing his hair with his mother.

bratbandha is a kind of first marriage. It is the culture in which a son is offered *janayi* by the priest after the religious rituals on this very day. The *janai* has religious meaning. After wearing it, the son should not eat rice cooked by all persons. It is called *rosby kh ne* in *Dadeldhureli* language. He should mentally recite the mantra (*mantar*) before he take his meal. While starting the task of *bratbandha*, the *dam u* (local musical instrument) is beaten by *dholi* (tailor). This work of beating *dam u* is called *t i lag unu* in *Dadeldhureli* language. Besides *ph gs* are also sung during this period. The priest gives some moral instruction to the boy in whispering sound which the boy should follow in his life.

The marriage system in *Dadeldhureli* culture depends on Hindu marriage system. In this system the priest is the most important person. In *Kshetri* and other castes, there is the bad custom of selling the daughter. The child marriage and polygamy is again prevalent in some parts of *Dadeldhura* but marrying widow is not given acceptance by the society. There are two kinds of marriage

viz. *baj i bary t* and *sar uli bary t*. The marriage in which there are use of many musical instruments is called *baj i bary t* and where there is no such facility or single musical instrument named *dam u* that is called *sar uli bary t*. In *baj i bary t*, the *dholies* wear different types of clothes like *pagadi*, *phet jhagulo* etc. When the marriage ceremony reaches to the home of bride, the people from bride's side come to welcome the marriage procession with *chir k* (a light made out of *jhuro* of *sall* and barks of banana) in their hands. This kind of work of going to welcome is called *parchh u*. Women recite *ph gs* at the very time. After it the task of *jagy* starts. There are two steps of marriage; *bhitar by* and *b ir by* . When the bridegroom climbs down from the *dol* , the father of the bride or the person who gives *kanny d n* moves round the *doli* and sprinkles the water drops, which is called *Chhodo* in *Dadeldhureli* language.

The reason behind the sprinkling of this *chhodo* is that the bridegroom is carried by the people of the down caste i.e. so called untouchable. The people who carry *dol* are called *dolemor* in *Dadeldhureli* language. Later, bride and bridegroom are tied together with wed-lock which is called *byasado* in *Dadeldhureli* language. The act of putting *sindur* on the forehead of *beuli* (bride) is called *sindur dh llu*. And it is the most important part of the marriage ceremony. After this task, the bride is culturally belongs to the bridegroom. Thus marriage ceremonies may be seen as social bonds between husband and wife. Arranged marriage is considered the most prestigious. The elders perform different rites of bride and groom. They perform the task of *godo dhunu* as a religious act of the ceremony.

Funeral priest generally performs death rituals when people die. Funeral ceremonies are closely identified with religion. In *Dadeldhureli* culture, the

people offer *d n* (charity to god) before the death and funeral is given after the death. Recently after the death of a person the act of offering *pind* is done. Up to ten days of the death, the work of *ghado th pne* is done. And on the tenth day of this act, the *ghat* (*ghad*) is broken which is called *chindo phodne*. On the eleventh day, the act of cleaning is done which is called *jutho pakh llu*. On the same day some food is left in the river in the name of the dead person which is called *k tto*. On the fifteenth day the *shr ddha* (*sar d* in *Dadeldhureli* dialect) is performed and this day is called *pannar u*. After this time, *shr ddha* is performed every month and *barsiki* is done when one year has passed. The person who performs these activities is termed as *kiry k ri*. All these rituals which are conducted in the same dialect help to preserve the long nurtured language of *Dadeldhura* on the one hand and to update it according to the challenge of modernity on the other.

Contextual Impact on *Dadeldhureli* Language Use

While using the language it has to be appropriate. It also needs to be suitable for particular occasions and situations. According to social status, caste or ethnic group, age, sex etc of the speaker the language varies. For example the language used by a boy to his friends is different from the language he uses to his father. When a son says to his father like *k n j ne hai l ?*, it is not suitable in such speech relation of father and son. But it is usual in case of friends and juniors. When one boy addresses to another boy as *ke padd chhai ba li?*, instead of *ke padd chai ba l ?*, it becomes contextually inappropriate and ridiculous. It shows that language varies according to sex.

Social context is another factor for linguistic variation. The same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situation for different purposes. On

the other hand, the language varies according to written or spoken form because the written language is more formal than spoken language. The *Dadeldhureli* language exists informally.

Moreover, one crucial feature of the social context is the context of the person spoken to, and relative status of the participants in a discourse. The speaker and the listener require different degrees of politeness and they are signaled linguistically. The usage of language varies from age group to age group, place to place, caste to caste etc. For example, when one upper caste person says *ke m gi baksine ho re?* (what do you want, please?) to the lower caste person, it provides the ironical meaning than the literal meaning.

Although the *Dadeldhureli* language has not been standardized as educated standard variety and the non-standard variety, it is used in conversation, discussion, folk literature of family and friends.

Speech provides a new framework for describing language use in context. The language as a social tool is used essentially in the context of speaker-hearer relations and other pragmatic considerations of the goals, beliefs, intention and attitudes of speech participants. The language used in real life situation is an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee.

***Dadeldhureli* Dialect Speech Acts**

The main aim of this topic is to describe the act words perform in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. A speech act is the implementation of the intention of a speaker towards his/her hearer. Furthermore, a speech act treats an utterance as an act performed by a speaker in a context with respect to an addressee. The pragmatic theory of Speech Act was developed originally by J.L. Austin (1960s), the British linguist and Philosopher.

Performing a speech act involves performing the following acts:

- a) A locutionary act is the act of producing a recognizable grammatical utterance in the language with a particular sense.
- b) An illocutionary act refers to the attempt to accomplish some communicative purpose. Promising, warning, greeting, reminding, informing and commanding are all distinct illocutionary acts. For example, when some one says *jaudda hajur!* in *Dadeldhureli* dialect in the presence of another person (upper caste person) the utterance is location and the meaning of greeting is illocution.
- c) A perlocutionary act is the effect upon the hearer or addressee. For example, when a *Dadeldhureli* speaker utters a sentence like *phul botami kasaile p ni h ldiy hunaihyo* (It would be better if somebody watered the flower plants.) the listener who is not addressed directly understands that the speaker wants the addressee to water the flower plants.

A. Representatives

Illocutionary acts that undertake to represent a state of affairs. For instance,

mer dui chel chhan (I have two sons.) - stating

tin dui chel mer hun (The two sons are mine.) - claiming

bhol parbh ta jhad pady ho (It will rain tomorrow morning.) - predicting

tuile jhuti bollu hunain (You should not lie.) - suggesting

B. Expressives

Illocutionary acts that express only the speaker's psychological attitude towards some state of affairs, for example,

dhany b t chha. (Thank you) - thanking

taml i sw gat chha (You are welcome.) - welcoming

badh i chha (Congratulations.) - congratulating

kathai l di ! (Alas!) - deploring

C. Verdictives

Illocutionary acts that deliver a finding as to value or fact, and thus that rate some entity or situation on a scale, such as,

k m dui dinmi siddiny b lo chha. (The work will be finished within two days.)

- estimating

tu chor hai (You are a thief.) - judgemental act

tuile r mado arinsaki (You did not do well.) - assessing

D. Directives

Directive illocutionary acts include the two traditional types of imperative and interrogative sentences. Illocutionary acts designed to get the addressee to do something, are called directives, for example,

tuile yo na auddui niko huntheo (It would be better not to do this.)- requesting

tamle yo kaseri ary ? (How did you do it?) - questioning

mal i phno n un lekhd sik idin pai (Teach me to write my own name.) - insisting

E. Commissives

Illocutionary acts that commit the speaker to doing something. If directive speech acts intend the other person to do something, commissive speech acts are

illocutionary acts that commit the speaker himself to do something. It includes promising, threatening, vowing etc. For example, I will come. I will never do it again.

ma kiry kh nau ... (I promise ...) - promising

tuile taso aribhanay ... (If you do that) - threatening

F. Declaratives

Illocutionary acts that bring about the state of affairs they refer to, such as

tero ghar bharij u (May you flourish.) - blessing

tai h nnai dhain (Hit him/her.) - commanding

tin chhit i bary t add chhan (They are going to marry soon.)- marrying

Chapter III

Sociolinguistic Variations in the Syntactical Structures of *Dadeldhureli* Dialect

Dadeldhureli dialect and other dialects of Nepali like *Doteli*, *Baitadi*, *Bajhang* belong to Indo-Aryan language and they have the same syntactic devices.

We find sociolinguistic variations within the same *Dadeldhureli* dialect and these variations are due to differences in age, gender and caste.

Dadeldhureli dialect has its own distinct syntactical structures in some cases which may not be intelligible to the Nepali speakers. Here, we can find the sociolinguistic impact on *Dadeldhureli* syntactic patterns that provide meaning in different ways. There can be different syntactical structures according to age, sex, and caste. There can be differences in using particles and verb ending for those groups of the people in the *Dadeldhureli* society. These different syntactical structures are not only important for proving variety within the dialect but also prominent for their different meanings.

Sentences of the *Dadeldhureli* Dialect

We find lexical or morphological difference between Nepali and *Dadeldhureli* dialect and therefore, most of the sentences of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect are not intelligible to Nepali speakers. Besides, some of them are structurally or syntactically not intelligible. Some of the sentence patterns of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect are given here.

| | Dialect | Nepali | English |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | <i>an ro bhaiyo</i> | <i>adhy ro bhaisakyo</i> | It has got dark. |
| 2. | <i>b khar le saru kh yo</i> | <i>b khr le b lin li kh yo</i> | The goat ate crops. |
| 3. | <i>chh d uthaj</i> | <i>hat para j</i> | Move aside. |

| | | | |
|----|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| 4. | <i>godo almal unu hain ba budi ?</i> | <i>bihe garne hoina ra bh i ?</i> | Don't you marry brother ? |
| 5. | <i>n n chh ch dini iz dhāi</i> | <i>alikasi mohi dena, m</i> | Give me some churned milk mother. |
| 6. | <i>chh ch kh ny batky denai dhāi</i> | <i>mohi kh ne kachaur deu ta</i> | Give me a bowl to drink churned milk. |
| 7. | <i>budi, mal i ek kasinno di sakdyai hai ?</i> | <i>bahini mal i eut lot din sakchheu ?</i> | Sister, can you give me a water pot ? |

Some of the words of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect mentioned above like *saru, budi, iz, batky, kasinno* surprise and appeal the eyes and ears of the Nepali speakers. Moreover; some words do not have any equivalent in Nepali. They are typical to the dialect. For example; the word *saru* refers to crops or plants (restricted for grazing).

On the basis of meaning, the sentences of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect are as follows.

A. Assertive sentences

Assertive sentences ordinarily express the happening of some actions. Such sentences may be either affirmative or negative. The meaning of such sentences sometimes depends upon the pronunciation in this dialect. The statement can work as a question only if it is followed by a particle and if the tone varies from the statement by rising it up at the end. Some examples of assertive sentences are cited below.

Positive Statements

| Dialect | English |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>taiki or uiki iz rot h llichhe</i> (For female of younger age or lower caste) | His mother cooks/ prepares bread. |
| (b) <i>unari mahat ri rot</i> <i>h llchhin</i> (For upper caste woman or respected person's mother) | " |
| (c) <i>taiki iz rot h llachhin</i> (Here, the speaker is junior in age) | " |
| 2. (a) <i>tinat or unat bw rot</i> <i>h ll han</i> (for the male of senior age or upper caste) | His father cooks bread. |
| (b) <i>taiko or uiko bw rot</i> <i>h llachha</i> (for male of junior age or lower caste) | " |
| 3. (a) <i>u sineho</i> (for junior in age or lower caste male) | He will sleep. |
| (b) <i>un sinehun</i> (for elder or upper caste male) | " |
| 4. (a) <i>u sinyaiho</i> (for female of lower age or caste) | She will sleep. |

| | |
|---|--|
| (b) <i>un sinyaihun</i> (for upper caste female) | " |
| (c) <i>un sinyaihun</i> (for the female higher in relational rank.) | " |
| (d) <i>un sinyaihun</i> (for elder or educated female) | " |
| 5. (a) <i>bauju ly unyai hun</i> (for the sister-in-law of the upper caste) | The sister-in-law (elder brothers wife) will bring it. |
| (b) <i>bauju ly unyai ho</i> (for lower caste sister-in-law) | " |
| 6. (a) <i>meri iz latt dhunchhin</i> (elder son or daughter uses this structure) | My mother washes clothes. |
| (b) <i>meri iz latt dhunchhe</i> (child to his / her mother) | " |
| 7. (a) <i>mer b latt dhun han</i> (adult son or daughter of upper caste uses it.) | My father washes clothes. |
| (b) <i>mero b latt dhunchha</i> (lower caste son or daughter uses it) | " |

In the above mentioned sentences, we find the syntactical variations in terms of age, gender, caste and seniority. Similar meaning is expressed by various syntactical patterns. But the meaning only differs to denote honorific and non-honorific according to caste, age and gender. Certain suffixes and sentence structures are unique to the certain age groups, gender and caste. For example, the verbs *h llichhe* and *h llichhin* are used by two different

addressers. A person senior to the addressee or higher in terms of the caste system of Dadeldhura employs the verb *h llichhe*. And a person younger or lower in terms of the caste than the addressee uses the form of the verb *h llchhin*. We also find the difference in the use of pronouns for the above mentioned sociolinguistic categories. For example, the pronouns *u* is used for junior age, lower caste and female and *un* is employed for the person of senior age, higher caste and male member of the society. Similarly, a child or elder son /daughter of the lower caste people uses the sentence structure like in the example 7 (b) above in place of 7 (a).

Sometimes, the relation and the education bring the changes in the syntactical structures as in 4 (c) and 4 (d) above. In the similar manner, a person senior in age can use the non-honorific form of the verb for his/her juniors as in 2(b) above.

In some cases *Dadeldhureli* people use certain words to give respect to the addressee of the senior age or upper caste. For example, the word *iz* of 1(a) is replaced by *mahat ri* in 1(b). But the word *mahat ri* is not always used in day to day communication to address to mother in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Anyway we find the morphological and syntactical differences according to the age, gender, caste etc in *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

Negative statements

| Dialect | English |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>taiki sw ini rot h llina</i> (for junior or lower caste woman) | His wife does not prepare food. |
| (b) <i>tinari gharb li rot h llinan</i> (for senior or upper caste woman) | " |

The pronouns *taiki* and *tinari* and the verbs *h lina* and *h llinan* are inflected according to age and caste. The verb *h lina* and the pronoun *taiki* are used for a person of lower age and caste. And *tinari* and *h llinan* are used for a person of higher age and caste.

Here, in the above mentioned sentences, we find the lexical difference which brings change in semantic level as well. For instance, the word *gharb li* is used in place of *sw ini* for showing respect to the wife of the upper caste person or respected person.

B. Imperative sentences

Sentences denoting command, order, request, suggestion and proposal are called imperative sentences. Such sentences are followed by *ita* or *ta* or *ra* particles in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. In these kind of sentences also, we find variations in terms of age, gender and caste.

Commands

| Dialect | English |
|--|----------------|
| 1. a) <i>utha j l</i> (for junior age or lower caste) | Move aside. |
| b) <i>utha j nai ba</i> (for junior in relation or a child) | " |
| (c) <i>utha j n ba</i> (for respected or senior or upper caste person or unfamiliar person) | " |
| (d) <i>utha j nai ba l</i> (senior male or female to junior or familiar male of the similar age) | " |

- (e) *utha j ni ba li* (senior female to junior female, particularly girls, or familiar females of the similar age) "
2. (a) *itha unai l dhāi* (to the junior or lower caste person) Come here.
- (b) *itha un dhāi* (to a senior person or a wife to her husband) "
- (c) *itha uni dhāi* (to a junior female or a husband to his wife) "
- (d) *e li bh ya itha uni* (a young girl to another young girl) "
- (e) *e muly itha unai* (a young girl to a young boy) "
- (f) *e mul i itha uni* (a young boy to a young girl) "

In the above mentioned commands, we find syntactical variations according to age, gender, caste and familiarity. For example, the various forms of the same verb and various particles like *j l* , *j nai ba*, *j n ba*, *j nai ba l* , *j ni ba li*, are used to refer the act *j* (go) according to the senior or junior age, male or female, upper or lower caste and familiarity or unfamiliarity. In the similar way, the verb forms like *unai* , *un* , *uni*, and the particles like *l dhāi*, *dhāi*, *e li bh ya*, etc. are used in the above sentences to indicate those very above mentioned sociolinguistic categories.

Request

Dialect

English

1. (a) *tu j idinai l dhāi* (to lower caste male or male junior in age) Please, go.
- (b) *tu jaidini li dhāi* (to female of the similar age, or to the female of the lower caste) "
- (c) *tam j idin dhāi* (to the senior male or female or a respected person) "
- (d) *t le lai saw ri ardiy hunaihyo re* (to the upper caste person or most respected person.) "
2. (a) *bas l* (to the lower caste male or male of the junior age) Please, sit down.
- (b) *bas li* (to the female of lower caste or the female of similar age) "
- (c) *bassi ba* (to the female of lower age or the lower caste) "
- (d) *bassai ba* (to the male of lower age or the lower caste) "
- (e) *bass ba* (for respected or senior male or female) "
- (f) *baisek arieu ban* (to the upper caste or most respected person) "

3. (a) *jan kh idinai l* (to the junior or lower caste male) Please, don't eat.
- (b) *jan kh idini li* (to the female of junior or similar age or lower caste female) "
- (c) *jan kh idin dhāi* (to the male or female of senior age or a respected person) "
- (d) *na kh idiy hunyaithyo re* (to the upper caste or the most respected person) "

In the above request sentences, we find the variations in syntactical patterns. These variations are caused due to the senior or junior age, male or female sexes and lower or upper caste. There is the difference in the use of pronouns, verb endings and particles. For example, the verbs like *j idinai*, *j idini*, *bas*, *bassi*, *bassai* and the particles like *l*, *li* and the pronoun like *tu* are used for the junior age. And the verbs like *j idin*, *bass*, *jan kh idin*, particle like *ba* and the pronoun like *tam* are used for the senior age. Similarly, the verb-endings and particles are used in various ways due to the difference in sex. For example, the forms of the verbs *j idini*, *bassi* and particle *li* are typical to the female and the verb forms like *j idinai*, *bassai*, *kh idinai* and particle *l* are employed for the males. In the same way, the verbs like *j idin*, *saw ri ardin*, *bass*, *baisek arieu*, the particles like *le*, *lai*, *re*, (as in 1 (d) above), *ba*, *ban*, and the pronouns like *tam* and *t* are used for upper caste or senior or respected persons and the verbs, particles and pronouns used for the junior person are also used for the lower caste people.

Proposal

| Dialect | English |
|--|----------|
| 1. (a) <i>lau hit l</i> (upper caste to lower caste, senior in age to junior male) | Lets go. |
| (b) <i>lau hit li</i> (female to female) | " |
| (c) <i>lau hittaini</i> (to a male of junior age or lower caste) | " |
| (d) <i>lau hittini</i> (to a female of junior age or lower caste) | " |
| (e) <i>lau hita</i> (to the senior age or a respected person) | " |
| (f) <i>lau hitt ba</i> (to the senior age or a respected person) | " |
| (g) <i>lau saw ri ara</i> (to the upper caste person and most respected person) | " |
| 2. (a) <i>lau ar l</i> (to the lower caste) | Lets do. |
| (b) <i>lau addaini</i> (to junior male) | " |
| (c) <i>lau addini</i> (to junior female) | " |
| (d) <i>lau ara</i> (to senior age or a respected person) | " |
| (e) <i>lau add ba</i> (to senior age or a respected person) | " |
| (f) <i>lau ariyo ban</i> (to the upper caste or the most respected person) | " |

The above mentioned sentences also reflect the variations in terms of age, gender and caste factors. For example, the forms of the verb *hit*, *hittaini*, *hittini*, *ar*, *addaini*, *addini*, and the particles like *l* , *li* are used for the person

junior in age and lower caste people. The verb forms like *hittini*, *addini* and the particle *li* are applied for the female and *hittaini*, *addaini* and the particle *l* are used for the sake of male. Besides, the verbs like *hita*, *hitt* , *saw ri ar* , *add* , *ariyo* are used for the person senior in age or upper caste or the respected person.

C. Interrogative sentences

Questions of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect are distinguished by the particles used in a sentence and the question words.

A. Questions having particles

| Dialect | English |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>tu kh ny hai ba l ?</i> (to the male of junior age or lower caste) | Do you want to eat ? |
| (b) <i>tu kh nyai hai ba li ?</i> (female to the female of junior and similar age or lower caste female) | " |
| (c) <i>tam kh ny hau ba ?</i> (to senior in age or upper caste male) | " |
| (d) <i>t jiun r hunyai ho ba ?</i> (to the most respected person or upper caste person) | " |
| 2. (a) <i>bajy kei k m ari sakda chhau ba ?</i> (to the upper caste grandfather) | Grandpa! can you work /do some work? |
| (b) <i>bajy kei kam ari sakda chhai ba ?</i> (to the lower caste grandfather) | " |
| 3. (a) <i>ter muly muli nik chhan ba l ?</i> (to the lower caste or junior person) | Are your children well ? |
| (b) <i>tamar chy cheli nik chhan ba ?</i> (to the senior or upper caste or the respected person) | " |
| (c) <i>gus iki mau nik chhan ba ?</i> (by the lower caste to the upper caste) | " |

The above sentences depict the variety of syntactical structures in relation to the age, gender and the caste of the people. For instance, the forms of the verbs like *kh ny hai*, *kh nyai hai*, *sakda chhai* etc are used for the younger males or females or the lower caste people. Similarly, the verb forms like *kh ny hau*, *jeun r hunyai ho*, *sakda chhau*, and the pronouns like *tam*, *t*, *tamar* are used for the person of senior age or upper caste or the respected person. The particle *ba* is used to make question form of the sentences.

B. Questions having question words

Question words are also used to form interrogative sentences in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Usually, the verb follows the question word in a major sentence.

Dialect

English

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>tero n ke ho l ?</i> (to the lower caste male) Possible answer: <i>mero n Rumw</i> <i>Tamato ho ky hajur</i> | What is your name ? |
| (b) <i>tero n u ke bhani ?</i> (to the person of lower age) | " |
| (c) <i>tamaro n ke padyo ?</i> (to higher age or caste) Possible answer: <i>mero n</i> <i>Ram Prasad Bhatta ho</i> | " |
| (d) <i>t ko n ke bhanieyo ?</i> (to the upper caste or the most respected person) | " |

2. (a) *niko chhai ba l* ? (To the lower caste male) Possible answer : *Hajur k kirp le nikoichhu parphu ! t chhaiyeu ba nik* ? How are you ?
- (b) *niko chhai ba* ? (to the junior male) "
- (c) *nik chhau ba* ? (to the elder or respected male)
- (d) *niki chhau ba* ? (to the elder or respected female) "
- (e) *chha ba g t kusal* (to the upper caste person) "
3. (a) *tu k j nehai ba l* ? (to the lower caste) Where do you go ?
- (b) *tu k j neihai ba*? (to the female of younger age or lower caste) "
- (c) *tam k janehau ba* ? (to the elder) "
- (d) *t k saw ri hunyai ho re* ? (to the respected person) "
- (e) *t d i saw ri hunyai ho ba* ? (to the most respected person or the upper caste) "
4. (a) *teri sw ini ke bhanni thi l* ? (to the lower caste male) What did your wife say ?
- (b) *tamari gharb li ke bhanni thin* ? (to the respected person) "
- (c) *tamari gharb li ke bhanni thin, hajur* ? (lower caste to the upper caste) "

(d) *tamari r ni ke bhani baksinthyo re hajur ?* "

(lower caste to Thakuri caste)

We find the variations in the use of the verbs, pronouns and lexicon to suit the age or gender or caste of a person. For example,

| | | | | | |
|------------------|---|----|--------------|---|-----|
| <i>ho</i> |] | is | <i>chhai</i> |] | are |
| <i>bhani</i> | | | <i>chhau</i> | | |
| <i>padyo</i> | | | | | |
| <i>bhanieryo</i> | | | | | |

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|----|
| <i>j neihai</i> |] | go |
| <i>j nehahi</i> | | |
| <i>j nehau</i> | | |
| <i>saw ri hunyai ho</i> | | |

| | | |
|------------------------|---|------|
| <i>bhannithi</i> |] | said |
| <i>bhannithin</i> | | |
| <i>bhanibaksinthyo</i> | | |

The above mentioned verbs are supplied according to the age, gender and the caste of a person. Moreover, different pronouns are employed to suit those sociolinguistic categories like *tero, tamaro, t ko, tu, tam, teri tamari* etc. Sometimes, some words are replaced by other words to suit the caste or a person. For example *ke ho* is replaced by *ke padyo* and *ke bhanieryo* and *niko* and *niki* is replaced by *kusal* to suit the caste. The word *sw ini* is replaced by *gharb li* and *r ni* according to the caste.

D. Optative sentences

Optative sentences in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect contain verbal forms like *gay* , *j u*, *gay h* , *gaei*, *raei* at the end of sentences.

| Dialect | English |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>tu b chi raei l</i> (to the lower caste person) | May you live long. |
| (b) <i>tam b chiray</i> , <i>paluiray perphu</i> (to the upper caste by the lower caste) | " |
| 2. (a) <i>ter chel mari j un</i> (used for scolding by the upper caste people) | May your sons die. |
| (b) <i>ter chel kh t mudi h ll hoij un</i> (used for scolding by the lower caste people) | " |
| 3. (a) <i>teri judi polli hoij u</i> (used by the lower caste women to scold their sons and other boys) | May your hair burn. |

The forementioned varieties of syntactical patterns are used by the people of the different castes in the *Dadeldhureli* society.

E. Exclamatory sentences

Words like *kathai dain*, *kathai l di*, *hai*, *ou*, *oizu*, *hatteri*, *o bw jeuli*, *oiz* , *oho*, *ei*, etc in the beginning of the sentence denote exclamatory sentences in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. For example,

| Dialect | English |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. (a) <i>kathai daina! taiki iz</i> marigaichha, bich ri (used for a woman junior in age or a lower caste woman) | Alas! His mother has passed away. |
| (b) <i>kathai daina ! unari iz</i> marigaichhan (used for a woman senior in age or higher in terms of the caste) | " |
| (c) <i>kathai daina ! unari mahat ri</i> <i>khadigaichhan</i> (used for an upper caste woman by the lower caste) | " |

The three verbal forms (*marigaichha*, *marigaichhan*, *khadigaichhan*) provide three different relations of the addressers and addressees. The senior and junior age and lower and upper caste are main factors to make the syntactical patterns different. Similarly, the pronouns like *taiki* and *unari* are used with the two different forms of the verb. The pronoun *taiki* is less honorific or non-honorific and *unari* is honorific pronoun. Besides, caste difference has brought difference in lexicon as well. For example, the word *iza* is replaced by *mah t ri* and *marigaichhan* is replaced by *khadigaichhan*.

Tense and aspect of verb

There are different suffixes used for different tenses (namely, present, past, and future) in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Different forms of the verb and different tenses are decided by these suffixes. Such suffixes added to the verbs also vary according to the age, gender and caste of the addresser and addressee.

1. Present Indefinite

The present indefinite tense is used to show that an action takes place in present.

| Person | Dialect | English |
|--------|---|----------------------|
| First | <i>ma ghog kh nau</i> | I eat maize. |
| " | <i>h m sad i ch h kh n u</i> | We always drink tea. |
| Second | <i>tu khel</i> (to a junior male or female or lower caste) | You play. |
| " | <i>tam khela</i> (to the elder or the respected person) | " |
| " | <i>t khelieu</i> (to give most respect or to the upper caste people) | " |
| Third | <i>u kh nchha</i> (to a junior or lower caste male) | He eats. |
| " | <i>un kh n han</i> (to the respected male) | " |
| " | <i>uã jiun r add han</i> (to the upper caste male or the most respected person) | " |
| " | <i>u kh nchhe</i> (to a junior or lower caste female) | She eats. |
| " | <i>un kh nchhin</i> (for elder or a respected or upper caste female) | " |
| " | <i>uã jeun r addichhin</i> (by lower caste to the upper caste female) | " |
| " | <i>tin kh n han.</i> | They eat. |

In the above given sentences of the simple present tense the verbs are inflected differently for age, gender, and caste. For example, the verbs *khel*, *khela* and *khelieu* are used with three different pronouns like *tu*, *tam*, *t* respectively. And the verbs *kh nchha*, *kh n han*, *jiun r add han* are also supplied with three different pronouns like *u*, *un* and *u* respectively. Similarly, the verbal forms *kh nchhe*, *kh nchhin*, *jiun r addichhin* are used for the pronouns like *u*, *un* and *u* respectively. So, the above mentioned forms of the verbs and the pronouns are used to suit age, gender and caste of the people in *Dadeldhureli* society.

2. Present Imperfect

The present imperfect tense is used to show the continuity of an action or to show that the action that started earlier has not finished yet and still running. The following suffixes are used after the main verb according to the pronouns in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect to show the continuity of an action.

| Dialect | English |
|--|----------------------|
| <i>ma j nn chhu</i> | I am going. |
| <i>h m aila khell chha</i> | We are playing now. |
| <i>tu g unn chhai</i> (to the person junior in age or lower caste) | You are singing. |
| <i>tam g unn chhau</i> (to the senior or respected or the upper caste) | " |
| <i>u n chchachha</i> (to younger age or lower caste) | She / he is dancing. |
| <i>un n chch chhan</i> (to the elder or the upper caste) | " |
| <i>tin kh nn chhan</i> | They are eating. |

In the above sentences the verb *g unn chhai* is used with non-honorific pronoun *tu* which is used for the age-junior or the lower caste. In opposition, the verb *g unn chhau* is applied with the honorific pronoun *tam* which is used for the senior age or upper caste. In the same way, the verbal forms *n chch chhan* and *n chch chha* are used with the pronouns *un* and *u* respectively to indicate age difference and caste difference. The gender difference doesn't affect the verb in present imperfect tense in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. For example, the verbs *n chch chha* and *n chch chhan* are used for both sexes.

3. Present Perfect Tense

The present perfect tense is used to show recent past action in present. The effect of such recent past actions can be noticed in present. This tense can be shown by putting the suffixes after the main verb in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect as given below.

| Dialect | English |
|---|--------------------|
| <i>ma basy chhu</i> | I have sit. |
| <i>h m basy chhu</i> | We have sit. |
| <i>tuile ta sakih li re l</i> (to the male of junior age or the lower caste) | You have finished. |
| <i>tamle ta sakih ly re</i> (to the person senior in age or the respected person) | " |
| <i>t le ta sakih lieyo</i> (to the most respected person or upper caste) | " |
| <i>uile kh isakyo</i> (to junior or lower caste male) | He has eaten. |

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| <i>unle kh isakyo</i> (to elder or higher caste male) | " |
| <i>taile kh isakyo</i> (to junior or lower caste female) | She has eaten. |
| <i>unle kh isakyo</i> (to elder or higher caste female) | " |
| <i>tin gaisaky</i> | They have gone. |

The verbs, particles and pronouns in the above sentences are used differently due to the juniority and seniority of age and lower and higher castes. For example, the verb *sakih li* and the pronoun *tuile* are used for a person of a junior age or lower caste. And the verbs *sakih ly* and *sakih lieyo* and the pronouns *tamle* and *t le* are used for the person of senior age or higher caste. The particle *l* is used for the lower caste person.

4. Past indefinite

The past indefinite tense is used to show the action that took place in the past. Some past time adverbials are also found used in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

| Dialect | English |
|---|-------------------|
| <i>beli ma basy</i> | I sat yesterday. |
| <i>beli h m basy</i> | We sat yesterday. |
| <i>tu basi/ basthi</i> (to the junior age or lower caste) | You sat. |
| <i>tam basy / basthy</i> (to the elder or higher caste) | " |
| <i>t baisek arthy</i> (to the most respected person or upper caste) | " |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>u basi / basthi</i> (for the junior or lower caste female) | She sat. |
| <i>un basin / basthin</i> (for the senior or higher caste female) | " |
| <i>u basyo / basthyo</i> (for the junior or lower caste male) | He sat. |
| <i>un basy / basthy</i> (for the senior or upper caste male) | " |
| <i>u baisek bhaithi</i> (for the most respected or upper caste person) | " |
| <i>tin basy / basthy</i> | They sat. |

The variation in the forms of the verbs and pronouns according to the age, gender and caste can be observed in the above sentences of simple past tense. For example, the verbs *basi/basthi*, *basy /basthy* and *baisek arthy* and again the verbal forms *basi/basthi*, *basin/basthin*, *basyo/basthyo*, *basy /basthy* , *baisek bhaithi* are chosen by the addressers to suit the addressees of a particular age, sex and caste. The pronouns like *tu*, *tam*, *t* and *u*, *un*, *u* are also used accordingly.

5. Past Imperfect Tense

The past imperfect tense shows the continuity of some action in the past.

| Dialect | English |
|---|-----------------------|
| <i>m bh t kh nn thy</i> | I was eating rice. |
| <i>h m bh t kh nn thy</i> | We were eating rice. |
| <i>tu bh t kh nn thi</i> (to the junior age or lower caste) | You were eating rice. |

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| <i>tam bh t kh nn thy</i> (to the senior age or higher caste) | " |
| <i>u bh t kh nn thyo</i> (to the junior age or lower caste) | He was eating rice. |
| <i>un bh t kh nn thy</i> (to the senior age or higher caste) | " |
| <i>u bh t jeun r hunn thi</i> (to the most respected person or upper caste) | " |
| <i>u bh t kh nn thi</i> (to the junior or lower caste female) | She was eating rice. |
| <i>un bh t kh nn thin</i> (to the senior or upper caste female) | " |
| <i>tin bh t kh nn thy</i> | They were eating rice. |

In the sentences above, the verbal forms *kh nn thi*, *kh nn thin*, *kh nn thyo*, *kh nn thy*, *jeun r hunn thi*, etc are used along with suitable pronouns according to age, gender and caste relationship of the addressers and addressees.

6. Past Perfect

The past perfect tense is used to show an action that had happened in the past.

| Dialect | English |
|---|----------------|
| <i>ma s^hisaky thy</i> | I had slept. |
| <i>h m s^hisaky thy</i> | We had slept. |
| <i>tu s^hisaky thi</i> (to the junior in age or lower caste person) | You had slept. |

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| <i>tam s^hisaky thy</i> (to the senior in age or upper caste person) | " |
| <i>u s^hisaky thyo</i> (to the junior in age or lower caste male) | He had slept. |
| <i>un s^hisaky thy</i> (to the senior in age or upper caste male) | " |
| <i>u s^hisakyaithi</i> (to the junior in age or lower caste female) | She had slept. |
| <i>un s^hisaky ithin</i> (to the senior in age or upper caste female) | " |
| <i>tin s^hisaky thy</i> | They had slept. |

In the above sentences of past perfect tense, the categories like age, gender, and caste affect the syntactical forms. The suffixes added to the verb differ according to the above mentioned categories. For example, the verbal forms *s^hisaky thi*, *s^hisaky thy* , *s^hisaky thyo*, *s^hisaky thy* , *s^hisaky ithi*, *s^hisaky ithin* are chosen to suit the pronouns used and to match the above socio-linguistic factors. Similarly, the less or non-honorific pronouns like *tu*, *u* are mainly used for the person of junior age or lower caste and the honorific pronouns *tam* and *un* are used to show the seniority and higher caste of the addressees.

Future Indefinite

It shows the future action. The future indefinite also shows the determinations of the speaker.

| Dialect | English |
|--|----------------|
| <i>ma bassy hu</i> | I will sit. |
| <i>h m bassy hau</i> | We will sit. |
| <i>tu bassy hai</i> (to the lower age or lower caste) | You will sit. |
| <i>tam bassy hau</i> (to the elder or upper caste) | " |
| <i>u bassye ho</i> (to the junior or the lower caste male) | He will sit. |
| <i>un bassye hun</i> (to the elder or respected or upper caste male) | " |
| <i>u baisek hunyai ho</i> (to the most respected person or upper caste) | " |
| <i>u bassyai ho</i> (for junior or lower caste female) | She will sit. |
| <i>un bassyai hun</i> (to the senior or respected or upper caste female) | " |
| <i>tin bassya hun</i> | They will sit. |

The above mentioned verbs indicating simple future tense have also been employed in varieties of ways to reflect the varieties of linguistic forms in terms of age, gender and caste of the addressers and addressees. For example, the verbal forms like *bassy hai, bassy hau, bassye ho, bassye hun, baisek hunyai ho, bassyai ho, bassyai hun* etc and the pronouns like *tu, tam, un, u* are employed to suit the age, gender and caste of the addressees.

7. Future perfect

The future perfect shows that an action will have finished in future.

| Dialect | English |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>mā iskula gay hulo</i> | I will have gone to school. |
| <i>h m iskula gay hul</i> | We will have gone to school. |
| <i>tu iskula gaisaky holai</i> (to the junior age or lower caste) | You will have gone to school. |
| <i>tam iskula gaisaky hol</i> (to the senior age or higher caste) | " |
| <i>t iskula saw ri bhaisakyai holi</i> (to the most respected person or upper caste) | " |
| <i>u iskula gaisakya holo</i> (to the junior age or lower caste male) | He will have gone to school. |
| <i>un iskula gaisaky hunn</i> (to the respected or elder or higher caste male) | " |
| <i>u iskula gaisakyai holi</i> (to the junior or lower caste female) | She will have gone to school. |
| <i>un iskula gaisakyai hunni</i> (to the senior or higher caste female) | " |
| <i>tin iskula gaisaky hunn</i> | They will have gone to school. |

The above sentences of future perfect tense reveal the variety within the syntactical patterns in terms of the age, gender and caste of the interlocutors. The same verb in future perfect tense is inflected according to the age, gender and caste of the addressers and addressees. For example, the various verbal

forms, *gaisakya holai*, *gaisakya hol* , *saw ri bhaisakyai holi*, *gaisaky holo*, *gaisaky hunn* , *gaisakyai holi*, *gaisakyai hunni* etc reflect the above mentioned fact.

8. Future Imperfect

The verb used in the future imperfect tense shows the continuity of an action in future.

| Dialect | English |
|---|-----------------------|
| <i>ma k m add ray hulo</i> | I shall be working. |
| <i>h m k m add ray hul</i> | We will be working. |
| <i>tu k m add ray holai</i> (to the junior or lower caste male) | You will be working. |
| <i>tam k m add ray hol</i> (to the senior or higher caste male) | " |
| <i>tu k m add rayai holi</i> (to the junior or lower caste female) | " |
| <i>tam k m add rayai holeu</i> (to the senior or respected or upper caste female) | " |
| <i>u k m add ray holo</i> (to the junior or lower caste male) | He will be working. |
| <i>un k m add ray hunn</i> (to the senior or upper caste male) | " |
| <i>u k m add rayai holi</i> (to the junior or lower caste female) | She will be working. |
| <i>un k m add rayai hunni</i> (to the senior or respected or upper caste female) | " |
| <i>tin k m add ray hunn</i> | They will be working. |

The different forms of the single verb 'work' used in the future imperfect tense above provide the beautiful picture of the linguistic variations in relation to the categories like age, gender and caste. For example, the verbal forms like *add ray holai*, *add ray hol* , *add rayai holi*, *add rayai holeu*, *add ray holo*, *add ray hunn* , *add rayai holi*, *add rayai hunni*, etc. are supplied in the sentences along with suitable pronouns like *tu*, *tam*, *u*, *un* at the beginning of the sentences in terms of the above mentioned linguistic determiners in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

Agreement of the verb with gender, number and person

There is a clear cut distinction between masculine and feminine noun in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Similarly, the gender, number and person system is active in the verb of this dialect. Therefore, the agreement of gender, number and person with the verb is essential. Here are some examples from the dialect which show the agreement of the verb.

| | Dialect | Nepali | English |
|----|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>(mas) ma j nau</i> <i>(fem) ma j nau</i> | <i>ma j nchhu</i> <i>ma j nchhu</i> | I go. I go. |
| 2. | <i>(mas) h m basy k thy</i> <i>(fem) h m basyaki thy</i> | <i>h mi baseka thieu</i> <i>h mi baseka thieu</i> | We were sitting. We were sitting. |
| 3. | <i>(mas) budi j nchha</i> <i>(fem) budi j nchhe</i> | <i>bh i j nchha</i> <i>bahini j nchhe</i> | The brother goes. The sister goes. |
| 4. | <i>(mas) u kh nchha</i> <i>(fem) u kh nchhe</i> | <i>u kh nchha</i> <i>u kh nchhe</i> | He eats. She eats. |
| 5. | <i>(mas) un j n han</i> <i>(fem) tin j nchhin</i> | <i>uniharu j nchhan</i> <i>uniharu j nchhin</i> | They go. They go. |

The agreement of *kh nu* (*kh* -eat) verb in present with number, person and gender is given below.

| Person | Dialect | Nepali | English |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| First: (mas) | kh nau/ kh n u | kh nchhu/ kh nchhau | eat |
| (fem) | kh nau/ kh n u | kh nchhu/ kh nchhau | eat |
| Second: (mas) | kh nchhai/ kh nchhau | kh nchhas/kh nchhau | eat |
| (fem) | kh nchhei/ kh nchheu | kh nchhes/kh nchheu | eat |
| Third: (mas) | kh nchha/ kh n han | kh nchha/kh nchhan | eats/eat |
| (fem) | kh nchhe/ kh nchhin | kh nchhe/kh nchhin | eat/eats |

To conclude this syntax, *Dadeldhureli* dialect appears as the language having syntactical variations according to the sociolinguistic factors like age, gender and caste of the people within itself which reveals the linguistic diversity and the social fabrics of the *Dadeldhureli* society.

Chapter IV

Conclusion and Recommendation

Conclusion

The present sociolinguistic profile has incorporated the major findings of the research regarding the *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

Dadeldhureli language is taken as one of the dialects of Nepali mainly spoken in the Dadeldhura district of far-western part of Nepal. But there are also some differences in the morphological, phonetic and syntactic levels between Nepali and *Dadeldhureli* dialect. Besides, the *Dadeldhureli* dialect also possesses its own linguistic characteristics which make it distinct from other dialects of Nepali.

Similarly, *Dadeldhureli* dialect has its internal variations and varieties of linguistic forms and patterns based on age, gender, caste, social status and religion of speakers. So, a *Dadeldhureli* speaker can choose some words or linguistic forms from the very dialect depending on the above mentioned factors. The differences of linguistic forms according to the above categories are shown giving morphological and syntactical features of the dialect through examples wherever necessary.

The morphological and syntactical structures used for a child, young and old people are different in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. In the similar manner, those differences can be found according to the gender and the caste as well. For example, the verbs of the *Dadeldhureli* dialect inflect according to those above factors:

| Dialect | | English |
|--|--|---------|
| <u>Female</u> <i>aranchhin/addichhin</i> | <u>Male</u> <i>add han</i> | do |
| <u>Senior</u> <i>add han</i> | <u>Junior</u> <i>addachha/aranchha</i> | do |
| <u>Upper caste</u> <i>add han/aribaksinchha</i> | <u>Lower caste</u> <i>aranchha/addachha</i> | do |

Moreover, the suffixes the verbs take in different tenses and sentence types in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect also vary according to the age, gender and caste. These internal variations make this language interesting and expose the social impact on the very language.

The *Dadeldhureli* people have their own unique rites, and rituals, and household composition. They have their own festivals, food habit and life style which are reflected in the *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

The majority of *Dadeldhureli* people use *Dadeldhureli* dialect more than Nepali in most domains, especially at home, with village friends, at local market, at religious activities and while expressing their deepest feelings like in *Deud* songs.

Though there are variations within the *Dadeldhureli* dialect itself because of geographical distance, the speakers from different areas can easily understand each other without any problem. Therefore the variations are mutually intelligible. They think that they speak the same language regardless of differences found mostly at the lexical level.

In addition, the folk tales and folk songs show the richness of language. The result of data analysis shows that most of the speakers use mother tongue

inside their community in both private and public affairs, such as talking with friends, performing religious activities etc. Moreover, the *Dadeldhureli* language has its own vocabularies to express different situations, sounds, sights, smells and feelings that shows the vitality of the very language. It has own native lexicons which reflect *Dadeldhureli* social structure. On the basis of these significant features, it can be concluded that *Dadeldhureli* language is still vibrant.

Rich, upper caste and educated *Dadeldhureli* people prefer Nepali as their home language as a reaction to high living standard. Government function forces them to use Nepali language. All these socio-economic, political and educational factors force them to shift from *Dadeldhureli* to Nepali. The code switching and code mixing is high in peripheral area than the core dialect speaking area. Code switching and code mixing is more common with the young generation than the old. It shows the process of language shift among *Dadeldhureli* speakers.

There is no education system in *Dadeldhureli* language. The medium of education is Nepali or English language in all levels. Therefore, there is more possibility of influence of these second languages in *Dadeldhureli* dialect. So, most of the respondents demand primary education in their mother tongue and *Dadeldhureli* language speaking teachers at school. Moreover, they are ready to contribute if the *Dadeldhureli* language medium schools are established.

Most of the *Dadeldhureli* people are bilingual. Except the old uneducated women and children prior to joining school, *Dadeldhureli* people can understand and speak Nepali language as well. The process of bilingualism

starts with the starting of school. However, monolingual situation is coming to end gradually.

Recommendations

Nepal is recognized as a unique land of multicultural identities and ethnicity. The Nepalese uniqueness rests on their multiple mother tongues, rites and rituals. Taking those facts into consideration, it is essential to preserve and promote the multicultural heritage, which we inherited from our forefathers from ancient time.

The *Dadeldhureli* dialect has not got any written records. Due to the ever-increasing contact with the outsiders, greater immigration rate, educational facilities, transportation facilities and job opportunities, the dialect speakers are much exposed to the standard Nepali and gradually switching over to it. The impending danger of the disappearance of this dialect is hovering over the sky in Dadeldhura.

The culture and the identity of a locality depend more or less on the language spoken there. Language and cultures are the ornaments of society of a country. They introduce our society to outsiders. Losing the culture is consequently losing ones identity. Therefore, the present dissertation has also aimed at saving the culture and the identity by recording the socio-linguistic variables influencing the *Dadeldhureli* dialect.

For preserving and developing the *Dadeldhureli* dialect, government should provide primary education in the mother tongue for *Dadeldhureli* communities. Literacy should be promoted in the language by developing basic reading and teaching materials. Grammar, dictionaries and literature should be produced in *Dadeldhureli* language. The news in the *Dadeldhureli* language

should be broadcasted on the radios, and the television. The use of the *Dadeldhureli* language should be extended socially, culturally in mass media. Nationwide cultural exhibition in the Dadeldhureli dialect should be held to other language speaking communities for disseminating information on the *Dadeldhureli* society.

Besides, necessary steps should be taken for preserving the cultural asset like *Dadeldhureli* dialect which will probably die if the proper attention is not given. More comprehensive linguistic and sociolinguistic research should be undertaken on the *Dadeldhureli* language. It is necessary to make new national language policy for the development of endangered language.

The above mentioned measures can develop and standardize the *Dadeldhureli* language in order to promote its use in social interaction, education, mass media and publications. If the democratic government has a consistent policy in language planning in Nepal for the development of endangered languages, it will automatically develop.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

A Sociolinguistic Survey

Word List Data

| Dialect | Nepali | English synonyms |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. ma | ma | I |
| 2. h m | h mi/h miharu | we |
| 3. yo | yo | this |
| 4. tyo | tyo | that |
| 5. tu | timi | you |
| 6. u | u | he |
| 7. ko | ko | who |
| 8. ky | ke | what |
| 9. shabai | sabai | all |
| 10. Katiba | dherai | many |
| 11. ek | eka | one |
| 12. thulko | thulo | big |
| 13. l mo | l mo | long |
| 14. n no | s no | small |
| 15. sw ni m nsa | sw sni m nchhe | woman |
| 16. baik n | logne m nchhe | man |
| 17. mansa | bekti | person |
| 18. mächh | m chh | fish |
| 19. chado | charo | bird |
| 20. kukur | kukura | dog |
| 21. jod | jumr | louse |

| | | |
|--------------|----------|------------|
| 22. rukha | rukha | tree |
| 23. byā | biya | seed |
| 24. p t | p ta | leaf |
| 25. jado | jaro | root |
| 26. bokado | bokr | bark |
| 27. chh l | chh l | skin |
| 28. sik r | m su | meat |
| 29. ragat | ragata | blood |
| 30. h d | h da | bone |
| 31. bosho | boso | fat |
| 32. phul/and | phul/and | egg |
| 33. singa | sing | horn |
| 34. puchhadi | puchhar | tail |
| 35. pakhyar | pwākh | feather |
| 36. r | kesh | hair |
| 37. munto | t uko | head |
| 38. k n | k n | ear |
| 39. nañ | nañ | fangernail |
| 40. khutt | khutt | foot |
| 41. gh d | gh d | knee |
| 42. h t | h t | hand |
| 43. l dho | pet | belly |
| 44. galo | gal | neck |
| 45. dāt | dāt | tooth |
| 46. mukh | mukh | mouth |
| 47. jibado | jibhro | tongue |
| 48. ankh | ankh | eye |

| | | |
|----------------|----------|---------|
| 49. n kh | n k | nose |
| 50. chuch | dudha | breasts |
| 51. mutu | mutu | heart |
| 52. kalejo | kalejo | liver |
| 53. pinu | piunu | drink |
| 54. kh nu | kh nu | eat |
| 55. k tnu | toknu | bite |
| 56. heddu | hernu | see |
| 57. shunnu | sunnu | hear |
| 58. j nn | j nnu | know |
| 59. shinu | sutnu | sleep |
| 60. maddu | marnu | die |
| 61. m ddu | m rnu | kill |
| 62. bāu khellu | paudinu | swim |
| 63. uddu | udnu | fly |
| 64. hittu | hidnu | walk |
| 65. unu | unu | come |
| 66. padnu | paltanu | lie |
| 67. bassu | basnu | sit |
| 68. kallinu | ubhinu | stand |
| 69. dinu | dinu | give |
| 70. bhanau | bhannu | say |
| 71. surj | surya | sun |
| 72. jun | chandram | moon |
| 73. t r | t r | star |
| 74. p ni | p ni | water |
| 75. jhad | jhari | rain |

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 76. dhum | dhung | stone |
| 77. relo | baluw | sand |
| 78. dharti | prithivi | earth |
| 79. b dal | b dal | cloud |
| 80. dhug l | dhuwa | smoke |
| 81. go | go | fire |
| 82. khar n | khar ni | ash |
| 83. b llu | b lnu | burn |
| 84. b to | b to | path |
| 85. pah d | pah dparbat | mountain |
| 86. r to | r to | red |
| 87. haryo | hariyo | green |
| 88. pelo | pahelo | yellow |
| 89. sukilo | seto | white |
| 90. k lo | k lo | black |
| 91. r t | r ti | night |
| 92. t to | t to | hot |
| 93. thanna | chiso | cold |
| 94. <i>tamma</i> | bhari | full |
| 95. nauulo | nay | new |
| 96. niko | r mro | good |
| 97. b tulo | golo | round |
| 98. buko | sukeko | dry |
| 99. na | n m | name |
| 100. pachhy na | parichaya | recognition |

Source of Data Collection

This survey concentrates on the eastern part of *Dadeldhura* district. The data were especially collected from four Village Development Committees namely *Navadurga, Mandilek, Belapur* and *Masthamandau* of *Dadeldhura* district. The main source of data collection was based on fieldwork on the related community. The act of data collection for this survey work was performed written form. The survey included children, teenagers, and adults whose mother tongue is *Dadeldhuri*. The six totally *Dadeldhureli* language dominated villages from *Dadeldhura - Dawali, Bakal, Badam, Chamsal, Sakayal* and *Badal* were chosen. Hundred individuals were chosen. The data were collected from people of different professions, ages, sexes, castes and educational levels.

Method of Data Collection

There were two primary methodologies used to support the research work, such as: word lists and interview questionnaires. They were all employed in order to see whether there is the impact of *Dadeldhureli* society in its language.

Survey Questionnaires

(Ethno linguistic Profile of the speaker)

1. Name
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Caste
5. Profession
6. Education
7. What is your mother tongue?
8. What is your second language?

9. Where were you born?
10. What language do you speak at home?
11. What language do you speak with your friends and relatives from other villages/districts?
12. What language do you use for:
 - a) Jokes
 - b) Singing
 - c) Stories
 - d) Political discussion
 - e) Speaking to women
 - f) Counting
 - g) Religious instruction at home
 - h) Talking to your helping hand at home
13. What language do you speak at the local market?
14. What language do you speak for seeking job opportunity?
15. Do you switch or mix other languages with your language? Why do you switch to other languages?
16. Do you speak your mother tongue as efficiently as your grand parents speak or spoke?
17. In which school will you send your children if there are two schools, one is the Dadeldhureli medium other is Nepali and English medium.
18. What would be the situation of language of Dadeldhureli youth married with other language speakers?
19. Should government think about Dadeldhureli language?
20. Have you seen the book, magazines, article published in Dadeldhureli?

21. Which language do they use for following purpose:
- Social activities
 - Religious and cultural activities
22. Are there any religious books in Dadeldhureli language?
23. Does the language have its own script?
24. Should radio/local F.M. broadcast the news in your language?
25. Do political leaders use the language for public speech?
26. Do you use same linguistic forms to speak with the child, young and old people?
27. Are there not any differences in speech while speaking with a female by a male?
28. Will you use same form of speech while speaking with the lower caste and upper caste people?
29. Do you have different words to be used in the religious activities.?
30. Do you use some special words in different festivals?

Classification of Data

The Respondents' Sex

Table one presents the sex of respondents.

Table No. 1: **Respondents' Sex**

| Respondents | Male | Female | Total |
|-------------|------|--------|-------|
| 100 | 52 | 48 | 100 |

The above table shows that out of one hundred respondents, fifty-two were male and forty-eight female who directly participated in the survey. In addition, the survey includes both the male and female respondents so that the attitudes of male and female and the linguistic variation between the two sexes could be obtained.

The Respondents' Age

Table two presents the age of the respondents.

Table 2: Respondents' Age

| Age of Respondents | No. of Person |
|--------------------|---------------|
| 5-10 | 15 |
| 10-20 | 25 |
| 20-30 | 25 |
| 30-40 | 15 |
| 40-50 | 12 |
| 50-60 | 5 |
| 60-70 | 2 |
| 70-80 | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

The table shows that out of one hundred respondents fifteen are below ten, twenty five are above ten and twenty five are below thirty. There is only one respondent above the age of seventy-five. Thus, the majority of respondents are between ten to thirty.

Respondents' Education

Table three shows the education status of the respondents.

Table 3: Respondents' Education

| Respondents' Education Status | No. of Students |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| Illiterate | 32 |
| Literate | 20 |
| Primary | 25 |
| Secondary | 11 |
| S.L.C. | 6 |
| Intermediate | 3 |
| B.A. | 2 |
| Above | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

It shows that out of hundred respondents thirty two of them are illiterate. Whereas, twenty are literate. Only few respondents' qualification is above school leaving certificates.

Respondents' Caste

Table four shows the caste of the respondents.

Table 4: **Respondents' Caste**

| Respondents | Upper Caste | Lower Caste |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 100 | 55 | 45 |

The table shows that out of one hundred respondents, fifty five are the people of upper caste and forty five are of lower caste. The upper caste includes *Brahmin*, *Thakuries* and *Kshetries*. These respondents of different castes were selected to find the socio-linguistic variation between their speech.

Reported Language Data

The language use questionnaires were mainly administered to identify the language situation of those selected areas. Some of the most important and relevant questionnaires related to 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, with outsiders and so on. A synopsis of the respondents to these situations is presented in the following table.

Table 1: A Synopsis of the Written Questionnaires on Language Use

| Situation | Dadeldhureli | Nepali | Others |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--------|--------|
| Grand parents? | ✓ | | |
| Parents? | ✓ | | |
| Jokes? | ✓ | | |
| Stories? | ✓ | | |
| Political discussion? | | ✓ | |
| Singing? | ✓ | | |
| Religious instruction at home? | ✓ | | |
| Social activities? | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Religious and cultural activities? | ✓ | | |
| Script? | | ✓ | |
| Government official at work? | | ✓ | |
| Getting a job? | | ✓ | |
| Unknown person? | | ✓ | |
| Local market? | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Talking with friends and relative? | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Mother tongue? | ✓ | | |
| Second language? | | ✓ | |
| Total | 11 | 9 | |

This table shows the bilingual, monolingual situation of *Dadeldhureli* language. They use Nepali language as means of communication and they use both Nepali and *Dadeldhureli* language although they use their own language among their families and communities.

Language Attitude Data

The focus of this section is to discuss on the attitudes of the *Dadeldhureli* speakers toward their own language and other languages in their community. To discuss on language use and attitudes, a questionnaire was employed which is included in Appendix. The following tables present the analysis of the most important written questionnaires and the speakers' response.

Table 2: Which language do you use at home? Which of the language is to be better spoken at home in Dadeldhureli communities?

| Age group | No. of Respondents | Dadeldhureli | Nepali |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------|--------|
| 10-20 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 20-30 | 10 | 8 | 2 |
| 30-40 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 40-50 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 50-above | 10 | 10 | x |
| Total | 50 | 48 | 2 |

The table shows that the respondents of the age-group '50' has the highest number to support *Dadeldhureli* language is to be spoken at home. Similarly the age-group '40-50' has the highest number of positive respondents to the question. Hence, the total numbers of respondents go in favour of the mother tongue speech. Therefore, it can be concluded that most *Dadeldhureli* people of different ages prefer *Dadeldhureli* language to be better spoken. According to the table, out of fifty respondents, forty eight choose *Dadeldhureli* language to be spoken at home. Thus, most people are very positive toward their native tongue.

Table 3: Should radio/local F.M. broadcast the news in your language?

| Age group | No. of Respondents | Should | Shouldn't |
|-----------|--------------------|--------|-----------|
| 10-20 | 10 | 9 | 1 |
| 20-30 | 10 | 9 | 1 |
| 30-40 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 40-50 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 50-above | 10 | 10 | x |
| Total | 50 | 48 | 2 |

The table shows that out of fifty respondents of different ages, forty eight percent demand to broadcast program in the *Dadeldhureli* language. Whereas two percent respondents are unwilling to be broadcasted.

Table 4: Do you switch to other languages with your language?

| Age group | No. of Respondents | Yes | No |
|-----------|--------------------|-----|----|
| 10-20 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 20-30 | 10 | 10 | x |
| 30-40 | 10 | 8 | 2 |
| 40-50 | 10 | 6 | 4 |
| 50-above | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| Total | 50 | 39 | 11 |

The table 4 shows that out of fifty respondents thirty nine percent of them switch to other languages and eleven percent of them don't agree switching to other languages. Despite the fact that they speak in *Dadeldhureli* in major domains of use, they switch to Nepali and English languages because of their practical importance.

Table 5: Do you think that your language has changed?

| Age group | No. of Respondents | Yes | No |
|-----------|--------------------|-----|----|
| 10-20 | 10 | 7 | 3 |
| 20-30 | 10 | 8 | 2 |
| 30-40 | 10 | 9 | 1 |
| 40-50 | 10 | 9 | 1 |
| 50-above | 10 | 9 | 1 |
| Total | 50 | 42 | 8 |

The table 5 shows language maintenance problem of *Dadeldhureli* language. Forty two percent of respondents realize some changes in their language, mainly in using words and its pronunciation.

Table 6: Is it good for you or your children to marry a person who can speak Nepali, but not the *Dadeldhureli* language?

| Age group | No. of Respondents | Good | Not Good |
|-----------|--------------------|------|----------|
| 10-20 | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| 20-30 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| 30-40 | 10 | 2 | 8 |
| 40-50 | 10 | 3 | 7 |
| 50-above | 10 | - | 10 |
| Total | 50 | 14 | 36 |

The question about the marriage with other language speakers was rejected highly. All the informants belong to the age group '50' were completely against the inter-caste marriage. Some informants of the lower age group were slightly interested in it. The above table shows that out of fifty informants thirty six are against the inter-caste marriage and fourteen people are in its favour. None over fifty years old like inter-caste marriage.

Table 7: Do you use same form of speech while speaking with the lower caste or upper caste people?

| Age group | No. of Respondents | Yes | No |
|-----------|--------------------|-----|----|
| 10-20 | 10 | 8 | 2 |
| 20-30 | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| 30-40 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| 40-50 | 10 | 3 | 7 |
| 50-above | 10 | 1 | 9 |
| Total | 50 | 21 | 29 |

The table 7 shows that twenty nine informants accept the variation in speech forms according to caste and twenty one don't agree with it. Mainly the people over fifty find variation in speech between the lower caste and upper caste people. But the young generation is not in favor of the linguistic domination over the lower caste people. It shows the reflection of the changing *Dadeldhureli* society on its language.

There were some other questions asked aiming to know the attitudes of the *Dadeldhureli* speakers toward their own and other languages. Although the numbers of informants were variable on their views, most of them show positive response toward their own language and also toward the national language; Nepali. The positive attitude toward their native language would support the development of the language.

Data Analysis and Results

In order to collect data from those targeted *Dadeldhureli* language speaking areas, different survey methods were employed. Based on these data, it is found that *Dadeldhureli* is an independent language having internal variations according to the age, gender, caste and so on. *Dadeldhureli* people use their language for various

purposes such as talking with members of family, jokes, stories, poems, religious instructions at home and even the political discussions.

The *Dadeldhureli* speakers are bilingual precisely because of community needs and pressure. The degree of speakers' exposure to the second language is particularly correlated with such factors as education, occupation, age, sex, and frequent contact with mother tongue speakers of the second language.

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 schools for children. The ultimate wish of the speakers is that language must be preserved and promoted at any cost for the succeeding generations.

Appendix B

Alphabetical table

Vowels

| Debnagari | English | Debnagari | English |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| अ | ə (,ə, 3:) | ए | e |
| आ | a (a) | ऐ | əɪ |
| इ | i | ओ | o |
| ई | i: | औ | əu |
| उ | u | अं | ən |
| ऊ | u: | अः | əh |

Consonants

| Debnagari | English | Debnagari | English |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| क | k | ढ | dh |
| ख | kh | ण | n |
| ग | g | त | t |
| घ | gh | थ | th (θ) |
| ङ | n (ŋ) | द | d (ð) |
| च | ch (tʃ) | ध | dh |
| छ | chh | न | n |
| ज | j (z, ʒ, dʒ) | प | p |
| झ | jh | फ | f |
| ञ | n | ब | b |
| ट | t | भ | v |
| ठ | th | म | m |
| ड | d | य | y (j) |
| | | र | r |
| | | ल | l |
| | | व | w |
| | | श | sh (s) |
| | | ष | s |
| | | स | s |
| | | ह | h |
| | | क्ष | ksh |
| | | त्र | tr |
| | | ज्ञ | gya |