

# **A Sociolinguistic Survey of Jirel**

**A Report**

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## **Chapter 1:**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Outline**

This study is the sociolinguistic survey of the Jirel language conducted in the month of November 2011 in three Village Development Committees (VDC) in Dolakha, Central Development Region, Nepal. This chapter is a preliminary introduction to the Jirels, demography and distribution of speakers, religion, occupation, genetic affiliation of the language, etc. Some of the earlier works related to Jirel people in general and the Jirel language in particular have been reviewed here. We have also included the objectives of the study and finally an outline the structure of this survey report at the end of this chapter.

#### **1.2 People**

Jirels are one of the nationalities recognized in the Nepal Rajpatra (Dahal 2003). The term Jirel is both the autoglotonym and heteroglotonym. As reported in the national census 2011, the total population of Jirel is 5774 whereas only 4829 speak their native tongue. Thus, the mother tongue retention is 83.63% (CBS 2012). Bista (1987:69) notes that “the women are attractive with their round faces and narrow eyes.” There are, however, some stories prevalent in the Jirel communities about their origin and history. These are briefly described in the following subsections.

##### **1.2.1 Origin stories**

To begin with, there is a prevalent story in the Jirel community that Jirels were the offspring of a mating between Sunuwar man and Sherpa girl. The myth as mentioned in Gautam and Magar (1994: 300) is as follows:

Seven or eight generations ago, the Sunwars of Sanalu village, lying in the Khimti Khola region used to go hunting in the high hills of Chordam. One day, a Sunwar hunter came across the village of Dunge and fell in love with a Sherpa lass and their

relationship led to a sexual liaison which resulted in the birth of a son. The Sherpa girl waited for the Sunwar hunter to arrive till the day of christening, however, when there was no sign of his arrival, she (the Sherpa woman) purified herself from the birth pollution by sprinkling gaunt (cow's urine) on her body and named the boy *Nandare*.

This myth was also narrated to us by some Jirel people during our the field visit. Sidky et al. (2002:2) also cite this story as one of the ethnogenesis of the Jirel people. The 'hybridity' of their culture and linguistic features, as they maintain, further corroborates this claim. We noted during our field work that the neighbours of Jirels in Ratmata live side by side with the Jirels. Jirel settlements are located at lower sides of the village whereas Sherpas houses are found on the top of the village. There is thus the possibility that they might have been assimilated a long time ago. This argument is not without controversy, however. Skidy et al. (2002:3) further note, "The Jirels' Hindu ritualism, therefore, does not appear to have a Sunar origin", but is a result of Brahmin-Chhetri influence. During the expansion of the Kindgom of Nepal, the Jirels were assimilated to the Hindu populace.

Secondly, Jirels might have migrated to the hills from Simraungarh when Muslim invaders conquered the areas nearby Simraungarh in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is significant to mention that a number of gods and deities that the Jirels worship are found in Simraungarh. The third possible explanation about the origin of Jirels is that they were the offsprings of the Kiranti tribe (Skidy 2002:4). As noted in Sidky (2002:4) the Jirels have been a part of the military and political history of Nepal<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Bista (1987:69) also refers to this story when he notes the origin and history of the Jirel people.

### 1.2.2 Geography and demography

The average altitude of the Jiri and Sikri valleys is 2,000 meters. The precise altitude varies as we move from one village to another village even within the Jiri valley. This also varies when we move to Jungu and Chhetrapa. The physical terrain where Jirel is spoken is the hills. The physical terrain of the land differs from village to village, however. The map of Dolakha district in the map of Nepal is shown in Table (1.1). Similarly, Map (1.2) shows different locations where the survey was conducted.



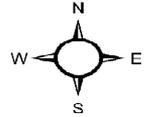
Map 1.1 Dolakha district in Nepal

# DOLAKHĀ DISTRICT

## दोलखा

### Legend

- Village Dev. Cmtee (VDC)



0 5 10 20 Kilometers



Map 1.2 Dolakha district

During the field survey, the informants claimed that the language spoken in these VDCs comprise the main Jirel speaking locations. Owing to the migration to different parts of the country, however, Jirel speakers are also found in other districts. A small number of Jirel population is also scattered in different districts, i.e. Parsa, Chitwan, Kathmandu, etc. During the field survey, the language informants reported that the Jirel ethnic community in Sindhupalchowk has stopped speaking their ancestral language.

**Table 1.1: Population distribution of Jirels in the survey points<sup>2</sup>**

VDCs	Ethnic population	Speakers
Jiri	3611	3613
Chhetrapa	310	412
Jugu	576	542
		4567

(Source: CBS 2001)

As the last two national censuses show, the geographical boundaries of the Jirel language have not been changed over these years (CBS 2001, 2012). It is however to be noted that the language speakers in Jugu and Chhetrapa had migrated there from Jiri some generations ago.

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<sup>2</sup> This population is based on Census (2001) because the district-wise and VDC-wise distribution of the population as reported in Census (2011) is not yet available. The total speakers of Jirel as reported in 2001 census were 4919. As mentioned in this census, these villages comprise 92.84% of the total Jirel speakers. Thus, it can be concluded that these are the VDCs with greater concentration of Jirel speakers. The other VDCs where some Jirel speakers reside are Jhyanku, Kabhre and Thulopatal.

### 1.2.3 Religion<sup>3</sup>

Jirels follow both Buddhism and Hinduism. In addition to Lamaistic Buddhism, Jirels also practise Hindu rites and rituals. The Buddhistic practices are centered around the practising of *Phombo*. Phombos can establish direct relationship with the supernatural world. Jirels have their own lamas and *gumba* (Buddhist monastery) located near the lower Kot village. The Jirels believe that they adopted Buddhism after two Jirel men Hongjuli and Gari Lama went to Tibet to revive the Buddhism practice (Sidky et. al 2002:72). It is to be noted that the Buddhism practiced in Jirel is also different from the Sherpas. While the Sherpas use the *Lama Doma* text, Jirels use *Dawa Kundu*. In addition to these, the differences can also be seen in performing the rituals. Sidky et al. (2002:72) maintain, “These are made in different numbers, sizes, shapes and colours”. They also note that the procedures also differ in lighting lamps, and making *tormos*<sup>4</sup>.

The final rite, called *Gewa*, and rituals which the lamas do is called *Sensing*, begins after 40 days of a person’s death. Sidky et al. (2002:72) further note that during Sensing,

they beckon the spirit of the deceased to possess one of the relatives and relay any final messages before departing for the another world. This is absent in Sherpa funeral rites. Finally, if for some reason a Sherpa lama is engaged to conduct funeral rites for a Jirel, he is forbidden to touch the body of the deceased, whereas the Jirel lama may do so.

Jirels also respect the Hindu Gods. There are some temples and holy shrines of Hindu deities in the areas where Jirels reside. The shrines used to have Brahmin priests. Jirels would go there to pray, offer coins and also receive *tika*. The Jirels also practise the Hindu calendrical rituals, celebrating Maghe Sangkranti, Saune Sangkranti, Chaite Dasain, Dasami Tika (Dasain), Bhai Tika (Tihar). Jirels also follow the life cycle rituals. They observe the mother’s pregnancy (*phujyima*), naming ceremony (*nauaren*), feeding ceremony (*pasni*), haircutting ceremony (*chewar*). Table 1.2 shows the details of religion of Jirels as interviewed in the field survey.

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<sup>3</sup> This section is based on Sidky et al. (2002)

<sup>4</sup> *Tormos* are representations or temporary abodes for the gods made from rice mixed with butter (Skidy et al. 2002).

**Table 1.2: Religion of Jirels**

<b>Religions</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
Buddhism	11	20.37
Hinduism	34	62.97
Buddhism and Hinduism	9	16.66
Total	54	100.00

(Source: Linguistic Survey 2011)

As noted in Table (1.2), Jirels' religious practices characterize both Buddhism and Hinduism. Most of the respondents (62.97%) replied that they follow Hinduism whereas some respondents (20.37%) reported that they follow Buddhism. In addition to this, some other respondents (16.66) reported that they practice both Buddhism and Hinduism. This corroborates that Jirel rituals feature both Hinduism and Buddhism. Sikdy and Subedi (2000:1) note:

Jirel culture features many elements that set it apart from the cultures of other Nepali ethnic groups. They practice a form of Buddhism, which varies significantly from the Buddhist practices of their Sherpa neighbors.

The fact that their scripts are close to Sunuwars is mentioned in Gautam and Thapa Magar (1994:300).

#### **1.2.4 Occupation**

The traditional occupation of the Jirels is subsistence farming because they want to make them grains, and vegetables self-sufficient (Sidky et al. 2002, Bista 1987). They are engaged in economy based upon the cultivation of cereals, vegetables and the maintenance of livestock and poultry (Sidky et al. 2002:12). Some major food crops the Jirels are engaged in are millet, maize, wheat, barley, potatoes, soyabeans, and rice. Rice is mainly

grown in the lower parts of the Jiri valley and Sikri valley where there are small streams to irrigate the fields. They also grow leafy vegetables for the use at home and also to sell them at the market when *Haat bazaars* started. As the altitude differs in different villages, the planting and harvesting dates vary in villages within Sikri VDC. The same holds true in Jungu and Chhetrapa VDCs. Because of the geographical and climatical differences, there are also variations in the crops grown across the Jirel villages. In addition to the main food grains which the Jirels plant and cultivate, they also plant and harvest vegetable crops and spices, such as turmeric ginger, and chili peppers. Some wild roots and vegetables are also used as food items which women generally gather.

Goats, buffaloes, and pigs are the primary livestock that Jirels maintain. They used to keep the sheep in the past. After the pasture for sheep was controlled by the Government some years back, sheep herding is not seen in the Jiri valley. Aside from these, they also keep chickens. Although keeping beehive is not very common, some houses keep beehive for honey production.

Although Jirels are engaged in subsistence farming, they are found in all occupational categories these days. Many from these communities travel seasonally to some parts of India and Bhutan (Bista 1987).

### **1.2.5 Clans**

Jirels and Sunuwar are similar in many ways in their clan names. Bista (1987:71) notes that the clan names in both of these communities have some similarities. He notes that there are similarities in *das thar* in Jirel and *bara thar* in Sunuwar. Some of the clans, as enumerated by Bista (1987) are as follows: Deppacha, Devlinga, Chhungpate, Jhupucha, Mayokpa, Sherba, Thavo, Uprito.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Some clan names were reported by the language consultants during our field visit. They include: Dippata, Deppa, Sherba, Garja, Deblinga, Jupuch, Sunar, Jhupule, Njabarek, Mekpa, Mayokpa, Garjanga, Sherbali, Bhalposantan, Phalbo.

### 1.2.6 Literacy

According to the recent census (2011), average literacy rate is 65.9%. A majority of the respondents (53.70%) are literate whereas others (46.30%) are illiterate. The ratio of literacy in male and female is not the same as can be seen in Table (1.3). Compared to female respondents, a higher percentage of male respondents are literate.

**Table 1.3: Literacy among Jirels**

		<b>Literate</b>	<b>Illiterate</b>
Male	30 (55.55%)	20 (70%)	10 (37.5%)
Female	24 (44.44%)	9 (30%)	15 (62.5%)
Total	54 (100%)	100%	25 (100%)

(Source: Linguistic Survey 2011)

This table shows the literacy status among the respondents. It shows that the status of literacy is higher (70%) among male respondents than the female respondents (30.0%). Among the female respondents, only 9 respondents (37.5%) of the female respondents were reported to be literate in contrast to 15 (62.5%) female respondents who were found illiterate. The national census also shows that more males can read and write in Dolakha district than the females (CBS, 2012:230).

The people were interviewed whether they received formal or informal education. The formal/informal education of the speakers obtained as obtained in the field is given in Table 1.4.

**Table 1.4: Literary status of the informants**

	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
Formal	23	42.59
Informal	8	14.82
Not applicable	23	42.59
Total		

(Source: Linguistic Survey 2011)

Among the people interviewed, 23 respondents (42.59%) replied that they don't know how to read and write. In fact, this question is not applicable to illiterate speakers. The remaining respondents were of two categories. About a half of the respondents who could read and write had received their formal education whereas the other half had informal education. This is shown in Table 1.4.

### **1.3 The language**

#### **1.3.1 Genetic affiliation of the language**

The fact that Jirel is mainly spoken in the Jiri valley and its neighbouring locations is also shown in Table 1. Lewis (2009) notes that Jirel is Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish, Tibeto-Kannauri, Tibetic, Tibetan, Southern. Bradley (1997) classifies Jirel as a Central Bodish/Tibetan language of Central Tibeto-Burman as shown in Figure (1.1).

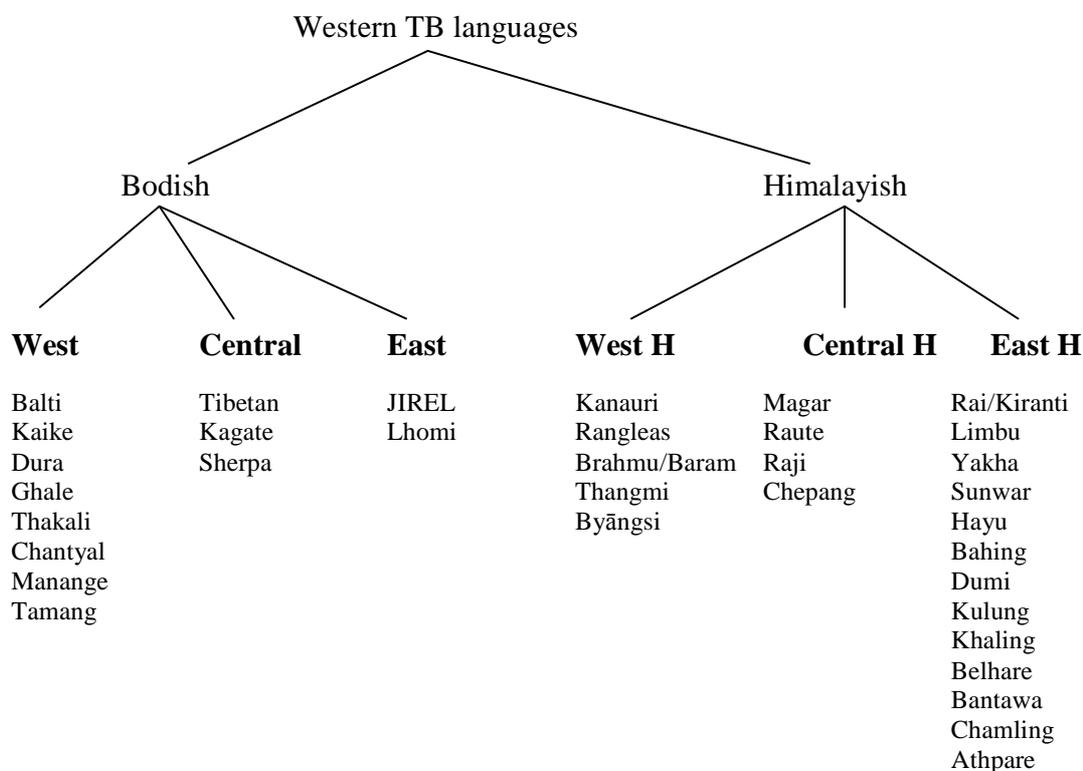
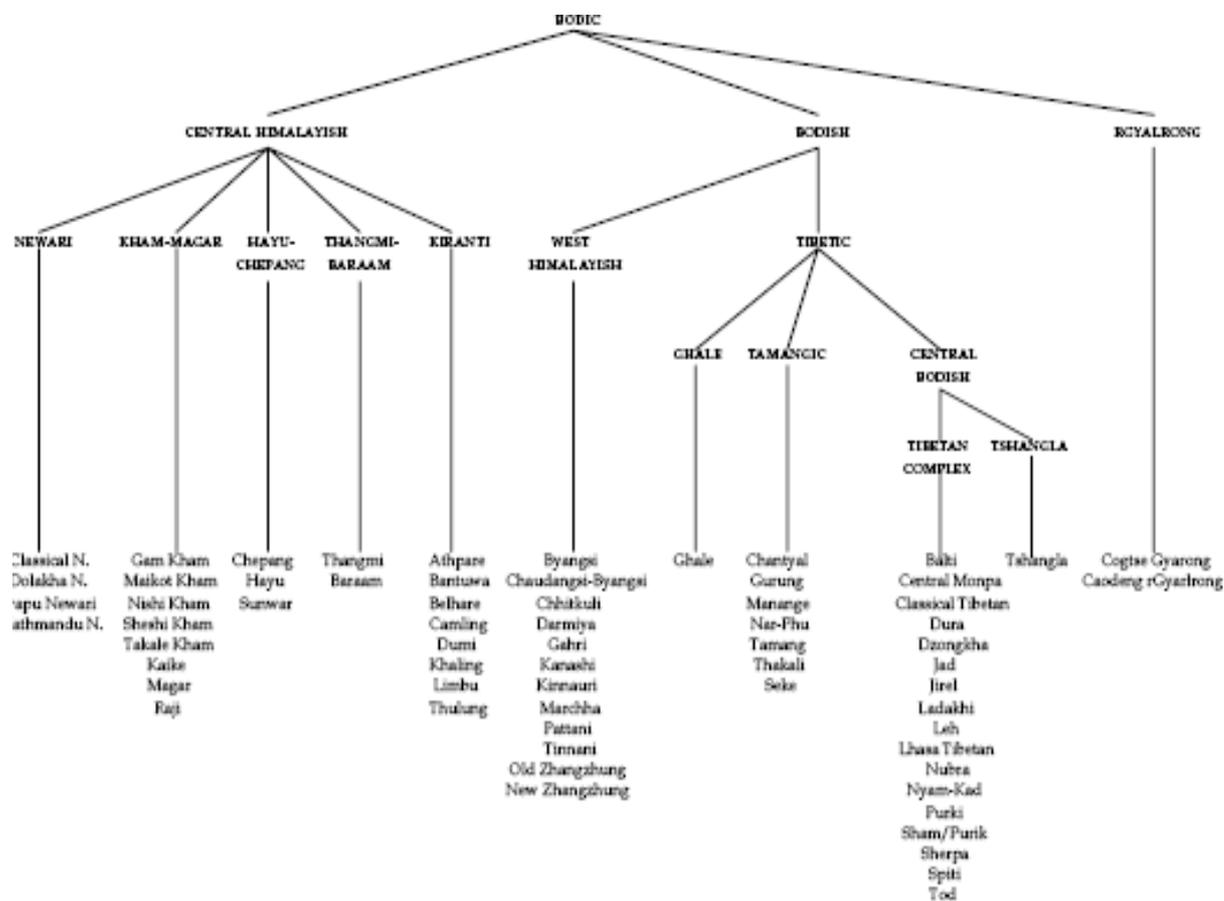


Figure 1.1: Genetic Classification of Jirel (Bradley 1997)

Noonan (2008) presents a classification of Jirel as follows: Bodic: Bodish: Tibetic: Central Bodish: Tibetan complex. The other languages, as provided by Noonan, in this group are: Balti, Central Monpa, Classical Tibetan, Dura, Dzongkha, Jad, Jirel, Ladakhi, Leh, Lhasa Tibetan, Nubra, Nyam-Kad, Purki, Sham/Purik, Sherpa, Spiti, Tod (Noonan 2008). This classification is shown in Figure (1.2).



### 1.3.2 Some linguistic features<sup>6</sup>

Jirel has 28 consonant sounds. It has twelve stops, six affricates, three fricatives, three nasals, two laterals, two flaps and semivowels. Stops and affricates belong to three contrastive sets: unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced. The places of articulation characterized in the language are labial, dental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar and glottal. The contrast between aspirated and unaspirated sets is also found in laterals and flaps. Jirel has a total of six vowels which also includes a marginal vowel. Jirel is a tonal language with four contrastive tone patterns and domain of tone is a word. The most common syllable types are CV, CVC, VC, and V. The word-initial stress occurs in syllable.

*Type:* SOV; postpositions; genitives, demonstratives, adjectives before noun heads; numerals after noun heads; relatives before and without noun heads; content q-word in situ; polar question word final; maximum number of prefixes 1, maximum number of suffixes 4; clause constituents indicated by case-marking; affixes indicate case of noun phrases; ergative; causatives; no passives or voice; CV, CVC, V, VC;

Nouns are also derived from verbs morphologically. Jirel exhibit the case markers, such as ergative, associative, dative, locative, and genitive. Animate nouns inflect for plural number. Adjectives are mainly derived from verbs, or nouns and most adjectives are ideophonic words and onomatopoeic expressions. While adjectives precede the head nouns, numerals follow the noun head. Jirel makes a tense distinction between past and non-past, and makes a distinction between conjunct and disjunct verb forms.

### 1.4 Reviews of earlier works

A number of works have been devoted to the Jirel people, their culture and language. While some of these works are related to sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic introduction to the Jirel language, some others are directly related to the Jirel language. Bista (1987), for example, writes notes on Jirel people but little is said about the language.

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<sup>6</sup> This section is based on Strahm and Maibaum (2005).

Similarly, Magar and Thapa (1994) outlines the ethnographic information of the Jirel people. They discuss the *Thars*, historical background, life cycle rites, religion and festivals and so on. However, this study does not focus on the linguistic study of the Jirel language.

Van Driem (2001:862-63) also indicates the origin of Sunar and Sherpa when he discusses about the Jirel language. He further notes:

The Jirels speak a poorly documented Bodish language which is generally taken to be a dialect of Tibetan....Unless the language is adequately documented, there will be no way of testing the hypothesis. A study of Jirel should at least shed some light on the effects of the Sherpa-Sunar contact situation recorded in local tradition.

Strahm and Maibaum (1971) is a pioneering work on the Jirel phonology. They discuss vowels, consonants, glides, the syllable and tone. This study provides a wealth of information related to Jirel phonology.

Tuladhar (1992) is a sociolinguistic study of the Jirel language which is again summarized in Tuladhar (1999). Tuladhar (1999) differs from the present work in terms of scope. While Tuladhar (1999) obtained data mainly from Jiri VDCs, people from other villages were also selected for the present survey.

Strahm and Maibaum (2005) is a trilingual dictionary of the Jirel language. This is a comprehensive dictionary of Jirel with appendix provided at the end. The dictionary provides background information in the beginning. In addition, the dictionary entries are also written in Devanagari script. This will lead to the devising of the orthography in Jirel. The grammatical features of the language are summarized in the appendix (see also 7.2).

### **1.5 Purpose and goals**

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic survey of the Jirel language. The specific goals are:

- (a) To identify the dialect variation of the Jirel language on the basis of the lexical similarities and perception of the speakers;
- (b) To assess the language vitality of Jirel as evidenced through their language use in different domains;

- (c) To assess the mother tongue proficiency and the level of bilingualism/multilingualism; and
- (d) To gather information associated with the language resources in Jirel.

## **1.6 Organization of the report**

This sociolinguistic report is organized into seven chapters. The first chapter sets the scene for this study providing preliminary introduction to the Jirel people and their language, objectives of the study and its general background. The methodology employed in this research work is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 discusses the dialect variation based on the word-list and the responses obtained from the participatory method. Similarly, the discussion related to domains of language use is provided in Chapter 4. In the same way, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in the Jirel community is the topic of discussion in Chapter 5. Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes are analyzed in Chapter 6. The resources existing in Jirel is given in Chapter 7. The summary of the report is given in chapter 8 which also includes some recommendations mainly based on the responses of the language activists. This is followed by appendices.

Appendix A is the villages of different dialects as perceived by the participants in participatory methods. Comparative word lists of Jirel dialects are given in Appendix B. Appendix C summarizes the domains of language use as stated in the participatory method sessions. The participants in the participatory methods gave their opinions on what they would suggest the Jirel people, the community and the government may do for the development of the language. This is summarized in appendix D. The Sociolinguistic Questionnaires A, B, and C are given in appendices E, F, and G respectively.

## **Chapter 2:**

### **Methodology**

#### **2.1 Outline**

This chapter highlights the methodology employed in order to carry out this sociolinguistic survey. First of all, this chapter discusses the research tools employed in this sociolinguistic survey. Section 2.2 introduces the sociolinguistic questionnaires, their purposes, and the way they were administered to individual Jirel speakers. This section also introduces the word-list used in the survey. Section 2.3 discusses the sampling methods, survey points, data collection etc. Limitation of the data collection is presented in Section 2.4.

#### **2.2 Research method/tools**

This survey has employed a number of research tools and methods. This section highlights them briefly.

##### **2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire**

There are three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires. All questionnaires begin with the informed consent of the language speakers. The informed consent of the participants has to be taken before the questionnaire is administered because the survey involves human subjects. All questions contain background information of the speakers to be filled up before it is actually administered. All of these questionnaires were prepared by LinSuN in advance. Owing to this, the questions contained in the questionnaires were not revised in the field. These questionnaires are discussed in brief in the following sub-sections.

##### **i. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ A)**

This set of questionnaire consists of a total of eighty questions to be administered to the individual Jirel speakers. The informed consent is taken from the language informants before the questionnaire is administered. It consists of 7 sections, viz.

background information of the language informants, language resources, proficiency in the mother tongue/multilingualism, and the domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance, and language attitude. The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information related to the topic mentioned above.

Some parts of the questionnaires are partly closed and partly open-ended. Many questions intend to obtain categorical responses. In many places, the language informants replied about their language attitudes. Sociolinguistic questionnaire is given in Appendix E.

### **ii. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)**

Sociolinguistic questionnaire (B) consisting of 20 questions is designed to obtain information from the language activists and village heads. The questions are primarily related to language situation and language development. These questions also intend to obtain information from language activists and village heads in all survey points. Sociolinguistic B is given in Appendix F.

### **iii Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)**

Sociolinguistic questionnaire (C) is designed to obtain information from the language informants in a group by making use of the participatory method. The administration of the questionnaire is most effective if there are between 8 and 12 people in the group with the equal representation of the male and female persons. The questionnaire consists of 5 sections. The questionnaire itself contains the procedures how the information will be collected on domains of language use, dialect mapping, bilingualism/multilingualism, and appreciative inquiry. In fact, the procedures given in the questionnaire were followed while the information in the field was collected. This is included in Appendix G.

### **2.2.2 Wordlist comparison**

The wordlist contains a total of 210 basic words. The purpose of using the wordlist comparison is to calculate the similarities among the key survey points. The words selected for this purpose are based on the sociolinguistic survey of Northern

Pakistan (O’Leary 1992). It is assumed that the word-list contains some basic vocabularies of South Asian region.

### 2.3 Sampling: Survey points, sample size and collection of data

In order to make the sampling representative. In order to do this, the people of different categories of age, sex, and educational background was asked as summarized in Figure 2.1 (L= literate; IL= illiterate).

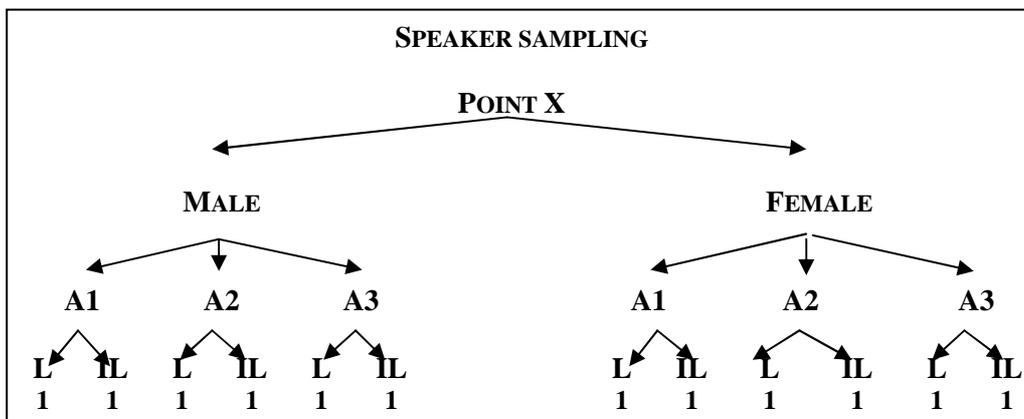


Figure 2.1 Sampling of speakers

Despite the constraints of time and effort, an attempt was made to represent the people of these three age groups, viz. 15-29 (A1), 30- 59 (A2) and 60 and above (A3) in the survey. At the same time, two other factors were also taken into account, viz. sex and educational background at each survey point. Thus, the questionnaires were administered to male-female, literate-illiterate, and speakers of all age groups.

### 2.3.1 Survey points

Jirel is spoken mainly in three VDCs in Dolakha district. The earlier census (CBS 2003) reveals that the language is also used in Kathmandu, and Parsa districts. However, this survey has not included the respondents from these districts. This survey exclusively includes the data from three VDCs in the Dolakha district. Table 2.1 presents the survey points of Jirel. The three villages included in the survey are located in Jiri VDC whereas the other two places are located in two different locations. These two villages, namely Jungu and Chhetrapa are located at a distance. The number of administrated questionnaires and elicited wordlist are given in Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1: Survey points**

	Points surveyed	SQA	SQB	SQC	Wordlist
1	Sikri	9	1	2	6
2	Kharayoban	10	1	2	6
3	Kot-Ratmate	10	1	3	6
4	Jungu	13	1	2	6
5	Chhetrapa	12	1	2	6
	Total	54	5	10	30

There are some small villages which are included in these different survey points. Sikri, for example, includes both Tallo Sikri (Lower Sikri), and Upallo Sikri (Upper Sikri). Kharayoban, the village located to the west of Sikri, also includes Sirauni. Ratmate and Baghkor are located at some distance but are regarded as a single point. There is a distance of some kilometers between Baghkor and Ratmate. Lincon Bazaar is also situated between Baghkor and Ratmate. But this is considered a single variety. All of these three villages are located in Jiri VDC. Yarsa is a single village where the Jirel language is spoken in Jungu VDC. The language is spoken in different locations in Chhetrapa village. These include different names, such as Rajbash, Pokharapari, Phedi, Mijartole and Haithoke. These small village Toles are in a single village of Cheetrapa. They are therefore considered a single survey point.

### **2.3.2 Data collection**

Questionnaires were the main tools designed to carry out this survey. The questionnaires were prepared in order to obtain the sociolinguistic situation of the country. The main methodology adopted in this study is therefore the survey of questionnaire type. In other words, the method we adopted in this study is like that of a typical sociolinguistic survey. The questionnaires were administered directly in person by the fieldworkers visiting different survey points in the Jirel villages.

### **2.4 Limitation: Time, access, area, methods and informants**

The survey was conducted during three weeks in three VDCs of Dolakha district in November 2010. Most of these villages are accessible in terms of road transportation. Some villages of the Sikri VDCs, such as Sikri, Kharayoban, and Ratmate are at a walking distance of one to two hours from the main Jiri bazaar (Lincon Bazaar). The remaining two villages, namely Jungu and Chhetrapa have now been connected by graveled roads. However, frequent bus service is lacking in these villages.

During the data collection period, it was difficult to get answers to all the questions from all respondents. The answer is sometimes constrained by the nature of the question. For example, the second part of the question is not applicable if the first part of the question is negatively answered, viz. question 28-29. In some contexts, it was difficult to force the respondents to answer the questions. Some unmarried respondents, for example, were unwilling to respond to what language they speak with their spouse. Sometimes, some elderly speakers are unwilling to answer the questions.

Survey questionnaires were prepared in advanced in order to gather data for the languages of Nepal. The questionnaires, therefore, could not be modified as required by the sociolinguistic situation of the Jirel linguistic community. The field worker could not revise the questionnaire to include which sociolinguistic aspects of the Jirel speech community should be particularly emphasized.

The interviews were formal and structured. Excepting a few cases, the respondents selected predetermined categories (for SLZQ A). The questionnaires for participatory methods were like informal interviews in groups. Table 2.1 summarizes the total number of questions and the word lists administered during the survey.

## **Chapter 3:**

### **Dialectal variation**

#### **3.1 Outline**

This chapter deals with dialectal variations of Jirel. Firstly, the dialectal variations of Jirel is primarily calculated on the basis of 210 wordlist analyzed in (3.2). Secondly, the dialects as perceived by the speakers are discussed in (3.3). While the discussion in (3.2) is mainly based on lexical comparison, the results in (3.3) are based on the perceptions of the speakers at different survey points. This chapter is summarized in (3.4).

#### **3.2 Lexical similarity**

Lexical similarity was calculated by using Wordsurf, a computer software program. As mentioned in the methodology (Chapter 2), the words from five different key points were entered in Wordsurf. Among the villages we have selected, Sikri, Kharayoban and Kot are considered more conservative varieties compared to other varieties spoken in other villages, viz. Jungu (Yarsa) and Kharayoban. Lexical similarities of the Jirel dialects are presented in Table 3.1<sup>1</sup>.

A total of 210 word-list was used for comparing lexical similarities among Jirel varieties. The words were entered in Wordsurf, a computer software programme. The result obtained from Wordsufr is given in Table 3.1.

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<sup>1</sup> The lexical similarity counted in this section has some limitations. The words obtained from randomly selected questionnaire were chosen and data were entered in Wordsurf for the purpose of counting the lexical similarity. Some limitations are worth mentioning. Firstly, there are idiolectal differences. In addition, some loanwords from Nepali were used when we elicited the data from one speaker whereas other speakers used the native term for the same lexical item. For the purpose of counting lexical similarity, we used the data whatever is mentioned in the sample word list. The word-list of five different survey points is given in Appendix B.

**Table: 3.1 Percentages of lexical similarity**

Variety	Sikri	Ratmate-Kot	Kharayoban	Chhetrapa	Jungu
<b>Sikri</b>	100%	96%	85%	75%	74%
<b>Ratmate-Kot</b>	96%	100%	86%	77%	75%
<b>Kharayoban</b>	85%	86%	100%	78%	75%
<b>Chhetrapa</b>	75%	77%	78%	100%	80%
<b>Jungu</b>	74%	75%	75%	80%	100%

Table 3.1 shows the lexical similarity among the varieties of the Jirel in different villages. The similarity ranges from 74% to 96% in different villages. All varieties of Jirel are compared against Sikri, the village located in Ward No. 6 of Sikri VDC. The speech variety in this is considered conservative because most of the families residing in this village are Jirels who also speak Jirel as their mother tongue.

Kot shares the highest percentage of lexical similarity with Sikri (viz. 96%). This village (Kot) is located in Ward no. 9 of Sikri VDC. Geographically, Sikri and Kot are two adjacent villages. Kot village and this village is close to Lincon Bazaar, which is the trade and educational center of this locality but Sikri is an isolated village located on the bank of the Sikri stream. Kharayoban, located in Ward no. 4 of Jiri VDC ranks the second in sharing the lexical similarity (viz. 85%) with Sikri. The lexical similarity shared by Sikri and Kot is close to it (86%).

There is a gradual decline in lexical similarity when we move to west of the Jiri valley to other villages. Yarsa village of Jungu shows 75% lexical similarity with Sikri. Again, Chhetrapa variety has 74% similarity with the Sikri variety. Chhetrapa and Yarsa are in close geographical proximity compared to other villages. When the lexical similarity is compared between these two dialects, they share only 80% similarity. Thus, the varieties in close geographical location exhibit the higher percentage of similarity. There is no problem in inter-dialect comprehension among these varieties.

The lexical variation is found to some extent in these survey locations. The differences in the lexical items may be classified in some ways<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> While counting the similarities in form, for verbs, the verb stems are taken into consideration.

**Table: 3.2 Comparative wordlist of some lexical items**

SN	English	Ratmate-Kot	Sikri	Kharayoban	Chhetrapa	Yarsa
1	tongue	tsele	tsele / tsela	tsela / tselak	tsela	tsela
2	finger	dziu	dziu	dziu	dziu / dzugu	dzuku / dzugu
3	morning	ŋəmu	ŋomo / məmu	ŋəmu / ŋomo	ŋamu / ŋommo	ŋumu
4	rain	tshjarba	dzhəri / jar	dzhəri	lo / tshjarba	tshjarba
5	stone	ḍhaba / ḍhu	do	do	do	do
6	stone	ḍhaba / ḍhu	do	do	do	do
7	night	wase / nup	gwaka	gwapa / nup	gwaka	nuk / nub
8	cold	ṭhanṭe	kheba	ṭhanṭe /kheba	ṭhonṭe / ṭhənṭe	ṭhanṭe / ṭhebuk
9	below	thulla	thulla / mima	thulla / thuḷṭa	nima / meba	umene
10	to go / go	dwapla	galap / dotshja	duapla	dwapla	ḍo

The lexical items presented in Table 3.2 can be categorized into 3 types in terms of variations. To begin with, we can see that there are minor phonological variations as can be seen in the case of *tsele* ‘tongue’. We also see that in addition to vowel, the lexical item also has one additional sound in word-final position in Kharayoban variety. Lexical items differing due to vowels are many in the word-list. In other words, a majority of variation can be seen at phonological level. In addition to ‘tongue’ the words ‘finger’ and ‘morning’ show the same result. Secondly, the lexical items differ because some

speakers use the native word for a specific lexical item whereas others make use of the native Jirel word for the same. For example, some speakers use the loanword *dzhəri* ‘rain’, while others use *tshjarba*. The same holds true for ‘ring’. Thirdly, there are also other native words for this word, viz. *jar* and *lo*. Within the native words, there are some phonological variations. The lexical items, such as ‘stone’, ‘night’, ‘cold’, ‘below’ and ‘to go’ show a similar tendency.

### **3.3 Dialect mapping**

The information obtained from participatory method is employed to identify the dialects of the Jirel language. Trudgill (1994: 25) notes, “Maps showing the geographical distribution of dialect features can be interpreted to give us interesting information. Distribution can, for example, be explained in terms of settlement patterns and other historical events.” In fact, the study of Jirel dialect will be useful to find out these issues.

#### **(a) Sikri**

The participants in Sikri feel that the languages spoken in the villages in close proximity are mutually intelligible (appendix A). They feel that the people of this group do not find differences in the villages, such as Kot, Dhungebazaar, Upper Sikri etc. They, however, feel that the languages spoken in other VDC are slightly different and assigned that second category “We speak our own variety, they speak their own variety”. Based on this, they prefer their own variety for the standardization, viz. writing a textbook or recording purpose.

#### **(b) Kharayoban**

Like the responses in Sikri, the discussion in Kharayoban situated within the Jiri VDCs combine the three survey locations to one variety. Additionally, the variety spoken in other VDCs where Jirel is spoken is considered as the next variety (see appendix A). The variety of the language spoken in these three VDCs, namely Chhetrapa, Jungu, and Jhyanku are considered to be a single dialect. Despite this, the varieties spoken in the other districts, such as Kathmandu, Makwanpur, Sindhupalcowk, Ilam, Chitwan are treated as mutually intelligible dialects. People in some villages

reported that the migration to other districts of the Jiri valley is not very long time ago and the dialects are almost the same. As expected, they also prefer their own variety for the purpose of preparing textbooks, or producing CDs. For this purpose, the variety in Jungu-Jhyaku has been ranked the second followed by Chhetrapa. Interestingly, the Jungu and Chhetrapa varieties are categorized as two dialects in their opinions.

### **(c) Ratmate-Kot**

Like the opinions in previous two survey points, the participants of this survey perceive that there are some varieties of the Jirel. Unlike the earlier responses, this group finds that the Yarsa (located near Ratmate) variety is close to their dialect than the variety spoken in Chhetrapa. Aside from this, they report that there are also some varieties of Jirel spoken in Sikkim and Darjeeling. They claim that Jiri, Chhetrapa, and Yarsa are the same regarding mutual intelligibility. They, however, regard the varieties spoken in other district, viz. Tethanli, Karthali, Khathanli different. One speaker treating them as the next variety (2) in which ‘they speak their own, we speak our own’. The variety spoken in Darjeeling and Sikkim is considered distinct. The variety spoken in their own village is the preferred variety for developing textbooks or CDs.

### **(d) Jungu**

The participants reported that the varieties they speak resemble the varieties spoken in some villages close to Jungu, Yarsa and some small villages nearby. Some other villages in Dolakha are named the second variety, viz. Jiri, Sikri, Kharayoban, and Dudhile. The variety included in Chitwan, Dhading, Nawalparasi, and Sarlahi are perceived as another variety.

Regarding the mutual intelligibility of the dialect, the Jungu variety ranks the first which is spoken and understood by them. This variety also incorporates other varieties of the area (appendix A). Another variety is Jiri and other village nearby followed by the next variety lumped together as a distinct one.

### **(e) Chhetrapa**

The participants from Chhetrapa perceived that the varieties of Jungu, Yarsa and other villages form one distinct variety whereas the Jirel spoken in Jiri and other areas form another variety. They thus feel that there are at least two varieties. There is of course the Jirel variety spoken in other district. Regarding the mutual intelligibility, the first variety (the very variety they speak) is their own which they use it every day. They further report that their own variety has high degree of resemblance with the variety spoken in Sindhupalcowk and Parsa. Their own variety (Chhetrapa) is preferred for the production of materials followed by other varieties spoken in Sikri.

Among the survey points, Jirel spoken in Jiri on the one hand, and in Yarsa-Chhetrapa on the other hand are perceived to be distinct varieties. In terms of the number of population, the Jiri variety is regarded as the main variety.

### **3.4 Summary**

This chapter discussed the dialect variations of Jirel. The dialect variations have been discussed on the basis of lexical similarities and the respondents' perceptions. While comparing the Jirel varieties against Sikri variety in terms of lexical similarities, Ratmate-Kot shares the highest percentage of similarity, followed by Kharayoban, Chhetrapa, and Jungu. A majority of speakers responded that this could be the standard dialect. The participatory method in all the villages responded that they preferred their own variety for developing materials, such as books and CDs. Despite this claim, the varieties spoken in some villages of Jiri VDC are regarded as standard varieties.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Domains of language use**

#### **4.1 Outline**

This chapter is about the domains of language use in the Jirel community. Section 4.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. Similarly, language use at home is analyzed in 4.3. In the same way, section 4.4 attempts to present the patterns of language use by children. Section 4.5 looks at the patterns of the use of the language by the community for marriage invitations. The situation related to languages used while writing minutes of meetings is presented in section 4.6. The frequency of the use of the mother tongue is analyzed in section 4.7. The languages used with the speakers of other languages visiting at home and preference of children's mother tongue instruction are analyzed in sections 4.8 and 4.9 respectively. The summary of this chapter is given in section 4.11.

#### **4.2 Language use in general domains**

We examine the patterns of language use in various domains in this section. The domains of language use range from activities at family setting, viz. telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings; activities in the village and neighborhood, viz. village gatherings and village meetings; and some general domains, such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining / shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praising etc. The data are presented and analyzed in terms of age, sex and literacy. The languages the respondents use for different purposes in terms of sex are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 shows that Jirel is used by most of the respondents for a number of purposes, viz. meeting in villages, family gatherings, abusing, quarrelling, praying, and joking. The use of Jirel and Nepali ranks the first only with the male speakers, viz. singing at home, storytelling, bargaining. In addition to male respondents, the female respondents make use of Jirel in these domains. In contrast to male respondents, the female speakers use Jirel in most of the domains compared to Nepali suggesting that the female retain the use of Jirel more than the male respondents.

**Table 4.1 Languages use in different domains by sex**

Domains	Sex					
	Male (N=30)			Female (N=24)		
	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali	Jirel	Nepali	Nepali and Jirel
Counting	19 (57.57%)	1 (3.33%)	10 (33.33%)	18 (75%)	5 (20.83%)	1 (4.16%)
Singing	8 (26.6%)	13 (43.33%)	9 (30%)	13 (54.16%)	9 (37.5%)	2 (8.33%)
Joking	23 (76.6%)	1 (3.33%)	6 (20%)	19 (79.16%)	4 (16.66%)	1 (4.16%)
Bargaining/Shopping/ Marketing	8 (26.6%)	7 (23.33%)	15 (50%)	11 (45.83%)	5 (20.83%)	8 (33.33%)
Storytelling	6 (20%)	9 (30%)	15 (50%)	12 (50%)	4 (16.66%)	8 (33.33%)
Discussing/Debate	13 (43.33%)	2 (6.66%)	15 (50%)	13 (54.16%)	6 (25%)	5 (20.83%)
Praying	17 (56.66%)	4 (13.3%)	9 (30%)	15 (27.77%)	4 (16.66%)	5 (20.83%)
Quarrelling	21 (70%)	3 (10%)	6 (20%)	18 (75%)	4 (16.66%)	2 (8.33%)
Abusing (Scolding/using taboo words)	20 (66.66%)	4 (7.4%)	6 (20%)	17 (70.83%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (16.66%)
Telling stories to children	11 (36.66%)	10 (33.33%)	9 (30%)	17 (70.83%)	2 (8.33%)	4 (16.66%)
Singing at home	9 (30%)	10 (33.33%)	11 (36.66%)	14 (58.33%)	7 (29.16%)	3 (12.5%)
Family gatherings	23 (76.66%)	5 (16.66%)	2 (6.66%)	18 (75%)	5 (20.83%)	1 (4.16%)
Meetings in villages	15 (50%)	9 (30%)	6 (20%)	14 (58.33%)	5 (20.83%)	5 (20.83%)

There are some domains in which Nepali, the language of wider communication, is used by male speakers. The male speakers use Nepali in some domains, such as bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, singing at home. Perhaps the domains, such as bargaining, discussing/debate might involve more male

participants than the female counterparts. Moreover, the speakers who are likely to be involved in these activities speak more Nepali than Jirel. In other words, this can be attributed to the fact that the male speakers might have more access to most of these activities.

Table 4.2 demonstrates the languages most frequently used for different purposes categorized by age. The first group (A1) includes the respondents between the years of 15-35, the second age group (A2) between 36-55, and the third age group (A3) includes the age above 56.

#### 4.2 Languages use in different domains by age

	A1 (n=24)			A2 (n=13)			A3 (n=17)		
	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali
Counting	13 (54.16%)	6 (25%)	5 (20.83%)	8 (61.53%)	-	5 (20.83%)	16 (94.11%)	-	1 (5.88%)
Singing	8 (33.33%)	11 (45.83%)	5 (20.83%)	5 (20.83%)	4 (30.76%)	4 (30.76%)	8 (47.05%)	7 (41.17%)	2 (11.76%)
Joking	21 (87.5%)	3 (12.5%)	5 (20.83%)	9 (69.23%)	2 (15.38%)	2 (15.38%)	16 (94.11%)	1 (5.88%)	-
Bargaining/Shopping /Marketing	5 (20.83%)	8 (33.33%)	11 (45.83%)	3 (23.07%)	1 (7.698%)	9 (69.23%)	11 (64.7%)	3 (17.64%)	3 (17.64%)
Storytelling	6 (25%)	7 (29.16%)	11 (45.83%)	2 (15.38%)	2 (15.38%)	9 (69.23%)	10 (58.82%)	4 (23.52%)	3 (17.64%)
Discussing/Debate	11 (45.83%)	4 (16.66%)	9 (37.5%)	3 (23.07%)	3 (23.07%)	7 (53.84%)	12 (70.58%)	1 (5.88%)	4 (23.52%)
Praying	14 (58.33%)	4 (16.66%)	6 (25%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.698%)	6 (46.15%)	12 (70.58%)	3 (17.64%)	2 (11.76%)
Quarrelling	17 (70.87%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (16.66%)	8 (61.53%)	1 (7.698%)	4 (30.76%)	14 (82.35%)	3 (17.64%)	-
Abusing (Scolding/ using taboo words)	16 (66.66%)	2 (8.33%)	6 (25%)	9 (69.23%)	1 (7.698%)	3 (23.07%)	12 (70.58%)	4 (23.52%)	1 (5.88%)
Telling stories to children	13 (54.16%)	6 (25%)	5 (20.83%)	6 (46.15%)	3 (23.07%)	4 (30.76%)	10 (58.82%)	3 (17.64%)	4 (23.52%)
Singing at home	9 (37.5%)	8 (33.33%)	7 (29.16%)	5 (38.46%)	3 (23.07%)	5 (38.46%)	9 (52.94%)	6 (11.1%)	2 (11.76%)
Family gatherings	15 (62.2%)	8 (33.33%)	1 (4.16%)	12 (92.30%)	-	1 (7.698%)	14 (82.35%)	2 (11.76%)	1 (5.88%)
Meetings in villages	13 (54.16%)	6 (25%)	5 (20.83%)	6 (46.15%)	4 (30.76%)	3 (23.07%)	10 (58.82%)	4 (23.52%)	3 (17.64%)

Table 4.2 displays that most speakers of above 56 use Jirel more than Nepali or both Nepali and Jirel. Moving to another age group (A2), they use Jirel for most of these purposes but they use Nepali (including both Nepali and Jirel) in a few domains, viz. bargaining/ shopping, discussing/debate. The respondents of the first age group (A1) also use Jirel in more domains (in 10 domains). Thus, the Jirel language is used in most of the home domains by people of all ages.

There are some domains in which Nepali or Jirel and Nepali languages are used. One of the domains where the use of Nepali is more dominant than other languages is bargaining/ shopping / marketing.

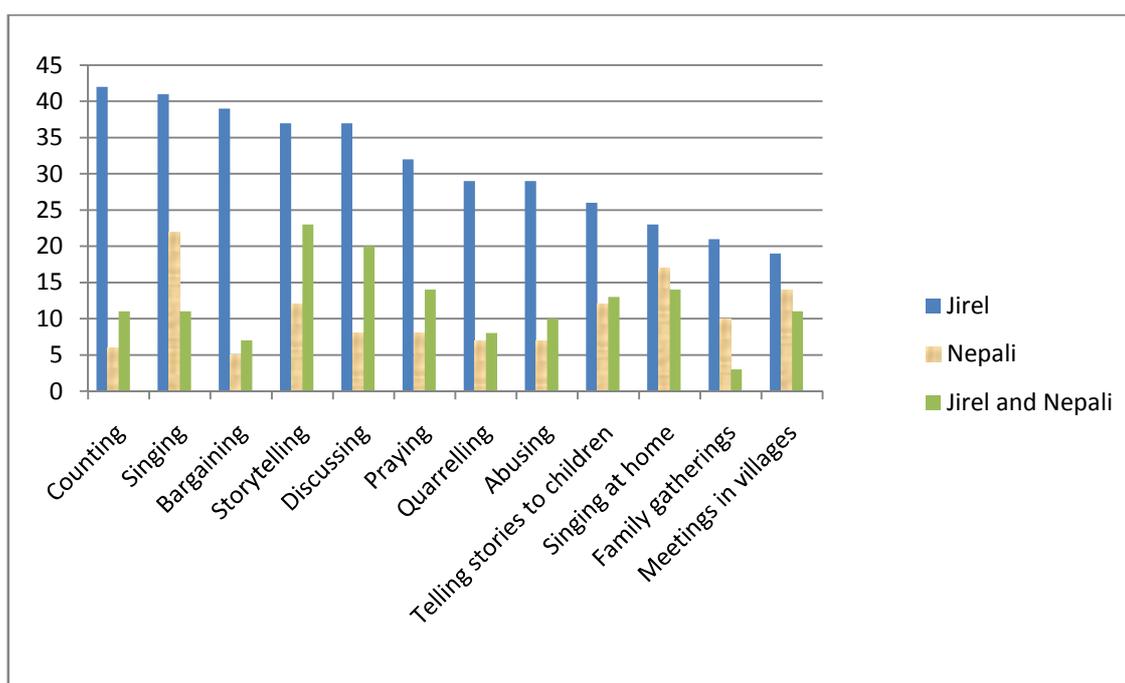
The use of languages in different domains by literacy is given in Table 4.3. Table 4.3 displays that the use of Jirel is more frequent among illiterate speakers in all domains compared to literate in Jirel community, further suggesting that language retention is stronger with illiterate than the literate. The use of Nepali is more dominant with literate respondents in almost all domains except one, viz. discussion and debate. This is not surprising because Nepali is the language of wider communication. The use of both languages (Nepali and Jirel) is also dominant with literate respondents than illiterate respondents. However, there are some domains, such as praying, telling stories to children, and meeting in villages where illiterate respondents use both Nepali and Jirel.

**Table 4.3 Languages use in different domains by literacy**

	Literate (29)			Illiterate (25)		
	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali
Counting	17 (58.62%)	5 (17.24%)	7 (24.13%)	20 (80%)	1 (4%)	4 (16%)
Singing	8 (27.58%)	13 (44.82%)	8 (27.58%)	13 (52%)	9 (36%)	3 (12%)
Joking	21 (72.41%)	3 (10.34%)	5 (17.24%)	21 (84%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)
Bargaining/Shopping/ Marketing	6 (20.68%)	10 (34.48%)	13 (44.82%)	13 (52%)	2 (8%)	10 (40%)
Storytelling	5 (17.24%)	9 (31.03%)	15 (51.72%)	13 (52%)	4 (16%)	8 (32%)
Discussing/Debate	13 (44.82%)	4 (13.79%)	12 (41.37%)	13 (52%)	4 (16%)	8 (16%)
Praying	16 (55.17%)	6 (20.68%)	7 (24.13%)	16 (64%)	2 (8%)	7 (28%)
Quarrelling	17 (58.62%)	5 (17.24%)	7 (24.13%)	22 (88%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)
Abusing (Scolding/ using taboo words)	17 (58.62%)	4 (13.79%)	8 (27.58%)	20 (80%)	3 (12%)	2 (8%)
Telling stories to children	13 (44.82%)	10 (34.48%)	6 (20.68%)	16 (64%)	2 (8%)	7 (28%)
Singing at home	10 (34.48%)	10 (34.48%)	9 (31.03%)	13 (52%)	7 (28%)	5 (20%)
Family gatherings	19 (65.51%)	8 (27.58%)	2 (6.89%)	22 (88%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)
Meetings in villages	14 (48.27%)	10 (34.48%)	5 (17.24%)	15 (60%)	4 (16%)	6 (24%)

The discussion is summarized in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1: The use of Languages for different purposes**



The figure summarizes the use of different languages for these purposes. The use of Jirel is given in the descending order. Firstly, Jirel is the language used chiefly for all purposes except singing, bargaining and storytelling. Jirel and Nepali ranks first only in storytelling. Nepali is used least in bargaining and joking.

#### **4.3 Language use at home**

The patterns of language use are discussed in this section.

### 4.3.1 Language use at home while talking about education matters

The patterns of languages use among family members are given in Table 4.4.

**Table: 4.4 Languages use among different family members by gender**

	n=	Jirel	Nepali	J &N	n=	Jirel	Nepali	J &N
Grandfather	29	29 (100%)	-	-	23	22 (95.62%)	-	1 (4.34%)
Grandmother	29	29 (100%)	-	-	23	22 (95.62%)	-	1 (4.34%)
Father	30	29 (96.66%)	-	1	24	23 (95.83%)	1 (4.15%)	-
Mother	30	29 (96.66%)	-	1 (3.33%)	24	24 (100%)		-
Spouse	28	26 (92.85%)	2 (7.14%)	-	24	23 (91.30%)	2 (8.69%)	-
Children	29	18 (62.06%)	8 (27.58%)	3 (10.34%)	23	18 (78.26%)	3 (13.04%)	1 (4.34%)

Table 4.4 shows that the use of languages varies when the respondents speak with different family members. This shows that both male and female respondents predominantly use Jirel while talking to their family members about education matters. This suggests that the language is still used in the home domain. It is reported that the male respondents use Nepali only to the children. This suggests that the children do not understand the language or are unwilling to speak it. This may also be attributed to the educational levels the children are enrolled in. As the children grow up in predominantly Nepali speaking environment, they may like to shift to Nepali. Although Jirel is the language the respondents use with spouses, there are cases where the respondents use Nepali or both Nepali and Jirel with their spouses. This can be attributed to the marriage patterns of the Jirels with non-Jirels where, the spouses are unable to speak the Jirel language. The languages used with different family members by literacy are given in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5: Language use with different family members by literacy**

Domains	Literacy							
	Literate				Illiterate			
	n=	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali	n=	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali
Grandfather	27	26 (96.29%)	1 (3.70%)	-	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Grandmother	27	26 (96.29%)	1 (3.70%)	-	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Father	29	27 (93.10%)	1 (3.44%)	1 (3.44%)	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Mother	29	27 (93.10%)	1 (3.44%)	1 (3.44%)	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Spouse	27	23 (85.18%)	4 (14.81%)	-	24	24 (100%)	-	-
Children	27	17 (68%)	8 (32%)	2 (8%)	24	19 (86.36%)	3 (13.63%)	2 (9.09%)

Table 4.5 shows that Jirel is the predominant language used by both literate and illiterate groups. However, it is to be noted that a higher percentage of illiterate Jirels use Jirel than the literate respondents in nearly all domains. The literate respondents use Nepali to some degree which is absent with non-literate respondents except while speaking to spouse and children. This is natural because the language shift is more common with literate speakers than the non-literate speakers. The use of Nepali as well as Nepali and Jirel is common by both of the groups although a higher percentage of literate use Nepali while speaking to children. Languages most frequently used with different members are summarized in Figure 4.2.

**Figure 4.2 Summary of languages used to different family members**

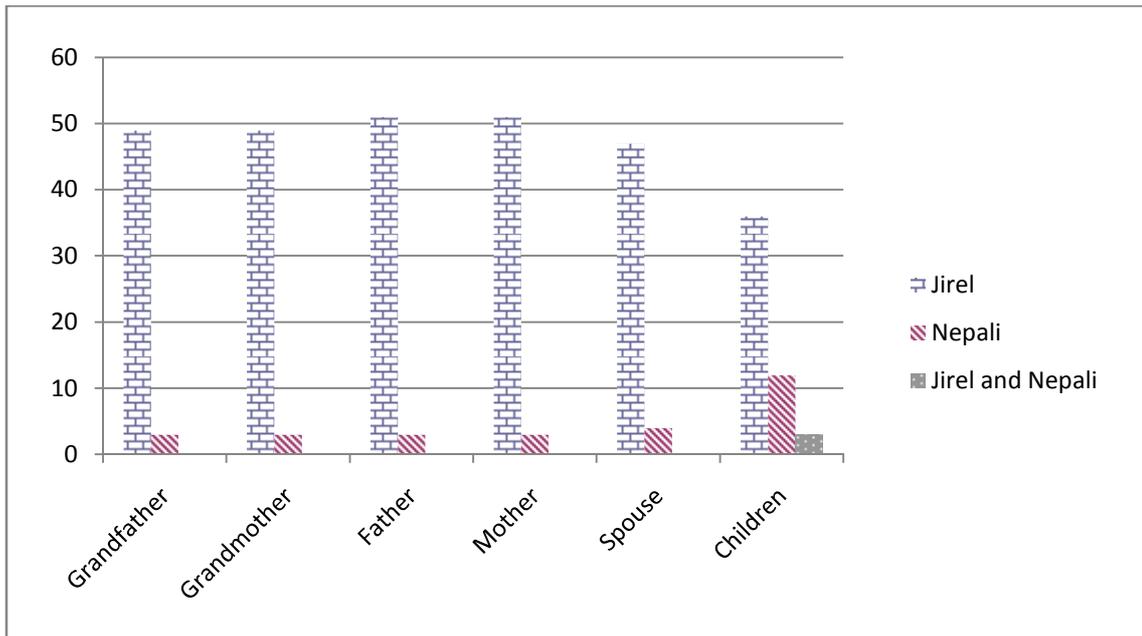


Figure 4.2 shows that Jirel is mainly used among family members followed by Nepali. The use of Nepali is slightly higher compared to the use of Jirel and Nepali with other family members. Apart from this, the use of Jirel and Nepali is seen exclusively with the children. The use of Jirel and Nepali is non-existent in other domains except while speaking to children.

### 4.3.2 Language use at home while discussing social events and family matters

(Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc))

The use of languages while discussing social events and family matters by literacy is presented in Table 4.6.

**Table 4.6: Language use with different family members discussing social events and family matters by literacy**

Domains	Literacy							
	Literate (29)				Illiterate (25)			
	n=	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali	n=	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali
Grandfather	27	26 (96.29%)	1 (3.70%)	-	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Grandmother	27	26 (96.29%)	1 (3.70%)	-	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Father	29	27 (93.10%)	1 (3.44%)	1 (3.44%)	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Mother	29	27 (93.10%)	1 (3.44%)	1 (3.44%)	25	25 (100%)	-	-
Spouse	27	23 (85.18%)	4 (14.81%)	-	24	24 (96%)	-	-
Children	27	17 (62.96%)	8 (29.62%)	2 (7.409%)	24	19 (79.16%)	3 (12.5%)	2 (8.33%)

Table 4.6 indicates that both literate and illiterate use Jirel to a high degree while discussing social events and family members. As expected, the literate respondents shift to Nepali to some degree which is almost non-existent with illiterate respondents except while speaking to children. Some literate respondents also make use of Nepali and Jirel while speaking to grandparents and parents which is absent with the illiterate speakers. The use of Nepali is gradually gaining ground while talking with the children by both of these groups. This tendency is even stronger with the literate speakers as the literate speakers have preference to speaking Nepali over speaking Jirel because of the wider application of Nepali, the language of wider application. This is summarized in Table 4.7.

**Table 4.7: Summary of languages use with different family members**

Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc)

	<b>n=</b>	<b>Jirel</b>	<b>Nepali</b>	<b>Jirel and Nepali</b>
Grandfather	52	51 (98.07%)	1 (1.92%)	-
Grandmother	52	51 (98.07%)	1 (1.92%)	-
Father	54	52 (96.29%)	1 (1.85%)	1 (1.85%)
Mother	54	52 (96.29%)	1 (1.85%)	1 (1.85%)
Spouse	51	47 (92.15%)	4 (7.84%)	-
Children	51	36 (70.58%)	11 (21.56%)	4 (7.84%)

Table 4.7 shows that Jirel is the language which is used almost exclusively while talking with parents and grandparents while discussing social matters and family events. There is a gradual decline in the use of Jirel while talking to spouse and children. As a result, the use of Nepali rises while talking with children. This result is not surprising because the children often are in contact with Nepali speaking environment at schools.

### 4.3.3 Language use at home while writing letters

Table 4.8 shows that Jirel is the language which is used almost exclusively while talking to parents.

#### 4.8 Language use while talking about writing letters

		M=30			F=24			
	n=	Jirel	Nepali	J & N	n=	Jirel	Nepali	J & N
Grandfather	24	2 (8.33%)	22 (91.66%)	-	17	-	17 (100%)	-
Grandmother	24	2 (8.33%)	22 (91.66%)	-	18	1 (22.22%)	17 (94.44%)	-
Father	25	2 (8%)	23 (92%)	-	19	1 (5.26%)	18 (94.73%)	-
Mother	25	2 (8%)	23 (92%)	-	19	1 (5.26%)	18 (94.73%)	-
Spouse	25	2 (8%)	23 (92%)	-	19	1 (5.26%)	18 (94.73%)	-
Children	25	3 (12%)	22 (88%)	-	18	16 (88.88%)	1 (5.55%)	1 (5.55%)

Table 4.8 shows that the Nepali language is used most frequently used at home while talking about writing letters. Although the use of mother tongue at home in this domain is also found among the male speakers, this is completely absent among female respondents. Nepali is the language of wider communication, and medium of instructions from primary to the University level, and the adapting the writing materials in Nepali is usual and expected.

#### 4.4 Language use by children

The use of languages by children in different domains by sex is given in Table 4.9.

**Table 4.9: Languages usually spoken by children in different domains by sex**

	M=(30)				F=(24)			
	n=	Jirel	Nepali	J & N	n=	Jirel	Nepali	J & N
Playing with other children	29	12 (41.37%)	9 (31.03%)	8 (27.58%)	19	10 (52.63%)	7 (36.82%)	2 (10.52%)
Talking with neighbour	29	12 (41.37%)	9 (31.03%)	8 (27.58%)	19	10 (52.63%)	7 (36.82%)	2 (10.52%)
At school	29	3 (10.38%)	19 (65.51%)	7 (24.13%)	19	3 (15.78%)	12 (63.15%)	4 (21.05%)

Table 4.9 shows that the children mostly use Jirel while playing with other children. This applies not only to the male respondents but also to the female respondents. Thus, Jirel ranks the first as the language used by children while playing with other children followed by Nepali, thereby ranking the second. Some children also make use of both the languages, Jirel and Nepali which is true for both of the groups. We find the same results when the children talk with neighbors. Nevertheless, differences are found in the language use at school. Nepali is the language largely used at schools. The predominant use of Nepali at schools is expected due to some reasons. To begin with, the medium of instruction is Nepali. Secondly, the children of other ethnic groups are also enrolled at schools. In order to interact with them, the Jirel children have to speak the language of wider communication. Thus, the schools generally have a Nepali speaking environment. This is summarized in Figure 4.3.

**Figure 4.3: Languages usually spoken by children in different domains**

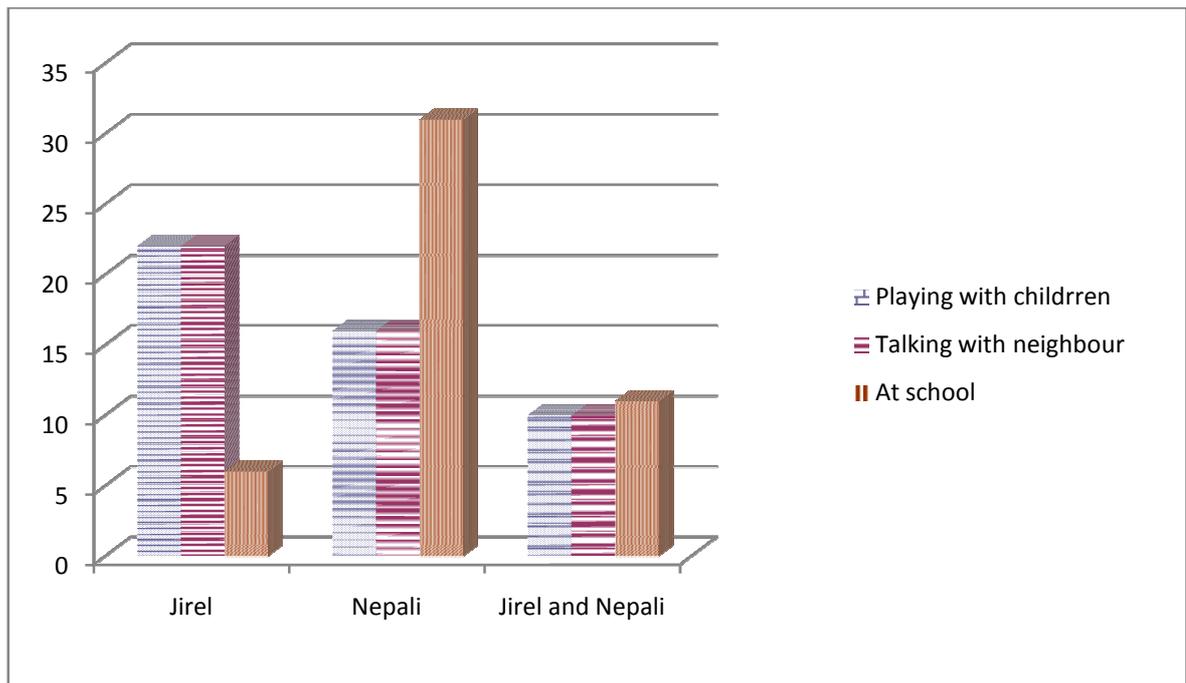


Figure 4.3 summarizes the use of languages by Jirel children on various occasions. It shows that the use of Jirel is equal in two domains, namely playing with children and talking with the neighbors. Although the children also use Jirel (and Jirel and Nepali as a single category) at school, this is about half the percentage of the use of Nepali. In other words, the use of Nepali at school is much higher compared to the other domains. We also see the use of Jirel and Nepali to some extent. It is to be noted the use of both of these languages is slightly higher in school, compared to other two domains. The figure also shows that Jirel and Nepali as a single category is almost equally used in all the given domains, viz. playing with children, talking with neighbour and at school.

#### 4.5 Language use in marriage invitations

Table 4.10 shows that the villages differ in the use of languages for inviting to marriage ceremony

#### 4.10 Languages used for marriage invitation by survey points

	n=	Jirel	Nepali	Jirel and Nepali
Kharayoban (10)	9	5 (55.55%)	4 (44.44%)	-
Baghkor-Ratmate (10)	10	6 (60%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)
Sikri (9)	9	8 (88.88%)	1(11.11%)	-
Yarsa (Jungu) (13)	13	8 (61.53%)	4 (30.76%)	1(7.69%)
Chhetrapa (12)	12	7 (58.33%)	5 (41.66%)	-
Total	53	34 (61.15%)	16 (30.18%)	3(5.66)

Table 4.10 shows that the use of the languages varies in different villages in invitations to marriage ceremony. The use of Jirel ranks first in all villages although the precise percentage differs. The highest percentage of Jirel in this domain is found in Jiri as expected. This is the village with a concentration of Jirel speakers. On the other side, the respondents from Kharayoban and Chhetrapa make use the least use of Jirel thereby ranking the last two in the use of the language to marriage invitations. It is noted that Kharayoban and Chhetrapa have sparsely populated Jirel houses. As a whole, the use of Jirel ranks the first about twice as much as the use of Nepali for marriage ceremony.

#### 4.6 Frequency use of the mother tongue

The frequency in the use of the mother tongue is given in Table 4.11.

**Table 4.11: The use of the mother tongue by survey points**

	<b>Everyday</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
Kharayoban (10)	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	-
Baghkhori-Ratmate (10)	10 (100%)	-	-
Sikri (9)	8 (88.88%)	1 (11.11%)	-
Yarsa (Jungu) (13)	7 (53.84%)	6 (46.15)	-
Chhetrapa (12)	12 (100)	-	-
Total	45 (83.33%)	9 (16.66%)	-

Table 4.11 shows the frequency in the use of the mother tongue in different survey points. It shows that the Baghkhori -Ratmate and Chhetrapa rank first in the use of mother tongue (or Jirel ) followed by Sikri. Although Baghkhori and Ratmate villages are located in Jiri VDC, Jungu village in Chhetrapa is an isolated village a bit far away from the main Jiri speaking area. The percentage of the people who make use of the mother tongue is the lowest in Kharayoban. The respondents who reported that they use the mother tongue every day are five times greater with respect to the respondents who use the language rarely. Thus, it suggests that the use of mother tongue is very frequent in all survey points.

The use of mother tongue in terms of the literacy status of the respondents is given in Table 4.12.

**Table 4.12 The frequency of the use of the mother tongue by literacy**

	<b>Literate</b>	<b>Illiterate</b>	<b>Total</b>
Everyday	23 (79.31%)	22 (88%)	45 (83.33%)
Rarely	6 (20.68%)	3 (8%)	9 (16.66%)
Never	-	-	-

Table 4.12 shows the frequency of the mother tongue by literacy. As expected, more illiterate people (88%) use Jirel everyday than the illiterate people. The literate people use the language less (79.31%) than the illiterate speakers. In contrast, a higher percentage of literate speakers say that they use mother tongue rarely.

As a whole, a overwhelming majority of speakers (83.33%) use the mother tongue everyday whereas only (16.66%) make use of Jirel rarely. In contrast, no speakers said that they never use the Jirel. Thus, it indicates that the use of the mother tongue is predominantly vital in the Jirel community.

#### 4.7 The use of the language of wider communication

As indicated in (Chapter 5) most of the Jirel speakers are bilingual/ multilingual. The language of wider communication is Nepali in the areas where the Jirel language is spoken. The questions were asked to obtain information regarding the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication.

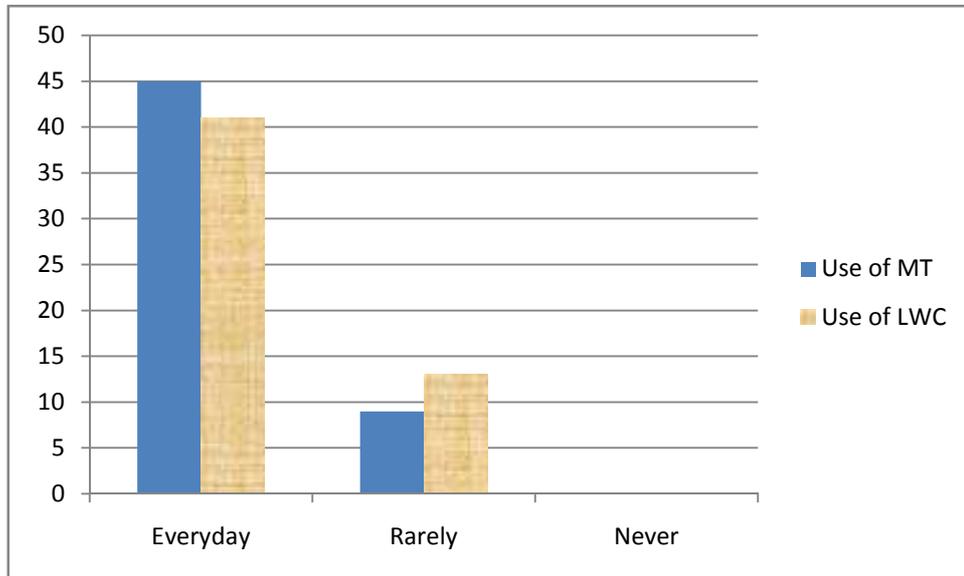
**Table 4.13 The use of the language of wider communication by age**

	A(1)	A(2)	A(3)	Total
Everyday	20 (83.33%)	10 (76.92%)	11 (76.92%)	41 (75.92%)
Rarely	4 (16.66%)	3 (23.07%)	6 (35.29%)	13 (24.07%)
Never	-	-	-	-

Table 4.13 indicates that the majority of respondents (75.92%) use the language of wider communication (Nepali). The same applies to respondents of all age groups. Despite the fact that the majority of the respondents also use Jirel every day, they also use the language of wider communication daily.

The observations regarding the use of the mother tongue and language of wider communication is summarized in Figure 4.4.

**Figure 4.4: Comparison of the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication**



As Figure 4.4 indicates, the respondents' use of mother tongue is slightly higher than the use of the language of wider communication. Moreover, the figure also shows that they use both of these languages. Thus, nobody reported that they do not use these languages. No respondents reported that they never used the language.

#### **4.8 The medium of instruction at primary level**

The subjects were asked whether they prefer their mother tongue or the language of wider communication as the medium of instruction at primary level. Their responses are given in Table 4.14.

**Table 4.14: Preference of language for children’s medium of instruction**

	<b>Literate n=24</b>	<b>Illiterate n=23</b>	<b>Total n=47</b>
Mother tongue	9 (37.5%)	8 (34.78%)	17 (36.12%)
Nepali	12 (50%)	15 (65.21%)	27 (57.44%)
English	3 (12.5)	-	3 (6.38%)
Other	-	-	-

Table 4.14 shows that both literate and illiterate respondents prefer Nepali as the medium of instruction at primary school although the precise percentage differs. This also suggests that some literate respondents (12.5%) also prefer their children to be taught in English. In total, higher percentages of respondents (50%) prefer their children to be taught in Nepali rather than in their mother tongue (37.5%). This is natural because Nepali is the medium of instruction in most of the government schools as the language of wider communication.

The respondents in all locations replied that Nepali is the language used while writing minutes in the community meetings. The language of wider communication is Nepali in the areas where the Jirel language is spoken. The speakers say they use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit their homes. This suggests that the language of wider communication is mainly used for inter-ethnic communication.

Finally, the respondents report that they use Nepali exclusively when the speakers of other languages visit their homes. This suggests that the language of wider communication is mainly used for inter-ethnic communication.

#### **4.9 The use of language domains from participatory methods**

Participatory methods seek to find out what language or languages are used in different situations and frequency of language use. This also attempts to identify dialect boundaries through dialect mapping (but this does not apply to Jirel), and to determine the extent of bilingualism with Nepali or other regional languages of the area.

The members of the Jirel community attending the participatory methods provided some opinions regarding the domains and the people who use it. Since the

discussion is not guided by the answers in advance, some answers overlap analogous to the actual use of language.

Firstly, the domains of the mother tongue, both mother tongue and the contact language are summarized in Appendix C. It is known from their opinions that the mother tongue is mainly used in home domains, viz. cooking, working in the field, at community rituals among others. In most of the survey locations except Chhetrapa, both of these languages (the mother tongue and the contact language Nepali) are mainly used in local markets. The use of contact language is found in some specific domains (talking with the guests/visitors), and contexts (viz. travelling out of the Jirel village).

As expected, the elderly Jirel people, Jirel speakers living in the village, monolingual Jirel speakers and shaman (phombo) use only the mother tongue. Teachers, government employees, businessmen and literate people use both the languages. And, students, and persons travelling out of the villages mainly use the contact language.

#### **4.10 Summary**

This chapter has discussed the domains of language use in the Jirel community. There are a few domains where the Jirel people exclusively use Nepali, the language of wider communication. The domains include the language use with the speakers of other languages visiting their homes, writing minutes etc. Thus, the main context when Nepali is used is when the Jirel people are in contact with non-Jirel speakers.

Jirel is mostly used for some purposes, such as joking, family gathering except singing, bargaining, and storytelling. Nepali, and Jirel and Nepali are used for these purposes. Additionally, Jirel is also used with family members, talking about some subjects, such as talking about education matters, social events and family matters. In contrast, Nepali is mainly used while writing letters. As far as the use of Jirel by children is concerned, they use mainly Jirel while playing with children (other siblings) but the use of Nepali ranks first at schools. The respondents use Jirel more than they use Nepali.

## **Chapter 5:**

### **Mother Tongue Proficiency and Bi/Multilingualism**

#### **5.1 Outline**

This chapter is about mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Jirel. The analysis is based on the information obtained from individual sociolinguistic questionnaire and from participatory methods. Section (5.2) deals with bilingualism /multilingualism. Mother tongue proficiency is discussed in (5.3). Section (5.4) is the summary of this chapter.

#### **5.2 Bilingualism/Multilingualism**

We have assumed very basic meaning of ‘bilingualism’ in this context. As Bee Chin and Gillian (2007:3) maintain, bilingualism means ‘the use of two languages or the native-like control of two languages’. Jirel community is also characterized by bilingualism/multilingualism<sup>1</sup>. A number of reasons may contribute to the bilingualism/multilingualism (Kansakar 1996; Report 2007). The Report of the National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (2007:9) maintains:

In the hills and mountains, however, the communication among divergent languages is not possible among the speakers of different Tibeto-Burman languages, which diverge greatly in vocabulary and grammar. In such a situation, they are often found to use Nepali as their link language.

Bilingualism is a reality in many parts of the hilly regions. We refer in this section to individual bilingualism as the language informants were administered the questionnaires related to it. Some degree of individual bilingualism/multilingualism was measured in this section.

Firstly, all the respondents who were interviewed were bilingual. Although it is difficult to claim whether all speakers of the Jirel are multilingual (in) limited sampling,

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<sup>1</sup> Mackey (2001:1485) differentiates between individual bilingualism which refers to ‘the use of two or more languages by an individual’ and ‘societal bilingualism’ in which there is the presence of two or more languages in a community’. Most of the questionnaires administered are related to ‘individual bilingualism’ in this survey.

all respondents reported that they know at least two languages, viz. Jirel and Nepali. Some speakers reported that they can even use upto five languages. The languages they can speak are provided in Table 5.1. As Table 5.1 shows, the analysis of bilingualism in Jirel community is far from simple. First of all, the complexity arises because of the number of languages they claim to know.

**Table 5.1: Languages the respondents can speak**

	<b>Languages known</b>	<b>Number of responses</b>
1	Jirel, Nepali	39 (72.22%)
2	Jirel, Nepali, Sherpa	4 (7.40%)
3	Jirel, Nepali, English	4 (7.40%)
4	Jirel, Nepali, English, Hindi	2 (3.70%)
5	Jirel, Nepali, Sherpa, Tamang, English	2 (3.70%)
6	Jirel, Nepali, Hindi	1 (1.85%)
7	Jirel, Nepali, Sherpa, Tamang	1(1.85%)
8	Jirel, Nepali, Sherpa, English	1(1.85%)
	Total	54

The fact that Jirel speakers can use different languages is shown in Table (5.1). All respondents know Jirel and Nepali. Among these respondents, 8 (14.81%) also know Sherpa, 3 (5.55 %) know Tamang, 9 (16.66 %) know English and 3 (5.55 %) also know Hindi. All respondents are bilingual in Nepali. Sherpa and Tamang are the languages spoken in Jirel speaking areas. No monolingual speaker was found in the survey. All respondents responded that they first learnt to speak Jirel.

Thus, bilingualism in Jirel may be placed in a continuum consisting of the speakers who are competent only in Jirel and Nepali. This extends to some other language, such as Sherpa, Tamang and English. However, it is to be noted that this study has not measured the degree of their language competence in other languages.

### 5.3 Mother tongue proficiency

The Jirel language does not have a long written tradition. The written materials are very rare in the language although some materials are found these days (see Chapter 7). The speakers' proficiency to read and write is shown in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: Proficiency to read and write<sup>2</sup>**

Degrees	Literate (n=28)	Male (n=19)	Female (n=9)
<b>Very well</b>	13 (46.42%)	7 (36.84%)	6 (66.66%)
<b>Some</b>	10 (35.71%)	9 (47.36%)	1 (11.11%)
<b>Only a little</b>	5 (17.85%)	3 (15.78%)	2 (22.22%)

Table 5.2 shows that nearly half of the respondents (46.42%) reported that they can read and write in their mother tongue very well. This, thus, suggests that they have high degree of proficiency in their mother tongue. In contrast, only a small number of speakers reported that they have limited level of proficiency in the mother tongue. This also shows that higher percentage of female respondents (among literate) can read and write well compared to the male respondents.

Some speakers reported that their parents know some other languages other than their mother tongue. This is given in Table 5.3.

**Table 5.3: Other languages the respondents' parents and spouses know**

	Languages	Father	Mother	Spouse
1	Nepali	49	47	44
2	Sherpa	5	3	-
3	Tamang	-	2	2
4	English	5	-	-
5	Hindi	1	-	-

<sup>2</sup> Although the number of literate speaker is 29, a respondent was unwilling to answer this question.

As Table 5.2 demonstrates, the fathers of 5 respondents (9.25%) claimed to have been monolingual. In addition, there are some speakers whose fathers also know Sherpa and English. Regarding the languages their mothers know, 47 respondents reported that they knew Nepali. There are some monolingual speakers in this category. By contrast, most of the spouses only know Nepali and only a few respondents' spouse (viz. two in total) know Tamang.

The other languages spoken by the respondents' children are given in Table (5.4). Some respondents reported the other language spoken by their children is Nepali. This is a common sociolinguistic situation.

**Table 5.4: Languages spoken by respondents' children**

	<b>Languages they speak</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Nepali	14 (31.81%)
2	Jirel, Nepali	24 (54.54%)
3	Jirel, Nepali, English	3 (6.81%)
4	Jirel, Nepali, Hindi	1 (2.27%)
5	Nepali, English	2 (4.54%)
	Total	44

Table 5.4 shows that some children exclusively speak Nepali. This suggests that some children (16 out of 44, or 36.36%) have not learned their ancestral language. This indicates a certain lack of intergenerational language transmission as shown in this table. Secondly, the table also shows that the majority of the children (54.54% more than the half of them) speak both Jirel and Nepali. There are a small number of children who are multilingual.

**Table 5.5: Children’s understanding of language when they first go to school**

	(n=)	Yes	A little bit	No
Sikri	9	3 (33.33%)	5 (55.55%)	1 (11.11%)
Kharayoban	10	2 (20%)	6 (60%)	2 (20%)
Ratmate-Kot	10	3 (30%)	7 (70%)	-
Jungu (Yarsa)	13	8 (61.53%)	4 (30.76%)	1 (7.69%)
Chhetrapa	12	6 (50%)	5 (41.66%)	1 (8.33%)
<b>Total</b>		22 (40.70%)	27 (50%)	5(9.25%)

Table 5.5 shows that the children understand Nepali when they go to school for the first time. Exactly half of the respondents replied that the children understand Nepali a little bit when they first go to school. The respondents who reported that the children know Nepali is higher (four times) than those who replied that the children do not understand the language.

The situation of children’s learning Nepali differs in different survey locations. As expected, higher percentage of informants in Jungu and Chhetrapa replied that the children understand Nepali when they first go to school. In contrast, the majority of the respondents from all other locations replied that the children understand Nepali ‘a little bit’. It suggests that the bilingualism in Nepali is gaining ground strongly in Chhetrapa and Jungu (Yarsa) compared to other locations.

## **5.4 Conclusion**

The speakers indicated that there may be some monolingual Jirel speakers in the Jirel community. However, all the Jirels we interviewed were either monolingual in Nepali or bilingual in Nepali and Jirel. Thus, there is a widespread use of Nepali in the Jirel community these days. We see the presence of two languages in most of these contexts. There is a widespread use of Nepali together with some Jirel and other languages. The higher percentage of literate Jirels reported that they can read and write Jirel very well. Nepali is now also used by a higher percentage of respondents' parents. Some children exclusively speak Nepali whereas others speak both Jirel and Nepali. These two groups comprise 86.35%. The children understand Nepali to some extent when they first go to school.

**Chapter 6:**  
**Language vitality, language maintenance**  
**and language attitudes**

**6.1 Outline**

This chapter discusses language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes. Some questions related to these issues are included in the questionnaire prepared to ask the language activists whereas others were designed to ask the respondents. Both of these responses have been calculated and analyzed in this Chapter. Section 6.2 deals with language vitality. Similarly, section 6.3 discusses the language maintenance and language attitude. Summary of this chapter is offered in section 6.4.

**6.2 Language vitality**

Language vitality in this survey was measured by assessing the perceptions of the language informants of different age groups, and their literacy status. Jirel villages differ with respect to the language vitality. In some villages, such as (Lower) Sikri with concentrated population, the language is used most of the domains. On the other hand, the language use is weaker in some villages with less concentrated language speakers. Table 6.1 summarizes the present situation of language vitality.

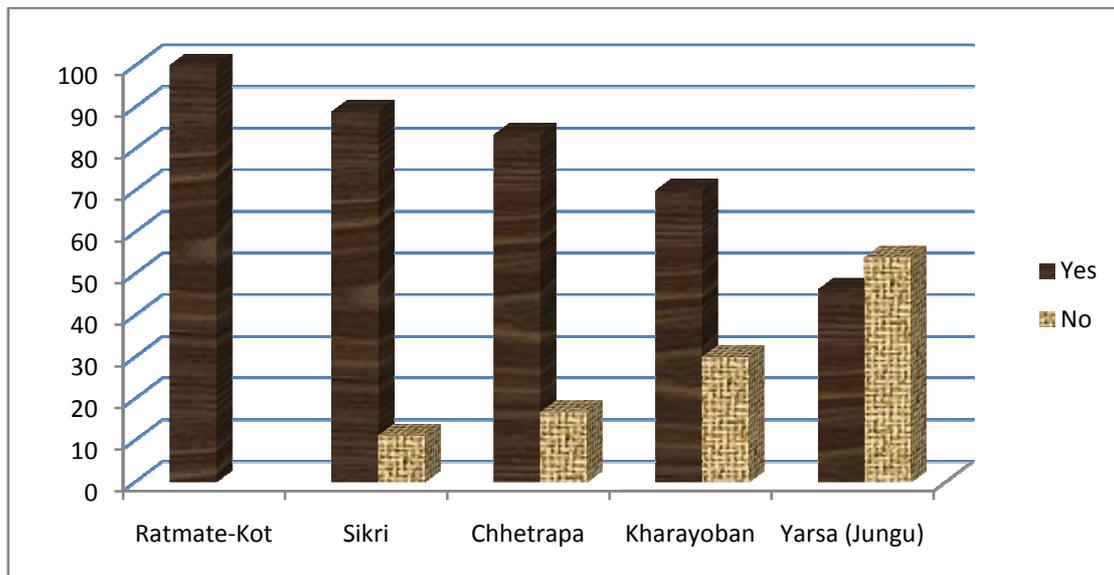
Table 6.1 shows the responses regarding the children's use of the mother tongue in different locations. All children speak the mother tongue in two villages, viz. Sikri, Ratmate-Kot. The use of mother tongue is very strong in these villages. In contrast, the use of mother tongue is weaker in Yarsa, Chhetrapa and Kharayoban in a descending order.

**Table 6.1: Language vitality in key locations in Jirels**

	Do all your children speak your mother tongue (63)			Do young people speak your MT as well as it ought to be spoken (64)			What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children (65)		
	n =	Yes	No	n =	Yes	No	n =	MT	Nepali
Sikri	8	8 (100%)	-	9	8 (88.88%)	1 (11.11%)	9	7 (77.77%)	2 (22.22%)
Kharayoban	9	6 (66.66%)	3 (33.33%)	10	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	10	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
Ratmate-Kot	9	9 (100%)	-	10	10 (100%)	-	10	9 (90%)	1 (10%)
Jungu (Yarsa)	8	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	13	6 (46.15%)	7 (53.84%)	10	3 (30%)	7 (70%)
Chhetrapa	9	7 (77.77%)	2 (22.22%)	12	10 (83.33%)	2 (16.66%)	12	9 (75%)	3 (25%)
Total	43	37 (86.04%)	6 (13.95%)	54	41 (75.92%)	13 (24.07%)	51	36 (70.58%)	15 (29.40%)

Different responses were obtained regarding to what degree the children speak their mother tongue. All respondents from Ratmate-Kot responded that their children speak the language as it ought to be spoken. As can be seen in Figure 6.1, the children's use of the mother tongue is getting weaker in some other locations. Some respondents in Sikri (11.11%) and Chhetrapa (16.66%) replied that the children do not speak the language as it ought to be spoken. This is also illustrated in Figure 6.1.

**Figure 6.1: Language vitality in key locations in Jirel**



As Figure 6.1 shows, higher percentage of parents in Yarsa (53.84%) responded that their children do not speak their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken. This percentage is a bit lower in Kharayoban (30%). Thus, language vitality is weaker in Yarsa and Kharayoban compared to other three locations.

The respondents were asked what languages the parents use when they speak with their children. The use of mother tongue ranks first in four locations except in Yarsa. A higher percentage of respondents in Yarsa (70%) use Nepali instead of their mother tongue. The use of Nepali while speaking with children is minimal in all four locations except Yarsa.

### **6.3 Language maintenance**

Meshthrie (2001:493) notes, “Language maintenance denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful or numerically stronger language.” Sometimes they intermarry with other ethnic groups because Jirel is a small community. The opinions of respondents were asked whether there are intermarriages in the Jirel community. The responses in different locations differ as given in Table 6.2. This table also includes the responses whether the respondents want their children to learn in their mother tongue.

**Table 6.2: Intermarriage and children's use of language**

	Is there intermarriage in you community (66)			Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue? (68)		
	n=	Yes	No	n=	Yes	No
Sikri	9	8 (88.88%)	1 (11.11%)	9	4 (44.44%)	5 (55.55%)
Kharayoban	10	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	9	4 (44.44%)	5 (55.55%)
Ratmate-Kot	10	10 (100%)	-	8	8 (100%)	-
Jungu (Yarsa)	13	8 (61.53%)	5 (38.46%)	11	9 (81.81%)	2 (18.18%)
Chhetrapa	12	5 (41.66%)	7 (58.33%)	11	7 (63.63%)	4 (36.36%)
Total	54	37 (68.51%)	17 (31.48%)	48	32 (66.66%)	16 (33.33%)

Majority of the respondents (68.51%, about three-fourth) replied that there is intermarriage in the Jirel community. Moreover, some respondents who answered the question positively qualified this it by adding expressions such as 'sometimes' or 'not in the past, but common at present'. This suggests that although intermarriage was not common in the past, this is in practice to some degree in the Jirel community at present.

As a sequel to this question was the inquiry related to the ethnic groups to which they have marital relationship. The ethnic groups to which the marital relationship is established are given in Table 6.3.

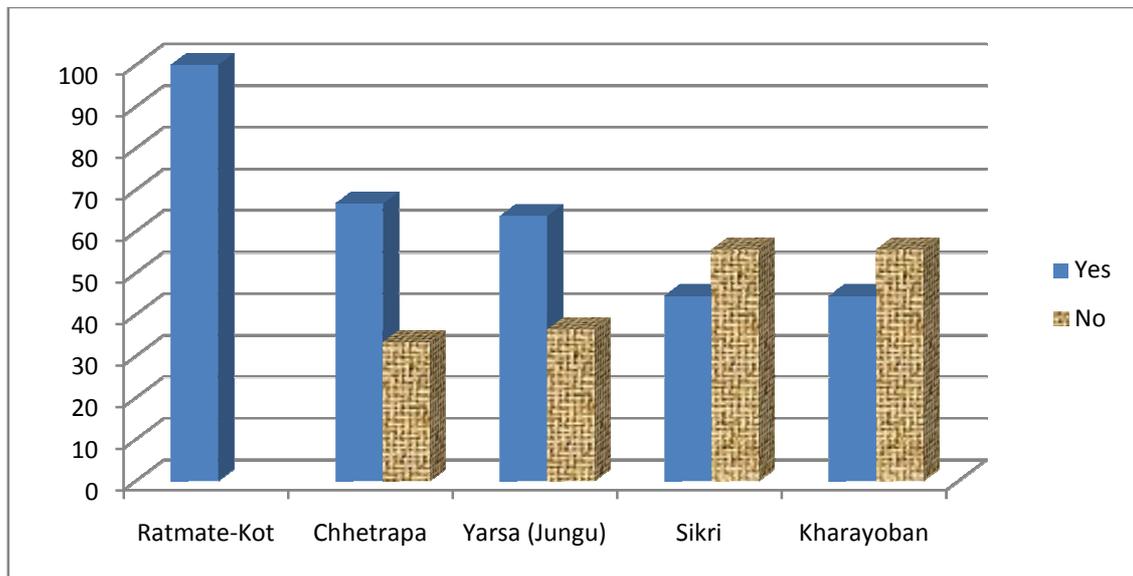
**Table 6.3: Ethnic groups based on marital relationship**

	<b>Ethnic groups</b>	<b>Number of responses</b>
1	Sherpa	29
2	Brahmin-Chhetri	14
3	Tamang	28
4	Rai	8
5	Gurung	2
6	Chhetri	19
7	RaiKirant	1
8	Sunar	9
9	Limbu	2
10	Newar	3

Table 6.3 shows the ethnic groups based on marital relationship. It shows that intermarriage with Sherpa and Tamang are the highest with 28 and 29 responses, and the lowest of one and two with the Rai-Kirant, Limbu and Gurung. As can be seen in these responses, the ethnic groups to which Jirels intermarry are Sherpa, Tamang, and Chhetri followed by Brahmin-Chhetri. In fact, these are the ethnic groups who live around the Jirel settlements. It is therefore natural for them to intermarry because of the mixed settlements of these ethnic groups.

In reply to the second question of intermarriage given in Table 6.2, 66.66% (two third) of the respondents claimed that they want their children to be taught in their mother tongue. Among the survey locations, Ratmate-Kot ranks first in preferring their children to speak in their mother tongue. Opinions are divided on whether the Jirel children should be taught in their mother tongue. The responses are given in Figure 6.2.

**Figure 6.2: Preference of the mother tongue use by children**



Moving from Ratmate-Kot to Kharayoban, the opinions are divided regarding whether the children should be taught in their mother tongue. All respondents in Ratmate answered this question positively. By contrast, higher percentages of respondents in Sikri and Kharayoban answered this negatively.

The opinions are divided regarding this question with respect to the literacy status of the respondents as given in Table 6.4.

**Table 6.4: Preference of their children’s medium of instruction**

	Sex		Literacy (n=47)		Total
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	
Yes	21 (72.41%)	10 (55.55%)	16 (61.53%)	15 (71.42%)	31 (65.95%)
No	8 (27.58%)	8 (44.44%)	10 (38.46%)	6 (28.57%)	16 (34.04%)

Compared to the literate respondents (61.53%), a higher percentage of illiterate respondents (71.42%) claimed that they would want their children to be taught in the mother tongue.

Let us compare the responses categorized in terms of the sex of the respondents as given in Table 6.4. The higher percentage of male respondents (77.41%) wants their children to be taught in their mother tongue. Compared to the female respondents’

response, this percentage is higher, viz. 55.55%. To sum up, opinions are divided whether the respondents would want their children to be taught in their mother tongue. The opinions differ not only in different locations but are also divided in terms of sex, and their literacy status.

As discussed in this section, a majority of the respondents replied that they would want their children to be taught in their mother tongue. They were asked about the different ways they would support if schools are opened for teaching in their language. Their responses are listed in Table 6.5.

**Table 6.5: Preferences of ays informants to support the schools<sup>1</sup>**

		<b>Number of responses</b>
1	by sending children	31
2	by encouraging other people to send their children	33
3	by providing financial help	18
4	by teaching	8
5	by helping with the school	10
6	Others	1

Table 6.5 shows some of the ways by which the respondents could support if schools are opened to teach the children in their mother tongue. The responses are arranged in a descending order. Many informants report that they would encourage other people to send their children to school. A slightly lower percentage of respondents reported that they would send their children.

#### **6.4 Language attitudes**

Brainbridge (2001:6) notes, “Between words and deeds there is a gap; the attitudes people express often seen contradicted by the behavior to which they engage”. As maintained in Bee Chin and Wigglesworth (2007:106), “In bilingual context, attitude has been linked in various ways to the language proficiency, use of the bilingual’s two

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<sup>1</sup> Since the respondents could give more than one answers, the number do not exactly match the number of respondents.

languages and bilinguals' perception of other communities and of themselves.” Researchers in sociolinguistics talk about the direct and indirect approaches in obtaining the attitude of the speakers. As mentioned in Garrett (2001), the attitudes of the speakers were obtained through direct questionnaires. We did not, however, get the information from observation.

Kansakar (1996:21) maintains:

...it is but natural to find cases of language dominance, positive or negative attitudes towards one language or the other, decline in language loyalty resulting in language shift, or efforts to maintain a language under the pressure of a multilingual area. These are some of the uniting and dividing forces which can operate in a multilingual setting.

There are such cases in the Jirel community as well. In order to obtain the response on whether they feel in the presence of a dominant language. The responses based on sex, and literacy is given in Table 6.6.

**Table 6.6: Speakers' feeling to use the language in the presence of a dominant language**

	Sex		Literacy		Total
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	
Prestigious	9 (30%)	7 (19.16%)	8 (27.58%)	8 (32%)	16 (29.62%)
Embarrassed	2 (6.66%)	1 (4.16%)	3 (10.34%)	-	3 (5.55%)
Neutral	19 (63.33%)	16 (66.66%)	18 (62.06%)	17 (68%)	35 (64.81%)

Table 6.6 shows that higher percentage (about two third of respondents) reported that they neither feel prestigious nor embarrassed while using their language in the presence of the speakers of dominant language. This attitude does not differ across these categories although slightly higher percentage was obtained by female speakers. A small number of literate respondents (10.34%) feel embarrassed whereas this is absent among literate respondents.

The respondents were asked whether they had any problem as a native speaker of their mother tongue. All respondents replied negatively. However, one of the

social leaders in Yarsa reported that he had difficulty when he was a student in Charikot when he came there to study in schools. The respondents reported that the language does not cause any kind of stigmatization.

In order to understand the attitudes of the informants, they were asked whether they would prefer their children to marry someone who understand their language. Their responses are presented in Table 6.7 categorized in terms of sex and literacy.

**Table 6.7: Respondents' feelings if their children married someone who does not know their language**

	Sex (n=51)		Literacy (n=51)		
	Male (n=29)	Female (n=22)	Literate (n=26)	Illiterate (N=25)	Total
Good	1 (3.44%)	5 (22.72%)	2 (7.69%)	4 (16%)	6 (11.76%)
Indifferent	14 (48.27%)	10 (45.45%)	17 (65.38%)	7 (28%)	24 (47.05%)
Bad	14 (48.27%)	7 (31.81%)	7 (26.92%)	14 (56%)	21(41.17%)

The result of male respondents report that almost half of them (48.27%) are either unwilling or feel indifferent to this question. In addition, only a minimal percentage (3.44%) reported this to be good. In contrast, mixed opinions were obtained from the female respondents. Higher percentage of illiterates (56%) feels bad to marry someone who does not speak Jirel. Nearly half of the respondents (47.05%) are indifferent to this question. Only a small number of respondents (11.76%) reported that it is good to marry someone who does not speak their language, but higher percentage (47.05%) found that it is bad to do so. This is summarized in Figure 6.3.

**Figure 6.3: Respondents' feelings if their children married someone who does not know their language**

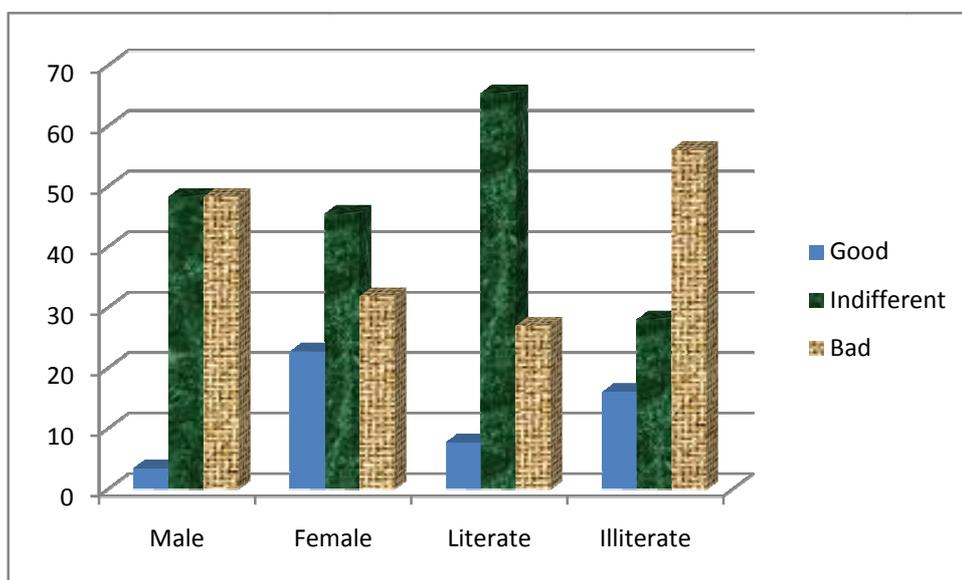


Figure 6.3 demonstrates some results. Higher percentages of illiterate respondents feel that it is bad for their children to marry with someone who does not understand their language, thereby showing higher percentage of language loyalty. Secondly, higher percentage of literate respondents feels indifferent to this question.

In order to obtain information regarding the language transmission they were asked whether their children would use the language when they grow up. The responses of the informants are given in Table 6.8.

**Table 6.8: Respondents' belief about the future use of language**

	Sex		Literacy		Total
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=24)	Literate (n=29)	Illiterate (N=25)	
Yes	21 (70%)	20 (83.33%)	20 (68.96%)	21 (84%)	41 (75.92%)
No	9 (30%)	4 (16.66%)	9 (45%)	4(16%)	13(24.07%)

Table 6.8 shows the speakers' belief about the use of language when their children will grow up. Higher percentage of the informants (more than two third) answered the question positively whereas the rest of the respondents (24.07%) answered it negatively. Compared to male (70%), higher percentage of female respondents (83.33%) answered it positively. Higher percentage of illiterate respondents (84%) replied it positively compared to literate respondents (68.96%). Thus, higher percentages of female and illiterate respondents have positive attitude about the future continuation of language.

The responses of the respondents how they feel if their children speak the mother tongue are given in Table 6.9.

**Table 6.9: Attitudes towards the situation if they speak the language**

	Sex		Literacy		Total
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=24)	Literate (n=29)	Illiterate (N=25)	
Good	23 (76.66%)	18 (75%)	20 (68.96%)	21 (84%)	41 (75.92%)
Indifferent	7 (23.33%)	6 (25%)	9 (45%)	4 (16%)	13(24.07%)
Bad	-	-	-	-	-

Table 6.9 shows that a higher percentage of respondents (nearly three fourth) answered this question positively. No respondents reported that they feel bad about this. In comparison to literate respondents, higher percentage of illiterate respondents (about 16% higher) reported this to be good. A slightly higher percentage of male respondents feel that it will be good if their children speak their language. Thus, they have strong language loyalty towards their mother tongue. In contrast the respondents were asked how they feel if their children do not speak their mother tongue. Their response is given in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10: Respondents attitudes towards if they speak the language**

	Sex		Literacy		Total
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=24)	Literate (n=29)	Illiterate (N=25)	
Good	-	1(4.16%)	1 (3.44%)	-	1 (1.85%)
Indifferent	7 (23.33%)	6 (25%)	8 (27.58%)	5 (20%)	13 (16.66%)
Bad	23(76.66%)	17 (70.83%)	20 (68.96%)	20 (80%)	40 (74.07%)

Table 6.10 shows that overwhelming majority of the respondents (74.66%, or nearly three fourth of the total respondents) reported that it is bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue. A higher percentage of illiterate respondents (80%) expressed a similar opinion. In contrast, female respondents, male respondents (76.66%) reported that they would feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue. In addition, only one literate male answered this question positively. Only some respondents (16.66% in total) showed indifference to this.

In order to obtain their responses what language they prefer that their children should speak first, they were asked this open question. The responses based on sex and literacy are given in Table 6.11.

**Table 6.11: Languages their children should speak first**

	Sex		Literacy		Total
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=19)	Literate (n=26)	Illiterate (n=23)	
Jirel	26 (86.66%)	15(78.94%)	21 (80.76%)	20 (86.95%)	41 (83.67%)
Nepali	4 (13.33%)	4 (21.05%)	5 (18.51%)	3 (13.04%)	8 (16.32%)

Table 6.11 shows that the overwhelming majority of respondents (83.67%) wants their children to speak Jirel first. This is four times higher than Nepali which ranks second. Literate respondents and male respondents prefer Jirel compared to illiterate and female respondents respectively.

The speakers were asked whether the respondents feel that their language is different from the ways their grandparents speak. An overwhelming majority (85.18%, or more than four-fifth of the respondents) reported that the language they speak today is not different from their grandparents' language. When we see this in terms of the survey locations, some speakers of the Sikri village find the language different from the language of their grandparents.

**Table 6.12: Respondents' attitudes if their children do not speak their language**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Sikri	3 (33.33%)	6 (66.66%)
Kharayoban	1 (10%)	9 (90%)
Ratmate-Kot	1 (10%)	9 (90%)
Jungu (Yarsa)	2(15.38%)	11(84.61%)
Chhetrapa	1(8.33%)	11(91.66%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>8 (14.81%)</b>	<b>46 (85.18%)</b>

Looking at it in terms of sex, 24 males (80%, four-fifth of the respondents) reported that the language they speak do not differ from their grandparents. The result is the same with the female respondents. Higher percentage of female respondents (22, 91.66%) reported that they do not find any difference between the language they speak and their grandparents' language.

Among the respondents, 46 respondents replied that the language the young speakers speak does not differ from their parent/grandparents. Among the people who replied that the language is different, most of the respondents replied that the language differs in pronunciation (8) followed by code-switching (6), accent (5), vocabulary (3), and sentence structure (3). This is shown in Figure 6.4.

**Figure 6.4: Areas of differences in the language use**

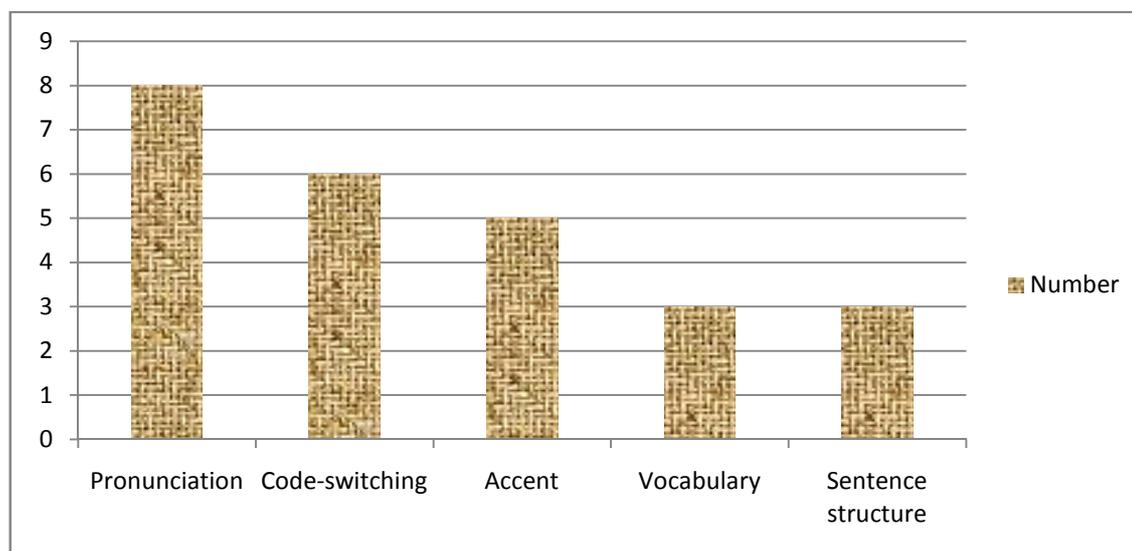


Figure 6.4 shows the differences the speakers feel in different areas of the language. For example, eight respondents say that there is difference in pronunciation. The speakers feel that they notice the differences in pronunciation, code-switching, accents more than vocabulary and sentence structure.

The respondents' responses on the final question on language attitude are provided in Table 6.14. This table shows that majority of the respondents (66.66%, about two-third) feel bad if they hear young people of their community speaking other languages instead of their mother tongue. The precise percentage obtained from different survey locations differ but the percentage exceeds 60% in all locations.

**Table 6.13: Respondents' attitudes if they hear other languages than Jirel**

	<b>Good</b>	<b>Indifferent</b>	<b>Bad</b>
Sikri	-	2 (22.22%)	7 (77.77%)
Kharayoban	-	3(30%)	7 (70%)
Ratmate-Kot	-	4 (40%)	6 (60%)
Jungu (Yarsa)	-	4 (36.36%)	7 (63.63%)
Chhetrapa	-	3 (25%)	9 (75%)
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>16 (29.62%)</b>	<b>36 (66.66)</b>

Nobody responded that they feel good if they hear speaking other languages instead of their own. They have thus strong positive attitudes toward their language.

## **6.5 Summary**

This chapter examines the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitude of the Jirel speakers. Language vitality is strong in the Jirel community although the degree of vitality differs in different locations, with different age and literacy groups. Although the language maintenance is good, it is getting weaker because of intermarriage and because of scattered settlements of Jirels in some villages. They have strong positive attitudes towards their language. They don't feel stigmatized to use it in the presence of the dominant language speakers. In the opinions of the language leaders and activists, some initiatives should be taken to promote and preserve the language.

## Chapter 7:

### Language Resources and Language Development

#### 7.1 Language resources

This chapter deals with the language development and language resources in Jirel. Section 7.2 summarizes the existing language resources in Jirel. Section 7.3 deals with the language development in Jirel. This section brings into focus the 'dreams' and aspirations of the language speakers for the development of their language. This is based on the opinions of the speakers elicited through group discussions. The details of this chapter are summarized in 7.4.

#### 7.2. Language resources

While some language informants were aware of the published language resources in Jirel, some others were not. A number of respondents replied that the Jirel language has a rich oral tradition. In addition, some respondents also reported that there are some written resources in the language mainly found in the Nepali language. A local FM station also airs the news in the Jirel language.

There are some introductory books related to the Jirel people and culture written in English or in Nepali. Jirel (1992) is the first work written in the Nepali language to introduce the Jirel people and their culture. Recently, *Gorkhapatra* daily published the materials in a number of indigenous languages of Nepal including Jirel. The articles and news are published monthly in the Devanagari script in the jirel language monthly.

The research works on Jirel language have been published in the English language from 1970s. A majority of them have been published in English and only a few materials are published in Nepali. The following are the major works related to the Jirel language. They are presented by categorizing them under some subtopics.

### **(a) People and language**

There are some introductory handbooks and short introductions to the Jirel people. In addition to Bista (1987) and Gautam and Thapa-Magar (1994), Jirel (1992) is the basic introduction to the Jirel people. Sidky et al. (2002) is a comprehensive study on the Jirel people and their culture. It explores a number of topics, such as ethnogenesis, social organization, religion, life-cycle rituals including others.

### **(b) Sociolinguistics and dictionary**

Tuladhar (1992) is the sociolinguistic study of the Jirel language which is published as Tuladhar (1999). Hamill et al. (2000) comment on the vocabulary of Jirel categorizing them into some types, such as kin terms, objects and processes in the production of millet beer, macro environmental zones, objects associated with the kitchen and vocabularies related to birds. The appendix discusses some grammatical description of Jirel.

### **(c) Phonology and morphosyntax**

Strahm and Maibaum (1975) is a phonemic summary of the Jirel language. It is able to deal with a number of topics covered in a phonological study such as vowels and consonants, syllable structure etc. In addition, Strahm and Maibaum (2005) also outline the grammatical sketch of the Jirel language.

### **(d) Discourse and texts**

Maibaum and Strahm (1973) deals with the features of Jirel texts. The texts comprise twenty tales with morpheme-break texts, glossing and free translation. This contains some narratives, some descriptive texts such as description of worship, and cutting the planks. Aside from this, Strahm (1978) deals with the cohesion markers in the Jirel narratives. The clauses in Jirel express two types of clause linking devices, such as simultaneous or sequential relationship.

And Strahm (1975) deals with the clause patterns in Jirel. Similarly, Maibaum (1979) discusses the participants in the Jirel narratives. She deals with “the identification of participants, their subsequent recognition, and their identification in the narrative”. She further mentions that a Jirel narrative has three main parts. Jirel (1999) deals with the narrative features of Jirel texts.

The language resources are mainly available in the English language. Among these, the trilingual dictionary can be directly used by the community members.

### **7.3 Language development**

Dua (2001:630) notes that three aspects of language development are “graphization, standardization, and modernization”. While all the ‘dreams’ (or aspiration) they discussed in appreciative inquiry were not directly linked to language development, some others are in fact related to them. Kansakar (1996:19) discusses a number of factors related to language development of Nepal.

...the majority of languages in Nepal would need to elaborate orthographic, grammatical and lexicosemantic features so that these languages could become more functional to meet demands of a developing society....there is a very urgent need to develop the functional uses of minority languages (or language varieties) in written and spoken social discourse. The use of a language in literacy programs and mass media (such as radio/TV broadcasting or publications) also serves to upgrade the status of a language, both socially and politically.

These were the some of the topics which were discussed when the data related to language development were elicited in the field.

#### **7.3.1 Opinions from the appreciative inquiry**

The ‘dream’ (aspirations, plans) of the Jirel people obtained from the appreciative inquiry is presented in Table 7.1. As can be seen in this table, the second column includes what the Jirel people take pride in and the third column includes about the ‘dream’ (aspirations/plans) of the Jirel people to develop their language even better.

**Table 7.1: Opinions from the appreciative inquiry**

Survey points	Good things that made Jirels feel proud about their language	Dream about how they could make their language even better
Sikri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ethnic identity</li> <li>• Intimate, simple, and sweet</li> <li>• Useful in religious practices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developing orthography</li> <li>• Text books</li> <li>• Writing textbooks</li> </ul>
Kharayoban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ethnic identity</li> <li>• Intimate, simple, and sweet</li> <li>• Can be used for private talk</li> <li>• Cultural heritage of the community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preparing textbook and grammar</li> <li>• Developing orthography</li> <li>• Use in media</li> <li>• Writing grammar</li> <li>• Collection of oral literature</li> <li>• Use in computers</li> </ul>
Ratmate-Kot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ethnic identity</li> <li>• Intimate, simple, and sweet</li> <li>• <i>Jirel Kipat</i></li> <li>• <i>Lal Mohar</i></li> <li>• Folk literature</li> <li>• Used in <i>Sensing</i><sup>1</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developing orthography</li> <li>• Writing grammar</li> <li>• Education in the mother tongue (and its use up to higher education)</li> <li>• Use in local administration</li> <li>• Use in media and computer technology</li> </ul>
Yarsa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ethnic identity</li> <li>• Simple, and sweet</li> <li>• <i>Jirel Kipat</i></li> <li>• <i>Lal Mohar</i></li> <li>• Folk literature</li> <li>• Used in <i>Sensing</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developing orthography</li> <li>• Writing grammar</li> <li>• Education in the mother tongue (and its use upto higher education)</li> <li>• Collection of folk literature</li> <li>• Use in media and computer technology</li> <li>• Establishment of a Jirel resource center</li> </ul>

<sup>1</sup> *Sensing* is a ritual in which the lamas beckon the spirit of the deceased to possess one of the relatives and relay any final messages before departing for the other world (Sidky et al. 2002:73). *Kipat* mentioned in Table 7.1 refers to the land grant by a rule to the people for their service. *Lal Mohar* refers to **government seal**.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of a library</li> </ul>
Chhetrapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and ethnic identity</li> <li>• Sweet and intimate</li> <li>• Stories</li> <li>• Folk songs</li> <li>• used by <i>phombos</i><sup>2</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Development of orthography</li> <li>• Mother tongue education at the primary level</li> <li>• Use of Jirel in the media</li> <li>• Use of Jirel in local administration</li> </ul>

First of all, Table 7.1 shows the good things that Jirel communities take pride in and their dream about the development of their language. There are a number of factors which the Jirel speakers take pride in their language. A mother tongue is intimately connected with its speakers (Crystal 2000:25). Firstly, the Jirel speakers perceive that they have a feeling of intimacy in their own language. The speakers have, thus, emotional attachment to their ancestral language. Secondly, a number of participants claim that they can speak this language to talk about the secret matters. This also suggests that they code-switch to Jirel when they talk in secret language. Thirdly, some participants reported that it can be used in religious occasions, viz. *Sensing*. This suggests that the language is used on religious occasions. Moreover, they also take pride in their language because of its folk literature. Additionally, they reported that the language can be taken as a cultural identity. Chalmers (2007:88) notes, “Language has come to occupy a central if not symbolic, position” in Nepal. Thus, language is often taken as a symbol of identity in the Jirel community. Thus, the cultural and linguistic identity may ultimately coincide with the ethnic identity.

Some responses are related to corpus planning linked to graphization, standardization, and modernization, such as development of orthography, writing text books, writing grammar and so on. In brief, their ‘dream’ is related to status planning. Secondly, some of their ‘dreams’ are linked to status planning, such as the use the language in the government domains, such as the use of the language in local administration. Thirdly, some of their dreams are linked to acquisition planning, such as teaching the children in their mother tongue which may increase the number of Jirel speakers in the future. In addition to this, some of the dreams mentioned in

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<sup>2</sup> *Phombo* is a Jirel priest.

Table 7.1 are related to other ethnic activities, such as collection of oral Jirel literature, establishment of a Jirel resource center etc.

### 7.3.2 Opinions obtained from the language activists

The opinions of the language activists show that they have positive attitudes about the language use. All language leaders (total 11) replied that they should do something to preserve the language. However, the opinions were divided regarding the initiatives to be taken to preserve and promote the language as presented in Table 6.15.

**Table 7.2: Opinions regarding language development and promotion**

		<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
1	by devising the script	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.54%)
2	by making the spelling system systematic	7 (63.63%)	4 (36.36%)
3	by compiling dictionary	8 (72.72%)	3 (27.27%)
4	by writing grammar	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.54%)
5	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.54%)
6	by writing and publishing textbooks (n=10)	3 (30%)	7 (70%)
7	by publishing newspapers	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.54%)
8	by making use of the language in administration	5 (45.45%)	6 (54.54%)
9	by making use of the language as the medium of instruction at primary level	6 (54.54%)	5 (45.45%)

Table 7.2 shows the language activists' opinions are divided regarding the initiatives to be taken for the promotion and preservation of languages. Opinions are divided on whether the village heads and language activists can help to develop and promote the languages. Thus, whether these initiatives will be materialized is in question.

Secondly, Table 7.2 also lists the ‘dreams’ of the Jirel speakers for the development of their language. A majority of their ‘dreams’ are related to ‘status planning’, viz. use of the Jirel language in media, medium of instruction in primary education etc. Thus, a number of suggestions are concerned with the official decisions about the status of the language. Some of their ‘dreams’ are of course related to ‘corpus planning’, viz. devising orthography, collection of folk literature etc. These will help the language to serve its purpose.

As mentioned in 7.2, the members of the Jirel community feel that they have some ‘dreams’ to make their language better. In order to do this, they have a plan to accomplish some initiatives on behalf of the individual, community, and of course from the government. The work plan of the Jirel community is summarized in Appendix D.

### **7.3.3 Initiatives proposed by the language consultant**

As mentioned before, the language development activities are related to “graphization, standardization, and modernization”. During the group discussion, the participants discussed the initiatives for language development. The respondents replied that the same kinds of activities were projected for the development of the language in different survey points. Some participants have a set of objectives in their minds which could be accomplished in the short and long term. The speakers pointed out what an individual, community and government should participate in some activities as discussed in Appendix (D). They are discussed by categorizing them under three sub-headings.

#### **(i) Individual**

The individuals can collect the lexicon, and folk materials, encourage the members of the jirel community to use the language in some domestic home domains. In addition, some activities can be accomplished by the individuals in the long run, viz. devising orthography and to be involved in the literary activities. Thus, individual can contribute to the development of the language.

## **(ii) Community**

The Jirel communities across different VDCs can accomplish some functions related to the collection of fund for the promotion of the language activities. Furthermore, the community may initiate some other activities which are directly or indirectly concerned with the promotion of language and culture, viz. organizing literacy program in mother tongue, to encourage the children to speak the mother tongue etc. In the long run, they reported, they may establish a library and raise awareness for mother-tongue based multilingual education.

## **(iii) Government**

As expected, the participants reported that the government should support the activities related to ‘status planning’. In addition to the financial supports expected from the government, the government should provide support for status planning, viz. formulating language policy to use Jirel for mother tongue-based multilingual education.

## **7.4 Summary**

There are some existing language resources in Jirel. Although some languages resources are available in Jirel, most of them are in English. Many linguistic materials in the English language are not familiar to members of the Jirel community. The materials in English are not accessible to the community. Strahm and Maibaum (2005) is the dictionary which the community is using. The community members think that they could develop language resources, such as grammar, collection of folklore etc. In addition, they opine that the individuals and the community can contribute towards the corpus development of the language.

## **Chapter 8:**

### **Findings and recommendations**

#### **8.1 Summary**

This chapter is a summary of the findings mentioned in the earlier chapters. In addition to this, some recommendations are suggested in (8.3).

#### **8.2 Summary**

##### **8.2.1 Dialect variation**

The dialect variations have been discussed on the basis of lexical similarities and the respondents' perceptions. While comparing the Jirel varieties against the Sikri variety in the lexical similarities, Ratmate-Kot shares the highest percentage of similarity, followed by Kharayoban, Chhetrapa, and Jungu. The speakers responded that the variety spoken in the Jiri valley could be the standard dialect. The participatory method in all villages responded that they preferred their own variety to develop developing materials, such as books and CDs. However, the varieties spoken in some villages of Jiri VDC are also regarded as standard varieties.

##### **8.2.2 Domains of language use**

Jirel is mostly used for some domestic purposes, such as joking, family gathering except singing, bargaining, and storytelling. Additionally, Jirel is also used with family members, talking about some subjects, such as about education matters, social events and family matters. In contrast, Nepali is mainly used while writing letters. As far as the use of Jirel by children is concerned, they mainly use Jirel while playing with children (other siblings) but the use of Nepali ranks first at schools.

There are a few domains where the Jirel people exclusively use Nepali, the language of wider communication, viz. the language used with the speakers of other languages visiting their home, writing minutes etc. The main context when Nepali is used is when the Jirel people are in contact with other ethnic groups.

### **8.2.3 Bi/multilingualism**

The speakers indicated that there may be some monolingual Jirel speakers in the Jirel community. However, all the Jirels we interviewed were either monolingual in Nepali or bilingual in Nepali and Jirel. Thus, there is the widespread use of Nepali in the Jirel community these days. We see that there is the use of two languages in most of the contexts. There is a widespread use of Nepali with some Jirel and other languages. The higher percentage of literate Jirels reported that they can read and write in their mother tongue very well. Nepali is now also used by a higher percentage of respondents' parents. While some children exclusively speak Nepali, others speak both Jirel and Nepali. These two groups comprise 86.35%. The children understand Nepali to some extent when they first go to school.

### **8.2.4 Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitude**

Language vitality is strong in the Jirel community although the degree of vitality differs in different locations, with different age and literacy groups. Although the language maintenance is satisfactory, it is getting weaker because of intermarriage and because of scattered settlements of Jirels in some villages. They have strong positive attitudes towards their language. They don't feel stigmatized to use it in the presence of the dominant language. In the opinions of the language leaders, some initiatives should be taken to promote and preserve the language.

### **8.2.5 Language resources and language development**

There are some language resources in Jirel. Although some languages resources are available in Jirel, most of them are in English. The materials in English are not accessible to the community. Strahm and Maibaum (2005) is the dictionary which the community is using. The community members think that they would prefer to have language resources, such as grammar, collection of folklore etc. In addition, they would like to have supports from governments for status development of the language.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

The recommendations suggested are mainly based on the discussions obtained in the appreciative inquiry by language activists and village leaders.

- (a) The language still lags behind in standardization. In order to increase the functional use of language, the orthography should be devised, grammar be written and folk literature should be collected.
- (b) The language should be used in literacy programs which will socially and politically upgrade the language.
- (c) In order to increase the functional use of the language, Jirel should be used as a medium of instruction. It is possible to use the language as a medium of instructions in some primary schools, such as in Lower Sikri, Kharayoban, Ratmate etc.
- (d) The establishment of a Jirel resource center will be instrumental for consulting the resources published in or about the Jirel language.
- (e) Jirel should also be used as an official language in local administration.

### Appendix A: Dialects of Jirel as perceived by speakers

		<b>Sikri</b>	<b>Kharayoban</b>	<b>Ratmate-Kot</b>	<b>Jungu</b>	<b>Chhetrapa</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Group A</b>	Sikri, Kot, Dhungebazaar, Upper Sikri, Kharayoban, Ahale, Renje, Yarsa, Dhunsa, Dhunge, Chepte	Kharayoban, Jiri, Kot, Dhunsa, Yarsa, Hudule, Parsa, Chathali, Sikri, Dhunge, Aahale, Jyarang, Ratmate	(1)Kot, Bhandar, Dhunge, Nabok, Chepte, Gunsar, Botle, Yarsa, (2)Upper Sikri, Lower Sikri, Kharayoban, Gidre, Darkha, Ratmate	Jungu, Yarsa, Darkha, Chetpu, Aphlepu, Maigaun, Dandagaun	Kabre, Jhyanku, Jungu, Chjatpu, Darkha, Yarsa (Jungu), Chyapharne, Hoithoke, Choilakp, Simaldhara, Gechchuka, Pharthoke, Champake, Tengithoke, Soluphuli, Khulci
<b>2</b>	<b>Group B</b>	Chhetrapa, Gochchjoka, Pokhari, Phedi, Jungu, Kabhre, Jhyaku	Jungu, Jhyaku, Chhetrapa	Jungu, Chetrapa, Jhyanku, Nanok, Chepte, Gensa, Tasitu	Jiri, Sikri, Kharayoban, Dudhile, Kathmandu	Jiri, Sikri, Kot
<b>3</b>	<b>Group c</b>	Makwanpur, Suwarnapur (Parsa), Kathmandu, Sindhupalchowk (Tauthali, Gorthali, Jalbire)	Kathmandu, Sindhupalchowk, Ilam, Chitwan, Makwanpur	Sindhupalchowk, Tethali, Karthali	Chitwan, Dhading, Nawalparasi, Sarlahi	Sindhupalchowk, Parsa
<b>4</b>	<b>Group D</b>			Darjeeling Sikkim		

Note: The four groups A, B, C, D represent the geographical distribution of Jirel dialects.

## Appendix B

### Comparative wordlist of Jirel dialects

SN	English	Ratmate-Kot	Sikri	Kharoban	Chhetrapa	Yarsa
1	body	dziu	dziu	dziu	dziu	dziu
2	head	go	go	go	go	go
3	hair	.ta	.ta	.ta	.ta	.ta
4	face	tshet	tshet /tshed	tshet/anwar	rup	tshet
5	eye	mik	mik	mik	mik	mik
6	ear	namdzjok	namdzjok	namdzuk	namdzjok	namdzjok/ namdze
7	nose	nəu	nəu / no	nəu	no/ nəu	nəu
8	mouth	kha	kha	kha	kha	kha
9	teeth	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
10	tongue	tsele	tsele /tsela	tselak/tsela	tsela	tsela
11	breast	numma	numa	numa/noma	numa	numa
12	belly	suba	suba	suba	suba	tsoba
13	arm/ hand	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa	lakpa
14	elbow	kuino	kuino/ kuina	kuina	kuina/kuino	kuino
15	palm	hətkela	pəra /para	lakpa	hətkela	hətkela
16	finger	dziu	dziu	dziu	dziu/dzugu	dzuku/ dzugu
17	fingernail	sermuk	sermuk/ sermu	sermu	sermu	sermuk/ sermu
18	leg	kəmba	kəmba / kamba	kəmba/kəm ba/thekpa	kamba	kamba
19	skin	kokten	kokten	kokten	kokten	kokten
20	bone	rubək	ruwa	nuwa	rubək	ruba
21	heart	ŋiŋ	ŋiŋ /niŋ	ŋiŋ	ŋiŋ	ŋiŋ

22	blood	.thak	.thak	.thak	.thak	.thak
23	urine	tsiŋ	tsiŋ	tsiŋ	tsiŋ	tsiŋ
24	feces	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa	kjakpa
25	village	jul	jul	hjul	jul	jul
26	house	khamba	khamba	khamba	khamba	khamba
27	roof	tshano	oro	tshano/thсна	tshana	tshana/ tshano
28	door	go	go /gho	go	go	go
29	firewood	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ
30	broom	komuk	komuk / komu	komo	komu/komo	komuk/ komu
31	mortar	darduk	siləuto / siləuto	do	dardok	siləuto
32	pestle	tshuŋ	dardok	dardok	tshuŋ	dardok
33	hammer	martəl	həthəuda	həthəuda	martəl/həthə uda	həmər / həthəuda
34	knife	tshuri	tsəkku / .thiŋ	tsəkku	.thiu/tsəkku	tsəkku
35	axe	təri	təri / teri	təri	təri	təri
36	rope	.thakpa	.thakpa/ tha?pa	.thakpa	.thakpa	.thakpa
37	thread	sutak	sutak /sutak	sutak/suta	sutəle/sutak	sutak
38	needle	khap	khap	khap	khap	khap
39	cloth	kholak	kholak	kolak	kolak	kholak
40	ring	əuθhi	əuθhi / suŋkuma	əuθhi/suŋku ma	suŋkuma	əuθhi/ əuθhi
41	sun	ŋima	ŋima	ŋima	ŋima	ŋima
42	moon	ɖagar	ɖagar	ɖagar	ɖagar	ɖagar
43	sky	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam
44	star	karma	tara/ karma	karma	kərma	tara

45	rain	tshjarba	dzhəri / jar	dzhəri	lo (low tone)/ tshjarba	tshjarba
46	water	tshju	tshju	tshju	tshju	tshju
47	river	tshulun	taŋka / thaŋka	thaŋpa	tshambo	thaŋka
48	cloud	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa	mukpa
49	lightening	tsilam	tsilam	tsilam/bidzu li	bidzuli	bidzuli/ tsilam
50	rainbow	dza	dza	dza	dza	dza
51	wind	laba	hawa /lhaba	laba	la	lhabha/ labha
52	stone	ḏhaba/ ḏhu	do	do	do	do
53	path	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam
54	sand	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa
55	fire	me (low tone)	me (low tone)	me (low tone)	me	me (low tone)
56	smoke	thuta	thuta	thuta/ thutak	toto/tuta	tuta/ thuata
57	ash	me thala	thala	thala/ thala	thala	thala
58	mud	thala	sebi	səbi	səbi	səbi
59	dust	dhulo	dhulo	tsharo/səbi	dhulo	dhulo
60	gold	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser
61	tree	dombo	doŋbo	dombo/doŋb o	doŋbo	doŋmo
62	leaf	sjomək	sjomak	sjomək/ damma	sjomak	sjomak/ sjoma
63	root	tsəpren	tsaprin /tsapren	tarpen/tsabr en	tsapren	tsapran/ tsabren
64	thorn	tsaŋ	tsaŋ	tsaŋ	tsaŋ	tsaŋ
65	flower	menduk	menduk	menduk	menduk	menduk/

						mendok
66	fruit	phəlpʰul	phəlpʰul	phəlpʰul	phəlpʰul	phəlpʰul
67	mango	ãp	ãp	ãp	ãp	ãp
67	banana	reŋasiŋ	kera / renesiŋ	reŋasiŋ/ kera	regaŋsiŋ	reŋasiŋ / regasiŋ
69	wheat(husked )	.tha	.tha	.tha	.tha	.tha
70	barley	dzəu	dzəu	dzəu	dzəu	dzəu
71	rice (husked)	sjomuk	sjomuk /sʝorok	sʝorok/ tsoruk	sjomuk	sjomuk /sʝoruk
72	potato	rege	rege	rege	rega	rege /ɾjaga
73	eggplant	bheŋta	bheŋta	bheŋta	bhjaŋti	bheŋta
74	groundnut	bədam	bədam	bədam	bədam	bədam
75	chili	khorsani	khorsani	khorsani	khorsani	khursani
76	turmeric	besar	besar	besar	besar	besar
77	garlic	gokpa	gokpa	gokpa	gokpa	gokpa
78	onion	pjadz	pjadz	pjadz	pjadz	pjadz
79	cauliflower	kauli	kauli	kauli	kauli	kopi
80	Tomato	golbhēda	golbhēda	golbhēda	golbhēda/ bendalo	bəŋdalu / bəŋdaluk
81	cabbage	bənda	bənda	bənda	bənda	bənda
82	oil	mərgu	mərgu / morbuk	mərgu /marbo	mərgu	mərgu /mərgu
83	salt	tsha	tsha	tsha	tsha	tsha
84	meat	sja	sja	sja	sja	sja
85	fat (of meat)	tshilup	tshilup	tshilup/ tshilu	tshilup	tshilup
86	fish	ŋja	ŋja	ŋja	ŋja	ŋja

87	chicken	tshibuk	tshibuk /tshibuk	tshibuk/ tshirbu	tshibuk	tshirbuk /tsherbuk
88	egg	goŋa	goŋa /goma	gwã	goŋa	goŋa
89	cow	phalaŋ	phalaŋ	phalaŋ	phalaŋ	phalaŋ
90	buffalo	mesja (Rising tone)	mesja (Rising tone)	mesja (Rising tone)/ meisja	mesja	mesja (Rising tone)
91	milk	oma	oma	oma	oma	oma
92	horns	rədzjo	rədzjo	rədzjo	rodzo	rədzjo / rodzek
93	tail	ŋama	ŋama	ŋama	ŋama	ŋama
94	goat	ra	ra	ra/ rak	ra	ra
95	dog	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki
96	snake	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul
97	monkey	moro	takla phirkante	moro/rimsu	moro	moro
98	mosquito	lamkhuṭte	lamkhuṭte	lamkhuṭte	lamkhuṭte	lamkhuṭte
99	ant	thoŋma	thoŋma	thoŋma	thoŋma	thoŋma/ dhoŋma
100	spider	gwāpali	gwāpali	gwāpali	gwāpali	gwāpali
101	name	min	min /miŋ	min	min	min
102	man	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
103	woman	phemmemi	phemmemi	phemmemi/ phemmeme	phememi	phemmemi
104	child	phidza	phidza	phidza	phidza	phidza
105	father	aba	aba	aba	aba	aba
106	mother	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama
107	older brother	nwa	adzjo	adzjo	adzjo	adzo/adjo
108	younger brother	adzi	noa	nwa	bhai	bhai

109	older sister	numu	adzi	adzi	adzi	adzi
110	younger sister	numu	numu/ numo	numu/nomo	bəini	bəini
111	son	phudzuŋ	phudzuŋ	phudzuŋ	phudzuŋ	phudzuŋ
112	daughter	phumu	phumu	phumo	phumu	phumu /phuma
113	husband	khjobo	khjobo	khjobo	kjobo	khjoba
114	wife	pheme	phimbe /phembe	phembe	phempe/ phemme	phemme
115	boy	kjobomi	kjobomi	kjobo phidza	kjogophidza	khwapa phidza/ phudzuŋ
116	girl	phemmemi	pheme phidza	phemme phidza	phomophidza	pumu phidza/ phuma
117	day	ŋima	nimbu	ŋima	ŋimmu/ ŋimu	ŋiŋ
118	night	wase/nup	gwaka	gwapa/ nup	gwaka	nuk/ nub
119	morning	ŋəmu	ŋomo / məmu	ŋəmu/ ŋomo	ŋamu/ ŋommo	ŋumu
120	noon	ŋimmu	ŋime ser /nimbo	ŋimmu /tshakəl	tshəkkəl	tsəkkəi
121	evening	sādzh	gwase	gwase	sādzh	sādzh
122	yesterday	daŋ	daŋ	daŋ	daŋ	daŋ
123	today	thəriŋ	thəriŋ	thəri/ thəriŋ	thəriŋ	tiriŋ/ thəri
124	tomorrow	ŋaro	ŋaro	ŋaro /ŋar	ŋaro	ŋaro
125	week	sata	sata	sata	həpta /sata	həpta/ həpta dzi
126	month	dawa	dawa	dawai/ dawa	dawa	dawa/ məina

127	year	lo	lo	lodzik/ lo	lo	lo
128	old	ɲimba	ɲimma	ɲimba	niŋ/ niŋba	ɲimba
129	new	samba	samba	samba	samba	samba/ samba
130	good	lemu	lemu	lemu/lemo	lemu /lemo	lemo
131	bad	meleba	meleba	meleba	meleba /melaba	mjalaba
132	wet	.thaŋge	.thinge / lumma	.thaŋge/ lomba	muasuŋ/ .thaŋge	.taŋge / .thaŋge
133	dry	kəmbo	kombo	kəmbo /kamdzok	kimmu	kombo
134	long	riŋbu	riŋbu / rimmo	riŋbu	riŋju /riŋbo	rembo
135	short	thumma	thumma	thumma/ .thumba	.thumba	thumma
136	hot	.thummuk	.thombu	.thummuk/ .thommu	.thuŋmu / .thommu	thommo/ thummu
137	cold	.thaŋge	kheba	.thaŋge /kheba	.thoŋge / .thaŋge	.thaŋge / .thebuk
138	right	sama	sama	sama	ja	daine
139	left	debre	debre	debre	jen	debre
140	near	damdu	dondu	ɲibi	ɲibi / ɲghibhi	nibi
141	far	thari	thari	thari	thari	thari
142	big	dzoba	dzoba	dzoba	goppəi	gokpo
143	small	.tekte	.tekte / .tiŋti	.tektei	.tikpidzi / .tikpisik	.tikti
144	heavy	tsjande	tsinde /tsende	tsende	tsende/ tsedde	tsende
145	light	eŋge	eŋge / ine	eŋge	eŋge	eŋge

146	above	jar	kheŋla	khella/ kheŋta	ine	jaŋge
147	below	thulla	thulla /mima	thulla/ thuŋta	nima /meba	umene
148	white	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmu	karmo
149	black	nakpo	nakpo	nakpo	nakpo	nakpo
150	red	marmu	mərmu /marmu	marmu	marmu	marmo
151	one	dokpei	ɖakpəi /ɖokpai	dokpei	ɖakpe /ɖokpe	dokpe
152	two	ŋi	ŋi	ŋi	ŋi	ŋi
153	three	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum
154	four	si	si	si	si	si
155	five	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
156	six	thuk	thuk	thuk/ thu	thuk	thuk / thok
157	seven	ɖun	don	dhun/ dhu	dun	ɖun
158	eight	get	get	gher	get	get
159	nine	gu	gu	ghe /gu	gu /go	gu
160	ten	tsutamba	tsutamba / tsətəmba	tsutamba/ tsətəmba	tsuthaŋba / tsitamba	tsethamba
161	eleven	tsjutsik	tsutsik	tsutsik	tsjutsik / tsutsik	tsiutsik
162	twelve	tsjuŋŋi	tsuŋŋi	tsjuŋŋi	tsjuŋŋi / tsuŋŋi	tuŋŋi
163	twenty	khalɖzik/ŋes u	khalɖzik /khadzjuk	khalɖzik /khadzjuk	khalɖzik	khalɖzik/ sæɖzik
164	one hundred	khal ŋa	sæ ɖzik	khalŋa	khalɖzik taŋŋa / sæ ɖzik	khal ŋa
165	who	su	su	su	su	suin

166	what	tse	tsi	tsi	tsi	tsi
167	where	khapa	khapa	khapa / khamba	khapa	khəbəin
168	when	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam
169	how many	thoi	thoe	thoi	dhoi /thoi	thoi
170	which	khaŋ	khaŋ	khaŋ	tsiba /khaŋ	tsi
171	this	di	di	di	dila / di	de
172	that	the	the	the	the /diba	the
173	these	diba	diba / diwa	diba	diwala /diba	theba
174	those	theba	theba /thewa	theba	theba	theba
175	same	therəŋ	dhokraŋ	therəŋ	theraŋiŋ /therəŋ	the
176	different	khudup	dzendzik/ khuduk	khuduk	dzentəŋiŋ / khudu	khudukraŋ
177	whole	gaŋe	gaŋe	gaŋe	gaŋa /gaŋe	gaŋaraŋ
178	broken	tsjakpate	tsjakpate	tsjakpate	tsjaksuŋ /tsjakpate	tsjakpate
179	few	ˌtikpi	ˌtikpi	ˌtikpisi	ˌtikpisi	ˌtibisi
180	many	kalbei	kalbei /kalbe	kalbei	khəlbei /kəlbedze	kəlbəi
181	all	gaŋe	gaŋe	gaŋe	gaŋe	gaŋaraŋ
182	to eat	sabla	sobap / satsja	sabla	sable /sola	sa
183	to bite	murala	murap / sataptsja	murala	murala	mur
184	to be hungry	twaba	twabalasuŋ	twabala	twaba /twabala	gam
185	to drink	thuŋala	thubap /thuŋtsja	thuŋala	thuŋala /thumala	thuŋ
186	to be thirsty	komba laŋala	kombalasuŋ /	komba/ laŋala	komba laŋala	kom

			kombalatsja		/kobala	
187	to sleep	ņjalala	ņjalap / ņjaltsja	ņjalala	ņjalala/ ņjalala	ņja
188	to lie	rilala	rilap / riltsja	ņjalala	rilala	ril
189	to sit	detala	detap / detsjsja	detala	detala	de
190	to give	terala	bindap/ tersja	terala	terala	ter
191	to burn	sekpala	dzhibakabap /seksjsja	sekpala /dzibala	sekpala	sek
192	to die	sjapla	situņ /sitsjsja	sjapla /sjotala	sjapla	si
193	to kill	setala	setap/ settsjsja	setala	setala	set
194	to fly	phurala	phurap/ phurtsjsja	phurala	phurala	lam / laņ
195	to walk	kjambala	khambap/ khamtsjsja	kjambala	kjambala/ khjambala	khjam
196	to run/ run	tsjoņala	tshwabap /tshjoņsjsja	tsjoņala	tsjoņala	tsjoņ
197	to go /go	dwapla	galap /dotshjsja	duapla	dwapla	do
198	to come	oņala	walap /oņtsjsja	oņala	oņala	sjok
199	to speak/ speak	bat khitala	bat khabap /bat khitsjsja	bat khitala	bat khitala/ bat khetala	bat ki
200	to hear/hear/list en	ņjalala	ņendap /ņetsjsja	ņjalala / thobala	ņjalala	ņjal
201	to look/look	tapla	tawap /tatshjsja	tapla	tapla	ta
202	I	ņja	ņja	ņja	ņja	ņja

203	you (informal)	kho	kho	kho	kho	kho
204	you (formal)	khorəŋ	khorəŋ	khorəŋ /kho	kho /khorəŋ	khorəŋ
205	he	the	the	the	phipa/ the	the
206	she	the	the	the	phipa/ the	the
207	we (inclusive)	oroŋ	ŋwokon /oroŋ	oroŋ	ŋoroŋ	ŋoroŋ
208	we (exclusive)	oroŋ	ŋwokon /oroŋ	oroŋ	ŋoroŋ	ŋoroŋ
209	you (plural)	kheon	kjokonbəri /khekon	kheon	khjonla/ kjoŋ	khjon
210	they	kheba	thewabəri /theba	kheba / .theba	thebala/ theba	khjokon

## Appendix:C

### Domains of language use as stated in the participatory method sessions

		<b>Sikri</b>	<b>Kharayoban</b>	<b>Ratmate-Kot</b>	<b>Jungu</b>	<b>Chhetrapa</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Mother tongue</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home, parents, children</li> <li>• Community members, neighbor</li> <li>• Counting, scolding, worshipping</li> <li>• Planting crops</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At home, cooking ,</li> <li>• Working in field, gathering fodder and firewood</li> <li>• With children, in monologue</li> <li>• Scolding, counting, dreaming</li> <li>• Festivals, meeting in villages, invitations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At home, in the fields collecting fodders and firewood</li> <li>• Talking secretly, meeting Jirels</li> <li>• At market</li> <li>• With Jirel speakers, with Jirel children</li> <li>• Neighbourhood</li> <li>• Schools</li> <li>• Rituals, marriage ceremony</li> <li>• With Jirels living in other VDCs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family members, with adults within community</li> <li>• While going to field for work, or to forest for collecting firewood</li> <li>• In greetings In community gatherings, marriages, festivals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents, children, community members</li> <li>• Counting, worshipping, scolding</li> <li>• At home and neighbourhood</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	<b>Mother tongue and Nepali</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With children</li> <li>• In telephone conversation purchasing, playing, sending, dreaming</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business</li> <li>• At <i>hat bazaars</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public places</li> <li>• Fair/ hat bazaar</li> <li>• Meeting Jirels</li> <li>• With Jirels</li> <li>• Rituals</li> <li>• At offices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While going to offices</li> <li>• At hat bazaars</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Speaking with children</li> <li>• Playing, praying, singing, dreaming, telephoning</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	<b>Contact language</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While attending school (children), going to offices (for work), travelling out of the Jiri valley</li> <li>• With guests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teaching at schools,</li> <li>• With guests/visitors</li> <li>• While travelling out of Jiri</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offices</li> <li>• Meetings</li> <li>• At hat bazaar</li> <li>• With non-Jirel speakers</li> <li>• With speakers of other languages</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With small children</li> <li>• In media</li> <li>• At schools, at larger gatherings</li> <li>• While travelling out of the village</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While going to school and office</li> <li>• Travelling out of the Jiri valley</li> <li>• With guests/ visitors</li> </ul>

**Appendix D:**  
**Language use with different people**

		<b>Sikri</b>	<b>Kharayoban</b>	<b>Ratmate-Kot</b>	<b>Jungu (Yarsa)</b>	<b>Chhetrapa</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Mother tongue</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elderly people</li> <li>• Children</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elderly people</li> <li>• Elderly women</li> <li>• Farmers</li> <li>• Persons living in the village</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elderly people staying at home</li> <li>• With Jirel speakers</li> <li>• Among male speakers</li> <li>• With monolingual Jirel speakers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adults, elderly people</li> <li>• People who mainly live at home</li> <li>• Women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elderly people</li> <li>• Children</li> <li>• Phombo (shaman)</li> <li>• Women who mainly live at home</li> </ul>
<b>2</b>	<b>Mother tongue and Nepali</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teachers</li> <li>• Government officers/ civil servants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Businessmen</li> <li>• Students</li> <li>• Persons married to Non-Jirels</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Businessmen</li> <li>• Students</li> <li>• Children</li> <li>• Speakers conversing with children</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Officers</li> <li>• Young boys and girls</li> <li>• Literate people</li> <li>• Farmers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Children</li> <li>• Famers</li> <li>• Youths</li> <li>• Those who go for shopping</li> <li>• Students at schools</li> </ul>
<b>3</b>	<b>Contact language</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students</li> <li>• Government officers/ civil servants</li> <li>• People who go outside the village</li> <li>• Businessmen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visitors</li> <li>• Outside Jirel villages</li> <li>• Teachers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civil servants, persons working in offices</li> <li>• Those married with non-Jirels</li> <li>• People migrating out of the Jirel speaking areas</li> <li>• Areas where Jirels are in absolute minority</li> <li>• Persons travelling out of Jiri speaking area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youths</li> <li>• Those who are employed in government offices</li> <li>• Children</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government officers</li> <li>• Teachers</li> <li>• People who go out of the valley</li> </ul>



	(b) ..... (c) ..... (d) ..... (e) .....
5. Language of Elicitation	
6. Language of Response	
7. Interpreter Name (if needed)	

8. Name of language consultant: .....

9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other .....

10. Age group: (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+

11. Are you literate?

(a) Yes (b) No

12. (If "Yes") How did you learn to read & write?

(a) Formally (b) Non-formally

13. (If "Formally") What year/level did you complete?

(a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary

(d) Higher (specify highest degree).....

14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried

15. (If "Married") Do you have any children?

(a) Yes (b) No

16. Caste

17. Ethnic group: .....

18. Religion:

(a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity

(e) Jain (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other

19. Your mother tongue's name:

(a) (Given by respondent).....

20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?).....

21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru naamle pani chinincha?)

(i)..... (ii) .....

(iii)..... (iv) .....

22. Your mother's mother tongue.....

23. Your father's mother tongue.....

**SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT. YES  NO**

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife .....

25. What village were you born in?

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

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

26. Where do you live now?

27. How many years have you lived here?

28. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?

29. (if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

**SCREENING CRITERIA #2: YES  NO**   
**Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.**

## B. Language resources

30. What are the major kinds of Oral literature available in your language?

- (a) folk tales,
- (b) songs,
- (c) religious literature,
- (d) radio,
- (e) films,
- (f) CD/ DVD,
- (g) Other.....

31. (If they mentioned radio programs) How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language?

- (a) Usually            (b) Sometimes            (c) Never

32. (only ask literate language consultants) What materials written about your language?

33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?

<b>Material:</b>	<b>32. Yes or No</b>	<b>33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?</b>
a. Phonemic inventory		
b. Grammar		
c. Dictionary		
d. Textbooks		
e. Literacy materials		
e. Newspapers		
f. Magazines		
g. Written literature		
h. Folklore		
i. Other		

34. (If they mentioned written materials) Do you read any of these things written in your language?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

35. (Only ask literate consultants, if their language has written materials):

What script(s) is your language written in? .....

36. Are there any organizations that promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

37. (If “Yes”) Please name those organizations. (enter below)

38. What kinds of activities do each organization perform? (enter below)

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

	36. Organization	37. Kinds of activities
i.		
ii.		
iii.		
iv.		
v.		
vi.		

### C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

So you speak... (remind of Q. 38)

Which language do you speak...

- 41. best?
- 42. second best?
- 43. third best?
- 44. fourth best?

45. Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most? .....

46. (Only ask if MT was not best language) Please estimate how proficient are you in your mother tongue:

- (a) Very Well      (b) Some      (c) Only a Little

47. Please estimate how well you can read and write your mother tongue:

- (a) Very Well      (b) Some      (c) Only a Little

48. Other languages known to your father (enter below)

49. Other Languages known to your mother (enter below)

50. Other Languages known to your spouse (enter below)

Persons	Other Languages			
	a	b	C	d
48. Father				
49. Mother				
50. Spouse				

51. What languages are spoken by your sons/ daughters? (enter below)

52. Where did they learn those languages? (enter below)

	50. Other languages spoken by children:	51. Where learned:
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		
f.		

53. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?

- (a) Yes      (d) A little bit      (c) No

## D. Domain of Language Use

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

	Domain	Language
A	Counting	
B	Singing	
C	Joking	
D	Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	
E	Story telling	

F	Discussing/ Debate	
G	Praying	
H	Quarrelling	
I	Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	
J	Telling stories to children	
K	Singing at home	
L	Family gatherings	
M	Village meetings	

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

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

(enter below)

(b) Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.) (enter below)

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	<b>a. Education Matters</b>	<b>b. Social Events &amp; Family Matters</b>	<b>c. Writing Letters</b>
i. Grandfather:			
ii. Grandmother:			
iii. Father:			
iv. Mother:			
v. Spouse:			
vi. Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:

(a) playing with other children? .....

(b) talking with neighbors? .....

(c) at school? .....

57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations? .....
58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings? .....
59. How often do you use your mother tongue?  
 (a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never
60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?  
 (a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never
61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?
62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?  
 (a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

## E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?  
 (a) Yes (b) No
64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?  
 (a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....
65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?  
 (a) Yes (b) No

## F. Language Maintenance

66. Is there intermarriage in your community?  
 (a) Yes (b) No
67. (If "Yes") Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?  
 (i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....
68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?  
 (a) Yes (b) No
69. (If "Yes") If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:

- (a) by sending your children?
- (b) by encouraging other people to send their children?
- (c) by providing financial help?
- (d) by teaching?
- (e) by helping with the school?
- (f) other.....

## G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...

- (a) Prestigious      (b) Embarrassed      (c) Neutral

71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?

- (a) Yes      (b) No

72. (If "Yes") What kinds of problems have you had?( These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)

- (a) Social discrimination.
- (b) Political discrimination.
- (c) Economic discrimination.
- (d) Hostile confrontation.
- (e) Discrimination in education.
- (f) Social pressure.
- (g) Political pressure.
- (h) Economic pressure.
- (i) Other

73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?

- (a) Good      (b) Indifferent      (c) Bad

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

- (a) Good      (b) Indifferent      (c) Bad

76. What language should your children speak first? .....

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

- (a) pronunciation
- (b) vocabulary
- (c) use of specific type of sentences
- (d) mixing of other languages
- (e) way of speaking
- (f) Other.....

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

- (a) Good      (b) Indifferent      (c) Bad

80. Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
--	--

*The End*

**Appendix F:  
Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)**

Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Nepal  
with assistance from National Planning Commission,  
**Government of Nepal**  
**Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (B)**  
**(Participatory Method)**

**A. Meta data (Baseline information)**

Question	Answer
1. Interview Number	
2. Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month ..... Year..... AD
3. Place of Interview	(a) Ward: ..... (b) Village/Town: ..... (c) VDC/Municipality: ..... (d) District: ..... (e) Zone: ..... (f) GPS Coordinates: .....E .....N
4. Interviewer Name	(a) ..... (b) ..... (c) ..... (d) ..... (e) .....
5. Language of Elicitation	
6. Language of Response	
7. Interpreter Name (if needed)	

**It is best if there are 8 to 12 participants for this questionnaire. It can be done with less than 8 people in the group, but is far more reliable with more than 8 people. There**

should be several women and men in each group. It is also best to have people of all ages (15 years and older) in the group, with several older, middle-aged, and younger subjects.

8. Name of language consultant: .....

9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other

10. Age: .....

11. Caste/ethnic group: .....

12. Your mother tongue's name: .....

13. Your mother's mother tongue.....

14. Your father's mother tongue.....

**SCREENING CRITERIA #1: From target MT and at least one parent from target MT.**  
 YES  NO

LC#	8. Name	9. Sex	10. Age	11. Caste	12. MT	Mother's MT	14. Father's MT	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								

12.								
-----	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

15. Where do you live?

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

16. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?

(a) Yes (b) No

17. (If “Yes”) Where? When? How long did you live there?

**SCREENING CRITERIA #2:** YES  NO   
**Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not more than 5 years and they have lived in this village for the past 5 years.**

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						



## B. Domains of language use

- A. I speak different languages in different situations, on different occasions and to different people.
- B. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [LWC]? (Place [LWC] label to one side. Participants name domains, write them on paper and place them under [LWC] label)
- C. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [L1]? (Place [L1] label to other side. Participants write domains and place them under [L1]. At this time participants may say “some children speak L1 but others speak LWC.” Ask questions to help them explain which children speak each language, or the situation in which they speak each. Change the labels to show the categories clearly.)
- D. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak both [L1] and [LWC]? (Participants write domains, and place them in the middle. They can place them nearer to one side or the other if most people speak a certain language in that domain or if they speak more of that language in that domain but some of the other language.)
- E. Within each of these three main categories, let’s move to the top, the occasions that occur daily and to the bottom the ones that occur rarely. (Put a label for ‘Daily’ and ‘Rarely’ at the top and bottom. Allow them to arrange the domains. Encourage them to leave a gap between the Daily and Rarely categories or place a string.)
- F. (If there many in the daily category) Which are the people you speak to most during a day? Move those slightly higher than any others. (Or place the daily ones in order)
- G. How do you feel about the languages that you use and who you use them with? Would you like to begin using either language more in any other situations?

## C. Dialect mapping

- A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask Which name is the one you prefer to use?
  - I. (Language name preferred by group)...
  - II. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
  - III. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
- B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.

Be sure to get all the following information for each location:

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

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

- C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.
- D. What other languages are so similar to yours that when they speak, you can understand at least some words? (Write these on pieces of paper and add them to the “map” on the ground)

- E. Do any groups of villages all speak [L1] in the same way? (Place a loop of string around each such group)
- F. Which variety do you understand best? Second best? Etc. (Place numbers written on cardboard next to each municipality, language or group of municipalities)
- G. Now we want to show which of these varieties you understand very well, which you don't understand at all, which you understand most of, but a few words you don't understand and which you understand only a few words of. In which of these villages can you understand the language Very Well? (Place a Key, have them select the color of plastic marker for "very well". Have them place those markers on each place they understand "very well." Repeat for each other category of comprehension.)
- H. Some people have said they want to start writing books\* in [L1]. If books were written in [L1], which villages would be able to use those books? (have them put a big string around those varieties) (\*If they do not think books can or should be written in their language, then say they want to start making CDs using [L1])
- I. Out of all these you have grouped together, which variety should be used as the one for writing (or recording) [L1] so that all the others will understand it well? If that one could not be used, then which one? (use A, B, and C written on cardboard)

## D. Multilingualism

- A. What are the two languages the [L1] people speak the most? This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [L1] well. This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. (Lay the circles on the ground)
- B. When I overlap the two circles like this, what does this area where they overlap represent? ([L1] people who speak both [L1] and [LWC] well)
- C. Let's think first about [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. Which types of [L1] people speak [LWC] well? (Have them write on paper).
- D. Before we can put them inside the circle, we need to think whether these people also speak [L1] well, or whether they do not speak [L1] well? Where does each piece of paper belong in the circles? (Have them place the pieces they have written so far. If they want to, they may make the labels more specific or add more labels)
- E. Which [L1] people speak [L1] well, but do not speak [LWC] well? (Have them write the category names and place them in the correct location)
- F. When we think about people in these three different categories, which category has the most [L1] people? How do you feel about that? (let them express their feelings)
- G. Is one of these three groups increasing more than the others? Why is that? How do you feel about that? (Let them express their feelings)

## E. Appreciative enquiry

- A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels for each)
- B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)

- C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)
- D. As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)
- E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)
- F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group.)
- G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)
- H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

The End



5. Name of language consultant: .....
6. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other .....
7. Age: .....
8. Caste: .....
9. Ethnic group: .....
10. Your mother tongue's name: .....
11. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language .....
12. Different names of the language if any?
- (i)..... (ii) .....
- (iii)..... (iv) .....
13. Your mother's mother tongue.....
14. Your father's mother tongue.....
15. What village were you born in?
- (a) Ward No..... (b)Village/Town..... (c)VDC/municipality.....
16. Where do you live now? .....
17. How many years have you lived here? .....
18. Other ethnic groups residing in your area: (enter below)
19. Other languages spoken by those groups: (enter below)

	<b>18. Ethnic Group:</b>	<b>19. Language:</b>
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		
f.		

20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

21. (If “Yes”): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

(a) by devising the script?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(d) by writing grammar?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(h) by making use of the language in administration?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?

- (a) Yes            (b) No

(j) in any other ways? .....

**Proceed to ask individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, if appropriate.**

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