

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

OF

THAMI

(As spoken in Ramechhap, Dolakha and Sindhupalchok Districts of the Central Development
Region of Nepal)

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of Thami, a Tibeto-Burman language, mainly spoken in Dolakha and Ramechhap Districts of Janakpur Zone and in Sindhupachok District of Bagmati Zone in the Central Development Region of Nepal. According to the Census Report-2012; 23,151 people speak Thami as their mother tongue. This report includes a brief description of Thami language, its resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes and language development.

According to Ethnologue (2012), there are about 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks with one still to be identified genetically, i.e., Kusunda spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of speakers for 123 languages and also allows an additional category of ‘other unknown languages’ with close to half million speakers. However, there is no reliable estimate of the actual number of languages spoken within the country (Proposal of Linguistic Survey of Nepal, 2008).

According to the Census, 2011 Thami is the language spoken by an ethnic group of people identified by the same name in mountains of the Nepalese territory already described.

This chapter deals with general background of the Thami people and language. It includes the Thami people, caste/ethnic groups, religion, literacy, occupation. This chapter is organized into eight sections. Section 1.1 presents general background and section 1.2 presents the Thami speech community. Section 1.3 presents the demography and distribution of the Thami language. Similarly, section 1.4 deals with geographical location of the survey points in Thami. In section 1.5, we discuss the linguistic affiliation of the Thami language. Similarly, section 1.6 deals with previous research works available about Thami in general and the Thami language in specific. Section 1.7 presents the purpose and goals of the study. In section 1.8, we organize the report.

1.2 The Thami people

Thamis call themselves as Thangmi or Thangmi kham in their native language. It refers them as Thangmi like Gurung of the Western Nepal call themselves as Tamu in

their mother tongue and Magar as Mangar. Thami is a Nepalized term used by other castes instead of Thangmi. Thangmi means 'people of pastureland' or 'people living in borderland' (Shneiderman and Turin, 2003:83). Nowadays, Thangmi people also use collective Nepalized surname, Thami, rather than opting for their respective clan names. The Thamis claim themselves as one of the Indigenous Nationalities in general and Thami or Thangmi in particular.

There are mainly two oral traditional stories about the origin and development of Thami.

First assumption speculates Thami as the successor of the Kirati who ruled in Kathmandu for several years until the Lichchhavi rulers encroached it. After downfall of Kirati rulers, one group headed towards eastern part of the Kathmandu valley through the route of Koteswar-Thimi, Sanga and Benighat. Finally, they settled in Kira Chhap area (nearby Charikot Bazar) of Dolakha. However, this assumption is not supported by other oral traditions.

Another assumption seems a bit more convincing than the previous one. According to this, the Thamis identify themselves as successors of Yappati Chhuku and Sonari Aaji traveling along the river bank of Tamakoshi in ancient times, from Simangadh and Kumangadh of Bara and Sindhuli districts, respectively, to arrive at Nagdah near Dolakha. After downfall of Kirati rules in Nepal, they scattered in the eastern region through the banks of different rivers. One group led by Limbu headed towards Rawa stream and another group led by Khambu towards Mewa stream carrying piglets. Others traced other different riverbeds. Yappati Chhuku (Thambu), among them, who was carrying a goat traced the Tamakoshi River and travelled towards its upper part along the river bank. According to one mythology, of the successors of Kiratis entering the Koshi area, those tracing along the Tamor river became Limbus, those tracing along the Arun became Rai/Khambu, those tracing along Dudhkoshi became Sunuwar, those tracing along Sunkoshi became Hayu, and those Kirati who travelled along the bank of Tamakoshi became Thami.

As per the oral tradition, Yappati Chhuku, the forefather of Thangmi travelled from Thangsi Pulung, Simangadh area of Bara/Sindhuli towards Tamakoshi River. While walking along the riverside, Yappati Chhuku saw a beautiful woman spinning thread from *allo* fibers (Himalayan nettle) across the river. The woman also looked at him

eagerly. At the first sight, they were attracted to each other but the river was between them. So Yappati proposed her to marry if she could be able to throw a bundle of *allo* rope towards him. Then, the woman threw a rope across the river to Yappati Chhuku. Consequently, Yappati Chhuku crossed the river with help of the rope and joined her. Then, they got married and walked along the river bank upstream. The woman was Sonari Aaji. They started earning livelihood by fishing and spinning *allo* thread and weaving clothes.

Slowly they reached the tribute of the Suspa rivulet and Tamakoshi River and settled there for some time. Afterwards, they headed towards upland through the bank of Suspa stream and arrived in Rang Rang Thali of present Suspa VDC. Resolving a small hitch with the Newar Malla King about land revenue, they settled there within Thami Deurali in the East, on lap of Gaurishankar in North, Kalinchokmai in the west and Tamakoshi river in south in the preliminary form of the tenantial system of Kipat. That is why, most of the Thangmi still refer the Suspa Chhamawati of Dolakha District as their origin.

In due course of time, spread of their sons and daughters created different clans between them to get married and reproduce future generations. However, some Thangmi hold different views regarding marriage of seven sons and daughters of Yappati Chhuku and Sonari Aaji. They mentioned that Yappati and Sonari had only seven sons who got married seven daughters of Uke Chhuku and Beti Aaji. All these oral traditions and mythology indicate that they were the successors of Yappati Chhuku-Thambu Kiranti who travelled from south to north through the bank of Tamakoshi River.

1.2.1 Caste/ethnic groups

Thami is itself an ethnic group of the indigenous nationalities. So, it is a homogeneous ethnic group. Though some clans are referred to have created from among the foreparents of the Thami who were thought to be the sons and daughters of Yapati Chhuku and Sonari Aaji or the sons of Yapati Chhuku and Sonari Aaji and daughters of Uke Chhuku and Beti Aaji, there has not been any historical evidence to support the myths.

1.2.2 Religion

Dominantly, the Thami speech community follows Kirat and Hindu and Buddhism are also their religious practice. However, at present, a few of them are following

religions other than the three, e.g., Christianity. Table 1.1 presents the situation of religions of in the Thami speech community.

Table 1.1: Religions in the Thami speech community
(N = 60)

	Religions	Number	Percentage
1	Kirat	34	56.7 %
2	Hindu	21	35.0 %
3	Buddhism	4	6.7 %
4	Christianity	1	1.7 %
Total		60	100 %

Source: Field study, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 1.1 shows that out of 60 respondents, majority of the informants 34(56.7%) responded that they follow Kirat followed by 21(35%) Hinduism, 4(6.7%) Buddhism, and 1(1.7%) Christianity.

1.2.3 Literacy

Generally literacy in Thami speech community is poor. Ethnologue (2012) has data of literacy rate of the Thami speech community in the first language to be below 10%. So, the literacy in the community means literacy in Nepali, their general vernacular for wider communication. Table 1.2 presents the literacy of the speech community.

Table 1.2: Literacy of the Thami speech community

	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)		Total	
Literate	18	60 %	11	36.7 %	29	48.3 %
Illiterate	12	40 %	19	63.3 %	31	51.7 %
Total	30	100 %	30	100 %	60	100 %

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 1.2 shows 18(60%) male informants were found literate followed by only 11(36.67%) of the female ones. This fact shows literacy rate is very poor in female Thami populace. In totality the 29 informants are found literate comprising 48.3%, and the rest 31(51.7%) are illiterate.

1.2.4 Marriage system in the Thami speech community and marital status

Thamis do not follow cross-cousin marriage practice as common among Gurung and other ethnic groups. There is clan restriction to marry within one's own clan, but strictly forbidden to marry outside the ethnicity as a whole.

Most marriages are arranged on the basis of mutual agreement between parents of the boys and girls. When a boy reaches adolescence his father starts searching for someone who has a daughter matching him, either in the same village or in the next one. Then, the boy's father along with two *lamis* (marriage brokers) carrying rice beer in a long bamboo vessel visits house of the girl's parents and hangs the vessel at the side of the door as a signal of the wedding proposal. Then girl's uncles and relatives gather. Both parties sit together, discuss and decide. The girl's parents accept the rice beer brought by the marriage brokers as indication of positive decision. The parents ask the marriage broker to bring one litre of wine from boy's house as first *sagun* or symbol of prosperity. The wine is shared among the girl's parental uncles. It is the signal of confirmation. Following this, the boy's parents must send *lisar* consisting of mainly several litres of local beers to the girl's house at least three times. Accepting and consuming it each time confirms the wedding and now both the girl and boy are socially/legally bound as a couple, not allowed to marry to anyone else. Formal marriage ceremony can be arranged afterwards based on mutual agreement and auspicious occasion.

After the years of exchange of *lisar* (locally made alcohol), marriage date is fixed. The bridegroom along with wedding party goes to bride's home to bring her on wedding day. Marriage ceremony is performed in the courtyard of bride's home as soon as bridegroom reached there. Worship is done as per their custom and tradition which is quite different from Hindu marriage rituals. After worship, bride's parents offer *tika* on forehead of both bride and the bridegroom. All the marriage rites and rituals are performed by Khami. Afterwards the groom and bride wedding party go to the groom's home. Marriage ritual and worship are performed in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house as soon as they reach there. After worship, bridegroom puts vermilion powder on the head of the bride followed by a wedding feast. A group of dancer performs traditional *maruni* dance in the evening of that day. It is the dance performed by a young man disguised as a woman. *Maruni* dance is integral component of marriage ceremony. On third day, newly married couple visit the bride's parental home carrying local wine and beers, bitten rice and *sel roti*, deep fried slightly sweet circular cookies of rice flour. That's the end of the long marriage process of the Thami community. Table 1.3 represents marital status of the informants.

Table 1.3: Marital status of the informants

(N=60)

	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)		Total	
Married	26	86.7 %	26	86.7 %	52	86.7 %
Unmarried	4	13.3 %	4	13.3 %	8	13.3 %
Total	30	100.0 %	30	100.0 %	60	100.0 %

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 1.3 shows 26(86.7%) of each of the male and female informants were found married and the rest 4(13.3%) of each male and female unmarried. So is the statistical marital status of the informants in totality, too.

1.2.5 Occupation

As already described in 1.2, Thami people have started earning their livelihood by pig-keeping and spinning *allo* thread and knitting clothes. Later they have come to be involved in general farming. So, their primary occupation is to be agriculture. But along with the process of unification, they have slowly come to experience heterogeneity with Khas people who speak Nepali. This heterogeneity seems to have caused problems with continuity of their ancestral land property. So, they have gradually been found to have adopted other occupations such as businesses, government jobs and foreign employments too, as other ethnic groups or castes do in Nepal.

1.3 Demography and distribution

Thami is an ethnic language spoken by the homogeneous ethnicity identified by the same name. It is mainly spoken in three districts of Nepal, Dolakha and Ramechhap in Janakpur Zone and Sindhupalchok of Bagmati Zone of the Central Development Region of Nepal. As the district-wise demography of the native Thami speakers of 2011 census depict a clear picture of distribution of its demography, Table 1.4 presents the stronghold of Thami populace in Nepal.

Table 1.4: Stronghold of the Thami native speakers in Nepal

	Districts	Male	Female	Total
1.	Dolakha	7,194	7,674	14,868
2.	Sindhupalchok	1,579	1,698	3,277
3.	Ramechhap	960	1070	2,030
4.	Sindhuli	306	348	654
5.	Kathmandu	204	177	381

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Census Report, 2012

Table has clearly shown Dolakha, Sindhupalchok and Ramechhap districts as the stronghold of the Thami population followed by Sindhuli in Janakpur and Kathmandu in Bagmati Zones respectively. However, the Thami people have migrated in other districts such as Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Udaypur, Siraha, Sarlahi, Kavrepalanchok, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, Makawanpur and Rautahat but not so eligible both in terms of their ethnic population and maintenance of their language.

Moreover, Thami is also reported being spoken as the second language in Dolakha, Sindhupalchok and Kathmandu districts, though the number of speakers is nominal.

1.4 Geographical location of the survey points

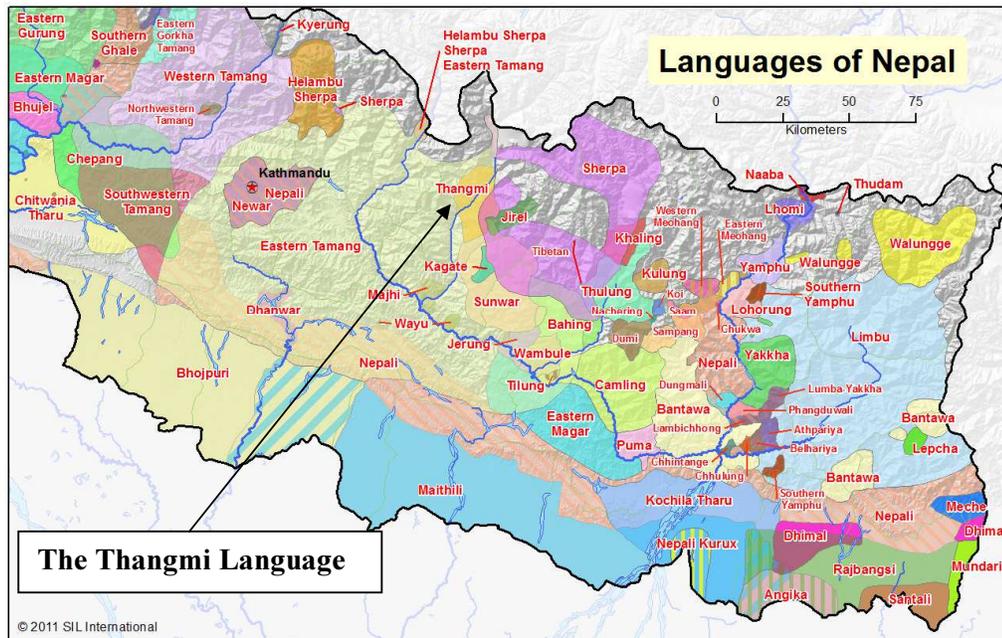
As Thami is primarily spoken mainly in Dolakha and Ramechhap of Janakpur zone and Sindhupalchok of Bagmati zone, the spread is highly counted in Dolakha which is also known as their origin. So, we selected three survey points in Dolakha and one each in Ramechhap and Sindhupalchok respectively. Table 1.5 presents the GPS information of the areas selected as the survey points in three districts.

Table 1.5: GPS information of Thami speaking survey points

	Areas	GPS Coordinates		Elevation (in meter)
1.	BABARE, DOLAKHA	086 ⁰ 06'23" E	027 ⁰ 47'11.6" N	1640
2.	LAPILANG, DOLAKHA	086 ⁰ 06'10.4" E	027 ⁰ 44'38.7" N	1859
3.	SUSPA KSHAMAWATI, DOLAKHA	086 ⁰ 02'56.7" E	027 ⁰ 41'54.9" N	1512
4.	DADUWA, RAMECHHAP	085 ⁰ 59'223" E	027 ⁰ 31'01.1" N	1793
5.	CHOKATI, SINDHUPALCHOK	085 ⁰ 57'12" E	027 ⁰ 46'46" N	1501

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Map 1.1 presents the geographical location of the Thami speech community.

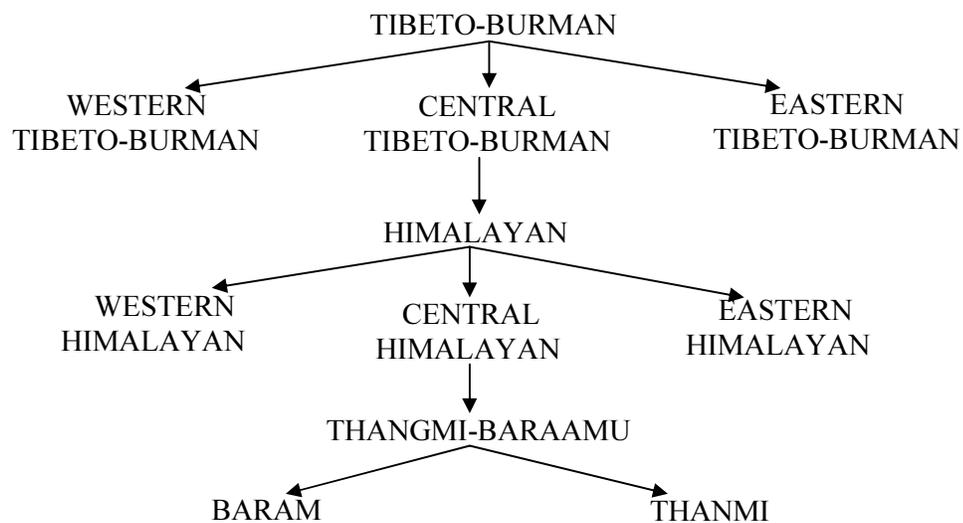


Map 1.1: Thami speaking areas in Nepal¹

1.5 Linguistic affiliation

Thami is one of the members of the Thangmi-Baraamu group of the Central strip of the Himalayan languages of the western group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family.

Figure 1.1: Tibeto-Burman languages



(Adapted From Ethnologue, 2012)

1. We would like to acknowledge SIL International for the map used in this report.

Figure 1.1 shows that the Thami language (thf, ISO code) belongs to the Thangmi-Baraamu group of the Central strip of the Himalayan languages of the western group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family.

1.6 Previous research works

Though the Thami language seems sound in the native speakers' community, there are few research works on Thami people and the Thami language.

Shneiderman and Turin (2003) depicts Thami as a forgotten ethnic group along with their language and culture. It focuses on the defining characteristics of the group as a whole, dealing with the issues as population size, language, religious practice and cosmology under the interdiscipline of descriptive linguistics and comparative ethnography.

Turin (2003) has analyzed the historical writings on the Thami people and language from geolinguistic points of view. In this article he quotes Sylvian Lévi, Lieutenant-Colonel Eden Vansittart of the 10th Gurkha Rifles, Kesar Lall, Dor Bahadur Bista among others who have enlisted Thami or Thangmi in their works either as an ethnic group or a language and that the earliest of such use commences from 1905.

Turin and Thami (2004) is the first work on Thami lexicology. It is a trilingual dictionary of the Nepali, Thami and English languages. Though it includes Thami, it is a bit difficult to say a dictionary of Thami rather than that of Nepali because the opening order of vocabularies is Nepali at first followed by Thami and English.

Thami et al. (2004) is the first authentic documentation of the identification, rituals and culture of the Thami community. It covers the mythical beliefs how Thamis came into existence, what their life-style, economic system, social set up along with the clan names and the prominent Thami vocabularies of the linguistic significance. It compiles four major articles on origin and details, historical myths and analysis, Khamte Kham and Suggestions regarding religion of the Thami ethnicity.

Turin (2006) describes Thami, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in eastern Nepal, primarily in the districts of Dolakha and Sindhupalcok, as well as in Darjeeling district of West Bengal, India. It focuses on the Dolakha (Eastern) dialect of the language, although contrastive examples and specific features of the Sindhupalcok

(Western) dialect are also discussed. While the Thami ethnic group number around 40,000, speakers of the language do not amount to more than 20,000. In terms of genetic affiliation, Thami appears to be closely related to Newar and Baram, which together form the 'Newaric' linguistic grouping. Thami is also related to the so-called 'complex pronominalised' Kiranti languages, which together with Newaric form the Mahakiranti group within Tibeto-Burman. The Thami speech community refers to itself as Thangmi, while shamans who are the sole religious practitioners in the community call themselves Thani. In Nepali the Thami community and their language continue to be referred to as Thami. The work contains a grammatical analysis of the Thami language, forty-five analysed texts with interlinear morpheme glosses and translations, a trilingual Thangmi-English-Nepali lexicon, a graphic representation of Thangmi kinship terminology and a comprehensive bibliography. The linguistic description is based on fieldwork conducted between 1997 and 2004 on a series of trips to Nepal and India inclined towards Anthropological linguistic points of view.

Thami and Basukala (2008) is the first effort to prepare text materials entitled 'gaiko thangmi kham 'My Thangmi Language'. It is a textbook designed on the joint efforts of Educate the Children, Nepal and Faselung Social Service, Dolakha targeting Thami children of Class 1. According to the editorial, it is based on the variety of the language spoken in and around Sushpa Kshamavati VDC in Dolakha. It contains 26 lessons based on preliminary knowledge of the Thami language and community.

Budhathoki et al. (2008) depicts Thami as one of the prominent among the highly marginalized indigenous nationalities enlisting the most distinguishing features of the community in terms of its miserable economic condition, food insecurity, limited or no access to educational and health services, low educational status, extreme socio-political disempowerment and exclusion and restricted access to resources and opportunities. It marks negligible participation of Thamis in social, economic and political process due to the prevalent socio-political systems of excluding marginalized group from public arena and services, being less aware of their social, historical, cultural, economic and political voices and rights. Consequently the Thamis are said to have their tradition and cultural identity in the verge of extinction.

Shneiderman (2009) refers to a study of the relationships between mobility, ethnicity, and ritual action through ethnography of the Thami. It depicts Thami as a marginalized community who migrate between Himalayan border zones of Nepal in and around

Dolakha and Sindhupalchok districts, India in Darjeeling district and the Sikkim state and the Tibetan autonomous region of China. It offers an explanation for the persistence of enduring the current ethnic identities despite the increasing realities of mobile and hybrid lives. It that ethnicization may be understood as a process of ritualization, which brings people together around the shared sacred object of identity.

Shneiderman (2010) depicts Thami as a Himalayan ethnic group of approximately 40 thousands, majority of whom reside in Nepal's Dolakha and Sindhupalchok districts. She also reveals that they have started migrating in India since 18th century settling in Darjeeling of West Bengal, as well as in the adjacent state of Sikkim. She introduces Thamis speaking their own Tibeto-Burman language and following shamanism, Hinduism and Buddhism in a synthetic manner. As it is an anthropological study, *guru* is brought up as the primary religious practitioner serving both priest and shaman rolled into one. Going through the work one can easily concludes ritual practices and performances are the main focus rather than the Thami language.

Gurung et al. (2012) aims to look at the poverty issue of Thami community; one of the marginalized indigenous communities of Nepal through the indigenization and feminization perspectives. It has chosen Suspa Kshyamawoti and Lapilang VDCs of Dolakha district as sample sites for the study. It concludes that the economic status of the Thami people of Dolakha district is very low lacking in sustainable economic, social and political opportunities in the society. It is obvious that the study is beyond the linguistic significance but it depicts the social phenomena on economic strata.

1.7 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Thami language in Nepal. The specific goals/objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To assess the state of use of the language in different domains along with bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency of the Thami speech community;
- b) To look at the vitality of the language by assessing the situation of its transmission to the younger generation;
- c) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;

- d) To discuss the language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Thami;
- e) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity in the language; and
- f) To look at the resources and organizations in the Thami speech community.

1.8 Organization of the report

This survey report is organized into ten chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory that presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with the domains of language use and in chapter 4 we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Thami. Chapter 5 deals with language vitality, transmission and maintenance; chapter 6 deals with language attitudes and chapter 7 discusses the language development. In chapter 8 we look at dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key points in Thami and chapter 9 deals with language resources available and the organizations involved for the further enhancement of the language. In chapter 10, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes wordlist and sociolinguistic questionnaire A, B and C.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we present the research methodology employed in this survey in detail. It consists of three sections. Section 2.1 deals with a brief overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used in the survey. It also deals with a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.2, we discuss different types of research tools, their basic characteristics, and the ways they were employed in the survey. Similarly, section 2.3 deals with the limitations of this survey.

2.1 Overview

This survey has employed three different methods/tools in order to fulfill its goals. The methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). Table 2.1 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods /tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

Table 2.1: Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools

	Goals of the survey	Research methods/ tools	Brief description	Focus of the methods/tools
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Thami;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individuals of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	Language resources Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism Domains of language use Language vitality Language maintenance Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU, BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	Domains of language use Dialect mapping Multilingualism Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	Language attitudes, Language maintenance, Language vitality, Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.2 Research methods/tools

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)

The survey has employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires. They are:

2.2.1.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality, language

maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. Though the Thami speech community lives mainly in three different districts of the Central Mountainous regions of Nepal, already stated, we visited five spots. Those survey points of the Thami speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about the Thami speech community. They are Kyadandi of the Babre VDC Ward No. 1, Danda Gaon of the Lapilang VDC Ward No. 4 and Lisapotak of the Suspa Kshamavati VDC Ward No. 6 in Dolakha District, Tinghare of the Daduwa VDC Ward No. 4 in Ramechhap District and Bhumethan of the Chokati VDC Ward No. 4 in Sindhupalchok District. Table 2.2 presents the survey points of Thami.

Table 2.2: The survey points of Thami

	Names of the areas	Ward No.	V. D. C.	Districts	Total
1	KYADANDI	1	Babre (V. D. C.)	Dolakha	5
2	DANDA GAON	4	Lapilang (V. D. C)	Dolakha	
3	LISAPOTAK	6	Suspa Kshamavati (V. D. C)	Dolakha	
4	TINGHARE	4	Daduwa (V. D. C.)	Ramechhap	
5	BHUMETHAN	4	Chokati (V.D.C)	Sindhupalchok	

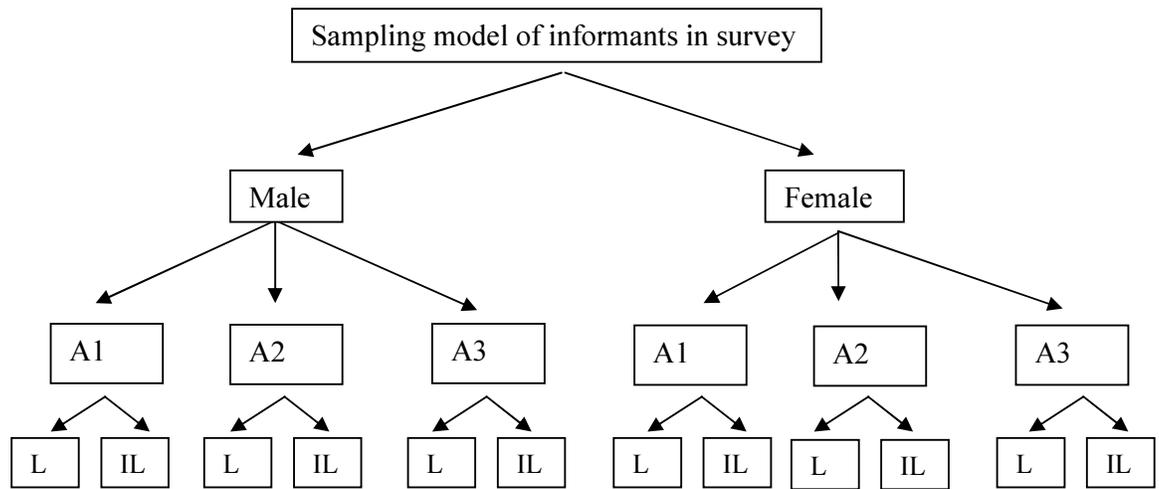
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

We have taken Kyadandi of the Babre VDC Ward No. 1 of the Dolakha district as the core point. Since the Thami language spoken in locality is considered as the least induced by other languages and it is also accepted so by the community itself.

Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.¹ Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in the Thami speech community.

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

Figure 2.1: Sampling model in the survey



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

The survey has used a specific checklist for conducting sociolinguistic questionnaire A. Table 2.3 presents the checklist for sociolinguistic questionnaire A.

Table 2.3: Checklist for Sociolinguistic questionnaire A

Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) A											
Male						Female					
A1		A2		A3		A1		A2		A3	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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

Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected from each of the age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30- 59 (A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background on each survey point. The questions were asked by the administrators in Nepali to the informants and the answers given by the informants were also recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali.

2.2.1.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Thami participants at each survey point. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism

(BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Thami, how bilingual Thami people are, in which situations they use Thami and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language.

In the questionnaire, each tool is equipped with well-written step-by-step procedures for the facilitators in the group. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

- a) The group must consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant must belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants must be grown up on the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below.

(i) Domains of language use

We used the domains of language use tool in order to help the Thami speakers to think about and visualize the languages which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the language participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they use their mother tongue, Thami and the situations in which they use both Nepali and Thami. After that, they were asked to place the labels of Nepali, Thami, and both Nepali and Thami. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants concluded by discussing if they liked to use each language in any other situations.

(ii) Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of dialect mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Thami. Participants in the group of 8-12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns and villages where Thami is spoken and placed them on the floor to present the geographical location. Then, they were asked to use the loops of string to show which districts or towns spoke the same as others. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to the most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

(iii) Bi/multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Thami and Nepali by different subsets of the Thami community. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Thami people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Thami who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then, the participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Thami well or not so well. Then, they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this, they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Thami speakers who spoke Thami well. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

(iv) Appreciative inquiry

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Thami community members have on different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language and culture. Then, they were asked to express the dreams about how they could make their language and culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were the most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

2.2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

This set contains 21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head. The main purpose of this set of questions is to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development. This set was administered to at least two participants on each survey point in Thami.

2.2.2 Wordlist

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist is to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from the mother tongue Thami speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs.

From each survey point, at least two informants were chosen as the word list source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the nearby vicinity, had to speak Thami as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Thami word from a mother tongue Thami speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as Cog and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Thami.

2.3 Limitations of the survey

Following are the limitations of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami:

- 1) This language is spread mainly in a number of villages of the three districts already stated. However, as it is a survey, we have selected only 5 major points. Besides, we had to select three categories of the estimated 12 informants at each point. As per our expectations we did not find illiterate informants of 15-29 age group and literate informants of 60⁺ age group at some points. To conduct the survey, only three types of sociolinguistic questionnaires A, B and C as well as a

wordlist of 210 words were used in the survey. Table 2.4 shows all the information categorically.

Table 2.4: Questionnaires and wordlist used in the survey

	Areas	SLQ A	SLQ B	SLQ C	Wordlist
1	BABRE	12	4	2	2
2	LAPILANG	12	4	2	2
3	SUSPA KSHAMAVATI	12	4	2	2
4	DADUWA	12	4	2	2
5	CHOKATI	12	4	2	2
Total		60	20	10	10

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

- 2) As shown in Table 1.2, 12(40%) male informants were found illiterate where as 11(36.67%) of the female informants were found literate. It indicates that our male respondents were high in number on the basis of literacy but we could not find the female respondents, especially above 60, equally literate. So, only 11 (36.67%) female literate respondents took part in this study.

CHAPTER 3

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the domains of language use in general. It consists of eight sections. In section 3.1, we have discussed language use in common domains. Similarly, section 3.2 deals with language use in educational and social matters and section 3.3 presents the use of languages in letter writing. In section 3.4, we have discussed about the languages used outside the home and in section 3.5, the languages used for invitation. Similarly, section 3.6 deals with language use in minutes writing and section 3.7 with frequency in the use of the Thami language. At last section 3.8 summarizes the facts and findings in the chapter.

3.1 Language use in common domains

Domains of language evaluate the vitality of the language. Thami is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 3.1 and presents the languages frequently used in different domains by sex.

Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male

Domains	Male (n=30)		
	Thami	Nepali	Both
counting	5(16.7%)	8(26.7%)	17(56.7%)
Singing	2(6.7%)	11(36.7%)	17(56.7%)
Joking	8(26.7%)	3(10.0%)	19(63.3%)
Bargaining/marketing		17(56.7%)	13(43.3%)
Story telling	6(20.0%)	7(23.3%)	17(56.7%)
Discussing/debate	11(36.7%)	6(20.0%)	13(43.3%)
Praying	15(50.0%)	6(20.0%)	9(30.0%)
Quarrelling	8(26.7%)	5(16.7%)	17(56.7%)
Abusing/scolding	9(30.0%)	4(13.3%)	17(56.7%)
Telling stories to children	11(36.7%)	7(23.3%)	12(40%)
Singing at home	6(20.0%)	7(23.3%)	17(56.7%)
Family gatherings	22(73.3%)	2(6.7%)	6(20.0%)
Village meetings	15(50.0%)	4(13.3%)	11(36.7%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

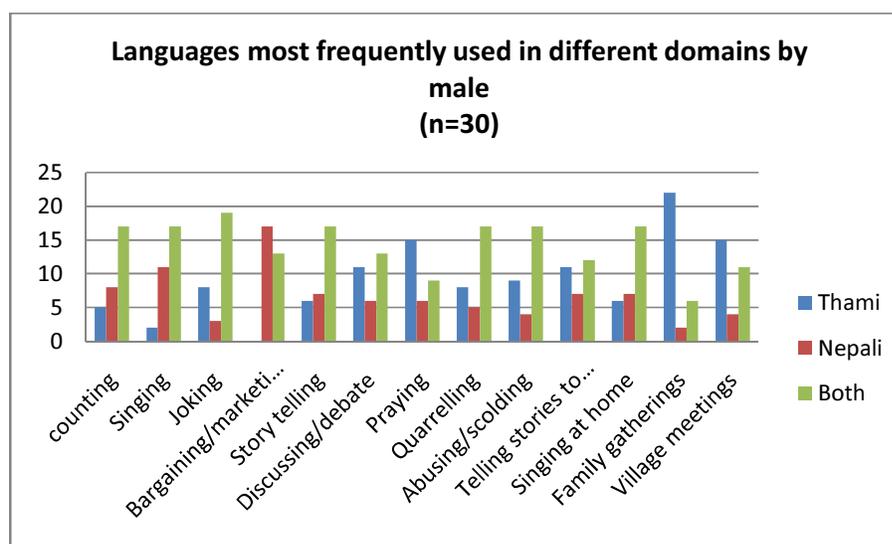
Table 3.1 shows that only two languages Thami and Nepali are being used in different domains. In some domains Thami is ahead but in the other domains Nepali is exceeding. But in general both the languages are being used together in most of the domains by male. The male Thami speakers responded most of them 22(73.3%) use Thami in the family gatherings followed by 15(50%) each for praying and in the village meetings. 11(36.7%) of them reported using it for each of discussion and telling stories to the children. 9(30%) reported using it for abusing/scolding, 8(26.7%) said they use it for joking and quarrelling, 6(20%) for story-telling and singing at home, 5(16.7%) for counting 2(6.7%) for singing.

The male respondents reported they use Nepali also in different domains. 17(56.7%) of them said they use it for bargaining/marketing, 11(36.7%) reported it using for singing, 7(23.3%) for each of counting, telling stories to children and singing at home, 6(20%) for discussing and praying, 5(16.7%) for telling stories and quarrelling, 4(13.3%) for abusing/scolding, 3(10%) for joking and the least 2(6.7%) in the family gatherings.

Comparatively, the simultaneous use of both the languages, Thami and Nepali, seems more dominant. 19(63.3%) of them said they use both for joking, 17(56.7%) for counting, singing, story-telling, quarrelling, abusing and singing at home, 13(43.3%) for bargaining/marketing and abusing, 12(40%) for telling stories to children, 11(36.7%) for village meetings, 9(30%) for praying, and 6(20%) for family gatherings.

The findings are also presented in the Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male



Likewise, the language use in different domains by the female respondents is presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by female

Domains	Female (n=30)		
	Thami	Nepali	Both
counting	5(16.7%)	15(50.0%)	10(33.3%)
Singing	3(10.0%)	17(56.7%)	10(33.3%)
Joking	16(53.3%)	4(13.3%)	10(33.3%)
Bargaining/marketing	4(13.3%)	10(33.3%)	16(53.3%)
Story telling	7(23.3%)	13(43.3%)	10(33.3%)
Discussing/Debate	7(23.3%)	8(26.7%)	15(50.0%)
Praying	13(43.3%)	8(26.7%)	9(30.0%)
Quarrelling	14(46.7%)	6(20.0%)	10(33.3%)
Abusing/scolding	15(50%)	5(16.7%)	10(33.3%)
Telling stories to children	15(50%)	5(16.7%)	10(33.3%)
Singing at home	6(20.0%)	9(30.0%)	15(50%)
Family gatherings	21(70.0%)	3(10.0%)	6(20.0%)
Village meetings	13(43.3%)	5(16.7%)	12(40.0%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

The situation of language use in different domains by the female respondents shown in Table 3.2 is also almost similar to that of the male respondents. 21(70%) of them said they use mother tongue in family gatherings followed by 16(53.3%) for joking. 15 (50%) reported they use it for abusing/scolding and telling stories to children, 14(46.7%) for quarrelling, 13(43.3%) for praying and in the village meetings,

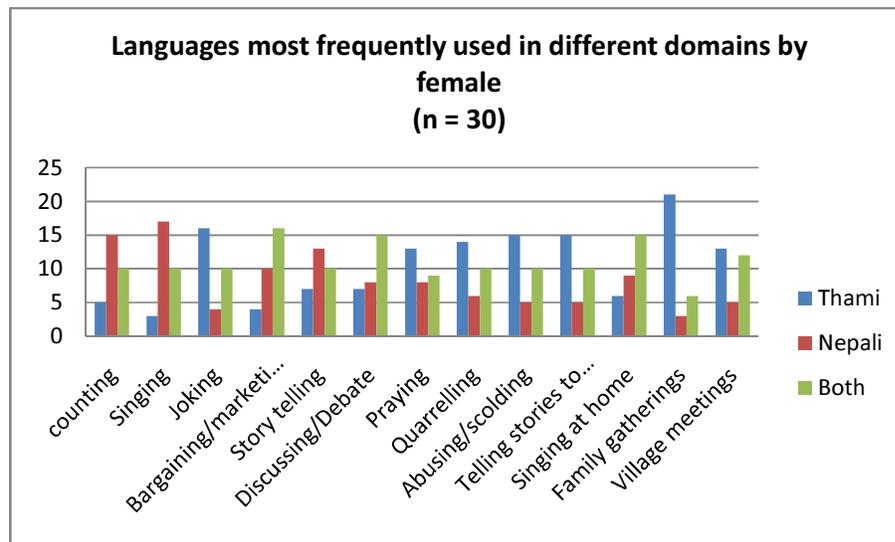
7(23.3%) for each of story-telling and discussing/debate, 6(20%) for singing at home, 5(16.7%) for counting, 4(13.3%) for bargaining/marketing and 3(10%) for singing.

They expressed almost similar response towards using Nepali in different domains. 17(56.7%) reported using 9(30%) for singing at home, 8(26.7%) for discussing and praying, 6(20%) for quarrelling, 5(16.7%) for abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and in the village meetings, 4(13.3%) for joking and 3(10%) for family gatherings.

The situation of using both the languages Thami and Nepali together in different domains is increasing. 16(53.3%) of the respondents said they use both languages for bargaining/marketing followed by 15(50%) for discussing/debate, 12(40%) for village meetings, 10(33.3%) for each of counting, singing joking, story-telling, quarrelling, abusing and telling stories to children, 9(30%) for praying and telling stories to children and 6(20%) for family gatherings.

The information is also presented in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by female



The situation of language use in different domains is also analyzed age-wise. Table 3.3 presents languages frequently used in different domains by youngsters of aging 15-29 (A1).

Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by youngsters

Domains	A1 (n=20)		
	Thami	Nepali	Both
Counting	2(10%)	9(45%)	9(45%)
Singing		9(45%)	11(55%)
Joking	8(40%)	3(15%)	9(45%)
Bargaining/marketing	2(10%)	10(50%)	8(40%)
Story telling	3(15%)	8(40%)	9(45%)
Discussing/Debate	6(30%)	5(25%)	9(45%)
Praying	8(40%)	6(30%)	6(30%)
Quarrelling	7(35%)	4(20%)	9(45%)
Abusing/scolding	7(35%)	3(15%)	10(50%)
Telling stories to children	6(30%)	5(25%)	9(45%)
Singing at home	3(15%)	6(30%)	11(55%)
Family gatherings	15(75%)	3(15%)	2(10%)
Village meetings	13(65%)	3(15%)	4(20%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.3 shows that the young Thami native speakers use their mother tongue in almost all the domains but differently. Among the 20 young informants, 15(75%) reported they use Thami during family gatherings followed by 13(65%) in the village meetings, 8(40%) for joking and praying, 7(35%) for quarrelling and abusing/scolding, 6(30%) for discussing/debate and telling stories to children, 3(15%) each for story-telling and singing at home and 2(10%) each for counting and bargaining/marketing.

Regarding use of Nepali, 10(50%) of them reported using it for bargaining/marketing, 9(45%) each for counting, and singing, 8(40%) for story-telling, 6(30%) for praying and singing at home, 5(25%) for discussing/debate and telling stories to children, and 3(15%) each for joking, abusing/scolding, family gatherings and village meetings.

Likewise, the respondents also reported using both the languages Thami and Nepali together. 11(55%) of them said they use them for singing and singing at home followed by 10(50%) for abusing/scolding, 9(45%) for each of counting, joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, quarrelling and telling stories to children, 8(40%) for bargaining/marketing, 7(35%) for story-telling, 6(30%) for praying, 5(25%) for bargaining/marketing, 4(20%) for village meetings and 2(10%) for family gatherings.

Similarly Table 3.4 presents the situation of language use in these domains by adults aging 30-59 (A2).

Table 3.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Adults

Domains	A2 (n=20)		
	Thami	Nepali	Both
Counting	2(10%)	7(35%)	11(55%)
Singing	2(10%)	11(55%)	7(35%)
Joking	8(40%)	2(10%)	10(50%)
Bargaining/marketing		6(30%)	14(70%)
Story telling	7(35%)	5(25%)	8(40%)
Discussing/Debate	6(30%)	5(25%)	9(45%)
Praying	10(50%)	5(25%)	5(25%)
Quarrelling	8(40%)	4(20%)	8(40%)
Abusing/scolding	8(40%)	3(15%)	9(45%)
Telling stories to children	6(30%)	5(25%)	9(45%)
Singing at home	6(30%)	5(25%)	9(45%)
Family gatherings	14(70%)	1(5%)	5(25%)
Village meetings	7(35%)	3(15%)	10(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.4 shows that the adult Thami respondents use mother tongue, Nepali and both the languages together in almost similar volumes. Regarding mother tongue, 14(70%) of them reported they use it for family gatherings followed by 10(50%) for praying, 8(40%) for joking, quarrelling and abusing/scolding, 7(35%) for story-telling and village meetings, 6(30%) for discussing/debate, telling stories to children and singing at home, and 2(10%) for counting and singing.

Regarding use of Nepali, 11(55%) of them said they use it for singing followed by 7(35%) for counting, 6(30%) for bargaining/marketing, 5(25%) for story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, telling stories to children and singing at home, 3(15%) for abusing/scolding and village meetings and 1(5%) for family gatherings.

They also use both the languages together at the same time. 14(70%) of them said they use them for bargaining/marketing followed by 11(55%) for counting, 10(50%) for joking and village meetings, 9(45%) for each of discussing/debate, abusing/scolding and singing at home, 8(40%) for quarrelling, 7(35%) for singing, and 5(25%) for each of praying and family gatherings.

In the similar way Table 3.5 presents the situation of language use in different domains by elderly respondents of aging 60 years and above.

Table 3.5: Languages most frequently used in different domains by elderly people

Domains	A3 (n=20)		
	Thami	Nepali	Both
Counting	3(15%)	10(50%)	7(35%)
Singing	3(15%)	7(35%)	10(50%)
Joking	8(40%)	2(10%)	10(50%)
Bargaining/marketing	2(10%)	11(55%)	7(35%)
Story telling	5(25%)	4(20%)	11(55%)
Discussing/Debate	6(30%)	4(20%)	10(50%)
Praying	10(50%)	3(15%)	7(35%)
Quarrelling	7(35%)	3(15%)	10(50%)
Abusing/scolding	9(45%)	3(15%)	8(40%)
Telling stories to children	10(50%)	3(15%)	7(35%)
Singing at home	5(25%)	6(30%)	9(45%)
Family gatherings	14(70%)	1(5%)	5(25%)
Village meetings	8(40%)	3(15%)	9(45%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.5 shows that the elderly Thamis also use their mother tongue, Nepali and both the languages together at a time almost similar as the youngsters and adults have reported. Regarding mother tongue, 14(70%) of them said they use it during family gatherings followed by 10(50%) for praying and telling stories to children, 9(45%) for abusing/scolding, 8(40%) for each of joking and village meetings, 7(35%) for quarrelling, 6(30%) for discussing/debate, 5(25%) for story-telling and singing at home, 3(15%) for counting and singing and 2(10%) for bargaining/marketing.

Regarding the use of Nepali, 11(55%) of them said they use it for bargaining/marketing followed by 10(50%) for counting, 7(35%) for singing, 6(30%) for singing at home, 4(20%) for story-telling and discussing/debate, 3(15%) for each of praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding and village meetings, 2(10%) for joking and 1(5%) for family gatherings.

Likewise regarding the use of both the languages together at the same time, 11(55%) of them said they use them for story-telling, 10(50%) for singing, joking, discussing/debate and quarrelling followed by 9(45%) for each of singing at home and village meetings, 8(40%) for abusing/scolding, 7(35%) for each of counting, bargaining/marketing, praying and telling stories to children and 5(25%) in the family gatherings.

The situation of the use of language in different domains has also been analyzed on the basis of literacy. Table 3.6 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by the literate respondents.

Table 3.6: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Literate

Domains	Literate (n=29)		
	Thami	Nepali	Both
counting	1(3.4%)	12(41.4%)	16(55.2%)
Singing		16(55.2%)	13(44.8%)
Joking	10(34.5%)	4(13.8%)	15(51.7%)
Bargaining/marketing	1(3.4%)	14(48.3%)	14(48.3%)
Story telling	2(6.9%)	13(44.8%)	14(48.3%)
Discussing/Debate	7(24.1%)	6(20.7%)	16(55.2%)
Praying	15(51.7%)	6(20.7%)	8(27.6%)
Quarrelling	9(31.0%)	5(17.2%)	15(51.7%)
Abusing/scolding	10(34.5%)	3(10.3%)	16(55.2%)
Telling stories to children	9(31.0%)	8(27.6%)	12(41.4%)
Singing at home	4(13.8%)	10(34.5%)	15(51.7%)
Family gatherings	22(75.9%)	2(6.9%)	5(17.2%)
Village meetings	15(51.7%)	4(13.8%)	10(34.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.6 shows that the 22(75.9%) of the literate respondents said they use mother tongue during family gatherings followed by 15(51.7%) for praying and during the village meetings, 10(34.5%) for joking and abusing/scolding, 10(34.5%) for joking and abusing/scolding, 9(31%) for quarrelling and telling stories to children, 7(24.1%) for discussing/debate, 4(13.8%) for singing at home, 2(6.9%) for story-telling and 1(3.4%) for each of counting and bargaining/marketing.

Regarding using Nepali in different domains, 16(55.2%) of them said they use it for singing followed by 14(48.3%) for bargaining/marketing, 13(44.8%) for story-telling, 12(41.4%) for counting, 10(34.5%) for singing at home, 8(27.6%) for telling stories to children, 6(20.7%) for discussing/debate and praying, 5(17.2%) for quarrelling, 4(13.8%) for joking and village meetings, 3(10.3%) for abusing/scolding and 2(6.9%) during family gatherings.

Similarly, they also reported using both the languages together at the same time. 16(55.2%) of them reported using them for each of counting, discussing/debate and abusing/scolding, followed by 15(51.7%) for each of joking, quarrelling and singing at home, 14(48.3%) for bargaining/marketing, 13(44.8%) for singing, 12(41.4%) for

telling stories to children, 10(34.5%) during village meetings, 8(27.6%) for praying and 5(17.2%) during family gatherings.

Similarly, Table 3.7 presents situation of languages most frequently used in different domains by illiterate respondents.

Table 3.7: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Illiterate

Domains	Illiterate (n=31)		
	Thami	Nepali	both
Counting	6(19.3%)	14(45.2%)	11(35.5%)
Singing	4(12.9%)	11(35.5%)	16(51.6)
Joking	14(45.2%)	3(9.6%)	14(45.2%)
Bargaining/marketing	3(9.7%)	13(41.9%)	15(48.4%)
Story telling	12(38.7%)	6(19.4%)	13(41.9%)
Discussing/Debate	11(35.5%)	8(25.8%)	12(38.7%)
Praying	13(41.9%)	8(25.8%)	10(32.3%)
Quarrelling	13(41.9%)	6(19.4%)	12(38.7%)
Abusing/scolding	15(48.4%)	6(19.4%)	10(32.2%)
Telling stories to children	15(48.4%)	6(19.3%)	10(32.3%)
Singing at home	10(32.3%)	7(22.6%)	14(45.2%)
Family gatherings	21(67.7%)	3(9.7%)	7(22.6%)
Village meetings	13(41.9%)	5(16.1%)	13(41.9%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.7 shows the illiterate respondents also reported in the similar way as the literate ones did. Regarding mother tongue, 21(67.7%) of them said they use it during family gatherings followed by 15(48.4%) for each of abusing/scolding and telling stories to children, 14(45.2%) for joking, 13(41.9%) for each of praying, quarrelling and during village meetings, 12(38.7%) for story-telling, 11(35.5%) for discussing/debate, 10(32.3%) for singing at home, 6(19.3%) for counting, 4(12.9%) for singing and 3(9.7%) for bargaining/marketing.

Regarding use of Nepali in the same domains, 14(45.2%) of them said they use it for counting followed by 13(41.9%) for bargaining/marketing, 11(35.5%) for singing, 8(25.8%) for discussing/debate and praying, 7(22.6%) for singing at home, 6(19.4%) for story-telling, quarrelling, abusing/scolding and telling stories to children, 5(16.1%) during village meetings and 3(9.7%) for the family gatherings.

They also reported using both the languages, Thami and Nepali, together at the same times in different domains. 15(48.4%) of them reported using them for bargaining/marketing followed by 14(45.2%) for joking and singing at home,

13(41.9%) for each of story-telling and during village meetings, 12(38.7%) for discussing/debate and quarrelling, 11(35.5%) for counting, 10(32.2%) for praying, abusing/scolding and telling stories to children and 7(22.6%) during family gatherings.

Going through all sorts of analysis we found that almost all the Thamis are bilingual with Nepali and the no third languages are still in their daily use. The tables also mark the trends of increment of use of Nepali rather than Thami but the language is still in their daily use spoken by all of them belonging to different levels of age, sex and literacy.

3.2 Language use in educational and social matters

Most of the Thami speakers use their mother tongue with their family members for discussing different family matters. Same is the case in talking about educational and social matters with their family members. But they sometimes use Nepali too. Table 3.8 presents use of languages in educational matters by sex.

Table 3.8: Use of languages in educational and social matters by sex

Domains	Male (n=30)				Female (n=30)			
	Thami	Nepali	NR/NP	Both	Thami	Nepali	NR/NP	Both
Grandfather	26(86.7%)	2(6.7%)	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)	20(66.7%)	5(16.7%)	3(10.0%)	2(6.7%)
Grandmother	26(86.7%)	2(6.7%)	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)	20(66.7%)	6(20.0%)	3(10.0)	1(3.3%)
Father	24(80.0%)	2(6.7%)	1(3.3%)	3(10.0%)	22(73.3%)	4(13.3%)	1(3.3%)	3(10.0%)
Mother	25(83.3%)	2(6.7%)		3(10.0%)	22(73.3%)	5(16.7%)		3(10.0%)
Spouse	23(76.7%)		3(10.0%)	4(13.3%)	20(66.7%)	4(13.3%)	3(10.0%)	3(10.0%)
Children	20(66.7%)	1(3.3%)	5(16.7%)	4(13.3%)	16(53.3%)	5(16.7%)	5(16.7%)	4(13.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.8 shows that 26(86.7%) of the male respondents reported they use Thami with both the grandparents in educational and social matters followed by 20(66.7%) female ones. 25(83.3%) of male said they use it with their mothers and 24(80%) use it with their fathers while 22(73.3%) of the female respondents said they use it with their both the parents. Likewise, 23(76.7%) of the male reported using it with their wives followed by 20(66.7%) female respondents using it with their husbands. Similarly, 20(66.7%) male and 16(53.3%) female reported they use it with their children. said they use mostly use their mother tongue in educational and social matters.

Regarding use of Nepali in the domain, 2(6.7%) of the male reported they use it with both the grandparents and parents and 1(3.3%) reported using it with children. The female informants responded variably. 6(20%) of them said they use Nepali with their

grandmothers, 5(16.7%) reported using it with grandfathers, mothers and children followed by 4(16.7%) with fathers and husbands.

Regarding both the languages, Thami and Nepali, being used together at the same time in the domain, 4(13.3%) of each of male and female respondents said they use them with children, 4(13.3%) of the male and 3(10%) of the female said they use them with their spouses, 3(10%) of each of male and female reported using it with both of their parents, 1(3.3%) of the male reported using them with both of their grandparents followed by 2(6.7%) of the female using them with grandfathers and 1(3.3%) with grandmothers.

Among each of the male and female respondents, 5(16.7%) of them did not respond the query about their children followed by 3(10%) of each of them regarding spouses and 1(3.3%) of each regarding fathers. Likewise, 3(10%) of the female and 1(3.3%) of the male gave no response to the query regarding their both the grandparents.

Hence, Table 3.8 shows that the use of mother tongue in this domain is higher among male than those of female respondents. Figure 3.3 and 3.4 also present the data in this domain.

Figure 3.3: Use of languages in educational matter by male

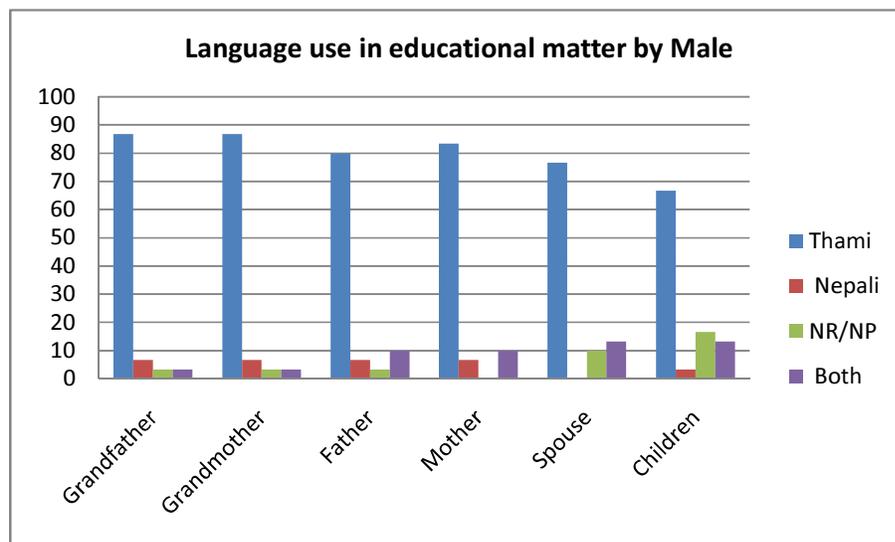
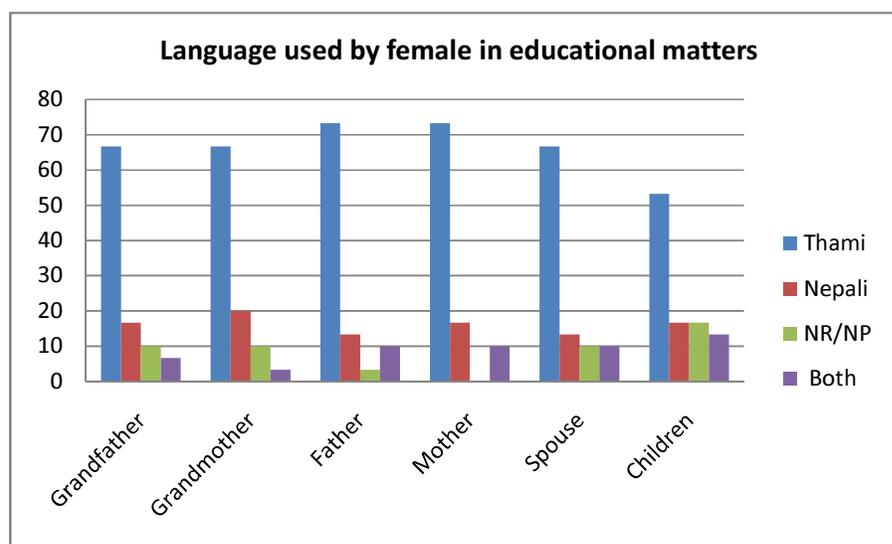


Figure 3.4: Use of languages in educational matter by female



3.3 Language use in letter writing

Since the literacy rate in Thami is very poor, majority of speakers use Nepali in letter writing to their family members. Table 3.9 presents the use of languages in letter writing by the male speaker of Thami community.

Table 3.9: Use of languages in letter writing by Sex

Domains	Male (n=M30)			Female (n=30%)			
	Nepali	No Resp	Both	Thami	Nepali	No Resp	Both
Grandfather	18(60.0%)	11(36.7%)	1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)	8(26.7%)	19(63.3%)	1(3.3%)
Grandmother	18(60.0%)	11(36.7%)	1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)	9(30%)	19(63.3%)	
Father	17(56.7%)	12(40%)	1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)	8(26.7%)	19(63.3%)	1(3.3%)
Mother	18(60.0%)	11(36.7%)	1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)	8(26.7%)	19(63.3%)	1(3.3%)
Spouse	15(50.0%)	14(46.7%)	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)	6(20%)	23(76.7%)	
Children	14(46.7%)	16(53.3%)		1(3.3%)	5(16.7%)	24(80%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.9 shows that the male Thami respondents do not use their mother tongue for letter writing to their family members whereas 2(6.7%) of the female respondents said they use it for writing letter to both of their grandparents and parents and 1(3.3%) of them said they use it to the husband and children.

Using Nepali in the domain is the maximum among the male responses whereas it also looks getting momentum among the female ones. 18(60%) male respondents said they use it for writing letter to their both the grandparents and mothers followed by 17(56.7%) to their fathers, 15(50%) to their wives and 14(46.7%) to their children. Similarly, 9(30%) of the female respondents said they use Nepali for writing letter to

their grandmothers followed by 8(26.7%) to their grandfathers and both the parents, 6(20%) to their husbands and 5(16.7%) to their children.

Using both the languages together for letter writing, only 1(3.3%) of the male respondents said they use them for writing letter to their both the grandparents, parents and wives where as 1(3.3%) of the female respondents said they use them to their grandfathers and both the parents.

The number of respondents giving no response in the domain is also high among both of male and female respondents. 16(53.3%) of the male kept silence in which language/s they write letter to their children followed by 14(46.7%) to their wives, 12(40%) to their fathers and 11(36.7%) to both of the grandparents and mothers. 24(80%) of the female kept silence for using any language to write letter to their children followed by 23(76.7%) to their husbands and 19(63.3%) to both of their grandparents and parents.

The situation is also presented in Figure 3.5 and 3.6.

Figure 3.5: Use of languages in letter writing by male

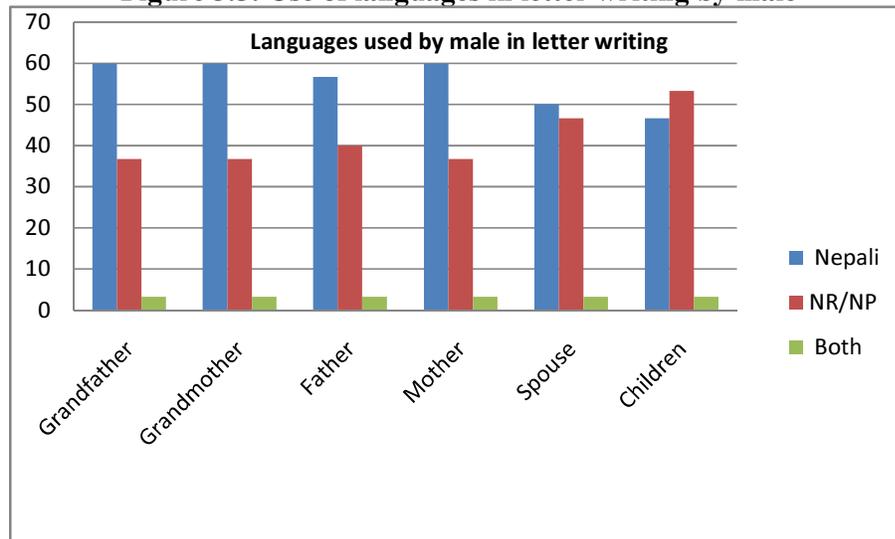
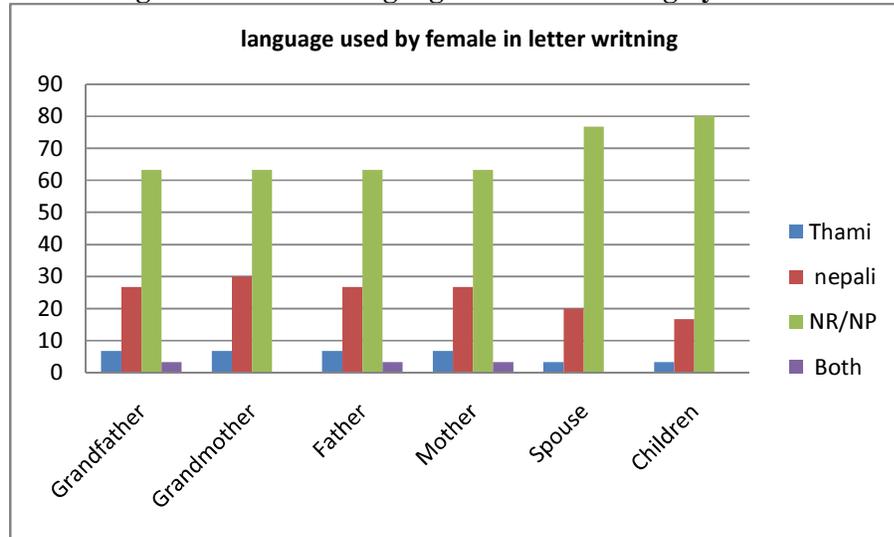


Figure 3.6: Use of languages in letter writing by female



3.4 Languages used outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbours and at school by Thami children. As the children of the Thami native speakers are bi/multilingual, they use their mother tongue, Thami; Nepali; both Thami and Nepali and English languages outside the home. Table 3.10 presents the languages Thami children usually speak while playing with children, talking with neighbors and at school.

Table 3.10: Languages Thami children usually speak

N=60	Languages	Playing with other children	Talking to neighbours	At school
Male (n=30)	Thami	17(56.7%)	15(50.0%)	
	Nepali	7(23.3%)	8(26.7%)	23(76.7%)
	No response			1(3.3%)
	Both	3(10.0%)	4(13.3%)	3(10.0%)
Female (n=30)	Thami	17(56.7%)	16(53.3%)	
	Nepali	7(23.3%)	7(23.3%)	22(73.3%)
	No response	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)
	Both	4(13.3%)	5(16.7%)	5(16.7%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.10 shows that the Thami children usually speak mother tongues while playing with other children and neighbours, and Nepali at school. During our field visit, 17(56.7%) of each of male and female respondents say their children speak Thami while playing with other children followed by 7(23.3%) of each male and female saying use of Nepali in the domain. Meanwhile, 4(13.3%) of the female and 3(10%) of the male responded their children use both the languages in the domain. Likewise,

16(53.3%) of the male and 15(50%) of the female respondents said their children use Nepali while talking to neighbours, 8(26.7%) of the male and 7(23.3%) of the female said their children use Nepali while 5(16.7%) of the female and 4(13.3%) of the male responded their children use both the languages in the domain. Regarding use of languages by their children at school, none of them said they use mother tongue alone. 23(76.7%) of the male and 22(73.3%) of the female respondents said their children use Nepali while 5(16.5%) of the female and 3(10%) of the male said their children use both the languages, Thami and Nepali, together at school. 1(3.3%) of the female did not respond on the language use by their children while playing with other children as well as talking to neighbours while 2(6.7%) of the female and 1(3.3%) of the male gave no response on the language use by their children at school. Moreover, 3(10%) of the male and 1(3.3%) of the female did not take part responding any of the queries among these domains.

3.5 Language for invitation

Most of the members of Thami speech community use their own mother tongue, Thami, in different rites and rituals. Same is the case in marriage invitations too. Table 3.11 presents the languages used by Thami native speakers for marriage invitations.

Table 3.11: Languages used for marriage invitations by sex

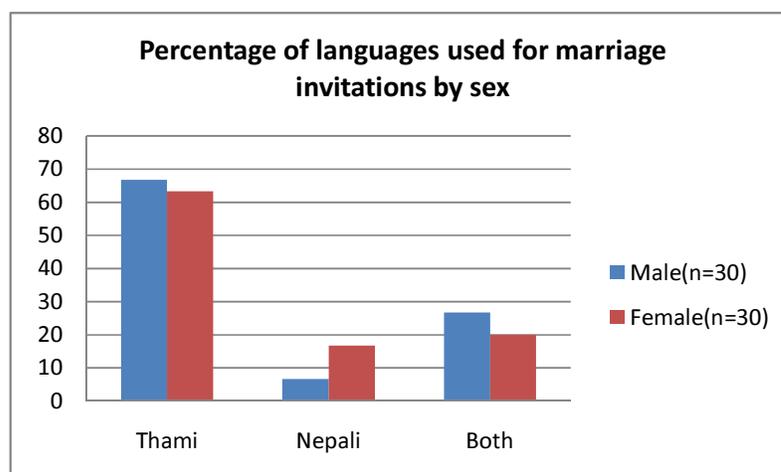
Sex	Thami	Nepali	Both
Male (n=30)	20 (66.7%)	2 (6.7%)	8(26.7%)
Female (n=30)	19(63.3%)	5(16.7%)	6(20.0%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.11 shows that 20(66.7%) of the male and 19(63.3%) of the female respondents said they use their mother tongue, Thami, for marriage invitations. 5(16.7%) of the female and 2(6.7%) of the male said they use Nepali while 8(26.7%) of the male and 6(20%) of the female said they use both the languages together in the domain.

Variable response of the male respondents is also presented in Figure 3.7

Figure 3.7: Languages used for marriage invitations by sex



Similarly, Table 3.12 presents the situation of language use in the same domain by age of the informants.

Table 3.12: Languages used for marriage invitations by age

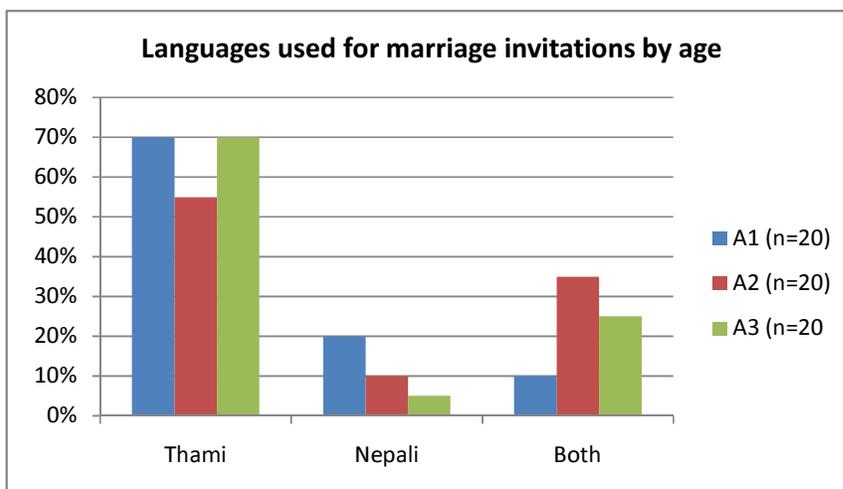
N=60	Thami	Nepali	Both
A1 (n=20)	14(70%)	4(20%)	2(10%)
A2 (n=20)	11(55%)	2(10%)	7(35%)
A3 (n=20)	14(70%)	1(5%)	5(25%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.12 shows that out of 20 informants of each age group, 14(70%) of the youngsters, 11(55%) of the adult and 14(70%) of the elderly informants use Thami for marriage invitations. Likewise, 4(20%) of the youngsters, 2(10%) of the adults and 1(5%) of the elderly informants use Nepali in the domain. It shows that 7(35%) of the adults, 5(25%) of the elderly and 2(10%) of the youngsters of our informants use both the languages, Thami and Nepali, in the domain.

The information is also presented in Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8 Languages used for marriage invitations by age



The situation in this domain is also presented on the basis of literacy of the informants of the informants in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13: Languages used for marriage invitations by literacy

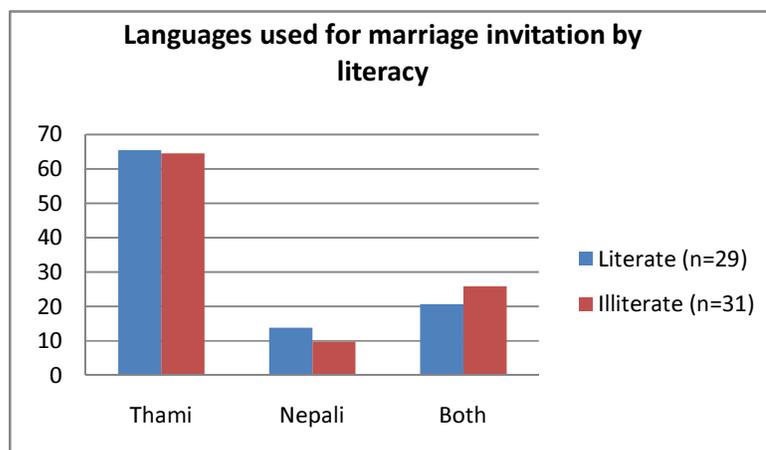
N=60	Thami	Nepali	Both
Literate (n=29)	19(65.5%)	4(13.8%)	6(20.7%)
Illiterate (n=31)	20(64.5%)	3(9.7%)	8(25.8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.13 shows that 20(64.5%) of the illiterate and 19(65.5%) of the literate informants use Thami for marriage invitations. 4(13.8%) of the literate and 3(9.7%) of the illiterate ones use Nepali and 8(25.8%) of the illiterate and 6(20.7%) of the literate use both the languages in the domain.

The information is also presented in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9: Languages used for marriage invitations by literacy



3.6 Language use in minutes writing

Since the official language of the nation is Nepali, the documents which are written for official purposes and the documents which should be documented in the community offices are mostly written in Nepali. Table 3.14 presents the data related to the language used in minutes writing provided by the speakers of the key survey points.

Table 3.14: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by sex

N=60	Thami	Nepali	Both
Male (n=30)	3 (10.0%)	25 (83.3%)	2(6.7%)
Female (n=30)		30(100.0%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.14 shows that the rate of using Nepali for minute writing in the Thami speech community meetings is high. It shows that all of the female respondents said they use only Nepali in the domain. Regarding male respondents, 25(83.3%) of them said they use Nepali followed by 3(10%) using Thami and 2(6.7%) of them using both the languages together.

The information is also presented in Figure 3.10.

Figure 3.10: Languages used to write minutes in community meetings by sex

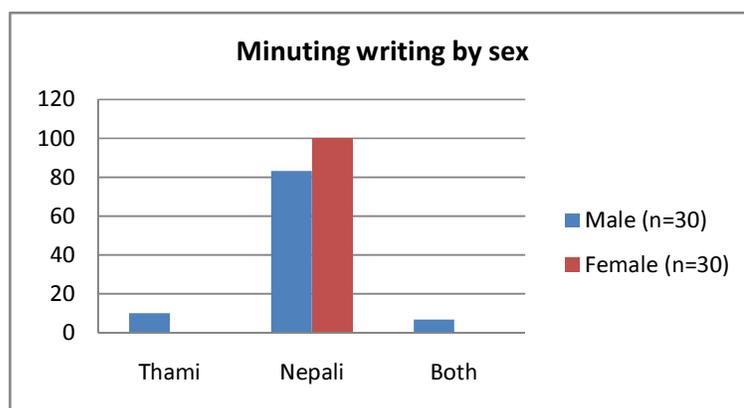


Table 3.15 also presents the situation in the same domain on the basis of literacy of the informants.

Table 3.15: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy

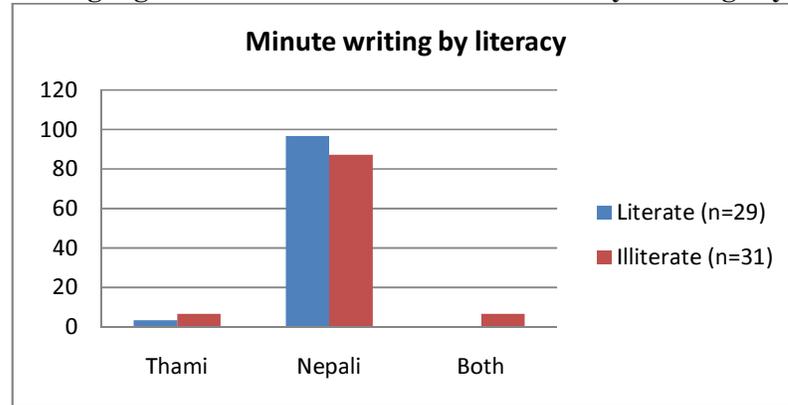
N=60	Thami	Nepali	Both
Literate (n=29)	1(3.4%)	28(96.6%)	
Illiterate (n=31)	2(6.5%)	27(87.1%)	2(6.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.15 shows that 28(96.6%) of the literate and 27(87.1%) of the illiterate informants report use of Nepali to write minutes in the community meetings. 2(6.5%) of the illiterate and 1(3.4%) of the literate informants reported use of Thami in the domain and only 2(6.5%) of the illiterate informants report use of both the languages, Thami and Nepali together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 3.11.

Figure 3.11: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy



Similarly, Table 3.16 presents the situation in the domain according to the age groups of the informants.

Table 3.16: Languages used to write minutes in community meetings by age

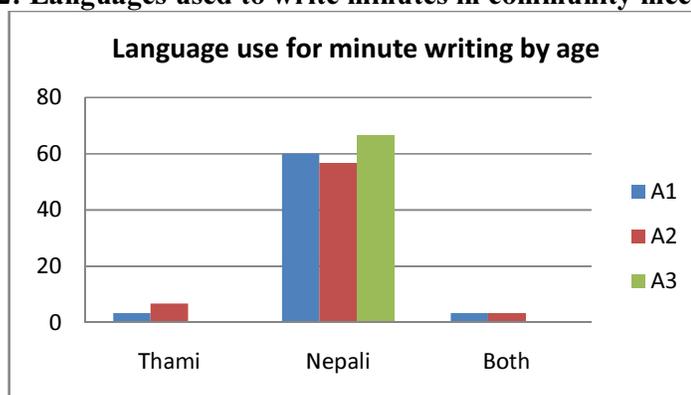
N=60	Thami	Nepali	Both
A1 (n=20)	1(5%)	18(90%)	1(5%)
A2 (n=20)	2(10%)	17(85%)	1(5%)
A3 (n=20)		20(100%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.16 shows that all of the elderly informants said they use Nepali for minute writing in the community meetings. Meanwhile, 18(90%) of the youngsters and 17(85%) of the adults of the informants reported use of Nepali, 2(10%) of the adult and 1(5%) of the youngster informants reported use of Thami in the domain. Likewise, 1(5%) each of the youngster and adult respondents reported use of Thami and Nepali together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 3.12.

Figure 3.12: Languages used to write minutes in community meetings by age



3.7 Frequency in the use of languages

As already presented, Thamis are almost bilingual with Nepali. But frequency of use of their mother tongue is still high. When the informants were asked how often they use their mother tongue, most of them responded that they use it daily and a few of them said they use it sometimes. But none of them reported they never use it. Table 3.17 presents frequency of use of mother tongue by Thamis by sex.

Table 3.17: Frequency of use of mother tongue by Thami people by Sex

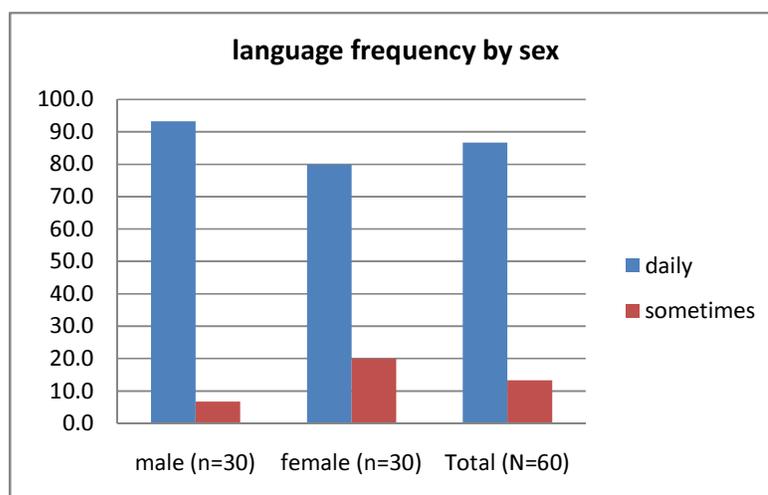
N=60	Daily	Sometimes
Male (n=30)	28(93.3%)	2(6.7%)
Female (n=30)	24(80.0%)	6(20.0%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.17 shows 28(93.3%) of the male and 24(80%) of the female Thami respondents said they use their mother tongue daily while 6(20%) of the female and 2(6.7%) of the male ones said they use it sometimes.

Figure 3.13 also presents the information.

Figure 3.13: Frequency of use of mother tongue by Thami people by Sex



The situation in the domain is also presented by age of the informants in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18: Frequency of use of mother tongue by Thami people by age

N=60	daily	sometimes
A1 (n=20)	16(80%)	4(20%)
A2 (n=20)	18(90%)	2(10%)
A3 (n=20)	18(90%)	2(10%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.18 shows that 18(90%) of each of the adult and elderly Thami informants use their mother tongue daily followed by 2(10%) of each of them using it sometimes. Regarding the youngster informants, 16(80%) of them said they use it daily followed by 4(20%) of them using it sometimes.

The situation is also analyzed on the basis of literacy of the informants in Table 3.19.

Table 3.19: Frequency of use of mother tongue by Thami people by literacy

N=60	Daily	Sometimes
literate	25(86.2%)	4(13.8%)
illiterate	27(87.1%)	4(12.9%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.19 shows that 27(87.1%) of the illiterate Thami respondents use their mother tongue daily followed by 4(13.8%) using it sometimes while 25(86.2%) of literate ones said they use it daily followed by 4(13.8%) using it sometimes.

Moreover, in response to the question ‘What is your contact language?’, all respondents replied that Nepali is their contact language. But in response to the

question ‘how often you speak your contact language?’, they responded variably. Table 3.20 presents the situation sex-wise.

Table 3.20: Frequency of use of the language of wider communication (LWC) by sex

N=60	Daily	Sometimes
Male	26(86.7%)	4(13.3%)
Female	23(76.7%)	7(23.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.20 shows that 26(86.7%) of the male respondents use Nepali as LWC daily followed by 23(76.7%) of the female ones. Likewise, 7(23.3%) of the female respondents said they use Nepali as LWC sometimes followed by 4(13.3%) of the male ones.

Besides, Table 3.21 presents situation in the same domain by level of literacy of the informants.

Table 3.21: Frequency of use of the language of wider communication (LWC) by literacy

N=60	Daily	Sometimes
Literate (n=29)	27(93.1%)	2(6.9%)
Illiterate (n=31)	22(71.0%)	9(29.0%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.21 shows that 27(93.1%) of the literate and 22(71.0%) of the illiterate Thami informants use Nepali daily as LWC while 9(29.0%) of the illiterate and 2(6.9%) of the literate ones use it sometimes.

The situation in this domain is also presented in Table 3.22 on the basis of age groups of the informants.

Table 3.22: Frequency of use of the language of wider communication (LWC) by age

N=60	Daily	Sometimes
A1 (n=20)	18(90%)	2(10%)
A2 (n=20)	15(75%)	5(25%)
A3 (n=20)	16(80%)	4(20%)

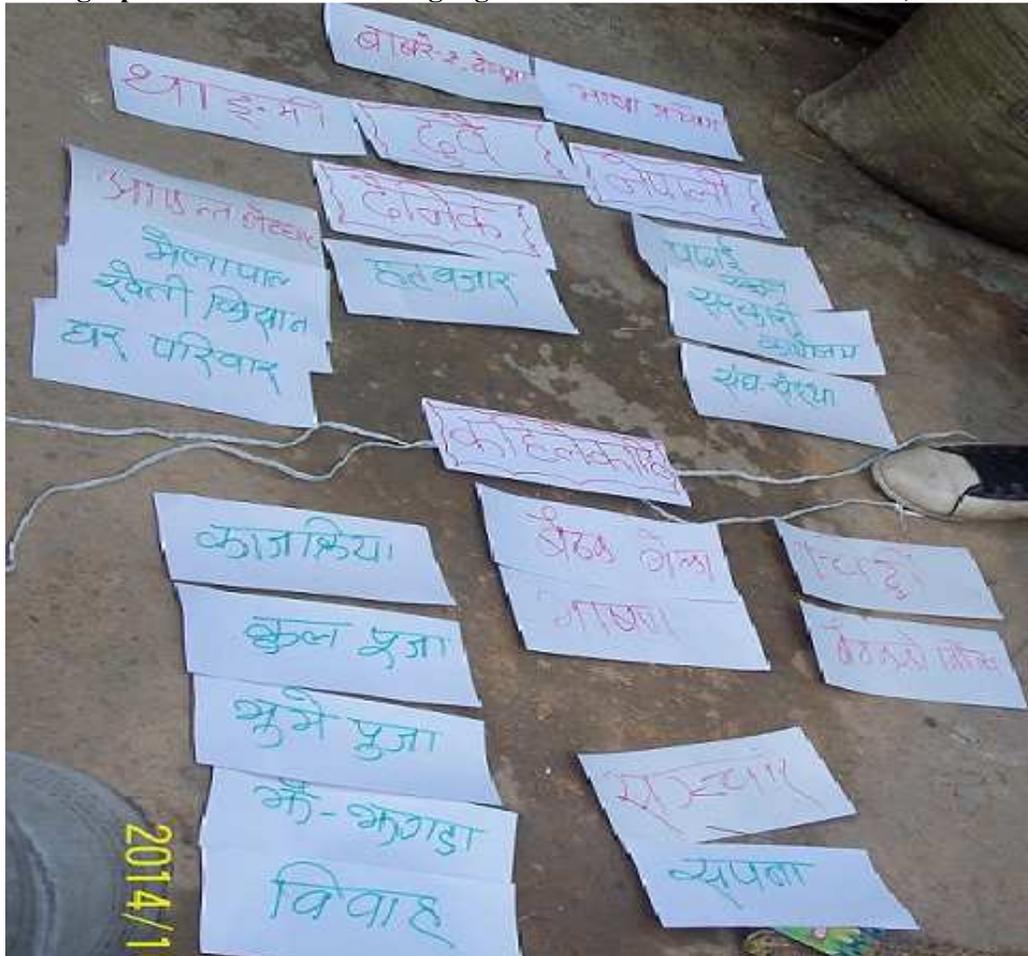
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 3.22 shows 18(90%) of the youngster, 16(80%) of the elderly and 15(75%) of the adult informants use Nepali daily as LWC whereas 5(25%) of the adult, 4(20%) of the elderly and 2(10%) of the youngster informants use it sometimes.

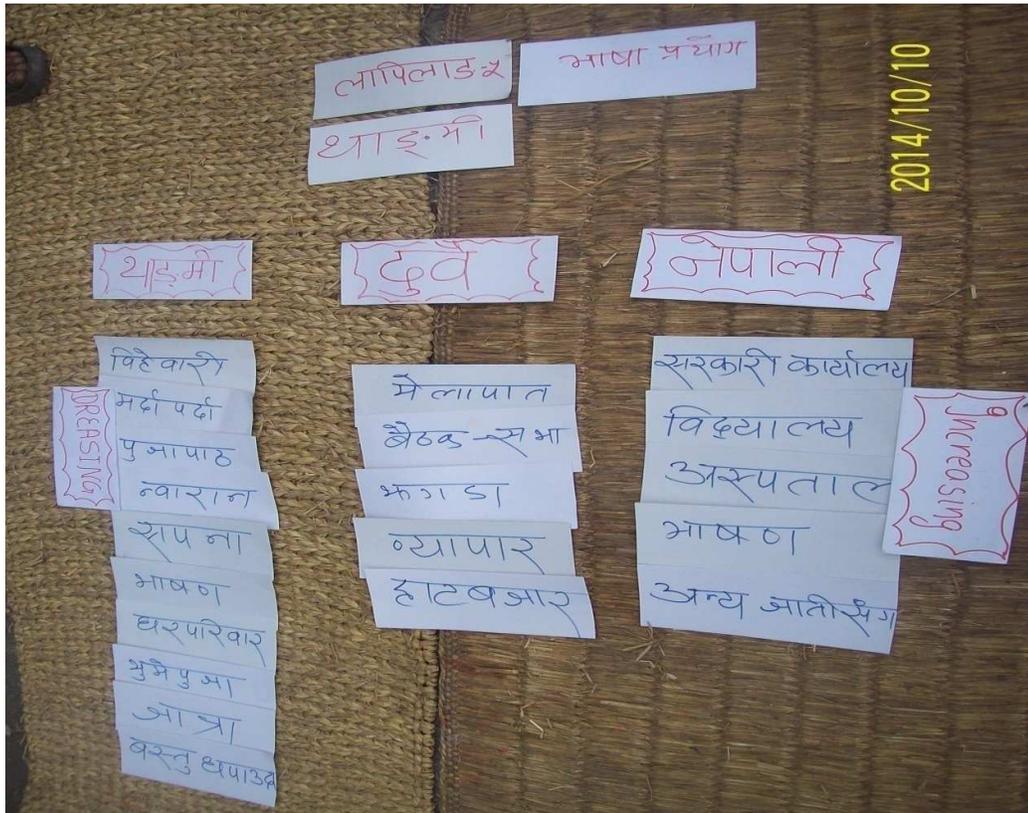
Similarly, when the respondents were asked 'what language do you speak when the speakers of the other languages visit your home?' in response to this question all of them responded that they speak Nepali with the speakers of the other languages visit their home.

Photographs for appreciative inquiry in this domain are presented below:

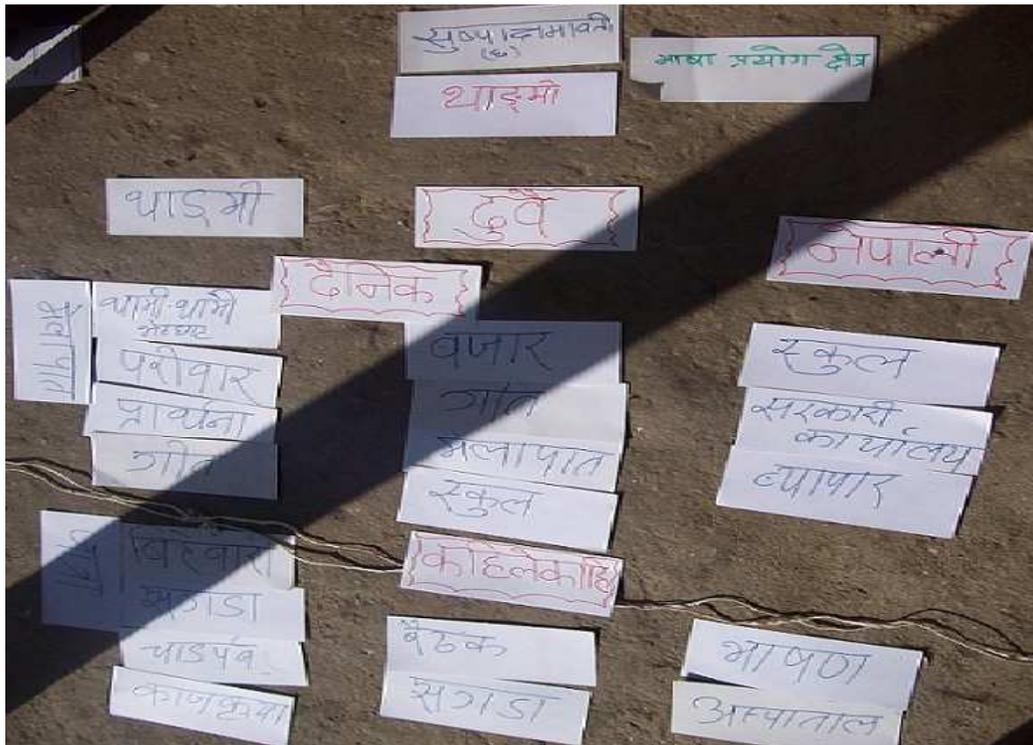
Photograph 3.1: Domains of Language Use at Babre VDC Ward No. 2, Dolakha



Photograph 3.2: Domains of Language Use at Lapilang VDC Ward No. 5, Dolakha



Photograph 3.3: Domains of Language Use at Suspa Kshemabati-6 VDC, Dolakha



On the basis of the five Photographs pasted in this subsection, the Thami language is used by the Thami community at home, in the families, in the Thami localities, during rites and rituals, daily works, local markets, singing, quarrelling, telling stories, betrothal, magic-spell, during festivities, wedding ceremonies, working in the field, fishing, cultural show, abusing each other, with family members, worshipping, funeral, death ritual, offerings to deities, programs in local fm radios, folksongs, merry-makings. They use Nepali in their localities especially with the other language speakers, at government offices, writing official letters, in school classes, on journeys, writing decisions in a meeting, in an organization, in hospitals, in a seminar. Likewise the domains of use of both Thami and Nepali are in temples, schools, fair, conference, market places, organizations, group discussions, debate, politics, education and media.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed situation of language use in common domains such as counting, singing, marketing, story-telling, debating, game, quarrelling, scolding, singing at home, family gatherings and rural meetings; language use in educational and social matters, in letter writing, outside home, for invitation, minute writing. Likewise we have discussed frequency in the use of languages. Moreover, we have also presented situation language use in different domains by means of the photographs collected during the appreciative inquiries.

CHAPTER 4

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism. It consists of four sections. Section 4.1 discusses mother tongue proficiency in Thami. In section 4.2, we discuss bi/multilingualism and bi/multilingualism in the Thami language and bi/multilingualism in the children of the Thami speech community. Similarly, section 4.3 deals with level of understanding of Nepali in school. In section 4.4, we present the summary of the findings in the chapter.

4.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Thami

The Thami speech community is almost bilingual but monolingual, especially in a few remote rural areas. The official vernacular is Nepali and so is the medium of instruction. So, the newer generation is rapidly being proficient in bilingualism with Nepali. However, they are highly proficient in mother tongue speaking. In this regard when the informants were asked “What language did you speak first?” they all responded it was Thami.

Similarly, when the informants were asked, “Which language do you love most?”, all the respondents said they love the Thami language most.

Regarding reading and writing, we were informed that those who are literate all can read and write Thami. It shows that there is cent percent proficiency in Thami speaking in the speech community. Likewise cent percent of the literate male and female of them can read and write in their mother tongue. At the same time when the literate informants were asked how well they read and write in the mother tongue, they responded variably. Table 4.1 presents their level of proficiency in mother tongue.

Table 4.1: Level of proficiency in reading and writing of mother tongue

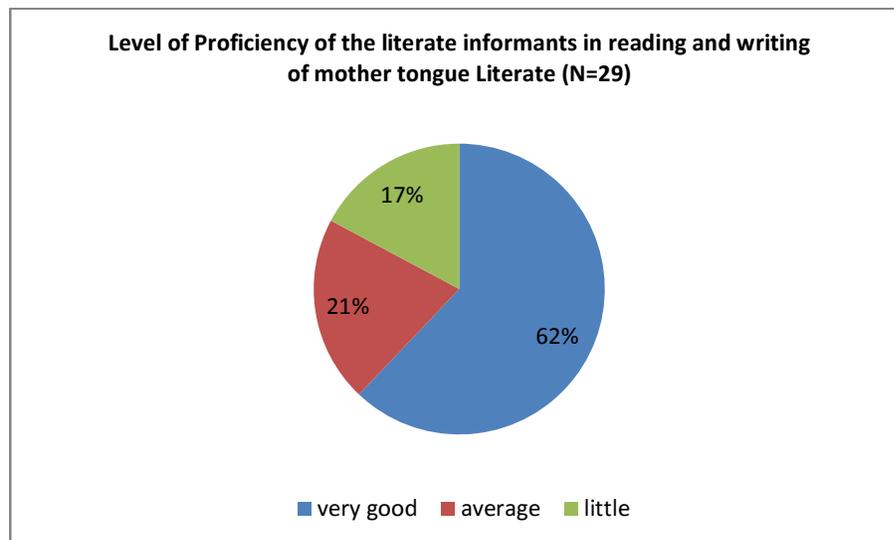
Reading and writing Thami language by Thami people (N=29)		
very good	18	62.1 %
average	6	20.7 %
little	5	17.2 %
Total	29	100.0 %

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 4.1 shows that 18(62.1%) of the literate Thami native speakers can read and write in Thami very well, 6(20.7%) can do in average and 5(17.2%) can do only a little. It shows that the literate Thami speakers have highest level of reading and writing in their mother tongue.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Level of Proficiency of the literate informants in reading and writing of mother tongue



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

4.2 Bi/multilingualism among individuals

Bilingualism is the ability to speak and understand a second language. It is usually in a language of national or regional importance. It is the result of either formal or informal exposure to another language; this is nearly always uneven in a community. Thus, different individuals and sections of any community are bilingual to different degrees everywhere. Bilingualism arises from the simple fact that people of widely

different lingual backgrounds need and want to communicate with each other. Nepal has been referred to as "a garden of flowers" of linguistic and cultural diversity. People from different ethnic groups acquire second and third languages to communicate with each other. Furthermore, education in Nepal generally provides exposure to Nepali. Knowledge of Nepali is vital for the advancement of the people and their integration into national life. Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not tell us much about the ability of the others in a community.

4.2.1 Bi/multilingualism in Thami speech community

When the informants were asked what languages they can speak first, all of them responded they speak Thami first. Regarding other languages, they also responded affirmatively. Table 4.2 presents bi/multilingualism in the Thami speech community.

Table 4.2: Bi/multilingualism in the Thami speech community

(N= 60)

	Languages	Speakers	%
1.	Thami	60	100 %
2.	Nepali	60	100 %
3.	Hindi	18	30 %
4.	English	10	16.7 %
5.	Tamang	7	11.7 %
6.	Newar	3	5%
7.	Sherpa	2	3.3 %

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 4.2 shows that all informants of Thami are fluent in mother tongue as well as equally bilingual in Nepali. Besides, 18(30%) of them are bilingual with Hindi, 10(16.7%) with English, 7(11.7%) in Tamang, 3(5%) in Newar and 2(3.3%) in Sherpa.

4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in Thami families

As mentioned in 4.1, most of the Thami speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual; their family members are also bilingual in different languages. Table 4.3 presents the bi/multilingualism in Thami family members of the male respondents.

Table 4.3: Other languages known by family members of the male respondents

Other languages known by male (N=30)						
	Father		Mother		Wife	
Nepali	30	100 %	30	100 %	26	86.7%
Hindi	5	16.7 %	2	6.7 %	1	3.3 %
Newar	2	6.7 %				
English					2	6.7 %
Tamang	1	3.3 %	1	3.3 %		
Gurung	1	3.3 %				

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 4.3 shows that all 30 respondents' parents are bilingual in Nepali. Besides, fathers of 5(16.7%) and mothers of 2(6.7%) are bilingual with Hindi, fathers of 2(6.7%), both the parents of 1(3.3%) are with Tamang and father of 1(3.3%) is with Gurung. About their wives, 26(86.7%) said they are bilingual with Nepali, 2(6.7%) are with English and 1(3.3%) is with Hindi. 4 respondents remained unmarried. Likewise, Table 4.4 presents the bi/multilingualism in Thami family members of the female respondents.

Table 4.4: Other languages known by the family members of Female (N=30)

	Father		Mother		Husband	
Thami only			1	3.3 %		
Thami	29	96.7 %	29	96.7 %	25	83.3 %
Nepali	29	96.7 %	29	96.7 %	26	86.7 %
Tamang	1	3.3 %				
Hindi	2	6.7 %			4	13.3 %
English	1	3.3 %			1	3.3 %

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 4.4 shows that mother of 1(3.3%) female respondent is still monolingual. Regarding others, 29(96.7%) of the female respondents' both the parents speak Nepali, fathers of 2(6.7%) speak Hindi and 1(3.3%) each Tamang and English. In the same way 26(86.7%) of the female respondents' husbands speak Nepali and 4(13.3%) speak Hindi and only 1(3.3%) speaks English. 4 respondents remained unmarried.

4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism among children

After the parents and spouses' proficiency of bi/multilingualism, the turn comes to the children. Table 4.5 presents other languages known to the Thami speaking children as well as where they learnt those languages.

Table 4.5: Other languages known to their children and where they learnt those languages

N=60			
Language	#	%	Where did they learn?
Nepali	46	76.7	In village
Hindi	5	8.3	In media,TV
English	11	18.3	In school

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 4.5 shows Thami speaking children are highly bilingual with Nepali. Other languages they know are Hindi and English. Among the 60 informants, 46(76.7%) informants reported their children know Nepali, 11(18.3%) reported their children know English and only 5(8,3%) reported English. They reported their children learnt Nepali at village, English at school and Hindi in by media, TV.

4.3 Level of understanding of Nepali in school

As mentioned in section 4.2, most of the Thami children have learnt Nepali in their village; still they face high difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.6 presents the levels of understanding Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

Table 4.6: Levels of understanding Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex

Children understand language in school (N=60)						
	male (n=30)		female (n=30)		Total (N=60)	
	no.	%	no.	%	No.	%
understand all	6	20	3	10.0	9	15.0
average	12	40	20	66.7	32	53.3
not at all	12	40	7	23.3	19	31.7
Total	30	100	30	100.0	60	100.0

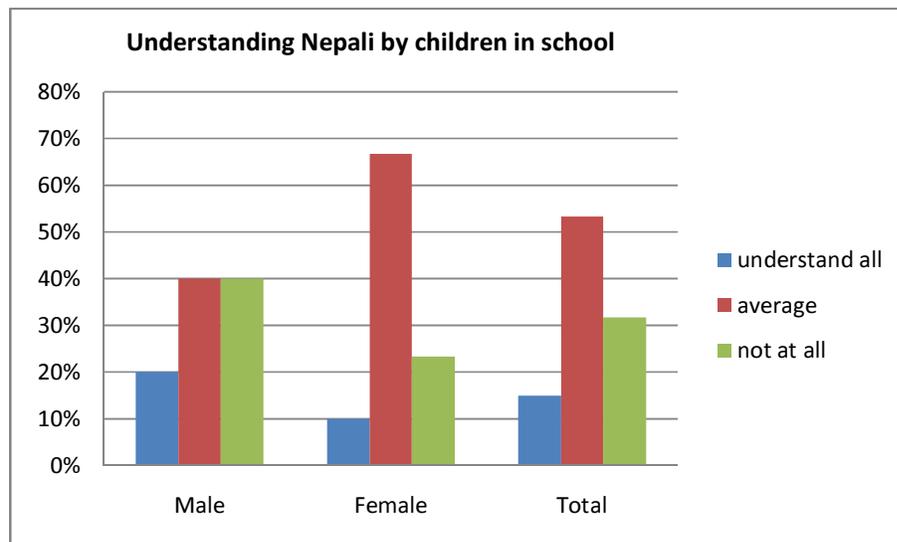
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 4.6 shows that only 6(20%) of the male and 3(10%) of the female ones said that their children understand all what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. But, 12(40%) male and 20(66.7%) female respondents said that their children understand in average what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Rest 12(40%) male and 7(23.3%) female respondents said that their children understand nothing what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. In totality, only 9(15%) of the 60 informants reported their children fully

understand what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school while 32(53.3%) reported their children understand in average and 19 (31.7%) completely denied their children understand what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.4.

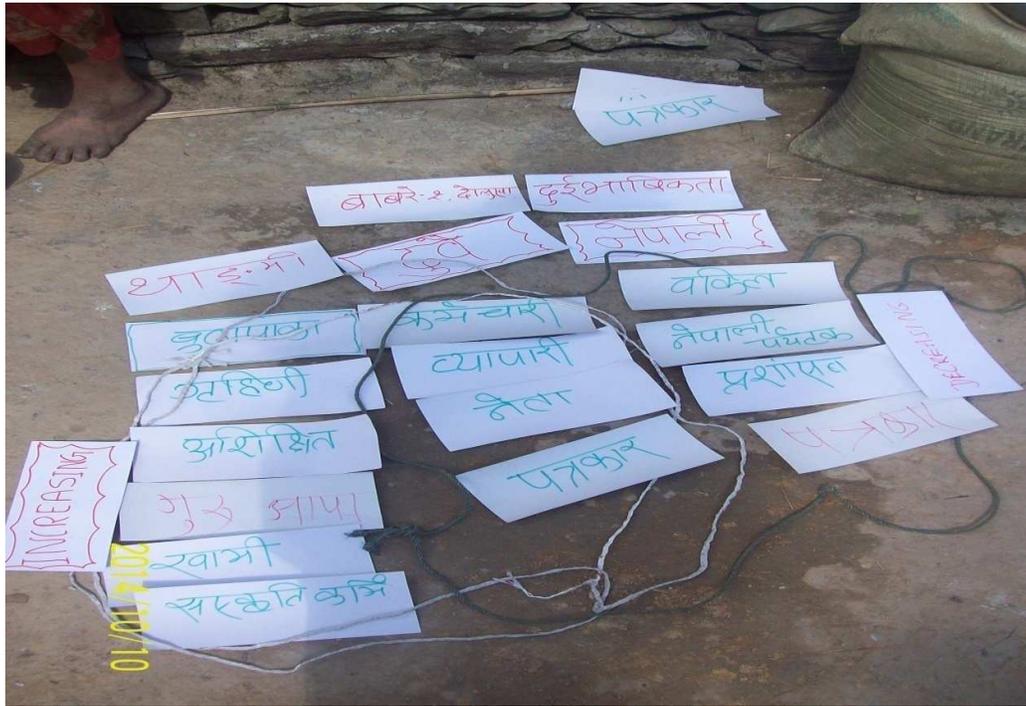
Figure 4.2: Levels of understanding Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

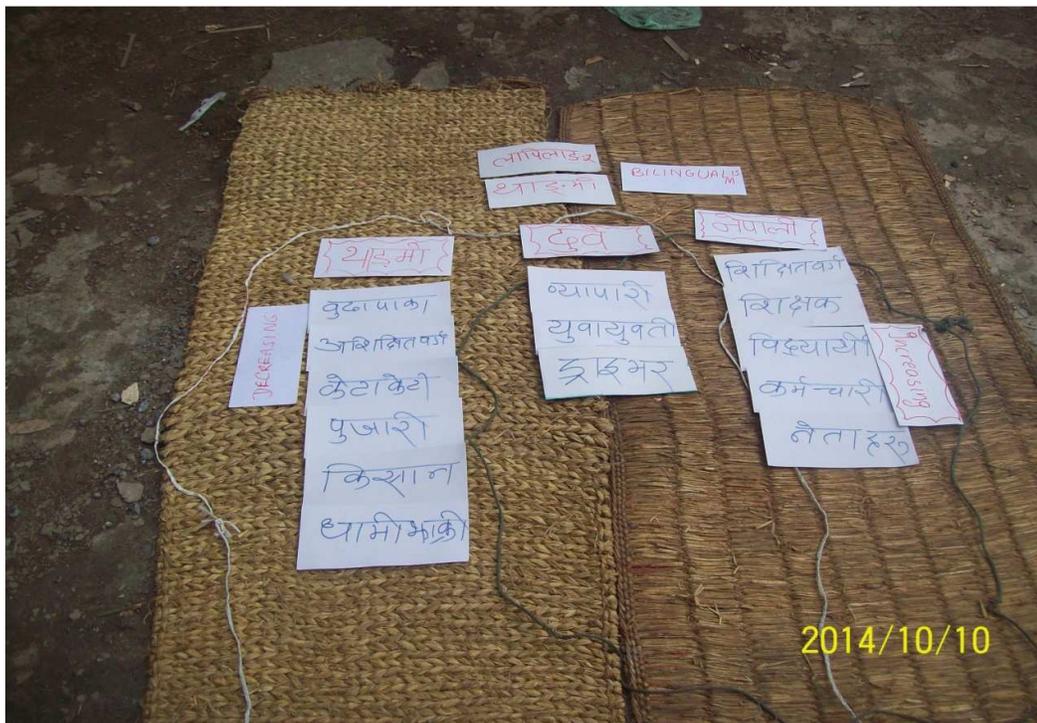
In order to examine the situation of bi/multilingualism in Thami, bi/multilingualism, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Thami. The Photographs of bilingualism tools used in Babre-2, Lapilang and Suspa Kshamavati in Dolakha, Daduwa in Ramechhap and Chokati in Sindhupalchok present the situation of bi/multilingualism in Thami speech community.

Photograph 4.1: Situation of Bi/multilingualism in Babre-2, Dolakha



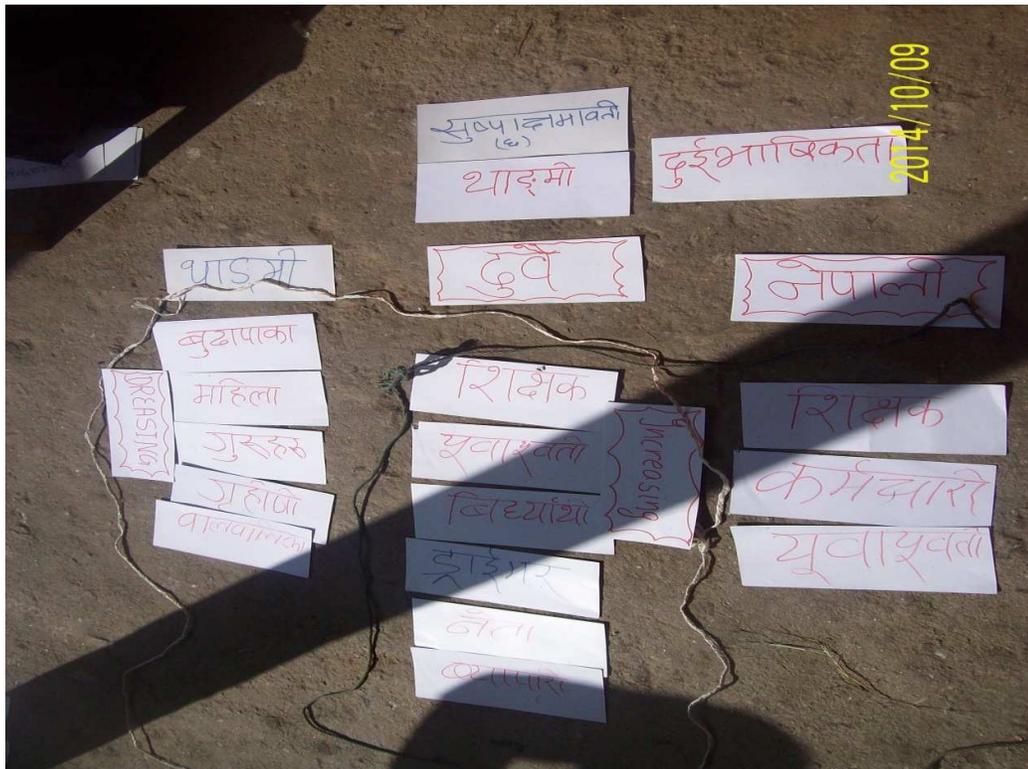
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Photograph 4.2: Situation of Bi/multilingualism in Lapilang-5, Dolakha



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Photograph 4.3: Situation of Bi/multilingualism in Suspa Kshamavati-6, Dolakha



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Photograph 4.4: Situation of Bi/multilingualism in Daduwa-4, Ramechhap



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Photograph 4.5: Situation of Bi/multilingualism in Chokati-4, Sindhupalchok



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

There are three common findings from this participatory method of linguistic inquiry:

1. There are some people in the Thami speech community almost monolingual in Thami mother tongue especially male and female speakers of the older age group lacking exposure to the urban areas.
2. The Thami speakers who are not going outside the village such as women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than the others.
3. School going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in both the Thami and Nepali languages.

4.4 Summary

On the basis of facts and figures discussed in this chapter, we summarize that majority of children face difficulty in understanding all what their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Since, most of the Thami native speakers use their own mother tongue as well as Nepali at home; their children are also to some extent bilingual before going to school. But they face difficulty when they first go to school.

It shows that there is the need of mother tongue based multilingual education (MLE). Similarly, there are some people in Thami community still monolingual in mother tongue especially female speakers of the older age group as well as those who do not go outside their home and village. Especially the members of the community with outside exposures such as school going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in both the Thami and Nepali languages. Besides, English and Hindi are also reported to have been known to some extent in the Thami speech community.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE VITALITY, TRANSMISSION AND MAINTENANCE

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language vitality, transmission and maintenance in general. It consists of five sections. Section 5.1 deals with the intergenerational transmission of the language. Similarly, in section 5.2, we discuss the languages spoken by younger people of the Thami speech community. Section 5.3 deals with the transmission of the Thami language. In section 5.4, we discuss the language maintenance. At last, section 5.5 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Intergenerational transmission

Thami community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. But the rate of shifting towards Nepali is also getting momentum. Still the small children of the community can speak their mother tongue. Table 5.1 presents the data based on the responses to of the question ‘Do all your children speak your mother tongue?’ by the informants in the key survey points.

Table 5.1: Mother tongue spoken by children

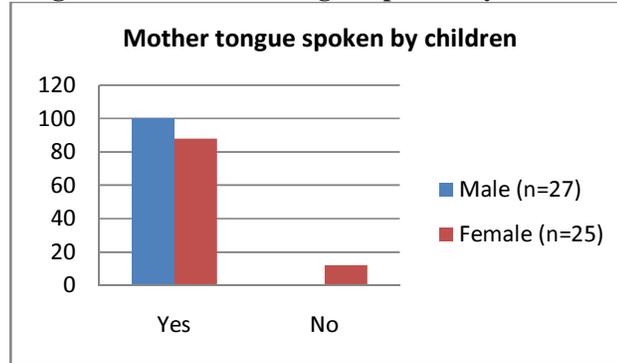
N=52	Yes	No
Male (n=27)	27(100%)	
Female (n=25)	22(88%)	3(12%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.1 shows that almost all children of the Thami speech community speak their mother tongue. All the responses provided by both the male and female respondents who entertained the query are the almost the same that their children speak their mother tongue. Only 3(12%) of the female respondents denied the situation. It shows that the Thami language has the optimum vitality. 3 male and 5 female respondents did not respond.

Variant response of the respondents is also presented in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Mother tongue spoken by children



Similarly, when the respondents were asked, “What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?”, they answered variably. Table 5.2 presents it.

Table 5.2: Languages the parents speak with their children

N=60	Thami	Nepali
Male (n=30)	25(83.3%)	5(16.7%)
Female (n=30)	26(86.7%)	4(13.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.2 shows that 26(86.7%) of the female and 25(83.3%) of the male respondents speak their mother tongue while speaking to their children while 5(16.7%) of the male and 4(13.3%) of the female respondents say they use Nepali in the context.

Likewise, when the informants were asked "Will the children in the Thami community speak mother tongue in future?", they responded variably. Table 5.3 presents it.

Table 5.3: Possibility of Thami being spoken by the children in future

N=60	Yes	No
Male (n=30)	22(73.3%)	8(26.7%)
Female (n=30)	23(76.7%)	7(23.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.3 shows that 23(76.7%) of the female and 22(73.3%) of the male respondents hope the children of the Thami community will speak their mother tongue in future whereas 8(26.7%) of the male and 7(23.3%) of the female deny the probability.

5.2 Language spoken by younger people

In the Thami speech community all of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication. Table 5.4 below presents the responses to the

question “Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?” by the respondents in the key survey points.

Table 5.4: The way of speaking mother tongue by the younger generation

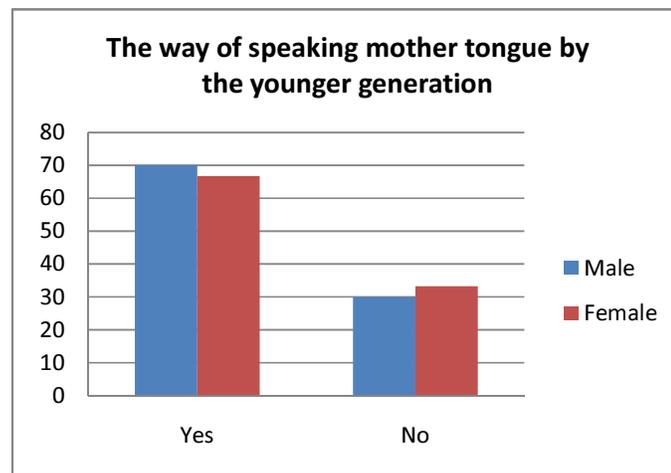
N=60	Yes	No
Male (n=30)	21(70.0%)	9(30.0%)
Female (n=30)	20(66.7%)	10(33.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.4 shows that 21(70.0%) of the male and 20(66.7%) of the female respondents said that young people in their village speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken whereas 10(33.3%) of the female and 9(30.0%) of the male respondents denied the possibility.

The variant response of the respondents is presented in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: The way of speaking mother tongue by the younger generation



5.3 Transmission of the language to the younger generation

Language maintenance in Thami speech community is satisfactory till now. Table 5.5 presents the situation of inter-marriage in Thami community that plays a vital role in language maintenance. It presents the situation on the key survey points in Thami speech community.

Table 5.5: Practice of intermarriage in Thami speech community

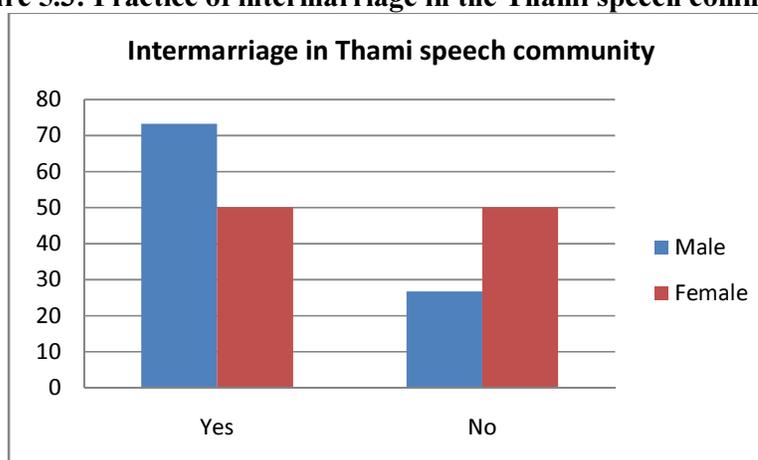
N=60	Yes	No
Male (n=30)	22(73.3%)	8(26.7%)
Female (n=30)	15(50.0%)	15(50.0%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.5 shows that 22(73.3%) of the male and 15(50.0%) of the female respondents reported there is practice of intermarriage in the Thami speech community. Likewise, 15(50.0%) of the female and 8(26.7%) the male respondents denied the practice the community.

The variable response of the respondents is presented in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Practice of intermarriage in the Thami speech community



To this effect, in response to the question “If there is practice of inter-marriage in your community which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?” the responses the informants provided are presented in the Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Common marital relationship with Thami speech community

		<i>Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?</i>
	Areas	Name of the language groups
1	Babre	Nepali, Newar, Magar, Tamang, Sherpa, Gurung, Rai, Sunuwar
2	Lapilang	Nepali, Newar, Jirel, Hindi, Tamang, Sherpa, Magar
3	Suspa	Nepali, Tamang, Magar, Rai, Newar
4	Daduwa	Nepali, Newar, Rai, Tamang, Magar, Limbu
5	Chokati	Nepali, Newar, Tamang, Magar, Gurung

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.6 shows that all those accepted practice of intermarriage in Thami speech community, said such linguistic communities are Nepali, Newar, Sherpa, Magar, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Gurung, Sunuwar, Jirel and Hindi speech communities.

5.4 Language maintenance

Thami native speakers have positive attitudes towards their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. In response to the question "Do you like your children speaking mother tongue?", they all responded they like it. Similarly, in response to the question "Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?", the informants gave highly positive response. Table 5.5 presents the responses of the informants.

Table 5.7 Parents' likeness of their children studying mother tongue

N=60	Yes	No
Male (n=30)	30(100%)	
Female (n=30)	29(96.7%)	1(3.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.7 shows that cent-percent of the male respondents like their children learnin/studying mother tongue. 29(96.7%) of the female respondents also like it whereas 1(3.3%) of them responded negatively.

Similarly, in response to the question "If schools are opened for teaching your language, how will you support it?", the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
By sending your children?	30(100%)	29(96.7%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	29(96.7%)	28(93.3%)
By providing financial help?	28(93.3%)	18(60%)
By teaching?	11(36.7%)	8(26.7%)
By helping with the school?	25(83.3%)	17(56.7%)

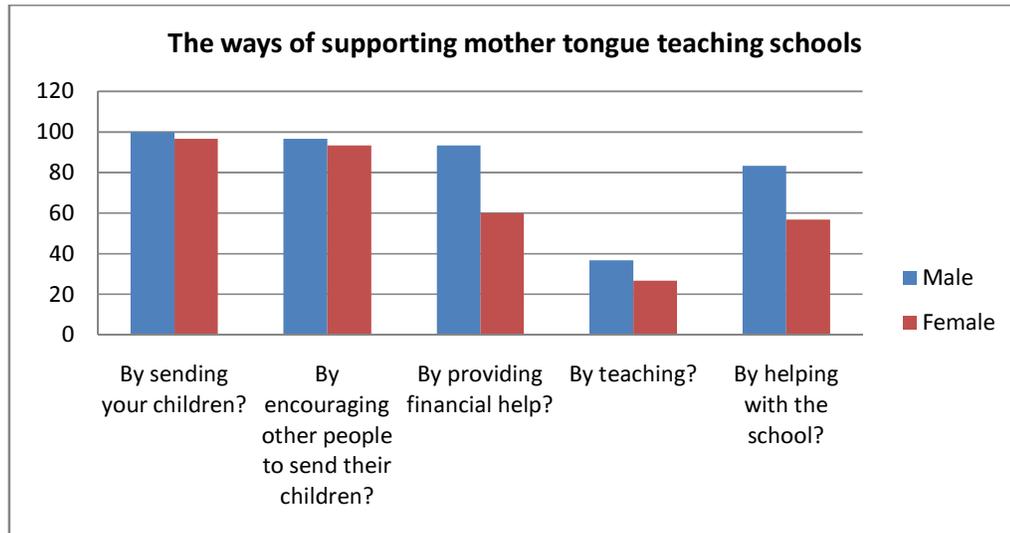
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 5.8 shows that cent-percent of the male and 29(96.7%) of the female respondents will support the mother tongue teaching schools by sending their children, 29(96.7%) of the male and 28(93.3%) of the female will do it by encouraging other people to send their children, 28(93.3%) of the male and 18(60%) of the female by providing financial help, 11(36.7%) of the male and 8(26.7%) of the

female teaching and 25(83.3%) of the male and 17(56.7%) of the female respondents will support it by helping with the school.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools



5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed intergenerational transmission of the language and found the rate is on its optimum. We see that the parents speak cent per cent in their mother tongue with children. Similarly the children also speak cent percent in mother tongue with their parents. There is practice of intermarriage in the Thami speech community. Inter-ethnic marriage is also not found in normal practice. But now-a-days, love marriage and court marriage are exceptions and such marriages can happen as inter-ethnic, inter-racial and inter-lingual ones. The informants were also found eager to send their children in mother tongue schools and support such schools by various means.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with attitude of the Thami speakers about their language. It consists of eight sections. Section 6.1 includes feelings of the speakers towards their language. In section 6.2, we have discussed about the problem because of being a native speaker of Thami and in section 6.3, feelings about children's marriage with non-Thami speakers. Similarly, section 6.4 deals with grandchildren's language and section 6.5 with First language of the children. Similarly, in section 6.6, we have dealt with medium of instruction at primary level and in section 6.7, about the differences in the use of language between the present speakers and their grandparents. At last, section 6.8 summarizes findings of the chapter.

6.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language

In general, Thami speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language. In response to the question "When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language, what do you feel...?" Table 6.1 presents the responses of the informants sex-wise.

Table 6.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages

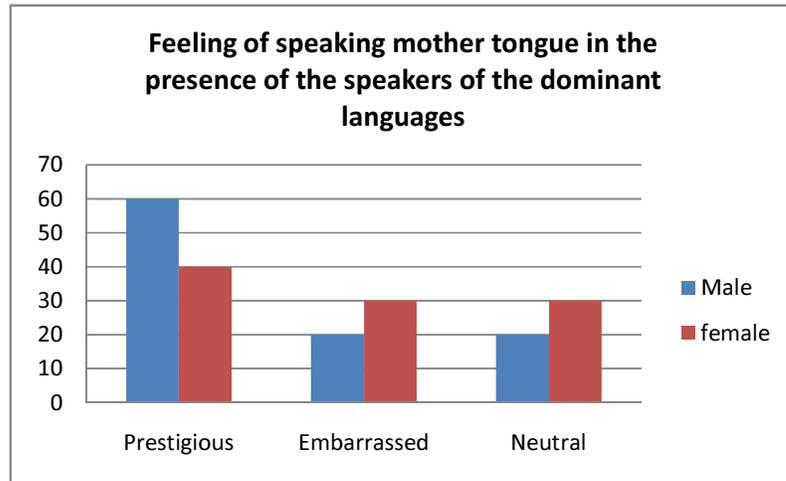
N=60	Prestigious	Embarrassed	Neutral
Male (n=30)	18(60%)	6(20%)	6(20%)
Female (n=30)	12(40%)	9(30%)	9(30%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 6.1 shows that 18(60%) of the male and 12(40%) of the female comprising 30(50%) of the informants feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. Similarly, 9(30%) of the female and 6(20%) of the male comprising 15(25%) of them feel embarrassed and the same is the case of being neutral.

This information is also presented in Figure 6.1.

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



6.2 Problem because of being a native speaker of Thami

In response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” Thami native speakers have provided the responses as presented in the Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Thami

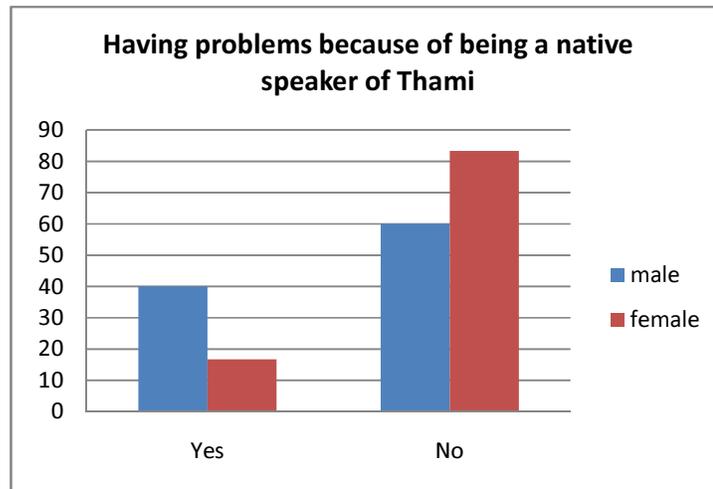
N=60	Yes	No
Male (n=30)	12(40%)	18(60%)
Female (n=30)	5(16.7%)	25(83.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 6.2 shows that 12(40%) of the male and 5(16.7%) of the female respondents said that they had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Thami but 25(83.3%) of the female and 18(60%) of the male respondents reported they didn’t have faced any problem because of being a native speaker of Thami.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Thami



Similarly, in response to the question “If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had?” all those who said they had faced problems because of being Thami native speakers reported that the problems were on understanding and social bases.

6.3 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Thami speakers

Most of the Thami speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question “How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?”, Table 6.3 presents the responses of the respondents.

Table 6.3: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Thami speakers

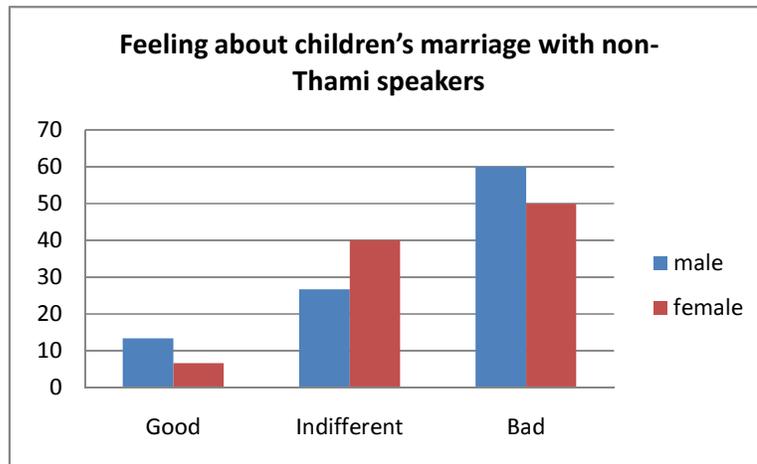
Sex	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Male (n=30)	4(13.3%)	8(26.7%)	18(60%)
Female (n=30)	2(6.7%)	12(40%)	15(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 6.3 shows that 4(13.3%) of male and 2(6.7%) of the female respondents feel good if their son or daughter married someone who does not know Thami, 8(26.7%) of the male and 12(40%) of the female ones said they keep indifferent but the maximum of them, 18(60%) of the male and 15(50%) of the female respondents, said they feel bad in the situation.

The information is also presented in Figure 6.3.

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



6.4 Grandchildren’s language

Thami native speakers are positive towards their language and culture. When the informants were asked, “Will the grandchildren also speak your language?”, all of them said that their grand children will speak their language.

Similarly, regarding the question “If speak, how do you feel about this?”, all the respondents both male and female said they feel good if their grand children speak their language. It shows that they have very positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, in response to the question “If they do not speak, how do you feel about this?”, all male and female respondents said they feel bad if their grand-children do not speak their language.

6.5 First language of the children

Since Thami speakers have positive attitudes towards their language, most of them said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Thami, first. Table 6.4 presents the responses for the question “What language should your children speak first?” from the respondents of the key survey points.

Table 6.4: The language children of the Thami speech community should speak first

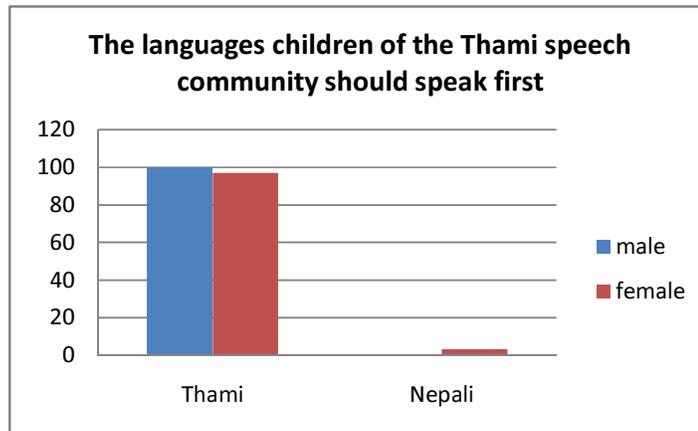
Sex	Thami	Nepali
Male (n=30)	30(100%)	
Female (n=30)	29(96.7%)	1(3.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 6.4 shows that almost all the male and female Thami speakers are in favour of their children speaking Thami at first. Only 1(3.33%) of the female respondents reported here in favour of Nepali to be spoken by their children at first.

The variant response of the male respondents is also presented in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: The language children of the Thami speech community should speak first



6.6 Medium of instruction at primary level

Regarding the question “What language do you prefer for your children’s medium of instruction at primary level?”, Table 6.5 presents the responses of the informants in the Thami speech community of the key survey points.

Table 6.5: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level

N=60	Thami	Nepali
male (n=30)	29(96.7%)	1(3.3%)
female (n=30)	27(90%)	3(10%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 6.5 shows that 29(96.7%) of the male and 27(90%) of the female informants preferred their mother tongue, Thami, as the medium of instruction for their children in primary education. Likewise, 1(3.3%) of the male and 3(10%) of the female informants preferred Nepali as primary education vernacular.

6.7 Differences in the use of language between two generations

In response to the question “Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?”, Table 6.6 presents the responses provided by the Thami native speakers in the key survey points.

Table 6.6: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations

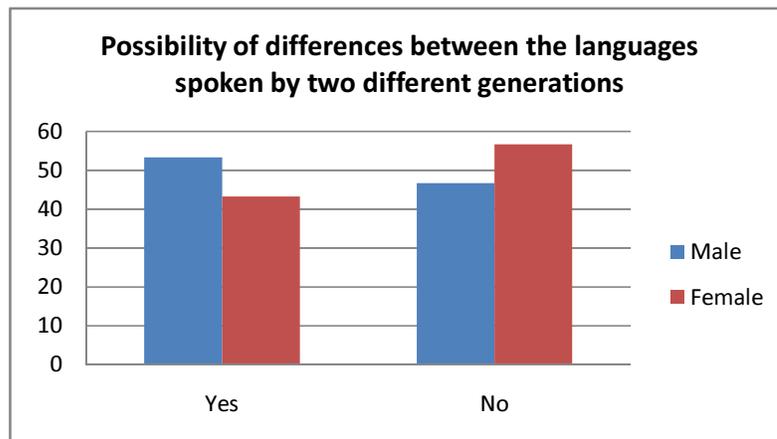
N=60	Yes	No
Male(n=30)	16(53.3%)	14(46.7%)
Female(n=30)	13(43.3%)	17(56.7%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 6.6 shows that 16(53.3%) of the male and 13(43.3%) of the female informants think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas 14(46.7%) of the male and 17(56.7%) of the female of them do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents.

The information is also presented in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations



Regarding the responses in the Table 6.6, “If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 6.7 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey points.

Table 6.7: The ways of differences in language between two generations

Differences in terms of	Male (n=16)	Female (n=13)
Pronunciation	13(81.3%)	9(69.2%)
Vocabulary	12(75%)	11(84.6%)
Use of specific type of sentences	3(18.8%)	
Mixing of other languages	16(100%)	12(92.3%)
Way of speaking	15(93.8%)	13(100%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

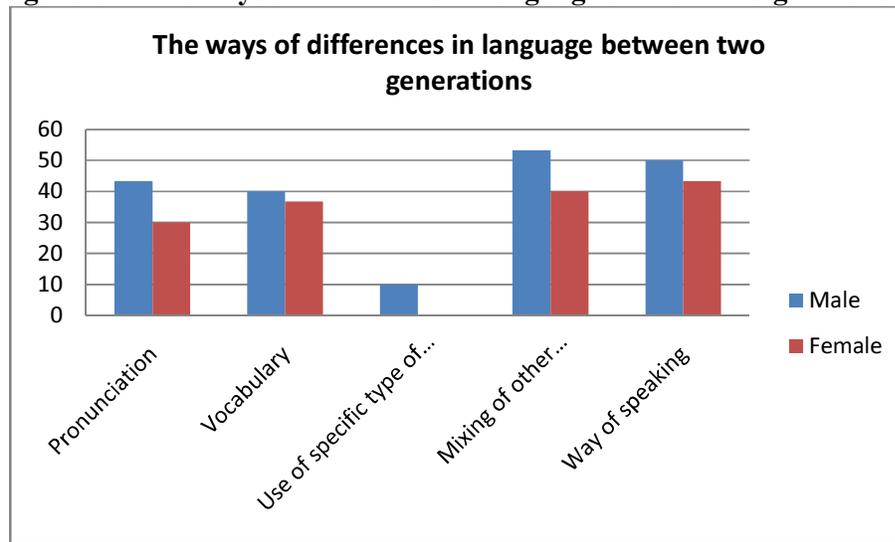
Table 6.7 shows that among all the male and female participants, who think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, 13(81.3%) of the male said and 9(69.2%) of the female said that their language differentiates with their

grandparents in terms of pronunciation, 12(75%) of the male and 11(84.6%) of the female said it differs in vocabulary, 3(18.8%) of the male said it differs in terms of the use of specific type of sentences, all the male and 12(92.3%) of the female said it differs due to mixing of other languages and 15(93.8%) of the male and all of the female respondents said it differs in the way of speaking.

From this table we can conclude that the language spoken by two different generations have differences.

The variant responses are presented in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6: The ways of differences in language between two generations



Similarly, in response to the question “How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?”, Table 6.8 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

Table 6.8: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue

	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Male (n=30)	3(10%)	6(20%)	21(70%)
Female (n=30)	3(10%)	16(53.3%)	11(36.7%)

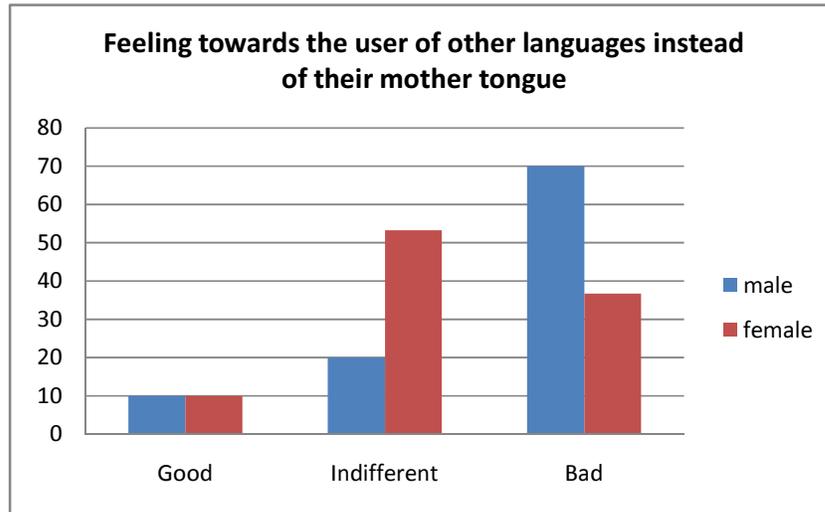
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Regarding the language attitude, Table 6.8 shows that 21(70%) of the male and 11(36.7%) of the female respondents feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Similarly, 3(10%) of each of the male and female Thami informants responded feeling good and 6(20%) of the male and 16(53.3%) of the female respondents said they feel indifferent

when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their mother tongue.

The responses are also presented in Figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue



6.8 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the feelings of the speakers of Thami towards their language and we found they are highly positive as over three-fourths of the respondents said they feel prestigious to speak their mother tongue before speakers of the dominant language. Majority of them reported not to have faced any problems being a Thami native speaker. This chapter also presents facts that Thami native speakers are cautious towards maintenance of the mother tongue as majority of them said they feel bad if their children marriage non-Thami speakers. Similarly, they are entirely hopeful their grandchildren will speak the mother tongue and they will feel good if so. They were also found in favour of mother tongue education and that most of them will feel bad if their youngsters use other language instead of Thami.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with development of the language in recent days by means of the participatory method. In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all five key points in Thami. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and social status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ on a piece of paper and placed them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Thami language and culture, say they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

7.1 Language development

In order to examine the language development in the Thami language, appreciative inquiry, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Thami community. The Photographs of appreciative inquiry tools used in Babre-2, Lapilang-5 and Suspa Kshamawati-6 of Dolakha district, Daduwa-4 of Ramechhap district and Chokati-4 of Sindhupalchok district present the language development and the ambitions to the development of language.

In this survey, as discussed already, we have employed different participatory tools such as dialect mapping, domains of language use and bi/multilingualism. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language and culture. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think of future possibilities about their language and culture. The Photographs of the appreciative inquiries are pasted below:

Lapilang	<p>Bhumepuja</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Musical instrument • Udhauli/Ubhali • Dressing pattern • Mother tongue • Kulpuja • Cultural custom • Dhayangro 	<p>Easy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation • Mass media • Culture preservation • School curriculum • Thami teacher • Ved construction • Dictionary <p>Difficult:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Museum construction • Govt. holiday in Bhumepuja • Thami federal state • Reservation of Thami • Free education and health • Thami documentary 	<p>1.School curriculum 2. Museum construction</p>
Suspa Chhemabati	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own living pattern • Own tradition • Being a Thami • Music instrument • Dressing Pattern • Own language • Jewellery • Own culture • Origin of Thami • Songs/Hymn 	<p>Easy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation • Use in Media • Folklore documentation • Thami teacher • Mother tongue education <p>Difficult:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language improvement • Literature development • Language use as official purpose 	<p>1.Folklore documentation 2.Language improvement</p>
Daduwa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own language • Thami history • Own identity • Thami custom • Own values • Own festivals • Own civilization • Own culture • Thami song 	<p>Easy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary education in Thami • Medium of instruction in Thami • Documentation of Thami • Thami teachers • Publication of Thami culture in Thami language 	<p>1.Grammar,Phonology and text publication in Thami 2.Primary education in Thami</p>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job reservation • Free health to Thami • Thami in service sector • Thami in Agriculture • Grammar, phonology and text publication in Thami <p><u>Difficult:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thami free education in University • Political reservation to Thami 	
Chokati	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bhumepuja • Jewellery • Festival • Own language • Living pattern • Bhayangra(Thami dress) • Thami dressing pattern 	<p><u>Easy:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mothertongue school • Thami magazine • Documentation • Thami textbook • Thami teacher • Thami literature • Thami linguists <p><u>Difficult:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of language as official purpose • Thami news broadcasting 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.Thami teacher 2.Mothertongue school

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

During the appreciative inquiry, the participants prepared a planning of one of the most essential requirements at each point. The planning includes what to do, who is to do and when to do. Table 7.2 presents the summary of the responses to the Appreciative Inquiry in all five key points in Thami.

Table 7.2: Important things to do for Thami as a result of Appreciative Inquiry

	Areas	What to do?	Who will do?	When to do?
1.	<u>BABRE-2,</u> <u>DOLAKHA</u>	Development of the script <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion for preparing script - Consultation with the linguists - Collection of resources 	Government of Nepal, Central Department of TU, the Thami speech community and the institutions related with the indigenous nationalities	As early as possible
2.	<u>LAPILANG-5,</u> <u>DOLAKHA</u>	Formation of the curriculum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion and interaction - Selection of the curriculum developers - Formation, standardization and publication of the curriculum 	The Thami speech community, Curriculum Development Centre, curriculum experts and linguists	As early as possible
3.	<u>SUSPA</u> <u>KSHAMAWATI-6,</u> <u>DOLAKHA</u>	Documentation of the Thami folklore <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion in the community - Selection of the folklorists - Financial management - Collection of the documented materials - Documentation of the unwritten materials 	Government of Nepal, and the Thami speech community	As early as possible
4.	<u>DADUWA-4,</u> <u>RAMECHHAP</u>	Publication of Thami grammar, alphabet and books in the Thami language <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research by the experts and linguists in the Thami language - Orientation and seminar before the publication - Publication - Selection of teachers 	Government of Nepal, the Thami speech community, educationists and the experts of the Thami language	Within a year as maximum

5.	<u>CHOKATI-4,</u> <u>SINDHUPALCHOK</u>	Launching a mother tongue school in Thami 1. Selection of the Thami mother tongue school. 2. Preparing text materials 3. Primary education in the Thami language	1.The community and the District Education Office 2. The community and the Curriculum Development Centre 3. The community and the District Education Office	As early as possible.
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Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2012

Table 7.2 shows almost the entire Thami speech community is highly in efforts to have recognition and implementation of Thami as the vernacular for primary school by the Government of Nepal as early as possible. Participants in the survey at Babre planned for development of the appropriate script for the Thami language, those at Lapilang planned for development of curriculum, those at Suspa Kshamawati planned for documentation of the Thami folklore, those at Daduwa planned for Thami grammar, alphabet and books and the participants at Chokati planned for launching mother tongue school in the Thami language. They all felt need for the involvement of the concerned government bodies and experts as well as linguists to complete them and they sought to complete their planning as early as possible, not exceeding a year.

7.2 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the responses of the Thami native speakers during appreciative inquiry among one of the participatory tools. As their aspirations have already been charted in this chapter, we can summarize that the Thami speakers are proud of their linguistic identity to have their own kinds of custom, language, life-style, way of thinking, belief. They are eager to run mother tongue schools with formations of curriculum, to safeguard their custom and costumes and they want to write grammar and other books in Thami. Furthermore, they want to implement Thami as a vernacular of education in primary schools seeking help on behalf of the state and the community. Moreover, the village heads/language activists in the Thami speech community also look in favour of helping preservation and promotion campaign of Thami by various ways according to their response in questionnaire C, already tabulated in this chapter.

CHAPTER 8

DIALECTAL VARIATION

8.0 Outline

This chapter assesses the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Thami. For this purpose, two tools were employed: Wordlist Comparison and Dialect Mapping. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 8.1 deals with wordlist comparison in Thami. In section 8.2, we discuss the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 8.3 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

8.1 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Thami speech forms the wordlists represent. In this section, we discuss the methodology employed in lexical similarity study, evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages and the lexical similarity study results in Thami.

8.1.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the collection of wordlists and tool used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, namely, Babre-, Lapilang- and Suspa Kshamawati- in Dolakha, Daduwa-4 in Ramechhap and Chokati- in Sindhupalchok districts from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (see Annex B for 210 wordlist). In each key point, two sets of wordlists were administered. Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the Cog, a software tool used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages were calculated in the Cog.

8.1.2 Evaluation criteria

Normally, 60% has been generally taken as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. However, the 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using such a method, the speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are

evaluated as different languages. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or greater lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors. Table 8.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists (Regmi et al., 2014:67).

Table 8.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

	Lexical similarity%	Evaluation	Remarks
1.	60% similarity	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
2.	Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	
3.	60% or more similarity	Different varieties or dialects of the same language	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT
4.	Higher than 85% similarity	Speech varieties likely to be related dialects	
5.	Higher than 95% similarity	Same language	

8.1.3 Lexical similarity among the key points

Thami normally does not exhibit apparent lexical variation in terms of lexical similarity percentages. Table 8.2 presents the lexical similarity comparison of Thami.

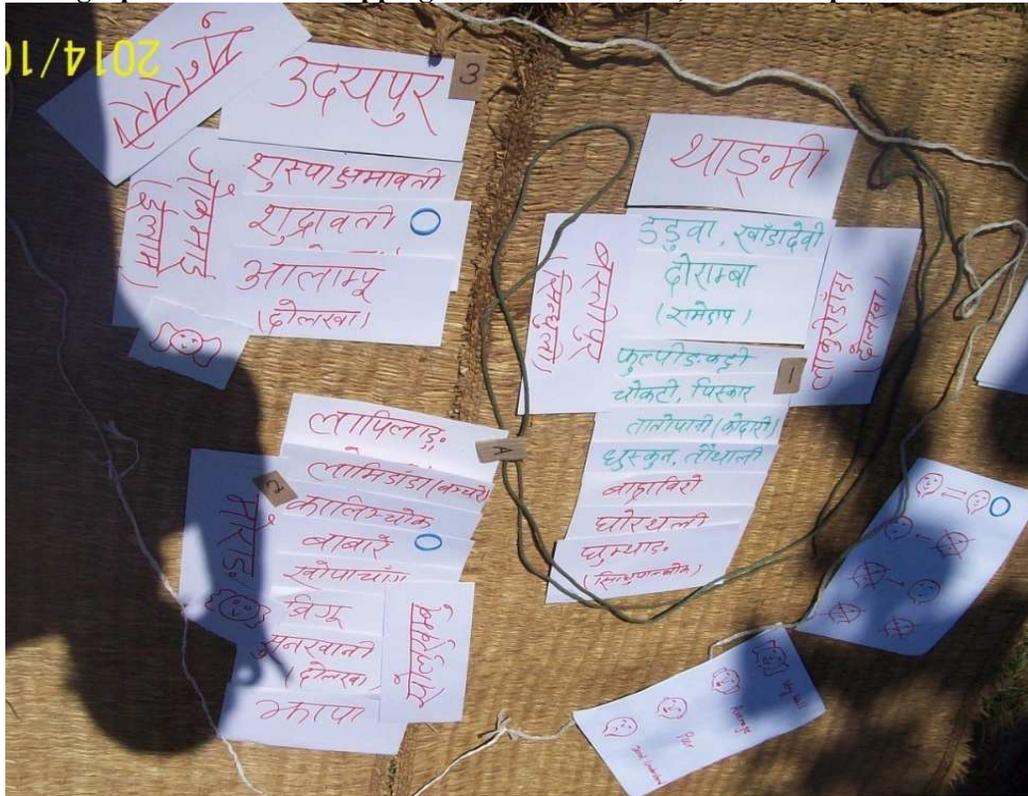
Table 8.2: Lexical similarity comparison of Thami at five survey points

	BABARE	LAPILANG	SUSPA KSHAMAWATI	DADUWA	CHOKATI
BABARE	100%	92%	82%	76%	68%
LAPILANG	92%	100%	85%	74%	68%
SUSPA KSHAMAWATI	82%	85%	100%	76%	71%
DADUWA	76%	74%	76%	100%	69%
CHOKATI	68%	68%	71%	69%	100%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal, 2012

Table 8.2 shows that there is the highest similarity of 92% of the variety of Thami spoken in Babre and Lapilang, 85% of the variety of Lapilang and Suspa Kshamawati, 82% of the variety of Babre and Suspa Kshamawati, 76% of the variety of Babre, Suspa Kshamawati and Daduwa, 74% of the variety of Lapilang and Daduwa, 71% of the variety of Suspa Kshamawati and Chokati, 60% of the variety of Daduwa and Chokati and 68% of the variety of Babre, Lapilang and Chokati. In this case, the Recorded Text Test (RTT) should be administered in order to confirm the dialectal variation between Babre, Lapilang and Chokati along with the other key

Photograph 8.4: Dialect mapping at Daduwa VDC-4, Ramechhap



Photograph 8.5: Dialect mapping at Chokati VDC-4, Sindhupalchok



Photograph 8.1: Dialect mapping at Babre VDC-2, Dolakha shows similar dialectal variety of their language with those of all villages in Dolakha, alongwith those of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur for developing curriculum and textbooks.

Photograph 8.2: Dialect mapping at Lapilang VDC-5, Dolakha shows that the same variety of their language is spoken throughout Dolakha district alongwith Ramechhap, Solukhumbu, Khotang, Sindhuli, Udaypur, Sunsari and Sarlahi and it will be appropriate to develop curriculum and textbooks in Thami.

Photograph 8.3: Dialect mapping at Suspa Kshemabati VDC-6, Dolakha claims the variety of Thami they speak is identical with those of all places in Dolakha along with Ramechhap, Sindhupalchok, Sindhuli and Ilam and it is appropriate for developing curriculum and textbooks.

Photograph 8.4: Dialect mapping at Daduwa VDC-4, Ramechhap shows the variety of Thami they speak is similar with those of Sindhupalchok, Dolakha, Sunsari, Sindhuli, Solukhumbu, Jhapa, Udaypur and Sunsari. But it also shows that the variety of Ramechhap, Dolakha, Sindhuli and Sindhupalchok will be more appropriate for developing curriculum and textbooks.

Photograph 8.5: Dialect mapping at Chokati VDC-4, Sindhupalchok shows the variety they speak is similar to those of all places in Sindhupalchok alongwith Dolakha, Ramechhap, Kabhre and Sindhuli but the variety spoken in Sindhupalchok will be more appropriate for developing curriculum and textbooks.

8.3 Summary

As described on the basis of Table 8.2 and Figures 9.1-9.5, we can conclude that there is minimum variation in the varieties of Thami language spoken in its geographical areas. Lexical similarity among the the five survey has been observed between 92% as maximum and 68% as minimum. The more accuracy can be obtained from the RTT. During participatory tool of dialect mapping the Photographs show there is maximum probability of developing curriculum, textbooks and text materials taking the Dolakha variety of the language at centre.

CHAPTER 9

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND ORGANIZATIONS

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the resources available in the Thami language as well as the organizations for its promotion. It consists of three sections. In section 9.1, we discuss the language resources and section 9.2 enlists details of the organizations for the development of language and culture in the Thami speech community and mentions their responsibilities. In section 9.3, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

9.1 Language resources

The resources available in the Thami language are folk stories and folklore, songs, religious literature and modern literature. The people of the old generations tell stories about their ancestors, supernatural stories and stories related to the animal kingdom. The modern language transmission resources like radio, and CD/DVD are also available in the language.

Regarding the listening to the radio program broadcast in Thami, Table 9.1 presents its frequency by sex.

Table 9.1: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by sex

Responses	Male (n=26)		Female (n=23)		Total	
Always	7	26.9 %	5	21.7 %	12	24.5 %
Sometimes	15	57.7 %	17	73.9 %	32	65.3 %
Never	4	15.4%	1	4.3 %	5	10.2 %
Total	26	100%	23	100 %	49	100 %

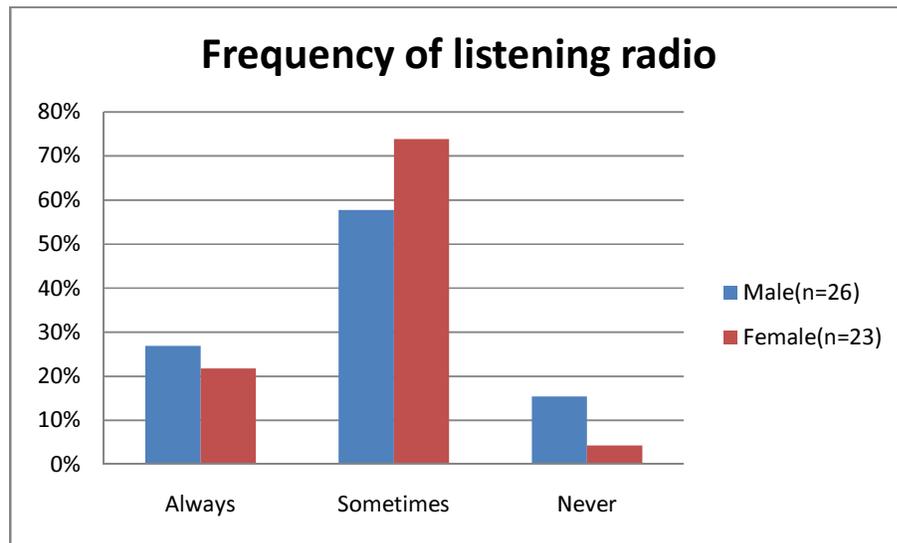
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 9.1 shows that out of total 60 respondents, 26 male and 23 female respondents admit that there are radio programs available in Thami language. Among them only 7(26.9%) of the male followed by 5(21.7%) of the female Thamis are regular listeners of the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue. Likewise, 15(57.7%) of the male and 17(73.9%) of the female Thamis sometimes listen to the program. Besides

them, 4(15.4%) of the male and 1(4.3%) of the female Thamis are still away from listening to the radio program in their mother tongue.

It shows that the regular female listeners are less than those of male, whereas the occasional female listeners are more than those of male but those never listen to the program are male higher than those of female. The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 9.1 below:

Figure 9.1: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by sex



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

The information in the same domain has also been analyzed in Table 9.2 on the basis of literacy of the informants.

Table 9.2: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by literacy of the informants

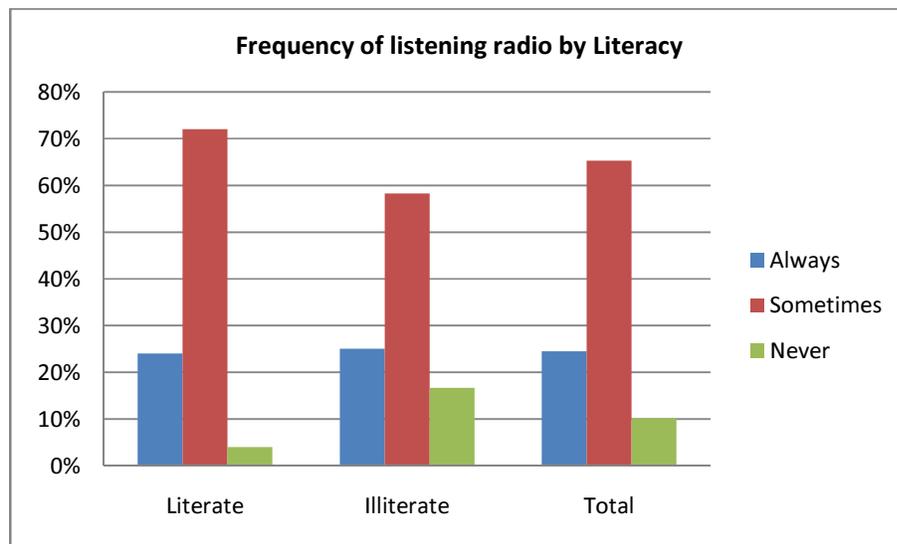
Responses	Literate (n=25)		Illiterate (n=24)		Total (n=49)	
Always	6	24 %	6	25.0 %	12	24.5 %
Sometimes	18	72 %	14	58.3 %	32	65.3 %
Never	1	4 %	4	16.7 %	5	10.2 %
Total	25	100 %	24	100.0%	49	100.0%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 9.2 shows that only 6(24%) of the literate and 6(25%) of the illiterate Thamis are regular listeners of the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue. Likewise,

18(72%) of the literate and 14(58.3%) of the illiterate Thamis sometimes listen to the program. Besides them, 1(4%) of the literate and 4(16.7%) Thamis are still away from listening to the radio program in their mother tongue. It shows that regular listeners are almost equal among literate and illiterate respondents, literate are more than the illiterate as occasional listeners whereas more illiterate respondents are out of reach of the radio program in their mother tongue. The information in the domain is also presented in the Figure 9.2.

Table 9.2: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by literacy of the informants



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Either on the basis of sex or on literacy, only 24.5% of all the informants were found to have regular reach in listening to radio program in their mother tongue. Percentage in this domain is highest for occasional listeners of the program comprising 65.3% in totality. Table 9.2 shows 10.2% of all the informants are still deprived of listening to the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue.

Thami is a living language in its speech community. It is also making efforts to have access in education. The mother tongue education has entered into the speech community and the Thami native speakers have started to develop some materials in their mother tongue. Table 9.3 presents language resources in Thami.

Table 9.3: Language resources in Thami

S.N.	Resources	Yes/No	Script	Remarks
1.	Phonemic inventory	Yes	Devanagari & Roman	
2.	Grammar	Yes	Devanagari & Roman	
3.	Dictionary	Yes	Devanagari & Roman	
4.	Textbooks	Yes	Devanagari	
5.	Literacy materials	Yes	Devanagari	
6.	Newspapers	Yes	Devanagari	
7.	Magazines	Yes	Devanagari	
8.	Written literature	Yes	Devanagari	
9.	Folklore	Yes	Devanagari	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 9.3 shows that all sorts of the resources of the language are available in Thami, mostly in Devanagari and a few in Roman script, especially the phonemic inventory, grammar and dictionary.

Table 9.4 presents whether the literate Thami speakers read these materials available in their language or not.

Table 9.4: Reading of the materials written in their language

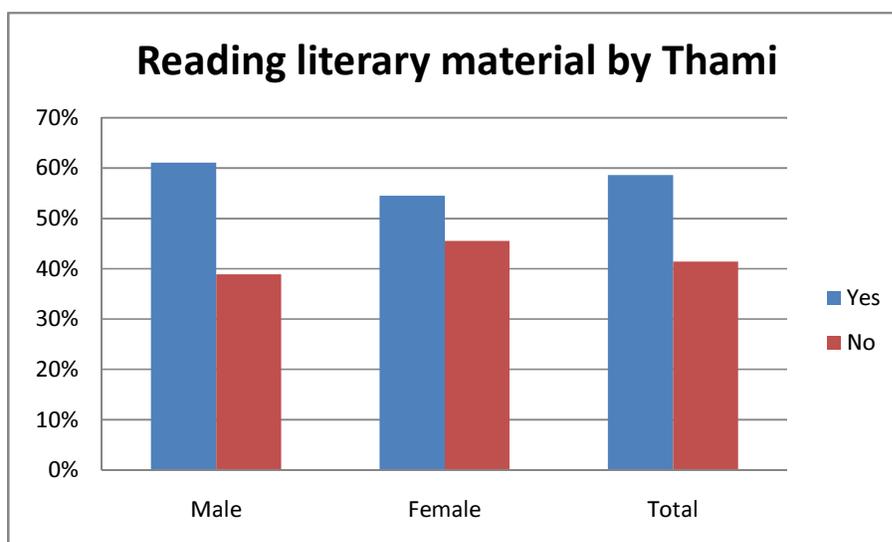
	Male		Female		Total	
Yes	11	61.1 %	6	54.5 %	17	58.6 %
No	7	38.9 %	5	45.5 %	12	41.4 %
Total	18	100%	11	100 %	29	100 %

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 9.4 shows that 11(61.1%) of the 18 male literate informants read written materials in their mother tongue. Likewise, 6(54.5%) of the 11 female literate informants were found reading those materials. In totality of the literate ones, 58.6% informants read the written materials in their mother tongue. This rate is certainly high and it shows that literate Thami speakers are attentive towards their mother tongue.

The information in Table 9.5 is also presented in Figure 9.3.

Figure 9.3: Reading of the materials written in their language



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2012

Likewise, when the informants were asked about the script in which the Thami language is written, all literate informants said Thami is written in Devanagari script whereas the illiterate respondents didn't respond the question.

9.2 Organizations

Whether there are any organizations working for preservation and promotion of the Thami language and culture, some of the respondents informed that there are some organizations working in favour of Thami language and culture. Table 9.5 shows their responses.

Table 9.5: Availability of organizations to promote Thami language and culture

Knowledge about Thami organisation						
	Male		Female		Total	
Yes	16	53.3 %	10	33.3 %	26	43.3 %
No	9	30.0 %	5	16.7 %	14	23.3 %
Don't know	5	16.7 %	15	50.0 %	20	33.3 %
Total	30	100.0 %	30	100.0 %	60	100.0 %

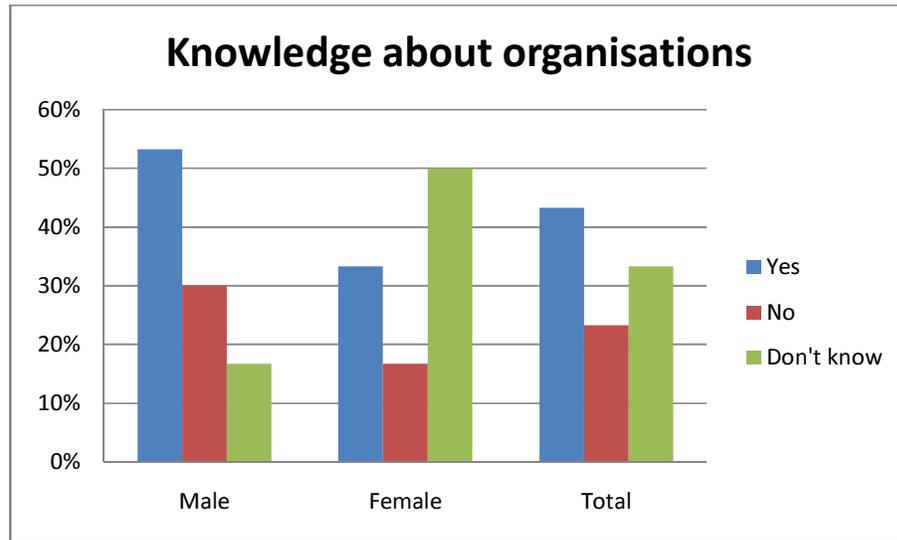
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 9.5 shows that out of 30 male respondents 16(53.3%) said that there are some organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Thami while 9(30%) said that there is not any organization. Similarly out of 30 female respondents only 10(33.3%) said that there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of their language

while 5(16.7%) said that there is not any organization. In totality, only 43.3% of the informants know there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Thami.

The information in the Table 3.4 is also presented in Figure 9.4.

Figure 9.4: Availability of organizations to promote Thami language and culture



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

In general, the Thami speech community is very positive towards their language. The informants said that there are some institutions that work for preservation and promotion of the Thami language and culture and they also fight discrimination against Thami speech community. Table 9.6 shows the institutions and their responsibilities.

Table 9.6: Institutions and their responsibilities

	Name of the Institution	Responsibilities	Remarks
1.	Thami Society of Nepal, Kathmandu	To promote Thami culture, language & education	
2.	Faselung Social Service, Nepal	To promote Thami culture, language & education	
3.	Educate the Children, Kathmandu & Suspa	To promote Thami culture, language & education	
4.	Thami Students' Forum of Nepal	To promote education in Thami community	
5.	Thami Women's Association of Nepal	To promote women's empowerment in	

		Thami community	
6.	Thami State Struggle Committee	Political empowerment	
7.	Thami Savings and Credit Cooperative Institution	Economic empowerment	
8.	Niko Bhume Youth Club	Social and cultural activities	
9.	Thami Around People	Social and cultural activities	
10.	Thami Democratic Association	Political empowerment	

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Thami, 2014

Table 9.6 shows there are four prominent institutions in the Thami speech community, i.e., Nepal Thami Culture Development Foundation, Nepal Thami Development Forum, Thami Academy of Nepal and Thami Development Forum. These organizations work to preserve and promote the Thami language, culture and mother-tongue education. Besides, none of the organizations have been found working smoothly due to isolation both from the respective society and the concerned government bodies.

9.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the language resources and organizations available in the Thami speech community to promote their language and culture. It includes situation of listening to the radio programs in mother tongue, language resources available, reading of the materials written in the language, availability of organizations and their responsibilities and lastly it enlists such organizations.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

10.0 Outline

This chapter presents the findings and recommendations of the report. It consists of two sections. In section 10.1, we present the collected findings and in section 10.2, we put forward the recommendations.

10.1 Major findings

The main aim of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Thami, a Tibeto-Burman language, mainly spoken in Dolakha and Ramechhap Districts of Janakpur Zone and in Sindhupachok District of Bagmati Zone in the Central Development Region of Nepal. The Thami native speakers are one of the mono-ethnic indigenous nationalities of Nepal. Thami is a distinct language belonging to Sino-Tibetan family of languages.

The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality, transmission and maintenance, language attitudes, language development and dialectal variation in the Thami language.

The major findings of this survey are presented as follows:

- i. This is a language spoken by a homogeneous indigenous ethnicity of Nepal. Thami, a language of the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan family, is mainly spoken in the mountainous areas covering Dolakha, Ramechhap and Sindhupalchok of the Central development region of Nepal and the adjacent territories of the Indian state of West Bengal, especially in Darjeeling district, and Sikkim.
- ii. This is one of the minority languages of Nepal spoken as mother tongue by 23,151 people according to the latest census report of 2011 by the Central Bureau of Statistics. The native Thami speakers primarily reside in Dolakha, Ramechhap and Sindhupalchok districts of the Central development region of Nepal in the mountains. But the Thami speech community expect more in number than those depicted in the census report of the Central Bureau of Statistics.

- iii. Thami is used in almost all domains of language except counting.
- iv. Mother tongue proficiency is significantly high and strong in the speech community.
- v. Primarily, Thami is the language of communication in the speech community but Nepali has already taken place of the language of wider communication in the community.
- vi. Most of the Thami children face difficulty in their basic education as the textbooks and medium of instruction is compulsorily Nepali which is not so familiar to them. Besides, the informants also reported primary textbook for class 1 has already been prepared.
- vii. Thami speech community is initially involved in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing. But now they are being involved in different professions such as business, government jobs, foreign employment, etc.
- viii. Religiously, the community is predominantly Shamanist but their rites and rituals have also been found dominated by Hinduism.
- ix. The Thami speech community has highly positive attitudes towards the mother tongue and the language maintenance is satisfactory.
- x. Female literacy rate is appalling.
- xi. They are very eager and effortful to preserve and promote their language and culture. For it, they are looking for impartial implementation of MLE through mother tongue, especially in Thami for their children.
- xii. Thami native speakers are proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Thami speech community speak their language very well and literate and educated speakers of Thami are making efforts to use it for reading and writing. In this speech community that inhabits in rural mountainous areas is almost bilingual with Nepali, but the women over 40 in the age and elderly people have little access in government offices.
- xiii. Majority of the children in the Thami speech community do not understand at all what their Nepali speaking teacher utters when they first go to school. Since, most of the Thami native speakers use their own mother tongue at home; their children are almost monolingual before going to school.

- xiv. Thami is used in all the general domains such as singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, in family gatherings and village meetings, but the counting system in Thami is almost out of practice.
- xv. They use their mother tongue on its maximum with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters. But they use Nepali on its maximum for writing letters to them. Thami native children use their mother tongue as well as Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school during formal classes. There is the dominance of Thami in social rites and rituals.
- xvi. The Thami language has maximum vitality as all the children speak their mother tongue efficiently; almost all of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and all the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.
- xvii. Almost all the male and female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue and they are eager to help the mother tongue-based schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching and by helping with the school according to need.
- xviii. In general, Thami speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language and culture. More than two thirds of both male and female speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language like Nepali and only a few speakers said that they feel embarrassed and neutral.
- xix. Most of the Thami speakers did not have any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Only a few speakers had faced problems such as they have problems in understanding, mental and social problems. Almost all the male and female speakers feel bad if their children married someone who does not know their mother tongue. All the Thami

speakers said that their grand children will speak their language and most of them will feel good if their grand children do so.

- xx. Regarding which language Thami children should speak first, most of the males and females were found in the favor of their own mother tongue, i.e., Thami while very few speakers are in the favor of Nepali. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Thami, as their children's medium of instruction at primary level but some of them preferred Nepali also.
- xxi. Majority of the Thami native speakers both male and female do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Those found to think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, the differences they count in the ways like pronunciation, vocabulary and code-mixing and way of speaking.
- xxii. The Thami speech community is rich in oral literature such as folk-tales, folk-songs, ballads, oral-epics and religious texts. The good things that made Thami speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are Thami is their mother tongue; it has rich stock of vocabulary, songs, lyrics, newspaper and magazines, being the ancestral language, having their own culture and costume, art, history and literature.
- xxiii. Regarding the dreams about how they could make their language even better are writing a grammar, dictionary, textbooks, having mother tongue teachers, establishment of mother tongue based primary schools.
- xxiv. The most important 'dreams' which they would like to get realized immediately are to establish mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and to develop and implement textbooks and curriculum for mother tongue education. They have made planning for these important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the concerned government bodies along with the experts and linguists to make these dreams come true and they should be done immediately.
- xxv. There is lexical similarity ranging from 68% to 92% among the varieties of the key survey points in Thami. It may indicate that Thami at present shows some

dialectal variation but it may not hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Thami speakers residing in different key points.

xxvi. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that they can understand the form of speech of each other in all the districts already described but the variety spoken in Dolakha should be given priority.

xxvii. Mother tongue proficiency is significantly high and strong in the speech community.

xxviii. The language of wider communication is Nepali.

10.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings, the following recommendations are put forward for the promotion and development of the Thami language:

- a) As Thami is one of the minority languages of Nepal, the efforts of its documentation, promotion of grammar, dictionary and reading materials should be launched immediately.
- b) As the different speech communities including Thami have grievances on the public census, the Central Bureau of Statics should hire some native spear expert during census period.
- c) As Thami children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the vernacular and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.
- d) As the Thami speech community is initially involved in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing, the Thami agro-economic vocabulary be collected and translated into dictionary for better use of their indigenous knowledge.
- e) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings particularly in Thami for the basic education in the Thami speaking areas of Nepal.
- f) There should be a sustainable policy of MLE with its implementation in true spirit for both the quick acquisition of learning by children in the Thami speech

community as well as for promotion of an animate language that is our cultural heritage too.

- g) In this speech community, some of the women over 50 in the age are still monolingual and most of the women are pre-literate. Therefore, by means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy and post-literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those pre-literates and literate ones.
- h) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.
- i) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Thami speech community.
- j) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve and promote abundance of genres of Thami folklore, language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial.
- k) Grammar and dictionary of Thami should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented immediately.
- l) The most important 'dreams' which they would like to get realized immediately and to start on planning are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and development of textbooks and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them realizing their dreams.
- m) RTT is required to confirm level of speaking and understanding varieties of Thami.
- n) While compiling and writing textbooks for both formal and non-formal education, the editorial board or writing team should include scholars from all the three districts where the language is spoken dominantly.

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Language of Elicitation
Language of Response
Interpreter Name (if needed)

(e)

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 <input type="checkbox"/>
NO <input type="checkbox"/>	

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.....
- Where do you live now?
 How many years have you lived here?
 Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
 (if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:	YES <input type="checkbox"/>
------------------------	------------------------------

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?

Material:	32. Yes or No	33. (If "Yes") What language(s) is it written in?
a. Phonemic inventory		
b. Grammar		
c. Dictionary		
d. Textbooks		
Literacy materials		
Newspapers		
Magazines		
Written literature		
Folklore		
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)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
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

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
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Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward: Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)
Language of Elicitation	
Language of Response	
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#	15.Name	16. Sex	17.Age	18.Caste	19. MT	20. Mother's MT	20. 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?

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first: My/our name is I/we am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day..... Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	

	(a)
	(b)

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)

	18. Ethnic Group:	19. Language:
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?

Annex D: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:.....

- (१).....
 (२).....
 (३).....
 (४).....
 (५).....

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

- (१).....
 (२).....
 (३).....
 (४).....
 (५).....

स्थान :

जिल्ला..... गाविस/नगरपालिका: वडा नं:.....

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम: अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा:

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	
4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	
6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	
8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	

11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	औँला	
17.	finger nail	नङ	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुच्रो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्कु	
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औँठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	

52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाढु	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगु	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माढु	
59.	dust	धुलु	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडु	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जु	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	tomato	गुलभँडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बुसु	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भँसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	

94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोभ्रे (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्त्री (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	

132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	
163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	

174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिड्नु	
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
197.	to go /go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुत्नु	
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

Wordlist comparison result of Thami

	Babare	Lapilang	Susma Kshamawati	Daduwa	Chokati
Babare		92%	82%	76%	68%
Lapilang	92%		85%	74%	68%
Suspa Kshamawati	82%	85%		76%	71%
Daduwa	76%	74%	76%		69%
Chokati	68%	68%	71%	69%	

Word-list table of the 5 survey points of Thami

	Babare	Lapilang	Suspa Kshamawati	Daduwa	Chokati
body	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	maŋ	jiu
head	kapu	kapu	kapu	kapu	kapu
hair	cimyaŋ	cimeŋ	cimeŋ	mus	mus
face	k ^h en	k ^h en	k ^h en	k ^h en	k ^h en
eye	mese	mese	mesek	mese	mese
ear	kulna	kulna	kulna	kulna	kulŋa
nose	ciŋa	ciŋya	ciŋa	cīyã	ciyã
mouth	ugo	ugo	ugo	ogo	ogo
teeth	suwa	suwa	suwa	suwa	suwa
tongue	cile	cile	cile	cile	cile
breast	cucu	cyucyu	cucu	nunu	cucu
belly	baŋkal	baŋkal	baŋkal	bɒŋgɒl	bɒŋgɒl
arm/hand	la?	la?	lak	la	la
elbow	uru	ruŋ	uru	uru	kuino
palm	oilya	la?	lak	pati	la
finger	c ^h umpi	c ^h umpi	cumpi	cyukuri	cukuri
fingernail	pin	pin	pin	pin	pin
leg	konɕe	konɕe	konɕe	konɕe	lai
skin	febi	febi	febi	febi	febi
bone	koŋa	koŋa	koŋa	koŋya	koŋya
heart	loŋse	loŋse	loŋsek	loŋse	loŋse
blood	cai	cai	cai	cɒi	cɒi
urine	uŋi	uŋi	uŋi	uŋi	uŋi
feces	kuɕi	kuɕi	kiɕi	kuɕi	kili

village	raɾe	dese	dese	dese	dese
house	nem	nem	nem	nem	nem
roof	c ^h ana	c ^h ana	pali	pali	c ^h ana
door	k ^h aɾoŋ	k ^h aɾuŋ	k ^h aɾo	k ^h Λɾu	k ^h aɾu
firewood	seŋ	seŋ	seŋ	seŋ	seŋ
broom	t ^h ope	t ^h ope	t ^h ope	t ^h ope	t ^h ope
mortar	yambaʔ	lokmaŋ	lokmaŋ	tʃim	luŋ
pestle	ulum	lok	ulum	ulum	lohoɾo
hammer	t ^h okt ^h okya	t ^h okt ^h okya	t ^h okt ^h oke	t ^h ukt ^h ukia	t ^h okt ^h okya
knife	aikuca	aikuca	aikuca	karda	cΛkku
axe	rapa	rapa	rapa	raʔpa	rapa
rope	ʃakpa	ʃakpa	ʃakpa	ʃyapa	ɖamla
thread	d ^h ago	sale	bena	ʃyapa	d ^h ago
needle	fiili	fiili	yuli	yuli	fiili
cloth	myuŋ	miŋmyaŋ	myuŋ	myũ	myuŋ
ring	saimundro	saimundro	saimundro	Λŋguliŋ	Λũt ^h i
sun	uni	uni	uni	uni	uni
moon	cΛΛuni	cΛΛuni	cΛΛuni	cΛlaʔuni	cΛlauni
sky	sΛrgya	sΛrgya	sΛrge	sΛrge	Λkas
star	uc ^h i	uc ^h i	uc ^h i	uc ^h i	uc ^h i
rain	paŋku	paŋkuyusa	j ^h Λriuan	ʃyarde	j ^h ari
water	paŋku	paŋku	paŋku	paŋku	paŋku
river	ʃoŋ	ʃoŋ	ʃoŋ	ʃoŋ	ʃoŋ
cloud	d ^h umma	k ^h aʃu	k ^h asu	d ^h umma	d ^h umpa
lightening	mirlisidu	sΛrgyatowan	mirliksa	miklik	gΛɾaŋguɾuŋt ^h an
rainbow	indreni	indreni	indreni	lΛrkuni	indreni
wind	p ^h aʃa	p ^h aʃa	p ^h aʃa	p ^h aʃya	p ^h aʃya
stone	ɾiŋ	ɾiŋ	liŋ	ɾiŋ	lyuŋ
path	ulam	ulam	ulam	ulam	ulam
sand	p ^h aʃeɾiŋ	k ^h reʔduɾiŋ	jaŋk ^h a	syɑŋɖo	bΛluwa
fire	me	me	me	me	me
smoke	asku	asku	asku	ac ^h a	d ^h uwāt ^h an
ash	tarba	traba	traba	traba	tabra
mud	nasa	nasa	nasa	nasa	nasa
dust	p ^h aʃe	p ^h asse	d ^h ule	buʃi	d ^h ulo
gold	sun	loŋ	luŋ	gofio	sun
tree	doŋbo	duŋbo	dombo	pole	ruk
leaf	aja	aja	aja	aja	aja
root	pole	pole	nara	dara	jara
thorn	puɾu	puɾu	puɾu	puɾu	puɾu
flower	reŋ	reŋ	reŋ	reŋ	reŋ
fruit	p ^h alp ^h ul	p ^h alp ^h ul	p ^h alp ^h ul	kΛnt ^h Λmal	p ^h alp ^h ul

mango	ãp	ãp	amcur	ãp	ãp
banana	muĩ	mui	muĩ	muĩ	mui
wheat (husked)	jaʔc ^h o	jaʔc ^h o	jakso	jac ^h o	jaʔc ^h o
barley	akan	akan	akan	akan	akan
rice (husked)	jake	jaki	jake	meke	jake
potato	kwai	kwai	kwai	kwai	koi
eggplant	banʦa	banʦa	b ^h enʦa	banʦa	b ^h ẽri
groundnut	bʌdam	bʌdam	bʌdam	bʌdam	bʌdam
chili	marci	mʌrci	marci	aso	k ^h orsani
turmeric	fiʌrdi	fiʌrdi	fiʌrdi	besar	besar
garlic	lʌsun	lʌsun	lʌsun	lʌmbo	lʌsun
onion	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj
cauliflower	reŋkopi	reŋkopi	kopi	kauli	kauli
tomato	banʦa	gyambala	gambʌl	banʦa	golb ^h ẽra
cabbage	ajakopi	ajakopi	bʌnda	bʌnda	bʌnda
oil	asa	asa	asa	asa	asa
salt	c ^h ya	c ^h ya	c ^h a	c ^h ya	c ^h a
meat	cici	cici	cici	ac ^h in	cici
fat (of meat)	c ^h eu	c ^h ou	c ^h eu	c ^h o	c ^h ylu
fish	naŋa	naŋa	naŋa	naŋa	naŋa
chicken	waca	waca	waca	waca	waca
egg	om	aɦum	aɦum	aum	aum
cow	mamaɦya	mamaɦya	mamaɦya	ɦya	ɦya
buffalo	meɦa	meɦa	meɦa	meɦya	miɦya
milk	olon	olon	olʌn	nunu	nunu
horns	naru	naru	naru	naru	naru
tail	lime	lime	limek	leme	lime
goat	tuɦi	tuɦi	tuɦi	culi	culi
dog	kucu	kucu	kucu	kucu	kucu
snake	rul	rul	rul	rul	rul
monkey	makar	makar	makar	yu	yu
mosquito	ɦinini	ɦinini	ɦinini	lʌk ^h ʌtoɦo	lamk ^h utɦe
ant	ɦiko	ɦiku	ɦiku	cukku	cuku
spider	makarpapa	makarpapa	makarpapa	ɦramp ^h ʌl	ɦʌrampʌl
name	name	name	name	name	name
man	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
woman	camaica	camaica	camaica	camaica	camaica
child	ɦioca	uca	ɦioca	ɦioca	ɦioca
father	apa	apa	apa	apa	apa
mother	ama	ama	ama	ama	ama
older brother	bubu	bubu	bubu	bubu	bubu
younger brother	ɦiu	ɦiu	ɦiu	ɦiu	ɦiu

older sister	tete	tete	tete	tete	tete
younger sister	fumi	fomi	fumi	fumi	fu
son	ca	ca	ca	ca	ca
daughter	camai	camai	camai	camai	camai
husbane	lawa	t ^h oŋe	lawa	lawa	lawa
wife	uma	uma	uma	uma	uma
boy	fara	fara	cafuca	fara	ca
girl	farma	farma	camaica	fjarmi	camai
day	unise	unise	unise	fyaŋ	unise
night	tafe	tafe	tae	cyae	cya
morning	bacinŋe	bacinŋe	b _Λ sinte	b _Λ sinte	bafe
noon	unise	unise	unise	unise	unise
evening	ŋyoŋiŋ	ŋyoŋi	ŋyaŋiŋ	nyoŋi	cyat ^h an
yesterday	miryŋ	miryŋ	miryŋ	merg ^h yaŋ	merg ^h yaŋ
today	yaŋ	yaŋ	yaŋ	yaŋ	yaŋ
tomorrow	bat ^h e	bat ^h e	bat ^h e	bafe	b ^h Λise
week	f _Λ pta	f _Λ pta	f _Λ pta	lo?fyaŋ	satadin
month	m _Λ ina	m _Λ ina	m _Λ fine	sumepfyaŋ	m _Λ ina
year	kale	kale	kale	dara	b _Λ rs _Λ
old	k ^h aru	k ^h aru	k ^h aru	k ^h aru	k ^h aru
new	nake	nake	naka	naka	naka
good	apra	apra	apra	k _Λ sta	apra
bad	ma?apra	ma?apra	fijeba	majadu	ma?apra
wet	p ^h odu	p ^h odu	p ^h odu	p ^h odu	b ^h ijaiŋan
dry	gaŋdu	map ^h odu	p ^h Λŋp ^h Λŋ	g _Λ ŋdu	mab ^h ijai
long	Λ _Λ mga	Λ _Λ mga	Λ _Λ mga	Λ _Λ mga	Λ _Λ mga
short	uc ^h iga	uc ^h iga	uc ^h ika	uc ^h iga	uc ^h iga
hot	adum	adum	adum	adum	adum
cold	t _Λ la	t _Λ la	ajik	iji	cilaŋan
right	cak ^h ur	cak ^h ur	cak ^h ur	cak ^h ur	dafine
left	k ^h ola	k ^h ola	k ^h ola	k ^h ola	debre
near	k ^h er	k ^h er	k ^h erte	k ^h ereŋ	c ^h eute
far	Λ _Λ mt ^h a	Λ _Λ mt ^h a	Λ _Λ mt ^h a	Λ _Λ mt ^h a	alamt ^h a
big	jek ^h a	jek ^h a	jek ^h a	jek ^h a	j ^h oka
small	ucya	ucya	ucaca	ucyanca	ecena
heavy	g _Λ ruŋ	g _Λ ruŋ	ganunidu	g _Λ rum	g _Λ ruŋ
light	f _Λ luŋ	f _Λ luŋ	p ^h in ^h inca	f _Λ luŋ	f _Λ luŋ
above	f _h yute	f _h yute	f _h yute	f _h yute	f _h yobbi
below	n ^h ate	n ^h ate	n ^h ate	n ^h anai	nabi
white	ubo	ubo	ubo	ubo	obo
black	kiji	kiji	kiji	kiji	kiji
red	d _Λ ŋd _Λ ŋ	d _Λ ŋd _Λ ŋ	d _Λ ŋd _Λ ŋ	d _Λ ŋd _Λ ŋ	keret

one	di	di	di	di	de
two	nis	nis	nis	nis	nis
three	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum
four	oli	oli	oli	oli	wali
five	walŋa	walŋa	walŋa	wāla	hwalŋa
six	mat	mat	mat	mat	mat
seven	ra	ra	ro	lo	ɾo
eight	la	la	la	la	la
nine	kit	kit	kyut	kit	kit
ten	dicip	dicip	dicip	dicip	d ^h dicip
eleven	dicipdi	dicipdi	dicipdi	dicipdi	d ^h dicipde
twelve	dicipnis	dicipnis	dicipnis	dicipnis	d ^h dicipnis
twenty	nisdicip	nisdicip	nisdicip	nisdicip	nisd ^h dicip
one hundred	dicipdicip	dicipdicip	dicipdicip	dicipdicip	d ^h dicipd ^h dicip
who	su	su	su	su	su
what	fiara	fiara	fiara	fiara	fiara
where	kuta	kuta	kuta	kuta	kuta
when	kutaleŋ	kutaleŋ	kutaleŋ	kutaleŋ	fiŋgalyaŋ
how many	fiani	fiani	fiani	fiālī	fai
which	kundu	kundu	kundu	kundu	kundu
this	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka
that	to	to	to	d ^h a	to
these	kabaŋ	kabaŋ	kabaŋ	kaɾaliŋ	kabali
those	tobaŋ	tobaŋ	tobaŋ	toɾaliŋ	tobaŋ
same	to	to	to	to	to
different	b ^h indai	b ^h indai	begale	toŋaka	p ^h arak
whole	sakk ^h ale	sak ^h ale	sakale	sakale	sakk ^h ali
broken	kwadu	kwa?du	kwagdu	t ^h eman	c ^h yomdu
few	uc ^h inca	uc ^h inca	uc ^h in	uc ^h inca	ic ^h ini
many	aŋe	aŋe	aŋe	aŋe	aŋe
all	sakk ^h ale	sak ^h ale	sakale	sakale	sakk ^h ali
to eat	cyasa	cyasa	cyasa	cyasa	cyasa
to bite	ce?sa	ce?sa	ceksa	ce?sa	ce?sa
to be hungry	kraisā	kraisā	kaɾaisā	kaɾaisā	isakarainan
to drink	tunsa	tunsa	tunsa	tunc ^h a	tunc ^h a
to be thirsty	lakaisā	lakaisā	lakasa	lakaŋsa	lakainan
to sleep	amisa	amisa	amisa	amisa	amisa
to lie	paɭt ^h aisisa	paɭt ^h aisisa	paɭt ^h aisa	bliŋsa	paɭt ^h aisisa
to sit	fiŋ?sa	fiŋ?sa	fioksa	fiŋ?sa	fiŋ?sa
to give	pi?sa	pi?sa	pisa	pi?sa	picc ^h a
to burn	cie?sa	jousa	jyoksa	jo?sa	jy ^h ausa
to die	sisā	sisā	sisā	sisā	sisā

to kill	sac ^h a	sac ^h a	sac ^h a	sΛtc ^h a	sacc ^h a
to fly	persa	persa	persa	persa	persa
to walk	cawasa	cawasa	cawasa	cawasa	cawasa
to run/run	droʔsa	droʔsa	droksa	droʔsa	dorΛsa
to go/go	fiensa	fiensa	fiensa	fiensa	fiensa
to come	raʔsa	raʔsa	rasa	raʔsa	raʔsa
to speak/speak	cijyaŋsa	cijyaŋsa	cijyaŋsa	cijyaŋsa	cijaŋsa
to hear/hear/listen	nasaisa	nasaisa	nasaisa	nasaisa	nasaisa
to look/look	yoʔsa	yoʔsa	yosa	jyapsa	jyapsa
I	gai	gai	gai	gΛi	gai
you (informal)	naŋ	naŋ	naŋ	nΛŋ	naŋ
you (formal)	naŋ ^h e	naŋ ^h e	naŋk ^h e	nΛŋ	naŋ
he	to	to	to	to	to
she	to	to	to	to	to
we (inclusive)	ni	ni	ni	ni	^h e
we (exclusive)	ni	ni	ni	ni	^h e
you (plural)	niŋpali	niŋpali	niŋ	nΛŋpaliŋ	nΛŋpali
they	tobaŋ	tobaŋ	tobaŋ	topaliŋ	topaliŋ