



Sociolinguistic Study of the Chepang Language Speaking in Nepal

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Abstract

The Chepang is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal, having its own distinct linguistic and cultural identities. The language has its own sociolinguistic features like dialectical variation, language attitudes, multilingualism, and language choice. In this context, the study critically examines the sociolinguistic context of the Chepang in contemporary times. The main focus of this is to analyze the variation of the Chepang language in a sociolinguistic context and to find out the use of the Chepang language in different social contexts. The study followed mixed-method research and analyzed the data collected from the field. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from the field survey conducted in both the core and peripheral areas of the Chepang settlement. The Sociolinguistic Survey questionnaire was used as a tool of data collection, and the data were collected through a participatory approach. For this study, 100 respondents were randomly selected from four districts of Nepal. Findings and conclusions of this study are based on the primary information. From the analysis of the data, it is found that the Chepang language is highly influenced by the Nepali language. Respondents have a positive attitude toward preserving their language; however, the language policy of the nation and the education system forced them to adopt powerful language to communicate in public.

Keywords: Chepang, sociolinguistic language shift, bilingualism and Nepal

1. Introduction

Nepal is one of the multilingual nations of South Asia. The National Population Report 2021 showed the existence of 124 languages in Nepal. Four families: the

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Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, and Dravidian, and a language isolate called Kusunda. (National Population Report, 2021). The Chepang language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The Language is spoken by the Chepang, one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal. According to the national population report 2021, 84364, 0.29% the total population of the Chepang, including males and females. The report showed that 58392(0.2%) are the mother tongue speakers of the Chepang language. In this context, the study analyzes the sociolinguistic context of the Chepang, highlighting the different variations of the Chepang language, including dialect, multilingualism, and language contact. The sociolinguistic study includes a demographic description of the ethno-linguistic community under examination. This description outlines the community's location and population. Additionally, it aims to document the distribution of various social characteristics, such as age, gender, economic status, educational attainment, and the extent of interaction with speakers of other languages, as well as access to physical and social amenities. Blair (1990) states, "Sociolinguistic survey also incorporates a demographic description of a parting of the ethno-linguistic community as the distribution of various social characteristics throughout the community is relevant to sociolinguistic phenomena"(xiii). In this context, the study observed the sociolinguistic context and found out the situation of how socio-economic, political and cultural factors affect on the existence of the Chepang language in Nepal.

2. The Chepangs and their Language

Chepang is an indigenous group in Nepal, characterized by its unique language and cultural heritage. The traditional homeland of the Chepang is scattered in the southern part of the Kathmandu valley. (Adhikari, 2070). Now their settlement is spread in the southern part of Dhading district, the northern and eastern part of Chitwan, the south-west part of the Makawanpur district of the Bagmati province and south-east part of the Gorkha district of Gandaki province and its surrounding area. The physical appearance of the Chepang is similar to that of the Rai and Tamang. In this regard, Gurung (1995) notes, " They have flat and short nose, round face, dark and brown complexion, thin and medium ears, dark eyes and prominent eyebrows" (6). Due to close contact with Nepali language speakers and forceful legal provision

of the government, most of the Chepang have knowledge of the Nepali language; however, they have their own pattern of social norms and cultural values. In this regard, Adhikari (2009) highlights:

Chepangs have their own social norms and cultural value. They worship their own gods like Namrung and celebrate Chonan in the month of September. They believed on the power of pande who have power to solve the problems occurred in family and community. Their highly believed on fate and destiny. (45).

Social worldview of the Chepang is traditionally based on animism and shamanism; however, they also follow the Hinduism and Christian worldview, which brings changes in their social pattern of life. National population report 2021 indicated that 25% Chepang have adopted the Christian religion, whereas only 2.2% continued their traditional pattern of belief. Till last 40 years their life pattern and belief patterns were based on animism or shamanism that mentioned Bista (1967), Caughley (1972, 1985), Rai (1985), Thapa (1975) emphasized the socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic circumstances of the Chepang, which are fundamentally distinct from the current situation that has also influenced the linguistic identities of the Chepang.

There are different myths and legends found in the origin of the Chepang. They are based on legends, conjectures, and sayings. As Ross Caughley (1972) regards, "The folk etymology of the name refers to an origin myth in which their first ancestors emerge from cracks in rocks (ban) meaning rock plus *Cyo* means top" (1). Similarly, Dhungel (1994) explains that the name 'Chepang' originates from the term 'Che-Wang.' Here, 'Che' means dog and 'Bang' means stone. Alternatively, 'Che' can also mean bow, while 'Ban' means arrow. Together, these interpretations suggest an ethnic group that lives in mountainous regions and hunts using dogs, bows, and arrows. Consequently, individuals who dwell in caves or near stones with dogs or arrows are called 'Chewang,' which eventually transforms into 'Chepang' (67). Except that, the myth of Lohari and Kushahari is popular about the origin of the Chepang. The myths are found in different versions. One version of the myth is as follows;

The Chepangs are thought to be descendants of Lohari, the son of Sita, a prominent figure in the Hindu epic Ramayana. During Sita's time in exile, she lived in a hermitage belonging to Balmilki, situated near the Narayani River. It was in this location that Sita gave birth to Lohari. One day, while watching monkeys frolicking with their young, she felt a strong emotional response. She decided to take her baby to the river to show him the playful monkeys, but she failed to inform Balmilki of her plans. When the rishi discovered that the baby was missing from the cradle, he became worried about Sita's potential anger. In a bid to alleviate his fears, he created a new baby from 'Kuss Grass' that looked exactly like Lava. Upon Sita's return, she was shocked to find another baby in the cradle. The Rishi then explained what had happened. The Chepangs strongly believe they are the descendants of Lohari, Sita's first son. (Adhikari, 2006, 3).

The above mentioned myth of Lohari and Kushari is now controversial and raised question on the myth how a Tibeto-Burman language speaker can be the descended child of the Hindu god, "Ram Chandra".

Chepang celebrate both traditional and modern festivals, however, some of the traditional festivals like Chhonam, Tongkolong and Namrung play important role to form the cultural identities of the Chepang. Celebrating patterns of modern festivals like Dashain, Tihar, New Year, Christmas indicates the shifting form of social and cultural identities of the Chepang. Modern education system, modernization, globalization, democratization and influenced of Nepali culture are affected on the traditional social identities and sociolinguistic context of the Chepang.

The Chepang language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is mainly spoken in the central hilly region of Nepal, Makwanpur, Dhading, Chitwan, and Gorkha districts. It is referred to as "Chepang" (Rai, 2018, 15). It is called 'Chepang kura' or "Khamchi" by Chepang themselves and other language speakers who live near their settlement. Swoveet (1992) mentioned, "It is unwritten language. It has only been linguistically studied in its rudimentary form. It has no letters or written system. They learnt it from their superior and passed it to their new generation. It is written in Devanagari script "(30). In the language statistics of Nepal, the Chepang

language occupied 30th position, which is 0.2% of the total population of Nepal. The language that speakers are below 1% is known as a minority language. (National Population Report, 2021). Yadava (2004) examines the trend of language endangerment in Nepal primarily based on five levels of endangerment. The following figure shows the classification of languages spoken in Nepal.



Source: Yadava; 2004



Source: Yadava 2003. Population monograph

3. Theoretical Reviews

Sociolinguistic study mainly focuses on three aspects of language, such as dialectal variations, language attitude, multilingualism, or language choice and language contact. Labov (1966) and (1972), Gumperz (1958), and Trudgill (1974) discussed the theoretical context of dialectal variations. Like Fishman (1978), Gal (1987), Decker and Grummitt (2012), and Rubin (1971) talked about multilingualism or language choice. In the same way, Matras (2009), Weinreich (1953), and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) highlighted the theory of language contact. The study is based on the concept of these linguists. Social and regional variations are the main dialectal variations of the language. Social variations hold greater significance than regional variations in the field of sociolinguistics. Nevertheless, it is essential to examine the types of regional variations within a language to comprehend the diverse methodologies employed in the analysis of social variation. Regional variations refer to the different forms of a language utilized by individuals residing in various geographical areas. (Wardhaugh, 2000, p. 40). In the same line, Wolfram and Schilling (2016) discussed the regional variation of language in the context of American English. Specifically, there was a variation in vocabulary, pronunciation, syntax, and language use.

In sociolinguistic studies, language variation and social context are also important. Labov (1966) discussed the theoretical framework of such variation. He talked about how social factors play an important role for the variation of language. However, an early analysis of variation can be associated with Gumperz's work (1958). His research indicated that in Khalapur, the locals primarily spoke Hindi for their daily conversations in various social contexts. Labov (1966) has profoundly influenced the field of linguistic variation and change to this day. He developed the main method of collecting and analyzing the data related to sociolinguistic study. Labov (1966) further presented the concept of the sociolinguistic variable, which he defined as "a collection of different ways to convey the same idea."(45). In the same line in 1961, Labov studied analyzing language within its social context. In this research, he meticulously detailed the variations in how speakers employed certain linguistic features (Labov, 1972: chapters 1 and 2). His investigation centered on the

vowel pronunciations of Martha's Vineyard residents across two sets of words: out, house, trout, and while, pie, and night. It was observed that the initial segments of the diphthongs were centralized, transforming [au] into [eu] and [ai] into [ei], with this centralization being more evident in the first set of words than in the second. Meyerhoff (2006) notes that language reveals much about speakers' self-perceptions and attitudes, as daily conversations convey significant information (p. 55). Language and attitude are closely linked, with language serving specific functions (Fasold, 1984, p. 148). Attitude is an important characteristic for humans to consider. Fasold (1984, pp. 147-148) argues that attitudes can be observed through individuals' reactions in social situations, simplifying the study by relying on observable behavior rather than self-reports. However, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970, p. 138) caution that defining attitudes solely in mentalistic terms limits their predictive power. This research adopts a mentalist approach, as most studies on language attitudes do. Baker (1992, p. 11) highlights that attitudes are learned predispositions, not innate traits. Similarly, Ryan and Giles (1982) studied the reactions towards various language varieties. The mentalist perspective is widely used in language attitude research; it poses challenges since internal mental states are not directly observable and must be inferred from behavior or unreliable self-reports.

Multilingualism has been increasing worldwide in recent times. Ethnologue (2020) showed that 7,117 languages are spoken in the world. These languages are used to communicate inside and outside of the community. Li (2008, p. 4) notes that anyone who can communicate in multiple languages, whether actively or passively, is considered multilingual. The European Commission (2007) defined the term multilingual as “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, regularly, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives”(p. 6). In the same way, Blommaert (2010) talked about super diversities that are related to the linguistic diversities of the globe.

In the context of the sociolinguistic study of the Chepang language, the issue of linguistic variation, multilingualism, and choice of contact language is highly relevant because their language is highly influenced by Nepali and other Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in public places, and the situation of communicating with non-

Chepong speakers who use Nepali. The circumstance is based on the theoretical framework of dialectical variation, multilingualism, and language choice, and the situation of selecting contact language.

4. Literature Reviews

Since 19th century writers and researchers have been studied the Chepong and their languages. B.H. Hodgson wrote descriptions on the Chepong and their language in *Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1847). He notes, "Within the thick forest of central Nepal, located to the west of the vast valley, a small number of individuals live in a nearly natural state" (p. 36). Hodgson, a linguist, gathered the language spoken by the Chepong people. Following Hodgson, Eden Vansittart, a captain in the Gorkha regime, emphasized the nature and behaviors of the Chepongs in the *Asiatic Journal* (1857), stating, "There is an apparent affinity with the civilized races of the country, and they appear to be remnants of an earlier population" (73). After long gap of the study Ross Caughley studied about the Chepongs and their language systematically in 1972. He completed his PhD dissertation entitled *the syntax and morphology of the verb in Chepong* from Australian National University and focuses on various aspects of the. For the first time Caughley classified the Chepong language as Tibeto burman language Chepong is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Himalayish section of the Bodic branch. Caughley (1982) characterized the area where the Chepong language is utilized as follows: "The Chepong language is located in south-central Nepal, with the Trisuli River to the north, the Narayani River to the west, the Rapti River to the south, and the Tribhuvan Highway to the east" (1). Similarly, Bista (2067), Thapa (1975), Dhungel (1994) and Thapaliya (1987) mentioned various aspects of the Chepong and their language. In 20th century researchers and sociologists lament on the loss of their language and culture, however, researchers of 21st century generate new hope of the preservation of the Chepong culture and language. Adhikari (2006, 2009, 2013, and 2023) focused on the Chepong culture and language. He noted that Chepong have their own language which is as powerful as other minority language of the Nepal. Similarly, Sapkota and Uranw carried out a sociolinguistic survey of the Chepong languages and discovered that, "The attitudes towards the use of the mother tongue in primary education are consistently strong and positive within the Chepong

community" (111). The study showed that Chepangs have positive attitudes toward language preservation through begin medium of instruction in basic level.

Above reviews only discussed about Chepang language in the context of long back so that their found gap of study period and socio economic and cultural context so that the study fulfilled the gap of the previous studies and set a new landmark on the sociolinguistic study of the Chepang living in Nepal.

5. Methodology

The study followed the mixed-methods research design. Both qualitative and quantitative data were used in this study. Both primary and secondary sources of the data were used in this study. Secondary data were collected from Liberty and the internet. Books related to sociolinguistic survey, reports, research articles, and previous studies were the main secondary sources of the study. Primary data were gathered from a field survey. The Data were collected from the core and peripheral areas of the Chepang settlement. Four districts of Nepal, Chitwan, Makawanpur, Dhading, and Gorkha, are the main settlements of the Chepang. From these four districts, two districts, Chitwan and Makawanpur, were selected for this study. Manahari rural municipality of Makawanpur district and Kalika municipality of Chitwan district were selected as the study area of this study. 100 respondents aged above 15 were randomly selected for this study. 50 respondents were selected from Manhari, the core settlement of the Chepang, and the next 50 were selected from Kalika municipality, the peripheral settlement of the Chepang. A convenient sampling method was used to select the respondents from the field. A sociolinguistic survey questionnaire was used to collect data from the field. The collected data were analyzed by using a table and a paragraph description. While collecting the data from the field survey, I fulfilled the requirements of ethical issues, such as I did not force respondents to participate in the interview, and I committed to the respondents not to misuse the information, kept their identities secret, and only used the data in this study.

6. Sociolinguistic Study of the Chepang

Sociolinguistic study is related to the relationship between language and communities. Various factors play a role in establishing the relationship between

community and language, such as the socio-economic status of the speakers, age, sex, occupation, and the influence of other languages. Labov (1966) observes that, "... research on variation based on the type of speaker emphasizes regional differences, occasionally combined with social distinctions (313). The linguistic variations arising from the diverse geographic origins of individuals who are generally assimilated more rapidly in the current era of mass media, long-distance communication, national language policies, and consistent interaction have sought to diminish this variation. The Chepang language is influenced by the local language; however, it differs to some extent from both the local language and its dialects. There are interactions among speakers from various ethnic communities, such as Tamang, Newar, Gurung, and Magar, among others. The Chepang language spoken in Chitwan is particularly affected by Nepali due to its close interactions with Nepali speakers. In this context, it is pertinent to reference Labov (1966), who stated, "Geographical variation can illuminate language change. In every case, the distribution of the form in question is influenced by regional studies. For instance, there are various phonetic pronunciations of 'calf,' including [Kae:f] and [Ka:f]." (314). It is reasonable to assert that language tends to be geographically influenced for various reasons. Consequently, the Chepang language, which is spoken in Nepal, exhibits variations across different regions. These differences primarily focus on phonology and morphology. For instance, the language used in Makawanpur shows slight distinctions when compared to that of Chitwan.

Table: 1 Phonetically Dissimilar Words

Chitwan (Kalika)\i\verses	Makawanpur (Manhari)/e/	English Meaning
<i>mei</i>	<i>mhe</i>	fire
<i>Sinma</i>	<i>Senma</i>	tree
<i>Ryang</i>	<i>Ryange</i>	wasp
<i>Siyo</i>	<i>Seyo</i>	dead
<i>Mai</i>	<i>mhe</i>	tail
<i>ik</i>	<i>ek</i>	vomit

Table :2 Phonology /a/ vers/ /əə/

Chitwan (Kalika)	Makawanpur (Manhari)	English Meaning
<i>Waang</i>	<i>Waang</i>	come
<i>se naa</i>	<i>se na</i>	good
<i>ra naa</i>	<i>ra - na</i>	window
<i>hryong ? naa</i>	<i>hryon - na</i>	Destroyed house

The above listed words are found to be phonetically dissimilar. The Chepang speakers of core area used /i/ versus/e/ sound is significant like that /ə/ verses/əə/ e.g. /se: nəə/ where as the Chepang of peripheral area tend to use last vowel /ə/ from the same word e.g. /se: nə/

Table: 3 Lexically Dissimilar Words

Chitwan (Kalika)	Makawanpur (Manhari)	English Meaning
<i>mai</i>	<i>say</i>	Cow
<i>bhau</i>	<i>bhda</i>	Husband
<i>ja</i>	<i>bag</i>	Tiger
<i>mus</i>	<i>huse</i>	Fog
<i>Chichuk</i>	<i>aam</i>	Rice
<i>chiuri</i>	<i>Yashi</i>	Aesandra butyraceae
<i>mheru</i>	<i>mamacho</i>	Wife
<i>sork</i>	<i>nibuwa</i>	Citron
<i>kukur</i>	<i>kui</i>	Dog
<i>koda</i>	<i>Kodau</i>	Millet
<i>jasha</i>	<i>Jayaa</i>	Eat
<i>Bahini</i>	<i>Bain</i>	Younger sister
<i>Kira</i>	<i>Kirat</i>	Insect
<i>Jun</i>	<i>Snout</i>	Moon

The words mentioned above are observed to be distinct from one another. There exists a notable difference in Lexian between the two regions discussed

regarding the Chepang language: the core area of Makawanpur and the peripheral area of Chitwan (Kalika). Labov (1966) observes that studies focused on social variation generally aim to collect an adequate sample from the diverse social spectrum of urban communities, which includes groups categorized by ethnicity, education, age, sex, and socio-economic status. (318). A speaker is supposed to speak in an honorific language to address people who are of a higher social status than the speaker, for example, father, mother, and boss etc. The definition of what is deemed polite varies across different contexts, and the verbal expressions of politeness differ from one society to another, as well as between languages. This expectation of politeness is upheld by all members of societies, irrespective of their age or status. The Chepang language exemplifies authenticity and sincerity in terms of politeness. Sowoveet (1992) notes, "In their language, there is profound politeness" (30). The Chepang people communicate with the same level of politeness that characterizes their behavior. They embody honesty and purity in their expression of politeness. The Chepang language encompasses three tiers of politeness, each with its own nuances. The initial level is characterized by blunt speech, which is unsuitable for standard conversations. This form of communication may either involve harsh language that belittles the listener or be exceedingly colloquial, deemed appropriate solely among close friends. The Chepang language does not possess an honorific form. Instead, it employs a polite form when addressing both elder relatives and respected individuals within society. Nevertheless, one can discern an honorific tone in specific language-using contexts, such as *master hajur*, *sir sayab*, and *sau syasu*, among others. In fact, honorifics are not utilized in verb forms.

1. *aama saypa: aama aaunush* Honorific/Polite
Please! Come mother
2. *ten tandi aasha parya* Casual
aaja tani janu paryo
I go to Tandi today
3. *nng basiya rasachulo* Blunt
tau bajaya randiko chhoro
Bastard son.

Kinship terms in Chepang language

This document presents a case study on the application of honorifics and politeness rules within the kinship context of the Chepang language. Below are several examples illustrating the usage of the pronouns 'you' and 'your' by various family members in the Chepang language.

Father-in-law to son-in-law	<i>Ngasa</i>	you
Uncle to nephew	<i>Ngasa</i>	you
Niece to uncle	<i>Ngsa</i>	you
Slave to boss	<i>Nangaa/Nga sa</i>	you (respective)
To respected people	<i>Ngasa</i>	you
Father to son	<i>Nga</i>	you
Son to father	<i>Ngasa</i>	you
Husband to wife	<i>Nga</i>	you
Wife to husband	<i>Nga</i>	you
Sister-in-law to brother-in-law	<i>Nga</i>	you
Grandson to grandfather	<i>Nga</i>	you
Teacher to students	<i>Nga-lem</i>	you

Influence of other language

The Chepang language has incorporated numerous words from various languages, such as Tamang, Magar, Nepali, and English. The influence of Nepali is more pronounced than that of the others due to its close proximity. However, the origins of the Chepang language differ from those of the Nepali language. In general, it is more closely related to other Tibeto-Burman languages, including Magar, Gurung, and Tamang, among others.

Table :4 Example of some words, which are influenced by Nepali language

<i>nepali</i>	<i>chepang</i>	Words
<i>dudha</i>	<i>dudha</i>	milk
<i>dhahi</i>	<i>dhahi</i>	curd
<i>kitab</i>	<i>kitab</i>	book
<i>kalam</i>	<i>kalam</i>	pen

<i>sala</i>	<i>sala</i>	bother-in-law
<i>sali</i>	<i>sali</i>	sister-in-law
<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	maternal uncle
<i>ghew</i>	<i>gheyu</i>	Ghee
<i>aama</i>	<i>aama</i>	mother
<i>sasura</i>	<i>sasura</i>	father-in-law
<i>garib</i>	<i>garib</i>	poor
<i>sikar</i>	<i>sikar</i>	hunting animals
<i>pakhura</i>	<i>pakura</i>	Arm
<i>mantri</i>	<i>mantri</i>	Minister
<i>kaiyo</i>	<i>kaiyo</i>	comb
<i>mai</i>	<i>moi</i>	butter milk
<i>raja</i>	<i>raja</i>	King
<i>nama</i>	<i>nama</i>	name
<i>dahi</i>	<i>dahi</i>	cord
<i>bheda</i>	<i>bheda</i>	Sheep

The Chepang language shares similarities with other Tibeto-Burman languages; however, it is distinct in its application. As a member of the Tibeto-Burman language family, the Chepang language exhibits certain lexicons that are akin to those found in other Mongolian languages, such as 'sin' (firewood) and 'mai' (fire), among others.

Table: 5 Some Chepang words, which is closely related with Tamang language

<i>Tamang</i>	<i>Chepang</i>	Word
<i>aapa</i>	<i>aapa</i>	father
<i>sin</i>	<i>sin</i>	firewood
<i>mai</i>	<i>me</i>	fir
<i>syo</i>	<i>syo</i>	dead
<i>nigla</i>	<i>nigala</i>	Himalyan bamboo

Table: 6 some words of Chepang language, that influenced by Magar language

<i>Magar</i>	<i>Chepang</i>	English Meaning
<i>Nis</i>	<i>nijo</i>	two
<i>sum</i>	<i>sum</i>	three
<i>Im</i>	<i>Kim</i>	house
<i>Na</i>	<i>Nga</i>	you
<i>Gesa</i>	<i>Gesa</i>	Play

Table: 7 some words of Chepang language, that influenced by Newar

<i>Newar</i>	<i>Chepang</i>	Word
<i>gaan</i>	<i>gaan</i>	village
<i>kha</i>	<i>wa</i>	chicken
<i>syn</i>	<i>sin</i>	firewood
<i>bann</i>	<i>bann</i>	arrow
<i>sa</i>	<i>se</i>	cow

Table: 8 Words in the Chepang Language that have been influenced by English

English	Chepang	Words
School	iskul	School
copy	kapi	copy
radio	radio	radio
shirt	shirt	shirt
Paint	paint	paint
Motor	Motor	Motor
bus	bus	bus
Cycle	Cycle	Cycle
doctor	dactor	doctor
Master	Master	Master
Hospital	Asapatal	Hospital

Other languages influences are depend on the topic of conversation, attitude of speakers, salutation of speaking, mode of conversation etc. for example young speaker are used more English influences words than old speakers.

Attitudes of Respondents toward the Chepang language

In this study there use sociolinguists questions to collect the data from the study area.100 respondents from different socio economic background were selected for this study. Socio demographic status of the respondents is mentioned in the following table.

Table: 9 Socio Demographic Situation of the Respondents

Gender	No.	%	Age years	No	%	Education status	No	%	Family Occupation	No	%
Male	52	52	15-25	37	37	Illiterate	3	3	Farming	50	50
Female	48	48	25-35	30	30	Only Literate	35	35	Business	3	3
Total	100	100	35-45	16	16	Basic	30	30	Service	2	2
-	-	-	45-55	11	11	Secondary	25	25	Labour	40	40
-	-	-	55-65	4	4	Bachelor	5	5	Other	5	5
-	-	-	65-75	1	1	Master	2	2	Total	100	100
-	-	-	75-85	1	1	Total	100	100	-	-	-
-	-	-	Total	100	100	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Field Survey, 2025

In this study, respondents from different genders, age groups, educational

backgrounds, and occupations participated. Among 100 respondents, 50 respondents were selected from Manhari rural municipality of Makawanpur district, which is known as the core settlement of the Chepang language speakers, and Kalika municipality is a peripheral settlement of the Chepang speakers. From the field, two hundred ten words were collected. The words list was collected from speakers who were long-term residents of the areas. The words that were gathered comprised a selection of the most common terms. In certain instances, a clarification of a word is provided in parentheses when its meaning is ambiguous. The word list consisted of different parts of speech- noun, pronoun, adjective, verb, and adverb, etc. In the case of verb two, from were elicited. One of them was the third person masculine from simple past tense (e.g., he came / *waang-aa*/ and the second form was the first person singular informal imperative/e.g., *Nang Sayapa – a*/. In the case of pronouns, the first person, second person, and third person were elicited. Language variation was identified through analysis of the collected word list.

Table: 10 the Regional Variation

Makawanpur	Chitwan	Word
<i>goi/goy</i>	<i>goy</i>	Yam
<i>thare</i>	<i>thar</i>	Ox
<i>yajo</i>	<i>yet</i>	One
<i>chosi</i>	<i>chiuri</i>	
<i>yam (nga)</i>	<i>yam</i>	Paddy
<i>mai</i>	<i>me</i>	Tail
<i>pun</i>	<i>pan</i>	Slun
<i>nihla</i>	<i>nigalo</i>	Himalayan bamboo
<i>kui</i>	<i>kukur</i>	Dog
<i>surp</i>	<i>surpa</i>	Snake
<i>jetha</i>	<i>jetho</i>	Elder/older
<i>kodau</i>	<i>kodo</i>	Millet
<i>tan</i>	<i>tyan</i>	Curry
<i>kial</i>	<i>kira</i>	Insect

<i>bhula bang</i>	<i>bhul bang</i>	Mistake
<i>tip</i>	<i>tipka</i>	Dadiyal
<i>chaito</i>	<i>ghaito</i>	Soil made pot
<i>hus</i>	<i>husho</i>	Fog

Source: Field Survey, 2025

There is high regional variation of the Chepang language that speaks in core and peripheral area. Regional variation is high on pronouncing the words and making its meaning because influence of other language is high in peripheral area. In the same line there also found phonetic variation that present in the following table

Table: 11 *Phonetic Dissimilar Words*

Core Area	Peripheral Area	Words
<i>qui</i>	<i>kukur</i>	Dog
<i>thare</i>	<i>thar</i>	Ox
<i>no</i>	<i>nak</i>	Nose
<i>ding</i>	<i>deuta</i>	God
<i>jugo</i>	<i>jiwan</i>	Life long
<i>kaduk</i>	<i>kapa</i>	Door
<i>ku</i>	<i>kanda</i>	Thron
<i>mus</i>	<i>husu</i>	Fog
<i>lam</i>	<i>bato</i>	Way
<i>sam</i>	<i>samjo</i>	Three
<i>kirat</i>	<i>kira</i>	Insect
<i>anta</i>	<i>anetra</i>	Other place
<i>jaiti</i>	<i>tau</i>	Go
<i>parna</i>	<i>parchha</i>	Must
<i>kanti</i>	<i>deki</i>	From
<i>baahihi</i>	<i>bahani</i>	Sister
<i>ningla</i>	<i>nigalo</i>	A kind of bamboo

Data indicates that in peripheral area there found influences of Nepali language in pronounces. It is not only limited on the phonetic level but also found

influenced in lexicon because some Nepali words are used in peripheral area as like Chepang words. The following table shows the some Nepali words that used peripheral area as like the Chepang words

Table: 12 Nepali Influence/Loan Words

<i>core area</i>	<i>peripheral area</i>	Word
<i>raji</i>	<i>raja</i>	King
<i>dhah</i>	<i>dhahi</i>	
<i>ma</i>	<i>ama</i>	Mother
<i>ghiyu</i>	<i>ghiya</i>	Ghee
<i>tamaku</i>	<i>tamaku</i>	Smoke
<i>dhudha</i>	<i>dhudha</i>	Milk
<i>nam</i>	<i>nama</i>	Name
<i>jahan</i>	<i>pariwar</i>	Family member
<i>bihe</i>	<i>bibha</i>	Marriage
<i>galae</i>	<i>gala</i>	Chick
<i>salae</i>	<i>sala</i>	Brother in law
<i>salie</i>	<i>sali</i>	Sister in law
<i>kitab</i>	<i>kitab</i>	Book
<i>bhena</i>	<i>bhinaju</i>	Brother in law
<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	Maternal uncle
<i>bhaluu</i>	<i>bhalu</i>	Bear
<i>lote</i>	<i>lota</i>	Pot
<i>bheda</i>	<i>bheda</i>	Sheep
<i>gannu</i>	<i>gannu</i>	Village
<i>mantrie</i>	<i>mantri</i>	Minister
<i>ghansa</i>	<i>ghansa</i>	Grass
<i>bandel</i>	<i>bandel</i>	Boar
<i>hoe</i>	<i>ho</i>	Is
<i>mashi</i>	<i>mashi</i>	Ink
<i>kalam</i>	<i>kalam</i>	Pen

<i>vanjae</i>	<i>vanja</i>	Neapue
<i>bokaa</i>	<i>boka</i>	Male goat
<i>bhansi</i>	<i>bhansi</i>	Buffalo
<i>kirae</i>	<i>kira</i>	Insect
<i>raj dhanie</i>	<i>raj dhani</i>	Capital
<i>jhola</i>	<i>jhola</i>	Bag

In core area some word differently pronounces but in peripheral area the Chepang language speakers also used the word like Nepali speakers. It is used as loan words; however, there found variation in the pronunciation between core and peripheral area.

Language use in Public Place

In order to find out the languages use situation in the targeted areas. The respondents were asked oral and written questionnaires. Several significant questionnaires pertain to the subject of the language utilized by respondents when communicating with their family members and in various contexts within their communities. For example, this includes interactions with friends and relatives, at the local marketplace, in the workplace, during singing and discussions, as well as with outsiders, among others. A summary of the respondents' responses to these situations is provided in the table below.

Table: 13 A synopsis of the written questionnaires on language use

Situation	Chepang	Nepalese	Both	Others
Grandfather/mother	√			
Jokes			√	
Stories		√		
Political discussion		√		
Speaking to women			√	
Singing		√		
Counting			√	

Religious instruction of home	√			
Talking to slaves			√	
Social activities		√		
Religious and cultural activities	√			
Script		√		
Government official at work		√		
Getting a job		√		
Unknown person		√		
Local market			√	√
	5	8	5	

Source: Field Survey, 2025

Respondents used Nepali or Roman numbering system while counting the number because there need to have knowledge of Nepali language to get job, to communicate unknown person and talk in market place. Influences of Nepali language are high in the Chepang community.

Language Attitudes

Language attitude is one of the main sociolinguistic issue of language that Fishman (1972) notes, "As far as it is concerned, measuring it is quite challenging, despite the fact that its measurement relies on two theoretical perspectives: the mentalist and behaviorist viewpoints" (138). Language attitude is related to psychic of the speakers so that it is difficult to analyze, however, the following table presents a summary of some of the most important written questionnaires and the speaker's response.

Table 14 Language Attitudes of the Respondents

Questions		No	%		N	%		N	%	Total
Prefers to use language for school to	Chepan g	55	55	Nepali	5	5	Both	40	40	100

instruct children in basic level										
Prefer to use language at home	Should	80	80	Should not	7	7	I don't know	13	13	100
What language Do you like the most in daily life ?	Chepan g	70	70	Nepali	10	10	Both	20	20	100
Which language do you speak at home?	Chepan g	60	60	Nepali	15	15	Both	25	25	100
Do you switch other languages with your language?	Yes	70	70	No	30	30	-	-	-	100
In which school will you send your children if there are two schools one is the Chepan medium other	Chepan g medium	70	70	Nepali medium	30	30	-	-	-	100

is Nepali?										
What should be the situation of language when Chepang youth marry with other language speakers?	Good	10	10	Bad	90	90	-	-	-	100
Should government preserve about Chepang language?	Should preserve	100	100	0	0	0	-	-	-	-
Is it good/necessary to be a Chepang speaking teacher for Chepang students?	Good	55	55	Necessary	40	40	Others	5	5	100

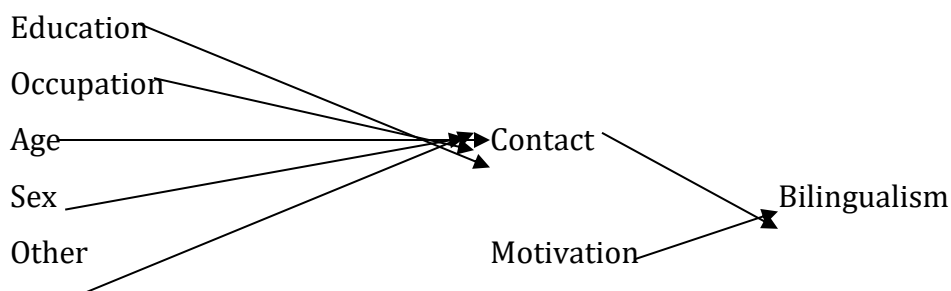
Source: Field Survey, 2025

The table mentioned above notes the language attitudes of the respondents. From the table it is ensured that respondents have positive attitudes toward their language, however, respondents showed loyalty toward the Nepali language and they equally used Nepali in public place.

Language maintenance and language Shift

Language change happens more rapidly than its preservation. The tendency shifting is high in the Chepang language because language policy of the state has dominated the vernacular (non- Nepali) since long time. Chepang language also faced the same fate of language policy. Modernization, mass media and education system encroached the Chepang language. The increasing substitution of foreign languages to facilitate wider communication, along with the concurrent promotion of governmental technical, educational, and cultural initiatives within the nation, all play a role in the phenomenon of language shift.

Variables affecting the contact with the second language



Source: Blair (1990)

Participants in this study revealed that the older generations adopted the language and culture as integral to their identity. Although the majority of the respondents expressed a strong desire to preserve their language and supported the creation of a Chepang language medium school. Every Chepang individual recognized the importance of safeguarding their language for future generations. The overall results indicate a favorable attitude towards the Nepali language, which is acknowledged as a national language widely spoken by many. When asked about the status of language in the context of Chepang youth marrying speakers of other languages, most respondents preferred to avoid marrying outside their linguistic communities. A considerable number of those surveyed showed a deep interest in their language and agreed on the necessity of its preservation.

7. Findings and Conclusion

The data reveals that the Chepang language is influenced by Nepali and several local languages, including Tamang, Newar, Magar, and Gurung. The study covers both core and peripheral area and collected 210 words and analyzed the sociolinguistic issue. These words are considered as primary data because the words were collected

from the field. In core area Nepali influenced is lesser than the peripheral area. The estimated percentage of Nepali influence is 5.23% in the core area whereas in peripheral area it is found more than 20%. The detail are presented in the following table

Table:15 Data Analysis Result

Area	Native Words%	Nepali loan Words %	Nepali influenced word%	English influence word %	Other language influence word %	Total
Core area	78.58	6.66	5.23	4.76	4.76	100
Peripheral area	77.62	10	2.85	4.76	4.76	100

General information regarding this topic was gathered through questionnaires, interviews, and observations. Social communication networks compel individuals to learn multiple languages. NGO programs require the Chepang community to utilize the Nepali language. While most adult Chepangs can comprehend Nepali with ease, they exhibit a heightened curiosity about their own language.

Nepal is recognized as a distinctive land characterized by its multicultural identities and ethnic diversity. The uniqueness of Nepalese culture is rooted in its various mother tongues, customs, rituals, lifestyle patterns, and beliefs. Taking these factors into account, it is crucial to preserve and celebrate the multicultural heritage inherited from our ancestors since ancient times.

The utilization of the Chepang language should be broadened socially and culturally through mass media throughout the country. Cultural exhibitions must be arranged to educate other communities regarding the Chepang culture. Essential actions should be taken for the codification, purification, regularization, simplification, elaboration, implementation, and evolution of the language. Moreover, comprehensive linguistic and sociolinguistic studies should be undertaken regarding the Chepang language. It is crucial to implement a new national language policy focused on the preservation and development of endangered languages. The

initiatives mentioned above can facilitate the development and standardization of the Chepang language, thus encouraging its application in social interactions, education, mass media, and publications. If the democratic government of Nepal upholds a consistent language planning policy for the advancement of endangered languages, it will inevitably result in their progress.

8. Limitations, Implications, and Further Directions of Research

The study is limited to the sociolinguistic analysis of the Chepang language, as spoken by the Chepang people in Nepal. The study is based on the field survey conducted by the researchers in 2025. The study is significant to preserve the Chepang language, which is one of the endangered languages of the world. The disappearance of the language has also led to the loss of the indigenous knowledge and skills of the esteemed community, making it essential to protect the preservation of the indigenous language, such as that of the Chepang. This study focuses on a crucial aspect of the academic journey. A single study alone is inadequate to ensure the preservation of the Chepang language; therefore, additional research is required on various linguistic and cultural dimensions of the Chepang language, including "instances of the Chepang language's decline" or the phenomenon of language loss in Nepal: an examination of the Chepang language.

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Annex-1 Word lists

Word Lists			
S.N.	core area	peripheral area	English meaning words
1	aapa / apa	ba	father
2.	annyo	annya	elder sister
3.	mumocho	mumucho	wife
4.	bhau	buda	husband
5.	cho	cho	son
6.	belauti	belauti	guava
7.	yoshi	chiuri	surauia hepalenis
8.	losai	losai	banana
9.	tanki sag	tanki sag	bauhinea
10.	lak	lak	air potato
11.	taksai	taksai	mango
12.	sorka	sorka	citron
13.	lyau	lyau	lauguna
14.	pass	pass	cush cush
15.	goy	go	yam
16.	gu	gu	taro root
17.	la	la	vine
18.	ku	kanda	thorn
19.	paak	paak	pat
20.	ningalo	ningalo	Himalayan bamboo
21.	ring	ring	bamboo

22.	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>water</i>
23.	<i>nelau</i>	<i>nealu</i>	<i>sting</i>
24.	<i>chha</i>	<i>chha</i>	<i>salt</i>
25.	<i>swya</i>	<i>sway</i>	<i>cow</i>
26.	<i>sarpa</i>	<i>sarpa</i>	<i>snake</i>
27.	<i>mai</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>fire</i>
28.	<i>mhe</i>	<i>mhai</i>	<i>tail</i>
29.	<i>bang</i>	<i>bang</i>	<i>stone</i>
30.	<i>rang</i>	<i>rang</i>	<i>stoney land</i>
31.	<i>kyan</i>	<i>kyan</i>	<i>curry</i>
32.	<i>nalo</i>	<i>nalo</i>	<i>not</i>
33.	<i>lam</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>way</i>
34.	<i>thapa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>stop</i>
35.	<i>lokamanta</i>	<i>lokomanta</i>	<i>relatives</i>
36.	<i>kajo</i>	<i>yet</i>	<i>one</i>
37.	<i>nijo</i>	<i>nij</i>	<i>two</i>
38.	<i>sumjo</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>three</i>
39.	<i>sanga</i>	<i>sanga</i>	<i>twelve</i>
40.	<i>gam</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>open place</i>
41.	<i>lmpu</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>cave</i>
42.	<i>kim</i>	<i>kim</i>	<i>house</i>
43.	<i>bang-lem</i>	<i>bang-lem</i>	<i>stones</i>
44.	<i>kim-lem</i>	<i>kim-lem</i>	<i>house</i>
45.	<i>rong</i>	<i>rong</i>	<i>horn</i>
46.	<i>ngamai</i>	<i>ngamai</i>	<i>fish</i>
47.	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>bird</i>
48.	<i>nekli</i>	<i>nekli</i>	<i>nasal discharge</i>
49.	<i>aam</i>	<i>aam</i>	<i>cooked rice</i>
50.	<i>nanko</i>	<i>nanko</i>	<i>your</i>

51.	<i>nga</i>	<i>nga</i>	I
52.	<i>nanga</i>	<i>nanga</i>	you
53.	<i>ngi</i>	<i>ngi</i>	we
54.	<i>nonko</i>	<i>nonko</i>	your
55.	<i>ngaka</i>	<i>ngaka</i>	my
56.	<i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>	too
57.	<i>dutang</i>	<i>dutang</i>	honor
58.	<i>ngiko</i>	<i>ngiko</i>	our
59.	<i>kanti</i>	<i>kanti</i>	from
60.	<i>kushi</i>	<i>kushi</i>	with
61.	<i>gesa</i>	<i>gesa</i>	play
62.	<i>raksi</i>	<i>raksi</i>	sal
63.	<i>nato</i>	<i>nato</i>	enough
64.	<i>muna</i>	<i>muna</i>	is
65.	<i>waho</i>	<i>waho</i>	gone
66.	<i>kanti baichi</i>	<i>kanti baichi</i>	please look
67.	<i>khaduk</i>	<i>khaduk</i>	door
68.	<i>besamna</i>	<i>besamana</i>	will give
69.	<i>ryonkayo</i>	<i>ryonkayo</i>	hunger
70.	<i>kaija</i>	<i>kaija</i>	past
71.	<i>gatanga</i>	<i>gatanga</i>	where
72.	<i>chhichha</i>	<i>chichha</i>	next tomorrow
73.	<i>painanga</i>	<i>painanga</i>	return
74.	<i>peti</i>	<i>peti</i>	well-manner
75.	<i>viranga</i>	<i>vira</i>	slide
76.	<i>tona</i>	<i>tona</i>	fall down
77.	<i>oke</i>	<i>oko</i>	cock
78.	<i>tan</i>	<i>tan</i>	phellos

79.	<i>mika</i>	<i>mik</i>	eye
80.	<i>dome</i>	<i>dome</i>	leg
81.	<i>kurt</i>	<i>kurt</i>	hand
82.	<i>neh</i>	<i>neh</i>	nose
83.	<i>motanga</i>	<i>mukha</i>	mouth
84.	<i>ngamachul</i>	<i>ngamachul</i>	knee
85.	<i>mayanga</i>	<i>mayanga</i>	hair
86.	<i>nai</i>	<i>nai</i>	cloth
87.	<i>ten</i>	<i>ten</i>	today
88.	<i>sya</i>	<i>sya</i>	meat
89.	<i>mechha</i>	<i>mechha</i>	goat
90.	<i>elonga</i>	<i>elonga</i>	sit
91.	<i>msaupā</i>	<i>msaupā</i>	sil (polite)
92.	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	what
93.	<i>yo</i>	<i>hijo</i>	yesterday
94.	<i>paya</i>	<i>pay</i>	come
95.	<i>duto</i>	<i>duto</i>	red
96.	<i>bangto</i>	<i>bangto</i>	white
97.	<i>galto</i>	<i>galto</i>	black
98.	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>	mouse
99.	<i>thom</i>	<i>thom</i>	bear
100.	<i>singa</i>	<i>singa</i>	firewood
101.	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	chicken
102.	<i>syyo</i>	<i>siyo</i>	dead
103.	<i>thor</i>	<i>thare</i>	ox
104.	<i>tuchin</i>	<i>tuchin</i>	vagina
105.	<i>ja</i>	<i>bag</i>	tiger
106.	<i>vayaka</i>	<i>vayaka</i>	pig
107.	<i>varanga</i>	<i>varanga</i>	name of place

108. <i>hattibang</i>	<i>higgibanga</i>	name of place
109. <i>kashbang</i>	<i>kashbang</i>	name of place
110. <i>garaichhanga</i>	<i>garaichhanga</i>	name of person
111. <i>siyo</i>	<i>siyo</i>	bahun cheti
112. <i>ghaito</i>	<i>ghaito</i>	soil pot
113. <i>syang</i>	<i>syang</i>	tamang
114. <i>byal</i>	<i>byal</i>	niwar
115. <i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	ear
116. <i>ke</i>	<i>k</i>	hook
117. <i>pan</i>	<i>pan</i>	bed
118. <i>khalti</i>	<i>khalti</i>	small pocket
119. <i>taa</i>	<i>ta</i>	beat
120. <i>kos</i>	<i>kos</i>	sugarcane
121. <i>sek</i>	<i>sek</i>	pick up
122. <i>singama</i>	<i>singama</i>	tree
123. <i>yaar</i>	<i>yaar</i>	turmeric
124. <i>naspa</i>	<i>naspa</i>	measurement
125. <i>bob</i>	<i>bob</i>	snail
126. <i>su</i>	<i>su</i>	who
127. <i>jip</i>	<i>jip</i>	middle
128. <i>mes</i>	<i>mes</i>	before
129. <i>lan</i>	<i>lan</i>	bread
130. <i>mu</i>	<i>mu</i>	sky
131. <i>syaanga</i>	<i>syaanga</i>	tomorrow
132. <i>ton</i>	<i>ton</i>	black ant
133. <i>snout</i>	<i>jun</i>	moon
134. <i>dyonga</i>	<i>gyonga</i>	younger girl
135. <i>law</i>	<i>law</i>	mat
136. <i>aama</i>	<i>aama</i>	mother

137.	<i>daju</i>	<i>daju</i>	elder brother
138.	<i>vena</i>	<i>vena</i>	brother – in law
139.	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	maternal uncle
140.	<i>bhin</i>	<i>bhini</i>	<i>younger sister</i>
141.	<i>sasura</i>	<i>sasura</i>	father-in-law
142.	<i>kodau</i>	<i>kodo</i>	millet
143.	<i>mit</i>	<i>mit</i>	meet
144.	<i>dinga</i>	<i>debata</i>	god
145.	<i>kui</i>	<i>kukur</i>	dog
146.	<i>raja</i>	<i>raja</i>	king
147.	<i>rani</i>	<i>rani</i>	queen
148.	<i>jugam</i>	<i>jugam</i>	life long
149.	<i>churot</i>	<i>churot</i>	cigrate
150.	<i>behe</i>	<i>behe</i>	mirrage
151.	<i>kalam</i>	<i>kalam</i>	pen
152.	<i>kitab</i>	<i>kitab</i>	book
153.	<i>kirat</i>	<i>kira</i>	insects
154.	<i>nam</i>	<i>nam</i>	nam
155.	<i>mus</i>	<i>hushu</i>	fog
156.	<i>dudha</i>	<i>dudha</i>	milk
157.	<i>dahi</i>	<i>dahi</i>	courd
158.	<i>pakhura</i>	<i>pakhura</i>	arm
159.	<i>cholo</i>	<i>cholo</i>	blouse
160.	<i>kaniya</i>	<i>kaniya</i>	comb
161.	<i>shirt</i>	<i>shirt</i>	shirt
162.	<i>paint</i>	<i>paint</i>	pant
163.	<i>daktor</i>	<i>daktor</i>	doctor
164.	<i>master</i>	<i>mastar</i>	master
165.	<i>kap</i>	<i>kapi</i>	copy

166.	<i>iskul</i>	<i>iskul</i>	school
167.	<i>aspatal</i>	<i>aspatal</i>	hospital
168.	<i>crak</i>	<i>crak</i>	frog
169.	<i>wak</i>	<i>wak</i>	split
170.	<i>lo</i>	<i>lo</i>	leaf
171.	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	earth
172.	<i>tyun</i>	<i>tyun</i>	short
173.	<i>golsarange</i>	<i>Lolsarange from</i>	black soil
174.	<i>mantari</i>	<i>muntri</i>	minister
175.	<i>jangaro</i>	<i>jangaro</i>	irritate
176.	<i>ban</i>	<i>ban</i>	arrow
177.	<i>rana</i>	<i>ran</i>	window
178.	<i>chhak</i>	<i>chhak-ta</i>	dead soul
179.	<i>ryang</i>	<i>ryang</i>	wasp
180.	<i>mos</i>	<i>mos</i>	ghost
181.	<i>thanga</i>	<i>thange</i>	to start
182.	<i>taas</i>	<i>taas</i>	pull
183.	<i>jaya</i>	<i>jaya</i>	eat
184.	<i>wak</i>	<i>kak</i>	vine fruit
185.	<i>naw</i>	<i>naw</i>	fired maize
186.	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	rope
187.	<i>takaro</i>	<i>takaro</i>	rod
188.	<i>ngaas</i>	<i>ngaas</i>	catch
189.	<i>radio</i>	<i>radio</i>	radio
190.	<i>ghadi</i>	<i>ghadi</i>	watch
191.	<i>hal</i>	<i>hal</i>	foot print
192.	<i>tak</i>	<i>tak</i>	hoe
193.	<i>mit</i>	<i>miti</i>	mutual friends
194.	<i>botal</i>	<i>botal</i>	botol

195. <i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>	to cut
196. <i>cit</i>	<i>cit</i>	to days before
197. <i>hraas</i>	<i>hraas</i>	spread grain to dry
198. <i>pun</i>	<i>pun</i>	skin
199. <i>hang</i>	<i>hang</i>	special root
200. <i>ghodonga</i>	<i>Ghodonga</i>	stream
201. <i>kanchu</i>	<i>kanchu</i>	looked
202. <i>win</i>	<i>win</i>	bat
203. <i>bhotu</i>	<i>bhut</i>	to blow
204. <i>dukha</i>	<i>dukha</i>	sorrow
205. <i>chyor</i>	<i>choya</i>	bamboo artiles
206. <i>sork</i>	<i>sork</i>	citron
207. <i>thapu</i>	<i>thapu</i>	ash
208. <i>aana</i>	<i>anna</i>	too much
209. <i>lan</i>	<i>lan</i>	bread
210. <i>singama</i>	<i>singama</i>	tree