

MONUMENTA SERINDICA NO. 10

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES  
OF THE  
GANDAKI AREA IN NEPAL**

**Dor Bahadur BISTA**

**Shigeru IJIMA**

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Institute for the Study of Languages and  
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## P R E F A C E

The five papers of the present volume are part of the results of fieldwork in Nepal, carried out in the areas of the Gandaki river system and the Kathmandu Valley area from 1980 to 1981, under the joint project of the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, and the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo, entitled "Anthropological and Linguistic Study of the National Integration in Nepal" which was under my direction. The first three papers are written both on the basis of this and previous fieldwork.

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Tokyo

March, 1982

Hajime KITAMURA

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# The Process of Nepalization \*

Dor Bahadur BISTA

## 1. The Background

Nepal's history is one of syncretism of different cultures, religions, languages and people. It does not have an example of deliberate formal domination of one by another. Occasionally there have been attempts to formalize one socio-cultural structure and style such as the caste system and a hierarchy of ethnic groups. But the composition and nature of Nepali society has been such that ultimately each of those attempts has only been partially accepted. People have gone back to the natural process of integration and syncretization of styles, cultures and languages rather than adopt completely a borrowed form of culture and way of life.

It is therefore noteworthy that a team of Japanese scholars — anthropologists and linguists — should be interested in developing the theme of the process of Nepalization, and that I should be asked to write this introductory article. There have been a number of studies carried out during the past quarter century in Nepal. Many senior scholars as well as graduate students appear in the lists of those who have published works on Nepal. The great majority of them are anthropological studies, confined mainly to small areas and small communities.

Some of these studies focus on contact, conflict and cleavage between groups. There are only a few Nepali scholars who have expressed an interest in looking into the process of integration among peoples of different ethnic, linguistic or cultural backgrounds. In fact, there



have been a number of studies which view the Nepalese world from a monocultural-linguistic perspective for the simple reason that this is much easier to do. This has often encouraged an emphasis on isolated exclusive views of communities rather than a search for trends of openness, acceptance, adaptability and social understanding.

Some scholars are beginning to realize this. Recently Messerschmidt has expressed his dissatisfaction over the traditional approach in the study of one group of Nepalese, the Thakalis. He admits that,

As a community of scholars, we Himalayanists have overemphasized and grossly simplified the Thakali case based on a limited understanding of both their recent and their distant past. Our vision of change and adaptation among them has been, in a word, myopic, without sufficient historical perspective (1981: n.p.).

He admonished us to begin the synthesis of available data, to employ "more inclusive, generalizing perspectives" (ibid).

The politico-socio-cultural history of Nepal is dominated a great deal more by the factors of integration than by those of cleavage and conflict. A great majority of the people of Nepal do not have any problem identifying themselves with one cultural-linguistic or ethnic group or another at one level, and with Nepali society in general at another level.

This is what frequently has been described as the phenomenon of unity in diversity. And yet, there are very few scholars who have taken the risk of dealing with the subject in broad general terms. Maybe it is out of a fear of criticism and of the possibility of being labeled as unscientific, as this would be a topic beyond the capacity of a short term observer of any single section of the Nepali society. Since we do not always work just for the sake of science or for our concern to be proven right, and since we have to hold ourselves responsible for the society we are dealing with we cannot afford to avoid the topic forever. Therefore, I have chosen here to expose myself to criticism for lack of scholarly discipline by venturing into the world of hunch, hypothesis, intuition and conjecture.

In spite of the risks involved in so doing, I feel as Berreman does, that we should be

responsive, cooperative, sensitive, empathetic, and informed spokesmen and analysts for the people and the situations we study (Berreman 1978:73).

Berreman expresses empathy with the native anthropologist when he continues:

This may be more difficult rather than less for those working within their own nations and in the service of their own governments than it is for us foreigners, but it is no less incumbent upon them to seek out the truth and make it public (ibid).

With due apology to some academic colleagues, I want to plead that there is a need to present a composite picture of Nepali society, otherwise anthropologists are going to continue forever to talk like the six blind men who try to describe the proverbial elephant. We cannot afford to stay much longer with such a narrow approach if we want to see our studies become of some use for Nepal (cf. Berreman 1978). So I have decided, with my experiences, observations and studies so far, to start a dialogue and provoke some comments, as long as this has to be dealt with by a native anthropologist. I expect this will be of interest and of use for the students of anthropology and history of Nepal. With this objective in mind, I feel justified in presenting the "wildest" of my arguments and speculations.

Scholars concerned with the topic of national interests should find it refreshing, for a change, to examine these trends of integration, the blending together of cultures, languages and of peoples in Nepal, a nation of conglomerate culture and population. Not only cases of ethnic and linguistic assimilation but also an extreme degree of tolerance between different religious groups are represented here as facts of life. All the major classical religions have undergone modifications here to a considerable extent and have been given a Nepali colour.

Nepali society was introduced to the Hindu Caste System at some stage and was given a formal appearance of stratification. This has

misled many people, both foreign and Nepali, to view Nepali society as stratified by caste divisions in its entirety. In fact, however, the various groups of the population were openly granted a fair degree of autonomy even after the promulgation of the Muluki Ain (Legal Code) of 1854 that introduced a formal hierarchy of castes.

In a similar fashion, many people around the world are also concerned with another kind of stratification: that which was left behind by the former colonial governments. There is, however, a great deal of difference between the two cases — castes and the colonial legacy — in their details. None the less, there is a basic similarity. Each holds a world view of structures and of hierarchy. Each perspective views people in terms of high and low, dominant and subordinate, privileged and deprived, along cultural, ethnic or caste lines rather than along lines of individual competitiveness.

Few people realize that the caste system of Nepal does not go very far beyond a superficial resemblance with the caste structures of north India. Whatever similarity there exists has a very different history in Nepal than that of India (see Fisher 1978; Fürer-Haimendorf 1960; Hitchcock 1978). The caste system in India was evolved as a process of socio-cultural and economic specialization, whereas in Nepal it was introduced at a much later date as part of the political process of Nepalization aimed at an integration of different communities into an organized single structure (cf. Dumont 1970; Höfer 1979).

In order to examine the process of Nepalization at all levels and at all times we have to view it both synchronically and diachronically. The reason is that this phenomenon is as old and as widespread as the country itself.

Historically speaking we have to go as far back as the time when the term "Nepal" was first mentioned and the state with that name first came into existence. Therefore, I will divide my essay into three

parts, each dealing with the distinct periods — ancient, medieval and modern, as the process has been slightly different in each of these three periods.<sup>(1)</sup>

## 2. The Ancient Period (900 B.C. — 880 A.D.)

According to the old records of Gopalarajavamsavali, the chronicle of the kings of cowherd tribe, this country was established as a kingdom under the Gopala kings around the 9th or 10th century B.C. The name "Nepal" also seems to have been used for the first time during the rule of these Gopala kings (Vajracharya & Shrestha 2035 B.S.). The people who came to live here at the time were the Mahishapala (buffalo herds), Kiranta, Sakya, Koli and Vrjji in addition to the Gopala rulers themselves. But the name of the country was derived from the name of a Gopala (cowherd) tribe (Gopalarajavamsavali Folio 17).

There are frequent references about Nepal found in many ancient texts of India from this time onwards.

Nepal was widely known throughout north India by the later vedic period. In later vedic literature, dating to around the 8th century B.C., Nepal is listed among other important countries of the time, like Kamarupa, Videha, Udambara, Avanti, and Kaikaya.

Nepal is noted in several other religious texts of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Kautilya's Arthashastra, of the fourth century B. C., mentions Nepal as a famous land for its woolen blankets of a very good quality, which were known as bhingisis and served as excellent waterproof coverings.

Many of these ancient Indian texts also mention the two groups of Kirant and Khas people quite frequently, even though not necessarily, in the context of Nepal. The Manusmriti code which dates to the 2nd century B.C., makes frequent reference to both groups. We know that both of these groups were prominent and numerically predominant in the

sub-Himalayan region from an early time (Dabral 1965; Chemjong 1967). Gerald Berreman believes that the Khas people entered into India between 1500 and 1000 B.C. He quotes F.D. Pargiter who concludes that the Ailas (or Aryans that included Khas) entered India from the mid-Himalayan region. Pargiter believed that entry was from Tibet through Garhwal into India (Berreman 1963; Pargiter 1922). Khas people until then were pastoral nomads, with cattle, sheep and goats as their main source of living. They were connected with the people all along the western Himalayas, and as far west as the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

Similarly the Kirant people were connected with the people all along the eastern Himalayas and beyond it into China. They reared buffaloes and probably practiced some slash-and-burn agriculture.

These two groups of people, the Khas and the Kirant, not only originated at the two opposite ends of the Himalayas but also had distinctly different life styles. They were also different in their looks and spoke dissimilar languages. Khas were Caucasoid and spoke an Indo-European language while Kirant were Mongoloid and spoke a Tibeto-Burman language. And yet it is quite possible that they met in Nepal Valley at quite an early date and probably were among the very first settlers there.

By the time they met and began to live close to each other in the common land of Nepal there must have been a great deal of sharing, borrowing, and overlapping of languages and cultures. Of course it is difficult to assert these things definitively until we have concrete evidence based on pre-historic archeological materials. It is only through the help of already available but limited materials, observations, projections and guesses that we can draw some of tentative conclusions at the present time.

Although these will remain questionable assumptions until we are better able to support our statements with empirical evidence, there

remains a possibility that the Gopalas (cowherds) were the Khas, and that the Mahishapalas (buffalo herders) were the Kirants.

The Kirant ruled Nepal for a much longer period than the Gopala kings, and the Kirant language became the official language although it shows a very heavy influence of the early Khas Prakrit language. The presence of some "47 nominals, mostly place names, attested in the Licchavi epigraphy" which "betray formal characteristics (e.g., geminate and retroflex consonants) which are more akin to Prakrit dialects than to the Tibeto-Burman ones" (Malla 1981:11) makes us wonder whether we should not try to look into the early Khas lexicon for their origin. It is very likely that the word "Nepal" itself has its origin in the Khas language, although Malla emphatically states that "The word Nepala is not an Indo-Aryan word" (Malla 1981: 19). (2)

Whether there were Khas or no Khas, this was the earliest known instance of the process of Nepalization through the integration of peoples, religious cultures, languages and life styles. More of this took place intensively in the Kathmandu Valley (which was known as the Nepa[1] Valley) than outside of it. Kathmandu Valley was attractive for its fertile soil and flat land, and for the trade route between the Tibetan plateau and the Gangetic plain that passed through it.

Both the Kirant and the Khas were basically nomadic people who had learned some semi-permanent agricultural practices. Both groups probably were practicing some slash-and-burn agriculture when they first settled in the Nepal Valley. The Khas economy, however, was more dependent upon pastoralism with goats, sheep and cattle being their main source of subsistence. Their cultivation was probably limited to dry open lands near pasture grass lands, with millet and meat being their main staple food, slightly supplemented by some forest products. The Kirant, on the other hand, lived in forested

and comparatively much more wet areas of eastern Himalayas. Therefore they must have relied much more heavily upon forest products and wild game, only slightly supplemented by dry rice cultivation. But once in the fertile flat land of the Nepal Valley the life style of both of these people began to change drastically. For one thing the productive land encouraged a sedentary life style.

People continued to come into the Valley from all directions as it provided a good climate, productive land and trade across the Himalayas. A prosperous community began to grow and people with different backgrounds of languages, culture and ethnicity began to develop here a common life style with a common language and culture. This perhaps accelerated the process of "Nepalization" much further than at the beginning.

After the Gopala had founded their Nepal Kingdom and ruled for about two centuries, the Mahishapala took over for a short period. Then the Mahishapala were themselves overtaken by a group who went by the name of Kirant. The Kirant ruled Nepal for about eight hundred years right into the first century of the Christian Era. Thus it seems that Khas and Kirant were among the early settlers of the Nepal Valley even though they were joined by a few other people of different origin later on. The main reason for the prodominance of the Khas and the Kirant was that:

- a. They were much more numerous compared with the other peoples in the area,
- b. They were both nomadic and in the habit of constantly moving, and,
- c. The climate and the topography of Nepal Valley was basically similar to the areas from which they originated along the Himalayan axis. There was no big transition required as in the case of the other people who moved from the south or from north of the mountains.

Nevertheless both the Khas and Kirant language and culture continued to be very heavily influenced by every group of people that came in particular from the south. The Gangetic plain was vast and fertile. It was affluent, prosperous and supported a much more impressive civilization and culture than the hill country of the sub-Himalaya. Therefore the constant source of influences for Nepali language, culture and civilization had always been the centers in the Gangetic plains.

For several centuries after the beginning of the Christian Era Nepal was ruled by the Licchavi kings who came from families that migrated from the adjoining areas of the south. These Licchavis ruled from around 100 A.D. to 880 A.D. and were very successful in raising Nepali civilization to a high level. But the Nepali culture was so strong, open, receptive and dynamic that all of these rulers were soon transformed and Nepalized themselves. They introduced a number of cultural traits, styles, religious faiths and practices, all of which enriched the basic Nepali culture and language without threatening it. None of these kings, however, ever emphasized the fact of their ultimate origin outside of Nepal, but went out of their way to assert their Nepaliness by assimilating themselves into the existing Nepali society (Vajracharya & Shrestha 1979:5).

The composite character of the Nepali society gave it the vitality to grow and develop throughout the ancient period (900 B.C. c.a. — 880 A.D.). This growth continued with some modification even during medieval times (880 A.D. — 1768 A.D.).

It is important to note that the inhabitants of the Nepal Valley at different times throughout the history of Nepal have been variously called Nepa, Neba, Newa, or Newa(ra). Kamal P. Malla writes that

Although originally the word Nepāla < Nhet-pā signified a specific clan of herdsman, in course of time all the people who came to live in the Nepal valley came to be known as Newāra < Newāla <



Nebāla < Nepala. In the long run all the inhabitants of the valley who spoke the Newari language came to be known as the Newars (Malla 1981:19).

Malla makes the whole situation absolutely explicit when he says that

The modern Newars are related to one another, not by descent or race, but by a common culture and language; they are related to one another by the place and function they have in Newar social structure. Already by the end of the first millennium A.D., the ancient clans of the pastoral Nepalas (herdsmen), the Kirats, the Vrjjis, the Sakyas, the Kolis, the Mallas, the ruling families of the Licchavis, the Abhira Guptas, and the Thakuri Varmanas — all were lost among the aboriginals of the valley in the making of the Newars. (Malla 1981:18).

During the medieval period, however, Newar society developed a stratified hierarchy, thereby making it impossible for further integration of new peoples into it. This created a rigid and closed system, unable any more to integrate and assimilate newcomers.

### 3. The Medieval Period (880 A.D. — 1768 A.D.)

Very little is known about the first few centuries of the medieval period. But from the close of the 12th century, there are important materials that tell us more about the process of Nepalization.

There are several examples of political efforts in modernization, such as the one of the 14th century king, Jayasthiti Malla (1380 — 1395 A.D.), who encouraged people to maintain their individual group identities within a broad spectrum of a national Nepalese society. The political guidelines for the new style of life and value systems of this sort have never been obligatory and exclusive. People have always had the freedom to adopt or to ignore, as it suited them. There are many examples of the Malla Kings giving equal respect and recognition to all forms of Hindu religion — Shaivite, Vaishnavite and Buddhist. In addition, there are many local spots which have been

worshiped and have been given religious importance in accordance with the practices followed by the Khas, the Kirant, and many other smaller groups of people forming the composite Nepali society of the day.

Most of the sophistication of the classical religious practices were initially borrowed from the south. But all of them without exception have undergone a tremendous transformation and have been given a completely local Nepali flavour.

The types of people embraced by the Kingdom of Nepal was large and varied. They spoke many different languages and practiced many different religious cultures. Gradually it became difficult to hold the Nepali people together with the earlier style of the melting pot concept and still call all of them Newa. Similarly the language of the valley people (Newari) was not adequate to communicate with all the people the Malla kings tried to bring under their rule. But conveniently enough the language which was spoken as a common tongue, between peoples of different mother tongues was the Khas language, an earlier form of present day Nepali. In this way the progenitor of the present day national language had already been used as the lingua franca and had developed a foundation for becoming the national language of an expanded Nepal centuries before the campaign of unification started by the 18th century king, Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Towards the latter part of the Malla period the urban-based Nepali society had developed an attitude of exclusiveness and isolation vis-a-vis the rural communities of outlying area. This was definitely in contradistinction to the open and receptive style of the earlier centuries, particularly the style of the Licchavi Period. It was the Malla kings who, despite their spectacular achievements in the refinement of material culture, were ultimately responsible for developing an ethnocentric attitude that contravened the process of Nepalization. After thousands of years of development of an assimilative system that helped Nepali peoples, cultures and languages come together with equal

ease and live together as one people, the Malla period saw this cultural concept abandoned. King Jayasthiti Malla imported Brahman experts from India to help him develop the formal structure of a vertical hierarchy of castes and professionals. This was the beginning of the end of an open society and the melting pot concept.

The King's Brahman helpers also emphasized the concept of high and low and gave recognition and importance to orthodox Hindu values. They made efforts to Sanskritize the language, pushing it further away from the common people. It became the language of the elite and educated who considered the colloquial language spoken by the common people as despised and vulgar. Class distinctions were accentuated. The Jyapu peasants, who were the economically most important people in the society, were treated down by the merchant community which was becoming increasingly affluent with the flourishing Tibet-Gangetic trade. This is evidenced by the lower social status of the Jyapus vis-a-vis the Shresthas, even though they do not stand lower in ritual and commensal status.

With this development, the Malla kings had made their society weaker and vulnerable to the influence of the much stronger, and aggressive thrusts of the Khas languages and its speakers. Thus, the stage was set for the transfer of roles for carrying on the process of Nepalization from the hands of the one group of Nepalis who had become closed and ethnocentric to the hands of the other who were open. This change came with the opening of the modern period (after 1768 A.D.) in the hands of the Shah kings of Gorkha.

#### 4. The Modern Period (1768 A.D. onwards)

The modern period began with a slightly modified and much more expanded process of Nepalization. For one thing, Nepal now covered a larger geographic area and incorporated more people than at any

time in its history. With it came a language and a culture that had, as we have already demonstrated, the capacity and scope to bring together into the mainstream a diverse and variegated folk culture and extremely permissive religious structure.

The Modern Period can be said to have begun with Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder of modern Nepal, in 1768 A.D. Unlike the Mallas, however, Prithvi Narayan Shah did not consider Kathmandu Valley as the central feature of his Nepali kingdom. In fact, he regarded the three cities of the Valley as cold and worthy to be treated only as pleasure centers. He said, furthermore, that the Nepal Valley, a natural fort created by god, should be properly fortified for defense only (Dibya Upadesh 1959:11-12). Thus, he regarded the Nepal Valley only as a fortified base for further expansion and unification. His interests were in the expansion and maintenance of his expanded Nepal, its peoples and its diverse cultures. This, he suggested, could be done by having a contented peasantry and a loyal army (ibid).

The historian, Ludwig F. Stiller, S.J., writes that for a basically agricultural society, Prithvi Narayan's concern for the peasants

revealed a shrewd insight into the fundamental problem of unification. In the area of Greater Nepal it was the land that was important, simply because the land was life, and for this reason it was to the land that the peasant's first loyalties would always remain dedicated. Any unification of the country would have to recognize and learn to work with this fact. In practical terms, the state could not survive unless the peasant could retain enough of his crop in modest security (Stiller 1975:254).

Prithvi Narayan Shah's directives set the theme for the modern period. During his brief reign, and following his death in 1775, the modern trend of unification was firmly set.

By his expansion, military and administrative outposts were established across the Himalayan frontier. These establishments encouraged and attracted increased trade activities which in turn

led to an increase in the dispersion of tradesmen and merchants out of the Kathmandu Valley. The trade route between Tibet and the Gangetic plain had already, prior to the modern period, attracted a small number of Newar merchants beyond the valley rim. But given the expansive unification goals of Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors, the settlement of administrative centers and bazaars by Newars and others across the Himalayan foothill was encouraged and enlarged (see Bista 1980:195-196).

The administrative and military presence of the new Kingdom, coupled with an expanded trade and commerce, intensified the use of the Nepali language as the lingua franca of the land. Then, as now, the people of Nepal were divided into several dozen groups defined ethnically, culturally, linguistically and even territorially. These distinct groups can be treated or discussed rather equally as minority groups, for every group in Nepal, taken by itself, constitutes a minority vis-a-vis the whole. There is no single numerically dominant ethnic group. None the less, and perhaps because of this, the Nepali language, the language of the dominant minority of the modern era, was gradually adopted by a large majority of Nepal's people. It became, very soon, the dominant language.

In recent years, the expansion of modern education with a national curriculum has helped to an unprecedented extent to Nepalize the various and distinct isolated communities of the country. In general principle, the local teachers in primary schools explain and teach in their own local dialects. But the large number of teachers working with the children of linguistic groups other than their own have to use the Nepali language. So Nepali, as a vehicle of education, as well as of administration and commerce, has clearly developed into the national language. No other language has been capable of commanding as wide an area in the Nepal Himalaya as the Nepali language.

A tone of openness and receptivity was set by the directives

and instructions left behind by King Prithvi Narayan Shah. He said, for example, that his hard-earned country was a park for people of all types (sabai jat ko phulbari ho; Ditya Upadesh 1959;14). He advised everyone, big and small, of all types (jat) living in this park to realize this.

The word jat is frequently translated by the word "caste". But I hold that the Nepali word jat does not always mean "caste" in the strict sense of hierarchical division or separateness. It is quite common in Nepali expression, for example, to hear one speak of the jat of dogs, of women, of timber, etc. But Nepali speakers in this context certainly do not mean to say the caste of any of these things.

In the social context, however, jat commonly means caste in the hierarchical, stratified sense of the Hindu caste system. The Nepali caste system, solidly formalized during the 14th century, had to adapt to the existing classification of categories and types in Nepal. Therefore the caste system at the time of its introduction into Nepal, and on into the Modern Period, underwent considerable modification and adaptation to fit the existing situation. This may appear to be rather unorthodox and of spurious standard when viewed from the point of view of Hindu caste principles elsewhere, but in the context of the diversity of Nepal, this very flexibility was the strength of the society. Nepali society could absorb and adopt new ideas, new modes and new styles without threatening its basic values and underlying principles. Therefore, the caste system was openly adopted, at least structurally, and every type or kind of Nepali was accommodated within it when it was considered fashionable to do so (Sharma 1977, Höfer 1979). It was just as easily abolished (recently) when the system had outlived its role and function as a legal entity.

As with language, in religious life, the Nepalese people can be divided into dominant and minority groups. This is true as much

for modern times as in earlier periods of history. A substantial majority of contemporary Nepalis are Hindus; the next largest group is Buddhist, followed by Islamic and Christian minorities. What is not usually reckoned in the official records is the considerable number of people who practice their own Shamanic and Bonpo religious beliefs, well outside of the classical faiths. A great majority of Nepali Hindus, however, cannot conceive of a people without adherence to one or the other great religions of the region. Since most of the census enumerators are recruited from among the Hindu groups, they tend to list people as Hindus unless their informants claim categorically to the contrary. Therefore, the number of Hindus in Nepal swells artificially and appears higher than it should. The point is that the Nepali people are not, and never were, dogmatically restricted to any one dominant religion. Rather there is a maximum degree of tolerance and exchange between the adherents of differing religions, and considerable integration between them. Prithvi Narayan Shah encouraged this trend of openness and tolerance, and particularly the maintenance of one's own religious predilections in the face of change (Dibya Upadesh 1959:14). The same standard was made clear under the law. As Höfer (1979) points out, in his recent and extensive study of the Muluki Ain (legal code) of 1854, religious custom as well as local traditions regulating marriage, inheritance, etc., were accepted as customary law, and jurisdiction was the concern of village councils consisting of village elders and notables.

Nepali society, and its rulers, particularly those following Prithvi Narayan Shah, have always accommodated and been hospitable to new and different ideas, styles, and peoples from outside. This is how Nepal has been able to be conceived of as one whole entity, although it consists of so many different groups of people forming the mosaic of its culture, language, and religious expression. Present-day Nepal gives shelter to the peoples of many distinct backgrounds

and origins. The topography and geographic location of the land dictates a very diverse and heterogeneous conglomeration of different types and distinct cultural expression in its composition. The origins of the Nepalese people of today are diverse, and Nepal is perhaps one of the rarest countries in the world if we consider its smallness in area and its largeness in diversity of people and their integration.

The most recent phase of unification, the Modern Period which includes the present time, has brought full circle a very early movement of integrating diverse ethnic and linguistic elements. Newar society was the culmination of the earlier trend in this direction. Today's Newar society is, in effect, a microcosm of the expanded, more broadly unified Nepali national system. It is the historic integration of that national system, that is, the agglomeration of diverse elements widespread in time, space, and custom, that I mean when I speak of the process of Nepalization.

#### Notes

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(1)	<hr/>		
	The Ancient Period —	900 B.C., ca	— 880 A.D.
	Rule of Gopala Kings —	900 B.C., ca	— 700 B.C., ca, .
	Rule of Mahishapala Kings —	700 B.C., ca	— 625 B.C., ca.



Rule of Kirant Kings —	625 B.C., ca	—	100 A.D., ca.
Rule of Licchavi Kings —	100 A.D., ca	—	880 A.D.
The Medieval Period —	880 A.D.	—	1768 A.D. Malla Kings
The Modern Period —	1768 A.D.	—	onwards - Shah Kings

(2) There is a place called Nepa in the Karnali Zone of modern Nepal, and people who come from that place are referred to, locally, as "Nepal". These people, however, have absolutely no chance of having a Tibeto-Burman origin, nor does their family name originate from the early name of the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley (see Yatri, B.S. 2037).

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## The Thakalis: Traditional and Modern

Shigeru IJIMA

### 1. Social and Ecological Background of the Thakalis

As is well known in Nepal, the Thakalis are some of the most active traders in Central Nepal.

The Thakalis are a Tibeto-Burman speaking Mongoloid group, and are one of the few groups inhabiting the upper Kaligandaki valley, who have been successful in organizing their communities solidly at the supra-local level. Unlike the Thakalis, almost all other ethnic groups in the district such as the Punnels, Thinnels, Syagtanis and Chimtanis of Panchgaon area, and other similar or related groups of Baragaon area tend to identify themselves with only the members of the village where they were born. Individual Thakalis, on the other hand, are apt to identify themselves with the Thakali ethnic group, which is distributed throughout the so-called "thirteen villages" of Thakhola or Thak-satsae. In order to describe the historical development of the upper Kaligandaki valley a little more clearly, I posit that there existed very similar ethnic groups in that region in the past. They were probably Mongoloid and Tibeto-Burman speakers, constituting the basis of the ancestors of the native populations of present Thakhola, Panchgaon and some parts of Baragaon. Needless to say some other people may have intruded into these areas, and have mixed with the natives over the centuries.

We should not, however, overlook the fact that the Thakalis

are one of a few groups who have been successful in organizing the association of some villages. They have occupied the southernmost area of the district, which is one of the most important spots for Himalayan trade. It is very likely that the core group of the Thakalis' ancestors absorbed some neighboring groups in the present Thakhola and formed the ethnic group now called the Thakalis.

As stated before, Thakhola is the southernmost area in a narrow gorge between the Annapurna Himals in the east, and the Dhaulagiri Himals in the west. It takes only a few days to reach the warm/humid agricultural lowland in the south, and cold/arid pastro-agricultural highland in the north in the Central Himalayan region of this kingdom.

Furthermore, attention should also be paid to the altitude of the Thakhola region, when we think about trading activities in Himalayan areas. In this connection, the altitude of the Thakalis' territory of Thakhola is quite meaningful when we scrutinize the ecology of the upper Kaligandaki valley before 1958. As analyzed elsewhere (Iijima, 1977, pp. 71-73, 74), it seems that the lowland Hindus would not have been prone to come and settle permanently in areas over 2,000 meters (approximately 6,560 feet) above sea level. When I went to the Nepal Himalayas in 1958 for the first time, it was not so easy for the native people to grow wet-rice above this altitude. In addition, Hindu customs such as washing or purifying the hands and body with fresh water, preferably running water, before ritual activities and vegetarianism based on rice and vegetable eating habits; have discouraged the lowland Hindus from residing in the higher altitude of the Himalayan areas. It is also very difficult for them to be amatwari (vegetarian without the customs of drinking alcoholic beverages) by refraining from taking meat and alcoholic beverages in the higher altitude where the climate is harsh and severe. Thus many

of the cotton-clad Hindu inhabitants in the southern lowland of Nepal were and are even today reluctant to go and stay there for a long period of time.

Contrary to these Indo-Aryan speaking Hindus of the lowland, the Tibetan-speaking highlanders called the Bhotes of the Nepal Himalayas are not always happy to come down and settle in the lowland of Nepal, where they have the long hot and humid summer, except during the severe winter season of the high Himalayas. It is an especially difficult task for the Bhotes to bring down their favorite domesticated animals like yaks and Tibetan sheep to the lower altitude. I have the impression that those highland animals, especially yaks, carrying pastoral products and rock-salt generally come down to the level of some 2,500 meters (about 8,200 feet), and roughly 3,000 meters (approximately 9,840 feet) above sea level in the stabilized condition. Moreover, yaks, one of the most important domesticated animals for the highlanders of this region, are so well adapted not only to the high altitude but also to the rugged terrains of the Himalayas and Tibet, that these animals are almost useless in warm/humid flat land. They do not have strong resistance to the diseases in the lowland, and also cannot organize a caravan in good shape in comparatively wide and flat roads which are considered good for other pack-animals like horses, mules, donkeys and so forth. A yak caravan tends to get disorganized easily whenever it reaches the wide, flat paths of the lower altitude. If the Bhotes drive the yaks of their caravans on the right side, the animals will automatically go to the left without following the paths in the proper direction. The reverse is also true for the yaks in almost all cases.

In addition, the Bhotes are not happy to settle in the Hindu lowland of Nepal, because their ways of life are quite well-adapted to the climate of the Himalayan highland and Tibet. Generally,

the Bhotes prefer to rely on dairy products as well as agricultural products. They are the typical 'matwaris' who are fond of meat and liquor. Due to these matwari customs, and their comparatively unsanitary life style (they may not take a bath for years), the Bhotes are looked down upon by the Hindu lowlanders, and even by their neighboring ethnic groups in the Himalayas. These circumstances as a whole seem to discourage the Bhotes from coming down to live permanently in the Hindu lowland except during the winter season of the Himalayas when the climate is extremely cold and severe in the northern highlands.

Considering the Himalayan ecology as described above, the Thakalis' habitat, Thakhola, at an altitude of 2,200-2,500 meters (approximately 7,220 to 8,230 feet), plays quite an important part for the Thakalis' trading activities in the Himalayan region.

## 2. Hinduization and De-Tibetanization

The rise of the Thakali power dates back to the middle of the 19th century. Thanks to the diplomacy and leadership of Thakali leaders such as Kalu Ram Timtsen (later called Balbir Sherchan), the Thakalis were successful in establishing close relations with the Hindu Rana families which were dominating the politics and economy of Nepal at that time. Thakali leaders and their descendants have shown keen interest in Hinduizing their culture, and also diluting the Tibetan influence in it, due to their close tie with the dominating Hindu high castes in Kathmandu. The process of Hindu emulation has paralleled that of Sanskritization described by M. N. Srinivas. I will not detail this problem here as I have already discussed it elsewhere (Iijima, 1977). But, I will summarize the change of the Thakalis in Thakhola before the mass-migration since 1960 as follows:

1. Changes in the way of life: such as the avoidance of eating yak meat (beef), and drinking Tibetan beer.

2. Some of the Thakali leaders have discouraged the members of the community to wear bakus (Tibetan robes), and have encouraged them to wear Nepalese or Western dress. But, many of the women prefer to wear Himalayan style costumes, partly because of cold weather in Thakhola, and partly for convenience while working.

3. The people have been discouraged from using the Thakali language, a Tibeto-Burman dialect, in front of others. But in trading transactions, it may be used as a code among themselves when they are dealing with other ethnic groups.

4. After the Thakalis' claim to be Hindus, nearly all of the pantheon in Tibetan Buddhism has been reshuffled. Now the old deities are claimed to be avatars (reincarnations) of the Hindu deities.

5. The Hinduization tendency has encouraged the claim of their Thakur (the caste of the present royal family) origin in Jumla Sinja in western Nepal. This trend parallels claims of Rajput origin among some of the castes in India.

The processes of Hinduization and De-Tibetanization among the Thakalis have been accelerated by the seasonal migration of the Thakalis, and also through frequent association with their relatives and friends already settled in Pokhara, Sasadhara, Butwal, Bhairawa, etc. The declining salt-trade in the Himalayan regions has also played an important role in Hinduizing and De-Tibetanizing the culture of the Thakalis.

It goes without saying that the flexibility of Thakali culture is also responsible for their rapid cultural change.

In this connection the upper-stratum of the Thakali community as a whole has played a vital part in Hinduizing and De-Tibetanizing their culture, whereas the lower stratum has been somewhat



more passive in these processes.

### 3. The Urban Contact and Change among the Thakalis since 1960

In March, 1959, upheaval broke out in Tibet against the tightening rule of the People's Republic of China. Many refugees were pouring into Nepal and India through the Himalayas. The Thakalis' "territory," the upper Kaligandaki valley, was no exception. In the initial stage, the situation in these areas was not too bad, as the refugees mainly consisted of the Drokpas (nomads) from the neighboring high plateau of Changthang just over the common border of Nepal and Tibet.

But other refugees continued to arrive in the upper Kaligandaki valley. Thus the Thakalis are said to have had serious troubles with some "refugees" who were trained as guerrillas against China in third countries. Further, the Nepal-Tibet border was almost closed during the following year, although minimal trade was carried on in some limited areas.

Due to political developments in Tibet and the Himalayan areas as described above, traditional Himalayan trade came to an end. Thus, many Thakalis engaged in it on a large scale have suffered a serious blow, partly because of the suspension of their monopolistic salt-trade, and partly because of security risks arising from the massive flow of the "refugees" to the upper Kaligandaki valley. Accordingly, a large number of Thakalis, who can afford, have gradually started to leave Thakhola, mainly from the trading center of Tukuhe, and have migrated toward the urban centers of lowland Nepal, such as Pokhara, Bhairawa, Kathmandu and so forth.

#### 4. Southern Migration and Socioeconomic Change among the Thakalis

Even before 1959, the migratory movement toward southern Nepal was not uncommon among the Thakalis. Many of them, especially those who could not make the living in the upper Kaligandaki valley, have come down to the southern lowland of Nepal: Pokhara, Sasadhara, Beni, Baglung, Tansen, Butwal, Bhairawa, and sometimes the border towns of north India as Nautanwa. They have settled in these areas semi-permanently or permanently, and have pursued business as they did in the upper Kaligandaki valley. In addition, some of the Thakalis in Thakhola have also undertaken the seasonal migration to the above-mentioned urban centers of Nepal, partly for the sake of their trade, and partly for taking refuge from the cold, severe climate of Thakhola during a long winter season, irrespective of their social and economic status. Among them, the families of the Thakali Subbas (magistrates) have had their own out-posts in various places of the Hindu lowland of Nepal. This is one of the reasons why the upper stratum of the Thakali community has been somewhat more active in emulating the Hindu culture, and has encouraged the other members of the community to do likewise.

The situation, however, has been completely changed since 1960 when many Thakalis in Thakhola and the neighboring areas started to migrate toward southern Nepal.

In the initial stage of their migration to the urban centers, many Thakalis with the exception of the Subba families, faced many troubles, because they were considered "expatriates" in the "foreign" setting without a sound social and economic background.

Fortune favors the brave! Since almost all the Thakalis have tackled the pertinent problems actively, they have survived well as a whole in the urban centers of southern Nepal, and over-

come their handicap as new comers there. This may be partly because the Thakalis have been trained as the traders and have survived in the harsh natural and social climate in the Himalayan highland of northern Nepal. Thus, the majority of the Thakalis are not only hard workers, and tough-bargainers, but also well-balanced mature people. Moreover, the Thakali women work even harder than the males of the community, In this way, generally speaking, the Thakali families have two "bread winners" compared with the Hindu families in urban settings.

But time changes! A good number of the Thakali wives in Kathmandu tend to be typical srimatis (an honorific term for the Hindu wives in well-to-do families) rather than hard working Himalayan wives. Some Thakali elders express their worry about the present trend as this might affect their future affluence.

The most serious blow to the Thakali community does not come through Hinduization and De-Tibetanization in traditional settings, but through the urban contact after their mass migration to the cities and towns in southern Nepal. This problem is especially serious among the Thakalis settled in Kathmandu. Accordingly, my analysis will be mainly focussed on this issue. Since change among the Thakalis has been drastic in metropolitan settings, we can observe the process more clearly there, and thereby grasp the future of the Thakalis.

Changes in the Thakali community can be classified into three categories, i.e., economic, social, and cultural. With regard to economy, there have been few problems for the majority of the Subba families, as they have already been established in Kathmandu since the time of Rana rule.

But the most remarkable phenomenon of the Thakali community in recent years has been the rise of the middle and lower classes.

These classes, while relatively better-off than other Hima-

layan groups, still had a somewhat spartan existence. They possessed a strong work ethic, and had little aversion to any kind of job. In earlier times they were subordinate to the relatively wealthier Subba families and their affines, who made up the Thakali leadership. These tribal leaders had been so affluent and influential both inside and outside the community that few Thakalis from the lower classes were able to deviate from their traditional behavior. If they became ostracized from the community, there was no possibility of making even a bare living in Nepal. Accordingly, we rarely encountered instances of so called "black business" in 1958 when we paid our first visit to the Thakhola, due to the high degree of discipline in the Thakali community. However, some of the Thakalis informed me on my most recent visit that this is not true any longer among the Thakalis of Kathmandu. At any event, urban contact has obviously accelerated drastic change among the Thakalis far more than the changes caused by Hinduization and De-Tibetanization in Thakhola.

##### 5. Identity Crisis and Related Problems among the Thakalis

One of the most serious problems for the Thakalis after the mass-migration of their group to the urban centers of southern Nepal is the experience of "identity crisis." Many of the Thakalis told me that they have been tired of such questions as "Where do you come from? Are you different from the other Himalayan people like the Magars and Gurungs? What is the main difference between you and the Bhotes? Are you Buddhists or Hindus? What is your staple food? What language do you speak in your family?" and so forth. Some Thakalis can answer the questions easily, but others cannot and are embarrassed by them. As almost all the questions asked by their Hindu neighbors are related to problems of the

identity of the Thakalis, they have started to realize that they cannot survive in the Hindu lowland of Nepal without dealing with the issue. Of course, the Thakalis have suffered from a group identity crisis since the time of their living in Thakhola as they were a marginal group sandwiched between Indo-Aryan speaking Hindus in the south, and Tibetan speaking Bhotes in the north. But the discussion in this paper will be mainly focussed on analysis of the identity problems of the Thakali migrants to Kathmandu since the 1960's.

#### 5. 1. From "Ruler" to Minority

The Thakali leaders were de facto rulers of the upper Kaligandaki valley, other members of the community being little more than the average inhabitants of the area.

As stated before, the Thakalis are one of the few ethnic groups who have been successful in organizing supra-local solidarity in the upper Kaligandaki valley. Thus, they enjoyed the unshakable status of majority among the Tibeto-Burman speaking inhabitants in the area.

But the situation has changed completely for the Thakalis in recent years. In addition to their small numbers the southern migration and dispersion of the population have encouraged the Thakalis' minority status in the urban centers of southern Nepal. Only in Pokhara where the early settlers established themselves and maintained influence in various aspects of local economy and politics have they enjoyed some prominence.

#### 5. 2. Anxiety of the Upper Stratum of the Thakali Community

In addition to the above-mentioned problem, the upper stratum of the Thakali community seems to feel somewhat uneasy in this drastic socio-economic change, because of the rise of the economic power among the middle/lower class of the Thakali community.

Furthermore, inter-caste marriages are much more common for the Thakalis in higher standing and this trend also affects the structure of the community in some ways. Under present circumstances, it is really difficult for well-educated youths from good families of the Thakali community in Kathmandu and elsewhere to find proper spouses, due to the traditional social structure as well as to the scarcity of numbers and dispersion of the population. Moreover, the sons and daughters of the high class families have more numerous opportunities to find matches among other castes or ethnic groups. Accordingly, it is very common to have more inter-caste/ethnic marital unions.

### 5. 3. Education as the Means of Overcoming the Identity Crisis

Traditionally speaking, the Thakalis as a whole have had a strong achievement orientation, and have been quite active in educating their children, irrespective of their social standings. Of course, in the past it was only possible for the Subba families or some of their rich relatives to send their children for higher education in Kathmandu, India, or even overseas.

After the mass-migration, however, higher education has been accessible not only for the higher class Thakalis, but also for the rest of the community, due to their economic affluence. Further, this trend has been accelerated by their identity crisis as well as their achievement orientation. One thing which they cannot buy with their wealth is the prestige and respect of others. They tend to think that education can solve many problems which they are facing in the city.

But, the thinking of Thakali parents does not function well. Thanks to the good education, some of the Thakali youths survive well as "technocrats" in the urban centers of Nepal. We cannot overlook another role of education in the Thakali community,

specially, at Thakalis' favorite prestigious boarding schools run by missionaries. The education seems to have widened the generation gap between the educated youths and uneducated elderly in the community by erecting barriers of language and value-orientation.

#### 5. 4. Revivalism of Native Belief

The revival of the Thakalis' native animism called dhom or jhankri is a recent phenomenon. They are quite enthusiastic about it at present unlike two decades ago. I know an instance of a funeral ceremony performed in jhankri style in Kathmandu a few years ago on behalf of a famous Thakali politician by the will of the deceased. This kind of phenomenon could not be observed in Kathmandu before the 1950's. This tendency is probably the result of anxiety stemming from their identity crisis in the metropolis.

The revival of jhankri, however, seems to be somewhat complicated within the Thakali community in Kathmandu. It can be interpreted in three ways as follows:

1. the upper stratum of the Thakali community is likely to be interested in maintaining their social influence through preserving the traditional belief.

2. the lower stratum of the community seems to utilize the revivalism of jhankri as a sort of counter-balance against the Hinduization policy initiated by the Thakali leaders even before this mass-migration toward south.

3. due to the identity crisis of the Thakalis, sensitive youths are quite active in revitalizing the native belief. But some of the middle aged Thakalis informed me that young folks are quite active, because they do not know how expensive the ritual is. If the young folks had to meet the expenses they would probably be not so enthusiastic to have the ritual activities performed in jhankri style.

## 5. 5. Inter-caste Marriage as an Agent of Encroaching the Traditional Systems of the Thakali Society

There is sound basis for the frequent instances of the Thakalis' inter-caste marriages. This trend obviously coincides with the dispersion of the core group of the Thakalis after their mass-migration toward the urban centers of Nepal. It has become really difficult for many Thakali youths to find good matches for their future brides or bridegrooms.

In addition, the development of modern education among the Thakali youths in Kathmandu is playing a somewhat ironical part when we think about family lives as a problem of intra-family communication.

When the Thakalis were living in Thakhola and its neighboring areas, it was not so hard for one to find a good spouse to get married. Relatives, friends and other members of the community were living in close proximity and, thus, one had many opportunities of meeting the bride or bridegroom-to-be.

At that time, choosing a match was much more simple. For example, if the boy or girl is attractive, hard-working, good natured, and, if possible, from a good family, that was more than enough. But, the situation has changed completely in recent years. Many boys and girls in the Thakali community have begun attending the prestigious missionary-run boarding schools, colleges and universities both within and outside Nepal, irrespective of their traditional social and economic status. As stated above, in former times before migration to the south, higher education was only possible for the wealthy families like the Subbas. But, now, quite a few have obtained or are obtaining the university-degrees like BA, BSc, MA, MSc, MD, etc., and have become the technocrats, teachers, medical doctors and so forth. The varieties of occupation as well as the advanced degrees have made the Thakalis' marital



problems more complicated. Many people of the community including the youths and their parents have become more assertive and selective in marital arrangement. A boy would probably want to get married with a charming girl with a BA, and a girl with a handsome boy with a BSc. Again, it would be the same for their parents. The parents would like to have the in-law with a degree in medical science, or some other advanced field.

This is a natural human tendency. One would expect that parental expectations for a prospective son- or daughter-in-law could be satisfied by ability and qualifications despite family background. But this is not true for the Thakalis, because their "tribal" system as well as the caste system creates marriage preference patterns which cannot be overcome by education alone. Moreover, as mentioned above, dispersion of the Thakalis has further reduced the chances for young people to meet eligible marriage partners.

In this way, it has become extremely difficult especially for the well-educated youths from the good families to find good spouses within the community. Some of them tend towards inter-caste or even international marital union, as they are apt to have more numerous opportunities of associating with other people. It is said that the leadership of the Thakali community has been eroded by these facts.

## 6. Epilogue

As I have indicated, in the social and cultural change among the Thakalis in Kathmandu there are many problems to be solved. None of them is vital for their survival. They share in one way or another difficulties common to other castes or ethnic groups.

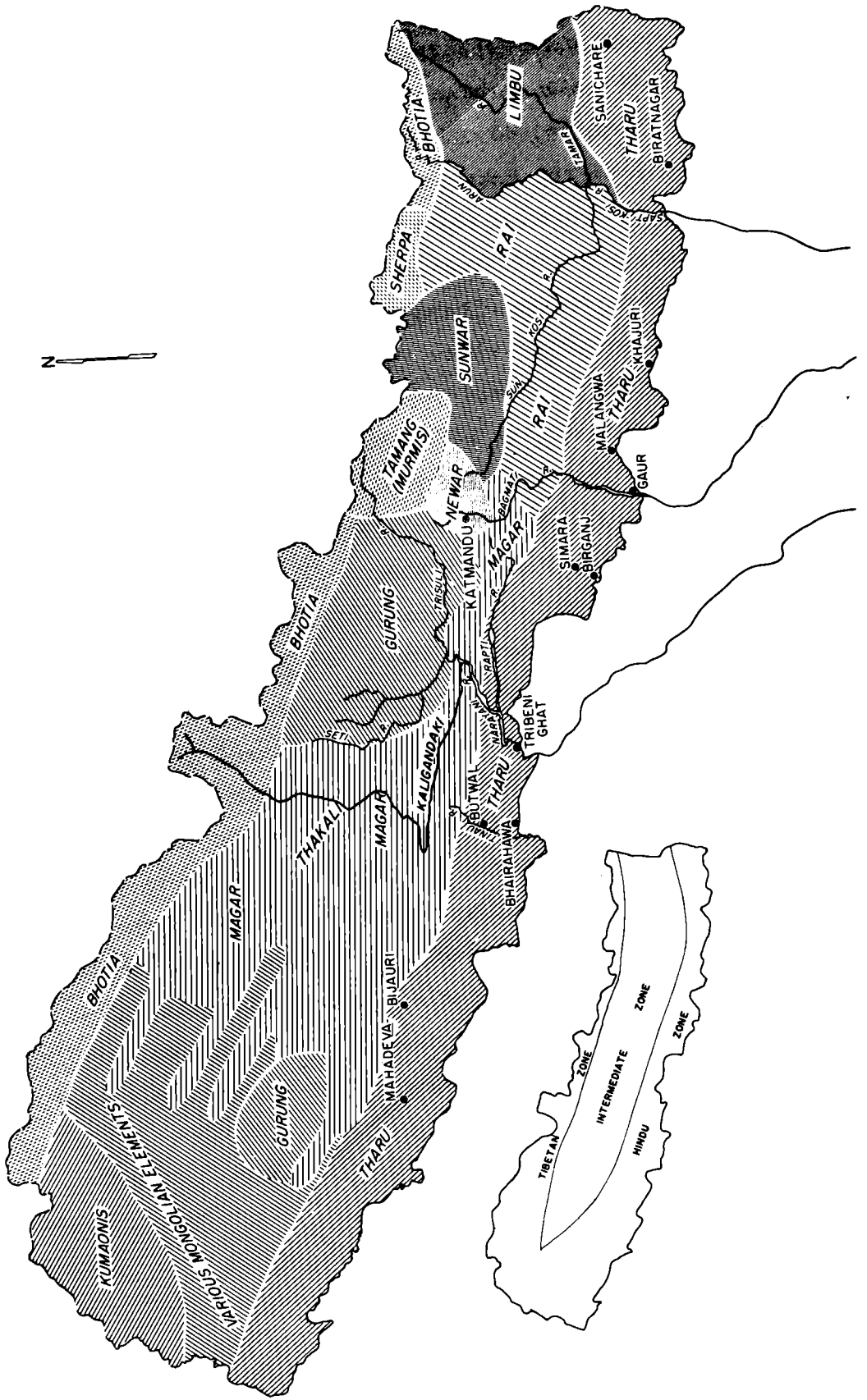
As a final point, however, I would like to mention an issue

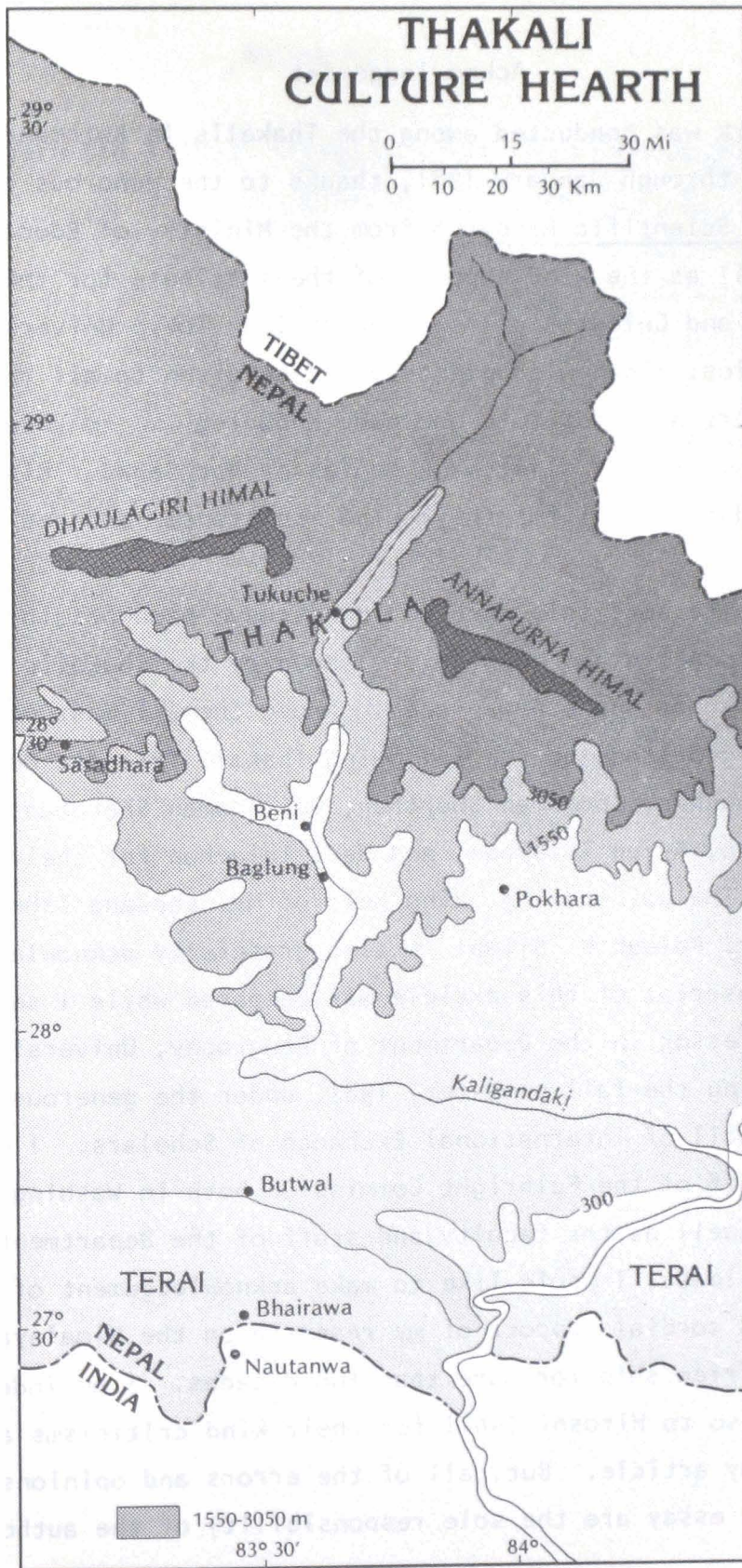
which is very crucial for the Thakalis' future, if I may be allowed to do so not only as a foreign anthropologist but also as an old friend of the Thakalis.

I think one of the most important issues for the Thakalis at present is how to overcome the barriers of their traditional ties of consanguinity and affinity both inside and outside of the community. As long as the Thakalis enjoyed a majority as rulers in the upper Kaligandaki valley, the 'tightly' structured, well-organized kinship and affinal systems functioned very efficiently. Such a social system was an effective social weapon against other groups. However, the situation has now changed completely. It seems to me that the Thakalis will find it a little more difficult to survive in changing Nepal if they try to stick to their traditional social system, since the scale of society has become larger, and its structure more complex.

It is, however, very encouraging for me to see that some of the Thakalis have already realized the change of social scale, and have started to cooperate with non-Thakali groups even in such important tasks as the dhikur system (money rotating system). If the Thakalis would adopt this kind of policy rather than maintaining their traditional exclusive attitude toward others, I am sure they will have a better chance of harmonizing as Thakalis and becoming good citizens of their Himalayan Kingdom. Thus, the Thakalis may become an excellent example in the nation-building of Nepal, if other groups are also ready to change their ways of thinking.

# ETHNIC PATTERN





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## Agricultural Labour Recruitment in a Parbate Village in Nepal\*

Hiroshi ISHII

## 1. Introduction

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood for most of the people in Nepal and there is no need to say that agricultural labour is one of the most important activities in their daily life.

Though we can find scholars dealing with agricultural labour in their studies of Nepalese societies, most of them have been more concerned with other social aspects and have treated the subject only with marginal interest.<sup>(1)</sup> So, J. Breman's complaint about the present state of the study on the rural society in India that the agricultural labour has not been treated with due attention could also be reiterated for the case in Nepal (Breman 1974: xiii).

In this paper, I try to analyse the means of agricultural labour recruitment in a multi-caste village of the Parbates (Parbatiyas)<sup>(2)</sup> in central Nepal. The focus of the paper will be put on the analysis of the different means of recruiting agricultural labourers. After giving a general description of the setting of the village, I will classify the methods of the recruitment into four types and analyse them from various aspects. Among them, "attached labour" will be treated with emphasis. Along with the static analysis of the labour recruitment, its recent change will be dealt with briefly.

In the last part of the analysis, the labour recruitment in the Parbate village will be compared with that in a Newar village in Kathmandu Valley. As they differ in several important points, it is hoped that the characteristics of the Parbate ways of recruitment will be made clearer through the comparison.

A consideration of ethnic integration will be finally made in connection with the fact that not only various castes but also different ethnic groups come into contact.

As I concentrate on the analysis of the agricultural labour recruitment from outside the household, I will not deal with such aspects as the division of labour according to sex and age and the authority inside the household. But it is my hope that this kind of analysis would contribute not only to the study of rural economy and society but also to the understanding of the inter-caste relationship and the integration of various ethnic groups.

## 2. Setting

The Parbate village under study, to which I give the fictitious name "Baltar", is in the southern part of Dhading district and is located on a river terrace about one hundred meters above the river bed of the Trisuli. The terrace has a rough rectangular shape about eight hundred meters long and five hundred meters wide. Houses of high castes, mainly of Bahuns (Nepali Brahmans), are found in a scattered way in the middle of the terrace and there is a more congested Kami (Blacksmith) settlement in the westernmost slightly lower part of it.

There are unirrigated fields around these settlements and on some parts of the slopes down the terrace where land is divided into many small terraced plots. Ordinarily two crops are raised



in these unirrigated fields. Principal crops are maize and upland-rice. In addition, there are many other crops such as mustard, pulses, sugar cane, peanuts, sesame, tobacco and some vegetables. Wheat, though mainly grown in irrigated fields after the harvest of paddy, is found in some parts of the unirrigated fields.

About fifty meters below Baltar is a narrow terrace where runs a paved road leading from Kathmandu to Pokhara (Prithvi Raj Marga) which was completed in 1972. As this area has been one of the important junctions along the Trisuli, a trail had passed through this narrow terrace and a few Newars had settled along it. But since the completion of the paved road, this settlement has grown to be a bajar of considerable size consisting of nearly two dozen shops and other houses.

There are some irrigated fields along the road and along two small streams east and west of Baltar, where three crops can be harvested. Usually, paddy, wheat and maize are grown in rotation but thanks to the introduction of improved varieties, some people plant paddy twice a year.

It is said that Baltar was first settled by a Upadhyay Bahun who was granted the land in this area as Birta<sup>(3)</sup> by a king before the Rana period. Most of the Bahuns and Chetris in Baltar belong to the lineages descended from this original settler. But because of irregular marriages, some people lost their Upadhyay status and became Jaisi Bahuns or Chetris.<sup>(4)</sup> Kamis who came later on were given land by some of the Bahuns and served as blacksmiths, but as their population has increased, not all the Kamis work as blacksmiths today.

There are people of other ethnic groups and castes who came to Baltar recently in search of work. They are mostly employed by Bahuns as attached labourers.

There is also a Damai (Tailor) who came here about twenty years ago and set up his house in the middle of the eastern slope down from the main terrace.

Castes, ethnic groups, number of households and population in Baltar are shown in Table 1.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers, but the extent to which they depend on agriculture greatly differs according to castes.

Bahun-Chetris are mostly landed farmers. Among the 42 Bahun-Chetri households, 27 (64 percent) depend solely on agriculture including four whose members work also as agricultural labourers from time to time and three whose household heads let their land out because of their old age. All other households except one<sup>(5)</sup> combine other jobs with agriculture, in most cases with only one household member working out. They are: middlemen dealing in grain (four households), road construction or repair workers (4), Hindu priests (3), shopkeepers (2) and a road tax officer. In all of the cases, the primary source of income is agriculture.

Most of the Kami households<sup>(6)</sup> depend on agriculture to some extent and a little less than half of all the Kami households have one or two members working as blacksmiths. Ten out of the twenty-two Kami households combine work in iron or gold with farming, in four of them agriculture being more important as a source of income. There are seven households which depend solely on agriculture and three which combine agriculture with commercial activity handling either gold or cattle. It is remarkable that there are members who work as agricultural labourers in more than two thirds of all the Kami households.

The head of the Damai household is a tailor but some members of his household do farming on their tenanted land and work as agricultural labourers.

Table 1

Castes, Ethnic groups	Number of Households (f)	Population
Bahun-Chetri (a)	42	230
Kami (b)	22	117
Damai	1	9
Newar (c)	1	1
"non-resident" attached labourers (d)	5	11
(Thakuri : 1 household Cepang : 2 households Magar : 2 households)		
"resident" attached labourers (e)	—	7
(Thakuri, Sarki, Newar, Ghale, Cepang : one person each. Majhi : two persons.)		
A Damai man lodging in a Kami House	—	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>376</b>

(a) There are Upadhyay Bahuns, Jaisi Bahuns and Chetris among the "Bahun-Chetris" in Baltar. There are 33, 6 and 3 households whose household heads are Upadhyays, Jaisis and Chetris respectively. But there are cases in which children living with their Upadhyay fathers are Jaisis or Chetris because of the latter's irregular marriages (see also Note 4).

(b) Among the "Kamis" are included six Sunar (Goldsmith) households also.

(c) A Newar woman who recently came to live in a hut in the compound of a Bahun. She sells fruit and other things to bus passengers in the Bajar below Baltar.

(d) Attached labourers living separately from their masters. As to the attached labourers, see Chapter 3. 2. 4.

(e) Attached labourers living with their masters.

(f) "Household" is defined here as a domestic unit which shares common hearth for cooking.

Animal husbandry is widely carried out by the villagers. Cattle, buffalo and goats are raised by most of the Bahun-Chetris. The average numbers of each per household amount to 3.7, 3.6 and 4.8 respectively. Kamis raise poultry and a few hogs other than the above. But they keep fewer numbers of animals. (Average numbers are: 0.27 cattle, 0.9 buffalo, 0.9 goats, 4.2 poultry and 0.1 hogs). Besides these castes, there are a Damai and a Cepang who keep a few goats and poultry.

As is inferred from the above differences in occupation, the amount of land held by the villagers differs considerably according to castes and ethnic groups.

No residents except Bahuns and Kamis hold land in Baltar.

The distribution of the landholding among the Bahuns and the Kamis is shown in Table II.

Predominance of the Bahun-Chetris in landholding is evident from Table II. Whereas more than sixty percent of the Bahun-Chetri households hold more than one hectare of land, all the Kami households fall into the categories below one hectare. In total, the Bahun-Chetris hold ninety percent of the land, the Kami ten percent and others none in Baltar.

Tenancy in this village is minimum. Though there are households which hold more land than is workable by one's own household members, not many of them let lands out to tenants but depend upon agricultural labourers and other forms of labour force. There are only eight households (all of them being Bahun households) which let their land out to others, but most of them do so either in return for the labour given by lower castes or because of the incapacity of the members in farm management. In the latter case, they usually take the form of tenancy called adhiya in which crops are divided equally between the landholder and the tenant. A small amount of land is cultivated under the form of "paisa

theekka" in which the tenant pays a certain amount of money per year to the landlord. This form is found in a few cases in which landholders have moved to other places leaving their land in the hands of former "adhiya tenants", neighbours or kinsmen.

Table 11

area (hectares) \ castes	Number of Households (a)	
	Bahun	Kami
0 (less than)	1	6
0 — 0.5	6	8
0.5 — 1.0	9	7
1.0 — 1.5	13	
1.5 — 2.0	4	
2.0 — 2.5	3	
2.5 — 3.0	4	
3.0 — 3.5	1	
.....		
9.0 —	1	

(a) More accurately speaking, they are landholding units which in most cases coincide with households. But there can be cases in which they do not coincide with each other. Thus in the Table, the total number of the Kami landholding units is given as 21 though I listed the number of the Kami households as 22 in Table 1. Among the Kamis, there is a Sunar (Goldsmith) man who has two wives living and cooking separately with their children. He usually lives with his first wife but sometimes eats at his second wife's house. Though he has already divided part of his property among his sons born of the two wives, they hold and cultivate their land in common. Therefore, they are here regarded as constituting one landholding unit but belonging to two households.

### 3. Labour recruitment in agriculture

#### 3. 1. Agricultural work

No household in this village is autonomous as regards agricultural work. Whereas households with a considerable amount of land have to expect other people's labour, those with no or little land depend upon others' land for income. Even if one is landed, he has to borrow oxen for ploughing if he has none.

Technical, social and cultural factors are related to the need for additional labour force. Except for cultivation and a part of weeding which are done by using a plough pulled by a pair of oxen, all kinds of work are done by human force using tools such as sickles, spades, hoes etc. If one has one hectare of land, the amount of labour required in a busy season will be more than fifty "man-days" for the important work except ploughing such as the transplanting of paddy, weeding for paddy, maize or upland rice, and harvesting of paddy, upland rice or wheat. For cultivation, it is ten to twenty "plough-days" (e.g. the amount of work done in a day by a ploughman handling a plough with two oxen) per hectare depending upon the hardness of the soil.<sup>(7)</sup>

As many of the Bahun-Chetri households hold more than one hectare of land and the average family member per household is 5.3<sup>(8)</sup> it is inevitable that they seek labour outside their own households.

It is a well-known fact that pure Brahmans are religiously prohibited to handle the plough. The Upadhyay Bahuns in Baltar are no exception and they have to hire labourers at least for ploughing from lower castes or from other ethnic groups even though they own their own ploughs.

### 3. 2. Four types of labour recruitment

There are four types of agricultural labour recruitment in Baltar. They are: parma, gwahar (guhar), jyala and attached labour.

#### 3. 2. 1. Parma

Parma is a form of one to one labour exchange. If one person goes to work on another's field for one day, he (or she) can expect one day's labour in return from that person's household. Similar to the Limbu exchange labour, pareli, described by L. Caplan (1970: 108-109), what matters in parma is not the quality but the amount of the labour exchanged. In the exchange, the labour of a woman is counted equal to that of a man. This way of calculation is different from that of the Newars who count the labour of a woman as half that of a man.

It is said of the Bahuns of Baltar that because they are daju-bhai (literally "brothers" but in this case "agnatic kin") they do not take money from each other in exchange for labour. Thus if labour is exchanged among the Upadhyay Bahuns in this village, it is generally through parma.

The Jaisis and Chetris in Baltar, though descended from the same ancestor as the Upadhyay Bahuns, no longer refrain from handling the plough and can be hired by Upadhyay Bahuns for cultivation and other work. However, they may also engage in parma with them.

When it is needed among the Kamis to practise parma, it is done usually among agnatic kinsmen living close by, but because of the scarcity of their land they do not practise parma so extensively.

According to some of the Bahuns, the most usual form of parma is a mutual exchange of a set consisting of a ploughman, a plough and a pair of oxen, which is called "pakhure" also. This is only found between those who have attached labourers who can be sent

in their place. If one's land is cultivated by others' attached labourers under this system, the landlord has to feed those workers once or twice a day.

If a man has no ox for ploughing, he can borrow a pair of oxen with a plough either paying in cash or kind or in exchange for his own labour working on the plough owner's land for one day in exchange for one hal (e.g. a plough with a pair of oxen). The latter exchange can also be called parma but the word goru-pakhure is more popularly used for it ("goru" means an ox or oxen in Nepali).

As only two out of nine Jaisi and Chetri households and three out of all the Kami and Damai households have oxen, many men of these castes work in goru-pakhure on Upadhyay Bahuns' lands.

Parma is usually practised within a village whether it is in the form of exchange between man and man or between man and "plough".

But in contrast to the parma between men or the exchange of plough sets which are most often found among the agnatic kinsmen, the parma between man and "plough" is usually found between different castes reflecting the difference in the ownership of draught animals.

### 3. 2. 2. Gwahar (Guhar)

Gwahar or guhar means an offer of "help" (madat, sahayogi) for which no labour is expected in return.

Gwahar is only practised in special cases. If it happens that there is no able person in the household in a busy season because of illness, accident or other reasons, neighbours or close kin may come to help. But as one can hire agricultural labourers by paying in cash or kind in ordinary cases, this kind of help is limited to the work of a short period or to the financially deprived cases.



Gwahar is sometimes found at the time of the transplantation of paddy when women or children may offer help voluntarily.

Though it is not obligatory to offer any remuneration in return for the gwahar, some people may give about one mana (0.57 liter) of rice or other kinds of cereal at the time of harvest.

Compared to other types of labour, the amount of the labour acquired through gwahar is very small, and accordingly there is no household which expects work to be done only by depending upon gwahar.

### 3. 2. 3. Jyala, Nimek (Nibek)

Agricultural labourers hired and paid on daily basis called jyaladar or nimekdar<sup>(9)</sup> are widely resorted to in Baltar. They are paid either in cash or kind. But as the sources of cash income of the landholders are still limited, the payment in kind is much more popular than that in cash.

There are two Nepali words meaning "daily payment". They are jyala and nimek (nibek). These two words are used interchangeably in a broader sense but if it is necessary to differentiate two types of payment, jyala is used for the cash payment and nimek for the payment in kind.

The amount of payment to the agricultural labourers varies according to seasons and kinds of work. In case a labourer is hired for heavy work such as plough or hoe cultivation, he will be paid about twelve manas (6.8 liters) of cereal (unhusked rice, maize or wheat) with three meals consisting of two full meals and a light lunch, or about ten rupees with meals. On the contrary, for lighter work such as the harvesting of maize or sugar cane, the payment per day will be two to several manas of cereal or two to several rupees with or without meals. Other kinds of work such as the transplantation of paddy, harvesting of rice or wheat and

weeding fall in between.

As the worker and the landlord discuss the amount of the remuneration beforehand including whether meals are given or not, slight differences in the payment may appear even on the same day among various work groups.

It is usual that the labourer is given three or four manas more of cereal in the case that he is only given a light lunch instead of three meals. But it is not strictly observed in the case of the payment in cash. Moreover, money given for the specific work is lower than the market price of the cereal given for the same work. Therefore, it is said that to give money is to the advantage of the landholders and that therefore the labourers do not usually receive cash payment willingly.

Labourers may request their landlord to give things other than cereals such as straw as a part of the remuneration, which is often accepted as a display of generosity.

In contrast to the parma which is exchanged within the village, jyaladar or nimekdar is sought from anywhere and from any castes or ethnic groups. As most of the Kamis, Damais who are poorly landed, a few Chetris and a landless Jaisi constitute a pool of agricultural labourers in the village<sup>(10)</sup>, those in need of jyaladars first resort to these castes. As the labour force availability diminishes in busy seasons, people have to depend upon the population outside the village from time to time. In such a case, men may be sent in search of labourers to nearby villages or labourers who have come down from the hill area for work will be hired. In this way, not only men of Sarki caste (the Parbate Cobbler caste) but also of other ethnic groups such as Magars, Cepangs, Gurungs and Majhis can be found among the workers hired as jyaladars in Baltar.

Among the Upadhyay Bahuns, there is a clear aversion to being

hired as an agricultural labourer and there is no household whose male members work as jyaladars even for a short period. But in two households which consist of women and children having no or only a little land, there is no way of earning a living but to be hired by other Bahuns in agriculture or other kinds of work.

### 3. 2. 4. Attached labour

Besides daily hired agricultural labourers, there is a considerable number of people who have a more enduring relationship with their landlords. In this paper, they will be called "attached labourers" collectively<sup>(11)</sup>. Most of them work for those Upadhyay Bahuns who own more land than average. Plough cultivation is their main work, but they may engage in other kinds of work also.

The attached labourers in Baltar can be classified into the following four categories.

- (1) Resident farm servants — agricultural labourers hired for a considerable length of time and given residential places somewhere in the masters' compound.
- (2) Non-resident farm servants — agricultural labourers similar to the above but given separate residential places from their masters.
- (3) Agricultural labourers under yearly contract.
- (4) "Tenant-labourers" — farmers who work for landlords for a limited number of days in return for a small amount of land they are allowed to utilize.

In common usage, attached labourers are often called "hali". The literal meaning of "hali" is "a ploughman", but traditionally the word had been used to mean labourers (mainly ploughmen) who were under bondage caused by indebtedness<sup>(12)</sup>. As this kind of bondage is now officially deemed illegal, villagers say that it

is improper to use the word and abstain from using it on formal occasions. Instead, words like "baniyari" ("banikwale", "bani ma basne manche" — meaning paid labourers), kisan (farmer) or "kheti raja" (literally "a field king") are used. The term "nimek hali" (a paid ploughman) is sometimes heard meaning a labourer working constantly for a specific landlord but given daily wages.

### 3. 2. 4. 1. Resident farm servants

In most cases farm servants are hired on agreement between the workers and the landlords. In the hill areas of Nepal there is a considerable number of people who are in need of employment, and some of them go around the countryside in search of jobs. Here, there are no resident farm servants who were born in Baltar. They are all newcomers and may leave if better opportunities are found elsewhere.

There are altogether seven resident farm servants employed in four Bahun households<sup>(13)</sup>. (The landlord holding the largest area of land, B-T, employs three resident farm servants and two non-resident farm servants.)

The duration of their work so far ranges from one month to more than ten years. They are men of various ethnic groups and castes. They are a Thakuri, Sarki, Newar, Ghale, Cepang and two Majhis. Among them one is practically homeless but others have some family members in their homes.

One nineteen-year-old man left his step-mother and her child in a town along the lower Kali Gandaki five years ago. At first he was employed as a farm servant by a Bahun (N-K) in Baltar and worked for him for fifteen months. After that he worked as a day labourer in the area but again found employment in a Bahun household in a nearby village where he worked for a year and a half.

It was only three months ago that he again came to Baltar and began working for B-T. At B-T's he does all kinds of agricultural work, cuts fodder for animals and does domestic work such as carrying water. As is the case with most of the resident farm servants, he sleeps in B-T's stockhouse (kholma) and is fed three times a day by his master. An agreement was made whereby he is paid 350 rupees a year. When his clothes get worn out, he is provided with other ones and besides he will receive new clothes twice a year at the time of Dasain and before the monsoon season.

He is not in debt to B-T, but there are a few resident farm servants who have borrowed money from their masters. In one case, a man borrowed five hundred rupees and became a farm servant under the condition that his usual annual wages would be withheld in order to compensate for the debt<sup>(14)</sup>. But as he has a wife and children in his village at the distance of three to four hours on foot, he has continued to borrow money and it was said that his debt once reached fifteen hundred rupees. Thus, willingly or unwillingly, he has to continue working for his landlord until the debt is cleared.

There is even a case of a boy of fifteen who was sent to work in a Bahun household because of his father's indebtedness. In this case, maize and rice were borrowed by his father who continues to come for additional crops.

Living in a stockhouse, the boy is fed and given clothes at times. As he is not strong and skilful enough to handle a plough, he does light agricultural work, tends animals and carries water. The amount subtracted from the loan per year is said to be two hundred rupees which is far less than that of others reflecting the work ability of the boy.

As the debts in the above cases were not for production but

for consumption, there was little scope for repayment as long as they stayed at their former stage. Thus it was made necessary for them or their family members to become farm servants in the situation where there was little chance of finding other sources of income.

Needless to say, the creditors who are also landholders can get a constant supply of labour by keeping farm servants who, on the other hand, are given economic stability to some extent.

Thus, even though legally discouraged, the creditor-farm servant relation which shows traces of bondage has some ground for survival yet.

### 3. 2. 4. 2. Nonresident farm servants

There are non-resident farm servants forming five "households"<sup>(15)</sup> on the lands provided by their masters. They are:-a Thakuri and his Chetri wife, a Cepang couple, a Magar and his Cepang wife, a Magar with his Cepang wife and a son, and a Cepang man with his son.

Among them, the first two couples are attached to a Bahun (B-T) and others to three respective Bahuns. As seen from the above, they are all married, but most of the marriages have been between different castes or ethnic groups which is most probably related to their low economic status.

All of them have been working for their present masters for more than seventeen years. This length of the relationship, together with the fact that they are with their family members, accounts for the concession of the residential lands and certain freedom in land and household management given by their masters.

In three cases among them, men became attached to their present masters when they were young. Though some of them were in debt before, none of them has debt in the form of money at

present.

In two other cases, men have been working for their masters "since their birth" because their deceased father had run into debt and began working for their present masters. Among them, in the case of a man of fifty with his wife, neither the master nor himself cares about the amount of the outstanding debt but it is taken for granted that they will continue to give service to the master for life.

In another case, a man with his wife and a son has been working for a Bahun since his father's time and his current debt is calculated to be five hundred rupees, and as his annual wages amount to three hundred rupees this is not paid to him. His son is too young to work and his wife is not obliged to work for the same Bahun and can go to others' fields for earning jyala. Exceptionally, no land is involved in this case as they live in a hut built next to that of his brother who works as a farm servant for another Bahun who has allowed both of them to live on his land.

Except for the last case, the non-resident farm servants are given rent-free parcels of land by their masters in lieu of payment, which range from approximately 0.1 to 0.5 hectares. When their labour is needed, they go to the master's land for work, for which no direct remuneration is given.

Though the housing sites were given by the masters, it was the farm servants that built houses according to their ability. In most cases, they have built small huts with only one room and walls of small logs which hardly serve the purpose. Except for some cooking utensils, they scarcely have any furniture.

When they do such heavy work as ploughing or the transplanting of paddy, they are fed in the field three times a day, but on other days, they are expected to cook for themselves.

They are given clothes by their masters, but most of them receive them on fewer occasions than the resident farm servants.

Though they live apart from their masters, it is definitely required for them to answer their masters' need for work. Some people work only for their masters but some are allowed to work in other people's fields and earn daily wages on free days.

In this way, they have more freedom of activity than the resident farm servants. However, it would be wrong to say that they are less dependent on their masters compared to the resident farm servants. Rather, the lands given are considered to be a multifold medium to bind them to the masters. For example, in the cultivation of the land, a farm servant can borrow a plough with a pair of bullocks from his master without any direct return, and in one case, it was said that the master would pay for the jyaladars if his non-resident farm servants needed extra labour to work the land provided by the master.

When we think of the length of time they have been working for their masters it is rather natural that they are tied with a stronger sense of attachment to their landlords than the resident farm servants.

### 3. 2. 4. 3. Labourers under yearly contract

There are agricultural labourers who make oral contracts with landlords and go into the work relation for a specific period. The period of work is usually about a year, but it is not in every case necessary for a labourer to come to work everyday. Rather, they make terms about the work days as well as other conditions before the beginning of the yearly agricultural cycle.

At present, there are nine labourers of this kind hired by seven Upadhyay Bahuns. They are a Chetri, a Kami, three Sakris,



a Magar and three Cepangs. A Chetri and a Kami are residents of Baltar but all others have their own homes in other villages within a few hours' walk from Baltar.

In this system, no accomodation is provided by the landlords and the labourers commute daily from their homes though they may stay overnight at the landlords' when they work till late.

Most of them work as ploughmen only in busy seasons for forty to seventy days a year. In return, they are paid two to three hundred rupees a year. Besides ploughmen, there is a young man of seventeen who comes everyday for lighter agricultural work and is paid two hundred and forty rupees a year.

Usually, labourers are fed three times a day and given a pair of clothes at Dasain, and at that time some landlords may give extra food.

If workdays can be adjusted, this kind of labourer may work for more than one landlord or work as a jyaladar on other people's land.

A labourer may or may not be in debt to his landlord. In case he is indebted, the amount corresponding to the remuneration will be subtracted from the principal and interest.

Indebtedness followed by the labour relation may result from the transaction of land. In one case, a Bahun agreed to sell a plot of land costing six hundred rupees to a Kami who offered his labour instead of paying cash. It was agreed that the Kami should work for forty days only doing ploughing for rice, maize, wheat, mustard and pulses. If he would do other work, he was to be paid extra jyala. He was fed three times on the day he worked and given unhusked rice or maize once in a while at his request. In this way he worked for two years and acquired the land. In the third year, though he had no obligation, he was persuaded and agreed to work for the same Bahun for three hundred rupees a year again.

The word nimek-hali is sometimes heard in addition to the word "hali" which is applied to all of the above types of attached labourers.

When a landlord hires a specific person constantly as a jyaladar mainly for ploughing and pays him daily, the labourer is called a "nimek-hali". All the aspects of this type of labour are similar to the ordinary jyala labour except for the stability of the relationship. In some cases it is found that this kind of enduring service is offered by craftsmen carrying out their caste-specific roles for their masters. Among four cases of nimek-hali to my knowledge, two are of this nature practised between Bahun landlords and Kamis serving them as blacksmiths.

### 3. 2. 4. 4. Tenant-labourers

The relationship of the "tenant-labourers" with landlords regarding land is similar to that of non-resident farm servants: the tenant-labourer utilizes the land under tenancy without giving rent but offers labour to his landlord. The amount of the land involved in this relationship is very small and rarely exceeds one hal<sup>(16)</sup> of low quality land, and most of the tenant-labourers go to work only for several days a year to the fields of their landlords. Accordingly the attachment of the labourers to the landlords seems to be comparatively weak and there is no case of concession offered by landlords.

Among the four cases of the tenant-labourers, as far as I know, three are Kamis and another is a Damai and all of their landlords are Bahuns. In two cases among them, or in the cases of a Kami and a Damai, tenant labourers have also been craftsmen giving caste-specific services to their landlords.

### 3. 3. Extent of dependence on various types of labour

From the foregoing it is clear that there is a great difference in importance among the various types of labour recruitment.

In this chapter, I will examine the extent to which each type is utilized by the villagers. It differs considerably from household to household reflecting the occupational, economic and other conditions. At the same time, it may differ according to kinds of work involved.

As for the latter aspect, it has become clear from the survey of each household that ploughing occupies a unique position because of the Bahuns' abstention from it and that differences among other heavy agricultural work are comparatively small. Thus in the following, analyses will be made, first, concerning plough cultivation, and second, concerning work other than ploughing. In both of them, Bahun-Chetris and Kami-Damais are treated separately.

#### 3. 3. 1. Extent of dependence on various types of labour in plough cultivation

Less than two thirds of all the Bahun-Chetri households own bullocks for ploughing. Among twenty-six such households, there is only one Chetri who cultivates his land himself. Ten households mainly depend on attached labourers for ploughing supplementing them by hiring jyaladars and fifteen households depend heavily on jyaladars though some of them have attached labourers.

Among the Bahun-Chetri households without bullocks, six usually borrow them through goru-pakhure. As two of them are Chetris and four Jaisis, they can do ploughing themselves and can pay back by offering their labour in cultivation.

In seven cases without bullocks, people borrow ploughmen together with ploughs and bullocks and pay back by their labour or in cash or kind. If no ploughman is available they have to

hire jyaladars separately.

It is worthy of note that attached labourers can be hired out by their masters with ploughs and bullocks to others, in return for which the landlords receive the borrowers' labour or direct payment. In this way, the working hours of the attached labourers increase without any direct profit accruing to themselves.

Among the Kamis and Damais, there are only two households owning bullocks capable of ploughing and among them there is only one whose household member handles his own plough. (In another, a jyaladar is hired for ploughing as the household head is busy as a goldsmith.) Among other cases, fifteen, including one Damai, borrow ploughs and bullocks from Bahuns in return for their labour (gorupakhure) and cultivate the land by themselves. However, in three cases of comparatively well-off households (one blacksmith and two goldsmiths), the household members do not plough themselves but hire other Kamis or Damais as jyaladars for handling ploughs borrowed from Bahuns.

Some of those who do not own bullocks always borrow them from specific Bahuns. But there are only a few cases in which borrowers and lenders have been related through caste-specific services. In most cases people borrow any bullocks available when necessary.

### 3. 3. 2. Extent of dependence on various types of labour in other work

Jyala is the most popular type of labour recruited from outside one's own household in such heavy work as the transplantation of paddy, harvesting and weeding for various crops.

Among the thirty-nine farming households of the Bahun-Chetris, only seven depend heavily on parma for these kinds of work. Upon scrutiny, we find only two Upadhyay Bahun households of normal

type among these seven households. (Among the other households, two are Chetri, one is Jaisi and the other two consist of Upadhyay women and their children). Though all of these households own less than one and a half hectares of land, parma labour has to be supplemented by jyaladars in most cases. There is only one case of a Jaisi household in which labour acquired through parma is said to be sufficient all through the seasons.

Nineteen Bahun households hire jyaladars when necessary and partially depend on parma. Though thirteen out of these nineteen depend on parma in various kinds of work, six do so only at the time of the rice transplanted when much female labour is needed.

In the case of the other thirteen households, people hire jyaladars when needed and do not engage in parma except for goru-pakhure in which they hire out their ploughs, bullocks and sometimes ploughmen in return for labour.

In general, though there are cases of Upadhyay Bahun males who engage in parma, it is more often practised by Bahun women and by men and women of the Jaisis and Chetris. It is often heard that Bahuns practise parma but in many cases it turns out to be goru-pakhure or the hiring out of their attached labourers.

Among the twenty farming Kami and Damai households, five depend heavily on parma (two among them supplementing it by jyala), a further five often hire jyaladars depending on parma partially and ten do not engage in parma or only practise it in the form of goru-pakhure, in the latter case working for Bahuns in return for ploughs and bullocks.

Occupational differences partly account for the above situation. If one has more access to cash and spends more time in non-agricultural activities, it is natural that he tends to depend more on jyala than on parma. This is supported by the existence of three households which combine commercial activity

with agriculture and other work among the five households which depend less on parma and their non-existence among those which heavily depend on parma.

There are two different reasons for the people of the ten households not practising ordinary parma: first, if one holds only a little amount of land, he can work it himself without depending on others' labour. Seven households fall into this category. Secondly, there are landed iron- or goldsmiths who do not have time to engage in parma and can afford to hire jyaladars. Three Kami and Sunar households are of this type.

On the whole, we can say from the above that more labour force is recruited through jyala than through parma, though in the limited case of the plough cultivation of the Kamis, parma in the form of goru-pakhure is more resorted to.

There are several reasons for the above characteristic in addition to the reasons considered for the Kami case. First, the labour force which can be recruited through parma is limited by the number of the people one can offer in return. If one holds a considerable amount of land, has a small number of household members and no or only one or two attached labourers, it is imperative for him to hire jyaladars when busy. This condition prevails in many of the Bahun households. Secondly, there is a tendency among the better-off Bahuns to turn to managerial work instead of being engaged in agricultural labour themselves. This, together with the Bahuns' abstention from ploughing accounts for their heavy dependence on the jyaladars as well as for the existence of the attached labourers.

The labour recruited through jyala is more important than that supplied by the attached labourers even in plough cultivation, let alone other agricultural activities.

The first reason for it is the limited number of the house-

holds which keep attached labourers, which amounts to one third of the total farming households of the Bahun-Chetris.

The second reason is the need for the concentrated commitment of labour in busy seasons. Though a landlord may keep one or more attached labourers, he may have to hire additional labourers by paying *jyala* in order to have work done in time on his fields, the amount of which is usually above average. So, there are cases even among the landlords who keep attached labourers that depend more on *jyaladars* for ploughing.

The third reason comes from the fact that the utilization of the attached labourers is beyond the scope of the lower castes here. As some of them hire *jyaladars* for ploughing, the relative importance of the *jyala* labour is magnified from this aspect also.

It is difficult and probably meaningless to compare the extent of the dependence on *parma* and attached labour as they are intertwined in the form of *goru-pakhure* and the sending out of attached labourers in *parma*. What we can point out here is that *parma* is practised in many kinds of agricultural activities whereas the attached labourers are more committed to ploughing.

Gwahar, as was already mentioned, plays almost a negligible part as far as the economic need is concerned.

### 3. 4. Change in labour recruitment

The memory of bondage and slavery is still kept by some of the villagers. According to them, many indebted "*halis*" of lower jats (castes and ethnic groups) worked in lieu of loans. The way of calculating the loan clearance as I was told was slightly different from that of today, though it must have been more varied in reality. If one did not live with his creditor but worked for him when needed, his work was calculated equal to the interest. On the other hand, if he lived and worked with the creditor, ten

percent of the principal was to be deducted from the loan in addition to the interest. But as the debtor tended to continue borrowing, his debt often increased instead of being cleared.

Furthermore, a hali could be sold to other people if he could not repay his debt or failed to satisfy his master by his work. In the case of a hali dying before the repayment of the debt leaving his offspring, the master could sell the children, who were called "kamaro" (a male slave) and "kamari" (a female slave).

To what extent kamaros and kamaris existed in Baltar could not be ascertained.

It is fairly well known among the villagers that slavery was abolished by Chandra Shamsheer in 1924<sup>(17)</sup>, and villagers below fifty tend to say that they do not recollect any actual slavery as having been practised. But there was a case of a Bahun who told me that there had been a kamari in his house just before the Land Reform of 1964.

Based upon the above description and following M. C. Regmi<sup>(18)</sup>, it seems proper to call the past "halis" "bondsmen" and the institution involving them "bondage". At the same time, it can be admitted that bondage was closely related to slavery until the recent past.

Bondage was more widespread even after the abolition of slavery. When asked about the conditions around fifteen years ago, eight among those Bahun households which do not keep any farm servants today answered that they had kept hali who were mostly in debt, whereas all those households except the newly established ones which keep farm servants today also answered as having kept them before. There was even a man who said that there had been eleven indebted halis working for and living in his house at one time. Besides this case, those households in which there were two or three halis seem to have been common. Caste and ethnic



composition of the past halis was not very different from that of the attached labourers today.

After the promulgation and enforcement of the Lands Act and Rules of 1964 the keeping of bondsmen began to decline. Among other things, the Land Reform aimed at the recovery of the outstanding debts and stipulated the official way of calculating the principal and interest, which was far below what was practised.<sup>(19)</sup> And it was a popular understanding that the measure aimed at abolishing the hali system or bondage. Consequently, some halis left without repaying outstanding debts, some cleared the loans before leaving but there were some who continued their attachment to their landlords even after the declared clearance of their loans.

With all the above, it is certain that there has been a considerable decrease in the actual number of the indebted halis as well as a change in their position which has changed from that through coercion to that through contract.

Other forms of labour recruitment were also affected by their decrease. When Bahuns kept many halis, they used to exchange them among each other during busy agricultural seasons for work under the parma or pakhure form. With the decrease in the number of the halis, there arose a necessity to find labour through other ways, as the amount of the labour needed remained almost unchanged. And it was mainly jyala (nimek) which was alternatively resorted to.

Recently, there appeared another factor to accelerate the dependence on the jyala form of labour. It was the emergence of more chances for the villagers to earn income from non-agricultural jobs brought about by the opening of the motorable road in 1972. It not only gave them an opportunity to work in road construction and repair but also allowed them more mobility and facilitated

the commercial activities. As a result, some villagers became less engaged in agriculture, had more access to cash and became more dependent on jyaladars.

In brief, the recent change in labour recruitment in Baltar has been characterized by the decline and change in the nature of the indebted labourers, concomitant decline of the parma and the increase in the dependence on the jyaladars. And it can be said that they have been mainly an outcome of various government measures.

#### 4. Concluding considerations

In this chapter I first consider the characteristics of the agricultural labour recruitment in Baltar through its comparison with that in a Newar village (fictitiously named "Satepa") where I conducted research in 1970-1972 and in 1978<sup>(20)</sup>, and next discuss ethnic integration in Nepal.

##### 4. 1. Parbate and Newar labour recruitment compared

In the Newar village, we could find three types of labour recruitment, namely: bola, gwali and jyami (jyala)<sup>(21)</sup>.

Bola, the Nepali translation of which is parma, means labour exchange and was most popularly resorted to before. Bola among the Newars can be divided into two sub-types, e.g. "group-bola" and "unstructured-bola". In a group-bola, a group is organized by several people who work in each member's field without going to others' land until the work is finished for all. Workdays are calculated so that every member gets an equivalent amount of labour to the work he has offered.

Formerly, bola groups were organized within a village

often having patrilineal kinsmen as their cores. But by 1978, the group-bola had almost disappeared and the bola found there were all of the unstructured type except for one group.

In the case of the unstructured-bola, no rigid group is organized and labour is exchanged on a one to one basis between two persons. There is no regulation on working in others' fields in between.

Even traditionally, women only engaged in unstructured-bola.

Gwali corresponds to gwahar meaning "help" for which no direct return is expected. It is mainly given by affines in and out of the village and neighbours. Its importance in the total agricultural labour is also negligible in the case of Satepa.

A jyami is a labourer hired and given payment (jyala) daily. It has been common in Satepa that jyamis are paid in cash and also given food in the fields.

There has been a great change in the labour recruitment in Satepa caused by the widening of the opportunity for non-agricultural jobs and the opening of the Kathmandu-Pokhara road.

From the 1960's, Satepa villagers had been increasingly acquiring jobs in commerce, construction work or salaried work in and around the capital which had been expanding its activities and lies at a commutable distance. On the other hand, following the opening of the bus service on the Kathmandu-Pokhara road in 1972, many jobless labourers began to flow into the Kathmandu valley seasonally and sought employment in rural areas as well as in towns. In Satepa, these two movements were well geared and the villagers who had cash but less time to devote themselves to agriculture began to hire those labourers as jyamis. Many of them were Tamangs, but Magars, Gurungs and Parbates were also included. However, Satepa villages were indifferent to their caste or ethnic origin. They were satisfied so long as they could have their

work done properly.

In this way, in Satepa as well, there was a change from bola (parma) to jyami (jyala) reflecting the nation-wide socio-economic change.

Though at first glance there seem to be similar types and changes of the labour recruitment between the Parbate and the Newar village, there are important differences which cannot be overlooked.

Parma in Baltar and bola in Satepa are quite similar in principle. But if we look at them closely, we can find quite different features. First of all, no group type of parma was found in Baltar. And this lack of 'group-parma' can be attributed to the existence of the goru-pakhure and the custom of sending attached labourers in return for the labour offered. In such practices, there is scarcely a scope for the development of the sense of mutual cooperation among the actual workers and hence little possibility of the emergence of an enduring work group. Moreover, the predominant relationship in such parma exists not in the mutual relationship among the workers but between the managing landlords and the managed labourers. Of course there are cases of parma in which relatives and neighbours directly participate, but such cases appear only to a limited extent.

On the other hand, when group-bola flourished among the Newars, people related through kinship and friendship ties took part in it, there was no distinct leadership, and cooperative atmosphere prevailed among them.

It can also be pointed out that in contrast to the Newar bola which had an intra-village nature, the Parbate parma has operated with outside labourers as an indispensable element without whose participation Bahuns' socio-religious requirements could not have been satisfied.

The greatest difference between Baltar and Satepa in the labour recruitment can be said to lie in the existence of the attached labourers in the former and their non-existence in the latter.

This difference is considered to be the result of the following factors: (a) the existence of a greater difference in the economic conditions between the upper and the lower strata in the case of Baltar, (b) more limited economic opportunity in non-agricultural sectors in and around Baltar, and (c) difference in the nature of the restriction on the utilization of the plough between the Bahuns and the Newars.

(a) In both villages, there are landless and very poorly landed people. But in contrast to Satepa where most of the villagers are small landholders, there are more landholders who hold more land than is workable by their own household members in Baltar<sup>(22)</sup>. This forms a basic background to the existence of the attached labourers in Baltar.

(b) Whereas people in Kathmandu Valley including those in the rural areas can find various jobs in the capital area, there is comparatively a very limited opportunity for non-agricultural jobs in and around Baltar and many of the poor people have no choice but to seek employment in an agricultural sector.

Under this limited economic condition, the custom of attached labour has had its *raison d'être* because of the economic stability obtained by both of the landlords and the labourers.

(c) It has been known that Newars have a restriction<sup>(23)</sup>, though not an absolute prohibition, on ploughing and till the soil by using a spade-like tool called 'ku' ('kodali' in Nepali). In general, this also holds true to Satepa as none of the villagers but a few owns a plough or uses it.

What should be pointed out in the present context is that

the Newars do not usually handle ploughs nor have their lands cultivated by means of ploughing, whereas the Bahuns always have their lands cultivated by plough though they do not handle them themselves. Thus as regards the utilization of the plough, the restriction among the Bahuns can be said to be a partial one. And it is this "partial restriction" on the use of the plough that necessitates the Bahuns to employ labourers from other groups.

Changes of labour recruitment in the two villages have similar aspects as they both show increasing dependence on the form of *jyala* (*jyami*). But we have to be aware that the change in Baltar has not gone so far as to make the traditional way of labour recruitment totally unnecessary whereas in Satepa the traditional group-*bola* has almost disappeared because of the reason stated already.

At present, there is a situation in each case where villagers have come into contact with labourers of different ethnic origins. But the nature of the contact is considerably different. In Baltar, some labourers are hired as daily paid *jyaladars* but some have become personally attached to some of the landlords. On the other hand, there is no such personal contact with the *jyamis* in the case of Satepa villagers. So, in this regard, the Parbates (in this case mainly Bahuns) can be said to be more apt to absorb outsiders in their socio-economic network though on an unequal basis, whereas the Newars constitute a socially more closed group utilizing the labour force of the outsiders only economically and instrumentally.

#### 4. 2. Inter-ethnic contact — Incorporation into the caste system

Lastly, I shall attempt to consider the nature of the personal

and enduring relationship between the landlords and the attached labourers with regard to the caste system.

It has already been pointed out by scholars<sup>(24)</sup> that the Tibeto-Burman speaking groups in Nepal have been in the process of being absorbed in the Parbate (Parbatiya) caste hierarchy mainly as castes of the middle rank which was lacking in the Parbate system. And today, we encounter scholars who treat these groups as castes though only for the sake of convenience<sup>(25)</sup>. However, this absorption has usually been talked about only in terms of rank and life style including commensality. And it is still open to question to what extent they have been absorbed in the system in terms of the division of labour which is another important aspect of the caste system.

As regards the relationship between landlords and agricultural labourers in the caste system in general, there are arguments as to whether it should be considered as an integral part of the system<sup>(26)</sup>.

J. Breman (1974:14-15) answers it in the affirmative and considers the relationship as part of the jajmani system. He puts it forward on the basis that it is "difficult to distinguish ... between the ritual services performed by some castes in support of the norms and values of the ritual hierarchy, and the work carried out by artisan and agricultural castes."

A similar stand is taken by A. P. Caplan. She states out of the analysis of the Brahmin-Sarki relation in west Nepal (1972: 33): "the ploughman-master relationship is ... a corollary of the caste system which stipulates that Brahmins may not plough and of the unequal division of land and of grain production."

Among the above, Breman's assertion is meant to be applicable to all kinds of the agricultural labourers in the caste society and Caplan's to the attached "ploughmen" only. But the latter

can also be applied to the daily hired labourers if it holds true to the ploughmen. It should also be noted that Caplan's statement is more modest than Breman's in not saying that it is a fully fledged part of the jajmani system.

I side with Caplan in making such a reservation on this point. True, it is a part of the caste system because the agricultural labourers, especially ploughmen, satisfy the economic as well as socio-religious needs of the Brahmans by engaging in the work which the latter abstain from and are provided with things which they need in return. But at the same time, we should not overlook the fact that the labourers have come into the relationship not because they have specific occupations stipulated by the caste system but because they lack any such speciality. The only condition which matters is their non-Brahman status which allows them to engage in ploughing.

It is a natural consequence that not only men of various castes but also of other ethnic groups can be employed as agricultural labourers. But they are not protected by the monopoly of the caste-specific occupations and may face competition with each other. Hence, compared to the occupational castes in the traditional jajmani system, their position is deemed to be less stable.

The custom of attached labour has served to mitigate this lack of stability. Thanks to this custom, even the labourers of different ethnic origins who otherwise have no means of benefiting from the produce from the land of the high castes are enabled to do so. Moreover, they may be given additional concessions and even socio-political support by their masters.

So, when considering these agricultural labourers, it is essential to distinguish between the attached labourers and the daily hired ones. It is only the former that can be given economic



and social stability by landlords and come close to the position of the occupational castes in the jajmani system. But even taking all these factors into consideration, it may not be proper to say that they have become members of a specific caste (or castes) in every sense of the word.

This kind of incorporation of the labourers of different ethnic origins into the Parbate socio-economic matrix is one of the rare cases in which they come into contact with the higher castes satisfying their caste-specific requirements. And it cannot be denied that their incorporation into the Nepali caste system is not only a matter of hierarchy and life style but also related to the inter-caste service relationship. But as pointed out above, the division of labour in this case is only of a one-sided nature. At the same time, we have to admit that the people involved occupy a marginal position among their own groups.

Thus, though the integration of various groups into the Parbate caste society has been proceeding, we still have to be aware that it is only with reservations that we can term those people of various ethnic origins part of the fully fledged Nepali caste system. Furthermore, it should not be taken for granted that the ethnic integration in Nepal is synonymous with the "casteization" of the non-Parbate groups.

#### Notes

\* This paper is part of the outcome of my researches in Nepal in 1970-1972 (mainly studying the Newars), 1977-1979 (mainly studying the Parbates) and in 1980 (mainly conducting a preliminary research in tarai villages).

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The main part of the materials in the present paper was collected in 1978, but it is supplemented by materials obtained in other periods.

- (1) For example see: Caplan, A. P. 1972:32-35; Caplan, L. 1970: 107-110; Fürer-Haimendorf 1956:33; Kawakita, J. 1974:69-75; Messerschmidt, D. A. 1976:124-127; and Toffin, G. 1977:92.
- (2) The Parbates are the Hindus in the hill areas of Nepal. They speak Nepali as their mother tongue and have a cultural tradition related to that of north India. They have a caste system consisting of only a few high castes and a few low castes. It is they who played a central role in the formation of the present state of Nepal in which they still occupy a dominant position. (See also Fürer-Haimendorf 1966:21-22).
- (3) Land grant made by the state to the individuals usually on an inheritable and tax-exempt basis (Regmi, M. C. 1976:233).
- (4) Jasis are considered to be the offspring from the unions between Upadhyay men and Upadhyay widows or Jaisi women. Chetris are mostly descendants of Chetris but the offspring from the unions between Bahun males and women of other ethnic groups such as the Gurungs and Magars are regarded as Chetris. The Chetris in Baltar fall into the latter category. Jaisis are ranked between the Upadhyays and Chetris. (See also: Fürer-Haimendorf 1966:20, 1974: 153)

- (5) A household of an old woman who has no land and earns her living by working in others' houses and fields.
- (6) Among two households which are not explained in the text, one Sunar household with only a boy and a girl with a little land depends upon the paternal uncle's support, and in a household with a landless woman and her children, the mother seeks work in other people's houses or farms.
- (7) The field has to be cultivated once or twice before sowing or planting of each crop. People say that two to four ploughs are needed if they are to cultivate four ropanis or about 0.2 hectare of land in one day. Land can be cultivated easier and faster at the second or third ploughing.
- (8) Among all the households, there are only four which have more than ten members. They have 10, 11, 13, and 25 members respectively.
- (9) The word "nimeki" for this meaning could not be heard in Baltar.
- (10) Among the total of twenty-two Kami households, seventeen have some members who work as jyaladars. All the Damai adults work as jyaladars.
- (11) I owe this usage to J. Breman (1974:125) though he does not use the term extensively.
- (12) In this meaning the hali in Nepal seems to resemble the traditional hali in Gujarat analysed by Breman (1974:6-7 et al.).
- (13) There is a worker in a rice-flour mill run by B-T. He sleeps in the mill and is fed by B-T daily. His position is similar to that of the resident farm servants but this case is omitted from the number here.
- (14) In this system, there is no calculation of interest.
- (15) Though the people stated here live and cook separately from their landlords, they are not regarded as fully independent households. None of them is considered to constitute an independent dhuri which is a taxable unit from the government point of view

or gives annual remuneration to the village panchayat messenger and crier (katuwale) or to boatmen of the ferry crossing the Trisuli.

(16) The amount of land cultivated by using one plough in one day. The area differs according to the quality of the land and its conversion into an exact area is not possible. But very roughly speaking, one hal is around a thousand square meters.

(17) But according to M. C. Regmi, it was not Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher but Prime Minister Bir Shamsher (1885-1901 A.D.) who appears to have taken the initial step toward abolishing the system of slavery. In 1885 a law was passed imposing an absolute ban on enslavement (Regmi, M. C. 1980:161).

(18) "When loans accumulated, the transaction often culminated with the purchase of the debtor by the moneylender. The debtor then became the moneylender's slave. Alternatively, the debtor worked for his creditor without wages in lieu of interest, and thus became a bondsman." (Regmi, M. C. 1978:127)

(19) The Lands Act and Rules made it one of its purposes to "release the farmers from their debt burden" (Zaman, M. A. 1973:16), and stipulated the measures to be taken in order to recover outstanding debts in the hand of ward committees (on behalf of the creditors) directly from the loanees (ibid:16, Ministry of Law and Justice 1965:25-29, 49-52).

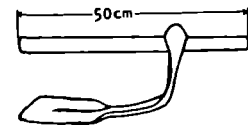
(20) Satepa is a multi-caste village of the Newars located seven kilometers west of Kathmandu and is along the paved road leading from Kathmandu to Pokhara. It was inhabited by eight Newar castes in 1970 but in 1978 temporary residents of other castes and ethnic groups could also be found. The castes and their population in 1978 are as follows (the names in parentheses are Nepali names and the figures show household numbers):

Barmhu (Brahman) :	1
Syesya (Shrestha) :	68
Jyapu (Maharjan) :	116
Duin (Putuwar) :	8
Kau (Nakarmi) :	1
Saymi (Manandhar) :	1
Nay (Kasain) :	17
Jugi (Kusle) :	1
temporary residents :	4 ("Shrestha", "Bada" — caste names given by themselves but are not widely accepted by the Satepa villagers — Kusle and Sannyasi)

For more details see Ishii, 1978.

- (21) jyami = a labourer, jyala = remuneration
- (22) Ninety-three percent of all the households in Satepa fall into the category holding less than one hectare and only two households (one percent) hold more than two hectares. On the other hand forty-one percent of all the Bahun-Chetri and Kami households hold more than one hectare and fourteen percent more than two hectares.
- (23) The reason most commonly given for this restriction is religious. It is said that it is not a pious deed to use the oxen for ploughing in Kathmandu Valley where Pasupatinath is enshrined.

Also, there may be cultural and technical reasons. As there are elements of the Newar culture which are related to that of the hill area of east Asia, the use of the ku may be taken as part of such a cultural complex. From the technical point of view, I was told by some of the farmers that the soil can be worked deeper by the ku. (For ku see the diagram on the right.)



- (24) For example see Fürer-Haimendorf 1966:13-18,  
and Caplan, A.P. 1972:5.

- (25) For example see Caplan, L. 1975:15, and Caplan, A. P. 1972:4.

(26) For example see Gough K. 1971(1960):30-31, 1961:87-89; Leach E., 1971(1960):6, and Breman, J. 1974:13-16.

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A Preliminary Report of the Three Tibetan  
Dialects in the Northern Gandaki Valley

Yasuhiko NAGANO

0. Introduction

This small paper is designed to provide the materials of the three Tibetan dialects spoken in Kagbeni, Zharkot and Dangardzong, to draw a historical sketch of them in the Tibeto-Burman framework, and to show some clues of Nepalization in terms of methodology.

The author joined the "Anthropological and Linguistic Study of the National Integration in Nepal" project headed by Prof. H. Kitamura in the 1980-1981 fiscal year, and carried out field-work in the northern area along the Gandaki Valley. It had been vaguely said that some Tibetan tongues are spoken there, but, in reality, no one has published any monographs on them. Therefore our survey began with the description of the phonological shapes of so-called fundamental words. Through this, the Nepalization of the three dialects could be checked at the lexical level. As for the other aspects of cultural integration, we need additional field-work and separate papers are needed. The scope of this paper is limited to discussion on the lexical and historical level.

As for the location of the three places, see the map on the page after next.

The informant for Kag Tibetan is Mr. Phorba (WT Phur bu), a 42-year-old native speaker of the dialect. He has been to gLo (Mustang) twice.



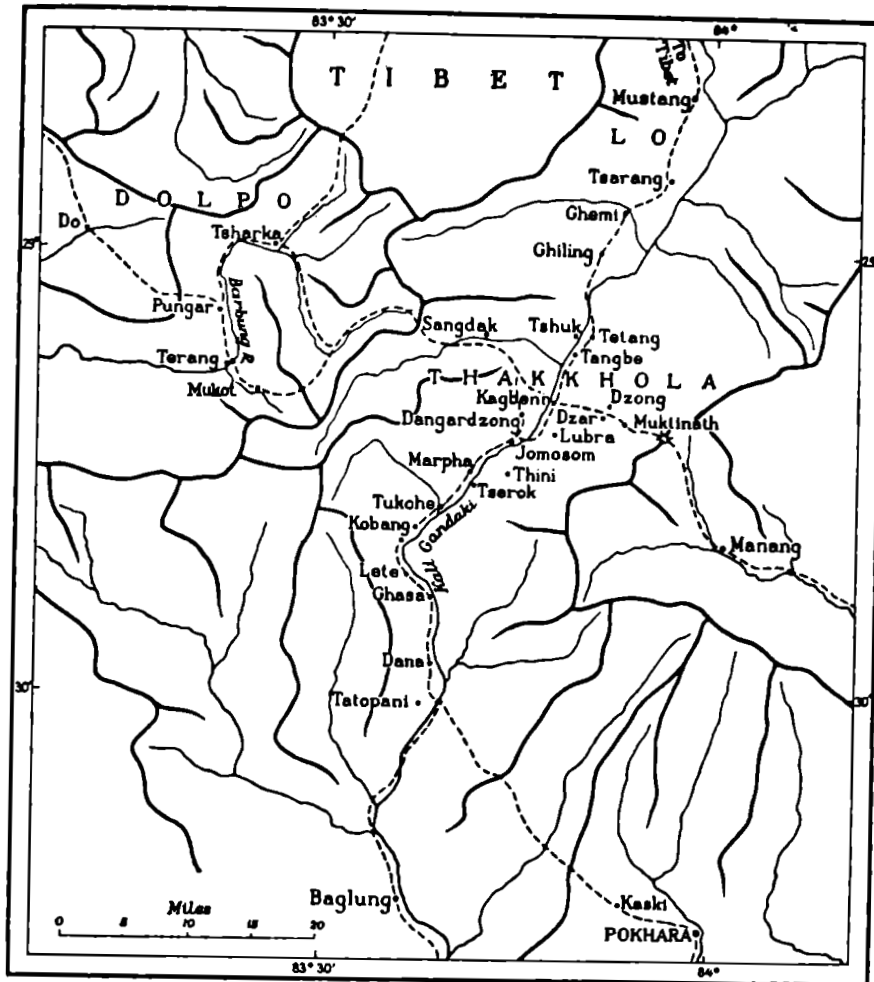
The informant for Dangar Tibetan is Mr. Phurbu (WT Phur bu), who was born and raised up at Dangardzong. He is 37 years old.

For Zhar Tibetan the informant is Mr. Hre'o Tshewang, who kindly served as my informant at Kagbeni. He is 35 years old.

All of the informants use their own tongues for usual daily communication, and use Nepalese as a lingua franca when they talk to officials and other racial groups. Although the basis of language life is essentially in Tibetan dialects, some bias can be observed partly as will be discussed later.

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Zharkot/Zhar in this paper is transcribed as Dzar.

## 0. 2. Abbreviations

A	adjective
D	Dangardzong
H/Hon	honorifics
HU	humbling form
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
K	Kagbeni
Lit	literary
N	noun
PERF	perfect
V	verb
VI	verb; intransitive
VT	verb; transitive
WrT/WT	Written Tibetan
Z	Zharkot

## 1. Phonology

The following can be set up as the consonant;

phonemes:

Stops: p, ph, b; t, th, d; T, Th, D; k, kh, g; ?.

Fricatives: s; sy-, h-, H-.

Affricates: c, ch, j; ts, tsh, dz.

Nasals: m, n, ny, ng.

Liquids: l, L; r, R.

Glides: w, y.

1. 1. 1. The chart shown above apply to three dialects.
1. 1. 2. All the consonants listed above may occur in initial position.
1. 1. 3. The consonants which may occur in syllable final position are: /p, t, k, ?, H, m, n, ng, l, r, w, y/.
1. 1. 4. /T/ and /D/ are retroflexives.
1. 1. 5. /?/ is glottal stop.
1. 1. 6. /H-/ is voiced glottal fricative, occurring usually with low pitch; while /h-/ , with high ptich.
1. 1. 7. /-n/ at the syllable final position nasalizes the preceding vowel.
1. 1. 8. /L-/ and /R-/ are voiceless liquids, always with high pitch.
1. 1. 9. /r-/ is flap.
1. 2. The vowels are:/a, i, u, e, o, E, U, O/. This eight vowel system applies to all the three tongues.
  1. 2. 1. /E, U, O/ are the palatalized /a, u, o/ respectively, actually represented by [E], [U] and [Ø].
  1. 2. 2. Vowel length is distinctive.
  1. 3. Syllable structures are: CV, CVV, and CVC.
  1. 4. No prefixation is observed.

1. 5. Tonal distinction is observed in the nasal, alveopalatal fricative and alveolar fricative series only. In the other series, voicedness and aspiration features are preserved as in WT and the pitch accent is not distinctive. However, since pitch pattern seems to be important when we trace the tonogenesis among Tibetan dialects, it is marked in the word-list: low pitch is marked by a slash, which means that the preceding syllable begins with low pitch, while high pitch is unmarked.

## 2. Word-list

760 lexical items are shown in this chapter. The author followed Professor Hattori's "Linguistic Questionnaire" (Department of Linguistics, University of Tokyo, 1957) in terms of arrangement. It is a kind of classified lexicon, and the classification is as follows:

Body parts, Body functions	Nos. 001↔062
Clothing	Nos. 063↔070
Food & drink	Nos. 071↔095
House	Nos. 096↔114-01
Utensils & tools	Nos. 114-03↔123-03
Life, fight	Nos. 124↔145-01
Kinship	Nos. 146↔159-11
Community, occupation, production	Nos. 160↔166
Locomotion	Nos. 167↔182-05
Language, communication	Nos. 183↔188
Entertainment	Nos. 189↔191
Giving & receiving	Nos. 192↔192-06
Acts towards persons	Nos. 193↔195-02
Acts towards things	Nos. 196↔232
Acts & behaviour	Nos. 233↔240-06
Knowledge, mental activities	Nos. 241↔249-01
Sky & weather, land features, minerals	Nos. 250↔288-07
Plants	Nos. 289↔299-01
Animals	Nos. 300↔320-031
Form & shape, colors, sound, smells	Nos. 321↔340
Quality & character	Nos. 340-02↔353
Space	Nos. 353-01↔375-04
Time	Nos. 375-05↔392-05
Number, quantity	Nos. 393↔412-02

Pronouns, demonstratives	Nos. 413↔431-02
Adverbs, conjugations	Nos. 431-03↔435
Particles & other synonymous forms	Nos. 436↔448
Important words & phrases	Nos. 453↔457-13

This word-list is followed by the alphabetical index  
(2.1).

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
001	head	go/ wa	go/ wa	go/ wa
001	head(H)	?u	?u	
001-01	hair	Ra	Ra	Ra
001-03	brain	lE pa	lE pa	lE pa
002	forehead	to pa	to pa·	tho pa
003	eye	mik	mik	mik
003	eye(H)	cEn	cEn	
004	eyebrow	sE/ ma	sE/ ma	se/ ma
005	tears	mik chur	chi ma	mik jur
006	blind	sya/ ra	sya/ ra	sya/ ra
007	nose	nar khyi	nar khyi	nar khyi
007	nose(Lit)	syau	syau	
008	ear	?am joo	?am joo	?am joo
008	ear(H)	nyEn	nyEn	
009	deaf	?On/ jan	?On/ jan	?On/ja/ga
010	mouth	khar khyi	kha	kha
010	mouth(H)	syal	syal	
011	lip	chur to	chur to	chur to
012	tongue	ce mo	ce	ce mo
013	dumb	la Ta	lal mo	la Tha
014	tooth	so	so	so
015	saliva	chi ma?	chi ma?	chi maa
015-01	phlegm	lu pa	lu pa	thOy
016	breathe(V)	?up tuu kye ru	?uk tu	?u da tam
017	voice	kEE	kEE	kEE
018	cough(N)	lo	lo	lo
019	sneeze	ri/ pa		



No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
020	yawn	yal ?on/ yi	yal	yal
021	jaw	ma/ lE	ma/ lE	ma/ li
022	face	ngo/ run	ngo/ ton	ngor/ ton
022	face(H)	kur tun		
023	cheek	DEn/ ba	Dan/ ba	Dan/ ba
024	beard	maa/ ra		ma ka ra
024	beard	gya/kEr		gya/ ?u
025	neck	nyak/ tse	nyak/ tse	nyak/ tse
026	throat	ol dan	ol da nga	?ol da nga
026	throat			mik pa
027	shoulder	so ko pa	sok/ wa	so ko pa
028	arm	pung ba		phung ba
028	arm(lower)	la/ gaa	lak/ pa	lak/ pa
029	elbow	tsi wa	Thin/ ji ma	Thin/ ji ma
029-01	wrist	lak/ kEE tshik		lak/ pEE tsii
030	hand	la/ kaa	lak/ pa	lak/ pa
031	finger	dzu/ ?u	dzu/ gu	dzu/ ?u
032	nail	ser mo	ser mo	ser mo
033	chest	Thang/ go	Thang/ go	Thang/ go
034	breast	?o/ ma	?o/ ma	?o/ ma
034-01	nipple			nur/ tho
034-02	ribs		tsin ma?	tsi maa
034-03	lungs	loo	loo	lo wa
035	heart	nying	nying	nying
036	belly	pho wa	phoo	pho wa
037	guts	nang ja		
037	guts	ju/ ma	gyur/ ma	gyu/ ma

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
038	liver	chin ba	chin ba	chin ba
038-01	kidneys	khar ma	khar ma	khar ma
039	navel	tee	tEE	tEE
040	back	gyap/ kon	gyap/	gyap/
041	waist	kye pa	kye pa	kye pa
042	arse	kup	kup	kup
042-01	excrement	kyak pa	kyak pa	kyak pa
042-03	bladder	pi lik pa	phu	pi lik pa
042-04	urine	cin	cin	cin
042-05	urinate(V)		cin tang	cin tang
042-06	fart	phin Di	phin Di	phin di
042-07	penis	jer/ kin	jer/ ken	jer/ken
042-08	testicles	lik pa	go/ nga	lik pa,go/nga
042-09	vulva	tu	tu	tu
042-091	vagina		ja/ ri	
042-11	thigh	la sya	kang ri	la zya
043	knee	pii mo	pun bu	pii mo
044	leg	kang ba	kang ba	kang ba
044-01	shank	nyar/ to nga		
044-02	calf	nya/		
045	foot	kang ba	kang ba	kang ba
045-01	heel	ting ba	ting ba	ting ba
045-02	ankle	tshik	tshik	tshik tok pa
046	limp(N)	sya/ kyo?	sya/ kyo?	sya/ kyo
047	body	su/ ?u	so/ go	so/ go
048	hair of body	pu	pu	pu
049	skin	pa ?o	pak pa	pak pa

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
050	pus	na?	nak	nak
051	sweat	mur na?	ngu na?	ngun nak
052	dirt	Thak/ pa	Thak/ pa	Thak/ pa
053	blood	Thak	Thaa	Thaa
054	bone	ru/ ko	ru/ ko	ru/ koo
055	flesh	sya	sya	sya
056	strength	top	syuk	syuk
057	see(V)	tho	tho	thon
057-01	look(V)	t0	t00	
058	smell	num	num	Thi/ma(N)
059	hear(V)		th0	th0
059-01	listen(V)	nyen	nyen	nyen
060	laugh(V)	k00 sya ri		k00
060	laugh(V)	yal ?on/ nge	yal ?on/ nge	
061	cry(V)	ngUy/	ngUU/	ngUU/
062	shout(V)	lap ton	?a/ ru gyak/	?a/ ji gya?/
063	clothing	ko/ la?	too tsi	go/ ra
064	clothe(V)	ko/ la? k0n/	k0n/	k0n/
064	clothe(V)	nun		
065	take off(V)	pUU	pUU	pUU
066	naked	ã ma ran	mar dan	maa ra nga
066-01	hat	sya/ mo	sya/ mo	sya/ mo
066-01	hat(H)	?u ja		
066-02	underwear	gen/ ji(HiNDi)	hap	hap
066-02	underwear			too tsi
066-04	trousers	kE nam	kE nam	kE nam
066-05	belt	ka ?u	ka ?u	ka wu

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
066-08	shoes	son/ ba	som/ ba	som/ ba
066-10	cloth	rEE/	rEE/	rEE/
067	fur	pa ?o	pak pa	pa wo
068	needle	khap	khap	khap
069	thread	ku pa	ku pa	ku ba
070	sew(V)	tshem bo gyap/	tshem dzo gyop/	tshem dzo wa gyap/
071	food	yo/ ba		yo/ pa
071	food	sang ma		sa/ yap
071-01	rice	DEE/	DEE/	DEE/
071-02	wheat	Tho/	Do/	Do/
071-03	barley	nEE/	nEE/	nEE/
071-07	bean	RE ma	RE ma	Re ma
072	flour	REn bE	me ta	cen bEE
072-01	potato	ta ya?		
073	meat	sya	sya	sya
073-01	onion	tson	tson	tson
074-01	fruit(tree)	syng too	syng too	syng too
075	seed	son	son	son
075-01	fish	nya/	nya/	nya/
076	egg	go/ nga	go/ nga	go/ nga
077	salt	tsha	tsha	tsha
077-01	sugar	ci nyi	ci nyi	
077-03	oil	mur/ ku	mur/ ku	
078	grease	tshi lu	tshi lu	tshi lu
078-01	butter	mar/	mar/	mar/
079	milk	?o/ ma	?o/ ma	?00/ ma
080	water	chu	chu	chu

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
080-01	hot water	chu Do/ mo		
080-03	tea	cha/	cha/	cha/
080-06	bread	gyang/		gyang/
080-07	wine	chan	chan	chang
080-09	tobacco	tshu ra	tshu ra	tsu ra
081	cook(V)	dz00	ts00	ts00
081-01	roast(V)		ng00	ng00
081-01	roast(V)	Ro?		
082	ripe	bar/ tu		
083	eat (V:IMPF)	sa/	sa/	sa/
083	eat(V)	sEy/	sEE/	saa/
083	eat (V:IMP)	so	so	so
084	lick (V:IMPF)	da?/	da?/	da/
084	lick(V)	dak/	dak/	dak/
084	lick (V:IMP)	doo/	do?/	dok/
085	chew(V)	lu	le	so gyap/
086	drink(V)	thun	tun	thun
087	suck(V)	jip/	jip/	jip/
088	vomit(V)	kyuk	kyuk	kyuk
089	spit(V)	chi maa yuk	phi la yuu	th0y
090	hungry	toy/	ton	too
091	thirsty	kha kom	kha kom	kha kom
091-01	taste	Tho wa	Tho	
092	tasty	syi/ ma	Tho chen bo	Tho chen bo
093	sweet	ngar mo	ngar mo	ngar mo
094	bitter	kha thi	kha tik	khE dik
094-01	sour	kyur mo	kyur mo	kyur mo

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
095	rotten	chik	rU/ wa	rUr/ ba
096	house	khang ba	khang ba	khang ba
096-01	tent	gur/	gur/	gur/
097	build(V)	khang ba s00/	khang ba gyak/	khang ba s00/
098	door	goH/	go/	go/
098-01	room	kho Ta	Di/ mik	dzi bu
098-02	floor	sya/ 1EE	sya/ la	sya/ le
098-03	pillar	ka	ka	kaa
099	wall	tsik pa	tsik pa	tsik pa
099-01	window	khun ngo	khun	khung ngu
100	roof	thoo	thoo	thoo
100-01	fireplace	cha/ thap	thap	tha ka
101	fire	me/	du/ pa	me/
101-01	light(V)			me/ ton
102	smoke	Di/ pa	kho/ thal	thu/ pa
103	ash	ko/ thal	kho/ thal	go/ wa thal
103-03	matches			dza/ tak
104	extinguish(V)	me/ suy	me/ sEE	me/ s00
105	burn(V)	me/ ton	me/ par	me/ bar/
106	sit(V)	duy/	dEE/	dEE/
107	lie(V)	nyol	nyol	nyal
107-01	lie down(V)		nyol dEE/	nyal dEE
108	sleep(V)	nyii lo/	nyii lok/	nyi? lo/
108-01	sleepy			nyi? Do/
109	dream	mik lam	mik lam	min lam
109	dream(V)	mik lam mik	mik lam mik	min lam mik
109-01	awake(V)	nyii tse	nyii tshe	nyi? tshe

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
110	get up(V)	lang/	lang/	lang
111	stand(V)	dEE/	lan/ dEE/	lang de dEE
111-01	well(N)	geg/ le	chu pho	ko wa,chi mik
111-02	hedge	khaa ta la	?a/ ra?	?a/ rak
112	close(V)	go/ gyap/	go/ gyap/	go/ gyop/
113	open(V)	go/ pEE	go/ pee	go/ phee
114	live(V)	dEE/	dEE/	dEE/
114-01	stay(V)	sya/ mo dEE/	dEE/	dEE
114-03	mirror	me/ lon	me/ lon	me/ lon
114-31	glass	gi la(NEP)	gi la(NEP)	ga/la(NEP)
115	pot	dza/ ma	dza/ ma	geg/ re
115	pot		tho/ dzan	Tho dzan
116	pan	la nga	la nga	la nga
116	pan			tsha dzen
116-01	dip out(V)	kye/ le?	len	len
116-02	pour(V)			luk
117	knife	Thi/	Thi/	Thi/
118	cutting edge	kha	kha	kha
118-09	hoe	thon ba	te ri	te ri
118-10	sickle	so/ ra	so/ ra	so/ ra
118-11	plow	them dee		thon ba
119	dust	tho/ lu?	tha wi	tha lo
120	wipe(V)	syo(iMP)	phyi?	phyii
120-01	box	gam/	se gam	gam/
120-04	bag	kho ma		
120-04	bag		bon/ bEE	
120-04	bag	zo/ la	zo/ la	zo/ la

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
121	rope	thak pa	thak pa	thak pa
121-01	string	ku ba	ku ba	ku ba
122	net	dzaI	dzaI	dza/ li
123	stick	ber/ kha	ber/ kha	gyuk/ pa
123-01	ladder	TE wa	Te wa	Te ma
123-02	board	tal	tal	tal
123-03	bear(V)	kyer	kyer	kyer
124	born	kyer	kyer	kyee
125	grow(V)			chen bo chu
126	alive			son bo
127	fat	gyaa/	gyak/ pa	gya/ wo
128	thin	kam bo	syir ko	cher/ka nga
129	get tired(V)	thang chEE/	thang chEE/	thang chee/
130	illness	na/ tsha	na/ tsha	na/ dza
130-01	fever	tsha wa	tsha wa	tsha wa
131	wound	ma	ma	ma
132	painful	tshi	tshe	tsha
133	itchy	yEk/	yak/	yaa
134	scratch(V)	ba/ je gyop/	Duu/	d00/
134-01	medicine	mEn	mEn	mEn
135	cure(V)	s0y/		s00
135-01	recover(V)	Thaa/	Thaa/	Thaa/
135-02	poison	tuu/	duk/	duk/
136	kill(V)	sEE	sEE	sEE
137	die(V)	syi	syi	syi
138	god	La	La	La
139	fight(V)	du/ ka	kur/ kha tan	duu/ga tang



No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
139-01	war(make-(V)	maa gya/ wi	ma? gyak/	maa gya?/
139-02	win(V)			maa tha
139-03	lose(V)	pam, syor		pham
140	flee(V)		duu/ ruk/	
142	sword	tsep ja	tsep jak	tshep ja
143	spear	dung/	dung/	dung/
144	bow	syu/	syu/	da/
145	arrow	da/	da/	do/ nyuk
145-01	gun			do ?a
146	person	mi/	mi/	mi/
147	man/male	phi zaa	phi zaa	khyo ga
148	woman/female	bo mo	pho/ mo	khyi mEn
149	child	phi zaa	phi zaa	khyo ga
149	child(f)	bo/mo	pho/ mo	khyi mEn
149-01	boy	phi zaa	phi zaa	khyo ga
149-02	girl	bo/mo	pho/ mo	khyi mEn
149-03	youth	sy0n/ ba	kyok/ ton	sy0n/ ba
149-06	old person	no/zy0n/ma	gE/ bo	ge/ bo
150	young	sy0n/ ba	sy0n/ ba	sy0n/ ba
151	old	gE/ bo	gE/ bo	ge/ bo
152	father	?ow	?ow	?o ?u, ?a ji
153	mother	?a ma	?a ma	?a ma, yi ji
153-04	grandfather	mE/ mE	mE/ mE	me/ me
153-05	grandmother	?i wi	?i wi	?i wi
153-06	uncle	?ow	?ow	?o ?u
153-07	aunt	?a ni	?a ni	?a ne
154	son	phi/ za	phi/ za	phi/ za

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
155	daughter	bo/ mo	bo/ mo	pho/ mo
156	brother(e-)	?a jo	?a jo	?a ju
156	brother(e-)			pUn
156	brother(y-)	no/	no/	now/
157	sister(e-)	yl ji	yl ji	?i ji
157	sister(y-)	no/ mo	no/ mo	no/ mo
157-03	nephew	tshaw	tshaw	tshop
157-04	niece	tsha mo	tsha mo	tsha mo
158	husband	khyo ga	phi/ za	phi/ za
159	wife	kyi mEn	bo/ mo	pho/ mo
159-03	married/get-	cham de la/zon/	neng/ go nen	na ma nen/
159-06	friend	row/	ro/ go	ro/ wu
159-08	master	dak/ bo	dak/ bo	jln/ da
159-10	name	ming/	ming/	ming/
159-11	family	me/ me	me/ me	mi/ tshan
160	village	Dong/ ba	yul	yul/
160-01	town	yul che	yul che	yul chen bo
161	hunt(V)	kyi ra gyap/	kyi ra gyap/	ki ra gyop/
162	shoot(V)	to wa gyap/	to wa gyap/	do/ ?a gyop/
162-01	trap			nying
162-02	fish(V)	nya/sin	nya/sin	dza/ li gyop/
162-03	rich	chu po	sin/ go	chu? po
162-04	poor	ul De	ul De	ul De
163	steal(V)	kuu	kuu	kuu
163-03	field	syng/	syng/	syng/
163-05	thief	kun cen	kun cen	kun jin
164	work(V)	lE/ ga chEE/	lE/ ga chEE/	lE/ ga che/

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
165	rest(V)	ngal/ s00		nga/ so
166	peel(V)	paw syuu	phu goo syuu	pa ?o syuu
167	go(V)	suy, son	so	son
167	go(V)(IMPF)	Do/	Do/	Do/
167	go(V)(IMP)	son	so	son
168	come(V)	?oy/	?o/	?o/
168	come(V)(IMPF)	?oy/	?o?/	?on/
168	come(V)(IMP)	syo?	syoo	syok
168-01	return(V)	lo?/	lo/	loo/
168-02	remain(V)			dEE/
169	exit(V)	phi la soo	phi ta la so	phi dza la so
170	enter(V)	nang/ la ?o/	nang/ la ?o/	nang/ la ?on
171	turn(V)	kuk	kuk	kyaa gyuu
171-01	turn around	ko ra gyop/	ko ra gyop/	ko ra gyop/
171-02	get lost(V)	lam/ mE syee	lam/ tor tu?	lam/ cha mEE
171-03	arrive(V)	lep	lep	lEp
172	stop(V)			dEE/
172-01	go over(V)	la/ gyap/	la/ gyap/	la/ gyap/
173	walk(V)	gom/ ba gyop/	gom/ ba gyop/	gom/ ba gyap/
174	run(V)	pang/ ton	gyoo/	gyop/ba gyap/
175	swift	pang/ ton	gyo/ go	pang dza la
176	slow	go/ lEE	ga/ lEE	go/ lEE
177	creep(V)	ba/ ?u ku/	ban/ ba ku/	ba/ mo gu/
177-01	ride(V)	sy0n/	sy0n/	sy0n/
177-02	carry(V)	khur	khur	kur
178	road	lam/	lam/	lam/
179	bridge	sam/ ba	sam/ ba	sam/ ba

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
180	cart	mo/ Ta	mo/ Ta	mo/ Ta
181	wheel	kho lo	kho lo	kho lo
182	boat	Thu/	Thu/	bal/ ma
182-05	plane	ha wa dzan	ha wa dzan	nom Thu
183	language	lap ton	lap ton	gEE
184	speak(V)	lop	lop	lap/ tan
185	say(V)	lop	lop	lap/ tan
186	ask(V)	Thii/	Thii/ lap/	lap/ Thii/
186-01	answer(V)	len/ lop	len/ gyop/	sya? gya/
186-03	lie	sok/ po	dzUn/	jUn/
186-04	true	Dang/ po	ngo/ too	ngo nEE
186-05	letter	yi/ gi	yi/chi ma/ chi	yi/ ge
186-06	write(V)	Thii/	Thii/	Thii/
186-07	read(V)	Tho?/	lok	la
186-08	paper	syuu	syu gu	syu ?u
187	call(V)	?a/ ru gyop/	?a/ ru gyop/	?a/ ru gya?/
188	name	ming/	ming/	ming/
189	play(V)	tsee mo tsee	tsee mo tsee	tsee mo tsee
190	sing(V)	luu nen	lu? len/	sya/ ri gya/
191	dance(V)	sya/ ru gyop/	sya/ ro gyak/	sya/ ri gya/
192	give(V)	ThEE	The1	TEE
192-01	get(V)	jor/, nyee	jor/	nyee, raa
192-02	sell(V)	tsoo	tshon tshon	tshon
192-03	buy(V)	ny00/	ny00/	nyoo/, nyo/
192-04	lend(V)	kyii	kyi	kyi rok
192-05	borrow(V)	kyii	kyi	kyi rok
192-06	send(V)	taa	tan	tan

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
193	meet(V)	thee	thok	thuu
194	wait(V)	guu/	gu?/	guu/
194-03	scold(V)			syi/ tan
194-04	deceive(V)			lUU ri kher
195	hit(V)	syur/	syur/	syur
195-02	rescue(V)	roo/ chEE/	rok/ che/	rok/ che/
196	bite(V)	?a/ ji gyap/	so gyap/	so gyak/
197	take(V)	sin/, nen/	len/	len/
198	hold(V)	lak/ kyee kyaa	lak/ pa gyak/	sin/
199	seize(V)	sin/	sin/	sin/
200	release(V)	yuk	phar tan	phar tan
201	throw(V)	yuk	phor/ syo	yuk
201-01	throw away(V)	yuk	yuk	yuk
202	touch(V)	jar/	jar/	tho tha
203	rub(V)	phii	phur	tar
204	wave(V)	la/ ka yuk	la/ ka yuk	yu/ yu? che/
205	push(V)	pul/	ma pul	pu lik
206	pull(V)	theng	then	then
207	squeeze(V)	tsir, tsin	dam/	dam/, tshi
208	carry on back	khyer, khur	khur	gyap/ la khor
209	kick(V)	dok/ tshe syur	sok/ tshe syur	dok/ tshee syu
210	step(V)	dap/	dap/	nen
210-01	use(V)			phen thoo
210-02	lose(V)	tor		tor tE
211	hide(V)	bEE/	bEE/	bEE/
211-01	preserve(V)	nyor/	chor/	
212	seek(V)	tshal	tshal	tshal

No	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
213	find(V)	nyee	nyee	nyee
214	show(V)	t0n	t0n	t0n
215	put(V)	bor/	por/	cho/
215-03	hang(V)	to	ka1	taa
215-04	put in(V)	cuu	cuu	cuk
216	collect(V)	por	sak	sa?
217	make(V)	che/	s00/	s00/
218	break(V)	caa	caa	cak
219	repair(V)	s00/	soo/	s00/
220	split(VT)	syo	sya	syak
220	split(V)	rol/	ra	ral/
221	bend(V)	kuk	kuk	kuk Dan
222	break(V)	cok	cak	caa
223	wash(V)	ThUU	ThUU	ThUU
224	wind(V)	Til	Dil	tu1
225	tie(V)	dom/	dam/	du/ too gyap/
225-01	bind(V)			du/ too gyap/
226	untie(V)	To1	To1	To1
227	cover(V)	ka gyap/	ka ju gyap/	kap
228	swell(V)	b00/	b0/	b00/
229	stab(V)	tsuk	tsuk	Thi gyap/
230	cut(V)	tup	tup	jEE(=WT bcad)
231	mix(V)			Ree
232	dig(V)	ThUU/	ThUU/	ThUU/, puk/
233	do(V)	chEE/	chEE/	che/
233-01	begin(V)	go/ maa tsuk	go/ tsuk	ngEn/joo che/
233-02	end(V)	sin/	syee	sin/

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
233-04	stop(V)			cuu poo/
234	move(V)			gu/ gur che/
234-03	assemble(V)	dzom/	dzom/	dzom/
235	jump(V)	chon	chon	chong
236	rise(V)	dzo?/	dzo?/	dzak/
237	descend(V)	phop/	phop/	phap/
238	fall(V)	Lum	gye/	gEr/
239	get wet(V)	baa/	baa/	lon ba
240	dry(V)	kam	kam	kam
240-06	change(V)		gyur/	gyar/
241	think(V)	sam lo ton	sam lo ton	bi/ zar che/
242	know(V)	syee	syee	syee
242-01	understand(V)			ha ko
242-02	memolize(V)			loo la sin/
243	forget(V)			jee/
243-01	remember(V)			Then s00/
244	teach(V)	lop	lop	lap
244-01	learn(V)	lop	lop	lap
245	fear(V)	syee/	syee/ ke	syee?/
245-01	surprise(V)	ha lEE/	ha lEE/	
246	like(V)	ga/ mo	ga/ mo	ga/ mo
247	rejoice(V)	kyi ta		kyi bo
247-01	sad(V)	to/ po		kyo bo
247-03	believe(V)	yii/ che/	yii/ che/	yii/ che/
248	get angry(V)	tshik pa sEE/	tshik pa sEE/	syi/ than lan
248-02	ashamed(V)	ngo tshEE	ngo tshE	ngo tshEE
248-03	anxious(V)	sem ba tshe	sem ba tsha	sem tsha

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
248-05	foolish	la Ta	la Ta	la Ta
248-06	clever	cang bo	cang bo	cang bo
249	mind	sem ba	sem ba	sem
249-01	mad		nyon ba	nyong pa
250	sky	nam	nam	nam
250-01	weather	ngo sa/ nge	nam kam/ mo	nam
251	cloud	Rin	muk pa	Rin
252	fog	muk pa	muk pa	muk pa
253	rain	cha ra	char wa	char pa
253-02	rain(V)	cha ra che	char wa gya?/	char pa gya/
254	thunder	Duk/	Duk/	Du/ kEE
255	lightning	loo/ mar	loo/ mar	loo mar
256	rainbow	ja/	ja/	ja/
257	snow	khang/	khang/	khang/
258	ice	thar/ ton	khyay	khyak pa
259	freeze(V)	thar/ ton cha	khyay cha	khyakpa gyap/
260	melt(V)	syu/ ru	syu/ ru	syuu/
261	sun	nyi/ ma	nyi/ ma	nyi/ ma
262	moon	dar/	da/ wa	da/ kar
263	star	kar ma	kar ma	kar ma
264	light	dan/	?00/	?00/
265	shadow	Thip/ cha	Thip/ cha	Thip/ kya
266	light(A)			kar po
267	dark	mu/ nak/ pa	no/ kun	nak/ po
268	wind	lung	lung bo	lung bo
269	blow(V)	lung ?on/	lung bo gya?/	lung bo ?on/
270	hot	tshe ba	Dong/ mo	tsha mo



No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
271	cold	cha/ zee	Dang/ mo	Thang/ mo
271-01	cool	si ra		sil bo
272	warm	To/ wa	Dong/ mo	Dung/ bo
272-01	ground			sa
273	mountain	ri/	ri/	ri/
273-02	valley	rong/	rong/	rong/
274	forest	no/ kun	no/ kun	nak/ Tee
275	plain	thang kaa	thang kaa	thang ga
276	lake	tsho	tsho	tsho
277	river	tsang bo	tsang bo	tsang bo
278	bubble	bo/ wa		bo/ wa
279	sink(V)	din/ din/	bin/ gen	bii ruk/
280	float(V)			kyak te kher
281	flow(V)	ju/		gyok/
282	shore	chu khe		chu khEE
283	sea	gyam/ tsho	gyam/ tsho	gya/ tsho
284	wave	la la		tsho cho li?
285	island	tsho gi mik	mik	mik
286	stone	do/ gon	dop/ chan	do/ gon
287	sand	ba/ za	be/ ma	che/ ma
288	soil	sa	sa	sa
288-03	iron	ca?	ca?	caa
288-04	gold	ser	ser	ser
288-05	silver	ngul	ngul	ngul
288-06	copper	sa/ nga	sang/	sang/
288-07	lead	sya/ ni	sya/ ni	sya/ ni
289	tree	syng	syng	syng

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
290	grass	tsa	tsa	tsa
291	trunk	dong/ bo	dong/ bo	dong/ bo
292	bark	pU ko	pU ko	pyi ko
293	stem	de/ ma	tsa wa	tsa
294	branch	yal/ ka	yal/ ka	
295	leaf	ngo, de/ ma	lo/ ma	kE la
296	flower	men/ to?	men/ to?	men/ too
297	root	ba/ ta?	tsaa	ba/ tak
298	grow(V)	gyee ru		kyee
298-01	bear fruit(V)	ca	De/ ?u top	chaa
299	wither(V)	kam		nyil
299-01	bamboo	nyung ma	nyug ma	nyun ma
300	animal	sem cEn	sem cEn	sem cen
301	bird	cha/	cha/	cha/
302	fish	nya/	nya/	nya/
303	worm	bu/	bu/	bu/
304	dog	khyi	khyi	kyi
304-02	horse	ta	ta	ta
304-03	ox	long	lo ngo	lang goo
304-031	cow	pha/	pha/	ba/
304-04	sheep	luu/	luu/	luk/
304-05	goat	ra/	ra/	ra/
304-06	pig	sun gur(NEP)	sun gur(NEP)	sin gor(NEP)
304-07	hen	cha/ mo	cha/ mo	cha/ mo
304-09	tiger	ta?	ta?	taa
304-10	bear	dom/	dom/	dom/
304-11	wolf	con ku	con ku	can ku

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
304-12	fox	?a/ zii	?a/ zii	sya li(NEP)
304-13	deer	syaa	syaa	sya wa
304-14	monkey			mi/ Thee
304-15	rabit	pho/ ran	po/ ran	po/ ran nga
304-16	rat	phu dzi	phu dzi	pu dzi
304-19	bat	re/ len gyel/ mo		phe ?un Do/ba
305	shell-fish	dung/	dung/	thung/
305-01	eagle			char/ g0?
305-06	crow	po ra?	kho ra?	ko roo
305-07	sparrow	chil wa	chil wa	khang jil
306	ant	Dol/ ma	Doo/ ma	nyok/ pa
306-01	spider	khangba run/khenpha yun Do/ go		ja bu li
307	mosquito	(NEP)	(NEP)	ti we
308	fly	rang/ ma	rang/ ma	rang/ ma
309	flea	ci jik/ pa	kyi jik pa	khyi syik pa
310	louse	syik	syik, Lo ma	syik
311	snake	Dul	Dul	Dul/
312	horn	raa/ kyo	raa/ kyo	ra/ kyo
313	claw	der/ ma	der/ ma	der/ mo
314	tail	nga ma	nga ma	nga ma
315	beak	chur to	chur to	chu to
316	wing	syok pa	syok pa	syok pa
317	feather	nyu ngo		pu
318	nest	tshan	tshan	tshang
319	fly(V)	pur	pur	phu rik
320	swim(V)	kyal gyap/	kyal gyap/	kyal gya/
320-031	frog	bal/ wa	bal/ wa	bal/ ba

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
320-04	form	sop/ cha	sop/ ta	sop/ Ta
321	round	kyi/ khyer	kyl/ khyer	goo/ gor
322	sharp	nyo wa	nyo ?o	non bo
323	blunt			kha min duu
324	hole	myiw	muw	miw
325	straight	sya rEE	khap te	khap tee
325-04	thing	ca la?	ca la?	ca lak
326	big	chee	chen bo	chee
326-01	tall	chee	ri/ nga	ring/ bo
327	little	chu nga	chu nga	chu nga
328	long	ring/ nga	ri/ nga	ring/ bo
329	short	thu nga	thu nga	thung nga
329-01	thick	bo/ ma	bo/ ma	bom/ bo
329-02	thin	Taa	Taa	Ta me
330	thick	thu wa	thu wa	thu bo
331	thin	Rap tE ra	Ra wa	Ra po
332	color	tsh00	tsh00	tsh00 syii
333	red	ma/ ro	ma/ ro	mar bo
334	blue	ngom bo	ngom bo	ngong bo
335	yellow	se ro	se ro	ser bo
336	green	jon/ gu	jan/ gu	jang/ ku
337	white	ka ro	ka ro	kar bo
338	black	na?/ po	na?/ po	nak/ po
338-02	dye(V)	tsh00 tsh0y	tsh00 tsh00	tsh00 tsh00
339	sound	kEE		kE luk
340	smell	Thi/ ma	Thi/ ma	Thi/ ma
340-02	tender		jam/	tem bo

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
340-03	kind	Thin/ che coo	Thin/ che coo	Thin chen bo
341	strong	syuk chee	syuk chee	syuk chen bo
342	weak	syuk mEE	syuk min/ duu	syuk min/ duu
343	correct	den/ ba	thak/ po	Thang/ bo
344	good	ga/ mo	gaa/	ga/ mo
345	bad	du/ wa, ?aa	du/ ga	duk/ caa
345-01	easy	lEE/ la mo	lEE/ la mo	lee/ La mo
345-02	difficult	kha le kaa/	kha le kaa/	ka lee kha bo
345-03	dangerous	nyen/ gen kaa/	nyen/ ka chen	bonyen kha chen
346	smooth	ja/ ma	ja/ ma	jam/ bo
346-01	coarse	tsu wa	tsu wu	tsu po
347	old	nying ba	nying ba	nying ba
348	new	sam ba	sam ba	sam ba
349	beautiful	dze/ wo	nying je/ bo	nying je/ mo
350	clean	tsang ma	tsang ma	tsang ma
351	dirty	baa/	ba?/ wa	baa/ wa
352	hard	Ra	Tha?, gyo/ nga	Thu bo, Ra mo
353	soft	bo/ la	bo/ lu	b00/ lu
353-01	place	sa, sap ca	sap ce	sa
354	front	don/	don/	dong/
355	back	gyap/	gyap/	gyap/
355-01	side	sur/	bo/ lok	sur/, ?o/
356	between	?ar kha	ha la tsu la	?ar ka la
356-01	center	gun	til la	Til
357	on	kha	kha	kha
358	under	?oo/	?oo/	?oo/
359	inside	nang/	nang/	nang/

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
360	outside	phi	phi	phi dza la
361	right	ye wa	ye wa	yEE .
362	left	yOn ba	yOn ba	yOn
363	tip	tse to?	tse mo	tse mo, tha ma
363-01	around	tha ma	tha kho ri	kun, ko ra
364	near	thaa nyee/	nyee/ mo	thaa nye/ mo
365	far	thaa ring/ nga	thaa ring/ nga	thaa ring/nga
366	high	tho wa	thon bo	thoo
367	low	maa	maa	maa
368	deep	tin ri/ nga	tin ri/ nga	ting ring/ bo
369	shallow	tin ring/ bo	mEEtin ring/ bo	mEEtang ka
370	wide	gya/ chee	gya/ chee	gya/ chen bo
371	narrow	gya/ to/ wa	gya/ to/ wa	gya/ chun mo
372	together	yom	nyom ree	yom
373	full	gang/	gang/	khang
374	empty	tong	tong	tong ba
375	direction	choo	choo	choo
375-01	east	syar	syar	syar
375-02	west	nup/	nup/	nup/
375-03	south	Lo	Lo	Lo
375-04	north	jang/	jang/	cang/
375-05	dawn	lam/ la/ ru	nam la/ yi	nam lan ru
376	morning	nga to	Ro ru/ yi	nga To
376-01	noon	nyi/ mo	nyi/ ma	nyi/ mo
377	daytime	nyi/ ma dza/ ra	nyi/ ma pee	nyi/ mo
378	evening	go/ mo	go/ mo	goo/ mo
379	night	Ro ru/ tu	tshe/ mo	tshem phee

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
380	early	nga to	ngee tu	nga to nga mo
381	late	phyee	go/ mo	phi mo
382	now	tan/ da	than/ da	than/ da
382-01	at once	sya rE	lam/ san	lam/ san
383	before	nyen la	nyen la	ngEn la
384	after	syuk/ la	syuk/ la	syam la
384-01	next	cu nga	syuk/ la	syam la
385	always	k0n/ dzuy la	tsoo yi	tso ?a
386	often	yin/ na	tsham tsham la	yang/ se
386-01	sometimes	tsham nE/ le		tsham
387	today	the/ ring	the/ ring	the/ ring
388	yesterday	dang/	dang/	dang/
389	tomorrow	nam/ bar	nam/ bar	ngee To
390	everyday	sya/ mo rEE rE	nyi/ ma Dep/ jeenyi/ ma Dang	
391	day	sya/ mo	sya/ mo	nyi/ ma
391-01	week	dUn/ jaa	dUn/ Tak	syak/ po dUn
391-02	month	da/ wa	da/ wa	da/ wa
392	year	lo/	lo/	lo/
392-01	age	lo/	lo/	lo/ ngo
392-02	spring	pyii	pyii	pii ka
392-03	summer	yar ka	yar ka	yar ka
392-04	autumn	t0n	t0n	t0n ka
392-05	winter	gun/ ka	gun/ ka	gun/ ka
393	count(V)	Da/ ma gyop/	Dan/ ga gyap/	Tha/ ma gya/
394	one	ci?	cik	cik
395	two	nyii	nyii	nyii
396	three	sum	sum	sum

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
397	four	syi/	syl/	syl/
398	five	nga	nga	nga
399	six	Tuu/	Tuu/	Tu/
400	seven	dUn/	dUn/	dUn/
401	eight	gyEE	gyEE	gyEE
402	nine	gu/	gu/	gu/
403	ten	cu	cu	cu
403-01	eleven	cuk ci?	cuk ci?	cuk cli
403-02	twelve	cu nyii	cu nyii	cu nyii
403-03	thirteen	cuk zum	cuk zum	cuk zum
403-04	fourteen	cup zyi	cup zyi	cup zyi
403-05	fifteen	cEE nga	cEE nga	cEE nga
403-06	sixteen	cu Tuu	cu Tuu	cu Tuu
403-07	seventeen	cup dUn	cup dUn	cup dUn
403-08	eighteen	cap kyEE	cap kyEE	cap kyEE
403-09	nineteen	cur gu	cur gu	cur gu
404	twenty	nyi/ juu	nyl/ juu	nyi/ ju
404-01	twenty one	--tshak cii	--tshak cii	--tsak cii
404-02	twenty two	--tshEE nyii	--tshEE nyii	--tsEE nyii
404-03	twenty three	--tsha sum	--tsha sum	--tsak zum
404-04	thirty	sum ju	sum ju	sum cu
404-05	forty	syip/ ju	syip/ ju	syip/ cu
404-06	fifty	ngop ju	ngap ju	ngap cu
404-07	sixty	Thuk/ ju	Thuk/ ju	Thuk/ cu
404-08	seventy	dUn/ ju	dUn/ ju	dUn/ cu
404-09	eighty	gyo/ ju	gyo/ ju	gya/ cu
404-10	ninety	gup/ ju	gup/ ju	kup/ ju



No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
405	hundred	gya/	gya/	gya/
405-09	two hundred	nyi/ gya	nyi/ gya	nyi?/ gya
405-10	three hundred	sum gya	sum gya	sum gya
405-11	thousand	ton ci?	ton ci?	ton
405-14	ten thousand	Thi ci?	Thi ci?	Thi
406	times	lEn/ mo	lEn/ mo	then
406-01	times	La ma		thep/
406-03	each	rEE/ re	rEE/ rE	ree/ re
406-04	first	go/ ma	nyen/ jo?	joo
406-05	second	syu/ ma	syu/ ma	saa ma
406-06	third	su/ ma	su/ ma	syaa ma
406-07	last	syuk/ jo	syuk/ jo	syam joo
406-08	alone	chi/ ga ra	cik poo	cik kar
407	all	gan/ bo	gan/ bo	?up/ tshoy
408	half	phe cha	phe cha	phée
408-01	one-third	sum dzur	sum dzur	sum dzur
408-02	quarter	syi/ dzur	syi/ dzur	syi/ dzur
408-03	both	nyi ga ra	nyi ga ra	nyii ka ra
408-04	measure(V)	che le du we	tshe gyop/	Thik gyop/
408-05	weigh(V)			ci 100 t00
409	heavy	che	chen bu	cen bo
410	light(A)	ya/ nga	ya/ nga	yang/ bo
411	many	ma/ nga	ma/ nga	mang/ bo
412	few	nyu/ nga	nyu/ nga	tik tik
412-01	increase(V)	maa/ duu/		mang/ da son
412-02	decrease(V)	nyung/ du so ru		nyung/ da son
413	I	nga/	nga/	nga/

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
414	we	?a/ rang	?o/ rang	
415	thou	khy0	khy0	khy0
415	thou(H)	?o/ wa	khye/ rang	
416	you	khy0 rang ya?	khy0 ga ?up/	
417	he	kho	kho	kho
417-01	she	myUy/	pho/ mo	mo/
418	they	kh0 ya?	khon/ yE?	kho wa ya?
419	self	rang/	rang/	rang/
420	this	di/	di/	de/
421	that	?ur	yU di, yU ru	?u choo
422	here	dur/	du/ ru	du/ ru
423	there	?ur	yu ru	?u choo
423-02	this way	tshu ra	tshu ra	tshu la
423-03	that way	ha la	ha la	ha la
424	who	su	su	su
425	what	khEE/	khan/	khEE/, gEn/
426	which	khEE/	khEE/	khaa/
427	how	gEn/ go	khEE/	khEE/
428	where	ga/ luu	ga/ la	khaa/ la
428-02	why	khEE/	khEE/	khEE/
429	when	nam	nam	nam
430	how many	khan/ tsh00	khan/ dzuy	khan/ dz00
431	some	cEE	ce/ wee	c00, tik tik
431-01	very	tsh00 me ke	tshe me	tsho me te
431-02	most	-zy00	-zy00	-syoo
431-03	not at all	coo/ ra	ma/ ra	ma/ pu nE
431-04	too (much)	-rak/		

No.	Eng	Kag	Zhar	Dangar
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431-08	certainly	ten/ den		nyi/ ma tan
432	again	lee/ te		lEE/ te ji
433	yet	than/ da(-NEG)		tha/
434-01	each other	phaa tshuu		
435	if	na		na
436	to	la		la
437	up to	?ar doo		la
438	from	nEE/		nEE
439	in	du		la
440	at			la
441	with	dep/ ra		yom/
442	and	ta		
443	of			ki
444	also	yan/		yang/
445	than	nga		ne
446	with(INSTR)			ki
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447	not	ma/		men
447-02	QUESTION	nay/		nee
448	because	lung bu gya/ wi		
453	be(exist)	y0?/, du?/		y00/, du?/
454	can	tuu		syee
454-02	need	go/ wa		
455	same	cik pa		
456	other	syen/ ma		syee/ mo
457	sake of	ra/ dza		

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457-02	like	choo ra ci		
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146

Eng

No.

young

150

youth

149-03

I

413

QUESTION

447-02

### 3. Discussion

This chapter is devoted to setting up the correspondence rules between the three dialects and WT (Written Tibetan) and to checking the degree of Nepalization on the lexical level. It is true that the three dialects hold some identical lexical items to those of TGTM (Tamang-Gurung-Thakali-Manang), but the main counterpart to compare with still seems to be WT.

#### 3. 1. Initials

##### 3. 1. 1. Velar stops

###### WT k-:dk-: sk-: lk-: bk-

337	'white'	WT dkar	K & Z ka ro, D kar bo
044	'leg'	rkang pa	K & Z & D kang ba
042	'arse'	rkub	K & Z & D kup
263	'star'	skar ma	K & Z & D kar ma
069	'thread'	skud pa	K & Z ku pa, D ku ba
013	'dumb'	lkug pa	K & Z la Ta, D la Tha (also cf. 'foolish')
221	'bend'	bkug pa	K & Z & D kuk

###### WT kh-: 'kh-: mkh-

010	'mouth'	WT kha	K & Z & D kha
208	'carry on back'	'kher	K & Z khur, D khor
181	'wheel'	'khor lo	K & Z & D kho lo
038-01	'kidneys'	mkhal ma	K & Z & D khar ma

###### WT g-: rg-: sg-: dg-: mg-

257	'snow'	WT gang	K & Z & D khang/
103	'ash'	go thal	K ko/ thal Z kho/ thal D go/ wa thal
076	'egg'	sgo nga	K & Z & D go/ nga
402	'nine'	dgu	K & Z & D gu/
001	'head'	mgo	K & Z & D go/ wa
096-01	'tent'	gur	K & Z & D gur/

As was mentioned in l. 4., no prefixation occurs in these dialects. However, the aspiration and voicedness features in WT are still kept, bearing fixed pitch patterns. In some words, WT #g- goes to kh- with low pitch: the same phenomenon as is seen in Central Tibetan.

WT sky-: khy-: rgy-

124	'be born'	WT skyes	K & Z kyer, D kyee
304	'dog'	khyi	K & Z khyi, D kyi
355	'back'	rgyab	K & Z & D gyap/

In the D correspondence to 'dog', the WT aspiration is lost. This feature is exactly parallel to gLo-skad (Mustang Tibetan).

WT skr-: khr-: mkhr-: gr-: 'gr-

001-01	'hair'	WT skra	K & Z & D Ra
053	'blood'	khrag	K Thak, Z & D Thaa
223	'wash'	'khrud	K & Z & D Thuu
071-02	'wheat'	gro	K Tho/, Z & D Do/
117	'knife'	gri	K & Z & D Thi/
023	'cheek'	'gram pa	K DEn/ ba, Z & D Dan/ ba

The WT skr-cluster went to voiceless liquid, while the other series followed the same way in terms of appearance of retroflex. In 'wheat', Z and D preserve voicedness, while in 'knife', they do not.

WT gl-

034-03	'lungs'	WT glo ba	K & Z loo, D lo wa
304-03	'ox'	glang gog	K long, Z lo ngo, D lang ngo

3. 1. 2. Alveolar stops

WT t-: rt-: st-: gt-: lt-: bt-

304-02	'horse'	WT rta	K & Z & D ta
304-09	'tiger'	stag	K & Z ta?, D taa
230	'cut'(V)	gtub	K & Z tup

039 'navel'	WT lte	K tee, Z & D tEE
192-06 'send(V)'	btang	K taa, Z & D tan
<u>WT th-: 'th-: mth-</u>		
121 'rope'	WT thag pa	K & Z & D thak pa
330 'thick'	mthug po	K & Z thu wa, D thu bo
206 'pull(V)'	'then pa	K theng, Z & D then
<u>WT d-: gd-: rd-: sd-: 'd-: bd-: md-: ld-</u>		
304-10 'bear'	WT dom	K & Z & D dom/
286 'stone'	rdo	K & D do/ gon, Z dop/
114 'live(V)'	sdad	K & Z & D dEE/
422 'here'	'dir	K dur/, Z & D du/ ru
400 'seven'	bdun	K & Z & D dUn/
143 'spear'	mdung	K & Z & D dung/
406-01 'times'	ldab	K La ma, D thep/
084 'lick(V)'	bldags	K & Z & D dak/

The same correspondence system is observed as in the velar stop series. The voicedness feature is more regularly preserved than in the velar stops.

WT dr-: 'dr-

340 'smell'	WT dri ma	K & Z & D Thi/ ma
399 'six'	drug	K & Z & D Tuu/
135-01 'recover(V)'	drag	K & Z & D Thaa/

No corresponding words for WT 'dr-.

In 'six', the aspiration of WT is lost in three dialects, which may be the same as WT khyi 'dog'.

3. 1. 3. Labial stops

WT p-: lp-: sp-: dp-

043 'knee'	WT pid mo	K & D pii mo, Z pun bu
065 'take off'	pid	K & Z & D pUU
048 'hair of body'	spu	K & Z & D pu
028 'arm'	dpung pa	K pung ba, D phung ba
067 'fur'	lpags pa	K pa ?o, Z pak pa D pa wo

WT ph-: 'ph-

036	'belly'	WT pho wa	K & D pho wa, Z phoo
319	'fly(V)'	'phir pa	K & Z pur, D phu rik
203	'rub(V)'	'phur pa	K pii, Z phur

WT b-: 'b-: sb-: db-

155	'daughter'	WT bu mo	K & Z bo/ mo, D pho/ mo
303	'worm'	'bu	K & Z & D bu/
211	'hide'	sbas	K & Z & D bEE/
329-01	'thick'	sbom po	K & Z bo/ ma, D bom/ bo
228	'swell'	rbos	K & D b00/, Z b0/
001	'head(H)'	dbu	K & Z ?u

WT spy-: dpy-: phy-: sby-: dby-

003	'eye(H)'	WT spyan	K & Z cEn
392-02	'spring'	dpyid kha	K & Z pyii, D pii ka
360	'outside'	phyi	K & Z & D phi
375	'direction'	phyogs	K & Z & D choo
120	'wipe'	'phyid	Z phyi?
301	'bird'	bya	K & Z & D cha/
375-04	'north'	byang	K & Z jang/, D cang/
233	'do(V)'	byas	K & Z chEE/, D chee/
159-08	'master'	sbyin bdag	D jin/ da
392-03	'summer'	dbyar kha	K & Z & D yar ka

WT spr-: phr-: 'phr-: br-: 'br-: sbr-

251	'cloud'	WT sprin pa	K & D Rin
192	'give(V)'	sprad	K ThEE, Z TheI, D TEE
329-02	'thin'	phra po	K & Z Taa, D Ta me
081-01	'roast(V)'	phrogs	K Ro?
071-01	'rice'	'bras	K & Z & D DEE/
091-01	'taste'	bro ba	K & Z Tho
186-06	'write(V)'	bris	K & Z & D Thii/
308	'fly'	sbrang gu	K & Z & D rang/ ma
311	'snake'	sbrul	K & Z & D Dul/

It seems that labial + -r- becomes retroflex, with a few exceptions. Although, in glod-skad, all the spr-'s become voiceless liquids, they behave irregularly in the three dialects.

WT bl-

018 'cough'	WT blo	K & Z & D lo
116-02 'pour(V)'	blug pa	D luk

WT bl-cluster corresponds to l- with high pitch, which is parallel to Central Tibetan.

3. 1. 4. Alveopalatal affricates

WT c-: gc-: bc-: lc-: ch-: mch-

325-04 'thing'	WT ca lag	K & Z ca la?, D ca lak
042-04 'urine'	cin	K & Z & D cin
403 'ten'	bcu	K & Z & D cu
012 'tongue'	lce	K & D ce mo, Z ce
288-03 'iron'	lcags	K & Z ca?, D caa
080 'water'	chu	K & Z & D chu
326 'big'	chen po	K & D chee, Z chen
038 'liver'	mchin pa	K & Z & D chin ba
305-07 'sparrow'	mchil pa	K & Z chil wa, D khang jil
235 'jump(V)'	'chom pa	K & Z chon, D chong

WT j-: rj-: 'j-: lj-

080-03 'tea'	WT ja	K & Z & D cha/
042-07 'penis'	brje	K jer/ kin, Z & D jer/ ken
256 'rainbow'	'ja'	K & Z & D je/
087 'suck(V)'	'jibs	K & Z & D jip/
336 'green'	ljang khu	K jon? gu, Z jan/ gu D jang/ ku
243 'forget(V)'	brjes pa	D jee/

This series seems more conservative in terms of preserving the aspiration and voicedness features. 'Tea' is the only exception.

3. 1. 5. Alveolar affricates

WT ts-: gts-: bts-: tsh-: tshw-: 'tsh-: mtsh-

099	'wall'	WT tsig pa	K & Z & D tsik pa
073-01	'onion'	tsong	K & Z & D tson
350	'clean'	gtsang ma	K & Z & D tsang ma
363	'tip'	rtse	K tse to?, Z & D tse mo
290	'grass'	rtswa	K & Z & D tsa
130-01	'fever'	tsha ba	K & Z & D tsha wa
212	'seek(V)'	'tshal pa	K & Z & D tshal
276	'lake'	mtsho	K & Z & D tsho
078	'fat(N)'	tshil lu	K & Z & D tshi lu
<u>WT dz-: 'dz-: mdz-: rdz-</u>			
162-03	'rich'	WT dzig po	K chu po, D chu? po
031	'finger'	'dzig go	K & D dzu?/ ?u, D dzu?/ gu
115	'pot'	rdza ma	K & Z dza/ ma

'Rich' seems to be very innovative while the others show conservative correspondences.

### 3. 1. 6. Alveopalatal fricatives

<u>WT sh-: gsh-: bsh-: zh-: gzh-: bzh-</u>			
055	'flesh'	WT sha	K & Z & D sya
220	'split(V)'	bshag pa	K syo, Z sya, D syak
316	'wing'	gshog pa	K & Z & D syok pa
288-07	'lead(N)'	zha ne	K & Z & D sya/ ni
066-01	'hat'	zhwa mo	K & Z & D sya/ mo
144	'bow'	gzhu	K & Z syu/
245	'fear(V)'	gzhes pa	K syee/, Z sye/, D sye?/
397	'four'	bzhi	K & Z & D syi/

The voiced/voiceless distinction in WT is replaced by tonal opposition.

### 3. 1. 7. Alveolar fricatives

<u>WT s-: gs-: bs-: z-: bz-: sl-: zl-</u>			
288	'soil'	WT sa	K & Z & D sa
136	'kill'	gsad	K & Z & D sEE
288-04	'gold'	gser	K & Z & D ser

241	'think(V)'	WT bsam lo btang	K & Z sam lo ton
135	'cure(V)'	bsos	K s0y, D s00
083	'eat(IMPf)'	za	K & Z & D sa/
066-08	'shoes'	zon pa	K son/ ba, Z & D som/ ba
083	'eat(PERF)'	bzas	K sEY/, Z sEE/, D saa/
217	'make(V)'	gzos pa	Z & D s00/
231	'mix(V)'	bsres pa	D Ree
262	'moon'	zla wa	K dar/, Z da/ wa D da/ kar

The s/z opposition in WT is retained through tonal distinction in the three tongues.

### 3. 1. 8. Nasals

#### WT ng-: sng-: rng-: mng-: dng-: lng-

413	'I'	WT nga	K & Z & D nga/
334	'blue'	sngo	K & Z ngom bo, D ngong bo
093	'sweet'	mngar mo	K & Z & D ngar mo
314	'tail'	rnga ma	K & Z & D nga ma
288-05	'silver'	dngul	K & Z & D ngul
398	'five'	lnga	K & Z & D nga

#### WT ny-: sny-: gny-: rny-: mny-

302	'fish'	WT nya	K & Z & D nya/
035	'heart'	snying	K & Z & D nying
347	'old'	rnying pa	K & Z & D nying ba
395	'two'	gnyis	K & Z & D nyii
372	'together'	mnyam du	K & D yom, Z nyom ree
213	'find(V)'	brnyid pa	K & Z & D nyee
044-02	'calf'	nywa	K nya/

#### WT n-: gn-: sn-: rn-: mn-

071-03	'barley'	WT nas	K & Z & D nEE/
058	'smell(N)'	snum	K & Z num
050	'pus'	rnag	K na?, Z & D nak
250	'sky'	gnam	K & Z & D nam



WT m-: sm-: dm-: rm-

146	'person'	WT mi	K & Z & D mi/
134-01	'medicine'	sman	K & Z & D mEn
131	'wound'	rma	K & Z & D ma
003	'eye'	dmig	K & Z & D mik
367	'low'	dma' po	K & Z & D maa

All the prefixed nasals in WT acquire high pitch.

## 3. 1. 9. Liquids

WT r-: rl-: l-: lh-

273	'mountain'	WT ri	K & Z & D ri/
042-08	'testicles'	rlig pa	K & D lik pa
138	'god'	lha	K & Z & D La
178	'road'	lam ka	K & Z & D lam/

## 3. 1. 10. Approximates et al.

WT y-: g-y-

410	'light(A)'	WT yang po	K & Z ya/ nga, D yang/ bo
186-05	'letter'	yi ge	K yi/ gi, Z yi/ chi D yi/ ge
294	'branch'	yal ga	K & Z yal/ ka
362	'left'	g-yon	K & Z & D y0n
201	'throw(V)'	g-yug pa	K & D yuk

WT w- No appropriate correspondents.

WT h-: '-: #-

245-01	'surprise'	WT ha las pa	K & Z ha lEE/
264	'light(N)'	'od	Z & D ?00/
153	'mother'	a ma	K & Z & D ?a ma

As was listed above, the correspondence between WT and the three dialects is regular. It is therefore pertinent to hypothesize that a genetic relation exists among the four. Looking into the tonal development, the three dialects seem to represent a similar stage to gLo-skad (cf. Nagano 1981).

## 3. 2. Rhymes

The three tongues are fairly conservative in that they keep the finals of WT. However, just like in Central Tibetan, /a, u, o/ are very often, not regularly, palatalized before /-d, -n, -s/, and the palatalization and the preservation of finals are concurrently going on.

3.2.1	304-05	'goat'	WT ra	K & Z & D ra/
3.2.2	145	'arrow'	mda'	K & Z & D da/
3.2.3	244	'teach'	bslab	K & Z lop, D lap
3.2.4	401	'eight'	brgyad	K & Z & D gyEE
3.2.5	042-01	'excrement'	rkyag pa	K & Z & D kyak pa
3.2.6	288-03	'iron'	lcags	K & Z ca?, D caa
3.2.7	320	'swim(V)'	skyal gyab	K & Z & D kyal gyap/
3.2.8	240	'dry(V)'	skam pa	K & Z & D kam
3.2.9	386-01	'sometimes'	mtshams	K & D tsham
3.2.10	134-01	'medicine'	sman	K & Z & D mEn
3.2.11	248-06	'clever'	gcang po	K & Z & D cang bo
3.2.12	257	'snow'	gangs	K & Z & D khang/
3.2.13	392-03	'summer'	dbyar kha	K & Z & D yar ka
3.2.14	071-01	'rice'	'bras	K & Z & D DEE/
3.2.15	101	'fire'	me	K & D me/
3.2.16	189	'play'	rtsed mo	K & Z & D tsee mo
	408	'half'	phyed ka	K & Z phe cha, D phee
3.2.17	070	'sew(V)'	'tshem rgyab	K & Z & D tshem ----
3.2.18	249	'mind'	sems	K & Z sem ba, D sem
3.2.19	326	'big	chen po	K & D chee, Z chen bo
	116-01	'dip out'	len	Z & D len
	032	'nail'	sen mo	K & Z & D ser mo
3.2.20	406	'times'	thengs	D then
3.2.21	177-02	'carry(V)'	'khyer	K & Z & D khur
	288-04	'gold'	gser	K & Z & D ser
3.2.22	242	'know(V)'	shes	K & Z & D syee

3.2.23	397	'four'	WT bzhi	K & Z & D syi/
3.2.24	265	'shadow'	grib nag	K & Z & D Thip/ cha
3.2.25	392-02	'spring'	dpyid kha	K & Z pyii, D pii ka
	108	'sleep(V)'	gnyid	K & Z nyii, D nyi?
	065	'take off'	pid	K & Z & D pUU
3.2.26	003	'eye'	dmig	K & Z & D mik
3.2.27	045-02	'ankle'	tshigs	K & Z & D tshik
3.2.28	305-07	'sparrow'	mchil pa	K & Z chil wa, D khang jil
3.2.29	042-04	'urine'	gcin pa	K & Z & D cin
3.2.30	035	'heart'	snying	K & Z & D nying
3.2.31	319	'fly(V)'	'phir pa	K & Z pur
3.2.32	395	'two'	gnyis	K & Z & D nyii
	186-06	'write'	bris	K & Z & D Thii
3.2.33	392	'year'	lo	K & Z & D lo/
3.2.34	415	'you'	khyod ra	K & Z & D khy0
	453	'exist'	yod	K & D y00/
3.2.35	255	'lightning'	glog	K & Z & D loo mar/
	168	'come(IMP)'	shog	K syo?, Z syoo, D syok
3.2.36	375	'direction'	phyogs	K & Z & D choo
3.2.37	353	'soft'	'bol po	K bo/ la, Z bo/ lu D b00/ lu
3.2.38	304-10	'bear'	dom	K & Z & D dom/
3.2.39	362	'left'	g-yon	K & Z & D y0n
	150	'young'	gzhon pa	K & Z & D sy0n/ ba
3.2.40	291	'trunk'	sdong po	K & Z & D dong/ bo
3.2.41	181	'wheel'	'khor lo	K & Z & D kho lo
3.2.42	228	'swell(V)'	rbos	K & D b00/, Z b0/
3.2.43	303	'worm'	'bu	K & Z & D bu/
3.2.44	042	'arse'	rkub	K & Z & D kup
3.2.45	223	'wash(V)'	'khrud pa	K & Z & D ThUU
3.2.46	221	'bend(V)'	bkug pa	K & Z & D kuk
3.2.47	088	'vomit(V)'	bskyugs	K & Z & D kyuk
3.2.48	311	'snake'	sbrul	K & Z & D Dul
	095	'rotten'	rul pa	Z rU/ wa, D rUr/ ba

3.2.49	396	'three'	WT gsum	K & Z & D sum
3.2.50	400	'seven'	bdun	K & Z & D dUn/
3.2.51	143	'spear'	mdung	K & Z & D dung/
3.2.52	094-01	'sour'	skyur po	K & Z & D kyur mo
3.2.53	232	'dig(V)'	brus pa	K & Z & D thUU/

### 3. 3. Nepalization

The northern Gandaki area has long been, and still is partly, in contact with Tibet, mostly because of the salt trade between Nepal and Tibet (cf. Fürer-Haimendorf 1975). Tibetan has been the lingua franca, and readers will notice a strong bias in the three dialects from Central Tibetan.

Now, the lingua franca of the people of northern Gandaki is Nepalese. The Nepalese government has been carrying out the unified education system in Nepalese on the primary education level, and the ability of the people to use Nepalese as standard language accelerated that policy.

As far as I could observe, however, the grade of Nepalization in these three tongues is so limited that the people simply borrowed a few lexical items of Nepalese. No syntactic biasing was seen. For the loanwords, see the word-list: loanwords are marked by (NEP).

Five Swadesh 100-Word Lists for the Ghale Language  
 --- A Report on the Trek in the Ghale Speaking Area in Nepal\*

Yoshio NISHI

1. Introduction

1. 1. Geographical Position of the Ghale Speaking Area

The Ghale language is spoken in a small sector in the central part of Gorkha district, Gandaki zone, east of the Budhi Gandaki and west of the Darondi Khola. To the north rise the towering mountains of Manaslu Himal. This small area contains the following thirty-three villages where Ghale is or is said to be the primary language of daily communication:

Ṭhonāri or Ṭhoṭneri, Citre, Gambāng, Ṭhāṭi Gāũ, Kholswārā, Bhaṇḍāri or Bhanāri, Nalpung, Singlāce, Jaubāri, Kharung, Simbu, Keurā, Rāncok, Kulkung, Pokhāri Gāũ, Isnen, Mandre, Thali Ḍāḍā, Gumje, Bārpāk, Lāprāk, Gumdā, Yāngbāng, Lapsiboṭ, Singlā, Khorlā or Khorlāk, Uiyā, Dungalā, Lākpāl, Khāni Gāũ, Labu Gāũ, Bhirkuna and Syamrāng.

Of these, five villages have their Besi or riverside settlements along the Budhi Gandaki:

Khorlā Besi, Khāni Besi, Labu Besi, Bhirkuna Besi, and Syamrāng Besi or Armalā.<sup>(1)</sup>

There is a small settlement with a few houses called Liding between Bhirkuna Besi and Syamrang Besi, where the inhabitants are probably newcomers and do not use Ghale.

Among these villages, Barpak, a relatively well-off village

with nearly six hundred and fifty houses, located halfway up a mountain and commanding the entrance to the central part of the area from the south, is apparently the center or pivot of the area.

Roughly speaking, the area is located between the Tamang speaking area east of the Budhi Gandaki and the Gurung speaking area west of the Darondi Khola, though the villages just across the rivers might be bilingual. Tibetan is still the dominant language to the north along the Budhi Gandaki, while the native tongues have been replaced by Nepali to the south of the Ghale speaking area, where villages are, as usual in the lower-middle hills of Nepal, inhabited by people of varied ethnic origins.

The inhabitants of the Ghale speaking area are composed of Ghailes and Gurungs with a negligible number of Kami and Sunar families. One of the interesting ethnological features of the area is that while the Ghailes are only a clan of the Gurungs or the Manangbas in the other parts of Nepal,<sup>(2)</sup> they seem to maintain their ethnic identity in this part. The linguistic situation is also interesting for the fact that while they use Gurung or Manang in the former, Ghale is the only native tongue even among the Gurungs in the latter.

Even so, all the sociological facts such as their subclan system and the type of food taboo seem to suggest that they all were from the same ethnic group, and the language spoken in this restricted area was probably the common language of the whole Ghale people.

## 1. 2. Language

The language is said to be called Lila by the people of the area among themselves,<sup>(3)</sup> but is generally known or referred to as Ghale. Those in the surrounding areas, however, use a seemingly

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pejorative name Bhingi for it. The Ghale language spoken in the south of Barpak (from Isnen to Thonari) is also referred to as Pokhari Sadar (sic!) by the people of Barpak. Some Ghale speakers may insist that their language is Gurung.

The number of Ghale speakers was estimated at 12,000 in 1975 by Larry L. Seaward.<sup>(4)</sup>

Seaward maintains that the Ghales in the Budhi Gandaki drainage speak a dialect distinct from that of Barpak, and characterizes the former as with 'more nasalization and less labialization'.<sup>(5)</sup> But the data I have collected at the villages to the west of Barpak do not seem to corroborate this characterization. It is true that the language distinctly varies both phonologically and lexically from village to village and might be divided into two or more dialects, but a further systematic linguistic investigation will be necessary to arrive at a conclusion.

One phonetic difference is noted by the people of the area. The second person pronoun is pronounced as [nʌ] (Keura /nà/) in the villages south of the Machha Khola, while as [ɲʌ] in Uiya. (I do not know whether it is pronounced with [n] or [ɲ] in the other villages north of the Machha Khola.) However, it does not seem to be a feature representing a systematic phonetic variation in Uiya Ghale.

Ghale was first studied in the years 1971-1973 by Seaward, who was then a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which had its Nepal branch at Tribhuvan University. Although he had studied it for a couple of years before SIL withdrew from Nepal in 1975, it seems that he had not completed his analysis. To date only three Swadesh 100-word lists for Barpak and Uiya Ghale and a short handout at a SIL seminar have been distributed inside SIL.<sup>(6)</sup> Later, Warren W. Glover, his colleague of SIL, made a lexicostatistic analysis of the Swadesh 100-word lists for thirty-

six Tibeto-Burman languages (including Ghale) in Nepal,<sup>(7)</sup> and showed that Ghale can be placed with Tibetan family, Kaike and Gurung family under the Bodish (or Tibetan) substock. (Gurung family is here referred to as Tamang group.) Independently of his study, I had examined Seaward's data and found some interesting phonological and lexical innovations shared among Ghale and Tamang group, which I have discussed to some extent in another paper.<sup>(8)</sup> In the course of my comparative study of Tibetan and the Tamang group of languages, I was confronted with difficulty in setting up sound correspondences between them, and was thus looking for a language or languages which might help to link them. It was the prospect that Ghale might be one such language that urged me to avail myself of the opportunity to study it during my stay in Nepal for our joint research with the Research Center for Nepal and Asian Studies at Tribhuvan University in the years 1980-1981.

### 1. 3. Field Research

After about two months' study of Ghale with my informant Bisman Gurung from Keura, I set out for the trek to the Ghale speaking area on 20 February, 1981. The purposes of this trek were first and foremost to ascertain the boundaries of the language area and list all the names of villages there, and secondly to record Ghale words at several villages according to the prepared word list with Swadesh's 100 words plus three hundred thirty other items. Because of many unexpected circumstances, in addition to my physical exhaustion after walking many miles in the hilly region, the recordings of Ghale words could not be made to my satisfaction. I only succeeded in recording the whole list of words at three villages: Barpak, Gumda and Uiya. In other two villages: Laprak and Khorla, I could record only Swadesh 100-word

list, though the recording at Khorla was later found partly erased by accident. The informant I found in Uiya was not a native of the village, but was born and grown up in a village further north of Uiya, Jagat. Fortunately, as I was informed that the Upa Pradhan Panch of the village lived in Kathmandu, I contacted him on my return there and was able to record a Swadesh 100-word list from him. After seventeen days' trek in the area, I returned to Kathmandu on 8 March.

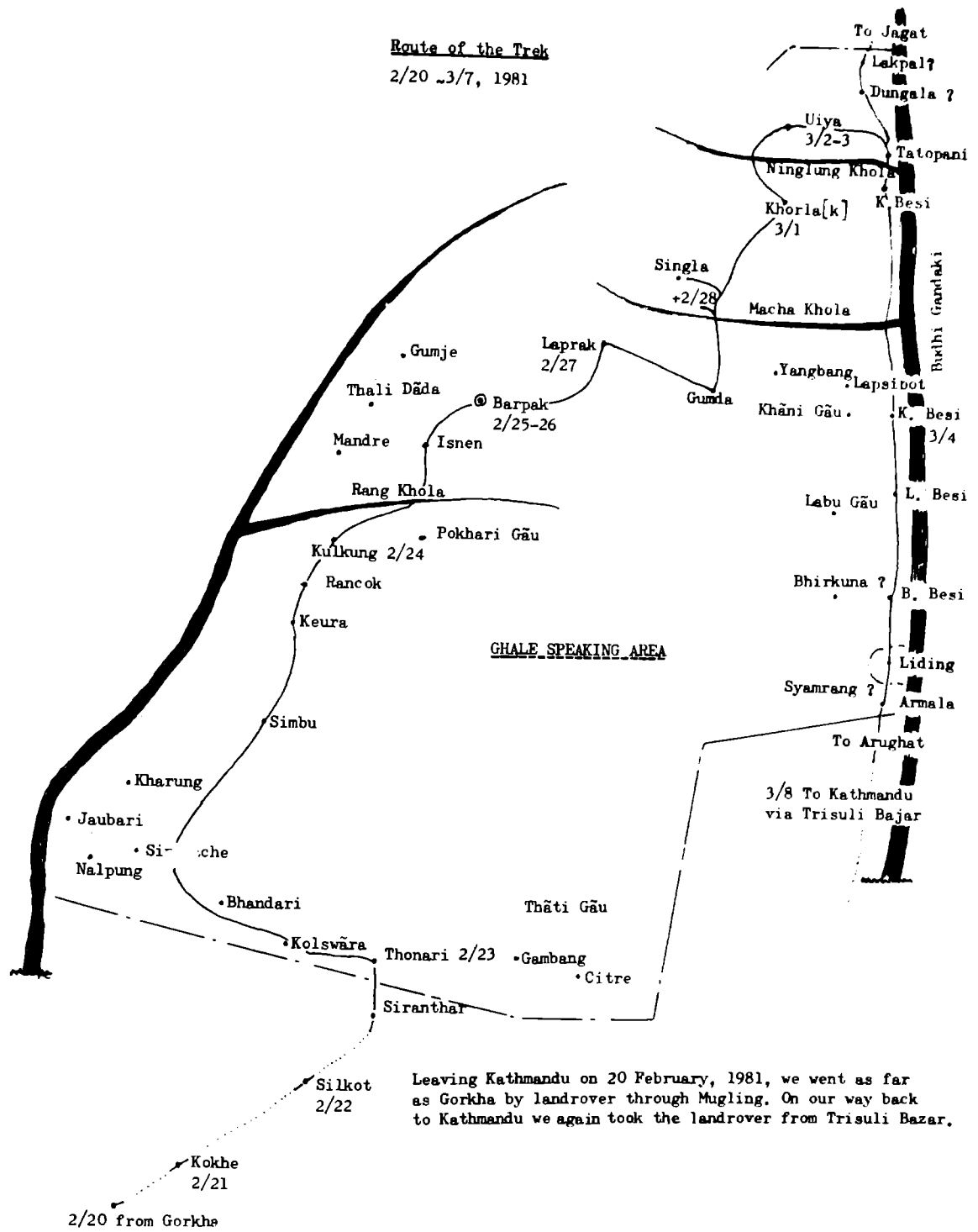
The relative locations of the villages in the area and the route of my trek will be found in the attached map. The detailed itinerary of the trek has been written in my report to appear in YAK No. 5 (in Japanese).

## 2. Swadesh 100-Word Lists for the Ghale Language

### 2. 1. Informants and Sources

The following lists were recorded by five informants from four different villages. They are: Bisman Gurung from Keura, Chitra Bahadur Ghale from Barpak, who was the chief informant of Seaward, Tulsi Ram Gurung from Gumda, Tularam Ghale from Uiya and Lanman Ghale from Uiya, who was born and grown up in Jagat. All the Ghale forms except for Keura Ghale were transcribed from their recordings on magnetic tapes. All but Bisman Gurung's Keura forms are given in phonetic transcription. Keura forms are tentatively phonemicized. For the sake of comparison I have also given Swadesh 100-word lists for Tamang (Risiangku and Sahu), Gurung (Ghachok), and Thakali (Tukuche). Whenever possible, the Proto-Tamang-Gurung-Thakali form is reconstructed for each cognate set in the lists. The forms of these languages except for Risiangku Tamang are mostly taken from CSDPLN, but some Gurung forms are replaced by those given in Glove-Glover-Gurung 1977. The Risiangku

Route of the Trek  
2/20 - 3/7, 1981



Leaving Kathmandu on 20 February, 1981, we went as far as Gorkha by landrover through Mugling. On our way back to Kathmandu we again took the landrover from Trisuli Bazar.

Tamang forms are cited from Mazaudon 1973 and several other papers of hers. For the reconstruction of PRGTh, see Nishi 1972, and Mazaudon 1973 and 1978. Instead of reconstructing \*voiceless or \*preglottalized series of nasals and liquids, I have assumed \*ç- before them which represents one or more proto-prefixes. Mazaudon reconstructs proto-tone \*A for tones 1 and 3, and proto-tone \*B for tones 2 and 4. The reason for her grouping of four tones in this way, however, does not seem to be well-grounded. Thus, though quite arbitrary and redundant, I retained the four tone-marks in the reconstructed forms. For further references for these languages and PTGTh, see Nishi 1979. All the necessary notes for the lists are given under each entry.

The numbers to the rows of each column represent: 1. English, 2. Nepali, 3. Keura Ghale, 4. Barpak Ghale, 5. Gumda Ghale, 6. Uiya Ghale (Tularam Ghale), 7. Uiya Ghale (Lanman Ghale), 8. PTGTh, 9. Tamang (Risiangku), 10. Tamang (Sahu), 11. Gurung, and 12. Thakali.

## 2. 2. Notes on the Word List

The Swadesh 100-word list is taken from CSDPLN (pp. 46-81) with a number of changes. Thus, only one Nepali equivalent is given to each entry except No. 93 and No. 94. No. 93 hot, Nepali tāto and No. 94 cold, Nepali ciso in CSDPLN are added to by Nepali garmi and jāḍo respectively in the word list. Besides, No. 30 blood, Nepali ragat, which happens to be dropped from CSDPLN, is supplied, and the Nepali equivalent for No. 57 see, Nepali hernu 'look at' is replaced by the more appropriate dekhnu 'see'. Since the infinitive form of Nepali is colloquially used as the imperative as well, the Nepali equivalents of the verbs in Nos. 54-71 and 84 are given in the present forms in -cha. The Ghale equivalents of the Nepali infinitive in -nu are also added to the

word list which I used for 3, 6 and 7. The recordings by these informants show that they gave the Ghale equivalents of either the Nepali infinitive or imperative forms.

Phonemic transcription is enclosed in slants, and phonetic transcription in square brackets, only in the footnotes of the word list. Ghale, Tamang, Gurung and Thakali forms in 3, 9, 10, 11, and 12 are in phonemic transcription, while those in the rest are in phonetic transcription.

### 2. 3. Notes on Phonetic Transcription

[t t<sup>h</sup> d] represent dental stops. Retroflex stops are indicated by a subscript [.] under the corresponding dental stops: [ʈ ʈ<sup>h</sup> ɖ]. [ɸ] and [ɣ] are used for voiced bilabial and velar fricatives.

Vowels are generally given in broad transcription with a few exceptional cases. [a] represents a variety of vowels ranging between [æ] and [a̠], and [ʌ] a variety of vowels ranging between [e] and [ʌ]. Some of the informants, especially the one from Gumda, pronounce [a] in distinctly creaky voice. The breathy vowel is indicated by a subscript [..] under the vowel symbol. However, breathy voice is consistently observed only in the pronunciation of the two informants from Uiya.

Though vowels are usually nasalized when immediately preceded by a nasal, nasalization is not marked in such a position.

The pitch and contour of each word is shown by lines drawn above or below its phonetic transcription.

Because the recorded Ghale words are all pronounced twice each in isolation, I am not quite certain of the relative pitches of some of them. The tonal correspondences among different patois are not always straightforward, hence being not of use in all

cases.

The rest of phonetic transcriptions follows the IPA system.

## 2. 4. Notes on the Phonemic Transcription of Keura Ghale

Keura Ghale is tentatively phonemicized. There still remains some ambiguity in its tonal system.

Keura Ghale has twenty-two consonant phonemes: /p p<sup>h</sup> t t<sup>h</sup> t̪ t̪<sup>h</sup> k k<sup>h</sup> ts ts<sup>h</sup> s h m n ŋ l r hr w hw y hy/, of which /p t (t̪) k (ts) (s) m n ŋ l r w y/ occur also in syllable-final position. Those enclosed in round brackets are found only in Nepali loans.

There are seven types of syllable-initial consonant clusters: /Cy Cr Cl Cw Cry Cly Cyw/. (C = a consonant.)

There are six vowel phonemes: /i e a a o u/. All the diphthongs are interpreted phonemically as Vy or Vw. (V = a vowel.)

Four contrastive tones are found for monosyllabic words:

1. /' / High (Level or Falling), 2. /' / Mid Rising, 3. /Unmarked / Mid Level, and 4. /' / Mid or Low Falling. Tone 3 may slightly rise or fall towards the end in certain contexts.

As for polysyllabic words, the word-final syllable show some fluctuations in contour.

There is a possibility that Ghale may also be a word-tone language as some of the Tibeto-Burman languages in central and western Nepal. However, this possibility is not given consideration to at present.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1.1. I   | 2.1. thou                               |
| 2. ma  | 2. timi                                 |
| 3. ɲá  | 3. nà                                   |
| 4. ɲΛ  | 4. nΛ                                   |
| 5. ɲ̄Λ   | 5. nΛ                                   |
| 6. ɲΛ:   | 6. n̄Λ:                                 |
| 7. ɲΛ:   | 7. n̄Λ:                                 |
| 8. *ɲa <sup>2</sup>                                      | 8.                                      |
| 9. ɲa <sup>2</sup>                                       | 9. ay <sup>2</sup>                      |
| 10. ɲa   | 10. 'ee                                 |
| 11. ɲa ~ ɲaa   | 11. kih                                 |
| 12. ɲo   | 12. 'kyahɲ                              |
| <br>   |   |
| 3.1. We  | 4.1. this                               |
| 2. hami  | 2. yo                                   |
| 3. ní  | 3. hampǒ ~ hempǒ                        |
| 4. ɲí  | 4. ?ΛmbΛ:                               |
| 5. ni  | 5. h̄ɛɲ                                 |
| 6. n̄enΛ:  | 6. ?əmbΛ                                |
| 7. n̄j:  | 7. hΛmbΛ:                               |
| 8. *ɲii <sup>1</sup> (ex.)      *ɲyɔɲ <sup>4</sup> (in.) | 8. *tsu <sup>2</sup>                    |
| 9. in <sup>1</sup> yɔɲ <sup>4</sup>                      | 9. tsu <sup>2</sup> ~ tsuu <sup>2</sup> |
| 10. ɲii                      'ɲyahɲ                      | 10. 'tsu                                |
| 11. ɲi                        'ɲyoh                      | 11. 'tsu                                |
| 12. ɲi                        'ɲyahɲ                     | 12. tsu                                 |



- 5.1. that
2. tyo
3. timpö #1
4. hamba:, timba:
5. ~~sin~~
6. ~~?əndibə~~
7. timba:
8. \*tσα<sup>2</sup>
9. oτσα<sup>2</sup>
10. (kyutsu)
11. 'tσα
12. τσο

#1. In another place /ompö/ is given for tyo, and /timpö/ for pār 'yonder'.

- 6.1. who
2. ko
3. su
4. su:
5. su:
6. ~~su~~
7. ~~su~~
8. \*kha<sup>1/2</sup>-
9. khala<sup>1</sup>
10. 'khala
11. khab
12. (su)

- 7.1. what
2. ke
3. tsà
4. tsΛ:
5. ~~tsΛ:~~
6. tsΛ:
7. tsΛ:
8. \*tsaa<sup>2</sup> (<\*-ak)
9. (tik<sup>1</sup>)
10. 'taa
11. 'to
12. ta

- 8.1. not
  2. -na/na-
  3. an-
  4. ~~?an-~~
  5. ~~?an-~~
  6. ~~?an-~~
  7. ~~?an-~~
  8. \*a<sup>2</sup>- ~ \*ña<sup>3</sup>- \*tha<sup>1</sup>- ~ \*ta<sup>4</sup>- #1
  9. a<sup>3</sup>- ta<sup>4</sup>-
  10. 'a- tha-
  11. ah- (ah-)
  12. a- tho-
- #1. for the imperative.

- 9.1. all
2. sabai
3. kwanà'y
4. kwane:, takane:
5. k<sup>h</sup>atena
6. k<sup>h</sup>watena
7. kundogna
- 8.
9. mokka<sup>3</sup>, tsamman<sup>3</sup>
10. 'tsahmma
11. 'taan
12. 'yohn

- 10.1. many
2. dherai
3. kuma
4. kuma:
5. kōma:
6. kōma:
7. kama:
- 8.
9. lamo<sup>4</sup>, laman<sup>4</sup>
10. yahkko
11. 'leh
12. 'tohno

- 11.1. one
2. ek
3. tyă
4. tja
5. tja?
6. tja?
7. tja?
8. \*grik<sup>4</sup>
9. kik<sup>4</sup>
10. 'kiih
11. 'grih
12. 't̄ih

- 12.1. two
2. dui
3. nì
4. ni
5. ni:
6. ni:
7. ni:
8. \*ɣii<sup>4</sup> (<\*-ik)
9. ɣi<sup>4</sup>
10. 'ɣiih
11. 'ɣīh
12. 'ɣih

- 13.1. big  
 2. ʈhulo  
 3. kyén  
 4. kʲen  
 5. ʃjen  
 6. kʲen  
 7. kʲen  
 8.  
 9. kheppa<sup>1</sup>  
 10. tsehppa  
 11. the  
 12. tho

- 14.1. long  
 2. lāmo  
 3. rejà  
 4. ~~raja~~  
 5. ~~ʀjə~~  
 6. rʲenA:  
 7. rʲjãA:  
 8. \*rej<sup>3</sup> ~ \*rij<sup>3</sup>  
 9. rej<sup>3</sup>  
 10. rehŋ  
 11. rĩhgyo  
 12. rihn

- 15.1. small  
 2. sāno  
 3. nyãŋtyá, nyãŋ  
 4. ~~ɸitza~~  
 5. ~~ɸaŋ~~  
 6. tsidzA:  
 7. ~~tsidzA:~~  
 8. \*tsyaj<sup>1</sup>  
 9. tsyaj<sup>1</sup>  
 10. (tsihta)  
 11. tsyõ, tsyu'gu thi'ri  
 12. tsyaj

- 16.1. woman  
 2. swasni manche  
 3. mathi  
 4. ~~madi~~ (~-t-)  
 5. mædi  
 6. ~~madi~~  
 7. ~~madi~~<sup>o</sup> ~ ~~madi~~<sup>o</sup>  
 8. \*mrij<sup>1</sup> #1  
 9. mrij<sup>1</sup>  
 10. (amamaa)<sup>#2</sup>  
 11. mrĩ'syo, (tσα'miri)<sup>#3</sup>  
 12. mrin  
 #1. 'woman, wife'.  
 #2. cf. also mrij 'wife'.  
 #3. cf. also mrĩ 'id.'.

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 17.1. man                                    | 18.1. person                       |
| 2. logne manche                              | 2. manche                          |
| 3. páthi                                     | 3. mǐ                              |
| 4. pā́ti:                                    | 4. mī                              |
| 5. kjə̯o mi                                  | 5. mī ~ mī? #1                     |
| 6. pā́di:                                    | 6. mī <sup>0</sup>                 |
| 7. patik <sup>0</sup> ~ patí?                | 7. mi:                             |
| 8. #1  | 8. *mii <sup>3</sup> #2            |
| 9.   | 9. mi <sup>3</sup>                 |
| 10. apamaa                                   | 10. miih                           |
| 11. aamu'yũ, munu'khe #2                     | 11. mih                            |
| 12. pyuŋ                                     | 12. mih                            |
| #1. PTGTh *pyuŋ <sup>2</sup> 'man, husband'. | #1. [45] ~ [55?] in most examples. |
| #2. ~ aamũ'yũ ~ amu'yũ; cf. also             | #2. Comparative evidence cannot    |
| 'pyũ 'husband'.                              | explain the length of this         |
|  | rhyme.                             |
| 19.1. fish                                   | 20.1. bird                         |
| 2. māchā                                     | 2. caro                            |
| 3. ŋǎ  | 3. ya                              |
| 4. ŋā  | 4. ja:                             |
| 5. ŋā  | 5. ja*                             |
| 6. ŋ·a:                                      | 6. ja:                             |
| 7. ŋa:                                       | 7. ja:                             |
| 8. *tar-(∅)ŋa <sup>1/2</sup>                 | 8. *∅ŋya-(∅)mya <sup>1a/2</sup>    |
| 9. tarŋa <sup>1</sup>                        | 9. namya <sup>2</sup>              |
| 10. 'tarŋa                                   | 10. ŋyamŋya                        |
| 11. 'tāāga                                   | 11. nēmya                          |
| 12. torŋo                                    | 12. 'nemya #1                      |
|  | #1. Fianl -a is irregular.         |

- |                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 21.1. dog                     | 22.1. louse              |
| 2. kukur                      | 2. jumrā                 |
| 3. kyǒ                        | 3. syě                   |
| 4. kjo                        | 4. øe                    |
| 5. kǰo                        | 5. øe ~ set <sup>1</sup> |
| 6. kǰo:                       | 6. set <sup>1</sup>      |
| 7. kǰo:                       | 7. set <sup>1</sup>      |
| 8. *ʃna-khyu <sup>1a</sup> #1 | 8. *syat <sup>2</sup>    |
| 9. nakhi <sup>1</sup>         | 9. syat <sup>2</sup>     |
| 10. naki                      | 10. 'syet                |
| 11. nagi                      | 11. 'se                  |
| 12. 'nokyu                    | 12. sye                  |
- #1. However, comparative evidence of this area in the Himalayas suggests rather \*k than \*kh.

- |                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 23.1. tree             | 24.1. seed           |
| 2. rukh                | 2. biu               |
| 3. tǎŋpú               | 3. lǔ                |
| 4. tǎŋbǝ:              | 4. lǔ:               |
| 5. tǎŋbǝ               | 5. lu                |
| 6. tǎŋbǝ               | 6. lǔ:               |
| 7. tǎŋbǝ               | 7. lǔ:               |
| 8. *do/ur <sup>4</sup> | 8. *blu <sup>4</sup> |
| 9. tǎŋ <sup>4</sup>    | 9. plu <sup>4</sup>  |
| 10. 'toŋpǝ             | 10. 'pluh            |
| 11. 'dǔh               | 11. 'pluh            |
| 12. 'tuhŋ              | 12. 'pluh            |

## 25.1. leaf

2. pāt  
 3. lyēm #1      lǎ #2  
 4.                      lΛ  
 5.                      lō  
 6.                      l̄bΛ:  
 7. ljem  
 8. \*baa<sup>3</sup> (<\*-ak)  
 9. paa<sup>3</sup>  
 10. paah  
 11. poh              la  
 12. poh              loh poh

#1. smaller leaves.

#2. larger leaves such as to serve food.

## 26.1. root

2. jaro  
 3. tsara #1      ts<sup>h</sup>ǎ #2  
 4.                      ts<sup>h</sup>Λ:  
 5. t̄a? ~ t̄<sup>h</sup>Λ:  
 6. #3  
 7. dzΛFA      ts<sup>h</sup>Λ: ~ ts<sup>h</sup>Λ?  
 8.  
 9. t̄aa<sup>1</sup>  
 10. t̄aa  
 11. tsara  
 12. prih

#1. the part above the ground.

#2. the part under the ground.

#3. misheard as jēdo 'cold'.

## 27.1. bark (of tree)

2. bokrā  
 3. khusya #1      phísi #2  
 4. ?oblja:      p<sup>h</sup>īoi:  
 5.                      p<sup>h</sup>īzε: (~ -ε-)  
 6.                      p<sup>h</sup>īεə  
 7. kəʒΛ  
 8.                      \*\*phii<sup>1</sup>      \*-ik  
 9.                      phii<sup>1</sup>  
 10.                      phii  
 11.                      phi  
 12.                      phi

#1. of larger trees.

#2. of smaller trees.

## 28.1. skin

2. chālā  
 3. khusya  
 4. k<sup>h</sup>ucΛ:  
 5. k<sup>h</sup>uεΛ ~ k<sup>h</sup>oεΛ  
 6. k<sup>h</sup>uεΛ  
 7. koʒΛ, ri:  
 8. \*dri<sup>3</sup>  
 9. t̄i<sup>3</sup>  
 10. t̄ih  
 11. t̄uhbi  
 12. t̄ih

- 29.1. flesh  
 2. māsu  
 3. syǎ  
 4. ɛ̄Λ  
 5. ɛ̄ɔ̄  
 6. ɛΛ:  
 7. ɛΛ:  
 8. \*sya<sup>1</sup>  
 9. sya<sup>1</sup>  
 10. sya  
 11. se  
 12. syɔ

- 30.1. blood  
 2. ragat  
 3. kǎ  
 4. k̄a  
 5. ka  
 6. kà?  
 7. ka?  
 8. \*kaa<sup>2</sup> (<\*ak)  
 9. kaa<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'kaa  
 11. 'ko  
 12. ka

- 31.1. bone  
 2. hǎd  
 3. noŋgrà  
 4. nɔŋgrja  
 5. nuŋdja  
 6. nuŋdja?  
 7. nuŋdja?  
 8. #1  
 9. nakhru<sup>2</sup>  
 10. pot  
 11. rihba  
 12. nɔʈi

- 32.1. grease  
 2. bosɔ  
 3. tshyě  
 4. tɕ<sup>h</sup>e:  
 5. tɕ<sup>h</sup>e  
 6. tɕ<sup>h</sup>e:  
 7. tɕ<sup>h</sup>e:  
 8. \*tshi<sup>2</sup>  
 9. tshi<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'tshi  
 11. 'tshi  
 12. tshi

#1. 9 and 12 might be cognates, for which PTGTh \*ʈna-khru(s)<sup>2</sup> could be reconstructed.

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| 33.1. egg                               | 34.1. horn           |
| 2. aṅḍā                                 | 2. sing              |
| 3. káphum #1                            | 3. hrú               |
| 4. kabum                                | 4. ru                |
| 5. <del>káp</del> ~ káp <sup>h</sup> um | 5. ru                |
| 6. kápum ~ kabum                        | 6. ru:               |
| 7. kaphum                               | 7. ru:               |
| 8. *phum <sup>2</sup>                   | 8. *ʔru <sup>1</sup> |
| 9. phum <sup>2</sup>                    | 9. ru <sup>1</sup>   |
| 10. 'phum                               | 10. ru               |
| 11. 'phū                                | 11. ru               |
| 12. phum                                | 12. ru               |
- #1. cf. /kápha/ 'rooster', /káma/ 'hen' and /kásyu/ 'chick', and also PIGTh \*ʔna-Ka<sup>1/2</sup> 'fowl' (9. naka<sup>1</sup>, 10. 'naka, 11. 'naga, 12. naka 'fowl', final -a of the second syllable in 12 being irregular.)

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 35.1. tail            | 36.1. feather           |
| 2. pucchar            | 2. pwākh                |
| 3. mĩ                 | 3. ya phũ #1            |
| 4. mi:                | 4. p <sup>h</sup> u: #2 |
| 5. pi                 | 5. p <sup>h</sup> u #2  |
| 6. pi:                | 6. p <sup>h</sup> u: #2 |
| 7. pi:                | 7. p <sup>h</sup> u: #2 |
| 8. *ʔmey <sup>1</sup> | 8. *byap <sup>3</sup>   |
| 9. me <sup>1</sup>    | 9. pyap <sup>3</sup>    |
| 10. me                | 10. pyahpsyiŋ           |
| 11. mi                | 11. pyaah               |
| 12. me                | 12. muhy                |
- #1. cf. No. 20 'bird' /ya/.  
 #2. [jΔ: p<sup>h</sup>u(:)] may probably occur in these villages, too.



## 37.1. hair (of head)

2. kes
3. tǎ phǔ
4. tʌ p<sup>h</sup>u:
5. tē p<sup>h</sup>u
6. tʌ p<sup>h</sup>u:
7. tʌ p<sup>h</sup>u:
8. \*kra<sup>1</sup> -tsham<sup>1</sup> #1
9. kra<sup>1</sup> -tsham<sup>1</sup>
10. krasam
11. kra
12. tshom

#1. cf. also 10. 'tsham and 11. -dzyãã in mĩdzyãã 'eyebrow, eyelash'.

## 38.1. head

2. tʌuko
3. tǎ
4. tʌ
5. tɔ
6. tʌ:
7. tʌ:
8. \*kra<sup>1</sup>
9. kra<sup>1</sup>
10. kra
11. kra
12. tɔ

## 39.1. ear

2. kǎn
3. nyelám nǎ #1
4. ~~pe~~lam nǎ:
5. ~~pe~~lam nǎ
6. nalem
7. nelem
8. \*na<sup>3</sup> ~ \*na-
9. naphi<sup>3</sup>
10. napin
11. nah, nehme
12. nɔh

## 40.1. eye

2. ǎkha
3. myà
4. mja
5. mja ~ mja?
6. mja:
7. mja?
8. \*mii<sup>2</sup> (<\*-ik)
9. mii<sup>2</sup>
10. 'mii
11. 'mĩ
12. mi

#1. Since both 'ear' and 'nose' (No.41) have become homophonous in 3, 4 and 5, the words for 'behind, after' (3. /nyelám/) and 'front' (3. /khom(lóŋ)/) are used to distinguish them when necessary.

## 41.1. nose

2. nāk
  3. khomlóŋ nǎ #1
  4. k<sup>h</sup>um nΛ: #1
  5. k<sup>h</sup>om nΛ #1
  6. nΛ:
  7. nΛ:
  8. \*ϕna<sup>1</sup>
  9. na<sup>1</sup>
  10. na
  11. na
  12. nɔ
- #1. vid. No.39, #1.

## 42.1. mouth

2. mukh
3. ŋǔr
4. ŋa:r
5. ŋur
6. ŋɔ:r
7. ŋΛ:r
8. \*suŋ<sup>1</sup>
9. suŋ<sup>1</sup>
10. suŋ
11. sũ
12. suŋ

## 43.1. tooth

2. dǎt
3. sǎ
4. sΛ:
5. sɔ́
6. sΛ:
7. sΛ:
8. \*swa<sup>1</sup>
9. swa<sup>1</sup>
10. sa
11. sa
12. sɔ

## 44.1. tongue

2. jibro
3. lǐ
4. li:
5. li
6. li:
7. li:
8. \*ϕle<sup>2</sup>
9. lee<sup>2</sup>
10. 'le
11. 'le
12. le

## 45.1. fingernail

2. nang
3. siŋkà
4. eiggat
5. eugga ~ eugga?
6. euggat
7. eegket
8. \*çyaa<sup>1</sup>-tshin<sup>1</sup>
9. yaa<sup>1</sup>-tshin<sup>1</sup> ~ yaatshin<sup>1</sup>
10. yaa-'tshin
11. yosĩ #1
12. yasin
- #1. tshĩ ~ sĩ

## 46.1. foot

2. khutṭā
3. tōp
4. tɔ:p°
5. tōp°
6. tɔ:p°
7. tɔ:p°
8. \*ba-ley<sup>3</sup> #1
9. (kaŋ<sup>1</sup>)
10. (kaŋ)
11. pahli
12. pohle
- #1. cf. also 10. 'lephum '(foot-egg) calf of leg'.

## 47.1. knee

2. ghūḍo
3. putsi
4. pudzi:
5. puzi:
6. pudzi:
7. puṭpi:
- 8.
- 9.
10. puy
11. tsih
12. pohle puṭi

## 48.1. hand

2. hāt
3. là
4. la
5. la ~ la?
6. la:?
7. lak ~ la?
8. \*çyaa<sup>1</sup> (< \*-ak)
9. yaa<sup>1</sup>
10. yaa
11. yo
12. ya

- 49.1. belly  
 2. peṭ  
 3. khwasoy  
 4. k<sup>h</sup>wase: , lo:  
 5. k<sup>h</sup>aze:  
 6. k<sup>h</sup>waze  
 7. k<sup>h</sup>wakse  
 8. \*pho<sup>2</sup>  
 9. pho<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'pho  
 11. 'pho  
 12. pho

- 50.1. neck  
 2. ghāṭi  
 3. natsi  
 4. ~~nidzi~~            potra:  
 5.                        batra:  
 6. nadzi:  
 7. niṭsi:  
 8.  
 9. khaare<sup>1</sup>, khari  
 10. taatsi, khaara  
 11. gardan  
 12. kha

- 51.1. breast  
 2. āimāiko dudh  
 3. tsyù  
 4. ḍzu:  
 5. ḍzu  
 6. ḍzu:  
 7. ḍzu:  
 8. \*jye<sup>3</sup>/\*jye/at<sup>3</sup>  
 9. (ku<sup>1</sup>) #1  
 10. (kutto) #1  
 11. ṅeh  
 12. ṅyeh  
 #1. also 'chest'.

- 52.1. heart  
 2. muṭu  
 3. tyəṅ  
 4. tjaṅ  
 5. ʔdjaṅ  
 6. dcaṅ  
 7. tjaṅ  
 8. \*tiṅ<sup>1</sup>  
 9. tiṅ<sup>1</sup>  
 10. tiṅ  
 11. tī  
 12. tin

- 53.1. liver  
 2. kalejo  
 3. nĭk  
 4. nik ~ nĭk'  
 5. nĭk' ~ nĭk'  
 6. wotɕʰɬ:  
 7. ʋotɬɬɬɬ  
 8. \*ŋyet<sup>4</sup>  
 9. net<sup>4</sup>  
 10. 'ŋyeht, (kohrlan)  
 11. ('uidaa)  
 12. 'ŋyeh

- 54.1. drink  
 2. piūcha piunu  
 3. thóŋkě #1 thóŋ #2  
 4. t<sup>h</sup>uŋgja  
 5. t<sup>h</sup>oŋgja  
 6. t<sup>h</sup>oŋɬ: #3 t<sup>h</sup>oŋ #2  
 7. t<sup>h</sup>oŋɬ k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ #4 t<sup>h</sup>oŋɬ:  
 8. \*thuŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 9. thuŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'thuŋ  
 11. 'thū  
 12. 'thuŋ

#1. [-ke 51] in fast tempo.

#2. probably the Ghale equivalent to the Nepali infinitive.

#3. the imperative.

#4. ~ [çjaŋ] in fast tempo. The same alternation is observed in 6.

- 55.1. eat  
 2. khāncha khānu  
 3. tsáyě #1 tsá  
 4. tsija  
 5. tseja  
 6. tsɬ: tsɬ:  
 7. tsɬ: k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ tsɬ:  
 8. \*tsa<sup>la</sup>  
 9. tsa<sup>l</sup>  
 10. tsa  
 11. tsa  
 12. 'tso

- 56.1. bite  
 2. ɕokcha ɕoknu  
 3. tsyákě tsyă  
 4. tsaja  
 5. kjeja #1  
 6. tɕiɛ: k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ tɕiɛ:  
 7. tɕaŋ k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ tɕaŋ  
 8. \*dzii<sup>3</sup> \*-ik #2  
 9. (khrap<sup>l</sup>) #3  
 10. (khrap<sup>h</sup>) #4  
 11. tsih  
 12. tsih

#1. [tsëyi: 55-51] in fast tempo. #1. probably for 'chew', cf. 3. /kyákě/ 'chews'.

#2. 'bite, pinch, sting'.

#3. cf. also tsii<sup>3</sup> 'pinch, sting'.

#4. cf. also tsiih 'pinch, sting'.

## 57.1. see

- |     |                         |        |
|-----|-------------------------|--------|
| 2.  | dekhcha                 | dekhnu |
| 3.  | tájĕ                    | tájá   |
| 4.  | taŋgja                  |        |
| 5.  | taŋgja                  |        |
| 6.  | taŋa k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | taŋa:  |
| 7.  | taŋa k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | taŋa:  |
| 8.  | *ŕmraŋ <sup>1</sup>     |        |
| 9.  | mraŋ <sup>1</sup>       |        |
| 10. | mraŋ                    |        |
| 11. | mrõ                     |        |
| 12. | mraŋ                    |        |

## 58.1. hear

- |     |                        |                       |
|-----|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 2.  | suncha                 | sunnu                 |
| 3.  | nínĕ                   | nín                   |
| 4.  | raŋgja                 |                       |
| 5.  | teja                   |                       |
| 6.  | tə+ k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | to:                   |
| 7.  | ta: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | ta:                   |
| 8.  | *ŕgyan <sup>1</sup> #1 | *thay <sup>1</sup> #2 |
| 9.  | gyan <sup>1</sup>      | thay <sup>1</sup>     |
| 10. | gyen                   | thee                  |
| 11. | gě                     | thee                  |
| 12. | gyen                   | the                   |

#1. 'hear, listen to, obey'.

#2. 'hear, listen to'.

## 59.1. know

- |     |                        |       |
|-----|------------------------|-------|
| 2.  | jāncha                 | jānnu |
| 3.  | syekě                  | syē   |
| 4.  | se:ja                  |       |
| 5.  | ŕekja                  |       |
| 6.  | se: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | se:   |
| 7.  | se: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | se:   |
| 8.  | *syē <sup>2</sup>      |       |
| 9.  | see <sup>2</sup>       |       |
| 10. | syē                    |       |
| 11. | se                     |       |
| 12. | (rõh) #1, #2           |       |

#1. PTGTh \*ra<sup>3</sup> 'know a skill, know thing, be clever'; cf. also 10. rah and 11. rah 'know a skill, be competent'.

#2. syē 'know someone'.

## 60.1. sleep

- |     |  |       |
|-----|--|-------|
| 2.  | sutchā   | sutnu |
| 3.  | nyùmĕ  | nyùm  |
| 4.  | jumgja   |       |
| 5.  | rumgja   |       |
| 6.  | ruma k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ                              | ruma: |
| 7.  | ruma k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ                              | ruma: |
| 8.  | *ŕuu <sup>4</sup> ~ *nuu <sup>4</sup>                |       |
| 9.  | ŕu <sup>4</sup> ~ hũ <sup>4</sup> ~ hũũ <sup>4</sup> |       |
| 10. | 'nuuh, (mehr)  |       |
| 11. | (tswih)  |       |
| 12. | 'nuh   |       |

- |                           |       |                           |            |
|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|------------|
| 61.1. die                 |       | 62.1. kill                |            |
| 2. marcha                 | marnu | 2. mārcha                 | mārnu      |
| 3. sīkě                   | sī    | 3. sāt kě                 | sāt        |
| 4. sibi ja                |       | 4. sekkja                 |            |
| 5. pi: ja                 |       | 5. sāk kja                |            |
| 6. pi: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | ci:   | 6. sāk k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | se: ~ se:ɸ |
| 7. pi: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | ci:   | 7. se: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ |            |
| 8. *si <sup>1</sup>       |       | 8. *sat <sup>1</sup>      |            |
| 9. si <sup>1</sup>        |       | 9. sat <sup>1</sup>       |            |
| 10. syi                   |       | 10. set                   |            |
| 11. si                    |       | 11. sae                   |            |
| 12. si                    |       | 12. soy                   |            |

- |                                |            |                           |      |
|--------------------------------|------------|---------------------------|------|
| 63.1. swim                     |            | 64.1. fly                 |      |
| 2. paḍācha                     | paḍanu     | 2. uḍcha                  | uḍnu |
| 3. kyũ kyākě                   | kyũ kyà #1 | 3. phirkě                 | phir |
| 4. kju: kjaja                  |            | 4. cun gja                |      |
| 5. poka ldigja                 |            | 5. cwun gja               |      |
| 6. pja: haŋ #2                 | pja:       | 6. eŋa k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | eŋa: |
| 7. kju gja: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | kju gja:   | 7. eŋa k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ | eŋa: |
| 8. *kyal <sup>1</sup>          |            | 8. *byur <sup>3</sup>     |      |
| 9. kyal <sup>1</sup>           |            | 9. phyaŋ <sup>2</sup>     |      |
| 10. kyal                       |            | 10. 'phyay                |      |
| 11. kywali #2                  |            | 11. pihr                  |      |
| 12. kyol                       |            | 12. pyuhr                 |      |

#1. /kyākě/ 'plays'.

#2. [haŋ] may be another alternant of [k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ]; cf. No.54, #4.

#3. In Gurung the loaned verbs in -l or -r add a vowel i or a to the stem.

- |                                   |       |                                  |        |
|-----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|--------|
| 65.1. walk                        |       | 66.1. come                       |        |
| 2. hīḍcha                         | hīḍnu | 2. āūcha                         | āunu   |
| 3. práyě #1                       | prá   | 3. ráyě #1                       | khǎ #2 |
| 4. p̄rija                         |       | 4. ri ja                         |        |
| 5. preja                          |       | 5. re ja                         |        |
| 6. pra: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ        | pra:  | 6. ra: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ        | ra:    |
| 7. pra: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ        | pra:  | 7. ra: k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ        | ra:    |
| 8. *bra <sup>4</sup>              |       | 8. *kha <sup>la</sup>            |        |
| 9. pra <sup>4</sup>               |       | 9. kha <sup>l</sup>              |        |
| 10. 'prah                         |       | 10. kha                          |        |
| 11. 'prah                         |       | 11. kha                          |        |
| 12. 'proh                         |       | 12. kho                          |        |
| #1. [prəji: 55-51] in fast tempo. |       | #1. [rəji: 55-51] in fast tempo. |        |
|                                   |       | #2. the imperative.              |        |

- |  |         |  |       |
|--|---------|--|-------|
| 67.1. lie down                                 |         | 68.1. sit  |       |
| 2. palṭancha                                   | palṭanu | 2. bascha  | basnu |
| 3. plíŋkě                                      | plíŋ    | 3. ʈoŋkě   | ʈoŋ   |
| 4. kjardi ja , p <sup>h</sup> oldi ja          |         | 4. ʈoŋg ja   |       |
| 5. p <sup>h</sup> ol g ja                      |         | 5. ʈoŋg ja   |       |
| 6. rop <sup>o</sup> ʈoŋba rop <sup>o</sup> ʈoŋ |         | 6. ʈoŋ k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ                            | ʈoŋ   |
| 7. s̄at tce k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ s̄at            |         | 7. ʈoŋ k <sup>h</sup> jaŋ                            | ʈoŋa: |
| 8.   |         | 8. *truy <sup>2</sup>                                |       |
| 9.   |         | 9.   |       |
| 10. nuu  |         | 10. 'ʈi  |       |
| 11. ro   |         | 11. (kū) #1  |       |
| 12. rohl                                       |         | 12. 'ʈu  |       |
|  |         | #1. cf. also 'ʈi 'stay; remain;<br>dwell; continue'. |       |



- 69.1. stand  
 2. ubhinja ubhinu  
 3. mérkě mér  
 4. mergja  
 5. mergja  
 6. merA k<sup>h</sup>JAŋ mer  
 7. rAŋA k<sup>h</sup>JAŋ rAŋ  
 8. \*Crap<sup>2</sup>  
 9. rap<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'rap  
 11. 'raa  
 12. (ŋaŋ)

- 70.1. give  
 2. dincha dinu  
 3. pínkě pín  
 4. pingja  
 5. bingja  
 6. biŋA k<sup>h</sup>JAŋ bi:n  
 7. pi: k<sup>h</sup>JAŋ #1 pi:n  
 8. \*pin<sup>1</sup>  
 9. pin<sup>1</sup>  
 10. pin  
 11. pĩ  
 12. pin  
 #1. sic!

- 71.1. say  
 2. bhancha bhannu  
 3. yáyě yá  
 4. jija  
 5. jegja  
 6. nA: k<sup>h</sup>JAŋ nA:  
 7. nA: k<sup>h</sup>JAŋ nA:  
 8. \*bi<sup>3</sup>  
 9. (paŋ)<sup>2</sup> #1  
 10. (paŋ)<sup>2</sup> #2  
 11. bi  
 12. pih  
 #1. cf. also pi<sup>3</sup> 'say'.  
 #2. cf. also pih 'id.'.

- 72.1. sun  
 2. suriya  
 3. mimyǎ  
 4. mi-ja  
 5. mja  
 6. mja:?  
 7. mja?  
 8. \*diŋi<sup>3/4</sup>  
 9. tini<sup>3</sup>  
 10. 'tiŋi  
 11. tiyǎǎ ~ tahyǎǎ ~ tĩ  
 12. tiŋi

- 73.1. moon  
 2. candramā  
 3. layni  
 4. liŋi:  
 5. lani:  
 6. lɔŋi:  
 7. lani:  
 8. \*ɕla-(ɕ)ŋi<sup>2</sup>  
 9.  
 10. 'laŋi  
 11. 'layãã  
 12. (lhɔ tihŋi)

- 75.1. water  
 2. pāni  
 3. kyŭ  
 4. kju:  
 5. kju  
 6. kju:  
 7. kju:  
 8. \*kyuy<sup>2</sup>  
 9. kyui<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'ki  
 11. 'kyu  
 12. kyu

- 74.1. star  
 2. tārā  
 3. kartsén  
 4. kartsen (~-tɕ-)  
 5. kardszin (~-ts-)  
 6. kardzin  
 7. kardzin (~-dz-)  
 8. \*sar<sup>2</sup>  
 9.  
 10. 'saar #1  
 11. mu'saara #2  
 12. sɔr

#1. The length of the vowel is irregular.

#2. mu- 'sky', and the word-final -a is secondary.

- 76.1. rain  
 2. jhari  
 3. tsò  
 4. dzo: ts<sup>h</sup>iri:  
 5. tsari:  
 6. ts<sup>h</sup>ari:  
 7. dzari: ~ ts<sup>h</sup>ari:  
 8. \*ɕnam<sup>2</sup>  
 9. nam<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'nam  
 11. 'nãã  
 12. nɔm

77.1. stone

2. ḍhunggā

3. lóŋ

4. lūŋ

5. loŋ

6. loŋ

7. loŋ

8. \*ʎyʉŋ-Pa<sup>2</sup>9. yuŋpa<sup>2</sup>

10. 'yuŋpa

11. 'yumaa ~ 'ŋyumaa

12. yumpa #1

#1. /-ŋ/ assimilates to the following bilabial stop /p/, but /yuŋpa/ is also observed in Thakali. Final -a is irregular.

78.1. sand

2. bāluwā

3. píśá

4. píśa

5. píśa

6. píśa

7. píśa

8.

9.

10. 'pahlwa

11. 'balwaa

12. sɔpe

79.1. earth

2. prithibi

3. sǎ

4. s̄a

5. s̄o

6. sa:

7. sa:

8. \*sa<sup>1</sup>9. sa<sup>1</sup>

10. sa

11. sa

12. sɔ

80.1. cloud

2. bādai

3. múkpha

4. mukp<sup>h</sup> a:

5. múbǎ

6. mukpa:

7. mukpa:

8.

9.

10. mukpa

11. nāāmdzyo

12. moh

81.1. smoke

2. dhuwǎ

3. ma.yùŋ #1

4. mi: jŋ

5. mi.juŋ

6. mA.juŋ

7. mǎŋ.ŋ

8. \*Ømi-Ku<sup>1/2</sup>9. myuku<sup>1</sup>

10. 'miŋku

11. mi 'gu

12. miku

#1. [məjuŋ] ~ [ɸjuŋ].

82.1. fire

2. āgo

3. mí

4. mi

5. mi

6. mǐ:

7. mi:

8. \*Ømey<sup>1</sup>9. me<sup>1</sup>

10. me

11. mi

12. me

83.1. ash

2. kharāni

3. melà

4. mi-lA:

5. melA:

6. mje-lA:

7. mje-lA:

8. \*Øme-phraa<sup>1/2</sup> (<\*-ak)9. mephra<sup>1</sup>

10. mepphra

11. mebro

12. me-pra

84.1. burn v.i.

2. balcha

3. plyàŋkě

4. pljaŋgja

5. bljaŋgja (~plj-)

6. bljaŋ k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ7. pljaŋ k<sup>h</sup>jaŋ8. \*khraŋ<sup>1/2</sup>9. khraŋ<sup>2</sup>

10. 'khraŋ

11. khrō

12. ɸhaŋ, (luŋ)

- 85.1. path  
 2. bāṭo  
 3. lóm  
 4. lAm  
 5. lAm  
 6. lAm  
 7. lAm  
 8. \*gyam<sup>4</sup>  
 9. kyam<sup>4</sup>  
 10. 'kyahm  
 11. 'gyāãh  
 12. 'kyohm

- 86.1. mountain  
 2. pāhād  
 3. pahar , lyáŋ #1  
 4. pahar ~ pa:ɾ  
 5. ra: pãɔ  
 6. kaŋ  
 7. ɾa?  
 8. \*gaŋ<sup>3</sup>  
 9. kaŋ  
 10. (lah) #2  
 11. (kadaasū) #3  
 12. kahŋ  
 #1. 'snow mountain '  
 #2. cf. also kahŋ 'hill'.  
 #3. cf. also gaŋgyu 'gorge'.

- 87.1. red  
 2. rāto  
 3. ítsyér  
 4. mAlAm  
 5. ʔaɕar  
 6. marɔŋ  
 7. mardɔŋ  
 8. \*wal-  
 9.  
 10. 'wala  
 11. olgyaa  
 12. olo

- 88.1. green  
 2. hariyo  
 3. hariyo  
 4. peɕaŋ  
 5. ne  
 6. harije-  
 7. ne:  
 8. \*pin<sup>1</sup>  
 9. pin<sup>1</sup>  
 10. pin  
 11. pĩgyaa  
 12. pin

- 89.1. yellow  
 2. pahēlo  
 3. pisár raŋ  
 4. pižaraŋ, suligyuŋ  
 5. øirit<sup>5</sup>  
 6. pisor raŋ  
 7. ?idža:r  
 8. \*ur<sup>1</sup>  
 9. ur<sup>1</sup>  
 10. ur  
 11. urgyaa  
 12. ur

- 90.1. white  
 2. seto  
 3. kār  
 4. ka:r  
 5. kār  
 6. ka:r  
 7. ka:r  
 8. \*tar<sup>1</sup>  
 9. tar<sup>1</sup>  
 10. tar  
 11. taargyaa  
 12. tor

- 91.1. black  
 2. kālo  
 3. lǎŋ  
 4. lǎŋ  
 5. lǎŋ  
 6. lǎŋ  
 7. ǎŋ  
 8. \*ǎmlaŋ<sup>1/2</sup>  
 9. mlaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
 10. 'mlaŋ  
 11. mlōgyaa  
 12. mlaŋ

- 92.1. night  
 2. rāti  
 3. mǔn  
 4. mǔn  
 5. mun  
 6. mun  
 7. mun  
 8. \*ǎmun- ~ \*mun<sup>3</sup>  
 9. mun<sup>3</sup> ~ muna<sup>3</sup>  
 10. muna  
 11. muĩhsa  
 12. (ŋohna)

- |       |                     |                                      |                       |                                     |                                       |
|-------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 93.1. | hot                 |                                      | 94.1.                 | cold                                |                                       |
| 2.    | tāto                | garmi #1                             | 2.                    | ciso jāḍo #1                        |                                       |
| 3.    | lúm                 | opá                                  | 3.                    | sīm kharjā                          |                                       |
| 4.    | lum                 | ʔəbΛ:                                | 4.                    | ɕim k <sup>h</sup> ΛjΛ:             |                                       |
| 5.    | lum                 | garmi #2                             | 5.                    | ɕim k <sup>h</sup> Λjɔ:             |                                       |
| 6.    | lum                 | #3                                   | 6.                    | ɕim ~ sim k <sup>h</sup> ΛjΛ:       |                                       |
| 7.    | lum                 | ʔaba:                                | 7.                    | ɕim k <sup>h</sup> ΛjΛ:             |                                       |
| 8.    | *hlyap <sup>1</sup> | *kro <sup>1</sup> #4                 | *tsha <sup>2</sup> #5 | 8.                                  | *sim <sup>1</sup> *kharj <sup>2</sup> |
| 9.    | lep <sup>1</sup>    | kro <sup>1</sup> ~ kroo <sup>1</sup> | 9.                    | sim <sup>1</sup> kharj <sup>2</sup> |                                       |
| 10.   | lep                 | kro                                  | 10.                   | sim 'kharj                          |                                       |
| 11.   | laa                 | kro 'tsha                            | 11.                   | sĩ 'khũ                             |                                       |
| 12.   | lhəp                | ʔo tshə                              | 12.                   | sim                                 |                                       |
- #1. of weather. #1. of weather.

#2. A slight hesitation of the informant at the time of recording shows that he could not recollect the Ghale equivalent on the spot.

#3. The informant repeated [lum].

#4. 'burn, scorch; hot'.

#5. 'hot to touch'.

- |       |                   |                                       |       |                       |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| 95.1. | full              |                                       | 96.1. | new                   |
| 2.    | bhariako          |                                       | 2.    | nayã                  |
| 3.    | phyã phố          |                                       | 3.    | sãr phố               |
| 4.    | se:m              |                                       | 4.    | sã:r                  |
| 5.    | pjã:              |                                       | 5.    | sar ~ sãr?            |
| 6.    | se:m              |                                       | 6.    | sã:r                  |
| 7.    | se:m              |                                       | 7.    | sã:r                  |
| 8.    | *nat <sup>2</sup> | *plij <sup>1</sup> #1                 | 8.    | *tshar <sup>1/2</sup> |
| 9.    | nat <sup>2</sup>  | plij <sup>1</sup> ~ plin <sup>1</sup> | 9.    | tshar <sup>2</sup>    |
| 10.   | 'net              | plij                                  | 10.   | tshar                 |
| 11.   | 'ne               | plẽ                                   | 11.   | 'tshaara #1           |
| 12.   | (karj)            |                                       | 12.   | (som)                 |
- #1. 'filled'. #1. Final -a is secondary.

- 97.1. good  
 2. ramro  
 3. tsyá phǒ  
 4. tɕA  
 5. tɕɔ:  
 6. dʒA:  
 7. dʒɔ:  
 8.  
 9. tsya<sup>3</sup>  
 10. tsyah  
 11. 'tshyãã, swaa  
 12. soh

- 98.1. round  
 2. golo  
 3. phóltɔŋ, tǎllá  
 4. p<sup>h</sup>-ulum  
 5. p<sup>h</sup>-ulūm  
 6. p<sup>h</sup>olum  
 7. p<sup>h</sup>ulum  
 8.  
 9.  
 10. rilto  
 11. ral'bu  
 12. pholtɔŋ

- 99.1. dry  
 2. sukeko  
 3. khǎr phǒ  
 4. k<sup>h</sup>Δr  
 5. k<sup>h</sup>ari:  
 6. k<sup>h</sup>ar  
 7. k<sup>h</sup>ΔrA  
 8. \*khar<sup>1/2</sup>  
 9. khar<sup>2</sup>  
 10. khar  
 11. kaari  
 12. khɔr

- 100.1. name  
 2. nām  
 3. mǎn  
 4. mīn  
 5. mīn  
 6. min  
 7. min  
 8. \*Ømin<sup>1</sup>  
 9.  
 10. min  
 11. mī  
 12. min



## Notes

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1) Seaward mentions one Ghale speaking village called Hulchuk in Nuwakot. Some Ghale speakers may also be found in the villages surrounding the area. (Seaward 1975, p.1.)

2) Seaward 1975, p.1. But I could not confirm this.

3) The Ghales are also found among the Tamangs in the upper Ankhu Khola valley. The Ghales among the Tamangs are usually late immigrants to the Tamang Territory and remain unintegrated in Tamang social hierarchies. But those in this area are reported to constitute one of the seven Tamang clans. (Toffin 1976, p.38.)

4) Seaward 1975, p.2.

5) Seaward 1975, p.3.

6) There is also an unfinished manuscript of his Ghale phonemic summary. A copy of this draft and all the other materials of Ghale were kindly sent by Dr. Austin Hale and Mr. Sueyoshi Toba of SIL.

7) Glover 1974, pp.5-14.

8) To appear in Memoirs of the Kagoshima University Research Center for the South Pacific.

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