

**EUROPEAN BULLETIN  
OF  
HIMALAYAN RESEARCH**

**Number 7, 1994**

**Südasien-Institut  
Heidelberg**

EUROPEAN BULLETIN OF HIMALAYAN  
RESEARCH

Number 7

1994

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

REVIEW ARTICLE

Nepali Dictionaries - A New Contribution: Michael Hutt . . . . . 1

BOOK REVIEW

Wolf Donner: *Lebensraum Nepal. Eine Entwicklungsgeographie.*  
Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1994. Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka . . . . . 5

TOPICAL REPORTS

Lesser-Known Languages in Nepal. A brief state-of-the-art report:  
Gerd Hansson . . . . . 8  
Deforestation in the Nepal Himalaya: Causes, Scope, Consequences:  
Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt . . . . . 18  
Nepali Migration to Bhutan: Christopher Strawn . . . . . 25  
Impact Monitoring of a Small Hydel Project in the Solu-Khumbu  
District Nepal: Susanne Wymann/Cordula Ott . . . . . 36

INTERVIEWS

..I feel that I am here on a Mission...: An Interview with the Vice-Chancellor  
of Tribhuvan University/Nepal, Mr. Kedar Bhakta Mathema:  
Brigitte Merz . . . . . 42

NEWS

Himalayan Portraits: Thoughts and Opinions from the *Film Himalaya*  
Film Festival 18-20 Feb. 1994 in Kathmandu/Nepal: Brigitte Merz . . . . . 48  
Oral Tradition Study Group/Himalaya: Second Meeting in Paris,  
February 25, 1994 . . . . . 52  
Nepal Maithili Samaj: A Good Beginning: Murari M. Thakur . . . . . 52  
The Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal:  
November 26-27, 1993 . . . . . 55

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE . . . . . 58

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Editors:

Richard Burghart  
Martin Gaenszle  
András Höfer  
Brigitte Merz  
Südasiens-Institut  
Im Neuenheimer Feld 330  
D - 69120 Heidelberg  
Germany

Michael Hutt  
School of Oriental and African  
Studies  
University of London  
Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square  
GB - London WC1H 0XG  
England

Contributing Editors:

**Austria:**  
Dr. Michael Torsten Much  
Institut für Tibetologie und  
Buddhismuskunde  
Universität Wien  
Maria-Theresien-Straße 3/11  
A - 1090 Wien  
Austria

**Scandinavia:**  
Dr. Håkan Wahlquist  
The National Museum of  
Ethnography  
P.O. Box 27140  
S - 102 52 Stockholm  
Schweden

**France:**  
Dr Anne de Sales  
23, rue Montorgueil  
F - 75001 Paris  
France

**Switzerland:**  
Dr. Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka  
Ethnologisches Seminar der  
Universität Zürich  
Freiensteinstraße 5  
CH - 8032 Zürich  
Switzerland

**Poland:**  
Dr. Krzysztof Debnicki  
Instytut Orientalistyczny  
Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego  
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28  
P - Warszawa  
Poland

ISSN 0943-8254

## EDITORIAL

The first subscription "round" ends with this issue, so we ask our readers to renew it (again for four issues to be published over the next two years), and possibly extend the circle of subscribers. Forms are included at the end of the bulletin. Unfortunately we have had to raise the fee because of increased mailing costs. But we are confident that with the present interest and support we will be able to continue to develop this publication.

To clarify our rates, it should be stressed that for international money transfers within Europe payment by Eurocheque generally involves lower banking fees for the receiver than bank transfers. Though for inland transfers this does not apply, we have, in view of the circulating editorship, opted for a uniform system.

It is our aim to cover the whole Himalayan region, but so far most contributions we have received focus on Nepal. Therefore we want to stress again that all scholars working on areas from the far western to the far eastern Himalayas are invited to send reports etc. In order to fill this gap, we plan to include a review article on recent research on the western Indian Himalaya in No. 8. Of course, all other contributions concerning any part of the Himalaya, reports, review announcements, news, are welcome as always.



## REVIEW ARTICLE

### Nepali Dictionaries - A New Contribution

Michael Hutt

*A Practical Dictionary of Modern Nepali.* Editor-in-chief Ruth Laila Schmidt, Co-editor Ballabh Mani Dahal. Delhi, Ratna Sagar, 1993. Pp. 50, 1005.

Foreign students of Nepali have traditionally been less well-served by lexicographers and grammarians than learners of 'larger' South Asian languages such as Hindi or Bengali. There are a number of Nepali-English and English-Nepali pocket dictionaries, but until the appearance in 1993 of *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Nepali* (hereafter PDMN) the only thorough bi-lingual documentation of the Nepali lexicon was that published by Ralph L. Turner in 1931. This stupendous work of scholarship, described by Clark (1969: 257) as the 'supreme landmark in Nepali lexicography', was the forerunner to Turner's *magnum opus*, the *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*. Nonetheless, it has several disadvantages for the foreign learner of Nepali in the 1990s. First, it employs a spelling system that consistently opts for the short (*hrasva*) vowel. Turner explained this system by stating, '[o]f late years there has been a certain tendency to write the short forms in the interior of words, the long when they are final. But there is no justification for such a practice. And since there is no distinction in pronunciation I have uniformly used the short forms' (1931: xvii). Although this had the merit of being consistent, whereas modern Nepali spelling is not always a faithful representation of pronunciation (a classic example is the word *didī*, 'elder sister', in which both vowels are pronounced 'long'), it was in some regards wrongheaded. For instance, the pronunciation of the first vowel in *binā*, 'without', is definitely short, whereas in *bīṇā*, 'lute', it is long. Similarly the *u* in *unī*, 'he/she', tends to be pronounced as a short vowel, while in *ūnī*, 'woolen', it is somewhat longer, despite Turner's claims to the contrary (1931: xvii). On the basis of pronunciation, Turner dispensed with the aspirate letters *ṛha* and *rha*, spelled *vidyā bidyā, sātoṣ santok, kṛpā kirpā* and so on. Unfortunately, not all of these conventions, as Clark (1969: 257) was later to observe, 'commended themselves to native lexicographers', and the modern spelling system, now standardised, at least in theory, diverges strongly from Turner's in many respects. The second shortcoming of Turner's dictionary is the absence from it of the horde of neologisms and Sanskrit loans that have entered the language at every level over the past sixty-four years, partly as a result of *bikās* ('bloom; blooming, expanding, development' (Turner 1931: 567); 'development, progress, expansion' (PDMN: 446)). Turner seems not to have made recourse to textual sources for his vocabulary, reflecting perhaps the British perception of Nepali then as the spoken language of Gurkha

soldiers - and, to be fair, it must be remembered that in 1931 modern Nepali literature had yet to produce its first major works. As far as dictionaries were concerned, therefore (and I write from experience), one had to employ supplements to Turner when translating modern literary Nepali, and also had often to search through Turner to find words that had been spelled in what now seems a somewhat eccentric manner. The most useful supplements were Chaturvedi and Tiwari's Hindi-English Dictionary (4th edn. 1978) for 'modern' vocabulary, much of which (dare I say it?) Nepali shares with Hindi, and the mono-lingual dictionary published by the Royal Nepal Academy in B.S. 2040 (1983-4). Needless to say, it takes some years to become sufficiently well-versed in Nepali to use the latter tome, and since it does not give English synonyms for words such as the names of the huge variety of plants, trees etc. that Nepali poets in particular mention with depressing (for the translator) regularity, one must also refer to other miscellaneous works (e.g. Keshab Shrestha [ed.], 1979, 1984) on occasion. As a consequence, the foreign translator of Nepali literature has to date required a large desk.

The appearance of this new dictionary is a major event in the development of Nepali lexicography. The dictionary is the product of seven years of cooperation between American and Nepali scholars. The 15-member editorial team was headed by Ruth Laila Schmidt (editor-in-chief) and Ballabh Mani Dahal (co-editor). They are to be thanked and congratulated. First, they are to be thanked for the lengthy (37-page) introduction to the Dictionary. This presents an overview of the history of Nepali, and a skeleton grammar that is perhaps the most useful short summary currently available. Before discussing the grammar, it should perhaps be pointed out that Nepali does not 'function as a medium of television' or as a 'medium of instruction' in Bhutan (PDMN: x). Bhutan is rather famously TV-free, and Nepali was removed from its schools' curriculum some five years ago.

Two of the main problems one faces when one describes or teaches Nepali are (1) the difference between the grammar of the literary language and educated speech on the one hand and that of the everyday language of the villages and streets on the other; and (2) the difference between the spelling and pronunciation of certain words. I myself have often faced the former problem while teaching Nepali from the Matthews course (1984) to students already equipped with some knowledge of Nepali as spoken in village contexts. There is a strong tendency among such students to regard grammatical niceties such as verbal concord with regard to number or gender, or the need for inflected 'oblique' case endings before postpositions, as high-caste urban affectations. Throughout the PDMN, therefore, it is important that variant usages are noted, e.g. it is acknowledged that *biraaloko sikaar musaa*, in which *biraalo*, 'cat', is nominative, means the same as *biraalaako sikaar musaa*, in which *biraalaa* is oblique; that the noun *keTi*, 'girl' may be qualified by both *saano* and *saani*, 'small'; and that a plural subject, though it should strictly take plural verbal concord (e.g. *chan*) may often take the singular (*cha*).

The pronunciations provided in the dictionary are 'those found in the aggregate educated speech of Kathmandu and its environs' (xxx); the editors note that the 'final short -a is usually not pronounced in modern Nepali, but is

retained after clusters of two or more consonants, and in certain grammatical forms' (xxx). I am not fully convinced by the argument that retention of the final -a 'sometimes functions as a locative marker' (xxx). It is suggested that *ghar* means 'house, home', and that *ghara* means 'at home', whereas in my experience a word such as *ghar* is more commonly invested with a locative function through emphasis, i.e. *gharai*. On the other hand, the formalisation of the status of the high honorific grade is particularly welcome, especially as the extent to which *hajur* is used nowadays as an alternative to *tapāī* is not wholly evident from the Matthews course. It might have been helpful to distinguish between the heavily-used *hajur* and the forms *mausuph* and *sarkār*, however, since use of the latter is restricted entirely to royal contexts, and these pronouns therefore remain somewhat esoteric for the average foreign learner, who is usually of more lowly birth! Nonetheless, the doubt expressed (PDMN: xv) about the symmetrical application 'across the board' of honorific gradations is an important point. All schemes to date have lumped the second person *tā* and the third person *u/yo/tyo* together as 'least honorific'. 'However, *tā* is often a positive indicator of the addressee's low social rank, while *u/yo/tyo* tend to be negative indicators — neutral forms used when the speaker does not need, for one reason or another, to refer to someone deferentially' (PDMN: xv). The system of honorific grades can be explained in terms of politeness or deference, but explanations also need to take account of the physical proximity, absence or presence of the person referred to (in the third person), and of levels of intimacy or formality (in the second). In second person contexts, low grade pronouns can be used to express trust as well as contempt.

Occasionally, the general clarity of the PDMN's grammatical analysis is blurred by surprising slips: *uniharū khaanchan* means 'they eat', not 's/he eats' (xvi), and *biraalo* is nominative, not oblique (xxvii). The analysis of verb structure departs a little from the scheme established by T.W. Clark (1977) and adopted by Matthews (1984). Clark identified verb 'bases' (the 'primary base' being the first infinitive minus the *-nu* suffix) and a range of suffixes, e.g. *cha*, *chan*, *chin* etc. in the simple indefinite tense. Here, however, *-an* and *-in* are defined as suffixes, and the Clark/Matthews scheme is dispensed with. I am not sure that the new scheme would be helpful to foreign learners if it were adopted in a primer. Similarly, I have difficulty with the definition of *-ro* (in *mero*, 'my', *tero*, 'your', etc.) and *-no* (in *aaphno*, 'one's own') as suffixes, since *me* and *te* and, arguably, *aaph* (which does appear as *aaphu* or, emphasised, as *aaphai*) do not occur independently.

The 7,000 entries in the Nepali-English section are detailed and very helpful indeed. Each Devanāgarī headword is followed by a transliteration, a representation of the pronunciation in cases where this differs from the spelling, and a definition. In addition, the dictionary often provides copious illustrations of usage, compounds in sequences (e.g. under *kaama* [pr. kaam] we find *kaama aaunu*, *kaama garnu*, *kaama parnu* etc.), notes, references to synonyms (e.g. under *kaama* we are given *kartabya*, *jaagira*, *jūbikaa*, *pesaa*, *rojagaara*), etc. The transliteration system is similar to that employed by Karki and Shrestha (1988): retroflex characters are represented by upper case



letters, and long vowels by double vowels (e.g. 'ii' instead of 'i'). While this provides welcome relief from the upside-down 'e's of the Matthews course, and is as reliable and clear a guide to pronunciation as any other, it seems to be a purely Nepali innovation that will probably not be welcomed by Indological purists. (Turner in his introduction [1931: xvii] goes to great lengths to justify spelling conventions 'that the Sanskrit-educated reader will find repugnant', and the tastes and preferences of Sanskritists have not changed much since).

The Nepali-English section fills 674 pages and is followed by a 331-page English-Nepali index which provides summary definitions. Obviously, users requiring more detail on a particular Nepali word can readily cross-refer between the two sections. To assess the usefulness and usability of the Dictionary, I tested it against two very short passages from well known Nepali prose texts. These were the opening sentences of (1) Biśweśwar Prasād Koirāla's short story *Sipāhī* and (2) Devkotā's essay *Āśāhko Panda*:

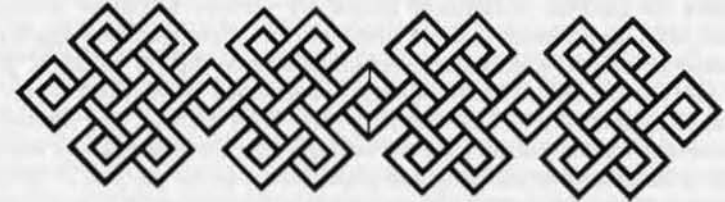
(1) pahaaDko baaTo eklai hiDn gaahaaro parcha. maile dui-tiin dinko yastai baaToma euTaa sipaahiilaai phelaa paarē, jasle mero yaatraa dherai sugam paaryo. (It is hard to walk a mountain path alone. On a two- or three-day journey of this kind I met a soldier who made my journey very easy).

(2) nepaalmaa khuśiyaalii cha. hṛdayale navaagata paahunaako premapuurbaka svaagata garirahecha. (In Nepal there is happiness. The heart is affording the newly-arrived guest a welcome full of love).

The two texts are written in different registers. The first is overtly colloquial, the second more flowery and Sanskritised. As expected, all of the vocabulary of the first extract, with the exception of the word *sugam* (defined as 'easy of access, easily traversed ...' in Turner 1931: 612), was present in the dictionary, with many useful notes on usage. Admittedly, *gaahaaro* is a non-standard spelling of *gaahro* that does not appear, while the emphatic form *eklai* appears as a subheading under *eklo*, 'alone'. Also, the compound *sajilo parnu* is explained under *sajilo*, 'easy', but unfortunately *gaahro parnu* does not appear under *gaahro*, 'difficult'. Under *euTaa* there is a very useful note, explaining that *euTaa* 'very occasionally modifies a noun denoting a human being'. Thus, it appears that the dictionary would serve as a more than adequate tool for a student who wished to decipher the meaning of a standard modern prose text. It performed slightly less well in relation to the second extract. *khuśii*, 'happy' appears, but not *khuśiyaalii*, 'happiness', while the words *navaagata* and *premapuurbaka*, being Sanskrit-derived compounds, do not appear (although there is of course an entry for *prema*, 'love'). Nonetheless, it would still be possible for an intelligent foreign learner to reconstruct at least the gist of these two sentences with the aid of this dictionary. The Practical Dictionary of Modern Nepali deserves to become a standard text for foreign learners of the language, and will take up a prominent position on the desks of translators too, though those who obstinately persist in tackling texts written in poetic or highly technical language will now need even larger tables.

#### References:

- Chaturvedi, Mahendra and Bhola Nath Tiwari. 1974. *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary*. New Delhi, (2nd edn.).
- Clark, T.W. 1969. "Nepali and Pahari". In: Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics* Vol. 5, Paris and The Hague, pp. 249-76.
- Clark, T.W. 1977. *Introduction to Nepali*. SOAS, London.
- Karki, Tika B. and Chij B. Shrestha. 1988. *Basic Course in Spoken Nepali*. Kathmandu.
- Matthews, David. 1984. *A Course in Nepali*. SOAS, London.
- Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś*. Kathmandu, Royal Nepal Academy, B.S. 2040 (1983-4).
- Shrestha, Keshab (ed.) 1979,1984. *Nepali Names for Plants*. Kathmandu, Natural History Museum.
- Turner, Ralph L. 1931. *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*. London.



#### BOOK REVIEW

*Lebensraum Nepal. Eine Entwicklungsgeographie*. Wolf Donner, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Asienkunde*, 226. Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde 1994, 728 p., 142 Fig., 62 Tab..

For over a generation, German-speaking scholars working on Nepal have been referring to Wolf Donner's book, *Nepal - Raum, Mensch und Wirtschaft*, which appeared in 1972. This year, the author published a new version of his earlier study under the title "Lebensraum Nepal. Eine Entwicklungsgeographie" (Life-Space Nepal. A Development Geography). It is still the most exhaustive development geography of Nepal published in the German language. The new version has of course the advantage of being written by an author who has known Nepal thoroughly since the early 60s, and who consequently has the ability to overview and grasp the country's complex development process over the last three decades. Like his first work, Donner bases this study on a great variety of sources, Nepalese and foreign, and on publications easily accessible to a wider audience, as well as on numerous documents opened in the first place to concerned administrators and

development experts. It is not surprising then that the 600 pages of dense text are followed by over 800 footnotes (70 pages) which are sometimes even more intriguing than the main text.

After an extensive introduction that places Nepal in the context of global development trends and global discourse on development (the author discusses at some length the problems and the implications of the very term), with a historical and political overview, the book turns to such classical geographical topics as 'Physical Geography', 'Climate', 'Hydrogeography', 'Geology and Natural Degradation', 'Fauna and Flora'. An important section deals with 'Social Geography', containing data on population, settlement patterns, migration, education and health. These are followed by sections pertaining basically to the economy: agrarian geography, comprising agricultural patterns, irrigation and forestry; industrial geography, dealing with commodity production, energy and mining; then tourism, transport and communication; and trade. The book closes with a short but very dense and explicit chapter on Nepalese development policies, prospects and options.

Since the book is based not only on scientific publications but also on a large body of internal documents issued by various Nepalese ministries concerned with 'development', acute problems are often described against the background of official policies and hopes, as laid down, for instance, in the Five Year Plans. Donner convincingly combines reflections upon the demographic, ecological and economic 'givens' with analyses and discussions of institutional constraints, and the prevailing value orientations and interests involved in development planning and implementation on the part of different actors: the national administration and foreign experts as well as Nepalese farmers and entrepreneurs.

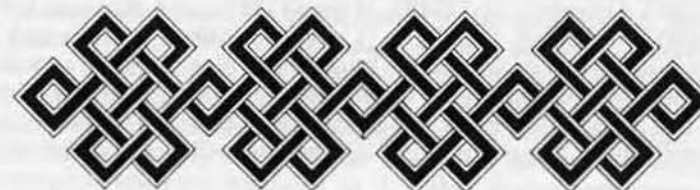
Donner's concluding remarks on the Nepalese future in view of global shifts in development policy orientations bring his stand to a short formula. His opinions are however made very explicit throughout the book. Even though his is basically a scholarly book, Wolf Donner speaks in the first place as a development expert who bases his insights upon life-long practice in international aid cooperation. As a development expert and a practitioner, the author gives a realistic picture of the Nepalese future (that, in view of economic and ecological constraints, is by and large more pessimistic than optimistic). The four decades of 'development help', partly imposed on Nepal by foreign donors eager to dispose of their funds are subjected to critical scrutiny. There are no easy solutions to the question of who are the 'culprits'. Much space is devoted to inadequate institutions, organisational failures in the national administration, and just as many critical words are addressed to foreign aid in all its complexity. Donner locates the major carriers of future development efforts in the 'people' themselves in the first place, strongly advocating ongoing measures of political-administrative decentralization. He gives numerous examples of the farmers' rationality (in spite of various development experts' claims to the contrary), be it in introducing new crops and techniques, or by showing reluctance to adopt certain innovations. A strong emphasis is put on the growing reservoir of national expertise; subsequently, Donner suggests that the young, well-trained Nepalese experts

should be allowed to gain more say in the country's vital issues, in lieu of foreign experts as well as over-aged power-holders in key national institutions.

The author is careful to give a differentiated picture of Nepal's problems, neither pressing for bombastic technocratic solutions, nor indulging in a 'small is beautiful' romanticism. For instance, concerning the tremendous transportation problems in the Himalayas, Donner refrains from condemning roads or air-transport as such, but discusses their advantages and reflects upon alternative means for the transportation of goods, such as rope-ways from and to areas with cash-crop production (e.g. fruit orchards in the north). His discussion of road transport is embedded in an analysis of the impact of roads upon economic growth in the various Nepalese regions. Interestingly, Donner remarks that very little research has been done so far on the impact of roads in the Terai area. Hence, his own analysis pertains to the hills, relying heavily on earlier findings by Blaikie / Cameron / Seddon, and Hagen and Thut. Similarly, the economic potentials of tourism and hydropower are discussed from various points of view; the options of economic growth are considered against the background of ecological constraints, of geo-political considerations as well as the unequal patterns of distribution of benefits.

The strength of the book is that it is an analysis, but also a well written digest of the major pertinent issues in the development geography of Nepal. It summarizes facts, provides arguments and counter-arguments, and can also be used as a statistical source. (Wolf Donner warns the reader about the accuracy of the data provided, given that the various Nepalese offices issue data that are very far apart from each other. However, as he puts it: statistical material ought to be interpreted in an intelligent manner by the reader him/herself.) One can argue with the author, of course, on a variety of topics, but it is obvious that one of the many strengths of the book is precisely that: it stimulates discussion.

Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka





## TOPICAL REPORTS

### Lesser-Known Languages in Nepal A brief state-of-the-art report

Gerd Hansson

1. As a major part of the Himalayan region, Nepal houses a large variety of ethnic groups with cultural traditions of their own. Besides the philology of the "great traditions" in Nepali, Sanskrit/Prakrit, Newari, Tibetan, or Maithili, research in the oral traditions of the very heterogeneous ethnic minorities is necessary for deeper studies in the anthropology and history of the country and of the Himalayan region in general (cf. also Gaenszle 1992, Höfer 1992; this paper is intended as a linguistic supplement to these contributions).

Therefore, systematic research in the unwritten languages and dialects of Nepal is useful not only for comparative and general linguistics, but also for social and cultural research in general. As a result of Nepal's political closure until 1950, many parts of the country were linguistic (and anthropological) *terra incognita* until the middle of this century. Intensive linguistic research started in the late 1960s with survey work and later in-depth studies of individual languages organized by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (coordinators: K. Pike and A. Hale), mostly in the central and mid-western parts of the country. In the 1980's, the "Linguistic Survey of Nepal" (Director: W. Winter, University of Kiel), supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, was conducted as a series of field campaigns in the eastern part of Nepal as the first comprehensive inspection of this very complicated linguistic area. Both research programs were carried out in close cooperation with scholars from Tribhuvan University. As the most important purely Nepalese contribution to linguistic research, the so-called *Paryayavāci Śabdakoś* ("Synonymous dictionary") of the Royal Academy should be mentioned here, published in 1973. This large synoptic glossary contains equivalents of Nepali words in several Indo-Aryan (Awadhi, (Bhojpuri), Tharu, (Done-) Danuwar, Bhojpuri, Maithili) and Tibeto-Burman idioms (Gurung, Chepang, Tamang, Newar, (Bantawa) "Rai", Magar, Limbu, Lepcha, Sunuwar) in Devanagari transcriptions. The first results of the SIL research were published in Hale/Hari/SchoettleIndreyer (1972), Hale (1973), portions also in Trail (1973) with regard to Chitwan Tharu and Dhangar Kurukh in the Terai. (For further literature cf. the bibliography in Hale 1982). For the first results of the "Linguistic Survey of Nepal" (LSN) cf. Winter (1984), Gvozdanović (1985), Winter (1987), and Hansson (1991), portions also in Weidert (1987); a "Linguistic Atlas" with lexical and phonological isoglosses in the Kiranti languages of East Nepal is considered for publication. Further sources for "small languages" are glossaries, primers, textbooks and journals in Nepali and in these languages, published by local societies and private persons in Nepal. These cannot be considered here in detail.

At present, Nepal as a linguistic area can be sketched out in its entirety, although some local languages lack any description. With regard to the number of distinct languages, the Tibeto-Burman vernaculars are the languages of the largest number of linguistic minorities, while most of the more important language groups with regard to the number of speakers are Indic. Varieties of rather well known Indic languages (Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi) are spoken by the majority of the population in the Terai; the label of "Tharu", however, denotes several tribal idioms, counted as one group on the grounds of ethnic classification; some of these appear to be only slightly different varieties of Indic regional languages (cf. self-denotations like "Maithili Tharu", "Bhojpuri Tharu"), others appear to represent distinct Indic idioms (e.g., Chitwan Tharu, Dang Tharu). No systematic linguistic research seems to have been carried out so far on the Tharu groups of the western Terai (including Dang Tharu), where they are the majority of the local population.

The Tibeto-Burman idioms of Nepal cannot be summed up under the label of "Tibetan dialects", as is used in popular descriptions. "Tibeto-Burman" denotes a genetic phylum like "Indo-European", and the grammatical and lexical diversity in the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal can hardly be overrated. The problem of their genetic classification will not be addressed here; in my opinion, further synchronic research in grammatical, lexical and dialectal details of more individual languages is needed for a non-speculative diachronic analysis.

2. The largest "gaps" or "blanks" with regard to descriptive studies can be found in the western part of the country. Besides "Bhotia" groups and "Tibetans" (Bhote) in a narrower sense in the upper mountains, all Tibeto-Burman groups in the hills of West Nepal and in the western parts of Middle Nepal prefer the label of "Magar". As a linguistic group, the Magar in the districts of Palpa and Tanahun, the "Eastern Magar", who also live in the central and eastern hill regions of the country as larger minorities, are one of the major Tibeto-Burman groups of the hill regions. However, among other "Magar" groups of West Nepal, only rather small groups of "Western Magar" in the lower hills of the outer west appear to speak dialectal varieties of Eastern Magar, with a more conservative grammar. Other western "Magar" groups speak quite distinct languages:

1) The "Kham Magar" (an artificial term introduced by D. and N. Watters 1973, derived from the native word for "language"), who live north-west of the Eastern Magar are the most important newly-found language group in Nepal, not only with regard to the number of speakers, but also with regard to their remarkably rich oral traditions with a rather archaic version of Himalayan shamanism. In this language, rather good lexical, phonological, and grammatical studies have been carried out in the central dialect of Taka; but further research could also be useful on the widely different dialects.

2) The "Tarali Magar" in Tichurong valley (south of Dolpo) are a small group who speak Kaike, a Tibeto-Burman idiom in its own right. From this "small language", only a provisional vocabulary (about 600 words, without phonological analysis) compiled by J. Fisher during anthropological field

work has been published so far (in Hale 1973 IV). No detailed grammatical information is available.

3) The **Raji** are a small tribal group scattered in the lower hills and in the Inner Terai in the western part of Nepal. Their language is known only from an incomplete 100 word list in Hale/ Hari/ Schoettelndreyer 1972, which points to a remarkably independent Tibeto-Burman idiom.

4) The **Rauty** people, a marginalized group of hunters and gatherers in the outer west, also claim for themselves the status of "Magar". This ethnic group appears to be identical with the Ban Rauts, Ban Manush or Raji in India (Uttarakhand, previously Almora district). Their language is also known as "Janggali"; a first comprehensive description, based primarily on an unpublished thesis, has been published by D. D. Sharma (1990:169, 228, cf. p. 175 for further sources). This Rauty/"Raji"/Janggali language should not be confused with the Raji language in Nepal which is a distinct Tibeto-Burman idiom (but the Rauty language is also Tibeto-Burman, definitely not "Munda" as Sharma wrongly classified it); the word lists do not provide evidence for any closer genetic relationship. Beside a 100-word list recorded in Dailekh district (with good evidence for a linguistic identity with Sharma's "Raji"), no linguistic research seems to have been conducted so far among the Rauty of Nepal.

5) The status of "Magar" is also claimed by members of the **Ban Raja** group, a group of erstwhile hunters and gatherers, now scattered in the middle west and western parts of Nepal. These people, better known by the abusive name of **Kusunda** (old self denotation: *gilongdei mihag*, i.e. "forest people") have given up their own language, which was either the only representative of a distinct branch of Sino-Tibetan or an isolated language heavily influenced by Tibeto-Burman. The accessible data are too scanty for a complete description.

6) The "**Chantel Magar**" are a heterogeneous group of erstwhile copper miners. Besides Nepali speakers, this ethnic formation comprises a group with a language of its own (in Myagdi district). This so-called Chantel *kurā* is also said to be a dialect of Thakali (cf. also de Sales 1989). No deeper linguistic studies have been carried out so far in this idiom.

Although some speakers of Tibetan dialects claim to be "Magar", people in the upper mountains of West Nepal are usually called "**Bhotia**". These people are also a very heterogeneous group (this excludes the so-called "Bhote Sherpa" people who speak Tibetan and closely related "small languages").

1) The **Byangsi** (also: Bенси) people of Darchula district (scattered groups also in other parts of the country) belong to the "Shauka" group, a cluster of Tibeto-Burman tribes subdivided into four different "language groups", viz., Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Darmiya, and Johari (= "Rangkas", a joint label for Byangsi and Chaudangsi; the Johari have given up their language in favour of Kumaoni). These idioms are rather closely related, and the definition as distinct "languages" seems to be motivated by ethnic criteria above all. The majority of the Byangsi and other Shauka people lives in the mountainous regions immediately west of Nepal in the Indian territory of Uttarakhand (Uttar Pradesh state, previously Almora district). The latest descriptive sketches of the Shauka idioms have been published by D.D. Sharma

(1989). To the best of my knowledge, no linguistic studies have been carried out so far among the Byangsi of Nepal.

2) The **Bhotia** language(s ?) in Humla and Mugu districts lack(s) any published description. Occasionally the non-Tibetan natives in this region are also called "Tamang"; but the "Tamang" in Mugu at least are reported to speak a language that is definitely neither Tamang nor a Tibetan dialect.

3) No clear linguistic information is available about the language of the non-Tibetan natives in South Mustang ("Baragaon"), who may represent an older stratum of settlers. This small language, spoken within an area with a Bhote (Tibetan) majority, is known as "Shege" or "Sheke" (R. Bielmeier, p. c.) and may be identical with "Baragaonle" (according to Grimes 1988: 564 a member of the Gurung-Tamang group "close to Thakali", cf. below).

3. The **Gurung-Tamang** family, a rather compact group of comparatively closely related languages is the most important group of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal with regard to the number of speakers. It comprises the Gurung and the Tamang as two major language groups and several lesser-known "small languages".

At present, **Gurung** (main area in the western part of the central hills) has become one of the best-known Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal besides (Kathmandu) Newari. Also with grammatical, lexicological and phonological/tonological in-depth studies of the Western Gurung dialects, rather comprehensive research in dialectological varieties has been carried out. The dialects appear to differ widely; for practical and comparative purposes, further in-depth studies of the southern (Syangja and Tanahun districts) and eastern (Lamjung and Gorkha districts) dialect groups may be useful.

As the largest individual language among all non-Aryan languages of Nepal, **Tamang** (main area in the central hills round Kathmandu valley, larger minorities in the eastern hills) is "little known" compared with Gurung. Several in-depth studies have been carried out in both "Eastern" and "Western" Tamang, but no comprehensive reference grammars or larger dictionaries have been published so far. The difference between "Western" and "Eastern" Tamang may be more ethnic than linguistic; all accessible data appear to point to a contiguous cluster of mutually intelligible local dialects, and the dialectal diversity appears to go beyond that of Gurung. The other members of this family are "small languages" with less than 10,000 speakers:

1) The language of the **Thakali** south of Mustang, vanishing now in favour of Nepali, is the historically most important of these "small languages". Several in-depth studies have been carried out of the dialect of Thaka, i. e., "Thakali" in a narrower sense, but the present state of knowledge is far from a complete description. No clear information is available on linguistic variations among the three major subgroups of Thakali. It is also not known whether the people of "Panchgaon" in Mustang speak a dialect of Thakali or a distinct language.

2) **Chantel kurā** is either a distinct member of this family or a dialect of Thakali, cf. above.



3) The language of the **Nishang** (also: Manangi, Manangba) in Manang. No linguistic information is available besides a word list in Hale/ Hari/ Schoettelndreyer 1972).

4) The non-Tibetan language in South Mustang ("Baragaonle", Shege) is reported to be a member of this family, cf. above.

4. As ethnic labels and rough social classifications, denotations such as "Gurung" or "Tamang" should not point to speakers of a Gurung-Tamang language. Many "Bhote" groups who speak Tibetan idioms prefer a self-denotation as "Tamang" or "Gurung". The **Ghale Gurung** in Gorkha district are a Gurung subgroup on the grounds of ethnic classification but speak a distinct Tibeto-Burman language (native term: *lila*), which definitely does not belong to the Gurung-Tamang family (cf. Nishi 1982).

5. The other Tibeto-Burman languages in Middle Nepal (besides Tibetan idioms) appear to belong to two distinct genetic subgroups:

1) The **Newari** idioms in Kathmandu valley and in the hills east of it. Written Kathmandu Newari with its spoken varieties can hardly be called "lesser-known"; but there is little knowledge about other spoken varieties of Newari, which might be important with regard to a historical grammar of this language. Other than Newari in a narrower sense, some closely related "small languages" must be taken into consideration. The Pahari people, tribal groups outside the Newar caste systems, speak several idioms of their own; besides Newari dialects, at least one distinct language, being rather archaic in its sound patterns, can be obtained here (evidence from LSN tape records). The Dolkhali language, spoken by Newar people in Dolakha, can definitely be classified as a distinct language (cf. Genetti 1990); the LSN data do not point to any intermediate dialects between this idiom and the Kathmandu/Bhaktapur dialects of Newari.

2) The second language family may be called "**Chepeng-Thami**". The language of the Chepeng, previously hunters and gatherers in Makwanpur district and adjoining areas, is described in a rather comprehensive way in Caughley (1982). The Bujel language in Tanahun district may represent a dialect of Chepeng. The language of the Thami people - scattered groups in Dolakha, Sindhuli, and Kabhre Palanchok districts, mostly in Tamang villages, also a minority in Ilam district in the outer east - appears to be comparatively closely related to Chepeng, if Newar and Tamang loans are neglected. This language (about 20, 000 speakers, at least two widely different dialect groups) lacks any modern description, but unpublished materials exist within the LSN data. In the late 1980's field research was conducted by S. Toba from the Royal Nepal Academy; so at least descriptive sketches can be expected to be published in the near future. No recent information is available about the language of the Bhramu (= Baraamu, etc.) in the outer south of Gorkha district (less than 1,000 persons, scattered in Darai villages). The scanty data from Hodgson's materials (compiled ca. 1840) point to a rather close relative of Thami (with special regard to the Sindhuli dialect); it is not known whether and to what extent this language is still alive.

6. The autochthonous tribes in the eastern hills are **Kiranti** in a narrower sense; but the term "Kiranti" is often used for all pre-Tibetan and pre-Aryan groups of the Himalayan region. The Kiranti languages are the largest linguistic group in Nepal with regard to the number of distinct languages. The traditional labels for these groups are Sunuwar, Rai (or Kiranti Rai) and Limbu; the Wayu (Hwayo, Hayu, Vayu) in Sindhuli and Ramechhap districts may be classified as marginal members of Kiranti.

The classification of the Kiranti languages was a major problem for the LSN as the first research programme that comprised data from East Nepal in its entirety (cf. the scheme published in Gaenszle 1991: 40, which reflects the state of knowledge in 1984/85; "Wayu" is a misprint for "Wayu").

The labels "Sunuwar", "Limbu" and "Wayu" also denote language groups (with two distinct, but closely related languages for Limbu), while Rai is an ethnic term used for other Kiranti languages that differ widely from each other (cf. Hansson 1991). For practical purposes, the Kiranti languages, which may represent a heterogeneous cluster of several genetic subgroups, can be subdivided into three major groups, viz., Western, Central and Eastern Kiranti. (For the complicated geographic distribution of Rai groups cf. Hansson 1991).

1) **Western Kiranti** comprises the Wayu language as a marginal member (described in a comprehensive reference grammar by B. Michailovsky 1981, 1988), Sunuwar (= Kwoico) (Dolakha, Ramechhap, Okhaldhunga districts, many minorities in Ilam and Panchthar), Bahing Rai, Jerung (Zero) Rai, Umbule (= Chaurasye) Rai, Tilung Rai, Lingkhim Rai (nearly extinct), Thulung Rai (Subgroup: Deusali, Ilam), Khaling Rai, Dumi Rai (rapidly vanishing now, for a comprehensive description of one dialect cf. van Driem 1993) and Koi Rai (spoken in one village only). The LSN data are the only sources for Jerung, Lingkhim, Tilung, and Koi. There are no modern data from Umbule besides the LSN materials and an SIL 100 word list. Comprehensive reference grammars exist for Wayu, Thulung, Khaling, and Dumi, and several in-depth studies have been carried out of Sunuwar (cf. Genetti 1992) and Bahing (cf. van Driem 1991).

2) **Central Kiranti** comprises only "Rai languages". The languages can be divided up into a northern subgroup with Kulung (with Sotang) Nachhering, and Sangpang, and a southern subgroup with Bantawa, Chamling, and Puma. These two groups differ widely in grammar, but share many lexical and phonological features. As intermediate groups between Central Kiranti and East Kiranti, Dungmali (with Khesang and many small subtribes), Saam (nearly extinct) and Mewahang (with two different varieties, "Eastern" and "Western" M.) could be added here. The "Chukwa" (recte: *cukhuwa* (?)) a Mewahang clan cf. Gaenszle 1991: 141, 316) idiom recorded in the north of Bhojpur district appears to be a variety of Kulung mixed with Mewahang. Only Bantawa has been described so far in a complete reference grammar (cf. Rai 1981, 1985; for materials from other dialects cf. Gvozdanović 1985, Hansson 1991a). The LSN materials are the only sources for Puma, Saam (several subgroups, scanty data), and "Chukwa". There are no modern data for Dungmali besides the LSN data (some of these are published in Ebert

1991; the language is heavily influenced by Bantawa, but clearly distinct in grammar and phonology). Chamling materials were also collected by K. H. Ebert (now Zurich, some portions published in Ebert 1987, for lexicological materials from LSN cf. also Winter 1985). Besides earlier SIL research, two larger studies are in preparation for Kulung, viz. a field research project at the University of Leiden (according to G. van Driem, in a letter) and a larger Kulung-Nepali dictionary projected by a Rai nativist (according to W. Winter, p.c.). Planned studies in Bantawa are an "analytical dictionary" (W. Winter/N. K. Rai, a first version exists as ms. and in floppy disks) and a dissertation with a field project (J. Bisang-Foltan, Mainz/Zurich).

Further research is needed, above all, in Sangpang as a rapidly vanishing idiom with many historically important dialects (some of these appear to be based upon very archaic tribal substrata). Materials in the Mewahang dialects were collected by M. Gaenszle during his anthropological research (portions published in Gaenszle 1991).

3) **Eastern Kiranti** comprises the Rai languages Northern Lorung (=Lohorong) (rather close connections with Eastern Mewahang; there is a chain of nearly mutually intelligible idioms from Northern Lorung to Kulung in the upper Arun region), Southern Lorung (= Yakkhaba/Lorong = Yamphu/Lorong); definitely distinct from the language known as "Lohorong", also not to be confused with "Yamphu" or "Yakkha"; many dialects, most of them nearly extinct, "Yamphu"(1) (perhaps a marginal dialect of Southern Lorung), Yamphu (2) (= "Yakkhaba" = "Yamphe", also "Yakkha", large diversity in the local dialects), Yakkha (also "Yakkhaba"), Lumba "Yakkha" (clearly distinct from common Yakkha; the peculiar "Yakkha" numerals published in Gvozdanović 1985 are from this language), Mugali = Lambichong in earlier literature (nearly extinct now), Phangduwali (nearly extinct, very scanty data), Chhintang (nearly extinct), Chhulung, Belhare (also "Athpare" [Belhara]), Athpare, and the two Limbu languages Chhatthare Limbu and Limbu. Reference grammars have been published after 1980 for two major dialects of Limbu, viz., the Panchthare dialect (Weidert/ Subba 1985) and the Phedappe dialect (van Driem 1987). Portions of Yakkha (and Yamphu = "Yakkhaba") can be found in Gvozdanović (1985) and Gvozdanović (1989). A reference grammar of Lohorong (= N. Lorung) is in preparation now (G. van Driem, Leiden) a field project in Yamphu is planned (R. Rutgers, Leiden). Larger studies in Belhare (B. Bickel, Zurich/Nijmegen) and Athpare (K. E. Ebert, Zurich) are in preparation (cf. also Ebert 1991, Bickel 1992). For other Eastern Kiranti languages, in depth-studies have not been carried out so far.

7. Further Tibeto-Burman languages in East Nepal are **Dhimal** in the Terai (rather closely related to the little known Toto language in North Bengal, further affiliations uncertain), Lepcha (small minorities in Ilam district), and **Mechi** (= Bodo) (a small minority in Jhapa district, perhaps two distinct dialects). A larger glossary of Dhimal, based upon LSN materials and on field research materials provided by S. Subba (Kathmandu) has been prepared by the author (unpublished ms.). Additional field research in this language was

conducted by S. Toba (Royal Academy). No modern data from the Lepcha and Mechi dialects spoken in Nepal appear to exist outside the LSN materials.

8. The unwritten Indic languages in the central parts of Nepal and eastward, most of them called by the ethnic label of **Danuwar**, are one of the least-known ethno-linguistic clusters in the country. Danuwar (also Denwar, etc.) appears to be an ethnic label like "Rai" or "Tharu", which does not denote one coherent language group; according to two of the few experts, this label comprises "about a dozen or so" distinct idioms (Kuegler 1974: 2). Among these, Done-Danuwar, (highly Nepalized) Rai Danuwar (no evidence for a substratum of any Rai language, perhaps a label for several distinct local idioms) and Kacarya are definitely distinct from each other. Other Danuwar idioms, recorded during LSN campaigns, may be dialects of Maithili or Bhojpuri. Other members of this ethno-linguistic cluster are the Darai (= Darhi in earlier literature) in Gorkha district, the Kumhale (potters) and those subgroups of the Majhi (fishermen, ferrymen) caste who speak neither Nepali nor Newari, but distinct Indic idioms (known by names like "Kuswar" and "Bote Majhi"; but there are also native terms like "Majhi *kurā*"). Most of these "small languages" appear to be rapidly vanishing now in favour of Nepali. In-depth studies have been carried out so far in one variety of "Rai Danuwar" (Kuegler 1974, Rai/Kuegler 1975) and in the Darai language (Kotapish 1973, 1975). The only modern study in Majhi idioms known to me is an unpublished paper (Hansson 1989). A complete survey of the Danuwar languages and related idioms is still a desideratum.

9. Besides the "Kusunda" language with its difficult genetic position, only a few languages appear to be neither Tibeto-Burman nor Indic. Dhangar-Kurukh in the eastern Terai is a dialect of the Dravidian Oraon or Kurukh language (cf. the materials in Trail 1973). According to the LSN materials, the Munda language of the Satar people in the eastern Terai does not clearly differ from other dialects of Santhali in Bihar. Speakers of the Munda language Ho or Mundari are also reported to live in Nepal (no data available). A distinct Munda language called Sardar was reported from Dhankuta district, and a distinct Dravidian idiom from Okhaldhunga (materials are said to exist within the LSN sample, but are not available to the author).

#### References:

- Bickel, Balthasar. 1992. "In the Vestibule of Meaning: Transitivity Inversion as a Morphological Phenomenon." (Ms.) Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.
- Caughley, Ross. 1982. *The Syntax and Morphology of the Verb in Chepang*. Canberra: School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.
- Driem, George van. 1987. *A Grammar of Limbu*. Berlin: Mouton and de Gruyter.
- 1991: "Bahing and the Proto-Kiranti Verb." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 54, 2, pp. 336-356.



- 1992. "Le proto-kiranti révisité, morphologie verbale de lohorung." *Linguistica Hafniensia* 24, pp. 33-75.
- 1993. *A Grammar of Dumi*. Berlin: Mouton and de Gruyter.
- Ebert, Karen H. 1987. "Grammatical Markings of Speech Act Participation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 11, pp. 473-82.
- 1990. "On the Evidence for the Relationship Kiranti Rung." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 13.1, pp. 57-78.
- 1991. "Inverse and Pseudo-Inverse Prefixes in Kiranti Languages: Evidence from Belhare, Athpare, and Dungmali." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 14.1, pp. 73-92
- Gaenszle, Martin. 1991. *Verwandschaft und Mythologie bei den Mewahang Rai in Ostnepal. Eine ethnographische Studie zum Problem der "ethnischen Identität"*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- 1992. "The Text Within - Studies of Oral Ritual Texts in Nepal in the Last Decade." *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 3, pp. 5-16.
- Genetti, Carol. 1990. *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Dolakha Newari Dialect*. Eugene: Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oregon.
- 1992. "Segmental Alternations in the Sunwari Verb Stem: A Case for the Feature (Front)." *Linguistics* 30, pp. 319 -358.
- Grimes, Barbara F. 1988 (ed.). *Ethnologue*. Eleventh edition. Norman: SIL, University of Oklahoma.
- Gvozdanović, Jadranka. 1985. *Language System and its Change*. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 1989. "How Synchrony of a Language Reveals its Diachrony." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 8, 1/2, pp. 421-45.
- Hale, E. Austin. 1982. *Research in Tibeto-Burman Languages*. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton.
- 1973: (ed.) *Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal*. (4 parts) Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hale, E. Austin, Maria Hari, and Burkhard Schoettelndreyer (eds.). 1972. *Comparative Vocabularies of Languages of Nepal: Swadesh 100 Word Lists*. (66 lists, mimeo). Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hansson, Gerd. 1989. "Indoarische Reliktsprachen: Majhi Dialekte." (Ms.) Paper presented at the annual conference of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Nepal Research Programme, (1980-1990), Bonn.
- 1991. *The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping*. Findings of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. Edited and provided with an introduction by Werner Winter. Kathmandu: Linguistic Survey of Nepal and CNAS, Tribhuvan University.
- 1991a: "Polysynthetic Paradigms in Tibeto-Burman; Bantawa Verb Affixation." *Lingua Posnaniensis* 32/33: 91-108.
- Höfer, Andrés. 1992. "Six Proposals for an Ethnography of the Performed Word. Afterthoughts on Reading Martin Gaenszle's Review Article on the Study of Oral Ritual Texts." *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research* 3, pp. 17-22.
- Kotapish, Carl and Sharon. 1973. *Darai Phonemic Summary*. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics / INAS, Tribhuvan University.

- 1975. *A Darai-English English-Darai Glossary (with Grammatical Sketches)*. Kathmandu: SIL/INAS.
- Kuegler, Klaus P. and Doris. 1974. *Danuwar Rai Phonemic Summary*. Kathmandu: SIL/INAS, Tribhuvan University.
- Michailovsky, Boyd. 1981. *Grammaire de la langue Hayu (Nepal)*. Washington D. C.: Ph. D. thesis.
- 1988. *La langue Hayu* (revised book version of 1981). Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Nishi, Yoshio. 1982. "A Brief Survey of the Linguistic Position of Ghale." Paper presented at the XVth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Beijing.
- Rai, Bal Krishna and Klaus P. Kuegler. 1975. *A Vocabulary of the Danuwar Rai Language with Nepali and English*. Kirtipur: SIL/INAS, Tribhuvan University.
- Rai, Novel K. 1981. *A Basic Bantawa Conversational Course*. Kathmandu: Peace Corps Office (Mimeo).
- 1985. *A Descriptive Study of Bantawa*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Poona
- Sales, Anne de. 1989. "Summary of Research Findings." (On the Chantel in Dhaulagiri Zone.) Paper presented at the annual conference of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Nepal Research Programme (1980-90), Bonn.
- Sharma, D. D. 1989. *Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages III: Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand*. Part One: New Delhi: Mittal Publ.
- 1990: *Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages III: Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand*. Part Two. New Delhi: Mittal Publ.
- Trail, Ronald E. 1973 (ed.) *Patterns in Clause, Sentence and Discourse in Selected Languages of India and Nepal* (4 parts). Norman/Oklahoma: SIL, University of Oklahoma.
- Weidert, Alfons K. 1987. *Tibeto-Burman Tonology*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Weidert, Alfons K. and Bickram Subba. 1985. *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary*. Amsterdam: Lobster.
- Winter, Werner. 1984. *Distribution of Languages and Sublanguages in Eastern Nepal*. Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University.
- 1985: *Materials Towards a Dictionary of Chamling*. Kiel: Seminar für Allgemeine und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.
- 1987: "Differentiation within Rai: Non-Lexical Isoglosses." In: Donald Laycock and W. Winter (eds.). *A World of Language: Papers Presented to Professor S. A. Wurm on his 65th Birthday* (= Pacific Linguistics C-100), pp. 729-734.

## Deforestation in the Nepal Himalaya: Causes, Scope, Consequences\*

Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt

Since the end of the 1960s the public has been acutely sensitive to issues involving the degradation and protection of the environment. Forests and the threat posed to them by humans have from the beginning been a prime focus of attention. This may have to do with the fact that for many people, especially those in industrialized countries, forests represent the quintessence of the natural world, and the condition of forests is symbolic of the condition of nature as a whole. In Germany, for example, the indignation over the pollution of the atmosphere and soil reached a high point when the "death" of large tracts of forest was traced back to such influences. Similarly, the forests of the Nepal Himalaya have become a central topic of environment-related discussions, which began in the 1970s, and in the 1980s evolved into a controversy that is still going on to this day. An attempt will be made here to sketch the history of this controversy and its current status.

Two phases may be distinguished:

- the phase of the 1970s, during which, particularly on the basis of reports by the FAO and the World Bank, a rapid and progressive destruction of forest land in the higher elevations of Nepal was asserted, coupled with the prediction that the consequences would be immediate and catastrophic - for example, in a 1978 report of the World Bank that anticipated the complete deforestation of the Nepal Himalaya within the coming 15 years, that is, by the year 1993;
- the phase of the 1980s, during which years an opposing movement got under way, supported particularly by scientists associated with Jack Ives, whose position, summarized in the 1989 book *Himalayan Dilemma* (written by Jack Ives and Bruno Messerli) is directed against the representatives of the so-called "theory of Himalayan environmental degradation."

The line of argument followed by this theory may be summarized as follows: The environmental catastrophe in the Nepal Himalaya is a phenomenon of the recent past, having its beginnings in the opening of the previously closed country in 1951. The major effect of subsequent modernization has been in the field of medicine, and the consequent sudden rise in population. This in turn has implied increased demand on the country's natural resources, particularly on its forest resources. There have basically been two reasons for the strain on the latter: the clearing of woodlands to expand field acreage for the increased population, and the increased demand for firewood, Nepal's most important source of energy. The ever more rapid destruction of forests that has resulted from these two main areas of exploitation has had consequences such as increased surface run-off, accelerated soil erosion and catastrophic flooding in the forelands of the Nepal Himalaya.

The doubts that were raised against this briefly sketched catastrophe theory were directed principally against the following links in the chain of argument:

- the supposedly rapid tempo of the deforestation process, and in this connection the assertion that the destruction of forests has been a consequence of modernization, and thus a problem that arose only after the opening of Nepal;
- the supposition that the clearing of land and use of firewood are the main causes of forest destruction;
- the view that floods in the Himalayan forelands can be directly linked with deforestation in the mountains;
- the assertion that mountain forests are the principal ones affected by the process of deforestation.

It may be added that, from the geographical perspective, "the forest" is treated in this explanatory model as an abstract entity, without the multiplicity of forest types in the Nepal Himalaya, or their spatial arrangement, being taken into account. Here the differences come out above all within a verticalization - that is, within a sequence of forest levels. The types of forest, which differ with regard to species composition and stand structure, serve a variety of functions for those who exploit them, and are influenced and transformed by such persons in a variety of ways.

In the following, the three subtopics mentioned in the title - the scope, causes and consequences of deforestation in the Nepal Himalaya - will be discussed in greater detail.

In order to determine the scope of deforestation, it must first be made clear what exactly is understood by the terms "forest," "forest destruction" and "deforestation." The use of imprecisely defined terms regularly leads to misunderstandings, such as when the term "forest" is used to denote, not a tract of land containing a growth of trees, but rather a tract of land in the possession of a forestry administrative unit.

The percentage of crown covering, that is, the portion of a tract of land covered by the crowns of trees, is the optimal method for narrowing down the definition of forest tracts. This figure can be determined both in the field and from aerial photographs, and is thus suitable for both small- and large-scale target areas. Moreover, it is possible to fix threshold values, below which it is no longer forest but open woodlands or brush that is the object of study.

An exact determination of the forested area of Nepal took place in the 1980s under the Land Resources Mapping Project (LRMP), with the use of aerial photos from the years 1978/79, which were supplemented by a series of aerial photos from the years 1964/65. Various categories of crown covering were excluded, and only those tracts with a covering of more than 40% were termed forests. The result was, at that time, a forest area amounting to 28.1% of the total area of Nepal.

As for the terms "forest destruction," "deforestation" and "forest degradation," one can perhaps settle on calling deforestation only that which involves the actual loss of forest tracts or the transformation of forest land into other forms of vegetation - for example, into tracts of brush or grass;



whereas the term "forest degradation" is used only for changes in the structure of forest - for example, a thinning of growth, a drop in growth heights, a decrease in the age of growth, and the like.

From a comparison of the series of aerial photographs from 1965 and 1979, the development of forested areas could be determined over a period of 14 years. The study led to the surprising result that during this period 1.5% of the forested area in the high-lying region, and by contrast 24% of the forested area of the Terai (the northern portion of the Ganges plain at the foot of the Himalaya), was lost. In the mountain chains bordering the Terai to the north, the Siwaliks, the loss of forested area, approximately 15%, was also quite considerable. Deforestation on a large scale thus took place in Nepal after 1950, but not, as generally assumed, in the Nepal Himalaya, but rather in the low-lying forelands and border mountain chains. The deforestation of the Terai is the consequence of a displacement of the local farming population from the hills to the fertile Terai, once the latter had lost its frightening reputation as "Nepal's hell of fevers" following the campaign to wipe out malaria in the 1950s. This migration has led to a shift in the population's centre of concentration from the Himalayan foothills, the kingdom's historical core region, to the plains at the foot of the mountains, and has increasingly assumed the proportions of a large-scale flight from the mountains.

Through a comparison of aerial photos, the extent of deforestation in the Terai became apparent for the first time. The result for the high-lying regions during the same period of 14 years was, along with a small loss of forested areas, a reduction in the crown covering by approximately 15%, that is, significantly more forest degradation than deforestation.

The clearly lower rate of deforestation in the high-lying regions in comparison with the Himalayan forelands also means that the clearing of land after 1950 to extend field surface areas in the mountains cannot have been as extensive as it once was thought. An analysis of historical documents - for example, land titles - suggests that the transformation of forest areas into farmland generally took place before 1950, and that this was carried out most intensively in the 19th century.

The underlying reason was the kingdom's finance policy, which generated government revenues principally from land taxes and thus actively promoted the expansion of the area of assessable agricultural land. This occurred through the use of incentives, such as the temporary exemption from taxes for newly won land, or through land grants rather than cash payments for members of the military. The clearing of land that was spurred on by this came to an end in the high-lying regions before 1950, and the influence of humans on the forests has since been less one of reducing the forested areas than of degrading the remaining patches of forest. In order to examine the factors that have contributed to this forest degradation more closely, it is worth distinguishing between two altitudinal levels:

- a thickly settled and agriculturally intensive region under 2,400 m, whose forested areas, made up of deciduous and evergreen broad-leaved growth as well as, in dry areas, of pine trees, remain only in residual stands;
- a less thickly settled region over 2,400 m (i.e., in essence, above the

upper borderline of permanently cultivated fields), which still contains dense patches of forest. The so-called "high-altitude and mist forests," constantly enshrouded in clouds during the monsoon, and consisting below 2,800 m of evergreen oak forests and above 2,800 m of coniferous forests, extend up to approximately 3,600 m. They give way towards the upper forest boundary to subalpine growth (beech, juniper, rhododendron).

In order to be able to gauge the influence on forests below 2,400 m, one must know the significance of these forests for agriculture. The agriculture of most poor mountain farmers is based on a subsistence economy without any appreciable income.

Artificial fertilizers can not be used to replace such traditional methods of renewing soil fertility as fallowing, rotating crops and using natural fertilizers. Natural fertilizers thus are of utmost importance, and livestock, their producers, serve a key function within the whole context of subsistence farming. There is no systematic production of fodder, however, so that the care of the animals, in terms of the quantity and source of their fodder, is subject to marked fluctuations during the course of a year. The supply is plentiful during the rainy season; in the dry period, however, when the grass has withered in the pastures, and even the remains from the harvest have been consumed, the only things left are the leaves of evergreens. Foliage is obtained by lopping off the leaves and branches of forest trees, and also field trees, which are the private property of the farmers. Ratios vary. Generally it may be said that in the lower lying areas, where patches of forest are particularly sparse, trees located in fields are the major source, whereas in higher altitudes forest trees are. The foliage is either taken to the fields and there fed to the livestock, which proceeds to pass on the ingested nutrients to the fields in the form of dung; or is else used as litter in barns and then, composted with dung, put out on the fields in small piles before the monsoon. In this way there occurs a constant transfer of nutrients from the forest and isolated trees to the fields. An attempt has been made to determine the minimum area of a forest that is required to keep up the productivity on one hectare of field surface without the forest being impaired. Values between 1.3 and 2.8 ha have been calculated. Since in large parts of the Nepalese mountain region a ratio of 1 ha of farmland to 1.3 or 2.8 ha of forest no longer exists, the overexploitation and consequent degradation of forests is taking place.

The consumption of firewood is viewed as one of the most important causes of forest destruction, but is probably less significant in comparison to agriculturally motivated uses. There is a lack of consensus, however, as to the amount of fuel being consumed and the proportion of it represented by firewood, from which figure the pressure put on forests by this form of exploitation might be calculated; the reason for this is that previous attempts at quantification have diverged widely, both regarding procedure and results. It should be noted that firewood, like fodder, is obtained not only from forests but also, by lopping, from trees in fields. Concerning the exploitation of evergreen broad-leaved forests, it may be said in general that more lopping than felling takes place in them.

Trees are felled principally for construction timber. In the lower lying regions, the portion of timber in house construction is less than at higher elevations, those above 2,000 m with easy access to enclosed coniferous forests of the mist forest level. In these forests, therefore, the cutting of timber assumes greater importance. The wood of coniferous trees - for example, the Himalayan fir - is favoured for the wooden shingles of house roofs. For the production of such shingles, only large and straight trees are felled. The selective felling carried out in this manner causes a thinning of the stands of trees, a decrease in their height and an increase in the portion of stunted growth - in short, a degradation of the coniferous forests. It may occur, in the process that the coniferous trees of the main stands are replaced by plants from the undergrowth - e.g. by various types of rhododendron.

Forest pasturing also exercises a significant influence, particularly in areas of subalpine undergrowth and along forest rims. Oversettlement together with fires pushes back the rims, thus leading to deforestation. It can be assumed that the deforestation of the Nepal Himalaya, less in comparison to the Terai and the Siwalik border ranges, occurs primarily along the upper boundaries of forests.

From what has been said up to now, it is clear that in many respects the so-called deforestation problem in Nepal is nowadays viewed with a greater feeling for nuances than it was some 15 years ago. This applies to the historical dimension, and in particular to the history of the forests after the opening of the country around 1950 - a history that until recently had been almost completely ignored under the influence of an explanatory model that took into account only the effects of modernization. It applies to the related question of judging the causes for the loss of forest land. Above all, however, it applies to the spatial dimension, that is, to the distribution pattern of deforestation processes, within which the difference between the Himalaya and the Himalayan foreland is particularly striking.

The effects of deforestation and forest degradation on run-off and surface run-off, as well as the less immediate effects of these mountain processes, are appraised in a different manner today. In the scenario of the 1970s, floods in the Gangetic plain were represented as a direct consequence of the destruction of forests in the Nepal Himalaya. The problem even became a political issue, being seen as a possible cause of environmental conflict between Nepal and India. Today the data on dynamic processes in the Nepal Himalaya, though still very sparse, are assessed with greater caution. There is also a tendency not only to exercise restraint when it comes to asserting connections that are not supported by facts, but to emphasize - and perhaps overemphasize - that the very notion of quantitative information is inadequate. Opinions that have previously been treated as certainties are beginning to wobble, particularly with regard to the following three points:

- the influence of humans on surface run-off;
- the influence of vegetation cover on run-off;
- the effects of increased run-off and accelerated surface run-off in mountainous regions on the neighbouring lowlands.

Whereas previously the particularly dramatic soil erosion in the Himalaya and the resulting sweeping of loose debris into watercourses was ascribed to a large extent to human causes, now the part played by natural surface run-off through gravitational processes (e.g. landslides) in a young (i.e. steep and tectonically unstable) mountain range has been reevaluated upward.

Our knowledge of the regulative influence of forests on run-off and thus on soil erosion through flowing water is based on measurements that have been largely carried out in mountain ranges in the temperate latitudes. These latter results have often been applied carelessly to the Nepal Himalaya, a climatically very different region. Measurements in Nepal indicate that occurrences of intensive precipitation, in a situation of greater soil absorption capacity, lead to surface run-off and accelerated soil erosion - even under the crown cover of a forest. Many more studies will be required to assess properly the relationship between vegetation cover, run-off processes and the extent of erosion. It seems certain, however, that the influence of intensive precipitation on run-off in mountainous regions is local in scope, and that sediments that make their way into riverbeds in mountain regions reach the lowlands only after a long interim.

Whereas the effects of deforestation and forest degradation in the economy of the landscape are controversial and still largely unexplained, the direct economic consequences for the rural population are clear for all to see. Forests serve such a variety of functions for the existence of mountain farmers in the Himalaya that they were accurately described as "provider forests" by the German forester F. Heske, who was employed at the beginning of the century as an adviser to the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal. In most cases, these forests are nowadays too small in area and too degraded to be able to fulfil this function any longer. The result is a phenomenon of dearth, particularly as regards fodder-producing foliage and firewood. The dearth has led in many places, on the other hand, to the rural population engaging in self-help initiatives. Within the past few years numerous examples of so-called "indigenous forest management systems" have become familiar in Nepal. Such schemes have been set up by village communities without outside support, and encompass everything from forest protection measures to ways to increase forest areas and the number of trees in the fields. The willingness to cooperate with forest development projects should also be mentioned in this connection, particularly when project goals are tailored to the needs of the farmers and pursued with their collaboration, as occurs, for example, in the "community forestry" approach.

The danger posed to forests in the Nepal Himalaya by the phenomena described here is a serious problem. It would appear to make little sense, however, to constantly conjure up the threat of complete deforestation in order to make the threat seem more real than it is. The fear thus aroused of a great ecological catastrophe blunts the perception of less spectacular but no less consequential degradational processes, and draws attention away from other problems. It has been seen how the focus of world attention on the Nepal Himalaya has let deforestation in the Terai go completely unnoticed.



If deforestation is declared to be the main problem, then reforestation appears to be the only sensible solution, and the increase of reforested tracts the standard of success, in the battle against it. Other measures, by contrast, such as the protection, care and gradual extension of still existing but degraded patches of forest, fall into the background. That the initiatives undertaken by farmers to protect forests and increase the number of trees was first "noticed" in the 1980s, when dire predictions concerning the immediate future of the Nepal Himalaya were first subjected to doubt, appears in this context to be quite telling.

#### References:

- Gilmour, D.A., Bonell, M., and Casselles, D.S. 1987. "The Effects of Forestation on Soil Hydraulic Properties in the Middle Hills of Nepal: A Preliminary Assessment". In: *Mountain Research and Development* 7, 3, pp. 239-249.
- Gilmour, D.A. and Fisher, R.J. 1991. *Villagers, Forests and Foresters: The Philosophy, Process and Practice of Community Forestry in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press.
- Heske F. 1931. "Probleme der Walderhaltung im Himalaya". In: *Tharandter Forstl. Jahrbuch*, Bd. 82, pp. 545-594.
- Ives, J.D. and Messerli, B. 1989. *The Himalayan Dilemma: Reconciling Development and Conservation*. London & New York: United Nations University.
- Mahat, T.B.S., Griffin, D.M. and Shepherd, K.R. 1980. "Human Impact on Some Forests of the Middle Hills of Nepal. Part 1. Forestry in the Context of the Traditional Resources of the State". In: *Mountain Research and Development* 6, 3, pp. 223-232.
- 1987. "Human Impact on Some Forests of the Middle Hills of Nepal. Part 3. Forests in the Subsistence Economy of Sindhu Palchok and Kabhre Palanchok." In: *Mountain Research and Development* 7, 1, pp. 53-70.
- Metz, J.J. 1991. "A Reassessment of the Causes and Severity of Nepal's Environmental Crisis". In: *World Development* 19, 7, pp. 805-820.
- Schmidt-Vogt, D. 1990. *High Altitude Forests in the Jugal Himal (Eastern Central Nepal): Forest Types and Human Impact*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Tamang, D. 1990. *Indigenous Forest Management Systems in Nepal: A Review*. Kathmandu: HMG Ministry of Agriculture.
- Wyatt-Smith, J. 1982. *The Agricultural System in the Hills of Nepal: The Ratio of Agricultural to Forested Land and the Problem of Animal Fodder*. APROSC Occasional Papers 1. Kathmandu.

\*This article is based on a lecture given in the 4th Heidelberg Symposium on South Asia "Nepal and the Countries of the Himalayan Region", 1993.

## Nepali Migration to Bhutan

Christopher Strawn\*

The Nepali ethnic group stretches beyond the boundaries of Nepal to the south, east, and west to different parts of India and southern Bhutan. The current cultural boundaries represent both relatively recent extensions of Nepali culture as well as remnants of an ancient cultural domain. In the context of present-day cultural boundaries, the easternmost reach of the Nepalis before significant out-migration from Nepal started is represented by the Limbus, who occupied the southern parts of present-day Sikkim. In the seventeenth century the Limbus were considered an "indigenous" group of Sikkim and were "one family" with the Lepchas and Bhutias, the other inhabitants of the country (Nembang 1992: 33). It is unclear whether this "family" is linked by earlier Sikkimese expansion to the west, which conquered parts of the Limbu kingdom, Limbuwan, and inducted the Limbus into the Lepcha-Bhutia society of the north and east (Timsina 1992: 22), or if the Limbus became members of the "family" as the Lepcha, Limbu, and Bhutia population expanded and met. A government of Sikkim document records that the Limbu kingdom "broke away from Sikkim" at the beginning of the 1700s, suggesting a previously subdued kingdom ([1970?]: 9). The facts are difficult to ascertain. In fact, even before the Limbus, the Magars were supposed to have been in Sikkim from the earliest times, and were later driven west past Limbuwan into the central and western hills of Nepal where they now predominate, according to several sources (see Subba 1992: 39-40). By the eighteenth century, however, any benevolent feelings the Lepchas and Bhutias may have had towards the Nepalis, possibly including the Limbus who were considered "family", soured as Nepal invaded and took over parts of Sikkim in the 1770s and 1780s, keeping its hold on southern Sikkim until 1815 (Government of Sikkim [1970?] 10-12). Though driven out by the British, the Nepalis would later overrun the country again - this time as immigrants rather than soldiers.

While a small population of Limbus had lived in Sikkim for centuries, by the 1900s the Limbus and other Nepali ethnic groups formed the majority of the population. Even in the late 1800s, the threat of Nepali immigration was perceived to be so great that when the Nepalis were still probably a minority, though a definite demographic threat, the King of Sikkim, the Chogyal, banned Nepali migration to Sikkim. The ban did not stop Nepali migration. The British pressurized Sikkim to take in Nepali immigrants to fill the labour need for local development projects such as road building, as well as allegedly colluding with local landlords to bring in Nepalis against the weakening government's wishes (Ibid. 15-16). The official government history, written during the Chogyal's time, argues that the British conspired to recruit Nepalis into the country:

"While Their Highnesses were in detention in Kalimpong, Claude White with his Sikkimese proteges embarked upon a policy of destroying the

ancient economy of Sikkim. The Private Estates of the Royal House and the lands of loyalist elements were being liquidated and distributed among pro-British elements. A number of lessee landlords were created and en bloc settlement of Nepalese in different areas was made; often the Bhutias, Lepchas and Tsongs were deprived of their lands" (Ibid.: 19).

Lok Raj Baral clarifies the British interest in taking such drastic steps: "Nepalis migrated into Sikkim around 1865. The British rulers in India encouraged them to migrate with a view to balancing the pro-Tibetan Bhutias" (1990: 60). Worried about Chinese expansionism and China's claim on Tibet, the British government concluded that a larger Nepali population, with more links to India than Tibet and a notable presence in the British Army, would decrease the chances of China taking over Sikkim, or of the kingdom aligning with China. Even though most of the Nepalis living in Sikkim today are non-Limbus who have migrated because of Nepali expansionism and British encouragement, and many Bhutias and Lepchas might dispute Nepali, or Limbu, claims to the country, Sikkim is the ancient boundary of Nepali culture, represented by the Limbus in the east, even though the Limbus might not be indigenous to Sikkim.

Nepali emigration into the northeast of India began with the unification of Nepal under Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors in the late 1700s and the consequent expansion of the Kingdom of Nepal. This boundary extension meant that Nepalis settled in places where they had never been before. Moreover, the Nepalis' tendency to settle permanently in the places to which they migrated meant that in effect the Nepali cultural area spread past its original boundaries and remained despite Nepal's loss of its conquered territory to British India in the 1816 Treaty of Sugauli (Baral 1990: 28). In addition, Nepali emigration throughout the nineteenth century (and the beginning of the twentieth) was encouraged by three factors: problems in Nepal, specifically a repressive government and an exploitative labour system, but also a lack of land, occasional famines, and epidemics; the need for labour in Darjeeling and Assam, for which the British especially recruited Nepalis; and former Gurkha soldiers who settled (or were resettled) in the areas of their units (Baral 1990: 20-21; Timsina 1992: 17-25).

Nepali settlement in Assam started in the 1820s as people left Nepal for greener pastures:

"[The British] wanted labourers for these [tea] industries. That very time Nepalis entered in this area. After [a] few years, the Nepalis started agriculture by clearing the jungle. They started *Graziers* in [a] few areas" (Timsina 1992: 19).

In contrast, in areas such as Meghalaya, Manipur, and Mizoram, Timsina points to the Gurkha regiments, all dating back to the mid to late 1800s, as the main factor in establishing Nepali communities (Ibid.: 20-23). In Darjeeling, however, "right from the beginning [of the British annexation] the majority of people in Darjeeling were Nepalis" (Ibid.: 25). The Nepalis in Darjeeling

would have included the Limbu population of former Sikkim, Nepalis who settled during the Gorkha rule in Darjeeling, and more recent immigrants. The great majority of Nepali migration into Darjeeling, and later Sikkim, was to meet labour needs in the tea plantations and for road construction, for both of which the Nepalis were especially recruited by the British.

### Migration to Bhutan

British reports are the key sources for population patterns in southern Bhutan since the eighteenth century. They indicate that, up until the Duars War in 1864, the south of Bhutan was inhospitable not only because of the hot weather, malaria, and dense jungle, but also because of the Bhutanese, who would raid the areas, take slaves, and extract heavy taxes. Up until the Duars War, the British expeditions noted only sparse settlement in the south entirely by Indian ethnic groups, leaving no record of Nepalis in southern Bhutan:

"The British reports [mention] Mech, Rajbanshis, Bodo, Bengalis and Musalmans from the plain along with Koch as residents of southern Bhutan. During the subsequent Duar-War between fourth and seventh decades of the 19th century a number of slaves of the plains origin from the above mentioned communities were found in the vicinity of the forts in the central Bhutan" (Sinha 1991: 28).

Up until the twentieth century, there had been little settlement in the southern foothills of Bhutan compared to the adjoining areas. In 1904, Charles Bell "noted that as soon as he had crossed the border all cultivation virtually ceased as the area was sparsely populated... 'By comparison with Kalimpong and Sikkim this part of the country could support 150 persons to the square mile. At present it can be only 20 or 30'" (Collister 1987: 170). Although the British did not explore Bhutan more thoroughly until the Duars War and J.C. White's 1905 mission, it is likely that the Nepalis had not made significant inroads into Bhutan prior to the Duars War. It is possible that they had settled in the south in small pockets, but since conditions were difficult in Bhutan and more favourable in Assam and Darjeeling, it seems unlikely that any Nepalis would come to Bhutan. In fact, Sinha indicates that settlers, even some of the Mechs who had lived some time in Bhutan, were drawn to other areas in the 1850s:

"As a whole, in the middle of the nineteenth century the south western mid-montane area was depopulated (if it was populous at sometime in the past); the region was full of thick vegetation and wild beasts; among them the Mech thrived; the Bhutanese highlander officials were stationed at hill tops from where they could descend only in cold seasons with a view to collecting taxes; and the natives - both the Bhotia highlanders and the Mech etc. Terai-dwellers - were attracted to Darjeeling... in search of better economic opportunity and escape from the highhandedness of their rulers" (1991: 35-6).



Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing for certain if any Nepalis from Assam or West Bengal settled in the south before the Duars War. The years after the Duars War, however, would see vast changes in the area as Nepalis quickly began to populate the southern foothills of Bhutan.

Even though the British do not record the presence of Nepalis before the Duars War, some of the Nepali Bhutanese in exile claim that Nepalis were in fact present for centuries. At the earliest, people point to the Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo as the initial instigator of Nepali settlement in Bhutan:

"Ethnic Nepali immigration to Bhutan dates back to the seventh century AD when the 33rd King of Tibet, Tshongtshen Gampo took a team of Nepali/Newari artisans from the Kathmandu valley for the construction of 108 monasteries, including the Paro Kyichu and Bumthang Jamphel Lhakhangs at the initiation of his queen, the Nepali Princess Vrikuti Devi, for the spread of Buddhism in the Himalayan region. These artisans are believed to have settled in the fertile valleys of western and central Bhutan" (BNDP, 16 March 1993: [1]).

The BNDP's claim is supported by Bhutanese Foreign Minister Dawa Tsering: "The Nepalese have been settling down in our southern plains from the seventh century. We welcomed them because they were hard-working people. But they cannot be permitted to swamp us" (*The Statesman*, 12 February 1991). Some argue that when Padmasambhava came in the ninth century he brought an entourage of Nepalis, who might have later settled in Bhutan, since he came from Nepal. Also, others maintain that the first Shabdrung brought in Nepalis. Quoting officials of the BNDP, the *Sunday Despatch* reports that "Historical records of Nepalese migration into Bhutan date back to 1624. The first batch of skilled Nepalese artisans went there after a formal document was signed by Gorkha King Ram Shah and the first monk ruler Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyel" (28 March 1993: 1). Another story relates that Bhutan requested the Nepal government to send soldiers to populate the south in order to help fend off the British. All of these reports are unconfirmed, although several dissidents claim to have heard of a brass plaque detailing Ngawang Namgyal's agreement to settle Nepali families. It is noteworthy, however, that an 'Umze Thapa', Thapa being a Nepali caste name that does not appear in Tibetan, was a Desi in the 1780s. If true, this suggests that one of the above mentioned early Nepali settlements gained a foothold in the country and integrated with the Drukpas enough to see a Nepali on the Bhutanese throne. Be that as it may, since the majority of the Nepali settlements are in the south, and the number of people who would have settled in any of the above scenarios is rather small, it is reasonable to assume that settlement after the Duars War is responsible for the large number of Nepalis in Bhutan today.

Although there is a dearth of British records between the Duars War's conclusion in 1865 and J.C. White's mission in 1905, we can still glean a good idea of the beginnings of Nepali migration from the documents that do exist. These documents support the assumption that most Nepali migration took place between the end of the Duars War and the early days of the monarchy.

In the British records we can trace Nepali migration in the Haa district back to before 1890. In 1905, J.C. White observed:

"[F]or the last fifteen years their [the people of Haa's] winter grazing-grounds near Sipchu and the lower hills have been seriously curtailed by the increasing irruption of Nepalese settlers, and thus the chief source of their wealth - cattle-rearing and dairy produce - has begun to fail, while the constant quarrels arising between them [the people of Haa] and the Paharias [Nepalis] entail much worry and expense" (1909: 113).

White also noted that the Nepali population was, by 1905, substantial and well distributed: "The remaining inhabitants [of Bhutan] are Paharias [Nepalis], the same as those in Sikkim, who are creeping along the foothills and now form a considerable community extending the whole length of Bhutan where the outer hills join the plains of India" (Ibid.: 13-4). In fact, Charles Bell, writing one year earlier in 1904, quantifies the Nepali population: "He found Sipchu and Tsang-be Kazis Nandlal Chetri, Garjman Gurung and Lalsingh Gurung as *thickadars* (contractual landlords) controlling 2,730 houses and about 15,000 persons. Out of the above figure, 14,000 were reported to be the Nepalese" (Sinha 1991: 37-8). Moreover, Bell reports on only two districts, Samchi and Chirang. White's statement that the Nepali population was "creeping along the foothills" suggests that the total Nepali population was greater than Bell's estimate of 14,000. Quoting from the 1930 Royal Commission on Labour in India, Sinha writes that between 1911 and 1921 there was a 30% decline in the number of Nepalis working in tea plantations in Jalpaiguri, suggesting that "the Nepalese were lured to the adjoining northern Bhutan as graziers and farmers, as Nepalese were immigrating to southern Bhutan in considerable numbers in those days" (1990: 223). Although British records fail to establish the beginnings and the extent of Nepali migration into Bhutan conclusively, they give evidence for significant Nepali migration in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Large-scale Nepali migration continued into the later decades, striking the British as an uncontrolled movement and a possible threat to a dwindling Drukpa population. Writing in 1928, the Political Officer of Sikkim, Bailey, warned of the increasing menace of a large Nepali population:

"Bailey considered that the major problem facing Bhutan was no longer the succession [of the hereditary King] but was the settlement of so many lowland Nepalese in the lower valleys to which the Bhutanese, who still disliked living at any height lower than 5,000 feet, avoided going if they could help it. There were now estimated to be about 50,000 Nepalese in these areas" (Collister 1987: 179).

The last estimate of population the British give is in 1932. At that time, a Captain C.J. Morris of the Gurkha Rifles investigated the possibility of recruiting Bhutanese for the armed forces. In his tour of Samchi and Chirang, he counted 1,493 houses in the eastern and about 4,000 houses in the western

district, with a total of approximately 60,000 Nepalis (Sinha 1991: 39). Concurrent with the increase in Nepal population the British observed a severe population decline among the Drukpa due to "in-breeding... the reduction of immigrants from Tibet... venereal diseases and other health problems" (Collister 1987: 184). In the early 1930s, Williamson, the Political Officer of Sikkim, claimed that the Bhutanese would be a dying race unless measures were taken soon (Ibid.: 189). Summarizing British reports, Collister also quotes a report that questioned the legal procedure for the extradition of Nepali settlers (Ibid.: 185). This report indicates that the Nepali settlers' legal status remained undefined in the early 1930s, and raises questions about the Bhutanese attitude towards the Nepalis who settled in the south, a question which is especially relevant today. The British documents do not establish whether the Bhutanese intended to send the Nepalis back once they had cleared the land and set up farms and plantations, if the Nepalis were a largely uncontrolled migratory group, or if the Nepalis were recruited by the Bhutanese to settle permanently in the south.

According to British reports, and to scholars using them as the basis for their investigation of Bhutan, Bhutanese officials, specifically Kazi Ugyen Dorji and his son Raja S.T. Dorji, were responsible for recruiting Nepalis into Bhutan, possibly at the suggestion of the British. Although the Dorjis may not have overseen the settlement directly, they were given the power and the directive to settle the Nepalis. Sinha gives perhaps the best over-all analysis of exactly how Nepalis were brought into Bhutan, according to British sources:

"[The signing of the Sinchula Treaty in 1865] led to the establishment of peace on the Indo-Bhutanese frontiers. A side effect of this development was the large scale immigration of the Nepalese, first to Darjeeling, then to Sikkim and Duars. The Nepalese expansion to Bhutanese southern foothills could not wait long since these were the regions inhabited by a few Mech tribesmen with a distant Bhutanese control. This was the time, when Ugyen Kazi emerged as a significant person in the Bhutanese power structure, Indo-Bhutanese relationship and in the authority system of western and south-western Bhutan. Ugyen's father, the Kazi of Jungtse, was an influential figure in the western Bhutan and the Bhutanese court in the 1860's. It appears that his services were frequently commissioned by the Bhutanese Durbar to settle matters of importance relating to the south-western borders... In 1898, he [Ugyen Kazi] was appointed Ha Thrunpa, chief of Ha, with rights over the whole of southern Bhutan and rights vested in him to settle immigrant Nepalese in his territories. He was also made Bhutanese Agent in Kalimpong besides being the official interpreter of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. Sir Charles A. Bell had cultivated the Agent of the Bhutanese Government and used him to carry the Viceroy's letter to the Dalai Lama in 1903. Kazi Ugyen Dorji provided valuable services to the British during the Youngusband Expedition to Lhasa, 1903-4. As a recognition to his services rendered to the British, the title of Raja was conferred upon him" (1991: 36-7).

Bell's description of the contractual landlords lends credence to Sinha's analysis of an organized settlement. Similarly, White's details of conflict between the people of Haa and the Nepalis who impinged on Haa's grazing grounds implies that the Nepalis had some legitimacy in Bhutan, and that the people of Haa were unable to defend their land. Sipchu, the land in question, is a predominantly Nepali area, and the fact that the Nepalis were not expelled suggests that the problems between Nepalis and the people of Haa, though serious, were somehow negotiated or quelled, especially since no armed conflict, which would have surely followed unwanted or forbidden incursions, is noted by White. It seems implausible that the Haa people, who had helped defend their country from invasions and fought many civil wars in the recent past, would be unable or unwilling to evict the first bands of Nepalis who settled if there was such a confrontation. One can, however, only guess at the real scenario.

Sinha's hint of a British role seems likely, given that Britain's role was critical in bringing Nepalis to Darjeeling and Sikkim. It seems that British development goals were similar for Bhutan, Darjeeling, and Sikkim, but that the Bhutanese backed out of a proposed development scheme which included tea plantations, mineral resource development, and bamboo and timber extraction (Collister 1987: 173). On the other hand, Collister writes that the British were concerned with "the inevitable influx of Nepalese immigrants" that development would bring (Ibid.: 167). Nonetheless, the British were willing to push for development if it would bring Bhutan closer to them and farther from the Chinese. Whether Nepali migration to Bhutan was a British plan or not, since Kazi Ugyen Dorji was working closely with the British, he must have at least not threatened British aims, especially since he is never criticized in any British report. Interestingly, the close relations between Ugyen Dorji and the British Political Officer of Sikkim continued with Raja S.T. Dorji, Ugyen Dorji's son. S.T. Dorji was not only the King's Agent with rights to settle people in Bhutan, but he was also the British Political Officer's assistant (Ibid.: 187). Raja S.T. Dorji, however, "apparently paid little attention to the southern and tropical parts where 'Gurka colonists', according to Political Officer Williamson's informants, were 'disgracefully exploited by certain young Nepalese landlords'" (Ibid.: 187-8). British reports suggest that these Nepali landlords were granted responsibility for the recruiting and settlement of Nepalis, and simply milked the settlers for as much money as they could get.

Many of the refugees in eastern Nepal have documents which help piece together the mechanics of Nepali settlement in Bhutan. A few can even produce a *kasho*, or royal decree, which originally granted them the right to settle in Bhutan. The earliest of the *kashos* owned by anyone in the camps is a contract given to Gajarman Gurung, one of the Thikadars, dated 1887. It is important to note that the contract grants Gurung ownership of the land in perpetuity, even giving him the right to settle others. This flies in the face of present Bhutan government allegations that the Nepalis were recruited into Bhutan for short-term employment, such as clearing forest, and not granted land until much later. While only a few of the settlers in Bhutan received and



still have *kashos* directly from a Bhutanese government official, many of the refugees can produce land-tax receipts, or *kajanas*, that date back to the early 1900s. These receipts make it very clear that the government, or at least the Dorjis, were amassing a huge amount of money every year from the Nepalis. Some of the *kajanas* from the beginning of the 1900s show that the government taxed families as much as eight or ten rupees for their houses, not including taxes for land and cattle. To put this tax rate into perspective, almost a century later, in 1991, the charge for one acre of land was twelve rupees, almost the same rate - most families own a couple of acres and houses are not taxed at all. Taking a 1923 *kajana* of ten rupees, for example, and assuming 10% inflation, the ten rupees of 1923 would be equivalent to about 11,000 rupees in 1993. Ostensibly, the farming was so productive in the south that people were able to make that much money in a year by selling their produce. Considering that, besides contributions from the Nepalis, essentially the only monetary income for the Bhutan government prior to 1960 was an annual stipend from India (50,000 rupees from 1865 to 1910, 100,000 from 1910 to 1949, and 500,000 after 1949 [Parmanand 1992: 181-83]), the taxes raised from the Nepalis probably formed a significant contribution to the national coffers. In fact, if the 5,500 households noted by Bell each paid five rupees on average for their *kajana*, somewhere around 20% of the total government income (27,500 rupees from the Nepalis added to the British grant of 100,000 rupees) would have been provided by the Nepalis at that time. It is likely, though, that little of the money collected from the Nepalis reached the King. First the Thikadars kept a portion, then the Dorjis, who were a very rich family by the 1960s and are still so today, and finally the Wangchuks would get whatever was left over. No available documents detail the contribution of the Nepali Bhutanese to the national treasury.

Many refugees are also aware of their family history and can recall the days before development started in the 1960s, clarifying the process of Nepali immigration. In the early 1900s, the village Mandals were very powerful, and usually they had the right to settle people on land within their jurisdiction. The contractual landlords, too, were able to settle immigrants, as the *kasho* of Gajarman Gurung states. The Thikadars were virtually kings in the eyes of the local people, commanding near absolute authority in their areas and even maintaining a militia. The Dorjis, the true authorities over southern Bhutan, did not appear to visit the south often or to interfere in southern affairs unless there was a problem or some dissension. Consequently, most of the people in the camps (or their ancestors) were probably sold land by a village Mandal or one of the contractual landlords.

### The Relation of Bengali and Nepali Migration to Bhutan

One significant fact that illuminates migration patterns in Bhutan is the present day absence of Bengalis in the southern foothills of Bhutan. According to British Mission leader Ashley Eden, in 1863 "the people on the Bootan side of the border were Bengallees, there were both Hindoos and Mahomedans; the former divided into various casts, the lowest of which was Mech"

(Sinha 1991: 35). It is peculiar that Bengalis, who inhabited southern Bhutan before the Duars War, did not arrive there in larger numbers after the border area started to be settled during the 1860s. We know for a fact that at the turn of the twentieth century quite a large number of Bengalis were coming into neighbouring Assam and West Bengal, aided by the British: "The British 'systematically' encouraged Muslim peasants from the overpopulated East Bengal districts to move [into Assam]" (Baral 1990: 21). The Nepalis and the Bengalis were both migratory forces coming into the area to fulfill labour needs; the Nepalis had been migrating mainly since the 1800s and the Bengalis have been venturing into Assam and neighbouring areas since the beginning of the twentieth century, if not earlier (Ibid.: 49), yet there is no present-day record of Bengalis in Bhutan.

Although we can only guess at why there is no Bengali population in Bhutan, hypotheses explaining the lack of Bengalis reinforce British and refugee accounts, giving a clearer picture of Nepali migration into Bhutan. Tying together all the available information, three postulates summarize the migration: 1) Migration was controlled. If migration was completely open there would have been Bengalis coming into Bhutan as well as Nepalis. In 1904, 14 of 15 settlers that Bell notes are Nepali. This suggests that migration, from the earliest times after the Duars War perhaps, was controlled such that Nepali settlers were encouraged over Bengalis. Also, the yearly tax would have proved an effective way of gauging, and therefore controlling if necessary, the number of settlers, so that the government probably knew the approximate number of people who had settled in the south. 2) A Nepali community was established early on in the course of the settlement of the south. It is probable that the Nepalis were established as a single group quite early on, so that Bengalis migrating in the early 1900s would have preferred to go to Bengali pockets in West Bengal and Assam and not to Bhutan. The establishment of an almost exclusively Nepali immigrant community would also continue to bring in mostly Nepali settlers over the years. The fact that from the beginning the contractual landlords were Nepalis strengthens this assertion. 3) Nepalis were targeted for settlement in southern Bhutan. This could have been accidental. For example, because the Dorjis lived in Kalimpong, a mainly Nepali area, recruitment would have focused on the people there. The choice of Nepali overseers might also have incidentally encouraged Nepalis. Alternatively, the Dorjis could have made a decision to exclusively recruit Nepalis, especially indigenous hill people as opposed to Bahun/Chetris (although they needed a few *pujaris*, or priests, too), as they were culturally less threatening than the other choice of labour at the time, Bengalis. The Bengalis had a closer ethnic affinity to the Indians of the plains than the Nepalis, who as hill people, some of whom were of Tibetan stock, were more closely related to the Bhutanese. Today, Baral claims that this is what Nepali migration effected regardless of the motivation: "The Bhutanese Nepalis mainly comprise the population in the southern zone of the kingdom and work as a shield against the expansive Indian labour force and the Indian penetration into Bhutan" (1990: 24). The British also might have influenced the Dorjis, and, as in Sikkim, attempted to curb Tibetan and Chinese influence

in Bhutan by bringing in the Nepalis whom they used to dilute the Tibetan cultural core in Sikkim.

It is not clear exactly when migration to southern Bhutan stopped, if it ever did. There is, however, a consensus, or at least there was before the current crisis, that migration in the form of permanent resettlement of the Nepalis had more or less ended by 1959 with the granting of citizenship to the Nepali settlers and the subsequent tightening of the borders (Baral 1990: 28; Rose 1977: 48; Rose 1993: 3; Sinha 1991: 39). Even then, the land crunch, "an acute shortage of arable land", was severe enough to dissuade more people from coming (Rose 1977: 126; Sinha 1991: 39). In fact, Nepalis in the refugee camps claim that there has been a significant out-migration from Bhutan since the 1930s due to population pressures in Chirang and Samchi. When Geylegphug and Sandrupjongkhar were opened up to greater Nepali settlement in the 1960s, the pressure was relieved to some extent as Nepali Bhutanese from crowded Chirang and Samchi resettled in the newly opened lands, which had only a minimal Nepali population. At this time, some Nepalis might have crossed over from India and settled in Bhutan, and the government could have granted them citizenship intentionally or mistakenly. The government of Bhutan alleges that illegal immigrants crossed into Bhutan, but given the land tax records since the early 1900s and census exercises since 1958, it seems likely that detection of illegal aliens would be relatively simple, except in cases where, as the Bhutan government alleges, the immigrants bought or tricked their way onto the records. Still, this could only really take place on a small scale and only in the newly opened districts, since records in Chirang and Samchi would go back a long time. Additionally, the figures given by the British in the 1930s account for most of the Nepalis in the country today. Even taking the figure of 60,000 given by the British and assuming no migration and a reasonably conservative population growth rate, two percent versus nearly three percent for the south, the total population of Nepalis in Bhutan would be around 200,000, or one-third of the total population - the exact figure usually given by the government for the Nepali population. This substantiates the refugees' assertion that, with a few exceptions, the Nepalis were settled in Bhutan by 1958.

When Bhutan started with large scale development programmes, however, it was forced to import labour. Nepalis, as well as Indians, were brought into the country to work under strict requirements and were issued work-permits that stipulated their length of stay. A number of these labourers overstayed their permits and were later expelled: "As of 1988, thousands of Nepalis also returned from Bhutan owing to more stringent policies of the Bhutanese government towards foreign nationals" (Baral 1990: 64-5). Professionals were also forced or encouraged to leave by ending their contracts or removing them from posts of higher salary and greater responsibility. The government claims that almost all of the people in the camps either emigrated of their own accord or are labourers who were kicked out, and therefore have no right to protest as they are not citizens but illegal aliens. Of course, those in the camps claim that all the labourers have already been removed and that they are in fact *bona fide* citizens, forced out from Bhutan under compulsion and usually

given little or no compensation for their possessions and the land they owned for generations.

#### Notes:

<sup>1</sup>The Limbus are part of the Kiranti group, along with the Rais, who predominate in what is now the Mechi and Kosi zones in eastern Nepal, bordering present-day Sikkim. The Limbus who before the "unification" of Nepal lived in the east did not consider themselves Nepali, but they are now considered a core Nepali group. Tracing the roots of ethnic groups that are today considered Nepali, but did not consider themselves as such before the unification, is problematic, especially if one is looking for a historical ethnic justification for other Nepali ethnic groups' presence in, for example, Sikkim.

<sup>2</sup>It should be noted, though, that the first British Missions in the 18th and 19th century followed the same path up Buxa Duar through Chukha to the centre of Bhutan. Because of this, they had only a limited view of the south, and of an area settled relatively late by Nepalis. Just because the British did not see any Nepalis prior to 1904 does not mean that none were settled in Bhutan.

<sup>3</sup>Both Aris and Das record this name in their lists of the Desis/Debs of Bhutan. However, Rahul in his appendix writes that the name of the Desi was not Thapa but Chapchapa, which is a Buthanese name. Although this name is a piece of evidence that points not only to the settlement of Nepalis but to their integration, it is not substantial enough to form the basis for any drastic conclusions.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with Father Leclair, former President of Sherubtse College, Bhutan, now Dean, St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, on 22 February 1993.

#### References:

- Aris, Michael. 1979. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Aris and Phillips: Warminster, England.
- Baral, Lok Raj. 1990. *Regional Migrations, Ethnicity and Security: The South Asian Case*. Sterling Publishers: New Delhi.
- Bhutan National Democratic Party (BNDP). 16 March 1993. Press Release. Hotel Hindustan, Siliguri.
- Collister, Peter. 1987. *Bhutan and the British*. Serindia Publications: London.
- Das, Nirmala. 1974. *The Dragon Country: The General History of Bhutan*. Orient Longman: New Delhi.
- Government of Sikkim, Publicity Department. [1970?]. (Maybe early 1970s, definitely before 1975.) *Sikkim: A Concise Chronicle*. Sree Saraswati Press: Calcutta.
- Nembang, Saroj. 1992. "The Kirat Limbus of Sikkim: A Brief Sketch." *The North Pointer*. The Town Press: Siliguri, India.
- Parmanand. 1992. *The Politics of Bhutan: Retrospect and Prospect*. Pragati Publications: Delhi.
- Rahul, Ram. 1974. *Modern Bhutan*. Vikas Publications: Delhi.



- Rose, Leo E. 1977. *The Politics of Bhutan*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, New York.
- Sinha, A.C. 1990. "The Indian North-East Frontier and the Nepalese Immigrants." *Himalayan Environment and Culture*. Rustomji and Ramble, eds. Indus Publishing Company: New Delhi.
- 1991. *Bhutan: Ethnic Identity and National Dilemma*. Reliance Publishing House: New Delhi.
- Subba, Tanka B. 1992. *Ethnicity, State and Development: A Case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling*. Vikas Publishing House: New Delhi.
- Sunday Despatch*. 28 March 1993. "Bhutan Dubs Refugees Illegal Economic Migrants." (Kathmandu): 3 (35): 1.
- Timsina, Suman Raj. 1992. *Nepali Community in India*. Manak Publications: Delhi.
- White, J. Claude. 1992 (first published 1909). *Sikkim and Bhutan*. A. Sagar Book House: New Delhi.

\*This article has recently appeared in slightly modified form as a chapter in the book *Bhutan - A Movement in Exile* by D.N.S. Dhakal & Christopher Strawn (Jaipur: Nirala Publications, 1994). It is published here with the consent of the author.

## Impact Monitoring of a Small Hydel Project in the Solu-Khumbu District, Nepal (With a special regard to ecological impact)

Susanne Wymann/Cordula Ott

Population growth, increasing urbanization, and especially degradation of forest resources force Nepal to think about its energy supply. Traditional resources such as fuelwood, agricultural waste and animal dung are by far the most important sources, providing about 95 per cent of the total energy consumed (Sharma et al. 1991). Up to 1991 only about 9 per cent of the population had access to electricity and about half of all domestic connections were concentrated in the Kathmandu Valley. But Nepal, with its more than 6000 rivers and streams crisscrossing the mountain areas, seems to have the best prerequisite for hydropower utilization. The theoretical hydropower potential is estimated at 83,000 MW for the whole country (ITECO 1992:2), but the current installed capacity is only 230 MW (Sharma et al. 1991). The quoted hydropower potential is based on run-off during the rainy season and therefore a realistic estimation of the potential must be assumed to be much lower. Large hydropower plants, such as the planned and controversial Arun III project, supply mainly people in urbanized regions, whereas more and more small and micro hydels are constructed which mostly provide electricity to rural areas. His Majesty's Government (HMG) has been promoting the

implementation of small hydroelectric power plants in the remote areas since the 1960s. The main aim is to create an alternative and constant energy source to diminish the degradation of forests and the import of kerosene, both of which heavily erode natural as well as financial resources. Small hydels are also intended to promote business and small industry in order to reduce emigration and the relative poverty of mountain areas.

### Salleri Electricity Utilization Project (SELUP)

In this context the Swiss Development Cooperation together with HMG initiated the Salleri Chialsa Small Hydel (2 x 180 kW) situated in the Solu Khumbu district. A key factor for the location of the small hydel was the wool dyeing factory in Chialsa, which was to be electrified. The power plant is a classic run-of-the-river scheme, using the water of the Solu Khola. SELUP was further intended to serve as a potential model for prospective small hydels by carefully integrating everything experienced in its implementation, management and impact in other similar projects (ITECO 1990). A very comprehensive internal reporting system was established (Program Monitoring). But little was known about the acceptance of the new energy, about its impact on the society and economy of the region, or about whether electricity can really diminish pressure on forest resources. Therefore, a detailed study (Impact Monitoring) of ecological and socio-economic changes resulting from the electrification of the area was required by SDC. The Impact Monitoring Study, conducted by a social anthropologist and a geographer, included two field studies of two and a half months in total (Ott, Wymann 1993).

### Project Area

The whole supply area covers around 60 km<sup>2</sup> in the Solu Khola Valley and comprises 20 settlements, including Salleri, the rapidly growing district capital, with 6,000-7,000 inhabitants. Up to 1992, when the study was conducted, some 400 houses had been connected to the electricity supply grid and with the extension of the supply grid a target number of 750-800 connections is anticipated. With an elevation range of 2,000-2,800 m, the project area lies in the temperate to cold temperate zone with severe winters and humid summers.

The name Salleri (*sallā* means 'pine' in Nepali) refers to the composition of the natural vegetation and the previous abundance of forest. It seems that the major decrease in forest land started only around 30-40 years ago with the founding of Salleri and the resulting need for firewood and timber. The trees along the main trail were cut, whereas the forests above the traditional Sherpa settlements (e.g., Chhunakpo, Sherga, Bagam) were less affected (Fig. 1). Today extensively forested slopes can still be found only in the northern part of the valley. But the firewood supply situation is not as critical as in many

other areas of Nepal. With the founding of the district capital in 1961 rapid changes have also been taking place in society. A constantly growing number of government staff, who are totally dependent on market supply and on the local infrastructure, has led to booming settlements and to a flourishing local market. These new income possibilities have attracted new immigrants. Today the population is very heterogeneous: Sherpa families - who traditionally control the resources on land and forests - Tamang, Kami, and Newar traders - who have been living here more or less dependent on the Sherpa landowners - and new immigrants.

Thus today's economy of the region is based on agriculture, forestry, trade, handicrafts and temporary migration. Generally, by Nepali standards people are relatively well situated.

### Methodology

A multi-method approach, derived from the experiences of the Impact Monitoring Project LJP/IHDP (INFRAS 1991), was judged appropriate to investigate the complex impacts of the availability of electricity and to distinguish them from general development trends as far as possible. The methodology combined quantitative as well as qualitative analysis and mapping. This enabled us to take full advantage of all available information. It allowed for constant cross-checking and provided a reliable data base for a time series analysis of an impact monitoring study to be carried out in the future.

In a household survey 250 house owners were interviewed concerning their socio-economic status. Out of these families 83 were selected, based on a rough wealth ranking, for a detailed survey on their energy consumption patterns.

Methodological difficulties arose when trying to evaluate the impacts of the new energy on the ecology, especially on forest resources, because for quantitative ecological studies long-term investigations with detailed baseline studies are mandatory, but were not possible in the given time frame. Thus only indirectly surveyed and qualitative data provided information on this aspect.

### Results of the investigation

#### 1. Energy consumption patterns

Subsequently only a few aspects of the whole study can be discussed: the ecological impact of the new energy and some effects on socio-economic conditions. But first we have to look at the energy consumption pattern.

Electricity for lighting is accepted one hundred percent, regardless of wealth, ethnicity, occupation, education or age. Whereas only about a third of the households interviewed use the new energy as a partial substitute for firewood for cooking, utilization of the new energy for purposes other than

lighting, such as cooking or heating, is not a question of acceptance but rather of promoting or impeding factors, such as affordability, technical know-how and necessity due to a difficult firewood supply situation in some areas.

When getting a supply of firewood is difficult, families are ready to look for alternatives. By contrast, people who have few problems obtaining traditional energy are not keen to change their habits, especially if their economy is based mainly on agriculture. For them it is much more difficult to get the cash to pay for electricity and the necessary infrastructure than it is to use their labour for collecting firewood (see Fig. 2).

Thus it is not surprising that the substitution of electricity for firewood is limited to areas with a difficult firewood supply situation. In this area even 60% of the families utilize the new energy for cooking. However, only a partial substitution occurs by using *bijulī dekci* (a low wattage cooker), rice cookers, or even heating plates. But there is a trend towards replacing the traditional energy.

#### 2. Ecological Impact

At the moment electricity retards deforestation by about 3 to 4 years, but does not stop it. If substitution takes place at the expected rate in future, the process of forest depletion could be slowed down even more, but with the limited capacity of the small hydel it will never be possible for it to fully substitute firewood, and it is even questionable if a balance of deforestation and revegetation can be reached. There is also a danger that the savings of *dāurā* (firewood) are being consumed by the new houses built in the area. In the last 8 years the number of houses increased by 26%, using timber for construction and increasing the demand for firewood. Unfortunately, no baseline data on forest resources are available to really quantify deforestation and revegetation.

But local improvements in the surroundings of villages such as Salleri, Naya Bazar, and Phaplu, where the firewood supply situation has to be described as difficult, and a general decrease in the pressure on forest resources can be expected. The same can be said for the surroundings of Chialsa, an old Tibetan refugee camp, where the dying of wool has been electrified and where improvements in the forest are already visible.

#### 3. Impact of electrification on socio-economic conditions

The economic situation has not changed much as a result of the new energy. Energy is in great demand to artificially prolong daytime, as it brings with it greater flexibility in the allocation of time. Women are admitted to a greater amount of housework (cleaning, farming) and new productive activities (teashops, small shops) that are perceived as improving living conditions in the long run. But a major change from the consumptive to the productive use of electricity - and thus an implementation of small-scale or cottage industry - has not yet taken place. The Sherpa tradition of migrating is enforced by insufficient employment and education opportunities in Salleri. Well-off Sherpas today prefer to invest money in Kathmandu and are only partially interested in local entrepreneurship. On the other side, poor families from different ethnic groups and low Hindu castes do not seem normally to fall



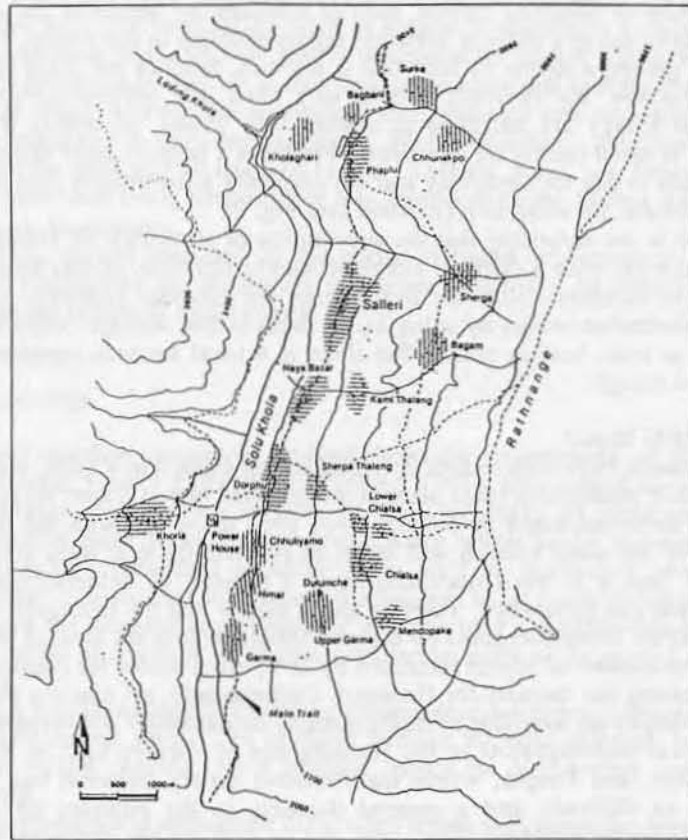


Figure 1: The project area [Ott, Wymann 1993]

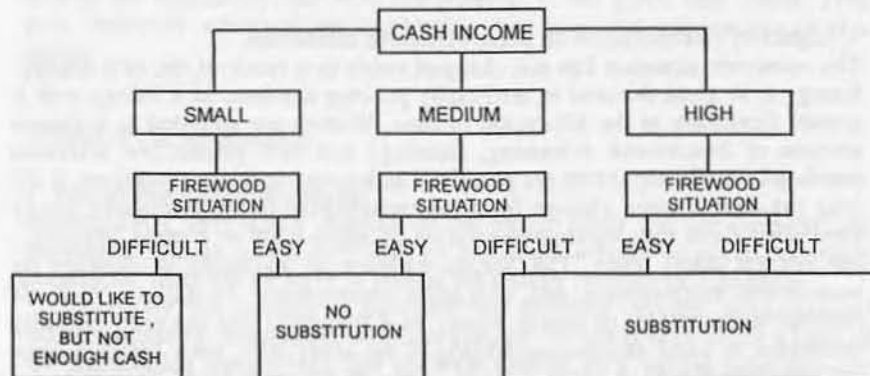
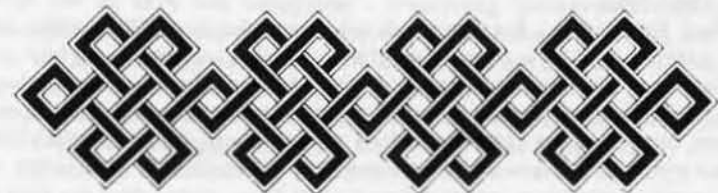


Figure 2: The decision-making process for replacing firewood for purposes other than lighting [Ott, Wymann 1993]

below the minimum subsistence level, but they have no surplus money for economic projects, therefore the potential "agents of change" are located in the economic middle stratum of Newar traders and immigrants who are totally involved and dependent on the new cash economy. The lack of start-up capital, the lack of a market, and high transportation costs are still the main problems that hamper production. Without an adequate basic infrastructure, the implementation of electricity cannot induce significant change, but only promotes general economic and social development processes.

#### References:

- INFRAS, 1991. "Impact Monitoring Project LJRP/IHDP." In: *Impact Status Report*.
- ITECO, 1990. *Salleri Electricity Utilisation Project (SELUP) Feasibility Study. Economic Evaluation of the Present Scheme, the proposed Plant Completion and Grid Extension*. Affoltern a/Albis.
- ITECO, 1992. "The Salleri Chialsa Venture in Nepal." Extract from the SKAT Publication. In: *Village Electrification*. Affoltern a/Albis.
- Ott, C. and Wymann, S. 1993. *Salleri Electricity Utilisation Project. Impact Status Report 1992*. Bern.
- Sharma, S., Shakya, M., Bhattarai, L. and Rimal, S. 1991. *An Assessment of the Energy Sector in Nepal, Implication for the Planning and Management of Rural Energy*. ICIMOD MIT Series No. 9. Kathmandu.



## INTERVIEW

...I feel that I'm here on a Mission...

An Interview with  
the Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University/Nepal,  
Mr. Kedar Bhakta Mathema

Brigitte Merz

**BM:** When you took over the position as Vice-Chancellor in 1991 you took on a difficult task; the curriculum hadn't been changed for twenty years and the finances hadn't been increased. I would like to know, what were your aims and how far have you been able to realize them?

**VC:** When I entered the University, my objective was to bring systematic reforms. I saw three basic problems: one was a rapid increment in student population, number two was an acute shortage of funds and number three was the negative impact of these two on the quality of education. We now have over 110,000 students. What we are trying to do is at least to regulate student enrollment in such key areas as technical institutes and science subjects. There was a time when anybody who wanted to enter Masters level programmes in Science could do so without restriction, but since I came, I have tried slowly to introduce entrance examinations, to achieve a manageable number of students. But we have to go very carefully on this, because it has a lot of implications and repercussions. So far as acute shortage of funds is concerned, the government allocation for higher education is not adequate.

**BM:** How big is the budget?

**VC:** Well, the government spends something like 28 percent of the education budget on higher education, but this is not adequate and the government cannot give us more, given the economic situation of the country - so what I am trying to aim at is to increase our resource mobilization ability to mobilize both internal and external resources. When I say internal resources, I've asked students to pay a little bit more partially in order to cover the costs. Soon after I came, I increased the tuition fee (which had not been increased for 18 years) by one hundred percent. There was some resistance among the students, but we were able to implement the new fee structure. We have also given each campus the authority to levy other fees from students.

**BM:** For books.

**VC:** Yes, for libraries, for campus development funds and things like that. So each campus is trying to mobilize its own resources from student contributions. We are also meanwhile trying to cut down our subsidies, such as by privatising cafeterias; we used to spend something like two percent of our total budget on the cafeteria to feed a student population of about 400. We are also trying to cut down other unnecessary expenditures. Meanwhile we are also aiming at attracting external donors. We have approached the UNDP and

been able to receive some grant assistance. We have approached the World Bank, which has given a certain amount of money.

**BM:** 20 million U.S.\$

**VC:** Yes, for the physical and academic improvement of the university. And going back to the third problem, the quality of education: before I joined the university, there was nothing like an academic calendar in the university. A student preparing for Bachelors Level had to spend sometimes three years, sometimes even four years to complete the circle of two years, because of the irregularity of examinations and classes. Now we have started scheduling examinations on time. The day the students are admitted, we tell them that their exams will take place next March, or next April, and we stick to the routine.

**BM:** Before that it was more open?

**VC:** Yes, but even now, we have not been able to come out with a full-fledged academic calendar as such. We are working hard and if everything goes right, we should be able to implement a full-fledged academic calendar by 1995/96. Well, to sum up, our problems are an acute shortage of funds, runaway enrollment growth and maintaining the quality of education. And my aims when I joined the university were - and still are - to address these problems. As I told you earlier I have achieved some success in certain areas. In some other areas, progress has been less than satisfactory.

**BM:** How about other reforms in the system?

**VC:** Well, we are also trying to decentralize the authorities to outlying campuses, institutes, faculties -

**BM:** - to give them more autonomy?

**VC:** Absolutely, autonomy to work without too much control from the centre and to generate funds.

**BM:** What you said about the money for higher education, I presume this is mainly for equipment, for teaching, for stocking libraries and so on. My question is, does it also extend to research work, I mean how is this part of the university funded?

**VC:** It is sad to say we spend almost 93 % of our budget on salaries. We have very little funds for research work.

**BM:** With the loan from the World Bank, there is still not enough money for other matters?

**VC:** The World Bank loan is for a specific project. This fund will not be used for regular university activities.

**BM:** So it's not just... spread over the university?

**VC:** No, it is not a budgetary support, it is for specific purpose, like developing our physical facilities here at Kirtipur - some of our science buildings are in very bad condition - improving laboratories, equipment, strengthening of libraries, development of curriculums, improving the exam system. And also to help us to decentralize some of our authorities to outlying campuses. So it is not a budgetary support as such.

**BM:** And what about the four research centres like CEDA, CERID, CNAS and RECAST, could they benefit from the World Bank Loan?



**VC:** No, no, the World Bank loan is not for providing budgetary support to any centres under TU.

**BM:** That means that there is still not enough money?

**VC:** No, no, we must make cuts - we must cut down our expenditure on salaries and generate additional resources. That's why I'm asking every faculty, department and campus to provide consultancy, training and research services to the governmental and non-governmental agencies or even international agencies. Work like a consultancy team, you know. The money they receive from such work, part of it could be used by the faculty members for their own benefit, part of it can go to improving the faculty or the department or the campus.

**BM:** So they can use it for themselves and don't have to give it back to the University?

**VC:** Yes, they don't have to give it to the centre except for a small portion of the overhead. We are also trying to encourage some of our campuses which have a lot of land located in commercial areas to lease some of it for commercial purposes. The prospects for mobilizing adequate resources through tuition fees are still not very bright.

**BM:** But if you give more autonomy to the individual campuses, at the same time it will make them more dependent on outside donors. If so, might this be a threat to academic freedom? And also, might this lead to a sink-or-swim situation for individual faculties - I'm thinking here especially of the Humanities.

**VC:** Quite frankly, when I say mobilizing resources, I'm not really thinking of donors. I'm not thinking of donors giving grants or loans or the like, but rather how could each campus and faculty mobilize more resources, by providing services, training and consultancy services to His Majesty's Government, to the private sector, to the donors. Each faculty and campus will continue to receive budgetary assistance from the centre, the funds they can raise from consultancy services will be additional and they can use these funds for various purposes. This will not compromise academic freedom by any means.

**BM:** Does this also imply applied research?

**VC:** Absolutely. Let's say GTZ wants to carry out an economic study of a certain district. Why shouldn't the department of economics apply for it and carry out such work? And then whatever overhead they make can be retained within the department and be used to buy equipment, furnish the library or add books etc. Some of our faculties have already started doing this.

**BM:** How autonomous is the Tribhuvan University as a whole? How far can, for example, the Education Ministry or the Chancellor interfere in decision-making?

**VC:** It is autonomous. I will not speak about the past, but under the present system we are very autonomous. Obviously we listen to good advice, from the Ministry, from everybody concerned, but in so far as decisions are concerned, it is we who make the decisions. The government knows very well that we are very independent thinking people here in the University.

**BM:** Are you independent by constitution as well?

**VC:** Yes; the only problem is that financially we are very dependent on the government, 90% of our funds come from the government. We are trying to be less dependent by mobilizing our own resources. But so far as our decisions are concerned, it is we who make them. We have our own Senate, we have our own Executive Council and Academic Council and we make our decisions independently.

**BM:** I see that you're making a lot of changes inside the university, and at the same time there are a lot of changes outside the university as a result of the introduction of democracy, so I would like to know if this - the introduction of democracy - has made your work with the T.U. easier or more complicated?

**VC:** Both, I would say. Easier because I'm independent. As Vice Chancellor I can do many things without any governmental interference. We can make independent decisions much more easily: but it's also difficult because democracy has given rights to lots of pressure groups, and whenever you make decisions you have to take into account the interests of these pressure groups.

**BM:** Were there no pressure groups, such as a Teachers Union or students union before?

**VC:** There were students' unions, yes, teachers union also. However, unlike in the past we do not like to work under pressure now. At the same time we also want to respect the interests of these groups. Difficulties arise when the interest of these groups does not serve the interest of the institution or the interest of the institution sometimes does not match with the interest of these groups.

**BM:** What do you think about the first private University, which is opening this summer in Dulikhel. Could this give a new impulse, provide competition to Tribhuvan University?

**VC:** We welcome the new University in the private sector, but I only wish it could accept more students, it has a very small number of students.

**BM:** Why?

**VC:** Fees - I wish it would not be too elitist in character. If it becomes too elitist, than it could only cater to a very tiny section of the Nepalese population. I hope the new university will also be accessible to the general public. Of course the fees they charge will be a little bit higher than ours, but if they are much higher, they will be beyond the access of many good Nepalese students.

**BM:** At first I heard that it was to be financed solely by the private sector, but then that they might also ask the government for some support.

**VC:** Well, the question is while the public universities are grossly underfinanced, can the government afford to subsidize elite education in the country?

**BM:** Something different now: the affiliation of foreign researchers with the T.U. was on a steady rise between 1980-1990 and recently I heard from the Research Division that there are still foreign researchers interested in doing research in Nepal. I would like to ask whether you think that the recently introduced 3,000 US\$ fee for foreign researchers might stop or even spoil this

trend and who is responsible for introducing it? - Foreign researchers now have to deposit it at a Nepalese bank - maybe you even have not heard about it?

VC: No, I haven't. What is this fee?

BM: Since this year, researchers who wish to have a research visa have to deposit 3,000 US\$ at a bank.

VC: Really?

BM: Yes. That makes it very difficult, for example, for graduate students who want to do their Ph.D. and who don't get funded or just get a small monthly funding.

VC: Frankly, I'm not aware of this but I shall look into it, check with the Research Division. If these are some of the things which prevent genuine research scholars coming to Nepal, then we must discuss this, if this fee is too high. I would very much like to discuss this with the concerned parties. Obviously, we are not trying to discourage research scholars from coming to Tribhuvan University and working here. On the contrary, we would like to encourage them. We are signing more and more agreements with universities all around the world for collaborative work.

BM: Yes, I have read about it, this is quite a new approach, isn't it? You have agreements with Canada, with the United States - Wisconsin and Cornell University for example - and most recently Norway -

VC: - Japan.

BM: So what do you expect from cooperation with other universities?

VC: One thing is a cross-fertilization of ideas. It is said that a good university should have at least five percent of its students from foreign countries - students who will bring new perspectives, new ideas, new culture, and enrich the university's academic life. One big advantage from this collaboration with other universities is that our faculty members will come into contact with academics from other parts of the world. Sometimes faculty members in Third World universities tend to suffer from academic isolation; they don't have access to the latest journals and are not in touch with professors in the outside world, so they tend to work alone, not knowing how the other half is doing. So collaboration between universities offers a good opportunity for them to see what is happening on the front line of physics, chemistry or geography, sociology etc. This is the advantage we are looking for. Collaboration among universities is very important also because no university can afford to be an island in today's world. We must be in touch with as many universities as we can.

BM: There have to be funds for this as well.

VC: Yes, definitely, but we don't have funds for these kinds of activities.

BM: And what can T.U. offer foreign universities?

VC: We have good professors here and some very strong faculties. If some foreign universities could come with funds, some of our faculty members could do excellent research in collaboration with foreign scholars. What we can do is, provide the services and expertise of our faculty members, who are very good and experienced. We can also offer other scientists and scholars some fertile ground for research. High mountain research for example. People

who want to carry out research in anthropology or sociology will also find Nepal very interesting.

BM: In 1992 I read an article on a schism between foreign academics, researchers and Nepalese researchers, especially in the field of anthropology. It said that the Nepalese academics are more interested in doing applied research, whereas foreign researchers are more interested in pure research. Is this also your impression and does it exist in other fields as well?

VC: Because of the level of economy and because of the shortage of funds many Nepalese researchers, I think, tend to go in for applied research. If I have limited funds, I would naturally prefer to spend them on applied rather than basic research.

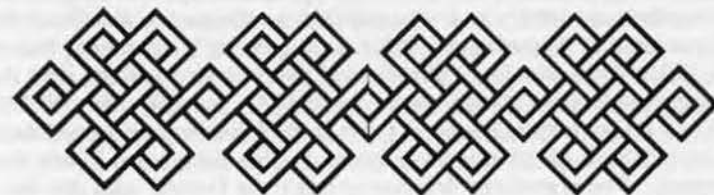
BM: Because you are concerned with the interests of the fund donors?

VC: Not the donors. We would like to have immediate returns from our research in terms of contributing to the development needs of the country. It does not mean we can afford to ignore basic research in the university. There are some faculty members who are actually doing it.

BM: To conclude this interview, is there anything else you would like to say?

VC: The road to development is not a straight one, neither is the development of a university which has suffered for a long time in the past from too much governmental interference, rampant trade unionism of various interest groups, break down of academic discipline, mindless politicization... Long overdue reform programmes in the university have however been started. Some of these programmes have already shown positive results in many areas. Examinations are being held on schedule and now we are very close to implementing a full academic calendar; the curricula are being changed and improved upon; the fee structure has been revised and recovery of the operational cost from students' tuition has improved; admissions at least in technical institutes and general science courses have been started. There are however still a million things to be done. And reforms are not always easy to introduce. Bringing in systematic reforms is an uphill task because we have to continuously fight resistance to change. But I feel I'm here on a mission to bring about changes in the university system no matter how unpopular they are at the beginning. The speed with which I can implement changes however depends a great deal on the political climate of the country.

The Interview was held on 17.05.94





## NEWS

## Himalayan Portraits

Thoughts and Opinions from the *Film Himalaya* Film Festival  
18-20 February 1994 in Kathmandu/Nepal

The main aim of the festival's creators, the editors and journalists of the Kathmandu-based magazine HIMAL, was that it should be devoted solely to documentary films on the Himalayan Region. "We have always felt interested in documentary films, because they are the visual-electronic equivalent of a magazine like ours (...). We decided to set up a film festival because the time was ripe", said Kanak Mani Dixit, editor of HIMAL.

A total of 42 of the 85 entries were shown at the festival, where the emphasis in the selection process was more on diversity and giving a representative sample than on quality; above all they should show "how others portray us around the world". Given this, it is impossible to blame the organisers for including so many bad films which would never have had a chance at other festivals - which try after all to show the best. While making their selection, the organisers also noticed that the films were "not intended for consumption here but abroad", and thus a further aim of the festival developed: making films about the Himalayan region available to the people who live there.

The festival was opened on 18th of February by the Raja of Mustang, Jigme Parbal Bista, followed by the screening of the first of two feature films included in the programme. Premiered in September 1993 in New York, *Barkara* by Ron Fricke, a follow-up to the successful film *Koyaanisqatsi* has a similar construction to its predecessor and is not actually a film about the Himalayas and its inhabitants. Just the opening sequences were shot in the region: an early morning street cleaning scene in the temple district of Patan, bathed romantically in the golden yellow of the rising sun; figures wrapped in shawls are captured by the camera (or rather "arranged" before the lens in prettiest postcard style); the half veiled people stare dark-eyed at the audience, right through them. The film then embarks on an odyssey through 24 countries, documenting (in the narrowest sense of the word by simply recording) different religious rites, landscapes and natural phenomena, but also dichotomising by the manner in which they are depicted: "Whilst maintaining a romantic perspective on the spiritual wealth of developing countries, the film remains ethnically stratified, ending up as an indictment of the southern hemisphere for its squalor and ignorance, apportioning the blame for the mindless modernity and consumerism on the rest of the Third World for environmental degradation, strife and poverty". (Anmole Prasad in HIMAL 1994, Vol 7, No 2). A film festival that intended holding up a mirror to its own people (the festival issue of HIMAL is aptly named "Mirror, Mirror") and taking a critical look at the way the Himalayan region is depicted in film, could have given less prominence to this film, even if this was its Asian premier. The organisers' decision to begin the festival with this film can

best be seen as a marketing ploy; and one that paid off, judging by the almost unanimous enthusiasm and the packed house as the film was repeated on the last day.

Afterwards the films were shown in quick succession to a strict (sometimes too strict) schedule in the two rooms of the Russian Cultural Centre. The films not only differed greatly in length, but also in content and quality. The shortest contribution was *The first American Mission to Nepal 1947*, a 20 minute compilation of rare archive footage accompanied by a live commentary from Hutaram Baidya (described in the programme as a "valley observer and environmentalist"); the lengthiest film, *Deva and Cinta*, lasting over two hours, is an ethnographical record of the preparation and conducting of a shaman's seance filmed in 1990 in eastern Nepal by Albin Bieri, Martin Gaenszle and Majan Garlinski.

All in all the films shown over the three days covered a wide variety of topics, including mountaineering, ecology, religion, ethnography, indigenous medicine, culture and travel.

Particularly striking and unusual on the first day was *Kumari* (undated), a film from France by Sylvie Joset Segur which dealt with the Living Goddess and the way her successor is chosen. Although the commentator's voice at the beginning is over-dramatic and suggestive, and the film presumes a certain prior knowledge of Newar festivals if any sense is to be made of the powerful scenes of animal sacrifices, the long shots, especially of the faces of the Kumari and her possible successors, made up for any shortcomings. The question remained though how the scenes were shot at locations that normally exclude cameras, such as inside the Kumari house and the temple where the animal sacrifices were held.

Less welcome was *The Splendour of Garwhal and Roop Kund* (1993) by the actor and director Victor Banerjee, a sickly sweet film which could not hide its sponsorship by the tourist trade, and was anything but a documentary.

Another film that morning, *Sustainable Development in the Arun Basin* (undated) by Kevin Kelpin and Pushpa Tulachan, was followed by sometimes heated discussions; these were unique during the whole festival, and largely possible because of the lunch break that followed, which meant that the timetable was not endangered. The film claimed to investigate the interests, fears and wishes of the populace which is affected by the construction of the gigantic hydro-electric power plant and, above all, of the road to the site. It left the audience however with the empty feeling that the film's backers (UNDP and World Bank) had written the commentary. "I would have liked to see what people of the area thought, rather than having a commentary with a predetermined point of view being sold", said Sanjeev Prakash, journalist and film maker from Delhi, one of the many critical voices among the audience.

The second day started with *The Dragon Bride* (1991) by Joanna Head, an outstanding film about a polygamous marriage in Humla in north-west Nepal, which besides being entertaining, is also informative and ethnographically noteworthy. The film is a first class example that filmed ethnographies are not necessarily boring (as was contended by the producer of *Honey Hunters in Nepal* [1987]), and quoted by the co-director Diane Summers when asked what

had happened to her film's broader context). Anthropology in film is not boring, it simply depends on the way in which it is presented - which is where the artistry begins. What made *The Dragon Bride* particularly exciting and lively were the dialogues, not only between the performers, but also between the performers and the director or rather her interpreter. Unlike so many other films, the dialogues were not obscured by superimposed commentaries, and it was also especially clear to see (and hear) here that film making always entails interaction with the film crew and is not the result of a monologue.

An amusing yet thought-provoking film shown on the same day was the low budget production *Trekking on Tradition* (1992) by Jennifer Rodes, which looked at the influence of trekkers on the local population in the Kali Gandaki region. Once again the locals had their own say, expressing how they both admire and envy, but also detest the behaviour of the western trekkers.

The third and last day began with a film on Tibetan medicine - or what has become of it - full of sensitive understanding. *Shigatse: One Injection Asks for More* (1989), directed by the Swiss Jörg Neuenschwander, showed that second generation exiled Tibetans are "more Buddhist" than those who have remained in their homeland; the surprise and consternation at this in the face and words of an exile Tibetan woman now living in Switzerland spoke volumes. The afternoon brought the only genuine Nepalese film, *Lhwaka Yae Mwayna Haa!* (1993) (Newari for: Let us all pull together) by the young director Yadav Das Bhochhibhoya, which deals with the Chandeshwari-Jatra in Banepa. The film stood out on account of its directness, good cinematic ideas and moving presentation. Shortly before the end of the festival came another annoying film: *A Dentist from Mainz in Nepal* (undated) by Hermann Feicht, in which a German dentist wanders seemingly alone through the Himalayas and pulls teeth as others might pluck flowers. This was an example of how compulsive self-presentation (or the lack of imagination evinced by German television companies, such as ZDF which financed the film) can lead to yet another boring disaster being produced. (Not forgetting the damage done to the indigenous molars before the hero's exploits were committed to celluloid).

The film festival concluded with a reshooting of Frank Capra's 1937 classic *Lost Horizon* and the second feature film of the festival, the Chinese avant-garde film *Horse Thief* directed by Dao Ma Zei in 1986.

The festival organisers, who did not want a "glamorous film festival, but something very close to the ground", can be truly satisfied with the results. Packed auditoria, peaking in a scarcely controllable box office crush for *In Search of Buddha*, a film on the making of the Hollywood blockbuster *Little Buddha*. In the opinion of viewers, this did not fulfil its promise and added nothing new to the controversy surrounding Bertolucci's film which has raged for months, especially among Nepalese Buddhists.

Also interesting were the opinions of the Nepalese directors and cameramen who attended the festival: Prakash Jung Karki with his film: *Panauti: Hamro Sampada* [1993], a cinematic portrait of the small town Panauti which was co-financed by the French and shown on Nepalese television; the director Yadav Das Bhochhibhoya mentioned earlier; and the cameraman Anil Rijal (*Pavillion of the Eight Corners* [1990], a documentation

of the rebuilding of the Chyasilin Temple in Bhaktapur). They said that in comparison to previous festivals put on by various organisations in Kathmandu, the *Film Himalaya* festival gave the local people the chance to see films about their country and the neighbouring states. "That doesn't mean that local people reject European films in general, but what they liked most was that the films at the festival concentrated particularly on the Himalayan region. There is then a possibility to identify. What they see is quite familiar to them. Other film festivals tend to concentrate on films about Europe made in Europe. This time there were films mainly made in Europe, but which dealt with the Himalayan region. That was the big difference in comparison to other film festivals. In other film festivals you can sometimes see long documentaries, but they are only made through the eyes of directors from the remote European areas, and may not be interesting for Nepalese society, and perhaps not even for Nepalese producers, directors and camera-people, who are working in a different tradition", said Karki.

The fact that there are differences between Asia and the West in what people prefer and are used to seeing was newly underlined as the media magnate Rupert Murdoch announced that his satellite programme in Asia would stop importing films from the USA, and now be specially tailored to the Asian market. This and much more could have provided food for discussion. The reason why this failed to happen is not merely that there is no tradition of viewing and discussing films in Nepal (as the festival organisers assumed), but also because a suitable platform was missing. An hour of impromptu talks was organised spontaneously on the last day, during which Prof. Gerald Berremann, anthropologist at Berkeley University, Prem Basnet, director, Majan Garlinski, co-producer of *Deva and Cinta*, and Sanjeev Prakash, journalist and film maker from Delhi, gave their comments on the topic: "Himalayan film making, Himalayan reality, and how the Himalayan region is portrayed to the outside world and perhaps to the population of the Himalayas who had the chance of seeing the films." But this can just be seen as the beginning of a deeper appraisal of this topic. Given the large number of rare or seldom shown films, there must be an opportunity for a proper assessment if the festival is to be more than just a pleasurable viewing experience. An accompanying seminar would be desirable, in which the topics that are raised could be discussed by experts, and perhaps trigger an interesting discourse on film making in the Himalayas. All that remained for the organisers was to hope that the films had "put a seed into the people's mind, which they will take with them" and to announce the second *Film Himalaya* in 1996.

It should be added that the festival organisers are in the process of creating a video library (films on the Himalayan region) and are following up the Kathmandu festival with a "travelling film festival", and as part of this a number of the same films will shortly be on show in Pokhara, Palpa, Narayanghat, Nainital and Kalimpong.

Brigitte Merz



**Oral Tradition Study Group /Himalaya  
Second Meeting in Paris, February 25, 1994**

This working meeting had been convened to discuss the following issues in oral tradition studies: the methodological problems of presentation, translation and interpretation of oral texts, the myth-ritual interrelationship, and the interpenetration of oral and written traditions.

Altogether five papers were presented:

Martin Gaenszle's "Offerings to the House Deities - Degrees of Formality in Mewahang Rai Ritual Speech" discussed two ritual texts, comparing the differing styles and uses of the ritual language and analysing their formal properties.

Catherine Champion spoke on "Narrative Songs of the Bhojpuri Bard and Printed Texts: the Example of the *gāthā* of Alha-Udal", focusing on the changing techniques of dissemination (books, tape recordings etc.) of a formerly entirely oral tradition.

Marie Lecomte-Tilouine presented a paper on "Sunkesari, the Golden Haired Girl." She compared the widely known Nepali folkstory of Sunkesari with a local version collected among the Magar ethnic group.

Simon Strickland's paper "Gurung *pe* and *lu*" discussed indigenous concepts about Gurung ritual recitations, raising the problem of the interrelationship of myth and ritual.

Corneille Jest spoke on "Fading Memories of Myths and Legends, Disappearing Techniques: the Example of Weaving in the Himalayas", showing the cultural importance of weaving as depicted in various Himalayan oral traditions, and stressing the link between material culture and orally transmitted knowledge.

Also attending the meeting were P. Dollfus, M. Helffer, P. Massonnet, G. Toffin, and S. Manandhar.

Martin Gaenszle

**Nepal Maithili Samaj:  
A Good Beginning**

The Nepal Maithili Samaj was constituted in Kathmandu on 12 August, 1991, with Sri Amaresh Narayan Jha as the coordinator. This social organisation of the Maithili-speaking people living in Kathmandu was registered with His Majesty's Government of Nepal with the following objectives:

1. To conduct conferences and seminars, undertake the publication of books and journals and organise programmes to raise the social and intellectual level of Maithils as a close-knit community.

2. To carry out and promote research work in the arts, culture and heritage of Mithila.

3. To conduct programmes designed to raise the consciousness of Maithils, to eradicate social evils prevalent among them and to bring them out of their inertia.

4. To conduct programmes related to social welfare by providing services such as health clinics, blood banks, scholarships for poor students and a revolving fund for financial support to the needy.

5. To develop contacts with national and international organisations for the development of traditional Maithili arts and handicrafts at national and international levels.

Over 2.02 million of the people of Nepal speak Maithili. The major Maithili-speaking districts are Bara, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptari, Morang, Sunsari and Jhapa. Many Maithili-speaking people from these districts are also spread over different parts of Nepal, being engaged in government service, in teaching and in business in a small way. Over 75,000 Maithili-speaking people live in the Kathmandu valley and approximately 2,000 Maithil families are permanently settled in the valley.

The history of Maithili and the Maithils in the valley goes back to the fourteenth century. Documents reveal that this language enjoyed a privileged position during the time of King Hari Singh Deva in the fourteenth century and the Malla dynasty in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Several Newar rulers of Bhaktapur even composed plays, poems and songs in Maithili, probably with the help of Maithil scholars and *paṇḍits* resident at their *Darbār*. There appears to be some evidence that some of these plays were staged on occasion. The glory of the language faded away in the nineteenth century.

With the restoration of democracy in Nepal in 1990, Maithili has been recognised as the second major language of Nepal, for 11.08 per cent of the population speak Maithili, next only to Nepali-speaking people constituting approximately 51 per cent of the population of Nepal.

So far, Maithili language and literature has not been given due recognition by His Majesty's Government of Nepal. For instance, the Public Service Commission of Nepal does not recognize Maithili even though it is taught at the Master's level, and Ph.D. degrees in Maithili literature have been awarded by Tribhuvan University. The teaching of Maithili is confined to two campuses of the University and to the school level in Maithili-speaking regions. Lately, His Majesty's Government has been considering making provision for primary education in local languages including Maithili. Radio Nepal has recently started broadcasting a five-to-seven-minute-long news bulletin in Maithili; once in a while, one can hear Maithili songs on the radio and on television. There are very few news magazines and other publications in Maithili; the few that are there remain isolated and irregular, being handicapped by a very small market and run by individual effort here and there. By and large, it is fair to say that there is little institutional support and/or encouragement for the development of the Maithili language and Maithili culture.

There are over two dozen Maithil-Maithili organisations in Nepal; some of them are listed below:

Kathmandu:	Akhil Nepal Maithili Sahitya Parishad (founded 1966) Maithili Vikas Manch (founded 1990) Nepal Tarai Student Council (founded ?) Nepal Maithil Samaj (founded August 1991)
Jhapa:	Maithil Samaj Samiti (founded August 1993)
Biratnagar:	Maithili Sewa Samiti Maithili Sahitya Parishad Maithili Vikas Manch
Rajbiraj:	Maithili Sahitya Parishad
Lahan:	Maithili Sahitya Parishad
Siraha:	Maithili Sahitya Parishad
Janakpur:	Maithili Sahitya Parishad Maithili Natya Kala Parishad Maithili Vikas Manch Mithila Samskritik Kendra
Malangwa:	Mithila Sewa Samiti
Birganj:	Maithili Sahitya Parishad
Dhangarhi:	Maithili Sewa Samiti

Among these, the Akhil Nepal Maithili Sahitya Parishad is the oldest organisation, having been set up in 1966 with a view to develop literary and academic interest in Maithili language and literature. The Parishad, however, remained confined to holding cultural programmes like the Vidyapati Parva from time to time and could not make a significant contribution to the cause of Maithili and the Maithils. It became defunct as it tended to let itself be used as a platform for securing positions in government.

Nepal Maithil Samaj has been actively engaged in social and cultural work aimed at building up a community spirit among Maithils ever since its inception. Some of the programmes the Samaj has brought off are as follows:

1. It organized a Maithili Cultural Show on the 14th of April, 1993, attended by nearly a thousand people in Kathmandu.
2. It organized a relief programme in July, 1993, when its volunteers distributed powdered milk, beaten rice, salt, onions, steel plates, pots and pans to over 500 families of flood victims in five villages of Sarlahi and Rautahat districts.
3. It participated in the first International Maithili Conference during June, 1993, at Ranchi, Bihar, India. The Samaj was selected as a member of the International Maithili Council constituted at this Conference.
4. It participated in the Seventh International Drama Programme held at Biratnagar in April, 1992.
5. It has managed to develop links with over two dozen Maithili organisations in Nepal and India.
6. It has participated in various national programmes in Nepal organized by His Majesty's Government, Royal Nepal Academy, NGOs, Radio Nepal and Nepal Television.
7. It publishes a regular quarterly bulletin entitled "Nepal Maithil Samaj Patrika" in Maithili. Since September, 1992, four issues have been published.

8. It formed a NEMS Youth Club for the active involvement of the younger generation in the activities of the Samaj.

9. Two annual general meetings of the Samaj have been organized so far and a seminar is being organized.

The fifteen-member Executive Committee of the Samaj meets twice a month to discuss and take decisions on the future course of action to be adopted in view of its principal objectives.

Nepal Maithil Samaj is slowly becoming known and its activities have attracted and inspired many Maithili-speaking people all over the country. The Samaj has the long-term plan to set up a Maithili Samskritik Kendra (Maithili Cultural Centre) to be housed in its own building, where a library, health centre and guest house can be run. It has plans too to provide scholarships to meritorious poor students and to establish a number of awards for social and academic work for Maithils and Maithili. Although these plans appear ambitious, great expectations have been generated among the Maithili-speaking people.

The Samaj is distinguished by a small band of young Maithils inspired by the love of their mother-tongue and dedicated to the cause of Maithili language, literature and culture. One of them even hopes to start a movement for the revival of the old Maithili script among the Maithili-speaking people.

Indeed, the Samaj seems determined to fight for the recognition of Maithili as the second most important language-and-culture group in Nepal through an ongoing dialogue with His Majesty's Government of Nepal and by continuing to build linkages with a number of Maithili organisations as well as the movement for the recognition of Maithili going on south of the border.

The present writer is of the view that the first and most crucial step for the Nepal Maithil Samaj is to establish its credibility among the Maithili-speaking people themselves as their own organisation, an organisation truly dedicated to the development of the language, literature and cultural heritage of old Mithila. Then and only then it could conceivably start a major renaissance among a small, neglected language-culture group with a long history and a rich written literature.

Murari Madhusudan Thakur

#### The Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal

November 26-27, 1993

CEDA Auditorium, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur Campus

Welcoming the participants, Mr. Chandra Prakash Sharma, Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, reported that the Society has five Honorary Members: The late Prof. Ralph L. Turner, Prof. Kenneth L. Pike, Prof. R.K. Sprigg, Prof. Werner Winter and Prof. Bernhard Kölver; 111 Life



Members and 89 Regular Members. He went on to report that the Society has been able to generate a sum of Rs. 100,000 from membership fees and the conference registration fees, the interest from which has been a considerable help to bring out *Nepalese Linguistics*, the journal of the society.

In his inaugural address, Prof. Alan Davies of the Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh, expressed his concern for the lesser known languages of Nepal and recommended that they should be studied before they completely die out. He said that he had been under the impression that Tribhuvan University had a department of linguistics, and that he was surprised to learn it did not, but he was happy to learn that the Linguistic Society of Nepal has been struggling to set one up. He concluded his address by wishing the conference great success.

In the presidential address, Mr. Nirmal Man Tuladhar, President of the Society said that having Prof. Alan Davies to inaugurate the 14th Annual Conference was indeed an auspicious occasion for the Society because it was he who for the first time introduced linguistics at the Department of English, Tribhuvan University in 1969 when he was in the Chair. He had also run three short-term courses on linguistics and applied linguistics for college teachers of English, thus paving the way for linguistic studies in Nepal. Tracing back the brief history of linguistic studies with its ups and downs, Mr. Tuladhar said that in 1972 the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies in conjunction with the Summer Institute of Linguistics launched an MA in Linguistics for postgraduates in English, which was the first and last such programme. He went on to say that in 1973 Tribhuvan University took the initiative of establishing a department of linguistics, so to design and assess the teaching-research infrastructure a committee was formed under Prof. P.R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies (INAS). This Institute held the first Seminar in Linguistics on November 4-7, 1974 and also published the proceedings entitled *Seminar Papers in Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives in Linguistic Studies*. When INAS was converted into the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS) as a non-teaching institution in 1977 that was the end of the history of linguistic studies. When the Linguistic Society of Nepal came into being in 1979 the interest and concern for linguistic studies was revived. Updating the information about the status of the memorandum submitted to the Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University on January 8, 1993, requesting him to commission a task force to set up a department of linguistics, Mr. Tuladhar said that he had been keeping track of the memorandum and that the Rector had assured him that he would soon be commissioning a committee. He wound up the address by saying that the Society could be hopeful when there is a committee since where there is a committee, there is hope.

Mr. Hriseekesh Upadhaya, Chief Editor presented a copy of the latest *Nepalese Linguistics* to the chief guest. Mrs Rudra Laxmi Shrestha, Executive Member, gave a vote of thanks.

In his address as chairman, Prof. D.P. Bhandari, Executive Director of the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, expressed his happiness at being in the chair for the inaugural session. Prof. Bhandari concluded that there ought to

be a department of linguistics in the university for studying the languages of Nepal.

#### Session I: General Linguistics (Chair: Prof. Ramawatar Yadav)

1. Sunil Kumar Jha: The Inclusion of Aspiration in Distinctive Feature Theory.
2. George van Driem: East Bodish and Newari in the Comparative Context.
3. Roland Rutgers: The Status of Liquids in Consonant Clusters in Yamphu Rai.
4. Amma Raj Joshi: The Significance of Sound Variation in Pluralization in Bajhang dialect.
5. Warren W. Glover: Shoebox: Integrated Data Management and Analysis for the Field Linguist.

#### Session II: Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching (Chair: Prof. Sunil Kumar Jha)

1. Wayne Amtzis: Procedure, Context, Theme and Voice: Guided Writing for EFL Students.
2. Phanindra Upadhaya: The Possibility of Clinical Supervision at the Campus Level.
3. Hemanta Raj Dahal: An Overview of ELT Courses at MA English.
4. Sushma Regmi: Causes for the Deterioration of English in Higher Education.

#### Session III: Sociolinguistics and Language Planning (Chair: Prof. Kamal P. Malla)

1. Jeff Webster: Nepali Proficiency in Rural Nepal.
2. Bryan Varenkamp: The Nepali Sentence Repetition Test: Evaluating Community-Wise Bilingualism.
3. Ramawatar Yadav: The Use of the Mother Tongue in Primary Education: the Nepalese Context.
4. Bal Gopal Shrestha and Bert van den Hoek: Education in the Mother Tongue: A Case of Newari.

#### Session IV: Syntax and Semantics (Chair: Prof. Abhi Subedi)

1. J.P. Cross: The Derivation of Some English Words.
2. Madhav P. Pokharel: Aspect in Nepali.
3. Tej R. Kansakar: Classical Newari Verbal Morphology.
4. Tsetan Chonjore: Tibetan: "A Non-Tense Language".
5. Yogendra P. Yadava: Verb Agreement in Maithili.
6. Amrit Yonjan Tamang: Tamang Grammar.

Nirmal Man Tuladhar

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

**Martin Gaenzle** is "wissenschaftlicher Assistent" at the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg and teaches at its Seminar für Ethnologie. His research work deals with ritual texts and oral tradition among the Mewahang Rai.

**Gerd Hansson** works at the Seminar für Allgemeine und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft in Kiel. He has been involved in the evaluation and analysis of the data collected by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal from the beginning.

**Michael Hutt** is Lecturer in Nepali at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London. He is compiler of *A Catalogue of Nepali Printed Books in the India Office Library* (British Library, 1985), and author of *Nepali: a National Language and its Literature* (Sterling, 1988)

**Brigitte Merz** is representative of the South Asia Institute, Kathmandu Branch Office. She is currently doing research on female healers among the Newar.

**Joanna Pfaff-Czernecka**, Ethnologisches Seminar of Zurich University, did fieldwork in Nepal and South India, and lists publications on caste, kinship, ethnicity and ritual. She participated in several development projects as an adviser.

**Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt** is member of the Department of Geography at the South Asia Institute. He has done research in Nepal and is currently involved in a project in Northern Thailand.

**Christopher Strawn** is a scholar of Public Policy and Politics at the University of Chicago, Illinois, USA. He has worked on the book "Bhutan - A Movement in Exile" (1994) together with D.N.S. Dhakal during his Wisconsin College Year in Nepal.

**Susanne Wymann & Cordula Ott** are members of the Group of Development and Environment, Institute of Geography, University of Bern (Switzerland)

The Editors wish to thank Anna Margarete Hanser-Cole and Susanne Späinghaus for their patience and assistance in the preparation of the Bulletin.

## European Bulletin of Himalayan Research

The Bulletin is published by the Editors twice annually from the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg.

Prepayment may be made by Eurocheque or by bank transfer, in either case, in favour of South Asia Institute (European Bulletin of Himalayan Research). Using bank transfer please send money to: Bezirkssparkasse Heidelberg, Account No.: 21911, Sorting Code [Bankleitzahl] 672 500 20, Reference: SAI, Titel 11378, BA 1154.

British subscribers may send personal cheques in Pounds Sterling to: Dr. Michael Hutt, SOAS, Department of Indology, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG, in favour of European Bulletin of Himalayan Research

Two year subscription rate for Numbers 8-11 is as follows:

	Eurocheque	Bank transfer	Brit. £
Institutions	DM 40,-	DM 50,-	£ 15,-
Individual Subscribers	DM 40,-	DM 50,-	£ 15,-
Concessionary student rate	DM 30,-	DM 40,-	£ 11,-

Forthcoming in *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, No. 8:

Review Article: *Recent Research on the Western and West-Central Himalaya*.  
John Whelpton: *Nepalese Political Parties: Developments since the 1991 Elections*  
Dipak Raj Pant: *Higher Education and Liberal Values in Nepal*.  
and more.

Please fill out the form below and send to the Editors, European Bulletin of Himalayan Research, South Asia Institute, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-69120 Heidelberg.

Subscription Order - Numbers 8-11

Name:.....

Address:.....

.....

Eurocheque enclosed      Bank transfer      Personal cheque to M. Hutt



## NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

The European Bulletin of Himalayan Research welcomes for consideration manuscripts and short notices dealing with any of the following topics:

1. Topical reports on ongoing, or recently completed, research projects.
2. Information about archives with literary, historical, archaeological, ethnographic, botanical, etc. materials collected in the Himalayan region.
3. Reviews of books on the Himalayas, including books published in Nepal, India, Pakistan and China which because of poor distribution may be inadequately known in Europe.
4. Current political developments in Nepal, India, Pakistan and China and the implications of these developments for research carried out by European scholars.
5. News about recent or forthcoming conferences, and on funding opportunities for European scholars working in the Himalayas as well as for scholars from the Himalayan region itself to visit Europe.

Manuscripts should not exceed 5,000 words (ca. 20 pages) in length. All contributions will be published in English. Anything submitted in English by a non-native speaker will be copy-edited in Heidelberg or London.

Contributors are invited to submit their articles as hard copy and possibly on disk. (If your article is sent on disk, please also send hard copy.) All formats are acceptable. If your article is not on disk, please type it boldly, in a large font, and avoid hand-written additions to facilitate scanning.

Please submit your articles with notes attached at the end of your contribution, don't use footnotes at the end of the page. Non-English words should be underlined or written in italics throughout the text. The titles of books etc. cited should be either underlined or written in italics. Titles of articles should be in plain text within quotation marks, together with the title of their source (book or journal) underlined or in italics, e.g.

Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1991. *Fatalism and Development. Nepal's Struggle for Modernization*. Calcutta: Orient Longman.

Quigley, Declan. 1987. 'Ethnicity Without Nationalism: The Newars of Nepal' in: *European Journal of Sociology* XXVIII, pp. 152-70.

The deadline for submissions for our eight issue is November 30, 1994. Anything received after that date will go into the ninth issue, expected in spring, 1995.

The views expressed by individual contributors are their own and do not represent those of the editorial board. All correspondence to The Editors, European Bulletin of Himalayan Research, Südasiens-Institut der Universität Heidelberg, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-69120 Heidelberg, Federal Republic of Germany.