

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
BAJHANGI AND BAJURALI**

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY, KATHMANDU,
NEPAL**

By

Krishna Prasad Chalise

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PART: A

THE BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Outline

This chapter introduces the survey and its goals along with a brief introduction to Bajhang and Bajura districts, Bajhangi and Bajurali Nepali and the organization of this report. It consists of eight sections. Section 1.2 highlights the survey and its major goals. Section 1.3 gives a brief introduction to the Bajhang district. Section 1.4 presents a brief introduction to the language name of Bajhangi and its genetic affiliation. Similarly, section 1.5 gives an introduction to the Bajura district and section 1.6 presents the language name of Bajurali and its genetic affiliation. Section 1.7 we present organization of the report and section 1.8 presents the summary of the chapter.

1.2 The survey and its goals

This report is based on the 17 day fieldwork (30 June-16 July 2012) carried out by Linguistic Survey of Nepal in the different parts of the Bajhang and Bajura districts in the Far-West of Nepal.



Figure 1.1 Bajhang and Bajura in the map of Nepal [Source: Topographical survey branch, survey department, Nepal Government]

The main purpose of this study was to find out the sociolinguistic situation of the Bajhangi and Bajurali Nepali varieties. The specific goals /objectives of the study were as follows:

- a. To identify the number of the Nepali varieties spoken in the districts and how they vary from each other by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among them.
- b. To look at their vitality by investigating the patterns of their use certain domains of language use;
- c. To assess the mother tongue proficiency and extent of community bilingualism;
- d. To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their native tongues; and
- e. To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in the mother tongues.

1.3 The Bajhang district

Bajhang District is situated in Seti Zone in Far-Western Development Region of Nepal. It is situated from 915 meters to 7035 meters height from the sea level and its area is 3422 square kilo meters. There are 47 V.D.C.s and Chainpur is the district headquarters. According to the preliminary CBS Report of Nepal, 2011, the total population of the district is 196277 of which 93912 are male and 102365 are female.

According to the CBS report of Nepal 2001, there is 35.5% of literacy rate of which male literacy is nearly 57.6% and female literacy is 15.2%. Similarly there is 29% of adult literacy (male 54.4% and female 7.9). Out of the literate population 61.43% completed primary level, 24.62% completed (lower) secondary level, 4.77% completed SLC and 2.83% completed certificate level. The data shows that total literacy rate is low and the female literacy rate is lower in Bajhang. The number of people in education decreases from lower to higher levels.

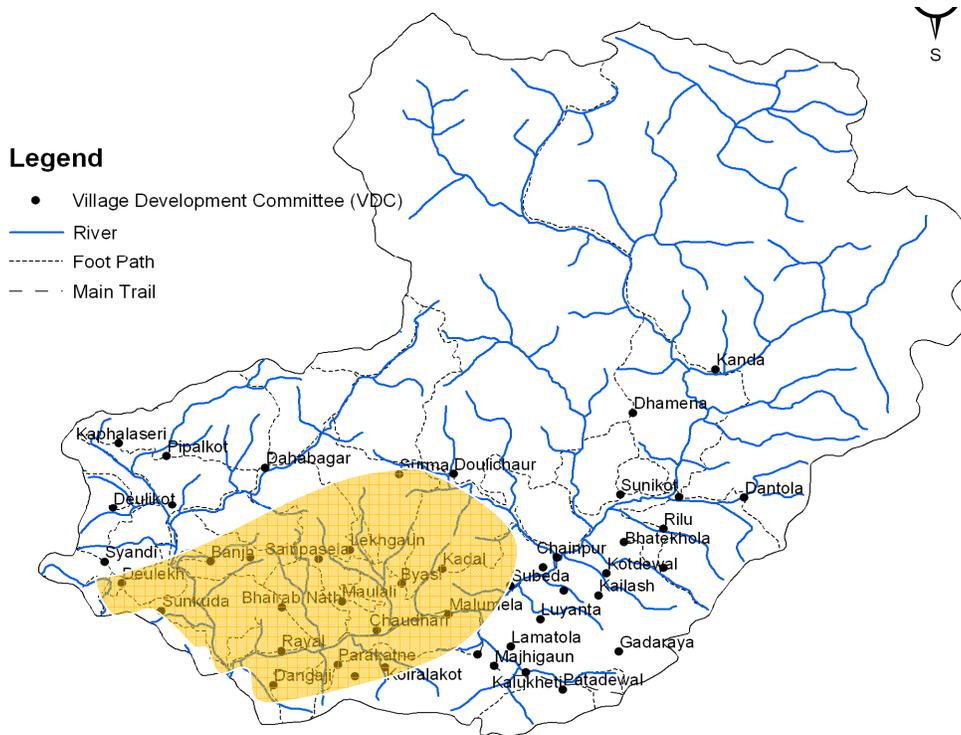


Figure 1.2: The survey area in Bajhang district [Source: Digital Himalaya]

There are 47 V.D.Cs. which are Kanda, Dahabagar, Surma, Daulichour, Dhamena, Melbisauni, Datola, Kafalseri, Pipalkot, Deulikot, Khiratadi, Syadi, Deulek, Sunkuda, Banjh, Bhamchour, Rayal, Bhairabnath, Sainpalesa, Maulali, Lekgaon, Surma, Byansi, Kadel, Matela, Chaudhari, Kotbhairab, Parakatne, Dangaji, Phoiralakot, Malumela, Pauwagadi, Kalukheti, Majhigaon, Patadewal, gadraya, Lamatole, Luyata, Kailash, Hementawada, Kotdewal, Subeda, Rithapata, Chainpur, Sunikot, Bhatekhola, Rilu, Mastadev.

Main residents of this district are Bramhins, Chhetris, Thakuris and Dalits (Hindu lower castes like Kami, Damai, Sarki etc).

The major profession of the people is agriculture. Its total agricultural land is 11801 hectares. Apart from agriculture a large number of people go to other countries mainly India for jobs; and a negligible number of people are involved in services and businesses. These days the collection and export of medicinal herbs from the high mountains of the district has become an alternative source of income especially for the people living in the highlands. Most of the people in the district are Hindus. In fact, during our field we could not meet any non-Hindu people but we got information that there are some Buddhists in the Northern part of the district and some Christians.

1.4 Bajhangi

Bajhangi Nepali is a cover term used to refer to the mother tongues spoken in the Bajhang District of Seti Zone. But a large number of the speakers of the mother tongues are found settled in the different parts of Kanchanpur, Kailali and other districts of Nepal Terai. A small number of speakers are found settled in Kathmandu valley.

1.4.1 Language name

All the respondents answered that the name of their mother tongue is Nepali¹ and the variety they speak is Bajhangi. Within the geography of Bajhang district there are spoken a number of mother tongues referred by the same term 'Bajhangi' of which some are remarkably distinct from each other. So Bajhangi refers to a group of mother tongues (close to Official Nepali variety) spoken in the district of Bajhang. The speakers of different varieties in the district call their mother tongues by different names based on the name of the areas they are spoken in. So the term 'Bajhangi' is more geographical than linguistic.

The pattern of asking question about the name of their mother tongues is presented below:

<i>Which language do you speak?</i>	<i>:Nepali</i>
<i>What do the people out of Bajhang call your mother tongue?</i>	<i>:Bajhangi</i>
<i>What other people in Bajhang call your mother tongue?</i>	<i>:Chirali/Simali/Thalari, etc.</i>

Figure 1.3 The autoglotonym of Bajhangi

It shows that there is a three-level identity of the Bajhangi mother tongues.



So Bajhangi is a cover term that includes all the Nepali mother tongues spoken in Bajhang. The Bajhangi people claimed that the Bajhangi is the pure form of the Nepali language because Far-West Nepal was the origin of Nepali language. There is a logical basis for their claim because the varieties have preserved the ancient forms of Nepali. Their native speakers advised us to name their mother tongues as 'Bajhangi Nepali' as a cover term and so did we.

¹ So we call the mother tongues as Bajhangi Nepali

1.4.2 Genetic affiliation

So Bajhangi Nepali can be genetically classified under the Nepali language. Nepali is an Indo-European language. Under the Indo-European language family it belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-Iranian. Turner (1931) and Masica (1990) have grouped it in the Northwestern branch of Indo-Aryan. The genetic classification of Nepali can be presented as given below:

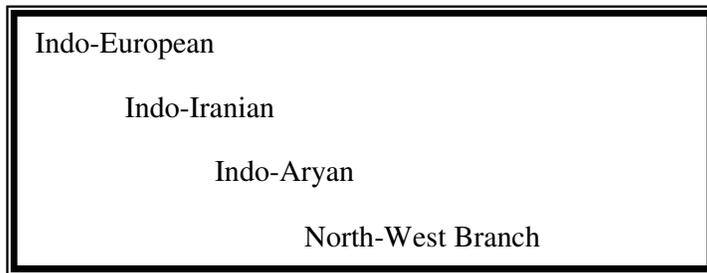


Figure 1.4 Genetific classification of Bajhangi Nepali [Source: Turner (1931) and Masica (1990) [simplified]]

1.5 The Bajura district

Bajura District is situated in the height of 772 meters to 7036 meters from sea level and its area is 2188 square kilometers. According to the CBS Report of Nepal 2011, the population of this district is 135506 of which 65893 are male and 69613 are female.

According to the CBS report of Nepal 2001, there is 34.1% of literacy rate of which male literacy is 51.2% and female literacy is 17.3%. Similarly there is 27.6% of adult literacy (male 46.9% and female 9.2). Out of the literate population 58.23% completed primary level, 26.65% completed (lower) secondary level, 7.08% completed SLC and 2.32% completed certificate level. The data shows that total literacy rate is low and the female literacy rate is lower in Bajhang. The number of people in education decreases from lower to higher levels.

Main profession of the residents in this district is agriculture. Its agricultural land is 8506 hectare. Apart from agriculture a large number of people go to other countries mainly India for jobs; and a negligible number of people are involved in services and businesses.

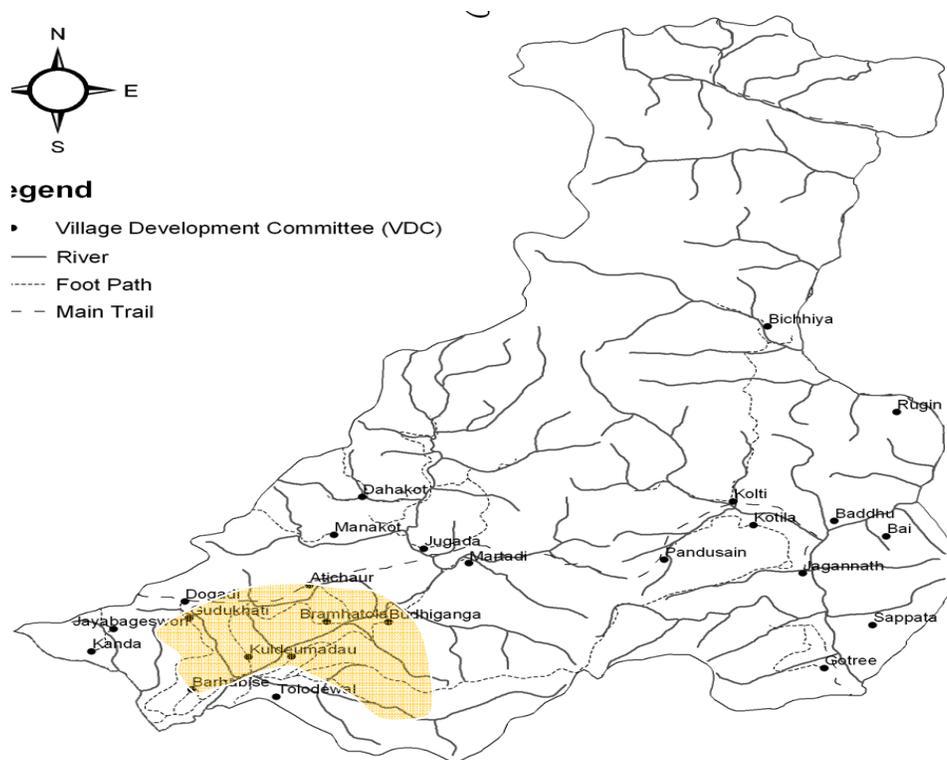


Figure 1.5: The survey area in Bajura district [Source: Digital Himalaya]

The district headquarters of this district is Martadi. There are 27 V.D.Cs. which are Bichhe, Dahakot, Kolti, Rugin, Bandhu, Bai, Jukot, Sapata, Gotri, Jagannath, Kotila, Pandusain, Martadi, Budhiganga, Tolidewal, Chhatara, Kailashmandu, Barabise, Kuldeumandu, Gudukhati, Jayabageshwori, Kanda, Dogadi, Aantichaur, Mankot, Brahmatola, Jugada. There is no any Municipality in this district. Main residents of this district are Thakuri, Bramhin, Chhetri, Kami, Damai etc.

1.6 Bajurali

Bajurali is a cover term used to refer to the different Nepali varieties spoken in the political boundary of the Bajura District of Seti Zone. But a large number of the speakers of Bajurali are found settled in the different parts of the districts of Nepal Terai.

1.6.1 Language name

All the speakers answered that the name of their language is Nepali and the variety they speak is Bajurali. Within the geography of Bajura district there are spoken some language varieties referred by the same term 'Bajurali'. So Bajurali refers to a group of varieties of Nepali spoken in the district of Bajura. The term 'Bajurali' is geographical not linguistic.

The Bajurali people claimed that their language was Nepali and their mother tongue is the closest Nepali variety to the official Nepali among the other varieties of Nepali spoken in the Far-Western Development Region. Their native speakers advised us to name their mother tongues as 'Bajurali Nepali'.

1.6.2 Genetic affiliation

Bajurali Nepali can be genetically classified under the Nepali language. Nepali is an Indo-European language. Under the Indo-European language family it belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-Iranian. Turner (1931) and Masica (1990) have grouped it in the Northwestern branch of Indo-Aryan. The genetic classification of Nepali can be presented as given below:

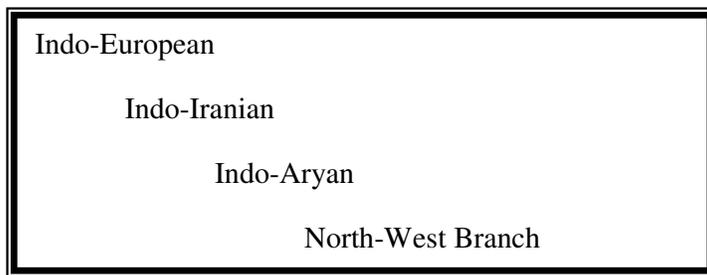


Figure 1.6: Genetic classification of Bajurali Nepali [Source: Turner (1931) and Masica (1990) [simplified]]

1.7 Organization of the report

The survey report is organized into three sections. Section I includes two chapters that deal with the introduction to the survey and the methodology of the survey respectively. Section II and III include the findings in Bajhingi and Bajurali respectively. Each of the later sections contains altogether 6 chapters. Chapter 1 examines the possible dialectal variations and chapter 2 investigates the major domains of language use. Similarly chapter 3 evaluates the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism and chapter 4 looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes. In the same way, chapter 5 discusses language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development and chapter 8 presents the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes word lists and sociolinguistic questionnaire.

1.8 Summary

In this chapter, we introduced the survey and its goals. This is a sociolinguistic survey of Bajhingi Nepali and Bajurali Nepali which tries to identify the situation of language

variation, multilingualism, language maintenance, language attitude, language vitality and endangerment.

Bajhang and Bajurali are not the linguistic but geographical classifications. Regardless the genetic affiliation the mother tongues spoken in Bajhang have been named as Bajhang and spoken in Bajura as Bajurali. Bajhang and Bajura are two adjacent districts in the Far Western Development Region of Nepal. Bajhang and Bajura are the districts where almost all people are Hindus by religion and they belong to different Hindu caste groups. The major caste groups available in the districts are Kshetries, Brahmins, Thakuries, Dasnamis and Dalits.

There are spoken a number of local varieties in different parts of Bajhang and Bajura districts which the speakers love to identify as different Nepali varieties. As they are accepted different varieties of Nepali, they are genetically related to the North-Western Branch of Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali as classified by Turner (1931) and Masica (1990).

Similarly, in this chapter, we presented the organization of this report.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the research methodology employed in this survey. It consists of three sections. Section 2.2 presents a brief description of the research tools: sociolinguistic questionnaires and wordlist, the major focus of the tools in the survey, their basic characteristics and how they were administered in the field. In section 2.3, we deal with the limitations of the survey with respect to time, access, area, methods and informants.

2.2 Research methodology

This survey has employed three different tools in order to fulfill its goals. The methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI), but we used only Dialect Mapping (DLM) tool out of the tools of Participatory Method because other tools don't seem to be so relevant in the context of Bajhanghi Nepali. Table 2.1 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods / tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

2.2.1 The sociolinguistic Questionnaires

There have been employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaire in this survey.

a. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex.

Prior to the administration of the set of questionnaire different VDCs were selected as the survey points and within the survey points there were selected sub-points. Almost equal number of respondents were selected from each of the survey points including male-female, literate-illiterate, different age groups (15-30, 30-45, 45-60 and above 60) and different caste groups. Table 1 and 2 give the overview of the survey points and sample population in Bajhang and Bajura districts respectively.

Table 2.1: The overview of the survey points and sample population in Bajhang

VDCs	GPS Coordinates	Elevation	Sex		Literacy		Age groups			
			Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-30	30-45	45-60	above 60
Sunkuda (4 sub-points)	80°51'23.3'' E 29°30'51'' N	1075 m.	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	1
Royal (4 sub-points)	80°58'49.4'' E 29°28'10.2'' N	1022 m.	4	1	4	1	1	1	2	1
Parakatne (2 sub-points)	81°01'25.4'' E 29°30'15.4'' N	1065 m.	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	1
Byansi (4 sub-points)	81°03'38.8'' E 29°31'36.6'' N	1934 m.	3	3	4	2	1	2	2	1
Lekgaun (4 sub-points)	81°01'18.3'' E 29°32'51.7'' N	2019 m.	3	2	2	3	2	1	1	1
Sainpasela (4 sub-points)	81°01'15.4'' E 29°32'48.7'' N	2027 m.	2	3	2	3	1	1	2	1
Chaudhari (2 sub-points)	81°02'38'' E 29°29'59.6'' N	1367 m.	3	2	4	1	0	2	1	2
Total			21	15	22	14	7	11	10	8

There are included 6 Brahmins, 23 Kshetries and 7 Dalits in the sample population.

Table 2.2: The overview of the survey points and sample population in Bajura

VDCs	GPS Coordinates	Elevation	Sex		Literacy		Age groups			
			Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-30	30-45	45-60	above 60
Barhabise (2 sub-points)	81°18'87'' E 29°20'32.5'' N	1391 m.	4	2	4	2	2	1	2	1
Kuldevmandu (2 sub-points)	81°20'07'' E 29°21'37.2'' N	1230 m.	3	3	4	2	2	2	1	1
Kailashmandu (2 sub-points)	81°20'44.3'' E 29°21'32.2'' N	1305 m.	4	2	3	3	2	2	1	1
Tolideval (4 sub-points)	81°20'8.4'' E 29°21'7.2'' N	1055 m.	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1
Total			14	10	14	10	8	7	5	4

Note: There are included 14 Kshetries, 6 Dasnamis and 4 Dalits in the sample population. 1 unmarried with no children, all Hihdus,

The questions were administered both in Nepali and the mother tongues to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali or English. After the data collection the answers were entered into a database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

b. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

Out of the four components of the tool the Dialect Mapping (DLM) component was relevant for this survey. The main purpose of this tool is to help the speech community to think about the languages/language varieties spoken in the areas, the languages they are bilingual in and which situations they use them. There a number of Nepali varieties spoken in the districts so identification of the varieties and their areas of distribution was very important aspect of the survey. Domains of Language Use (DLU) tool was not relevant for this survey because mother tongues are so vibrant and are used in almost all domains of language use. Similarly, the

purposes of Bilingualism (BLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI) components can be sufficiently fulfilled by SLQ A. Table 3 and 4 give the overview of the locations and sample population selected for the purpose of Dialect Mapping (DLM) in Bajhang and Bajura respectively.

Table 2.3: The overview of the survey points and sample population for dialect mapping in Bajhang

VDCs	Sex		Literacy		Age groups			
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-30	30-45	45-60	above 60
Sunkuda	4	4	5	3	2	2	2	2
Royal	4	5	4	5	5	2	2	1
Parakatne	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	1
Lekgaun	8	4	7	5	2	4	3	3
Total	19	15	18	16	10	10	8	7

Table 2.4: The overview of the survey points and sample population for dialect mapping in Bajura

VDCs	Sex		Literacy		Age groups			
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-30	30-45	45-60	above 60
Kailasmandu	8	7	9	6	5	4	4	2
Total	8	7	9	6	5	4	4	2

c. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

This set was administered on one to three language activists and/or village head at every survey point. It aims to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development.

2.2.2 Word list comparisons

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist is to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from the mother tongue speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs (See 2.3.2).

From each survey points, at least five informants representing different age, sex and educational status were chosen as the word list source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Bajhangi/Bajurali as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

Table 2.5: The overview of the survey points and sample population for dialect mapping in Bajhang

VDCs	Sex		Literacy		Age groups			
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-30	30-45	45-60	above 60
Sunkuda	4	4	5	3	2	2	2	2
Rayal	4	5	4	5	5	2	2	1
Parakatne	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	1
Lekgaun	8	4	7	5	2	4	3	3
Total	19	15	18	16	10	10	8	7

The wordlist elicitation was in Nepali language. Bajhangi/Bajurali equivalents for the Nepali words were asked to the native speakers and the words were transcribed phonetically. The lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialects groupings in the languages. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.3 Limitations

2.3.1 Time

It was a very difficult enterprise to carry out the sociolinguistic survey of two districts situated in the very hard geography in 17 days. So we really could not visit all of the parts of the districts but we tried our best to get the overall impression of the sociolinguistic situation of the districts. So this survey has not been a complete survey of the districts.

2.3.2 Sample size

While analyzing the data I realized that the sample size is too small to represent the impression of such a big population and geographical area. According to the CBS Report 2011, the total population of Bajhang and Bajura is 196272 and 135506 respectively whereas our sample size is

36 and 21 respectively. The sample size is nearly 0.018% of the total population. So in this research some of the findings may be fuzzy and some of the cases are unidentified. So I would like to recommend that the ratio of the total population and sample size should be a standard one.

2.3.3 Season

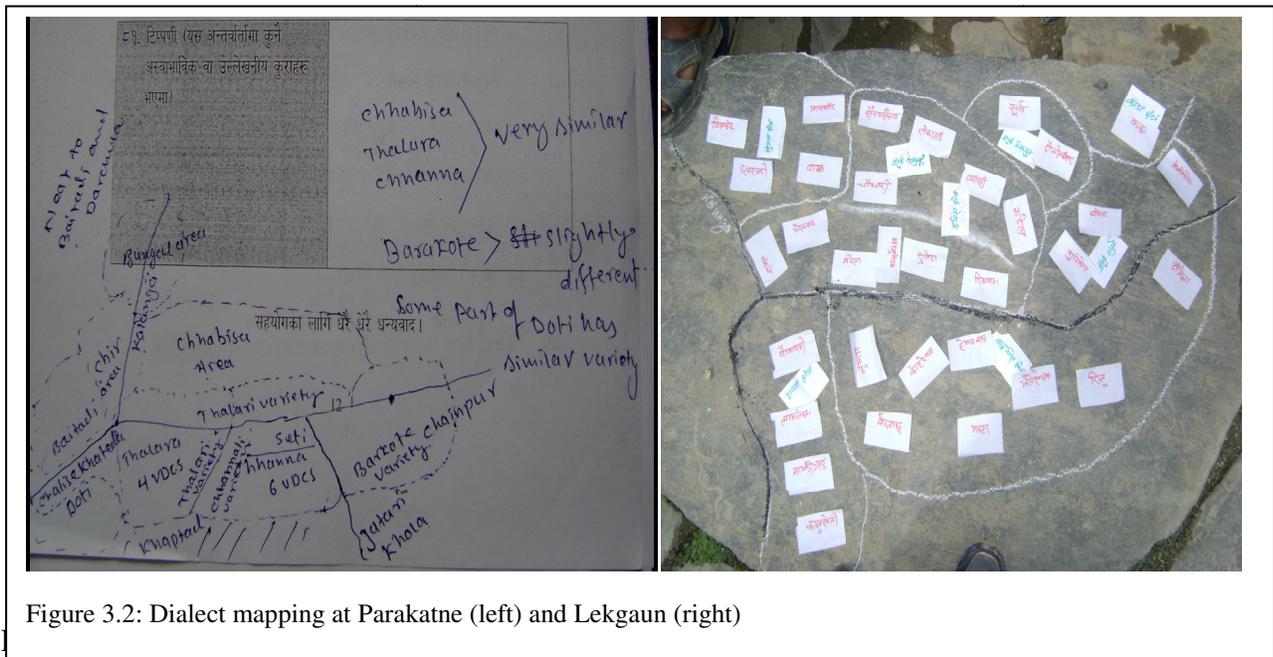
The month of Ashad was not appropriate time for field study because of several reasons. Firstly, the people are busy with their agricultural work, specially planting paddy, in their fields from morning to evening. So it had been very difficult for us to get informants in the day time and it directly affected the sample population. Only very old people were available in the time. Secondly, this season was the most dangerous time to travel in the mountainous areas. The heavy rain, flood and landslide were the most dangerous challenges for us to travel in the districts. We had to walk and travel on bus while the land was sliding down and stones were rolling down towards us. We had to cross several flooding streams during our fieldwork. Every time we crossed a river we thanked the god for saving our lives. We were lucky to come back safe from the fieldwork. Because of the situation we could not visit the parts of the districts that would have possible to visit if the season was appropriate.

2.3.4 Money

It is logical for the respondents to expect some money from us as they have provided us their time. It had been too difficult for us to convince them it was a part of their responsibility to assist for the linguistic survey. In several cases we could not become successful to convince them and paid them from our own pockets for their time they had provided us. In some situations we had to provide them with some kind of motivating items like tea, biscuits, etc to get their time. No provision of money for the respondents made the survey more complicated.

PART: B

BAJAHNGI



is spoken in the areas of Kalanga River and high lands of Deulek and Jyawan mountains in the northern part; and Simali variety which is spoken in the areas of Seti River (the river valley and the montains)¹. The first variety includes the sub-varieties like Chirali, Bungli, Garkhali and Jyabani. Garkhali is closer to Kumauni and Chirali is closer to Baitadli because they border to them. The respondents suggested that the real Bajhangi is the Simali variety.

Dialect mapping at Rayal identified three varieties Chirali (Chir-Bungal), Simali and Thalari. Simali is spoken in the areas Northern to Seti and Thalari is spoken in the areas South to Seti as it flows east to west.

Dialect mapping at Parakatne was unforgettable for us because we had to do it in the field where people were planting paddy. So it was carried out in a page of our questionnaire. In reality it was proven very valuable for us because it brought several facts about the dialects spoken in the district. It identified altogether six different varieties: Bungli, Chirali, Simali, Thalari, Chhannali and Barhakote.

Similarly, dialect mapping at Lekgaun identified seven different varieties spoken in the district: Bungal variety/Bungli, Chir variety/Chirali, Naubisa and Chhabisa variety/Simali, Chhanna variety/Chhannali, Barhabisa variety/Barhakote, Chaugau variety and Kanda variety.

¹ Kalanga meets Seti at Deura Bajar.

To summarize the findings from dialect mapping the following eight varieties of Nepali are spoken in Bajhang district.

- a. Bungali
- b. Chirali
- c. Simali
- d. Thalari
- e. Chhannali
- f. Barhakote
- g. Chaugاون
- h. Kanda

3.3 Lexical similarity

Because of the limitation of the time we could not collect wordlist from all the dialect areas. The wordlists collected from five different VDCs representing only three varieties Chirali (Sunkuda), Simali² (Rayal, Byansi, Lekgaun) and Thalari (Parakatne) are compared and the summary of the comparison is presented in table.

Table 3.1: Lexical Similarity comparison in Bajhang

	Byansi	Lekgaun	Parakatne	Rayal	Sunkuda
Byansi	100%	90%	89%	90%	42%
Lekgaun	90%	100%	80%	85%	46%
Parakatne	89%	80%	100%	92%	45%
Rayal	90%	85%	92%	100%	44%
Sunkuda	42%	46%	45%	44%	100%

The lexical comparison shows that Chirali is remarkably different from other varieties so it can be identified as a distinct variety. Chirali is spoken in the areas that border to Baitadeli variety and shows proximity to it. But the other varieties (Byansi, Lekgaun, Parakatne and Rayal) are very close to each other and can be included into a single variety. The lexical comparison justified the findings from Dialect Mapping. Because of the shortage of time we could not collect

² Simali is spoken in the widest area so 3 samples are included from it.

word lists from the varieties identified from Dialect Mapping. If we compared the word lists from the other varieties identified from Dialect Mapping, it would support the findings from Dialect Mapping. The lexical comparison indicates that the language variation in Bajhang is continuous.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to examine the possible dialectal variations in Bajhang. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that Chirali-Bungali and Simali-Barabisa are the two major dialect groups in Bajhang. It is difficult for the speakers of one dialect group to understand the people speaking another dialect group. But the people speaking a variety of same dialect group can easily understand each other. Chir-Bungali variety is spoken in the areas of Kalanga River and high lands of Deulek and Jyawan mountains in the Southern-Northern part of the district. The sub-varieties of this variety are as given below:

- i. Chirali
- ii. Bungli
- iii. Gadali
- iv. Garkhali
- v. Jyawani

The respondents say that Bungli, Garkhali and Jyabani are closer to Kumauni, Gadali is closer to Gadawali and Chirali is closer to Baitadli.

Simali-Thalari variety is spoken in the areas of the Seti River (the river valley and the mountains)³. The respondents suggested that the real Bajhang is the Simali variety. Within Simali-Thalari variety, there are the following sub-varieties.

- i. Chhannali
- ii. Barhakote
- iii. Simali
- iv. Chaugaun
- v. Thalari
- vi. Kanda

³ Kalanga meets Seti at Deura Bajar.

It can be presented in a diagram as given below:

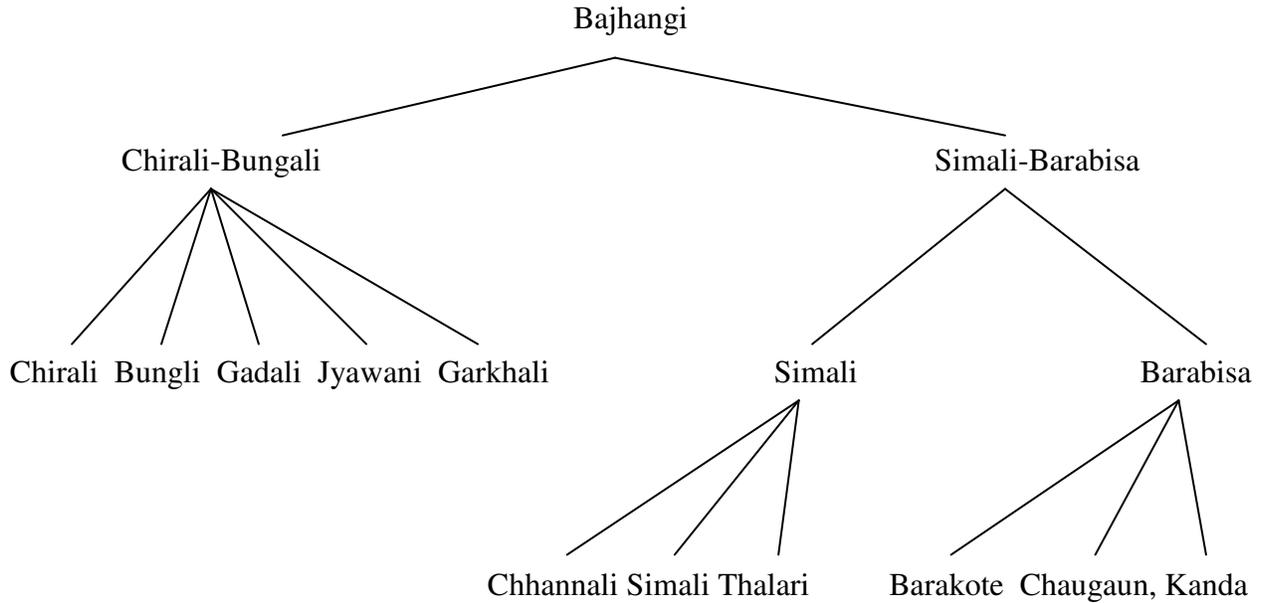


Fig 3.3 The varieties of Bajhangi

The study, on the basis of the comparison of standardized 210 wordlists shows that there is more than 42% and less than 90% of lexical similarity among the key points in Bajhangi. With this fact we can argue that there are remarkably distinct dialects. Sunkuda is the representing survey point for Chirali-Bungali variety and other points are the representative survey points for Simali-Barabisa varieties. The contrast in finding from lexical comparison shows that probably they can be regarded two languages.

CHAPTER 4

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

4.1 Outline

This chapter glances at the major domains of language use in Bajhangi. It consists of eight sections. Section 4.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. Section 4.3 deals with the use of the language in interpersonal communication in the family. In section 4.4 we deal with the use of the languages by the children in different situations. Section 4.5 appraises the use of languages in different modes of invitation. Section 4.6 deals with the use of Nepali (Language of Wider Communication). Similarly, section 4.7 investigates the preferred language as the medium of instruction in the primary level and section 4.8 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

4.2 Patterns of language use in general domains

In this section, we examine the languages most frequently used by the Bajhangi speakers in the following domains of language use:

- i. counting,
- ii. singing,
- iii. joking,
- iv. bargaining/ shopping/ marketing,
- v. storytelling,
- vi. discussing/ debate,
- vii. praying,
- viii. quarrelling,
- ix. abusing (scolding/using taboo words),
- x. telling stories to children,
- xi. singing at home,
- xii. family gatherings and
- xiii. village
- xiv. meetings.

Bajhangi is the principal vehicle of everyday communication and dominantly used in all domains of language use by the speakers of all age groups, sex groups and literacy/education groups. A

few of them have been shifted into Nepali in some of the common domains of language use. Nepali is generally used in education, the formal situations and with the externals. Table 4.1 presents the use of Bajhangli in general domains of language use by male and female respondents.

Table 4.1: Use of Bajhangli in different domains by sex

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=15)	Total (n=36)
Counting*	19 (90.47%)	15 (100%)	34 (94.44%)
Singing	20 (95.23%)	15 (100%)	35 (97.22%)
Joking	20 (95.23%)	15 (100%)	35 (97.22%)
Shopping/ Marketing	14 (66.66%)	6 (40%)	20 (55.55%)
Story telling	19 (90.47%)	15 (100%)	34 (94.44%)
Discussing/ Debate	21 (100%)	15 (100%)	36 (100%)
Praying*	19 (90.47%)	15 (100%)	34 (94.44%)
Quarrelling	21 (100%)	15 (100%)	36 (100%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	21 (100%)	15 (100%)	36 (100%)
Telling stories to children	21 (100%)	15 (100%)	36 (100%)
Singing at home	20 (95.23%)	15 (100%)	35 (100%)
Family gatherings	21 (100%)	15 (100%)	36 (100%)
Village meetings	13 (61.90%)	8 (53.33%)	21 (58.33%)

(90-100)% of the respondents use Bajhangli in the domains related to person, family and Bajhangli community¹. The use of Bajhangli is used less in marketing and in village meetings. They say it depends on the situation because if the marketing is within the Bajhangli speaking area they completely use their mother tongue and if the marketing out of the Bajhangli speaking area they have to use Nepali as far as they can. Even in this situation, the females try to use their mother tongue. Similarly, if the village meeting is with the members of their own community they extensively use their own mother tongue otherwise they have to use Nepali. Table 4.2

¹ Debate, quarreling, abusing, telling stories and family related domains need very high level of language competence. The use of Bajhangli in these domains justifies their high competence in Bajhangli.

presents the use of both Bajhangi and Nepali in different domains of language use by different genders.

Table 4.2: Use of Bajhangi and Nepali in different domains by sex

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=15)	Total (n=36)
Counting*	1 (4.76)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)
Singing	1 (4.76)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)
Joking	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Shopping/ Marketing	5 (23.80%)	7 (46.66%)	12 (33.33%)
Story telling	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Discussing/ Debate	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Praying*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Quarrelling	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Telling stories to children	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Singing at home	1 (4.76)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)
Family gatherings	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Village meetings	6 (%)	7 (46.66%)	13 (36.11%)

Nepali is spoken in formal situations in which they have to communicate with the outsiders or they have to write. Table 4.3 presents the use of Nepali by different genders.

Table 4.3: Use of Nepali in different domains by different genders

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=15)	Total (n=36)
Counting*	1 (4.76)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)
Singing	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Joking	1 (4.76)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)
Shopping/ Marketing	2 (9.52%)	2 (13.33%)	4 (11.11%)
Story telling	2 (9.52%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.55%)
Discussing/ Debate	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Praying*	1 (4.76)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)

Quarrelling	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Telling stories to children	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Singing at home	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Family gatherings	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Village meetings	2 (9.52%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.55%)

Counting in Bajhangli and Nepali are the same so there is no distinction in the use. Although Bajhangli is rich in folk songs and music, singing is a domain in which the use of Nepali is increasing these days. The recorded Nepali songs are getting popular in the area and we could listen to them while travelling on the public transportations. We could hear some people singing Nepali songs in muse. Along with the extension of the road transportation and increase of number of market places people happen to be in more situations of contact with the people from outside. So the use of Nepali in the market places is increasing. Another field that Nepali is used is formal meeting. Even if the discussion is in Bajhangli, the minute is written in Nepali. Similarly, the written stories are told in Nepali.

The use of Bajhangli and Nepali in general domains of language use is the same between males and females but the trend of use is different. There is a noticeable difference between the male and female respondents. Some of the male respondents use both Bajhangli and Nepali in the domains that female respondents use only Bajhangli. It shows that female speakers use more Bajhangli than male speakers do.

4.3 The use of language in interpersonal communication in family

The questions were asked the respondents about the use of languages with their different family members like grandparents, parents, spouse and children while talking about education related topics and family or society related topics and while writing letters. Some of the respondents didn't have grandparents and/or parents and some were illiterate and couldn't write letter and some have never written letters although they were literate. So, all the respondents could not answer all of the questions. Table 4.4 presents the use of Bajhangli in above mentioned situations.

Table 4.4 Use of Bajhangi in interpersonal communication at home

	Education related	Society/family related	Writing letter
Grandfather	7	7	0
Grandmother	7	7	0
Father	9	9	1
Mother	5	5	3
Spouse	16	16	3
Children	14	14	0

All the respondents who responded the questions use Bajhangi with their family members in both education related and society/family related matters whereas all the respondents who wrote letters in their life wrote in Bajhangi and Nepali. It shows that Bajhangi is used in both writing and speech but Nepali is solely used in writing. Table 4.5 presents the use of Nepali in interpersonal communication at home.

Table 4.5 Use of Nepali in interpersonal communication at home

	Education related	Society/family related	Writing letter
Grandfather	0	0	0
Grandmother	0	0	0
Father	0	0	8
Mother	0	0	0
Spouse	0	0	0
Children	0	0	0

4.4 The use of the language by the children in different situations

The children extensively use Bajhangi in almost all of their daily life situations and use Nepali in a limited number of situations like with the outsiders, with the teachers in the school, in the classroom, etc.

4.4.1 The use of the languages by the children while playing with the friends

While playing with their friends within the community all the children use Bajhangi² invariably in all the survey locations. The case of Parakatne is a signal that indicates that gradually Nepali is going to replace Bajhangi in the common situations of conversation. Table 4.6 presents the use of the language(s) by the children while playing with the friends in the community

² In my observations the children while talking about the course in school, homework, etc generally use Nepali.

Table 4.6 The language(s) used by the children while playing with the friends in the community

	While playing with friends in the community		
	Bajhanghi	Bajhanghi and Nepali	Nepali
Sunkuda (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Parakatne (n=5)	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Byansi (n=6)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Lekgaun (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Rayal (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sainpasela (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Chaudhari (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total (n=36)	36 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

4.4.2 The use of the language(s) by the children while talking with the neighbors

While talking in the neighborhood, they invariably use their mother tongue. It indicates that Bajhanghi is homogenously used in the society by the people of all age groups. But if the neighbors are not the speakers of Bajhanghi they have to use Nepali with them. Nowadays, because of the expansion of transportation facilities and different types of business in the different parts of the district, people speaking other languages have migrated into in different parts of Bajhang. So in some places the neighbours are non-speakers of Bajhanghi. In such situations the children have to use Nepali instead of their mother tongue. Table 4.7 presents the use of the language(s) by the children while talking with the neighbors.

Table 4.7 The language(s) used by the children while talking with the neighbors

	While talking with the neighbors		
	Bajhanghi	Bajhanghi and Nepali	Nepali
Sunkuda (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Parakatne (n=5)	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)
Byansi (n=6)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Lekgaun (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Rayal (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sainpasela (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Chaudhari (n=5)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total (n=36)	35 (97.22%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)

4.4.3 The use of languages at school with the teachers and friends

In the schools the children are completely bilingual and use both Bajhanghi and Nepali according to the situations. Nepali is the medium of instruction in the schools so the classroom language is automatically Nepali. But if the teacher is a Bajhanghi speaker and if s/he feels that it would be easier for the students to understand some concepts in mother tongue they are likely to use even Bajhanghi in the classroom situations. The use of language out of the classrooms depends on the discourse partners. If the teacher is a Bajhanghi speaker the students may use both Bajhanghi and Nepali based on the topic and situation. Most of the teachers in the schools are from other parts of the country and don't speak Bajhanghi and the students should speak Nepali with them. Similarly, while talking with the Bajhanghi speaking friends mostly they use Bajhanghi. Sometimes they use Nepali based on the situation and the topic of discourse. Table 4.8 presents the use of languages at school with the teachers and friends.

Table 4.8 The use of languages at school with the teachers and friends

	At school with friends and teachers		
	Only Bajhanghi	Bajhanghi and Nepali	Only Nepali
Sunkuda (n=5)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)
Parakatne (n=5)	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)
Byansi (n=6)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)
Lekgaun (n=5)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)
Rayal (n=5)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)
Sainpasela (n=5)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)
Chaudhari (n=5)	0 (0%)	4 (80%)	1 (20%)

4.5 The language of invitation

Regardless their place, age group, gender and education, all people use mother tongue to give the invitation of marriage in oral form but while they get the invitation printed in the form invitation card they use Nepali. Similarly, the minute of any meeting in the village is invariably written in Nepali. So there seems to be a kind of functional division between Bajhanghi and Nepali.

Bajhanghi is used for oral communication and Nepali is used for any kind of written documentation.

4.6 The use of the Language of Wider Communication

All the respondents identified Nepali as their Language of Wider Communication (LWC). They use Nepali with all the outsiders. But those people who can't speak Nepali use their mother tongue with anyone they have to communicate with. I found some monolingual speakers and they communicated with me using Bajhanghi. The situation was same at all the survey points regardless the gender. The use of Nepali was found to have slightly determined by the educational level of the people. The people with higher education use Nepali more often than the people with lower education or the illiterate ones. Table 4.9 presents the use of Nepali in different situations according to the education level of the respondents.

Table 4.9 The use of Nepali in different situations by different education groups

I (n=13)		L (n=5)		P (n=6)		S (n=5)		H (n=7)	
Always.	Sometimes	Always.	Sometimes	Always.	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes
0 (0%)	13 (100%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	5 (71.42%)	2 (28.57%)

Table 4.9 shows that the people with higher education use Nepali more often than the rest of the respondents. The people with higher education mostly are teachers in the local schools. As a result they have to use Nepali every day.

Until and unless they meet outsider(s), they use mother tongue in their everyday situations. How often they meet outsiders depends on their outside contact, education, gender, etc. The job holders, community leaders, social workers, etc. have to come in contact with outsiders more often than the farmers. Similarly, the people who live in market places, towns or Terai have to come in contact with outsiders more often than the people living in the villages. Likewise, the males are likely to come in contact with outsiders more often than the females. But the

school/college teachers, the officials working in governmental or nongovernmental offices always come in contact with outsiders and use Nepali everyday in their lives. Similarly, the young people use Nepali with their friends speaking other languages. Nepali is mostly used with the people who speak other languages. The educated people speaking different dialects often use Nepali as contact language. But uneducated people speaking different dialects use their own dialects while they meet each other. Communication is possible because the dialects are completely mutually intelligible. Same situation is while uneducated Bajhangi speakers and Baitadeli or Dotyali speakers meet each other, they use their own dialects and communicate. In our personal experience Bajhangi speakers understand Nepali and vice versa. Table x shows the use of Language of Wider Communication in Bajhang.

4.7 The preferred language for medium of instruction in the primary level

Majority of the respondents preferred Nepali to make the medium of instruction in the primary level. If they are educated in the language of wider communication, it would be far more beneficial for their better future. In their view the children learn the mother tongue from the home and community so the formal education in standard variety should be preferred. A few of them say that both Bajhangi and Nepali can be learnt at home and the community without any effort so English should be the medium of instruction from the primary level so that their children could gain native like proficiency in English.

The responses seem to have been determined by the location for some extent. Table 4.11 presents the responses at the different locations.

Table 4.10 The preferred language for medium of instruction at different places

	Sunkuda	Royal	Parakatne	Byansi	Lekgaun	Sainpasela	Chaudhari
Bajhangi	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)
Nepali	3 (60%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	3 (50%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)
English	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Although majority of the respondents according to places preferred Nepali as the medium of instruction in the primary level, the respondents near to the highway and the market areas seemed to have been more inclined towards Nepali and even English. It shows that modernization is a crucial factor that causes language loss.

The education of the respondents could determine the responses of the people. Table 4.12 presents the responses of the people based on their education.

Table 4.11 The preferred language for medium of instruction according to the education

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
Bajhangsi	3 (23.07%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	3 (60%)	2 (28.57%)
Nepali	7 (53.84%)	5 (100%)	5 (83.34%)	2 (40%)	3 (42.85%)
English	3 (23.07%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (28.57%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

A general trend is if the people are educated they like the language of wider communication more than the mother tongue. But the data presented in the table gives a fuzzy picture about it. 40% and 42.85% of the people with secondary and higher education respectively liked their mother tongue to make the medium of instruction in the primary level rather than Nepali. But in contrary 100% and 83.34% of the literate only people and people with primary education preferred Nepali. One can argue that the people with higher education understand the benefits of teaching in mother tongue in the primary level. If so, why 28.57% of the people with higher education prefer English to mother tongue or Nepali? So it is the because of the insufficient sample size.

4.8 Summary

In this chapter we tried to investigate the language vitality in Bajhangsi by analyzing the responses to questions related to the major domains of language use. In all the general domains, such as counting, singing, joking, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and family gatherings Bajhangsi is tremendously used by the people of all survey locations, both sexes, all age groups and educational groups.

The use of the language while bargaining/ shopping/ marketing depends on whether the people they have to talk are speakers of Bajhangsi or not. They always use Bajhangsi with the Bajhangsi

speakers in markets otherwise they have to use Nepali. The use of language in the village meetings is quite more interesting. If all the participants are the speakers of Bajhangi they discuss mainly in Bajhangi and write minute in Nepali. If there are some non-speakers of Bajhangi they discuss in Nepali and write minute in Nepali.

Bajhangi is exclusively used in the interpersonal communication in the family by the people of any group while talking about any subject matter. The children exclusively use Bajhangi in all situations at home and the community. They use Bajhangi while playing with the friends in the community and while talking with the neighbors. But in some instances, if the neighbors are other tongue speaker they have to use Nepali. In the school Bajhangi and Nepali are used by the children based on the situations. Generally in the classes, with the teachers, while talking about the subject matter of the books the children use Nepali but in other situations they generally use Bajhangi. While talking about the language of invitation, Bajhangi is used for oral invitation and Nepali is used for written or printed invitation.

Nepali is the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) in Bajhang. The people use LWC with the people of other tongue speakers. The use of Nepali is wider in the areas near to the highway and market places because they have to deal more with the other tongue speakers in such areas than in the villages. Similarly Nepali is spoken widely in schools, offices, health centers, etc. because the personnel working in these places are normally outsiders.

Majority of the people preferred Nepali to be the medium of instruction in the primary level education because they think that the children can learn their mother tongue at home and Nepali was more profitable for them for further education, jobs and other opportunities. A smaller number of them preferred mother tongue because it becomes easier for the children to understand the subject matter. A few of them seemed to prefer English as the medium of instruction in the primary level education because they see a number of advantages of learning English.

CHAPTER 5

MULTILINGUALISM

5.1 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Bajhangi. Section 5.2 examines how many languages are spoken in the Bajhangi speaking areas. Section 5.3 evaluates the degrees of language of different languages they speak. Similarly in section 5.4 presents the popularity of the different language in the community. In the same way, in section 5.5 we present the other languages of the parents and spouses of the respondents. Section 5.6 tries to identify the languages the children can speak and their proficiency in them. In the same way section 5.7 tries to evaluate how much Nepali the children understand in the early school classes and finally section 7.8 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

5.2 Knowledge of language

Although there are some monolingual speakers of elder generations and Bajhangi mother tongues are dominantly spoken in extensive range of domains of language use, Bajhang is a multilingual area. Table 5.1 presents the languages that the Bajhangi know and can speak.

Table 5.1: Bajhangi and other languages spoken/known by the speakers

SN	Languages	Male (n=21)	Female (n=15)	Total (n=36)
1	Bajhangi (only)	0 (0%)	1 (6.66%)	1 (2.77%)
2	Bajhangi, Nepali	12 (57.14%)	12 (80%)	24 (66.66%)
3	Bajhangi, Nepali, Hindi	5 (23.8%)	2 (13.33%)	7 (19.44%)
4	Bajhangi, Nepali, Hindi and English	1 (4.76%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)
5	Bajhangi, Nepali, Hindi, other ¹	3 (14.28%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.33%)

¹ One male can speak Sanskrit, 1 male can speak Telegu and 1male and 1 female can speak Kannada.

All the speakers have 100% proficiency in their mother tongue. Bajhanghi is used in almost all of the domains of language use and other languages are used in a limited numbers of domains of language use. Almost all people of younger generation are bilingual in Nepali which is generally used in school as a medium of instruction, between students and teachers in formal situation, in government offices, formal meetings and writing minute (see Chapter 4).

An interesting fact is that though they don't use in their daily lives, a number of people can speak Hindi because they learnt it from India during their jobs there. The people who went to Banglore in India can speak Telegu and Kannada, people who were educated in Sanskrit can speak Sanskrit and who studied English in their schools and colleges can speak English. The information has been presented in Figure 5.1.

Note: B=Bajhanghi, N=Nepali, H=Hindi, E=English

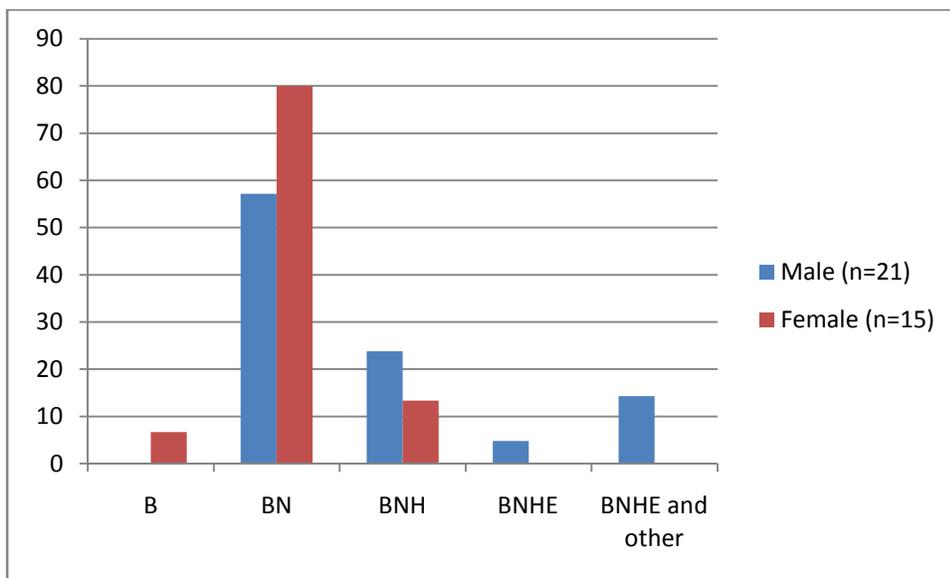


Figure 5.1 The languages Bajhanghi people know/speak

Still there are a few monolingual speakers of Bajhanghi. The old aged people who are uneducated and have not gone out of the Bajhanghi speaking areas are monolingual in Bajhanghi. Mostly old aged women fall in this category. The largest number of the people, (66.66%), are bilingual and can speak Bajhanghi and Nepali. Nearly 33% of people can speak more than two languages including Bajhanghi and Nepali. A remarkable number (19.44%) of people can speak Hindi because of the fact that a large number of young people go to India in search for jobs. Time and

again they take their family members to India with them during their jobs. Table 5.2 presents the knowledge of languages at different locations.

Table 5.2: Knowledge of language(s) according to place

	Sunkuda	Royal	Parakatne	Byansi	Lekgaun	Sainpasela	Chaudhari	Total
Bajhanghi	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	36 (100%)
Nepali	4 (80%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)	34 (94.44%)
Hindi	0 (0%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	1 (%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	3 (60%)	11 (30.55%)
English	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	2 (5.55%)
Baitadeli	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.55%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	2 (5.55%)

Table 5.2 shows that both Bajhanghi and Nepali are spoken equally in all the survey points. Baitadeli is spoken in Sunkuda because it borders to Baitadi. It will be premature to make any statement about the distribution of the speakers of Hindi, English and other languages in different survey points on the basis of such a small sample size. Simply, we can say that some of the people in the areas speak these languages.

The number of languages a person can speak also varies according to the education level of the people. As the level of education goes up, one has to go out of the community and comes in contact with other language speakers and learns more languages. Similarly s/he has to learn some languages like English, Nepali, etc. formally as a part of education. The information has been presented in a bar diagram in Figure 5.2.

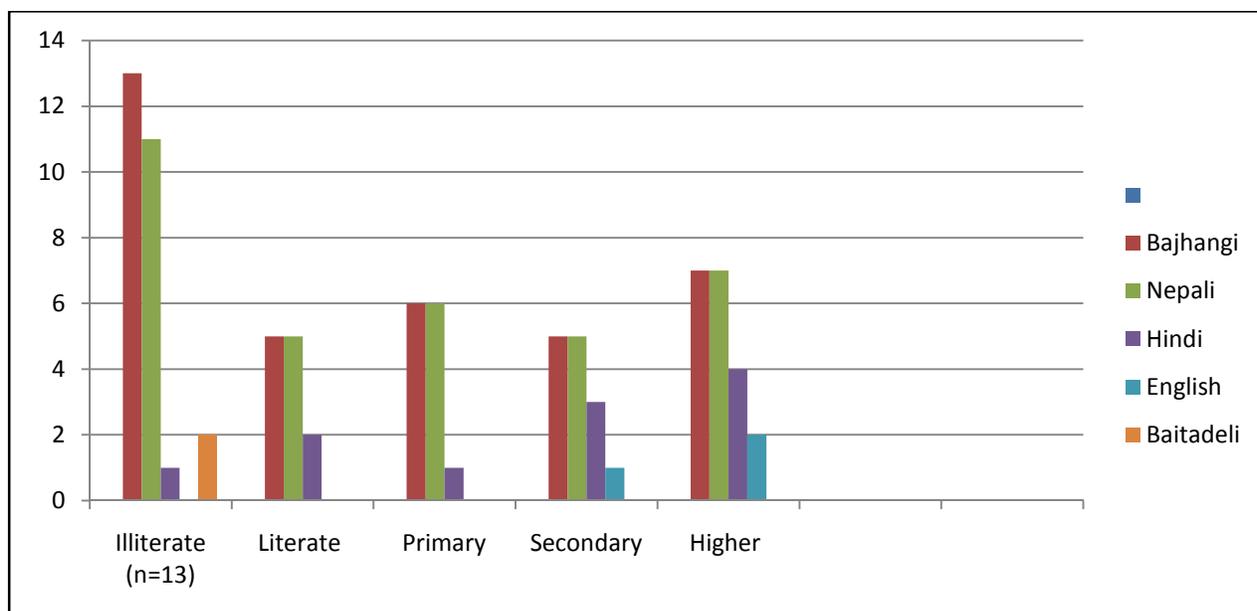


Figure 5.2 The knowledge of according to the education of the respondents

There are other factors in Bajhang that determine the knowledge of the language of a person. The people with higher education and secondary level education have knowledge of more languages than the other groups have. Although one has low educational level, s/he can know more languages if he had visited and lived in India. One who had lived in India s/he is likely to have learnt Hindi and other Indian languages. So some members of all the education groups can speak Hindi. In contrary one who had not been out of Bajhang can have learnt the local languages. Some members of illiterate group can speak Baitadeli.

The larger number of males seem to know more languages than the females. Table 5.3 presents the knowledge of language of the respondents according to the gender.

Table 5.3: Knowledge of language(s) according to sex

	Bajhang	Nepali	Hindi	English	Baitadeli	Other
Male (21)	21 (100%)	21 (100%)	9 (42.85)	3 (14.28%)	0 (0%)	2 (9.52%)
Female (15)	15 (100%)	13 (86.66%)	2 (13.33%)	0 (0%)	2 (13.33%)	0 (0%)

Table 5.3 shows that Bajhang is spoken by all the people regardless the sex but in case of other languages sex seems to be an important factor to determine the number of languages a speaker speaks. The males seem to have knowledge of more languages than females. A small number of

female can speak Hindi but not English and other languages. The female who were married from Baitadi can speak Baitadeli.

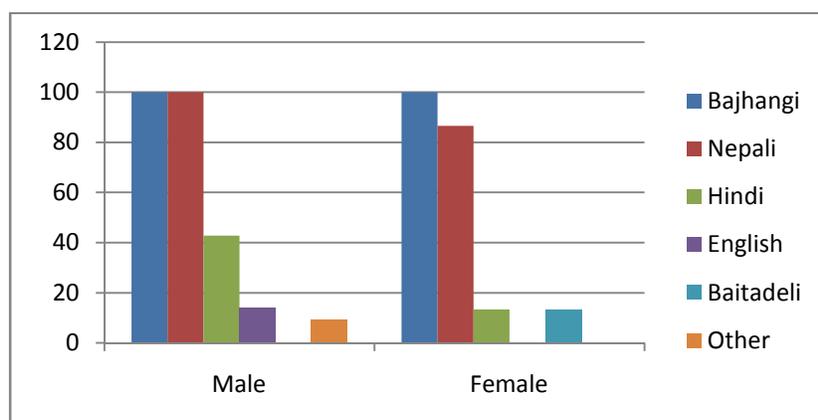


Figure 5.3 Knowledge of languages according to sex

Although all the speakers regardless their education/literacy speak Bajhangsi, education/literacy seems to be a factor to determine the number of languages a person speaks. The number of languages a person speaks increases according to the level of the education. All the illiterate people can't speak Nepali whereas literate ones do. Similarly, a larger number of educated people speak Hindi and the highly educated people can speak English too.

Table 5.4: Knowledge of language(s) according to education

	Illiterate (n=13)	Literate (n=5)	Primary (n=6)	Secondary (n=5)	Higher (n=7)
Bajhangsi	13 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	7 (100%)
Nepali	11 (84.61%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	7 (100%)
Hindi	1 (7.69%)	2 (40%)	1 (16.66%)	3 (60%)	4 (57.14%)
English	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	2 (28.57%)
Baitadeli	2 (15.38%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	1 (14.28%)

5.3 Degrees of language competence

Regardless their location, age, gender and education all the respondents who were born in Bajhang answered that they spoke Bajhang for the first time and the language they speak best is Bajhang. Those who were married from other language speaking areas like Baitadeli, Dotyali, etc. spoke their respective mother tongues first and acquired Bajhang after marriage. Although they acquired Bajhang later, they are as proficient in Bajhang as the native speaks. All the respondents have their highest degree of command in Bajhang and the second degree of command in Nepali. If one speaks other languages apart from Bajhang and Nepali, the case is the same. No one has highest degree of in other languages and their second highest degree of command is in Nepali. The degrees of language competence are presented in Figure 5.4.

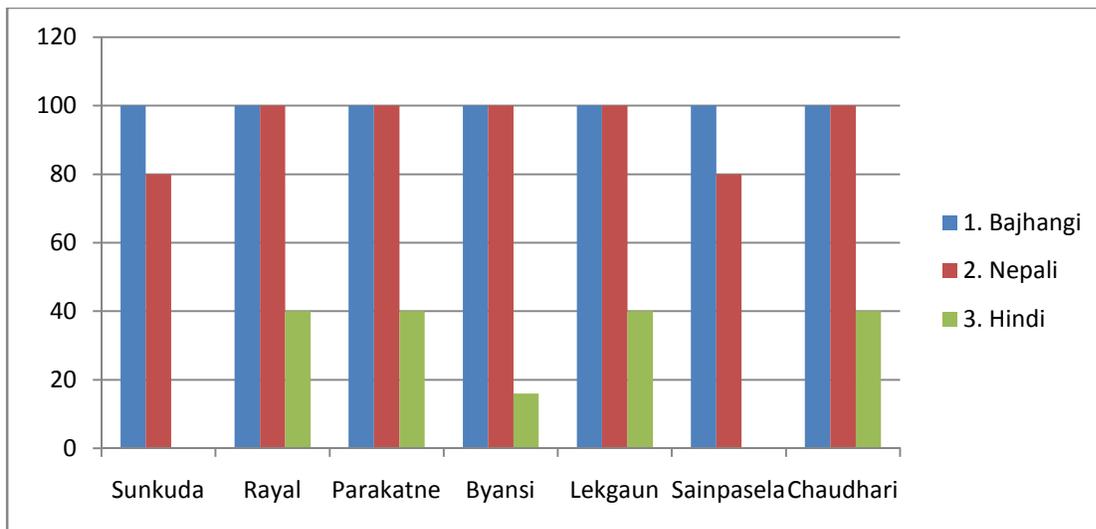


Figure 5.4: Knowledge of languages according to location

5.4 The language they like most

Vast majority (69.44%) of the people liked their mother tongue most and only (22.22%) of the people liked Nepali most. It indicates that Bajhang is still much more popular among the Bajhang people. It also indicates that Nepali is getting popular in the areas. Only (8.33%) people who had lived in India for a long time liked Hindi most.

Gender seems to be an important factor that determines which language the people like most. Female respondents seem to be more loyal to their mother tongue than the male ones.

Table 5.5: The language they like most according to gender

	M (n=21)	F (n=15)	Total (n=36)
Bajhangi	13 (61.90%)	12 (80%)	25 (69.44%)
Nepali	6 (28.57%)	2 (13.33%)	8 (22.22%)
Hindi	2 (9.52%)	1 (6.66%)	3 (8.33%)

Table 5.5 presents the languages of preference of the respondents according to places. The largest number of respondents who like the mother tongue was from Lekgaun and the smallest number of respondents who like mother tongue was found in Byansi. These two locations are adjacent to each other and both are away from the highway and market areas. Similarly, 40% of the respondents, in Chaudhari, like Hindi most but this location does not have any special feature to make people like Hindi. So the figures according to location do not seem to determine the size of the population who like or don't like their mother tongue most.

Table 5.6 The languages of preference of the respondents according to places.

	Sunkuda	Royal	Parakatne	Byansi	Lekgaun	Sainpasela	Chaudhari
Bajhangi	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	3 (50%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)
Nepali	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	2 (33.33%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)

Education seems to be one important factor to determine the language one likes most. Educated people seem to be attracted towards the language of wider communication and the illiterate or only literate like their mother tongue most. Table 5.7 presents the responses of the respondents according to their education. It shows that relatively illiterate and only literate people seem more loyal to their mother tongue than the educated people. The people with higher education are slightly more loyal than the people with lower level of education. It might be because of the

political consciousness that has identified mother tongue as an important part of identity in the present political scenario of Nepal.

Table 5.7 The languages of preference of the respondents according to education

	Illiterate (n=13)	Literate (n=5)	Primary (n=6)	Secondary (n=5)	Higher (n=7)
Bajhangi	13 (100%)	5 (100%)	3 (50%)	3 (60%)	5 (71.42%)
Nepali	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	1 (20%)	1 (14.28%)
Hindi	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	1 (14.28%)

5.5 The other languages of parents and spouses

This question was not applicable to all the respondents because some of them didn't have either father or mother or spouse. Similarly the parents or spouse of some of the respondents were monolingual. Table 5.8 presents the other languages of the father, mother and spouse of the respondents.

Table 5.8 The other languages of parents and spouses

	Father's language		Mother's language		Spouse's language	
	I (n=13)	L (n=23)	I (n=13)	L (23)	I (n=13)	L (23)
Nepali	1 (7.69%)	7 (30.43%)	0 (0%)	4 (17.39%)	7 (30.43%)	13 (56.52%)
Hindi	0 (0%)	3 (13.04%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.34%)	0 (0%)	4 (17.39%)
Baitadeli	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7.69%)	0 (0%)

Larger number of the parents and spouses of the illiterate ones are monolingual than that of the literate ones. So use of the other languages is higher in the literate or educated families. It shows that larger number of the illiterate families have retained the situation of monolingualism in the Bajhangi community. Similarly, the use of other languages is higher in the fathers than in the

mothers. Likewise the use of other languages is increasing from generation to generation because the use of other languages is higher in the spouse than the parents.

5.6 The languages of the children

All the children speak their mother tongue at homes in all domains of language use with all the family members as well as in their neighborhood. They speak Nepali in schools where the medium of instruction is Nepali. In schools, at least, they have to speak Nepali in the classes with their teachers. So, all the children are proficient in their mother tongue as well as in Nepali.

Table 5.9: The languages of the children at different survey locations

	Sunkuda	Royal	Parakatne	Byansi	Lekgaun	Sainpasela	Chaudhari	Sunkuda
Bajhangi	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (83.33%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
Nepali	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
English	0	0	0	1 (16.67%)	0	0	0	0

The table 5.9 shows an indication that the use of English is likely to increase in the coming generations.

5.7 How much Nepali the children understand in early school classes

(19.44%), (77.77%) and (2.77%) of the respondents answered that the children can understand all Nepali, some Nepali and no Nepali in the early classes respectively. It indicates that it is difficult for their children to understand Nepali in the early classes at school but it doesn't necessarily mean that they don't understand Nepali at all. Within 2-3 years of time they become capable of handling Nepali very well. So, people in Bajhang said that they would be happy if

medium of instruction in the schools from 1 to 3 classes was the mother tongue. The responses did not vary at different survey points so it can be claimed that the situation is more or less the same in all parts of Bajhang. Table 5.10 presents the responses at different survey locations.

Table 5.10: How much Nepali the children understand in early classes at different survey points

	Sunkuda	Royal	Parakatne	Byansi	Lekgaun	Sainpasela	Chaudhari
All	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)
Some	4 (80%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	5 (83.34%)	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)
Nil	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Education seems to be an important factor that determines how much the children understand Nepali in their early school classes. The children of the parents with higher education can understand Nepali in their early classes in school. It is because the parents speak Nepali at home along with their mother tongue. So the use of Nepali is common in the families of people with higher education. Table 5.11: How much Nepali the children understand in early classes according to the education level of the parents?

Table 5.11: How much Nepali the children understand in early classes according to the parents' education

	Illiterate (n=13)	Literate (n=5)	Primary (n=6)	Secondary (n=5)	Higher (n=7)
All	2 (15.39%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	4 (57.14%)
Some	11 (84.61%)	5 (100%)	5 (83.33%)	5 (100%)	2 (28.57%)
Nil	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (13.69%)

5.8 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to assess the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism in Bajhang. Bajhang is a multilingual district. If Bajhang and Nepali are regarded to be different languages almost all people are bilingual. Apart from Bajhang and Nepali some of the Bajhang people can

speaking other languages like Hindi, English and some Indian languages. Doubtlessly all the Bajhangi people have the highest degree of competence in their mother tongue and Nepali is the next to Bajhangi in the degree of competence. The number of people who like Bajhangi is extremely high, more than two-thirds. Next popular language is Nepali which is liked by nearly one-fourth of the people. But Nepali is becoming popular among the younger generations. A small number of people were found to have tilted towards English. All the children are bilingual in Nepali and are as proficient as they are in their mother tongue. Apart from Nepali they have learnt some English from their school education. It is rather difficult for the children to understand Nepali in the early classes but within 2-3 years time they become able to handle it. So majority of the people loved early school classes in mother tongue.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE VITALITY, MAINTAINANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

6.1 Outline

In this chapter we make an effort to appraise the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Bajhangi. It consists of five sections. Section 6.2 examines language vitality in the Bajhangi community. In section 6.3, we discuss language maintenance and transmission. Similarly, in section 6.4 we glance at the attitudes of the community towards their mother tongue. In section 6.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

6.2 Language vitality

Because of the expansion of education, transportation, business and migration the use of official Nepali is found gradually increasing day-by-day, but the vitality of Bajhangi mother tongues is still vibrant.

6.2.1 The children speaking mother tongue

All generations, grandparents, parents and children are speaking the mother tongues in all domestic situations with full competence. Table 6.1 presents the situation of the use of the mother tongues by the children.

Table 6.1: The children speaking the mother tongue

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
Yes	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
No	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

It shows that mother tongue is spoken by all the children in all parts of Bajhang so it is fully vital.

6.2.2 The language of intergenerational communication

The mother tongues are the vehicle of intergenerational communication. All of the parents usually use their mother tongues with their children and all the children use them with their

parents and grandparents. The people of all generations speak the mother tongues with equal proficiency and all the parents usually communicate with the children using the mother tongues.

Table 6.2 shows the situation of the intergenerational use of the mother tongues.

Table 6.2: The language most of the parents usually speak with their children?

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Royal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpase la (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total (n=36)
Yes	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	36 (100%)
No	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	(0%)

6.2.3 The mother tongue competence in the children

Most of the children have high command over their mother tongues and speak them without any distortion. But in some of the respondents answered that their children can't speak the mother tongue as well as they should have. Table 6.3 shows the responses of the people at different survey points.

Table 6.3: Do the young people speak Bajhangi as well as they should? (According to place)

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Royal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpase la (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total (n=36)
Yes	3	4	4	6	3	4	4	28 (77.77%)
No	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	8 (22.23%)

Vast majority of the respondents said that the children speak the mother tongue with as high proficiency as their own and a small number of them indicated that the children have lost the mother tongue proficiency. It shows that the decay of the mother tongue is in the initial stage.

The proficiency level of the mother tongue was found to be decreasing in some of the children in different locations. But location does not seem to be a reason for it because it is found almost in

all locations. I have no reason to justify why larger number of children have low proficiency level of mother tongue in Sunkuda or Lekhgaun. It might be because of the small sample size we have taken.

Similarly, larger number of male respondents answered that the mother tongue proficiency of the children is decreasing than the female respondents did. But I could not trace the reason for this variation according to sex.

Table 6.4: Do the young people speak Bajhangi as well as they should? (According to sex)

	Sunkuda (n=5)		Rayal (n=5)		Parakatne (n=5)		Byansi (n=6)		Lekgaun (n=5)		Sainpasela (n=5)		Chaudhari (n=5)		Total (n=36)
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Yes	1	2	3	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	3	2	2	M=58.33%, F=93.33%
No	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	M=41.67%, F=6.67%

Similarly, almost all elderly respondents said that their children speak their mother tongue as well as they should have. In contrary, nearly one-third of the younger respondents said that the young people don't do. This shows an interesting fact that the meaning of 'young people' is not absolute but relative. 'Young people' means the people younger in age than the speaker. So 'the young people' for elderly people and 'the young people' for the younger people are different groups. Table 6.5 presents the responses of different age groups of people to the question regarding the mother proficiency of the young generation people.

Table 6.5: Do the young people speak Bajhangi as well as they should? (by age)

	The age groups		
	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
Yes	4 (66.66%)	10 (66.66%)	14 (93.33%)
No	2 (33.33%)	5 (33.33%)	1 (6.67%)

In the same way the responses varied according to the education level of the respondents. In contrary to the illiterate or people with lower education, the people with secondary or higher education said that young people don't speak mother tongue as well as they should have. It shows that the proficiency of the mother tongue of the young people in the educated families is decreasing gradually.

Table 6.6: Do the young people speak Bajhangsi as well as they should? (by education)

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
Yes	12 (92.30%)	4 (80%)	6 (100%)	3 (60%)	3 (42.86%)
No	1 (7.7%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	4 (57.14%)

6.3 Language maintenance and transmission

Language maintenance in Bajhangsi is prominent. There is complete and undisturbed inter-generational language transmission and it is sure to be transmitted into the children of the youngest generation.

6.3.1 The situation of inter-lingual marriage

Inter-lingual marriage is not common in the society and even if there is inter-caste marriage it does not affect the language transmission because Bajhangsi is homogenously spoken by all castes in the areas. Similarly, if non-speakers of Bajhangsi like Baitadeli, Dotyali, etc. are married into Bajhangsi community, they are bound to learn the language because of immense use of the mother tongue in almost all situations of language use. It is impossible to live in the society without learning the local mother tongue. If there is inter-lingual marriage, it is generally with the Baitadeli, Dotyali or Nepali speakers and it is less problematic for them to learn Bajhangsi.

Table 6.7: The situation of inter-lingual marriage (according to place and gender)

	Sunkuda (n=5)		Rayal (n=5)		Parakatne (n=5)		Byansi (n=6)		Lekgaun (n=5)		Sainpasela (n=5)		Chaudhari (n=5)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
No	3	2	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	1	3	2	2

6.3.2 The situation of language transmission into future generations

Most of the speakers seem to be confident that the children of their children will speak their mother tongue. Table 6.8 presents the responses of the respondents at different survey points.

Table 6.8: The prediction about transmission of Bajhaangi into grandchildren (by location)

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Royal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
Yes	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)	5 (83.33%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	4 (80%)
No	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)

Table 6.8 shows that the degree of confidence of the people about the transmission of their mother tongue into the children of their children is lower in the highway areas i.e. Sunkuda and Royal VDCs and higher in the people living in the areas away from the highway i.e. Parakatne, Byansi, Lekgaun, etc. It indicates that the vitality of the mother tongues is likely to decrease along with the advancement of modern facilities in the areas.

Similarly, less number of male respondents are confident about the transmission of the mother tongue in the generation of their grandchildren than the female respondents. Table 6.9 presents the responses according to gender.

Table 6.9: The prediction about transmission of Bajhaangi into grandchildren by different genders

	Male	Female
Yes	14 (66.66%)	15 (100%)
No	7 (33.33%)	0 (0%)

In the same way the responses varied according to the education of the people. The educated people seem less confident about the transmission of their mother tongue. It indicates that mother tongue degeneration is likely to begin from the families of educated people.

Table 6.10: The prediction about transmission of Bajhangli into grandchildren by different education groups

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
Yes	13 (100%)	5 (100%)	3 (50%)	3 (60%)	4 (66.66%)
No	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	2 (40%)	2 (33.33%)

The younger generations seem hopeful about the mother tongue transmission in the future generations. Table 6.11 presents the responses by different age groups.

Table 6.11: The prediction about transmission of Bajhaangi into grandchildren by different age groups

	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
Yes	6 (100%)	12 (80%)	11 (73.33%)
No	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	4 (26.66%)

6.3.3 Reading and writing in mother tongue

Higher percentages of the people like their children learn reading and writing in mother tongue. But the responses varied from place to place. The people living in the market areas or near by the highway don't like it whereas the people living in the villages away from the market and highway like it. It indicates that modernization of the society is gradually trying to decrease the vitality of the mother tongues. Table 6.12 presents the responses of the people at different locations.

Table 6.12: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
I like it.	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	4 (80%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)
I don't like it.	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)

The female respondents were found more loyal to their mother tongue than the male respondents.

Table 6.13 presents the responses according to sex.

Table 6.13: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by different genders

	M (n=21)	F (n=15)
I like it.	17 (80.95%)	14 (93.33%)
I don't like it.	4 (19.04%)	1 (6.67%)

Similarly, education of the people determined their favor to reading and writing in mother tongue. People with higher education seem less interested about their children reading and writing in mother tongue than the people with lower education level. Table 6.14 presents the responses of the people.

Table 6.14: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by education

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
I like it.	13 (100%)	5 (100%)	4 (66.66%)	4 (80%)	6 (85.71%)
I don't like it.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (20%)	1 (14.28%)

The age group the respondents does not seem to have remarkable impact on their attitude towards the issue. Table 6.15 presents the attitude of the people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by different age groups.

Table 6.15: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue at different locations

	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
I like it.	6 (100%)	14 (93.33%)	14 (93.33%)
I don't like it.	0 (0%)	1 (6.66%)	1 6.66%)

6.3.4 Volition of the people to assist a mother tongue based school

People are enthusiastic to assist a mother tongue based primary school in the locality by sending own children, motivating others to do so, economical support and other ways. But there seems a slight tendency that people who want to send their own children are less interested in economical support and who are not interested in sending the children are interested in economical support. It signals that some of the economically strong people are likely to tilt their loyalty towards other tongues. Table 6.16 presents the responses of the people how they would help a mother tongue based primary school.

Table 6.16: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
Sending own children	4 (80%)	4 (80%)	4 (80%)	3 (50%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)	3 (60%)
Motivation to send children	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	4 (80%)	3 (50%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)	3 (60%)
Economic assistance	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	4 (80%)	6 (100%)	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
Teaching oneself	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Assisting school anyway	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Higher percentage of the female respondents are eager to support a mother tongue based primary school in the locality. It again justifies that females are more loyal to the mother tongue than the males. A small number of educated males are ready to support by teaching in the school.

Table 6.17: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school by different genders

	M (n=21)	F (n=15)
Sending own children	15 (71.42%)	13 (86.66%)
Motivation to send children	14 (66.66%)	13 (86.66%)
Economic assistance	15 (71.42%)	14 (93.33%)
Teaching oneself	4 (19.04%)	0 (0%)
Assisting school anyway	2 (9.52%)	0 (0%)

The data does not give a clear indication of the tendency of the people about assisting a mother tongue school in the locality according to their education levels. Table 6.18 presents the responses of the people of different educational groups about how they would help a mother tongue based primary school in their localities.

Table 6.18: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school by different educational groups

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
Sending own children	11 (84.61%)	5 (100%)	3 (50%)	4 (80%)	5 (71.42%)
Motivation to send children	11 (84.61%)	5 (100%)	3 (50%)	3 (60%)	5 (71.42%)
Economic assistance	11 (84.61%)	5 (100%)	4 (66.66%)	3 (60%)	6 (85.71%)
Teaching oneself	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (71.42%)
Assisting school anyway	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (28.57%)

The percentage of illiterate people who want to send their children to mother tongue school is nearly equal to that of people with secondary level education or higher education. Similarly the percentage of the people with primary education is remarkably very low. But it gives one indication that the people with higher education are ready to assist by teaching in the school.

Similarly, the age of the people also seem to determine the interest of the people to establish a mother tongue based primary school in their localities. More than two-third of all age group people are ready to assist such type of school in their localities. Specially the young people are more eager to assist such school with economical support and teaching own self in comparison with the people of other age groups. Table 6.19 presents the responses of different age groups about assisting a mother tongue based primary school.

Table 6.19: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school by different age groups

	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
Sending own children	5 (83.33%)	10 (66.66%)	13 (86.66%)
Motivation to send children	5 (83.33%)	10 (66.66%)	12 (80%)
Economic assistance	6 (100%)	11 (73.33%)	12 (80%)
Teaching oneself	4 (66.66%)	1 (6.66%)	0 (0%)
Assisting school anyway	2 (33.33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

6.4 Language attitudes

Bajhangi communities feel themselves proud to be called Nepali speaking community and they love to call their language Nepali. They claim that their mother tongue is the original form of Nepali. They say their mother tongue is very close to the official Nepali and there is no problem for them to understand it. In the same way, the speakers of official Nepali easily understand the Bajhangi Nepali. In our experience we realized that their claim is true. Our researcher Krishna Chalise who never had been to Bajhang and spoken Bajhangi could easily communicate with the monolingual Bajhangi speakers.

6.4.1 Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people

The people feel that official Nepali is the refined form of their language (Nepali) and the mother tongue is the local non-refined variety. So majority of them feel higher prestige with official Nepali and want to use it with the outsiders. Table 6.20 presents the responses of the people at different locations.

Table 6.20: Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total (n=36)
prestigious	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	3 (60%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	10 (27.77%)
embarrassed	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	14 (38.88%)
neutral	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	4 (66.66%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	12 (33.33%)

According to gender, the higher percentages of the male respondents have neutral feeling about speaking their mother tongue in the presence of outsiders in comparison with the female respondents whereas higher percentage of female respondents have prestigious feeling to speak their mother tongue in the presence of outsiders in comparison with the male respondents. But nearly equal percentages of both of them feel embarrassed to speak mother tongue in presence of outsiders. It shows that the females seem to be slightly more loyal towards their mother tongue than the male respondents. Table 6.21 presents the responses of the people of different gender.

Table 6.21: Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people by different genders

		Male (n=21)	Female (n=15)
1	Prestigious	4 (19.04%)	6 (40%)
2	Embarrassed	8 (38.08%)	7 (46.66%)
3	Neutral	9 (42.85%)	2 (13.33%)

Again the responses don't seem to have been influenced by the education of the respondents. Relatively higher percentage of the respondents regardless their education levels (except the people with higher education) feel embarrassed to speak the mother tongue in presence of outsiders. But the people with high education are neutral towards speaking their mother tongue in the presence of people speaking language of wider communication. Table 6.22 presents the responses of the people of different educational groups.

Table 6.22: The responses of the people of different educational groups

		I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
1	prestigious	5 (38.46%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (20%)	2 (28.57%)
2	embarrassed	4 (30.76%)	4 (80%)	3 (50%)	3 (60%)	1 (14.28%)
3	neutral	4 (30.76%)	1 (20%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (20%)	4 (57.14%)

The data shows that at present larger number of people of all age groups don't feel prestigious themselves to speak their mother tongue in front of the outsiders. But in the new generation this feeling seems to declining and they have more positive attitudes towards their mother tongue than the elder generations have.

Table 6.23: The responses of the people of different age groups

	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
prestigious	2 (33.33%)	5 (33.33%)	3 (20%)
embarrassed	2 (33.33%)	6 (40%)	8 (53.33%)
neutral	2 (33.33%)	4 (26.66%)	5 (33.33%)

6.4.2 Problems faced because of speaking mother tongue

The responses seem to be determined neither by the location nor by the gender and age groups of the respondents but the education levels of the respondents seem to slightly determine the responses.

Table 6.24: Problems faced because of speaking mother tongue

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
Yes	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	3 (42.85%)
No	13 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	4 (80%)	4 (57.14%)

The people with higher education obviously must have lived out of their community and come in contact with the other language speakers. As a result they have experiences of events in which they had faced some difficulties because of speaking their mother tongue. Their problems don't seem to be serious. All of them said that they could not understand other people clearly and vice versa. Similarly, sometimes they had feeling of being dominated because they were in minority in the group.

6.4.3 Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers

People don't seem to be worried about whether their children marry a mother tongue speaker or not. Most of the people were found indifferent about this issue at all of the survey locations as presented on table 6.25.

Table 6.25: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
Good	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)
No problem	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	4 (66.66%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)
Bad	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)

The people may be indifferent because of two reasons: either they are not so loyal to their mother tongue or they are sure that the non-speakers will learn the language after marriage. Both of the reasons may be responsible for this situation. The number of the people who feel embarrassed to speak their mother tongue in the presence of outsiders is also high. Similarly, during our fieldwork we found that the women married from other language speaking communities were as fluent in Bajhangi as the mother tongue speakers.

Again the finding was similar while comparing the responses of male respondents and female respondents as in table 6.26.

Table 6.26: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers by different genders

	M (n=21)	F (n=15)
Good	5 (23.80%)	2 (13.33%)
No problem	12 (57.14%)	11 (73.33%)
Bad	4 (19.07%)	2 (13.33%)

The finding was similar while comparing the responses of the respondents by different educational groups. Still the number of people who feel bad if their children married a non speaker of mother tongue very low.

Table 6.27: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers by different educational groups

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
Good	2 (15.38%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	3 (60%)	1 (14.28%)
No problem	9 (69.23%)	4 (80%)	4 (66.66%)	2 (40%)	4 (57.14%)
Bad	2 (15.38%)	1 (20%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	2 (28.57%)

6.4.4 Feeling if future generations spoke the mother tongue

The largest number (80.55%) of them would be happy if they did so, and a remarkably small number (16.66%) of them wouldn't mind it. Only one (2.77%) out of total liked it. It shows their high loyalty towards their mother tongue. Table 6.28 presents their responses about how they would feel if the future generations spoke their mother tongue at different locations.

Table 6.28: Feeling if future generations spoke the mother tongue at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Royal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total (n=36)
I love it.	3 (60%)	3 (60%)	4 (80%)	5 (83.34%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)	29 (80.55%)
I don't mind it.	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	6 (16.66%)
I don't like it	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.77%)

Although they expressed their high loyalty, nearly one-half of the respondents showed their neutral view about if the future generations didn't speak their mother tongue as given in Table 6.29.

Table 6.29: Feeling if future generations didn't speak the mother tongue at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total (n=36)
I love it.	1(20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.33%)
I don't mind it.	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	4 (66.66%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	4 (80%)	17 (47.22%)
I don't like it.	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	3 (60%)	2 (33.33%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	16 (44.44%)

Relatively the people in the areas near to the highway or market places seem slightly indifferent about the future continuation of their mother tongue.

Similarly, the number of respondents who like the continuation of their mother tongue into future generations, gradually, decreases from illiterate people to educated people as given in Table 6.30.

Table 6.30: Feeling if future generations spoke the mother tongue at different locations

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
I love it.	13 (100%)	4 (80%)	4 (66.66%)	3 (60%)	5 (71.42%)
I don't mind it.	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	1 (16.66%)	2 (40%)	2 (28.57%)
I don't like it	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

6.4.5 The preferred first language for the children

Almost all Bajhangi speakers think that their children should speak their mother tongue first and they should learn the languages of wider communication i.e. Nepali and English. The responses didn't vary at the different survey locations. But the responses were varied according to the

genders. All of the female speakers think the first language of the children should be their mother tongue, but a few of the male respondents don't support this idea as presented in Table 6.31.

Table 6.31: Responses to what language should their children speak first

	<i>What language should your children speak first?</i>	Male n=21	Female n=15	Total n=36
1	Bajhangsi	18 (85.71%)	15 (100%)	33 (91.66%)
2	Nepali	3 (14.28%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.33%)

The education of the respondents doesn't seem to have any influence on which language their children should speak first. A remarkable number of respondents from illiterate to highly educated people liked their children speaking their mother tongues as their first language. They supported the idea of transitional multilingual education. They say at first the children should speak the language of the home/community and they should learn the language of wider communication and finally they should learn the foreign language(s).

6.4.6 The changes occurred in the contemporary Bajhangsi

Regardless the location, gender, educational group and age group, nearly all the respondents have realized that their mother tongue has been changed. It has been slightly different in different aspects from it was used in their grandparents' time. The responses are presented in table 6.32.

Table 6.32: Responses to whether contemporary Bajhangsi is different from the previous one at different locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total (n=36)
Yes	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	4 (66.66%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	34 (94.44%)
No	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2(33.33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5.55%)

Nearly all aspects of language as they reported have been changed. Mostly the aspects of pronunciation, lexical items and structure have been changed. Code mixing has become the

common feature of almost all of the speakers. The typical Bajhangi words are gradually replaced the common words from Nepali. In the same way, the lexical items from Hinde and English are commonly mixed in the speech of the Bajhangi speakers. Specially the young generation people have lost the traditional style of their language and shifted into Nepali pattern. Table 6.33 presents the responses of the people.

Table 6.33: The aspects of Bajhangi that have changed

Pronunciation	33 (91.66%)
Lexical items	33 (91.66%)
Structures	32 (88.88%)
Code mixing	33 (91.66%)
Style	24 (66.66%)

6.4.7 Feeling about community people speaking other languages

Generally the people who have migrated from their original places to other places especially in the areas of Terai like Mahendranagar, Dhangadhi, etc. have mostly given up speaking their mother tongue. The elder generation people living in the areas have knowledge of the language but generally don't speak it; but the young people have given it up. When the people living in the villages come to the areas of Terai they find the Bajhangi people not speaking their language. Table 6.34 presents the responses how they feel their community people not speaking own language. Majority of the respondents (61.11%) are neutral about their community people not speaking mother tongue. Similarly the number of people who like and don't their community people not speaking their mother tongue is nearly equal. It indicates that the people are gradually inclining towards Nepali. The people think that if they spoke Nepali it would be useful for communication both inside and outside the community because communication with the Bajhangi people is possible using Nepali. Similarly, Nepali is the official language and language of education so they think it is no harm giving up their mother tongue.

Table 6.34: The responses how they feel their community people not speaking own language by locations

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Royal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)	Total
I love it.	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (16.66%)
I don't mind it.	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	4 (80%)	4 (66.66%)	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)	22 (61.11%)
I don't like it	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	8 (22.22%)

The responses of the people about how they feel when they find their community members not speaking their mother tongue are presented in Table 6.35.

Table 6.35: The responses about how they feel their community people not speaking own language by different genders

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=15)
I love it.	2 (9.52%)	3 (20%)
I don't mind it.	13 (61.90%)	9 (60%)
I don't like it	6 (28.57%)	3 (20%)

The gender doesn't seem to affect the feeling of the people about their community people not speaking mother tongue because the figures are nearly parallel. Similarly education also does not seem to be a determining factor for it but there is a contrast between the illiterate people and people with higher education. Larger number of illiterate people in comparison with the people with high education like their community people not speaking their mother tongue and vice versa. The illiterate people think that the people with higher education have got or will get better opportunities than they have because of the fact that they speak Nepali and even English.

Table 6.36: The responses how they feel their community people not speaking own language by education groups

	I (n=13)	L (n=5)	P (n=6)	S (n=5)	H (n=7)
I love it.	3 (23.07%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I don't mind it.	7 (53.84%)	4 (80%)	4 (66.66%)	4 (80%)	3 (42.85%)
I don't like it	3 (23.07%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	4 (57.14%)

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to examine the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Bajhangi community. In section 6.2, we examined language vitality in the Bajhangi community. In general, Bajhangi is vivacious enough as all the children everywhere in the area speaking it as their mother tongue and all generation people have been using it as the medium intergenerational communication. More than 80% of the respondents said that young people have very good command on their mother tongue. In section 6.3, we tried to assess the situation of language maintenance and transmission. The situation of language maintenance and transmission is wonderful because inter-lingual marriage is almost nil in the community. Inter-caste marriage does not affect the language situation as all people in the areas speak Bajhangi. (60-100)% of the people are sure about the transmission of their mother tongue into the children of their children (grandchildren). Female and people with illiteracy or low educational level are more convinced about the transmission of the mother tongue into the grandchildren. Above 80% of the people adore their children reading and writing in the mother tongue and they are enthusiastic to assist the mother tongue schools in their communities by sending the children, economic physical assistance.

In section 6.4, we dealt with the attitudes of the people towards Bajhangi. The people don't seem to have a very positive attitude towards the Bajhangi which contradicts with the data that shows very high language loyalty among the speakers. Majority of the people feel embarrassed or neutral to speak their mother tongue in the presence of other language speaking people. It is because they suppose that their mother tongue is a variety of Nepali. They think official Nepali is a refined form of the language and their mother tongue is a sub-standard form. A least number of people with higher education have faced problems because of speaking the mother tongue.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE RESOURCES

7.1 Outline

In this chapter we discuss language resources available in Bajhangi mother tongues and their maintenance. In Section 7.2, we describe the oral language resources available, and in Section 7.3, available written language resources. Section 7.4 discusses responses of the people about the radio programmes in mother tongue, Section 7.5 reading the written materials in their mother tongue and Section 7.6 summarizes the chapter.

7.2 The oral language resources

Bajhangi Nepali mother tongues are very rich in oral literature. This area has its distinct identity because of the unique tongue, culture and folk literature. Deuda song and dance, festivals like Gaura Parva, other cultural practices and the literature related to them has made it rich in culture and folk literature. On the other hand written tradition in Bajhangi mother tongues is in the initial stage. There is a type of functional division between official Nepali and Bajhangi. The first one is used for formal and written purposes and the second one is used for informal and oral purposes.

As this area is very rich in its unique cultural practices and literature, there are large varieties of folklore available. The following types of oral literature are available in this area.

a. Folk stories

A large number of folk stories are found to be popular in the areas. Specially the old generation people tell the stories to others in the evening time after they finish eating their meal and sit around the fire and they tell the stories.

There are two types of folk stories:

i. Sunya Bat (story to listen)

The literal meaning of Sunya is to listen and Bat is is story. So the meaning of Sunya Bat is a story that is listened. Such stories include the folk tales, fables, legends, etc. The story teller tells a story; and the listener sit around the teller and listen to him spellbound. General pattern of such stories is like ‘Once upon a time / Long, long ago there’

ii. Jhannya Bat (story to answer)

The literal meaning of Jhannya is to know and Bat is story. So the meaning of Jhannya Bat is the story that is to be answered. These stories are rather tricky. The story teller first tells a story and asks question(s) to the listeners and the listeners are bound to answer the question(s). If they are able to answer it is all right, otherwise they should give something (generally it is hypothetical) to the teller according to his wish. After that, the teller tells them the correct answer. It also can be played as a game. There are two groups and ask questions turn wise and finally the group which obtain higher scores will be the winner.

b. Music

This area is rich in Deuda music and there are a large number of patterns of Deuda music. People sing¹ Deuda in festivals and special occasions. Apart from this young boys and girl sing it as means of entertainment without any occasion also. The songs narrate some tales, pray the divine power/soul, convey some public message, express the feelings of love affairs, etc. Deuda songs are powerful means of expression in this area.

c. Religious literature

There are two types of religious literature generally sung during the auspicious occasions like worship of the God or the ancestors. The literal meaning of Magal is to be fortunate or good thing to happen and is sung before they start any auspicious work so that anything unpleasing would not take place during the work. It is sung to avoid the possible obstacles during their work. The literal meaning of Fag is to please someone. It is sung to please their deities.

d. Radio

There is an FM radio named Raio Saipal located at Chainpur the district headquarters. It is named after Saipal Himalayan peak which is an important Himalayan peak in this area. Radio Saipal runs different types of programs in different Bajhangi varieties.

e. CD/DVDs

Deuda songs have been recorded and distributed by different governmental and non-governmental organizations in electronic forms for the purpose of cultural promotion. Apart from this, Deuda songs are found to have been commercially recorded and distributed all over the country in CDs/DVDs.

¹ They say 'play Deuda' rather than 'sing Deuda'.

As the oral literature is an important part of their daily lives, the respondents from all the survey points are well informed about the oral language resources like folk stories, music and religious literature. Regardless their ages or literacy, the people are familiar with the radio but CD/DVDs are found to be new practices to them. Only a few of them are informed about the new technologies. Table 7.1 shows their responses about the language resources available in Bajhang.

Table 7.1: The folklores available in Bajhang

	Sunkuda (n=5)	Rayal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=6)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
Folk stories	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
Music	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
Religious literature	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
Radio	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)
CD/DVD	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)	6 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	4 (80%)

7.3 The written language resources

Written tradition is found to be in the early stage of development in Bajhang Nepali mother tongues. It is because they think that their language is Nepali and Bajhang is the oral or informal language form and the official Nepali is the written or formal language form. If one asks what written materials are in their language they answer their language has everything. But if one asks what written materials are in their local varieties only then they give information about the available written language resources on Bajhang. A very limited number of people were found to be informed about the written language resources. Mainly the people talk about the Bajhang King Jya Prithivi Bahadur Singh while talking about the written language resources in Bajhang. People reported that Jya Prithivi Bahadur Singh had

written some books in Bajhangi also. There is no doubt Jaya Prithivi Bahadur Singh had written a large number of books in his life, but the question is whether he wrote any of them in Bajhangi or not. But the respondents have not seen the books yet and neither did we.

Some of the respondents reported about written books in Bajhangi at present time. There have been established some social and literary organizations in local and national levels and they publish literary and cultural matters in periodicals, journals, etc. written in Bajhangi. But at present a large number of written materials are available written in Nepali or English about the Bajhangi mother tongues and culture.

Table 7.2 shows the information given by the respondents about the written matters in or about their mother tongue.

Table 7.2: Available written materials in Bajhangi

Available written materials	The survey points						
	Sunkuda (n=5)	Royal (n=5)	Parakatne (n=5)	Byansi (n=5)	Lekgaun (n=5)	Sainpasela (n=5)	Chaudhari (n=5)
Alphabet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grammar	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Dictionary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Text book	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Literacy material	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newspaper	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Written literature	1	0	1	1	2	0	1
Folklore	1	1	2	0	1	1	4

Alphabet, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials and newspaper are not available in Bajhangi. Only the educated people (with secondary or higher level education) seem to have

information about the written materials in Bajhang. It shows that the available written materials are not locally available. Table 7.3 presents the knowledge about the written materials in Bajhang according to the levels of education.

Table 7.3 Information about written materials

	Literate (n=5)	Primary (n=6)	Secondary (n=5)	Higher (n=7)
Alphabet	0	0	0	0
Grammar	0	0	2	1
Dictionary	0	0	0	0
Text book	0	0	0	0
Literacy material	0	0	0	0
Newspaper	0	0	0	0
Written literature	0	0	1	5
Folklore	1	1	5	3

The table shows that the people with higher education are informed about the written literature because written literatures are not produced locally and not available in the local level. Only the people with higher education have wider access and can get them. Next, people with higher education, generally, are interested in literature.

7.4 Responses of the people about the radio

People are found to be responsive towards the the programmes in and about the Bajhang mother tongues broadcasted by Radio Saipal as a result the radio has become popular among the people in the areas. Table 7.4 presents how often the people listen to the radio programmes at different survey points.

Table 7. 4: Responses of the people about the radio at different survey points

	Sunkuda	Royal	Parakatne	Byansi	Lekgaun	Sainpasela	Chaudhari
Always	2	0	2	4	4	4	4
Sometimes	3	5	2	1	1	1	1
Never	0	0	1	1	0	0	0

The radio seems to be more popular in the areas near to the radio station. The VDCs Byansi, Lekgaun, Sainpasela and Chaudhari are near to Chainpur, the district headquarters where the radio station is located. Sunkuda, Royal and Parakatne are quite far from there and the radio seems to be slightly less popular there.

Among the respondents, the male respondents were more responsive towards the radio than the female respondents. Larger number of male respondents seem to listen to the radio than the females do. It might be because of several factors. Firstly, less number of females are educated than the males. Secondly, females are mostly busy in their household work and males have more leisure time. Thirdly, the families are mostly male dominated and females don't get chance to be concerned with the affairs out of the house. Table 7.5 presents the responses of the respondents according to sex.

Table 7. 5: Responses of the people about the radio by sex

	M (n=21)	F (n=15)
Always	14 (66.66%)	6 (40%)
Sometimes	7 (33.33%)	7 (46.66%)
Never	0 (0%)	2 (13.33%)

The responses varied according to the different age groups. Table 7.6 presents the responses given by different age groups.

Table 7. 6: Responses of the people about the radio by age groups

	Age groups		
	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
Always	4 (66.66%)	7 (46.66%)	8 (53.33%)
Sometimes	1 (16.66%)	7 (46.66%)	6 (40%)
Never	1 (16.66%)	1 (6.66%)	1 (6.66%)

The young people seemed more responsive towards the radio programs in their mother tongue than the elder ones. It might be because of the attraction of the young generation towards the new technologies. Naturally, the young people are attracted towards the modern technologies like mobile phone, television, radio, etc.

The responses also varied according to the education levels of the respondents. The people with higher education like the mother tongue radio programs and listen to them more than the people with lower education or uneducated ones.

Table 7. 7: The responses of the respondents about radio according to their education

	Illiterate (n=13)	Literate (n=5)	Primary (n=6)	Secondary (n=5)	Higher (n=7)
Always	5 (38.48%)	2 (40%)	2 (33.33%)	4 (80%)	5 (71.42%)
Sometimes	7 (53.84%)	2(40%)	3 (50%)	1 (20%)	1 (14.28%)
Never	1 (7.69%)	1(20%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	1 (14.28%)

7.5 Reading the written materials in their mother tongue

The people were found to be eager to read the written materials in their mother tongue but the severe problem is that they are not available for them. All of the respondents expressed their discontent that they would have read the materials in their own mother tongue but they are not available. Table 7.8 presents the situation of how much the respondents read the written materials in their mother tongue.

Table 7. 8: How much the respondents read the written materials in their mother tongue

	Literate (n=5)	Primary (n=6)	Secondary (n=5)	Higher (n=7)
Yes	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	3 (42.85%)
Yes, if available	4 (80%)	4 (66.66%)	2 (40%)	2 (28.57%)
No	1 (20%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (20%)	2 (28.57%)

It shows that the materials are available only for limited number of the people with high education (secondary and higher) and the materials are out of the access of the general people. Most of the people are eager to read them if available.

Although there are a limited number of written materials and are not easily available to most of the people who want to read them, all (100%, 23 of 23) of the literate and educated people are well known that their language is written in Devanagari script, because they are used to read and write in standard Nepali. They understand that their mother tongue is a variety of the Nepali language so what script Nepali is written, the same script is used to write their mother tongue.

Although there are a number of organizations and institutions devoted for the promotion the Bajhanghi culture but the people are not informed about any organization and institution devoted for the promotion their mother tongue as such.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the language resources available in the Bajhanghi mother tongues. Bajhanghi mother tongues are rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. Nowadays they have got limited access to mass media especially in the local radios. People are found to be responsive towards the programmes in and about the Bajhanghi mother tongues broadcasted by Radio Saipal as a result the radio has become popular among the people in the areas.

Written tradition in the mother tongues is a new practice and Devanagari script is used in writing. Official Nepali has been being used in their written form because they are supposed to be the varieties of official Nepali. There are not any organizations established for the promotion of the mother tongues but there are some organizations that work for the

promotion of the culture, education, health, social development, etc. along with the language and literature. Although there are hearsays among the people that King Jaya Prithivi Bahadur Singh had prepared grammar and dictionary of Bajhangi, we could not find a single person who had seen and read them. It is a matter of investigation about the truth of the hearsays. Similarly people reported that nowadays pieces of writing in Bajhangi are found to have been published in periodicals.

The people were found to be eager to read the written materials in their mother tongue but the severe problem is that they are not available for them. All of the respondents expressed their discontent that they would have read the materials in their own mother tongue but they are not available.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Outline

In this chapter we summarize the findings of the survey research and recommendations for the mother promotion. Section 3.2 summarizes the findings of the research and section 3.3 lists out the recommendations about how Bajhangi can be promoted and strengthen.

8.2 Summary of findings

Regarding the name of the language the Bajhangi people identified their language to be Nepali and they loved Nepali identity to their mother tongues. But they realize that their mother tongue is different from the official Nepali. They say the language they speak is local Nepali and the language used as the official language of Nepal is official Nepali (Rashtra Bhasha Nepali in their own words). In their opinion their mother tongues are the local varieties of Nepali as there are a large number of local varieties of Nepali from east to west.

The mother tongues in the areas have three levels of identity. 'Nepali' is the cover term that includes all the mother tongues spoken in Bajhang. The term Bajhangi is used while Bajhangi people refer to any mother tongue spoken in other localities in the area. In the local level, local names are used to refer to them. For example, a person in Sunkuda VDC (Chir area) calls the mother tongue spoken in Byasi VDC (Siun area) as Simali.

Bajhangi is geographical term not linguistic. The language varieties in the areas are not confined within the boundaries of the districts. In Bajhang we could find out nearly 8 distinct varieties. We The differences between them increase as their distance increases. There are some varieties which are far different from each other but they are intelligible to each other. Chirali-Bungali and Simali-Barabisa are the two major dialect groups in Bajhangi. It is difficult for the speakers of one dialect group to understand the people speaking another dialect group. But the people speaking a variety of same dialect group can easily understand each other. Chir-Bungali variety is spoken in the areas of Kalanga River and high lands of Deulek and Jyawan mountains in the Southern-Northern part of the district. The sub-varieties of this variety are as given below:

- i. Chirali
- ii. Bungli

- iii. Gadali
- iv. Garkhali
- v. Jyawani

Out of the sub-varieties, Bungli, Garkhali and Jyabani are closer to Kumauni, Gadali is closer to Gadawali and Chirali is closer to Baitadli. Simali-Thalari variety is spoken in the areas of the Seti River (the river valley and the mountains). The respondents suggested that the real Bajhangi is the Simali variety. Within Simali-Thalari variety, there are the following sub-varieties.

- i. Chhannali
- ii. Barhakote
- iii. Simali
- iv. Chaugaun
- v. Thalari
- vi. Kanda

The study, on the basis of the comparison of standardized 210 wordlists shows that there is more than 42% and less than 90% of lexical similarity among the key points in Bajhangi. With this fact we can argue that there are remarkably distinct dialects.

In all the general domains, such as counting, singing, joking, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and family gatherings Bajhangi is tremendously used by the people of all survey locations, both sexes, all age groups and educational groups. The use of the language while bargaining/ shopping/ marketing depends on whether the people they have to talk are speakers of Bajhangi or not. They always use Bajhangi with the Bajhangi speakers in markets otherwise they have to use Nepali. The use of language in the village meetings is quite more interesting. If all the participants are the speakers of Bajhangi they discuss mainly in Bajhangi and write minute in Nepali. If there are some non-speakers of Bajhangi they discuss in Nepali and write minute in Nepali.

Bajhangi is exclusively used in the interpersonal communication in the family by the people of any group while talking about any subject matter. The children exclusively use Bajhangi in all situations at home and the community. They use Bajhangi while playing with the friends in the community and while talking with the neighbors. But in some instances, if the neighbors are other tongue speaker they have to use Nepali. In the school Bajhangi and Nepali are used by the

children based on the situations. Generally in the classes, with the teachers, while talking about the subject matter of the books the children use Nepali but in other situations they generally use Bajhangi. While talking about the language of invitation, Bajhangi is used for oral invitation and Nepali is used for written or printed invitation.

Nepali is the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) in Bajhang. The people use LWC with the people of other tongue speakers. The use of Nepali is wider in the areas near to the highway and market places because they have to deal more with the other tongue speakers in such areas than in the villages. Similarly Nepali is spoken widely in schools, offices, health centers, etc. because the personnel working in these places are normally outsiders.

Majority of the people preferred Nepali to be the medium of instruction in the primary level education because they think that the children can learn their mother tongue at home and Nepali was more profitable for them for further education, jobs and other opportunities. A smaller number of them preferred mother tongue because it becomes easier for the children to understand the subject matter. A few of them seemed to prefer English as the medium of instruction in the primary level education because they see a number of advantages of learning English.

Bajhangi is a multilingual community. Apart from Bajhangi and Nepali some of the Bajhangi people can speak other languages like Hindi, English and some Indian languages. Doubtlessly, all the Bajhangi people have highest degree of competence in their mother tongue and Nepali is the next to Bajhangi in the degree of competence. The number of people who like Bajhangi is extremely high, more than two-third. Nepali is liked by nearly one-fourth of the people. But Nepali is becoming popular among the younger generations. All the children are bilingual in Nepali and are as proficient as they are in their mother tongue. Apart from Nepali they have learnt some English from their school education. It is rather difficult for the children to understand Nepali in the early classes but within 2-3 years time they become able to handle it. So majority of the people loved early school classes in mother tongue.

The children exclusively use Bajhangi in all situations at home and the community. They use Bajhangi while playing with the friends in the community and while talking with the neighbors. But in some instances, if the neighbors are other tongue speaker they have to use Nepali. In the school Bajhangi and Nepali are used by the children based on the situations. Generally in the classes, with the teachers, while talking about the subject matter of the books the children use

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In general, Bajhangi is vivacious enough as all the children everywhere in the area speaking it as their mother tongue and all generation people have been using it as the medium intergenerational communication. More than 80% of the respondents said that young people have very good command on their mother tongue. The situation of language maintenance and transmission is wonderful because inter-lingual marriage is almost nil in the community. Inter-caste marriage does not affect the language situation as all people in the areas speak Bajhangi. (60-100)% of the people are sure about the transmission of their mother tongue into the children of their children (grandchildren). Female and people with illiteracy or low educational level are more convinced about the transmission of the mother tongue into the grandchildren. Above 80% of the people adore their children reading and writing in the mother tongue and they are enthusiastic to assist the mother tongue schools in their communities by sending the children, economic physical assistance.

The people don't seem to have a very positive attitude towards the Bajhangi which contradicts with the data that shows very high language loyalty among the speakers. Majority of the people feel embarrassed or neutral to speak their mother tongue in the presence of other language speaking people. It is because they suppose that their mother tongue is a variety of Nepali. They think official Nepali is a refined form of the language and their mother tongue is a sub-standard

form. A least number of people with higher education have faced problems because of speaking the mother tongue.

Bajhangi mother tongues are rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. Nowadays they have got limited access to mass media especially in the local radios. People are found to be responsive towards the programmes in and about the Bajhangi mother tongues broadcasted by Radio Saipal as a result the radio has become popular among the people in the areas.

Written tradition in the mother tongues is a new practice and Devanagari script is used in writing. Official Nepali has been being used in their written form because they are supposed to be the varieties of official Nepali. There are not any organizations established for the promotion of the mother tongues but there are some organizations that work for the promotion of the culture, education, health, social development, etc. along with the language and literature. Although there are hearsays among the people that King Jaya Prithivi Bahadur Singh had prepared grammar and dictionary of Bajhangi, we could not find a single person who had seen and read them. It is a matter of investigation about the truth of the hearsays. Similarly people reported that nowadays pieces of writing in Bajhangi are found to have been published in periodicals.

The people were found to be eager to read the written materials in their mother tongue but the severe problem is that they are not available for them. All of the respondents expressed their discontent that they would have read the materials in their own mother tongue but they are not available.

8.3 Recommendations

1. This survey is not sufficient to find out the overall sociolinguistic picture of the districts. A more extensive survey is necessary.
2. The sample size is too small which does not assure the findings of the survey are really representative.
3. Survey based on linguistic geography is better than the survey based on political geography. Bajhang or Bajura is political geography not linguistic geography.
4. It has been a must to find out how much the local varieties are different from each other and from the official Nepali. So Recorded Text Testing (RTT) should be conducted to

identify the dialects and the level of intelligibility among the varieties and Sentence Repetition Testing (SRT) should be conducted to identify their proficiency in official Nepali.

5. It is necessary to expand the use of local varieties in multilingual education, media, local administration, literature etc.
6. It is desirable to carry out community based language development activities such as Multilingual Education (MLE), literacy, etc.
7. It is important to be realized by the concerned authorities that language is not spoken but varieties of a language are spoken. All the varieties are equal in status and should be treated equally. The Nepali varieties spoken in Bajhang and Bajura should be promoted in education, mass media and administration.
8. At least, two language development program are to be framed and implemented representing two major Bajhangi varieties.
9. Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be promoted. Modernization and standardization of Bajhangi is essential. The use of Bajhangi in writing will be an important job for language promotion.
10. The use of Bajhangi in mass media should be promoted and widened.
11. Specific language development programs compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched.
12. Most importantly, the primary education should be imparted in mother tongue by preparing teaching materials containing the subject matters suited for the local needs and socio cultural setting.

PART: C

BAJURALI

CHAPTER 9

DIALECTAL VARIATION

9.1 Outline

This chapter attempts to look at the dialectal variations in Bajurali. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 9.2 presents the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 9.3 deals with the wordlist comparison in Bajurali. And finally, in section 9.4 we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

9.2 Dialect mapping

For the purpose of identification of the different dialects spoken in the district, we carried out dialect mapping at Kailasmandu VDC. The participants showed their very high loyalty towards Nepali identity and they did not want to divide their language into different dialects. They wanted the Bajurali varieties be identified with a single name Bajurali and Bajurali be identified as Nepali. They suspected that we had been there to separate Bajurali from Nepali as Dotyali had been separated from Nepali. We tried to convince them that our purpose was to carry out the survey of the languages and present the exact picture of the language situation of the districts. But they could not be fully convinced with our explanations. Their single answer was 'Bajurali is spoken in all the VDCs of Bajura'.



Figure 9.1: Dialect mapping at Kailasmandu

Although the speakers did not want to divide their language into varieties we tried to identify the possible varieties through informal conversations with the people. In our study we found four slightly different varieties of Bajurali in the area. Figure 9.2 presents the distribution of the varieties.

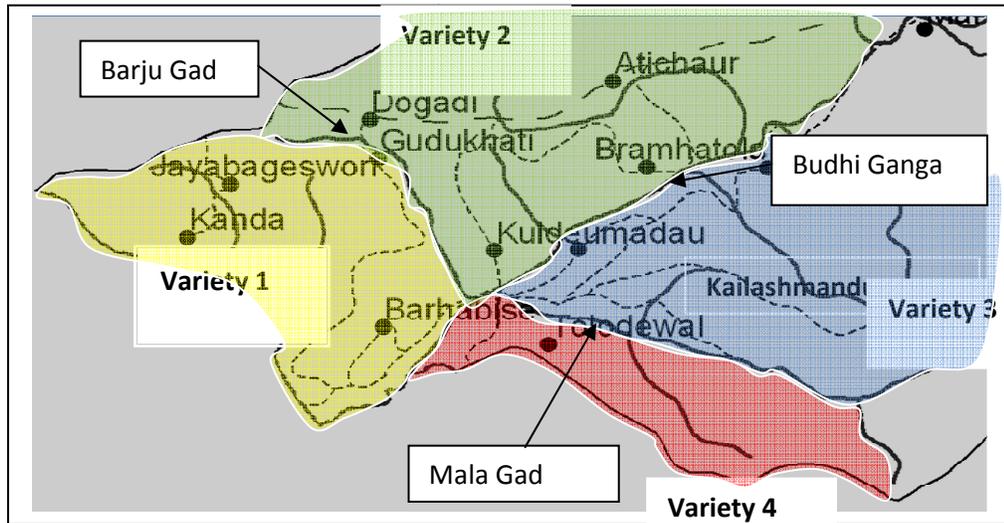


Figure 9.2: Distribution of the Bajurali varieties

Budhi Ganga is the biggest river and Barju Gad and Mala Gad are other big rivers in the area. The rivers are the dialect boundaries. The first variety (V1) is spoken in the area of Barhasise, Jayabageswori and some other VDCs which is separated by Budhi Ganga and Barju Gad. The second variety (V2) is spoken in the area of Kuldevmandu, Brahmatola, Atichaur and some other VDCs which is again separated by the rivers Budhi Ganga and Barju Gad. Similarly, the third variety (V3) is spoken in the area of Kailasmandu and some other VDCs which is separated by Mala Gad and Budhi Ganga. In the same way the fourth variety (V4) is spoken the area of Tolideval and some other VDCs which is separated by Mala Gad and Budhi Ganga. There were reported to be some other varieties in the other parts of Bajura but we did not get enough time to study them. Further survey of the district is necessary for the study of them.

9.3 Lexical similarity

Because of the limitation of the time we could not collect wordlist from all the dialect areas. The wordlists collected from four different VDCs representing four varieties are compared and the summary of the comparison is presented in table.

Table 9.1: Lexical Similarity comparison in Bajurali varieties we visited

	Kuldevmandu (V2)	Kailashmandu (V3)	Tolidewal (V4)	Barhabise (V1)
Kuldevmandu (V2)	100%	87%	80%	85%
Kailashmandu (V3)	87%	100%	88%	88%
Tolidewal (V4)	80%	88%	100%	89%
Barhabise (V1)	85%	88%	89%	100%

Lexical comparison shows that the Bajurali varieties are not remarkably distinct from each other as the respondents during dialect mapping said. The lexical comparison shows that Kuldevmandu (V2) and Tolideval (V4) varieties are quite different from each other and the others are more or less equally distinct from each other. During the informal conversations the people reported that the varieties were different from each other in a limited number of structural items.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to examine the possible dialectal variations in Bajurali. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that there are not so distinct varieties in Bajurali although four slightly different varieties were identified. There is no difficulty for the speakers of one dialect group to understand the people speaking another dialect group.

CHAPTER 10

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

10.1 Outline

This chapter peeks at the major domains of language use in Bajurali. It consists of eight sections. Section 10.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. Section 10.3 deals with the use of the language in interpersonal communication in the family. In section 10.4 we deal with the use of the languages by the children in different situations. Section 10.5 appraises the use of languages in different modes of invitation. Section 10.6 deals with the use of Nepali (Language of Wider Communication). Similarly, section 10.7 investigates the preferred language as the medium of instruction in the primary level and section 10.8 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

10.2 Patterns of language use in general domains

In this section, we examine the languages most frequently used by the Bajurali speakers in the following domains of language use:

- i. counting,
- ii. singing,
- iii. joking,
- iv. bargaining/ shopping/ marketing,
- v. storytelling,
- vi. discussing/ debate,
- vii. praying,
- viii. quarrelling,
- ix. abusing (scolding/using taboo words),
- x. telling stories to children,
- xi. singing at home,
- xii. family gatherings and
- xiii. village
- xiv. meetings.

Bajurali is the principal vehicle of everyday communication and dominantly used in all domains of language use by the speakers of all age groups, sex groups and literacy/education groups. A

few of them have been shifted into Nepali in some of the common domains of language use. Nepali is generally used in education, the formal situations and with the externals. Table 8.1 presents the use of Bajurali in general domains of language use by male and female respondents.

Table 10.1: Use of Bajurali in different domains by sex

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
Counting	9 (64.28%)	7 (70%)	16 (66.66%)
Singing	13 (92.85%)	8 (80%)	21 (87.50%)
Joking	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	24 (100%)
Shopping/ Marketing	6 (42.85%)	5 (50%)	11 (45.83%)
Story telling	13 (92.85%)	9 (90%)	22 (91.66%)
Discussing/ Debate	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	24 (100%)
Praying	3 (21.42%)	9 (90%)	12 (50%)
Quarrelling	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	24 (100%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	24 (100%)
Telling stories to children	13 (92.85%)	9 (90%)	22 (91.66%)
Singing at home	13 (92.85%)	8 (80%)	21 (87.50%)
Family gatherings	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	24 (100%)
Village meetings	10 (71.42%)	6 (60%)	16 (66.66%)

(80-100)% of the respondents use Bajurali in the domains related to person, family and with the Bajurali community. There is excessive use of Bajurali in counting, singing, joking, story telling, debate, quarreling, abusing, singing and family gathering. Bajurali is used less in marketing, praying and in village meetings. But most of the female pray in Bajurali.

Even in this situation, the females try to use their mother tongue. Similarly, if the village meeting is with the members of their own community they extensively use their own mother tongue otherwise they have to use Nepali.

Table 10.2 presents the use of both Bajurali and Nepali in different domains of language use by different genders.

Table 10.2: Use of Bajurali and Nepali in different domains by sex

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
Counting	2 (14.28%)	0 (0%)	2 (8.33%)
Singing	1 (7.14%)	1 (10%)	2 (8.33%)
Joking	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Shopping/ Marketing	7 (50%)	4 (40%)	11 (45.83%)
Story telling	2 (14.28%)	1 (10%)	3 (12.50%)
Discussing/ Debate	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Praying	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Quarrelling	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Telling stories to children	2 (14.28%)	1 (10%)	3 (12.50%)
Singing at home	1 (7.14%)	1 (10%)	2 (8.33%)
Family gatherings	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Village meetings	2 (14.28%)	2 (20%)	4 (16.66%)

The domains of language use like counting, shopping/marketing, singing, storytelling and meetings are bilingual domains. Bilingualism is in the initial stage in the Bajurali community. Next indication about bilingualism is that males are more bilingual than female.

Nepali is spoken in formal situations in which they have to communicate with the outsiders or they have to write. Table 10.3 presents the use of Nepali by different genders.

Table 10.3: Use of Nepali in different domains by different genders

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
Counting*	3 (21.42%)	3 (%)	6 (25%)
Singing	0 (0%)	1 (%)	1 (4.16%)
Joking	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Shopping/ Marketing	1 (7.14%)	1 (10%)	2 (8.33%)

Story telling	1 (7.14%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.16%)
Discussing/ Debate	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Praying*	1 (7.14%)	1 (10%)	2 (8.33%)
Quarrelling	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Telling stories to children	1 (7.14%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.16%)
Singing at home	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (4.16%)
Family gatherings	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Village meetings	2 (14.28%)	2 (20%)	4 (16.66%)

Counting in Bajurali and Nepali are the same so there is no distinction in the use. Although Bajurali has folk songs and music, singing is a domain in which the use of Nepali is increasing these days. The recorded Nepali songs are getting popular in the areas. One can listen to Nepali songs in the market areas and on the public transportations. Along with the extension of the road transportation and increase of number of market places people happen to be in more situations of contact with the people from outside. So the use of Nepali in the market places is increasing. Another field that Nepali is used is formal meeting. Even if the discussion is in Bajurali, the minute is written in Nepali. Similarly, the written stories are told in Nepali.

10.3 The use of language in interpersonal communication in family

The questions were asked to the respondents about the use of languages with their different family members while talking about education related topics and family or society related topics and while writing letters. Some of the respondents didn't have grandparents and/or parents and some were illiterate and couldn't write letter and some have never written letters although they were literate. So, all the respondents could not answer all of the questions. Table 10.4 presents the use of Bajurali in above mentioned situations.

Table 10.4 Use of Bajurali in interpersonal communication at home

	Education related		Society/family related		Writing letter	
	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)
Grandfather	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	-	-
Grandmother	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	14 (100%)	10 (100%)	-	-
Father	10 (71.42%)	8 (80%)	10 (71.42%)	8 (80%)	4 (28.57%)	
Mother	12 (85.71%)	10 (100%)	10 (71.42%)	8 (80%)	-	-
Spouse	8 (57.14%)	6 (60%)	4 (28.57%)	8 (80%)	5 (35.71%)	2 (20%)
Children	7 (50%)	6 (60%)	10 (71.42%)	6 (60%)	-	-

There is excessive use of Bajurali in both education and society/family related matters but its use in writing letter is almost negligible. It shows that Bajurali is mainly used in oral form rather than in writing. One remarkable point is that the use of Bajurali varies while talking with different generations. The use of Bajurali is nearly 100% with the grandparents, 70% with the parents, 50% with the spouse and children. It indicates that the use of Bajurali is degenerating from generation to generation. This degree of variation within four generations is really devastating. Still relatively females have larger degree of language retention.

In contrast, the use of Nepali is increasing generation by generation and in the writing mode of language. While writing letter most of the respondents use Nepali. Table 10.5 presents the use of Nepali in different situations of interpersonal communication at home.

Table 10.5 Use of Nepali in interpersonal communication at home

	Education related		Society/family related		Writing letter	
	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)
Grandfather	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grandmother	-	-	-	-	-	-
Father	4 (28.57%)	-	-	-	4 (28.57%)	
Mother	2 (14.28%)	-	-	-	-	-
Spouse	6 (42.85%)	4 (40%)	4 (28.57%)	2 (20%)	6 (42.85%)	4 (40%)
Children	7 (50%)	4 (40%)	4 (28.57%)	4 (40%)	6 (42.85%)	3 (30%)

10.4 The use of the language by the children in different situations

The children mostly use Bajurali in the family and neighborhood situations. In family conversations, while playing with the friends and while talking with the friends in the locality they usually use Bajurali but with the outsiders, the teachers in the school and during the school hours, they generally use Nepali.

Table 10.6: The use of the language by the children in different situations

The situations	The language(s) used		
	Bajurali	Bajurali and Nepali	Nepali
While playing with friends	22 (91.66%)	2 (8.33%)	0 (0%)
While talking with the neighbours	24 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
At school	3 (12.50%)	16 (66.66%)	5 (20.83%)

While playing with their friends within the community nearly all the children use Bajurali invariably in all the survey locations. The case of Parakatne is a signal that indicates that gradually Nepali is going to replace Bajurali in the common situations of conversation. Table 10.6 presents the use of the language(s) by the children while playing with the friends in the community. While talking in the neighborhood, they invariably use their mother tongue. It indicates that Bajurali is homogenously used in the society by the people of all age groups.

In the schools the children are completely bilingual and use both Bajurali and Nepali according to the situations. Nepali is the medium of instruction in the schools so the classroom language is automatically Nepali. But if the teacher is a Bajurali speaker and if s/he feels that it would be easier for the students to understand some concepts in mother tongue they are likely to use even Bajurali in the classroom situations.

10.5 The language of invitation

Regardless their place, age group, gender and education, all people use mother tongue to give the invitation of marriage in oral form but while they get the invitation printed in the form invitation card they use Nepali. Similarly, the minute of any meeting in the village is invariably written in Nepali. So there seems to be a kind of functional division between Bajurali and Nepali. Bajurali is used for oral communication and Nepali is used for any kind of written documentation.

10.6 The use of the Language of Wider Communication

More than 90% of the respondents identified Nepali as their Language of Wider Communication (LWC). They use Nepali with all the outsiders. But those people who can't speak Nepali use their mother tongue with anyone they have to communicate with. Table 10.7 presents the responses of the people about the LWC and its use.

Table 10.7: The responses of the people about the LWC

(n=24)	Bajurali	Nepali
<i>Which is your LWC?</i>	2 (8.33%)	22 (91.66%)

Until and unless they meet outsider(s), they use mother tongue in their everyday situations. How often they meet outsiders depends on their outside contact, education, gender, etc. The job holders, community leaders, social workers, etc. have to come in contact with outsiders more often than the farmers. Similarly, the people who live in market places, towns or Terai have to come in contact with outsiders more often than the people living in the villages. Likewise, the males are likely to come in contact with outsiders more often than the females. But the school/college teachers, the officials working in governmental or nongovernmental offices always come in contact with outsiders and use Nepali everyday in their lives.

Table 10.8: The frequency of use of the LWC

(n=24)	Bajurali		Nepali	
<i>How often do you use it?</i>	always	Sometimes	always	sometimes
	2 (8.33%)	0 (0%)	3 (12.5%)	19 (79.16%)

Nepali is mostly used with the people who speak other languages. The young people use Nepali with their friends speaking other languages. The educated people speaking different dialects often use Nepali as contact language.

10.7 The preferred language for medium of instruction in the primary level

Regardless the location, age, gender and education of the respondents, majority (more than two-third) of them preferred Nepali to make the medium of instruction in the primary level. Table 10.9 presents the responses of the people about the preferred language for medium of instruction in the primary level.

Table 10.9: The preferred language for medium of instruction in the primary level

The language	The responses
Bajurali	6 (25%)
Nepali	16 (66.66%)
English	2 (8.33%)
Other	0 (0%)

If they are educated in the language of wider communication, it would be far more beneficial for their better future. In their view the children learn the mother tongue from the home and community so the formal education in standard variety should be preferred. A handful of them say that both Bajurali and Nepali can be learnt at home and the community without any effort so English should be the medium of instruction from the primary level so that their children could gain native like proficiency in English.

10.8 Summary

In this chapter we tried to investigate the language vitality in Bajurali by analyzing the responses to questions related to the major domains of language use. In all the general domains, such as counting, singing, joking, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling

stories to children, singing at home and family gatherings Bajurali is tremendously used by the people of all survey locations, both sexes, all age groups and educational groups.

The use of the language while bargaining/ shopping/ marketing depends on whether the people they have to talk are speakers of Bajurali or not. They always use Bajurali with the Bajurali speakers in markets otherwise they have to use Nepali. The use of language in the village meetings is quite more interesting. If all the participants are the speakers of Bajurali they discuss mainly in Bajurali and write minute in Nepali. If there are some non-speakers of Bajurali they discuss in Nepali and write minute in Nepali.

Bajurali is exclusively used in the interpersonal communication in the family by the people of any group while talking about any subject matter. The children exclusively use Bajurali in all situations at home and the community. They use Bajurali while playing with the friends in the community and while talking with the neighbors. In the school Bajurali and Nepali are used by the children based on the situations. Generally in the classes, with the teachers, while talking about the subject matter of the books the children use Nepali but in other situations they generally use Bajurali. While talking about the language of invitation, Bajurali is used for oral invitation and Nepali is used for written or printed invitation.

Nepali is the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) in Bajura. The people use LWC with the people of other tongue speakers. Nepali is spoken widely in schools, offices, health centers, etc. because the personnel working in these places are normally outsiders.

Majority of the people preferred Nepali to be the medium of instruction in the primary level education because they think that the children can learn their mother tongue at home and Nepali was more profitable for them for further education, jobs and other opportunities.

CHAPTER 11

MULTILINGUALISM

11.1 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to appraise the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Bajurali. Section 11.2 examines how many languages are spoken in the Bajurali speaking areas. Section 11.3 evaluates the degrees of language of different languages they speak. Similarly in section 11.4 presents the popularity of the different language in the community. In the same way, in section 11.5 we present the other languages of the parents and spouses of the respondents. Section 11.6 tries to identify the languages the children can speak and their proficiency in them. In the same way section 11.7 tries to evaluate how much Nepali the children understand in the early school classes and finally section 11.8 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

11.2 Knowledge of language

Even if there are some old generation monolingual speakers of Bajurali, Bajura is a multilingual area. Apart from Bajurali almost all people speak Nepali and some people speak other local languages like Bajhangi, Dotyali, Baitadeli, etc. and even foreign languages like Hindi, English, etc. Table 11.1 presents the languages that the Bajurali people know and can speak.

Table 11.1: Bajurali and other languages spoken/known by the speakers

SN	Languages	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
1	Bajurali (only)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (4.16%)
2	Bajurali, Nepali	9 (62.28%)	6 (60%)	15 (62.50%)
3	Bajurali, Nepali, other	5 (35.71%)	3 (30%)	8 (33.33%)

The people of all generations have full-fledged proficiency in their mother tongue. Except some of the old generation people, rest of them have full-blown command on Nepali. Regarding the use of the languages, Bajurali is used in almost all of the domains of language use and Nepali is used in a limited numbers of domains of language use. The other languages are seldom used in

specific situations. Nepali is generally used in school as a medium of instruction, between students and teachers in formal situation, in government offices, formal meetings and writing minute.

11.3 Degree of language competence

Regardless their location, age, gender and education all the respondents who were born in Bajura answered that they spoke Bajurali for the first time and the language they speak best is Bajurali. Those who were married from other language speaking areas like Baitadeli, Dotyali, etc. spoke their respective mother tongues first and acquired Bajurali after marriage. Although they acquired Bajurali later, they are as proficient in Bajurali as the native speaks. All the respondents have their highest degree of command in Bajurali and the second degree of command in Nepali.

Table 11.2: Degrees of command of the respondents on different languages

S.N.	Competence based order of languages	No. of respondents
1.	Bajurali-Nepali-other	19 (79.16%)
2.	Nepali - Bajurali -other	4 (16.66%)
3.	Other -Bajurali-Nepali	1 (4.16%)

11.4 The language they like most

In total two-third of the respondents (75%) loved their mother tongue. It indicates that Bajurali is still much more popular among the Bajurali people. The gender of the respondents does not seem to affect the language they like most as nearly equal percentage of both male and female like Bajurali. Table 11.2 shows the languages the respondents like more by gender.

Table 11.3: The languages the respondents like more by gender

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
Bajurali	10 (71.42%)	8 (80%)	18 (75%)
Nepali	4 (28.57%)	2 (20%)	6 (25%)

Point to notice is that 33.33% of the total speakers liked Nepali which indicates that Nepali is getting popular in the areas. The language the respondents like most does not seem to be affected by their education either. Table 11.4 shows the responses of the speakers about the language they most by education.

11.4 Responses of the speakers about the language they most by education.

	Educated (n=13)	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate(n=7)	Total (n=24)
Bajurali	9 (69.23%)	4 (100%)	5 (71.42%)	18 (66.66%)
Nepali	4 (30.76%)	0 (0%)	2 (28.57%)	6 (33.33%)

11.5 The other languages of the parents and spouses

This question was not applicable to all the respondents because some of them didn't have either father or mother or spouse. Similarly the parents or spouse of some of the respondents were monolingual. Table 11.5 presents the other languages of the father, mother and spouse of the respondents.

Table 11.5 The other languages of parents and spouses

	Father's language	Mother's language	Spouse's language
Nepali	12	10	19
Nepali and more	4	0	2

Nepali is the other language of all of the respondents who responded the question. Fathers and spouses of some of them also speak other language in addition to Nepali.

11.6 The languages of the children

All the children speak their mother tongue as well as Nepali. They speak mother tongue at home in all domains of language use with all the family members as well as in their neighborhood. They speak Nepali in schools where the medium of instruction is Nepali. In schools, at least, they have to speak Nepali in the classes with their teachers. So, all the children are proficient in their mother tongue as well as in Nepali.

Table 11.6: The languages of the children at different survey locations

	Barhabise	Kailashmandu	Kuldevmandu	Tolideval
Bajurali	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	6 (83.33%)
Nepali	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)

11.7 How much Nepali the children understand in early school classes

All the children are proficient in their mother tongue as well as they are bilingual in Nepali. They learnt Nepali at their respective schools where they are taught in Nepali from the early classes. Most of the respondents answered that it is difficult for their children to understand Nepali at school but they say within 2-3 years of time they become capable of handling Nepali very well.

Table 11.7: How much Nepali the children understand in the early classes

(n=24)	understand all	a little bit	don't understand
<i>Do children in early days understand Nepali?</i>	5 (20.83%)	18 (75%)	1 (4.16%)

(20.83%), (75%) and (4.16%) of the respondents answered that the children can understand all Nepali, some Nepali and no Nepali in the early classes respectively. It indicates that it is difficult for their children to understand Nepali in the early classes at school but it doesn't necessarily mean that they don't understand Nepali at all. So, people in Bajura said that they would be happy if medium of instruction in the schools from 1 to 3 classes was the mother tongue.

11.8 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to assess the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism in Bajurali. If Bajurali and Nepali are regarded to be different languages almost all people are bilingual. Apart from Bajurali and Nepali some of the Bajurali people can speak other languages like Bajhangi, Dotyali, Hindi, etc. Doubtlessly all the Bajurali people have highest degree of competence in their mother tongue and Nepali is the next to Bajurali in the degree of competence. The number of people who like Bajurali is more than two-third. Next popular language is Nepali which is liked by nearly one-fourth of the people. But Nepali is becoming popular among the younger generations. All the children are bilingual in Nepali. It is rather

difficult for the children to understand Nepali in the early classes but within 2-3 years time they become able to handle it. So majority of the people loved early school classes in mother tongue.

CHAPTER 12

LANGUAGE VITALITY, MAINTAINANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

12.1 Outline

In this chapter we make an effort to appraise the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Bajurali. It consists of five sections. Section 12.2 examines language vitality in the Bajurali community. In section 12.3, we discuss language maintenance and transmission. Similarly, in section 12.4 we glance at the attitudes of the community towards their mother tongue. In section 12.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

12.2 Language vitality

Because of the expansion of education, transportation, business and migration the use of official Nepali is found gradually increasing day-by-day, but the vitality of Bajurali is still vivacious.

12.2.1 The children speaking mother tongue

All generations, i.e. grandparents, parents and children speak Bajurali in all domestic situations with full competence. 100% of the respondents said that their children speak Bajurali. Similarly, 79.16% of the respondents said that their children speak Bajurali as well as they should. It shows that the vitality of Bajurali is still vivacious.

12.2.2 The language of intergenerational communication

The mother is the vehicle of intergenerational communication. All of the parents use their mother tongue with their children and all the children use it with their parents and grandparents. The people of all generations speak the mother tongues with equal proficiency and all the parents usually communicate with the children using the mother tongues.

12.3 Language maintenance and transmission

Language maintenance in Bajurali is prominent. There is complete and undisturbed intergenerational language transmission and it is sure to be transmitted into the children of the youngest generation.

12.3.1 The situation of inter-lingual marriage

Inter-cast marriage is common in the society because 41.66% of the respondents asserted it. But it does not affect the language transmission because Bajurali is homogenously spoken by all castes in the areas. There is inter-lingual marriage is also frequent in the Bajurali community. Generally inter-lingual marriage occurs within Achhami, Bajhang, Dotyali and Nepali speaking communities. But inter-lingual marriage does not affect language vitality because the non-speakers are bound to learn the language immediately after they come into the Bajurali community because of the immense use of the mother tongue in almost all situations of language use. It is impossible to live in the Bajurali society without learning it.

12.3.2 Reading and writing in mother tongue

Higher percentages of the people like their children learn reading and writing in mother tongue. But the responses varied from place to place. The people living in the market areas or near by the highway don't like it whereas the people living in the villages away from the market and highway like it. It indicates that modernization of the society is gradually trying to decrease the vitality of the mother tongues. Table 12.1 presents the responses of the people at different locations.

Table 12.1: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue at different locations

	Barhabise	Kailashmandu	Kuldevmandu	Tolideval
I like it.	5 (83.33%)	6 (100%)	3 (50%)	4 (66.66%)
I don't like it.	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	2 (33.33%)

The gender does not seem to determine whether one likes his/her children reading and writing in mother tongue. Both of the genders seem equally loyal towards their mother tongue. Table 12.2 presents the responses according to gender.

Table 12.2: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by different genders

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)
I like it.	11 (78%)	7 (70%)
I don't like it.	3 (21.42%)	3 (30%)

Similarly, education of the people determined their favor to reading and writing in mother tongue. People with higher education seem less interested about their children reading and

writing in mother tongue than the people with lower education level. Table 12.3 presents the responses of the people.

Table 12.3: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by education

	Educated (n=13)	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=7)
I like it.	9 (69.23%)	3 (75%)	6 (85.71%)
I don't like it.	4 (30.76%)	1 (25%)	1 (14.28%)

The age groups the respondents seem to have notable impact on their attitude towards the issue. A remarkable number of the young generation people (45.45%) don't like it. It signals that the attitude of the young generation is getting negative towards the mother tongue. Table 12.4 presents the attitude of the people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by different age groups.

Table 12.4: Attitude of people about the children reading and writing in mother tongue by age group

	15-35 (n=11)	35-55 (n=8)	55+ (n=5)
I like it.	6 (54.54%)	8 (100%)	4 (80%)
I don't like it.	5 (45.45%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)

12.3.3 Volition of the people to assist a mother tongue based school

People are enthusiastic to assist a mother tongue based primary school in the locality by sending own children, motivating others to do so, economical support and other ways. Table 12.5 presents the responses of the people how they would help a mother tongue based primary school.

Table 12.5: The responses of the people how they would help a mother tongue based primary school

	Educated (n=13)	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=7)	Total (n=24)
Sending own children	9 (69.23%)	3 (75%)	4 (57.14%)	16 (66.66%)
Motivation to send children	9 (69.23%)	3 (75%)	3 (42.85%)	15 (62.5%)
Economic assistance	10 (76.92%)	3 (75%)	5 (71.42%)	18 (75%)
Teaching oneself	9 (69.23%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	10 (41.66%)
Assisting school anyway	4 (30.76%)	1 (25%)	3 (42.85%)	8 (33.33%)

The table shows that the people who want to send their own children are less interested in economical support and who are not interested in sending the children are interested in

economical support. It signals that some of the economically strong people are likely to tilt their loyalty towards other tongues.

It gives one indication that the educated people are ready to assist by teaching in the school. Especially the people of 15-35 age group are more eager to assist such school. Table 12.6 presents the responses of different age groups about assisting a mother tongue based primary school.

Table 12.6: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school by different age groups

	15-35 (n=11)	35-55 (n=8)	55+ (n=5)
Sending own children	6 (54.54%)	7 (87.5%)	3 (60%)
Motivation to send children	6 (54.54%)	6 (75%)	3 (60%)
Economic assistance	7 (63.63%)	7 (87.5%)	4 (80%)
Teaching oneself	4 (36.36%)	2 (25%)	0 (0%)
Assisting school anyway	3 (27.27%)	3 (37.50)	2 (40%)

12.4 Language attitudes

Bajurali people feel themselves proud to be called Nepali speaking community and they love to call their language Nepali. They claim that their mother tongue is the original form of Nepali. They say their mother tongue is very close to the official Nepali and there is no problem for them to understand it. In the same way, the speakers of official Nepali easily understand the Bajurali.

12.4.1 Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people

The people feel that official Nepali is the refined form of their language (Nepali) and the mother tongue is the local non-refined variety. So, fairly more than one-third of the people feel either embarrassed or neutral to speak their mother tongue in the presences of other language speaking people. They find higher prestige with the official Nepali and they want to use it with the outsiders. Table 12.7 presents the responses of the people at different locations.

Table 12.7: Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people by different locations

	Barhabise (n=6)	Kailashmandu (n=6)	Kuldevmandu (n=6)	Tolideval (n=6)
prestigious	4 (66.66%)	4 (66.66%)	1 (16.66%)	2 (33.33%)
embarrassed	2 (33.33%)	2 (33.33%)	2 (33.33%)	0 (0%)
neutral	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (50%)	4 (66.66%)

Slightly, a higher percentage of the females feel prestigious in speaking mother tongue. Similarly a bit lower percentage of the females have feeling of embarrassed and neutral while speaking the mother tongue. It shows that the females seem to be slightly more loyal towards their mother tongue than the male respondents. Table 12.8 presents the responses of the people of different genders.

Table 12.8: Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people by different genders

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)
prestigious	6 (42.85%)	5 (50%)
embarrassed	5 (35.71%)	2 (20%)
neutral	3 (21.42%)	3 (30%)

Again the responses don't seem to be influenced by the education of the respondents. Relatively higher percentage of the educated people feel embarrassed and slightly a less number of illiterate people feel neutral to speak the mother tongue in presence of outsiders. Table 12.9 presents the responses of the people of different educational groups.

Table 12.9: Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence of other people by different educational groups

	Educated (n=13)	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=7)
prestigious	6 (46.15%)	2 (50%)	3 (42.85%)
embarrassed	5 (38.46%)	1 (25%)	1 (14.28%)
neutral	2 (15.38%)	1 (25%)	3 (42.85%)

Table 12.10 presents the responses of the people according to the age groups. The data shows that at present larger number of people of all age groups don't feel prestigious themselves to speak their mother tongue in front of the outsiders. But in the new generation this feeling seems to be increasing and they have more positive attitudes towards their mother tongue than the elder generations have.

Table 12.10: The responses of the people of different age groups

	15-35 (n=6)	35-55 (n=15)	55+ (n=15)
prestigious	2 (33.33%)	5 (33.33%)	3 (20%)
embarrassed	2 (33.33%)	6 (40%)	8 (53.33%)
neutral	2 (33.33%)	4 (26.66%)	5 (33.33%)

12.4.2 Problems faced because of speaking mother tongue

The responses do not seem to be determined by the location of the respondents. Nearly equal number of have said 'yes' and 'no'. Those who had problems because of speaking mother tongue said that they have feeling of being dominated or inferior. Table 12.11 presents the responses of the people by locations.

Table 12.11: Problems faced because of speaking mother tongue by different locations

	Barhabise (n=6)	Kailashmandu (n=6)	Kuldevmandu (n=6)	Tolideval (n=6)
Yes	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (16.66%)
No	6 (100%)	5 (83.33%)	5 (83.33%)	5 (83.33%)

Similarly, the responses are not affected by the genders of the respondents either. Table 12.12 presents the responses of the people by genders of the respondents.

Table 12.12: Problems faced because of speaking mother tongue by different genders

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)
Yes	3 (14.28%)	1 (10%)
No	12 (85.71%)	9 (90%)

12.4.3 Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers

People don't seem to be worried about whether their children marry a mother tongue speaker or not. More than 50% of the respondents were found indifferent about this issue at all of the survey locations as presented in Table 12.13. But if their children marry non-mother tongue speakers they will not be happy either.

Table 12.13: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers by different locations

	Barhabise (n=6)	Kailashmandu (n=6)	Kuldevmandu (n=6)	Tolideval (n=6)
Good	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	1 (16.66%)
No problem	3 (50%)	4 (66.66%)	5 (83.33%)	4 (66.66%)
Bad	3 (50%)	2 (33.33%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)

The people may be indifferent because of two reasons: either they are not so loyal to their mother tongue or they are sure that the non-speakers will learn the language after marriage. Both of the reasons may be responsible for this situation.

The finding was similar while comparing the responses of the respondents by different educational groups. Still the number of people who feel bad if their children married a non-speaker of mother tongue is low as presented in Table 12.14.

Table 12.14: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers by different educational groups

	Educated (n=13)	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=7)
Good	1 (7.69%)	0 (0%)	1 (14.28%)
No problem	8 (61.53%)	3 (75%)	6 (85.71%)
Bad	4 (30.76%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)

12.4.4 Feeling if future generations spoke the mother tongue

Nearly 80% of them would be happy if the future generations spoke their mother tongue in the similar ratio they would be sad if the future generations didn't speak the mother tongue. The people who don't care about it is moderate Table 12.15 presents their responses about how they would feel if the future generations spoke or didn't speak their mother tongue at different locations.

Table 12.15: Feeling if future generations spoke the mother tongue at different locations

	If they spoke				If they didn't			
	Barha. (n=6)	Kailash. (n=6)	Kuldev. (n=6)	Toli. (n=6)	Barha. (n=6)	Kailash. (n=6)	Kuldev. (n=6)	Toli. (n=6)
I love it.	5 (83.33%)	5 (83.33%)	4 (66.66%)	5 (83.33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I don't mind it.	1 (16.66%)	1 (16.66%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (16.66%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (16.66%)	5 (83.33%)	2 (33.33%)
I don't like it	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (66.66%)	5 (83.33%)	1 (16.66%)	4 (66.66%)

12.4.5 The preferred first language for the children

All of the respondents, except 1, think that their children should speak their mother tongue first and then they should learn the languages of wider communication i.e. Nepali and English. The responses didn't vary by locations, genders, educational groups as well as age groups.

12.4.6 The changes occurred in the contemporary Bajurali

In general there have not occurred remarkable changes in Bajurali. Nearly all of the speakers have not realized any remarkable change occurred in it. Slightly, the location seems to determine it. There seem to have occurred slight changes in the places near the motorway and market areas which has been reflected in the responses of the people as presented in Table 12.16.

Table 12.16: Responses to whether contemporary Bajurali is different from the previous one by locations

	Barhabise (n=6)	Kailashmandu (n=6)	Kuldevmandu (n=6)	Tolideval (n=6)
Yes	5 (83.33%)	6 (100%)	4 (66.66%)	5 (83.33%)
No	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)	2 (33.33%)	1 (16.66%)

12.4.7 Feeling about community people speaking other languages

Generally the people who have migrated from their original places to other places especially in the areas of Terai have mostly given up speaking their mother tongue. Majority of the respondents (54.16%) are neutral about their community people not speaking mother tongue and (41.66%) feel bad about it. Negligible, only one, respondent likes it. It indicates that the people are gradually inclining towards Nepali but still their affection towards mother tongue is vivid. The reason for their inclination to Nepali is that they think if they spoke Nepali it would be useful for communication both inside and outside the community because communication with the Bajurali people is possible using Nepali.

Table 12.17: The responses how they feel their community people not speaking own language by locations

	Barhabise (n=6)	Kailashmandu (n=6)	Kuldevmandu (n=6)	Tolideval (n=6)
I love it.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (16.66%)	0 (0%)
I don't mind it.	3 (50%)	5 (83.33%)	3 (50%)	2 (33.33%)
I don't like it	3 (50%)	1 (16.66%)	2 (33.33%)	4 (66.66%)

12.5 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to examine the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Bajurali community. In section 12.2, we examined language vitality in the Bajurali community. In general, Bajurali is lively enough as all the children everywhere in the areas speaking it as their mother tongue and all generation people have been using it as the medium intergenerational communication. More than 79.16% of the respondents said that young people have very good command on their mother tongue.

In section 12.3, we tried to assess the situation of language maintenance and transmission. The situation of language maintenance and transmission is wonderful because inter-lingual marriage is almost nil in the community. Inter-caste marriage is very common but it does not affect the language situation as all people in the areas speak Bajurali. Above two-third of the people adore their children reading and writing in the mother tongue and they are enthusiastic to assist the mother tongue schools in their communities by sending the children, economic physical assistance.

In section 12.4, we dealt with the attitudes of the people towards Bajurali. The people don't seem to have a very positive attitude towards the Bajurali which contradicts with the data that shows very high language loyalty among the speakers. Majority of the people feel embarrassed or neutral to speak their mother tongue in the presence of other language speaking people. It is because they suppose that their mother tongue is a variety of Nepali. They think official Nepali is a refined form of the language and their mother tongue is a sub-standard form. A least number of people with higher education have faced problems because of speaking the mother tongue. Similarly, in 12.5 we summarized the findings of the chapter.

CHAPTER 13

LANGUAGE RESOURCES

13.1 Outline

In this chapter we discuss language resources available in Bajurali Nepali and their maintenance. In Section 13.2, we describe the oral language resources available, and in Section 13.3, available written language resources. Section 13.4 discusses responses of the people about the radio programmes in mother tongue, Section 13.5 reading the written materials in their mother tongue and Section 13.6 summarizes the chapter.

13.2 The oral Language resources

Bajurali Nepali is very rich in oral literature. This area has its distinct identity because of the unique tongue, culture and folk literature. Deuda song and dance, festivals like Gaura Parva, other cultural practices and the literature related to them has made it rich in culture and folk literature. As this area is very rich in its unique cultural practices and literature, there are large varieties of folklore available. Table 13.1 presents the information given by the respondents about the available oral language resources.

Table 13.1 The available oral language resources in Bajurali as reported by the respondents

The oral language resources	Number of respondents who informed about it
Folk stories	23 (95.83%)
Music	24 (100%)
Religious literature	24 (100%)
Radio	24 (100%)
Cinema	0 (0%)
CD/DVD	22 (91.66%)
Other	0 (0%)

Table 13.1 shows that Bajurali is rich in oral literature and there are the following oral literatures available.

- a. Folk stories: A large number of folk stories are found to be popular in the areas. Especially the old generation people tell the stories to others in the evening time after they finish eating their meal and sit around the fire or they tell the stories during some special occasions. There are two types of stories: Sunya Bat (stories to listen) and Jhannya Bat (stories to find out the answer).
- b. Music: This area is rich in Deuda music and there are a large number of patterns of Deuda music.
- c. Religious literature: There are two types of religious literature which are sung during the worship of the different religious occasions. Magal and Fag are the main types of religious literature. Magal is sung for auspicious happenings and Fag is sung to make the deity pleased.
- d. Radio: There is an FM called Raio Bajura located at Martadi which runs different types of programs in different Bajurali Nepali varieties.
- e. CD/DVDs: Deuda songs are available in CDs/DVDs.

13.3 The written language resources

Table 13.2 presents the information given by the respondents about available written materials in Bajurali Nepali.

Table 13.2: Available written materials in Bajurali

S. N.	Resource	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
i.	alphabet	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
ii.	Grammar	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
iii.	Dictionary	3 (21.42%)	1 (10%)	4 (16.66%)
iv.	Text book	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
v.	Literacy material	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	1 (4.16%)
vi.	Newspaper	1 (7.14%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.16%)
vii.	Written literature	1 (7.14%)	1 (10%)	2 (8.32%)
viii.	Folklore	4 (28.57%)	3 (30%)	7 (29.16%)

Written tradition is found to be in the early stage of development in Bajurali Nepali. A very limited number of people were found to be informed about the written language resources. It means that either the written materials are available to a very small number of people who have access to the materials or there are not such materials and the information given by them is wrong. In fact we couldn't find any of the written materials during our fieldwork.

13.4 Responses of the people about the radio

People are found to be responsive towards the programmes in and about the Bajurali Nepali broadcasted by Radio Bajura as a result the radio has become popular among the people in the areas. Almost 80% of them always listen to the radio and more than 20% listen to it sometimes. All the people equally listen to the radio regardless their gender. Table 13.3 presents how often the people listen to the radio programmes according to their gender.

Table 13.3: How often the people listen to the radio programmes by gender

	Male (n=14)	Female (n=10)	Total (n=24)
Always	11 (78.57%)	8 (80%)	19 (79.66%)
Sometimes	3 (21.42%)	2 (20%)	5 (20.83%)
Never	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

There seems a slight indication that people with higher education listen to the radio more often than the people with lower education level but the difference is nominal as presented in Table 13.4. So we can assume that people regardless their education level equally listen to the radio.

Table 13.4: How often the people listen to the radio programmes by education

	Educated (n=13)	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=7)
Always	11 (84.61%)	3 (75%)	5 (71.42%)
Sometimes	2 (15.38%)	1 (25%)	2 (28.57%)
Never	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

The age group of the people does not seem to determine how often they listen to the radio because equal percentage of young and old age people listen to the radio always as presented in Table 13.5.

Table 13.5: How often the people listen to the radio programmes by age groups

	Age groups		
	15-35 (n=11)	35-55 (n=8)	55+ (n=5)
Always	9 (81.81%)	6 (75%)	4 (80%)
Sometimes	2 (18.18%)	2 (25%)	1 (20%)
Never	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

13.5 Reading the written materials in their mother tongue

The number of people who read the written materials in their mother tongue is very low. It is because of the fact that written materials are very limited in Bajurali. Only the people with outer access can get them and read. Generally the teachers and the job holders in governmental or nongovernmental offices have outer access. So whether one reads matters in mother tongue or not is not determined by the gender of the people as presented in Table 13.6. Some people showed their eagerness to read written materials in mother tongue and said they would have read them if they had got. But majority of the people have not read written materials and did not show their eagerness to read them. Table 13.6 presents the situation of how much the respondents read the written materials in their mother tongue.

Table 13.6: How much the respondents read the written materials in their mother tongue

	Male (n=11)	Female (n=6)	Total (n=17)
Yes	2 (18.18%)	2 (33.33%)	4 (23.52%)
No, I have not	6 (54.54%)	4 (66.66%)	10 (58.82%)
Would read but not available	3 (27.27%)	0 (0%)	3 (17.64%)

It shows that the materials are available only for limited number of the people with high education (secondary and higher) and the materials are out of the access of the general people.

Although there are a limited number of written materials and are not easily available to most of the people who want to read them, all of the literate and educated people are well known that their language is written in Devanagari script, because they are used to read and write in standard Nepali. They understand that their mother tongue is a variety of the Nepali language so what script Nepali is written, the same script is used to write their mother tongue. Although there are a number of organizations and institutions devoted for the promotion the health, education, economy, culture, etc. but there is only one organization Bajurali Sahitya Sangam which has been working for the promotion of the language. It encourages the people to write literature in Bajurali and publishes them.

13.6 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the language resources available in the Bajurali. Bajurali is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. Nowadays they have got access to mass media especially in the local radios. People are found to be responsive towards the programmes in and about the Bajurali broadcasted by Radio Bajura as a result the radio has become popular among the people in the areas.

Written tradition in Bajurali is in the initial stage and written materials are not in easy access to the general people. Devanagari script is used in writing. Official Nepali has been being used in their written form because Bajurali is regarded to be a variety of official Nepali. There are some organizations that work for the promotion of the culture, education, health, social development, etc. There is one organization 'Bajurali Sahitya Sangam' established for the promotion of the mother tongue and has been working for the promotion of the written literature in Bajurali by encouraging people to write in literature in Bajurali and publishing the written literature. Similarly people reported that nowadays pieces of writing in Bajurali are found to have been published in different periodicals.

The people were found to be eager to read the written materials in their mother tongue if they are available.

CHAPTER 14

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

14.1 Outline

In this chapter we summarize the findings of the survey research and recommendations for the mother tongue promotion. Section 3.2 summarizes the findings of the research and section 3.3 lists out the recommendations about how Bajurali can be promoted and strengthened.

14.2 Summary of findings

Both dialect mapping and lexical comparison show that there are not so distinct varieties in Bajurali although four slightly different varieties were identified. There is no difficulty for the speakers of one dialect group to understand the people speaking another dialect group because the differences among them are very limited.

Bajurali is vigorous regarding its vitality. In all the general domains, such as counting, singing, joking, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and family gatherings Bajurali is tremendously used by the people of all survey locations, both sexes, all age groups and educational groups. The use of the language while bargaining/ shopping/ marketing depends on whether the people they have to talk are speakers of Bajurali or not. They always use Bajurali with the Bajurali speakers in markets otherwise they have to use Nepali. The use of language in the village meetings is quite more interesting. If all the participants are the speakers of Bajurali they discuss mainly in Bajurali and write minute in Nepali. If there are some non-speakers of Bajurali they discuss in Nepali and write minute in Nepali.

If Bajurali and Nepali are regarded to be different languages almost all people are bilingual. Apart from Bajurali and Nepali some of the Bajurali people can speak other languages like Bajhangi, Dotyali, Hindi, etc. Doubtlessly all the Bajurali people have highest degree of competence in their mother tongue and Nepali is the next to Bajurali in the degree of competence. The number of people who like Bajurali is more than two-third. Next popular language is Nepali which is liked by nearly one-fourth of the people. But Nepali is becoming popular among the younger generations. All the children are bilingual in Nepali. It is rather

difficult for the children to understand Nepali in the early classes but within 2-3 years time they become able to handle it. So majority of the people loved early school classes in mother tongue.

In this chapter, we tried to examine the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Bajurali community. In section 12.2, we examined language vitality in the Bajurali community. In general, Bajurali is lively enough as all the children everywhere in the areas speaking it as their mother tongue and all generation people have been using it as the medium intergenerational communication. More than 79.16% of the respondents said that young people have very good command on their mother tongue.

Regarding the situation of language maintenance and transmission, Bajurali is very safe to date. Inter-lingual marriage is almost nil in the community and inter-caste marriage does not affect the language situation as all people in the areas speak Bajurali. Above two-third of the people adore their children reading and writing in the mother tongue and they are enthusiastic to assist the mother tongue schools in their communities by sending the children, economic physical assistance.

The people don't seem to have a very positive attitude towards the Bajurali which contradicts with the data that shows very high language loyalty among the speakers. Majority of the people feel embarrassed or neutral to speak their mother tongue in the presence of other language speaking people. It is because they suppose that their mother tongue is a variety of Nepali. They think official Nepali is a refined form of the language and their mother tongue is a sub-standard form. A least number of people have faced problems because of speaking the mother tongue.

Bajurali is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. Nowadays they have got access to mass media especially in the local radios. People are found to be responsive towards the programmes in and about the Bajurali broadcasted by Radio Bajura as a result the radio has become popular among the people in the areas.

Written tradition in Bajurali is in the initial stage and written materials are not in easy access to the general people. Devanagari script is used in writing. Official Nepali has been being used in their written form because Bajurali is regarded to be a variety of official Nepali. There are some organizations that work for the promotion of the culture, education, health, social development, etc. There is one organization 'Bajurali Sahitya Sangam' established for the promotion of the mother tongue and has been working for the promotion of the written literature in Bajurali by

encouraging people to write in literature in Bajurali and publishing the written literature. Similarly people reported that nowadays pieces of writing in Bajurali are found to have been published in different periodicals. The people were found to be eager to read the written materials in their mother tongue if they are available.

14.3 Recommendations

1. This survey is not sufficient to find out the overall sociolinguistic picture of the districts. A more extensive survey is necessary.
2. The sample size is too small which does not assure the findings of the survey are really representative.
3. Survey based on linguistic geography is better than the survey based on political geography. Bajhang or Bajura is political geography not linguistic geography.
4. It has been a must to find out how much the local varieties are different from each other and from the official Nepali. So Recorded Text Testing (RTT) should be conducted to identify the dialects and the level of intelligibility among the varieties and Sentence Repetition Testing (SRT) should be conducted to identify their proficiency in official Nepali.
5. It is necessary to expand the use of local varieties in multilingual education, media, local administration, literature etc.
6. It is desirable to carry out community based language development activities such as Multilingual Education (MLE), literacy, etc.
7. It is important to be realized by the concerned authorities that language is not spoken but varieties of a language are spoken. All the varieties are equal in status and should be treated equally. The Nepali varieties spoken in Bajhang and Bajura should be promoted in education, mass media and administration.
8. A single language development program can be framed and implemented.
9. Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be promoted. Modernization and standardization of Bajurali is essential. The use of Bajurali in writing will be an important job for language promotion.
10. The use of Bajurali in mass media should be promoted and widened.

11. Specific language development programs compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched.
12. Most importantly, the primary education should be imparted in mother tongue by preparing teaching materials containing the subject matters suited for the local needs and socio cultural setting.

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

50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	tomato	गोलभँडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	

89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भैंसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ्ग	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोभ्रे (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्त्री (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	

125.	week	हसा (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	

163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	
174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोकु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिंड्नु	
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
197.	to go /go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुत्नु	

201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

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

8. Name of language consultant:

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

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

11. Are you literate?

(a) Yes (b) No

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

(a) Formally (b) Non-formally

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Yes (b) No

16. Caste

17. Ethnic group:

18. Religion:

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

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

19. Your mother tongue's name:

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

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

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

(i)..... (ii)

(iii)..... (iv)

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

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

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT.	YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
<input type="checkbox"/>			

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife

25. What village were you born in?

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

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

Where do you live now?

How many years have you lived here?

Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
(if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:	YES <input type="checkbox"/>
NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.	

B. Language resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

What script(s) is your language written in?

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. Domain of Language Use

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

	Domain	Language
A	Counting	
B	Singing	
C	Joking	
D	Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	
E	Story telling	
F	Discussing/ Debate	
G	Praying	
H	Quarrelling	
I	Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	
J	Telling stories to children	
K	Singing at home	
L	Family gatherings	
M	Village meetings	

55. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:
 (a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)
 (enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

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

56. What language do your children usually speak while:

(a) playing with other children?

(b) talking with neighbors?

(c) at school?

57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations?

58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings?

59. How often do you use your mother tongue?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?

62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....

65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?

(a) Yes (b) No

F. Language Maintenance

66. Is there intermarriage in your community?

- (a) Yes (b) No
67. (If “Yes”) Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?
 (i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....
68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?
 (a) Yes (b) No
69. (If “Yes”) If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:
 (a) by sending your children?
 (b) by encouraging other people to send their children?
 (c) by providing financial help?
 (d) by teaching?
 (e) by helping with the school?
 (f) other.....

G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...
 (a) Prestigious (b) Embarrassed (c) Neutral
71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?
 (a) Yes (b) No
72. (If “Yes”) What kinds of problems have you had?(These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)
 (a) Social discrimination.
 (b) Political discrimination.
 (c) Economic discrimination.
 (d) Hostile confrontation.
 (e) Discrimination in education.
 (f) Social pressure.
 (g) Political pressure.
 (h) Economic pressure.
 (i) Other
73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?
 (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad
74. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?
 (a) Yes (b) No
75. How do you feel about this?
 (a) Good (b) Indifferent (c) Bad
76. What language should your children speak first?
77. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?
 (a) Yes (b) No
78. (If “Yes”) How?
 (a) pronunciation

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

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

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

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
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Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (in Nepali)

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

सर्वप्रथम आफ्नो परिचय दिने: मेरो/हाम्रो नाम हो। (अरूले पनि आ-आफ्नो परिचय दिने)। हामी त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय भाषाविज्ञान केन्द्रीय विभागबाट यहाँहरूको भाषाको अध्ययन अनुसन्धानका लागि आएका हौं। यहाँहरूले दिनु भएको भाषासम्बन्धी जानकारीलाई अरूसँग राख्ने छौं। यसमा यहाँहरूले आफ्नो सहमतिका साथ सहयोग गर्नु हुने छ भने आशा राखेका छौं।

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

अन्तर्वार्ता भन्दा पहिले तलका प्रश्नहरू (१-७) को उत्तर लेख्नु होस्।

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते..... महिना.....वर्ष..... वि.सं. तारिख.....महिना वर्ष..... सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	वार्ड नं.: गाउँ/नगर: गाविस/नगरपालिका: जिल्ला: अञ्चल: जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:.....पू.उ.
४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क) (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ)

५. अन्तर्वर्तिकाको माध्यम भाषा
६. अन्तर्क्रियाको माध्यम भाषा
७. दोभाषेको नाम (आवश्यक परेमा)

८. भाषासूचकको नाम:

९. (आवश्यक परेमा मात्र) लिङ्ग: (क) पुरुष (ख) महिला (ग) अन्य

१०. उमेर:

११. तपाईंलाई लेख-पढ गर्न आउँछ?

(क) आउँछ (ख) आउँदैन

१२. (आउँछ भने) तपाईंले लेख-पढ गर्न कसरी सिकु भयो?

(क) औपचारिक रूपमा (ख) अनौपचारिक रूपमा

१३. (औपचारिक रूपमा हो भने) कुन तह उत्तीर्ण गर्नु भएको छ?

(क) प्राथमिक (ख) निम्न माध्यमिक (ग) माध्यमिक

(घ) उच्च (उच्चतम तह उल्लेख गर्ने)

१४. वैवाहिक अवस्था: (क) विवाहित (ख) अविवाहित

१५. (विवाहित भएमा) तपाईंका छोराछोरी छन् कि छैनन्?

(क) छन् (ख) छैनन्

१६. जाति:.....

१७. जनजाति समूह (थर):

१८. धर्म:

(क) हिन्दू (ख) बौद्ध (ग) किरात (घ) इसाई (ङ) जैन

(च) इस्लाम (छ) प्रकृतिपूजक (ज) अन्य.....

१९. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:

(क) (तपाईंले भन्ने).....

२०. तपाईंको भन्दा अन्य भाषा समुदायका (तपाईंको भाषा नबोल्ने) मान्छेले तपाईंको भाषालाई के भन्छन्?.....

२१. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ? (यस भाषाका अरु के के नाम छन्?)

(क) (ख)

(ग) (घ)

२२. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:

२३. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा:

छनौटको आधार #१ कस्तीमा बाबु अथवा आमा मध्ये एक मातृभाषी हुनुपर्ने।

छ छैन

२४. तपाईंको श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीको मातृभाषा:

२५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

२६. हाल तपाईं कहाँ बस्नु हुन्छ?

- (क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:
 (ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:
 (ङ) अञ्चल:

२७. तपाईं यहाँ बस्नु भएको कति समय भयो?.....

२८. तपाईं अन्त कतै एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी बस्नु भएको छ?

- (क) छ (ख) छैन

२९. (यदि बस्नु भएको छ भने)

(क) कहाँ: (ख) कहिले: (ग) कति समयसम्म:

छनौटको आधार #२ यहाँ हुँकेको, अहिले यहाँ बसेको, र यदि पाँच वर्ष भन्दा बढी अन्यत्र बसेको भए यहाँ पनि गत पाँच वर्ष देखि नै बसेको हुनु पर्ने।

हो होइन

(आ) भाषिक सामग्री

३०. तपाईंको भाषामा मौखिक साहित्य के-के उपलब्ध छन्?

- (क) लोक कथा,
 (ख) संगीत,
 (ग) धार्मिक साहित्य,
 (घ) रेडियो,
 (ङ) सिनेमा,
 (च) सीडी/डीभीडी,
 (छ) अन्य:.....

३१. (रेडियो कार्यक्रम छ भने) तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषामा रेडियो कार्यक्रम कतिको सुन्नु हुन्छ?

(क) सधैं (ख) कहिले काहीं (ग) कहिले पनि होइन

३२. (साक्षर भाषासूचकलाई मात्र सोध्ने) तपाईंको भाषाको बारेमा लिखित सामग्री के-के छन्?

३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?

सामग्री:	३२. छन् वा छैनन्	३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?
क. वर्णमाला		
ख. व्याकरण		
ग. शब्दकोष		
घ. पाठ्यपुस्तक		
साक्षरता सामग्री		
समाचारपत्र		
छ. पत्रिका		
ज. लिखित साहित्य		
झ. लोकवार्ता		

अन्य		
------	--	--

३४. (लिखित सामग्रीहरू छन् भने) तपाईं आफ्नो भाषामा माथिका सामग्री मध्ये कुनै पढ्नु हुन्छ?

(क) पढ्छु (ख) पढदिन

३५. (साक्षर सूचकलाई मात्र सोध्ने, उनीहरूको भाषामा लिखित सामग्री छन् भने):

तपाईंको भाषा कुन लिपिमा लेखिन्छ?

३६. तपाईंको भाषामा भएको ज्ञान अथवा उपयोगलाई विकास वा प्रवर्द्धनमा लागिपरेका कुनै संघसंस्था वा निकायहरू छन्?

(क) छन् (ख) छैनन्

३७. (छन् भने) ती संस्थाहरूको नाम भनी दिनु होस्।

३८. ती संस्थाले के कस्ता काम गर्छन्?

(क) सांस्कृतिक

(ख) भाषिक

(ग) शैक्षिक

(घ) अन्य.....

	३७. संघसंस्था	३८. क्रियाकलाप
क.		
ख.		
ग.		
घ.		
ङ.		
च.		

(इ) मातृभाषामा दक्षता/बहुभाषिकता

३९. तपाईं कुन कुन भाषा बोल्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

.....,,,,

४०. तपाईंले सबै भन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु भयो?

यी भाषाहरूमध्ये (प्रश्न नं. ३९ को उत्तरको आधारमा) कुन भाषा:

४१. सबै भन्दा राम्रो?

४२. दोस्रो राम्रो?

४३. तेस्रो राम्रो?

४४. चौथो राम्रो?

४५. तपाईंले बोल्ने भाषाहरू मध्ये कुन चाहीं सबै भन्दा बढी मन पराउनु हुन्छ?.....

४६. (मातृभाषा सबैभन्दा राम्ररी बोल्न नसकेमा) तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषामा कत्तिको पोख्त(दक्ष) हुनु हुन्छ?

(क) धेरै राम्रो (ख) ठिक ठिकै (ग) अलि अलि

४७. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा कत्तिको राम्रो पढ्न र लेख्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

(क) धेरै राम्रो (ख) ठिक ठिकै (ग) अलि अलि

४८. तपाईंको बुबाले अन्य कुन कुन भाषा जान्नु हुन्छ? (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

४९. तपाईंको आमाले अन्य कुन कुन भाषा जान्नु हुन्छ? (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

५०. तपाईंको श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीले अन्य कुन कुन भाषा जान्नु हुन्छ? (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

व्यक्ति	अन्य भाषाहरू			
	क.	ख.	ग.	घ.
४८. बुबा				
४९. आमा				
५०. श्रीमान्/श्रीमती				

५१. तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरूले कुन कुन भाषा बोल्छन्? (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

५२. तिनीहरूले ती भाषाहरू कहाँ सिके? (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

	५१. छोराछोरीले बोल्ने अन्य भाषा	५२. कहाँ सिकेको?
क.		
ख.		
ग.		
घ.		
ङ.		
च.		

५३. भर्खर स्कुल जान थालेका स-साना नानीले शिक्षक-शिक्षिकाले कक्षामा नेपालीमा भनेका सबै कुरा बुझ्छन्?

(क) सबै बुझ्छन् (ख) अलि अलि बुझ्छन् (ग) बुझ्दैनन्

(ई) भाषाको प्रयोग

५४. तल उल्लेख गरिएका काम गर्दा तपाईं सबै भन्दा बढी कुन भाषा प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

	काम	भाषा
क.	गन्ती गर्दा	
ख.	गीत गाउँदा	
ग.	ठट्टा गर्दा	
घ.	हाटबजार गर्दा/मोलतोल गर्दा	
ङ.	कथा भन्दा	
च.	छलफल/वादविवाद गर्दा	
छ.	प्रार्थना गर्दा	

ज.	झगडा गर्दा	
झ.	गाली गर्दा	
ञ.	केटाकेटीलाई कथा सुनाउँदा	
ट.	घरमा गीत गाउँदा	
ठ.	पारिवारिक जमघटमा	
ड.	गाँउको बैठकमा	

५५. तपाईंको घरमा निम्नलिखित विषयमा कुराकानी हुँदा सबै भन्दा बढी बोलिने भाषा कुन हो?

(क) शिक्षा सम्बन्धी कुराकानी गर्दा (जस्तै: विद्यालय, भर्ना, पढाइ, शिक्षकशिक्षिका सम्बन्धी) (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

(ख) सामाजिक क्रियाकलाप र पारिवारिक विषयमा छलफल गर्दा (जस्तै: चाडपर्व, चुनाव, उत्सव, विवाह, वचत, खर्च सम्बन्धी) (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

(ग) चिट्ठीपत्र लेख्दा (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

	क. शिक्षा सम्बन्धी	ख. सामाजिक क्रियाकलाप र पारिवारिक विषयमा	ग. चिट्ठीपत्र लेख्दा
क. हजुरबुबासँग			
ख. हजुरआमासँग			
ग. बुबासँग			
घ. आमासँग			
ङ. श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीसँग			
च. छोराछोरीसँग			

५६. तपाईंका बालबालिका निम्नलिखित अवस्थामा प्राय जसो कुन भाषा प्रयोग गर्छन्?

(क) अन्य साथीहरूसँग खेल्दा

(ख) छिमेकीहरूसँग कुराकानी गर्दा

(ग) विद्यालयमा

५७. विहेको निम्तो गर्नु पर्दा तपाईंहरू कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

५८. समुदायका बैठकमा भएका निर्णय लेख्नु पर्दा कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गरिन्छ?

५९. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा कतिको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

(क) दिन दिनै (ख) कहिले काहीं (ग) कहिल्यै गर्दिन

६०. तपाईंको सम्पर्क भाषा कुन हो र त्यसको कति प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

भाषाको नाम:

(क) दिन दिनै (ख) कहिले काहीं (ग) कहिल्यै गर्दिन

६१. तपाईंको भन्दा बेग्लै भाषा बोल्ने साथीभाइ तपाईंका घरमा आउँदा कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

.....

६२. तपाईंका छोराछोरीलाई प्राथमिक तहमा कुन भाषाको माध्यममा पढाउन चाहनु हुन्छ?

(क) मातृभाषा(ख) नेपाली (ग) अंग्रेजी (घ) अन्य.....

(उ) भाषिक जीवन्तता

६३. तपाईंका सबै छोराछोरीले मातृभाषा बोल्छन्?

(क) बोल्छन् (ख) बोल्दैनन्

६४. यस गाउँका धेरै जसो अभिभावकहरू आफ्ना केटाकेटीसँग कुराकानी गर्दा प्रायः कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्छन्?

(क) मातृभाषा(ख) नेपाली (ग) अन्य.....

६५. तपाईंका समुदायका युवायुवतीले यो भाषा जति राम्रो बोल्नु पर्ने हो त्यति नै राम्ररी बोल्छन्?

(क) बोल्छन् (ख) बोल्दैनन्

(उ) भाषिक निरन्तरता

६६. तपाईंको समुदायमा अन्तर्जातीय विवाह हुन्छ?

(क) हुन्छ (ख) हुँदैन

६७. (हुन्छ भने) अन्य कुन भाषिक समुदायसँग तपाईंहरूको परस्पर वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध छ?

(क)..... (ख) (ग)

६८. आफ्ना केटाकेटीले मातृभाषामा पढ्ने लेख्ने गरेको तपाईं मन पराउनु हुन्छ?

(क) पराउँछु (ख) पराउँदिन

६९. (पराउँनु हुन्छ भने) तपाईंको भाषा पढाउने स्कूल खोलियो भने कसरी सहयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

(क) आफ्ना केटाकेटीलाई पढ्न पठाएर

(ख) समुदायका अरूलाई आफ्ना केटाकेटीहरू पठाउन प्रोत्साहित गरेर

(ग) आर्थिक सहयोग प्रदान गरेर

(घ) आफैले अध्यापन गरेर

(ङ) स्कूललाई सहयोग गरेर

(च) अन्य प्रकारले

(ए) भाषिक अभिवृत्ति

७०. प्रभावकारी (dominant) भाषा बोल्ने व्यक्तिहरूको बीचमा तपाईंलाई आफ्नो मातृभाषा बोल्दा कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) प्रतिष्ठा बढे जस्तो लाग्छ (ख) अप्ठ्यारो लाग्छ (ग) त्यस्तो केही लाग्दैन

७१. मातृभाषी भएकै कारण तपाईंले कहिल्यै कुनै समस्या भोग्नु भएको छ?

(क) छ (ख) छैन

७२. (छ भने) के कस्तो समस्या भोग्नु भएको छ?

.....

.....

७३. तपाईंका छोरा वा छोरीले तपाईंको मातृभाषा बोल्न नजान्ने मान्छेसित विवाह गरे भने तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

७४. अहिलेका केटाकेटीका छोराछोरीले पनि तपाईंको भाषा बोल्लान्?
- (क) बोल्लान् (ख) नबोल्लान्
७५. बोले भने तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ?
- (क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) खराब
७६. बोलेनन् भने कस्तो लाग्छ?
- (क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) खराब
७७. तपाईंका छोराछोरीले सबैभन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु पर्छ?
७८. तपाईंले बोल्ने भाषा तपाईंका हजुरबुबा/हजुरआमाले बोल्ने भाषा भन्दा फरक भए जस्तो लाग्छ?
- (क) लाग्छ (ख) लाग्दैन
७९. (लाग्छ भने) के केमा फरक होला?
- (क) उच्चारणमा
- (ख) शब्दभण्डारमा
- (ग) विशेष प्रकारका वाक्यहरूको प्रयोगमा
- (घ) भाषामिश्रणमा
- (ङ) बोल्ने तरिकामा
- (च) अन्यमा
८०. तपाईंकाे भाषिक समुदायका युवायुवतीले आफ्नो भाषा नबोलेर अरु भाषा बोलेको सुन्दा कस्तो लाग्छ?
- (क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

८१. टिप्पणी (यस अन्तर्वार्तामा कुनै अस्वाभाविक वा उल्लेखनीय कुराहरू भएमा)

A. सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद।

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day..... Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward: Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)
Language of Elicitation	
Language of Response	
Interpreter Name (if needed)	

It is best if there are 8 to 12 participants for this questionnaire. It can be done with less than 8 people in the group, but is far more reliable with more than 8 people. There should be several women and men in each group. It is also best to have people of all ages (15 years and older) in the group, with several older, middle-aged, and younger subjects.

8. Name of language consultant:
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other
10. Age:
11. Caste/ethnic group:
12. Your mother tongue's name:
13. Your mother's mother tongue.....
14. Your father's mother tongue.....

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

LC#	15.Name	16. Sex	17.Age	18.Caste	19. MT	20. Mother's MT	20. Father's MT	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								

15. Where do you live?
 (a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town..... (c) VDC/municipality.....
16. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
 (a) Yes (b) No
17. (If "Yes") Where? When? How long did you live there?

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

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						

5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

B. Domains of language use

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

C. Dialect mapping

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

(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....
(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

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

D. Multilingualism

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

E. Appreciative enquiry

- A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels for each)
- B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)
- C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)
- D. As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)
- E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)
- F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group)
- G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)
- H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (in Nepali)

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढ्ने।

सर्वप्रथम आफ्नो परिचय दिने: मेरो/हाम्रो नाम हो (अरूले पनि आ-आफ्नो परिचय दिने)। हामी त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयको भाषाविज्ञान केन्द्रीय विभागबाट यहाँहरूको भाषाको अध्ययन अनुसन्धानका लागि आएका हौं। यहाँहरूले दिनु भएको भाषा सम्बन्धी जानकारीलाई अरूसँग राख्ने छौं। यसमा यहाँहरूले आफ्नो सहमतिका साथ सहयोग गर्नु हुन्छ भने आशा राखेका छौं।

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

अन्तर्वार्ता भन्दा पहिले तलका प्रश्नहरू (१-७) को उत्तर लेख्नुहोस्।

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते.....महिना.....वर्ष..... वि.सं. तारिख.....महिना.....वर्ष.....सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	क. वार्ड नं.: ख. गाउँ/नगर: ग. गाविस/नगरपालिका: घ. जिल्ला: ङ. अञ्चल: च. जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:.....पू.उ.

४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क) (ख) (ग) (घ) (ङ)
५. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यम भाषा	
६. अन्तरक्रियाको माध्यम भाषा	
७. दोभाषेको नाम (आवश्यक भएमा)	

यस प्रश्नावलीको लागि ८ देखि १२ जनासम्म सहयोगीहरू भए राम्रो हुन्छ। यो ८ जनाभन्दा कम सहभागीहरूसँग पनि गर्न सकिन्छ। तर यदि ८ जनाभन्दा बढीसँग गरियो भने अझै बढी विश्वसनीय हुन्छ। प्रत्येक समूहमा महिला र पुरुष दुवैको लगभग समान सहभागिता हुनु पर्छ। प्रत्येक समूहमा सबै उमेर समूहका (१५ वर्ष देखि माथिका) जसमा केही पाका, केही अधवैसे र केही युवायुवती सहभागीहरू भए राम्रो हुन्छ।

सहयोगी #१:

८. सहयोगी (भाषासूचक) को नाम:

९. (आवश्यक परेमा मात्र) लिङ्ग: (क) पुरुष (ख) महिला (ग) अन्य

१०. उमेर:

११. जाति/जनजाति समूह:

१२. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:

१३. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:

१४. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा:

छनौटको आधार #१ कम्तीमा बाबु अथवा आमा मध्ये एक मातृभाषी हुनुपर्ने।

छ छैन

भाषा-सूचक	नाम	लिङ्ग	उमेर	जाति	मातृ-भाषा	आमाको मातृभाषा	बुबाको मातृभाषा	छनौटको आधार: हो वा

								होइन?
१.								
२.								
३.								
४.								
५.								
६.								
७.								
८.								
९.								
१०.								
११.								
१२.								

१५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

१६. के तपाईं अन्त कतै गई एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी बस्नु भएको छ?

(क) छ (ख) छैन

१७. (बस्नु भएको छ भने)

(क) कहाँ: (ख) कहिले: (ग) कति समयसम्म:

छनौटको आधार #२ यहीं हुर्केको, अहिले यहीं बसेको, र यदि पाँच वर्ष भन्दा बढी अन्यत्र बसेको भए यहाँ पनि गत पाँच वर्ष देखि नै बसेको हुनु पर्ने।

हो होइन

भाषासूचक	वार्ड नं.	गाउँ	गा.वि.स.	एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी अन्यत्र कतै बस्नु भएको छ?	कहाँ, कहिले र कति समयसम्म	छनौटको आधार: हो वा होइन?
१.						

२.						
३.						
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११.						
१२.						

आ) भाषाको प्रयोग

- क. म भिन्न परिस्थिति, अवसर र मानिससँग विभिन्न भाषा बोल्छु।
- ख. तपाईंहरूले कस्ता मानिस वा अवसरमा प्राय जसो सम्पर्क भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ? सम्पर्क भाषाको चिन्ह एक छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले भाषा प्रयोगको क्षेत्रहरूका नाम भन्नु हुने छ, कागजमा लेख्नु हुने छ र सम्पर्क भाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ।
- ग. तपाईंहरूले कस्तो अवस्थामा वा कस्ता मानिसहरूसँग धेरै जसो मातृभाषा बोल्नु हुन्छ? (मातृभाषाको चिन्ह अर्को छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रको नाम लेख्नु हुने छ र तिनलाई मातृभाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ। यस पटक सहभागीहरूले "केही बालबालिका मातृभाषा बोल्छन् र केही बालबालिका सम्पर्क भाषा बोल्छन्" भन्नु हुने छ। उहाँहरूको सहयोगको लागि कस्ता बालबालिकाले ती भाषाहरू बोल्छन् वा कस्तो अवस्थामा ती भाषाहरू प्रयोग गर्छन्? समूहहरू राम्ररी देखाउनका लागि चिन्हहरू बदल्नु होस्।)
- घ. कस्ता मानिससँग र कस्तो अवस्थामा तपाईंहरूले मातृभाषा र सम्पर्क भाषा दुबै बोल्नु हुन्छ? (सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रहरू कागजमा लेख्नु हुने छ र तिनलाई बीचमा राख्नु हुने छ। यदि सबै जसो मानिसले त्यो प्रयोग क्षेत्रमा एउटा निश्चित भाषा बोल्छन् वा तिनीहरूले त्यो भाषा बढी बोल्छन् र केही अरू भाषा बोल्छन् भने सहभागीहरूले तिनलाई एक छेउमा वा अर्को छेउमा अझ नजिकै राख्नु हुने छ।)
- ङ. प्रत्येक समूहमा दैनिक रूपमा प्रयोग हुने अवस्थालाई माथि र कहिलेकाहीं प्रयोग हुनेलाई मुनि राख्नु होस्। (दैनिक र कहिलेकाहींको लागि क्रमशः माथि र तल एउटा एउटा चिन्ह राख्नु

होस्। सहभागीहरूलाई प्रयोगका क्षेत्रहरू मिलाउन भन्नु होस्। दैनिक र कहिलेकाहीं समूह बीच ठाउँ छुट्टयाउन उहाँहरूलाई उत्साहित गर्ने वा डोरीले छुट्टयाउन लगाउने काम गर्नु होस्।)

च. (यदि दैनिक प्रयोगमा धेरै प्रयोग क्षेत्र भएमा) सबभन्दा बढी तपाईं कस्तो मानिससँग दैनिक कुराकानी गर्नु हुन्छ? तिनीहरूलाई अरु भन्दा माथि राख्नु होस्। (अथवा दैनिक रूपमा प्रयोग हुनेलाई क्रममा राख्नु होस्।)

छ. तपाईंहरूले प्रयोग गर्ने भाषाहरू र जोसँग ती भाषा प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ उनीहरू प्रति तपाईंको कस्तो सोचाइ छ? के तपाईंले कुनै अर्को अवस्थामा यी मध्ये कुनै भाषा बढी प्रयोग गर्न थाल्नु हुन्छ?

(इ) भाषिकागत सीमा निर्धारण

क. तपाईंहरूको भाषाको नाम के हो? तपाईंहरूको जातिको नाम के हो? (सबै नामहरू कागजको टुक्रामा लेख्नु होस्) (यदि एक भन्दा बढी नाम छन् भने प्रत्येकका लागि सोध्नु होस्) उल्लेखित नाममध्ये तपाईंहरूले कुन नाम बढी रुचाउनु हुन्छ?

१८. (समूहले भन्ने भाषाको नाम).....

१९. तपाईंको भाषा नबोल्ने अन्य भाषा समुदायका मान्छेले तपाईंको भाषालाई के भन्छन्?.....

२०. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ?

(क) (ख)

(ग) (घ)

ख. तपाईंहरूको मातृभाषा बोल्ने जिल्ला/गाउँहरूको नाम भन्नु होस् (प्रत्येकको नाम छुट्टै कागजमा लेख्नु होस्।) कतिपय अवस्थामा जिल्ला वा गाउँको सट्टा तपाईंले यसरी सोध्नु सक्नु हुन्छ:

२१. विश्वस्त हुनको लागि प्रत्येक ठाउँका निम्न सूचनाहरू उल्लेख गर्नु होस्:

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

ग. ती कागजका टुक्राहरूलाई एक आपसमा नजिक भाषिका/नगरपालिका/जिल्ला अनुसार मिलाएर राख्नु हुने छ।

- घ. तपाईंको भाषासँग मिलने अरू कुन कुन भाषाहरू छन्, जुन त्यो भाषाको वक्ताहरूले बोल्दा तपाईंले कम्तीमा केही शब्दहरू बुझ्नु हुन्छ। (ती भाषाहरूलाई छुट्टै कागजमा लेख्नु होस् र तिनीहरूलाई नक्सामा थप्नु होस्।)
- ङ. गाउँका सबैले आफ्नो भाषा उही प्रकारले बोल्छन्? (त्यस्ता समूहको वरिपरि डोरीले घेरा लगाउनु होस्।)
- च. स्थानीय भेदहरूमध्ये तपाईंले सबैभन्दा राम्रो कुन भेद (भाषा) बुझ्नु हुन्छ? दोस्रो राम्रोसँग बुझ्ने भाषा कुन हो? (कार्डबोर्डमा लेखिएका अंकहरू हरेक क्षेत्र, भाषा, अथवा त्यस क्षेत्रको भाषा समूहको छेउमा राख्नु होस्।)
- छ. अब हामी तपाईंहरूलाई यी भाषिक भेदहरू मध्ये कुन चाहिँ राम्ररी बुझ्नु हुन्छ र कुन चाहिँ कत्ति पनि बुझ्नु हुन्न? कुन चाहिँ सबैभन्दा राम्री बुझ्नु हुन्छ? भन्ने कुरा देखाउन चाहन्छौं। यस्तै गरी कुन भेदका शब्दहरू केही मात्र बुझ्नु हुन्छ त्यो पनि देखाउन चाहन्छौं। यी मध्ये कुन चाहिँ गाउँको भाषा धेरै राम्रोसँग बुझ्नु हुन्छ? (चिन्हले देखाउनु होस् र कुनै एउटा रङ्गको चिन्ह छान्न लगाउनु होस्। उनीहरूलाई सबैभन्दा राम्रो बुझ्ने भाषा बोलिने ठाउँमा एउटा चिन्ह राख्न लगाउनु होस्। यसै गरी अन्य भेदहरू माथि पनि चिन्ह राख्न लगाउनु होस्।)
- ज. यी मध्ये तपाईंहरू कुन भेद(भाषा)का वक्ताहरूसँग आफ्नो मातृभाषामा कुरा गर्नु हुन्छ? (यस प्रयोजनका लागि भिन्दै आकार/रङ्गको चिन्हको प्रयोग गर्नु होस्। अर्को चिन्ह राख्नु होस्। (“हामीहरू एक आपसमा कुराकानी गर्दा आफ्नै (एउटै भेद) भाषा बोल्छौं”, “हामी आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छौं, उनीहरू आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छन्”, तिनीहरू अर्को भाषा बोल्छन्, हामीहरू आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छौं” र हामी दुवैले अर्कै भाषा बोल्छौं”)
- झ. केही मानिसहरू आफ्नो भाषामा पाठ्यपुस्तक लेख्न चाहन्छन्। यदि मातृभाषामा किताब लेखियो भने कुन कुन गाउँका विद्यार्थीहरूले प्रयोग गर्न सक्छन् होला? (लेखिएको किताब पढ्न सक्ने गाउँहरूलाई एउटा छुट्टै डोरी भित्र राख्नु होस्।) (यदि किताब लेख्ने र छाप्ने बारेमा सोच्दैनन् भने उनीहरू कुन चाहिँ भेदमा सीडी बनाउन चाहन्छन्? भनि सोध्नु होस्।)
- ञ. यी भेदहरू मध्ये लेखन र रेकर्डिङ्ग का लागि कुन चाहिँलाई प्रयोग गर्दा सबैले राम्रोसँग बुझ्ने? त्यसो नभएमा कुन चाहिँ भाषा प्रयोग हुन सक्छ? (कार्डबोर्डमा लेखिएका ए, बी, सी अक्षरहरूलाई क्रमसँग राख्नु होस्।)

(ई) बहुभाषिकता

- क. तपाईंहरूले सबैभन्दा बढी प्रयोग गर्ने दुईवटा भाषाहरू के के हुन्? एउटा डोरीले मातृभाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्ने व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ अर्कोले सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रो बोल्ने व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ। (दुईवटै डोरीहरूलाई भूईंमा घेरा बनाएर राख्नु होस्।)

- ख. जब हामीहरूले एउटा डोरीलाई अर्को डोरीमाथि खप्ट्याउँछौं, यो खप्टिएको क्षेत्रले के कुराको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ? (यसले मातृभाषा र सम्पर्क भाषा दुईवटै राम्ररी बोल्ने मानिसहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ)
- ग. सब भन्दा पहिले हामीहरू सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्ने मानिसहरूका बारेमा कुरा गरौं। कस्ता मानिसले सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्छन्? (सहभागीहरूलाई कागजका टुक्राहरूमा लेखन लगाउनु होस्)।
- घ. कागजका टुक्राहरूलाई घेराभिन्न राख्न लगाउनु भन्दा पहिले उनीहरूले मातृभाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्न जान्दछन् वा जान्दैनन् भन्ने सोच्नु पर्ने हुन्छ। घेरा भित्र प्रत्येक कागजका टुक्राहरू कहाँ पर्छन्? (उनीहरूलाई अहिलेसम्म लेखेका कागजका टुक्राहरू राख्न लगाउनु होस्। उनीहरूले चाहेमा अझ बढी विशिष्ट वा अन्य समूहहरू बनाउन सक्छन्)
- ङ. कस्ता मानिसहरूले मातृभाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्छन् तर सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्दैनन्? (उनीहरूलाई त्यस्ता मानिसका समूह लेखन र उपयुक्त ठाउँमा राख्न लगाउनु होस्।)
- च. तीन समूह मध्ये कुनमा सबभन्दा बढी मातृभाषी वक्ताहरू छन्? तपाईंहरू यसलाई कसरी हेर्नु हुन्छ? (सबैभन्दा बढी मातृभाषाका वक्ता भएको घेरो) (उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो विचार व्यक्त गर्न लगाउनु होस्)
- छ. तीनवटै समूह मध्ये कुनै एउटा अन्य दुई समूह बढिरहेको छ कि? किन होला? यसलाई तपाईंहरू कसरी हेर्नु हुन्छ? (उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो विचार व्यक्त गर्न लगाउनु होस्)।

(उ) प्रशंसामूलक सोधखोज

- क. तपाईंहरूले आफ्नो भाषा वा संस्कृतिमा देखेका, सुनेका र गरेका कामले तपाईंलाई गर्वको अनुभव गराउँछ, तिनको उल्लेख गर्नु होस्। मातृभाषाको प्रयोग भइरहेको अवस्था प्रति तपाईं सन्तुष्ट हुनुहुन्छ? (प्रत्येक कामको सारांश लेखन लगाउनु होस्)।
- ख. भइराखेका राम्रा कामहरूलाई कसरी हेर्नुहुन्छ? यसलाई अझ राम्रो कसरी गराउन सकिन्छ? अझ बढी कसरी सुधार्न सकिन्छ? तपाईंहरूको आफ्नो मातृभाषा प्रति के कस्ता आशा-आकाङ्क्षा छन्? (निश्चित समयवधि तोकेर तीनजनाको समूहमा छलफल गर्न लगाउनु होस् - सबै किसिमका आकाङ्क्षामा छलफल गर्न दिनु होस्(असम्भव पनि))।
- ग. प्रत्येक समूहलाई आ-आफ्नो समूहमा छलफल भएका आकाङ्क्षा भन्न लगाउनु होस्। ती आकाङ्क्षा छुट्टाछुट्टै कागजका टुक्राहरूमा एक जनालाई लेखन लगाउनु होस् (ती कागजका टुक्राहरूलाई आकाङ्क्षा लेखिएको शीर्षक मुनि राख्नु होस्)। (सहभागीहरूले व्यक्त गरेका आशा-आकाङ्खालाई तीन-चार शब्दमा संक्षेपीकरण गर्न लगाउनु होस्)।
- घ. उल्लेख गरिएका आशा-आकाङ्क्षा मध्ये केहीलाई कार्यन्वित गर्न सजिलो र केहीलाई गाह्रो जस्तो देखिन्छ? दुईवटा कागजको टुक्रामा सजिलो र गाह्रो लेखन लगाउनु होस् र तिनीहरूलाई

दुई तिर राखन लगाउनु होस्। आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई सबैभन्दा सजिलो देखि सबैभन्दा गाह्रो क्रममा मिलाएर राखन लगाउनु होस्।

- ड. केही आशा-आकाङ्क्षा अरू भन्दा महत्वपूर्ण जस्तो लाग्छ? सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई एक छेउमा राखन लगाउनु होस्। (छनौट गरिएका महत्वपूर्ण आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई पनि बढी महत्वपूर्ण देखि कम महत्वपूर्णको क्रममा राखन लगाउनु होस्, सम्भव भए एउटा फोटो पनि खिच्नु होस्)।
- च. छनौट गरिएका आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई साकार पार्न योजना बनाउनु होस्। तत्कालै तपाईंहरू कुन आशा-आकाङ्क्षाको योजना बनाउन चाहनु हुन्छ? एक एक समूह बनाउन लगाउनु होस्। प्रत्येक सदस्यलाई समूहमा सक्रिय भएर काम गर्न उत्साहित गर्नु होस् र प्रत्येक आशा-आकाङ्क्षाको योजना तयार गर्नु होस्।
- छ. तपाईंले योजना बनाउँदा यी कुरामा विचार गर्नु होस्: १) तपाईंले चाल्नु पर्ने कदमहरू के के हुन्? २) तपाईं बाहेक संलग्न हुने अरू व्यक्ति को को हुन्? ३) आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई मूर्त रूप दिन तपाईंहरूलाई चाहिने कुराहरू के के हुन्? (सहभागीहरूलाई कागजका टुक्रा र लेखने सामग्री दिएर ठुला ठुला अक्षरमा योजना लेखन लगाउनु होस्।)
- ज. प्रत्येक समूहलाई आ-आफ्नो समूहमा छलफल भएका योजना भन्न लगाउनु होस्।

सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद।

Annex F: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

5. Name of language consultant:

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

7. Age:

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

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

20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?
 (a) Yes (b) No
21. (If "Yes"): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?
 (a) by devising the script?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (b) by making the spelling system systematic?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (c) by compiling dictionary?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (d) by writing grammar?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (f) by writing and publishing textbooks?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (g) by publishing newspapers?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (h) by making use of the language in administration?
 (a) Yes (b) No
 (i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?
 (a) Yes (b) No

(j) in any other ways?

Proceed to ask individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, if appropriate.

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (in Nepali)

(भाषिक अभियन्ता (आन्दोलनका अगुवा) र गाउँका मुखियाका लागि)

छायांकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

सर्वप्रथम आफ्नो परिचय दिने: मेरो/हाम्रो नाम हो। (अरूले पनि आ-आफ्नो परिचय दिने)। हामी त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय भाषाविज्ञान केन्द्रीय विभागबाट यहाँहरूको भाषाको अध्ययन अनुसन्धानका लागि आएका हौं। यहाँहरूले दिनुभएको भाषासम्बन्धी जानकारीलाई अरूसँग राख्ने छौं। यसमा यहाँहरूले आफ्नो सहमतिका साथ सहयोग गर्नु हुन्छ भने आशा राखेका छौं।

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

अन्तर्वार्ता भन्दा पहिले तलका प्रश्नहरू (१-७) को उत्तर लेख्नु होस्।

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते..... महिना.....वर्ष..... वि.सं. तारिख.....महिना वर्ष..... सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	क. वार्ड नं.: ख. गाउँ/नगर: ग. गाविस/नगरपालिका: घ. जिल्ला: ङ. अञ्चल: च. जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:.....पू.उ.

४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क)
	(ख)

५. भाषासूचकको नाम:
६. (आवश्यक भएमा मात्र) लिङ्ग: (क) पुरुष (ख) महिला (ग) अन्य
७. उमेर:
८. जात:
९. जातजातिको समुह:
१०. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:
११. तपाईंको भन्दा अन्य भाषा समुदायका (तपाईंको भाषा नबोल्ने) मान्छेले तपाईंको भाषालाई के भन्छन्?.....
१२. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ? (यो भाषाको अरु के के नाम छन्?)
(क) (ख)
(ग) (घ)
१३. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:
१४. तपाईंका बुबाको मातृभाषा:
१५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाँउ कहाँ हो?
(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:
(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:
(ङ) अञ्चल:
१६. हाल तपाईं कहाँ बस्नु हुन्छ?
(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:
(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:
(ङ) अञ्चल:
१७. तपाईं यहाँ बस्नु भएको कति समय भयो?
१८. तपाईंको गाउँ/छरछिमेकमा बसोबास गर्ने अन्य जातजाति: (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)
१९. तिनीहरूले बोल्ने अन्य भाषा: (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

क्र.सं.	१८. जातजाति	१९. भाषा
क.		
ख.		

ग.		
घ.		
ङ.		
च.		

२०. तपाईंको मातृभाषा संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धनका लागि केही गर्नु पर्छ?

(क) पर्छ (ख) पर्दैन

२१. (पर्छ भने): तपाईंले आफ्नो मातृभाषाको संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धनको लागि केकस्ता काम गरेर सहयोग गर्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

(क) लिपि विकासको लागि काम गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ख) हिज्जेलाई व्यवस्थित गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ग) शब्दकोष बनाएर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(घ) व्याकरण लेखेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ङ) मातृभाषामा साहित्य लेखन उत्साहित गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(च) पाठ्यपुस्तक लेखन तथा प्रकाशन गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(छ) पत्रपत्रिका निकालेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ज) प्रशासनमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(झ) प्राथमिक तहमा माध्यमको रूपमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ञ) अन्य प्रकारले:

उपयुक्त भएमा समाज-भाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली भर्न शुरु गर्ने।