A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF BELHARE: A TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGE

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

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December 22, 2017

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of Belhare (Ethnologue code, byw), a minority Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. It is a threatened language on Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010) (Regmi, 2017:254). This report mainly deals with the domains of language use, bilingualism, mother tongue proficiency, language vitality, language maintenance, language attitudes, language resources, dialectal variation and language development in the Belhare speech community. The Belhare language is spoken by 3500 people according to Ethnologue, 2012 but CBS Report of Nepal 2011 reports the number of speakers to be 599. Our field survey 2017 has identified that the main Belhare speaking area is the Belahara village near by the Dhankuta Bazar, who ethnically identify themselves as Athpariya but they find themselves to be slightly different from the other Athpahariya people living in Dhankuta and the nearby villages like Santang, Tekunala, Khalde, etc. In our fieldwork, they said that they were real Athpahariya and the Athpahariya living in Dhankuta area are Naupahariya in reality which is further supported by Bickel (1996).

The survey was mainly conducted in three survey points; namely, Jimitole (Belhara), Piple and Rudrabari in the different parts of the big Belahara village in the Dhankuta Distirct, Nepal. This language has been classified as one of the members of the Eastern Himalayish languages of Himalayish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family. Belhare has been recognized, for the first time, as an independent language by the Census of Nepal, 2011.

This chapter briefly introduces the Belhare language and the people and highlights the purpose and goals of the survey.

1.2 The Belhare language

In this section, we briefly deal with language name, genetic affiliation and some typological features of the language.

1.2.1 Language name

At present, Belhare refers to the language spoken by the Athpahariya people living in the village of Belahara village in the Dhankuta district. So the name 'Belhare' was directly

derived from the name of the village where it is spoken. Although it is a language spoken by the Athpahariya people, it is different from the Athpahariya language. There is a controversy regarding the mutual intelligibility between Belhare and Athpahariya. The Athpahariya people speaking Belhare say that they do not understand Athpahariya but the other Athpahare people say that they can easily understand the Belhare. Bickel (1996) has found vast differences between Athpahare and Belharein their grammatical and lexical system.

Regmi (2016) presents a review of works about the ethnicity and language of Athpahariya. Regarding the term Athpariya, Neupane (2058 BS:23) notes that there is no unanimity as to the nomenclature of the term Athpariya. According to Dahal (1975:236), the term Athpariya refers to a designation/title granted by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the unifier of Nepal, to a group of ethnic people for guarding the flag/ensign for the whole day and night, in Nepali *ath pahar,* meaning *ath* 'eight' and *pahar* 'duration of time consisting of three hours'. However, it does not have any connection to the Athpariya people enlisted in the army. Pradhanang (2053 BS: 3) mentions that in the beginning they were of eight families or clans. These families were assigned some administrative responsibilities. Thus, they were called *athpagari.* In course of time, from *athpagari* they were named as Athpariya.

Map 1.1 presents the geographical location of the Belhare speech community.
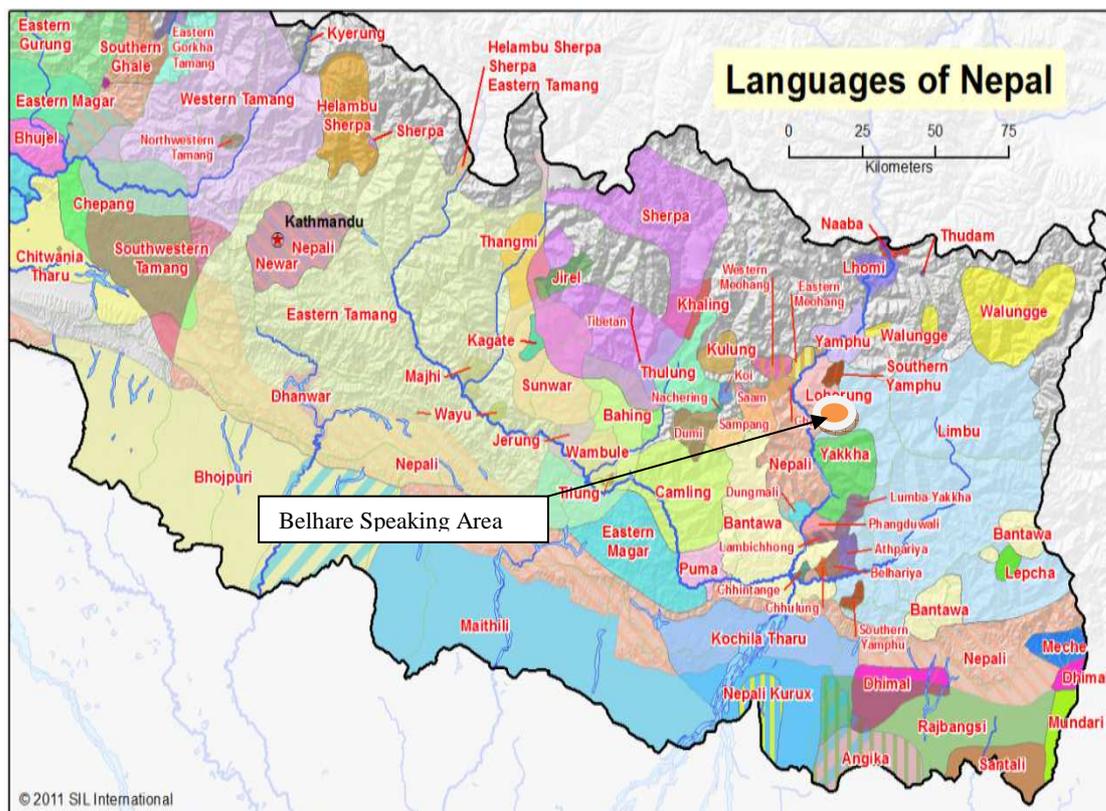
Map 1.1: Geographical location of the Belhare speech community

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1.2.2 Genetic affiliation

Bradley (2002) classifies Belhare as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Kiranti, Eastern language. Diagram 1.1 presents the genetic affiliation for the Belhare language.
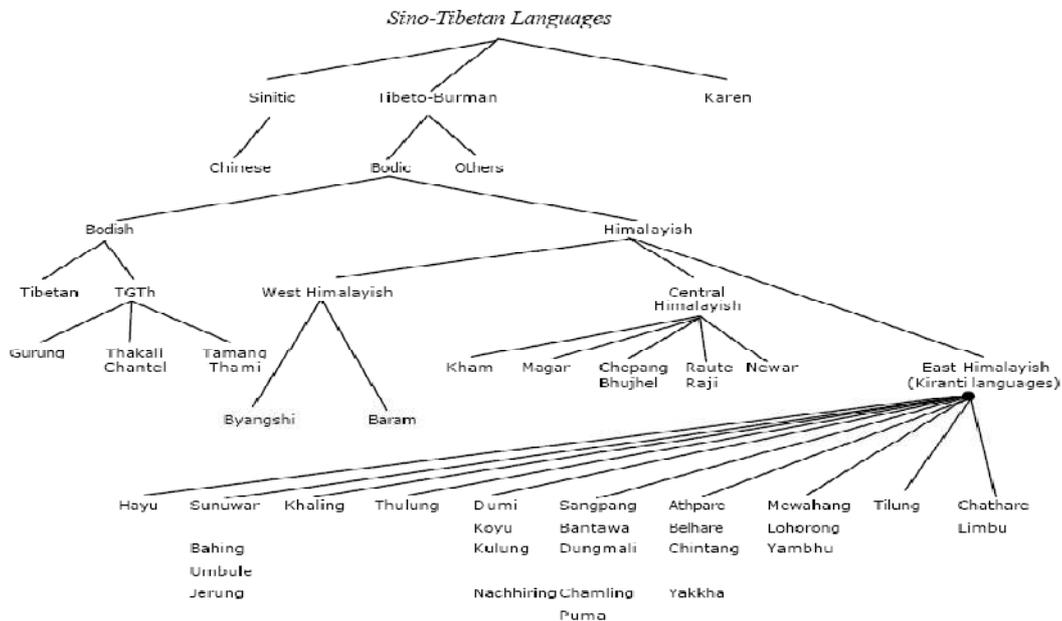
Adapted from Bradley (2002)

Figure 1.1: Genetic affiliation of Belhare among Tibeto-Burman languages

1.2.3 Some typological features

Bickel (1996) presents a cluster of typological features in the domains of phonology, morphology and syntax in Belhare. They are presented as follows:

(a) Belhare is a non-tonal language. It has five oral vowel and 25 consonant phonemes. Length is not contrastive.

(b) Belhare is an agglutinative language.

(c) Belhare is morphologically ergative. It exhibits a split between the first person and the rest.

(d) There is no grammatical gender in Athpariya.

(e) Belhare is an SOV language with a rather strict order of modifiers before the heads. However, the position of the constituents may vary for focusing and topicalization.

(f) Belhare exhibits a complex system of person and number marking.

(g) The agreement system is sensitive to the pragmatic constellation. Speech act participants, both agent and patients, are usually marked on the verb. The third person patient is marked by a suffix -u.

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(h) It codes space and makes extensive use of compound verbs.

(i) Belhare is threatened by extinction.

1.3 The Belahare/Athpariya people

This section deals with a brief introduction of the Athpariya people in general. It includes caste/ethnicity of the speakers, their religion, literacy in the community, and the occupation of the Athpariya speakers.

1.3.1 Caste/ethnicity

Athpariya is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal. They are mongoloid in appearance with a short stature, a stout build, a round face and a flat nose. The term 'Athpariya' refers to an ethnic group and their mother tongue. The Athpariya speech community has a good life settlement. They have a permanent resident. Athpariya is a community of one caste and one ethnic group.

1.3.2 Religion and culture

The census of 2011 presents ten types of categories of religion. Hinduism is followed by 81.3 percent (21,551,492) of the total population of the country. More than two-third of the respondents have informed that they follow Hinduism. Only a few have replied that they follow their traditional religion. However, Eppele et al. (2012) notes that they are following their traditional religion (Kirat) and Christianity. The main festivals in this speech community include *Baishakhe Purnima*, *Nuwage* (beginning of the use of new rice) and *Kartike Purne*. Athpariyas are very strict to their religion and culture.[1] Kitchen is supposed to be very sacred place in this speech community. If a non-Athpariya gets into their kitchen knowing or unknowingly, they have to offer the sacrifice a pig for their god. It is also informed that there is an idol of pig in Baraha which is strictly prohibited for being observed by the non-Athpariyas. They have their own traditional dress and ornaments. Photograph 1.1 presents an old woman in traditional ornaments and dresses.

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[1] There is a saying that two male Athpariyas were hanged for disobeying the order for observing the great Hindu festival, Dashain.

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Photograph 1.1: An old Athpariya woman with traditional ornaments and dresses

They have preserved their naming ceremony and death rituals. Culturally, they are not allowed for buying foods. Athpariyas want to live in a simple house. Photograph 1.2 presents a traditional house in the Athpariya speech community.

Photograph 1.2: A traditional house in the Piple village

1.3.3 Occupation

Traditionally Athpariya people earn their livelihood from agriculture, so the main occupation of Athpariya is agriculture. In Belahara, nowadays, grow tomato and export it in home and abroad. During our field visit, we found all the fields in the whole village covered with tomato plants.

They are also involved in other forms of agriculture such as animal husbandry, poultry.The major crops they grow are paddy, rice, wheat, maize, and millet. The grain grown is mostly used for their own daily needs, and surplus is used to make spirits and *jand* (the local beer), or is sold at the local market. The ownership of the land is private.

Apart from agriculture, they are also involved in businesses andother different professions such as army, civil services, teaching, and small industries.

1.4 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the picture of the sociolinguistic situation of the Belhare language. The main objectives of the study are as follows:

(a) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;

(b) To assess the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Belhare speaking Athpahariya community;

(c) To evaluate the language maintenance, language vitality and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;

(d) To gather information regarding the resources available in the language;

(e) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical and phonetic similarity among the selected varieties in the language; and

(f) To gather information regarding the dreams and planning for language development in the Belhare speech community.

1.5 Organization of the study

This survey report has been organized into nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides background information about the language and people including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with the domains of language use in the Belhare speech community. In chapter 4, we look at the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in Belhare. Similarly, chapter 5 evaluates the language maintenance, language vitality and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language. In chapter 6, we discuss the language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 7, we look at the dialectal variation in the language. Chapter 8 deals with language development in Belhare. In chapter 9, we present the summary of the major findings and recommendations for the development of the language. The annex includes sociolinguistic questionnaires, wordlist, and basic information of the respondents and some group photographs of the language consultants involved in the survey of Belhare.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals, in detail, with the research methodology employed in the sociolinguistic survey of Belahare. It is organized into of five sections. Section 2.1 presents an overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used and their brief description including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.2, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.3 deals with the survey points, sample size and collection of data. In section 2.4, we present the limitations of the survey in relation to time, access, area, methods and informants.

2.1Overview of survey goals and research methods/tools

This survey has employed three different methods/ tools in order to fulfill its goals. Table 2.1 presents tools/methods used in the survey of the Belhare language.

Table 2.1: Tools/ methods used in the survey of the Belhare language

	Tools/ methods	
1.	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C
2.	Participatory Method (PM)	Domains of Language Use (DLU)
		Bilingualism (BLM)
		Dialect Mapping (DLM)
		Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)
3.	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	

Table 2.1 shows that the methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC) and Participatory Method (PM).The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of two sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism(BLM), Dialect Mapping(DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI).[1]

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[1]Participatory Method (PM)is taken as Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B in the survey.

Table 2.2presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used and their brief description including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

Table 2.2: Overview of the survey goals, research methods/tools including focus of the tools

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

2.2 Research methods/tools

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

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

From each survey point, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and literacy.[2] Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in the Belhare speech community.
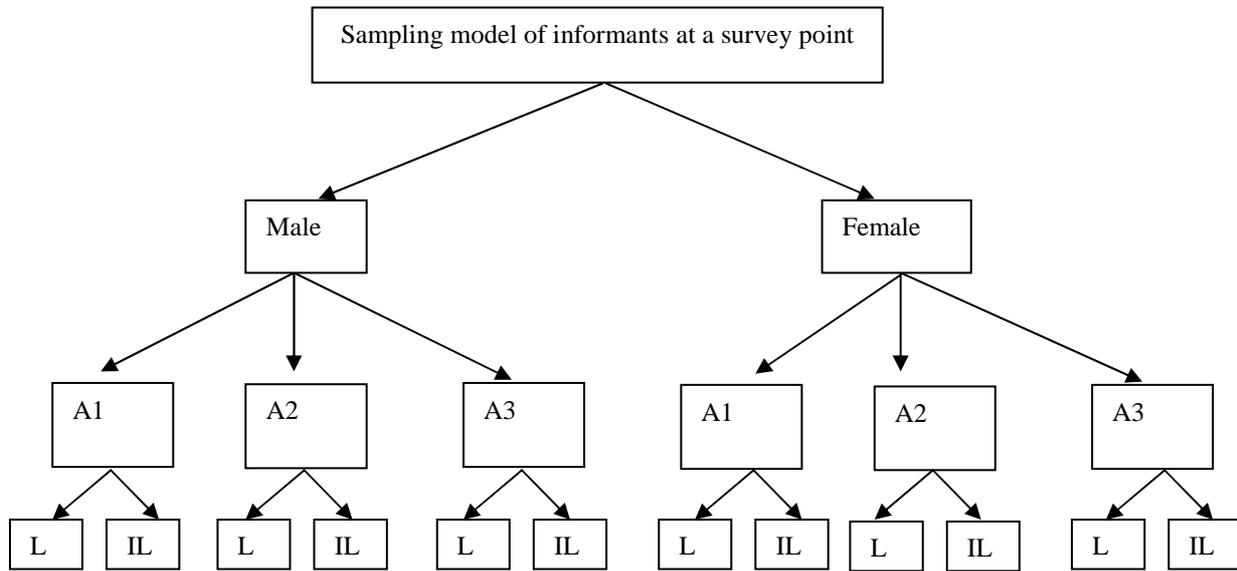
A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

Figure 2.1: Sampling model of informants in survey points

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

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

A set of four participatory tools were used with the groups of Belhare participants of different survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Belhare, how bilingual Belhare people are, in which situations they use Belhare and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language.

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

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

a) The group should consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.

b) The participant should belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.

c) The participants should be grown up in the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion onthe sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below (See Annex E for detail).

a. Domains of Language Use (DLU)

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Belhare community members to think about and visualize the languages which Belhare people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Belhare participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Belhare and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Belhare. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Belhare and both Nepali and Belhare . Next they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

b. Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of Dialect Mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Belhare. The Belhare participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Belhare is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

c. Bilingualism /Multilingualism(BLM)

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

d. Appreciative inquiry (ACI)

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

Hasselbring (2009) points out that the first three tools help the participants to verbalize things they already know intuitively about their language whereas this tool helps them think about future possibilities.

2.2.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

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

2.2.4 Wordlist comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist isto determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard wordlists elicited from the mother tongue Belahare 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 Chapter 7 for detail).

From each survey points, at least two informants representative of different sex were chosen as the wordlist source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were Belhare born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Belhare as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each item on the wordlist, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Belahare word from a mother tongue Belahare speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as WordSurv (word survey) and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Belahare. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.3Sampling

2.3.1 Survey points

Belhare speaking areas were categorized into three survey points for the purpose of sociolinguistic survey. Table 2.3 presents the survey points used in the survey of the Belhare language including GPS(global positioning system)coordinates.

Table 2.3: Survey points in Belhare

	Survey points	Municipality
1.	Belahara, Jimi Tole	Dhanakuta Municipality, Ward No.14, Dhanakuta
2.	Piple	Dhanakuta Municipality, Ward No.14, Dhanakuta
3.	Rudrabari	Dhanakuta Municipality, Ward No.14, Dhanakuta

Source: Field study, 2017

2.3.2 Sample size

Table 2.4 presents the sample size and different tools used in the survey.

Table 2.4: Sample size and different tools used in the survey

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Wordlist
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory): DLU, DLM, BLM,API	C (Language activist/head)	
Jimi Tole	12	1+1+1+1	1	1
Piple	12	1+1+1+1	1	1
Rudrabari	12	1+1+1+1	1	1
Total	36	12	3	3

DLU= domains of language use, DLM= dialect mapping, BLM=bilingualism, API= appreciative inquiry

2.3.3 Data collection

Table 2.5 presents the total number of the data collected by using different tools in survey points in Belahare.

Table 2.5: Total number of the data collected in the survey points in Belahare

Survey Points	SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRES						Wordlist
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory)				C	
		DLU	DLM	BLM	API		
Jimi Tole	12	1	1	1	1	1	1
Piple	12	1	-	1	1	1	1
Rudrabari	12	1	-	1	1	1	1
Total	36	3	1	3	3	3	3

2.4 Limitations of the survey

In this section, we present the limitations of the survey in relation to time, access, area, methods and informants. This survey has the following limitations:

a) This is a short period survey of the major sociolinguistic aspects of the Belhare language.

b) The information was collected form a specified number of informants categorized into specified sex, literacy and age with the help of a specified number of tools.

c) Only four tools: Sociolinguistic questionnaires, A, B, C and wordlist have been used in the survey.

d) Only two survey points, namely; Piple and Rudrabari the Domains of Language Use Tool was used.

e) Appreciative Inquiry tool was conducted in three survey points, namely; Belhara, Piple and Rudrabari.

f) Multilingualism was conducted in two survey points; namely; Piple and Rudrabari.

g) Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) and Recorded Text Test (RTT) were not employed in the survey.

CHAPTER 3

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the patterns of language use in different domains in the Belhare speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.1 deals with the patterns of language use in the general domains. In section 3.2, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains. Section 3.3 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.4, we assess the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.5discusses the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.6, we present the domains of language use from the participatory method. Section 3.7presents the summary of the major findings of the chapter.

3.1 Language use in general domains

This section presents the languages most frequently used by the Belhare speakers in general domains like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. In this section, first, we present the general picture of patterns of language use and then, we present such patterns in terms of demographic categories such as sex, age and literacy.

3.1.1 Patterns of language use in general domains

Domains of language use are generally referred to as the patterns of language use among the speakers of a language. More specifically, they are the contexts or situations in which a speaker makes a choice, in most of the cases, a conscious choice among his/her mother tongue, a language of wider communication and both or other languages (Regmi, 2011). The main domains consist in community, home, business and education. The vitality of a language can be better examined by looking at the patterns of language use among the speakers in terms of sex, age and literacy. Table 3.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Belhare speakers in different domains.

Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains (N=36)

Domains of language use	Languages		
	Belhare	Nepali	Belhare+Nepali
Counting	2(6%)	23(64%)	11 (31%)
Singing	-	26(72%)	10(28%)
Joking	16(44%)	3(8%)	17(47%)
Bargaining/shopping	4(11%)	7(19%)	25 (69%)
Story telling	2(6%)	22(61%)	12 (33%)
Discussing	3 (8%)	3(8%)	30(83%)
Praying	29(81%)	2(6%)	5(14%)
Quarrelling	24(67%)	4(11%)	8(22%)
Abusing/scolding	24 (67%)	4(11%)	8(22%)
Telling stories to children	4(11%)	18 (50%)	14(39%)
Singing at home	3(8%)	22(61%)	11 (31%)
Family gatherings	19(53%)	3(8%)	14(39%)
Village meetings	2(6%)	6(17%)	28(78%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.1does not present an encouraging situation of use of mother tongue in the general domains of language use in this speech community. None exclusively use their mother tongue in singing. In the domains like counting, shopping and bargaining, discussing, story-telling, story-telling to children, singing at home and village meetings, on the average, nearly one-tenth of the speakers use their mother tongue. In such domains, they mainly use Nepali and some of them are bilingual, too. Only in the domestic domains like praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding and family gatherings, on the average, nearly less than two-third of the speakers use their mother tongue. In all the domains, both languages, i.e., the mother tongue and Nepali are quite significantly used leading to language shifting.

Table 3.1 also shows that most of the Belhare speakers use Nepali, the language of wider communication in most of the domains. Similarly, a significant number of Belhare speakers use both their mother tongue and Nepali in most of the domains of language use. The data show that the Belhare language is gradually shifting to the Nepali, the official language of the nation. Figure 3.1 presents the situation of language use in general domains in the Belhare speech community.

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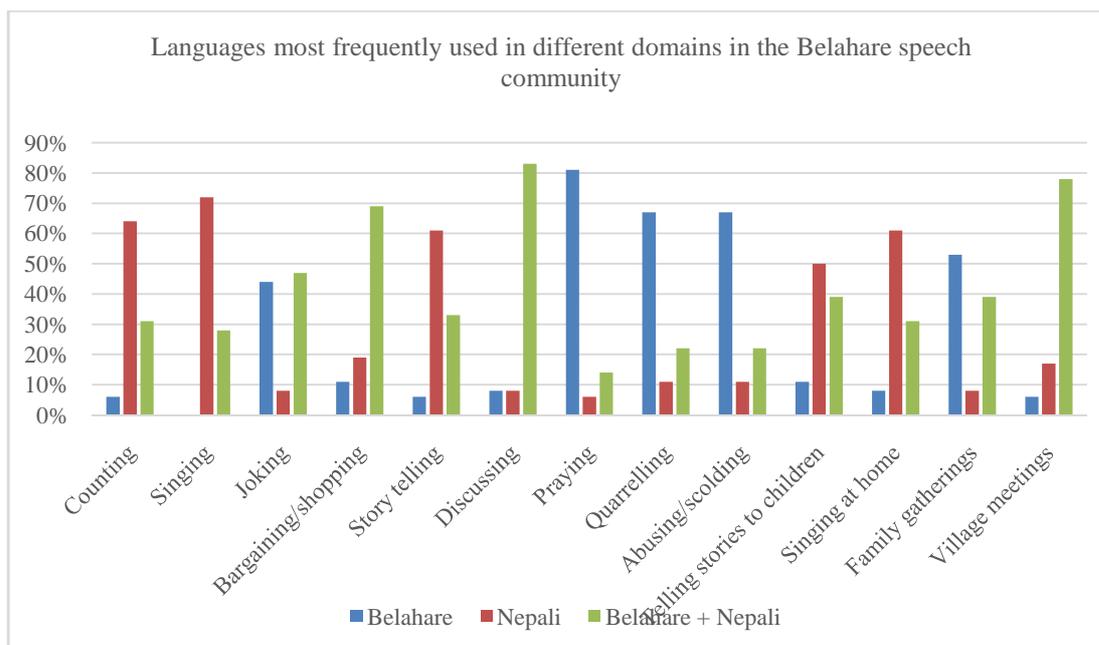
Figure 3.1: Situation of language use in general domains in the Belhare speech community

3.1.2 Patterns of language use in general domains by sex

Normally, in the speech communities, the females are more loyal to their mother tongue than the male ones. The general tendency is found in the Belhare speech community, too. Their number is slightly higher than that male and they seem to be more resistant to the shifting from the mother tongue to Nepali than the male respondents. Table 3.2 presents the languages most frequently used by the Belhare speakers in different domains by sex. It shows that neither the male nor the female respondents use their mother tongue in the domain of singing. The males don't use the mother tongue in the domains of bargaining/ shopping, storytelling, discussing and village meeting at all whereas some of the females use the mother tongue in the domains. Similarly, in other domains mother tongue retention is slightly higher in the females than in the males. Similarly, the number of male speakers using both language (i.e., Nepali and Belhare) is higher than that of female speakers because the female speakers use Nepali more than that of the female speakers.

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Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex (N=36)

Domains	Languages					
	Male (n=18)			Female (n=18)		
	B	Nepali	B+N	B	Nepali	B+N
Counting	1(3%)	12(33%)	5(%)	1(3%)	11 (31%)	6 (17%)
Singing	-	15 (42%)	3(8%)	-	11 (31%)	7 (19%)
Joking	8(22%)	1(3%)	9(25%)	8(22%)	2 (6%)	8 (16%)
Bargaining/ shopping	-	3(8%)	15(42%)	4(11%)	4 (11%)	10 (28%)
Story telling	-	11(31%)	7(19%)	2(6%)	11 (31%)	5 (14%)
Discussing	-	1(3%)	17 (47%)	1 (3%)	26(%)	13 (36%)
Praying	16(44%)	-	2(6%)	13 (36%)	2 (6%)	3 (8%)
Quarrelling	12 (33%)	2 (6%)	4(11%)	12 (33%)	2 (6%)	4 (11%)
Abusing/scolding	12(33%)	2(6%)	4 (11%)	12 (33%)	2 (6%)	4 (11%)
Telling stories to children	1 (3%)	10(28%)	7(19%)	3 (8%)	8 (22%)	7 (19%)
Singing at home	1(3%)	11(31%)	6(17%)	2 (6%)	11 (31%)	5 (14%)
Family gatherings	10 (28%)	1(3%)	7(19%)	9 (25%)	2 (6%)	7 (19%)
Village meetings	-	4(11%)	14(39%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	14 (39%)

B=BELHARE AND N= NEPALI

Source: Field study, 2017

3.1.3 Patterns of language use in general domains by literacy

Literacy is an important demographic factor affecting the patterns of language use in general domains. General trend shows that the illiterate members of a language community are more loyal towards the mother tongue than the literate members. The general trend is found in the Belhare language community, too.

Table 3.3 presents the languages most frequently used by the Belhare speakers in different domains by literacy. From the Table 3.3 we understand that illiterate informants are found more loyal to the mother tongue in comparison with the literate respondents in the Belhare speech community. The main reason is that generally the illiterate members are bound within the domestic and local horizon. They, mainly, come in contact with the community people and they mainly deal with the local subject matter. The mother tongue is easier for them to use, too. None of the literate respondents use only mother tongue in the domains of shopping/bargaining, storytelling, discussing and village meeting whereas some of the

illiterate respondents do use mother tongue in the domains. Similarly, the overall impression indicates that the use of mother tongue among the illiterate respondents is relatively higher than among the literate respondents.

Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy (N=36)

DOMAINS	LANGUAGES					
	Literate (21)			Illiterate (15)		
	Belhare	Nepali	B+N	Belhare	Nepali	B+N
Counting	1(5%)	18(86%)	2(10%)	1(7%)	5(33%)	9(60%)
Singing	-	16(76%)	5(24%)	-	10(67%)	5(33%)
Joking	5(24%)	3(14%)	13(62%)	11(73%)	-	4(27%)
Bargaining/ shopping	-	6(29%)	15(71%)	4(27%)	1(7%)	10(67%)
Story telling	-	14(67%)	7(33%)	2(13%)	8(53%)	5(33%)
Discussing	-	3(14%)	18(86%)	3(20%)	-	12(80%)
Praying	16(76%)	2(10%)	3(14%)	13(87%)	1(7%)	2(13%)
Quarrelling	11(52%)	4(19%)	6(29%)	13(87%)	1(7%)	2(13%)
Abusing/scolding	11(52%)	3(14%)	7(33%)	13(87%)	1(7%)	1(7%)
Telling stories to children	1(5%)	13(62%)	7(33%)	3(20%)	5(33%)	7(47%)
Singing at home	1(5%)	16(76%)	4(19%)	2(13%)	6(40%)	7(47%)
Family gatherings	6(29%)	2(10%)	13(62%)	13(87%)	1(7%)	1(7%)
Village meetings	-	5(24%)	16(76%)	2(13%)	1(7%)	12(80%)

Source: Field study, 2017

3.1.4 Patterns of language use in general domains by age

Like sex and literacy, age is an important demographic factor affecting the patterns of language use in general domains. The elder people are more likely to retain the mother tongue than the young people. The young people are more likely to come in contact with the outside world and people than the elderly people. Similarly, young people are more responsive to the new innovations, too. As a result, the young generation people are influenced by other languages and cultures.

Table 3.4 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by age (A1, A2, and A3). The table shows that in the domains like singing, bargaining, story-telling, family gatherings and village meetings the percentage of the use of their mother tongue by A3 (age group of 60 and above) is higher than that of A1 (i.e., the informants of 15-29 years age group) and A2 (i.e., the informants of 30-59 years age group).

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

	A1 (n=12)			A2 (n=12)			A3 (n=12)		
	B	**N**	**B+N**	**B**	**N**	**B+N**	**B**	**N**	**B+N**
Counting	-	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	-	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	2 (17%)	4 (33%)	6 (50%)
Singing	-	11 (92%)	1 (8%)	-	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	-	5 (42%)	7 (58%)
Joking	3 (25%)	2 (17%)	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	-	7 (58%)	8 (67%)	1 (8%)	3 (25%)
Bargaining/ shopping	-	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	-	-	12 (100%)	4 (33%)	2 (17%)	6 (50%)
Story telling	-	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	-	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	2 (17%)	4 (33%)	6 (50%)
Discussing	-	3 (25%)	9 (%)	-	-	12 (100%)	3 (25%)	-	9 (75%)
Praying	7 (%)	2 (17%)	3 (25%)	11 (92%)	-	1 (8%)	11 (92%)	-	1 (8%)
Quarrelling	6 (50%)	2 (17%)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	1 (8%)	2 (17%)	9 (75%)	-	3 (25%)
Abusing/ scolding	6 (50%)	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	9 (75%)	1 (8%)	2 (17%)	9 (75%)	-	3 (25%)
Telling stories to children	-	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	-	8 (67%)	4 (33%)	4 (33%)	1 (8%)	7 (58%)
Singing at home	-	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)	9 (75%)	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	3 (25%)	7 (58%)
Family gatherings	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	8 (67%)	7 (58%)	1 (8%)	4 (33%)	10 (83%)	-	2 (17%)
Village meetings	-	4 (33%)	8 (67%)	-	1 (8%)	11 (92%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)	9 (75%)

Source: Field study, 2017

The A1 and A2 group of the respondents have the similar pattern of language use in contrast with the A3 group of respondents. The use of Belhare is very low in A1 and A2 group but it is higher in the A3 group. There are some A3 group of respondents who use only mother in almost all the domains of language use but it is absent in the A1 and A2 group. Similarly the use of Nepali is fairly higher in the A1 and A2 group than in the A3 group. It shows that the language shift is very high in the Belhare language community and only the elder generation people have retain the language. It also indicates that intergenerational language transmission has been disrupted and the language is on the way to endangerment.

3.2 Language use in specific domains

This section looks at the use of the languages at home, in the community and the languages used by Belhare children.

3.2.1 Language use at home

In this subsection, we present the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher,etc.), discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc.)

and in writing letters. Table 3.5 presents the languages most frequently used in the Belhare speech community in certain situations.

Table 3.5: Languages most frequently used in educational, social and family matters and letter writing by sex

	Languages/ Domains	Male (n=18)			Female (n=18)		
		B	N	B+N	B	N	B+N
Grand-parents	Educational matters	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	-	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	-
	Social & family matters	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	-	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	-
	Writing letters	-	18 (100%)	-	-	18 (100%)	-
Parents	Educational matters	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	-	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	-
	Social & family matters	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	-	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	-
	Writing letters	-	18 (100%)	-	-	16 (89%)	-
Spouse	Educational matters	9 (50%)	3 (17%)	4 (22%)	13 (72%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)
	Social & family matters	9 (50%)	2 (11%)	4 (22%)	13 (72%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)
	Writing letters	-	16 (89%)	-	-	15 (83%)	-
Children	Educational matters	8 (44%)	4 (22%)	4 (22%)	8 (44%)	3 (17%)	3 (17%)
	Social & family matters	8 (44%)	4 (22%)	4 (22%)	8 (44%)	3 (17%)	3 (17%)
	Writing letters	-	16 (89%)	-	-	14 (%)	-

B= Belhare and N= Nepali

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.5 shows a clear picture that in the writing only Nepali is used because written tradition has not been established in the language yet. People became literate in Nepali first and got education in Nepali and English.

Regardless the genders and domains, the use of Belhare with the grandparents and parents is higher, i.e. more than 80% whereas with the spouses and children, it is fairly lower, i. e. less than 50%. It further supports the findings in the use of languages in the general domains that intergenerational transmission of the language has been disrupted and the young generation people are giving up their native language.

3.2.2 Language use in the community

In this section, we present the pattern of language use in the Belhare speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings. Table 3.6 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings by sex.

Table 3.6: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings (N=36)

	Male (18)			Female (18)		
	Belhare	Nepali	B+N	B	Nepali	B+N
Marriage invitations	-	6 (33%)	12 (67%)	1 (6%)	7 (38%)	10 (56%)
Writing minutes	-	18 (100%)	-	-	18 (100%)	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.5shows that nearly two-third of them are bilingual in marriage invitations because they are living in a mixed community. With the speakers of their language they use mother tongue but with the other tongue speakers they have to use Nepali. Nearly one third of them use only Nepali for marriage invitations. In writing minutes in the community meetings, all the respondents, irrespective of sex, have replied that they use Nepali, the language of the wider communication.

3.2.3 Language spoken by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children: playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Table 3.7 presents the languages usually spoken by children**.**

Table 3.7: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains

N=36	Belhare	Nepali	Belhare+Nepali
Playing with other children?	-	18 (50%)	18 (50%)
Talking with neighbors?	-	21 (58%)	15 (42%)
At school?	-	34 (94%)	2 (6%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.7shows that50% of the respondents replied that Nepali is used while playing with other children and 50% replied that both Belhare and Nepali are used. However, while talking with neighbors, nearly 60% of them replied that Nepali is used and nearly 40% replied that both Belhare and Nepali are used.

3.3 Use of mother tongue and language of wider communication

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the use of the mother tongue and the language of wider communication in practical life. Nepali is the language of wider communication in Belhare speech community. Table 3.8 presents the

frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in the Belhare speech community.

Table 3.8: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in the Belhare speech community

	Male (18)			Female (18)		
	Every day	Rarely	Never	Every day	Rarely	Never
Mother tongue?	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	-	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	-
Language of wider communication	18 (100%)	-	-	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.8 shows that 83% male and 83% female informants use mother tongue every day whereas 17% male and 17% female respondents use their mother tongue rarely. However, 100% of the male and 89% of the female respondents have reported that they use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day. It is clear that the number of the male informants using mother tongue every day is higher than that of the female in this speech community.

3.4 Language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level

The medium of instruction is another factor for affecting the patterns of language use. Table 3.9 presents the patterns of language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level in Belhare speech community.

Table 3.9: Preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level

	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)
Mother tongue	8 (44%)	6 (33%)
Nepali	7 (38%)	8 (44%)
Other	3 (18%)	4 (23%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.9 shows that 44% male and 33% female informants prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in the Belhare speech community. Similarly, i.e., 38% male and 44% female respondents prefer Nepali as the medium of instruction in the Belhare speech community. It can also be shown through the Figure 3.2 below to make it more explicit.
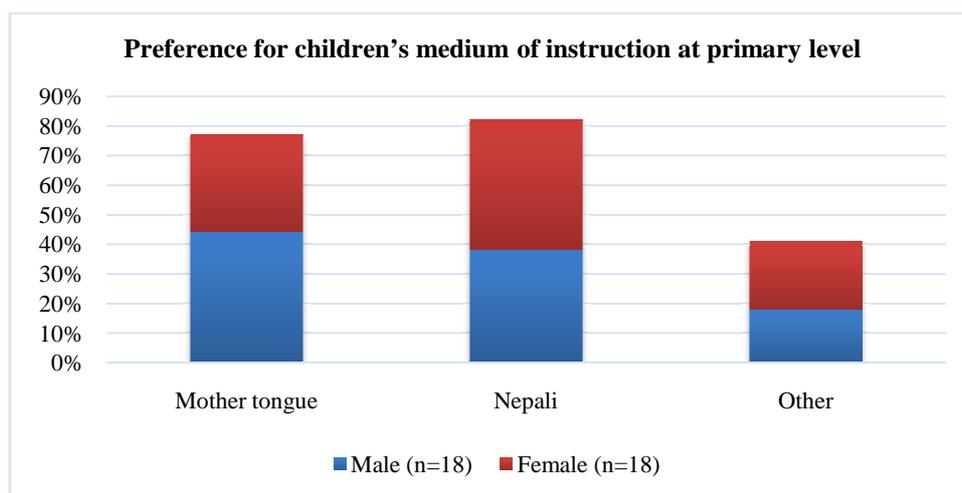
Figure 3.2: Preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level

3.5 Language used with the visitors at home

Almost all the Belhare speakers are proficient bilingual in Nepali. Table 3.10 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Belhare speakers at home.

Table 3.10: Use of language when speakers of other languages visit their home

	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)
Belhare	-	-
Nepali	18 (100%)	18 (100%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 3.10 shows that all the members of the Belhare speech community use Nepali, the language of wider communication with the persons of other languages when they visit their home.

3.6 Domains of language use uncovered from the participatory method

In three survey points, namely, Jimitole, Piple and Rudrabari Domains of Language Use tool was used in order to help the Belhare community members to think about and visualize the languages which Belhare people speak in the various situations. In groups, the Belhare participants in each survey points discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Belhare and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Belhare. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Belhareand both Nepali and Belhare. Next, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than

often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations. Photograph 3.1- 3.2 present the situation of language use in the Belhare speech community.

Photograph 3.1: Domains of language use in Piple, Belahara, Dhankuta

Photograph 3.2: Domains of language use in Pakhatole/Rudrabari, Belahara, Dhankuta

Table 3.11: Domains of language use in the Belhare speech community

Survey points	Belhare	Nepali	Both
Piple	1. At home 2. Working in the field 3. With relatives/friends 4. Quarrelling 5. Worshipping 6. Community meeting 7. Telling stories	1. Talking with non-Belhare 2. In the offices 3. Calling cattle 4. In business 5. In village meeting	1. In the local markets 2. With children 3. In the dream 4. While worshipping ancestors
Pakhatole/Rudrabari	1. In the family 2. Debating 3. Worshipping	1. Talking with Non-Belharepeople 2. While talking with the children 3. Telling story 4. Singing 5. Dreaming 6. In the market and business 7. In the village meeting 8. In the offices	1. Talking in the family 2. Working in the field and domestic work 3. Community meeting 4. Calling cattle

Source: Field study, 2016

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the patterns of the domains of language use in the Belhare speech community. In this community, Belhare is used in all the general domains of language use in different extent except in singing. In the domains of counting, marketing/shopping, storytelling, discussing, singing at home and village meeting, the use of only Belhare is nearly 10% which is extremely low figure. The elderly people use Belhare in the domains but the young generation people have given up using it in these domains. The major use of the Belhare language is found in the domains of praying, quarreling and abusing/scolding. Bilingual use is dominant in the domains of village meeting, discussing and marketing. Similarly, dominant use of Nepali is found in the domains of counting, singing and storytelling. In this way, Belhare is mainly used in domestic and intra-community domains. The situation suggests that the use of Belhare has been shrunk and the process is continuing from generation to generation.

Like the general tendency, in the Belhare speech community, the female respondents are more resistant to the shifting to Nepali than the male respondents.

The literate respondents are found less loyal to the mother tongue in comparison to illiterate respondents in the Belhare speech community. The main reason is that the literate respondents are in contact with the outer world and influenced by the outside language and culture. The intergenerational language transmission has been disrupted in the Belhare community because the use of mother tongue is decreasing from generation to generation. Majority of the respondents use their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare, while talking about education matters and discussing social events and other family matters with their grandparents, parents, spouse and children with the grandparents and parents, minority of them use Belhare in the situation with the spouse and children. It also indicates the degeneration of the language in the young generation people and the children.

While writing letters to their grandparents, parents, spouse and children they exclusively use Nepali, the language of wider communication. In marriage invitations they use both their mother tongue and Nepali because they live in the mixed community and they have to invite the people of other communities in the marriage. Furthermore, all of the members of their own community do not speak Belhare so they have to invite them using Nepali. As Nepali is the official language of the nation and there is has not been established a writing tradition in the Belhare, they all use Nepali for writing minutes.

Similarly, almost half of the children use Nepali while playing with other children whereas nearly two-third use Nepali talking with the neighbors. At school, almost all (94%) of the children use Nepali.

In this speech community, the number of users of the mother tongue of the female is relatively higher than that of the male which is the trend commonly found in the other language communities, too.

Nearly 40% of the speakers prefer their mother tongue, 42% preferred Nepali and 19% preferred others (possibly English) as the medium of instruction at primary level.So selection of the language as the medium of instruction in the primary level is challenging in the community. Nepali is exclusively used with the persons of other languages when they visit their home.

In this speech community, the mother tongue is mainly used at home, working in the fields, praying, worshiping, secrecy, quarrelling, scolding, rite and rituals. Nepali is mainly used in counting, storytelling, local markets, meeting including other language speakers, discussion and singing.

Nepali, is the language of wider communication, is used in the markets, letter writing, schools, minute writing, government offices, talking with other language groups and singing Nepali songs.

CHAPTER 4

BI/MULTILINGUALISM AND MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Belhare speech community. It consists of three sections. Section 4.1 assesses the situation of bi/multilingualism in the Belhare speech community. In section 4.2, we examine the level of mother tongue proficiency in the Belhare speech community. Section 4.3 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

4.1Bi/multilingualism

Belhare is a bi/multilingual community. In this speech community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of mainly two languages, viz., Belhare and Nepali. The main contact of the Belhare speakers is with the Nepali speakers.

Table 4.1 presents a picture of bi/multilingualism in the Belhare speech community.

Table 4.1: The languages the Belhare speech community can speak

Languages	Male (18)	Female (18)	Total (N=36)
Belhare	18 (100%)	17 (94%)	35 (97%)
Nepali	18 (100%)	18 (100%)	36 (100%)
Limbu	1 (6%)	-	1 (3%)
Tamang	1 (6%)	-	1 (3%)
Bantawa	1 (6%)	-	1 (3%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 4.1 shows different levels of bilingualism in the Belhare speech community. Of the total respondents, 97%are bilingual in their mother tongue and Nepali, the language of the wider communication. It indicates that there are a few people who can speak Nepali but not Belhare . In this speech community, only 3% of the total respondents are bilingual in Limbu, Tamang and Bantawa.

Table 4.1 shows that only the male speakers are bilingual in other languages except Belhare and Nepali. Some of the females who were married from other language communities cannot speak Belhare .

Figure 4.1 presents the situation of multilingualism in the Belhare speech community.

Figure 4.1: Multilingualism in the Belhare speech community
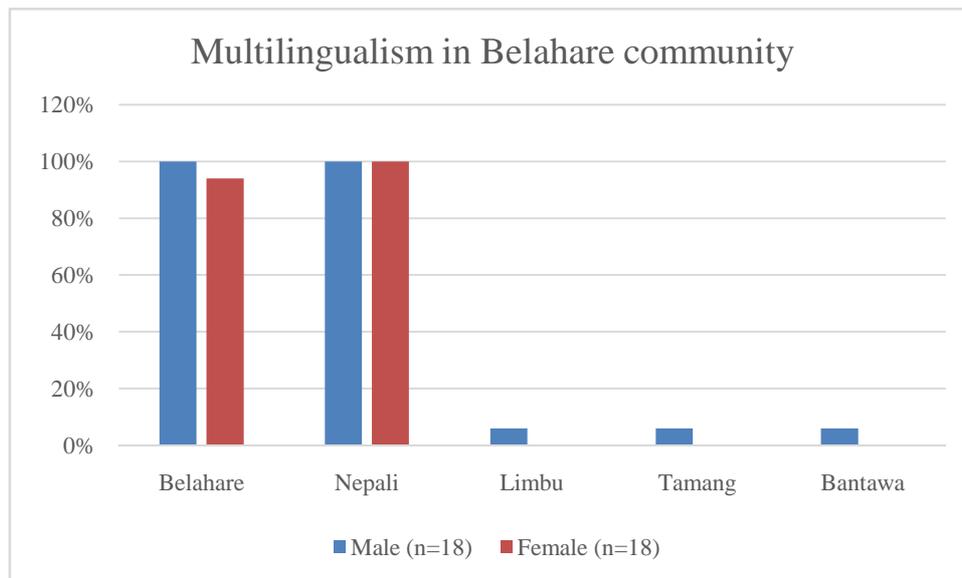
In the survey points, the participatory tool referred to as Bilingualism was also administered in order to help the community members to think about and visualize the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Belhare people who speak Belhare well and the other the Belhare people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Belhare 'well' or not 'so well'. Then they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Belhare people that spoke Belhare 'well'. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that. Photographs below present the situation of bilingualism in the survey points: Piple and Rudrabari in Belahara area in the Dhanakuta District of Nepal. Photographs 4.1-4.2 present a vista of the situation of bilingualism in the Belhare speech community.
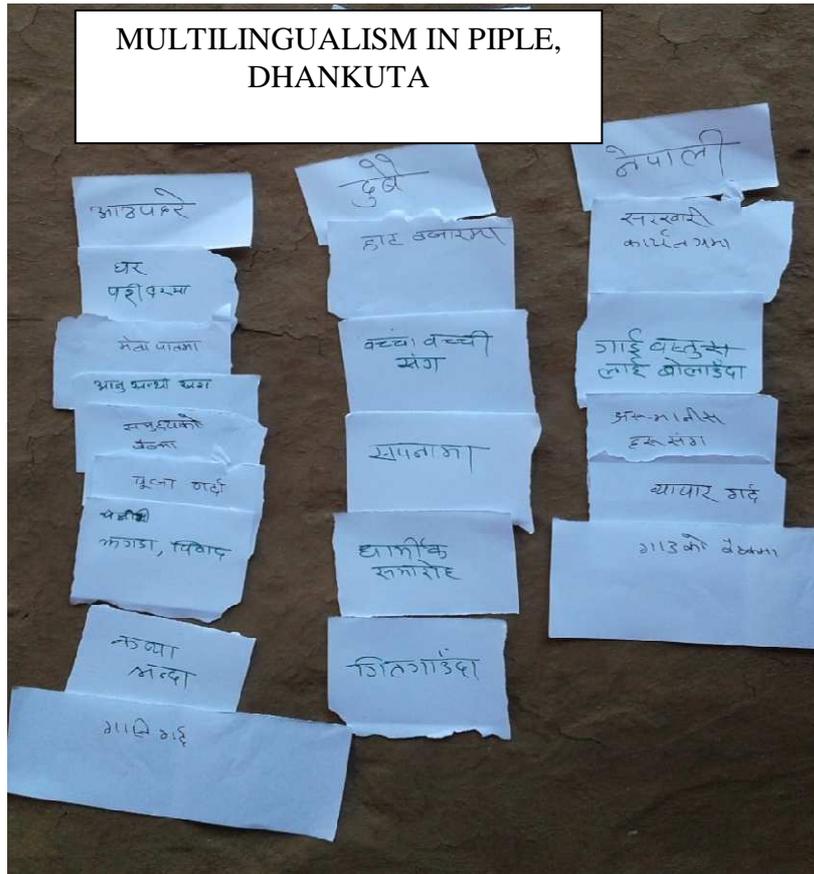
Photograph 4.1: Bilingualism in Piple, Belahara, Dhanakuta
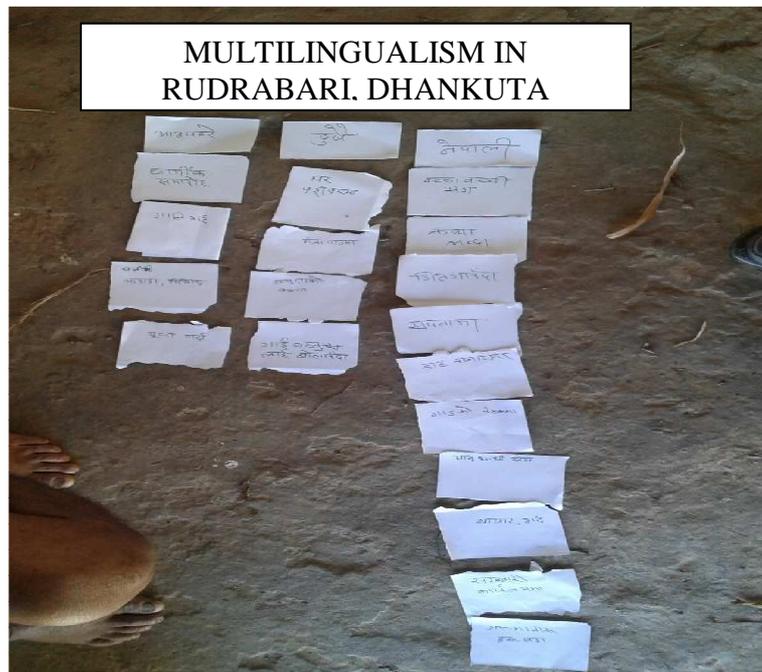
Photograph 4.2: Bilingualism in Rudrabari, Belahara, Dhanakuta

Table 4.2 presents the situation of bilingualism in the Belhare speech community.

Table 4.2: Situation of bilingualism in the Belhare speech community

Survey points	Belhare	Nepali and Belhare	Nepali
Piple	1. At home 2. Working in the field 3. With relatives/friends 4. Quarrelling 5. Worshipping 6. Community meeting 7. Telling stories	1. Talking with non-Belhare 2. In the offices 3. Calling cattle 4. In business 5. In village meeting	1. In the local markets 2. With children 3. In the dream 4. While worshipping ancestors
Pakhatole/Rudrabari	1. In the family 2. Debating 3. Worshipping	1. Talking with Non-Belhare people 2. While talking with the children 3. Telling story 4. Singing 5. Dreaming 6. In the market and business 7. In the village meeting 8. In the offices	1. Talking in the family 2. Working in the field and domestic work 3. Community meeting 4. Calling cattle

Source: Field study, 2017

4.2 Mother tongue proficiency

In response to the question "What language can you speak?" all the informants, both male and female, have informed that they can speak mainly two languages; namely, Belhare , and Nepali. Similarly, in response to the question "Which language didyou speak first?" almost of them replied that they spoke Belhare first. But the women married from other language communities spoke other languages rather than Belhare and some of them even cannot speak Belhare at all. When they were inquired, among the languages that they speak, which language they love most, they all answered that they love their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare . In order, they said that they speak Nepali best after their mother tongue.

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) was measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQA was administered in the informants in the survey points in the Belhare speech community. Table 4.3 shows the present picture of

mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in the Belhare speech community.

Table 4.3: Mother tongue proficiency in listening and speaking in the Belhare speech community

	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (n=36)
Very well	13 (72%)	11 (61%)	24 (67%)
Some	3 (17%)	3 (17%)	6 (17%)
Only a little	2 (11%)	4 (22%)	6 (17%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 4.3 shows that 67% of the total respondents speak their language very well and 17% of the total respondents speak their language average and the same number 17%have replied that they speak their language only a little. Majority of the respondents have replied that they speak their language very well. It shows that one-third of speakers are gradually shifting towards the Nepali language. Figure 4.2 present this situation more clearly.
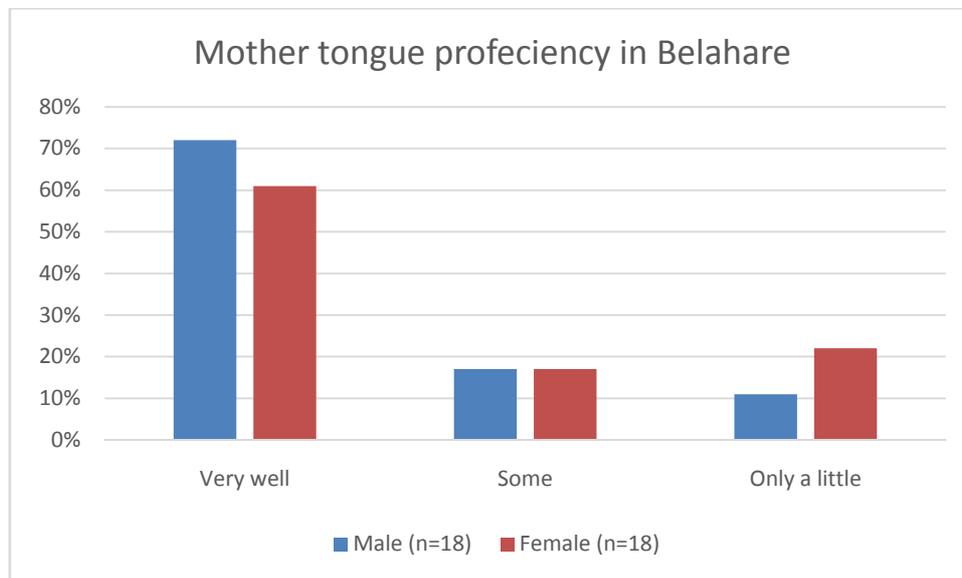
Figure 4.2: Mother tongue proficiency in listening and speaking in the Belhare speech community

Table 4.4 presents the mother tongue proficiency by sex in reading and writing in the Belhare speech community.

Table 4.4: Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in the Belhare speech community

	Sex		Total (n=21)
	Male (n=12)	Female (n=9)	
Very well	2(17%)	-	2(10%)
Some	3(25%)	3(33%)	6(28%)
Only a little	7(58%)	4(44%)	11(52%)
No	-	2(22%)	2(10%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 4.4 shows that 10% of the total respondents, who can read and write, have said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well and 6% have responded that they can read and write their mother tongue some. In reading and writing 52% of the total respondents replied that they do some reading and writing. This situation indicates that Belhare does not have a strong written tradition. In terms of sex, the male are more proficient in reading and writing than the female respondents.

Most of the Belhare children learn Nepali at their home and in their society; they do not have much difficulty in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.5 presents the level of understanding of Nepali when a small Belhare child first goes to school.

Table 4.5: Level of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school

	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (n=36)
Understand all	17(94%)	16(89%)	33(91%)
Understand a little	1(6%)	2(11%)	3(9%)
Do not understand at all	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 4.5 shows that 91% of the total informants are confirmed that when a small child of Belhare speech community first goes to school can understand all the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Similarly, 9% of the total informants are quite confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher

says. None of the respondents has replied that when a small child first goes to school cannot understand the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

In the Belhare speech community, all the family members, father, mother and spouse can speak Nepali well. Table 4.6 presents the picture of other languages known to their father, mother and spouse.

Table 4.6: Other languages known by the family members

	Father		Mother		Spouse	
	Male (18)	Female (18)	Male (18)	Female(18)	Male (16)	Female (15)
Nepali	18(100%)	18(100%)	18(100%)	18(100%)	16(100%)	15(100%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 4.6 shows that only Nepali, the language of the wider communication, is known to the Belhare fathers, mothers and spouses other than the mother tongue.

Similarly, Table 4.7 presents the picture of other languages known to their sons and daughters.

Table 4.7: The picture of other languages known to their sons and daughters in Belhare speech community

What languages known to your sons/daughters	Sex			Where they learn?
	Male (n=16)	Female (n=14)	Total (n=30)	
Nepali	16(100%)	14(100%)	30(100%)	Village and schools
English	-	-	-	-
Hindi	-	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 4.7 shows that all the informants have replied that Nepali is known to their sons and daughters and they learn it in village and school.

4.3 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to assess the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Belhare speech community. Belhare , like other speech communities, is a bi/multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have

a choice of mainly two languages, viz. Belhare and Nepali. The mother tongue is normally spoken by elderly people, farmers, carpenters, house-wives and uneducated people whereas Nepali is spoken by students, teachers, civil servants and political leaders and health workers. Almost all of the speakers can speak two languages: Belhare and Nepali but there are found some young people who can speak only Nepali, too. The bilingual ones acquired their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare first and then Nepali. They all love their language and most of them speak it best but some have developed better proficiency in Nepali than Belhare. Only 67% of them can speak their language very well and only around ten percent of the literate Belhare speakers said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. It indicates that the language competence in the speakers is decreasing in the community.

Almost all (91%) of the informants are confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. In the Belhare speech community, all the family members can speak Nepali very well. Similarly, regarding the other languages known to Belhare children, all the children know Nepali and very few children also know some English.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Belhare. It consists of five sections. Section 5.1 examines language vitality in Belhare. In section 5.2, we discuss language maintenance in Belhare. Section 5.3 looks at the attitudes of the Belhare community towards their language. In section 5.4, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Language vitality

Belhare community in common with other indigenous communities is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication. Table 5.1 presents the picture of language vitality in Belhare speech community.

Table 5.1: Language vitality in the Belhare speech community

Do all your children speak your mother tongue?	Male (n=16)	Female (n=14)	Total (N=30)
Yes	7(43.75%)	6(42.85%)	13(43.33%)
No	9(56.25%)	8(57.14%)	17(56.66%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.1 shows the vitality level of the Belhare language is not very encouraging. There were three questions administered on the informants from each survey points. When the informants were asked whether all their children speak their mother tongue, only 43.33% informants from the key points responded that their children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare. Figure 5.1 clearly presents the situation of language vitality in Belhare speech community.
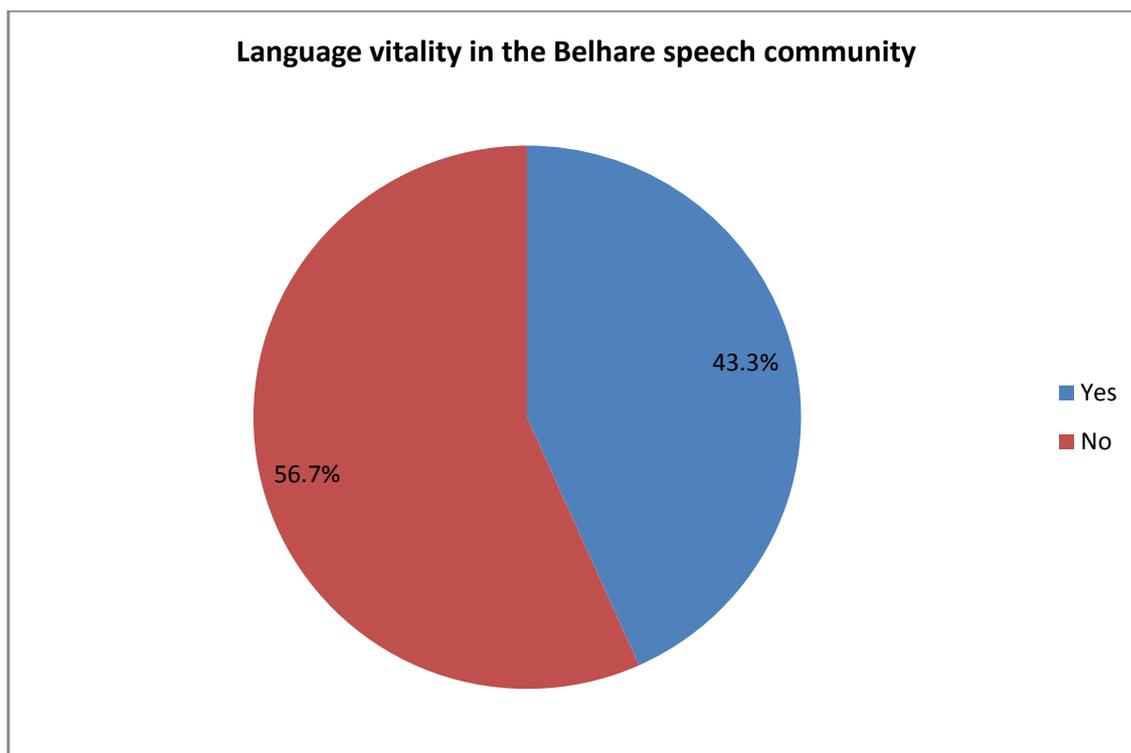
Figure 5.1: Language vitality in Belhare speech community

Similarly, in response to the question "What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?" the informants have replied that they speak both Nepali and mother tongue with their children. Table 5.2 presents the responses provided by the Belhare speakers in the key survey points.

Table 5.2: Use of languages by the parents with their children

What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?	Male (N=18)	Female (N=18)	Total (N=36)
Mother tongue	8(44.44%)	7(38.88%)	15(41.66%)
Nepali	8(44.44%)	10(55.55%)	18(50%)
Both	2(11.11%)	1(5.55%)	3(8.33%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.2 shows that less than half of the informants,i.e.,41.66% responded that the parents in their community speak their mother tongue with their children whereas 50% have responded that parents in their village usually speak Nepali to their children and only 8.33% responded that parents in their village usually use both Nepali and Belhare while speaking to their children.

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Similarly, when the informants were asked if young people speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken, all the informants responded that their mother tongue is spoken not as well as it ought to be spoken by the young people of their speech community. It shows that they are gradually losing their mother tongue. It can also be shown through the Figure 5.2 below.
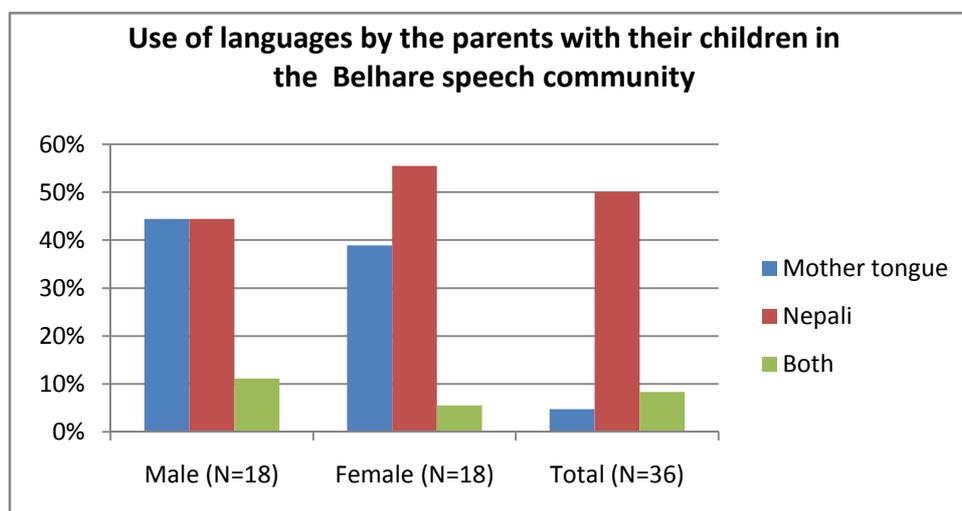
Figure 5.2: Use of languages by the parents with their children in the Belhare speech community

5.2 Language maintenance

In this section, we try to assess the language maintenance situation by analyzing two factors: intermarriage situation and the use of mother tongue in school. Generally, the language maintenance in Belhare is appalling since it is gradually shifting to Nepali.

5.2.1 Intermarriage situation

Intermarriage is one of the major causes of language shift in Rai Kirat community. It is also wide spread in the Belhare speech community. Table 5.3 presents the situation of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community.

Table 5.3: Situation of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community by sex

Is their intermarriage in your community?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total(N=36)
Yes	7(38.88%)	5(27.77%)	12(33.33%)
No	11(61.11%)	13(72.22%)	24(66.66%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.3 shows the situation of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community. More than one-third of the total informants have replied that there is the practice of intermarriage in their community. In terms of sex 38.88% male and 27.77% female informants have replied that there is the practice of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community. Similarly, 61.11% male and 72.22% female informants have replied that there is not the practice of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community. Figure 5.3 presents this situation more clearly.
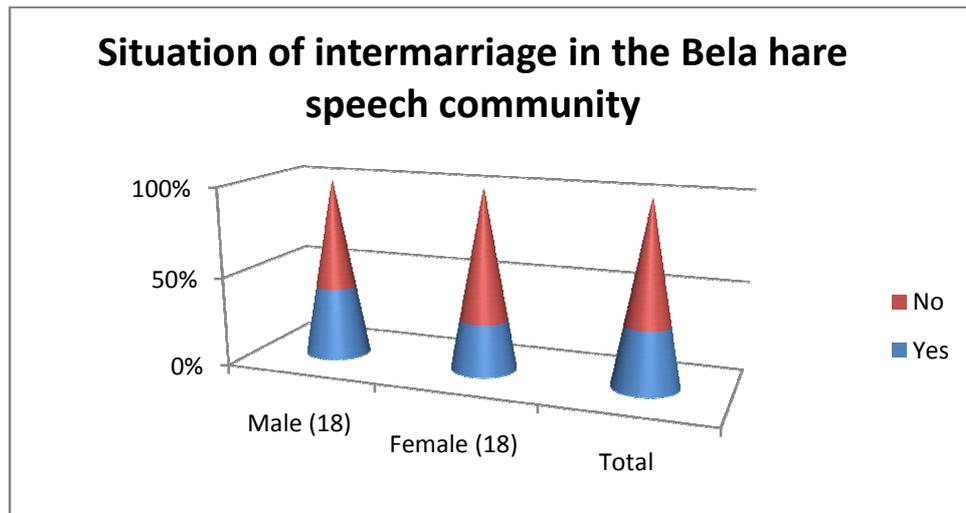
Figure 5.3: Situation of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community

This situation clearly indicates that intermarriage, which is one of the reasons for language endangerment, is also prevailing in the Belhare speech community.

Similarly, language groups which have common marital relationship with Belhare speech community are Limbu, Bantawa, Chamling, Tamang, Chherti and Brahmin.

5.2.2 Use of mother tongue in education

Belhare speakers have a very positive attitude towards the maintenance of their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. However, the Belhare speakers are gradually shifting to the Nepali language. In response to the question "Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?" Table 5.4 presents the responses of the Belhare speakers of the survey points.

Table 5.4: Parents' desire for their children to learn/study in their mother tongue

Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Yes	18(100%)	17(94.44%)	35(97.22%)
No	-	1(5.55%)	1(5.55%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.4 shows that all the male respondents like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education. In the case of female 94.44% respondents like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education and only 5.55% female respondents do not like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education.

Similarly, in response to the question "If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?" the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: The ways of supporting the mother tongue based schools

If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
By sending children?	8(4.44%)	3(16.66%)	11(30.55%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	10(55.55%)	7(38.88%)	17(47.22%)
By providing financial help?	10(55.55%)	6(33.33%)	16(44.44%)
By teaching?	7(38.88%)	2(11.11%)	9(25%)
By helping with the school?	17(94.44%)	16(88.88%)	33(91.66%)
Others?	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.5 shows the different numbers and percentages of the informants (in terms of sex) who are ready to support mother tongue based schools in different ways: by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching and helping with the school.

Table 5.5also shows that more than 30.55% of the total respondents are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school. Similarly, 47.22% of the total respondents are prepared to encourage other to send their children in the mother tongue based school. Likewise, 44.44% respondents are eager to provide financial help and 91.66% respondents said that they would support by helping the school. In the same way, 25% informants even

responded that they would be ready to teach Belhare if the schools are opened in their mother tongue, Belhare. This shows they have strong feeling and affection for the development of their language. Figure 5.4makes the ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools much clearer.
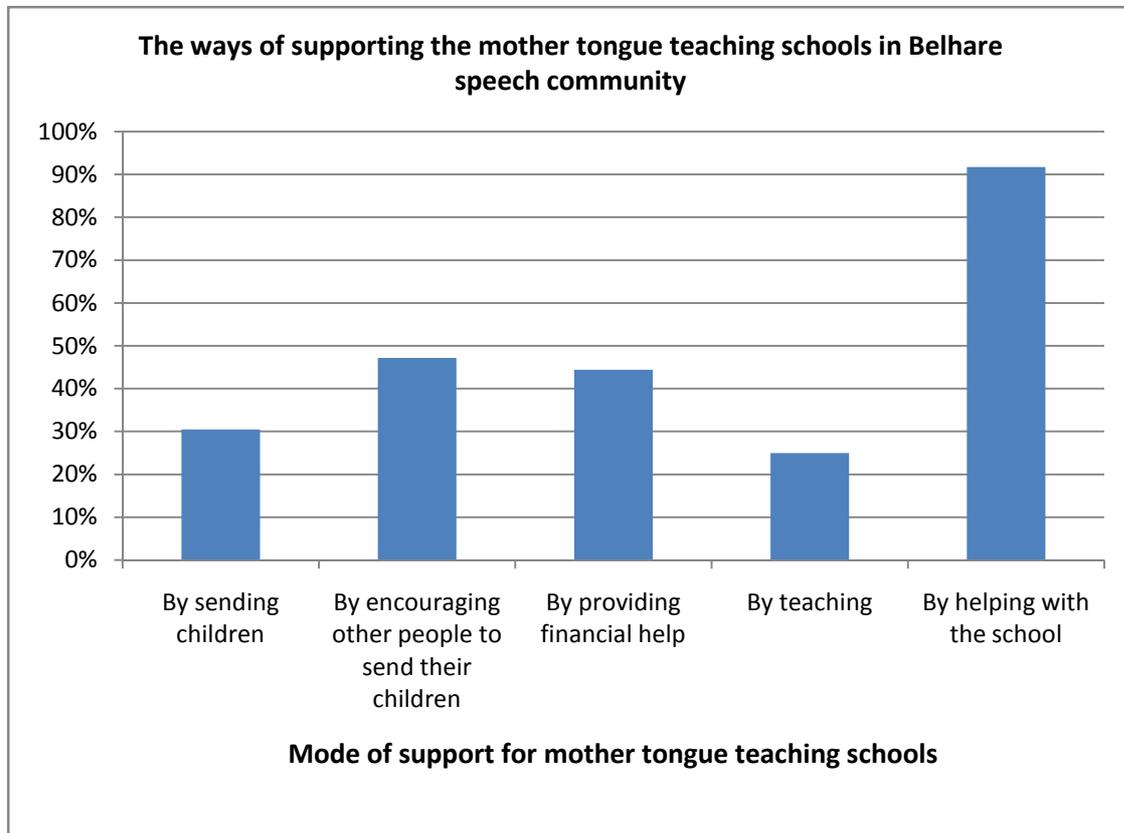
Figure 5.4: The ways of supporting the mother tongue teaching schools

5.3 Language attitudes

A positive attitude may foster the use of language and widen the domains of language use whereas a negative attitude may help the shrinking of the domains and ultimately the death of the language. This section looks at the attitudes of the speakers in the Belhare speech community.

5.3.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language

In general, there is a very positive attitude of the Belhare people towards their language. Table 5.6 presents the feelings of the informants while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 5.6: Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language

When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Prestigious	15(83.33%)	14(77.77%)	29(80.55%)
Embarrassed	-	1(5.55%)	1(2.77%)
Neutral	3(16.66%)	3(16.66%)	6(33.33%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.6 shows that 80.55% of the entire respondents feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. In this speech community, 33.33% of the entire respondents feel neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. In case of being embarrassed, 2.77%feel embarrassed when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. It shows that Belhare speakers have a positive attitude towards their language. Figure 5.5presents this situation much more clearly.

Feeling of speaking in the presence of dominant languages

- 33.3% — Neutral
- 2.7% — Embarrassed
- 80.5% — Prestigious
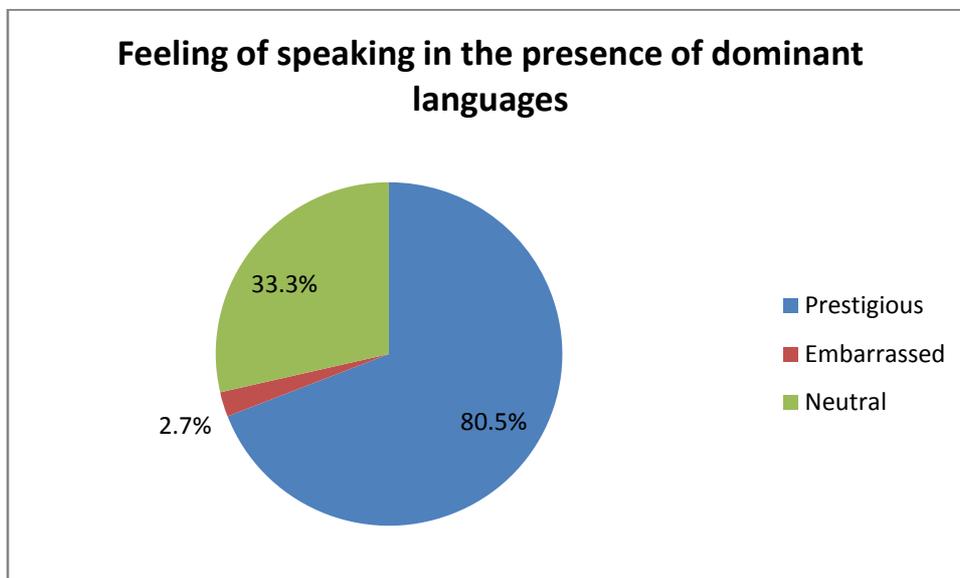
Figure 5.5: Speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language

Similarly, in response to the question "Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?" All the informants have said that they have never had

any problems because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Table 5.7 presents this situation.

Table 5.7: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Belhare

Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Yes	-	-	-
No	18(100%)	18(100%)	36(100%)

Source: Field study, 2017

5.3.2 Feeling about children's marriage with non-native speakers

Only around one-fourth of the Belhare speakers feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question "How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?" Table 5.8 presents the responses of the respondents of the key survey points.

Table 5.8: Feeling about son or daughter's marriage with non-native speakers

How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	7(38.88%)	7(38.88%)	14(38.88%)
Bad	11(61.11%)	11(61.11%)	22(61.11%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.8shows that 61.11% of the total respondents have replied that they would feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language. In case of indifference,38.88% of the respondents said that they were indifferent in such case.In this speech community, there was no one to say s/he would feel good if his/her sons or daughters married someone who does not know his/her mother tongue.

5.3.3 Grandchildren's language

Belhare speakers are positive towards their language and culture. Most of the Belhare speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language. Table 5.9 presents the responses of the Belhare speakers in the key survey points regarding the question "When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?"

Table 5.9: Response to the question if future generation might speak the language

When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think those children might speak your language?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Yes	3(16.66%)	4(22.22%)	7(19.44%)
No	15(83.33%)	14(77.77%)	29(80.55%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.9 shows that only 19.44% of the total respondents are fully confident that their children would speak their mother tongue in future. More than 80% have responded that that their children would not speak the mother tongue in future.

Similarly, in response to the question "If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?" Table 5.10 presents the responses of the Belhare speakers in the key survey points.

Table 5.10: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren speak their language

How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?	Male(n=18)	Female(n=18)	Total (36)
Good	17(94.44%)	16(88.88%)	33(91.66%)
Indifferent	1(5.55%)	2(11.11%)	3(8.33%)
Bad	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.10 shows 91.66% of the informants feel good if their children speak their mother tongue whereas 8.33% of the informants feel indifferent if their children speak their mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question "If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?" Table 5.11 presents the responses of the Belhare speakers in the key survey points.

Table 5.11: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language

How do you feel about this if they do not speak of your language?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	3(16.66%)	7(38.88%)	10(27.77%)
Bad	15(83.33%)	11(61.11%)	26(72.22%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.11 shows that out of the total respondents 27.77%feel indifferent if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue whereas 72.22%informants feel bad if their children will not speak their mother tongue. No one of the respondents feel good if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue. It shows that they are really shifting to Nepali or other languages but they have positive attitude about their mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question "What language should your children speak first?"88.9% of the informants (both male and female) have responded that they should first speak their mother tongue, Belhare first. Table 5.12 presents the language preference to the children in the Belhare speech community.

Table 5.12: Language preference to the children

What language should your children speak first?"	Male (N=18)	Female (N=18)	Total (N=36)
Mother tongue	17 (94.4%)	15(83.3%)	32(88.9%)
Nepali	1(5.6%)	3(16.7%)	4(11.1%)

Source: Field study, 2017

5.3.4 Language spoken by grandparents

In response to the question "Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" Table 5.13 presents the responses provided by the Belhare speakers in the key survey points.

Table 5.13: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations

Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Yes	2(11.11%)	2(11.11%)	4(11.11%)
No	16(88.88%)	16(88.88%)	32(88.88%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.13 shows that 88.9% of the total informants do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas remaining 11.1 %think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparent's. Looking at the data, we may be sure that their language is changing.

Regarding the responses in the Table 5.13, "If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" Table 5.14 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey points.

Table 5.14: The ways of differences in language between two generations

If yes, how?	Male (n=2)	Female (n=2)	Total (4)
Pronunciation	2(100%)	2(100%)	4(100%)
Vocabulary	2(100%)	-	2(50%)
Use of specific type of sentences	2(100%)	-	2(50%)
Mixing of other languages	2(100%)	2(100%)	4(100%)
Way of speaking	1(50%)	2(100%)	3(16.66%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.14shows that the language spoken by the present Belhare speakers is different from their grandparents in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences and mixing of other languages. Especially it is different from their grandparents in pronunciation (100%), mixing of other languages (100%).

Similarly, in response to the question "How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?" Table 5.15 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

Table 5.15: Feeling about the young people who use other languages instead of their mother tongue

How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?	Male (n=18)	Female (n=18)	Total (36)
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	3(16.66%)	4(22.22%)	7(19.44%)
Bad	15(83.33%)	14(77.77%)	29(80.55%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 5.15 shows that 80.5 % of the total informants feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue, Belhare. However, 19.4% of the total informants have replied that they would feel indifferent when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. None has replied that they would feel good when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue. It indicates that the loyalty towards their mother tongue is strong in the Belhare speech community.

5.4. Summary

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Belhare. The vitality level of the Belhare language is not that much encouraging. Only around 44 % of Belhare children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare. Similarly 50% of parents in their villages speak Nepali with their children. Intermarriage is also prevalent in the Belhare speech community. Similarly, language groups which have common marital relationship with Belhare speech community are Limbu, Bantawa, Chamling, Tamang, Chherti and Brahmin.

Most of the Belhare speakers like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education and they are ready to support mother tongue based schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching, and helping with the school. Mother tongue based multilingual education is urgently needed in this community in order to foster the cognitive development of the children.

Similarly, more than 80% of the Belhare speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. None has responded

that that they had faced problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. Around two-third of the Belhare people would feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language. They are not fully confident that the children of the present children would speak their mother tongue in future. Most of them feel good if their grandchildren will speak their mother tongue and they feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, most of the Belhare speakers said that should speak their mother tongue, Belhare first. Most of the speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents. They feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue, Belhare.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE RESOURCES

6.0 Outline

This chapter presents the situation of language resources available in the Belhare speech community. It consists of four sections. Section 6.1 deals with the present situation of the oral literature available in the Belhare language. In section 6.2, we deal with the written materials in the language. Section 6.3 looks at the organizations to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language. In section 6.4, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

6.1 Oral literature

Belhare is very rich in oral literature. In Belhare speech community, we find folktales, songs and religious literature (based mainly on Kirat). Table 6.1 enumerates the major kinds of oral literature in the Belhare speech community.

Table 6.1: Oral literatures available in the Belhare speech community

Kinds oral literature	Availability	Unavailability
Folk tales	√	x
Songs	√	x
Religious literature	√	x
Radio/ FM	x	x
Films	x	x
CD/DVD	x	x
Others	x	x

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 6.1 shows that the major oral literatures available in the Belhare language are folktales, songs and religious literature.

6.2 Materials written in the language

Table 6.2 presents the major materials written about the language and the languages in which such materials have been written in.

Table 6.2: Written materials available in the Belhare language

Materials	Yes or No	What language(s) is it written in?
Phonemic inventory	Yes	Belhare , Nepali and English
Grammar	Yes	Nepali and English
Dictionary	Yes	English
Textbooks	Yes	Belhare
Literacy materials	Yes	Belhare and Nepali
Newspapers	No	-
Magazines	Yes	Belhare
Written literature	No	Nepali
Folklore	Yes	-
Others	No	-

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 6.2 shows that the written materials available in the Belhare language are phonemic inventory, dictionary, magazines, written literature, and folklore. All these materials are written in Belhare, Nepali and English.

The informants were asked if they read any of these things written in their language. Some of the educated speakers replied that they read them. Table 6.3 presents the situation of the reading of the materials written in the Belhare language.

Table 6.3: Situation of the reading of the materials written in the Belhare language

Do you read any of these things written in your language?	Male (n=12)	Female (n=9)	Total (21)
Yes	4(33.33%)	-	4(19.04%)
No	8(66.66%)	9(100%)	17(80.95%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Belhare is a preliterate language. It does not have a long written tradition. Table 6.3 shows that out of the total Belhare respondents 19.04% have replied that they have read the written material available in their language whereas only (80.95%replied that they have not read any written material available in their mother tongue.Similarly, literate informants said that their language is written in the Devanagari script.

6.3 Organizations to promote the knowledge and/or use of the language

In the Belhare speech community, there are only two social organizations established to promote the knowledge and/or use of the language. Table 6.4enumerates such organizations established in the Belhare speech community.[1]

Table 6.4: Organizations to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language

	Organizations	Kinds of activities
1.	Kirat Athpariya Samaj, Dhankuta Ward No. 7/8	Social,linguistic and cultural
2.	Athpariya Samudayik Bhavan, Ward No.9	Social and economic development

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to discuss the language resources available in the Belhare speech community. Belhare community is rich in oral literature. Oral literatures available in the language are folktales, songs and religious literature. Written materials available in the language are phonemic inventory, dictionary, magazines, written literature, and folklore. Belhare is a prewritten language. They use the Devanagari script in writing. There are two organizations of the Belhare language and culture. These organizations are working for the social, cultural, linguistic and economic development of Belhare community.

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[1] Belhare community members in general think that they are not different from Athapahare.

CHAPTER 7

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

7.0 Outline

This chapter examines the levels of lexical and phonetic similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in the Belhare speech community. It consists of six sections. Section 7.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Belhare. In section 7.3, we present the lexical and phonetic similarities among the forms of speech spoken in survey points. Section 7.4 presents similarity analysis through hierarchical and network graphs. In section 7.5, we discuss the results drawn from a participatory tool referred to as Dialect Mapping Tool. Section 7.6 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

7.1 Wordlist comparison

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

7.1.1 Methodology

We have employed two tools: Wordlist Comparison and Dialect Mapping (a participatory tool). For wordlist comparison, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points; namely, Jimitole (Belhara), Piple, Rudrabari and Guthitar the mother tongue speakers and compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex D for 210 wordlist). Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were exported to COG for the lexical and phonetic similarities. Then the lexical and phonetic similarity percentages were calculated in the COG.

7.1.2 Evaluation criteria

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

similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors. Table 7.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 7.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

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

7.2 Lexical and phonetic similarities

Belhare presents different levels of lexical and phonetic similarities (in percentage) among the survey points, i.e., Belhara, Piple, Rudrabari and Guthitar in the Belhare speech community. Table 7.2 presents lexical similarity among the key points in the Belhare speech community.

Table 7.2: Lexical similarity among the key points in the Belhare speech community

(in %)

	RUDRABARI	BELHARE	GUTHITAR	PIPLE
RUDRABARI		89	83	82
BELHARE	89		80	81
GUTHITAR	83	80		77
PIPLE	82	81	77	

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 7.3 presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the survey points. Belhare, the core survey point, exhibits an insignificant degree (ranging from 81% to 89%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rudrabari, Piple and Guthitar. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Belhare (the core survey point) exhibits the highest similarity with Rudrabari (89%) and lowest with Guthitar (i.e., 80%).   In the same way, Rudrabari another survey point, also displays insignificant degree (ranging from 82% to 89%) of lexical similarity with other survey points. Likewise, Piple, another survey point, also shows   a range from 77% to 82%) of lexical similarity with other survey points. In the same way, Guthitar, another survey point, also shows   a range of 77% to 83% of lexical similarity with other survey points. As the highest similarity is more than 85% and lowest is more than 75%, it can be simply surmised that Belhare is not showing any tendency towards dialectal variations. All the informants unanimously have reported that Belhare does not have a dialectal variation. These are only the speech varieties likely to be related dialects.

Table 7.3 presents phonetic similarity among the key points in the Belhare speech community.

Table 7.3: Phonetic similarity among the key points in the Belhare speech community (in %)

	RUDRABARI	BELHARE	PIPLE	GUTHITAR
RUDRABARI		87	80	78
BELHARE	87		81	78
PIPLE	80	81		75
GUTHITAR	78	78	75	

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 7.3 presents different arrays of phonetic similarity percentages almost in consonance with the lexical similarity among the survey points.   Belhare the core survey point, exhibits a small range (from 78% to 87%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Belhare (the core survey point) exhibits the highest phonetic similarity with Rudrabari (i.e., 87%) and the least similarity with Guthitar (i.e., 78%). The phonetic similarity percentages displayed across the matrix do generally motivates to conclude that Belhare has no dialectal variation.

7.3 Lexical and phonetic similarity analysis through hierarchical and network graphs

7.3.1 Lexical similarity analysis through hierarchical and network graphs

Belhare presents different arrays of hierarchical and network relationship among different survey points on the basis of lexical similarity metric. Figure 7.1 presents a dendogram UPGMA (clustering method) graph.
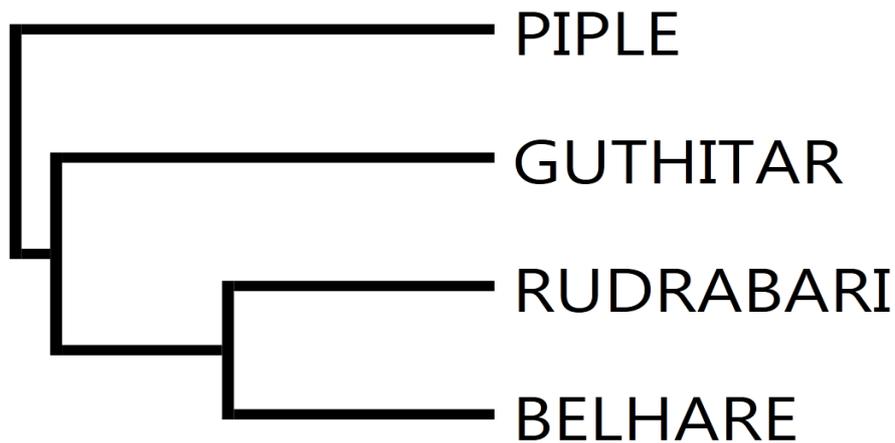
Figure 7.1: A dendogram UPGMA graph based on lexical similarity metric in Belhare

Figure 7.2 presents a dendogram neighbor joining (clustering method) graph based on lexical similarity metric.
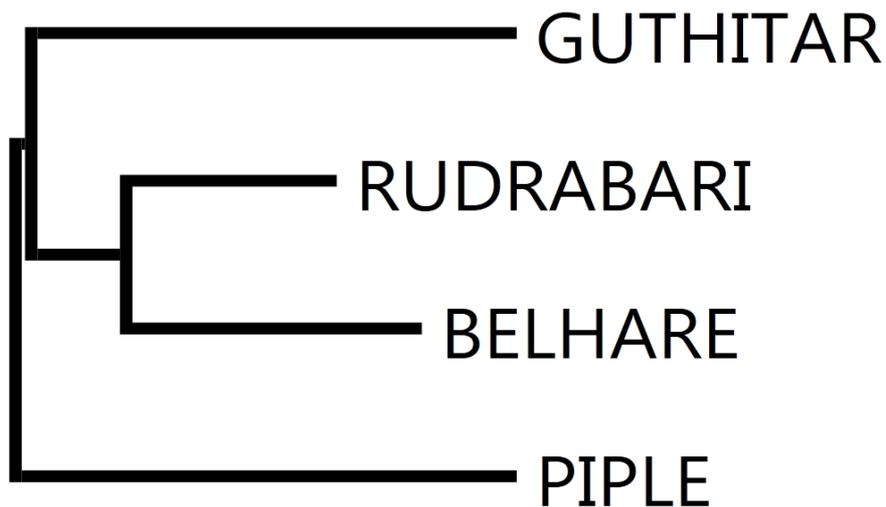
Figure 7.2: A dendogram neighbor joining graph based on lexical similarity metric in Belhare

Figure 7.3 presents a network graph based on the lexical similarity metric in Belhare.
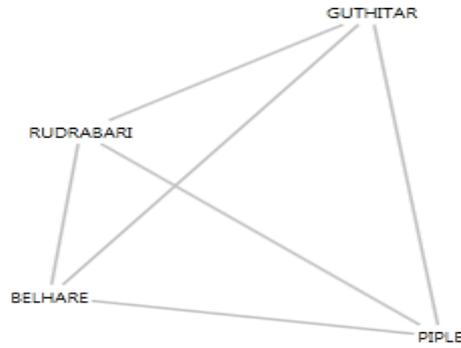
Figure 7.3: A network graph on the lexical similarity metric in Belhare

7.3.2 Phonetic similarity analysis through hierarchical and network graphs

Belhare presents different arrays of hierarchical and network relationship among different survey points on the basis of phonetic similarity metric. Figure 7.4 presents a dendogram UPGMA (clustering method) graph.
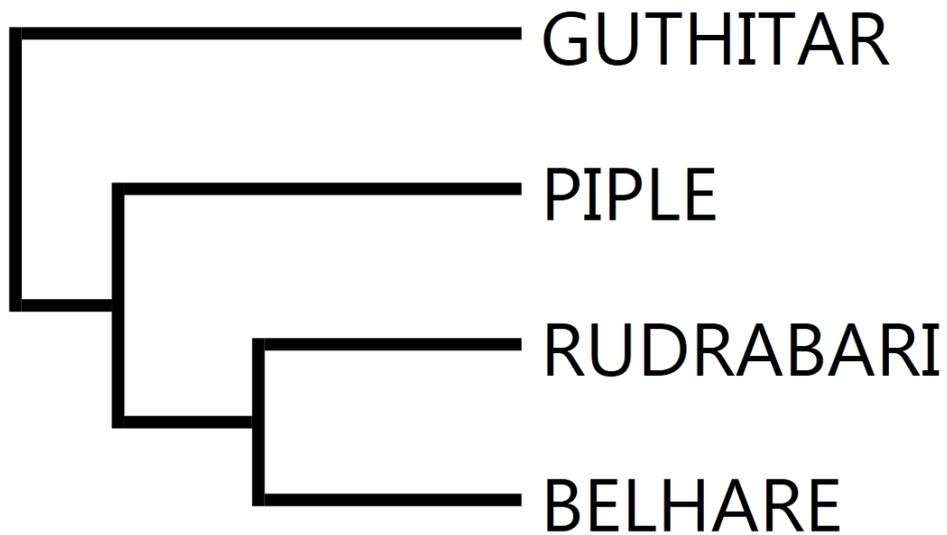
Figure 7.4: A dendogram UPGMA graph based on phonetic similarity metric in Belhare

Figure 7.5 presents a dendogram neighbor joining (clustering method) graph based on phonetic similarity metric.
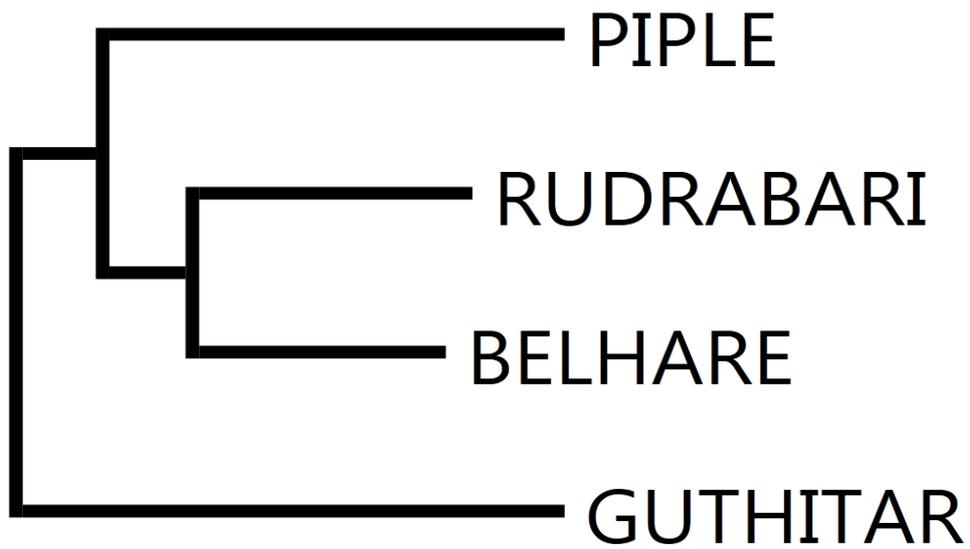
Figure 7.5: A dendogram neighbor joining (clustering method) graph on phonetic similarity metric

Figure 7.6 presents a network graph based on phonetic similarity metric in Belhare.
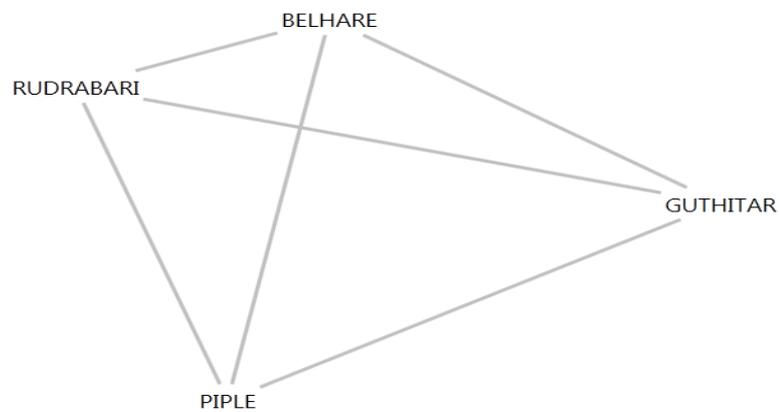
Figure 7.6: A network graph based on phonetic similarity metric in Belhare

7.4 Global correspondences (onset syllable position)

Figure 7.7 presents global correspondences (onset syllable position onset) in Belhare.
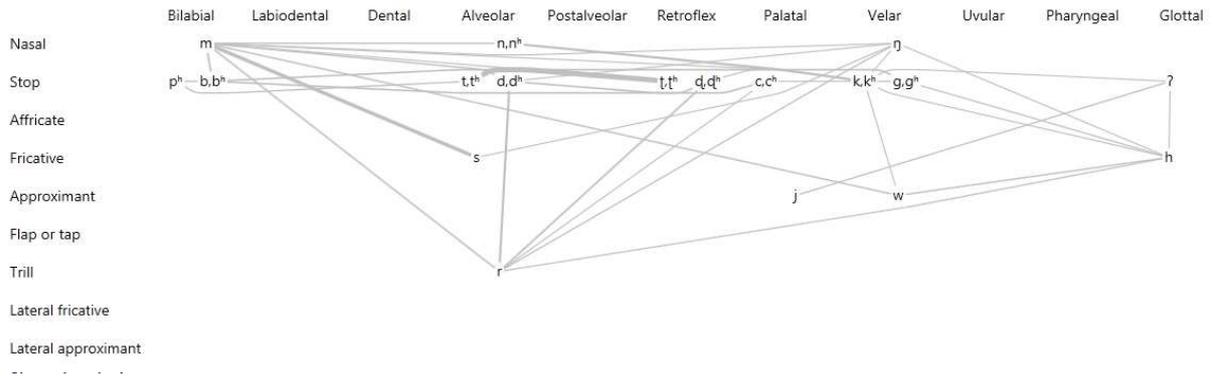
Figure 7.7: Global correspondences (at onset position) in Belhare

7.5 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any, in Belhare. The informants in group in one key point, i.e., Belhara were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Belhare is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as Belhare language speaking areas: Photograph 7.1 presents the situation of dialect mapping in the Belhare speech community.
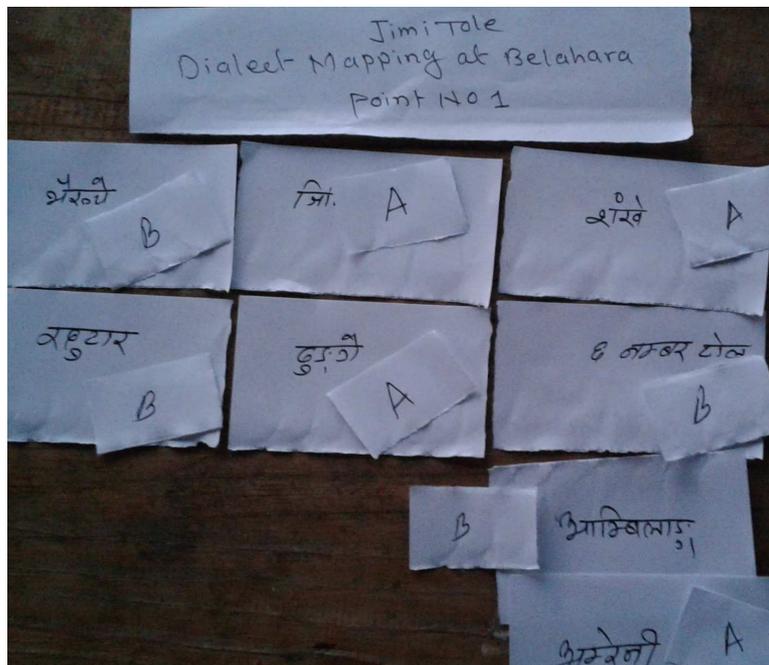
Photograph 7.1: Dialect Mapping in Belhara (Dhankuta)

Photograph 7.1 shows that Belhara is spoken in a small area covering Bhaikhche, Jinya, Shankhe, Rahutar, Dhunge, Cha Number Tole, Ambilang and Amreni. In Jinya, Shankhe, and Amreni the language is spoken as the same and in Bhaikhche, Rahutar, Dhunge, Cha Number Tole and Ambilang it is spoken the same.

Unanimously, they concluded that there are not any significant dialectal differences among the forms of speech in Belhare. In response to which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials, the informants responded that the forms of speech, especially spoken in Belhara, the core point, would be alright for this purpose.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, we assessed the levels of lexical and phonetic similarity among the forms of speech spoken in the survey points in the Belhare speech community. Belhare, the core survey point, exhibits an insignificant degree (ranging from 81% to 89%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rudrabari, Piple and Guthitar. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Belhare (the core survey point) exhibits the highest similarity with Rudrabari (89%) and lowest with Guthitar (i.e., 80%).

Belhare, the core survey point, exhibits a small range (from 78% to 87%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Belhare (the core survey point) exhibits the highest phonetic similarity with Rudrabari (i.e., 87%) and the least similarity with Guthitar (i.e., 78%). All the informants unanimously have reported that Belhare does have a dialectal variation; however, they are not different languages at all. These are only the speech varieties likely to be related dialects.

The participatory method indicated that Belhare is spoken in a small area in Dhankuta Municipality. All the informants have reported that that the forms of speech spoken in Belhare would be highly acceptable for the writing of reading materials in Belhare.

CHAPTER 8

LANGUAGE RDEVELOPMENT

8.0 Outline

This chapter looks at the views/dreams of the Belhare speech community about its language development. It consists of four sections. Section 8.1 discusses the dreams and aspirations of the Belhare community members for the development their language and culture. In section 8.2, we deal with the planning for realizing the views/dreams about language development in the Belhare speech community. Section 8.3 presents the views of the village heads/language activists for the promotion and development of the language. In section 8.4, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

8.1 Dreams and aspirations for language development

This section examines the views about language development in the Belhare speech community by employing mainly, two tools: Appreciative Inquiry and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language and culture. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture.

In the survey, this participatory tool was used in all the three survey points: Belhara, Piple and Rudrabari in Dhankuta district. It was conducted in these survey points in a group of 8 to 12 participants of different demographic categories of sex, age, and educational status. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Belhare speech community for the development of their languages as well their culture.

The participants in these points were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the 'good things' in a piece of paper and placed them one after the other on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in the Belhare language and culture, say they "dreamed" about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

The pictures of appreciative inquiry tools used in the key survey points present the language development and the ambitions to the development of language. By using this participatory tool, a lot of information about the dreams and aspirations of the Belhare community members for the development their language as well their culture was gathered.

Photographs below present the things that made the Belhare participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as the planning informants made in the survey points.

Photographs 8.1-8.3present the things that made the participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in different survey points in Belhare speech community.
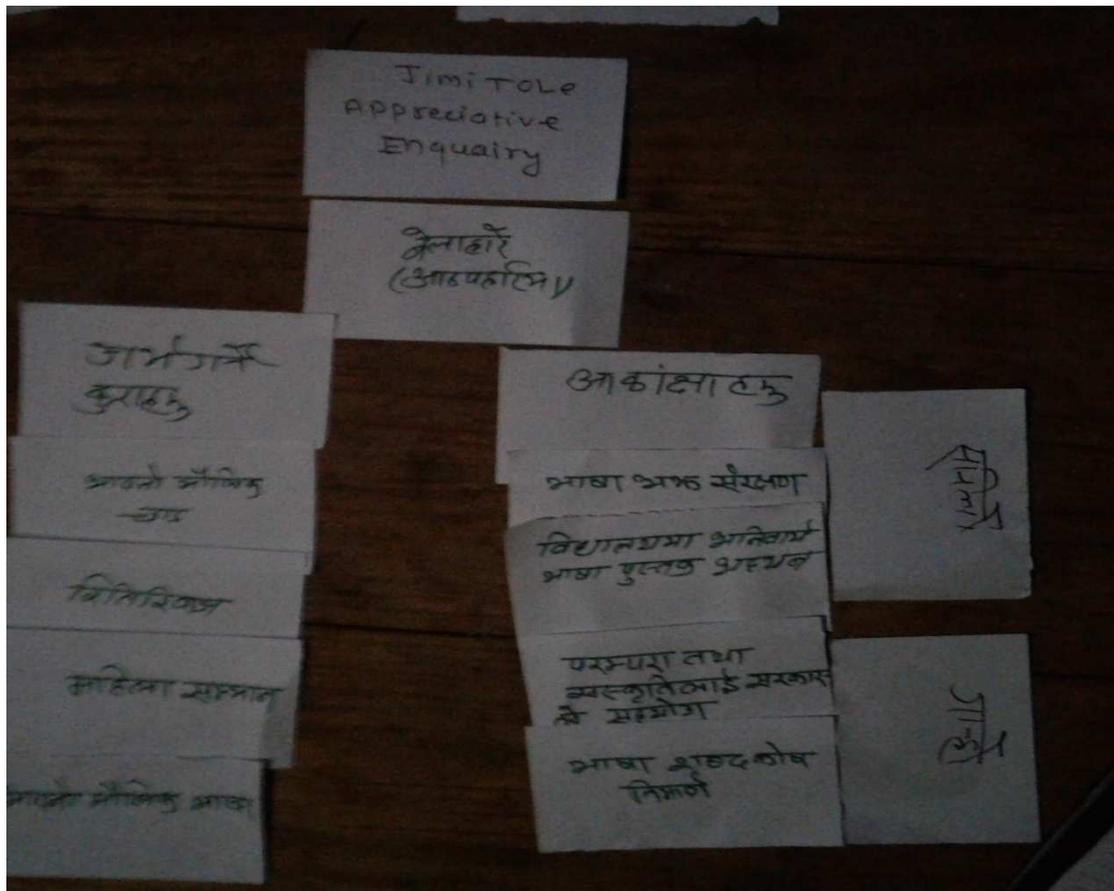
Photograph 8.1: Appreciative inquiry in Belhara, Dhanakuta
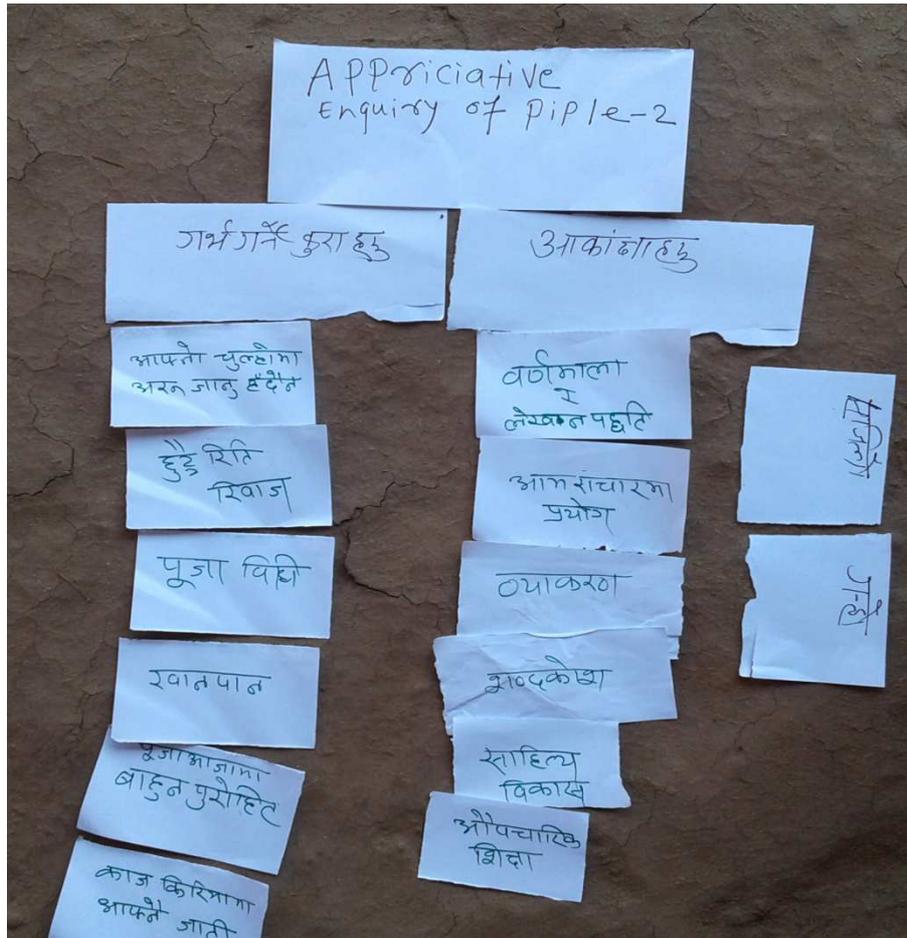
Photograph 8.2: Appreciative inquiry in Piple, Dhanakuta
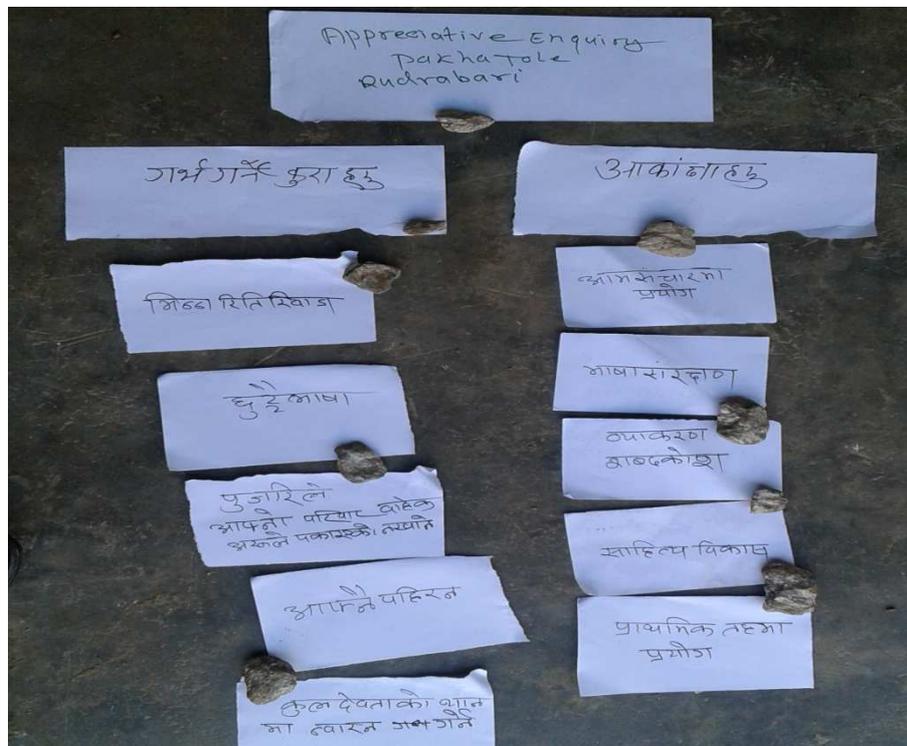
Photograph 8.3: Appreciative inquiry in Rudrabari, Dhanakuta

Table 8.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in different key points in Belhare.

Table 8.1: Summary of the responses to the major queries in different key points in Belhare

Key survey points	Good things that made Belharespeakers feel happy or proud about their languages	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Belahara	- Typical festival - Separate culture and traditions - Women community - Separate language	- Preservation of the language - Compulsory mother tongue education - Preservation of culture and tradition by the government - Compilation of dictionary in mother tongue	Use of their mother tongue in schools
Piple	- No entry of non-member of the community in the kitchen - Having their own methodology for worshipping the gods - Distinct culture and tradition - Distinct foods - Distinct rites and rituals	- Orthography and writing system - Writing grammar in the mother tongue - Compilation of dictionary in the mother tongue - Development of literature in the mother tongue - Use of their mother tongue in mass media - Formal education in mother tongue	Development of literature in the mother tongue
Rudrabari	- Distinct traditions and culture - Having their own Mother tongue - Having their own dress - Naming ceremony at the shrine of ancestors	- Use of mother tongue in mass media - Preservation of the mother tongue - Making dictionary and writing grammar in the mother tongue - Developing literature in the mother tongue - Use of mother tongue in primary level	Making dictionary and writing grammar in the mother tongue

To summarize, the responses to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud about their language include having typical festival, separate culture and traditions, women community, restriction for non-member of the community in the kitchen, having

their own methodology for worshipping the gods, distinct foods, distinct rites and rituals, own mother tongue, dress and naming ceremony at the shrine of ancestors.

The common dreams to make their language and culture better include preservation of the language, culture and tradition by the government, compulsory mother tongue education, orthography and writing system, writing grammar in the mother tongue, compilation of dictionary in the mother tongue, development of literature in the mother tongue, use of mother tongue in mass media, formal education in mother tongue, developing literature in the mother tongue and use of mother tongue in primary level.

8.2 Planning for realizing the views/dreams about language development

In the survey points, after having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

Table 8.2 presents the summary of the planning to realize the most important dream in the survey points in Belhare.

Table 8.2: Summary of the planning to realize the most important dreams in the survey points in Belhare

Survey points	What to do?	Who else should be involved?	How to do?	Resources needed	When to do?
BELAHARA	▪ Use of their mother tongue in schools	Government and local community	In coordination of local government and community	Financial and technical	Immediately
PIPLE	▪ Development of literature in the mother tongue	Local community	In coordination the people of the community	Financial and technical	Immediately
RUDRABARI	▪ Making dictionary and writing grammar in the mother tongue	Local community, government and linguists	In coordination of local community, government and linguists	Financial and technical	Immediately

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 8.2 presents the most important dreams in Belhare speech community in order to start on developing plans such as whom else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed. The most important dreams to start on planning include use of their mother tongue in schools, development of literature in the mother tongue and making dictionary and writing grammar in the mother tongue. For that they have planned to maintain coordination of local government and community and linguists. There are the needs of financial and technical resources and these works should be done immediately.

8.3 Views of the village heads/language activists

In this section, we try to evaluate the views of the village heads/language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to five informants in total. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

a) Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

b) What ways can you support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, the responses to the ways they could do vary in some cases in the Belhare community. Table 8.3 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Belhare.

Table 8.3: The ways of preservation and promotion of the mother tongue (N=3)

In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?	Responses	
	Can	Can't
By devising the script	2(66.66%)	1(33.33%)
By making the spelling system systematic	3(100%)	-
By compiling dictionary	2(66.66%)	1(33.33%)
By writing grammar	3(100%)	-
By encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	1(33.33%)	2(66.66%)
By writing and publishing textbooks	3(100%)	-
By publishing newspapers	2(66.66%)	1(33.33%)
By making use of the language in administration	2(66.66%)	1(33.33%)
By making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	1(33.33%)	2(66.66%)

Source: Field study, 2017

Table 8.3 shows that 66.66% of the respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic 100% and 66.66% of the respondents replied by compiling dictionary whereas 100% have informed us that they can help by writing and publishing textbooks, 66.66% of the respondents replied by publishing newspapers and 33.33% of the respondents replied by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level. Likewise, 100% have said that can support their language by writing grammar and 33.33 of the respondents replied by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue. Similarly, 66.66% have said that they can support by making use of the language in administration. They also said that these are challenging jobs.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in the Belhare speech community. This community does have rich traditions and culture, their own mother tongue, tradition and culture, rites and rituals, festivals, dresses and foods. The community feels proud for them. They want to preserve and promote their language and culture, to educate their children in the mother tongue schools, prepare grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue and develop literature in the mother tongue.

The village heads and language activist are ready to support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing newspapers, by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level, by writing grammar and by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue. They also said that these are challenging jobs.

To sum up, above all, the Belhare speech community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education, develop literature and prepare grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Summary of findings

The main goal of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Belhare, a Kirati Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the domains of language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, patterns of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes and dialectal variation in the Belhare speech community. Moreover, the survey has also attempted to collect information about the dreams and plans of the speech community for the development of the Belhare language. The major findings of the survey are presented as follows:

9.1.1 Ethnolinguistic information

(a) Athpariya is an ethnic community. It is a community of one caste and one ethnic group. The language spoken in the Belahara village in Dhankuta Municipality is Belhare but the speakers identify their mother tongue as Athpahariya language. Some people regard it as a dialect of Athpahare but the differences in grammar, vocabulary and low degree of mutual intelligibility, scholars have regarded it as a distinct language. This language has a distinct Ethnologue code [byw], too.

(b) It is classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Kirati, Eastern language.

(c) Belhare is an agglutinative language. It exhibits a complex system of person and number marking.

(d) The agreement system is sensitive to the pragmatic constellation. Speech act participants, both agent and patients, are usually marked on the verb. The third person patient is marked by a suffix -u.

(e) Belhare is morphologically ergative. It exhibits a split between the first person and the rest.

(f) Belhare is a non-tonal language.

(g) The Belhare speakers are following their traditional religion (Kirat) and Hindu.

(h) The main occupation of Athpariya is agriculture. Nowadays the Belahara village has become a center for tomato production. Along with other people, the Belhare people

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are involved in producing tomato and selling their product in the local market, nearby cities like Dhankuta, Dharan, etc. and in India, too. They are also engaged in different professions such asarmy, business, civil services and small industries.

(i) They are very strict to their culture and traditions.

9.1.2 Domains of language use

(a) There is not an encouraging situation of use of mother tongue in the general domains of language use in this speech community.

(b) None exclusively use their mother tongue in singing. In the domains of counting, marketing/shopping, storytelling, discussing, singing at home and village meeting, the use of only Belhare is nearly 10% which is extremely low figure. The major use of the Belhare language is found in the domains of praying, quarreling and abusing/scolding. Bilingual use is dominant in the domains of village meeting, discussing and marketing. Similarly, dominant use of Nepali is found in the domains of counting, singing and storytelling. Only in the domains of discussing, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding and family gatherings, on the average, more than two-third of the speakers use their mother tongue.

(c) Percentages of the female respondents using Belhare, their mother tongue, are higher than that of male respondents. The Belhare language is gradually shifting to Nepali.

(d) Majority of the respondents use their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare, while talking about education matters and discussing social events and other family matters with their grandparents and parents minority of them use Belhare in the situations with the spouse and children. They use both their mother tongue and Nepali in marriage invitations whereas they use only Nepali in writing minutes in the community meetings. Writing letters and minutes of the meetings is exclusively in Nepali and in marriage invitation they use Belhare and Nepale based the situation.

(e) Nearly 40% of the speakers prefer their mother tongue, 42% preferred Nepali and 19% preferred others (possibly English) as the medium of instruction at primary level. So selection of the language as the medium of instruction in the primary level is challenging in the community.

(f) Belhare is mainly used in the domestic and intracommunity domains and Nepali is used in the outside and intercommunity domains.

(g) Nepali is the only language of wider communication.

9.1.3 Bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency

(a) Belhare is a bi/multilingual community. In this community, speakers may have a choice of only two languages, viz. Belhare and Nepali. The mother tongue is normally spoken by elderly people, witchdoctors, social workers, farmers, and housewives and uneducated people whereas Nepali is spoken by children, young boys and girls, teachers and political leaders. Both languages are generally used by students, teachers, civil servants, educated and politicians.

(b) Almost all of the speakers can speak two languages: Belhare and Nepali but there are found some young people who can speak only Nepali, too. The bilingual ones acquired their mother tongue, i.e., Belhare first and then Nepali.They all love their language and most of them(67%) speak it best but some (33%) have developed better proficiency in Nepali than in Belhare.

(c) Only 10% of the literate Belhare speakers said that they can read and write in their mother tongue.

(d) Almost all (91%) of the total informants are confirmed that when a small child of Belhare speech community first goes to school can understand all the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

9.1.4 Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes

(a) The vitality level of the Belhare language is not encouragingly high.

(b) Less than half of the children speak their mother tongue.

(c) Nearly half of the parents use their mother tongue with their children.

(d) More than two-third of the respondents have replied that there is the practice of intermarriage in the Belhare speech community.

(e) They have common marital relationship with Limbu, Bantawa, Chamling, Tamang, Chherti and Brahmin.

(f) Most of the Belhare speakers like their children learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education and they are ready to support mother tongue based schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching, and helping with the school.

(g) Eighty percentages of the speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language.

(h) Almost two-third would feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language. They are fully confident that the children of the present children would speak their mother tongue in future.

(i) Most of them feel good if their grandchildren will speak their mother tongue and they feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue.

(j) They said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Belhare first. Similarly, they do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

(k) They feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue, Belhare.

9.1.5 Language resources, dialectal variations and language development

(a) Belhare community is rich in oral literature. Oral literatures available in the language are folktales, songs, religious literature, radio, films and others.

(b) Written materials available in the language are phonemic inventory, dictionary, magazines, and literacy materials.

(c) Belhare is a prewritten language. They use the Devanagari script in writing.

(d) There are only two organizations devoted for the development of the Belhare language and culture. These organizations are working for the social, cultural, linguistic, and economic development of Belhare.

(e) Lexical and phonetic similarity percentages in the key survey points clearly indicate that there is not a clear tendency towards dialectal variation in Belhare. Belhare spoken in three survey points are mutually intelligible to each other.

(f) Jimitole, Belhara, the core area of Belhare, exhibits an insignificant degree (ranging from 81% to 89%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Piple, Rudrabari and Guthitar. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Belhara exhibits the highest similarity with Rudrabari (i.e., 87%) and the least similarity with Guthitar (i.e., 78%).

(g) Jimitole, Belhara, the core area of Belhare, exhibits an insignificant degree (ranging from 78% to 87%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points.

(h) Participants in the survey points responded that the Belhare language is spoken in all the places is exactly the same and there are no dialectal variations.

(i) This community does have rich traditions and culture, their own mother tongue, tradition and culture, rites and rituals, festivals,   dresses and foods. The community feels proud for them.

(j) They want to preserve and promote their language and culture, to educate their children in the mother tongue schools, prepare grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue and develop literature in the mother tongue.

(k) The village heads and language activist are ready to support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing newspapers, by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level, by writing grammar and by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue. They also said that these are challenging jobs.

(l) The Belhare speech community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education, develop literature and prepare grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue.

9.2 Recommendations

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

(a) For the preservation, promotion and the development of the Belhare language, culture, and literature, an immediate step should be taken by the speech community and local government bodies with the help of the government to launch effective programs.

(b) As multilingual education has not yet been effectively implemented in this speech community, the main reasons have to be found out. Then,the curriculum and textbooks for the basic level should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings in the Belhare speech community.

(c) Effective strategies should be taken for the sustainable implementation of the mother tongue based multilingual education in the Belhare speech community.

(d) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.

(e) A detailed language documentation project should be launched to preserve and promote abundance of genres of Belhare folklore, language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial.

(f) Grammar and dictionary of Belhare should be written in the mother tongue and compiled and the folklore must be documented immediately.

Annex A: 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: ……………………………E ……………………………………………..N
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 □
NO □

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 □

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) | |

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

8. Name of language consultant: ……………………….
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a)   Male   (b)   Female   (c)   Other
10. Age: ……………………….

11. Caste/ethnic group: ……………….
12. Your mother tongue's name: ………………
13. Your mother's mother tongue…………
14. Your father's mother tongue…………….

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

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

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

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

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

B. Domains of language use

A. I speak different languages in different situations, on different occasions and to different people.

B. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [LWC]? (Place [LWC] label to one side. Participants name domains, write them on paper and place them under [LWC] label)

C. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [L1]? (Place [L1] label to other side. Participants write domains and place them under [L1]. At this time participants may say "some children speak L1 but others speak LWC." Ask questions to help them explain which children speak each language, or the situation in which they speak each. Change the labels to show the categories clearly.)

D. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak both [L1] and [LWC]? (Participants write domains, and place them in the middle. They can place them nearer to one side or the other if most people speak a certain language in that domain or if they speak more of that language in that domain but some of the other language.)

E. Within each of these three main categories, let's move to the top, the occasions that occur daily and to the bottom the ones that occur rarely. (Put a label for 'Daily' and 'Rarely' at the top and bottom. Allow them to arrange the domains. Encourage them to leave a gap between the Daily and Rarely categories or place a string.)

F. (If there many in the daily category) Which are the people you speak to most during a day? Move those slightly higher than any others. (Or place the daily ones in order)

G. How do you feel about the languages that you use and who you use them with? Would you like to begin using either language more in any other situations?

C. Dialect mapping

A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask) Which name is the one you prefer to use?
   i. (Language name preferred by group)…
   ii. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
   iii. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).

B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.
Be sure to get all the following information for each location:
(i) Ward No…… (ii) Village/Town…........ (iii) VDC/municipality……
(iv) District………… (v) Zone…………………………

C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.

D. What other languages are so similar to yours that when they speak, you can understand at least some words? (Write these on pieces of paper and add them to the "map" on the ground)

E. Do any groups of villages all speak [L1] in the same way? (Place a loop of string around each such group)

F. Which variety do you understand best? Second best? Etc. (Place numbers written on cardboard next to each municipality, language or group of municipalities)

G. Now we want to show which of these varieties you understand very well, which you
    don't understand at all, which you understand most of, but a few words you don't
    understand and which you understand only a few words of. In which of these villages
    can you understand the language Very Well? (Place a Key, have them select the color
    of plastic marker for "very well". Have them place those markers on each place they
    understand "very well." Repeat for each other category of comprehension.)
H. Some people have said they want to start writing books* in [L1]. If books were
    written in [L1], which villages would be able to use those books?   (have them put a
    big string around those varieties) (*If they do not think books can or should be
    written in their language, then say they want to start making CDs using [L1])
I. Out of all these you have grouped together, which variety should be used as the one
    for writing (or recording) [L1] so that all the others will understand it well? If that
    one could not be used, then which one? (use A, B, and C written on cardboard)

D. Multilingualism

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

E. Appreciative enquiry
A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your
    culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels
    for each
B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them?
    Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time –
    allow any dream – even impossible ones!)
C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who
    will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help
    to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)
D.   As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put
    this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels
    then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)
E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in
    order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones
    that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)

F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group

G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)

H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)
Notes:
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: ……………………………E …………………………………………………..N
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?

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(a) Yes   (b) No

(h) by making use of the language in administration?

(a) Yes   (b) No

(i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?

(a) Yes   (b) No

    (j) in any other ways? …………………………………..

Annex D: Word lists Belahara (Dhankuta Municipality 9), Belahara, (Dhankuta Municipality 9), Piple (Dhankuta Municipality 9), Guthitar (Dhankuta Municipality 14) and Rudrabari (Dhankuta Municipality 9) in Dhankuta district, Nepal.

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	Belhara	Piple	Guthitar	Rudra bari
1.	body	शरीर	jiu	jiu	jiu	jiu
2.	head	टाउको	taŋge	taŋgek	taŋge	taŋgek
3.	hair	कपाल	pʰyak	pʰiyak	pʰiyak	pʰiyak
4.	face	अनुहार	nʰabʰak	nabʰak	nabʰak	nabʰak
5.	eye	आँखा	mik	mik	mik	mik
6.	ear	कान	nʰubʰek	nʰubʰek	nubek	nʰubʰek
7.	nose	नाक	nari	anari	nari	nari
8.	mouth	मुख	mun	mun	mun	mun
9.	teeth	दाँत	keŋ	keŋ	keŋ	keŋ
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	lepʰpʰa	lekʰpʰa	lepʰa	lekʰpʰa
11.	breast	स्तन	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ
12.	belly	पेट	pʰok	pʰok	pʰok	pʰok
13.	arm/ hand	हात	muk	muk	muk	muk
14.	elbow	कुइनो	kuino	kuino	kuino	kuino
15.	palm	हत्केला	mukteŋma	muktemma	muktemma	muktemma
16.	finger	औँला	aŋgulik	aŋgulik	aŋguli	aŋgulik
17.	fingernail	नङ	cʰoʔkmasik	tsʰoʔkmasik	tsʰokmasik	tsʰoʔkmasik
18.	leg	खुट्टा	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ
19.	skin	छाला	həʔwa	hoʔwa	həuwa	hoʔwa
20.	bone	हाड	ruʔwa	ruʔwa	uruwa	uruʔwa
21.	heart	मुटु	luʔma	luʔkma	ulukma	luʔkma
22.	blood	रगत	helik	helik	welik	helik
23.	urine	पिसाब	cʰeʔpma	cʰeʔma	cʰetma	cʰepma
24.	feces	दिसा	hi	hi	hi	hicʰep

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						ma
25.	village	गाउँ	gãu	gãu	gãu	gãu
26.	house	घर	kʰim	kʰim	kʰim	kʰim
27.	roof	छानो	dʰuri	dʰuri	cʰano	cʰano
28.	door	ढोका	ʈoraŋ	ʈoraŋ	ʈoriŋ	ʈoraŋ
29.	firewood	दाउरा	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ
30.	broom	कुचो	ʈamsereŋ	ʈamseriŋ	ʈamsariŋ	ʈamsereŋ
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	hotroi	silauʈo	silauʈo	silauʈo
32.	pestle	लोहोरे	lohoro	lohoro	lohoro	lohoro
33.	hammer	हथौडा	hatʰauda	hotrə	hatʰauda	hatʰauda
34.	knife	चक्कु	cʰuri	cʰuri	cʰuri	cʰuri
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	pʰendɨ	pʰendik	pʰedik	pʰendik
36.	rope	डोरी	sak	ribʰak	ribʰak	ribʰak
37.	thread	धागो	saʔki	saʔki	saʔki	saʔki
38.	needle	सियो	cʰomeʈ	cʰomeʈ	cʰomeʈ	cʰomeʈ
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	cʰeʔkani	cʰeʔkani	cʰeʔkatni	cʰeʔkani
40.	ring	औंठी	əŋgutʰi	əŋgutʰi	əuŋtʰi	əŋgutʰi
41.	sun	घाम	nam	nam	nam	nam
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	lacʰewat	lacʰeũwat	ləcʰeuət	ləcʰeŋwa
43.	sky	आकाश	akas	akas	akas	akas
44.	star	तारा	tara	cətsuŋgi	tara	tara
45.	rain	वर्षा	oeʔtae	oeʈʈayu	bərkʰa	oeʈʈae
46.	water	पानी	cuwa	cuwa	cuwa	cuwa
47.	river	नदी	nədi	nədi	nədi	nədi
48.	cloud	बादल	badəl	badəl	akas	badəl
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	bijulicəmkənu	bijulicəmkənu	namdzʰilikpa	bijulicəmkənu
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	kubin	kubiŋ	kubin	kʰubʰiŋ
51.	wind	बतास	hiʔwa	hiʔwa	hiwa	hiʔwa
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	luŋgʰek	luŋgʰeʔk	luŋbʰek	luŋgʰek
53.	path	बाटो	lambu	lambu	lambo	lambu
54.	sand	बालुवा	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa	baluwa
55.	fire	आगो	mi	mi	mi	mi
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	mikʰuwa	mikʰu	dʰuwã	mikʰu
57.	ash	खरानी	kʰarani	ʈhabuʈ	kʰarani	kʰarani

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58.	mud	माटो	kʰam	kʰam	kʰam	kʰam
59.	dust	धुलो	dʰulo	dʰulo	dʰulo	dʰulo
60.	gold	सुन	sun	pʰabeleŋma	pʰabalemba	sun
61.	tree	रूख	siŋʈəŋ	siŋʈaŋ	siŋʈaŋ	siŋʈaŋ
62.	leaf	पात	labʰok	labʰok	upʰauwa	labʰok
63.	root	जरा	ujara	ujara	ujara	ujara
64.	thorn	काँडो	ʈiŋgiba	ʈiŋgiba	ʈiŋiba	ʈiŋgiba
65.	flower	फूल	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ
66.	fruit	फलफूल	pʰəlpʰul	pʰəlpʰul	pʰəlpʰul	pʰəlpʰul
67.	mango	आँप	ãmbiba	ãmbibu	ambiba	ãmbiba
68.	banana	केरा	ŋaʔlabu	ŋaʔlabu	natlabo	ŋaʔlabu
69.	wheat (husked)	गहुँ	gəhũ	gəhũ	gəhũ	gəhũ
70.	barley	जौ	jəu	jəu	jəu	jəu
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	casa	cacək	sera	casak
72.	potato	आलु	alu	alu	alu	alu
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	bʰənta	bʰənta	popola	bʰənta
74.	groundnut	बदाम	bədam	bədam	bədam	bədam
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	marci	martci	marci	marci
76.	turmeric	बेसार	besar	besar	hərdi	besar
77.	garlic	लसुन	maŋghuʔk	maŋghuʔk	maŋhuk	maŋghuʔk
78.	onion	प्याज	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj
79.	cauliflower	काउली	kauli	kauli	kauli	kauli
80.	tomato	गोलभेँडा	golbʰeɖa	rəmmenʈa	rambʰeɖa	golbʰeɖa
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	bənda	bənda	bənda	bənda
82.	oil	तेल	kiya	kiya	kiya	kiya
83.	salt	नुन	yum	yum	yum	yum
84.	meat	मासु	cece	cece	cece	cece
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	uʔcʰot	ucʰot	uʔcʰəwat	ucʰot
86.	fish	माछा	ŋasa	ŋʰasa	ŋasa	ŋasa
87.	chicken	चल्ला	wacile	wacile	wacilet	wacile
88.	egg	अण्डा	wain	wain	wain	wain
89.	cow	गाई	piʈ	piʈ	piʈ	piʈ
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	sãuwa	sãuwa	sãwa	sãuwã
91.	milk	दुध	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ
92.	horns	सिङ	uʈaŋ	ʈaŋ	uʈaŋ	uʈaŋ

93.	tail	पुच्छर	mila	umila	umila	umila
94.	goat	बाख्रो	meɖi	meri	meɖiba	meri
95.	dog	कुकुर	koc^{h}u	koc^{h}u	koc^{h}u	koc^{h}u
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	puc^{h}a	puc^{h}a	puc^{h}a	pu:c^{h}a
97.	monkey	बाँदर	kubaŋ	kubaŋ	kubaŋ	kubaŋ
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	ʈoŋg^{h}yaŋ	ʈoŋg^{h}yaŋ	ʈoŋheŋ	ʈoŋg^{h}eŋ
99.	ant	कमिला	poŋgrok	poŋg^{h}orok	poŋgrok	poŋgorook
100.	spider	माकुरो	raŋgaba	rəŋgəba	raŋgaba	raŋgaba
101.	name	नाम	niɲ	niɲ	niɲ	niɲ
102.	man	मान्छे	mai	mai	mai	mai
103.	woman	आइमाई	miyac^{h}a	myac^{h}a	myac^{h}a	miac^{h}a
104.	child	बच्चा	picc^{h}a	pic^{h}a	pic^{h}ya	niɲi
105.	father	बाबा	apa	apa	apa	apa
106.	mother	आमा	ama	ama	ama	ama
107.	older brother	दाजु	ap^{h}u	ap^{h}u	ap^{h}u	ap^{h}u
108.	younger brother	भाइ	anuc^{h}a	nuc^{h}a	nuc^{h}a	anuc^{h}a
109.	older sister	दिदी	ana	ana	ana	ana
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	anuc^{h}a	nuc^{h}a	nuc^{h}a	anuc^{h}a
111.	son	छोरो	yambic^{h}a ac^{h}a	yambic^{h}a ac^{h}a	yambic^{h}a	ac^{h}a
112.	daughter	छोरी	myac^{h}a acha	myac^{h}a ac^{h}a	myac^{h}a	miac^{h}a
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान्)	ayambic^{h}a	apasiŋ	abud^{h}a	imbic^{h}a
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	amyac^{h}a	amasiŋ	amyac^{h}a	ambiac^{h}a
115.	boy	केटो	ayambic^{h}a	yembic^{h}a	yembets^{h}a	yembic^{h}a
116.	girl	केटी	myac^{h}ya	myac^{h}ya	m^{h}ec^{h}ya	miac^{h}a
117.	day	दिन	din	hambak^{h}a	din	din
118.	night	रात	semba	semba	semba	semba
119.	morning	विहान	b^{h}eni	b^{h}eni	ub^{h}eni	b^{h}eni
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	lemba	lemba	məd^{h}yannə	lemba
121.	evening	साँझ	samba	usamba	usamba	semba
122.	yesterday	हिजो	asen	asen	asen	asen
123.	today	आज	hamba	hamba	hamba	hamba

124.	tomorrow	भोली	waremba	waremba	waremba	waremba
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	sata	sata	həpta	sata
126.	month	महिना	məhina	məhina	məhina	məhina
127.	year	वर्ष	bərsə	bərsə	bərsə	bərsə
128.	old	पुरानो	upuran	purano	pasiŋ	purano
129.	new	नयाँ	ucʰəuwat	ucʰəũwat	ucʰəŋwat	ucʰuŋwat
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	kʰãikʰa	kʰãekʰa	kʰãyũ	kʰãikʰa
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	kʰãinya	hũkʰãini	kʰãni	kʰãinya
132.	wet	चिसो	wayuʔwãha	wayuʔkʰiŋe	ciso	wayuʔkkʰare
133.	dry	सुख्खा	heʔiyahã	hehare	suᵏha	pʰuko
134.	long	लामो	epʰeŋkʰa	epʰeŋdʰeʔ	yepʰeŋyuk	epʰeŋkʰa
135.	short	छोटो	cʰipʰeikʰa	cikpʰendʰeʔ	cʰoto	cʰoto
136.	hot	तातो	tato	kuware	kuyu	tato
137.	cold	चिसो	ciso	ciso	ciyu	ciso
138.	right	दाहिने	c uptaŋ	cʰ uptaŋ	coptaŋmuk	cʰ uptaŋ
139.	left	देब्रे	pʰyaŋsaŋ	pʰeŋsaŋ	pʰeŋsaŋmuk	pʰyaŋsaŋ
140.	near	नजिक	naʔya	inetto	nəjik	nəjik
141.	far	टाढा	yoba	hiyuba	ʈadʰa	ʈaɖa
142.	big	ठूलो	yeʔna	eikʰa	eikʰa	ei:kʰa
143.	small	सानो	ciʔna	itikʰa	ciktuwa	ci:kʰa
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	liʔuka	liʔhiu	yeika	liʔukʰa
145.	light	हलुका	yãukʰa	yeŋyu	yeŋyuk	yãukʰa
146.	above	माथि	ʈuba	ʈu:ba	ʈubak	ʈu:ba
147.	below	तल	muba	mu:ba	muba	mu:ba
148.	white	सेतो	pʰutruma	pʰuturoma	pʰotruma	pʰutruwa
149.	black	कालो	makʰrok	makʰrokma	makʰrokma	makʰrekkʰa
150.	red	रातो	pʰabelyaŋma	pʰabaleŋma	pʰabeleŋba	pʰabeleŋʰã
151.	one	एक	ipok	igiɖ	igira	igira
152.	two	दुई	sipok	siʔkida	sikara	sigira
153.	three	तीन	sumbok	suŋgida	sumbira	sumgira
154.	four	चार	car	cargida	cargira	cargira
155.	five	पाँच	pãc	pãcgida	pãts	pãc

156.	six	छ	tsʰə	tsʰəgida	tsʰə	tsʰə
157.	seven	सात	sat	satgida	sat	sat
158.	eight	आठ	atʰ	atʰ	atʰ	atʰ
159.	nine	नौ	nəũ	nəũ	nəũ	nəũ
160.	ten	दश	dəs	dəs	dəs	dəs
161.	eleven	एघार	egarə	egarə	egarə	egarə
162.	twelve	बाह्र	barə	barə	barə	barə
163.	twenty	बीस	bis	bis	bis	bis
164.	one hundred	एक सय	eksəy	eksəy	eksəy	eksəy
165.	who	को	saʈi	saʈi	saʈi	saʈi
166.	what	के	eʈi	eʔʈi	yeti	eʈi
167.	where	कहाँ	hene	heʔne	hene	hene
168.	when	कहिले	henbela	heʔmbela	yenduwa	henbela
169.	how many	कति	imbi	imbi	imbi	imbi
170.	which	कुन	hena	heʔna	hena	hena
171.	this	यो	na	ina	ma	na
172.	that	त्यो	ina	inaro	na	una
173.	these	यिनीहरू	inkʰa	nakʰa	nakʰacʰi	nakʰa
174.	those	उनीहरू	uncʰik	ukʰa	uncʰik	uncʰik
175.	same	उही	ikheʔwaɖo	inacʰa	inaro	uncʰik uncʰa
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	pʰərək	pʰərək	makʰak	ʈaʈaro
177.	whole	सबै	səbəi	igidaro	sobbe	səbəi
178.	broken	फुटेको	heiʔyãhã	heʔʈkʰare	hetkʰare	heiʔyãhã
179.	few	थोरै	iʈiulo	iʈiulo	ʈiulo	iʈiulo
180.	many	धेरै	akʰasa	aʔkʰasa	akkʰasa	aʔkʰasa
181.	all	सबै	səbəi	səbəi	sobbe	səbəi
182.	to eat	खानु	cama	cana	co	cama
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	hama	haru	haru	hama
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	sakluma	usakluse	sakluse	asakluse
185.	to drink	पिउनु	uŋma	uŋu	minduk	uŋma
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	waʔmaluma	woeheʔmaluse	yetmaluse	waʔmaluse
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	imma	imsa	imma	imseŋa
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	leŋma	leŋsa	lemsa	leŋma
189.	to sit	बस्नु	yuŋma	yuŋa	yumak	uŋma
190.	to give	दिनु	ti:ma	piru	piru	piru
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	uma	uru	nimetuk	uma
192.	to die	मर्नु	sima	siyare	siyara	sima

193.	to kill	मार्नु	setma	seru	seru	seʈma
194.	to fly	उड्नु	pema	peʔt	pesa	pema
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	laumma	ləʔomoma	laumək	lauŋma
196.	to run/ run	दौड्नु	pinma	pinma	pindak	pinma
197.	to go /go	जानु	kʰaʔtma	kʰara	ləumak	kʰatma
198.	to come	आउनु	aba	aba	abak	aba
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	cekma	cega	mundukma	cekma
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुन्नु	kʰemma	kʰemsu	kʰemma	kʰemma
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	hitʔma	hiru	hiruk	hitma
202.	I	म	huʔuŋka	uŋka	uŋka	huuŋka
203.	you (informal)	तैँ	han	han	han	haka
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	han	hanik	han	hanka
205.	he	ऊ	un	ina	un	una
206.	she	उनी	un	inakʰaro	uncʰik	un
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	hiŋkyaŋ	uŋkeŋ	uŋkeŋ	həŋkeŋ
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	h:kyaŋ	sikpaŋ	uŋkeŋ	hanke
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	hanik	hancʰik	haŋikto	hanik
210.	they	ऊनीहरू	uncʰik	uʔcʰik	uŋikto	uncʰik

Aŋŋex E: Basic informatioŋ of the language consultants involved iŋ the survey of Belahare in Dhankuta Municipality, Dhankuta

	Ɖame	Sex	Age	Education	Village	Ward Ɖo.
						9
	SURVEY POINT 1: BELAHARE					
1.	Hari Bahadur Rai	M	60	L	Belahara	9
2.	Indra Kumar Rai	M	37	L	Belahara	9
3.	Ram Kumar Rai	M	45	L	Belahara	9
4.	Raj Kumar Rai	M	45	L	Belahara	9
5.	Surendra Rai	M	22	L	Belahara	9
6.	Sarita Rai	F	48	L	Belahara	9
7.	Nikita Rai	F	16	L	Belahara	9
8.	Nisa Rai	F	18	L	Belahara	9
9.	Parbati Rai	F	32	L	Belahara	9

10.	Madrani Rai	F	61	IL	Belahara	9
11.	Surya Bahadur Rai	M	61	IL	Belahara	9
12.	Pabitra Rai	F	60	IL	Belahara	9
13.	Dipendra Raj Rai	M	25	L	Belahara	9
	SURVEY POINT 2: PIPLE					
1.	Dillishor Rai	M	25	L	Piple	9
2.	Sukra Rai	M	26	L	Piple	9
3.	Rupa Rai	F	23	L	Piple	9
4.	Ganesh Bahadur Rai	M	79	L	Piple	9
5.	Parbirta Rai	F	50	IL	Piple	9
6.	Januka Rai	F	25	L	Piple	9
7.	Chakri Maya Rai	F	63	IL	Piple	9
8.	Aita Rani Rai	F	72	IL	Piple	9
9.	Makar Dhouj Rai	M	53	IL	Piple	9
10.	Lok Bahadur Rai	M	55	IL	Piple	9
11.	Phul Maya Rai	F	42	IL	Piple	9
12.	Sadak Bahadur Rai	M	64	IL	Piple	9
13.	Bagha Bahadur Rai	M	76	L	Piple	9
	SURVEY POINT 3: RUDRABARI (PAKHATOLE)					
1.	Bibi Raj Rai	M	34	L	Rudrabari	9
2.	Nar Bahadur Rai	M	36	L	Rudrabari	9
3.	Nanda lal Rai	M	60	L	Rudrabari	9
4.	Man Kumari Rai	F	60	IL	Rudrabari	9
5.	Dammar Kumari Rai	F	24	L	Rudrabari	9
6.	Bhim Bahadur Rai	M	60	IL	Rudrabari	9
7.	Suresh Rai	M	53	IL	Rudrabari	9
8.	Hari Bahadur Rai	M	43	L	Rudrabari	9
9.	Sajana Rai	F	35	L	Rudrabari	9
10.	Aaiti Maya Rai	F	50	L	Rudrabari	9
11.	Uddip Rai	M	18	L	Rudrabari	9
12.	Puspa Rai	F	29	IL	Rudrabari	9
13.	Nar Bahadur Rai	M	29	L	Rudrabari	9
14.	Untuki Rai	F	82	IL	Rudrabari	9

Annex E2: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

	SURVEY POINT 1: BELHARA						
	Name	**Sex**	**Age**	**Village**	**MUN**	**Ward No.**	**District**
1.	Raj Kumar Rai	M	45	Belhara	**Dhankuta Municipality**	9	Dhankuta
	SURVEY POINT 2: PIPLE						
1.	Dilliswor Rai	M	25	Piple	Dhankuta Municipality	9	Dhankuta
	SURVEY POINT 3: RUDRABARI						
1.	Nanda Lal Rai	M	60	Rudrabari	Dhankuta Municipality	9	Dhankuta

Annex E3: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Word List

	SURVEY POINT 1: BELHARA					
	Name	**Sex**	**Age**	**Village**	**Ward No.**	**District**
1.	Raj Kumar Rai	M	45	Belhara	9	Dhankuta
	SURVEY POINT 2: PIPLE					
1.	Bag Bahadur Rai	M	79	Piple	9	Dhankuta
2.	Ganesh Bahadur Rai	M	76	Pip;le	9	Dhankuta
	SURVEY POINT 3:RUDRABARI					
1.	Nar Bahadur Rai	M		Rudrabari	9	Dhankuta
2.	Bibi Raj Rai	M	34	Rudrabari	9	Dhankuta

Annex F: Some photographs of the language consultants involved in the survey of Belhare

Group photograph 1: Dr. Ambika Regmi collecting information from informants in Belhara, Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhaŋkuta

Group photograph 2: Dr. Ambika Regmi with language informants in Belhara, Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhaŋkuta

Group photograph 3: Dr. Ambika Regmi and Mr. Krishna Prasad Chalise with language informants in Belhara Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhankuta

Group photograph 4: Mr. Krishna Prasad Chalise with language informants in Piple Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhankuta

Group photograph 5c: Dr. Ambika Regmi with language informants in Piple, Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhankuta

Group photograph 6: Dr. Ambika Regmi with language informants in Piple, Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhankuta

Group photograph 7: Conducting participatory in Piple, Dhaŋkuta Muŋicipality-9, Dhaŋkuta

Group photograph 8: Participants of participatory in Piple, Dhankuta Muɲicipality-9, Dhankuta

Photograph 9: Rudrabari, Dhankuta Muɲicipality-9, Dhankuta

Group photograph 5a: Dr. Ambika Regmi with an informant in Rudrabari, Dhankuta Muɲicipality-9, Dhankuta

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