

# A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

OF

BHOJPURI

(As spoken in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa and Chitwan Districts of the Central and Nawalparasi and  
Rupandehi Districts of the Western Development Regions of Nepal)

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

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**REFERENCE DATA:**

TEAM COORDINATOR: PROF. DR. DAN RAJ REGMI

RESEARCHERS:

1. MR. GOPAL THAKUR

2. DR. AMBIKA REGMI

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Dr. Ambika Regmi

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of Bhojpuri, an Indo-Aryan language, spoken in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of the Central and Western Development Regions of Nepal. According to the Census Report, 2012, 1,584,958 Nepalese citizens speak Bhojpuri as their mother tongue comprising 6% of the total Nepalese population.<sup>1</sup> This report includes a brief description of Bhojpuri language, its resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes and language development.

According to Ethnologue (2012), there are about 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of speakers for 123 languages and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages' with close to half million speakers. However, there is no reliable estimate of the actual number of languages spoken within the country.

According to the Census, 2011 Bhojpuri is the language spoken by divergent groups of religions, ethnicities and cultures of Nepal, living in low land locally known as Tarai/Madhesh in the Central and Western Development regions. There are different caste and creed living in the region such as Hindus, Muslims and Christians by faith; Baji, Tharu and other indigenous nationalities by ethnicities that comprise Madheshi and others as social communities. This survey concentrates on Bhojpuri, a native language spoken by such divergent groups of people who live in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa and Chitwan of Narayani Zone of the Central Development Region as well in Nawalparasi and Rupandehi of Lumbini Zone in the Western Development Region. Native Bhojpuri speakers also live in the wide stretch of the adjacent Indian territories of western Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh.

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1. However, there is some discrepancy in between the data about the total population of Bhojpuri speakers published by CBS, 2012 and the real number as expected by the speech community itself during the survey. It is slightly more than the CBS report.

This chapter deals with general background of the Bhojpuri people and language. It includes the Bhojpuri people, caste/ethnic groups, religion, literacy, occupation. This chapter is organized into eight sections. Section 1.1 presents general background and section 1.2 presents the Bhojpuri speech community. Section 1.3 presents the demography and distribution of the Bhojpuri language. Similarly, section 1.4 deals with geographical location of the survey points in Bhojpuri. In section 1.5, we discuss the linguistic affiliation of the Bhojpuri language. Similarly, section 1.6 deals with previous research works available about Bhojpuri in general and the Bhojpuri language in specific. Section 1.7 presents the purpose and goals of the study. In section 1.8, we organize the report.

## **1.2 The Bhojpuri People**

From Bhojpur, a place near Baxar belonging to the district of Bhojpur in the northern Indian state of Bihar, the language named Bhojpuri and the inhabitants Bhojpurias, are thought to have spread in western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh in India as well as in the adjacent Madheshi territory of Nepal from Sarlahi in the east till Rupandehi in the west. This Bhojpuri speaking belt was divided into two nationalities following the Sugauli Treaty reached between the then Government of Nepal and the Government of British India in 1816. In reality, the Bhojpurias do not feel any linguistic and cultural boundary due to unhindered and regular movement among each other between the two states besides the political partition into two nationalities.

The Bhojpuri civilization has commenced from wild lifestyle. It has still been relied basically upon agriculture. That is why; the Bhojpurias have gathered their recognition in the field of agriculture and animal farming. They grow food-grains, fruits, lentils, vegetables, oil-grains and keep cows, buffaloes, goats and so on.

But majority of Bhojpurias still have no means other than selling labor as a consequence of medieval feudal economy giving birth to capitalism. Bhojpurias scattered in Diaspora have reached in different parts of the world due to the same reason seeking for a sale of their physical labour in global market.

Madhesh (terrain land) is the granary of Nepal and Bhojpuri area is renowned there for the highest fertility. Bhojpurias are still there in their ancestral occupation, agriculture and animal farming.

### 1.2.1 Caste/Ethnic groups

The Hindu caste system still plays a dominant role in the Bhojpuri Society. Traditionally, it is a common society of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra castes. The system of untouchability still exists in Bhojpuri society. Consequently, a major part of the society is living a life worse than presumed in hell till date being so-called lower caste locally known as *ac<sup>h</sup>op*, *ac<sup>h</sup>ut* or *dalit* (down-trodden).

Generally Brahmins, though not rich economically, deserve supreme superiority and enjoy a prestigious life. Kshatriya community of Rajputs and Bhumihars has still been landlords.

Vaishyas also include both, touchable and untouchable castes. But gradual economic growth in Vaishyas has been removing the problems of untouchability in recent days. But at the same time those economically weak are facing a kind of social exclusion. For example: *h<sup>a</sup>jam* (barbar), *loh<sup>a</sup>r* (blacksmith), and *mali* (floriculturist) are touchable but compelled to stretch their palm before the untouchable wealthy Vaishyas. These castes are locally known as *pauni* and a proverb regarding *pauni* reveals how the society looks at them, *pauni ke dauni kaisan* (Paunis should gather no harvest).

Shudras' life is more deteriorating. They are subject to do all physical labour but barred from utilizing any products facing untouchability. They build house but cannot enter after *g<sup>h</sup>arpuja* (a ritual for formal entry of the house owners). They dig the well but are not allowed to carry water. One incident is very interesting. Marriage ceremony of all castes is incomplete until the *dom* (a caste who works with bamboo and rattan to knit containers) brings *dala* (a bamboo container to perform wedding rituals) but he is only provided the food left over by eating in a feast.

This is the root cause why a large number of downtrodden Bhojpurians turned Muslims following Muslim invasion on the land. Today also, people are turning Christians high in number.

Bhojpuri society includes Hindus and Muslims on religious ground, Tharu and Baji (a name given by Tharu for non-Tharu people) on communal ground. Besides, the religious and communal tolerance is integral part of the Bhojpuri society in Nepal. Only the need is to eliminate the inhumane system of untouchability in the Hindu society.

Besides, the superstitious practices of witches, magic-spell, ghosts and animal-sacrifice are also found remnants of the medieval period.

In spite of strength and weaknesses, the Bhojpuri society has also given births to renowned personalities, e. g., First Indian President Rajendra Prasad, world famous Philosopher and Writer Rahul Sankirtayan, Shakespeare of Bhojpuri Playwright Bhikhari Thakur and great poet of Nepalese Bhojpuri Gopal 'Aska' and so on.

### 1.2.2 Religion

Dominantly, Bhojpuri speech community follows Hinduism and Islam. However, at present, a few of them are following religions other than the two, e. g., Christianity, Buddhims, Samanism and so on. But we found our respondents following Hinduism and Islam only. Table 1.1 presents the situation of religions in of the respondents in the Bhojpuri speech community.

**Table 1.1: Religions of the respondents in the Bhojpuri speech community**

(N = 60)

	Religion	Number	Percentage
1.	Hindu	50	83.33%
2.	Islam	10	16.67%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Field study, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 1.1 shows that out of 60 respondents, 50(83.33%) responded that they follow Hinduism whereas 10(16.67%) follow Islam as their religion.

### 1.2.3 Literacy

Generally literacy in Bhojpuri speech community is still poor. Ehnologue, 2012 has data of literacy rate of the Bhojpuri speech community in the first language to be 5%–30% and that in the second language to be 50%–75% respectively. Especially women are deprived of formal education. During the survey it was essential to seek for equal number of male and female informants being literate and illiterate. But due to low rate of literacy among women, the number of woman informants did not meet our need. Table 1.2 presents the literacy of the informants.

**Table 1.2: Literacy of the informants**

Male (n = 30)		Female (n = 30)	
L	IL	L	IL
15(50%)	15(50%)	11(36.67%)	19(63.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 1.2 shows 15(50%) male informants were found literate but only 11(36.67%) female informants were only found literate. This fact shows literacy rate is very poor in female Bhojpuri populace. In totality the 26 informants are found literate comprising 43.33%, and the rest 34(56.67%) are illiterate.

#### **1.2.4 Marriage system in the Bhojpuri speech community and marital status**

As the Bhojpuri speech community is heterogeneous in terms of religion, so is observed the marriage system. There is tradition of early marriage among both the Hindus and Muslims, it is rapidly receding recently. In both the religious communities of the Bhojpuri native speakers, there is arranged marriage system still continuing in practice. Priests are required in both the communities. Moreover, the marriage is arranged by the parents of both the bride and the bridegroom. Previously they were not allowed to see each other before marriage, but such practice is now being discouraged. Besides, the practice of the second wedding ceremony, locally know as *dwiraganan* or *gona* or *doṅa* among Hindus, is also being wiped out. These days, the practice of love marriage and court marriage is also getting momentum in slow motion. Table 1.3 represents marital status of the informants.

**Table 1.3: Marital status of the informants**

	Marital Status	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
1.	Married	28(93.33%)	28(93.33%)	56(93.33%)
2.	Unmarried	2(6.67%)	2(6.67%)	4(6.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 1.3 shows 28(93.33%) of each male and female informants were found married and the rest 2(6.67%) of each male and female unmarried. In totality, 56 out of 60 informants, that comprises 93.33%, were married and the rest 4(6.67%) were unmarried.

### 1.2.5 Occupation

Primarily Bhojpuri community is entirely involved in agriculture. Most of them are farmers and cattle herders. So, they have their own agro-economy following self-reliant living system by tradition. So, they are either farmers or petty-farmers or peasants or shepherds. Besides, they are also engaged in business, household works, government and public services and so on these days.

### 1.3 Demography and distribution

Bhojpuri is a multi-ethnic language spoken by the different ethnic groups of people. Being a multi-ethnic language, it is spoken in far and wide regions of Nepal as well as in India both as mother tongue as well as a second language by heterogeneous groups of people irrespective of caste and creed. It is spoken in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of Central Madhesh-Terai in Nepal as well as in the adjacent neighboring territories of Western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh of India. This language is said to be written in Kaithi script in the past but now it is written in the Devnagari script. As the latest public census, 2011 categorizes Bhojpuri language spoken by 6% of the total population, already reported. As the district-wise demography of the native Bhojpuri speakers of 2011 census depict a clear picture of distribution of its demography, Table 1.4 presents the stronghold of Bhojpuri populace in Nepal.

**Table 1.4: Stronghold of the Bhojpuri native speakers in Nepal**

	Districts	Population	Bhojpurias	Percentage
1.	Sarlahi	769,729	6,868	0.89%
2.	Rautahat	686,722	29,481	4.29%
3.	Bara	687,708	495,307	72.02%
4.	Parsa	601,017	469,619	78.14%
5.	Chitwan	579,984	9,668	1.67%
6.	Nawalparasi	643,508	186,840	29.03%
7.	Rupandehi	880,196	322,067	36.59%
	Total	4,848,864	1,519,850	31.34%

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Census Report, 2012

The internal migration of non-Bhojpuri speakers and a shift of the Tharu population from Bhojpuri into their own ethno-linguistic identity in recent days are responsible for a very thin population of Bhojpurias in Chitwan, though it has slightly increased from that of 2001 census. Likewise, the Bhojpuri population has decreased in

Rautahat and Sarlahi as the previous population made a shift from Bhojpuri to Bajjika recently.

Besides, Bhojpuri migrants are available in all the districts of Nepal except Jajarkot, Dolpa, Kalikot, Mugu, Humla and Bajura.

Likewise, 95.89% of the Bhojpuria population lives at their native places and others elsewhere as migrants in Nepalese territories.

Moreover, the latest census of 2011 shows Bhojpuri spoken by 159,379 Nepalese citizens as the second language in 44 districts of Nepal. It comprises 0.6 percent of the total population. In this way Bhojpuri is spoken by 1,744,337 Nepalese populace comprising 6.6 percent of the total population. Though it is the official data of Bhojpuri speakers in Nepal, Bhojpuri speech community looks reluctant of accept it as they speculate more people speak Bhojpuri in Nepal than those shown in the census report.

#### 1.4 Geographical location of the survey points

Bhojpuri is primarily spoken throughout Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of Narayani and Lumbini zones respectively in the Central and Western Development Regions of Nepal. Table 1.5 presents the GPS information of the areas selected as the survey points in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, and Rupandehi where Bhojpuri is spoken as mother tongue.

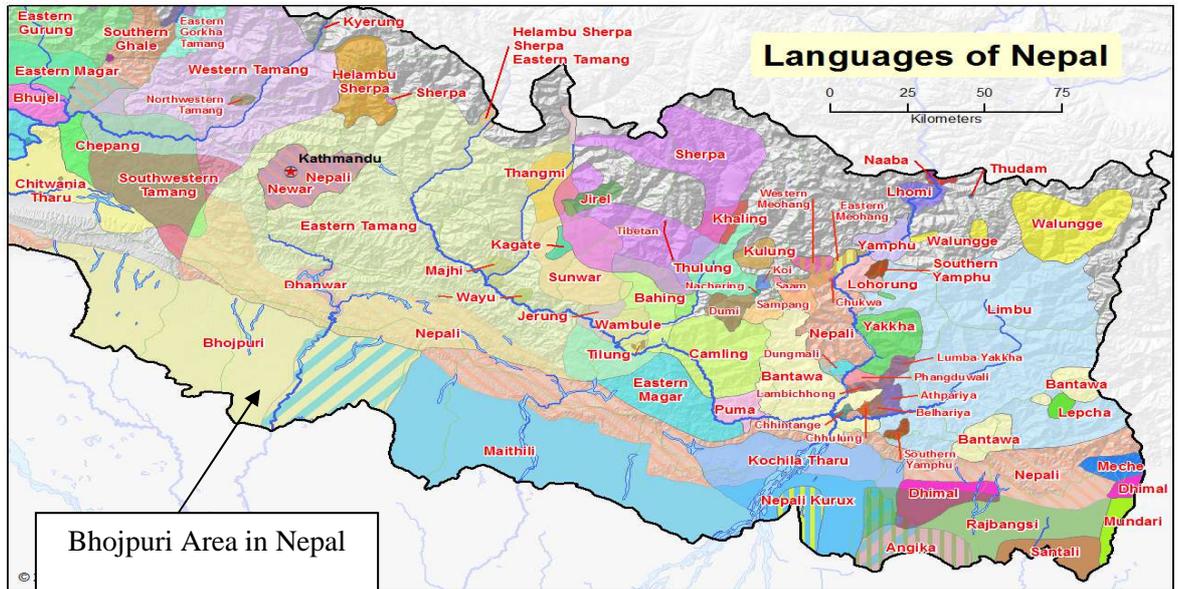
**Table 1.5: GPS information of Bhojpuri speaking survey points**

	Areas	GPS Coordinates		Elevation (in meter)
1.	MAISTHAN	084 <sup>0</sup> 52'40.9" E	027 <sup>0</sup> 00'43.9" N	66
2.	KACHORWA	085 <sup>0</sup> 09'37.3" E	026 <sup>0</sup> 53'42.6" N	67
3.	GARUDA BAZAR	085 <sup>0</sup> 19'00.9" E	026 <sup>0</sup> 57'03.1" N	71
4.	BHAGAWANPUR	085 <sup>0</sup> 16'28.6" E	026 <sup>0</sup> 48'34.4" N	57
5.	DHAKDHAI	083 <sup>0</sup> 32'23.9" E	027 <sup>0</sup> 30'43.3" N	90

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Map 1.1 presents the geographical location of the Bhojpuri speech community.

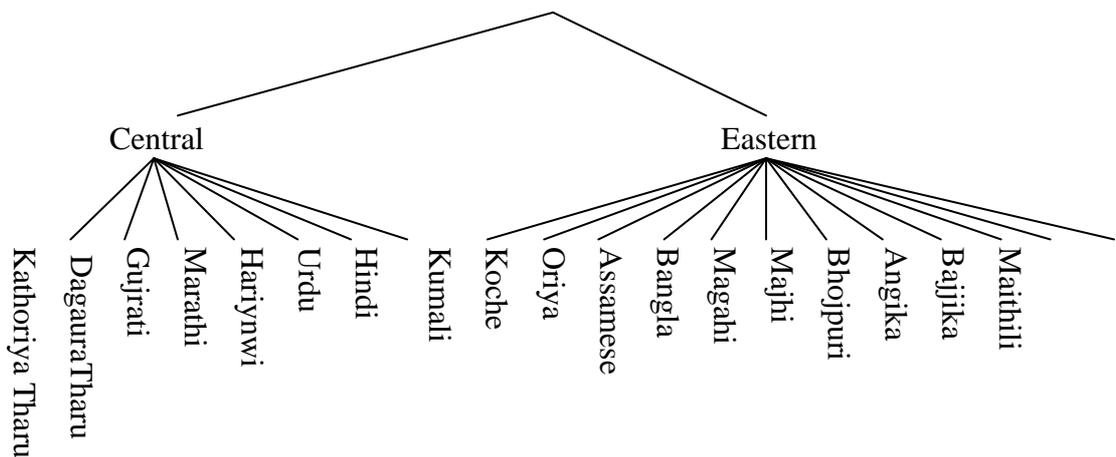
Map 1.1: Bhojpuri speaking areas in Nepal<sup>2</sup>



### 1.5 Linguistic affiliation

Bhojpuri is one of the members of eastern zone in the Indo-Aryan languages. Figure 1.1 presents its linguistic affiliation.

Figure 1.1: Indo-Aryan languages



Source: Yadava (2004) and Ethnologue (2012)

2. We would like to acknowledge SIL International for the map used in this report.

Figure 1.1 shows that the Bhojpuri language (bho, ISO code) belongs to the western part of the Eastern Zone of Indo-Aryan group of Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family.

### 1.6 Previous research works

Bhojpuri, though, lately being recognized by the state in Nepal, has a long practice of linguistic and literary works in it. To some extent, its folklore is also being explored. Some works have already been done at home and abroad in different genres of Bhojpuri. A brief account of such works is being presented as far as available with the researchers.

Beames (1868) is probably the first description of Bhojpuri. According to the title of the essay, **Notes on the Bhojpuri Dialect of Hindi spoken in Western Behar**, Beames considers Bhojpuri as a dialect of Hindi and limits his study within Western Bihar, especially into his working geographical area.

Kellogg (1876) is a work on Hindi Grammar with comparative paradigms of different parts of speech of more than a dozen of languages including Bhojpuri. Like Beames (1868), it also treats Bhojpuri as a dialect of Hindi.

Hoernle (1880) is a work on a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages. It is in special reference to the Eastern Hindi. Hoernle adopts *Gaudian* for *Sanskrit affinities*<sup>3</sup> considering it the least objectionable and the most convenient. His analogy might be considerable as all vernaculars in North-India are not Hindi. Likewise, he takes Western and Eastern Hindi synonymous with Braj and Bhojpuri respectively, claiming that the two are the principal vernaculars among others. He also admits that grammar of Bhojpuri forms more prominently his subject<sup>4</sup>. In this way the work can easily be considered as Bhojpuri Grammar in comparison with some other North-Indian languages what Hoernle terms as Gaudian.

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3. I have adopted the term Gaudian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word: not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one. (Hoernle, 1880:I)

4. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended. ... Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district of Bhojpúri is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindi, and grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. (Hoernle, 1880:VIII)

Grierson (1883) describes Bhojpuri with Maithili and Magadhi. Grierson, an Irish linguist and philologist conducted the Linguistic survey of India (1898-1928), obtaining information on 364 languages and dialects.

Grierson denies Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magadhi be treated as dialects of Eastern Hindi. He says it is not logical to call so, on the only ground of the dialectic similarity with the language used in **Bagh-o-Bahar** and **Prem Sagar**. He says the language used in the two scriptures is modified form of Braj Bhasha or dialect of Doab. Thus, he says these languages do not have common characteristics in general but only in roots, so, for Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magadhi, it is better to say Bihari<sup>5</sup> than Eastern Hindi.

Grierson (1884a) treats Bhojpuri in its purity as it is spoken in Shahabad, Saran and Baliya. Besides, the dialects of Champaran and North Muzaffarpur, Azamgarh, Benaras and Jaunpur are taken as peripheral. In this way it differs from Beames (1868) centered on Champarani Bhojpuri.

Grierson (1884b) also refers to another work regarding Bhojpuri spoken in central and south portion of the district of Muzaffarpur. The design of this grammar is identical with Grierson (1884a) already mentioned.

Grierson (1903) is a significant work to survey the Indian languages. This research work is available in 19 volumes. In this work Grierson has presented almost all languages then being spoken in India with a very brief linguistic feature of each. A brief introduction to Bhojpuri including its stretch, population of Bhojpuri speakers and a Skeleton Grammar has been presented within 14 pages (Grierson, 1903:II:V:40-53). Grierson has published what he says the National Anthem of Bhojpuri on Page no. 40 of the volume. The Anthem composed by Poet Giridhar is of great Sociolinguistic importance:

lat<sup>h</sup>i mē gun bāhūt fiε, sādā rak<sup>h</sup>iñā sājg  
nādi nar āgadh jāl, tādā bācawε ājg

5. The name Bihārī is therefore proposed on the following grounds: -

- (1) It is a local name, like the names of the other languages, as Bangālī, Panjābī and c.
- (2) The extension of the name to cover all the dialects of Eastern Hindustan has a parallel in the case of Marāthī, which has been extended to cover the Dakhanī dialect of Berār, while it means literally only the dialect of the Marāthā country.
- (3) There is a historical propriety in the name, as the word Bihār is derived from the Buddhist *vihāras* or monasteries, once so thickly spread over that region; and Bihārī in its most ancient form was the language of the early Jains and Buddhists.
- And (4) Bihārī has a prescriptive right to the dignity of assuming a general character, for the only one of all the dialects of Eastern Hindūstān which possesses any literature is Maithili, a dialect of North Bihār. (Grierson, 1883:2)

तह्णं बलकवे अण्ग, ज्हापलत् कutto के मारे  
dusman dawagir, hoe tinahu ke jhare  
कल्लि गिरिदहार कल्लि राय, bat के bād<sup>h</sup> यल्लि ग्णत्<sup>hi</sup>  
sAb hāt<sup>hi</sup>yar के c<sup>h</sup>oṭi, hāt<sup>h</sup> mē rak<sup>h</sup>l laṭ<sup>hi</sup>

(A stout stick is very much useful, keep it always with you  
It protects you diving deep rivers and streams  
It protects you there and hits with a jump on a dog  
Though your enemy is strong, it knocks him down  
Poet Giridhar urges you to keep his words in mind  
Hold a stout stick in your hand, leaving all weapons behind.)

Tiwari (1954) is the work on details of Bhojpuri language and literature on behalf of the government agency in India after independence. This is a translated and adapted Hindi version of his thesis for Doctor of Letters, initially entitled 'Origin and Development of Bhojpuri' submitted to Allahabad University in 1945 and later published in 1960 by the Royal Asiatic Society. As it includes both the genres of language and literature of Bhojpuri, the work is voluminous. No doubt, the contemporary developments in Bhojpuri language and literature are compiled in the work beautifully. It is for the first time, a native Bhojpuri speaker in India has realization that Bhojpuri is no more a dialect of Hindi.

Singh (1967) is the first comparative work on grammars of Bhojpuri and Hindi. It agrees with Grierson (1883-4a) to a greater extent on description of nomenclature, geographical distribution and dialects of Bhojpuri.

Arun (1972) is a work on comparative study of Bajjika, Hindi and Bhojpuri. As a comparative study, he has a long experience of teaching Bhojpuri for Linguistics to post-graduate students. The work has two parts. The first contains comparison between Bajjika and Hindi and the second one between Bhojpuri and Hindi.

Going through the comparison between Bhojpuri and Hindi, the work gives short details of historical, geographical, linguistic and dialectical backgrounds of Bhojpuri mostly agreeing with Grierson (1883-4, 1903) and Tiwari (1954). Likewise, the comparative study of Bhojpuri and Hindi mostly agrees with Singh (1967). But the presentation of the subject-matter is very much precise and simple to understand. The vernacular is Hindi.

Nirbhik (1975) is an introductory work on Bhojpuri grammar. Nirbhik, a native Bhojpuri litterateur by dedication, has performed this work in urgency of a grammar of Bhojpuri in the same vernacular. In his foreword, Nirbhik has given a clear glimpse of his work. He looks progressive in writing grammar. He is in favor of following Sanskrit grammatical rules that are common in a number of New Indo-Aryan languages till date and at the same time he favors to discover typical rules for the rest of the grammatical items being used in Bhojpuri on its own.

Masica (1976) is a work on areal typology of South Asia. The work considers South Asia as a linguistic area and describes trends of languages in terms of word order, causative verbs, conjunctive particles, explicator compound verbs and the dative construction. It does not have any specific description of Bhojpuri. But the feature described for the Neo-Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages of South Asia resembles with Bhojpuri to a greater extent.

Pandey (1979) is a work on comparative study of Angika and Bhojpuri grammars. The work contains comparison of the area, population, linguistic traditions, linguistic features and grammatical similarities and differences between the two languages. The initial features of both the languages are reflected in Siddha literature (Pandey, 1979: 2).

Shukla (1981) is a detailed work on Bhojpuri grammar. Shukla is a native Bhojpuri speaker and linguist by training and profession. This is the first time that a native Bhojpuri speaking linguist has written Bhojpuri Grammar in TG model. The work contains thirty chapters including introduction, the sound system, writing system, elements of a Bhojpuri clause, subject forms, object forms, the determiners, postpositions, verb forms, adjuncts, the syntactic string, pronouns, imperatives, conjoined sentences, infinitive clause, trees and transformations, base rules, recursive rules, relative clauses, coordinate construction, the lexicon and lexical insertion, complex grammatical categories, agreement, transformations, extraposition, raising, verbal system, passivization, verbal subcategorization and negative and interrogative sentence.

Ojha (1982) is a sketch but typical work on Bhojpuri Grammar. It is the first grammar composed by a native Bhojpuri speaker in the same vernacular. But there is a gloomy mishap with date of publication as it was written in 1915, even earlier than the first

standard Hindi Grammar, as Hindi Grammar was standardized by Pt. Kamta Prasad Guru only in 1917 and published in 1920. In this way this pioneer work had to wait for 67 years for publication.

Zograph (1982) is a work on languages of South Asia. The work classifies South Asian languages into four groups: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman. Historically, Indo-Aryan languages are grouped into Old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan which Bhojpuri belongs to. The work also gives a common name 'Indian' to all South Asian languages. New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages are further classified genealogically, typologically and functionally. Genealogically Bhojpuri belongs to the mediate sub-branch of NIA languages. Typologically, the NIA languages are classified into three groups: North Indian, Sinhalese and Romany dialects. According to this classification, Bhojpuri belongs to Bihari languages of transitional eastern type of Northern NIA languages. From functional point of view, Bhojpuri lies among literary languages with semi-official status (Zograph, 1982:23-9).

Srivastava (1983) is a work on formation of the Bhojpuri language. This is Bhojpuri translation of a lecture originally prepared and delivered in Hindi on how Bhojpuri language has been composed, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Bhojpuri Academy in Patna.

The work is a concise but a philological analysis in depth, a comparative sociolinguistic and grammatical structure of Bhojpuri among its other neighbouring languages. At the same time Srivastava makes critical remarks on isolation of Bhojpuri on behalf of Hindi. He expresses that there is no constitutional authority to declare Hindi as national language<sup>6</sup> of India as it is being publicized. He argues that Bhojpuri and other languages must get such prestige if Hindi does.

Marhé (1985) is a work on Sarnami grammar. This is an elementary grammar of Bhojpuri a bit influenced by Awadhi and Dutch. Suriname, as a Dutch colony in the past, has a dense population of Indian immigrants, settled there between 1873 and 1916. They mostly belong to eastern Uttar Pradesh where Bhojpuri is a dominant

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6. भारत के संविधान बनवनिहार लोग आजाद भारत के राजभाषा के रूप में हिन्दी के मानल, जेकर परयोग देस के प्रसासनिक कामन खातिर जरूरी मानल गइल, बाकी संविधान में हिन्दी खातिर "राष्ट्रभाषा" सव्द के परयोग नइखे कइल । (Shrivastava, 1983:4)

language with Awadhi influence<sup>7</sup>. As they are now Surinamers, they identify themselves as Sarnami and so their mother tongue. In this way the work is centered on grammar of Bhojpuri which they identify as Sarnami. The vernacular of the work is Dutch.

Tripathy (1987) is a detailed work on Bhojpuri grammar. The work is voluminous including topics like background, Bhojpuri, grammar, orthography, *sand<sup>h</sup>i* (word contraction), etymology, means of words, origin and trends, *samas* (word compounding), number, case, paradigms, syntax and synthesis-analysis.

Dixit (1991) is an article titled *b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri b<sup>h</sup>asa ke antarrastriya swarup* (The International Feature of the Bhojpuri Language). In this article, Dixit has reviewed the international feature of the Bhojpuri language, which includes specialities and differences in different Bhojpuri dialects on the basis of Geography, Society and Community.

Masica (1991) is a work on the Indo-Aryan languages. It describes features of the new Indo-Aryan languages in general. So, it is not any specific work on Bhojpuri. But we find some grammatical categories of Bhojpuri described in paradigms with the other neighbours of Bhojpuri.

Awadhut (1994) is a work on Bhojpuri grammar by a native speaker monk. It describes Bhojpuri in the same vernacular. The writer expresses urgency of grammar for construction of literature comparing it with house for human inhabitation in his preface to the second edition.

Sharma (1995) is an article entitled *nepal me<sup>h</sup> b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri sahitya ke st<sup>h</sup>iti* (Situation of the Bhojpuri Literature in Nepal). Fundamentally, the article focuses of the current situation of the composition of literature of Bhojpuri in Nepal. However, the short article has shed light on the sociolinguistic elements of origin, social surroundings, genetic feature and geographical spread of Bhojpuri in Nepal.

Dixit (1995) is an article on *b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri lokgit ke b<sup>h</sup>ulatbisarāt ans pachara* (A Portion of the Bhojpuri Folk Songs Being Forgotten: Pachara). In the brief article, Dixit has raised the issue of prayer of the ancestral deities in the Bhojpuri society locally known as Pachara and has stressed on the need how to preserve it.

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7. In elk geval kan van het Sarnami - zoals het zich thans in Suriname en in Nederland presenteert - gezegd worden dat zijn basis wordt gevormd door het Bhojpuri en het Avadhi met het Bhojpuri als dominante factor. (Marh , 1985:10)

Mishra (1995) is an article on *bhojpuri ke manakikaran ke awasyakta* (Necessity of Standardization of Bhojpuri). In his article Mishra has discussed the geographical and communal diversity in the Bhojpuri language with vivid simplicity and shed light on the Sociolinguistic issue of the necessity of standardization of the language. Concluding his essay, Mishra has stressed on the use of the lexemes for standardization of the language on the basis of the study of local language and derivational dictionary of Bhojpuri.

Yadav (1995) is an article on *bhojpuri bhasa ke itihās: ego sīhawalokan* (History of the Bhojpuri Language: A Retrospect). In this article, Yadav has shed light on geographical and communal variation in Bhojpuri and has said that the change in a language due to social change is a natural phenomenon.

Singh (1995) is an article on *jātsari ke dūbat naiya* (The Sinking Boat of Jantsari). Mr. Singh in his article has shed light on the extinct position of Jantsari, a kind of laborer songs sung while working on Janta (grinding stones) previously. He has expressed satisfaction on the ease of such labour due to howler and grinding mills but expressed grave concern over extinction of Jantsari.

Tiwari (1995) is an article on *admi, sanskar a sanskar git* (Man, Rites and Ritual songs). In his article, Tiwari has viewed the probable change in the Bhojpuri folk songs in the context of changing social environment in the name of modernization. He has stressed on the need how the effect of Hindi films on popular folk songs in Bhojpuri society can be minimized.

Acharya (1996) is a work on *bhojpuri ukhan tukka* (The Bhojpuri Proverbs and Idioms). Mr. Acharya has begun a new step to transcribe the oral tradition of Bhojpuri presenting his book as a collection of proverbs, idioms, folk-sayings and so on, a praiseworthy work from Sociolinguistic point of view to study the Bhojpuri folk literature.

Shandilya (1999) is a work on *bhojpuri gitō ka marm tatva anya nibandh* (The Secrets of the Bhojpuri Songs and Other Essays): (Mrs.) Shandilya has presented 20 research-oriented essays in the book to depict social, communal, gender and traditional situation in over all Bhojpuri surroundings. Her collections are praiseworthy for a Sociolinguistic study of Bhojpuri.

Srivastava (1999) is a work on Bhojpuri vocabulary. As a native Bhojpuri speaker by birth she makes it clear that the work is not merely collection of all vocabularies in Bhojpuri but compilation of those typical words that are now at verge of extinction.

The work presents a comparative linguistic feature of Bhojpuri and Hindi in brief at first and then introduces the typical Bhojpuri words with syntactic presentation both in Bhojpuri and Hindi.

Srivastava (1999) is a descriptive work on Bhojpuri Grammar. Though it is written by a Bhojpuri speaking Indian national, it is the nearest among others to the standard Bhojpuri spoken in Nepal. It is instant on Champarani Bhojpuri almost identical with the central Bhojpuri spoken in western Bara and Parsa districts in Nepal.

Sinha (2001) describes *nepal ke sēkḥik prānali mē b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri* (Bhojpuri in the Educational System of Nepal). Mr. Sinha has shed light on importance for standardization of Bhojpuri and its real status in formal education in his short article.

Dev (2001) is an article entitled *ab b<sup>h</sup>ojpur rajya ke bari* (Now, the Turn of the Bhojpur State): In his research oriented article, Mr. Dev has stressed on the need for a provincial structure of Bhojpur state in India on the linguistic background. For his analogy, he has explained the geographical spread of the Bhojpuri speakers along with their population, social, communal and financial status and shed light on the history and present of the Bhojpurias.

Mishra (2002) is an article on *biswa sandarb<sup>h</sup> mē b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri* (Bhojpuri in the Global Context). In his article, Mishra has shed light on origin, spread, language family, oral tradition, contact with other languages and changing feature of Bhojpuri as well as weaknesses of the Bhojpuri speakers. He has emphasized on the need for Bhojpuri as a medium of instruction for primary education, adult education and women education in Bhojpuri speaking area.

Sinha (2002) is an article entitled *b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri: tab a ab* (Bhojpuri: Then and Now). In this essay, Mr. Sinha has summed up the history and present situation of Bhojpuri, the place it secured on behalf of the state in Nepal, the achievements made in the field, promotion and development of the scope of Bhojpuri both in Nepal and India along with its social environment.

Ashka et al. (2002-3) is the first official work on Bhojpuri textbook at secondary level in Nepal, which includes grammatical items in a complete way though not in a separate book form. The researchers constitute a team of authors and editors. As per the trends set up under the National Education System Planning in 1971, the textbooks of language and literature on their own are designed including grammatical items at the end of each lesson. So, no grammar book in any language the curriculum permits to provide separately. Gopal Ashka compiled and Gopal Thakur edited and arranged Bhojpuri Grammar in the two volumes of the textbook at the end of each chapter.

Ashka (2003) in his article *b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri kalak<sup>s</sup>al* (Bhojpuri Arts and Skills), has shed light on Arts and Skills available in the Bhojpuri society, especially the contribution made by Bhojpuri women in the field, religious goodwill and tolerance and the status of arts and skills in traditional division of labour in Bhojpuri society.

Chaudhary (2003) is a work on the Sociolinguistic Survey of Tharu Language, Central Nepal. In his dissertation for M. A. in Linguistics from T. U., the data of the language what he has presented is Bhojpuri from the Sociolinguistic point of view. Besides, the concerned speakers are fully independent under their fundamental rights to decide whether it is a language or dialect of a particular language what they speak. So Mr. Chaudhary is independent for his expression in his research.

Anjoria (2004) is a work on Bhojpuri grammar by an internet magazine team. It delivers a brief introduction to Bhojpuri grammar in Bhojpuri in its two issues. The work starts with a short introduction to Bhojpuri with its historical background, geographical distribution and its oral and writing traditions. It reports on extinction of Kaithi script in which Bhojpuri was being written in the past.

Vairagi (2004) is a work on Bhojpuri grammar by a native Bhojpuri speaker in Bhojpuri. The work is in brief and with devotion towards mother tongue. He favors to transliterate Bhojpuri oral traditions through grammatical set up.

Kushawaha (2005) is a comparative study on negative and interrogative transformation in English and Bhojpuri. The research has been carried out in two Village Development Committees of Bara district on the basis of 60 native Bhojpuri speaking informants. It is a detailed study on negation and interrogation in Bhojpuri in comparison to English.

Lohar (2006) is a sociolinguistic survey of the Bhojpuri language spoken in Nepal. It attempts to describe the language use, language attitude, and lexical and syntactic similarities and diversities among the different dialects of Bhojpuri geographically, communally and religiously.

The following facts can be focused as summary of this survey:

Bhojpuri is the western language of the eastern group of the Bihari branch of the Indo-Aryan section of the Indo-European family of the world languages.

Nepalese Bhojpuri is influenced by Maithili in the east and by Awadhi in the west. The influence of Nepali is increasing from the north as an areal feature whereas it is influencing on its maximum as the national official language of Nepal. For example, Chitwan was a Bhojpuri speaking area earlier, but now it has become a non-Bhojpuri speaking area due to state-sponsored rehabilitation program to rehabilitate non-Bhojpuri speaking people there. Similarly Hindi is influencing it from south as this is adjacent to the Indian border southwards where Hindi is a dominant language.

Besides, the migration of Bhojpurias from their native homeland has also now come to be a cause of affecting Bhojpuri. But a positive aspect can be found in above concern that Bhojpuri is ahead of its neighbours, Maithili and Awadhi, in intelligibility. It is also a little more intelligible than Nepali.

Bhojpurias have not only positive attitude towards Bhojpuri but also towards other languages. But they do have grievances towards negligence of the state for not paying attention to other languages in comparison to Nepali. There is possibility of pessimism in place of dissatisfaction now. In spite of these all difficulties they are very hopeful, increasingly aware of publication, broadcast and education in Bhojpuri seeking progress in coming days.

It is found that Bhojpuri speaking people are too honest to use their language. They use their language in family, with friends, relatives, neighbours and for almost all works in their daily life. But it seems very difficult to protect the use of language in future because of government's negligence.

Slow but gradual change in use of Bhojpuri has been noticed because of migration of Bhojpurias in other non-Bhojpuri regions due to deteriorating economic situation, lack in official use of Bhojpuri, feeling of inferiority to use the language with strangers, inter-caste marriage of Bhojpurias in Nepal, especially with Nepali

speaking bride or bridegroom. The worst menace is experienced in hilly and mountainous regions of Nepal including the Kathmandu valley for Bhojpurias being compelled to their language change because their nationality is questioned in case they use their language.

Except Nepali, the state hasn't made any effective plan till date to preserve and promote other languages existing in Nepal. In one hand the state observed deepawali when Nepali was included in the 8<sup>th</sup> schedule of the Indian constitution, but on the other hand the honorable Supreme Court itself prohibited the official use of Newari in Kathmanu Metropolis and Maithili in Rajbiraj Municipality and Dhanusha District Development committee. This double standard character of the state crushed Bhojpurias along with other non-Nepali speaking Nepalese populace before they could raise their head for maintenance of their language officially.

The word list of 1500 basic words, the sentence list of 200 basic sentences and a socio linguistic questionnaire including 65 questions here attached with are major achievements of this research. On the basis of facts mentioned above it can be said that 75 to cent percent words are similar in all Bhojpuri dialects. Similarly sentences are also very similar except dissimilarity in the utterance of ending and sometimes middle vowel sounds in words as well as in ending of sentences.

On the basis of the presented data in research it can be clearly said that Bhojpuri is spoken in Central Madhesh of Nepal and the adjacent neighbouring Indian territory of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It belongs to Indo-Aryan group of the Indo- European family of languages. It follows the SOV (Subject- Object-Verb) pattern of sentences. Economically it is the language of labour class people and socially it is a polite language. It possesses a long history. But little has been done in the field to written literature of Bhojpuri. Socially, no difference in language use has been reported among Bhojpurias of the same locality on the ground of caste, prosperity, age, sex and so on.

Madhesh including the Bojpuri speaking region is called granary of Nepal. This is the part that identifies Nepal as an agricultural country. All agricultural programs of the government are not being effective in Madhesh due to dissemination of the information only in Nepali language, quite unintelligible among Bhojpurias and other Madheshi farmers. Those who understand the program are other than farmers or

peasants and those who are farmers or peasants do not have intelligibility with the programs.

This indifference of the government towards non-Nepali languages in Nepal caused the concerned native speakers to be hopeless for their language use from generation to generation. Some native speakers of Bhojpuri had asked this question to the researcher during the field visit, 'Why should we speak or study Bhojpuri? Does it give us employment?'

Mehta (2006) is a comparative study on subject-verb agreement in Bhojpuri and English. The researcher, a native Bhojpuri speaker, has carried out the research on the basis of native Bhojpuri speakers working as teachers at lower secondary and secondary level as well as Bhojpuri litterateurs in Parsa district. The work collects all sorts of Bhojpuri personal pronouns with degree of honorificity already mentioned above. In this way Mehta has shown form and function relation of the Bhojpuri utterances in all tenses, aspects and moods and compared them with those of English. Certainly, English has less forms of honorificity than that of Bhojpuri. Besides, English has to use special terms and phrases to show honorificity whereas Bhojpuri does not. These similarity and differences have been expressed in the work but the work is only a single category of Bhojpuri grammar. Except this, it helps in the endeavor to analyze Bhojpuri utterances in terms of subject-verb agreement with functional-typological perspective.

Lohar (2007) is a paper on sociolects of Bhojpuri. As the other Indo-Aryan languages do, Bhojpuri has east-west geographical variation getting influenced by its neighbour languages Maithili and Awadhi respectively.

Kalwar (2008) is a comparative study on forms of suggestion in English and Bhojpuri. The research, by a native Bhojpuri speaker, is based on field study with reference to Bhojpuri. Altogether 60 people of the two Village Development Committees of Bara district are the resource personnel during the research.

Lohar (2008) is a work on Bhojpuri sound system with recommendation of a writing system for standardization of the language. This is a paper presented at the LSN conference in 2007.

SCERT (2008) is an official work on Bhojpuri grammar and composition by State Council for Education Research and Training of Bihar, targeted for Higher Education of Class XI-XII.

The work has two parts, grammar and composition. Grammar contains chapters on orthography, etymology, nouns, pronouns, syntax, adjectives, case, in-declension, verb, tense, number, gender, voice, word compounding, rhetoric and prosody.

Singh (2008) is a concise remark on blindly copying trends of writing Bhojpuri grammar. Though the work delivers a good critical approach on re-writing problems of dictionary and translation also, the problems on re-writing grammar are here under consideration. This is a paper originally presented in Bhojpuri at 21<sup>st</sup> session of *ak<sup>h</sup>il b<sup>h</sup>aratiya b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri safitya sammelan* (All India Bhojpuri Literary Conference) and later translated into English by Ram Bibhuti Singh.

Singh (2008) is a work on writing system of Bhojpuri. This is a revised version of the paper presented by the author on '*b<sup>h</sup>ojpuri vartani : samasya a smad<sup>h</sup>an*' (Bhojpuri Spelling: Problems and Solution) presented on the occasion of the ninth session of All India Bhojpuri Literary Conference in Ranchi.

Yadav (2008) is a dissertation on case in Bhojpuri and English. The research, by a native Bhojpuri speaker, is a field study in Parsa district, the central Bhojpuri speaking belt of Nepal through a set of questionnaire distributed among 40 students of class 10 belonging to two schools. Some scholars and general populace are also said to have been consulted as source of the primary data. As it is centered on only a topic of grammar, it describes the case system in detail in both the languages, Bhojpuri and English.

Lohar (2009) is an analysis of passivization in Bhojpuri. This is a paper presented at LSN conference in 2008.

Patel (2009) is a study on semantic analysis of English and Bhojpuri verbs. The researcher is a Bhojpuri native speaker and the research has been performed on the field visit in two Village Development Committees of Bara district. There are 80 English verbs examined with those of identical or semantically similar in Bhojpuri.

Lohar (2010) is an analysis of relativization in Bhojpuri. It is a paper presented at LSN conference in 2009. The paper claims relativization in Bhojpuri has not yet been

studied with a perspective of Functional-Typology. This paper tries to discuss the morphosyntax of relativization in Bhojpuri with this new perspective. It follows the three parameters: the position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head; the mode of expression of the relativized noun phrase, and; the very grammatical relations that can be relativized (Givón, 1990/2001).

Upadhyay (2010) is a comparative study on the grammatical categories of Nepali and Bhojpuri languages. The researcher, a Nepali native speaker residing in Bhojpuri speaking zone of Nepal, has compared grammatical categories of both the languages on the basis of field visit and with consultation of Bhojpuri literateurs. This is a detailed study on grammatical aspects of both the languages focusing on grammatical categories of gender, number, person, tense, aspect, mood, voice, case, honorificity and polarization.

Thakur et al. (2014) is an comprehensive work on a multilingual dictionary of the Bhojpuri language. This is the first work on its kind to serve both the monolingual and the multilingual aspects of dictionary. This is Prajñā Bhojpuri-Bhojpuri-Nepali-English Dictionary with transliteration of the Bhojpuri entry into IPA phonemic symbols. The work includes over 24,000 entries of Bhojpuri lexemes. It is now under process of publication by Nepal Academy.

The extracts of the prominent works done in Bhojpuri conclude that Bhojpuri is a rich language with all genres of language, folklore and literature in it. It is animate and that is why it is being generationally transformed healthily.

### **1.7 Purpose and goals**

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Bhojpuri language in Nepal. The specific goals/objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To look at the resources and organizations in Bhojpuri speech community. bi/multilingualism;
- b) To assess the state of art of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency of in Bhojpuri speech community;
- c) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- d) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;

- e) To discuss the language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Bhojpuri; and
- f) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity in the language.

### **1.8 Organization of the report**

This survey report is organized into ten chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory that presents general background information about the language 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 language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 4 we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Bhojpuri. Chapter 5 deals with the domains of language use. In chapter 6 we look at language vitality, transmission and maintenance. Similarly, chapter 7 deals with language attitudes and chapter 8 deals with language resources that make them feel proud, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Bhojpuri. In chapter 9, we look at dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key points in Bhojpuri. In chapter 10, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes wordlist and sociolinguistic questionnaire A, B and C.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we present the research methodology employed in this survey in detail. It consists of three sections. Section 2.1 deals with a brief overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used in the survey. It also deals with a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.2, we discuss different types of research tools, their basic characteristics, and the ways they were employed in the survey. Similarly, section 2.3 deals with the limitations of this survey.

#### 2.1 Overview

This survey has employed three different methods/tools in order to fulfill its goals. The methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). Table 2.1 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods /tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

**Table 2.1: Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools**

	Goals of the survey	Research methods/ tools	Brief description	Focus of the methods/tools
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Rana;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-A (SLQ A)	80 questions 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)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	Language attitudes Language maintenance Language vitality Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

## 2.2 Research methods/tools

### 2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)

The survey has employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires. They are:

#### 2.2.1.1 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, domains 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. Though the Bhojpuri speech community live in different places of Central and Western Tarai regions of Nepal, already stated, we visited five spots. Those survey points of the Bhojpuri speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about the Bhojpuri speech community (Maisthan locality of Birganj Sub municipality No. 8 in Parsa district, Kachorwa village of Kachorwa VDC Ward No. 1 in Bara district, Garuda Bazar of Garuda Bairiya VDC Ward No. 8 and Bhagawanpur village of Pipra Bhagawanpur VDC Ward No. 6 in Rautahat district of Narayani Zone and Dhakdhai of Bodhwar VDC Ward No. 4 in Rupandehi district of Lumbini Zone. Table 2.2 presents the survey points of Bhojpuri.

**Table 2.2: The survey points of Bhojpuri**

	Names of the areas	Ward No.	V. D. C/ S. M. C.	Districts	Total
1	<b>MAISTHAN</b>	8	Birjgunj (S. M. C.)	Parsa	5
2	<b>KACHORWA</b>	1	Kachorwa (V. D. C)	Bara	
3	<b>GARUDA BAZAR</b>	8	Garuda Bairiya (V. D. C)	Rautahat	
4	<b>BHAGAWANPUR</b>	6	Pipra Bhagabawanpur (V. D. C.)	Rautahat	
5	<b>DHAKDHAI</b>	4	Bodhwar (V.D.C)	Rupandai	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

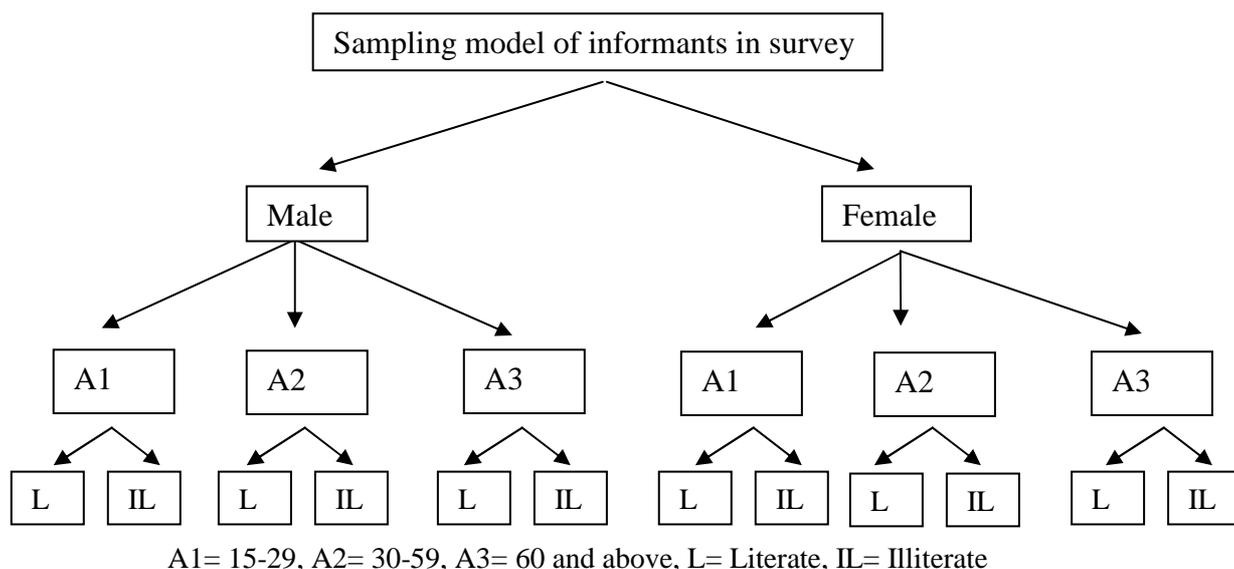
We have taken Maisthan locality of Birganj Sub-Metropolitan City of Parsa district as the core point. Since the Bhojpuri language is spoken in Parsa and western Bara district is considered as out of influence of other languages and it is also accepted so by the community itself. In this regard, Birganj is the centre of this central Bhojpuri speaking zone in Nepal. Moreover, the dominant language of communication is reported to be Bhojpuri in the area.

Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.<sup>1</sup> Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Bhojpuri speech community.

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1. 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).

**Figure 2.1: Sampling model in the survey**



The survey has used a specific checklist for conducting sociolinguistic questionnaire A. Table 2.3 presents the checklist for sociolinguistic questionnaire A.

**Table 2.3: Checklist for Sociolinguistic questionnaire A**

Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) A											
Male						Female					
A1		A2		A3		A1		A2		A3	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

**A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate**

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 and educational background in each survey point. The questions were asked by the administrators in Nepali and Hindi to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali.

### 2.2.1.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Bhojpuri participants of two 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 Bhojpuri, how bilingual Bhojpuri people are, in which situations they use Bhojpuri 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:

- a) The group must 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 must belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants must 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 on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below.

#### **(i) Domains of language use**

We used the domains of language use tool in order to help the Bhojpuri speakers to think about and visualize the languages which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the language 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 use their mother tongue, Bhojpuri and the situations in which they use both Nepali and Bhojpuri. After that, they were asked to place the labels Nepali, Bhojpuri, and both Nepali and Bhojpuri. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants concluded by discussing if they liked to use each language in any other situations.

### **(ii) 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 Bhojpuri. Participants in the group of 8-12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns where Bhojpuri is spoken and placed them on the floor to present the geographical location. Then, they were asked to use loops of string to show which districts or towns spoke the same as others. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

### **(iii) Bi/multilingualism**

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Bhojpuri and Nepali by different subsets of the Bhojpuri community. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Bhojpuri people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Bhojpuri who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then, 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 Bhojpuri 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 Bhojpuri speakers who spoke Bhojpuri 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.

### **(iv) Appreciative inquiry**

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Bhojpuri 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 and culture. Then, they were asked to express the dreams about how they could make their language and 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.

### **2.2.1.3 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 Bhojpuri.

### **2.2.2 Wordlist**

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist is to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from the mother tongue Bhojpuri 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.

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

For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Bhojpuri word from a mother tongue Bhojpuri 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 Bhojpuri.

## **2.3 Limitations of the survey**

Following are the limitations of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri:

- 1) This language is spread in a vast stretch of seven districts. However, as it is a survey, we have selected only 5 major points. Besides, we had to select three categories of the estimated 12 informants at each point. As per our expectations we did not find illiterate informants of 15-29 age group and literate informants of 60<sup>+</sup> age group at some points. To conduct the survey, only three types of

sociolinguistic questionnaires A, B and C as well as a wordlist of 210 words were used in the survey. Table 2.4 shows all the information categorically.

**Table 2.4: Questionnaires and wordlist used in the survey**

	Areas	SLQ A	SLQ B	SLQ C	Wordlist
1	<b>MAISTHAN</b>	12	4	2	2
2	<b>KACHORWA</b>	12	4	2	2
3	<b>GARUDA BAZAR</b>	12	4	2	2
4	<b>BHAGAWANPUR</b>	12	4	2	2
5	<b>DHAKDHAI</b>	12	4	2	2
Total		60	20	10	10

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

- 2) As shown in Table 1.2, our male respondents were equal in number on the basis of literacy but we could not find the female respondents, especially above 60, equally literate. So, only 11 (36.67%) female literate respondents took part in this study.

## CHAPTER 3

### LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND ORGANIZATIONS

#### 3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the resources available in the Bhojpuri language as well as the organizations for its promotion. It consists of three sections. In section 3.1, we discuss the language resources and section 3.2 enlists details of the organizations for the development of language and culture in the Bhojpuri speech community and mentions their responsibilities. In section 3.3, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 3.1 Language resources

The resources available in the Bhojpuri language are folk stories and folklore, songs, religious literature and modern literature. The people of the old generations tell stories about their ancestors, supernatural stories and stories related to the animal kingdom. They have different types of songs for different rites and rituals from birth ceremony to the funeral ceremony. The modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films and CD/DVD are also available in abundance in the language.

Regarding the listening to the radio program broadcast in Bhojpuri, Table 3.1 presents its frequency by sex.

**Table 3.1: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by sex**

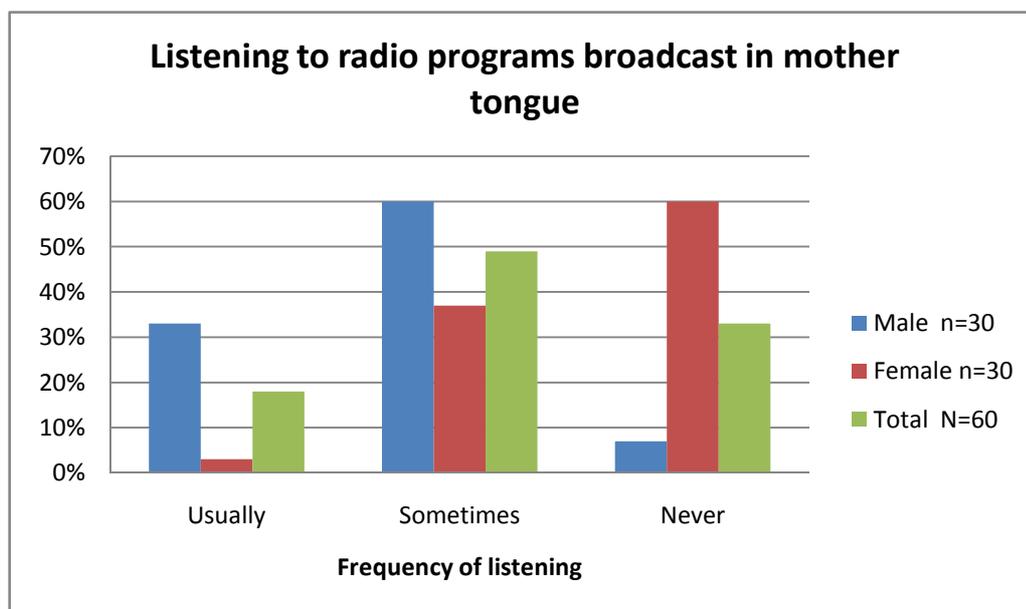
The informant's response listens to radio program	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Usually	10 (33.33%)	1 (3.33%)	11 (18.33%)
Sometimes	18 (60%)	11 (36.67%)	29 (48.33%)
Never	2 (6.67%)	18 (60%)	20 (33.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 3.1 shows that only 10 (33.33%) of the male and 1 (3.33%) of the female Bhojpurias are regular listeners of the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue. Likewise, 18(60%) of the male and 11(36.67%) of the female Bhojpurias sometimes listen to the program. Besides them, 2 (6.67%) of the male and 18 (60%) of the female Bhojpurias are still away from listening to the radio program in their mother tongue.

It shows that the regular female listeners are less than those of male, whereas the occasional listeners and those never listen to the program are also female higher than those of male. The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 3.1 below:

**Figure 3.1: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by sex**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

The information in the same domain has also been analyzed in Table 3.2 on the basis of literacy of the informants.

**Table 3.2: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by literacy of the informants**

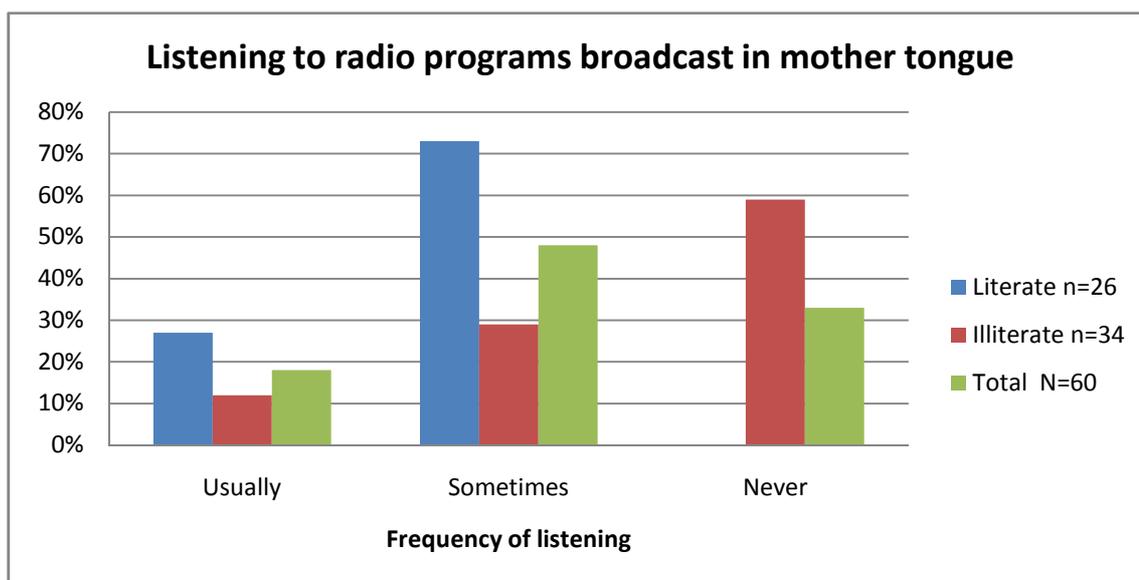
The informant's response listens to radio program	Literate (n=26)	Illiterate (n=34)	Total (N=60)
Usually	7(26.92%)	4(11.76%)	11(18.33%)
Sometimes	19(73.08%)	10(29.41%)	29(48.33%)
Never		20(58.82%)	20(33.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 3.2 shows that only 7(26.92%) of the literate and 4(11.76%) of the illiterate Bhojpurias are regular listeners of the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue. Likewise, 19(73.08%) of the literate and 10(29.41%) of the illiterate Bhojpurias sometimes listen to the program. Besides them, 20(58.82%) of the illiterate Bhojpurias are still away from listening to the radio program in their mother tongue. It shows that

the regular illiterate listeners are less than those of literate, whereas the occasional listeners and those never listen to the program are also illiterate Bhojpurias higher than those of literate. The information in the domain is also presented in the Figure 3.2 below:

**Table 3.2: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue by literacy of the informants**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Either on the basis of sex or on literacy, only 18.33% of all the informants were found to have regular reach in listening to radio program in their mother tongue. Percentage in this domain is highest for occasional listeners of the program comprising 48.33% in totality. The table shows 33.33% of all the informants are still deprived of listening to the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue.

Though Bhojpuri is a sound and strong language in its speech community, it has little access in education and public administration. The mother tongue education has entered into the speech community and the Bhojpuri native speakers have started to develop some materials in their mother tongue. Table 3.3 presents language resources in Bhojpuri.

**Table 3.3: Language resources in Bhojpuri**

	Resources	Yes/No	Script	Remarks
1.	Phonemic Inventory	Yes	Devanagari & Roman	
2.	Grammar	Yes	Devanagari & Roman	
3.	Dictionary	Yes	Devanagari	
4.	Textbooks	Yes	Devanagari	
5.	Literacy materials	Yes	Devanagari	
6.	Newspapers	Yes	Devanagari	
7.	Magazines	Yes	Devanagari	
8.	Written literature	yes	Devanagari	
9.	Folklore	Yes	Devanagari	

Source: Vield Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 3.3 shows that all resources of the language are available in Bhojpuri, mostly in Devanagari and a few in Roman script, especially the phonemic inventory and the grammar. Chapter 1.6 has already presented details of previous research works in Bhojpuri in brief. Bhojpuri has its grammar written by native speakers as well as by foreign scholars, textbooks at primary level from class one till class five and at secondary level for class nine and ten, literacy materials for non-formal education, newspapers and magazines though not regular, abundance of written literature at home and abroad and a good deal of works on its folklore, more in India.

Table 3.4 presents whether the literate Bhojpuri speakers read these materials available in their language or not.

**Table 3.4: Reading of the materials written in their language**

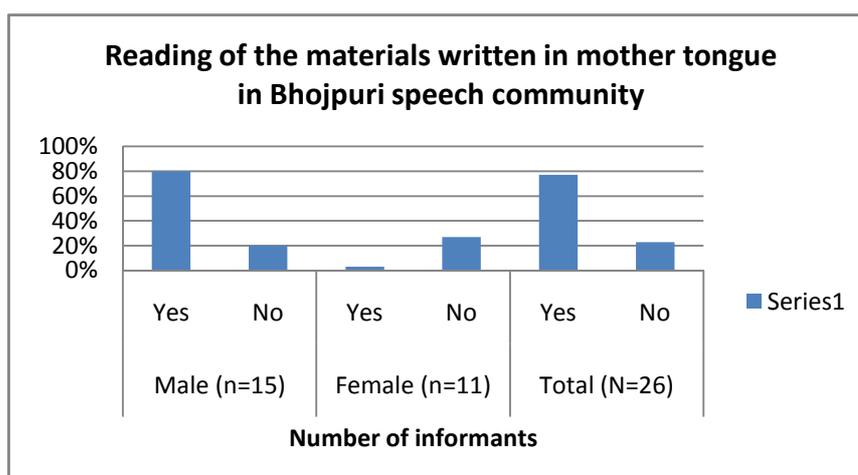
N=26					
Male (n=15)		Female (n=11)		Total (N=26)	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
12(80%)	3(20%)	8(72.73%)	3(27.27%)	20(76.92%)	6(23.08%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 3.4 shows that 12 (80%) of the 15 male literate informants read written materials in their mother tongue. Likewise, 8 (72.73%) of the 11 female literate informants were found reading those materials. In totality of the literate ones, 76.92% informants read the written materials in their mother tongue. This rate is certainly high and it shows that literate Bhojpuri speakers are attentive towards their mother tongue.

The information in the domain is also presented in Figure 3.3.

**Figure 3.3: Reading of the materials written in their language**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Likewise, when the informants were asked about the script in which the Bhojpuri language is written, all literate informants said Bhojpuri is written in Devanagari script whereas the illiterate respondents didn't respond the question.

### 3.2 Organizations

Whether there are any organizations working for preservation and promotion of the Bhojpuri language and culture, some of the respondents informed that there are some organizations working in favour of Bhojpuri language and culture. Table 3.5 shows their responses.

**Table 3.5: Availability of organizations to promote Bhojpuri language and culture**

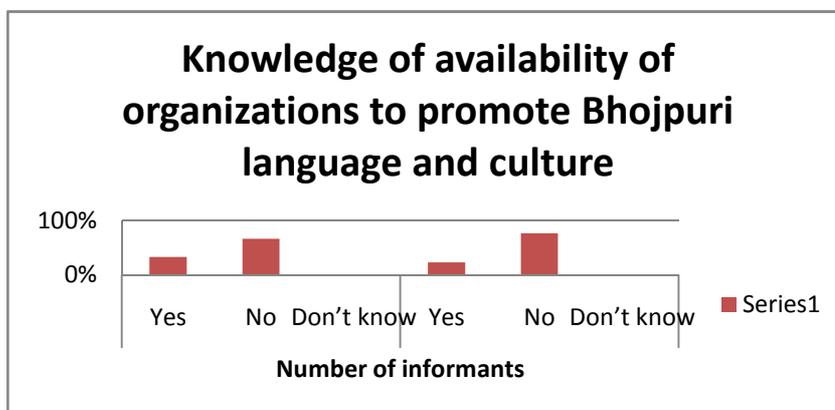
Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Yes	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Don't know
10 (33.33%)	20 (66.67%)		7 (23.33%)	23 (76.67%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 3.5 shows that out of 30 male respondents 10(33.33%) said that there are some organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Bhojpuri while 20 (66.67%) said that there is not any organization. Similarly out of 30 female respondents only 7 (23.33%) said that there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of their language while 23 (76.67%) said that there is not any organization. In totality, only 28.33% of the informants know there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Bhojpuri.

The information in the domain is also presented in Figure 3.4.

**Figure 3.4: Availability of organizations to promote Bhojpuri language and culture**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

In general, the Bhojpuri speech community is very positive towards their language. The informants said that there are some institutions that work for preservation and promotion of the Bhojpuri language and culture and they also fight discrimination against Bhojpuri speech community. Table 3.6 shows the institutions and their responsibilities.

**Table 3.6: Institutions and their responsibilities**

	Name of the Institution	Responsibilities	Remarks
1.	Bhojpuri Society of Nepal, 2029 B. S., Birganj	To promote Bhojpuri Culture, Language & Education	
2.	Bhojpuri Literature and Arts Council of Nepal, 2047 BS, Birganj	To promote Bhojpuri language, literature, arts and Culture	
3.	Bhojpuri Academy of Nepal, 2052 BS, Kathmandu.	To promote Bhojpuri Language, literature & Culture	
4.	Bhojpuri Development Forum, 2048 BS, Birganj	To promote Bhojpuri Culture, Language & Education	
5.	Bhojpuri Students' Society of Nepal, 2063 BS, Kathmandu	To promote Bhojpuri language, literature and to look after promotion of Bhojpuri students	

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 3.6 shows there are four prominent institutions in the Bhojpuri speech community, i. e., Nepal Bhojpuri Culture Development Foundation, Nepal Bhojpuri Development Forum, Bhojpuri Academy of Nepal and Bhojpuri Development Forum. These organizations work to preserve and promote Bhojpuri language, culture and mother-tongue education. Besides, none of the organizations have been found working smoothly due to isolation both from the respective society and the concerned government bodies.

### **3.3 Summary**

This chapter discussed the language resources and organizations available in the Bhojpuri speech community to promote their language and culture. It includes situation of listening to the radio programs in mother tongue, language resources available, reading of the materials written in the language, availability of organizations and their responsibilities and lastly it enlists such organizations.

## CHAPTER 4

### MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

#### 4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism. It consists of four sections. Section 4.1 discusses mother tongue proficiency in Bhojpuri. In section 4.2, we discuss bi/multilingualism and bi/multilingualism in the Bhojpuri language and bi/multilingualism in the children of Bhojpuri speech community. Similarly, section 4.3 deals with level of understanding of Nepali in school. In section 4.4, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 4.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Bhojpuri

The Bhojpuri speech community is almost monolingual, especially in the rural areas. But the official vernacular is Nepali and so is the medium of instruction. So, the newer generation is stepping towards multilingualism, especially among those educated as well as those living in urban areas. However, they are highly proficient in mother tongue speaking. In this regard when the informants were asked “What language did you speak first?” they all responded it was Bhojpuri.

Similarly, when the informants were asked, “Which language do you love most?”, all the respondents said they love the Bhojpuri language most.

Regarding reading and writing, we were informed that those who are literate all can read and write Bhojpuri. It shows that there is cent percent proficiency in Bhojpuri speaking in the speech community. Likewise cent percent of the literate male and female of them can read and write in their mother tongue. At the same time when the literate informants were asked how well they read and write in the mother tongue, they responded variably. Table 4.1 presents their level of proficiency in mother tongue.

**Table 4.1: Level of proficiency in reading and writing of mother tongue**

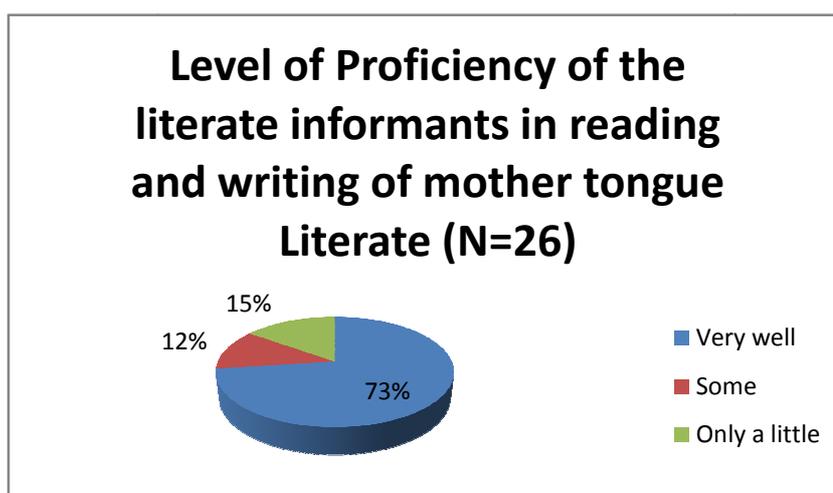
Level of proficiency in reading and writing of the mother tongue	Literate(N=26)
Very well	19(73.07%)
Some	3(11.55%)
Only a little	4(15.38%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 4.1 shows that 19(73.06%) of the literate Bhojpuri native speakers can read and write in Bhojpuri very well, 3(11.55%) can do some and 4(15.38%) can do only a little. It shows that the literate Bhojpuri speakers have highest level of reading and writing in their mother tongue.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.1.

**Figure 4.1: Level of Proficiency of the literate informants in reading and writing of mother tongue**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

#### 4.2 Bi/multilingualism among individuals

Bilingualism is the ability to speak and understand a second language. It is usually in a language of national or regional importance. It is the result of either formal or informal exposure to another language; this is nearly always uneven in a community. Thus, different individuals and sections of any community are bilingual to different degrees everywhere. Bilingualism arises from the simple fact that people of widely different lingual backgrounds need and want to communicate with each other. Nepal has been referred to as "a garden of flowers" of linguistic and cultural diversity. People from different ethnic groups acquire second and third languages to communicate with each other. Furthermore, education in Nepal generally provides exposure to Nepali. Knowledge of Nepali is vital for the advancement of the people and their integration into national life. Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not tell us much about the ability of the others in a community.

#### 4.2.1 Bi/multilingualism in Bhojpuri speech community

When the informants were asked what languages they can speak, all of them responded they speak Bhojpuri first. Regarding other languages, they also responded affirmatively. Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1 present bi/multilingualism in the Bhojpuri speech community.

**Table 4.2: Bi/multilingualism in the Bhojpuri speech community**

(N= 60)

	Languages	No of speakers	Percentage	Remarks
1	Bhojpuri	60	100%	
2	Nepali	35	58.33%	
3	Hindi	48	80%	
4	Maithili	7	11.67%	
5	English	7	11.67%	
6	Urdu	3	5%	
7	Bajjika	1	1.67%	
9	Bangla	1	1.67%	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 4.2 shows that all informants of Bhojpuri are fluent in mother tongue. Besides, 80% of them are bilingual with Hindi, 58.33% with Nepali, 11.67% each in Maithili and English, 5% in Urdu and 1.67% each in Bajjika and Bangla.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.2 below:

**Figure 4.2: Bi/multilingualism in the Bhojpuri speech community**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

## 4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in Bhojpuri families

As mentioned in section 4.2.1, most of the Bhojpuri speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual, their family members also seem to be bilingual in different languages. Table 4.3 presents the bi/multilingualism in Bhojpuri family members.

**Table 4.3: Other languages known to family members by sex**

Languages	Male (n=20)		Female (n=22)		Spouse	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Male (n=28)	Female (n=28)
Nepali	7(35%)	7(35%)	4(18.18%)	3(13.64%)	7(25%)	5(17.86%)
Hindi	11(55%)	11(55%)	16(72.72%)	18(81.82%)	12(42.86%)	16(57.14%)
Maithili	2(10%)	2(10%)	2(9.1%)	1(4.54%)	1(3.57%)	1(3.57%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

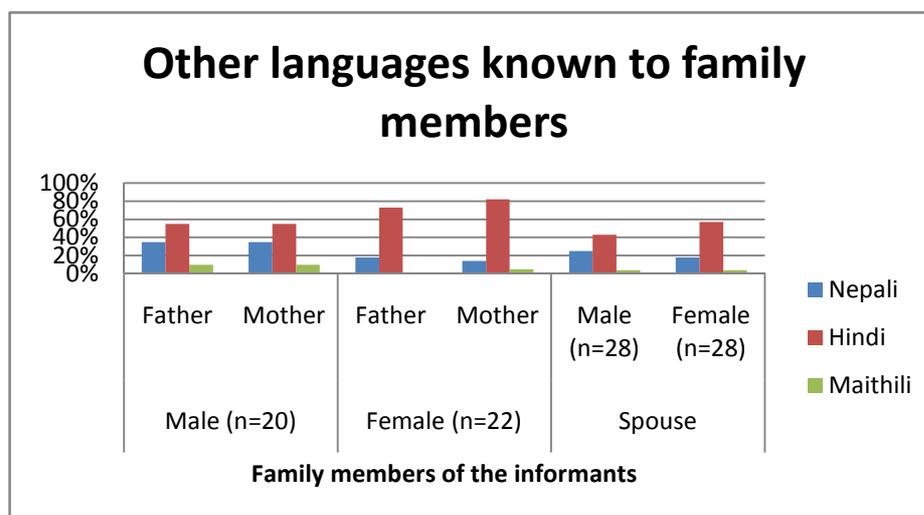
Table 4.3 shows the Bhojpuri speech community is highly bilingual with Hindi, both male and female. Among the 60 informants only 20 male and 22 female respondents reported their parents are still alive. Among them, 11(55%) of the male informants said their parents are bilingual with Hindi, 7(35%) reported bilingual with Nepali and only 2(10%) reported bilingual with Maithili. Likewise, 16(72.72%) female informants reported their fathers are bilingual with Hindi, 4(18.18%) of them reported bilingual with Nepal and 2(9.1%) of them reported bilingual with Maithili. In this regard, 18(81.82%) of the female reported their mothers are bilingual with Hindi, 3(13.64%) reported with Nepali and 1(4.54%) one of them reported bilingual with Maithili.

Regarding spouses' proficiency in other languages, 2 of each of the male and female informants reported unmarried. Those married, 12(40%) of the male respondents reported their wives know Hindi and wives of 7 (25%) know Nepali. Similarly, 16(57.14%) of the female informants reported their husbands are bilingual with Hindi and 5(17.86%) of them reported their husbands know Nepali. Lastly, 1(3.57%) each of the male and female respondents reported their spouses are bilingual with Maithili.

In this way it can be concluded that male population is more bi/multilingual than that of the female ones and Maithili is the least known language among Bhojpuri native speakers.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.3.

**Figure 4.3: Other languages known to family members by sex**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

#### 4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism among children

After the parents and spouses' proficiency of bi/multilingualism, the turn comes to the children. Table 4.4 presents other languages known to the Bhojpuri speaking children as well as where they learnt those languages.

**Table 4.4: Other languages known to their children and where they learnt those languages**

Languages	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total N=60	Where they learnt	No response
Nepali	22(73.33%)	22(73.33%)	44(73.33%)	In the school	16
Hindi	18(60%)	22(73.33%)	40(66.67%)	In the society and Indian market	
English	6(20%)		6(10%)	In the school	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 4.4 shows Bhojpuri speaking children are highly bilingual with Nepali. Other languages they know are Hindi and English. Among the 60 informants, 22(73.33%) each from male and female informants reported their children know Nepali, 18 (60%) of male and 22 (73.33%) of the female reported their children know Hindi and only 6 (20%) of the male reported English be known to their children. In totality, 44 (73.33%) of the informants' Children are reported to know Nepali, 40 (66.67%) reported Hindi and 6 (10%) reported English. They reported their children learnt

Nepali and English at school and Hindi in the society and Indian market. 16 respondents kept silence on the query.

### 4.3 Level of understanding of Nepali in school

As mentioned in section 4.2, most of the Bhojpuri children have learnt Nepali in schools and colleges; they face maximum difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.5 presents the levels of understanding Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

**Table 4.5: Levels of understanding Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex**

N= 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Understand all	2 (6.67%)	1 (3.33%)
Understand a little bit	19 (63.33%)	25 (83.33%)
Do not understand at all	9 (30%)	4 (13.33%)

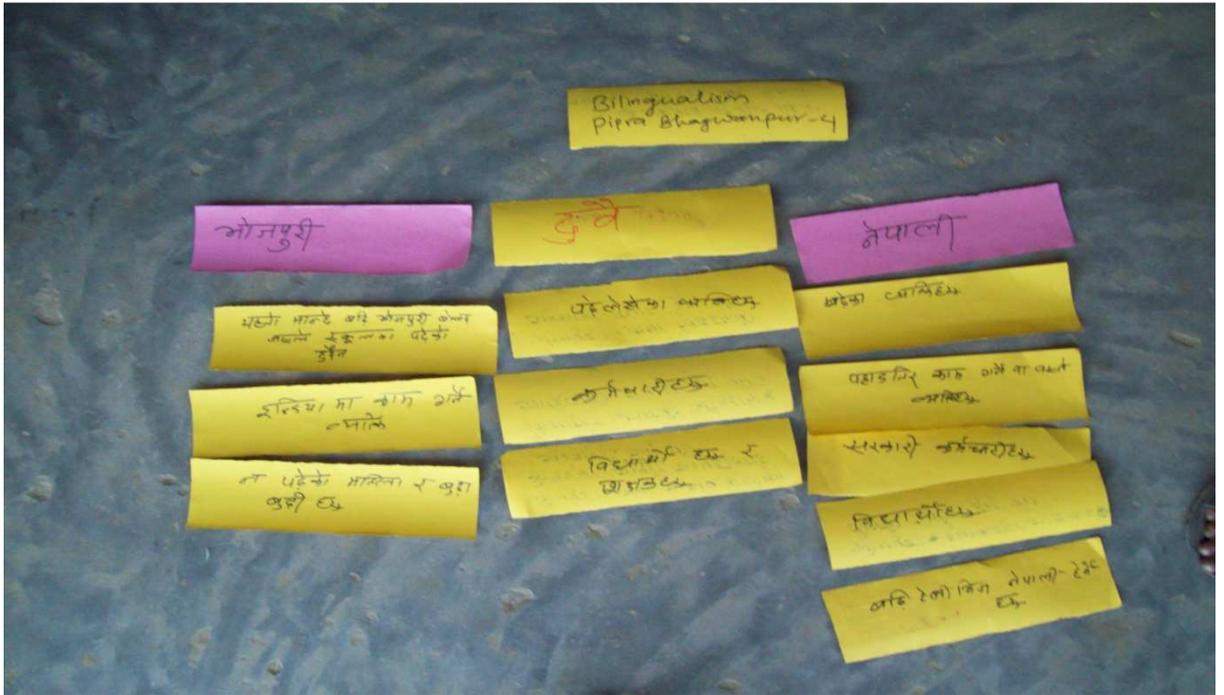
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 4.5 shows that only 2 (6.67%) of the male and 1 (3.33%) female respondents said that their children understand all what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Similarly, 19 (63.33%) male and 25 (83.33%) female respondents said that their children understand only a little bit what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Rest 9 (30%) male and 4 (13.33%) female respondents said that their children understand nothing what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. In totality, only 3(5%) of the 60 informants reported their children fully understand what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Among them, 44 (73.33%) reported their children understand a little bit and 13 (21.67%) completely denied their children understand what the Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.4.



**Photograph 4.2: Situation of Bi/multilingualism in Bhagawanpur, Pipra Bhagawanpur-4, Rautahat**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

There are three common findings from this participatory method of linguistic inquiry:

1. There are some people in Bhojpuri speech community still monolingual in Bhojpuri mother tongue especially male and female speakers of the older age group in rural areas.
2. The Bhojpuri speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC.
3. School going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in both the Bhojpuri and Nepali languages.

**4.4 Summary**

On the basis of facts and figures discussed in this chapter, we summarize that majority of children do not understand at all what their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Since, most of the Bhojpuri native speakers use their own mother tongue at home; their children are monolingual before going to school. Therefore, they face difficulty when they first go to school. It shows that there is the need of

mother tongue based multilingual education (MLE). Similarly, there are some people in Bhojpuri community still monolingual in mother tongue especially female speakers of the older age group as well as those who do not go outside their home and village. Especially the members of the community with outside exposures such as school going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in both the Bhojpuri and Nepali languages. Besides, Hindi is also reported a widespread language of wider communication in the Bhojpuri speech community.

## CHAPTER 5

### DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

#### 5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the domains of language use in general. It consists of eight sections. In section 5.1, we have discussed language use in common domains. Similarly, section 5.2 deals with language use in educational and social matters and section 5.3 presents the use of languages in letter writing. In section 5.4, we have discussed about the languages used outside the home and in section 5.5, the languages used for invitation. Similarly, section 5.6 deals with language use in minutes writing and section 5.7 with frequency in the use of the Bhojpuri language. At last section 5.8 summarizes the facts and findings in the chapter.

#### 5.1 Language use in common domains

Domains of language evaluate the vitality of the language. Bhojpuri is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 5.1 and presents the languages frequently used in different domains by male.

**Table 5.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male**

Domains	Sex: Male (n=30)					
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Bhojpuri & Nepali	Bhojpuri & Hindi	Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi
counting	26(87%)	3(10%)				1(3%)
Singing	24(80%)		3(10%)		1(3%)	2(7%)
Joking	30(100%)					
Bargaining/marketing	26(87%)				4(13%)	
Story telling	28(93%)				2(7%)	
Discussing/Debate	27(90%)	2(7%)		1(3%)		
Praying	26(87%)		1(3%)		3(10%)	
Quarrelling	29 (97%)				1 (3%)	
Abusing/scolding	30 (100%)					
Telling stories to children	30 (100%)					
Singing at home	28 (93%)	1 (3%)			1 (3%)	
Family gatherings	30 (100%)					
Village meetings	25 (83%)	1 (3%)		2 (7%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

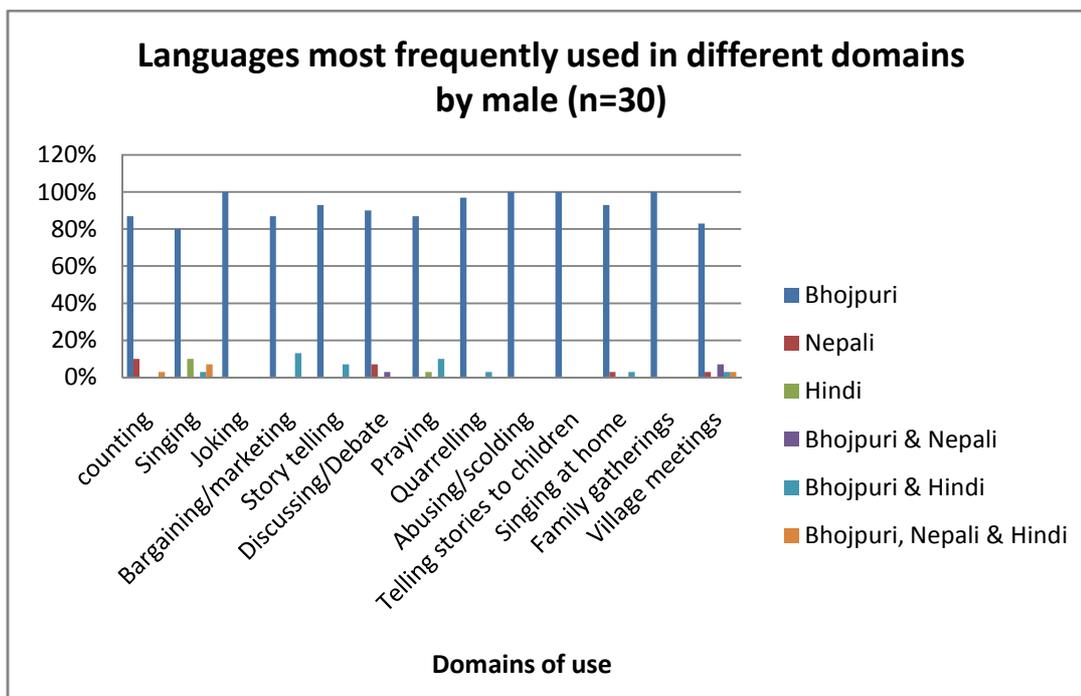
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.1 shows the rate of mother tongue being used by male Bhojpuri speakers for joking, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and in family gathering is cent

percent. The rate of use of mother tongue by male Bhojpuri speakers in other domains is also the highest. The least use of Bhojpuri is 83% at village meetings by male informants. The second position is taken by Nepali but in a very few domains.

The findings are also presented in the Figure 5.1 below:

**Figure 5.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male**



Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.2 presents languages most frequently used in different domains by female.

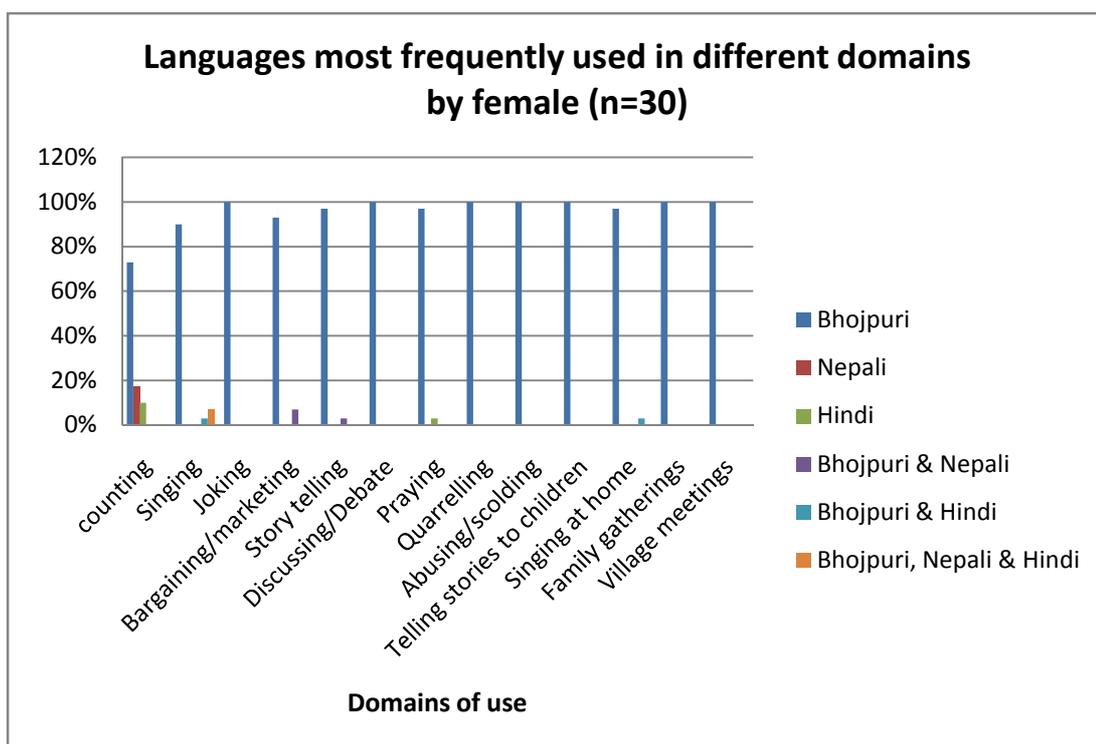
**Table 5.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by female**

Domains	Sex: Female (n=30)					
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Bhojpuri & Nepali	Bhojpuri & Hindi	Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi
counting	22(73%)	5(17%)	3(10%)			
Singing	27(90%)				1(3%)	2(7%)
Joking	30(100%)					
Bargaining/marketing	28 (93%)			2(7%)		
Story telling	29 (97%)			1 (3%)		
Discussing/Debate	30(100%)					
Praying	29 (97%)		1 (3%)			
Quarrelling	30(100%)					
Abusing/scolding	30(100%)					
Telling stories to children	30(100%)					
Singing at home	29 (97%)				1 (3%)	
Family gatherings	30(100%)					
Village meetings	30(100%)					

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.2 shows the rate of mother tongue being used by female Bhojpuri speakers for joking, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and in family gathering, discussion/debate, quarrelling as well as in village meetings is cent percent. The rate of use of mother tongue by Bhojpuri speakers in other domains is also the highest. The least use of Bhojpuri is 73% for counting by female informants. The second position is taken by Nepali but in a very few domains. The situation is also presented in Figure 5.2 below:

**Figure 5.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by female**



Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

We also observed the situation of use of language in different domains on the basis of age of the informants. Table 5.3 presents the situation of youngsters from the age of 15 till 29.

**Table 5.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by youngsters**

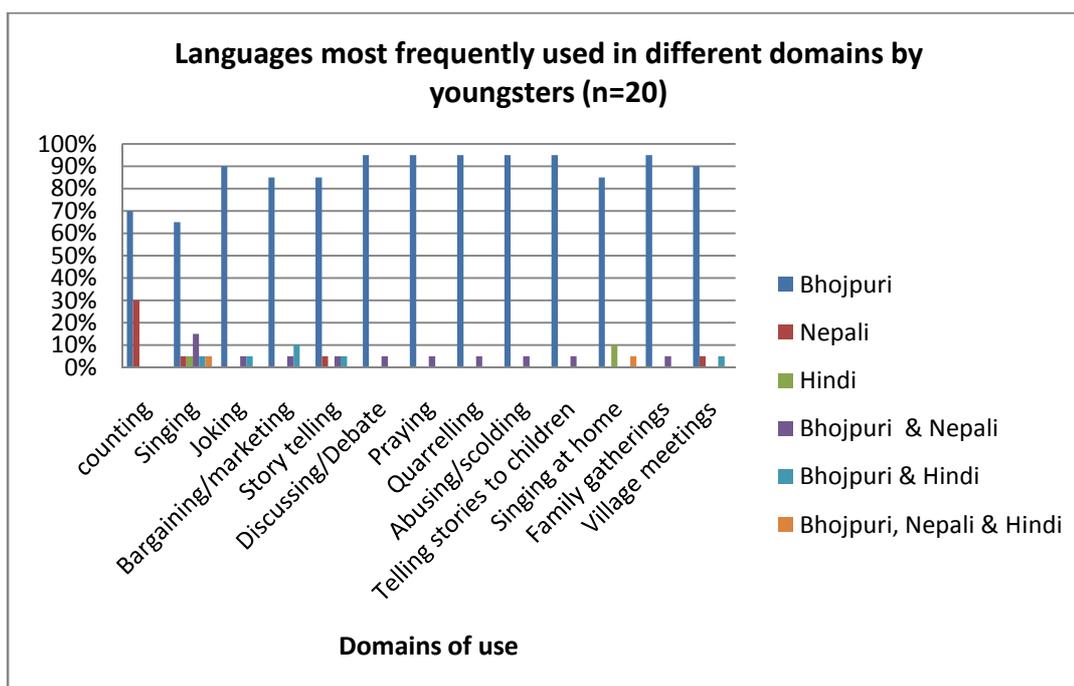
Domains	Age: A1 (n=20)					
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Bhojpuri & Nepali	Bhojpuri & Hindi	Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi
counting	14(70%)	6(30%)				
Singing	13(65%)	1(5%)	1(5%)	3(15%)	1(5%)	1(5%)
Joking	18(90%)			1(5%)	1(5%)	
Bargaining/marketing	17(85%)			1(5%)	2(10%)	
Story telling	17(85%)	1(5%)		1(5%)	1(5%)	
Discussing/Debate	19(95%)			1(5%)		
Praying	19(95%)			1(5%)		
Quarrelling	19(95%)			1(5%)		
Abusing/scolding	19(95%)			1(5%)		
Telling stories to children	19(95%)			1(5%)		
Singing at home	17(85%)		2(10%)			1(5%)
Family gatherings	19(95%)			1(5%)		
Village meetings	18(90%)	1(5%)			1(5%)	

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.3 shows that the young Bhojpuri native speakers use their mother tongue in all the domains on its maximum. Among the 20 young informants, 19(95%) reported they use Bhojpuri for discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and in family gatherings; 18(90%) for joking and in village meetings, 17(85%) for bargaining/marketing, story-telling and singing at home, 14(70%) for counting and the least 13(65%) of them reported using Bhojpuri for singing. 6(30%) of them reported using Nepali for counting and 1(5%) of them reported to use it for each of singing, story-telling and in village meetings. Likewise, 2(10%) of them use Hindi for singing at home and 1(5%) for singing in general. 3(15%) of them use Bhojpuri and Nepali together for singing and 1(5%) reported using the two languages together for each of joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and in family gathering. 2(10%) of them use Bhojpuri and Hindi together for bargaining/marketing and 1(5%) of them reported using the two languages together for each of singing, joking and story-telling. Lastly, 1(5%) of the informants reported using Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together for each of singing in general and singing at home.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.3 below:

**Figure 5.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by youngsters**



Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Similarly, table 5.4 presents the situation in the same domains among adult informants aging from 30 till 59.

**Table 5.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains by adults**

Domains	Age: A2 (n=20)				
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Bhojpuri & Nepali	Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi
counting	13(65%)	4(20%)	2(10%)		1(5%)
Singing	18(90%)		2(10%)	1(5%)	
Joking	18(90%)		1(5%)	1(5%)	
Bargaining/marketing	19(95%)			1(5%)	
Story telling	19(95%)			1(5%)	
Discussing/Debate	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Praying	18(90%)	1(5%)	1(5%)		
Quarrelling	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Abusing/scolding	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Telling stories to children	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Singing at home	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Family gatherings	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Village meetings	18(90%)	1(5%)		1(5%)	

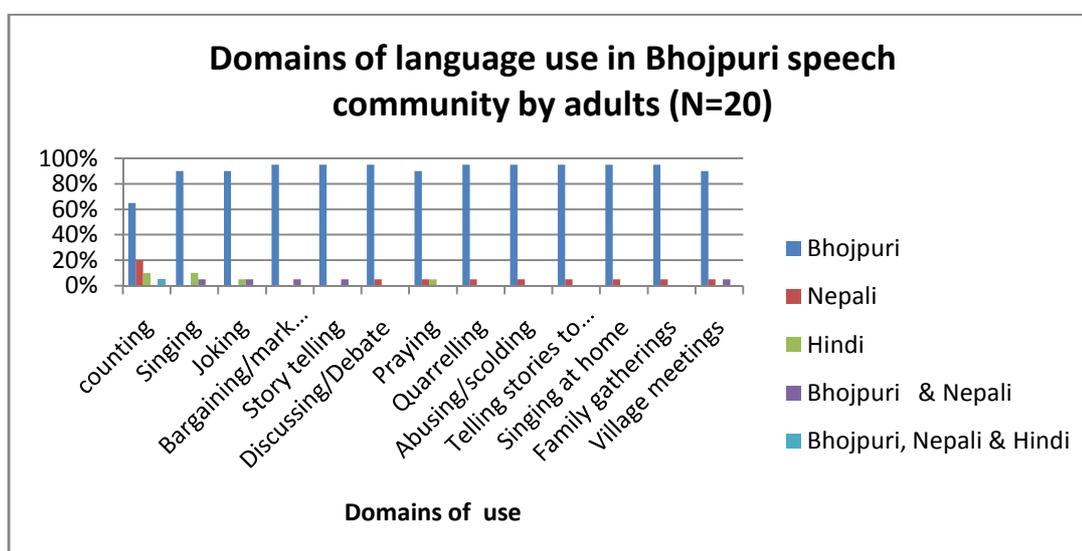
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.4 shows the rate of using Bhojpuri among the native speakers of adult group is higher than that of youngsters. Among 20 adult informants, 19(95%) reported they use Bhojpuri for each of bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family

gathering, 18(90%) reported using it for each of singing, joking, praying and in village meetings and the least 13(65%) reported using Bhojpuri for counting. 4(20%) of them reported using Nepali for counting and 1(5%) of them reported using it for each of discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and for family gathering and village meetings. 2(10%) of them reported using Hindi for each of counting and singing and 1(5%) reported using it for joking and praying. 1(5%) of them reported using Bhojpuri and Nepali together for each of singing, joking, bargaining/marketing and story-telling. Lastly, 1(5%) of them reported using Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together only for counting.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.4.

**Figure 5.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains by adults**



Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.5 presents the situation of Bhojpuri in the same domains among elderly informants of aging 60 years and above.

**Table 5.5: Languages most frequently used in different domains by elderly people**

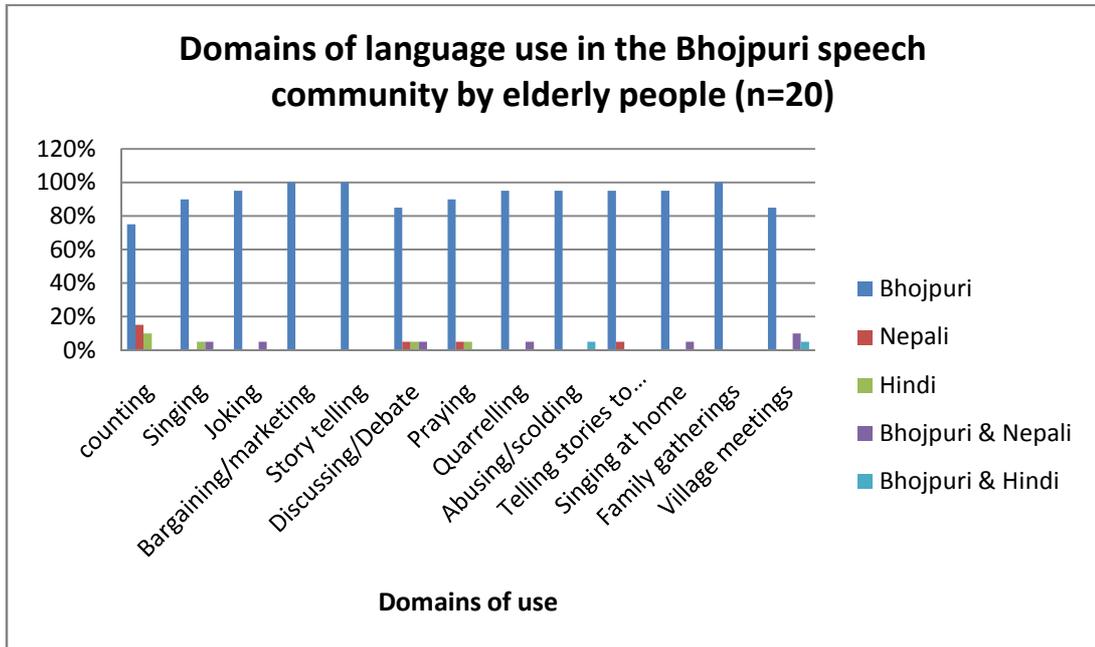
Domains	Age: A3 (n=20)				
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Bhojpuri & Nepali	Bhojpuri & Hindi
counting	15(75%)	3(15%)	2(10%)		
Singing	18(90%)		1(5%)	1(5%)	
Joking	19(95%)			1(5%)	
Bargaining/marketing	20(100%)				
Story telling	20(100%)				
Discussing/Debate	17(85%)	1(5%)	1(5%)	1(5%)	
Praying	18(90%)	1(5%)	1(5%)		
Quarrelling	19(95%)			1(5%)	
Abusing/scolding	19(95%)				1(5%)
Telling stories to children	19(95%)	1(5%)			
Singing at home	19(95%)			1(5%)	
Family gatherings	20(100%)				
Village meetings	17(85%)			2(10%)	1(5%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.5 shows that the rate of using Bhojpuri in different domains of language use is the highest among the elderly informants. Cent percent of them reported they use Bhojpuri for each of bargaining/marketing, story-telling and in family gatherings; 19(95%) for each of joking, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and singing at home; 18(90%) for each of singing and praying; 17(85%) for each of discussing/debate and village meetings and the least 15(75%) reported using Bhojpuri for counting. 3(15%) of them reported using Nepali for counting and 1(5%) reported using it for each of discussing/debate, praying and telling stories to children. 2(10%) reported using Hindi for counting and 1(5%) of them reported using it for each of singing, discussing/debate and praying. 2(10%) reported using Bhojpuri and Nepali in village meetings and 1(5%) reported using the two languages together for each of singing, joking, discussing/debate, quarrelling and singing at home. 1(5%) of them reported using Bhojpuri and Hindi together for each of abusing/scolding and in village meetings.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.5.

**Figure 5.5: Languages most frequently used in different domains by elderly people**



Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

## 5.2 Language use in educational and social matters

Most of the Bhojpuri speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members for discussing different family matters. Same is the case in talking about educational and social matters with their family members. On all survey points all the respondents said that all the members of Bhojpuri speech community use only their mother tongue while talking to their family members about educational and social matters. All the males as well as females use their mother tongue to their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children while discussing about educational and social matters.

## 5.3 Language use in letter writing

Since the literacy rate in Bhojpuri is very poor, majority of speakers use Nepali in letter writing to their family members. Table 5.6 presents the use of languages in letter writing by the male speaker of Bhojpuri community.

**Table 5.6: Use of languages in letter writing by male**

Domains	n=30					
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Bhojpuri & Nepali	Hindi & Nepali	Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi
Grandfather	18(60%)	7(23.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(6.67%)
Grandmother	18(60%)	7(23.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(6.67%)
Father	18(60%)	7(23.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(6.67%)
Mother	18(60%)	7(23.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)	2(6.67%)
	n=28					
Spouse	16(57.14%)	5(17.86%)	3(10.71%)	1(3.57%)	1(3.57%)	2(7.14%)
Children	17(60.71%)	6(21.43%)	2(7.14%)		1(3.57%)	2(7.14%)

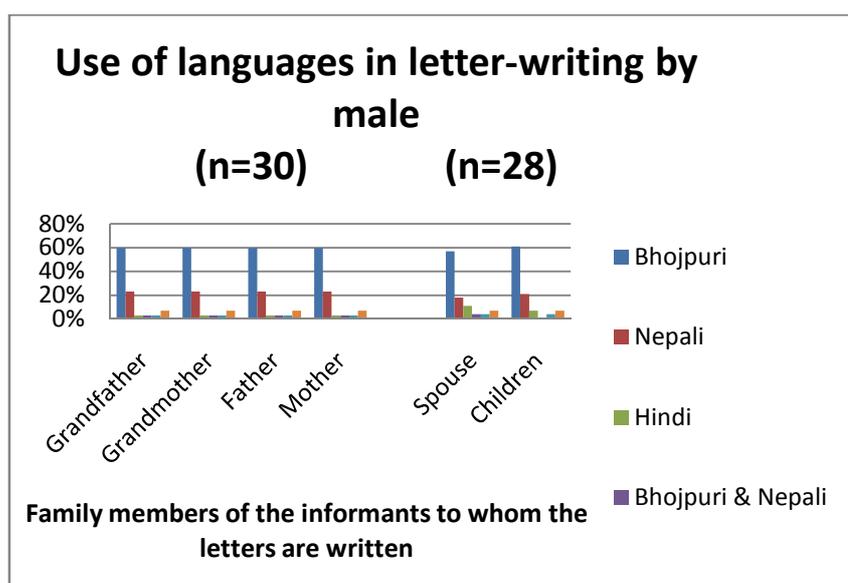
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.6 shows that out of 30 male respondents 18(60%) use their mother tongue while writing letters to their parents and grandparents, 7(23.33%) use Nepali, 1(3.33%) uses either Hindi or Bhojpuri and Nepali or Hindi and Nepali in this domain. Besides, 2(6.67%) of the male respondents reported they use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together while writing letters to their parents and grandparents.

As 28 male respondents reported they are married, 16(57.14%) of them said they write letters to their wives in Bhojpuri, 5(17.86%) in Nepali, 3(10.71%) in Hindi and 1(3.57%) either in Bhojpuri and Nepali or in Hindi and Nepali. Moreover, 2(7.14%) of them said to use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together in this domain. Likewise, 17(60.71%) of them said they write letters to their children in Bhojpuri, 6(21.43%) in Nepali, and 1(3.57%) in Hindi and Nepali. Meanwhile, 2(7.14%) of them reported they write letters to their children either in Hindi or in Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.6.

**Figure 5.6: Use of languages in letter writing by male**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

In this domain, Table 5.7 presents the use of languages used in letter writing by the female speakers of Bhojpuri community.

**Table 5.7: Use of languages in letter writing by female**

Domains	(n=30)			
	Bhojpuri	Nepali	Hindi	Hindi & Nepali
Grandfather	21(70%)	2(6.67%)	6(20%)	1(3.33%)
grandmother	21(70%)	3(10%)	5(16.67%)	1(3.33%)
Father	20(66.67%)	3(10%)	6(20%)	1(3.33%)
Mother	20(66.67%)	3(10%)	6(20%)	1(3.33%)
	n=28			
Spouse	21(75%)	2(7.14%)	4(14.29%)	1(3.57%)
Children	21(75%)	3(10.71%)	3(10.71%)	1(3.57%)

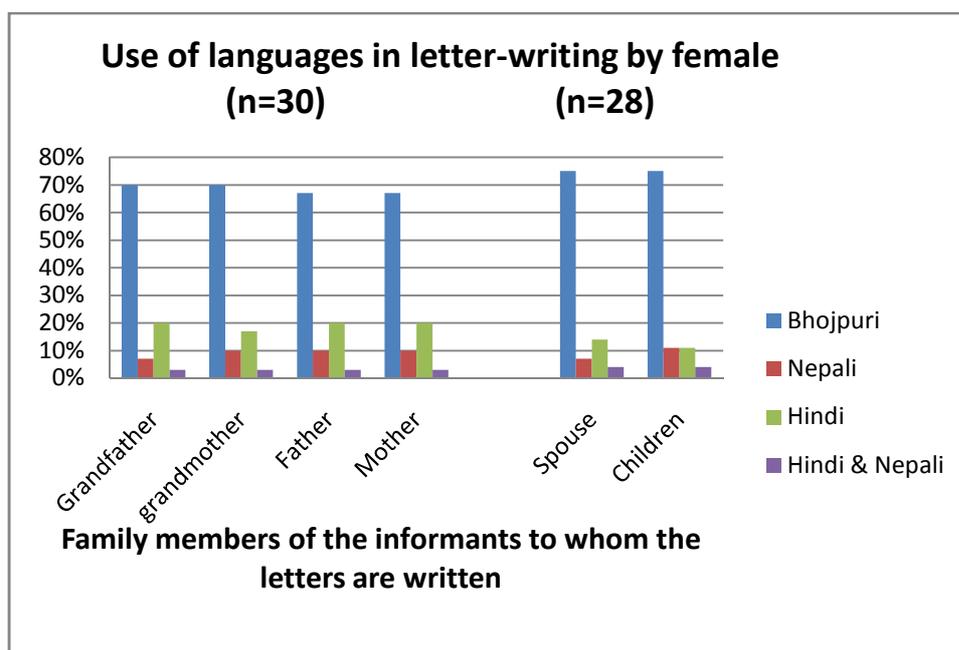
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.7 shows that out of 30 female respondents of Bhojpuri speech community, 21(70%) use their mother tongue in writing letters to their grandparents and 20(66.67%) of them use Bhojpuri for writing letters to their parents. 6(20%) of them use Hindi for their grandfather and parents and 5(16.67%) use it for their grandmothers. Likewise, 3(10%) of them use Nepali for their grandmothers and parents whereas 2(6.67%) of them use it for their grandfather. The rest 1(3.33%) uses Hindi and Nepali together to write letters to their parents and grandparents.

Among 28 married female respondents, 21(75%) said they use Bhojpuri for writing letters to their husbands and children. 4(14.29%) of them said they use Hindi in this domain for their husbands, 2(7.14%) reported using Nepali while writing letters for husbands and 3(10.71%) said they write letters in either in Nepali or in Hindi to their children. Moreover, 1(3.57%) of them said she writes letters to her husband and children in Hindi and Nepali together.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.7.

**Figure 5.7: Use of languages in letter writing by female**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

#### 5.4 Languages used outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbours and at school by Bhojpuri children. As the children of the Bhojpuri native speakers are bi/multilingual, they use their mother tongue, Bhojpuri; Nepali; both Bhojpuri and Nepali and English languages outside the home. Table 5.8 presents the languages Bhojpuri children usually speak while playing with children, talking with neighbors and at school.

**Table 5.8: Languages Bhojpuri children usually speak**

Languages	Male(n=25)			Female(n=30)		
	Domains			Domains		
	Playing with other children	Talking with neighbors	At school	Playing with other children	Talking with neighbors	At school
Bhojpuri	17(68%)	23(92%)	4(16%)	30(100%)	30(100%)	2(6.67%)
Nepali	4(16%)	1(4%)	13(52%)			26(86.66%)
Bhojpuri & Hindi	1(4%)					
Bhojpuri & Nepali	2(8%)	1(4%)	7(28%)			2(6.67%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi	1(4%)		1(4%)			

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.8 shows that out of 25 male respondents having children, 56.67% reported their children speak mother tongue while playing with other children. 16% reported their children using Nepali, 8% reported using Bhojpuri and Nepali together and 4% each using Bhojpuri and Hindi or Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi in this domain. While talking to neighbors, 92% male respondents reported their children use mother tongue and only 4% each of them reported using Bhojpuri or Bhojpuri and Nepali together in this domain. Likewise, 52% male respondents reported their children using Nepali and 28% reported using Bhojpuri and Nepali together at school. 16% reported using Bhojpuri and only 4% reported using Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi in this domain.

Regarding female respondents, cent percent of all 30 respondents reported their children using mother tongue while talking to other children as well as talking to neighbours. 86.66% of the female respondents reported their children use Nepali and 6.67% each reported Bhojpuri or Bhojpuri and Nepali together using at school.

### **5.5 Language for invitation**

Most of the members of Bhojpuri speech community use their own mother tongue, Bhojpuri in different rites and rituals. Same is the case in marriage invitations too. Table 5.9 presents the languages used by Bhojpuri native speakers for marriage invitations.

**Table 5.9: Languages used for marriage invitations by sex**

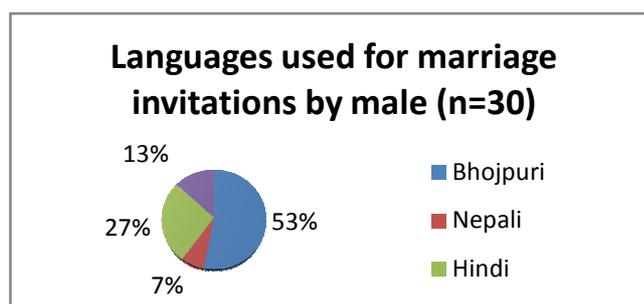
Languages	Male(30)	Female(30)
Bhojpuri	16(53.33%)	30(100%)
Nepali	2(6.67%)	
Hindi	8(26.67%)	
Bhojpuri & Hindi	4(13.33%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.9 shows most of the Bhojpuri people use their own mother tongue for writing marriage invitations as 53.33% of the male and cent percent of the female respondents reported using Bhojpuri in the domain. Likewise 26.67% of the male respondents reported they use Hindi and 13.33% of them reported using Bhojpuri and Hindi together for marriage invitations. Only 6.67% male respondents reported using Nepali in the domain.

Variable response of the male respondents is also presented in Figure 5.8

**Figure 5.8: Languages used for marriage invitations by male**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Similarly, Table 5.10 presents the situation of language use in the same domain by age of the informants

**Table 5.10: Languages used for marriage invitations by age**

Languages	Age Groups			Total(N=60)
	A1(n=20)	A2(n=20)	A3(n=20)	
Bhojpuri	17(85%)	15(75%)	14(70%)	46(76.67%)
Nepali		2(10%)		2(3.33%)
Hindi	2(10%)	3(15%)	3(15%)	8(13.33%)
Bhojpuri & Hindi	1(5%)		3(15%)	4(6.67%)

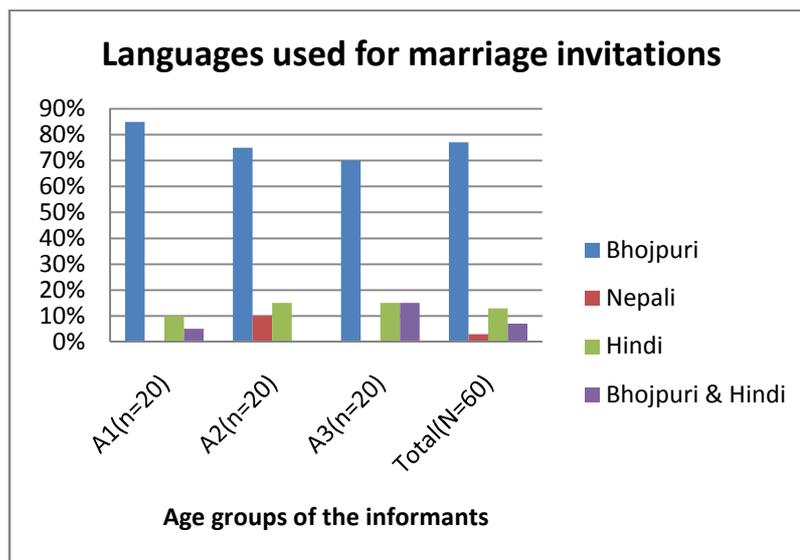
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.10 shows that out of 20 informants of each age group, 17(85%) of the youngsters, 15(75%) of the adult and 14(70%) of the elderly informants use Bhojpuri

for marriage invitations. Likewise, 3(15%) of each of the adult and elderly informants and 2(10%) of the youngsters use Hindi in the domain. Table 5.10 shows only 2(10%) of the adult use Nepali and 3(15%) of the elderly and 1(5%) of the youngster informants use both Bhojpuri and Hindi together in the domain.

The information in this domain is also presented in Figure 5.9.

**Figure 5.9 Languages used for marriage invitations by age**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

The situation in this domain is also presented on the basis of literacy of the informants of the informants in Table 5.11.

**Table 5.11: Languages used for marriage invitations by literacy**

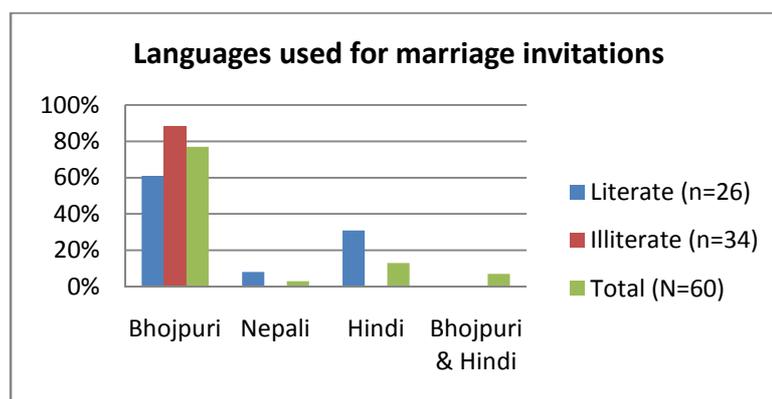
Languages	Literate (n=26)	Illiterate (n=34)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	16(61.54%)	30(88.23%)	46(76.67%)
Nepali	2(7.69%)		2(3.33%)
Hindi	8(30.77%)		8(13.33%)
Bhojpuri & Hindi		4(11.77%)	4(6.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.11 shows that 16(61.54%) of the literate and 30(88.23%) of the illiterate informants use Bhojpuri for marriage invitations. 8(30.77%) of the literate use Hindi and 2(7.69%) of them use Nepali in the domain while 4(11.77%) of the illiterate informants reported they use both Bhojpuri and Hindi for marriage invitations.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.10.

**Figure 5.10: Languages used for marriage invitations by literacy**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Observing the three tables and figures for this domain, they comprise that 46(76.67%) of the 60 informants use Bhojpuri for marriage invitations, 8(13.33%) of them use Hindi and 4(6.67%) use both Bhojpuri and Hindi. Only 2(3.33%) of the 60 informants are reported to use Nepali in the domain.

### 5.6 Language use in minutes writing

Since the official language of the nation is Nepali, the documents which are written for official purposes and the documents which should be documented in the community offices are mostly written in Nepali. Table 5.12 presents the data related to the language used in minutes writing provided by the speakers of the key survey points.

**Table 5.12: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by sex**

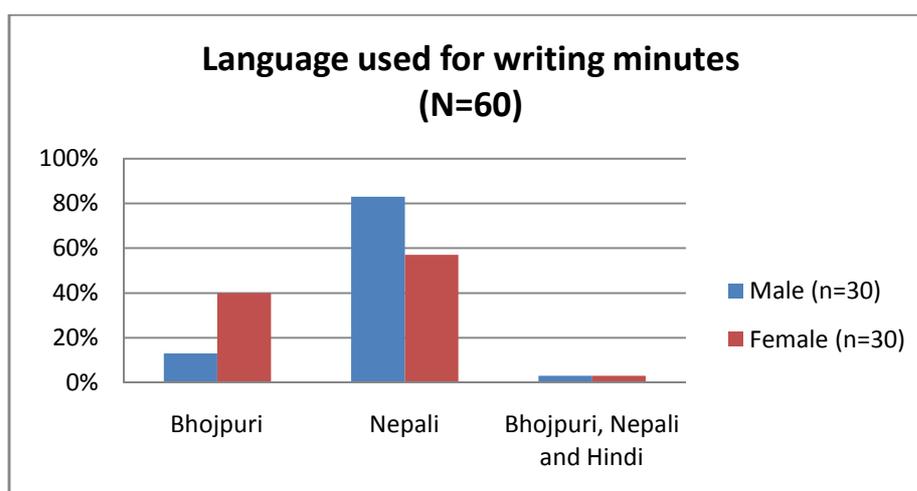
N = 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Bhojpuri	4(13.33%)	12(40%)
Nepali	25(83.33%)	17(56.67%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi	1(3.33%)	1(3.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.12 shows that the rate of using Nepali for minute writing in the Bhojpuri speech community meetings is high. Only 1(3.33%) each of male and female respondents reported they write minutes in the community meetings in Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together. 4(13.33%) of male and 12(40%) of the female respondents reported those writing in Bhojpuri. But 25(83.33%) of male and 17(56.67%) of female respondents reported they write minutes in Nepali in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.11.

**Figure 5.11: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by sex**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.13 also presents the situation of the same domain on the basis of literacy of the informants.

**Table 5.13: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy**

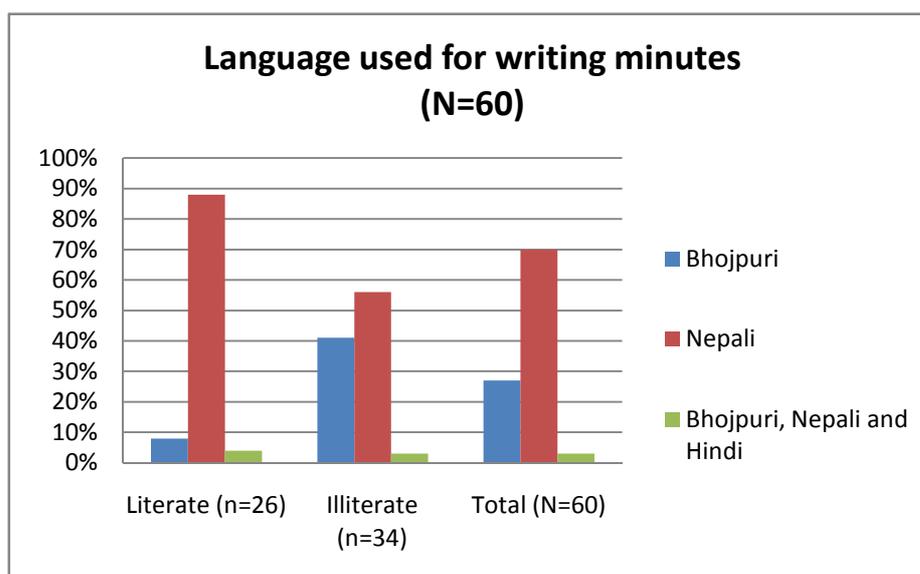
Languages	Literate (n=26)	Illiterate (n=34)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	2(7.69%)	14(41.18%)	16(26.67%)
Nepali	23(88.46%)	19(55.88%)	42(70%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi	1(3.85%)	1(2.94%)	2(3.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.13 shows that 23(88.46%) of the literate and 19(55.88%) of the illiterate informants report use of Nepali to write minutes in the community meetings. 2(7.69%) of the literate and 14(41.18%) of the illiterate informants report use of Bhojpuri in the domain and only 1(3.85%) of the literate and 1(2.94%) of the illiterate informants report use of Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.12.

**Figure 5.12: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Similarly, Table 5.14 presents the situation in the domain according to the age groups of the informants.

**Table 5.14: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by age**

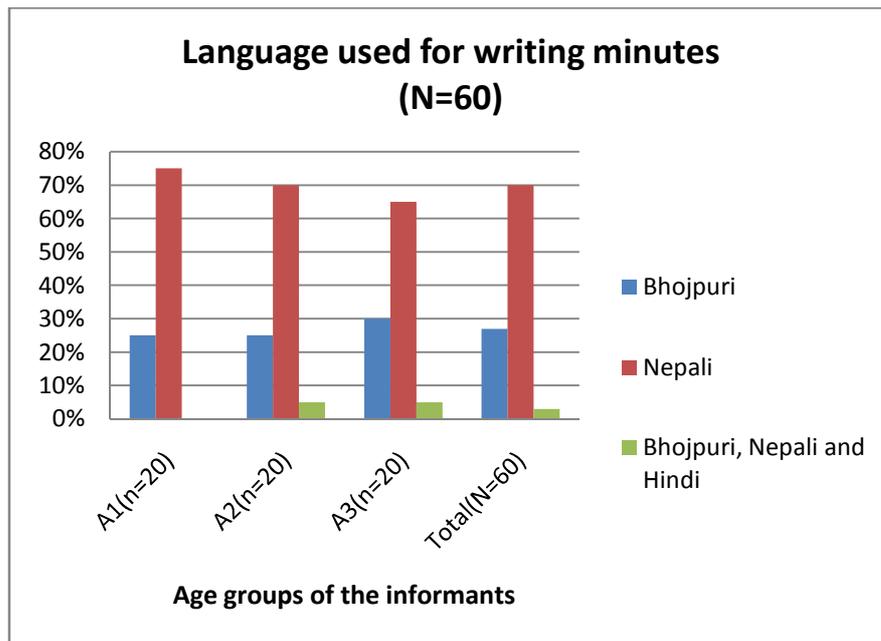
Languages	A1(n=20)	A2(n=20)	A3(n=20)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	5(25%)	5(25%)	6(30%)	16(26.67%)
Nepali	15(75%)	14(70%)	13(65%)	42(70%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi		1(5%)	1(5%)	2(3.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.14 shows 15(75%) of the youngsters, 14(70%) of the adults and 13(65%) of the elderly informants report use of Nepali for writing minutes in the community meetings. Likewise, 5(25%) each of the youngsters and adults and 6(30%) of the elderly informants report use of Bhojpuri in the domain. Only 1(5%) each of the adults and the elderly informants reports use of Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.13.

**Figure 5.13: Language used to write minutes in community meetings by age**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Going through the three tables and figures in this domain, it comprises that 42(70%) of the 60 informants report use of Nepali, 16(26.67%) report use of Bhojpuri and 2(3.33%) of them report use of Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

### 5.7 Frequency in the use of languages

As mentioned in section 5.1 and 5.2, Bhojpuri is the most prominent language in its speech community; the speakers of Bhojpuri use their mother tongue very frequently. When the informants were asked how often they use their mother tongue, all of them responded that they all use their mother tongue daily. It shows that all the speakers of the Bhojpuri speech community use their mother tongue daily. There is no one to say that s/he uses his/her mother tongue sometimes or never. Therefore, it can be said that the Bhojpuri language is very frequently used in the speech community.

Similarly, the languages of wider communication are Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi. Table 5.15 presents responses provided by the respondents about the languages of wider communication and their frequencies in key survey points by sex of the informants.

**Table 5.15: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies by sex**

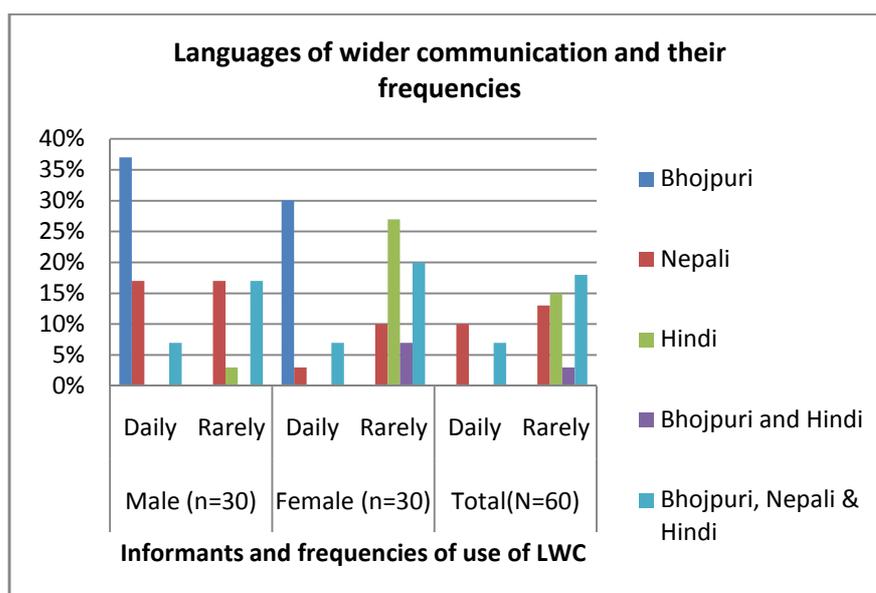
LWC	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)		Total(N=60)	
	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Bhojpuri	11(36.67%)		9(30%)		20(33.33%)	
Nepali	5(16.67%)	5(16.67%)	1(3.33%)	3(10%)	6(10%)	8(13.33%)
Hindi		1(3.33%)		8(26.67%)		9(15%)
Bhojpuri and Hindi				2(6.67%)		2(3.33%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi	2(6.67%)	5(16.67%)	2(6.67%)	6(20%)	4(6.67%)	11(18.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.15 shows that 11(36.67%) of the male and 9(30%) of the female informants use Bhojpuri as the language of wider communication (LWC) daily. Likewise 5(16.67%) of the male and 1(3.33%) of the female use Nepali as LWC daily and that 5(16.67%) of the male and 3(10%) of the female use it in the domain rarely. 1(3.33%) of the male and 8(26.67%) of the female use Hindi as LWC rarely, 2(6.67%) of the female use Bhojpuri and Hindi as LWC rarely. Moreover, 2(6.67%) of each of the male and female use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together as LWC daily whereas 5(16.67%) of the male and 6(20%) of the female informants use them as LWC rarely.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.14.

**Figure 5.14: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies by sex**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Besides, Table 5.16 presents situation in the same domain by level of literacy of the informants.

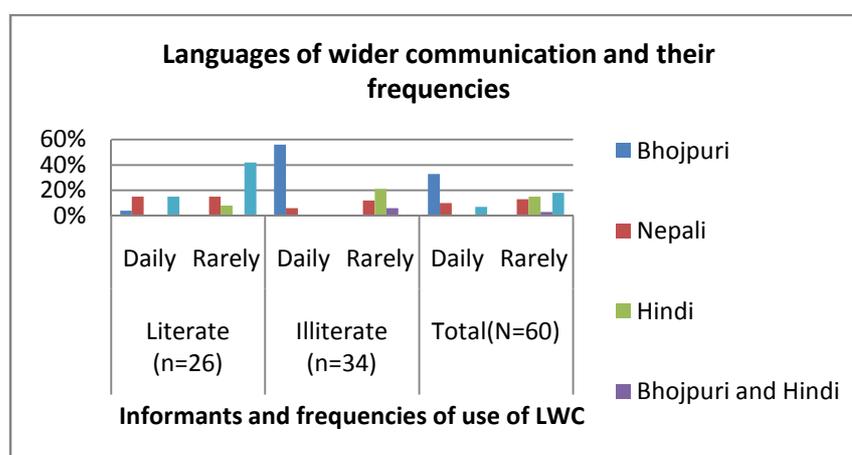
**Table 5.16: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies by literacy**

LWC	Literate (n=26)		Illiterate (n=34)		Total(N=60)	
	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Bhojpuri	1(3.85%)		19(55.88%)		20(33.33%)	
Nepali	4(15.38%)	4(15.38%)	2(5.88%)	4(11.76%)	6(10%)	8(13.33%)
Hindi		2(7.69%)		7(20.59%)		9(15%)
Bhojpuri and Hindi				2(5.88%)		2(3.33%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi	4(15.38%)	11(42.31%)			4(6.67%)	11(18.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.16 shows that 1(3.85%) of the literate and 19(55.88%) of the illiterate informants use Bhojpuri daily as LWC. 4(15.38%) of the literate and 2(5.88%) of the illiterate use Nepali daily and 4(15.38%) of the literate and 4(11.76%) of the illiterate use it rarely as LWC. Hindi is reported to be used rarely as LWC by 2(7.69%) of the literate and 7(20.59%) of the illiterate informants. Only 2(5.88%) of the illiterate use Bhojpuri and Hindi together rarely as LWC. Likewise, 4(15.38%) of the literate use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together daily and 11(42.31%) of them use rarely the three languages as LWC. The information is also presented in Figure 5.15

**Figure 5.15: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies by literacy**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

The situation in this domain is also presented in table 5.17 on the basis of age groups of the informants.

**Table 5.17: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies by age**

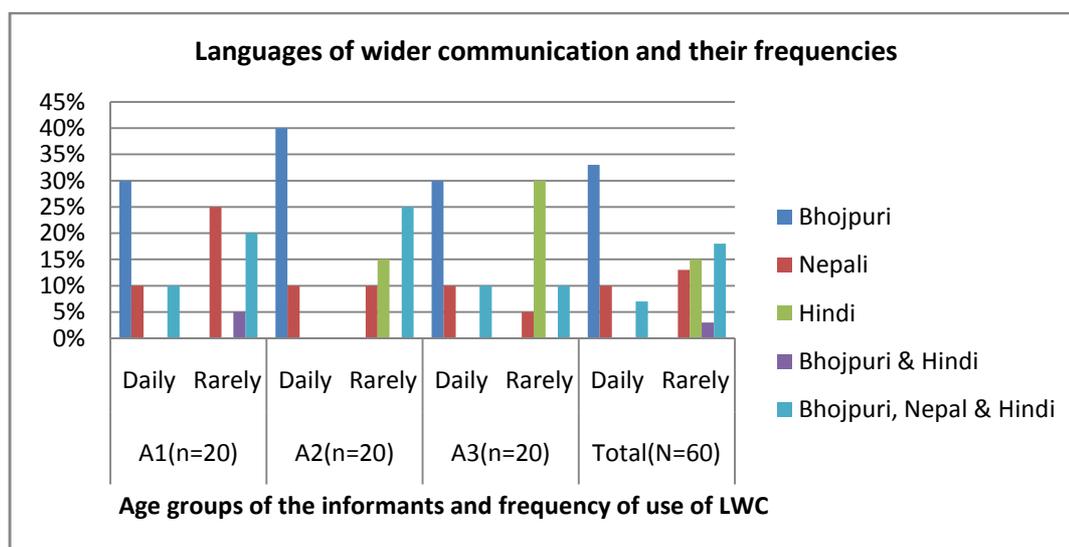
LWC	A1(n=20)		A2(n=20)		A3(n=20)		Total(N=60)	
	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Bhojpuri	6(30%)		8(40%)		6(30%)		20(33.33%)	
Nepali	2(10%)	5(25%)	2(10%)	2(10%)	2(10%)	1(5%)	6(10%)	8(13.33%)
Hindi				3(15%)		6(30%)		9(15%)
Bhojpuri & Hindi		1(5%)				1(5%)		2(3.33%)
Bhojpuri, Nepal & Hindi	2(10%)	4(20%)		5(25%)	2(10%)	2(10%)	4(6.67%)	11(18.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.17 shows 6(30%) of the youngsters, 8(40%) of the adult and 6(30%) of the elderly informants use Bhojpuri daily as LWC. Nepali is reported to be used daily as LWC by 2(10%) of the informants in each age group and rarely by 5(25%) of the youngsters, 2(10%) of the adults and 1(5%) of the elderly informants. 1(5%) from each of the youngsters and elderly informants uses Bhojpuri and Hindi together rarely as LWC. Likewise, 2(10%) from each of the youngsters and elderly informants use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together daily as LWC whereas 4(20%) of the youngsters, 5(25%) of the adults and 2(10%) of the elderly informants use the three languages together rarely as LWC.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.16.

**Figure 5.16: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies by age**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Concluding the data presented by the three tables in this domain, 20(33.33%) of the all 60 informants report they use Bhojpuri daily as LWC, 6(10%) of them use daily and 8(13.33%) of them use rarely Nepali as LWC, 9(15%) of them use Hindi rarely as LWC, 2(3.33%) use Bhojpuri and Hindi together rarely as LWC, and 4(6.67%) of them use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi daily as LWC whereas 11(18.33%) of them use the three languages together rarely as LWC in totality. So, it can be concluded that Bhojpuri is not only the native language but also a language of wider communication in the Bhojpuri speech community at highest level.

Similarly, Table 5.18 presents the data, related to the use of the language when the speakers of other languages visit their home, taken from informants of the key survey points of Bhojpuri.

**Table 5.18: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit their home by sex**

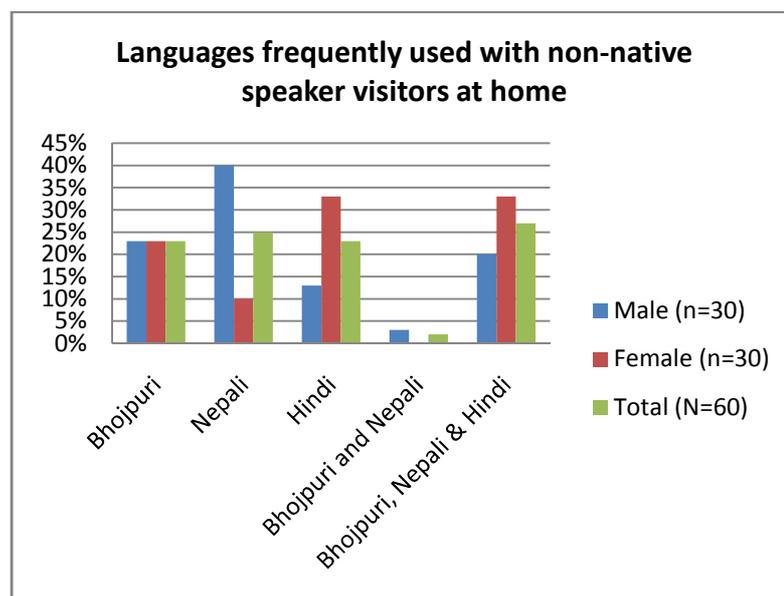
Languages	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	7(23.33%)	7(23.33%)	14(23.33%)
Nepali	12(40%)	3(10%)	15(25%)
Hindi	4(13.33%)	10(33.33%)	14(23.33%)
Bhojpuri and Nepali	1(3.33%)		1(1.67%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi	6(20%)	10(33.33%)	16(26.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.18 shows that the languages frequently used when speakers of the other languages visit homes of the Bhojpuri speech community are mainly Bhojpuri and Nepali. 7(23.33%) each of male and female Bhojpuri respondents reported that they use Bhojpuri with the visitors of other language speaking communities whereas 12(40%) of male and 3(10%) of female respondents report they use Nepali with them. Likewise, 4(13.33%) of the male and 10(33.33%) of the female respondents use Hindi with them. Only 1(3.33%) male Bhojpuri respondent reports using Bhojpuri and Nepali together and. Similarly, 6(20%) of the male and 10(33.33%) of the female respondents report they use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together with the non-native speaker visitors at their home.

The information in the table is also presented in Figure 5.17.

**Figure 5.17: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit their home by sex**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

In addition to this, Table 5.19 presents the same data according to literacy of the informants.

**Table 5.19: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit their home by literacy**

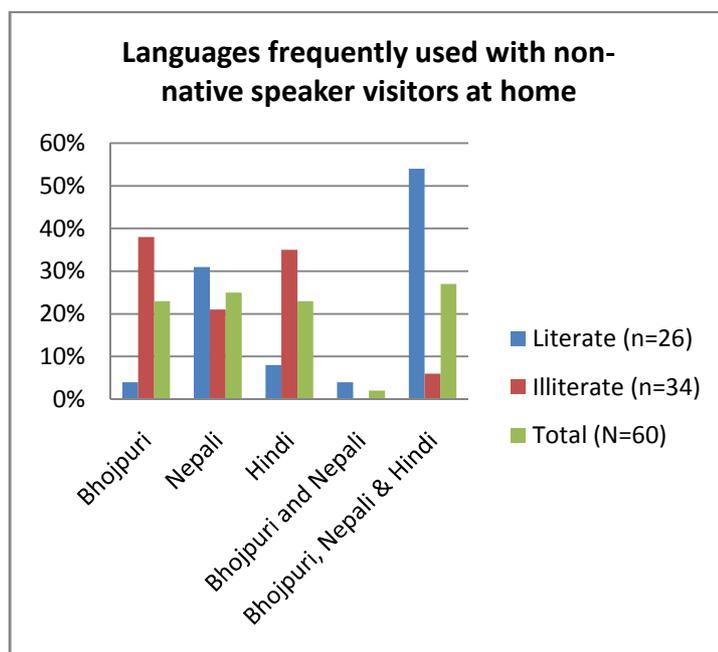
Languages	Literate (n=26)	Illiterate (n=34)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	1(3.85%)	13(38.24%)	14(23.33%)
Nepali	8(30.76%)	7(20.59%)	15(25%)
Hindi	2(7.69%)	12(35.29%)	14(23.33%)
Bhojpuri and Nepali	1(3.85%)		1(1.67%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi	14(53.85%)	2(5.88%)	16(26.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.19 shows that 1(3.85%) of the literate and 13(38.24%) of the illiterate informants use Bhojpuri with the non-Bhojpuri speakers visiting their home. 8(30.76%) of the literate and 7(20.59%) of the illiterate informants use Nepali in the domain, 2(7.69%) of the literate and 12(35.29%) of the illiterate use Hindi and only 1(3.85%) literate uses both Bhojpuri and Nepali together in the domain. Lastly, 14(53.85%) of the literate and 2(5.88%) of the illiterate informants reported they use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together with the non-Bhojpuri visitors at their home.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.18.

**Figure 5.18: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit their home by literacy**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Besides, Table 5.20 presents the same data according to the age groups of the informants.

**Table 5.20: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit their home by age**

Languages	A1(n=20)	A2(n=20)	A3(n=20)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	4(20%)	5(25%)	5(25%)	14(23.33%)
Nepali	8(40%)	3(15%)	4(20%)	15(25%)
Hindi	2(10%)	4(20%)	8(40%)	14(23.33%)
Bhojpuri and Nepali			1(5%)	1(1.67%)
Bhojpuri, Nepali & Hindi	6(30%)	8(40%)	2(10%)	16(26.67%)

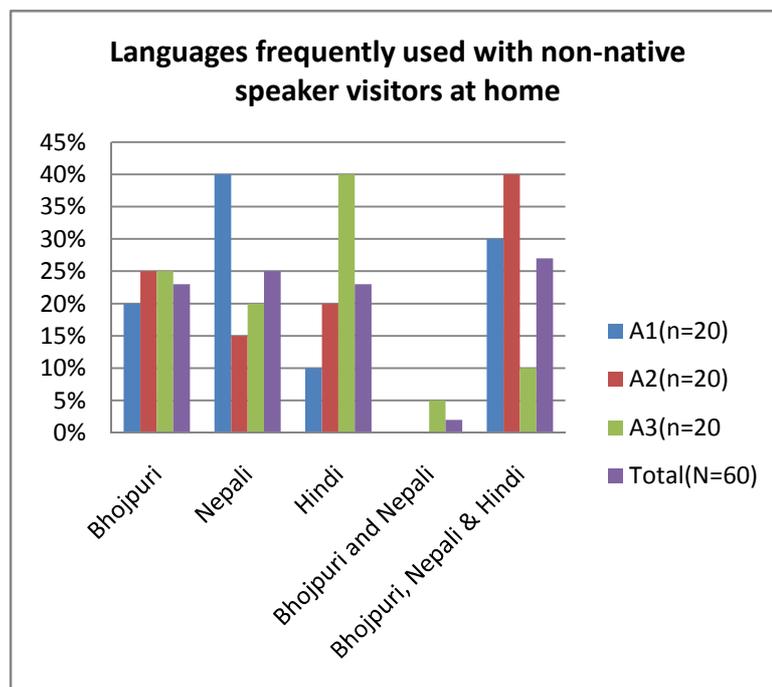
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 5.20 shows that 4(20%) of the youngsters and 5(25%) each of the adults and elderly informant use Bhojpuri with the non-Bhojpuri speaking visitors at home. Likewise, 8(40%) of the youngsters, 3(15%) of the adults and 4(20%) of the elderly informants use Nepali whereas 2(10%) of the youngsters, 4(20%) of the adults and 8(40%) of the elderly informants use Hindi in the domain. Only 1(5%) elderly informant uses Bhojpuri and Nepali together. Lastly, 6(30%) of the youngsters,

8(40%) of the adults and 2(10%) of the elderly informants report using Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together with the non-Bhojpuri speaking visitors at home.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.19.

**Figure 5.19: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit their home by age**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

The three tables in this domain conclude that 14(23.33%) of the 60 informants use each of Bhojpuri and Hindi with non-Bhojpuri speaking visitors at home, 15 (25%) of them use Nepali, 1(1.67%) uses Bhojpuri and Nepali and the rest 16(26.67%) use Bhojpuri, Nepali and Hindi together in totality.

Photographs for appreciative inquiry in this domain are given below.

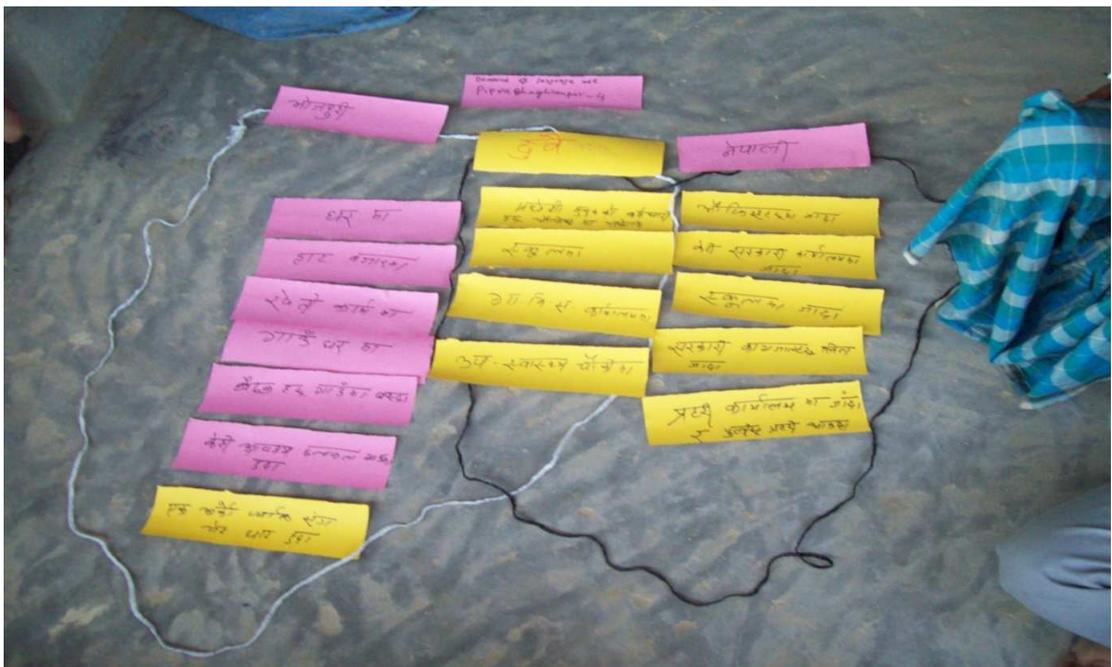


**Photograph 5.3 Domains of language use in Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8, Rautahat**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey Bhojpuri, 2012

**Photograph 5.4: Domains of language use in Bhagawanpur, Pipra Bhagawanpur-6, Rautahat**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey Bhojpuri, 2012



## **5.8 Summary**

In this chapter we have discussed situation of language use in common domains such as counting, singing, marketing, story-telling, debating, game, quarrelling, scolding, singing at home, family gatherings and rural meetings; language use in educational and social matters, in letter writing, outside home, for invitation, minute writing. Likewise we have discussed frequency in the use of languages. Moreover, we have also presented situation language use in different domains by means of the photographs collected during the appreciative inquiries.

## CHAPTER 6

### LANGUAGE VITALITY, TRANSMISSION AND MAINTENANCE

#### 6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language vitality, transmission and maintenance in general. It consists of five sections. Section 6.1 deals with the intergenerational transmission of the language. Similarly, in section 6.2, we discuss the languages spoken by younger people of Bhojpuri speech community. Section 6.3 deals with the transmission of the Bhojpuri language. In section 6.4, we discuss the language maintenance. At last, section 6.5 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

#### 6.1 Intergenerational transmission

Bhojpuri community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. Table 6.1 presents the data based on the responses to of the question 'Do all your children speak your mother tongue?' by the informants in the key survey points.

**Table 6.1: Mother tongue spoken by children**

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
29(96.67%)	1(3.33%)	30 (100%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 6.1 shows that almost all children of the Bhojpuri speech community speak their mother tongue. All the responses provided by both the male and female respondents are the almost the same that all their children speak their mother tongue. Only 1(3.33%) of the male respondents denied the situation. It shows that the Bhojpuri language has the optimum vitality.

Variant response of the male respondents is also presented in Figure 6.1.

**Figure 6.1: Mother tongue spoken by children**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Similarly, when the respondents were asked, “What language do most parents in this village/town usually speak with their children?”, all of them replied that all the parents speak only their mother tongue with their children. It shows that the Bhojpuri language has cent percent vitality.

## 6.2 Language spoken by younger people

In the Bhojpuri speech community all of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication. Table 6.2 below presents the responses to the question “Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?” by the respondents in the key survey points.

**Table 6.2: The way of speaking mother tongue by the younger generation**

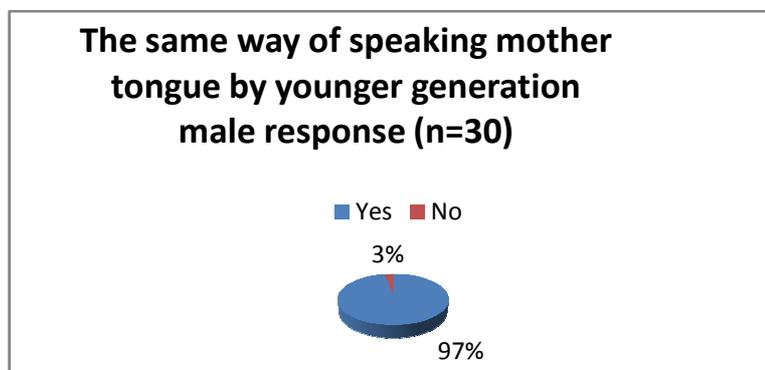
Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
29 (96.67%)	1(3.33%)	30 (100%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 6.2 shows that almost all male and female respondents said that young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken. Only 1(3.33%) of the male respondents denied the situation.

The variant response of the male respondents is presented in Figure 6.2.

**Figure 6.2: The same way of speaking mother tongue by younger generation**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

### 6.3 Transmission of the languages to the younger generation

Language maintenance in Bhojpuri speech community is satisfactory till now. Table 6.3 presents the situation of inter-marriage in Bhojpuri community that plays a vital role in language maintenance. It presents the situation on the key survey points in Bhojpuri speech community.

**Table 6.3: Intermarriage in Bhojpuri speech community**

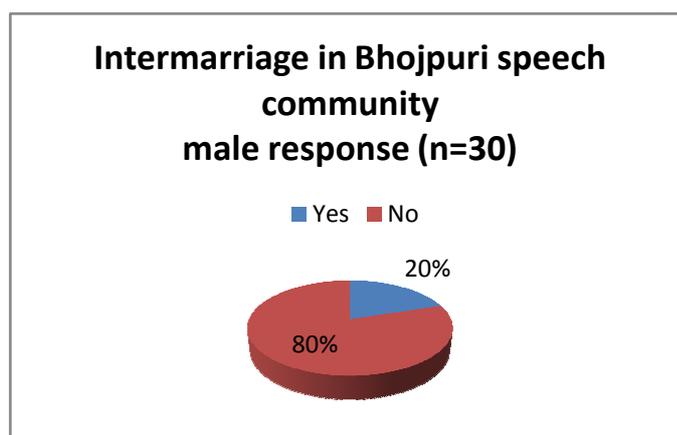
Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
6 (20%)	24(80%)		30(100%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 6.3 shows that 6(20%) of the male respondents reported there is intermarriage in the Bhojpuri speech community. Likewise, 24(80%) of the male and cent-percent of the female respondents denied inter-marriage practice in Bhojpuri speech community. Hence, it is noticeable that inter-caste marriage in the community does not affect the language maintenance. Only inter-lingual marriage, especially with the Nepali native speakers or other mountainous ethnicity affect the situation but it is rare in practice.

The variable response of the male respondents is presented in Figure 6.3.

**Figure 6.3: Male response about intermarriage in Bhojpuri speech community**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

To this effect, in response to the question “If there is inter- caste marriage in your community which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?” the language groups the informants provided are presented in the Table 6.4.

**Table 6.4: Common marital relationship with Bhojpuri speech community**

		Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?		
S.N.	Areas	Name of the language groups		
1	Maisthan, Birganj-8	Hindi	Maithili	Nepali
2	Kachorwa	Maithili	Awadhi	Hindi
3	Garuda Bazar	Maithili	Bajjika	Hindi
4	Bhagawanpur	Maithili	Bajjika	Urdu
5	Dhakdhai	Awadhi	Hindi	Nepali

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 6.4 shows that all those accepted practice of intermarriage in Bhojpuri speech community; they all reported such practice is with Maithili, Awadhi, Hindi, Urdu and Nepali language speakers.

#### **6.4 Language maintenance**

Bhojpuri native speakers have positive attitudes towards their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. In response to the question " Do you like your children speaking mother tongue?", Table 6.5 presents the responses of the Bhojpuri speakers from key survey points.

**Table 6.5 Parents' likeness of their children speaking mother tongue**

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
24 (80%)	6(20%)	30 (100%)	

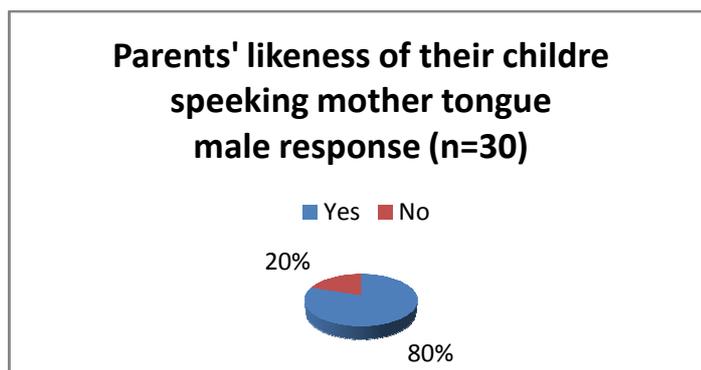
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 6.5 shows that most of Bhojpuri native speaker parents like their children speaking mother tongue. Only 6(20%) of the male respondents or 10% of all reported they do not like.

In response to the question “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?”, all the respondents at each survey point said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue.

Variability in male response is also presented in Figure 6.4.

**Figure 6.4: Fathers' likeness of their children speaking mother tongue**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Similarly, in response to the question “If schools are opened for teaching your language how will you support it?” the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 6.6.

**Table: 6.6: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools**

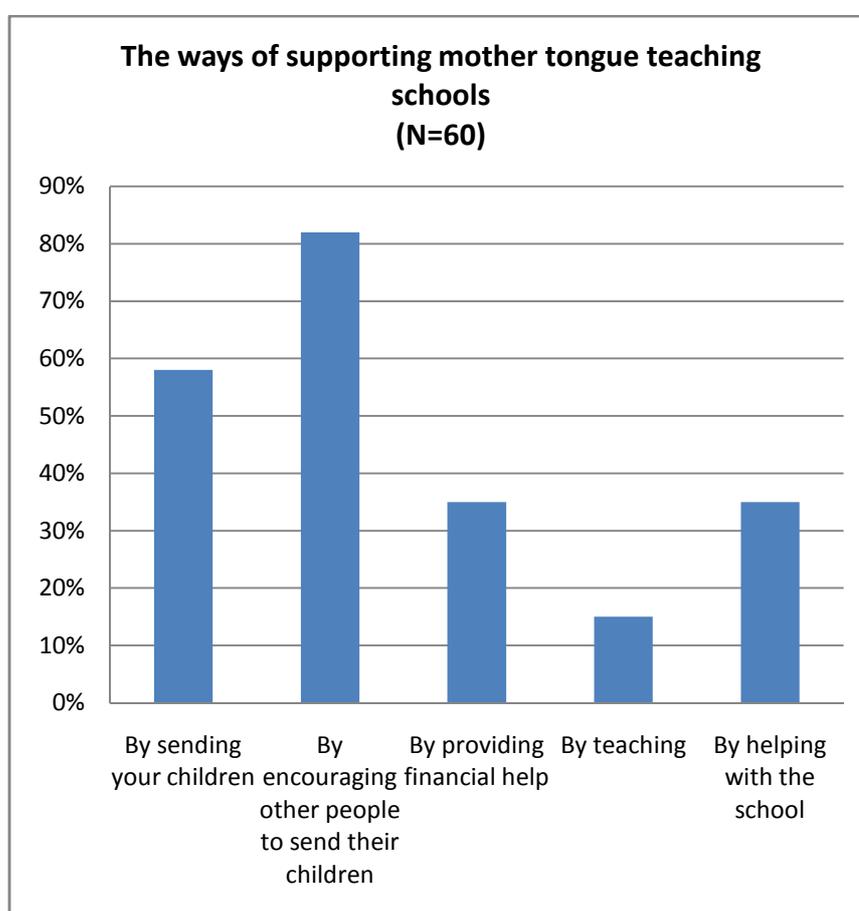
N= 60	
By sending your children?	35(58.33%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	49(81.67%)
By providing financial help?	21(35%)
By teaching?	9(15%)
By helping with the school?	21(35%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 6.6 shows that 35(58.33%) of the respondents said that they will support the schools by sending their children if schools are opened for teaching their language. 49(81.67%) of the informants responded that they will support the school by encouraging other people to send their children. In the same way, 21(35%) of them responded that they will support the school by providing financial help as well as by helping with the school. Similarly, 9(15%) of the respondents said they will support the mother tongue teaching school by teaching themselves.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.5.

**Figure 6.5: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

### 6.5 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed intergenerational transmission of the language and found the rate is on its optimum. We see that the parents speak cent per cent in their mother tongue with children. Similarly the children also speak cent percent in mother tongue with their parents. There is practice of intermarriage in the Bhojpuri speech

community. But the inter marriage happens as inter-lingual marriage generally with Awadhi and Maithili native speakers traditionally. Such marriage is mostly the arranged one. But there is no inter-caste marriage arranged by the parents. Inter-racial marriage is also not found in normal practice. But nowadays, love marriage and court marriage are exceptions and such marriages can happen as inter-caste, inter-ethnic, inter-racial and inter-lingual ones. The informants were also found eager to send their children in mother tongue schools and support such schools by various means.

## CHAPTER 7

### LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

#### 7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with attitude of the Bhojpuri speakers about their language. It consists of eight sections. Section 7.1 includes feelings of the speakers towards their language. In section 7.2, we have discussed about the problem because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri and in section 7.3, feelings about children's marriage with non-Bhojpuri speakers. Similarly, section 7.4 deals with grandchildren's language and section 7.5 with First language of the children. Similarly, in section 7.6, we have dealt with medium of instruction at primary level and in section 7.7, about the differences in the use of language between the present speakers and their grandparents. At last, section 7.8 summarizes the findings of chapter.

#### 7.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language

In general, Bhojpuri speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language. In response to the question "When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...?" Table 7.1 presents the responses of the informants sex-wise.

**Table 7.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages**

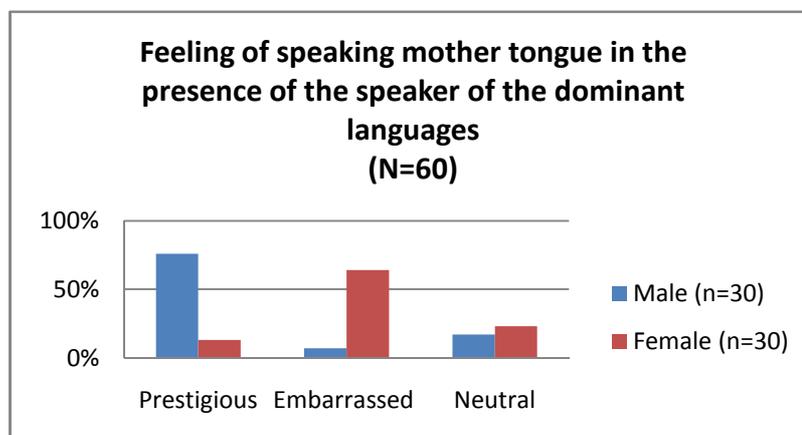
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Prestigious	23 (76.67%)	4 (13.33%)
Embarrassed	2 (6.67%)	19 (63.33%)
Neutral	5 (16.67%)	7 (23.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.1 shows that 23(76.67%) of the male and 4(13.33%) of the female comprising 27(45%) of the informants feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. Similarly, 2(6.67%) of the male and 19(63.33%) of the female comprising 21(35%) of them feel embarrassed. Moreover, 5(16.67%) of the male and 7(23.33%) of the female comprising 12(20%) of the total informants feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. This situation is a good signal for maintenance of the Bhojpuri language.

This information is also presented in Figure 7.1

**Figure 7.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

## 7.2 Problem because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri

In response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” Bhojpuri native speakers have provided the responses as presented in the Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri**

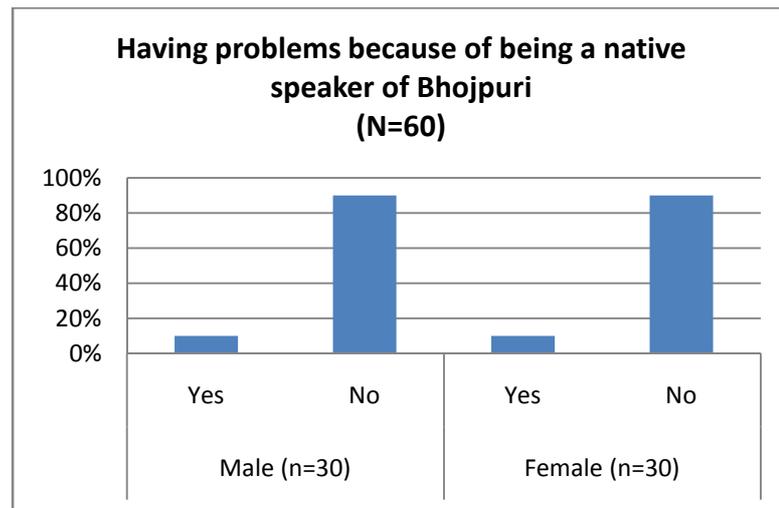
Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
3(10%)	27(90%)	3(10%)	27(90%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.2 shows that 3(10%) each of the male and female respondents said that they had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri and rest 27(90%) each of male and female respondents reported they didn’t have faced any problem because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 7.2.

**Figure 7.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Similarly, in response to the question “If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had?” all those who said they had faced problems because of being Bhojpuri native speakers reported that the problems were on understanding and social bases.

### 7.3 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Bhojpuri speakers

Most of the Bhojpuri speakers feel bad if their son or daughter 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 7.3 presents the responses of the respondents.

**Table 7.3: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Bhojpuri speakers**

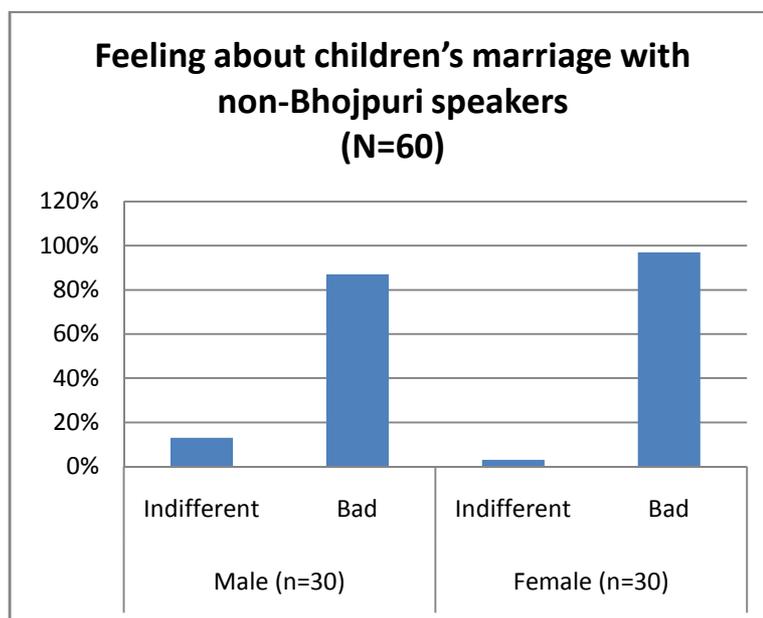
Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Indifferent	Bad	Good	Indifferent	Bad
	4(13.33%)	26(86.67%)		1(3.33%)	29(96.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.3 shows that out of the total male respondents 26(86.67%) feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know Bhojpuri and rest 4(13.33%) feel indifferent. Similarly, 29(96.67%) females feel bad and rest 1(3.33%) feels indifferent if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. And there is not even a single speaker who feels good if his/her son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue.

The information is also presented in Figure 7.3.

**Figure 7.3: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Bhojpuri speakers**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

#### **7.4 Grandchildren’s language**

Bhojpuri native speakers are positive towards their language and culture. When the informants were asked, “Will the grandchildren also speak your language?”, all of them said that their grand children will speak their language.

Similarly, regarding the question “If speak, how do you feel about this?”, all the respondents both male and female said they feel good if their grand children speak their language. It shows that they have very positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, in response to the question “If they do not speak, how do you feel about this?”, all male and female respondents said they feel bad if their grand-children do not speak their language.

#### **7.5 First language of the children**

Since Bhojpuri speakers have positive attitudes towards their language, most of them said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Bhojpuri first. Table 7.4 presents the responses for the question “What language should your children speak first?” from the respondents of the key survey points.

**Table 7.4: The language children of the Bhojpuri speech community should speak first**

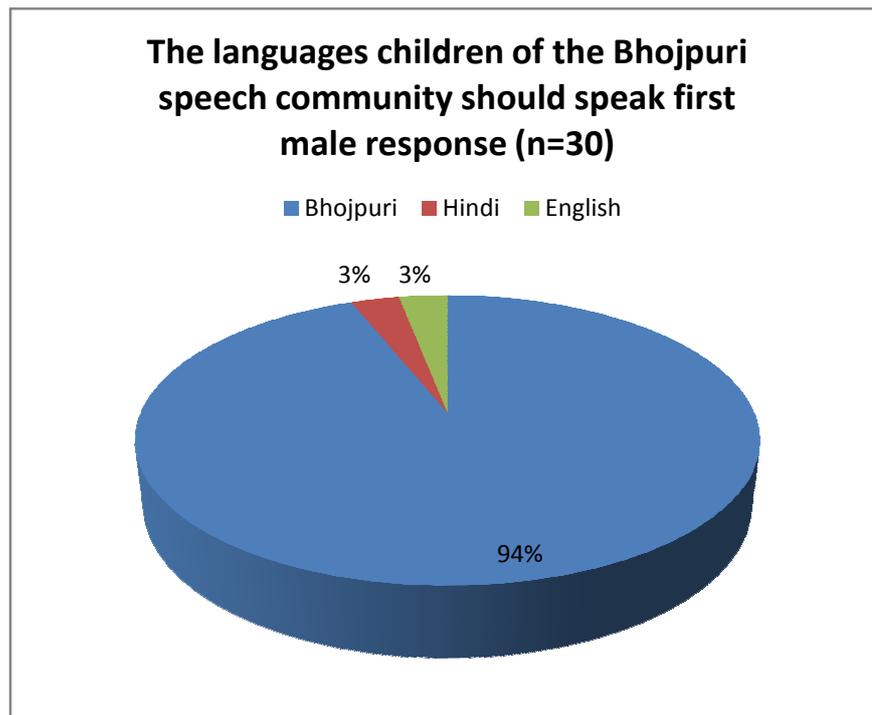
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Bhojpuri	28(93.33%)	30(100%)
Hindi	1(3.33%)	
English	1(3.33%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.4 shows that almost all the male and female Bhojpuri speakers are in favour of their children speaking Bhojpuri at first. Only 1(3.33%) of the male respondents is reported here in favour of Hindi as well of English to be spoken by their children at first.

The variant response of the male respondents is also presented in Figure 7.4.

**Figure 7.4: The languages children of the Bhojpuri speech community should speak first**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

### 7.6 Medium of instruction at primary level

Regarding the question “What language do you prefer for your children’s medium of instruction at primary level?” Table 7.5 presents the responses of the informants in the Bhojpuri speech community of the key survey points.

**Table 7.5: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level**

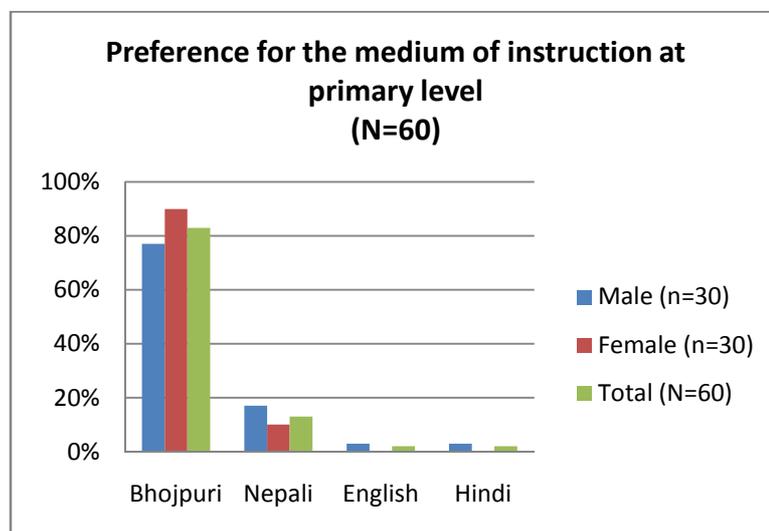
Languages	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Bhojpuri	23 (76.67%)	27 (90%)	50(83.33%)
Nepali	5 (16.67)	3 (10%)	8(13.33%)
English	1 (3.33%)		1(1.67%)
Hindi	1(3.33%)		1(1.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.5 shows that 23(76.67%) of the male and 27(90%) of the female informants preferred their mother tongue, Bhojpuri, as the medium of instruction for their children in primary education. Likewise, 5(16.67%) of the male and 3(10%) of the female informants preferred Nepali as primary education vernacular whereas only 1(3.33%) male informant preferred primary education equally in English and Hindi. In totality, 50(83%) informants were found in favour of mother tongue primary education, 8(13.33%) in favour of Nepali as vernacular whereas 1.67% each in favour of English and Hindi.

Their response is also presented in Figure 7.5.

**Figure 7.5: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

### 7.7 Differences in the use of language between two generations

In response to the question “Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?”, Table 7.6 presents the responses provided by the Bhojpuri native speakers in the key survey points.

**Table 7.6: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations**

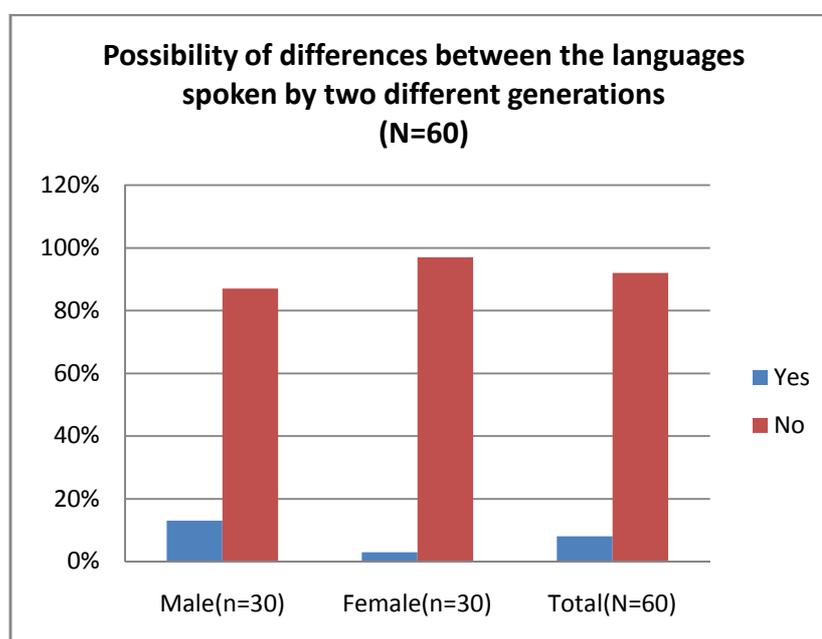
	Male(n=30)	Female(n=30)	Total(N=60)
Yes	4(13.33%)	1(3.33%)	5(8.33%)
No	26(86.67%)	29(96.67%)	55(91.67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.6 shows that only 4(13.33%) of the male and 1(3.33%) of the female informants think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas rest 26(86.67%) of the male and 29(96.67%) of the female do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. In totality only 5(8.33%) of the informants said that they think the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and rest 55(91.67%) said they do not think there is any difference between the languages spoken by the two generations.

The information is also presented in Figure 7.6.

**Figure 7.6 Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Regarding the responses in the Table 7.6, “If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 7.7 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey points.

**Table 7.7: The ways of differences in language between two generations**

Differences in terms of	Male (n=4)	Female (n= 1)
Pronunciation	3(75%)	
Vocabulary	4(100%)	
Use of specific type of sentences	2(50%)	
mixing of other languages	2(50%)	1(100%)
Way of speaking	2(50%)	

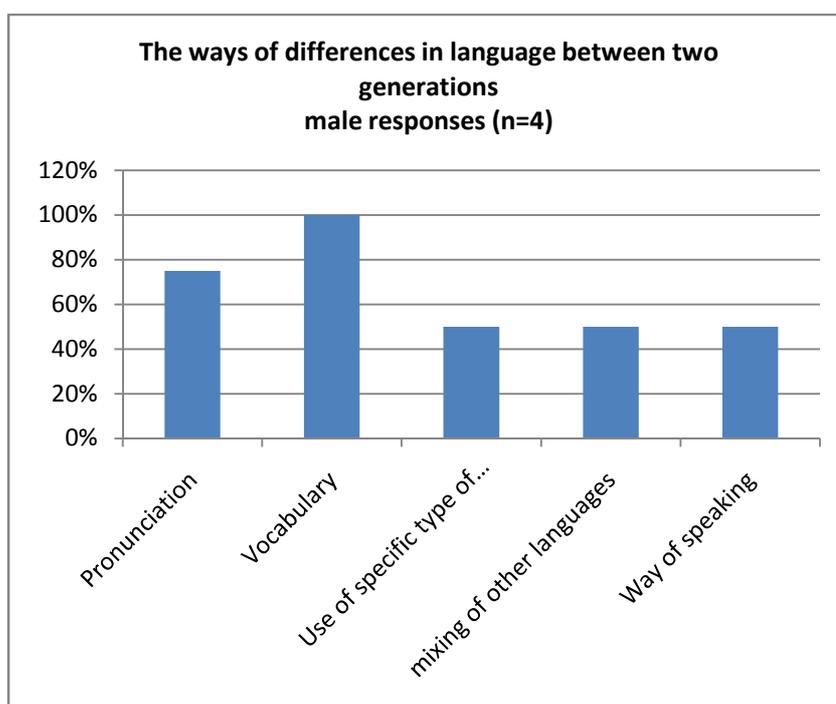
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 7.7 shows that among all the male and female participants, who think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, 3(75%) of the male said that their language differentiates with their grandparents in terms of pronunciation, all the male said it differs in vocabulary and 2(50%) of them said it differs in terms of each of the use of specific type of sentences, mixing of other languages and way of speaking. Likewise the rest only one female respondent said it differs in terms of mixing of other languages.

From this table we can conclude that the language spoken by two different generations have very few differences.

The variant responses of the male are presented in Figure 7.7.

**Figure 7.7: The ways of differences in language between two generations responded by male**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

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 7.8 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

**Table 7.8: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue**

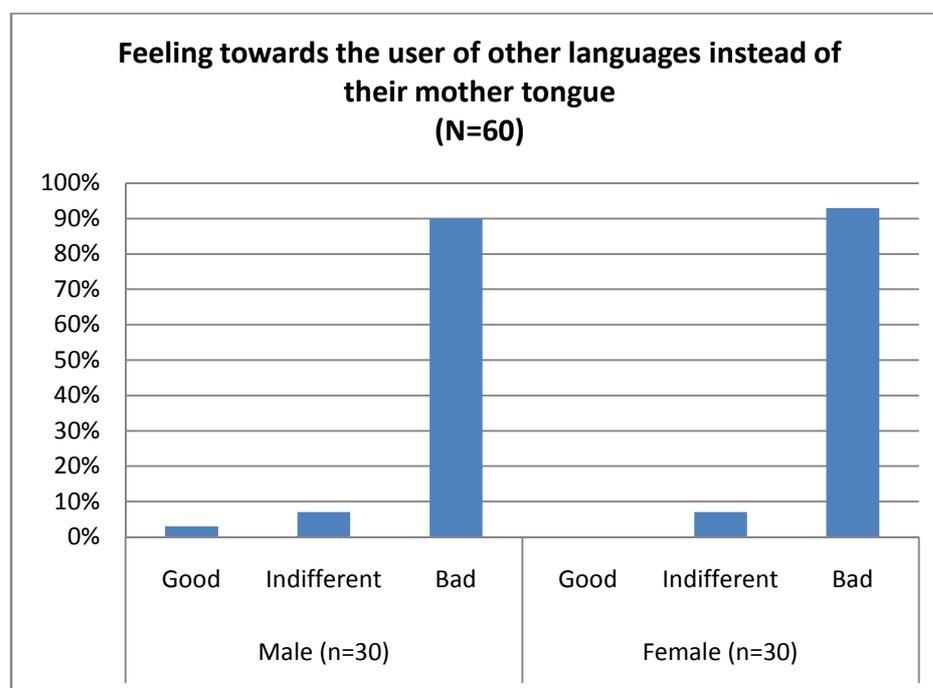
Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Indifferent	Bad	Good	Indifferent	Bad
1(3.33%)	2(6.67%)	27(90%)		2(6.67%)	28(93.33%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Regarding the language attitude, table 7.8 shows that 27(90%) of the male and 28(93.33%) of the female respondents feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Similarly, only 1(3.33%) male Bhojpuri informant responded feeling good and 2(6.67%) each of male and female respondents said they feel indifferent when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their mother tongue.

The responses are also presented in Figure 7.8.

**Figure 7.8: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

## **7.8 Summary**

In this chapter, we discussed the feelings of the speakers of Bhojpuri towards their language and we found they are highly positive as over three-fourths of the respondents said they feel prestigious to speak their mother tongue before speakers of the dominant language. Majority of them reported not to have faced any problems being a Bhojpuri native speaker. This chapter also presents facts that Bhojpuri native speakers are very much cautious towards maintenance of the mother tongue as majority of them said they feel bad if their children marriage non-Bhojpuri speakers. Similarly, they are entirely hopeful their grandchildren will speak the mother tongue and they will feel good if so. They were found overwhelmingly in favour of mother tongue education and that they will feel bad if their youngsters use other language instead of Bhojpuri.

## CHAPTER 8

### LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

#### 8.0 Outline

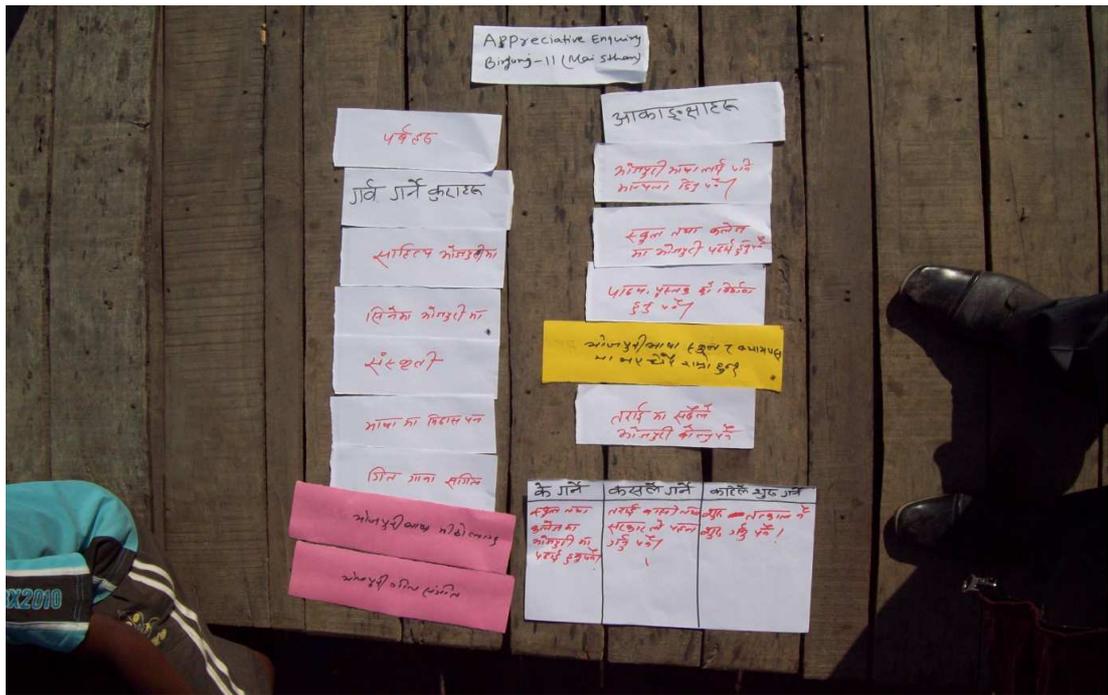
This chapter deals with development of the language in recent days by means of the participatory method. In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all five key points in Bhojpuri. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and social status. The participants in each key point 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' on a piece of paper and placed them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Bhojpuri 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.

#### 8.1 Language development

In order to examine the language development in the Bhojpuri language, appreciative inquiry, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Bhojpuri community. The Photographs of appreciative inquiry tools used in Maisthan, Birganj-8 of Parsa district, Kachorwa-1 of Bara district, Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8 and Bagawanpur, Pipra Bhagawanpur-6 of Rautahat district and Dhakdhai, Bodhwar-4 of Rupandehi district present the language development and the ambitions to the development of language.

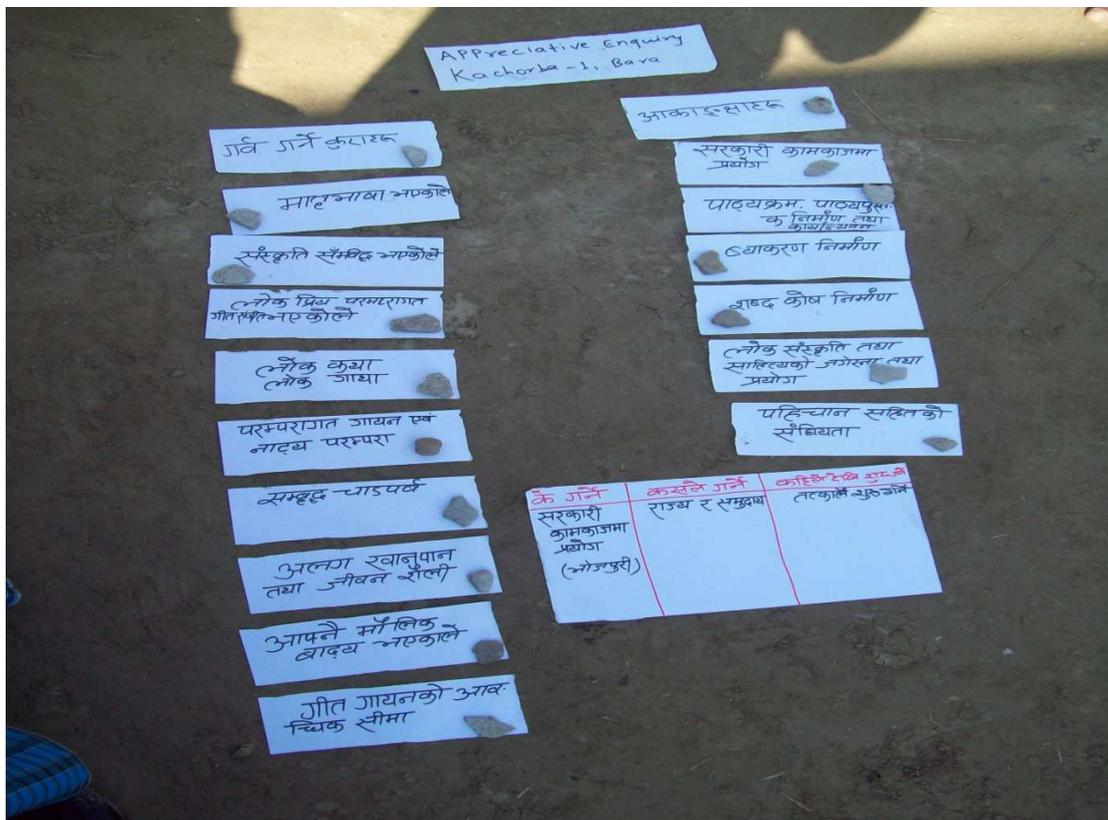
In this survey, as discussed already, we have employed different participatory tools such as dialect mapping, domains of language use and bi/multilingualism. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language and culture. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think of future possibilities about their language and culture. The Photographs of the appreciative inquiries are pasted below:

Photograph 8.1 Appreciative Inquiry in Maisthan, Birganj-8, Parsa



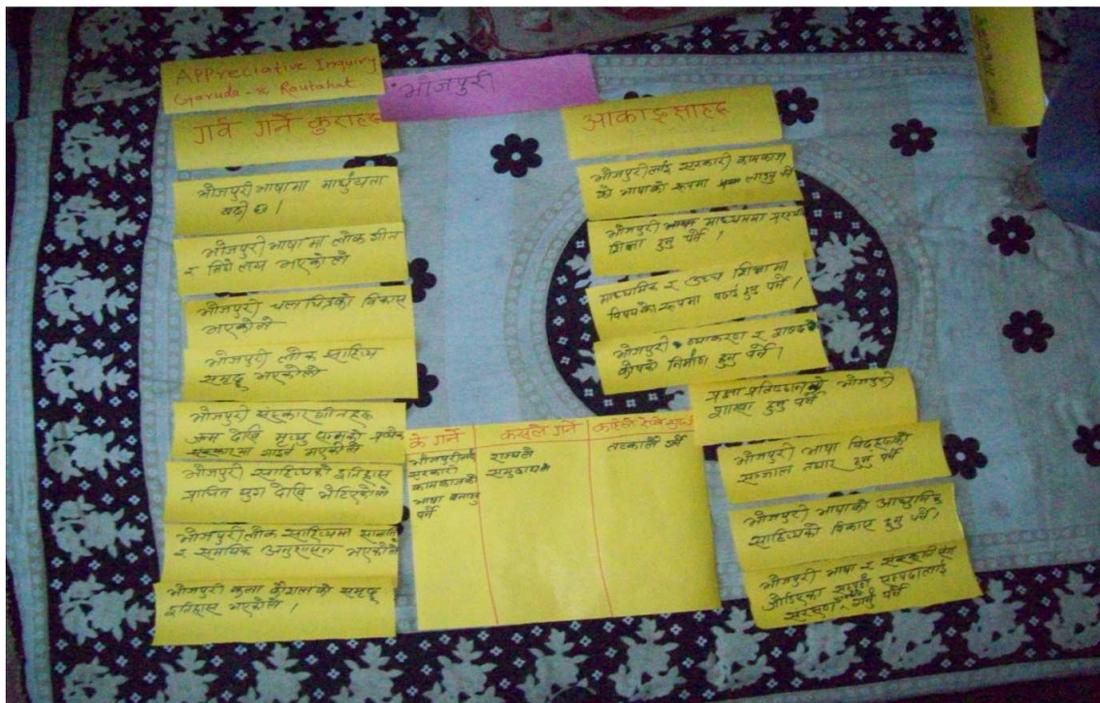
Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Photograph 8.2 Appreciative Inquiry in Kachorwa-1, Bara



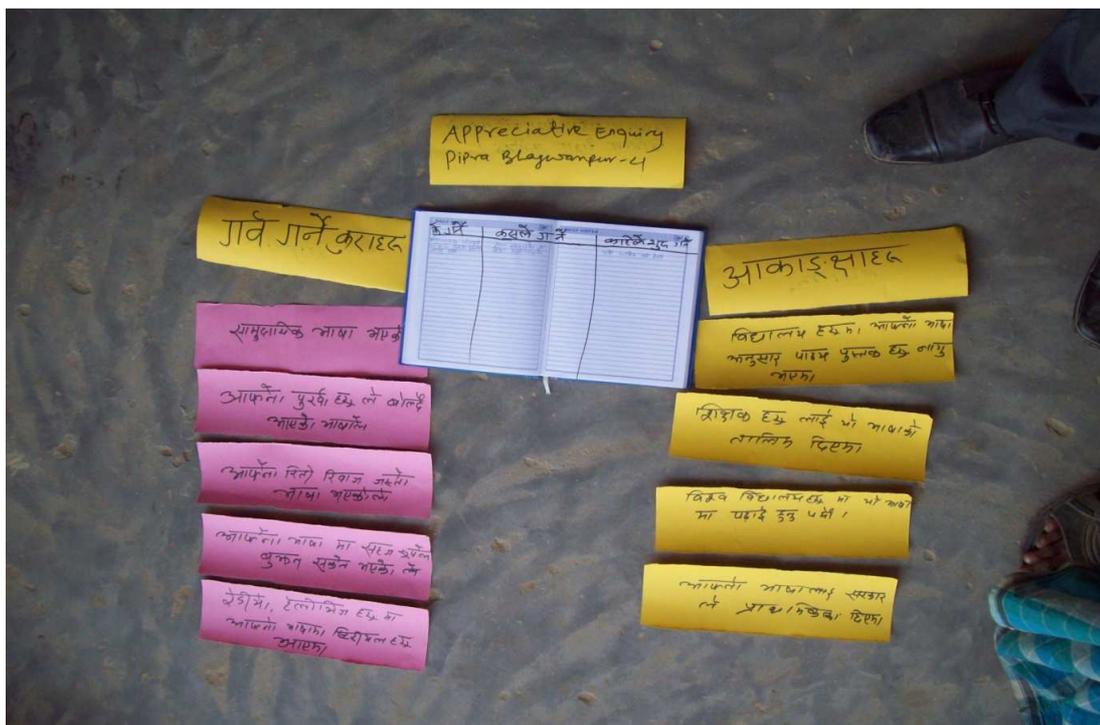
Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Photograph 8.3 Appreciative Inquiry in Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8, Rautahat



Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Photograph 8.4 Appreciative Inquiry in Bhagawanpur, Pipra Bhagawanpur-6, Rautahat



Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Photograph 8.5 Appreciative inquiry in Dhakdhai, Bodhwar-4, Rupandehi



Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 8.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries related to preservation and promotion of the language on all five key points in Bhojpuri.

**Table 8.1: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Bhojpuri**

Survey points	Good things that made Bhojpuri feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Maisthan, Birganj-8, Parsa	Having their own festivals Having their own literature Having their own cinema Having their own language Having their own way of life Having their rich	Constitutional recognition of Bhojpuri as official language. Curriculum and textbooks in the Bhojpuri language Arrangement of Bhojpuri teachers to teach the language to the Bhojpuri children in School. Teaching and Learning Bhojpuri in schools and	To compile curriculum and textbooks for education in Bhojpuri language in schools and colleges.

	<p>distinct culture Having their own distinctive folklore full of rites and rituals, folksongs, folk life-style, etc. Having high sweet flavor in listening and speaking Bhojpuri</p>	<p>colleges Planning and implementation of a package programme for promotion of Bhojpuri language and culture</p>	
Kachorwa-1, Bara	<p>Having their own mother tongue Their own rich culture Their own folklore full of folk-tales, folsongs, ballads, etc. Rich traditions of folk-singing and theatre in Bhojpuri Rich traditions of festivals Their distinctive life-style Their own typical musical instruments Their own distinctive traditional songs with restricted time-duration</p>	<p>Recognition of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal Implementation of Mother tongue education in Bhojpuri with formation of curriculum and textbooks in Bhojpuri Dictionary in their language Grammar in their language Promotion of written literature Preservation and promotion of folklore with use in practice of education Identity-based federal structure of the state</p>	<p>Recognition and implementation of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal</p>
Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8, Rautahat	<p>Having rich melody in Bhojpuri Having Bhojpuri folksongs with melodious traditional music Rich cinematography in Bhojpuri Having rich folklore in Bhojpuri Having folksongs for each ritual from birth to funeral ceremony A long history of Bhojpuri literature Folklore with social and durational disciplines A long history of Bhojpuri fine arts and performing arts</p>	<p>Recognition and implementation of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal Implementing Bhojpuri as a vernacular for mother tongue education at primary Teaching and learning Bhojpuri as a subject in secondary and higher education Compilation of Dictionary of Bhojpuri Publication of Grammar of Bhojpuri To launch a separate branch of Bhojpuri in Nepal Academy Formation of a network of specialists in Bhojpuri</p>	<p>Recognition and implementation of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal</p>

		To promote modern literature of Bhojpuri To preserve and promote all heritages regarding language and culture of Bhojpuri native speakers	
Bhagwanpur, Pipra Bhagwanpur-4, Rautahat	Having the native language of their community Having their own ancestral language Having language matching their traditional rites and ritual and life-style Natural acquisition Having Radio and teleserial broadcast of radio and television	Formation of curriculum and textbooks with implementation in primary education To train the teachers for education in Bhojpuri Inclusion of Bhojpuri in university education Priority of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal	Implementation of Bhojpuri as a vernacular of primary education
Dhakdhai, Bodhwar-4, Rupandehi	Having their own mother tongue Natural acquisition and expression Incorporation of cultural norms and values of the Bhojpuri speech community Their own festivals Their own food habits Having their own costumes Their separate folksongs and dances Their separate musical instruments	Preservation of the Bhojpuri language Implementation of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal Use of Bhojpuri in media Use of Bhojpuri as vernacular of education Publication of Grammar of Bhojpuri Creation of literature in Bhojpuri Compilation of a dictionary of Bhojpuri Formation of curriculum and textbooks in Bhojpuri There should be a compulsory subject of Bhojpuri in education	Recognition and implementation of Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

During the appreciative inquiry, the participants prepared a planning of one of the most essential requirements at each point. The planning includes what to do, who is to do and when to do. Table 8.2 presents the summary of the responses to the Appreciative Inquiry in all five key points in Bhojpuri.

**Table 8.2: Important things to do for Bhojpuri as a result of Appreciative Inquiry**

	Areas	What to do?	Who will do?	When to do?
1.	<b><u>MAISTHAN, BIRGANJ-8</u></b>	To implement Bhojpuri in schools in Bhojpuri speech community for education	Government of Nepal and the Bhojpuri speech community	As early as possible
2.	<b><u>KACHORWA-1</u></b>	To implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal	Government of Nepal and the Bhojpuri speech community	As early as possible
3.	<b><u>GARUDA BAZAR</u></b>	To implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal	Government of Nepal and the Bhojpuri speech community	As early as possible
4.	<b><u>BHAGWANPUR</u></b>	To implement Bhojpuri in schools in Bhojpuri speech community for education	Government of Nepal and the Bhojpuri speech community	As early as possible
5.	<b><u>DHAKDHAI</u></b>	To implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal	Government of Nepal and the Bhojpuri speech community	As early as possible

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 8.2 shows almost the entire Bhojpuri speech community is highly in efforts to have recognition and implementation of Bhojpuri as an official language as well as the vernacular for primary school by the Government of Nepal as early as possible. Participants at Maisthan, Birganj-8, Parsa and Bhagawanpur, Pipra Bhagawanpur-6 sought implement Bhojpuri as the vernacular of education in primary schools as early as possible. Likewise, participants of Kachorwa-1 of Bara, Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8 of Rautahat and Dhakdhai-2 of Rupandehi sought to imiplement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal. They think these works should be done on the joint efforts of the Government of Nepal and Bhojpuri speech community.

### **8.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C**

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this questionnaire was especially designed for evaluating views of the village heads/language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 10 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) In 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 the Bhojpuri speech community. Table 8.3 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion of the Bhojpuri language.

**Table 8.3 Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion of the Bhojpuri language.**

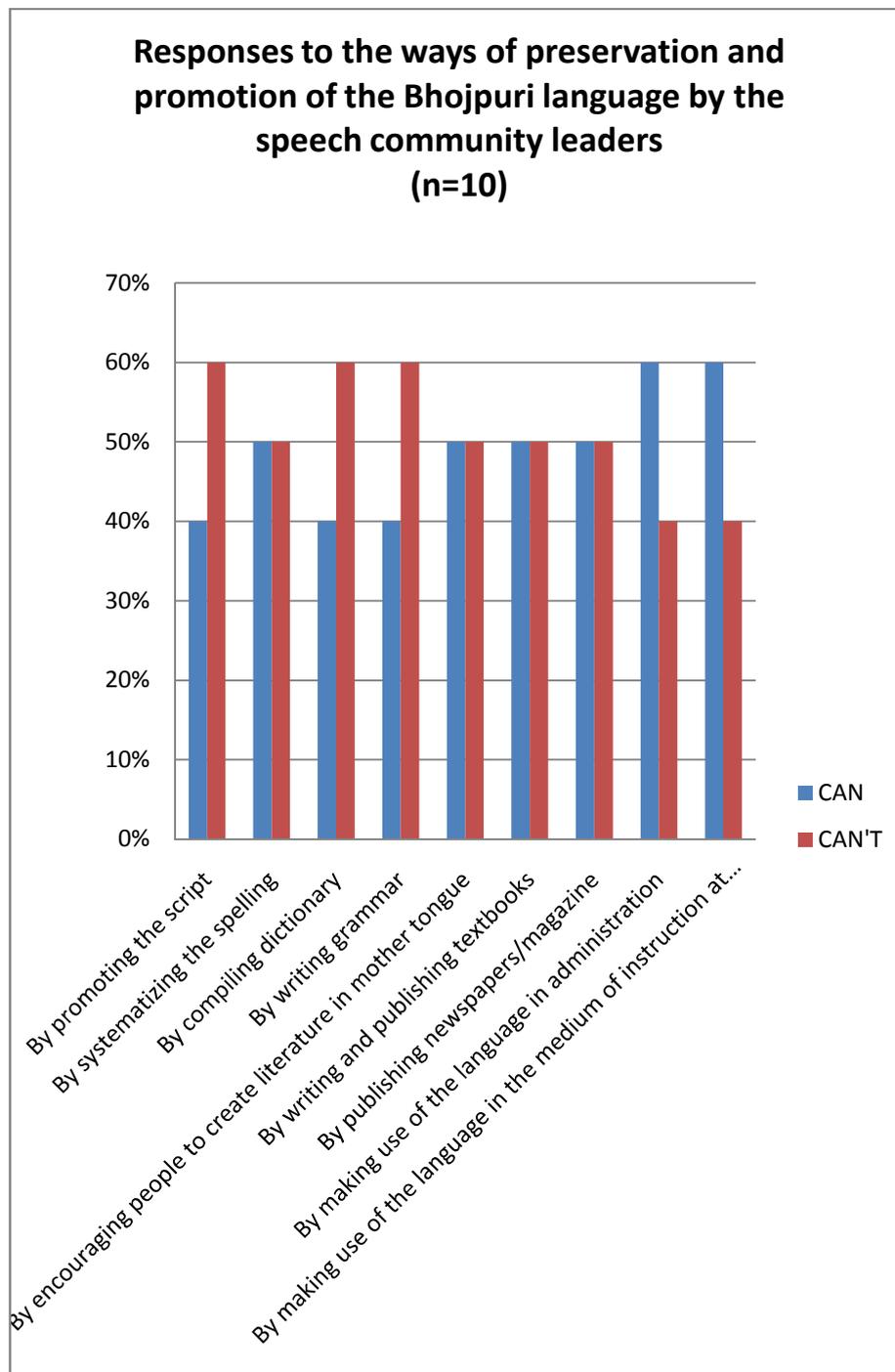
<i>In what was do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?</i>		<b>RESPONSES</b>	
		<b>CAN</b>	<b>CAN'T</b>
1.	By promoting the script	4(40%)	6(60%)
2.	By systematizing the spelling	5(50%)	5(50%)
3.	By compiling dictionary	4(40%)	6(60%)
4.	By writing grammar	4(40%)	6(60%)
5.	By encouraging people to create literature in mother tongue	5(50%)	5(50%)
6.	By writing and publishing textbooks	5(50%)	5(50%)
7.	By publishing newspapers/magazine	5(50%)	5(50%)
8.	By making use of the language in administration	6(60%)	4(40%)
9.	By making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary schools	6(60%)	4(40%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

Table 8.3 shows that 60% of the village heads or language activists consulted were found to support preservation and promotion of their mother tongue Bhojpuri by making use of the language in administration and in the medium of instruction at primary schools. Similarly, 50% of them responded to help such campaign by systematizing the spelling of the language, encouraging people to create literature in mother tongue, writing and publishing textbooks and publishing newspapers/magazine. Likewise, 40% of them said they will help by promoting the script, compiling dictionary and writing grammar of Bhojpuri

The responses are also presented in Figure 8.1.

**Figure 8.1: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion of the Bhojpuri language**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

### 8.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the responses of the Bhojpuri native speakers during appreciative inquiry among one of the participatory tools. As their aspirations have already been charted in this chapter, we can summarize that the Bhojpuri speakers are

proud of their linguistic identity to have their own kinds of custom, language, life-style, way of thinking, belief. They are eager to run mother tongue schools with formations of curriculum, to safeguard their custom and costumes, they want to write grammar and compile dictionary of Bhojpuri. Furthermore, they want to implement Bhojpuri as an official language of Nepal and a vernacular of education in primary schools seeking help on behalf of the state and the community. Moreover, the village heads/language activists in the Bhojpuri speech community also look in favour of helping preservation and promotion campaign of Bhojpuri by various ways according to their response in questionnaire C, already tabulated in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **DIALECTAL VARIATION**

#### **9.0 Outline**

This chapter deals with the dialectal variations in the Bhojpuri language. It consists of three sections. In section 9.1 we have discussed about lexical variations which includes methodology of finding lexical variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in the Bhojpuri language. Similarly, section 9.2 deals with dialect mapping which is a participatory tool to find out the possible dialects of the language. At last, section 9.3 summarizes findings of the chapter.

#### **9.1 Lexical variation**

The wordlist consisting of 210 words has been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the five Bhojpuri speech varieties on the basis of the information gathered on the five survey points the wordlists represent. In this section we deal with the data, methodology of lexical similarity study and present the lexical similarity study result.

##### **9.1.1 Methodology**

This subsection consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages in Bhojpuri.

The standard wordlist of 210 words was elicited in different points from mother tongue speakers (grown up in the Bhojpuri community, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions. In each key point, at least two sets of wordlists were administered.

WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the language or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationship between the different varieties of the Bhojpuri language. After, the entry of words from each survey point is over, the words from the selected wordlist are aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages are calculated in WordSurv.

The 60% has been generally used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity (Regmi, 2011). Table 9.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

**Table 9.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages**

Less than 60%	Different language
60% or more	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT

The speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different language. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or above lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT).

### 9.1.2 Lexical similarity among the key points

Bhojpuri normally does not exhibit apparent lexical variation in terms of lexical similarity percentages. Table 9.2 presents the lexical similarity comparison of Bhojpuri.

**Table 9.2: Lexical similarity comparison of Bhojpuri at five survey points**

	MAISTHAN	KACHORWA	GARUDA BAZAR	BHAGAWAN PUR	DHAKDHAI
MAISTHAN	100%	92%	86%	72%	71%
KACHORWA	92%	100%	92%	73%	67%
GARUDA BAZAR	86%	92%	100%	74%	65%
BHAGAWANPUR	72%	73%	74%	100%	56%
DHAKDHAI	71%	67%	65%	56%	100%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal, 2012

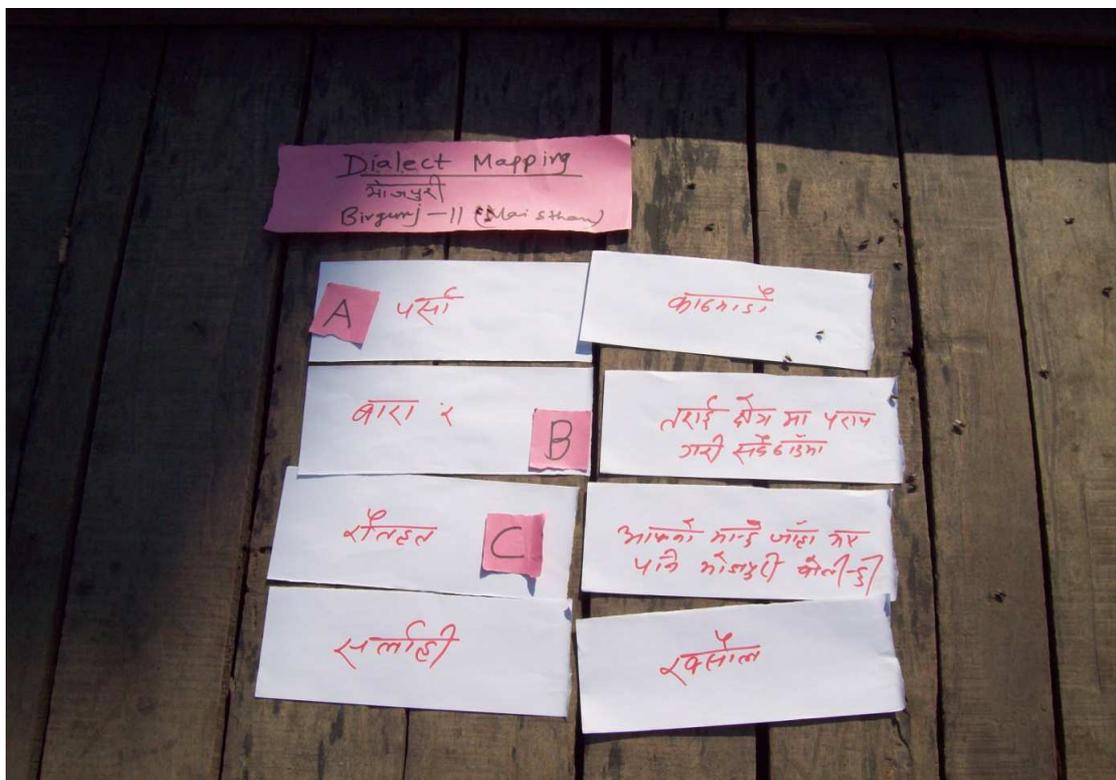
Table 9.2 shows that there is the highest similarity of 92% of the variety of Bhojpuri spoken in Maisthan, Birganj and Kachorwa, and Kachorwa with that of Garuda Bazar. Following the highest similarity of 92%, the variety of Bhojpuri spoken in Maisthan, Birganj is 86% similar to that of Garuda, Rautahat. There is 74% similarity between Garuda and Bhagawanpur, 73% between Kachorwa and Bhagawanpur, 72% between Maisthan, Birganj and Bhagawanpur and 71% between Maisthan, Birganj and Dhakdhai, Bodhwar. Dhakdhai is 67% similar with Kachorwa and 65% with that of Garuda Bazar. Besides, the least similarity of 56% is seen between the varieties of Bhojpuri spoken in Bhagawanpur and Dhakdhai. In this case, the Recorded Text Test (RTT) should be administered in order to confirm the dialectal variation between

Bhagawanpur and Dhakdhai along with the other key points. In this way the dialectal variation in Bhojpuri language is observed between 92% and 56%.

## 9.2 Dialect mapping

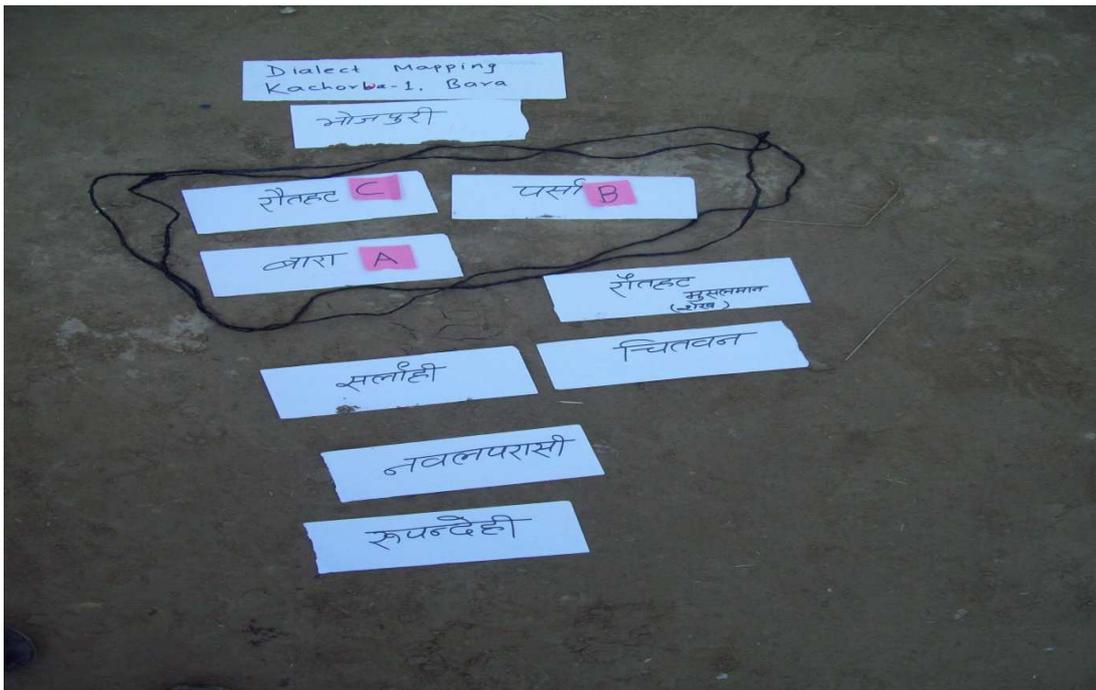
In order to examine dialects among the Bhojpuri language, dialect mapping, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Bhojpuri community. The Photographs of dialect mapping tools used in districts also present the dialectal variation of the Bhojpuri language.

**Photograph 9.1: Dialect Mapping at Maisthan, Birganj-8, Parsa**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

**Photograph 9.2: Dialect Mapping at Kachorwa-1, Bara**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012

**Photograph 9.3: Dialect Mapping at Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8, Rautahat**



Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Bhojpuri, 2012



Photograph 9.1 of Maisthan, Birganj-8, Parsa and 9.2 of Kachorwa-1, Bara shows similar dialectal variation and claim that the dialects of Rautahat, Bara and Parsa are almost identical for curriculum and textbooks. Photograph 9.3 of Garuda Bazar, Garuda Bairiya-8 and 9.4 of Bagawanpur, Pipra Bhagawanpur-6 of Rautahat depict similar dialectal variation and claim that the dialects of Rautahat, Bara and Parsa are almost identical for curriculum and textbooks in Bhojpuri. But Photograph 9.5 of Dhakdhai, Bodhwar-4, Rupandehi presents quite dissimilar facts about dialectal variation and claims that the dialects of Nawalparasi, Rupandehi and Kapilvastu are almost identical for formation of curriculum and textbooks in Bhojpuri.

### **9.3 Summary**

To summarize this chapter we can say that there is minimum variation in the varieties of Bhojpuri language spoken in its geographical areas. Lexical similarity among the four survey four survey points; Maisthan, Birganj of Parsa, Kachorwa of Bara, Garuda of Rautahat and and Dhakdhai of Rupandehi; is observed 65% minimum and 92% maximum. The least similarity of the varieties of the language between Bhagawanpur, Rautahat and Dhakdhai, Rupandehi of 56% requires RTT. During participatory tool of dialect mapping the Photographs show Garuda of Rautahat, Kachorwa of Bara and Maisthan, Birganj of Parsa districts seem to be very close in a common dialectal cluster whereas Nawalparasi and Rupandehi seem to be in another common cluster.

## CHAPTER 10

### FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 10.0 Outline

This chapter presents the findings and recommendations of the research. It consists of two sections. In section 10.1, we present the collected findings and in section 10.2, we put forward the recommendations.

#### 10.1 Major findings

The main aim of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Bhojpuri, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Central and Western Terai Madhesh of Nepal. The Bhojpuri native speakers are one of the heterogeneous multi-ethnic and multi-religious communities of Nepal who reside primarily in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of central and western Terai Madhesh of Nepal. They have their own culture and language. Bhojpuri is a distinct language belonging to Indo-Aryan family of languages.

The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality, transmission and maintenance, language attitudes, language development and dialectal variation in the Bhojpuri language.

The major findings of this survey are presented as follows:

- i. This is a language spoken by a heterogeneous community regarding religion, culture, ethnicity, caste and creed. Bhojpuri, a language of Indo-Aryan group of the Indo-European family, is mainly spoken in Terai Madhesh of Central and Western development regions of Nepal and the adjacent territories of the Indian states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.
- ii. This is the third major language of Nepal spoken as mother tongue by 1,584,958 people comprising 6.0% and by 159,379 people as a second language comprising 0.6 percent of the total population of 26,494,504 according to the latest census report of 2011 by the Central Bureau of Statistics. So, this is a language of 6.6 percent of the Nepalese populace. The native Bhojpuri speakers primarily reside in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of Central and Western development

regions of Nepal in Terai Madhesh. But the Bhojpuri speech community expect far more in number than those depicted in the census report of the Central Bureau of Statics.

- iii. Bhojpuri is overwhelmingly used in all domains of language.
- iv. Mother tongue proficiency is significantly high and strong in the speech community.
- v. Primarily, Bhojpuri is the only language of wider communication in the speech community. But the speech community is geographically attached with the adjacent Indian territories using Hindi officially as well as for religious use. So, the Nepalese Bhojpuri speech community also uses Hindi as the second language. But due to official necessity, Nepali is now exceeding to be used for official purposes.
- vi. Most of the Bhojpuri children face difficulty in their basic education as the textbooks and medium of instruction is compulsorily Nepali which is unfamiliar to them. Besides, the informants also reported primary textbooks and reference materials have already been prepared by the governments but scarcely being used.
- vii. Bhojpuri speech community is initially involved in agriculture. But now they are being involved in different professions such as business, government jobs, foreign employment, etc.
- viii. Religiously, the community is predominantly Hindu followed by Islam.
- ix. The Bhojpuri speech community has highly positive attitudes towards the mother tongue and the language maintenance is optimum.
- x. Female literacy rate is appalling.
- xi. They are very eager and effortful to preserve and promote their language and culture. For it, they are looking for impartial implementation of MLE through mother tongue, especially in Bhojpuri for their children.
- xii. Bhojpuri native speakers are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Bhojpuri speech community speak their language very well and literate and educated speakers of Bhojpuri can read and write in their language. In this speech community, still in rural areas, most of the populace

is monolingual, especially the women over 40 in the age and elderly people with little access in government offices.

- xiii. Majority of the children in the Bhojpuri speech community do not understand at all what their Nepali speaking teacher utters when they first go to school. Since, most of the Bhojpuri native speakers use their own mother tongue at home; their children are monolingual before going to school.
- xiv. Bhojpuri is vibrantly used in all the general domains such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, in family gatherings and village meetings.
- xv. They use their mother tongue on its maximum with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters as well as in writing letters to their family members. Bhojpuri native children highly use their mother tongue and occasionally Nepali also with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school during formal classes. There is the dominance of Bhojpuri in social rites and rituals.
- xvi. The Bhojpuri language has 100% vitality as all the children speak their mother tongue efficiently; almost all of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and all the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.
- xvii. Almost all the male and female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue and they are eager to help the mother tongue-based schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching and by helping with the school according to need.
- xviii. In general, Bhojpuri speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language and culture. More than two thirds of both male and female speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language like Nepali and only a few speakers said that they feel embarrassed and neutral.

- xix. Most of the Bhojpuri speakers did not have any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Only a few speakers had faced problems such as they have problems in understanding, mental and social problems; and had problems in government offices because of being a native speaker of Bhojpuri. Almost all the male and female speakers feel bad if their children married someone who does not know their mother tongue. All the Bhojpuri speakers said that their grand children will speak their language and most of them will feel good if their grand children do so.
- xx. Regarding which language Bhojpuri children should speak first, most of the males and females were found in the favor of their own mother tongue, i.e., Bhojpuri while very few speakers are in the favor of Nepali and English. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Bhojpuri, as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and only very few of them preferred English and Nepali languages.
- xxi. Majority of the Bhojpuri native speakers both male and female do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Only five of the sixty informants were found to think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in the ways like pronunciation, vocabulary and code-mixing.
- xxii. The Bhojpuri speech community is rich in oral literature such as folk-tales, folk-songs, ballads, oral-epics and religious texts. The good things that made Bhojpuri speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are Bhojpuri is their mother tongue; it has very rich stock of vocabulary, songs, lyrics, newspaper and magazines, cinema, being the ancestral language, having their own culture and costume, art, history and literature.
- xxiii. Regarding the dreams about how they could make their language even better are writing a grammar, dictionary, textbooks, having mother tongue teachers, establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, Bhojpuri should be taught at university level, Bhojpuri should be used as official language in Bhojpuri dominant districts, there should be a branch of Bhojpuri in Nepal Academy for promotion and preservation of Bhojpuri language and culture and there should be a huge coverage of the language in the field of mass media

such as on radio, TV, and in newspapers, magazines and journals at national level.

- xxiv. The most important ‘dreams’ which they would like to get realized immediately are to implement Bhojpuri as an official language and to establish mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and to develop and implement textbooks and curriculum for mother tongue education. They have made planning for these important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to make these dreams come true and they should be done immediately.
- xxv. There is lexical similarity ranging from 56% to 92% among the varieties of the key survey points in Bhojpuri. It may indicate that Bhojpuri at present shows some dialectal variation but it may not hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Bhojpuri speakers residing in different key points.
- xxvi. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that they can understand the form of speech of each other in all the districts already described but there should immediately be filled up the gaps between Bhojpuri native speakers residing in the east and west of the Narayani river.
- xxvii. Mother tongue proficiency is significantly high and strong in the speech community.
- xxviii. Traditionally the languages of wider communication are both Bhojpuri and Hindi. But due to official necessity and accelerating close contact with the Nepali speech community, Nepali is now exceeding as the language of their official use. The other languages they use include Maithili but little in use.

## **10.2 Recommendations**

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

- a) As Bhojpuri is the third major language of Nepal and one of the prominent languages of India and in other few countries too, academic works be launched by both the state and the speech community in Nepal for its wider recognition.

- b) As the different speech communities including Bhojpuri have grievances on the public census, the Central Bureau of Statics should hire some native spear expert during census period.
- c) As Bhojpuri children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the vernacular and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.
- d) As the Bhojpuri speech community is initially involved in agriculture, the Bhojpuri agro-economic vocabulary be collected and translated into dictionary for better use of their indigenous knowledge.
- e) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings particularly in Bhojpuri for the basic education in the Bhojpuri speaking region of Nepal.
- f) There should be a sustainable policy of MLE with its implementation in true spirit for both the quick acquisition of learning by children in the Bhojpuri speech community as well as for promotion of an animate strong language that is our cultural heritage too.
- g) In this speech community, still in rural areas, most of the speakers are monolingual, especially the women over 50 in the age and since most of the women are pre-literate. Therefore, by means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy and post-literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those pre-literates and literate ones.
- h) 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.
- i) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Bhojpuri speech community.
- j) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve and promote abundance of genres of Bhojpuri folklore, language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial.
- k) Grammar and dictionary of Bhojpuri should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented immediately.

- l) The government should immediately recognize and implement Bhojpuri as an official language of administration in Nepal, at least at the local administration as soon as practicable.
- m) The most important 'dreams' which they would like to get realized immediately and to start on planning are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and development of textbooks and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them realizing their dreams.
- n) RTT is required to confirm level of speaking and understanding variety of Bhojpuri spoken in Rupandehi with those of Rautahat, Bara and Parsa; especially with the language spoken among Muslim community of Rautahat as the similarity between varieties of Dhakdhai in Rupandehi and Bhagawanpur in Rautahat is seen 56%.
- o) While compiling and writing textbooks for both formal and non-formal education, the editorial board or writing team should include scholars from both the east and west of the Narayani River.

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Language of Elicitation

Language of Response

Interpreter Name (if needed)

(e) .....

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

NO

Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.

B. Language resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

What script(s) is your language written in? .....

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. Domain of Language Use

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

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

55. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:

(a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)  
(enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
i. Grandfather:			
ii. Grandmother:			
iii. Father:			

iv.Mother:			
v.Spouse:			
vi.Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:  
(a) playing with other children? .....  
(b) talking with neighbors? .....  
(c) at school? .....
57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations? .....
58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings? .....
59. How often do you use your mother tongue?  
(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never
60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?  
(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never
61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?
62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?  
(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

#### E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?  
(a) Yes (b) No
64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?  
(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....
65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?  
(a) Yes (b) No

#### F. Language Maintenance

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

G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...

- (a) Prestigious (b) Embarrassed (c) Neutral

71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?

- (a) Yes (b) No

72. (If "Yes") What kinds of problems have you had?( These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)

- (a) Social discrimination.
- (b) Political discrimination.
- (c) Economic discrimination.
- (d) Hostile confrontation.
- (e) Discrimination in education.
- (f) Social pressure.
- (g) Political pressure.
- (h) Economic pressure.
- (i) Other

73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?

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

74. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?

- (a) Yes (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

76. What language should your children speak first? .....

77. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
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## 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:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

INFORMED CONSENT:                      Given:                       Not Given:

**A. Meta data (Baseline Information)**

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month ..... Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: ..... Village/Town: ..... VDC/Municipality: ..... District: ..... Zone: ..... GPS Coordinates: .....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?

- (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

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:.....

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४) .....

(५) .....

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४) .....

(५) .....

स्थान :

जिल्ला..... गाविस/नगरपालिका: ..... वडा नं:.....

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम: ..... अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा: .....

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	
4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	
6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	
8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	

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

52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	ढाढु	
54.	sand	ढालुढा	
55.	fire	आगु	
56.	smoke	धुढाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	ढाढु	
59.	dust	धुलु	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	ढात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडु	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँढ	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जु	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	ढण्टा	
74.	groundnut	ढदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	ढेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	ढ्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	tomato	गुलढँडा	
81.	cabbage	ढन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	ढासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	ढुसु	
86.	fish	ढाछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	ढैसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ	
93.	tail	ढुच्छर	

94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोग्रे (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वाम्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	

132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देव्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गर्हौँ	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	
163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	

174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोकु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिंड्नु	
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
197.	to go /go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुत्नु	
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	