A Sociolinguistic Survey of Chepang

A Report

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Acknowledgements

Map 1: Chepang speaking area

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1   Background

Chepang is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Himalayish section of the Bodic branch. According to Ross Caughley (1982:1) the speakers of the Chepang language inhabit in south central Nepal bounded to the north by the Trisuli river, to the west by the Narayani river, to the south by the Rapti river and to the east by the Tribhuvan Highway, which roughly cover parts of the Makawanpur, Dhading, Chitawan and Gorkha districts of Nepal.

Photograph 1.1: A Chepang Village

Ross Caughley (1999) has found substantial amount of lexical similarity with Bhujel. But Regmi (pc, 2011) has found that the lexical similarity of Chepang (spoken in Maisirang, Kankada, Makawanpur) with Bhujel (spoken in Adimul, Tanahu) is not more than 42%. Both the language areas are found to be core language speaking areas.

1.1.1   History and prehistory

This sub-section of history and prehistory includes Major sources of information, original home of the Sino-Tibetan, prehistoric movement and the evolution of pronominalization in TB and, Bodish and Himalayish groups of Nepalese Tibeto-Burman languages.

1.1.2   Major sources of information

The Chepang language and people were brought to the notice first by Hodgson (1848, 1857). After that although there are some minor studies (like Forbes 1877, 1878 and a few others), Caughley (1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1978 and 1982) is the sole researcher and the major source of information about the Chepang language and the people.

1.1.3   Original home of the Sino-Tibetan

Research (Grierson 1909, Hale 1982) on Sino-Tibetan has pointed out that the original home of the Sino-Tibetan language was the north-eastern Tibetan plateau, the ultimate source of the major rivers of East Asia like Huang He, Yangtze, Mekong, Salween and Irawati. Even the Brahmaputra River that flows towards east from the Mansarovar in western Tibet is not very far from the original home of the Sino-Tibetan.

1.1.4   Prehistoric movement and the evolution of pronominalization in TB

The people who developed the Bodish/Tibetic branch of the Sino-Tibetan moved towards west, the people who developed Chinese moved along the Huang He River, and the people who developed the Himalyish group of the Tibeto-Burman language, entered the northeastern part of the Indian subcontinent along the Brahmaputra River. The southward movement of the branch brought the speakers in contact with speakers of Austronesian and Austroasiatic families of languages. Konow (1909) believed that the pronominalization of this group of languages is the result of the contact with these Austric languages. Chepang is also a pronominalized language, which means both the subject and the object pronouns participate in verb agreement marked by affixes which are phonetically similar to the subject or the object pronoun. Such a structure commonly shared by the northeastern languages of South Asia is called 'complex pronominalization' by Hodgson (1857). Bauman (1973) differs from Konow (1909) with a view that pronominalization is a native feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages (of the Himalayish group).

Photograph 1.2: Taking data from chepang informants at Korak VDC

1.1.5 Bodish and Himalayish groups of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal

Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal of the Himalayish group are believed to have come to Nepal moving westward along the southern slopes of the Himalayas presumably pushed by the speakers of the related groups of languages from behind. Chepang represents one of the languages following this course.

Tibeto-Burman is a name given to the groups of Sino-Tibetan languages which moved westward and southward from the original home. All the Sino-Tibetan languages of Nepal belong to the Tibeto-Burman. In Nepal, roughly, the Bodish group of the Tibeto-Burman language is spoken mainly along the Himalayas and the Himalayish group of the languages is spoken mainly in the lower mountains. Tamang, Gurung, Thakali, Manange, Chhantyal, Kaike, Lhomi, Sherpa, Yohlmo and Jirel languages of Nepal fall on the Bodish group; and Chepang together with the rest of the Nepalese Tibeto-Burman languages belongs to the Himalayish group. With this token, Chepang should also be identified as a language of the Himalayish group.

1.2 People

Chepang is a semi-nomadic group of people. Bhabikan Praja, 63 years (in personal communication) has reported that his family used to live in caves and they had built the first house when he was at 5 years of age. Obviously, they used to live in the jungle before they

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started building houses. In this way, the Chepangs seem to have started to build houses only about three generations ago.

Photograph 1.3: Chepang people in different circumstances

They practiced 'hunters-gatherer's culture; therefore they seemed to have started agriculture only recently. Caughley et al. (1969) notes that the archery was their major weaponry; clearing and burning was their primitive method of agriculture; bat hunting in *chiuri* (basla butiracia) tree and fishing were their major practices and they could communicate in whistle talk to make their partners alert specially when they were prepared to hunt bats or when they saw a leopard. In our

interview with Bhabikan Praja (in personal communication), we marked that such a whistle talk was in ingressive airstream mechanism. They are expert in bamboo crafting. Caughley et al. (1969) has noted that sleeping near the fire on the dried banana leaves was common among women.

1.2.1 Ethnic group

Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN) has listed Chepang within a highly marginalized ethnic group on the basis of its literacy rate, housing land, land holdings, occupation, language, education level (graduate and above) and population size (CBS, 2001). Chepang is mother tongue associated ethnic group listed on 18th number on the basis of its number of speakers in government census 2001.

Photograph 1.4: A Chepang lady preparing domestic wine i.e. Jand

They have a common priest and place where the whole clans worship their gods. Though Chepangs have so many clans they do not write them after their name. Instead, they write their cast, namely, Chepang or Praja. In the case of Praja, it is said that after the introduction of Panchayat System in 2017 B.S. by the late King Mahendra, the Chepangs first acquired the status of 'Praja' (meaning 'subject') by the king thinking that they were being loyal to the king. But the

government recognized them as 'Chepang' within one of ethnic groups. They claim to be the indigenous tribe of the regions they inhabit.

1.2.2 Religion

The Chepangs are basically animistic, practicing a form of Shamanism (Caughley, 1982:6). The most frequently told legend that they have is near to Ramayana (which belongs to Hinduism) and their practice of worshipping is found to be Shamanism. So the religion they practice is an amalgamation of animism and Hinduism. According to the 2001 Nepal Census, there are 52,237 Chepang in the country, of which 70.23% were Hindu, 18.75% were Buddhists and 8.78% were Christians. While according to the National Report – 2011 CBS, Nepal, the total population of Chepang/Praja is 68,399 and the mother tongue speaker is 48,476 (71%).

The Chepangs have no scientific explanation for many natural phenomena but they credit the gods, spirits, ghosts, etc. with great spiritual powers. The Chepang shaman and Pandit play an important role in mediating human life and those powers (Manandhar, 2000:8).

Photograph 1.5: Chepang people praying at Church of their village

Though, nowadays, most of them have left those beliefs in their practice, the evidence of fossils can still be found in some places. Hills, fields, rivers, etc. (as Manandhar stated) are reverted as the deities, the ancestral worship is also found to be common in Chepangs. Namrung, Chhakja,

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etc. are the indigenous deities but also a variety of Hindu deities are also worshiped. Each village has a deity for its security and good fortunes. No temple for either Hindu deities or the Chepang deities is found in the Chepang villages. But each village has a Shrine, called by various names such as Kalika, Mahalaxmi, Kali Kanchikalika, etc (Ibid.). Moreover, the Chepang have recently begun to keep some of the major Hindu festivals such as Dashain and Tihar. During this survey, it was also observed that many Chepangs participated in Hindu festivals with their neighbors. Nowadays, the Chepangs have been approached by the Christian missionaries and the number of Chepangs adopting it has been found to be gradually increasing mainly in Makawanpur district. In these days, one can easily find many churches in Chepang villages. Those Chepangs are also found to be two types: protestant and Jehovah.

1.2.3   Occupation and food culture

The traditional occupations of Chepang were hunting, fishing and gathering yams from the jungle. They used to hunt wild animals and birds. They still have varieties of knowledge of hunting in the jungle. As Caughley et al. (1969) noted that archery was their major weaponry; clearing and burning was their primitive method of agriculture; bat hunting in *chiuri* (basla butiracia) tree and fishing were their major practices. Some of them still can communicate with whistle using ingressive airstreams mechanism. They can identify more than 30 different types of fish. Chepangs used to have various techniques of fishing. The next important occupation is collecting yams from the jungle. Most of Chepang people in the hills still survive by gathering wild yams. Nowadays along with hunting, fishing and gathering yam, some Chepang people are found to have started bee keeping nearby their houses.

Photograph 1.6: A Chepang enjoying in bamboo crafting

They are expert in bamboo crafting. *Yasai* (Indian butter tree) is another significant tree for Chepang to survive. They make butter from the nuts of *yasai.* They sell honey, bamboo craft and *yasai* to the plains. Some of Chepang people plant the seasonal harvest like *yuchha* (Lamb's quarter), *aim* (fox millet), *mal kaguno* (pearl millet) and *sanga* (barn yard millet). This is done with their primitive method of agriculture like clearing and burning. Chepang people mostly cultivate maize, sesame, cowpea, finger millet, black gram, broom corn millet, buckwheat and rice bean in their Khoriya plots. This is done with almost no tillage and agricultural inputs. Production of these crops is very low and further made negligible by the encroachment of monkeys, birds and other animals. As the crops get ready for harvest, they make a temporary cottage shelter near the field. A member of the family should go to the Khoriya every day; stay during the day to watch and chase away the visiting birds and animals. Among these pests, monkeys (Rhesus macaque) are the most prevalent to raid these staple crops. They are the most difficult pest because of their deftness and intelligence. If these are not controlled, they cause damages to the crops.

Photograph 1.7: Chepang community members engaged in paddy field

Nowadays they plant corn and daal as well. They have started farming like planting paddy, millet, maize, wheat, etc.

1.2.4 Festivals

Chepang is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal. Like Hindus or other linguistic communities, Chepangs have a number of fests and festivals in their community throughout the year. During various occasions, they celebrate different festivals like Nwagi (Chonam), Lhosar, Kulan, Sanga Jhyasa, Lhwansa, Bayupuja, Dashain, Tihar (Dewali), Maghesankranti, Saunesankranti, Chaite dashain, Christmas and Chandipurnima. Among the festivals, the Nwagi (Chonam), Lhosar, Kulan, Sanga Jhyasa, Lhwansa, Bayupuja are their cultural and ethnic ones, the Christmas is celebrated by Christian Chepangs and the rest of them are of Hindus because they have been settling down in a multilingual and multicultural society for decades of years.

1.2.5 Literacy

The most of Chepangs are still preliterate. The literacy rate as Ethnologue (2012) has mentioned their L1:1% to 5%, L2: 40% men, 15% women in Nepali. The literacy rate according to the

government census was 13.9% in 1991 and got increased up to 36.1% in 2001. The Chepang literacy rate is found to be low in compared with the national literacy rate. Because the average literacy level for the country in 2001 was 59.6% or nearly double that of Chepang.

Photograph 1.8: Chepang school children posing for photograph while returning from their school

Being very rugged and steep mountainous, physical terrain of the territory there are found a small number of schools. The children have to walk from four to five hours a day to reach their nearby school. The schools within the Chepang villages have been running with weak economic condition and less trained teachers. The drop out is found to be high. The adult education programs of the government and NGOs are not found to be so much effective in Chepang society.

Furthermore, the Chepang people are cornered about education. The literate population in the Chepang community is very nominal. Their houses are sparsely scattered and the schools remain too far away from most houses. Children who have houses near the school are lucky for the primary level education but very often are unable to obtain secondary and higher level education, due to their economic situation and lack of nearby schools. Children who live far away, join the school only when they are able to walk for 1-2 hours i.e.; mostly after the age of 9-10 years old.

In the heterogeneous community, Chepang children are often discriminated by their colleagues belonging to other castes. Therefore, these children do not show any interest for going school.

1.3   Language

Chepang belongs to the Central Himalayan underneath the Himalayan branch of Bodic group of Tibeto-Burman language under the Sino-Tibetan languages (Yadava: 2003). Figure 1.1 presents the linguistic affiliation of the Chepang language.

Figure 1.1 Genetic affiliation of Chepang
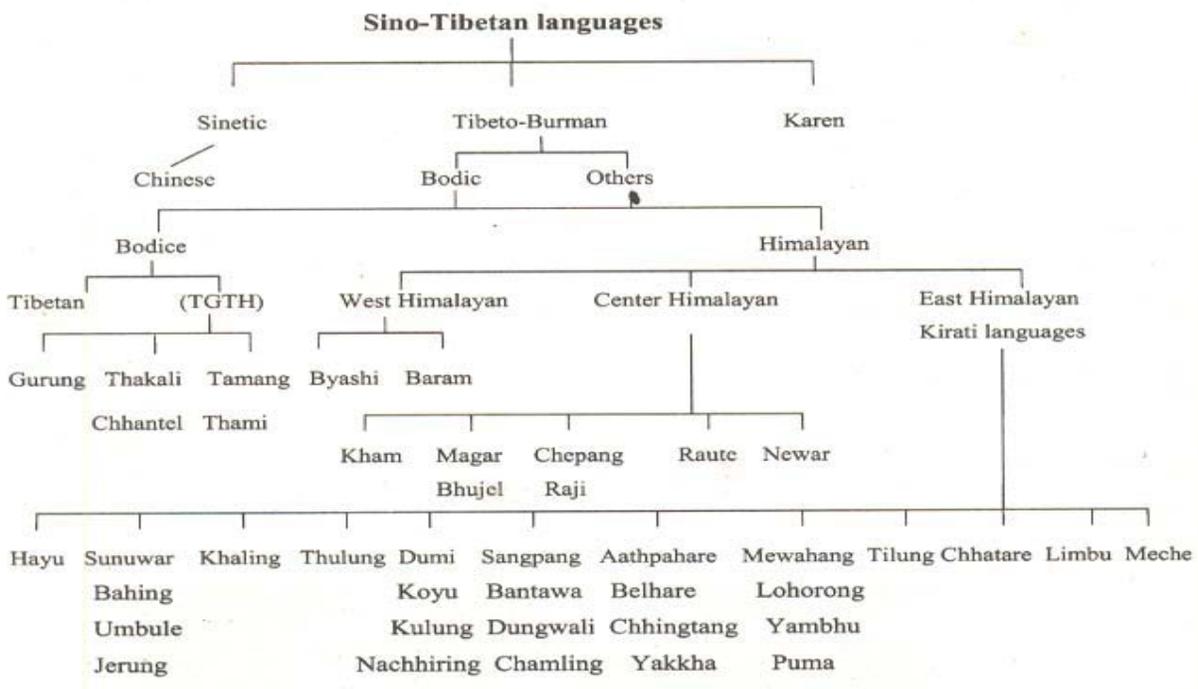
Source: Yadava 2003. Population monograph

Chepang falls in the Himalayish group of the Bodic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language in the Sino-Tibetan family. The language is very similar to Kiranti languages in morphology (Ethnologue, 2012). The Chepang language shares only about 18 % of the Swadesh basic vocabulary with the Magar language. The language that shares the highest percentage of the Swadesh vocabulary with Chepang is the Bhujel language. Caughley (1999) claims Bhujel to be the western dialect of Chepang, but Regmi (2007) has claimed that Chepang and Bhujel, although lexically similar, are grammatically different and are not mutually intelligible; therefore, they are separate languages. Regmi (2012) has further claimed that there is only 33% to 34% of the lexical similarity in Chepang and Bhujel. So, there not dialects of each other but

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they are independent languages. In fact, Chepang has complex pronominalization. The common innovation, shared vocabularies and ethnographic practices establish Chepang and Bhujel genetically closest.

When we apply the comparative Method in the Swadesh 100 wordlist for the historical reconstruction of the Kiranti languages, we find that there is a continuum from east to west. The general tendency goes like this:

a. In most of the cases, older forms are found in the east and gradually phonetically younger forms are found as we move westward.

b. In one extreme, some of the cognate words share both the Bodish and the Himalayish groups of Tibeto-Burman while in the other, even within the Kiranti, different cognates are shared by separate bunches of languages and some cognates are in between, which share to tie up the whole of the Himalayish group.

c. Within the Himalayish group, some cognate words are shared by (Byasi, Raji, Raute, Kham, Magar, Bhujel, Chepang and Newar) languages which are never acknowledged as Kiranti by the majority of the Tibeto-Burman scholarship, but only a bunch of so-called Kiranti languages (like Dumi, Umbule, Jerong, Bahing, Sunuwar) which have been called Western Kiranti languages.

d. It often gives the impression that except for a few like Lapcha and Dhimal, the majority of the Himalayish languages spoken in Nepal are one or the forms of Kiranti. Van Driem (2006) has motivated to build up its first on the striking lexical and grammatical similarities among these languages of the Himalayish group.

Both lexically and morphologically, Chepang is similar to the Kiranti languages. Ross Caughley (pc) thinks Chepang is a Kiranti language, this study tends to support his speculation.

1.4 Demography and distribution

The Chepangs live in the dense forests of the central region of Nepal to the west of the great valley Konow (Grierson, 1909:402). Chepangs live on the southern slopes of the Mahabharata range, west to the Kathmandu valley and east to the Narayani River in the southern part of Gorkha and Dhading, northern part of Chitawan, and western part of Makawanpur district of Nepal. They dwell on the steeper slopes of the mountains, ranging from 2,000' to 4,000'

(Caughley et al, 1969:1). All of the Chepang settlements have been found to be spread along the Mahabharata range of central Nepal. The traditional Chepang territory of south-central Nepal thus surrounded by Trisuli River to its north, in the west by the Narayani River, to the south by the Rapati and in the east by the main highway from Kathmandu-Narayanghat. Map 1.3 presents the location where the Chepang language is being spoken.

Map 1.1: Locational map of Chepang speaking area
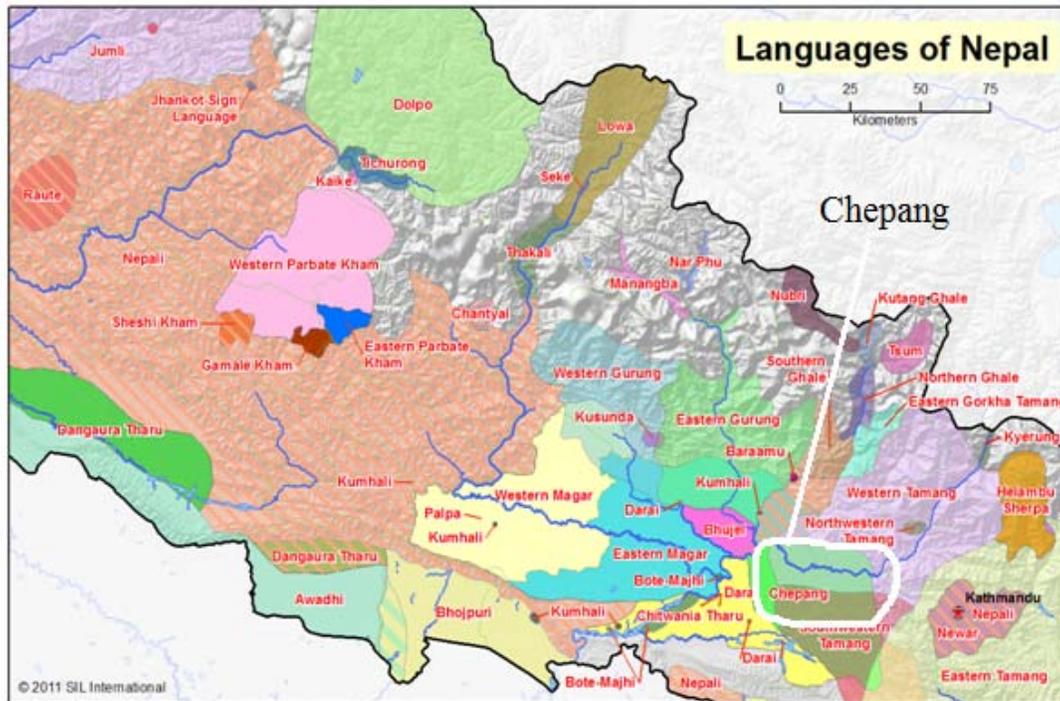
Source: SIL International, 2011

Nowadays, some of them have migrated to the plain area of Chitawan and Makawanpur and some other nearby districts, too.

According to the government census of 2001, the Chepang population was 36,807 i.e. 0.16 percent of the total population of Nepal out of which 18,652 were male and 18,155 were female. While population census 2011, the Chepang population is 68,399 and the mother tongue speaker are 48, 476, i.e. 71% of the total population. Though they are confined almost forty-eight districts, however, among which Makawanpur, Chitawan, Dhading and Gorkha are found to be sensitized. Some of them are found to be in Tanahu and Lamjung, too. The largest number 23,490 i.e. 63.82 % of Chepang are settled in hilly region. The second largest area they live is the

Terai i.e. 13, 311 i.e. 36.16 % of the total population. And they are dispersed in least number 6 i.e. 0.01% along the mountain region. The VDC wise distribution of population by mother tongue of the study areas has been given in descending order below.

Table 1.1a: Population distribution by mother tongue (Makawanpur)

VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers
Kankada	4,055	Raksirang	2,212	BhartaPunyadevi	1,568
Sarikhet Palase	1,164	Kalikatar	1,126	Handikhola	1,106
Manahari	986	Khairang	503	Namtar	254

Source: Population Census 2001, CBS Kathmandu

Table 1.1b: Population distribution by mother tongue (Chitawan)

VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers
Lothar	3,227	Korak	2,569	Siddi	2,816
Kaule	695	Shaktikhor	478	Darechok	230
Padampur	208	Kabilas	186	Bhandara	180
Jutpani	30	Khairahani	20		

Source: Population Census 2001, CBS Kathmandu

Table 1.1c: Population distribution by mother tongue (Dhading)

VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers
Dhussa	2,420	Jogimara	1,794	Mahadevsthan	1,699
Benighat	467	Pida	999		

Source: Population Census 2001, CBS Kathmandu

Table 1.1d: Population distribution by mother tongue (Gorkha)

VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers	VDCs	MT speakers
Bhumlichok	804	Makaising	373	Ghylchok	249
Taklung	281				

Source: Population Census 2001, CBS Kathmandu

The data reported for distribution of population by mother tongue by Central Bureau of Statistics in almost all the districts are found not to be so reliable. While taking the data, CBS has asked the question 'What is your mother tongue?'. Perhaps, the question did not recheck whether they can speak their mother tongue or they are just of Chepang by their caste.

1.5   Purpose and goal

The general purpose and goal of this survey is to present a sociolinguistic picture of the Chepang language. The specific objectives are as follows:

(a) To analyze the different sociolinguistic aspects of the Chepang language, such as dialect variation, language resources, mother tongue proficiency, bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language endangerment, language transmission and vitality, language loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, language attitude and the appreciation of the community towards their language,

(b) To present the lexical similarity and variation among the selected study areas of Chepang mother tongue.

(c) To analyze intelligibility among selected Chepang varieties, and,

(d) To evaluate their aspirations about the development of their language and culture.

1.6   Review of previous works

Chepang people are one of the highly marginalized and disadvantaged indigenous nationalities. Not more but a plenty of valuable works have been available on the Chepang language. Hodgson (1848 and 1857) contain some brief ethnographic notes with its wordlist where he has written that the Chepangs used to live partly in the forests and caves. Konow (in Grierson, 1909) has described the linguistic features found in this language and placed it within a dialect of the complex pronominalized type of the Himalayan section of Tebeto-Burman. Caughely et al. (1969) has described brief notes on: introduction, agricultural, domestic life and skills, social structure and kinship, life ceremonies, festivals and beliefs of Chepangs through *Notes on Chepang Culture*. Bandu et al. (1970) did a preliminary analysis of Chepang segmental phonemes. Caughely (1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1978, 1982 and 1999) did a series of significant works in Chepang language and culture.

Gurung (1989) has contributed a brief notes on social ecology, economy, social aspect, village administration aspect, religious aspects and Praja development program. He has claimed that in Chepang language, 'che' means dog and 'pang' means arrow. In hunting long ago, they used to take help of dog and arrow. So they were named after Chepangs. He has also claimed that Chepangs worship a variety of deities. Of these they worship of *namrung* (the hunting god), *bhumi-puja* (the earth deity) and Gaidu Puja (worship for livestock) are considered the most important ones (Gurung, 1989:92).

Likewise, Shrestha (2004) studied a case study of 'Socio-economic status of Chepang of Handikhola V.D.C.' in Makawanpur district. Manandhar (2004) has provided a brief case study note on ethno-biology of the Chepangs. Adhikari (2006) made a brief sketch on 'A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Chepang Language of North-East Chitawan' in his M.A. dissertation. Sapkota (2011) has made a report on 'language use and attitudes in Chepang' submitted to the Central Department of Linguistics, TU. He has outlined different domains of language use in various circumstances in the Chepang community, and their attitudes towards their mother tongue. Sapkota (2011) has also proposed a 'writing system' of Chepang.

Regmi (2012) has attempted to compare lexical variation between Bhujel and Chepang speech community. He has claimed, in his lexical comparison, that Chepang has a smaller degree

(ranging from 32% to 34%) of lexical similarity with the different key points in Bhujel. Thus, his claim is that the Bhujel and Chepang are definitely two independent languages rather than dialects of each other.

1.7 Background information of the language informants

In this part of the study, the major information regarding the language informants has been summarized. This may helpful in comprehending the whole study.

Photograph 1.9: Chepang people working at the paddy field

Most of them live in joint family system. They practice Shamanism, Hinduism and Christianity. Most of Chepangs are still illiterate. But recent years, they are rushing towards the education. Agriculture is their major occupation. A large number of Chepangs grow daal, millet, mustard, etc. in the traditional way. Bee keeping and animal farming are also some of major economic sources in Chepang community. The total number of language informants' mothers' mother tongue (i.e. L1) is 89%, Nepali 11% and Tamang 4%. So, it shows that the most of the language informants' mother tongue is Chepang.

Likewise, the percentage of mother tongue of their fathers' (i.e. Chepang) is 93% and Nepali 4%. The first language of their spouses as Chepang is 82%, and Nepali 18%. Likewise, fifty-seven

percent of their children's mother tongues are found to have Chepang, while Nepali as mother tongue for 43% children. In the response to the question asked, 'what is the name of your mother tongue?' they responded that they prefer to call their name of the mother tongue as Chepang by 82%, Chyobang by 7%, and Nepali 11%. Likewise, 68%, 29%, and 4% have responded as Chepang, Praja and Nepali respectively for their language name given by the non-native. They have different names of their mother tongue. Thirty two percent of them responded as Chepang, 21% Praja, 14% Chyobang, and 4% Bhujel.

Photograph 1.10: Chepang community members of Maisirang doing farewell to survey team

Other ethnic groups residing in their areas or localities are Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Newar, Tharu, Darai, Dalits, Bahun, Chhetri, Dashanami, etc. Other languages spoken in their own villages or neighboring villages are Nepali, Tamang, Magar, Darai Gurung, Tharu, Newar, etc. They have general practice of intercaste marriage with Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Tharu, Bahun, Chhetri, and Dalit not by asking hands of their daughters but by eloping them. The general direction of migration for Chepang is north to south. In recent years, they use to migrate from the Hill to their nearest Tarai region.

1.8   Wrapping up

In this chapter, we discussed that the Chepangs are one of the indigenous Tibeto-Burman people groups numbering around fifty-two thousand mainly inhabiting the rugged ridges of the Mahabharat mountain range of central Nepal. They are mainly inhabited within Makawanpur, Chitawan, Dhading, Gorkha, and Tannahu. The severe topography, however, has made permanent farming difficult (and usually insufficient) and the forest has remained an important (although decreasingly so) source of food for the Chepang. Historically, the collection of wild yams and tubers, fish caught from nearby rivers, bats and wild birds, and periodically wild deer hunted from nearby forests, have supplemented their need for carbohydrates and protein as their daily foods. Most of them are still under preliterate. The Chepang literacy rate is found to be low in compared with the national literacy rate.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.0   Outline

In this chapter, we discuss the methodology in order to accomplish the purpose and goal of this sociolinguistic survey of Chepang. Table 2 displays the survey purpose and goals, the research methods used, a brief description of the methods used and the focus of those methods. Section 2.1 deals with the methodology applied in the study. Section 2.2 attempts the research methods which help us to achieve the survey goals. Section 2.3 delimits the survey points by sampling areas and population. Finally, section 2.4 concludes the chapter with some notable findings.

2.1 Overview of methodology

In order to accomplish the purpose and goals of this sociolinguistic survey of Chepang mother tongue, the three different methods/tools have been employed. The method/tools consist of sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ), wordlist comparisons (WLC), and participatory method (PM). The sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ) consists of 12 subsections (see subsection 2.2.2 for detail). The participatory method (PM) comprises of 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. It also displays the survey purpose and goals.

Table 2.1: Overview of survey goals and methods

SN	Survey goals	Methods	Brief description	Focus
01.	to evaluate the sociolinguistic situation of the Chepang language	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire	115 questions	• Dialect mapping • Language resources • Mother tongue proficiency and bilingualism, multilingualism • Domains of language use • Language endangerment • Language transmission and vitality • Language loyalty • Language maintenance and shift • Code mixing • Language attitude • Appreciative enquiry
2.0	to determine the lexical variation among the selected varieties	Wordlist	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among the selected places / varieties
03.	to test intelligibility among selected Chepang varieties	RTT	Recorded story with a few questions	Intelligibility testing among selected Chepang varieties

04.	to determine the understanding, proficiency and bilingualism	SRT	18 recorded sentences with 3 for practice	Understanding of the native language, proficiency and bilingualism
05.	• to determine dialect variation • level or percentage of domains of language use • to find out the bi/ multilingual situation. • the appreciation of the community towards their language	Participatory Methods a. Dialect mapping b. Domains of language use c. Bi/Multilingualism c. Appreciative enquiry	Participation of the community of different varieties / locations	• Dialect variation • Level or percentage of domains of language use • The appreciation of the community towards their language
06.	The suitable sampling procedure for this survey.	Stratified Random Sampling	All the methods, techniques and tools used in this survey are based on the same Sampling design.	• Core area • Far-east, far west, far-north and far- south • Social factors (gender, age and education) • Community leader

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2.2 Research methods

To fulfill the research goals of this sociolinguistic survey, certain research methodologies were used during the period of data collection. The method of description is descriptive and analytical to some extent. The methods, techniques and tools used during this survey in the field are described briefly in the following respective sections.

2.2.1 Wordlist

Description- 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 selected mother tongue speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical similarities and differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs.

*Purpose-*The main purpose of this wordlist was to find out the lexical variations among the selected Chepang varieties. The other purpose was to find out the frequency of code mixing.

Procedure - Chepang words were elicited from the language speakers. They were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The words from all survey points were elicited for this purpose. 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 Chepang 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 Chepang word from a mother tongue of Chepang 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 Chepang.

2.2.2 Questionnaire

Description- A questionnaire is a list of questions asked by the researcher(s) in order to collect various types of information. For statistical purpose, it is used in the same manner each time. The

main method that was used to collect relevant information in various different sociolinguistic questions including background information of the informant(s) has contained 115 questions of sociolinguistic questionnaire. These were the main questionnaires administered to gather the relevant information about the language. They were employed to obtain the information as listed below.

- Basic information

- Dialect mapping

- Language resources

- Mother tongue proficiency and bi/ multilingualism

- Domains of language use

- Language endangerment

- Language transmission and vitality

- Language loyalty

- Language maintenance and shift

- Code mixing

- Language attitude, and

- Appreciative inquiry

Purpose - The main purpose of the questionnaire was to find out domains of language use, language resources, language vitality, loyalty, maintenance, dialects, endangerment, language attitude, etc. with background information of the language informants.

Procedure - The questionnaire was developed for studying different languages belonging to different language families in order to maintain the same standard of all the languages. The medium of interview was Nepali for all varieties because almost all the speakers of Chepang were found to be bi/multilingual. The provided information has been entered into a database. It would be analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute in fulfilling the study goals.

2.2.3 Participatory methods[1]

Description- With participatory methods, it is up to the participants to decide with whom they will share their results and conclusions. It is not for the community but doing with community. In the participatory methods, we have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Chepang participants of eight survey points.

Photograph 2.1: Finding out domains of language use by using Participatory Method

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 dialectal variations among selected varieties, how bilingual people of these communities are, in which situations they use their mother tongues and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language to be developed.

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[1] The participatory methods used in this survey were based on the training provided by Dr. Sue Hasselbring on behalf of SIL International for Sociolinguistic Survey Methods held on May7, 2009, CNAS, T.U., Kirtipur, Kathmandu.

2.2.3a Domains of language use

Purpose- The purpose of this tool is to assist speakers of the language in identifying three types of situations in which they use their own language and/or other languages. A second purpose is to help them determine which domains and which languages are used most frequently.

Photograph 2.2: Determined the domains of language use by PM

Procedure- The participants' thought about the situations in which they speak in Chepang was written on pieces of paper. Then, they wrote down the situations in which they speak Nepali, and those in which they speak both languages. These were placed under the levels; *Chepang*, *both* and *Nepali*. Then, they organized the labels in each category according to the situations which occur daily and those that occurred less often.

2.2.3b Bi/Multilingualism

Purpose- The main purpose of using the tool of bi/multilingualism is to find out the situation of bi/multilingualism. This method also helps to categorize the people according to their bi/multilingual proficiency.

Photograph 2.3: Declaration of bilingualism in the Chepang community

Procedure- This tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both selected languages and Nepali by different subsets of the selected language community. In this community, Nepali is the language of wider communication which is used while communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the selected language people who speak selected language well and the other the selected language people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group, they also discussed whether they also spoke selected language '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 selected language people that spoke selected language '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.

2.2.3c   Dialect mapping

Description- This was a tool used during the survey with the participation of different mother tongue speakers to determine dialect variation.

Photograph 2.4: Determining the varieties of Chepang on the basis of four districts

Purpose- The main purpose of the tool was to find out the dialects of the Chepang language. During the survey, four districts named Makawanpur, Chitwan, Dhading and Gorkha have been considered so far. The Chepang language belonging to these locations is whether almost similar or different.

Procedure- In order to fulfill the goal and purpose, the respondents were asked to note down the major Chepang residing locations of different districts. Then, they were asked to write down the names of several Chepang villages and placed them to set under respective districts. As much as they could remember the Chepang villages' name, they were placed in different groups to enhance the possible varieties of the language.

2.2.3d Appreciative Inquiry

Purpose- The purpose of this tool is to allow members of the community to dream about what might be possible in their language and then begin to make plans for some of those dreams to happen.

Procedure- This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language of the selected linguistic community members of different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their

28

language or culture. Then, they were asked to, based on those good things in selected language and culture; express their dreams about "how could they make their language or culture even better?". They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as "who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed".

Photograph 2.5: Appreciating the community to plan for fulfilling their dreams

Hasselbring (2009) points out that the first three tools helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language where as this tool helped them think about future possibilities.

2.3   Sampling areas and population

The areas we studied are only the four representative districts: Makawanpur, Dhading, Chitwan and Gorkha. From those districts, we selected the villages of core Chepang speaking areas and took the data. The areas that were considered are presented on the following figures.

Figure 2.1: The study area of Makwanpur


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                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │ Makawanpur  │
                    └─────────────┘
    ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────────┬──────────┐
┌─────────┐┌─────────┐┌─────────┐┌──────────┐┌──────────┐
│Maisirang││Raksirang││Manohari ││Handikhola││Hathikhola│
└─────────┘└─────────┘└─────────┘└──────────┘└──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐┌────────────┐
              │ Simpani  ││Nirmalbasti │
              └──────────┘└────────────┘
```
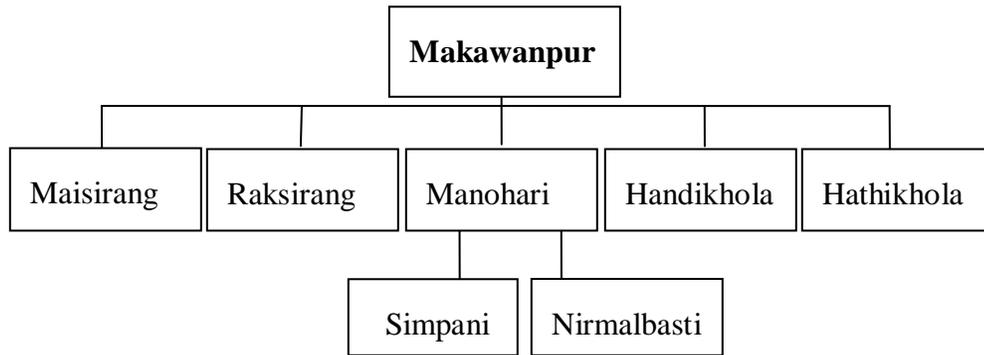
Figure 2.2: The study area of Dhading


```
                    ┌─────────┐
                    │ Dhading │
                    └─────────┘
        ┌──────────────┐              ┌────────────┐
        │ Mahadevsthan │              │ Charaundig │
        └──────────────┘              └────────────┘
   ┌──────────┬──────────┬──────────┐
┌──────────┐┌────────┐┌─────────┐┌─────────┐
│Tanglichok││ Labang ││ Darlang ││ Dumling │
└──────────┘└────────┘└─────────┘└─────────┘
```
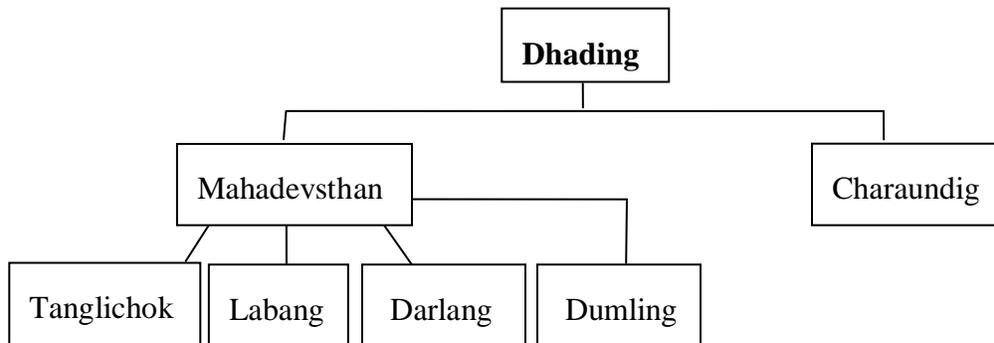
Figure 2.3: The study area of Chitawan


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                    ┌──────────┐
                    │ Chitawan │
                    └──────────┘
   ┌───────────────┬─────────────────┬───────────────┐
┌────────────┐  ┌───────┐        ┌─────────┐
│ Shaktikhor │  │ Korak │        │  Shidhi │
└────────────┘  └───────┘        └─────────┘
 ┌──────┐┌───────────┐       ┌──────────┐┌──────────┐
 │Bajar ││Bhorlabari │       │Teendovan ││ Cheurang │
 └──────┘└───────────┘       └──────────┘└──────────┘
┌────────┬──────────┬────────┬────────┬──────────┬──────────┬──────────┐
┌───────┐┌──────────┐┌──────┐┌────────┐┌─────────┐┌──────────┐┌─────────┐
│Somitar││Shikhartar││Dobate││Thamtar ││Gothdanda││Teendovan ││Cheurang │
└───────┘└──────────┘└──────┘└────────┘└─────────┘└──────────┘└─────────┘
```
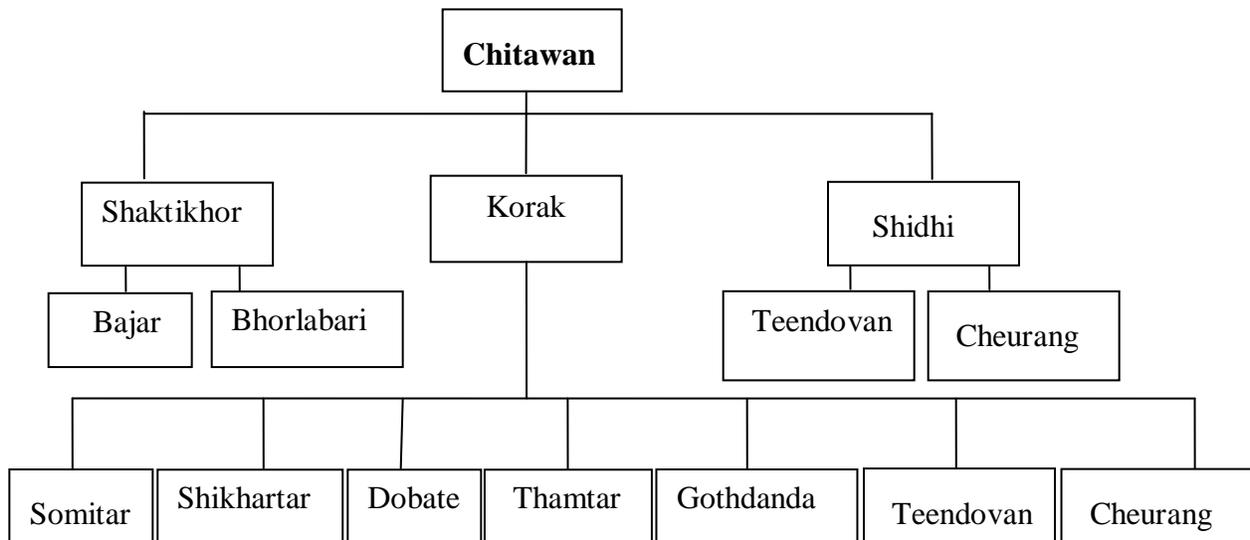
Figure 2.4: The study area of Gorkha
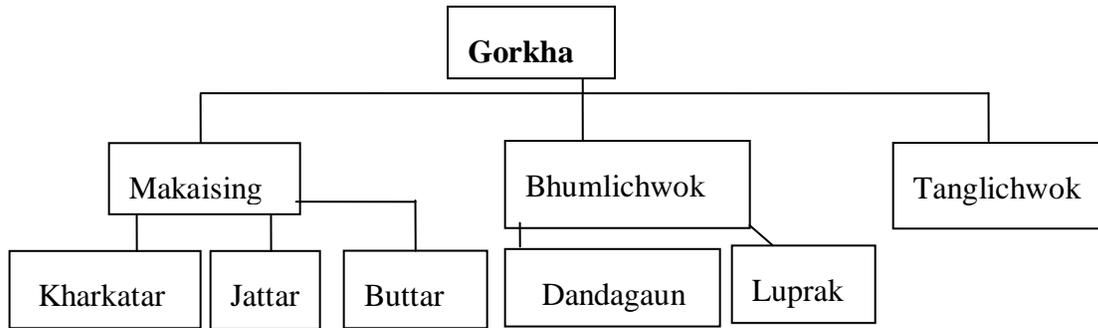
In this way the Chepang belonging to four different districts viz Makawanpur, Dhading, Chitawan and Gorkha have been visited to collect data. We collected data from around three hundred members of the Chepang community inclusively. The population is sampled using stratified random sampling method.

2.4   Wrapping up

In this Chapter, we employed the three different methodologies mainly for collecting data and write up. The Sociolinguistic Questionnaires, a list of 210 basic vocabularies, Participatory Methods (PM) along with the observation have been used to collect the data with the respondents using as stratified random sampling from the eight major populated areas of the four districts, namely; Makawanpur, Chitawan, Dhading, and Gorkha. Language used in this report is descriptive and analytical.

Chapter 3

Domains of language use

3.0   Outline

This part of the study mainly includes the status and analysis of different domains of language use. The status of language use in various domains like; language use at home and family in different matters which incorporate education, festivals, marriage, savings, spending, etc. have been attempted. Similarly, the frequency of Language use is employed in writing letters or telephoning to family members, language use in Radio/TV programs and language use in medium of instruction in various levels of education. Section 3.1 deals with the domains of language use and its significance. Section 3.2 discusses language use in different domains. Section 3.3 deals with the Language use at home and family for education matters. Section 3.4 attempts the Language use in social events. Section 3.5 deals the situation of Language use in family matters. Section 3.6 shows the Frequency of language use. Section 3.7 discusses the Language uses in writing letters or telephoning to family members. Section 3.8 deals with the Language use in Radio/TV programs. Finally, section 3.9 is about the overall wrapping up of the whole chapter.

3.1   Domains of language use and its significance

The study of the patterns of language use attempts to describe which speech varieties a community uses in different social situations. These situations, called domains, are contexts in which the use of one language variety is considered more appropriate than another (Fasold (1984:183 as sited in Webster, J.D. 1999:30)). A sociolinguistic questionnaire was administered to Chepang native speakers in order to collect the required information for the study. The total number of language informants is 28. Out of which, 15 are male and 13 are female of various age groups (i.e. 12(15-34yrs), 11(35-60) and 5(60+)) and from various education levels i.e. Preliterate: 7, Literate: 9, Primary: 2, Lower secondary: 1, Secondary: 5, Higher Education: 1, Mixed: 3. The respondents were interviewed in Nepali medium. The data has been collected during 23-06-2009 to 23-07-2009.

The language use means which language people speak/use in what domains of life. The reported answers to the questions are helpful in determining how prevalent and how extensive a particular language is used by the particular community. If most people in a community said that they use their mother tongue with each member of the family and community in all situations, then the mother tongue is considered to have pervasive use, and thus the language vitality is thought to be high. On the other hand, if they do not report the usage of their mother tongue with children and/or peers; and children no longer use their mother tongue, then there is a possibility of 'language shift' occurring. Such predictions are based on current language attitudes and language use patterns.

Likewise, the language use has a great significance to find out the actual status of language which will be helpful in implementing the further programs to preserve the minority languages like Chepang. Moreover, this is also helpful in implementing multilingual education program in Chepang community. It will be useful for its speech community for using the language in basic educational programs and mass communication. It is thought to be helpful to encourage the native speakers to use the marginalized language in all domains of language use i.e. at home, in education, mass media and day-to-day life. The preservation of language certainly helps to strengthen their communal solidarity and dignity.

3.2   Language use in different domains

To maintain different lingual activities i.e. domains like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, talking to household helpers and abusing Chepang people use different languages. In this study, the domains of language use attempts to describe people's attitudes towards the different speech varieties that are known to them and about the choices people should make with regard to language use. The primary method for studying both languages use among Chepang community was also use of orally administrative questionnaires.

Photograph 3.1: Languages used in different domains

Respondents were asked what language they speak in various domains. They provided three responses so far. They were: Chepang only, Nepali only and both (Chepang and Nepali). Table 3 displays the languages that respondents reported using in various domains. The total number of responses to each question is recorded in the column *n=*. This number is sometimes less than ten, as thirty-six, as some questions were not applicable to certain responses or because some of them did not answer some particular question. The total number of responses is sometimes greater than the number listed in the *n=* column, as some respondents gave more than one to a given question. The percentage of the domain of language use by respondents in various domains has been listed in the table 3.

Table 3.1: Language use in different domains

Question	Domain	n=	Language		
			Chepang	Nepali	Both
Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes?	Counting	32	3(9%)	23(72%)	6(19%)
	Singing	32	3(9%)	21(66%)	8(25%)
	Joking	32	8(25%)	9(28%)	15(47%)
	Bargaining/Shopping	32	-	17(53%)	15(47%)
	Story telling	32	8(25%)	12(38%)	12(38%)
	Discussing/debate	32	4(13%)	13(41%)	15(47%)
	Praying	32	3(9%)	21(66%)	8(25%)
	Talking to household helpers	28	9(32%)	13(46%)	6(21%)
	Abusing	32	8(25%)	9(28%)	15(47%)

Table 3.1 shows that the use of Chepang is limited to 3 percent and Nepali is highly used while counting and singing. This may be the reason of less use of numerals in Chepang though it has separate numeral system. Though Chepang has a number of songs in their own language, it is found to be sung by lesser in their number. This may be an influence of other languages and the lack of access of Chepang language to the mass media. In joking, both the languages are seen to be highly used. Chepang and Nepali are used more or less in similar quantity. While bargaining or shopping, Chepang do not use their own language but they prefer to use both Chepang and Nepali or Nepali alone, as Nepali is the language of wider communication at the market.

While telling the story, it is found to be equal use of Nepali and Chepang and Nepali alone. Though the difference found is not very high in telling the story, there is much use of Nepali and

Chepang, and Nepali than Chepang while discussing and debating. The cause may be that the debate and discussion that generally held with those language communities outside the Chepang themselves. In praying also, most of Chepangs are found to be used Nepali than Chepang. This is because of the influence of other religions like Christianity which generally found to be used Nepali as the medium for praying. While talking to the household helper, they use the both languages. As they generally do not hire the helper from other communities they use Chepang along with Nepali, too. While abusing, they use Chepang and Nepali equally. But most of them can use both the languages equally well. From the above evidence, we come to know that except some particular cases, there is not much variation of using the number of languages while talking on various domains of language use. Respondents were asked what language they speak in various domains as in above pattern with different domains. The status of use of language in various domains has been presented at the table 3.2.

Table 3.2: The status of use of language in various domains

Question	Domains	n=	Language		
			Chepang	Nepali	Both
hat language do you use in the following situations	telling stories to children	28	7(25%)	14(50%)	7(25%)
	singing at home	30	3(10%)	15(50%)	12(40%)
	learning/teaching nursery rhymes	28	14(50%)	10(36%)	4(14%)
	talking to playmates	29	7(24%)	6(21%)	16(55%)
	When playing	29	1(3%)	11(38%)	17(59%)
	talking to a household helper	26	8(31%)	6(23%)	7(27%)
	in marriage invitations	28	3(11%)	13(46%)	11(39%)
	writing minutes in community meetings	29	1(4%)	25(86%)	3(10%)
	Dreaming	29	12(41%)	7(24%)	10(34%)
	family gathering	29	15(52%)	7(24%)	7(24%)
	public meetings	29	-	24(83%)	5(7%)

Table 3.2 presents that the Chepang is mostly used in different six domains in spoken form and, rest of other domains are found to be spoken in other languages. Chepang is extensively used in domains of homely environment as among the participants reported. While the other domains that generally held outside the environment of home and family, they are found to be used in Nepali, the language of wider communication. For example, in public meeting, they do not use Chepang language at all. Likewise, while writing minutes in community meeting, marriage invitation and playing, too, Chepang is rarely used. This may be of multilingual setting with the domination of other languages i.e. Nepali than their own in wider communication. Due to the prevalence of other language groups particularly Nepali around the Chepangs, the formal use of their language is very limited. Thus, we can conclude that although Chepang is usually spoken more during informal occasions than formal ones, the use of the language in formal setting is considerably decreasing.

3.3   Language use at home and family for education matters

Likewise, while talking with family members at home, Chepang people use their own language along with Nepali. Here, the percentage of using different languages along with their mother tongue will be discussed when they talk about educational matters like school, admission, study, etc. within their family members. Table 3.3 points out the situation as follows:

Table 3.3: Language use in educational matters

Question	n=	Languages		
What language do you use with your…		Chepang	Both	Nepali
Grandfather	33	17(51%)	8(24%)	8(24%)
Grandmother	33	19(57%)	6(19%)	3(13%)
Father	33	18(54%)	8(24%)	4(12%)
Mother	33	18(55%)	7(21)%	4(12)%
Spouse	31	13(42%)	9(29%)	6(19%)
Children	34	12(35%)	15(44%)	6(18%)

Table 3.3 shows that language retention found to be higher among grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother than spouse and children because the retention rate is 54% for the first four categories and 35% for the last two. Among them, with children the respondents speak in Nepali more than the rest of the speakers. So far as the Chepang language is concerned, the highest numbers of respondents have provided responses of using Chepang with their grandfathers and grandmothers and, the lowest of them use Chepang with their children. The general tendency of using Chepang and Nepali is found to be simultaneous. Use of Nepali with grandfather is the least. The respondents employ to use Nepali more with their grandfather than grandmother. The cause may be the possession of money with the grandfather for which reason they might ask with their grandfather instead of grandmother. In case of children, it is the awareness of the parents about education of their children. From table 3.3, we can conclude that the rate of using their mother tongue from grandparents to children is decreasing one after the next generation, while the use of Nepali is found to be increased.

3.4   Language use in social events

The question 'What language do you use while participating in social events i.e. festivals, election, ceremonies, market, etc. with your …?' was asked the respondents. In these cases too, they have given different responses. The responses that they provided have been presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Language use in festivals and ceremonies

Question	n=	Language		
What language do you use with your…		Chepang	Both	Nepali
Grandfather	32	18(56%)	8(25%)	6(19%)
Grandmother	32	18(56%)	6(19%)	8(25%)
Father	33	21(64%)	6(18%)	6(18%)
Mother	31	20(65%)	5(16%)	6(19%)
Spouse	26	13(50%)	6(23%)	7(27%)
Children	27	11(41%)	11(41%)	5(19%)

Table 3.4 presents that while talking about the festivals, election, fair, market etc., most of the Chepang people use their own mother tongue with their family members. When they speak with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother and spouse, more than 50% are found to speak only Chepang. Besides, they use Nepali and Chepang simultaneously in similar quantity of Nepali. So, the overall use of Chepang is good along with family members. The data would seem to indicate that Chepang is used frequently by respondents in most of the situations but less often when speaking with their children. Hence, the tendency of using their mother tongue is decreasing in speaking with spouse and children.

3.5   Language use in family matters

The language use while talking about marriages, savings, spending, allocation of duties, etc. with their family members has also been quantified in the Table 3.5. The table 3.5 shows that Chepang language has the dominant role over Nepali in using with family members for family matters. The variation of amount of use of both Chepang and Nepali is simultaneous. The use of Nepali with the children is higher than that of their mother tongue.

Table 3.5: Language use in marriage, savings, spending etc

Question	n=	Language		
What language do you use with your…		Chepang	Both	Nepali
Grandfather	29	18(62%)	6(21%)	5(17%)
Grandmother	29	18(62%)	6(21%)	5(17%)
Father	30	19(63%)	6(20%)	5(17%)
Mother	29	18(62%)	6(21%)	5(17%)
Spouse	28	13(46%)	7(24%)	8(29%)
Children	26	9(35%)	12(46%)	5(19%)

Table 3.5 presents that Chepang is spoken in more domains than any other languages. After the observation, we can obtain that the given domains are dominated by their own mother tongue i.e. Chepang, except talking with children. The tendency of language use is found to be decreasing from spouse and children in/while discussing family matters like marriage, savings, spending, allocation of duties, etc. The significant trend shown by the data in Table 3.5 is towards the usage of Nepali more in general by people today; and with young people in particular. Chepang is still very dominantly used by Chepang people with other age groups except children at home.

3.6 Frequency of language use

The Chepang is most frequently used in their daily lives in the Chepang community. They sometimes use the Nepali language, too. But it is generally used out of family environment.

In response to the question "How often do you use your mother tongue?", out of the four alternatives i.e. daily, weekly, sometimes and never, they answered that they use their mother tongue daily and only few responded that they use it sometimes only. Most of Chepang people (i.e. 72%) use their own mother tongue daily, while the other remaining respondents (i.e. 28%) use sometimes only. This is a significant aspect of language use and attitudes towards their mother tongue.

Photograph 3.2: Frequency of language use

Likewise, in response to the question "how often do you use the language of wider communication?" thirty respondents (94%) have reported that they use the language of wider communication daily, whereas 6% use their mother tongue sometimes only.

Similarly, in response to the question "which language do you use to communicate with speakers of other languages?", out of thirty-one respondents, ninety-five per cent said that they use Nepali, whereas only a 5% respondent said that s/he use both Magar and/or Nepali in her/his contexts. This indicates that almost all the respondents use Nepali to communicate with speakers of other languages. Since, the Nepali language has been the contact language in day to day communication.

In addition, in response to the questions "what language do you use if the speaker of different language arrives at your home? and, "what language do you use with the neighbors of different language?", almost all the respondents said that they use Nepali. In this way, Nepali is found to be used as a medium of wider communication for the Chepang people.

3.7   Language use in writing letters or telephoning to family members

In case of writing letters or telephoning within family members, Chepang people use their mother tongue most while telephoning and Nepali while writing letters. Though the medium of telephoning is oral and the writing letters is written, the data were taken by asking the same question "what language do you use while writing letters or telephoning to with given members of your family?" simultaneously. The responses that they responded have been presented on Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Language use in writing letters or telephoning to family members

What language do you use while writing letters or telephoning to with your	n=	Language		
		Chepang	Nepali	Both
Grandfather	27	7(22%)	8(33%)	12(44%)
Grandmother	23	8(35%)	8(35%)	7(30%)
Father	23	10(44%)	10(44%)	3(13%)
Mother	23	10(44%)	10(44%)	3(13%)
Spouse	20	8(40%)	10(50%)	2(10%)
Children	18	5(28%)	12(67%)	1(6%)

Table 3.6 shows the use of languages while telephoning and writing letters to their own family members. Chepang is found to be used more or less similar with Nepali in most of domains except with their spouse and children. The significant trend shown by the data in table 3.6 is towards more usage of Nepali by people today, and with young people in particular. The tendency of language use is found to be decreasing from spouse and children while telephoning and writing letters to their family members.

3.8 Language use in Radio/TV programs

The respondents were asked to tell the language of most frequently used in the given radio and TV programs. The domains that they cover and percentage of usage have been presented in table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Language use in radio/TV programs

Question	Domain	n=	Language			
			Chepang	Nepali	Both	Other
Which language is most frequently used in the following radio/ TV programs?	News	36	1(3%)	27(75%)	5(14%)	3(8%)
	Folk songs	32	-	27(84%)	5(16%)	-
	Film songs	27	-	27(100%)	-	-
	Tele films or radio plays	36	-	26(72%)	10(28%)	-
	Public speech	36	-	26(72%)	10(28%)	-

Table 3.7 shows that except filmy songs, all the domains that radio/TV programs cover are broadcasted and telecasted in Nepali only. This may be because of not having feature films and their songs in Chepang. Out of thirty-six respondents, only one said that a local FM has just started to broadcast in Chepang language once a week and in other languages like Hindi, Maithili and Bhojpuri, too. Nepali is found to be dominant language in radio and TV programs. The use of Chepang has lack of access in electronic media like radio and TV. They are left out from the main stream of electronic media. They are not found to be represented in local Radio, FM stations too.

3.9 Wrapping up

In this chapter, we sum up that the Chepang language has a number of domains for language use in various manners. Chepang is used mainly in family matters, neighborhood, community and the society surrounding them. They use both Chepang and Nepali in social gatherings and events. Almost Chepangs are found to use their own mother tongue while telephoning to their family members, while they use the Nepali language in writing letters to them. Except some occasional programs in local FMs in Chepang, they use the Nepali language most of the times.

Chapter 4

Language attitude and language loyalty

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language attitude and language loyalty of the Chepang speakers towards their mother tongue. Language attitude mainly includes the feeling about their mother tongues, usefulness of mother tongue against other languages. Section 4.1 discusses the language attitudes of the Chepang people. Section 4.2 deals with the language loyalty. Finally, section 4.3 sums up the chapter in brief.

4.1 Language attitude

Language attitudes usually entail attitudes to the speakers of the particular language or dialect. There is evidence that language attitudes may influence how teachers deal with pupils. Attitudes about language may affect second language learning. To find out the feelings about the Chepang language against other languages, in response to the question asked, 'How do you feel about your mother tongue against other tongues?, most of the respondents in given inherent properties of their mother tongue are found to have positive attitude. Table 4.1 shows the detailed description of their attitudes in terms of those inherent properties of their mother tongue.

Table 4.1: Feelings about Chepang against other tongues

How do you feel about your mother tongue against other tongues?	n=28	Feelings about their language against other languages	Sex	
			Male	Female
	a	Rich	15(54%)	12(43%)
	b	Precise	14(50%)	11(39%)
	c	Sweet	15(54%)	13(46%)
	d	Musical	12(43%)	10(36%)
	e	Harsh	1(4%)	1(4%)
	f	Prestigious	12(43%)	9(32%)
	g	Literary	8(29%)	6(21%)
	h	Pure	12(43%)	10(36%)
	i	Powerful	13(46%)	10(36%)
	j	Ancient	13(46%)	12(43%)

Table 4.1 gives you an idea about the attitudes on possible inherent properties within the Chepang language. Almost all (i.e. 97%) the respondents (54% male and 43%) strongly agree that their language is rich. Similarly, most of the respondents (i.e. 89%) from both male (50%) and female (39%) claim that their mother tongue is more precise than other languages. Likewise, all the respondents (100%) from both male (54%) and female (46%) have reported that their mother tongue is sweet. Equally, most of them claim that their mother tongue is ancient (89%), powerful (82%), musical (79%), prestigious (75%) and literary (50%). Only a limited number of respondents accept that their language is a little bit harsh. Otherwise, most of them assert that their language is full of inherent heritage.

Chepang language may be more usefulness in their life because of being native speakers. In this respect, when the respondents were asked "whether they consider their mother tongue useful against other tongues" in terms of the given responses, majority of them convince in most of the categories to be useful as being a speaker of their mother tongue. Table 4.2 explains the details of the responses.

Table 4.2: Possible usefulness of mother tongue

Question	n=28	Usefulness of mother tongue against other languages	Sex	
How do you consider your mother tongue useful against other tongues in terms of the following			Male	Female
	a	Jobs	15(54%)	7(25%)
	b	Business	9(32%)	8(29%)
	c	Social mobility	16(57%)	7(25%)
	d	Literature	10(36%)	9(32%)
	e	Medium of instruction	12(43%)	10(36%)
	f	Science and technology	5(18%)	2(7%)

Table 4.2 shows that the total male speakers' majority responded that their mother tongue is useful against the other tongues in respect to getting jobs and social mobility. Similarly, 32% and 36% male speakers said that their language is useful in terms of business and literature respectively against other tongues. In the same way, 43% and 18% male speakers responded that their language is useful for the medium of instructions and in science and technology respectively against other languages.

Similarly, 25% female speakers responded that their language is useful in getting jobs and in social mobility against other languages. Similarly, 29% and 32% female respondents responded that their language is useful in business and in literature respectively. In the same way, 36% and 7% female respondents said that their language is useful in medium of instructions and in science and technology respectively against other language.

Likewise, Chepang people claim that their language is prestigious. At the same time, some of them have reported that their mother tongue is embarrassed and neutral, too. Table 4.3 presents the detail idea of what they have reported for their mother tongue against other tongues.

Table 4.3: Feeling of their MT against other languages

When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of a speaker of the dominant languages (such as Nepali and English), what do you feel?	n=28	Feeling of mother tongue	Sex	
			Male	Female
	a	Embarrassed	10(36%)	9(32%)
	b	Neutral	10(36%)	7(25%)

Table 4.3 provides an idea that almost 89% of the respondents from both male (46%) and female (43%) like to call their language prestigious. They feel proud of their mother tongue, and feel prestigious while speaking to the people of other linguistic communities. At the same time, on contrary, the majority (i.e. 68%) of them feel that using their mother tongue is embarrassed, and 61% of them feel that it is neutral against other languages.

Sometimes, they may feel intricacies because of being a speaker of mother tongue in their day-to-day lives. Some respondents have reported that they have faced difficulties at their works as Figure 4.1shows.

Figure 4.1: Problem (if any) because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue

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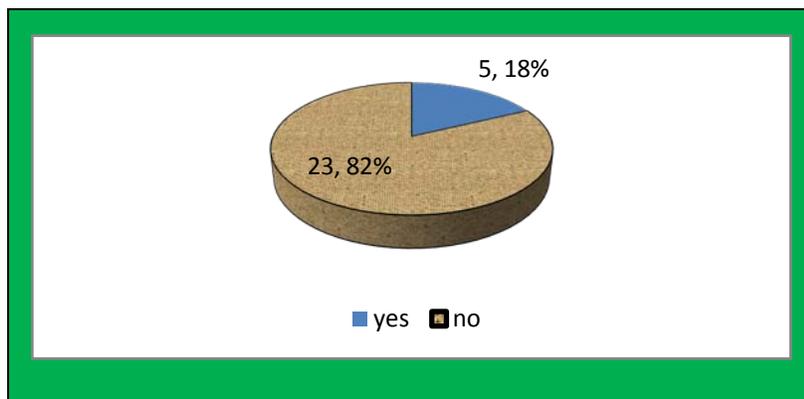
Figure 4.1 presents that almost 82% of the respondents have not faced any difficulties because of being a speaker of mother tongue at their workplace and other. On the contrary, 18% of the respondents have faced socio-political and other types of problems in their territory.

As some of them claimed that they have faced some socio-political and other social problems in their daily lives. So, what kind of problems they have faced has been illustrated in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Problems because of being a native speaker

If yes, what kinds of problems have you ever had?	n=28	Having problems because of being native	Sex	
			Male	Female
	a	Social discrimination	8(29%)	5(18%)
	b	Political discrimination	15(54%)	5(18%)
	c	Economic discrimination	5(18%)	3(11%)
	d	Hostile confrontation	3(11%)	1(4%)
	e	Discrimination in education	9(32%)	5(18%)
	f	Social pressure	5(18%)	3(11%)
	g	Political pressure	4(14%)	1(4%)
	h	Economic pressure	6(21%)	2(7%)
	i	Other	1(4%)	1(4%)

Table 4.4 illustrates some major problems that the respondents have faced in different place and circumstances. Among the problems that they have faced, the political discrimination among male is found to be reported high (i.e. 54%) during the study as male people are more engaged in political activities than the female people. The social discrimination that the male and female have felt is 29% and 18%, respectively. The other difficulties they have felt are educational, social, economical discrimination, and have felt social-political-economic-pressures in various places.

To measure the attitude of the respondents, they were asked of their desires to marry their children whether with the native or non-native person, and in which language their children should speak first as well is obtained in figures 4.2a and 4.2b, respectively.

Figure 4.2a: Desire to marry their children with non-native   **Figure 4.2b: The language their children should speak first**
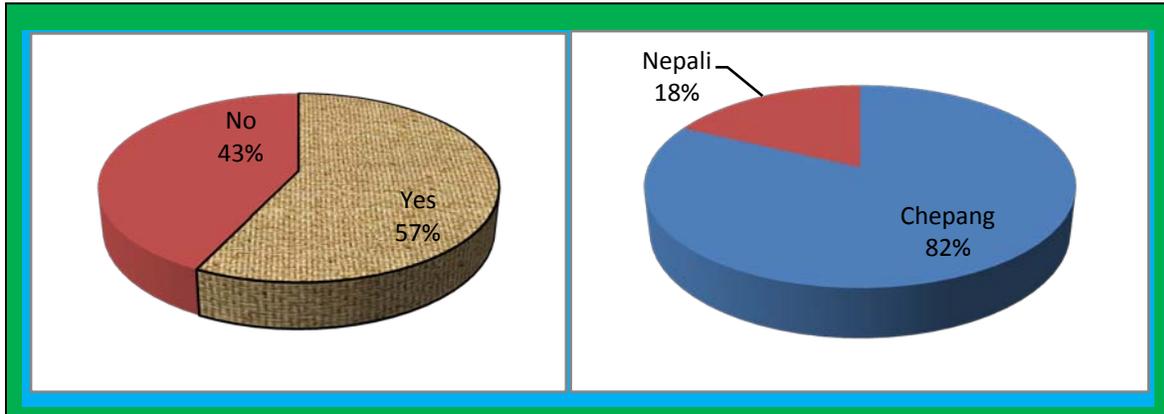
In response to the question asked as in Figure 4.2a, 'Would you like your son or daughter to marry someone who does not know your language?, the majority (i.e. 57%) of the respondents have gladly responded 'Yes', while some (43%) of them have reported 'No'. Equally, almost 82% of the respondents have assured that their children should speak the Chepang language first in reply to the quarry, 'What language should your children speak first?'. The left over respondents who do not want their children to speak Chepang first believe that there will be no guarantee of jobs in future if they are competed only in the Chepang language. Otherwise, they are ready to train their children who do not speak their language.

The new generation of Chepang community has started to relinquish speaking their mother tongue. This trend is mainly observed in multilingual settings. In this case, they were asked, 'When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?' to observe the exact attitude of the respondents.

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Figure 4.3b: If no, how do they feel?

Figure 4.3a: Whether their grand children will speak their language
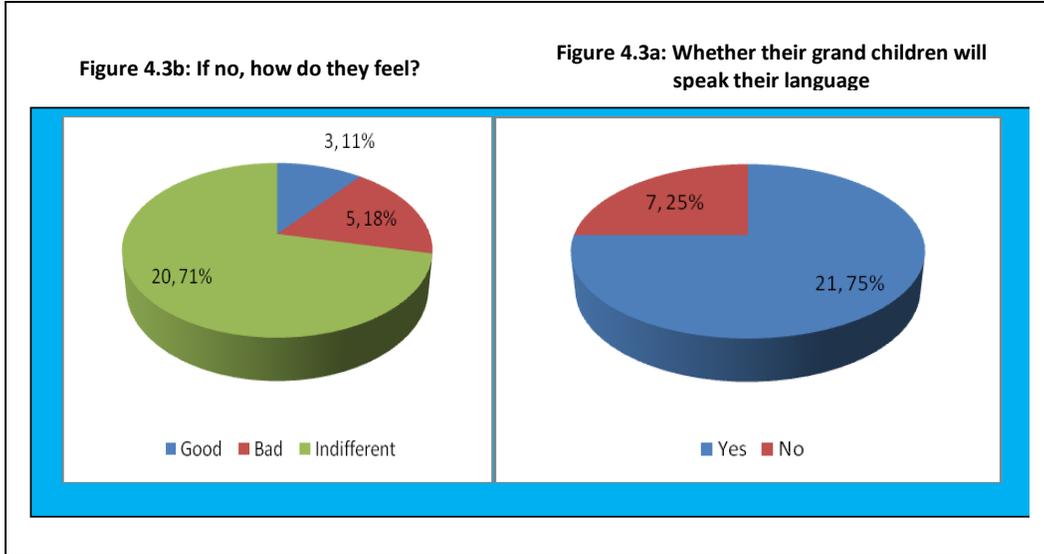
Among them, 75% respondents have reported optimistic attitude in speaking their mother tongue by the grandchildren of the community. The remaining respondents of 25% do not believe in speaking their language by grandchildren of the community in future. At the same time, the respondents who do not believe were asked, 'If no, how do you feel about this?,' almost 71% have reported indifferent, eighteen per cent have accounted 'Bad', and 11% have felt 'Good' if they do not speak their mother tongue in future.

Similarly, to measure the two languages they speak most, they were asked, 'What are the two languages that you have to speak most? The reply provided by them has been enlisted with value and respective percentage in table 4.5

Table 4.5: Other two languages that the first language people speak most

Question	n=28	First language speaker's other two languages	Sex	
What are the two languages that the first language people speak most?			Male	Female
	a	Chepang	12(43%)	10(36%)
	b	Nepali	14(50%)	14(50%)
	c	Hindi	5(18%)	1(4%)
	d	Magar	7(25%)	5(18%)
	e	English	5(18%)	1(4%)

Table 4.5 shows that almost all the respondents have accounted that the Nepali language has to be spoken most as it is the language of not only for official usage but also of wider communication, and hence it is to be spoken. Similarly, almost 80% of them have reported that they should speak the Chepang language as it is their own mother tongue, and hence, it should be spoken at any cost. Some of the respondents disputed that the neighboring languages like Magar; the language of media and foreign employment like Hindi and English, the language of education and science and technology should also be spoken along with Nepali and Chepang.

Similarly, in response to the question asked, 'Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most?, the respondents have said that they love the Chepang and the Nepali language most among the language they speak as in the Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: The languages that they speak and like most
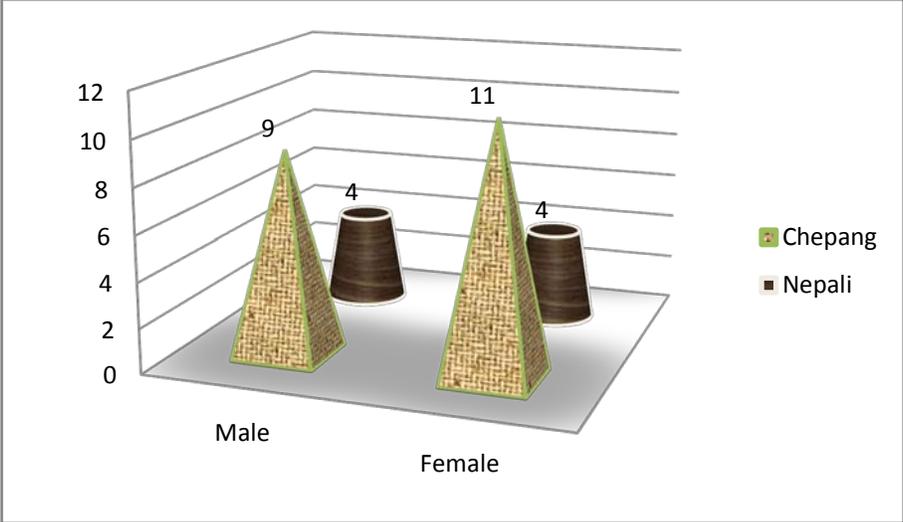
Figure 4.4 presents that the respondents were asked to choose the best languages from the languages that they speak, almost 71% respondents from both male (45%) and female (55%) were found to love the Chepang language. While, both male (50%) and female (50%) of the remaining respondents (29%) were found to love the Nepali language equally well.

4.2 Language Loyalty

Chepang people have been seen very loyal about their language. They are sure that they cannot recognize the community members if they do not speak their mother tongue because the neighboring people are not physically different from them in the very society. So, most of the respondents confidently answered that they do not recognize the people as Chepang if they do

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not speak Chepang language. They do not feel good when they hear of other than Chepang languages spoken by the young people of their community. They think that the young people and teenagers would speak their mother tongue more and more than other second languages.

They encourage the younger generation to speak their native language. The speaking of their mother tongues means to preserve and promote their language, culture, ethnicity, identity, history and traditional social systems and customs. The mother tongue is used to say secret things, feel proud of language, feel language good, use in worship, book publications, employment, better to know more languages, etc.

In response to the question asked, 'Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?,' most of the respondents have reported "No", as in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5: The native people stopped speaking her/his language

Yes. 7. 25%

No. 21. 75%
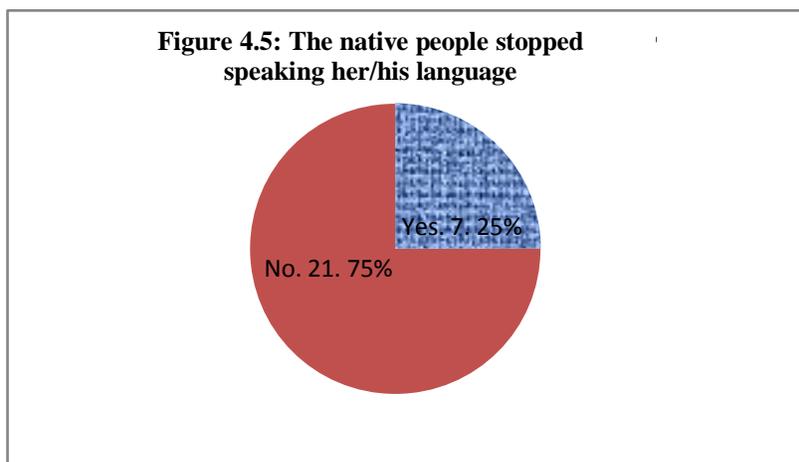
From Figure 4.5, it is clearly seen that most of the respondents (i.e. 75%) have replied that they do not recognize the people as Chepang those who do not know and speak Chepang language. On the contrary, only few (25%) of them claimed that they can recognize the people as Chepang even if they do not know and speak Chepang language.

They feel very bad and shocked when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Almost of all the respondents admitted that it is unfortunate to hear the young people of the community speaking other languages instead of their own mother tongue as in Figure 4.6a and b.

Figure 4.6a: Encouragement of younger generation to speak their native tongue
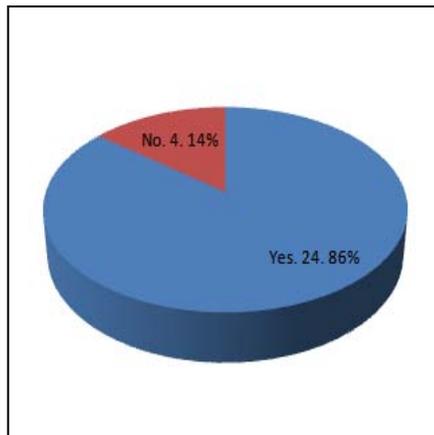
Figure 4.6b: Feeling behind not speaking their own MT but others
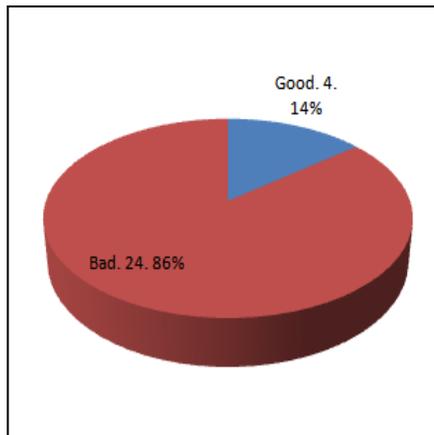
While asking the question, 'Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?' as Chart 5a shows that most of the respondents (i.e. 86%) have reported 'Yes'. As they have reported the reasons behind their encouragement of speaking their native language are to preserve and promote their language, culture, ethnicity, history and identity. They have heavily accounted that it is easier to say the secret things in their own native language. They feel very proud of their language as it has been using from their ancestors to the till of the date. In the same way, 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?,' most of the respondents (i.e. 86%) have reported that they feel 'bad' as in Chart 5b. On the contrary to this view, some (i.e. 14%) respondents have accounted that they do not want to encourage their children to speak their language. The reason behind this sort of impartiality is that their children may feel difficulty at their schools because their language has not yet been implemented as a medium of instruction at their community schools.

Almost of the Chepang community members are very loyal about their native language even though in a fewer numbers have admitted their different views in this respect. According to them, mother tongue should be preserved and promoted for forthcoming generation but it means not that they must have to have known their native language. Language is power. They argue that if somebody learnt to speak, read and write Chepang language, would they have opportunity to earn their livelihood? Does it provide them employment? Does it promote in economy of Chepang community?, and so on. So, I do not encourage speaking Chepang language. Everyone has freedom and language rights what to speak, learn, read and write and what to not.

4.2.1 Instructional language in various levels of education

The respondents were asked a question about their preference in use of different languages including their mother tongue in medium of instruction that ought to have in different level of education. In response to the question, "what language/s do you prefer as a medium of instruction for your children in different level of education?", out of thirty-six, the twenty-five respondents preferred to use mother tongue as a medium of instruction in primary level. The Figure 4.7 tries to show the clear picture of their preference of use of language in different levels of education in schools and colleges.

Figure 4.7: The preference of instructional language in various level of education
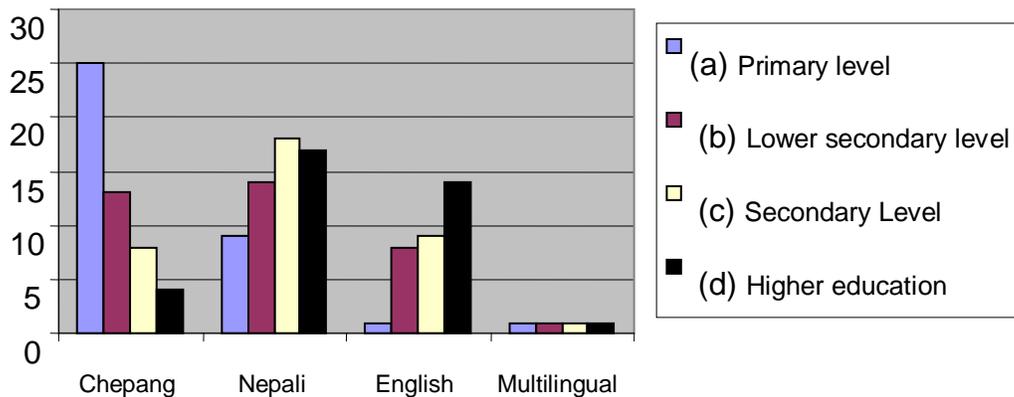
The attitudes towards the use of mother tongue in primary education as Figure 4.7 shows are found to be constantly strong and positive. When they were asked "What languages do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at different levels of education?" most of them responded that Chepang is most in primary level of education. Out of total 36 respondents, the 25 respondents strongly viewed in favor of Chepang as a medium of primary education. One respondent strongly claimed in favor of multilingual in all level of education. From the overall views, it can be concluded the tendency of medium of instruction at different levels of education is gradually decreasing in Chepang and increasing to other languages like Nepali and English from primary to upper level of education. This data confirms that the medium of instruction in primary level is Chepang and, Nepali and even English can be the next most important medium of instruction for lower secondary and upper levels of education. This is very significant attitude in favor of multilingual education in primary level if not in other levels of education.

4.3 Wrapping up

In brief, we can sum up that almost all the respondents strongly agree that their language is rich and sweet. Similarly, most of them maintain that Chepang is ancient, powerful, musical and prestigious. Almost 82% of the respondents have not faced any difficulties because of being a speaker of mother tongue at their workplace and other places. They are worried for not using their mother tongue in different purpose like job, business, medium of instruction and science and technology. Most of them want their children to learn in Chepang at least up to the primary level.

Chapter 5

Language transmission, vitality and endangerment

5.0   Outline

This chapter deals with language transmission, vitality and endangerment. To account for the situation of the language, it has various sections in which they are described in due respect. Section 5.1 deals with the Language transmission and vitality. Section 5.2 discusses the language endangerment. Section 5.3 accounts for the language maintenance and shift. And finally, section 5.4 summarizes the chapter.

5.1   Language transmission and vitality

Transmission of language from generation to generation plays the vital role for safeguarding the language from its extinction. In the case of Chepang language, from the respondents' view, it can be accounted that they are not so satisfied that their language is transforming from their one generation to the other regularly and consistently. According to their responses, in case of their children, it is equal to both "Yes" and "No". They are even in dilemma that their children who speak their mother tongue now would speak or not when they will be grown up old. However, their language would transform to the next generations, potentially. It is because of the situation that presently exists in the community.

Especially, the literate young generation cannot speak the language in a manner as the aged Chepang people speak. The respondents are not very much hopeful on the effectiveness of language transmission in future generations as in Figure 5.1.
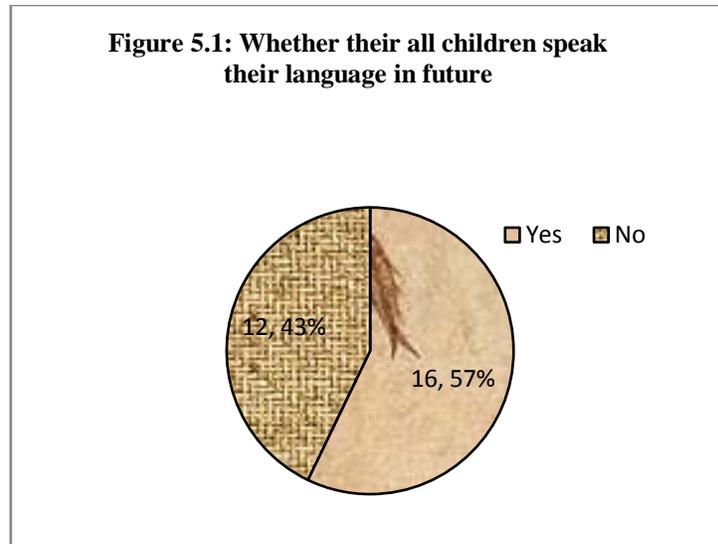
Figure 5.1: Whether their all children speak their language in future

In response to the question "Do all your children speak your language?", the majority of them (i.e. 57%) replied 'Yes' and the remaining 43% of them replied 'No'. The numbers of children who cannot speak their own language are increasing day by day in their society. The rate of transmission of language from one generation to the next is found to have gradually diminishing. In the same way, in the quarry of "Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and married?, and if the same children will grow old?", most of the respondents are very much hopeful about their children, and only few of the respondents are pessimistic about their children as in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2**: The young children would speak their MT after getting married; and even when they'll grow old**

Figure 5.2a: Whether the young children speak their MT after getting married

Figure 5.2b: Whether the same children will speak their MT when they grow old
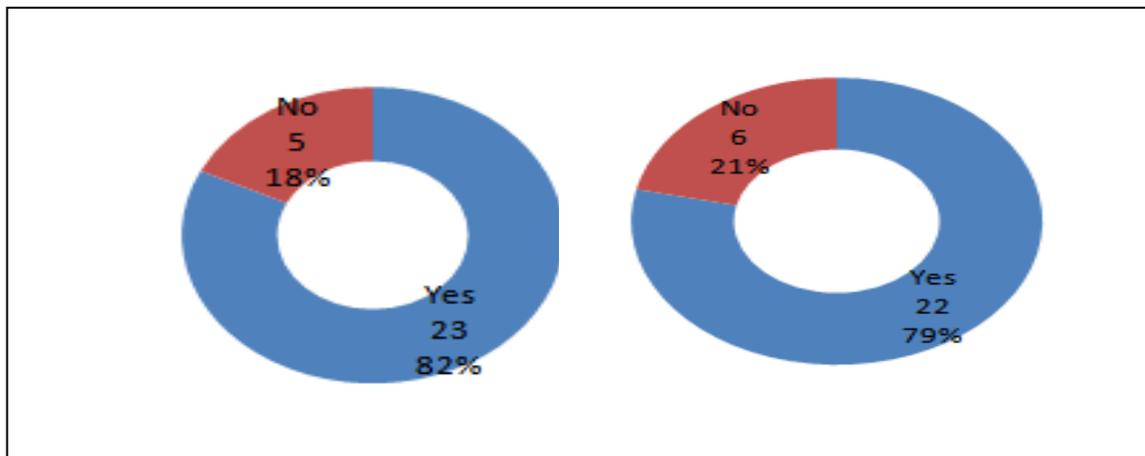
Figure 5.2a demonstrates that the 82% respondents are optimistic and only the 18% of them are pessimistic. Similarly, when their children will grow old, probably 79% of them are optimistic and only 21% are pessimistic. They believe that the rate of language transmission will be a very low rate in the future generations in comparison to the present ones.

It seems that most of the Chepang people are satisfied that their language is passing down positively to the new generations as in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Whether the language passed down effectively to the new generations
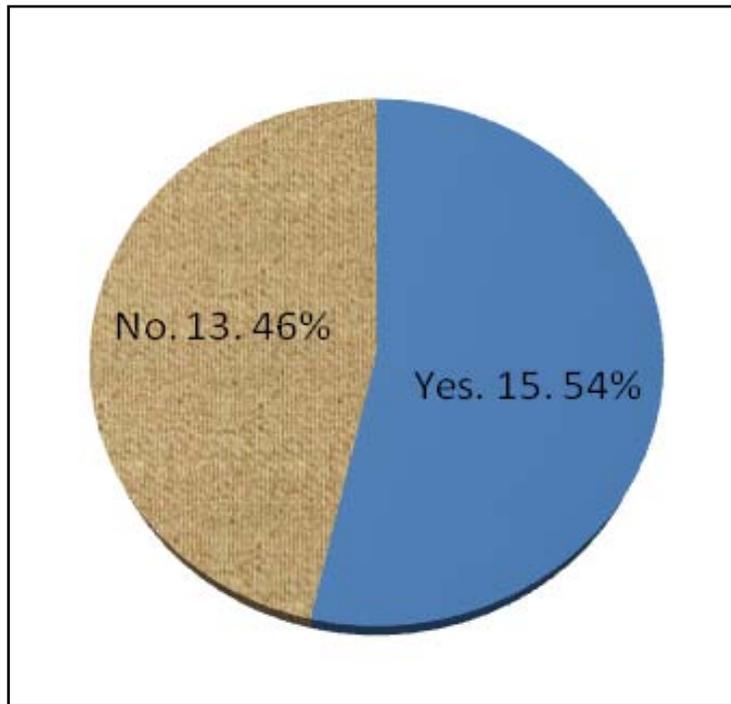
Figure 5.3 gives you an idea that the majority (i.e. 54%) of respondents reported that their language is gradually passing down and, the remaining 46% of them said that their mother tongue is not passing in the way that it ought to be. It is seemed that they are very much worried about the situation and status of their own language in future.

Since they are worried about their language in future, they do not believe that the young people of the community speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. Most of them responded that they would not use in a good way. They use differently. The responses given in this regard is demonstrated in Figure 5.4.

**Figure 5.4: Whether the young people speak their MT as effective as
it ought to be spoken**
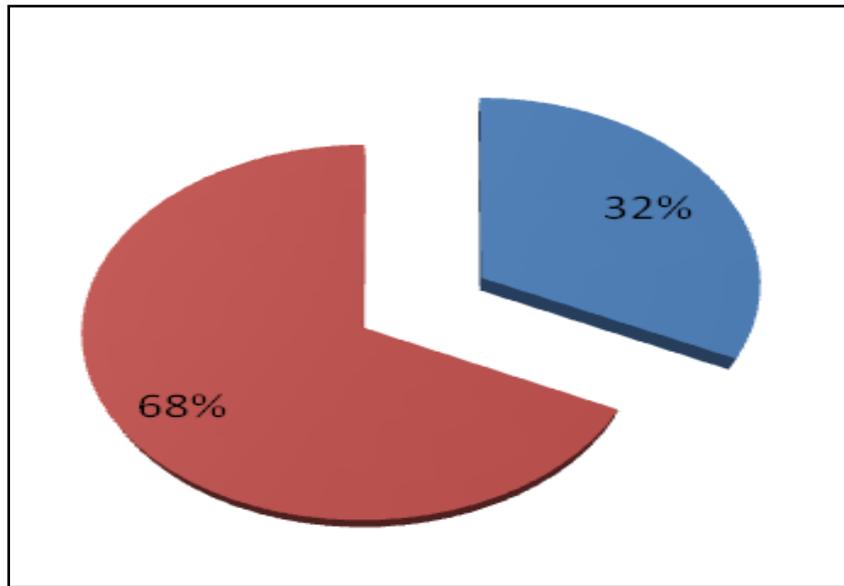
Figure 5.4 provides you an idea that the majority of the respondents (i.e. 68%) have accounted that the young people can speak their mother tongue as much effective as it ought to be spoken. The remaining respondents (i.e. 32%) have informed that the young people cannot speak their mother tongue as much effective as it ought to be spoken.

5.2   Language endangerment

The endangerment of language can be measured on the basis of domains of language use and resources of language. In case of Chepang language, among the total respondents (71%) responded that their language is currently endangered and the few (29%) claimed that their language is not endangered. They meant their language is safe because in their perspective, they use their language in their daily lives. So, how it is endangered? No, it is not endangered. It is safe. For this kind of discussion consider the Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: language endangerment
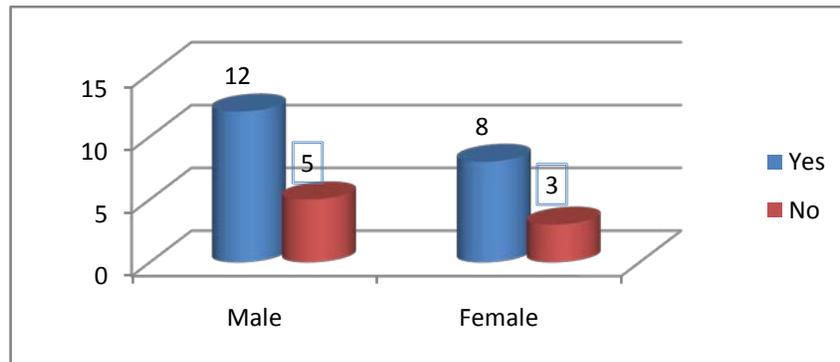
Figure 5.5 presents that the majority (i.e.71%) of the respondents convinces that their mother tongue is in the state of endangerment. While some other (i.e. 29%) of them believe that their mother tongue is still safe. The same result opined by the respondents can be further specified on the basis of sex through the Figure 5.5 above.

Although the highest number of responses has been considerable and accounted for this regard, in fact, Chepang language is endangered because of various factors i.e. lack of intergenerational language transmission, heavy language shift, very low proportion of the speakers within the total population of the country, loss of existing language domains, lack of response to media, lack of materials for language education and literacy, government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use in isolation, lack of documentation, low socio-economic status of the speakers, lack of access in opportunities, lack of motivation, old age of speakers, migration to urban areas and foreign countries for job or education and so on. This situation can be further shown through the following Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Accountable factors for language endangerment

Question	n=28	Causes of endangerment	Sex	
			Male	Female
What can be the causes of language endangerment?	a	Lack of intergenerational language transmission	10(36%)	8(29%)
	b	Heavy language-shift	9(32%)	7(25%)
	c	Very low proportion of the speakers within the total population of the country	12(43%)	8(29%)
	d	Loss of existing language domains	10(36%)	10(36%)
	e	Lack of response to media	10(36%)	8(29%)
	f	Lack of materials for language education and literacy	11(39%)	8(29%)
	g	Government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use in isolation	10(36%)	8(29%)
	h	Community members' pessimistic attitude towards their own languages	8(29%)	10(36%)
	i	Lack of documentation	12(43%)	5(18%)
	j	Low socio-economic status of the speakers	10(36%)	7(25%)
	k	Lack of access in opportunities	10(36%)	8(29%)
	l	Lack of motivation	9(32%)	5(18%)
	m	Old age of speakers	7(25%)	5(18%)
	n	Migration to urban areas and foreign countries for job or education	9(32%)	6(21%)

Table 5.1 explains that the respondents have provided the mixed type of responses in most of the situations. Most of the respondents have responded that the above mentioned things have shown that their language is endangered. Most of them have reported that their language has lack of the above factors. They (i.e. 72%) have convinced that their population is very low in term of

proportion of the speakers within the total population of the country. Likewise, they (i.e. 68%) have indicated that there is lack of materials for language education and literacy and also (i.e. 72%) of them have added that the loss of existing language domains is increasing. Almost 65% of them have pointed out the lack of access in opportunities in various sectors. Sixty-one percent of the respondents have declared that the 'lack of documentation' is another causing factor of the endangerment of the language. The almost all (i.e. 72%) of them supplemented that other significant factors for not using their mother tongue in day to day communication is the Government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use in isolation which may helpful in making planning and policies of the minority languages like Chepang.

In terms of level of the endangerment of language, in case of Chepang, most of the respondents claimed that their language is endangered. The situation of endangerment is shown in the Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Position of their language in terms of endangerment
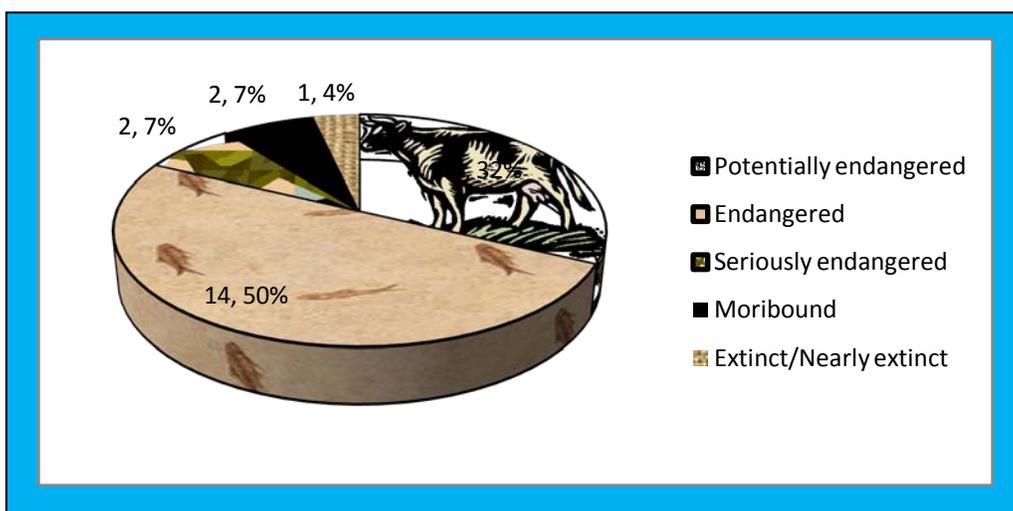
Figure 5.6 provides you a number of significant ideas of the current position of the endangerment of the Chepang language based on their own experiences. It shows that, among the total respondents, the 50% have reported that the Chepang language is endangered, the 32% of them reported it is potentially endangered, the 4% told it is extinct/nearly extinct, the 7% of them equally added to both seriously endangered and moribund.

5.3   Language maintenance and shift

The language maintenance means use of language properly as in speaking, reading, learning, writing, etc. In case of Chepang language, how is it maintained in the community and beyond? How does shifting take place in intergenerational situation among Chepangs? Such things are very much noteworthy for this study.

When the respondents were asked what languages had they been used when they were a child in different situation and places, the provided responses have been given in the following Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: The languages that s/he spoke when s/he was a child

What language/s did you speak when you	Chepang		Chepang and Nepali		Nepali	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
At home	7(25%)	10(36%)	4(14%)	3(11%)	2(7%)	2(7%)
With friends	5(18%)	6(21%)	6(21%)	6(21%)	3(11%)	2(7%)
With neighbors	5(18%)	7(25%)	6(21%)	6(21%)	2(7%)	2(7%)

Table 5.2 illustrates that when the respondents were children, they used to speak Chepang mainly at home and, sometimes with friends and neighbors. In comparison to Nepali, they used to speak Chepang most of the time at home, with friends and neighbors.

Because of being a multilingual community, Chepang use the languages other than their mother tongue which has been a slow poison for the whole Chepang identity. According to the respondents' responses, their language is taught at community schools. But there is no any mother tongue teacher in any respective schools. They are very much hopeful and eager to send their children to learn/study in their mother tongue. These situations have been shown in the Figure 5.7 below.

Figure 5.7: Situation of language endangerment in different aspects in Chepang
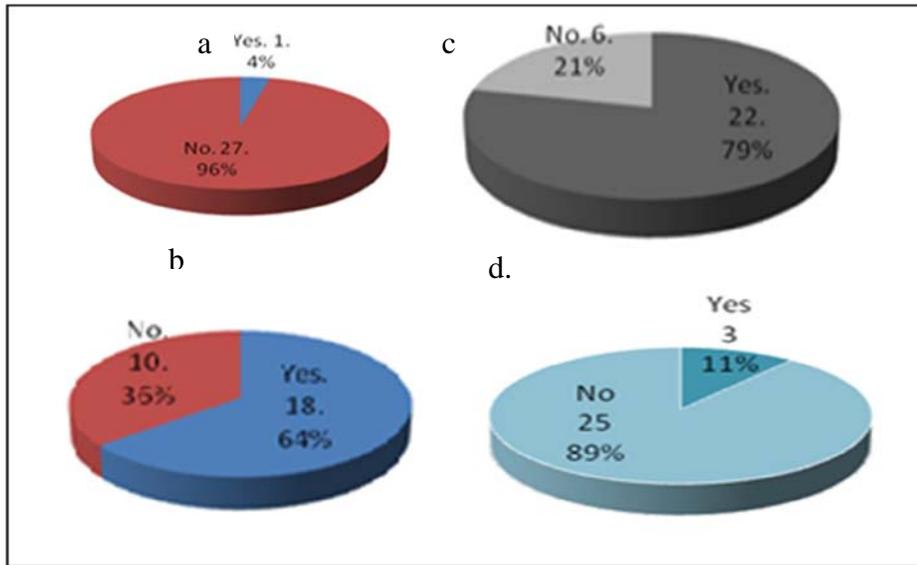
Figure 5.7 enlightens the real situation of the language endangerment situation in different factors. In response to the query solicited 'Is your mother tongue taught at your school or college?,' almost 96% of the respondents informed that their mother tongue is not taught at school or college as in Figure 5.7a. Likewise, in reply to the question asked, 'Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?', the majority of the respondents (i.e. 64%) agreed that the language other than mother tongue has been increasing at home as in Figure 5.7b. Similarly, Figure 5.7c shows you an idea about that most of the respondents (i.e. 79%) liked their children to learn/study in their own mother tongue in response to the question inquired, 'Do you like your children to learn/study in your mother tongue?'. Most of the respondents (i.e. 89%) have reported that there is no language teacher to teach their mother tongue.

If schools are opened for teaching their mother tongue almost all of them are unquestionably ready to help in various ways. They are geared up to support the schools based on the mother tongue (if opened) in various ways as table 5.3.

Table 5.3: The ways that they will support their mother tongue based school

Question	n=28	How	Sex	
			Male	Female
If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it?	a	By sending your children	13(46%)	13(46%)
	b	By encouraging other members to send their children	14(50%)	12(43%)
	c	By providing financial help	16(57%)	8(29%)
	d	By providing self-service	14(50%)	12(43%)
	e	Others	9(32%)	8(29%)

Table 5.3 shows that both male and female members of the community are equally ready to help by sending their children (92%), encouraging other members to send their children (93%), providing financial support (86%) and providing self-services (61%).

There is no any school run by their community members/organization to teach their mother tongue. If their community has published newspapers, magazines and/or books, they are eager to subscribe them. The willingness and positive efforts can be shown in the Figure 5.8.

Figure 5.8b: Whether they subscribe their publication of MT (if any) they have　　　　**Figure 5.8a: Is there any MT-based school run by community to teach MT**
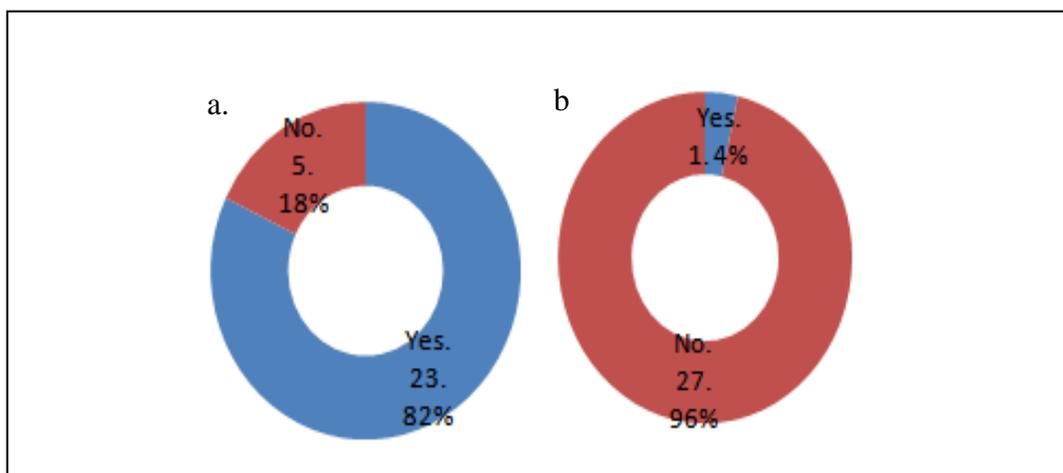
Figure 5.8b explains that almost 96% of the total respondents have reported that there is no school run by their own community to teach their mother tongue. But, if it is made they are always ready to help it in a number of ways. They have shown a lot of interest in helping the school in response to the question asked, "Will you help when mother tongue schools opened in your territory?". In the next one attached along side, almost 82% of the total respondents are ready to purchase the products in mother tongue. They are also standing by to subscribe the materials they have in their mother tongue.

Most of Chepang people are interested in purchasing the publications i.e. newspapers, magazines, books, etc. for their grandparents, parents, children, self and others as well. The readers of the publications in the Chepang language are shown in the table 5.4.

Table 5.4: The readers of the publication in their language

Question	n=28	Your…	Sex	
			Male	Female
Who will read the publications in your language?	a	Grandfather	3(11%)	1(4%)
	b	Grandmother	2(7%)	1(4%)
	c	Father	4(14%)	3(11%)
	d	Mother	3(11%)	2(7%)
	e	Self	11(39%)	9(32%)
	f	Spouse	9(32%)	6(21%)
	g	Children	12(43%)	9(32%)
	h	Others	7(25%)	6(21%)

Table 5.4 presents that the respondent him/herself; his/her spouse and children are the main readers of the products in mother tongue. Grandparents read a little bit for their interest and

66

engage themselves. Parents read a little bit more than grandparents. Others also read sometime for their interest.

As the respondents have reported, there are some radio/FM and TV programs in the Chepang language. When they were asked, "How often do you listen and watch those programs?" they replied differently. Some replied always, others said usually and the remaining replied sometimes as in Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9: How often do they listen /watch Radio/TV programs in their mother tongue.
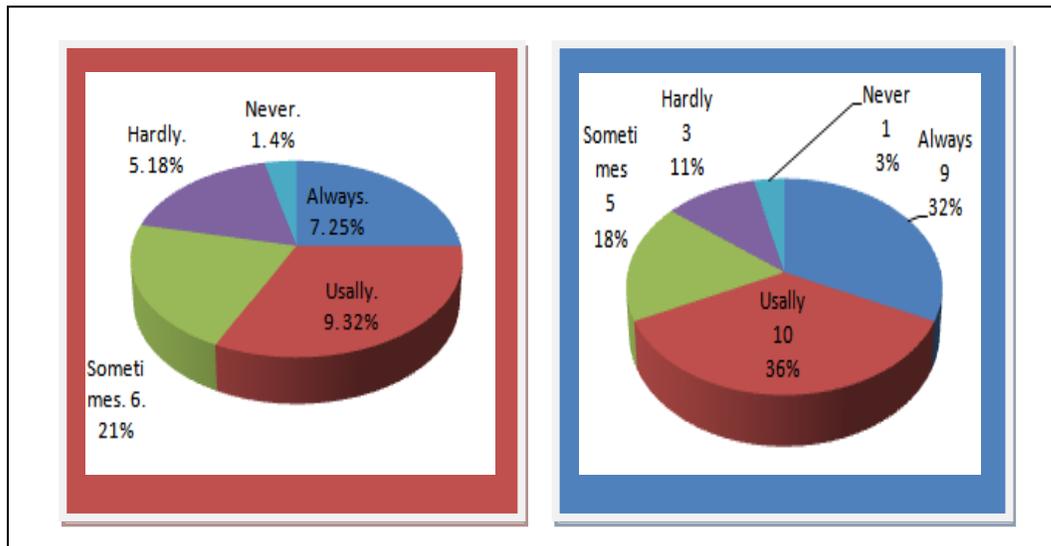
Figure 5.9 gives you an idea about the respondents' like towards their mother tongue in listening/watching radio/TV. The Figure 5.9b represents the radio/FM broadcast programs and it also shows that 36% of them usually listens the programs, 32% of them listen always, 18% listen sometimes, 11% listen hardly and 3% never listen the program. Similarly, Chart 13a represents the TV programs. The people, who have access in Television, watch the programs. Among the respondents who have access in Television, the 32% watch the programs usually, 25% always, 21% sometimes, 18% hardly and 4% never.

Chepang community is absolutely situated at multilingual society. In the Chepang community, almost of all the Chepang people are multi/bilingual. So, from childhood age Chepang children can learn other languages from their family. They start learning other languages from home, with friends and neighbors and later on at school. So, where do children speak which language is shown in the following Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: The languages that their children speak

Question	Chepang		Nepali		Tamang	
What languages do your children speak?	M	F	M	F	M	F
At home	8(29%)	7(25%)	6(21%)	7(25%)	-	-
With friends	6(21%)	6(21%)	8(29%)	7(25%)	1(4%)	-
With neighbors	6(21%)	6(21%)	7(25%)	7(25%)	1(4%)	1(4%)
At school	3(11%)	3(11%)	11(39%)	9(32%)	1(4%)	1(4%)

From Table 5.5, it declares that most of the children speak Chepang and Nepali at home. Out of homely environment, they speak more than two languages i.e. Chepang, Nepali and Tamang. Among these three languages, Nepali is widely spoken whereas Tamang is least. As the table shows, Chepang is used most (71%) and Nepali (46%) less at home. Nepali is employed most (54%) and Chepang (42%) with friends, Nepali (50%), Chepang (42%) and Tamang (8%) are used with neighbors and Nepali is working most (71%), Chepang (22%) and sometimes Tamang (8%) are used at schools.

5.4   Wrapping up

Most of the children from Chepang community speak their own mother tongue. Similarly, they believe that the children speak their MT even after getting married and when they grow old. Most of them have reported that the young people can speak their mother tongue as much effective as it ought to be spoken. They convince that Chepang is in the state of endangerment. Intergeneration language transmission is satisfactory. Almost 50% of respondent among five categories, have reported that the Chepang language is endangered, thirty-two percent; potentially endangered, seven percent both seriously endangered and moribund, and four percent; extinct/nearly extinct. To sum up, Chepang has positive Language transmission and vitality position.

Chapter 6

Mother tongue proficiency, bi/multilingualism and code mixing

6.0 Outline

This chapter includes mother tongue proficiency, bi/multilingualism and code mixing. The proficiency rate of the respondents in their mother tongue as well as in other languages has been tested in various angles in section 6.1. The code mixing is described in the second section 6.2. Finally, section 6.3 concludes the chapter in brief.

6.1. Mother tongue proficiency or bi/multilingualism

Mother tongue proficiency entails the one's ability to his/her expertise to understand, speak, read and write in his/her mother tongue. On the other hand, bilingualism can include speakers of different languages as well as those who speak several dialects or several sub-varieties of dialects in the same language. Chepang speakers are also found to have bilingualism. They can speak the Nepali language along with their mother tongue. Most Chepang speakers are able to practice code-switching, whether it is from language to language or dialect to dialect, and the processes involved in such a capability may be the same in both cases. Children's learning two languages simultaneously demonstrates the processes at work in code-switching and language development.

To find out the mother tongue proficiency and bilingualism particularly in children, it is necessary to find out whether the children understand Nepali language used by their teacher when they first go to school or not. Here, it is tried to find out their attitude towards the understanding of Nepali by their children at school. Table 6.1 shows the responses of the respondents.

Table 6.1: Understanding Nepali by the children first going to school

Question	n=28	Responses		
		Yes	No	A Little bit
The small children going to school for the first time can understand Nepali at class room by their teachers?		7(25%)	7(25%)	14(50%)

Table 6.1 shows that only 25% of the respondents responded that the small children going to school for the first time can understand Nepali at classroom that is taught by their teachers. On the contrary, the same percentage of them answered that they do not understand. Almost 50% of them have reported that the small children going to school for the first time can understand Nepali a little bit taught at classroom by their teachers. We come to know from the evidence that not more than 25% can understand the Nepali language in the classroom. The children who do not understand the Nepali language in the classroom, and those who understand only a little bit must have felt difficulty in understanding the contents that were taught in the classroom. This is very painful for those who cannot understand Nepali. It is difficult for them to enjoy in understanding and learning activities. This will certainly help in increasing the school dropout rate of the children.

It is equally important to determine how a speaker is capable in his/her mother tongue to find out its mother tongue proficiency. In response to the question asked, 'How proficient are you in your mother tongue/first language?,' most of the Chepangs (both male and female) are found to have good proficient in understanding and speaking the Chepang language as shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Mother tongue proficiency

n=28	Mother Tongue	Good		Average		Little	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
How proficient are you in your MT/L1?	Understand	10(35%)	12(43%)	3(11%)	3(10%)	-	-
	Speak	10(35%)	12(43%)	2(7%)	4(14%)	-	-
	Read	8(29%)	4(14%)	5(18%)	3(11%)	5(18%)	3(11%)
	Write	6(21%)	4(14%)	5(18%)	3(11%)	6(21%)	4(14%)

Table 6.2 concludes that the Chepang people are most conscious and aware about their mother tongues because almost all the respondents responded that they understand their mother tongue very well, and only least of them are average proficient. It is also observed during the field survey that both literate and pre-literate Chepang people can speak their mother tongue in a good manner. The literate Chepang people are able to read and write their mother tongue in the script they have been literate so far. From the comparison made above, it is seen that the male people are more literate and proficient than the female ones in especially reading and writing. It is because of male dominance in education in the Chepang community.

The most of the Chepang people of villages have multilingual settings except Maisirang, Raksirang, Lothar of Makwanpur district; and Korak, Siddi, Majbang and Kaule of Chitawan district. That is why, most of the Chepang people are found bilingual and few of them are multilingual, too, as in table 6.3. They have multicultural and multilingual situation in/around their villages.

Table 6.3: Other languages that s/he speaks

n=28	Other languages	Sex	
		Male	Female
What other languages do you speak?	Nepali	14(50%)	14(50%)
	Tamang	5(18%)	4(14%)
	Hindi	6(21%)	-
	English	4(14%)	1(4%)
	Magar	3(11%)	1(4%)
	Gurung	2(7%)	1(4%)
	Tharu	1(4%)	-
	Bhojpuri	1(4%)	-
	Maithili	1(4%)	-
	Rai Danuwar	1(4%)	-
	Urdhu	1(4%)	-
	Bansali	1(4%)	-

Table 6.3 provides a clear idea that there are a number of languages (i.e. Nepali, Hindi, Magar, Tharu, Gurung, Bhojpur) spoken in/around the Chepang locality. Almost all the respondents are bilingual i.e. they equally speak Nepali (100%) along with their mother tongue. Similarly, thirty-two percent of the respondents from both male (18%) and female (14%) are bilingual in Tamng. Among them, only 6% male respondents can speak Hindi language as they had to go India for

the job. Some of them know the other neighboring languages like Magar (15%), Gurung (11%), Tharu (4%) and Rai Danuwar (4%), Bansali (4%), Urdu (4%) along with English (18%) the language of education and science and technology.

In fact, we noticed that Chepang people are sent percent bilingual. So, their proficiency test of other languages is essential to know. The respondents were asked, "How proficient are you in other languages?". The responses which they provided have been presented in the following table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Proficiency of other languages

n=28	Nepali Language	Good		Average		Little	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
How proficient are you in other languages?	Understand	10(36%)	12(43%)	3(11%)	3(11%)	-	-
	Speak	10(36%)	12(43%)	2(7%)	4(14%)	-	-
	Read	8(29%)	4(14%)	5(18%)	3(11%)	5(18%)	3(11%)
	Write	6(21%)	4(14%)	5(18%)	3(11%)	6(21%)	4(14%)

From table 6.4, it can be extracted that the second language they speak most is Nepali (100%). The almost of all Chepang people understand and speak Nepali language. They can interact very well with the people beyond their community. The table 6.4 elucidates that most of the respondents (79%) responded that they understand Nepali language well and few (22%) of them understand in average. While 79% of them can speak well and 21% of them can speak in average. But, in cases of reading and writing, they are not so well proficient because out of total respondents, 43% can read well, 29% can read in average and 29% can read a little. Similarly, only 35% can write well, 29% can write in average and 35% can write a little. So, from the data we can come to conclude that almost all the Chepang people are literate but not so much educated that they can read and write very well in their second language i.e. Nepali.

Few of the respondents who have been away from their villages for their employment, have informed that they can also understand Tamang, Hindi, Magar, Gurung in average and speak a little in those languages. The following table 6.5 has presented the data.

Table 6.5: Proficiency of other languages except Nepali

n=28	Language Skills	Good				Average				Little			
		T	M	E	H	T	M	E	H	T	M	E	H
How proficient are you in other languages except Nepali language?	Understand	14%	7%	4%	4%	4%	7%	4%	4%	7%	11%	7%	7%
	Speak	7%	4%	4%	4%	11%	7%	4%	7%	4%	7%	4%	4%
	Read	-	-	4%	4%	4%	-	4%	7%	4%	-	4%	4%
	Write	-	-	4%	4%	-	-	4%	7%	7%	-	4%	4%

Note: T= Tamang, M= Magar, E= English, H= Hindi

From table 6.5, it can be extracted that the out goers Chepang people can understand Tamang (14%), Magar (7%), English (4%) and Hindi (4%) well whereas in average understanding in Tamang is (7%), Magar (4%), English (4%) and Hindi (7%). And few of them responded that they can understand a little as Tamang (7%), Magar (11%), English (7%) and Hindi (7%). Almost in the same range, it is seen that they can speak well, average and a little. But, only 4 percent respondents admitted that they can read and write both English and Hindi well. The four to seven percent respondents can read and write English and Hindi in average. Similarly, the same number of them, can read and write a little Tamang (4%-7%), English (4%) and Hindi (4%).

In fact, most of Chepang people are multilingual. They can understand and speak many languages i.e. Nepali, Hindi, Tamang, Magar, Tharu, English, Bengali, Bhojpuri. In response to the question asked them, 'Where did you learn the languages other than your mother tongue/first language?", most of them responded that they have learnt these languages in different places i.e. society, School, villages, with friends, neighborhood by speaking, studying, talking, playing, interacting, listening, watching movies and serials, watching TV programs, listening radio

broadcastings in those languages. As Nepali is the dominant language of the area, all can easily understand and speak at home or beyond. The other people, who are multilingual, have learnt these languages in course of working for their livelihood in neighboring villages and/or in foreign land.

From the attempt above, we came to know that all the respondents whom we consulted during this survey, are multilingual. They are well competent in other languages. It guided the surveyors to find out the fact of their elder generations whether they were/are multilingual or not. If their parents and grandparents are multi/bilingual, then it shows that they have a kind of inherent capacity of learning more languages at a time. If not, then it will show that now they are going abroad for earning their livelihood and being in contact with other than Chepang people. So, to comprehend this situation, have a look at the following table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Other languages known to his/her …

n=28	What other languages known to your …											
Lgs	Grandfather		Grandmother		Father		Mother		Spouse		Children	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
N	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)	14(50%)
T	2(7%)	3(11%)	3(11%)	2(7%)	4(14%)	4(14%)	2(7%)	2(7%)	1(4%)	-	-	-
M	1(4%)	1(4%)	2(7%)	1(4%)	3(11%)	2(7%)	1(4%)	-	1(4%)	-	-	-
G	1(4%)	1(4%)	1(4%)	-	1(4%)	-	1(4%)	-	-	-	-	-
Th	1(4%)	1(4%)	-	-	1(4%)	-	-	-	1(4%)	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3(11%)	2(7%)
H	-	-	-	-	1(4%)	-	-	-	-	-	2(7%)	1(4%)

Note: N= Nepali, T= Tamang, M= Magar, G= Gurung, Th= Tharu, E= English and, H= Hindi

Table 6.6 indicates that adult Chepang people, especially males, can speak many languages. Nepali is the most for them in their daily lives. The female Chepangs who usually go beyond their locality know more languages. In the case of spouses who are mainly housewives probably

know fewer languages in comparison to the out walker women. While in case of children, they know only Nepali and English as their second language. They learn these languages in their school. Now, we can claim that it is not their recent acquiring capacity of many languages at a time but it is their inherent property that they have been granted by their grandparents to their parents and in turn their parents to themselves.

In case of scripts, as the respondents stated, Chepang does not have its own script. The Devanagari script has been used for writing the Chepang language. Most of literate Chepang people are familiar with the Devanagari script. They know only two scripts namely: Devanagari and Roman. The responses that they have responded while asking 'Which script/s do you know?, is shown as in the Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Scripts they can read and write
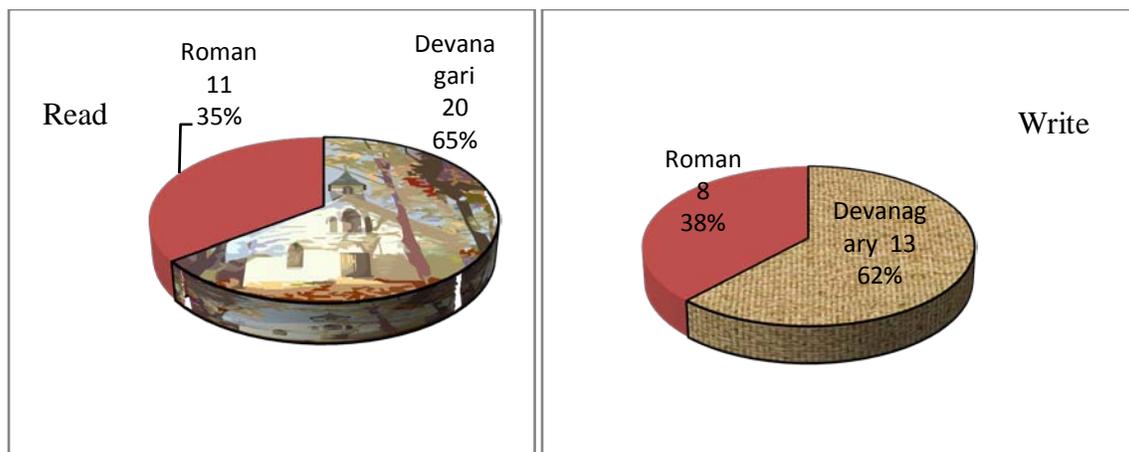
From the chart 14, we can see that the literate Chepang people can read and write in Devanagari script 65% and 62% respectively. Similarly, they can also read 35% and write 38% in Roman script.

As they can read and write in Devanagari and Roman scripts, 'Can they translate their mother tongue to other languages and from other languages to their mother tongue? Some of the language consultants have responded that they can do. So, from one language to the other that they can do has been tabulated in the following table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Languages to be translated in and translated from

Language to which you can translate…	…from your MT		…to your MT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nepali	18(64%)	10(36%)	18(64%)	10(36%)
Tamang	3(11%)	2(7%)	5(18%)	2(7%)
Hindi	1(4%)	1(4%)	3(11%)	-
English	4(14%)	1(4%)	2(7%)	1(4%)
Magar	1(4%)	-	1(4%)	-
Gurung	-	-	1(4%)	-
Tharu	1(4%)	-	1(4%)	-
Bhojpuri	1(4%)	-	1(4%)	-
Rai Danuwar	-	-	1(4%)	-
Bansali	-	-	1(4%)	-

From table 6.7, it can be understood that almost of all Chepang people can translate from their own mother tongue to Nepali and From Nepali to their own mother tongue and vice versa. Only few Chepang people those who understand and speak other languages like Tamang, Gurung, Hindi, English, Magar cannot easily translate them. It indicates that only literate people can do it in other languages like English and Tamang.

When a small child goes to school, s/he cannot understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. The respondents believe that s/he will be able to understand everything at the age of around 3 to 12 years of age. It will depend on the individual children. Some will understand

earlier and others later. But somehow in average of ten years of age, all the children can understand that their Nepali speaking teacher says/instructs them in their classroom.

In response to the question asked, 'Which types of people speak language of wider communication (LWC) well?, the respondents have reported that the out goers, businessmen, teachers, youths, children, employers, officers, political leaders, social workers, educated, the people who are in inter-cast marriage, etc. use to speak the LWC. In the contrary, they responded that housewives, older people, farmers, illiterate people, children, local leaders, local social workers, etc. use to speak the first language more than the other people in the village. They also bitterly say that the LWC is increasing slowly and gradually in their community. Figure 6.2 shows the views of the respondents below:

Figure 6.2: whether the language of wider communication is increasing in the community
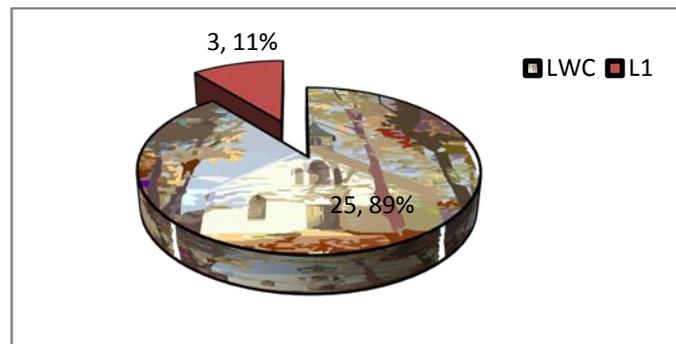
Figure 6.2 reveals that most (i.e. 89%) of the total respondents have reported that the number of speakers of LWC have been amplifying heavily. While, only 11% of them have reported the incensement of the first language. The incensement of the number of speakers of LWC instead of the first language is not very good sign for the language vitality. This trend may lead the Chepang language into an endangered condition in near future.

6.2   Code mixing

Because of living in multilingual society, each and every person use code mixing and switching in their speeches. Probably, there will be none who speak without using code switching and code mixing. The same case is found in the Chepang community. All Chepang people are multi/bilingual in this way or that. In their daily lives, they use maximum code mixing and code switching deliberately or unknowingly. Why do they do it? The responses/reasons provided by them are given separately below in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Whether they generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language
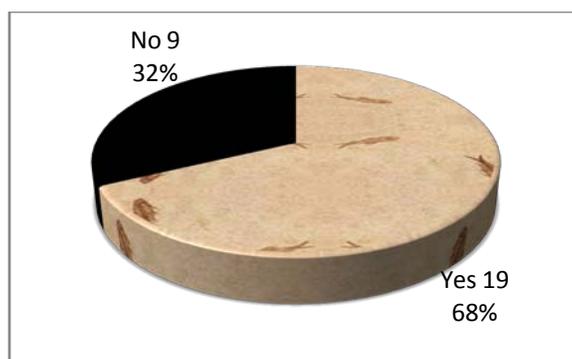
From Figure 6.3, it can be seen that most of the respondents (i.e. 68%) responded that "Yes" they generally mix and switch to other languages while speaking their own language. On the contrary, the fewer of them (i.e. 32%) responded that "No" they do not mix and switch to other languages while speaking their own language.

Most of the respondents generally mix and switch to other languages while speaking their language. Why do you do so? The reason, behind it, responded by them are shown in table 6.8.

Table 6.8: Reason behind code mixing/switching

Question	n=28	Reasons behind code mixing/switching	Sex	
			Male	Female
...If yes give reasons.	a	Appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in	16(57%)	10(36%)
	b	It is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages	15(54%)	8(29%)
	c	It is a symbol of prestige to use sentences and words from other languages.	9(32%)	4(14%)
	d	Any other	2(7%)	2(7%)

In table 6.8, it can be clearly acknowledged that 93% of the total respondents proudly responded "Yes". They do so because appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages. The 83% of them said, "It is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages." The 46% of them responded, "It is a symbol of prestige to use sentences and words from other languages." And the least 14% of them do for other unknown reasons.

As we are reported that they have been mixing and switching other languages for various reasons while speaking their own language. But, how do they feel on this respect? What are their feelings? They are represented in the following table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Feelings of mixing words from other languages

Question	n=28	Feelings of mixing words from other languages	Sex	
How do you think about mixing words from other languages?			Male	Female
	A	It will enrich your language	5(18%)	4(14%)
	B	It will spoil the beauty and purity of your language.	10(36%)	14(50%)
	C	It will make your language more intelligible.	9(32%)	5(18%)
	D	Any other	1(4%)	1(4%)

From table 6.9, we can get that only few (i.e. 32%) of them are sure that the mixing/switching will enrich their language. On the contrary, the most of them (i.e. 86%) are sure that it will spoil the beauty and purity of their language. However, some of them (i.e. 50%) believe that it will make their language more intelligible. And, some of them (i.e. 8%) do not believe that it will do well for their language.

The respondents, in fact, seem worry about their language. Due to impact of mixing and switching to other languages while speaking their own language, who do use more either old age speakers or younger generation? Is the way of your speech different or same with your grandparents? Do your children mix other languages more than you do? Such responses are given in the following Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: Whether the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and their children do more than them
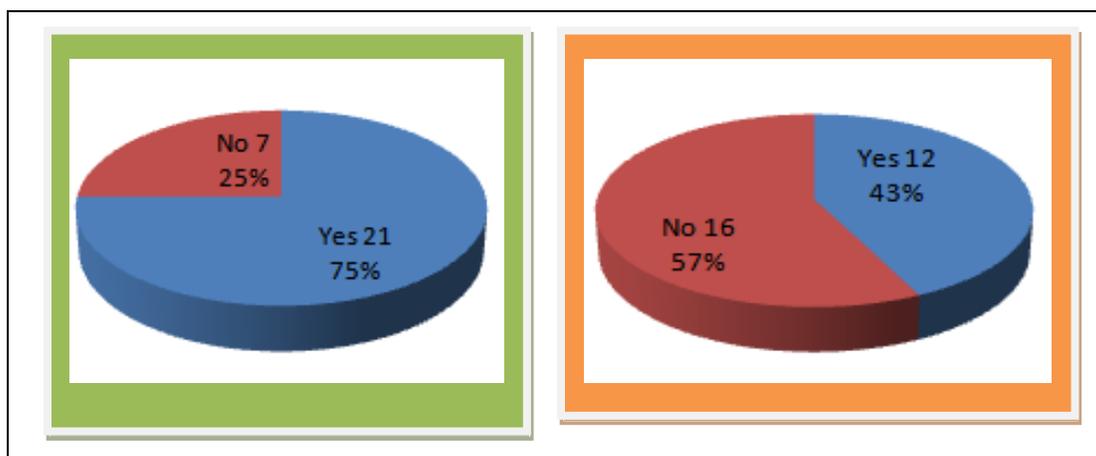
From Figure 6.4, the figure on the right shows that the 57% of the respondents' speech is not different and only the 43% of the respondents' spoken language is different from their grandparents. The figure on the left side shows 75% of the respondents' children mix more than them. On the contrary, only 25% of the respondents' children mix less than them.

It seems that a few respondents' spoken is a little bit different from their grandparents. So, how and in which part of their speech is differ is analyzed in the following table 6.10.

Table 6.10: Language spoken by him/her is different from his/her grandparents

Question	n=28	In different terms of …	Sex	
			Male	Female
...If yes in terms of…	a	Pronunciation	6(21%)	5(18%)
	b	Vocabularies	10(36%)	8(29%)
	c	Formation of certain sentences	4(14%)	3(11%)
	d	Mixing of other languages	5(18%)	3(11%)
	e	Way of speaking	5(18%)	4(14%)

From table 6.10, it can be seen that the differences occur in pronunciation (39%), vocabulary (65%), formation of certain sentences (25%), mixing of other languages (29%), and way of speaking (32%). We can comprehend that 39% of them pronounce differently as their grandparents pronounce. Most of them i.e. 65% reported that their vocabulary is very weak so that they probably switch and mix other languages. Among them, 25% respondents attested that their 'formation of certain sentences' is probably different from their grandparents and parents because they feel proud of mixing and switch to the formation and structure of certain sentences of other languages. The 29% of them mix other languages while speaking in their mother tongue because they feel easy to pick up some familiar words and easily adjust them in their speech to convey the message straightforwardly what they want to say in their mother tongue. Lastly, but very much common and particularly happen phenomenon is the way of speaking (32%) which is also different from their grandparents/parents because of influences of other peripheral languages in which they have been educated so far.

6.3   Wrapping up

We summarizes that the mother tongue proficiency is somehow satisfactory in terms of their competences in using their language in different sectors. Most of them can understand and speak their mother tongue, while only the literate people can read and write their mother tongue. Likewise, most of them are found to have bilingual in Nepali as a language of wider communication. Some of them can speak Tamang, Magar, Gurung, and English, too.

Chapter 7

Language resources and appreciative inquiry

7.0   Outline

This chapter deals with the two aspects of Chepang language, namely, language resources and the appreciative inquiry. Section 7.1 discusses about the language resources that may be helpful in finding out the actual properties of the particular language in one hand, and it is important to find out the speakers' awareness over those resources. Section7.2 describes the appreciative inquiry which tries to identify the various roles of the individual, community, NGOs/INGOs, and the government, and things that they have to do for the development of the Chepang language and culture. Lastly, Section 7.3 summarizes the analysis and findings of the chapter.

7.1   Language resources

Language resources here represent the resources that are used in Chepang language. The process of identifying these resources was not by investigation, but by taking their responses through questionnaire. The questionnaire has contained some guidelines to the respondents so that they can remember and understand the situation and respond accordingly to the surveyors to fulfill the purpose and goals of this survey.

In reply to the query inquired, 'What are the materials does your language have?, tick for the following', almost all the respondents have reported that they have rich oral literature as in table 7.1.

Table 7.1: The language resources of the Chepang language

n=27	Language resources	Percentage	Language resources	Percentage
What are the materials does your language have?	Oral literature	27(100%)	News paper	6(22%)
	Script	13(48%)	Magazines	7(26%)
	Orthography	12(44%)	Cinema	6(22%)
	Grammar	8(30%)	Telefilms	12(44%)
	Dictionary	9(33%)	CD, DVD	4(15%)
	Textbook	9(33%)	Others	-
	Literature	9(33%)	-	-

Table 7.1 shows that all the respondents have responded that they have enough oral literatures in their mother tongue. Secondly, nearly half (i.e.48%) of them have responded that they have script of their own (pretending Devanagari one). Almost 44% have claimed that they have orthography and tele-films. Besides, the Chepang language, according to the respondents, has grammar (30%), dictionary (33%), textbooks (33%), literature (33%), newspaper (22%), magazines (26%), cinema (22%) and CD/DVD (15%). The most dominant resource is the oral literature. It strongly emphasizes that Chepang has its own rich oral literature and its rich oral literary traditions.

7.2   Appreciative Enquiry

In this section, the things that appreciate the community members to encourage them to preserve, promote and develop their mother tongue and ethnic culture. Some of the appreciative inquiries have been considered through the time of survey in major core areas (density areas of Chepang people). For the appreciative inquiry, the two major types of tools, i.e. the questionnaire for the individual and collective discussion through the participatory methods were used to find out actual properties of their mother tongue, dreams behind the mother tongue, and the major duties

and responsibilities of an individual, community, NGOs/INGOs, and the government to do for the development of their mother tongue. They made a comprehensive plan-proposal in their own perception in the local community level.[1]

Photograph 18 indicates the step-by-step activities of the focus-group discussion through participatory method from which the participants made their conclusions making a clear picture to do something for their language on their own efforts at individual, community and government levels. In photograph (18), they had been asked and suggested to note down their points which were applicable in fulfilling their dreams for developing their language and culture.

It is to be noted from the photograph 18 that the Chepang speakers made plan themselves to develop their mother tongue. It was found from the focus-group discussion that the Chepang language had a number of properties and things that make them feel proud of. They mentioned that their language is a symbol of national property. It has social custom and culture, folktales, folk legends, oral literature, folksongs, myths, phonetic inventory, Bible translation, albums, history of its own, traditional knowledge, social functions, secret things, kinship terms and so on.

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[1] In the appreciative inquiry, we come to the conclusion after the focus-group-discussion through the participatory method. For this process, firstly they were given certain instructions to follow up and asked questions to perform the activities accordingly. They answered by the writing on the meta-cards after the discussion of each question step-by-step. They drew the things relating to their mother tongue that made them feel proud of, the things could be done to correct them more precisely, dreams behind their mother tongue, they made hierarchy of the dreams on the basis of their possibility fulfillment and implementation as some might be easily fulfilled and implemented, while other might take longer time. Finally, they made a comprehensive proposal-plan to develop their language and culture, in individual level, community level, INGs/INGOs, and the level of the government. They could make both short-term and long-term plan. This plan was read out finally so that all the participants could make comments if they had to do more with the plan.

Photograph 7.1: Participants engagement for developing their mother tongue

Likewise, they considered that their mother tongue is polite and civilized, rich in vocabulary, uniqueness among other languages, practical to their lives, prestigious among other dominant community, sweet, melodious and pure till the date. That is why, the Chepang people feel very much proud of their mother tongue.

In response to the question asked individually, "What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?', the responses are summarized in table 7.2.

Table 7.2: The things in his/her language that make s/he feels proud of

Question	n=28	Things that make you feel proud of your mother tongue:	Sex		
			Male	Female	Total
What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?	a	National property	13(46%)	10(36%)	82%
	b	Social custom and culture	12(43%)	9(32%)	75%
	c	Nature of language	5(18%)	4(14%)	32%
	d	Folktales	13(46%)	11(39%)	85%
	e	Folk legends	5(18%)	4(14%)	32%
	f	Oral literature	9(32%)	7(25%)	57%
	g	Phonetic inventory	5(18%)	2(7%)	25%
	h	Bible translation	4(14%)	1(4%)	18%
	i	Album	6(21%)	2(7%)	28%
	j	Folk songs	13(46%)	11(39%)	85%
	k	Polite and civilized	14(50%)	13(46%)	96%
	l	Rich	13(46%)	12(43%)	89%
	m	Poems	11(39%)	9(32%)	71%
	n	Uniqueness in language	7(25%)	4(14%)	34%
	o	History	14(50%)	12(43%)	93%
	p	Film	4(14%)	1(4%)	18%
	q	Peace	9(32%)	7(25%)	67%
	r	Practical	10(36%)	11(39%)	75%
	s	Prestigious	8(29%)	5(18%)	47%
	t	Social science	5(18%)	3(11%)	29%
	u	Worship	3(11%)	2(7%)	18%
	v	Knowledge	6(21%)	3(11%)	32%
	w	Social function	5(18%)	1(4%)	22%
	x	Myths	5(18%)	4(14%)	32%
	y	Mother tongue	4(14%)	3(11%)	25%

	z	Melodious	6(21%)	4(14%)	35%
	aa	Pure	13(46%)	12(43%)	89%
	ab	Sweet	14(50%)	12(43%)	93%
	ac	Secret things	10(36%)	11(39%)	75%
	ad	Kinship terms	14(50%)	12(43%)	93%

Table 7.2 notes down that the community members are very much active and beware of their language and culture. In order to develop, promote and preserve their language, Chepang people already have such required things as national property, social custom and culture, nature of language, folktales, folk legends, oral literature, phonetic inventory, bible translation, album, folk songs, polite and civilized, rich, poems, uniqueness in language, history, film, peace, practical, prestigious, social science, worship, knowledge, social function, myths, mother tongue, melodious, pure, sweet, secret things and kinship terms in their own language. Most of the respondents have reported that their language has had very rich oral literary traditions.

Table 7.3: Dreams of the speakers towards their mother tongue

Question	n=28	Dreams of your mother tongue	Sex	
			Male	Female
What are the dreams for your mother tongue?	a	Use in education/Primary school should be opened in mother tongue:	12(43%)	10(36%)
	b	Textbook publications	10(36%)	8(29%)
	c	Chepang should be recognized as national language	5(18%)	3(11%)
	d	Chepang culture should be identified at national level	4(14%)	2(7%)
	e	Use in administration	8(29%)	7(25%)
	f	Use in media	9(32%)	7(25%)
	g	To preserve and promote the language	6(21%)	5(18%)
	h	Effective language should be made	3(11%)	1(4%)
	i	Chepang language teacher	6(21%)	4(14%)
	j	Folk songs should be collected	12(43%)	11(39%)
	k	Film and telefilm should be made	5(18%)	3(11%)
	l	Interaction in mother tongue	8(29%)	7(25%)
	m	Language should be taught to whom they do not s speak	9(32%)	3(11%)
	n	All Chepang should speak language	5(18%)	3(11%)
	o	Development of literature	6(21%)	5(18%)
	p	Equal status as other languages	9(32%)	8(29%)
	q	Cultural programs	8(29%)	7(25%)
	r	Language development	9(32%)	5(18%)
	s	Language organization	7(25%)	4(14%)

Obviously, the Chepang language is very rich in oral literary tradition. They are definitely aware of their mother tongue and its importance of usages. Although, they have some ambitious dreams that they want to see their language well furnished, well developed and advanced in near future.

Table 7.3 shows the dreaming factors of their mother tongue. They have dreams of their mother tongue that to be used in education, publications, ethnic and linguistic identity at national level, administration, media, language teachers and mother tongue schools; folksongs, albums, film, telefilms are to be conducted well and so on. They hope if these dreams would become true in near future, then certainly their language and culture would be developed, promoted and preserved/archived.

You have obvious dreams of your mother tongue. So, 'Can you fulfill your dreams yourselves? or you wish some other person/sectors would be involved in achieving your dreams as real'. The table 7.4 identifies the persons and relative sectors that would directly or indirectly be involved; as:

Table 7.4: The people to be involved to materialize their dreams

Question	n=28	The persons to be involved to materialize your dreams:	Sex	
			Male	Female
To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?	a	Government	13(46%)	11(39%)
	b	Community	14(50%)	13(46%)
	c	NGOs/INGOs	10(36%)	9(32%)
	d	Linguists	9(32%)	6(21%)
	e	Social workers	10(36%)	9(32%)
	F	Politicians	9(32%)	8(29%)
	g	Schools	9(32%)	7(25%)
	h	Neighbors	12(43%)	10(36%)
	i	Political parties	6(21%)	7(25%)
	j	Nepal Chepang Organization	5(18%)	9(32%)
	k	Individuals	10(36%)	7(25%)
	l	Media	9(32%)	6(21%)
	m	Other concern bodies	7(25%)	9(32%)

From Table 7.4, it is clarified that various sectors would have been involved in order to enhance their dreams. As stated in the table above, the government (85%), community (96%),

NGOs/INGOs (68%), Linguists (53%), social workers (68%), politicians (61%), schools (57%), neighbors (79%), political parties (46%), Nepal Chepang Organization (50%), individuals (61%), media (53%) and other concern bodies (57%) as well would be honestly or in a roundabout way involved.

Among the above stated concerning bodies for fulfilling their imaginations, the community is the most and highest claim of all the respondents. So, 'What things can be done by the community itself?'. The initiation of the community's roles has been enlisted in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5: Community's initiation for promoting its language

Question	n=28	Community can do itself:	Sex	
			Male	Female
To promote your language what the community can do itself?	a	Giving pressure to the government	7(25%)	5(18%)
	b	Volunteer service	13(46%)	10(36%)
	c	Make rules and regulations	5(18%)	3(11%)
	d	Collect and write oral literatures	10(36%)	6(21%)
	e	Social awareness programs	6(21%)	4(14%)
	f	Manpower production	3(11%)	2(7%)
	g	Help in opening school	10(36%)	8(29%)
	h	Language preservation	6(21%)	4(14%)
	i	Teaching language	9(32%)	5(18%)
	j	Cultural programs	9(32%)	6(21%)
	k	By collecting fund	9(32%)	8(29%)
	l	Providing land for school	3(11%)	1(4%)
	m	Use in media	7(25%)	3(11%)
	n	Language development	5(18%)	2(7%)
	o	By speaking language	10(36%)	9(32%)
	p	Publicity of language	5(18%)	4(14%)
	q	Writing language books	5(18%)	1(4%)
	r	Getting/giving advice	5(18%)	3(11%)
	s	Use in administration	9(32%)	4(14%)
	t	School management	4(14%)	1(4%)
	u	Community unification	8(29%)	7(25%)

Table 7.5 reveals that the community can obviously do a lot of works itself to comprehend their dreams. So, the insightful activities commenced by the community with percentage are: giving pressure to the government (43%), volunteer service (82%), make rules and regulations (29%), collect and write oral literatures (57%), social awareness programs (35%), manpower production (18%), help in opening school (65%), language preservation (35%), teaching language (50%),

cultural programs (53%), collecting fund (61%), providing land for school (15%), using in media (36%), language development (25%), by speaking language (68%), publicity of language (32%), writing language books (22%), getting/giving advice (29%), use in administration (46%), school management (18%) and community unification (54%).

From the above explanation, it is declared that the community is the sole sector that can do a lot of things to develop, promote and preserve their language and culture. However, it is not all the sufficient thing. Along with the community, there are other important and responsible sectors that would help from their respective areas. The respondents were asked "What kinds of support do you expect from the government and non-government organizations?". The respondents expect that the government and non-government should do a lot of things as listed in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: The Government and non-government should do to promote their language

Question	n=28	The government and non-government should do…	Sex	
			Male	Female
To promote your language what the Government and non-government should do?	a	Financial subsidies	16(57%)	11(39%)
	b	Free higher education	7(25%)	5(18%)
	c	Management of native teachers	10(36%)	8(29%)
	d	Policy of multilingual teaching	11(39%)	9(32%)
	e	Employment	3(11%)	2(7%)
	f	Mother tongue school	13(46%)	12(43%)
	g	School infrastructure	5(18%)	4(14%)
	h	Textbook, reading materials publication and distribution	9(32%)	8(29%)
	i	Language preservation and promotion	5(18%)	3(11%)
	j	Organizations for language preservation	9(32%)	7(25%)
	k	Teachers' training	8(29%)	6(21%)
	l	Legal recognition of language	3(11%)	2(7%)
	m	Encouragement	6(21%)	5(18%)
	n	Cultural programs	8(29%)	4(14%)
	o	Awareness programs	7(25%)	9(32%)
	p	Use in media	7(25%)	6(21%)
	q	Album of songs	6(21%)	5(18%)
	r	Phonetic inventory	5(18%)	1(4%)
	s	Mention in constitution	16(57%)	10(36%)
	t	Use in administration	4(14%)	3(11%)
	u	Other	2(7%)	1(4%)

The table 7.6 shows the activities that the government and non-government agencies should do for their language and community. They have mostly expected financial subsidies (96%), mention in constitution (93%), management of native teachers (65%), policy of multilingual teaching (71%) and opening of mother tongue schools (89%). Apart from these, there are some other important things as free higher education (43%), employment (18%), school infrastructure (32%), textbook, reading materials publication and distribution (61%), language preservation and promotion (29%), organizations for language preservation (57%), teacher's training (50%), legal recognition of language (18%), encouragement (39%), cultural programs (43%), awareness

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programs (57%), use in media (46%), album of songs (39%), phonetic inventory (22%), use in administration (25%) and other (11%).

Apart from the government and non-government and even community, the individual's role is most crucial in achieving goals of any task. So, the role of the individuals that they have to do is mentioned in table 7.7.

Table 7.7: Role of individual in promoting his/her mother tongue

Question	n=28	their roles in promotion of their mother tongue:	Sex	
How can you support the promotion of your mother tongue?			Male	Female
	a	By devising the script	12(43%)	10(36%)
	b	By making the systematic spelling system	11(39%)	8(29%)
	c	By compiling a dictionary	15(54%)	7(25%)
	d	By writing grammar	21(75%)	5(18%)
	e	By writing literature in mother tongue	13(46%)	12(43%)
	f	By publishing textbooks	12(43%)	10(36%)
	g	By publishing newspapers	13(46%)	12(43%)
	h	By making use of the language in administration	15(54%)	6(21%)
	i	By making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	18(64%)	10(36%)

Table 7.7 elucidates the individual's roles that they can contribute for developing their mother tongue. They can contribute by: devising the script (79%), making the systematic spelling system (68%), compiling a dictionary (79%), writing grammar (93%), writing literature in mother tongue (89%), publishing textbooks (97%), publishing newspapers (89%), making use of the language in administration (75%) and making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level (100%). They are most committed in using their mother tongue as medium of instruction at primary level of their community school. It is one of the good sign in promotion, preservation and development of the mother tongue of the native speakers.

As we have a lot of information that would help in promoting, preserving and developing their language and culture, they were asked 'What things, in your opinion, to be done from the government?'. So, at the last but not the least, the responses have been enlisted in table 7.8.

Table 7.8: Things to be done for the development of their mother tongue

Question	n=28	Things to be done for the development of their mother tongue:	Sex	
			Male	Female
In your opinion, what things are to be done for the development of your language?	a	Textbook/teaching materials	16(57%)	10(36%)
	b	Management of Chepang teachers	13(46%)	11(39%)
	c	Mother tongue school	15(54%)	13(46%)
	d	Script development	5(18%)	2(7%)
	e	Dictionary writing	10(36%)	7(25%)
	f	Language related programs	5(18%)	2(7%)
	g	Teach the language to children from very beginning	13(46%)	9(32%)
	h	Grammar writing	8(29%)	5(18%)
	i	Literature	7(25%)	4(14%)
	j	Use in media	11(39%)	6(21%)
	k	Awareness programs from radio/television	5(18%)	3(11%)
	l	Recording songs	3(11%)	2(7%)
	m	MLE teacher training	5(18%)	1(4%)
	n	Teach the language who do not know to speak	19(68%)	13(46%)
	o	Awareness programs	15(54%)	13(46%)
	p	Use in administration	5(18%)	1(4%)
	q	Everybody should speak the language	18(64%)	9(32%)

As we can see table 7.8, there are several things to be done for the development of their mother tongue and culture which have already been mentioned in above queries. They have repeated the same things again and again. It means that they have given them more and more priority. The things that are in most priority are i.e. mother tongue school (100%), awareness programs (100%), everybody should speak the language (96%), textbook/teaching materials (93%), management of Chepang teachers (85%), teach the language to children from very beginning (78%), use in media (60%) and so on.

7.3   Wrapping up

Chepang is found to be rich in its oral literature. Most of the literatures are confined to its oral tradition. In fact, Chepang language has been alive in its oral form from the very beginning. Nowadays, some other resources beside oral ones are also found to have in a small scale in this

language. The language resources may be helpful in finding out the actual properties of the particular language in one hand, and it is important to find out the speakers' awareness over those resources. That is why, the speakers were asked to tick whether their mother tongue has any resources from the given list.

Likewise, the appreciative inquiry helped them to find out what actually they want to do with their mother tongue. It would be helpful in finding out the major factors like, 'What are the things that make them feel proud of their mother tongue?, 'What are the dreams behind their mother tongue?, Who are the persons and/or organizations to be involved to develop their mother tongue?, 'What can be the role of a person or organization or government?, 'What can s/he do individually?, and finally, they made a proposal-plan of different things to be done for the development of their mother tongue by individual levels, community/NGO levels and, by the side of the government. They made a whole proposal-plan in the local community level which might help them to make aware of their mother tongue in one hand, and it was easier plan to be implemented as their own involvement to prepare the plan-proposal.

Chapter 8

Dialect mapping and lexical variation

8.0   Outline

This chapter incorporates the major findings of the varieties and dialects of the Chepang language on the basis of this study. For this purpose, photograph from different survey points of the participatory findings, observation, sociolinguistic questionnaire and lexical similarity and variation from various survey points have been analyzed. Section 8.1 talks about the Lexical variation of different places of the language community. Section 8.2 conducts the dialect mapping. Section 8.3 deals with dialect variation on the basis of the list of 210 words comparison. Section 8.4 wraps up the findings of the chapter.

8.1   Lexical variation

The wordlist consists of 210 words that are compared with the seven Chepang speech varieties to determine the degree of lexical similarity. This section deals with the data, methodology of lexical similarity study, and it presents the results of lexical similarity.

8.1.1   Methodology

The standard wordlist of 210 words was elicited in different points with mother tongue speakers (grown up in the Chepang community, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions. In each key point, at least two sets of wordlist 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 Chepang language. After the entry of words from each survey point the words from the selected wordlist have been aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then, the lexical similarity percentages have been calculated in Wordsurv.

The 60% has been generally used as a cutoff point for determining lexical similarity. Table 8.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 8.1: 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 languages. 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). But, RTT could not be administered because of the time constraint.

8.1.2 Lexical similarity among the selected points

Chepang is spoken in a vast stretch of geographical location. However, some of the significant and populated areas of Chepang especially of some major points of Makawanpur, Chitawan, Dhading and Gorkha districts; this language rarely shows any significant variations as such. Table 8.2 presents the situation of lexical similarity comparison in Chepang in different points.

Table 8.2: Chepang Swadesh wordlist tally data comparison in percentage:

Varieties	Maisirang	Maisirang -1	Simthali (Talti)	Labang (Mahadevsthan)	Dobate (Korak)	Bharlang	Shaktikhor	Raksirang
Maisirang	100%	59%	58%	60%	52%	55%	54%	60%
Maisirang-1 (Makawanpur)	59%	100%	59%	62%	54%	54%	46%	70%
Simthali(Talti, Dhading)	58%	59%	100%	70%	63%	64%	57%	61%
Labang(Mahadevsthan)	60%	62%	70%	100%	67%	67%	60%	69%
Dobate(Korak, Chitawan)	52%	54%	63%	67%	100%	69%	64%	60%
Bharlang (Gorkha)	55%	54%	64%	67%	69%	100%	58%	61%
Shaktikhor (Chitawan)	54%	46%	57%	60%	64%	58%	100%	50%
Raksirang (Makawanpur)	60%	70%	61%	69%	60%	61%	50%	100%

From table 8.2, we come to the conclusion that the lexical items are more similar within Maisirang, Raksirang from Makawanpur, Dobate from Chitawan, Simthali, Labang from Dhading, and Bharlang from Gorkha districts in an equal manner. These points have around 70%

similar vocabulary. On the contrary to them, Shaktikhor and Dobate from Chitawan, and Bharlang from Gorkha is less similar to Maisirang and Raksirang from Makawanpur district. Table 8.2 concludes that the varieties of Chepang shown are might be mutually intelligible to each other.

8.2   Dialect mapping

Dialect mapping is geographic distribution of variations in speech. It shows the distribution of distinctive linguistic features of a language or dialect. Chepang also has a number of various varieties in its speech within this language.

The language consultants have responded that the Chepang people have been scattered in different districts of Nepal. They complain that their community members have migrated in different places of different districts. They have left their ancestral and original places behind and come to settle down in urban and other sophisticated areas. As they left their inherited places, they have come to drop down many things i.e. traditional culture, social custom, social system, original language, etc. and; deliberately and unknowingly they come to adopt the new culture, system and custom of the society in which they have migrated in. It is common tendency of the immigrants that they have to adopt and adjust in the local culture and social system and custom to survive them.

As the Chepang people have migrated in different places long before, the way of their spoken is a little bit different in some places and quite different in other places. The respondents were asked, "Are people of your community concentrated or dispersed?", they have put their different opinions as shown in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: whether the people of Chepang community are concentrated or dispersed.
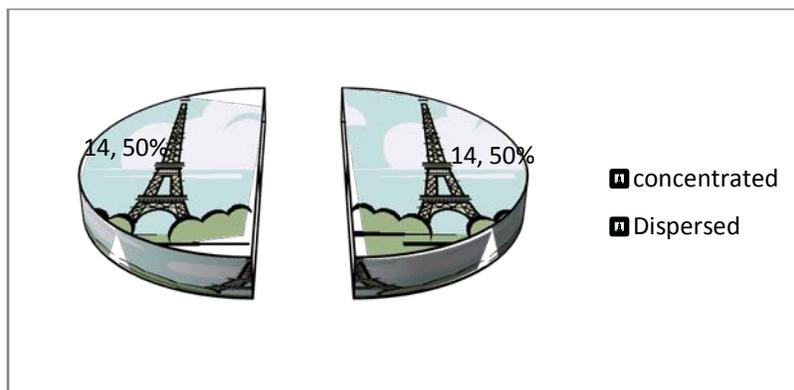
From Figure 8.1, it is remarked that the respondents have responded equally. Their opinion is clearly seen in two clusters i.e. the 50% of them have responded that 'Yes' they are concentrated and the other 50% of them have claimed 'No' they are not concentrated but dispersed.

As they stated that their community members are dispersed, "Which area of Chepang is similar or common to your ones and which are different?' were asked them. The respondents could not reply the answer to these queries. And they were also asked, "Where do people speak this language so differently that it is difficult for you to understand them?". They could not answer it because they had no idea about these queries. However, there are some probabilities of having its varieties either social or regional ones. For its evidences, let us consider the following photograph of doing dialect mapping activities by using respective tools; as:

Photograph 8.1: Findings of Chepang dialects by using DM tool at Makaising, Gorkha

From photograph 8.1, we can see that there are some varieties of Chepang language. In the photograph, there are three groups of play cards on which the name of different places written where Chepang people mainly dwell and the language is spoken well. Among the three groups, one is Chitwan, second and the largest group is Gorkha and the next group is Dhading-Makwanpur. The third group is a combination of two different districts geographically apart but the languages spoken is quite similar and they have come under the same group.

However, the next photograph 8.2 shows a different sketch. In this photograph, we can see more varieties which are not based on the basis of districts but by the local places. There are altogether six groups.

Photograph 8.2: Finding of Chepang varieties by using DM tool at Manhari, Makwanpur

In the photograph 8.2, we can comprehend that some certain pocket areas of Chitwan, Dhading and Gorkha districts are different whereas other three groups which are probably seen larger, do

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not clearly show whether they are within one district or mixing. In one of the largest groups, there may be some naming play cards that belong to all four districts. According to the sample photograph 8.2, if there are some varieties of Chepang language, then they may be regional varieties rather than social ones.

8.3   Dialect variation

Chepang has some sorts of dialectal variations on the basis of its geography. In response to the question asked, 'Which variety do you understand best?, it seems that it is crucial question for them to decide. The major summary of the data that they have reported have been shown in table 8.3.

Table 8.3: The variety that they understand best

N=28	Makwanpur		Chitwan	
Which variety do you understand best?	**Language varieties**	**Value and percentage**	**Language varieties**	**Value and percentage**
	Jarkhedanda	5(18%)	Korak	8(29%)
	Maisirang	7(25%)	Siddi	9(32%)
	Kankada	4(14%)	Shaktikhor	6(21%)
	Lakur	3(11%)	Kaule	5(18%)
	Gorkha	**Value and percentage**	Padampur	4(14%)
	Ghyalchowk	2(7%)	Lothar	4(14%)
	Bhumlichowk	3(11%)	Cheurang	3(11%)
	Tanglichowk	4(14%)	Paimarang	1(4%)
	Makaising	5(18%)	Dhusa	3(11%)
	Dhading			
	Taklung	3(11%)		

Table 8.3 shows the handful of ideas that there may be for different varieties of Chepang language i.e. Makwanpur, Chitwan, Dhading and Gorkha varieties. Among the total respondents, only few have unknowingly told as many places as they could remember. They are not sure that all the names shown in the table above are varieties of Chepang language. Most probably they may be names of the places where the Chepang people dwell. If we suppose, they are the names of varieties of Chepang, then they can understand the Siddi (32%), Korak (29%), Maisirang (25%), Shaktikhor (21%), Makaising, Kaule, and Jarkhedanda (18%), Kankada, Tanglichowk, Padampur, and Lothar (14%), Taklung, Bhumlichowk, Dhusa, Cheurang and Lakur (11%), Ghyalchowk (7%) and Paimarang (4%).

As the respondents have indicated a number of different varieties of Chepang language, they are intelligible to each other. They can easily understand the different varieties. They were asked, "Which variety should be used as the one for writing or recording so that all the others will understand well?" the responses that they have replied are quite similar to the above responses. They are not seeing convincing of using one of the best varieties to be used for writing or recording. There is a contradiction that they are struggling for. The recommendation of the best variety is individually different. One prefers this variety while others prefer that. Such as Chitwan variety is not acceptable by Gorkha, Dhading or Makwanpur varieties. On the contrary, Gorkha, Dhading or Makwanpur varieties are not acceptable by Chitwan varieties and vice versa.

From the above discussion, we come to the conclusion that Chepang has some dialectical variations mainly based on the geographical locations of the settlement of the Chepang people. Figure 8.2 shows the tentative dialectical variations of the Chepang language.

Figure 8.2: Chepang dialect variations
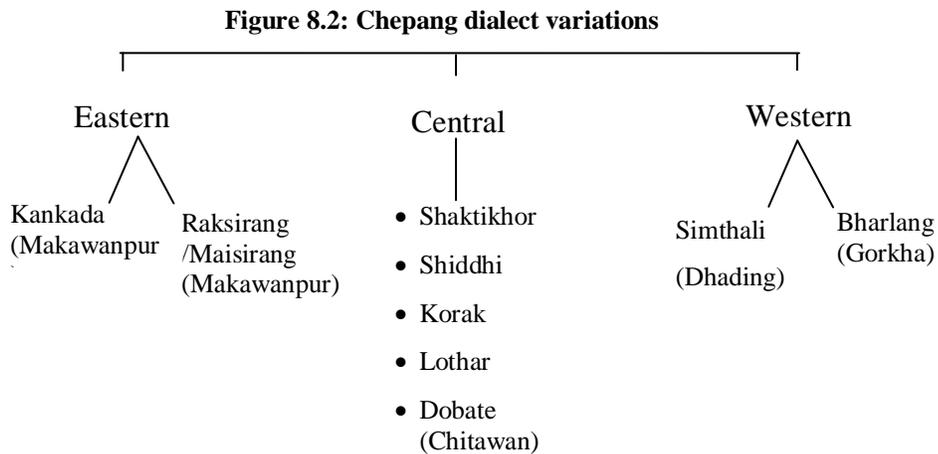
Figure 8.2 gives us an idea about the possible dialectal variations of the Chepang language based on the initial observation and analysis of the data. It shows three major dialects of Chepang viz. Eastern, Central and Western. Eastern dialect consists of Kankada and Raksirng VDC including Maisirang and other neighboring locations from Makawanpur District. Likewise, the Central dialects include some Siddhi, Korak, Lothar, Dobate, Shaktikhor along with other in the neighborhood of Chitawan district. The next dialect is Western which comprises of Simthali and its approaching areas from Dhading district, and Bharlang along with other adjoining locations from Gorkha district.

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8.4 Wrapping up

Defining and determining the dialects of any language is of course a challenging task. Here, questionnaire method, lexical comparison method, and dialect mapping through focus-group discussion in participatory method have been used to collect the accurate information of the similarity and variations of the Chepang language from one place to the next. There will be three major dialects viz. Eastern, Central, and Western. Although this is not a final mapping of the Chepang varieties, it may certainly help for the further study.

Chapter 9

Conclusion and recommendations

9.0 Outline

This chapter includes the conclusion and recommendations of the whole study. Section 9.1 discusses the overall findings of the chapter. Section 9.2 recommends some suggestions for preservation, promotion and development of Chepang language.

9.1   Findings

The findings of this study have been concluded in the following bullet forms:

- Almost of all the respondents (i.e. 97%), (54% male and 43% female) strongly agree that their language is rich. Similarly, most of the respondents (i.e. 89%) from both male (50%) and female (39%) claim that their mother tongue is more precise than other languages. Likewise, all the respondents (100%) from both male (54%) and female (46%) have reported that their mother tongue is sweet. Equally, most of them claim that their mother tongue is ancient (89%), powerful (82%), musical (79%), prestigious (75%) and literary (50%). Only a limited number of respondents accept that their language is a little bit harsh. Otherwise, most of them assert that their language is full of inherent heritage.

- Almost 82% of the respondents have not faced any difficulties because of being a speaker of mother tongue at their workplace and other. On the contrary, 18% of the respondents have faced socio-political and other types of problems in their territory.

- Almost 71% respondents from both male (45%) and female (55%) were found to love the Chepang language. While, both male (50%) and female (50%) of the remaining respondents (29%) were found to love the Nepali language equally well.

- Most of the respondents (i.e. 75%) have replied that they do not recognize the people as Chepang those who do not know and speak Chepang language. On the contrary, only few (25%) of them claimed that they can recognize the people as Chepang even if they do not know and speak Chepang language.

- In response to the question "Do all your children speak your language?", the majority of them (i.e. 57%) replied 'Yes' and the remaining 43% of them replied 'No'. The numbers of

children who cannot speak their own language are increasing day by day in their society. The rate of transmission of language from one generation to the next is found to have gradually diminishing.

- Eighty-two percent of the respondents are optimistic and only the 18% of them are pessimistic. Similarly, when their children will grow old, probably 79% of them are optimistic of speaking their mother tongue and only 21% are pessimistic. They believe that the rate of language transmission will not increase in the future generations in comparison to the present ones.

- A majority of the respondents (i.e.71%) convinces that their mother tongue is in the state of endangerment, while some other (i.e. 29%) of them believes that their mother tongue is still safe.

- It shows that, among the total respondents, the 50% have reported that the Chepang language is endangered, the 32% of them reported it is potentially endangered, the 4% told it is extinct/nearly extinct, the 7% of them equally added to both seriously endangered and moribund.

- When the respondents were children, they used to speak Chepang mainly at home and, sometimes with friends and neighbors. In comparison to Nepali, they used to speak Chepang most of the time at home, with friends and neighbors.

- Almost 96% of the respondents informed that their mother tongue is not taught at school or college.

- Most of the respondents (i.e. 79%) liked their children to learn/study in their own mother tongue in response to the question inquired, 'Do you like your children to learn/study in your mother tongue?'. Most of the respondents (i.e. 89%) have reported that there is no language teacher to teach their mother tongue.

- Both male and female members of the community are equally ready to help by sending their children (92%), encouraging other members to send their children (93%), providing financial support (86%) and providing self-services (61%).

- Almost 96% of the total respondents have reported that there is no school run by their own community to teach their mother tongue. But, if it is made, they are always ready to help it in a number of ways. Almost 82% of the total respondents are ready to purchase the products in

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mother tongue. They are also standing by to subscribe the materials they have in their mother tongue.

- They start learning other languages from home, with friends and neighbors and later on at school. Most of the children speak Chepang and Nepali at home. Out of family environment, they speak more than two languages i.e. Chepang, Nepali and Tamang.

- Only 25% of the respondents responded that the small children going to school for the first time can understand Nepali at classroom that is taught by their teachers. On the contrary, the same percentage of them answered that they do not understand. And 50% of them have reported that the small children going to school for the first time can understand Nepali a little bit at classroom by their teachers. We come to know from the evidence that not more than 25% can understand the Nepali language in the classroom.

- All the respondents responded that they understand their mother tongue very well, and only least of them are average proficient.

- The most of the villages of Chepang people have multilingual settings except some villages like Maisirang, Raksirang, Lothar of Makawanpur district; and Korak, Siddhi, Majbang and Kaule of Chitawan district. That is why, most of the Chepang people are found bilingual and few of them are multilingual, too. There are a number of languages (i.e. Nepali, Hindi, Magar, Tharu, Gurung, Bhojpuri) spoken in/around the Chepang locality. Almost all the respondents are found to have bilingual i.e. they equally speak Nepali (100%) along with their mother tongue. it can be extracted that the second language they speak most is Nepali (100%). The almost of all Chepang people understand and speak Nepali language.

- Most of the total respondents (i.e. 89%) have reported that the number of speakers of LWC have been amplifying heavily.

- Most of the respondents (i.e. 68%) responded that "Yes" they generally mix and switch to other languages while speaking their own language. On the contrary, the fewer of them (i.e. 32%) responded that "No" they do not mix and switch to other languages while speaking their own language.

- Almost all the Chepangs know that they have oral literatures as language resources. The script that is used is of not their own, but the Devanagari one. They also have orthography, telefilms, dictionary, grammar and so on. The most dominant resource is the oral literature. Chepang is found to have rich in oral literature.

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- The attitudes towards the understanding of Nepali by their children at school are found to be very less. Almost 75% of the children cannot understand Nepali at school. This is very painful for those who cannot understand Nepali. They are found to be difficult to engage in understanding and learning activities. This will certainly help to increase the dropout rate of the children.

- Due to the prevalence of other language groups particularly the Nepali around the Chepangs, the formal use of their language is very limited. Thus, we can conclude that although Chepang is usually spoken during informal occasions than formal ones, the use of the language in formal setting is decreasing considerably. Whether it is because of attitude or the ability to understand the message, a large majority think that an important message will be best accepted and understood in Chepang.

- The overall use of Chepang is found to be good among family members. This would seem to indicate that Chepang is used frequently by respondents in most of the situations but less often when speaking with their children. Though the tendency of using their mother is decreasing in speaking with spouses and children, Chepang is still very dominantly the language of choice used by Chepang at home, with other ages except children from some of the parts of their community.

- Most of Chepangs i.e. 72% use their own mother tongues daily. Likewise 94% uses the language of wider communication daily. This indicates that almost all the respondents use Nepali to communicate with speakers of other languages. Since, they are said to have bilingual in their day to day communication.

- The most important attitudes towards the use of mother tongue that they viewed are found to have the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in primary level. The strong evidence behind this is simply based on their own preference of using their own mother tongue in education. The 69% of the respondents preferred to use mother tongue as a medium of instruction in primary level. These attitudes towards the use of mother tongue in primary education are found to be constantly strong and positive. The other significant aspect of findings is the gradual decreasing in Chepang and increasing to other languages like Nepali and English from primary to upper level of education. This data confirms that the medium of instruction in primary level is Chepang and, Nepali and even English can be the next most

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important medium of instruction for lower secondary and upper level of education. This is very significant attitude in favor of multilingual education in primary level if not in other level.

- Chepang is still very dominant language of choice used by Chepang at home, with other Chepangs of all ages. But there appears a trend of using Nepali more among Chepangs and their young children in particular, today but Nepali is not replacing Chepang in any domain except some public places. It is being used along with Nepali depending on various factors in the language environment.

- Community members are very much active and beware of their language and culture. To develop, promote and preserve their language, they already have national property, social custom and culture, nature of language, folktales, folk legends, oral literature, phonetic inventory, bible translation, album, folk songs, polite and civilized, rich, poems, uniqueness in language, history, film, peace, practical, prestigious, social science, worship, knowledge, social function, myths, mother tongue, melodious, pure, sweet, secret things and kinship terms in their own language. Most of the respondents have reported that their language has very rich oral literature.

- They have dreams of using their language in education, publications, ethnic and linguistic identity at national level, administration, media, language teachers and mother tongue schools opened, folksongs, albums, film, telefilms, and so on. They hope if these dreams would become true in near future, then certainly their language and culture would develop, promote and preserve/archive.

- Various sectors would have been involved in order to enhance their dreams. As stated in the table above, the government (85%), community (96%), NGOs/INGOs (68%), Linguists (53%), social workers (68%), politicians (61%), schools (57%), neighbors (79%), political parties (46%), Nepal Chepang Organization (50%), individuals (61%), media (53%) and other concern bodies (57%) as well would be honestly or in a roundabout way involved.

- They have mostly expected financial subsidies (96%), mention in constitution (93%), managing of native teachers (65%), policy of multilingual teaching (71%) and opening of mother tongue schools (89%). Apart from these, there are some other important things as free higher education (43%), employment (18%), school infrastructure (32%), textbook, reading

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materials publication and distribution (61%), language preservation and promotion (29%), organizations for language preservation (57%), teacher's training (50%), legal recognition of language (18%), encouragement (39%), cultural programs (43%), awareness programs (57%), use in media (46%), album of songs (39%), phonetic inventory (22%), use in administration (25%) and other (11%).

- They made a whole proposal-plan in the local community level which might help them to make aware of their mother tongue in one hand, and it is easier the plan to be implemented as their own involvement to prepare the plan-proposal.

- It is observed that there are proposed three major dialects of Chepang viz. Eastern, Central and Western. Eastern dialect consists of Kankada and Raksirng VDC including Maisirang and other neighboring locations from Makawanpur District. Likewise, the Central dialects include some Siddhi, Korak, Lothar, Dobate, Shaktikhor along with other in the neighborhood of Chitawan district. The next dialect is Western which comprises of Simthali and its approaching areas from Dhading district, and Bharlang along with other adjoining locations from Gorkha district.

9.2   Recommendations

This section includes some recommendations based on this study. These recommendations are made on the basis of this study and the relevant contemporary realities of the languages of Nepal in general and Chepang in particular.

The following are some of recommendations based on the findings:

- As seventy- five percent of the children cannot understand Nepali at school, they are found difficult to engage in understanding and learning activities. This will certainly help to increase the dropout rate of the children. If children are provided basic education through the medium of mother tongue, it can obviously help to reduce the dropout rate at primary level. Regarding the mother tongue education, UNESCO 1951 has mentioned as:

  It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue; psychologically it is the system for meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of ideologically he learns more the members of community to which he belongs.

Educationally he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (UNESCO 1951:11).

- The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education as mentioned in the 1951 UNESCO Report, the Socio-cultural provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 and the International Convention of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the United Nation General Assembly on December 16, 1966 are some of the significant foundations for MLE. As Nepal has already been ratified those conventions, it is the right time to be implemented the MLE.

- It has been widely accepted that all children should have opportunity to receive basic and primary education through mother tongues as their rights. If they are provided primary education in mother tongues, they can have better learning as they can engage more actively in understanding and learning activities. Chepang children are also not far from this reality. There have been advances in using more than one language in education as Nepal itself has the multicultural and multilingual setting. Education in mother tongue hence certainly helps to reduce the dropout rate in basic education.

- The huge numbers of children from Chepang community have no access to school and are debarred from the right of achieving basic education. If MLE introduced, it can attract the out-of-school children from the minority language group like Chepang to join school.

- MLE can also serve as bonus to minority language and promote them so that they can survive in future and can also serve a support for children's cognitive development, which coincides with their language development. (Yadava in Kandel (2010)). So the introduction of MLE in Chepang community can be expected to do many things in a single afford.

- The attitudes towards the use of mother tongue in primary education are found to be constantly strong and positive in Chepang community, and the vote for gradual decreasing in Chepang and increasing to other languages like Nepali and English from primary to upper level of education. This is, therefore, desire to envisage a policy such as 'transitional bilingual education', according to which Chepang children will start their basic education in their mother tongue for better learning and quality education, gradually switch to a language

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of wider communication like Nepali, and eventually switch to an international language such as English.

- The three major dialects of Chepang have been suggested from this study. Those varieties have to be studied further, and analyzed thoroughly so that it could be helpful in writing grammar, dictionaries, textbooks, literacy materials, and to do other language related activities.

- To find out actual data it is better to be assisted by linguists along with proper tools while taking population census.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)
Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, With assistance from
National Planning Commission, Government of Nepal

A. Background Information:

1. Name of the investigator(s) (interviewers)

      1) ………………………..

      2) …………………………

      3) ………………………

      4) ………………………

2. Medium of the interview:

      ……………….

3. Period:

      ………………………..

4. Place of interview

      ……………………………………….

5. No. of informant: ……………………

6. Sex:

Male: ………..   Mixed: ……………...

Female: ……………

7. Age group

15-34: …..   60+: …………

35-60: ………………   Mixed: ………………

8. Marital status

Married:……..   Others: …..

Unmarried: ………

9. Caste/Ethnic group:

…………………

10a. what caste/ethnic group names does the Government/others use for you?
………………………….

10b. What caste/ethnic group would you prefer to call yourself?

………………………………………….

11. Religion

Christianity: …………..   Shamanism: ………………

Hinduism: ……………………   Mixed: ……………..

12. Place of origin:

……………………..

13. What type of family system do you have?

Nuclear: ……   Joint: ……   Mixed: ……

14. Education:

Preliterate: ………   Primary: ………

Literate: ………   L secondary: …………..

Secondary: ………   Mixed: 2

Higher Ed: …………

15. Occupation

      Own: ………..   Family's: ………

      Spouse's:………..   Ancestors': ………

16. Place of birth:

      ………………

17. Your mother's first language (mother tongue)

      …………………

18. Your father's first language (mother tongue)

      ………………………………

19. First language/mother tongue of your husband/wife

      ……………………

20. Mother tongue or first language of your children

      ……………………….

21. Your first language/mother tongue's name

      (a) Given by the native

      …………………………..

      (b) Given by the nonnative

      ………………………….

      (c) Different names of the language if any

      ………………………………..

22. Other ethnic groups residing in your area or localities

……………………………

23. Other languages spoken in your villages or localities

………………………………..

24. What languages are spoken in neighboring villages?

……………………………

25. Have you migrated?

a. Yes: ………..   b. No: …………….

 (a) If yes, name the earlier place:

………………………………..

(b) Number of years: …………………..

 (c) Migrated:

  Single: …….   Group: ………….

26. Which other ethnic or linguistic groups have common marital relationship with your ethnic group?

(a) Ethnic groups:

………………………

(b) Linguistic group:

………………………………………

B. Dialect Mapping

27. Are people of your community concentrated or dispersed?

Concentrated: ………..   Dispersed: …………………..

28. Where do people speak this language exactly the same as you?

……………………….

29. In which places do people speak this language a little bit differently?

………………………

30. Where do people speak this language so differently that it is difficult for you to understand them?

………………………..

31. Which variety do you understand best?

…………………………………………….

32. Which variety should be used as the one for writing or recording so that all the others will understand well?

………………………………………..

C. Language Resources

33. Tick the resources that are available in your language:

(a) Oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc): ……………

(b) Script: ………………   (c) Phonemic inventory: ……..

(d) Grammar: …………   (e) Dictionary: ……………

(f) Textbooks: …………..   (g) Literacy materials: ………

(h) Literary materials: …………   (i) Newspapers: ………….

(j) Magazines: ……….   (k) Films: ………..

(l) Telefilms: ………….   (m) CD/DVD: ……………

(o) Other: ……..

34. Which of the following factors has/have directly influenced the growth or threatened the future of the language?

(a) Migration: ……….   (b) Temporary labour: ………….

(c) Deportations: ……….   (f)No   information: ………

(d)   Wars: ………….

(e) Others: ………..

35. Is there any kind of organization or body which promotes the knowledge and/or use of the language?

Yes: ………   No: …………..

If yes, tell them to name those organizations.

……………………………………………….

36. And, what kinds of activities does this perform?

…………………………………………..

37. What is/are the major festival(s) in your speech community?

…………………………………………..

D. Mother tongue Proficiency or Bi/Multilingualism

38. First language/mother tongue you learnt to speak:

………………………….

39. How proficient are you in your mother tongue/first language [Estimate your level (Good-G, Average-A, Little-L)]

Understand	**Good:**	**Average:**	**Little:**
Speak	….	…..	…..
Read	….	….	….
Write	……	….	…..

40. What other languages do you speak?

………………………

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41. How proficient are you in other languages? [Estimate your level (Good-G, Average-A, Little-L)]

(i) Language: …………..

	Good	Average	Little
(a) Understand	….	….	……
(b) Speak	….	….	….
(c) Read	….	…	…
(d) Write	….	…	…

(ii) Language: ………………..

	Good	Average	Little
(a) Understand	….	…	…
(b) Speak	…	…	…
(c) Read	…	…	…
(d) Write	…	…	…

(iii) Language: …………..

	Good	Average	Little
(a) Understand	…	…	…

(b) Speak   …   …   …

(c) Read   …   …   …

(d) Write   …   …   …

42. Where did you learn the languages other than your mother tongue/first language?

Languages   **Where**   **How**

…………..   …………..   …………..

…………   ………….   ……………..

…………   …………   ……………

……………   ……………   …………………

43. Other languages known to your grandfather:

………………………………

44. Other languages known to your grandmother:

…………………………………..

45. Other languages known to your father:

…………………………………

46. Other languages known to your mother:

…………………………..

47. Other languages known to your husband/wife:

…………………………..

48. Other languages known to your sons/daughters:

…………………………………..

49. Scripts you can...

Scripts	Read	Write
Devanagari	…	…
Roman:	…	…

50. Languages to which you can translate from your mother tongue:

………………………..

51. Languages from which you can translate into your mother tongue:

……………………………………

52. When a small child first goes to school, can he/she understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?

Yes: ………..   No: …………..

53. If not, at what age will he/she be able to understand everything?

…………………………….

54. Which types of L1 people speak *'Language of Wider Communication'* (LWC) well?

…………………………………..

55. Which L1 people speak L1 well, but do not speak LWC well?

……………………………………

56. Do you think the number of L1 speaker or LWC is increasing in your community?

……………………………………

E. Domain of Language use

57. Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes? porposes:

(a) Counting: ………

(b) Singing: ………..

(c) Joking:…………..

(d) Bargaining/Shopping:………

(e) Story telling:…………….

(f) Discussing/debate:…………

(g) Praying:…………….

(h) Talking to household helpers:…

(i) Abusing:……………..

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

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

(i) Grandfather: ……………

(ii) Grandmother: ………….

(iii) Father:………..

(iv) Mother:………..

(v) Spouse:…………

(vi) Children:…………..

(b) talking about social events (like festivals, election, ceremonies, etc.

(i) Grandfather:…………

(ii) Grandmother: ………..

(iii) Father:…………

(iv) Mother:…………….

(v) Spouse:……….

(vi) Children:…………..

(c) Discussing family matters (like marriage, savings, spending, allocation of duties, etc.)

(i) Grandfather: ……………..

(ii) Grandmother: …………

(iii) Father: …………

(iv) Mother:…………..

(v) Spouse: …………

(vi) Children:…………

59. Which language do you use?

(a) telling stories to children:…   (b) singing at home: ……..

(c) learning/teaching nursery rhymes:…   (d) talking to playmates:…

(e) when playing:……….   (f) talking to a household helper: ……..

(g) in marriage invitations: ………   (h) writing minutes in community meetings:…

(i) in dreaming:…………….   (j) in family gathering: ……………..

(k) in public meetings: ………………..

60. How often do you use your mother tongue?

a) Daily: ……….   b) Weekly: ……………

c) Sometimes: ………….   d)Never:………….**61. How often do you use the Language of Wider Communication (LWC)?**

a. Daily: …

b. Weekly: …

c. Sometimes:…

d. Never:…

62. Which language do you use to communicate with speakers of other languages in Nepalese context?

…………………………63. Which language do you use while writing letters or telephoning to family members?

(a) Grandfather: ……….   (b) Grandmother:………

(c) Father: ……….   (d) Mother:………..

(e) Spouse: ………….   (f) Children: …………..

64. Which language do you use...

(a) When a group of friends belonging to different language groups visit you at home?

……………………

(b) to talk to neighbors belonging to different language groups?

………………………

65. Which language is most frequently used in the following radio or TV programs?

(a) News:....   (b) Folk songs:…..

(c) Film songs:…..   (d) Tele films or radio plays:…..

(e) Public speech:…..

66. What languages do you prefer for your children's mediums of instruction at school?

(a) Primary level: ……..   (b) Lower secondary level: ……….

(c) Secondary Level: ………..   (d) Higher education: …………

F. Language Endangerment

67. Is your language currently endangered?

a. Yes: ……..   b. No: ……………

68. If yes, what can be the causes? (Please tick any one or the number of causes you think have endangered your language.)

(a) Lack of intergenerational language transmission: ….

(b) Heavy language shift: ….

(c) Very low proportion of the speakers within the total population of the country: ….

(d) Loss of existing language domains: ….

(e) Lack of response to media:….

(f) Lack of materials for language education and literacy:…

(g) Government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use in isolation: …

(h) Community members' pessimistic attitude towards their own languages: …

(i) Lack of documentation: …

(j) Low socio-economic status of the speakers: …

(k) Lack of access in opportunities: …

(l) Lack of motivation: …

(m) Old age of speakers:….

(n) Migration to urban areas and foreign countries for job or education:…

69. What is the position of your language in terms of endangerment?

(a) Potentially endangered: …   (b) Endangered: …

(c) Seriously endangered:….   (d) Moribund: …

(e) Extinct or nearly extinct: …

G. Language Transmission and Vitality

70. Do all your children speak your language?

Yes: ………   No: …..

71. Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?

Yes: ……………   No : …………….

72. If the same children will grow old?

Yes: …………   No: …………

73. Is the language passed down effectively to the new generations?

Yes: ……   No: …..

74. Do young people of your community speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

 Yes: ….   No: …..

H. Language Loyalty

75. Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?

Yes: …..   No: …..

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

Good: …..   Bad: …   Indifferent: ……

77. Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?
 Yes: ….   No: ….

78. If yes, why?

a. To preserve and promote language and culture:… b. To preserve ethnicity:….

c. To preserve the history:…   d. For the identity: …

e. To say secret things: ..   f. Better to know more lgs:...

g. Feel proud of language: ..   h. feel the language good: ..

i. Used in worship: ..   j. Book publication: ..

k. Employment:..   l.   To   preserve   the   ancient
knowledge: ..

79. If no, why not?

a. Hate their own language: …   b. Feel difficulty in school:..

c. Language is learnt earlier: …

I. Language Maintenance and Shift

80. What languages did you speak when you were a child?

(a) at home:…..   (b) with friends:….   (c) with neighbors: …

81. Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?

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Yes: ….   No: …..

82. Is your mother tongue taught at school or college?

Yes:…..   No: …

83. Is there the language teacher to teach your mother tongue?

Yes: …..   No:….

84. Do you like your children to learn/study in your mother tongue?

Yes: …   No: …

85. If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:

(a) by sending your children?: ….

(b) by encouraging other members to send their children?: ….

(c) by providing financial help?: ….

(d) by providing self service?: ….

(e) Other : ….

86. Is there any school run by your community to teach your mother tongue?
 Yes: ….   No:….

87. If your community has published newspapers, magazines and/or books, do you subscribe to them?
 Yes: …..   No: …..

88. Who will read the publications in your language? Your...

(a) Grandfather: …….   (b) Grandmother:………

(c) Father: ……….   (d) Mother : ……………

(e) Self : ………..   (f) Husband/Wife: …………..

(g) Children: …….   (h) Other: …………….

89. How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language? (If there is radio broadcast in the respondent's first language)?

Always: ……….   Usually:……….

Sometimes: ……..   Hardly: ………..

Never: ……….   No programs: ………………

90. How often do you watch TV programs in your language? (If there is TV telecast in the respondent's first language)

Always: ………….   Usually:………..

Sometimes: ………….   Hardly: …………..

Never: …………   No programs: ………………..

91. What languages do your children speak?

(a) at home:………   (b) with friends:……..

(c) with neighbors:………..   (d) at school:………

J. Code Mixing

92. Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?

 Yes: ……   No:……..

93. If yes, give reasons:

(a) appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages: ……………..

(b) it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages: ……….

(c) it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences and words from other languages: ………..

(d) any other: ………..

94. How do you think about mixing words from other languages?

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(a) it will enrich your language:………..

(b) it will spoil the beauty and purity of your language:………..

(c) it will make your language more intelligible: …………

(d) any other :…….

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

  Yes: ………   No: ……….

96. If yes, in terms of:

(a) pronunciation: ……..   (b) vocabulary:……………

(c) formation of certain sentences:……..   (d) mixing of other languages:……….

(e) way of speaking: …………

97. Do your children mix other languages more than you do?

  Yes: ………   No:……..

K. Language Attitude

98. How do you feel about your mother tongue against other tongues?

(a) Rich:…………   (b) Precise: ………..

(c) Sweet: ………….   (d) Musical: ………….

(e) Harsh;………..   (f) Prestigious;………..

(g) Literary;…………..   (h) Pure; ………..

(i) Powerful: ……………..   (j) Ancient: …………

99. How do you consider your mother tongue useful against other tongues in terms of the following:

(a) Jobs:……….   (b) Business:………….

(c) Social mobility: ………….   (d) Literature: …………………

(e) Medium of instruction:……….   (f) Science and technology: ………

100. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of a speaker of the dominant languages (such as Nepali and English), what do you feel?

(a) Prestigious: ………   (b) Embarrassed;………..   (c) Neutral:………..

101. Have you ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of your mother tongue/first language?

Yes: ……   No:……….

102. If yes, what kinds of problems have you ever had?

(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: …….

103. Would you like your son or daughter to marry someone who does not know your language?

Yes: ….   No: ….

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

Yes: …..   No:…..

105. If no, how do you feel about this?

Good:…..   Bad: …..   Indifferent: …..

106. What language should your children speak first?

………….

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107. What are the two languages the first language people speak most?

a) ………….   b) …………..

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

…………………………

L. Appreciative Enquiry

109. What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?

a) National property:………   b) Social custom and culture: ……..

c) Nature of language: …………   d) Folktales: ………….

e) Fold legends: ………………   f) Oral literature:………….

g) Phonetic inventory: ………   h) Bible translation: …………

i) Album:…………..   j) Folk songs:…………..

k) Polite and civilized: ……   l) Rich: ……

m) Poems: ……   n) Uniqueness in language: ....

o) History: ………   p) Film: ………

q) Peace: ………….   r) Practical:….

s) Prestigious:…………..   t) Social science: ……..

u) Worship: …………   v) Knowledge:……….

w) Social Function: …   y) Mother tongue: ………

z) Melodious: …….   aa) Pure:……..

ab) Sweet: ………..   ac) Secret things:…………

ad) Kinship terms: .

110. What are the dreams for your mother tongue?

a) Use in education/Primary school should be opened in mother tongue: ….

b) Textbook publication: …..

c) Chepang should be recognized as national language:…

d) Chepang culture should be identified at national level: …

e) Use in administration: …   f) Use in Media: ….

g) To preserve and promote the language:….   h) Effective language should be made: …

i) Chepang language teacher:…   j) Folk songs: …

k) Film and telefilms:…   l) Interaction in mother tongue: …

m) Language should be taught who do not speak: …

o) All Chepang should speak the language: …   p) Development of literature:…

q) Equal status as other language: ….   r) Cultural programs: ….

s) Language development: ….   t) Language organizations:….

111. To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?

(a) Government: …..   (b) Community:….

(c) NGO/INGOs: …..   d) Linguists: ….

e) Social workers: ….   f) Politicians: ….

g) Schools:…   h) Neighbors: …

i) Political parties: ….   j) community Organization:…

k) Individuals: ….   l) Media: ….

m) Concern bodies:…

112. To promote your language what the community can do itself?

a) Giving pressure to the government: …   b) Volunteer service: ….

c) Make rules and regulations:…   d) Collect and write oral literatures:…

e) Social awareness programs: …   f) Manpower production: …

g) Help in opening school: …   h) Language preservation: …

i) Teaching language: …   j) Cultural programs:…

k) By collecting fund: …   l) Providing land for school: ….

m) Use in media: …   n) Language development:…

o) By speaking language:…   p) Publicity of language: …

q) Writing language books: …   r) Getting/giving advice: …

s) Use in administration: …   t) School management: …

u) Community unification:…

113. To promote your language what the Government and non-government should do?

a) Financial subsidies: …..   b) Free higher education: ….

c) Management of native teachers: ….   d) Policy of Multilingual teaching:…

e) Employment:…   f) Mother tongue school: …

g) School building: …   h) Textbook, reading materials publication
and distribution:…   i) Language Preservation and promotion: …

j) Organizations for language preservation: …   k) Teacher training:…

l) Legal recognition to language: …   m) Encouragement: …

n)Cultural programs: ….   o) Awareness programs: ….

p) Use in Media: ….   q) Alum of songs: …

r) Phonetic inventory: …   s) Mentioned in constitution:…

t) Use in administration: …

114. How can you support the promotion of your mother tongue?

(a) by devising the script:…   (b) by making the spelling system systematic: …

(c) by compiling a dictionary: …   (d) by writing grammar:…

(e) by writing literature in mother tongue:…

(f) by publishing textbooks:…   (g) by publishing newspapers:…

(h) by making use of the language in administration:…

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

115. In your opinion, what things are to be done for the development of your language?

a) Textbook/teaching materials in Chepang:…

b) Management of Chepang teachers:…

c) Mother tongue school:…

d) Script development: …

e) Dictionary writing:…

f) Language related programs:…

g) Teach the language to children from very beginning:…

h) Grammar writing:…

i) Literature:…

j) Use in media:…

k) Awareness programs from radio/television:…

l) Recording songs:…

m) MLE teacher training:…

n) Teach the language who do not know to speak:…

o) Awareness programs:…

p) Use in administration:…

q) Everybody should speak:..

The end

Appendix B

210 Wordlist

Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)

Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University,

With assistance fromNational Planning Commission, Government of Nepal

२१० शव्दसूची

A. Background Information:

1. Name of the investigator(s) (interviewers)

1) ………………………..

2) …………………………

3) …………………………

4) …………………………

2. Medium of the interview:

……………….

3. Place of interview

……………………………………….

4. Sex:

Male: ………..   Female: ……………

5. Age …………………

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	भाषा: ....
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	औँला	
17.	fingernail	नङ	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	

23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्कु	
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औँठी	
41.	sun	सूर्य	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	

46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	

69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	Tomato	गोलभेंडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भैंसी	
91.	milk	दुध	

92.	horns	सिङ	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (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	पुरानो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	

138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	

161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	
163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	
174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	

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	हिँड्नु	
196.	to run	दौडनु	
197.	to go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear	सुन्नु	
201.	to look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	

207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

Appendix C

Chepang Swadesh wordlist data tally report

Variety	Maisirang	Maisirang -1	Simthali(Talti)	Labang(Mahadevsthan)	Dobate(Korak)	Bharlang	Shaktikhor	Raksirang
Maisirang	191	111	107	114	96	101	104	115
Maisirang -1	111	206	111	121	102	108	95	139
Simthali(Talti)	107	111	190	133	117	117	108	116
Labang(Mahadevsthan)	114	121	133	198	128	128	118	136
Dobate(Korak)	96	102	117	128	191	129	122	114
Bharlang	101	108	117	128	129	202	118	117
Shaktikhor	104	95	108	118	122	118	209	101
Raksirang	115	139	116	136	114	117	101	200

Appendix D

Chepang Swadesh wordlist data comparison in total

Variety	Maisirang	Maisirang -1	Simthali (Talti)	Labang (Mahadevsthan)	Dobate (Korak)	Bharlang	Shaktikhor	Raksirang
Maisirang	191	189	184	189	184	185	191	191
Maisirang -1	189	206	188	195	188	199	206	197
Simthali(Talti)	184	188	190	189	185	184	190	189
Labang(Mahadevsthan)	189	195	189	198	190	191	198	197
Dobate(Korak)	184	188	185	190	191	187	191	190
Bharlang	185	199	184	191	187	202	202	193
Shaktikhor	191	206	190	198	191	202	209	200
Raksirang	191	197	189	197	190	193	200	200