

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
THE GURUNG LANGUAGE

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

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CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

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by

Krishna Prasad Chalise

Taramani Rai

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the survey and its goals along with a brief introduction to Gurung survey areas, Syanja, Kaski and Lamjung. It consists of eight sections. Section 1.2 highlights the survey and its major goals. Section 1.3 gives a brief introduction to the Syanja, Kaski, and Lamjung district. Section 1.4 presents a brief introduction to the language name of Gurung and its genetic affiliation. Section 1.5 we present organization of the report and section.

1.2 The survey and its goals

This report is based on the survey carried out by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) in the major Gurung speaking areas in the Western Development Region of Nepal. The main purpose of this study was to find out the sociolinguistic situation of the Gurung language. The specific goals /objectives of the study were as follows:

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

1.3 The Gurung survey area

According to the Census Report of Nepal 2011, the total population of Gurung is 522641 and the major concentration of the Gurung population is found in the hilly areas in the Western Development Region, especially in Syangja, Kaski and Lamjung districts of the Gandaki Zone. Five different locations were selected as the survey points within the districts on the basis of the density of the Gurung population as presented below:

- i. Sirubari (in the Syangja District)
- ii. Pokhara (in the Kaski District)
- iii. Lekhanath (in the Kaski District)
- iv. Besisahar in (the Lamjung District)
- v. Khasur (in the Lamjung District)



Figure 1: The survey area [Source: Topographic survey branch, survey department, HMG Nepal-2002]

1.4 The Gurung people and their settlements

Gurung people call themselves Tamu. The native homeland of the Gurung people is supposed to be the Gorkha, Kaski, Lamjung, Parbat, Syangja and Tahahu districts of Nepal. ‘After the Gorkha conquest, ethnic Gurung just like Magar and Chhetri, have settled far and wide outside of their traditional homeland, from eastern Nepal to southern Bhutan and northeast India’ (van Driem, 2001:959). According to the Census Report of Nepal 2011, the total population of Gurung is 522641 and their major concentration is in the hilly areas in the Western Development Region of Nepal. The report has presented the distribution of the Gurung population in different areas as:

Urban: 137371, rural: 385270, mountain: 29886, hill: 379868, Terai: 112887.

Similarly the report has presented their distribution in different development regions as:

Eastern: 62793, Central: 127416, Western: 303134, Mid-western: 24828 and Far-western: 4470.

Our survey has identified the following locations of in Lamjung, Kaski and Syangja as the locations of Gurung settlements.

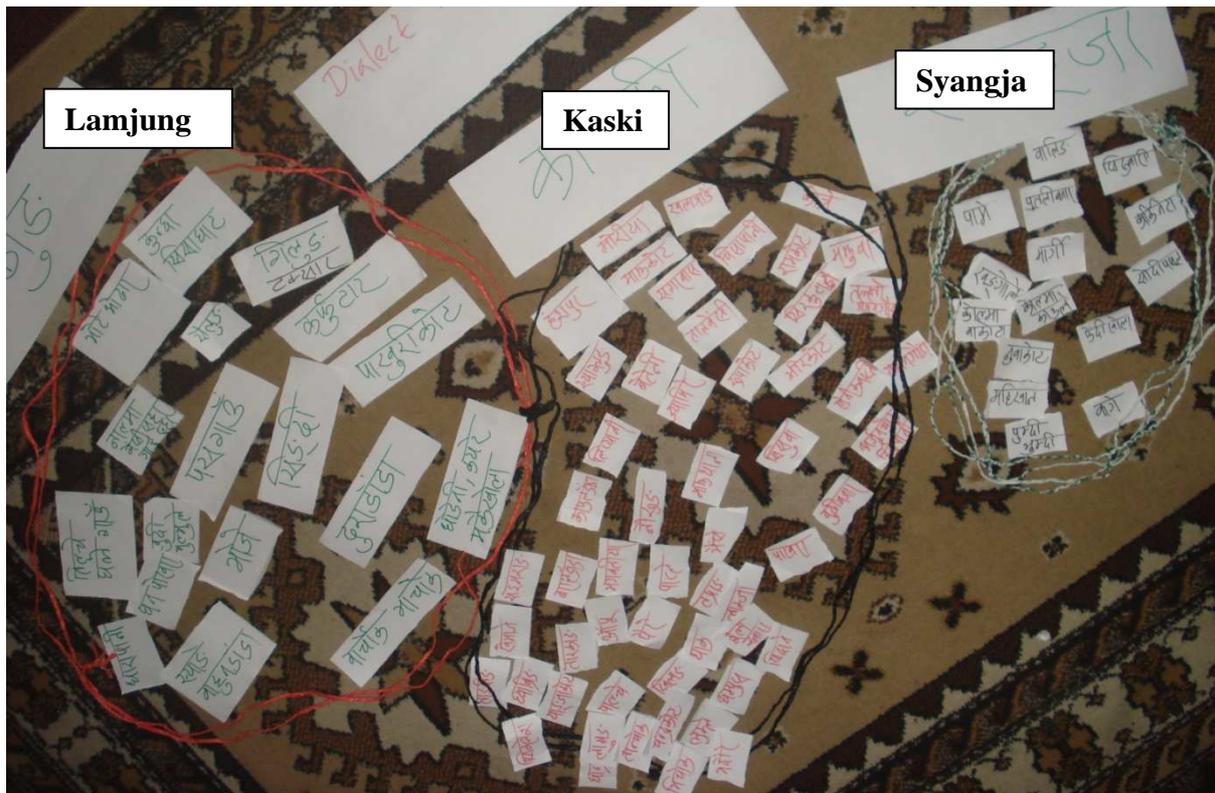


Figure 2: The locations of Gurung settlement in Lamjung, Kaski and Syangja

Lamjung:

Bhoteodar, Nalma, Besisahar, Ghalegaun, Khasur, Dharapani, Syange, Bahundanda, Bhoje, Bhachowk, Warchowk, Duradanda, Kunchha, Sisaghat, Sailung, Bhulbhule, Gilung, Taksar, Karphutar, Pakhurikot, Ghodeni, Kayare, Makaikhola, Tilche, etc.

Kaski:

Moriya, Hamsapur, Majhkot, Khalagaun, Sagarbas, Chisapani, Kotre, Ramkot, Majhuwa, Sirkutang, Gagangaunda, Ritthevani, Sainikbasti, Bhirkot, Sisuwa, Rupakot, Talbesi, Jyamire, Beteni, Lipyani, Kaphaldanda, Naurung, Majhthana, Bhagabatiya, Patle, Bhainse, Pokhara, Budhibazar, Sidane, Thulaswanra, Lamja, Taprang, Paire, Anpu, Bansdanda, Tarkang, Yangjikot, Palche, Khilang, Thaka, Dhampus, Lumle, Bhadaure, Bhichowk, Chandrakot, Tanchowk, Lamrung, Ghandruk, etc.

Syangja:

Waling, Pame, Putalibazar, Sirubari, Margi, Sodipasal, Khangole, Kelma, Bakota, Nuwakot, Mahikhan, Kolma, Kaule, Pumdi, Bhumdi, Bage, Phendikhola, etc.

‘The Gurung are split into two great divisions: four castes and sixteen castes. Lama, Lamichhane, Ghale and Ghatane belong to four castes; and Chormi, Dorjali, Folu, Ghyabre,

Khatra, Kholali, Kurumchhe, Kyabchhe, Jangre, Migi, Paingi, Pom, Rilami, Sogun, Thin, Thorje, Thorjami and Yoj belongs to sixteen castes, (Bista, 1967 in van Driem, 2001:960).

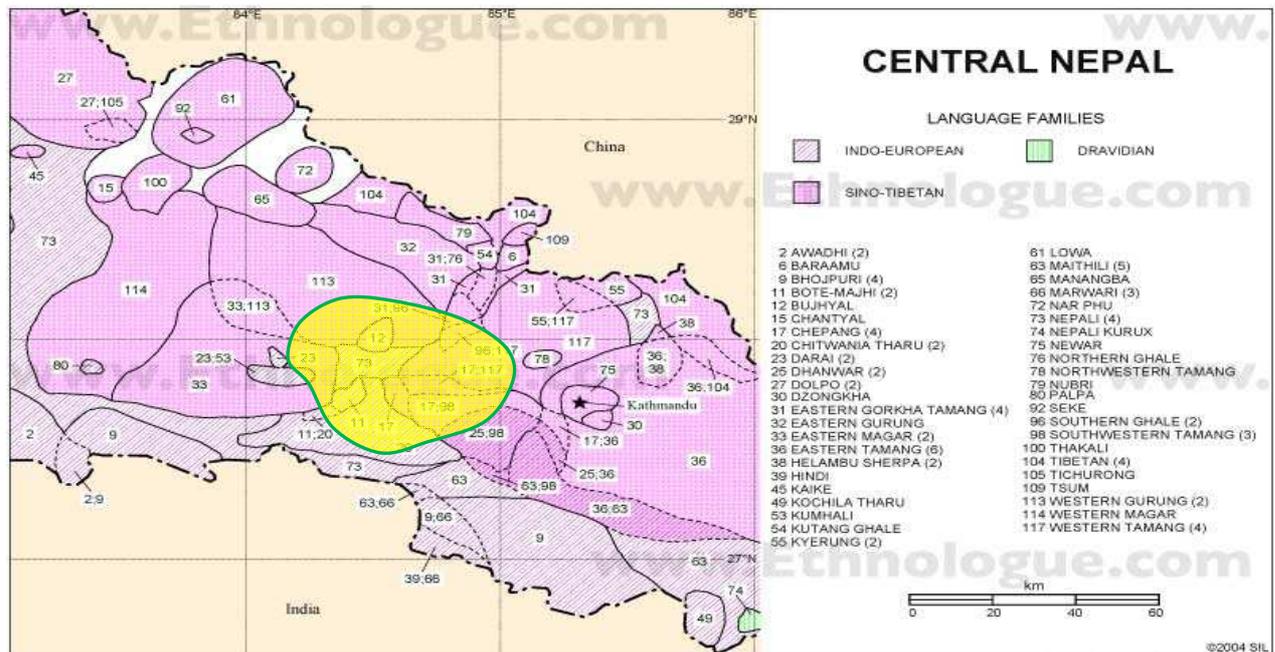


Figure 3: Gurung speaking area in the map of Nepal [Source: Ethnologue, 2009]

It is reported that there are more than 175 clans of Gurung but people are known only some of the clan names. Some of the common clan names are listed below:

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. kaju | 14. Kokor Lem | 27. Khi |
| 2. Kali | 15. Koya | 28. Khelag Ko |
| 3. Kyangri | 16. Kohli | 29. Garabja |
| 4. Lem | 17. Kohke | 30. Gyaldu Kle |
| 5. Katakum | 18. Kohla | 31. Ghala |
| 6. Kitu | 19. Koupoñ | 32. Dhimru |
| 7. Kumhi | 20. Kohtañ | 33. Ghomi |
| 8. Kupche Lem | 21. Krömchhaiñ | 34. Ngawal Kon |
| 9. Kyubi | 22. Komjai Kon | 35. Ngicho Lem |
| 10. Kyu | 23. Krogiñ | 36. Ngor-Ngopchai |
| 11. Kepche | 24. Kroji | 37. ChaaiMaai |
| 12. Ko | 25. Kroñke Pahchyu | 38. Chahkli |
| 13. Kobrijai | 26. Khakyu | |

Gurung divide time into a cycle of 12 years (*lohokor*), to each year of which a special name is given, which is known as *barga (lho)*. As a result there are 12 *lhos*:

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| i. garuda | vii. dog |
| ii. serpent | viii. deer |
| iii. horse | ix. mouse |
| iv. sheep | x. cow |
| v. Monkey | xi. tiger and |
| vi. bird | xii. cat |

Each year is marked by a particular animal and they are arranged in a single circle, closely following the Tibetan calendar with its' 12 animals.

Gurung are either Buddhist or Hindus but it is supposed that in the beginning, the Gurung were followers of Bon shamanism. Tibetan Buddhism was later introduced to the Gurung. Today, the majority of the Gurung are followers of Tibetan Buddhism, especially those who live near the Buddhists. The influence of Bon shamanism is strong among many Gurung. The Gurung who live among the Hindus have converted to Hinduism.

The Lama is the *purohit* (priest) of the Buddhist Gurung. He is entrusted with the responsibility of conducting all religious ceremonies of the tribe. Besides Buddhist lamas, Gurung use their communal witch doctors called *dhawabongs*, to conduct their religious rites and ceremonies. The religious rites performed in odd months are called *argho* by them.

They have some significant festivals like *Lhosar* (celebration of New Year); *mangidina* (related to the birth of seven girls which shows the tie of the family); *methele hlipa* (related to archery), *kheku tehe* (worship of the *gurus*) and *khola sonther chyupa* (establishment of new state).

Gurung male wear *bhangra*, a white cloth shirt-like apparel tied across the chest and open like a bag at the back (for carrying things), and a *kachhad*, like a short sarong or kilt. Gurung women, both children and adolescents, were seen in their maroon velvet *ghalek* (blouses), enhanced by large gold earrings and semi-precious stone necklaces. The three-day public *losar* celebrations continued till the stars were out; then at home they invited visitors for gatherings for almost a week.

There several statements but not historically proven statements about the Gurung. Some people claim that the Gurung people were descended from the historical pre-Mongol, Hun people of Central Asia. Some other people argue that they are of the more recent Mongol

migrations. "Pye-tan-lhu-tan" is the sacred scripture of the Gurung, which contain oral accounts of their traditional history.

Gurung have their own life style. Their traditional occupation was sheep herding and trans-Himalayan trade. In the 19th and early 20th century, many Gurung people were recruited to serve in the British and Indian Gurkha regiments. Today, the Singapore Police, Brunei reserve units and the French Foreign Legion incorporate ethnically Gurung members. While serving in the British Army they have earned more than 6 Victoria's Cross awards. Gurung are not only restricted to military occupations; many live in urban areas and are employed in all types of labor, business and professional services. Nowadays they have been to gulf countries.

1.5 The Gurung language

The term *tamu* is used for both ethnonym and glottonym. There are a number of endonyms to refer to the language with the same literal meaning 'the language of *tamu*'. The language name is transcribed variously as *tamu kyohe*, *tamu kxyũ*, *tamu kwi*, *tamu kyiwui*, etc. *gurung bhasa* or *gurung kura* is the exonym to refer to the language. Nowadays, the people use exonym rather than the endonym to refer to their language. During our survey, out of the 39 respondents only 13 called their language using the endonym and 25 called their language by exonym. One respondent called the language as *tamu Tã*.

It is one of the minority languages spoken in Gorkha, Lamjung, Kaski, Syangja, Tanahu and Parbat districts of Nepal by the Gurung native speakers. Mostly the Gurung people settled outside of their homeland have given up their ethnic language and have adopted Nepali as their native tongue (van Driem, 2001:959). According to the Census Report of Nepal 2011, the total number of Gurung speakers is 325622 of which 147235 are males and 178387 are females. It shows that the number of female speakers is larger than that of males. Vast majority of the Gurung speakers is living in the rural areas (247356) than in the urban areas (78266). Similarly, the major concentration of the Gurung speakers is found in the hilly areas of the Western Development Region. The report has presented the distribution of the Gurung speakers in different areas as:

Urban: 78266, rural: 247356, mountain: 1893, hill: 250601, Terai: 56088.

Similarly the report has presented their distribution in different development regions as:

Eastern: 35560, Central: 54020, Western: 226899, Mid-western: 7992 and Far-western: 1151.

van Driem (2001:959) states that Gurung comprises three dialects with a low degree of mutual intelligibility between them. The first one is a relatively homogenous western Gurung dialect spoken in Kaski and Parbat. The second one is a heterogeneous eastern dialect group spoken in Lamjung, Gorkha and Tanahu. And the third one is a southern dialect spoken in Syangja. He further notices that there is considerable variation between the Gurung dialects in both the lexicon and the form of morphological indices such as tense suffixes.

Gurung is a Sino-Tibetan language. Under the Sino-Tibetan language family it belongs to the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman. Bradley has grouped it in the Bodish group of Tibeto-Burman. The genetic classification of Gurung can be presented as given below:

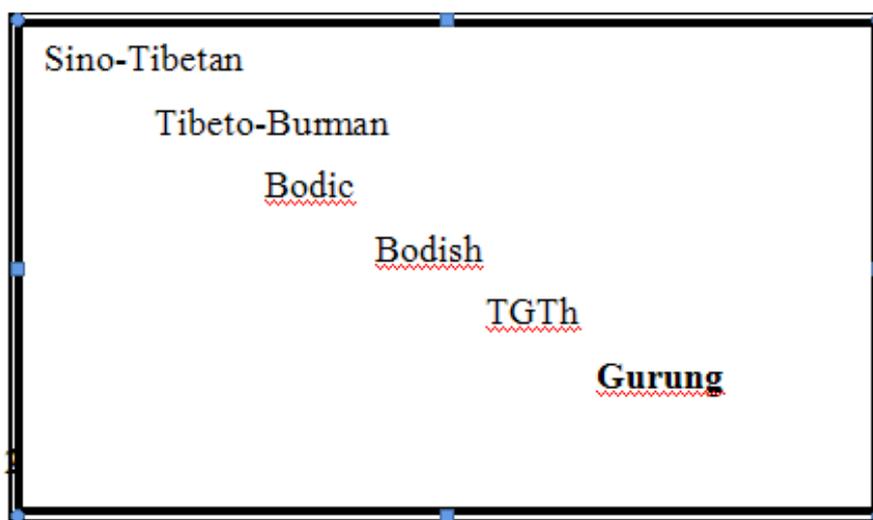


Figure 4: Genetic classification of Gurung [Bradley (2001) [simplified]

1.6 Organization of the report

The survey report consists of 8 chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the introduction to the survey. In chapter 2 we examine research methodology of the study. Chapter 3 deals with the lexical variation. Chapter 4 looks at the domains of the language use. In chapter 5 we focus the multilingualism. Chapter 6 deals with language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes. In chapter 7 we examine the language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development and chapter. Chapter 8 presents the summary of findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

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

2.2 Research methodology

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

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

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

a. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

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

This questionnaire was administered to almost equal number of respondents at each of the survey points including male-female, literate-illiterate, different age groups (15-35, 35-55, 55+above and different caste groups. Table 1 gives the overview of the survey points and sample population in Syangja, Kaski and Lamjung districts respectively.

The questions were administered in Nepali to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali or English. After the data collection

the answers were entered into a database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

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

VDCs	GPS	Elevation	Sex		Literacy		Age groups		
			Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-35	35-55	55+
Sirubari, Syangja	33°45'33.6'' E 28°07'54.2'' N	1634 m.	3	5	6	2	3	2	3
Pokhara, Kaski	84°00'34.6'' E 28°12'46.1'' N	849 m.	6	1	5	2	-	2	5
Lekhnath, Kaski	84°02'25.6'' E 28°09'50.4'' N	856 m.	5	7	11	1	6	5	1
Bensisahar, Lamjung	28°13'48.3'' E 84°22'43.2'' N	1629 m.	5	2	5	2	4	2	1
Khasur, Lamjung	81°01'18.3'' E 29°32'51.7'' N	2019 m.	3	2	5	-	2	1	2
Total			22	17	32	7	15	12	12

b. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B) / The PM Tools

i. Dialect Mapping (DLM)

The Dialect Mapping (DLM) component was relevant for this survey. The main purpose of this tool is to help the speech community to think about the language varieties spoken in the areas, Table 3 gives the overview of the locations and sample population selected for the purpose of Dialect Mapping (DLM).

Table 2.2: The overview of the survey points and sample population for dialect mapping in Gurung

VDCs	Sex		Literacy		Age groups		
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-35	35-55	55+
Lekhnath, Kaski	5	7	11	1	6	5	1
Khasur, Lamjung	5	6	7	4	4	4	3
Total	10	13	18	5	10	9	4

ii. Domains of Language Use (DLU)

In a multilingual community different languages are used in specific domains. The main purpose of this tool is to help the speech community think about what language(s) they use in the different domains of language use.

Table 2.3: The overview of the survey points and sample population for domains of language use in Gurung

VDC	Sex		Literacy		Age groups		
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-35	35-55	55+
Sirubari, Syangja	5	7	11	1	6	5	1
Pokhara, Kaski	7	4	8	3	1	4	6
Lekhnath, Kaski	5	6	7	4	4	4	3
Besisahar, Lamjung	6	7	9	4	5	4	4
Khasur, Lamjung	4	5	6	3	3	3	3
Total	10	13	18	5	10	9	4

iv. Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)

The main purpose of this tool is to help the speech community think about the stage of language development. It focuses on the works that have been carried out in the language and the works needed to be carried out. Table 3 gives the overview of the locations and sample population selected for the purpose of Dialect Mapping (DLM).

Table 2.4: The overview of the survey points and sample population for appreciative enquiry

VDCs	Sex		Literacy		Age groups		
	Male	Female	Literate	Illiterate	15-35	35-55	55+
Sirubari, Syangja	5	7	11	1	6	5	1
Pokhara, Kaski	7	4	8	3	1	4	6
Lekhnath, Kaski	5	6	7	4	4	4	3
Besisahar, Lamjung	6	7	9	4	5	4	4
Khasur, Lamjung	4	5	6	3	3	3	3
Total	10	13	18	5	10	9	4

c. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

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

2.2.2 Wordlist comparisons

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

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

2.3 Limitations

2.3.1 Time

It was a very difficult enterprise to carry out the sociolinguistic survey of three districts in 15 days. So we really could not visit most of the Gurung areas but we tried our best to get the overall impression of the sociolinguistic situation of those districts. So this survey has not been a complete survey but a sample survey.

2.3.2 Season

We had been to the field study after Dashain and before Tihar. We found them in their hectic job of harvesting like millet and paddy. Most of them did not respond us due to their work morning to evening. So it had been very difficult for us to get informants in the day time and it directly affected the sample population.

CHAPTER 3

DIALECTAL VARIATION

3.1 Outline

This chapter attempts to look at the dialectal variations in Gurung. It is organized into four sections. Section 3.2 presents the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 3.3 deals with the wordlist comparison and finally, in section 3.4 we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Dialect mapping

The Gurung language has a number of dialects spoken in different locations. The community members have the knowledge that there are other varieties of Gurung different from their own. Some of community members were found to have knowledge how other varieties are different from their own variety. Apart from the major varieties there are a number of minor varieties. The varieties spoken in different villages are slightly different from each other in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation, etc. The scope of this study is the major varieties of Gurung rather than the minor varieties. So we tried to figure out the major varieties during this study.

3.2.1 Identification of different dialects

For the purpose of identification of the different dialects of the Gurung language, we carried out dialect mapping at two distinct points namely Lekhanath Municipality in the Kaski district and Khasur in the Lamjung district and tried to find out overall impression of the distribution of the dialects spoken. The first point is the central part of the Gurung speaking area. Dialect mapping at this point could give an overall picture of the Gurung dialects except Gorkha. So we carried out dialect at Khasur to identify the dialectal situation in Gorkha. With the help of dialect mapping at two points we have been successful to get the overall impression of the distribution of the Gurung dialects. There have been identified five dialects of Gurung if Ghale is included within Gurung. Otherwise there exist four Gurung dialects. We could not find special names to the dialects so we have named them as the first variety (Variety 1), second variety (Variety 2), third variety (Variety 3) and fourth variety (Variety 4).

Variety 1 is spoken in the northern part of Syangja and Kaski districts. It is spoken in Sirubari, Karkineta, Arjunchaupari, etc. in the eastern part of the Syangja district and

Ghandruk, Dhampus, Lumle, Chandrakot, Bhadaure, Lamung, etc., in the western part of the Kaski district.

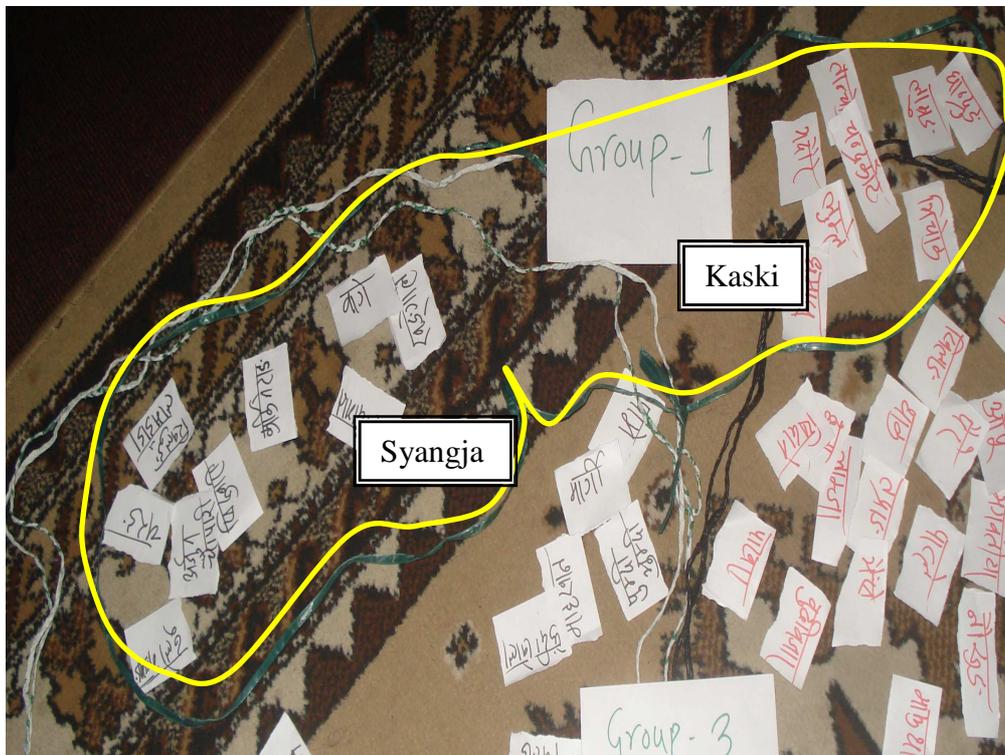


Figure 3.1: The variety 1 speaking areas

Similarly Variety 2 is spoken in Waling, Putalibajar Municipality, Bayarghari, Maidan, Nuwakot and the nearby VDCs in the western part of the the Syangja district.

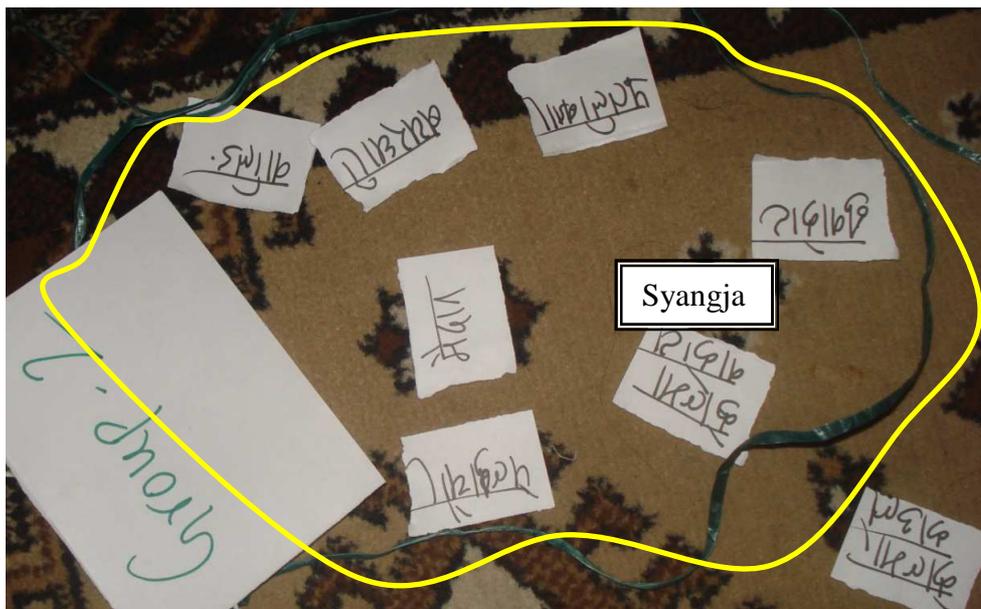


Figure 3.2: The variety 2 speaking areas

Variety 3 is the largest variety that covers most of the parts of the Kaski district and some parts of Syangja and Lamjung districts. In Syangja, it is spoken in Pumdi, Gumdi, Phendikhola and the surrounding areas. In Kaski, it is spoken in most of the areas including Pokhara, Lekhanath, Sikles, Yangjakot, Mirkot, Beteni, Sisuwa, etc. In Lamjung, it is spoken in Duradanda, Bhachowk, Ghodeni, Makaikhola and the surrounding areas.

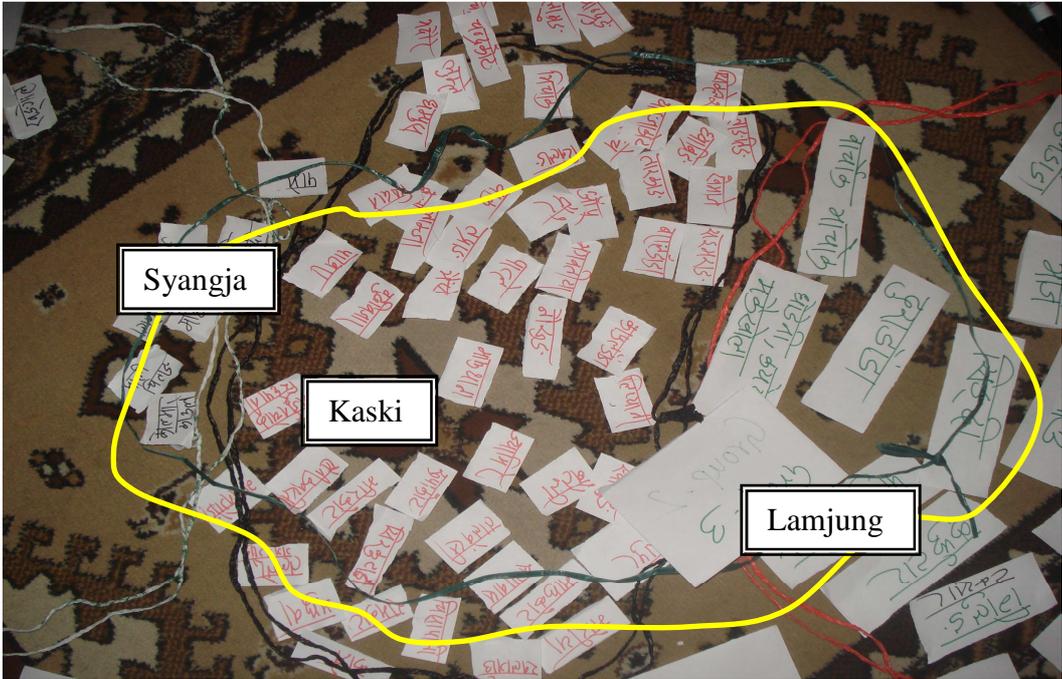


Figure 3.3: The variety 3 speaking areas

Similarly, Variety 4 is mainly spoken in Lamjung, in the areas of Bhoteodar, Besisahar, Khasur, Ghalegaun, Kunchha, Pasgaun, Ghanpokhara, etc.

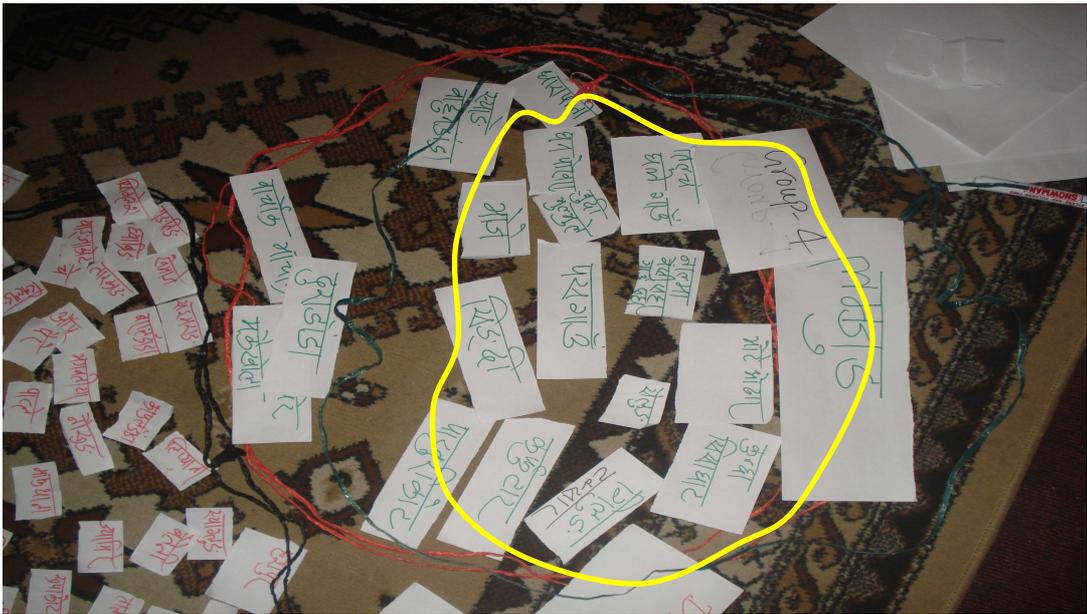


Figure 3.4: The variety 4 speaking areas

This dialect mapping at the Lekhanath Municipality in the Kaski district shows that the Gurung dialects are based on the geography not on the district as mentioned in the previous literatures. For example, in the literature there are mentioned Syangja dialect, Kaski dialect, etc. but our finding is that in Syangja there are two varieties of which one is spoken only in the district but another continues up to the western parts of the Kaski district. Similarly, there are two varieties in Kaski of which one overlaps with one variety of Syangja and another spreads up to the western part of Lamjung.

Dialect mapping at Khasur, Lamjung could not be as explicit as the dialect mapping at Lekhanath. The people in Khasur are not well known about the varieties in Syangja and Kaski but they are well known that the varieties spoken in Syangja and Kaski are different from their own variety. Similarly, they are well known that the variety spoken in Gorkha is also distinct from their own. In this way they could identify three Gurung varieties: variety 1 spoken in the west (especially Kaski and Syangja), variety 2 spoken in their own area (Lamjung) and variety 3, spoken in the east (especially Gorkha). They pointed out that the variety spoken in Gorkha is far different from their own variety than the variety spoken in the west.



Figure 3.5: Dialect mapping in Khasur, Lamjung

In this way we could find out altogether four varieties of Gurung as:

- Variety 1: spoken in the northern part of Syangja and southern-western part of Kaski
- Variety 2: spoken in the central-southern part of Syangja (probably in Parbat and Tanahu, too)
- Variety 3: spoken in the northern-eastern part of Syangja, most of the parts of Kaski and western part of Lamjung
- Variety 4: spoken in the most of the parts of Lamjung
- Variety 5: spoken in Gorkha

3.3 Lexical similarity

The wordlists collected from five different survey points: Sirubari of Syangja, Pokhara and Lekhnath of Kaski and Beshisahar and Khasur of Lamjung districts are compared and the summary of the comparison is presented in table 6.

Table 3.1: Lexical Similarity comparison in Gurung

	Sirubari	Pokhara	Lekhanath	Khasur	Besisahar
Sirubari	100%	78%	70%	60%	62%
Pokhara	78%	100%	78%	71%	65%
Lekhanath	70%	78%	100%	75%	65%
Khasur	60%	71%	75%	100%	66%
Besisahar	62%	65%	65%	66%	100%

The lexical differences we find between Sirubari and others are: Sirubari and Pokhara 22%, Sirubari and Lekhnath 31%, Sirubari and Beshisahar 40% and the same pattern is found when compared with the other locations.. The more we go from the west to the east the lexical variation gradually increases and vice versa except. It shows the lexical variation in the Gurung varieties increases gradually according to the distance which is justified by Figures 7 and 8.

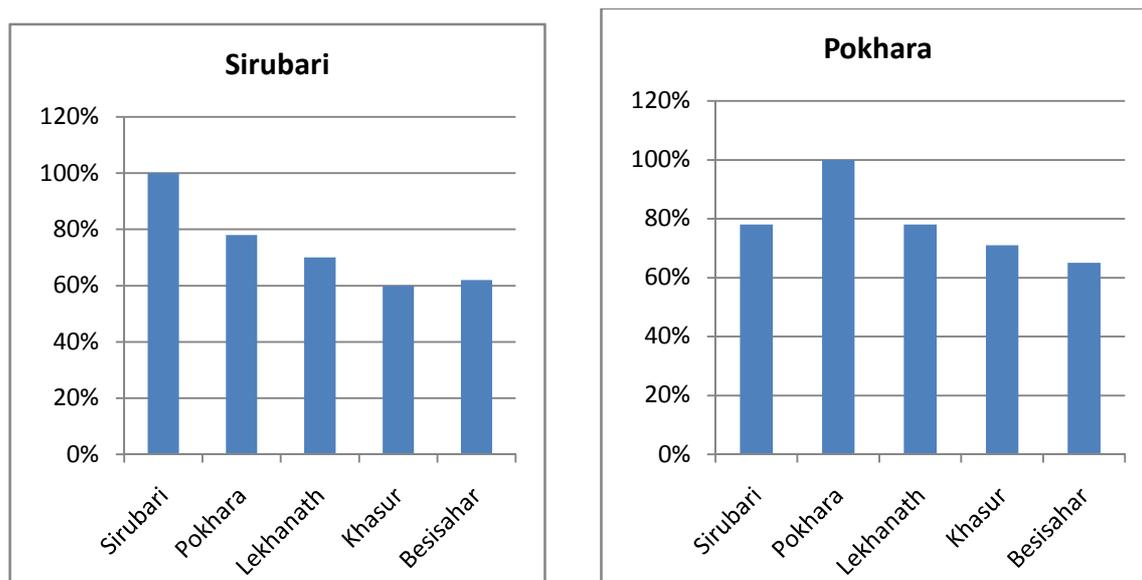


Figure 3.6: Graphic representation of lexical comparison: Sirubari vs. others and Pokhara vs. others

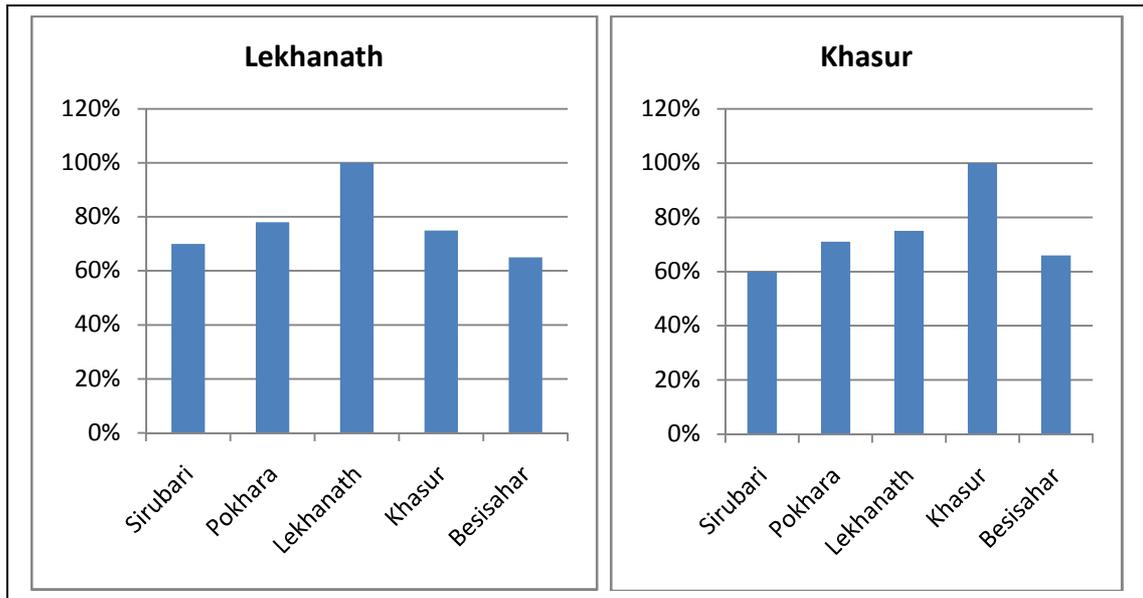


Figure 3.7: Graphic representation of lexical comparison: Lekhanath vs. others and Khasur vs. others

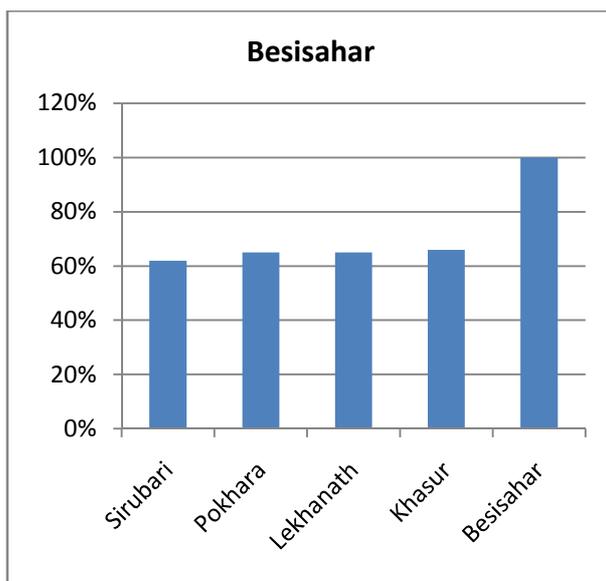


Figure 3.8: Graphic representation of lexical comparison: Besisahar vs. others

3.4 Summary

With the help of dialect mapping we have been successful to get the overall impression of the distribution of the Gurung varieties. There have been identified five dialects of Gurung. We could not find special names to the dialects so we have named them as the first variety (Group 1: the northern part of Syangja and southern-western part of Kaski), second variety (Group 2: spoken in the central-southern part of Syangja), third variety (Group 3: the northern-eastern part of Syangja, most of the parts of Kaski and western part of Lamjung), fourth variety (Group 4: the most of the parts of Lamjung) and fifth

variety (Group 5: Gorkha). As mentioned in the literature the varieties are not district specific but geography specific. At each location the people claim their variety to be the pure Gurung in comparison with others. The lexical comparison shows that there is nearly a constant descending order in lexical similarity from Syangja to Besisahar and vice versa. It justifies that there is not any abrupt change between the adjacent varieties of Gurung; it is a natural continuum of a single language. But the case of Gorkha variety may be different because our study was confined from Syangja to Lamjung.

CHAPTER 4

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

4.1 Outline

This chapter looks at the major domains of language use in Gurung. It consists of eight sections. Section 4.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. Section 4.3 deals with the use of the language in interpersonal communication in the family. In section 4.4 we deal with the patterns of language use by the children. Section 4.5 appraises the patterns of language use by the community for invitations and the patterns of language use in writing the minutes of the community meetings. Section 4.6 looks at the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication. In section 4.7 we discuss the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at the primary level. Section 4.8 summarizes the finding of the chapter.

4.2 Patterns of language use in general domains

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

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

The situation of use of the languages in different domains of language use is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains

	Gurung	Nepali	Gurung/Nepali
Counting	11 (28%)	23 (59%)	2 (5%)
Singing	5 (13%)	21 (54%)	11 (28%)
Joking	8 (21%)	15 (38%)	15(38%)
Shopping/ Marketing	2 (5%)	29 (74%)	5 (13%)
Telling story	8 (21%)	26 (67%)	4 (10%)
Discussing/ Debate	13 (33%)	11 (28%)	15 (%)
Praying*	10 (26%)	20 (51%)	9 (23%)
Quarrelling	9 (23%)	9 (23%)	21 (54%)
Abusing)	11 (28%)	17 (44%)	17 (44%)
Stories to children	5 (13%)	26 (67%)	8 (21%)
Singing at home	7 (18%)	20 (51%)	11 (28%)
Family gatherings	16 (41%)	11 (28%)	12 (31%)
Village meetings	6 (15%)	24 (62%)	9 (23%)

The use of Gurung does not seem to be prominent in most of the domains of language use. There are only two domains: family discussions and family gatherings in which Gurung is dominantly used. The use of Nepali is dominant in most of the domains like counting, singing, marketing, storytelling, village meeting, etc. Similarly there are some domains like joking, quarreling and accusing in which both of the languages are used in parallel way. The overall situation gives an impression that the areas of Gurung use are getting narrowed.

Nepali is used mainly in the formal use, market and writing whereas Gurung is used in most of the domestic domains. Counting in Gurung is not frequently used as much it is used in Nepali. Singing is the domain in which the use of Nepali is dominant. However, they possess some of the songs of their own language and nowadays they have composed songs in Gurung and have been published in the form of CDs/DVDs.

While joking, they seem to use both Gurung and Nepali language. In the domains like abusing and quarreling both Gurung and Nepali are used simultaneously. In discussing both Gurung and Nepali are equally used. Mostly in the informal or family gatherings they tend to speak Gurung. While praying they used Gurung language in limited way. In their performing cultures they require their own language. While telling the story to their children, they prefer

their own language. But this tendency does not exist among the young generations. The situation of use of language in different domains has also been presented in Figure 4.1.

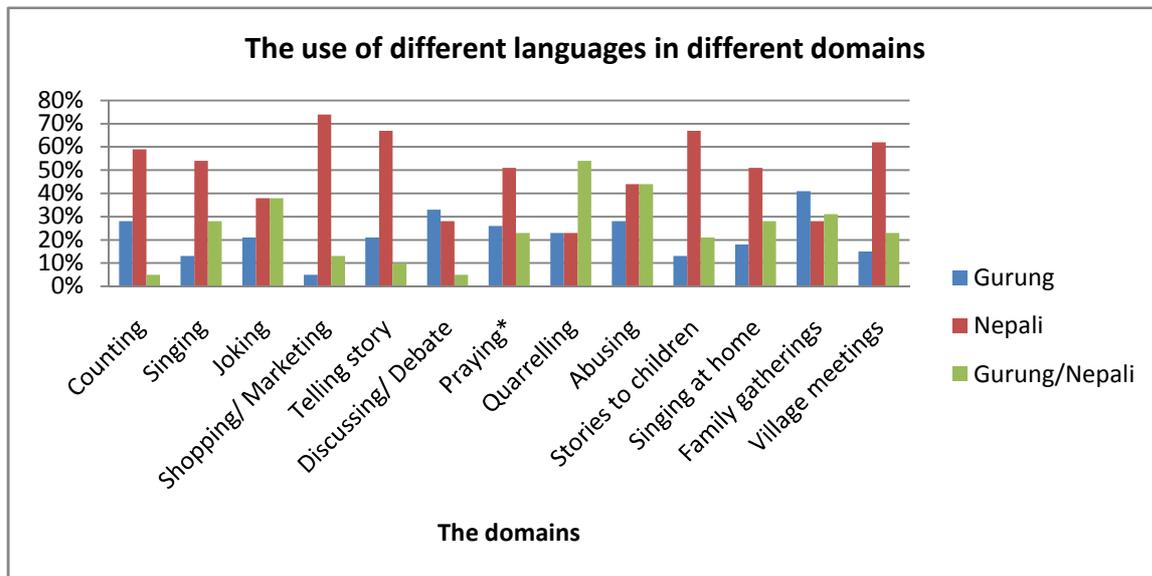


Figure 4.1: The use of languages in different domains

The domains of language use identified by participatory method also gives the similar impression as presented in Figure 4.2.

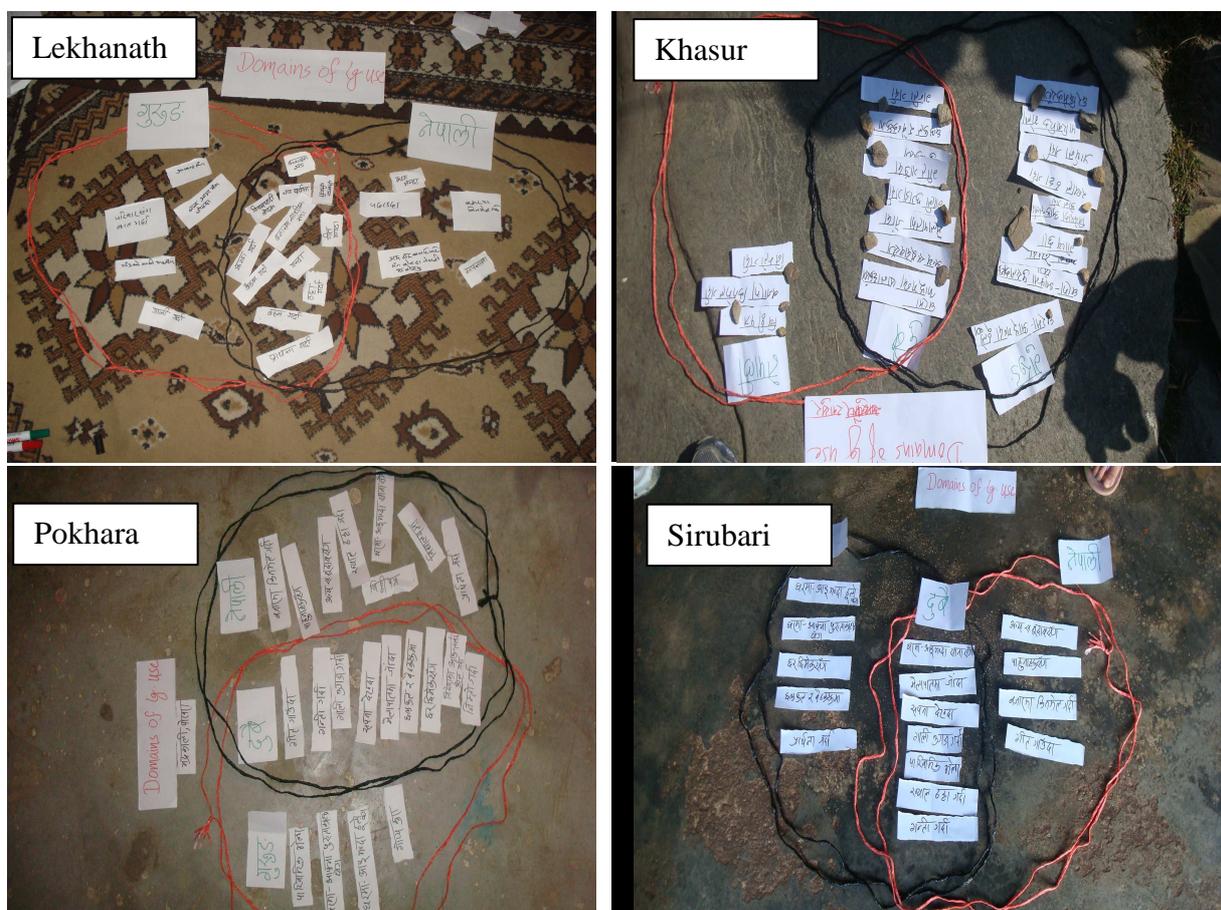


Figure 4.2: The use of languages in different domains identified from PM

The findings from the participatory method from different survey locations have presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: The findings from the participatory method from four survey locations

	Sirubari	Pokhara	Lekhanath	Khasur
Gurung	-with the seniors in family -with friend of same age -with Neighbours -local meetings -to pray	-in the family -with relatives -with seniors -to talk secret matters	-in the family -with relatives -with villagers -to abuse	-in the family -with seniors -with friend of same age -with relatives -with Neighbours -to talk secret matters -to joke -to pray -while dreaming
Nepali	- in school -in market -while singing -with other community people	-with guests - in school -in market -with juniors -with non-speakers of Gurung -to pray -to joke	-telling stories - in school -in market -while dreaming -with non-speakers of Gurung	-in writing - in school -in market -to invite
Both Gurung and Nepali	-with juniors -with children -in agricultural work -while dreaming -while quarrelling -in family gathering -to joke -to count	-in meetings -while quarrelling -for singing -counting -while dreaming -in working places -in invitation	-in meetings -while quarrelling -with children -in festivals -for singing -to joke -in discussion -to pray	-with juniors -with children -in agricultural work -while quarrelling -while singing -in meetings -to count

It is understood from Table 4.2 that Khashur is the place where Gurung is spoken in relatively more domains and next to Khasur is Sirubari. In Pokhara and Lekhanath Gurung is used in very limited domains. It is an indication that the use of Gurung is wider in the villages

than in the urban areas. Although the use of Gurung is decreasing, it is still vibrant in the rural areas. If we compare Figures 4.3 to 4.5 it is clearly understood that the domains of Gurung are decreasing from the old generation speakers to the new generation speakers. Among the 55+ age group Gurung and Nepali are simultaneously used in most of the domains and in the domains in which only one language is used, the use of Gurung is nearly equal to the use of Nepali. So the use of both Gurung and Nepali is parallel among the eldest age group, Figure 4.3.

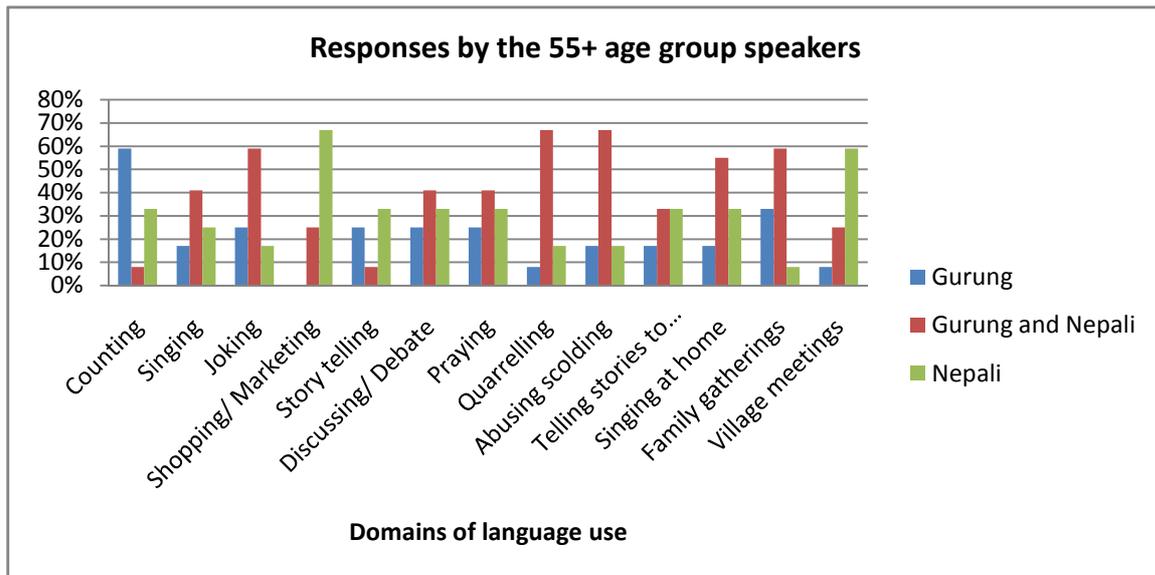


Figure 4.3: The use of languages in different domains by 55+ age group

Among the age group 35-55 the use of Nepali has increased in the domains in which both Nepali and Gurung are used among the age group 55+ but the use of Gurung seems to remain almost constant, Figure 4.4.

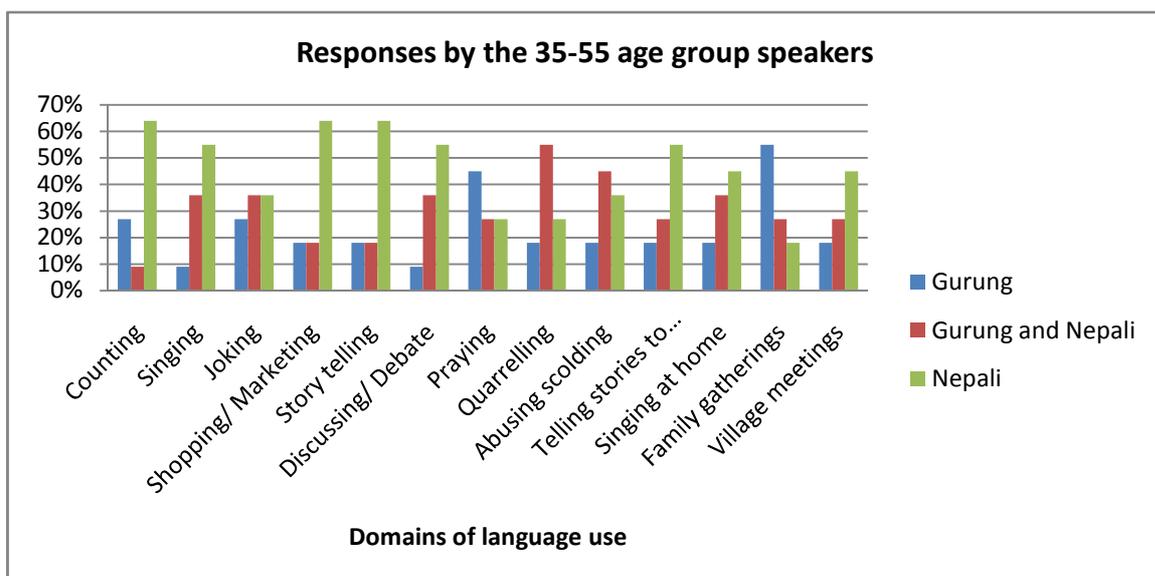


Figure 4.4: The use of languages in different domains by 35-55 age group

But in contrast, among the age group 15-35 the use of Nepali has dramatically increased in all the domains. The use of Gurung and bilingual use of Gurung and Nepali have completely been marginalized and Nepali has become the most dominating language among them as presented in Figure 4.5.

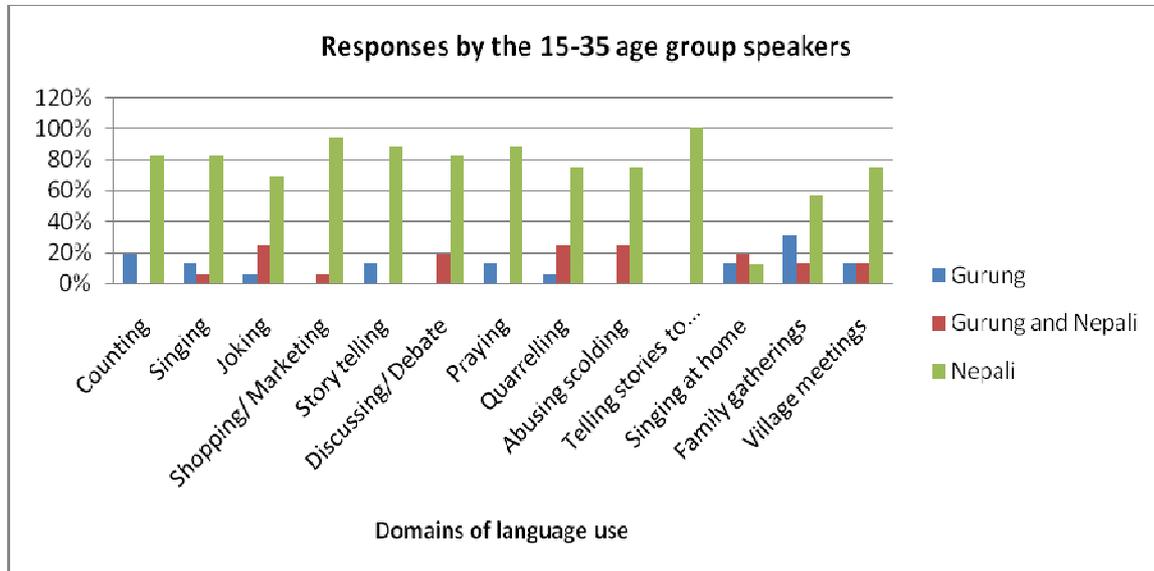


Figure 4.5: The use of languages in different domains by 15-35 age group

The use of language in different domains of language use also seems to depend on the education of the respondents. Generally the illiterate or literate only people live in the village and are in less contact with the other language speakers. So they have to use their mother tongue in their daily lives in more domains of language use.

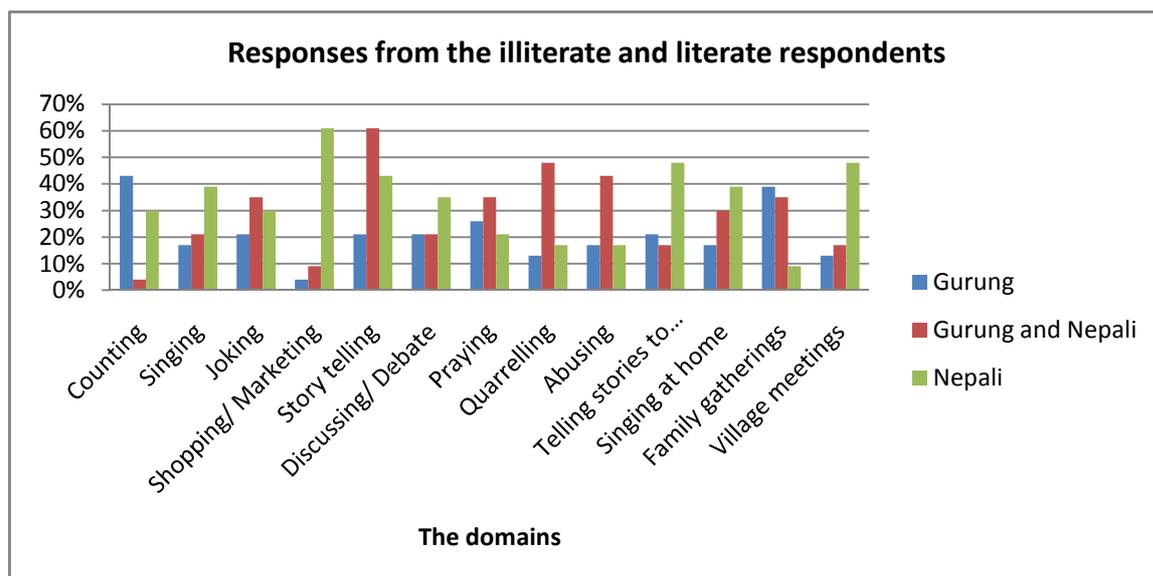


Figure 4.6: The use of languages in different domains by illiterate and literate only respondents

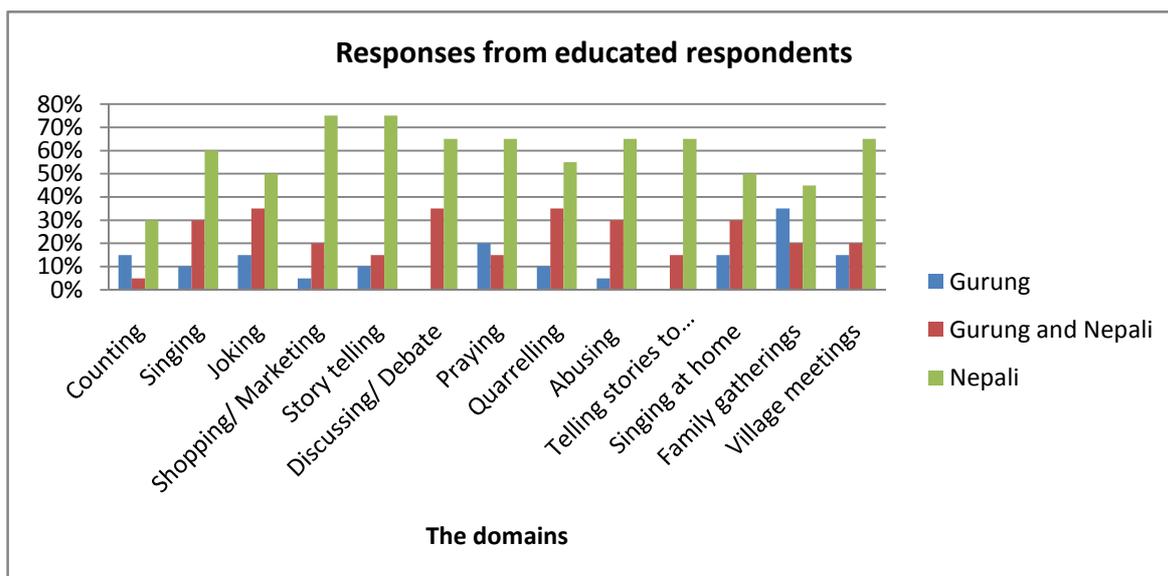


Figure 4.7: The use of languages in different domains by educated respondents

But in contrary, the educated people come in contact with other language speakers more often than the illiterate ones and in most of the cases they live out of their community in the course of job or business. As a result they have to use the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) in most of the domains of language use and gradually they become more used to LWC than the mother tongue. The difference can be clearly seen if we compare Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7.

The illiterate and literate only people either use Gurung or Gurung/Nepali simultaneously in most of the domains whereas the educated ones use either Gurung/Nepali or Nepali in most of the domains. Within the first group, the use of Gurung is tolerably higher but within the second group the use of Gurung is desperately lower. The situation can be schematically presented as:

Group first (illiterate and literate only): ***Gurung/Nepali>Nepali>Gurung***

Group second (educated): ***Nepali>Gurung/Nepali>Gurung***

It gives an impression that illiterate and literate only people have mother tongue retention in a number of domains of language use for some extent whereas educated people have shifted towards the language of wider communication, Nepali. This clearly shows that those who are educated are more open to language shift than the illiterate and literate only people. Table 4.3 presents the detail about the use of the languages in different domains of language use by illiterate/literate only and educated Gurung people.

Table 4.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains (by level of education)

	Illiterate/literate only (n=23)			Educated (n=20)		
	G	GN	N	G	GN	N
Counting	10(43%)	1(4%)	7 (30%)	3 (15%)	1 (5%)	6(30%)
Singing	4(17%)	5(21%)	9(39%)	2 (10%)	6 (30%)	12 (60%)
Joking	5(21%)	8(35%)	7(30%)	3(15%)	7(35%)	10 (50%)
Shopping/ Marketing	1 (4%)	2(9%)	14(61%)	1 (5%)	4(20%)	15(75%)
Story telling	5 (21%)	14(%)	10(43%)	2(10%)	3(15%)	15(75%)
Discussing/ Debate	5(21%)	5(21%)	8(35%)	0 (0%)	7(35%)	13(65%)
Praying	6(%)	8(35%)	5(21%)	4(20%)	3(15%)	13(65%)
Quarrelling	3 (13%)	11(48%)	4(17%)	2(10%)	7(35%)	11(55%)
Abusing	4 (17%)	10(43%)	4(17%)	1 (5%)	6(30%)	13(65%)
Telling stories to children	5 (21%)	4(17%)	11(48%)	0 (0%)	3(15%)	13(65%)
Singing at home	4 (17%)	7(30%)	9(39%)	3(15%)	6(30%)	10(50%)
Family gatherings	9(39%)	8(35%)	2 (9%)	7(35%)	4(20%)	9 (45%)
Village meetings	3 (13%)	4(17%)	11(48%)	3 (15%)	4(20%)	13(65%)

4.3 Patterns of language use at home

The most favorable place for a mother tongue to be used is the home. How much a language is used at home determines how vibrant the language is. In this sub-section, we discuss the patterns of the use of the Gurung language at home.

The grandparents, parents, siblings, spouse and children are the common inter-collocutors in a family. If the respondent is an adult, in most of the cases s/he doesn't have grandparents and the siblings don't live together with her/him any longer. In the same way, if the respondent is young s/he may not have spouse and/or children. So it is not possible to find all the interlocutors in a family. For the purpose of this research the respondents about the use of languages with their family members like grandparents, parents, spouse and children while talking about education related topics and family or society related topics and while writing

letters. Some of the respondents didn't have grandparents and/or parents and some were illiterate and couldn't write letter and some have never written letters although they were literate. So, all the respondents could not answer all of the questions. Table 4.4 presents the use of Gurung at home in the above mentioned situations.

Table 4.4 Use of Gurung in interpersonal communication at home

	Education related	Society/family related	Writing letter
Grandfather	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Grandmother	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Father	2 (05.12%)	3(07.67%)	0 (0.00%)
Mother	3(07.67%)	3(07.67%)	0 (0.00%)
Spouse	4 (10.25%)	4 (10.25%)	0 (0.00%)
Children	2(05.12%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)

Mainly the adult people speak Gurung at home but they don't have their grandparents and in several cases even parents. So the conversation using Gurung with the grandparents is nil and with the parents is very limited. Written tradition in Gurung is a new tradition so in the past people used to write letters in Nepali. As in the table 4.5, some of the respondents use Gurung and Nepali simultaneously with their family members in both educations related and society/family related matters. Some of them wrote letters in both of the languages as demanded by the situation. It shows that nowadays Gurung is also used in writing.

Table 4.5: Use of Gurung and Nepali in interpersonal communication at home

	Education related	Society/family related	Writing letter
Grandfather	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Grandmother	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Father	2 (05.12%)	2 (05.12%)	0 (0.00%)
Mother	1(0.2.56%)	1(0.2.56%)	0 (0.00%)
Spouse	5(12.82%)	6(15.38%)	2 (05.12%)
Children	5(12.82%)	5(12.82%)	1(0.2.56%)

As in the table 4.6, some of the respondents use only Nepali with their family members in both educations related and society/family related matters whereas all the respondents who wrote letters in their life wrote in Nepali.

Table 4.6: Use of Nepali in different situations in interpersonal communication at home

N= 39	Education related	Society/family related	Writing letter
Grandfather	11(28.20%)	11(28.20%)	11(28.20%)
Grandmother	11(28.20%)	11(28.20%)	11(28.20%)
Father	11(28.20%)	11(28.20%)	16(41.02%)
Mother	11(28.20%)	11(28.20%)	16(41.02%)
Spouse	10(25.64%)	10(25.64%)	16(41.02%)
Children	10(25.64%)	10(25.64%)	14(35.89%)

4.4 Patterns of language use by the children

There are three domains, playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school, to examine the patterns of language use by the children. Table 4.7 presents the responses made by the respondents about the language use by their children while playing with friends, while talking with neighbors and at school.

Table 4.7: Language use by the children while playing, with neighbours and at school

	Gurung	Gurung and Nepali	Nepali
While playing with friends	0 (0%)	5 (12.82%)	34 (87.17%)
While talking with the neighbours	0 (0%)	5 (12.82%)	34 (87.17%)
At school	0 (0%)	3 (7.69%)	38 (97.43%)

Nearly 90% of the children use Nepali and only about 10% of them use both Gurung and Nepali simultaneously in all the three situations. The use of Gurung solely is not found among the children in any of the situations. The situation suggests that there is a immense language shift among the children.

Table 4.8: Language use by the children with friends, with neighbours and at school (by location)

	With friends			With the neighbors			At school		
	G	GN	N	G	GN	N	G	GN	N
Sirubari (n=8)	0(0%)	0(0%)	8(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	8(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	8(100%)
Pokhara (n=7)	0(0%)	1(14.2%)	6(85.7%)	0(0%)	1(14.2%)	6(85.7%)	0(0%)	1(14.2%)	6(85.7%)
Lekha. (n=12)	0(0%)	0(0%)	12 (100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	12(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	12(100%)
Besisahar (n=7)	0(0%)	1(14.2%)	6(85.7%)	0(0%)	1(14.2%)	6(85.7%)	1(14.2%)	0(0%)	6(85.7%)
Khasur (n=5)	0(0%)	3(60%)	2(40%)	0(0%)	3(60%)	2(40%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	5(100%)

While we compare the different locations regarding the issue, we understand that only Gurung is not used by the children in any situation at any location. The simultaneous use of

Gurung and Nepali among the children is slightly found in Pokhara and Besisahar but it is remarkably found in Khasur. It indicates that still the Gurung children in the rural areas are fluently bilingual in their mother tongue and Nepali. But in the urban areas most of the children have been shifted into Nepali.

4.5 The language for invitations and writing minutes

In Gurung communities the marriage invitations are in both oral and written forms. While they invite orally, it depends on whether the addressee speaks Gurung or not. They have to use Nepali with the non-speakers of Gurung without any question. If the addressee is a speaker of Gurung invitation is possible in both Gurung and Nepali. In the print form majority of respondents use Nepali for invitation. Nowadays, there has been a tradition to print an invitation card in both of the languages. Nepali is used to write the minute of any kind of meeting in the Gurung communities.

4.6 The frequency of use of the language of wider communication

In Gurung community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 4.9 presents the frequency of the use of Nepali.

Table 4.9: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by places

	always	sometimes	never
Sirubari	8(100%)	0(%)	0(0.00%)
Pokhara	3(42.85%)	4(57.14%)	0(0.00%)
Lekhanath	12 (100%)	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)
Besisahar	7(100%)	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)
Khasur	3(60%)	2(40%)	0(0.00%)

All of the people always use Nepali in Sirubari, Lekhanath and Besisahar but in Pokhara and Besisahar nearly 50% of the people use Nepali always and nearly 50% use it sometimes. But there is not a single respondent who never uses Nepali. It points out that the use of Nepali is more frequent in the urban areas or business areas than in the remote villages.

Table 4.10: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by age

	A1: 15-35 (n=16)	A2: 35-55 (n=11)	A3: 55+ (n=12)
Always	15(93.75%)	9(81.81%)	9(75%)
Sometimes	1(6.25%)	2(18.18)	3(25%)
Never	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)

The frequency of use of Nepali is more in the younger generation people in comparison with the elder generation people as presented in Table 4.10.

4.7 Preference of language for medium of instruction at primary level

Nearly 60% of the respondents preferred Gurung as the medium of instruction at the primary level of education. In the same way about 15% of them preferred Nepali and 25% of them preferred English. It shows that English is more preferable than Nepali for the Gurung people. Table 4.11 shows the respondents from five points: Sirubari, Pokhara, Lekhnath, Besisahar and Khasur prefer Gurung much more than other languages as the medium of instruction at primary level. Respondents from Lekhnath and Sirubari preferred English as the medium of instruction at primary level

Table 4.11: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by place

	Gurung	Nepali	English
Sirubari (n=8)	4 (50%)	2(25%)	2(25%)
Pokhara (n=7)	5(71.42%)	1(14.28%)	1(14.28%)
Lekhanath (n=12)	6(50%)	1(8.33%)	5(41.66%)
Besisahar (n=7)	5(71.42%)	1(14.28%)	1(14.28%)
Khasur (n=5)	3(60%)	1(20%)	1(20%)

The education background of the respondents also seems to be responsible to determine the preferred language as the medium of instruction. The illiterate ones seem to prefer their mother tongue more. About 84% of the illiterate or literate-only people preferred Gurung to other tongues whereas only 35% among the educated ones preferred mother tongue. Similarly the highest percentage of the educated respondents (45%) preferred English. It signals that the educated Gurungs are being attracted towards English rather than Gurung or Nepali. Table 4.12 presents the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by education.

Table 4.12: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by education

	Illiterate and literate only (n=19)	Educated (n=20)
Gurung	16(84.21%)	7 (35%)
Nepali	2(10.52%)	4 (20%)
English	1(5.26%)	9(45%)
Other	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)

4.8 Summary

In this chapter we tried to observe the language vitality in Gurung by analyzing the responses to the questions related to the major domains of language use. The use of Gurung is not prominent in most of the domains of language use. There are only two domains: family discussions and family gatherings in which Gurung is dominantly used. The use of Nepali is dominant in most of the domains like counting, singing, marketing, storytelling, village meeting, etc. Similarly there are some domains like joking, quarreling and accusing in which both of the languages are used in parallel way. In the rural areas the use of Gurung is in more domains than in the urban areas. Similarly the elderly people use Gurung more than the youngsters and illiterate and literate-only people use Gurung more widely than the educated ones. The overall situation gives an impression that the areas of Gurung use are getting narrowed.

At home mostly the elderly people use more Gurung among them while talking about the domestic as well as external matters. Mostly the middle-aged people use both Gurung and Nepali simultaneously among themselves while talking about the family related as well as external matters. They use Gurung with their elders and use Nepali with the young people. The young generation people and children mostly use Nepali and a majority of them have not learnt Gurung.

Nearly 90% of the children use Nepali and only about 10% of them use both Gurung and Nepali simultaneously while playing with friends and with their neighbours and they don't use Gurung in school at all. For oral invitation they use both Gurung and Nepali. In the past they used to print an invitation card only in Nepali but nowadays they print bilingual invitation card in Gurung and Nepali. Nepali is the only language of wider communication and they use it in their everyday lives. The use of LWC is more frequent in the urban areas and among the educated people. Nearly 80% of them preferred the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary level. Their second preference is English and third one is Nepali. The inclination of the majority of the educated people and people from the urban areas is towards the other tongues rather than the mother tongue.

CHAPTER 5

MULTILINGUALISM

5.1 Outline

This chapter deals with multilingualism in Gurung. In section 5.2 we present the linguistic setting of the survey area. Section 5.3 presents the number of languages the respondents know. In section 5.4 we have evaluated how much Nepali the Gurung children understand in the early school classes. Section 5.5 identifies the Language of Wider Communication (LWC) and its use. Section 5.6 evaluates the command of the people on mother tongue and LWC. Section 5.7 discusses the language the respondents like most. In section 5.8, we examined the language competence of the children. Section 5.5 summarizes of the findings of the chapter.

5.2 The linguistic setting

Most of the places we visited were multilingual. Kaski is supposed to a hub area for tourists. Not only the case of Gurung, but also the people around this area have access in English language. They could speak Hindi as well. Since the Sirubari of Syangja is home stay, this place was also the multilingual place. Only the Khasur of Lamjung was the place of bilingual where they could speak Nepali and Gurung both. Few educated Gurungs could speak English.

5.3 Knowledge of languages

Gurung is a multilingual community. There was not found any monolingual Gurung speaker in the areas. In contrast a vast number of young people were found to be monolingual in Nepali. The respondents have knowledge of 2-4 languages.

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

SN	Languages	Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)
1	Gurung (only)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
2	Gurung, Nepali	6 (28.57%)	5 (27.77%)
3	Gurung, Nepali, English	2 (9.52%)	2 (11.11%)
3	Gurung, Nepali, Hindi	6 (28.57%)	4 (22.22%)
4	Gurung, Nepali, Tamang	1 (4.76%)	0 (0.0%)
	Gurung, Nepali, English, Tamang	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.25%)
4	Gurung, Nepali, Hindi and English	7 (33.33%)	4 (22.22%)
5	Nepali, Hindi, other	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.25%)

The mostly used language is Nepali, and it is the language of wider communication. As all the respondents were selected the speakers of Gurung, all of them can speak Gurung as mother tongue or second language. Apart from Gurung and Nepali, out of 39 respondents 21 can speak Hindi, 16 English and 2 Tamang as presented in Table 5.1.

In the Gurung communities, there is a trend of joining service in Indian army or British army since a long period of time. They have to learn Hindi and/or English during their service period. During their service period they take their family to stay with them and the family members also learn the languages. English is taught in the formal education compulsorily from the primary level to the higher level in Nepal and the people who have formal education have knowledge of Language. Because of the wide spread use of television, even rural areas people watch Hindi TV channels and from young people to old people have got knowledge of Hindi. So English and Hindi are important languages in the Gurung communities. Although they have knowledge of English and Hindi, they don't use them in their daily lives. In some locations (here Khasur) their neighboring community is Tamang and they learnt Tamang from the Tamang community.

As the data show that 28% of the males are bilingual and the rest are multilingual. Among them, 9.52% male Gurungs were found to have access in Gurung, English and Nepali, 28.57 % in Gurung, Nepali and Hindi, 33.33% in Gurung, Nepali, English and Hindi, and 4.76% in Gurung, Nepali and Tamang. 27.77% of female were bilingual and none was monolingual. Of the rest, Gurung, Nepali and English were spoken by 11.11%, Gurung, Nepali and Hindi by 22.22%, Gurung, Nepali, Hindi and Tamang by 6.25%, Gurung, Nepali, Hindi and English by 22.22%.

5.4 How much Nepali the children understand in the early classes

As a result of multilingual setting of the Gurung community, the children learn Nepali in their early age either in their own home or from the community. As a result, in most of the situations, when they go to the school they have already have learnt Nepali and they don't have problem to understand Nepali which is the medium of instruction in the schools. The responses of the people have been presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2.: How much Nepali the children understand in the early classes

understand all	a little bit	don't understand	No response
33 (84.61%)	5 (12.82%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.56%)

We got the response that 84.61% of their children could understand Nepali language, 12.82% a little and 2.56% of them did not respond at all. It suggests that a vast majority of the children understand Nepali in their early classes and Nepali is not a problem for them as a medium of instruction.

5.5 The language of wider communication and its use

Nepali is the only language which is used as the language of wider communication and used as the lingua franca in the Gurung community and more than 80% of them use it every day. The responses are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: The use of Language of wider Communication in Gurung

	Nepali	
Which is your LWC?	39 (100%)	
How often do you use it?	always	sometimes
	32 (82.05%)	7 (17.94%)

5.6 Degrees of command in Gurung and Nepali

Nearly 75% of the Native speakers of Gurung have better command in Gurung than in Nepali and nearly 25% of the native speakers have better knowledge in Nepali than in Gurung. The command of Gurung is decreasing in the young generation native speakers of Gurung as presented in Table 5.4. First they learnt Gurung at home as native tongue but when they go out of their home they remain in contact in Nepali and the contact with Gurung is disconnected. As a result, their command in Gurung gradually decreases and command in Nepali increases.

Table 5.4: The language they speak better (by age group)

	Age groups		
	A1: 15-35 (n=16)	A2: 35-55 (n=11)	A3: 55+ (n=12)
Gurung	7 (43.75%)	9 (81.81%)	12 (100%)
Nepali	8 (51%)	2 (18.18%)	0 (0.0%)

As Table 5.4 shows, the degree of command in Gurung is gradually decreasing generation by generation. Among the new generation people more than 50% of the Gurung speakers have better command in Nepali than in Gurung.

5.7 The language they like most

The vast majority (70%) of the respondents were found to like their mother tongue more than other tongues. It is a good indication for the future existence of the Gurung language. But the serious problem is that 30% of the speakers like Nepali than Gurung and the trend is increasing in the young generation people as presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: The language they like most by young and old generation people

	Young generation 15-35 (n=16)	Old generation 35 above (n=23)
Gurung	6 (37.5%)	21 (91.30%)
Nepali	8 (50%)	2 (8.69%)
Other	1 (06.25%)	0 (0.0%)

Table 5.5 shows that the affection towards their mother tongue has drastically reduced by half in the young generation people in comparison with the old generation people. It clearly shows that the young generations are shifting to the language of wider communication.

Similarly, the literacy/education of a person also seems to be a responsible factor to determine the loyalty of the mother tongue. As the education level of the speakers increases they are more likely to like language of wider communication as presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: The language they like most (by education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=20)
Gurung	6 (100%)	10 (76.92%)	11 (55%)
Nepali	0 (0.0%)	3 (23.07%)	9 (45%)
Other	0 (0.0%)	1 (07.69%)	0 (0.0%)

Table 5.6 shows that all (100%) the illiterate people, nearly 75% of the literate people and only 55% of the educated people like Gurung most. It indicates that language loyalty is converse to the education level of the speakers.

5.8 The languages of the children¹

All the children do not speak Gurung at home in all domains of language use with all the family members as well as in their neighborhood. The majority of children are found to have been shifting to languages of wider communication, Nepali. Further, there is found the influence of English as well. The children of nearly 60% of the respondents can speak Gurung, 100% of the respondents can speak Nepali and nearly 40% of the respondents can speak English. It shows a serious disruption in the intergenerational transmission of the Gurung language as 40% of the children can't speak Gurung.

All of the children learnt Gurung and nearly 25% of children learnt Nepali from their own home, and 75% of children learnt Nepali and 100% of the children learnt English from the school as presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Where they learnt the languages from

	Home	School
Gurung	19(100%)	0 (0.0%)
Nepali	8 (26.66%)	22 (73.33%)
English	0 (0.0%)	13 (100%)

5.9 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the multilingualism in the Gurung community. All of the places we visited so far are completely bi/multilingual as every speaker of Gurung can speak at least two languages. All of the Gurung speakers can speak Nepali, too. Apart from Gurung and Nepali, a large number of people can speak other languages like English and Hindi. Nepali is the language of wider communication.

All the children understand Nepali in their early school classes and more than 80% of the children can understand Nepali without any problem in the early school classes. Nepali is the language of wider communication in these areas and nearly 80% of them use it daily and 20% use it occasionally. All of the old generation people have better command in Gurung than in Nepali. So Gurung is the primary vehicle of expression in the daily life of the old generation people. The command gradually decreases from old generation to young generation and in the age group of 15-35 only 50% of the respondents have better

¹ 8 out of 39 respondents are unmarried and don't have any child.

command in Gurung than in Nepali. The case is same with the language they like most. Only 50% of the 15-35 age-group of respondents like more Gurung than Nepali. It means that language loyalty towards Gurung is gradually decreasing in the new generations. The children of nearly 60% of the respondents can speak Gurung, 100% of the respondents can speak Nepali and nearly 40% of the respondents can speak English. They learnt Gurung from home, Nepali from both home and school and English only from the school.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.1 Outline

This chapter maps out the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes of the people towards the Gurung language. It consists of five sections. Section 6.2 examines the language vitality in Gurung. In section 6.3 we discuss the language transmission and maintenance. In section 6.4, we examine the language attitudes in the language. Section 6.5 summarizes the finding of the chapter.

6.2 Language vitality

Because of the expansion of education, information technology, transportation, business and migration the use of minority languages is gradually decreasing and the use of Nepali and English is increasing in Nepal. A large population of the Gurung is residing in the cities/market places like Pokhara, Lekhanath and several other locations. Even in these locations the retention of the Gurung language is very high among the elder generation people. In the past generation the language loss was not so big but at present language loss is gradually increasing day-by-day. The young generation people are giving up their language gradually so Gurung has been at the stage of a threatened language.

6.2.1 The children speaking mother tongue

In most of the situations grandparents and parents are speaking their mother tongue with full command in all domestic situations but the children are not. In our observation during the fieldwork we found that the young people using Gurung with the elder people and the people with their own generation but using Nepali with the children. It shows the disruption of the intergenerational language transmission. Table 6.1 presents the situation of the use of the mother tongue by the children.

As can be seen in Table 6.1, the respondents from Pokhara and Khasur responded that their children have retained the mother tongue better than those of the other key points like Sirubari, Besisahar and Lekhnath.

Table 6.1: The children speaking the mother tongue

	Yes	No	'I don't have any children.'
Sirubari (n=8)	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	2 (25%)
Pokhara (n=7)	6 (85.71%)	1 (14.28%)	0 (0.00%)
Lekhanath (n=12)	4 (33.33%)	4 (33.33%)	4 (33.33%)
Besisahar (n=7)	3 (42.85%)	3 (42.85%)	1 (14.28%)
Khasur (n=5)	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0 (0.00%)

6.2.2 The language of intergenerational communication

Gurung is the major language of intergenerational communication between A3 and A2 age groups of people. Between A2 and A1 generations still the use of Gurung is very high. But regarding the communication between the A1 generation people and their children, the use of Gurung is remarkably very low. Nepali is being the primary vehicle of intergenerational communication between them. Table 6.2 shows the situation of the intergenerational use of the languages.

Table 6.2: Intergenerational use of the languages

<i>What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?</i>			
	Gurung	Nepali	No response
Sirubari (n=8)	2 (25%)	4(50%)	2 (25%)
Pokhara (n=7)	3(42.85%)	4(57.14%)	0(0.00%)
Lekhanath (n=12)	4(33.33%)	7(58.33%)	1(08.33%)
Besisahar (n=7)	2 (28.57%)	4 (57.14%)	1 (14.28%)
Khasur (n=5)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)

From table 6.2 we understand that the use of Nepali is more than 50% with the children in all the locations except Khasur. It shows that the language loss among the children is

very high in the urban areas than in the villages. Khasur is purely a village and higher percentage of use of Gurung is there. Although Sirubari is a village, the use of Gurung with the children is very low. It is because Sirubari is a tourist area and it is famous for home stay for both internal and foreign tourists.

6.2.3 The mother tongue competence in the young people

Around fifty percentages of children do not speak their mother tongue. It shows that they are shifting to Nepali, the language of wider communication. Among the young speakers nearly 50% don't speak Gurung as well they ought to. Table 6.3 shows the responses of the people at different survey points.

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

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Yes	3(37.5%)	3(42.85%)	6(50%)	4(57.14%)	4(80%)
No	5(62.5%)	4(57.14%)	6(50%)	3(42.85%)	1(20%)

As can be seen in Table 6.3, the proficiency level of the mother tongue was found to be decreasing in the city/market areas. Except Khasur nearly one half of the young people don't have satisfactory mother tongue competence. The trend of degeneration of the mother tongue among the young people has begun even in Khasur. It signifies that the trend has begun in the villages too.

Education seems to be one important factor to cause language loss. Table 6.4 shows that the language loss is higher in the families of the highly educated people. The highly educated families are mostly in contact with the outsiders and the family environment becomes less conducive for the mother tongue.

Table 6.4: Do the young people speak Gurung as well as they should? (by education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Yes	3(50%)	6(46.15%)	7(43.16%)	3(75%)
No	3(50%)	7(53.84%)	9(56.25%)	1(25%)

Table 6.4 shows that nearly 50% of the illiterate, literate and educated people judge that the young generation don't speak Gurung as well as they should but in contrary only 25% of the highly educated people assert it. It means the competence level of the mother tongue of the vast majority of the highly educated people is almost as equal as the young generation people.

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

	15-35 (n=16)	35-55 (n=11)	55+ (n=12)
Yes	7(43.16%)	5(45.45%)	5(41.66%)
No	9(56.25%)	6(54.54%)	7(63.63%)

6.3 Language maintenance and transmission

There does not seem appropriate language maintenance in Gurung. The intergenerational language transmission, particularly in the youngest generation has remarkably dropped. The figure of the responses about the transmission into the future generation is very desperate as only 38.46% of them are hopeful about it. The people living in the villages like Khasur are far more hopeful than the people living in the other locations. It shows that the villagers are going to save the Gurung language in future more than the city dwellers. Table 6.6 presents the responses about the transmission of the mother tongue into the future generation at different survey locations.

Table 6.6: Transmission of the mother tongue into the future generation by location

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Yes	3 (37.5%)	3 (42.85%)	3 (25%)	2 (28.57%)	4 (80%)
No	5 (62.5%)	4 (57.14%)	9 (75%)	5 (71.42%)	1 (20%)

The gender of the respondents does not seem to determine the responses regarding this issue as almost equal number of both gender groups have the same responses and presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Transmission of the mother tongue into the future generation by gender

<i>Will your children speak this language?</i>	Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)
Yes	8 (38.09%)	7 (38.88%)
No	10 (47.61%)	9 (50%)
No response	3 (14.28%)	3(16.66%)

Almost 38% of the both male and female respondents are hopeful about the transmission their mother tongue into the future generation and nearly 50% (47.61 and 50%) male respondents and female respondents are not hopeful about the transmission of the mother tongue into future generation. Similarly nearly 15% of both the male and female respondents said that they have no idea about it.

6.3.1 The situation of inter-lingual marriage

Inter-lingual marriage is very common in some of the locations and it is less common in some other locations. Lekhanath and Khasur have highest degree of inter lingual marriage. But in contrast it is very low in Pokhara. Probably it is more common in the areas of heterogeneous settlements and less common in the homogenous settlements. It is surprising that how it seems so low in Pokhara.

If there is inter-lingual marriage in Gurung community, it undoubtedly affects the language transmission and maintenance of the mother tongue because the non-speakers of Gurung married into the Gurung speaking communities were not found to learn Gurung after the marriage. In addition, the children of the Gurung non-speaking mothers don't speak Gurung in turn. In this way inter-lingual marriage is a responsible factor for degeneration of the mother tongue. Table 6.8 presents that the inter-lingual marriage in Gurung community at different survey points.

The respondents from Lekhnath and Khasur answered that there is high ranges of inter-caste marriage mostly with Magar, Tamang and Nepali speaking communities. Conversely the respondents from Besisahar and Pokhara informed that they don't have much inter-lingual marriage system.

Table 6.8: The situation of inter-lingual marriage in Gurung community (by location)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Yes	3(37.5%)	1(14.28%)	9(75%)	3(42.85%)	4(80%)
No	5(62.5%)	6 (85.71%)	3(25%)	4(57.14%)	1(20%)

The education seems to be a determining factor for inter-lingual marriage. People with higher education are likely to have inter-lingual marriage because of their contact with the other language speaking people during their school/college days or during the jobs or during the businesses. Table 6.9 presents the responses of the people of different educational groups about inter-lingual marriage.

Table 6.9: The situation of inter-lingual marriage (education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Yes	0(0.00%)	5(38.46%)	13(81.25%)	2(50%)
No	6(100%)	8(61.15%)	3(18.75%)	2(50%)

Around fifty percentages of highly educated respondents answered that there is inter-lingual marriage in the Gurung community. Illiterate respondents answered that there is no inter-caste marriage in the Gurung community. It shows that illiterate people are not used to Gurung people getting married with the other linguistic groups.

6.3.2 Reading and writing in mother tongue

Almost 80% of the people like, 12% are indifferent about and 8% don't like their children learn reading and writing in mother tongue. The responses varied from place to place. The people living in the market areas or near by the highway don't like it whereas the people living in the villages away from the market and highway like it. Table 6.10 presents the responses of the people at different locations. Of the five key points, respondents from Khasur answered that they loved their children learn and write in their mother tongue cent percent. The respondents from Sirubari and Besisahar also responded that they did not want their children learn in mother tongue. Few of the respondents answered that they did not mind it.

Table 6.10: Responses about children learning to read and write in Gurung (at different locations)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
I like it	5(65.5%)	7(100%)	9(75%)	5(71.42%)	5(100%)
I don't mind	1(12.5%)	0(0.00%)	3(25%)	1(14.28%)	0(0.00%)
I don't like it	2(25%)	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)	1(14.28%)	0(0.00%)

The education of the respondents doesn't seem to play any role to determine whether one likes or does not like the children reading and writing in mother tongue as nearly equal number of the respondents have same answers to all the options as presented in Table: 6.11.

Table 6.11: Responses about children learning to read and write in Gurung (by education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
I like it.	5(83.33%)	10(76.92%)	13(75%)	3(80%)
I don't mind	1(16.66%)	1(7.68%)	3(25%)	1(20%)
I don't like it.	0(0.0%)	2(15.38%)	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)

The age group of the respondents seems to be the main factor to determine whether one likes his/her children love reading and writing in their mother tongue as presented in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: Responses about children learning to read and write in Gurung (by age groups)

	A:115-35 (n=16)	A2:35-55 (n=11)	A3:55+ (n=12)
I like it.	9(56.25%)	11(100%)	11(91.66%)
I don't mind it.	5(31.25%)	0(0.00%)	0(0.00%)
I don't like it.	2(12.5%)	0(0.00%)	1(8.33%)

Of the three age groups, respondents of A2 and A3 seem to have strong attachment with their mother tongue so they want their children learn to read and write in Gurung. Nearly one-half of the respondents of A1 like their children reading and writing in Gurung and nearly one-third are reluctant about the matter, and remarkable number of people nearly 15% don't like it. It is a strong indication that language loyalty is decreasing in the new generations of Gurung.

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

People are enthusiastic to assist a mother tongue based primary school in the locality by sending own children, motivating others to do so, economical support and other ways. But there seems a slight tendency that people who want to send their own children are less interested in economical support and who are not interested in sending the children are interested in economical support. Table 6.13 presents the responses of the people how they would help a mother tongue based primary school.

Table 6.13: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school (by location)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Sending own children	5 (62.5%)	6 (85.71%)	7 (58.33%)	6 (85.71%)	5 (100%)
Motivating to send children	5 (62.5%)	7 (100%)	7 (58.33%)	6 (85.71%)	5 (100%)
Economic assistance	5 (62.5%)	7 (100%)	8 (66.66%)	6 (85.71%)	4 (80%)
Teaching oneself	4 (50%)	3 (42.85%)	5 (41.66%)	2 (28.57%)	1 (20%)

Nearly 60% of the respondents from Lekhanath (urban area) and Sirubari (village but a major destination of tourists) seem to be interested in mother tongue based primary school where as nearly 90-100% of the respondents form Khasur (completely a village) and Besisahar (the respondents were village based) are interested in it. It signifies that people in the villages or with less outer contact are more interested in mother tongue

based primary education than the people from the urban areas or the areas with high external influence, but the case of Pokhara is exceptional.

While regarding the age, a large number (nearly one-half) of the young generation people are not interested in mother tongue based primary education as presented in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14: How people would help a mother tongue based primary school (by age)

	15-35 (n=16)	35-55 (n=11)	55+ (n=12)
Sending own children	9 (56.25%)	10 (90.90%)	10 (83.33%)
Motivation to send children	8 (50%)	11 (100%)	11 (91.66%)
Economic assistance	10 (62.50%)	9 (81.81%)	11 (91.66%)
Teaching oneself	5 (31.25%)	5 (45.45%)	5 (41.66%)
Assisting school anyway	8 (50%)	6 (54.54%)	7 (58.33%)

6.4 Language attitude

Gurung communities feel themselves proud to be called *Tamu ki* speaking community and they love to call their language *Tamu ki*. They have begun developing and promoting their language. They have established *Tamu Dhin*, which is the place to be unified.

A remarkable number of respondents liked their children study in their mother tongues in the primary level of education. They supported the idea of transitional multilingual education. Table 15 shows the feeling of prestige of the speakers towards different languages they speak.

Table 6.15: Feeling while speaking mother tongue in the presence other people

		Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)	Total (n=39)
1	prestigious	6 (28.57%)	9 (50%)	15 (38.46%)
2	embarrassed	1 (4.76%)	1 (5.55%)	2 (5.1%)
3	neutral	14 (66.66%)	8 (44.44%)	22(56.41%)

Similarly, almost all Gurung speakers think that their children should speak their mother tongue first and they should learn the languages of wider communication i.e. Nepali and English as in Table 16.

Table 6.16: Responses to what language should their children speak first

		Male n=21	Female n=18	Total n=39
1	Gurung	14 (66.66%)	12(66.66%)	26(66.66%)
2	Nepali	4(10.25%)	3 (16.66%)	7 (17.94%)
3	No response	2(9.52%)	4(22.22%)	6(15.38%)

Around 66.66% respondents said that their children should speak in their mother tongue Gurung first. Only 17.94% responded for the sake of Nepali. Some others refer to make their children speak in English and so.

Table 6.17: The responses of the people of different educational groups

		I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
1	prestigious	3(50%)	4(30.76%)	8(50%)	1(25%)
2	embarrassed	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2(12.5%)	0 (0.00%)
3	neutral	3(50%)	9(23.07%)	6(37.5%)	3(75%)

Table 6.17 presents that except the educated respondents; others do not feel embarrassed while talking their mother tongues among the outsiders. Around fifty percentages of them feel prestigious while talking in their mother tongue among outsiders. The same percentages can be seen for the sake of neutral ones by the respondents.

Table 6.18 presents that except the respondents from Lekhnath; others do not feel embarrassed while talking their mother tongues in the presence of the outsiders. Around fifty percentages of them feel prestigious while talking in their mother tongue among outsiders. Almost the same same percentages of the respondents form other location show that they didn't feel anything while talking their mother tongues in the presence of outsiders.

Table 6.18: The responses of the people of different locations

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
prestigious	4(50%)	3(42.85%)	2(16.66%)	4(57.14%)	2(40%)
embarrassed	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2(16.66%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
neutral	4(50%)	4(57.14%)	8(66.66%)	3 (42.85%)	3(60%)

Table 6.19 shows that the young generation A1 feels embarrassed while talking their mother tongue in the presence of the outsiders. Others A2 and A3 do not feel embarrassed at all. Around fifty percentages of A3 and A2 feel prestigious while using their mother tongue in the presence of outsiders.

Table 6.19: The responses of the different age groups

	15-35 (n=16) (A1)	35-55 (n=11) (A2)	55+ (n=12) (A3)
prestigious	4(25%)	5(45.45%)	6(50%)
embarrassed	2 (12.5%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
neutral	10(62.5%)	6(54.54%)	6(50%)

6.4.1 Problems faced because of speaking mother tongue

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

Table 6.20: Problem faced because of speaking mother tongue

N=39	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Yes	1(16.66%)	1(07.63%)	4(25%)	1(25%)
No	5(83.33%)	12(92.30%)	12(75%)	3(75%)

Table 6.20 presents the educated respondents have faced problems while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the people speaking dominant languages. Mostly the educated people have gone or have to go out of the community and have to communicate with other language speaking people and sometimes feel being dominated because they are in minority in the group.

6.4.2 Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers

The responses regarding the feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers seemed to depend on what practice they do have. The practice is common in Lekhanath, Besisahar and Khasur so nearly 50% of the respondents don't mind it but the tradition is less common in Sirubari and Pokhara so more than 75% of the respondents objected to it as presented in Table 6.21.

Table 6.21: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers (by location)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Good	1 (12.50%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
No problem	1 (12.50%)	1 (14.28%)	7(58.33%)	4 (57.14%)	2 (40%)
Bad	6 (75%)	6 (85.71%)	5 (41.66%)	3 (42.85%)	3 (60%)

Similarly the male respondents seem to be more conservative in this issue than the female ones as presented in Table 6.22.

Table 6.22: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers (by gender)

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)
Good	0 (0.0%)	1 (5.55%)
No problem	6 (28.57%)	9 (50%)
Bad	16 (76.19%)	7 (38.88%)

The education level of the respondents doesn't seem to determine the feeling of the respondents regarding the issue as presented in Table 6.23.

Table 6.23: Feeling about children marrying non-mother tongue speakers (according to education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Good	1(16.66%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
No problem	3(50.0%)	6(46.15%)	5(31.25%)	2(50.0%)
Bad	2(33.3%)	7(53.84%)	11(68.75%)	2(50.0%)

6.4.3 The preferred first language for children

Almost all Gurung speakers think that their children should speak their mother tongue first and they should learn the languages of wider communication i.e. Nepali and English. The responses didn't vary at the different survey locations. But the responses were varied according to the education and age groups. Table 6.24 presents the responses to what language their children should speak first.

Table 6.24: Responses to what language their children should speak first (by education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Gurung	5(83.33%)	9(69.23%)	9(56.25)	4(100%)
Nepali	1(16.66%)	2(15.38%)	4(25%)	0(0.0%)
No idea	0(0.0%)	2(15.38%)	4(25%)	0(0.0%)

Table 6.24 presents the majority of the respondents answered that they want their children speak their mother tongue first. Interestingly, educated respondents said that their children should speak Nepali first. This can be taken as the influence of modern life. Some others did not have ideas about it. We can see the strong tendency of the illiterate ones who were around 83.33% to make their determination for the children speak Gurung language first.

In comparison with A2 and A3, the young generations, A1 seem to be indifferent towards the mother tongue. Around 25% of them are in the favor of Nepali whereas 25% of them don't have any ideas at all. The respondents A3 show their strong determination to make their children speak mother tongue first as presented in Table 25.

Table 6.25: Responses to what language their children should speak first (by age)

	A1:15-35 (n=16)	A2:35-55 (n=11)	A3:55+ (n=12)
Gurung	8(50%)	7 (63.63%)	11(91.66%)
Nepali	4(25%)	2(18.18%)	1(8.33%)
No idea	4(25%)	2(18.18%)	0(0.0%)

6.4.4 The changes occurred in the contemporary Gurung

Regardless the location, gender, educational group or age group, nearly all the respondents have reported that their mother tongue has been changed. It has been slightly different in different aspects from it was used in their grandparents' time.

Table 6.26: Whether contemporary Gurung is different from the past (by location)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Yes	4(50%)	5(71.42%)	7(58.33%)	5(71.42%)	4(80%)
No	4(50%)	2(28.57%)	5(41.66%)	2(28.57%)	1(20%)

Table 6.26 shows that majority of the respondents reported that their mother tongue does not have as their parents had. They found that their language has been slightly changed because of the dominant language they are speaking as Nepali. Around 50% of the respondents from Sirubari do not agree that their language has been changed. The highest percentage is from Khasur where they found around 80% of their mother tongue has been different form previous one.

Table 6.27: Whether contemporary Gurung is different from the past (by education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Yes	4(66.66%)	6(46.15%)	13(81.25%)	3(75%)
No	2(33.33%)	7(53.84%)	3(18.75%)	1(25%)

As can be seen in Table 6.27, literate, educated and highly educated have realized that their mother tongue has been changed as the contemporary language they are using. Around 81.25% of the educated respondents reported that their contemporary language is different from the grand parent's time. Only illiterate people are found to have been retaining their language smoothly.

Table 6.28: Whether contemporary Gurung is different from the past (by age)

	15-35 (n=16)	35-55 (n=11)	55+ (n=12)
Yes	11(68.75%)	6(54.54%)	8(66.66%)
No	5(31.25%)	5(45.45%)	4(33.33%)

Table 6.28 shows the young generations have realized much in the deviations of the mother tongue the way they are speaking. Around 68.75% of the young generations have found that their language is different from grandparents.

Table 6.29: Whether contemporary Gurung is different from the past (by gender)

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)
Yes	14(66.66%)	11(61.11%)
No	7(33.33%)	7(38.88%)

Table 6.29 shows that status of the male and female about the responses to whether contemporary Gurung is different from previous one. The data clearly shows that around 66.66% of males have realized that their language is different from their grandparents. In the case of female is not found as such high percentages of responses.

The respondents at all the locations have realized that different aspects of the Gurung language have been changed nowadays. Greater number of respondents in Sirubari, Pokhara and Besisahar have realized the changes occurred in their language as presented in Figure: 6.1. But we can't any generalization about the changes in different locations based on the responses. Probably it indicates that the respondents are conscious about the changes in different aspects in general but they are not sure about the change in the particular aspects.

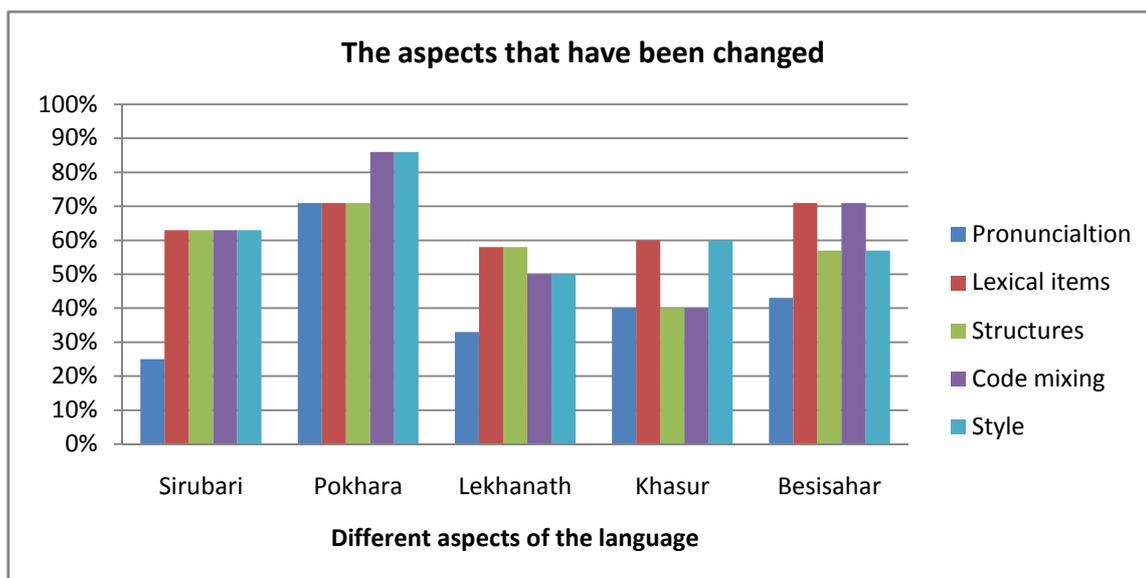


Figure 6.1: The aspects of Gurung that have been changed at present

6.4.5 Feeling about community people speaking other languages

Regarding the respondents from locations, gender, educational status and age groups, no respondents answered that they love community people speaking other languages. They have opposed this question instead. Table 6.30 presents the responses how they feel their community people not speaking own language by locations.

Table 6.30: How they feel their community people speaking other language (by location)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
I love it.	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I don't mind it.	5 (62.5%)	2 (28.57%)	1 (8.33%)	1 (13.28%)	0 (0.0%)
I don't like it.	3 (37.5%)	5 (71.42%)	11 (91.66%)	6 (85.71%)	5 (100%)

Table 6.30 shows that nobody loves the community people speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue. Few of them do not mind if the community people speak other languages. The highest percentage around 62.5% from Sirubari do not mind if the community people speak other languages. Otherwise, the majority from five key points:

Sirubari, Pokhara, Lekhnath, Beshishar and Khasur do not prefer their community speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue, Gurung.

Table 6.31: How they feel their community people speaking other language (by education)

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
I love it.	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
I don't mind it.	2 (33.33%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (06.25%)	0 (0.0%)
I don't like it.	4 (66.66)	7 (54.54%)	15 (93.75%)	4 (100%)

As can be seen in Table 6.31, either illiterate or literate or educated, no respondents are positive towards the community people speaking other languages. Around 33.33% from illiterate, 46.15% from literate, 06.25% from educated responded that they did not mind anything the community people speaking other languages. Besides, other respondents answered that they did not like the community people speaking other languages.

All of the respondents from all age groups reported that they did not love their community people speaking other languages. In comparison to A1 and A3, A2 has less percentage of neural answer. As they reported they did not mind if their community people speak other languages as presented in Table 32.

Table 6.32: How they feel their community people speaking other language (by age)

	A1: 15-35 (n=16)	A2: 35-55 (n=11))	A3: 55+ (n=12)
I love it.	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
I don't mind it.	4(25%)	1(09.09%)	4(33.33%)
I don't like it.	12(75%)	10(90.90%)	8(66.66%)

Table 6.33 shows that either male or female, both of them don't love their community people speaking other languages. They have equal statistical data on the neutral answers of the question on whether their community people speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue. Around 71.42% males and 61.11% females responded that they did not like their community speaking other languages.

Table 6.33: How they feel their community people speaking other language (by gender)

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)
I love it.	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
I don't mind it.	6(16.66%)	3(16.66%)
I don't like it.	15(71.42%)	15(61.11%)

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to examine the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Gurung community. Around fifty percentages of the children do not speak their mother tongue and have shifted to Nepali. The respondents answered that their children can't speak the mother tongue as they ought to. The proficiency level of Gurung was found to be decreasing in the children in different locations. The people living in the rural areas like Khasur have relatively higher level of mother tongue proficiency than the people living in the urban areas have. The overall impression shows that there is degeneration in mother tongue maintenance in Gurung. Disruption of the intergenerational language transmission has been a serious problem for language maintenance. Inter-lingual marriage is one of the causes of the disruption of the language maintenance in Gurung community. The respondents from Lekhnath and Khasur answered that there is high ranges of inter-caste marriage mostly with Magar, Tamang and Kshetri-Brahman. Conversely the respondents from Besisahar and Pokhara informed that they don't have much inter-lingual marriage system. Regardless the location, gender, educational group or age group, nearly all the respondents have reported that their mother tongue has been changed.

Instead of the situation people feel themselves proud to be called *Tamu ki* speaking community and they love to call their language *Tamu ki*. They have begun developing and promoting their language. They have established *Tamu Dhin*, which is the place to be unified and they are enthusiastic to assist a mother tongue based primary school in the locality by sending own children, motivating others to do so, economical support and other ways. Higher percentages of the people like their children learn reading and writing in mother tongue. In fact, nobody loves the community people speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue. Few of them do not mind if the community people speak

other languages. Almost all Gurung speakers think that their children should speak their mother tongue first and they should learn the languages of wider communication i.e. Nepali and English. The majority of the respondents from all survey locations do not like their community speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue, Gurung.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE RESOURCES

7.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the language resources available in the Gurung language. It consists of seven sections. Section 7.2 highlights the language resources available in Gurung. Section 7.3 discusses the resource materials in Gurung. Section 7.4 examines the responses of the people about the radio. Similarly, in Section 7.5, we discuss the available written materials in Gurung and in Section 7.6 we talk about the organizations working for the promotion of the Gurung language. Section 7.7 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

7.2 The language resources

The Gurung language is rich in oral literature. The following oral literatures are available in them.

- a. Folk stories: 69.23% of the respondents asserted that there are folk stories in the Gurung language. It shows that a large number of folk stories are found to be popular in the language. Especially the old generation people know more folk stories and tell them to others during some special occasions.
- b. Music: This area is rich in Rodi music and there are a large number of patterns of this music both traditional and modern. 84.61% of the respondents asserted that there are different types of folk music in Gurung.
- c. Religious literature: There are a lot of religious literatures based on Buddhism which was asserted by 87.17% of the respondents. Vast majority of Gurung people are Buddhist and the Buddhist Gurungs mainly practice Lamaism and for every ritual practices Lama is compulsory. Some of the Lamas use the Tibetan religious literature and some use Gurung.
- d. Radio: 94.87% of the respondents are informed that there is used Gurung in radio programmes from different radio stations. The FM radios in Pokhara and Lamjung broadcast programmes on Gurung language and culture. The programmes are both in Gurung and Nepali. The respondents in Besisahar and Lekhanath are very responsive to the radio programmes in Gurung. In Lanjung, there is an FM named Radio Marshyangdi located at Besisahar runs different types of programs in Gurung languages besides Nepali.

- e. Films: A number of films have been produced in the Gurung language. Similarly films have been produced in Nepali about Gurung people and language. 97.43% of the respondents have knowledge of the fact. The Gurung films are popular among the Gurung people in the country and abroad.
- f. CD/DVDs: Films, Ghatu and Rodi songs are available in CDs/DVDs. 94.87% of the respondents are familiar with them.

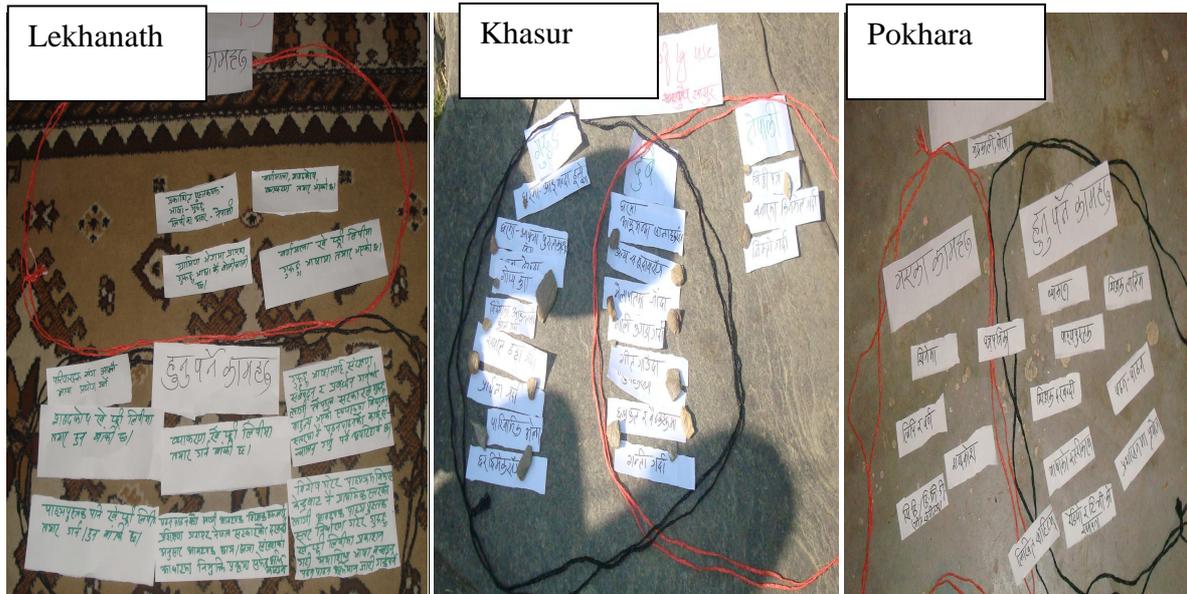


Figure 1.1: Appreciative Inquiry at different locations

As Gurung does not have its indigenous writing system, there have been proposed a number of orthographies for Gurung, but none of them has been standardized yet. In some places people have been using *khema* writing system and it has got acceptance for some extent in those places. *Tamu Bhasha-Lipi Tatha Sanskritik Pratisthan*, in Lekhanath has proposed *khebri* writing system for Gurung and working for its standardization. Some of the people have proposed for Roman writing system and trying to make it popular. In practice, Devanagari writing system is widely used to date and a few books are found to have been published in Devanagari. Few researches have been carried out on this language either in Nepali or English language. They are keen to promote their language and culture and are working locally and nationally. They reported that the informal education in Gurung has also been introduced.

7.3 Resource materials

There are various types of resource materials related to language in the Gurung community. They are like folk stories, music, religious literature, radio, and cinema, CD / DVD available

in the Gurung community. Table 7.1 presents the responses of the Gurung people for the language resource materials available so far.

Table 7.1: Language resource materials

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Folk stories	6(75%)	6(75%)	5(41.66%)	6(85.71%)	4(80%)
Music	7(87.5%)	7(100%)	7(58.33%)	7(100%)	5(100%)
Religious literature	8(100%)	7(100%)	8(66.66%)	6(85.71%)	5(100%)
Radio	8(100%)	6(75%)	11(91.66%)	7(100%)	5(100%)
Cinema	8(100%)	6(75%)	12(100%)	7(100%)	5(100%)
CD/DVD	7(87.5%)	6(75%)	12(100%)	7(100%)	5(100%)

As can be seen in Table 7.1, there are responses of the people for the language resource materials in five different places like Sirubari, Pokhara, Lekhanath, Beshisahar and Khasur.

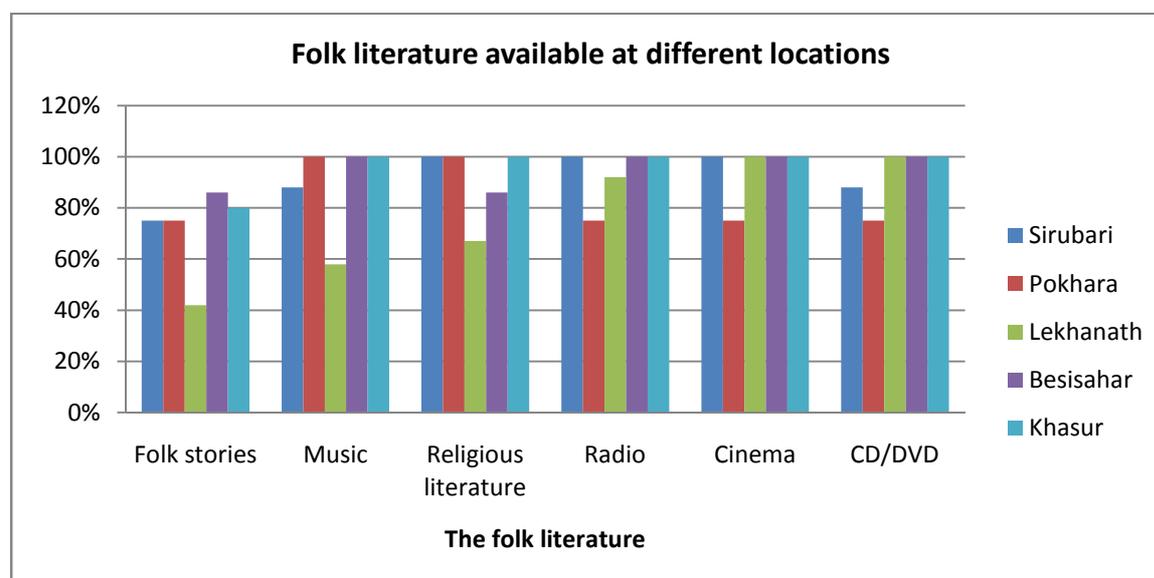


Figure 2.2: The folk literature available at different locations

Around 75% of the respondents from Sirubari and Pokhara answered that there exist folklores in their community whereas the ration of percentage is higher in Beshisahar and Khasur

which cover above 82%. The data show that there exist songs written in Gurung language which are mostly sung in Rodi ghar occasionally. As they reported that they have religious literatures in their community. There is radio programs broadcast in Gurung language through Marshyangdi. In some of the FM radios in Pokhara also broadcast the programs in Gurung language occasionally. They possess the cinemas in Gurung language that reflect their culture as well. As they have said that they have some CD and DVDs in which Gurung songs and texts are recorded.

7.4 Responses of the people about the radio

There are a number of radios that broadcast different programmes in and about Gurung language occasionally but Radio Marshyangdi located in Beshisahar, Lamjung broadcasts different programs in Gurung language regularly. This is very popular among the Gurung people in Lamjung, Gorkha and some parts of Kaski. Table 7.2 presents how often the people listen to the radio programs at different survey points.

Table 7.2: How often the people listen to the radio (by location)

	Sirubari (n=8)	Pokhara (n=7)	Lekhanath (n=12)	Besisahar (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Always	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	2(16.66%)	4(57.14%)	0(0.0%)
Sometimes	8(100%)	2(28.57%)	8(66.66%)	3(42.85%)	5(100%)
Never	0(0.0%)	5(71.42%)	2(16.66%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)

Table 7.2 shows that responses of the people about the radio at different survey points. As the table suggests that the regular listeners of the Gurung programmes in radios are limited and majority of them are occasional listeners of the programmes in all the survey points. The city dwellers are less attracted towards the mother tongue programmes in radios. Similarly the economic status also seems to play important role to determine how often they listen to the mother tongue programmes in radio.

Table 7.3: Responses of the people about the radio by sex

	Male (n=21)	Female (n=18)
Always	3(14.28%)	3(16.66%)
Sometimes	17(80.95%)	12(66.66%)
Never	1(04.76%)	3(16.66%)

The gender of the respondents does not seem to play an important role regarding this issue but Table 7.3 shows that female respondents are found to be slightly accustomed to listen to radio more than the male participants.

In contrary, the age group of the respondents plays pivotal role to determine whether one listens to the mother tongue programmes in the radios or not. The younger generation people are less attracted by such radio programmes. In fact the young generation people are in search for good opportunities which are generally not available in their own villages. They have dreams of joining Army and going to urban areas or abroad for jobs so they are found attracted towards Nepali and/or English more than the mother tongue. Table 7.6 presents the responses of the people about the radio by age groups. in the same way the old generation people are less responsive towards the radio programmes in the mother tongue.

Table 7.4: Responses of the people about the radio by age groups

	A1:15-35 (n=16)	A2: 35-55 (n=11)	A3: 55+ (n=12)
Always	1(06.25%)	3(27.27%)	2(16.16%)
Sometimes	13(81.25%)	8(72.72%)	8(66.66%)
Never	2(12.5%)	0(0.0%)	2(16.16%)

Of the three age groups, A2 has high tendency to listen to radio program broadcast in Gurung language in comparison to other two age groups. Around 16.16% of the age group 3 never listens to radio program broadcast in Gurung language. Table 7.4 shows that education does not control whether one listens to the mother tongue programmes in the mother tongue.

Table 7.5: Responses of the people about the radio by educational status

	I (n=6)	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Always	1(16.6%)	2(15.38%)	3(18.75%)	0(0.0%)
Sometimes	4(66.66%)	10(76.92%)	11(68.75%)	4(100%)
Never	1(16.6%)	1(07.69%)	2(12.5%)	0(0.0%)

Table 7.5 shows a slight indication that literate people are accustomed to listen to radio program broadcast in Gurung language than those of other groups like illiterate, educated and highly educated ones.

7.5 Written materials in Gurung

There are some written materials in Gurung which were recently developed. When we administered the question which script is their language written in, only 23 of them answered to this question. Out of them 14 respondents said Devanagari, 2 said Khebri, 4 said Khema, 1 said Roman and 2 said Gurug¹. It shows that different writing systems are in use among the Gurung communities but none of them has been standardized yet and there is the situation of indecision about the selection of writing system for Gurung. But out of the writing systems, the Devanagari system is the most widely used and the Roman the least. There are a few written documents like Grammar and dictionary in this language and there is already phonemic inventory and thus in practice. There are alphabets, textbooks, newspapers, folklore and written literature in this language. Table 7.6 presents the written materials available in Gurung language.

Table 7.6 shows that the people in the villages are not well informed about the language resources available in the Gurung language. The reality is that the level of language retention is remarkably higher in the villages but information about the language resources is least in the areas. It shows that the language promotion activities have been city oriented and participation of the people from the rural areas in the course of language development is remarkably low.

¹ There is no such Gurung writing system so it is unknown which writing system the two respondents referred to.

Table 7.6: Written materials in Gurung at different places

	Siru. (n=8)	Pokh. (n=7)	Lekh. (n=12)	Besi (n=7)	Khasur (n=5)
Aalphabet	1(12.5%)	3(42.85%)	11(91.66%)	2(28.57%)	2(40%)
Grammar	1(12.5%)	1(14.28%)	2(16.66%)	3(42.85%)	0(0.0%)
Dictionary	3(37.5%)	2(85.71%)	9(75%)	5(71.42%)	4(80%)
Text book	1(12.5%)	1(14.28%)	2(16.66%)	1(14.28%)	0(0.0%)
Literacy material	0(0.0%)	1(14.28%)	1(8.33%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
Newspaper	0(0.0%)	1(14.28%)	7(58.33%)	1(14.28%)	2(40%)
Written literature	1(12.5%)	1(14.28%)	4(33.33%)	5(71.42%)	0(0.0%)
Folklore	1(12.5%)	1(14.28%)	6(50%)	4(57.14%)	2(40%)

Amongst the developed language resources, the dictionary has been the most popular among the Gurung people. Regarding the writing system, different writing systems are in use in different places. For example Khebri writing system is well known in Lekhanath but no in other locations but Khema is in the information of the respondents from other locations and so on. Khebri is well known in Lekhnath because Bhasha-Lipi Tatha Sanskritik Pratisthan which devised and proposed it is located in Lekhanath. Remarkably smaller number of them are informed about the existence of Grammar and textbooks. Similarly small number of the respondents are informed about the regular publication in Gurung in Gorkhapatra. Regarding the fold literature, the people living in the rural areas are more informed than the people living the cities and markets. All the facts show that the contact between the rural and urban/city/market areas is getting weaker regarding the linguistic issues.

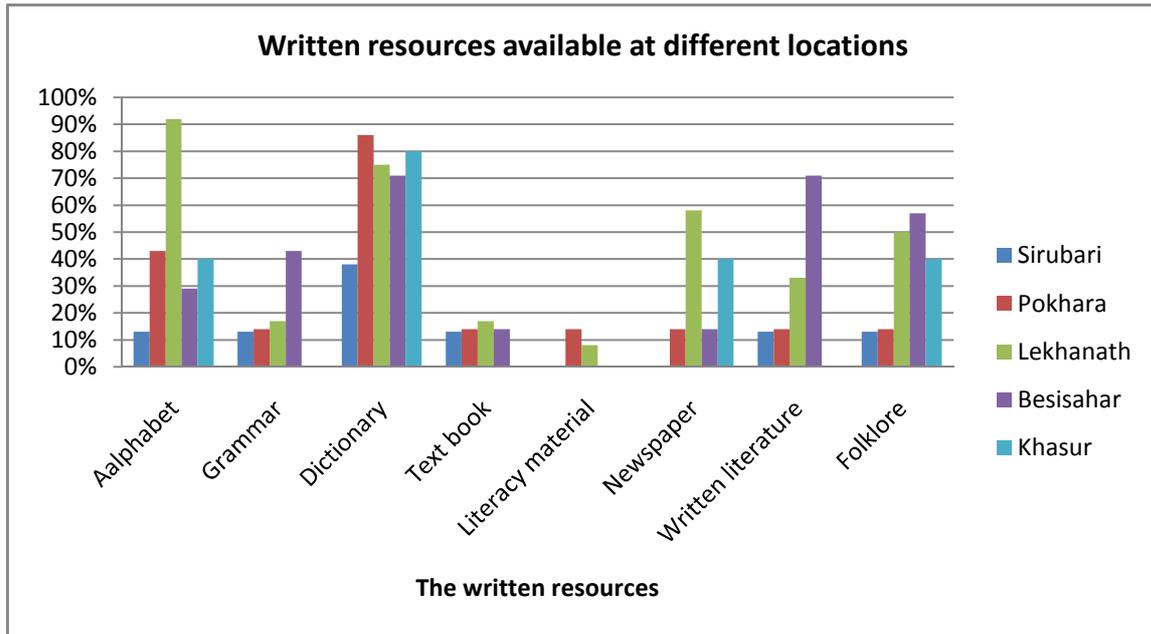


Figure 7.3: Written materials in Gurung at different places

7.6 The organizations and their jobs

There are some organizations in the Gurung community which are initiating to promote their language and culture. Table 7.7 presents the organization and their jobs.

Table 7.7: The organizations and their jobs

Location	Name of the organizations	scope
Sirubari	<i>Sopal Samaj</i>	language, culture
Pokhara	<i>Tamudhins,</i> <i>Tamu Sanskritik Pariwar, Rodighars</i>	language, culture, religion
Lekhanath	<i>Tamudhins, Phelu Sangh, Tamu Bhasha-Lipi Tatha</i> <i>Sanskritik Pratisthan, Tamu Sanskritik Pariwar</i>	Culture, language, religion
Beshisahar	<i>Tamudhins, Dharmodaya Sangh, Tamu museum</i>	Culture, religion.
Khasur	<i>Khasur Rodhi club, Tamudhins</i>	language and culture

Most of these organizations are working for the promotion of the culture, religion and language. Of them Tamudhins are the traditional organizations which mainly work for culture and religion and they can be found in most of the Gurung areas. In comparison to other places, Lekhanath has more social organizations like Tamudhins, Phelu Sangh, Tamu Bhasha-Lipi Tatha Sanskritik Pratisthan and Tamu Sanskritik Pariwar.

Table 7.8: The organizations that are promoting the language (by location)

	Sirubari(n=8)	Pokhara(n=7)	Lekhanath(n=12)	Besisahar(n=7)	Khasur(n=5)
Yes	5(62.5%)	5(71.42%)	9(75%)	5(71.42%)	3(60%)
No	3(37.5%)	2(28.57%)	3(25%)	1(14.28%)	2(40%)
No idea	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(14.28%)	0(0.0%)

As can be seen in Table 7.8, the respondents from Lekhnath seem to be more serious for promoting the Gurung language and culture. Around 71.42% of the respondents from Pokhara are also positive to the issues raised. Few from Beshishar said that they did not have any ideas about the existence of social organization working for the promotion of the Gurung language and culture.

Table 7.9: The organizations that are promoting the language by education

	L (n=13)	E (n=16)	H (n=4)
Yes	12(92.30%)	13(81.75%)	2(50%)
No	1(07.76%)	2(12.5%)	2(50%)
No idea	0(0.0%)	1(06.75%)	0(0.0%)

Table 7.9 shows that around 92.30% of literate respondents said that they wanted to promote their language and culture through the organizations they have. Only few of them did not like it. Around 06.75% of the respondents had no ideas at all about this thing. Otherwise, others were in the favor of promoting their language and culture through various organizations.

7.7 Summary

Folk stories: 69.23% of the respondents asserted that there are folk stories in the Gurung language. It shows that a large number of folk stories are found to be popular in the language. Especially the old generation people tell the stories to others occasionally. 84.61% of the respondents asserted that there are folk music available in Gurung. Gurung communities are rich in Rodi music and there are a large number of patterns, both traditional and modern, of this music. There are a lot of religious literatures mainly based on Buddhism. 87.17% of the respondents asserted it. 94.87% of the respondents are informed that Gurung is used in radio

programmes broadcasted from different radio stations. There is an FM Radio named Radio Marshyangdi located at Beshisahar of the Lamjung district which runs different types of programs in Gurung besides Nepali. A number of films have been produced in the Gurung language. Similarly films have been produced in Nepali about Gurung people and language. 97.43% of the respondents have knowledge of the fact. Films, Ghatu and Rodi songs are available in CDs/DVDs. 94.87% of the respondents are familiar with them. There are some organizations in the Gurung community which are working for the promotion of their language and culture. Of them Tamudhins are the traditional organizations which can be found in most of the Gurung areas. In comparison to other places, Lekhanath has many social organizations like Tamudhins, Phelu Sangh, Tamu Bhasha-Lipi Tatha Sanskritik Pratishthan, Tamu Sanskritik Pariwar.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

3.1 Summary of findings

Gurung people prefer to be called by *Tamu* and the language they speak by *Tamu ki*. Gurung can be genetically classified under the Bodish. Gurung is a Sino-Tibetan language. Under the Sino-Tibetan language family it belongs to the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman. Bradley has grouped it in the Bodish group of Tibeto-Burman. As they report that they have prepared the script and are in the phase of preparing the textbooks for teaching the children. There is few research works carried out on this language. Grammar and dictionary are also in the existence. Because of the expansion of education, transportation, business and migration the use of Nepali is found to be gradually increasing day by day but the vitality of Gurung seems very vibrant as all generations are speaking it without any distortion and it is the vehicle of intergenerational communication. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that for the purpose of identification of the different dialects of the Gurung language, we carried out dialect mapping at two distinct points namely Lekhanath Municipality in Kaski district and Khasur in Lamjung and tried to find out overall impression of the distribution of the dialects spoken. The first point is the central part of the Gurung speaking area. Dialect mapping at this point could give overall picture of the Gurung dialects except Gorkha. So we carried out dialect at Khasur to identify the dialectal situation in Gorkha. With the help of dialect mapping at two points we have been successful to get the overall impression of the distribution of the Gurung dialects. There have been identified five dialects of Gurung. We could not find special names to the dialects so we have named them as the first variety (Group 1), second variety (Group 2), third variety (Group 3) and fourth variety (Group 4). If we observe the lexical comparison in Gurung we find that the lexical similarity is in descending order from Syangja to Besisahar and vice versa. The lexical variation gradually increases as we go farther. It means that it is a continuum of a single language.

The dominance of the Gurung language is gradually decreasing in the domains of language use. It is mainly spoken in the domestic domains by the adult speakers. The use of language in the urban areas and by the children has been decreasing. While joking, they seem to use both Gurung and Nepali language. In the domains like abusing, quarreling and discussing, they do not use Gurung much. Mostly in the informal or family gatherings they tend to speak Gurung itself. While praying they used Gurung language in limited way. In their performing

cultures they have require their own language. While telling the story to their children, they use Nepali. The use of language in the village meetings is quite more interesting. If all the participants are the speakers of Gurung speakers they discuss in Gurung and write minute in Nepali. If there are some non-speakers of Gurung they discuss in Nepali and write minute in Nepali. Both Gurung and Nepali are used in the interpersonal communication in the family. In the urban/market areas the parents communicate with the children in Nepali and use Gurung among themselves and with the seniors. But in the rural areas the children mostly use Gurung at home and in the community if the community is Gurung. In some instances, if the neighbors are other tongue speakers, they have to use Nepali. In the schools, generally in the classes, with the teachers, while talking about the subject matter of the books the children use Nepali and, in rural areas. The Gurung speaking children speak Gurung with their Gurung friends. Both Gurung and Nepali are used for oral invitation based on the invitee. Nowadays they have started to print bilingual invitation cards also.

Generally, Gurung community is bi/multilingual in nature. There was not found any monolingual Gurung speaker in the areas. Every member can speak at least two languages. The languages used in the community are Gurung and Nepali but several of the community members have knowledge of English and/or Hindi or some other languages. The people learnt English from formal education and Hindi from TV or during their jobs in India. The number of Nepali monolinguals is also increasing these days. The mostly used language is Nepali, and it is the language of wider communication. As the data show that 28% of 21 male are bilingual and the rest are multilingual. Among them, 9.52% male Gurungs were found to have access in Gurung, English and Nepali, 28.57 % in Gurung, Nepali and Hindi, 33.33% in Gurung, Nepali, English and Hindi, and 4.76% in Gurung, Nepali and Tamang. 27.77% of female were bilingual and none was monolingual. Of the rest, Gurung, Nepali and English were spoken by 11.11%, Gurung, Nepali and Hindi by 22.22%, Gurung, Nepali, Hindi and Tamang by 6.25%, Gurung, Nepali, Hindi and English by 22.22%.

Majority of the respondents were found that they liked their mother tongue most. All the children do not speak Gurung at home in all domains of language use with all the family members as well as in their neighborhood. The majority of children are found to have been shifting to wider communication, Nepali. Further, there is found the influence of English as well. Around fifty percentages of children do not speak their mother tongue. It shows that they are shifting to Nepali, a wider communication. The respondents answered that their children can't speak the mother tongue as they ought to. The proficiency level of the mother

tongue was found to be decreasing in some of the children in different locations. The survey points like Sirubari and Pokhara show that the proficiency level of the mother tongue is higher than those of the other survey points like Lekhnath, Besisahar and Khasur. There is not a satisfactory level of language maintenance in Gurung.

There is disturbed intergenerational language transmission, particularly the young generation. Language is hardly transmitted into the children of the youngest generation. Inter-lingual marriage is one of the causes of the disruption of the language maintenance in Gurung community. The respondents from Lekhnath and Khasur answered that there is a high range of inter-caste marriage mostly with Magar, Tamang and Chhetri-Brahman. Conversely the respondents from Besisahar and Pokhara informed that they don't have much inter-lingual marriage system. Higher percentages of the people like their children learn reading and writing in mother tongue. Of the five key points, all of the respondents from Khasur answered that they loved their children learn and write in their mother tongue. Some of the respondents from Sirubari and Besisahar also responded that they did not want their children learn in mother tongue. A few of the respondents answered that they did not mind it. In fact, nobody loves the community people speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue. Few of them do not mind if the community people speak other languages.

The highest percentage around 62.5% from Sirubari do not mind if the community people speak other languages. Otherwise, the majority from five key points: Sirubari, Pokhara, Lekhnath, Besishar and Khasur do not prefer their community speaking other languages leaving their mother tongue, Gurung.

Nearly 70% of the respondents asserted that there are folk stories in the Gurung language. It shows that a large number of folk stories are found to be popular in the language. Especially the old generation people tell the stories to others in the evening time after they finish eating their meal and sit around the fire or they tell the stories during some special occasions. Music is rich in Rodi music and there are a large number of patterns of this music both traditional and modern. 84.61% of the respondents asserted to be music in Gurung. Religious literatures are a lot of religious literature based on Buddhism and Hinduism. 87.17% of the respondents asserted it. 94.87% of the respondents are informed that there is used Gurung in radio programmes from different radio stations. There is an FM named Radio Marshyangdi located at Lamjung which runs different types of programs in Gurung languages besides Nepali. A number of films have been produced in the Gurung language. Similarly films have been produced in Nepali about Gurung people and language. 97.43% of the respondents have

knowledge of the fact. CD/DVDs: Films, Ghatu and Rodi songs are available in CDs/DVDs. 94.87% of the respondents are familiar with them. There are various types of resource materials related to language in Gurung community. They are like folk stories, music, religious literature, radio, and cinema, CD / DVD available in the Gurung community. There are some organizations in the Gurung community which are initiating to promote their language and culture. Of them Tamudhins are the traditional organizations which can be found most of the Gurung areas. In comparison to other places, Lekhanath has many social organizations like Tamudhins, Phelu Sangh, Tamu Bhasha-Lipi Tatha Sanskritik Pratisthan, Tamu Sanskritik Pariwar.

3.2 Recommendations

1. This survey is not sufficient to find out the overall sociolinguistic picture of Gurung. It needs more extensive survey.
2. It has been a must to find out how much the different varieties are different from each other. So Recorded Text Testing (RTT) should be conducted to identify the dialects and the level of intelligibility among the varieties.
3. It is necessary to expand the use of local varieties in multilingual education, media, local administration, literature, etc.
4. It is desirable to carry out community based language development activities such as Multilingual Education (MLE), literacy, etc.
5. As the Gandaki region is a popular destination for the tourists, the use of the language in the sector of tourism would be beneficial for language promotion.
6. It is important to be realized by the concerned authorities that language management must be brought to promote and develop Gurung.

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ANNEXES

Annex A: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:.....

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४)

(५)

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४)

(५)

स्थान :

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

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम: अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा:

S.N	English	NepaliNepalNepali	Sirubari	Pokhara	Sikles	Khasur	Bhujung
1.	body	शरीर	dziu	dziu	tsjiutan	dziu	dziu
2.	head	टाउको	krΛ	krΛ	krΛ	krΛ	krΛ
3.	hair	कपाल	krΛ	mi	krΛpo	krΛ	krΛ
4.	face	अनुहार	li:	li:	libo	mohΛḍa	ḡõ
5.	eye	आँखा	mi:	mi:	mĩk ^h õ	mi	mi:
6.	ear	कान	nΛpẽ	ḡΛ	nwāk ^h õ	nẽpẽ	nã
7.	nose	नाक	nã	nΛk ^h u	nãk ^h o	nΛk ^h u	na
8.	mouth	मुख	sũ	sũ	sũ:	sũ	suḡ
9.	teeth	दाँत	sΛ	sΛ	sΛ	sΛ	sΛ
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	le	le	le:	le	le
11.	breast	स्तन	-	ḡḡ	ge	ḡḡ	ḡḡ

12.	belly	पेट	p ^h o	p ^h o	p ^h Λ	p ^h o	p ^h Λ
13.	arm/ hand	हात	jo	jo	jo	jo	jo
14.	elbow	कुइनो	kuino	-	pΛīḍa	kurdu	kurdzu
15.	palm	हत्केला	jopla	jopla	joL̄	pla	jopla
16.	finger	औंला	amla	joṛī	jori	riḍi	joṭ ^h iḍi
17.	finger nail	नङ	josī	josī	jots ^h ī	ts ^h ī	josi
18.	leg	खुट्टा	pΛli	pΛli	pΛla	pΛle	p ^h Λli
19.	skin	छाला	tibi	ti:	tibi	ṭibli	-
20.	bone	हाड	ripa	nuri	ri	nukri	nΛuri
21.	heart	मुटु	tī	ṭī	ṭī	tī	tī
22.	blood	रगत	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko
23.	urine	पिसाब	kū	kū	kō	kū	kū
24.	feces	दिसा	k ^h li	k ^h li	k ^h li	k ^h li	kli
25.	village	गाउँ	nāso	nāsa	nāsa	nāsa	nāsa
26.	house	घर	tī	d ^h ī	d ^h ī	tī	d ^h ī
27.	roof	छानो	d ^h uri	sujeba	d ^h īpja	ts ^h an	kuku
28.	door	ढोका	m̄ra	m̄ra	m̄ra	m̄ra	m̄ra
29.	firewood	दाउरा	sī	sī	sī	sī	sī
30.	broom	कुचो	kutso	kutso	p ^h jolu	kutsa	kutso
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	hΛrkjΛ	silΛuṭa	silṭo	pugla	juma
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	poilΛ	lōra	presi juma	mṛēdum	prejōlΛ
33.	hammer	हथौडा	g ^h Λn	g ^h Λn	g ^h Λn	martola	g ^h Λn
34.	knife	चक्कु	tsΛkku	tsΛkku	tsΛkku	kore	tsΛkku
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	tΛ	ṭΛ	ṭΛ	tΛ	tΛ
36.	rope	डोरी	rΛsi	ḍori	ts ^h o	ts ^h o	ts ^h o
37.	thread	धागो	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru
38.	needle	सियो	ta	ṭa	ṭa	ta	ta
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	koī	koē	kΛē	koē	koī
40.	ring	औंठी	tsja	tsja	aũṭ ^h i	aũḍi	tsja
41.	sun	घाम	tiṇa	tja	ṭī	tini	t ^h aṇi
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	lāi	lajL̄	lē	lΛni	lanje
43.	sky	आकाश	mu:	mu:	mu	mu	mu:
44.	star	तारा	tara	sara	sa	sara	sara
45.	rain	वर्षा	naī	na	nad ^h ima	na	na

46.	water	पानी	kju	kju	kju	kju	kju
47.	river	नदी	k ^h ola	sjã	sjã	k ^h la	sjõ
48.	cloud	बादल	mots ^h e	namsjo	nasjo	namsjo	nãsjõ
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	-	nabri	munjaba	kamlikhoba	-
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	inreni	jãghõ	jag ^h õ	jargodi	jahudi
51.	wind	बतास	k ^h ãĩ	k ^h ãẽ	k ^h ãẽ	nãbora	namãra
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	jopa	juma	juma	juma	juma
53.	path	बाटो	kjã	kjã	kja	kjã	kjã
54.	sand	बालुवा	baluwa	baluwa	sãpi	baluwa	baluwa
55.	fire	आगो	mẽ	mi	mi	mi	mi
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	mẽk ^h u	juma	migu	mik ^h u	mugu
57.	ash	खरानी	nẽpro	mẽbro	mjurã	mibro	mjuro
58.	mud	माटो	sã	sã	sã	sã	sã:
59.	dust	धुलो	d ^h ula	d ^h ula	sãtul	d ^h ulo	sã:tulã
60.	gold	सुन	mara	mara	mar	mara	mara
61.	tree	रूख	d ^h ũ	sĩđu	sĩndu	sĩdu	sĩntuŋ
62.	leaf	पात	po	lã	lãpo	lãpo	lã
63.	root	जरा	dzãra	dzãra	dzãra	dzãra	dzãra
64.	thorn	काँडो	putsã	kãđã	podzo	pudzu	podzo
65.	flower	फूल	ɽã	ɽã	ɽã	ɽã	ɽã
66.	fruit	फलफूल	-	P ^h ãlp ^h ul	ro	-	P ^h ãlp ^h ul
67.	mango	आँप	ãp	ãp	ãp	ãp	ãp
68.	banana	केरा	mãtsa	mãdza	mãtsa	madza	mãdza
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	gãũ	gãũ	kãru	gãhũ	kãru
70.	barley	जौ	dzou	dzou	dzou	dzou	tsãb ^h u
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	mãsi	si:	mãsi	si	si:
72.	potato	आलु	alu	alu	alu	alu	alu
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	b ^h ãntã	b ^h ãntã	b ^h ãntã	b ^h ẽđã	bẽđã
74.	groundnut	बदाम	bãdam	bãdam	bãdam	bãdam	bãdam
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	k ^h ursani	k ^h ursani	k ^h ursani	k ^h orsani	k ^h ursani
76.	turmeric	बेसार	besar	besar	besar	besar	bisara
77.	garlic	लसुन	lũ:	nõ	nõ	nõ	nõ
78.	onion	प्याज	pjadz	pjadz	pjadz	pjadz	pjadz
79.	cauliflower	काउली	kauli	kauli	kauli	kauli	kauli

80.	tomato	गोलभँडा	golbēḍa	golbēḍa	golbēḍa	golbēḍa	golbēḍa
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	bānda	bānda	bānda	bānda	bānda
82.	oil	तेल	tel	tel	ts ^h ubu	tsig ^h u	tsig ^h u
83.	salt	नुन	tsatsa	tsadza	tsatsa	tsadza	tsadza
84.	meat	मासु	se	se	se	sja	se
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	ts ^h i	ts ^h i	ts ^h i	ts ^h i	ts ^h i
86.	fish	माछा	taṅa	tāga	tāga	taṅā	tāga
87.	chicken	चल्ला	nakla	tsalla	nautsatsa	tsja	pasē
88.	egg	अण्डा	p ^h ū	p ^h ū	p ^h ū	p ^h u	p ^h ū
89.	cow	गाई	mē	mē	me	mja	me
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	mai	mag ^h i	mag ^h i	mai	mai
91.	milk	दुध	ṅē	ṅē	ge	ṅja	ṅē
92.	horns	सिङ्	rū	ru	ra	ru	ru
93.	tail	पुच्छर	mē	me	me	mē	mē
94.	goat	बाख्रो	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra
95.	dog	कुकुर	naki	nagi	nāg ^h i	naijju	naijju
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	puri	puri	puri	pugri	p ^h u:ri
97.	monkey	बाँदर	jokar	lak ^h u	jokar	timu	timiju
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	lamk ^h uṭṭe	lamk ^h uṭṭe	p ^h attel	lamk ^h uṭṭe	lamk ^h uṭṭe
99.	ant	कमिला	nakro	nābro	nabro	lōbara	nauro
100.	spider	माकुरो	timro	makura	ṭimru	lu	p ^h ili
101.	name	नाम	me	mi	mi	mi	mi
102.	man	मान्छे	mī	mī	mī	mī	mī
103.	woman	आइमाई	mriṣjo	rimai	rimai	rimaje	rimai
104.	child	बच्चा	kolome	kolo	kala	kolme	kolo
105.	father	बाबा	apa	aba	apa	bau	ba
106.	mother	आमा	ama	ama	ma	ama	ma
107.	older brother	दाजु	ag ^h ai	ag ^h e	ag ^h ja	dai	agāi
108.	younger brother	भाइ	b ^h ai	b ^h ai	atsja	b ^h ai	ali
109.	older sister	दिदी	ag ^h ai	didzjo	ana	nani	nani
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	bāini	bāini	ditsjā	kasi	rī
111.	son	छोरो	ts ^h Λ	ts ^h Λ	tsΛ	tsΛ	ts ^h Λ
112.	daughter	छोरी	ts ^h Λme	ts ^h Λmi	tsΛme	tsΛmi	ts ^h Λme

113.	husband	श्रीमान	pĩu	p ^h ʌ	p ^h ʌ	p ^h ʌ	p ^h ʌ
114.	wife	श्रीमती	m̥ri	prēsjo	m̥ri	mri	p ^h e
115.	boy	केटो	apũi	kolo	pjũtsʌtmʌi	p ^h risĩ	p ^h rʌĩsẽ
116.	girl	केटी	mrisjo	mrisjo	ritsʌtmʌi	ts ^h ʌmime	rimʌi
117.	day	दिन	d ^h iŋʌri	tʌja	din	din	t ^h ʌŋji
118.	night	रात	mesʌri	muĩsa	mʌsa	muĩsa	muĩsa
119.	morning	विहान	nʌg ^h a	nāga	nākha	nāsa	nagʌr
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	-	t̥ija	t̥iloba	tinsʌbim	-
121.	evening	साँझ	mesa	ŋēsʌ	ŋēsʌ	ŋēsʌ	ŋēsʌ
122.	yesterday	हिजो	tela	t̥ela	tela	tela	tela
123.	today	आज	tja	tjā	tějā	tisa	tiŋja
124.	tomorrow	भोली	pʌnʌga	pʌnʌ	pʌnʌga	nagʌje	naga
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	sʌdgʌri	sʌdʌ	sʌtʌ	sʌdʌri	sʌdʌ
126.	month	महिना	mait ^h ilʌ	mʌina	mʌina	mʌina	mʌina
127.	year	वर्ष	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ
128.	old	बूढो	k ^h iba	k ^h eba	k ^h eba	k ^h odro	purano
129.	new	नयाँ	nʌja	ts ^h ʌharʌ	p ^h remʌi	nʌja	nʌja
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	ts ^h jaba	ts ^h jāba	ts ^h jāba	ts ^h jāba	ts ^h jāba
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	ats ^h jaba	ats ^h jāba	ats ^h jāba	ats ^h jāba	ats ^h jāba
132.	wet	चिसो	ŋjuba	ŋjuba	ŋjuba	sju	p ^h āba
133.	dry	सुख्खा	karaba	karaba	karba	karʌba	karawa
134.	long	लामो	riŋjo	riŋjo	runja	rībale	rība
135.	short	छोटो	rʌiti	reḍi	r̥idu	t ^h uḍe	rīt ^h e
136.	hot	तातो	lʌlʌ	lʌlʌ	ts ^h bʌ	tato	lʌlʌ
137.	cold	चिसो	ŋjuba	jũba	mjũba	ŋjũba	sība
138.	right	दाहिने	daine	kjolo	kjʌlʌ	kʌjo	kelʌŋ
139.	left	देब्रे	debre	t ^h ʌrgjo	t̥ʌure	t ^h ʌrge	t ^h ʌrija
140.	near	नजिक	tsʌdu	tsēḍo	tsēḍʌ	ŋarjo	woēr
141.	far	टाढा	rʌigo	rēgo	rēg ^h o	rigo	rego
142.	big	ठूलो	t ^h joba	t ^h eba	t ^h eba	t ^h epale	t ^h ebale
143.	small	सानो	tseleli	ts ^h jōba	tsjʌba	tsjauna	ts ^h ʌdza
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	li:ba	li:ba	li:ba	li:ba	li:ba
145.	light	हलुका	jōba	jōba	ŋjōba	jōba	jōba
146.	above	माथि	kʌiru	t̥ai	t̥ae	tuli	tosi

147.	below	तल	makiru	mai	mai	lori	mɔsi
148.	white	सेतो	targe	targja	ɽargja	tarkja	targja
149.	black	कालो	mlɔɲe	mlōgja	nūgja	mlogja	mlōgja
150.	red	रातो	wolge	wolgja	walgja	wolgja	wolgja
151.	one	एक	gri	kri	kri	kri	kri
152.	two	दुई	ɲja	ɲi	ɲi	ɲi	ɲi
153.	three	तीन	sō	sō	sō	sō	sō
154.	four	चार	pli	pli	pli	pli	pli
155.	five	पाँच	ɲa	ɲɔ	ɲɔ	ɲɔ	ɲɔ
156.	six	छ	ɽa	ɽu	ɽu	ɽu	ɽu
157.	seven	सात	ɲi	ɲi	ɲi	ɲi	ɲi
158.	eight	आठ	prē	prē	prē	prē	prē
159.	nine	नौ	kū	ku	ku	ku	ku
160.	ten	दश	tsju	tsju	tsju	tsju	tsju
161.	eleven	एघार	egharɔ	tsju kri	tsjui k ^h ri	tsju kri	tsju kri
162.	twelve	बाह्र	barɔ	tsju ɲi	tsjui ɲi	tsju ɲi	tsju ɲi
163.	twenty	बीस	ɲisju	ɲisju	ɲjusu	ɲisja	ɲisju
164.	one hundred	एक सय	mūi pra	prɔ	bra	pra	pra
165.	who	को	k ^h au	k ^h ɔbɔ	k ^h au	su	su
166.	what	के	ɽo	ɽo	ɽorɔ	to	to
167.	where	कहाँ	k ^h ana	k ^h ɔni	k ^h ɔnera	k ^h ɔna	k ^h ɔna
168.	when	कहिले	k ^h ɔjo	k ^h ɔjɔ	k ^h ɔjɔ	k ^h ɔi	k ^h ɔemma
169.	how many	कति	kɔti	kɔti	kɔti	kɔte	kɔde
170.	which	कुन	k ^h antsa	k ^h ɔbɔ	k ^h ɔba	su	su
171.	this	यो	jo	tsu	tsu	tsu	tsu
172.	that	त्यो	tsɔ	tsɔ	kja	hodza	kidza
173.	these	यिनीहरू	tsumɔi	tsumai	tsjume	tsɔmɔi	tsumɔje
174.	those	उनीहरू	tsɔamai	tsɔmai	kjame	tsubak ^h la	kidzamɔje
175.	same	उही	tsabana	tsɔnɔ	tsɔnɔ	ts ^h ɔili	tsaija
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	p ^h ɔrɔk	ɔlɔg	sjoli	soso	ɔlɔg
177.	whole	सबै	pre	ɽan	ɽana	tājo	dzɔmmɔi
178.	broken	फुटेको	tihɔi	tjaba	tjaba	tjaba	p ^h ɔtjaba
179.	few	थोरै	tsik ^h unde	tsukude	tsikude	tsikite	tsegɔide
180.	many	धेरै	le	le	le:	lede	lede

181.	all	सबै	tan	ʈan	ʈana	dzʌmmʌi	dzʌmmʌi
182.	to eat	खानु	tsʌba	tsʌba	tsʌba	tsaba	tsʌba
183.	to bite	टोकु	tsiba	ts ^h iba	tsiba	ts ^h eba	ts ^h uba
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	p ^h okreba	p ^h ōkreba	p ^h ʌkneba	p ^h ōureba	p ^h ōkreba
185.	to drink	पिउनु	t ^h ūba	t ^h ūba	t ^h ūba	t ^h ūba	t ^h uŋba
186.	to be thirsty	तिखाउनु	piba	piba	piba	kjubisi	p ^h iba
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	roba	roba	roba	roɖiba	roba
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	pʌtɪba	pɪba	pɪba	pɪba	pʌtɛba
189.	to sit	बसु	ʈiba	k ^h ūba	kūba	kuba	ʈiba
190.	to give	दिनु	binba	b ^h iba	piba	pība	piba
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	tuiba	ŋiba	ŋiba	k ^h oba	k ^h roba
192.	to die	मर्नु	sība	siba	siba	sjaba	siba
193.	to kill	मार्नु	sʌiba	seba	sjeba	sēba	sʌiba
194.	to fly	उडनु	piraba	reba	purba	rēba	p ^h urba
195.	to walk	हिँडनु	praba	prʌba	preba	prʌba	prʌba
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	kejoba	kjoba	dēba	bagɖiba	ŋɛ̃ba
197.	to go /go	जानु	jaba	hjaba	jaba	jaba	jaba
198.	to come	आउनु	lʌiba	k ^h ʌba	k ^h ʌba	k ^h oba	k ^h ʌba
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	pōba	pōba	pōba	pōba	pōba
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुत्नु	roba	roba	roba	tsjoba	rōba
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	ŋjōba	ŋjoba	ŋjʌba	ŋiba	ŋiba
202.	I	म	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
203.	you (informal)	तँ	ki	ki:	kī	kjō	kjō
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	ki	ki:	tsība	kjō	kjō
205.	he	ऊ	tsʌ	tsʌ	kja	t ^h i	kitsʌ
206.	she	उनी	tsʌmʌi	tsʌ	tsʌmʌi	t ^h i	kitsʌ
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	ŋi	ŋjō	ŋjʌ	ŋjō	ŋjō
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	-	ŋjōŋi	-	ŋi	ŋjō
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	ŋjotanʌi	kemaje	kemei	kjʌme	kemʌje
210.	they	उनीहरू	tsʌmʌi	tsʌmaje	tsʌme	kjʌmʌi	kitsamʌje

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
Interview Number	

Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)
Language of Elicitation	
Language of Response	
Interpreter Name (if needed)	

8. Name of language consultant:

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

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

11. Are you literate?

(a) Yes (b) No

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

(a) Formally (b) Non-formally

13. (If “Formally”) What year/level did you complete?
 (a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary
 (d) Higher (specify highest degree).....
14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried
15. (If “Married”) Do you have any children?
 (a) Yes (b) No
16. Caste
17. Ethnic group:
18. Religion:
 (a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity (e) Jain
 (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other
19. Your mother tongue's name:
 (a) (Given by respondent).....
20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?).....
21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru naamle pani chinincha?)
 (i)..... (ii)
 (iii)..... (iv)
22. Your mother's mother tongue.....
23. Your father's mother tongue.....

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

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife
25. What village were you born in?
 (a) Ward No..... (b)Village/Town..... (c)VDC/municipality..... (d)
 District..... (d) Zone.....
- Where do you live now?
 How many years have you lived here?
 Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
 (if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

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

B. Language resources

30. What are the major kinds of Oral literature available in your language?
 (a) folk tales,
 (b) songs,
 (c) religious literature,
 (d) radio,
 (e) films,
 (f) CD/ DVD,
 (g) Other.....

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

What script(s) is your language written in?

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

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

vi.		

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. Domain of Language Use

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

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

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

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

(enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

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

v.Spouse:			
vi.Children:			

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

E. Language Vitality

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

F. Language Maintenance

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

G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

76. What language should your children speak first?

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

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

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

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

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

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

८. भाषासूचकको नाम:

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

१०. उमेर:

११. तपाईंलाई लेख-पढ गर्न आउँछ?

(क) आउँछ (ख) आउँदैन

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

(क) औपचारिक रूपमा (ख) अनौपचारिक रूपमा

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

- (क) प्राथमिक (ख) निम्न माध्यमिक (ग) माध्यमिक
 (घ) उच्च (उच्चतम तह उल्लेख गर्ने)
१४. वैवाहिक अवस्था: (क) विवाहित (ख) अविवाहित
 १५. (विवाहित भएमा) तपाईंका छोराछोरी छन् कि छैनन्?
 (क) छन् (ख) छैनन्
१६. जाति:.....
 १७. जनजाति समूह (थर):
१८. धर्म:
 (क) हिन्दू (ख) बौद्ध (ग) किरात (घ) इसाई (ङ) जैन
 (च) इस्लाम (छ) प्रकृतिपूजक (ज) अन्य.....
१९. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:
 (क) (तपाईंले भन्ने).....
२०. तपाईंको भन्दा अन्य भाषा समुदायका (तपाईंको भाषा नबोल्ने) मान्छेले तपाईंको भाषालाई के भन्छन्?.....
२१. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ? (यस भाषाका अरु के के नाम छन्?)
 (क) (ख)
 (ग) (घ)
२२. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:
२३. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा:

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

२४. तपाईंको श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीको मातृभाषा:
२५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?
 (क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:
 (ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:
 (ङ) अञ्चल:
२६. हाल तपाईं कहाँ बस्नु हुन्छ?
- (क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:
 (ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:
 (ङ) अञ्चल:
२७. तपाईं यहाँ बस्नु भएको कति समय भयो?.....
२८. तपाईं अन्त कतै एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी बस्नु भएको छ?
 (क) छ (ख) छैन
२९. (यदि बस्नु भएको छ भने)
 (क) कहाँ: (ख) कहिले: (ग) कति समयसम्म:

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

(आ) भाषिक सामग्री

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

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

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

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

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

३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?

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

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

(क) पढ्छु (ख) पढदिन

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

तपाईंको भाषा कुन लिपिमा लेखिन्छ?

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

(क) छन् (ख) छैनन्

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

३८. ती संस्थाले के कस्ता काम गर्छन्?

(क) सांस्कृतिक

(ख) भाषिक

(ग) शैक्षिक

(घ) अन्य.....

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

(इ) मातृभाषामा दक्षता/बहुभाषिकता

३९. तपाईं कुन कुन भाषा बोल्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

.....,,,

४०. तपाईंले सबै भन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु भयो?

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

४१. सबै भन्दा राम्रो?

४२. दोस्रो राम्रो?

४३. तेस्रो राम्रो?

४४. चौथो राम्रो?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(क) सबै बुझ्छन् (ख) अलि अलि बुझ्छन् (ग) बुझ्दैनन्
(ई) भाषाको प्रयोग

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

	काम	भाषा
क.	गन्ती गर्दा	
ख.	गीत गाउँदा	
ग.	ठट्टा गर्दा	
घ.	हाटबजार गर्दा/मोलतोल गर्दा	
ङ.	कथा भन्दा	
च.	छलफल/वादविवाद गर्दा	
छ.	प्रार्थना गर्दा	
ज.	झगडा गर्दा	
झ.	गाली गर्दा	
ञ.	केटाकेटीलाई कथा सुनाउँदा	
ट.	घरमा गीत गाउँदा	
ठ.	पारिवारिक जमघटमा	
ड.	गाउँको बैठकमा	

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

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

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

(ग) चिठीपत्र लेख्दा (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

	क. शिक्षा सम्बन्धी	ख. सामाजिक क्रियाकलाप र पारिवारिक विषयमा	ग. चिठीपत्र लेख्दा
क. हजुरबुवासँग			
ख. हजुरआमासँग			
ग. बुवासँग			
घ. आमासँग			
ङ. श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीसँग			
च. छोराछोरीसँग			

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

(क) अन्य साथीहरूसँग खेल्दा

(ख) छिमेकीहरूसँग कुराकानी गर्दा

(ग) विद्यालयमा

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

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

५९. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा कतिको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

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

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

भाषाको नाम:

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

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

.....

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

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

(उ) भाषिक जीवन्तता

६३. तपाईंका सबै छोराछोरीले मातृभाषा बोल्छन्?

(क) बोल्छन् (ख) बोल्दैनन्

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

(क) मातृभाषा(ख) नेपाली (ग) अन्य.....

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

(क) बोल्लन् (ख) बोल्लैनन्

(ऊ) भाषिक निरन्तरता

६६. तपाईंको समुदायमा अन्तर्जातीय विवाह हुन्छ?

(क) हुन्छ (ख) हुँदैन

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

(क)..... (ख) (ग)

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

(क) पराउँछु (ख) पराउँदिन

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

(क) आफ्ना केटाकेटीलाई पढ्न पठाएर

(ख) समुदायका अरूलाई आफ्ना केटाकेटीहरू पठाउन प्रोत्साहित गरेर

(ग) आर्थिक सहयोग प्रदान गरेर

(घ) आफैले अध्यापन गरेर

(ङ) स्कूललाई सहयोग गरेर

(च) अन्य प्रकारले

(ए) भाषिक अभिवृत्ति

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

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

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

(क) छ (ख) छैन

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

.....
.....

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

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

७४. अहिलेका केटाकेटीका छोराछोरीले पनि तपाईंको भाषा बोल्लान्?

(क) बोल्लान् (ख) नबोल्लान्

७५. बोले भने तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) खराब

७६. बोलेनन् भने कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) खराब

७७. तपाईंका छोराछोरीले सबैभन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु पर्छ?

७८. तपाईंले बोल्ने भाषा तपाईंका हजुरबुबा/हजुरआमाले बोल्ने भाषा भन्दा फरक भए जस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) लाग्छ (ख) लाग्दैन

७९. (लाग्छ भने) के केमा फरक होला?

(क) उच्चारणमा

- (ख) शब्दभण्डारमा
 (ग) विशेष प्रकारका वाक्यहरूको प्रयोगमा
 (घ) भाषामिश्रणमा
 (ङ) बोल्ने तरिकामा
 (च) अन्यमा

८०. तपाईंकाे भाषिक समुदायका युवायुवतीले आफ्नो भाषा नबोलेर अर्को भाषा बोलेको सुन्दा कस्तो लाग्छ?

- (क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

८१. टिप्पणी (यस अन्तर्वार्तामा कुनै अस्वाभाविक वा उल्लेखनीय कुराहरू भएमा)	
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A. सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद।

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day..... Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward:

	Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)
Language of Elicitation	
Language of Response	
Interpreter Name (if needed)	

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

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

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

LC#	15.Name	16. Sex	17.Age	18.Caste	19. MT	20.	20.	Screening
-----	---------	---------	--------	----------	--------	-----	-----	-----------

						Mother's MT	Father's MT	Criteria: Y or N?
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								

15. Where do you live?

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

16. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?

(a) Yes (b) No

17. (If "Yes") Where? When? How long did you live there?

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

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

B. Domains of language use

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

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

C. Dialect mapping

- A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask) Which name is the one you prefer to use?
 - i. (Language name preferred by group)...
 - ii. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
 - iii. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
- B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.
 Be sure to get all the following information for each location:
 (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....
 (iv) District..... (v) Zone.....
- C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.
- D. What other languages are so similar to yours that when they speak, you can understand at least some words? (Write these on pieces of paper and add them to the “map” on the ground)
- E. Do any groups of villages all speak [L1] in the same way? (Place a loop of string around each such group)
- F. Which variety do you understand best? Second best? Etc. (Place numbers written on cardboard next to each municipality, language or group of municipalities)

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

D. Multilingualism

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

E. Appreciative enquiry

- A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels for each)
- B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)
- C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)

- D. As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)
- E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)
- F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group)
- G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)
- H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (in Nepali)

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढ्ने।

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

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते.....महिना.....वर्ष..... वि.सं. तारिख.....महिना.....वर्ष.....सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	क. वार्ड नं.: ख. गाउँ/नगर: ग. गाविस/नगरपालिका: घ. जिल्ला: ड. अञ्चल: च. जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:.....पू.उ.
४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क) (ख) (ग) (घ) (ड)
५. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यम भाषा	
६. अन्तरक्रियाको माध्यम भाषा	
७. दोभाषेको नाम (आवश्यक भएमा)	

यस प्रश्नावलीको लागि ८ देखि १२ जनासम्म सहयोगीहरू भए राम्रो हुन्छ। यो ८ जनाभन्दा कम सहभागीहरूसँग पनि गर्न सकिन्छ। तर यदि ८ जनाभन्दा बढीसँग गरियो भने अझै बढी विश्वसनीय

हुन्छ। प्रत्येक समूहमा महिला र पुरुष दुवैको लगभग समान सहभागिता हुनु पर्छ। प्रत्येक समूहमा सबै उमेर समूहका (१५ वर्ष देखि माथिका) जसमा केही पाका, केही अधवैसे र केही युवायुवती सहभागीहरू भए राम्रो हुन्छ।

सहयोगी #१:

८. सहयोगी (भाषासूचक) को नाम:
९. (आवश्यक परेमा मात्र) लिङ्ग: (क) पुरुष (ख) महिला (ग) अन्य
१०. उमेर:
११. जाति/जनजाति समूह:
१२. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:
१३. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:
१४. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा:

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

छ छैन

भाषा-सूचक	नाम	लिङ्ग	उमेर	जाति	मातृ-भाषा	आमाको मातृभाषा	बुबाको मातृभाषा	छनौटको आधार: हो वा होइन?
१.								
२.								
३.								
४.								
५.								
६.								
७.								
८.								
९.								
१०.								
११.								
१२.								

१५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

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

(क) छ (ख) छैन

१७. (बस्नु भएको छ भने)

(क) कहाँ: (ख) कहिले: (ग) कति समयसम्म:

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

भाषासूचक	वार्ड नं.	गाउँ	गा.वि.स.	एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी अन्यत्र कतै बस्नु भएको छ?	कहाँ, कहिले र कति समयसम्म	छनौटको आधार: हो वा होइन?
१.						
२.						
३.						
४.						
५.						
६.						
७.						
८.						
९.						
१०.						
११.						
१२.						

आ) भाषाको प्रयोग

क. म भिन्न परिस्थिति, अवसर र मानिससँग विभिन्न भाषा बोल्छु।

- ख. तपाईंहरूले कस्ता मानिस वा अवसरमा प्राय जसो सम्पर्क भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ? सम्पर्क भाषाको चिन्ह एक छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले भाषा प्रयोगको क्षेत्रहरूका नाम भन्नु हुने छ, कागजमा लेख्नु हुने छ र सम्पर्क भाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ।
- ग. तपाईंहरूले कस्तो अवस्थामा वा कस्ता मानिसहरूसँग धेरै जसो मातृभाषा बोल्नु हुन्छ? (मातृभाषाको चिन्ह अर्को छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रको नाम लेख्नु हुने छ र तिनलाई मातृभाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ। यस पटक सहभागीहरूले "केही बालबालिका मातृभाषा बोल्छन् र केही बालबालिका सम्पर्क भाषा बोल्छन्" भन्नु हुने छ। उहाँहरूको सहयोगको लागि कस्ता बालबालिकाले ती भाषाहरू बोल्छन् वा कस्तो अवस्थामा ती भाषाहरू प्रयोग गर्छन्? समूहहरू राम्ररी देखाउनका लागि चिन्हहरू बदल्नु होस्।)
- घ. कस्ता मानिससँग र कस्तो अवस्थामा तपाईंहरूले मातृभाषा र सम्पर्क भाषा दुबै बोल्नु हुन्छ? (सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रहरू कागजमा लेख्नु हुने छ र तिनलाई बीचमा राख्नु हुने छ। यदि सबै जसो मानिसले त्यो प्रयोग क्षेत्रमा एउटा निश्चित भाषा बोल्छन् वा तिनीहरूले त्यो भाषा बढी बोल्छन् र केही अरु भाषा बोल्छन् भने सहभागीहरूले तिनलाई एक छेउमा वा अर्को छेउमा अझ नजिकै राख्नु हुने छ।)
- ङ. प्रत्येक समूहमा दैनिक रूपमा प्रयोग हुने अवस्थालाई माथि र कहिलेकाहीं प्रयोग हुनेलाई मुनि राख्नु होस्। (दैनिक र कहिलेकाहींको लागि क्रमशः माथि र तल एउटा एउटा चिन्ह राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूलाई प्रयोगका क्षेत्रहरू मिलाउन भन्नु होस्। दैनिक र कहिलेकाहीं समूह बीच ठाउँ छुट्टयाउन उहाँहरूलाई उत्साहित गर्ने वा डोरीले छुट्टयाउन लगाउने काम गर्नु होस्।)
- च. (यदि दैनिक प्रयोगमा धेरै प्रयोग क्षेत्र भएमा) सबभन्दा बढी तपाईं कस्तो मानिससँग दैनिक कुराकानी गर्नु हुन्छ? तिनीहरूलाई अरु भन्दा माथि राख्नु होस्। (अथवा दैनिक रूपमा प्रयोग हुनेलाई क्रममा राख्नु होस्।)
- छ. तपाईंहरूले प्रयोग गर्ने भाषाहरू र जोसँग ती भाषा प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ उनीहरू प्रति तपाईंको कस्तो सोचाइ छ? के तपाईंले कुनै अर्को अवस्थामा यी मध्ये कुनै भाषा बढी प्रयोग गर्न थाल्नु हुन्छ?

(इ) भाषिकागत सीमा निर्धारण

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

१८. (समूहले भन्ने भाषाको नाम).....

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

२०. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ?

(क) (ख)

(ग) (घ)

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

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

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

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

घ. तपाईंको भाषासँग मिल्ने अरु कुन कुन भाषाहरू छन्, जुन त्यो भाषाको वक्ताहरूले बोल्दा तपाईंले कम्तीमा केही शब्दहरू बुझ्नु हुन्छ। (ती भाषाहरूलाई छुट्टै कागजमा लेख्नु होस् र तिनीहरूलाई नक्सामा थप्नु होस्।)

ङ. गाउँका सबैले आफ्नो भाषा उही प्रकारले बोल्छन्? (त्यस्ता समूहको वरिपरि डोरीले घेरा लगाउनु होस्।)

च. स्थानीय भेदहरूमध्ये तपाईंले सबैभन्दा राम्रो कुन भेद (भाषा) बुझ्नु हुन्छ? दोस्रो राम्रोसँग बुझ्ने भाषा कुन हो? (कार्डबोर्डमा लेखिएका अंकहरू हरेक क्षेत्र, भाषा, अथवा त्यस क्षेत्रको भाषा समूहको छेउमा राख्नु होस्।)

छ. अब हामी तपाईंहरूलाई यी भाषिक भेदहरू मध्ये कुन चाहीं राम्ररी बुझ्नु हुन्छ र कुन चाहीं कति पनि बुझ्नु हुन्न? कुन चाहीं सबैभन्दा राम्री बुझ्नु हुन्छ? भन्ने कुरा देखाउन चाहन्छौं। यस्तै गरी कुन भेदका शब्दहरू केही मात्र बुझ्नु हुन्छ त्यो पनि देखाउन चाहन्छौं। यी मध्ये कुन चाहीं गाउँको भाषा धेरै राम्रोसँग बुझ्नु हुन्छ? (चिन्हले देखाउनु होस् र कुनै एउटा रङ्गको चिन्ह छान्न लगाउनु होस्। उनीहरूलाई सबैभन्दा राम्रो बुझ्ने भाषा बोलिने ठाउँमा एउटा चिन्ह राख्न लगाउनु होस्। यसै गरी अन्य भेदहरू माथि पनि चिन्ह राख्न लगाउनु होस्।)

ज. यी मध्ये तपाईंहरू कुन भेद(भाषा)का वक्ताहरूसँग आफ्नो मातृभाषामा कुरा गर्नु हुन्छ? (यस प्रयोजनका लागि भिन्दै आकार/रङ्गको चिन्हको प्रयोग गर्नु होस्। अर्को चिन्ह राख्नु

होस्। (“हामीहरू एक आपसमा कुराकानी गर्दा आफ्नै (एउटै भेद) भाषा बोल्छौं”, “हामी आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छौं, उनीहरू आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छन्”, तिनीहरू अर्को भाषा बोल्छन्, हामीहरू आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छौं” र हामी दुबैले अर्कै भाषा बोल्छौं”)

- झ. केही मानिसहरू आफ्नो भाषामा पाठ्यपुस्तक लेख्न चाहन्छन्। यदि मातृभाषामा किताब लेखियो भने कुन कुन गाउँका विद्यार्थीहरूले प्रयोग गर्न सक्छन् होला? (लेखिएको किताब पढ्न सक्ने गाउँहरूलाई एउटा छुट्टै डोरी भित्र राख्नु होस्।) (यदि किताब लेख्ने र छाप्ने बारेमा सोच्दैनन् भने उनीहरू कुन चाहीं भेदमा सीडी बनाउन चाहन्छन्? भनि सोध्नु होस्।)
- ञ. यी भेदहरू मध्ये लेखन र रेकर्डिङ्ग का लागि कुन चाहींलाई प्रयोग गर्दा सबैले राम्रोसँग बुझ्छन्? त्यसो नभएमा कुन चाहीं भाषा प्रयोग हुन सक्छ? (कार्डबोर्डमा लेखिएका ए, बी, सी अक्षरहरूलाई क्रमसँग राख्नु होस्।)

(ई) बहुभाषिकता

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

(उ) प्रशंसामूलक सोधखोज

- क. तपाईंहरूले आफ्नो भाषा वा संस्कृतिमा देखेका, सुनेका र गरेका कामले तपाईंलाई गर्वको अनुभव गराउँछ, तिनको उल्लेख गर्नु होस्। मातृभाषाको प्रयोग भइरहेको अवस्था प्रति तपाईं सन्तुष्ट हुनुहुन्छ? (प्रत्येक कामको सारांश लेखन लगाउनु होस्)।
- ख. भइराखेका राम्रा कामहरूलाई कसरी हेर्नुहुन्छ? यसलाई अझ राम्रो कसरी गराउन सकिन्छ? अझ बढी कसरी सुधार्न सकिन्छ? तपाईंहरूको आफ्नो मातृभाषा प्रति के कस्ता आशा-आकाङ्क्षा छन्? (निश्चित समयावधि तोकेर तीनजनाको समूहमा छलफल गर्न लगाउनु होस् - सबै किसिमका आकाङ्क्षामा छलफल गर्न दिनु होस्(असम्भव पनि))।
- ग. प्रत्येक समूहलाई आ-आफ्नो समूहमा छलफल भएका आकाङ्क्षा भन्न लगाउनु होस्। ती आकाङ्क्षा छुट्टाछुट्टै कागजका टुक्राहरूमा एक जनालाई लेखन लगाउनु होस् (ती कागजका टुक्राहरूलाई आकाङ्क्षा लेखिएको शीर्षक मुनि राख्नु होस्)। (सहभागीहरूले व्यक्त गरेका आशा-आकाङ्खालाई तीन-चार शब्दमा संक्षेपीकरण गर्न लगाउनु होस्)।
- घ. उल्लेख गरिएका आशा-आकाङ्क्षा मध्ये केहीलाई कार्यन्वित गर्न सजिलो र केहीलाई गाह्रो जस्तो देखिन्छ? दुईवटा कागजको टुक्रामा सजिलो र गाह्रो लेखन लगाउनु होस् र तिनीहरूलाई दुई तिर राख्न लगाउनु होस्। आशा-आकाङ्खालाई सबैभन्दा सजिलो देखि सबैभन्दा गाह्रो क्रममा मिलाएर राख्न लगाउनु होस्।
- ङ. केही आशा-आकाङ्क्षा अरु भन्दा महत्वपूर्ण जस्तो लाग्छ? सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण आशा-आकाङ्खालाई एक छेउमा राख्न लगाउनु होस्। (छनौट गरिएका महत्वपूर्ण आशा-आकाङ्खालाई पनि बढी महत्वपूर्ण देखि कम महत्वपूर्णको क्रममा राख्न लगाउनु होस्, सम्भव भए एउटा फोटो पनि खिच्नु होस्)।
- च. छनौट गरिएका आशा-आकाङ्खालाई साकार पार्न योजना बनाउनु होस्। तत्कालै तपाईंहरू कुन आशा-आकाङ्क्षाको योजना बनाउन चाहनु हुन्छ? एक एक समूह बनाउन लगाउनु होस्। प्रत्येक सदस्यलाई समूहमा सक्रिय भएर काम गर्न उत्साहित गर्नु होस् र प्रत्येक आशा-आकाङ्क्षाको योजना तयार गर्नु होस्।
- छ. तपाईंले योजना बनाउँदा यी कुरामा विचार गर्नु होस्: १) तपाईंले चाल्नु पर्ने कदमहरू के के हुन्? २) तपाईं बाहेक संलग्न हुने अरु व्यक्ति को को हुन्? ३) आशा-आकाङ्खालाई मूर्त रूप दिन तपाईंहरूलाई चाहिने कुराहरू के के हुन्? (सहभागीहरूलाई कागजका टुक्रा र लेख्ने सामग्री दिएर ठुला ठुला अक्षरमा योजना लेखन लगाउनु होस्)।
- ज. प्रत्येक समूहलाई आ-आफ्नो समूहमा छलफल भएका योजना भन्न लगाउनु होस्।

सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद ।

Annex F: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

5. Name of language consultant:

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

7. Age:

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

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

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

(j) in any other ways?

Proceed to ask individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, if appropriate.

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (in Nepali)

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

छायांकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

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

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

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

४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क)
	(ख)

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

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

ग.		
घ.		
ङ.		
च.		

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

(क) पर्छ (ख) पर्दैन

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

(क) लिपि विकासको लागि काम गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ख) हिज्जेलाई व्यवस्थित गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ग) शब्दकोष बनाएर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(घ) व्याकरण लेखेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ङ) मातृभाषामा साहित्य लेखन उत्साहित गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(च) पाठ्यपुस्तक लेखन तथा प्रकाशन गरेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(छ) पत्रपत्रिका निकालेर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ज) प्रशासनमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(झ) प्राथमिक तहमा माध्यमको रूपमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

(अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन

(ञ) अन्य प्रकारले:

उपयुक्त भएमा समाज-भाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली भर्न शुरु गर्ने।