

# **A Sociolinguistic Survey of Kulung**

A report

submitted

to

Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)  
Central Department of Linguistics  
Tribhuvan University Kirtipur, Kathmandu

By

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

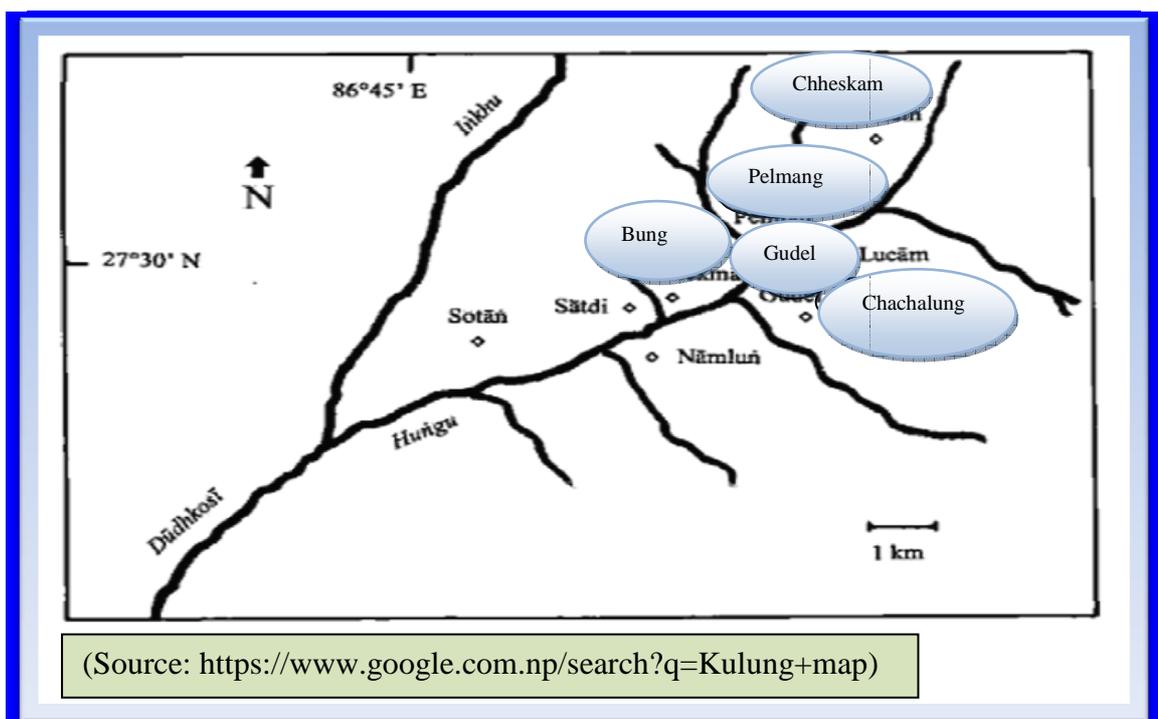
### 1.0 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of Kulung, an endangered Tibeto-Burman language mainly spoken by about 33,170 ethnic Kulung, most of them living in the three VDCs; namely, Gudel, Chheskam and Bung in Solukhumbu District of Sagarmatha Zone in eastern Nepal. In this section, we briefly discuss the geography, the people (history, culture, religion and occupation) and also discuss the language (demography and linguistic affiliation of the language), previous research, purpose and goals of the study as well as organization of this study.

### 1.1 Geography

The Kulung live in the hill country in Eastern Nepal, south of the Himalayas, in the Sagarmatha and Koshi Zones and also in India (Ethnologue, 2012:58). This survey focuses on the Kulung people of Nepal. The Kulung people of Nepal can be found predominantly within the Hungu River Valley surrounding the *Dudhkosi Khola* (river) in Solukhumbu district (Sagarmatha Zone). Map 1.1 displays the villages we visited for data collection in the Kulung speaking area.

Map 1.1: Kulung speaking area in Solukhumbu



The survey points for the present study are Chachalung and Gudel villeges of Gudel VDC, Cheskam village of Cheskam VDC and Pelmang and Bung villages of Bung VDC of Solukhumbu district. These villages are geographically very close to each other forming a single speech community.

## **1.2 The Kulung people**

This subsection deals with a brief introduction of the Kulung people in general. It includes history of the Kulung people, their culture, religion in Kulung speech community, and the occupation of Kulung speakers.

### **1.2.1 History**

The Kulung are a people of Mongoloid stock with a sedentary way of life (Tolsma, 1997:17). Normally, they do not differ from the other Rai groups physically but differ culturally. Except a few cursory remarks, Kulung do not have a well-known story of their origin. According to Kulung oral tradition, there was a ancestor of Kulung, *k<sup>h</sup>əp* who had two sons: *c<sup>h</sup>emsi* and *tamsi*. Accordingly, Kulung clans are divided into clans descending from *c<sup>h</sup>emsi*, and clans that are considered to be the offspring of *tamsi*. In the village Chemsin the majority of clains belongs to the *c<sup>h</sup>emsi* branch, while in the villages downstream the clans descending from *c<sup>h</sup>emsi* tend to be very few. Important clans belonging to the *c<sup>h</sup>emsi* branch are *təməc<sup>h</sup>a*, *walak<sup>h</sup>am*, *wadiri* and *mərə:k<sup>h</sup>u*, while dominant *tamsi* clains are *rinhə*, *mant<sup>h</sup>erbu* and *həjelu* (Tolsma 1997:17).

### **1.2.2 Culture**

The Kulung are the people of Rai and Kirant descent, inhabiting Nepal and parts of northeastern India. Their language of the same name is closely related to the fellow Kiranti languages Bantawa and Puma. Alternate names for the language include Khulunge Rai, Kulu Ring, Khulung and Kholung (<http://kulungprem.blogspot.com/2012/12/about-kulung.html>). They have their own traditional dress and ornaments. Photograph 1.1 presents a glimpse of Kulung culture.



**Photograph 1.1: Kulung culture**

(Source: <http://blogs.fanbox.com/SinglePost.aspx?>)

### **1.2.3 Religion**

There are ten types of religion categories reported in the census of 2011. Hinduism is followed by 81.3 percent (21,551,492) of the total population of the country. The Kulung mother tongue speakers are following Kirat, Hinduism, Buddhist and Christian (Ethnologue 2012). In the process of data collection all respondents said that they are following Kirat as their religion.

### **1.2.4 Occupation**

The main traditional occupation of Kulung is agriculture. The grain grown is mostly for their own daily needs, and surplus is used to make spirits and beer, or is sold at the bazaar on market-days. Many households also raise buffalo, pigs, and chickens. Some Kulungs who have passed their SLC (School Leaving Certificate exams) continue to work full-time on their land. A few households run tiny provision stores for supplementary income. General housework, including cooking, is the responsibility of the women. Young people, especially girls, tend to be the ones who gather firewood from the forests, and carry water from the communal water sources.

### **1.3 Language**

Nepal is a multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious country. It is rich in its linguistic diversity. The four great language families namely- Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic and also include one possibly linguistic isolate i.e. Kusunda. According to Eppele et.al. (2012), there are about 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of speakers for 123 languages and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages' with close to half million speakers.

Kulung is one of the marginalized and less described communities in Nepal (Yadava, 2004). Out of the four language families, this language belongs to Tibeto-Burman family. The language, they speak as their mother tongue is called the Kulung language. According to the CBS report, 2001 the total population of the Kulung amounted to 18,686 (i.e. 0.08) while National Population Housing Census, 2011, has reported that the total speakers of the Kulung language amounts to 33,170 which constitutes 0.13% of the country's total population.

#### **1.3.1 Demography**

As mentioned in Section 1.3, the National Population Housing Census report (2011) reported that the total population of the Kulung speakers amounted to 33,170. The speakers were mainly in three development regions of Nepal; namely, Eastern Development Region, Central Development Region and Western Development Region. Table 1.2 presents district wise distribution of Kulung speakers more than 100.

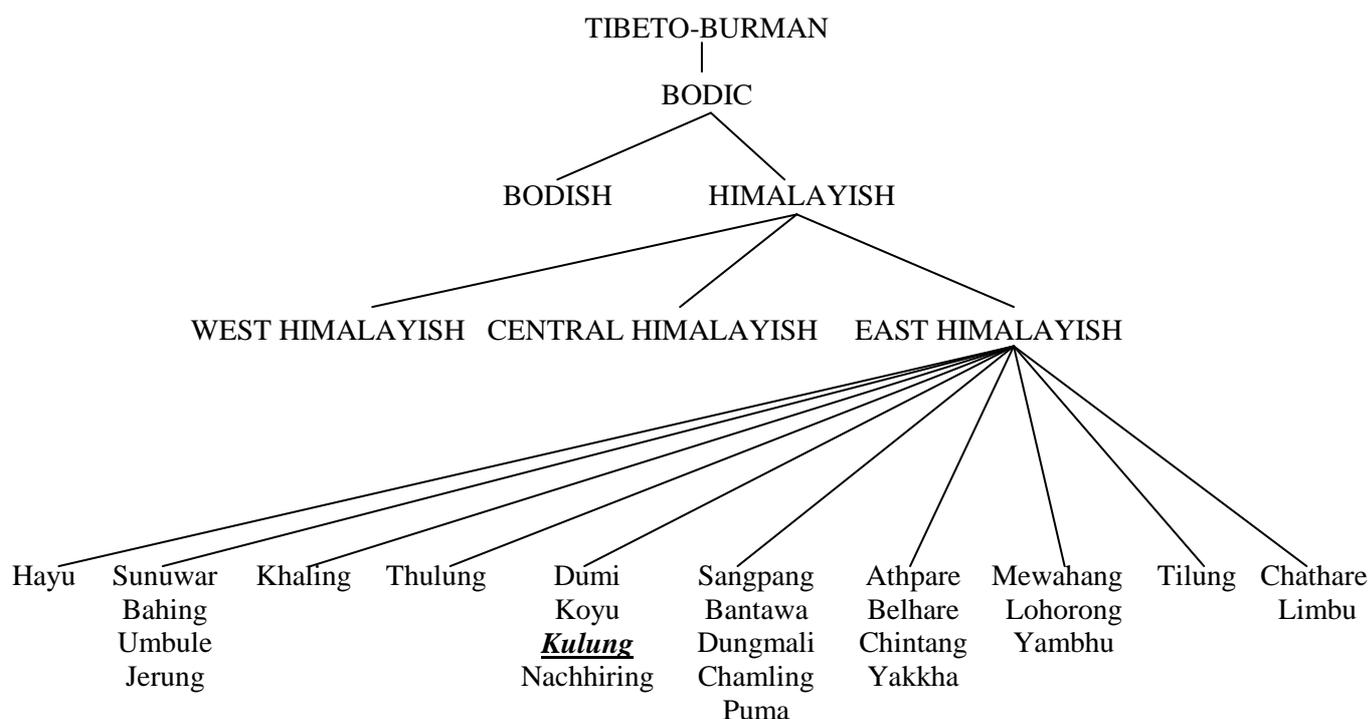
**Table 1.1: District wise distribution of Kulung speakers of Nepal**

	Districts	No. of speakers
1	Bhojpur	4431
2	Ilam	1703
3	Jhapa	670
4	Kathmandu	369
5	Morang	1381
6	Sankhuwasabha	10517
7	Solukhumbu	9693
8	Sunsary	3412
9	Terhathum	609

Source: Census, 2011

### 1.3.2 Genetic affiliation

According to Yadava (2003) Kulung is one of the members of East Himalayish subsection of Himalayish section under Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman family. The Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal can be genetically subcategorized in the Figure 1.1.



**Figure 1.1: Genetic classification of Kulung**

#### 1.4 Review of earlier works

There are only a few works on the Kulung language and people. However, it is beyond the scope of this report to review all of them in detail. Thus, we enumerate them with a short description including the major fields of linguistic studies. Table 1.2 presents a glimpse of the review of earlier works on Kulung people and language.

**Table 1.2: A glimpse of the review of earlier works**

	<b>Works</b>	<b>Review</b>
1	Andreas (1973)	Phonological Survey Report of the Kulung Language
2	Anna (1973)	Kulung Rai Clause Types
3	Charles (1979)	The Kulung Rai: A Study in Kinship and Marriage Exchange.
4	Rai et al. (1975)	Kulung-Nepali-English Glossary
5	Rai (2049 VS)	Nepali Kulung Rai Sabdakos [Nepali Kulung Rai Dictionary]
6	Tolsma (1994)	A study in Kulung verbal morphology
7	Tolsma (1996)	The Kulung: Language and Tradition
8	Tolsma (1997)	The verb morphology of Kulung
9	Tolsma (1997)	A Grammar of Kulung
10	Tolsma (1997b)	Internal reconstruction and comparative evidence of the long vowels in Kulung
11	Wolfenden (1935)	A Specimen of the Kulung dialect

## **1.5 Purpose and goals**

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the sociolinguistic situation of the Kulung language. The specific goals /objectives of the study are as follows:

- (a) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- (b) To assess the mother tongue proficiency and extent of community bilingualism of Kulung speakers in standard Nepali;
- (c) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;
- (d) To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Kulung; and
- (e) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity and the levels of intelligibility among the selected varieties in the language.

## **1.6 Organization of the report**

The survey report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Chapter 3 examines the major domains of language use. In chapter 4, we evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Kulung. Chapter 5 looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Kulung. In chapter 6, we discuss language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Kulung. Chapter 7 examines the possible dialectal variations in Kulung. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations.

The annex includes Sociolinguistic Questionnaires, wordlist, basic information and some group photographs of the language consultants involved in the survey of Kulung.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 2.1 Outline

This chapter deals, in detail, with the research methodology employed in the sociolinguistic survey of Kulung. It is organized into five sections. Section 2.2 presents an overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods /tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.3, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.4 deals with the survey points, sample size and collection of data. In section 2.5, we deal with the limitations of the survey in relation to time, access, area, methods, and informants.

#### 2.2 Overview

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

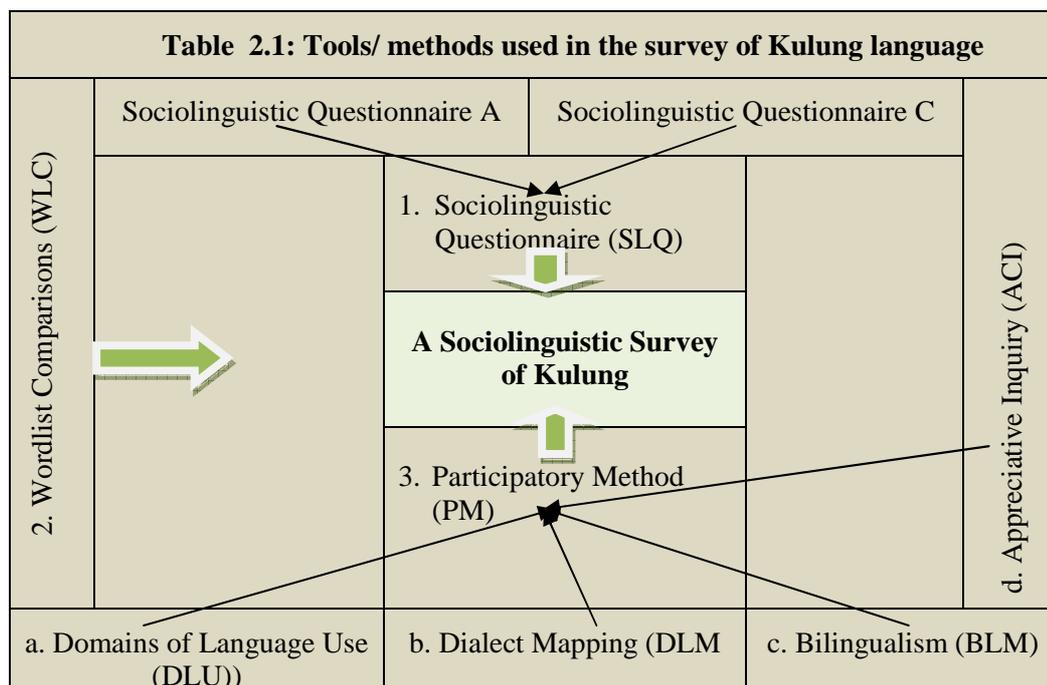


Table 2.1 shows that the methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC) and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use

(DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). Table 2.2 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

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

	<b>GOALS OF THE SURVEY</b>	<b>RESEARCH METHODS/ TOOLS</b>	<b>BRIEF DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>FOCUS OF THE METHODS/TOOLS</b>
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Kulung;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- A (SLQ A))	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Language resources</li> <li>• Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism</li> <li>• Domain of language use</li> <li>• Language vitality</li> <li>• Language maintenance</li> <li>• Language attitudes</li> </ul>
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU, BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domain of language use</li> <li>• Dialect mapping</li> <li>• Multilingualism</li> <li>• Appreciative enquiry</li> </ul>
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

## 2.3 Research methods/tools

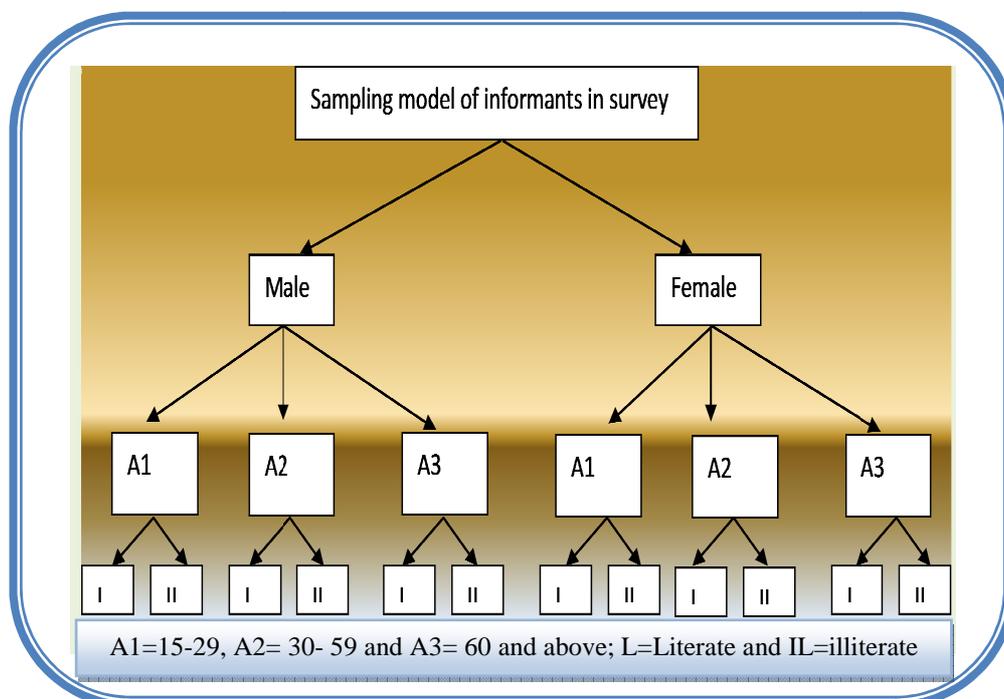
### 2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

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

Prior to the administration of this set, first, five points of the Kulung speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about the Kulung community ((i.e., Chachalung, a village located in Gudel VDC-6), Gudel ( Gudel VDC-4); Cheskam VDC-2, Pelmang (Bung VDC-6 ) and Bung VDC-7 from the Sulukhumb district.

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

**Figure 2.1 Model for sampling informants in the survey points**



<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3).

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

### **2.3.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)**

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Kulung participants of different survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Kulung, how bilingual Kulung people are, in which situations they use Kulung and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language. In the questionnaire, each tool is equipped with well-written step-by-step procedures for the facilitators in the group. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

- a) The group should consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant should belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants should be grown up in the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language.

#### **2.3.2.1 Domains of Language Use (DLU)**

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Kulung community members to think about and visualize the languages which Kulung people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Kulung participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC)

and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Kulung and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Kulung. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Kulung and both Nepali and Kulung. Next they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

### **2.3.2.2 Dialect mapping (DLM)**

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

### **2.3.2.3 Bilingualism/Multilingualism**

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Kulung and Nepali by different subsets of the Kulung community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Kulung people who speak Kulung well and the other the Kulung people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well.

For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Kulung ‘well’ or not ‘so well’. Then they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Kulung people that spoke Kulung ‘well’. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

#### **2.3.2.4 Appreciative inquiry**

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Kulung community members have in different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Kulung language and culture, express they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed. Hasselbring (2009) points out that the first three tools helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language where as this tool helped them think about future possibilities.

#### **2.3.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)**

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

#### **2.3.4 Word list comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure**

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 Kulung speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs (See Chapter 7 for detail)

From each survey point, at least six informants representative of 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 Kulung as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time. For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in

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

## 2.4 Sampling: Survey points, sample size and collection of data

### 2.4.1 Survey points

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

**Table 2.3: Survey points including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates in Kulung**

	Survey points	VDCs	GPS Coordinates	Elevation (in meter)
1.	Chachalung	Gudel-6 Sulukhumbu	085 <sup>0</sup> 20'59.9" E 028 <sup>0</sup> 41'25.9" N	1258
2.	Gudel	Gudel-4, 5 Sulukhumbu	086 <sup>0</sup> 51'04.4" E 027 <sup>0</sup> 29'54.2" N	1329
3.	Cheskam	Cheskam-1, 2, 8 Sulukhumbu	086 <sup>0</sup> 51'54.1" E 027 <sup>0</sup> 31'43.3" N	1984
4.	Pelmang	Bung-7, 8 Sulukhumbu	086 <sup>0</sup> 50'36.2" E 027 <sup>0</sup> 31'36.1" N	1767
5.	Bung	Bung-1, 4, 6 Sulukhumbu	086 <sup>0</sup> 50'36.1" E 027 <sup>0</sup> 31'36.0" N	1774

Source: Field study, 2014

## 2.4.2 Sample size

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

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

Survey points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Other
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory): DLU, DLM, MLT, APE	C (Language activist/head)	Wordlist
Chachalung	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Gudel	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Cheskam	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Pelmang	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Bung	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Total	60	20	12	12

DLU= domains of language use, DLM= dialect mapping, MLT: multilingualism,  
APE= appreciative inquiry

## 2.5 Limitations: Time, access, area, methods and informants

This survey was conducted in five key points for the period of 18 days. Most of the points were deprived of transportation and communication. Due to difficult circumstances found in some of the areas of Solukhumbu district, the researchers were not able to stay more than a few hours during trips to certain communities. Especially, it was very difficult to gather and find the people satisfying all the criteria for the qualified informants for the collection of the data. We used mainly three types of tools. However, there are other effective participatory tools like Cause and Effect Tree ( a tool used to assist community leaders in thinking about the reasons they use the language they do and effects of the use of those languages on community members), Stakeholder Analysis ( a tool used to help a small group of people to identify other stakeholders, categorize those stakeholders, select stakeholders to involve more and develop initial plans for involving them), Force field Analysis ( a tool used to help a group who has a goal and wants to solve a problem to identify the forces working for and against the goal or solution.

## CHAPTER 3

### DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

#### 3.1 Outline

The main goal of this chapter is to examine the patterns of language use in different domains in the Kulung speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. In section 3.3, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains in Kulung. Section 3.4 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.5, we evaluate the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.6 looks at the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.7, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 3.2 Language use in general domains

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

##### 3.2.1 Patterns of language use in general

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

Table 3.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Kulung speakers in different domains.

**Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains****(N=60)**

DOMAINS	N=60	LANGUAGES			
		Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali	Kulung, Nepali and English
Counting		5 (8%)	49 (82%)	6 (10%)	-
Singing		19 (32%)	27 (45%)	14 (23%)	-
Joking		49 (82%)	-	11 (18%)	-
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing		28 (46%)	10 (17%)	22 (37%)	-
Story telling		43 (72%)	4 (6%)	13 (22%)	-
Discussing/ Debate		39 (65%)	5 (8%)	16 (27%)	-
Praying		59 (98%)	-	1 (2%)	-
Quarrelling		51 (85%)	-	8 (13%)	1 (2%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)		51 (85%)	-	9 (15%)	-
Telling stories to children		50 (84%)	2 (3%)	8 (13%)	-
Singing at home		52 (87%)	2 (3%)	6 (10%)	-
Family gatherings		59 (98%)	-	1 (2%)	-
Village meetings		52 (87%)	1 (2%)	7 (11%)	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.1 shows that most of the selected informants responded that they invariably speak mother tongue (Kulung) in almost all the social contexts or domains such as counting, singing, joking, marketing, story telling, discussion, praying and so on. Apart from Kulung, Nepali, both Kulung and Nepali, and Kulung, Nepali and English are used in different general domains of language use. Out of 60 informants, only 8% have responded that Kulung is used in the domain of counting in the Kulung speech community while 49% and the remaining 10%, 2% of the total informants have responded that Nepali or Kulung and Nepali are used in counting. The Kulung

speech community has songs in their mother tongue. Thus, the selected informants responded that they use Nepali more than Kulung in singing.

More than half of the informants have replied that Kulung is used in the domains like praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. In such domains, Nepali is least used. More than 70% of the informants have told that Kulung is used in the domains like joking and story telling. But, sometimes both Nepali and Kulung are also used. Likewise, more than 40% of the informants have told that Kulung is used in the domains like bargaining/shopping/marketing and discussing/debate whereas rest of them told that Nepali and Kulung are also used.

Figure 3.1 presents the patterns of language use in different domains in Kujung.

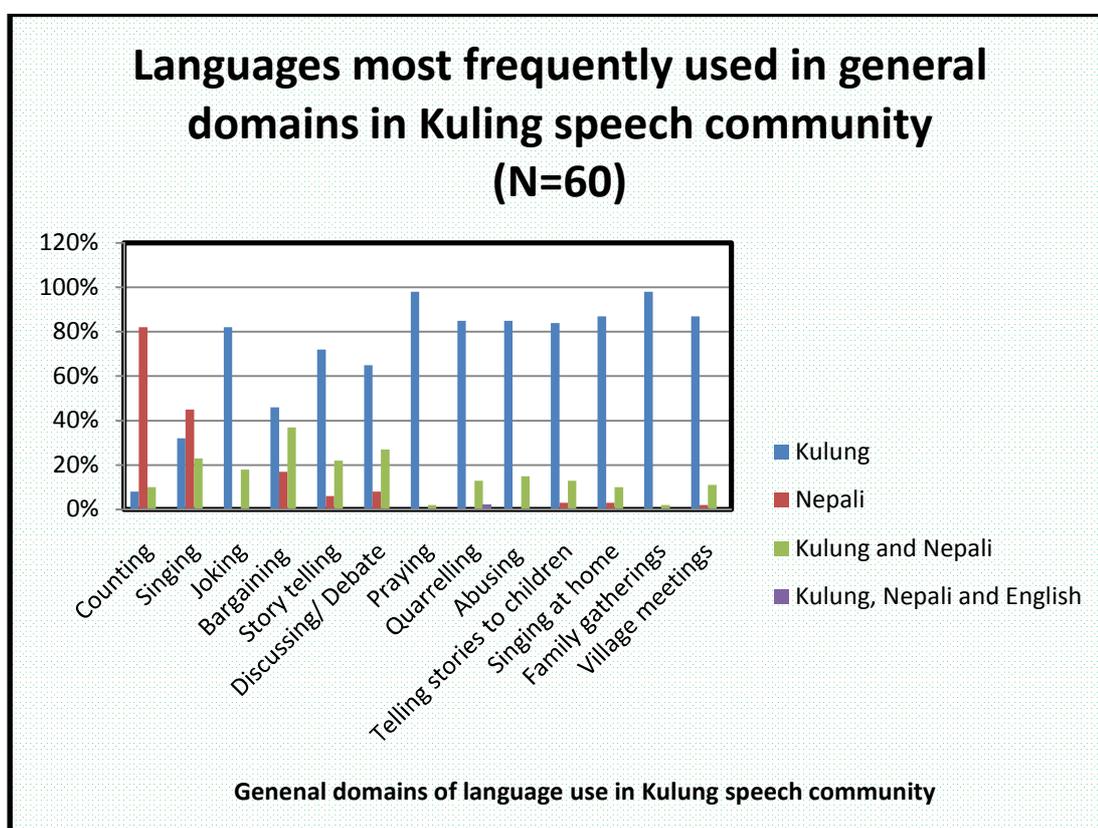


Figure 3.1: Languages most frequently used in general domains in Kujung speech community

### 3.2.2 Patterns of language use in general domains by sex

Table 3.2 presents the languages most frequently used by the Kujung speakers in different domains by sex.

**Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex**

(N=60)

DOMAINS	Sex							
	Male (N=30)				Female (N=30)			
	Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali	Kulung, Nepali and English	Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali	Kulung, Nepali and English
Counting	1 (3%)	27 (90%)	2 (7%)	-	4 (13%)	22 (73%)	4 (13%)	-
Singing	6 (20%)	17 (56.66%)	7 (23%)	-	13 (43%)	10 (33%)	7 (23%)	-
Joking	24 (80%)	-	6 (20%)	-	25 (83%)	-	5 (16.66%)	-
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	11 (36.66%)	6 (20%)	13 (43%)	-	17 (56.66%)	4 (13%)	9 (30%)	-
Story telling	21 (70%)	2 (6.66%)	7 (23%)	-	22 (73%)	2 (7%)	6 (20%)	-
Discussing/ Debate	19 (63%)	2 (6.66%)	9 (30%)	-	20 (66.66%)	3 (10%)	7 (23%)	-
Praying	30 (100%)	-	-	-	29 (96.66%)	-	1 (3%)	-
Quarrelling	26 (86.66%)	-	3 (10%)	1 (3%)	25 (83%)	-	5 (16.66%)	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	27 (90%)	-	3 (10%)	-	24 (80%)	-	6 (20%)	-
Telling stories to children	26 (86.66%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	-	24 (80%)	1 (3%)	5 (16.66%)	-
Singing at home	26 (86.66%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	-	26 (86.66%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	-
Family gatherings	30 (100%)	-	-	-	29 (97%)	-	1 (3%)	-
Village meetings	28 (93%)	-	2 (6.66%)	-	24 (80%)	1 (3%)	5 (17%)	-

Table 3.2 shows that all the informants, both male and female exclusively use Nepali, the language of wider communication. However, all the informants have responded that they exclusively use the mother tongue in the domains of praying and family

gathering. Interestingly, in almost domains the female respondents are more loyal in the use of mother tongue than the male respondents. In the domain of counting only 13% of the total female informants use the mother tongue. In the same domain, only 3% of the male informants use the mother tongue.

### 3.2.3 Patterns of language use in general domains by literacy

Table 3.3 presents the languages most frequently used by the Kulung speakers in different domains by literacy.

**Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy**  
(N=60)

DOMAINS	LITERACY						
	LITERATE (N=30)				ILLITERATE (N=30)		
	Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali	Kulung, Nepali and English	Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali
<b>Counting</b>	1 (3%)	25 (83%)	4 (13%)	-	4 (13%)	24 (80%)	2 (7%)
<b>Singing</b>	4 (13%)	16 (53%)	10 (33%)	-	15 (50%)	11 (37%)	4 (13%)
<b>Joking</b>	22 (73%)	8 (27%)	-	-	27 (90%)	-	3 (10%)
<b>Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing</b>	8 (27%)	5 (17%)	17 (57%)	-	20 (67%)	6 (20%)	4 (13%)
<b>Story telling</b>	15 (50%)	4 (13%)	11 (37%)	-	26 (87%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)
<b>Discussing/ Debate</b>	14 (47%)	4 (13%)	12 (40%)	-	26 (87%)	-	4 (13%)
<b>Praying</b>	29 (97%)	-	1 (3%)	-	30 (100%)	-	-
<b>Quarrelling</b>	25 (83%)	-	4 (13%)	1 (3%)	27 (90%)	3 (10%)	-
<b>Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)</b>	24 (80%)	-	6 (20%)	-	27 (90%)	3 (10%)	-
<b>Telling stories to children</b>	22 (73%)	2 (7%)	6 (20%)	-	27 (90%)	3 (10%)	-
<b>Singing at home</b>	22 (73%)	2 (7%)	6 (20%)	-	30 (100%)	-	-
<b>Family gatherings</b>	29 (97%)	-	1 (3%)	-	30 (100%)	-	-
<b>Village meetings</b>	24 (80%)	2 (7%)	4 (13%)	-	26 (87%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)

Table 3.3 shows that 83% of Kulung literate informants use the Nepali language in counting whereas 13% of them use both Kulung and Nepali and the remaining only 3% of them use mother tongue in counting. 53% of the literate informants use Nepali whereas 33% use both Kulung and Nepali in singing. 13% of them use only Kulung in singing. In joking, 73% of the literate informants use Kulung and the remaining 27% of them use Nepali in joking. 57% of the literate informants use Kulung and Nepali in bargaining whereas 27% of them use Kulung and the remaining only 17% of them use Nepali in bargaining. 50% literate informants use Kulung for story telling. 37% of them use both Kulung and Nepali for story telling. Only 13% of them use Nepali for story telling. 47% literate informants use Kulung for discussion/debate whereas 40% of them use both Kulung and Nepali for debate. Only 13% of literate informants use Nepali for debate. 97% literate informants use Kulung for praying whereas 3% of the literate informants use both only Nepali for praying. 17% of them use only Nepali for praying. 83% of the literate informants use Kulung for quarrelling whereas 13% of them use both Kulung and Nepali and the remaining only 3% of them use Kulung, Nepali and English for quarrelling. 80% of literate informants use Kulung for abusing whereas rest of the 20% of them uses both Kulung and Nepali for abusing. For telling stories to children and singing at home, 73% literate informants use Kulung whereas 20% of them use both Kulung and Nepali, and the rest of the only 7% of them use Nepali for telling stories to children and singing at home. For family gatherings, 97% of literate informants use the Kulung whereas only 3% of them use both Kulung and Nepali for family gatherings. For village meetings, 80% of the literate informants use Kulung. 13% of them use both Kulung and Nepali for village meetings. 7% of them uses Nepali for village meetings.

Similarly, in the domains of praying, singing at home and family gatherings, the illiterate informants use the mother tongue more than the literate informants in Kulung speech community. For joking, quarrelling, abusing and telling stories to children, 90% of the illiterate informants use Kulung whereas 10% use both Kulung and Nepali. For story telling and village meetings, 87% of the illiterate informants use Kulung whereas 10% of them use both Kulung and Nepali and the remaining only 3% of them use Nepali. However, in the domains like counting, singing, bargaining, and discussing, may be in contrary to the general expectation, illiterate use more mother tongue than the literate informants. It is clear from Table 3.3 that except in the domain

of family gathering praying, the literate informants are, to some degree, using Nepali more than the illiterate informants. Quite naturally, it is the indication that those who are literate are more open to shifting to Nepali in Kulung speech community.



**Photograph 3.1 presents the situation of language use in Kulung speech community**

Photograph 3.1 shows that Kulung is used by all (i.e., small children), old people, farmer, priest, dhami, jhakri, women, ancestors, *gothalo*, carpenter whereas both Kulung and Nepali is used by teacher, student, officers and businessman. Nepali is not used by small children. It is used by teacher, student, officers and businessman and outsiders.

### 3.3 Language use in specific domains

#### 3.3.1 Language use at home

This section examines the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) , discussing social

events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) and in writing letters. Table 3.4 presents the languages most frequently used in the Kulung speech community in certain situations.

**Table 3.4: Languages most frequently used in the Kulung speech community in certain situations (N=60)**

<i>Language most frequently used at home while (a) Talking about education matters (b) Discussing social events and family matters and (c) Writing letters</i>		MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
<i>WITH...</i>	<b>LANGUAGES /DOMAINS</b>	<b>Kulung</b>	<b>Nepali</b>	<b>Kulung and Nepali</b>	<b>Kulung</b>	<b>Nepali</b>	<b>Kulung and Nepali</b>
<b>GRANDFATHER (N=60)</b>	Educational matters	27 (90%)	-	-	28 (93%)	-	-
	Social events	28 (93%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
	Writing a letters	3 (10%)	9 (30%)	2 (7%)	-	6 (20%)	-
<b>GRANDMOTHER (N=60)</b>	Educational matters	27 (90%)	-	-	28 (93%)	-	-
	Social events	28 (93%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
	Writing a letters	2 (7%)	10 (33%)	1 (3%)	-	6 (20%)	-
<b>FATHER (N=60)</b>	Educational matters	27 (90%)	-	-	28 (93%)	-	-
	Social events	28 (93%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
	Writing a letters	2 (7%)	9 (30%)	2 (7%)	-	6 (20%)	-
<b>MOTHER (N=60)</b>	Educational matters	27 (90%)	-	-	28 (93%)	-	-
	Social events	28 (93%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
	Writing a letters	2 (7%)	9 (30%)	2 (7%)	-	6 (20%)	-
<b>SPOUSE (N=60)</b>	Educational matters	24 (80%)	-	2 (7%)	28 (93%)	-	1 (3%)
	Social events	25 (83%)	-	2 (7%)	30 (100%)	-	-
	Writing a letters	2 (7%)	8 (27%)	2 (7%)	-	6 (20%)	-
<b>CHILDREN (N=60)</b>	Educational matters	22 (73%)	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	25 (83%)	2 (7%)	3 (10%)
	Social events	24 (80%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	26 (86%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)
	Writing a letters	2 (7%)	7 (23%)	1 (3%)	-	6 (20%)	-

Table 3.4 shows that almost all the male informants use their mother tongue, i.e., Kulung while talking about educational matters and discussing social matters to their grandparents, parents, spouse and children but some of them use Nepali and both Nepali and Kulung for the same purpose. However, while in writing letters majority of the male and female informants use Nepali and the rest of the few both male and female informants use Kulung and both Kulung and Nepali.

### 3.3.2 Language use in the community

In this section, we look at the pattern of language use in the Kulung speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings. Table 3.5 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings.

**Table 3.5: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings (N=60)**

<i>What language does the community use in/for</i>	<b>Sex</b>				
	<b>MALE (30)</b>			<b>FEMALE (30)</b>	
	<b>Kulung</b>	<b>Nepali</b>	<b>Kulung and Nepali</b>	<b>Kulung</b>	<b>Nepali</b>
<b>Marriage invitations?</b>	26 (87%)	3 (10%)	1 (3%)	28 (93%)	2 (7%)
<b>Writing minutes in community meetings?</b>	1 (3%)	29 (97%)	-	1 (3%)	29 (97%)

Table 3.5 shows 87 % of the male and 93% of the female responded that they used Kulung for marriage invitations while 10% of the male and 7% of the female used Nepali whereas 3% male only responded that they used both Kulung and Nepali for marriage invitations. To the contrary, in writing minutes in community meetings, Nepali is overwhelmingly used.

### 3.3.3 Language spoken by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Table 3.6 presents the languages usually spoken by children.

**Table 3.6: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains**

What language do your children usually speak while	N=60								
	MALE (30)				FEMALE (30)				
	Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali	Nepali and English	Kulung	Nepali	Kulung and Nepali	Nepali and English	Kulung, Nepali and English
<b>Playing with other children?</b>	27 (90%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	-	24 (80%)	4 (13%)	2 (7%)	-	-
<b>Talking with neighbors?</b>	29 (97%)		-	-	29 (97%)	-	1 (3%)	-	-
<b>At school?</b>	1 (3%)	19 (64%)	6 (20%)	4 (13%)	1 (3%)	23 (77%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)

Table 3.6 shows that the children while playing with other children and talking with the neighbours overwhelmingly use their mother tongue whereas at school, the children exclusively speak Nepali as there is no provision of using mother tongue as mediums of instructions in the schools in the Kulung speech community.

### 3.4 Use of mother tongue and language of wider communication

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue and language of wider communication in practical life. In the Kulung speech community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 3.7 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Kulung speech community.

**Table 3.7: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Kulung speech community (N=60)**

How often do you use ...	THE FREQUENCY OF USE		
	Every day	Rarely	Never
your mother tongue?	60 (100%)	-	-
language of wider communication (LWC)?	16 (27%)	44 (73%)	-

Table 3.7 shows that all the informants use mother tongue every day. The table further shows that only 27 % of the total informants use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day while 73% informants use rarely.

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

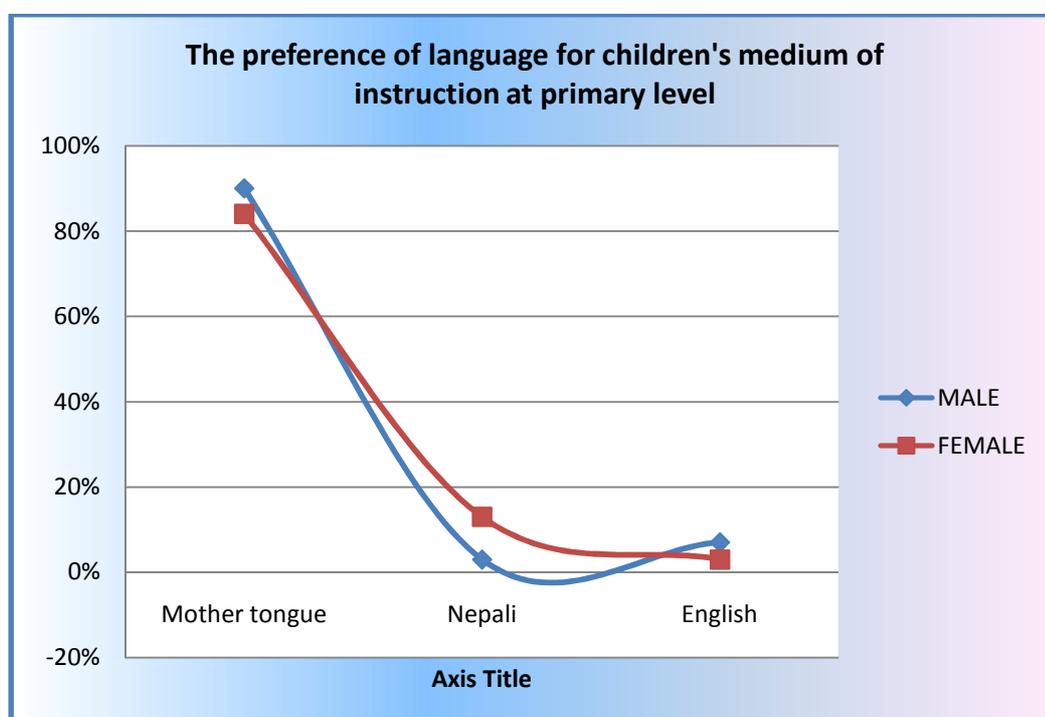
Generally, children gradually go on shifting to the language of the medium of instruction if their mother tongue is not used in education especially at primary level.

Table 3.8 presents the preference of medium of instruction at primary level.

**Table 3.8: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level (N=60)**

What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?	Sex		
	MALE (30)	FEMALE (30)	Total
<b>Mother tongue</b>	27 (90%)	25 (84%)	52 (87%)
<b>Nepali</b>	1(3%)	4 (13%)	5 (8%)
<b>English</b>	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	3 (5%)

Table 3.8 shows that 87% of the total respondents (both male and female) prefer mother tongue as a medium of instruction at primary level. Whereas 8% of the total respondents (both male and female) prefer Nepali and the remaining rest of the 5% of the total respondents (both male and female) prefer English language as a medium of instruction at primary level. The figure below presents it more clearly.



**Figure 3.2: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level**

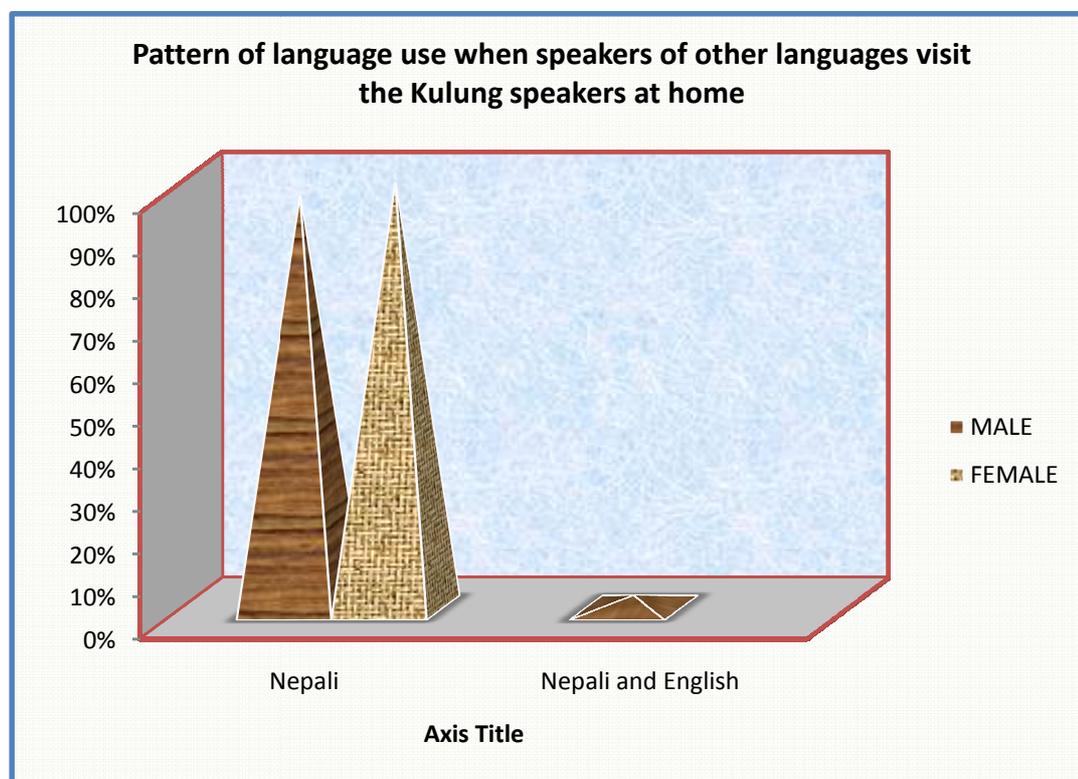
### 3.6 Language used with the visitors at home

In Kulung community, almost all the respondents irrespective of sex are proficient bilingual in Nepali. Table 3.8 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Kulung speakers at home.

**Table 3.9: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Kulung speakers at home (N=60)**

<i>Which language do you speak when speakers of other languages visit you at home?</i>	MALE N=30	FEMALE N=30	TOTAL
<b>Nepali</b>	29 (97%)	30 (100%)	59 (98%)
<b>Nepali and English</b>	1 (3%)	-	1 (2%)

Table 3.8 shows that 98% of the total respondents (both male and female) usually use Nepali, whereas only 2% of the total respondents (both male and female) use both (Nepali and English) with the persons of other languages visit them at home. The figure below presents it more clearly.



**Figure 3.3: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Kulung speakers at home**





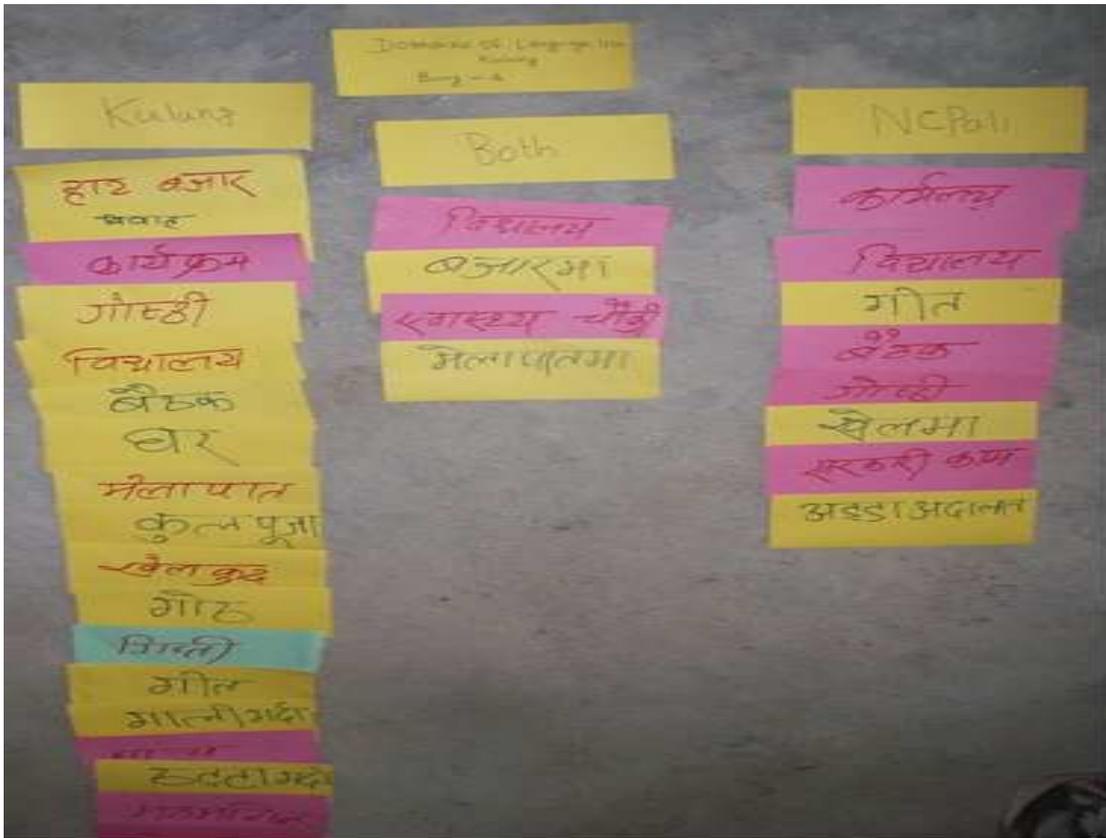
**Photograph 3.3: Domains of language use result from the Gudel (Gudel VDC) Sulukhumbu**

Similarly, Photograph 3.4 presents the domains of Kulung in Cheskam, Sulukhumbu district.



**Photograph 3.4: Domains of language use result from the Cheskam VDC Sulukhumbu**

Likewise, Photograph 3.5 presents the domains of Kulung in Cheskam, Sulukhumbu district.



**Photograph 3.5: Domains of language use result from the Bung VDC Sulukhumbu**

The following three major findings can be found from this participatory method are as follows:

1. They use their mother tongue in the family, celebrating different rites and rituals, neighborhood, village meetings, local markets, in abusing, and in storytelling.
2. The Nepali language, language of wider communication (LWC), is used in the government offices, with non-native speakers and hilly people, in minute writing, hospitals, and in urban area markets.
3. Both their mother tongue, and Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC), are used in VDS office, in the beginning classes in government schools, trainings, and district headquarter, in NGOs and INGOs offices, general assemblies and in business.

### 3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the patterns of language use in different domains in Kulung speech community. In the domains of praying god in general and family gathering, Nepali is exclusively used by the respondents of males. However, in other domains such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings Kulung is overwhelmingly used by the respondents of both sexes. The illiterate Kulung uses the mother tongue more than that of the literate one. Kulung is exclusively used in almost all the domains while talking with family members about educational matters and social events social events and family matters. No matter whether the speakers are literate or illiterate most of the informants use Nepali in counting, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, and village meetings and use the mother tongue in the domain of praying, singing at home and family gatherings in Kulung speech community. They use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in writing letter to their family members. Kulung children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood and in the school. There is the dominance of Kulung in social works. All the speakers of their speech community use their mother tongue daily. A significant number of speakers in this community use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day. At present, all the people prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in Kulung speech community. Moreover, in Kulung speech community, Nepali is overwhelmingly used with the persons of other languages visit them at home.

## CHAPTER 4

### MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND MULTILINGUALISM

#### 4.1 Outline

This chapter evaluates the mother tongue proficiency in the Kulung speech community. Apart from this, this chapter attempts to assess the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Kulung speakers in standard Nepali. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 4.2 examines mother tongue proficiency in Kulung speech community. In section 4.3, we assess the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Kulung speakers in Nepali, the language of wider communication. Section 4.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

#### 4.2 Mother tongue proficiency

In response to the question: What language can you speak? all the informants, both male and female, informed that they can speak mainly two languages; namely, Kulung and Nepali. Similarly, in response to the question: What language do you speak first? they all replied that they spoke Kulung first. When they were inquired, among the languages that they speak, which language they love most, they all answered that they love their mother tongue, i.e, Kulung, which they all speak best. In order, they said that they speak Nepali best after their mother tongue. Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQA was administered in the informants in the survey points of survey in Kulung. Table 4.1 shows the present picture of mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Kulung.

**Table 4.1: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Kulung**

SPEAKING (N=60)				READING AND WRITING (N=30)		
Degrees	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total	Male n=18	Female n=12	Total
VERY WELL	27 (90%)	29 (97%)	56 (93%)	8 (44%)	3 (25%)	11 (37%)
SOME	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	3 (5%)	8 (44%)	7 (58%)	15 (50%)
ONLY A LITTLE	1 (3%)	-	1 (2%)	2 (12%)	2 (17%)	4 (13%)

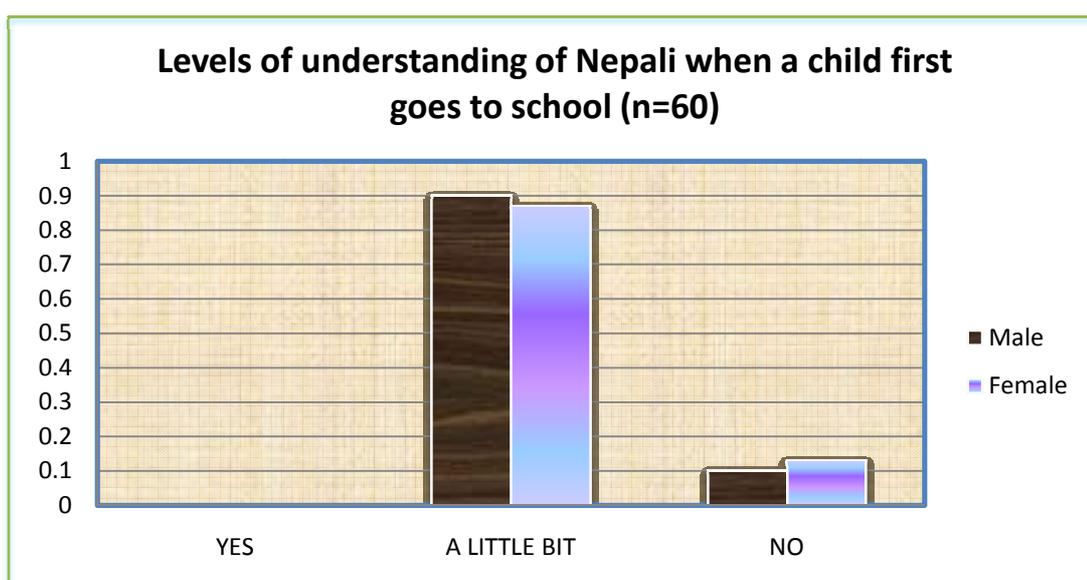
Table 4.1 shows that 93% of the total respondents speak their mother tongue very well. However, rest of the 5% and 2% of the total respondents said that they speak their mother tongue some and only a little.

Similarly, out of the total respondents (i.e. 37%) responded that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. While 50% do average in reading and writing and rest of the 13% responded that they can read and write their mother tongue only a little. Table 4.2 presents the levels of understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

**Table 4.2: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school (N=60)**

<i>When a small child first goes to school, can (s) he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?</i>	SEX		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total
<b>YES</b>	-	-	-
<b>A LITTLE BIT</b>	27 (90%)	26 (87%)	53 (88%)
<b>NO</b>	3 (10%)	4 (13%)	7 (12%)

Table 4.2 shows that 88% of the total informants are confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand the thing a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Whereas rest of the 12% of the total informants are quite confirmed that when a small child first goes to school cannot understand the thing at all his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.



**Figure 4.1: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school**

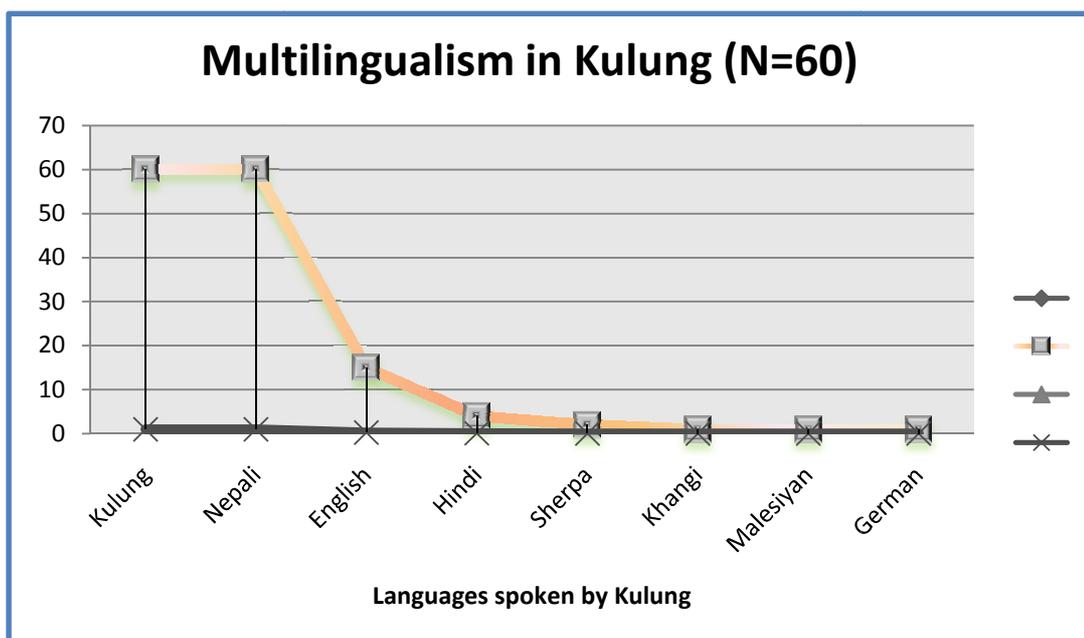
### 4.3 Multilingualism

In a multilingual country Nepal, an individual may have a choice of many languages. Bi/multilingualism is a common phenomenon in all the indigenous nationalities in Nepal. Kulung is no exception. Table 4.3 presents a general picture of multilingualism in the Kulung speech community.

**Table 4.3: Multilingualism in Kulung speech community (N= 60)**

	Languages	No. of speakers	%
1	Kulung	60	100%
2	Nepali	60	100%
3	English	15	25%
4	Hindi	4	7%
5	Sherpa	2	3%
6	Khangi	1	2%
7	Malesiyan	1	2%
8	German	1	2%

Table 4.3 shows that all the speakers can speak Kulung and Nepali. Some speakers who have formal education can speak English too. Some speakers can speak other languages like Hindi, Sherpa and others. Figure 4.2 intensely presents the situation of multilingualism in Kulung speech community.



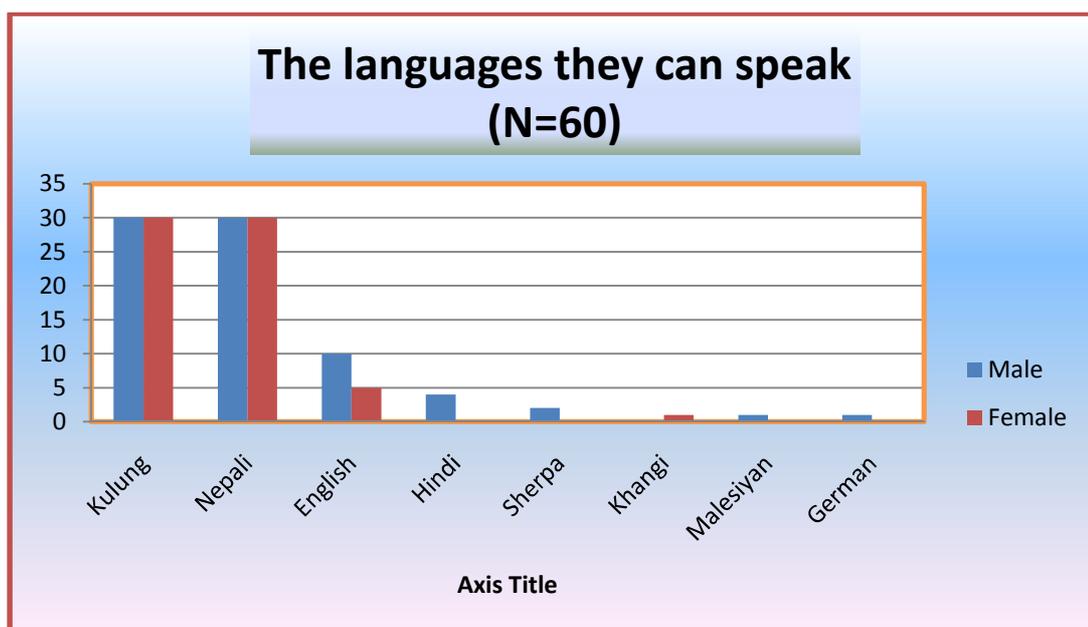
**Figure 4.2: Multilingualism in Kulung**

Figure 4.2 shows that all the speakers can speak Kulung (mother tongue), and Nepali whereas some educated can also speak English and the rest of a few men are able to speak languages like Sherpa, Khangsi, Malesiyan and German. Table 4.4 shows the general picture of multilingualism in the Kulung speech community by sex.

**Table 4.4: Multilingualism in the Kulung speech community by sex (N=60)**

What languages can you speak?		Male n=30	Female n=30	Total
1	Kulung	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
2	Nepali	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
3	English	10 (33%)	5 (17%)	15 (25%)
4	Hindi	4 (13%)	-	4 (7%)
5	Sherpa	2 (7%)	-	2 (3%)
6	Khangsi	-	1 (3%)	1 (2%)
7	Malesiyan	1 (3%)	-	1 (2%)
8	German	1 (3%)	-	1 (2%)

Table 4.4 shows that all the informants, both male and female, can speak two languages, namely, Kulung and Nepali. Only some male informants (i.e., 33 having formal education can speak English apart from Kulung and Nepali. Some male informants can even speak other languages like Hindi, Sherpa, Malesiyan and German as well. It can also be shown through figure below to make it much clear.



**Figure 4.3: Multilingualism in the Kulung speech community**

#### **4.4 Summary**

In this chapter, we tried to evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Kulung. In the Kulung community, all the people speak their mother tongue first and love this language most. According to the participated informants, almost all the informants can speak their mother tongue very well and only less than the half of the people can read and write in their mother tongue as well. Most of them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual as well. Similarly, majority of Kulung families are bilingual as well as multilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali and some of them are bilingual in Hindi, Sherpa and others.

Most their children are bilingual in Nepali some of them are also bilingual in English, Hindi and Sherpa. Most of them learn Nepali and English at schools, colleges, Hindi by watching Hindi movies and televisions and Kulung in the society. Majority of their children do not understand at all of his/her Nepali speaking teacher when s/he first goes to school. Since, most of the Kulung use their own mother tongue at home.

There is no monolingual in Kulung, the mother tongue except some older people especially the female speakers of the older age group. The Kulung speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC. Similarly, school going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students are bilingual in both their MT and Nepali languages.

## CHAPTER 5

### LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

#### 5.1 Outline

This chapter looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Kulung. It consists of five sections. Section 5.2 examines language vitality in Kulung. In section 5.3, we discuss language maintenance in Kulung. Section 5.4 looks at the attitudes of the Kulung community towards their language. In section 5.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

#### 5.2 Language vitality

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

**Table 5.1: Language vitality in the key points in Kulung speech community (N=60)**

QUESTIONS	Do all your children speak your mother tongue?		Do young people speak your mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken?		What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	MOTHER TONGUE	NEPALI
	60 (100%)	-	45 (75%)	15 (25%)	60 (100%)	-

Table 5.1 shows the vitality level of the Kulung language is very high. There were only three questions administered on the informants from each survey points. When the informants were asked whether all their children speak their mother tongue, cent percent informants from each key point responded that the children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Kulung.

When the informants were asked whether the young people speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken, it is reported that 75% of the total informants

responded that their mother tongue is spoken as well as it ought to be spoken, whereas 25% of the total respondents who speak Kulung do not speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be. In response to the question, what language most parents in this village usually speak with their children, all the informants said that they all speak Kulung with their children.

### 5.3 Language maintenance

Kulung community seems to be very positive towards the maintenance of the language. Table 5.2 presents the situation of language maintenance in Kulung.

#### 5.3.1 Inter-marriage situation

Inter-marriage, which is one of the causes of language shift, is common in Kulung speech community. Table 5.2 presents the situation of inter-marriage in Kulung speech community.

**Table 5.2: Situation of inter-marriage in Kulung speech community (by sex and literacy)**  
(N=60)

<i>Is their inter-marriage in your community?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	<b>Male</b> N=30	<b>Female</b> N=30	<b>Total</b> N=60	<b>Literate</b> N=30	<b>Illiterate</b> N=30	<b>Total</b> N=60
<b>YES</b>	23 (77%)	21 (70%)	44 (73%)	19 (63%)	24 (80%)	43 (72%)
<b>NO</b>	7 (23%)	9 (30%)	16 (27%)	11 (37%)	6 (20%)	17 (28%)

Table 5.2 shows the situation of inter-marriage in Kulung speech community. In terms of sex, most of the informants from both male (i.e. 77%) and female (i.e. 70%) replied that there is inter-marriage in their community. However, the remaining informants from both male (i.e. 23%) and female (i.e. 30%) have replied that there is no inter-marriage in Kulung speech community. Similarly, in terms of literacy, 63% literate and 80% Illiterate informants replied that there is inter-marriage in their community, whereas the remaining informants from both male (i.e. 37%) and female (i.e. 20%) have replied that there is no inter-marriage in Kulung speech community. However, the percentage of the illiterate informants who replied that there is inter-marriage is slightly higher than that of literate informants. This situation clearly

indicates that intermarriage, which is one of the reasons for language endangerment, is picking up the pace in Kulung speech community. Table 5.3 presents other language groups which have common marital relationship with Kulung speech community.

**Table 5.3: Other language groups which have common marital relationship with Kulung (N=60)**

	<b>Other language groups</b>	<b>No. of informants</b>	<b>%</b>
1	Sherpa	20	67%
2	Tamang	13	38%
3	Chetry	10	25%
4	Newar	5	15%
6	Magar	3	12%
7	Limbu	2	3%
8	Khaling	2	3%
9	Others	5	2%

Table 5.3 shows that other language groups which have common marital relationship with Kulung speech community include Sherpa, Tamang, chhetri, Newar, Dalit, Magar, Linbu, Khaling, Thulung, Kami, Banatwa, Thapa and Gurung. More than 66% of the total informants have replied that Sherpa, which is spoken by Sherpa residing outside the Kulung speaking area, has common marital relationship with their language group. Similarly 38 % of the respondents replied that Tamang has common marital relationship with their language group. Likewise, some percentage of the informants replied that 25% with Chhetri, 15% with Newar and 12% with Magar and 3% with Limbu and Khaling Rai have common marital relationship with their language group. Whereas, the lowest percentage of the informants (i.e., 2%) replied that Thapa, Kami, Thulung and Gurung, have common marital relationship with their language group.

### **5.3.2 Use of mother tongue in education**

In response to the question “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” Table 5.4 shows their opinion on the language maintenance.

**Table 5.4: Opinion on like/dislike in reading/writing in MT (N=60)**

<i>Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=30	Illiterate N=30	Total N=60
<b>YES</b>	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
<b>NO</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5.4 shows that all the informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level.

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

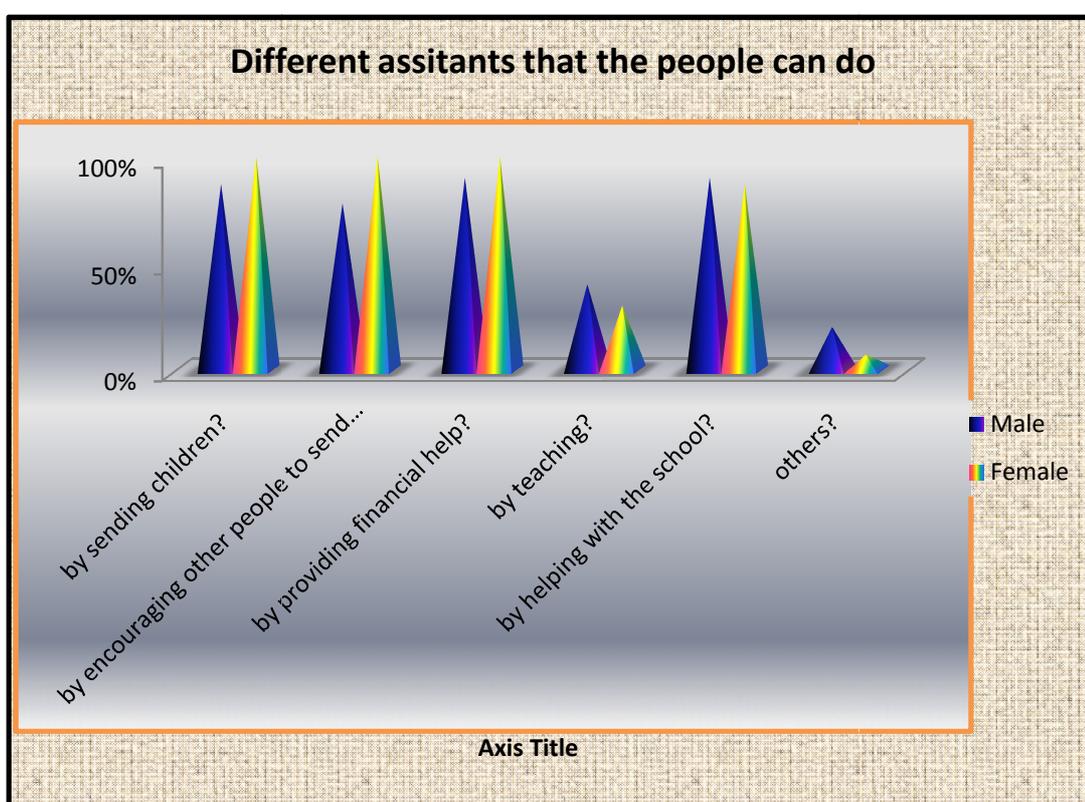
**Table 5.5: The ways informants support if schools are opened for teaching their language (N= 60)**

	<i>If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:</i>	NUMBER OF RESPONSES		
		Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60
1	by sending children?	26 (87%)	30 (100%)	56 (93%)
2	by encouraging other people to send their children?	23 (78%)	30 (100%)	53 (88%)
3	by providing financial help?	27 (90%)	30 (100%)	57 (95%)
4	by teaching?	12 (40%)	9 (30%)	21 (70%)
5	by helping with the school?	27 (90%)	26 (87%)	53 (88%)
6	others?	6 (20%)	2 (7%)	8 (13%)

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

(93%) are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school. Similarly, 88% of the total respondents are prepared to encourage other to send their children. In the same way, 95% are eager to provide financial and other kinds of help. Some informants (70%) even responded that they would be ready to teach Kulung if the schools are opened in Kulung. This shows the strong feeling of affection for to their language. This indicates that mother tongue based multilingual education is urgently needed in this community in order to foster the cognitive development of the children.

To make it more transparent, the ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools can also be presented in Figure 5.1.



**Figure 5.1: Different assistants that the people can do**

#### 5.4 Language attitudes

In this section, we briefly look at language attitudes of the speakers in Kulung speech community. A positive attitude may foster the use of language and widen the domains of language use whereas a negative attitude may help the shrinking of the domains and ultimately the death of the language. In general, there is an extremely positive attitude of the Kulung people towards their language. Table 5.6 presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most.

**Table 5.6: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most**

(N=60)

	<i>What languages do they love the most?</i>	<b>Male n=30</b>	<b>Female n=30</b>	<b>Total</b>
1	Kulung	29 (97%)	29 (97%)	58 (97%)
2	English	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	2 (3%)

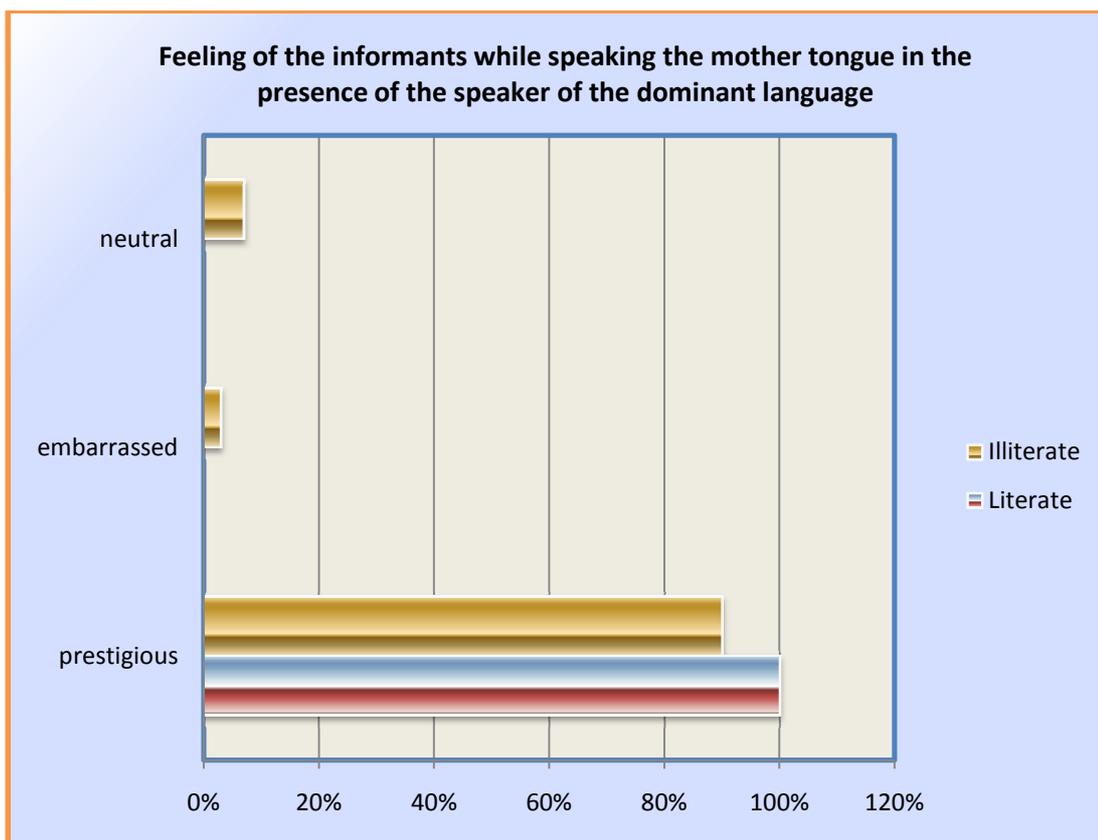
Table 5.6 shows that most of the informants (i.e. 97%) love their language the most whereas only 3% of the respondents love English the most.

The Kulung speakers, in general, do not feel any embarrassment while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. Table 5.7 presents the feelings of the informants (in terms of literacy) while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

**Table 5.7: Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language (N=60)**

	<i>When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...?</i>	<b>LITERACY</b>		
		<b>Literate N=30</b>	<b>Illiterate N=30</b>	<b>Total N=60</b>
1	prestigious	30 (100%)	27 (90%)	57 (95%)
2	embarrassed	-	1 (3%)	1 (2%)
3	neutral	-	2 (7%)	2 (3%)

Table 5.7 shows that 95% of the entire respondents feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. No literate does feel any embarrassment or neutral when s/he speaks his/her mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. Around 10% of the illiterate respondents have expressed that they feel either embarrassed or neutral while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages. The figure 5.2 presents it more clearly below.



**Figure 5.2: Speaking mother tongue in the presence of dominant language speakers**

Table 5.8 presents the response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

**Table 5.8: Response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue (N=60)**

<i>Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?</i>		<b>LITERACY</b>		
		<b>Literate N=30</b>	<b>Illiterate N=30</b>	<b>Total N=60</b>
1	YES	8 (27%)	8 (27%)	16 (27%)
2	NO	22 (73%)	22 (73%)	44 (73%)

Table 5.8 shows that 73% of the total respondents have responded that they have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. However, the remaining 8% of the total literate as well as the same number of illiterate respondents and 27% of the entire respondents replied that s/he had faced some problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. Because of

being a native speaker of your mother tongue, a man may have faced a number of categories of problems: Social discrimination, political discrimination, and economic discrimination, and hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure and economic pressure. In Kulung speech community, a literate respondent who had faced a problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue was only social pressure. Table 5.9 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy).

**Table 5.9: Different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy) (N=60)**

<i>How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=30	Illiterate N=30	Total N=60
<b>GOOD</b>	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	4 (7%)	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	4 (7%)
<b>INDIFFERENT</b>	22 (73%)	1 (3%)	23 (38%)	23 (77%)	20 (66%)	43 (72%)
<b>BAD</b>	6 (20%)	27 (90%)	33 (55%)	5 (16%)	8 (27%)	13 (21%)

Table 5.9 shows that 38% and 72% of the total respondents (both in terms of sex and literacy) replied that they would feel indifferent if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Whereas 55% and 21% of the respondents feel bad and the remaining 7% respondents (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel good if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue.

Table 5.10 presents the response to the question: When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language? presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy).

**Table 5.10: Response to the if future generation might speak the language (by sex and literacy) (N=60)**

<i>When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=30	Illiterate N=30	Total N=60
<b>YES</b>	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
<b>NO</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5.10 shows that all the respondents (both in terms of sex and literacy) are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. Table 5.11 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters speak of their language.

**Table 5.11: Different feeling of the informants if their children speak of their language (by sex and literacy) (N=60)**

<i>How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=30	Illiterate N=30	Total N=60
<b>GOOD</b>	29 (97%)	30 (100%)	59 (98%)	30 (100%)	29 (97%)	59 (98%)
<b>INDIFFERENT</b>	1(3%)	-	1(2%)	-	1(3%)	1(2%)
<b>BAD</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 5.11 shows that 98% of the total informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel good if their children speak their mother tongue whereas only 2% of the total informants have shown their indifference in such case.

Table 5.12 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters do not speak their language (by sex and literacy).

**Table 5.12: Different feeling of the informants if their children do not speak of their language (by sex and literacy) (N=60)**

<i>How do you feel about this if they do not speak of your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=30	Illiterate N=30	Total N=60
<b>GOOD</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>INDIFFERENT</b>	8 (27%)	9 (30%)	17 (28%)	10 (33%)	7 (23%)	17 (28%)
<b>BAD</b>	22 (73%)	21 (70%)	43 (72%)	20 (67%)	23 (78%)	43 (72%)

Table 5.12 shows that 72% of the total informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue and the remaining 28% of the total informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) have replied that they would feel indifferent if their children do not speak their mother tongue.

In response to the question: What language should your children speak at first? all the informants ( both in terms of sex and literacy) have responded that they should first speak their mother tongue. It means that all the people in this community are convinced that their children should speak Kulung first. Table 5.13 presents the responses to: if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

**Table 5.13: Response to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents? (by sex and literacy) (N=60)**

<i>Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=30	Illiterate N=30	Total N=60
<b>YES</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>NO</b>	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)

Table 5.13 shows that all the respondents (both in terms of sex and literacy) do not think that the language spoken by them is not different from their grandparents. It means that their language is still conservative.

Table 5.14 presents different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language.

**Table 5.14: Different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language (N=60)**

<i>How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?</i>	<b>SEX</b>			<b>LITERACY</b>		
	<b>Male N=30</b>	<b>Female N=30</b>	<b>Total N=60</b>	<b>Literate N=30</b>	<b>Illiterate N=30</b>	<b>Total N=60</b>
<b>GOOD</b>	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	3 (5%)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)	3 (5%)
<b>INDIFFERENT</b>	6 (20%)	7 (23%)	13 (21%)	7 (23%)	6 (20%)	13 (21%)
<b>BAD</b>	22 (74%)	22 (74%)	44 (74%)	22 (74%)	22 (74%)	44 (74%)

Table 5.14 shows that 74% of the total informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. However, 21% of the total informants feel indifferent and the remaining 5% respondents (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel good when they hear young people of their community speaking other language.

## **5.5 Summary**

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Kulung. In terms of orality, Kulung has a high level of vitality. Language maintenance in Kulung is not appalling. In this community, intermarriage is gradually picking up the pace. Such marriage is arranged with the speakers of Sherpa, which is a dominant language of the area in terms of number of speakers. The community as a whole its children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level and the community is ready to support the schools opened for teaching their language in whatever ways they could. In this speech community, there is an extremely positive attitude towards the mother language. Almost people love their language the most. Moreover, almost people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and almost have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. In Kulung speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all people are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. In this community, almost all people feel good if their children speak their mother tongue and feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue. All the people are convinced that their children should first speak their mother tongue. The Kulung language is still conservative. However, now-a-days, the loyalty towards their mother tongue is gradually slackening in Kulung.

## CHAPTER 6

### LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

#### 6.1 Outline

This chapter presents the situation of language resources and examines the views about language development in Kulung. It consists of four sections. Section 6.2 presents the situation of language resources in Kulung. In section 6.3, we examine the views/dreams about language development in Kulung speech community. Section 6.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 6.2 Language resources

Kulung is a preliterate language. Kulung speech community is very poor in language resources. The major kinds of oral literature available in Kulung include folk stories, music, religious literature, radio, cinema, CD/DVD. It lacks grammar, dictionary and textbooks in the native language. Nor has it a phonemic inventory. Moreover, it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature. However, there are a few materials on Kulung language. No informant was known about them. Table 6.1 presents the language resources produced in English on the Kulung language.

**Table 6.1: Language resources produced in English on Kulung**

	<b>Title of works</b>	<b>Contributor/writer</b>	<b>Published in/by/ submitted to/ a paper presented at</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	Phonological Survey Report of the Kulunge Language	Andreas Holzhausen	SIL Nepal	1973
2	Kulung Rai Clause Types	Andreas Holzhausen	Paper, Khaling, Kulung, Darai, Newari and Chitwan Tharu, Kirtipur	1973
3	The Kulunge Rai: A Study in Kinship and Marriage Exchange	Charles McDougal	Kathmandu: Ratna Pustsk Bhandar	1979
4	A Grammar of Kulung	Gerard J. Tolsma	Leiden	1997

5	Kulung-Nepali-English Glossary	Krsnabhadur Rai, Andreas Holzhausen and Andreas Holzhausen	Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University	1975
6	Nepali Kulung Rai Sabdakos	Krsnabhadur Gankhu Rai	Kathmandu: Lus Pres.	2049 VS
7	A study in Kulung verbal morphology	Gerad Jacobus Tolsma	Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology	1994
8.	Descriptive Linguistics in the Himalayas of Neapal: The Kulung: Language and Tradition	Gerad Jacobus Tolsma	IIAS Newsletter 10, Autumn	1996
9	The verbal morphology of Kulung	Gerad Jacobus Tolsma	Canberra : Australian National University	1997
10	Internal reconstruction and comparative evidence of the long vowels in Kulung	Gerad Jacobus Tolsma	Kathmandu: Rayal Nepal Academy	1997b
11	A Specimen of the Kulung dialect	Stuart N. Wolfenden	Acta Orientalia (Copenhagen)	1935

### 6.3 Language development

There is mainly one organization devoted for the cultural promotion in Kulung speech community: *Nepal Kirat Kulung Bhasha tatha Sanskriti Uthan Sangh*. This organization, as has been reported, is established in Kathmandu. Similarly, in the local level, there are also some organizations which work about their language and culture as well. According to the informants, Kulung has neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks in their mother tongue. Nor has it a phonemic inventory. Furthermore, it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature. In this section, we try to examine the views about language development in Kulung. We mainly use two tools: appreciative inquiry and sociolinguistic questionnaire C.

### 6.3.1 Appreciative inquiry

The tool appreciative inquiry is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture. In the survey, this participatory tool was used in all five key points in the selected language. The main purpose of this survey was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the selected language community members for the development their language as well their culture. It was conducted in this point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, age and educational status. Photograph 3.1 presents the participants involving in appreciatory enquiry in Chachalung, Gudel-6, Sulukhumbu District, 2014.



**Photograph 6.1: Participants of Kulung speakers in Chachalung, Solukhumbu**

The participants in this point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good

things' in a piece of paper and placed them serially in the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Kulung language and culture, say they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed. Photograph 6.2. things that made the participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in Gudel, Gudel VDC-4, 5, Sulukhumbu District, 2014.



**Photograph 6.2: Participants of Kulung speakers in Gudel, Solukhum**

The speakers of Kulung are proud to be the speakers of Kulung in a number of ways. They have their own identity because of being the Kulung. They have reported that they have rich folklore and folktraditions in their own mother tongue. They have





Kulung variety also has a number of things that make the speakers feel proud of their mother tongue. Photograph 6.5 shows the things and their dreams to develop their mother tongue.



**Photograph 6.5: Participants of Kulung speakers in Bung, Solukhumbu**

The participants in this point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ in a piece of paper and placed them serially in the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Kulung language and culture, say they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to

choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

**Table 6.2: Summary of the findings from the appreciative inquiry in Kulung speech community**

Survey points	Good things that made Kulung feel happy or proud about their languages	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Chachalung, Gudel, VDC-6, Sulukhumbu District,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Having their own mother tongue and feeling of solidarity with their language</li> <li>▪ Stock of vocabulary</li> <li>▪ Having songs</li> <li>▪ Having their own cultural identity</li> <li>▪ Having audio and videos or CD/DVD</li> <li>▪ Different newspapers and journals,</li> <li>▪ Can express their feelings easily</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preservation of their language, culture and religion,</li> <li>▪ Should be the language of daily uses in government offices</li> <li>▪ Should be used published in different national newspapers and telecast in national televisions</li> <li>▪ Kulung should be taught in university level</li> <li>▪ There should be equal opportunity for Kulung speakers in different organizations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To establish mother tongue based primary school</li> </ul>
Gudel, VDC-4&5, Sulukhumbu District,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mother tongue of Kulung</li> <li>▪ Being their ancestral language</li> <li>▪ Having their own unique culture, tradition and costume</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners in primary level</li> <li>▪ Textbook preparation</li> <li>▪ Preservation and promotion of Kulung culture</li> <li>▪ Use of the mother tongue in government and non-government offices</li> <li>▪ Equal access in the government's bodies</li> <li>▪ Others should also speak their language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners in primary level</li> <li>▪ To open school for mother tongue based education at primary level</li> </ul>
Chesakam, VDC-1,2 &8, Sulukhumbu District,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Having a rich and a reliable history of culture and tradition</li> <li>▪ Being indigenous</li> <li>▪ Having their own dress and ornaments</li> <li>▪ Large number of</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preparation of grammar, dictionary and textbooks in Kulung</li> <li>▪ Development of their won script</li> <li>▪ Teaching learning of mother tongue</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mother tongue based primary educations in every Schools</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>population and mother tongue speakers</li> <li>▪ Newspapers</li> <li>▪ Songs and music</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To have any program on T.V</li> <li>▪ Preservation and promotion of culture and tradition</li> <li>▪ Establishment of Kulung (language, culture, literature, history) research centre</li> <li>▪ Access in government's bodies</li> </ul>	
Pelmang, Bung, VDC-7& 8, Sulukhumbu District,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Own reorganization</li> <li>▪ Ancestral language</li> <li>▪ Songs and music/ CD/DVDs</li> <li>▪ Used in local level FM radios</li> <li>▪ Their own culture, costumes, and tradition</li> <li>▪ Stock of vocabulary in their language</li> <li>▪ Used in newspapers like national daily The Gorkhapatra</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To start mother tongue based school at primary level</li> <li>▪ To prepare textbooks in Kulung</li> <li>▪ Script development</li> <li>▪ Grammar, dictionary</li> <li>▪ Preservation and promotion of Kulung</li> <li>▪ To use Kulung in government offices</li> <li>▪ Kulung should be taught in secondary and higher education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of moth tongue based primary schools in Kulung community</li> </ul>
Bung, Bung VDC-1,4 &6, Sulukhumbu District,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Being their own mother tongue</li> <li>▪ Songs and music</li> <li>▪ Culture and tradition</li> <li>▪ Costumes</li> <li>▪ Art and literature</li> <li>▪ History</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preservation and promotion of Kulung culture</li> <li>▪ Should be used published in different national newspapers and telecast in national televisions</li> <li>▪ To prepare textbooks in Kulung</li> <li>▪ Use of language in mass media</li> <li>▪ Use of language in government offices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level</li> </ul>

### 6.3.2 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this questionnaire was especially designed for evaluating views of the village heads/language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 10 informants in total. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

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

b) In what ways do you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, the responses to the ways they could do vary in Kulung community. Table 6.3 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Kulung.

**Table 6.3: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Kulung (N=10)**

<i>In what ways do you think you can support the reservation and promotion of your mother tongue?</i>		RESPONSES	
		CAN	CAN'T
1	by devising the script	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
2	by making the spelling system systematic	7 (70%)	3 (30%)
3	by compiling dictionary	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
4	by writing grammar	2 (20%)	8 (80%)
5	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	9 (90%)	1 (10%)
6	by writing and publishing textbooks	4 (40%)	6 (60%)
7	by publishing newspapers	4 (40%)	6 (60%)
8	by making use of the language in administration	9 (90%)	1 (10%)
9	by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	10 (100%)	-

Table 6.3 shows that 80% of the total respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic and by compiling dictionary. Similarly, 90% of the total respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue and by making use of the language in administration. All the informants replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level. No informant responded that s/he could preserve their mother tongue by writing grammar and only 40% of the respondents replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers.

## 6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Kulung. Kulung community is rich in oral literature: folk tales and religious literature. They have access to only local mass media at all. Kulung is a preliterate language. They have to use the Devanagari script if they want to write in their language. There are few organizations devoted for the cultural development of the Kulung community. They have very particular dreams and aspirations for the development of their language and culture.

It includes preparing textbooks for children and opening the schools to teach the children in the mother tongue. All the village heads are convinced that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level and a greater number of the village heads/ language activists would like to take immediate steps to make use of the language in administration. To sum up, the Kulung speech community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education.

Almost informants (80-90%) replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, making the spelling system systematic, compiling dictionary, encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue and making use of the language in administration. All the informants are ready to take steps for making use of their language in the medium of instruction at primary level. No informant is able to preserve the mother tongue by writing grammar. Only 40% of the respondents are able to preserve their mother tongue by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers in Kulung speech community.

## CHAPTER 7

### DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

#### 7.1 Outline

The main goal of this chapter is to assess the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Kulung. For this purpose, two tools were employed: Wordlist Comparison and Dialect Mapping. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 7.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Kulung. In section 7.3, we discuss the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 7.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 7.2 Wordlist comparison

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

##### 7.2.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the collection of wordlists and tool used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, namely, Chocholung, Gudel, Cheskam, Pelmang and Bung from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex D for 210 wordlist). Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages were calculated in the WordSurv.

### 7.2.2 Evaluation criteria

The 60% has been generally used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. Table 7.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

**Table 7.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages**

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

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

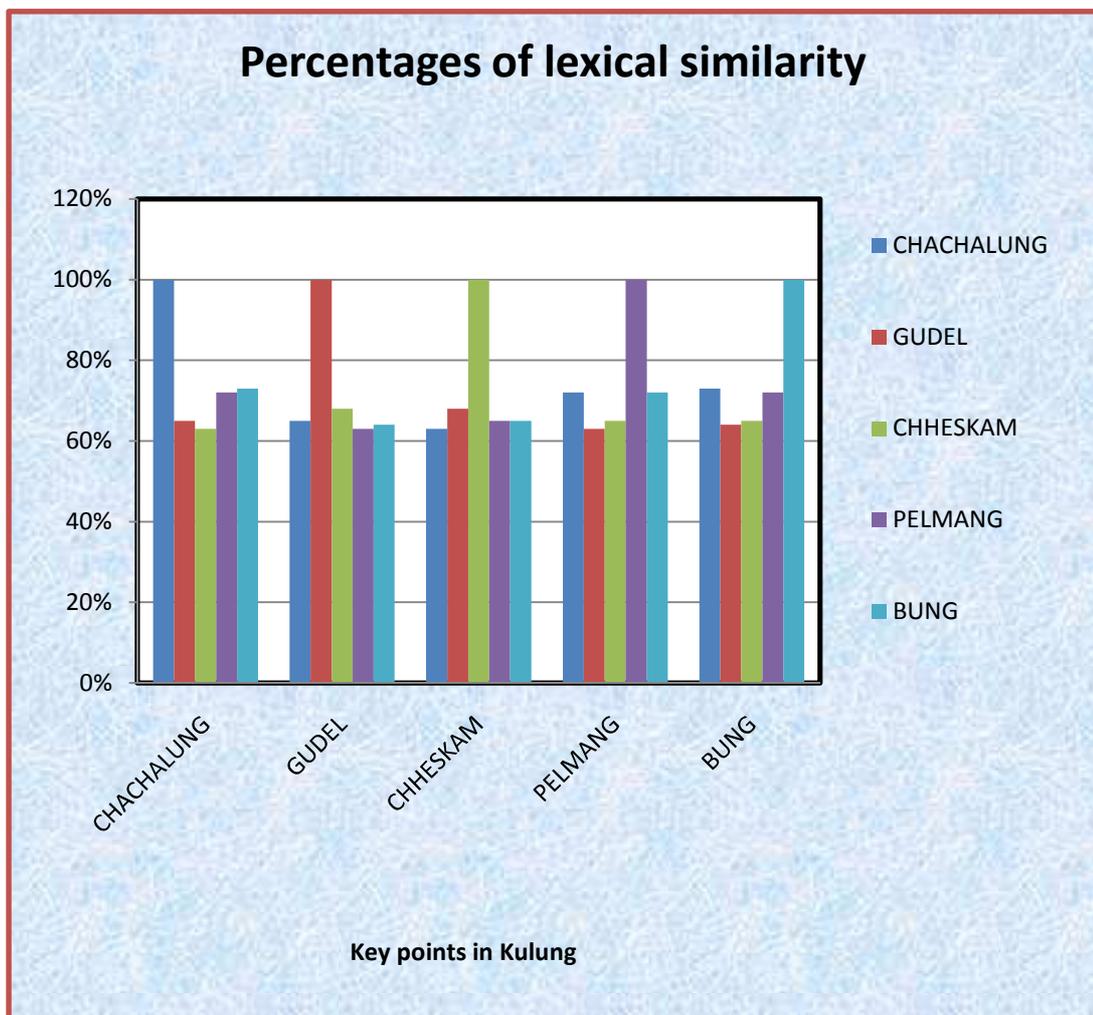
### 7.2.3 Lexical similarity

Table 7.2 presents the lexical similarity percentages among the survey points in Kulung.

**Table 7.2: Lexical similarity percentages among the key points in Kulung**

	CHACHALUNG	GUDEL	CHHESKAM	PELMANG	BUNG
CHACHALUNG	100%	65%	63%	72%	73%
GUDEL	65%	100%	68%	63%	64%
CHHESKAM	63%	68%	100%	65%	65%
PELMANG	72%	63%	65%	100%	72%
BUNG	73%	64%	65%	72%	100%

Table 7.2 shows that Kulung language spoken in Chachalung has 65% similarity with Gudel, 63% with Chheskam, 72% with Pelmang and 73% with Bung. Similarly the language spoken in Gudel has 65% similarity with Chachalung, 68% with Chheskam, 63% with Pelmang and 64% with Bung. Likewise, the language spoken in Chheskam has 63% similarity with Chachalung, 68% with Gudel 65% with Pelmang and 65% with Bung. In the same way, the language spoken in Pelmang has 72% with Chachalung and 63% with Gudel, 65% with Chheskam and 72% with Bung. Similarly, variety of Kulung spoken in Bung has 73% similarity with Chachalung, 64% with Gudel, 65% with Chheskam and 72% with Pelmang. From this table, it can be concluded that all the varieties of Kulung might be mutually intelligible to each other. The percentages of lexical similarity may be more clearly are presented in Figure 7.1.



**Figure 7.1: Percentages of lexical similarity of Kulung**

### 7.3 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any, in Kulung. The informants in group in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Kulung is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. In common, the following names of the three VDCs were mainly recognized as Kulung language speaking areas: Gudel, Cheskam and Bung. Photograph 7.1 presents the situation of dialect mapping in Kulung speech community.



Photograph 7.1: Situation of dialect mapping in Kulung, Chachaung, Gudel VDC





**Photograph 7.4: Situation of dialect mapping in Kulung, Bung, Bung VDC**

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any in the selected varieties. The language participants in group of 8 to 12 in each survey point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each district and town where the selected varieties are spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location.

#### **7.4 Summary**

In this chapter, we attempted to assess the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Kulung. All the varieties of Kulung are mutually intelligible to each other. There is lexical similarity ranking from 72%-73% among the key survey points in Kulung. It may indicate that Kulung at present does not show any dialectal variation that may hinder the mutual understanding among the Kulung speakers residing in different key survey points.

In common the following names of the VDCs were recognized as the Kulung language speaking area: Chachalung, Gudel, Chheskam, Pelmang and Bung. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that they can easily understand the speech variety spoken in all the Kulung speaking area. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that there are not any dialectal differences among the forms of speech in Kulung.

## CHAPTER 8

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.1 Summary of findings

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

##### 8.1.1 Ethnolinguistic information

- (a) Kulung, an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language, is mainly spoken by about 33,170 ethnic Kulung, most of them living in the three VDCs; namely, Gudel, Chheskam and Bung in Solukhumbu District of Sagarmatha Zone in eastern Nepal..
- (b) This language is one of the members of East Himalayish subsection of Himalayish section under Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman family.
- (c) According to the CBS report, 2001 the total population of the Kulung amounted to 18,686 (i.e. 0.08) while National Population Housing Census, 2011, has reported that the total speakers of the Kulung language amounts to 33,170 which constitutes 0.13% of the country's total population.
- (d) Kulung has a strong orality, i.e., an adequate oral use in every domains for which oral use is desired.
- (e) Accordingly, Kulung clans are divided into clans descending from *c<sup>h</sup>emsi*, and clans that are considered to be the offspring of *tamsi*.
- (f) Occupationally, Kulungs are agriculturists who cultivate maize, millet, wheat and mustard in the dry terraces, and rice in the wet fields.
- (g) Religiously, The Kulung mother tongue speakers are following Kirat, Hinduism, Buddhist and Christian (Ethnologue 2012).

- (h) In the domains of praying in general and quarrelling at home, Nepali is exclusively used in Kulung speech community.
- (i) In other domains such as counting, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, abusing, telling stories to children, family gatherings and village meetings Kulung is overwhelmingly used by the respondents of both sexes.
- (j) The illiterate Kulung uses the mother tongue more than that of the literate one.
- (k) Kulung is exclusively used in almost all the domains while talking with family members about educational matters and social events social events and family matters.
- (l) No matter whether the speakers are literate or illiterate majority of the informants use Nepali in singing and use the mother tongue in the domain of family gathering in Kulung speech community.
- (m) In the domains of counting, joking, story-telling, telling stories to children, discussing, praying and village meetings, the illiterate informants use the mother tongue more than the literate informants in Kulung speech community.
- (o) In this community, almost all male and female informants use their mother tongue, i.e., Kulung, while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc).
- (p) However, while in writing letters all the informants, both male and female, exclusively use Nepali, the language of the wider communication.
- (q) In marriage invitations mother tongue is overwhelmingly used in Kulung speech community. To the contrary, in writing minutes in community meetings, Nepali is overwhelmingly used.
- (r) The children while playing with other children and talking with the neighbours overwhelmingly use their mother tongue whereas at school Nepali is used. All the people use mother tongue every day.
- (s) A significant number of speakers in this community use the language of wider communication, i.e, Nepali every day.

- (t) At present, all the people prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in Kulung speech community.
- (u) Moreover, in Kulung speech community, Nepali is overwhelmingly used with the persons of other languages visit them at home.

### **8.1.2 Patterns of language use in different domains**

- (a) Kulung community is a bilingual as well as multilingual. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of mainly of two languages, viz. Kulung and Nepali.
- (b) Almost all the young and adult speakers in Kulung speech community, unlike in other speech communities in Nepal, become almost equal competent in two languages, namely, Kulung and Nepali.
- (d) In this community, all the people speak Kulung first and they love this language. In addition, they all speak this language best. In Kulung speech community, all the people speak their mother tongue very well. In this community, similarly, less than the half of the people can read and write their mother tongue very well.
- (e) In Kulung speech community, all the family members, father, mother and spouse can speak two languages: Kulung and Nepali well.
- (f) In Kulung speech community, the children learn three other languages: Nepali, English and Hindi. They learn Nepali and English at schools, colleges and Hindi by watching Hindi movies and televisions.
- (g) Almost all children who first go to school can understand the thing a little bit or not at all his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

### **8.1.3 Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes**

- (a) In terms of orality, Kulung has a high level of vitality.
- (b) Language maintenance in Kulung is not atrocious.
- (c) In this community, intermarriage is gradually picking up the pace. Such marriage is arranged with the speakers of Sherpa and Tamang, which is a dominant language of the area in terms of number of speakers.

- (d) The community as a whole wants its children to learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level and the community is ready to support the schools opened for teaching their language in whatever ways they could.
- (e) In this speech community, there is an extremely positive attitude towards the mother language. Almost people love their language the most. Moreover, almost people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and almost have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.
- (f) In Kulung speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all people are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. In this community, almost all people feel good if their children speak their mother tongue and feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue.
- (g) All the people are convinced that their children should first speak their mother tongue. The Kulung language is still conservative. However, now-a-days, the loyalty towards their mother tongue is gradually slackening in Kulung.

#### **8.1.4 Language resources and language development**

- (a) Kulung community is rich in oral literature: folk tales and religious literature. They have some local access to mass media at all. Kulung is a preliterate language. They have to use the Devanagari script if they want to write in their language.
- (b) There is only one central level organization devoted for the cultural development of the Kulung community. They have very particular dreams and aspirations for the development of their language and culture. It includes preparing textbooks for children and opening the schools to teach the children in the mother tongue.
- (c) Almost village heads/ language activists replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, making the spelling system systematic, compiling dictionary, encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue and making use of the language in administration.
- (d) All the informants are ready to take steps for making use of their language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

- (e) No informant is able to preserve the mother tongue by writing grammar. Only 40% of the respondents are able to preserve their mother tongue by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers in Kulung speech community.

#### **8.1.5 Dialectal variations**

- (a) In Kulung speech community, there is a greater degree (ranging from 72% to 73%) of lexical similarity in the different survey areas.
- (b) Looking at the lexical similarity percentages, which are higher than 73%, we can say that Kulung does not have any dialectal variation. This is further verified by the result of the dialect mapping tool used in the survey.
- (c) In this community, the level of intergenerational language transmission is strong and attitude towards the language positive.

## 8.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings, the following recommendations are put forward for the promotion and development of the Kulung Language.

- (a) As Kulung children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the vernacular and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution
- (c) A single language development program would be appropriate to be framed and implemented for the Kulung speech community as there are no dialectal variations in the language.
- (d) The Kulung community should be made aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue in all the domains of language use.
- (e) Non-formal education programs should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.
- (f) The attention of the local bodies and the government should be drawn to establish radio station to transmit news and other programs for entertainment in Kulung language. This also boosts up the mother tongue speakers to use their language widely.
- (g) Specific language development programs such as documentation of the language, developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched. (g) Most importantly, the primary education should be imparted in mother tongue by preparing teaching materials containing the subject matters suited for the local needs and socio cultural setting.
- (h) Literacy programmes in the mother-tongue have to be immediately conducted in Kulung community so that all the people would be motivated to speak their own language.

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## ANNEXES

### Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

**Shaded items** are NOT to be read aloud.

**Introduce yourself first:**

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

**INFORMED CONSENT:**                      Given:                       Not Given:

#### A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Enter the answers to the following **BEFORE** the INTERVIEW:

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

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

8. Name of language consultant: .....
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other  
.....
10. Age group: (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
11. Are you literate?  
(a) Yes (b) No
12. (If "Yes") How did you learn to read & write?  
(a) Formally (b) Non-formally
13. (If "Formally") What year/level did you complete?  
(a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary  
(d) Higher (specify highest degree).....
14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried
15. (If "Married") Do you have any children?  
(a) Yes (b) No
16. Caste
17. Ethnic group: .....
18. Religion:  
(a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity  
(e) Jain (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other
19. Your mother tongue's name:  
(a) (Given by respondent).....
20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?).....
21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru naamle pani chinincha?)  
(i)..... (ii).....  
(iii)..... (iv).....
22. Your mother's mother tongue.....
23. Your father's mother tongue.....

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

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

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:	YES
<input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	

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

B. Language resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

35. (Only ask literate consultants, if their language has written materials):  
What script(s) is your language written in? .....

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.		
f.		

53. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?  
 (a) Yes      (d) A little bit      (c) No

**D. Domain of Language Use**

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

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

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

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

(enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
i. Grandfather:			

ii.Grandmother:			
iii.Father:			
iv.Mother:			
v.Spouse:			
vi.Children:			

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

#### E. Language Vitality

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

#### F. Language Maintenance

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

- (c) by providing financial help?
- (d) by teaching?
- (e) by helping with the school?
- (f) other.....

G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

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

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
----------------------------------------------------------------	--

## Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

### A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

8. Name of language consultant: .....

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

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

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

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

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

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

10.						
11.						
12.						

## B. Domains of language use

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

## C. Dialect mapping

- A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask) Which name is the one you prefer to use?
  - i. (Language name preferred by group)...
  - ii. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
  - iii. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
- B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.  
Be sure to get all the following information for each location:  
(i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....  
(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....
- C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.

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

## **D. Multilingualism**

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

## **E. Appreciative enquiry**

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

## Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

**INFORMED CONSENT:** Given:  Not Given:

### A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following **BEFORE** the INTERVIEW:

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

5. Name of language consultant: .....

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

.....

7. Age: .....

8. Caste: .....

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

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

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

### Annex D: Word lists

S.N.	English	Nepali	Chachalung	Gudel	Chheskam	Pelmang	Bung
1	body	शरीर	gam	gam	gam	gam	gam
2	head	टाउको	toŋ	toŋ	toŋ	toŋ	toŋ
3	hair	कपाल	to:sum/ to:sum	to:sum	to:sum	to:sum	to:sum
4	face	अनुहार	ŋail	p <sup>h</sup> ousi/ ŋobo	ŋail	ŋəbə	ŋəbə/ ŋail
5	eye	आँखा	mux	muks	muks	muks	muks
6	ear	कान	nəbo	nobo	nəbə	nəbə	nəbə
7	nose	नाक	nap	nap	nap	nap	nap
8	mouth	मुख	ŋə	ŋə	ŋə	ŋə	ŋə
9	teeth	दाँत	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ
10	tongue	जिब्रो	lem	lem	lem	lem	lem
11	breast	स्तन	cucu	cucu	cucu	cucu	cucu
12	belly	पेट	bə	bo	bə	bə	bə
13	arm/ hand	हात	hu	hu	hu	hu	hu
14	elbow	कुइनो	k <sup>h</sup> acalu	k <sup>h</sup> acəlu	k <sup>h</sup> acalu	k <sup>h</sup> acalu	k <sup>h</sup> ac <sup>h</sup> alu
15	palm	हत्केला	hukp <sup>h</sup> ama	hukp <sup>h</sup> ama	hukp <sup>h</sup> ama	hukp <sup>h</sup> ama	hukp <sup>h</sup> ama
16	finger	औंला	c <sup>h</sup> əkəc <sup>h</sup> o ma	əula	c <sup>h</sup> əkəc <sup>h</sup> oma	c <sup>h</sup> əkəc <sup>h</sup> əma	əuli
17	fingernail	नङ	sendi	sendi	sendi	sendima	sendi
18	leg	खुट्टा	loŋ	loŋ	loŋ	loŋ	loŋ
19	skin	छाला	hou	hou	səkowar	sokowar	sokəwar
20	bone	हाड	tupri	tupri	tupri	tupri	tupri
21	heart	मुटु	cəu	cəu	cəu	cəu	cəu
22	blood	रगत	hi	hi:	hi	hi	hi
23	urine	पिसाब	c <sup>h</sup> emlu	c <sup>h</sup> emlu	pisab	pisab	c <sup>h</sup> emlu

24	feces	दिसा	k <sup>h</sup> il	k <sup>h</sup> im	k <sup>h</sup> il	disa	k <sup>h</sup> il
25	village	गाउँ	ʈel	ʈel	ʈel	ʈel/ k <sup>h</sup> er	ʈel
26	house	घर	k <sup>h</sup> im	k <sup>h</sup> im	k <sup>h</sup> im	k <sup>h</sup> im	k <sup>h</sup> im
27	roof	छानो	k <sup>h</sup> aməc <sup>h</sup> om	k <sup>h</sup> ampa	k <sup>h</sup> imək <sup>h</sup> am	k <sup>h</sup> imək <sup>h</sup> am	k <sup>h</sup> imək <sup>h</sup> am
28	door	ढोका	lamsko	lamsko	lamsko	lamskə	lamsko
29	firewood	दाउरा	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ
30	broom	कुचो	yac <sup>h</sup> abim	wac <sup>h</sup> bim	jac <sup>h</sup> abim	jac <sup>h</sup> abim	jac <sup>h</sup> abim
31	mortar	सिलौटो	kokc <sup>h</sup> um	kokc <sup>h</sup> uma	kək <sup>h</sup> umma	c <sup>h</sup> ik	kokc <sup>h</sup> um
32	pestle	लोहोरो	dumluŋ	ʈup	dumluŋ	koŋk <sup>h</sup> i	dumluŋ
33	hammer	हथौडा	marʈol	marʈol	haʈja	ʈokəʈoke	koŋk <sup>h</sup> edum
34	knife	चक्रु	kardo	kardo	kardo	kardo	kardo
35	axe	बञ्जरो	baʈ	baʈ	baʈ	baʈ	baʈ
36	rope	डोरी	ribo	ribo	ribə	ribə	ribə
37	thread	धागो	sak <sup>h</sup> i	sak <sup>h</sup> i	sak <sup>h</sup> i	sak <sup>h</sup> i	sak <sup>h</sup> i
38	needle	सियो	c <sup>h</sup> amei	c <sup>h</sup> ame	c <sup>h</sup> ame	c <sup>h</sup> ame	c <sup>h</sup> amei
39	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	ʈei	ʈei	ʈei	ʈei	ʈei
40	ring	औंठी	əuʈ <sup>h</sup> i	əuʈ <sup>h</sup> i	əuʈ <sup>h</sup> i	əuʈ <sup>h</sup> i	əuʈ <sup>h</sup> i/hudom
41	sun	घाम	namc <sup>h</sup> owa/nam	nam	namc <sup>h</sup> owa	nam	nam
42	moon	चन्द्रमा	la	lalima	lalima	lalima	lalima
43	sky	आकाश	namcui	nam	nam	ninamma	carc <sup>h</sup> em
44	star	तारा	soŋger	soŋger	soŋger	soŋger	soŋger
45	rain	वर्षा	wa	namʈae	wa	wa	wa
46	water	पानी	kau	kau	kau	kau	kau
47	river	नदी	yəu	jəu	jəu	jəu	jəu

48	cloud	बादल	mom	mom	mom	mom	mom
49	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	baxkeim	bak <sup>h</sup> ketkə	bak <sup>h</sup> ketake	baks-kette	baks-kette
50	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	roktokom	roktokom	roktokom/ cuk <sup>h</sup> əm	roktəkəm	roktokom
51	wind	बतास	hik	huk	huk	hik	hik /huk
52	stone	ढुङ्गा	luŋ	luŋ	luŋ	luŋ	luŋ
53	path	बाटो	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam
54	sand	बालुवा	serom	serəm	baluwa	serəm	serom
55	fire	आगो	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
56	smoke	धुवाँ	mikma	mikma	mikma	mikma	mikma
57	ash	खरानी	c <sup>h</sup> ubui	c <sup>h</sup> ubui	c <sup>h</sup> ubui	c <sup>h</sup> ubui	c <sup>h</sup> ubui
58	mud	माटो	boho	boho	bəhə	bəhə	bəhə
59	dust	धुलो	p <sup>h</sup> urk	bəhə	p <sup>h</sup> urki	p <sup>h</sup> ur <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ul
60	gold	सुन	sona	c <sup>h</sup> ec <sup>h</sup> erpa	sic <sup>h</sup> ə	laŋlaŋpa	c <sup>h</sup> ec <sup>h</sup> erpa
61	tree	रूख	sic <sup>h</sup> ə	sic <sup>h</sup> o	sic <sup>h</sup> ə	sic <sup>h</sup> ə	sic <sup>h</sup> ə
62	leaf	पात	bəu	bou	sibə	sibə	bəu
63	root	जरा	sam	sam	sam	sam	sam
64	thorn	काँडो	titi	titi	titi	titi	titi
65	flower	फूल	buŋ	buŋ	buŋ	buŋ	buŋ
66	fruit	फलफूल	camsis	p <sup>h</sup> alp <sup>h</sup> ul	samk <sup>h</sup> e	p <sup>h</sup> alp <sup>h</sup> ul	bu ŋ
67	mango	आँप	ā:p	ā:p	ā:p	ā:p	ā:p
68	banana	केरा	liŋoksi	liŋoksi	liŋo	liŋəksi	liŋoksi
69	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	docer	docer	docer	docer	docer
70	barley	जौ	dzeu	zeu	zeu	zeu	zeu

71	rice (husked)	चामल	ser	ser	ser	ser	ser
72	potato	आलु	samk <sup>h</sup> e	samk <sup>h</sup> e	samk <sup>h</sup> e	samk <sup>h</sup> e/k <sup>h</sup> e	k <sup>h</sup> e
73	eggplant	भण्टा	bəigun	bəigun	bəigun	bəigun	bəigun
74	groundnut	बदाम	bədam	bərəm	bədam	bərəm	bərəm
75	chili	खुर्सानी	Somdam/ khrsai	k <sup>h</sup> ərsai	k <sup>h</sup> ərsai	k <sup>h</sup> ərsai	k <sup>h</sup> əsai
76	turmeric	बेसार	besar	hardi	besar	hardi	hardi
77	garlic	लसुन	lasun	lasun	lasu	lasun	Sam-lasun
78	onion	प्याज	pjas	pjas	pjas	pjas	pjas
79	cauliflower	काउली	p <sup>h</sup> ulkopi	p <sup>h</sup> ulkopi	kauli	p <sup>h</sup> ulkopi	p <sup>h</sup> ulkopi
80	Tomato	गोलभेंडा	gorbela	gorbela	gorbela	gorbela	gorbela
81	cabbage	बन्दा	bəndakopi	bəndakopi	bənda	bəndakopi	bənda
82	oil	तेल	ʈel	b <sup>h</sup> utun	ʈel	b <sup>h</sup> utun	ʈel
83	salt	नुन	rum	rum	rum	rum	rum
84	meat	मासु	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
85	fat (of meat)	बोसो	c <sup>h</sup> odowa	c <sup>h</sup> odoma	cədəwa	c <sup>h</sup> odowa	c <sup>h</sup> odowa
86	fish	माछा	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
87	chicken	चल्ला	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wac <sup>h</sup> a/bukəl
88	egg	अण्डा	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wadi	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wac <sup>h</sup> a	wadi
89	cow	गाई	pi	pi:	pi	pi	pi
90	buffalo	भैंसी	mes	mes	mes	mes/nəmula	mes
91	milk	दुध	duʈ	dudh	duʈ	duʈ	duʈ
92	horns	सिङ	pitto	pitto	pittə	pittə	pittə
93	tail	पुच्छर	mer	mer	mer	mer	mer
94	goat	बाख्रो	c <sup>h</sup> ara	c <sup>h</sup> ara	k <sup>h</sup> ara	c <sup>h</sup> ara	c <sup>h</sup> ara
95	dog	कुकुर	k <sup>h</sup> ep	k <sup>h</sup> ep	k <sup>h</sup> ep	k <sup>h</sup> ep	k <sup>h</sup> ep

96	snake	सर्प (साँप)	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu
97	monkey	बाँदर	pupo	pupo	pupə	pupə	pupə
98	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	mæc <sup>h</sup> er	lamkhutte	mæc <sup>h</sup> er	supel	supel
99	ant	कमिला	k <sup>h</sup> alem	k <sup>h</sup> alem	k <sup>h</sup> alem	k <sup>h</sup> alem	k <sup>h</sup> alem
100	spider	माकुरो	punc <sup>h</sup> iri	punciri	punc <sup>h</sup> iri	punc <sup>h</sup> iri	punc <sup>h</sup> iri
101	name	नाम	niŋ	niŋ	niŋ	niŋ	niŋ
102	man	मान्छे	mis	mis	misi	mis	mis
103	woman	आइमाई	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a
104	child	बच्चा	c <sup>h</sup> ac <sup>h</sup> a	cacama	c <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> ac <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> ac <sup>h</sup> a
105	father	बाबा	pa/ papa	pa	pa:	pa	pa
106	mother	आमा	ma/mama	ma	ma	ma	ma
107	older brother	दाजु	bu/bubu	bubu	bua:	bubu	bu
108	younger brother	भाइ	nec <sup>h</sup> o	neco	nec <sup>h</sup> ə	nec <sup>h</sup> ə	nec <sup>h</sup> ə
109	older sister	दिदी	na/nana	na	na:	nana	nana
110	younger sister	बहिनी	nec <sup>h</sup> o	neco	nec <sup>h</sup> ə	nec <sup>h</sup> ə	nec <sup>h</sup> ə
111	son	छोरो	wacc <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> a/wacc <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> a	wacc <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> a
112	daughter	छोरी	mimc <sup>h</sup> ac <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> o/ mimc <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	c <sup>h</sup> a
113	husband	लोगने (श्रीमान)	tuppo	tupo	tuppə	tuppə	tuppə
114	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	toma	toma	toma	təma	toma
115	boy	केटो	wacc <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	nec <sup>h</sup> o	wacc <sup>h</sup> a	wacc <sup>h</sup> a
116	girl	केटी	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	wacc <sup>h</sup> a	nec <sup>h</sup> o	mimc <sup>h</sup> a	mimc <sup>h</sup> a
117	day	दिन	lei/lepa	lema	ese	ese	lepa
118	night	रात	sepa	sepa	sepa	sepa	sepa
119	morning	बिहान	decc <sup>h</sup> a	decc <sup>h</sup> a	decc <sup>h</sup> a	decc <sup>h</sup> a	desa- sepa/nus

120	noon	मध्यान्ह	lepa	lepa	lepa	lepa	lepa
121	evening	साँझ	jupa	jupa	jupa	jupa	kurima
122	yesterday	हिजो	espa	espa	espa	espa	espa
123	today	आज	ese	ese	ese	ese	ese
124	tomorrow	भोली	sela	sela	desa	desa	Sela/desa
125	week	हसा (साता)	saṭa	həpṭa	saṭa	rekəle	tupci
126	month	महिना	la	məhina	məhina	məhina	məhina
127	year	वर्ष	doŋ	don	bərsə	doŋ	doŋ
128	old	बूढो	supe	purano	purono	kec <sup>h</sup> ekə	cep <sup>h</sup> kswa
129	new	नयाँ	nəp	naya	nəb	inibakə	nəp
130	good	राम्रो (असल)	mozəkə	nəp	ŋali	ŋalləp	ŋali-nop
131	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	morokə	mannəp	ŋalisa	ŋalipa	ŋali-war
132	wet	चिसो	cik <sup>h</sup> ap	cijak	kawacija	cijakə	cijak
133	dry	सुख्खा	hark <sup>h</sup> ap	hark <sup>h</sup> ap	hark	hark	hark <sup>h</sup> a <sup>s</sup> wa
134	long	लामो	b <sup>h</sup> aipā	vaip	baipa	baipa	baip
135	short	छोटो	cib <sup>h</sup> aip/inti b <sup>h</sup> aip əc <sup>h</sup> a	civaip	cibipa	cibaipa	cibaip
136	hot	तातो	hokuwap	hok	serma	həke/hue	huip
137	cold	चिसो	c <sup>h</sup> ikcilip	c <sup>h</sup> ik	c <sup>h</sup> ika	c <sup>h</sup> ike	c <sup>h</sup> ikpa
138	right	दाहिने	cup	cup	cuppa	cup	cup
139	left	देब्रे	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ
140	near	नजिक	mənpi/ mənpiŋ	civaip	nakə	məpi	manc <sup>h</sup> abi/ eksaksa

141	far	टाढा	nakəpa/ nakəpa	hajamvaip	c <sup>h</sup> uburi	nakkəpa	Nəkəpa/ meksassa
142	big	ठूलो	d <sup>h</sup> ep/ d <sup>h</sup> eppa	d <sup>h</sup> eppa	d <sup>h</sup> eppa	d <sup>h</sup> eppa	d <sup>h</sup> ep
143	small	सानो	ci:ma	ci:ma	cima	cima	ci:ma
144	heavy	गह्रौ	lipa	lip	lisa	lise	lip
145	light	हलुका	hamlowap	hampa	homa	hame	ham
146	above	माथि	mektə	tokoptə	t <sup>h</sup> əmla	təkəptə	mektə
147	below	तल	muksu	dali	nukkəpu	muksu	muksu
148	white	सेतो	omlop	omlop	əmləp	omləp	omlop
149	black	कालो	gugurpa	gugur	gugurpa	gugur	gugurpa
150	red	रातो	halke	halke	halkja	halkja	halkja
151	one	एक	ibum	ibo	ibum	ibum	ibum
152	two	दुई	nicci	nicci	nicci	nicci	nic <sup>h</sup> i
153	three	तीन	supci	supci	supci	supci	supci
154	four	चार	lici	lici	l:ci	lici	lici
155	five	पाँच	ŋaci	ŋaci	ŋaci	ŋaci	ŋaci
156	six	छ	tukci	tupci	tupci	tupci	tupci
157	seven	सात	rekci	sat	sat	rekci	bəci
158	eight	आठ	boci	at <sup>h</sup>	at <sup>h</sup>	bəci	rekci
159	nine	नौ	pəuci	nau	nau	nau	bokci
160	ten	दश	ikpoŋ	dəs	dəs	dəs	ikpoŋ
161	eleven	एघार	Ikpoŋ ibum	egarə	egarə	egarə	egarə
162	twelve	बाह	Ikpoŋ nicci	barə	barə	barə	barə
163	twenty	बीस	nispoŋ	bis	bis	bis	nispoŋ
164	one hundred	एक सय	ikcundujum	ek se	ek se	ek se	ek se
165	who	को	ase	ase	ase	ase	ase

166	what	के	ui	ui	ui	ui	ui
167	where	कहाँ	hapi	hapi	hapi	hapi	hapi
168	when	कहिले	daləi	d <sup>h</sup> aləi	haei	hadem	hade
169	how many	कति	deṭtoi	deṭtəi	cic <sup>h</sup> a	deṭtəe	deṭtəe
170	which	कुन	ukəi	hukəi	ukəi	ukəi	ukəi
171	this	यो	ulkə/ uŋkə	iŋkə	uŋkə	uŋkə	uŋkə
172	that	त्यो	nakə	nakə	nukə	nakə	nakə
173	these	यिनीहरू	ulkəci	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ	uŋkəci	uŋkəci	uŋkəci/ uŋkəs
174	those	उनीहरू	hakəci	nukə	uŋkəci	nakəci	uŋkəci
175	same	उही	muŋkəŋ	ukəi	uŋtə	nakətəŋkə	uŋkə
176	different	फरक (अलग)	mə ŋk <sup>h</sup> əp	hukəi	muŋkəŋ	məŋkəci	muŋkəŋma
177	whole	सबै	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ	dəllə	dəllə	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ
178	broken	फुटेको	k <sup>h</sup> eipbok	k <sup>h</sup> eṭboka	k <sup>h</sup> eṭa	k <sup>h</sup> eṭak	k <sup>h</sup> eṭak
179	few	थोरै	cic <sup>h</sup> a	ci:c <sup>h</sup> ə	cic <sup>h</sup> a	ci:c <sup>h</sup> ə	cic <sup>h</sup> ə
180	many	धेरै	d <sup>h</sup> eṭo	orotto	deṭə	deṭə	orotto
181	all	सबै	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ	səbai	k <sup>h</sup> ələŋ	k <sup>h</sup> oləŋ
182	to eat	खानु	cam	cote	cote	cam	cam
183	to bite	टोकनु	k <sup>h</sup> om	k <sup>h</sup> oṭe	khəṭe	k <sup>h</sup> om	k <sup>h</sup> om
184	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	gaksim	saka/gumo	k <sup>h</sup> urṭe	k <sup>h</sup> urmim	saka
185	to drink	पिउनु	dum	duŋṭe	duŋṭe	dum	dum
186	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	wammasim	wamma	wamma	wamma	wammasim
187	to sleep	सुत्नु	im	ip <sup>h</sup> ṭe	imp <sup>h</sup> ṭe	im	im
188	to lie	पल्टनु	dimk <sup>h</sup> am	ṭerncūṭe	ṭerncīṭe	ṭerncim	im
189	to sit	बस्नु	ṭoṭum	ṭuwāṭe	ṭəṭuwāṭe	ṭumcam	ṭum

190	to give	दिनु	pim	piṭe	pijəṭe	pim	pim
191	to burn	डढाउनु	huim	huiṭe	huiṭe	hokim	kimlom
192	to die	मर्नु	sim	sija	sijaṭe	sim	sim
193	to kill	मानु	seim	sette	sette	seim	sem
194	to fly	उडनु	perm	perṭe	pəkṭe	t <sup>h</sup> ərem	perm
195	to walk	हिँडनु	lamdum	lamdumaṭe	lamdumaṭe	lamdum	lamdumaṭe
196	to run	दौडनु	bulm	bulste	bulk <sup>h</sup> ṭe	bulm	bulm
197	to go	जानु	k <sup>h</sup> aim	k <sup>h</sup> atṭe	k <sup>h</sup> atṭe	k <sup>h</sup> aim	k <sup>h</sup> aim
198	to come	आउनु	ṭam	banṭe	banṭe	baim	baim
199	to speak	बोल्नु	nein	nentṭe	nentṭe	neim	neim
200	to hear	सुत्नु	jeim	jentṭe	jentṭe	jeim	jeim
201	to look	हेर्नु	k <sup>h</sup> om	k <sup>h</sup> oṅṭe	k <sup>h</sup> oṅṭe	k <sup>h</sup> om	k <sup>h</sup> om
202	I	म	koṅ	koṅ	koṅa	koṅ	koṅ
203	you (informal )	तँ	an	an	an	an	an
204	you (formal)	तपाई	an	an	an	an	an
205	he	ऊ	nakə	nakə	nakə	nakə	nukə
206	she	उनी	nakə	nakə	nakə	uṅkə	nukə
207	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	kei	keka	keka-dəllə	kei- k <sup>h</sup> oloṅ	k <sup>h</sup> oloṅ
208	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	keiṅaṅ	ke	keka	kei	kei
209	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	anci	anni	anni-dəllə	nakəci	anni
210	they	उनीहरू	nakəci	anni	muṅkəs	nakəs	annis

**Annex E: Basic information of the language consultants involved in the survey of Kulung**

**Annex E1: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A**

<b>SURVEY POINT 1: CHACHALUNG</b>								
	<b>Name</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Village</b>	<b>VDC</b>	<b>Ward No.</b>	<b>District</b>
1	Govind Kumar Rai	M	24	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
2	Yog Raj Kulung	M	28	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
3	Bal Kumar Kulung	M	31	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
4	Past Bahadur Kulung	M	40	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
5	Dhanbirta Kulung	M	65	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
6	Moti Nand Rai	M	66	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
7	Samjhana Kulung	F	21	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
8	Prabina Kulung	F	15	IL	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
9	Pramila Kulung	F	36	L	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
10	Raj Kumari Kulung	F	38	IL	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
11	Deuli Hira Kulung	F	61	IL	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
12	Sitamani Kulung	F	65	IL	Chachalung	Gudel	6	Solukhumbu
<b>SURVEY POINT 2: GUDEL</b>								
1	Dipak Kulung	M	19	L	Gudel	Gudel	5	Solukhumbu
2	Prem Kulung	M	25	L	Gudel	Gudel	5	Solukhumbu

3	Lal man Rai	M	35	L	Gudel	Gudel	5	Solukhumbu
4	Kul Bahadur Rai	M	31	L	Gudel	Gudel	4	Solukhumbu
5	Ratman Rai	M	62	L	Gudel	Gudel	4	Solukhumbu
6	Surabir Kulung	M	76	IL	Gudel	Gudel	4	Solukhumbu
7	Susapika Kulung	F	21	L	Gudel	Gudel	4	Solukhumbu
8	Binita Kulung	F	15	L	Gudel	Gudel	5	Solukhumbu
9	Chhalimaya Kulung	F	46	L	Gudel	Gudel	4	Solukhumbu
10	Kanchimani Rai	F	58	IL	Gudel	Gudel	4	Solukhumbu
11	Hira Sobha	F	70	IL	Gudel	Gudel	5	Solukhumbu
12	Dhulimaya Kulung	F	76	IL	Gudel	Gudel	5	Solukhumbu
<b>SURVEY POINT 3: CHHESAKAM</b>								
1	Sanghars Kulung	M	20	L	Pelemla	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
2	Giri Raj Kulung	M	28	IL	Cinatol	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
3	Mohan Raj Kulung	M	43	L	Pelemla	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
4	Harkadan Kulung	M	48	IL	Pelemla	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
5	Damaijar Kulung	M	62	L	Cinatol	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
6	Katak Bahadur Kulung	M	65	IL	Chok tol	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
7	Raj Kumari Kulung	F	28	L	Pelemla	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
8	Devika Kulung	F	21	IL	Jiudokhamba	Chheskam	1	Solukhumbu
9	Archana Kulung	F	42	L	Hunga	Chheskam	8	Solukhumbu

10	Khetimaya Kulung	F	42	IL	Numsumbo	Chheskam	8	Solukhumbu
11	Khina	F	80	IL	Kami Tol	Chheskam	2	Solukhumbu
12	Champadani Kulung	F	75	IL	Kulung Tol	Chheskam	5	Solukhumbu
<b>SURVEY POINT 4: PELAMANG</b>								
1	Homaraj Kulung	M	26	IL	Nimkham	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
2	Utar Kumar Kulung	M	26	IL	Chhammai	Bung	8	Solukhumbu
3	Nand Raj Kulung	M	45	L	Nimkham	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
4	Ramkrishn Kulung	M	58	IL	Nimkham	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
5	Ganesh Kumar Kulung	M	79	IL	Papelung	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
6	Panchman Kulung	M	65	IL	Nimkham	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
7	Ganga Kumari Kulung	F	23	L	Nimkham	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
8	Anisha Kulung	F	17	IL	Wasdo	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
9	Motikala Kulug	F	42	L	Pelmang	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
10	Chamal Kumari Kulung	F	41	IL	Pelmang	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
11	Sikamani Kulung	F	65	IL	Pelmang	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
12	Bhankti Kumari Kulung	F	66	IL	Nimkham	Bung	7	Solukhumbu
<b>SURVEY POINT 5: BUNG</b>								
1	Machhindra Rai Kulung	M	35	L	Patle	Bung	1	Solukhumbu
2	Dhalakuvir Kulung	M	24	IL	Gattelm	Bung	6	Solukhumbu

3	Dalavir Kulung	M	55	L	Gattelm	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
4	Santakuvir Kulung	M	48	IL	School-tol	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
5	Chandraman Kulung	M	69	IL	School-tol	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
6	Baibirta Kulung	M	70	IL	Gattelm	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
7	Urmila Kulung	F	29	L	Bung	Bung	4	Solukhumbu
8	Prem Kumari Kulung	F	27	L	Bung	Bung	4	Solukhumbu
9	Dutimaya Kulung	F	42	L	Gattelm	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
10	Ramrai Sukhi Rai	F	42	IL	Gattelm	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
11	Pahiladani Kulung	F	65	IL	Gattelm	Bung	6	Solukhumbu
12	Ramrimaya Kulung	F	61	IL	Gattelm	Gattelm	Gattelm	Solukhumbu

**Annex F: Some group photographs of the informants from different survey points**



**Photograph 1: Gudel, Solukhunbu**



**Photograph 2: Chheskam, Solukhunbu**



**Photograph 3: Chheskam, Solukhunbu**



**Photograph 4: Pelmang, Solukhunbu**



**Photograph 5: Bung, Solukhunbu**



**Photograph 6: Bung, Solukhunbu**