

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY  
OF  
THE LAPCHA LANGUAGE**

**A REPORT SUBMITTED  
TO**

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
List of Table	vi-vii
List of Figure	viii
List of Photo	ix
Abbreviations	x
	<b>Page</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	<b>1-9</b>
1.0 Background	1
1.1 Purpose goals and overview of the survey	2
1.1.1 Purpose	2
1.1.2 Goals	2
1.2 Ethnicity, geography, migration, religion, occupation and literacy	3
1.2.1 Ethnicity	3
1.2.2 Geography	4
1.2.3 Migration	4
1.2.4 Religion	4
1.2.5 Occupation	5
1.2.6 Literacy	5
1.3 Language, demography, linguistic affiliation and review of earlier works	6
1.3.1 Overview	6
1.3.2 Demography	6
1.3.3 Linguistic affiliation	6
1.3.4 Review of earlier works	7
1.4 Significance of the study	7
1.5 Organization of the report	9
<b>Chapter 2: Research Methodology</b>	<b>10-19</b>
2.0 Outline	10

2.1	Overview	10
2.2	Research methods/tools	12
2.2.1	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ): description, purpose and procedure	12
2.2.2	Wordlist comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure	16
2.3	Sampling: Survey points, sampling procedure and sample size	17
2.3.1	Geographical location of the survey points	17
2.3.2	Sampling procedure	17
2.3.3	Sample size	18
2.4	Limitations: Time, access, area, methods and participants	19
<b>Chapter 3: Dialectal Variations and Participatory Method</b>		<b>20-28</b>
3.0	Outline	20
3.1	Wordlist comparison	20
3.1.1	Methodology	20
3.1.2	Evaluation criteria	21
3.2	Lexical and phonetic similarity	22
3.2.1	Lexical similarity	22
3.2.2	Phonetic similarity	23
3.3	Global correspondences	25
3.4	Dialect Mapping	26
3.5	Summary	28
<b>Chapter 4: Domains of Language Use</b>		<b>29-70</b>
4.0	Outline	29
4.1	Domains of Language Use	29
4.2	Patterns of language use in general domains	30
4.2.1	Patterns of language use at home	42
4.2.2	Patterns of language use at home while talking about education matters	42
4.2.3	Patterns of language use at home while discussing social events	46
4.2.4	Patterns of language use at home while writing letters	49
4.2.5	Patterns of language use by the children	53
4.2.6	Patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations	55
4.2.7	Patterns of language use in writing the minutes of the community meetings	58
4.3	The frequency of mother tongue use	59

4.4 The frequency of the language use of wider communication	61
4.5 Pattern of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting at home	62
4.6 Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level	64
4.7 Summary	69
<b>Chapter 5: Mother Tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism</b>	<b>71-75</b>
5.0 Outline	71
5.1 Mother tongue proficiency (MTP)	71
5.2 Multilingualism	72
5.3 Summary	75
<b>Chapter 6: Language Vitality, Maintenance and Attitudes</b>	<b>76-87</b>
6.0 Outline	76
6.1 Language vitality	76
6.2 Language maintenance	79
6.3 Language attitudes	81
6.4 Summary	87
<b>Chapter 7: Language Resources and Language Development</b>	<b>88-94</b>
7.0 Outline	88
7.1 Language resources	88
7.2 Language development	89
7.2.1 Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)	90
7.2.2 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C	92
7.3 Summary	94
<b>Chapter 8: Summary of Findings and Recommendations</b>	<b>95-98</b>
8.1 Major findings	95
8.2 Recommendations	97
<b>References</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>Annexes</b>	
Annex A-C : Survey Questionnaires	101-119
Annex D : Survey Wordlist	120-128
Annex E : Chhintang Wordlist	129-135
Annex F : Photographs of the survey fieldwork	136-140

## LIST OF TABLES

	<b>Page</b>
Table 1.1: Literacy in the Lapcha speech community	5
Table 2.1: Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools	10
Table 2.2: Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A	13
Table 2.3: GPS information of the survey points	17
Table 2.4: Survey points and tools	18
Table 3.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity	21
Table 3.2: Lexical similarity of key points in Lapcha speech community	22
Table 3.3: Phonetic similarity in key points in Lapcha speech community	23
Table 4.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains	30
Table 4.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex	31
Table 4.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by age	35
Table 4.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy	39
Table 4.5: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex	42
Table 4.6: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age	44
Table 4.7: Languages most frequently used with different family members	45
Table 4.8: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex	46
Table 4.9: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age	47
Table 4.10: Languages most frequently used with different family members	49
Table 4.11: Languages most frequently used with family members by sex	50
Table 4.12: Languages most frequently used with different family members by	51
Table 4.13: Languages most frequently used with different family members	52
Table 4.14: Languages usually spoken by the children	53
Table 4.15: Languages usually spoken by children	54
Table 4.16: Languages usually spoken by children in different domains by literacy	55
Table 4.17: Languages used for marriage invitations in the community	56
Table 4.18: Languages used for marriage invitations by the community by age	56
Table 4.19: Languages used for marriage invitations in the community	57
Table 4.20: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings	58

Table 4.21: Languages usually used to write minutes of community meetings	58
Table 4.22: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy	59
Table 4.23: The frequency of mother tongue use by sex	59
Table 4.24: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by age	60
Table 4.25: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by literacy	60
Table 4.26: The frequency of the language use of wider communication by sex	61
Table 4.27: The frequency of the language use of wider communication by age	61
Table 4.28: The frequency of language use of wider communication by literacy	62
Table 4.29: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at	62
Table 4.30: The language usually used when speakers of other languages	63
Table 4.31: The language usually used when speakers of other languages	63
Table 4.32: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction	34
Table 4.33: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction	65
Table 4.34: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction	67
Table 5.1: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Lapcha	71
Table 5.2: Multilingualism in Lapcha community	73
Table 6.1: Language vitality in the key points in Lapcha	76
Table 6.2: Language maintenance in key survey points in Lapcha	79
Table 6.3: The ways participants support if schools are opened	80
Table 6.4: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love the most	81
Table 6.5: Feeling of the participants while speaking the mother tongue	81
Table 6.6: Any problem faced because of being a native speaker	82
Table 6.7: Feelings of the participants if their sons or daughters married	82
Table 6.8: Mother tongue of the children	83
Table 6.9: Feelings of the participants in key points in Lapcha	84
Table 6.10: Responses to what language should their children speak first	84
Table 6.11: Responses to if they think language spoken by them is different	85
Table 6.12: How the language is different from the grandfather	85
Table 6.13: Feelings of the participants towards mother tongue	86
Table 7.1: Language resources	88
Table 7.2: Hopes and plans for Lapcha language	89
Table 7.3: Summary of findings from appreciative inquiry in Lapcha	90

## LIST OF FIGURES

	<b>Page</b>
Figure 1.1: Linguistic affiliation of the Lapcha	6
Figure 2.1: Model for sampling of participants from each point	12
Figure 3.1: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarities matrix	24
Figure 3.2: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarity matrix network graph	24
Figure 3.3: Global correspondences of Lapcha phonemes	25
Figure 3.4: Global correspondences of Lapcha phonemes in nucleus	26
Figure 4.1: Languages most frequently used by female	33
Figure 4.2: Languages most frequently used by male	34
Figure 4.3: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A <sub>1</sub>	37
Figure 4.4: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A <sub>2</sub>	37
Figure 4.5: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A <sub>3</sub>	38
Figure 4.6: Literate and illiterate participants	40
Figure 4.7: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literate	41
Figure 4.8: Preference of language for medium of instruction by sex	65
Figure 4.9: Preference of language for medium of instruction by age	66
Figure 4.10: Preference of language for medium of instruction by literacy	68
Figure 5.1: Multilingualism in Lapcha community	74
Figure 6.1: Speaking mother tongue by the children	77
Figure 6.2: Speaking mother tongue by the young people	78
Figure 6.3: Language spoken by the parents with their children	78

## LIST OF PHOTOS

	<b>Page</b>
Photo 3.1: Dialect Mapping (DM)	27
Photo 4.1: Domains of Language Use (DLU)	29
Photo 5.1: Photo of Multilingualism	72
Photo 7.1: Appreciative Inquiry (AI)	91

## ABBREVIATIONS

A <sub>1</sub>	:	First age group (of the participants)
A <sub>2</sub>	:	Second age group (of the participants)
A <sub>3</sub>	:	Third age group (of the participants)
AI	:	Appreciative Inquiry
C/Chhin	:	Lapcha
L & N	:	Lapcha and Nepali
CBS	:	Central Bureau of Statistics
DLM	:	Dialect Mapping
DLU	:	Domains of Language Use
GPS	:	Global Positioning System
IPA	:	International Phonetic Alphabet
LinSuN	:	Linguistic Survey of Nepal
LISMAC	:	Linguistic Survey Management Committee
lg	:	Language
LWC	:	Language of Wider Communication/Link Language
ML	:	Multilingualism
MT	:	Mother Tongue
MTP	:	Mother Tongue Proficiency
N	:	Nepali
N or n	:	total number (of the participants)
No.	:	Number
PM	:	Participatory Method
Q. N.	:	Question number
SLQ	:	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire
VDC(s)	:	Village Development Committee(s)
WLC	:	Wordlist Comparison

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha [lep]; an endangered minority language. Lapcha is one of the least known languages of Nepal. It belongs to the central Tibeto-Burman group under Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan language family, spoken mainly in different villages of Lapcha area in Ilam district in eastern Nepal.

Census 2011 shows that Lapcha people dwell in 28 districts throughout the country and even in other parts of the world. This survey will focus primarily in the Lapcha homeland in Ilam district and the research was conducted in the densely populated area of Lapcha speakers, viz., Rungsung, Kholme, Fikkal, Chindepani, Ambi, Chhiruwa and Disa areas in Ilam District. These seven areas are equally important, however, based on survey template, only the five survey points are taken for data analysis. The native speakers of the language as well the non-speakers call them Lapcha. They have their own distinct language that they prefer to call rong riŋ 'Lapcha language'. The Ethnologue (Lewis, et al. 2012:61) has distinguished Lapcha as Ilammu, Rengjongmu and Tamsangmu throughout the *Mayal-lyang* (i.e., Lapcha homeland, politically divided into Nepal and India), which are inherently intelligible (i.e., linguistically closely related) and are seen as having a homogenous culture and ethnic identity.

Lapcha is currently classified on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDs) as (7) or Shifting. Lewis et al. (2015) state this level of language vitality status defines that the child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children. In the field study, it is found that there is a much greater level of mother tongue use among the older generation.

This chapter discusses the basic information about the Lapcha people and their mother tongue. This chapter consists of five sections. Section 1.1 presents the purpose, goals, and overview of the survey. In section 1.2, we provide the basic information about ethnicity, migration, religion, occupation, and literacy. Section 1.3 deals with the further information about the Lapcha language, demography, linguistic affiliation and review of earlier works. In section 1.4, we present significance of the study. Finally, section 1.5 presents the organization of the report.

## **1.1 Purpose goals and overview of the survey**

In this sub-section, we discuss the purpose and goals of this survey carried out in Lapcha in order to obtain a clear picture of its sociolinguistic situation.

### **1.1.1 Purpose**

The main purpose of this survey is to acquire a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of Lapcha speakers in Nepal. Furthermore, this survey aims to assist the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) in fulfilling the objective of producing an authentic sociolinguistic profile for each of the languages of Nepal.

### **1.1.2 Goals**

A primary goal of this survey was to determine the homogeneity of the Lapcha speakers within the Lapcha community. Additionally, the specific goals are as follows:

- i. To investigate variation among Lapcha varieties and assess the mother tongue proficiency;
- ii. To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- iii. To examine the intelligibility among the Lapcha speech communities by assessing the levels of lexical similarity;
- iv. To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language; and

- v. To gather information regarding the resources and language development in Lapcha.

## **1.2 Ethnicity, geography, migration, religion, occupation and literacy**

In this section, we discuss the ethnicity, geography, migration, religion, occupation and literacy in the Lapcha language community existing in Ilam district of eastern Nepal.

### **1.2.1 Ethnicity**

Nepal is a heritage of the multiethnic and multilingual country. One of the components of this multi-lingual setting is the Lapcha community. They are found to have been originated particularly in the hill area of the Ilam district in eastern Nepal. There are very few reliable and precise written documents (i.e., works of literature) available in this language. Available resources (published/unpublished), including articles and books dealing with socio-linguistic and linguistic aspects of this ethnic group have been reviewed.

According to the CBS Report (2011), the total ethnic population of Lapcha throughout the country is approximately 7,499. However, the recent data collected by the Lapcha organization 'Rong Sezum Thee' is 3,060 only. The census 2011 shows that 3,911 Lapcha people (other than Ilam district, viz., 2,489 in Nuwakot, 781 in Makawanpur and 641 in Darchula) are from outside their homeland which is hardly convincing data as the Lapcha people claim themselves. Most of the mother tongue speakers are from the different villages of the Lapcha origin in the Ilam district. Obviously, those who have left their traditional homeland may no longer speak their mother tongue. However, they still identify themselves with the Lapcha community and culture. In the recent trend, it seems the Lapcha speakers are gradually shifting to Nepali as the lingua franca due to the medium of instruction in the formal education system.

The term 'Lapcha' is popular in the Lapcha area and is the name most exclusively used for both the language and its speakers. From the recent field survey, it is found that Lapcha people are living in the districts like Ilam, Morang, Kathmandu, and Sunsari districts. In Ilam district, there are some villages with a certain number of Lapcha speakers. The inhabitants of these villages use Lapcha every day, and children learn Lapcha as their mother tongue. Some children from the Lapcha origin (i.e., some villages in Ilam district) learn Lapcha as their mother tongue and they only learn Nepali when they go to school.

### **1.2.2 Geography**

Lapcha people particularly live in Ilam, Morang, Kathmandu, Jhapa, and Sunsari districts in the Eastern Development Region of Nepal. Ilam district is considered as the homeland of the Lapcha community. The field study took place in test sites in five extreme points in Lapcha villages located in the hilly region of the Lapcha area in the Ilam district.

### **1.2.3 Migration**

The origin of the Lapcha community is considered as the Ilam district of eastern Nepal. In addition, a minority of them are also found to have been living in other districts in eastern Nepal. They all agree that the homeland of the Lapcha language community is in Ilam district and in Darjeeling, Sikkim, Kalingpong, Bhutan etc. Their traditional homeland is called *Maya-lyang* 'Rong area' or 'Lapcha-land' are also found to have been living in small scale in abroad.

### **1.2.4 Religion**

During the sociolinguistic field survey, the Lapcha participants were found to have followed the religion as nature and ancestral worship. Traditionally, Lapcha people are the worshipper of nature and the ancestral. However, like other speech communities in Nepal, there is a direct influence of the Hindu religion in this community in their ritual practices too.

### 1.2.5 Occupation

The traditional occupation of the Lapcha community is agriculture and pasture. Still, the Lapcha people in their homeland are dependent on traditional farming. In addition, they also depend upon the seasonal cash crops like ginger, vegetables, tomato, peas, beans, cabbage, cauliflower, etc. Besides, they are also found to have contributed services in Nepal, Indian and British army, teaching, civil service, Nepal Police, Nepal Army, business, etc.

### 1.2.6 Literacy

In each survey point, both the literate and illiterate participants were involved in the sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha in their traditional homeland in Ilam district. The literacy situation in aggregate (from the five survey points) is presented in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1: Literacy in the Lapcha language community**

Literacy category of the participants			
Total Participants: (N=60)			
Literate		Illiterate	
45 (75%)		15 (25%)	
Female		Male	
22 (37%)		38 (63%)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
14 (64%)	8 (36%)	29 (76%)	9 (24%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2017)*

Table 1.1 presents the fact that out of the total sixty participants from Lapcha community, forty-five are literate and fifteen illiterate; twenty-two were female and thirty-eight male. Of the female participants, fourteen (i.e. 64%) were literate; and eight (i.e. 36%) were illiterate. Similarly, of the male participants, twenty-nine (i.e. 76%) were literate; and nine (i.e. 24%) were illiterate.

### **1.3 Language, demography, linguistic affiliation and review of earlier works**

In this section, we discuss the language, demography, linguistic affiliation and review of earlier works in the Lapcha language community.

#### **1.3.1 Overview**

The Lapcha language is one of the languages spoken in different villages of Ilam district in eastern Nepal. The language that is spoken in the Lapcha community is called *rong ring* 'Lapcha language'.

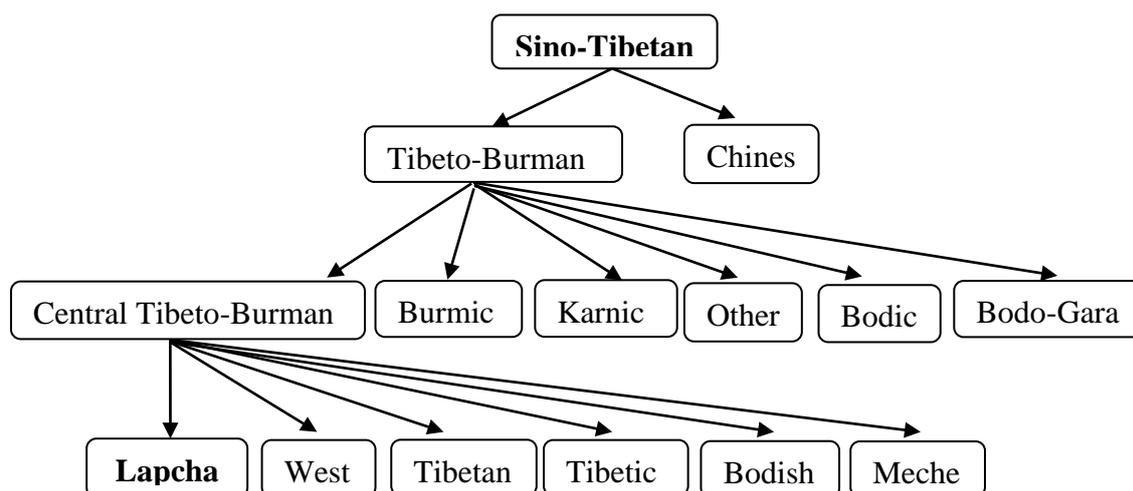
#### **1.3.2 Demography**

The CBS report 2011 shows that the total population of Lapcha speakers is 3,802. Among them 3,802 (i.e. 50.7%) are female and the remaining 3,697 (i.e. 49.3%) are male. The population distribution shows 2,672 (i.e., 35.6%) in Ilam, and a minority of them are in other districts like Kathmandu, Sunsari, Morang, Jhapa, etc. The maximum youth people from the Lapcha community have also gone outside their homeland in search of the job or their income source.

#### **1.3.3 Linguistic affiliation**

The linguistic affiliation of Lapcha is presented in Figure 1.1.

**Figure 1.1: Linguistic affiliation of Lapcha**



Epele et al. 2012, LinSuN

### **1.3.4 Review of earlier works**

Regarding the Lapcha language, Jeffrey et al (2000) classify Lapcha under the indigenous language group of eastern Nepal. Lapcha is one of the minority languages. It is claimed that the surrounding of Kanchenjunga (i.e., Ilam district and its adjacent areas) is considered to be the origin of Lapcha. It gives the clear picture of *Mayal lyang* 'Lapcha-land' that Lapcha people neither migrated from Ilam area to India nor they came from there, but their historical homeland was politically divided into two separate nations: Nepal and India.

Ethnologue (Epele et al., 2012:61) identifies Lapcha (639-3; [lep]) as a member of Central Tibeto-Burman under the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It has been categorized under the '(7) or Shifting' in this edition. There are mainly three dialects: Ilammu, Rengjongmu, and Tamsangmu. There is a controversial classification both in Himalayan and Naga groups and they use their own Lapcha script structurally close to the Tibetan script.

Rai et al. (2069 BS) expresses the flashback of the Lapcha language community from the anthropological perspective that Lapcha people are famous for nature worshipping and culturally independent ethnic group. Furthermore, they are alert about their identity crisis and role of their community for the national integration. The research is focused on language community from the anthropological perspective that Lapcha

people are famous for nature worshipping and culturally independent ethnic group. Furthermore, they are alert about their identity crisis and role of their community for the national integration.

Mukarung (2073 BS) presents the clear picture of the cultural aspect of the Lapcha. It shows the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of minority ethnic community 'Lapcha'. It is also highlighted the civilization and the existing cultural aspect of backward Lapcha ethnic community. Furthermore, the research report tries to give the detailed information of their chronology of lineage and clans, artifact of rituals and language, aspectual theme of arts and culture.

Rai and Rai (2074 BS) observe the Lapcha toponyms in the Rong area or Lapcha-land in Ilam district. Regarding the various place names in the Lapcha language at the local level, it gives the glimpses of the historical background in local level and naming process as well. From the thorough observation, it is drawn up the conclusion that the place names are coined on the basis of daily activities and social practices related to the plant, geographical shape/structure, social, aquatic, cultural, historical, organism, etc.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

This study is of great significance not only for the Lapcha language community but also for the researchers and the linguists interested in the study of this language. The significance of the study can be enumerated as follows:

- a) The envisaged perspective of this study was to carry out the survey of the current linguistic situation of Lapcha. So, this study can help for further research in the Lapcha language.
- b) This study can support to know the current linguistic situation and issues of Lapcha.
- c) This study can be useful and beneficial for both the academic and general researchers who want to carry out and are interested in the Lapcha language.
- d) This study can help to develop linguistic materials in the Lapcha language.
- e) There is a need for detailed language documentation project in Lapcha for the preservation and promotion of the mother tongue.

- f) There is a need of developing a pedagogical grammar and reading materials in Lapcha.
- g) The Lapcha community, the outsiders, linguists and sociologists, and researchers can benefit from this study.
- h) This study will be beneficial for the government and governmental organizations to have baseline information about the current linguistic situation of Lapcha.
- i) This study will also be beneficial for the government and governmental agencies to formulate linguistic policy.

### **1.5 Organization of the report**

The survey report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 outlines general background information about the language including significance, purpose, and goals of the study. Chapter 2 deals with the methodology employed in the survey. Chapter 3 examines the possible regional variations in the Lapcha language regarding the lexical comparison and dialect mapping applied in the survey. Chapter 4 presents major domains of language use. Chapter 5 evaluates the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism in Lapcha. Chapter 6 presents language vitality, language maintenance, and language attitudes. Chapter 7 discusses language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Lapcha. Chapter 8 presents the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex as the additional part of the report includes sociolinguistic questionnaire, wordlist collected in five survey points during the field study (i.e., a sociolinguistic survey), name list, survey points in the local speech community, participants' age, gender and literacy category, survey tools used, distribution of Lapcha speakers and some useful photographs taken during the field visit.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **2.0 Outline**

This chapter presents research methodology employed in the survey. It consists of four sections. Section 2.1 presents the overview of the research methodology. Section 2.2 deals with different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.3 presents the survey points, sampling procedure and sample size. And section 2.4 consists of limitations of the survey with respect to time, access, area, methods and participants, etc.

#### **2.1 Overview**

This survey employed five different methods/tools in order to fulfill its goals. The methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM).

The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Multilingualism (ML), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (AI).

Table 2.1 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used, and a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

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

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

## 2.2 Research methods/tools

### 2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ): description, purpose and procedure

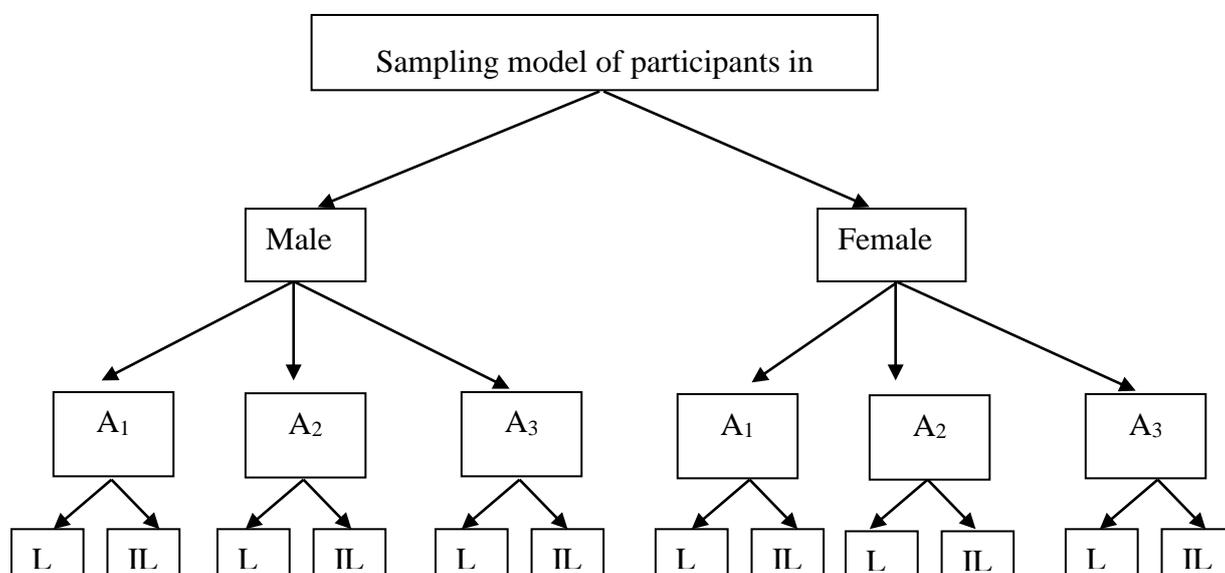
Three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaire (i.e., SLQ: A, B & C) in the survey were employed. Their description, purpose and procedure are described in the following paragraphs.

#### A. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A which consists of eighty (80) questions was intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set was 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, the Lapcha speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point i.e. Mulgaun village of Dhankuta. Other points from the same district were Chaudhari Tole, Nangchhuwa, Mangthana and Chhambak. The participants were chosen from different categories of age, sex and educational background from each survey points. Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of participants from each point in the Lapcha speech community.

**Figure 2.1: Model for sampling of participants from each survey point**



A<sub>1</sub>=15-29, A<sub>2</sub>=30-59, A<sub>3</sub>= 60+, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

In Figure 2.1, the term 'point' refers to sociolinguistic field survey points in the speech community. During the sociolinguistic field survey in the Lapcha speech community, five survey points were visited. Similarly, A<sub>1</sub> (15-29), A<sub>2</sub> (30-59), A<sub>3</sub> (60+) refer to age category; likewise, 'L' and 'IL' to 'literate' and 'illiterate' category of the participants respectively who participated during the discussion and interview in the survey so far. The survey has a specific checklist for the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A.

**Table 2.2: Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A**

<b>Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ-A)</b>											
<b>Point X</b>											
Male						Female					
A <sub>1</sub>		A <sub>2</sub>		A <sub>3</sub>		A <sub>1</sub>		A <sub>2</sub>		A <sub>3</sub>	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Following the sampling model to the maximum, sixty (60) participants from the Lapcha speech community were interviewed with their different age categories, sex and educational background in each linguistic survey point. The questionnaire was administered in Nepali language and the answers given by the participants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali and English. After the data collection, the answers were entered into a computer database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

### **B. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ-B)**

Another set of questionnaire was Participatory Method (PM). PM was a tool employed during the survey to elicit information from the Lapcha participants. The tools included in the PM were Domains of Language Use (DLU), Multilingualism (ML), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (AI). The main purpose of the use of PM tools was to help the Lapcha speech community think about the dialects of the Lapcha language, how multilingual Lapcha people were, in which contexts they employed the Lapcha language, and what their dreams and aspirations were for their language development. In the questionnaire, each tool was equipped with well-written

systematic procedures for the facilitators in the group. The different components of the **SLQ-B** are presented in the following paragraphs.

### **I. Participatory Method (PM)**

Participatory Method (PM) was a tool employed to elicit information from the participants. The tools included in the PM were Domains of Language Use (DLU), Multilingualism, Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (AI). The main purpose of the use of PM tools was to help the Jerung speech community think about the dialects of the Jerung language, how multilingual Jerung people were, in which contexts they employed the Jerung language, and what their dreams and aspirations were for their language development. In the questionnaire, each tool was equipped with well-written systematic procedures for the facilitators in the group.

The criteria consisted of the implementation for the participatory tools are as follows:

- a) The group must consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant must belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants must be grown up in the survey point and must have lived in the society currently. 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.
- d) Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group-discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language.

### **II. Domains of Language Use (DLU)**

Domains of Language Use (DLU) tool was employed in the Lapcha community members during the linguistic field survey. The use of the tool was mainly aimed to help the Lapcha community members think and visualize the language that the Lapcha people speak in diverse contexts. In this tool, the Lapcha participants took part in discussion and thought about the situations in which they employed Nepali, language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then, they wrote down the situations in which they speak Lapcha language and those

situations in which they use both Nepali and Lapcha. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels as Nepali, Lapcha and both Nepali and Lapcha. 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 employ each language in any other situations.

### **III. Dialect Mapping (DLM)**

The main purpose of the Dialect Mapping (DLM) tool was to help the community members think about and visualize different varieties of the Lapcha language. During the linguistic field survey, Lapcha participants were gathered for group discussion. Then, during the discussion, they were asked to write down the names of each village on a separate sheet of paper where Lapcha 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 speak the same as others. Next, they were asked to use the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. Then, they were advised to use coloured piece of plastic to mark those varieties they understand very well, average and poorly.

### **IV. Multilingualism (ML)**

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

For each group, they also discussed whether they also spoke the Lapcha language 'well' or not 'so well'. Then, they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this, they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Lapcha people that spoke the Lapcha language 'well', which was increasing and how they felt about that.

## **V. Appreciative Inquiry (AI)**

Appreciative Inquiry tool was administered to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the speech community for their mother tongue development. Using this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that make them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. Then, based on those good things in the Lapcha language and culture, they were asked to express their dream of making 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.

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

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C is a set of 21 questions, which was administered to language activists and village heads. The main purpose of this set of questions was 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 Lapcha.

### **2.2.2 Wordlist 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 wordlists elicited from the Lapcha mother tongue speakers. The results have been presented in Table 3.2 to Table 3.5, which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs.

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

For each item on the wordlist, the researchers elicited, in Nepali, the local Lapcha word from a Lapcha mother tongue speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software known as Wordsurv (word survey), and the words entered in the

WordSurv were exported as WordSurv 6 XML file to Cog for the comparison of the words collected in the five survey points in terms of lexical and phonetic similarity, 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 Lapcha. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated on the basis of lexical similarity percentages.

## 2.3 Sampling: Survey points, sampling procedure and sample size

### 2.3.1 Geographical location of the survey points

In the sociolinguistic field survey of the Lapcha language, information was taken from the five survey points from different villages of Dhankuta district pertinent to the Eastern Development Region of the country.

Table 2.3 presents the geographical location of the survey points recorded by the Global Positioning System (GPS) device.

**Table 2.3: GPS for five survey points in Lapcha speaking area**

	Survey points		Elevation	North	East
1.	Fikkal	Centre	1,153 m	26° 57' 12.2"	87° 13' 32.7"
2.	Rungsung	East	1,442 m	27° 01' 27.8"	87° 05' 15.2"
3.	Kholme	North	1,047 m	26° 56' 07.7"	87° 11' 42.7"
4.	Drishya	South	1,117 m	26° 57' 17.2"	87° 12' 17.4"
5.	Ambi	West	1,023 m	26° 52' 06.2"	87° 06' 15.1"

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

### 2.3.2 Sampling procedure

First, the Lapcha speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point i.e. Fikkal in Ilam district. Other points were Rungsung, Kholme, Drishya and Ambi. Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey points.

Of the sample points, sixty participants were sampled and interviewed. The age of the participants of Lapcha was from 15 to 60 above with their sex and educational background in each linguistic survey point. The questionnaire was administered in the Nepali language and the answers given by the participants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali and English.

### 2.3.3 Sample size

During the field survey, the sociolinguistic information was collected by using the different tools such as Sociolinguistic Questionnaires A, B, C and Wordlist.

Table 2.4 shows the survey points, tools and the number of sheets of information collected from each survey point in the field-study.

**Table 2.4: Survey points, tools (at least to be used) in each survey point**

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Other Tools
	A (Individual)	B (Participatory)	C (Language activists)	Wordlist
Fikkal	12	✓	2	6
Rungsung	12	✓	2	6
Kholme	12	✓	2	6
Drishya	12	✓	2	6
Ambi	12	✓	2	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

General sampling for questionnaire A requires that the participants must be selected reasonably from both literate and illiterate groups. Regarding this point, the sampling maintained the both literate and illiterate participants during the survey. Participatory Method was held in all the five major survey points in Dhankuta district.

#### **2.4 Limitations: Time, access, area, methods and participants**

The survey was conducted in five points of different Lapcha villages, viz., Fikkal, Rungsung, Kholme, Drishya and Ambi in Ilam district. Especially, it was very difficult to gather and find the people satisfying all criteria for the qualified participants for the collection of the data. We used mainly four 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 why they use the language and what 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**

### **DIALECTAL VARIATIONS**

#### **3.0 Outline**

This chapter mainly assesses the levels of lexical and phonetic similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Lapcha, based on the primary data of the wordlist comparison. It consists of five sections. Section 3.1 deals with methodology and evaluation criteria of wordlist comparison in Lapcha. Similarly, in section 3.2, we present the lexical and phonetic comparison with a recently developed program COG. Section 3.3 presents the global correspondences of all the segments used in the words collected in the survey. In section 3.4, we discuss about the dialect mapping (DLM). Section 3.5 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### **3.1 Wordlist comparison**

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

##### **3.1.1 Methodology**

The methodology comprises the collection of wordlists and tools used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, namely, Fikkal, Rungsung, Kholme, Drishya and Ambi from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in their locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex 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 entered in the WordSurv were exported as WordSurv 6 XML file to Cog for the comparison of the words collected in the five survey points in terms of the lexical and phonetic similarity.

Cog is a tool for comparing languages using lexicostatistics and comparative linguistics procedures. It can be used to automate much of the process of comparing wordlists from different language varieties.

### 3.1.2 Evaluation criteria

According to Regmi (2013:63), 60% has been generally taken as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. However, the 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using such a method, the speech varieties having a lexical similarity less than 60% are considered as different languages. However, languages (or dialects) with around 60% or greater lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors. Table 3.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages among the wordlists.

**Table 3.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity**

S.N.	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	

### 3.2 Lexical and phonetic similarity

In this section, we compare and analyze the 210 wordlist using a computer software COG, a recently developed program for lexical and phonetic comparison between and among dialects and languages. Cog allows us to compare and analyze wordlists from different language varieties using an iterative approach. Using this program, we can quickly make sense of the data and then more refine the wordlists and settings, improving the comparison results and the understanding of the varieties at each step. In this section, we, first, present the lexical similarity in percentage among the survey points in the Lapcha speech community and then phonetic similarities among the survey points.

#### 3.2.1 Lexical similarity

Lapcha presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the survey points. Table 3.2 presents the lexical similarity in percentage among the survey points in the Lapcha speech community in the Dhankuta district.

**Table 3.2: Lexical similarity of key points in the Lapcha speech community**

	Rungsung	Jogmai	Phikkal	Ambi	Drishya
Rungsung		89	89	85	86
Jogmai	89		94	86	89
Phikkal	89	94		92	90
Ambi	85	86	92		91
Drishya	86	89	90	91	

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 3.2 shows that Fikkal, the core area of Lapcha, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 89% to 90%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rungsung, Jogmai, Ambi and Drisya. Moreover, of the total 210 words, Drishya exhibits the highest similarity with Fikkal (i.e. 90%) and the least similarity with Rungsung (i.e., 89%).

### 3.2.2 Phonetic similarity

Lapcha presents different ranges of phonetic similarity percentages among the survey points. Table 3.3 presents the phonetic similarity percentage among the survey points in the Lapcha speech community.

**Table 3.3: Phonetic similarity in the key points (in percentage)**

	Rungsung	Phikkal	Ambi	Jogmai	Drishya
Rungsung		93	92	92	92
Phikkal	93		96	95	94
Ambi	92	96		91	93
Jogmai	92	95	91		92
Drishya	92	94	93	92	

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Quite similar to lexical similarity, Table 3.3 shows that Fikkal, the core area of Lapcha, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 93% to 94%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rungsung, Ambi, Jogmai and Drisya. Moreover, of the total 210 words, Ambi exhibits the highest similarity with Fikkal (i.e., 96%) and the least similarity with Rungsung (i.e., 93%), respectively.

This can also be presented in a hierarchical graph which displays the hierarchy of relation among the speech varieties based on COG.

**Figure 3.1: Similarities matrix in hierarchical dendrogram graphs:**

**(a) Lexical, and (b) phonetic**

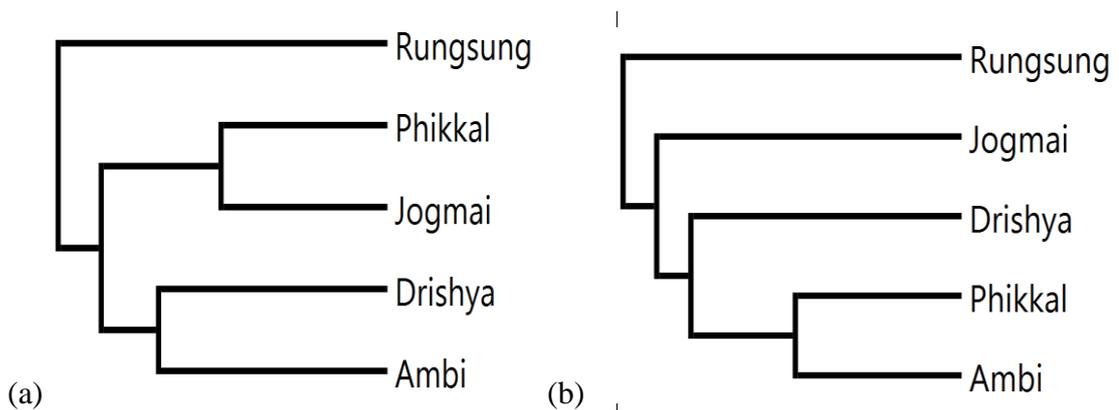
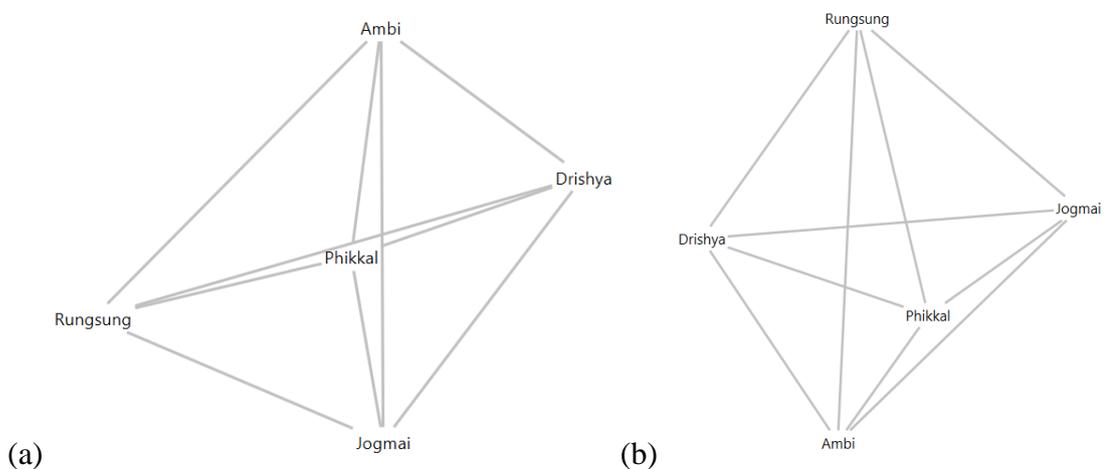


Figure 3.1 (a-b) shows speech varieties of Lapcha: (i) Rungsung, Fikkal-Jogmai and Drishya-Ambi, and (ii) Rungsung, Jogmai, Drishya and Fikkal-Ambi. Fikkal and Jomai are lexically closer to each other. Similarly, Drishya and Ambi are lexically similar each other. Regarding phonetic aspect, Fikkal and Ambi are phonetically closer each other.

Similarly, the network graph lays out the language varieties, where similar varieties will tend to cluster together. This can be represented in the form of lexical and phonetic network graph in Figure 3.2 (a-b).

**Figure 3.2: Similarity matrix network graph: (a) Lexical, and (b) phonetic**



Edges are drawn between varieties that meet a specified similarity threshold. This graph allows us to make clusters of similar varieties and how they might be connected. Figure 3.2 shows that Fikkal and Jogmai speech varieties of Lapcha are

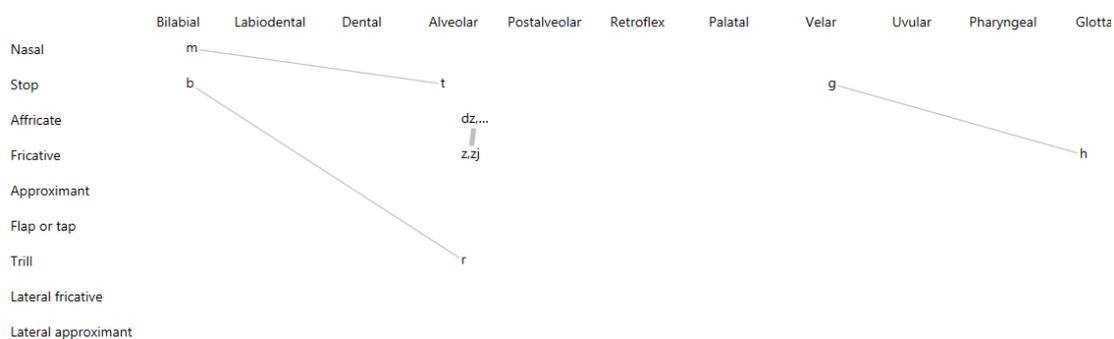
closely related to each other lexically. Similarly, Fikkal and Ambi speech varieties are closely related to each other phonetically.

### 3.3 Global correspondences

The global correspondence displays all of the segments that occur in a particular syllable position across the wordlists from all the five survey points. Edges indicate that at least one correspondence has occurred between those two segments. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences.

Figure 3.3 presents an IPA consonant chart (column headers are place of articulation; rows are manner of articulation) in their onset position.

**Figure 3.3: Global correspondence of Lapcha phonemes in onset positions**



This chart allows us to get a good sense of correspondences that occur across multiple variety pairs. Similarly, Figure 3.4 presents the corresponding of the different phonemes in their nucleus position. A number of phonemes have occurred in the nucleus position i.e. IPA vowel chart (column headers are backness; rows are height).

**Figure 3.4: Global correspondence of Lapcha phonemes in nucleus positions**

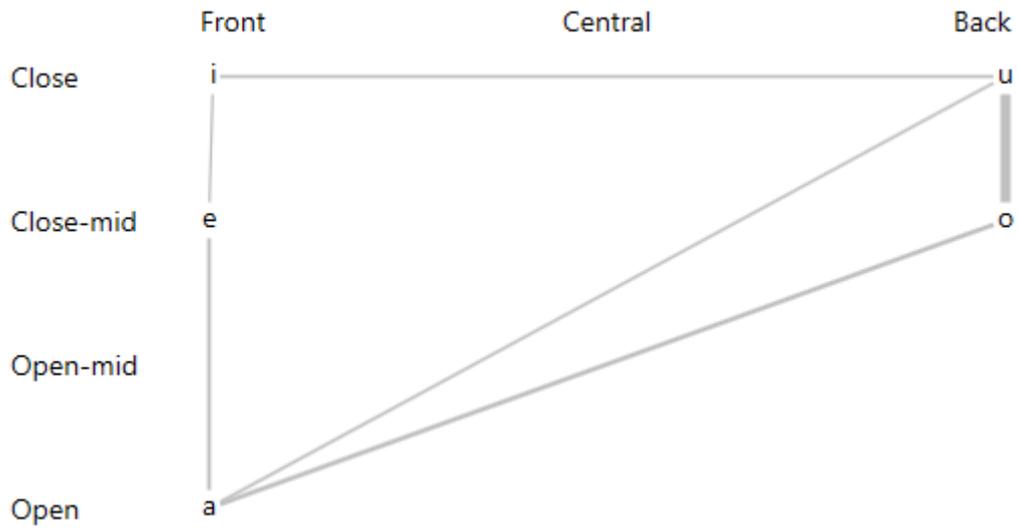
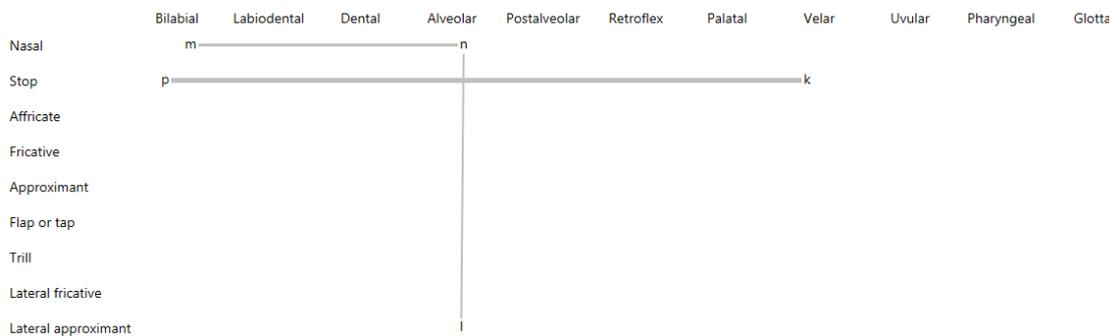


Figure 3.4 shows the vowels phonemes of Lapcha in nucleus position of the syllables. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences.

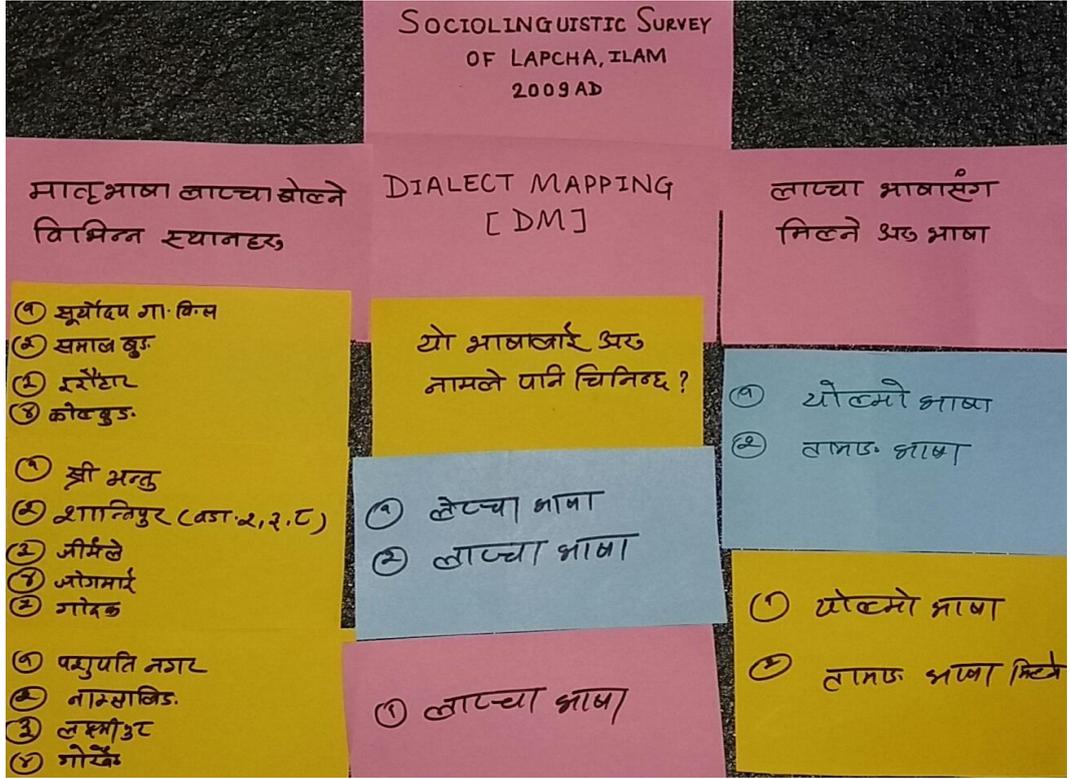
**Figure 3.4: Global correspondence of Lapcha phonemes in nucleus positions**



### 3.4 Dialect Mapping (DLM)

The Dialect Mapping (DM) tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any, in the Lapcha language. The informants in group in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where the Lapcha language is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. It is clearly shown in Photo 3.1.

Photo 3.1: Dialect Mapping (DM)



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Photo 3.1 presents the situation of dialect mapping in the Lapcha speech community. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as the Lapcha language speaking areas in Ilam: Suryodaya VDC, Samalbung, Irautar, Kolbung, Shree Antu, Shantipur (ward 2, 3, 8), Jirmale, Jogmai, Gorak, Pashupatinagar,

The participants were asked whether their mother tongue was called by other names by the non-Lapcha community. In response, they reported that their mother tongue was called by other names such as Lapcha and Lepcha. Similarly, the participants were asked which other languages were similar to their mother tongue. In response, they reported that Yolmo and Tamang languages were closer to their mother tongue.

### 3.5 Summary

Fikkal, the core area of Lapcha, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 89% to 90%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rungsung, Jogmai, Ambi and Drisya. Moreover, of the total 210 words, Drishya exhibits the highest similarity with Fikkal (i.e. 90%) and the least similarity with Rungsung (i.e., 89%). Quite similar to lexical similarity, Fikkal, the core area of Lapcha, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 93% to 94%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rungsung, Ambi, Jogmai and Drisya. Moreover, of the total 210 words, Ambi exhibits the highest similarity with Fikkal (i.e., 96%) and the least similarity with Rungsung (i.e., 93%), respectively. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as the Lapcha language speaking areas in Ilam: Suryodaya VDC, Samalbung, Irautar, Kolbung, Shree Antu, Shantipur (ward 2, 3, 8), Jirmale, Jogmai, Gorak, Pashupatinagar. The participants were asked whether their mother tongue was called by other names by the non-Lapcha community. In response, they reported that their mother tongue was called by other names such as Lapcha and Lepcha. Similarly, the participants were asked which other languages were similar to their mother tongue. In response, they reported that Yolmo and Tamang languages were closer to their mother tongue.

## CHAPTER 4

### DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

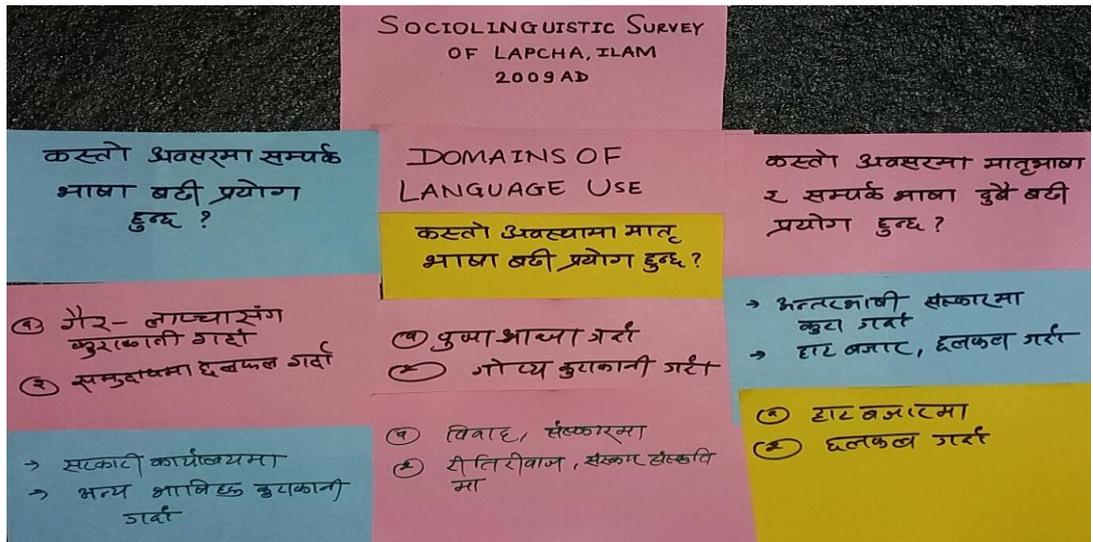
#### 4.0 Outline

This chapter looks at major domains of language use in Lapcha. It consists of seven sections. Section 4.1 deals with the domain of language use (DLU). In section 4.2, we discuss the patterns of language use in general domains. Section 4.3 looks at the frequency of use of the language of wider communication (LWC), whereas in section 4.4 present the frequency of use of mother tongue in Lapcha. Section 4.5 deals with the patterns of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting home. Likewise, in section 4.6, the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Finally, section 4.7 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 4.1 Domains of Language Use (DLU)

The Domains of Language Use (DLU) tool was used to help the community members think about and visualize about the persons and situations in which the mother tongue, the link language and both mother tongue and link language are mostly used. It is clearly shown in Photo 4.1.

Photo 4.1: Domains of Language Use (DLU)



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Photo 4.1 shows the information of different domains of language use. In link language (Nepali) use, the participants reported that it is used with non-Lapcha people, community discussion, at government offices, while talking to non-Lapcha speech communities, etc. Similarly, they also reported that they mostly used mother tongue in their rites, ritual activities, secret-talk, talking within community members, talking nuptial ceremony, etc. They reported that they mostly used both mother tongue and link language in interlanguage communication, discussion, talking to in the local market, etc.

#### 4.2 Patterns of language use in general domains

Pattern of language use is an interesting aspect of sociolinguistic study. It consists of various types of domains of language usage, which are pertinent to daily activities of human beings.

In this section, we examine the languages most frequently used by the Lapcha speakers in terms of sex, age and literacy in different domains consisting of counting, singing, chanting, joking, shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, blessing, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings, etc.

Table 4.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Lapcha speakers in different domains.

**Table 4.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains (N=60)**

	Domains	Languages		
		Lapcha	L & N	Nepali
1.	Counting	21 (35%)	24 (40%)	15 (25%)
2.	Singing	22 (37%)	22 (37%)	16 (26%)
3.	Joking	18 (30%)	22 (37%)	20 (33%)
4.	Shopping/Marketing	14 (23%)	16 (27%)	30 (50%)
5.	Story telling	15 (25%)	17 (28%)	28 (47%)

6.	Discussing/Debate	14 (23%)	17 (29%)	29 (48%)
7.	Praying	13 (23%)	19 (37%)	28 (40%)
8.	Quarrelling	14 (23%)	21 (35%)	25 (42%)
9.	Abusing (scolding)	12 (20%)	21 (35%)	27 (45%)
10.	Telling stories to children	14 (23%)	20 (35%)	26 (42%)
11.	Singing at home	12 (20%)	18 (30%)	30 (50%)
12.	Family gathering	22 (37%)	24 (40%)	14 (23%)
13.	Village meetings	17 (28%)	22 (37%)	21 (35%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.1 shows that a majority of the participants reported they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, in domains of counting, singing, joking, family gathering and village meeting, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Similarly, in domains of shopping, story-telling, debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

Table 4.2 presents the languages most frequently used by the Lapcha speakers in different domains by sex.

**Table 4.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex (N=60)<sup>1</sup>**

Domains	Sex					
	Female (n=22)			Male (n=38)		
	Lapcha	L & N	Nepali	Lapcha	L & N	Nepali

<sup>1</sup> Lap or L refers to “Lapcha”, Nep or N for “Nepali”

Counting	7 (32%)	8 (36%)	7 (32%)	14 (37%)	16 (42%)	8 (21%)
Singing	8 (36%)	9 (41%)	5 (23%)	14 (37%)	13 (34%)	11 (29%)
Joking	6 (27%)	8 (37%)	8 (36%)	12 (32%)	14 (37%)	12 (31%)
Shopping/Marketing	6 (27%)	7 (32%)	9 (41%)	8 (21%)	9 (24%)	21 (55%)
Story telling	6 (27%)	7 (32%)	9 (41%)	9 (24%)	10 (26%)	19 (50%)
Discussing/Debate	6 (27%)	7 (32%)	9 (41%)	8 (21%)	10 (26%)	20 (53%)
Praying	5 (23%)	8 (36%)	9 (41%)	8 (21%)	11 (29%)	19 (50%)
Quarrelling	6 (27%)	9 (41%)	7 (32%)	8 (21%)	12 (32%)	18 (47%)
Abusing (scolding)	5 (23%)	9 (41%)	8 (36%)	7 (19%)	13 (34%)	18 (47%)
Telling stories to children	5 (23%)	8 (36%)	9 (41%)	9 (24%)	12 (32%)	17 (44%)
Singing at home	5 (23%)	7 (32%)	10 (45%)	7 (19%)	11 (28%)	20 (53%)
Family gathering	8 (36%)	9 (41%)	5 (23%)	14 (37%)	15 (39%)	9 (24%)
Village meetings	8 (38%)	9 (41%)	5 (23%)	9 (24%)	13 (34%)	16 (42%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.2 shows the gender category of the participants, languages most frequently used in the different domains and the response of the participants. Nepali has been the language of wider communication (LWC) in Lapcha community.

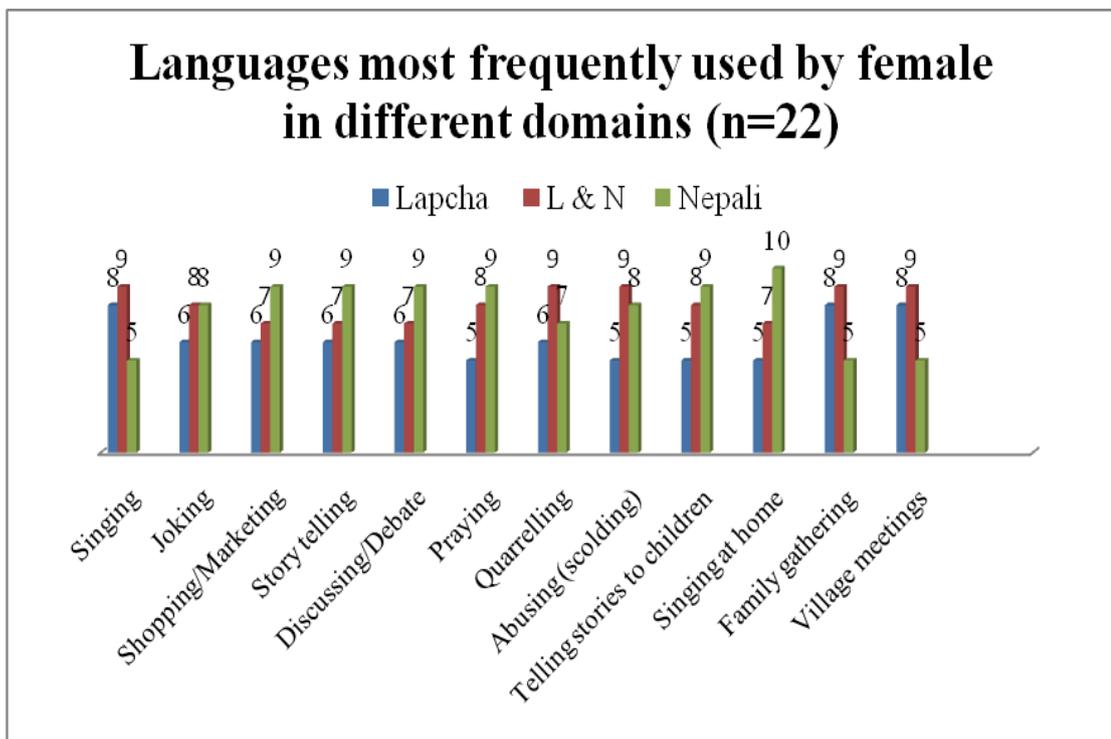
In female participant category, regarding the domain of counting, singing, and joking, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used both Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Regarding shopping, story-telling, debate and praying, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. Under the domain of quarreling and abusing, a majority of the participants reported that they frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In the domain of telling stories to children, and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used

Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. Concerning the domain of family gatherings, and village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.

Regarding male participants, in the domain of counting, singing and joking, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Concerning the domain of shopping, story-telling, debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. With regard to the domain of family gathering, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In the domain of village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

The patterns of language use in different domains are presented in the following figures.

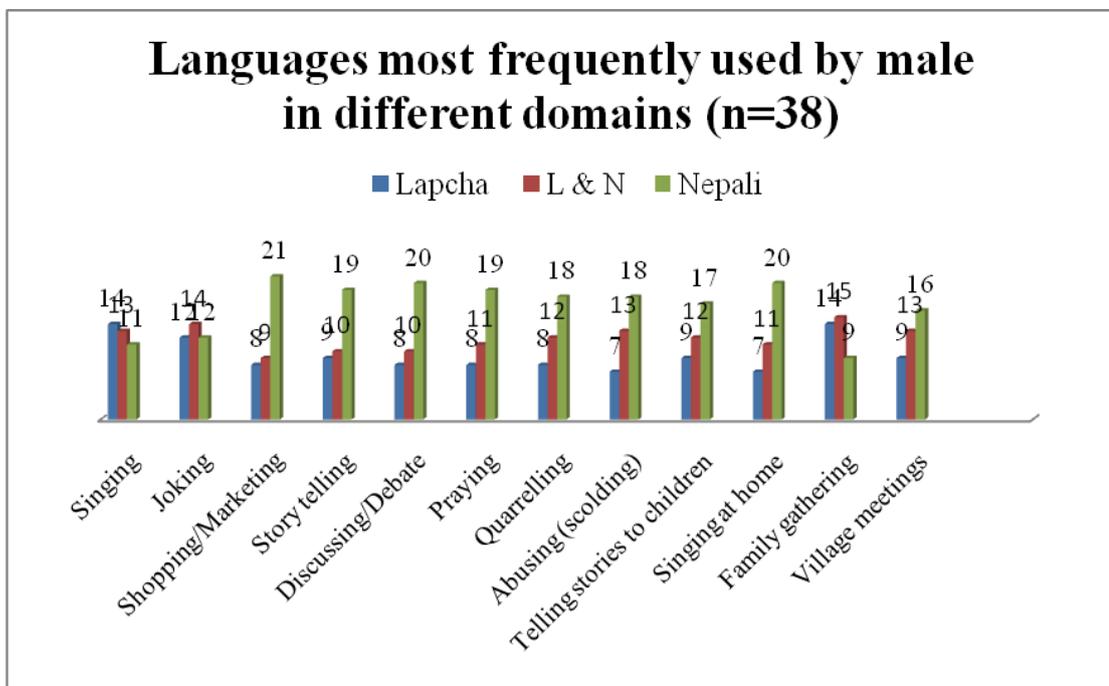
**Figure 4.1: Languages most frequently used by female in different domains**



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Figure 4.1 shows that in domains of joking, shopping, story telling, discussion, praying, telling stories to children, and singing at home, a majority of the female participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In domains of singing, quarreling, family gathering and village meetings, a majority of the female participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.

**Figure 4.2: Languages most frequently used by male in different domains**



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Figure 4.2 shows the male participants and their responses on languages most frequently used in different domains. In this regard, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of joking, and family gatherings, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In domains of shopping, story telling, debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

The age groups of the total participants are categorized into three as A<sub>1</sub> (n=15), A<sub>2</sub> (n=30) and A<sub>3</sub> (n=15). The group A<sub>1</sub> consists of age margin from 15 to 29; A<sub>2</sub> from 30 to 59; and A<sub>3</sub> from 60 and above.

Table 4.3 presents the age group, the languages most frequently used in different domains.

**Table 4.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by age (N=60)**

(A<sub>1</sub>=15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-59 years, A<sub>3</sub>=60 + years)

Domains	Age groups								
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)			A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)			A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
<b>Counting</b>	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)	10 (33%)	14 (47%)	6 (20%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
<b>Singing</b>	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)	12 (40%)	13 (43%)	5 (17%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
<b>Joking</b>	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	10 (33%)	12 (40%)	8 (27%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)
<b>Bargaining/ Shopping</b>	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)	7 (23%)	8 (27%)	15 (50%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	7 (46%)
<b>Story telling</b>	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)	8 (27%)	8 (27%)	14 (47%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)
<b>Discussing/ Debate</b>	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)	7 (23%)	9 (30%)	14 (47%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	7 (46%)
<b>Praying</b>	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	7 (23%)	10 (33%)	13 (44%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)
<b>Quarrelling</b>	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)	6 (20%)	10 (33%)	14 (47%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
<b>Abusing (scolding)</b>	3 (20%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	6 (20%)	10 (33%)	14 (47%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)
<b>Telling stories</b>	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	7 (23%)	10 (33%)	13 (44%)	4 (27%)	4 (26%)	7 (47%)
<b>Singing at home</b>	3	5	7	6	8	16	3	5	7

	(20%)	(33%)	(47%)	(20%)	(27%)	(53%)	(20%)	(33%)	(47%)
<b>Family gatherings</b>	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)	11 (37%)	14 (46%)	5 (17%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
<b>Village meetings</b>	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	8 (27%)	12 (40%)	10 (33%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

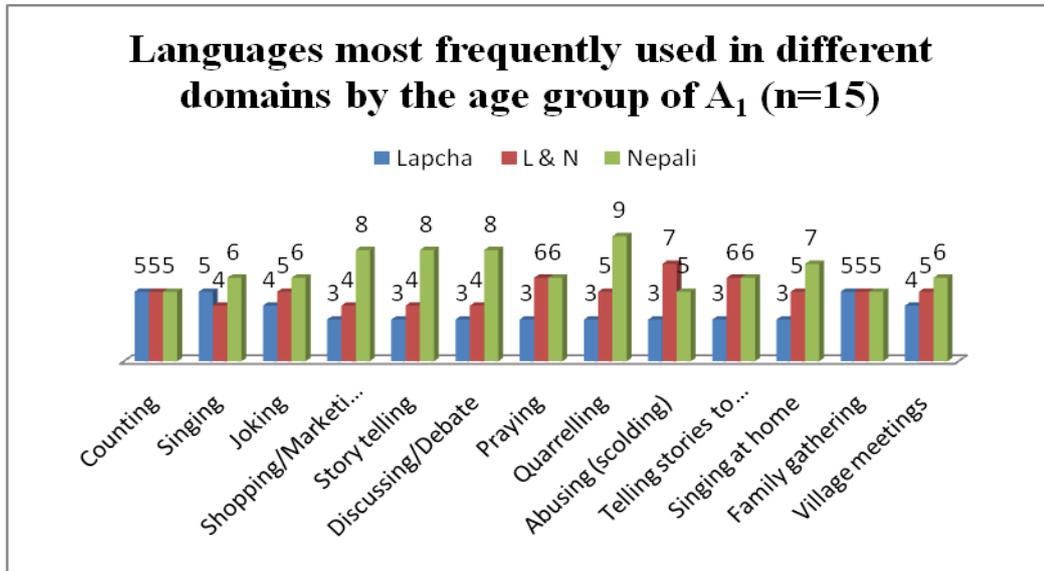
Table 4.3 shows the three age groups of the participants and their responses on the various domains in which languages are most frequently used.

In regard to age group of A<sub>1</sub> (n=15), a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, shopping, story-telling, discussion, praying, and quarreling, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In domains of abusing and telling stories to children, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In domains of singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

In the age group of A<sub>2</sub> (n=30), a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of counting, singing, and joking, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In domains of shopping, story telling, debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

Similarly, under domain of the age group of A<sub>3</sub> (n=15), a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of joking, shopping, story telling, debate, and praying, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In domains of counting, singing, family gatherings, and village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

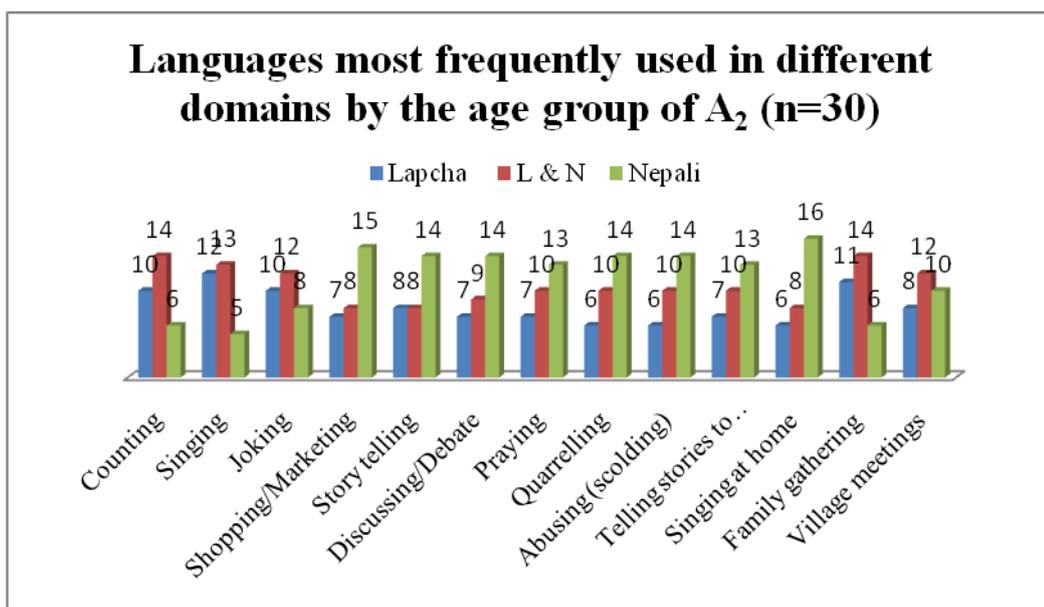
**Figure 4.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by the age group of A<sub>1</sub> (n=15)**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.3 shows the responses of the participants of the age group of A<sub>1</sub> in various domains of language use. The figure clearly shows that a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, story-telling, discussion, praying, quarreling, telling stories to children, signing at home and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

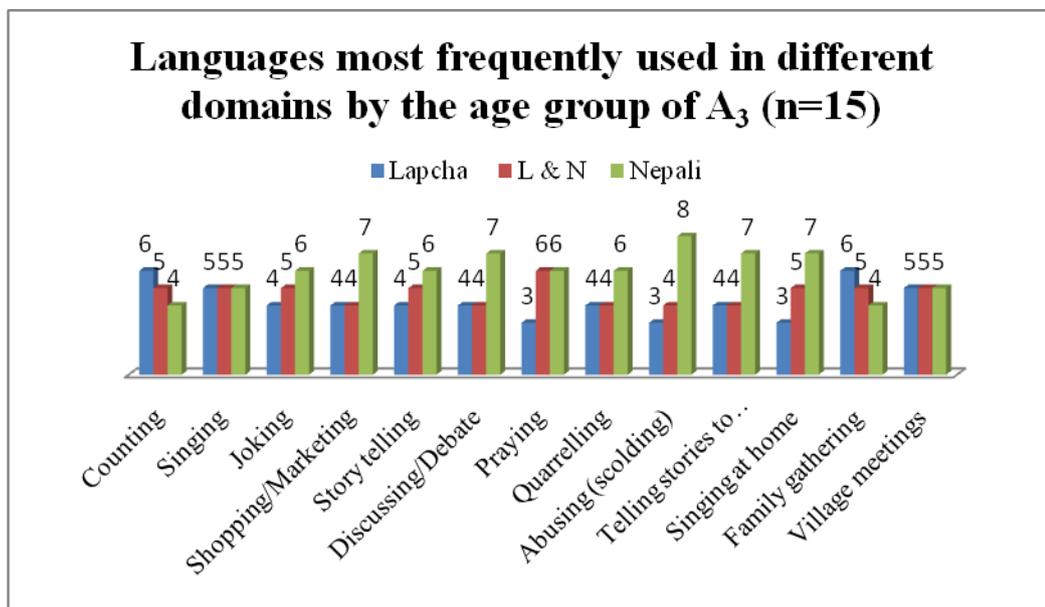
**Figure 4.4: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A<sub>2</sub> (n=30)**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.4 shows the responses of the participants of the age group of A<sub>2</sub> in various domains of language use. The figure clearly shows that a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, family gatherings, and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In domains of shopping, story telling, debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali, and Lapcha, respectively.

**Figure 4.5: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A<sub>3</sub> (n=15)**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.5 shows the responses of the participants of the age group of A<sub>3</sub> in various domains of language use. The figure clearly shows that a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of joking, shopping story telling, debate, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, and singing at home, which is followed by Lapcha and Lapcha-Nepali, respectively.

In domains of counting, family gatherings and village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

Table 4.4 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy

**Table 4.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy**

Domains	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L & N	Nepali	Lapcha	L & N	Nepali
Counting	16 (36%)	18 (40%)	11 (24%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Singing	16 (36%)	17 (38%)	12 (26%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Joking	14 (31%)	16 (36%)	15 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)
Shopping	11 (24%)	12 (27%)	22 (49%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (54%)
Story telling	12 (27%)	13 (29%)	20 (44%)	3 (30%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)
Discussing	11 (24%)	13 (29%)	21 (47%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)
Praying	10 (22%)	14 (31%)	21 (47%)	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (39%)
Quarrelling	11 (24%)	15 (34%)	19 (42%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)
Abusing (scolding)	10 (22%)	16 (36%)	19 (42%)	2 (13%)	5 (34%)	8 (53%)
Telling stories to children	11 (24%)	15 (34%)	19 (42%)	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)
Singing at home	9 (20%)	14 (31%)	22 (49%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)	8 (53%)
Family gatherings	16 (36%)	18 (40%)	11 (24%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	3 (20%)
Village meetings	12 (27%)	17 (37%)	16 (36%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)

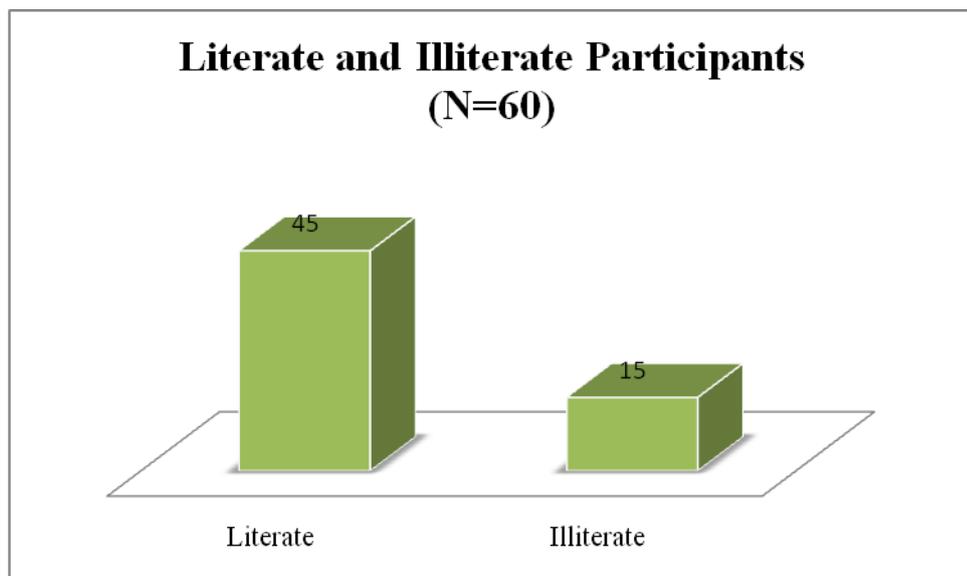
Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.4 shows the literacy category of the sixty participants and their response under the different domains of language use. With regard to literate category (n=45), a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, family gatherings and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In domains of joking, shopping, story telling, discussion, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that the most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

With regard to the illiterate category of the participants (n=15), a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha in domains of singing, family gatherings and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. In domains of counting and joking, a majority of the participants reported that the most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In domains of shopping, story telling, discussion, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that the most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

The data clearly shows that those who are literate are more prone to shifting to Nepali in Lapcha community. The information of the participants regarding literate and illiterate and the languages most frequently used by literate and illiterate participants are more clearly presented in the following figure.

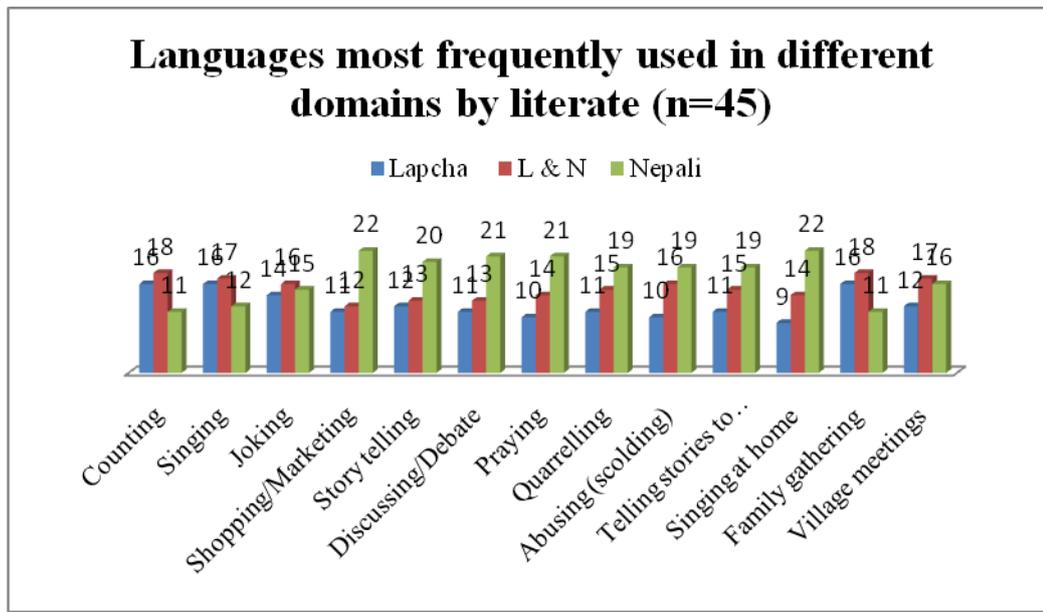
**Figure 4.6: Literate and Illiterate Participants (N=60)**



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Figure 4.6 shows that a majority of the participants (70%) fall under the category of literate group and a minority (30%) as category of illiterate group.

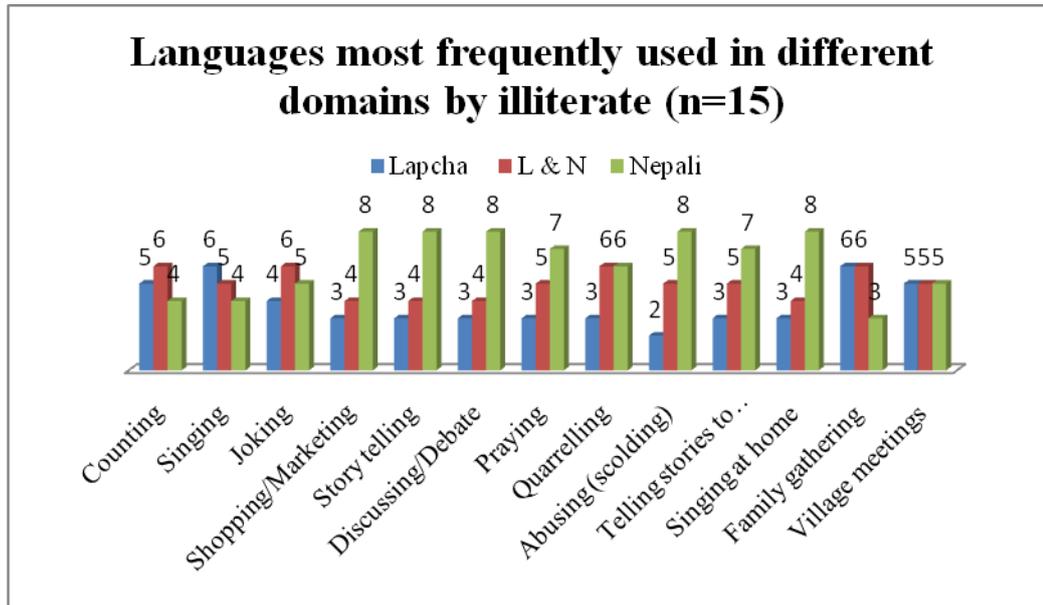
**Figure 4.7: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literate (n=45)**



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Figure 4.7 shows that a majority of the literate participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, family gatherings and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. In domains of shopping, story telling, discussion, praying, quarrelling, abusing, and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

**Figure 4.8: Languages most frequently used in different domains by illiterate (n=15)**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.8 shows that a majority of the illiterate participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of counting, joking, family gatherings and village meetings, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In domains of shopping, story telling, debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

#### **4.2.1 Patterns of language use at home**

So far as the patterns of language use at home in Lapcha community, it is considered as one of the major domains of language use. In this sub-section, we deal with the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about different topics: education matters, discussing social events and other family matters and in writing letters in the following sub-sections.

#### **4.2.2 Patterns of language use at home while talking about education matters**

Table 4.5 presents the languages most frequently used while talking about education matters like school, admission, studies, teacher with different family members by sex.

**Table 4.5: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex**

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

Domains	Sex					
	Female (n=22)			Male (n=38)		
	Lapcha	L & N	Nepali	Lapcha	L & N	Nepali
Grandfather	10 (45%)	7 (32%)	5 (23%)	18 (47%)	12 (32%)	8 (21%)
Grandmother	10 (45%)	7 (32%)	5 (23%)	18 (47%)	12 (32%)	8 (21%)
Father	9 (41%)	7 (32%)	6 (27%)	15 (39%)	14 (37%)	9 (24%)
Mother	9 (41%)	7 (32%)	6 (27%)	15 (39%)	14 (37%)	9 (24%)
Spouse	7 (32%)	8 (36%)	7 (32%)	13 (35%)	15 (39%)	10 (26%)
Children	6 (28%)	8 (36%)	8 (36%)	12 (32%)	15 (39%)	11 (29%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.5 shows the responses on the language most frequently used by the female and male participants with their grandfather, grandmother, father and mother while talking about educational matter like school, admission, studies, school teachers, etc.

Concerning the female participants, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali, respectively. In domains of spouse and children, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

Similarly, concerning the male participants, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha, with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. In domain of

spouse, and children, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.

Table 4.6 presents the languages most frequently used while talking about education matters like school, admission, studies, teacher with different family members by age.

**Table 4.6: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)**

(A<sub>1</sub>=15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-59 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 +)

Domain	Age groups								
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)			A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)			A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Grandfather	7 (47%)	4 (26%)	4 (27%)	13 (26%)	11 (37%)	6 (37%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Grandmother	7 (47%)	4 (26%)	4 (27%)	13 (26%)	11 (37%)	6 (37%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Father	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)	12 (33%)	11 (37%)	7 (30%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
Mother	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)	12 (33%)	11 (37%)	7 (30%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
Spouse	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	13 (33%)	10 (41%)	7 (26%)	4 (27%)	7 (46%)	4 (27%)
Children	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)	12 (30%)	12 (44%)	6 (26%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.6 shows the three types of age group of the participants such as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub> and their responses on the educational matters like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc. With regard to age group A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

In A<sub>2</sub> category,

Similarly, under the category of A<sub>3</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. In domain of

spouse and children, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.

The participants are categorized into two groups as literate and illiterate and their responses on educational matters. Regarding this issue,

Table 4.7 presents the languages most frequently used while talking about education matters like school, admission, studies, teacher with different family members by literacy.

**Table 4.7: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy** (Talking about education matters like school, admission, studies, etc.)

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Grandfather	21 (47%)	15 (33%)	9 (20%)	7 (46%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)
Grandmother	21 (29%)	15 (35%)	9 (36%)	7 (28%)	4 (39%)	4 (33%)
Father	19 (42%)	16 (36%)	10 (22%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
Mother	19 (26%)	16 (33%)	10 (41%)	5 (28%)	5 (39%)	5 (33%)
Spouse	16 (36%)	18 (40%)	11 (24%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)
Children	14 (31%)	17 (38%)	14 (31%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.7: shows responses of the participants on languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy while talking about education matters such as school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.

With regard to literate category, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, spouse, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. In domain of spouse and children, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.

Similarly, concerning the illiterate category, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. In domain of

#### **4.2.3 Patterns of language use at home while discussing social events and family matters**

The participants were asked whether they used mother tongue or other languages at home while discussing social events and family matters such as festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.

Table 4.8 presents the languages most frequently used with different family members by sex.

**Table 4.8: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex (Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.))**

Domain	Sex					
	Female (n=22)			Male (n=38)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Grandfather	11 (50%)	6 (27%)	5 (23%)	18 (47%)	12 (32%)	8 (21%)
Grandmother	11 (29%)	6 (36%)	5 (36%)	18 (28%)	12 (38%)	8 (34%)
Father	10 (45%)	7 (32%)	5 (23%)	16 (42%)	13 (34%)	9 (24%)
Mother	10 (29%)	7 (32%)	5 (39%)	16 (25%)	13 (37%)	9 (38%)
Spouse	8 (36%)	7 (32%)	7 (32%)	14 (37%)	15 (39%)	9 (24%)
Children	7 (32%)	8 (36%)	7 (32%)	13 (34%)	15 (39%)	10 (27%)

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.8 shows the sex category of the participants and their responses on the subject matter of discussing social events and their family matters like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.

With regard to female participants, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used the Lapcha language with their grandfather, grandmother, mother and spouse, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

With regard to male participants, a majority of the participants also reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

Concerning the age category of the participants, Table 4.9 presents the languages most frequently used with the relatives at home while discussing social events and family matters.

**Table 4.9: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age**  
(A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 +)

Domain	Age group								
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)			A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)			A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)		
	Lap	L&N	Nep	Lap	L&N	Nep	Lap	L&N	Nep
Grandfather	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	14 (47%)	9 (30%)	7 (23%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Grandmother	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	14 (47%)	9 (30%)	7 (23%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Father	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	15 (50%)	9 (30%)	6 (20%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Mother	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	15 (50%)	9 (30%)	6 (20%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	13 (43%)	11 (37%)	6 (20%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Children	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)	13 (43%)	13 (44%)	4 (13%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.9 shows the participants' age groups as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub> and their responses on discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.

With regard to age group A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather and grandfather, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. They also reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali with mother and spouse, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

With regard to age group A<sub>2</sub>, all of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha-Nepali, respectively.

With regard to age group A<sub>3</sub>, a majority of the participants also reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

Concerning the literacy category of the participants, Table 4.10 presents the languages most frequently used at home while discussing social events and family matters by literacy.

**Table 4.10: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy**

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Grandfather	21 (47%)	14 (31%)	10 (22%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Grandmother	21 (47%)	14 (31%)	10 (22%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Father	19 (42%)	16 (36%)	10 (22%)	7 (47%)	4 (26%)	4 (27%)
Mother	19 (42%)	16 (36%)	10 (22%)	7 (47%)	4 (26%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	16 (36%)	17 (38%)	12 (26%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Children	15 (33%)	18 (40%)	12 (27%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.10 shows the participants' literate and illiterate category and their responses on languages most frequently used with different family members while discussing social events and family matters like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.

Concerning the literate group, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

Regarding the illiterate group, all of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha mother tongue with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

#### 4.2.4 Patterns of language use at home while writing letters

The patterns of language that is most frequently used at home with different family members are presented as in the Table 4.11.

**Table 4.11: Languages most frequently used with family members by sex**

Domain	Sex					
	Female (n=22)			Male (n=38)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Grandfather	8 (36%)	6 (28%)	8 (36%)	14 (37%)	9 (24%)	15 (39%)
Grandmother	8 (36%)	6 (28%)	8 (36%)	14 (37%)	9 (24%)	15 (39%)
Father	7 (32%)	7 (32%)	8 (36%)	14 (37%)	11 (29%)	13 (34%)
Mother	7 (32%)	7 (32%)	8 (36%)	14 (37%)	11 (29%)	13 (34%)
Spouse	6 (27%)	7 (32%)	9 (41%)	13 (34%)	11 (29%)	14 (37%)
Children	5 (23%)	7 (32%)	10 (45%)	12 (32%)	13 (34%)	13 (34%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.11 shows the sex category of the participants and their responses on language most frequently used use with their different family members while writing letters. In this regard, a majority of the female participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

Concerning the male participants, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, and spouse, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

Concerning the age category of the participants, Table 4.12 presents the languages most frequently used with different family matters by age while writing letters.

**Table 4.12: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age while writing letters (A<sub>1</sub> = 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub> = 30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub> = 60 +)**

Domain	Age groups								
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)			A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)			A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)		
	Lap	L&N	Nep	Lap	L&N	Nep	Lap	L&N	Nep
Grandfather	4 (27%)	4 (26%)	7 (47%)	13 (43%)	7 (24%)	10 (33%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Grandmother	4 (27%)	4 (26%)	7 (47%)	13 (43%)	7 (24%)	10 (33%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Father	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)	14 (47%)	8 (26%)	8 (27%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)
Mother	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)	14 (47%)	8 (26%)	8 (27%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)
Spouse	2 (13%)	4 (27%)	9 (60%)	14 (47%)	9 (30%)	7 (23%)	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)
Children	2 (13%)	3 (20%)	10 (67%)	12 (40%)	12 (40%)	6 (20%)	3 (20%)	5 (33%)	7 (47%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.12 shows the age category of the participants as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub> and their responses on language most frequently used use with their different family members while writing letters. Concerning the age group A<sub>1</sub>, all of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

With regard to age group A<sub>2</sub>, all of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

With regard to age group A<sub>3</sub>, all of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

The participants are categorized into two groups as literate and illiterate and their responses on languages most frequently used with different family members while writing letters. Regarding the issue,

Table 4.13 presents the languages most frequently used while writing letters.

**Table 4.13: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy (while writing letters)**

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Grandfather	16 (36%)	11 (24%)	18 (40%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Grandmother	16 (36%)	11 (24%)	18 (40%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Father	15 (43%)	13 (29%)	17 (38%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Mother	15 (43%)	13 (29%)	17 (38%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	14 (31%)	13 (29%)	18 (40%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
Children	13 (29%)	15 (43%)	17 (38%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.13 shows the literacy category of the participants and their responses on language most frequently used use with their different family members while writing letters. Regarding literate category, all of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

Concerning the illiterate category, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha with their grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively.

#### 4.2.5 Patterns of language use by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children while playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. The responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in the Table 4.14.

**Table 4.14: Languages usually spoken by the children**

Domains	Sex					
	Female (n=22)			Male (n=38)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Playing with other children	6 (27%)	8 (37%)	8 (36%)	12 (32%)	13 (34%)	13 (34%)
Talking with neighbors	6 (27%)	7 (32%)	9 (41%)	12 (32%)	12 (32%)	14 (36%)
At school	5 (23%)	8 (36%)	9 (41%)	10 (26%)	13 (34%)	15 (40%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.14 shows the sex category of the participants and their responses on patterns of language used by their children while playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Regarding this issue, all of the female and male participants reported that their children mostly used Nepali while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

Table 4.15 presents the responses of the participants (as the age category) in issue language used by their children.

**Table 4.15: Languages usually spoken by children**(A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 + years)

Domains	Age groups								
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)			A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)			A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)		
	Lap	L&N	Nep	Lap	L&N	Nep	Lap	L&N	Nep
Playing with other children	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)	8 (27%)	10 (33%)	12 (40%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Talking with neighbors	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	9 (30%)	9 (30%)	12 (40%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
At school	3 (20%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	9 (30%)	8 (27%)	13 (43%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.15 shows the participants' age groups of A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>3</sub> and their responses on the language used by their children in different domains like playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school.

With regard to age group A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>, all of the participants reported that their children most frequently used Nepali, while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

In age group A<sub>3</sub>, all of the participants reported that their children most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.

The participants are categorized into two groups as literate and illiterate and their responses on the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Regarding this issue, the responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in the Table 4.16.

**Table 4.16: Languages usually spoken by children in different domains by literacy**

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali	Lapcha	L&N	Nepali
Playing with other children	14 (31%)	16 (36%)	15 (33%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)
Talking with neighbors	13 (29%)	15 (33%)	17 (38%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
At school	11 (24%)	16 (36%)	18 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.16 shows the participants' literacy category as literate and illiterate and their responses on the language used by their children in different domains like playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school.

In literate category, a majority of the participants also reported that their children most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, while playing with other children, which is followed by Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. A majority of the participants reported that their children most frequently used Nepali while talking with neighbors and at school, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

In illiterate category, all of the participants reported that their children most frequently used Nepali, while playing with other children, talking with neighbor and at school, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.

#### **4.2.6 Patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations**

The participants were asked what languages they used in the community for marriage invitations. Regarding this issue, the responses of the participants from Lapcha community are presented as in the Table 4.17.

**Table 4.17: Languages used for marriage invitations in the community**

Domain	Sex		Total (N = 60)
	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	
Lapcha	9 (41%)	15 (39%)	24 (40%)
Lapcha & Nepali	7 (32%)	14 (37%)	21 (35%)
Nepali	6 (27%)	9 (24%)	15 (25%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.17 shows the gender category of the participants and their responses on languages used for marriage invitation in the community. In female category, a majority of the participants (41%) reported that they most frequently used Lapcha, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (32%) and Nepali (32%), respectively. In male category, a majority of the participants (39%) reported that they most frequently used Lapcha, which is followed by Lapcha (37%) and Nepali (24%) respectively.

**Table 4.18: Languages used for marriage invitations by the community by age**

(A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 + years)

Domain	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)	A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)	A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)	
Lapcha	6 (40%)	11 (37%)	7 (47%)	24 (40%)
Lapcha & Nepali	5 (33%)	11 (37%)	5 (33%)	21 (35%)
Nepali	4 (27%)	8 (26%)	3 (20%)	15 (25%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.18 shows participants' age category as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub> and their responses on languages used for marriage invitation in the community. In age group A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants (40%) reported that they most frequently used Lapcha for marriage invitation in the community, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (33%) and Nepali (27%), respectively. In age group A<sub>2</sub>, a majority of the participants (37%) reported that they most frequently used Lapcha (37%), which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (37%) and Nepali (26%), respectively. In age group A<sub>3</sub>, a majority of the participants (47%) reported that they most frequently used Lapcha, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (37%) and Nepali (26%), respectively.

**Table 4.19: Languages used for marriage invitations in the community**

Domain	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Lapcha	18 (40%)	6 (40%)	24 (40%)
Lapcha & Nepali	16 (36%)	5 (33%)	21 (35%)
Nepali	11 (24%)	4 (27%)	15 (25%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.19 shows the literacy category of the participants and their responses on language used for marriage invitation in the community. With regard to literate participants, a majority of the participants (40%) reported that they mostly used Lapcha for marriage invitation in the community, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (36%) and Nepali (24%), respectively. Similarly, regarding illiterate category, a majority of the participants (40%) reported that they mostly used Lapcha for marriage invitation in the community, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (33%) and Nepali (27%), respectively.

#### 4.2.7 Patterns of language use in writing the minutes of the community meetings

The participants were asked what language they usually used while writing minutes of the community meetings. The responses of the participants in this subject matter are presented in the following tables.

**Table 4.20: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings**

Domain	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	
Lapcha	-	-	-
Lapcha & Nepali	-	-	-
Nepali	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.20 shows gender category of the participants and their responses on language use in writing minutes of the community meetings. In this regard, all male and female participants reported that they usually used Nepali to write minutes of community meetings.

**Table 4.21: Languages usually used to write minutes of community meetings**

(A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 + years)

Language	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)	A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)	A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)	
Lapcha	-	-	-	-
Lapcha & Nepali	-	-	-	-
Nepali	15 (100%)	30 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.21 shows participants' age groups as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub>, and their responses on the issue of languages usually used to write minutes of community meetings. Concerning the issue, all the participants reported that they usually used Nepali for writing minutes of community meetings.

**Table 4.22: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy**

Language	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Lapcha	-	-	-
Lapcha & Nepali	-	-	-
Nepali	45 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.22 shows participants' literacy category and their responses on the issue of languages usually used to write minutes of community meetings. Concerning the issue, all the literate and illiterate participants reported that they usually used Nepali for writing minutes of community meetings.

#### **4.3 The frequency of mother tongue use**

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue in practical life. The following tables present the frequency of use of mother tongue by sex, age and literacy.

**Table 4.23: The frequency of mother tongue use by sex**

Domain	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	
Everyday	17 (77%)	27 (71%)	44 (73%)
Rarely	5 (23%)	11 (29%)	16 (27%)
Never	-	-	-

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.23 shows participants' gender category and their responses on the issue of frequency of the use of mother tongue. Concerning the issue, a majority of the female participants (77%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life. However, a minority of the participants (23%) reported that they rarely used mother tongue everyday in their practical life.

Concerning male participants, a majority of the participants (71%) also reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life. However, a minority of the participants (29%) reported that they rarely used mother tongue in their practical life. In total, a majority of the participants (73%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life, which is followed by rarely (27%).

**Table 4.24: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by age**

Domain	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)	A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)	A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)	
Everyday	10 (67%)	23 (77%)	11 (73%)	44 (73%)
Rarely	5 (33%)	7 (23%)	4 (27%)	16 (27%)
Never	-	-	-	-

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.24 shows participants' age group as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub>, and their responses on mother tongue use in their daily life. Regarding age group A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants (67%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life, which is followed by rarely (33%). With regard to age group A<sub>2</sub>, a majority of the participants (77%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life, which is followed by rarely (23%). Similarly, with regard to age group A<sub>3</sub>, a majority of the participants (73%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life, which is followed by rarely (27%). In total, a majority of the participants (73%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their practical life, which is followed by rarely (27%).

**Table 4.25: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by literacy**

Domain	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Everyday	35 (78%)	9 (60%)	44 (73%)
Rarely	10 (22%)	6 (40%)	16 (27%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.25 shows literacy category of the participants and their response on the use of mother tongue. With regard to literate participants, a majority of the participants (78%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their daily life, which is followed by rarely (22%). With regard to illiterate participants, a majority of the participants (60%) reported that they used mother tongue everyday in their daily life, which is followed by rarely (40%). In total, a majority of the participants (73%) reported that they used mother tongue in their practical life, which is followed by rarely (27%).

#### 4.4 The frequency of the language use of wider communication

Generally, in Lapcha community, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. The following tables present participants' responses regarding the frequency of language use of wider communication by sex, age and literacy.

**Table 4.26: The frequency of the language use of wider communication by sex**

Domain	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	
Everyday	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)
Rarely	-	-	-
Never	-	-	-

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.26 shows the frequency of language use of wider communication by sex category of the participants. With regard to female and male participants, all reported that they used Nepali everyday as the language of wider communication.

**Table 4.27: The frequency of the language use of wider communication by age**

(A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 + years)

Domain	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)	A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)	A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)	
Everyday	15 (100%)	30 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)
Rarely	-	-	-	-

Never	-	-	-	-
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Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.27 shows the participants' age group as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub> and their response on language use of wider communication in their daily life. In this regard, all the participants reported that they always used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their practical life.

**Table 4.28: The frequency of language use of wider communication by literacy**

Domain	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Everyday	45 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)
Rarely	-	-	-
Never	-	-	-

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.28 shows the literacy category of the participants and their response on language use of wider communication. Concerning the literacy category, all the participants reported that they always used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their practical life.

#### **4.5 Pattern of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting at home**

We can evaluate the vitality of a language by examining the patterns of language use while the speakers of other languages visit the mother tongue speakers at home. The responses of the participants in this subject matter are presented in the following tables.

**Table 4.29: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by sex**

Language	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	
Lapcha	-	-	-

Lapcha & Nepali	-	-	-
Nepali	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.29 shows the gender category and the responses of the participants on language usually used when speakers of other language visit at home. Concerning the responses of both male and female, all participants reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

**Table 4.30: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by age**

(A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 +)

Language	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)	A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)	A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)	
Lapcha	-	-	-	-
Lapcha & Nepali	-	-	-	-
Nepali	15 (100%)	30 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Table 4.30 shows age group of the participants as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, and A<sub>3</sub> and their responses on language usually used when speakers of other language visit at home. Concerning the age groups, all participants reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

**Table 4.31: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by literacy**

Language	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Lapcha	-	-	-
Lapcha & Nepali	-	-	-
Nepali	45 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.31 shows literacy category of the participants and their responses on language usually used when speakers of other language visit at home. In this issue, all participants reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

#### **4.6 Preference of language 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.

The following tables present the preference of language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex, age and literacy.

**Table 4.32: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex**

Language	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	
Lapcha	17 (77%)	30 (79%)	47 (79%)
Nepali	3 (14%)	5 (13%)	8 (13%)
English	2 (9%)	3 (8%)	5 (8%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

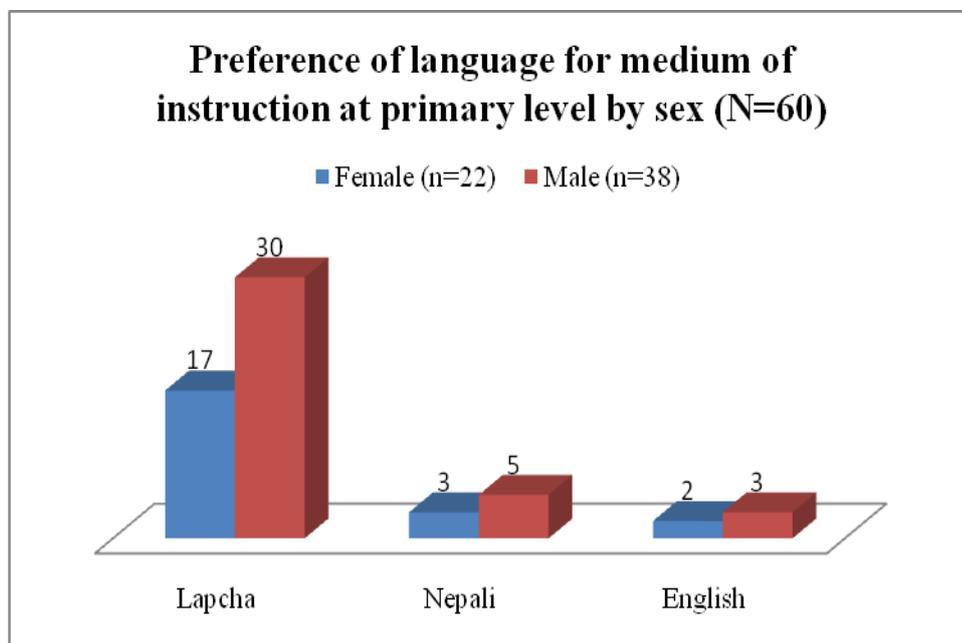
Table 4.32 shows the gender category of the participants and their response on preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level. With regard to female participants, a majority of the participants (77%) reported that they preferred to their mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (14%) and English (9%), respectively.

With regard to male participants, a majority of the participants (79%) reported that they preferred to their mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (13%) and English (8%), respectively.

In total, a majority of the participants (79%) reported that they preferred to their mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (13%) and English (8%), respectively.

Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex is presented in Figure 4.8.

**Figure 4.8: Preference of language for medium of instruction at primary level**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.8 shows that a majority of the male and female participants from the Lapcha community have prioritized their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary, which is followed by Nepali and English, respectively.

**Table 4.33: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by age (A<sub>1</sub>= 15-29 years, A<sub>2</sub>=30-60 years, A<sub>3</sub>= 60 + years)**

Language	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A <sub>1</sub> (n=15)	A <sub>2</sub> (n=30)	A <sub>3</sub> (n=15)	
Lapcha	10 (67%)	22 (73%)	15 (100%)	47 (79%)
Nepali	3 (20%)	5 (17%)	-	8 (13%)
English	2 (13%)	3 (10%)	-	5 (8%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.33 shows the age category of the participants as A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, and A<sub>3</sub> and their response on preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Regarding the age group of A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants (67%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (20%) and English (13%), respectively.

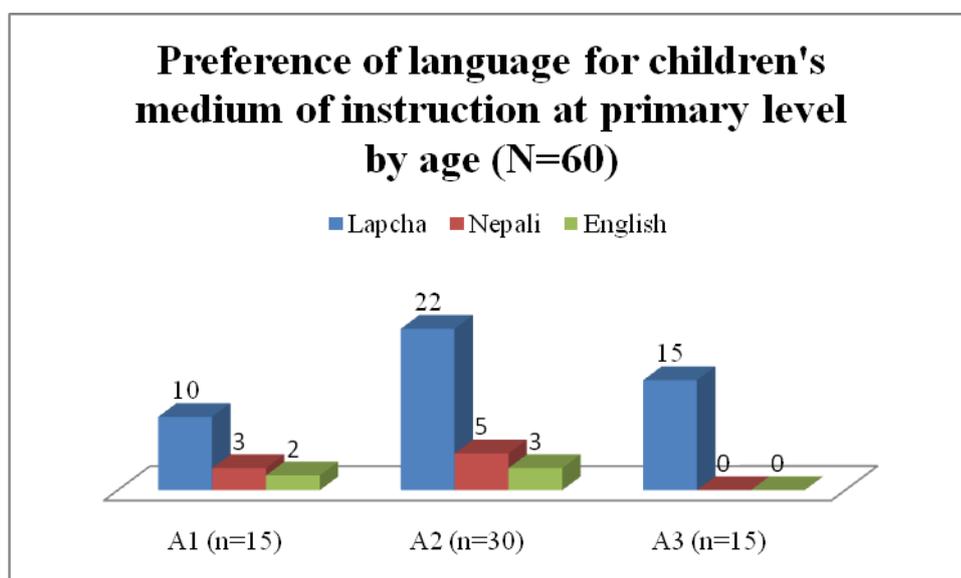
With regard to age group of A<sub>2</sub>, a majority of the participants (73%) reported that they preferred to their mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (17%) and English (10%), respectively.

Similarly, regarding the age group of A<sub>3</sub>, all the participants reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level.

In total, a majority of the participants (79%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (13%) and English (8%), respectively.

Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by age is presented in Figure 4.9.

**Figure 4.9: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by age**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.9 shows that a majority of the participants from all age groups reported that they preferred to their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's

medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali and English, respectively.

**Table 4.34: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy**

Language	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Mother tongue	34 (76%)	13 (87%)	47 (79%)
Nepali	6 (13%)	2 (13%)	8 (13%)
English	5 (11%)	-	5 (8%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 4.34 shows the responses of the literate and illiterate participants on the issue of preference of language use for medium of instruction at primary level education.

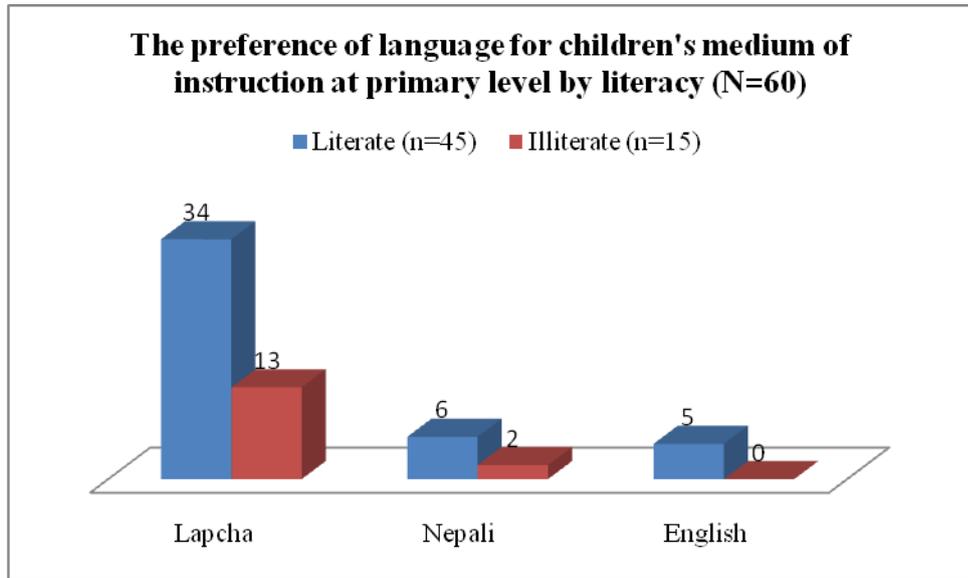
Regarding the literate group, a majority of the participants (76%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (13%), and English (11%), respectively.

Regarding the illiterate group, a majority of the participants (87%) preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (13%).

In total, a majority of the participants (79%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (13%) and English (8%), respectively.

Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy is presented in Figure 4.10

**Figure 4.10: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 4.10 shows that a majority of the participants from both literate and illiterate category reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali and English, respectively.

#### 4.7 Summary

In link language (Nepali) use, the participants reported that it is used with non-Lapcha people, community discussion, at government offices, while talking to non-Lapcha speech communities, etc. Similarly, they also reported that they mostly used mother tongue in their rites, ritual activities, secret-talk, talking within community members, talking nuptial ceremony, etc. They reported that they mostly used both mother tongue and link language in interlanguage communication, discussion, talking to in the local market, etc. A majority of the participants reported they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, in domains of counting, singing, joking, family gathering and village meeting, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Similarly, in domains of shopping, story-telling, debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In female participant category, regarding the domain of counting, singing, and joking, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used both Lapcha-Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Concerning the domain of shopping, story-telling, debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the male participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In regard to age group of A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, shopping, story-telling, discussion, praying, and quarreling, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In the age group of A<sub>2</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of counting, singing, and joking, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Similarly, under domain of the age group of A<sub>3</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of joking, shopping, story telling, debate, and praying, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. With regard to the illiterate category of the participants, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha in domains of singing, family gatherings and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. With regard to literate participants, a majority of the participants (40%) reported that they mostly used Lapcha for marriage

invitation in the community, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (36%) and Nepali (24%), respectively. Similarly, regarding illiterate category, a majority of the participants (40%) reported that they mostly used Lapcha for marriage invitation in the community, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (33%) and Nepali (27%), respectively.

## CHAPTER 5

### MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND MULTILINGUALISM

#### 5.0 Outline

Chapter three consists of three sections. In section 5.1, we examine mother tongue proficiency in Lapcha. Section 5.2 examines multilingualism and determines the levels of multilingualism among the Lapcha speakers at the survey points. Finally, in section 5.3, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

#### 5.1 Mother tongue proficiency (MTP)

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: 'very well', 'some' and 'only a little'. 'SLQ-A' was administered in the informants from the selected reference points of survey in Lapcha speaking areas. Table 5.1 presents the responses of the participants regarding mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Lapcha.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 5.1: MTP in speaking, reading and writing in Lapcha**

Speaking			Reading and writing			
Degrees	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
Very well	12 (55%)	21 (55%)	33 (55%)	9 (41%)	16 (42%)	25 (42%)
Some	6 (27%)	10 (27%)	16 (27%)	6 (27%)	12 (32%)	18 (30%)
Only a little	4 (18%)	7 (18%)	11 (18%)	7 (32%)	10 (26%)	17 (28%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 5.1 shows two categories: one 'speaking' and another 'reading and writing'. Regarding the first category, a majority of the participants (55%) reported that they

<sup>1</sup> The table is based upon the responses to Q.N. (46-47) of SLQ A.

were 'very well', that is to say, fluent speakers in their mother tongue proficiency in speaking, which is followed by 'some' (27%) and 'only a little' (18%) respectively. Similarly, regarding the reading and writing category, a majority of the participants (42%) reported that they were 'very well', in their mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing, which is followed by 'some' (30%) and 'only a little' (28%) respectively.

## 5.2 Multilingualism

Basically, three tools were employed to examine multilingualism in Lapcha. They include SLQ-A and SLQ-B. We present the results based on each tool as follows:

### 5.2.1 SLQ-A

Multilingualism is a common phenomenon in all the indigenous nationalities in Nepal, and so as in Lapcha community. Multilingualism tool was used to get information about those community members, who mostly and clearly speak mother tongue, link language and both mother tongue and link language. By using this tool, the participants express their viewpoints in frequent use of mother tongue, link language and both mother tongue and link language. The responses of the participants are presented in Photo 5.1.

Photo 5.1: Multilingualism



Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)

Photo 5.1 shows that the participants reported that the ritual performers, worshipers, priests, those who frequently remain within the Lapcha community, senior people of the Lapcha speech community mostly and clearly use mother tongue rather than link language. Similarly, they reported that the youth, job holders and students mostly and clearly use link language rather than mother tongue. They also reported that the teachers, social workers, politicians mostly use both mother tongue and link language. The responses of the participants are presented in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: Multilingualism in Lapcha community<sup>2</sup> (N= 60)**

S.N.	Languages	No. of speakers	Percentage
1.	Lapcha	60	100%
2.	Nepali	60	100%
3.	English	18	30%
4.	Tamang	7	12%
5.	Bantawa	5	8%
6.	Limbu	4	7%
7.	Sherpa	3	5%

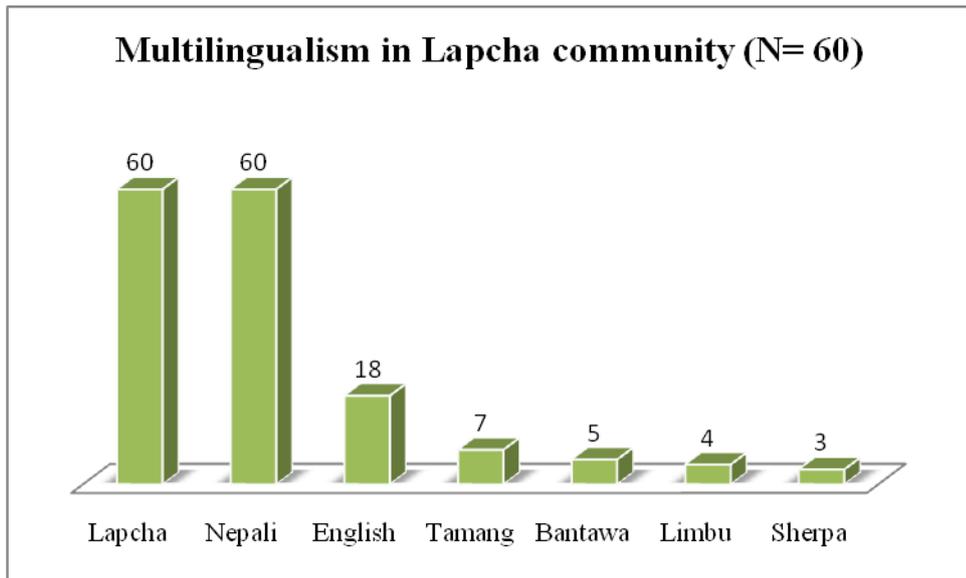
*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 5.2 shows the responses of the participants on different languages that they employed. Regarding the different language, all the participants reported that they speak Lapcha and Nepali languages. They speak Nepali as the lingua franca, which is the widely distributed language across the country. On the other hand, eighteen participants (30%) reported that they speak English, which is followed by Tamang (12%), Bantawa (8%), Limbu (7%), and Sherpa (5%), respectively.

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<sup>2</sup> This data are based on the responses to Q.N. 39 (What languages can you speak?) from SLQ-A.

**Figure 5.1: Multilingualism in Lapcha community**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 5.1 indicates that Lapcha community is shifted to Nepali, a language of wider communication in the respective survey points.

### **5.2.2 SLQ-B**

To examine the situation of multilingualism in Lapcha, a participatory tool was applied. The findings regarding the participatory method are as follows:

- a) There is no monolingual in Lapcha community.
- b) Children from Lapcha community speak Lapcha as mother tongue in Lapcha community.
- c) The children, young, middle aged and matured people, the leaders of the community, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Lapcha and Nepali.

### **5.3 Summary**

Regarding the speaking category, a majority of the participants (55%) reported that they were 'very well', that is to say, fluent speakers in their mother tongue proficiency in speaking, which is followed by 'some' (27%) and 'only a little' (18%) respectively. Similarly, regarding the reading and writing category, a majority of the participants (42%) reported that they were 'very well', in their mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing, which is followed by 'some' (30%) and 'only a little' (28%) respectively. The participants reported that the ritual performers, worshipers, priests, those who frequently remain within the Lapcha community, senior people of the Lapcha speech community mostly and clearly use mother tongue rather than link language. Similarly, they reported that the youth, job holders and students mostly and clearly use link language rather than mother tongue. They also reported that the teachers, social workers, politicians mostly use both mother tongue and link language.

## CHAPTER 6

### LANGUAGE VITALITY, MAINTENANCE AND ATTITUDES

#### 6.0 Outline

This chapter about the language vitality, maintenance and attitudes comprises four sections. In section 6.1, we look at language vitality in Lapcha. Section 6.2 discusses language maintenance in this language. In section 6.3, we present the attitudes of the Lapcha people towards their mother tongue. Section 6.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

#### 6.1 Language vitality

Lapcha community in common with other indigenous communities is shifted to Nepali, the language of the wider communication (LWC) in Nepal. The responses of the participants related to language vitality from the five survey points are presented as in Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1: Language vitality in key points in Lapcha**

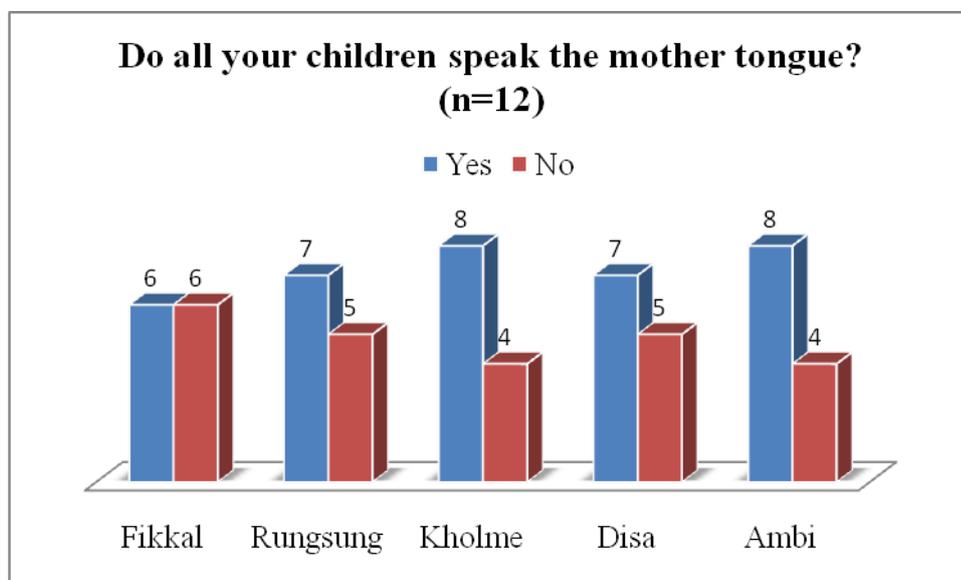
		Do all your children speak the mother tongue? (N=12)		Do young people speak your mother tongue as it ought to be spoken? (N=12)		What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children? (N=12)	
S.N.		Yes	No	Yes	No	Lapcha	Nepali
1.	Fikkal	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	6 (50%)	6 (50%)
2.	Rungsung	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	7 (58%)	5 (42%)
3.	Kholme	8 (67%)	4 (33%)	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	8 (67%)	4 (33%)
4.	Drishya	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	8 (67%)	4 (33%)
5.	Ambi	8 (67%)	4 (33%)	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	3 (25%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.1 shows the responses of the participants in three topics. Regarding the first topic, the participants were asked whether all their children spoke the mother tongue. A majority of the participants from the five survey points reported that their children spoke their mother tongue. Regarding the second topic, they were asked whether the young Lapcha people spoke their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken. A majority of the participants reported that the young Lapcha people spoke their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken. Similarly, regarding the third topic, they were asked what language the most parents usually spoke with their children. In response, a majority of the participants reported that the parents usually spoke mother tongue with their children.

The language vitality in the key survey points are presented in the following figures.

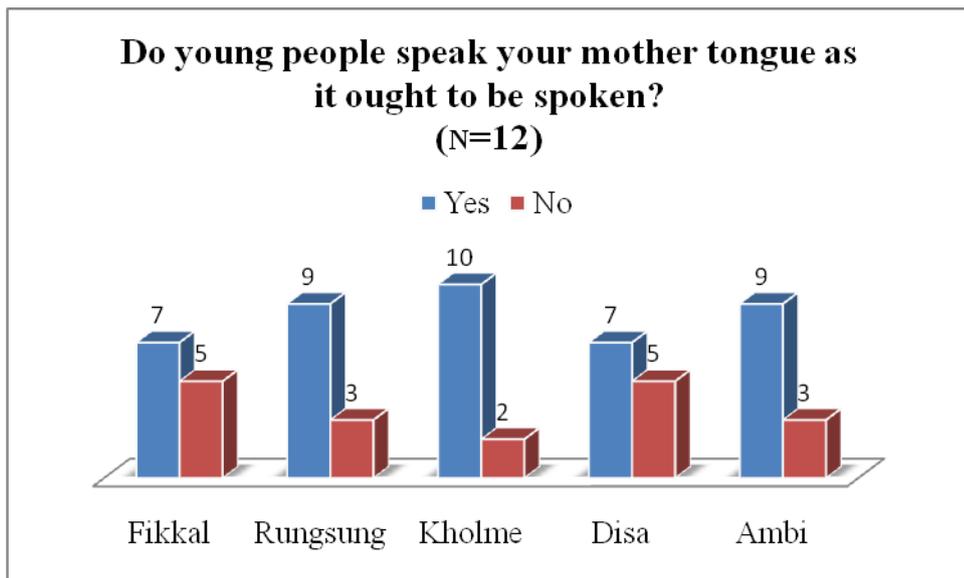
**Figure 6.1: Speaking mother tongue by the children**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 6.1 shows the response on speaking mother tongue by the children. In this regard, a majority of the responses fall under the category of 'Yes'. It means that their children speak mother tongue.

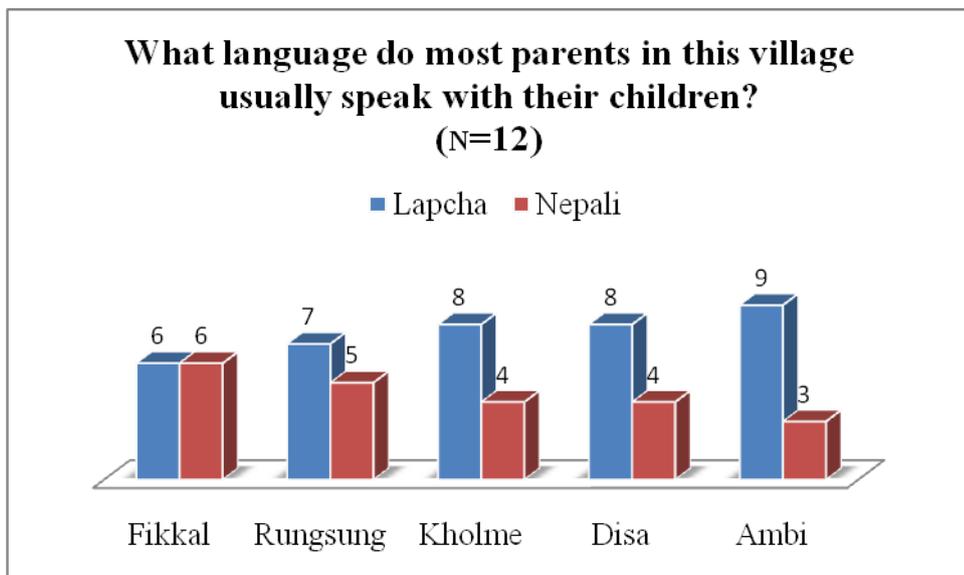
**Figure 6.2: Speaking mother tongue by the young people**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 6.2 shows the information on the young Lapcha people speaking their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken. With regard to this point, a majority of the participants reported that the young people in the Lapcha community speak mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken.

**Figure 6.3: Language spoken by the parents with their children**



*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Figure 6.3 shows that a majority of the participants from the survey points reported that the parents in the village usually spoke mother tongue with their children.

## 6.2 Language maintenance

Language maintenance is the subject matter that is influenced by the diverse factors such as intermarriage, learning and study of the mother tongue by the children, marital relationship with language groups, etc. The responses of the participants on language maintenance are presented in Table 6.2.

**Table 6.2: Language maintenance in key survey points in Lapcha (N=60)**

		Is there intermarriage in your community?		Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?		Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?
S.N.		YES	NO	YES	NO	
1.	Fikkal	12	-	12	-	Rai, Tamang, Newar, Limbu, Chhetri, Brahman, Gurung, Sherpa
2.	Rungsung	12	-	12	-	
3.	Kholme	12	-	12	-	
4.	Drishya	12	-	12	-	
5.	Ambi	12	-	12	-	
<b>TOTAL</b>		60	-	60	-	
<b>Percentage</b>		100%	-	100%	-	

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.2 shows the five survey points and the responses of the participants on three questions. All the participants were asked whether there were intermarriage in their community. In response, all the participants from all the survey points reported that there was intermarriage in their community. Similarly, they were also asked whether they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue. In response, all the participants from all the five survey points reported that they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue.

In third question, all the participants were asked which other language groups had common marital relationship with their language group. In response, all the participants from all the five survey points reported that other language groups, which

had common marital relationship with their language group are Tamang, Newar, Limbu, Chhetri, Brahman, Gurung, and Sherpa.

One of the important influencing factors for language maintenance is education. If mother tongue is implemented in education sector, it plays crucial role in maintaining mother tongue. Regarding this subject matter, the participants of the five survey points were asked whether they would support if the schools were opened for teaching their language. The responses of the participants are presented in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3: The ways participants support if schools are opened for teaching their language (N=60)**

S.N.	If schools are opened for teaching your language, will you support it:	Number of responses	Percentage
1.	by sending children	60	100%
2.	by encouraging other people to send their children	60	100%
3.	by helping with the school	60	100%
4.	by providing financial help	51	85%
5.	by teaching	42	70%

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.3 shows the responses of the participants such as supporting the mother tongue schools if opened through different ways as by sending children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial support, by teaching, and by helping with the school.

Concerning these different supports, all the participants reported that they would support the school, if opened, for teaching their language by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children and by helping with the school. On the other hand, a majority of the participants (85%) reported that they would support the school by providing financial help and (70%) by teaching.

### 6.3 Language attitudes

The Lapcha community is very positive toward their mother tongue. The summary of the responses made by the participants on the subject matter of language attitude is presented in Table 6.4. Table presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most.

**Table 6.4: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most (N=60)**

S.N.	What languages do they love the most?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Lapcha	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Nepali	-	-	-

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.4 shows that of the five survey points, all the participants reported that they loved their mother tongue most.

Another link question asked to the participants was what they felt when they spoke their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. The responses of the participants are presented in Table 6.5.

**Table 6.5: Feeling of the participants while speaking the mother tongue (N=60)**

S.N.	When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language, what do you feel?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Prestigious	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Embarrassed	-	-	-
3.	Neutral	-	-	-

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Regarding the response of the participants shown in Table 6.5, all the participants from the five survey points reported that they felt prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 6.6 presents the responses of the participants whether they faced problems or not faced because of being a native speaker.

**Table 6.6: Any problem you faced because of being a native speaker of your MT<sup>1</sup>**

S.N.	Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your MT?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yes	-	-	-
2.	No	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.6 shows that all participants reported that they had had no problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue.

All the participants were asked how they would feel if their son or daughter were married anyone who did not know their mother tongue. Table 6.7 presents the responses of the participants in this issue.

**Table 6.7: Feelings of the participants if their son or daughter married someone who does not know your mother tongue (N=60)**

S.N.	How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your Mother Tongue?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Good	-	-	-
2.	Indifferent	6 (27%)	11 (29%)	17 (28%)
3.	Bad	16 (73%)	27 (71%)	43 (72%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.7 shows responses of the participants on the feelings if their son or daughter married someone who does not know mother tongue. In this regard, a majority of the participants (72%) reported that they felt 'bad' if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. On the other hand, a minority of the participants (28%) reported that they felt 'indifferent' on this issue.

Growing up children and using their mother tongue is a crucial and challenging issue in the minority ethnic communities in Nepal. Due to lack of government support and

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<sup>1</sup> MT stands for mother tongue.

financial aid to promote the mother tongue, the issue of promoting and using mother tongue has been an acute issue in the minority communities.

In this regard, all the participants were asked whether they thought that the children might speak their language. The responses of this question are presented in Table 6.8.

**Table 6.8: Mother tongue of the children**

S.N.	When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think these children might speak your MT?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yes	7 (32%)	12 (31%)	19 (32%)
2.	No	15 (68%)	26 (69%)	41 (68%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Concerning the question whether the children might speak their language in future, Table 6.8 shows the two answers as 'Yes' and 'No'.

A majority of the participants (68%) reported that their children might not speak their language. On the other hand, a minority of the participants (32%) reported that their children might speak their language.

All the participants were asked how they felt if the children spoke their mother tongue or if they did not speak their mother tongue. Table 6.9 presents the responses of the participants.

**Table 6.9: Feelings of the participants in key survey points in Lapcha (N=60)**

S.N.		How do you feel if the children speak their mother tongue? (N=60)			How do you feel if the children do not speak their mother tongue? (N=60)		
		GOOD	INDIFFERENT	BAD	GOOD	INDIFFERENT	BAD
1.	Fikkal	12	-	-	-	-	12
2.	Rungsung	12	-	-	-	-	12
3.	Kholme	12	-	-	-	-	12
4.	Drishya	12	-	-	-	-	12
5.	Ambi	12	-	-	-	-	12
<b>Total</b>		60	-	-	-	-	60
<b>Percentage</b>		100%					100%

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

In regard to the responses from all the five survey points in Table 6.9, all the participants reported that they felt 'good' if their children spoke their mother tongue. On the other hand, all the participants reported that they felt 'bad' if their children did not speak their mother tongue.

The responses of the participants on what language their children should speak first are presented in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10: Responses to what language should their children speak first**

S.N.	What language should your children speak first?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Lapcha	22 (100%)	38 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Nepali	-	-	-

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

In regard to the response in Table 6.10, all the participants reported that their children should speak mother tongue first rather than any other languages.

Table 6.11 presents the response of the participants on whether the language spoken by them was different from their grandfather.

**Table 6.11: Responses to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from the grandfather (N=60)**

S.N.	Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yes	7 (32%)	10 (26%)	17 (28%)
2.	No	15 (68%)	28 (74%)	43 (72%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.11 shows that a majority of the participants (72%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was not different; on the other hand, a minority of participants (28%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was different.

The language spoken by the participants is different in some ways from their grandfather. The responses of the participants on the language difference are presented in Table 6.12.

**Table 6.12: How the language is different from the grandfather (N=60)**

S.N.	How is the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Mixing of other languages	16 (72%)	24 (63%)	40 (67%)
2.	Vocabulary	8 (36%)	12 (32%)	20 (33%)
3.	Way of speaking	8 (36%)	13 (34%)	21 (35%)
4.	Pronunciation	7 (32%)	11 (29%)	18 (30%)
5.	Use of specific type of sentences	6 (27%)	10 (26%)	16 (27%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

Table 6.12 shows that a majority of the participants (67%) reported that the difference of the language use is mixing of other languages, which is followed by way of speaking (35%), vocabulary (33%), pronunciation (30%), and use of specific type of sentences (27%), respectively.

Feelings of the participants on when they hear young Lapcha people speaking other languages instead of their first language are presented in Table 6.13.

**Table 6.13: Feelings of the participants towards mother tongue (N=60)**

S.N.	How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?	Female (n=22)	Male (n=38)	Total (N=60)
1.	Good	-	-	-
2.	Indifferent	5 (23%)	9 (24%)	14 (23%)
3.	Bad	17 (77%)	29 (76%)	46 (77%)

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

In regard to the response of the participants in Table 6.13, a majority of the participants (77%) reported that they felt 'bad' rather than 'good' when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. On the other hand, a minority of the participants (23%) remained indifferent in this issue.

## 6.4 Summary

A majority of the participants from the five survey points reported that their children spoke their mother tongue. A majority of the participants reported that the young Lapcha people spoke their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken. A majority of the participants reported that the parents usually spoke mother tongue with their children. All the participants reported that there was intermarriage in their community. All the participants that they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue. All the participants reported that other language groups, which had common marital relationship with their language group are Tamang, Newar, Limbu, Chhetri, Brahman, Gurung, and Sherpa. All the participants reported that they would support the school, if opened, for teaching their language by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children and by helping with the school. On the other hand, a majority of the participants reported that they would support the school by providing financial help and by teaching. All the participants reported that they loved their mother tongue most. All the participants reported that they felt prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. All participants reported that they had had no problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. A majority of the participants reported that they felt 'bad' if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. A majority of the participants reported that their children might not speak their language. All the participants reported that they felt 'good' if their children spoke their mother tongue. All the participants reported that their children should speak mother tongue first rather than any other languages. A majority of the participants reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was not different. A majority of the participants reported that the difference of the language use is mixing of other languages. A majority of the participants reported that they felt 'bad' rather than 'good' when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language.

## CHAPTER 7

### LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

#### 7.0 Outline

This chapter presents language resources and language development in Lapcha. It consists of three sections. Section 7.1 presents language resources in Lapcha. In section 7.2, the dreams of the Lapcha community for the development of their mother tongue is discussed. Section 7.3 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 7.1 Language resources

The Lapcha language is in oral form. The writing system in this language has not been developed yet. According to the informants in the five key survey points, the major kinds of oral literature in Lapcha consist of folk tales, songs, folk music and religious literature. According to the informants, Lapcha has neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks. Moreover, it lacks literacy materials, teaching materials, newspapers, magazines and written literatures.

Table 7.1 presents some language resources available in oral form in Lapcha language.

**Table 7.1: Language resources**

S.N.	Language resources
1.	Folktales
2.	Folk songs
3.	Folk music
4.	Religious literature

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

## 7.2 Language development

Language development is an incessant process. In this regard, hopes and plans of the speech community for the language development play vital role. Concerning this issue, the participants were asked what kind of hopes and plans they had thought for the mother tongue development. The responses of the participants are presented in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2: Hopes and plans for Lapcha language**

<b>Hopes</b>	recognition of Lapcha identity
	identification of Lapcha phonemes
	identification of development of script
	development of Lapcha literature
	identification and development of Lapcha folk songs
	identification and documentation of the myths in Lapcha
	getting support from National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) for preserving the Lapcha language and producing reading materials in Lapcha
	application of the Lapcha language up to primary level education
	the Lapcha language be aired via local media
	scholarship support be provided by the government for the study of linguistics
<b>Plans</b>	discussion and debate in the Lapcha community be held for making planning
	awareness program in the Lapcha community be carried out
	coordinating the related and concerned organizations
	fund raising from the community, related organizations, government agencies
	financial management for the Lapcha language preservation, development and promotion

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

### 7.2.1 Appreciative Inquiry (AI)

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) tool was employed to gather information about the dreams and aspirations from the language activists and community heads. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. Then, based on those good things in the Lapcha language and culture, they were asked to 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. Table 7.3 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in the survey points in Ilam.

**Table 7.3: Summary of findings from the appreciative inquiry in Lapcha**

	▪ <b>Things that make Lapcha feel proud about their language</b>	▪ <b>Dreams that could make their language even better</b>	▪ <b>Most important dream to start on planning for promoting and preserving mother tongue</b>
<b>Fikkal</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lapcha is easy to speak and think</li> <li>2. Lapcha is the identity of the community</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To prepare reading materials, textbooks in Lapcha</li> <li>2. To start Lapcha in primary education</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Documenting Lapcha language</li> <li>2. Implementing Lapcha texts in primary education</li> </ol>
<b>Rungsung</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lapcha is identity of the community</li> <li>2. Lapcha culture is embodied in this language</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To prepare textbooks and reading materials in Lapcha</li> <li>3. To begin mother tongue education at primary level</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To document and prepare phonemic inventory and manage orthography to prepare reading material in Lapcha</li> </ol>
<b>Jogmai</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lapcha is identity of the community</li> <li>2. Easy to communicate secrete matters</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To prepare textbooks in Lapcha</li> <li>2. To have Lapcha teachers in primary school</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To prepare reading material in Lapcha</li> <li>2. Implement Lapcha texts in primary education</li> </ol>



tongue, to do secret talk, an identity of community and individual. They also wished to have their mother tongue broadcast via electronic media, textbooks, reading materials, dictionaries and grammars in Lapcha. For achieving such things, they expressed their viewpoints that the Lapcha community should coordinate with other speech communities and agencies for raising the fund, and consult linguists.

Table 7.4 lists the information about the places where Lapcha is spoken as the mother tongue and where it is spoken the same as others.

**Table 7.4: Information about the places where Lapcha is spoken as mother tongue and where it is spoken the same as others**

Survey points	The places where Lapcha is spoken as mother tongue	Where it is spoken the same as others
Fikkal	Fikkal	Close to Jogmai
Rungsung	Rungsung	Close to Jogmai
Jogmai	Jogmai	Close to Fikkal
Drishya	Drishya	Close to Ambi
Ambi	Ambi	Close to Drishya

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (2009)*

The participants concluded that there are slight differences among the forms of speech in the Lapcha language. The difference is generally in respect to speaking style and slightly lexical differences rather than dialectal variation. Regarding this issue, Table 7.4 shows that Mulgaun and Mangthana speech varieties are closer each other. Similarly, Nangchhuwa, Chaudhari Tole and Chhambak speech varieties are close each other.

### **7.2.2 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C**

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C contains twenty-one questions. These questions were administered on the language activists and village heads. The main purpose of this questionnaire was to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development.

All the participants reported that there must be done something immediately to preserve and promote their language. The ways the participants reported for preserving and promoting their mother tongue in Lapcha are:

- i) by identifying phonemes in Lapcha language;
- ii) by documenting the Lapcha language;
- iii) by producing dictionary and grammar in Lapcha;
- iv) by encouraging Lapcha community to write literature in their mother tongue;
- v) by writing and publishing textbooks and learning materials in Lapcha;
- vi) by implementing Lapcha in the medium of instruction at primary level, and
- vii) by publishing newspapers;
- viii) by using Lapcha in administration.

### **7.3 Summary**

The Lapcha language is in oral form. The writing system in this language has not been developed yet. The major kinds of oral literature in Lapcha consist of folk tales, songs, folk music and religious literature. Lapcha has neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks. Nor has it a phonemic inventory. The major hopes of the participants for the Lapcha language development are recognition of Lapcha identity; development of Lapcha phonemes; identification of script; development of Lapcha literature; identification and documentation of the myths in Lapcha; application of the Lapcha language up to primary education system; use of Lapcha in media, etc.

## CHAPTER 8

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.1 Major findings

The main goal of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Lapcha, a speech community of Tibeto-Burman language under the Sino-Tibetan family. The survey has gathered information of various levels of mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism, language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Lapcha. Moreover, the survey has also attempted to collect information about language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for the development of the Lapcha language. The major findings of the survey are as follows:

- a. Fikkal, the core area of Lapcha, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 89% to 90%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rungsung, Jogmai, Ambi and Drisya. Moreover, of the total 210 words, Drishya exhibits the highest similarity with Fikkal (i.e. 90%) and the least similarity with Rungsung (i.e., 89%).
- b. Quite similar to lexical similarity, Fikkal, the core area of Lapcha, exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 93% to 94%) of phonetic similarity with other survey points, i.e., Rungsung, Ambi, Jogmai and Drisya. Moreover, of the total 210 words, Ambi exhibits the highest similarity with Fikkal (i.e., 96%) and the least similarity with Rungsung (i.e., 93%), respectively.
- c. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as the Lapcha language speaking areas in Ilam: Suryodaya VDC, Samalbung, Irautar, Kolbung, Shree Antu, Shantipur (ward 2, 3, 8), Jirmale, Jogmai, Gorak, Pashupatinagar.
- d. The participants reported that their mother tongue was called by other names such as Lapcha and Lepcha.
- e. The participants reported that Yolmo and Tamang languages were closer to their mother tongue.

- f. The participants reported that they mostly used mother tongue in their rites, ritual activities, secret-talk, talking within community members, talking nuptial ceremony, etc.
- g. A majority of the participants reported they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali, in domains of counting, singing, joking, family gathering and village meeting, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively.
- h. Similarly, in domains of shopping, story-telling, debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the participants reported they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.
- i. Concerning the domain of shopping, story-telling, debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children and singing at home, a majority of the male participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.
- j. In regard to age group of A<sub>1</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of counting, singing, joking, shopping, story-telling, discussion, praying, and quarreling, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively. In the age group of A<sub>2</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha-Nepali in domains of counting, singing, and joking, which is followed by Lapcha and Nepali, respectively. Similarly, under domain of the age group of A<sub>3</sub>, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali in domains of joking, shopping, story telling, debate, and praying, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Lapcha, respectively.
- k. With regard to the illiterate category of the participants, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Lapcha in domains of singing, family gatherings and village meetings, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali and Nepali, respectively. With regard to literate participants, a majority of the participants (40%) reported that they mostly used Lapcha for marriage invitation in the community, which is followed by Lapcha-Nepali (36%) and Nepali (24%), respectively.
- l. The participants reported that the ritual performers, worshipers, priests, those who frequently remain within the Lapcha community, senior people of the Lapcha speech community mostly and clearly use mother tongue rather than

link language. Similarly, they reported that the youth, job holders and students mostly and clearly use link language rather than mother tongue. They also reported that the teachers, social workers, politicians mostly use both mother tongue and link language.

- m. A majority of the participants from the five survey points reported that their children spoke their mother tongue.
- n. A majority of the participants reported that the young Lapcha people spoke their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken.
- o. A majority of the participants reported that the parents usually spoke mother tongue with their children.
- p. All the participants reported that there was intermarriage in their community. All the participants that they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue. All the participants reported that other language groups, which had common marital relationship with their language group are Tamang, Newar, Limbu, Chhetri, Brahman, Gurung, and Sherpa.
- q. All the participants reported that they would support the school, if opened, for teaching their language by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children and by helping with the school. On the other hand, a majority of the participants reported that they would support the school by providing financial help and by teaching. All the participants reported that they loved their mother tongue most.
- r. All the participants reported that they felt prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.
- s. The major hopes of the participants for the Lapcha language development are recognition of Lapcha identity; development of Lapcha phonemes; identification of script; development of Lapcha literature; identification and documentation of the myths in Lapcha; application of the Lapcha language up to primary education system; use of Lapcha in media, etc.

## **8.2 Recommendations**

The following are the recommendations for the promotion and development of the Lapcha language.

- a) The government should pay attention to document and promote the Lapcha language.

- b) Linguistic awareness program should be launched in Lapcha community.
- c) Non-formal education program should be carried out in Lapcha mother tongue by preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture and tradition.
- d) For preparing reading materials and recording, the Lapcha language spoken in Ilam would be the best.
- e) Government should support the Lapcha speech community to open the basic level mother tongue school in Lapcha community.

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	(a) ..... (b) ..... (c) ..... (d) ..... (e) .....
5. Language of Elicitation	
6. Language of Response	
7. 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 nabolne manchhele tapaiko bhashalai ke bhanchhan?).....

21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru namle pani chininchha?)

(i)..... (ii) .....

(iii)..... (iv) .....

22. Your mother's mother tongue.....

23. Your father's mother tongue.....

**SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT. YES  NO**

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife .....

25. What village were you born in?

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

(d) District..... (d) Zone.....

26. Where do you live now?

27. How many years have you lived here?

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

29. (if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

**SCREENING CRITERIA #2: YES  NO**   
**Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.**

## B. Language resources

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

(a)  folk tales,

(b)  songs,

(c)  religious literature,

(d)  radio,

(e)  films,

(f)  CD/ DVD,

(g)  Other.....

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

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

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

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

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

	<b>a. Education Matters</b>	<b>b. Social Events &amp; Family Matters</b>	<b>c. Writing Letters</b>
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

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

*The End*

## ANNEX-B

### **Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)**

**Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Nepal  
with assistance from National Planning Commission,  
Government of Nepal  
Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (B)  
(Participatory Method)**

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

Question	Answer
8. Interview Number	
9. Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month ..... Year..... AD
10. Place of Interview	(g) Ward: ..... (h) Village/Town: ..... (i) VDC/Municipality: ..... (j) District: ..... (k) Zone: ..... (l) GPS Coordinates: .....E .....N
11. Interviewer Name	(a) ..... (b) ..... (c) ..... (d) ..... (e) .....
12. Language of Elicitation	
13. Language of Response	
14. 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	Mother's MT	21. 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?

The End





20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

21. (If “Yes”): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

(a) by devising the script?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

(d) by writing grammar?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

(e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

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

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

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

- (a)  Yes                      (b)  No

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

**Proceed to ask individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, if appropriate.**

## ANNEX-D

### नेपालको भाषिक सर्वेक्षण

कोड नं.....

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय  
कीर्तिपुर, काठमाडौं, नेपाल  
राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, नेपाल सरकारको  
सहयोगमा सञ्चालित

२१० शब्दसूची

(समाजभाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली र यो शब्दसूची एउटै व्यक्तिबाट भरिएमा तलको व्यक्तिगत विवरण भर्न नपर्ने तर कोड नं. उल्लेख गर्नुपर्ने)

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम:

मिति:.....

- (१).....  
(२).....  
(३).....  
(४).....  
(५).....

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

- (१).....  
(२).....  
(३).....  
(४).....  
(५).....

स्थान :

जिल्ला.....

गाविस/नगरपालिका: .....

वडा नं:.....

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम:.....

अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा: .....

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	भाषा:.....
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	

4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	
6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	
8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	
11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	औँला	
17.	fingernail	नड	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	

30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्रु	
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औँठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	

56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	Tomato	गोलभेंडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	

82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भैंसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	

108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोगने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	

134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौं	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	

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

186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
197.	to go /go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear/listen	सुन्नु	
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

-The End-

## ANNEX-E

### LAPCHA WORDLIST (ILAM)

LAPCHA LANGUAGE							
S.N.	English	Nepali	Rungsung	Phikkal	Jogmai	Samalbung (Drishya)	Kanyam (Ambi)
1.	body	शरीर	mud <sup>z</sup> u	məd <sup>z</sup> u	mizu	mid <sup>z</sup> i	mazu
2.	head	टाउको	at <sup>h</sup> jak	ət <sup>h</sup> jak	at <sup>h</sup> jak	ət <sup>h</sup> jak	athjak
3.	hair	कपाल	acom	əcom	acom	əcom	acom
4.	face	अनुहार	amlim	əmlem	amlim/amlem	əmlim	amlim
5.	eye	आँखा	amik	əmik	amik	əmik	əmik
6.	ear	कान	anjor	ənjor	anjor	ənjor	ənjor
7.	nose	नाक	tipnəm	tək <sup>h</sup> om	tupnom	tik <sup>h</sup> om	təknomm
8.	mouth	मुख	abuŋ	əbuŋ	abuŋ	əbuŋ	əbuŋ
9.	teeth	दाँत	afo/chəm	əfo	afo/afo	əfu	əfo
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	ali	əli	ali	əli	əli
11.	breast	स्तन	c <sup>h</sup> ati	ninpəm	om	om	kargu
12.	belly	पेट	tobok	təbok	tobok	təbok	təbək
13.	arm/ hand	हात	chjok	əku	aki	kətem	əku
14.	elbow	कुइनो	kult <sup>h</sup> u	kəlt <sup>h</sup> o/kəlt <sup>h</sup> u	kult <sup>h</sup> u	kəlt <sup>h</sup> u	kult <sup>h</sup> u
15.	palm	हत्केला	danljok	kəljok	kuljok	kəljok	kəljok
16.	finger	औँला	kud <sup>z</sup> jok	kəd <sup>z</sup> jok	kod <sup>z</sup> jok	kəd <sup>z</sup> jok	kəzjok
17.	fingernail	नड	pənci/pinc i	pənci/pinc i	punci	pənci/pinci	pənci/pinci
18.	leg	खुट्टा	at <sup>h</sup> oŋ	ət <sup>h</sup> oŋ	at <sup>h</sup> oŋ	ət <sup>h</sup> oŋ	ət <sup>h</sup> oŋ
19.	skin	छाला	kənt <sup>h</sup> un/at <sup>h</sup> un	ət <sup>h</sup> uŋ	at <sup>h</sup> un	ət <sup>h</sup> un	ət <sup>h</sup> uŋ
20.	bone	हाड	at <sup>h</sup> et	ət <sup>h</sup> et	at <sup>h</sup> et	ət <sup>h</sup> et	ət <sup>h</sup> et
21.	heart	मुटु	alot	əlot	alot	əlot	əlut
22.	blood	रगत	vi	əvi	vi	vi	vi
23.	urine	पिसाब	kimlik	d <sup>z</sup> it	d <sup>z</sup> it	d <sup>z</sup> it	zit
24.	feces	दिसा	po <sup>?</sup> əŋ/it	it	puəŋ	puŋdo	po <sup>?</sup> əŋ
25.	village	गाउँ	kjuŋ	kjuŋ	kjuŋ	kjuŋ	kjuŋ

26.	house	घर	li	li	li	li	li
27.	roof	छानो	licjap	licjap	licjap	licjap	licjap
28.	door	ढोका	viŋ	viŋ	viŋ	tiŋviŋ	viŋ
29.	firewood	दाउरा	sjaŋ	sjaŋ	sjaŋ	sjaŋ	sjaŋ
30.	broom	कुचो	p <sup>h</sup> jəmu/nə phjik	p <sup>h</sup> jəruk	p <sup>h</sup> jəmo	fjokmo	p <sup>h</sup> jamuk
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	tiŋri	laŋtuŋri	ŋokset	laŋtuŋri	kuŋtek
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	tiŋri	laŋtuŋri	loŋd <sup>ɛ</sup> ek	laŋtuŋri	loŋcjak
33.	hammer	हथौडा	t <sup>h</sup> o	t <sup>h</sup> o	t <sup>h</sup> o	t <sup>h</sup> əmp	loŋtuksjok
34.	knife	चक्रे	baŋkəp	baŋkəp	baŋkəp	baŋkəp	bvankəp
35.	axe	बच्चरो	prit	pərit	pərit	pərit	pərit
36.	rope	डोरी	təkpo	təppu	təppi	təkpo	təkpu
37.	thread	धागो	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki
38.	needle	सियो	rjom	rijom	rjam	rjom	rjom
39.	cloth	लुगा	dəm/namz o	dum	dom	dəm/namzo	dəm/namzo
40.	ring	औँठी	kukjəp	kəkjəp	kukjəp	kərkjəp	kəkjəp
41.	sun	घाम	sucək	səcok	sucok	səcək	sucok
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	lavo/ləvo	ləvo	luvo	ləvo	ləvu
43.	sky	आकाश	tiŋjaŋ	təljaŋ	təljaŋ	təljaŋ	təljaŋ
44.	star	तारा	kursəŋ	səhor	sugor	səhor	səhər
45.	rain	वर्षा	sucjəp	sucjəp	sucjəp/sucepno n	sucjəp	sucjəp
46.	water	पानी	uŋ	uŋ	uŋ	nibu	uŋ
47.	river	नदी	uŋkjəŋ	uŋkjəŋ	uŋkjəŋ	uŋkjəŋ	uŋkjəŋ
48.	cloud	बादल	kəmjəŋ	kəmbjəŋ	kumbjəŋ	kəmbjəŋ	kumbjəŋ
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	suljəp	suljəp	suljəp	suljəp	suljəp
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	tiŋkjəŋ/ tuŋkjəŋ	tuŋku	tuŋkjəŋ	tuŋkjəŋ	tuŋkjəŋ
51.	wind	बतास	sukmət	sukmət	supmət	səkmət	sakmət
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	loŋ	loŋ	loŋ	loŋ	loŋ
53.	path	बाटो	lom/lo:am	lom	lom	lom	lom
54.	sand	बालुवा	fetzi	fed <sup>ɛ</sup> i	fetd <sup>ɛ</sup> i	fad <sup>ɛ</sup> i	fazi
55.	fire	आगो	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	mikan	mikan	mikan	mikan	mikan
57.	ash	खरानी	pirdi	pərd <sup>h</sup> u	pirdi	pərd <sup>h</sup> u	pirdi

58.	mud	माटो	fat	fat	fat	fat	fat
59.	dust	धुलो	fatmiŋ/foz jem	pərd <sup>h</sup> uguk	pirdiguk	pirdiguk	pirdiguk
60.	gold	सुन	zer	d <sup>z</sup> jər	d <sup>z</sup> er	zer	zer
61.	tree	रूख	kuŋ	kuŋ	kuŋ	kuŋ	kuŋ
62.	leaf	पात	anjom	lop/əŋjom	lop	əŋjom	lop/əŋjom
63.	root	जरा	afija/afja	əfja	afija	əfja	əfja
64.	thorn	काँडो	ziu	d <sup>z</sup> ju	d <sup>z</sup> iu	zju	d <sup>z</sup> ju
65.	flower	फूल	rip	rip	rip	rip	rip
66.	fruit	फलफूल	t <sup>h</sup> empət- rimpət	təmpətpot	t <sup>h</sup> empət-rimpət	t <sup>h</sup> empət- rimpət	təmpətpot
67.	mango	आँप	əmbipət	əmbipət	əmbipət	əmbi	əmbipət
68.	banana	केरा	kirduŋ	kurdunpət	kirduŋ	kirduŋ	kurdunpət
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	kiu	kjo	kju	kju	kjo
70.	barley	जौ	kucer	kæcer	kicer	kæcer	kæcer
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	ziŋju	d <sup>z</sup> ju	ziŋji	d <sup>z</sup> əhju	d <sup>z</sup> ju
72.	potato	आलु	buk	alubuk	alubuk	pəkjubuk	alubuk
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	kindi	kəndu /kindi	kindi	kindi	Kəndu /kindi
74.	groundnut	बदाम	bədam	bədam	bədam	bədam	bədam
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	suŋkar/mə rzi	səŋkar	siŋkar	mərzi	səŋkar
76.	turmeric	बेसार	məŋga	məŋgə	məŋga	məŋga	məŋgə
77.	garlic	लसुन	suŋgu	suŋgu/suŋ gudum	suŋgu	suŋgu	suŋgu/suŋg udum
78.	onion	प्याज	pjad <sup>z</sup>	munŋu	pjad <sup>z</sup>	munŋu	munŋu
79.	cauliflower	काउली	kopi	kopi	kopi	kopi	kopi
80.	Tomato	गोलभेंडा	biru	birupət	biru	riu	birupət
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	bənda	bənda	bənda	bənda	bənda
82.	oil	तेल	nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm
83.	salt	नुन	vom	vom	vom	vom	vom
84.	meat	मासु	mən/sitəm	mən	mən	mər	mən
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	siti	asju	sito/siti	səto	asju
86.	fish	माछा	ŋi	ŋu	ŋi	ŋu	ŋu
87.	chicken	चल्ला	hikop	hikup	hikəp	hikəp	hikup
88.	egg	अण्डा	hitti/ati	əti	hitti	hitti	əti
89.	cow	गाई	hik	bik	bik	bik	vik

90.	buffalo	भैंसी	maji/mahi	məhi	məhi	məhi	məhi
91.	milk	दुध	nin	nin	nin	bigu	nin
92.	horns	सिड	aroŋ	aroŋ	aroŋ	aroŋ	aroŋ
93.	tail	पुच्छर	tuksim	təksim	tuksim/tiksim	təksim	təksin
94.	goat	बाखो	saʔar	saʔar	saʔar	saʔar	saʔar
95.	dog	कुकुर	kuzju	kudʔju	kuzju	kədʔju	kudʔju
96.	snake	सर्प	bi	bi	bi	bi	bi
97.	monkey	बाँदर	sihi	sihi	sihi	sihi	sihi
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	mukoŋ	məkəŋ	mukoŋ	məŋkoŋ	məŋkoŋ
99.	ant	कमिला	tukfel	təkfel	tukfel	təkfel	təkfel
100.	spider	माकुरो	sungrjaŋ	səŋrjoŋ	sunrjaŋ	səŋrjoŋ	səŋrjoŋ
101.	name	नाम	abrjaŋ/kum iŋ (honorific)	əbrjaŋ	abrjaŋ	əbrjaŋ	əbrjaŋ
102.	man	मान्छे	muro	məro	muro/miri	səju	məro
103.	woman	आइमाई	tihu	təji	tijioŋ	tijiməkəp	tiji
104.	child	बच्चा	iŋa	əkəp	akip	iŋa	iŋa
105.	father	बाबा	abo/jap (honorific)	əbo	abu	abo	aba
106.	mother	आमा	amo/jum (honorific)	əmu	amu	amo	amu
107.	older brother	दाजु	anəm/acju (honorific)	ənəm	acju	acju	acju
108.	younger brother	भाइ	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ
109.	older sister	दिदी	anom/azi	ənəm	azi	azi	azi
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ
111.	son	छोरो	tigrikəp	təgri	tigrikəp	tigrikəp	tigrikəp
112.	daughter	छोरी	tihumukə p	təju	tijikəp	tijumukəp	tikəptijukə p
113.	husband	श्रीमान	liabo/libo	əvo	liabu	li:bo	li:vo
114.	wife	श्रीमती	liamu/lim u	əju	liamu	li:mo	li:mo
115.	boy	केटो	tigri	təgriaŋ	tigrikəp	tigrikəp	tigrikəp
116.	girl	केटी	tiʔu	təju	tijikəp	tijikəp	tijikəp
117.	day	दिन	sikni/sikʔ ni	səkni	sikni	səkni	səkni
118.	night	रात	sunap	sunap	sunap	sunap	sunap
119.	morning	विहान	lukaluk	susoŋ	miksinon	susoŋ	napsju

120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	sikʔnim	səknim	sikni p <sup>h</sup> et	səknim	siknimfekt
121.	evening	साँझ	sula <sup>h</sup>	sula	sunapnon/suna pbunon	sula	sula
122.	yesterday	हिजो	tuso	təso	tiso	təso	tuso
123.	today	आज	surəu	səroŋ	siriŋ/sərəŋ	səroŋ	suroŋ
124.	tomorrow	भोली	lukal	lukal	lukal	lukal	lukal
125.	week	हप्ता	dənt <sup>h</sup> o	dənt <sup>h</sup> ok	dənt <sup>h</sup> ok	dənt <sup>h</sup> ok	dənt <sup>h</sup> ok
126.	month	महिना	ləvo/lavo	ləvo/lavo	ləvo/lavo	ləvo/lavo	ləvo/lavo
127.	year	वर्ष	nam	nəm	nam	nəm	nam
128.	old	पुरानो	ren/aru/pu tnjom	pətnjam	ren	pətnjam	ren
129.	new	नयाँ	al	al	al	al	al
130.	good	राम्रो	arjum	əd <sup>z</sup> ək	arjum	əd <sup>z</sup> ək	aŋiŋ
131.	bad	नराम्रो	murinbu	mərjun	mirjunbu	mərjun	mirjunbu
132.	wet	भिजेको	asel/selam bu	əhjoŋ	selnon	əhjoŋ	asel/selamb u
133.	dry	सुख्खा	aswan	əson	ason	əson	əson
134.	long	लामो	t <sup>h</sup> janbo	ət <sup>h</sup> en	t <sup>h</sup> enbu	ət <sup>h</sup> en	ət <sup>h</sup> en
135.	short	छोटो	ataŋ	ətən	tanbu/atan	ətən	ətan
136.	hot	तातो	at <sup>h</sup> um	at <sup>h</sup> um	at <sup>h</sup> un	at <sup>h</sup> um	at <sup>h</sup> um
137.	cold	चिसो	ahjoŋ	ətun	ahjoŋ	ətun	ahjoŋ
138.	right	दाहिने	gjom	gjum	gjom	gjum	gjom
139.	left	देब्रे	vim	vim	vim	vim	vim
140.	near	नजिक	at <sup>h</sup> an	ət <sup>h</sup> ol	at <sup>h</sup> ol	ət <sup>h</sup> ol	ət <sup>h</sup> ol
141.	far	टाढा	arəŋ	arum	arom	aram	arom
142.	big	ठूलो	timbu/ati m	ətim	timo/apak	ətim	ətim
143.	small	सानो	cibu	cjubu/əcju m	əcjom	əcjom	cjuru
144.	heavy	गह्रौ	alim	əlim	alim/lili	əlim	əlim
145.	light	हलुका	akjoŋ	əkjoŋ	akjoŋ	əkjoŋ	əkjoŋ
146.	above	माथि	taba	ploŋ	ploŋ	meba	tal
147.	below	तल	amin/cjob a	əmin	əmin	amin	əmin
148.	white	सेतो	adum	ədum	ədum	ədum	ədum
149.	black	कालो	anok	ənok	ənok	anok	ənok
150.	red	रातो	aher	əher	əher	aher	əher

151.	one	एक	kat	kat	kat	kat	kat
152.	two	दुई	net	net	net	net	net
153.	three	तीन	sam	sam	sam	səm	sam
154.	four	चार	fuli	fuli	fuli	fuli	fuli
155.	five	पाँच	fu	fuŋo	fuŋo	fuŋo	fuŋo
156.	six	छ	tərək	tərək	tərək	tərək	tərək
157.	seven	सात	kukjok	kəkjok	kəkjok	kukjok	kukjok
158.	eight	आठ	kiki	kiki	kiki	kiki	kiki
159.	nine	नौ	kəkjət	kəkjot	kəkjot	kukjot	kəkjot
160.	ten	दश	kiti	kiti	kiti	kiti	kiti
161.	eleven	एघार	kat <sup>h</sup> ap	kət <sup>h</sup> ap	kət <sup>h</sup> ap	kət <sup>h</sup> ap	kət <sup>h</sup> ap
162.	twelve	बाह	net <sup>h</sup> ap	net <sup>h</sup> ap	net <sup>h</sup> ap	net <sup>h</sup> ap	net <sup>h</sup> ap
163.	twenty	बीस	k <sup>h</sup> akat	k <sup>h</sup> okət	k <sup>h</sup> akət	k <sup>h</sup> akət	k <sup>h</sup> akət
164.	one hundred	एक सय	gʒokat	gʒokat	gʒokat	gʒokat	gʒokat
165.	who	को	tu	tu	tu	tu	tu
166.	what	के	sju	sju	sju	sju	sju
167.	where	कहाँ	sibi/saba (honorific)	sibi/səba (honorific)	sibi/səbi (honorific)	subi	sibi/səba (honorific)
168.	when	कहिले	sit <sup>h</sup> a	sət <sup>h</sup> a	sət <sup>h</sup> a	sət <sup>h</sup> a	sət <sup>h</sup> a
169.	how many	कति	sitet	sətet	sətet	sətet	sətet
170.	which	कुन	sire	səre	səre	sere	sire
171.	this	यो	are	əre	əre	are	əre
172.	that	त्यो	ure/pere	ure	ure	ore	ure
173.	these	यिनीहरू	arihaju/ar ehaju	ərepəŋ	ərepəŋ	aresoŋ	arihaju/are haju
174.	those	उनीहरू	urehaju/ur epoŋ	həjupəŋ	həjupəŋ	həjupəŋ	urehaju
175.	same	उही	uredo	uredo	uredo	uredo	uzəŋdo
176.	different	फरक	ruŋso	ruŋsi	rəŋsi	ruŋso	ruŋso
177.	whole	सबै	tjəŋdo	tjəŋgən	tjəŋgən	tjəŋdo	tjoŋ
178.	broken	फुटेको	gramambu u	gramambu	graməmbu	gramambu	gramambu
179.	few	थोरै	cjukam/a mam	cjakəm/ə man	cjakəm/əman	cjukam	cjakəm/əm an
180.	many	धेरै	agjap/agja m	agjap	agjap	agjap	agjap
181.	all	सबै	tjəŋdo	tjəŋdo	tjəŋdo	tjəŋdo	tjoŋ
182.	to eat	खानु	zukka/zek	zukka/zek	zukka/zekka	zukka/zekka	zukka/zekk

			ka	ka			a
183.	to bite	टोकनु	cukka	cukka	cukka	cukka	cukka
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	kri dokka	kri dokka	kri dokka	kri dokka	kri dokka
185.	to drink	पिउनु	t <sup>h</sup> oŋka	t <sup>h</sup> oŋka	t <sup>h</sup> oŋka	hjuŋka	t <sup>h</sup> oŋka
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	uŋuwam	uŋuwam	uŋuwam	uŋuwam	uŋuwam
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	daka	daka	daka	daka	daka
188.	to lie down	पल्टनु	ljokka	ljokka	ljokka	ljokka	ljokka
189.	to sit	बस्नु	nəmka	nəmka	nəmka	nəmka	nəmka
190.	to give	दिनु	bika	bika	bika	bika	bika
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	cjokka	cjokka	cjokka	cjokka	cjokka
192.	to die	मर्नु	makka	məkka	makka	makka	məkka
193.	to kill	मार्नु	sotka	sotka	sotka	sotka	sotka
194.	to fly	उडनु	lumka	lumka	lumka	lumka	lumka
195.	to walk	हिँडनु	lomka	lomka	lomka	lomka	lomka
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	djoŋka	djoŋka	djoŋka	djoŋka	djoŋka
197.	to go /go	जानु	nəŋka	nəŋka	nəŋka	nəŋka	nəŋka
198.	to come	आउनु	dika	dika	dika	dika	dika
199.	to speak	बोल्नु	zjokka	zjokka	zjokka	zjokka	zjokka
200.	to hear/listen	सुन्नु	nenka	nenka	nenka	nenka	nenka
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	nikka	nikka	nikka	nikka	nikka
202.	I	म	go	go	go	go	go
203.	you (informal)	तँ	ho	ho	ho	ho	ho
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	ho	ho	ho	ho	ho
205.	he	hu	hu	hu	hu	hu	hu
206.	she	hu	hu	hu	hu	hu	hu
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समा)	kəju/kiji	kəju/kiji	kəju/kiji	kəju/kiji	kəju/kiji
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमा)	anaŋa	kəju	anaŋa	kəju	kəju
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	hopuŋ/əju pəŋ	hopuŋ/əju pəŋ	hopuŋ/əjupəŋ	hopuŋ/əjupə ŋ	hopuŋ/əjup əŋ
210.	they	उनीहरू	həjupəŋ	həjupəŋ	həjupəŋ	həjupəŋ	həjupəŋ

*Source: Sociolinguistic survey of Lapcha (held in Ilam, 2009)*

## ANNEX-F

### SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE LAPCHA LANGUAGE SURVEY FIELD PHOTOGRAPHS

#### 1. Chindepani

Researchers, Rajendra Thokar (left) & Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (right), taking data



#### 2. Fikkal

Researchers, Kishor Rai (left) & Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (right), taking data



Group Photograph: Researchers and the Lapcha People



### 3. Godak

Group Photographs: Researchers and the Lapcha People



Researchers, Sakindra Limbu (left) & Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (right), taking data



#### 4. Drishya/Disa

Group Photograph: Trio-Researchers, Rajendra Thokar (far left, with round cap), Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (right, sitting), and Sakindra Subba (mid, with white glasses) with the Lapcha People



## 5. Rungsung

Researchers, Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (far left), Kishore Rai (back-mid), Rajendra Thokar (far right, round cap) and Sakindra Subba (second left, with white glasses, sitting) with the Lapcha People



Duo-Researchers, Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (with earphone) and Sakindra Limbu, recording and taking the Lapcha Wordlist



## 8. Kholme

Survey Team Leader, Prof. Dr. Novel Kishore Rai (far right), researcher-duo, Dr. Netra Mani Dumi Rai (right, on chair, at table) & Rajendra Thokar (left, on chair, at Table) taking data with the Lapcha people

