

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF  
NACHHIRING**

**A report**

**Submitted to**  
**Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)**  
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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### **1.1 Background**

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of the Nachhiring (ISO code: ncd) language spoken mainly in some Village Development Committees in Khotang district of Eastern Development regions of Nepal. The survey was mainly conducted in five villages; namely, Rakha, (Rakha Bangdel VDC-2), Bangdel Sokhu (Rakha Bangdel VDC- 7/8), Bakachol Badel (VDC-3), Aiselukharka (Aiselukharka VDC-4), Para (Aiselukharka VDC-5) in Khotang district of Nepal.

This report provides field-based information about the Nachhiring language mainly in the domains of language use, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, language vitality, language transmission, language attitudes, language resources, dialectal variation, and language development.

Nachhiring is one of the ethnic groups of Nepal. This ethnic group lives mainly in the eastern hilly region of Nepal. Nachhiring people call themselves “Nasru”, whereas other language speakers call them Nachering. Nachering genealogy suggests that the ancestor Nasru had four sons who were Thumsu, Racha, Para, and Sata and they were later known as or were also identified as Rakhali, Bangdele, Parali, and Sotange, respectively. Rakha is one of the core areas of Nachering with historical importance (Epele et al. 2012).

The term ‘Nachhiring’ refers to an ethnic group and the language they speak. Nachhiring people are known by several names: Bangdale, Bangdel Tûm, Bangdile, Mathsereng, Nachhering, Nacering Ra, Nachering Tûm, Nachiring, and Nasring.

In this chapter, we mainly deal with the people (i.e., Nachhiring), their religion and culture, occupation, caste/ethnic groups and literacy. Similarly, geographical location, linguistic affiliation, previous research works and purpose and goals of the survey are also briefly discussed in this chapter.

### **1.2 The Nachhiring people**

This section deals with a brief introduction of the Nachhiring people in general. It includes caste/ethnicity of the speakers, their religion, literacy in the community, and the occupation of the Nachhiring speakers.

### **1.2.1 Caste/ethnic groups**

They are mongoloid in appearance with a short stature, a stout build, a round face and a flat nose. Nachhiring is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal. The term ‘Nachhiring’ refers to an ethnic group and their mother tongue. The Nachhiring speech community has a good life settlement. They have a permanent resident. Nachhiring is a community of one caste and one ethnic group.

### **1.2.2 Religion and culture**

There are ten types of religion categories reported in the census of 2011. Hinduism is followed by 81.3 percent (21,551,492) of the total population of the country. According to our sample size data most of the Nachhiring follow the Religion of Kirant, Hindu, and Christian. The Nachhiring speakers are following their traditional religion (Kirat), Hindu, and Christian (Epele et al. 2012).

The Kulung are the people of Rai and Kirat descent, inhabiting in eastern hill districts of Nepal. Their language of the same name is closely related to the fellow Kirati languages such as Kulung and Sampang. They have their own traditional dress and ornaments.



**Photograph 1.1: An old Nachhiring woman with traditional ornaments**

### **1.2.3 Literacy**

Overall literacy rate (for population aged 5 years and above) has increased from 54.1 percent in 2001 to 65.9 percent in 2011. In 2011 Census, the literacy rate of other Hill *Janajati* is recorded as 62.1% which includes 73% male and 53.1% female (Lal Das and Gautam, 2014). However, generally speaking, literacy, particularly, in the Nachhiring speech community is not encouraging. Especially, women are still deprived of formal education even though attempts have been continually made to improve the situation of literacy in this speech community.

### **1.2.4 Occupation**

Traditionally Nachhiring people earn their livelihood from agriculture, so the main occupation of Nachhiring is agriculture. They are also involved in other professions such as animal husbandry, poultry, and business. The major crops they grow are paddy, wheat, maize, and millet. The grain grown is mostly used for their own daily needs, and surplus is used to make spirits and *jand* (the local beer), or is sold at the local market. The ownership of the land is private. They are economically very poor. This community, now-a-days, is also engaged in different professions such as army, civil services, teaching, and small industries. General housework, including cooking, is the responsibility of the women. Young girls tend to be the ones who gather firewood from the forests, and carry water from the communal water sources.

### **1.3 Demography and distribution**

According to the Census of Nepal, 2011, ethnic population of Nachhiring is 7,154 comprises of 3524 males and 3630 female. Similarly, Nachhiring is spoken by 10,041 speakers as their mother tongue that includes 4,930 male speakers and 5,111 female speakers. Table 1.1 presents the district-wise distribution of Nachhiring speakers where it is spoken by more than 10 speakers.

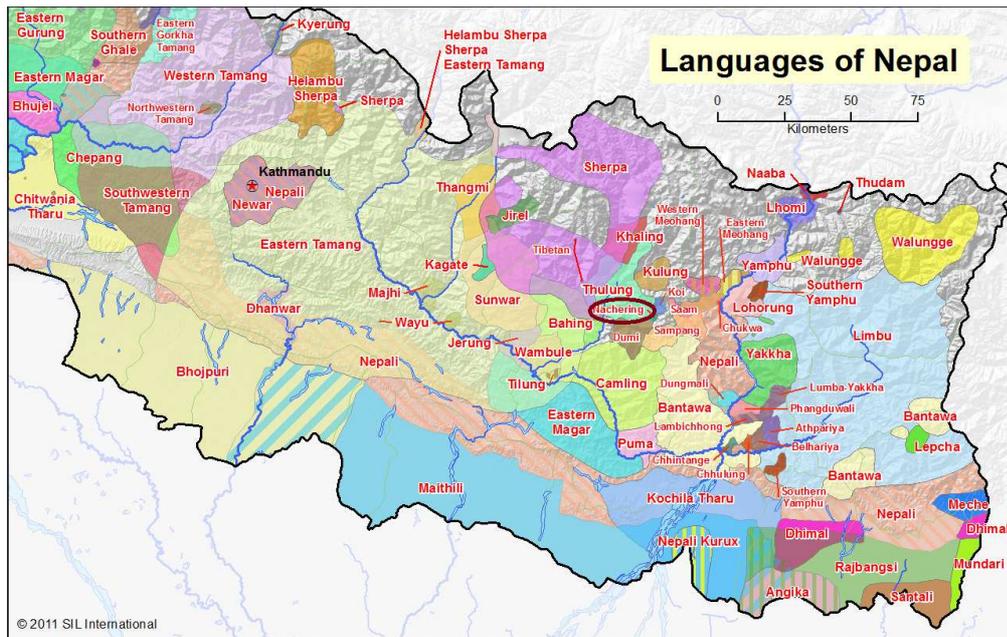
**Table 1.1: District-wise distribution of Nachhiring speakers**

<b>District</b>	<b>Mother tongue speakers</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,041</b>	<b>100%</b>
Solukhumbu	4,047	40.30%
Khotang	2,603	25.92%
Bhojpur	1,329	13.23%
Sankhuwasabha	391	3.89%
Ilam	354	3.52%
Sunsari	323	3.21%
Morang	263	2.61%
Panchthar	221	2.20%
Jhapa	154	1.53%
Dhankuta	137	1.36%
Kathmandu	73	0.72%
Lalitpur	34	0.33%
Sarlahi	20	0.9%
Udaypur	17	0.18%
Chitwan	16	0.15%
Okhaldhunga	13	0.12%

Source: Tamang and Gurung (2014: )

#### **1.4 Geographical location**

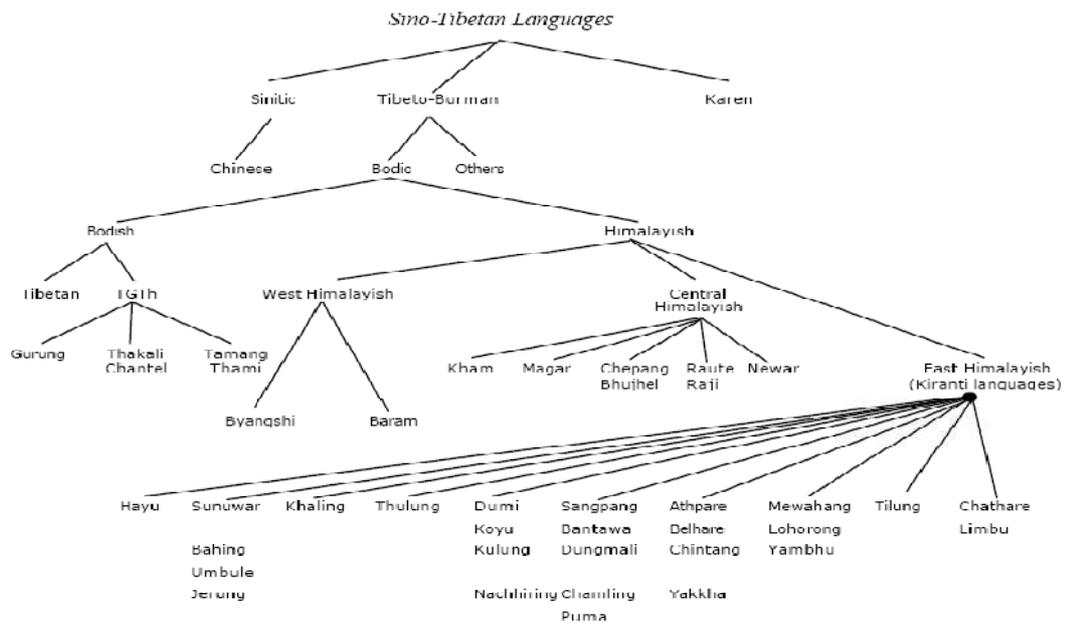
As mentioned earlier, this speech community is mainly located in some villages of Khotang and Solukhumbu district of Nepal. Map 1.1 presents the geographical location of the Nachhiring speech community.



Map 1.1: Geographical location of the Nachhiring speech community

### 1.5 Genetic affiliation

Nachhiring is one of the unclassified forms of the speech. Epple et al. (2012) classifies Nachhiring as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Kiranti, Eastern language. Nachhiring may be classified as a member of central sub-group of Tibeto-Burman family. Diagram 1.1 presents a proposed genetic affiliation for the Nachhiring language spoken in Nepal.



Adapted from Bradley (2002) and David Watters as cited in Yadava (2003)

Figure 1.1 Genetic classifications of Sino-Tibetan languages

## **1.6 Previous research works**

Eppele et al. (2012) is a single work providing, though preliminary, some ethnolinguistic information about the Nachhiring speech community. It informs that Nachhiring is mainly spoken by about 3,550 speakers in Sagarmatha Zone, upper northeast Khotang District near Rawakhola Valley, Lidim Khola River slopes, Dipsun, Para, Badel, Patel, Bakacho, Aiselukharka VDCs; Solukhumbu District, Waddu, Sotang VDCs. In terms of vitality, it has been categorized as 7 (Shifting). It is classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Kiranti, Eastern language. Dialects of the language are Bangdele (Achero, Hachero, Hangkula), Parali, Rakhali, Sotange. Nachhiring is closely related to Kulung [kle] in the north and Sampang [rav] in the south. The normal word order is SOV having postpositions and noun head final. The language is shifting to the Nepali [npi] language. Language retention among the younger generation appears to be limited to Bakachol, Rakha, and Bangdel VDCs (Hansson 1991: 73). Language use: religion, mixed use: home; older adults and elderly. They have positive attitude towards their language. All the speakers use Nepali as second language or language of wider communication. It is an unwritten language. Religiously, they are following their traditional religion (Kirat), Hindu and Christian.

## **1.7 Purpose and goals**

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Nachhiring language which has been categorized as Tibeto-Burman Language of Nepal. The main objectives of the study are as follows:

- (a) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- (b) To assess the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Nachhiring speech community;
- (c) To evaluate the language maintenance, language vitality and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;
- (d) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language; and
- (e) To gather information regarding the resources available in the language and language development in the Nachhiring speech community.

## **1.8 Organization of the study**

This survey report has been organized into nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides background information about the language and people including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with the domains of language use in the Nachhiring speech community. In chapter 4, we look at the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in Nachhiring. Similarly, chapter 5 evaluates the language maintenance, language vitality and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language. In chapter 6, we discuss the language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 7, we look at the dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key points in Nachhiring. Chapter 8 deals with language development in Nachhiring. In chapter 9, we present the summary of the major findings and recommendations for the development of the language. The annex includes sociolinguistic questionnaires, wordlist, basic information and some group photographs of the language consultants involved in the survey of Nachhiring.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 2.0 Outline

This chapter deals, in detail, with the research methodology employed in the sociolinguistic survey of Nachhiring. It is organized into of five sections. Section 2.1 presents an overview of 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. In section 2.2, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.3 deals with the survey points, sample size and collection of data. In section 2.4, we present the limitations of the survey in relation to time, access, area, methods and informants.

#### 2.1 Overview

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

**Table 2.1: Tools/ methods used in the survey of Darai language**

	Tools/ methods	
1.	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C
2.	Participatory Method (PM)	Domains of Language Use (DLU)
		Bilingualism (BLM)
		Dialect Mapping (DLM)
		Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)
3.	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	

Table 2.1 shows that the methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC) and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of two sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM)

comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI).<sup>1</sup>

Table 2.2 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used and their brief description including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

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

	Goals of the survey	Research methods/ tools	Brief description	Focus of the methods/tools
1.	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Nachhiring.	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Language resources</li> <li>• Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism</li> <li>• Domain of language use</li> <li>• Language vitality</li> <li>• Language maintenance</li> <li>• Language attitudes</li> </ul>
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Domain of language use</li> <li>• Dialect mapping</li> <li>• Multilingualism</li> <li>• Appreciative enquiry</li> </ul>
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Language attitudes</li> <li>• Language maintenance</li> <li>• Language vitality</li> <li>• Language development</li> </ul>
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 A (SLQ A)

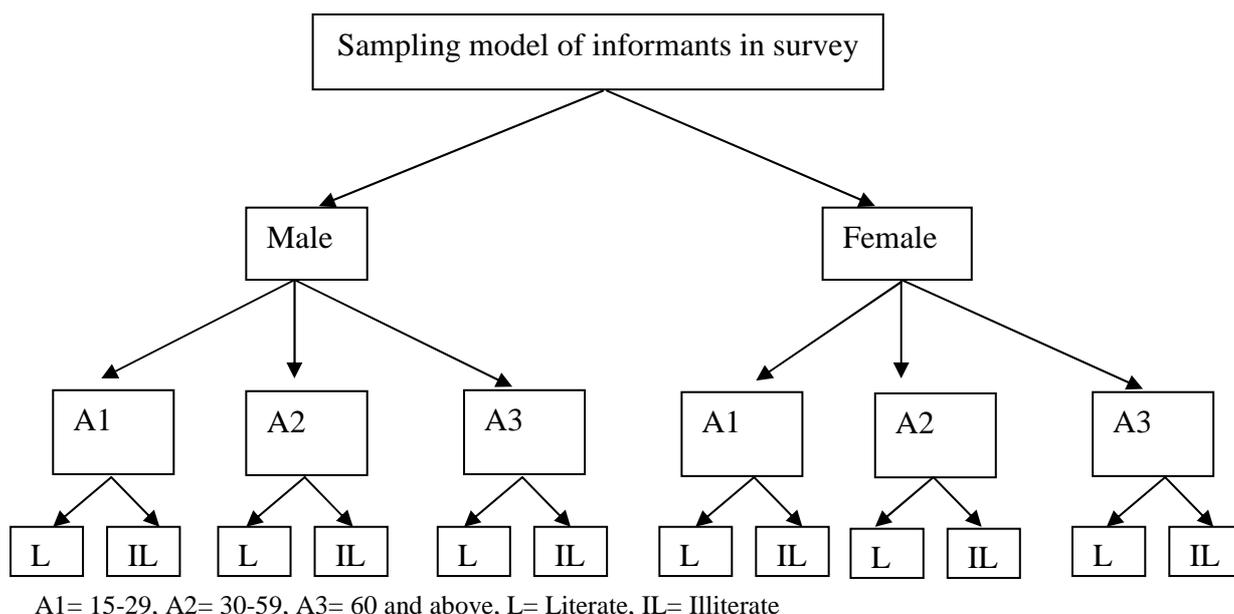
This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language

<sup>1</sup> Participatory Method (PM) is taken as Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B in the survey.

maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex.

From each survey point, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and literacy.<sup>2</sup> Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in the Nachhiring speech community.

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



**Figure 2.1: Sampling model of informants in survey points**

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

### 2.2.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

A set of four participatory tools were used with the groups of Nachhiring participants of different survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the

<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3).

dialects of Nachhiring, how bilingual Nachhiring people are, in which situations they use Nachhiring and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language.

In the questionnaire, each tool is equipped with well-written step-by-step procedures for the facilitators in the group. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

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

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below (See Annex E for detail).

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

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Nachhiring community members to think about and visualize the languages which Nachhiring people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Nachhiring participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Nachhiring and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Nachhiring. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Nachhiring and both Nepali and Nachhiring. Next they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

#### **b. Dialect mapping (DLM)**

The main purpose of Dialect Mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Nachhiring. The Nachhiring participants

in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Nachhiring is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

### **c. Bilingualism/Multilingualism (BLM)**

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Nachhiring and Nepali by different subsets of the Nachhiring community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Nachhiring people who speak Nachhiring well and the other the Nachhiring people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Nachhiring ‘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 Nachhiring people that spoke Nachhiring ‘well’. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

### **d. Appreciative inquiry (ACI)**

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

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

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

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

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

From each survey points, at least two informants representative of different sex were chosen as the wordlist source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Nachhiring 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 researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Nachhiring word from a mother tongue Nachhiring speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as WordSurv (word survey) and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Nachhiring. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

## 2.3 Sampling

### 2.3.1 Survey points

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

**Table 2.3: Survey points including GPS coordinate in Nachhiring**

	Survey points	VDCs	GPS Coordinates
1.	Rakha	Rakha Bangdel-2, Khotang	086 <sup>0</sup> 43'43.8" E 27 <sup>0</sup> 19'32.4" N
2.	Bangdel sokhu	Rakha Bangdel- 7/8 Khotang	086 <sup>0</sup> 48'23.6" E 27 <sup>0</sup> 22'23" N
3.	Bakachol	Bakachol -3, Khotang	086 <sup>0</sup> 48'24" E 27 <sup>0</sup> 23'15.7" N
4.	Ayselukharka	Ayselukharka, Khotang	086 <sup>0</sup> 45'29.9" E 27 <sup>0</sup> 21'45.4" N
5.	Para	Ayselukharka -1, Khotang	086 <sup>0</sup> 46'30" E 27 <sup>0</sup> 20'46" N

Source: Field study, 2014

### 2.3.2 Sample size

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

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

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Wordlist
	A (Individual)	B (Participatory): DLU, DLM, BLM, API	C (Language activist/head)	
Rakha	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Bangdel	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Bakachol	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Ayselukharka	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Para	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Total	60	20	12	10

DLU= domains of language use, DLM= dialect mapping, BLM=bilingualism, API= appreciative inquiry

### 2.3.3 Data collection

Table 2.5 presents the total number of the data collected by using different tools in survey points in Nachhiring.

**Table 2.5: Total number of the data collected in the survey points in Nachhiring**

Survey Points	SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRES						Wordlist
	A(Individual)	B (Participatory)				C	
		DLU	DLM	BLM	API		
Rakha	12	1	1	1	1	1	2
Bangdel	8	1	1	1	1	1	2
Bakachol	8	1	1	1	1	1	2
Ayselukharka	8	1	1	1	1	1	2
Para	7	1	1	1	1	-	2
Total	43	5	5	5	5	4	10

#### **2.4 Limitations of the survey**

This survey has the following limitations:

- a) This survey is limited to the sociolinguistic aspects of the Nachhiring language.
- b) We surveyed only five points which may not be sufficient to picture out the sociolinguistic situation of the Nachhiring language.
- c) We used only four tools: Sociolinguistic questionnaires, A, B, C and wordlist.

## CHAPTER 3

### DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

#### 3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the patterns of language use in different domains in the Nachhiring speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.1 deals with the patterns of language use in the general domains. In section 3.2, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains in Nachhiring. Section 3.3 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.4, we evaluate the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.5 present at the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.6, present the domains of language use from the participatory method. Section 3.7 presents the summary of the major findings of the chapter.

#### 3.1 Language use in general domains

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

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

Domains of language use are generally referred to as the patterns of language use among the speakers of a language. More specifically, they are the contexts or situations in which a speaker makes a choice, in most of the cases, a conscious choice among his/her mother tongue, a language of wider communication and both or other languages (Regmi, 2011). The main domains consist in community, home, business and education. The vitality of a language can be better examined by looking at the patterns of language use among the speakers in terms of sex, age and literacy. Table 3.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Nachhiring speakers in different domains.

**Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains (N=43)**

Domains	Languages		
	Nachhiring	Nepali	Nachhiring + Nepali
Counting	7 (16%)	33 (77%)	3 (7%)
Singing	4 (9%)	38 (88%)	1 (2%)
Joking	7 (16%)	35 (81%)	1 (2%)
Bargaining/ shopping	3 (7%)	35 (81%)	5 (12%)
Story telling	3 (7%)	38 (88%)	2 (5%)
Discussing	5 (12%)	34 (79%)	4 (9%)
Praying	14 (33%)	25 (58%)	4 (9%)
Quarrelling	8 (19%)	29 (67%)	6 (14%)
Abusing/scolding	15 (35%)	22 (51%)	6 (14%)
Telling stories to children	5 (12%)	35 (81%)	3 (7%)
Singing at home	5 (12%)	35 (81%)	3 (7%)
Family gatherings	17 (40%)	20 (47%)	6 (14%)
Village meetings	1 (2%)	38 (88%)	4 (9%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.1 shows that only a few Nachhiring speakers use their mother tongue in the general domains of language use. In this speech community, 16% respondents use only their mother tongue in counting and joking; 9% use mother tongue in singing; and 7% use it in bargaining/shopping, and storytelling. Similarly, 12% Nachhiring speakers use their mother tongue in discussion, telling stories to their children, and singing at home; 33% use Nachhiring in praying, 19% use it in quarrelling, 35% use their mother tongue in abusing/scolding, 17% use it in family gathering, and only 2% use their mother tongue in village meetings.

Table 3.1 also shows that most of the Nachhiring speakers use Nepali, the language of wider communication in most of the domains. Similarly, very few Nachhiring speakers use both their mother tongue and Nepali in most of the domains of language use. The data show that the Nachhiring language is gradually shifting to the Nepali, the official language of the nation.

### **3.1.2 Patterns of language use in general domains by sex**

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

**Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex (N=43)**

Domains	Languages					
	Male (n=23)			Female (n=20)		
	NA	Nepali	NA+N	NA	Nepali	NA+N
Counting	5 (22%)	18 (78%)	-	2 (10%)	15 (75%)	3 (15%)
Singing	4 (17%)	19 (83%)	-	-	19 (95%)	1 (5%)
Joking	5 (22%)	18 (78%)	-	2 (10%)	17 (85%)	1 (5%)
Bargaining/ shopping	2 (9%)	17 (74%)	4 (17%)	1 (5%)	18 (90%)	1 (5%)
Story telling	3 (13%)	19 (83%)	1 (4%)	-	19 (95%)	1 (5%)
Discussing	5 (22%)	16 (69%)	2 (9%)	-	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Praying	9 (39%)	13 (57%)	1 (4%)	5 (25%)	12 (60%)	3 (15%)
Quarrelling	6 (26%)	15 (65%)	2 (9%)	2 (10%)	15 (75%)	3 (15%)
Abusing/scolding	8 (35%)	12 (51%)	3 (13%)	7 (35%)	10 (50%)	3 (15%)
Telling stories to children	5 (22%)	16 (70%)	2 (9%)	-	19 (95%)	1 (%)
Singing at home	5 (22%)	16 (69%)	2 (9%)	-	19 (95%)	1 (5%)
Family gatherings	11 (48%)	8 (35%)	4 (17%)	6 (30%)	12 (60%)	2 (10%)
Village meetings	1 (4%)	19 (83%)	3 (13%)	-	19 (95%)	1 (5%)

NA=Nachhiring and N= Nepali

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.2 shows that Nachhiring is used in most of the general domains of language use. In this speech community, most of the informants use Nepali more than Nachhiring in most of the domains of language use. Out of the total male respondents 22% use their mother tongue in counting, joking, discussing, telling stories to children, and singing at home. Similarly, 17% male respondents use Nachhiring in singing, 9% use it in bargaining/shopping, 13% use it in storytelling, 39% use it in praying, and 26% male respondents use their mother tongue in quarrelling. Likewise, 35%, 48%, and 4% male respondents use their mother tongue in abusing/scolding, family gathering, and village meetings respectively. Similarly, most of the male respondents use Nepali, the language of wider communication in all these domains except family gathering. Likewise, a very few male respondents of Nachhiring speech community responded that they use both their mother tongue and Nepali in these domains.

Table 3.2 also shows that most of the female respondents of Nachhiring speech community use only Nepali, the language of wider communication in all these domains of language use. Similarly, some of the female respondents use their mother tongue in these domains as only 10% respondents responded that they use Nachhiring in counting, joking, and quarrelling; 5% use it in bargaining/shopping; 25% use it in praying; 35% use it in abusing/scolding; and 30% use their mother tongue in family gathering whereas they do not use their mother tongue at all in the domains such as singing, storytelling, discussing, telling stories to children, singing at home, and village meeting. Similarly, very few female respondents of Nachhiring speech community use both their mother tongue and Nepali in these domains as 15% respondents use both the languages in counting, praying, quarrelling, and abusing/scolding; only 5% use both the languages in singing, joking, bargaining/shopping, storytelling, telling stories to children, singing at home, and in village meeting; and 10% female respondents use both their mother tongue and Nepali in discussing and family gathering.

From this analysis we can conclude that the percentages of the male respondents in using Nachhiring, their mother tongue, are higher than that of female respondents in the Nachhiring speech community.

### **3.2 Language use in specific domains**

The main purpose of this section is to look at the use of the languages at home, in the community, and the languages used by Nachhiring children.

#### **3.2.1 Language use at home**

In this subsection, we presents the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) , discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) and in writing letters. Table 3.3 presents the languages most frequently used in the Nachhiring speech community in certain situations.

**Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used in educational, social and family matters, and letter writing by sex**

<i>Language most frequently used at home while (a) Talking about education matters (b) Discussing social events and family matters and (c) Writing letters</i>							
N= 43	Languages /Domains	Male (n=23)			Female (n=20)		
		NA	N	Both	NA	N	Both
Grand-parents	Educational matters	16 (70%)	4 (17%)	3 (13%)	12 (60%)	8 (40%)	-
	Social and family matters	17 (74%)	4 (17%)	2 (9%)	11 (55%)	8 (40%)	1 (5%)
	Writing a letters	-	23 (100%)	-	-	20 (100%)	-
Parents	Educational matters	15 (65%)	6 (26%)	2 (9%)	12 (60%)	7 (35%)	1 (5%)
	Social and family matters	16 (70%)	5 (22%)	2 (9%)	12 (60%)	7 (35%)	1 (5%)
	Writing a letters	-	23 (100%)	-	-	20 (100%)	-
Spouse	Educational matters	12 (52%)	3 (13%)	2 (9%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)	1 (5%)
	Social and family matters	13 (57%)	2 (9%)	2 (9%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	2 (10%)
	Writing a letters	-	17 (74%)	-	-	15 (100%)	-
Children	Educational matters	1 (5%)	15 (65%)	-	-	11 (55%)	2 (10%)
	Social and family matters	2 (9%)	14 (61%)	-	1 (5%)	12 (60%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	16 (70%)	-	-	13 (65%)	-

NA= Nachhiring and N= Nepali

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.3 shows that most of the informants use their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring, while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc.) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc.) with their grandparents, parents, and spouse whereas they use Nepali with children in these domains. While writing letters to their grandparents, parents, spouse and children they use only Nepali as all the respondents responded that they use only Nepali, the language of wider communication, while

writing letters to their family members. However, the male informants use their mother tongue slightly more than that of female informants.

### 3.2.2 Language use in the community

In this section, we present the pattern of language use in the Nachhiring speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings. Table 3.4 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings by sex.

**Table 3.4: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings (N=43)**

<i>What language does the community use in/for ...</i>	Male (23)			Female (20)		
	NA	N	NA+N	NA	N	NA+N
Marriage invitations?	9 (39%)	12 (52%)	2 (9%)	6 (30%)	9 (45%)	5 (25%)
Writing minutes in community meetings?	-	23 (100%)	-	-	20 (100%)	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.4 shows that more than 39% of the male and 30% of the female use their mother tongue in marriage invitations whereas 52% male and 45% female respondents use Nepali in marriage invitation. The rest of the informants have replied that they use either mother tongue or Nepali. To the contrary, in writing minutes, all the respondents irrespective of sex replied that they use Nepali, the language of the wider communication in community meetings.

### 3.2.3 Language spoken by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children: playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Table 3.5 presents the languages usually spoken by children.

**Table 3.5: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains (N=37)**

<i>What language do your children usually speak while..</i>	Male (21)			Female (16)		
	NA	N	NA+N	NA	N	NA+N
Playing with other children?	1 (5%)	20 (95%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-
Talking with neighbors?	1 (5%)	20 (95%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-
At school?	1 (5%)	20 (95%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.5 shows that almost all the children of Nachhiring speech community use Nepali while playing with other children, talking with the neighbors and at school. Only one male respondent, i.e., 5% responded that his children use their mother tongue while playing with their children, talking to their neighbors, and at school.

### **3.3 Use of mother tongue and language of wider communication**

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue and language of wider communication in practical life. Nepali is the language of wider communication in Nachhiring speech community. In the Nachhiring speech community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 3.6 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 3.6: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in the Nachhiring speech community**

<i>How often do you use...</i>	Male (23)			Female (20)		
	Every day	Rarely	Never	Every day	Rarely	Never
your mother tongue ?	13 (57%)	10 (43%)	-	10 (50%)	10 (50%)	-
language of wider communication ?	23 (100%)	-	-	20 (100%)	-	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.6 shows that 57% male and 50% female informants use mother tongue every day whereas 43% male and 50% female respondents use their mother tongue rarely. However, all the male and female respondents have reported that they use the

language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day. The data shows that male informants used mother tongue more than female in every day.

### 3.4 Language preference for children’s medium of instruction at primary level

Table 3.7 presents the patterns of language preference for children’s medium of instruction at primary level in Nachhiring speech community.

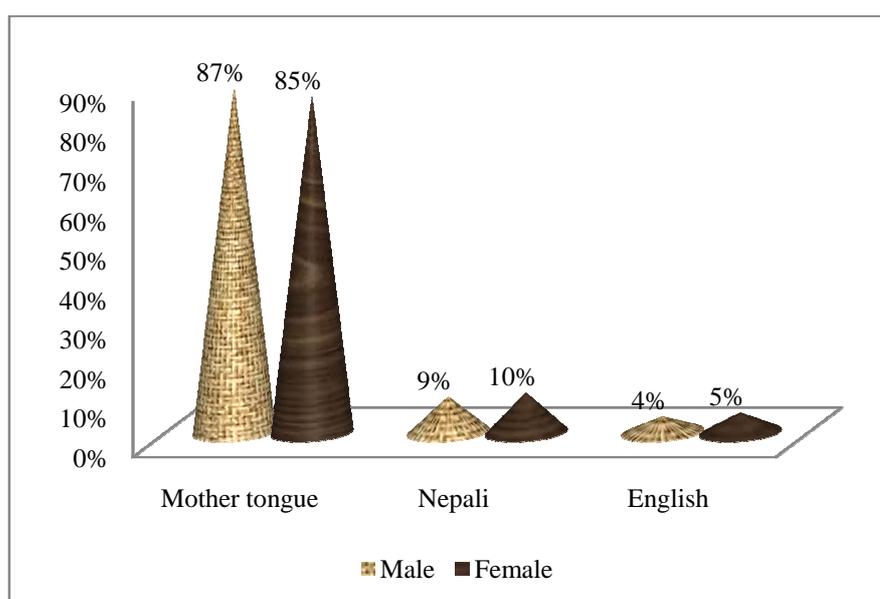
**Table 3.7: Preference for children’s medium of instruction at primary level (N=43)**

<i>Which language do you prefer for your children for medium of instruction?</i>	Male (23)	Female (20)
Mother tongue	20 (87%)	17 (85%)
Nepali	2 (9%)	2 (10%)
English	1 (4%)	1 (5%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.7 shows that 87% male and 85% female informants prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in the Nachhiring speech community. Similarly, i.e., 9% male and 10% female respondents prefer Nepali and 4% male and 5% female respondents prefer English as the medium of instruction in the Nachhiring speech community. It can also be shown through the Figure 3.1 below to make it more explicit.

**Figure 3.1: Preference for children’s medium of instruction at primary level**



### 3.5 Language used with the visitors at home

Almost all the Nachhiring speakers are proficient bilingual in Nepali. Table 3.8 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Nachhiring speakers at home.

**Table 3.8: Use of language when speakers of other languages visit their home**

<i>Which language do you speak when speakers of other languages visit you at home?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)
Nachhiring	-	-
Nepali	23 (%)	20 (%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 3.8 shows that all the members of the Nachhiring speech community use Nepali, the language of wider communication with the persons of other languages when they visit their home.

### 3.6 Domains of language use uncovered from the participatory method

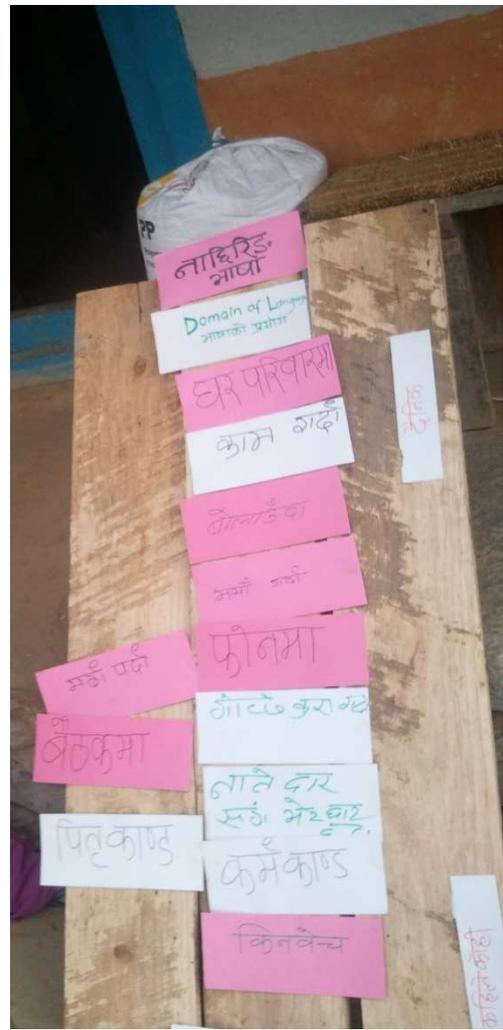
In five survey points, namely Bangdel, Rakha, Bakachol, Aiselukharka and Para, Domains of Language Use tool was used in order to help the Nachhiring community members to think about and visualize the languages which Nachhiring people speak in various situations. In groups, the Nachhiring participants in each survey points discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Nachhiring and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Nachhiring. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Nachhiring and both Nepali and Nachhiring. Next, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations. Photograph 3.1 - 3.3 present the situation of language use in the Nachhiring speech community.



Photograph 3.1: Domains of language use in Wangdel Sokhu, Khotang



Photograph 3.2: Domains of language use in Aiselukharka, Khotang



Photograph 3.3: Domains of language use in Rakha, Khotang

**Table 3.9: Domains of language use in the Nachhiring speech community**

Survey points	Nachhiring	Nepali	Both
Wangdel Sokhu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. At home</li> <li>2. In communication</li> <li>3. When meet with Nachhiring people,</li> <li>4. To think</li> <li>5. Secret talk</li> <li>6. Cultural works</li> <li>7. Ritual works</li> <li>8. Worshipping</li> <li>9. Dream</li> <li>10. Love</li> <li>11. Marriage</li> <li>12. Bargaining</li> <li>13. In shrines</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In schools</li> <li>2. In the of different organizations</li> <li>3. While writing minutes of the meeting</li> <li>4. In the hospitals</li> <li>5. In the markets</li> <li>6. In travelling</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the local markets</li> <li>2. In the meetings of the village</li> <li>3. While talking with friends</li> <li>4. In the schools</li> </ol>
Aiselukharka	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the family</li> <li>2. Doing household works</li> <li>3. Calling others</li> <li>4. Love</li> <li>5. Telephone calls</li> <li>6. Secret talks</li> <li>7. Meeting with relatives</li> <li>8. Rite and rituals</li> <li>9. Bargaining</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In schools</li> <li>2. In government offices</li> <li>3. In big markets</li> <li>4. While talking with other speakers</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In schools</li> <li>2. In hotels</li> <li>3. In health post</li> <li>4. In social activities</li> </ol>
Rakha	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the family</li> <li>2. In the community</li> <li>3. Telling children to works</li> <li>4. Talking to elders</li> <li>5. Secret talking</li> <li>6. Abusing</li> <li>7. Teaching language</li> <li>8. Business</li> <li>9. Performing ritual works</li> <li>10. In the local organizations</li> <li>11. Quarrelling</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the markets</li> <li>2. In schools</li> <li>3. While writing minutes of the meeting</li> <li>4. At government offices</li> <li>5. While talking with other language groups</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. While working in the fields</li> <li>2. At hospitals</li> <li>3. In the meetings of the VDC</li> <li>4. At school</li> <li>5. While teaching to the children</li> </ol>
Bakachol	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. At home</li> <li>2. In the family</li> <li>3. Performing rites and rituals</li> <li>4. Farming</li> <li>5. In Nachhiring speech community</li> <li>6. Secret talks</li> <li>7. Abusing</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the school</li> <li>2. Hospital</li> <li>3. Government offices</li> <li>4. VDC meeting</li> <li>5. Minute writing</li> <li>6. Talking with non-native speakers</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. School</li> <li>2. Local market</li> <li>3. Community meetings</li> </ol>

Para	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. At home</li> <li>2. Nachhiring village</li> <li>3. Marriage</li> <li>4. Death ceremony</li> <li>5. Worshipping their ancestral deities</li> <li>6. Collecting grass and firewood</li> <li>7. Taking with Darai friends</li> <li>8. Having secret talks</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. School</li> <li>2. Government offices</li> <li>3. Local markets</li> <li>4. Hospital</li> <li>5. Talking to strangers</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Markets</li> <li>2. VDC office</li> <li>3. Village meeting</li> <li>4. School</li> </ol>
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Source: Field study, 2014

### 3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the patterns of the domains of language use in the Nachhiring speech community. In this community, Nachhiring is used in all the general domains of languages use. Majority of Nachhiring speakers use it in the domains such as abusing and family gatherings and praying. In the domains like counting, joking, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, telling stories to children, singing at home and village meetings, they use Nepali more than their mother tongue. Percentages of the male respondents using Nachhiring, their mother tongue, are higher than that of female respondents in the Nachhiring speech community. The Nachhiring language is shifting to Nepali.

Most of the Nachhiring speakers use their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring, while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) with their family members and they primarily use Nepali in writing letters to their family members.

In marriage invitations they use both their mother tongue and Nepali. To the contrary, in writing minutes in the community meetings, all of them use Nepali, the language of the wider communication. Similarly, almost all the children use Nepali while playing with other children, talking with the neighbors and at school. The Nachhiring speakers use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali every day. Most of the speakers prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level. Nepali is significantly used with the persons of other languages when they visit their home.

In this speech community, the mother tongue is used at home, working in the fields, praying and worshiping, community meeting, discussion, storytelling, secrecy, quarrelling, scolding, rite and rituals, local markets, making love, and singing. Nepali, the language of wider communication, is used in the markets, letter writing, schools, minute writing, government offices, talking with other language groups and singing Nepali songs. Both Nepali and Nachhiring are used while working in the field, hospitals, VDC meetings, school, teaching children, quarrelling, seminars, hotels and social activities.

## CHAPTER 4

### BI/MULTILINGUALISM AND MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY

#### 4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Nachhiring speech community. It consists of three sections. Section 4.1 assesses the situation of bi/multilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community. In section 4.2, we examine the level of mother tongue proficiency in the Nachhiring speech community. Section 4.3 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

#### 4.1 Bi/multilingualism

Nachhiring is a multilingual community. In this speech community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz., Nachhiring and Nepali. Nachhiring is used in most of the domains of language use in their own community. There is an intense contact of Nachhiring speakers with Nepali, Dumi, Thulung, Khaling, and Sampang speakers.

Table 4.1 presents a picture of multilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 4.1: Multilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community by sex**

What languages can you speak?	Languages	Male (23)	Female (20)	Total (N= 43)
	Nachhiring	23 (100%)	20 (100%)	43 (100%)
	Nepali	22 (96%)	20 (100%)	42 (97%)
	Dumi	2 (9%)	3 (15%)	5 (12%)
	Khaling	2 (9%)	4 (20%)	6 (14%)
	Thulung	5 (22%)	7 (35%)	12 (28%)
	Sampang	2 (9%)	2 (10%)	4 (9%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 4.1 shows different levels of bilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community. Of the total respondents, 97% are bilingual in their mother tongue and Nepali. In this speech community, 28% of the total respondents are bilingual in Thulung whereas 14% are bilingual in Khaling, 12% of the total respondents has replied that they are

bilingual in Dumi. In this speech community, only 9% speakers can speak and understand Sampang. Table 4.1 also displays different levels of bilingualism in terms of sex. In terms of sex, the percentages of the female speakers being bilingual in the languages, namely, Nepali, Thulung, Khaling, Dumi and Sampang is slightly higher than that of thy male speakers in the Nachhiring speech community.

Figure 4.1 presents the situation of multilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Figure 4.1: Multilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community**

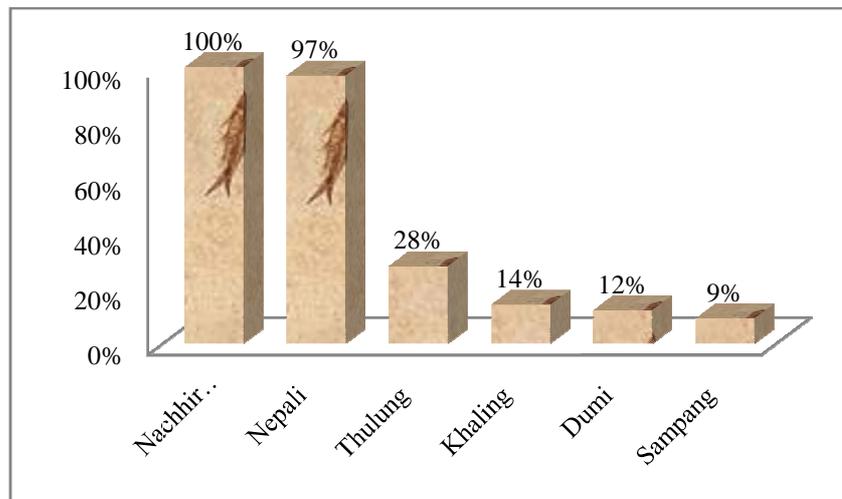


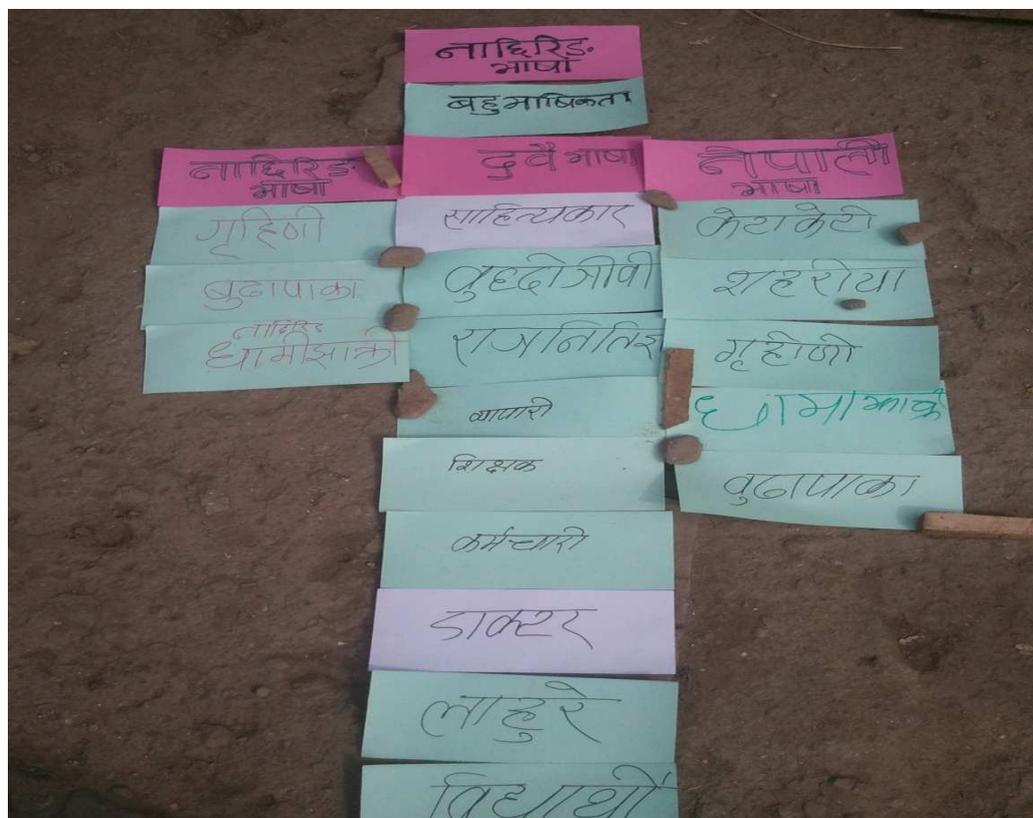
Figure 4.1 shows that in the Nachhiring speech community, besides Nachhiring, Nepali, Thulung, Khaling, Dumi and Sampang are spoken by different percentages of the respondents.

In the survey points, the participatory tool referred to as Bilingualism was also administered in order to help the community members to think about and visualize the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Nachhiring people who speak Nachhiring well and the other the Nachhiring people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Nachhiring ‘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 Nachhiring people that spoke Nachhiring ‘well’. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people,

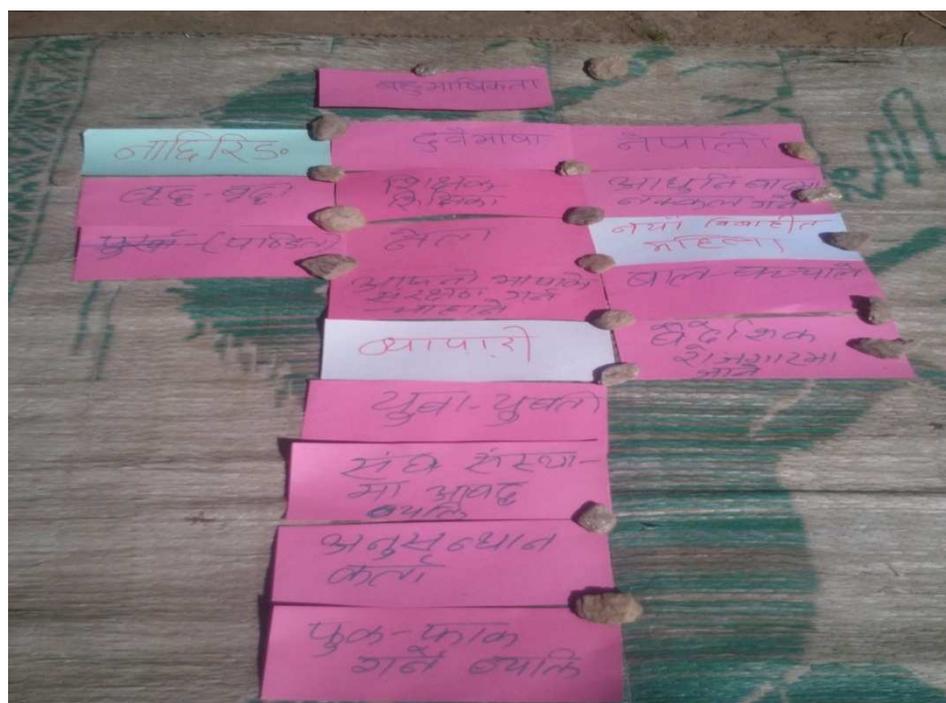
which was increasing and how they felt about that. Photographs below present the situation of bilingualism in the survey points: Aiselukharka, Rakha, and Wangdel Sokhu in Khotang District of Nepal.



**Photograph 4.1: Bilingualism in Aiselukharka, Khotang**



**Photograph 4.2: Bilingualism in Rakha, Khotang**



**Photograph 4.3: Bilingualism in Wangdel Sokhu, Khotang**

Table 4.2 presents the situation of bilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 4.2: Situation of bilingualism in the Nachhiring speech community**

Survey points	Nachhiring	Both Nepali and Nachhiring	Nepali
Aiselukharka	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Elderly people</li> <li>2. Witch doctors</li> <li>3. Guardians</li> <li>4. Businessmen</li> <li>5. Lahure (working abroad)</li> <li>6. Ladies</li> <li>7. Civil servants</li> <li>8. Children</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lahure</li> <li>2. Teachers</li> <li>3. Students</li> <li>4. Businessmen</li> <li>5. Civil servants</li> <li>6. Guardians</li> <li>7. Politicians</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Politicians</li> <li>2. Teachers</li> <li>3. Businessman</li> <li>4. Intellectuals</li> <li>5. Students</li> <li>6. Civil servants</li> <li>7. Lahure (working abroad)</li> </ol>
Rakha	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. House wives</li> <li>2. Elderly people</li> <li>3. Nachhiring witch doctors</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Literator</li> <li>2. Intellectuals</li> <li>3. Politicians</li> <li>4. Businessmen</li> <li>5. Teacher</li> <li>6. Civil servants</li> <li>7. Doctors</li> <li>8. Lahure</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Children</li> <li>2. Urban people</li> <li>3. Housewives</li> <li>4. Witchdoctors</li> <li>5. Elderly people</li> </ol>

		9. Students	
Wangdel Sokhu	1. Elderly people 2. Priests	1. Teachers 2. Leaders 3. Language activists 4. Businessmen 5. Youths 6. People engaged in organizations 7. Researchers 8. Witchdoctors	1. Modernized people 2. Newly married women 3. Children 4. Involved in foreign employment
Para	1. Elderly people 2. Children 3. Women 4. Uneducated	1. Educated 2. Civil servants 3. Teachers 4. Students	1. Civil servants 2. Educated 3. Teachers 4. Students
Bakachol	1. Elderly people 2. Uneducated 3. Children 1. Housewives	1. Social workers 2. Politicians 3. Teachers 4. Students 5. Civil servants 6. Health workers	1. Politicians 2. Teachers 3. Businessmen 4. Civil servants 5. Health workers

Source: Field study, 2014

#### 4.2 Mother tongue proficiency

In response to the question “What language can you speak?” All the informants, both male and female, have informed that they can speak mainly two languages; namely, Nachhiring, and Nepali and some of the speakers can also speak Thulung, Khaling, Dumi, and Sampang. Similarly, in response to the question “What language do you speak first?” they all have replied that they spoke Nachhiring first. When they were inquired, among the languages that they speak, which language they love most, they all answered that they love their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring, which they all speak best. In order, they said that they speak Nepali best after their mother tongue. As the third best, they speak Dumi.

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQA was administered in

the informants in the survey points in the Nachhiring speech community. Table 4.3 shows the present picture of mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Nachhiring.

**Table 4.3: Mother tongue proficiency in listening and speaking in the Nachhiring speech community**

<i>Please estimate how proficient are you in your mother tongue?</i>	Frequency	Male (23)	Female (20)	Total (N=43)
	Very well	8 (35%)	5 (25%)	13 (30%)
	Average	12 (52%)	11 (55%)	23 (54%)
	Only a little	3 (13%)	4 (20%)	7 (16%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 4.3 shows that 30% of the total respondents speak their language very well and 54% of the total respondents speak their language average. Only 16% respondent has replied that they speak their language only a little. The data shows that majority of the respondents have replied that they speak their language average. It shows that they are gradually shifting towards the Nepali language.

Table 4.4 presents the mother tongue proficiency by sex in reading and writing in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 4.4: Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing**

<i>Please estimate how well you can read and write your mother tongue?</i>	Sex		Total N=26
	Male (n=14)	Female (n=12)	
Very well	1 (7%)	1 (8%)	2 (8%)
Average	8 (57%)	5 (42%)	13 (50%)
Only a little	5 (36%)	6 (50%)	11 (42%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 4.4 shows that 8% of the total respondents, who can read and write, have said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well and 42% have responded that they can read and write their mother tongue only a little. In reading and writing

50% of the total respondents replied that they do average reading and writing. This situation indicates that Nachhiring does not have a strong written tradition.

Most of the Nachhiring children learn Nepali at their home and in their society; they do not have more difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.5 presents the level of understanding of Nepali when a small Nachhiring child first goes to school.

**Table 4.5: Level of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school**

<i>When a small child first goes to school, can s/he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Understand all	10 (44%)	6 (30%)	16 (37%)
Understand a little	12 (52%)	14 (70%)	26 (61%)
Do not understand at all	1 (4%)	-	1 (2%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 4.5 shows that 37% of the total informants are confirmed that when a small child of Nachhiring speech community first goes to school can understand all the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Similarly, 61% of the total informants are quite confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Only 2% of the respondents have replied that when a small child first goes to school cannot understand the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

In the Nachhiring speech community, all the family members, father, mother and spouse can speak Nepali well. Table 4.6 presents the picture of other languages known to their father, mother and spouse.

**Table 4.6: Other languages known to family members by sex**

	Father		Mother		Spouse	
	Male (23)	Female (20)	Male (23)	Female (20)	Male (17)	Female (13)
Nepali	23 (100%)	20 (100%)	23 (100%)	20 (100%)	17 (100%)	13 (100%)
Dumi	2 (9%)	1 (5%)	2 (9%)	1 (5%)	2 (12%)	1 (8%)
Khaling	-	-	-	-	1 (6%)	-
Thulung	2 (9%)	2 (10%)	5 (22%)	4 (20%)	2 (12%)	3 (23%)
Sampang	1 (4%)	-	1 (4%)	-	-	1 (8%)
Koi	-	-	3 (13%)	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 4.6 shows that Nepali, Dumi, Khaling, Thulung, Sampang and Koi are the other languages known to the Nachhiring fathers, mothers and spouses other than the mother tongue. The percentage of the male who have informed about the languages known to their father, mother and spouse is significantly higher than that of female in the Nachhiring speech community.

Similarly, Table 4.7 presents the picture of other languages known to their sons and daughters.

**Table 4.7: The picture of other languages known to their sons and daughters**

<i>What languages known to your sons/daughters</i>	Sex			Where they learn?
	Male (n=17)	Female (n=13)	Total (n=30)	
Nepali	17 (100%)	13 (100%)	30 (100 %)	Village, at schools
English	5 (29%)	7 (54%)	12 (40%)	At schools, college

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 4.6 shows that all the informants have replied that Nepali is known to their sons and daughters and they learn it in village and school. Similarly, 40% of the total informants replied that English is known to their sons and daughters and they learn it at school and college.

### **4.3 Summary**

In this chapter, we attempted to assess the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Nachhiring speech community. Nachhiring, like other speech communities, is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz. Nachhiring, Nepali, Dumi, Khaling, Thulung, Sampang, and Koi. The mother tongue is normally spoken by elderly people, children, women, and uneducated whereas Nepali is spoken by civil servants, educated, businessmen, politicians, teachers and students. All the speakers can speak mainly two languages; namely, Nachhiring, and Nepali. They acquired their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring first. They all love their language and they speak it best and Nepali is their second best spoken language.

They speak their language very well and only a few literate Nachhiring speakers said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. Around 37% of the total informants are confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. In the Nachhiring speech community, all the family members can speak Nepali well. Similarly, regarding the other languages known to Nachhiring children all the children know Nepali and very few children also know English.

## CHAPTER 5

### LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

#### 5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Nachhiring. It consists of five sections. Section 5.1 examines language vitality in Nachhiring. In section 5.2, we discuss language maintenance in Nachhiring. Section 5.3 looks at the attitudes of the Nachhiring community towards their language. In section 5.4, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

#### 5.1 Language vitality

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

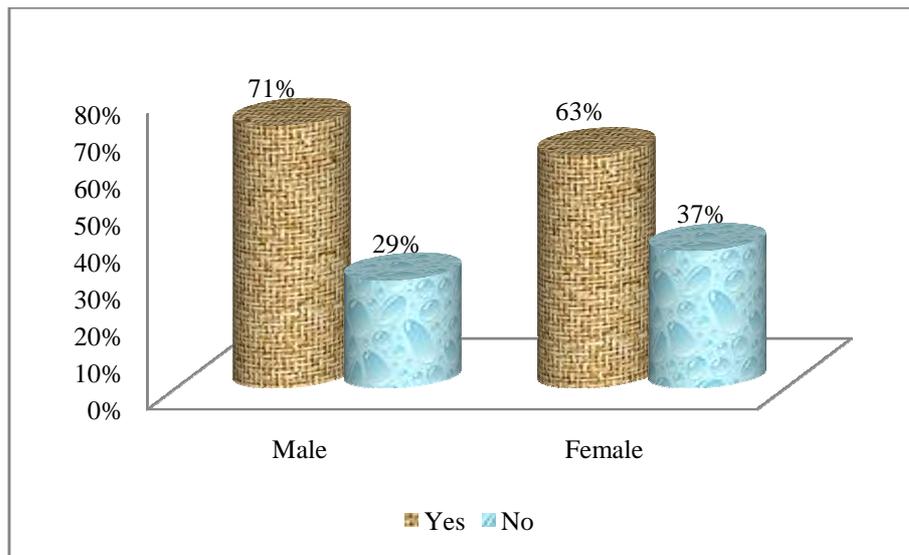
**Table 5.1: Language vitality in the Nachhiring speech community**

<i>Do all your children speak your mother tongue?</i>	Male (n=21)	Female (n=16)	Total (N=37)
Yes	15 (71%)	10 (63%)	25 (68%)
No	6 (29%)	6 (37%)	12 (32%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.1 shows the vitality level of the Nachhiring language is high. There were three questions administered on the informants from each survey points. When the informants were asked whether all their children speak their mother tongue, 68% informants from the key points responded that their children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring. It can also be shown through the Figure 5.1 below.

**Figure 5.1: Language vitality in the Nachhiring speech community**



Similarly, in response to the question “What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?” Table 5.2 presents the responses provided by the Nachhiring speakers in the key survey points.

**Table 5.2: Use of languages by the parents with their children**

<i>What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (N=43)
Mother tongue	4 (17%)	4 (20%)	8 (19%)
Nepali	19 (83%)	16 (80%)	35 (81%)
Other	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.2 shows that most of informants; i.e. 81% responded that most of the parents in their community speak Nepali with their children whereas only 19% responded that most of the parents in their village usually speak their own mother tongue, Nachhiring to their children.

Similarly, when the informants were asked if young people speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken, all the informants responded that their mother tongue is spoken not as well as it ought to be spoken by the young people of their speech community. It shows that they are gradually losing their mother tongue.

## 5.2 Language maintenance

In this section, we try to assess the language maintenance situation by analyzing two factors: intermarriage situation and the use of mother tongue in school. Generally, the language maintenance in Nachhiring is appalling since it is shifting to Nepali.

### 5.2.1 Intermarriage situation

Intermarriage, which is one of the causes of language shift, is not common in the Nachhiring speech community. Table 5.3 presents the situation of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community.

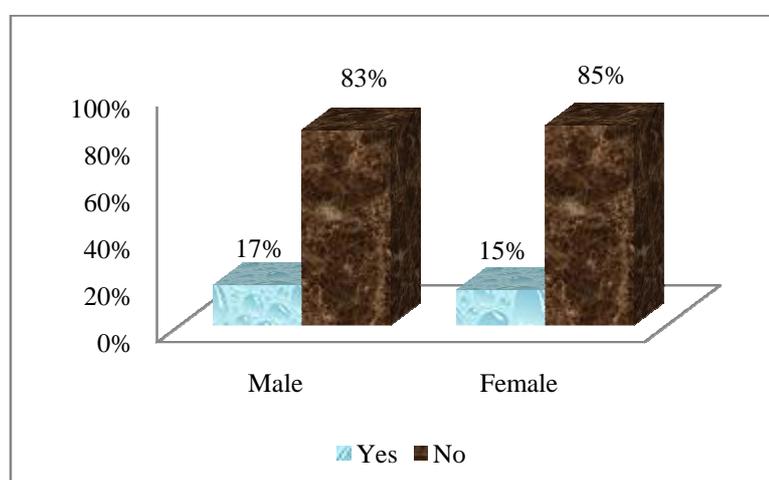
**Table 5.3: Situation of intermarriage in Nachhiring speech community by sex**

<i>Is their intermarriage in your community?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (N=43)
Yes	4 (17%)	3 (15%)	7 (16%)
No	19 (83%)	17 (85%)	36 (84%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.3 shows the situation of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community. Eighty four percent of the total informants have replied that there is not the practice of intermarriage in their community. In terms of sex 83% male and 85% female informants have replied that there is not the practice of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community. Similarly, 17% male and 15% female informants have replied that there is the practice of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community. It can also be shown through the Figure 6.2 to make more understandable.

**Figure 5.2: Situation of intermarriage in Nachhiring speech community**



This situation clearly indicates that intermarriage, which is one of the reasons for language endangerment, is rarely found in the Nachhiring speech community.

Similarly, language groups which have common marital relationship with Nachhiring speech community are Gurung, Magar, Tamng, Sunuwar, Newar, Limbu, Nepali, and Thulung.

### 5.2.2 Use of mother tongue in education

Nachhiring speakers have positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. However, the Nachhiring speakers are gradually shifting to the Nepali language. In response to the question “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” Table 5.4 presents the responses of the Nachhiring speakers of the survey points.

**Table 5.4: Likeness of the children’s learning/studying in their mother**

<i>Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Yes	21 (91% )	20 (100% )	41 (95%)
No	2 ( 9% )	-	2 (5%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.4 shows that most of the respondents like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education whereas only 5% respondents said that they do not like their children learn/study in their mother tongue. Regarding the sex, all the female respondents of the Nachhiring speech community responded that they like their children to learn/study in their mother tongue and only 9% male respondents said that they do not like it. Even the Nachhiring speakers are shifting to the Nepali language they have positive attitude towards the preservation of their mother tongue.

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

**Table 5.5: The ways of supporting the mother tongue based schools**

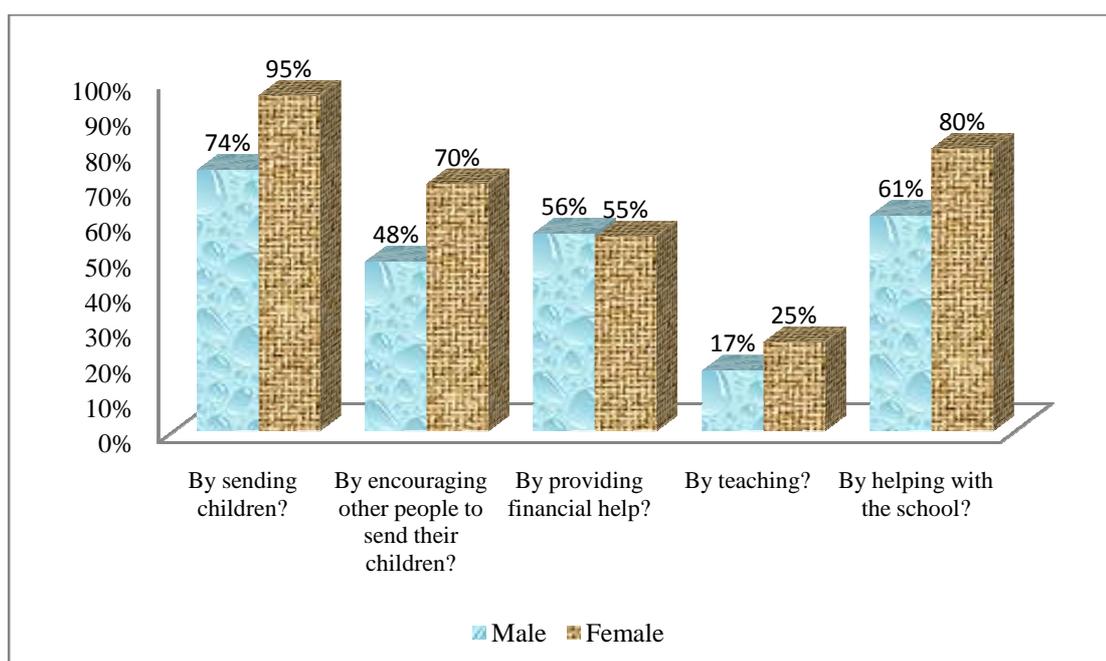
<i>If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
By sending children?	17 (74%)	19 (95%)	36 (84%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	11 (48%)	14 (70%)	25 (58%)
By providing financial help?	13 (56%)	11 (55%)	24 (56%)
By teaching?	4 (17%)	5 (25%)	9 (21%)
By helping with the school?	14 (61%)	16 (80%)	30 (70%)
Others?	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.5 shows the different numbers and percentages of the informants (in terms of sex) who are ready to support mother tongue based schools in different ways: by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching and helping with the school. In terms of sex, it is clear that the female respondents are more enthusiastic than the male respondent in supporting the schools except by teaching their mother tongue themselves. One of the reasons is that women are more illiterate than men in the Nachhiring speech community.

Table 5.5 also shows that most of the respondents (84%) are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school. Similarly, 58% of the total respondents are prepared to encourage other to send their children in the mother tongue based school. Likewise, 56% respondents are eager to provide financial help and 70% respondents said that they would support by helping the school. In the same way, 21% informants even responded that they would be ready to teach Nachhiring if the schools are opened in their mother tongue, Nachhiring. This shows they have strong feeling and affection for the development of their language. This indicates that mother tongue based multilingual education is urgently needed in this community in order to foster the cognitive development of the children. Figure 5.3 makes the ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools much clearer.

**Figure 5.3: The ways of supporting the mother tongue teaching schools**



### 5.3 Language attitude

In this section, we look at the attitudes of the speakers in the Nachhiring speech community. A positive attitude may foster the use of language and widen the domains of language use whereas a negative attitude may help the shrinking of the domains and ultimately the death of the language.

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

In general, there is an extremely positive attitude of the Nachhiring people towards their language. Table 5.6 presents the feelings of the informants while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

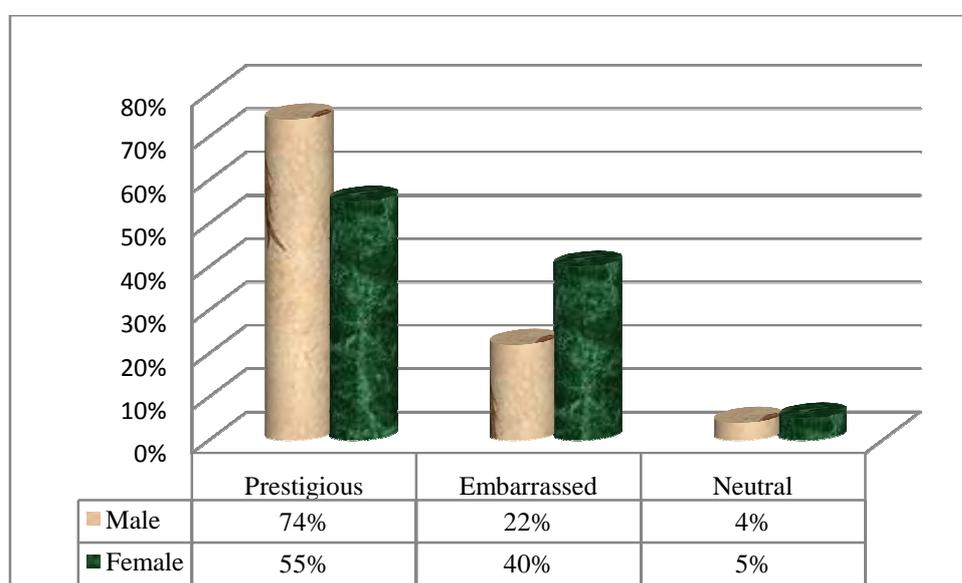
**Table 5.6: Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language**

<i>When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Prestigious	17 (74%)	11 (55%)	28 (65%)
Embarrassed	5 (22%)	8 (40%)	13 (30%)
Neutral	1 (4%)	1 (5%)	2 (5%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.6 shows that 65% of the entire respondents feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. In this speech community, 5% of the entire respondents feel neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. In case of being embarrassed 30% feel embarrassed when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. It shows that Nachhiring speakers have positive attitude towards their language. We can present it through the following figure to make more understandable.

**Figure 5.4: Speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language**



Similarly, in response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” Nachhiring native speakers have provided the responses as presented in the Table 5.7.

**Table 5.7: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Nachhiring**

<i>Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Yes	3 (13%)	5 (25%)	8 (19%)
No	20 (87%)	15 (75%)	35 (81%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.7 shows that 81% of the entire respondents have responded that they have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue.

Only 19% respondents have replied that they have had faced some problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

Because of being a native speaker of the mother tongue, they may have faced a number of categories of problems: Social discrimination, political discrimination, and economic discrimination, hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure and economic pressure. In the Nachhiring speech community, both male and female respondent who had faced a problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue was only the social pressure.

### 5.3.2 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-native speakers

Most of the Nachhiring speakers feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question “How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?” Table 5.8 presents the responses of the respondents of the key survey points.

**Table 5.8: Feeling about son or daughter’s marriage with non-native speakers**

<i>How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	8 (35%)	14 (70%)	22 (51%)
Bad	15 (65%)	6 (30%)	21 (49%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.8 shows that 49% of the total respondents have replied that they would feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language. In case of indifferent 51% of the respondents said that they were indifferent in such case. However, there was no one to say s/he would feel good if his/her sons or daughters married someone who does not know his/her mother tongue.

### 5.3.3 Grandchildren’s language

Nachhiring speakers are positive towards their language and culture. Most of the Nachhiring speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language. Table 5.9 presents the responses of the Nachhiring speakers in the key survey points regarding

the question “When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?”

**Table 5.9: Response to the if future generation might speak the language**

<i>When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Yes	13 (56%)	15 (75%)	28 (65%)
No	10 (44%)	5 (25%)	15 (35%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.9 shows that 65% of the total respondents are fully confident that their children would speak their mother tongue in future. Only 35% have responded that that their children would not speak the mother tongue in future.

Similarly, in response to the question “If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?” Table 5.10 presents the responses of the Nachhiring speakers in the key survey points.

**Table 5.10: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language**

<i>How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Good	23 (100%)	19 (95%)	42 (98%)
Indifferent	-	1 (5%)	1 (2%)
Bad	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.10 shows 98% of the informants feel good if their children speak their mother tongue whereas only 2% of the informants feel indifferent if their children speak their mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question “If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?” Table 5.11 presents the responses of the Nachhiring speakers in the key survey points.

**Table 5.11: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language**

<i>How do you feel about this if they do not speak of your language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	3 (13%)	5 (25%)	8 (19%)
Bad	20 (87%)	15 (75%)	35 (81%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.11 shows that out of the total respondents 81% feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue whereas remaining 19% informants feel indifferent if their children will not speak their mother tongue. No one informant feels good if their children will not speak their mother tongue. It shows that they love their language.

Similarly, in response to the question “What language should your children speak first?” all the informants (both male and female) have responded that they should first speak their mother tongue, Nachhiring first. It means that all the people in this community are convinced that their children should speak Nachhiring first.

#### **5.3.4 Language spoken by grandparents**

In response to the question “Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 5.12 presents the responses provided by the Nachhiring speakers in the key survey points.

**Table 5.12: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations**

<i>Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Yes	3 (13%)	5 (25%)	8 (19%)
No	20 (87%)	15 (75%)	35 (81%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.12 shows that 81% of the total informants do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas remaining 19% think that

the language spoken by them is different from their grandparent's. It means that their language is still conservative.

Regarding the responses in the Table 5.12, "If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" Table 5.13 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey points.

**Table 5.13: The ways of differences in language between two generations**

<i>If yes, how?</i>	Male (n=3)	Female (n=5)	Total (8)
Pronunciation	3 (100%)	-	3 (37%)
Vocabulary	-	-	-
Use of specific type of sentences	-	-	-
Mixing of other languages	-	-	-
Way of speaking	-	5 (100%)	5 (63%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.13 shows that the language spoken by the present Nachhiring speakers is different from their grandparents in terms of pronunciation, and in way of speaking of the language.

Similarly, in response to the question "How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?" Table 5.14 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

**Table 5.14: Feeling about the young people who use other languages instead of their mother tongue**

<i>How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Good	1 (4%)	-	1 (2%)
Indifferent	1 (4%)	4 (20%)	5 (12%)
Bad	21 (92%)	16 (80%)	37 (86%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 5.14 shows that 86% of the total informants feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue, Nachhiring. However, 12% of the total informants have replied that they would feel indifferent when they hear young people of their community speaking other language and only 2% of the total informants have replied that they would feel good when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue. It indicates that the loyalty towards their mother tongue is strong in the Nachhiring speech community.

#### **5.4 Summary**

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Nachhiring. The vitality level of the Nachhiring language is very high. Majority of Nachhiring children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring. Similarly most of parents in their villages speak Nepali with their children. Their mother tongue is not spoken by the young people of their speech community as it ought to be spoken. It shows that they are gradually losing their mother tongue. Most of the respondents said that there is not the practice of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community and only a few respondents said that there is the practice of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community. Similarly, language groups which have common marital relationship with Nachhiring speech community are Gurung, Magar, Tamng, Sunuwar, Newar, Limbu, Nepali, and Thulung.

Most of the Nachhiring speakers like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education and they are ready to support mother tongue based schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching, and helping with the school. Mother tongue based multilingual education is urgently needed in this community in order to foster the cognitive development of the children.

Similarly, majority of the Nachhiring speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. Only a few respondents said that they had faced problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue and it is the problem of social pressure. Majority of Nachhiring people would feel indifferent if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language. They are fully confident that the children of the present children

would speak their mother tongue in future. Most of them feel good if their grand children will speak their mother tongue and they feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, all the Nachhiring speakers said that should speak their mother tongue, Nachhiring first. Most of the speakers do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas only 19% think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparent's language and the differences are in terms of pronunciation, and in way of speaking. They feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue, Nachhiring.

## CHAPTER 6

### LANGUAGE RESOURCES

#### 6.0 Outline

This chapter presents the situation of language resources available in the Nachhiring speech community. It consists of five sections. Section 6.1 deals with the present situation of the oral literature available in the Nachhiring language. In section 6.2, we present the situation of radio broadcast. Section 6.3 deals with the written materials in the language. In section 6.4, we look at the organizations to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language. Section 6.5 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 6.1 Oral literature

Nachhiring is very rich in oral literature. In Nachhiring speech community, we find folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), radio, films, CD/ DVD and others. Table 6.1 enumerates the major kinds of oral literature in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 6.1: Oral literatures available in the Nachhiring speech community**

Kinds oral literature	Availability	Unavailability
Folk tales	√	x
Songs	√	x
Religious literature	√	x
Radio/ FM	√	x
Films	x	x
CD/DVD	√	x
Others	√	x

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 6.1 shows that the major oral literatures available in the Nachhiring language are folktales, songs, religious literature, radio/FM, CD/DVD, and others.

In Table 6.1 we see that the Nachhiring speech community is blessed with radio programs in their mother tongues. The informants of different demographic categories like sex, literacy and age were asked how often they listen to radio program broadcast

in their language. Table 6.2 presents the frequency at which they listen to the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue.

**Table 6.2: Frequency at which they listen to the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue**

<i>How often do you listen to radio broadcast in your language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Everyday	1 (4%)	1 (5%)	2 (5%)
Rarely	4 (18%)	6 (30%)	10 (23%)
Never	18 (78%)	13 (65%)	31 (72%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 6.2 shows that 23% of the total Nachhiring respondents listen to the radio broadcast in their language sometimes. Similarly, 72% of the Nachhiring speakers never listen to the radio broadcast in their language and only 5% speakers usually listen to the radio broadcast in their language.

## 6.2 Materials written in the language

Table 6.3 presents the major materials written about the language and the languages in which such materials have been written in.

**Table 6.3: Written materials available in the Nachhiring language**

Materials	Yes or No	What language(s) is it written in?
Phonemic inventory	Yes	Nachhiring
Grammar	No	-
Dictionary	Yes	Nachhiring
Textbooks	No	-
Literacy materials	No	-
Newspapers	No	-
Magazines	Yes	Nachhiring
Written literature	Yes	Nachhiring
Folklore	Yes	Nachhiring
Others	Yes	Nachhiring

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 6.3 shows that the written materials available in the Nachhiring language are phonemic inventory, dictionary, magazines, written literature, and folklore. All these materials are written in Nachhiring.

The informants were asked if they read any of these things written in their language. Most of the educated speakers replied that they read them. Table 6.4 presents the situation of the reading of the materials written in the Nachhiring language.

**Table 6.4: Situation of the reading of the materials written in the language**

<i>Do you read any of these things written in your language?</i>	Male (n=23)	Female (n=20)	Total (43)
Yes	7 (30% )	3 (15% )	10 (23%)
No	16 (70% )	17 (85%)	33 (77%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Nachhiring is a Nachhiring is a preliterate language. It does not have a long written tradition. Table 6.4 shows that out of the total Nachhiring respondents 77% replied that they have not read any written material available in their language whereas only 23% replied that they have read written material available in their mother tongue. Similarly, literate informants said that their language is written in the Devanagari script.

### **6.3 Organizations to promote the knowledge and/or use of the language**

In the Nachhiring speech community, there are a number of social organizations established to promote the knowledge and/or use of the language. Table 6.5 enumerates such organizations established in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 6.5: Organizations to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language**

	<b>Organizations</b>	<b>Kinds of activities</b>
1.	Kirant Rudu Nachiring Sakham District Committee, Khotang	Social ,linguistic and cultural
2.	Kirant Rudu Nachiring Sakham V.D.C Committee Aiselukharka	Social and economic development
3.	Nachiring Sakham Kandriya Committee Kathmandu	Social , linguistic, economic and cultural

## **6.4 Summary**

In this chapter, we tried to discuss the language resources available in the Nachhiring speech community. Nachhiring community is rich in oral literature. Oral literatures available in the language are folktales, songs, religious literature, radio, films, CD/DVD and others. Written materials available in the language are phonemic inventory, dictionary, magazines, written literature, and folklore. Nachhiring is a prewritten language. They use the Devanagari script in writing. There are only four organizations devoted for the development of the Nachhiring language and culture. These organizations are working for the social, cultural, linguistic, and economic development of Nachhiring.

## CHAPTER 7

### DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

#### 7.0 Outline

This chapter assesses the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in Nachhiring. It consists of five sections. Section 7.1 deals with wordlist comparison in Nachhiring. Similarly, section 7.2 presents the lexical comparison with a recently developed program COG. Section 7.3 deals with the global phonetic correspondence among the varieties of Nachhiring. In section 7.4, we discuss the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 7.5 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 7.1 Wordlist comparison

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

##### 7.1.1 Methodology

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

##### 7.1.2 Evaluation criteria

Normally, 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 of less than 60% are evaluated 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 7.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages among the wordlists.

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

	<b>Lexical similarity %</b>	<b>Evaluation</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
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	

### 7.1.3 Lexical similarity

Table 7.2 presents the lexical similarity percentages among the survey points in the Nachhiring speech community.

**Table 7.3: Lexical similarity key points in the Nachhiring speech community**

Varieties	Bangdel	Rakha	Para	Bakachol	Aiselukharka
Bangdel	100%	99%	99%	98%	72%
Rakha	99%	100%	100%	99%	72%
Para	99%	100%	100%	99%	73%
Bakachol	98%	99%	99%	100%	74%
Aiselukharka	72%	72%	73%	74%	100%

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 7.3 presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the survey points. Bangdel exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 72% to 99%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e, Rakha, Para, Bakachol, and Aiselukharka. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Bangdel exhibits the highest similarity with Rakha and Para (i.e., 99%) and the least similarity with Aiselukharka (i.e, 72%). Rakha, another survey point, displays a significant degree (ranging from 72% to 100%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e, Bangdel, Para, Bakachol, and Aiselukharka. Rakha variety of Nachhiring has the highest degree of similarity with Para (100%) and the least similarity with Aiselukharka (72%). Similarly, Para shows a noteworthy degree (ranging from 73% to 100%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Bangdel, Rakha, Bakachol, and Aiselukharka. It has the highest degree of similarity with Para (100%) and the least similarity with Aiselukharka (73%).

In the same way, Bakachol, another survey point, also displays a significant degree of lexical similarity (ranging from 74% to 99%) with other survey points, i.e, Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Aiselukharka. It exhibits the highest degree of lexical similarity with Rakha and Para (99%) and the least similarity with Aiselukharka (74%). Finally, Aiselukharka, another survey point, shows a noteworthy degree of lexical similarity (ranging from 72% to 74%) with other survey points. It exhibits the highest degree of lexical similarity with both Bakachol (74%) and the least similarity with Bangdel and Rakha (72%). From this analysis, it can be concluded that the varieties of the Nachhiring languages spoken in all these five survey points are mutually intelligible to each other. The language varieties spoken in Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Bakachol are almost same and the Aiselukharka variety has some lexical differences with the other varieties however, there is not any dialectal variation among these varieties.

The evaluation the lexical similarity percentages displayed across the survey points do not clearly indicate that Nachhiring shows the tendency towards dialectal variations. The evaluation criteria points out that the 60% is, generally, used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of the lexical similarity. When lexical similarity percentages are less than 60% the form of the speech spoken in different key points are considered to be different languages. If such percentages are 60% or more the intelligibility testing is required by using RTT (Recorded Text Test). Normally, percentages higher than 85% are taken as the indicators to conclude that the speech varieties being compared are

likely to be related dialects. However, we require conducting intelligibility testing by using the tool RTT. Besides, the attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors in the evaluation of the dialectal variation. All the informants unanimously reported that Nachhiring does have dialectal variation.

## 7.2 Lexical comparison with COG<sup>1</sup>

This section compares and analyzes the 210 wordlist using COG, a recently developed program for lexical 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 progressively refine the wordlists and settings, improving the comparison results and the understanding of the varieties at each step. Table 7.3 presents the phonetic similarity based on wordlist of each variety with all other varieties.

**Table 7.3: Phonetic similarity among all the five survey points in percentage**

Varieties	Bangdel	Rakha	Para	Bakachol	Aiselukharka
Bangdel		97%	96%	96%	69%
Rakha	97%		97%	97%	69%
Para	96%	97%		97%	69%
Bakachol	96%	97%	97%		69%
Aiselukharka	69%	69%	69%	69%	

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2014)

The general finding from Table 7.3 is that the Nachhiring varieties spoken in Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Bakachol have 96%-97% phonetic similarities with each other. Similarly, Aiselukharka variety has 69% phonetic similarities with other varieties. This can also be presented in a hierarchical graph which displays the hierarchy of relation among the speech varieties based on COG.

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<sup>1</sup> COG is a tool for comparing languages using lexicostatistics and comparative linguistics techniques. It can be used to automate much of the process of comparing wordlists from different language varieties.

**Figure 7.1: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarities matrix in hierarchical dendrogram graph**

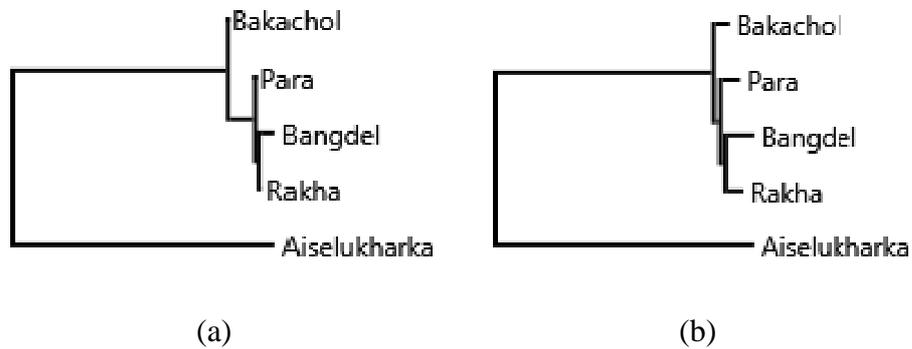
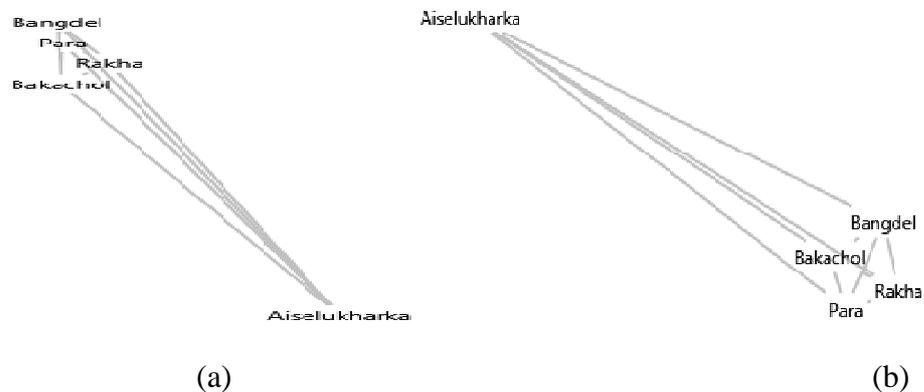


Figure 7.1 shows that two speech varieties of Nachhiring: Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Bakachol are both lexically and phonetically closer to each other than Aiselukharka speech variety of Nachhiring.

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 7.2.

**Figure 7.2: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarity matrix network graph**



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 7.2 shows that the Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Bakachol speech varieties of Nachhiring are closely related to each other both lexically and phonetically.

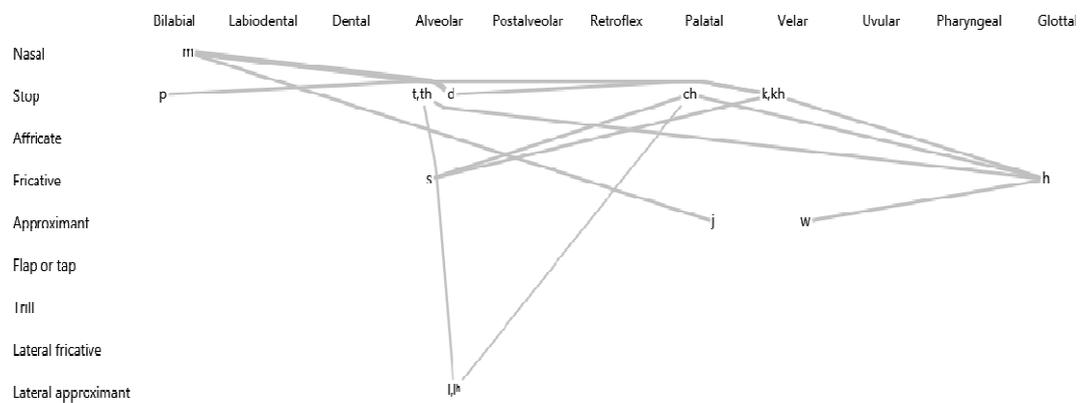
From this analysis we can conclude that in terms of the comparison of basic lexical items from survey points, we can say that there is not any dialectal variation in the

Nachhiring language. All the varieties spoken in these five survey points are mutually intelligible to each other.

### 7.3 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 7.3 presents an IPA consonant chart (column headers are place of articulation; rows are manner of articulation) in their onset position.

**Figure 7.3: Global correspondence of Nachhiring phonemes in onset positions**



This chart allows us to get a good sense of correspondences that occur across multiple variety pairs. Similarly, Figure 7.4 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 7.4: Global correspondence of Nachhiring phonemes in nucleus positions**

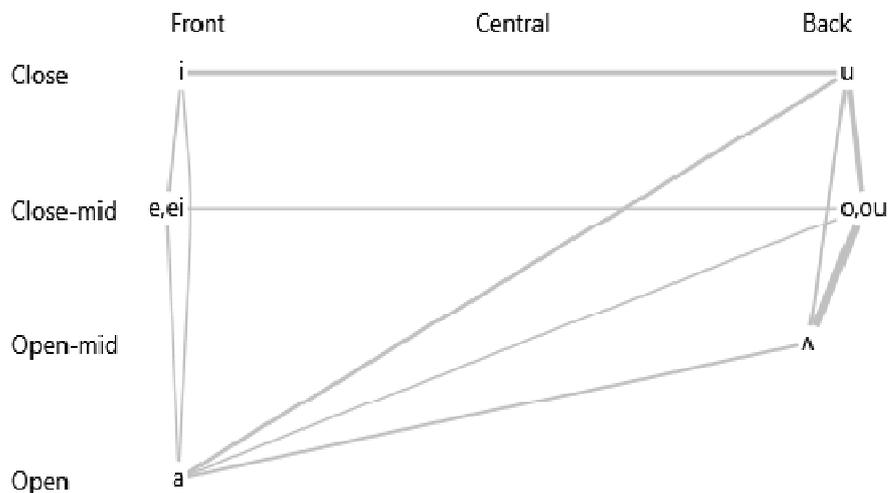
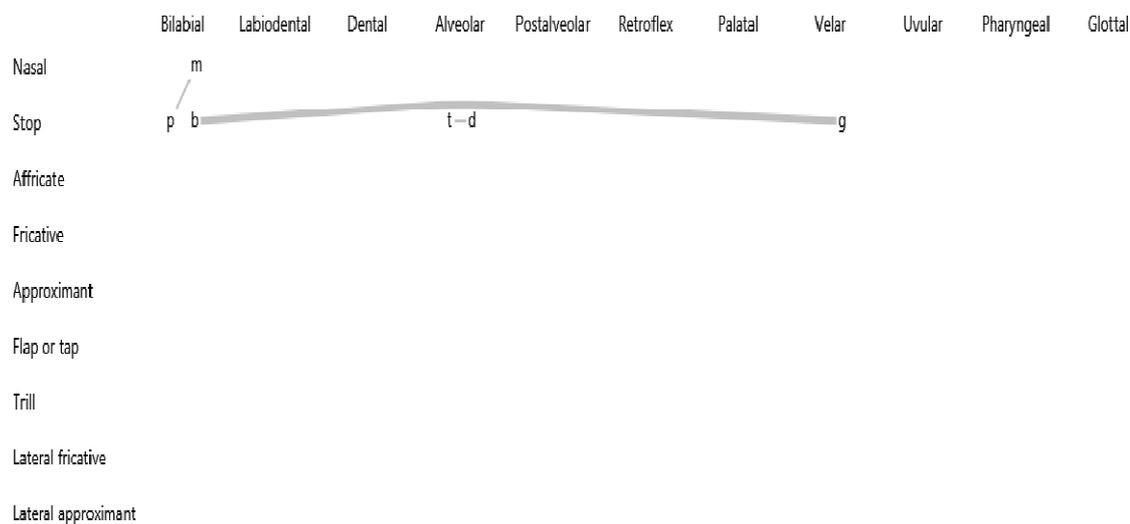


Figure 7.4 shows the vowels phonemes of Nachhiring in nucleus position of the syllables. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences.

Figure 7.5 presents the global correspondence of the phonemes of the basic wordlist in their coda position.

**Figure 7.5: Global correspondence of Nachhiring phonemes in coda positions**



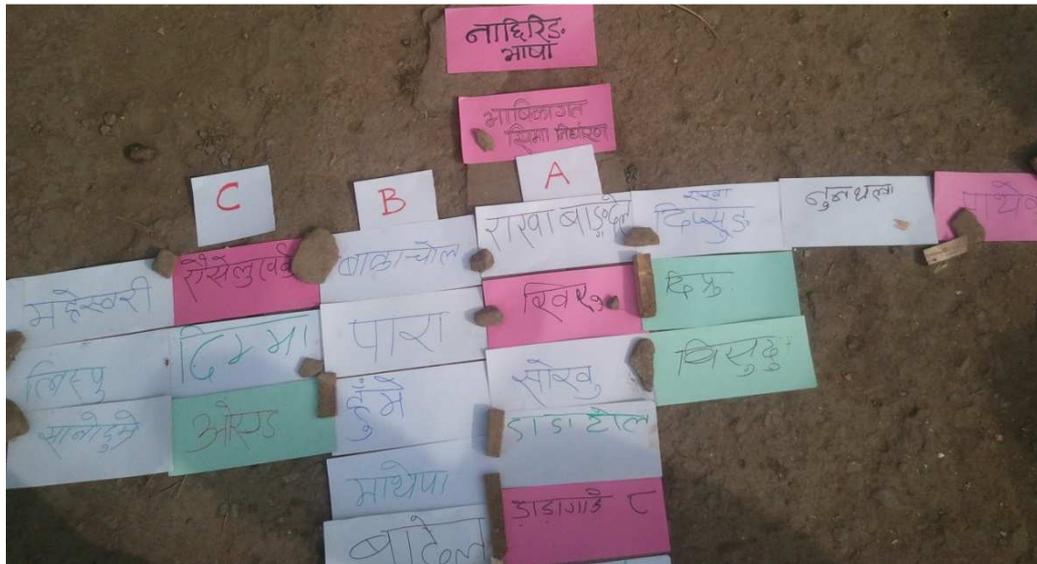
We can observe that only a limited number of phonemes have been occurred in the coda position in comparison to the onset position. Only bilabial, alveolar, and velar phonemes occur in the coda position.

#### 7.4 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any, in Nachhiring. The informants in group in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Nachhiring is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as Nachhiring language speaking areas: Rakha, Wangdelsokhu, Bakacholbadel, Aiselukharka and Para. Photograph 7.1 and 7.2 present the situation of dialect mapping in Nachhiring speech community.



**Photograph7.1: Dialect Mapping in Aiselukharka, Khotang**



**Photograph7.2: Dialect mapping in Rakha, Khotang**

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

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

Survey points	The places where Nachhiring is spoken as mother tongue	Where it is spoken the same as others
Aiselukharka	Aiselukharka, Jordhara, Dimmaodor, Batelbesi, Labuwa, Katunje, Habau, Bayang, Nawa, Badel, Sotang, Para, Bakachol, Mathepa, Hume, Dandatul, Sahune, Lahertol, Dandagan, Jaremdo, Thumlu, Munakhar, Laisala, Rakhim, Labsibote, Radhambha, Gilkha, Thoro, Nawa, Lasla, Samewa, Bidel, Sokhu, Changelu, Gairigaun, Benesem, Bukhu, Mastbau, Rumkumi, Dabekha, Bididi, Bhadaure, Koldanda, Sumtel, Sekamdu, Lathasku, Wadusku, Hamsuma, Hara, Bisud, Salankha, Pipicha, Aiselukharka,	The same dialect
Rakha	Maheswari, Lispu, Sanodumre, Aiselukharka, Dimma, Oed, Bakachol, Para, Hume, Mathepa, Badel, Rakha Bangdel, Khiru, Sokhu, Dadatul, Dandagaun, Jaremdo, Sameba, Laisala, Bidel, Rakhim, Koldanda, Dumri Bhote, Sumtel, Lathasku, Badasku, Bukhu, Rakha, Rakha Dipsung, Dipru, Bisudu, Nunthala, Pathek	The same dialect

Source: Field study, 2014

Unanimously, they concluded that there are not the significant dialectal differences among the forms of speech in Nachhiring. In response to which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials, the informants responded that their own

form of speech would be alright for this purpose and they gave second priority to their neighboring varieties.

### **7.5 Summary**

In this chapter, we assessed the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in the survey points in the Nachhiring speech community. Across the survey points, there appear different ranges of lexical similarity. Such similarity percentages clearly indicate that there is not a clear tendency towards dialectal variation in Nachhiring. Nachhiring spoken in five survey points are mutually intelligible to each other. The lexical similarity in the surveyed points ranges from 72% to 100%. Similarly, using COG, recently developed software, there is 69% to 97% phonetic similarity among the key survey points of the Nachhiring language.

The Nachhiring varieties spoken in Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Bakachol are very much similar to each other as they have 96%-97% phonetic similarities among them. Aiselukharka variety has 69% phonetic similarities with other varieties.

Participants in the survey points responded that the Nachhiring language spoken in most of the places is exactly the same with their speech variety and their speech varieties have some lexical variations with Aiselukharka variety. Similarly, that most of the participants of the Nachhiring speech community gave first priority to their own variety for developing reading materials and recordings and gave second priority to their neighboring varieties.

## CHAPTER 8

### LANGUAGE RDEVELOPMENT

#### 8.0 Outline

This chapter examines the views/dreams of the Nachhiring speech community about its language development. It consists of three sections. Section 8.1 discusses the dreams and aspirations of the Nachhiring community members for the development their language and culture. In section 8.2, we deal with the planning for realizing the views/dreams about language development in the Nachhiring speech community. Section 8.3 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

#### 8.1 Dreams and aspirations for language development

In this section, we try to examine the views about language development in the Nachhiring speech community by employing mainly, two tools: Appreciative Inquiry and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language and culture. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture.

In the survey, this participatory tool was used in all the five survey points: Rakha, Wangdelsokhu, Bakacholbadel, Aiselukharka and Para. It was conducted in these survey points in a group of 8 to 12 participants of different demographic categories of sex, age, and educational status. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Nachhiring speech community for the development of their languages as well their culture.

The participants in these points were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the 'good things' in a piece of paper and placed them one after the other on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in the Nachhiring language and culture, say they "dreamed" about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

The pictures of appreciative inquiry tools used in the key survey points present the language development and the ambitions to the development of language. By using this participatory tool, a lot of information about the dreams and aspirations of the Nachhiring community members for the development their language as well their culture was gathered.

Photographs below presents the things that made the Nachhiring participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as the planning informants made in the survey points.

Photograph 8.1 presents the things that made the participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in Bangdel Sokhu, Khotang.



**Photograph 8.1: Appreciative inquiry in Bangdel Sokhu, Khotang**

Table 8.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in Munuwa, Kailali.

**Table 8.1: Summary of the responses to the major queries in Bangdel Sokhu**

Key survey points	Good things that made Darai speakers feel happy or proud about their languages	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Bangdel Sokhu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Having their own language</li> <li>▪ Having their own script</li> <li>▪ History, geography</li> <li>▪ Culture and ancestral manner,</li> <li>▪ Self identity</li> <li>▪ Unique life style</li> <li>▪ Their own physical structure</li> <li>▪ Their own ancestral deities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Preservation of their language and culture,</li> <li>▪ Advertisement</li> <li>▪ To Publish grammar and dictionary in Darai,</li> <li>▪ Writing folk stories,</li> <li>▪ Writing textbooks in the mother tongue</li> <li>▪ Education in the mother tongue at primary level</li> <li>▪ Management of training</li> <li>▪ To be interested in language,</li> <li>▪ To prepare curriculum in the mother tongue,</li> <li>▪ To organize seminar and conferences</li> <li>▪ Observation and evaluation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mother tongue based education in primary level</li> </ul>

To summarize, the responses to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud about their language include rich traditions and culture, mother tongue, identity, respect for mother tongue, lifestyle, history, geography, their physical structure, and ancestral deities. The common dreams to make their language and culture better include preservation and promotion of their language and culture, education in the mother tongue, textbooks in the mother tongue, grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue, schools for teaching in the mother tongue, writing folk literature, curriculum, observation and evaluation of educational programs, and organizing seminar and conferences on Nachhiring language and culture.

### 8.1.2 Views of the village heads/language activists

In this section, we try to evaluate the views of the village heads/language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 4 informants in total. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

- a) Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?
- b) In what ways do you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, the responses to the ways they could do vary in some cases in the Nachhiring community. Table 8.2 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Nachhiring.

**Table 8.2: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Nachhiring (N=4)**

<i>In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?</i>	Responses	
	Can	Can't
By devising the script	2 (50%)	2(50%)
By making the spelling system systematic	2(50%)	2(50%)
By compiling dictionary	3(75%)	1(25%)
By writing grammar	1 (25%)	3(75%)
By encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	2(50%)	2(50%)
By writing and publishing textbooks	1(25%)	3(75%)
By publishing newspapers	1(25%)	3(75%)
By making use of the language in administration	1(25%)	3(75%)
By making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	1(25%)	3(75%)

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 8.2 shows that half of the respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by devising the script, by making

the spelling system systematic, encouraging people to write literature in their mother tongue. Similarly, 25% of the total respondents said that they could support the preservation and promotion of their language by writing grammar, writing and publishing textbooks, publishing newspaper, making use of the language in administration, and making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level. Likewise 75% respondents responded that they can support their language by compiling dictionary. They also said that these are academically challenging jobs.

## 8.2 Planning for realizing the views/dreams about language development

In the survey points, after having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

Table 8.3 presents the summary of the planning to realize the most important dream in the survey points in Nachhiring.

**Table 8.3: Summary of the planning to realize the most important dreams in the survey points in Nachhiring**

What to do?	Who else should be involved?	How to do?	Resources needed	When to do?
To use their mother tongue in education in primary level	Local intellectuals and teachers of the schools	In coordination of local intellectuals and teachers	Financial and technical	Immediately
To set up the schools for teaching in the mother tongue	Government and the speech community	In coordination of government and speech community	Financial and technical	Immediately

Source: Field study, 2014

Table 8.3 presents the most important dreams in Nachhiring speech community in order to start on developing plans such as whom else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed. The most important dreams include the use their mother tongue in education in primary level and to set up the school for teaching in the mother tongue. To realize these dreams there should be the involvement of local intellectuals and teachers of the schools, and government and the

speech community. For that they have planned to maintain coordination of local intellectuals and teachers to use their mother tongue in education in primary level and the coordination of government and the speech community. There are the needs of financial and technical resources and these works should be done immediately.

### **8.3 Summary**

In this chapter, we discussed the dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in the Nachhiring speech community. This community does have rich traditions and culture, mother tongue, self identity, respect for mother tongue, lifestyle, history, geography, their physical structure, and ancestral deities. The community feels proud for them. They want to preserve and promote their language and culture, to educate their children in the mother tongue, publish textbooks in the mother tongue, prepare grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue, establish schools for teaching in the mother tongue, to write folk literature, to make curriculum for mother tongue, to observe and evaluate educational programs, and to organize seminar and conferences on their language and culture.

The village heads and language activist are ready to support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by making use of the language in administration, by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level, and by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers.

To realize these dreams there should be the involvement of local intellectuals and teachers of the schools, and government and the speech community. They have planned to maintain coordination of local intellectuals and teachers to use their mother tongue in education in primary level and the coordination of government and the speech community. There are the needs of financial and technical resources and these works should be done immediately. To sum up, above all, the Nachhiring speech community in general wants to have a separate recognition as indigenous nationality and use its mother tongue in primary education.

## CHAPTER 9

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 9.1 Summary of findings

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

##### 9.1.1 Ethnolinguistic information

- (a) Nachhiring [ncd] is spoken mainly in some villages of Solukhumbu, Khotang, and Bhojpur districts of Eastern Development regions of Nepal.
- (b) It is classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Kirati, Eastern language.
- (c) Nachhiring is an ethnic community. It is a community of one caste and one ethnic group.
- (d) The Nachhiring speakers are following their traditional religion (Kirat), Hindu, and Christian.
- (e) Literacy in the Nachhiring speech community is not encouraging. Especially, women are deprived of formal education even though attempts have been incessantly made to improve the situation of literacy.
- (f) The main occupation of Nachhiring is agriculture. They are also engaged in different professions such as army, business, civil services and small industries.

##### 9.1.2 Domains of language use

- a. Majority of Nachhiring speakers use their language in the domains such as abusing and family gatherings and praying.

- b. In the domains like counting, joking, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, telling stories to children, singing at home and village meetings, they use Nepali more than their mother tongue.
- c. Percentages of the male respondents using Nachhiring, their mother tongue, are higher than that of female respondents. The Nachhiring language is gradually shifting to Nepali.
- d. They use their mother tongue while talking about education matters, social events, and family matters with their family members and use Nepali in writing letters.
- e. They use both their mother tongue and Nepali in marriage invitations whereas they use only Nepali in writing minutes in the community meetings.
- f. Most of the children of the Nachhiring speech community use Nepali while playing with other children, talking with the neighbors and at school.
- g. They prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level. Nepali is significantly used with the persons of other languages when they visit their home.
- h. Nachhiring is used at home, working in the fields, praying and worshiping, community meeting, discussion, telling stories, secrecy, quarrelling, scolding, rite and rituals, local markets, making love, singing, telling stories and in transaction.
- i. Nepali, the language of wider communication, is used in the markets, writing letters, schools, minute writing, at government offices, talking with other language groups and singing Nepali songs.
- j. Both Nepali and Nachhiring are used working in the field, hospital, VDC meetings, school, teaching the children, quarrelling, seminars, hotels and social activities.

### **9.1.3 Bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency**

- a. Nachhiring, like other indigenous speech communities, is a multilingual community. In this community, speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz. Nachhiring, Nepali, Dumi, Khaling, Thulung, Sampang, and Koi. The mother tongue is normally spoken by elderly people, children, women, and uneducated whereas Nepali is spoken by civil servants, educated, businessmen, politicians, teachers and students.

- b. All the speakers can speak mainly two languages: Nachhiring and Nepali. They acquired their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring first; they love their language and they speak it best.
- c. They speak their language very well and only a few literate Nachhiring speakers said that they can read and write their mother tongue. When a small child of the Nachhiring community first goes to school s/he can understand the thing his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

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

- a. The vitality level of the Nachhiring language is very high. Majority of Nachhiring children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Nachhiring. Similarly most of parents in their villages speak Nepali with their children. Their mother tongue is not spoken by the young people of their speech community as it ought to be spoken.
- b. There is not the practice of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community and only a few respondents said that there is the practice of intermarriage in the Nachhiring speech community. They have common marital relationship with Gurung, Magar, Tamng, Sunuwar, Newar, Limbu, Nepali, and Thulung language speakers.
- c. Most of the Nachhiring speakers like their children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level of education and they are ready to support mother tongue based schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching, and helping with the school.
- d. The Nachhiring speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language.
- e. They would feel indifferent if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language. They are fully confident that the children of the present children would speak their mother tongue in future. Most of them feel good if their grand children will speak their mother tongue and they feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue.
- f. They said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Nachhiring first. Similarly, they do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

- g. They feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue, Nachhiring.

#### **9.1.5 Language resources, dialectal variations and language development**

- a. Nachhiring community is rich in oral literature. Oral literatures available in the language are folktales, songs, religious literature, radio, films, CD/ DVD and others.
- b. Written materials available in the language are phonemic inventory, dictionary, and folklore. Nachhiring is a prewritten language. They use the Devanagari script in writing. There are only four organizations devoted for the development of the Nachhiring language and culture. These organizations are working for the social, cultural, linguistic, and economic development of Nachhiring.
- c. Lexical similarity percentages in the key survey points clearly indicate that there is not a clear tendency towards dialectal variation in Nachhiring. Nachhiring spoken in five survey points are mutually intelligible to each other. The lexical similarity in the surveyed points ranges from 72% to 100%. Similarly, using COG there is 69% to 97% phonetic similarity among the key survey points of the Nachhiring language.
- d. The Nachhiring varieties spoken in Bangdel, Rakha, Para, and Bakachol are very much similar to each other whereas Aiselukharka variety seems to be a little bit different from other varieties.
- e. The Nachhiring language spoken in most of the places is exactly the same with their speech variety and their speech varieties have some lexical variations with Aiselukharka. They gave first priority to their own variety for developing reading materials and recordings and gave second priority to their neighboring varieties.
- f. This community does have rich traditions and culture, mother tongue, self identity, respect for mother tongue, lifestyle, history, geography, their physical structure, and ancestral deities. The community feels proud for them.
- g. They want to preserve and promote their language and culture, to educate their children in the mother tongue, publish textbooks in the mother tongue, prepare grammar and dictionary in the mother tongue, establish schools for teaching in

the mother tongue, to write folk literature, to make curriculum for mother tongue, to observe and evaluate educational programs, and to organize seminar and conferences on their language and culture.

- h. The village heads and language activist are ready to support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by making use of the language in administration, by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level, and by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers.
- i. To realize these dreams there should be the involvement of local intellectuals and teachers of the schools, and government and the speech community.
- j. The Nachhiring speech community in general wants to have a separate recognition as indigenous nationality and use its mother tongue in primary education.

## **9.2 Recommendations**

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

- (a) For the preservation, promotion and the development of the Nachhiring language, culture, and literature, an immediate step should be taken by the speech community and local government bodies with the help of the government to launch effective programs.
- (b) As most of the Nachhiring children do not understand Nepali, the curriculum and textbooks for the basic level should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings in the Nachhiring speech community.
- (c) Effective strategies should be taken for the sustainable implementation mother tongue based multilingual education in the Nachhiring speech community.
- (d) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.

- (e) A detailed language documentation project should be launched to preserve and promote abundance of genres of Nachhiring folklore, language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial.
- (f) Grammar and dictionary of Nachhiring should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented immediately.
- (g) RTT (recorded text test) should be administered to confirm level of dialectal variations in the forms of the speech in the Nachhiring speech community in Nepal.

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ANNEXES

**Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A**

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

INFORMED CONSENT:                      Given:                       Not Given:

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

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

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

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

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

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

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

**B. Language resources**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

**C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism**

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

.....

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**D. Domain of Language Use**

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

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

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

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

(enter below)

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

- (c) While writing letters? (enter below)

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

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

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

**E. Language Vitality**

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

**F. Language Maintenance**

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

## G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	
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## Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

### A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.						
12.						

### B. Domains of language use

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

### C. Dialect mapping

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

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

#### **D. Multilingualism**

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

### **E. Appreciative enquiry**

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

## Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

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

### A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

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

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

.....

7. Age: .....

8. Caste: .....

9. Ethnic group: .....

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

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

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

Annex D: Wordlist

# नेपालको भाषिक सर्वेक्षण

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय

कीर्तिपुर, काठमाडौं, नेपाल

राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, नेपाल सरकारको

सहयोगमा सञ्चालित

२१० शब्दसूची

अनुसन्धाताहरूको नाम

मिति:

.....

(१) .....

(२) .....

(३) .....

(४) .....

(५) .....

भाषासूचक(हरू)को नाम

(१) .....

(२) .....

(३) .....

(४) .....

(५) .....

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

गाँउ/टोल.....

भाषको 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	औला	
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	बच्चरो	
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	विजुली 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	गोलभैँडा	
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	सिड	
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	हसा (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	टोक्नु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	
196.	to run	दौडनु	
197.	to go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear	सुत्नु	
201.	to look	हेर्नु	

202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

**Annex E: Filled wordlists from the five survey points**

S.N.	English	Bangdel	Rakha	Bakachol	Para	Aiselukhar ka
1.	body	ram	mimcha	pɾam	ram	ḍocer
2.	head	taklo	cha	bo	taklo	ḍocer
3.	hair	tʌsum	papa	hu	tʌsum	sir
4.	face	ŋajuwa	mama	kuino	ŋajuwa	sakhi
5.	eye	moksa	bubu	hu	moksa	
6.	ear	nabʌ	nichʌ	ʌũla	nabʌ	
7.	nose	napco	nana	seŋɔ	napco	birʌmsi
8.	mouth	ŋaco	nichʌ	ʌ	ŋaco	
9.	teeth	kʌ	cha	sahʌu	kʌ	
10.	tongue	ljam	cha	tupru	ljam	
11.	breast	pɾam	ḍupʌ	cʌu	pɾam	
12.	belly	bo	jɥ	hi	bo	bhendarani
13.	arm/ hand	hu	cha	chimʌu	hu	
14.	elbow	kuino	cha	khil	kuino	
15.	palm	hu	lepa	tel	hu	rum
16.	finger	ʌũla	sepa	khim	ʌũla	sa
17.	fingernail	seŋɔ	ḍisa	kham	seŋɔ	chʌdʌwa
18.	leg	ʌ	lepa	lamsku	ʌ	ŋã
19.	skin	sahʌu	jɥpa	su	sahʌu	bupʌ
20.	bone	tupru	aspa	bhesko	tupru	wadi
21.	heart	cʌu	ase	sʌnthʌli	cʌu	pi
22.	blood	hi	sela	ghuchumalu	hi	mes
23.	urine	chimʌu			chimʌu	umlop
24.	feces	khil	jʌ		khil	ɔʌ

25.	village	tel	ṭho	batha	tel	mir
26.	house	khim		ribʌ	khim	chaŋgara
27.	roof	kham		sakhu	kham	huga
28.	door	lamsku	khanup	chamei	lamsku	pu
29.	firewood	su	khaisupa	teija	su	pupʌ
30.	broom	bhesko	cijakᵀ	cokrim	bhesko	
31.	mortar	sʌnthʌli	haŋkᵀ	nam	sʌnthʌli	champrʌlu
32.	pestle	ghuchumal u	bhaipa	lanima	ghuchumal u	gochu
33.	hammer		cimo	namchoma		nam
34.	knife			sʌŋgelwa		min
35.	axe	baththa	chigḍa		baththa	mimcha
36.	rope	ribʌ	cu	kʌwa	ribʌ	chamʌu
37.	thread	sakhᵀ	pei	jʌu	sakhᵀ	pa
38.	needle	chamei	ḍhʌb	mʌum	chamei	ma
39.	cloth	teija	miksa	namchupda m	teija	bu
40.	ring	cokrim	ḍhjpa	nagi	cokrim	nicho
41.	sun	nam	cimo	hᵀo	nam	na
42.	moon	lanime	lisku	lu	lanime	nicho
43.	sky	namchoma	hamkᵀ	lam	namchoma	wacha
44.	star	sʌŋgelwa	ṭʌstᵀ		sʌŋgelwa	mimcha
45.	rain		juju	mi		ṭupʌ
46.	water	kʌwa	poblem	mikma	kʌwa	jiu
47.	river	jʌu	gʌgurpa	chubi	jʌu	ṭupʌ
48.	cloud	mʌum		bʌhʌ	mʌum	miu
49.	lightening	namchupda m	ubʌu		namchupda m	lepa

50.	rainbow	nagi	nisblu	lurpu	nagi	sepa
51.	wind	heo	sugblu	se	heo	disa
52.	stone	lu	lugblu	suba	lu	
53.	path	lam	ragblu	dha	lam	jupa
54.	sand		tukblu	tit		aspa
55.	fire	mi	nukblu	bu	mi	ase
56.	smoke	mikma	rekblu	susrus	mikma	sela
57.	ash	chubi	bukblu	amcoma	chubi	
58.	mud	baha	pa	lijoksi	baha	maina
59.	dust		pujuk	docer		barsa
60.	gold	lurpu	panis	chotka	lurpu	pitku
61.	tree	se	nispai	sjir	se	
62.	leaf	suba	cundulum	khi	suba	khanup
63.	root	dha	as		dha	khaisupa
64.	thorn	tit	u		tit	chija
65.	flower	bu	hapa	biramsi	bu	hanju
66.	fruit	susrus	hadelo		susrus	
67.	mango	amcoma	ude		amcoma	
68.	banana	lijoksi	haku		lijoksi	
69.	wheat(husked)	docer	unku		docer	cu
70.	barley	chotka	munku	bhendarani	chotka	pe
71.	rice (husked)	sjir	unmlu		sjir	chu
72.	potato	khi	munmlu	joncpba	khi	pi
73.	eggplant		munpa	rum		jasas
74.	groundnut		janpa	sa		djap

75.	chili	biramsi	khala	chadawa	biramsi	cimam
76.	turmeric		khik	na		lisda
77.	garlic		cisa	buplu		
78.	onion		habe	wadi		tas
79.	cauliflower		jhara	pima		lamchini
80.	Tomato	bhendarani	cama	mes	bhendarani	
81.	cabbage		khom	omlom		
82.	oil		saka	ta		
83.	salt	rum	duma	mir	rum	ublu
84.	meat	sa	wamima	changara	sa	isblu
85.	fat (of meat)	chadawa	imma	hug	chadawa	subblu
86.	fish	na	terma	pu	na	
87.	chicken	buplu	tuma	pupa	buplu	
88.	egg	wadi	pima		wadi	
89.	cow	pima	huima	champlu	pima	
90.	buffalo	mes	sima	gochu	mes	
91.	milk	omtom	seima	ne	omtom	
92.	horns	ta	perma	min	ta	
93.	tail	mir	lamduma	mimcha	mir	
94.	goat	hangara	buima	cha	hangara	
95.	dog	hug	khaima	papa	hug	
96.	snake	pu	bhama	mama	pu	
97.	monkey	pupa	neima	bubu	pupa	as
98.	mosquito		heima	nich		ul
99.	ant	champlu	khuma	nana	champlu	haki
100.	spider	gochu	kan	nich	gochu	haden

101.	name	nɸ	an	cha	nɸ	udhe
102.	man	min	anni	cha	min	as
103.	woman	mimcha	munu	ɬupɻ	mimcha	unku
104.	child	cha	munu	jɸ	cha	unku
105.	father	papa	kei	cha	papa	
106.	mother	mama		cha	mama	
107.	older brother	bubu	annimɻu	lepa	bubu	khnuɸ
108.	younger brother	nichɻ	munmɻu	sepa	nichɻ	
109.	older sister	nana	ram	ɖisa	nana	kholoŋa
110.	younger sister	nichɻ	taklo	lepa	nichɻ	khitɕku
111.	son	cha	tɻsum	jupa	cha	cicha
112.	daughter	cha	ŋajuwa	aspa	cha	habei
113.	husband	ɬupɻ	moksa	ase	ɬupɻ	
114.	wife	jɸ	nabɻ	sela	jɸ	chanum
115.	boy	cha	napco		cha	homda
116.	girl	cha	ŋaco	jɻ	cha	sakhamjada
117.	day	lepa	kɻ	ɖo	lepa	ɖumda
118.	night	sepa	ljam		sepa	hɻmimamja da
119.	morning	ɖisa	pɻm		ɖisa	imsɻda
120.	noon	lepa	bo	khanup	lepa	dhisda
121.	evening	jɸpa	hu	khaisupa	jɸpa	ɬuchada
122.	yesterday	aspa	kuino	cijaku	aspa	pimchada
123.	today	ase	hu	ram	ase	huimchada
124.	tomorrow	sela	ɻula	taklo	sela	sijada

125.	week		sentɕ	tʌsum		khomda
126.	month	ʃʌ	lʌ	ŋajuwa	ʃʌ	pirda
127.	year	ʈho	sahʌu	moksa	ʈho	lamɖumda
128.	old		tupru	nabʌ		bul
129.1	new		ɕʌu	napco		khajum
130.	good	khanup	hi	ŋaco	khanup	bhan
131.	bad	khaisupa	chimlʌu	kʌ	khaisupa	cada
132.	wet	cijakɕ	khil	ljam	cijakɕ	hin
133.	dry	haŋkɕ	tel	haŋku	haŋkɕ	khoun
134.	long	bhaipa	khim	bhaipa	bhaipa	kaŋ
135.	short	cimo	kham	cimo	cimo	an
136.	hot		lamsku			anni
137.	cold	chigɖa	su	chigɖa	chigɖa	oni
138.	right	cu	bhesko	cu	cu	oni
139.	left	pei	sʌnthʌli	pei	pei	keika
140.	near	ɖhʌb	ghuchumalu	ɖhʌb	ɖhʌb	kholoŋa
141.	far	miksa		miksa	miksa	annikhʌlʌŋa
142.	big	ɖhjapa		ɖhjapa	ɖhjapa	annikhʌlʌŋa
143.	small	cimo	baththa	cimo	cimo	chimru
144.	heavy	lisku	riʌ	lisku	lisku	taklo
145.	light	hamkɕ	sakhɕ	hamku	hamkɕ	tʌsum
146.	above	tʌstʌ	chamei	tʌstʌ	tʌstʌ	nabho
147.	below	juju	teija	juju	juju	mos
148.	white	poblem	cokrim	poblem	problem	ŋʌiwa
149.	black	gʌgurpa	nam	gʌgurpa	gʌgurpa	nap
150.	red		lanime			ŋʌɕʌ

151.	one	ublu	namchoma	ublu	ublu	ka
152.	two	nisblu	san̄gelwa	nisblu	nisblu	hjam
153.	three	sugblu		sugblu	sugblu	dudu
154.	four	lugblu	ka <sup>w</sup> a	lugblu	lugblu	bo
155.	five	ŋagblu	ja <sup>w</sup>	ŋagblu	ŋagblu	hu
156.	six	ʔukblu	ma <sup>w</sup> um	ʔukblu	ʔukblu	
157.	seven	nukblu	namchupda m	nukblu	nukblu	
158.	eight	rekblu	nagi	rekblu	rekblu	huma <sup>w</sup> ulo
159.	nine	bukblu	h <sup>w</sup> o	bukblu	bukblu	sen
160.	ten	pa <sup>w</sup> ŋ	lu	pa <sup>w</sup> ŋ	pa <sup>w</sup> ŋ	la
161.	eleven	pu <sup>w</sup> ŋuk	lam	pu <sup>w</sup> ŋuk	pu <sup>w</sup> ŋuk	uma <sup>w</sup>
162.	twelve	pa <sup>w</sup> ŋnis		pa <sup>w</sup> ŋnis	pa <sup>w</sup> ŋnis	ʔupru
163.	twenty	nisp <sup>w</sup> ŋ	mi	nisp <sup>w</sup> ŋ	nisp <sup>w</sup> ŋ	ca <sup>w</sup>
164.	one hundred	cundulum	mikma	cundulum	cundulum	hi
165.	who	as	chubi	as	as	chim <sup>w</sup> lu
166.	what	u	ba <sup>w</sup> ha	u	u	khil
167.	where	hapa		hapa	hapa	ʔel
168.	when	hadelo	la <sup>w</sup> ur <sup>w</sup> lu	hadelo	hadelo	khim
169.	how many	u <sup>w</sup> de	s <sup>w</sup>	u <sup>w</sup> de	u <sup>w</sup> de	kham
170.	which	haku	sub <sup>w</sup> a	haku	haku	lamsko
171.	this	unku	dh <sup>w</sup> a	unku	unku	su
172.	that	munku	ʔi <sup>w</sup> ʔi	munku	munku	
173.	these	un <sup>w</sup> ma <sup>w</sup>	bu	un <sup>w</sup> ma <sup>w</sup>	un <sup>w</sup> ma <sup>w</sup>	santa <sup>w</sup> li
174.	those	mun <sup>w</sup> ma <sup>w</sup>	susrus	mun <sup>w</sup> ma <sup>w</sup>	mun <sup>w</sup> ma <sup>w</sup>	ghochumalu
175.	same	mun <sup>w</sup> ŋa	amcoma	mun <sup>w</sup> ŋa	mun <sup>w</sup> ŋa	
176.	different	ja <sup>w</sup> ŋa	li <sup>w</sup> oksi	ja <sup>w</sup> ŋa	ja <sup>w</sup> ŋa	

177.	whole	khΛΛ	ḡocer	khΛΛ	khΛΛ	baḡ
178.	broken	khiṭkፀ	choṅka	khiṭku	khiṭkፀ	ribo
179.	few	cisa	sjir	cisa	cisa	saku
180.	many	habe	khi	habe	habe	chame
181.	all	jhara		jhara	jhara	tei
182.	to eat	cama		cama	cama	
183.	to bite	khom	birΛmsi	khom	khom	nam
184.	to be hungry	saka		saka	saka	jun
185.	to drink	ḡuma		ḡuma	ḡuma	
186.	to be thirsty	wamima		wamima	wamima	
187.	to sleep	imma		imma	imam	wata
188.	to lie	ṭerma	bhendarani	ṭerma	ṭerma	kΛu
189.	to sit	ṭuma		ṭuma	ṭuma	
190.	to give	pima		pima	pima	
191.	to burn	huima	rum	huima	huima	
192.	to die	sima	sa	sima	sima	
193.	to kill	seima	chΛḡΛwa	seima	seima	hu
194.	to fly	perma	ṅa	perma	perma	lu
195.	to walk	lamḡuma	buplΛu	lamḡuma	lamḡuma	lam
196.	to run	bulma	wadi	bulima	bulma	bΛ
197.	to go	khaima	pima	khaima	khaima	mi
198.	to come	bhama	mes	bhama	bhama	
199.	to speak	neima	omtom	neima	neima	cubi
200.	to hear	heima	ṭΛ	heima	heima	bΛ
201.	to look	khΛma	mir	khΛma	khΛma	

202.	I	kaŋ	lhaŋgara	kaŋ	kaŋ	lu
203.	you (informal)	an	hɛg	an	an	su
204.	you (formal)	anni	pu	anni	anni	subo
205.	he	munu	pupɔ	munu	munu	sumsari
206.	she	munu		munu	munu	tuɬu
207.	we (inclusive)	kei	champlu	kei	kei	buma
208.	we (exclusive)		gochu			
209.	you (plural)	annimlu	nɛ	annimlu	annimlu	
210.	they	munmlu	min	munmlu	munmlu	liŋaksi

## Appendix F: Namelist of the participants

### Participants from the survey point Rakha

1.	Griha Bahadur Nachhiring	7.	Hari Maya Nachhiring
2.	Nananda Bahadur Nachhiring	8.	Sanu Maya Nachhiring,
3.	Suman Nachhiring	9.	Suwas Kumari Nachhiring
4.	Parba Bahadur Nachhiring	10.	Ramshobha Nachhiring
5.	Ramesh Nachhiring	11.	Dirpa Nachhiring
6.	Prabin Nachhiring	12.	Sun Maya Nachhiring

### Participants from the survey point Wangdelsokhu

1.	Angat Nachhiring	7.	Suba Nachhiring
2.	Lal Bahadur Nachhiring	8.	Santo Nachhiring
3.	Tej Bahadur Nachhiring	9.	Rosanchandra Nachhiring
4.	Yam Kaji Nachhiring	10.	Sabitri Nachhiring
5.	Tek Bahadur Nachhiring	11.	Rahaniya Maya Nahhiring
6.	Charan Kumar Nachhiring	12.	Chandrakala Nachhiring

### Participants from the survey point Bakacholbadel

1.	Bharat Kumar Nachhiring	8.	Bhakta Bahadur Nachhiring
2.	Bala Ram Nachhiring	9.	Raghuman Nachhiring
3.	Dilisare Nachhiring	10.	Padam Bahadur Nachhiring
4.	Karsingh Nachhiring	11.	Dhan Bahadur Nachhiin
5.	Netra Bahadur Nachhiring	12.	Raj Bahadur Nachhiring
6.	Yogeshwar Nachhiring	13.	Kul Bahadur Nachhiring
7.	Jhanak Bahadur Nachhiring	14.	Min Kumari Nachhiring

**Participants from the survey point Aiselukharka**

1.	Uttra Nachhiring	8.	Dipes Nachhiring
2.	Rajendra Nachhiring	9.	Chiran Nachhiring
3.	Bhagadev Nachhiring	10.	Gau Maya Nachhiring
4.	Subochan Nachhiring	11.	Bhima Nachhiring
5.	Mani Raj Nachhiring	12.	Sumitra Nachhiring
6.	Raghu Bahadur Nachhiring	13.	Mahalaxmi Nachhiring
7.	Maiti Raj Nachhiring		

**Participants from the survey point Para**

1.	Harka Nachhiring
2.	Dachhya Bahadur Nachhiring
3.	Sane Nachhiring
4.	Suman Nachhirig
5.	Chandrakala Nachhiring
6.	Mina Nachhiring
7.	Kanti Maya Nachhiring

**Appendix G: Some photographs of the field survey**



**A group photograph with the Nachhiring speakers**



**A researcher with the Nachhiring speakers**



**Researchers with Nachhiring speakers**



**A researcher getting sociolinguistic data with the Nachhiring speakers**