

# **Sociolinguistic Survey of Raji**

**A Report**

**Submitted to**  
**Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)**  
**Central Department of Linguistics**  
**Tribhuvan University**  
**Nepal**

**By**  
**Karnakhar Khatiwada**  
**Dr. Balaram Prasain**

**September, 2013**

# **Sociolinguistic Survey of Raji**

**A Report**

**Submitted to**

**Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN)**

**Central Department of Linguistics**

**Tribhuvan University**

**Nepal**

**Data Collected by**

**Prof. Dr. Chura Mani Bandhu**

**Karnakhar Khatiwada**

**Rabindra Prasad Das**

**September, 2013**

## Acknowledgements

First of all, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to the Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University; Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN), National Planning Commission and Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation, Government of Nepal for support and funding for conducting the sociolinguistic survey of the Raji language. We would like to express our cordial thanks to the team leader Prof. Dr. Churamani Bandhu during the field work.

We would like to thank all the members of the Raji speech community of Chhinchu VDC, Raji Gaun of Surkhet district; Khailad and Chaumala VDCs of Kailali district; Krishnapur VDC of Kanchanpur district; and Sanoshree and Deudakala VDCs of Bardiya districts. Our special thank goes to the secretary of Raji Shalma Samaj, Mr. Chitra Bahadur Raji and district president Raji Shalma Samaj (Bardiya) Mr. Dipendra Raji for their kind support during this field survey.

We also thank Mr. Min Bahadur Raji, Ganga Bahadur Raji, Mrs. Manju Raji, Mr. Padam Raji, Jaliram Raji, Aisingh Raji, Mrs. Basmati Raji and Mr. Sarju Prasad Raji including all the language consultants of Raji speech community for their incessant support during the field survey. Without their cooperation, the sociolinguistic survey of the Raji language would not have been possible.

We are very grateful to Mr. Kewal K.C. of Chhinchu, Surkhet; Mr. Santosh Regmi of Basgadi, Bardiya; Mr. Khadga Upadhyaya of Bhurigau, Bardiya, Mr. Mansingh Saud of Dhangadi, Mr. Hari Prasad Khatiwada and Mr. Gopal Dahal of Mahendranagar, Kanchanpur who helped us in different ways during our fieldworks. We would also like to express our gratefulness to SIL International for direct or indirect help for the sociolinguistic survey of Raji.

Last but not the least, we are grateful to Rabindra Prasad Das for administering the questionnaire to collect the sociolinguistic data during the field work and for their field report submitted to LinSuN.

Mr. Karnakhar Khatiwada  
Dr. Balaram Prasain

## Table of contents

Aknowledgement	i
List of Tables	vi
List of Photo plates	ix
List of Figures	ix
1.1 Background	1
1.2 The Raji People	1
1.3 Clans in Raji	1
1.4 Religion in Raji	2
1.5 Literacy in Raji	3
1.6 Occupation	4
1.7 Demography	5
1.8 Geographical location of the survey points in Raji	6
1.9 LinguisticAffiliation	7
1.10 Previous research works about Raji	8
1.11 Purpose and goals	9
1.12 Organization of the study	10
2.Research Methodology	11
2.1 Outline	11
2.2 Overview	11
2.3 Research methods/tools	12
2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)	12
2.3.2 Wordlist	16
2.4 Limitations of the survey	17
3.Language Resources and organizations	18
3.1 Outline	18
3.2 Language resources	18
3.3 Organization working for language development	20
3.4 Summary	21
4. Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism	22

4.1 Outline	22
4.2 Mother tongue proficiency in Raji	22
4.3 Bi/multilingualism	23
4.3.1 Bi/multilingualism in Raji	23
4.3.2 Bi/multilingualism in Raji families	24
4.3.3 Bi/multilingualism in Raji children	25
4.4 Level of understanding of Nepali in school	25
4.5 Summary	27
5. Domains of language use	29
5.1 Outline	29
5.2 Patterns of language use in common domains	29
5.3 Language use in educational and social matters	33
5.4 Languages use in letter writing	33
5.5 Languages used outside the home	34
5.6 Languages of invitation	35
5.7 Language use in minutes of meeting	36
5.8 Frequency in the use of languages	36
5.9 Summary	39
6. Language vitality, transmission and maintenance	41
6.1 Outline	41
6.2 Intergenerational transmission	41
6.3 Language spoken by younger people	42
6.4 Inter-caste marriage	42
6.5 Language maintenance	43
6.6 Summary	44
7. Language attitude	45

7.1 Outline	45
7.2 Feeling of the speakers about their language	45
7.3 Problem because of being a native speaker of Raji	46
7.4 Feeling about children's marriage with non-Raji speakers	46
7.5 Grandchildren's language	47
7.6 First language of the children	47
7.7 Medium of instruction at primary level of schooling	47
7.8 Differences in the use of language between two generations	49
7.9 Summary	50
8. Language development	52
8.1 Outline	52
8.2 Appreciative inquiry	52
8.3 Summary	57
9. Dialectal Variation	58
9.1 Outline	58
9.2 Lexical variation	58
9.2.1 Methodology	58
9.2.2 Lexical similarity among the key points in Raji	59
9.3 Dialect mapping	59
9.4 Summary	64
10. Findings and Recommendations	65
10.1 Major findings	65

10.2 Recommendations	68
References	70
Annexes	72-
a. Sociolinguistic questionnaire A	

## **List of tables**

Table 1.1	Clan groups in Raji	2
Table 1.2	The situation of religion in Raji speech community	2
Table 1.3	Literacy rate in Raji community by sex	4
Table 1.4	Literacy in Raji by age groups	4
Table 1.5	District-wise distribution of the Raji speakers (major districts of Raji)	5
Table 1.6	GPS information of Raji speaking areas in Mid and Far-Western Region	6
Table 2.1	Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools	11
Table 2.2	Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A	14
Table 3.1	Availability of the resources in Raji	18
Table 3.2	Availability of written material in Raji	19
Table 3.3	Reading of these things written in Raji language by sex	19
Table 3.4	Availability of organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Raji	20
Table 3.5	Organization and its responsibilities in Raji community	21
Table 4.1	Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Raji	22
Table 4.2	Multilingualism in Raji speech community by sex	23
Table 4.3	Other languages known to family members by sex	24
Table 4.4	Other languages known to Raji children	25
Table 4.5	Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex	25
Table 5.1	Languages most frequently used in different domains by male	30
Table 5.2	Languages most frequently used in different domains by female	32

Table 5.3	Use of languages while talking about educational and social matters	33
Table 5.4	Use of languages in letter writing by male	33
Table 5.5	Use of languages in letter writing by female	34
Table 5.6	Languages Raji children usually speak	34
Table 5.7	Languages used for marriage invitations	35
Table 5.8	Language used to write minutes in community meetings	36
Table 5.9	Frequency of the use of Raji	36
Table 5.10	The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by sex	37
Table 5.11	Language usually used when speakers of other languages visit their home by sex	37
Table 6.1	Mother tongue spoken by children	41
Table 6.2	The language spoken by the parents with their children	41
Table 6.3	The way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation	42
Table 6.4	Intermarriage in Raji community	42
Table 6.5	Common marital relationship with Raji language group	43
Table 6.6	Liking of the children's learning/studying in mother tongue	43
Table 6.7	The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools	43
Table 7.1	Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages	45
Table 7.2	Having problems because of being a native speaker of Raji	46
Table 7.3	Problems they had because of because of being a native speaker of Raji	46
Table 7.4	Feeling about children's marriage with non-Raji speakers	47
Table 7.5	Whether the children of the present Raji children speak your language	47
Table 7.6	Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will speak their language	48
Table 7.7	Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their	48

	language	
Table 7.8	The languages Raji children should speak first	48
Table 7.9	Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level	49
Table 7.10	Differences between the languages spoken by two generations	49
Table 7.11	The ways of differences in language between two generations	50
Table 7.12	Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue	61
Table 8.1	Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Raji	55
Table 9.1	Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages	58
Table 9.2	Lexical similarity percentages in Raji	59
Table 9.3	Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different places	63
Table 9.4	Ranking from easier to understand to most difficult in Raji	63
Table 9.5	Preferences of speech variety for developing materials	64

### **List of Photo plates**

Photo plate 1.1	Deuti Bajyai temple at Chhinchu, Surkhet	3
Photo plate 1.2	Raji priest worshipping the Deutibajyai Temple, Chhinchu, Surkhet	3
Photo plate 1.3	A group of Raji women busy in paddy planting at Gulariya, Kanchanpur	5
Photo plate 4.1	Picture 4.1: Bilingualism in Raji at Raji tole village of Chhinchu VDC	26
Photo plate 4.2	Bilingualism in Raji at Krishnapur VDC, Kanchanpur	27
Photo plate 5.1	Picture 5.1: Domains of language use at Raji tole, Chhinchu-7, Surkhet	37
Photo plate 5.2	Domains of language use at Kichain, Krishnapur-,Mahendranagar	38
Photo plate 5.3	Domains of language use at Sanoshree, Bardiya	39
Photo plate 8.1	Appreciative enquiry at Raji tole, Chhinchu-7, Surkhet	53
Photo plate 8.2	Appreciative enquiry at Kuchaini, Chaumala-9, Kailali	53
Photo plate 8.3	Appreciative enquiry at Kichain, Krishnapur, Kanchanpur	53
Photo plate 8.4	Appreciative enquiry at Bhuruwa, Khailad-4, Kailali	54
Photo plate 8.5	Appreciative enquiry at Sanoshree, Bardiya	54
Photo plate 9.1	Dialect mapping at Raji tole, Chhinchu-7, Surkhet	60
Photo plate 9.2	Dialect mapping at Kuchaini, Chaumala-9, Kailali	60
Photo plate 9.3	Dialect mapping at Kichain, Krishnapur, Kanchanpur	60
Photo plate 9.4	Dialect mapping at Bhuruwa, Khailad-4, Kailali	61
Photo plate 9.5	Dialect mapping at Sanoshree, Bardiya	62

### **List of Figures**

Figure 1.4	The geographical location of Raji in Nepal	7
Figure 1.5	Genetic classification of Raji	8
Figure 7.1	Feeling about children's marriage with non-Raji speakers	46

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

This is a report of the sociolinguistic survey of Raji, an endangered Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nepal. The Raji ethnic group is one of the indigenous ethnic groups residing primarily in the Surkhet, Bardiya, Banke, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of the Mid-western and Far-western development regions of Nepal. Raji communities are also found in other parts of Nepal particularly in Doti, Dadeldhura, Darchula, Baglung and Dang (CBS 2001). Raji nationalities have distinct identity characterized by their linguistic and cultural diversity. This report introduces Raji people in terms of their clans, occupation, religion, literacy level and demographic situation. It presents linguistic affiliation of Raji language. The purpose and goals of the study and an overview of research methodology is presented in the body of this report. This report also presents lexical similarities between the selected Raji areas. Language resources in Raji, mother tongue proficiency and bilingualism, multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and transmission, language attitude and willingness of Raji people to preserve and develop their language are the main topics discussed in this report. Findings of the survey and recommendations for further steps to be taken by the concerned authorities are presented at the end of the report.

### 1.2 The Raji People

Rajis have a small population as compared to many other communities. The latest census (2011) has recorded 4235 total population of Rajis by caste/ethnicity. The total number of Raji mother tongue speakers according to the same report is 3758 (female 1927 and male 1831). The previous census had recorded the number of Raji people as 2,399 (1,111 male and 1,288 female) which is about 0.01 percent of the total population of the country (CBS 2001). This number is less than previous census which has recorded 3,273 (1,696 male 1,578 female) (CBS 1991). However, the Raji people themselves claim that the total number of Raji is more than 8,000.

### 1.3 Clans of Raji

Raji people classify themselves into three groups: Purbiya, Bara Bandale and Naukulya on the basis of their inhabitant area as well as linguistic differences. In the previous study, twelve different clans are found in Raji community, they are Khadyal, Gholyan, Railayal,

Sikanke, Tokyal, Chimchyal, Gothyal, Naihari, Digyal, Batekwal, Sanjhyal and Chhantyal. Major distinction is found between Naukulya and Bandali or Barha Bandale (Bandhu et al. 2011). But, this survey has found the following twenty clans residing in different places of mid-western and far-western regions of Nepal. Table 1.1 presents the clans/castes in Raji.

Table 1.1 Clan groups in Raji

S.N.	Ethnic/castes	no.	S.N.	Ethnic/castes	no.
1	Dhulyal	9	11	Mudhyal	6
2	Kalyal	4	12	Granwal	5
3	Samjyal	5	13	Patukwal	1
4	Naukulya	9	14	Ghatala	1
5	Tamyal	1	15	Kachale	1
6	Mauryal	1	16	Damwal	1
7	Kumwal	1	17	Toywal	2
8	Kumlyal	1	18	Naiyari	2
9	Dugryal	3	19	Godyal	1
10	Matkwal	5	20	Kunyal	1
	Total				60

#### 1.4 Religion of Rajis

Most of the Rajis follow Hindu religion whereas some of them follow animism. The *Deuti Bajyai* (A female Hindu deity) is worshipped by the Raji people. The temples of *Deuti Bajyai* have Raji priests who perform rituals. Some of the Rajis are also reported to follow Christianity. Table 1.2 presents the situation of religion of the Raji community among the respondents to whom the questionnaires were administered.

Table 1.2: The situation of religion of the Raji speech community

No= 60			
S.N.	Religions		percentage
1	Hindu	53	88.33%
2	Christian	2	3.33%
3	Nature orshipping	5	8.33%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Linguistic survey of Nepal 2012

Table 1.2 shows that out of 60 respondents, 53(88.33%) responded that they follow Hinduism whereas 5 (8.33%) follow nature worshipping and only 2 (3.33%) follow Christianity.

The following photos show a temple of Deuti Bajyai at Chhinchu of Surkhet district and a Raji priest handling the temple of *Deuti Bajyai*.



Photo plate 1.1: Deuti Bajyai temple at Chhinchu, Surkhet



Photo plate 1.2: Raji priest worshipping the Deutibajyai Temple, Chhinchu, Surkhet

### 1.5 Literacy in Raji

Most of the Raji elderly people have been found to be illiterate. It was difficult to find literate Raji informant above 45. Younger generations are found going to schools and some adults, as well, go to higher educational institutions to obtain higher education. Table 1.3 presents the

situation of literacy in the Raji speech community among the respondents to whom the questionnaires were administered.

**Table 1.3: Literacy rate in the Raji community by sex**

Male (N=30)		Female (No=30)		Total Literate =28(46.66%)
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	
16(53.33%)	14(46.66%)	18(60%)	12(40%)	

Source: Sociolinguistic survey, 2012

Table 1.3 shows that the total literacy in Raji community is 46.66%. In terms of gender the male literacy is 53.33% and female literacy is 60% whereas 46.66% male and 40.00% female are illiterate. The general tendency in the context of Nepal is that female literacy rate less but among the Raji respondents this is opposite.

**Table 1.4: Literacy in the Raji by age groups**

A1 (n=24)		A2 (n=20)		A3 (n=16)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
14 (58%)	10 (42%)	11 (55%)	9 (45%)	3 (19%)	13 (81%)

Table 1.4 shows that the age group of 15-34 has a higher literacy rate than other groups. This group has 58% literacy rate while 42% Rajis are illiterate in this group. There is 55% literacy in the age group of 35-59. Similarly, in the age group of 60+ literacy rate is poor. In this group 19% speakers are literate and the rest 81% speakers are illiterate.

## 1.6 Occupation

Traditional occupations of Raji include fishing, honey hunting, boating and collecting medicinal herbs. Interestingly they are fond of porcupine hunting. They are good at climbing tall trees and cliffs for honey hunting. Raji people are competent in hooking, netting and making diversion for fishing. Raji traditional occupations can be further classified into 3 major categories: river-based, forest-based and agriculture (Bandhu et al. 2011).

The following photo shows Raji women busy in planting rice at Gulariya village of Kanchanpur district, Mahakali.



Photoplate 1.3: A group of Raji women busy in rice planting at Gulariya, Kanchanpur

### 1.7 Demography

Raji people have a small population. The 2001 census has recorded the number of Raji people as 2,399 (1,111 male and 1,288 female) which is about 0.01 percent of total population of the country (CBS 2001). This number is less than the previous census which has recorded 3,273 (1,696 male 1,578 female) (CBS 1991). However, the Raji people themselves claim that the total number of Raji is more than 8,000 (Bandhu et al. 2011). Table 1.5 presents the distribution of Raji mother tongue speakers by districts. In 2011 census the total population of Raji by ethnicity is 4235 (rural 4021, urban 214) whereas 3758 Rajis are reported to speak their mother tongue.

**Table 1.5: Distribution of the Raji mother tongue speakers by Districts**

	Districts	Number	%
1.	Banke	3	0.12
2.	Bardiya	411	17.03
3.	Kailali	1,219	50.52
4.	Kanchanpur	99	4.10
5.	Surkhet	592	24.53
6.	Dang	6	0.25
7.	Dolpa	6	0.25
8.	Rupandehi	2	0.08
9.	Ramechhap	1	0.04
10.	Sindhuli	6	0.25
11.	Kathmandu	6	0.25
12.	Lalitpur	2	0.08
13.	Chitwan	2	0.08
14.	Parsa	6	0.25

15.	Bara	13	0.54
16.	Rautahat	3	0.12
17.	Sarlahi	3	0.12
18.	Mahottari	5	0.21
19.	Dhanusha	5	0.21
20.	Dhankuta	1	0.04
21.	Panchthar	4	0.17
22.	Ilam	2	0.08
23.	Siraha	3	0.12
24.	Saptari	4	0.17
25.	Sunsari	4	0.17
26.	Morang	2	0.08
27.	Jhapa	3	0.12
	Total	2,413	100%

Source: Gurung et.al 2006

Table 1.5 shows that 1219 (50.52%) of total Raji speaker are distributed in different villages of Kailali district. Accordingly, 24.53% Rajis are residing in Surkhet district and 17.03% Rajis are in Bardiya district of mid-western region. The field study does not support the fact that Rajis are distributed in eastern and central development regions of Nepal as recorded in 2001 census.

### 1.8 Geographical location of the survey points in Raji

This survey selected one point in Surkhet district; one point in Bardiya; two points in Kailali district and one point in Kanchanpur district. The core point is selected from Kailali, i.e. Bhuruwa, Khailad VDC-4. This village is considered to be least affected by other languages. The survey points include Raji tole (Chhinchu VDC, Surkhet); Sanoshree VDC, Bardiya; Kuchaini, Chaumala VDC of Kailali and Gulariya village (Krishnapur VDC-6, Kanchanpur). Global Positioning System (GPS) was employed in determining all the survey points.

Table 1.6 lists the GPS information of the survey points in Raji in different survey points.

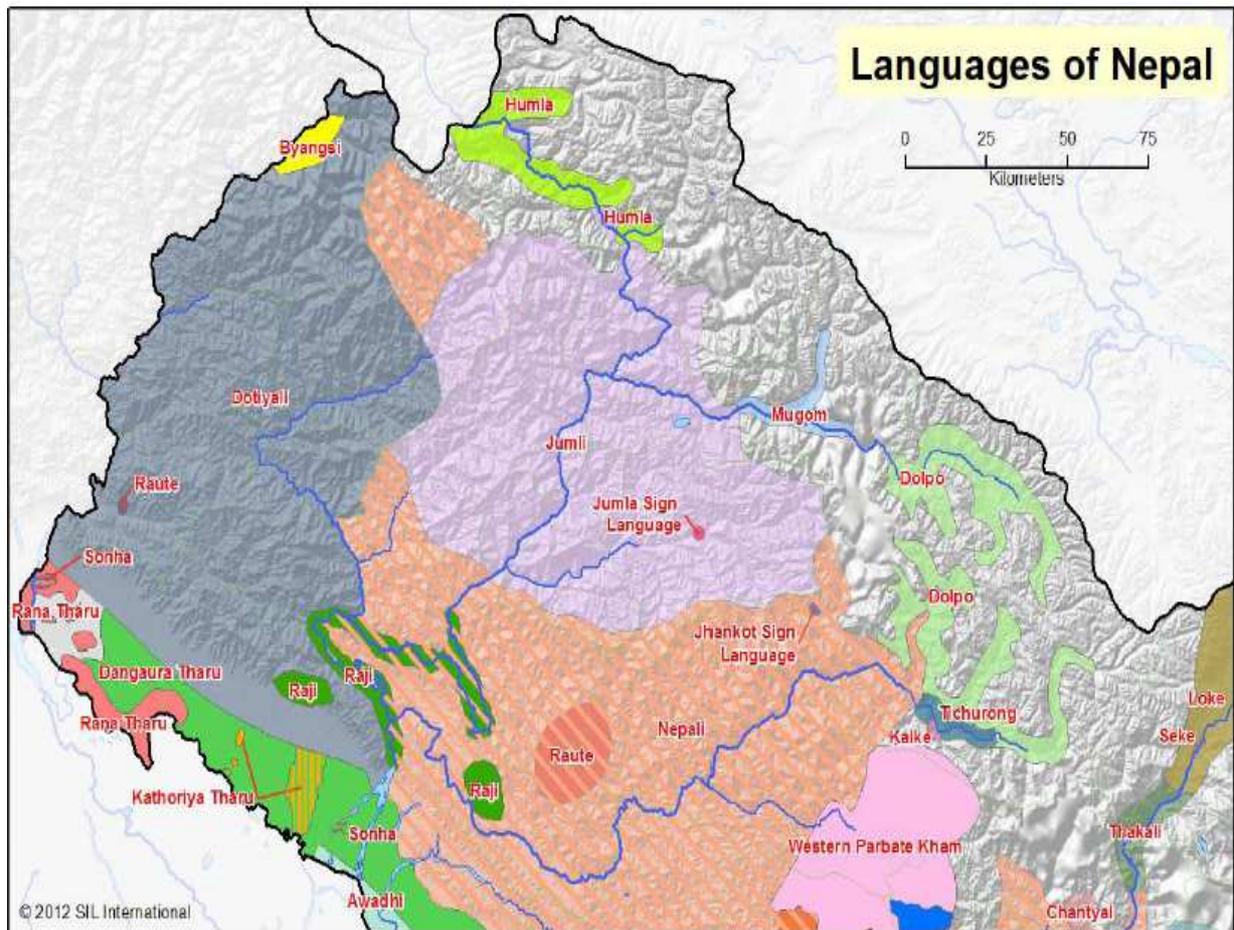
**Table 1.6: GPS information of Raji speaking areas in Mid and Far-Western Region**

Survey points	Point type	VDCs	GPS	
1.Raji tole	North	Chhinchu-7, Surkhet	084 <sup>0</sup> 24' 58.4"E	28 <sup>0</sup> 00' 23.5"N
2. Kuchaini	Mid	Chaumala-9, Kailali	080 <sup>0</sup> 41' 24.3"E	28 <sup>0</sup> 47' 5.7"N
3.Krishnapur	west	Krishnanagar, Kanchanpur	080 <sup>0</sup> 30' 02.6"E	28 <sup>0</sup> 50' 46.7"N
4. Bhuruwa	core	Khailad-4, Kailali	084 <sup>0</sup> 30' 02.9"E	28 <sup>0</sup> 50' 46.5"N
5.Sanoshree	south	sanoshree, Bardiya	080 <sup>0</sup> 10' 08.6"E	28 <sup>0</sup> 58' 20.1"N

Source: Linguistic survey of Nepal 2012

Map 1.4 presents the location of the Raji speech community.

**Figure 1.4: The geographical location of Raji in Nepal**



### 1.9 Linguistic Affiliation

Raji, a Tibeto-Burman language, falls in Western Tibeto-Burman branch of Central Himalayan languages spoken in Nepal. Ethnologue (2009) reports that Raji has three dialects. They are Barha Bandale, Naukule and Purbiya. The speakers of Barha Bandale and Purbiya have difficulty in understanding the Naukule variety. The genetic classification of Raji language is presented in Figure 1.5.

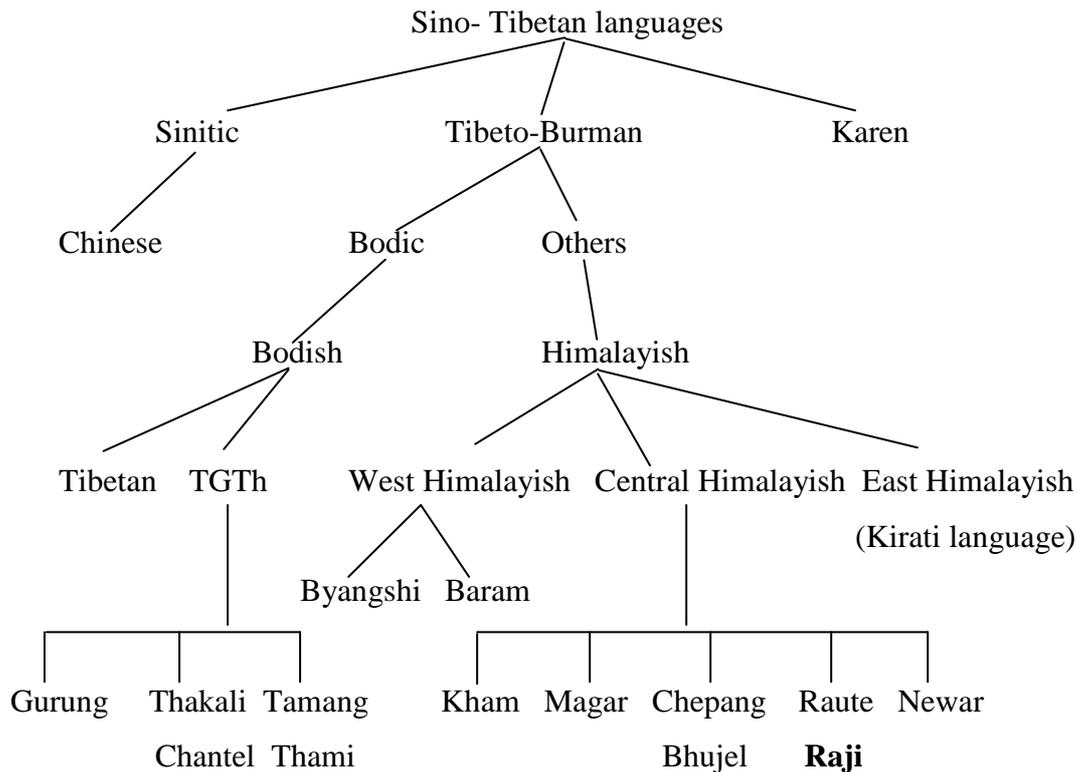


Figure 1.5: Genetic classification of Raji

### 1.10 Previous research works about Raji

A number of studies have been carried out about the Raji people and their language. Some of the works include Grierson and Konow (1909), Pokhrel (2046VS), Sharma (1990), Kansakar (1993); Breton (1997), Giri (2057VS), Giri (2059), Toba et.al (2002), Ukyab and Adhikari (2002), Bhat (2005), Gordon (2005), Gurung et al. (2006), Rai (2008), Khatri and Shah (2065VS), Shah (2008), Khatri (2008) and Bandhu et al.(2011). Among these only some studies deal specially with the Raji language. We shed light only on the works that deal with the Raji language.

Grierson and Konnow (1909) report Raji language as Janggali and group it into the Western sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Pokhrel (2046) opines that the ancestors of Rajis were one of the clans of Bhote who came from Tibet.

Sharma (1994) calssifies Raji into the western Austro-Asiatic language family on the basis of extra-linguistic criterion.

Kansakar (1993) classifies the Raji language into Magar sub-group within Bodish-Himalayish group.

Breton (1997) categorizes the Raji language and provides information on the geographical locations where Rajis are found. He categorizes Raji under the western Kirati group (eastern Himalayan branch).

Giri (2057VS) tries to show the genetic affiliation of Raji with Tibeto-Burman language family by comparing cognates with other TB languages of Nepal. He collected some lexical items referring to physical parts of the human body, human relations, animal names, food stuffs, utensils and numerals.

Gurung et al. (2006) tries to locate the Raji speaking areas in Nepal on the basis of distribution of Raji mother tongue speakers by districts. This study shows that the Raji language speakers are found in sixty-four different districts of Nepal.

Rai (2008) is a preliminary documentation of Raji language. This documentation attempts to provide some basic information on sociolinguistic aspects of Raji.

Khatri and Shah (2065VS) provide basic information on the Raji speaking areas of mid-western and far-western development regions. This study includes the comparison of Raji with Raute on the basis of Swadesh 100 word list that has resulted in 65% lexical similarities between the two languages.

Khatri and Shah (2008) is a sketch grammar of the Raji language. It presents an overview of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Raji language. In addition, it presents around 2500 lexical items and some texts interlinearized.

Khatri (2008) is the study of the verbs and sentences of the Raji language. This study also deals with the verb morphology of the Raji language and sentence structures (simplex and complex) of the Raji.

Bandhu et al. (2011) deals with the Raji Language and Culture. This study includes a brief cultural description of the Raji language followed by a sketch grammar and lexicon of around 1000 entries.

### **1.11 Purpose and goals**

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Raji language.

The specific goals/objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;
- b) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- c) To assess the mother tongue proficiency;

- d) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language; and
- e) To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Raji.

### **1.12 Organization of the study**

This survey report consists ten chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory one that presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 4 we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Raji. Chapter 5 deals with the domains of language use. In chapter 6 we look at language vitality, transmission and maintenance. Similarly, chapter 7 deals with language attitudes and chapter 8 deals with language resources that make them feel proud, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Raji. In chapter 9, we look at dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key points in Raji. In chapter 10, we present the summary of the major findings and recommendations for the development of the language. Lastly, we have presented the references consulted during the report writing. The annex includes phonetic symbols, wordlists, and sociolinguistic questionnaire A.

## Chapter 2

### Research Methodology

#### 2.1 Outline

This chapter presents research methodology adopted in this survey. Section 2.1 deals with a brief overview of the major goals and the research methods/tools used in the survey. It also presents a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. Section 2.2 discusses on the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics, and the ways they were administered in the survey. Similarly, section 2.3 deals with the limitations of this survey.

#### 2.2 Overview

This survey applied three different methods/tools in order to achieve the targeted goals. The methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQs), a list of 210 Basic Words (BWL), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. PM consists of four different tools, namely, Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BL), Dialect Mapping (DM) and Appreciative Inquiry (AI). Table 2.1 highlights the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used, and a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

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

	<b>Goals of the survey</b>	<b>Research methods/ tools</b>	<b>Brief description</b>	<b>Focus of the methods/tools</b>
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language	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> </ul>

	resources in Raji;			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Language vitality</li> <li>• Language maintenance</li> <li>• Language attitudes</li> </ul>
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU, BL, DM and AI 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>
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (BWL)	Lexical comparison of 210 basic words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

## 2.3 Research methods/tools

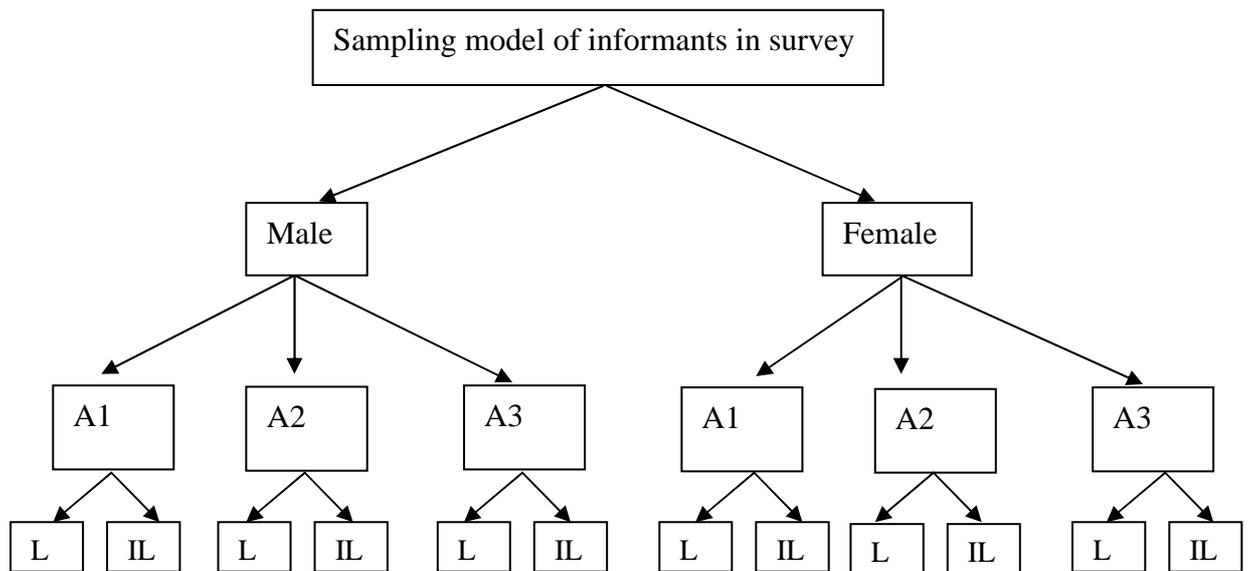
### 2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)

The survey administered three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires. A brief introduction of each is presented in the following sub-sections.

#### (a) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the categorized 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, and language maintenance and language attitude towards their mother-tongue. The opinions of the individuals are often

influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. Prior to the administration of this set, first, five points of the Raji speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about the Raji speech community (i.e. Raji tole, a village located in Chhinchu VDC-5, Surkhet); Kuchaini village of Chaumala VDC 9, Kailali; Krishnanagar of Kanchanpur District; Bhuruwa tole of Khailad VDC, Chaumala and Krishnapur village of Sanoshree VDC, Bardiya. Secondly, the individuals were categorized and selected on the basis of sex, age and literacy in each survey point.<sup>1</sup> Figure 1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Raji speech community.



A1= 15-34, A2= 35-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

The survey has a specific checklist for the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A.

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-34 (A1), 35- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3).

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

Point X											
Male						Female					
A1		A2		A3		A1		A2		A3	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

**A1= 15-34, A2= 34-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate**

Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected age ranging 15 - 34 (A1), 35 - 59 (A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. The medium of the interview was Nepali and the answers given by the informants were recorded in Nepali as well. After the data collection the responses were put in excel datasheet and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

**(b) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)**

A set of four participatory tools were administered to the groups of Raji participants of two survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BL), Dialect Mapping (DM) and Appreciative Inquiry (AI). The main purpose of these tools is to gather the information regarding the different dialects of Raji. It is also employed to get information on bilingualism in Raji speech community; the situations they use Raji and their dreams and aspirations about their language.

Each tool is equipped with step-by-step procedures. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

- a) The group must consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant must belong to the target mother tongue and at least, one parent of his/her must be from the target language.

- c) The participants must be brought up in the survey point and must be living here at present. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village at least 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 below.

### **(i) Domains of language use**

We used the domains of language use tool in order to help the Raji speakers to think about and visualize the languages which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the participants discussed and brainstormed about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them down on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they use their mother tongue, Raji and the situations in which they use both Nepali and Raji. After that, they were asked to place the labels Nepali, Raji, and both Nepali and Raji. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

### **(ii) Dialect mapping (DM)**

The main purpose of dialect mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Raji. Participants in the group of 8-12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns where Raji is spoken and placed them on the floor to present the geographical location. Then, they were asked to use to loops of string to show which districts or towns spoke the same as others. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to most difficult to understand. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark them as they understand very well, average and poorly.

### **(iii) Bi/multilingualism**

This tool was administered to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Raji and Nepali by different subsets of the Raji community. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing Raji people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Raji who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then, 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 Raji 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 Raji speakers who spoke Raji well. At the end, they discussed which of the three circled sections had the most people, which one was increasing and how they felt about that.

#### **(iv) Appreciative inquiry**

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Raji 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 and culture. Then, they were asked to express the dreams about how they could make their language and culture even better than the present situation. 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, the first step that should be taken and the 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 whereas this tool helped them to think about future possibilities.

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

This set consists of 21 questions to be administered on language activist and 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 Raji.

#### **2.3.2 Wordlist**

This list contains 210 basic words. The main purpose of this wordlist is to compare the lexical similarities and differences of the language spoken in different points. The basic words elicited from the different points are compared and presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs.

From each survey points, at least two informants were chosen to elicit the words. The speakers were selected from those who were born in the village or in the nearby vicinity,

speaking Raji 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 Raji words from a mother tongue Raji 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 Raji.

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

This survey was conducted in five key points of two districts within the period of 15 days. This study was limited to the sociolinguistic study of the Raji language. For this study five survey points from Surkhet, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts: one from Surkhet, one from Bardiya, two from Kailali and one from Kanchanpur were selected. Only 12 sociolinguistic questionnaires A (SLQ A) were administered in each survey point. Similarly, four SLQ B and two SLQ C and two wordlists were administered in each survey point.

## Chapter 3

### Language resources and organizations

#### 3.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the language resources and organizations in general. Section 3.1 deals with the language resources in the Raji language. In section 3.2 we discuss about the organization for the development of the language and culture in the Raji community and its responsibility. Similarly, section 3.3 deals with the summary of the chapter which presents the major findings of this chapter.

#### 3.2 Language resources

The main resources available in the Raji language include folk stories and folk tales. The people of the old generations tell stories about their ancestors, supernatural beings and stories related to animals. This speech community is poor in language resources. Most of the people are illiterate in the Raji community. The modern resources of language transmission like radio, cinema, CD/DVD are not available in the language. Similarly, script, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines and written literature are not available in the language. Regarding the language resources the respondents' response is presented in Table 3.1.

**Table: 3.1 Availability of the resources in Raji**

Responses : Yes=32, No=28		
N=60	No	28 (46.66%)
	Folk stories	30 (50.00%)
	Music	28 (46.66%)
	Religious literature	13 (21.66)
	Radio	3(5.00%)
	Cinema	2 (3.33%)
	CD/DVD	2 (3.33%)
	Other	4 (6.66%)

Table 3.1 shows that out of the 60 respondents 46.66% responded that there are no resources in Raji at all whereas 50% responded in favor of folk stories. Again 46.66% responded that they have music/songs in Raji. Though some of the Rajis responded they have radio programs, cinema, CD/DVDs and documentaries but by saying this they might have indicated to the materials available in the language of wider communication i.e. Nepali. It has been observed during the field work that, in fact, such things are not available in the Raji language.

Regarding the availability of the written literature in Raji, out of the 28 literate respondents, 23 (82%) respondents said that they do not have any written material in their language. Whereas, 5 (17.85%) responded positively. Out of the positive responses 3(10.71%) responded that they have developed alphabets in their language and 2 (7.14%) responded that they have grammar in their language. Table 3.2 shows the availability of the written material in Raji.

**Table 3.2: Availability of written material in Raji**

No	23	(82.14%)
Yes (alphabet)	3	(10.71%)
Yes (grammar)	2	(7.14%)

Table 3.2 shows that according to 17.85% respondents the language resources available in the Raji are alphabet and grammar. In reality, Rajis have not developed the alphabets in their language. However, they are using Devanagari script to write in their language. Regarding the grammar of Raji, some scholarly works have been done to describe Raji language, which are discussed in (1.10). But, these works are not accessible to Rajis since most of them are written in English.

Table 3.3 presents whether the literate Raji speakers read these materials available in their language or not.

**Table 3.3: Reading of the materials written in Raji language by sex**

Total literate (n=28)		Positive responses (n=5)	
Male (n=4)		Female (n=1)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
1 (25%)	3 (75%)	0 (%)	1 (100%)

Table 3.3 shows that out of 4 literate male respondents 25% replied that they read the materials available in their language whereas 75% respondents do not read these materials. Similarly, we found only one female to respond that Raji possesses literacy materials but she has never read them. Our observation is that Raji possesses some materials as included in the literature review section of this report either written in Devanagari or in Roman script. But, almost all the literate Rajis are not aware of it, and consequently, they do not read the materials.

Similarly, out of 28 literate respondents all speakers said that they do not know in which script their language is written in.

**Table 3.4: Availability of organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Raji**

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
9 (30%)	21 (70%)	5 (17%)	25 (83%)

Table 3.4 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 30% responded that there is one organization to promote the knowledge and use of Raji while 70% responded that there is no organization. Similarly, out of 30 female respondents only 17% responded that there is an organization to promote the knowledge and use of their language while 83% said that there is no organization devoted to promote Raji language, culture and community. Therefore, the figure shows that the organization is not much popular among them.

### **3.3 Organization working for language development**

Rajis have established an organization called 'Raji Shalma Samaj' for the preservation and promotion of their language and culture. The central office of the Raji Shalma samaj is located at Tikapur municipality of Kailali district. When asked if Rajis have any organizations that promote the knowledge and/or use of language, only 14 (23%) respondents (9 male and 5 female) responded about the only organization 'Raji Shalma samaj' of such kind and reported that this organization conducts different activities to promote their language, culture and economic activities within Raji community. Table 3.5 presents the activities performed by the organization solely devoted to Raji people.

**Table 3.5: Organization and its responsibilities in Raji community**

Name of the institution	Responsibilities
Raji Shalma Samaj	a. To preserve Raji culture b. To promote and develop Raji language c. To generate awareness among Rajis d. To conduct educational, developmental and economic activities

Table 3.5 shows that according to collected data there is only one organization of Rajis dedicated to preserve and promote their language and culture. The organization also works for economic and awareness development programs among the Raji people.

### **3.4 Summary**

The resources available in the Raji language are folk stories and folk tales. Out of the 60 respondents, 5% responded that they have radio programs; 3% responded they have cinemas and 7% said about the other materials specially documentaries. Our observation is that Raji people have folk stories and folk tales, but they lack any modern resources of language transmission like radio, cinema, films, and CD/DVDs. Rajis have not developed alphabets for their language. The materials available in Raji are written mainly in Devanagari or in Roman scripts. Most of the Rajis are not even aware of what written materials are available in or about their language and culture.

## Chapter 4

### Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism

#### 4.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in general. It consists of four sections. Section 4.2 discusses mother tongue proficiency in Raji. Section 4.3 discusses bi/multilingualism in the Raji language and bi/multilingualism in Raji children. Similarly, section 4.4 deals with the levels of understanding of Nepali in school. Section 4.5 presents the summary.

#### 4.2 Mother tongue proficiency in Raji

In the Raji community, most of the Raji people are very much proficient in speaking their language; all the members of Raji speech community speak their language very well. All of them are fluent speakers of their mother tongue, i.e. Raji. In general, Rajis are very good in speaking their language. However, as literacy rate is not so good, only 46.66% of the speakers are reported to be able in reading and writing in their language. Table 4.1 presents mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Raji.

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

Speaking (N=60)			Reading and writing Total literate (n=28)	
Degrees	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Male (n= 16)	Female (n= 12)
Very well	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	5 (31%)	3 (25%)
Some			4 (25%)	3 (25%)
Only a little			7 (44%)	6 (50%)

Table 4.1 shows that all the members of Raji community are very much fluent in speaking their language whereas only 31% male and 25% female literate speakers of Raji speech community are very good at reading and writing their language. Similarly, 25% males and 25% females do average reading and writing while 44% literate males and 50% literate females can read and write only a little in their language.

### 4.3 Bi/multilingualism

Bilingualism is the ability to speak and understand two or more languages in a given setting. It is usually in a language of national or regional importance. It is the result of either formal or informal exposure to another language; this is nearly always uneven in a community due to various factors. Thus, in any community, different individuals and sections of the community are bilingual to different degrees. Bilingualism arises from the simple fact that people of widely different backgrounds need and want to communicate with each other. People from different ethnic groups acquire second and third languages to communicate with. Furthermore, education and religion commonly provide exposure to Nepali. Knowledge of Nepali is vital for the advancement of the people and their integration into national life. Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors such as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of the other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not indicate much about the ability of others in a community.

#### 4.3.1 Bi/multilingualism in Raji

Raji is a multilingual speech community. They speak a number of languages. They are fluent speakers of their mother tongue and the language of wider communication i.e. Nepali. In addition to this, Rajis speak Hindi, Rana Tharu, Dangaura Tharu and Dotyali. Some of the literate Rajis also speak English. A couple of Rajis, among the respondents, reported that they also speak Punjabi. It might be due to their work site being at Punjab of India. Among the sixty respondents we found one Tamang speaking and one Newar speaking individual. Table 4.2 presents the situation of multilingualism in the Raji community.

**Table 4.2: Multilingualism in Raji speech community by sex**

N=60	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
	No. of speakers	Percentage	No. of speakers	Percentage
Raji	30	100%	30	100%
Nepali	30	100%	30	100%
Hindi	21	70%	11	37%
Rana Tharu	17	57%	21	21%
English	5	17%	1	3%
Dangaura Tharu	2	7%	1	3%
Dotyali	1	3%		
Punjabi	2	7%	1	3%
Tamang	1	3%		
Newar	1	3%		

Table 4.2 shows that all the Raji speakers are proficient in their mother tongue as well as in Nepali. In addition to this 70% male and 37% female also speak Hindi. Similarly, Raji males speak Rana Tharu, English, and Dangaura Tharu by 57%, 17%, and 7%, respectively; whereas the same situation for female is 17%, 3% and 3% respectively. Similarly, Raji speakers (male) are bilingual in Dotyali (3%), Punjabi (7%) Tamang (3%) and Newar (3%), whereas only one female (3%) in our data found to be bilingual in Punjabi. The respondents speaking Punjabi reported that they learnt Punjabi while working in India.

According to the data presented in Table 4.2, it can be concluded that Rajis are proficient in their mother tongue. In addition, all of them are bilingual in Nepali and majority of them are multilingual as well.

### 4.3.2 Bi/multilingualism in Raji families

As mentioned above, all of the Raji families are bi/multilingual. Members in a family may have different capacity of speaking different languages. Table 4.3 presents the bi/multilingualism in Raji family members.

<b>Table 4.3: Other languages known to family members by sex</b>			
N=60	Male (n=60)		
Languages	Father	Mother	Spouse
Nepali	41(68.3%)	43 (71.66%)	43 (71.66%)
Hindi	24 (40%)	14 (23.33%)	29 (48.33%)
Tharu	25 (41%)	10(16.66%)	22 (36.66%)
Rana Tharu	9 (15%)	9(15%)	7(11.66)
English			3 (5%)
Kumauni			
Magar	1(1.66%)		
No response		17 (28.33%)	17 (28.33%)

Table 4.3 shows that out of 60 respondents 68.3%, 40%, and 25%, 15% and 1.66%’s fathers are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, Tharu, Rana Tharu and Magar languages respectively. In the same way, 71.6%, 23.3%, 16.6%, and 15% speakers' mothers are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi Tharu and Rana Tharu language. Similarly, 71.6%, 48.3%, 36.6%, 11.6 and 5% spouses are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, Tharu , Rana Tharu and English languages. At the same time, out of 60, 28.33% respondents gave no response regarding their mother's and spouse's other languages.

### 4.3.3 Bi/multilingualism in Raji children

As Raji speech community is multilingual, most of the children in this community are multilingual as well. They are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, English and Rana Tharu languages. Table 4.4 presents bi/multilingualism in Raji children.

**Table 4.4: Other languages known to Raji children**

	N=46	Where they learnt?
Nepali	46 (100%)	Community, school, college, market
Tharu	17 (37%)	Community, market
Hindi	14 (30.43%)	India, watching Hindi movies and televisions
English	4 (9%)	School, college
Kumauni	1 (2%)	India

Table 4.4 shows that all of Raji children are bilingual in Nepali. According to the total 46 respondents, 100%, 37%, 30.43%, 9% and 2% respondents' children are bi/multilingual in Nepali, Tharu, Hindi, English and Kumauni languages respectively.

Most of them learnt Nepali in the community schools, colleges and in the local markets. Similarly, they learnt Hindi in India, and by watching Hindi movies and television. They learnt English in schools and colleges and learnt Tharu in the community.

### 4.4 Level of understanding of Nepali in school

As mentioned earlier most of the Raji children have learnt Nepali in the community, schools and colleges but they have some difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.5 presents the level of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school.

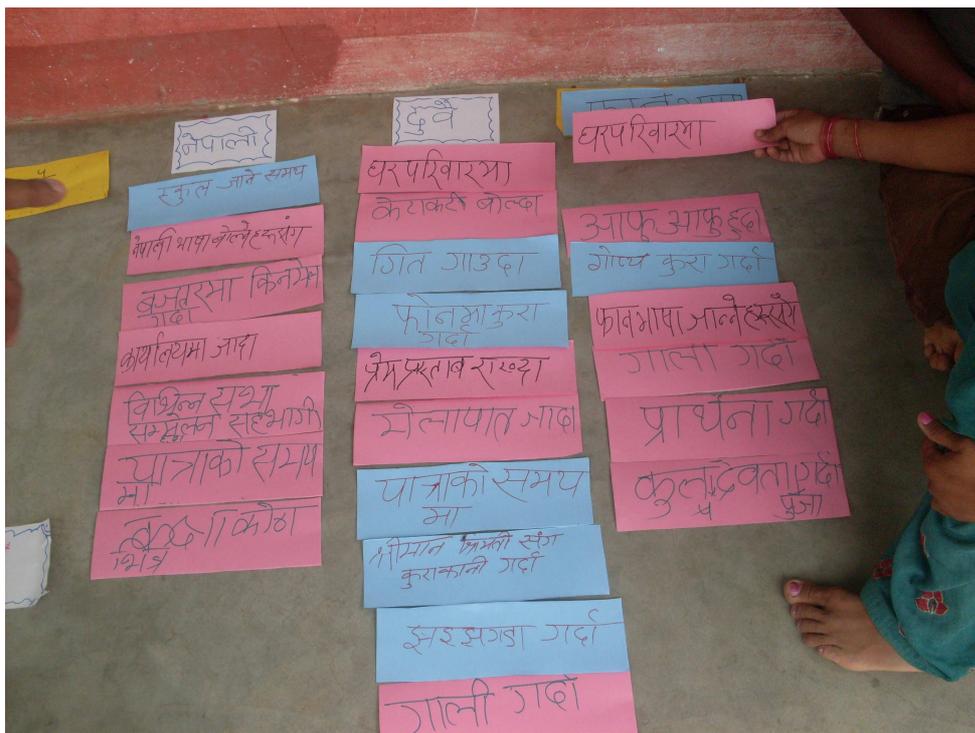
<b>Table 4.5: Levels of understanding Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex</b>		
N= 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Understand all	16 (53.33%)	13 (43.33%)
Understand a little bit	13 (43.33%)	17 (56.66%)
Do not understand at all	1 (3.33%)	

Table 4.5 shows that 53.33% male and 43.33% female respondents responded that their children understand everything the Nepali speaking teachers speak in Nepali when the children first go to school. Similarly, 43.33% male and 56.66% female respondents reported that their children understand Nepali speaking teachers only a little bit of the teachers' instruction in Nepali when they first go to school. Similarly, only 1(3.33%) male respondent

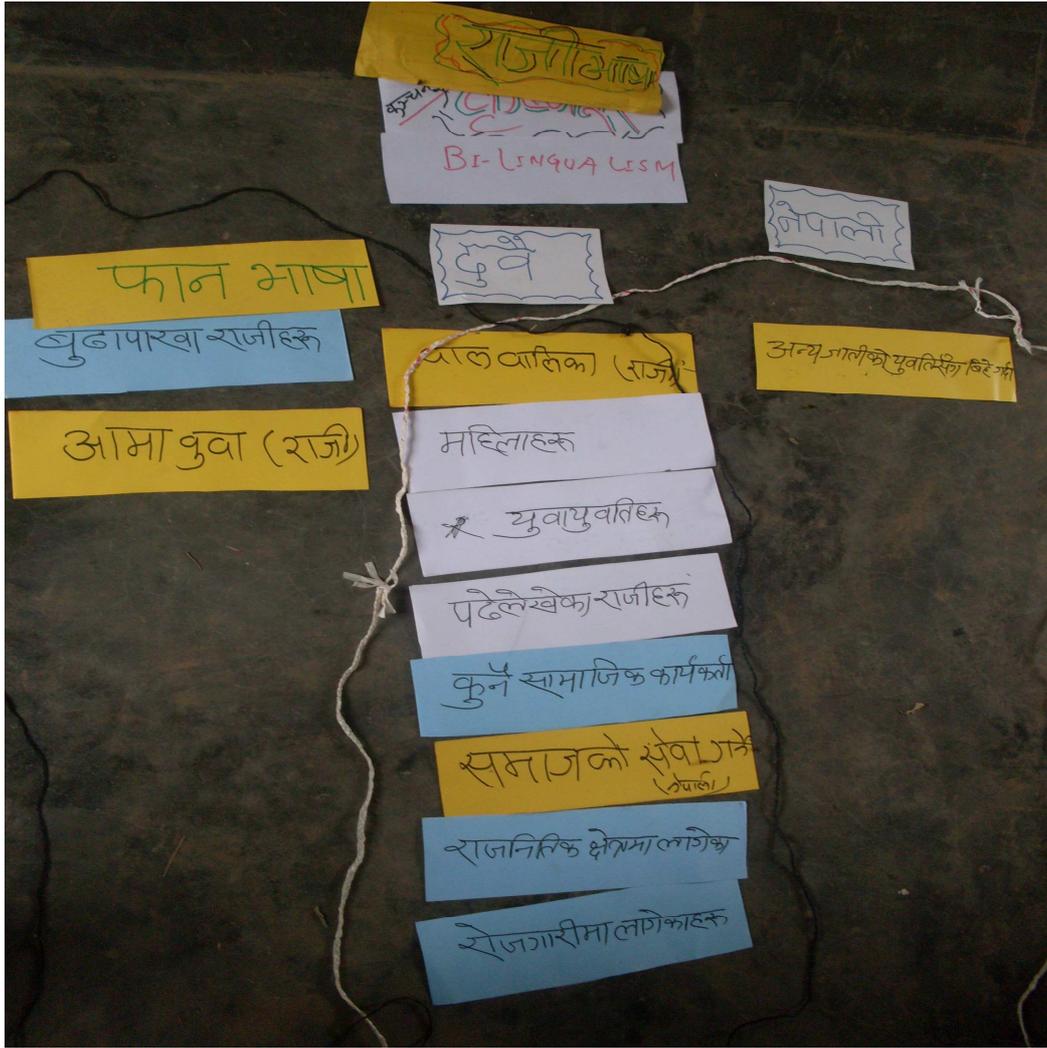
said that the children do not understand Nepali speaking teachers at all when they first go to school.

It can be concluded that half of the school going children understand Nepali speaking teachers only a little bit when they first go to school. Most of the Rajis use their mother tongue at home but Nepali is also used in their community. So their children are fluent speaker of their mother tongue. In addition they also speak Nepali before going to school. Therefore, they understand Nepali with some difficulty when they first go to school because Nepali is not their first language. It means that there is an urgent need of mother tongue based multilingual education (MLE) in Raji speaking community.

In order to examine the situation of bi/multilingualism in Raji, a participatory tool was administered to the group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category in all the survey points in the Raji community. Pictures 4.1 and 4.2 show bilingualism tools used in Raji tole village of Chhinchu VDC of Surkhet district and Krishnapur VDC, Kailali district.



**Photo plate 4.1: Bilingualism in Raji at Raji tole village of Chhinchu VDC**



**Photo plate 4.2: Bilingualism in Raji at Krishnapur VDC, Kanchanpur**

There are three common findings elicited from this participatory method:

1. There are no Raji monolingual speakers in Raji community.
2. The Raji speakers who do not go outside the village are women, farmers and elderly people. The pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali.
3. School-going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers and students are better bilingual in both the Raji and Nepali languages.

#### **4.5 Summary**

Raji people are proficient in speaking their mother tongue. All the members of Raji speech community speak their language very well and only educated speakers of Raji can read and write in their language. Most of them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual as well. Similarly, majority of Raji families are bilingual as well as multilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, and Rana Tharu languages.

Most of the Raji children are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi languages, and some of them are also bilingual in Rana Tharu language. Most of them learnt Nepali in community, schools, and colleges and in markets. Similarly, they learn Hindi in local markets, in India, and by watching Hindi movies and televisions. They learnt English in school and colleges and learnt Rana Tharu in the society. Majority of Raji children understand Nepali speaking teachers only a little when they first go to school. Since most of the Rajis use their own mother tongue and Nepali at home. Consequently, their children are partially bilingual before going to school.

There are no monolingual speakers among Rajis. The Raji speakers who do not go outside the village are women, farmers, elderly people, and priests. The pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali. Similarly, school-going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students are bilingual in both the Raji and Nepali languages.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Domains of language use**

#### **5.1 Outline**

This chapter looks at into the major domains of language use in Raji. This chapter consists of eight sections. Section 5.1 discusses patterns of language use in common domains. Similarly, section 5.2 deals with the language use in educational and social domains, and section 5.3 presents the use of languages in letter writing. Section 5.4 discusses the languages used outside home while section 5.5 describes the languages used for formal invitation. Similarly, section 5.6 deals with language use in writing minutes in meetings and section 5.7 with frequency in the use of Raji languages. Section 5.9 is the summary of the chapter.

#### **5.1 Patterns of language use in common domains**

Domains of language use tool is used for evaluating the vitality of the language. Raji is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussion/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 5.1 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by males.

**Table 5.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male**

Domains of language use	Male (n=30)					
	Raji	Nepali	Both	Hindi+Nepali	D.Tharu	No response
Counting	10 (33.3%)	19 (63.3%)	1 (3.3%)			
Singing		25(83.3)	2 (6.6%)	1 (3.3%)		2 (6.6%)
Joking	14 (46.6%)	9 (30%)	7 (23.3%)			
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing		28 (93.3%)	1 (3.3%)		1(3.3)	2 (6.6%)
Story-telling	10 (33.3%)	16 (53%)	2 (6.6%)			2(6.6)
Discussing/ Debate	12 (40%)	11 (36.6%)	7 (23.3%)			
Praying	20(66.6%)	8(26.6)	2 (6.6%)			
Quarrelling	14 (46.6%)	9 (30%)	7 (23.3%)			
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	20 (66.6%)	6 (20%)	4 (13.3%)			
Telling stories to children	17 (56.6%)	10 (33.3%)	2(6.6)			1(3.3)
Singing at home	2 (6.6%)	24 (80%)	2 (6.6%)			2(6.6%)
Family gatherings	30(100%)					
Village meetings	10 (34%)	16(53%)	4 (13%)			

Table 5.1 shows that 93.3% male speakers use their mother tongue in bargaining/shopping/ or marketing. In story-telling 33.3% and telling stories to children 56.6% male speakers use their mother tongue. Similarly 96% Raji speakers use their mother tongue in singing at home and family gatherings. Similarly, 66.6% use their mother tongue while abusing (scolding/using taboo words) and 46.6% Raji people use their language in quarrelling. In the same way, 66.6% people use their language in praying. Similarly, 33.3% people use their language in counting and no Raji male speakers use their language in singing.

Only 30% people use Nepali while joking. 53% Nepali in story-telling, 36.6% in discussing, debating, 30% quarrelling, 20% in abusing, 80% singing at home while 63.3% people use

Nepali in counting. Similarly, 93.3% of them use Nepali in bargaining, shopping and marketing.

In the same way, 3% of people use both Nepali and Raji while counting, 23.3 in joking and 6.6% in story-telling and only 6.6% of them use both Nepali and Raji while praying, 23.3 in quarrelling and 13.3% abusing. Similarly, 6.6% of them use both Nepali and Raji while singing at home, 23.3% while discussing and debating while 13% people use both the languages in village meetings. Only 6.6% male speakers of Raji community use Hindi in singing. The 3% of people use Raji, Nepali and Hindi while bargaining/shopping/marketing.

In conclusion, most of the Raji male speakers use their own mother tongue in different domains of language use except counting. Majority of them use Nepali in counting. Only a few speakers use both mother tongue and Nepali in many other common domains of language

**Table 5.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by females**

Domains of language use	Female (n=30)			
	Raji	Nepali	Both	English
Counting	10 (33%)	20 (66%)		
Singing	25 (83%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	1 (3%)
Joking	28 (93%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	21(70%)	3 (10%)	5 (17%)	
Story telling	26 (86%)	4 (13%)		
Discussing/ Debate	27 (90%)	3 (10%)		
Praying	26 (86%)	2 (7%)		1 (3%)
Quarrelling	28 (93%)	3 (10%)		
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	27 (90%)	2 (7%)		1 (3%)
Telling stories to children	26 (86%)	4 (13%)		
Singing at home	26 (86%)	4 (13%)		
Family gatherings	28 (93%)	2 (7%)		
Village meetings	17 (57%)	12 (40%)	1 (3%)	

Table 5.2 shows that out of the 30 female Raji speakers 93% are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use such as joking, quarrelling, and family gathering. Similarly, 70% of them use their language in bargaining/shopping/marketing. In the same way, 86% of the female Raji speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use like story-telling, praying and telling stories to children. Similarly, 57% of them use their mother tongue in village meetings, 33% in counting and 83% of them use their language in singing.

Similarly, 3% female of Raji community use Nepali while singing and only 7% of them use Nepali in joking, praying, abusing and in family gatherings. In the same way, 10% of them use Nepali in quarrelling; 13% females use Nepali in story-telling, telling stories to children and singing at home. Similarly, 40% of female speakers of the community use Nepali in village meetings.

In the same way, 3% of female Raji speakers use both the Nepali and Raji languages while joking and in village meetings; and 10% of them use both the languages in singing. Similarly, 17% of them use both the Nepali and Raji languages while bargaining/shopping/marketing. In the same way, 3% female speakers of Raji community use English in singing, praying and abusing.

It can be concluded that most of the Raji female speakers use their own mother tongue Raji in different domains of language use except counting. Majority of them use Nepali in counting.

Only a few speakers use both mother tongue and Nepali in many other common domains of language use.

### 5.3 Language use in educational and social matters

Most of the Raji speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing different family matters. The same is the case in talking about educational and social matters with their family members. Table 5.3 presents the situation of language use discussing educational and social matters with the family members in Raji community.

**Table: 5.3 Use of languages while talking about educational and social matters**

N=60	Educational matters		Social matters	
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
	Raji		Raji	
Grand Father	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Grand mother	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Father	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Mother	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Spouse	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Children	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)

Table 5.3 shows that all the speakers of Raji speech community use only their mother tongue while talking to their family members about educational and social matters. All the males as well as females use their mother tongue to their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children while discussing about educational and social matters.

### 5.4 Languages use in letter writing

Since the literacy rate in Raji is very poor, majority of speakers use Nepali in letter writing to their family members. Table 5.4 presents the use of languages used in letter writing by the male speaker of Raji community.

**Table 5.4: Use of languages in letter writing by male**

n=30 Languages	Grand father	Grand mother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Children
Raji	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)
Nepali	18 (60%)	18 (60%)	18 (60%)	18 (60%)	15 (50%)	14 (47%)
Both D & N	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)
Hindi	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

Table 5.4 shows that out of 30 male respondents 20% use their mother tongue while writing letters to their parents and grandparents and 17% use their mother tongue in writing letter to their spouses and children. Similarly, 60% male Raji speakers use Nepali in writing letters to

their family members except their spouses and children. Out of the total male respondents 50% and 47% use the Nepali language while writing letters to their spouses and children respectively. Similarly, 17% male speakers use both Raji and Nepali in writing letters to their family members. The rest of the respondents, i.e. 3% use Hindi while writing letters to their family members.

Similarly, Table 5.5 presents the language use in letter writing by the female speakers of Raji community.

**Table 5.5: Use of languages in letter writing by female**

n=30 Languages	Grand father	Grand mother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Children
Raji	3 (10%)	3 (10%)	3 (10%)	3 (10%)	3 (10%)	3 (10%)
Nepali	27 (90%)	27 (90%)	27 (90%)	27 (90%)	22 (73%)	22 (73%)

Table 5.5 shows that out of 30 female respondents of Raji speech community only 10% use their mother tongue in writing letters to their family members such as grandparents, parents, spouses and children whereas most of the female speakers use Nepali while writing letters to their family members except their spouses and children. Out of the total female respondents, 73% said that they use Nepali in writing letters to their spouses and children. The rest of the female respondents, i.e. 17% are unmarried. Therefore, there is no question of writing letters to their spouses and children.

### 5.5 Languages used outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbors and in school by Raji children. As Raji speakers are bi/multilingual, their children also use their mother tongue, Nepali, and even English outside home. Table 5.6 presents the languages Raji children usually speak while playing with friends, talking with neighbors and in school.

**Table 5.6: Languages Raji children usually speak**

N=60 Languages	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	With friends	With neighbors	At School	With friends	With neighbors	At School
Raji	18 (60%)	24 (80%)		15 (50%)	23 (77%)	
Nepali	10 (33%)	3 (10%)	12 (40%)	12 (40%)	4 (13%)	20 (67%)
Both R & N	2 (7%)	3 (10%)	15 (50%)	3 (10%)	3 (10%)	9 (30%)
English			3 (10%)			1 (3%)

Table 5.6 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 60% and 80% said that their children use their mother tongue while playing with their friends and talking with their friends. Similarly, 33%, 10%, and 40% male respondents responded that their children use Nepali while playing with friends, talking with neighbors, and in school respectively. In the same way, 7%, 10%, and 50% male respondents' children use both Raji and Nepali while playing with friend, talking with neighbors and at school respectively; and only 10 children use only English at school.

Similarly, out of 30 female respondents, 50%, 40%, and 10%'s children use their mother tongue, Nepali and both Raji and Nepali languages respectively while playing with their friends. In the same way, 77%, 13%, and 10%'s children use their mother tongue, Raji; Nepali and both Raji and Nepali languages respectively while talking to their neighbors. And, 67%, 30% and 3% respondents said that their children use Nepali, both Raji and Nepali and English languages respectively at school.

From this analysis we can conclude that there the mother tongue is not used in school and with friends and neighbors both mother tongue and Nepali, official language, are in practice.

## 5.6 Languages of invitation

Most of the members of Raji speech community use their own mother tongue in rites and rituals. The same is the case in marriage invitations, too. Table 5.7 presents the languages used by Rajis for marriage invitations.

**Table 5.7: Languages used for marriage invitations**

N= 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Raji	21 (70%)	23 (77%)
Nepali	2 (7%)	4 (13%)
Both Raji and Nepali	7 (23%)	3 (10%)

Table 5.7 shows that most of the Raji people use their own mother tongue for marriage invitations. The 70% male and 77% female respondents responded that they use Raji for marriage invitations. Similarly, 7% males and 13% females responded that they use Nepali; and the rest of the informants, i.e. 23% males and 10% females responded that they use both the Raji and Nepali for marriage invitations. This shows that there is the dominance of Raji in social rites and rituals.

### 5.7 Language use in minutes of meeting

Since the official language of the nation is Nepali, the documents for official purposes are written in Nepali in the community offices. Table 5.8 presents the data related to the language used in minutes of meeting provided by the speakers of the key survey points.

**Table 5.8: Language used in minutes of community meetings**

N = 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Nepali	25 (83%)	27 (90%)
Raji	3 (10%)	2 (7%)
Both R&N	2 (7%)	1 (3%)

Table 5.8 shows that most of the respondents responded that minutes in community meetings of Raji community is written in Nepali as reported by 83% male and 90% female respondents. Similarly, only 10% males and 7% females knowingly or unknowingly responded that Raji is used for writing in the community meetings. The 7% males and 3% females responded that both the Raji and Nepali languages are used. The chart below makes it much clearer.

### 5.8 Frequency in the use of languages

As mentioned earlier Raji is the most prominent language in the Raji community, and the speakers of the community use their mother tongue very frequently. Table 5.9 presents the responses of the informants of the key survey points related to the frequency of the use of mother tongue.

**Table 5.9: Frequency of the use of Raji**

N = 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Daily	28 (93.33%)	30 (100%)
Sometimes	2(6.66%)	
Never		

Table 5.9 shows that 96.66% of the speakers of Raji speech community use their mother tongue daily activities. Only 3.33% of the speakers use their mother tongue sometimes. There is no one who never speaks his mother tongue (Raji). Those who speak Raji language sometimes are 2 literate males- one from the age group 35-59 and one from the age group 60 above. From the above table it can be concluded that the Raji language is very frequently used in the speech community.

In Raji community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 5.10 presents the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication.

**Table 5.10: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by sex**

N=60	Male			Female		
	Total	Daily	Sometimes	Total	Daily	Sometimes
Nepali	30	25 (83.33%)	5 (16.66%)	30	21 (70%)	9 (30%)

Table 5.10 shows that 83.33% male respondents use Nepali as the language of wider communication. While 16.66% males use Nepali as the language of wider communication sometimes. The elderly male speakers do not use Nepali every day since generally they speak only Raji language at home.

Similarly, out of the total 30 female respondents 21 (70%) said that they use Nepali as the language of wider communication daily while 9 (30%) female respondents use Nepali sometimes only. No Raji speaker was found who never speaks the language of wider communication i.e. Nepali in our data.

Similarly, Table 5.11 presents the data, related to the use of the language when the speakers of other languages visit at their home, taken from informants of the key survey points.

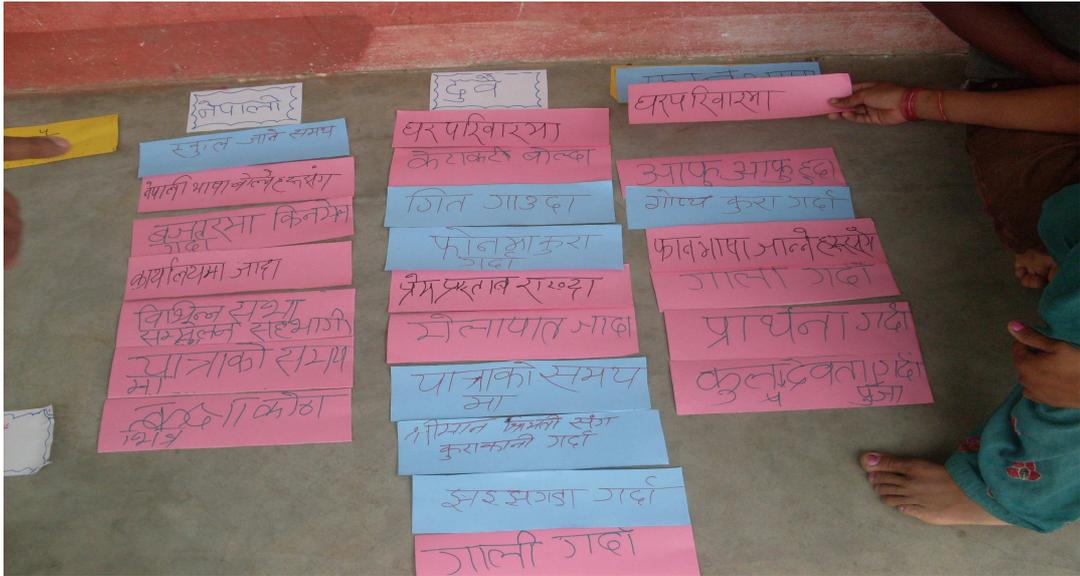
**Table 5.11: The Language usually used when the speakers of other languages visit their home by sex**

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Nepali	26 (86.66%)	26 (86.66%)
Nepali+Tharu	4 (13.33%)	4 (13.33%)

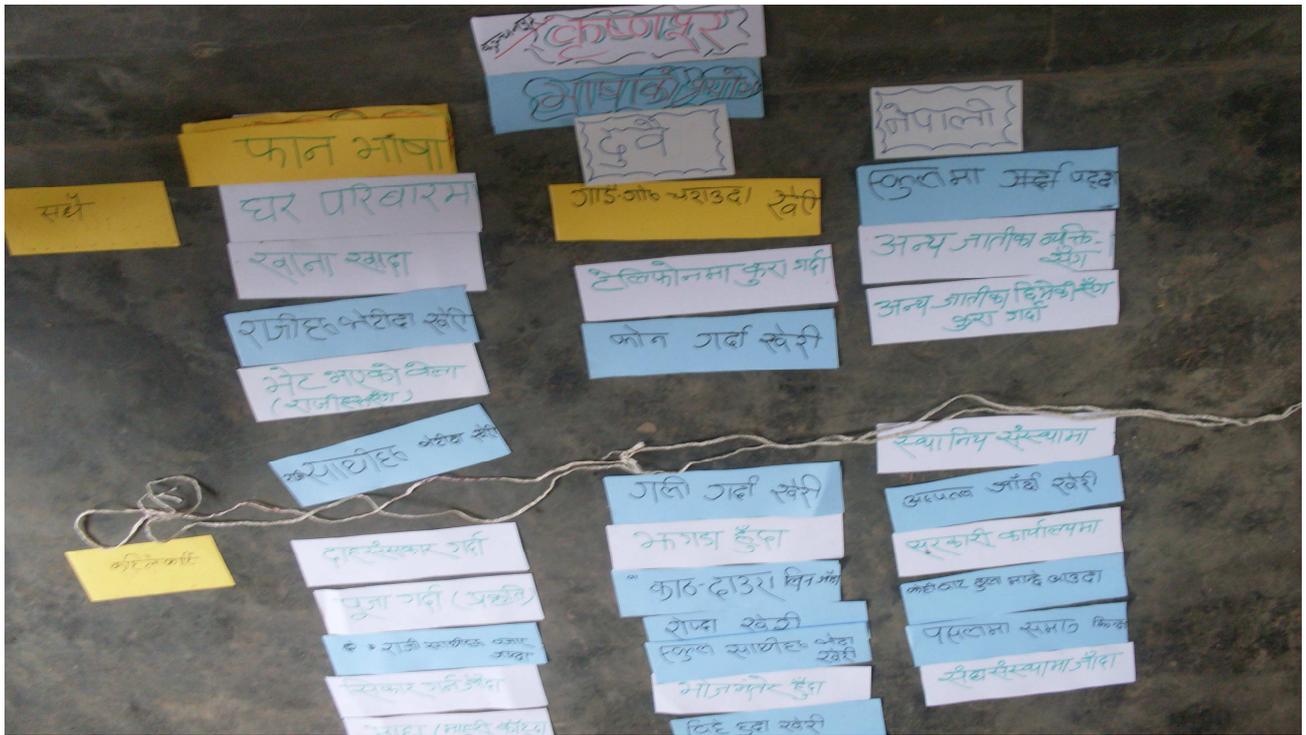
Table 5.11 shows that out of 60 respondents 52 (86.66%) use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit their home while 8 respondents (13.33%) use Nepal and Tharu in such a situation.

In order to examine the domains of language use in the Raji language, the participatory tool in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Raji community. The pictures of domains of language use tools used in Chhinchu-7, Raji tole of Surkhet; Gulariya- Kichain of Kanchanpur; and Sanoshree of Bardiya present the use of the languages in different situations among different types of people.

**Photo plate 5.1: Domains of language use at Raji tole, Chhinchu-7, Surkhet**



**Photo plate 5.2: Domains of language use at Kichain, Krishnapur-,Mahendra nagar**





Nepali in letter-writing to their family members. Raji children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends in neighborhood and they use only Nepali in school.

There is the dominance of Nepali in social works. Most of the speakers of Raji speech community use their mother tongue daily. There is no one to say that s/he uses mother tongue never. Similarly, the languages of wider communication is Nepali. They use Nepali as the languages of wider communication (LWC) when the speakers of other languages visit their home.

The domains where mother tongue is used are in the family, rites and rituals, neighborhood, village meetings, local markets, including abusing, and story-telling. The Nepali language, the language of wider communication (LWC), is used in the government offices with non-Tharu and hilly people, in meeting minutes, hospitals and markets. Both the mother tongue and Nepali are used in the VDC office, in primary classes in government schools, trainings, in district headquarters, NGOs and INGOs offices, general assemblies and business.

## Chapter 6

### Language vitality, transmission and maintenance

#### 6.1 Outline

This chapter is concerned with language vitality, transmission and maintenance in Raji speech community. It consists of 5 sections. Section 6.1 deals with the intergenerational transmission of the language. Similarly, section 6.2 describes the languages spoken by younger people of Raji community. Section 6.3 examines the transmission of the Raji language, and section 6.4 is language maintenance, and section 6.5 is the summary of this chapter.

#### 6.2 Intergenerational transmission

The Raji community in common is seen to have maintained their language. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. Table 6.1 presents the data based on the responses of the informants to the question ‘do all your children speak your mother tongue?’

**Table 6.1: Mother tongue spoken by children**

Male (n=25)		Female (n=23)		Total (n= 48)	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	44 (91.6)
23 (92%)	2 (8%)	21 (91%)	2(9%)	No	4 (8.4%)

Table 6.1 shows that 91.66% children of the Raji speech community speak their mother tongue. Responses provided by both the male and female respondents are 92% and 91% respectively. It shows that the Raji language has high degree of vitality, i.e., 91.5%.

Similarly, Table 6.2 presents responses of the informants in the key survey points related to the question “What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?”

**Table 6.2: The language spoken by the parents with their children**

Language spoken	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total=60
Raji	26 (87%)	23 (77%)	81.66%
Nepali	4 (13%)	7(23%)	18.33%

Table 6.2 shows that 81.66% of the total parents speak their mother tongue with their children. Out of the total male respondents 4 (13%) responded that parents in their community usually speak Nepali with their children whereas 87% males and 77% females responded that most of the parents in their villages usually speak their mother tongue to their

children. It also shows that the Raji language is used by most of the parents but there is a tendency of not speaking the mother tongue when they talk to their children.

### 6.3 Language spoken by younger people

In the Raji speech community most of the younger people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication. Table 6.3 below presents the responses to the question “Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?”

**Table 6.3: The way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation**

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
24 (80%)	6 (20%)	23 (77%)	7 (23%)

Table 6.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents 90% responded that young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken and only 20% said that the young people of their village/town do not speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken. Similarly, 77% female respondents mentioned that most of the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken and 23% responded that they do not speak their mother tongue well, i.e. the way it ought to be spoken.

Figure 6.1 shows that way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation. Most of the Raji speakers both male and females responded that majority of the younger people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.

### 6.4 Inter-caste marriage

Language maintenance in Raji is satisfactory. Table 6.4 presents the situation of language maintenance at the key survey points in Raji speech community.

**Table 6.4: Intermarriage in Raji community**

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)		Total (n=60)	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
10 (33.3%)	20 (66.6%)	7 (23%)	23 (77%)	17(28%)	43(72%)

Table 6.4 shows that out of the total male respondents, 33.3% responded that there is inter-caste marriage in Raji community and 66.6% responded that there is not inter-caste marriage in the Raji community. Similarly, out of the total 30 female respondents only 23% responded that there is inter-caste marriage in Raji community whereas most of the speakers, i.e. 77% said that inter-caste marriage in Raji community is not in practice.

Similarly, in response to the question, “If there is inter-caste marriage in your community which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?”

The answers are presented in Table 6.5 below.

**Table 6.5: Common marital relationship with Raji language group**

Total responses = 17	
Nepali	16 (94.00%)
Tharu	14 (87.50%)
Magar	7 (41.00%)
Gurung	5(31.00%)
Tamang	1(6.00%)
Deshi	1(6.00%)

Table 6.5 shows that 17 respondents responded that there is inter-caste marriage in practice. The 94%, 14%, and 7% respondents said that they have the common marital relationship with Nepali, Tharu, and Magar language speaking groups respectively. Similarly, 31% and 6% responded that they have marital relationship with Gurung and Tamang and Deshi respectively.

### 6.5 Language maintenance

Rajis have positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and the vitality of their language. The question asked to the Rajis was “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” Table 6.6 presents the responses to the question by the Raji speakers.

**Table 6.6: Liking for children to learn/study in mother tongue**

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
30 (100%)		28 (93.33%)	2 (6.66%)

Table 6.6 shows that almost all the male respondents, i.e. 100% and 93.33% female respondents said that they like their children to learn/study in their mother tongue whereas 6.66% female respondents responded that they do not like it.

Similarly, in response to the question “If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?” the respondents’ responses are presented in Table 6.7.

**Table 6.7: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools**

Q:How they help the school?	Total responses=58
a. By sending your children?	58 (100%)
b. By encouraging other people to send their children?	57 (98.27%)
c. By providing financial help?	58 (100%)

d. By teaching?	19 (32.75%)
e. By helping school?	56 (96.55%)

Table 6.7 shows that 58 (100%) respondents said that they will support the school by sending their children if schools are opened for teaching their language. Similarly, 98.27% responded that they will support the school by encouraging other people to send their children. In the same way, 100% responded that they will support the school financially. Similarly, 32.75% respondents are eager to support the mother tongue teaching school by teaching themselves. In the same way, 96.55% respondents will support the schools by helping school in any possible form.

## 6.6 Summary

The Raji language has 100% vitality as all their children speak their mother tongue; most of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and all the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.

Only 33.3% male and 23% female responded that there is intermarriage in the Raji community and those who said that there is the practice of intermarriage, responded that they have common marital relationship with Nepali, Tharu, Gurung, Magar and Deshi speakers. Similarly, almost all the Raji male speakers like their children to learn/study in mother tongue and only 6.66% female respondents said that they do not like their children to learn/study in their mother tongue. The Raji speakers are positive about the development of their language, and they are ready to send their children to the mother tongue schools encouraging others to send their children as well. Similarly, they are also ready to contribute financial support to the schools in community if the Raji language is used. Similarly, educated Raji speakers are ready to teach their language themselves.

## Chapter 7

### Language attitudes

#### 7.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the attitude of the Raji speakers towards their language in general. It consists of eight sections. Section 7.1 deals with the feelings of the speakers about their language. Section 7.2 discusses the problems they have felt being a native speaker of Raji, and section 7.3 explores feelings about children's marriage with non-Raji speakers. Similarly, section 7.4 looks at grandchildren's language, and section 7.5 deals with first language of their children. Section 7.6 deals with medium of instruction at primary level of schooling and section 7.7 presents the differences in the use of language between the present speakers and their grandparents. Section 7.8 is the summary of this chapter.

#### 7.2 Feeling of the speakers about their language

In general, Raji speakers have positive attitudes towards their language. The question asked to the respondents was- "When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...?" Table 7.1 presents the responses of the informants upon the question of the key survey points.

**Table 7.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages**

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Prestigious	9 (30%)	13 (43.33%)
Embarrassed	10 (33.33%)	12 (40%)
Neutral	11 (36.66%)	5 (16.66%)

Table 7.1 shows that out of the total male respondents of Raji community 30% responded that they feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali. Similarly, 33.33% and 66.66% feel embarrassed and neutral respectively when they speak Raji in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages.

In the same way, 43.33% female respondents replied that they feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages. Similarly, 40% and 16% respondents responded that they feel embarrassed and neutral respectively when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the other

dominant languages. They have very positive attitudes towards their language. Figure 7.1 presents a clear picture.

### 7.3 Problem because of being a native speaker of Raji

The responses to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” are presented in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Raji**

(N=60)	
Yes	No
6 (10%)	54 (90%)

Table 7.2 shows that out of the total respondents 10% said that they faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Raji whereas 90% respondents responded that they have no problem at all.

Similarly, in response to the question “If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had? In response to the question all the respondents responded that they feel dominated while speaking their mother tongue in front of the other language speakers.

### 7.4 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Raji speakers

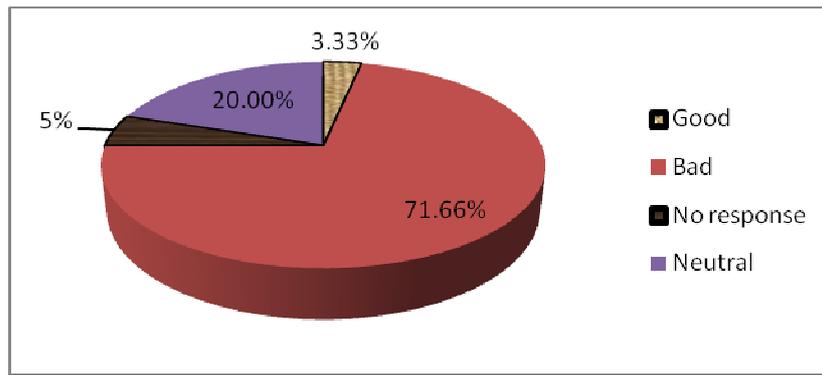
Most of the Raji speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question “How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?” Rajis have varying responses. Table 7.3 presents the responses of them at the key survey points.

**Table 7.3: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Raji speakers**

N=60			
Good	Neutral	Bad	No response
2 (3.33)	12 (20%)	43 (71.66%)	3(5%)

Table 7.3 shows that out of the total respondents majority of the Rajis (71.66%) feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue, and only 20% feel neutral. Similarly, 2 respondents (3.33%) had unexpected responses that they feel good in such cases. Figure 7.1 shows how they feel about their children’s marriage with non-native speakers of Raji.

**Figure 7.1: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Raji speakers**



### 7.5 Grandchildren’s language

Raji speakers are positive towards their language and culture. Majority of the Raji speakers responded that their grandchildren will speak their language the way they do. Table 7.4 presents the responses from the key survey points regarding the question, “Will the grandchildren also speak your language?”

**Table 7.4: Whether the children of the present Raji children speak your language**

	Male N=30	Female N=30
Will Speak	26 (86.66%)	18 (60%)
Will not speak	4(13.33%)	12 (40%)

Table 7.4 shows that 86.66% male and 60% females responded that the children of the present Raji children will speak their language. On the other hand 13.33% males and 40% females responded the children of the present Raji children will not speak their mother tongue. From the above data in can be concluded that Raji females are less optimistic towards the vitality of their language in future.

Similarly, regarding the question “If speak, how do you feel about this?” they have positive responses. Table 7.5 presents the responses of the Raji speakers in the key survey points.

**Table 7.5: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will speak their language**

Male (N=30)			Female (N=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
29 (96.66%)	1(3.33%)		29 (96.66%)	1 (3.33%)	

Table 7.5 shows that 96.66% male and female respondents feel good if their grandchildren will speak their language. Only 2 (3.33%) respondents responded they have nothing to say if their grandchildren do not speak their mother tongue. It shows that most of the Raji speakers have very positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, they were asked the question “If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?” Table 7.6 presents the responses of the Raji speakers at the key survey points.

**Table 7.6: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language**

Male (N=30)			Female (N=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
	4 (13.33%)	26 (86.66%)		2 (6.66%)	28 (93.33%)

Table 7.6 shows that out of the total male respondents, 86.66% of them feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their language, and only 13.33% feel neutral. Similarly, 93.33% female respondents feel bad and only 6.66% feel neutral if their grandchildren will not speak their language.

### **7.6 First language of the children**

Since Raji speakers have positive attitude towards their language, most of them said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Raji, first. Table 7.7 presents the responses to the question “What language should your children speak first?” from the respondents of the key survey points.

**Table 7.7: The languages Raji children should speak first**

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Raji	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Other		

Table 7.7 shows that all the male and female Raji speakers responded that their children should speak their own mother tongue i.e. Raji, first as 100% respondents responded that Raji is their first choice for their children’s language.

### **7.7 Medium of instruction at primary level of schooling**

Regarding the medium of instruction at the primary level of the schooling the respondents were asked the following question- “What language do you prefer for your children’s medium of instruction at primary level of schooling?” Table 7.8 presents the responses of the Raji speakers of the key survey points.

**Table 7.8: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level**

Responses	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Phan (Raji)	24 (80%)	21 (70%)
Nepali	5 (16.66%)	4 (13.33%)
No response	1 (3.33%)	5 (16.66%)

Table 7.8 shows that 80% of the male respondents responded that they prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Raji as their children’s medium of instruction at primary level of

schooling. Similarly, 16% males said that they prefer Nepali for their children’s medium of instruction in primary schools. Similarly, 70% female Raji speakers prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction; 13.33% prefer Nepali as a medium. Rest of the speakers, i.e. 3.33% male and 16.66% female made no response to the question.

### 7.8 Differences in the use of language between two generations

This section is regarding the language differences between two generations. The question asked for this purpose was- “Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 7.9 presents their responses in the key survey points.

**Table 7.9: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations**

	Male N=30	Female N=30
Yes	3 (10%)	8 (26.66%)
No	26 (86.66%)	22 (73.33%)
No response	1 (3.33%)	

Table 7.9 shows that 10% male Raji speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas most of them, i.e. 86.66% do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Similarly, out of the total female respondents 26.66% responded that they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas 73.33% said that they do not think that there are any differences between the languages spoken by them and their grandparents.

Regarding the responses to the question, “If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” are presented in Table 7.10.

**Table 7.10: The ways of differences in language between two generations**

If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?	Male (n=3)	Female (n= 8)
Pronunciation	3 (100%)	8 (100%)
Vocabulary	3 (100%)	5 (62.5%)
Use of specific type of sentences		3 (37.5%)
mixing of other languages	3 (100%)	8 (100%)
Way of speaking	3 (100%)	2 (25%)

Table 7.10 shows that all the male participants, who think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, responded that their language differentiates from their parents in vocabulary and in the way of speaking and 60% of them responded that the differences are found in pronunciation, vocabulary, mixing of other languages and way of speaking. On the other hand, the female respondents, who think that the language spoken by

them is different from their grandparents, all of them responded that there are differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of the other languages and way of speaking.

From this analysis we can conclude that the language spoken by two different generations have some differences in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking.

Similarly, the responses to the question “How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?” are presented in table 7.11 below.

**Table 7.11: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue**

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Indifferent	Bad	Good	Indifferent	Bad
	5 (16.66%)	25 (83.33%)		2 (6.66%)	28 (93.33%)

Regarding the language attitude table 7.11 shows that 83.33% males and 93.33% females feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. On the other hand, 16.66 % male Raji speakers and 6.66% female Raji speakers responded that they feel indifferent if Rajis speak other language instead of Raji. But, there in no one to respond that it is good.

### 7.9 Summary

Raji speakers have positive attitudes towards their language. Some of them (36.66%) feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali. Some of respondents (53.33%) feel embarrassed while speaking their mother tongue among the speakers of the language of the wider communication. They feel that they are dominated by the speakers of other languages. Similarly, 71.66% of the Raji speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue.

Most of the Raji speakers are optimistic that their grand children will speak their language and all of them feel good if his/her children will speak their mother tongue. Similarly, most of them feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their mother tongue. It shows that they love their mother tongue and want to save it. Similarly, most of the male and female Raji speakers said that their children should speak their own mother tongue i.e. Raji first.

Most of the Raji speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Raji as medium of instruction at primary level and only a few prefer Nepali language. Only 18.33% Raji speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and the differences are in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking. Most of the male and female speakers feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their mother tongue.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Language Development**

#### **8.1 Outline**

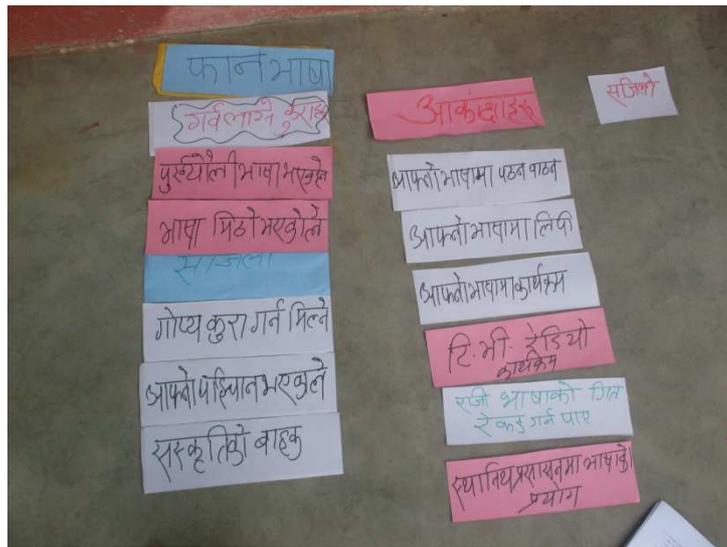
This chapter presents the language development of Raji. The section 8.1 presents the appreciative inquiry conducted in the field and section 8.2 summaries the findings.

#### **8.2 Appreciative inquiry**

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all five key points in the Raji community. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Raji speakers for the development of their language as well as their culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex and education. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud of their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ on a piece of paper and place them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Raji language and culture, say they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture prosperous. 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.

In order to develop the Raji language, an appreciative inquiry and a participatory tool were administered to the group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category in all the reference points of the survey in Raji community. Pictures 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5 show the appreciative inquiry tools used in Chhinchu-7, Surkhet, Chaumala-9, Kailali, Krishnapur, of Kanchanpur district, Khailad-4 of Kailali and Sanoshree of Bardiya.

**Photo plate 8.1: Appreciative enquiry at Raji tole, Chhinchu-7, Surkhet**



**Photo plate 8.2: Appreciative enquiry at Kuchaini, Chaumala-9, Kailali**



**Photo plate 8.3: Appreciative enquiry at Kichain, Krishnapur, Kanchanpur**

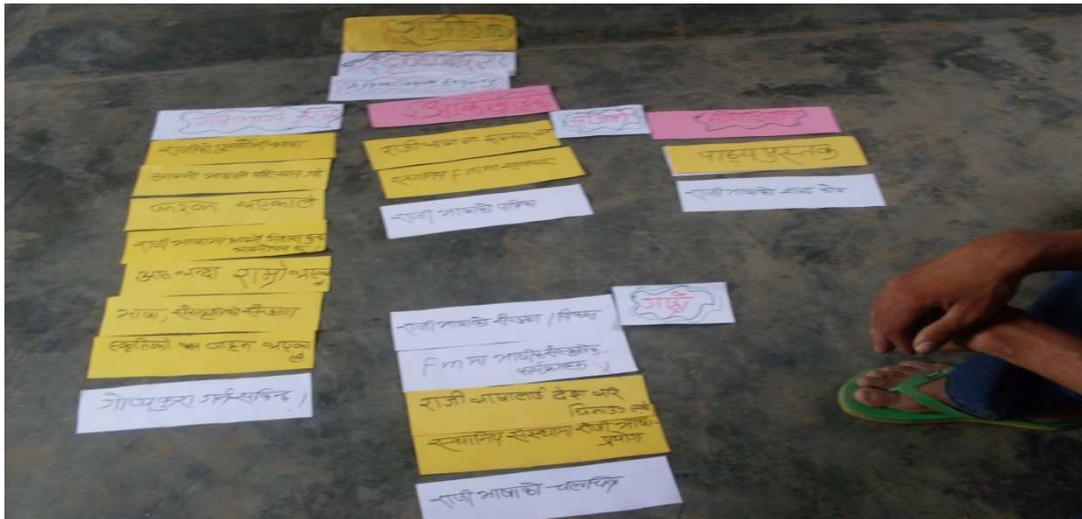


Photo plate 8.4: Appreciative enquiry at Bhuruwa, Khailad-4, Kailali

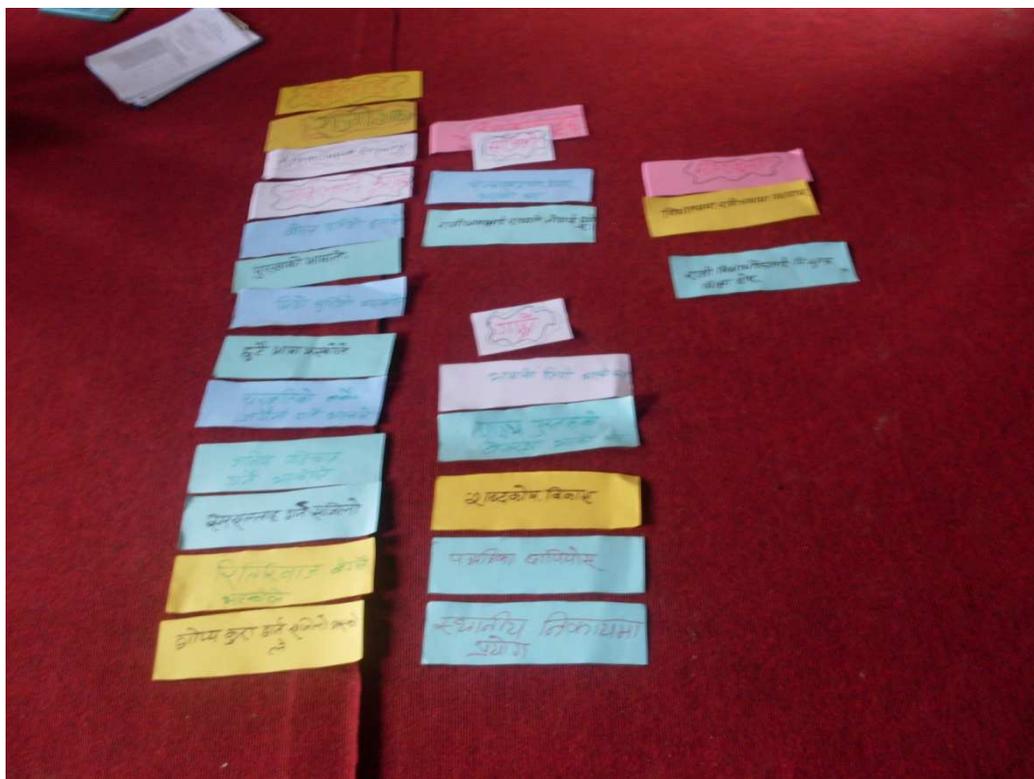


Photo plate 8.5: Appreciative enquiry at Sanoshree, Bardiya



In this survey, as already mentioned different participatory tools such as dialect mapping, domains of language use and bilingualism were used. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already know intuitively about their language and culture. However, an appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities of enhancement of their language and culture. Table 8.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries related to preservation and promotion of the language on all five key points in the Raji.

**Table 8.1: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in the Raji**

Survey points	Good things that made Raji feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Chhinchu-Surkhet 7,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Raji is the language of their ancestors.</li> <li>▪ It's their mother tongue, so sweet and melodious.</li> <li>▪ Raji is easy to speak.</li> <li>▪ It is helpful to maintain secrecy.</li> <li>▪ Raji is the carrier of Raji culture and is also the language of identity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Education in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Development of Raji script</li> <li>▪ Radio and television programs in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Recording of Raji songs</li> <li>▪ Use of Raji language in the local administrative offices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To establish mother tongue based primary school</li> </ul>
Kuchaini, Chaumala-9, Kailali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Raji is a language of identity and also ancestral language.</li> <li>▪ It's their mother</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners in primary level</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mother tongue teaching school for the beginners</li> </ul>

	<p>tongue, so easy to speak.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ It is helpful to maintain secrecy</li> <li>▪ Raji is the carrier of Raji culture and is also the language of religion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Textbook preparation</li> <li>▪ Preservation and promotion of Raji culture</li> <li>▪ Use of Raji language in media</li> <li>▪ Preparation of textbooks for Raji learners</li> <li>▪ Development of Raji script</li> </ul>	<p>in primary level and textbook preparation for the same</p>
Kichai, Krishnapur, Kanchanpur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Ancestral language</li> <li>▪ It's a language of Raji identity</li> <li>▪ It's different from other languages</li> <li>▪ Bearer of Raji culture</li> <li>▪ It preserves Raji language and culture</li> <li>▪ It's better than other languages</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ News broadcast in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Use of Raji language in FMs and Radios</li> <li>▪ Newspapers in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Programs related to Raji language and cultures in FMs</li> <li>▪ Preservation and promotion of Raji language</li> <li>▪ Exposure of Raji language nationwide</li> <li>▪ Use of Raji language in local government bodies</li> <li>▪ Film production in Raji language and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of mother tongue based primary schools and preparation of Raji textbooks</li> </ul>
Khailad-4, Bhuruwa, Kailali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Easy to speak</li> <li>▪ Ancestral language</li> <li>▪ Sweet and melodious</li> <li>▪ Helpful to maintain secrecy</li> <li>▪ Raji is different from other tongues</li> <li>▪ Stock of vocabulary in their language</li> <li>▪ It's helpful to preserve Raji culture</li> <li>▪ It's a language of Rajis identity</li> <li>▪ Easier to talk and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To start mother tongue based school at primary level</li> <li>▪ To prepare textbooks in Raji</li> <li>▪ Development of Raji script</li> <li>▪ Preparation of Raji dictionary</li> <li>▪ Publication of Newspapers in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Use of Raji in local government offices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Establishment of moth tongue based primary schools in Raji communities</li> </ul>

	<p>discuss among Rajis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Raji is a language of ethnic identity</li> </ul>		
Sanoshree, Bardiya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Raji is our mother-tongue</li> <li>▪ It's different from other language</li> <li>▪ Since Raji preserves and bears our culture</li> <li>▪ It's helpful to maintain secrecy</li> <li>▪ No other people can speak it except Rajis in the world</li> <li>▪ It's the language of identity of Raji people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ News broadcast in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Radio programs in Raji language</li> <li>▪ Recording of Raji songs</li> <li>▪ Preparation of Raji grammar</li> <li>▪ Preparation of Raji Dictionary</li> <li>▪ Preparation of Raji script</li> <li>▪ Publication of newspapers in Raji</li> <li>▪ Preparation of Textbooks in Raji</li> <li>▪ Primary education in Raji</li> <li>▪ Preparation of telefilms in Raji</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Free education for all the Raji people</li> </ul>

### 8.3 Summary

The good things that make Raji speakers proud of their language is that it is their mother tongue and also the ancestral language. Raji language is the bearer of Raji culture. They can maintain the secrecy and also they can present their identity through Raji language.

Their dreams to make their language even better are establishment of Raji mother tongue based primary schools, preparation of text books for Raji children, writing a grammar, compiling a dictionary, development of their own script, use of Raji language in local administrative offices, promotion and preservation of Raji language, culture and religion including the coverage of Raji language in mass media such as radio, TV, and national level newspapers and journals.

Their important dreams are an immediate planning of mother tongue teaching schools for their children, development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education and use of Raji language in print and electronic media. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to make their dreams come true.

## Chapter 9

### Dialectal variation

#### 9.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the dialectal variations in the Raji language. Section 9.1 looks at lexical variations which also include methodology of finding lexical variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in the Raji language. Similarly, section 9.2 deals with dialect mapping to find out the possible dialects of the language, and section 9.3 is the summary of this chapter.

#### 9.2 Lexical variation

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

##### 9.2.1 Methodology

The standard wordlists of 210 words were elicited in different points with mother tongue speakers (grown up in the Raji community, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions. In each key point, at least two sets of wordlists were administered.

Wordsurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the language or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationship between the different varieties of the Raji language. After the entry of words from each survey point the words from the selected wordlist are aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages are calculated in Wordsurv.

The 60% has been generally used as a cut-off point for determining lexical similarity. Table 9.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

**Table 9.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages**

Less than 60%	Different language
60% or more	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT

The speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different language. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or above lexical similarity should

be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). But RTT could not be administered because of the time constrains.

### 9.2.2 Lexical similarity among the key points in Raji

The wordlists collected from different six points of 4 different districts of mid-western and far-western region of Nepal are compared. Table 7 presents the lexical similarity percentage in Raji.

**Table 9.2: Lexical similarity percentages in Raji**

	Khailad	Chaumala	Chhinchu	Krishnapur	Sanoshree	Deudakala
Khailad	100%	42%	46%	81%	50%	44%
Chaumala	42%	100%	37%	39%	35%	35%
Chhinchu	46%	37%	100%	41%	69%	69%
Krishnapur	81%	39%	41%	100%	46%	42%
Sanoshree	50%	35%	69%	46%	100%	73%
Deudakala	44%	35%	69%	42%	73%	100%

Source: Sociolinguistic survey, 2012

Table 9.2 shows that there is 81% lexical similarity between Khailad and Krishnapur. In the same way, there is 69% lexical similarity between Chhinchu and Sanoshree/Deudakala. Likewise, Sanoshree and Deudakala have 73% similar lexical items. On the other hand, there is very little (only 37%) similarity in lexical items of Chhinchu and Chaumala; and 42% lexical similarity between Khailad and Chaumala. This situation indicates that the form of the speech spoken in Chaumala may be unintelligible to the speech communities in other areas. However, Recorded Text Test (RTT) is required to ascertain the situation.

### 9.3 Dialect mapping

In order to determine dialects among the Raji speakers, the dialect mapping was administered in all the reference points of the survey. The pictures 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.5, 9.6 show the dialect mapping tools used in Raji tole, Chhinchu-7 (Surkhet); Kuchaini, Chaumala-9 (Kailali), Kichain, Krishnapur (Kanchanpur); Bhuruwa, Khailda-4 (Kailali) and Sanoshree (Bardiya).

**Photo plate 9.1: Dialect mapping at Raji tole, Chhinchu-7, Surkhet**



**Photo plate 9.2: Dialect mapping at Kuchaini, Chaumala-9, Kailali**



**Photo plate 9.3: Dialect mapping at Kichain, Krishnapur, Kanchanpur**

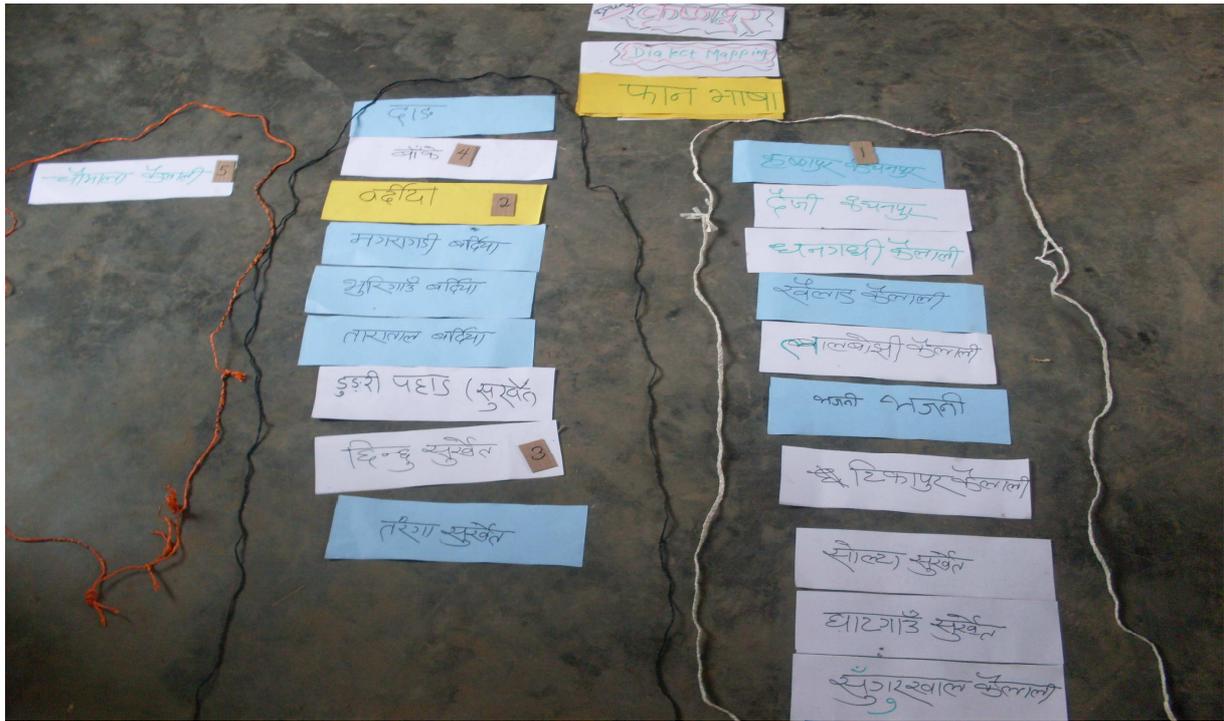
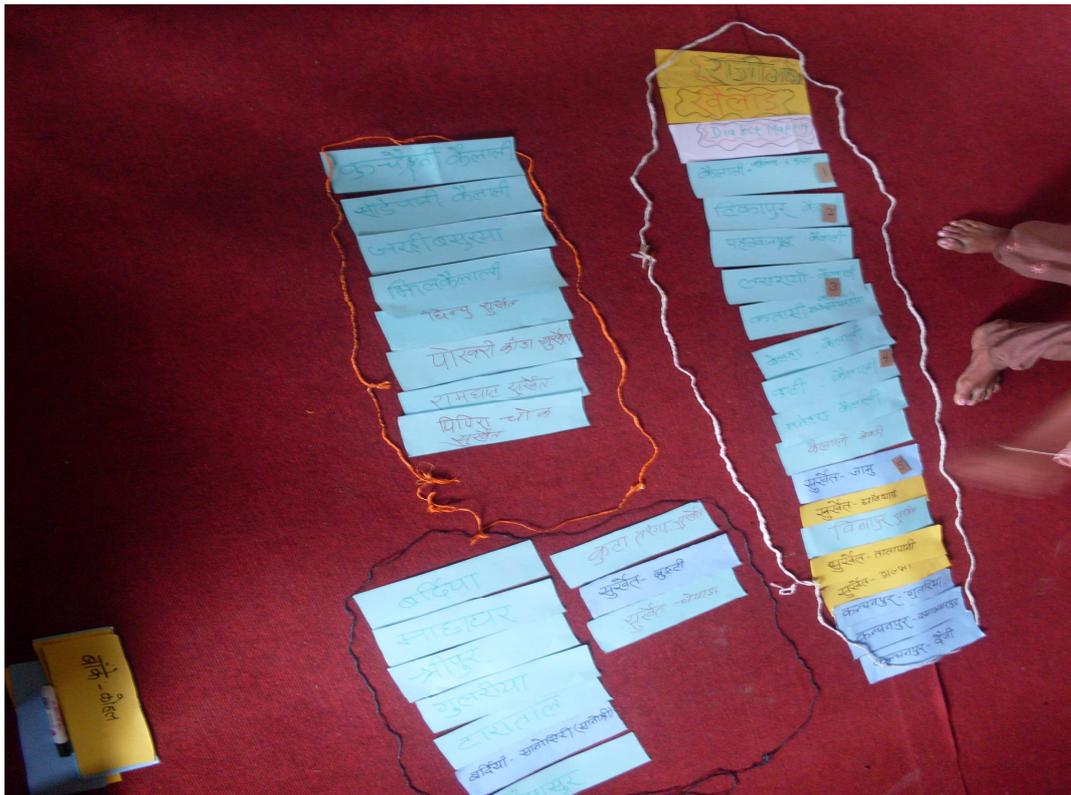


Photo plate 9.4: Dialect mapping at Bhuruwa, Khailad-4, Kailali



**Photo plate 9.5: Dialect mapping at Sanoshree, Bardiya**



The dialect mapping tool was administered to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any in the Raji. The language participants in group of 8 to 12 in each survey point were asked to write on a separate piece of paper the name of each district and town where Raji is spoken and place the paper cards on the floor representing different geographical location. The districts and villages were recognized as the Raji language speaking areas. Some of them are Lalbojhi, Khailad, Bhajani, Dhangadi, Tikapur, Chaumala Villages of Kailali district and Bidyapur, Babiyaachour, Pokhari kanda, Kunathari and Tatapani villages of Surkhet district. Similarly, Raji language is spoken in Chhinchu, Satakhani, Ramghat, Kuta, Taranga, Hariharpur and Uttarganga villages of Surkhet district. In Bardiya district, Magaragadi, Bhurigaun, Taratal, Dhadhawar, Deudakala, Gulariya, Kunakhari, and Motipur are Raji speaking villages. Krishnapur, Daiji and Dayaampur are the villages in Kanchanpur district. According to the Raji participants in the dialect mapping discussion, the Raji language speakers are also found in Banke district of Bheri zone and Dang district of Rapti zone.

**Table 9.3: Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different places**

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Raji		
	Group A	Group B	Group C
Chhinchu-7 Surkhet	Surkhet, Bardiya and Banke districts,	Khailad, Lalbojhi, Tikapur of Kailali and Daiji and Krishnapur of Kanchanpur district	
Chaumala-9 Kailali	Chaumala, Sandepani, Jhil, Masuriya	Surkhet ( Ghatgaun, Tatapani, Bidyapur, Champapur)	Bardiya ( Sanoshree, Dhadwar, Bhainsasur) Surkhet and Banke districts.
Krishnapur, Kanchanpur	Krishnapur, Daiji, Dhangadi, Khailad, Lalbojhi and Tikapur	Surkhet, Banke, Bardiya, Dang	Chaumala (Kailali)
Khailad-4, Kailali	Krishnapur, Daiji, Pahalmanpur, Lalbojhi, Tikapur, Dhangadi, Tikapur, Dhangadhi	Surkhet, Banke and Bardiya	Kuchaina, Sadepani, Jarahi, Jhil, Chhinchu, Pokhari kanda
Sanoshree, Bardiya	Surkhet, Bardiya and Banke	Dhangadhi, Tikapur, Rajapur, Bardiya, Banke, Dang, Tuslipur, Gulariya	Kuchaini of Chaumala (Kailali)

Next, they used the number to indicate the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic pieces to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly. Table 9.4 presents the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult in the Raji language.

**Table 9.4: Ranking from easier to understand to the most difficult in Raji**

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Raji		
	Very well	Average	Poorly
Chhinchu-7, Surkhet	All the villages of Surkhet and Bardiya,	All the villages of Kailali (except Chaumala) and Kanchanpur	Kichai and Jhil villages of Chaumala (Kailali)
Chaumala-9 Kailali	Kichai and Jhil of Chaumala (Kailali)	All other villages of Kailali	Surkhet, Bardiya and Banke
Krishnapur, Kanchanpur	All the villages of Kanchanpur and Kailali (except Chaumala)	All the villages of Surkhet, Bardiya, and Banke	Chaumala VDC of Kailali
Khailad-4, Kailali	Kanchanpur, Tikapur, Bardiya, Kailali, Dhangadhi	Surkhet	Chaumala VDC of Kailali
Sanoshree Bardiya	All the villages of Bardiya and Surkhet	All the villages of Kanchanpur and	Kuchaini of Chaumala (Kailali)

		Kailali except Kuchaini of Chaumala	
--	--	-------------------------------------	--

Similarly, in response to the question “Which forms of speech they prefer for preparing reading materials”, the answers are presented in Table 9.5.

**Table 9.5: Preferences of speech variety for developing materials**

Survey points	Preferences of speech variety for developing reading materials		
	First priority	Second priority	Third priority
Chhinchu-7, Surkhet	Chhinchu (Surkhet)	Bardiya or Khailad (Kailali)	Chaumala (Kailali)
Chaumala-9 Kailali	Kichai (Chaumala -9)	Khailad (Kailali)	Bardiya or Surkhet
Krishnapur, Kanchanpur	Kichai (Kanchanpur) or Khailda (Kailali)	Bardiya or Surkhet	Chaumala (Kailali)
Khailad-4, Kailali	Khailad (Kailali)	Bardiya or Surkhet	Chaumala (Kuchaini)
Sanoshree Bardiya	Sanoshree (Bardiya)	Khailad (Kailali)	Surkhet

Table 9.5 shows that language participants in Chhinchu (Surkhet) responded that the form of speech in Chhinchu should be used for reading materials. Similarly, the participants of Kuchaini (Chaumala -9) preferred their own variety for reading materials. The participants from Krishnapur preferred their own or Khailad speech variety for reading materials. Participants of all the five key survey points responded that Khailad variety of Raji is in their second priority.

#### 9.4 Summary

All the varieties of Raji except Kuchaini (Chaumala-9) are mutually intelligible to each other. There is lexical similarity ranging from 42% to 81% among the key survey points in Raji. It may indicate that Raji at present shows three dialectal variations (Khailad Variety, Chaumala variety and Surkhet/Bardiya variety) that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Raji speakers residing in different key survey points.

## Chapter 10

### Findings and Recommendations

#### 10.1 Major findings

The objective of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of the Raji, A Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Mid and Far-Western region of Nepal. The Rajis are one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who reside primarily in Kailali, Surkhet, Bardiya, and Kanchanpur districts of mid-western and far-western Nepal. They have their own culture and language. Government of Nepal has recognized Rajis as a separate indigenous people group. Rajis use a distinct language belonging to Tibeto-Burman language family to communicate among themselves in the community.

The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the language resources; mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism; domains of language use; language vitality; language transmission and maintenance; language attitudes; language development and dialectal variation of the Raji language.

The major findings of this survey are as follows:

- a) The Rajis are one of the indigenous nationalities of the nation and the language spoken by them is Raji that belongs to Tibeto-Burman family, which is mainly spoken in the hills and Terai region of Mid-Western and Far-Western development regions of Nepal and some adjacent parts of Indian states of Uttarpradesh and Utarakhand.
- b) According to the recent Census of Nepal, 2011, Raji is spoken by 3,758 as their mother tongue, i.e. 88.73% of the total ethnic population of Raji (4,235) in Nepal. Raji mother tongue speakers have been dispersed in the mid-western and far-western development region of the nation. The rural population of the Raji mother tongue speakers is 3,618 whereas 140 Rajis reside in urban areas. Majority of the Raji speakers are residing in Kailali, Bardiya and Surkhet districts.
- c) Raji language is also known as *Phan*; specially the Raji people of Chhinchu and Bardiya call their language by this name. They call Nepali language by the name *Blang*. Religiously, most of them (88.33%) follow Hinduism. Majority of Raji speakers do not have access to education. The main occupations of Rajis are hunting, farming and household works.

- d) The resources available in the Raji language are folk stories and folklore. The modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films and CD/DVD are not available in the language. Similarly, alphabet, grammar, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines, and written literatures are also not available in the language. Although some scholarly research works have been done by the researchers from home and abroad.
- e) Rajis are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Raji speech community speak their language very well and only some educated speakers of Raji can read and write in their language. There is no monolingual in Raji except some elderly people especially elderly women. Most of them are bilingual, and majority of them are multilingual as well. Similarly, majority of Raji families are bilingual as well as multilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi and Tharu languages.
- f) Majority of Raji children do not understand everything Nepali speaking teachers deliver when they first go to school. Since most of the Raji use their own mother tongue at home and Nepali is used commonly in the community, their children speak Raji well and they speak a little bit of Nepali before going to school.
- g) Raji is used in some of the general domains such as joking, story-telling, discussing/debating, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home and family gatherings. Raji people use Nepali language in the domains like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debating, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), singing at home and village meetings.
- h) Some of the Raji people use their mother tongue with their family members while discussing educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in writing letters to their family members. Raji children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school. There is the dominance of Raji in rites and rituals. They use Nepali and Tharu as the languages of wider communication (LWC) with the non-native speakers.
- i) The Raji language has a good deal of vitality as 91.66% of their children speak their mother tongue; most of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their

day-to-day communication and majority of the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue the way it ought to be spoken.

- j) All the male and 93.33% female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue, and they are eager to help the mother tongue schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching themselves and by helping as expected by the school.
- k) Raji speakers have very positive attitude towards their language and culture. More than two-third of both male and female speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali, and only a few speakers said that they feel embarrassed or they have nothing to say about this.
- l) Most of the Raji speakers have not any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Majority of the Raji speakers feel bad if their son or daughter marry someone who does not know their mother tongue. All the Raji speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language and most of them feel good if their grandchildren will speak their mother tongue.
- m) Most of the male and female speakers said that their children should speak their own mother tongue first while only a few speakers are in favor of Nepali. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Raji as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and only very few have preference to English and Nepali languages.
- n) Majority of the Raji speakers both male and female do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Only less than one third of both male and female Raji speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking.
- o) The Raji community is rich in oral literature: folk tales and folk songs. The good things that made Raji speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are Raji is their mother tongue, it is their ancestral language, Raji language helps them to maintain secrecy, Raji is easy to speak, it is sweet and melodious, Raji is the bearer of Raji culture and it is the language of identity for Raji people.

- p) Regarding their dreams to make their language even better, they feel the activities and programs should be carried out: establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, having mother tongue teachers, development of their own script, using it as official language in local administrative offices, writing a grammar, preparing Raji dictionary and textbooks, coverage of Raji language in print and electronic media. and preservation of Raji language, culture and religion.
- q) Their most important dream is the establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education and use of Raji language in newspapers and electronic media. They have made planning for these important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to realize their dreams and they should be done immediately.
- r) There is a lexical similarity range from 42% to 81% among the key survey points in Raji. It indicates that Raji at present shows three dialectal variations that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Raji speakers residing in different key points.
- s) The participants in Chhinchu (Surkhet) responded that the form of speech in Chhinchu should be used for reading materials. Similarly, the participants of Chaumala preferred their own variety for reading materials. The participants from Krishnapur and Khailad reported that they speak the same variety and any variety can be used for reading materials. Rajis of Sanoshree preferred their own variety for the purpose and they gave second priority to the Khailad variety. The Rajis of Kuchaina, Chaumala-9 viewed that their language is not similar to any other Raji varieties so they shift to Nepali while they meet Rajis speaking other Raji varieties.

## **10.2 Recommendations**

On the basis of the above findings, the following recommendations are made for the promotion and development of the Raji language:

- a) As Raji children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the medium and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.

- b) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they address the indigenous knowledge, local needs and aspirations.
- c) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened, the language cannot be preserved. The Raji community should be made aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue and should be encouraged to transmit their mother tongue to the younger generation through advocacy.
- d) In this speech community, most of the women over 50 in the age are pre-literate. Therefore by means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those pre-literates.
- e) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue. And for that preparation of the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge is an urgent need.
- f) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Raji community.
- g) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve, promote and develop their language and culture. Specific language programs such as language documentation, developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately initiated.
- h) The folklore must be documented immediately and the cultural heritage and local expertise should be utilized immediately.
- i) Raji exhibits dialectal variation as the least similarity between the two places of the survey is found 42%. Therefore, Recorded Text Test (RTT) is required to evaluate the intelligibility among the key points.
- j) The most important dreams are immediate planning for establishment of mother tongue teaching schools and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take an immediate action to help their dreams come true.

## References

- Bandhu, Chura Mani; Jivendra Deo Giri; Karnakhar Khatiwada; Bhim Narayan Regmi; Jamuna Khatri; Ramesh Khatri; Padam Raji; Janga Bahadur Raji (2011) *A Study of the Raji Language and Culture*. A report submitted to Nepal National Commission for UNESCO, Kathmandu Nepal.
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bista, Dambar Bahadur. 2054 VS. "Rājī jāṭī: ek adhyayan" (The Raji people: A study). In *Sāhitya Koselī*. Nepal: Surkhet Welfare Soceity.
- Driem, George van. 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region*. Leiden: Brill.
- Fortier, Jana and Kavita Rastogi. 2004. "Sister Languages? Comparative Phonology of Two Himalayan Languages." *Nepalese Linguistics* 21:42-52.
- Ghimire, Yam Lal. 2054VS.. *Rājī jāṭī ko sanskriti: ek addhayayan* (Culture of Rraji people: a short study) un published village profile of Bidyapur VDC. Katmandu: Central Department of Nepali, TU.
- Giri, Goma.1959 VS.. *Rājī ra Nepāli bhāsāko tulanātmak addhyayān* (A comparative study of Raji and Nepali languages). Unpublished MA thesis. Kathmandu: Central Department of Nepali, TU.
- Giri, Jivendra Deo. 2057 VS. "Rājī bhāsā ko khojkhobar." *Muktimorchā*, 27/16. Katmandu: CPN (UML), pp. 58-61.
- Grierson, George A. and Konow, Sten. 1909. *Linguistic survey of India*. Vol.III Part I. Delhi /Venarasi / Patna: Motilal Banarsidas.
- Hale, Austin. 2029VS. *A Comarative Vocabularies of Nepal: Swadeh Hundred Wordlist*. Kathmandu: IA Sons and SIL
- Kansakar, Tej R. 1993. "The Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: A general survey". *Contribution to Nepalese Studies* 20.2:165-173.
- Khatri, Ramesh and Krishna K. Sah. 2008. *The Documentation of the Raji Language*. A Report submitted to the National Foundation for Development of Indigeneous Nationalities (NFDIN).
- Khatri, Ramesh. 2008. *The structure of verbs and sentences of Raji*. M.A. dissertation, Tribhuvan University.
- Khatri, Ramesh. 2009. "Causativization in Raji." *Nepalese Linguistics*. 25:101-112.
- Khatri, Ramesh. 2009. "A linguistic analysis of the verbal morphology of Raji". Unpublished manuscript.
- Khatri, Ramesh. 2011. "Negativization in Raji." A paper presented in 32<sup>nd</sup> Annual conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, held in Kathmandu.
- Khatri, Ramesh. 2011. "Notes in Raji verbs." *Nepalese Linguistics*. 26:57-68.

- Krishan, Shree. 2001. *Sketch of Raji Grammar*. New Research on Zhangshung and Related Himalayan Languages ed. by Yasuhiko Nagano and Randy J. Lapolla, 449-501.
- Matisoff, James A. 2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and philosophy of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Population Census Report*. 2001. Katmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Rai, Purna P. 2008. *A Sketch Grammar of Raji*. An Unpublished M.A.Thesis. Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University.
- Raji, Man Kumari, Komal Chaudhari, Maya Malla, Bharat Chaulagai, Parvati Raji, Mira Basnet, Dhan Mati Bohara, Radha Bam, and Hari Lal Budha. 2067 VS. *Raji Jatiko Barema Gareko ek Samajshastriya Adhyayan* (A Sociological Study Carried out on Raji Ethnic Group). A Case Study submitted to Mahunyal Higher Secondary School, Bhajani, Kailali.
- Report of Commission for National Language Policy Reform Recommendation*. 1993. Katmandu: Commission for National Language Policy Recommendation.
- Report of National Federation of Indigenous Nationalities*. 2003. Kathmandu: NEFIN
- Shah, Prakash. 2006. "Bar lāi ban ko kām" (Jungle duty to bridegroom). *Nepal weekly*, 26 Feb.6/29. Katmandu: Kantipur Publications.
- Shahi, Sher Bahadur. 2057VS. *Rāji jāti: ek chhoto chināri* (The Raji People: a brief introduction.). Katmandu: Rural development Society
- Sharma, D D. 1990. *Tibeto Himalayan Languages of Uttarkhand. Sutdis in Tibeto Himalayan languages III*, Part Two. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Toba, Sueyoshi, Ingrida Toba and Novel K. Rai. 2002. *UNESCO Language Survey Report: Nepal*. Kathmandu: UNESCO.
- Watters, David E. 1998. *The Kham Language of West-Central Nepal* (Takale Dialect). Ph. D: Department of Linguistics and the Graduate of the University of Oregon dissertation
- Yadava, Yogendra P. 2004. "Patterns of Language Endangerment in Nepal: An Approximation." Paper presented at the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Linguistics Society of Nepal, Kathmandu.



	(b) ..... (c) ..... (d) ..... (e) .....
5. Language of Elicitation	
6. Language of Response	
7. Interpreter Name (if needed)	

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

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

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

11. Are you literate?

(a) Yes (b) No

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

(a) Formally (b) Non-formally

13. (If "Formally") What year/level did you complete?

(a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary

(d) Higher (specify highest degree).....

14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried

15. (If "Married") Do you have any children?

(a) Yes (b) No

16. Caste

17. Ethnic group: .....

18. Religion:

(a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity

(e) Jain (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other

19. Your mother tongue's name:

(a) (Given by respondent).....

20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha 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  NO**

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

25. What village were you born in?

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

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

26. Where do you live now?

27. How many years have you lived here?

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

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

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

## B. Language resources

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

(a) folk tales,

(b) songs,

(c) religious literature,

(d) radio,

(e) films,

(f) CD/ DVD,

(g) Other.....

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes            (b) No

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

What script(s) is your language written in? .....

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

- (a) Yes            (b) No

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

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

- (a) Cultural

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

	<b>36. Organization</b>	<b>37. Kinds of activities</b>
i.		
ii.		
iii.		
iv.		
v.		
vi.		

### C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

- 41. best?
- 42. second best?
- 43. third best?
- 44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Persons	Other Languages			
	A	B	C	d
48. Father				
49. Mother				
50. Spouse				

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

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

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

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

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

#### D. Domain of Language Use

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

	Domain	Language
A	Counting	
B	Singing	
C	Joking	
D	Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	
E	Story telling	
F	Discussing/ Debate	

G	Praying	
H	Quarrelling	
I	Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	
J	Telling stories to children	
K	Singing at home	
L	Family gatherings	
M	Village meetings	

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

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

(enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	<b>a. Education Matters</b>	<b>b. Social Events &amp; Family Matters</b>	<b>c. Writing Letters</b>
i. Grandfather:			
ii. Grandmother:			
iii. Father:			
iv. Mother:			
v. Spouse:			
vi. Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:

(a) playing with other children? .....

(b) talking with neighbors? .....

(c) at school? .....

57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations? .....

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

### **E. Language Vitality**

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

### **F. Language Maintenance**

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

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

## G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes      (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

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

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

- (a) Yes            (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

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

*The End*