

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF RAUTE:
A TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGE**

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY, KATHMANDU,
NEPAL**

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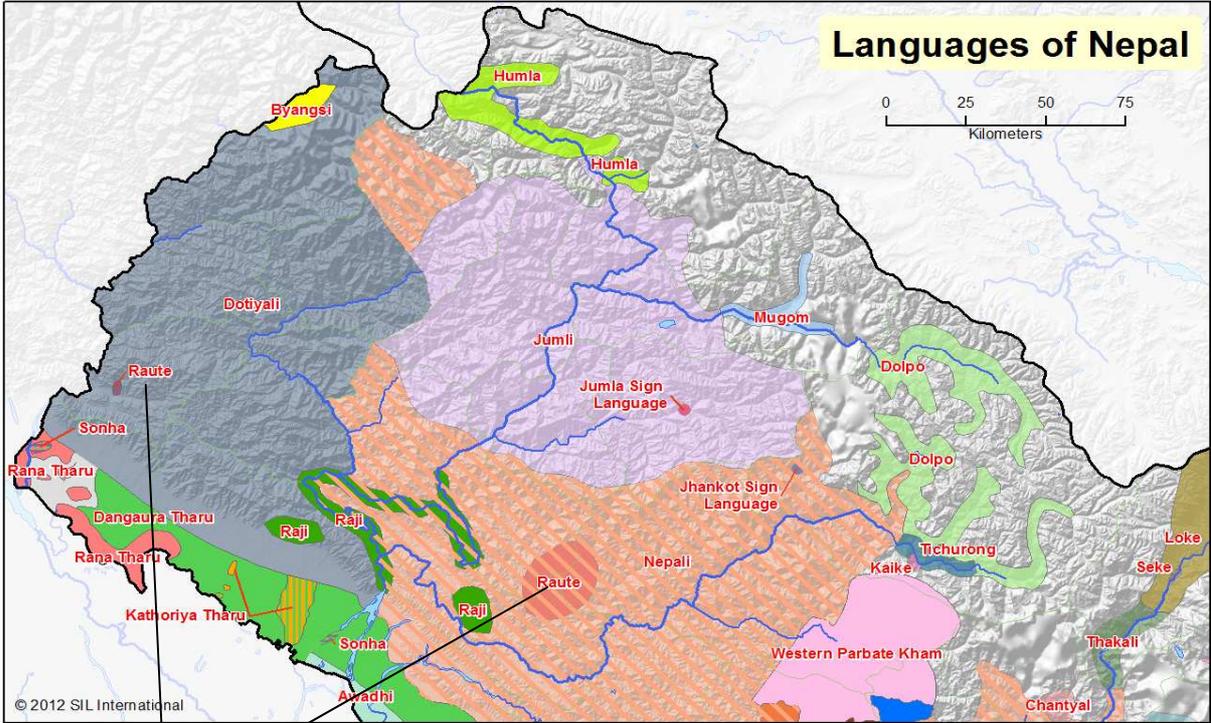
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Source: Ethnologue, 2012

Raute Speaking Areas

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Raute as a language is also known as *Bhoto boli*, Khamchi, Rajwar, Rautya and Rautye. Around 143 nomadic Raute are found in the dense forest of Midwestern and Far Western regions. Around 500 settled Rautes are in Mahakali Zone, Dadeldhura district, Jogbudha, Sirsa VDCs, in the Karnali River and Mahakali (Kali) River watershed regions. Settled nomadic Rautes camp in different parts of Far western and Mid-Western Nepal. It is a vigorous language and is recognized nationality (2002, NFDIN Act, No. 20, Sec.2C). The language is Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Central Himalayan, Raute-Raji-Rawat. (It has SOV syntax; it is postpositional; has noun head final; no noun classes or gender; content q-word in situ; clause constituents indicated by case-marking; verbal affixation marks person and number; ergativity; both tense and aspect; non-tonal; 35 consonants and 7 vowel phonemes). There are no known dialects. There are many similarities with Raji, but the relationship of Raute with and intelligibility between Rawat and Raji needs further investigation. Raute shows some lexical similarities with other languages too. It shows lexical similarity: 80% with Rawat, 60% with Chepang, 25% with Kham. They use their language in different domains of home, friends, religion, work and they use it with children, older adults, and elderly. Nomadic Raute are secretive about their language. Most of the youth speak Nepali and some speak Hindi too among themselves in front of outsiders. Settled Rautes use Nepali and Doteli with outsiders. Among nomadic Raute, only the headman is allowed to speak with outsiders. They have extremely low literacy rate and do not have published language resources. The name may be of Tibeto-Burman origin, from *ra-* meaning 'human' plus a person marker, *-to/-te*. Other scholars suggest it derives from the Sanskrit Indo-Aryan word *raut* (based on Sanskrit, *Rajaputra*), meaning 'prince.' Rautes deem their language sacred, are linguistically conservative toward adopting non-Raute words or grammatical features. They follow traditional religion.

1.1 People

1.1.1 Caste/Ethnic groups

There are two kinds of Rautes: Settled and nomadic. The settled Rautes live in Dadeldhura district and two VDCs: Shirsha and Jogbudha. The Rautes were settled by the government of Nepal in 2040 BS. They were given one and half bigha of land to each family by the government. Many of the Rautes had returned back to the jungles and returned after some years. Some parts of the land which were occupied by others after they 'sold' them off were requested for the construction of the houses. The government has sanctioned budget and started construction of 37 units each in both the villages of Ampani in Jogbudha –1 and Rajyouda–6 of Shirsha VDC. The settled Rautes reported to have four clans: Chand, Pal, Singh and Rawat. They are exogamous society. Marital relations take place only across the clans.

The nomadic Rautes move around the jungles of Far Western and Mid-western Region, covering mainly the jungles of Mahakali, Seti, Rapti, Bheri and Karnali zones. We met them in Balle village in Tulasipur Municipality of Dang district where they were camping for two months and were about to shift their camp shortly. They live in one place for a couple of months until any mishap like death happens there. They have three clans: Kalyal, Rajkoti and Samal. They are also exogamous society. Marital relations take place only across the clans

Castewise, Rautes regard themselves as the descendent of Kings of Nepal, so they consider themselves as Thakuris, the king's clan. The term 'Rajwar' as used by the Rautes in Dadeldhura refers to their kinship with the kings. The place Rajyouda is believed to have been named after the Rajwars—the place where Rajwars live. The nomadic Rautes also call themselves the kings (of jungle). So according their own claim, they belong to Kshyatriya/Thakuri caste. However, linguistically their language is akin to Kham Magar, Chepang and Newar of the Central Himalayish group of Tibeto-Burman family. Ethnically, they have physical appearance similar to the Janajati stock of Nepal, close to Magars. At present, they are classified under seriously endangered tribes of Nepal. Table 1 presents the Castes/Ethnic groups in Raute.

Table 1.1: Castes/Ethnic groups in Raute

	Castes/Ethnic Groups	Place
1.	Thakuri/Raute (Chand, Pal, Singh, Rawat)	Ampani, Jogbuda-1, Dadeldhura
2.	Thakuri/Raute (Chand, Pal, Singh, Rawat)	Rajyouda, Shirsha-6, Dadeldhura
3.	Thakuri/Raute (Kalyal, Rajkoti, Samaal)	Balle, Tulsipur-7, Dang

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

1.1.2 Religion

Most of the Rautes (60.52%) mentioned that they followed Hinduism in terms of religion. 39.48% said they followed Animism. The Rautes of Dadeldhura said they worshipped on the altar of ‘Kedar’-an incarnation of Shiva in Hindu mythology. They consider themselves close to Hinduism. The Rautes of Nomadic faction said they worshipped ‘Masta’ (məs□ə) or to be specific they worship ‘Darya Masta’ (ðarja məs□ə) which is a kind of nature-worship on the altar, where they also sacrifice animals. Table 2 shows the situation of the religion in the Raute speech community.

Table 1.2: The situation of the religion in Raute speech community

	Religions	Number	Percentage
1	Hinduism	23	60.52%
2	Buddhism	-	
3	Christianity	-	
4	Animism	15	39.48%
5	Islam	-	
	Total	38	100%

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

1.1.3 Literacy

Among 38 Rautes surveyed for literacy, the majority of them 23 (60.53%) of them are illiterate and only 15 (39.47%) are literate. Table 3 shows the literacy rate in the Raute community.

Table 1.3: Literacy in Raute

Literacy			
Male (N=21)		Female (N=17)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
8(38.09%)	13(61.90%)	7(41.17%)	10 (58.82%)
Total = 38 (100%)	Literate = 15 (39.47%)	Illiterate=23 (60.53%)	

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Among 38 Rautes surveyed for literacy, 23 (60.53%) of them are illiterate and only 15 (39.47%) are literate. The literacy is found only among the settled Rautes for whom there are community schools in their villages, one each in Ampani and Rajyouda. Among the literates, the population within the age group of 15 to 30 years only is literate. The elderly population is illiterate. The education process among the settled Rautes began only after 2040 BS. Therefore, the population born after 2040s only has got access to education. However, some families in Ampani, who had migrated here from Doti in 2016/17 BS had settled earlier on their own and had more access to education. The present Chairman of Nepal Raute Development Authority, Mr. Dan Singh Raute is studying B.Ed in Jogbuda which is of course, the highest academic qualification among the Rautes here. But he has lost fluency in his own mother tongue and is not able to speak Raute.

The nomadic Rautes we met in Balle in Dang are against sending their children to school. They don't believe in settled life and anything related with settled life.

1.2 Demography

According to 2001 census, the total number of Rautes is 366. Table 4 presents the distribution of settled Rautes in different districts of Nepal.

Table 1.4: Distribution of the Raute (Settled)

	Districts	Number	Percentage
1	Doti, Kalikasthan	66	18.03%
2	Kalilali, Sadepani	16	4.37%
3	Dadeldhura, Jogbuda + Shirsha	104 + 180 = 284	77.59%
4	Total	366	100%

Source: Population Census 2001

The Rautes are mainly settled in the district of Dadeldhura (77.59%). A very small number of Rautes 4.37% are found in Kailali district. Our survey was confined to the area with highest population Rautes, that is Jogbuda and Shirsha VDC of Jogbuda district. The data collection was done mainly from Ampani village of Jogbuda VDC and Rajyouda village of Shirsha VDC. The census report 2012 shows that there are 461 mother tongue speakers. It is higher than the last census 2001.

The Nomadic Rautes were found in Dang district and Salyan district. Since the nomadic Rautes are inaccessible and resent the interference of outsiders, we had to be very cautious about visiting and dealing with them. When we reached Balle, a village atop 1800 meters above sea level in Tulasipur Municipality of Dang, we learned that there were two factions, this was the first time that they had splitted. The other faction was camping in Salyan district. According to our field visit notes, the two factions would join after few months in another camp in other district. The total population of nomadic Rautes when we met them was 143 altogether. This is also verified by a report in the *Kantipur* national daily that was published in the same week when we visited them. Table 5 shows the distribution of the Raute (Nomadic)

Table 1.5: Distribution of the Raute (Nomadic)

	Districts	Number	Percentage
1	Dang, (Balle)	83	58.05%
2	Salyan	60	41.95%
	Total	143	100%

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

1.3 Genetic affiliation

Genetically, Raute is classified under Central Himalayish sub-branch of Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman family. This language shares its affinity with Kham Magar, Chepang and Newar. Figure 1 presents the linguistic classification of Raute.

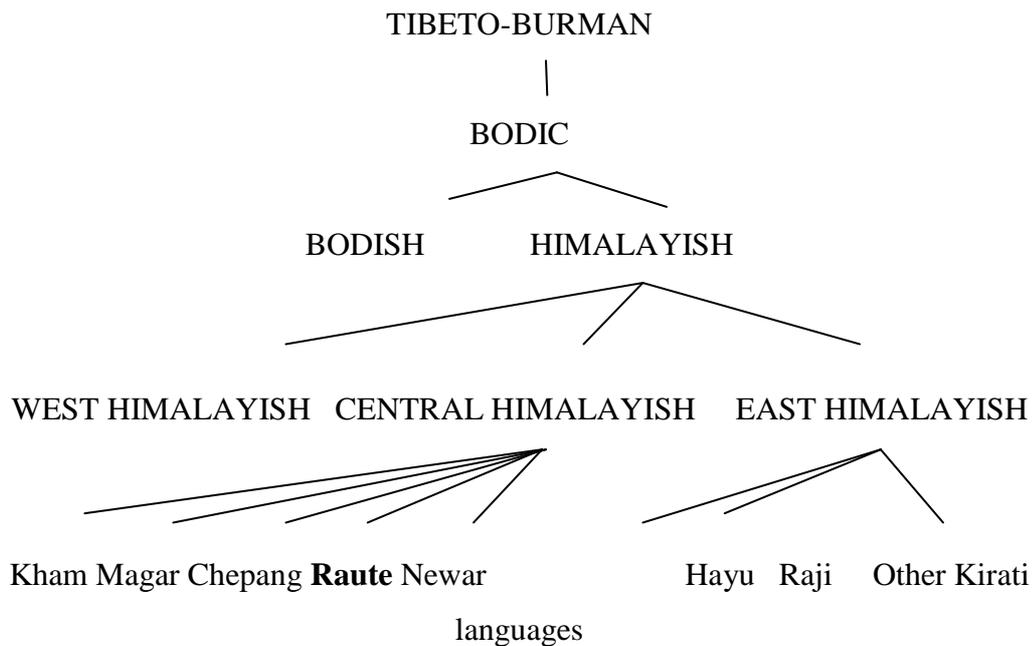


Figure 1: Genetic classification of Raute

1.4 Review of earlier works

Raute [*b^hoto boli*] is one of the minority languages of Nepal. Rautes are taciturn tribes so it is very difficult to take linguistic data. Some researchers: Bundhu, Reinhard, Luitel, Yatri, Yogi etc. spend their time in knowing about Rautes from social point of views. Yogi (First publication about Rautes came out by Yogi, Naraharinath in 2012 B.S. on Itihas Prakash. Johan Reinhard has published in 1974 on

the topic of "Notes on a nomadic hunting and gathering tribes of Nepal." Purna Prakash Yatri has written about 'Raute Lakjeewan' in 2040 B.S. Dor Bahadur Bista has published his article about Rautes in Kailash vol. 4, no.3.317-328. Chuda Mani Bandhu has submitted a report on "*Rauteharu ko sanskriti: ek adhyayan*" to Royal Nepal Academy. Except these some researchers have published their articles, books, thesis etc. about Rautes focusing on social and cultural aspects. Small attempt has been made by Jana Fortier and Kavita Rostagi on topic "Sister Languages? comparative phonology of two Himalayan language" from linguistic point of view. Except this, no attempt is found from linguistic point of view.

1.5 Statement of the problem

No effort has been made on this language linguistically except Fortier's scanty work. This study tries to find out the social information of Raute, phonological, morphological and syntactical categories of this language. So after attempting this step, it helps to preserve and document such endangered language like **Boto Boli**

1.6 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Raute language which has been categorized as a seriously endangered Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among the different key points;
- 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 in Raute speech community;
- 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 Raute.

1.7 Organization of the report

The survey report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Chapter 3 examines the lexical variations in Raute. In chapter 4, we look at the major domains

of language use. Chapter 5 evaluates the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Raute. In chapter 6, we look at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Raute in three sections. Chapter 7 discusses language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Raute. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes phonetic symbols, word lists, and sociolinguistic questionnaire.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

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

2.2 Overview

This survey has employed three different methods/ tools in order to fulfill its goals. The methods/ tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). Table 2.1 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods / tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. Table 5 presents the Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools.

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

	GOALS OF THE SURVEY	RESEARCH METHODS/ TOOLS	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	FOCUS OF THE METHODS/TOOLS
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Raute;	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"> • Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language vitality • Language maintenance • Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-	21 questions to be administered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language attitudes

		C (SLQ C)	on language activist or village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.3 Research methods/tools

2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. Prior to the administration of this set, first, the Raute speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point (*i.e.* Ampani, a village located in Jogbudha VDC, 1) in Dadeldhura district. In this village there are 37 households who have been settled by government of Nepal. They were settled here in 2040 and each household was given one and half bigha each of land. Recently government has constructed 37 units of houses for each family. Same number of families is settled in Rajyouda village of Shirsha VDC–6 in the same district. We made these two villages as our survey points as these are the only places in the country where substantial number of Rautes are found and for which official record also exists. Other groups of Rautes are nomadic Rautes. They move around mainly in the jungles of Far western and Mid-Western Region. They don't have a particular location where they can be found. They stay in one location until any mishap happens and then they shift to some other place.

During our survey, they were found camping in Balle village of Tulasipur Municipality-7 in Dang. Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey points.¹ Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Raute speech community.

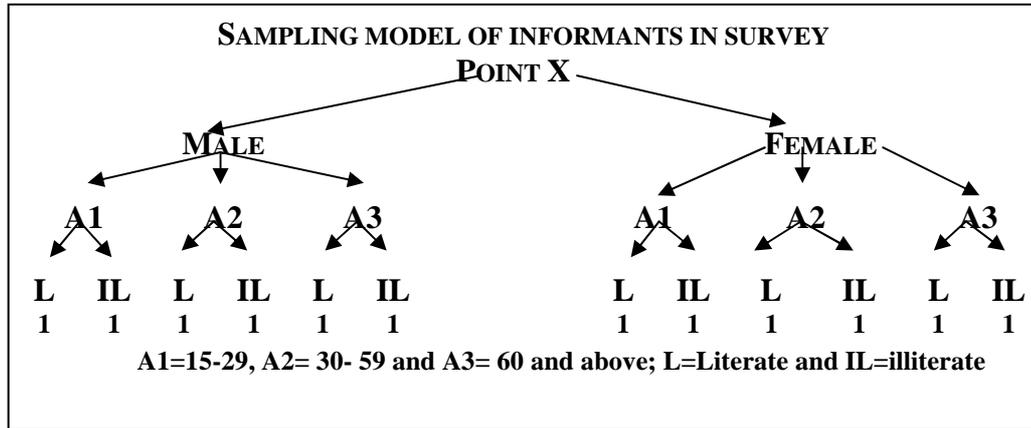


Figure 2.1: Sampling model of informants in survey points

The figure 2 shows the ideal sampling for the survey. Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were supposed to be selected age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. However, because of geographical and socio-cultural constraints, we could not adhere to the given model. The Rautes are very less in number in terms of population and they are very secretive by nature when it comes to giving any information regarding their language, culture and society. When we went for the survey, it was not possible to find the required number of informants as many of them were away from homes, especially the settled Rautes. Among the nomadic Rautes, it was almost impossible to get even access to their camp. Thanks to our mediator that we could visit their camp in Dang and get some information. We are not allowed to speak to the women and children. Only the leaders and some elderly people were allowed to speak to us. So whatever we could gather has come from the informants that we had access to. Getting access to the nomadic Rautes was quite an expensive and challenging task.

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

The questions were asked by the administrators in Nepali to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali. After the data collection the answers were entered into a database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

2.3.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Raute participants of different survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Raute, how bilingual Raute people are, in which situations they use Raute and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language.

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

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

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

2.3.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

This set contains 21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head. The main purpose of this set of questions is to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for

language development. This set was administered to two participants; the chieftains among the nomadic Rautes and the rest of the questionnaires were administered to the leaders of the settled Rautes in both the villages of Dadeldhura.

2.3.3.1 Domains of Language Use (DLU)

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

2.3.3.2 Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of Dialect Mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Raute. The Raute participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Raute is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. However, when we tried to adopt the DLM tool among the settled Rautes, they said that they don't have any dialectal variation so there was no point of conducting DLM with them. And it was impossible to conduct any such group work with the nomadic Rautes.

2.3.3.3 Bilingualism/Multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Raute and Nepali by different subsets of the Raute community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping

circles, one representing the Raute people who speak Raute well and the other the Raute people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Raute ‘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 Raute people that spoke Raute ‘well’. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

2.3.3.4 Appreciative inquiry

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

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

2.3.4 Wordlist

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

From each survey points, informants representative of different age, sex and educational status were chosen as the word list source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Raute as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time. However, the settled Rautes in Dadeldhura were settled by the government of Nepal (the then His Majesty's Government, under the rule of King Birendra) in 2040 B.S. So the population that was born after this period had lived here throughout but the elder population had lived a nomadic life prior to this, which is reflected in the responses they gave which are recorded in the questionnaire. The nomadic Rautes don't have any permanent settlement as they keep moving from place to place throughout their life, so there is no question of their living in one single place.

For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Raute word from a mother tongue Raute speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.4 Geographical location of the key points in Raute

Raute is primarily spoken by settled population of Dadeldhura in two villages of Rajyouda and Ampani under Shirsha and Jogbuda VDCs respectively. The total population of Rautes of these VDCs according to the 2001 census is 366. Additionally, the census also shows the settlement of Rautes in Kalikasthan VDC of Doti (66), Sadepani VDC of Kailali (16). The nomadic Rautes don't have any permanent place of settlement. Their population of nomadic Rautes is 143 according to the *Kantipur* National Daily of July 11, 2012 (27 Ashadh 2069). This was the period when we visited them for this survey. Table 6 presents the GPS information of the areas in Dadeldhura where Raute is spoken as mother tongue.

Table 2.2: GPS information of Raute speaking areas in Dadeldhura and Dang

	Areas	GPS Coordinates		Elevation (in meter)
1.	AMPANI	080 ⁰ 22'32.9" E	029 ⁰ 7'43.6" N	428 meter
2.	RAJYODA	080 ⁰ 19'20.9" E	29 ⁰ 09'07.6" N	482 meter
3.	BALLE	-	-	1800 meter

Source: Linguistic Survey (2012)

Table 6 presents the geographical location of the Raute speech community. The settled Rautes live in a lower elevation of 420- 500 meters above mean sea level, whereas the nomadic Rautes were found camping at higher elevation of 1800 m above sea level.

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

2.4.1 Survey points

Raute speaking areas were categorized into three survey points for the purpose of sociolinguistic survey. Table 2.2 presents the survey points used in the survey of the Raute language including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates.

Table 2.3: Survey points used in Raute

	Survey points	Point types	VDCs	GPS coordinates
1	Ampani	Core	Jogbudha-1, Dadeldhura	[080 ⁰ 22'32.9" E; 029 ⁰ 7'43.6" N]
2	Rajyoda	Far west	Rajyoda-6, Dadeldhura	[080 ⁰ 19'20.9" E; 29 ⁰ 09'07.6" N]
3	Balle	North	Tulsipur-7, Dang	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 2.2 shows that the survey was conducted in two districts, namely, Dadeldhura and Dang and Jogbudha of Dadeldhura was selected as a core point of survey, because it is an origin point of all the three areas of the Raute.

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

Following are the limitations faced in terms of methodology while working for this survey:

- a. It was decided that every survey team selects five key points to conduct the survey, with one central and four peripheral points in different directions. In the case of Raute, it was not possible to stick exactly to the given five points as the Rautes are not settled in clearly discernible points and they have very less population which are concentrated in a very limited area. The settled Rautes live mainly in Ampani and Rajyouda of Dadeldhura, whereas the nomadic Rautes keep moving along the forests of Mid-Western and Far – Western Regions of Nepal. So it was not possible to make it exactly five points and we made could make only three points.
- b. The total sample of population was expected to be 60 with 12 people comprising literate and illiterate males and females adults and young ones ($12*5=60$). Rautes was a different case. Only some young people among Rautes were literate. This is the first generation of literate Rautes. The older generation is illiterate. The schools for them in both the VDCs were established in 2040 BS, and the literacy began only around this decade. We had 14 from Ampani, 16 from Rajyouda and 8 from Balle. The sample population in Balle was only illiterate male adults.
- c. SRT and RTT tools could not be used among the Rautes as the settled Rautes did not report to have any dialectal variation and the nomadic Rautes speak only one variety and they don't communicate with each other, the settled and nomadic, that is.
- d. Dialect Mapping Tool also couldn't be used as they did not report any dialectal variation.
- e. The Wordlist couldn't be filled from a diverse group of nomadic Rautes as members other than chieftains are not allowed to speak to outsiders. We could fill the wordlist only from what we could gather from the chieftains.

CHAPTER 3

LEXICAL VARIATIONS

3.1 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to look at the dialectal variations in Raute. Basically the tool Wordlist Comparison has been used. This chapter is organized into five sections. Section 3.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Raute. Section 3.3 discusses the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. In section 3.4 we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Raute speech varieties the wordlist represents. In this section, we deal with the methodology of lexical similarity.

3.2.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages among Raute speech community.

3.2.1.1 Data

The standardized wordlist of 210 words was elicited in different points from mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (*See Annex Wordlist of 210 words*).

Table 3.1 presents the key locations selected from the two districts, namely, Dadeldhura and Dang.

Table 3.1: Key locations of word survey in Raute

	KEY POINTS	POINT TYPES	VDCs	WARDS	DISTRICT/S	ZONE
1	Ampani	Core point	Jogbudha	1	Dadeldhura	Mahakali
2	Rajyoda	Far west	Shirsa	6	Dadeldhura	Mahakali
3	Balle	North	Tulsipur	7	Dang	Gandaki

Source: Linguistic survey of Raute (2012)

In two key points namely Ampani and Rajouda, twelve sets of wordlists were administered; one set was recorded for further confirmation about the phonetic properties of the words compared.

The standardized wordlist of 210 words in Raute were collected from different key points. However, the wordlists collected from the native speakers of Ampani located Jogbudha VDC-1, Mahakali, has been employed in the comparison. Moreover, Ampani represents a core point in terms of the population, use of the language and the general view of original settlement of Raute.

3.2.1.2 Tool

WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationship of Raute¹.

3.2.1.3 Calculation and evaluation criteria

When the entry of words from each key point is over, 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 cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity.

¹ WordSurv, a computer program, consisting of wordlist management, comparisons, comparison analysis, phonostatistical analysis and comparativist's assistant is easy for word entry, maintenance of wordlists and repeatable comparative analysis.

Table 3.2 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the words from wordlist.

Table 3.2: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

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

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

The 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using such a method, the speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different languages. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or greater lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test. The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors.

3.2.3 Lexical similarity among the key points in Raute

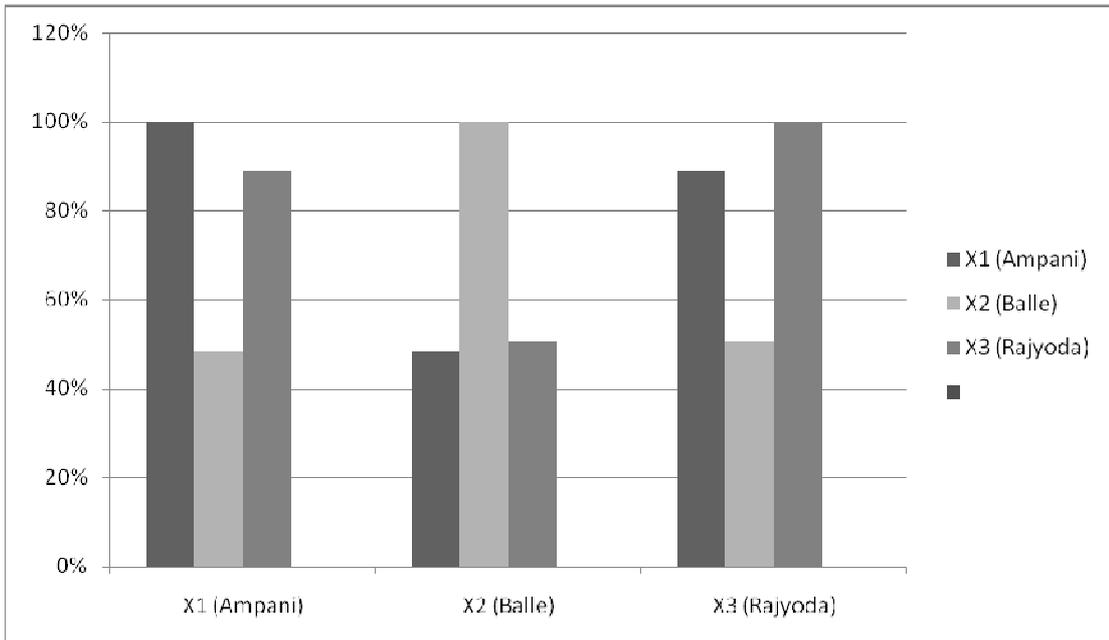
There were three survey points: Ampani-1 of Jogbudha and Rajyouda-6 of Shirsha VDCs of Dadeldhura district and Balle-7 of Tulasipur VDC of Dang district. The wordlist pertinent to Ampani village survey point was deemed as the core point, and the rest of the points as periphery. Regarding the Ampani village survey point as core, the wordlist collected from the rest of the two periphery points were compared with the core survey point. Table 3.3 presents the lexical comparison percentages in Raute.

Table 3.3: Lexical Similarity in Raute

	X1 (Ampani)	X2 (Balle)	X3 (Rajyoda)
X1 (Ampani)	100%	48.10%	89.05%
X2 (Balle)	48.10%	100%	50.48%
X3 (Rajyoda)	89.05%	50.48%	100%

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Chart 2.1: Lexical similarity in Raute



Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 3.3 shows the statistical information on lexical comparison that the Ampani village as the core survey point holds 100%. Being based on Ampani, the rest of the two villages were compared. In the comparison, it is clearly visible that the wordlist provided by the participants from the Rajyouda village is 89.05% similar to the wordlist provided by the participants from the Ampani village. In the same way, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Balle village is 48.10% similar to the wordlist of the Ampani village. Only 50.48% is similar between Balle and Rajyouda to the wordlist of the Ampani village. But the Nomadic Rautes from Balle did not let us know some 'secretive' words like meat, monkey as they consider it as the gift of the god².

3.3 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties. The informants in group in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Raute is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. In common, the

² Nomadic Rautes were so secretive that they did not disclose their language at all. After the request we made with help of the mediator Yagya Bahadure Budha, we hardly could fill the word list. We had to provide some remuneration for collecting the data.

following name of the villages was recognized as Raute language speaking areas: Ampani, Rajouda and some of the places like Dharchula of India. They did not tell anything about the nomadic Rautes. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. In common, they recognized the following degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different villages:

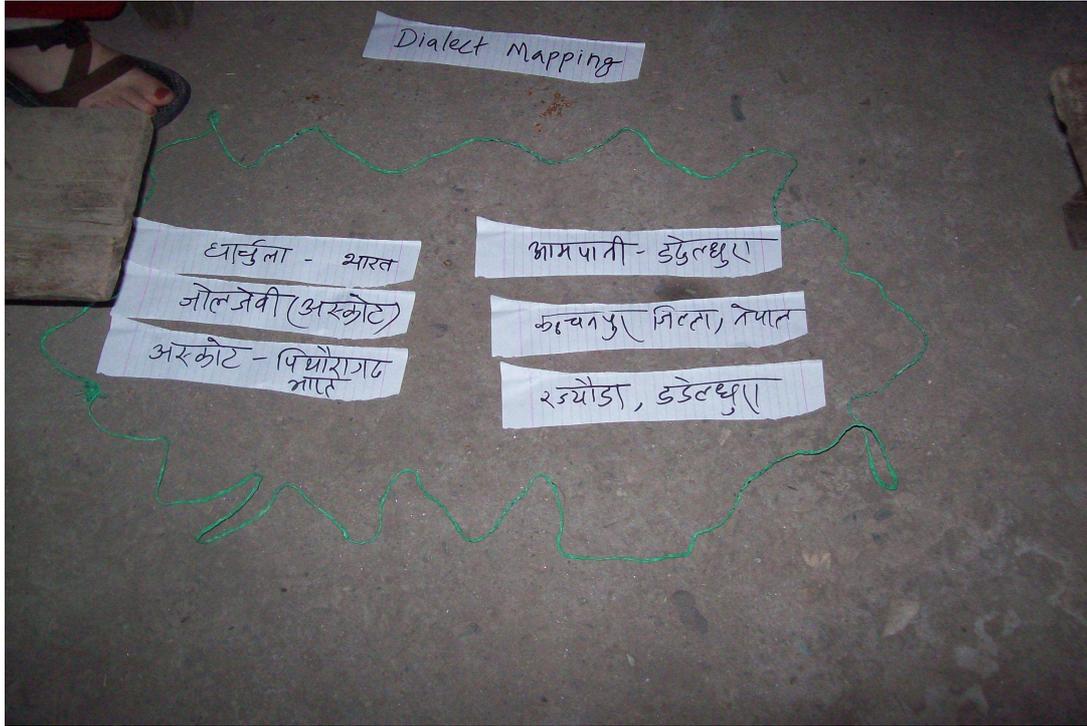
Table 3.4: Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different villages

		Form of speech in Raute	
		GROUP A	GROUP B
1	AMPANINI	Ampani, Rajouda	Ampani, Rajouda
2	RAJOURDA	Rajouda, Ampani	Rajouda, Ampani
3	BALLE	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult.

In response to which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials, the informants from Ampani, they did not differ their preferences from Rajouda. So is the case in Rajouda. But the nomadic did not respond to the reading materials. They asked for some rights to live in the jungle and cut the trees to prepare the wooden utensils. They did not respond to the question we had asked about the education and privileges on it.



Map 3.1: Dialect mapping at Rajyoda

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to examine the dialectal variations in Raute. The study, on the basis of the comparison of standardized 210 wordlists of 210 words by employing the computer program, WordSurv. With this fact we can argue that Raute does not have any dialect as such.

The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that except for a few places, they can easily understand the form of the speech.

CHAPTER 4

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

4.1 Outline

This chapter discusses the major domains of language use inherent in Raute.¹ Section 4.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. In section 4.3, we deal with the patterns of language use at home. Section 4.4 looks at the patterns of language use by the children whereas in section 4.5 the patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations are discussed. Section 4.6 deals with the patterns of language used to write minutes in community meetings. In section 4.7, we present the frequency of use of mother tongue in Raute. Section 4.8 presents the frequency of use of the language of wider communication. In section 4.9, we examine the pattern of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting their home whereas in section 4.10 the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level is discussed. Section 4.11 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

4.2 Patterns of language use in general domains

We examine the languages most frequently used by the Raute speakers in this section. The analysis has been carried out in terms of sex, age, and literacy in different domains under headings: singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), and telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 4.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Raute speakers in different domains by sex.

¹ Domains of language use are generally referred to as the patterns of language use among the speakers of a language. More specifically, they are the contexts or situations in which a speaker makes a choice, in most of the cases, a conscious choice among his/her mother tongue, a language of wider communication and both or other languages. The main domains consist in community, home, business and education. The vitality of a language can be better examined by looking at the patterns of language use among the speakers in terms of sex, age and literacy.

Table 4.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex

Domains	Sex					
	Male (N=21)			Female (N=17)		
	Nepali	Raute	Nepali and Raute	Nepali	Raute	Nepali and Raute
Counting	2(9.5%)	18(85.5%)	1 (4.74%)	2 (11.8%)	14(82.4%)	1(5.9%)
Singing	5 (23.8%)	16(76.2%)	-	11(64.7%)	6(35.3%)	-
Joking	6 (28. 6%)	15(71.4%)	-	4(23.5%)	13(76.5%)	-
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	21(100%)	-	-	16(94.1%)	-	1(5.9%)
Story telling	1 (4.5%)	20 (95.5%)	-	16 (94.1%)	1(5.9%)	-
Discussing/ Debate	10(47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	-	3 (17.6%)	14(82.4%)	-
Praying	6(28.6%)	15(71.4%)	-	6 (35.3%)	11(64.7%)	-
Quarrelling	5 (23.8%)	16(76.2%)	-	5 (29.4%)	12(70.6%)	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	10(47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	-	4 (23.5%)	13(76.5%)	-
Telling stories to children	10(47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	-	4 (23.5%)	13(76.5%)	-
Singing at home	7(33.3%)	14(66.7%)	-	6 (35.3%)	11(64.7%)	-
Family gatherings	8(38.1%)	13(61.9%)	-	8(47.1%)	9(52.9%)	-
Village meetings	15(71.4%)	6(28.6%)	-	8(47.1%)	6(35.3%)	3(10%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.1 shows that in all the domains, Raute is found to be used as the wider communication. Interestingly, no male speaker uses his mother tongue in the domains of singing and singing at home. The use of mother tongue ranks second in almost all

domains. This holds true to female speakers. Let's look at the situation of language use in different domains:

a) Counting

Of the total sample of respondents, 9.5% males and 85.5% each responded that they use Nepali while counting; while 4.74% responded that they use both Nepali and Raute in Counting. 85.5% males informed they use Raute in counting. It is important to note that those who use Nepali for counting also use Raute for this purpose. Among females 82.4%, i.e, responded that they use Nepali Raute for counting. Thus, the dominant language used for counting is Raute. Even the settled Rautes, who are shifting to Nepali, are found to be using their own language Raute for counting.

b) Singing

In singing, 23.8% males responded that they use Nepali for singing and 76.2% of them responded that they used Raute for singing. No one used both Raute and Nepali for singing. Among females, 64.7% of them used Nepali for singing and 35.3% of them sang in Raute. No woman reported singing in both the languages. It shows, even if they could use either Nepali or Raute for singing, they didn't mix up both the language or didn't show bilingual proficiency in singing.

c) Joking

For joking, 28.6% Raute males reported using Nepali and 71.4% reported using Raute. No one reported using both the languages. Among females, 23.5% reported using Nepali and 76.5% of them returned using Raute for joking. It was obvious that as joking is something which is very intimate; most of them reported using Raute for this domain. Joking being something very intimate, they were mainly comfortable in their own language. They didn't mix up Nepali and Raute for this purpose.

d) Bargaining/Shopping/ Market

Among the males interviewed about their use of language in bargaining in the market place while buying or selling things, they responded 100% used Nepali. Among the women interviewed 94% said they used Nepali while 6% informed as using both Nepali and Raute. This shows that while doing business or transaction with the outside world rather than their own community, they used mainly Nepali.

e) Story Telling

4.5% male reported telling stories in Nepali and 94.5% reported doing that in Raute. Whereas among females 94% of them said they told the stories in Nepali and 6% said they told the stories in Raute. No one reported telling the stories in Raute and Nepali both. The scenario was just opposite as compared to males and females, in terms of the language used for story telling: the males expressed their own language being worth telling stories, whereas the women thought just the other way round.

f) Discussing/Debating

In the domain where there is the use of language like debate, discussion or argument, the males reported using both the languages almost equally, 48% Nepali and 52% Raute. Whereas, in case of women, it was other way round with 24% women reporting the use of Nepali and 76% reporting use of Raute as the language of argument/debate. Neither males, nor females mixed both Nepali and Raute for this purpose.

g) Praying

29% males reported using Nepali for praying and 71% of them reported using Raute for such religious purposes. Among females, 35% of them reported using Nepali and 65% of them said that they used Raute. The majority of both males and females replied almost uniformly that their language of prayer was their own language and Nepali came only second to Raute.

h) Quarrelling

24% males responded saying that they used Nepali while quarrelling whereas 76% of them said they used Raute for this purpose. Among women too, 29% of them said they used Raute while quarrelling whereas 71% of them reported using Nepali for quarrelling. The response to the domain of praying and quarrelling is similar because in both the domains they used mainly Raute and Nepali was used in second place.

i) Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)

48% males reported that they used Nepali while abusing and 52% of them reported using Raute for this purpose. Among females, 28% of them said they used Nepali for abusing whereas 72% of them said they used Raute while abusing others. This shows that males could use both the languages quite

easily for unpleasant purpose like scolding or using taboo words, where women are more restricted in such use of language and used mainly Raute for such purposes. Those who used Nepali did so because of their lack of knowledge of their own language.

j) Telling stories to children

48% males reported that they used Nepali while telling stories to the children and 52% of them reported using Raute for this purpose. Among females, 24% of them said they used Nepali for telling stories to the children whereas 76% of them said they used Raute while telling stories to the children. This shows that males could use both the languages quite easily for pleasant purpose like telling stories to the children, where women are more restricted in such use of language and used mainly Raute for such purposes. Those who used Nepali did so because of their lack of knowledge of their own language.

k) Singing at home

While singing at home, 33% males sang in Nepali and 67% of sang in their own language Raute. Among women, 35% of them said they sang in Nepali and 65% of them said they sang in Raute. Singing being pleasant and close to heart, the majority of them used their own language for this purpose.

l) Family gatherings

Among males, 38% of them reported using Nepali in family gatherings and 62% reported using Raute in the gatherings. Among women, 47% of them said they used Nepali and 53% of them said they used their own language Raute. The same number of men and women using Nepali could be ascribed to the fact that some of the settled Rautes of Dadeldhura can't converse in Nepali. The Rautes who could speak their mother tongue used it in such intimate and close gatherings among themselves.

m) Village meetings

79% males reported using Nepali for village meetings and 29% of them reported using Raute. Among women, 47% of them said they used Nepali for village meetings and 35% of them said they used Raute and 3% used only Raute. Here, it is important to mention that the settled Rautes of Dadeldhura live along with the people other than Rautes and who speak Nepali. So when they have to conduct village meetings they have no choice but to use Nepali that everybody understands. Whereas, the nomadic Rautes, who were

interviewed in the Balle village of Dang where they were camping, their main language of communication is their own language Raute and village meetings for them means they don't let people outside their own community participate in such meetings and they use their own language Raute only to conduct the meetings among themselves.

Table 4.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by age

n = 38

Domains	Age groups								
	A1(n=18)			A2(n=17)			A3(n=3)		
	Nepali	Raute	N and R	Nepali	Raute	N and R	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Counting	4 (22.22%)	12(66.66%)	2(11.11%)	-	17(100%)	-	-	3(100%)	-
Singing	13(72.22%)	5(27.77%)	-	3(16.66%)	14(83.33%)	-	-	3(100%)	-
Joking	7(38.88%)	11(61%)	-	3(16.66%)	14(83.33%)	-	-	3(100%)	-
Bargaining / Shopping/ Marketing	17(94.44%)	1(5.55%)	-	17(100%)		-	3(100%)		-
Story telling	12(66.66%)	6(33.33%)	-	4(23.52%)	13(76.47%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Discussing / Debate	9(50%)	9(50%)	-	3(16.66%)	14(83.33%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Praying	7(38.88%)	11(61.11%)	-	4(23.52%)	13(76.47%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Quarrelling	6(33.33%)	12(66.66%)	-	3(16.66%)	14(83.33%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	9(50%)	9(50%)	-	4(23.52%)	13(76.47%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Telling stories to children	10(55.55%)	8(44.44%)	-	3(16.66%)	14(83.33%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Singing at home	8(44.44%)	10(55.55%)	-	4(23.52%)	13(76.47%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.6%)	-
Family gatherings	11(61.11%)	7(38.88%)		4(23.52%)	13(76.47%)	-	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-
Village meetings	14(77.77%)	4(22.22%)	-	8(61.17%)	6(39.83%)	3(16.66%)	1(33.33)	2(66.66%)	-

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-59 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.2 shows the pattern of language use by the Rautes in different domains according to their age group. The age grouping is at three levels: A1 for people within

the age bracket of 15-34 years, A2 for people falling in the age bracket of 35-59 years and A3 for people in the age bracket of 60 years and above. The first age group shows the most dynamic age including teenage and initial adult phase, the third group includes middle and working class and the third age group relates to old age over 60 years old.

Among the total 38 respondents who were interviewed for the collection of the data, there are 18 people in the age group A1, 17 in the age group A2 and 3 in the age group of A3. The following discussion/ analysis looks at the domains of language use by age groupwise. For the ease of comparison, each domain is compared with all the three age groups.

For the analysis of the data, the population of 18, 17 and 3 is regarded as 100% respectively in all the cases.

a) Counting

The use of the language in counting among the A1 age group is seen as 22.22% using Nepali for counting, 66.66% used Raute and 11.11% of them used both the languages.

In the age group A2 – 100 % of them used Raute for counting.

In the age group A3 – 100% of them used Raute for counting.

The above observation shows that the elder generation above the age of 35 uses Raute for the purpose of counting. This reflects the language loyalty among the middle aged and elderly population.

b) Singing

A1 - While singing, 72.22% used Nepali and 27.77 used Raute and none of them used both Raute and Nepali.

A2 – In this age group, 16.66% used Nepali and 83.33% used Raute for singing. None used both

A3 – Everybody used Raute for singing

The above data shows that the use of native language is diminishing among young generation and in the middle aged it is preserved to a great extent. The old generation showed complete language loyalty in this domain.

c) Joking

A1 – In this age group, 39% use Nepali and 61% use Raute to joke among themselves. No one used Nepali and Raute both for joking.

A2 – 16.66% used Nepali for joking while 83.34% used their own language Raute for joking. No one in this age group used a mix of both Nepali and Raute.

A3 - Everyone in this age group used only Raute for joking.

The observation on the use of language in this domain shows that language loyalty and maintenance is there among the elderly generation.

d) Bargaining/Shopping/Marketing

A1–Approximately 94% used Nepali and 6% used Raute for bargaining/Shopping/Marketing purpose. Non one used a mix of both the languages.

A2 – 100% of the sample population used Nepali in this age group.

A3 - 100% of the sample population used Nepali in this age group.

The above observation shows that as market place activity happens outside their family domain and since they themselves are not involved running business. The language of market place for bargaining/shopping/marketing is mainly Nepali. It's only in the younger generation that showed that they are also using Raute in the market place. This phenomenon shows a case of language shift among Rautes.

e) Story Telling

A1 – 67% of the population use Nepali and 33% of them use Nepali for Story telling in this age group. No one mixed both the languages.

A2 – 24% used Nepali and 76% used Raute for storytelling. No one mixed both the languages.

A3 – 33% used Nepali and 67% used Raute in storytelling. They didn't mix both the languages.

The above observation shows that the younger generation is shifting towards Nepali in story telling use of language.

f) Discussion/Debate

A1 – There is 50% each use of Nepali and Raute while discussing or debating. They do not use both the languages.

A2 – 17% use Nepali to discuss or debate and 83% use Raute for this purpose. There is no mixing of both the languages.

A3 – Among the elderly generation, 33% use Nepali, while 67% use Raute

The above discussion shows Raute being favored by elderly generation, whereas there is shift towards the use of Nepali in younger generation.

g) Praying

A1 – 39% use Nepali for praying, while 61% use Raute for praying. There is no mixing of both.

A2 – 24% use Nepali and 76% use Raute. Both the languages are not used by anyone.

A3 – 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute for praying. They don't mix up both.

Prayer being something very close to one's private and community life, usually they use language which is closest to them. The above observation shows that the elderly generation use mainly Raute and among the younger generation, there is a gradual shift towards Nepali. But the younger generation also mainly uses Raute for praying.

h) Quarrelling

A1 - 33% use Nepali while quarrelling and 67% use Raute in this language domain. There is no mixing up.

A2 – 17% use Nepali and 83% use Raute while quarrelling.

A3 - 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute while quarrelling.

Quarrelling being very emotional aspect of life, the language used for this domain is closed to the heart. Therefore, the language of quarrelling is mainly Raute among all the generations.

i) Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)

A1 – there is 50% each use of Nepali and Raute while abusing , scolding or using taboo words.

A2 – 24 % use Nepali and 76% Raute in this domain.

A3 – 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute in this age group for abusing, scolding or using taboo words.

The above data show that the Rautes use mainly their own language Raute in most of the age groups. However, the 50% distribution of the language use among the younger generation shows the shift towards the use of Nepali.

j) Telling stories to children

A1- 56% of them use Nepali and 44% of them use Raute for telling stories to their children.

A2 – 17% use Nepali while 83% use Raute while telling stories to their children in this age group.

A3 – 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute in this age group to tell stories to their children.

Among the younger generation, the predilection is to use Nepali to tell stories to their children while elderly generation use Raute for this purpose. Language maintenance in Raute is stronger among the older generation.

k) Singing at home

A1 - 44% use Nepali while singing at home, whereas 56% use Raute in this domain.

A2 – 24% use Nepali and 76 % use Raute while singing at home.

A3 – 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute while singing at home.

There is predominance of the use of Raute while singing at home. This shows the native language comes easily in self amusement situations like singing at home.

l) Family gatherings

A3 – 61 % use Nepali and 39% use Raute in the family gatherings.

A2 – 24% use Nepali and 76% use Raute in the family gathering in this age group.

A3 – 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute in the family gatherings.

This shows, the younger generation is using mainly Nepali in the family gatherings while the elderly generation is using Raute in this domain. This also shows the language loyalty and maintenance more strong among the elderly generation and signs of shift are visible among the younger generation.

m) Village meetings

A1 – 78% use Nepali and 24% use Raute in village meetings.

A2 – 61% use Nepali while 39 % use Raute in the village meetings.

A3 - 33% use Nepali and 67% use Raute while conducting participating the village meetings.

Village meeting being an occasion where majority of Nepali speaking population also attend it, they use mainly Nepali while conducting village meetings.

Table 4.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy

Domains	Literacy					
	Literate (N=15)			Illiterate (N=23)		
	Nepali	Raute	Nepali and Raute	Nepali	Raute	Nepali and Raute
Counting	4(26.7%)	10(66.7%)	1(6.6%)	-	22(95.6%)	1(4.4%)
Singing	9(60.3%)	6 (40%)		7 (30.4%)	16(69.6%)	-
Joking	6(40%)	9(60%)	-	4(17.3%)	19(82.6%)	-
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	15 (100%)	-	-	22(95.7%)	-	1(4.3%)
Story telling	9(60%)	6(40%)	-	8(34.8%)	15(65.2%)	-
Discussing/ Debate	6(40%)	9(60%)	-	7 (30.4%)	16(69.6%)	-
Praying	7(46.6%)	8(53.3%)	-	5(21.7%)	18(78.3%)	-
Quarrelling	6(40%)	9(60%)	-	4(17.3%)	19(82.6%)	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	7(46.6%)	8(53.3%)	-	7(30.4%)	16(69.6%)	-
Telling stories to children	7(46.6%)	8(53.3%)	-	7(30.4%)	16(69.6%)	-
Singing at home	8(53.3%)	7(46.6%)	-	5(21.7%)	18(78.3%)	-
Family gatherings	9(60%)	6(40%)	-	8(34.8%)	15(65.2%)	-
Village meetings	10(66.7%)	5(33.3%)	-	13(56.5%)	7(30.4%)	3(13%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.3 shows that no matter whether the speakers are literate or illiterate the majority of them use Nepali in all the domains. Of the total 38 participants interviewed, 15 are literate and 23 are illiterate. Let's look at the situation sub-domain wise:

a) Counting

Literate – 27% use Nepali, 67% use Raute and 6% use both.

Illiterate – 96% use Raute and 4% use both. Among the illiterates, no one use only Nepali.

It's among the illiterates that the language maintenance is high, the literates are shifting towards Nepali. However, all of them use Raute in this domain.

b) Singing

Literate: 60% use Nepali and 40% use Raute.

Illiterate - 30% use Nepali, 70% use Raute.

This show, the illiterates are using more of Raute for singing. However, literate or illiterate, both are using Raute.

c) Joking

Literate - 40% use Nepali, 60% use Raute

Illiterate – 17% use Nepali, 83% use Raute

The data reveals, the illiterates are using mainly Raute for joking. Both literate and illiterate use Raute for this purpose.

d) Bargaining, shopping, marketing

Literate – 100% of them use Nepali for this domain of language.

Illiterate – 96% use Nepali and 4% use Nepali and Raute both

The data shows among literates everybody uses Nepali and among illiterates also almost all of them are using Nepali. Raute is almost not used for marketplace communication.

e) Story telling

Literates – 60% of them use Nepali and 40% of them use Raute

Illiterates – 35% use Nepali and 65% use Raute.

It shows that the literates prefer the use of Nepali for story telling whereas the illiterates prefer the use of Raute.

f) Discussing/debate

Literates - 40% use Nepali and 60% use Raute for debating and discussing or arguing.

Illiterates –30% use Nepali and 70% use Raute for arguments or debates or discussing.

This shows both literates and illiterates use mainly Raute for the heated debates and discussions. The illiterates use Raute more than Nepali in such situations.

g) Praying

Literates – 47% use Nepali and 53% use Raute.

Illiterates – 22% use Nepali and 78% use Raute.

Prayer is a domain which is very close to an individual's belief. In this sub-domain most of them, be it literate or illiterate use Raute. However, the tendency to use Nepali is increasing among the literates.

h) Quarrelling

Literate – 40% use Nepali and 60% use Raute

Illiterate – 17% use Nepali and 83% use Raute

The language of quarrelling, an intense emotional outburst, is very emotionally charged and people tend to use language close to their heart to express their anger. In the case of Raute too, there is predominance of the use of Raute language. However, literate population is also shifting the use to Nepali.

i) Abusing (scolding/ using taboo words)

Literate – 47% use Nepali and 53% use Raute

Illiterate – 30% use Nepali and 70% use Raute

This shows majority of the population is using Raute to abuse, scold or use taboo words. For such domain, one's one language is preferred as it requires the outburst of strong negative emotion. In this case also, the literate class of population appears to be shifting toward Nepali.

j) Telling stories to children

Literate - 47% use Nepali and 53% use Raute

Illiterate – 30% use Nepali and 70% use Raute

This shows, majority of the population is using Raute to tell stories to their children. In this case also, the literate class of population appears to be shifting toward Nepali.

k) Singing at home

Literate – 53% use Nepali and 47% use Raute

Illiterate – 22% use Nepali and 78% use Raute

Among the illiterates, most of them sing in Raute while the majority of the literate class use Nepali for singing at home. In this domain, a clear shift to Nepali in literate class is distinctly visible.

l) Family gatherings:

Literate – 60% of the population uses Nepali while 40% uses Raute.

Illiterate – 35% uses Nepali while 65 % uses Raute in the family gatherings.

Family gathering is in internal affair of any society where the language used is always the native language, the first language. In this case, the illiterates are using Raute while the literate population is already shifting toward Nepali with majority of them using Nepali in family gatherings.

m) Village meetings:

Literate – 67% use Nepali while 33% use Raute

Illiterate – 57% use Nepali, 30% use Raute and 13% use both.

Village meetings being an occasion where Nepali speaking community also participates, besides Raute community, the main language of village meeting is Raute.

Therefore, most of them use Nepali. However, a small number of illiterate population also used both.

4.3 Patterns of language use at home

Home is considered one of the major domains of language use. In this subsection, we deal with the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters, discussing social events and other family matters and in writing letters in the following subsections.

4.3.1 Patterns of language use at home while talking about education matters

Table 4.4 presents the languages most frequently used while talking about education matters like school, admission, studies, teacher with different family members by sex.

Table 4.4: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex

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

Domains	N=	Sex							
		Male (13)				Female (17)			
		n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R	n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Grandfather	30	13	-	11(84.6)	2(15.3%)	17	-	17(100%)	-
Grandmother	30	13	-	11(84.6%)	2(15.3%)	17	-	17(100%)	-
Father	30	13	-	11(84.6%)	2(15.3%)	17	-	17(100%)	-
Mother	30	13	-	11(84.6%)	2(15.3%)	17	-	17(100%)	-
Spouse	30	13	1(7.6%)	11(84.6%)	1(7.6%)	17	-	16(94.1%)	1(5.8%)
Children	30	13	1(7.6%)	11(84.6%)	1(7.6%)	17	2(11.8%)	14(82.3%)	1(5.8%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.4 shows that while talking about educational matters with their grandfather, among males 85% use Raute and 15% use both Raute and Nepali, while all the female members use only Raute while talking about education with their grandfather. The same situation exists while discussing educational matters by males and females respectively with their grandmother, father and mother. While discussing about educational matters with their spouse, among males 8% use Nepali, 84% use Raute and 8% use Raute and Nepali both. Among females, 94% use Raute and 6% use Raute and Nepali both. While discussing such matters with children, among males 8%

use Nepali, 84% use Raute and 8% use Raute and Nepali both. Among females, 12% use Nepali, 82% use Raute and 6 % use Raute and Nepali both.

The above analysis shows that the use of language is consistent with parents and grandparents among males and females with males using a predominantly Raute and occasionally Raute and Nepali both. While the females use only Raute with their parents and grandparents while discussing educational materials. The shift in the language is seen more when there is choice of language being used with children. The females are showing a tendency to shift toward Nepali while discussing educational matters with their children.

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

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

Domains	n=	Age groups											
		A1(17)				A2(11)				A3(2)			
		Nepali	Raute	N and R	Total	Nepali	Raute	N and R	Total	N	Raute	N and R	Total
Grand father	30	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)	17	-	10(90.9%)	1(9%)	11	-	2(100%)	-	2
Grand mother	30	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)	17	-	10(90.9%)	1(9%)	11	-	2(100%)	-	2
Father	30	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)	17	-	10(90.9%)	1(9%)	11	-	2(100%)	-	2
Mother	30	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)	17	-	10(90.9%)	1(9%)	11	-	2(100%)	-	2
Spouse	30	1(5.8%)	15(88.2%)	1(5.8%)	17	-	10(90.9%)	1(9%)	11	-	2(100%)	-	2
Children	30	2(11.7%)	14(82.2%)	1(5.8%)	17	1(9%)	9(81.8%)	1(9%)	11	-	2(100%)	-	2

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-59 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.5 above shows the pattern of language use with different members of the family of different age groups. The informants in this category have been divided into three age groups: A1 (15-34 years), A2 (35-59 years), A3 (above 60 years).

a. With Grandfather

Age group A1: 88% of informants use Raute with their grandfather, 12% use Nepali and Raute to talk about the educational matters with their grandfather.

Age group A2: 91% informants in this age group use Raute and 9% use Nepali and Raute to discuss educational matters with their grandfather.

Age group A3: In this age group, everybody (100%) use Raute to discuss educational matters with their grandfather.

b. With Grandmother

Age group A1: 88% of informants use Raute with their grandmother, 12% use Nepali and Raute to talk about the educational matters with their grandmother.

Age group A2: 91% informants in this age group use Raute and 9% use Nepali and Raute to discuss educational matters with their grandmother.

Age group A3: In this age group, everybody (100%) use Raute to discuss educational matters with their grandmother.

c. With Father

Age group A1: 88% of informants use Raute with their father, 12% use Nepali and Raute to talk about the educational matters with their father.

Age group A2: 91% informants in this age group use Raute and 9% use Nepali and Raute to discuss educational matters with their father.

Age group A3: In this age group, everybody (100%) use Raute to discuss educational matters with their father.

d. With Mother

Age group A1: 88% of informants use Raute with their mother, 12% use Nepali and Raute to talk about the educational matters with their grandfather.

Age group A2: 91% informants in this age group use Raute and 9% use Nepali and Raute to discuss educational matters with their mother.

Age group A3: In this age group, everybody (100%) use Raute to discuss educational matters with their mother.

e. With Spouse:

Age group A1: 6% of informants use Nepali, 88% use Raute and 6% use Nepali and Raute to talk about the educational matters with their spouse.

Age group A2: 91% informants in this age group use Raute and 9% use Nepali and Raute to discuss educational matters with their spouse.

Age group A3: In this age group, everybody (100%) use Raute to discuss educational matters with their spouse.

f. With Children:

Age group A1: 12% of informants use Nepali, 82% use Raute and 6% use Nepali and Raute to talk about the educational matters with their children.

Age group A2: 9% informants in this age group use Nepali, 82% use Raute and 9% use Nepali and Raute to discuss educational matters with their children.

Age group A3: In this age group, everybody (100%) use Raute to discuss educational matters with their children.

Table 4.6: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy

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

Domains	Literacy								
	N=	Literate				Illiterate			
		n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R	n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Grand father	30	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	15	-	14(93.3%)	1(6.6%)
Grand mother	30	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	15	-	14(93.3%)	1(6.6%)
Father	30	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	15	-	14(93.3%)	1(6.6%)
Mother	30	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	15	-	14(93.3%)	1(6.6%)
Spouse	30		1(6.6%)	13(86.6%)	1(6.6%)	15	-	14(93.3%)	1(6.6%)
Children	-	-	2(13.4%)	12 (80%)	1(6.6%)	15	1(6.6%)	13(86.7%)	1(6.6%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.6 shows the pattern of language used most frequently with different family members by literacy. In our study there are equal numbers of literate as well illiterate participants.

a. With Grandfather:

Literate–87% use Raute and 13% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their grandfather. No one use only Nepali with them.

Illiterate – 93% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute to talk about educational matters with their grandfather.

b. With Grandmother:

Literate – 87% use Raute and 13% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their grandmother. No one use only Nepali with them.

Illiterate – 93% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute to talk about educational matters with their grandmother.

c. With Father:

Literate – 87% use Raute and 13% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their father. No one use only Nepali with them.

Illiterate – 93% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute to talk about educational matters with their father.

d. With Mother:

Literate – 87% use Raute and 13% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their mother. No one use only Nepali with them.

Illiterate – 93% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute to talk about educational matters with their mother.

e. With Spouse:

Literate – 7% use Nepali. 86% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their grandfather.

Illiterate – 93% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute to talk about educational matters with their grandfather.

f. With Children:

Literate –13% use Nepali, 80 % use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their grandfather.

Illiterate – 7% use Nepali. 86% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute while talking about educational matters with their children.

The above analysis gives a clear picture of how language is used by members of the family with each other. While talking to the members of family of previous generation they use mainly Raute only. When they speak to their own generation there is some sign of use of Nepali among literate population but they still stick to Raute and some Nepali among their own generation. But when it comes to next generation, that is, speaking with their children there is some trace of shift towards Nepali.

4.3.2 Patterns of language use at home while discussing social events and family matters

Table 4.7 presents the languages most frequently used at home while discussing social events and family matters.

Table 4.7: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex

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

Domains	N=	Sex							
		Male				Female			
		n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R	n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Grandfather	38	21	-	19(90.4%)	2(9.5%)	17	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)
Grandmother	38	21	-	19(90.4%)	2(9.5%)	17	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)
Father	38	21	-	19(90.4%)	1(3%)	17	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)
Mother	38	21	-	19(90.4%)	2(9.5%)	17	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)
Spouse	38	21	-	19(90.4%)	2(9.5%)	17	-	15(88.2%)	2(11.7%)
Children	38	21	1(4.7%)	19(90.4%)	1(4.7%)	17	1(5.8%)	15(88.2%)	1(5.8%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.7 shows the pattern of language use by males and females among different members of the family while talking about the family matters.

a) With Grandfather:

Males – 90% males use Raute and 10% use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events and family matters with their grandfather.

Females – 88% females use Raute and 12% of them use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events family matters with their grandfather.

b) With Grandmother:

Males–90% males use Raute and 10% use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events and family matters with their grandmother.

Females–88% females use Raute and 12% of them use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events family matters with their grandmother.

c) With Father:

Males–90% males use Raute and 10% use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events and family matters with their father.

Females – 88% females use Raute and 12% of them use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events family matters with their father.

d) With Mother:

Males – 90% males use Raute and 10% use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events and family matters with their mother.

Females – 88% females use Raute and 12% of them use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events family matters with their mother.

e) With Spouse:

Males – 90% males use Raute and 10% use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events and family matters with their spouse.

Females – 88% females use Raute and 12% of them use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events family matters with their spouse.

f) With Children:

Males – 90% males use Raute, 5% use Nepali and 5% use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events and family matters with their children.

Females- 88% females use Raute, 6% use Nepali and 6% of them use both Nepali and Raute while discussing social events family matters with their children.

The above analysis shows that they use mainly Raute and only occasionally Nepali and Raute both while discussing social events and family matters with their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother and spouse. It's only when they discuss these matters with their children, they use some Nepali only to discuss these matters with their children.

Table 4.8: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age

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

Domains	N=	Age groups											
		A1 (18)				A2 (17)				A3 (3)			
		Nepali	Raute	N and R	Total	Nep Ali	Raute	N and R	Total	Nepali	Raute	N & R	Total
Grand father	38	-	16(88.8%)	2(11.1%)	18	-	16(94.1%)	1(5.8%)	17	-	3(100%)	-	3
Grand mother	38	-	16(88.8%)	2(11.1%)	18	-	16(94.1%)	1(5.8%)	17	-	3(100%)	-	3
Father	38	-	16(88.8%)	2(11.1%)	18	-	16(94.1%)	1(5.84%)	17	-	3(100%)	-	3
Mother	38	-	16(88.8%)	2(11.1%)	18	-	16(94.1%)	1(5.8%)	17	-	3(100%)	-	3
Spouse	38	-	16(88.8%)	2(11.1%)	18	1(5.8%)	16(94.1%)	-	17	-	3(100%)	-	3
Children	38	1(5.5%)	16(88.8%)	1(5.5%)	18	-	16(94.1%)	1(5.8%)	17	-	3(100%)	-	3

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.8 shows the pattern of language use among different age groups with their family. The population is divided into three age groups: A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above. The analysis of the language used by different age groups with the members of their family as follows:

a. With Grandfather

A1 – 89% use Raute only and 11% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandfather. They don't use Nepali only with them.

A2 – 94% use Raute only and 6% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandfather. They don't use Nepali alone with them.

A3 – The entire population (100%) use Raute only to speak about social events and family matters with their grandfather. They don't make any use of Nepali with them for this purpose.

b. With Grandmother

A1 – 89% use Raute only and 11% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandmother. They don't use Nepali only with them.

A2 – 94% use Raute only and 6% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandmother. They don't use Nepali alone with them.

A3 –The entire population (100%) use Raute only to speak about social events and family matters with their grandmother. They don't make any use of Nepali with them for this purpose.

c. With Father

A1 – 89% use Raute only and 11% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their father. They don't use Nepali only with them.

A2 – 94% use Raute only and 6% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their father. They don't use Nepali alone with them.

A3 – The entire population (100%) use Raute only to speak about social events and family matters with their father. They don't make any use of Nepali with them for this purpose.

d. With Mother

A1 – 89% use Raute only and 11% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their mother. They don't use Nepali only with them.

A2 – 94% use Raute only and 6% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their mother. They don't use Nepali alone with them.

A3 – The entire population (100%) use Raute only to speak about social events and family matters with their mother. They don't make any use of Nepali with them for this purpose.

e. With Spouse

A1 – 89% use Raute only and 11% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their spouse. They don't use Nepali only with them.

A2 – 94% use Raute only and 6% use Nepali only to discuss social events and family matters with their spouse. They don't use Nepali alone with them.

A3 – The entire population (100%) use Raute only to speak about social events and family matters with their spouse. They don't make any use of Nepali with them for this purpose.

f. With Children

A1 – 5.5% use Nepali, 89% use Raute only and 5.5% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandfather. They don't use Nepali only with them.

A2 – 94% use Raute only and 6% use Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandfather. They don't use Nepali alone with them.

A3 – The entire population (100%) use Raute only to speak about social events and family matters with their grandfather. They don't make any use of Nepali with them for this purpose.

The above analysis on the language pattern among family members age wise shows the Rautes are consistent with the language in language use according to age group while discussing social events and family matters with their family members.

The only variation is noticed in the use of language with spouse and children. Among the age group A2 (35-60 years) the shift was from a mix of Nepali and Raute to Nepali only. And in the age group A1 (15-34 years), a slightly different pattern than normal use is noticed while talking to the children. 5.5 % of the parents use Nepali with their children. In all the rest of the cases, the pattern is consistent.

Table 4.9: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy

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

Domains	N=	Literacy							
		Literate (15)				Illiterate (23)			
		n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R	n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Grandfather	38	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	23	1(4.3%)	21(91.3%)	1(4.3%)
Grandmother	38	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	23	-	21(91.3%)	2(8.6%)
Father	38	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	23	-	21(91.3%)	2(8.6%)
Mother	38	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	23	-	21(91.3%)	2(8.6%)
Spouse	38	15	-	13(86.6%)	2(13.3%)	23	-	21(91.3%)	2(8.6%)
Children	38	15	1(6.6)	13(86.6%)	1(6.6%)	23	1(4.3%)	21(91.3%)	1(4.3%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.9 shows the pattern of language use by literate and illiterate members of the family to discuss about the social events and family matters with their family members. The pattern is as follows:

a) With Grandfather

Literate – 87% of the sample population use Raute and 13% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandfather.

Illiterate – 4% use Nepali, 92% use Raute and 4% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss of social events and family matters with their grandfather.

b) With Grandmother

Literate – 87% of the sample population use Raute and 13% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandmother.

Illiterate – 91% use Raute and 9% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss of social events and family matters with their grandmother.

c) With Father

Literate – 87% of the sample population use Raute and 13% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their father.

Illiterate – 91% use Raute and 9% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss of social events and family matters with their father.

d) With Mother

Literate – 87% of the sample population use Raute and 13% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their mother.

Illiterate – 91% use Raute and 9% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss of social events and family matters with their mother.

e) With Spouse

Literate – 87% of the sample population use Raute and 13% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their spouse.

Illiterate – 91% use Raute and 9% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss of social events and family matters with their spouse.

f) With Children

Literate – 7% use Nepali, 86% of the sample population use Raute and 7% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss social events and family matters with their grandmother.

Illiterate – 4.5% use Nepali, 91% use Raute and 4.5% use a mix of Nepali and Raute to discuss of social events and family matters with their grandmother.

Except for one case of illiterate sample using Nepali with their grandfather, all the rest use consistently Raute mainly with their family members. The pattern changed a little while discussing social events and family matters with the children with 7% literate and 4% illiterate using Nepali with their children.

4.4 Patterns of language use by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Table 4.10 presents the languages usually spoken by children.

Table 4.10: Languages usually spoken by children by sex (Per rest)

Domains	N=	Sex							
		Male (21) Except Nomads				Female (17)			
		n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R	n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Playing with other children	38	21	2(11.7%)	17(76.6%)	2(11.7%)	17	2(11.7%)	14 (82.1%)	1(5.8%)
Talking with neighbors	38	21	3(14.2%)	16 (74.1%)	2(11.7%)	17	3(17.6%)	13(72.6%)	1(5.8%)
At school	30	13	11(84.6%)	-	2(15.3%)	17	16(94.1%)	-	1 (6.6%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.10 shows the pattern of language use by children sexwise.

a) Playing with other children

Males – 12% children speak Nepali while playing with other children, 76% speak Raute and 12% use Nepali and Raute.

Females – 12% of female children speak Nepali with other children while playing, 82% speak Raute and 6% of them use Nepali and Raute.

b) Talking with neighbors

Males – 14% use Nepali while talking with their neighbors, 74% use Raute and 12% use Nepali and Raute with their neighbors.

Females – 18% use Nepali, 74% use Raute and 6% use Nepali and Raute while talking with their neighbours.

c) At School

Males – 85% use Nepali and 15% use Nepali and Raute in school.

Females – 94% use Nepali and 6% use Nepali and Raute to speak with other children at the school.

The above analysis shows that while playing with the children who speak their own language, they use Raute and with other children they use Raute. Similar is the case while talking with their neighbors. But at the school, since the language of school is Nepali, they have to speak Nepali with the teachers and other children but among themselves, they speak their own language along with Nepali.

Table 4.11: Languages usually spoken by children by age

Domains	N=	Age groups											
		A1				A2				A3			
		Nepali	Raute	N and R	Total	Nepali	Raute	N and R	Total	Nepali	Raute	N and R	Total
Playing with other children	38	3(16.6%)	13(72.2%)	2(11.1%)	18(100%)	1(5.8%)	13(76.4%)	3(17.6%)	17(100%)	-	3(100%)	-	3(100%)
Talking with neighbors	38	2(11.1%)	14(77.7%)	2(11.1%)	18(100%)	-	12(70.5%)	5(29.5%)	17(100%)	-	3(100%)	-	3(100%)
At school	30	14(82.3%)	-	3(17.6%)	17(100%)	11(100%)	-	-	11(100%)	2(100%)	-	-	2(100%)

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.11 shows age group wise use of language by children. The responses were collected from the elders about the use of language by children. People of three age groups: A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above were interviewed for information.

a) Playing with other children

A1 – 17 % responded the children use Nepali while playing with other children, while 72% said they use Raute and 11% responded the children using Nepali and Raute while playing with children.

A2 – 6% responded using Nepali, 76% said they use Raute and 18% said they use both Nepali and Raute while playing with children.

A3 – Everybody, that is 100%, said the children are only Raute while playing with other children.

b) Talking with neighbor

A1 – 11 % responded the children use Nepali while playing with other children, while 78% said they use Raute and 11% responded the children using Nepali and Raute while playing with children.

A2 – 72.5% said they use Raute and 27.5% said they use both Nepali and Raute while playing with children.

A3 – Everybody, that is 100%, said the children only Raute while playing with other children.

c) At school

A1 – 82 % responded the children use Nepali while playing with other children, 18% responded the children using Nepali and Raute while playing with children.

A2 – Everybody, that is, 100% responded saying that the children use only Nepali, while playing with children.

A3 – Everybody, that is, 100% responded saying that the children use only Nepali, while playing with children.

The above discussion shows that the children use mainly Raute among themselves, Nepali and Raute while playing with other children and in the neighborhood. They use mainly Nepali in the school.

Table 4.12: Languages usually spoken by children in different domains by literacy

Domains	N=	Literacy							
		Literate (15)				Illiterate (23)			
		n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R	n=	Nepali	Raute	N and R
Playing with other children	38	15	3 (20%)	11(73.3%)	1(6.6%)	23	-	23(100%)	-
Talking with neighbors	38	15	2 (13.3%)	11 (73.4%)	2(13.3%)	23	-	23(100%)	-
At school	30	15	12 (80%)	3(20%)	-	15	15 (100%)	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.12 shows the pattern of language use by children in different domains of literacy:

a) Playing with other children

Literate – 20% of them use Nepali, 73% use Raute and 7% use Nepali and Raute while playing with other children.

Illiterate – All of them (100%) use Raute only while playing with other children

b) Talking with neighbors

Literate – 13% of them use Nepali, 74% use Raute and 13% use Nepali and Raute both
Illiterate - All of them (100%) use Raute only while playing with other children

c) At School

Literate - 80% use Nepali and 20% use Nepali and Raute both.

Illiterate - All of them (100%) use Nepali at school.

The above discussion shows that among literates there is a tendency to use Nepali whereas among the illiterates they use more of Raute. At school however, the literates use more Raute than illiterates who spoke only Nepali at the school.

4.5 Patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations

Primarily, in Raute communities the marriage invitations are made orally. However, nowadays they are also made in written form.

Table 4.13: Languages used for marriage invitations by the community by sex

	Sex		Total (N=38)
	Male (n=21)	Female (n=17)	
Nepali	2(9.5%)	3(17.6%)	5(13.1%)
Raute	17(81%)	13(76.4%)	30(78.9%)
Nepali and Raute	2(9.5%)	1(5.8%)	3(7.8%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.13 shows the pattern of language used by males and females for marriage invitations in the community. It shows that among males, 9.5% use Nepali, 81% use Raute and 9.5% use Nepali and Raute. It shows that among females, it shows that 18% use Nepali, 76% use Raute and 6% use Nepali and Raute. Males and females altogether use 13% Nepali, 79% Raute and 8% use Nepali and Raute. The data show that compared to male and females, females use more Nepali, males use more Raute for inviting the members of the community to the marriage.

Table 4.14: Languages used for marriage invitations the community by age

	Age groups			Total(N=38)
	A1 (n=18)	A2(n=17)	A3(n=3)	
Nepali	3(16.6%)	2(11.7%)	-	5(13.1%)
Raute	13(72.2%)	14(82.2%)	3(100%)	30(79%)
Nepali and Raute	2(11.1%)	1(5.8%)	-	3(7.8%)

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.14: shows the pattern of language use for inviting members of community for the marriage. It shows that 17% of people use Nepali, 72% use Raute and 11% of people use Nepali and Raute in the age group of 15-35 years to invite members of community for the marriage. In the age group of 35-60 years, 12% use Nepali, 82% use Raute and 6% use Nepali and Raute to invite members of the community for the marriage. Among the elderly generations, in the age group of 60 years and above, everybody (100%) use Raute to invite members of the community for the marriage. Altogether, 13% use Nepali, 79% use Raute and 8% use Nepali and Raute to invite members of their community for the marriage. The table shows native language preservation is highest among the most elderly community in the age group of 60 years and above.

Table 4.15: Languages used for marriage invitations the community by literacy

	Literacy		Total(N=38)
	Literate(n=15)	Illiterate(n=23)	
Nepali	3 (20%)	2(8.6%)	5(13.1%)
Raute	10(66.6%)	20(86.6%)	30(78.9%)
Nepali and Raute	2(13.3%)	1(4.3%)	3(7.8%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.15 shows the literacy wise pattern of language use for inviting the community members for marriage. It shows that among literates, 20% use Nepali, 67% use Raute and 13% use Nepali and Raute to invite members of their community to the marriage. Among illiterates, 9% use Nepali, 87% use Raute, and 4% use Nepali and Raute to

invite the members of their community to the marriage. Altogether, 13% use Nepali, 79% use Raute and 8% use Nepali and Raute to invite members of their community to attend marriage function. This shows, Raute is still the predominant language of invitation for a social function like marriage where only the close relatives and friends are invited.

4.6 Patterns of language use in writing the minutes of the community meetings

Table 4.16 presents the languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by sex.

Table 4.16: Languages used for writing minutes in community meetings by sex (No nomad)

	Sex		Total (N=30)
	Male (n=13)	Female (n=17)	
Nepali (Dotyali)	13(100%)	17(100%)	30(100%)
Raute	-	-	-
Nepali and Raute	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.16 shows the pattern of language used in writing the minutes of the meeting according to sex. The table shows that Rautes use only Nepali (or Dotyali) to write the minutes of the meeting. The response was unanimous, that is, both male and female responded as 100% use of Nepali (Dotyali) in writing the meeting minutes.

This is important to note here that the data refers only to the settled Rautes of Dadeldhura and not the nomadic Rautes of Dang. The nomadic Rautes don't believe in the mainstream education, so they cannot read or write and the writing of meeting minute is quite irrelevant to them.

Table 4.17: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by age

	Age groups (nomade?)			Total(N=30)
	A1 (n=17)	A2(n=11)	A3(n=2)	
Nepali	17(100%)	11(100%)	2(100%)	30 (100%)
Raute	-	-	-	-
Nepali and Raute	-	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Table 4.17 shows the pattern of language used to write minutes in community meetings age wise. The participants are divided into three age groups: A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above. Respondents of all the three age groups unanimously (all 100%) responded that they use Nepali to write the minute of the community meetings.

Again, this is important to note that the analysis doesn't apply to nomadic Rautes who are illiterate and who do not keep any minute of their meetings in writing.

Table 4.18: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy

	Literacy		Total(N=30)
	Literate(n=15)	Illiterate(n=15)	
Nepali	15(100%)	15(100%)	30(100%)
Raute	-	-	-
Nepali and Raute	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.18 shows the language used to write the minute of the community meetings literacy wise. The table shows that both literate and illiterates use only Nepali to write the minutes of their community meetings. This is also exclusive of nomadic Rautes.

4.7 The frequency of use of mother tongue in terms of frequency

The vitality of language is better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue in practical life. Table 4.22 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue by sex.

Table 4.19: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by sex

	Sex		Total (N=38)
	Male (n=21)	Female (n=17)	
Everyday	19(90.4%)	15(88.2%)	34(89.4%)
Rarely	2(9.5%)	2(11.7%)	4 (10.5%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.19 shows the pattern of language use in terms of the frequency of mother tongue sex wise. 90% males and 88% females use mother tongue everyday and 10% male and 12% females use mother tongue quite rarely. There is no one who didn't use mother tongue at all. Altogether, male and females combined together, 89% use mother tongue everyday and 11% use it rarely. This shows there is predominance of the use of mother tongue in day to day activities and as a result there is sufficient vitality in the language.

Table 4.20 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue by age.

Table 4.20: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by age

	Age groups			Total(N=38)
	A1 (n=18)	A2(n=17)	A3(n=3)	
Everyday	15(83.3%)	16(94.1%)	3(100%)	34(89.4%)
Rarely	3(16.6%)	1(5.8%)	-	4(10.5%)
Never	-	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.20 shows the use of mother tongue age group wise. Among the younger generation, in the age group of A1 (15-35), 83% use mother tongue in everyday transactions; in the age group of A2 (35-59), 94% use their mother tongue in everyday activities, and in the age group of A3 (60) years and above, everybody, that is, 100% use mother tongue for day to day transactions. In the age group A1, 17% rarely use

mother tongue, in A2, 6% used it rarely. This shows that the age group A3 that is, 60 years and above has the highest degree of use of mother tongue in day to day transactions and the population in the age group A1 has more degree of rare use. The frequency of use is on the decline in younger generation.

Table 4.21: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by literacy

	Literacy		Total(N=38)
	Literate(n=15)	Illiterate(n=23)	
Everyday	12(80%)	22(95.6%)	34(89.4%)
Rarely	3(20%)	1(4.3%)	4(10.9%)
Never			-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.21 shows the use of mother tongue according to literacy. Among the literates, 80% of the sample population uses the mother tongue in everyday use, whereas among the illiterates, 96% of them use their mother tongue in everyday use. 20 % literates use it rarely and 4% illiterates use it rarely. This shows the language maintenance is higher among the illiterate population.

4.8 The frequency of use of the language of wider communication

In Raute community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 4.25 presents the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication.

Table 4.22: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by

sex

	Sex		Total (N=38)
	Male (n=21)	Female (n=17)	
Everyday	19(90.4%)	15(88.2%)	34(89.4%)
Rarely	2(9.5%)	2(11.7%)	4(10.9%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.22 shows the frequency of use of language of wider communication by sex. It shows that 90% of males use Nepali, the language of wider communication everyday

and 88% females use this language every day. Among males, 10% use it rarely whereas 12% women use it rarely. There is no one who never used it. Altogether, 89% population uses it every day and 11% use it rarely. This shows that the use of Nepali is more frequent in males than in females and it is used almost every day.

Table 4.23: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by age

	Age groups			Total(N=38)
	A1 (n=18)	A2(n=17)	A3(n=3)	
Everyday	15(83.3%)	16(94.1%)	3(100%)	34(89.4%)
Rarely	3(16.6%)	1(5.8%)	-	4(10.9%)
Never	-	-	-	-

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.23 shows the age wise use frequency of the language of wider communication Nepali. The table shows that among the three age groups: A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above, age group A1 uses Nepali every day, A2 uses it 94% and A3 uses it 100% in everyday communication. In the rare use, age group A1, 17% uses it rarely and in A2 age group, 6% uses it rarely. Nobody responded not using it at all. This shows that the elderly generation above 60, use it most frequently in everyday communication it was in the younger generation that more rare use was observed. Altogether, 89% use it regularly in everyday communication and 11% use it rarely.

Table 4.24: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by literacy

	Literacy		Total(N=38)
	Literate(n=15)	Illiterate(n=23)	
Everyday	12(80%)	22(95.6%)	34(89.1%)
Rarely	3(20%)	1(4.3%)	4(10.9%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.24 shows the pattern of the use of language of wider communication literacy wise. 80% literates use Nepali in everyday use, whereas, 96% of illiterates use it in

everyday communication. 20% literate and 4% illiterates use it rarely. Altogether, 89% use Nepali in everyday use and 11% use it rarely. There is no one who doesn't use it at all. This shows that Nepali is predominantly used as the language of wider communication.

4.9 Pattern of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting home

Table 4.25 presents the language usually used sex wise when speakers of other languages visit home. Among the most frequently used language Nepali/ Dotyali and Raute or both, the most preferred and used language with visitors of speakers of other language is Nepali/ Dotyali. The response was 100% from males and females both in the use and choice of language to communicate with the visitors of other language communities.

Table 4.25: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by sex

	Sex		Total (N=38)
	Male (n=21)	Female (n=17)	
Nepali/Dotyali	21(100%)	17(100%)	38(100%)
Raute	-	-	
Nepali and Raute	-	-	

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.25 shows sex wise pattern of language use by when the speakers of other language visit their home. Among males all of them (100%) use Nepali/Dotyali, same is the case with the females also. When speakers of other languages visit their homes all the Rautes speak Nepali/Dotyali with them.

Table 4.26: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by age

	Age groups			Total(N=38)
	A1 (n=18)	A2(n=17)	A3(n=3)	
Nepali	18(100%)	17(100%)	3(100%)	38(100%)
Raute	-	-	-	
Nepali and Raute	-	-	-	

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.26 shows the age group wise pattern of language use when the speakers of other language visit their homes. 100% respondents use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit the mother tongue speakers at home.

Table 4.27: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by literacy

	Literacy		Total(N=38)
	Literate(n=15)	Illiterate(n=23)	
Nepali	15(100%)	23(100%)	38(100%)
Raute	-	-	-
Nepali and Raute	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.27 shows the pattern of language use literacy wise when the speakers of other languages visit their homes. 100% respondent in both the literate and illiterate category responded using Nepali when the visitors speaking language other than Raute visit their homes.

4.10 Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level

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

Table 4.28 presents the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex

Table 4.28: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex

	Sex		Total (N=30)
	Male (n=13)	Female (n=17)	
Mother tongue	13(100%)	16(94.1%)	29(96.6%)
Nepali			
English		1(5.8%)	1(3.3%)
Other	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.28 shows sex wise preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level. 100% males responded mother tongue as their preference and 94% females responded mother tongue as their preference for medium of instruction for their children. 6% females responded their preference for English as medium of instruction. No one showed their preference for Nepali and other language. Altogether, 97% respondents expressed their preference for their mother tongue as medium of instruction and 3% responded to the use of English as medium of instruction.

Figure 4.8: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex

Figure 4.29 clearly shows mother tongue is much more preferred by the female than the male in Raute community. Table 4.29 presents the preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by age

Table 4.29: The preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by age

	Age groups			Total(N=30)
	A1 (n=17)	A2(n=11)	A3(n=2)	
Mother tongue	16(94.1%)	11(100%)	2(100%)	29(96.6%)
Nepali				
English	1(12%)	-	-	1(3.3%)
Other				

A1= 15-34 years, A2=35-60 years, A3= 60 above

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.29 shows the age wise preference of language as medium of instruction at primary level. Among the three age groups A1, A2 and A3, among the people in age group A1, 94% prefer Nepali, in A2, 100% and in A3 100% preferred the use of Mother tongue and in age group A2 and A3 they all (100%) prefer Raute. 12% in the age group of 15-34 years prefer the use of English. Altogether, 97% prefer the use of mother tongue and only 3% prefer sending their children to English medium school. Thus the majority of people prefer the use of mother tongue.

Table 4.30 presents the preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy

Table 4.30: The preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy

	Literacy		Total(N=30)
	Literate(n=15)	Illiterate(n=15)	
Mother tongue	14(93.3%)	15(100%)	29(96.6%)
Nepali	-	-	
English	1(9%)	-	1(3.3%)
Other	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 4.30 shows the literacy wise preference of the medium of instruction at primary level. 93% literates and 100% illiterate sample population prefer the use of mother tongue as language for medium of instruction. Only 9% of literates prefer the use of English as a medium instruction. This shows that there is very strong preference for the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction.

4.11 Summary

In this chapter we looked at the language vitality in Raute by analyzing the responses to questions related to the major domains of language use. In all the general domains such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings Nepali is overwhelmingly used by the respondents of both sexes.

CHAPTER 5

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

5.1 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Raute. Apart from this, this chapter evaluates the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Raute speakers in standard Nepali. This chapter consists of four sections. Section 5.2 examines mother tongue proficiency in Raute. Similarly, in section 5.3, we examine bi/multilingualism and determine the levels of bilingualism in Nepali among Raute speakers in the survey points/reference points. Section 5.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

5.2 Mother tongue proficiency

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQA was administered in the informants from the selected reference points of survey in Raute. Table 5.1 shows the present picture of mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Raute.¹

Table 5.1: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Raute

Degrees	SPEAKING (n=50)			READING AND WRITING (n=13)		
	Male n=18	Female n=32	Total	Male n=8	Female n=5	Total
VERY WELL	8(44.44%)	17(53.12%)	25(50%)	5(64.5%)		5(38.46%)
SOME	7(39%)	6 (19%)	13(26%)	1(14.5%)	1(20%)	2(15.38%)
ONLY A LITTLE	3(17%)	9 (28.12%)	12(24%)	2(25%)	4(80%)	6(46.15%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 5.1 shows that 50 % of the total respondents speak their mother tongue very well. Around the same percentage of the total respondents said that they speak their mother

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

tongue some and only a little. In the same way Table 5.1 reveals that 46.15% responded that they can read and write their mother tongue only a little. And 38.46% responded that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. It shows that Raute is a preliterate language on one hand, there are a few reading materials on the other.

5.3 Bi/multilingualism

Basically, three tools were employed to examine bi/multilingualism in Raute. They include SLQA, SLQ B. We present the results based on each tool as follows:

5.3.1 SLQ A

Bi/multilingualism is a common phenomenon in all the indigenous nationalities in Nepal. Raute community is no exception. Table 5.2 shows the present picture of multilingualism in Raute.

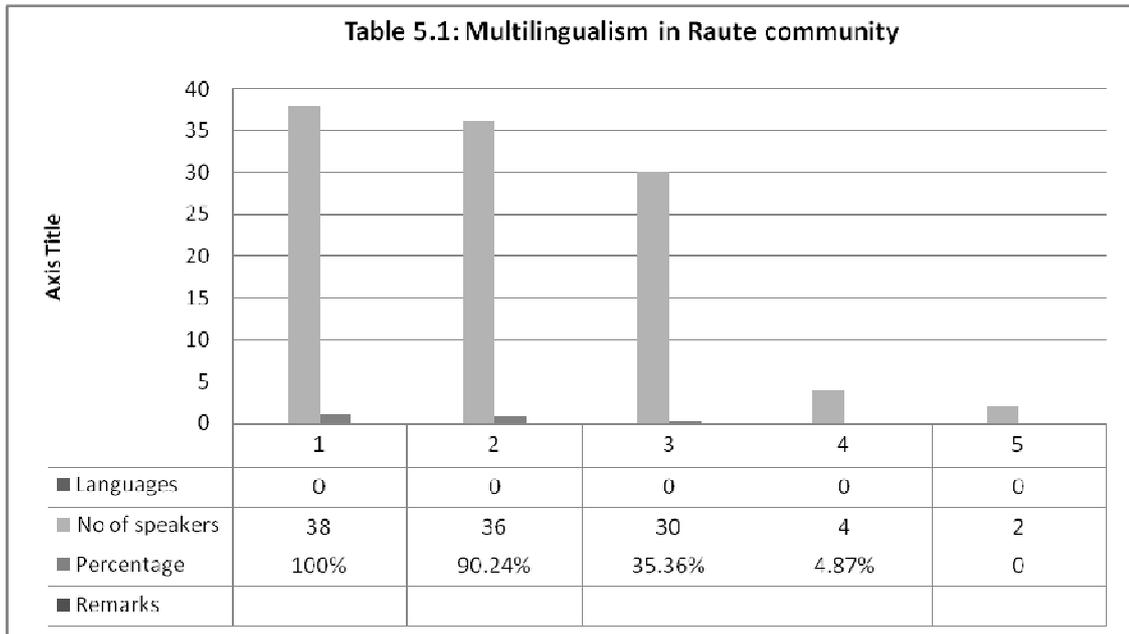
Table 5.2: Multilingualism in Raute community²

(N= 38)

	Languages	No of speakers	Percentage	Remarks
1	Nepali	38	100%	
2	Raute	36	90.24%	
3	Dotyali	30	35.36 %	
4	Hindi	4	4.87%	
5	English	2	2. 26%	

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

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



Almost all the Rautes that we met could speak Nepali (100%). Only few of them had lost their proficiency in their own mother tongue. 90.24% could speak Raute well. Nearly one-third (35.36%) could speak Dotyali, especially the settled Rautes. A few of them could speak Hindi (4.87%) and English (2.26%). The nomadic Rautes spoke mainly Nepali besides their own mother tongue.

Figure 5.1 shows that all the Raute can speak Nepali. However, around 10% Raute cannot speak their mother tongue, Raute. This indicates that Raute community is gradually shifting to Nepali, a language of wider communication in the reference points of the survey.

5.3.2 SLQ B

To examine the situation of multilingualism in Raute, multilingualism, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Raute. There have been three common findings from this participatory method:

- a) There is no monolingual in Raute, the mother tongue except the female among nomadic Rautes.

- b) Children do not speak Raute as mother tongue in the Raute community.
- c) Middle aged and elderly people, the leaders of the community, businessmen, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Nepali and Raute.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Raute. Moreover, we also looked at the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Raute speakers in standard Nepali. Only a half of the informants can speak their mother tongue very well in Raute. Around one-third in Raute can read and write their mother tongue very well.

Raute is a fairly multilingual community. All the people in Raute community can speak Nepali. However, not all the Raute can speak their mother tongue. Apart from Nepali, they can speak Gurung and Magar living around Gurung and Magar community. Some Raute also can speak languages like Chepang, Ghale, Newar and English. The Raute community is gradually shifting to Nepali, a language of wider communication in the reference points of the survey. There is no monolingual in Raute. Children do not speak Raute as mother tongue in the Raute community. Middle aged and elderly people, the leaders of the community, businessmen, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Nepali and Raute. On average, 54.13% people can understand Nepali at a high level (3 and 3+ RPE levels, very good and good level).

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.1 Outline

This chapter looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Raute. It consists of five sections. Section 6.2 examines language vitality in Raute. In section 6.3, we discuss language maintenance in Raute. Section 6.4 looks at the attitudes of the Raute community towards their language. In section 6.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

6.2 Language vitality

Raute community in common with other indigenous communities is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication in the hilly areas in Nepal. Table 6.1 presents the data based on the responses related to language vitality provided by the informants in key points.¹

Table 6.1: Language vitality in key points in Raute

	Do all your children speak your mother tongue?			Do young people speak your mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken?		What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?	
	YES	NO	NR	YES	NO	MOTHER TONGUE	NEPALI
AMPANI	12	2	-	13	1	12	2
RAJYUDA	16	-	-	14	2	16	-
BALLE	8	-	-	8	-	8	-
	36	2		35	3	36	2
	94.73%	5.27%	-	92.10%	7.90%	94.73%	5.27%

¹ The responses were made to QNs (63-65) from SLQ A.

NR: No responses because the informants had no kids.

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

In terms of language vitality, almost all the children in Raute community speak their mother tongue (94.73%). The informants felt that the young people also speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken (92.10%). The survey showed that almost every one (94.73%) spoke their own mother tongue with their children. This situation shows that the use of mother tongue in Raute community is very strong and it is extremely vital.

6.3 Language maintenance

Language maintenance in Raute is quite praiseworthy. Table 6.2 presents the situation of language maintenance in the key points in Raute.

Table 6.2: Language maintenance in key points in Raute²

		Is there intermarriage in your community?		Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?		Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?		
		YES	NO	YES	NO	DOTYALI	NEPALI	OTHER
1	AMPANI	9	5	12	2	2	1	-
2	RAJYUDA	6	10	16	-	-	-	-
3	BALLE	-	8	8	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		15	23	36	2		1	
%		39.47 %	60.52 %	94.73%	5.27 %	5.27%	2.77 %	

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

² The responses were made to QNs (66-68) from SLQ A.

Quite a few of the Rautes have married outside their own community. This situation was found among the Rautes of Ampani village, especially the ones who had come here from Doti. They usually marry among their own community. They have marital relation with the Rautes from India especially from the Jouljibi area of Pithouragarh District of India adjoining Far Western Districts of Nepal. The very few settled Rautes who have married outside their own linguistic community have married among the linguistic communities who speak Dotyali or Nepali.

The nomadic Rautes marry among their own community, within their own speech community only. So the language maintenance and transmission is very high among them.

It is only the settled Rautes who want their children to be sent to school and educated in their own mother tongue. The nomadic Rautes are against any idea of education or schooling. They don't believe in any education system of the modern world.

Table 6.3 presents the responses to how the informants would support if schools are opened for teaching their language.

Table 6.3: The ways informants support if schools are opened for teaching their language (N= 30 no namade)

	<i>If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:</i>	number of responses	%
1	by sending children	30	86.58%
2	by encouraging other people to send their children	27	58.53%
3	by providing financial help	3	51.21%
4	by teaching	3	15.84%
5	by helping with the school	21	40.24%

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.3 shows that most of the respondents (86.58) are ready to support the school by sending their children to the school. Many are ready to encourage other to send their

children, provide financial and other kinds of help. Some informants (15.84) even responded that they would be ready to teach Raute if the schools are opened in Raute. This shows the strong love to their language.

6.4 Language attitudes

In general, there are very positive attitudes towards their language in the Raute community. Table 6.4 presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most.

Table 6.4: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love the most (n=38)

	What languages do they love the most?	Male n=21	Female n=17	Total
1	Raute	21(55.26%)	17(44.77)	38 (100%)
2	Nepali	-	-	-
3	Dotyali	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

There was a unanimous agreement among all the Rautes about which language they loved the most. All the informants reported that they love their own mother tongue, the Raute most. This shows they have very high degree of language loyalty.

Table: 6.5 Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language

	<i>When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...</i>	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	Prestigious	3 (7.89%)	2(5.26%)	5(13.5%)
2	embarrassed	5(13.5%)	6(15.78%)	11(28.94%)
3	Neutral	13(34.21%)	9(23.68)	22(57.89%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

The Rautes showed mixed feelings about how they felt about their language in presence of a dominant language which is Nepali or Dotyali. 13.5% reported that they felt prestigious while speaking Raute and 28.94% felt embarrassed, while 57.89% felt neutral, that is, they didn't have any special feeling while speaking their own language.

Table 6.6: Responses to what language should their children speak first

	<i>What language should your children speak first?</i>	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	Raute	21(55.37%)	17(44.73%)	38(100%)
2	Nepali	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

All the Rautes believed that their children should speak their own mother tongue Raute as their first language. This shows their strong and positive attitude towards language maintenance.

Table 6.7: Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language

	<i>When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...</i>	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	prestigious	18(43.9)	15(35.7)	33(40.24%)
2	embarrassed	9(22.00)	13(31.0)	21(25.60%)
3	neutral	14(34.1)	14(33.3)	28(34.14%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.5 shows 40.24% of the informants responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. 25.60% of the informants showed their indifference and 25.60% said that they feel embarrassed while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. This shows that one-fourth of the speakers do not show good attitude to their language.

In response to whether they had any problem because of being a native speaker of the Raute language, overwhelmingly a greater percentage of the informants said that they had no problem. Table 6.6 presents the situation related to such responses.

Table 6.8: Any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue

	<i>Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?</i>	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	YES	1(19.9)	2(11.9)	3(15.66%)
2	NO	20(80.5)	15(88.1)	35(84.33%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.6 shows that most of the respondents had no problem because of being a native speaker of Raute. Only 15.66% informants said that they had some problems. This is presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.9: Kinds of problems the informants had because of being native speakers

	<i>What kind of problem have you had?</i>	Male N=1	Female N=2	Total
1	SOCIAL	-	-	-
2	POLITICAL	-	-	-
3	ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION	-	-	-
4	HOSTILE CONFRONTATION	-	-	
5	DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION	1	2	
6	SOCIAL PRESSURE	-	-	
7	POLITICAL PRESSURE	-	-	
8	ECONOMIC PRESSURE	-	-	
9	OTHER	-	-	

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.7 shows that most of the respondents had social problem. Only a few had economic and political problem because of being a native speaker of the Raute language. When the informants were asked to give response to how they would you feel if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language.

Table 6.10: Feelings of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know your language

	How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	GOOD	-	-	-
2	INDIFFERENT	4(40%)	2(47.6%)	6(43.90%)
3	BAD	17(32.5%)	15(38.1%)	32(35.36%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

The informants when they were asked what they think children of the present children might speak their language, more than

Table 6.11: What the informants think when the children of their village grow up and have children if these children might speak your language

	When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think these children might speak your language?	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	YES	19(46.3)	16(33.3)	35(39.75%)
2	NO	2(53.7)	1(66.7)	3(60.24%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.9 clearly indicates that there is a very weak situation of intergenerational language transmission in Raute. When they are asked what they would feel if the children of the present would speak their language,

Table 6.12: Feelings of the informants in key points in Raute

		How do you feel if the children speak their mother tongue? N=38		How do you feel if the children do not speak their mother tongue? N=38			
		GOOD	INDIFFERENT	BAD	GOOD	INDIFFERENT	BAD
1	AMPANI	12	3	-	-	2	12
2	RAJYODA	16	-	-	-	-	16
3	BALLE	8	1	-	-	-	8
Total		36	4	-	-	2	36
%		75.9%	21.68%	2.40%	2.40%	33.73%	63.85%

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

When they are asked what they would feel if the children of the present would do not speak their language, around 63.85% of the informants said that they would feel bad if the children do not speak their mother tongue. Around 33.73% of the informants responded that it would not make them any difference for them.

In all the key points the selected informants were asked what language their children should speak first. Table 6.11 presents the distribution of the informants with respect to that question.

Table 6.13: Responses to what language should their children speak first

		Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	Raute	20(64.1%)	14(69.23%)	34(66.66%)
2	Nepali	1(35.89%)	2(30.76%)	3(33.33%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.11 shows more than 66% of the informants responded that their children should speak Raute first. However, one-third of the informants showed their preference to Nepali.

Around 70% of the informants said that the language spoken by them is not different from their grandfather. Slightly less than one-third of the informants said that the

language is different from their grandfather. Table 6.12 present the responses of the informants to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from the grandfather.

Table 6.14: Responses to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from the grandfather

	<i>Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?</i>	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	YES	14(35.0)	11(26.2)	25(30.48%)
2	NO	7(65.0)	6(73.8)	13(69.51%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Those who said the language spoken by them is different from grandfather were asked in what respects the language is different. Table 6.13 presents how the language is different from the grandfather.

Table 6.15: How the language is different from the grandparents

	<i>How is the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?</i>	Male N=14	Female N=10
1	PRONUNCIATION	5(25.58%)	3(11.98%)
2	VOCABULARY	2(25.58%)	2(26.92%)
3	USE OF SPECIFIC TYPE OF SENTENCES	1(9.30%)	1(7.69%)
4	MIXING OF OTHER LANGUAGES	5(20.93%)	3(15.38%)
5	WAY OF SPEAKING	1(18.60%)	1(15.38%)
6	OTHER		

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.13 shows that around 55% of the respondents said that the language is different with respect to pronunciation and the vocabulary. More than 35% said that the language is different because it is being mixed with other languages and the way of speaking is

also different. The last question was concerned with the feelings of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Table 6.14 presents the feelings of the informants.

Table 6.16: Feelings of the informants

	How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?	Male N=21	Female N=17	Total
1	GOOD	-	-	-
2	INDIFFERENT	2(29.3%)	2(31.7%)	4(30.48%)
3	BAD	19(58.5%)	15(53.7%)	34(56.09%)

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 6.14 shows that more than 56% of the informants felt bad when they hear their children speak instead of their first language.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Raute in three sections. In section 6.2, we examined language vitality in Raute. Raute community in general is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication in the hilly areas in Nepal. More than two-third of the Raute children do not speak their mother tongue at all. More than 81% of the young speaking the mother tongue do not speak it as well as it ought to be. More than 77 % parents in this community usually speak in Nepali with their children. This indicates that there is very low intergenerational language transmission in Raute community. It suggests that unless immediate steps are taken this language will not be spoken at all in the Raute community. In section 6.3, we looked at language maintenance in Raute.

Language maintenance in Raute is atrocious. One of the reasons may be the intermarriage at a greater degree. Despite that fact that more than 87% informants would like their children learn/study their mother tongue, in reality, they do not speak Raute with their

children except in Kulmun. However, most of the respondents (86.58) are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school. In section 6.4, we dealt with the attitudes of the Raute community towards their language. In general, there is not a very positive attitude towards the language in Raute community despite the data shows that among the languages that they speak 67.07 % informants responded that they loved Raute the most. More than one-third of the informants feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. Most of the respondents had no problem because of being a native speaker of Raute. Those who had experienced problem had social problem. One-third of the respondents said that told that they felt bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. The rest replied that either they felt indifferent or good in such situation. Most of the informants replied that they would feel good if the children of the present children speak their mother tongue. Around two-third informants said that they would feel bad if the children do not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, more than two-third informants said that their children should speak their mother tongue first. Around 70% of the informants said that they are speaking the same language as spoken by their grandfather. More than the half said that the language they are speaking is different in pronunciation and the vocabulary. In the same way, most of the informants felt bad when they hear their children speak instead of their first language.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Outline

This chapter deals with language resources and language development in Raute. It consists of four sections. Section 7.2 presents language resources in Raute. In section 7.3, we discuss the dreams of the Raute community for the development of their language. Section 7.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

7.2 Language resources

There are oral literatures available in Raute. They consist of the genres like folk tales, narratives and religious literature. In Raute, there is an organization called 'Nepal Raute Bikash Sangh' *Nepal Raute Development Association* (NRDA). Raute community is deprived of radio program broadcast in their language. According to the informants, Raute has neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks published. Moreover, also it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature.

There are few research works carried out in this language. Some papers have covered the information on Raute. According to the information provided by the participants, there has been prepared a Documentary on Raute and broadcast from Nepal Television. The research works carried out on this language have been enlisted below:

- a) Fortier, Jana and Kavita Rastogi. 2004. Sister languages? Comparative phonology of two Himalyan languages. *Nepalese linguistics*. Vol. 21, pp. 42-52
- b) Khadka, Bir Bahadur. 2006. A Documentaion of Boto Boli. A report submitted to the National Foundation for Development of Indegenous Nationalities (NFDIN).
- c) Khadka, Bir Bahadur. 2006. A Sketch Grammar of Boto Boli. An unpublished M. A. Thesis submitted to the Central Department of Linguistics, T.U.

7.3 Language development

The survey has used two tools to examine the views about language development in Raute: appreciative inquiry and sociolinguistic questionnaire C.

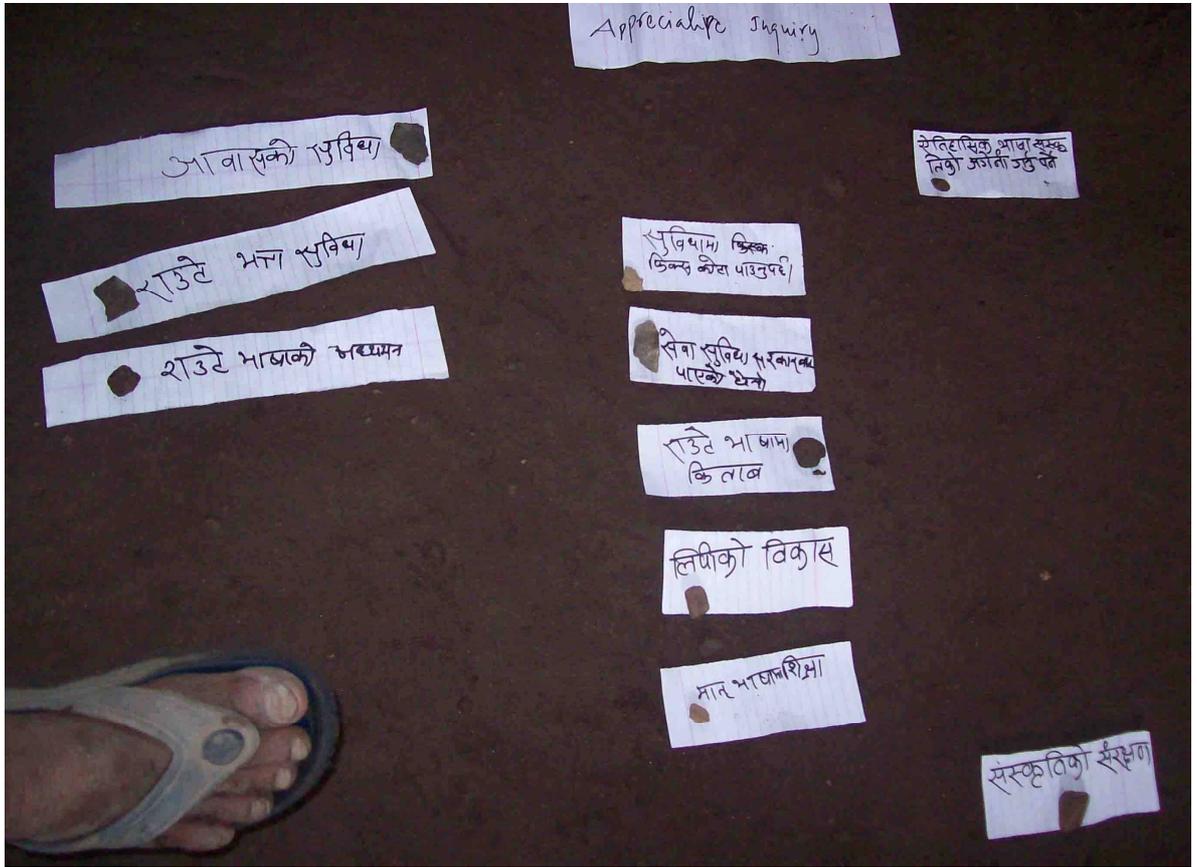
7.3.1 Appreciative inquiry

a) Settled Rautes

In the survey, appreciative inquiry known as a participatory tool was used in two points namely Ampani and Rajyoda, as these two are the only locations in Nepal where Rautes are in significant number and have been living an organized settled life. It could not be applied in nomadic Raute even though we had made it as one of our point of survey. Since they did not believe in the settlement and modern trends, they did not entertain our questioners. As the nomadic Rautes are very closed community and secretive about their language and culture, they don't allow outsiders to conduct any group activity or whatever in their camps. Since they don't live in one particular place for longer period, the survey point that we would create would only be contingent as they keep moving from place to place. The survey point would not serve as any reference point for future work. The main purpose behind this survey is to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Raute community members for the development of their language as well their culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of at least eight participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and educational status. The participants in those points were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud of their language or culture. They were asked to write down the 'things' they felt proud of. Also they were asked to write in a piece of paper their feelings and place them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Raute language and culture, to tell what they "dreamed" about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

In this survey, as discussed already, we have employed different participatory tools such as dialect mapping, domains of language use and bilingualism. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future

possibilities about their own language and culture. Table 7.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in all seven key points in Raute.



Map7.1: Appreciative inquiry conducted at Ampani

Table 7.1: Summary of the findings from the appreciative inquiry in Raute

Survey points	Things that made Raute feel proud	Dreams	Most important dream to start on planning
Ampani	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mother tongue of Raute - ancestral language - Raute culture is embodied in this language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to have shelters of their own (however, the government has initiated for it) - to increase their allowance they are receiving from the government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to pressurize the government to get privilege (for quota system)
Rajyoda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - easy to communicate their secrete matters - ancestral language - Raute culture is embodied in this language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to prepare textbooks in Raute - to have Raute teachers - to get mother tongue education - to develop their scrtipt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Raute

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute field work (2012)

Table 7.1 presents the summary of aspirations and dreams of Raute community. The first key point was Ampani where the queries were made. They were asked to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud of their language and culture, the participants in group came to a conclusion that Raute apart from being their mother

tongue is also a long established language in which many traits of their culture have been embodied since long. Though they were more concerned in the economic help from the state, they were concerned about and conscious of the need to preserve their language. Mostly, the young generations were shifting to Dotyali from their mother tongue, Raute. In response to expressing their dreams how they could make their language or culture even better, they replied that they wanted to prepare textbooks in their language and use them at primary level. Apart from this, they would like to have equal access to the mass media. There should be some matters to read about Raute language and culture in the newspapers. They were asked to discuss what were the most important 'dreams and aspirations' which they would like to get realized. As it was not possible to do everything at a time, they were asked to choose most important among their dreams in order to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed they concluded that they would like to make plans for transmission of the programs about Raute language and culture. For this they decided to a hold meeting immediately in the village and appoint some people (both male and female) to pressurize the local bodies, members of parliament and their central committee to take immediate steps for this.

The participants of another key point namely Rajyoda have almost the same aspirations as Ampani had. Mother tongue education and government allowances they are getting are their dire need.

The participants of Ampani were convinced that the language is the symbol of ethnic identity; and thus, it must be promoted and preserved. This is because that the chairman of Nepal Raute Bikash Sangh (*Nepal Raute Development Association*) was from the same village and there were mostly the conscious participants, quite many of them being literate. The chairman himself is an undergraduate student in a local college. They discussed the political scenarios and connected to their upliftment. There was a school where their children used to go unwillingly since there was no single teacher from Raute community. Government has set up schools in both Ampani and Rajyoda to encourage schooling among Raute children.

The participants of Ampani have realized that had there been teachers from the Raute community it would have been easier to teach Raute language at school. The main

problem for them was that the children could not speak in Nepali. And as a result were not comfortable in being taught in a language they were not at home with. They also dream and aspire to have their language used in the government office like Nepali. They also decided to request the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) to help them to realize this dream.

b) Nomadic Rautes

As mentioned before, it was not possible to conduct any group or community activity among the nomadic Rautes as they would not allow outsiders to be part of their group and also being closed and secretive in nature, one is not allowed to talk all the members of the community. Communication can be done only through the chieftains. So the participatory method does not apply to the nomadic Rautes. However, we tried to interact individually with the individual members – the youths, elderly members and the children. We could not talk to the girls and female members as they are not allowed to speak to the outsiders. It was through a liaison of a local leader that we could figure out where the nomadic Rautes were camping and made a 6 hour uphill climb to an altitude of 2000 meters to a village called Balle, in Tulasipur Municipality of Dang district where they were camping. The participants from Balle did not want to talk to us at all about themselves. As they said that they were the descendents of the god; they would not want to have anything from the other people for developing their language and culture. Their claim was that they are the Kings of the jungle. This world view was strongly embedded into the small children of the Raute community. They seemed to have been tied with the guidelines and rules set by their chieftains. Their only concern was that they should be allowed to have free access to the forest and they should be allowed to live their life the way they wanted to live in the forest. As the government has started to give them allowance, they recognize the value of money and want that the government should pay them the money in time and also increase the allowance. They are strongly against any idea of a settled life and opposed to the idea and prospect of sending their children to the school. They children themselves have been convinced by their own world view and are not interested to attend school.

Based on Table 7.1, taking all the responses together, we see that there are basically five things which made them feel happy or proud about their language. They are as follows:

(1)

- a) Raute is an ancestral language.
- b) Raute is the mother tongue of Raute community.
- c) Raute culture is embodied in this language.
- d) It is easy to communicate secret matters in this language.
- e) It is the symbol of ethnic identity.

Based on those good things in Raute language and culture in (1) they had the following “dreams” about how they could make their language even better:

(2)

- a) To prepare textbooks for children in Raute
- b) To have equal access to media
- c) To start mother tongue based education at primary level
- d) To establish an organization for language development
- e) To have Raute teachers

7.3.2 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C

This questionnaire was especially designed for evaluating views of the village heads/ language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to male (2) and female (2) such informants in all the key points of the survey. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

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

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, in responses to the ways they could do vary in Raute community. Table 7.2 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Raute.

Table 7.2: The 'dreams' and plans for the appreciative inquiry in Raute

	Ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue	Number of respondents	%
1	by developing the script	3	75%
3	by compiling dictionary	2	50%
4	by writing grammar	4	100%
5	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	4	100%
6	by writing and publishing textbooks	3	75% %
7	by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	4	100%

Source: Linguistic Survey of Raute (2012)

Table 7.2 shows 75% of the respondents said they could preserve and promote the language by developing the script. Of them, 50% of the informants responded that they could preserve their mother tongue by compiling dictionary. Similarly, 100% of the informants responded that they could preserve their mother tongue by writing grammar and encouraging people to write literature in their mother tongue. Besides, 75% responded that they could preserve their language by publishing the textbooks. It is shown in the table that all the respondents could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

The nomadic Raute chieftains did not feel any need to be done to promote their language. As they lived and interacted as a closed community, the language is better preserved among the nomadic Rautes than the settled Rautes.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we dealt with language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Raute. Raute community is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. They have no access to mass media at

all. There is an organization Nepal Raute Bikash Sangh (*Nepal Raute Development Association*) devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Raute community. So far as the knowledge of the informants is concerned, they have neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks. Nor do they have well documented phonemic inventory. Moreover, it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature. Raute is an endangered language of Nepal.

In general, the Raute community is aware that the language is very important for them. They think that Raute is not only their mother tongue. Moreover, it is the symbol of ethnic identity. The language has embodied many aspects of their culture. They have very particular dreams and aspirations for the development of their language and culture.

However, they have not been systematically articulated in the plans. All the village heads are convinced that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level and a greater number of the village heads/language activists would like to take immediate steps to make use of the language in administration. The Raute community in general wants to use its mother tongue at primary education.

However, the situation among the nomadic Rautes is different from the settled Rautes. The settled Rautes have a feeling that something need to be done to their language, schools established for their children and book, dictionaries, grammars developed and it should become a language of power. The nomadic Rautes do not hold such views. They are against any documentation or interference into their language and culture by an external agent, be it government or the society. They are against living a settled life and setting up school for the children. Even though, they enjoy receiving the allowance by the government and send their chieftains to negotiate with the government to make their life easier, they resist any attempt to 'domesticate' them.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Summary of findings

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

8.1 Findings

The following are the findings of the sociolinguistic survey of Raute:

- a. The language of settled and nomadic Rautes is common but they have some lexical variations. The statistical information on lexical comparison between Ampani village and Rajyouda village shows that the lexical similarity is 89.05%. In the same way, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Balle village is 48.10% similar to the wordlist of the Ampani village. Only 50.48% is similar between Balle and Rajyouda to the wordlist of the Ampani village. But the Nomadic Rautes from Balle did not let us know some 'secretive' words like meat, monkey as they consider it as the gift of the god.
- b. According to 2001 census, the total number of settled Rautes is 366. According to our field survey it is around 500. The nomadic Rautes are 143 in number.
- c. The Rautes did not report to have any language resources. They don't have any published source. The only linguistic work done on Raute is the documentation and MA thesis done in the Central Department of Linguistics. There is no organization that works to promote their language. They don't have any publication, radio or television transmission in Raute.
- d. Most of the Rautes (60.52%) follow Hinduism in terms of religion. 39.48% said they follow Animism. The Rautes of Dadeldhura said they worship on the altar of

‘Kedar’ – an incarnation of Shiva in Hindu mythology. They consider themselves close to Hinduism. The Rautes of Nomadic faction said they worshiped ‘Masta’ (məṣ□ə) or to be specific they worship ‘Darya Masta’ (ḍarja məṣ□ə) which is a kind of nature-worship on the alter, where they also sacrifice animals.

- e. Among 38 Rautes surveyed for literacy, the majority of them 23 (60. 53%) of them are illiterate and only 15 (39.47%) are literate. The literacy is found only among the settled Rautes for whom there are community schools in their villages, one each in Ampani and Rajyouda. The nomadic Rautes we met in Balle in Dang are against sending their children to school. They don’t believe in settled life and anything related with settled life.
- f. All the Rautes show excellent proficiency in their mother tongue as they are a closed community. Only a few of them from Ampani had lost their mother tongue proficiency. A very limited number of youngsters are able to read and write among the settled Rautes. The nomadic Rautes are against any educational set up, so there is no question of any literacy. The nomadic Rautes have exhibited better mother tongue proficiency than the settled Rautes.
- g. Almost all the Rautes speak Nepali (100%). Only few of them have lost their proficiency in their own mother tongue. 90.24% speak Raute well. Nearly one-third (35.36%) speak Dotyali, especially the settled Rautes. A few of them speak Hindi (4.87%) and English (2.26%). The nomadic Rautes speak Nepali with people outside their own speech community and they speak their own mother tongue among themselves.
- h. They use their own Raute language in the domains like counting, singing, joking, discussing, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings. In the domains like shopping, marketing and meeting in the village, they mainly use Nepali.
- i. Quite a few of the settled Rautes in Ampani have married outside their own community; otherwise, they marry within their own linguistic community. The nomadic Rautes marry among their own community, within their own speech community only. So the language maintenance and transmission is very high among them.

- j. It is only the settled Rautes who want their children to be sent to school and educated in their own mother tongue. The nomadic Rautes are against any idea of education or schooling. They don't believe in any education system of the modern world.
- k. They have very positive attitudes towards their language in Raute community. There was a unanimous agreement among all the Rautes about which language they loved the most. All the informants reported that they love their own mother tongue, the Raute most. This shows they have very high degree of language loyalty.
- l. The Rautes show mixed feelings about how they felt about their language in presence of a dominant language which is Nepali or Dotyali. 13.5% reported that they felt prestigious while speaking Raute and 28.94% felt embarrassed, while 57.89% felt neutral, that is, they didn't have any special feeling while speaking their own language.
- m. All the Rautes believe that their children should speak their own mother tongue Raute as their first language. This shows their strong and positive attitude towards language maintenance.

8.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings we would like to put the following recommendations:

- a. Linguistic awareness program should be launched in the Raute community.
- b. A detailed survey of Raute language should be carried out.
- c. Dictionary and Grammar should be produced in Raute to facilitate literacy and education.
- d. Literature and reading materials should be produced in Raute language to enrich the community on their mother tongue.
- e. Government of Nepal should take interest in and responsibility of documenting the marginalized and endangered languages including Raute language, which is one of the marginalized and endangered languages.

- f. For Raute language documentation, development and promotion, Government of Nepal should support technically and financially.
- g. Multilingual education classes should be started in Raute language.
- h. The present secretariat of LinSuN, Central Department of Linguistics should be equipped technically and financially to carry out the research and survey of all the languages of Nepal and produce materials of documentation and literacy materials.
- i. Government of Nepal should make special efforts on nomadic Rautes to persuade them to preserve and promote their language.
- j. The inherent native knowledge of Rautes should be harnessed and preserved for future knowledge base.
- k. The settled Rautes should be encouraged for education and the adults should be given training on vocational skills for their livelihood.
- l. The allowance given by the government is spent mainly on drinking and tobacco. They should be encouraged to make better use of the money given to them, by encouraging them to contribute on literacy and education and hygiene.
- m. Community Resource Center to promote language and literacy should be established among Rautes.

Annexes

Annex A: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:.....

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४)

(५)

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४)

(५)

स्थान :

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

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम: अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा:

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	भाषा:.....
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	
4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	
6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	
8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	
11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	

13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हल्केला	
16.	finger	औला	
17.	finger nail	नड	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्कु	
35.	axe	बभुरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औँठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	

55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहूँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	tomato	गोलभँडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ्	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	

97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोभ्रे (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्त्री (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	

137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	
163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	
174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	

179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोकु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उडनु	
195.	to walk	हिडनु	
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
197.	to go /go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुत्नु	
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

Annex D: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

Interpreter Name (if needed)

8. Name of language consultant:

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

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

11. Are you literate?

(a) Yes (b) No

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

(a) Formally (b) Non-formally

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Yes (b) No

16. Caste

17. Ethnic group:

18. Religion:

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

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

19. Your mother tongue's name:

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

20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?).....

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

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

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

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

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

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT.

YES 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.....

Where do you live now?

How many years have you lived here?

Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?

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

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:

YES

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		
Literacy materials		
Newspapers		
Magazines		
Written literature		
Folklore		
Other		

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		
f.		

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

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

D. Domain of Language Use

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

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

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

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

(enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

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

56. What language do your children usually speak while:

(a) playing with other children?

(b) talking with neighbors?

(c) at school?

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

58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings?

59. How often do you use your mother tongue?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?

62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....

65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?

(a) Yes (b) No

F. Language Maintenance

66. Is there intermarriage in your community?

(a) Yes (b) No

67. (If "Yes") Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?

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

68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?

- (a) Yes (b) No
69. (If "Yes") If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:
- (a) by sending your children?
 - (b) by encouraging other people to send their children?
 - (c) by providing financial help?
 - (d) by teaching?
 - (e) by helping with the school?
 - (f) other.....

G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

76. What language should your children speak first?

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

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

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

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

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते..... महिना.....वर्ष..... वि.सं. तारिख.....महिना वर्ष..... सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	वार्ड नं.: गाउँ/नगर: गाविस/नगरपालिका: जिल्ला: अञ्चल: जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:.....पू.उ.
४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क) (ख)

	(ग)
	(घ)
	(ङ)
५. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यम भाषा
६. अन्तर्क्रियाको माध्यम भाषा
७. दोभाषेको नाम (आवश्यक परेमा)

८. भाषासूचकको नाम:

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

१०. उमेर:

११. तपाईंलाई लेख-पढ गर्न आउँछ?

(क) आउँछ (ख) आउँदैन

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

(क) औपचारिक रूपमा (ख) अनौपचारिक रूपमा

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

(क) प्राथमिक (ख) निम्न माध्यमिक (ग) माध्यमिक

(घ) उच्च (उच्चतम तह उल्लेख गर्ने)

१४. वैवाहिक अवस्था: (क) विवाहित (ख) अविवाहित

१५. (विवाहित भएमा) तपाईंका छोराछोरी छन् कि छैनन्?

(क) छन् (ख) छैनन्

१६. जाति:.....

१७. जनजाति समूह (थर):

१८. धर्म:

(क) हिन्दू (ख) बौद्ध (ग) किरात (घ) इसाई (ङ) जैन

(च) इस्लाम (छ) प्रकृतिपूजक (ज) अन्य.....

१९. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:

(क) (तपाईंले भन्ने).....

२०. तपाईंको भन्दा अन्य भाषा समुदायका (तपाईंको भाषा नबोल्ने) मान्छेले तपाईंको भाषालाई के भन्छन्?.....

२१. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ? (यस भाषाका अरु के के नाम छन्?)

(क) (ख)

(ग) (घ)

२२. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:

२३. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा:

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

छ छैन

२४. तपाईंको श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीको मातृभाषा:

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

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

(आ) भाषिक सामग्री

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

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

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

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

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

३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?

सामग्री:	३२. छन् वा छैनन्	३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?
क. वर्णमाला		
ख. व्याकरण		
ग. शब्दकोष		
घ. पाठ्यपुस्तक		
साक्षरता सामग्री		

समाचारपत्र		
छ. पत्रिका		
ज. लिखित साहित्य		
झ. लोकवार्ता		
अन्य		

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

(क) पढ्छु (ख) पढ्दिन

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

तपाईंको भाषा कुन लिपिमा लेखिन्छ?

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

(क) छन् (ख) छैनन्

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

३८. ती संस्थाले के कस्ता काम गर्छन्?

(क) सांस्कृतिक

(ख) भाषिक

(ग) शैक्षिक

(घ) अन्य.....

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

(इ) मातृभाषामा दक्षता/बहुभाषिकता

३९. तपाईं कुन कुन भाषा बोल्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

.....,,,

४०. तपाईंले सबै भन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु भयो?

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

४१. सबै भन्दा राम्रो?

४२. दोस्रो राम्रो?

४३. तेस्रो राम्रो?

४४. चौथो राम्रो?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(क) सबै बुझ्छन् (ख) अलि अलि बुझ्छन् (ग) बुझ्दैनन्

(ई) भाषाको प्रयोग

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

	काम	भाषा
क.	गन्ती गर्दा	
ख.	गीत गाउँदा	

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

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

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

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

(ग) चिठीपत्र लेख्दा (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

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

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

(क) अन्य साथीहरूसँग खेल्दा

(ख) छिमेकीहरूसँग कुराकानी गर्दा

(ग) विद्यालयमा

५७. विहेको निम्तो गर्नु पर्दा तपाईंहरू कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?
५८. समुदायका बैठकमा भएका निर्णय लेख्नु पर्दा कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गरिन्छ?
५९. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा कतिको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?
- (क) दिन दिनै (ख) कहिले काहीँ (ग) कहिल्यै गर्दिन
६०. तपाईंको सम्पर्क भाषा कुन हो र त्यसको कति प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?
- भाषाको नाम:
- (क) दिन दिनै (ख) कहिले काहीँ (ग) कहिल्यै गर्दिन
६१. तपाईंको भन्दा बेग्लै भाषा बोल्ने साथीभाइ तपाईंका घरमा आउँदा कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?
-
६२. तपाईंका छोराछोरीलाई प्राथमिक तहमा कुन भाषाको माध्यममा पढाउन चाहनु हुन्छ?
- (क) मातृभाषा(ख) नेपाली (ग) अंग्रेजी (घ) अन्य.....
- (उ) भाषिक जीवन्तता
६३. तपाईंका सबै छोराछोरीले मातृभाषा बोल्छन्?
- (क) बोल्छन् (ख) बोल्दैनन्
६४. यस गाउँका धेरै जसो अभिभावकहरू आफ्ना केटाकेटीसँग कुराकानी गर्दा प्रायः कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्छन्?
- (क) मातृभाषा(ख) नेपाली (ग) अन्य.....
६५. तपाईंका समुदायका युवायुवतीले यो भाषा जति राम्रो बोल्नु पर्ने हो त्यति नै राम्ररी बोल्छन्?
- (क) बोल्छन् (ख) बोल्दैनन्
- (उ) भाषिक निरन्तरता
६६. तपाईंको समुदायमा अन्तर्जातीय विवाह हुन्छ?
- (क) हुन्छ (ख) हुँदैन
६७. (हुन्छ भने) अन्य कुन भाषिक समुदायसँग तपाईंहरूको परस्पर वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध छ?
- (क)..... (ख)..... (ग).....
६८. आफ्ना केटाकेटीले मातृभाषामा पढ्ने लेख्ने गरेको तपाईं मन पराउनु हुन्छ?
- (क) पराउँछु (ख) पराउँदिन
६९. (पराउँनु हुन्छ भने) तपाईंको भाषा पढाउने स्कूल खोलियो भने कसरी सहयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

- (क) आफ्ना केटाकेटीलाई पढ्न पठाएर
- (ख) समुदायका अरूलाई आफ्ना केटाकेटीहरू पठाउन प्रोत्साहित गरेर
- (ग) आर्थिक सहयोग प्रदान गरेर
- (घ) आफैले अध्यापन गरेर
- (ङ) स्कूललाई सहयोग गरेर
- (च) अन्य प्रकारले

(ए) भाषिक अभिवृत्ति

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

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

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

(क) छ (ख) छैन

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

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

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

७४. अहिलेका केटाकेटीका छोराछोरीले पनि तपाईंको भाषा बोल्लान्?

(क) बोल्लान् (ख) नबोल्लान्

७५. बोले भने तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) खराब

७६. बोलेनन् भने कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) खराब

७७. तपाईंका छोराछोरीले सबैभन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु पर्छ?

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

(क) लाग्छ (ख) लाग्दैन

७९. (लाग्छ भने) के केमा फरक होला?

(क) उच्चारणमा

(ख) शब्दभण्डारमा

(ग) विशेष प्रकारका वाक्यहरूको प्रयोगमा

(घ) भाषामिश्रणमा

(ङ) बोल्ने तरिकामा

(च) अन्यमा

८०. तपाईंके भाषिक समुदायका युवायुवतीले आफ्नो भाषा नबोलेर अर्कै भाषा बोलेको सुन्दा कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

८१. टिप्पणी (यस अन्तर्वार्तामा कुनै अस्वाभाविक वा उल्लेखनीय कुराहरू भएमा)

A. सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद।

Annex E: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

8. Name of language consultant:

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

B. Domains of language use

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

C. Dialect mapping

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

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

D. Multilingualism

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

E. Appreciative enquiry

- A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels for each

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

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (in Nepali)

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढ्ने।

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

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते.....महिना.....वर्ष..... वि.सं.

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

यस प्रश्नावलीको लागि ८ देखि १२ जनासम्म सहयोगीहरू भए राम्रो हुन्छ। यो ८ जनाभन्दा कम सहभागीहरूसँग पनि गर्न सकिन्छ। तर यदि ८ जनाभन्दा बढीसँग गरियो भने अझै बढी विश्वसनीय हुन्छ। प्रत्येक समूहमा महिला र पुरुष दुवैको लगभग समान सहभागिता हुनु पर्छ। प्रत्येक समूहमा सबै उमेर समूहका (१५ वर्ष देखि माथिका) जसमा केही पाका, केही अधवैसे र केही युवायुवती सहभागीहरू भए राम्रो हुन्छ।

सहयोगी #१:

८. सहयोगी (भाषासूचक) को नाम:

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

१०. उमेर:

११. जाति/जनजाति समूह:
१२. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:
१३. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा:
१४. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा:

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

छ छैन

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

१५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

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

(क) छ (ख) छैन

१७. (बस्नु भएको छ भने)

(क) कहाँ: (ख) कहिले: (ग) कति समयसम्म:

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

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

आ) भाषाको प्रयोग

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

ख. तपाईंहरूले कस्ता मानिस वा अवसरमा प्राय जसो सम्पर्क भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ? सम्पर्क भाषाको चिन्ह एक छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले भाषा प्रयोगको क्षेत्रहरूका नाम भन्नु हुने छ, कागजमा लेख्नु हुने छ र सम्पर्क भाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ।

ग. तपाईंहरूले कस्तो अवस्थामा वा कस्ता मानिसहरूसँग धेरै जसो मातृभाषा बोल्नु हुन्छ? (मातृभाषाको चिन्ह अर्को छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रको नाम लेख्नु हुने

छ र तिनलाई मातृभाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ। यस पटक सहभागीहरूले "केही बालबालिका मातृभाषा बोल्छन् र केही बालबालिका सम्पर्क भाषा बोल्छन्" भन्नु हुने छ। उहाँहरूको सहयोगको लागि कस्ता बालबालिकाले ती भाषाहरू बोल्छन् वा कस्तो अवस्थामा ती भाषाहरू प्रयोग गर्छन्? समूहहरू राम्ररी देखाउनका लागि चिन्हहरू बदल्नु होस्।

घ. कस्ता मानिससँग र कस्तो अवस्थामा तपाईंहरूले मातृभाषा र सम्पर्क भाषा दुबै बोल्नु हुन्छ? (सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रहरू कागजमा लेख्नु हुने छ र तिनलाई बीचमा राख्नु हुने छ। यदि सबै जसो मानिसले त्यो प्रयोग क्षेत्रमा एउटा निश्चित भाषा बोल्छन् वा तिनीहरूले त्यो भाषा बढी बोल्छन् र केही अरु भाषा बोल्छन् भने सहभागीहरूले तिनलाई एक छेउमा वा अर्को छेउमा अझ नजिकै राख्नु हुने छ।)

ङ. प्रत्येक समूहमा दैनिक रूपमा प्रयोग हुने अवस्थालाई माथि र कहिलेकाहीं प्रयोग हुनेलाई मुनि राख्नु होस्। (दैनिक र कहिलेकाहींको लागि क्रमशः माथि र तल एउटा एउटा चिन्ह राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूलाई प्रयोगका क्षेत्रहरू मिलाउन भन्नु होस्। दैनिक र कहिलेकाहीं समूह बीच ठाउँ छुट्टयाउन उहाँहरूलाई उत्साहित गर्ने वा डोरीले छुट्टयाउन लगाउने काम गर्नु होस्।)

च. (यदि दैनिक प्रयोगमा धेरै प्रयोग क्षेत्र भएमा) सबभन्दा बढी तपाईं कस्तो मानिससँग दैनिक कुराकानी गर्नु हुन्छ? तिनीहरूलाई अरु भन्दा माथि राख्नु होस्। (अथवा दैनिक रूपमा प्रयोग हुनेलाई क्रममा राख्नु होस्।)

छ. तपाईंहरूले प्रयोग गर्ने भाषाहरू र जोसँग ती भाषा प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ उनीहरू प्रति तपाईंको कस्तो सोचाइ छ? के तपाईंले कुनै अर्को अवस्थामा यी मध्ये कुनै भाषा बढी प्रयोग गर्न थाल्नु हुन्छ?

(इ) भाषिकागत सीमा निर्धारण

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

१८. (समूहले भन्ने भाषाको नाम).....

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

२०. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ?

(क) (ख)

(ग) (घ)

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

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

(क) वार्ड नं.: (ख) गाउँ/नगर:

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: (घ) जिल्ला:

(ङ) अञ्चल:

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

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

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

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

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

ज. यी मध्ये तपाईंहरू कुन भेद(भाषा)का वक्ताहरूसँग आफ्नो मातृभाषामा कुरा गर्नु हुन्छ?

(यस प्रयोजनका लागि भिन्दै आकार/रङ्गको चिन्हको प्रयोग गर्नु होस्। अर्को चिन्ह राख्नु

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

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

(ई) बहुभाषिकता

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

(उ) प्रशंसामूलक सोधखोज

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

सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद ।

Annex F: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C
(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

5. Name of language consultant:

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

7. Age:

8. Caste:

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

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

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

Proceed to ask individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, if appropriate.

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (in Nepali)

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

छायांकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

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

सहमति: छ छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

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

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

क्र.सं.	१८. जातजाति	१९. भाषा
क.		
ख.		
ग.		
घ.		
ङ.		
च.		

२०. तपाईंको मातृभाषा संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धनका लागि केही गर्नु पर्छ?
 (क) पर्छ (ख) पर्दैन

२१. (पछि भने): तपाईंले आफ्नो मातृभाषाको संरक्षण र सम्बर्धनको लागि केकस्ता काम गरेर सहयोग गर्न सक्नु हुन्छ?
- (क) लिपि विकासको लागि काम गरेर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (ख) हिज्जेलाई व्यवस्थित गरेर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (ग) शब्दकोष बनाएर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (घ) व्याकरण लेखेर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (ङ) मातृभाषामा साहित्य लेखन उत्साहित गरेर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (च) पाठ्यपुस्तक लेखन तथा प्रकाशन गरेर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (छ) पत्रपत्रिका निकालेर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (ज) प्रशासनमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (झ) प्राथमिक तहमा माध्यमको रूपमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर
(अ) सक्छु (आ) सकिदैन
- (ञ) अन्य प्रकारले:

उपयुक्त भएमा समाज-भाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली भर्न शुरु गर्ने।

(iii) Photographs related to Raute









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