A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

OF

SONAHA AND KHUNA

(As spoken in Bardiya District of the Mid-Western and Kailali and Kanchanpur Districts of the Far-Western Development Regions of Nepal)

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of the Sonaha and Khuna languages spoken in Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of western Nepal. This report includes a brief description of both the languages, their language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes, language development.

Nepal is a multiracial, multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious country. It is rich in its linguistic diversity. The four great language families namely- Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic and also include one possibly linguistic isolate. According to Eppele et al. (2012), there are about 127 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of speakers for 123 languages and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages' with close to half million speakers. However, there is no reliable estimate of the actual number of languages spoken within the country. The current estimate of many linguists of Nepal is that there are at least 130 languages in Nepal.

Sonaha is one of the marginalized languages spoken in the Mid Western and Far Western Regions of Nepalese Terai. It is also known as Sonha, Sonahha, Sunah, Sunha. It is now identified as a separate language in the Census of Nepal 2011 being currently spoken by 579 people. But it is spoken by 2000 people among 14,700 ethnic population (Eppele et al., 2012) as their mother tongue. It is spoken in Seti Zone, Kailali District, along Karnali River; Bheri Zone, Surkhet District along Bheri River; Bardia District, Daulatpur VDC, Murgahawa Gaon; Mahakali Zone, along Mahakali River; Kanchanpur District, Bhimadatta VDC, Odaligaon, Mahendranagar Tahsil.

Similarly, Khuna is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal with the same name of their mother tongue. The community is reported to have lived in ancient times in Khonpuruwa, Dhanpuruwa and Gangdi of Deukhuri in Dang district and is now living in Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts.

The community has its own culture and language though it also is known as the Tharu community as they are intermingled with the Tharu community.

Around 395 families from the Khuna community are reported to be living in Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts (FNN, 2013). Following abolition of Kamaiya system, a remnant system of bonded labour, they have been resettled in Free Kamaiya Camp locally known as Bani Shivir, Krishnapur in Kanchanpur district which was or survey point for sociolinguistic survey of Khuna. The community has yet not distinctively classified in the census report of the Government of Nepal. Besides, it might be estimated above 2,000 Khuna people living in the country.

Sonaha and Khuna are unclassified languages which lie in the Central zone of Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian of the Indo-European language family.

This chapter deals with general background of the Sonaha and Khuna people and languages. It includes the Sonaha and Khuna people, caste/ethnic groups, religion, literacy, occupation. This chapter is organized into eight sections. Section 1.1 presents general background and section 1.2 presents the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. Section 1.3 presents the demography and distribution of the Sonaha and Khuna languages. Similarly, section 1.4 deals with geographical location of the survey points in Sonaha and Khuna. In section 1.5, we discuss the linguistic affiliation of the Sonaha and Khuna languages. Similarly, section 1.6 deals with previous research works available about Sonaha and Khuna in general and the Sonaha and Khuna languages in specific. Section 1.7 presents the purpose and goals of the study. In section 1.8, we organize the report.

1.2 The Sonaha and Khuna people

The Sonaha community had a wandering life. They used to live on the Bank of Karnali River of Rajapur delta. They did not have permanent residence. They were far away from the state mechanism. But in the later part, this community started to live in the organized society. They have now arranged and love marriage systems. They specially do marriage in the month of Poush and Magh (January-February). Their socio-cultural existence has been influenced by Hindu culture.

The Khuna community has also the similar identity with that of Sonaha. Anciently, they used to live in Khonpurwa, Dhanpurwa and Gangdi in Dang-Deukhuri and now live in Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts of Tarai.

1.2.1 Caste/Ethnic groups

Sonaha and Khuna are the separate ethnic groups. They have not reported any Hindu caste system among them. Table 1.1 presents castes/ethnic groups in Sonaha and Khuna:

Table 1.1: Castes/Ethnic groups in Sonaha and Khuna

	Castes/Ethnic Groups	Place
1.	Sunaha	Bhimdatta Municipality-12, Odali Gaon, Kanchanpur District.
2.	Sonaha	Daulatpur-2, Murgahawa Gaon, Bardiya District.
3.	Khuna	Bani Shivir, Krishnapur-2, Kanchanpur District

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

Table 1.1 shows that Sonaha and Kuna are separate ethnic groups with no caste system among them. Sonaha and Kuna stand for both the caste/ethnic group and the language they distinctly speak.

Sonahas are mainly residing in Odali, Bhimdatta municipality-12, Kanchanpur district and Murgahawa, Daulatpur VDC of Bardiya district. Khunas are reported to have lived in Dang-Deukhuri in ancient times and then they migrated in Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur but they now live collectively in Bani Shivir in Krishnapur in Kanchanpur district in majority.

1.2.2 Religion

Most of the Sonaha people followed Hinduism but in the later part of the years, many of them have adopted Christianity. Table 1.2 presents the situation of religion in Sonaha speech community:

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

N= 24	Religions	Number	Percentage
1.	Hinduism	14	58%
2.	Christian	10	42%
Total		24	100%

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 1.2 shows that majority of the Sonaha speakers are Hindu as 58% of them say that they follow Hinduism whereas rest 42% say that they have adopted Christianity.

When the Khuna informants were asked what religion they follow, all of them responded they follow only Hinduism.

1.2.3 Literacy

Tarai Janajati literacy is reported to be 62.48% (Chapagain et al., 2014:7). but the literacy rate of Sonaha speakers particularly is expected very low. Literacy rate of female in Sonaha community is even lower. Table 1.3 presents the literacy rate of the informants in the survey in the Sonaha community.

Table 1.3: Literacy of informants in Sonaha speech community

Literacy			
Male (N=12)		Female (N=12)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
5 (42%)	7 (58%)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 1.3 shows that only 42% males and 25% females are literate while 58% males and 75 percent females are illiterate. From this analysis we can conclude that literacy rate of Sonaha community is less than the total literacy of the country.

Similar is the situation of literacy in the Khuna community too. Table 1.4 presents situation of literacy among the Khuna informants:

Table 1.4: Literacy of informants in Khuna speech community

Literacy			
Male (N=6)		Female (N=6)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
3(50%)	3(50%)	1(16.7%)	5(83.3%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 1.4 shows that only 50% of the male female informants in the Khuna community are literate but only 16.7% of those of female are reported literate. From this analysis we can conclude that literacy rate in the Khuna community is less than the average literacy rate of the country.

1.2.4 Marriage system in the Sonaha and Khuna speech community and marital status of the informants

As the Sonaha speech community is heterogeneous whereas the Khuna speech community is homogeneous in terms of religion, so is observed the marriage system. There is tradition of early marriage among the Hindus but it is rapidly receding recently. In both the religious communities of the Sonaha and Khuna native speakers, there is arranged marriage system still continuing in practice. These days, the practice

of love marriage and court marriage is also getting momentum in the communities. Table 1.5 presents marital status of the Sonaha informants.

Table 1.5: Marital status of the Sonaha informants

	Marital Status	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
1.	Married	9(75%)	11(91.7%)	20(83.3%)
2.	Unmarried	3(25%)	1(8.3%)	4(16.7%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 1.5 shows 75% of the male informants were found married and the rest 25% of them unmarried. Likewise 91.7% of the female informants were found married while 8.3% of them unmarried. In totality, 20 out of 24 informants, that comprises 83.3%, were married and the rest 4(16.7%) were unmarried.

Likewise, table 1.6 presents marital status of the Khuna informants:

Table 1.6: Marital status of the Khuna informants

	Marital Status	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
1.	Married	6(100%)	5(83.3%)	11(91.7%)
2.	Unmarried		1(16.7%)	1(8.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 1.6 shows cent percent of the male informants were found married whereas 83.3% of the female informants were found married and 16.7% of them unmarried. In totality, 11 out of 12 informants, that comprises 91.7%, were married and the rest 8.3% were unmarried among the Khuna informants.

1.2.5 Occupation

Primarily Sonaha and Khuna communities are reported to have been involved in gold filtering, fishing, boating and mine-works. Afterwards they are also found to have been involved in agriculture, especially in the form of bonded laborers in the case of Khuna community. After abolition of all kinds of bonded labors, they are also found engaged in business, household works, government and public services and so on these days.

1.3 Demography and distribution

Sonaha is mainly spoken in Seti Zone, Kailali District, along Karnali River; Bheri Zone, Surkhet District along Bheri River; Bardia District, Daulatpur VDC, Murgawa

gaon; Mahakali Zone, along Mahakali River; Kanchanpur District, Bhimadatta municipality, Odali gaon, Mahendranagar tahsil (Ethnologue, 2012). The total number of speakers of the Sonaha language is estimated 2000 among 14,700 of the ethnic population (Eppele et al., 2012). But Tamang et al. (2014) reports 503 Sonahas living in Bardiya, 14 in Kailali and 62 in Kanchanpur districts of Mid-western and Far-western Nepal comprising 579 nationwide.

Map 1.1 provides demographic information of the Sonaha people.

Map 1.1: Demography of Sonaha

Source: Chapagain et al. (2014)

Likewise, Khuna is mainly spoken in Bani Shivir, Krishnapur in Kanchanpur district. Besides, it is also spoken in different villages Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur but in an extreme minority. Till now neither the census report nor the ethnologue has mentioned the language in its report. An estimated population of Khuna is about 2,000 (FNN, 2013).

1.4 Geographical location of the survey points

Sonaha and Khuna are mainly spoken in villages of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts. We have taken two points for Sonaha and one point for Khuna during this survey. The GPS information of Sonaha are presented in Table 1.7:

Table 1.7: GPS information of the Sonaha survey points

	Areas	GPS Coordinates		Elevation (in meter)
1.	BHIMDATTA MUNICIPALITY-12, ODALI GAON, KANCHANPUR DISTRICT.	28^0 57.001' N	$080^0$07.321'E	213m
2.	DAULATPUR-2, MURGAHAWA GAON, BARDIYA DISTRICT.	$28^0$29.007'N	$081^0$08.985'E	125m

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, the GPS information of the Khuna survey point is presented in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8: GPS information of Sonaha and Khuna speaking survey points

	Areas	GPS Coordinates		Elevation (in meter)
1.	KRISHNAPUR-2, BANI SHIVIR, KANCHANPUR DISTRICT.	$28^0$51.846' N	$80^0$25.816' E	187m

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Map 1.2 presents the geographical location of the Sonaha speech community.

Map 1.2: Sonaha speaking areas in Nepal[1]
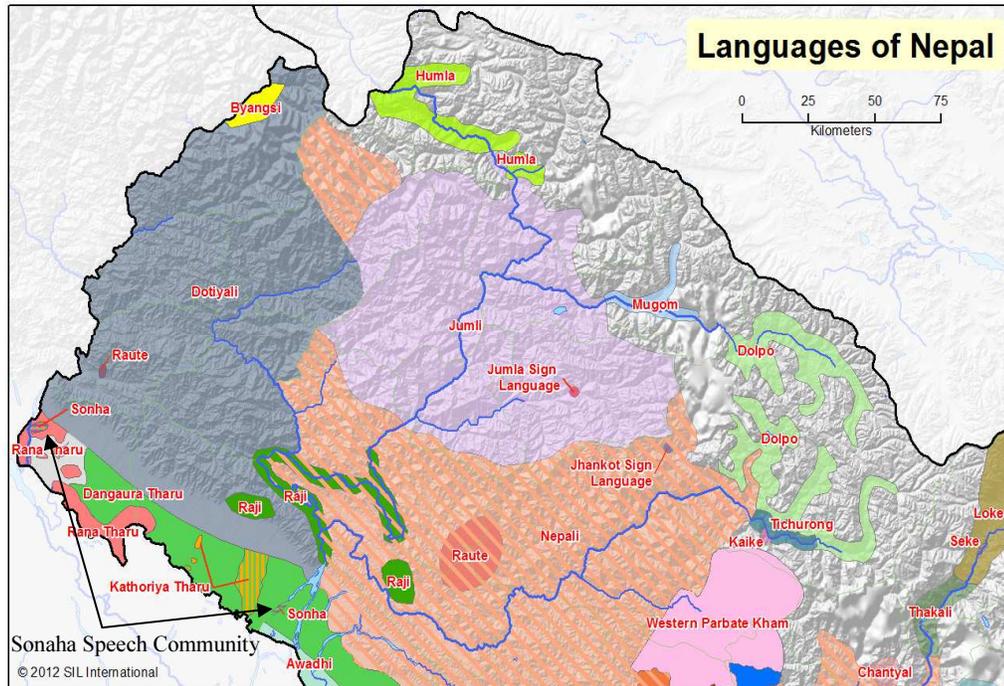
Source: SIL International, 2012

1.5 Linguistic affiliation

Sonaha and Khuna are classified as an Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Unclassified languages.

The Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal can be genetically subcategorized in the following:

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1. We would like to acknowledge SIL International for the map used in this report.

Diagram 1: Indo-European languages

Indo-Iranian · Celltic · Italic · Slavic · Armenian · Albanian · Greek · Germanic · Baltic

Iranian · Indo-Aryan

North · West

English

Northwestern · Dardic · Dardic-Maldives · Sinhalese · Southern · East-Central · Northern

Sindhi · Punjabi

Awadhi · Nepali

Eastern

Central

Maithili · Bajjika · Angika · Bhojpuri · Majhi · Tharu (Rana) · Magahi · Bangla · Assamese · Oriya · (including Koche) · Sadhani/Sadani Kumali

Hindi · Urdu · Hariyanwi · Marwari · Gujarati · Tharu

Sonaha · Dagaura · Khuna

Source: Adaptation from Yadava,Y.P. (2003) 'Language' in Population Monograph.

Figure 1.1 shows that the Sonaha and Khuna language belong to the central part of the Indo-Aryan group of Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family.

1.6 Previous research works

FIAN (2011) describes problems of food sovereignty in Sonaha community. It is a report of the memorandum tendered by Sonaha people to the contemporary minister for forest and soil conservation. It clarifies poverty situation in the community in brief.

Kocanda and Puhakka (2012) describes Sonaha community as an Ethnic minority living in the Rajapur Area, who are well adapted to live close to the river. It depicts their main livelihoods consisting of fishing and gold panning.

Regmi (2012) describes Sonaha as an ethnic community identified as Jal Thakuri ' banklords of rivers/ ruler class of water of rivers' in the past but says that golden days have now gone for them. It is so because their traditional occupation, culture and the forms of the language they speak is waning day by day in common with other minority

communities in Nepal. So it is easily speculated that this community is facing the identity crisis at present.

Kisan (2014) reports representation of Khuna community in the Constituent Assembly. Durga Khuna has now been a member of Constituent Assembly/Legislature Parliament on behalf of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Besides, it describes Khuna ethnic community anciently living in the villages of Khonpurwa, Dhanpurwa and Gangdi in Deukhuri area of Dangh District and currently they have been transferred in Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur. Khunas are also reported to have been living on digging mines along with fishing, panning gold and boating as similar as Sonahas do.

1.7 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Sonaha and Khuna languages in Nepal. The specific goals/objectives of the study are as follows:

a) To look at the resources and organizations in Sonaha and Khuna speech communities;

b) To assess the state of art of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in Sonaha and Khuna speech communities;

c) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains in both speech communities;

d) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their languages;

e) To discuss the language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Sonaha and Khuna; and

f) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity in the languages.

1.8 Organization of the report

This survey report is organized into ten chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory that presents general background information about the languages including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with language resources available in the languages and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 4 we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Sonaha and Khuna. Chapter 5

deals with the domains of language use. In chapter 6 we look at language vitality, transmission and maintenance. Similarly, chapter 7 deals with language attitudes and chapter 8 deals with language resources that make them feel proud, dreams and plans of the speech communities for language development in Sonaha and Khuna. In chapter 9, we look at dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key points in Sonaha and Khuna. In chapter 10, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes wordlist and sociolinguistic questionnaire A, B and C, wordlists and basic information of the language consultants involved in the survey.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we present the research methodology employed in this survey in detail. It consists of three sections. Section 2.1 deals with a brief overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used in the survey. It also deals with a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.2, we discuss different types of research tools, their basic characteristics, and the ways they were employed in the survey. Similarly, section 2.3 deals with the limitations of this survey.

2.1 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 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 Rana;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	Language resources Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism Domain of language use Language vitality Language maintenance 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	Domain of language use Dialect mapping Multilingualism Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	Language attitudes Language maintenance Language vitality Language development
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

2.2 Research methods/tools

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)

The survey has employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires. They are:

2.2.1.1 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, domains 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, two points of the Sonaha speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about the Sonaha community (Odali tole of Bhimdatta municipality-12, Kanchanpur district and Murgahawa village of Daulatpur VDC-2, Bardiya district) and one survey point for the Khuna community (Bani Shivir, Krishnapur VDC-2, Kanchanpur district). Table 2.2 presents the survey points of Sonaha.

Table 2.2: The survey points of Sonaha

	Names of the areas	Ward No.	V. D. C/ S. M. C.	Districts	Total
1	ODALI GAON	12	Bhimdatta (Municipality)	Kanchanpur	2
2	MURGAHAWA	2	Daulatpur (V. D. C.)	Bardiya	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, Table 2.3 presents the survey point of Khuna.

Table 2.3: The survey point of Khuna

	Names of the areas	Ward No.	V. D. C/ S. M. C.	Districts	Total
1.	BANI SHIVIR	2	Krishnapur (V. D. C.)	Kanchanpur	1

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.[1] Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Sonaha and Khuna speech community.

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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).

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Figure 2.1: Sampling model in the survey

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │ Sampling model of informants in survey │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘
                              /              \
                    ┌────────┐              ┌────────┐
                    │  Male  │              │ Female │
                    └────────┘              └────────┘
               /      |      \           /      |      \
          ┌────┐  ┌────┐  ┌────┐    ┌────┐  ┌────┐  ┌────┐
          │ A1 │  │ A2 │  │ A3 │    │ A1 │  │ A2 │  │ A3 │
          └────┘  └────┘  └────┘    └────┘  └────┘  └────┘
          / \     / \     / \       / \     / \     / \
        ┌─┐┌──┐ ┌─┐┌──┐ ┌─┐┌──┐   ┌─┐┌──┐ ┌─┐┌──┐ ┌─┐┌──┐
        │L││IL│ │L││IL│ │L││IL│   │L││IL│ │L││IL│ │L││IL│
        └─┘└──┘ └─┘└──┘ └─┘└──┘   └─┘└──┘ └─┘└──┘ └─┘└──┘
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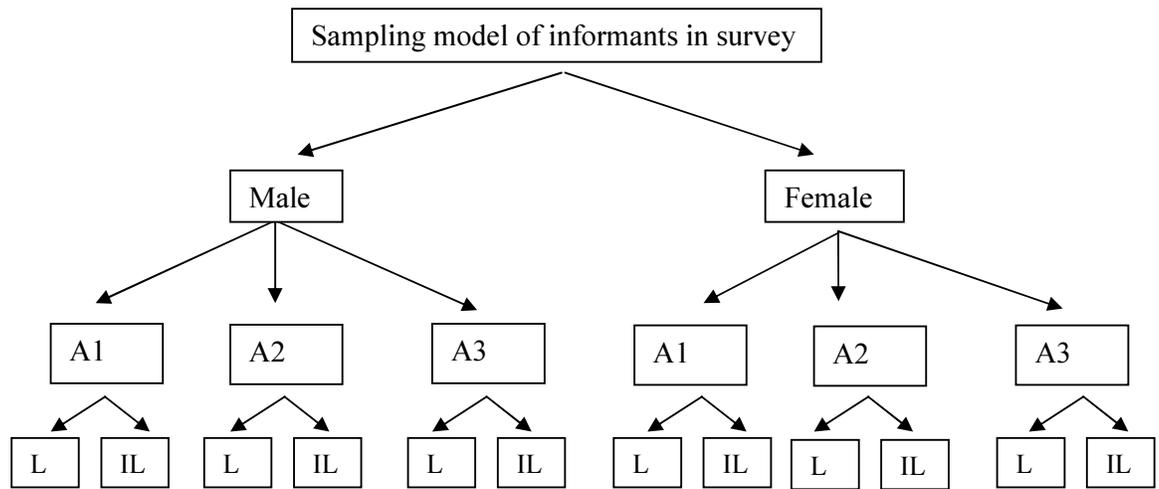
A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

The survey has used a specific checklist for conducting sociolinguistic questionnaire A. Table 2.3 presents the checklist for sociolinguistic questionnaire A.

Table 2.4: Checklist for Sociolinguistic questionnaire A

Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) A											
Male						Female					
A1		A2		A3		A1		A2		A3	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

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

2.2.1.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Sonaha and Khuna participants of the thre 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 Sonaha and Khuna, how bilingual Sonaha and Khuna people are, in which situations they use Sonaha and Khuna 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.

(i) Domains of language use

We used the domains of language use tool in order to help the Sonaha and Khuna speakers to think about and visualize the languages which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the language 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 use their mother tongues, Sonaha and Khuna and the situations in which they use both Nepali and mother tongues. After that, they were asked to place the labels Nepali, their mother tongues, and both Nepali and their mother tongues. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants concluded by discussing if they liked to use each language in any other situations.

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(ii) 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 Sonaha and Khuna. Participants in the group of 8-12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns where Sonaha and Khuna are spoken and placed them on the floor to present the geographical locations. Then, they were asked to use loops of string to show which districts or towns spoke the same as others. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

(iii) Bi/multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both mother tongues (Sonaha and Khuna) and Nepali by different subsets of the Sonaha and Khuna communities. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Sonaha or Khuna people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Sonaha or Khuna who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then, the participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Sonaha or Khuna 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 Sonaha and Khuna speakers who spoke Sonaha and Khuna 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.

(iv) Appreciative inquiry

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Sonaha and Khuna community members have in different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language and culture. Then, they were asked to express the dreams about how they could make their language and culture even better. 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.

2.2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

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

2.2.2   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 (Sonaha or Khuna) 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 point, at least two informants 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 Sonaha or Khuna as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Sonaha or Khuna word from a mother tongue Sonaha or Khuna speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as WordSurv (word survey) and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Sonaha and Khuna.

2.3 Limitations of the survey

Following are the limitations of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna:

This study is limited to only sociolinguistic study of the Sonaha and Khuna languages. For this study only two survey points from Bardiya and Kanchanpur districts, one from each is selected for Sonaha and one point from Kanchanpur for Khuna. Only 12

sociolinguistic questionnaires A (SLQ A) are administrated in each point. Similarly, four SLQ B and two SLQ C and two wordlists are administrated in each survey point.

This language is spread in a vast stretch of seven districts. However, as it is a survey, we have selected only 3 major points. Besides, we had to select three categories of the estimated 12 informants at each point. As per our expectations we did not find illiterate informants of 15-29 age group and literate informants of 60^+ age group at some points. To conduct the survey, only three types of sociolinguistic questionnaires A, B and C as well as a wordlist of 210 words were used in the survey. Table 2.4 shows all the information categorically.

Table 2.5: Questionnaires and wordlist used in the survey of Sonaha

	Areas	SLQ A	SLQ B	SLQ C	Wordlist
1	ODALI GAON	12	4	2	2
2	MURGAHAWA	12	4	2	2
	Total	24	8	4	4

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

Table 2.6: Questionnaires and wordlist used in the survey of Khuna

	Areas	SLQ A	SLQ B	SLQ C	Wordlist
1.	BANI SHIVIR	12	4	2	2

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND ORGANIZATIONS

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the resources available in the Sonaha and Khuna languages as well as the organizations for their promotion. It consists of three sections. In section 3.1, we discuss the language resources and section 3.2 enlists details of the organizations for the development of language and culture in the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities and mentions their responsibilities. In section 3.3, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Language resources

The resources available in the Sonaha and Khuna languages include folk stories, music, religious literature and folklore, but radio, cinema, CD/DVD are not available in the language. Similarly, alphabet, grammar, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines, written literatures are not available in the language. Table 3.1 presents language resources in Sonaha in oral tradition.

Table 3.1: Language resources in Sonaha in oral tradition

	Resources	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
1.	Folk-tales	10(83.3%)	9(75%)	19(79.2%)
2.	Music	10(83.3%)	10(83.3%)	20(83.3%)
3.	Religious Literature	2(16.7%)	7(58.3%)	9(37.5%)
4.	Radio			
5.	Cinema			
6.	CD/DVD	1(8.3%)		1(4.2%)

Source: Vield Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 3.1 shows that 83.3% of male and 75% of female respondents said that folk-tales are available, 83.3% of each of male and female respondents affirmed availability of music, 16.7% of male and 58.3% of female respondents said religious literature is available and only 8.3% of male respondents said CD/DVD also available in Sonaha. In totality, 79.2% of Sonaha informants said there are folk-tales available in their language. 83.3% of them affirmed availability of music, 37.5% affirmed that of religious literature and 4.2% affirmed availability of CD/DVD in Sonaha.

Likewise, Table 3.2 presents language resources in oral traditions in Kuna.

Table 3.2: Language resources in Khuna in oral tradition

	Resources	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
1.	Folk-tales	3(50%)	4(66.7%)	7(58.3%)
2.	Music	3(50%)	2(33.3%)	5(41.7%)
3.	Religious Literature	1(16.7%)	2(33.3%)	3(25%)
4.	Radio			
5.	Cinema			
6.	CD/DVD			

Source: Vield Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 3.2 shows that 50% of male and 66.7% of female respondents said that folk-tales are available, 50% of male and 33.3% of female respondents affirmed availability of music and 16.7% of male and 33.3% of female respondents said religious literature is available in Khuna. In totality, 58.3% of Khuna informants said there are folk-tales available in their language. 41.7% of them affirmed availability of music and 25% affirmed there is religious in Khuna.

While asking about availability of the reading materials in Sonaha, only 5 male and 3 female informants responded about availability of Folklore. Table 3.3 presents their response.

Table 3.3: Reading materials available in Sonaha

	Resources	Male (n=12)		Female (n=12)		Total (N=24)	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.	Alphabet		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
2.	Grammar		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
3.	Dictionary		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
4.	Textbooks		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
5.	Literacy materials		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
6.	Newspapers		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
7.	Magazines		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
8.	Written literature		5(41.7%)		6(50%)		11(45.8%)
9.	Folklore	2(16.7%)	3(25%)	2(16.7%)	4(33.3%)	4(16.7%)	7(58.3%)

Source: Vield Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 3.3 shows that 16.7% of each of male and female respondent said that there is availability of only folklore in Sonaha whereas 25% of male and 33.3% of female respondents denied the availability. In totality, 16.7% accepted and 58.3% denied availability of folklore in Sonaha. Rest of them gave no response to the query. The other genres were said to be out of availability by all informants who responded the queries in this domain in Sonaha.

The situation of availability of reading materials in Khuna is presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Reading materials available in Khuna

	Resources	Male (n=6)		Female (n=12)		Total (N=24)	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.	Alphabet		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
2.	Grammar		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
3.	Dictionary		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
4.	Textbooks		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
5.	Literacy materials		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
6.	Newspapers		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
7.	Magazines		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
8.	Written literature		5(83.3%)		5(83.3%)		10(83.3%)
9.	Folklore	2(33.3%)	3(50%)	1(16.7%)	4(66.7%)	3(25%)	7(58.3%)

Source: Vield Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 3.4 shows that 33.3% of male and 16.7% of female respondent said that there is availability of only folklore in Khuna whereas 50% of male and 66.7% of female respondents denied the availability. In totality, 25% accepted and 58.3% denied availability of folklore in Sonaha. Rest of them gave no response to the query. The other genres were said to be out of availability by all informants who responded the queries in this domain in Khuna.

When those who responded availability of folklore in Sonaha and Khuna languages were asked how often they read it, all of them said they do not read.

3.2 Organizations

Whether there are any organizations working for preservation and promotion of the Sonaha and Khuna languages and culture, some of the respondents informed that there are some organizations working in favour of Sonaha and Khuna languages and culture. Table 3.5 shows responses of Sonaha respondents.

Table 3.5: Availability of organizations to promote Sonaha language and culture

Male (n=12)		Female (n=12)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
6(50%)	6(50%)	5(41.7%)	7(58.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 3.5 shows that 50% of male and 41.7% female respondents said that there are some organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Sonaha while 50% of the male and 58.3% of the female said that there is such organization.

In general, the Sonaha speech community looks positive towards their language. The informants said that there are some institutions that work for preservation and promotion of the Sonaha language and culture. Table 3.6 shows the institutions and their responsibilities.

Table 3.6: Institutions and their responsibilities in Sonaha

	Name of the Institution	Responsibilities	Remarks
1.	Sonaha Devalopment Society	Income generation, awareness, social development, good neighbourhood, cooperatives.	
2.	Sweet Nepal	Literacy programs, goat farming, awareness	

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 3.6 shows there are two institutions in the Sonaha speech community, i. e., Sonaha Development Society and Sweet Nepal. Among the two, Sweet Nepal seems to raise literacy in the community. Besides, the organizations work to promote general living and life-style of the Sonaha speech community.

When the same query was put to those of Khuna respondents, all of them denied availability of any organization to preserve and promote Khuna language and culture.

3.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the language resources and organizations available in the Sonaha and Khuna speech community to promote their language and culture. It includes language resources available, reading of the materials written in the language, availability of organizations and their responsibilities and lastly it enlists such organizations.

Between Sonaha and Khuna speech communities, Sonaha seems to be a bit ahead of Khuna but the availability of reading materials and situation of reading them is poor. There lacks proper organization to preserve and promote language and culture in both the Sonaha and Khuna communities.

CHAPTER 4

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. It consists of four sections. Section 4.1 discusses mother tongue proficiency in Sonaha and Khuna. In section 4.2, we discuss bi/multilingualism in the Sonaha and Khuna languages and bi/multilingualism in the children of Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. Similarly, section 4.3 deals with level of understanding of Nepali in school. In section 4.4, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

4.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Sonaha and Khuna

Multilingualism is a common phenomenon in both the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. However, they are highly proficient in mother tongue speaking. In this regard when the informants were asked "What language did you speak first?" they all responded it was their mother tongues.

Similarly, when the informants were asked, "Which language do you love most?", all the respondents said they love their mother tongues most.

Likewise, when they were asked, "How proficiently do you speak your mother tongue?", all the respondents said they speak very well. In addition to this, when they were asked how proficiently they can read and write their mother tongue, the Khuna informants did not respond at all, but the Sonaha respondents gave their response. Table 4.1 presents the situation of mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in Sonaha.

Table 4.1: Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in Sonaha

Degrees	Male (n=5)	Female (n=3)
Very well	1(20%)	1 (33.3%)
Average	1(20%)	1 (33.3%)
Only a little	3 (60%)	1 (33.3%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 4.1 shows that only 20% males and 33.3% females Sonaha speech community are very good in reading and writing their language. Similarly, 20% males and 33.3%

females do average reading and writing while 60% literate males and 33.3% literate females read and write only a little.

This information is also presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing in Sonaha (n=8)
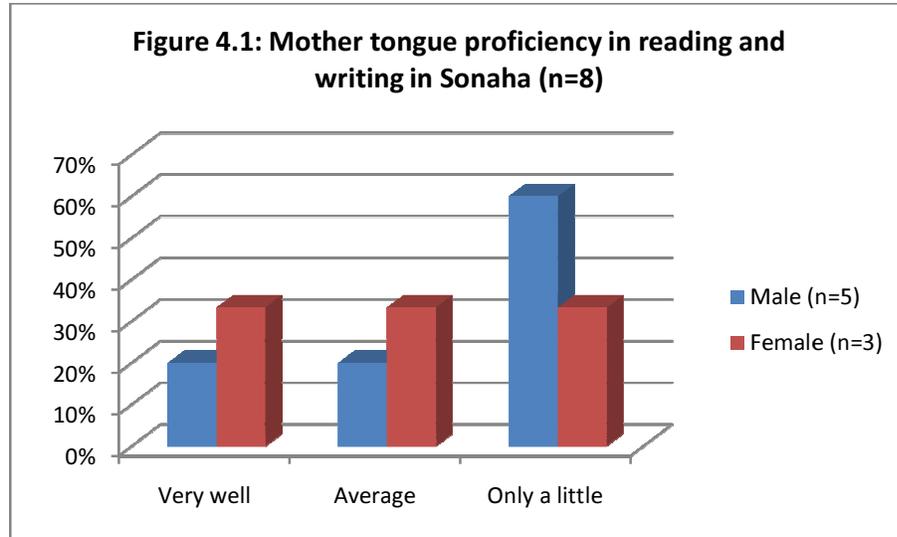
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

4.2 Bi/multilingualism among individuals

Bilingualism is the ability to speak and understand a second language. It is usually in a language of national or regional importance. It is the result of either formal or informal exposure to another language; this is nearly always uneven in a community. Thus, different individuals and sections of any community are bilingual to different degrees everywhere. Bilingualism arises from the simple fact that people of widely different lingual backgrounds need and want to communicate with each other. Nepal has been referred to as "a garden of flowers" of linguistic and cultural diversity. People from different ethnic groups acquire second and third languages to communicate with each other. Furthermore, education in Nepal generally provides exposure to Nepali. Knowledge of Nepali is vital for the advancement of the people and their integration into national life. Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not tell us much about the ability of the others in a community.

4.2.1 Bi/multilingualism in Sonaha and Khuna speech communities

When the informants were asked what languages they can speak, all of them responded they speak Sonaha and Khuna first. Regarding other languages, they also responded affirmatively. Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 present bi/multilingualism in the Sonaha and Khuna speech community.

Table 4.2: Bi/multilingualism of informants in the Sonaha speech community (N=24)

Languages	No of speakers	Percentage
Nepali	24	100%
Hindi	14	58%
Tharu	10	42%
Dotyali	9	37%
Baitadeli	3	12%
Jumli	2	8%
Achami	1	4%
English	2	8%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 4.2 shows that all the Sonaha speakers are bilingual in Nepali, whereas 58% speakers are bilingual in Hindi. Similarly, bilingualism of Sonaha speakers in Tharu, Dotyali, Baitadeli and Jumli is 42%, 37%, 12%, and 8% respectively. In the same way, 4% and 8% of Sonaha speakers are bilingual in Achami and English respectively.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.2:
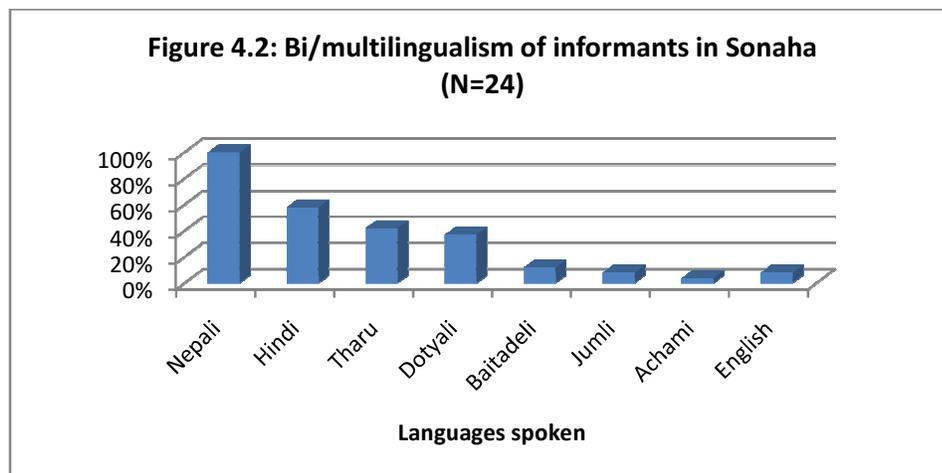
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise bi/multilingualism of informants in Khuna speech community is given in the Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3.

Table 4.3: Bi/multilingualism of informants in the Khuna speech community (N=12)

Languages	No of speakers	Percentage
Nepali	8	66.7%
DagauraTharu	6	50%
Hindi	6	50%
Rana Tharu	5	41.7%
English	1	8.3%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 4.3 shows that 66.7% of the Khuna informants are bilingual with Nepali, 50% are bilingual in each of Dagaura Tharu and Hindi, 41.7% in Rana Tharu and 8.3% in English. Figure 4.3 also presents the information.
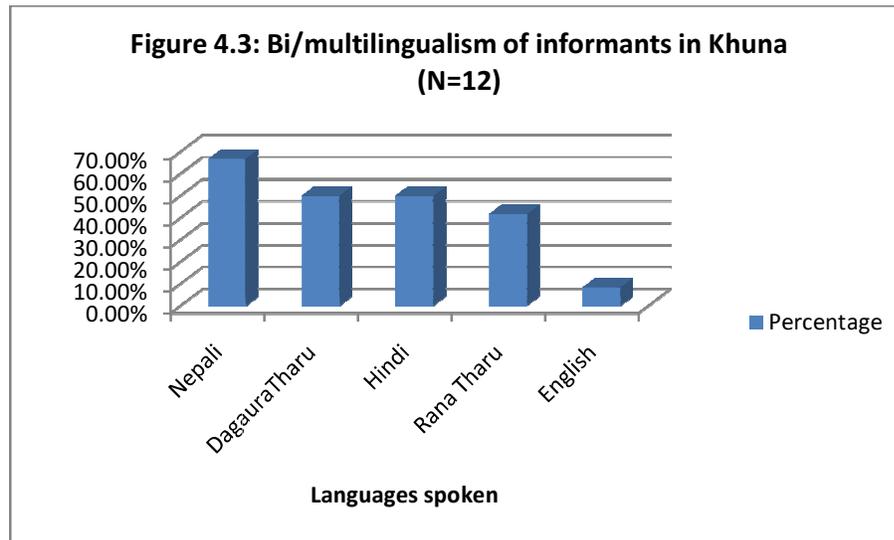
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in Sonaha and Khuna families

As mentioned in section 4.2.1, most of the Sonaha and Khuna speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual, their family members also seem to be bilingual in different languages. Table 4.4 presents the bi/multilingualism in Sonaha family members.

Table 4.4: Other languages known to Sonaha family members

Languages	N=24		Spouse	
	Father	Mother	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)
Nepali	16 (67%)	11 (46%)	7 (58%)	10 (83%)
Hindi	8 (33%)	5 (21%)	3 (25%)	3 (25%)
Tharu	6 (25%)	6 (25%)	2 (17%)	3 (25%)
Dotyali	8 (33%)	7 (29%)	3 (25%)	4 (33%)
Baitadeli	3 (12.5%)	3 (12.5%)	2 (17%)	1 (8%)
Jumli	1 (4%)			2 (17%)
Achami				1 (8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 4.4 shows that out of 24 respondents of Sonaha, 67% respondents' fathers and 46% respondent's mothers are bilingual in the Nepali language. Similarly, 33%, 25%, 33%, 12.5% and 4% respondents' fathers are bilingual in Hindi, Tharu, Dotyali, Baitadeli and Jumli languages respectively. Similarly, 21%, 25%, 29% and 12.5% respondents' mothers are bilingual in Hindi, Tharu, Dotyali and Baitadeli languages respectively. The table also shows that 58% male respondents' spouses are bilingual in Nepali, 25% in Hindi, 17% in Tharu, 25% in Dotyali, and 17% bilingual in Baitadeli languages. Similarly 83% female respondent's spouses are bilingual in Nepali, 25% in both Hindi and Tharu, 33% in Dotyali, 8% both in Baitadeli and Achami, and 17% bilingual in Jumli languages.

Figure 4.4 also presents the same information.
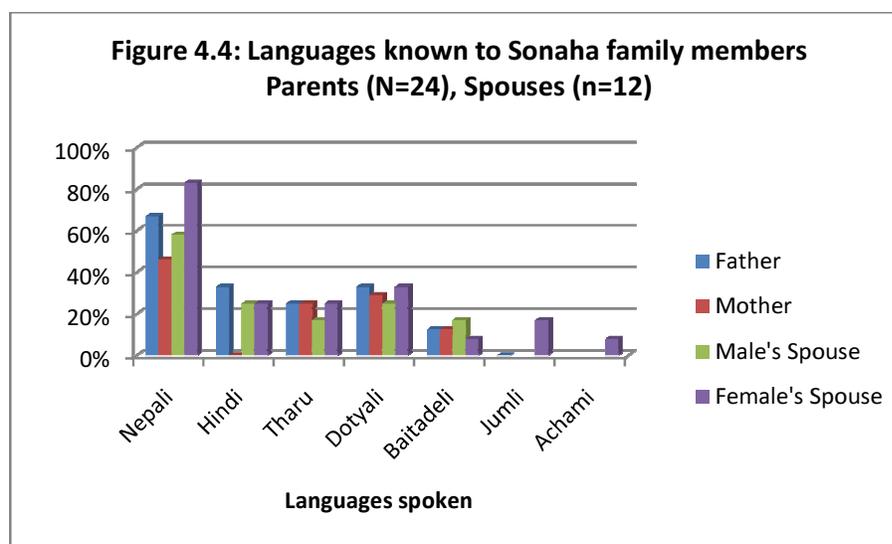
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 4.5 presents the bi/multilingualism in Khuna family members.

Table 4.5: Other languages known to Khuna family members

Languages	N=12		Spouse	
	Father	Mother	Male n=6	Female n=6
Nepali	3 (25%)	1 (8%)	2 (33%)	1 (17%)
Rana Tharu	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
Dagaura Tharu	2 (17%)	2 (17%)	2 (33%)	1 (17%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 4.5 shows that out of 12 respondents of Khuna, 25% respondents' fathers and 8% respondent's mother are bilingual in the Nepali language. Similarly, 17% of each of male and female respondents' parents are equally bilingual in Rana Tharu and Dagaura Tharu. The table also shows that 33% of male respondents' spouses are bilingual in Nepali and Dagaura Tharu whereas 17% of theirs in Rana Tharu. Similarly 17% of female respondent's spouses are bilingual equally in Nepali, Rana Tharu and Dagaura Tharu in the Khuna speech community.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.5.
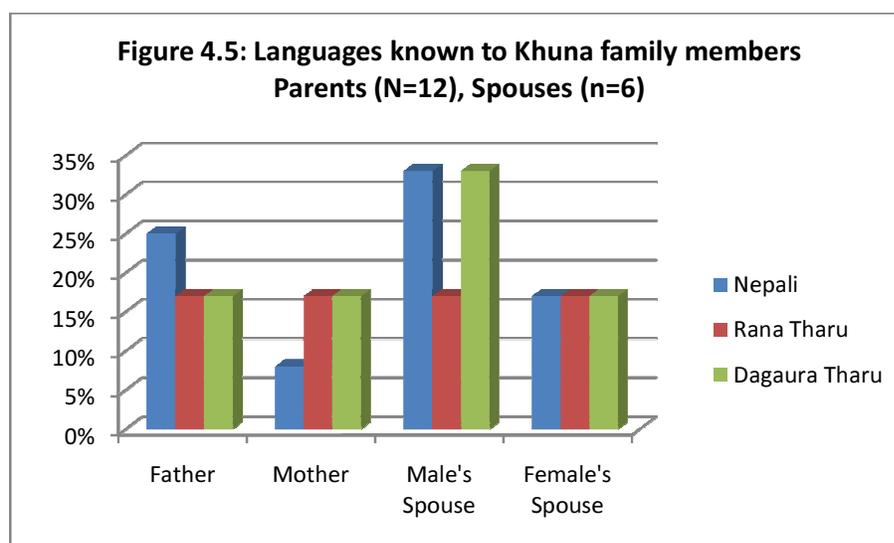
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism among children

After the parents' and spouses' proficiency of bi/multilingualism, the turn comes to the children. Table 4.6 presents other languages known to the Sonaha speaking children as well as the places where they learnt those languages.

Table 4.6: Other languages known to Sonaha children and the places where they learnt those languages

N=19	Responses	Where they learnt
Nepali	19 (100%)	In the school
Hindi	5 (26%)	In the society and Indian market
Dagaura Tharu	6 (32%)	In the society
Dotyali	5 (26%)	In the society
Baitadeli	3 (16%)	In the society
Jumli	1 (5%)	In the society

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 4.6 shows that 19 among the 24 Sonaha respondents responded the queries. According them, all of the children in Sonaha community are bilingual in the Nepali language and they learnt it in the school. Similarly, Hindi and Dotyali are known to 26% Sonaha children, Dagaura Tharu is known to 32%, Baitadeli is known to 16% and Jumli is known to 5% Sonaha children. They learnt Nepali in the school and other languages in their society and local markets.

Table 4.7 presents other languages known to the Khuna speaking children as well as the places where they learnt those languages.

Table 4.7: Other languages known to Khuna children and the places where they learnt those languages

N=7	Responses	Where they learnt
Nepali	7 (100%)	In the school and society
Dagaura Tharu	4 (57%)	In the society
Rana Tharu	3 (43%)	In the society
Hindi	2 (29%)	In the society and Indian market

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 4.7 shows that 7 out of 12 Khuna respondents responded the queries. According to them, all the children in Khuna community are bilingual in the Nepali language and they learnt it in the school as well as in society. Similarly, Dagaura Tharu is known to 57%, Rana Tharu known to 26% and Hindi is known to 29% of the Khuna Children. They learnt Nepali in the school as well as in the society and other languages in their society, whereas Hindi is reported to have been learnt in Indian contact.

4.3 Level of understanding of Nepali in school

As mentioned in section 4.2, most of the Sonaha and Khuna children have learnt Nepali in schools and colleges; still they face maximum difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.8 presents the levels of understanding Nepali when a small Sonaha child first goes to school.

Table 4.8: Levels of understanding Nepali when a Sonaha child first goes to school

N= 24	Responses
Understand all	2 (8%)
Understand a little bit	7 (29%)
Do not understand at all	15 (63%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 4.8 shows that when a small Sonaha child first goes to school only 8% children understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says, 29% understand Nepali only a little bit whereas majority of Sonaha children, i.e., 63% do not understand anything his/her Nepali speaking teachers say.

The situation in the domain is also presented in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Understanding of Nepali when a Sonaha child firs goes to school (N=24)
Understand all 8%
Understand a little bit 29%
Do not understand at all 63%
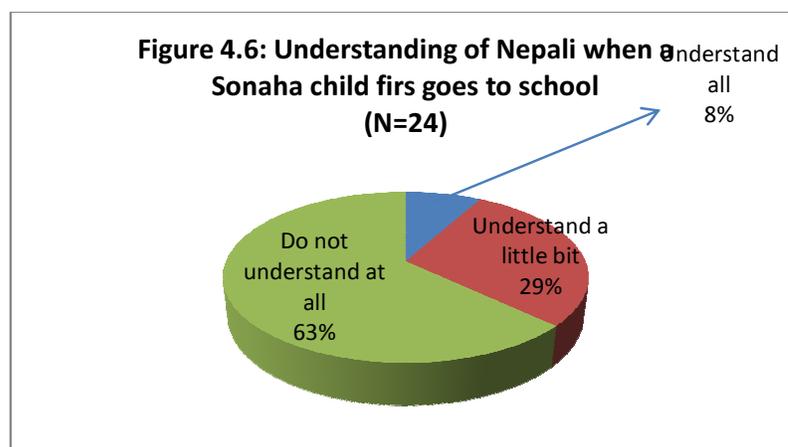
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, table 4.9 presents the levels of understanding Nepali when a small Khuna child first goes to school.

Table 4.9: Levels of understanding Nepali when a Khuna child first goes to school

N= 12	Responses
Understand all	
Understand a little bit	5 (42%)
Do not understand at all	7 (58%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 4.9 shows that when a small Khuna child first goes to school none of the children understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says, 42% understand Nepali only a little bit whereas majority of Khuna children, i.e., 58% do not understand anything his/her Nepali speaking teachers say.

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The information in this table is also presented in Figure 4.7.

Figure 4.7: Understanding of Nepali when a Khuna child first goes to school (N=12)

- Do not understand at all: 58%
- Understand a little bit: 42%
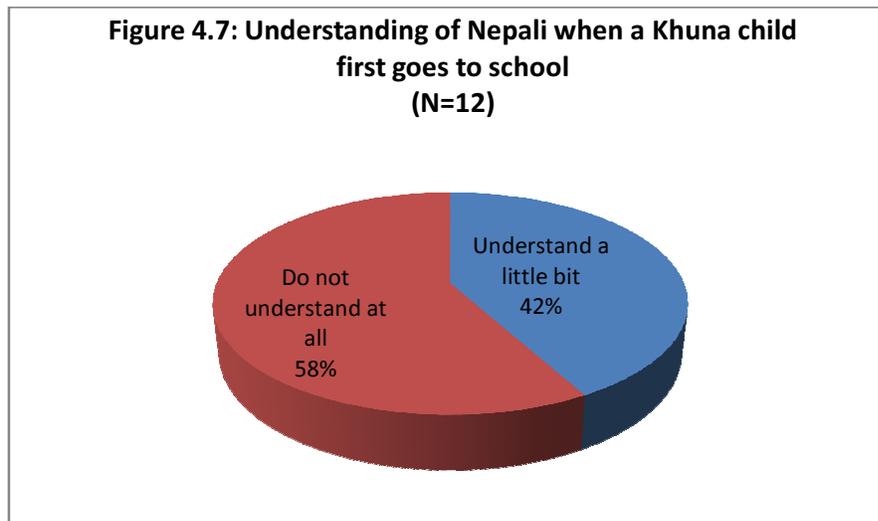
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

In order to examine the situation of bi/multilingualism in Sonaha and Khuna, the survey has used multilingualism, a participatory tool, to examine the situation of multilingualism in Sonaha and Khuna in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category. This tool was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Sonaha and Khuna. There have been three common findings from this participatory method:

1. There is no monolingual in Sonaha but some elderly members of the Khuna community are still monolingual in their mother tongue.
2. Among the community members who are not going outside the village, especially the women and elderly people are still monolingual in Khuna; but those who are not, either in Sonaha or in Khuna, can speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC.
3. School going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in their mother tongues and Nepali languages in both the Sonaha and Khuna communities.

4.4 Summary

On the basis of facts and figures discussed in this chapter, we summarize that majority of children do not understand at all what their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Since, most of the Sonaha and Khuna native speakers use their own

mother tongue at home; their children are monolingual before going to school. Therefore, they face difficulty when they first go to school. It shows that there is the need of mother tongue based multilingual education (MLE). Similarly, there are some people in Khuna community still monolingual in mother tongue especially female speakers of the older age group as well as those who do not go outside their home and village. Especially the members of the communities with outside exposures such as school going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in their mother tongues as well as in Nepali in each of the Sonaha and Khuna communities.

CHAPTER 5

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the domains of language use in the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. It consists of eight sections. In section 5.1, we have discussed language use in common domains. Similarly, section 5.2 deals with language use in educational and social matters and section 5.3 presents the use of languages in letter writing. In section 5.4, we have discussed the languages used outside the home and in section 5.5, the languages used for invitation. Similarly, section 5.6 deals with language use in minutes writing and section 5.7 with frequency in the use of the Sonaha and Khuna languages. At last section 5.8 summarizes the facts and findings in the chapter.

5.1 Language use in common domains

Domains of language evaluate the vitality of the language. Sonaha and Khuna are used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 5.1 and presents the languages frequently used in different domains in Sonaha by male.

Table 5.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by male

Domains	Sex: Male (n=12)			
	Sonaha	Nepali	Sonaha and Nepali	Sonaha, Nepali, Dagaura Tharu & Hindi
Counting	8 (67%)	4 (33%)		
Singing	10 (83%)	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	
Joking	12 (100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	10 (83%)	1 (8%)		1 (8%)
Story telling	12 (100%)			
Discussing/Debate	12 (100%)			
Praying	12 (100%)			
Quarrelling	12 (100%)			
Abusing/scolding	12 (100%)			
Telling stories to children	12 (100%)			
Singing at home	12 (100%)			
Family gatherings	12 (100%)			
Village meetings	10 (83%)		2 (17%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.1 shows that all the male Sonaha speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use as joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gathering. Similarly, 83% male speakers are using their mother tongue in singing, bargaining/marketing and in village meetings and 67% Sonaha male speakers use their language in counting. It also shows that 33% male speakers use Nepali in counting, and 8% use Nepali in singing and bargaining/marketing. Similarly 8% male speakers use both the Sonaha and Nepali languages in singing and 17% use both the mother tongue and Nepali in village meetings. And only 8% male speakers are using Sonaha, Nepali, Hindi and Dagaura Tharu languages in bargaining/marketing.

The findings are also presented in the Figure 5.1:

Figure 5.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by male (n=12)
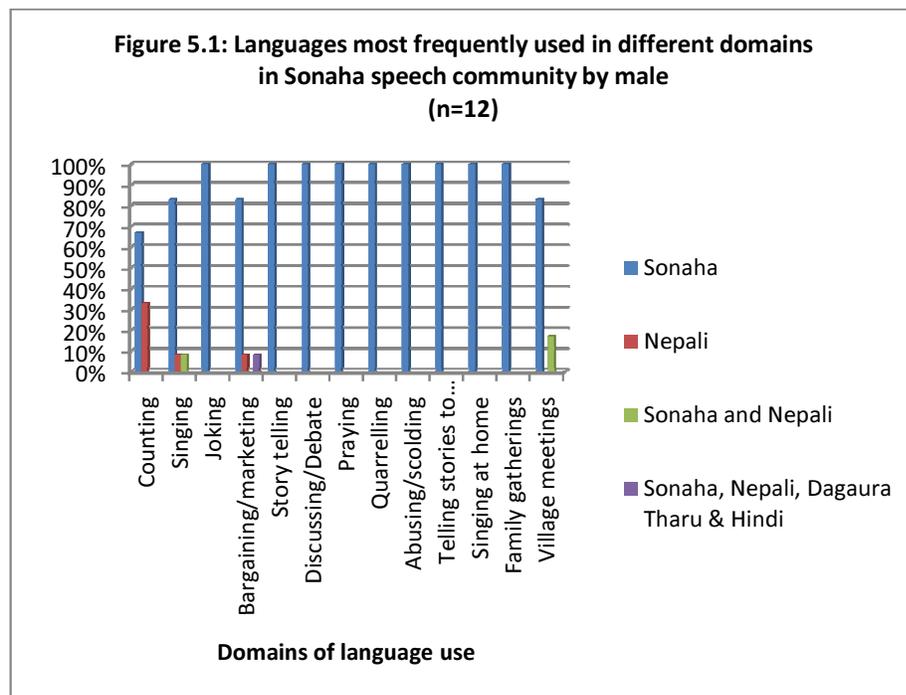
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.2 presents languages most frequently used in different domains by female.

Table 5.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by female

Domains	Sex: Female (n=12)			
	Sonaha	Nepali	Sonaha & Nepali	Sonaha, Nepali & Dagaura Tharu
Counting	4 (33%)	8 (67%)		
Singing	12 (100%)			
Joking	12 (100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	8 (67%)		2 (17%)	2 (17%)
Story telling	12 (100%)			
Discussing/Debate	12 (100%)			
Praying	12 (100%)			
Quarrelling	12 (100%)			
Abusing/scolding	12 (100%)			
Telling stories to children	12 (100%)			
Singing at home	12 (100%)			
Family gatherings	12 (100%)			
Village meetings	8 (67%)		4 (33%)	

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.2 shows that all the female Sonaha speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use as singing, joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gathering. Similarly, 67% are using their mother tongue in bargaining/marketing and in village meeting. In the same way, only 33% are using their mother tongue in counting while rest 67% female speakers are using Nepali while counting. It also shows that 33% and 17% female speakers are using both the mother tongue and Nepali in village meeting and bargaining/marketing respectively, whereas 17% using all the Sonaha, Nepali and Dagaura Tharu languages in bargaining/marketing.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.2:

Figure 5.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by female (n=12)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Similarly, we observed the situation of domains of language use in Khuna speech community sexwise. Table 5.3 presents the situation of use of languages in different domains by the male Khuna informants.

Table 5.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by male

Domains	Sex: Male (n=6)			
	Khuna	Nepali	Dagaura Tharu	Khuna & Nepali
Counting	3(50%)	1(17%)	1(17%)	1(17%)
Singing	5(83%)	1(17%)		
Joking	6(100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	6(100%)			
Story telling	6(100%)			
Discussing/Debate	6(100%)			
Praying	6(100%)			
Quarrelling	6(100%)			
Abusing/scolding	6(100%)			
Telling stories to children	6(100%)			
Singing at home	6(100%)			
Family gatherings	6(100%)			
Village meetings	5(83%)		1(17%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.3 shows that all the male Khuna speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use as joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gatherings. Similarly, 83% male speakers are using their mother tongue in singing and village meetings whereas and 17% Khuna male speakers use Nepali in counting and singing, Dagaura Tharu in counting and village meetings and use Khuna & Nepali both in counting.

The findings are also presented in the Figure 5.3:

Figure 5.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by male (n=6)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.4 presents languages most frequently used in different domains by female Khuna speakers.

Table 5.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by female

Domains	Sex: Female (n=6)		
	Khuna	Nepali	Khuna & Nepali
Counting	6(100%)		
Singing	4(67%)	1(17%)	1(17%)
Joking	3(50%)	2(33%)	1(17%)
Bargaining/marketing	4(67%)		
Story telling	3(50%)	3(50%)	
Discussing/Debate	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Praying	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Quarrelling	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Abusing/scolding	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Telling stories to children	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Singing at home	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Family gatherings	4(67%)	2(33%)	
Village meetings	3(50%)	2(33%)	1(17%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.4 shows that all the female Khuna speakers are using their mother tongue in counting. 67% of them use their mother tongue in different domains of language use as singing, bargaining/marketing, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gatherings. Likewise, 50% of them use their mother tongue in joking and village meetings and Nepali in story-telling. Similarly, 33% use Nepali in joking, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Only 17% are found using Nepali in singing and Khuna and Nepali both in singing, joking and village meetings.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.4:

Figure 5.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by female (n=6)
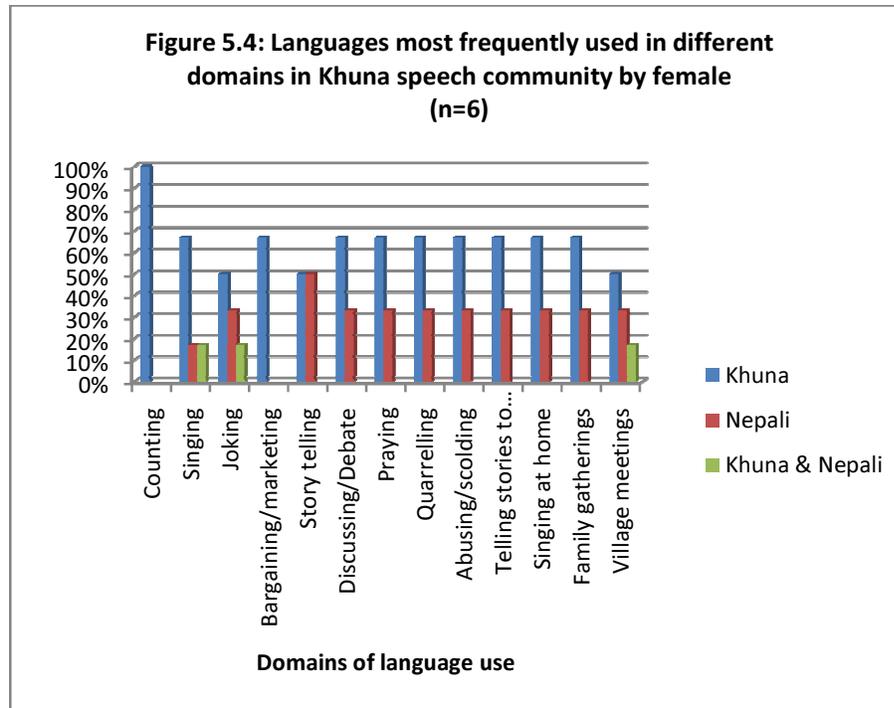
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

We also observed the situation of use of languages in different domains on the basis of age of the informants. Table 5.5 presents the situation of languages used in different domains by Sonaha youngsters from the age of 15 till 29.

Table 5.5: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Sonaha youngsters

Domains	Age: A1 (n=8)		
	Sonaha	Nepali	Sonaha & Nepali
Counting	4(50%)	4(50%)	
Singing	6(75%)		2(25%)
Joking	8(100%)		
Bargaining/marketing	5(62.5%)	1(12.5%)	2(25%)
Story telling	8(100%)		
Discussing/Debate	8(100%)		
Praying	8(100%)		
Quarrelling	8(100%)		
Abusing/scolding	8(100%)		
Telling stories to children	8(100%)		
Singing at home	8(100%)		
Family gatherings	8(100%)		
Village meetings	4(50%)		4(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.5 shows that the young Sonaha native speakers use their mother tongue in all the domains on its maximum. Among the 8 young informants, all of them reported

they use Sonaha for joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gatherings. 75% of them reported they use Sonaha for singing and 62.5% for bargaining/marketing. 50% of them reported they use Sonaha for counting and village meetings, Nepali for counting and Sonaha and Nepali both for the village meetings. 25% of them said they use Sonaha and Nepali both for singing and bargaining/marketing and 12.5% said they use Nepali for bargaining/marketing.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.5:

Figure 5.5: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Sonaha youngsters (n=8)
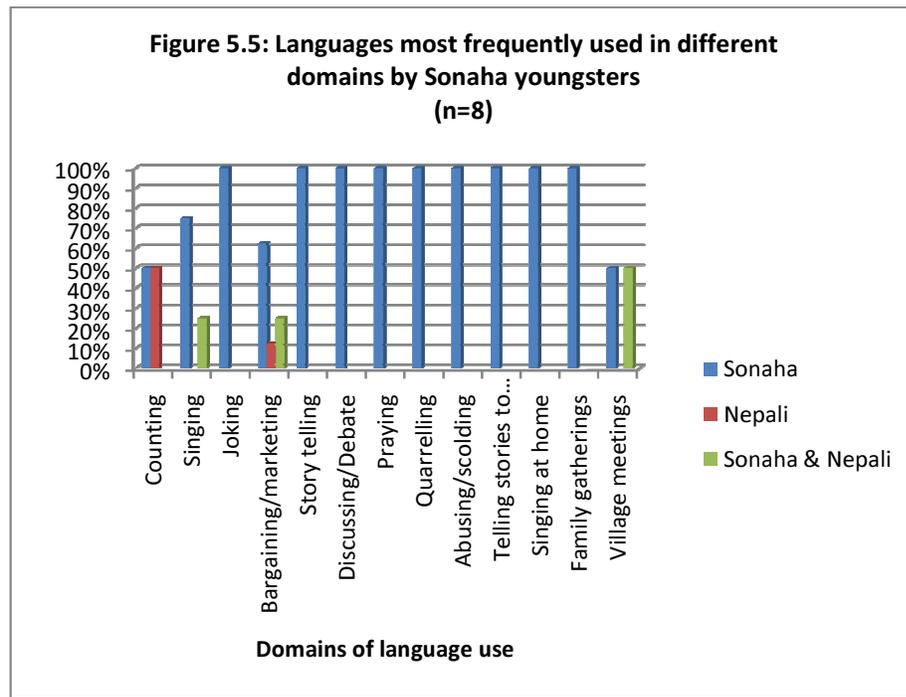
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Similarly, Table 5.6 presents the situation in the same domains among adult Sonaha informants aging from 30 till 59.

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Table 5.6: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Sonaha adults

Domains	Age: A2 (n=8)			
	Sonaha	Nepali	Sonaha & Nepali	Sonaha, Nepali, Dagaura Tharu & Hindi
Counting	2(25%)	6(75%)		
Singing	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)		
Joking	8(100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	6(75%%)		1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)
Story telling	8(100%)			
Discussing/Debate	8(100%)			
Praying	8(100%)			
Quarrelling	8(100%)			
Abusing/scolding	8(100%)			
Telling stories to children	8(100%)			
Singing at home	8(100%)			
Family gatherings	8(100%)			
Village meetings	8(100%)			

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.6 shows the rate of using Sonaha by the native speakers of adult group is almost similar to that of youngsters. Among 8 adult informants, all reported they use Sonaha for each of joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and vllage meetings. 87.5% reported using it for singing, 75% use Sonaha for bargaining/marketing and Nepali for counting. 25% said using Sonaha for counting and 12.5% said they use Nepali for singing, Sonaha and Nepali both for bargaining/marketing as well as Sonaha, Nepali, Dagaura Tharu and Hindi together for bargaining/marketing. The situation is also presented in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Sonaha adults (n=8)
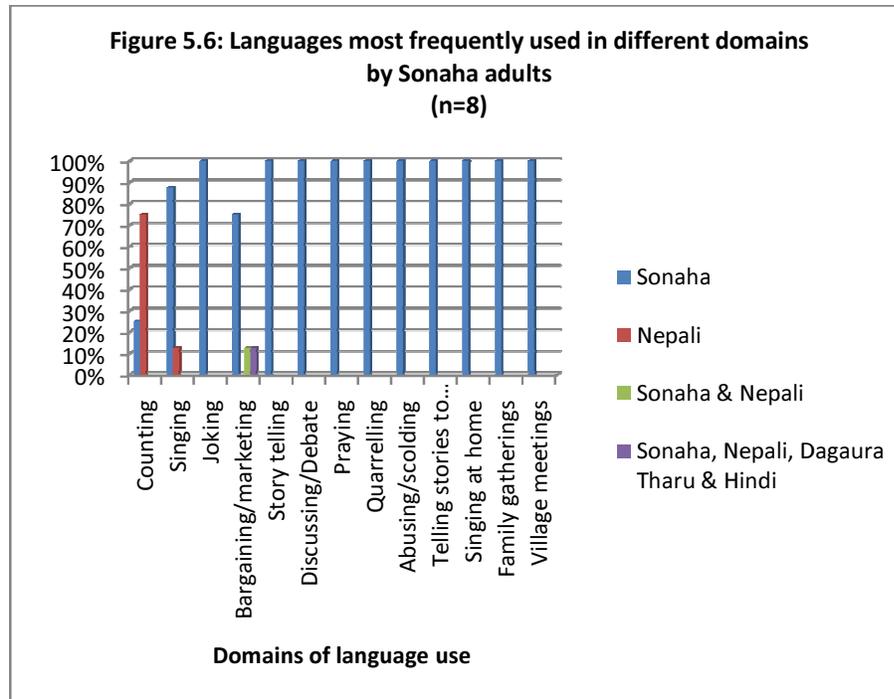
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.7 presents the situation of Sonaha in the same domains among elderly informants of aging 60 years and above.

Table 5.7: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Sonaha elderly people

Domains	Age: A3 (n=8)			
	Sonaha	Nepali	Dagaura Tharu	Sonaha & Dagaura Tharu
Counting	5(62.5%)	3(37.5%)		
Singing	8(100%)			
Joking	8(100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	6(75%)		1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)
Story telling	8(100%)			
Discussing/Debate	8(100%)			
Praying	8(100%)			
Quarrelling	8(100%)			
Abusing/scolding	8(100%)			
Telling stories to children	8(100%)			
Singing at home	8(100%)			
Family gatherings	8(100%)			
Village meetings	6(75%)			2(25%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.7 shows that the rate of using Sonaha in different domains of language use is the highest among elderly informants. Cent percent of them reported they use Sonaha for each of singing, joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and family gatherings. 75% of them said they use it for bargaining/marketing and village meetings and 62.5% use it for counting. Likewise, 37.5% said they use Nepali for counting, 25% said they use Sonaha and Dagaura Tharu both for the village meetings and 12.5% reported using Dagaura Tharu for bargaining/marketing as well as Sonaha and Dagaura Tharu both for this domain.

The situation is also presented in Figure 5.7.
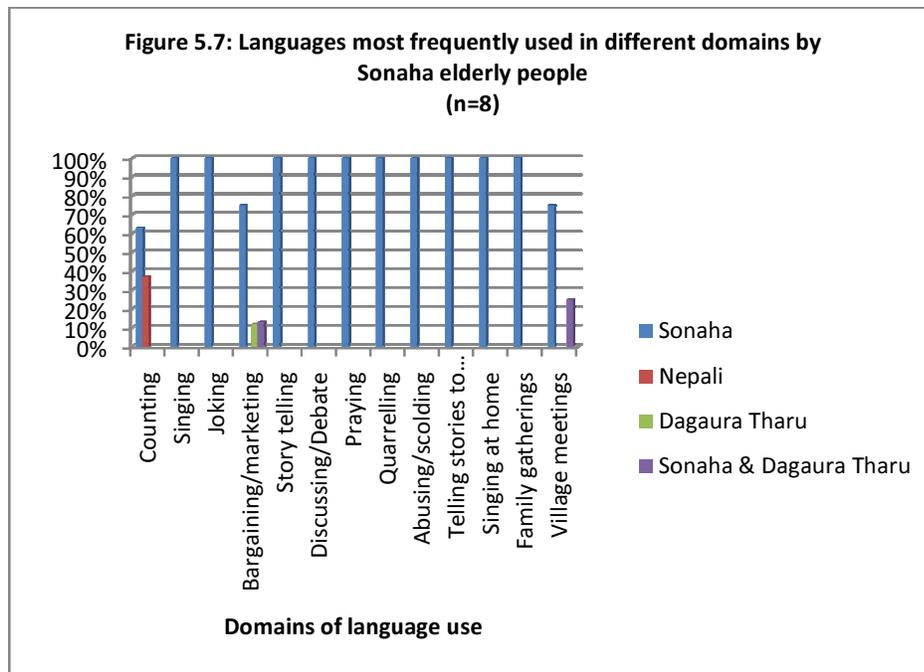
Figure 5.7: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Sonaha elderly people (n=8)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Similarly, we observed the situation of use of languages in different domains on the basis of age of the informants of Khuna speech community. Table 5.8 presents the situation of languages used in different domains by Khuna youngsters from the age of 15 till 29.

Table 5.8: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Khuna youngsters

Domains	Age: A1 (n=4)			
	Khuna	Nepali	Dagaura Tharu	Khuna & Nepali
Counting	1(25%)	2(50%)	1(25%)	
Singing	2(50%)	1(25%)		1(25%)
Joking	4(100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	2(50%)		1(25%)	1(25%)
Story telling	3(75%)		1(25%)	
Discussing/Debate	3(75%)		1(25%)	
Praying	4(100%)			
Quarrelling	4(100%)			
Abusing/scolding	4(100%)			
Telling stories to children	4(100%)			
Singing at home	4(100%)			
Family gatherings	4(100%)			
Village meetings	2(50%)		2(50%)	

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.8 shows that the young Khuna native speakers use their mother tongue in all the domains on its maximum. Among the 4 young informants, all reported they use Khuna for joking, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children and in family gatherings; 75% said using it for story-telling, 50% for singing, bargaining/marketing and in village meetings and 25% of them use it for counting. Likewise 50% of them said they use Nepali for counting and Dagaura Tharu in the village meetings. Besides, 25% reported using Nepali for singing, Dagaura Tharu for each of bargaining/marketing, story-telling and discussing/debate as well as Khuna and Nepali both for singing and bargaining/marketing. The situation is also presented in Figure 5.8:

Figure 5.8: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Khuna youngsters (n=4)
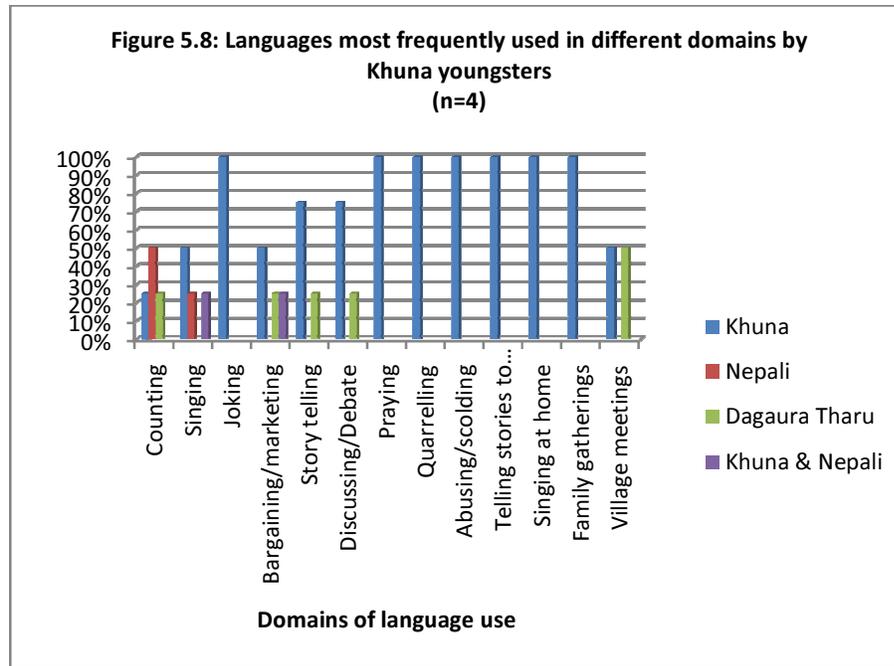
Similarly, Table 5.9 presents the situation in the same domains among adult Khuna informants aging from 30 till 59.

Table 5.9: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Khuna adults

Domains	Age: A2 (n=4)	
	Khuna	Nepali
Counting	2(50%)	2(50%)
Singing	3(75%)	1(25%)
Joking	3(75%)	1(25%)
Bargaining/marketing	3(75%)	1(25%)
Story telling	3(75%)	1(25%)
Discussing/Debate	3(75%)	1(25%)
Praying	3(75%)	1(25%)
Quarrelling	3(75%)	1(25%)
Abusing/scolding	3(75%)	1(25%)
Telling stories to children	3(75%)	1(25%)
Singing at home	3(75%)	1(25%)
Family gatherings	3(75%)	1(25%)
Village meetings	3(75%)	1(25%)

Table 5.9 shows the rate of using Khuna among the native speakers of adult group is still impressive. Among 4 adult informants, 75% reported they use Khuna for each of singing, joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying,

quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home, in family gatherings and village meetings. 25% said they use Nepali in these domains whereas 50% of them said they use either Khuna or Nepali for counting. The situation is also presented in Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Khuna adults (n=4)
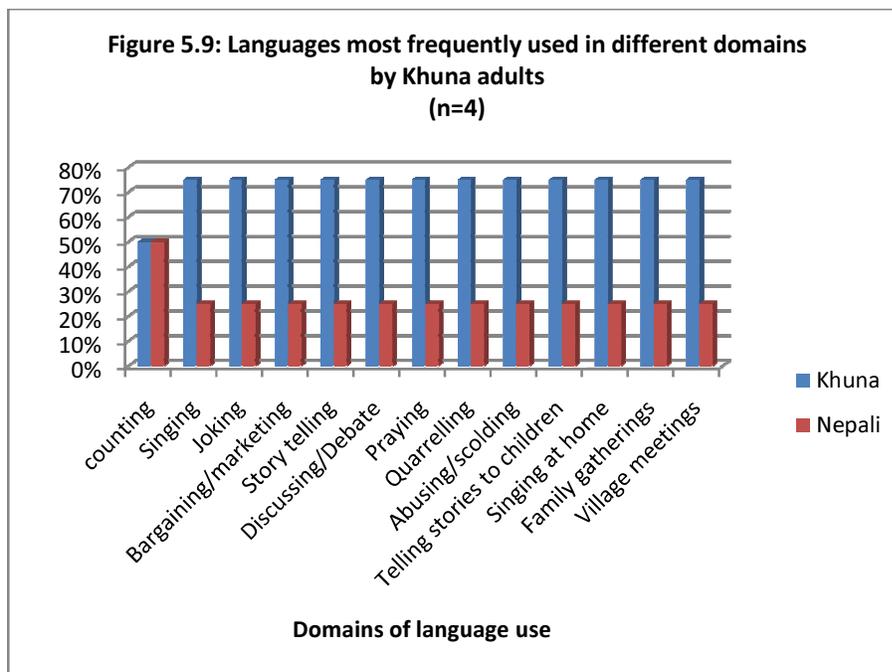
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.10 presents the situation of Sonaha in the same domains among elderly informants of aging 60 years and above.

Table 5.10: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Khuna elderly people

Domains	Age: A3 (n=4)		
	Khuna	Nepali	Khuna & Nepali
Counting		3(75%)	1(25%)
Singing	3(75%)	1(25%)	
Joking	4(100%)		
Bargaining/marketing	4(100%)		
Story telling	4(100%)		
Discussing/Debate	4(100%)		
Praying	4(100%)		
Quarrelling	4(100%)		
Abusing/scolding	4(100%)		
Telling stories to children	4(100%)		
Singing at home	4(100%)		
Family gatherings	4(100%)		
Village meetings	4(100%)		

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.10 shows that the rate of using Khuna in different domains of language use is the highest among the elderly informants. Cent percent of them reported they use Khuna for each of joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home as well as in family gatherings and village meetings. 75% reported using Sonaha for singing and Nepali for counting. Besides, 25% reported using Nepali for singing and Khuna and Nepali both for counting.

The information in the table is also presented in Figure 5.10.

Figure 5.10: Languages most frequently used in different domains by Khuna elderly people (n=4)
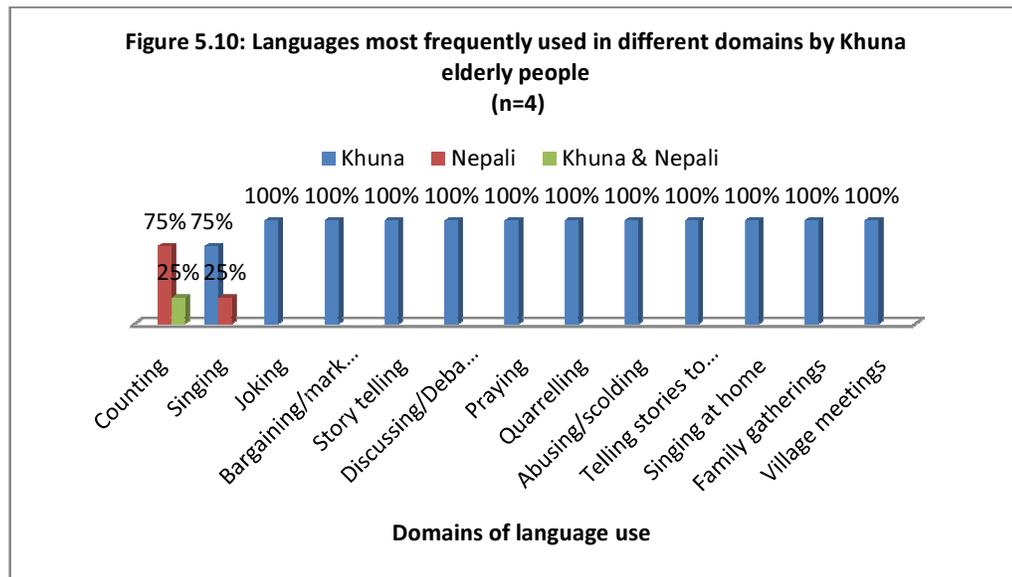
Besides, we observed the situation of domains of language use in both the speech communities on the basis of literacy. Table 5.11 presents the languages frequently used in different domains in Sonaha by literate informants.

Table 5.11: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by literate

Domains	Literate informants (n=8)			
	Sonaha	Nepali	Sonaha and Nepali	Sonaha, Nepali, Dagaura Tharu & Hindi
Counting	4(50%)	4(50%)		
Singing	6(75%)		2(25%)	
Joking	4(50%)	1(12.5%)	2(25%)	1(12.5%)
Bargaining/marketing	8(100%)			
Story telling	8(100%)			
Discussing/Debate	8(100%)			
Praying	8(100%)			
Quarrelling	8(100%)			
Abusing/scolding	8(100%)			
Telling stories to children	8(100%)			
Singing at home	8(100%)			
Family gatherings	8(100%)			
Village meetings	4(50%)		4(50%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.11 shows that all the literate Sonaha speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use. Cent percent of all **8** informants reported they use Sonaha in each of bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gatherings. Similarly, 75%% literate speakers said using their mother tongue in singing and 50% said they use Sonaha in counting, joking and in village meetings; Nepali for counting and Sonaha and Nepali both in the village meetings. 25% of them reported using Sonaha and Nepali both for singing and joking whereas 12.5% said they use Nepali as well as Sonaha, Nepali, Dagaura Tharu and Hindi together for joking. The findings are also presented in the Figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by literate (n=8)
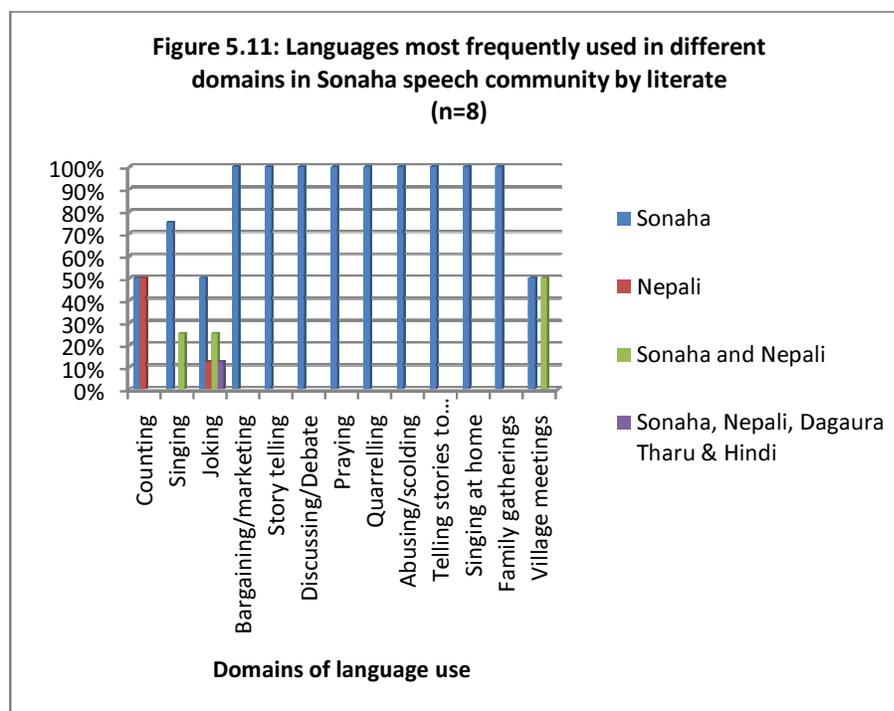
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.12 presents languages most frequently used in different domains by illiterate Sonaha informants.
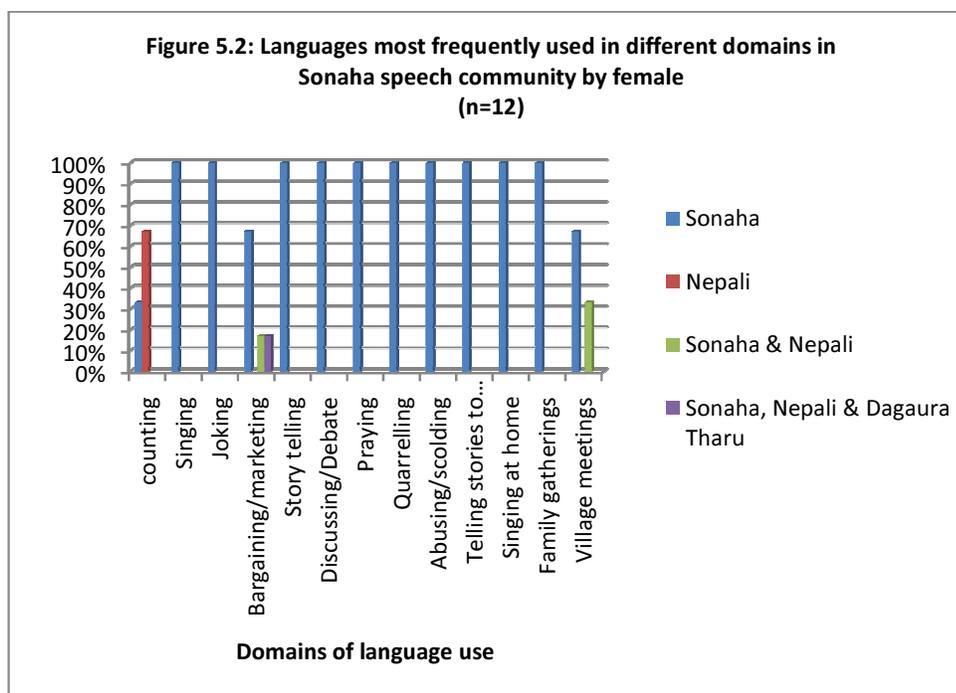
Table 5.12: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by illiterate

Domains	Illiterate informants (n=16)			
	Sonaha	Nepali	Sonaha & Nepali	Sonaha, Nepali & Dagaura Tharu
Counting	7(43.75%)	9(56.25%)		
Singing	15(93.75%)	1(6.25%)		
Joking	16(100%)			
Bargaining/marketing	13(81.25%)		1(6.25%)	2(12.5%)
Story telling	16(100%)			
Discussing/Debate	16(100%)			
Praying	16(100%)			
Quarrelling	16(100%)			
Abusing/scolding	16(100%)			
Telling stories to children	16(100%)			
Singing at home	16(100%)			
Family gatherings	16(100%)			
Village meetings	14(87.5%)			2(12.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.12 shows that all the illiterate Sonaha speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use as joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gatherings. Similarly, 93.75%% are using their mother tongue for singing, 87.5% in village meetings, 81.25% for bargaining/marketing and 43.75% for counting. In the same way, 56.25% reported they use Nepali for counting, 12.5% reported using Sonaha, Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together for bargaining/marketing and in village meetings. Besides, 6.25% reported using Nepali for singing and Sonaha and Nepali both for bargaining/marketing.

The information in the table is also presented in the Figure 5.12.
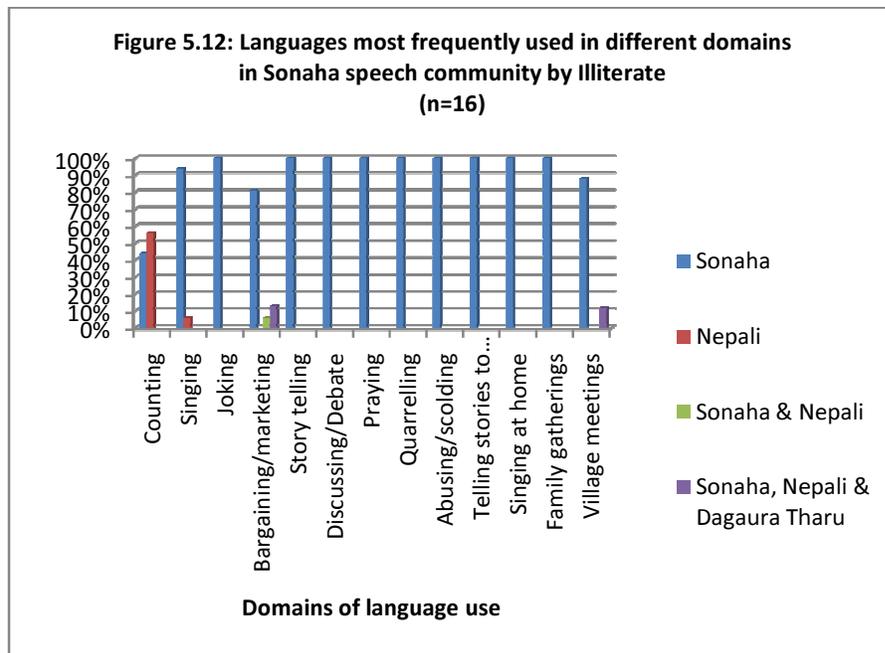
Figure 5.12: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Sonaha speech community by Illiterate (n=16)

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Similarly, we observed the situation of domains of language use in Khuna speech community on the basis of literacy. Table 5.13 presents the situation of use of languages in different domains by the literate Khuna informants.
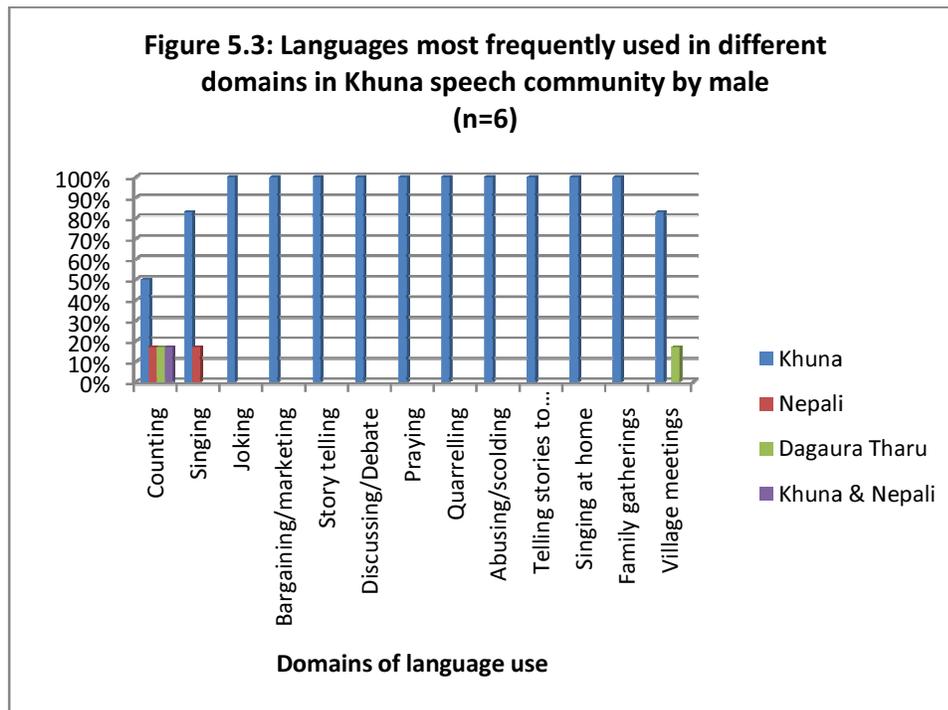
Table 5.13: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by literate

Domains	Literate (n=4)		
	Khuna	Nepali	Dagaura Tharu
Counting	2(50%)	1(25%)	1(25%)
Singing	3(75%)	1(25%)	
Joking	3(75%)	1(25%)	
Bargaining/marketing	3(75%)	1(25%)	
Story telling	3(75%)	1(25%)	
Discussing/Debate	3(75%)	1(25%)	
Praying	4(100%)		
Quarrelling	4(100%)		
Abusing/scolding	4(100%)		
Telling stories to children	4(100%)		
Singing at home	4(100%)		
Family gatherings	4(100%)		
Village meetings	2(50%)		2(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.13 shows that all the literate Khuna speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use as praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gatherings. Similarly, 75% literate speakers are using their mother tongue in singing, joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling and discussing/debate and 50% use it for counting and in village meetings whereas they also use Dagaura Tharu in the village meetings. Besides, 25% reported using Nepali for counting, singing, joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling and discussing/debate and also Dagaura Tharu for counting.

The findings are also presented in the Figure 5.13:

Figure 5.13: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by literate (n=4)
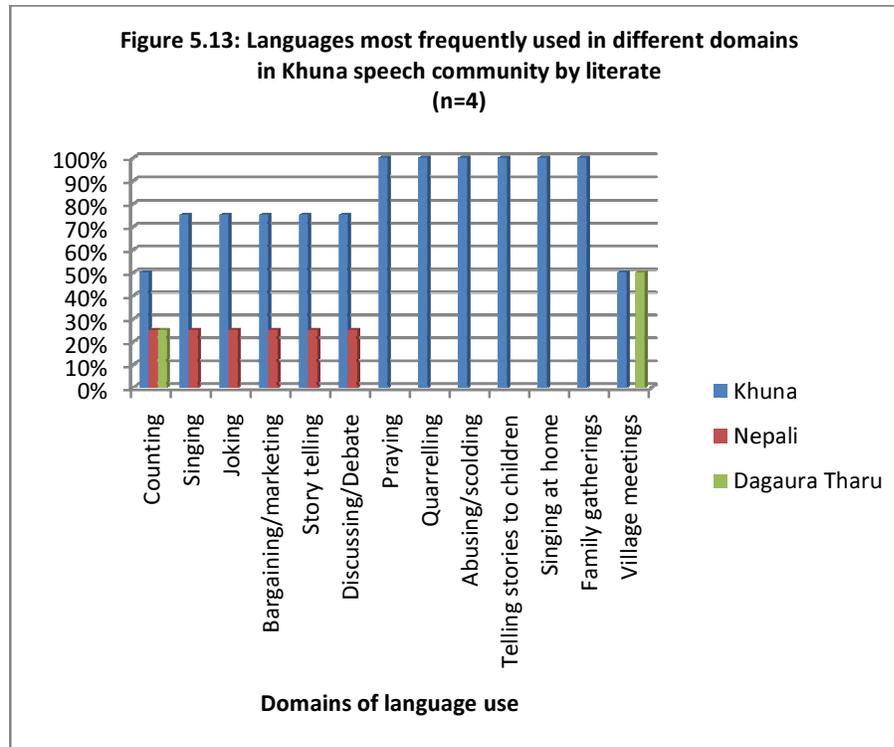
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Likewise, Table 5.14 presents languages most frequently used in different domains by illiterate Khuna speakers.

Table 5.14: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by illiterate

Domains	Illiterate informants (n=8)		
	Khuna	Nepali	Khuna & Nepali
Counting	1(12.5%)	6(75%)	1(12.5%)
Singing	5(62.5%)	2(25%)	1(12.5%)
Joking	6(75%)	1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)
Bargaining/marketing	6(75%)	1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)
Story telling	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Discussing/Debate	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Praying	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Quarrelling	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Abusing/scolding	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Telling stories to children	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Singing at home	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Family gatherings	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	
Village meetings	7(87.5%)	1(12.5%)	

Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.14 shows that 87.5% of the illiterate Khuna speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains such as story-telling, discussing/debate, praying,

quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gathering and village meetings. Likewise 75% of them use their mother tongue for joking and bargaining/marketing and Nepali for counting. 25% of them use Nepali for singing and 12.5% reported using mother tongue for counting; Nepali for joking, bargaining/marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings; and Khuna & Nepali both for counting, joking and bargaining/marketing.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.14.

Figure 5.14: Languages most frequently used in different domains in Khuna speech community by illiterate (n=8)
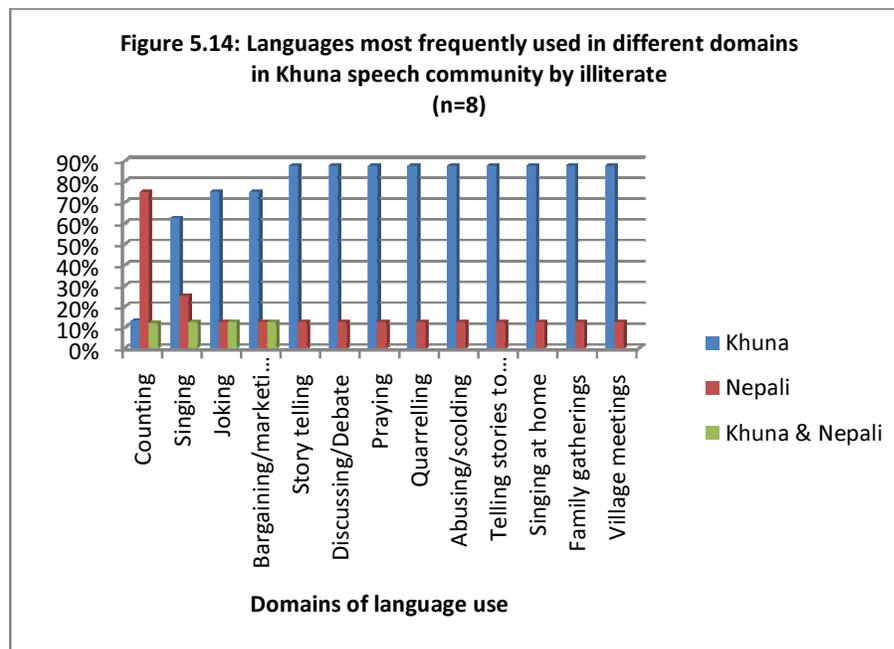
Source: Field Visit, Linguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

5.2 Language use in educational and social matters

Most of the Sonaha and Khuna speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members for discussing different family matters. Same is the case in talking about educational and social matters with their family members. On all survey points all the respondents said that all the members of Sonaha and Khuna speech communities use only their mother tongue while talking to their family members about educational and social matters. All the males as well as females use their mother tongue to their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouses and children while discussing about educational and social matters.

5.3 Language use in letter writing

Since the literacy rate in Sonaha and Khuna is very poor and vernacular for education and literacy is Nepali, majority of speakers use Nepali in letter writing to their family members. When the informants were asked what languages they use for letter-writing, all literate Sonaha informants responded they use only Nepali in this domain. But Khuna literate informants responded variably. Among 4 literate Khuna informants 3 were male and 1 was female. Among them, 2 of the male informants and the one female informant said they use Nepali while one of the male said they use Khuna for writing letters to all of the family members including grandparents, parents, spouses and children.

5.4 Languages used outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbours and at school by Sonaha and Khuna children. As the children of the Sonaha and Khuna native speakers are bi/multilingual, they use their mother tongue, Nepali, both of the mother tongue and Nepali and other languages outside the home. Table 5.15 presents the languages Sonaha children usually speak while playing with children, talking with neighbors and at school.

Table 5.15: Languages Sonaha children usually speak

	Male(n=11)			Female(n=11)		
Languages	Domains			Domains		
	Playing with other children	Talking with neighbors	At school	Playing with other children	Talking with neighbors	At school
Sonaha	8(73%)	6(55%)		7(64%)	7(64%)	1(9%)
Nepali		3(27%)	11(100%)		1(9%)	9(82%)
Sonaha and & Dagaura Tharu	2(18%)	1(9%)		2(18%)	2(18%)	
Sonaha & Nepali		1(9%)		1(9%)		
Sonaha, Dagaura Tharu & Nepali				1(9%)	1(9%)	1(9%)
Dagaura Tharu, Rana Tharu & Nepali	1(9%)					

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.15 shows that out of 11 male respondents having children, 73% reported their children speak Sonaha while playing with other children. 18% reported their children using Sonaha and Dagaura Tharu and 9% reported using Dagaura Tharu, Rana Tharu and and Nepali together in this domain. While talking to neighbors, 55% male respondents reported their children use Sonaha, 27% said they use Nepali and 9% each of them reported using Sonaha and Dagaura Tharu or Sonaha and Nepali together in this domain. But all male respondents reported their children use Nepali Nepali at school.

Regarding 11 female respondents with children, 64% reported their children using Sonaha, 18% said they use Sonaha and Dagaura Tharu and 9% each said either using Sonaha and Nepali or Sonaha, Dagaura Tharu and Nepali together while talking to other children. While talking to neighbours, 64% female respondents said their children use Sonaha, 18% said using Sonaha and Dagaura Tharu and 9% each said using Nepali or Sonaha, Dagaura Tharu and Nepali together in this domain. Similarly, 82% of the female respondents said their children use Nepali at school whereas 9% each said using either Sonaha or Sonaha, Dagaura Tharu and Nepali together in this domain.

Similarly, Table 5.16 presents languages generally spoken by Khuna children in these domains.

Table 5.16: Languages Khuna children usually speak

	Male(n=6)			Female(n=5)		
Languages	Domains			Domains		
	Playing with other children	Talking with neighbors	At school	Playing with other children	Talking with neighbors	At school
Khuna	2(33%)	5(83%)		4(80%)	4(80%)	4(80%)
Nepali	2(33%)		5(83%)			
Dagaura Tharu	1(17%)				1(20%)	
Khuna, Dagaura Tharu & Rana Tharu	1(17%)	1(17%)		1(20%)		1(20%)
Dagaura Tharu & Nepali			1(17%)			

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.16 shows that out of 6 male Khuna respondents having children, 33% each reported their children speak either Khuna or Nepali and 17% each said they use either Dagaura Tharu or Khuna, Dagaura Tharu and Rana Tharu together while playing with other children. 83% reported their children using Khuna and 17% said they use Khuna, Dagaura Tharu and Rana Tharu together while talking to neighbors. Likewise, 83% male respondents reported their children using Nepali and 17% reported using Dagaura Tharu and Nepali together at school.

Regarding 5 female Khuna respondents having children, 80% of them said their children use Khuna while playing with other children or talking to neighbours or at school. Besides, 20% of them said the children using Khuna, Dagaura Tharu and Rana Tharu for either playing with other children or at school and that they use Dagaura Tharu while talking to neighbours.

5.5 Language for invitation

Most of the members of Sonaha and Khuna speech communities use their own mother tongue in different rites and rituals. Same is the case in marriage invitations too. Table 5.17 presents the languages used by Sonaha native speakers for marriage invitations.

Table 5.17: Languages used for marriage invitations in Sonaha speech community by sex

Languages	Male(n=12)	Female(n=12)
Sonaha	9(75%)	11(92%)
Nepali	3(25%)	1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.17 shows most of the Sonaha people use their own mother tongue for writing marriage invitations as 75% of the male and 92% of the female respondents reported using Sonaha in the domain. Likewise, 25% of the male and 8% of the female respondents reported they use Nepali for marriage invitations.

Responses of the informants are also presented in Figure 5.15.

Figure 5.15: Languages used for marriage invitations in Sonaha speech community by sex
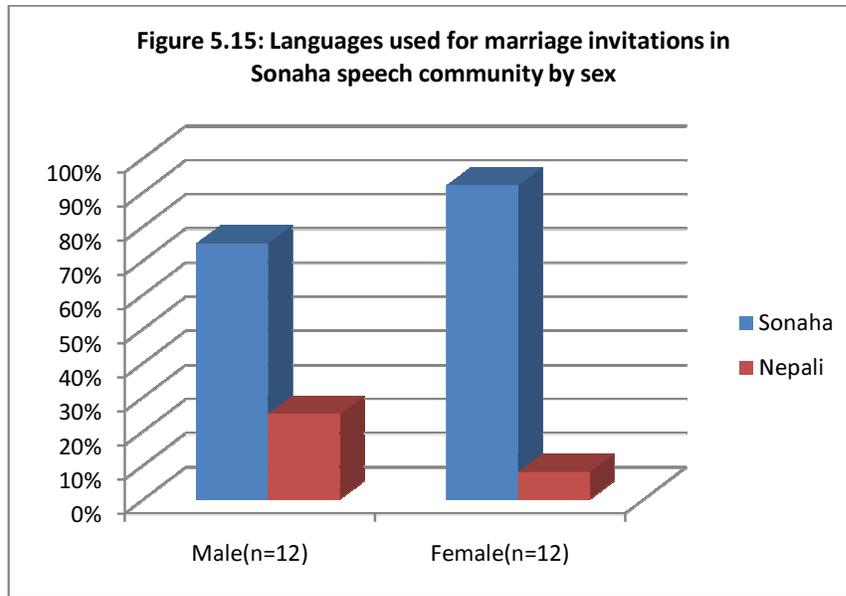
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Similarly, Table 5.18 presents the situation of language use in the same domain by age of the Sonaha informants.

Table 5.18: Languages used for marriage invitations in Sonaha speech community by age

Languages	Age Groups		
	A1(n=8)	A2(n=8)	A3(n=8)
Sonaha	6(75%)	7(87.5%)	7(87.5%)
Nepali	2(25%)	1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.18 shows that out of 8 informants from each age group, 75% of the youngsters and 87.5% each of of the adult and elderly informants use Sonaha for marriage invitations. Likewise, 25% of the youngsters and 12.5% each of the adult and elderly informants use Nepali in this domain.

The information in this domain is also presented in Figure 5.16.
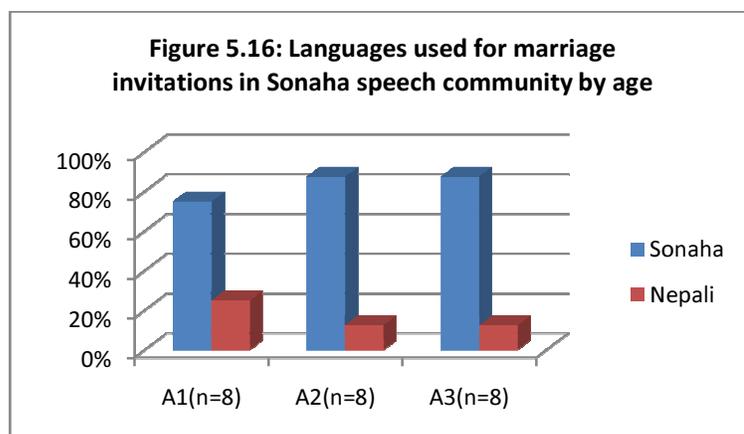
Figure 5.16: Languages used for marriage invitations in Sonaha speech community by age

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The situation in this domain is also presented on the basis of literacy of the Sonaha informants in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: Languages used for marriage invitations in Sonaha speech community by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	6(75%)	14(87.5%)	20(83%)
Nepali	2(25%)	2(12.5%)	4(17%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.19 shows that 75% of the literate and 87.5% of the illiterate informants use Sonaha for marriage invitations. Besides, 25% of the literate and 12.5% of the illiterate informants use Nepali in the domain.

In totality, 83% of the Sonaha informants use their mother tongue and the rest 17% use Nepali for marriage invitations.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.17.

Figure 5.17: Languages used for marriage invitations in Sonaha speech community by literacy
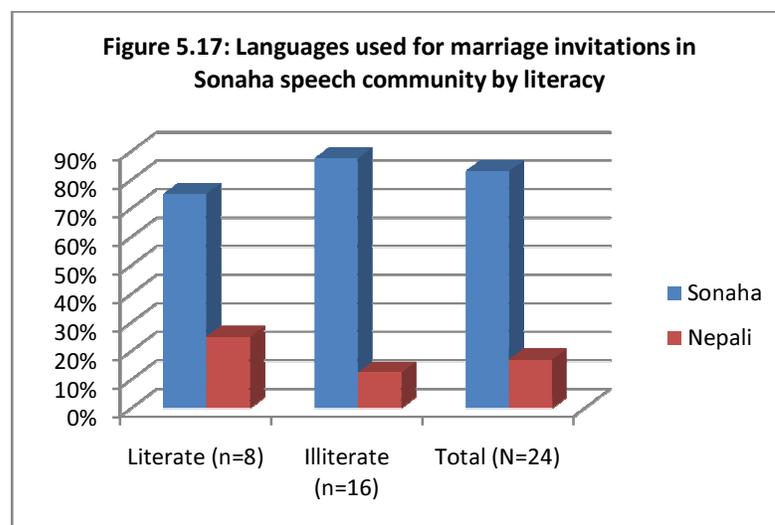
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The situation of languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna community was also observed on the basis of sex, age and literacy. Table 5.20 presents the languages used by Khuna native speakers for marriage invitations.

Table 5.20: Languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna speech community by sex

Languages	Male(n=6)	Female(n=6)
Khuna	5(83%)	4(66%)
Nepali	1(17%)	1(17%
Khuna & Nepali		1(17%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.20 shows most of the Khuna people use their own mother tongue for writing marriage invitations as 83% of the male and 66% of the female respondents reported using Khuna in the domain. Likewise 17% of the male and female respondents reported they use Nepali and only 17% of the female reported using Khuna and Nepali together for marriage invitations.

Response of the informants is also presented in Figure 5.18.

Figure 5.18: Languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna speech community by sex
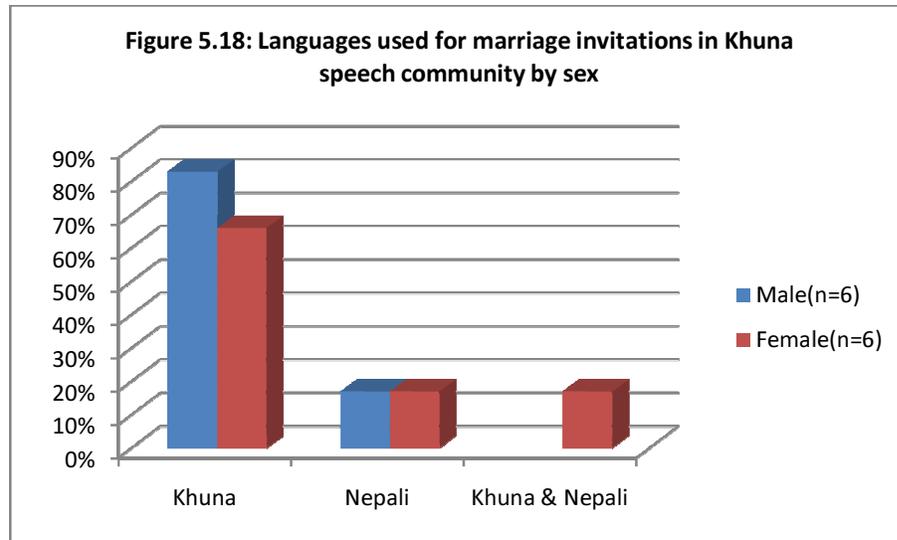
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Similarly, Table 5.21 presents the situation of language use in the same domain by age of the Khuna informants.

Table 5.21: Languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna speech community by age

Languages	Age Groups		
	A1(n=4)	A2(n=4)	A3(n=4)
Khuna	3(75%)	4(100%)	2(50%)
Nepali	1(25%)		1(25%)
Khuna & Nepali			1(25%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.21 shows that out of 4 informants of each age group, 75% of the youngsters, cent percent of the adult and 500% of the elderly informants use Khuna for marriage invitations. Likewise, 25% of each of the youngsters and elderly informants use Nepali and 25% of the elderly informants use Khuna and Nepali both in the domain.

The information in this domain is also presented in Figure 5.19.

Figure 5.19: Languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna speech community by age
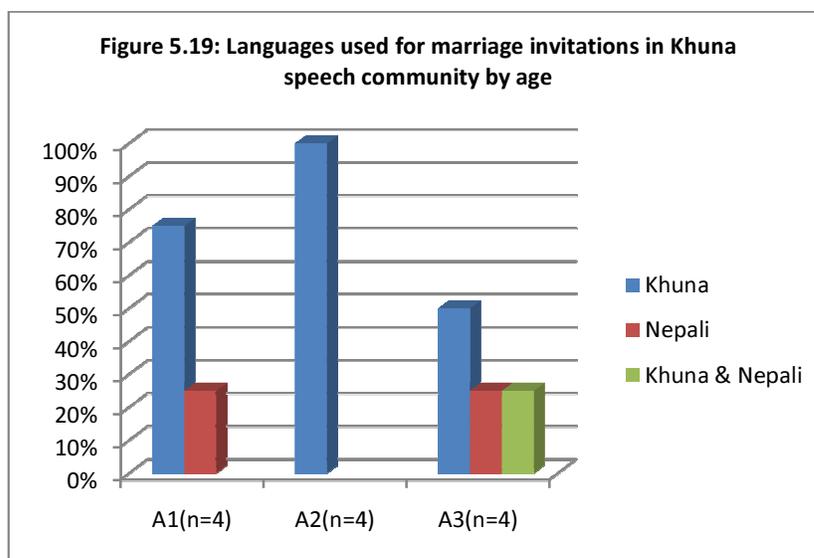
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

The situation in this domain is also presented on the basis of literacy of the Khuna informants in Table 5.22.

Table 5.22: Languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna speech community by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Khuna	3(75%)	6(75%)	9(75%)
Nepali	1(25%)	1(12.5%)	2(17%)
Khuna & Nepali		1(12.5%)	1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.22 shows that 75% each of the 4 literate and 8 illiterate Khuna respondents reported they use Khuna for marriage invitations. Likewise 25% of the literate and 12.5% of the illiterate informants said they use Nepali and 12.5% of the illiterate use Khuna and Nepali both in the domain.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.20.

Figure 5.20: Languages used for marriage invitations in Khuna speech community by literacy
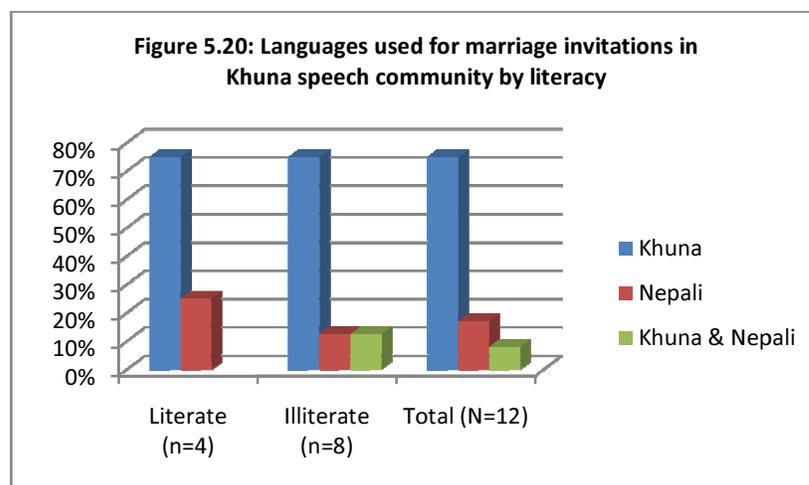
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Observing the three Tables and Figures for this domain, they comprise that 75% of the Khuna informants use Khuna, 17% use Nepali and 8% of them use both Khuna and Nepali for marriage invitations in totality.

5.6 Language use in minutes writing

Since the official language of the nation is Nepali, the documents which are written for official purposes and the documents which should be recorded in the community offices are mostly written in Nepali. Table 5.23 presents the data related to the language used in minutes writing provided by the speakers of the Sonaha speech community by sex.

Table 5.23: Language used to write minutes in Sonaha speech community meetings by sex

N = 24	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)
Sonaha	2(17%)	3(25%)
Nepali	9(75%)	8(67%)
Sonaha and Nepali	1(8%)	1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.23 shows that the rate of using Nepali for minute writing in the Sonaha speech community meetings is high. Only 17% of the male and 25% of the female respondents reported they write minutes in the community meetings in Sonaha. 75% of the male and 67% of the female reported they use Nepali in the domain and 8% of each of the male and female respondents reported using Sonaha and Nepali both for minute writing in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.21.

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Figure 5.21: Languages used to write minutes in Sonaha speech community meetings by sex
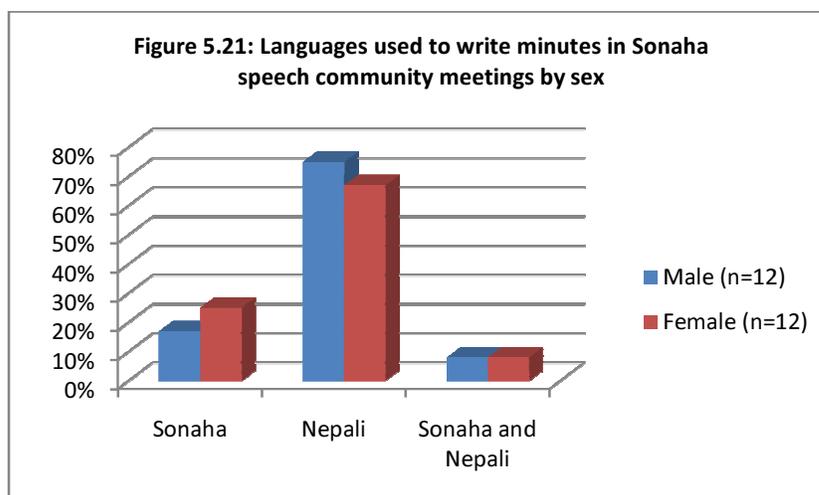
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.24 also presents the situation of the same domain on the basis of literacy of the Sonaha informants.

Table 5.24: Languages used to write minutes in Sonaha community meetings by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)
Sonaha	3(37.5%)	2(12.5%)
Nepali	5(62.5%)	12(75%)
Sonaha and Nepali		2(12.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.24 shows that 37.5% of the literate and 12.5% of the illiterate informants report use of Sonaha to write minutes in the community meetings. 62.5% of the literate and 75% of the illiterate informants report use of Nepali in the domain and only 12.5% of the illiterate informants report use of Sonaha and Nepali together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.22.

Figure 5.22: Languages used to write minutes in Sonaha speech community meetings by literacy
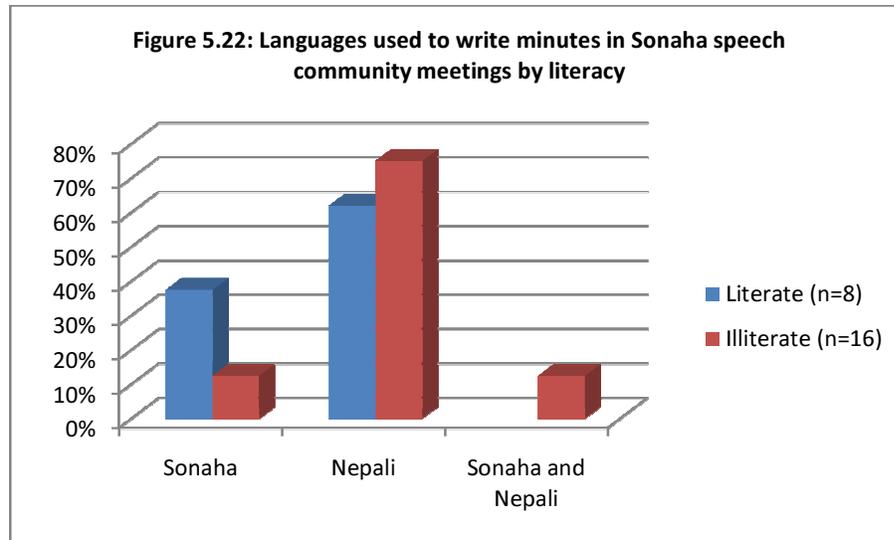
Similarly, Table 5.25 presents the situation in the domain according to the age groups of the informants.

Table 5.25: Language used to write minutes in Sonaha speech community meetings by age

Languages	A1(n=8)	A2(n=8)	A3(n=8)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	1(12.5%)	2(25%)	2(25%)	5(21%)
Nepali	7(87.5%)	5(62.5%)	5(62.5%)	17(71%)
Sonaha and Nepali		1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)	2(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.25 shows 12.5% of the youngsters use Sonaha and 87.5% of them use Nepali for minute writing in the community meetings. Likewise, 25% each of adult and elderly informants use Sonaha, 62% each or them use Nepali and 12.5% each of them use Sonaha and Nepali both for writing minutes in the community meetings.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.23.

Figure 5.23: Languages used to write minutes in Sonaha speech community meetings by age
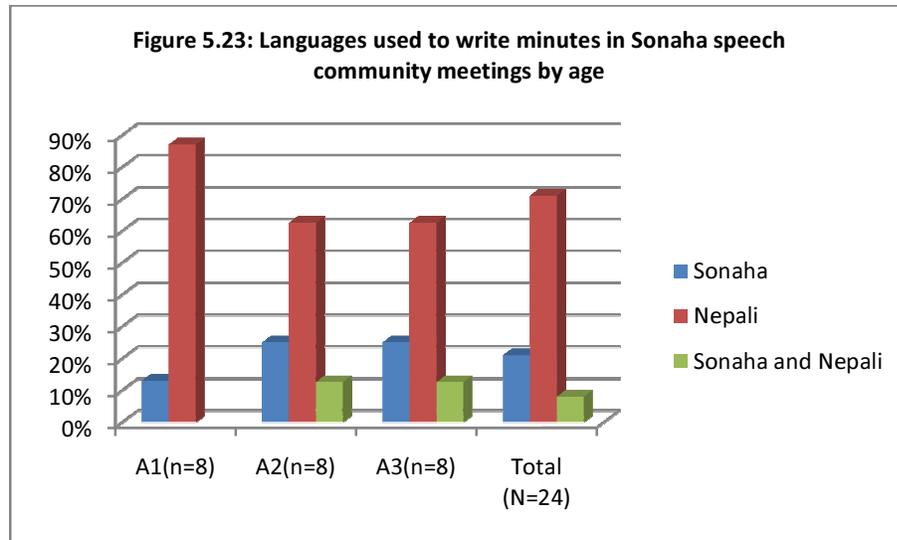
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Going through the three Tables and Figures in this domain, it comprises that 21% of the 24 informants report use of Sonaha, 71% report use of Nepali and 8% of them report use of Sonaha and Nepali together for writing minutes in the community meetings.

Similarly, we observed the situation in the same domain in Khuna speech community. Table 5.26 presents the data related to the language used in minutes writing provided by the speakers of the Khuna speech community.

Table 5.26: Languages used to write minutes in Khuna speech community meetings by sex

N = 12	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)
Khuna	1(17%)	2(33%)
Nepali	5(83%)	4(67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.26 shows that the rate of using Nepali for minute writing in the Khuna speech community meetings is high. Only 17% of the male and 33% of the female respondents reported they write minutes in the community meetings in Khuna whereas 83% of the male and 67% of the female respondents reported use of Nepali in the domain.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.24.

Figure 5.24: Languages used to write minutes in Khuna speech community meetings by sex
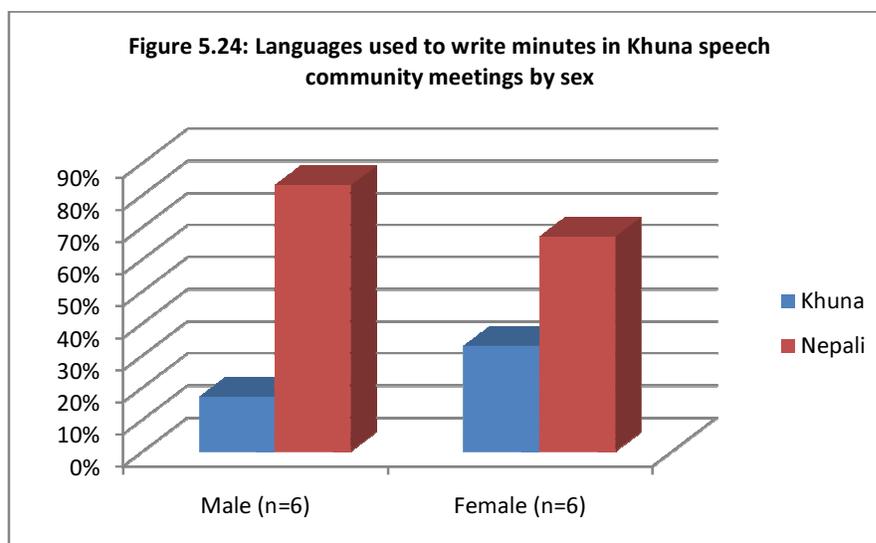
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.27 also presents the situation of the same domain on the basis of literacy of the Khuna informants.

Table 5.27: Language used to write minutes in Khuna community meetings by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Khuna		3(37.5%)	3(25%)
Nepali	4(100%)	5(62.5%)	9(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

Table 5.27 shows that cent-percent of the literate Khuna informants write manutes only in Nepali in the community meetings whereas 37.5% of the illiterate use Khuna and the rest 62.5% of them use Nepali in the domain.

This information is also presented in Figure 5.25.

Figure 5.25: Languages used to write minutes in Khuna speech community meetings by literacy
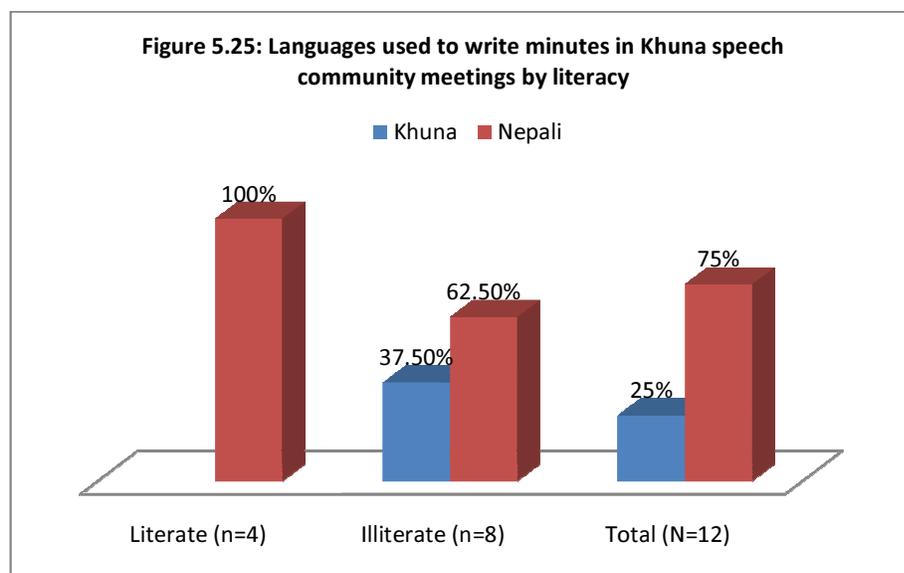
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

Similarly, Table 5.28 presents the situation in the domain according to the age groups of the informants.

Table 5.28: Language used to write minutes in Khuna community meetings by age

Languages	A1(n=4)	A2(n=4)	A3(n=4)
Khuna		2(50%)	1(25%)
Nepali	4(100%)	2(50%)	3(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.28 shows cent percent of the Khuna youngsters use only Nepali for writing minutes in the community meetings. Likewise, 50% the adults say they use Khuna and the rest use Nepali in the domain. 25% of the elderly informants report use of Khuna and the rest 75% of them say they use Nepali in the domain.

The information is also presented in Figure 5.26.

Figure 5.26: Languages used to write minutes in Khuna speech community meetings by age
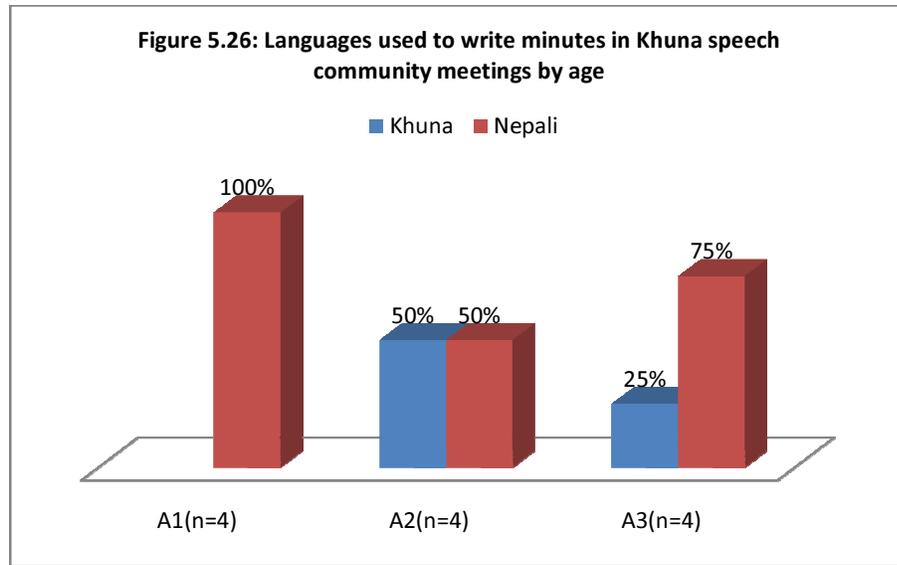
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Going through the three Tables in this domain, it comprises that 25% of the 12 Khuna informants report use of Khuna and 75% of them report use of Nepali for writing minutes in the community meetings.

5.7 Frequency in the use of languages

As mentioned in section 5.1 and 5.2, Sonaha and Khuna are the prominent languages in the respective speech communities; the speakers of Sonaha and Khuna use their mother tongue very frequently. When the informants were asked how often they use their mother tongue, all of them responded that they all use their mother tongue daily. It shows that all the speakers of the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities use their mother tongue daily. There is no one to say that s/he uses his/her mother tongue sometimes or never. Therefore, it can be said that the Sonaha and Khuna languages are very frequently used in the respective speech communities.

Moreover, their response for the languages of wider communication came highly with the use of Nepali. Besides, they also use some other languages in this domain. Table 5.29 presents responses provided by the respondents about the languages of wider communication and their frequencies among Sonaha informants by sex.

Table 5.29: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies in Sonaha speech community by sex

	Male (n=12)		Female (n=12)		Total(N=24)	
LWC	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Nepali	7(58%)	3(25%)	6(50%)	3(25%)	13(54%)	6(25%)
Doteli				1(8%)		1(8%)
Nepali & Doteli	1(8%)			1(8%)	1(8%)	1(8%)
Nepali & Hindi		1(8%)				1(8%)
Dagaura Tharu				1(8%)		1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.29 shows that 58% of the male and 50% of the female informants use Nepali as the language of wider communication (LWC) daily and that 25% of each of the male and female informants use it rarely. Likewise 8% of the female use Doteli rarely whereas 8% of the male use Nepali and Doteli together daily and 8% of the female informants use them rarely as LWC. Besides, 8% of the male also reported using Nepali and Hindi together and 8% of the female reported using Dagaura Tharu rarely as LWC.

The situation in this domain is also presented in Table 5.30 on the basis of age groups of the informants.

Table 5.30: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies in Sonaha speech community by age

	A1(n=8)		A2(n=8)		A3(n=8)	
LWC	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Nepali	5(62.5%)	3(37.5%)	3(37.5%)	2(25%)	5(62.5%)	1(12.5%)
Doteli				1(12.5%)		
Nepali & Doteli			1(12.5%)			1(12.5%)
Nepali & Hindi				1(12.5%)		
Dagaura Tharu						1(12.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.30 shows 62.5% of each of the youngsters and elderly as well as 37.5% of the adult Sonaha informants use Nepali daily as the language for wider communication (LWC). Likewise, 37.5% of the youngsters, 25% of the adult and 12.5% of the elderly Sonaha informants use it rarely as LWC. 12.5% of the adult use Nepali and Doteli together daily but Doteli or Nepali and Hindi together rarely as LWC. Likewise, 12.5% of the elderly Sonaha informants said they use Nepali and Doteli together or only Dagaura Tharu rarely as LWC.

Besides, Table 5.31 presents situation in the same domain by level of literacy of the Sonaha informants.

Table 5.31: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies in Sonaha speech community by literacy

LWC	Literate (n=8)		Illiterate (n=16)		Total(N=24)	
	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Nepali	4(50%)	3(37.5%)	9(56%)	3(19%)	13(54%)	6(25%)
Doteli				1(6%)		1(4%)
Nepali & Doteli		1(12.5%)	1(6%)		1(4%)	1(4%)
Nepali & Hindi				1(6%)		1(4%)
Dagaura Tharu				1(6%)		1(4%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.31 shows that 50% of the literate and 56% of the illiterate Sonaha informants use Nepali daily and 37.5% of the literate and 19% of the illiterate use it rarely as LWC. 6% of the illiterate use Doteli rarely, Nepali and Doteli together daily and either Nepali and Hindi together or Dagaura Tharu rarely as their LWC. But 12.5% of the literate reported using Nepali and Doteli rarely as LWC.

Concluding the data presented by the three Tables in this domain, 54% of all the 24 Sonaha informants report they use Nepali daily and 25% report using it rarely as LWC. 4% each of them report using Nepali and Doteli daily or rarely as LWC where as 4% of them say they use Doteli or Nepali and Hindi together or Dagaura Tharu rarely as LWC. It depicts a clear picture that Sonaha is no more the language of wider communication in the speech community.

We observed the situation for language of wider communication among Khuna respondents in the same manner. Table 5.32 presents responses provided by the respondents about the languages of wider communication and their frequencies among Khuna informants by sex.

Table 5.32: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies in Khuna speech community by sex

LWC	Male (n=6)		Female (n=6)		Total(N=12)	
	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Khuna			2(33%)		2(17%)	
Nepali	3(50%)	3(50%)	1(17%)	3(50%)	4(33%)	6(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.32 shows that the male Khuna respondents have dropped using their mother tongue as language of wider communication whereas 33% of the female Khuna informants report they still use it rarely as LWC. Moreover, 50% of the male and 17% of the female report they use Nepali daily and 50% each of the male and female informants report using is rarely as LWC.

The situation in this domain is also presented in Table 5.33 on the basis of age groups of the informants.

Table 5.33: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies in Khuna community by age

	A1(n=4)		A2(n=4)		A3(n=4)	
LWC	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Khuna	2(50%)					
Nepali	2(50%)		1(25%)	3(75%)	1(25%)	3(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.33 shows 50% of the Khuna youngsters use Khuna and the rest 50% use Nepali daily as the languages of wider communication. The adult and elderly Khuna respondents have already dropped their mother tongue and adopted Nepali as LWC as 25% of each of the adult and elderly informants report they use Nepali daily and 75% of each the two age groups say they use it rarely as LWC.

Besides, Table 5.34 presents situation in the same domain by level of literacy of the Khuna informants.

Table 5.34: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies in Khuna community by literacy

	Literate (n=4)		Illiterate (n=8)		Total(N=12)	
LWC	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely	Daily	Rarely
Khuna	1(25%)		1(12.5%)		2(17%)	
Nepali	2(50%)	1(25%)	2(25%)	5(62.5%)	4(33%)	6(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.34 shows that 25% of the literate and 12.5% of the illiterate Khuna informants use Khuna daily as LWC. 50% of the literate and 25% of the illiterate use Nepali daily whereas 25% of the literate and 62.5% of the illiterate use it rarely as LWC.

Concluding the data presented by the three Tables in this domain in Khuna speech community, 17% of all the 12 informants report they use Khuna daily as LWC, 33% of them report using Nepali daily and 50% report using it rarely as LWC. The findings conclude that Khuna community still use their mother tongue as LWC but the trend is rapidly shifting towards Nepali.

Similarly, we observed the use of language when the speakers of other languages visit the homes of Sonaha and Khuna speking communities. Table 5.35 presents the data of language frequently used when the speakers of other languages visit Sonaha's home by sex of the informants.

Table 5.35: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit Sonaha's home by sex

Languages	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	1(8%)		1(4%)
Nepali	10(83%)	6(50%)	16(67%)
Sonaha, Nepali & Dagaura Tharu		1(8%)	1(4%)
Nepali & Dagaura Tharu		1(8%)	1(4%)
Nepali & Hindi	1(8%)	1(8%)	2(8%)
Nepali & Doteli		2(17%)	2(8%)
Nepali, Doteli & Dagaura Tharu		1(8%)	1(4%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.35 shows that the languages frequently used when speakers of the other languages visit homes of the Sonaha speech community are mainly Nepali, Hindi and Doteli. Only 8% of the male Sonaha respondents reported that they use Sonaha with the visitors of other language speaking communities whereas 83% of the male and 50% of the female respondents reported they use Nepali with them. Likewise,17% of the female respondents Nepali and Doteli together whereas 8% each of the male and female use Nepali and Hindi together with them. Besides, 8% of the female respondents said using Sonaha, Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali, Doteli and Dagaura Tharu together in the domain.

Besides, Table 5.36 presents the same data according to the age groups of the Sonaha informants.

Table 5.36: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit Sonaha's home by age

Languages	A1(n=8)	A2(n=8)	A3(n=8)
Sonaha		1(12.5%)	
Nepali	7(87.5%)	4(50%)	5(62.5%)
Sonaha, Nepali & Dagaura Tharu			1(12.5%)
Nepali & Dagaura Tharu			1(12.5%)
Nepali & Hindi	1(12.5%)		1(12.5%)
Nepali & Doteli		1(12.5%)	1(12.5%)
Nepali, Doteli & Dagaura Tharu		1(12.5%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.36 shows that only 12.5% of the adult Sonaha informants use Sonaha with the non-Sonaha speaking visitors at home. Likewise, 87.5% of the youngsters, 50% of the adults and 62.5% of the elderly informants use Nepali whereas 12.5% each of the youngsters and elderly informants use Nepali and Hindi together, 12.5% each of the

adult and elderly informants use Nepali and Doteli together, whereas 12.5% adults use Nepali, Doteli and Dagaura Tharu together and 12.5% of the elderly informants use Sonaha, Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together with visitors at home from other language speaking communities.

In addition to this, Table 5.37 presents the same data according to literacy of the Sonaha informants.

Table 5.37: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit Sonaha's home by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha		1(6%)	1(4%)
Nepali	7(87.5%)	9(56%)	16(67%)
Sonaha, Nepali & Dagaura Tharu		1(6%)	1(4%)
Nepali & Dagaura Tharu		1(6%)	1(4%)
Nepali & Hindi	1(12.5%)	1(6%)	2(8%)
Nepali & Doteli		2(12.5%)	2(8%)
Nepali, Doteli & Dagaura Tharu		1(6%)	1(4%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 5.37 shows that only 6% of the illiterate Sonaha informants use Sonaha with the non-Sonaha speakers visiting their home. 87.5% of the literate and 56% of the illiterate informants use Nepali in the domain, 12.5% of the literate and 6% of the illiterate use Nepali and Hindi together, 12.5% of the illiterate use Nepali and Doteli together and 6% of the illiterate use equally of Sonaha, Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali, Doteli and Dagaura Tharu together.

The three Tables and Figures in this domain conclude that 67% of the 24 Sonaha informants use Nepali, 8% use equally either Nepali and Hindi together or Nepali and Doteli together and 4% use equally Sonaha or Sonaha, Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali and Dagaura Tharu together or Nepali, Doteli and Dagaura Tharu with non-Sonaha speaking visitors at home in totality.

In the same manner, we observed the languages used in this domain in Khuna speech community. Table 5.38 presents the data, related to the use of the language when the speakers of other languages visit homes of the Khuna speech community by sex.

Table 5.38: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit Khuna's home by sex

Languages	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Khuna		2(33%)	2(17%)
Nepali	6(100%)	3(50%)	9(75%)
Khuna & Nepali		1(17%)	1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.38 shows that the languages frequently used when speakers of the other languages visit homes of the Khuna speech community are Khuna and Nepali. All the male informants reported they use Nepali in the doamain whereas 50% of the female reported using it. 33% of the female said they use Khuna and 17% of them said they use both of Khuna and Nepali when the visitors of other languages visit their home.

Besides, Table 5.39 presents the same data according to the age groups of the Khuna informants.

Table 5.39: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit Khuna's home by age

Languages	A1(n=4)	A2(n=4)	A3(n=4)
Khuna		1(25%)	1(25%)
Nepali	3(75%)	3(75%)	3(75%)
Khuna & Nepali	1(25%)		

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.39 shows that 75% each of the youngsters, adults and elderly informants use Nepali with the non-Khuna speaking visitors at home. Likewise, 25% each the adults and the elderly informants use Nepali whereas 25% of the youngsters Khuna and Nepali together in the domain.

In addition to this, Table 5.40 presents the same data according to literacy of the Khuna informants.

Table 5.40: Language frequently used when speakers of other languages visit Khuna's home by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Khuna		2(25%)	2(17%)
Nepali	4(100%)	5(62.5%)	9(75%)
Khuna & Nepali		1(12.5%)	1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 5.40 shows that all of the literate and 62.5% of the illiterate Khuna informants use Khuna with the non-Khuna speakers visiting their home. Besides, 17% of the illiterate use Khuna and 8% of them use Khuna and Nepali in the domain.

The three Tables and Figures concerned with Khuna informant in this domain conclude that 75% of the 12 informants use Nepali, 17% use Khuna and 8% of them use Khuna and Nepali together with non-Khuna speaking visitors at home.

Photographs for appreciative inquiry in this domain are given:

Photograph 5.1 Domains of language use in Murgahawa Gaon, VDC Daulatpur-2, Bardiya

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey Sonaha, 2012

Photograph 5.2 Domains of language use in Bani Shivir, VDC Krishnapur-2, Kanchanpur
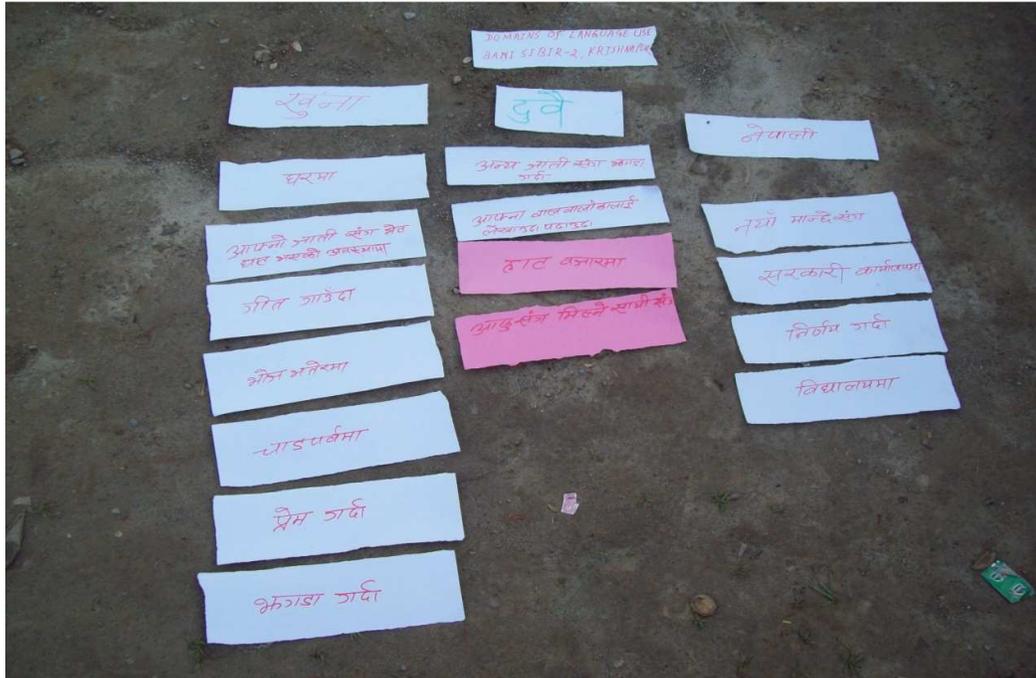
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey Khuna, 2012

On the basis of the Photographs pasted in this subsection, the Sonaha and Khuna languages are found to be used by Sonaha and Khuna community in their respective localities, daily works, public places, singing, quarrelling, telling stories, betrothal, during feasts and festivals, wedding ceremonies, working in the field, fishing, panning gold, abusing each other, with family members, worshipping, funeral, death ritual, offerings to deities, folksongs, merry-makings. They use Nepali in government offices, writing official letters, in school classes, writing mortgaging documents, on journeys, writing decisions in a meeting, in an organization, in hospitals, in a seminar. Likewise the domains of use of both the mother tongues and Nepali are in temples, schools, fair, conference, market places, organizations, group discussions, debate, politics, education and media.

5.8 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed situation of language use in common domains such as counting, singing, marketing, story-telling, debating, game, quarrelling, scolding, singing at home, family gatherings and rural meetings. The data analyzed in these domains depicts strength of both the languages. It shows that both the languages,

Sonaha and Khuna are mostly used in different domains of family and social matters. Besides, Nepali is found to be used for counting and village meetings more than the mother tongue in both the language communities. Regarding language use in educational and social matters, in letter writing, outside home, for invitation, minute writing; the data cited shows that Nepali is increasingly used. Likewise we have discussed frequency in the use of languages. Moreover, we have also presented situation of language use in different domains by means of the appreciative inquiries administered during the survey.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE VITALITY, TRANSMISSION AND MAINTENANCE

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language vitality, transmission and maintenance in general in Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. It consists of five sections. Section 6.1 deals with the intergenerational transmission of the languages. Similarly, in section 6.2, we discuss the languages spoken by younger people of Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. Section 6.3 deals with the transmission of the Sonaha and Khuna languages. In section 6.4, we discuss the language maintenance. At last, section 6.5 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

6.1 Intergenerational transmission

Sonaha and Khuna communities in common are seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is low. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. In response to the question, 'Do all your children speak your mother tongue?' in both the communities, all the informants responded in affirmative.

6.2 Language spoken by younger people

As mentioned in section 6.1, all of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication in the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. But how the younger generation is speaking the mother tongue, the informants were asked the question 'Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?' and all the informants in both the communities answered in affirmative.

Likewise when they were asked 'What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?' all the informants in both the communities said they use their mother tongue, i. e., Sonaha and Khuna, respectively.

Moreover, the informants in both the communities were asked, 'What language do you prefer for your children's primary education?' They responded differently. Table 6.1 presents languages preferred for children in Sonaha speech community.

Table 6.1: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Sonaha speech community by sex

Lanugages	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	8(67%)	9(75%)	17(71%)
Nepali	4(33%)	3(25%)	7(29%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.1 shows that 65% of the male and 75% of female Sonaha respondents prefer Sonaha for their children's primary education whereas 33% of the male and 25% of the female prefer Nepali in this domain.
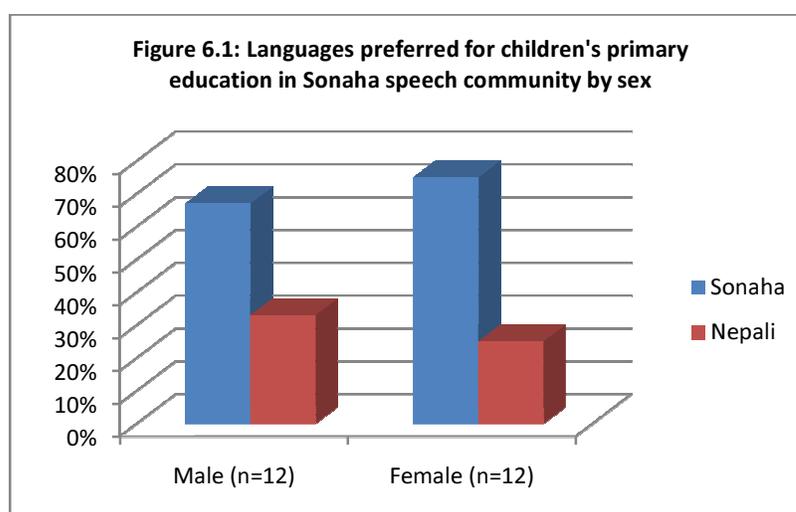
The information is also presented in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Sonaha speech community by sex

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The information in this domain is presented age-wise in the Sonaha community in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Sonaha speech community by age

Lanugages	A.1(n=8)	A2(n=8)	A3(N=8)
Sonaha	5(62.5%)	6(75%)	6(75%)
Nepali	3(37.5%)	2(25%)	2(25%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.2 shows that 62.5% of the youngsters and 75% of each of adults and elderly Sonaha informants prefer their mother tongue for their children's primary education whereas 37.5% of the youngsters and 25% of each of adults and elderly informants prefer Nepali in the domain.
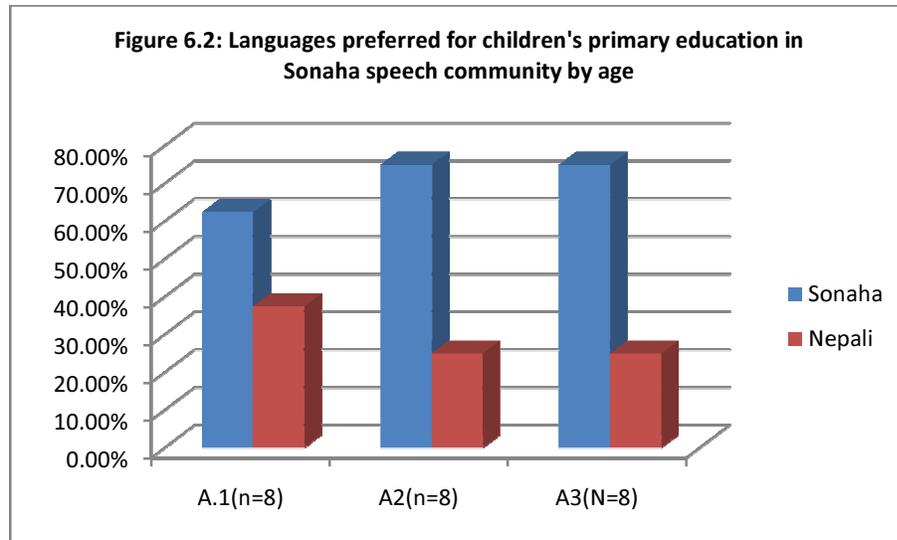
The information is also presented in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Sonaha speech community by age

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The information in this domain is also presented on the basis of literacy of the Sonaha informants in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Sonaha speech community by literacy

Lanugages	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	5(62.5%)	12(75%)	17(71%)
Nepali	3(37.5%)	4(25%)	7(29%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.3 shows that 62.5% of the literate and 75% of the illiterate Sonaha informants prefer Sonaha for their children's primary education whereas 37.5% of the literate and 25% of the illiterate informants prefer Nepali in this domain.

In totality, 71% of the Sonaha informants have responded they prefer their mother tongue for their children's primary education and the rest 29% prefer Nepali in the domain.

The data in the table is also presented in Figure 6.3.
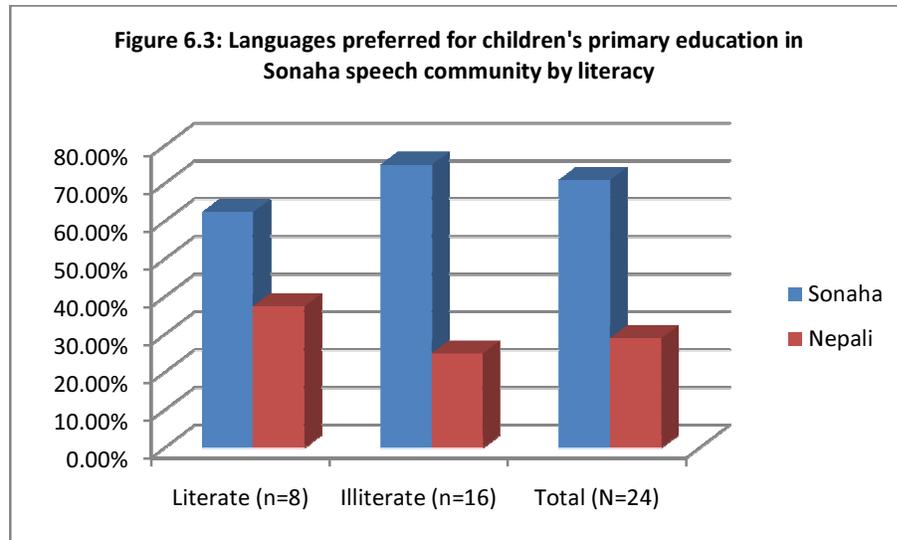
Figure 6.3: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Sonaha speech community by literacy

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

When the same query was put to the Khuna informants, they also responded variably. Table 6.4 presents languages preferred for children's primary education in Khuna community by sex.

Table 6.4: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Khuna speech community by sex

Lanugages	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Khuna	5(83%)	6(100%)	11(92%)
Nepali	1(17%)		1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.4 shows that all female Khuna informants prefer mother tongue for their children's primary education whereas 83% of the male prefer it. The rest 17% of the male prefers Nepali in the domain.

The variant responses of the male Khuna respondents are presented in Figure 6.4.
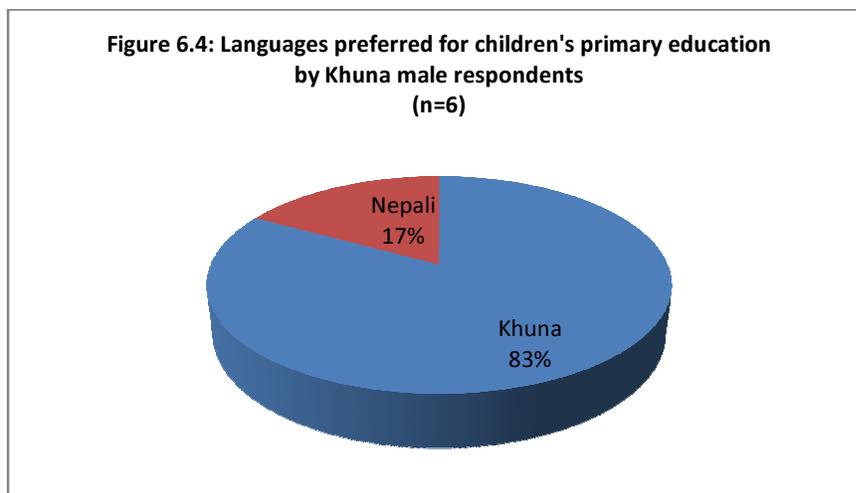
Figure 6.4: Languages preferred for children's primary education by Khuna male respondents (n=6)

Nepali 17%

Khuna 83%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

The data is also presented in this domain by age of the Khuna respondents in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Khuna speech community by age

Lanugages	A1(n=4)	A2(n=4)	A3(n=4)
Khuna	3(75%)	4(100%)	4(100%)
Nepali	1(25%)		

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.5 shows that all the adults and elderly Khuna informants prefer mother tongue for their children's primary education where as 75% of the youngsters prefer the same in the domain. The rest 25% of the youngsters prefer Nepali for their children's primary education.

The variant response of the youngsters is presented in the Figure 6.5.
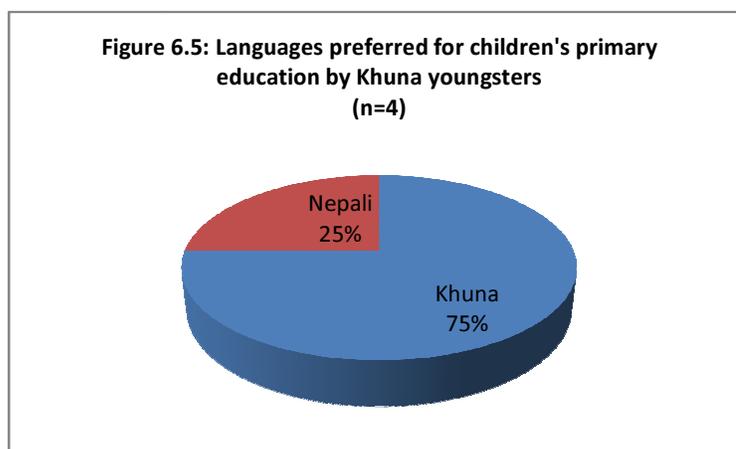
Figure 6.5: Languages preferred for children's primary education by Khuna youngsters (n=4)

Nepali 25%

Khuna 75%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

The data is also presented in this domain on the basis of literacy of the Khuna informants in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Languages preferred for children's primary education in Khuna speech community by literacy

Lanugages	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Khuna	4(100%)	7(87.5%)	11(92%)
Nepali		1(12.5%)	1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.6 shows that all literate Khuna respondents prefer their mother tongue for primary education of their children whereas 87.5% of the illiterate ones also prefer it. The rest 12.5% illiterate respondents prefer Nepali in the domain.

In totality, 92% of the Khuna informants prefer their mother tongue whereas 8% of them prefer Nepali for primary education of their children.

The variablility among illiterate Khuna informants is also presented in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6: Languages preferred for children's primary education by illiterate Khuna respondents (n=8)
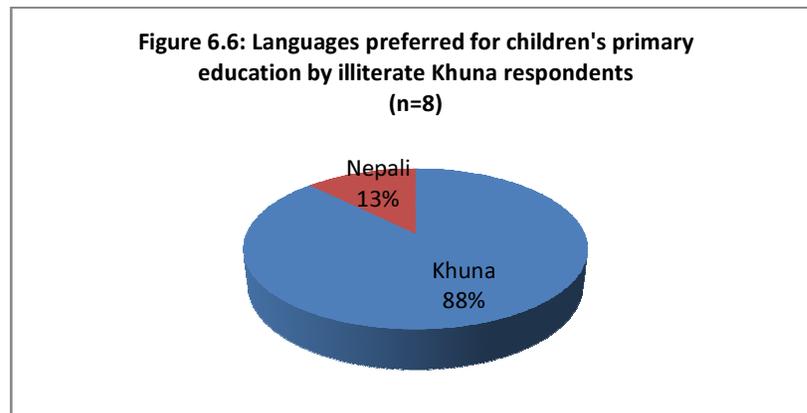
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Likewise, Figure 6.7 presents the situation of preference of languages for the children's primary education in Khuna community in general.

Figure 6.7: Languages preferred for children's primary education by Khuna respondents (n=8)

Nepali 8%

Khuna 92%
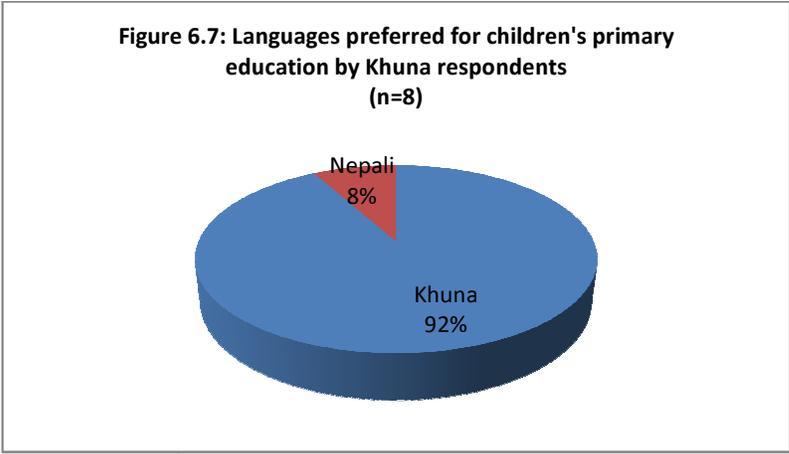
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

It shows that the Sonaha and Khuna languages have the highest vitality.

6.3 Transmission of the languages to the younger generation

Language maintenance in Sonaha and Khuna speech community is satisfactory till now. Table 6.7 presents the situation of inter-marriage in Sonaha community that plays a vital role in language maintenance.

Table 6.7: Practice of inter-marriage in Sonaha speech community by sex

Response	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Yes	2(17%)	4(33%)	6(25%)
No	10(83%)	8(67%)	18(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.7 shows that only 17% of the male and 33% of the female respondents reported there is intermarriage in the Sonaha speech community. But, 83% of the male and 67% of the female respondents denied inter-marriage practice in the speech community.

The information in the table is presented in Figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8: Practice of inter-marriage in the Sonaha speech community by sex (N=24)
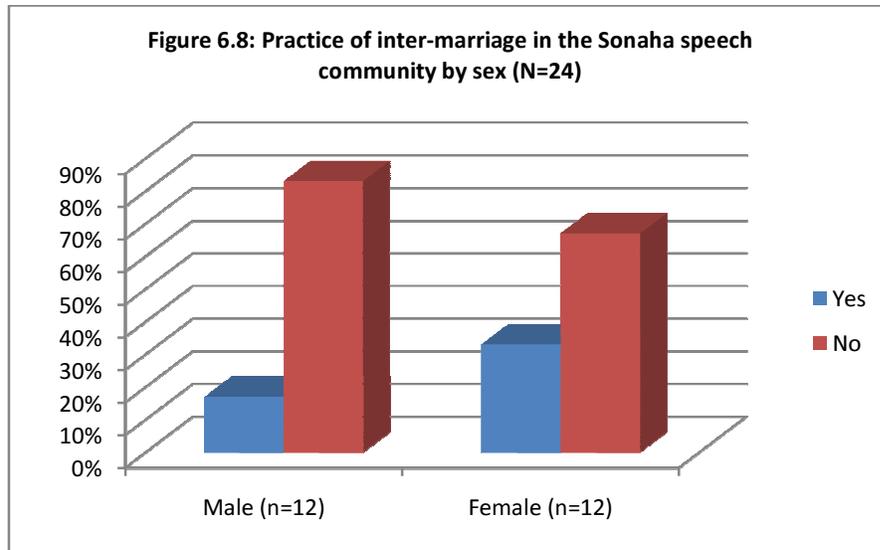
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, Table 6.8 presents the same findings by age of the Sonaha informants.

Table 6.8: Practice of inter-marriage in Sonaha speech community by age

Response	A1(n=8)	A2(n=8)	A3(n=8)
Yes	2(25%)	3(37.5%)	1(12.5%)
No	6(75%)	5(62.5%)	7(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.8 shows that 25% of the youngsters, 37.5% of the adults and 12.5% of the elderly informants in the Sonaha speech community accept practice of inter-marriage whereas 75% of the youngsters, 62.5% of the adults and 87.5% of the elderly informants deny such practice in the community.

This is also presented in Figure 6.9.

Figure 6.9: Practice of inter-marriage in the Sonaha speech community by age (N=24)
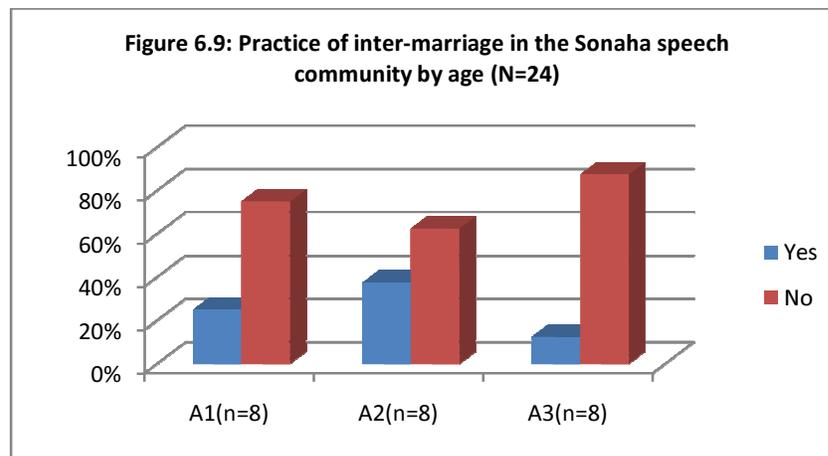
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The findings in this domain are also presented according to literacy of the Sonaha informants in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9: Practice of inter-marriage in Sonaha speech community by literacy

Response	Male (n=8)	Female (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Yes	3(37.5%)	3(19%)	6(25%)
No	5(62.5%)	13(81%)	18(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.9 shows that 37.5% of the literate and 19% of the illiterate Sonaha informants accept practice of inter-marriage in the community whereas 62.5% of the literate and 81% of the illiterate informants deny it.

In totality 25% of the informants accept the practice of inter-marriage whereas 75% of them deny it in the Sonaha speech community.

This information if also presented in Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.10: Practice of inter-marriage in the Sonaha speech community by literacy (N=24)
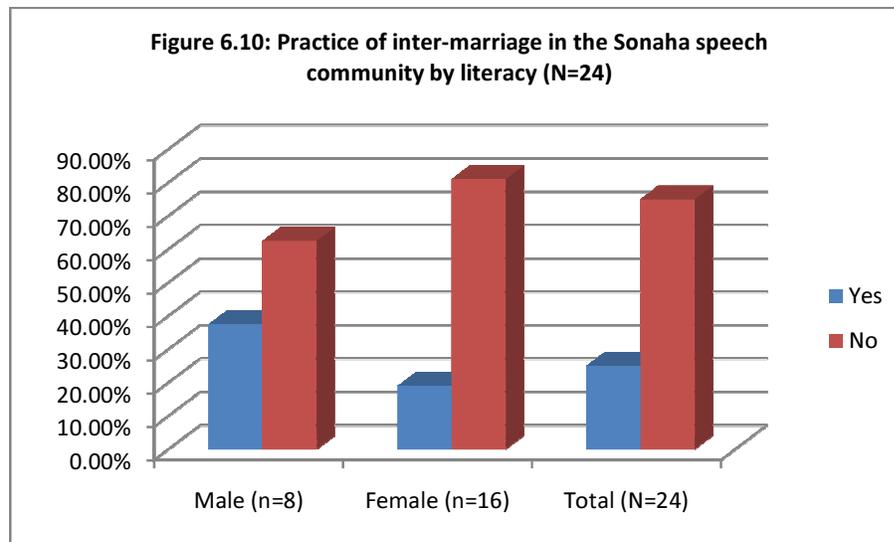
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The same query was administered in the Khuna speech community. Table 6.10 presents situation of practice of inter-marriage in the speech community.

Table 6.10: Practice of inter-marriage in Khuna speech community by sex

Response	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Yes	1(17%)		1(8%)
No	5(83%)	6(100%)	11(92%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.10 shows that only 17% of the male respondents reported there is practice of inter-marriage in the Khuna speech community. Besides, 83% of the male and cent-percent of the female respondents denied the practice in the speech community.

The variable response of the male respondents is presented in Figure 6.11.
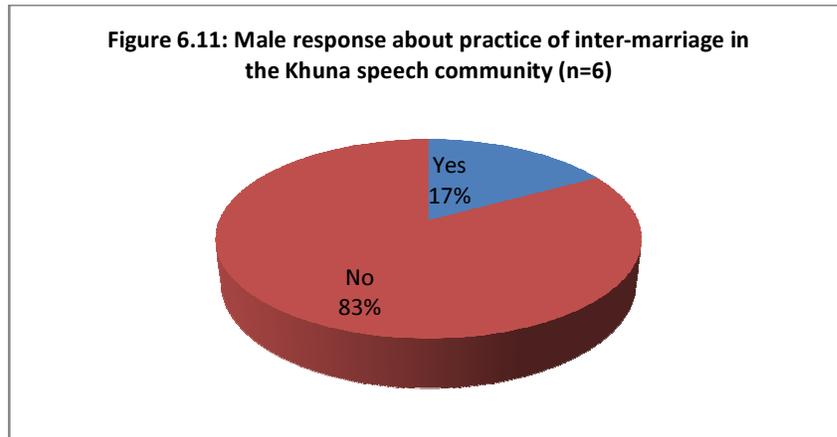
Figure 6.11: Male response about practice of inter-marriage in the Khuna speech community (n=6)

Yes 17%

No 83%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

The findings in this domain are also presented age-wise in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11: Practice of inter-marriage in Khuna speech community by age

Response	A1(n=4)	A2(n=4)	A3(n=4)
Yes	1(25%)		
No	3(75%)	4(100%)	4(100%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.11 shows that only 25% of the Khuna youngsters accept practice of inter-marriage in the speech community whereas 75% of them and cent-percent of the adults and elderly informants deny such practice in the Khuna speech community.

The variable response of the youngsters in this domain is also presented in Figure 6.12.

Figure 6.12: Youngsters' response about practice of inter-marriage in the Khuna speech community (n=4)

Yes 25%

No 75%
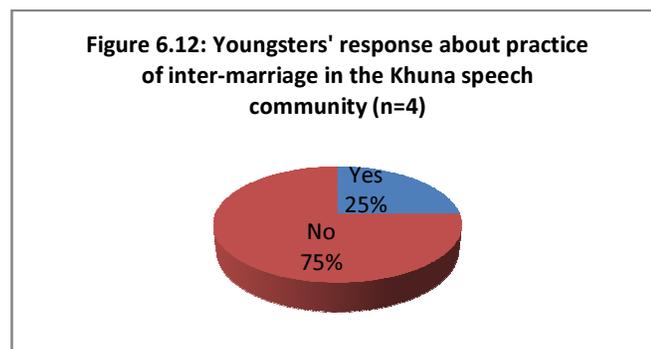
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

The findings are also presented according to literacy among the Khuna community in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: Practice of inter-marriage in Khuna speech community by literacy

Response	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Yes	1(25%)		1(8%)
No	3(75%)	8(100%)	11(92%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.12 shows that only 25% of the literate Khuna informants accept practice of inter-marriage in the speech community whereas 75% of them and cent-percent of the illiterate ones deny it.

The variable response of the literate ones in this domain is also presented in Figure 6.13.

Figure 6.13 Literate informants' response about practice of inter-marriage in the Khuna speech community (n=4)

Yes 25%
No 75%
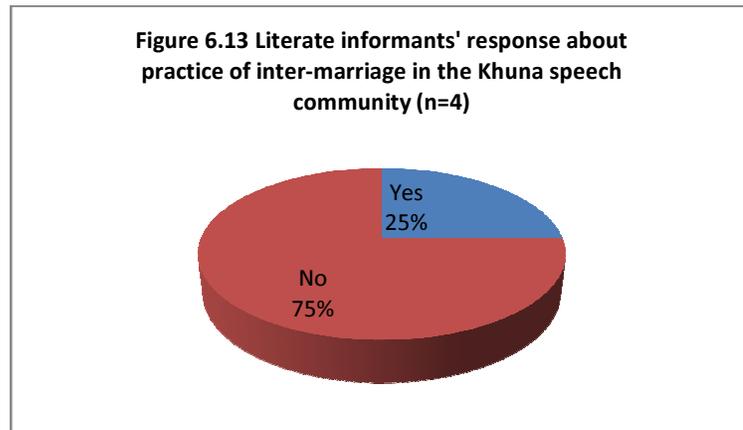
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Going through Table 6.10-6.12, we find only 8% of the Khuna informants accepting practice of inter-marriage whereas 92% denying the practice in the Khuna speech community. Figure 6.14 presents the situation in totality.

Figure 6.14: Response about practice of inter-marriage in the Khuna speech community in general (N=12)

Yes
8%

No
92%
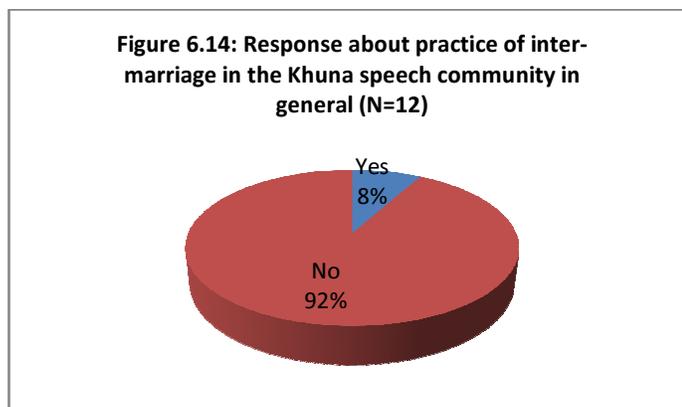
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

To this effect, in response to the question 'If there is inter-communal marriage in your community, which other speech community groups have common marital relationship with your language group?" the language groups the informants provided are presented in the Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Other speech communities in marital relationship with Sonaha speech community

Response	Male (n=2)	Female (n=4)	Total (N=6)
Dagaura Tharu		1(25%)	1(17%)
Dagaura Tharu & Nepali	2(100%)	3(75%)	5(83%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.13 shows that cent-percent of the male respondents who accept practice of inter-marriage in Sonaha reported it happens with Dagaura Tharu and Nepali speech communities. Among the female respondents who accept the practice, 25% of them say it happens with Dagaura Tharu and 75% report to be with Dagaura Tharu and Nepali speech communities together.

In totality, 17% of those accept practice of inter-marriage in the Sonaha speech community report it happens with Dagaura Tharu and the rest 83% say it happens with Dagaura Tharu and Nepali speech communities together.

The information in this domain is also presented in Figure 6.15.

Figure 6.15: Other speech communities in marital relationship with Sonaha community
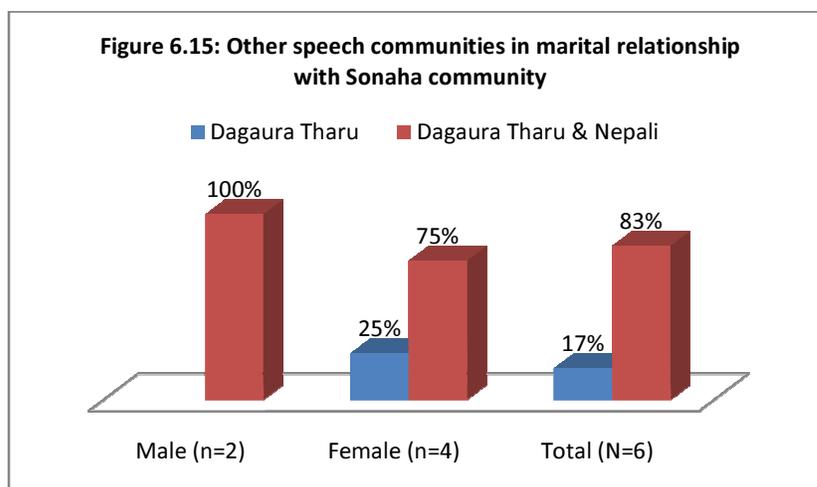
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Ragarding this query, only one literate male youngster Khuna respondent accepted the intermarriage in Khuna with Dagaura Tharu.

6.4 Language maintenance

Sonaha and Khuna native speakers have positive attitudes towards their languages. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. In response to the question 'Do you like your children speaking mother tongue?', all Sonaha and Khuna responded they like.

Likewise, in response to the question 'Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?", all the respondents at each survey point said that they like their children learn/study in the mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question 'If schools are opened for teaching your language, how would you support it?' all the Sonaha respondents said they would send their children to mother tongue teaching school and encourage other people to do so. But they answered variably by supporting in other ways as presented in the Table 6.14.

Table: 6.14: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community by sex

Ways of supporting	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
By providing financial help?	11(92%)	4(33%)	15(62.5%)
By teaching?	2(17%)	2(17%)	4(17%)
By helping with the school?	8(67%)	4(33%)	12(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.14 shows that 92% of the male and 33% of the female Sonaha respondents said they will support by providing financial help, 17% each of male and female said they will support it by teaching and 87% of the male and 33% of the female said they will support mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha by helping with the schools. In totality, 62.5% respondents said they will provide financial help, 17% said they will teach and 50% of them said they will help with the school to support mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.16.

Figure 6.16: Ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community by sex
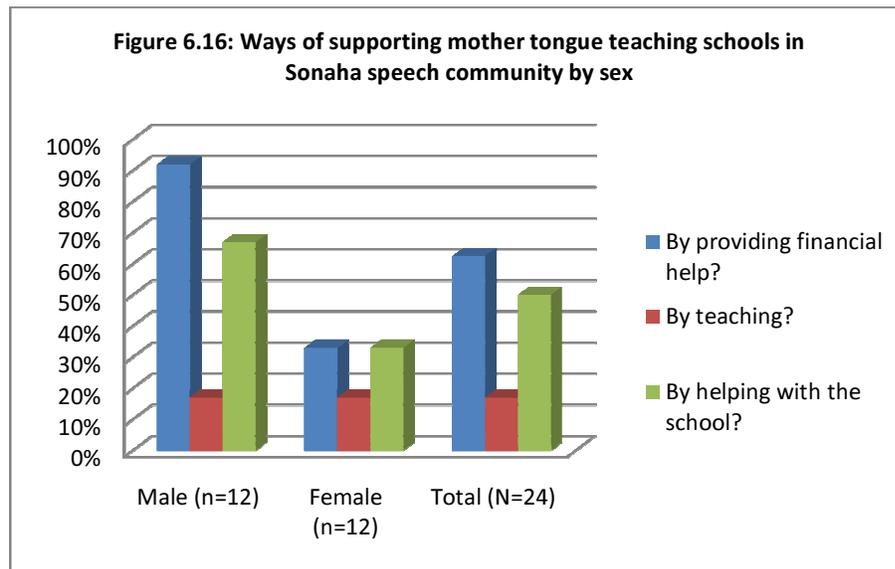
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The information in the domain is presented age-wise in the Sonaha speech community in Table 6.15.

Table: 6.15: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community by age

Ways of supporting	A1(n=8)	A2(n=8)	A3(n=8)
By providing financial help?	6(75%)	4(50%)	5(62.5%)
By teaching?	4(50%)		
By helping with the school?	6(75%)	4(50%)	2(25%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.15 shows that 75% of the Sonaha youngsters, 50% of the adults and 62.5% of the elderly respondents said that they will support the schools by providing financial help as well as by helping with the school if schools are opened for teaching their mother tongue. Likewise, 50% of the youngsters said they will help it by teaching.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.17.

Figure 6.17: Ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community by age
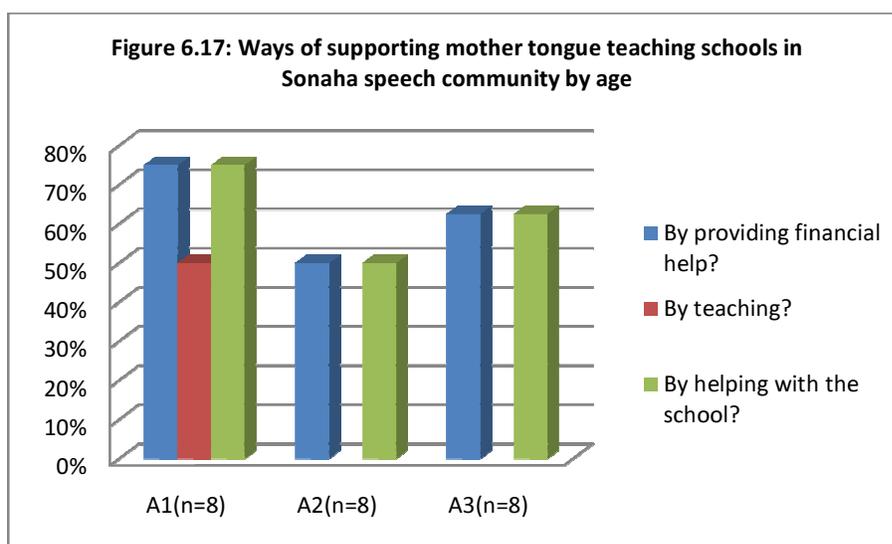
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The data are also analyzed on the basis of literacy in the Sonaha community in Table 6.16.

Table: 6.16: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community by literacy

Ways of supporting	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
By providing financial help?	7(87.5%)	8(50%)	15(62.5%)
By teaching?	4(50%)		4(17%)
By helping with the school?	8(100%)	4(25%)	12(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 6.16 shows that 87.5% of the literate and 50% of the illiterate respondents said that they will support the schools by providing financial help if schools are opened for teaching their mother tongue. 50% of the literate informants responded that they will support the school by teaching and cent-percent of the literate and 25% of the illiterate respondents said they will help with the school.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.18.

Figure 6.18: Ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Sonaha speech community by literacy
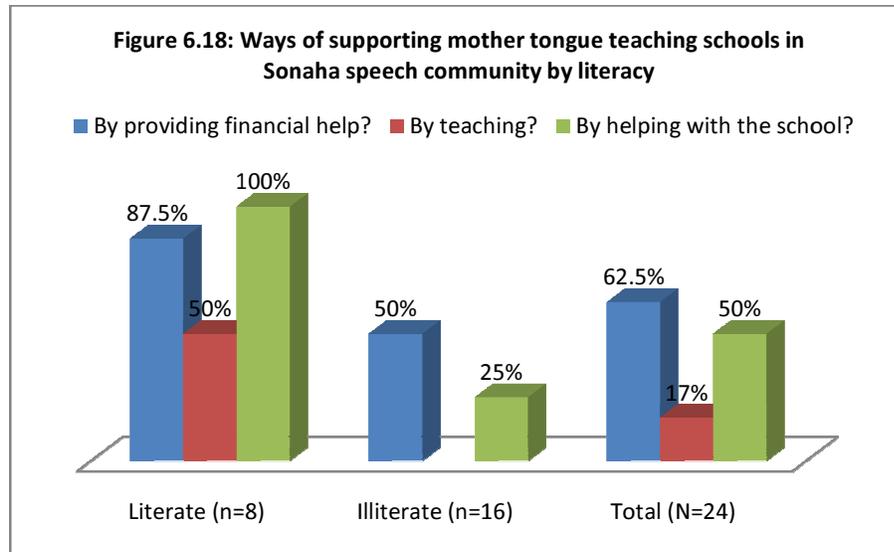
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools were differently responded by Khuna speakers. Table 6.17 presents their response sex-wise.

Table: 6.17: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Khuna speech community by sex

Ways of supporting	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
By sending your children?	6(100%)	5(83%)	11(92%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	6(100%)	4(67%)	10(83%)
By providing financial help?	4(67%)	3(50%)	7(58%)
By teaching?	2(33%)	1(17%)	3(25%)
By helping with the school?	4(67%)	3(50%)	7(58%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.17 shows that cent-percent of the male respondents said that they will support the schools by sending their children and encouraging other people to send their children if schools are opened for teaching their mother tongue. 67% of them responded that they will provide financial help and provide help with the school and 33% of them said they will teach in the school. Among the female respondents, 83% said they will send their children to the school, 67% said they will encourage others to send their children to school, 50% said they will provide financial and other help with the school and 17% said they will teach in the school if such schools are opened to teach their mother tongue.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.19.

Figure 6.19: Ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Khuna speech community by sex
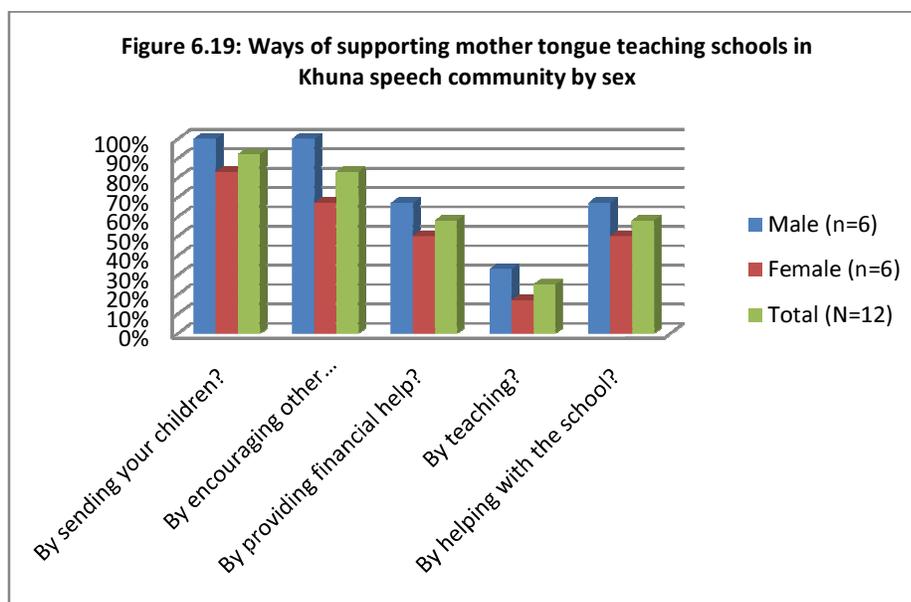
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.18: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Khuna speech community by age

Ways of supporting	A1(n=4)	A2(n=4)	A3(n=4)
By sending your children?	4(100%)	4(100%)	3(75%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	4(100%)	2(50%)	4(100%)
By providing financial help?	4(100%)	1(25%)	2(50%)
By teaching?	3(75%)		
By helping with the school?	4(100%)	1(25%)	2(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.18 shows that cent-percent of the Khuna youngsters say they will support the mother tongue teaching schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help and helping with the school by various means whereas 75% of them say they will help by teaching. Similarly, cent-percent adults say they will send their children to mother tongue teaching school, 50% of them say they will encourage others to send their children and 25% of them say they will teach and help with the mother tongue teaching schools by other means. Similarly, 75% of the elderly Khuna respondents say they will send their children, cent percent of them say they will encourage others to send their children and 50% of them say they will provide financial and other helps for mother tongue teaching schools.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.20.

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Figure 6.20: Ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Khuna speech community by age (N=12)
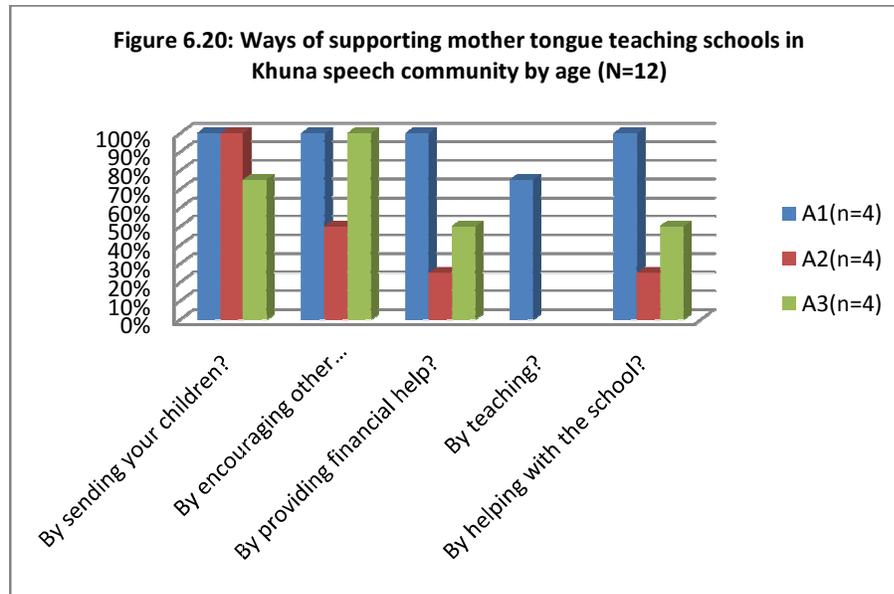
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Besides, we have also analyzed the situation on the basis of literacy of the Khuna respondents in Table 6.19.

Table: 6.19: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Khuna speech community by literacy

Ways of supporting	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
By sending your children?	4(100%)	7(87.5%)	11(92%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	4(100%)	6(75%)	10(83%)
By providing financial help?	4(100%)	3(37.5%)	7(58%)
By teaching?	3(75%)		3(25%)
By helping with the school?	4(100%)	3(37.5%)	7(58%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 6.19 shows that cent-percent of the literate informants say they will support mother tongue teaching schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial and other help with the schools and 75% of them say they will support it by teaching. Among illiterate informants, 87.5% say they will support it by sending their children, 75% of them will encourage others to send their children and 37.5% of them will provide financial and other helps with the mother tongue teaching schools.

Going through Table 6.17-6.19 it is concluded in totality that 92% Khuna respondents will help the mother tongue teaching schools by sending their children, 83% of them

will encourage others to send their children, 58% of them will provide financial and other helps with the schools and 25% of them will teach in such schools by themselves.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 6.21.

Figure 6.20: Ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools in Khuna speech community by literacy (N=12)
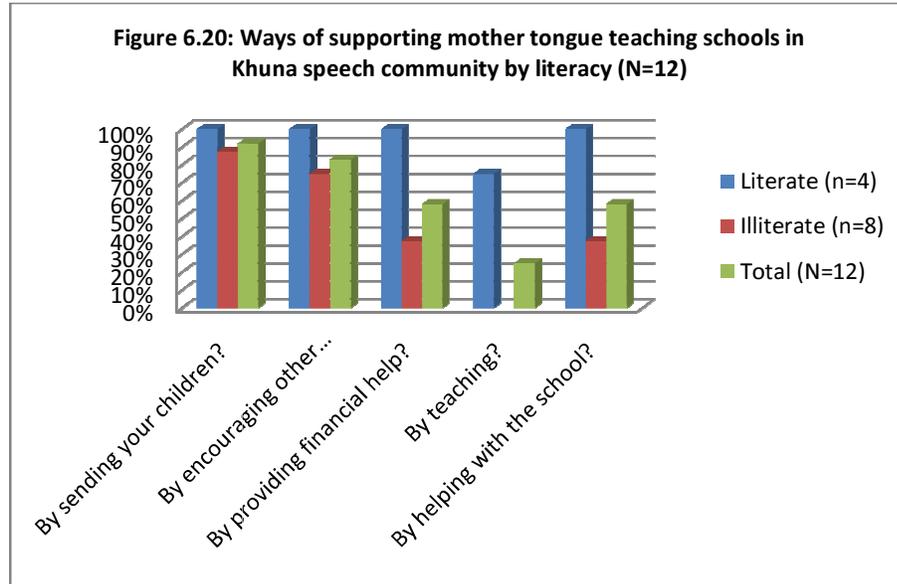
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed intergenerational transmission of the language and found the rate is still high. We found all the children in both the communities Sonaha and Khuna speaking their mother tongue well. We see that the parents speak cent per cent in their mother tongue with children. Similarly, the children also speak cent percent in mother tongue with their parents. Both the speech communities use their mother tongue in their localities. Most of them preferred mother tongue for medium of instruction at primary level. There is practice of intermarriage in the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities but very little accepted. The informants were also found eager to send their children in mother tongue schools and support such schools by various means.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with attitude of the Sonaha and Khuna native speakers about their languages. It consists of eight sections. Section 7.1 includes feelings of the speakers towards their languages. In section 7.2, we have discussed about the problem because of being a native speaker of Sonaha or Khuna and in section 7.3, feelings about children's marriage with non-Sonaha and Khuna speakers. Similarly, section 7.4 deals with grandchildren's language and section 7.5 with first language of the children. Similarly, in section 7.6, we have dealt with medium of instruction at primary level and in section 7.7, about the differences in the use of language between the present speakers and their grandparents. At last, section 7.8 summarizes the findings of chapter.

7.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language

In general, Sonaha and Khuna speakers have very positive attitudes towards their languages. In response to the question "When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel…?" Table 7.1 presents the response of the Sonaha informants sex-wise.

Table 7.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Sonaha speakers in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language by sex

	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Prestigious	6(50%)	7(59%)	13(54%)
Embarrassed	1(8%)	1(8%)	2(8%)
Neutral	5(42%)	4(33%)	9(38%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.1 shows that 50% of the male and 59% of the female Sonaha informants feel prestigious whereas 8% of each of the male and female feel embarrassed while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of speakers of the dominant language. Moreover, 42% of the male and 33% of the female informants feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed while speaking mother tongue in the presence of speakers of the dominant language. This situation is a good signal for maintenance of the Sonaha language.

This information is also presented in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Sonaha speakers in the presence of speakers of the dominant language by sex (N=24)
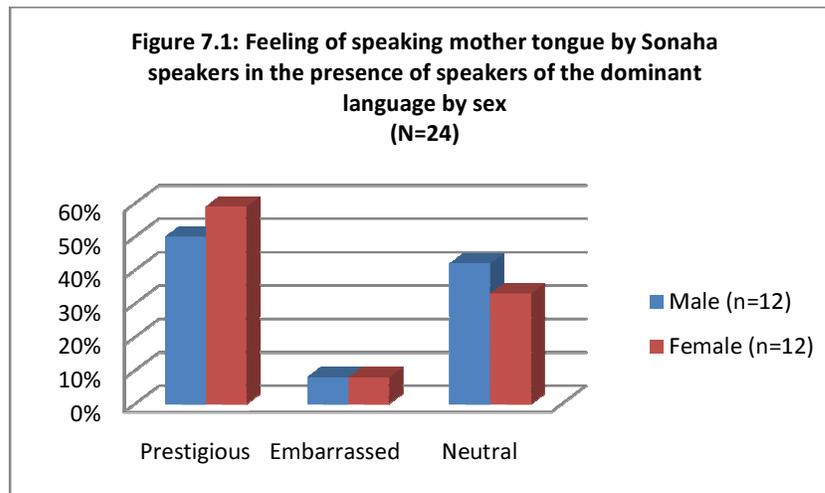
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.2 presents the same data age-wise in the Sonaha community.

Table 7.2: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in Sonaha speech community in the presence of the speaker of dominant languages by age

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=8)	A3 (n=8)
Prestigious	2(25%)	7(87.5%)	4(50%)
Embarrassed	2(25%)		
Neutral	4(50%)	1(12.5%)	4(50%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.2 shows that 25% of the youngsters, 87.5% of the adults and 50% of the elderly Sonaha informants feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in presence of the dominant language speakers, 25% of the youngsters feel embarrassed whereas 50% each of the youngsters and elderly informants as well as 12.5% of the adults feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed in the situation.

The information is also presented in Figure 7.2.
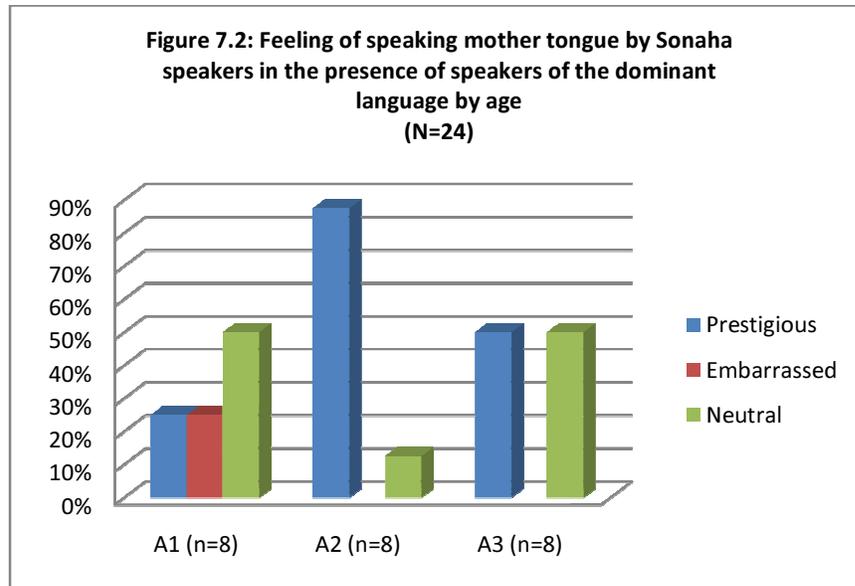
Figure 7.2: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Sonaha speakers in the presence of speakers of the dominant language by age (N=24)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The date is also presented on the basis of literacy in the Sonaha speech community in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in Sonaha speech community in the presence of the speaker of dominant language by literacy

	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Prestigious	4(50%)	9(56%)	13(54%)
Embarrassed	2(25%)		2(8%)
Neutral	2(25%)	7(44%)	9(38%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.3 shows that 50% of the literate and 56% of the illiterate Sonaha informants feel prestigious, 25% of the literate feel embarrassed whereas 25% of the literate and 44% of the illiterate informants feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed while speaking mother tongue in presence of the dominant language speakers.

In totality, 54% of the Sonaha informants feel prestigious, 8% feel embarrassed and 38% feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed while speaking their mother tongue in presence of the dominant language speakers.

The information in this domain is also presented in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Sonaha speakers in the presence of speakers of the dominant language by literacy (N=24)
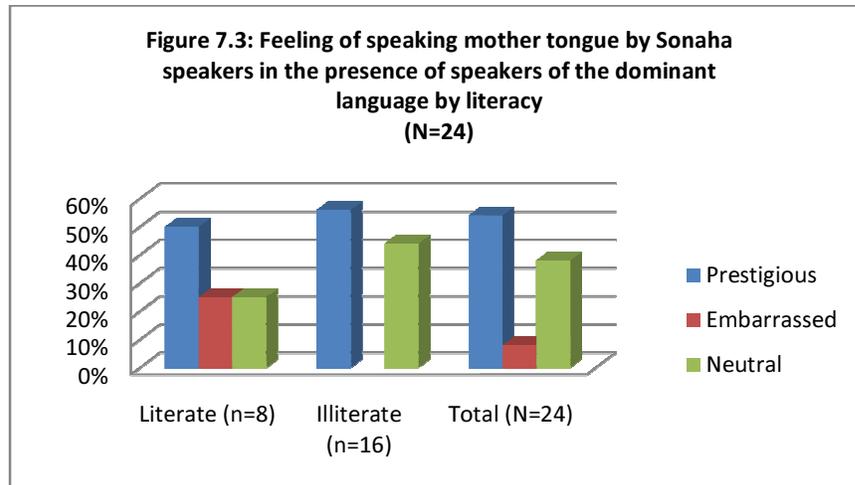
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

When the same query was asked with the Khuna informants, none of them said they feel embarrassed while speaking mother tongue in the presence of the dominant language speakers. But some of them said they feel prestigious and some said neither feeling prestigious nor feeling embarrassed. Table 7.4 presents their response sex-wise.

Table 7.4: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in Khuna speech community in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages by sex

	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Prestigious	5(83%)	6(100%)	11(92%)
Neutral	1(17%)		1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.4 shows that 83% of the male and cent-percent of the female Khuna informants feel prestigious and 17% of the male feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the dominant language speakers.

This variable male response is presented in Figure 7.4

Figure 7.4: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Khuna male speakers in the presence of speakers of the dominant language (n=6)

Neutral 17%
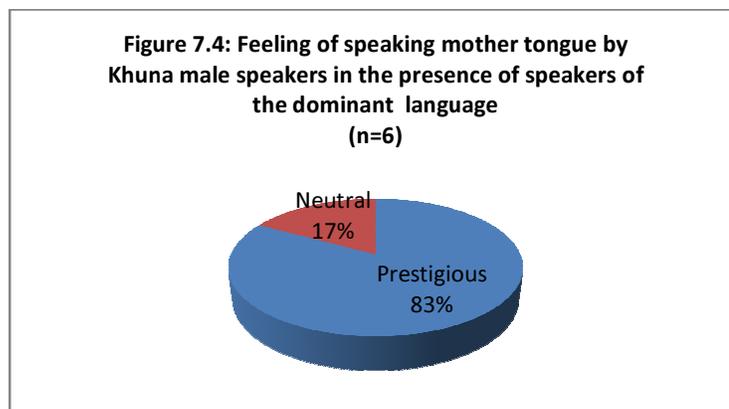
Prestigious 83%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.5: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in Khuna speech community in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages by age

	A1 (n=4)	A2 (n=4)	A3 (N=4)
Prestigious	4(100%)	3(75%)	4(100%)
Neutral		1(25%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.5 shows that cent-percent of the youngsters and elderly Khuna informants and 75% of the adults feel prestigious and 25% of the adults feel neither prestigious nor embarrassed while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the dominant language speakers.

Figure 7.5 presents variable response of the adult Khuna informants.

Figure 7.5: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Khuna adult speakers (A2) in the presence of speakers of the dominant language (n=6)

Neutral 25%

Prestigious 75%
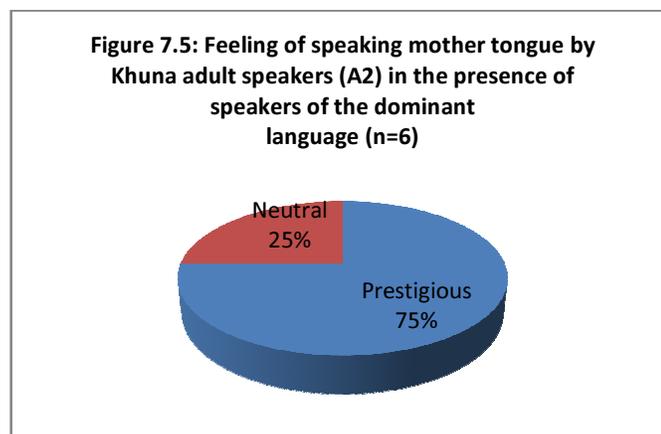
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.6 presents the same data in the Khuna speech community on the basis of literacy.

Table 7.6: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in Khuna speech community in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages by literacy

	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Prestigious	3(75%)	8(100%)	11(92%)
Neutral	1(25%)		1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.6 shows that cent-percent of illiterate and 75% of the literate feel prestigious and 25% of the literate remain neutral while speaking mother tongue in presence of the dominant language speakers.

Figure 7.6 presents variable response of the adult Khuna informants.

Figure 7.6: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Khuna literate speakers in the presence of speakers of the dominant language (n=4)
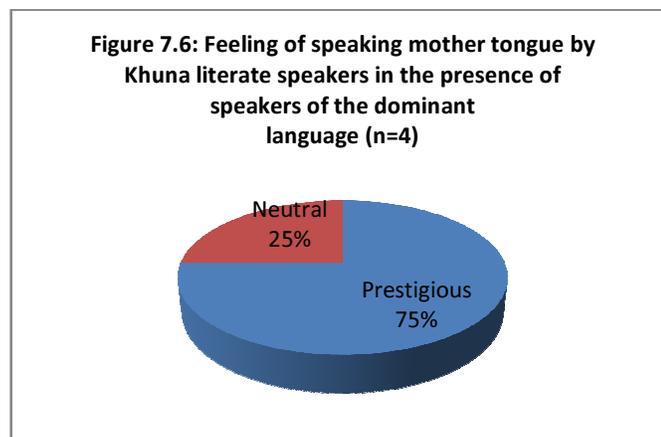
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

In totality, 92% of the Khuna informants feel prestigious and 8% of them remain neutral while speaking their mother tongue in presence of the dominant language speakers.

The overall response of the Khuna respondents is presented in Figure 7.7.

Figure 7.7: Feeling of speaking mother tongue by Khuna speakers in the presence of speakers of the dominant language (N=12)

Neutral 8%

Prestigious 92%
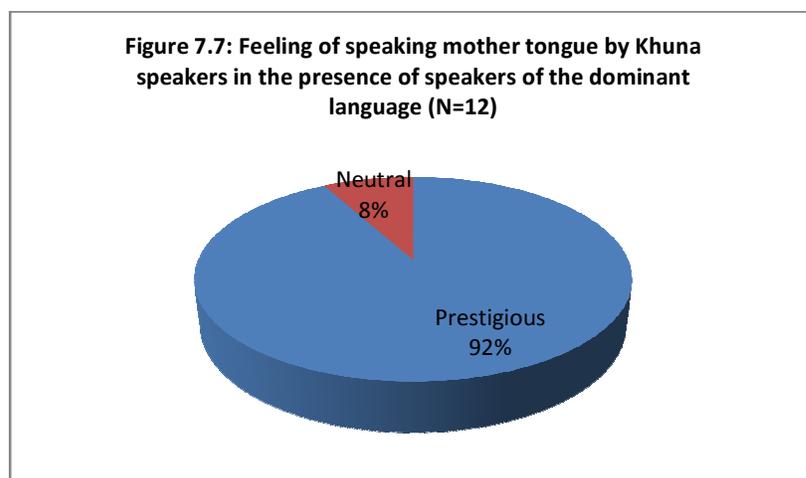
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

7.2 Problem because of being a native speaker of Sonaha or Khuna

In response to the question "Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?" Sonaha and Khuna native speakers have provided variable responses. Response of the Sonaha speakers is presented in the Table 7.7 sex-wise.

Table 7.7: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha by sex

Response	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Yes	2(17%)	1(8%)	3(12.5%)
No	10(83%)	11(92%)	21(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.7 shows that 17% of the male and 8% of the female respondents said they have faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha whereas 83% of the male and 92% of the female respondents reported they have not faced any problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha.

Their responses are also presented in Figure 7.8.

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Figure 7.8: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha by sex (N=24)
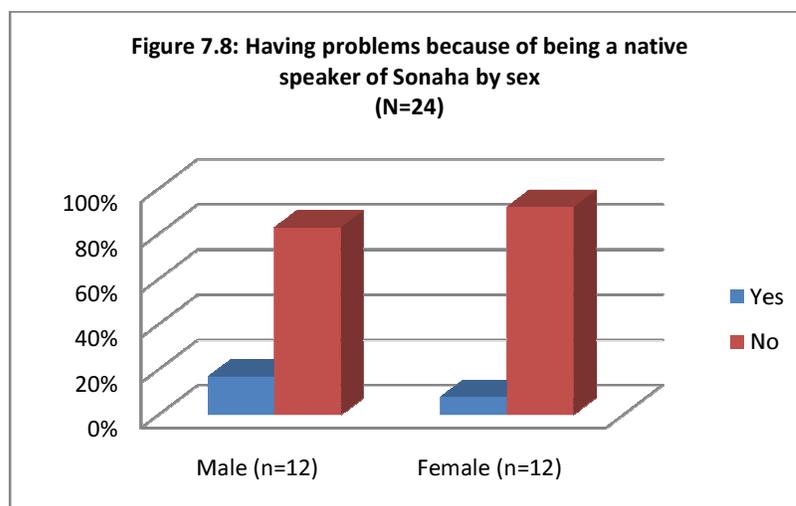
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.8 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.8: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha by age

Response	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=8)	A3 (N=8)
Yes	2(25%)		1(12.5%)
No	6(75%)	8(100%)	7(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.8 shows that 25% of the youngsters and 12.5% of the elderly Sonaha informants have faced problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha whereas 75% of the youngsters, cent-percent of the adults and 87.5% of the elderly informants have never faced such problems.

Figure 7.9 also presents the same data.

Figure 7.9: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha by age (N=24)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

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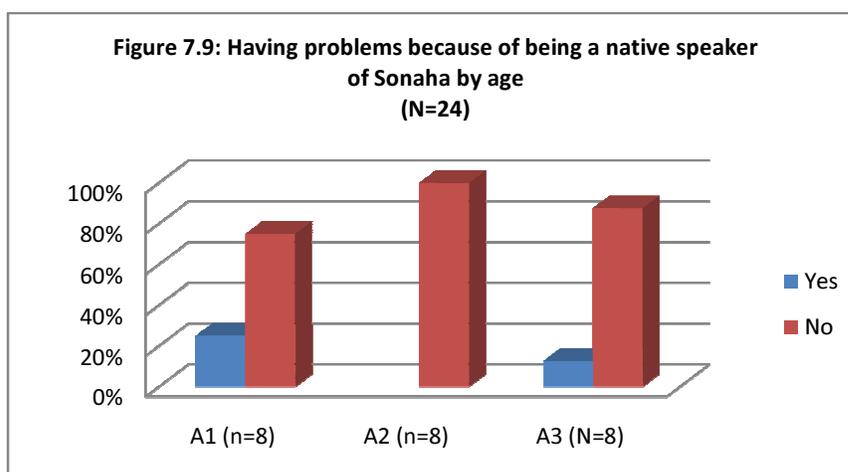
Table 7.9 presents the same data on the basis of literacy among Sonaha informants.

Table 7.9: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha by literacy

Response	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Yes	2(25%)	1(6%)	3(12.5%)
No	6(75%)	15(94%)	21(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.9 shows that 25% of the literate and 6% of the illiterate informants face problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha whereas 75% of the literate and 94% of the illiterate don't have such experience.

In totality, 12.5% of the informants report they have faced problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha whereas 87.5% of them deny of facing such problems. It shows that they are highly bilingual with the dominant language, i. e., Nepali.

Figure 7.10 presents the same data.

Figure 7.10: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Sonaha by literacy (N=24)
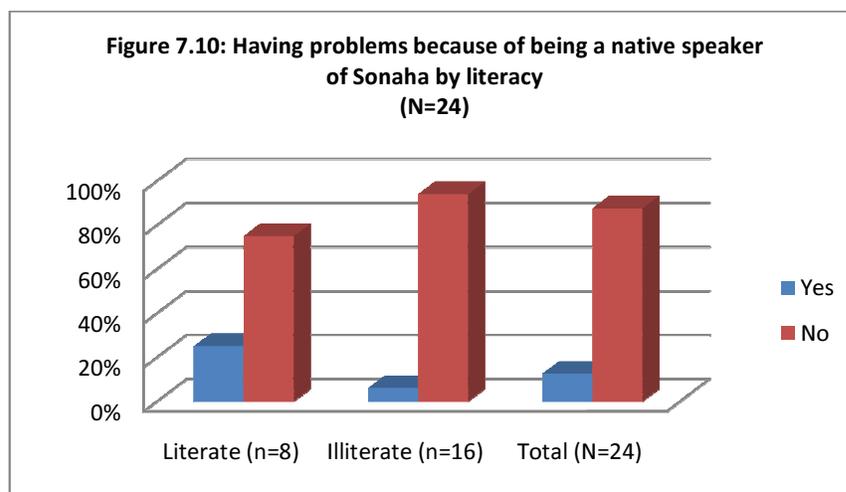
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

When we put the same query to the Khuna informants, they responded variably. Table 7.10 presents situation of having problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna sex-wise.

Table 7.10: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna by sex

Response	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Yes	2(33%)	2(33%)	4(33%)
No	4(67%)	4(67%)	8(67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.9 shows that 33% of both the male and female informants face problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna whereas 67% of both of them deny of facing such problems.

Figure 7.11 also presents the same data.
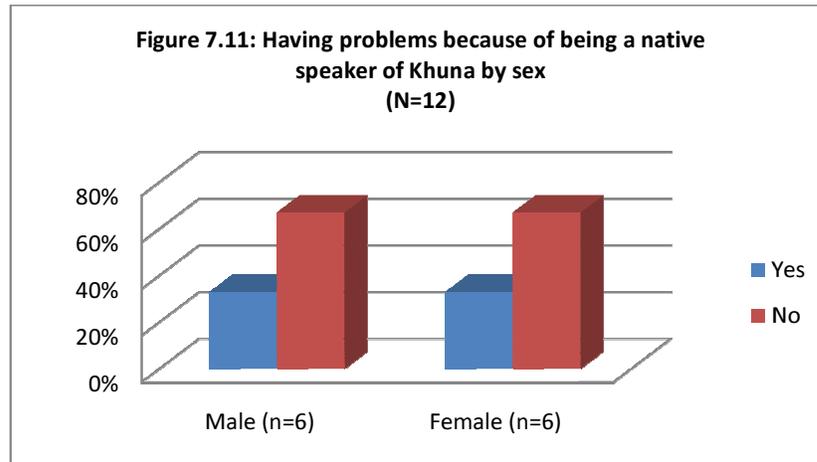
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.11 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.11: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna by age

Response	A1 (n=4)	A2 (n=4)	A3 (n=4)
Yes	4(100%)		
No		4(100%)	4(100%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.11 shows that all the youngsters face problems because of being a native speaker of Khuan whereas all the adults and elderly informants deny of facing such problems.

Table 7.12 presents the same data on the basis of literacy of the Khuna informants.

Table 7.12: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna by literacy

Response	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Yes	3(75%)	1(12.5%)	4(33%)
No	1(25%)	7(87.5%)	8(67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.12 shows that 75% of the literate and 12.5% of the illiterate informants face problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna whereas 25% of the literate and 87.5% of the illiterate of them deny of having such problems.

In totality, 33% of the informants report facing problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna whereas 67% of them deny of having such problems.

Figure 7.12 presents the situation.

Figure 7.12: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Khuna by literacy (N=12)
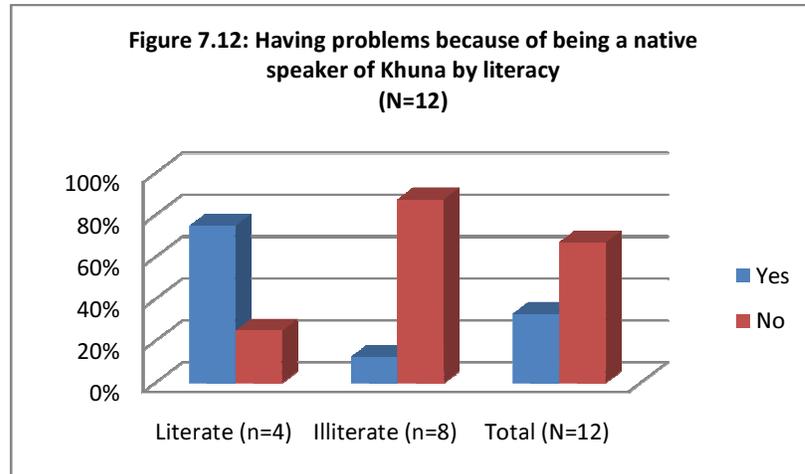
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Similarly, in response to the question "If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had?" all those who said they had faced problems reported that the problems were on the basis of understanding and social set-up including hesitation in speaking in offices, to face teasing and sarcastic remarks with hatred and difficulties to make other language speakers understand Sonaha and Khuna languages.

7.3 Feeling about children's marriage with non-Sonaha/non-Khuna speakers

Most of the Sonaha and Khuna speakers feel bad if their son or daughter marry someone who does not know their mother tongues. Regarding the question "How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?" All the informants, except a youngster male literate Sonaha, responded variably. But none of them said they would feel good. Table 7.13 presents the responses of the Sonaha informants by sex.

Table 7.13: Feeling about Sonaha children's marriage with non-Sonaha speakers by sex

Feelings	Male (n=11)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=23)
Tolerable	1(9%)	3(25%)	4(17%)
Bad	10(91%)	9(75%)	19(83%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.13 shows that 9% of the male and 25% of the female respondents can tolerate the Sonaha children's marriate with non-Sonaha speakers whereas 91% of the male and 75% of the female respondents feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know Sonaha.

The information is also presented in Figure 7.13.
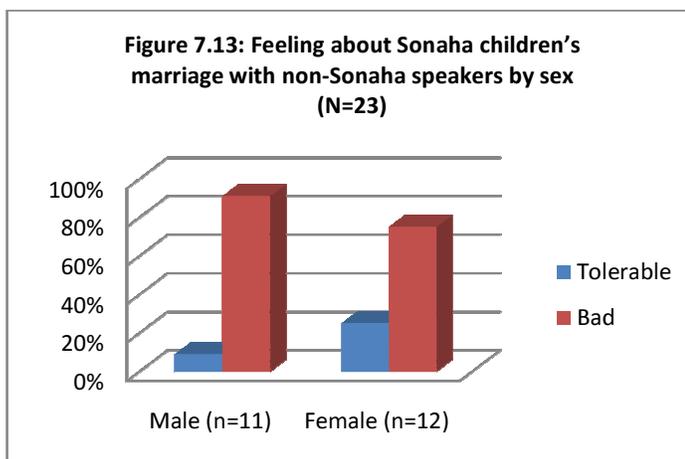
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.14 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.14: Feeling about Sonaha children's marriage with non-Sonaha speakers by age

Feelings	A1 (n=7)	A2 (n=8)	A3 (n=8)
Tolerable		2(25%)	2(25%)
Bad	7(100%)	6(75%)	6(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.14 shows that all Sonaha youngsters feel bad if their children marry non-Sonaha speakers whereas 25% each of adults and elderly informants can tolerate it but 75% each of them feel bad if their children do so.

The data in this domain is also presented in Figure 7.14.

Figure 7.14: Feeling about Sonaha children's marriage with non-Sonaha speakers by age (N=23)
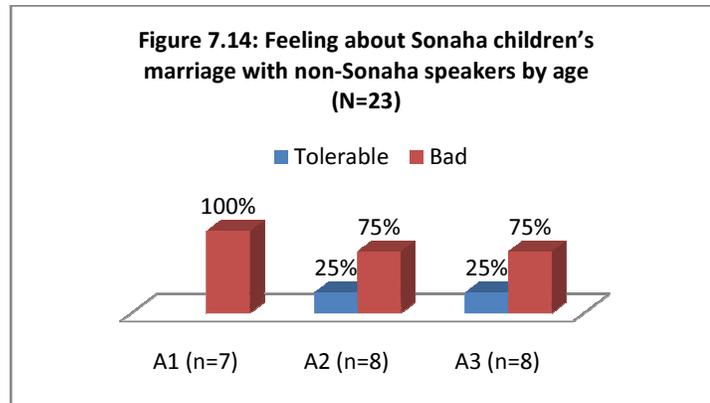
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.15 presents the same data on the basis of literacy in Sonaha community.

Table 7.15: Feeling about Sonaha children's marriage with non-Sonaha speakers by literacy

Feelings	Literate (n=7)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=23)
Tolerable		4(25%)	4(17%)
Bad	7(100%)	12(75%)	19(83%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.15 shows that cent-percent of the literate Sonaha informants feel bad if their children marry non-Sonaha speakers whereas 25% of the illiterate can tolerate it but 75% of them can feel bad if their children marry non-Sonaha speakers.

In totatlity, 17% of the Sonaha informants can tolerate if their children marry non-Sonaha but 83% of them can feel bad if it happens.

Figure 7.15 presents the same information.

Figure 7.15: Feeling about Sonaha children's marriage with non-Sonaha speakers by literacy (N=23)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

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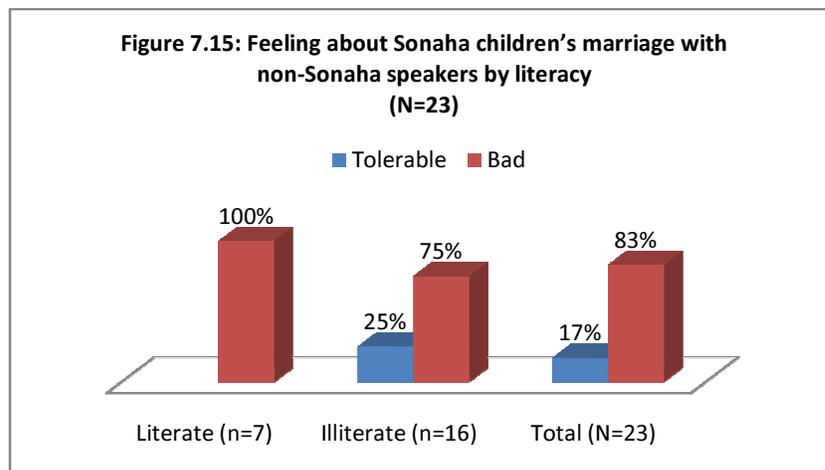
Table 7.16 presents response of the same query by Khuna informants by sex.

Table 7.16: Feeling about Khuna children's marriage with non-Khuna speakers by sex

Feelings	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Tolerable	1(17%)		1(8%)
Bad	5(83%)	6(100%)	11(92%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.16 shows all female Khuna respondents feel bad if their children marry non-Khuna speakers as well as 83% of the male can also feel the same but 17% of them can tolerate any how if it happens.

Figure 7.16 presents variable response of the male Khuna informants.

Figure 7.16: Feeling of male Khuna informants about Khuna children's marriage with non-Khuna speakers (n=6)
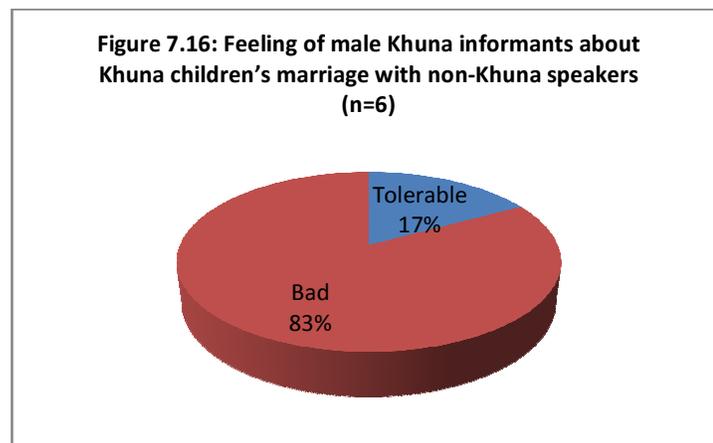
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.17 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.17: Feeling about Khuna children's marriage with non-Khuna speakers by age

Feelings	A1 (n=4)	A2 (n=4)	A3 (n=4)
Tolerable	1(25%)		
Bad	3(75%)	4(100%)	4(100%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.17 shows all of the adults and elderly Khuna informants feel bad if their children marry non-Khuna speakers. 75% of the youngsters also feel the same but 25% of them can tolerate if it happens.

Figure 7.17 presents variable response of the youngsters.

Figure 7.17: Feeling of the Khuna youngsters about Khuna children's marriage with non-Khuna speakers (n=4)

Tolerable 25%

Bad 75%
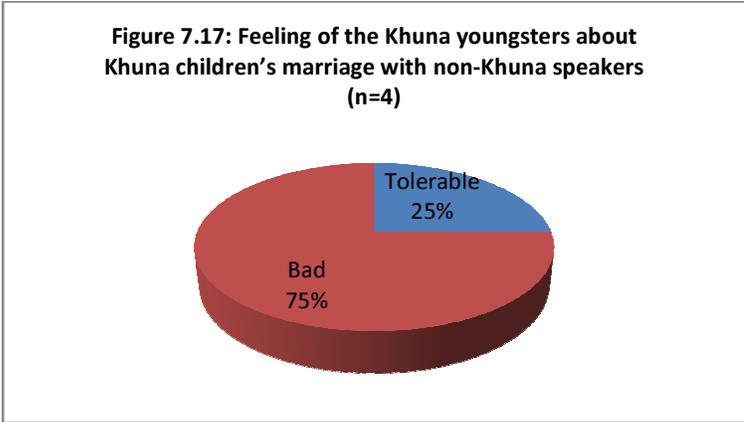
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.18 presents the same data on the basis of literacy among Khuna respondents.

**Table 7.18: Feeling about Khuna children's marriage with non-Khuna speakers by literacy**

Feelings	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=24)
Tolerable	1(25%)		1(8%)
Bad	3(75%)	8(100%)	11(92%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.18 shows that all the illiterate Khuna informants as well as 75% of the literate ones feel bad if their children marry non-Khuna speakers but 25% of the literate say they will tolerate if it happens.

In totality, 92% of the Khuna informants feel bad and only 8% of them can tolerate if their children marry non-Khuna speakers.

Figure 7.18 presents the information.

Figure 7.18: Feeling about Khuna children's marriage with non-Khuna speakers by literacy (N=12)
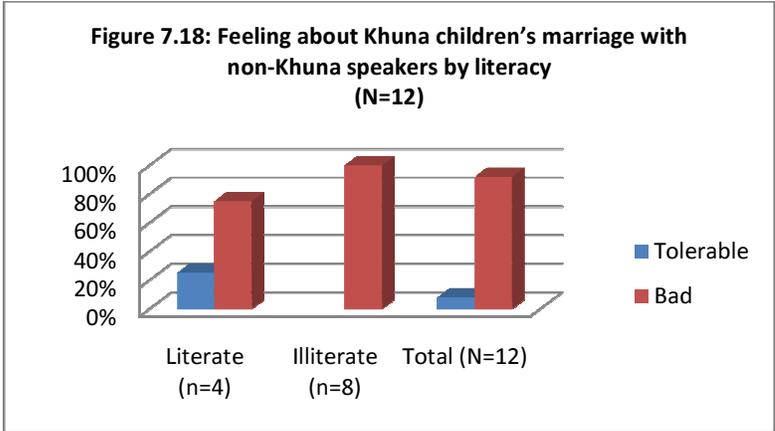
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

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7.4 Grandchildren's language

Sonaha and Khuna native speakers are positive towards their language and culture. When the informants were asked, "Will the grandchildren also speak your language?" all of them said that their grand children will speak their language.

Similarly, regarding the question "If speak, how do you feel about this?" all the respondents both male and female said they feel good if their grand children speak their language. It shows that they have very positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, in response to the question "If they do not speak, how do you feel about this?" all the male and female respondents said they feel bad if their grand-children do not speak their language.

7.5 First language of the children

Sonaha and Khuna speakers have positive attitudes towards their languages. So, when they were asked "What language should your children speak first?" all the respondents from both the speech communities said they will speak their mother tongue, Sonaha or Khuna, first.

7.6 Medium of instruction at primary level

Regarding the question "What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?" Table 7.5 presents the responses of the Sonaha informants by sex.

Table 7.19: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Sonaha speech community by sex

Languages	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	10(83%)	10(83%)	20(83%)
Nepali	2(17%)	2(17%)	4(17%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.19 shows that 83% of each of the male and female Sonaha informants prefer their mother tongue Sonaha for medium of instruction at primary level whereas 17% of each of the male and female prefer Nepali in the domain.

Their response is also presented in Figure 7.19.

Figure 7.19: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Sonaha speech community by sex (N=24)
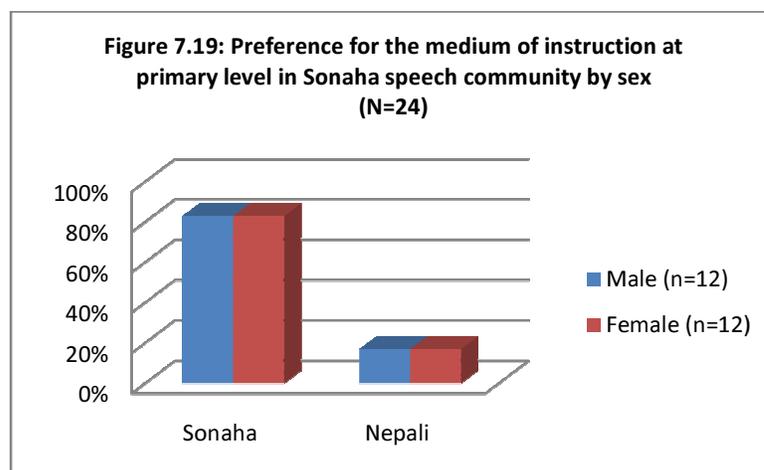
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.20 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.20: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Sonaha speech community by age

Languages	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=8)	A3 (n=8)
Sonaha	6(75%)	6(75%)	8(100%)
Nepali	2(25%)	2(25%)	

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.20 shows that 75% each of the youngsters and adults as well as all the elderly Sonaha informants prefer their mother tongue Sonaha for medium of instruction at primary level whereas 25% each of the youngsters and adults prefer Nepali in the domain.

Their response is also presented in Figure 7.20.

Figure 7.20: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Sonaha speech community by age (N=24)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

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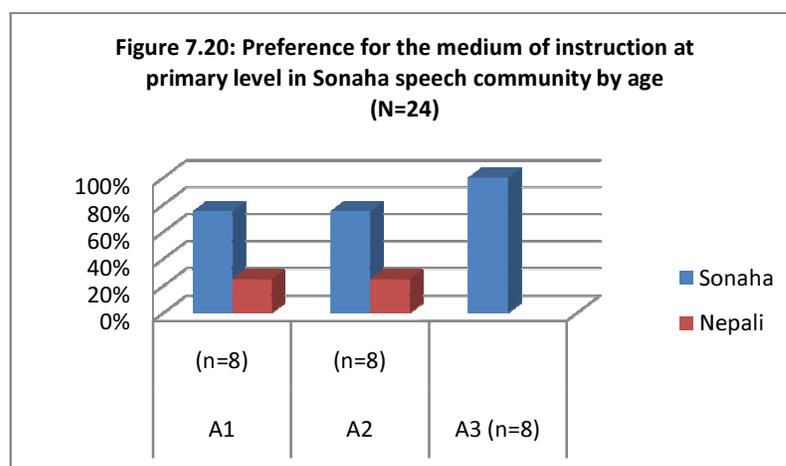
Tale 7.21 presents the same data on the basis of literacy among Sonaha informants.

Table 7.21: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Sonaha by literacy

Languages	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Sonaha	5(62.5%)	15(94%)	20(83%)
Nepali	3(37.5%)	1(6%)	4(17%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.21 shows that 62.5% of the literate and 94% of the illiterate informants prefer their mother tongue Sonaha whereas 37.5% of the literate and 6% of the illiterate ones prefer Nepali for medium of instruction at primary level.

In totality, 83% of the Sonaha informants prefer their mother tongue Sonaha whereas 17% of them prefer Nepali for medium of instruction at primary level.

Their response is also presented in Figure 7.21.

Figure 7.21: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Sonaha speech community by literacy (N=24)
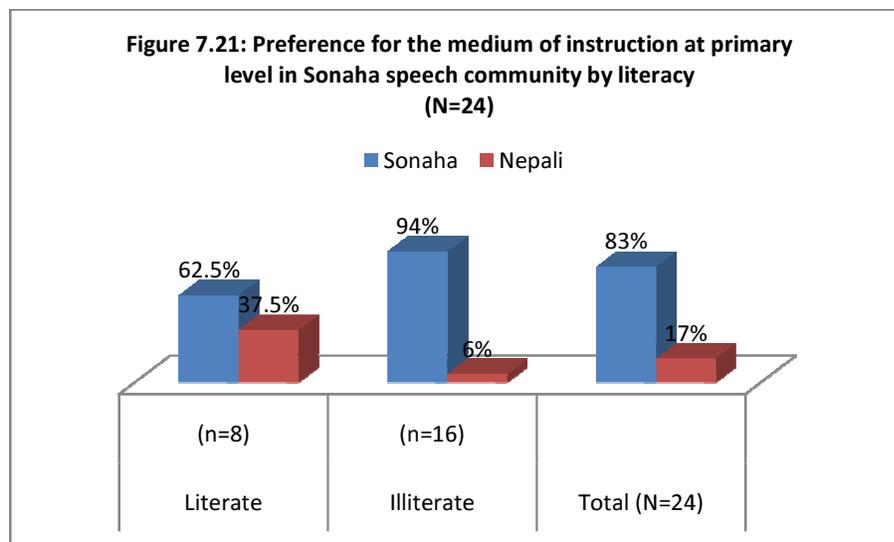
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

On the same query Khuna informants also responded variably. Table 7.22 presents response of the Khuna informants sex-wise.

Table 7.22: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Khuna speech community by sex

Languages	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Khuna	5(83%)	6(100%)	11(92%)
Nepali	1(17%)		1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.22 shows that all the female Khuna respondents prefer their mother tongue for the medium of instruction at primary level. 83% of the male respondents also prefer it but 17% of them prefer Nepali in the domain.

The variable response of the male Khuna respondents is presented in Figure 7.22.
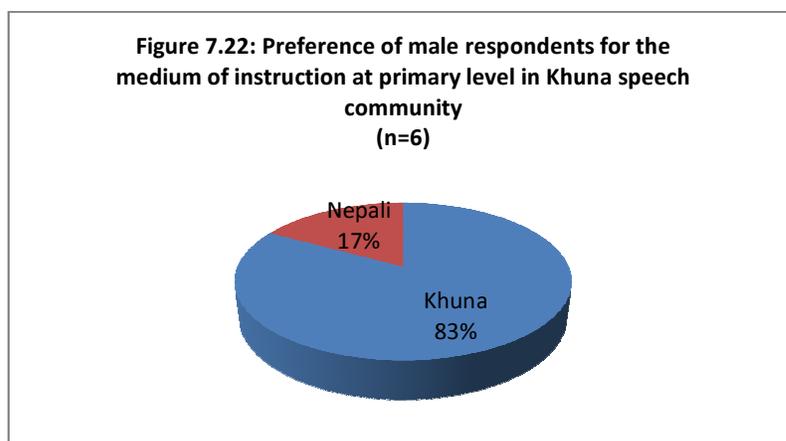
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.23 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.23: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Khuna speech community by age

Languages	A1 (n=4)	A2 (n=4)	A3 (n=4)
Khuna	3(75%)	4(100%)	4(100%)
Nepali	1(25%)		

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.23 shows that all the adults and elderly Khuna informants along with 75% of the youngsters prefer their mother tongue Khuna for the medium of instruction at primary level whereas 25% of the youngsters prefer Nepali in the domain.

The youngsters' variable response is also presented in Figure 7.23.

Figure 7.23: Preference of youngsters for the medium of instruction at primary level in Khuna speech community (n=4)
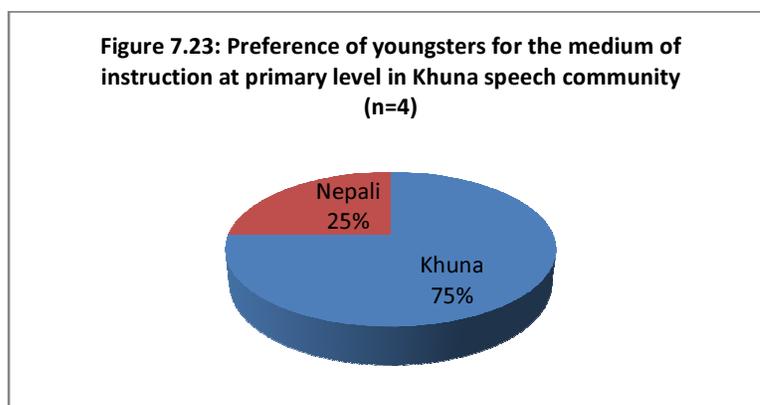
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.24 presents the same data on the basis of literacy among Khuna respondents.

Table 7.24: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Khuna by age

Languages	literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Khuna	3(75%)	8(100%)	11(92%)
Nepali	1(25%)		1(8%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.24 shows that all illiterate and 75% of the literate Khuna informants prefer their mother tongue Khuna for

Their response is also presented in Figure 7.24.

Figure 7.24: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level in Khuna speech community by literacy (N=12)
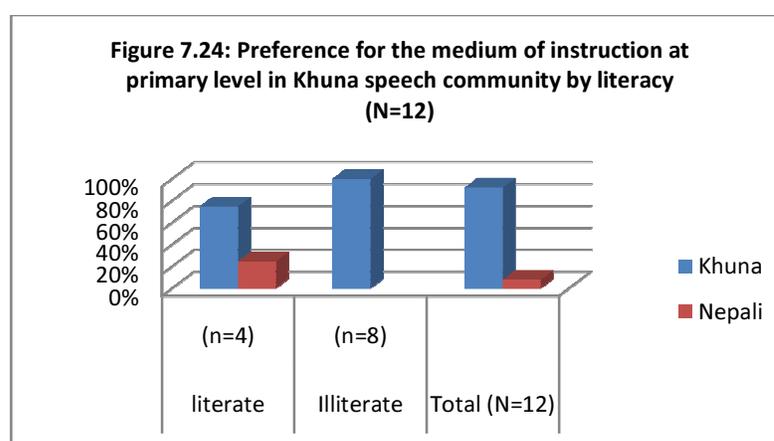
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

7.7 Differences in the use of language between two generations

In response to the question "Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" all the Khuna respondents denied any differences but the

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Sonaha informants responded variably. Table 7.25 presents the responses provided by the Sonaha informants.

Table 7.25: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations of Sonaha by sex

	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Yes	2(17%)	1(8%)	3(12.5%)
No	10(83%)	11(92%)	21(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.25 shows that only 17%) of the male and 8% of the female Khuna informants think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas rest 83% of the male and 92% of the female do not think that there are any differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents.

The information is also presented in Figure 7.25.
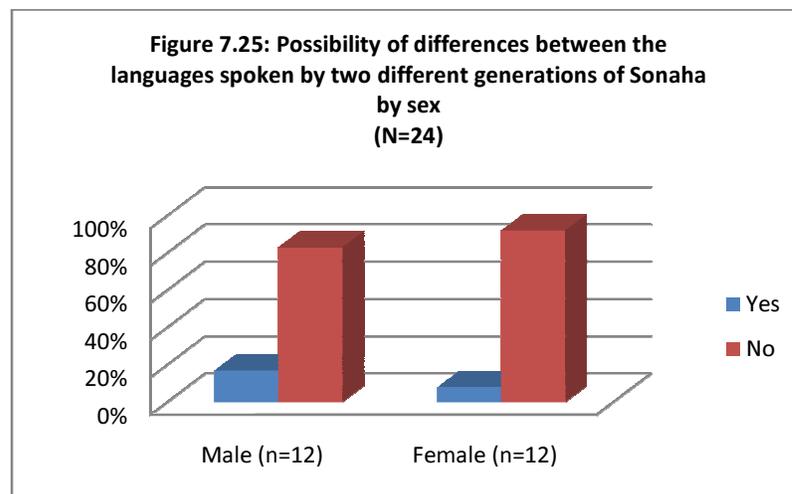
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.26 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.26: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations of Sonaha by age

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=8)	A3 (N=8)
Yes	1(12.5%)	2(25%)	
No	7(87.5%)	6(75%)	8(100%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.26 shows only 12.5% of the youngsters and 25% of the Sonaha informants accept there are differences between languages spoken by them and their grandparents

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whereas 87.5% of the youngsters, 75% of the adults and cent-percent of the elderly informants do not accept such type of any differences.

Figure 7.26 presents the same information.

Figure 7.26: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations of Sonaha by age (N=24)
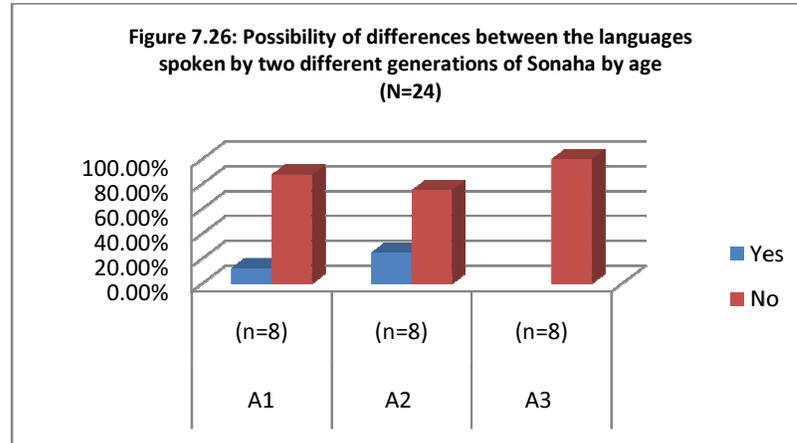
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.27 presents the same data on the basis of literacy among Sonaha informants.

Table 7.27: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations of Sonaha by literacy

	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Yes	2(25%)	1(6%)	3(12.5%)
No	6(75%)	15(94%)	21(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.27 shows that only 25% of the literate and 6% of the illiterate Sonaha informants accept differences between the languages spoken by them and their grandparents whereas 75% of the literate and 94% of the illiterate deny such type of any differences.

In totality, only 12.5% of the informants said that they think the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and the rest 87.5% said they do not think there are any differences between the languages spoken by the two generations.

Figure 7.27 also presents the information.

Figure 7.27: Possibility of differences between the languages spoken by two different generations of Sonaha by literacy (N=24)
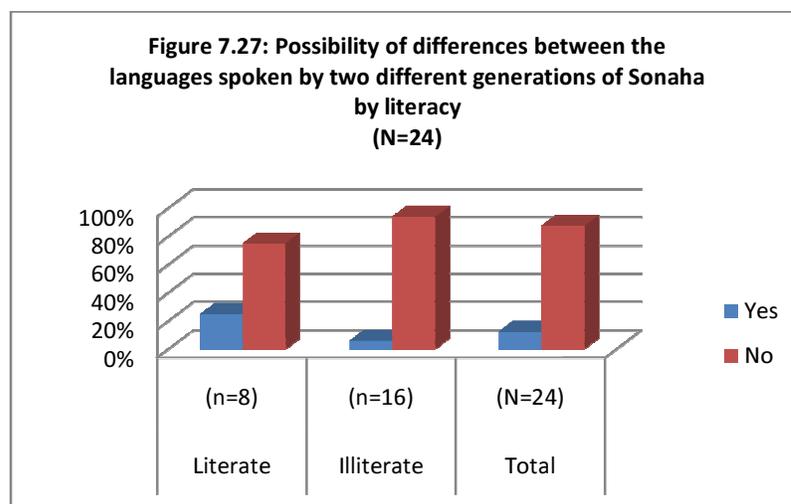
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Regarding the responses in the Table 7.25-7.27, we asked "If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" Table 7.28 presents the responses provided by the Sonaha respondents.

Table 7.28: The ways of differences in language between two different generations

Differences in terms of	(N=3)
Pronunciation	2(67%)
Vocabulary	3(100%)
mixing of other languages	2(67%)
Way of speaking	2(67%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.28 shows that among all the male and female sonaha participants, 3 out of 24 informants think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and all of them said difference in vocabulary whereas 67% of them accepted differences in terms of pronunciation, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking.

From this Table we can conclude that the language spoken by two different generations have negligible differences.

The responses are presented in Figure 7.28.

Figure 7.28: The ways of differences in language between two different generations in Sonaha (N=3)
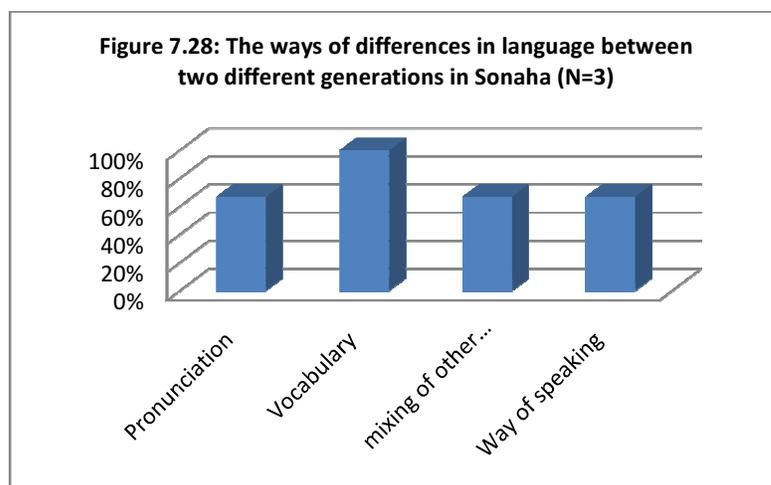
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Similarly, in response to the question "How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?" None the informants said they feel good in the situation. Most of them said they feel bad and some said they can any how tolerate it. Table 7.29 presents response of the Sonaha participants sex-wise.

Table 7.29: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Sonaha speech community by sex

Feelings	Male (n=12)	Female (n=12)	Total (N=24)
Tolerable	3(25%)	4(33%)	7(29%)
Bad	9(75%)	8(67%)	17(71%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.29 shows that 75% of the male and 67% of the female Sonaha respondents feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Similarly, only 25% male and 33% of the female respondents said the situation is tolerable with them.

The responses are also presented in Figure 7.29.

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Figure 7.29: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Sonaha speech community by sex (N=24)
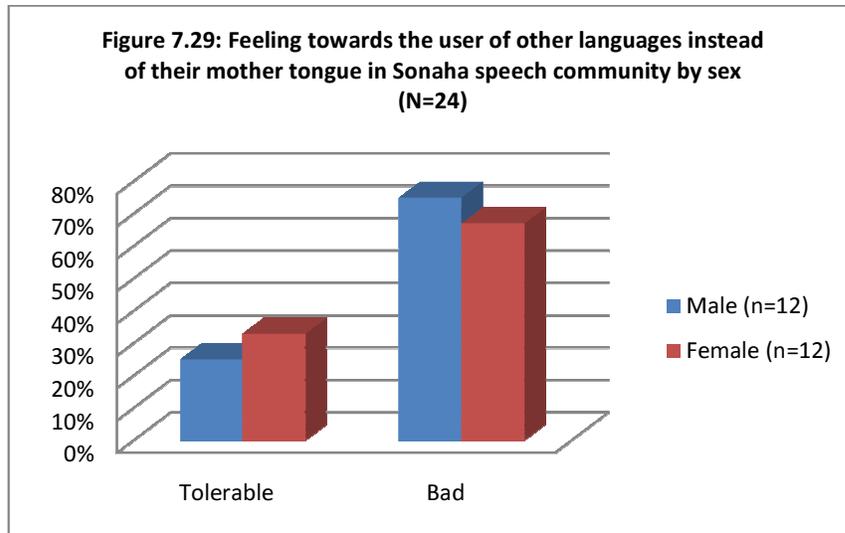
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.30 presents the same data age-wise

Table 7.30: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Sonaha speech community by age

Feelings	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=8)	A3 (n=8)
Tolerable	4(50%)	2(25%)	1(12.5%)
Bad	4(50%)	6(75%)	7(87.5%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.30 shows that 50% of the youngsters, 75% of the adults and 87.5% of the elderly Sonaha informants feel bad if they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Similarly, only 50% of the youngsters, 25% of the adults and 12.5% of the elderly respondents said the situation is tolerable with them.

Figure 7.30 presents the same information.

Figure 7.30: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Sonaha speech community by age (N=24)
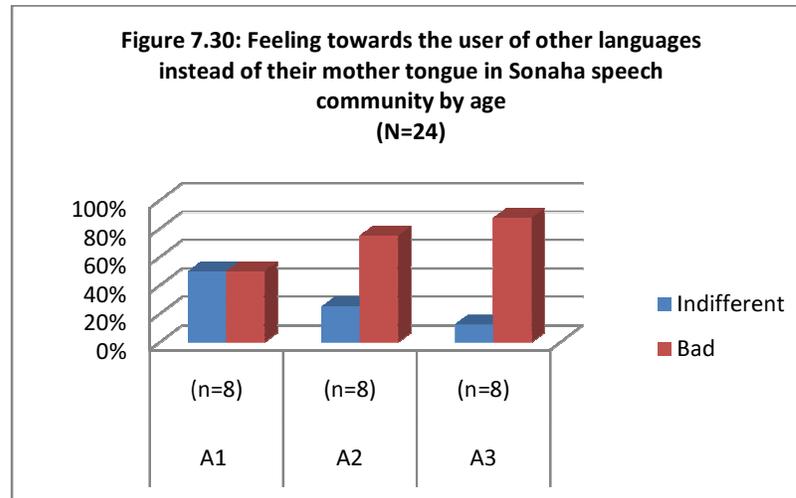
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.31 presents the same data on the basis of literacy among the Sonaha informants.

Table 7.31: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Sonaha speech community by literacy

Feelings	Literate (n=8)	Illiterate (n=16)	Total (N=24)
Tolerable	4(50%)	3(19%)	7(29%)
Bad	4(50%)	13(81%)	17(71%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 7.31 shows that 50% of the literate and 81% of the illiterate Sonaha informants feel bad if they listen to the young people speaking other languages instead of their first language. Besides, 50% of the literate and 19% of the illiterate ones remain tolerable in the situation.

In totality, 71% Sonaha informants feel bad and only 29% of them tolerate when they listen to the young people speaking other languages instead of their first language.

The information is also presented in Figure 7.31.
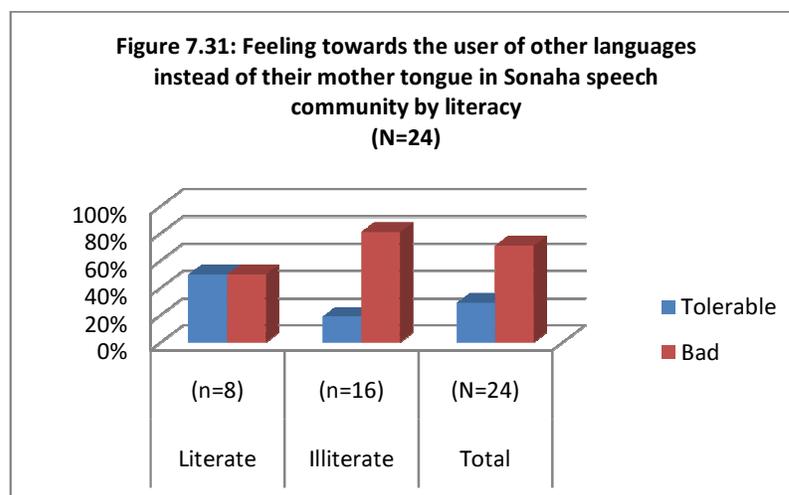
Figure 7.31: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Sonaha speech community by literacy (N=24)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

The same query was put to the Khuna informants and they also responded variably. Table 7.32 presents feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna community by sex.

Table 7.32: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna speech community by sex

Feelings	Male (n=6)	Female (n=6)	Total (N=12)
Tolerable	1(17%)		1(8%)
Bad	5(83%)	6(100%)	11(92%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.32 shows that 83% of the male and cent-percent of the female Khuna respondents feel bad when they listen to the young people of their community speaking other languages instead of their mother tongue. Besides, 17% of the male ones say it is tolerable to them.

The variant response of the male in this domain is presented in Figure 7.32.

Figure 7.32: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna speech community by male (n=6)

Tolerable 17%
Bad 83%

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

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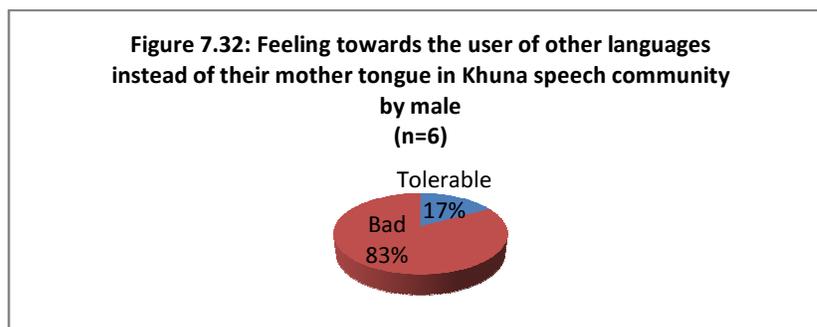
Table 7.33 presents the same data age-wise.

Table 7.33: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna community by age

Feelings	A1 (n=4)	A2 (n=4)	A3 (n=4)
Tolerable			1(25%)
Bad	4(100%)	4(100%)	3(75%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.33 shows that cent-percent of the youngsters and adults and 75% of the elderly Khuna informants feel bad when they listen to the young people in their community speaking other languages instead of their mother tongue. Besides, 25% of the elderly respondents tolerate the situation.

The variant response of the elderly informants is presented in Figure 7.33.

Figure 7.33: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna speech community by elderly informants (n=4)
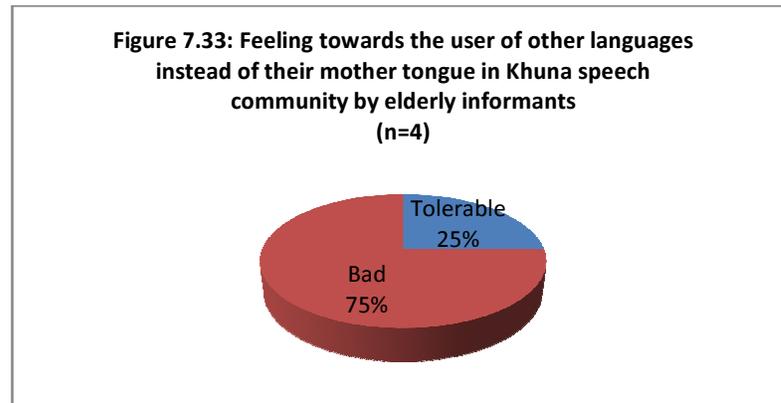
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.34 presents the same data on the basis of literacy of the Khuna respondents.

Table 7.34: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna community by literacy

Feelings	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Tolerable		1(12.5%)	1(8%)
Bad	4(100%)	7(87.5%)	11(92%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 7.34 shows cent-percent of the literate and 87.5% of the illiterate Khuna informants feel bad whereas 12.5% of the illiterate ones take the situation tolerable when they listen to the young people in their community speaking other languages instead of their mother tongue.

In totality, 92% of the Khuna informants feel bad and 8% remain tolerable when they listen to the young people speaking other languages instead of their mother tongue.

The situation is also presented in Figure 7.34.

Figure 7.33: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue in Khuna speech community by literacy (N=12)

■ Tolerable ■ Bad

	Literate (n=4)	Illiterate (n=8)	Total (N=12)
Tolerable		12.5%	8%
Bad	100%	87.5%	92%
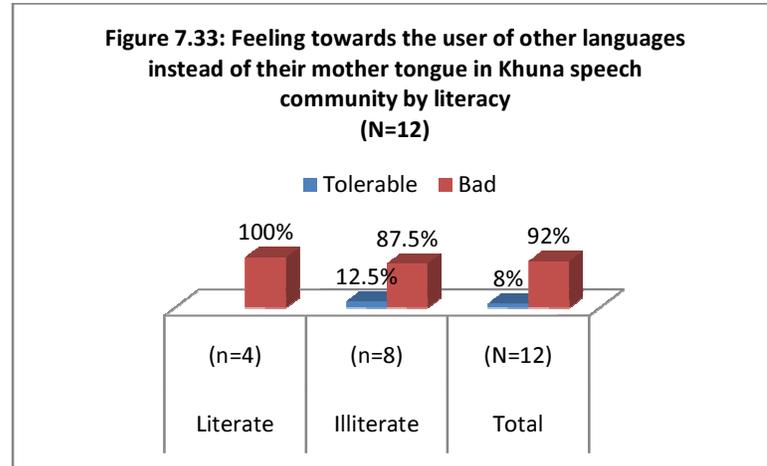
Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

7.8 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the feelings of the speakers of Sonaha and Khuna towards their language and we found they are highly positive as over three-fourths of the respondents said they feel prestigious to speak their mother tongue before speakers of the dominant language. Majority of them reported not to have faced any problems being a Sonaha and Khuna native speaker. This chapter also presents facts that Sonaha and Khuna native speakers are very much cautious towards maintenance of the mother tongue as majority of them said they feel bad if their children marriage non-Sonaha and Khuna speakers. Similarly, they are entirely hopeful their grandchildren will speak the mother tongue and they will feel good if so. They were found overwhelmingly in favour of mother tongue education and that they will feel bad if their youngsters use other language instead of Sonaha and Khuna.

CHAPTER 8

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language development in the Sonaha and Khuna languages. In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all two key points in Sonaha and one in Khuna. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and social status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the 'good things' on a piece of paper and placed them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Sonaha and Khuna languages and cultures, say what they dreamed about and 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.

8.1 Language development

In order to examine the language development in the Sonaha and Khuna languages, appreciative inquiry, 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 Sonaha and Khuna communities. The Photographs of appreciative inquiry tools used in Odali Gaon of Bhimdatta Municipality Ward No. 12 in Kanchanpur District, Murgahawa Gaon of Daulatpur VDC Ward No. 2 in Bardiya District and Bani Shivir of Krishnapur VDC Ward No. 2 in Kanchanpur District.

In this survey, as discussed already, we have employed different participatory tools such as domains of language use and bi/mutilingualism. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their languages and cultures. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think of future possibilities about their language and culture. Hence, the Photographs of the appreciative inquiries are pasted.

Photograph 8.1 Appreciative Inquiry in Murgahawa, Daulatpur-2, Bardiya

Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Photograph 8.2 Appreciative Inquiry in Bani Shivir, Krishnapur-2, Kanchanpur
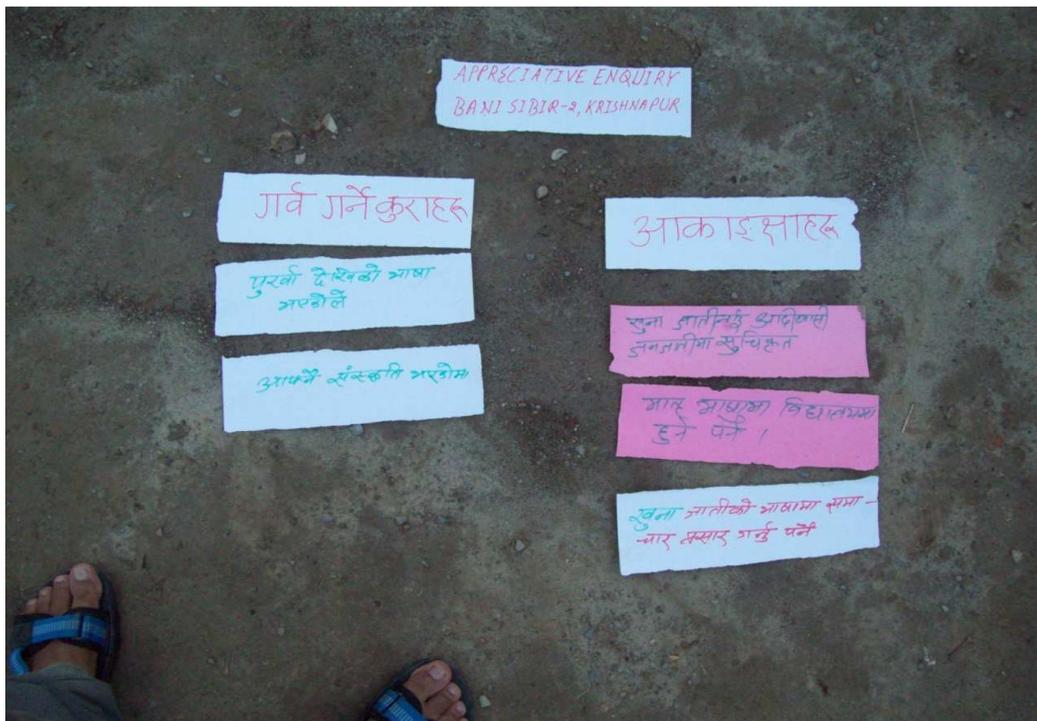
Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

Table 8.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries related to preservation and promotion of the language on the two key points in Sonaha.

Table 8.1: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Sonaha

Survey points	Good things that made Sonaha and Khuna feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dreams to start on planning
ODALI	▪ Mother tongue of Sonaha ▪ Being their ancestral language ▪ Having their own identity and culture ▪ Having songs in their language	▪ Sonaha should be scheduled as a marginalized indigenous nationality. ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ To have free education planning implemented by the state ▪ Text book should be developed in the language.	▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level and ▪ Free education should be provided in the Sonaha community
MURGAHWA	▪ Having their won identity ▪ Having their own language ▪ Having songs in their language ▪ Having their own custom. ▪ Easy to communicate in their own community	▪ Sonaha should be scheduled as an endangered indigenous nationality. ▪ To have separate reservations in jobs ▪ To have school on mother tongue based education in Sonaha community at primary level ▪ To prepare textbooks in Sonaha	▪ Sonaha should be scheduled as an endangered indigenous nationality.

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Likewise, Table 8.2 presents the summary of the responses to major queries related to preservation and promotion of the language on all the point in Khuna.

Table 8.2: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Khuna

Survey point	Good things that made Sonaha and Khuna feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dreams to start on planning
BANI SHIVIR	▪ Having the ancestral language ▪ Having their own culture	▪ Khuna should be scheduled as a separete indigenous nationality. ▪ To have school on mother tongue based education in Khuna community ▪ To commence news broadcast in the Khuna lnaugage	▪ Kuna should be scheduled as an endangered indigenous nationality ▪ Khuna language should have a separate status

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

During the appreciative inquiry, the participants prepared a planning of one of the most essential requirements at each point. The planning includes what to do, who is to do and when to do. Table 8.3 presents the summary of the responses to the Appreciative Inquiry on the two key points in Sonaha.

Table 8.3: Important things to do for Sonaha as a result of Appreciative Inquiry

	Areas	What to do?	Who will do?	When to do?
1.	ODALI	To start mother tongue based education at primary level and Free education should be provided in the Sonaha community	Government of Nepal and the Sonaha speech community	As early as possible
2.	MURGAHWA	Sonaha should be scheduled as an endangered indigenous nationality.	Government of Nepal and the Sonaha speech community	As early as possible

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha, 2012

Table 8.3 shows almost the entire Sonaha speech community is highly in efforts to have separate recognition as and endangered indigenous nationality as well as implementation of their languages as vernacular for primary school by the Government of Nepal as early as possible.

Table 8.4: Important things to do for Sonaha and Khuna as a result of Appreciative Inquiry

	Areas	What to do?	Who will do?	When to do?
1.	**BANI SHIVIR**	▪ Kuna should be scheduled as an endangered indigenous nationality ▪ Khuna language should have a separate status	Government of Nepal and the Khuna speech community	As early as possible

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Khuna, 2012

As the Sonahas do, Table 8.4 shows almost the entire Khuna speech community is highly in efforts to have separate recognition as endangered indigenous nationality as well as implementation of their languages as vernacular for primary school by the Government of Nepal as early as possible.

8.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this questionnaire was especially designed for evaluating views of the village heads/language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 4 informants in total, two at Odali and one each at Murgahawa and Bani Shivir. 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, the responses to the ways they could do vary in the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities. Table 8.3 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion of the Sonaha and Khuna language.

Table 8.5 Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion of the Sonaha and Khuna language (N=4)

In what was do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?		RESPONSES	
		CAN	CAN'T
1.	By promoting the script	3(75%)	1(25%)
2.	By systematizing the spelling	3(75%)	1(25%)
3.	By compiling dictionary	3(75%)	1(25%)
4.	By writing grammar	3(75%)	1(25%)
5.	By encouraging people to create literature in mother tongue	3(75%)	1(25%)
6.	By writing and publishing textbooks	3(75%)	1(25%)
7.	By publishing newspapers/magazine	3(75%)	1(25%)
8.	By making use of the language in administration	3(75%)	1(25%)
9.	By making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary schools	3(75%)	1(25%)

Source: Field Visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

Table 8.5 shows that 75% of the village heads or language activists consulted were found to support preservation and promotion of their mother tongue Sonaha and Khuna by making use of the ways included in the questionnaire where as 25% of them said they could not.

8.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the responses of the Sonaha and Khuna native speakers during appreciative inquiry among one of the participatory tools as well as on the basis of questionnaire C. As their aspirations have already been charted in this chapter, we can summarize that the Sonaha and Khuna speakers are proud of their ethnic and linguistic identities to have their own kinds of custom, language, life-style, way of thinking, belief. They are eager to run mother tongue schools with formations of curriculum, to safeguard their custom and costumes, they want to write grammar and compile dictionary of Sonaha and Khuna languages. Furthermore, they want to implement Sonaha and Khuna as vernacular of education in primary schools seeking help on behalf of the state and the community. Moreover, their strong ambition is to be identified as separate indigenous nationalities in endangered group.

CHAPTER 9

DIALECTAL VARIATION

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the dialectal variations in the Sonaha and Khuna languages. It consists of three sections. In section 9.1 we have discussed about lexical variations which include methodology of finding lexical variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in the Sonaha and Khuna languages and section 9.2 summarizes findings of the chapter.

9.1 Lexical variation

The wordlist consisting of 210 words has been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the five Sonaha and Khuna speech varieties on the basis of the information gathered on the five survey points the wordlists represent. In this section we deal with the data, methodology of lexical similarity study and present the lexical similarity study result.

9.1.1 Methodology

This subsection consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages in Sonaha and Khuna.

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

WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the language or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationship between the different varieties of the Sonaha and Khuna language. After, the entry of words from each survey 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 (Regmi, 2011). Table 9.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 9.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

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

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

9.1.2 Lexical similarity among the key points

Sonaha does not present such dialectal variations. However, Sonah differs from Khuna significantly. Table 7 presents the dialectal variations among the different varieties of Sonaha and Khuna.

Table: 9.2 Lexical Similarity comparisons in Sohaha and Khuna[1]

	Sonaha (Odali)	Sonaha(Murgahawa)	Khuna (Bani Sibir)
Sonaha (Odali)	100%	76%	60%
Sonaha (Murgahwa)	76%	100%	65%
Khuna (Bani Shivir)	60%	65%	100%

Source: Field visit, Sociolinguistic Survey of Sonaha and Khuna, 2012

Table 9.2 shows that Sonaha language spoken in Murgahwa is very much similar to Sonaha spoken in Odali, i.e., 76% similarity is seen between the two varieties of Sonaha language. Whereas the Sonhaha language of Odali has 60% similarity with the Khuna language and the Sonaha of Murgahwa has 65% similarity. From this table, it can be concluded that both the varieties of Sonaha and Khuna might be mutually intelligible to each other.

9.2 Dialect mapping

In order to examine dialects among the varieties a language, dialect mapping, a participatory tool is to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category. Regarding this survey, Sonaha respondents of Odali and Murgahawa claimed no differences in language between them as well as Khuna has a very small population now living collectively at Bani Shivir, so, there was only one point possible for them. In this regard, dialect mapping was not administered.

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1. This is based on the comparative analysis of 210 wordlist from two different points of Sonaha language and a point of Khuna language. These wordlists are analyzed in a linguistic software called Wordsurv.

9.3 Summary

Going through the facts and figures used in this chapter, we can say that there is minimum variation in the varieties of Sonaha and Khuna languages spoken in the geographical areas. Lexical similarity among the two survey points of Sonaha, Odali in Bhimdatta Municipality-12, Kanchanpur and Murgahawa in Daulatpur VDC-2, Bardiya, have 76% lexical similarity. Besides, they claim no differences in their language mentally or psychologically too. So, there might be no room for categorizing them into separate varieties. Moreover, the sample of Khuna at Bani is also 60% and 65% similar to those of the samples of the two survey points of Sonaha, Odali and Murgahawa. So, it can be considered possibility of high intelligibility between the two languages.

CHAPTER 10

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.0 Outline

This chapter presents the findings and recommendations of the research. It consists of two sections. In section 10.1, we present the collected findings and in section 10.2, we put forward some recommendations.

10.1 Major findings

The main aim of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of the Sonaha and Khuna, the two Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the Far-Western Terai of Nepal. The Sonaha and Khuna are two separate indigenous nationalities of Nepal. Among them, Sonahas reside primarily in Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts whereas Khuna in Kanchanpur and Kailali of far western Nepal at present. They have their own cultures and languages. But Government of Nepal has not recognized Sonaha and Khuna as separate indigenous groups of people. Moreover Sonaha is recorded as a distinct language in National Census of Nepal, 2011 but Khuna is still facing isolation.

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

The major findings of this survey are presented as follows:

i.   Sonaha is one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who reside primarily on the bank of the Karnali River in Bardiya district and on the bank of the Mahakali River in Kanchanpur district of western Nepal.

ii.   Likewise, Khuna is also a separate ethinc group of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who reside mainly in Kailali and Kanchanpur districts in the far-west of the country. As most of them were kept as Kamaiya, a remnant of bonded labour system, majority of them have now been settled at Bani Shivir (camp) of the free Kamaiyas in the Krishnapur VDC Ward No. 2 in Kanchanpur District.

iii. Both the indigenous nationalities use distinct languages belonging to Indo-Aryan group of the Indo-European language family to communicate among them in the community.

iv. Most of them followed Hindu religion but in the later part of the years, many of the Sonahas have adopted Christianity. The main occupation of Sonahas is fishing, boating and panning gold whereas Khunas' traditional profession is digging mines. In recent days they have been involved in agriculture, mainly as labourers in the case of Khuna.

v. The language resources available in the Sonaha and Khuna languages are folk stories, music, religious literature and folklore.

vi. All the members of Sonaha and Khuna communities are very much fluent in speaking their mother tongues whereas only a few literate Sonaha and Khuna speakers are good in reading and writing their languages.

vii. All the Sonaha and Khuna speakers are bilingual in Nepali, whereas are majority of Sonaha speakers are bilingual in Hindi and some of them are also bilingual in Rana Tharu and Dagaura Tharu, Dotyali, Baitadeli, Jumli and Achami languages. The Khunas have also been observed bilingual with Hindi and Dagaura Tharu. Most of the children in Sonaha and Khuna communities are bilingual in the Nepali language and they learn it in the school. But Majority of Sonaha and Khuna children do not understand at all what their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Since, most of the Sonaha and Khunas use their own mother tongue at home; their children are monolingual before going to school.

viii. Regarding the domains of language use all the Sonaha and Khuna speakers are using their mother tongue in different domains of language use as joking, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home and in family gathering.

ix. Majority of Sonaha and Khuna speakers are using their mother tongue in counting, singing, bargaining/shopping/ marketing and in village meetings. Some of the speakers use Nepali in counting, singing and bargaining/ shopping/ marketing and only a few speakers are using Sonaha, Nepali, Hindi and Tharu languages in bargaining/shopping/ marketing.

x. They use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in

writing letter to their family members. Sonaha and Khuna children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school.

xi.   All the members of the Sonaha and Khuna speech communities speak their mother tongue. Majority of young people of both the speech communities speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken and most parents usually speak mother tongue with their children. There is 100% vitality of both the languages.

xii.   All the Sonaha and Khuna parents continue to transmit the language to their children and there are rare practice of inter-communal marriage among Sonaha and Khuna. Language maintenance and transmission rate of Sonaha and Khuna is very high.

xiii.   All the male and female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue and they are eager to help the mother tongue schools by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching themselves and by helping with the school.

xiv.   Most of the Sonaha and Khuna speakers had not any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Only a few speakers had faced problems such as they have been teased and they have problems in understanding, mental and social problems; and had problems in government offices because of being a native speaker of Sonaha and Khuna, their mother tongue. More than 80% males and almost all the female speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. All the Rana speakers said that their grand children will speak their language and most of them feel good if their grand children will speak their mother tongue.

xv.   Regarding which language Sonaha and Khuna children should speak first, all of the males and females were found in the favor of their own mother tongue i.e. Sonaha and Khuna. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Sonaha and Khuna as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and only very few of them preferred Nepali.

xvi.   Good things that made Sonaha and Khuna speakers feel happy or proud of their language and culture are being the mother tongues of Sonaha and Khuna, being their ancestral languages, identity, and culture.

xvii.   Dreams about how they could make their language even better are Sonaha and Khuna should be scheduled as a marginalized indigenous nationality, to start mother tongue based education at primary level in their mother tongues, to have free education, and text book should be developed in the languages.

xviii.   Sonaha language spoken in Bardiya district is very much similar to Sonaha spoken in Kanchanpur district i.e. 76% similarity is seen between the two varieties of Sonaha lexical iterms whereas the Sonaha language has 60% to 65% similarity with the Khuna language. Both the varieties of Sonaha and Khuna might be mutually intelligible to each other.

xix.   Although the Khuna language is vibrantly used in all domains, however, not identified as a distinct language.

xx.   Female literacy rate is appalling.

10.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings, the following recommendations are put forward for the promotion and development of the Sonaha and Khuna languages:

i.   A further research should be conducted to study the different aspects of the Sonaha and Khuna languages and cultures.

ii.   An immediate planning should be launched for documentation of the language resources in Sonaha and Khuna.

iii.   Mother tongue based Multilingual Education (MLE) is needed for the preservation and promotion of the Sonaha and Khuna languages.

iv.   A Recorded Text Testing (RTT) should be conducted to identify the dialects and the level of intelligibility among the varieties.

v.   The language should be used in the different domains of wider communication.

vi.   Both the community and government bodies should be engaged for the preservation and promotion of language.

vii.   Sonaha and Khuna communities are recommended to be scheduled as separete indigenous nationalities of the nation.

viii. Khuna language should be identified separately in government census as well as in Ethnologue.

ix. Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.

x. The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Sonaha and Khuna communities.

xi. A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve, promote and develop their language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial. Specific language programs such as language documentation, developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched.

xii. The most important 'dreams' which they would like to get realized immediately and to start on planning are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them realizing their dreams.

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Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: ▢   Not Given: ▢

A. Meta data (Baseline information)
Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

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

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

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

B. Language resources

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

(a) folk tales,

(b) songs,

(c) religious literature,

(d) radio,

(e) films,

(f) CD/ DVD,

(g) Other………………

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

(a) Yes (b) No

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

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

(a) Cultural

(b) Linguistic

(c) Educational

(d) Other…………………

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

So you speak… (remind of Q. 38)

Which language do you speak…

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. Domain of Language Use
54. Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes?

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

55. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:
        (a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)
        (enter below)
(b) Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies,
marriage, savings, spending, etc.) (enter below)
(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

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

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

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

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

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

G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel…
(a)   Prestigious   (b)   Embarrassed   (c)   Neutral
71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No
72. (If "Yes") What kinds of problems have you had?(These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)

(a)   Social discrimination.
(b)   Political discrimination.
(c)   Economic discrimination.
(d)   Hostile confrontation.
(e)   Discrimination in education.
(f)   Social pressure.
(g)   Political pressure.
(h)   Economic pressure.
(i)   Other
73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?
(a)   Good   (b)   Indifferent   (c)   Bad
74. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No
75. How do you feel about this?
(a)   Good   (b)   Indifferent   (c)   Bad
76. What language should your children speak first? ....
77. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No
78. (If "Yes") How?
(a) pronunciation
(b) vocabulary
(c) use of specific type of sentences
(d) mixing of other languages
(e) way of speaking
(f) Other……………………..
79. How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?
(a)   Good   (b)   Indifferent   (c)   Bad

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

8. Name of language consultant: ……………………….
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a)   Male   (b)   Female   (c)   Other
10. Age: ……………………….

11. Caste/ethnic group: ……………….
12. Your mother tongue's name: ………………
13. Your mother's mother tongue…………
14. Your father's mother tongue…………….

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

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

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

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

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

B. Domains of language use

A. I speak different languages in different situations, on different occasions and to different people.

B. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [LWC]? (Place [LWC] label to one side. Participants name domains, write them on paper and place them under [LWC] label)

C. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [L1]? (Place [L1] label to other side. Participants write domains and place them under [L1]. At this time participants may say "some children speak L1 but others speak LWC." Ask questions to help them explain which children speak each language, or the situation in which they speak each. Change the labels to show the categories clearly.)

D. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak both [L1] and [LWC]? (Participants write domains, and place them in the middle. They can place them nearer to one side or the other if most people speak a certain language in that domain or if they speak more of that language in that domain but some of the other language.)

E. Within each of these three main categories, let's move to the top, the occasions that occur daily and to the bottom the ones that occur rarely. (Put a label for 'Daily' and 'Rarely' at the top and bottom. Allow them to arrange the domains. Encourage them to leave a gap between the Daily and Rarely categories or place a string.)

F. (If there many in the daily category) Which are the people you speak to most during a day? Move those slightly higher than any others. (Or place the daily ones in order)

G. How do you feel about the languages that you use and who you use them with? Would you like to begin using either language more in any other situations?

C. Dialect mapping

A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask) Which name is the one you prefer to use?
   i. (Language name preferred by group)…
   ii. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
   iii. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).

B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.
   Be sure to get all the following information for each location:
   (i) Ward No…… (ii) Village/Town…........ (iii) VDC/municipality……
   (iv) District………… (v) Zone…………………………

C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.

D. What other languages are so similar to yours that when they speak, you can understand at least some words? (Write these on pieces of paper and add them to the "map" on the ground)

E. Do any groups of villages all speak [L1] in the same way? (Place a loop of string around each such group)

F. Which variety do you understand best? Second best? Etc. (Place numbers written on cardboard next to each municipality, language or group of municipalities)

G. Now we want to show which of these varieties you understand very well, which you don't understand at all, which you understand most of, but a few words you don't understand and which you understand only a few words of. In which of these villages can you understand the language Very Well? (Place a Key, have them select the color of plastic marker for "very well". Have them place those markers on each place they understand "very well." Repeat for each other category of comprehension.)

H. Some people have said they want to start writing books* in [L1]. If books were written in [L1], which villages would be able to use those books? (have them put a big string around those varieties) (*If they do not think books can or should be written in their language, then say they want to start making CDs using [L1])

I. Out of all these you have grouped together, which variety should be used as the one for writing (or recording) [L1] so that all the others will understand it well? If that one could not be used, then which one? (use A, B, and C written on cardboard)

D. Multilingualism

A. What are the two languages the [L1] people speak the most? This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [L1] well. This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. (Lay the circles on the ground)

B. When I overlap the two circles like this, what does this area where they overlap represent? ([L1] people who speak both [L1] and [LWC] well)

C. Let's think first about [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. Which types of [L1] people speak [LWC] well? (Have them write on paper).

D. Before we can put them inside the circle, we need to think whether these people also speak [L1] well, or whether they do not speak [L1] well? Where does each piece of paper belong in the circles? (Have them place the pieces they have written so far. If they want to, they may make the labels more specific or add more labels)

E. Which [L1] people speak [L1] well, but do not speak [LWC] well? (Have them write the category names and place them in the correct location)

F. When we think about people in these three different categories, which category has the most [L1] people? How do you feel about that? (let them express their feelings)

G. Is one of these three groups increasing more than the others? Why is that? How do you feel about that? (Let them express their feelings)

E. Appreciative enquiry

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

B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)

C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)

D. As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)

E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)

F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group

G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)

H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)
Notes:
Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
Introduce yourself first: My/our name is ………. I/we am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?
INFORMED CONSENT: Given: □   Not Given: □

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)
Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

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	(a) …………………………….
	(b) …………………………….

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

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

7. Age: ………………….

8. Caste: ………………….

9. Ethnic group: ……………….

10. Your mother tongue's name: ………………

11. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language ………………

12. Different names of the language if any?

(i)…………….. ……   (ii) ……………………

(iii)………………… ……   (iv) ……………………

13. Your mother's mother tongue…………

14. Your father's mother tongue…………….

15. What village were you born in?

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

16. Where do you live now? ………………

17. How many years have you lived here? ………………

18. Other ethnic groups residing in your area: (enter below)

19. Other languages spoken by those groups: (enter below)

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

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

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

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

(a) by devising the script?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(d) by writing grammar?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

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

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

(a) Yes   (b) No
(h) by making use of the language in administration?
(a) Yes   (b) No
(i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?
(a) Yes   (b) No
     (j) in any other ways? ………………………………..

Annex D: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नामः   मितिः………………….
(१)…………………………
(२)…………………………
(३)…………………………
(४) …………………………
(५) …………………………
भाषासूचक (हरू) को नामः
(१)………………………..
(२)…………………………
(३)…………………………
(४) …………………………
(५) …………………………
स्थान :
जिल्ला………………. गाविस/नगरपालिकाः ………………….. वडा नंः…….
गाउँ/टोलः……………….
भाषाको नामः ………………. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषाः ………….

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

11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	औंला	
17.	fingernail	नङ	
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	बञ्चरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औंठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	

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

94.	goat	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	

132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	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	टोक्नु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	
196.	to run/ 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	