A Sociolinguistic Survey of Yakkha

(As Spoken in Sankhuwasava District)

A Report

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ABBREVIATIONS

A_1 : First age group (of the participants)

A_2 : Second age group (of the participants)

A_3 : Third age group (of the participants)

ACI : Appreciative Inquiry

BLM : Bilingualism

CBS : Central Bureau of Statistics

DLM : Dialect Mapping

DLU : Domains of Language Use

GPS : Global Positioning System

IPA : International Phonetic Alphabet

LINSUN : Linguistic Survey of Nepal

LISMAC : Linguistic Survey Management Committee

LWC : Language of wider communication

N/N : Total number (of the participants)

NFDIN : National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities

NO : Number

NPHC : National Population and Household Census

PM : Participatory Method

Q. N. : Question number

Y & N : Yakkha and Nepali

SLQ : Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

VDC(s) : Village Development Committee(s)

WLC : Wordlist Comparison

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of the Yakkha language. Yakkha is one of the East Himalayish Kirati languages of Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan family. Yakkha is an indigenous ethnic group of Nepal which is one of the members of Kirat family. Dewan is commonly used as a synonym of Yakkha. The Yakkha people are subsistence farmers who inhabit the lower Arun valley in the eastern Nepal.

While developing the Yakkha language, attention has been paid to the language spoken in the ancestral homeland of the Yakkha, namely the 'Das Majhiya', 'Pancha Majhiya' and 'Pancha Khapan', i.e. *Yaksalen* 'Yakkhaland' (Diana;).

The Yakkha spoken in that particular area has been identified as the basis for developing the standard form of the language. There seems a little variation at lexical and semantic levels.

The formal process of the language preservation in Yakkha language has not yet been attempted. Though the text books in Yakkha have been produced upto class III, there has not been made sufficient effort to utilize them in all Yakkha localities (i.e. Yakkha speaking areas). On the other hand, due to dialectal variations, some Yakkha people are reluctant in the application of those books in their locality. Despite all such efforts for the ethnic identity of Yakkha, the documentation and extensive linguistic research in this language is sorely needed.

This chapter discusses the basic information about the Yakkha people and their language. It consists of four sections. Section 1.1 deals with ethnicity, migration, religion, occupation and literacy in the Yakkha speech community. In section 1.2, we look at the language, demography, linguistic affiliation and review of earlier works. Section 1.3 presents the purpose and goals of the survey. Finally, in section 1.4, we present the organization of the entire report.

1.1 Yakkha Land (Yākkhālen)

Today, the Yakkha Motherland is considered a patch among the historic Kirat region (i.e., east of the Kathmandu valley). During the so-called National Unification of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan Shah, the traditional bases of the Kirat Lands were merged. The Far Kirat (Pallo Kirat) of the Ten Limbuwan area to the east of the Arun River was divided into seventeen Thums. Among these Seventeen Thums, the 'Panch (5) Khapan', 'Panch (5) Majhiya' and 'Das (10) Majhiya'; 'Tin (3) Thum Yakkhalen' are regarded as the traditional area of the Yakkhas. At present, this Yakkha area is the Southern part of Sankhuwasabha district bordering the Tehrathum District and Taplejung District in the East; Dhankuta District in the South; and Bhojpur District in the West; of the Eastern Nepal. Sibhuwa, Syabun, Wana, Dadagaun, Swachi, Yangsijong are the names of '5 Khapan'; Madi Mulkharka, Tamaphok, Mamgling, Ankhibhuin, Chanuwa, Dandagaun, etc., are the names of the '10 Majhiyas' and Hattisudhe, Kingring, Chapabhuin, etc. are the name of '5 Majhiya's.

1.2 Ethnicity, migration, religion, occupation and literacy

1.2.1 Ethnicity

Nepal is a heritage of multiethnic and multilingual country. One of the components of this multi-lingual setting is the Yakkha, an ethnic group living especially in the Sankhuwasabha and Dhankuta districts of Eastern Nepal. The Yakkhas have a distinct language, culture and tradition. The language of this ethnic group is known as the 'Yakkha language'. There are 32 family names (i.e., Thar) in the Yakkhas. Each Thar also has a sub-group called the 'Sameychong'. Marriages do not occur between families sharing the same 'Sameychong'. They are also known as Dewan in further eastern part of the country and India viz., Darjeeling, Sikkim, Assam. However, they also identify themselves as Jimi in their homeland 'Yakshalen'.

1.2.2 Population

As per the latest national census of Nepal (2011), there are 24,336 Yakkhas whereas the previous national census 2001 shows that there were 17,003 Yakkhas in Nepal. In recent trend, it seems that the Yakkha speakers are gradually shifting to Nepali as

their first language due to various reasons such as education, migration and inter caste marriage.

1.2.3 Literacy

Census Report 2011 has categorized the literacy rate of indigenous groups Adibasi/Janjati into three aspects, viz., Adibasi/Janajati, Hill-Janajati and Tarai Janajati. Concerning Sankhuwasabha and Dhankuta districts, the literacy rate of Adivasi Janajati is presented in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Literacy Rate

District	Adibasi/Janajati	Hill-Janajati	Tarai-Janajati
Sankhuwasabha	67.30%	66.61%	75.00%
Dhankuta	73.18%	72.43%	89.79%

Source: Social inclusion atlas of Nepal language groups (2014)

At present, schools have been opened in villages. Yakkha children study in local schools. The young Yakkha people were also found to have studied higher level education during the survey. Awareness of educational value has been increased in the Yakkha community. There was the participation of both the literate and illiterate informants from Yakkha speech communities.

1.2.4 Language

The census 2011 shows that there are 19,558 Yakkha speakers (10,465 female and 9,093 male). Majority of the Yakkha speakers are densely populated in the southern part of Sankhuwasabha district and in the northern part of Dhankuta district. Within the area of eastern Nepal known as 'Kirat', the Yakkha area belongs to the Pallo Kirat 'Far Kirat area'. As the language use is in decline, and as there are already whole Yakkha villages that have no single Yakkha speaker, and hence Yakkha must be considered endangered.

Table 1.1: District wise Yakkha speakers

S.N.	District	Population	S.N.	District	Population
1.	Sankhuwasabha	6,810	2.	Kathmandu	152
3.	Dhankuta	4,836	4.	Bardiya	139
5.	Ilam	1,504	6.	Lalitpur	112
7.	Sunsari	1,284	8.	Parsa	109
9.	Morang	1,143	10.	Kapilvastu	96
11.	Panchthar	648	12.	Okhaldhunga	48
13.	Rautahat	612	14.	Mahottari	46
15.	Jhapa	434	16.	Saptari	39
17.	Bara	415	18.	Udayapur	36
19.	Bhojpur	255	20.	Chitawan	26
21.	Dhanusha	248	22.	…	…
23.	Taplejung	233	24.	…	…
25.	Tehrathum	168	26.	**Total speakers**	**19,558**

Source: Social inclusion atlas of Nepal language groups (2014)

Subba (1999) claims that Yakkha is replaced with Nepali even at home. The language use is in gradual decline, because of inter-caste marriage and the availability of education beyond the primary-school-level exclusively in Nepali or English. Especially the young generation replaces Yakkha with the Nepali.

Yakkha, with distinct linguistic features is not only lesser described language, but also one of the endangered Kirati languages of Nepal (Yadava 2003). The international organization of standardization (ISO 639-3) referred ISO code of 'Yakkha' as [ybh] and has been categorized under the recent field survey; it is found that the main Yakkha-speaking VDCs are from Sankhuwasabha, Dhankuta and Tehrathum. It seems that there is a little variation in accent among the language spoken in these area. These dialects can be distinguished in terms of phonology, and in the level of lexicography and morphology. In the view of Typology, Yakkha is a polysynthetic (or complex

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pronominalized) language, carrying number and person affixes in the verb, sometimes for the agent participant and sometimes for the patient.

1.2.5 Organizations

The significant changes in political scenario in Nepal over the last 25 years have created an opportunity for the expression of ethnic identity. Like other nationalities, The Kirati individual ethnic groups (i.e. Sunuwar, Rai, Limbu and Yakkha) have founded many individual organizations to strengthen their cultures, languages and ethnicity. In recent trend, several steps were taken to preserve the language and the cultural knowledge that it contains both by the 'Kirat Yakkha Chhumma' (i.e., Indigenous Peoples Yakkha Organization) and by individuals of the broader Yakkha community in Nepal and India. Among them, Kirat Yakkha Chhumma 'KYC' is an organization dedicated to the Yakkha community. The primary objectives of the organization are preserving, promoting and developing Yakkha language and culture and also to raise voice for the Yakkha ethnic identity. So that the organization has respective regional and local wings in different areas or VDCs of Yakkha core area and even in the Kathmandu valley. Furthermore, in collaboration with other ethnic groups and their organizations, 'KYC' has been trying to pursue different activities concerning the Yakkha ethnic identity.

1.2.6 Migration

The Yakkha community is found to have settled in the core area in the ancestral homeland of the Yakkha, namely the 'Das Majhiya', 'Pancha Majhiya' and 'Pancha Khapan', i.e. *Yaksalen* 'Yakkhaland' or Yakkha area in Sankhuwasabha district. However, in recent trend, there are many Yakkha people who have migrated in different parts of the country especially in the Terai belt. A large number of Yakkha people are inhabitant of Kathmandu valley and Dharan as well. Furthermore, there are a large number of Yakkhas outside the Kathmandu valley especially in northern India (i.e. Darjeeling, Sikkim etc.). The census 2011 shows that Yakkha people are staying in forty-seven districts throughout the country.

1.2.7 Religion

The Yakkha people fall under the label Kirat. During the linguistic field survey in the origin of Yakkha communities, it is proved that the Yakkha participants were found to have followed Kirat religion as nature and ancestral worshipping. The Yakkha follow their own religion, in which the worship of the ancestor plays a major role. the main festivals are Casowa (i.e., Udhauli) in autumn and Yuchyang (i.e., Ubhauli in Nepali).

1.2.8 Occupation

The traditional occupation of the Yakkha community is farming and cattle breeding. The main crops are maize, rice and millet. Still the Yakkha people in the local villages are dependent on agriculture. Besides, they are also found to have contributed service in Indian and British army, teaching, government job, business, etc.

1.3 Demography, Genetic affiliation and review of earlier works

1.3.1 Overview

As Yakkha language is one of the Kirati languages especially spoken in the southern region of the Sankhuwasabha district in eastern Nepal. The language that is spoken in the Yakkha community is called 'Yakkha language'. Like any other Kirati languages, Yakkha falls under the east Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman branch in Sino-Tibetan Family.

1.3.2 Demography

Yakkha is a minority Kirati language, which is generally, refers to the inhabitants of the hill area of Eastern Nepal. The recent CBS report 2011 shows that the total population of Yakkha is 19,558. Among them 10,465 (i.e. 53.5%) are female and 9,093 (i.e. 46.5%) male. In the latest report of Ethnologue, it has been categorized Yakkha under the group (6b) i.e., *'threatened'*[1]. Of them, the majority of speakers are aged Yakkha people.

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[1] Ethnologue Nepalese languages (2012)

1.3.3 Genetic relationship

The Yakkha language has been classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayan, Kirati (Bradley 1997: 16; 2002: 81-82). Over the years different theories of classification have been arisen.

The linguistic affiliation of Yakkha is presented in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Linguistic affiliation of the Yakkha language

	Kirat Rai Languages (25)					
Hayu	Bahiŋ	Dumi	Tʰuluŋ	Bantawa	Atʰpare	Limbu
Sunuwar	Wambule	Koyee	Kuluŋ	Duŋmali	Belhare	**Yakkha**
	Jeruŋ	Kʰaliŋ	Nacʰiriŋ	Cʰintaŋ	Lohoruŋ	Cʰatʰare
	Tiluŋ	Sampaŋ	Sam	Cʰɨlɨŋ	Yampʰu	
	Camliŋ	Puma	Liŋkʰim	Pʰaŋduwali	Mewahaŋ	
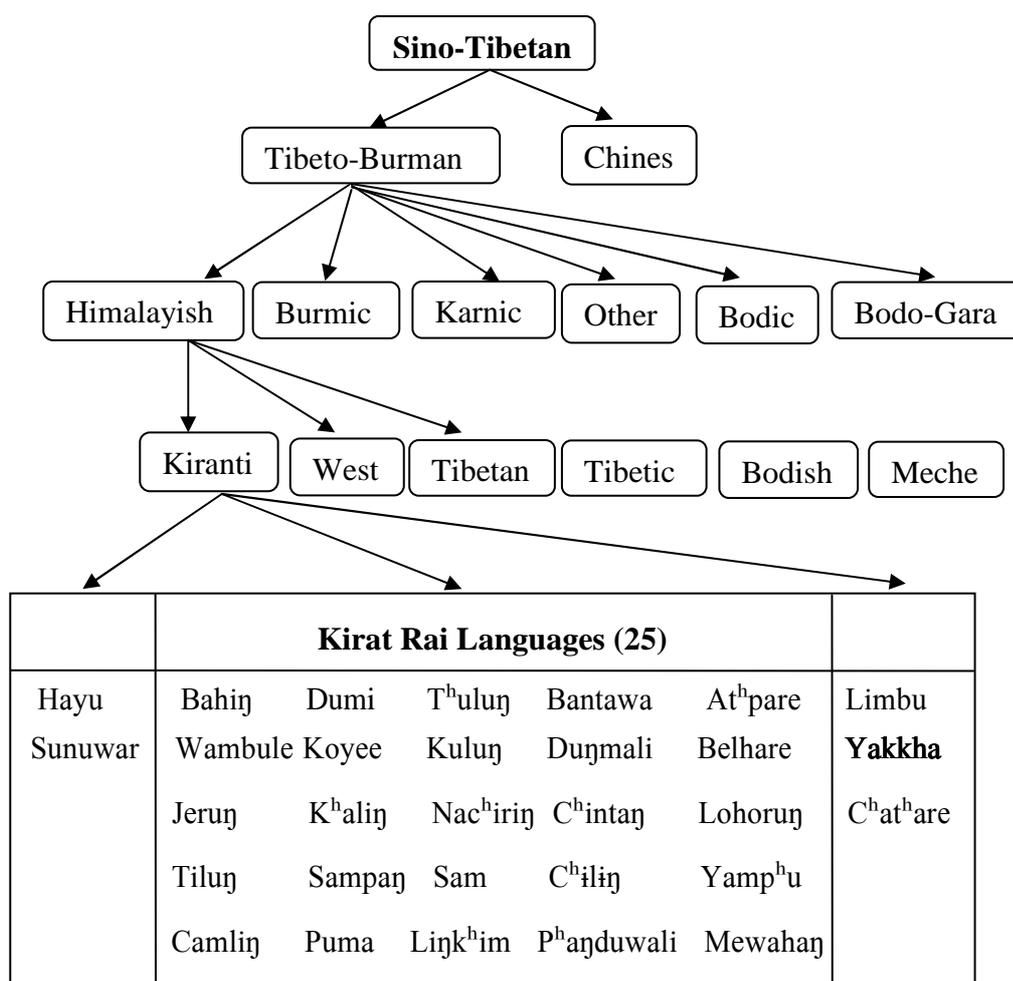
Ethnologue (2012) and Adapted from Bradley 2002 (slightly modified)

1.3.4 Yakkha location

As it is mentioned earlier, the core area of Yakkha ethnic group is the five VDCs in southern Sankhuwasabha district. It is also considered as the most prominent Yakkha speaking area. van Driem clearly mentions 'Yakkha speaking area is concentrated to five Panchayats (current Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Baneshwor and Kharang

VDCs) all abutting the Rava and Tap rivers near their confluence and upriver therefrom.

ap 1.1: Yakkha speaking area (Yakshalen)
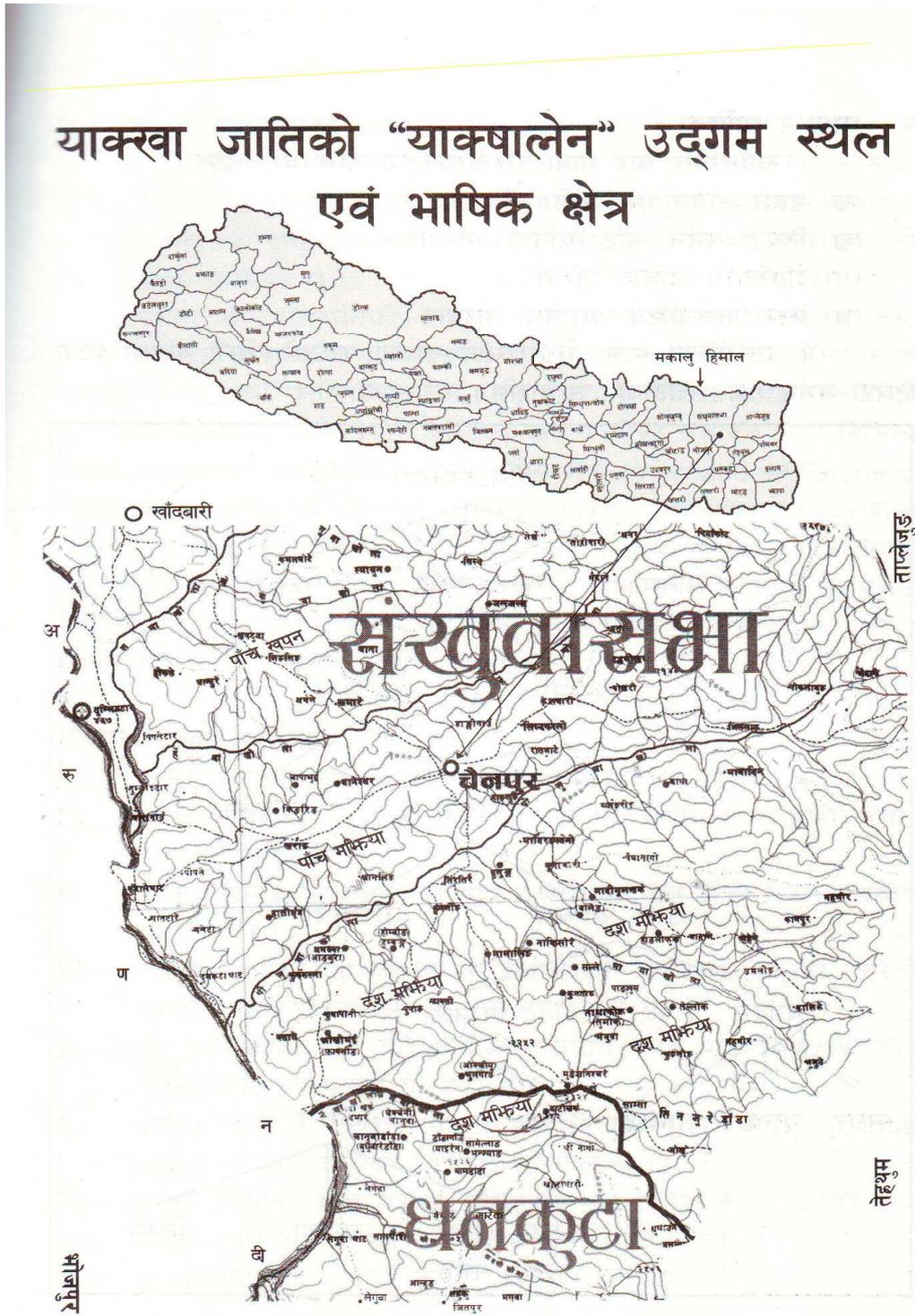
Map 1.1: The origin of Yakkha/Yakkha speaking area

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1.3.5 Review of earlier works

Regarding the Yakkha language, a few comments had been made in the early 1900s. The earliest linguistic and cultural comments on Yakkha language go back to Hodgson. The term 'Yakkha' was introduced by Hodgson (1857, 1880) in his grammatical notes in the Linguistic Survey of India. The material on Yakkha so far available is scarce. The oldest source on Yakkha that could be found was the 'Linguistic Survey of India', with a brief introduction and some Yakkha texts that were collected in Darjeeling (Grierson 1909).

The Yakkha-Nepali-English Dictionary has already been published by the Yakkha Organization 'Kirat Yakkha Chhumma' (Indigenous Peoples Yakkha Organisation) in 2007; an initiative has also been taken to prepare the Yakkha Grammar through the organization. Despite the hard work in producing the reading materials in mother tongue, there seems lack of concentration in its implementation in different Yakkha communities especially in Sankhuwasabha district. Besides, some local language activists have shown a deep interest for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue.

Similarly, among many active speakers from the Yakkha community, the two native creative writers Mr. Bam Dewan (Amaruwa, Sankhuwasabha) and Mr. Magman Linkha (Tamaphok, Sankhuwasabha) have compiled Yakkha *Prarambhik Shabda Sangraha* (i.e. 'Yakkha elementary glossary') in Devanagari script. Likewise, another useful book has been published named *Yakkha Jati Ek Parichaya* (i.e. 'Yakkha ethnic group: An introduction') by Magman Linkha in 2066 vs.

This survey is an attempt to analyze different domains of the use of the Yakkha language spoken by an indigenous group called 'Yakkha' of eastern Nepal in order to examine its vitality. At this juncture, Yakkha is a language oriented towards writing. With the aim of developing Yakkha as a written language, along with the publication of the Yakkha-Nepali-English Dictionary in February 2007, an initiative has been taken to prepare the Yakkha grammar and also the reading materials necessary for the teaching-learning process of the Yakkha language in local schools.

Eppele et al. (2012) refers that Yakkha is also considered as 'Dewansala', 'Yakha', 'Yakkhaba', 'Yakkhaba sala', 'Yakkhaba Cea', 'Yakthomba' etc. and shows that there are three dialects: Eastern Yakkha (Ilam and Panchthar districts); Northern Yakkha

(Sankhuwasabha district) and Southern Yakkha (Dhankuta district). There is a minimal diversity among these dialects. The recent status of the Yakkha language is shown as '6 b (Threatened) and is bilingualism in Nepali. Yakkha is related to Lumba-Yakkha [luu], Phangduwali [phw], Chanting [ctn], Chhulung [cur], Belhariya [byw], Lohorung [lbr], Limbu [lif], and Athpahariya [aph].

Linkha, Magman (2058) describes the introductory outline of Yakkha ethnic group in the topic *Yakkha Jatiko Chinari* 'An Introduction of Yakkha ethnic group' in his book. The book is based on the data collected from the fieldwork in the main Yakkha speaking areas and as a native speaker's intuition. The overview of socio-cultural and local practice in the Yakkha community has been clearly shown in this publication.

Among these, we can find the implementation of Yakkha language textbooks (Jimi et al. 2009) and a curriculum for the first and second class, an ethnographic introduction available in English and Nepali (Kongren 2007a), a collection of poems (Dewan et al. 2002 (VS 2059) and a collection of thematically ordered wordlists and articles on the Yakkha traditions (Linkha and Dewan 2005 (VS 2064)).

More recent work on the language is the Yakkha-Nepali-English Dictionary (Kongren 2007b). The headword entries follow the alphabetical order of the familiar *Devanagari* script. Their word-classes and meaning are given in Nepali This trilingual dictionary includes all the possible regional pronunciations from different Yakkha speaking areas.

1.4 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the recent sociolinguistic situation of the Yakkha speech community, which has been categorized as an endangered Kirati language under the eastern Kirati language group of Nepal. It also provides sociolinguistic information and support for language policy and planning as well as language development in the Yakkha communities. Furthermore, the basic linguistic data will clarify the relationships between the different Yakkha speaking areas: Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Baneshwor and Kharang in Sankhuwasabha district and Chanuwa and Dandagaun in Dhankuta district.

The specific goals of the study are as follows:

i. To identify the dialectal variation among the Yakkha varieties by assessing the levels of lexical similarity and comprehension between different Yakkha speaking areas (i.e. Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Baneshwor and Kharang);

ii. To investigate vitality of the Yakkha language by exploring the patterns of language use in certain domains;

iii. To assess the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism

iv. To understand the Yakkha community's desires for language preservation, promotion and development.

v. To examine the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language; and

vi. To gather information regarding the resources for the implementation of mother-tongue-based multilingual education (MLE) in Yakkha.

1.5 Organization of the report

The survey report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 outlines general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology employed in the survey. Chapter 3 examines the possible dialectal variations in the Yakkha language regarding the lexical comparison. In chapter 4, we present major domains of language use. Chapter 5 evaluates the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism in the Yakkha language. In chapter 6, we present language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Yakkha language. Chapter 7 discusses language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development. Finally, we present summary of the findings and recommendations in chapter 8. As the final part, the annex includes sociolinguistic questionnaires, wordlist and basic information of the language consultants involved in the survey.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

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

2.1 Overview

This survey has employed five different tools/methods in order to fulfill its goals. The tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ-A), Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ-B) and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ-C). Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI).

Table 2.1 displays the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used, and a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools used 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	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	

	domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Yakkha	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 AI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	Domain of language use Dialect mapping Multilingualism Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-C (SLQ-C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	Language attitudes Language maintenance Language vitality Language development
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): Description, purpose and procedure

There were employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaire in the survey. Their description, purpose and procedure are described in the following paragraphs.

2.2.1.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ-A)

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A which consists of eighty questions was intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set was to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. Prior to the administration of this set, first, the Yakkha speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point i.e. Tamaphok village of the same VDC. Other four areas/points were Humbung, Amaruwa, Mulgaun, Bihibare of Ankhibhuin VDC and Mamling village of Mamling VDC, Kingring village of Kharang VDC and Chabhuin village of Baneshwor VDC.

Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point. Figure 2.1 shows a model for sampling of informants from each survey point in Yakkha speech community in Sankhuwasava District.

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Figure 2.1: Model for sampling of informants from each point in Yakkha speech community.
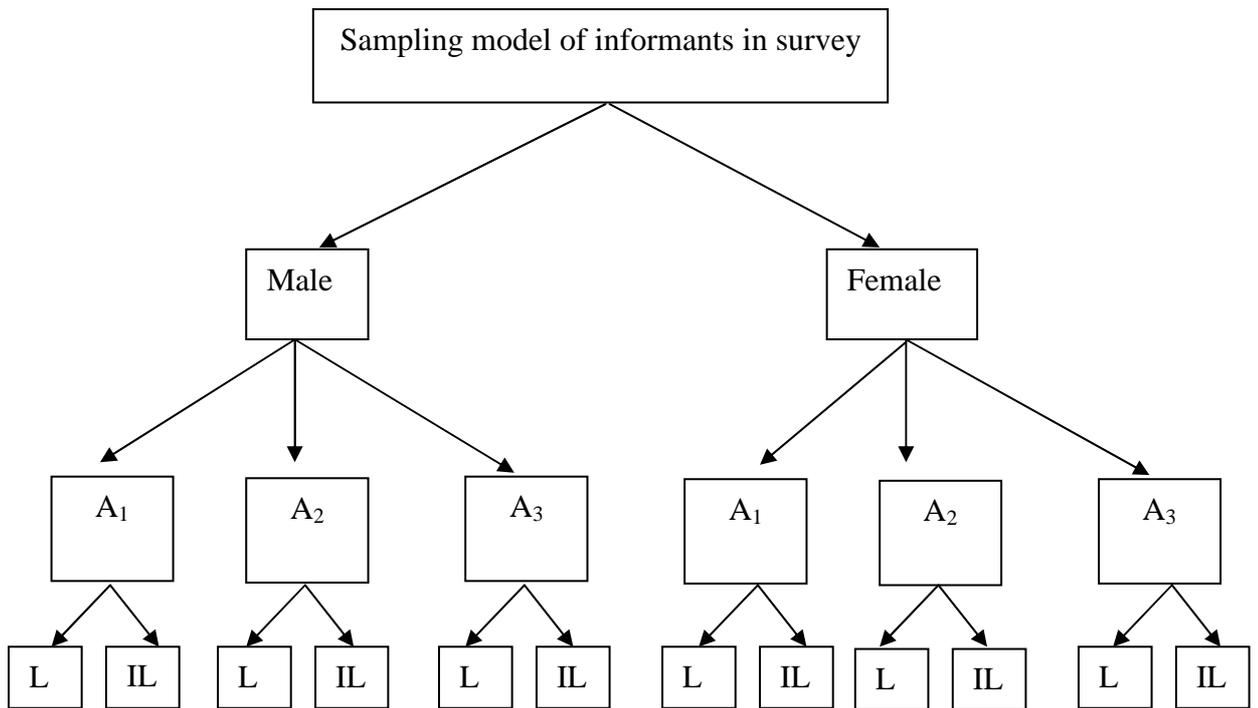
A_1 = (15-34), A_2 = (35-59), A_3 = 60+, L = Literate, I = Illiterate

In Figure 2.1, the term 'point' refers to sociolinguistic field survey points in the speech community. During the sociolinguistic field survey in the Yakkha speech community, five survey points were selected out of several visited Yakkha speech communities. The symbols; A_1, A_2, and A_3 refer, respectively, to three different age category [A_1 (15-34 years), A_2 (35-59 years), A_3 (60+ years)]; and 'L' and 'I', respectively to 'literate' and 'illiterate' category of the Yakkha speakers who participated in discussion and interview during the field survey so far.

Being the specific for the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, the following checklist was applied to carry out the Sociolinguistic survey in Yakkha.

Table 2.2: Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ-A) for each survey point											
Male						Female					
A_1		A_2		A_3		A_1		A_2		A_3	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

A_1 = 15-34, A_2 = 35-59, A_3 = 60+; and L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

Following the sampling model to the maximum, 60 participants from the Yakkha community were interviewed ranging the age from 26 to 76 with their sex and educational background in each linguistic survey point. The questionnaire was administered in Nepali language and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali and English. After the data collection, the answers were entered into a database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

2.2.1.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ-B)

Another set of questionnaire was Participatory Method (PM). PM was a tool employed during the survey to elicit information from the Yakkha participants. The tools included in the PM were Domains of Language Use (DLU), Multilingualism (MLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI).

The main purpose of the use of PM tools was to help the Yakkha speech community think about the dialects of Yakkha, how multilingual Yakkha people were, in which contexts they employed Yakkha language, and what their dreams and aspirations were for their language development. In the questionnaire, each tool was equipped with well-written systematic procedures for the facilitators in the group. The criteria consisted for the successful implementation for the participatory tools are as follows:

a) The group must consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.

b) The participant must belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.

c) The participants must be grown up in the survey point and must have lived 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.

d) Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language.

2.2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ-C)

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C is a set of 21 questions, which was administered to language activists and village heads. The main purpose of this set of questions was to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development. This set was administered to at least two participants in each survey point in Yakkha.

2.2.2 Wordlist comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure

The basic wordlist contains 210 lexicons. The main purpose of the wordlist was to determine the threshold of lexical similarity of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard wordlist elicited from the Yakkha speakers. The results have been presented in a table, which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs (See Chapter 3 for detail).

From each survey point, at least six informants representative of different age, sex and educational status were chosen. In selection process, those speakers were selected who were born and grown up in the village or in the near vicinity, spoke Yakkha as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each lexicon on the wordlist, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Yakkha word from Yakkha speaker. The responses were transcribed by 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 Yakkha. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated merely being based on lexical similarity percentages.

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

2.3.1 Survey points

In the sociolinguistic field survey of Yakkha language, there were taken the information from the five survey points from the Sankhuwasava district in the eastern Nepal. Table 2.3 shows the geographical location of the survey points recorded by the Global Positioning System (**GPS**) device.

Table 2.3: GPS for each survey point

S.N.	Points	Elevation	N	E	Remarks
1.	Tamaphok-5, Kakpadanda	1719 m	27^0 12' 42.9"	87^0 22' 59.8"	
2.	Ankhibhuin-8, Bihibare	1257 m	27^0 12' 54.3"	87^0 17' 40.9"	
3.	Mamling-5, Majha Gaun	1463 m	27^0 14' 21.7"	87^0 19' 48.5"	
4.	Kharang-6, Kingring	1033 m	27^0 16' 40.4"	87^0 15' 31.0"	
5.	Baneshwor-9, Chapabhuin	921 m	27^0 17' 22.6"	87^0 16' 14.4"	

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

2.3.2 Sampling procedure

First, the Yakkha speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point i.e. Tamaphok VDC. Other four points were Mamling, Ankhibhuin, Kharang and Baneshwor VDCs. Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.

Of the five sample points (i.e. five VDCs from the different areas of Yakkha communities), sixty participants from the Yakkha community were sampled and interviewed. The age of the participants ranged from 16 to 76 with their sex and educational background in each linguistic survey point. The questionnaire was administered in Nepali language.

2.3.3 Sample size

During the field survey, there were collected linguistic information by using the different tools as Sociolinguistic Questionnaires A, B, C and Wordlist. Table 2.4 shows the survey points, tools and the number of sheets of information collected from each survey point in the field.

Table 2.4: Tools category and the information collected from each survey point

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Other Tools
	A (Individual)	B (Participatory)	C (Language activists)	Wordlist
Tamaphok	12	17	2	4
Ankhibhuin	12	21	2	4
Mamling	12	19	2	4
Kharang	2	19	2	4
Baneshwor	12	23	2	4
Total	**60**	**99**	**10**	**20**

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

General sampling for questionnaire A requires that the informants must be selected reasonably from both literate and illiterate groups. However, this sampling could not be fully maintained in this survey. Since most of the informants were literate because the speech community is located in the areas where education is easily available on the one hand, the speech community is very conscious about education on the other.

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

The survey was conducted in five prime points of Sankhuwasava district. It was quite difficult to gather and find the people satisfying all the criteria for the qualified informants for the collection of the data in rain season. We used mainly four types of tools. However, there are other effective participatory tools like Cause and Effect Tree

(a tool used to assist community leaders in thinking about the reasons they use the language they do and effects of the use of those languages on community members), Stakeholder Analysis (a tool used to help a small group of people to identify other stakeholders, categorize those stakeholders, select stakeholders to involve more and develop initial plans for involving them), Force field Analysis (a tool used to help a group who has a goal and wants to solve a problem to identify the forces working for and against the goal or solution.

CHAPTER 3

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

3.0 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to look at the dialectal variations in Yakkha based on the lexical comparison. This chapter is organized into three sections. Section 3.1 deals with the wordlist comparison, which comprises methodology, evaluation criteria, key locations of word survey, dialectal variations, the total wordlist comparison, tally form of the lexical variation and lexical comparison of the wordlist. Section 3.2 presents dialect mapping. And, Section 3.3 presents summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Wordlist comparisons

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Yakkha speech varieties. In this section, the major parts like key locations of word survey, dialectal variations, the total wordlist comparison, tally form of the lexical variation, and lexical comparison of 210 wordlist are presented.

3.1.1 Key locations of word survey

There were five key locations selected for the wordlist survey. The standardized wordlists of 210 words were elicited in different points from the Yakkha speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different age, sex and literacy). The 210 wordlist from each point were collected with the help of phonetic transcription and crossed checked from other speakers from the same site (*see* Annex D for 210 wordlist). Table 3.1 shows the key locations selected for the wordlist survey.

Table 3.1: Key locations of wordlist survey in Yakkha

	Key points (VDCs)	Point location	District	Zone
1.	**Tamaphok**	Core point	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
3.	**Ankhibhuin**	Northern-West	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
2.	**Mamling**	West	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
4.	**Kharang**	North	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
5.	**Baneshwor**	North	Sankhuwasava	Koshi

From each survey point, six sets of wordlists were collected from the Yakkha native speakers. During the wordlist survey, Tamaphok VDC was deemed as the core point. Taking the Tamaphok VDC as the core (reference) point, Ankhibhuin VDC is to the Northern-West; Kharang and Baneshwor VDCS are to the North and Mamling VDC to the West direction.

3.1.2 Dialectal variations

Under the theme of the dialectal variation of the 210 lexical items, 200 lexical items were collected from the five linguistic field survey points[1].

Table 3.2 displays the detailed information of the survey point in Sankhuwasava district.

Table 3.2: Survey key points in Sankhuwasava district

	Key point	VDC	District	Zone
1.	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
3.	Ankhibhuin	Ankhibhuin	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
2.	Mamling	Mamling	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
4.	Kingring	Kharang	Sankhuwasava	Koshi
5.	Chabhuin	Baneshwor	Sankhuwasava	Koshi

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[1]In the 210 wordlist, 10 lexical items (like cabbage, cauliflower, groundnut etc. are not relevant in Yakkha language) were omitted.

'Points' refers to the five linguistic field survey points carried out in the Yakkha community. The five linguistic field survey points were Tamaphok village in Tamaphok VDC, Mamling village in Mamling VDC, Bihibare village in Ankhibhuin VDC, Kingring village in Kharang VDC and Chabhuin village in Baneshwor VDC. Of them, Tamaphok village (Tamaphok VDC) is deemed as the core linguistic field survey point, and the rest as periphery.

Then, the collected lexical items were entered into the computer software called 'Wordsurv'. With the help of this software, the comparative analysis of the lexicon variations was carried out. They are as follows:

3.1.2.1 The total wordlist comparison

Of the 210 wordlist for the dialectal variation, the 200 relevant lexical items were collected from the Yakkha speakers from the five survey points in Sankhuwasava district. They are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Total wordlist collected in five survey points (i.e. VDCs)

	Variety	Tamaphok	Ankhibhuin	Mamling	Kharang	Baneshwor
1.	Tamaphok	200	200	200	200	200
2.	Ankhibhuin	200	200	200	200	200
3.	Mamling	200	200	200	200	200
4.	Kharang	200	200	200	200	200
5.	Chabhuin	200	200	200	200	200

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

3.1.2.2 Tally form of the lexical variation

The tally form of the lexical variations from the five survey points (i.e. namely Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Kharang, and Baneshwor VDCs) is displayed in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Tally form of the lexical variation

Tamaphok				
172	**Ankhibhuin**			
156	158	**Mamling**		
152	162	164	**Kharang**	
150	160	156	168	**Baneshwor**

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

3.1.2.3 Lexical comparison of 210 wordlist

For the purpose of the lexical comparison, Tamaphok is considered as a core survey point. Being based on this point, the remaining four survey points (i.e. VDCs) are compared. The percentage of lexical comparison among the five VDCs is presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Lexical comparison (in percentage)

Tamaphok				
86%	**Ankhibhuin**			
78%	79%	**Mamling**		
76%	81%	82%	**Kharang**	
75%	80%	78%	84%	**Baneshwor**

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 3.4 shows the statistical information on lexical comparison that Tamaphok VDC as the core survey point holds 100%. Being based on the Tamaphok variety, the rest of the four VDCs were compared. In the comparison, the Ankhibhuin variety shares the most similarity (86%) with the Tamaphok. In the same way, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Mamling variety is 78% similar to the wordlist of Tamaphok. The Baneshwor variety shares 75% similarity with the Tamaphok. And, Kharang variety shares the least 76%.

Fundamentally, the only lexical comparative analysis may not predict the issue of the least similar dialect as the distinct language. The comparative analysis carried out here is only based on the lexical items to show the similarity and variations among them.

3.2 Dialect Mapping

The main purpose of the Dialect Mapping tool was to help the community members think about and visualize the different varieties of Yakkha. During the linguistic field survey, the Yakkha participants were gathered for group discussion. Then, during the discussion, they were asked to write down the names of each village on a separate sheet of paper where Yakkha was spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then, they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. Next, they were asked to use the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. Then, they were advised to use colored piece of plastic to mark those varieties they understood very well, average and poorly. A sample of dialect mapping carried out in the field survey is presented in Photo 2.2.

Photo 2.2: Participatory done in field survey point (Ankhibhuin, Sankhuwasava)

3.2 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to examine the possible dialectal variations in Yakkha. The study was carried out on the basis of the comparison of standardized 210 wordlist by employing the computer program 'WordSurv'. The survey points from which 210 wordlist was collected during the survey were Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Kharang and Baneshwor.

Of the survey points, different VDCS in Sankhuwasava district are deemed as the core survey points. And being based on the Tamaphok VDC as the core point, the Ankhibhuin VDC lies to the west; Mamling VDC to the south-east; Kharang VDC and Baneshwor VDC to the east.

Being based on Tamaphok area survey point, the rest of the four survey points were compared. In the comparison, the Ankhibhuin survey point shares 86% similarity to the core survey point of Tamaphok; Mamling 78%; Baneshwor 75% and Kharang 76%, respectively.

CHAPTER 4

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

4.0 Outline

This chapter looks at major domains of language use in Yakkha. It consists of eleven sections. Section 4.1 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. In section 4.2, we deal with the patterns of language use at home. Section 4.4 looks at the patterns of language use by the children whereas in section 4.5 the patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations are discussed. Section 4.6 deals with the patterns of language used to write minutes in community meeting. In section 4.7, we present the frequency of use of mother tongue in Yakkha. Section 4.8 presents the frequency of use of the language of wider communication (LWC). In section 4.9, we examine the pattern of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting at home. Likewise, in section 4.10, the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level is discussed. Ultimately, section 4.11 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

4.1 Patterns of language use in general domains

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

The languages most frequently used by the Yakkha speakers in different domains by sex are as in Table 4.1.

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

Domains		Sex					
		Female (24)			Male (36)		
		Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
a.	Counting	3 (13%)	3 (13%)	18 (74%)	5 (14%)	6 (17%)	25 (69%)
b.	Singing	3 (13%)	4 (17%)	17 (70%)	4 (11%)	5 (14%)	27 (75%)
c.	Joking	8 (33%)	5 (21%)	11 (46%)	14 (39%)	9 (25%)	13 (36%)
d.	Bargaining/ Shopping	7 (29%)	5 (21%)	12 (50%)	10 (27%)	11 (31%)	15 (42%)
e.	Story telling	10 (42%)	5 (21%)	9 (37%)	15 (42%)	9 (25%)	12 (33%)
f.	Discussing/ Debate	7 (34%)	6 (14%)	11 (52%)	14 (39%)	8 (22%)	14 (39%)
g.	Praying	11 (46%)	7 (29%)	6 (25%)	18 (50%)	9 (25%)	9 (25%)
h.	Quarrelling	10 (42%)	7 (29%)	7 (29%)	16 (44%)	9 (25%)	11 (31%)
i.	Abusing (scolding)	12 (50%)	6 (25%)	6 (25%)	19 (53%)	8 (22%)	9 (25%)
j.	Telling stories to children	13 (54%)	5 (21%)	6 (25%)	21 (58%)	9 (25%)	6 (17%)
k.	Singing at home	8 (33%)	8 (34%)	8 (33%)	12 (33%)	14 (40%)	10 (27%)
l.	Family gatherings	12 (50%)	7 (29%)	5 (21%)	19 (53%)	9 (25%)	8 (22%)
m.	Village meetings	16 (66%)	4 (17%)	4 (17%)	18 (50%)	12 (33%)	6 (17%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.1 shows that the language most frequently used in different domain are Nepali. Nepali is the language of wider communication (LWC) in Yakkha community. Regarding the domain of counting, three female (i.e., 13%) and five male (i.e., 14%) reported that they most frequently used their mother tongue; three female (i.e., 13%) and six male (i.e., 17%) participants reported that they most frequently used both Yakkha and Nepali languages; and 18 female (i.e., 74%) and twenty-five male (i.e., 69%) participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali.

A majority of the female participants (i.e. 70%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali language while singing, followed by the Yakkha and Nepali language (i.e., 17%) and Yakkha (i.e., 13%), respectively. Likewise, a majority of the male participants (i.e., 75%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali language while singing, followed by Yakkha and Nepali (i.e., 14%) and Yakkha (i.e., 11%), respectively.

Similarly, nearly half of the female participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language while joking, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 21%), respectively. Likewise, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 36%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) languages, respectively.

Exactly half of the female participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language while bargaining, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 29%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 21%), respectively. Likewise, fifteen male participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 31%) and Yakkha (i.e., 27%), respectively.

Nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while telling stories, followed by Nepali language (i.e., 37%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 21%), respectively. Likewise, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%), respectively.

Nearly half of the female participants (i.e., 52%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language while discussing, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 34%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 14%), respectively. Likewise, fourteen male participants (i.e.,

39%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language. Likewise, the same number of participant reported that they must frequently used Nepali (i.e., 39%), followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 22%) languages.

Nearly half of the female participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while praying, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. On the other hand, half of the male participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used both Yakkha while praying, followed by the Yakkha (i.e., 25%) and Nepali languages (i.e., 25%), respectively.

Nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while quarreling, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. On the other hand, sixteen the male participants (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 31%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%).

Half of the participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while abusing/scolding, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali (i.e., 25%), respectively. On the other hand, a majority of the male participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 25%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%).

More than half of the female participants (i.e., 54%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while telling stories to children, followed by Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 14.3%), respectively. On the other hand, a majority of the male participants (i.e., 58%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali (i.e., 17%), respectively.

Eight female participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages while singing at home, followed by both Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%). On the other hand, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali language (i.e., 40%), followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively.

Half of the participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language in their family gathering, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Nepali (i.e., 21%), respectively. On the other hand, nearly half of the male

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participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%), and Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively.

At all, majority of the male and female participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language in their family gatherings. Regarding the village meetings, a majority of the female participants (i.e., 66%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 17%) and Nepali (i.e., 17%), respectively. On the other hand, eighteen male participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language in their village meetings, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 17%), respectively.

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

Figure 4.1: Languages most frequently used by female in different domains
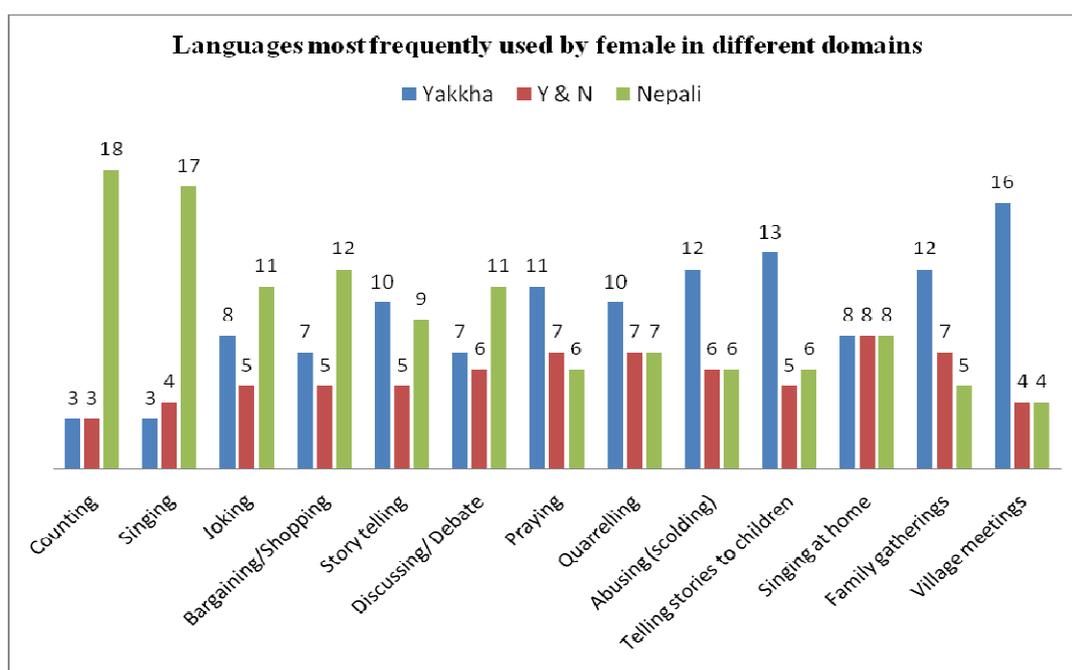
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 4.2: Languages most frequently used by female in different domains
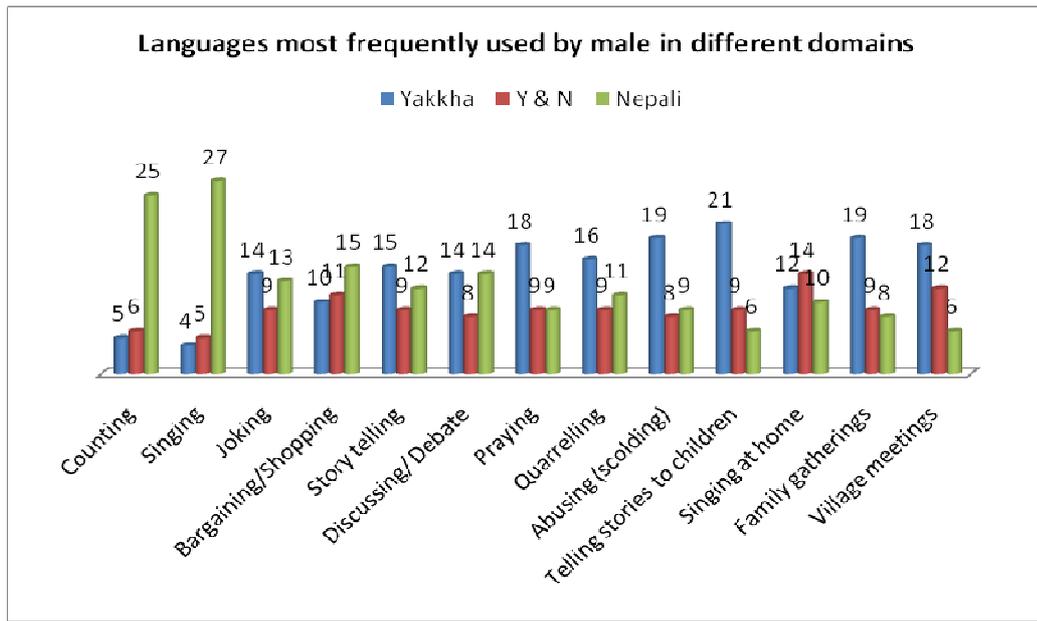
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

The age groups of the total participants are categorized into three as A_1 (n=18), A_2 (n=27) and A_3 (n=15). The group A_1 consists of age margin from 15 to 34; A_2 from 35 to 59; and A_3 from 60 above. Regarding the age group, the languages most frequently used in different domains are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by age (N=60)

(A$_1$=15-34 years, A$_2$=35-59 years, A$_3$=60 + years)

Domain	Age groups								
	A$_1$ (n=18)			A$_2$ (n=27)			A$_3$ (n=15)		
	Yak.	Y & N	Nep.	Yak.	Y & N	Nep.	Yak.	Y & N	Nep.
Counting	1 (6%)	2 (11%)	15 (83%)	5 (18%)	4 (15%)	18 (67%)	2 (13%)	3 (20%)	10 (67%)
Singing	-	2 (11%)	16 (89%)	6 (22%)	4 (15%)	17 (63%)	1 (7%)	3 (20%)	11 (73%)
Joking	7 (39%)	6 (33%)	5 (28%)	9 (34%)	5 (18%)	13 (48%)	6 (40%)	3 (20%)	6 (40 %)
Bargaining/ Shopping	5 (28%)	5 (28%)	8 (44%)	8 (30%)	7 (26%)	12 (44%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	7 (46%)
Story telling	7 (39%)	5 (28%)	6 (33%)	6 (23%)	5 (18%)	16 (59%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Discussing/ Debate	6 (33%)	6 (34%)	6 (33%)	9 (34%)	5 (18%)	13 (48%)	6 (40%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)
Praying	9 (50%)	5 (28%)	4 (22%)	12 (44%)	8 (30%)	7 (26%)	8 (53%)	3 (20%)	4 (27%)
Quarrelling	8 (44%)	5 (28%)	5 (28%)	12 (44%)	7 (26%)	8 (30%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Abusing (scolding)	9 (50%)	4 (22%)	5 (28%)	15 (56%)	6 (22%)	6 (22%)	7 (46%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)
Telling stories	11 (61%)	4 (22%)	3 (17%)	15 (56%)	6 (22%)	6 (22%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Singing at home	6 (33%)	7 (39%)	5 (28%)	9 (33%)	9 (34%)	9 (60%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Family gatherings	10 (55%)	5 (28%)	3 (17%)	13 (48%)	7 (26%)	7 (26%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Village meetings	10 (55%)	5 (28%)	3 (17%)	15 (56%)	7 (26%)	5 (18%)	9 (60%)	4 (27%)	2 (13%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

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Table 4.2 shows the different age groups of the participants and their responses in different domains of language use. Regarding the domain of counting, with age group A_1, a majority of the participants (i.e., 83%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 11%) and Yakkha (i.e., 6%), respectively. In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 67%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 18%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 15%), respectively. In age group A_3, a majority of the participants (i.e., 67%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%) and Yakkha (i.e., 13%), respectively.

In the domain of singing, with age group A_1, a majority of the participants (i.e., 89%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali, followed by Nepali (i.e., 11%). In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 63%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 22%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 15%), respectively. Likewise, in age group A_3, a majority of the participants (i.e., 73%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%) and Yakkha (i.e., 7%), respectively.

In the domain of joking, with age group A_1, 39% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively. In age group A_2, thirteen participants (i.e., 48%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 34%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 18%), respectively. In age group A_3, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language and Nepali (i.e., 40%), followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%) languages.

In the domain of bargaining, with age group A_1, eight participants (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 28%), respectively. In age group A_2, twelve participants (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 30%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 26%), respectively. In age group A_3, all the participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by both the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) languages and the Yakkha language (i.e., 27%), respectively.

In the domain of story-telling, with age group A_1, seven participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and both the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) languages, respectively. In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 59%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 23%) and both the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 18%) languages, respectively. In age group A_3, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and both the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%).

In the domain of discussion, with age group A_1, six participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used both the Yakkha-Nepali language, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively. In age group A_2, thirteen participants (i.e., 48%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 34%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 18%), respectively. In age group A_3, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language and same as Nepali (i.e., 40%), followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%).

In the domain of praying, with age group A_1, nine participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively. In age group A_2, twelve participants (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 26%). Likewise, in age group A_3, a majority of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 27%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%).

In the domain of quarrelling, with age group A_1, 44% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%) as well. In age group A_2, 44% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 30%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 26%), respectively. In age group A_3, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%).

In the domain of abusing, with age group A_1, 50% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively. In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 56%) reported

that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 22%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 22%). In age group A_3, 46% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively.

In the domain of telling-story, with age group A_1, a majority of the participants (i.e., 61%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 22%) and Nepali (i.e., 17%), respectively. In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 56%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 22%) and Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively. In age group A_3, a majority of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

In the domain of singing at home, with age group A_1, 39% reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali, followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively. In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 34%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%), respectively. In age group A_3, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used both Yakkha-Nepali, followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively.

In the domain of family gatherings, with age group A_1, a majority of the participants (i.e., 55%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Nepali (i.e., 17%), respectively. In age group A_2, thirteen participants (i.e., 48%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 26%) and Nepali (i.e., 26%), respectively. In age group A_3, a majority of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

In the domain of village meeting, with age group A_1, 50% reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali, followed by Nepali (i.e., 40%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 10%), respectively. In age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 56%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 26%) and Nepali (i.e., 18%), respectively. In age group A_3, a

majority of the participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 13%), respectively.

Figure 4.3: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A_1 (n=18) in different domains
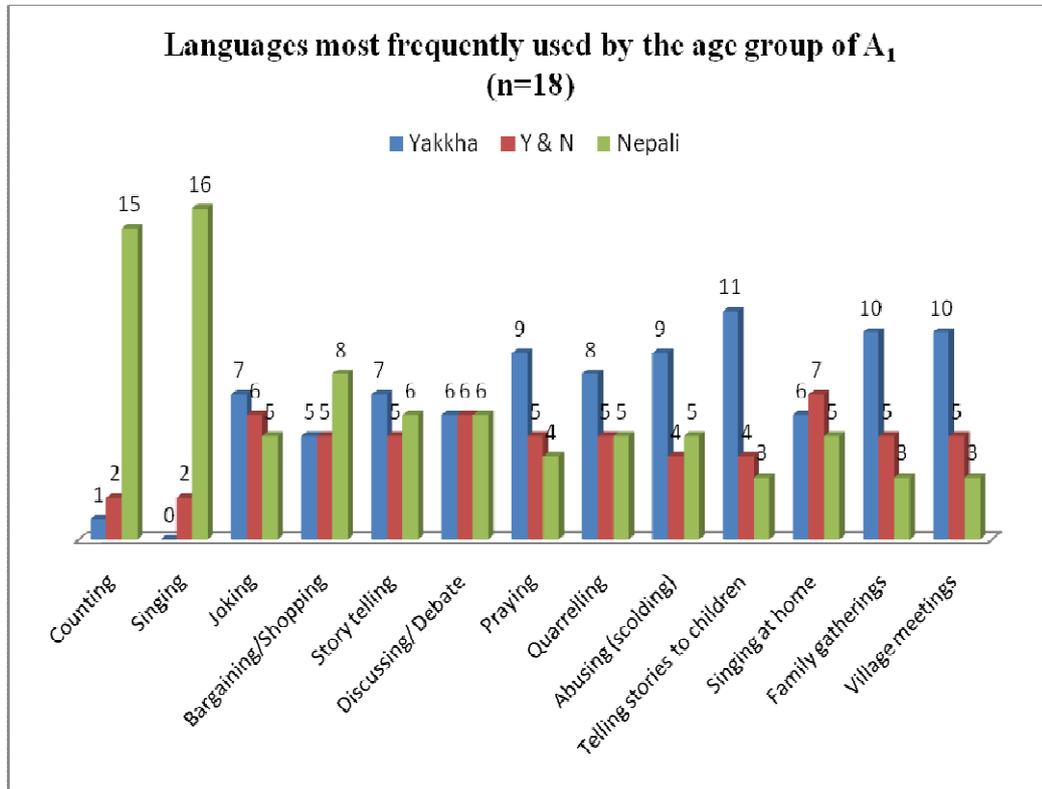
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 4.3 shows the age group of A_1 with the majority of the participants who use mother tongue in some of the domains of language use are telling stories to children, family gathering, village meeting, abusing, quarrelling and praying. On the other hand, the majority of the participants, who use mother tongue in some of the domains of language use, except in two domains of counting and singing at home. In these domains, the majority of the participants use Nepali rather than their mother tongue.

Figure 4.4: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A_2 (n=27)
in different domains
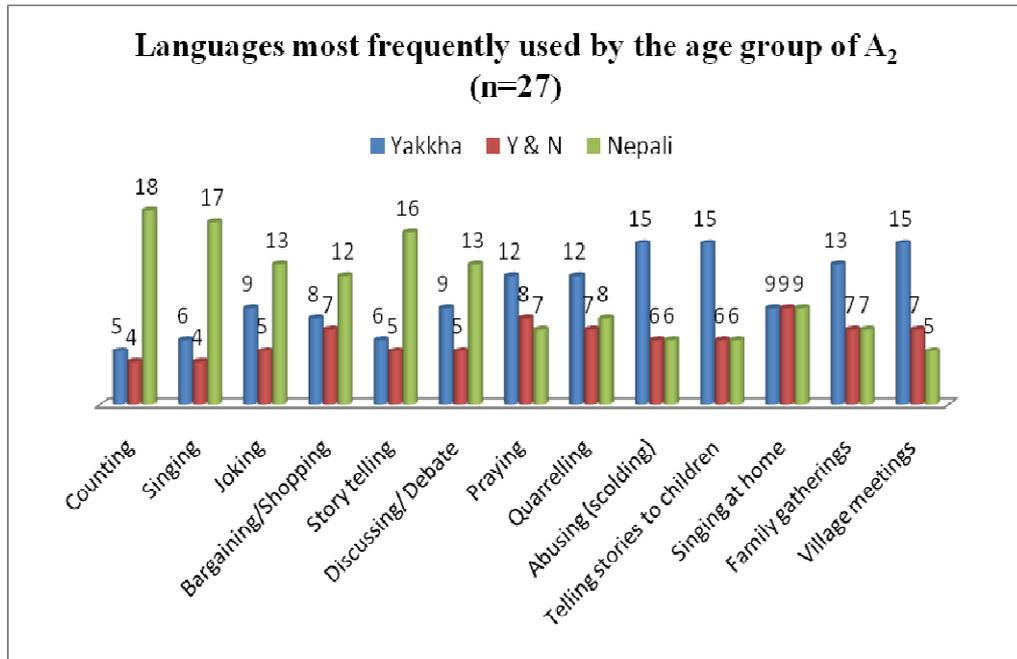
Source: *Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)*

Figure 4.4 shows the age group of A_2 with the majority of the participants who use mother tongue in some of the domains of language use are telling stories to children, family gathering, village meeting, and abusing. On the other hand, the majority of the participants, who use mother tongue in some of the domains of language use, except in two domains of counting, singing and storytelling at home. In these domains, the majority of the participants use Nepali rather than their mother tongue.

**Figure 4.5: Languages most frequently used by the age group of A₃ (n=15)
in different domains**
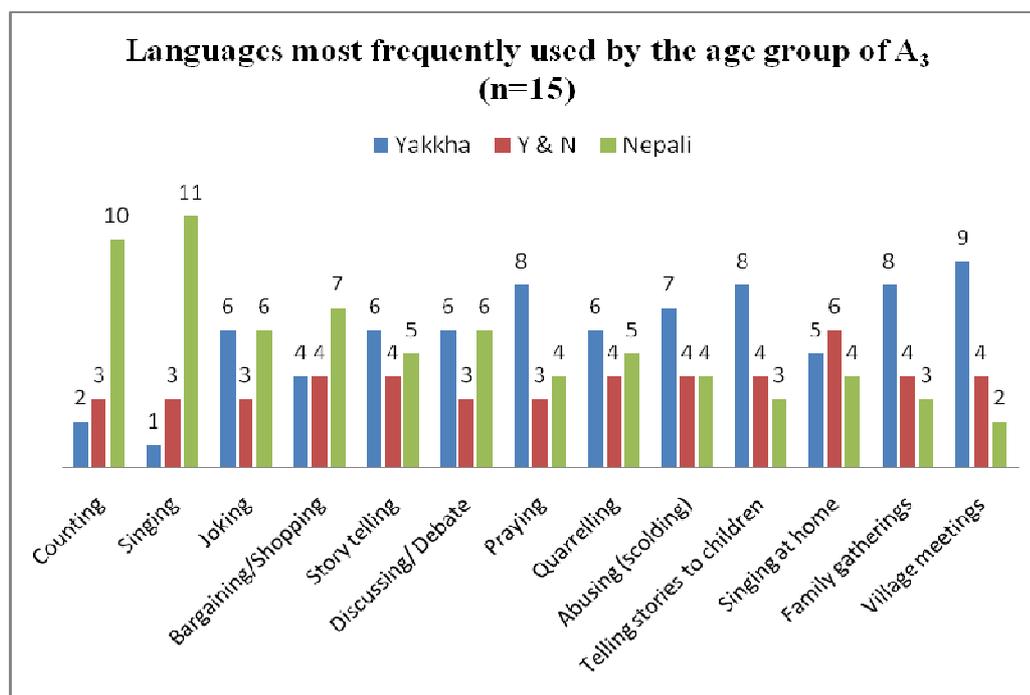
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 4.5 shows the age group of A₃ with the majority of the participants who use mother tongue in some of the domains of language use are telling stories to children, family gathering, village meeting, and praying. On the other hand, the majority of the participants, who use mother tongue in some of the domains of language use, except in two domains of counting and singing at home. In these domains, the majority of the participants use Nepali rather than their mother tongue.

Table 4.3 presents the languages most frequently used by the Yakkha speakers in different domains by literacy.

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

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (N=45)			Illiterate (N=15)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Counting	6 (13%)	6 (13%)	33 (74%)	2 (13%)	3 (20%)	10 (67%)
Singing	5 (11%)	7 (16%)	33 (73%)	2 (13%)	2 (13%)	11 (74%)
Joking	17 (38%)	9 (20%)	19 (42%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
Shopping/ Marketing	11 (24%)	11 (24%)	23 (62%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Story telling	18 (40%)	9 (20%)	18 (40%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
Discussing/ Debate	15 (33%)	9 (20%)	21 (47%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Praying	21 (46%)	12 (27%)	12 (27%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Quarrelling	19 (42%)	11 (25%)	15 (33%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
Abusing (scolding)	23 (51%)	9 (20%)	13 (29%)	8 (54%)	5 (33%)	2 (13%)
Telling stories to children	25 (56%)	11 (24%)	9 (20%)	9 (60%)	3 (20%)	3 (20%)
Singing at home	15 (33%)	17 (38%)	13 (29%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
Family gatherings	23 (31%)	12 (40%)	10 (29%)	8 (54%)	4 (26%)	3 (20%)
Village meetings	26 (58%)	12 (26%)	7 (16%)	8 (54%)	4 (26%)	3 (20%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.3 shows that of the total 60 participants, forty-five are literate and fifteen illiterate. Regarding the domain of counting, six literate (i.e., 13%) and two illiterate

(i.e., 13%) reported that they most frequently used their mother tongue; six literate (i.e., 13%) and three illiterate (i.e., 20%) participants reported that they most frequently used both Yakkha and Nepali languages; and thirty-three literate (i.e., 74%) and ten illiterate (i.e., 67%) participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali language only.

A majority of the literate participants (i.e., 73%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali language while singing, which is followed by the Yakkha-Nepali language (i.e., 16%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 11%). Likewise, a majority of the illiterate participants (i.e., 74%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali language while singing, which is followed by the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 13%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 13%) as well.

44% reported that they most frequently used the Nepali languages while joking, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 38%) and the Yakkha languages (i.e., 20%), respectively. Likewise, five illiterate participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 17%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%) languages, respectively.

A majority of the literate participants (i.e., 62%) reported that they most frequently used while shopping, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 24%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 24%), respectively. Likewise, six illiterate participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language, respectively.

40% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while telling stories, which is followed by both Nepali (i.e., 40%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively. Likewise, Nearly half of the illiterate participants (i.e., 47%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

Nearly half of the participants (i.e., 47%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language while discussing, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively. Likewise, six illiterate participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%) language, respectively.

Twenty-one literate participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while praying, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali language (i.e., 27%), respectively. Likewise, Nearly half of the illiterate participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

42% respondents reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while quarreling, which is followed by the Nepali language (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%). On the other hand; seven illiterate participants (i.e., 47%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

Nearly half of the literate participants (i.e., 51%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while abusing, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 20%), respectively. On the other hand, nearly half of the illiterate participants (i.e., 54%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 13%) language, respectively.

Nearly half of the literate participants (i.e., 56%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language while telling stories to children, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 24%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%) language, respectively. On the other hand, a majority of the illiterate participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 20%) and Nepali language (i.e., 20%), respectively.

38% respondents reported that they most frequently used both Yakkha-Nepali languages while singing at home, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. On the other hand, five illiterate participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively.

40% respondents reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages in their family gathering, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 31%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. On the other hand, nearly half of the illiterate participants (i.e., 54%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha

language, which is followed by the Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 26%) and Nepali language (i.e., 20%), respectively.

Regarding the village meetings, a majority of the literate participants (i.e., 58%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 26%) and Nepali (i.e., 16%), respectively. On the other hand, a majority of the illiterate participants (i.e., 54%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language in their village meetings, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 26%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

At all, the data clearly shows that those who are literate are more open to shifting to Nepali in Yakkha community. Languages most frequently used by literate may be more clearly presented in Figure 4.6.
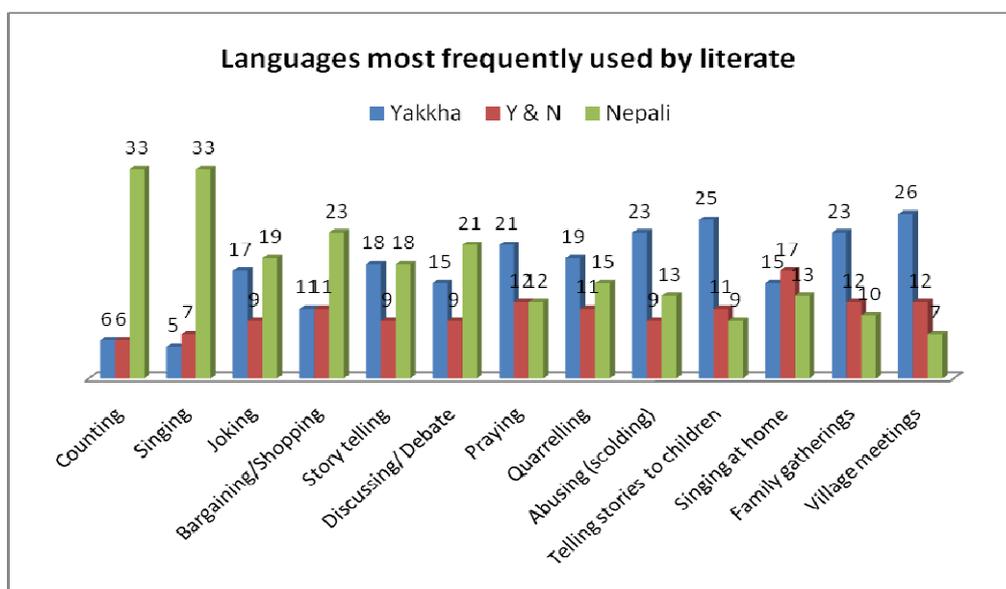
Figure 4.6: Languages most frequently used by literate in different domains

Figure 4.6 shows that except in the domains 'counting' and 'singing', literate in Yakkha speech community use Nepali most frequently in all different domains of language use.
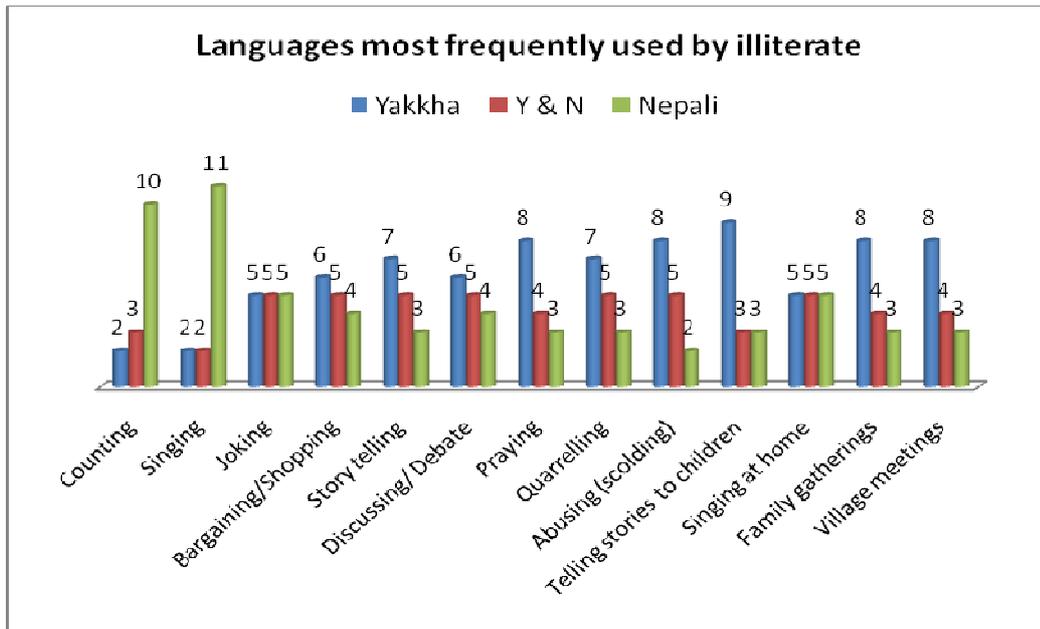
Figure 4.7: Languages most frequently used by illiterate in different domains

Figure 4.7 shows that like the literate in Yakkha speech community, the illiterate also use Nepali most frequently except counting and singing domains of language use. However, illiterate uses Nepali less frequently than the literate does.

4.2 Patterns of language use at home

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

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

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

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

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

Domain	Sex					
	Female (N=24)			Male (N=36)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Grandfather	12 (50%)	6 (25%)	6 (25%)	19 (53%)	9 (25%)	8 (22%)
Grandmother	12 (50%)	6 (25%)	6 (25%)	19 (53%)	9 (25%)	8 (22%)
Father	10 (42%)	7 (29%)	7 (29%)	15 (42%)	11 (30%)	10 (28%)
Mother	10 (42%)	7 (29%)	7 (29%)	15 (42%)	11 (30%)	10 (28%)
Spouse	9 (38%)	7 (29%)	8 (33%)	14 (40%)	11 (30%)	11 (30%)
Children	8 (33%)	8 (34%)	8 (33%)	11 (30%)	12 (34%)	13 (36%)

Source*: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)*

Table 4.4 shows that the language most frequently used by the male and female participants with their family members. In regard to this topic, 50% female participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali (i.e., 25%), respectively. Similarly, nearly half of the male participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, school teachers, etc, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali language (i.e., 25%), respectively.

42% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their father and mother, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%) language. Similarly, fifteen male participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their father and mother while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, school teachers, etc, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively.

Nine female participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their spouse, followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. Similarly, fourteen male participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their spouse while

talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, schoolteachers, etc, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively.

One third of the female participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali with their children, followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively. Similarly, nearly one third of the male participants (i.e., 36%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali languages with their children while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, school teachers, etc, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 34%) and Yakkha language (i.e., 30%), respectively.

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

Table 4.5: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.) (A$_1$=15-34 years, A$_2$=35-59 years, A$_3$= 60 +)

Domains	Age groups								
	A$_1$ (n=18)			A$_2$ (n=27)			A$_3$ (n=15)		
	Yak.	Y & N	Nep.	Yak.	Y & N	Nep.	Yak.	Y & N	Nep.
Grandfather	9 (50%)	5 (28%)	4 (22%)	14 (52%)	6 (22%)	7 (26%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Grandmother	9 (50%)	5 (28%)	4 (22%)	14 (52%)	6 (22%)	7 (26%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Father	7 (60%)	6 (20%)	5 (20%)	11 (42%)	8 (29%)	8 (29%)	7 (46%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)
Mother	7 (60%)	6 (20%)	5 (20%)	11 (42%)	8 (29%)	8 (29%)	7 (46%)	4 (27%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	6 (30%)	5 (30%)	7 (40%)	10 (38%)	9 (33%)	8 (29%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Children	5 (20%)	6 (30%)	7 (50%)	8 (44%)	9 (33%)	9 (33%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)

Source: *Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)*

Table 4.5 shows the participants' age groups of A_1, A_2, A_3, and their responses on the educational matters. In regard to age group A_1, nine participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, teachers, etc., followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%). With their father and mother, a majority of the participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha language, followed by the Yakkha-Nepali language (i.e., 20%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively. With their spouse, seven participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively. And, with their children, half of the participant (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 20%), respectively.

In regard to age group A_2, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 52%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, teachers, etc., followed by Nepali (i.e., 26%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 26%), respectively.

With their father and mother, 42% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%). With their spouse, 38% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. And, with their children, eight participant (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively.

About age group A_3, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, teachers, etc., followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

With their father and mother, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. With their spouse, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali

(i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. And, with their children, six participant (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively.

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

| Domain | Literacy | | | | | |
| | Literate (N=45) | | | Illiterate (N=15) | | |
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Grandfather	23 (52%)	11 (24%)	11 (24%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Grandmother	23 (52%)	11 (24%)	11 (24%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Father	19 (42%)	13 (29%)	13 (29%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Mother	19 (42%)	13 (29%)	13 (29%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	17 (38%)	14 (31%)	14 (31%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Children	15 (33%)	15 (34%)	15 (33%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.6 shows the participants' information on literacy, wherein, forty-five participants are literate and fifteen illiterate. In regard to the literate group, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 52%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while talking about educational maters like school, admission, studies, teachers, etc., followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 24%) and Nepali (i.e., 24%), respectively. With their father and mother, a majority of the participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 20%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively. With their spouse, seventeen participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 31%) and Nepali (i.e., 31%), respectively. And, with their children, fifteen participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively.

In regard to the illiterate group, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while talking about educational maters like school, admission, studies,

teachers, etc., followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%). With their father and mother, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively.

With their spouse, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. And, with their children, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 27%), respectively.

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

The participants were asked whether they used mother tongue or other languages at home while discussing social events and family matters such as festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc. Regarding these issues, the response of the participants is presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex (Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.)

Domain	Sex					
	Female (N=24)			Male (N=36)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Grandfather	13 (54%)	6 (25%)	5 (21%)	21 (53%)	8 (25%)	7 (22%)
Grandmother	13 (54%)	6 (25%)	5 (21%)	21 (53%)	8 (25%)	7 (22%)
Father	12 (50%)	7 (29%)	5 (21%)	16 (42%)	11 (30%)	9 (28%)
Mother	12 (50%)	7 (29%)	5 (21%)	16 (42%)	11 (30%)	9 (28%)
Spouse	10 (42%)	8 (33%)	6 (25%)	15 (40%)	11 (30%)	10 (30%)
Children	7 (29%)	8 (33%)	9 (38%)	11 (30%)	12 (34%)	13 (36%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.7 shows the sex category of the participants and their responses on the subject matter of discussing social events and their family matters like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc. In regard to this point with female participants, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 54%) reported that they most

frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali (i.e., 21%), respectively. With their father and mother, half of the participants (i.e., 50%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Nepali (i.e., 21%), respectively. With their spouse, ten participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language; followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 29%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively. nine participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages with their children, followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively.

In regard to male participants, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively. With their father and mother, sixteen participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively. With their spouse, fifteen participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively. And, with their children, nearly one third participants (i.e., 36%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, followed by the Yakkha-Nepali language (i.e., 34%) and Yakkha (i.e., 30%), respectively.

Concerning the age category of the participants, Table 4.8 presents the languages most frequently used with the relatives at home while discussing social events and family matters.

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

(A₁= 15-34 years, A₂=35-60 years, A₃= 60 +)

Domain	Age groups								
	A₁ (n=18)			A₂ (n=27)			A₃ (n=15)		
	Yak	R&N	Nep	Yak	R&N	Nep	Yak	R&N	Nep
Grandfather	9 (50%)	5 (28%)	4 (22%)	16 (60%)	6 (22%)	5 (18%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Grandmother	9 (50%)	5 (28%)	4 (22%)	16 (59%)	6 (22%)	5 (18%)	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)
Father	8 (44%)	5 (28%)	5 (28%)	13 (48%)	8 (30%)	6 (22%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Mother	8 (44%)	5 (28%)	5 (28%)	13 (48%)	8 (30%)	6 (22%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	7 (39%)	6 (33%)	5 (28%)	12 (44%)	8 (30%)	7 (26%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
Children	5 (28%)	6 (33%)	7 (39%)	6 (23%)	9 (33%)	12 (44%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.8 shows the participants' age groups of A₁, A₂, A₃ and their responses while discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc. In regard to age group A₁, eight participants (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc., which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively. With their father and mother, eight participants (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha, which is followed by and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) and Nepali language (i.e., 28%), respectively. With their spouse, seven participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%) language, respectively. And, with their children, seven participant (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is

followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 28%), respectively.

In regard to age group A_2, a majority of the participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc., which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 22%) and Nepali language (i.e., 18%), respectively.

With their father and mother, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 48%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 22%), respectively.

With their spouse, 44% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) and Nepali language (i.e., 26%), respectively. And, with their children, twelve participant (i.e., 44%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 23%), respectively.

In regard to age group A_3, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 53%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc., which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali language (i.e., 20%), respectively.

With their father and mother, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. With their spouse 40% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali language (i.e., 27%), respectively. And, with their children, six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 27%), respectively.

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

Table 4.9: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy (i.e., Discussing social events and family matters like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.)

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Grandfather	26 (58%)	11 (24%)	8 (18%)	9 (60%)	4 (27%)	2 (13%)
Grandmother	26 (58%)	11 (24%)	8 (18%)	9 (60%)	4 (27%)	2 (13%)
Father	21 (47%)	14 (31%)	10 (22%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
Mother	21 (47%)	14 (31%)	10 (22%)	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
Spouse	19 (65%)	14 (25%)	12 (10%)	6 (42%)	5 (33%)	4 (25%)
Children	13 (29%)	15 (33%)	17 (38%)	4 (25%)	5 (33%)	6 (42%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.9 shows the participants' information on literacy, wherein, forty-five participants are literate and fifteen illiterate. In regard to the literate group, a majority of the participants (i.e., 58%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc., which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 24%) and Nepali (i.e., 18%), respectively. With their father and mother, 47% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 31%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively. With their spouse, a majority of the participants (i.e., 65%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Nepali (i.e., 10%), respectively. And, with their children, seventeen participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha (i.e., 29%), respectively.

In regard to the illiterate group, three-fifth of the participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their grandfather and grandmother while discussing social events and family matter like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc., which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%) and Nepali (i.e., 13%), respectively. With their father and mother, nearly half participants (i.e., 47%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 20%), respectively.

With their spouse, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 25%), respectively. And, with their children, 42% reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 25%), respectively.

4.2.3 Patterns of language use at home while writing letters

The patterns of language that is most frequently used at home with different family members are presented as in the table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex (while writing letters)

Domain	Sex					
	Female (n=24)			Male (n=36)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Grandfather	8 (33%)	7 (30%)	9 (37%)	12 (33%)	10 (28%)	14 (39%)
Grandmother	8 (33%)	7 (30%)	9 (37%)	12 (33%)	10 (28%)	14 (39%)
Father	8 (33%)	9 (37%)	7 (30%)	12 (33%)	14 (39%)	10 28%)
Mother	8 (33%)	9 (37%)	7 (30%)	12 (33%)	14 (39%)	10 28%)
Spouse	9 (38%)	6 (25%)	9 (37%)	13 (36%)	9 (25%)	14 (39%)
Children	7 (30%)	8 (33%)	9 (37%)	11 (30%)	14 (40%)	11 (30%)

Table 4.10 shows the sex category of the participants and their responses with different family members by sex while writing letters. In regard to female participants, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language with their grandfather and grandmother, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) language and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 30%) languages, respectively. With their father and mother, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively. With their spouse, nine participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 25%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 37%), respectively. And, with their children, nine participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by the Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha (i.e., 30%), respectively.

In regard to this point with male participants, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language with their grandfather and grandmother, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) language and Yakkha (i.e., 28%), respectively. With their father and mother, fourteen participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively. With their spouse, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 36%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 25%), respectively. And, with their children, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 30%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively.

Concerning the age category of the participants, Table 4.11 presents the languages most frequently used with different family matters by age while writing letters.

Table 4.11: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age while writing letters

(A₁= 15-34 years, A₂=35-60 years, A₃= 60 +)

Domains	Age groups								
	A₁ (n=18)			A₂ (n=27)			A₃ (n=15)		
	Yak	Y & N	Nep	Yak	Y & N	Nep	Yak	Y & N	Nep
Grandfather	6 (33%)	5 (28%)	7 (39%)	9 (33%)	8 (30%)	10 (37%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Grandmother	6 (33%)	5 (28%)	7 (39%)	9 (33%)	8 (30%)	10 (37%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Father	6 (33%)	7 (39%)	5 (28%)	9 (33%)	10 (37%)	8 (30%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Mother	6 (33%)	7 (39%)	5 (28%)	9 (33%)	10 (37%)	8 (30%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	7 (39%)	4 (22%)	7 (39%)	10 (37%)	7 (26%)	10 (37%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)
Children	5 (28%)	7 (39%)	6 (33%)	8 (30%)	10 (37%)	9 (33%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.11 shows the participants' age groups of A₁, A₂, A₃ and their responses while writing letters. In regard to age group A₁, seven participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language with their grandfather and grandmother while writing letters, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively. With their father and mother, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by and the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%), respectively. With their spouse, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 39%) and Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 20%), respectively. And, with their children, nearly two-fifth participant (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 28%), respectively.

In regard to age group A_2, nearly two-fifth (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language with their grandfather and grandmother while writing letters, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha (i.e., 30%), respectively. With their father and mother, ten participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali language, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 3%), respectively.

With their spouse, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 37%) and Yakkha-Nepali language (i.e., 26%), respectively. And, with their children, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 30%), respectively.

In regard to age group A_3, two-fifth participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language with their grandfather and grandmother while writing letters, which is followed by Yakkha languages (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. With their father and mother, two-fifth participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali language, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. With their spouse 34% reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali language, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively. And, with their children, two-fifth participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali language, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali language (i.e., 27%), respectively.

The participants are categorized into two groups as literate and illiterate and their responses on educational matters. Regarding this issue, the languages most frequently used while writing letters are presented as in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy (while writing letter)

Domain	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Grandfather	15 (33%)	13 (29%)	17 (38%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Grandmother	15 (33%)	13 (29%)	17 (38%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Father	15 (33%)	17 (38%)	13 (29%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Mother	15 (33%)	17 (38%)	13 (29%)	5 (33%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)
Spouse	17 (38%)	11 (24%)	17 (38%)	6 (40%)	4 (27%)	5 (33%)
Children	13 (29%)	17 (38%)	15 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.12 shows the participants' information on literacy, wherein, forty-five participants are literate and fifteen illiterate. In regard to the literate group, 38% reported that they most frequently used Nepali with their grandfather and grandmother while writing letters, which is followed by Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 29%), respectively. With their father and mother, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 29%), respectively. With their spouse, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Nepali languages (i.e., 38%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 24%), respectively. And, with their children, nearly two-fifth participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali language, which is followed by Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 29%), respectively.

In regard to the illiterate group, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with their grandfather and grandmother while writing letters, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. With their father and mother, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively.

With their spouse two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 27%), respectively. And, with their children, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 27%), respectively.

4.3 Patterns of language use by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. The responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Languages usually spoken by children by sex

Domain	Sex					
	Female (n=24)			Male (n=36)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Playing with other children	8 (33%)	7 (29%)	9 (38%)	12 (33%)	10 (28%)	14 (39%)
Talking with neighbors	9 (38%)	8 (33%)	7 (29%)	13 (36%)	11 (31%)	12 (33%)
At school	7 (29%)	8 (33%)	9 (38%)	11 (31%)	12 (33%)	13 (36%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.13 shows the sex category of the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. In regard to this point with female participants, nine participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha.

In regard to male participants, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with other children, which is followed by Yakkha (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 28%), respectively. While talking with neighbours, nearly one-third of the participants (i.e., 36%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 31%), respectively. And, at school, nearly one-third of the participants (i.e., 36%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 31%), respectively.

Concerning the age category of the participants, the responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Languages usually spoken by children by age

(A_1= 15-34 years, A_2=35-60 years, A_3= 60 +)

Domain	Age groups								
	A_1 (n=18)			A_2 (n=27)			A_3 (n=15)		
	Yak	R&N	Nep	Yak	R&N	Nep	Yak	R&N	Nep
Playing with other children	6 (33%)	5 (28%)	7 (39%)	9 (33%)	8 (30%)	10 (37%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Talking with neighbors	7 (39%)	6 (33%)	5 (28%)	10 (37%)	9 (33%)	8 (30%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
At school	5 (28%)	6 (33%)	7 (39%)	8 (30%)	9 (33%)	10 (37%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.14 shows the participants' age groups of A_1, A_2, A_3 and their responses while writing letters. In regard to age group A_1, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with other children, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 28%) language, respectively. With their neighbours, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha, which is followed by and Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 28%) language, respectively. And, at school, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 39%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha (i.e., 28%) language, respectively.

In regard to age group A_2, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with other children, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 30%), respectively. With their neighbours, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively. And, at school, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently used the Nepali language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 30%), respectively.

In regard to age group A_3, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with other children, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 30%), respectively. With their neighbours, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. And, at school, nearly one-third of the participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used both Yakkha-Nepali language, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively.

The participants are categorized into two groups as literate and illiterate and their responses on the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Regarding this issue, the responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Languages usually spoken by children in different domains by literacy

Domains	Literacy					
	Literate (n=45)			Illiterate (n=15)		
	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali	Yakkha	Y & N	Nepali
Playing with other children	15 (33%)	13 (29%)	17 (38%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)	6 (40%)
Talking with neighbors	17 (38%)	14 (31%)	14 (31%)	6 (40%)	5 (33%)	4 (27%)
At school	14 (31%)	15 (33%)	16 (36%)	5 (33%)	5 (34%)	5 (33%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.15 shows the participants' information on literacy, wherein, forty-five participants are literate and fifteen illiterate. In regard to the literate group, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with other children, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 29%), respectively. With their neighbours, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they most frequently used Yakkha, which is followed by and Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 31%) and Nepali (i.e., 31%), respectively. And, at school, sixteen participants (i.e., 36%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 31%), respectively.

In regard to the illiterate group, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used Nepali with other children, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 27%), respectively. With their neighbours, two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language, which is followed by both Yakkha-Nepali languages (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 27%), respectively. And, at school, nearly one-third of the participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they most frequently used the both Yakkha-Nepali languages, which is followed by the Yakkha language (i.e., 33%) and Nepali (i.e., 33%), respectively.

4.4 Patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations

The participants were asked what languages they used in the community for marriage invitations. Regarding this issue, the responses of the participants from Yakkha community are presented as in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Languages used for marriage invitations by the community by sex

Language	Sex		Total
	Female (24)	Male (36)	(N=60)
Yakkha	7 (29%)	11 (31%)	18 (30%)
Yakkha and Nepali	9 (38%)	13 (36%)	22 (37%)
Nepali	8 (33%)	12 (33%)	20 (33%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.16 shows that nine female participants (i.e., 38%) reported that they used both Yakkha-Nepali languages for marriage invitations in their community, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 99%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 29%), respectively. Similarly, thirteen male participants (i.e., 36%) reported that they used the Yakkha language for marriage invitations in their community, which is followed by and Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 31%), respectively.

Concerning the age category of the participants, the responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Languages used for marriage invitations by the community by age

(A_1= 15-34 years, A_2=35-60 years, A_3= 60 + years)

Language	Age groups			Total
	A_1 (n=18)	A_2 (n=27)	A_3 (n=15)	(N=60)
Yakkha	5 (28%)	8 (30%)	5 (33%)	18 (30%)
Yakkha and Nepali	7 (39%)	10 (37%)	5 (34%)	22 (37%)
Nepali	6 (33%)	9 (33%)	5 (33%)	20 (33%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.17 shows that seven participants (i.e., 39%) from the age group A_1 reported that they used Yakkha-Nepali languages for marriage invitation in their community, which is followed by one-third of the participants (i.e., 33%) who reported that they used the Yakkha language and five participants (i.e., 31%) who reported that they used Nepali for this purpose, respectively. Regarding the age group A_2, nearly two-fifth of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they used the Yakkha-Nepali languages for marriage invitation in their community, which is followed by nine participants (i.e., 33%) who reported that they used Nepali and eight participants (i.e., 30%) who reported that they used Yakkha for this purpose, respectively. Regarding the age group A_3, nearly one-third of the participants (i.e., 34%) reported that they used both Yakkha-Nepali languages for marriage invitation in their community, which is followed by nine participants (i.e., 33%) reported that they used both Yakkha-Nepali and Nepali (i.e., 33%) for this purpose, respectively.

The participants are categorized into two groups as literate and illiterate and their responses on the patterns of language used for marriage invitations by the community by literacy. Regarding this issue, the responses of the participants in this issue are presented as in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Languages used for marriage invitations by the community by literacy

| Language | Literacy | | Total |
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	(N=60)
Yakkha	14 (31%)	4 (27%)	18 (30%)
Yakkha and Nepali	16 (36%)	6 (40%)	22 (37%)
Nepali	15 (33%)	5 (33%)	20 (33%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.18 shows that sixteen literate participants (36%) reported that they used both Yakkha-Nepali languages for marriage invitation in their community, while fifteen participants (i.e., 33%) reported that they used Nepali and fourteen participants (i.e., 31%) reported that they used the Yakkha language for this purpose. On the other hand, two-fifth of the illiterate participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they used the Yakkha language, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 27%), respectively.

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

The participants were asked what language they usually used while writing minutes of the community meetings. The responses of the participants in this subject matter are shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by sex

| Language | Sex | | Total |
	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	(N=60)
Yakkha	-	-	-
Yakkha and Nepali	-	-	-
Nepali	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source*: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)*

Table 4.19 shows that all the female and male participants reported that they usually used Nepali to write minutes in local community meetings.

Table 4.20 presents Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by age.

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

(A_1= 15-34 years, A_2=35-60 years, A_3= 60 + years)

Language	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A_1 (n=18)	A_2 (n=27)	A_3 (n=15)	
Yakkha	-	-	-	-
Yakkha and Nepali	-	-	-	-
Nepali	18 (100%)	27 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.20 shows that all the participants, regarding different age groups of A_1, A_2 and A_3, reported that they usually used Nepali to write minutes in local community meetings.

Table 4.21 presents Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy.

Table 4.21: Languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by literacy

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

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.21 also shows that all the participants from literate and illiterate groups reported that they usually used Nepali to write minutes in local community meetings.

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

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue in practical life.

Table 4.22 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue by sex, age and literacy.

Table 4.22: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by sex

Domain	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	
Everyday	18 (60%)	27 (60%)	45 (75%)
Rarely	6 (40%)	9 (40%)	15 (25%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.22 shows that majority of the female participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they frequently used mother tongue in comparison to other languages, while six participants (i.e., 40%) reported they rarely used mother tongue. On the other hand, majority of the male participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they frequently used mother tongue in everyday life, while nine participants (i.e., 40%) reported they rarely used mother tongue in everyday life.

Table 4.23 presents the frequency of the use of mother tongue by age.

Table 4.23: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by age

Domain	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A_1 (n=18)	A_2 (n=27)	A_3 (n=15)	
Everyday	14 (78%)	20 (74%)	11 (73%)	45 (75%)
Rarely	4 (22%)	7 (26%)	4 (27%)	15 (25%)
Never	-	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.23 shows that majority of the participants (i.e., 78%) from age group A_1 reported that they frequently used mother tongue in comparison to other languages, while four participants (i.e., 22%) reported they rarely used mother tongue. On the other hand, majority of the participants (i.e., 74%) from age group A_2 reported that they frequently used mother in everyday life, while seven participants (i.e., 26%)

reported they rarely used mother tongue. Similarly, majority of the participants (i.e., 73%) from age group A_3 reported that they frequently used mother tongue in comparison to other languages, while four participants (i.e., 27%) reported they rarely used mother tongue in daily life.

Table 4.24 presents the frequency of the use of mother tongue by literacy

Table 4.24: The frequency of the use of mother tongue by literacy

Domain	Literacy		Total
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	(N=60)
Everyday	34 (76%)	11 (73%)	45 (75%)
Rarely	11 (24%)	4 (27%)	15 (25%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.24 shows that majority of the literate participants (i.e., 76%) reported that they frequently used mother tongue in comparison to other languages, while eleven participants (i.e., 24%) reported they rarely used mother tongue. On the other hand, majority of the illiterate participants (i.e., 73%) reported that they frequently used mother, while four participants (i.e., 27%) reported they rarely used mother tongue in everyday life.

4.7 The frequency of use of the language of wider communication

Generally, in Yakkha community, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication.

Table 4.25 presents the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by sex.

Table 4.25: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by sex

Domain	Sex		Total
	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	(N=60)
Everyday	14 (58%)	21 (57%)	35 (58%)
Rarely	10 (42%)	15 (43%)	25 (42%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.25 shows that majority of the female participants (i.e., 58%) reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while ten participants (i.e., 42%) reported they rarely used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life. On the other hand, majority of the male participants (i.e., 57%) reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while fifteen participants (i.e., 43%) reported they rarely used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life.

Table 4.26 presents the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by age.

Table 4.26: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by age (A_1= 15-34 years, A_2=35-60 years, A_3= 60 +)

Domain	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A_1 (n=18)	A_2 (n=27)	A_3 (n=15)	
Everyday	11 (61%)	16 (59%)	9 (60%)	36 (60%)
Rarely	7 (39%)	11 (41%)	6 (40%)	24 (40%)
Never	-	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.26 shows that majority of the participants (i.e., 61%) from age group A_1 reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while seven participants (i.e., 39%) reported they rarely used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life. On the other hand, majority of the participants (i.e., 59%) from age group A_2 reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while eleven participants (i.e., 41%) reported they rarely used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life. Similarly, majority of the participants (i.e., 60%) from age group A_3 reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they rarely used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life.

Table 4.27 presents the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by literacy.

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

Domain	Literacy		Total (N=60)
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	
Everyday	26 (58%)	9 (60%)	35 (58%)
Rarely	19 (42%)	6 (40%)	25 (42%)
Never	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.27 shows that majority of the literate participants (i.e., 58%) reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while nineteen participants (i.e., 42%) reported that they use Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life. On the other hand, majority of the illiterate participants (i.e., 60%) reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life, while six participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they used Nepali as the language of wider communication in their everyday life.

4.8 Pattern of language use with the speakers of other languages visiting at home

We can evaluate the vitality of a language by examining the patterns of language use while the speakers of other languages visit the mother tongue speakers at home.

Table 4.28 presents the language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by sex.

Table 4.28: The language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by sex

Language	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	
Yakkha	-	-	-
Yakkha and Nepali	-	-	-
Nepali	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.28 shows the responses of the participants including both female and male categories. Concerning the responses of both female and male participants, all the participants reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

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

(A_1= 15-34 years, A_2=35-60 years, A_3= 60 +)

Language	Age groups			Total (N=60)
	A_1 (n=18)	A_2 (n=27)	A_3 (n=15)	
Yakkha	-	-	-	-
Yakkha and Nepali	-	-	-	-
Nepali	18 (100%)	27 (100%)	15 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.29 shows the responses of the participants including age groups of A_1, A_2, and A_3. Concerning the responses of participants of age groups of A_1, A_2 and A_3, all the participants reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

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

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

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.30 shows the responses of the participants including literacy category. Concerning the responses of both literate and illiterate participants, all the participants

reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

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

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

Table 4.31 presents the preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex.

Table 4.31: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex

Language	Sex		Total
	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	(N=60)
Mother tongue	18 (75%)	25 (69%)	43 (72%)
Nepali	6 (25%)	11 (31%)	17 (28%)
English	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.31 shows that a majority of the female participants (i.e., 75%) reported that they preferred their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex. However, a minority of the female participants (i.e., 25%) preferred to Nepali as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level.

Regarding the male participants, a majority of the participants (i.e., 69%) preferred to their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex. However, a minority of the participants (i.e., 31%) preferred to Nepali as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level. Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex is presented in Figure 4.6

Figure 4.6: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex
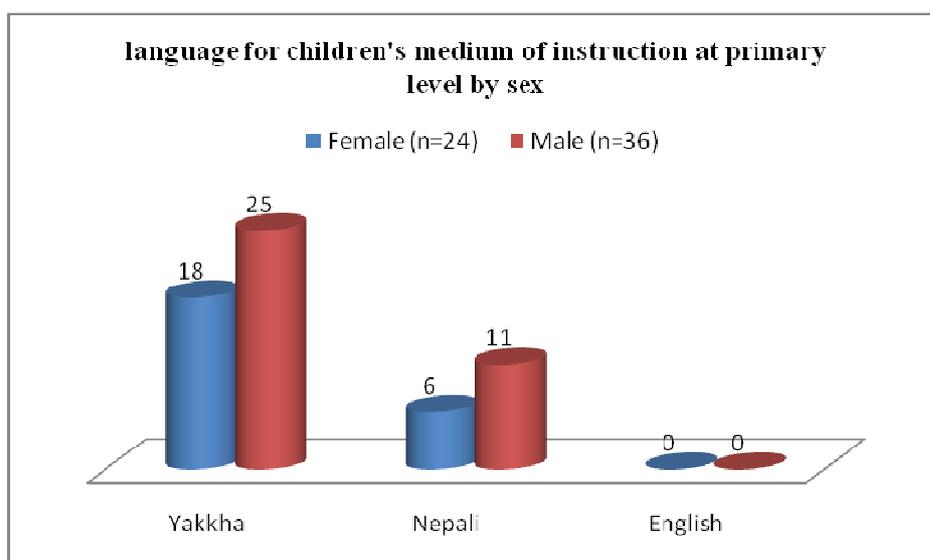
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 4.6 displays that a majority of the female and male participants from the Yakkha community have prioritized their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex.

Table 4.32: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by age (A₁= 15-34 years, A₂=35-60 years, A₃= 60 + years)

Language	Age groups			Total
	A$_1$ (n=18)	A$_2$ (n=27)	A$_3$ (n=15)	(N=60)
Mother tongue	14	19	11	48
	(78%)	(70%)	(73%)	(80%)
Nepali	4	8	4	9
	(22%)	(30%)	(27%)	(20%)
English	-	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.32 shows the responses of the participants by different age groups of A$_1$, A$_2$, and A$_3$. Regarding the age group of A$_1$, a majority of the participants (i.e., 78%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali language (i.e., 22%).

Similarly, a majority of the participants (i.e., 70%) from the age group of A$_2$, reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at

primary level, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 30%). Likewise, regarding the age group of A₃, a majority of the participants (i.e., 73%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 27%).

Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by age is presented in Figure 4.7

Figure 4.7: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by age
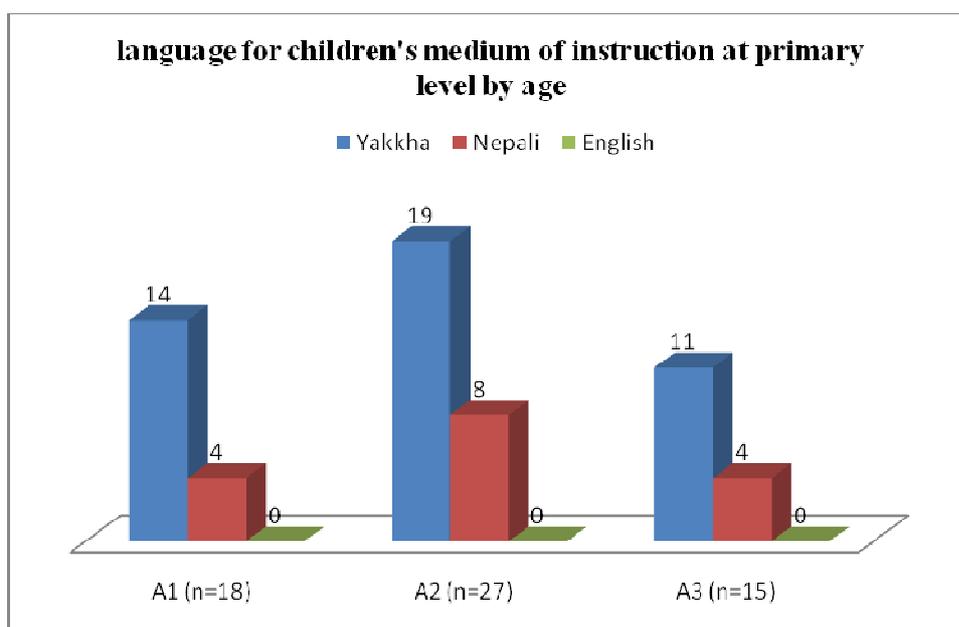
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 4.7 shows that a majority of the female and male participants from the Yakkha community have prioritized their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level by age.

Table 4.33: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy

Language	Literacy		Total
	Literate (n=45)	Illiterate (n=15)	(N=60)
Mother tongue	34 (76%)	11 (73%)	45 (75%)
Nepali	11 (24%)	4 (27%)	15 (25%)
English	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 4.33 displays the responses of the literate and illiterate participants. Regarding the literate group, a majority of the participants (i.e., 76%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 24%). Regarding the illiterate group, a majority of the participants (i.e., 73%) reported that they preferred to mother tongue for their children's medium of instruction at primary level, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 27%). Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy is displayed in Figure 4.8

Figure 4.8: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex
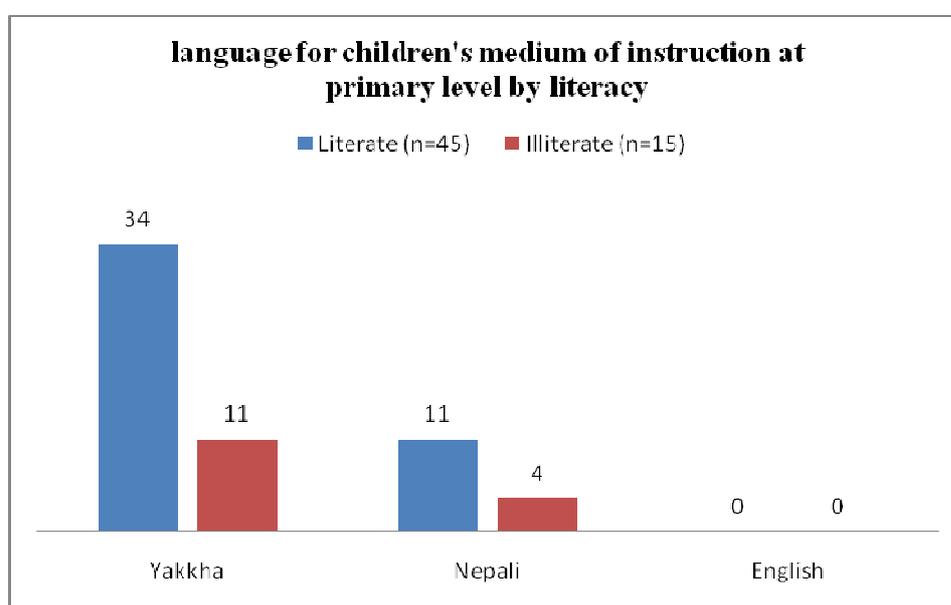
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 4.8 shows that a majority of the female and male participants from the Yakkha community have prioritized their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy.

4.10 Summary

In this chapter we observed the language vitality in Yakkha by analyzing the responses to questions related to the major domains of language use. The summary of this chapter can be summarized as follows.

In counting and singing domains, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali. On the other hand, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language in village meeting and

telling stories to children, scolding (abusing), bargaining. A majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with different family members while talking about educational matters like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc. A majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language with their family members while discussing social events and family matters like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, and savings, spending, etc., which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali and Nepali languages.

Majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Nepali while writing letters to their family members. Majority of the female and male participants reported that their children usually speak Nepali while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school. Twenty-two participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they used both Yakkha-Nepali languages for marriage invitations in their community, while eighteen participants (i.e., 33%) reported that they used Nepali and the Yakkha language (i.e., 30%), respectively for marriage invitation in their community. All the female and male participants reported that they usually used Nepali for writing minutes in the community meetings.

A majority of the eighteen female participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they frequently used mother tongue in comparison to other languages, while a minority of the six participants (i.e., 40%) reported they rarely used mother tongue. Similarly, majority of the twenty-seven male participants (i.e., 60%) reported that they frequently used mother tongue in comparison to other languages, while nine participants (i.e., 40%) reported that they rarely used mother tongue. All the female and male participants reported that Nepali served as the language of wider communication in their everyday life. Concerning the responses of both female and male participants, all the participants reported that they usually used Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home. All the female and male participants reported that they preferred their mother tongue to be used as the language for their children's medium of instruction at primary level.

To sum up, we can say that, in Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Kharang, Baneshwor VDCs in Sankhuwasava district and Dandagaun and Chanuwa VDCS in Dhankuta district, all the domains of language use in Yakkha community, Nepali is dominantly used and there is a gradual loss in intergenerational transmission of the Yakkha language in the respective Yakkha communities.

CHAPTER 5

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND MULTILINGUALISM

5.0 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism in Yakkha. This chapter consists of two sections. Section 5.1 examines mother tongue proficiency in Yakkha and in section 5.2, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Mother tongue proficiency

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

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

	Speaking (n=60)			Reading and writing (n=45)		
Degrees	Female (n=36)	Male (n=24)	Total (N=60)	Female (n=18)	Male (n=27)	Total (N=45)
Very well	29 (81%)	21 (88%)	50 (83%)	9 (50%)	12 (44%)	21 (46%)
Some	7 (19%)	3 (12%)	10 (17%)	6 (33%)	10 (37%)	16 (36%)
Only a little	-	-	-	3 (17%)	5 (19%)	8 (18%)
	Speaking (n=60)			Reading and writing (n=45)		

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2013)

Table 5.1 displays two categories: one 'speaking' and another 'reading and writing'. Regarding the first category, a majority of the female participants (81%) reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in speaking, which is followed by 'some' (i.e., 19%). Similarly, a majority of the male participants (i.e., 88%) reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in

speaking, which is followed by 'some' (i.e., 12%). In total, a majority of the participants (83%) reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in 'speaking', which is followed by 'some' (17%).

Regarding the second category of 'reading and writing', only the forty-five literate participants were analyzed; and the fifteen participants who were illiterate were excluded as it is irrelevant in the subject matter of reading and writing. Concerning the category of 'reading and writing', nine (i.e., 50%) female participants reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in 'reading and writing', which is followed by 'some' (33%), and 'only a little' (17%). Similarly, 12 (i.e., 44%) male participants reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in 'reading and writing', which is followed by 'some' (37%), and 'only a little' (19%)'. In total, twenty-one participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in 'reading and writing', which is followed by 'some' (36%), and 'only little' (18%).

5.2 Multilingualism

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

5.2.1 SLQ-A

Multilingualism is a common phenomenon in all the indigenous nationalities in Nepal. So as the Yakkha community is no exception. The responses of the participants are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Multilingualism in Yakkha community[1] (N= 60)

	Languages	No. of speakers	Percentage	Remarks
1	Yakkha	60	100%	
2	Nepali	60	100%	
3	English	36	60%	
4	Limbu	27	45%	

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2013)

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[1] This data is based on the responses to Q.N. 39 (What languages can you speak?) from SLQ-A.

Table 5.2 shows the responses of the participants in different languages that they employed. Regarding the different language, all the participants reported that they spoke both the Yakkha and Nepali languages. They speak Nepali as the lingua franca, which is the widely distributed language across the country. On the other hand, thirty-six participants (60%) reported that they also spoke English twenty-seven participants (45%) reported that they also spoke Limbu.

Figure 5.1: Multilingualism in Yakkha community
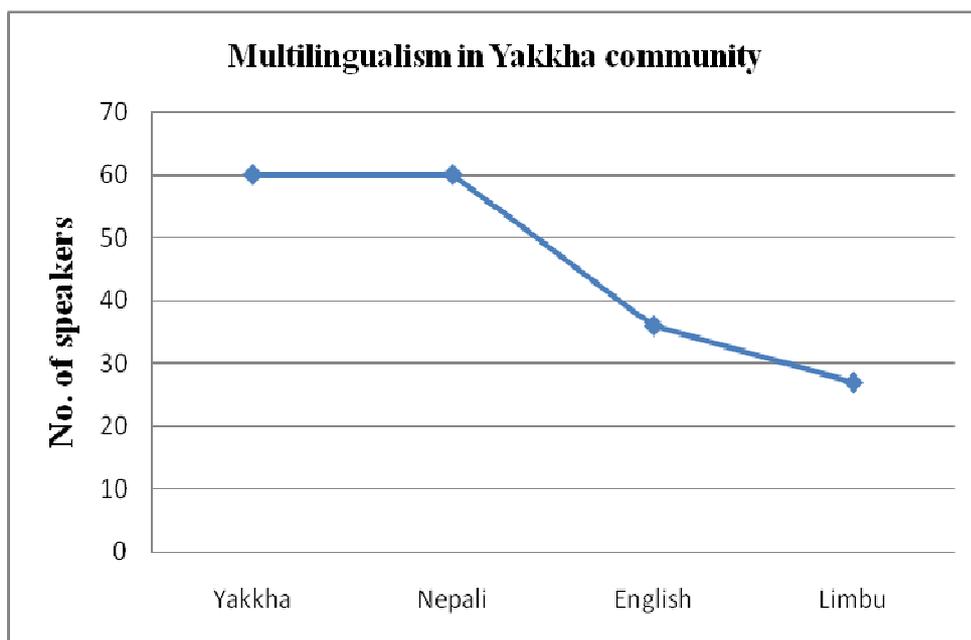
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2013)

Figure 5.1 indicates that Yakkha community is gradually shifting to Nepali, a language of wider communication (LWC) in the respective survey points.

5.2.2 SLQ-B

To examine the situation of multilingualism in Yakkha speech community, a participatory method (based on four tools) was applied. The findings regarding the participatory method are as follows:

a) There is no monolingual Yakkha speaker in Yakkha speech community.
b) Children also speak Yakkha as mother tongue in Yakkha speech community.
c) The children, young or, middle aged and matured people, the leaders of the community, businessmen, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Yakkha and Nepali.

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5.2.3 Field survey in multilingualism

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

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

Photo 2.3: PM done in field survey point (Baneshwor, Sankhuwasava)

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to evaluate the mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism in the Yakkha language. So far as the first category of 'speaking', in total, a majority of the participants (83%) reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in 'speaking', which is followed by 'some' (17%). Regarding the second category of 'reading and writing', in total, nearly half of the participants (i.e., 46%) reported that they were 'very well' in their mother tongue proficiency in 'reading and writing', which is followed by 'some' (36%), and 'only little' (18%), respectively.

Regarding the multilingualism in the Yakkha community, all the respondents reported that they spoke both the Yakkha and Nepali languages. They speak Nepali as the lingua franca, which is widely distributed language across the country.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.0 Outline

This chapter presents language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Yakkha speech community. It comprises of five sections. Section 6.1 looks at language vitality in Yakkha. We discuss language maintenance in Yakkha in section 6.2. Section 6.3 presents the attitudes of the Yakkha community toward their mother tongue. We deal Yakkha in EGIDS rating in section 6.4. Finally, section 6.5 presents the summary of the whole chapter.

6.1 Language vitality

In this section, we investigate the vitality of the Yakkha language by discussing the language's function and intergenerational transfer in Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Mamling, Kharang, and Baneshwor VDCs in Sankhuwasava district. Likewise, Chanuwa and Dandagaun VDCs in Dhankuta district, as well as the impact of their context on language vitality.

The Yakkha community in common with other indigenous communities is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication (LWC) in Nepal. We start with responses to generalized questions about language use and look at the frequency of Yakkha use among the respondents. We asked participants 'how often they speak Yakkha?' The responses of the participants related to language vitality from the five survey points are shown as in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Language vitality in survey key points in Yakkha

	Do all your children speak the mother tongue 'Yakkha'?		Do young people speak your mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken?		What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yakkha**	**Nepali**
Tamaphok	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	2 (17%)	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	10 (83%)
Ankhibhuin	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	4 (33%)	8 (67%)
Mamling	4 (33%)	8 (67%)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)
Kharang	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	2 (17%)	10 (83%)	1 (8%)	11 (92%)
Baneshwor	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	4 (33%)	8 (67%)	5 (42%)	7 (58%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.1 shows the three categories related to language vitality. In the first category, all the participants were asked if their children spoke the mother tongue. In the response, majority of the participants from the four survey points except from Tamaphok reported that their children do not speak Yakkha in their daily life.

Likewise, in the second category of language vitality, all the participants were asked whether the young people spoke their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken. In response, majority of the participants from all the survey points reported that the young Yakkha people do not speak their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken.

Similarly, in the third category of language vitality, all the participants were asked what language the parents in their village most usually spoke with their children. In response, majority of the participants from all the survey points reported that they most usually speak Nepali rather than their mother tongue 'Yakkha' with their children.

The language vitality in the key (five) survey points are clearly presented in Figures 6.1 and 6.2

Figure 6.1: Speaking mother tongue by the children

Do all your children speak the mother tongue 'Yakkha'?
(n=60)

■ Yes ■ No
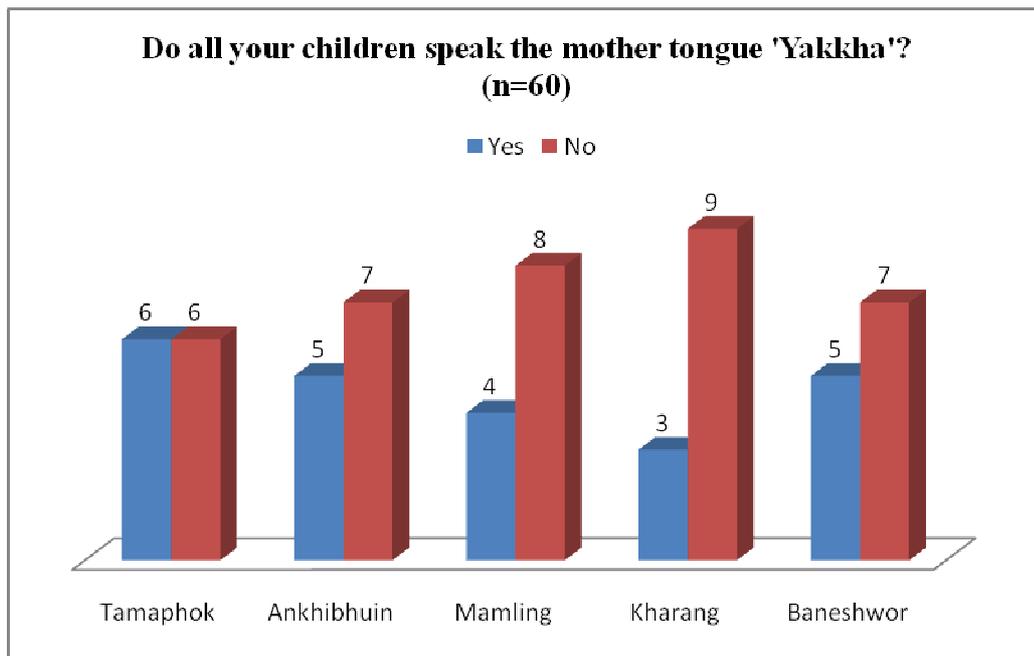
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 6.1 shows the information on speaking the Yakkha language by the children. From the figure, it is clear that a majority of the participants reported that their children do not speak the Yakkha language in all the Yakkha survey points or areas (i.e., VDCs).

Figure 6.2: Speaking mother tongue by the young people

Do young people speak your mother tongue 'Yakkha'
as well as it ought to be spoken? (n=60)

■ Yes ■ No
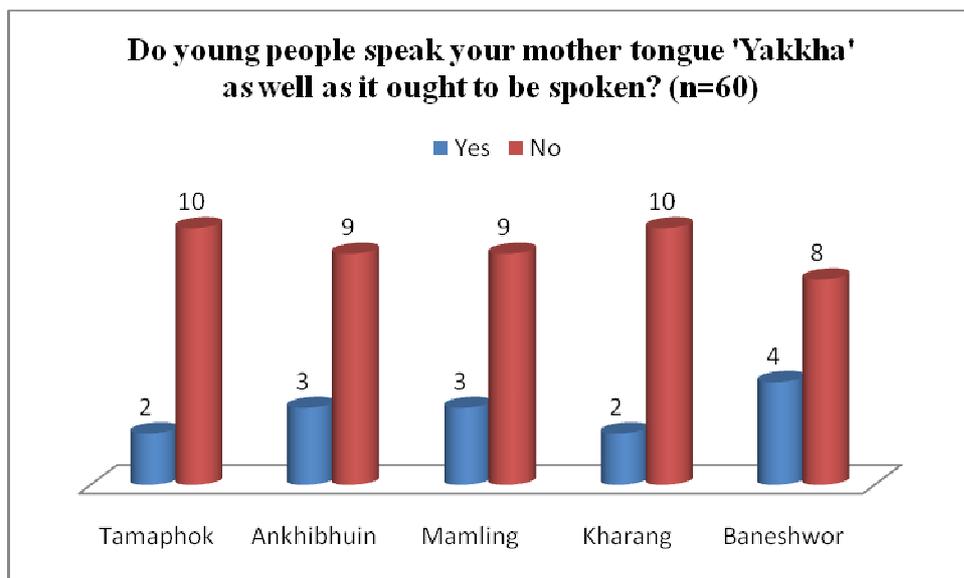
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 6.2 shows the information on the young Yakkha people speaking their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken. It is clear from the figure that a majority of the participants from all the areas (i.e., VDCs) reported that the young Yakkha people do not speak their mother tongue as it ought to be spoken.

Figure 6.3: Language spoken by the parents with their children
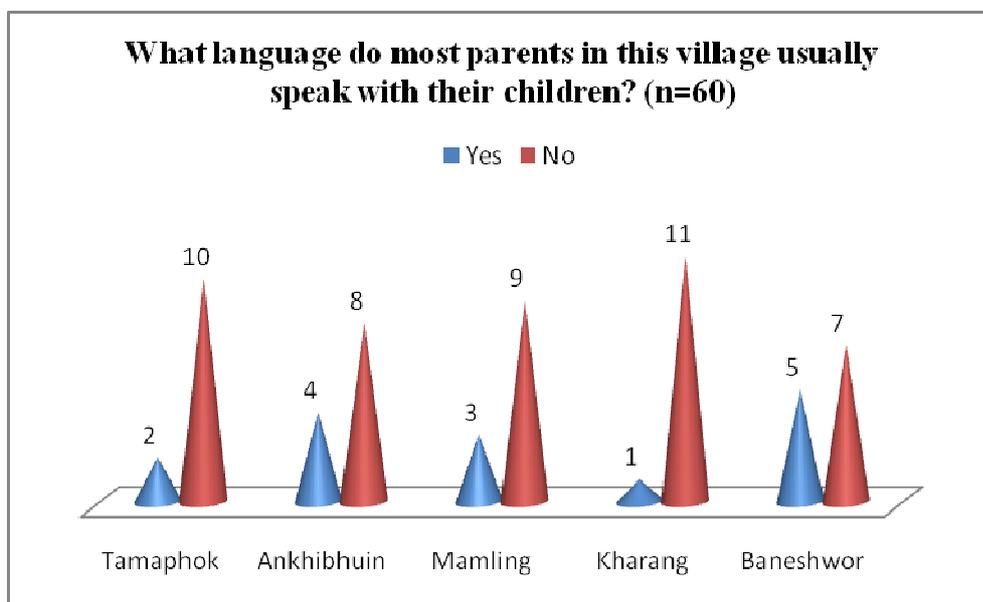
Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Figure 6.3 shows the information on the language spoken most usually by the Yakkha parents with their children. It is clear from the figure that all the participants from all the survey points (i.e., VDCs) most usually speak Yakkha with their children. The participants from those areas reported that most parents in these areas usually speak Nepali rather than their mother tongue 'Yakkha' with their children.

6.2 Language maintenance

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

Table 6.2: Language maintenance in key survey points in Yakkha

	Is there intermarriage in your community?		Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?		Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Newar, Gurung, Magar, Brahmin, Kshetri, Others
Tamaphok	12	-	12	-	
Ankhibhuin	12	-	12	-	
Mamling	12	-	12	-	
Kharang	12	-	12	-	
Baneshwor	12	-	12	-	
TOTAL	60	-	60	-	
Percentage	100%	-	100%	-	

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.2 shows the five survey points and the responses of the participants on three questions. All the participants were asked whether there were intermarriage in their community. In response, all the participants from all the survey points reported that there was intermarriage in their community. Similarly, all the participants were asked whether they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue. In response, all the participants from all the survey points reported that they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue. In third question, all the participants were asked which other language groups had common marital relationship with their language group. In response, all the participants from all the survey points reported that the other language groups, which had common marital relationship with their language group were Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Tamang, Magar, Newar, Kshetri, Brahman and others. However, a point to be noted down here is that the number of these ethnic groups is in small scale.

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

teaching their mother tongue in their locality. The responses of the participants are presented in Table 6.3.

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

	If schools are opened for teaching your language in your community, will you support it:	Number of responses	Percentage
1.	by sending children	60	100%
2.	by encouraging other people to send their children	60	100%
3.	by helping with the school	60	100%
4.	by providing financial support	54	90%
5.	by teaching	58	97%

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.3 shows the responses of the participants such as supporting the mother tongue schools if opened for teaching their language through different ways as by sending children, by encouraging other people to send their children, a majority of the participants (87%) reported that they would support the school by providing financial support, and (80%) by teaching at school if opened.

6.3 Language attitudes

The Yakkha community is highly positive toward their mother tongue. The summary of the responses made by the participants on the subject matter of language attitude is presented in Table 6.4.

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

	What languages do they love the most?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yakkha	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Nepali	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.4 shows that of the five languages such as Yakkha, Nepali and Limbu, all the participants reported that they loved their mother tongue most. Another link question asked to the participants was what they felt when they spoke their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. The responses of the participants are displayed in Table 6.5.

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

	When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel…	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Prestigious	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Embarrassed	-	-	-
3.	Neutral	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.5 shows that all the participants from the five survey points felt prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

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

Table 6.6: Any problem had because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue (N=60)

	Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yes	-	-	-
2.	No	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

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

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

Table 6.7: Feelings of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know your language (N=60)

	How would you feel if your son/daughter married someone who does not know your language?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Good	-	-	-
2.	Indifferent	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)
3.	Bad	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.7 shows that all the participants reported that they felt neither 'good' nor 'bad' if their son or daughter married anyone who did not know their mother tongue. Instead, they reported 'indifferent' in this issue.

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

Table 6.8: Mother tongue of the children (N=60)

	When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think these children might speak your language?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yes	14 (58%)	20 (56%)	34 (57%)
2.	No	10 (42%)	16 (44%)	26 (43%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

In regard to the question whether the children might speak their language in future, Table 6.8 shows the two answers as 'Yes' and 'No'. A majority of the female (58%) and male (56%) participants reported that their children might speak their language. On the other hand, a minority of the female (42%) and male (44%) participants reported that their children might not speak their language. In total, a majority of the participants (57%) reported that their children might speak their language; and a minority of the participants (43%) reported that their children might not speak their language.

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

Table 6.9: Feelings of the informants in key survey points in Yakkha (N=60)

		How do you feel if the children speak their mother tongue? (N=60)			How do you feel if the children do not speak their mother tongue? (N=60)		
		Good	**Indifferent**	**Bad**	**Good**	**Indifferent**	**Bad**
1.	Tamaphok	12	-	-	-	-	12
2.	Ankhibhuin	12	-	-	-	-	12
3.	Mamling	12	-	-	-	-	12
4.	Kharang	12	-	-	-	-	12
	Baneshwor	12	-	-	-	-	12
	Total	60					60
	Percentage	100%					100%

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

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

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

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

	What language should your children speak first?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yakkha	24 (100%)	36 (100%)	60 (100%)
2.	Nepali	-	-	-

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

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

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

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

	Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Yes	14 (58%)	19 (53%)	33 (55)%
2.	No	10 (42%)	17 (47%)	27 (45)%

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Concerning the response in Table 6.11, a majority of the male participants (58%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was not different. On the

other hand, a minority of the male participants (42%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was different.

In the response of the female participants, a majority of the participants (53%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was not different; on the other hand, a minority of the female participants (47%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was different.

In total, a majority of the participants (55%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was not different. On the other hand, a minority of the participants (45%) reported that they thought that the language spoken by them was different.

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

Table 6.12: How the language is different from the grandfather

	How is the language spoken by you different from your grandfather?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Pronunciation	11 (46%)	17 (47%)	28 (47%)
2.	Vocabulary	9 (38%)	14 (39%)	23 (38%)
3.	Use of specific type of sentences	7 (29%)	12 (33%)	19 (32%)
4.	Mixing of other languages	13 (54%)	23 (64%)	36 (60%)
5.	Way of speaking	8 (33%)	13 (36%)	21 (35%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 6.12 shows that a majority of the female participants (54%) reported that the difference between the language spoken by them and their grandfather was mixing of other languages, which is followed by pronunciation (46%), vocabulary (38%), way of speaking (33%) and use of specific type of sentences (29%).

In regard to male participants, a majority of the participants (64%) reported that the difference between the language spoken by them and their grandfather was mixing of other languages, which is followed by way of speaking pronunciation (47%), vocabulary (38%), way of speaking (35%) and use of specific type of sentences (32%).Feelings of the participants when they hear young Yakkha people speaking other languages instead of their first language are displayed in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Feelings of the informants (n=60)

	How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?	Female (n=24)	Male (n=36)	Total (N=60)
1.	Good	-	-	-
2.	Indifferent	15 (63%)	22 (61%)	37 (62%)
3.	Bad	9 (37%)	14 (39%)	23 (38%)

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

In regard to the response of the participants in Table 6.13, a majority of the female participants (63%) reported that they felt neither 'good' nor 'bad', rather felt 'indifferent' when they heard the young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language, which is followed by 'bad' (37%). Concerning the male participants, a majority of the participants (61%) reported that they felt 'indifferent' when they heard the young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language, which is followed by 'bad' (39%).

6.3.1 Domains of Language Use

Domains of Language Use (DLU) tool was employed in the Yakkha community members during the linguistic field survey. The use of the tool was mainly aimed to help the Yakkha community members think about and visualize the language that the Yakkha people speak in diverse contexts. In this tool, the Yakkha participants took part in the discussion and thought about the situations in which they employed Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then, they wrote down the situations in which they speak Yakkha language and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Yakkha. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels as Nepali, Yakkha and both Nepali and Yakkha. Next, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations, which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to employ each language in any other situations. A sample of domains of language use carried out in the field survey is presented in Photo 2.1.

Photo 2.1: Domains of Language Use

Photo 2.1: Participatory done in field survey point (Mamling, Sankhuwasava)

6.4 Yakkha in 'EGIDS' rating

In general, old people use Yakkha more frequently than the young, and in more domains of life. The language is being passed on to children, though at varying levels dependent on the village. In Kharang, Baneshwor, Mamling, Ankhibhuin and Tamaphok, the use and vitality among children is weak, as they are shifting to Nepali language. Table 8.1 displays a summary of each Yakkha speaking area in this study along with the EGIDS[1] level for that speech community.

Table 6.14: EGIDS levels of the speech communities

Yakkha speaking (Core) area	EGIDS levels	Remarks
Tamaphok	(6a) vigorous	Yakkha is being used orally by all generations and is being transmitted to children.
Ankhibhuin	(6b) threatened	The Yakkha speakers gradually shifting toward use of more dominant language Nepali.
Baneshwor	(6b) threatened	
Kharang	(6b) threatened	The Yakkha language is no longer being transmitted to all the children, though the parents still know the Yakkha language.
Mamling	(7) shifting	

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

In different Yakkha VDCs like Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Baneshwor and Kharang, Yakkha is used by all generations at home. But, in rest of the Yakkha villages from other VDCs, the Yakkha language is no longer being transmitted to all the children, though the parents still know the language. The mother tongue may cease to exist at a sustainable level orally unless efforts are made to increase use in different domains of daily activities.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes In Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Kharang and Baneshwor VDCs, majority of participants reported that their children spoke mother tongue, but participants from

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[1] EGIDS stands for Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, which was developed by Paul Lewis and Gary Simons (2010) and is based on Joshua Fishman's GIDS (graded intergenerational disruption scale), a measurement of language vitality (1991).

other area (Mamling VDC) reported that their children spoke mother tongue not at all. Similarly, a majority of the participants that the young Yakkha people, except Tamaphok, Ankhibhuin, Kharang and Baneshwor area, spoke their mother tongue as ought to be spoken not at all. Similarly, all the participants reported that the most of the parents in their villages usually spoke mother tongue. In regard to language maintenance, all the participants reported that there was intermarriage in their community. They also reported that they liked their children learn/study in mother tongue. In regard to supporting mother tongue school, all the participants reported that they would support the school, if opened, for teaching their language by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, and by helping the school.

On the other hand, a majority of the participants (90%) reported that they would support the school by providing financial help; and (97%) by teaching at school if opened. All the participants reported that they loved their mother tongue most; and felt 'prestigious' when they spoke their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. Similarly, they responded that they had ever had no problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. All the participants reported that they felt 'indifferent' if their son or daughter married someone who did not know their language. Of the total participants, a majority of the participants (57%) reported that the children might speak their language when the children of their village grew up and had children. All the participants reported that they felt 'good' if their children spoke their mother tongue; and 'bad' if their children did not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, all the participants reported that their children should speak mother tongue first in their community.

According to the response of the participants, the differences in the language from their grandfather were in pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific type of sentences, mixing of other languages, and way of speaking. In total, a majority of the participants (62%) reported that they felt neither 'good' nor 'bad', rather felt 'indifferent' when they heard the young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language; on the other hand, a minority of the participants (38%) reported that they felt 'bad'.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

7.0 Outline

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

7.1 Language resources

Since the Yakkha language is still only in oral form, some efforts have been done to establish the writing tradition. According to the informants in the key survey points, the major resources of oral literature in Yakkha as reported by the participants consist of folk tales, songs, folk music and religious literature. Yakkha community is deprived of radio program broadcast in their mother tongue. There is a Yakkha-Nepali-English dictionary published by Yakkha organization 'Kirat Yakkha Chhumma'. But there are no grammar and even a phonemic inventory in Yakkha. There are curriculum and textbooks available up to class 3.

7.2 Language development

For preservation, development and promotion of the Yakkha language, the participants reported some hopes and plans. Their major hopes for the language development and promotion are orthography in Yakkha language, identification and development of script for the systematic and standard writing system in Yakkha language, developing Yakkha literature, getting access to the media, documentation of Yakkha myths, etc. Similarly, they also organized plans for their mother tongue development and promotion such as discussion in the community, coordinating to related organizations, developing plannings, fund raising and its systematic management.

Table 7.1 displays the summary of the hopes and planning of Yakkha community.

Table 7.1: Hopes and plans for Yakkha language

Hopes	recognition of Yakkha identity
	identification of Yakkha phonemes
	development of script
	documentation of Yakkha myths
	development of Yakkha folk music
	development of Yakkha literature
	getting support from National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities for (NFDIN) for preserving Yakkha language
	application of the Yakkha language up to primary level education in Yakkha communities.
	Yakkha language be aired via local media
	scholarship support be provided by the government for the study of linguistics
Plans	coordinating related organization
	awareness program in the community be carried out
	discussion and debate be held for making planning
	financial management for Yakkha language development and promotion
	fund raising from the community, related organization, government agencies, etc.

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

7.2.1 Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)

One of the useful tools used in Participatory Method is Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). This tool was employed to gather information about the dreams and aspirations from the local language activists and community heads. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel proud about their language and culture. Then, based

on those good things in Yakkha language and culture, they were asked to express they 'dreamed' about how they could make their language or culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

Table 7.2 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in all five key points in Yakkha.

Table 7.2: Summary of the findings from the appreciative inquiry in Yakkha

Survey points	Good things that made Yakkha feel proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Tamaphok	1. Mother tongue of Yakkha 2. Yakkha culture is embodied in this language	1. To prepare textbooks for children in Yakkha 2. To emphasis in media 3. To begin MT based education	1. To prepare phonemic inventory and prepare reading material in Yakkha
Ankhibhuin	1. Mother tongue of Yakkha 2. Easy to communicate secrete matters	1. To prepare textbooks in Yakkha 2. To have Yakkha teachers	1. To prepare reading material and implement Yakkha in primary education
Mamling	1.Symbol of ethnic identity of Yakkha 2. Ancestral language 3. Easy to communicate	1. To begin MT based education 2. To organize informal education in Yakkha	1. To start preparing textbooks in Yakkha
Kharang	1.Symbol of ethnic identity of Yakkha 2. Ancestral language	1. To prepare textbooks in Yakkha 2. To have Yakkha teachers	1. To start preparing textbooks in Yakkha
Baneshwor	1. Symbol of ethnic identity of Yakkha 2. Ancestral language easy to communicate	1. To begin MT based education at primary level 2. To use Yakkha in government office	1. To document and prepare phonemic inventory and prepare reading material in Yakkha

Source: Linguistic field survey of Yakkha (2010)

Table 7.2 shows that the participants in Appreciative Inquiry (ACI) from the five survey points reported that the good things that made Yakkha felt proud of their mother tongue were as mother tongue and culture embodied in the language, easy to communicate in mother tongue, easy to communicate secrete matters, easy to express true feelings, symbol of ethnic identity, and feel pride of using ancestral language. Their dreams about how they could make their language even better were preparing textbooks for children in Yakkha, having equal access in media, beginning mother tongue (MT) based education at primary level, having Yakkha mother tongue teacher for teaching their language, and using Yakkha in government offices. Their most important dreams to start on planning were organizing orthography workshop for consistency writing system and preparing reading material in Yakkha; implementing Yakkha in education at primary level.

7.2.2 Field survey in appreciative inquiry

Appreciative Inquiry tool was employed to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the speech community for their mother tongue development. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. Then, based on those good things in Yakkha language and culture, they were asked to express they 'dreamed' about how they could make their language or culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed. A sample of appreciative inquiry carried out in the field survey is presented in Photo 3.
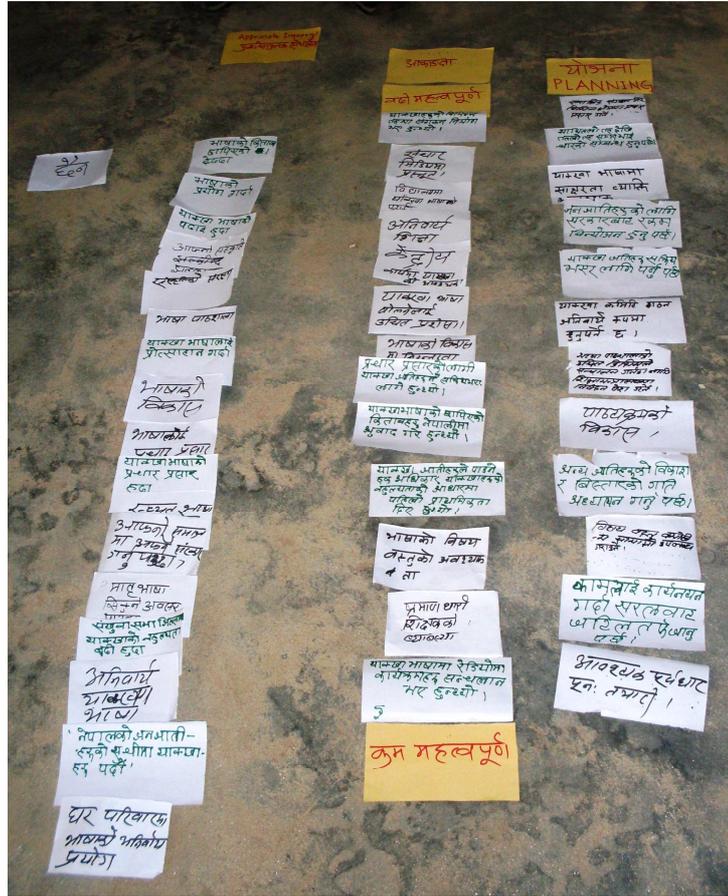
Photo 7.1: PM done in field survey point (Tamaphok, Sankhuwasava)

7.2.3 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C contains twenty-one relevant questions about the preservation, promotion and development of mother tongues. These questions were administered on the local language activists and village heads. The main purpose of this questionnaire was to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development. This set was administered to at least two participants in each survey point in Yakkha. They are:

a) Should anything be done to preserve, promote or develop your mother tongue?

b) In what ways can you support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

c) What are the lacking parts in the development of your mother tongue?

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

i) by making the spelling and writing system consistent.

ii) by focusing in orthography for systematic and standard writing.

iii) by compiling pedagogical dictionary.

iv) by devising the appropriate script and publishing newspapers.

v) by organizing the non-formal mother tongue based education class.

vi) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue.

vii) by setting/designing the mother tongue based curriculum.

viii) by publishing magazine and other reading materials.

ix) by writing pedagogical grammar.

x) by producing audio-visual language resources.

xi) by using mother tongue in media sector.

xii) by writing and publishing textbooks.

xiii) by implementing the multilingual education.

xiv) by making use of the language in administration.

xv) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

7.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Yakkha. No well form writing system in this language is developed yet. Yakkha community is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. They have no access to mass media at all till today. The Yakkha language is a preliterate and is still limited in oral form. Quite limited writing system in this language is developed yet. The major hopes for the Yakkha language development and promotion are recognition of Yakkha identity, identification of the Yakkha

phonemes, identification of development of script, identification and development of Yakkha literature, identification and development of Yakkha folk songs, identification and documentation of the myths in Yakkha, getting support from National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN) for preserving the Yakkha language and producing reading materials in the Yakkha language, application of the Yakkha language up to primary level education, the Yakkha language to be aired via media, and scholarship support to be provided by the government for the study of linguistics.

The plans of the participants for the Yakkha language development are to have discussion and debate in the Yakkha community for making plans, to carry out awareness program in the Yakkha community, to coordinate the related and concerned organization, to raise fund from the community and related organizations, government agencies, and to do financial management for the Yakkha language preservation, development and promotion. The most important thing that makes the Yakkha community feel proud is their mother tongue. The dreams and planning to start for making their language ever better is preparation of textbooks and reading materials in the Yakkha language and implementing it in the primary level of education.

The ways reported by the participants for preserving and promoting the mother tongue in Yakkha are: by devising the script and publishing newspapers, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by writing grammar, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing newspapers, by making use of the language in administration and by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary levels.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary of findings

The main goal of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Yakkha, an endangered Kirati language spoken mainly in the eastern Nepal. The survey has gathered information of the level of mother tongue proficiency and multilingualism, language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Yakkha. Moreover, the survey has also attempted to collect information about language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for the development of Yakkha language. This section specifies how the findings of this research can inform and guide the readers to appropriate action. The results of this research show that the Yakkha language community desires language-based development. This section will specify how the findings of this research can inform and guide the readers to appropriate action.

The major findings of the survey are as follows:

Being based on Tamaphok survey point, the comparison of the other four survey points were, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Ankhibhuin survey point shares the maximum 86% similarity. Likewise, other areas Mamling 78%; Kharang 76% and Baneshwor 75% gradually in descending order. Concerning the female participants, in the domains of counting and singing, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali. However, in other domains as joking, bargaining, story-telling, discussion, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meeting, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language.

Concerning the male participants, in the domains of counting and singing, a majority of the female participants reported that they most frequently used Yakkha-Nepali. However, in other domains as joking, bargaining, story-telling, discussion, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and

village meetings, a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently used the Yakkha language. While talking with different family members about educational matters like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc., a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently use the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali and Nepali.

While discussing with different family members about social events and family matters like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc., a majority of the participants reported that they most frequently use the Yakkha language, which is followed by Yakkha-Nepali and Nepali. A majority of the participants reported that they most frequently use Nepali while writing letters to their family members. A majority of the participants reported that their children most frequently use Nepali while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at school. A majority of the participants (i.e., 37%) reported that they most frequently use the Yakkha- Nepali languages for marriage invitations, which is followed by Nepali (i.e., 33%) and the Yakkha language (i.e., 30%).

All the participants reported that they most frequently use Nepali for writing minutes in the community meetings. Concerning the frequency of the use of mother tongue, a majority of the participants (i.e., 75%) reported that they use the Yakkha language every day. Concerning the frequency of the use of the language of wider communication (LWC), all the participants reported that they use Nepali every day. All the participants reported that they usually use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit at their home. All the participants reported that they prefer their mother tongue to be used as the language for the medium of instruction at primary level for their children.

8.2 Implications

The motivation for many Yakkha speakers for language-based development is linked to the Yakkha ethnic identity that revolves around their culture, religion and language. In the Yakkha village, Yakkha people and especially teachers from Yakkha locality have a strong desire to use Yakkha in schools and any multi-lingual education (MLE) program would be widely supported. Yakkha materials would be difficult for other adjoining Kirat Rai ethnic groups like Thulung, Sampang, Koyee, Khaling and

Nachhiring to use. However, because of their linguistic and ethnic closeness, working together on language-based development could be mutually beneficial.

Being based on the data analysed from Yakkha core area and competency among those area, Yakkha materials from any Yakkha speaking area could be made useful in any other Yakkha area, and those from Tamaphok would most clearly be acceptable and useful. Language use of Yakkha among most generations in the home is not so high, both when speaking about topics of family and education. As fewer Yakkha people are using the Yakkha languages in their homes, language revitalization activities, viz, language documentation, efforts to create and promote awareness community groups. The homogeneity of ethnic identity across the language boundaries should be considered in Yakkha language development too.

All of the respondents in the Yakkha language area expressed the positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. Tamaphok variety is suggested by many as being the most pure variety of Yakkha; literature development efforts in Tamaphok would serve the Yakkha area well. It would be helpful to conduct comparative grammar and phonological studies between the Yakkha varieties in Tamaphok (Sankhuwasava district) and Chanuwa or Dandagaun (Dhankuta district) as the two distinct varieties. In-depth research should be conducted between the Tamaphok variety and Chanuwa to investigate the extensibility and acceptability of reading materials for basic education. The vitality of Yakkha in Mamling and Kharang is so low that it is unlikely materials would need to be developed there.

8.3 Recommendations

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

a) This study can help to have the current linguistic situation and issues to carry out further study.

b) This study can be useful and beneficial for the academic and general researchers who want to carry out and are interested in the Yakkha language.

c) The envisaged perspective of this study was to survey the linguistic situation of Yakkha. So, this study can help for further research in the Yakkha language.

d) This study can help for further research on sociolinguistic study in the Yakkha language.

e) This study can help to develop linguistic materials in the Yakkha language.

f) There is a need of detailed language documentation project on the Yakkha language for preserving and promoting the mother tongue Yakkha.

g) There is a need of phonological analysis and developing orthographic system in this language because this language is still in oral form in Nepal. Then, there is a need of developing grammar, and reading materials in Yakkha.

h) The Yakkha community, non-Yakkha community, linguists, sociologists, and researchers can benefit from this study.

i) This study will be beneficial for the government and governmental organizations to have baseline information about the current linguistic situation in Yakkha.

j) This study will also be beneficial for the government and governmental agencies to formulate linguistic policy for the preservation, promotion and development of minority languages like Yakkha.

k) The government should immediately pay attention to preserve Yakkha language by launching documentation program.

l) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the Yakkha language by preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture and tradition.

m) Teachers, head teachers and language activists in many Yakkha villages expressed interest in increasing the use of Yakkha in schools and in incorporating the Yakkha language curriculum. Language use in school is considered as a primary vehicle for the Yakkha language maintenance and development.

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Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

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…………………

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	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	

| | (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

	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	**Tamphok**	**Mamling**	**Ankhibhuin**	**Baneshwor**	**Kharang**
1.	body	शरीर	dᶻiu	tʰok	-	-	-
2.	head	टाउको	ʈukʰruk	ʈukʰruk	ʈukʰruk	ʈukʰruk	ʈukʰruk
3.	hair	कपाल	ʈampʰwak	ʈampʰwak	ʈampʰak	ʈampʰwak	ʈampʰwak
4.	face	अनुहार	nacik	nacik	nacik	nacik	nacik
5.	eye	आँखा	mik	mik	mik	mik	mik
6.	ear	कान	nabʰak	nabʰak	nabʰak	nabək	napʰək
7.	nose	नाक	nabʰuk	nabʰok	nabʰok	nabʰok	napʰok
8.	mouth	मुख	ja	ja	ja	ja	mulək
9.	teeth	दाँत	keŋ	keŋ	keŋ	keŋ	keŋ
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	lem	lem	lem	lem	lem
11.	breast	स्तन	-	-	luŋmacʰoŋ	-	-
12.	belly	पेट	pʰok	pʰok	pʰok	pʰok	pʰok
13.	arm/ hand	हात	muk	muk	muk	muk	muk
14.	elbow	कुइनो	-	-	-	-	-
15.	palm	हत्केला	muktapi	ʈapi	tapi	muktapi	muktapik
16.	finger	औंला	-	mukʰewa	əmli	əmla	əmli
17.	fingernail	नङ	cʰenɖi	cʰenɖi	cʰenɖi	cenɖi	cʰenɖi
18.	leg	खुट्टा	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ	laŋ
19.	skin	छाला	warik	warik	warik	warik	warik
20.	bone	हाड	seŋkʰwak	seŋkʰwak	seŋkʰwak	seŋkʰwak	seŋkwak
21.	heart	मुटु	luŋma	ucuwa	cwa	-	-
22.	blood	रगत	heli	heli	heli	heli	heli
23.	urine	पिसाब	cʰipma	cʰipma	cʰi ma	cʰipma	sipma
24.	feces	दिसा	hi	hi	hi	hi	hi
25.	village	गाउँ	ʈen	ʈen	ʈen	ʈen	ʈen
26.	house	घर	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ	paŋ
27.	roof	छानो	-	-	-	-	-
28.	door	ढोका	walamcʰuk	walamsiŋ	-	walamcʰuk	-

29.	firewood	दाउरा	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ
30.	broom	कुचो	cʰecʰeleŋ	cʰecʰeleŋ	cʰecʰeleŋ	cʰecʰeleŋ	cʰecʰeleŋ
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	kʰompima	luŋkʰwak	kʰəmpʰiṭma	luŋkʰwak	kʰunḍwa
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	-	waliŋwa	nakmana	-	ice
33.	hammer	हथौडा	-	-	-	-	-
34.	knife	चक्कु	-	pʰiswak	pʰiswak	pʰiswa	pʰiswak
35.	axe	बन्चरो	pʰenḍi	pʰenḍi	pʰenḍi	pʰenḍi	pʰenḍi
36.	rope	डोरी	kʰibak	kʰibak	kʰiwak	kʰibak	kʰiwak
37.	thread	धागो	sakʰi	sakʰi	sakʰi	sakʰi	sakʰi
38.	needle	सियो	lupme	lupme	lu me	lupme	lupme
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	ṭe	ṭek	ṭepʰen	ṭe	ṭe
40.	ring	औँठी	-	aŋguṭi	-	-	-
41.	sun	घाम	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	la	la	la	la	la
43.	sky	आकाश	ṭaŋkʰjaŋ	ṭaŋkʰjaŋ	ṭaŋkʰeŋ	ṭaŋkʰjaŋ	ṭaŋkʰjaŋ
44.	star	तारा	cokcoki	cokcoki	cokcoki	cokcoki	cukcuki
45.	rain	वर्षा	wasik	wasik	wasik	wasik	wasik
46.	water	पानी	maŋcwa	maŋcwa	maŋcwa	maŋcwa	maŋcwa
47.	river	नदी	hoŋma	hoŋma	hoŋma	hoŋma	hoŋma
48.	cloud	बादल	-	-	hipruŋ	-	-
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	-	-	-	kʰereŋ	-
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	pʰiŋpʰiliŋme	-	-	-	-
51.	wind	बतास	hikwa	hi?wa	hi?wa	hi?wa	hi?wa
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	luŋkwak	luŋkwak	luŋkwak	luŋkʰak	luŋkʰa
53.	path	बाटो	lambu	lam	lambu	lambu	lambu
54.	sand	बालुवा	-	-	-	-	-
55.	fire	आगो	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	mikwa	mikʰuma	mekʰwa	mekʰwa	mikʰwa
57.	ash	खरानी	cʰubuk	cʰubuk	cʰubu	cʰubu	cʰubu
58.	mud	माटो	kʰam	kʰam	kʰam	kʰam	kʰam
59.	dust	धुलो	kʰam	-	-	-	-
60.	gold	सुन	samjaŋ	samjaŋ	samjaŋ	samjaŋ	samjaŋ
61.	tree	रूख	siŋ	siŋutʰaŋ	siŋ	siŋutʰap	siŋutʰap
62.	leaf	पात	sumpʰak	sumpʰak	sumpʰak	sumpwak	sumpwak
63.	root	जरा	usam	usam	usam	usam	usam

64.	thorn	काँडो	ṭiŋkiwak	ṭiŋkiwak	ṭiŋkibak	ṭiŋgibhak	ṭiŋgibʰak
65.	flower	फूल	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ	pʰuŋ
66.	fruit	फलफूल	-	-	-	-	caciwən
67.	mango	आँप	ambibu	ambibu	ambiu	ambibu	ambiu
68.	banana	केरा	cəməkla	camokla	camokla	camokla	camokla
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	cicama	-	-	-	cicama
70.	barley	जौ	-	cicama	cicama	cicama	okʰemok
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	casak	casak	casak	casak	casək
72.	potato	आलु	sambakʰi	sambakʰi	sambakʰi	sambakʰi	himbukʰi
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	-	-	-	-	lumsik
74.	groundnut	बदाम	-	-	-	-	kekʰa
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	maci	macʰimba	macʰimbak	maccʰi	macʰimbak
76.	turmeric	बेसार	-	-	-	-	-
77.	garlic	लसुन	maŋkʰu	maŋkʰu	maŋkʰu	maŋkʰu	maŋkʰu
78.	onion	प्याज	bedᶻu	-	-	-	-
79.	cauliflower	काउली	-	-	-	-	-
80.	tomato	गोलभैँडा	wariŋba	warimba	warimbak	warimba	warimba
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	-	-	-	-	-
82.	oil	तेल	kiwa	kiwa	kiwa	kiwa	kiwa
83.	salt	नुन	jum	jum	jum	jum	jum
84.	meat	मासु	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	ucʰaciboka	ucʰacʰiwa	ucʰacʰiwa	cʰacʰibək	cacuwa
86.	fish	माछा	nasa	ŋa	nasa	ŋasa	ŋasa
87.	chicken	चल्ला	wagucja(k)	wagucja	wagucja(k)	wagucja(k)	wagucja(k)
88.	egg	अण्डा	waguin	waguin	wain	uin	waguin
89.	cow	गाई	pig	pik	pik	pik	pik
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	saŋwa	saŋwa	saŋwa	saŋwa	saŋwa
91.	milk	दुध	ḍʰuru	ḍuru	ḍʰuru	ḍʰuru	ḍʰuru
92.	horns	सिङ	uṭaŋ	utaŋ	ṭaŋ	utaŋ	utaŋ
93.	tail	पुच्छर	umilak	umilak	umilak	imi	imi
94.	goat	बाख्रो	mendʰok	mendʰək	mendʰak	menḍak	meḍak
95.	dog	कुकुर	kucuma	kucuma	kucuma	kucuma	kucuma
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	pucʰak	pucʰak	pucak	pucʰak	pucʰak
97.	monkey	बाँदर	pubaŋ	pubaŋ	pubaŋ	pubaŋ	pubaŋ
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	-	-	-	-	-

99.	ant	कमिला	kʰelek	kʰelek	kʰelek	kʰelek	kʰelek
100.	spider	माकुरो	ʈakabaŋ	ʈakabaŋ	ʈakabaŋ	ʈakabaŋ	ʈakabaŋ
101.	name	नाम	niŋ	niŋ	niŋ	niŋ	niŋ
102.	man	मान्छे	japmi	japmi	japmi	jəpmi	jəpmi
103.	woman	आइमाई	mamu	macʰa	mamu	maccʰa	mavccʰa
104.	child	बच्चा	piccʰa	piccʰa	piccʰa	cjababu	cjababu
105.	father	बाबा	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa
106.	mother	आमा	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma
107.	older brother	दाजु	pʰu	pʰu	pʰu	pʰu	pʰu
108.	younger brother	भाइ	cʰa	nuncʰa	nuncʰa	incʰa	nuncʰa
109.	older sister	दिदी	na	na	na	na	na
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	nuncʰa	nuncʰa	nuncʰa	incʰa	nuncʰa
111.	son	छोरो	cja	babucja	cjababu	cjababu	cebabu
112.	daughter	छोरी	cja	mamucja	cjamamu	cjamamu	cemamu
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	hiŋkʰuba	uiŋkʰuba	hiŋkʰuba	tʰappa	tʰappa
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	hiŋkʰuma	uiŋkʰuma	hiŋkʰuma	tʰapma	tʰapma
115.	boy	केटो	babu	babu	babu	babu	babu
116.	girl	केटी	mamu	mamu	mamu	mamu	mamu
117.	day	दिन	le ni	leʈni	leʈni	leʈni	leʈni
118.	night	रात	se ni	seʈni	seʈni	seʈni	seʈni
119.	morning	विहान	bʰenik	bʰenik	bʰenik	bʰenik	bʰenik
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	le ni	leʈni	leʈni	leʈni	leʈni
121.	evening	साँझ	na masik	na masek	nasek	nasek	nasek
122.	yesterday	हिजो	asen	asen	asen	atˢen	asen
123.	today	आज	hen	hen	hen	hen	hen
124.	tomorrow	भोली	waɳɖik	waŋɖi	wanɖjak	wanɖik	wanɖʰja
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	-	-	-	-	-
126.	month	महिना	-	-	manen	-	-
127.	year	वर्ष	-	-	-	-	-
128.	old	पुरानो	ulippa	ulippa	ulippa	ulippa	ulippa
129.	new	नयाँ	ocʰoŋa	ucʰoŋwa	ocʰoŋa	ocʰaŋa	ocʰoŋna
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	ucunna	ucunna	ucunna	ucunna	ucunna
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	isisina	isisiʈna	isisiʈna	isisiʈna	isisiʈna

132.	wet	भिजेको	peṭabʰena	peṭabʰena	peṭabʰena	peṭabʰena	peṭabʰena
133.	dry	सुख्खा	hesana	hera	hesana	hesana	hesana/pʰukkuna
134.	long	लामो	keŋgekna	keɲeṭna	keŋgeṭna	keŋgeṭna	keŋgeṭna
135.	short	छोटो	luklukna	luklukna	luklukna	luklukna	luklukna
136.	hot	तातो	kuwa	kuwa	kuwa	kuwa	kuwa
137.	cold	चिसो	cina	cina	cina	cija	cija
138.	right	दाहिने	cʰupṭan	cʰupsaŋ	cʰupṭan	cʰupṭaŋ	cʰupṭaŋ
139.	left	देब्रे	pʰeksaŋ	pʰeksaŋ	pʰeksaŋ	pʰeksaŋ	peksaŋ
140.	near	नजिक	jumbe	ne maŋ	kʰerek	-	-
141.	far	टाढा	maŋḍu	maŋḍu	maŋḍu	maŋḍu	manḍu
142.	big	ठूलो	maḍa	maḍa	maḍa	makna	makna
143.	small	सानो	mina	mina	mina	mi na	mi na
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	lina	lina	lina	lina	lina
145.	light	हलुका	sapna	sapna	sapna	səpna	səpna
146.	above	माथि	ṭo/ṭona	ṭo/ṭona	ṭo/ṭona	ṭo/ṭona	ṭo/ṭona
147.	below	तल	mə	mo	mo	mo	mo
148.	white	सेतो	pʰuna	pʰuna	pʰuna	pʰuṭna	pʰuna
149.	black	कालो	makʰurna	makʰurna	makʰurna	makʰurna	makʰurna
150.	red	रातो	pʰamna	pʰaŋna	pʰamna	pʰaṭna	pʰapna
151.	one	एक	eko	eko	eko	i/eko	i/eko
152.	two	दुई	hi-ci	hi-ci	hi-ci	hi-ci	hi-ci
153.	three	तीन	sum-ci	sum-ci	sum-ci	sum-ci	sum-ci
154.	four	चार	ŋa-ci	-	ŋa-ci	ŋa-ci	ŋa-ci
155.	five	पाँच	poŋ-ci	-	poŋ-ci	poŋ-ci	poŋ-ci
156.	six	छ	lek-ci	-	lek-ci	lek-ci	lek-ci
157.	seven	सात	saŋ-ci	-	saŋ-ci	saŋ-ci	saŋ-ci
158.	eight	आठ	aŋ-ci	-	-	aŋ-ci	aŋ-ci
159.	nine	नौ	naŋ-ci	-	-	naŋ-ci	naŋ-ci
160.	ten	दश	itoŋ-ci	-	itoŋ-ci	itoŋ-ci	
161.	eleven	एघार	i-i	-	i-i	i-i	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	i-hi	-	i-hi	i-hi	
163.	twenty	बीस	hi-toŋ	-	hi-toŋ-ci	hi-toŋ	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	i-toŋ-toŋ	-	i-toŋ-toŋ	i-toŋ-toŋ	
165.	who	को	isa	isa	isa	isa	isa
166.	what	के	ina	ina	ina	ina	ina
167.	where	कहाँ	he?ne	heṭne	heṭne	he?ne	heṭne

168.	when	कहिले	he?niŋa	heʈniŋa	heʈniŋ	he?niŋa	heʈniŋa
169.	how many	कति	ikʰiŋ	ikʰiŋ	ikʰiŋ	ikʰiŋ	ikʰiŋ
170.	which	कुन	he?na	heʈna	heʈna	erokna	erokna
171.	this	यो	na	na	na	na	na
172.	that	त्यो	juʈna	junna	honna	honna	juʈna
173.	these	यिनीहरू	kʰaci	nakʰaci	kʰaci	kʰaci	nakʰaci
174.	those	उनीहरू	juŋkʰaci	jukʰaci	uŋci	iŋkʰaci	uŋci
175.	same	उही	iklenaci	-	ikle	ekole	kʰwa
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	-	-	-	-	-
177.	whole	सबै	gʰak	kak	kʰeŋ/kak	kak	kak
178.	broken	फुटेको	pegana	pegana	pegakʰjana	jana	jana
179.	few	थोरै	mi jaŋ	miaŋ	mijaŋ	mimaŋ	mijaŋ
180.	many	धेरै	pjak	pjak	pjak	pjak	pjak
181.	all	सबै	gʰak	kak	kʰak	kʰak	kʰak
182.	to eat	खानु	cama	cama	camana	cama	cama
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	ha?ma	hapmana	hapma	hə ma	hə ma
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	sakʈugana	sakʈugana	sakʈugana	sakʈugana	sakʈugana
185.	to drink	पिउनु	uŋma	uŋma	uŋmaa	uŋma	uŋma
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	we?maŋ	wepmas	we?masima	we?ma	we?ma
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	imma	imma	imma	imma	imma
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	leŋma	leŋma	leŋmana	hiksana	hiksana
189.	to sit	बस्नु	juŋma	juŋma	juŋma	juŋma	juŋma
190.	to give	दिनु	pipma	pipmana	pipma	pipma	pipma
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	hu?ma	ʈunnaŋma	ʈunnaŋma	ʈunnaŋma	ʈunnaŋma
192.	to die	मर्नु	sima	sima	sima	sima	sima
193.	to kill	मार्नु	simana	simian	simina	simiana	simiana
194.	to fly	उड्नु	pema	pema	pema	pema	pema
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	lamma	lhamma	lamma	lamma	lamma
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	lukma	lukma	lukma	lukma	lukma
197.	to go/go	जानु	kʰe?ma	ke ma	kʰeɸma	kʰeɸma	kʰeɸma
198.	to come	आउनु	ʈama	ʈama	aba	apma	apma
199.	to speak	बोल्नु	cekma	cekma	cekma	cekma	cekma
200.	to sleep	सुत्नु	kʰemma	kʰemma	kʰemma	kʰemma	kʰemma
201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	sopma	sopma	sopma	so?ma	so?ma
202.	I	म	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka

203.	you (informal)	तँ	nd̪a	nd̪a	nd̪a	iŋkʰi	nd̪a
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	nd̪a	-	nd̪a	-	-
205.	he	ऊ	uŋ	uŋ	uŋ	ju	uŋ
206.	she	उनी	uŋ	uŋ	uŋ	-	-
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	kaniŋ	kaniŋ	kaniŋ	kaniŋ	kaniŋ
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	kaniŋ	-	-	-	-
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	nd̪aci	nd̪aci	niŋkʰi	niŋd̪aci	ind̪aci
210.	they	उनीहरू	uŋci	uŋci	uŋci	uŋkʰaci	uŋci

Annex E: Basic information of the language consultants involved in the survey of Yakkha

Annex E1: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

	Name	Sex	Age	Edu	Village	VDC	Ward No.	District
	SURVEY POINT 1: Tamaphok, Sankhuwasabha							
1.	Bishnu Kumar Jimi	M	35	IL	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
2.	Bagman Jimi	M	45	IL	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
3.	Dhakan Singh Jimi	M	47	IL	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
4.	Mohan Kumar Jimi	M	38	L	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	6	Sankhuwasabh
5.	Magman Jimi	M	39	L	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	6	Sankhuwasabh
6.	Laluman Jimi	M	42	L	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
7.	Bhadra Jimi	M	60	IL	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
8.	Yuba Raj Jimi	M	17	L	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	6	Sankhuwasabh
9.	Milan Kumar Linkha	M	38	IL	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	6	Sankhuwasabh
10.	Sabitra Jimi	F	15	L	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
11.	Om Bdr Jimi	M	68	IL	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
12.	Renuka Jimi	F	16	L	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabh
	SURVEY POINT 2: Ankhibhuin, Sankhuwasabha							
1.	Shanta Songmyang	F	22	IL	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	1	Sankhuwasabh
2.	Tanka Maya Songmyang	F	22	IL	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	1	Sankhuwasabh
3.	Apekshya Jimi	F	21	IL	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	2	Sankhuwasabh
4.	Manindra Yaemba	M	19	L	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	2	Sankhuwasabh
5.	Lekha Bdr Jimi	M	51	L	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	2	Sankhuwasabh
6.	Dhan Singh Jimi	M	53	L	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	4	Sankhuwasabh
7.	Ramesh Kumar Jimi	M	25	IL	Amaruwa	Ankhibhuin	4	Sankhuwasabh
8.	Buddi Man Jimi	M	45	L	Phakling	Ankhibhuin	5	Sankhuwasabh
9.	Rana Hang Jimi	M	67	IL	Danda gaun	Ankhibhuin	3	Sankhuwasabh
10.	Tej Kumar Linkha	M	44	L	Phakling	Ankhibhuin	5	Sankhuwasabh
11.	Kirendra Bkrm Hongba	M	43	IL	Mulgaun	Ankhibhuin	2	Sankhuwasabh
12.	Ganesh Hongba	M	35	L	Chanuwa	Ankhibhuin	3	Sankhuwasabh
	SURVEY POINT 3: Mamling							
1.	Tilak Kongren	M	27		Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabh
2.	Renuka Somyahang	F	20		Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabh
3.	Lalita Lingkha	F	15		Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabh
4.	Rama Kongren	F	20		Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabh
5.	Ganga Somyahang	F	20		Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabh
6.	Sumitra Somyahang	F	22		Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabh
7.	Tek Kumari Linkha	F	22		Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabh
8.	Basanti Songren	F	20		Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabh
9.	Rasmi Somyahang	F	15		Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabh
10.	Januka Somyahang	F	22		Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabh
11.	Binuta Kongren	F	16		Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabh
	SURVEY POINT 4: Kharang							
1.	Tara Bdr Khakhim	M	60		Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabh

2.	Krishna Bdr Hengwa	M	66		Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabh
3.	Padam Jimi	M	50		Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabh
4.	Ganesh Bdr. Jimi	M	40		Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabh
5.	Birbal Jimi	M	63		Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabh
6.	Sir Maya Jimi	F	55		Kingring	Kharang	3	Sankhuwasabh
7.	Jang Bdr Khakhim	M	62		Kingring	Kharang	3	Sankhuwasabh
8.	Viswo Kaji Kongren	M	25		Kingring	Kharang	4	Sankhuwasabh
9.	Saraswoti Kongren	F	47		Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabh
	SURVEY POINT 5: Chabhuin							
1.	Pratap Rai	M	42		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
2.	Harka Bdr Rai	M	45		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
3.	Sakindra Rai	M	30		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
4.	Janga Bdr. Khakhim	M	62		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
5.					Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
6.	Purna Bdr Kongren	M	18		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
7.	Taraman Somyang	M	17		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
8.	Chandra Man Linkha	M	40		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
9.	Ram Somyahang	M	22		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
10.	Tanka Jimi	M	23		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh
11.	Nabindra Somyang	M	15		Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabh

Annex E2: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (Paricipatory Method)

	SURVEY POINT 1: Tamaphok						
	Name	**Sex**	**Age**	**Village**	**VDC**	**Ward No.**	**District**
1.	Bishnu Kumar Jimi	M	35	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Bagman Jimi	M	45	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Dhakan Singh Jimi	M	47	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Mohan Kumar Jimi	M	38	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Magman Jimi	M	39	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
6.	Laluman Jimi	M	42	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
7.	Bhadra Jimi	M	60	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
8.	Yuba Raj Jimi	M	17	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
9.	Milan Kumar Linkha	M	38	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
10.	Sabitra Jimi	F	15	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
11.	Om Bdr Jimi	M	68	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha

	SURVEY POINT 2: Ankhibhuin						
1.	Rama Kongren	F	20				
2.	Ganga Somyahang	F	20	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Sumitra Somyahang	F	22	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Tek Kumari Linkha	F	22	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Basanti Songren	F	20	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
6.	Rasmi Somyahang	F	15	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
7.	Januka Somyahang	F	22	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
8.	Binuta Kongren	F	16	Amaruwa	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
9.	Purna Bdr Kongren	M	18	Phakling	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
10.	Taraman Somyang	M	17	Danda gaun	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
11.	Chandra Man Linkha	M	40	Phakling	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 3: Mamling						
1.	Rama Kongren	F	20	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Ganga Somyahang	F	20	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Sumitra Somyahang	F	22	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Tek Kumari Linkha	F	22	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Basanti Songren	F	20	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
6.	Rasmi Somyahang	F	15	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
7.	Januka Somyahang	F	22	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
8.	Binuta Kongren	F	16	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
9.	Purna Bdr Kongren	M	18	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
	Taraman Somyang	M	17	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
10.	Chandra Man Linkha	M	40				
	SURVEY POINT 4: Kharang						
1.	Tara Bdr Khakhim	M	60	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Krishna Bdr Hengwa	M	66	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Padam Jimi	M	50	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Ganesh Bdr. Jimi	M	40	Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Birbal Jimi	M	63	Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabha
6.	Sir Maya Jimi	F	55	Kingring	Kharang	3	Sankhuwasabha
7.	Jang Bdr	M	62	Kingring	Kharang	3	Sankhuwasabha

	Khakhim						
8.	Viswo Kaji Kongren	M	25	Kingring	Kharang	4	Sankhuwasabha
9.	Saraswoti Kongren	F	47	Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabha
SURVEY POINT 5: Chabhuin							
10.	Janga Bdr. Khakhim	M	62	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
11.	Pratap Rai	M	42	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
12.	Harka Bdr Rai	M	45	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
13.	Sakindra Rai	M	30	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
14.	Gita Jimi	F	17	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
15.	Deviraj Jimi	M	17	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
16.	Santosh Jimi	M	18	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
17.	Bhuwan Jimi	M	16	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
18.	Laxman Jimi	M	17	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
19.	Vim Maya Jimi	F	15	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
20.	Machindra Linkha	M	41	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha

Annex E3: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

	SURVEY POINT 1: Tamaphok						
	Name	**Sex**	**Age**	**Village**	**VDC**	**Ward No.**	**District**
1.	Dhal Bdr Yakkha	M	57	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Dhan Bdr Yakkha	M	57	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 2: Ankhibhuin						
1.	Buddi Man Jimi	M	45	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Rana Hang Jimi	M	67	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 3: Mamling						
1.	Tilak Kongren	M	27	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Chandra Man Linkha	M	40	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 4: Kharang						
1.	Birbal Jimi	M	63	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha

2.	Sir Maya Jimi	F	55	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 5: Chabhuin						
1.	Pratap Rai	M	42	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Harka Bdr Rai	M	45	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha

Annex E4: Basic information of the language consultants involved in Word List

	SURVEY POINT 1: Tamaphok						
	Name	**Sex**	**Age**	**Village**	**VDC**	**Ward No.**	**District**
1.	Prem Raj Yakkha	M	35	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Dhal Bdr Yakkha	M	57	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Dhan Bdr Yakkha	M	57	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Mohan Kumar Jimi	M	38	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Magman Jimi	M	39	Tamaphok	Tamaphok	5	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 2: Ankhibhuin						
1.	Rana Hang Jimi	M	67	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Tej Kumar Linkha	M	44	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Kirendra Bkrm Hongba	M	43	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Kirendra Bkrm Hongba	M	43	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Ganesh Hongba	M	35	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
6.	Lok Man Jimi	M	41	Humbung	Ankhibhuin	8	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 3: Mamling						
1.	Tilak Kongren	M	27	Mamling	Mamling	4	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Chandra Man Linkha	M	40	Mamling	Mamling	5	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 4: Kharang						
1.	Tara Bdr Khakhim	M	60	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Krishna Bdr Hengwa	M	66	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Padam Jimi	M	50	Kingring	Kharang	6	Sankhuwasabha
4.	Ganesh Bdr. Jimi	M	40	Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabha
5.	Birbal Jimi	M	63	Kingring	Kharang	5	Sankhuwasabha
	SURVEY POINT 5: Chabhuin						
1.	Pratap Rai	M	42	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
2.	Harka Bdr Rai	M	45	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha
3.	Sakindra Rai	M	30	Chapabhuin	Baneshwor	9	Sankhuwasabha

Annex F: Some group photographs of the informants from different survey points

Photograph 1: Tamaphok, Sankhuwasabha

Photograph 3: Ankhibhuin, Sankhuwasabha

Photograph 5: Chabhuin, Sankhuwasabha

Photograph 4: Mamling, Sankhuwasabha

Photograph 6: Amaruwa, Ankhibhuin, Sankhuwasabha

Photograph 2: Tamaphok, Sankhuwasabha