A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF BHUJEL:

A TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGE

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)

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Preface

Nepal is a multilingual country lying in the lap of the Himalayas. It presents a complex panorama of linguistic diversity by housing more than 92 languages genetically affiliated with different language families, namely, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Kusunda, a language isolate. However, there is a lack of reliable information about the sociolinguistic situation of the languages in Nepal. The population censuses (1952-54 -2001) neither provided a coherent number of languages nor identified a reliable number of ethnic languages in Nepal. In the past, the surveys carried out by Linguistic Survey of India (1898-1927), Summer Institute of Linguistics (1965-75) and Linguistic Survey of Nepal (1981- 1984) and by individuals, namely, B H Hodgson (in the 19th century), Bal Krishna Pokharel (second half of the sixties), Chura Mani Bandhu, Warren Glover and John K Landon (in the beginning of the eighties), Boyd Michailovsky, Madhav Pokharel, Austin Hale, Toba, David Watters, and Michael Noonan are noteworthy. However, they are unable to provide a detailed, reliable, comprehensive and all-inclusive picture of the situation of the languages in Nepal.

A strong recommendation of the National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (1994) and the linguistic rights granted in Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) played a vital role to make the nation realize to conduct a more comprehensive survey to determine more precise identification of languages the country. After a detailed proposal was framed in 2009, the Central Department of Linguistics, TU was authorized to conduct the linguistic survey of Nepal by National Planning Commission (NPC), Government of Nepal. The survey is being conducted with a clear vision of laying a foundation providing for the linguistic rights of the citizens to be included in the overall fabric of the nation regardless of linguistic background. Developing orthographies for unwritten languages, determining the role of language in primary and adult education, identifying and documenting minority languages facing extinction, and implementing the socially inclusive provisions are the burning linguistic issues in the present context of Nepal. With a view to meeting such issues systematically and effectively the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) has proposed five main objectives. They include producing a sociolinguistic profile, producing a basic description of at least ten languages, developing and maintaining a complete database of the languages of Nepal, developing a description of the use of mother tongues in education (formal and non-formal) and publishing the report of the major research activities in written and electronic versions.

A detailed and comprehensive survey of the languages of Nepal is indeed a herculean job in the present context of Nepal. Considering the complex linguistic setting, the languages of Nepal, for the purpose of the survey, have been categorized into nine clusters: Chepang-Bhujel, Tamangic, Kham Magar, Standard Magar, Newar, Nepali and its dialects, Tibetan, Kirat (four sub-clusters) and Terai (four sub-clusters). Four types of research tools have been employed for the sociolinguistic survey: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (A, B and C), Basic Wordlist, Recorded Text Test (RTT) and Sentence Repetition Test (SRT). The first tool, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, is meant for collecting information from the individual (of different categories of sex, age and educational status) about the materials in the language, proficiency in mother tongue/ bilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality and continuity and attitudes of the speakers towards the languages. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B prepared on the principle of participatory method is meant to be used in the group of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community to collect the information such as the domains of language use, dialect mapping, multilingualism and appreciative inquiry. Both sets are further equipped with the screening criteria for the selection of the language consultants. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C is especially designed for assessing the views of the language activists and the head of the speech community. The second tool, Basic Wordlist, is used to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from mother tongue speakers. The third tool, Recorded Text Test (RTT), is employed to determine the levels of intelligibility among language groups. The fourth tool, Sentence Repetition Test (SRT), is based on the assumption that one cannot correctly repeat long complicated utterances which one does not understand.

No sooner were the research tools revised with the feedbacks from pilot survey conducted in Jhapa, Nepali (spoken mid and western hilly regions), Newar (spoken in the valley), Maithili, Chepang, Lapcha were surveyed in 2009. Bhujel, an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language (spoken in Tanahun, Gorkha, Chitwan and Nawalparasi) was surveyed by a team led by Dr. Dan Raj Regmi accompanied by three research assistants, namely, Mrs. Ambika Regmi, Mr. Ramesh Khatri and Mr. Rabindra Das, in 2010. In the same year, Yakkha, Bhujel, Newar (spoken in Dolaka) and Nepali (spoken in eastern parts) were also surveyed. After having the data processed from the database, a draft report on the use of languages and attitudes of Bhujel including a report on the orthography was prepared almost a year ago.

The main goal of this report is to present a comprehensive sociolinguistic situation of the Bhujel language. It consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 provides the basic sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic information (history, religion, occupation, literacy, social identity, overview of the features of the language, demography, genetic classification, etc.). Chapter 2 deals with the methodology employed in the survey. Chapter 3 attempts to examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity and the levels of intelligibility among the selected varieties in the language. Chapter 4 looks at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains. Chapter 5 assesses the mother tongue proficiency and the extent of community bilingualism of Bhujel speakers in standard Nepali. Chapter 6 evaluates the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language. Chapter 7 gathers information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Bhujel. Chapter 8 presents the summary of the findings and recommendation. The annexes include Word Lists, Recorded Text Test (RTT), Sentence Repetition Test (SRT), Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C.

professors contributing as the members of the Senior Management Committee of the linguistic survey of Nepal. The survey would like to thank all governmental and non-governmental agencies as well as individuals for their direct or indirect cooperation in the completion of the sociolinguistic survey of Bhujel.

At last, LinSuN, especially, would like to spell out that without a detailed and comprehensive linguistic survey it is impossible to identify and document minority languages facing extinction, to determine the role of language in primary and adult education, to develop orthographies for unwritten languages, and to implement the socially inclusive provisions in Nepal. Thus, the survey would like to draw the attention of the concerned authorities at home and abroad should join hands with the Survey to complete the survey of the languages of Nepal in the days to come.

Map 1: Tanahun

Map 2: Nawalparasi
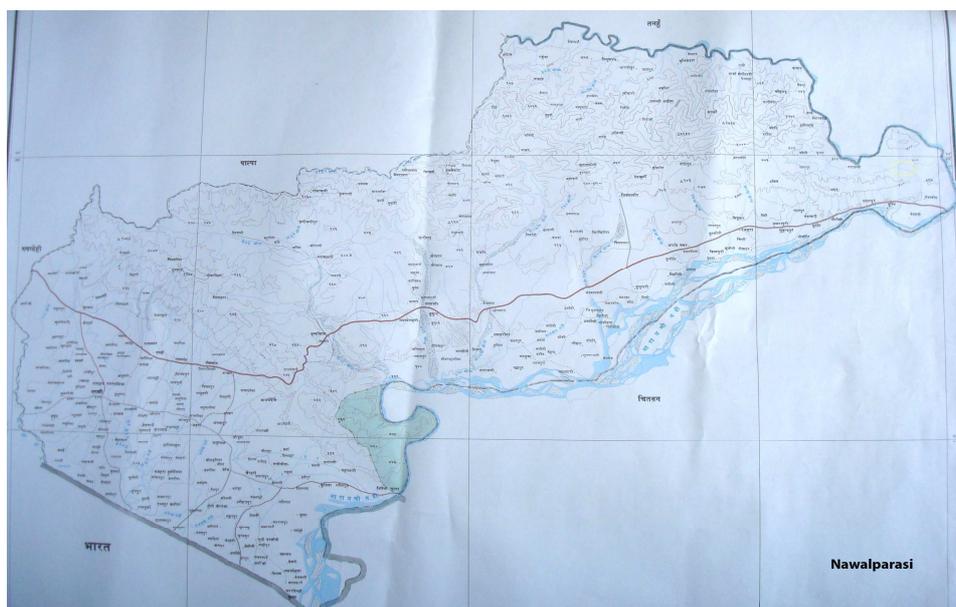
Map 3: Chitwan

Map 4: Gorkha

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This report presents the sociolinguistic situation of Bhujel, an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 3,923 ethnic Bhujel, most of them living along the Mahabharata mountain range of Tanahun, Gorkha, Chitwan and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal. In this chapter, we briefly present the history, the people (social identity, occupation, religion and literacy), demography, and genetic classification, an overview of the language and review of earlier works.

1.1.1 History

Bhujel is one of the downtrodden and marginalized nationalities of Nepal. Except a few cursory remarks, Bhujel do not have a recorded history about their language and culture. Bhujel as a form of speech was not identified as a separate language prior to the census of Nepal, 2001. A detailed and comprehensive study of Bhujel as an ethnic group has not yet been attempted. At present, Bhujel have been reported living in almost all the districts of Nepal and some parts of India. Some researchers have tried to link their origin to Bhuji Khola located in the far western part of Baglung District (Bhujel and Tamang, 2001). In the area of Bhuji Khola, it is also reported that they had their own small territories. Later, in inter-territory conflict and war, they were defeated by Galkot, a strong state in about the fourteenth century. Most of them were imprisoned and forced to live a life of slaves. Those who could run away from the war field came to the hinter lands located on the banks of the Seti and Narayani rivers. There abound a number of legends in the speech community about their history. It has also been reported that they belonged to caste system in the past and they used to put on sacred thread as Chhetries do. In course of time they began to keep pigs and eat their meat as they were living in proximity with Magars and Gurungs. They ceased to put on the sacred threads. Bhujel have been recognized by different names in different places of Nepal and they had enjoyed the highest posts in the governmental organizations in the history of Nepal (Yatri, 2001).

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1.1.2 People

1.1.2.1 Social identity

The Bhujel in Tanahun, Gorkha, Nawalparasi and Chitwan have Mongoloid physical features with well proportioned facial counters and yellowish complexion. Normally, they do not differ from the Magar physically and culturally. To follow Yatri (2001), they have been identified with different names in different districts of Nepal.[1] Table 1.1 presents different identification of Bhujel in different districts in Nepal.

Table 1.1: Different identification of Bhujel in different districts in Nepal

	Districts	Identification
1.	Baglung/ Rukum	Nisel/ Bhujel
2.	Bajura	Pranal
3.	Bajhang	Dhulel
4.	Humla	Limel
5.	Mugu	Murmi
6.	Jumla	Pawai
7.	Kalikot	Sikari (Sahakari)
8.	Tanahun/ Gorkha/ Nawalparasi/ Chitwan	Bhujel /Gharti

Bhujel are one of the ethnic nationalities of Nepal. They are divided into a number of clan divisions referred to as *pads* (families), the member of which are believed to have a common origin. Table 1.2 presents major clans of Bhujel in Tanahun.

Table 1.2: Major clans of Bhujel in Tanahun

Major clans of Bhujel in Tanahun							
1	Sameli	6	Paduke	11	Daulagi	16	Thautapa
2	Pokhreli	7	Kalikobya	12	Golaglam	17	Onakapa
3	Parsyali	8	Manpunge	13	Balikapa		
4	Thusirange	9	Parcunge	14	Kanchipa		
5	Mathoke	10	Kharchunge	15	Mahisapa		

Source: Field study

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[1] Yatri (2001) further notes that Bhujel have their own history. The courage and velour of Sangramsur Bhujel, Rudra Singh Bhujel, Tribhuvan Khawas and Gagan Singh Khawas in the making of the nation is praiseworthy.

1.1.2.2 Religion

The majority of Bhujel in Tanahun, Gorkha, Nawalparasi and Chittawan follow Hinduism. Nowadays many Bhujel also follow Christianity. Table 1.3 presents the situation of the religion in Bhujel speech community.

Table 1.3: The situation of the religion in Bhujel speech community

n=85

	Religions	Number	Percentage
1	Hinduism	61	71.8
2	Buddhism	2	2.4
3	Christianity	21	24.7
4	Islam	1	1.2
	Total	85	100%

Source: Linguistic Survey (2010)

Table 1.3 shows that out of 85 respondents, 61(71.8%) responded that they follow Hinduism whereas 21(24.7%) follow Christianity as their religion. Only 2(2.4%) responded that they followed Buddhism. Thus, Hinduism is the main religion of Bhujel.

1.1.2.3 Occupation

The main traditional occupation of Bhujel is agriculture. At present, they make different articles from bamboo split as a most preferred occupation in the Bhujel community. They also hunt deer and other animals and look for yam in the jungle. Nowadays, they are also engaged in small businesses, cottage and small industry and different types of jobs.

1.1.2.4 Literacy

According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, 57.8% of the total Bhujel is reported to be literate. Even today, the majority of the women in Bhujel community are deprived from the light of modern education. Table 1.4 presents the literacy situation in Tanahun, Gorkha, Nawalaparasi and Chitwan.

Table 1.4: Literacy in Bhujel in Tanahun, Gorkha, Nawalaparasi and Chitwan

Literacy			
Male (N=41)		Female (N=42)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
20 (48.8%)	21(51.2%)	14 (33.3%)	28 (66.7%)

Source: Linguistic Survey (2010)

Table 1.4 presents an appalling situation of literacy in Bhujel community. A total of 83 respondents (41 male and 42 female) only 41 % can read and write, out of which the literacy rate of the male and female is 48% and 33.3%, respectively.

1.1.3 Language: an overview

Bhujel is an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language mainly spoken in some areas along the Mahabharata mountain range and in some adjacent parts of Tanahun particulary in Nawalparasi, Chitwan and Gorkha districts of Nepal. It is natively referred to as *pukʰgyal ŋur* (*pukʰgyal* 'Bhujel' and *ŋur* 'language'). In Caughley (1982, 1999) Bhujel has been recorded as a western dialect of Chepang and its speakers as *Gharti*.[2] In the Census of Nepal, 2001, for the first time, Bhujel was identified as one of the 92 languages spoken in Nepal. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 this language is spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1, 17,568 ethnic Bhujel (Gurung et al. 2006). According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 79.69% of the Bhujel mother tongue speakers are bilingual in Nepali, 4.44% in Tharu and 0.74% in Maithili (Yadava, 2003). It seems quite clear that the majority of the Bhujel speakers are gradually shifting to Nepali, the lingua franca of Nepal. The main features of the languages are presented in brief as follows:

1.3.1.1 Phonological features

Bhujel contains 31 consonant, six monophthongal, six diphthongal and four nasal vowels. It offers contrasts among the consonant phonemes in terms of voiced vs. voiceless, aspirated vs. unaspirated, and clear vs. breathy. It does not present a contrast in length. It lacks dental vs. retroflex contrasts. It also lacks phonemic glottal stop. Except fricatives and affricates, the other consonant sounds have breathy counterparts. It exhibits word-initial cluster of the consonants, particularly of two consonants. The syllable canon in Bhujel is (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and 'X' is a consonant or a vowel. It shows two suprasegmental features: stress and intonation. The stress is placed mainly on the root of the word. Bhujel is not a tonal language.

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[2] However, the Bhujel speakers in general do not like to be associated with the name *Gharti* nor do they like their language to be thought of as a dialect of Chepang.

1.3.1.2 Morphophonological features

Bhujel exhibits both segmental and supra-segmental phonological processes. The segmental processes are conditioned by three factors such as surrounding segments, syllable structure and structure larger than syllable. Bhujel presents seven types of assimilatory processes, viz. intervocalic voicing, voiceless plosive weakening, and velar assimilation, voicing assimilation, nasal assimilation, labial assimilation and alveolar assimilation. Bhujel also involves some processes such as epenthesis and deletion conditioned by syllable structure. It also exhibits vowel harmony, an assimilative process in which all the vowels in a given phonological words belong to the same vowel class or share some crucial features. This process is conditioned by larger structures than syllable. Bhujel also presents suprasegmental processes such as stress shift and insertion of a segment due to intonation. The stress has been found shifted to the second syllable in the phonological words. In Bhujel the low back vowel is inserted after the root in an imperative construction. This insertion triggers a change in the intonation pattern. In Bhujel the falling intonation overlies on the root verb at the end of the utterance.

1.3.1.3 Morphological features

Gender is not an inflectional category of the nouns. Neither is it a syntactic category. Bhujel exhibits three categories of number: singular, dual, plural. There are two native numeral classifiers which categorize the nouns in terms of the distinction between human and non-human. Bhujel also makes use of a number of classifiers borrowed mainly from Nepali. Such classifiers are 'pseudo-classifiers'. They are independent words. They are mainly used for 'mensurality' and 'sortality.'

Bhujel is a consistently ergative-absolutive language. It presents a rich case system. The nominals in Bhujel may be inflected for a number of cases. They are marked in two ways: case clitics and postpositions. Case clitics in Bhujel include absolutive, instrumental /ergative, dative, commitative, ablative, genitive, locative, allative and inessive. Apart from the case clitics (morphologically bound forms) the postpositions also mark the cases in Bhujel. Bhujel lacks an indefinite article. Indefiniteness is indicated by [± human] classifiers. Bhujel employs demonstrative pronouns, word order and dative case in non-human and inanimate nouns to signal the definite reference. Bhujel shows two derivational processes: nominalization and

compounding. Bhujel contains two types of personal pronouns: 'free'' and 'bound'. Free personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas bound pronouns are verb suffixes. 'Free' personal pronouns show three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions. Bound forms show inclusive/exclusive distinction. The language also has pro-forms such as demonstratives/ definite pronouns, interrogatives/indefinite pronouns, possessives and reflexives. Bhujel presents a rich class of derived adjectives, mainly from the verbs. The main function of the adjectives is to state a property of something and specify the referent of the head noun. The adjectives can be used either predicatively or attributively in Bhujel.

Tense, aspect and modality are marked by separate morphemes or by the same morphemes in the complex of the verb. Bhujel verbs inflect for two tense categories: past and non-past. The category of past tense is further subcategorized in terms of the remoteness of time into past and remote past. There are two aspects in Bhujel: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into past-perfective (simple past-perfective vs. remote past-perfective), perfect, inceptive, completive. Similarly, the imperfective aspect in Bhujel can be further sub-categorized into durative and habitual. The epistemic modality of evidentiality is encoded in the verb by the tense markers. Verb agreement is based on the hierarchy of the participants. Unlike in Kirati languages the direct marking is extended to the 2nd person marking as well. The direct marker and tense markers are neutralized in the negative construction. The Bhujel verbs also show non-finite verb morphology as well.

Bhujel presents semantically six types of adverbs: manner, time, and place, instrument, epistemic and expressive. Structurally, they can be categorized as a bound morpheme, independent word, derived, and syntactic construction. The adverb can modify verb, adverb or adjective in Bhujel. Except the adverbs in the form of bound morpheme and syntactic construction they are placed immediately before the verb, another adverb or adjective. However, in terms of position the adverbs are most unrestricted grammatical category in Bhujel.

1.3.1.4 Syntactic features

SOV is the basic order in Bhujel. It shows eight types of basic clauses. The verbs used in the basic clauses constitute four classes: copular, simple intransitive, simple

transitive and bi-transitive. This order is relatively free. The constituents may be permuted from their stipulated positions within the clause to a great extent for topicalization and focusing. A noun may be optionally preceded by pre-nominal modifiers. Post- modification is not productive in Bhujel. Unlike the constituents of the clause the linear ordering of the pre-modifiers in NP is fixed. A verb can be affixed by tense, aspect, modality and other elements such as number and person markers, evidential markers, converb and causative markers, adverbs, negation, etc. They are arranged in a particular sequence. However, the sequence of these elements varies across the constrictions. Bhujel exhibits a complex agreement pattern. This is based on hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2→3. Moreover, this agreement is with first or second person in preference to third, and with the object where both participants are first or second person. In a transitive configuration of 1→3 or 3→1 yields first person agreement (the highest ranking participant), and a configuration of 2→3 or 3→2 yields second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant). In Bhujel even a second, "non-ranking" participant is also admitted into the verbal paradigms, usually number, in order to reduce the ambiguity between patient and agent. Bhujel employs the non-finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage. It uses both sequential and simultaneous types of converbs. The inter-clausal linkage is handled by verbal affixes. The morphemes which are used to nominalize the verbs are used to construct the relative clauses in Bhujel. A coordinating construction consists of two or more coordinands i.e. coordinated phrases. They may be coordinated by one or more coordinators. They may be simply juxtaposed without any coordinators.

1.1.4 Demography

According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, this language is spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1, 17,568 ethnic Bhujel (Gurung et al. 2006)[3]. The Bhujel are found living in 57 districts of Nepal. It has also been reported that the Bhujel also live in Sikkim and different parts of India in a good number.[4] However, the mother tongue speakers are confined to twenty districts of Nepal. The Census also reports that the only 9.1% of the total Bhujel population speak this language as the mother tongue. Table 1.5 shows the major distribution of the Bhujel speakers in Nepal.

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[3] Moreover, there occurs inconsistency in between the total number of speakers recorded by the Census of Nepal, 2001 and the number of the Bhujel speakers in Tanahun based on the field study (Regmi, 2007).

[4] On the basis of the personal communication with a group of Bhujel who came to Nepal in March, 2005 for the study of socio-culture of the Bhujel living in the Tanahu District of Western Nepal

Table 1.5: Distribution of the Bhujel language in Nepal

	Districts	Number	%
1	Morang	9758	90.92
2	Tanahun	478	4.45
3	Panchthar	151	1.41
4	Sunsari	122	1.14
5	Gorkha	59	0.55
6	Jhapa	47	0.44
7	Kathmandu	22	0.20
8	Taplejung	12	0.11
9	Khotang	12	0.11
10	Sankhuwasabha	11	0.10
11	Chitwan	12	0.11
12	Bara	10	0.09
13	Kaski	6	0.06
14	Solukhumbu	6	0.06
15	Nawalparasi	5	0.05
16	Terhathum	5	0.05
17	Kailali	5	0.05
18	Dhanusha	3	0.03
19	Saptari	3	0.03
20	Okhaldhunga	1	0.01
	Total	10733	100

Source: Population Census 2001

Table 1.5 shows that 90.92% of the total speakers lives in Morang district. However, in reality no Bhujel is reported to speak this language in Morang. According to field study, around 72% of the total population of the Bhujel speaking areas in Tanahun speaks the Bhujel language as the mother tongue. However, the Census of Nepal, 2001 shows that only 8.82% of the Bhujel in Tanahun speak this language.[5] Map 1.1 shows the geographical distribution of the Bhujel language in Nepal.

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[5] There were mainly two reasons for this: the first was that the enumerator did not bother to ask the person what his/ her mother tongue was and the second was that the speakers were not conscious about recording their mother tongue with their names.
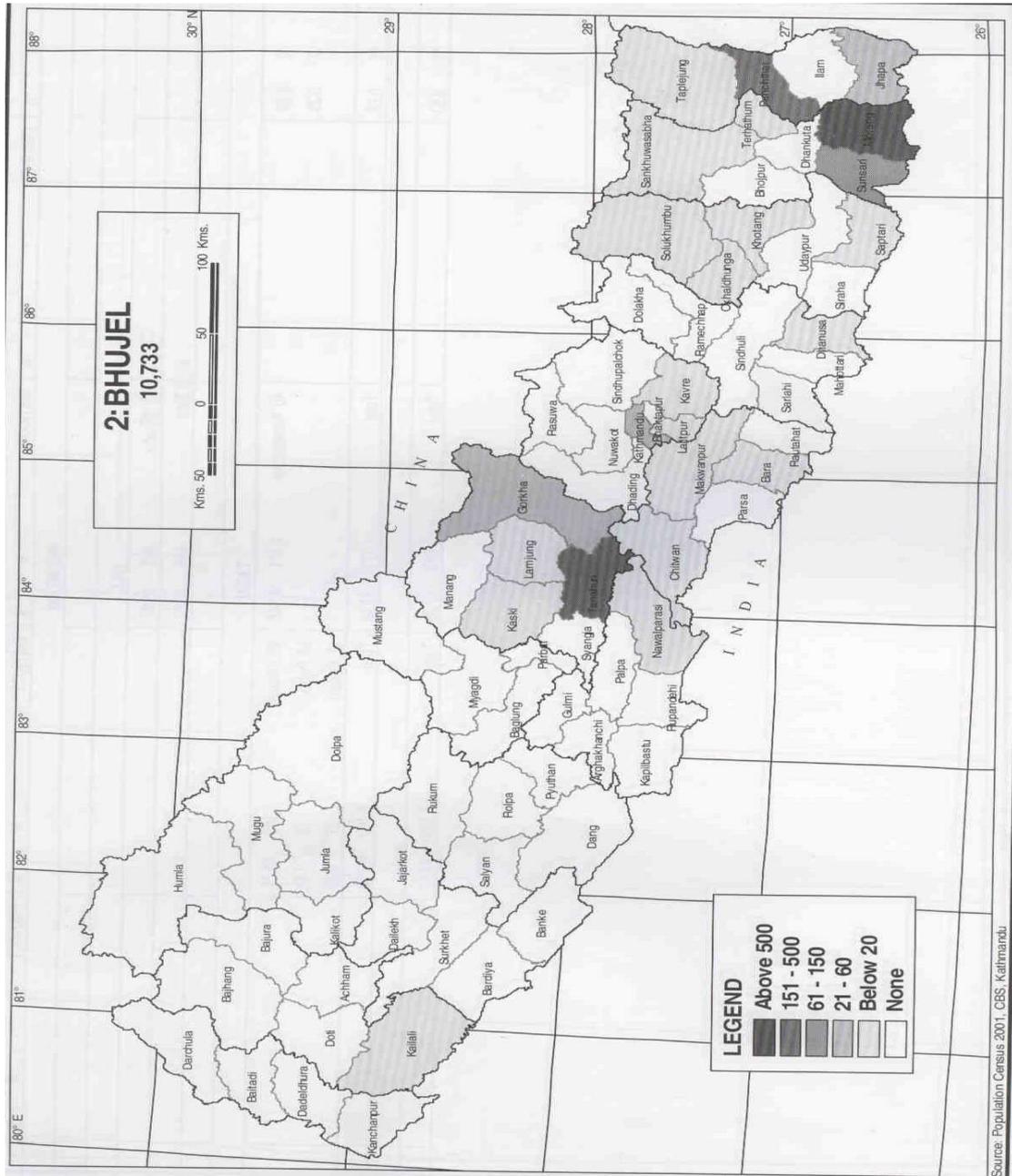
Map 1.1: The geographical distribution of the Bhujel language in Nepal

1.1.5 Genetic classification

There are divergent views about the genetic classification of this language. According to Bradley (2000:81) Chepang, Bujheli and Banakariya are distinct languages and they form a cluster: Chepang-Bujheli-Banakariya under Himalayan sub-branch of Western Tibeto-Burman branch of Tibeto-Burman family. According to Moseley (2007:323) Bhujeli, a severely endangered language of the world, belongs to Chepangic branch of Tibeto-Burman language. However, Regmi (2007) notes   that

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Bhujel belongs to the east Himalayish languages of Himalayish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family because it exhibits a complex verb morphology indexing person, number and hierarchy of the speech act participants in the complex of the verb. According to Lewis (2009), Bhujel, closely related to Chepang, belongs to a member of the cluster of Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari under Mahakiranti section of Himalayish branch of Tibeto-Burman language family. Typologically, it is one of the "pronominalizing" languages of Nepal, carrying person and number indices in the verb, sometimes for the agent participant and sometimes for the patient but usually not for both (Watters and Regmi, 2005). Regmi (2007) has proposed a genetic classification of Bhujel, slightly adapted from Bradley (2000).

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                    TIBETO-BURMAN
                          |
                        BODIC
                       /      \
                  BODISH      HIMALAYISH
                             /     |      \
      WEST HIMALAYISH   CENTRAL HIMALAYISH   EAST HIMALAYISH
      /    /    /    |    \              /    |    \
  Kham Magar Chepang Raute Newar    Hayu  Bhujel  Other Kirati languages
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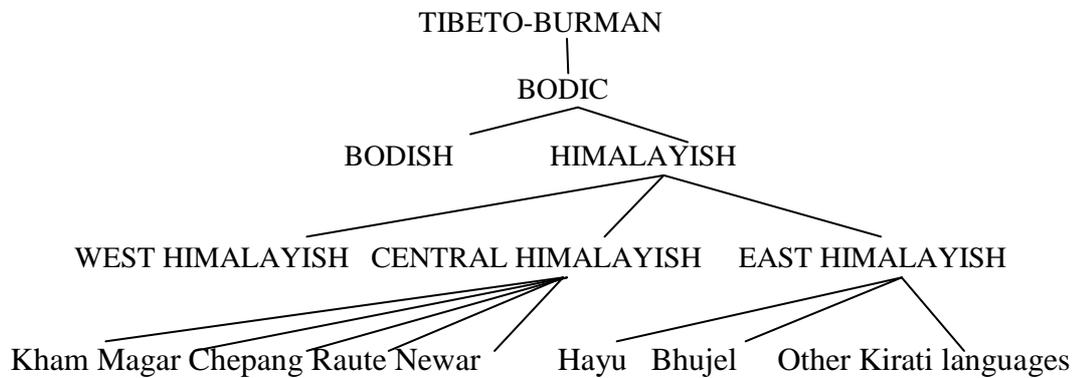
Figure 1.1: Genetic classification of Bhujel

1.1.6 Review of earlier works

Bhujel was unknown to the world till 1982 when Caughley, for the first time, informed about the Bhujel people and their language. He identified the Bhujel as another group of Chepang living across the Narayani River to the west and their language as *Gharti* considering Bhujel as a sub-dialect of western dialect of Chepang. Almost two decades later, in 1999, he carried out a field study of the Bhujel language in Tanahun and made a comparison between Chepang and Bujheli in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon and claimed that there is 98% similarity between Bujheli and Chepang in terms of lexicon. He has also discovered many similarities as well as differences between the two languages in the domains of phonology, syntax and semantics.

Ukyab and Adhikary (2000) have simply presented an ethnological introduction of the Bhujel people with reference to their ancestral place, *Bhuji* area in Baglung. They

have noted that Bhujel are close to the Magar. However, linguistically they differ from the Magar. The religion and culture of these people are close to extinction, and the Hindu influences have been encroaching on their ways of life. In religious matters they have affinities with the Magar while in language they are closer to the Chepang. They further have noted that the same ethnic group is known somewhere as Bhujel and somewhere as Ghatri. The Bhujel are engaged in farming and in domestic chores. Despite the fact that the description is sketchy, it has provided some authentic information about the Bhujel and their culture.

Grimes (2000) provides information not only on the ecology of the areas where the Bhujel live but also on the ethnology of the Bhujel. Bhujel live in tropical to subtropical zones in mountain slope ranging from 450 to 1,500 meters and follow traditional Hindu religion and cultures. Presenting some of the major typological features it admits that Bhujel differs from the Chepang in the domain of morphology. Bhujel, a living Tibeto-Burman 'pronominalizing' language, is a member of Himalayish forming Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari cluster. Some prominent features of the Bhujel language include SOV word order, prenominal position of genitives, adjectives, numerals and relative clauses, complex verb morphology, the noun phrases affixed with case inflections, the use of postpositions and morphological causatives. Many features have been attested in the study. However, tone which has been supposed as one of the features of the language has not been attested in the form of the language under study.

van Driem (2001) has provided an ethnolinguistic survey of the Bhujel and their language . Following Caughley (1999) he notes that 'Bujheli' which is spoken by between two and five thousand speakers of Chepang residing in Tanahun district to the west of Narayani River, is not an independent language. He claims that it is a dialect of Chepang. He further notes that these Chepang speakers call their language Bhujeli and call themselves Gharti. He adds that the Bhujeli speaking Gharti may be the descendents of a Kham Magar group that settled in the low hills and assimilated linguistically to the Chepang. They are separated from their ethnolinguistic brethren by the mighty Narayani River. Much of the information seems not only controversial but also disparaging the ethnic identity of the Bhujel.

Bhujel and Tamang (2001) provides a comprehensive introduction to the Bhujel people, their history, their settlements, their skills and occupations, their religion, their

rites and rituals, festivals, costume and culture. This study identifies Bhujel as one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who have been living in different parts, mainly Baglung and Tanahun districts, of Nepal from time memorable. They have their own history, traditions and cultures. The Bhujel living in Tanahun district only have their language. It is called the Bhujel language. The term 'Bhujel' has been used as a cover term which includes Bhujel, Gharti and Khabas. They claim that the Bhujel had their independent state in Dhor region. The history says that in 1372 V.S they were defeated and divorced from the state by the successors of Dugar Singh Malla, who had established Galkot and Rukum states. This incident brought a turning point in the life of the Bhujel. Some of them lived their life as captives and many of them fled in small groups to different parts of Nepal. This study envisages that a small group of Bhujel in search of a secluded place where they could save their life and prestige happened to come to rugged   and remote parts of Tanahun. They have been living in these parts since then. This study comes to conclude that the ancestral place of the Bhujel is Bhuji region, which lies to the western part of Baglung district. As to the naming of the Bhujel they come to posit that the people living on the banks of Bhuji River were called as Bhujel. So is the case with other nationalities of Nepal. At present they have been living in different districts of Nepal. The main settlements of the Bhujel are in Palpa, Tanahun, Kaski, Baglung, Gorkha, Lamjung and Syangja. Only the Bhujel living in Tanahun district can speak their language. This study argues that the Bhujel and Chepang are not ethnically related. Rather they may be related to Magar since there is very close affinity between Magar and Bhujel in religion, cultures and traditions.

Bhujel are the marginalized ethnic group of Nepal. Most of them are illiterate. The Bhujel in Tanahun make different household articles from the splits of bamboos. They also weave cloth for their own use. They are also engaged in farming. They are Hindu by religion. The Bhujel follow most of the Hindu cultures and traditions. They celebrate the national festivals like Dashain and Tihar. As a local festival they celebrate Chandi every year on the birth day of Lord Buddha. Superstitions are deep-rooted in the society. This study though mainly based on the views of the people has laid a strong foundation for the further sociological and anthropological study of the speech community.

Bradley (2002) has also identified the Bhujel as Bujheli. However, unlike van Driem and Caughley he   has identified their language as a distinct language like Chepang and Banakariya. He further notes that Bhujeli might make a cluster with Chepang and Banakariya under Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.

Regmi and Subba (2005) provides a very short introduction to the people and the language.

According to Gordon (2005) the total population of Bhujel was 5000 in 1998. It reached 117,568 in the Census of 2001. The Bhujel live in the southern side of Chimkesori Peak, behind Yangchok in the eastern Tanahun, Gandaki Zone. They are separated from the Chepang by the Trisuli (Narayani) River. He provides alternate names of as Gharti, Bujhel, Bujal, and Western Chepang. It is one of the dialects of Chepang. Only the pronominal affix differences hinder intelligibility. He further notes that   it more like the East Himalayish languages. There is 98% lexical similarity with Chepang. He classifies Bhujel as: Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish, Mahakiranti, Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari, Chepang. Gurung at al. (2006) provides the linguistic map of the Bhujel language based on the data provided by the Census of Nepal 2001.

Regmi (2007) provides a short sociolinguistic context of the language with a limited data collected in a few villages of Bhujel speech community.

1.2   Purpose and goals

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

  a) To examine the   dialectal   variation   by assessing the levels of lexical similarity and the levels of intelligibility among the selected varieties in the language;

  b) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;

  c) To   assess   the mother tongue proficiency   and extent of community bilingualism of Bhujel speakers in standard Nepali;

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

e) To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Bhujel.

1.3 Other relevant information

Devanagari scripts with a slight adaptation have been proposed for Bhujel. As medium textbooks for class one and as subject for one to three have been recently prepared following the basic principles of mother-tongue based multilingual education. Apart from these, very recently a grammar in Bhujel (in Nepali) and analyzed texts have also been published. A dictionary project is going on in this language.

1.4 Organization of the report

The survey report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Chapter 3 examines the possible dialectal variations in Bhujel. In chapter 4, we look at the major domains of language use. Chapter 5 evaluates the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Bhujel. In chapter 6, we look at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Bhujel in three sections. Chapter 7 discusses language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Bhujel. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annex includes phonetic symbols, word lists, Recorded Text Test (RTT), Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) and sociolinguistic questionnaire.

1.5 Summary

In this chapter, we identified Bhujel as an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language mainly spoken in some areas along the Mahabharata mountain range and in some adjacent parts of Tanahun particularly in Nawalparasi, Chitwan and Gorkha districts of Nepal. We also saw that Bhujel have been identified in different places in different names. Moreover, they have been divided into seventeen clans in Tanahun. Religiously most of the Bhujel follow Hinduism. Nowadays, a large percentage of the population has shifted to Christianity. Around sixty percentage of the population is deprived of education. Occupationally, they are agriculturists. Nowadays, especially in Tanahun, the most favored profession is bamboo work. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 79.69% of the Bhujel mother tongue speakers are bilingual in Nepali.

Bhujel belongs to the east Himalayish languages of Himalayish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family because it exhibits a complex verb morphology indexing person, number and hierarchy of the speech act participants in the complex of the verb. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, this language is spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1, 17,568 ethnic Bhujel. The mother tongue speakers are confined to twenty districts of Nepal. The Census also reports that the only 9.1%of the total Bhujel population speak this language as the mother tongue. In this chapter, we have tried to review the earlier works about the language. Besides, we have set the purpose and goals of the study including the other relevant information about the language.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

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

2.2 Overview

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

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

	GOALS OF THE SURVEY	RESEARCH METHODS/ TOOLS	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	FOCUS OF THE METHODS/TOOLS
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Bhujel;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	• Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language vitality • Language maintenance • Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	• Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	• Language attitudes • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language
1.3	To evaluate the level and extent of community bilingualism of Bhujel speakers in standard Nepali; and	Nepali Sentence Repetition Test (SRT)	A 15-sentence test to determine the level of bilingualism	Nepali bilingualism among Bhujel speakers in the survey points
1.4	To investigate the levels of intelligibility between selected varieties in Bhujel.	Recorded Text Tests (RTT)	Recorded stories with 15 questions about the story inserted	Intelligibility between selected varieties of Bhujel

2.3   Research methods/tools

2.3.1   Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ): Description, purpose and procedure

There have been employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaire in this survey.

2.3.1.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to   the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather

information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, 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 Bhujel speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point (i.e. Kulmun, a village located in Deurali VDC, 6) to the north: Andimul(Anbukhaireni VDC 1, Tanahun); far north: Beltar (Gaikhur VDC, 9, Gorkha); to west : Baniyatar (Ghansikuwa VDC 1, Tanahun); far west: Arthumpka (Bandipur VDC 2, Tanahun); far south: Dhodeni (Gaindakot VDC 3, Nawalparasi) and far east: Chanaute (Chandibhanjyang VDC 9, Chitwan). Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey points.[1] Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Bhujel speech community.

SAMPLING MODEL OF INFORMANTS IN SURVEY POINT X

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

Figure 2.1: Sampling model of informants in survey points

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

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

2.3.1.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

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

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

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

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

c) The participants must be grown up in the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

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

2.3.1.2.1 Domains of Language Use (DLU)

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Bhujel community members to think about and visualize the languages which Bhujel people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Bhujel participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they speak Bhujel and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Bhujel. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Bhujel and both Nepali and Bhujel. Next they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the

situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

2.3.1.2.2 Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of Dialect Mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Bhujel. The Bhujel participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Bhujel is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

2.3.1.2.3 Bilingualism/Multilingualism

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

2.3.1.4 Appreciative inquiry

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

their language or culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

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

2.3.1.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

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

2.3.2 Word list comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist is to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from the mother tongue Bhujel 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 points, at least six informants representative of different age, sex and educational status were chosen as the word list source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Bhujel as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

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

Bhujel. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.3.3 Sentence Repetition Test (SRT): Description, purpose and procedure

Sentence Repetition Testing (SRT) was used to measure levels of competence in Nepali, the language of wider communication in Bhujel community. The main assumption of this tool is that that one cannot correctly repeat long complicated utterances which one does not understand. This tool is relatively new, but is sufficiently well tested to be incorporated as part of a strategy for intelligibility survey. Sentences were played in Nepali and the informants were tested to repeat these sentences. When a sufficient sample is tested in a location, community bilingualism levels can then be assessed based on how well the sentences are repeated by the informants.

A total of 18 Nepali sentences were played. Three of the questions were for practice and 15 were for testing. After each sentence was played, the informants repeated the sentence. The researchers noted down any errors in the repetition. The informants' repetitions of the sentences were recorded and later checked to ensure accurate scoring. As far as possible, informants were chosen who had different combinations of the variables such as age, sex and education. These variables influence levels of bilingualism. A minimum of five informants for each combination of demographic variables was needed in order to make statistically valid statements about the results. This tool provides the assessment of a community's bilingualism profile in a short time. However, this tool is not a comprehensive test of a person's bilingual abilities and does not fully distinguish among higher levels of bilingualism.

2.3.4 Recorded Text Test (RTT): Description, purpose and procedure

Recorded Text Test (RTT) is used to determine the levels of intelligibility that obtain among language groups. In this technique, first, the valid tests are constructed. Secondly, they are administered to a representative sampling of speakers in each language community under study.

A recorded story with questions inserted was played for speakers of selected Bhujel varieties in order to determine intelligibility among the varieties. Stories were collected from selected locations representing the two main Bhujel dialect areas. The researchers then developed questions about the stories from each location and inserted

them into the stories for testing. The two stories were then played to informants in both dialect areas. In each location, the story from the informants' own dialect was played first followed by the story from the other dialect. The questions in both stories were always in the informants' own dialect. The first story acted as a control test in order to verify that the informants understood the testing method. Each person was given a score based on how many questions were answered correctly. A higher RTT score indicates a higher degree of comprehension.

Village sites were chosen based primarily on the percentages of lexical similarity between the two dialect areas, which was determined by word list analysis. In order to get a range of different informants, people with differing combinations of three variables (education, age, and gender) were chosen to take the RTTs. A minimum of ten people was needed in each location in order to complete the sample.This technique is relatively easy to administer. It provides a more accurate measure of intelligibility than simply using word lists. However, it only measures the comprehension of narrative speech in the language.

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

2.4.1 Survey points

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

Table 2.2: Survey points used in Bhujel

	Survey points	Point types	VDCs	GPS coordinates
1	Kulmun	Core	Deurali-6, Tanahun	[084^0 26′49.1″ E; 027^0 51′59.6″ N]
2	Arthumka	Far west	Bandipur-2, Tanahun	[084^0 22′05.5″ E; 027^0 54′56.0″ N]
3	Andimul	North	Anbukhaireni-1, Tanahun	[084^0 26′38.6″ E; 027^0 55′56.7″ N]
4	Baniyatar	West	Ghansikuwa-1, Tanahun	[084^0 23′00.8″ E; 027^0 58′34.6″ N]
5	Dhodeni	Far south	Gaindakot-3, Nawalparasi	[084^0 23′24.1″ E; 027^0 44′51.2″ N]
6	Chanaute	Far east	Chandibhanjyang-9, Chitwan	[084^0 32′30.4″ E; 027^0 48′35.4″ N]
7	Beltar	Far north	Gaikhur-9, Gorkha	[084^0 28′38.4″ E; 028^0 01′27.4″ N]

Table 2.2 shows that the survey was conducted in four districts, namely, Tahanun, Nawalparasi, Chitwan and Gorkha. Kulmun was selected as a core point of survey, because it is an origin point of all the seven areas of the Bhujel. Andimul was selected as a point of survey (north point) because it is a big settlement of the speakers of Bhujel in Tahanun. Similarly, Baniyatar, located in Ward No. 1 of Ghansikuwa VDC, Tanahun selected as a west survey point because it represents the area where the language varies from other points significantly. The core point was selected on the basis of the previous research in Bhujel (Regmi, 2007) and consultation with the key informants and the speech community. Other points were selected mainly as per the criteria and methodology of the survey.[2]

2.4.2 Sample size

Table 2.3 presents the sample size and different tools used in the survey.

Table 2.3 Sample size and different tools used in the survey

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires		
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory): DLU, DLM, MLT, APE	C (Language activist/head)
Core	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far north	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far south	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far west	12	1+1+1+1	2
Far east	12	1+1+1+1	2
Total	60	20	12

DLU= domains of language use, DLM= dialect mapping, MLT: multilingualism, APE= appreciative inquiry

2.4.3 Data collection

Table 2.4 presents the total number of the data collected by using different tools in survey points in Bhujel.

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[2] GPS (global positioning system) has also been used to mark the survey points in the study.

Table 2.4: Total number of the data collected in the survey points in Bhujel

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic questionnaires		
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory)	C (Language activists/head)
Kulmun	12	1+1+1+1	2
Arthumka	12	1+1+1+1	2
Andimul	12	1+1+1+1	2
Baniyatar	13	1+1+1+1	2
Dhodeni	12	1+1+1+1	2
Chanaute	12	1+1+1+1	2
Beltar	12	1+1+1	2
Total	85	27	14

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

The survey was conducted in seven points of four districts for the period of a month. Most of the points were deprived of transportation and communication. Even in Tanahun, Bhujel have been reported living in many inaccessible parts. Especially, it was very difficult to gather and find the people satisfying all the criteria for the qualified informants for the collection of the data. We used manly 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. Sentence repetition test (RTT) and recorded text test (RRT) were administered to a limited number of informants and survey points.

CHAPTER 3

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

3.1 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to look at the dialectal variations in Bhujel. Basically three tools were used for this purpose. They include Wordlist Comparison, Recorded Text Test (RTT) and Dialect Mapping. This chapter is organized into five sections. Section 3.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Bhujel.[1] In section 3.3, we discuss the results of Recorded Text Test (RTT) in Bhujel. Section 3.4 discusses the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. In section 3.5, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Bhujel speech varieties the word lists represent. In this section, we deal with the methodology of lexical similarity study and present the lexical similarity study results.

3.2.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages in Bhujel and Chepang, a "closely related" language.

3.2.1.1 Data

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

Table 3.1 presents the key locations   selected from the four districts, namely, Tahanun, Nawalparasi, Chitwan and Gorkha for the word survey in Bhujel.

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[1] Regmi (2007) has identified four major dialects of Bhujel, namely, eastern, north-western, mid-western and southern dialect. The eastern dialect includes the form of the language spoken in Andimul village (Ward No 1 of Anbukhaireni Village Development Committee and partly under Ward No 8 of Bandipur Village Development Committee) and Kulmun village (Ward No 6, Deurali VDC). The north-western dialect incorporates the form of the language spoken in Baniyatar village (Ward No 1, Ghasikuwa VDC) whereas the mid-western dialect includes the form of the language spoken in Purlung and Kaphalswanra villages in Dharampani VDC. The southern dialect embodies the form of the language spoken in Pipaltar villages in Devaghat VDC. These dialects were identified by comparing the form of the words based on Swadesh 100 wordlist.

Table 3.1: Key locations of word survey in Bhujel

	KEY POINTS	POINT TYPES	VDCs	WARDS	DISTRICT/S	ZONE
1	Kulmun	Core point	Deurali	6	Tanahun	Gandaki
2	Arthumka	Far west	Bandipur	2	Tanahun	Gandaki
3	Andimul	North	Anbukhaireni	1	Tanahun	Gandaki
4	Baniyatar	West	Ghansikuwa	1	Tanahun	Gandaki
5	Dhodeni	Far south	Gaindakot	3	Nawalparasi	Lumbini
6	Chanaute	Far east	Chandibhanjyang	9	Chitwan	Narayani
7	Beltar	Far north	Gaikhur	9	Gorkha	Gandaki

In each key point, at least five sets of wordlists were administered; at least one set was recorded for further confirmation about the phonetic properties of the words compared.

The standardized wordlists of 210 words in Chepang were collected from different key points. However, the wordlists collected from the native speakers of Maisarang located Kankada VDC-4, Makawanpur, have been employed in the comparison. Moreover, Maisarang represents a core point in terms of the population, use of the language and the general view of original settlement of Chepang.

3.2.1.2 Tool

WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationships between the Bhujel and Chepang.[2]

3.2.1.3 Calculation and evaluation criteria

No sooner the entry of words from each key point is over, the words from the selected wordlist are aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages are calculated in WordSurv. The 60% has been generally used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity.

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

Table 3.2 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 3.2: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

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

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

3.2.3 Lexical similarity among the key points in Bhujel

Kulmun, as mentioned in Table 3.1, has been taken as the core point among the key points in Bhujel.[3] The other key points include Andimul, Arthumpka, Baniyatar, Beltar, Chanaute and Dhodeni. It is to be noted that except Chanaute, the rest of the key points, were new settlements of Bhujel originally migrated from Kulmun in different times. These key points exhibit different degrees of lexical similarity with the core point, Kulmun, a village located in ward No 6, Deurali VDC, Tanahun. Table 3.3 presents the percentages of lexical similarity among key points in Bhujel.

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[3] The point was selected on the basis of previous study, mainly Regmi (2007) and with the consultation of elderly members of speech community of Bhujel in different core points.

Table 3.3: Percentages of lexical similarity among the key points in Bhujel

VARIETIES/ KEY POINTS	ANDIMUL	ARTHU MPKA	BANIYA TAR	BELTAR	CHANA UTE	DHO DENI	KULMUN
ANDIMUL	100%	76%	79%	70%	62%	73%	75%
ARTHUMKA	76%	100%	74%	75%	67%	71%	79%
BANIYATAR	79%	74%	100%	73%	65%	78%	72%
BELTAR	70%	75%	73%	100%	66%	71%	73%
CHANAUTE	62%	67%	65%	66%	100%	63%	64%
DHODENI	73%	71%	78%	71%	63%	100%	71%
KULMUN	75%	79%	72%	73%	64%	71%	100%

Table 3.3 shows that the other key points present lexical similarity at the minimum 64%   and at the maximum 79% with the core point, Kulmun. In other words, the core point shows the lexical similarity with the other key points ranging from 64% to 79%. The lexical similarity percentages exhibit some information about the present picture of the Bhujel language.

Among other key points, Arthumka located in ward No.2, Bandipur VDC is evaluated to have the greatest degree of lexical similarity, i.e. 79 % with Kulmun. Arthumka is the most recent settlement of the Bhujel migrated from Kulmun in a big group.
Similarly, Andimul, located in ward No.1, Anbukhaireni VDC and 8, Bandipur VDC is evaluated to have the second greatest degree of lexical similarity, i.e. 75 % with Kulmun.

It is reported that some Bhujel from Kulmun were brought as labors in the construction of Prithvi Highway around four decades ago. They settled in Andimul. The migration was accelerated later basically by two reasons. The first was that Andimul was facilitated with road transportation. It is just half an hour walk from the main road. The second reason was that Andimul was much better than Kulmun for cultivation and settlement. Gradually, many Bhujel migrated from Kulmun to this place in a large number. At present, Andimul is the largest settlement of Bhujel in Tanahun so far as the mother tongue is concerned.

So far as Chanaute, a village in ward No 7, Chandibhanjyang VDC, Chittawan, is concerned, it is evaluated to have the least degree of lexical similarity, i.e. 64% with the core point. It lies to the far east of the core point separated by the Narayani River.

The Bhujel in this point are in small number most dominated either by Nepali or Chepang.

Similarly, Beltar, a village in ward No 9, Gaikhur VDC, Gorkha, is reported to have settled by the Bhujel mainly migrated from Kulmun and some from Andumul nearly thirty years ago. Thus, Beltar is evaluated to have a bit more percentages of lexical similarity with Kulmun (i.e. 73%) than with Andimul (i.e. 70%). Interestingly, Beltar is most close to Arthumka in terms of word survey. It is reported that Baniyatar, Gorkha, and Dhodeni, Nawalparasi were settled by the Bhujel from the original place in almost the same times. Thus, they have been evaluated to have the almost the same percentages of lexical similarity with the core point.

On the basis of evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists we can simply make a tentative conclusion that speech varieties in selected key points are the 'dialects' of Bhujel. Normally percentages higher than 85% are taken as the indicators to conclude that the speech varieties being compared are likely to be related dialects. Until RTT (recorded text test) for testing mutual intelligibility is properly administered in the key points, it is too hasty to come to the conclusion. However, we can surmise that Bhujel lacks dialects at present. The lexical similarity percentages presented in Table 3.3 can be presented in Figure 3.1.
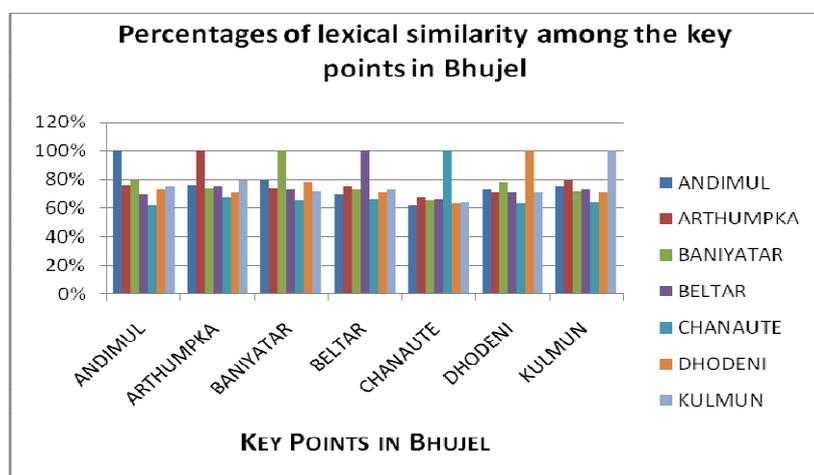
Figure 3.1: Lexical similarity percentages among the Bhujel survey key points

3.2.4 Lexical similarity between Bhujel and Chepang

Prior to the census of Nepal, 2001, Bhujel was considered as a sub-dialect of western dialect of Chepang and its speakers as *Gharti* (Caughley, 1982). Bhujel speakers were identified as another group of Chepang living across the Narayani River to the west. There has been claimed 98% similarity between Bujheli and Chepang in the domain

of lexicon (Caughley, 1999). However, the present study shows a quite different picture of the situation.

Table 3.4 presents the percentages of lexical similarity between different speech varieties of Bhujel and Chepang.

Table 3.4: Percentages of lexical similarity between Bhujel and Chepang

VARIETIES/ KEY POINTS	ANDIMUL	ARTHU MPKA	BANIYA TAR	BELTAR	CHANA UTE	DHO DENI	KULMUN	CHEPANG
ANDIMUL	100%	76%	79%	70%	62%	73%	75%	34%
ARTHUMKA	76%	100%	74%	75%	67%	71%	79%	34%
BANIYATAR	79%	74%	100%	73%	65%	78%	72%	33%
BELTAR	70%	75%	73%	100%	66%	71%	73%	32%
CHANAUTE	62%	67%	65%	66%	100%	63%	64%	32%
DHODENI	73%	71%	78%	71%	63%	100%	71%	33%
KULMUN	75%	79%	72%	73%	64%	71%	100%	33%
CHEPANG	34%	34%	33%	32%	32%	33%	33%	100%

Table 3.4 shows that Chepang has a smaller degree (ranging from 32% to 34%) of lexical similarity with the different key points in Bhujel. Following the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages presented in Table 3.2, it is clear that Bhujel cannot be considered as a dialect of Chepang despite that fact that they were descended from the same parents. The Percentages of lexical similarity between Bhujel and Chepang are presented in Figure 3.2.
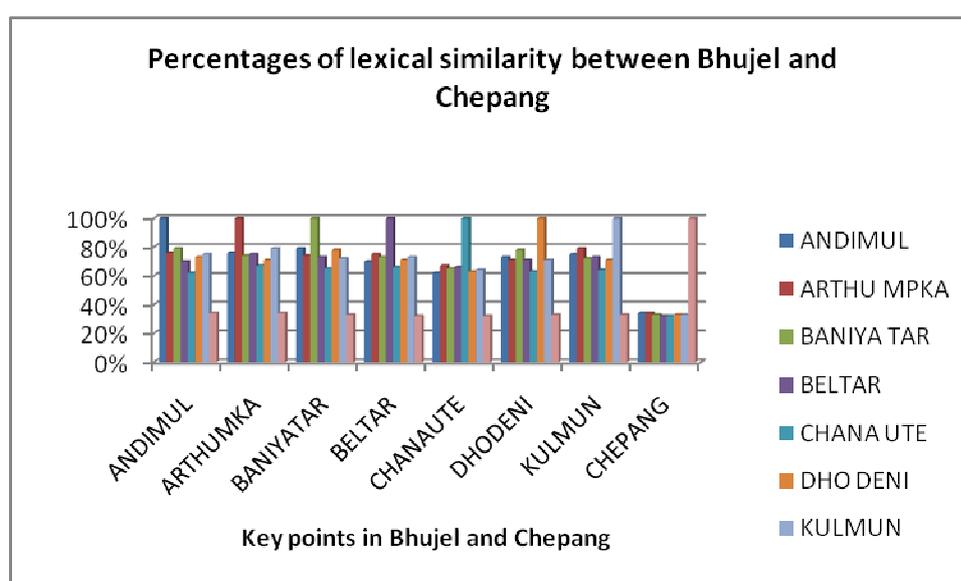
Figure 3.2: Percentages of lexical similarity between Bhujel and Chepang

3.3 Recorded Text Test (RTT)

3.3.1 Overview

In section 3.2 we presented wordlist comparison results in Bhujel. The comparison has shown that there is more than 60% lexical similarity among the key points in Bhujel. Thus, suggested that RTT (recorded text test) for testing mutual intelligibility be conducted administered in the key points in Bhujel.

Recorded text test (RTT) is a tool for measuring the inherent intelligibility between the related dialects of a language (Casad, 1974). In Bhujel, an attempt was made to conduct RTT in some selected points by constructing a valid test to a representative sampling of speakers in the community. As mentioned in section 2.2.4 a recorded story with of 15 questions inserted was played for speakers of the selected points. The stories were collected from three locations, namely, Andimul, Kulmun and Baniyatar. The questions about the stories from each location were developed and inserted them into the stories for testing. In these locations, two stories were played to informants. First, the story from the informants' own location was played, then it was followed by the story from the other dialect. The questions in both stories were always in the informants' own dialect. The first story acted as a control test in order to verify that the informants understood the testing method. Each person received a score on the basis of the right answers s/he made. In order to maintain the sampling demographically valid the variables such as education, age, and gender were taken into consideration.

In order to analyze RTT results the three calculations were made: sample size (total number of people who took the test), average score or mean (the average score of all the people on one test in one test site) and standard deviation (how much variation there is in a set of scores). The interpretation of RTT results was made looking at the average score and the standard deviation. Table 3.4 presents the basic criteria for the interpretation of the RTT scores in general.

Table 3.5: Basic criteria for the interpretation of the RTT scores in general

		STANDARD DEVIATION (SD)	
		HIGH (12-15 or greater)	LOW (10-12 or lower)
A V E R A G E SCORE (X)	HIGH (Greater than 80%)	SITUATION 1 Many people understand the recorded story well, but some have difficulty.	SITUATION 2 Most people understand the recorded story.
	LOW (Less than 60%)	SITUATION 3 Many people cannot understand the recorded story, but a few are able to answer correctly.	SITUATION 4 Few people are able to understand the recorded story.

Table 3.5 provides a basic guide for interpreting the RTT results. However, other information has to be considered along with the RTT results. Table 3.6 provides some working guidelines for interpretation of RTT results.

Table 3.6: Working guidelines for interpretation of RTT results

	AVERAGE SCORE	LEVEL OF COMPREHENSION	WHAT DOES IT SUGGEST?	REMARKS
1.	Less than around 60%	Inadequate comprehension	Need for separate language development program	
2.	Between 60-69% (in 60s%)	Very low comprehension	Likely to need separate language development	Other factors must be considered
3.	Between 60-80%	Relatively marginal comprehension	Might share the materials with necessary adaptation	Provided other factors are favorable
4.	Above 80% with a low standard deviation	Adequate comprehension	May have one program	Provided attitudes and other factors are positive
5.	Above 80% with a high standard deviation			Further consideration is needed

3.3.2 RTT results

The stories prepared with inserted 15 questions in the three reference points were played to the respective points as hometown tests then they were played to the

informants of other test points in Bhujel. Table 3.7 presents the average test scores with standard deviation in test points in Bhujel.[4]

Table 3.7: Recorded text test scores in test points in Bhujel

(Each question carries 3 marks)

			REFERENCE POINTS		
			ANDIMUL	**KULMUN**	**BANIYATAR**
T E S T	**ANDIMUL**	mean= st.dv= sample=	**45** **8.5** **10**	43.5 10.5 6	40 9.5 6
	ARTHUMKA	mean= st.dv= sample=	43.5 11..5 6	42.5 10.5 6	41 7.5 4
	BANIYATAR	mean= st.dv= sample=	42 12.5 8	41.5 13.5 6	**44** **9.5** **6**
P O I N T S	**BELTAR**	mean= st.dv= sample=	42 10.5 6	43 7.5 6	40 9.5 6
	CHANAUTE	mean= st.dv= sample=	39 13.5 4	38 14.5 6	38 9.5 6
	DHODENI	mean= st.dv= sample=	41 11.5 4	43.5 14.5 6	43 10.5 6
	KULMUN	mean= st.dv= sample=	44 7.5 8	**45.5** **7.5** **6**	42 6.5 4

Table 3.7 shows that except for Chanaute the average scores are higher than 80% with lower standard deviations. Thus, it indicates adequate comprehension among test points in Bhujel. In case of Chanaute, we can surmise that they may have relatively marginal comprehension.[5] As average scores are above 80% we can suggest a single language development program for Bhujel.

3.4 Dialect mapping

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

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[4] The full marks of the test are 45.
[5] Between the categories of high and low there are some percentages which are normally unaccounted for.

location. In common, the following name of the villages were recognized as Bhujel language speaking areas: Andimul, Arthumka, Aklang, Basinitar, Bagai, Beldanda, Beltar, Bagandi, Benikot, Baniyatar, Bedi, Bharle, Baralungbesi, Bhirthappla, Chinekharka, Chanaute, Chautara, Dodeni, Devaghat, Dhode, Dhaigaun, , Dumkin, Ghimireban, Hepchek, Jamdada, Jhankrithok, Kulmun, Kaphalshowara, Kotaghat, Kalikatar, Kedali, Kabilas, Lamidada, Markichok, Parlang, Piprang, Piughar, Purlung, Ratanpur, Sinarkhola, Setipar, Sahunetar, Thanshing, Thapakhola and Tuntes. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. In common, they recognized the following degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different villages:

Table 3.8: Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different villages

		Form of speech in Bhujel	
		GROPUP A	GROUP B
1	**KULMUN**	Beltar, Sinarkhola, Arthumka, Andimul, Dodeni	Parlang, Markichok, Basinitar, Kaphalshowara, Purlung
2	**ARTHUMKA**	Kulmun, Purlung, Parlang, Markichok, Kaphalshowara, Andimul, Baniyatar	Bagai, Kotaghat, Chnaute, Benikot Pauwakhola, Jalbhanjyang, Lamidanda
3	**ANDIMUL**	Sinarkhola, Kulmun, Parlang, Kaphalshowara, Purlung, Lamidada, Benikot, Baniyatar, Arthumka	Devghat, Kalikatar, Ghmireban
4	**BANIYATAR**	Lamidada, Baniyatar, Dhodeni, Parlang, Chnaute, Devghat, Dhode, Markichok, Andimul, Bhirthappla	Jhankrithok, Bedi, Kedali, Ratanpur, Piughar, Aklang, Chinekharka, Thanshing
5	**DHODENI**	Purlung, Kphalshowara, Parlang, Chnaute,Keladi	Setipar, Beldada, Bagai, Bagandi, Sahunetar
6	**CHNAUTE**	Andimul, Sinarkhola	Kabilas, Dhaigaun, Bharle, Baralungbesi, Thapakhola, ChautaraJamdada,Tuntes, Dumkin, Piprang,Hepchek
7	**BELTAR**	Andimul, Kulmun, Arthumka Beltar	Kphalshowara, Thanshing, Basinitar

Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly. Table 3.9 presents the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult in Bhujel.

Table 3.9: Ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult in Bhujel

		Ranking from easiest to most difficult		
		VERY WELL	AVERAGE	POORLY
1	**KULMUN**	Beltar, Sinarkhola, Arthumka, Andimul, Dodeni, Markichok, Basinitar, Kaphalshowara,	Parlang, Purlung	
2	**ARTHUMPKA**	Kulmun, Purlung, Parlang, Markichok, Kaphalshowara, Andimul, Baniyatar, Chnaute, Benikot Pauwakhola, Jalbhanjyang,	Bagai, Kotaghat, Lamidanda	
3	**ANDIMUL**	Sinarkhola, Kulmun, Parlang, Kaphalshowara, Purlung, Lamidada, Benikot, Baniyatar, Arthumka, Devghat, Kalikatar, Ghmireban		
4	**BANIYATAR**	Lamidada, Baniyatar, Dhodeni, Parlang, Chnaute, Devghat, Dhode, Markichok, Andimul, Bhirthappla, Ratanpur, Piughar, Aklang, Chinekharka, Thanshing	Jhankrithok, Bedi, Kedali	
5	**DHODENI**	Purlung, Kphalshowara, Parlang, Chnaute,Keladi, Setipar, Beldada, Bagai, Bagandi, Sahunetar		
6	**CHANAUTE**	Andimul, Sinarkhola	Kabilas, Dhaigaun, Bharle, Chautara, Baralungbesi, Thapakhola, Jamdada,Tuntes,	Dumkin, Piprang, Hepchek
7	**BELTAR**	Andimul, Kulmun, Arthumka, Thanshing, Beltar	Kaphalshowara, Basinitar	

In response to which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials, the informants in group in Andimul, Chnaute and Beltar responded that the form of

speech used in Andimul would be most preferable for them. However, Kulmun and Arthumpka preferred for Kulmun. Similarly, Baniyatar and Dhodeni responded that they would prefer Sinarkhola and Basenitar forms of speech for the purpose, respectively.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to examine the possible dialectal variations in Bhujel. The study,   on the basis of the comparison of standardized 210 wordlists by employing the computer program, WordSurv, shows that there is more than 60% and less than 85% of lexical similarity among the key points in Bhujel. With this fact we can argue that Bhujel does not have any dialect as such. However, it suggests that we administer RTT to test mutual intelligibility among the forms of the speech spoken in different key points in Bhujel. Chepang, a closely related language to Bhujel has a smaller degree (ranging from 32% to 34%) of lexical similarity with the different key points in Bhujel. This clearly indicates that Bhujel cannot be considered as a dialect of Chepang despite that fact that they were   descended from the same parents.

The recorded text test (RTT) shows that except for Chanaute the average scores are higher than 80% with lower standard deviations. Thus, it indicates that there is adequate comprehension among test points in Bhujel. As average scores are above 80% we can suggest a single language development program for Bhujel.   The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that except for a few places, they can easily understand the form of the speech. The informants in group in Andimul, Chnaute and Beltar responded that the form of speech used in Andimul would be most preferable for them. However, Kulmun and Arthumpka preferred for Kulmun. Similarly, Baniyatar and Dhodeni responded that they would prefer Sinarkhola and Basenitar forms of speech for the purpose, respectively.

CHAPTER 4

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

4.1 Outline

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

4.2 Patterns of language use in general domains

In this section, we examine the languages most frequently used by the Bhujel speakers in terms of sex, age, and literacy in different domains consisting of counting, singing, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Table 4.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Bhujel speakers in different domains by sex.

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

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

Domains	Sex					
	Male (N=40)			Female (N=42)		
	Nepali	Bhujel	Nepali and Bhujel	Nepali	Bhujel	Nepali and Bhujel
Counting	24 (60%)	7 (17.5%)	9 (24.5%)	30 (71%)	7 (17%)	5 (12%)
Singing	35 (87.5%)		5(14.5%)	39 (93%)	2(5%)	1(2%)
Joking	22 (55%)	12(30%)	6(15%)	21(50%)	15(36%)	6(14%)
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	32 (80%)	1(4.5%)	7(17.5%)	36 (86%)	1 (2%)	5(12%)
Story telling	29 (74.5%)	8(20%)	3 (7.5%)	34 (80%)	4(10%)	4(10%)
Discussing/ Debate	26 (65%)	10 (25%)	4 (10%)	28 (67%)	7(16.5%)	7(16.5%)
Praying	29 (74.5%)	7(17.5%)	4(10%)	27 (64%)	11(26%)	4(10%)
Quarrelling	21(54.5%)	13(34.5%)	6(15%)	22 (52%)	15(36%)	5(12%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	19 (47.5%)	16 (40%)	5(14.5%)	22 (52%)	16(38%)	4(10%)
Telling stories to children	29 (74.5%)	7(17.5%)	4 (10%)	36(86%)	2(4%)	4(10%)
Singing at home	35 (87.5%)		5(14.5%)	40 (96%)	1(2%)	1(2%)
Family gatherings	22 (55%)	17(44.5%)	1(4.5%)	27 (64%)	11(26%)	4(10%)
Village meetings	34 (85%)	3(7.5%)	3(7.5%)	34 (80%)	4(10%)	4(10%)

Table 4.1 shows that in all the domains, Nepali, i.e. the language of wider communication, is overwhelmingly used. Interestingly, no male speaker uses his mother tongue in the domains of singing and singing at home. The use of mother tongue ranks second in almost all domains. This holds true to female speakers. In Bhujel, both male and female speakers use Nepali, the language of wider communication, to the highest degree, in all the domains of language use. The use of both Nepali and Bhujel in all domains ranks the least. The patterns of language use by male in different domains may be more clearly presented in Figure 4.1.
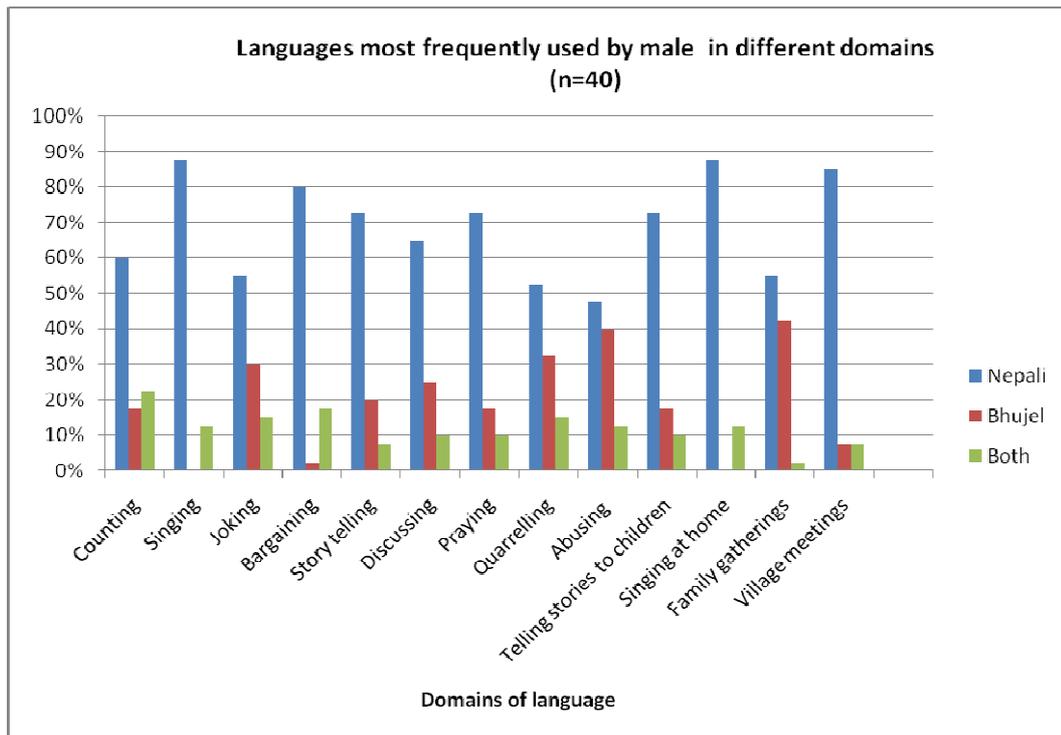
Figure 4.1: Languages most frequently used by male in different domains

Figure 4.1 shows that in all the domains, Nepali is predominantly used in Bhujel speech community.

The patterns of language use by female in different domains may be more clearly further presented in Figure 4.2.
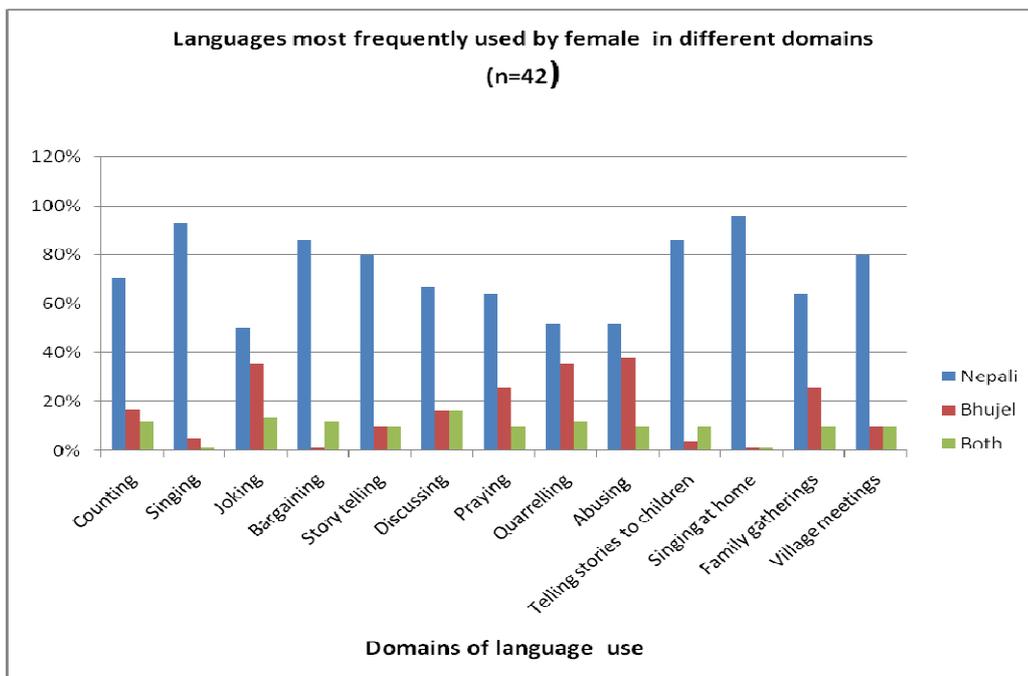
Figure 4.2: Languages most frequently used by female in different domains

40

Figure 4.2 shows that in all the domains, Nepali is predominantly used by female in Bhujel community. However, the female use Nepali less than the male in all domains in Bhujel community.

Table 4.2 presents the languages most frequently used by the Bhujel speakers in different domains by age.

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

n=82

Domains	Age groups								
	A1(n=27)			A2(n=32)			A3(n=23)		
	Nep	Bjl	Nep& Bjl	Nep	Bjl	Nep& Bjl	Nep	Bjl	Nep& Bjl
Counting	89%	4%	7%	59%)	19%	22%	48%	30%	22%
Singing	96%	4%		94%		6%	79%	4%	17%
Joking	74%	19%	7%	54%	37%	9%	26.5%	43.5%	30%
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	93%	7%		81%		19%	73%		27%
Story telling	89%	7%	4%	71%	16%	13%	69%	22%	9%
Discussing/ Debate	85%	11%	4%	68%	19%	13%	38.5%	35%	26.5%
Praying	89%	11%		59%	22%	19%	56%	35%	9%
Quarrelling	74%	19%	7%	44%	34%	22%	31%	52%	17%
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words	81%	11%	7%	47%	37%	16%	22%	65%	13%
Telling stories to children	85%	4%	11%	78%	13%	9%	74%	17%	9%
Singing at home	100%			91%	3%	6%	83%		17%
Family gatherings	70%	30%		63%	31%	6%	43.5%	43.5%	13%
Village meetings	78%	15%	7%	84%	3%	13%	87%	9%	4%

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

Table 4.2 shows that in almost all the domains of language use a great number of the speakers consisting of age ranging from 15 to 34 (A1) and age ranging from 35-59(A2) use Nepali. To speak more specifically, in general, the percentage of the speakers of A1 is slightly greater than that of the A4. However, this percentage is significantly greater than that of A3. The percentage of the speakers of sixty and above using Nepali is smaller than that of the A1 and A4. In the same way, the percentage of the speakers using Bhujel of the age ranging from 60 and above is greater than that of A1 and A4. In case of the speakers using both Bhujel and Nepali, the percentage of the A2 speakers is slightly greater than that of A1 and A3. This clearly shows that Bhujel are gradually shifting to the language of wider

communication, Nepali.   The patterns of language use by A1 age in different domains may be more explicitly presented in Figure 4.3.
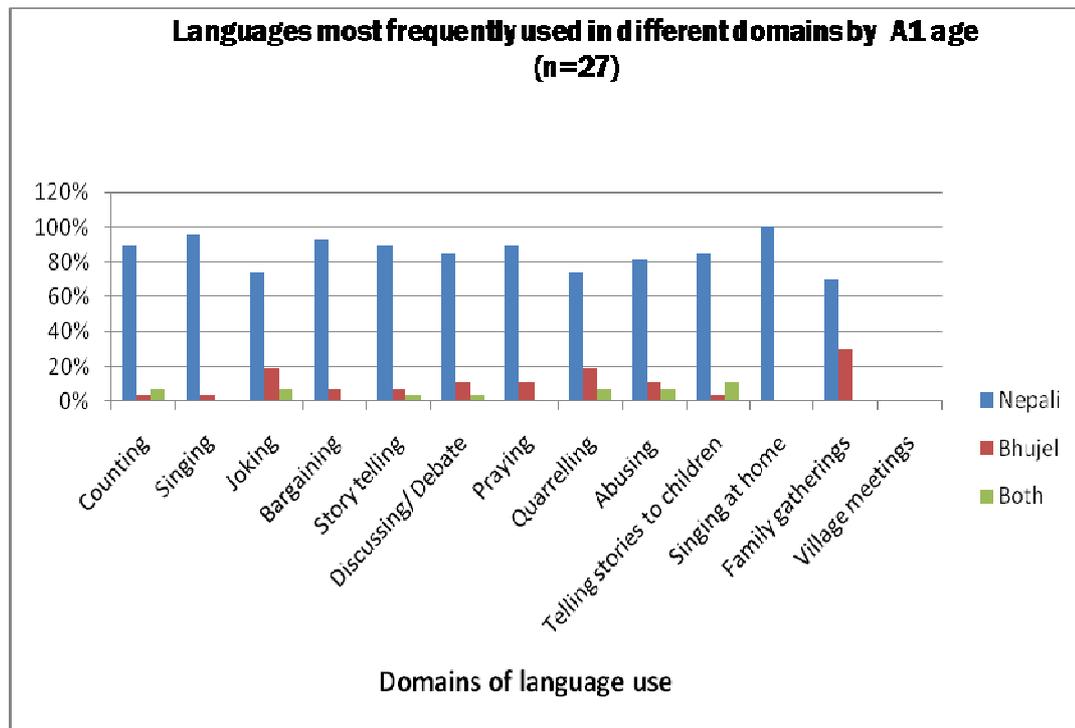
Figure 4.3: Languages most frequently used by A1 age in different domains

Figure 4.3 shows the highest percentage of the speaker of A1 in Bhujel speech community makes use of Nepali in all domains of language use. Moreover, the figure shows that all the speaker of A1 uses Nepali singing at home.
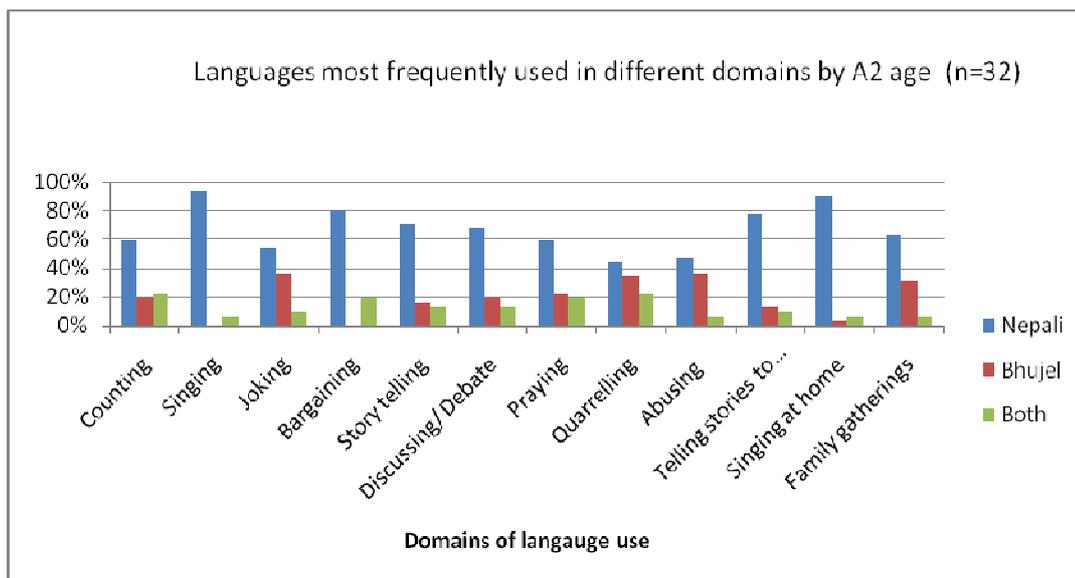
Figure 4.4: Languages most frequently used by A2 age in different domains

Figure 4.4 shows the like the speaker of A1 age group the highest percentage of the speaker of A2 in Bhujel speech community makes use of Nepali in all domains of language use. Moreover, the figure shows that overwhelmingly highest percentage of speaker of A1 uses Nepali singing at home.
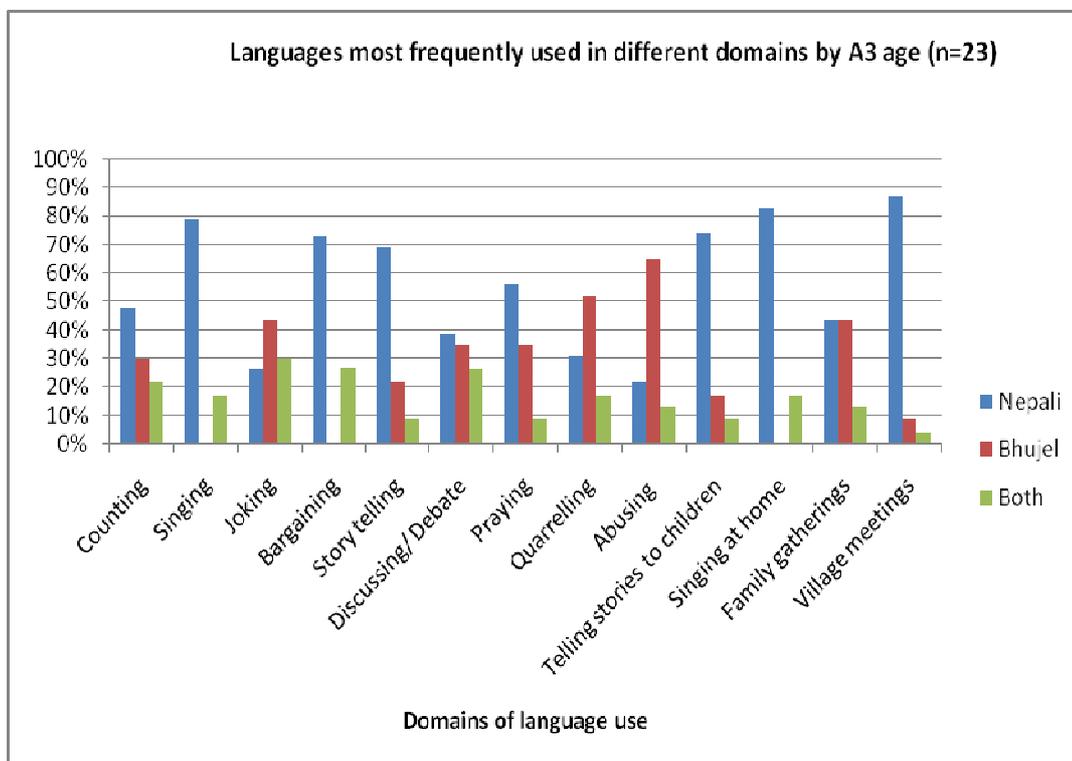
Figure 4.5: Languages most frequently used by A3 age in different domains

Figure 4.5 shows the like the speaker of A1 and A2 age group the highest percentage of the speaker of A3 in Bhujel speech community makes use of Nepali in all domains of language use. Comparing the Figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5, it is clear that A1 age group uses Nepali much more frequently than A2 and A3.

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

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

Domains	Literacy					
	Literate (N=31)			Illiterate (N=51)		
	Nepali	Bhujel	Nepali and Bhujel	Nepali	Bhujel	Nepali and Bhujel
Counting	24(77.4%)	4(12.9%)	3(9.6%)	30 (58.8%)	10(19.6%)	11(21.5%)
Singing	29(93.5%)		2(6.4%)	45 (88.2%)	2(3.9%)	4(7.8%)
Joking	19(61.2%)	8(25.8%)	4(12.9%)	24(47.1%)	19(37.3%)	8(15.6%)
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	27(87.0%)	1(3.2%)	3(9.6%)	41(80.4%)	1(1.9%)	9(17.6%)
Story telling	25(80.6%)	3(9.6%)	3(9.6%)	40 (78.4%)	6(11.7%)	5(9.8%)
Discussing/ Debate	28(90.3%)	2(6.4%)	1(3.2%)	26(50.9%)	17(33.0%)	8(15.6%)
Praying	27(87.0%)	4(12.9%)		29(56.8%)	14(27.4%)	8(15.6%)
Quarrelling	22(70.9%)	6(19.3%)	3(9.6%)	19(37.2%)	22(43.1%)	10(19.6%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	22(70.9%)	7(22.5%)	2(6.4%)	18(35.2%)	25(49.0%)	8(15.6%)
Telling stories to children	25(80.6%)	4(12.9%)	2(6.4%)	39(76.4%)	5(9.8%)	7(13.7%)
Singing at home	30(96.7%)		1(3.2%)	44(86.2%)	2(3.9%)	5(9.8%)
Family gatherings	21(67.7%)	10(32.2%)		26(50.9%)	18(35.2%)	7(13.7%)
Village meetings	27(87.0%)	2(6.4%)	2(6.4%)	40(78.4%)	8(15.6%)	3(5.8%)

Table 4.3 shows that no matter whether the speakers are literate or illiterate majority of them use Nepali in all the domains. However, in general, the percentage of the illiterate using Bhujel is greater than that of using Bhujel and Nepali in almost all the domains of language use. Interestingly, in the domains of singing in general, singing at home and family gathering no literate Bhujel makes use of mother tongue whereas illiterate ones still, though in some degree, are using Bhujel in these domains. This clearly shows that those who are literate are more open to shifting to Nepali in Bhujel community in general. Languages most frequently used by literate may be more clearly presented in Figure 4.6.
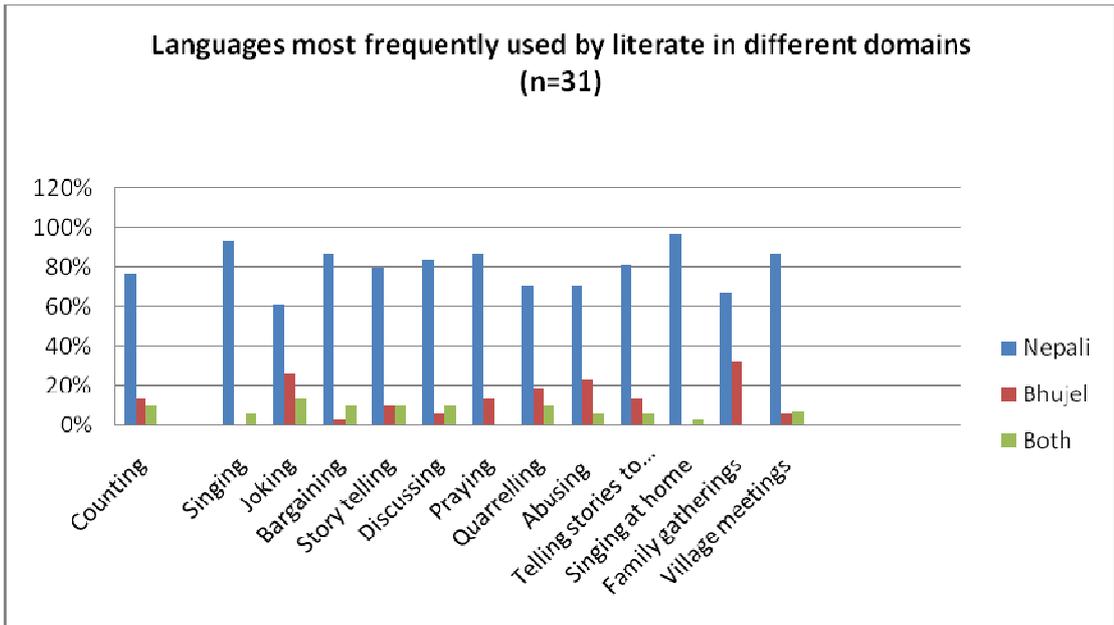
Figure 4.6: Languages most frequently used by literate in different domains

Figure 4.6 shows that literate in Bhujel speech community use Nepali most frequently in all different domains of language use.
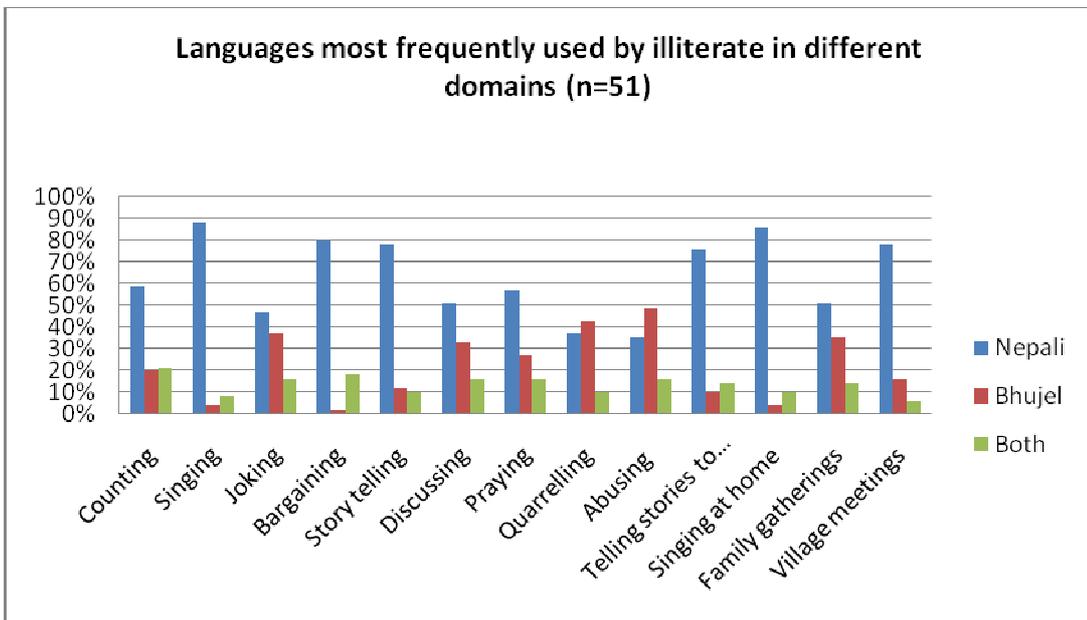
Figure 4.7: Languages most frequently used by illiterate in different domains

Figure 4.7 shows that like the literate in Bhujel speech community the illiterate also use Nepali most frequently in all different domains of language use. However, illiterate uses Nepali less frequently than the literate does.

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4.3 Patterns of language use at home

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

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

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

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

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

Domains		Sex							
	N=	Male				Female			
		n=	Nepali	Bhujel	N and B	n=	Nepali	Bhujel	N and B
Grandfather	49	16	69%	25%	6%	33	45%	40%	15%
Grandmother	47	16	69%	25%	6%	31	45%	45%	10%
Father	64	26	61%	35%	4%	38	45%	47%	8%
Mother	72	30	57%	136%	7%	42	45%	43%	12%
Spouse	76	34	50%	47%	3%	42	47%	36%	17%
Children	73	33	79%	12%	9%	40	80%	10%	10%

Table 4.4 shows that in all the domains the male respondents make use of Nepali more than that of their mother tongue in comparison to the female respondents in Bhujel community notwithstanding the use of Nepali in all domains is overwhelmingly greater than that of Bhujel irrespective of sex. One of the interesting points is that almost the same percentage of Bhujel speakers in both sexes (which is the greatest in all the domains) use while talking with their children about education matters. This clearly indicates the children either do not understand Bhujel spoken by their parents or they do not like to their parents having conversation with them in Bhujel. There can be two reasons for these situations. The first is that there is the lack of intergenerational transmission of language in Bhujel community. The second is that there is lack of interest among the children to learn their mother tongue mainly because they know that the use of their mother tongue in their practical life is very minimal.

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.)

Domains	Age groups											
	A1				A2				A3			
	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total
Grandfather (49)	79%	14%	7%	14	47%	37%	16%	19	37.5%	50%	12%	16
Grandmother (47)	79%	14%	7%	14	47%	37%	16%	19	36%	64%		14
Father (64)	70%	26%	4%	23	44%	44%	12%	25	37.5%	64.5%		16
Mother (72)	65%	31%	4%	26	48%	41%	11%	27	32%	52%	16%	19
Spouse (76)	70%	20%	10%	20	45%	42%	13%	31	36%	56%	8%	25
Children (73)	85%	10%	5%	20	83%	7%	10%	30	70%	17%	13%	23

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

Table 4.5 shows that in all domains in general Nepali is used by a great number of the speakers consisting of age ranging from 15 to 34 (A1 and age ranging from 35-59(A2). Conversely, the speakers of A3 use their mother tongue most frequently in almost all domains.

Table 4.6 presents the languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy.

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

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

Domains		Literacy							
	N=	Literate				Illiterate			
		n=	Nepali	Bhujel	N and B	n=	Nepali	Bhujel	N and B
Grand father	49	19	78.9%	10.5%	10.5%	30	36.6%	50%	13.3%
Grand mother	47	19	78.9%	10.5%	10.5%	28	35.7%	57.1%	7.1%
Father	64	27	70%	18.5%	7.4%	37	36%	59%	5%
Mother	72	30	70%	20%	10%	42	35%	55%	10%
Spouse	76	29	62%	21%	17%	47	40%	53%	7%
Children	73	26	92%	-	8%	47	71%	19%	10%

Table 4.6 shows that the respondents who are literate are using Nepali most frequently in almost all the domains while talking with family members about educational matters. Quite obviously, in Bhujel community, those who are literate are literate

predominantly in the medium of Nepali. Both i.e. Nepali and Bhujel, in general, are used more by are illiterate. Moreover, no literate respondent use his/ her mother tongue, i.e. Bhujel while talking about educational matters with the children.

This clearly reveals that literacy in other tongues, i.e. Nepali or English may have produced a kind of indifference or negative attitude in using their mother tongue even while taking with the family members about educational matters.

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

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

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

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

Domains		Sex						
	N=	Male				Female		
		n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep& Bjl
Grandfather	48	18	61%	33%	6%	30	57%	36%	7%
Grandmother	47	18	61%	33%	6%	29	52%	41%	7%
Father	64	29	52%	45%	3%	35	51%	43%	6%
Mother	69	31	52%	45%	3%	38	45%	42%	13%
Spouse	76	34	53%	41%	6%	42	48%	35%	17%
Children	74	33	73%	18%	9%	41	73%	10%	17%

Table 4.7 shows that in general the male speakers use Nepali more frequently than Bhujel and Nepali and Bhujel. Similarly, the female speakers also use Nepali more frequently than Bhujel and Nepali and Bhujel. Moreover, while talking with children, both male and female use Nepali to a great extent, i.e. 73% in both sexes.

Table 4.8 presents the languages most frequently used at home while discussing social events and family matters by age.

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

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

Domains	Age groups											
	A1				A2				A3			
	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total
Grand Father (48)	79%	14%	7%	14	61%	33%	6%	18	38%	56%	6%	16
Grand Mother (47)	77%	15%	8%	13	61%	33%	6%	18	32%	62%	6%	16
Father (64)	70%	26%	4%	23	53%	43%	4%	23	27%	67%	6%	18
Mother (69)	61%	31%	8%	26	46%	46%	8%	24	31%	58%	11%	19
Spouse (76)	71%	19%	10%	21	48%	39%	13%	31	33%	54%	13%	24
Children (74)	84%	11%	5%	19	71%	10%	19%	31	67%	20%	13%	24

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

Table 4.8 shows that in general the A3 respondents in comparison to A1 and A2 use Nepali less frequently than Bhujel and Nepali and Bhujel. In the same way, while speaking to children while discussing social events and family matters, in comparison to A1 and A2 age groups, the A3 age groups use Nepali less frequently.

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

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

Domains	N=	Literacy						
		Literate				Illiterate		
		n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & BJl
Grandfather	48	19	79%	10.5%	10.5%	29	45%	52%	3%
Grandmother	47	18	78%	11%	11%	29	41%	56%	3%
Father	64	26	69%	23%	8%	38	39%	58%	3%
Mother	69	28	68%	18%	14%	41	34%	61%	5%
Spouse	76	26	62%	19%	19%	50	44%	48%	8%
Children	74	24	71%	8%	21%	50	74%	16%	10%

Table 4.9 shows irrespective of literacy the majority responded that they used Nepali most frequently while discussing social events and family matters with the major family members. More strikingly, out of 24 literate respondents 71% responded that they use Nepali, the language of wider communication, while discussing social events

and family matters. In the same way, out of 50 illiterate respondents 74% responded that they used Nepali, the language of wider communication, while discussing social events and family matters. In general illiterate respondents use Bhujel more frequently than the literate respondents.

4.3.3 Patterns of language use at home while writing letters

Table 4.10 presents the languages most frequently used while writing letters with different family members by sex.

Table 4.10: Languages most frequently used with different family members by sex

(While writing letters)

Domains		Sex							
	N=	Male				Female			
		n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl
Grandfather	49	16	100%			33	100%		
Grandmother	49	16	100%			33	100%		
Father	65	25	100%			40	97.5%	4.5%	
Mother	68	28	100%			40	97.5%	4.5%	
Spouse	75	29	100%			46	96%	2%	2%
Children	73	30	100%			43	100%		

Table 4.10 shows that except by an insignificant percentage of the female respondents use Nepali while writing letters with family members. Interestingly, all the male respondents use Nepali while writing letters with the major family members.

Table 4.11: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age (While writing letters)

Domains	Age groups											
	A1				A2				A3			
	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	Total
Grand father (49)	100%			14	100%			20	100%			15
Grand mother (49)	100%			14	100%			20	100%			15
Father (65)	100%			23	96%	4%		24	100%			18
Mother (69)	100%			26	96%	4%		25	100%			17
Spouse (75)	100%			20	94%	3%	3%	30	100%			25
Children (73)	100%			18	100%			30	100%			25

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

Table 4.11 shows that except a few respondents having the age rage 35-60 years (A2) all the A1 and A2 responded that they use Nepali exclusively while writing letters with family members. Interestingly, even 100% of A2 respondents exclusively use Nepali while writing letters with the children.

Table 4.12: Languages most frequently used with different family members by literacy

(While writing letters)

Domains		Literacy							
	N=	Literate				Illiterate			
		n=	Nep	Bjl	N and B	n=	Nep	Bhujel	N and B
Grandfather	49	20	100%	-	-	29	100%	-	-
Grandmother	49	20	100%	-	-	29	100%		-
Father	65	28	100%	-	-	37	97%	3%	-
Mother	68	29	100%	-	-	39	97%	3%	-
Spouse	75	26	96%	-	4%	49	98%	2%	-
Children	73	25	100%	-		48	100%		-

Table 4.12 shows that except 4% of the total literate respondents in case of writing letters to the spouse, all the respondents exclusively use Nepali. The same picture is visualized in case of illiterate respondents. An insignificant percentage of illiterate respondents are found using Bhujel while writing letters to father, mother and spouse.

4.4 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. Table 4.13 presents the languages usually spoken by children**.**

Table 4.13: Languages usually spoken by children by sex

Domains		Sex							
	N=	Male				Female			
		n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep &Bjl
Playing with other children	78	36	88%	6%	6%	42	96%	2%	2%
Talking with neighbors	77	36	94%	3%	3%	41	96%	2%	2%
At school	78	37	100%	-	-	41	100%	-	-

Table 4.13 shows that except by an insignificant percentage of male and female use Bhujel and Bhujel and Nepali. The majority of both sexes, i.e. male and female make

use of Nepali while playing with children, talking with neighbours and at schools. Table 4.14 presents the languages usually spoken by children by age.

Table 4.14: Languages usually spoken by children by age

Domains	Age groups											
	A1				A2				A3			
	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	To tal	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	To tal	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl	To tal
Playing with other children (78)	92%	4%	4%	30%	94%		6%	41%	92%	8%	-	30%
Talking with neighbors (77)	96%	4%		30%	97%		3%	40%	92%	4%	4%	30%
At school (78)	100%			30%	100%			41%	100%			30%

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

Table 4.14 shows that all the respondents of all age group say that Nepali is predominantly used by the children while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at schools. Table 19 presents the languages usually spoken by children by literacy.

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

Domains		Literacy							
	N=	Literate				Illiterate			
		n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & B	n=	Nep	Bjl	Nep & Bjl
Playing with other children	78	28	89%	-	11%	50	94%	6%	-
Talking with neighbors	77	28	96%	-	4%	49	94%	4%	2%
At school	78	28	100%	-	-	50	100%	-	-

Table 4.15 shows that both literate and illiterate respondent said that the children use Nepali to the highest degree while playing with other children. No literate responded that in no domains Bhujel is not used by the children. However, illiterate responded that except at schools, Bhujel is even used to a small degree. In the same way, a few literate responded that children use both Nepali and Bhujel with other children and talking with neighbors. All the literate and illiterate responded that all the children use Nepali at schools.

4.5 Patterns of language use by the community for marriage invitations

Primarily, in Bhujel communities the marriage invitations are made orally. However, nowadays they are also made in written form. This domain also helps to examine the language vitality in Bhujel community. Table 4.16 presents languages used for marriage invitations by the community by sex.

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

	Sex		Total (N=79)
	Male (n=40)	Female (n=39)	
Nepali	21(54.5%)	14(36%)	35(44%)
Bhujel	17(44.5%)	17(43%)	34(43%)
Nepali and Bhujel	2(5%)	8(21%)	10(13%)

Table 4.16 shows 54.5 % of the male responded that they used Nepali for marriage invitations whereas 36% of female used Nepali for the same purpose. Almost the same percentage of both sexes use Bhujel for marriage invitations. While looking at the use of Nepali and Bhujel, it is found that four times of the male the female use them for marriage invitations.

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

	Age groups			Total(N=79)
	A1 (n=26)	A2(n=31)	A3(n=22)	
Nepali	15(57%)	11(35%)	9(41%)	35(44%)
Bhujel	9(35%)	16(52%)	9(41%)	34(43%)
Nepali and Bhujel	2(8%)	4(13%)	4(18%)	10(13%)

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

Table 4.17**:** shows that majority of A1, i.e. 57% used Nepali for marriage invitations. Out of 26 respondents of A1 35% used Bhujel for the same purpose. Unlikely, the majority of the A2 respondents used Bhujel more than Nepali only and Bhujel and Nepali. In case of A3 the same numbers of respondents use Nepali and Bhujel. Almost the half of respondents of A3 using Nepali and Bhujel, use Nepali and Bhujel for marriage invitations.

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

	Literacy		Total(N=79)
	Literate(n=31)	Illiterate(n=48)	
Nepali	19(61%)	16(33%)	35(44%)
Bhujel	9(29%)	25(52%)	34(43%)
Nepali and Bhujel	3(10%)	7(15%)	10(13%)

Table 4.18 shows that the majority of the literate, i.e. 61% used Nepali for marriage invitations.

Only 10 % of the literate make use of Both Nepali and Bhujel for the same purpose. Similarly, almost half of literate using Nepali use Bhujel for marriage invitations. In case of illiterate respondents, quite contrary to the literate, the majority use Bhujel for the invitations. Only 33% use Nepali for the purpose. These shows that literate are more inclined to using Nepali for marriage invitations.

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

Table 4.19 presents the languages usually used to write minutes in community meetings by sex.

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

	Sex		Total (N=81)
	Male (n=39)	Female (n=42)	
Nepali	37(95%)	38(91%)	35(44%)
Bhujel	2(5%)	3(7%)	34(43%)
Nepali and Bhujel	-	1(2%)	10(13%)

Table 4.19 shows that almost all respondents of both sexes use Nepali while writing minutes in community meetings. Only 5% of the male and 7% of the female use Bhujel for the same purpose. Table 4.20 presents the 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

	Age groups			Total(N=81)
	A1 (n=26)	A2(n=32)	A3(n=23)	
Nepali	24(92%)	29(91%)	22(96%)	75(93%)
Bhujel	1(4%)	3(9%)	1(4%)	5(6%)
Nepali and Bhujel	1(4%)	-	-	1(1%)

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

Table 4.20 shows almost all the respondents of A1, A2 and A3 use Nepali to write minutes in community meetings in Bhujel.

Table 4.21 presents the 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

	Literacy		Total(N=81)
	Literate(n=31)	Illiterate(n=50)	
Nepali	29(94%)	46(92%)	75(93%)
Bhujel	1(3%)	4(8%)	5(6%)
Nepali and Bhujel	1(3%)	-	1(1%)

Table 4.21 shows, like by sex and age, irrespective of literacy; Nepali is overwhelmingly used to write minutes in community meetings in Bhujel.

4.7 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.

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

	Sex		Total (N=81)
	Male (n=40)	Female (n=41)	
Everyday	23(57.5%)	30(73%)	53(65%)
Rarely	16(40%)	8(20%)	24(30%)
Never	1(4.5%)	3(7%)	4(5%)

Table 4.22 shows that the percentage of female using their mother tongue every day is greater than that of male. However, the percentage of male using their mother tongue rarely is greater than that of female.

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

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

	Age groups			Total(N=81)
	A1 (n=25)	A2(n=33)	A3(n=23)	
Everyday	14(56%)	21(64%)	18(78%)	53(65%)
Rarely	8(32%)	11(33%)	5(22%)	24(30%)
Never	3(12%)	1(3%)	-	4(5%)

Table 4.23 shows that the percentage of A3 using the mother tongue every day is greater than that of A2 and A3 whereas the percentage of A2 using the mother tongue rarely is slightly greater than that of A1. The percentage of the respondents of A3

using the mother tongue rarely is lesser than by one-third of that of A4. There is no respondent for using the mother tongue never. However, a significant number of A1 never use Bhujel. This clearly shows that young generations are gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of wider communication, for whatsoever reasons. Table 4.24 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue by literacy.

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

	Literacy		Total(N=81)
	Literate(n=31)	Illiterate(n=50)	
Everyday	18(58%)	35(70%)	53(65%)
Rarely	9(29%)	15(30%)	24(30%)
Never	4(13%)	-	4(5%)

Table 4.24 shows that the percentage of illiterate using the mother tongue every day is greater than that of literate. The percentage of illiterate who responded that they rarely used their mother tongue is smaller than that of literate. No illiterate in Bhujel responded that they never used their mother tongue.

4.8 The frequency of use of the language of wider communication

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

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

	Sex		Total (N=81)
	Male (n=41)	Female (n=40)	
Everyday	40(98%)	40(100%)	80(99%)
Rarely	1(2%)	-	1(1%)
Never	-	-	-

Table 4.25 shows except 2% of the total male all other respondents (both male and female) use Nepali everyday as the language of wider communication everyday.

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

Table 4.26: The frequency of the use of the language of wider communication by age

	Age groups			Total(N=81)
	A1 (n=26)	A2(n=32)	A3(n=23)	
Everyday	25(96%)	32(100%)	23(100%)	80(99%)
Rarely	1(4%)	-	-	1(1%)
Never	-	-	-	-

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

Table 4.26 shows that 96% of A1 use Nepali, the language of wider communication everyday whereas 4% of A1 use Nepali rarely. However, all the respondents of A2 and A3 use Nepali as the language of wider communication.

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

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

	Literacy		Total(N=81)
	Literate(n=31)	Illiterate(n=50)	
Everyday	31(100%)	49(98%)	80(99%)
Rarely	-	1(2%)	1(1%)
Never	-	-	-

Table 4.27 shows that except 2% of illiterate responded that Nepali is predominantly used as the language of wider communication.

4.9 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. In Bhujel community, all the respondents irrespective of age, sex and literacy, Nepali is exclusively used 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

	Sex		Total (N=81)
	Male (n=40)	Female (n=41)	
Nepali	40(100%)	41(100%)	81(100%)
Bhujel	-	-	
Nepali and Bhujel	-	-	

Table 4.28 shows that 100% male and female are use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit the mother tongue speakers at home.

Table 4.29 presents the language usually used when speakers of other languages visit at home by age.

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

	Age groups			Total(N=81)
	A1 (n=26)	A2(n=32)	A3(n=23)	
Nepali	26(100%)	32(100%)	23(100%)	81(100%)
Bhujel	-	-	-	
Nepali and Bhujel	-	-	-	

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

Table 4.29 shows that 100% respondents use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit the mother tongue speakers at home.

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

	Literacy		Total(N=81)
	Literate(n=31)	Illiterate(n=50)	
Nepali	31(100%)	50(100%)	81(100%)
Bhujel	-	-	-
Nepali and Bhujel	-	-	-

Table 4.30 shows that 100% respondents use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit the mother tongue speakers at home.

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

Generally, children gradually go on shifting to the language of the medium of instruction if their mother tongue is not used in education especially at primary level. Table 4.31 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

	Sex		Total (N=82)
	Male (n=44)	Female (n=38)	
Mother tongue	25(57%)	26(68%)	51(62%)
Nepali	17(37%)	11(29%)	28(34%)
English	2(6%)	1(3%)	3(4%)
Other	-	-	-

Table 4.31 shows majority of both male and female responded that they prefer their mother tongue, i.e. Bhujel, as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. In comparison to female, a slightly more percentage of male have responded that they prefer Nepali as the children's medium of instruction at the primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level. The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex can be presented in Figure 4.8.
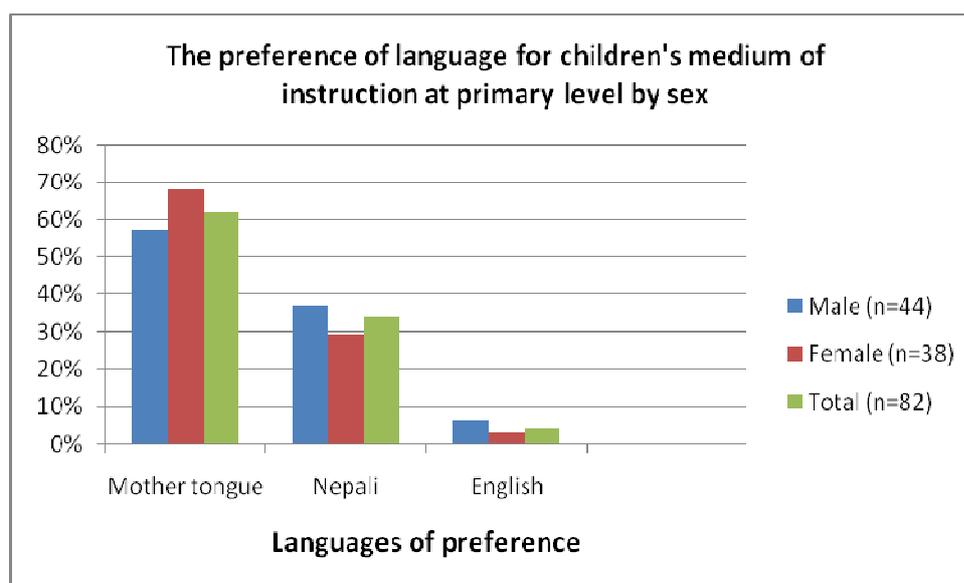
Figure 4.8: Preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level by sex

Figure 4.8 clearly shows mother tongue is much more preferred by the female than the male in Bhujel community.

Table 4.32 presents the preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by age

Table 4.32: The preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by age

	Age groups			Total(N=82)
	A1 (n=26)	A2(n=33)	A3(n=23)	
Mother tongue	13(50%)	24(73%)	14(61%)	51(62%)
Nepali	10(38%)	9(27%)	9(39%)	28(34%)
English	3(12%)	-	-	3(4%)
Other				

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

Table 4.32 shows that, in terms of age, 73% of a total of 33 respondents of A2 prefer mother tongue for medium of instruction at primary level whereas 61% of A2 responded that they also prefer mother tongue for the medium of instruction for children at primary level. Almost the same percentage of A1 and A2 prefer Nepali as the medium of instruction for children at the primary level. Those who prefer English as the medium of instruction belong to A1 age group. In totality, the table shows that in Bhujel community there is a strong preference of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction for the children at primary level.

Table 4.33 presents the preference of language children's medium of instruction at primary level by literacy

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

	Literacy		Total(N=82)
	Literate(n=33)	Illiterate(n=49)	
Mother tongue	18(55%)	33(67%)	51(62%)
Nepali	12(36%)	16(33%)	28(34%)
English	3(9%)	-	3(4%)
Other	-	-	-

Table 4.33 shows the percentage of illiterate preferring their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level is greater than that of literate. Moreover, only literate of 9% have preferred English as the medium of instruction at primary level. It clearly shows that illiterate are more loyal to their mother tongue and they prefer their

mother tongue to either Nepali or English as the medium of instruction at the primary level.

4.11 Summary

In this chapter we looked at the language vitality in Bhujel by analyzing the responses to questions related to the major domains of language use. In all the general domains such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing , telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings Nepali is overwhelmingly used by the respondents of both sexes. In almost all the domains, a great number of the respondents of the age ranging from 15- 34 and 35-59 years use Nepali. The number of respondents of sixty and above using Nepali is smaller than that of the respondent's age ranging from 15- 34 and 35-59 years. The illiterate use Bhujel more than Bhujel and Nepali in almost all the domains of language use. Interestingly, in the domains of singing in general, singing at home and family gathering no literate Bhujel makes use of mother tongue whereas illiterate ones still, though in some degree, are using Bhujel in these domains. In all the domains, the male make use of Nepali more than that of their mother tongue in comparison to the female respondents in Bhujel community notwithstanding the use of Nepali in all domains is overwhelmingly greater than that of Bhujel irrespective of sex. In terms of sex, around 80% respondents of both sexes use Nepali while talking with their children about education matters. In all domains in general Nepali is used by a great number of the speakers below than 60 years. Nepali, the language of wider communication, is most frequently used in almost all the domains while talking with family members about educational matters. Nepali is more frequently used than Bhujel and Nepali and Bhujel by both the male and female in general. Moreover, while talking with children, both male and female use Nepali to a great extent, i.e. 73% in both sexes. The respondents of below 60 in general use more Nepali. In the same way, while speaking to children, discussing social events and family matters in comparison to A1 and A2 age groups, the A3 age groups use Nepali less frequently. Irrespective of literacy, Nepali is most frequently used while discussing social events and family matters with the major family members. In general illiterate uses Bhujel more frequently than the literate. Nepali is predominantly used by female respondents while writing letters with family members. Interestingly, all the male respondents use Nepali while writing letters with the major

family members. Nepali is exclusively used by almost all the respondents of A1 and A2 age groups while writing letters with family members. Almost all respondents, both male and female, exclusively use Nepali in writing letters to the spouse. Nepali is dominantly used by the children while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at schools. Nepali is greatly used for marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings in Bhujel community. The female use their mother tongue more frequently than the male. Those who are over sixty and illiterate use mother tongue more frequently than those below sixty and illiterate. Almost all those below 35 use Nepali, the language of wider communication every day. Nepali is exclusively used when the speakers of other languages visit Bhujel at home. Majority of both sexes prefer their mother tongue as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. However, a bit more percentage of male responded that they prefer Nepali as the children's medium of instruction at the primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

CHAPTER 5

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

5.1 Outline

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

5.2 Mother tongue proficiency

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

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

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

Table 5.1 shows that 50 % of the total respondents speak their mother tongue very well. Around the same percentage of the total respondents said that they speak their mother tongue some and only a little. In the same way Table 5.1 reveals that   46.15% responded that they can read and write their mother tongue   only a little. And 38.46% responded

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

that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. It shows that Bhujel is a preliterate language one hand, there are a few reading materials on the other.

5.3 Bi/multilingualism

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

5.3.1 SLQ A

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

Table 5.2: Multilingualism in Bhujel community[2]

(N= 82)

	Languages	No of speakers	Percentage	Remarks
1	Nepali	82	100%	
2	Bhujel	74	90.24%	
3	Gurung	29	35.36 %	
4	Magar	23	28.04%	
5	Hindi	4	4.87%	
6	Ghale	1	1.21%	
7	English	1	1.21%	
9	Chepang	1	1.21%	
10	Newar	1	1.21%	

Table 5.2 shows the Bhujel is a multilingual community. All Bhujel can speak Nepali, a language of wider communication in the area. Table shows that around 10% Bhujel do not speak Bhujel as their mother tongue. As the Bhujel in Tanahun are living in proximity with Gurung and Magar, they can also speak Gurung and Magar apart from Nepali. Some Bhujel also can speak languages like Chepang, Ghale , Newar and English. This situation can be presented more clearly in Figure 5.1.

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[2] This data are based on the responses to Q.N. 39 (What languages can you speak?) from SLQ A.
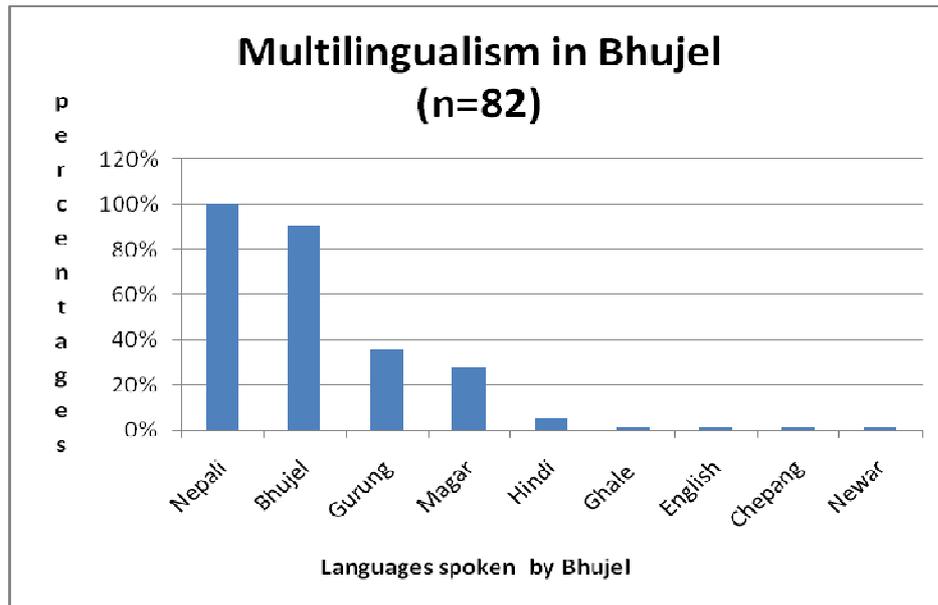
Figure 5.1: Multilingualism in Bhujel

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

5.3.2 SLQ B

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

a) There is no monolingual in Bhujel, the mother tongue.

b) Children do not speak Bhujel as mother tongue in Bhujel community.

c) Middle aged and old people, the leaders of the community, businessmen, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Nepali and Bhujel.

5.3.3 SRT

5.2.3.1 Overview

In order to evaluate the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Bhujel speakers in standard Nepali the sentence repetition test (SRT) was conducted in three

reference points in Bhujel, namely, Kulmun, Arthmpka and Andimul.[3] From linguistic point of view, these are the main areas of Bhujel. In section 2.2.3, we have provided a short note on the description, procedures and purpose of the SRT.

As discussed already sentence repetition test (SRT) is a tool developed by Carla Radloff (1991) based on the idea that a person's ability to repeat sentences in a second language can be an approximate measure of his or her bilingual ablity. We have used Nepali SRT developed by Varenkamp(1993) for bilingual survey in Bhujel. This SRT consists of a set of carefully selected and recorded sentences in Nepali. In this SRT the sentences start rather simply and gradually become more difficult. The length of the sentences as well as the complexity of the grammar slows increases. There are three practice sentences followed by fifteen scored sentences. The sentences are played for one person at a time in the community. After hearing a sentence the person being tested tries to repeat the sentence as accurately as possible. The marking is done on the basis of the errors the person makes in repeating the sentences. A score of 0-3 points is given for each sentence. The fifteen sentence scores are added to give a total score between 0 and 45 points for each person.

SRT provides an overall picture of the bilingualism levels of the community. The test was administered in different kinds of people in terms of demographic categories of age (young: 15-40, old: 41+), sex, level of education (educated: class 4+, uneducated: up to class 4). In each reference point, at least 5 people were tested in each category, young, old, male, female, and educated and uneducated. Table 5.3 provides the sampling chart used in bilingualism survey in Bhujel.

Table 5.3: Sampling chart used in bilingualism survey in Bhujel

	YOUNG		OLD	
	Educated	Uneducated	Educated	Uneducated
MALE				
FEMALE				

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[3] It is to be noted that Kulmun, Arthumpka and Andimul have been selected and SRT has been re-administered in different times almost after a year we completed the regular survey of Bhujel.

The score received by each person was averaged for each demographic category. The average SRT scores were converted into RPE (reported proficiency evaluation) levels. Table 5.4 provides the SRT score and RPE level including the description of RPE level in SRT in Bhujel.

Table 5.4: SRT score and RPE level including the description of RPE level in SRT in Bhujel

SRT SCORE	RPE LEVEL	DESCRIPTION OF RPE LEVEL
34-45	3+ and above	Very good, general proficiency to excellent proficiency
28-33	3	Good, general proficiency
21-27	2+	Good, basic proficiency
15-20	2	Adequate, basic proficiency
9-14	1+	Limited, basic proficiency
5-8	1	Minimal, limited proficiency
0-4	0+	Very minimal proficiency

5.2.3.2 SRT results

Table 5.5 presents the SRT results according to the demographic categories of education, age and gender in three reference points in Bhujel.

Table 5.5: SRT results in each reference points according to education, age and sex in Bhujel

Reference points	Demographic categories		EDUCATED			UNEDUCATED		
			N=	Avg	RPE	N=	Avg	RPE
KULMUN (N=20)	Male	Young	2	34	3+	3	36	3+
		Old	2	28	3	2	20	2
	Female	Young	2	30	3	3	14	1+
		Old				6	25	2+
ARTHUMPKA (N=18)	Male	Young	2	36	3+	4	34	3+
		Old	3	29	3	2	19	2
	Female	Young	1	39	3+	3	12	1+
		Old				3	24	2+
ANDIMUL (N=21)	Male	Young	2	38	3+	3	36	3+
		Old	2	32	3	4	33	3
	Female	Young	2	30	3	3	26	2+
		Old	1	13	1+	4	18	2

Table 5.5 shows that no person who was tested for the ability of bilingualism in received less than 1+ RPE level. Table 5.6 presents the percentages of the subjects scoring at different RPE levels.

Table 5.6: Percentages of the subjects scoring at different RPE levels

RPE Level	Kulmun	Arthumpka	Andimul	% in average
1+	15%	16%	4.76%	11.92%
2	30%	11.11%	9.52%	16.86%
2+	15%	16.66%	14.28 %	15.31%
3	20%	16.66%	38.09%	24.91%
3+ and above	25%	38.88%	23.80%	29.22%

Table 5.6 shows that many people tested can understand Nepali at a high level (3 and 3+ RPE levels) very good and good level. Only a few of the people tested have a limited proficiency in Nepali. Figure 5.2 presents the percentages of the subjects scoring at different RPE levels
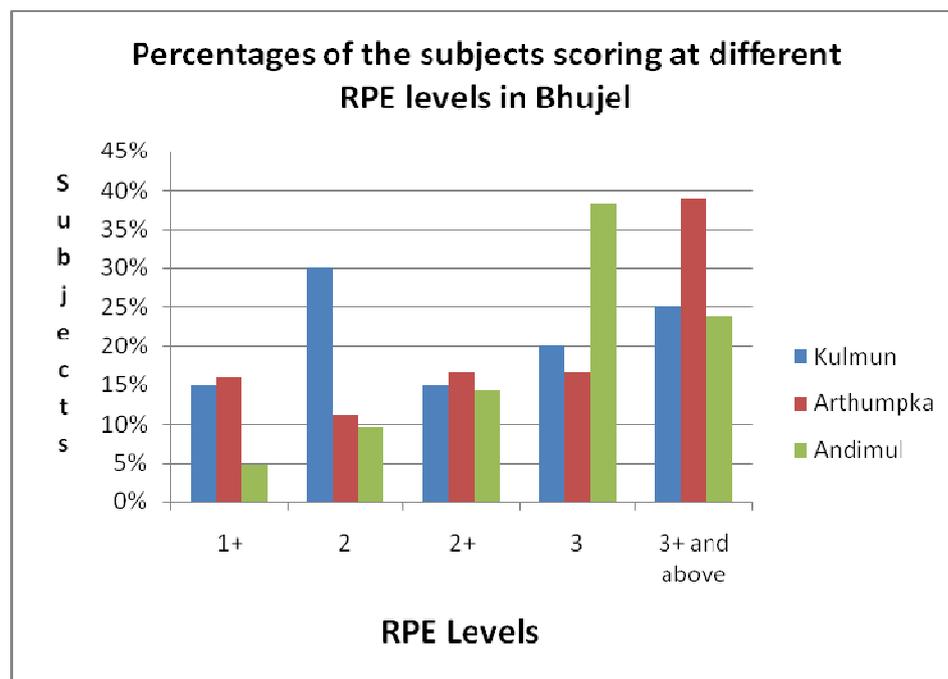
Figure 5.2: Percentages of the subjects scoring at different RPE levels

Figure 5.2 shows that majority of the people have a high level of proficiency in Nepali.

5.4 Summary

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

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

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.1 Outline

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

6.2 Language vitality

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

Table 6.1: Language vitality in key points in Bhujel

	Do all your children speak your mother tongue?			Do young people speak your mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken?		What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?	
	YES	**NO**	**NR**	**YES**	**NO**	**MOTHER TONGUE**	**NEPALI**
KULMUN	3	7	2	1	11	1	11
ARTHUMPKA	2	9	1	1	11	1	11
BANIYATAR	2	7		3	6	2	7
ANDIMUL	7	3	1	7	4	9	2
DHODENI	2	10		3	9	4	8
CHANAUTE	1	11		-	12	1	11
BELTAR	2	10		-	12	-	12
	19	57	4	15	65	18	62
	23.75%	71.25%	5%	18.75%	81.25%	22.5%	77.5%

NR: No responses because the informants had no kids.

Table 6.1 shows that more than 71% children do not speak their mother tongue. Even in Kulmun, the core point, only very few children speak their mother tongue. However, in

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

Andimul, the largest populated area of Bhujel more than 60% children still speaking their mother tongue. This clearly shows that Bhujel is spoken by elders in their community.

In response to whether the young people speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken, it is reported that more than 81% young who speak Bhujel do not speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be. Table 6.1 also shows that there is very low intergenerational language transmission in Bhujel community. More than 77 % parents in this community usually speak in Nepali with their children. This situation clearly indicates that Bhujel is a seriously endangered language.

6.3 Language maintenance

Language maintenance in Bhujel is atrocious. Table 6.2 presents the situation of language maintenance in the key points in Bhujel.

Table 6.2: Language maintenance in key points in Bhujel[2]

		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**	**MAGAR**	**GURUNG**	**OTHER**
1	**KULMUN**	9	3	9	3	8	8	-
2	**ARTHUMPKA**	8	4	11	1	8	8	-
3	**BANIYATAR**	9	-	9	-	9	9	1
4	**ANDIMUL**	11	-	11	-	11	11	4
5	**DHODENI**	7	5	11	1	6	6	5
6	**CHANAUTE**	5	7	11	1	3	3	4
7	**BELTAR**	12	-	8	4	6	8	6
TOTAL		61	19	70	10	51	53	20
%		76.25 %	23.75 %	87.5 %	12.5 %	63.75%	66.25 %	25%

Table 6.2 shows more than 76% informants responded that there is intermarriage with other language groups residing in vicinity of Bhujel. Contrary to this fact, more than 87% informants responded that they would like their children learn/ study their mother tongue, Bhujel. Table 6.2 also shows that Magar (63.75%) and Gurung (66.25%) Magar (the dominant language groups other than Nepali around the key points) have common marital relationship with Bhujel.

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

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

Table 6.3: The ways informants support if schools are opened for teaching their language (N= 82)

	If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:	number of responses	%
1	by sending children	71	86.58%
2	by encouraging other people to send their children	48	58.53%
3	by providing financial help	42	51.21%
4	by teaching	13	15.84%
5	by helping with the school	33	40.24%

Table 6.3 shows that most of the respondents (86.58%) are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school. Many are ready to encourage other to send their children, provide financial and other kinds of help. Some informants (15.84%) even responded that they would be ready to teach Bhujel if the schools are opened in Bhujel. This shows the strong love to their language.

6.4 Language attitudes

In general, there are not very positive attitudes towards their language in Bhujel community. Table 6.4 presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most.

Table 6.4: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love the most (n=82)

	What languages do they love the most?	Male n=40	Female n=42	Total
1	**Bhujel**	26(65%)	29(69.04%)	55(67.07%)
2	**Nepali**	13(34.5%)	12(28.57%)	25(30.48%)
3	**Gurung**	1(4.5%)	1(4.38%)	2(2.44 %)

Table 6.4 shows among the languages that they speak 67.07 % informants responded that they loved Bhujel the most. In terms of sex, the percentage of female is slightly more than that of male in response to Bhujel which they love most. However, 30.48%

responded that they love Nepali most among the languages they speak. Figure 6.1 presents the situation more clearly.
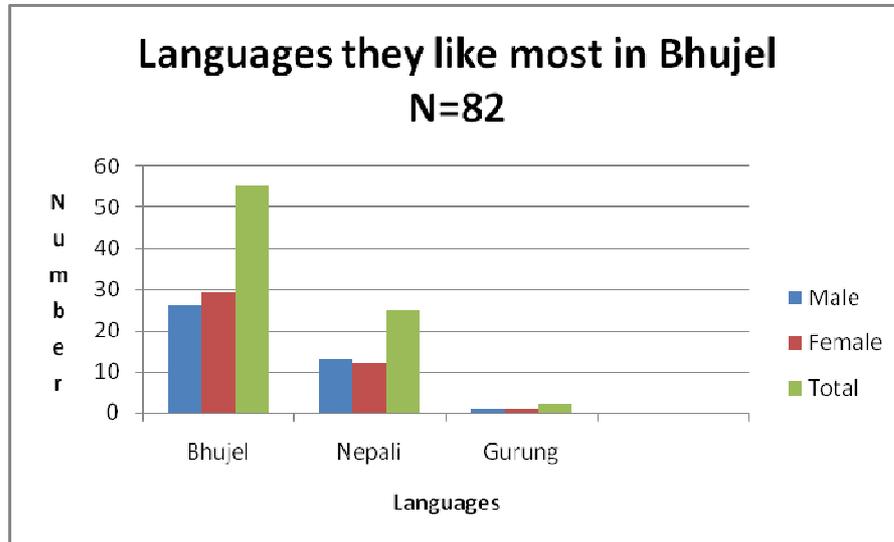
Figure 6.1: Languages they like most in Bhujel

Table 6.5 presents the feelings of the informants while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

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...	Male N=41	Female N=42	Total
1	prestigious	18(43.9)	15(35.7)	33(40.24%)
2	embarrassed	9(22.00)	13(31.0)	21(25.60%)
3	neutral	14(34.1)	14(33.3)	28(34.14%)

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

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

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Table 6.6: Any problem had because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue

	Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?	Male N=41	Female N=42	Total
1	YES	8(19.9)	5(11.9)	13(15.66%)
2	NO	33(80.5)	37(88.1)	70(84.33%)

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

Table 6.7: Kinds of problems the informants had because of being native speakers

	What kind of problem have you had?	Male N=6	Female N=4	Total
1	SOCIAL	4(66.6%)	4(100%)	8(80.0%)
2	POLITICAL	1(16.6%)	-	1(10%)
3	ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION	1(16.6%)	-	1(10%)
4	HOSTILE CONFRONTATION	-	-	
5	DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION	-	-	
6	SOCIAL PRESSURE	-	-	
7	POLITICAL PRESSURE	-	-	
8	ECONOMIC PRESSURE	-	-	
9	OTHER	-	-	

Table 6.7 shows that most of the respondents had social problem. Only a few had economic and political problem because of being a native speaker of the Bhujel language. When the informants were asked to give response to how they would you feel if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language, 43.90% responded that they were indifferent whereas 35.36% told that they felt bad in such situation. However, one-fifth of the informants said that they would feel good if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Table 6.8 presents the feelings of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know your language.

Table 6.8: Feelings of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know your language

	How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?	Male N=40	Female N=42	Total
1	**GOOD**	11(27.5%)	6(14.3%)	17(20.73%)
2	**INDIFFERENT**	16(40%)	20(47.6%)	36(43.90%)
3	**BAD**	13(32.5%)	16(38.1%)	29(35.36%)

The informants when they were asked what they think children of the present children might speak their language, more than 60% told that they would not speak their mother tongue. Look at Table 6.9 for a much clearer picture of the situation in Bhujel.

Table 6.9: What the informants think when the children of their village grow up and have children if these children might speak your language

	When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think these children might speak your language?	Male N=41	Female N=42	Total
1	YES	19(46.3)	14(33.3)	33(39.75%)
2	NO	22(53.7)	28(66.7)	50(60.24%)

Table 6.9 clearly indicates that there is a very weak situation of intergenerational language transmission in Bhujel. When they are asked what they would feel if the children of the present would speak their language, around 80% of the informants said that they would feel good if the children speak their mother tongue. Around 22% of the informants responded that it would not make them any difference for them.

Table 6.10 presents the feelings of the informants about if the children of the present children would/ would not speak their mother tongue.

Table 6.10: Feelings of the informants in key points in Bhujel

		How do you feel if the children speak their mother tongue? N=83			How do you feel if the children do not speak their mother tongue? N=83		
		GOOD	INDIFFERENT	BAD	GOOD	INDIFFERENT	BAD
1	KULMUN	8	4		1	4	7
2	ARTHUMPKA	8	4	1		6	6
3	BANIYATAR	11	1			3	9
4	ANDIMUL	11	-	1		2	10
5	DHODENI	8	3		1	4	6
6	CHANAUTE	10	1		-	4	8
7	BELTAR	7	5		-	5	7
Total		63	18	2	2	28	53
%		75.9%	21.68%	2.40%	2.40%	33.73%	63.85%

When they are asked what they would feel if the children of the present would do not speak their language, around 64% of the informants said that they would feel bad if the children do not speak their mother tongue. Around 34% of the informants responded that it would not make them any difference for them.

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

Table 6.11: Responses to what language should their children speak first

	What language should your children speak first?	Male N=39	Female N=39	Total
1	Bhujel	25(64.1%)	27(69.23%)	52(66.66%)
2	Nepali	14(35.89%)	12(30.76%)	26(33.33%)

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

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

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

Table 6.12: Responses to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from the grandfather

	Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?	Male N=40	Female N=42	Total
1	YES	14(35.0)	11(26.2)	25(30.48%)
2	NO	26(65.0)	31(73.8)	57(69.51%)

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

Table 6.13: How the language is different from the grandfather

	How is the language spoken by you is different from your grandfather?	Male N=43	Female N=26	Total
1	PRONUNCIATION	11(25.58%)	9(11.98%)	20(28.98%)
2	VOCABULARY	11(25.58%)	7(26.92%)	18(26.08%)
3	USE OF SPECIFIC TYPE OF SENTENCES	4(9.30%)	2(7.69%)	6(8.69%)
4	MIXING OF OTHER LANGUAGES	9(20.93%)	4(15.38%)	13(18.84%)
5	WAY OF SPEAKING	8(18.60%)	4(15.38%)	12(17.39%)
6	OTHER			

Table 6.13 shows that around 55% of the respondents said that the language is different with respect to pronunciation and the vocabulary. More than 35% said that the language is different because it is being mixed with other languages and the way of speaking is also different. The last question was concerned with the feelings of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Table 6.14 presents the feelings of the informants.

Table 6.14: Feelings of the informants

	How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?	Male N=41	Female N=41	Total
1	**GOOD**	5(12.2.0%)	6(14.6%)	11(13.41%)
2	**INDIFFERENT**	12(29.3%)	13(31.7%)	25(30.48%)
3	**BAD**	24(58.5%)	22(53.7%)	46(56.09%)

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

6.5 Summary

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

Language maintenance in Bhujel is atrocious. One of the reasons may be the intermarriage at a greater degree. Despite that fact that more than 87% informants would like their children learn/ study their mother tongue, in reality, they do not speak Bhujel with their children except in Kulmun. However, most of the respondents (86.58) are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school. In section 6.4, we dealt with the attitudes of the Bhujel community towards their language. In general, there is not a very positive attitude towards the language in Bhujel community despite the data shows that among the languages that they speak 67.07 % informants responded that they loved Bhujel the most. More than one-third of the informants feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language. Most of the respondents had no problem because of being a native speaker of Bhujel.

Those who had experienced problem had social problem. One-third of the respondents said that told that they felt bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. The rest replied that either they felt indifferent or good in such situation. Most of the informants replied that they would feel good if the children of the present children speak their mother tongue. Around two-third informants said that they would feel bad if the children do not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, more than two-third informants said that their children should speak their mother tongue first. Around 70% of the informants said that they are speaking the same language as spoken by their grandfather. More than the half said that the language they are speaking is different in pronunciation and the vocabulary. In the same way, most of the informants felt bad when they hear their children speak instead of their first language.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Outline

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

7.2 Language resources

According to the informants in key points the major kinds of oral literature available in Bhujel consists of folk tales, songs and religious literature. Bhujel community is deprived of radio program broadcast in Bhujel language. However, there is a FM broadcast in Chepang from Chitwan. Bhujel is a preliterate language. While writing the language the Devanagari script, which has been suggested for unwritten Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, is used. There as few organizations devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Bhujel community.[1] According to the informants, Bhujel has neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks. Nor has it a phonemic inventory. Moreover, it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature.

In fact there had already been published a number of articles and MA and PhD dissertations have been prepared, thanks to thee a high rate of illiteracy the informants were unknown about them. Especially, the following papers and books have been published about the Bhujel language:

1) The morphosyntax of relativization in Bhujel: Typological perspective. **Contemporary Issues in Nepalese Linguistics.** 2005

2) -taŋ,-te and -pa in Bhujel. **Recent Studies in Nepalese Linguistics.** 2007

3) Converb clauses in Bhujel. **Nepalese Linguistics**. Vol.23. 2008

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[1] There are very few language resources in this language. They include recorded and transcribed oral texts, a collection of about 1500 basic words, MA and PhD dissertations and some articles and papers published in national and international journals. Very recently, a short grammar in Nepali and an analyzed text have been published. Bhujel community is very rich in oral literature.

4) Bhujel "Direct-inverse" **Nepalese Linguistics**, Vol.23. 2008 (with Dr. David E. Watters)

5) Participant reference in Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya. **Nepalese Linguistics** Vol. 24, 2009

6) Nominalizations in Bhujel. **Nepalese Linguistics**, Vol. 25, 2010

7) Grammatical case marking in Bhujel, Chepang and Banakariya. **Linguistics: A Newsletter**. Vol 9, No 01, November Kathmandu Linguistic Circle, 2010

8) Bhujel bhasama nampadaka byakarnatmak kotiharuko byabastha (Grammatical categories of nouns in Bhujel) **Bhrikuti,** 8, Bhrikuti Academic Publications, Nepal, 2010

9) Subordination in Bhujel, **New Horizons in Linguistics** (Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume), Department of Linguistics, Bharathiar University, Coimbatore, India

10) Bhujel bhasama kal, paksha ra sangati byabastha (Tense, aspect and agreement system in Bhujel) **Pragnya**, 103, Nepal Pragnya Pratisthan, Nepal, 2011

11) Orthography development for the standardization of Bhujel: Issues and approaches, **JODEM:Journal of the Department of English**, Vol.III, Department of English, Mahendra Multiple Campus, Dharan, 2011.

12) Bhujel Bhasako Byakarana (A grammar of Bhujel), Bhujel Samaj Sewa Samiti, Central Committee, 2011

13) Analyzed texts in Bhujel [including a short introduction of the Bhujel language], Bhujel Samaj Sewa Samiti, Central Committee, 2011

14) Clause combining strategies in Bhujel: A Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. **Curriculum Development Journal.** 39:38-52, 2011

15) Tense, aspect and modality: A single complex category in Bhujel. **Contributions to Nepalese Studies.** 38:93-114, 2011

16) Worldview in Bhujel folk stories. **Linguistics: A Newsletter**. Vol 10, No 01, November, Kathmandu Linguistic Circle, 2011

17) Some morphophonological rules in Bhujel. **Journal of Nepal Pradyapak Sangh**, Kirtipur, 2011.

7.3 Language development

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

7.3.1 Appreciative inquiry

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all seven key points in Bhujel. The main purpose of this survey was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Bhujel community members for the development their language as well their culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of at least eight participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and educational status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the 'good things' in a piece of paper and placed them serially in the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Bhujel language and culture, say they "dreamed" about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

In this survey, as discussed already, we have employed different participatory tools such as dialect mapping, domains of language use and bilingualism. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language and culture (Hassellbring, 2009 personal communication) . However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture. Table 7.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in all seven key points in Bhujel.

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

SURVEY POINTS	GOOD THINGS THAT MADE BHUJEL FEEL HAPPY OR PROUD ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE	DREAMS ABOUT HOW THEY COULD MAKE THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN BETTER	MOST IMPORTANT DREAM TO START ON PLANNING
KULMUN	- Long-established language - Mother tongue of Bhujel - Bhujel culture is embodied in this language	- To prepare textbooks for children in Bhujel - To have equal access to media - To start mother tongue based education at primary level - To establish an organization for development of language and culture	To pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Bhujel
ARTHUMPKA	- Mother tongue of Bhujel - Easy to communicate secrete matters	- To prepare textbooks in Bhujel - To have any program in T.V - To have Bhujel teachers	To pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Bhujel
BANIYATAR	- Symbol of ethnic identity of Bhujel - Ancestral language - Easy to communicate	- To prepare textbooks in Bhujel - To have any program in T.V - To have Bhujel teachers	To start preparing textbooks in Bhujel
ANDIMUL	- Symbol of ethnic identity of Bhujel - Ancestral language - Easy to communicate	- To start mother tongue based education at primary level - To prepare textbooks in Bhujel - To use Bhujel in government office	To pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Bhujel
DHODENI	- Symbol of ethnic identity of Bhujel - Bhujel culture embodied in this language	- To start mother tongue based education at primary level - To prepare textbooks in Bhujel - To have any program in T.V	To start mother tongue based education at primary level
CHANAUTE	"Simple and sweet" - Symbol of ethnic identity of Bhujel - Mother tongue of Bhujel - Easy to communicate secrete matters	- To start mother tongue based education at primary level - To prepare textbooks in Bhujel - To have any program in T.V	To pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Bhujel
BELTAR	- Mother tongue of Bhujel - Ancestral language - Easy to communicate secrete matters	- To prepare textbooks in Bhujel - To start mother tongue based education at primary level	To start preparing textbooks in Bhujel

Table 7.1 summarizes the responses to many queries made to the participants in all the seven key points. The first key point where the appreciative inquiry tool was used is Kulmun. It is an original abode of the Bhujel in Tanahun so far it is known to the Bhujel community. In response to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud about their language and culture, the participants in group came to a conclusion that Bhujel apart from being their mother tongue is a long established language in which many traits of their culture have been embodied since long. The group is very concerned about the status of their language. In response to express their dreams how they could make their language or culture even better, they concluded that they wanted to prepare the textbooks in their language and use them at primary level. Apart from this, they would like to have equal access to the mass media. In other words, they would like to have any programme in their language transmitted nationally or regionally or locally. There should be some matters to read about Bhujel language and culture in the newspapers. They have been very much enthusiastic about having transimited some news as Chepang from the nearest transmission centres. They think that mass media is a very powerful means to motivate the people to think about the development of their language and culture. At the end they were asked to discuss what were the most important 'dreams and aspirations' which they would like to get realized. As it was not possible to do everything at a time, they were asked to choose most important among their dreams in order to start on developing plans on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed they concluded that they would like to make plans for transmission of the programs about Bhujel language and culture through television. For this they decided to a held meeting immediately in the village and appoint some people (both male and female) to pressurize the local bodies, members of parliament and their central committee to take immediate steps for this.

The participants of other key points, namely, Arthuplka, Andimul and Chanaute have almost the same aspirations as Kulmun has. Television programme in their language is their dire need. They have also made the plans for this as the participants of Kulmun have. However, unlike Kulmun, the participants from Arthuplka, Andimul and Chanaute have concluded that their language is so important because it is easy to communicate

secret matters in this language in the presence of the speakers of any dominant languages of the areas where they live. Moreover, the participants of Andimul are convinced that the language is the symbol of ethnic identity; and thus, it must be promoted and preserved. The most conscious participants so far in the present context of Nepal have been found in Andimul. They have dreamed that their language be used in the government office like Nepali. The participants of Arthumpka have realized that had they teachers from the Bhujel community it would have been easier to teach Bhujel language at the primary level.

Baniyatar was also very important key point in the survey. It is reported that there there were a few Bhujel in this point. However, at present, in a new settlement nearby Baniyatar on Prithvi High there are Bhujel in a considerable number, mostly migrated from pre-settled areas like Andimul, Arthmpka and Kulmun. The participants of this point strongly believe that language is the symbol of ethnic identity and language may preserve the culture. The participants, though they have three dreams so far they want first to start preparing textbooks in their language so that they can run mother tongue based multilingual education at the primary level. They are ready to work as language consultants in preparing the books. They have decided to visit the concerned authorities to take immediate steps to start on writing textbooks for primary level. They also decided to request the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) to help them to realize this dream.

The participants from Beltar also decided to prepare textbooks in Bhujel as Baniyatar. They are fully convinced that without the extension of domains of language use it is not possible to promote and preserve the seriously endangered language like Bhujel. Thus, they would like to use their mother tongue at the primary education. As there are not any reading materials in their language, they have given to high priority to preparing the textbooks in the language.

The participants of the Dhodeni have decided to run mother tongue based multilingual education at primary level. This decision, though very important, is too hasty as there are no textbooks in the language at all.

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

(1)

    a)   Bhujel is a long-established language of Nepal.

    b)   Bhujel is the mother tongue of Bhujel community.

    c)   Bhujel culture is embodied in this language.

    d)   It is easy to communicate secret matters in this language.

    e)   It is the symbol of ethnic identity.

    f)   This language is simple and sweet.

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

(2)

    a)   To prepare textbooks for children in Bhujel

    b)   To have equal access to media

    c)   To start mother tongue based education at primary level

    d)   To establish an organization for language development

    e)   To have Bhujel teachers

    f)   To use Bhujel in government office

They have basically three most important "dreams" which they would like to get realized immediately. They include pressurizing the local authorities to start program in T.V in Bhujel, starting   preparing textbooks in Bhujel and beginning mother tongue based education at primary level. However, they could not articulate concrete plans to get realized their "dreams".

Table 7.2 presents the "dreams" and plans for the development of Bhujel language including the "good things" about Bhujel language.

Table 7.2: The "dreams" and plans for the development of Bhujel language

GOOD THINGS THAT MADE BHUJEL FEEL HAPPY OR PROUD ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE	DREAMS ABOUT HOW THEY COULD MAKE THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN BETTER	MOST IMPORTANT DREAM TO START ON PLANNING
▪ To establish an organization for development of language and culture ▪ Bhujel is the mother tongue of Bhujel community. ▪ Bhujel culture is embodied in this language. ▪ It is easy to communicate secret matters in this language. ▪ It is the symbol of ethnic identity. ▪ This language is simple and sweet.	▪ To prepare textbooks for children in Bhujel ▪ To have equal access to media ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ To establish an organization for development of language and culture ▪ To have Bhujel teachers ▪ To use Bhujel in government office	▪ To pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Bhujel ▪ To start preparing textbooks in Bhujel ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level

7.3.2 Sociolinguistic questionnaire C

This questionnaire was especially designed for evaluating views of the village heads/ language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to male (9) and female (2) such informants in all the key points of the survey. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

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

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

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, in responses to the ways they could do vary in Bhujel community. Table 7.3 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Bhujel.

Table 7.3: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Bhujel

	Ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue	N=	Number of respondents	%
1	by devising the script	10	3	30%
2	by making the spelling system systematic	10	5	50%
3	by compiling dictionary	10	5	50%
4	by writing grammar	10	4	40%
5	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	10	6	60%
6	by writing and publishing textbooks	11	4	36.4%
7	by publishing newspapers	10	3	30%
8	by making use of the language in administration	11	10	90.9%
9	by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	11	11	100%
10	In any other ways	-	-	-

Table 7.3 shows 30% of the respondents could preserve and promote the language by devising the script and publishing newspapers in the language. Besides, 36-40% of the informants responded that they could preserve their mother tongue by writing grammar and writing and publishing textbooks in the language. Similarly, 50-60% of the informants responded that they could preserve their mother tongue by making the spelling system systematic, compiling dictionary and encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue. Around 91% of the informants replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in administration. It is shown in the table that all the respondents could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Bhujel. Bhujel community is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. They have no access to mass media at all. Bhujel is a preliterate language. They have to use the Devanagari script if they want to write in their language. There are a few organizations devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Bhujel community. So far as the

knowledge of the informants is concerned, they have neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks. Nor have they a phonemic inventory. Moreover, it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature. Bhujel is a long-established language of Nepal.

In general, the Bhujel community is aware that the language is very important for them. They think that Bhujel is not only their mother tongue. Moreover, it is the symbol of ethnic identity. The language has embodied many aspects of their culture. They have very particular dreams and aspirations for the development of their language and culture. They include preparing textbooks for children in Bhujel, having equal access to media, starting mother tongue based education at primary level, establishing   an organization for language development, having Bhujel teachers and using Bhujel language in government office.

They have basically three most important "dreams" which they would like to get realized immediately. They include pressurizing the local authorities, starting program in T.V in Bhujel, starting   preparing textbooks in Bhujel and beginning mother tongue based education at primary level. However, they have not been systematically articulated in the plans All the village heads are convinced that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level and a greater number of the village heads/ language activists would like to take immediate steps to make use of the language in administration. To sum up, the Bhujel community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary of findings

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

a) Bhujel, an endangered and preliterate Tibeto-Burman language, is mainly spoken in some areas along the Mahabharata mountain range and in some adjacent parts of Tanahun particularly in Nawalparasi, Chitwan and Gorkha districts of Nepal.

b) According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, Bhujel is spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1, 17,568 ethnic Bhujel. Bhujel mother tongue speakers have been dispersed in twenty districts of Nepal. The Census also reports that the only 9.1% of the total Bhujel population speak this language as the mother tongue.

c) Bhujel which belongs to the east Himalayish languages of Himalayish section of the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman language family exhibits a complex verb morphology indexing person, number and hierarchy of the speech act participants in the complex of the verb.

d) Bhujel have been identified in different places in different names. Moreover, they have been divided into seventeen clans in Tanahun. Religiously most of the Bhujel follow Hinduism. Nowadays, a large percentage of the population has shifted to Christianity. Around sixty percentage of the population is deprived of education. Occupationally, they are agriculturists. Nowadays, especially in Tanahun, the most favored profession is bamboo work. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, 79.69% of the Bhujel mother tongue speakers are bilingual in Nepali.

e) There is lexical similarity ranging from 60% to 85% of lexical similarity among the key points in Bhujel. It may indicate that Bhujel at present does not show any dialectal variation that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Bhujel speakers resididng in different key points.

f) Chepang, a closely related language to Bhujel has a smaller degree (ranging from 32% to 34%) of lexical similarity with the different key points in Bhujel. This clearly indicates that Bhujel cannot be considered as a dialect of Chepang despite that fact that they were descended from the same parents.

g) The recorded text test (RTT) shows that except for Chanaute the average scores are higher than 80% with lower standard deviations. Thus, it indicates that there is adequate comprehension/ intellligibility among test points in Bhujel.

h) The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that except for a few places, they can easily understand the form of the speech. The informants in group in Andimul, Chnaute and Beltar responded that the form of speech used in Andimul would be most preferable for them. However, Kulmun and Arthumpka preferred for Kulmun. Similarly, Baniyatar and Dhodeni responded that they would prefer Sinarkhola and Basenitar forms of speech for the purpose, respectively.

i) In all the general domains such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/ debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing , telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings Nepali is overwhelmingly used by the respondents of both sexes. In almost all the domains, a great number of the respondents of the age ranging from 15- 34 and 35-59 years use Nepali. The number of respondents of sixty and above using Nepali is smaller than that of the respondent's age ranging from 15- 34 and 35-59 years.

j) The illiterate infomants use Bhujel more than Bhujel and Nepali in almost all the domains of language use. Interestingly, in the domains of singing in general, singing at home and family gathering no literate Bhujel makes use of mother tongue whereas illiterate ones still, though in some degree, are using Bhujel in these domains.

k) In all the domains, the male make use of Nepali more than that of their mother tongue in comparison to the female respondents in Bhujel community notwithstanding the use of Nepali in all domains is overwhelmingly greater than that of Bhujel irrespective of sex. In terms of sex, around 80% respondents of both sexes use Nepali while talking with their children about education matters. In all domains in general Nepali is used by a great number of the speakers below than 60 years. Nepali, the language of wider communication, is most frequently used in almost all the domains while talking with family members about educational matters. Nepali is more frequently used than Bhujel and Nepali and Bhujel by both the male and female in general.

l) Moreover, while talking with children, both male and female use Nepali to a great extent, i.e. 73% in both sexes. The respondents of below 60 in general use more Nepali. In the same way, while speaking to children, discussing social events and family matters in comparison to A1 and A2 age groups, the A3 age groups use Nepali less frequently.

m) Irrespective of literacy, Nepali is most frequently used while discussing social events and family matters with the major family members. In general, the illiterate people use Bhujel more frequently than the literate. Nepali is predominantly used by female respondents while writing letters with family members. Interestingly, all the male respondents use Nepali while writing letters with the major family members.

n) Nepali is exclusively used by almost all the respondents of A1 and A2 age groups while writing letters with family members. Almost all respondents, both male and female, exclusively use Nepali in writing letters to the spouse. Nepali is dominantly used by the children while playing with other children, talking with neighbors and at schools.

o) Nepali is greatly used for marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings in Bhujel community. The female use their mother tongue more frequently than the male. Those who are over sixty and illiterate use mother tongue more frequently than those below sixty and illiterate. Almost all those below 35 use Nepali, the language of wider communication every day. Nepali is

exclusively used when the speakers of other languages visit Bhujel at home. Majority of both sexes prefer their mother tongue as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. However, a bit more percentage of male responded that they prefer Nepali as the children's medium of instruction at the primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

p) In almost all the domains of language use, in Bhujel community, Nepali is dominantly used and intergenerational transmission of the Bhujel language is appalling.

q) Only a half of the informants can speak their mother tongue very well in Bhujel speech community. Around one-third in Bhujel can read and write their mother tongue very well.

r) Bhujel is a fairly multilingual community. All the people in Bhujel community can speak Nepali. However, not all the Bhujel can speak their mother tongue. Apart from Nepali, they can speak Gurung and Magar living around Gurung and Magar community. Some Bhujel also can speak languages like Chepang, Ghale , Newar and English.

s) Bhujel community is gradually shifting to Nepali, a language of wider communication in the reference points of the survey. There is no monolingual in Bhujel, the mother tongue. Children do not speak Bhujel as mother tongue in Bhujel community. Middle aged and old people, the leaders of the community, businessmen, the teachers and students are bilingual in both Nepali and Bhujel. On the average, 54.13% people can understand Nepali at a high level (3 and 3+ RPE levels, very good and good level).

t) Bhujel community in general is gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication in the hilly areas in Nepal. More than two-third of the Bhujel children do not speak their mother tongue at all. More than 81% of the young speaking the mother tongue do not speak it as well as it ought to be. More than 77 % parents in this community usually speak in Nepali with their children. This indicates that there is very low intergenerational language transmission in

Bhujel community. It suggests that unless immediate steps are taken this language will not be spoken at all.

u) Language maintenance in Bhujel is atrocious. One of the reasons may be the intermarriage at a greater degree. Despite that fact that more than 87% informants would like their children learn/ study their mother tongue, in reality, they do not speak Bhujel with their children except in Kulmun. However, most of the respondents (86.58) are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school.

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

w) Bhujel community is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs and religious literature. They have no access to mass media at all. Bhujel is a preliterate language. They have to use the Devanagari script if they want to write in their language. There are a few organizations devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Bhujel community. So far as the knowledge of

the informants is concerned, they have neither grammar nor dictionary and textbooks. Nor have they a phonemic inventory. Moreover, it lacks literacy materials, newspapers, magazines or written literature. Bhujel is a long-established language of Nepal.

x) In general, the Bhujel community is aware that the language is very important for them. They think that Bhujel is not only their mother tongue. Moreover, it is the symbol of ethnic identity. The language has embodied many aspects of their culture. They have very particular dreams and aspirations for the development of their language and culture. They include preparing textbooks for children in Bhujel, having equal access to media, starting mother tongue based education at primary level, establishing an organization for language development, having Bhujel teachers and using Bhujel language in government office.

y) They have basically three most important "dreams" which they would like to get realized immediately. They include pressurizing the local authorities, starting program in T.V in Bhujel, starting preparing textbooks in Bhujel and beginning mother tongue based education at primary level. However, they have not been systematically articulated in the plans All the village heads are convinced that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level and a greater number of the village heads/ language activists would like to take immediate steps to make use of the language in administration.

z) The Bhujel community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education.

8.2 Recommendations

a) Bhujel in general are marginalized economically, socially and educationally. There is a greater tendency of migration for land for cultivation, occupation and other reasons. Unless this tendency is geared down the language as well as the culture in Bhujel community cannot be preserved. Thus, immediate steps should be taken from the concerned authorities to assure the Bhujel community about the basic needs of life in the place where they are living.

b) A single language development program would be appropriate to be framed and implemented for the Bhujel speech community. The wordlist comparison has shown the lexical similarity ranging from 60% to 85% among the key points in Bhujel. Moreover, the recorded text test (RTT) has also shown, except for one survey point, the average scores are higher than 80% with lower standard deviations. Thus,

c) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be preserved. The Bhujel community should be made aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue and encouraged to transmit their mother tongue to the younger generations through advocacy.

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

e) The attention of the local bodies and the government should be drawn to establish radio station to transmit news and other programs for entertainment in Bhujel language. This also boasts up the mother tongue speakers to use their language widely.

f) Specific language development programs such as documentation of the language, developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched.

g) Most importantly, the primary education should be imparted in mother tongue by preparing teaching materials containing the subject matters suited for the local needs and socio cultural setting. The primary education is not practicable and suitable in the complex linguistic and cultural situation of Nepal. The first reason is that the medium of instruction in the school is compulsorily Nepali, language of wider communication in Nepal. The children from non-Nepali speech community cannot understand what the teachers explain in Nepali in the class on the one hand, the Nepali language used in writing the textbooks is not understandable to the average students from non Nepali speech communities. The use of Sanskritized vocabulary may hinder the comprehension of the texts even to Nepali speaking students. The subject matters of the subjects like social

studies are unfamiliar to the children. They are compelled to study the cultural aspects of the dominant language speech community. Due to the lack of understanding of the subject matter the students do not become interested in the study and drop the school (Regmi, 2010).

h) The survey shows that Bhujel is a fairly multilingual community with, on the average, 54.13% people having understanding of Nepali at a high level (3 and 3+ RPE levels, very good and good level). Literacy programmes in the mother-tongue have to be immediately conducted in Bhujel community so that all the people would be motivated to speak their own language.

i) In general, there is not a very positive attitude towards the language in Bhujel community despite the data shows that among the languages that they speak 67.07 % informants responded that they loved Bhujel most. Language maintenance in Bhujel is atrocious. There requires a planed intervention for preservation of the language.

j) They have basically three most important "dreams" which they would like to get realized immediately. They include pressurizing the local authorities, starting program in T.V in Bhujel, starting preparing textbooks in Bhujel and beginning mother tongue based education at primary level. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them in realizing their dreams.

k) Both recorded text test (RTT) and sentence repetition test (SRT) should be conducted a bit more systematically and meticulously in the key points of the survey in Bhujel.

ANNEXES

Annex A: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:………………………

(१)……………………………

(२)……………………………

(३)……………………………

(४) ……………………………

(५) ……………………………

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१)……………………………..

(२)……………………………

(३)……………………………

(४) ……………………………

(५) ……………………………

स्थान :

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

गाउँ/टोल:………………………

भाषाको नाम: ………………… अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा: …………

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

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

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

100

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

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

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

ANNEX B: RECORDED TEXT TEST (RTT): A STORY OF PUMPKIN

01

u   butʰabutʰi-koy   co-taŋ   na   ge-la   co-lam
that   old couple-GEN   son-TOP   have   be-NEG   son-PL

na   ge-la   pʰã-tak   al-tʰai butʰa   jota-ti   sadʰai   kim
Have   be-NEG   field-up to   go-SIM old man   till-DUR   always house

paykʰ-je-ɑl
return-PRF-PST
The old couple had no son. As they had no son the old man used to go tilling the field and come back home.

02

ɑba	co-lam	nɑ-la	lai	nis	sot-je-ɑl	ge-nɑ	gɑmbesi
now	son-PL	have-NEG	self	two	be weak-PRF-PST	be-NPST	up-down

rɑkʰ-may-kɑy	butʰabuthi-kɑy	gɑhro	ge-yɑl
Do-NMLZ-DAT	old couple-DAT	difficult	be-PST

As they had no son it had been very difficult for the old man and woman to go to the field and come back home. Both of them were getting weaker and weaker.

03

ulyɑmkoy	uhɑŋsaikoy	at-jyo	dʰansɑr-haŋ-taŋ	pʰarsi	to-nɑ
then	then	one-CLF	store-LOC-TOP	pumpkin	say-NPST

After that a pumpkin in the store says.

04

pʰarsi-taŋ	to-nɑ	lau	ɑma	ŋa-i	ɑpa-kɑy	am	dɑkʰ-ɑl-n-u-ŋ
Pumpkin-TOP	say-NPST	OK	mother	1SG-ERG	father-DAT	rice	reach-go-NPST-1/2

The pumpkin says, "Mother! I'll go to the field to reach the rice for the father."

05

nay-kɑy	bʰetna-haŋ	pyɑn-bet	lokʰ- lak-u	ɑma-i
cloth-DAT	stem-LOC	tie-SEQ	send-COPML-DIR	mother-ERG
kan-taŋ-lyɑŋ	dʰansɑr-haŋ	pʰarsi	bɑhek su-mɑ	cew-ŋ-ɑl
See-TOP-PURP	store-LOC	pumpkin	except who-NEG	see-1/2-NEG

The pumpkin said," Mother, tie me with the cloth on the stem of the pumpkin and send me." The mother tried to see but not find anything apart from the pumpkins.

06

ihɑŋ-to	gata	ge-nɑ
Here-NMLZ	how	be-NPST

How is this happening here?

07

pʰarsi-koy	bʰetna-ɑŋ	pyɑn-bet	am	lokʰ-lak-nɑ
Pumpkin-GEN	stem-TOP	tie-SEQ	rice	send-COMPL-NPST

How does the pumpkin go to reach the meal?

08

ala	ɑl-koy	ɑl-koy	ɑpa-i	goru	jota-o	tʰãu-haŋ	dɑkʰ-ɑl	law
go.IMP	go-GEN	go-GEN	father-ERG	ox	till-NMLZ	place-LOC	reach-PST	then
ŋa-i	naŋ-kɑy	am	wan-ɑl-u-ŋ	naŋ	am	je-wɑŋa		
1SG-ERG	2SG-DAT	rice	bring-PST-DIR-1/2	2SG	rice	eat-come. IMP		

104

to-taŋ   to-al-an
Say-TOP   say-go-NPST
The mother said to the pumpkin, "Go." The pumpkin went to the field and told the father that he had brought the rice for him. He called the father to come to eat food.

09

u-haŋ-sai-koy   kan-taŋ-bet   su-ma   cew-al
that-LOC-ABL-GEN   see-TOP-SEQ   who-NEG   see-NEG

kan-may   pʰarsi-lai
See-NMLZ   pumpkin-EMPH
After that the man tried to see but not find anything. He happened to see only a pumpkin.

10

u   pharsi-taŋ   gam-bet   apa-kay   got-bet   waŋ-bet
that   pumpkin-TOP   keep-SEQ   father-DAT   call-SEQ   come-SEQ

apa-i   je-al-an   cyuŋ   bela   ŋa-i   goru   jota-n-u-ŋ
father-ERG   eat-go-NPST   sit   time   1SG-ERG   ox   till-NPST-DIR-1/2
He called the father. The father came and started eating the rice. At the same time the pumpkin asked the man to till the land.

11

naŋ-i   am   je-u   apa   to-al-an   uhaŋsaikoy   lau
2SG-ERG   rice   eat-DIR   father say-go-NPST   then   OK

uta-to-haŋ   ge-na
that-say-LOC   be-NPST
The pumpkin told the father to take his meal. The father said OK.

12

apa-i   je-al-an   u-lai   ota-ti   lag-al   apa-i
father-ERG   eat-go-NPST   that-self   till-DUR   start-PST   father-ERG

uhaŋsaikoy   bʰay-al-an   law   apa   at-jyo
then   finish-go-NPST   then   father   one-CLF

bat   ŋa-i   to-n-u-ŋ
thing   1SG-ERG   say-NPST-DIR-1/2

naŋ-i   ŋa-kay   raja-koy   momcoco   yuŋ-bay-u
2SG-ERG   1SG-DAT   king-GEN   daughter   ask-give-DIR
The father eats the rice. The pumpkin starts tilling the field. When the father ate up the rice the pumpkin asked the father to ask the hands of a daughter of the king for him.

13

uhaŋsaikoy   naŋ-koy   muik   na-la   dom   na-la   gata
Then   2SG-GEN   eye   have-NEG   leg   have-NEG   how

ŋa-i   yuŋ-bay-may   khay-ŋ-al   to-al-an   apa-i
1SG-ERG   ask-give-NMLZ   can-1/2-NEG   say-go-NPST   father-ERG
The father said, "You have neither eyes nor legs. How can I ask for you?"

14

uhaŋsaikoy   ŋa-i   ihaŋ   to-al-an   lai-taŋ   al-al-aŋ
Then   1SG-ERG   here   say-go-NPST   self-TOP   go-PST-1/2
The pumpkin said," If it is so I go myself."

105

15

u	al-koy	al-koy	raja-koy	kim	dakʰ-al	u	raja
3SG	go-GEN	go-GEN	king-GEN	house	reach-PST	3SG	king

kim	dakʰ	bittikay	raja-kay-taŋ	co	yuŋ wan-al-n
house	reach	immediately	king-DAT-TOP	daughter	ask come-go-NPST

He went to the palace and told the king that he went there to ask for the hands of his daughter.

16

uhaŋsaiko	lau	sat	bahini	co-lam-taŋ	gau
then	OK	seven	sister	daughter-PL-TOP	which

co-lam	al-na	i-kus-taŋ
daugter-PL	go-NPST	3SG-COM-TOP

Then the king asked his seven daughters who were ready to go with the pumpkin and get married with him.

17

o	ŋa	ma	al-ŋ-al	o	ŋa		ma	al-ŋa-l
No	1SG	also	go-1/2-NEG	No	1SG		also	go-1/2-NEG

cʰa	bahini-taŋ	to-lak-al-ni		mayo	co-i
six	sister-TOP	say-COMPL-PST-PL		youngest	offspring-ERG

lau	su-kay	te bay-na	apa-i	u-kus-lai	wakʰ-je-na-ŋ
OK	who-DAT	2 give-NPST	father-ERG	3SG-COM-EMPH	go-PRF-NPST-1/2

to-taŋ	to-bet	ihaŋ-to	ŋa-i	wakʰ
say-TOP	say-SEQ	here-NMLZ	1SG-ERG	go.IMP

to-taŋ	to-bet	pʰarsi	agadi	agadi	raja-koy		co
say-TOP	say-SEQ	pumpkin	ahead	ahead	king-GEN		daughter

pachadi	pachadi	ge-yal	kim-haŋ	paykʰ-yal
after	after	be-PST	house-LOC	return-PST

His first six daughters denied going with the pumpkin. However the youngest one got ready to do so. Then the pumpkin and the princess came home. On the way the pumpkin was followed by the princess.

18

kim	paykʰ-bet	apa	ama-kus	bʰet	ge-yal	ulyamkoy
house	return-SEQ	father	mother-COM	meet	be-PST	then

raja-koy	co-taŋ	wan-al-u-ŋ		to-taŋ	to-al-an
king-GEN	son-TOP	bring-PST-DIR-1/2		say-TOP	say-go-NPST

lau	wan-sam	pe-yal	gam-u
OK	bring-EPIST	be.good-PST	keep-DIR

They met the father and mother at home. The father and the mother became very happy and asked them to stay at home.

19

lau	ihaŋ-to	at	chin	hawa	yau	al-an-ŋ		to-taŋ
OK	here-NMLZ	one	minute	air	take	go-NPST-1/2		ay-TOP

to-ɑl-ɑn	lai-nis-tɑŋ	ɑl-to-nɑ	ɑl-bet
say-go-NPST	self-two-TOP	go-NMLZ-NPST	go-SEQ

uhɑŋsaikoy	pãhel-koy	tuŋʰ-hɑŋ	dakʰ-bet	then	1SG-ERG
then	Pãhel-GEN	stem-LOC	reach-SEQ	law	ŋa-i

pãhel	je-may	likʰ-n-u-ŋ
Pãhel	eat-NMLZ	like-NPST-DIR-1/2.

Then they went for a while to fresh themselves. When they reached the stem of a Pahel tree the queen said to the king that she was eager to eat the Pahel fruits.

20

ŋa-kay	yoŋmakray-je-yɑl	ti-mɑ	ap-je-ɑn	ihɑŋ-to	nɑy
1SG-DAT	feel. hungry-PRF-PST	water-also	thirst-PRF-NPST	here-NMLZ	cloth

pukʰluk-kay	bʰetnɑ-hɑŋ	pyan-bet	kʰap-n-u-ŋ
shawl-DAT	stem-LOC	tie-SEQ	swing-NPST-DIR-1/2

to-tɑŋ	to-bet	lʰaŋɑn	ulyɑmkoy
say-TOP	say-SEQ	climb-NPST	then

lʰaŋ-bet	kʰap-ɑl-ɑn
Climb-SEQ	swing-go-NPST

'I am also hungry and thirsty', said the queen. The pumpkin asked to tie the shawl to the stem. Then he tried to climb the tree and pick the fruits.

21

kʰap-bet-tɑŋ	uhɑŋsaikoy	lʰaŋ-o	bela	let-bet
swing-SEQ-TOP	then	climb-NMLZ	time	slip-SEQ

pray-j e-yɑl	u	bʰitra-pɑ	raja	kʰita-tɑŋ
Break-PRF-PST	that	inside-TOP	king	young-TOP

While he was trying to climb up the tree and swinging, he happened to slip and he got broken. To her surprise, there was a young king inside the broken pumpkin.

22

ulyɑmkoy	ihɑŋ-lai	sat-koy-sati	brauto	darbar-tɑŋ
then	here-EMPH	truth-GEN-truthbig		palace-TOP

banaybet ama apa   uhaŋlai wanbet gamualani

banay-bet	ama	apa	uhaŋ-lai	wan-bet	gam-u-ala-ni
make-SEQ	mother	father	there-EMPH	come-SEQ	keep-DIR-PST-PL

After that by didn't of the truth they built a big palace there. They took their poor father and mother and kept with them there.

Questionnaire   Code No:
Name: Age:
Address: Education:
Each right answer is awarded 3 marks.

1. dai butha sədhəi jotəməy altay?

   (Why did the old man always go to till the field?)

2. sukay gahro geyal?

   (Who felt difficulty?)

3. phərsi ghaŋ mutona?

   (Where was the pumpkin?)

4. phərsikəy amakay do toal?

   (What did the pumpkin say to the mother?)

5. dai ama chəkkə geyal?

   (Why did the mother get surprised?)

6. alkoy alkoy phərsi ghaŋ dakhal?

   (Where did the pumpkin reach ultimately?)

7. uhaŋsəikoy apakay phərsikəy do tohal?

   (Then, what did the pumpkin say to the father?)

8. uhaŋsəikoy apakay phərsikəy do tohal?

   (Then, what did the pumpkin say to the father?)

9. uhaŋsəikoy pharsikay apakəy do tohal?

   (Then, what did the father say to the pumpkin?)

10. uhaŋsəikoy phərsikəy apakay do tohal?

    (Then, what did the pumpkin say to the father?)

11. apai jealaŋ cuŋbela phərsi do rakhyal?

    (What did the pumpkin do while the father was eating?)

12. uhaŋsəikoy phərsi ghaŋ dakhal?

    (After that, where did the pumpkin reach?)

13. phərsikəy rajakoy gəbano momcocokay krom rakhal?

    (Which daughter of the king did the pumpkin marry?)

14. dai phərsi siŋ lhəŋal?

    (Why did the pumpkin climb the tree?)

15. uhaŋsəikoy phərsikay do geyal?

    (What happened to the pumpkin?)

Annex C: Sentence Repetition Test (SRT): Nepali SRT

p1) म अर्को हप्ता भारत जान्छु।

p2) त्यसपछि दायाँतिर लाग्नोस।

p3) मेरो बुवा काठमाडौंमा हुनुहुन्थ्यो।

1) म स्कुलमा काम गर्छु।

2) हिजोआज पसलमा केही छैन।

3) म नेपालमा बसेको धेरै बर्ष भयो।

4) तिम्रो घरमा पनि बिजुली बती रहेछ।

5) यसले देशको विकास गर्छ।

6) खाना पिरो भए तापनि मलाई मिठो लाग्यो।

7) सिनेमा हेर्दा-हेर्दै, म त भुसुक्कै निंदाएछु।

8) त्यहाँबाट त्यो मूलबाटोसम्म निक्लनुहोस्।

9) यसले स्वास्थ्य र सुरक्षाको लागि सहयोग गर्छ।

10) कुरा गरेको र काम गरेकोमा धेरै फरक पो हुन्छ।

11) आज दिउँसो पानी पर्छ भन्ने कुरा हामीलाई थाहा छँदैथियो।

12) यसले जनताको सबै सुबिधा बारे बिचार गर्छ।

13) रनेले बाबुको क्रिया-कर्म मुस्किल्ले गर्न सक्यो।

14) शिक्षक-शिक्षिकाहरुसँग पनि पाठ्यक्रमबारे कुरा गर्छु।

15) हाम्रो देशको आर्थिक अवस्थाले गर्दा पानी खाने धारा सबैतिर पुगेको छैन।

Annex D: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

My name is ………. I am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?
INFORMED CONSENT: Given: □ Not Given: □

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

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day……… Month……..........Year..…… VS Day….. …..Month ………… Year…… AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: ………………………….

	Village/Town: ……………………………. VDC/Municipality: ………………………………… District: ……………………………. Zone: ……………………………… GPS Coordinates: …………………………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   □
NO   □

Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.

B. Language resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

(a) Yes (b) No

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

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

(a) Cultural

(b) Linguistic

(c) Educational

(d) Other…………………

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

So you speak… (remind of Q. 38)

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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? …………………………….

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(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) | |

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (in Nepali)

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढ्ने।

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

सहमति:   छ   छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते……… महिना…….……वर्ष……… वि.सं. तारिख….. …..महिना ………… वर्ष……… सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	वार्ड नं.: ………………………………… गाउँ/नगर: ………………………… गाविस/नगरपालिका: …………………… जिल्ला: ………………………… अञ्चल: ………………… जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:……………पू. …………………………………उ.
४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क) ………………………… (ख) ………………………… (ग) ………………………… (घ) ………………………… (ङ) …………………………
५. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यम भाषा	…………………………………
६. अन्तर्क्रियाको माध्यम भाषा	…………………………………
७. दोभाषेको नाम (आवश्यक परेमा)	…………………………………

८. भाषासूचकको नाम: …………………………………
९. (आवश्यक परेमा मात्र) लिङ्ग: (क) पुरुष   (ख) महिला   (ग) अन्य
१०. उमेर: …………
११. तपाईंलाई लेख-पढ गर्न आउँछ?
(क) आउँछ   (ख) आउँदैन
१२. (आउँछ भने) तपाईंले लेख-पढ गर्न कसरी सिक्नु भयो?
(क) औपचारिक रूपमा   (ख) अनौपचारिक रूपमा

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

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

(घ) उच्च (उच्चतम तह उल्लेख गर्ने) ....

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

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

(क) छन्   (ख) छैनन्

१६. जाति:....................

१७. जनजाति समूह (थर): ....

१८. धर्म:

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

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

१९. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नाम:

(क) (तपाईंले भन्ने)..........................

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

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

        (क) ....   (ख) ....

        (ग) ....   (घ) ....

२२. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषा: ....

२३. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषा: ....

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

२४. तपाईंको श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीको मातृभाषा: ....

२५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?

(क) वार्ड नं.: .... (ख) गाउँ/नगर: ....

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: .... (घ) जिल्ला: ....

(ङ) अञ्चल: ....

२६. हाल तपाईं कहाँ बस्नु हुन्छ? ....

(क) वार्ड नं.: .... (ख) गाउँ/नगर: ....

(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिका: .... (घ) जिल्ला: ....

(ङ) अञ्चल: ....

२७. तपाईं यहाँ बस्नु भएको कति समय भयो?.....................

२८. तपाईं अन्त कतै एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी बस्नु भएको छ?

        (क) छ   (ख) छैन

२९. (यदि बस्नु भएको छ भने)

(क) कहाँ: .... (ख) कहिले: .... (ग) कति समयसम्म: ....

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

(आ) भाषिक सामग्री

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

(क)   लोक कथा,

(ख)   संगीत,

(ग)   धार्मिक साहित्य,

(घ)   रेडियो,

(ङ)   सिनेमा,

(च)   सीडी/डीभीडी,

(छ)   अन्य:...................

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

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

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

३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?

सामग्री:	३२. छन् वा छैनन्	३३. (छन् भने) कुन भाषामा लेखिएका छन्?
क. वर्णमाला		
ख. व्याकरण		
ग. शब्दकोष		
घ. पाठ्यपुस्तक		
साक्षरता सामग्री		
समाचारपत्र		
छ. पत्रिका		
ज. लिखित साहित्य		
झ. लोकवार्ता		
अन्य		

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

(क)   पढ्छु   (ख)   पढदिन

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

तपाईंको भाषा कुन लिपिमा लेखिन्छ? ....

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

(क)   छन्   (ख)   छैनन्

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

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३८. ती संस्थाले के कस्ता काम गर्छन्?

(क) सांस्कृतिक

(ख) भाषिक

(ग) शैक्षिक

(घ) अन्य.........................

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

(इ) मातृभाषामा दक्षता/बहुभाषिकता

३९. तपाईं कुन कुन भाषा बोल्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

................., ..., ..., ..., ...,

४०. तपाईंले सबै भन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु भयो? ....

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

४१. सबै भन्दा राम्रो? ....

४२. दोस्रो राम्रो? ....

४३. तेस्रो राम्रो? ....

४४. चौथो राम्रो? ....

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(ई) भाषाको प्रयोग

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

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

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

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

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

(ग) चिठ्ठीपत्र लेख्दा (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

	क. शिक्षा सम्बन्धी	ख. सामाजिक क्रियाकलाप र पारिवारिक विषयमा	ग. चिठ्ठीपत्र लेख्दा
क. हजुरबुबासँग			
ख. हजुरआमासँग			
ग. बुबासँग			
घ. आमासँग			
ङ. श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीसँग			
च. छोराछोरीसँग			

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

(क) अन्य साथीहरूसँग खेल्दा …………………………..

(ख) छिमेकीहरूसँग कुराकानी गर्दा …………………………

(ग) विद्यालयमा …………………………………………

५७. विहेको निम्तो गर्नु पर्दा तपाईंहरू कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ? …………………………

५८. समुदायका बैठकमा भएका निर्णय लेख्नु पर्दा कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गरिन्छ? ………………

५९. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा कत्तिको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

(क)   दिन दिनै   (ख)   कहिले काहीँ   (ग)   कहिल्यै गर्दिन

६०. तपाईंको सम्पर्क भाषा कुन हो र त्यसको कति प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

भाषाको नाम: ………………

(क)   दिन दिनै   (ख)   कहिले काहीँ   (ग)   कहिल्यै गर्दिन

६१. तपाईंको भन्दा बेग्लै भाषा बोल्ने साथीभाइ तपाईंका घरमा आउँदा कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नु हुन्छ? ………………………

६२. तपाईंका छोराछोरीलाई प्राथमिक तहमा कुन भाषाको माध्यममा पढाउन चाहनु हुन्छ?

(क)   मातृभाषा (ख)   नेपाली (ग)   अंग्रेजी (घ)   अन्य……………

(उ) भाषिक जीवन्तता

६३. तपाईंका सबै छोराछोरीले मातृभाषा बोल्छन्?

(क)   बोल्छन्   (ख)   बोल्दैनन्

६४. यस गाउँका धेरै जसो अभिभावकहरू आफ्ना केटाकेटीसँग कुराकानी गर्दा प्राय: कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्छन्?

(क)   मातृभाषा (ख)   नेपाली (ग)   अन्य……………

६५. तपाईंका समुदायका युवायुवतीले यो भाषा जति राम्रो बोल्नु पर्ने हो त्यति नै राम्ररी बोल्छन्?

(क)   बोल्छन्   (ख)   बोल्दैनन्

(ऊ) भाषिक निरन्तरता

६६. तपाईंको समुदायमा अन्तर्जातीय विवाह हुन्छ?

(क)   हुन्छ   (ख)   हुँदैन

६७. (हुन्छ भने) अन्य कुन भाषिक समुदायसँग तपाईंहरूको परस्पर वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध छ?

(क).....................   (ख) ....   (ग) ....

६८. आफ्ना केटाकेटीले मातृभाषामा पढ्ने लेख्ने गरेको तपाईं मन पराउनु हुन्छ?

(क)   पराउँछु   (ख)   पराउँदिन

६९. (पराउनु हुन्छ भने) तपाईंको भाषा पढाउने स्कुल खोलियो भने कसरी सहयोग गर्नु हुन्छ?

(क)   आफ्ना केटाकेटीलाई पढ्न पठाएर

(ख)   समुदायका अरूलाई आफ्ना केटाकेटीहरू पठाउन प्रोत्साहित गरेर

(ग)   आर्थिक सहयोग प्रदान गरेर

(घ)   आफैले अध्यापन गरेर

(ङ)   स्कुललाई सहयोग गरेर

(च) अन्य प्रकारले ....

(ए) भाषिक अभिवृत्ति

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

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

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

(क)   छ   (ख)   छैन

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

....
....

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

(क)   राम्रो   (ख)   ठिकै   (ग)   नराम्रो

७४. अहिलेका केटाकेटीका छोराछोरीले पनि तपाईंको भाषा बोल्लान्?

(क)   बोल्लान्   (ख)   नबोल्लान्

७५. बोले भने तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क)   राम्रो   (ख)   ठिकै   (ग)   खराब

७६.   बोलेनन् भने कस्तो लाग्छ?

(क)   राम्रो   (ख)   ठिकै   (ग)   खराब

७७. तपाईंका छोराछोरीले सबैभन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्नु पर्छ? ....

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

(क)   लाग्छ   (ख)   लाग्दैन

७९. (लाग्छ भने) के केमा फरक होला?

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(क)   उच्चारणमा
(ख)   शब्दभण्डारमा
(ग)   विशेष प्रकारका वाक्यहरूको प्रयोगमा
(घ)   भाषामिश्रणमा
(ङ)   बोल्ने तरिकामा
(च)   अन्यमा ....
८०. तपाईंकै भाषिक समुदायका युवायुवतीले आफ्नो भाषा नबोलेर अर्कै भाषा बोलेको सुन्दा कस्तो लाग्छ?
(क)   राम्रो   (ख)   ठिकै   (ग)   नराम्रो

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

A. सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद।

Annex E: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day……… Month……..........Year..…… VS Day….. …..Month ………… Year…… AD
Place of Interview	Ward: ………………………. Village/Town: ……………………………. VDC/Municipality: …………………………… District: ……………………………. Zone: …………………………….

	GPS Coordinates: …………………………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?

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (in Nepali)

छायाकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढ्ने।

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

<div align="center">सहमतिः   छ   छैन</div>

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

<div align="center">अन्तर्वार्ता भन्दा पहिले तलका प्रश्नहरू (१-७) को उत्तर लेख्नुहोस्।</div>

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते.............महिना............वर्ष.......... वि.सं. तारिख............महिना...........वर्ष...........सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	क. वार्ड नं.: .... ख. गाउँ/नगरः .... ग. गाविस/नगरपालिकाः .... घ. जिल्लाः .... ङ. अञ्चलः .... च. जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्सः.......................पू. ....उ.

४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नामः	(क) .... (ख) .... (ग) .... (घ) .... (ङ) ....
५. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यम भाषा	
६. अन्तरक्रियाको माध्यम भाषा	
७. दोभाषेको नाम (आवश्यक भएमा)	

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

सहयोगी #१:

८. सहयोगी (भाषासूचक) को नामः ....

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

१०. उमेरः ....

११. जाति/जनजाति समूहः ....

१२. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नामः ....

१३. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषाः ....

१४. तपाईंको बुबाको मातृभाषाः ....

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

भाषा-सूचक	नाम	लिङ्ग	उमेर	जाति	मातृ-भाषा	आमाको मातृभाषा	बुबाको मातृभाषा	छनौटको आधारः

								हो वा होइन?
१.								
२.								
३.								
४.								
५.								
६.								
७.								
८.								
९.								
१०.								
११.								
१२.								

१५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाउँ कहाँ हो?

        (क) वार्ड नं.: .... (ख) गाउँ/नगरः ....

        (ग) गाविस/नगरपालिकाः .... (घ) जिल्लाः ....

        (ङ) अञ्चलः ....

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

        (क) छ   (ख) छैन

१७. (बस्नु भएको छ भने)

        (क) कहाँः .... (ख) कहिलेः .... (ग) कति समयसम्मः ....

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

        हो   होइन

भाषासूचक	वार्ड नं.	गाउँ	गा.वि.स.	एक वर्ष भन्दा बढी अन्यत्र कतै बस्नु भएको छ?	कहाँ, कहिले र कति समयसम्म	छनौटको आधारः हो वा होइन?

१.					
२.					
३.					
४.					
५.					
६.					
७.					
८.					
९.					
१०.					
११.					
१२.					

आ) भाषाको प्रयोग

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

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

ग. तपाईंहरूले कस्तो अवस्थामा वा कस्ता मानिसहरूसँग धेरै जसो मातृभाषा बोल्नु हुन्छ? (मातृभाषाको चिन्ह अर्को छेउमा राख्नु होस्। सहभागीहरूले प्रयोगको क्षेत्रको नाम लेख्नु हुने छ र तिनलाई मातृभाषाको मुनि राख्नु हुने छ। यस पटक सहभागीहरूले "केही बालबालिका मातृभाषा बोल्छन् र केही बालबालिका सम्पर्क भाषा बोल्छन्" भन्नु हुने छ। उहाँहरूको सहयोगको लागि कस्ता बालबालिकाले ती भाषाहरू बोल्छन् वा कस्तो अवस्थामा ती भाषाहरू प्रयोग गर्छन्? समूहहरू राम्ररी देखाउनका लागि चिन्हहरू बदल्नु होस्)

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

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

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

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

(इ) भाषिकागत सीमा निर्धारण

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

१८. (समूहले भन्ने भाषाको नाम).......................

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

२०. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ?

(क) .... (ख) ....

(ग) .... (घ) ....

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

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

(क) वार्ड नं.: .... (ख) गाउँ/नगरः ....
(ग) गाविस/नगरपालिकाः .... (घ) जिल्लाः ....

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

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

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

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

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

ज. यी मध्ये तपाईंहरू कुन भेद(भाषा)का वक्ताहरूसँग आफ्नो मातृभाषामा कुरा गर्नु हुन्छ? (यस प्रयोजनका लागि भिन्दै आकार/रङ्गको चिन्हको प्रयोग गर्नु होस्। अर्को चिन्ह राख्नु होस्। ("हामीहरू एक आपसमा कुराकानी गर्दा आफ्नै (एउटै भेद) भाषा बोल्छौं", "हामी आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छौं, उनीहरू आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छन्", तिनीहरू अर्को भाषा बोल्छन्, हामीहरू आफ्नै भाषा बोल्छौं" र "हामी दुबैले अर्कै भाषा बोल्छौं")

झ. केही मानिसहरू आफ्नो भाषामा पाठ्यपुस्तक लेख्न चाहन्छन्। यदि मातृभाषामा किताब लेखियो भने कुन कुन गाउँका विद्यार्थीहरूले प्रयोग गर्न सक्छन् होला? (लेखिएको किताब पढ्न सक्ने गाउँहरूलाई एउटा छुट्टै डोरी भित्र राख्नु होस्।) (यदि किताब लेख्ने र छाप्ने बारेमा सोच्दैनन् भने उनीहरू कुन चाहीँ भेदमा सीडी बनाउन चाहन्छन्? भनि सोध्नु होस्।)

ञ. यी भेदहरू मध्ये लेखन र रेकर्डिङ् का लागि कुन चाहिँलाई प्रयोग गर्दा सबैले राम्रोसँग बुझ्लान्? त्यसो नभएमा कुन चाहीँ भाषा प्रयोग हुन सक्छ? (कार्डबोर्डमा लेखिएका ए, बी, सी अक्षरहरूलाई क्रमैसँग राख्नु होस्।)

(ई) बहुभाषिकता

क. तपाईँहरूले सबैभन्दा बढी प्रयोग गर्ने दुईवटा भाषाहरू के के हुन्? एउटा डोरीले मातृभाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्ने व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ अर्कोले सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रो बोल्ने व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ। (दुईवटै डोरीहरूलाई भूईँमा घेरा बनाएर राख्नु होस्।)

ख. जब हामीहरूले एउटा डोरीलाई अर्को डोरीमाथि खप्ट्याउँछौँ, यो खप्टिएको क्षेत्रले के कुराको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ? (यसले मातृभाषा र सम्पर्क भाषा दुईवटै राम्ररी बोल्ने मानिसहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्छ)

ग. सब भन्दा पहिले हामीहरू सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्ने मानिसहरूका बारेमा कुरा गरौँ। कस्ता मानिसले सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्छन्? (सहभागीहरूलाई कागजका टुक्राहरूमा लेख्न लगाउनु होस्)।

घ. कागजका टुक्राहरूलाई घेराभित्र राख्न लगाउनु भन्दा पहिले उनीहरूले मातृभाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्न जान्दछन् वा जान्दैनन् भन्ने सोच्नु पर्ने हुन्छ। घेरा भित्र प्रत्येक कागजका टुक्राहरू कहाँ पर्छन? (उनीहरूलाई अहिलेसम्म लेखेका कागजका टुक्राहरू राख्न लगाउनु होस्। उनीहरूले चाहेमा अझ बढी विशिष्ट वा अन्य समूहहरू बनाउन सक्छन्)

ङ. कस्ता मानिसहरूले मातृभाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्छन् तर सम्पर्क भाषा राम्रोसँग बोल्दैनन्? (उनीहरूलाई त्यस्ता मानिसका समूह लेख्न र उपयुक्त ठाउँमा राख्न लगाउनु होस्।)

च. तीन समूह मध्ये कुनमा सबभन्दा बढी मातृभाषी वक्ताहरू छन्? तपाईँहरू यसलाई कसरी हेर्नु हुन्छ? (सबैभन्दा बढी मातृभाषाका वक्ता भएको घेरो) (उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो विचार व्यक्त गर्न लगाउनु होस्)

छ. तीनवटै समूह मध्ये कुनै एउटा अन्य दुई समूह बढिरहेको छ कि? किन होला? यसलाई तपाईँहरू कसरी हेर्नु हुन्छ? (उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो विचार व्यक्त गर्न लगाउनु होस्)।

(उ) प्रशंसामूलक सोधखोज

क. तपाईँहरूले आफ्नो भाषा वा संस्कृतिमा देखेका, सुनेका र गरेका कामले तपाईँलाई गर्वको अनुभव गराउँछ, तिनको उल्लेख गर्नु होस्। मातृभाषाको प्रयोग भइरहेको अवस्था प्रति तपाईँ सन्तुष्ट हुनुहुन्छ? (प्रत्येक कामको सारांश लेख्न लगाउनु होस्)।

ख. भइराखेका राम्रा कामहरूलाई कसरी हेर्नुहुन्छ? यसलाई अझ राम्रो कसरी गराउन सकिन्छ? अझ बढी कसरी सुधार्न सकिन्छ? तपाईँहरूको आफ्नो मातृभाषा प्रति के कस्ता आशा-आकाङ्क्षा छन्? (निश्चित समयावधि तोकेर तीनजनाको समूहमा छलफल गर्न लगाउनु होस् - सबै किसिमका आकाङ्क्षामा छलफल गर्न दिनु होस्(असम्भव पनि))।

ग. प्रत्येक समूहलाई आ-आफ्नो समूहमा छलफल भएका आकाङ्क्षा भन्न लगाउनु होस्। ती आकाङ्क्षा छुट्टाछुट्टै कागजका टुक्राहरूमा एक जनालाई लेख्न लगाउनु होस् (ती कागजका

टुक्राहरूलाई आकाङ्क्षा लेखिएको शीर्षक मुनि राख्नु होस्)। (सहभागीहरूले व्यक्त गरेका आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई तीन-चार शब्दमा संक्षेपीकरण गर्न लगाउनु होस्)।

घ. उल्लेख गरिएका आशा-आकाङ्क्षा मध्ये केहीलाई कार्यन्वित गर्न सजिलो र केहीलाई गाह्रो जस्तो देखिन्छ? दुईवटा कागजको टुक्रामा सजिलो र गाह्रो लेख्न लगाउनु होस् र तिनीहरूलाई दुई तिर राख्न लगाउनु होस्। आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई सबैभन्दा सजिलो देखि सबैभन्दा गाह्रो क्रममा मिलाएर राख्न लगाउनु होस्।

ङ. केही आशा-आकाङ्क्षा अरू भन्दा महत्वपूर्ण जस्तो लाग्छ? सबैभन्दा महत्वपूर्ण आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई एक छेउमा राख्न लगाउनु होस्। (छनौट गरिएका महत्वपूर्ण आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई पनि बढी महत्वपूर्ण देखि कम महत्वपूर्णको क्रममा राख्न लगाउनु होस्, सम्भव भए एउटा फोटो पनि खिच्नु होस्)।

च. छनौट गरिएका आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई साकार पार्न योजना बनाउनु होस्। तत्कालै तपाईंहरू कुन आशा-आकाङ्क्षाको योजना बनाउन चाहनु हुन्छ? एक एक समूह बनाउन लगाउनु होस्। प्रत्येक सदस्यलाई समूहमा सक्रिय भएर काम गर्न उत्साहित गर्नु होस् र प्रत्येक आशा-आकाङ्क्षाको योजना तयार गर्नु होस्।

छ. तपाईंले योजना बनाउँदा यी कुरामा विचार गर्नु होस्: १) तपाईंले चाल्नु पर्ने कदमहरू के के हुन्? २) तपाईं बाहेक संलग्न हुने अरू व्यक्ति को को हुन्? ३) आशा-आकाङ्क्षालाई मूर्त रूप दिन तपाईंहरूलाई चाहिने कुराहरू के के हुन्? (सहभागीहरूलाई कागजका टुक्रा र लेख्ने सामग्री दिएर ठुला ठुला अक्षरमा योजना लेख्न लगाउनु होस्।)

ज. प्रत्येक समूहलाई आ-आफ्नो समूहमा छलफल भएका योजना भन्न लगाउनु होस्।

सहयोगका लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद।

Annex F: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C
(For Language Activist or Village Head)
Notes:
Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
Introduce yourself first: My/our name is ………. I/we am from Central Department of
Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I
am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by
you with others. Are you willing to help us?
INFORMED CONSENT: Given: □   Not Given: □

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

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day……… Month……..........Year..…… VS Day….. …..Month ………… Year…… AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: ……………………………. Village/Town: ……………………………. VDC/Municipality: …………………………… District: ……………………………. Zone: ……………………………. GPS Coordinates: ……………………………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: ………………….

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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? ………………………………………..

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (in Nepali)

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

छायांकृत **कुराहरू मनमनै पढ्ने।**

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

सहमतिः   छ   छैन

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

प्रश्न	उत्तर
१. अन्तर्वार्ता संख्या	
२. मिति	गते......... महिना…….............वर्ष…...... वि.सं. तारिख..... .....महिना .... वर्ष......... सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	**क**. वार्ड नं.: .... **ख**. गाउँ/नगरः .... **ग**. गाविस/नगरपालिकाः .... **घ**. जिल्लाः .... **ङ**. अञ्चलः .... **च**. जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्सः...............पू. ....उ.
४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नामः	(क) .... (ख) ....

५. भाषासूचकको नामः ....

६. (आवश्यक भएमा मात्र) लिङ्गः (क) पुरुष   (ख) महिला   (ग) अन्य

७. उमेरः ....

८. जातः ....

९. जातजातिको समुहः ....

१०. तपाईंको मातृभाषाको नामः ....

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

१२. यो भाषालाई अरु नामले पनि चिनिन्छ? (यो भाषाको अरु के के नाम छन्?)

     (क) ....   (ख) ....

     (ग) ....   (घ) ....

१३. तपाईंकी आमाको मातृभाषाः ....

१४. तपाईंका बुबाको मातृभाषाः ....

१५. तपाईं जन्मेको स्थान/गाँउ कहाँ हो?

     (क) वार्ड नं.ः .... (ख) गाउँ/नगरः ....

     (ग) गाविस/नगरपालिकाः .... (घ) जिल्लाः ....

     (ङ) अञ्चलः ....

१६. हाल तपाईं कहाँ बस्नु हुन्छ? ....

     (क) वार्ड नं.ः .... (ख) गाउँ/नगरः ....

     (ग) गाविस/नगरपालिकाः .... (घ) जिल्लाः ....

     (ङ) अञ्चलः ....

१७. तपाईं यहाँ बस्नु भएको कति समय भयो? ....

१८. तपाईंको गाउँ/छरछिमेकमा बसोबास गर्ने अन्य जातजातिः (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

१९. तिनीहरूले बोल्ने अन्य भाषाः (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

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

२०. तपाईंको मातृभाषा संरक्षण तथा सम्वर्द्धनका लागि केही गर्नु पर्छ?

     (क) पर्छ   (ख) पर्दैन्

२१. (पर्छ भने): तपाईंले आफ्नो मातृभाषाको संरक्षण र सम्बर्धनको लागि केकस्ता काम गरेर सहयोग गर्न सक्नु हुन्छ?

(क) लिपि विकासको लागि काम गरेर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(ख) हिज्जेलाई व्यवस्थित गरेर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(ग) शब्दकोष बनाएर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(घ) व्याकरण लेखेर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(ङ) मातृभाषामा साहित्य लेखन उत्साहित गरेर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(च) पाठ्यपुस्तक लेखन तथा प्रकाशन गरेर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(छ) पत्रपत्रिका निकालेर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(ज) प्रशासनमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(झ) प्राथमिक तहमा माध्यमको रुपमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

   (अ) सक्छु   (आ) सक्दिन

(ञ) अन्य प्रकारलेः ....

उपयुक्त भएमा समाज-भाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली भर्न शुरु गर्ने।

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