

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

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO
LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)
CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY, KATHMANDU,
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Dr. Tara Mani Rai
Surya Prasad Yadav

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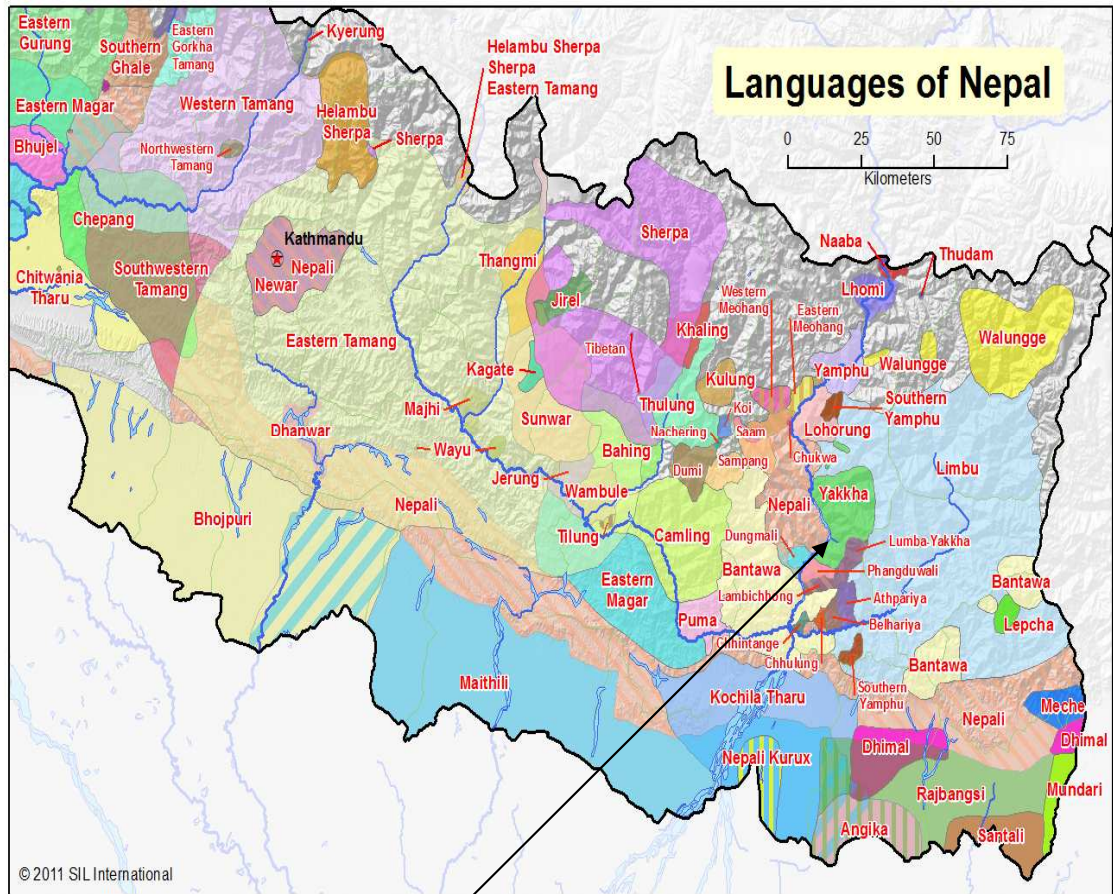
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Dr. Tara Mani Rai
Surya P Yadava

Map 1: The geographical distribution of the Dungmali in Nepal



Dungmali speaking area

Source: Ethnologue (2012)

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CHAPTER 1

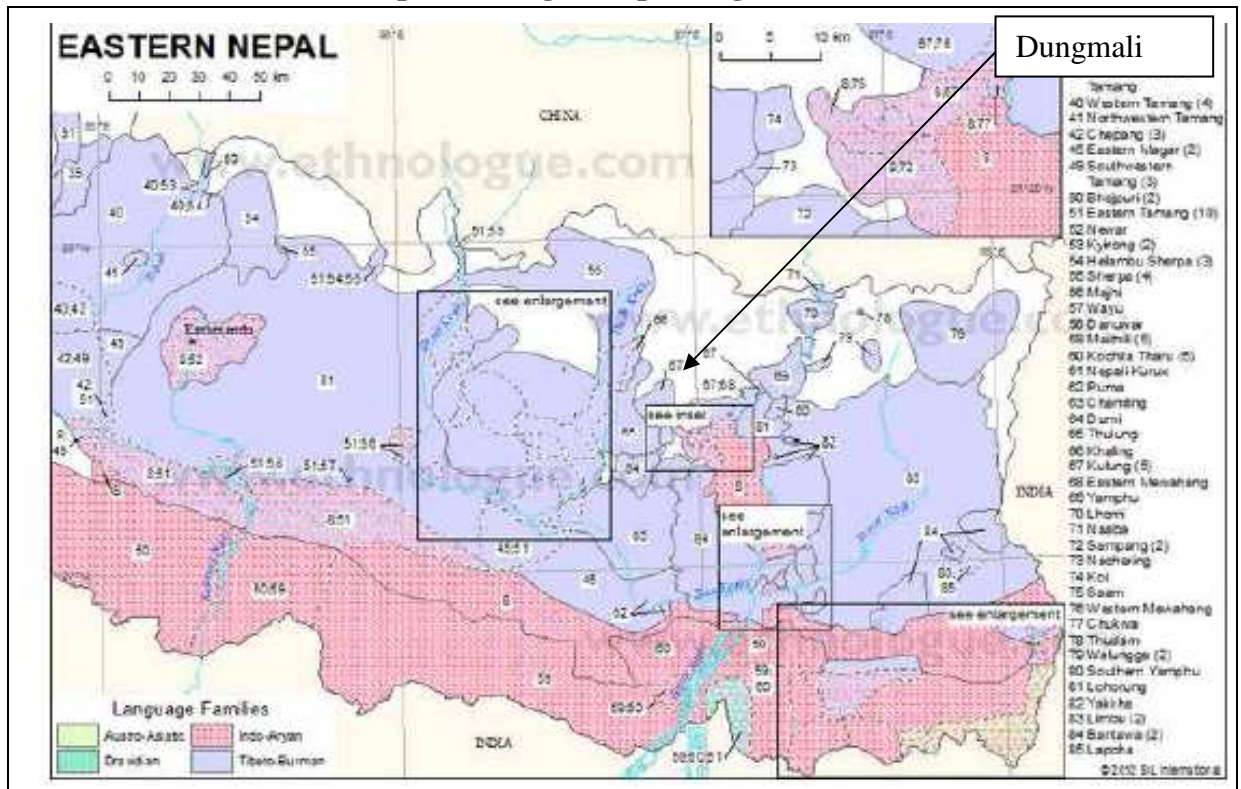
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a report of sociolinguistic survey of Dungmali, a Rai Kirati language of the Himalayish sub-group within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family.

Dungmali is spoken mainly in Sano Dumma, Thulo Dumma of Bhojpur district in Nepal. However, they are found to have spread over Tiwaribhnjyang, Chyangre, Jarayotar VDCs. The term 'Dungmali' refers to the people as well as the language they speak. It is recognized as the distinct national language (2002 NFDIN Act, No. 20, Section 2C). This is one of the endangered and least studied languages of Nepal. The latest Census gives the number of mother tongue speakers as 6,260 (CBS 2012).

Map 1.1: Dungmali speaking area



Source: Ethnologue (2012)

1.2 Naming and origin of the language

The term *dumma* is derived from *dungma* which means 'to drink'. The place where they have been living since time immemorial was lack of water. One of their ancestors

originally Bantawa made a well and thus, settled a village¹. Only after his contribution, the people around this village got the water to drink. This is a mythology of the Dungmali people. What Dungmali says for 'to drink' is *tuṅma* which turned to *ḍuṅma* and now *duṅma* (*tuṅma*>*ḍuṅma*>*duṅma* >*dumma*).

They call their language as 'Dungmali puk'. As Hanßon (1991: 36-37) claims that Dungmali is the most widespread name for the dialects that are spoken in a region in the east of the middle part of Bhojpur district, north-east of the Sintang Lekh. The indigenous population of this region is divided into many local Thars who claim to be Bantawa-Rai.



Photograph 1.1: Dungmali village

1.3 People: Caste/ethnic groups

The Dungmali are people of mongoloid stock and of amicable in nature. They live in the hilly region of the eastern part of Nepal. The major crops are potatoes, maize, and especially millet. Meat is occasionally eaten, especially in ritual occasions. Pork is preferred to other meat as many Tibeto-Burman families. Mutton is forbidden at home. But out of the particular village they may have it. The Dungmali are fond of drinking alcohol.

Dungmali society has exogamous kinship groups referred to as *pats^{ha}* 'little clan'. These kinship groups are based on the aggregates of closely related males and unrelated

¹ We got this information from our informants namely Dipak Sampang (40), Meghjit Rai (82).

females, who have been brought into the group from other kinship groups, usually of the same community.



Photograph 1.2: Dungmali people



Photograph 1.3: A Dunmali house and pile of maize stored

Table 1.1: Clannames in Dungmali

Clan names	
01.	Pungwa /Pangwen
02	Hangwang
03	Tumchha
04	Lahun
05	Chhangchha
06	Watpang
07	Hangkhopsa
08	Brenghelu
09	Langmichhang
10	Soyong
11	Kepahun
12	Dibuchha
13	Wachhimi

Source: Field study (2014)

1.4 Religion

Dungmali people follow the animism as other Kiratis do. But they are gradually shifting to the Hindu religion. Table 1.2 presents the status of the religions the Dungmali people follow.

Table 1.2 Religions in the Dungmali speech community

Religion	Bartole	Dandatole	Choukibari	Thurpu	Bastim
Animism	12	10	12	12	12
Total	100%	83.33%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 1.2 presents that mostly the participants answered that they follow animism. Except the participants from Dandatole, others replied that they love animism. Only 83.33% of the Dandatol only replied that they love animism.

For the Dungmali people the nature is the grand thing. As they believe that the the nature provides whatever they want. They do not have their own holy scripture the way we find in other religions. But they have oral tradition that transforms one generation to another

generation. This is performed by the priests in this community. This is known collectively as '*mundum*' that guides them to their all the ritual performances. Mundum is a kind of world view of Dungmali people. They try to understand the surroundings with the philosophy of Mundum.

1.5 Occupation

Agriculture is the traditional occupation of the Dungmali people. They cultivate the lands to grow paddy, maize and millet. They made their living by selling these crops. Their nearest market is Pakhribas, Hile and Bhojpur bazaar. They are involved in animal husbandry.

Some of them are in the recruitment either in India, British, and Singapore or in Brunei. Others are in teaching professions. In course of time, they are found to have changed themselves in different occupation. Few of them are in the local trade. Bhojpur, Pakhribas and Hile are the markets nearer to them are the place where they sell things made of the bamboo. Baskets like *doko*, *thunse*, *ghum*, *kokro* and *chitra* are produced locally.



Photograph 1.4: Preparing bamboo made *cherungi*

Nowadays, the youngsters are in queue of the labor in abroad. This is not only the case of the Dunmali youths but also the scenario of Nepalese youngsters.

1.6 Demography

The Dungmali people are mainly found in Sano Dumma, Thulo Dumma and Bastim VDCs of Bhojpur district. They are found a little in the districts like Morang, Sunsari, Jhapa, Ilama, Dhankuta, Udayapur. Table 1.3 presents the mother tongues by district according to the census report 2001.

Table 1.3: Dungmali mother tongues by district

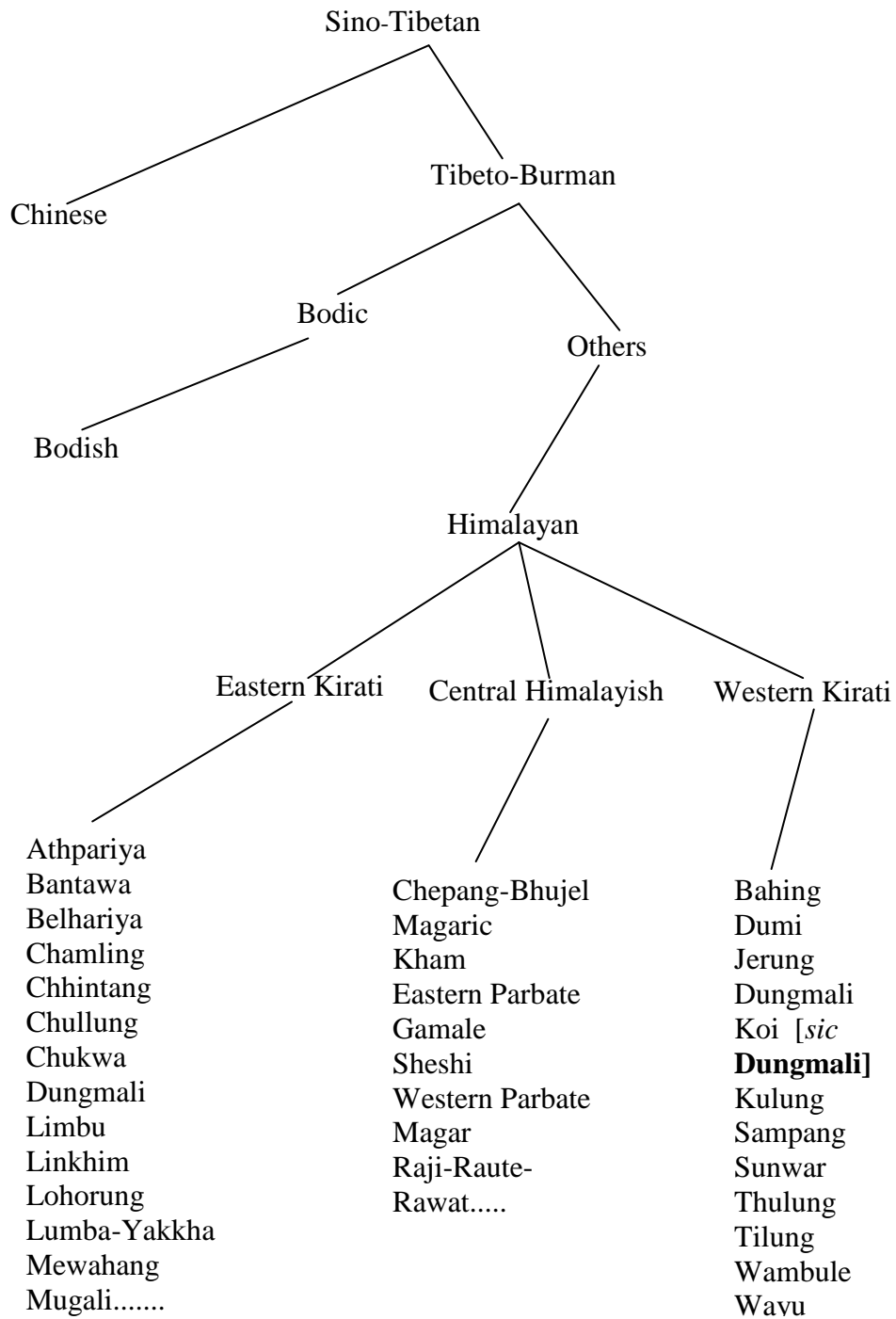
	Districts	Population
01	Bhojpur	5471
02	Morang	223
03	Sunsari	156
04	Jhapa	211
05	Ilam	75
06	Dhankutta	74
07	Lalitpur	24
08	Udayapur	13
09	Kathmandu	10
10	Khotang	1
11	Kaski	1
	Total	6,260

Source: Population Census (2012)

1.7 Genetic affiliation

Dungmali language comes under the Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. Further it has been categorized under the sub group Kirat Rai languages. Till now, many linguists have attempted to classify the Kirat Rai languages of Nepal. However, there is not exactly identified the number of Kirati languages. Dispute among the linguists about the number of Kirati languages is still ongoing. Unless a detail survey is made, there cannot be declared the exact number of languages. Bradley's (20012) classification is adopted here which is shown in the following Figure 1.5

Figure 1.4 : Genetic affiliation of Dungmali



Source: *Ethnologue* (2012)

1.8 Review of earlier works

There are only a few works on the Dungmlai language and the culture. Hanßon (1991) is supposed to be the first work to identify Dungmali as distinct language. He notes that the current main areas of Dungmali can be defined roughly as the region in the knee of the Arun river between its confluence with the Pikhwa in the South and its confluence with Puluwa in the North. The Southwestern part of this region is also known by the traditional name of Dungma, from which the cover term for these so-called Bantawa dialects has been derived.

Pokharel (1999) includes Dungmali along with other Kirati languages and dialects like Rakong, Lunam, Puma, Bantawa, Sunuwar, Umbule *Wambule* [italics added], Bahing, Amchoke, Chamling, Thulung, Limbu, Kulung, Thami under the theoretical frame 'historical reconstruction'.

Yadava and Turin (2005) shows the genetic affiliation to the Dungmali language. This study classifies the Dungmali language into the East-Himalayish sub-group of Himalayish group within Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan language family.

Kirat Rai Language and Literature Council (2005) is a study based on Swadesh 100 word list. It is a preliminary attempt to the collection of the basic word list of the language. But this study lacks the phonetic transcription based on the IPA chart. Some words are erroneously transcribed, however; it is field based study.

Rai 'Batas' (2014) gives an outline of the Dungmlai language and Linguistic facts on it. His information is based on (1991). However, he gives the dialects like Khesange and Dungmali.

In addition to the above mentioned works, there are some Audio cassettes like Mukchum part I&II, and some documentaries in Dungmali. There are *mundhum* (ritual book) available in Dungmali initiated by the Dungmali people who are followers of animism. Dungmali language has recently got the access in the mainstream daily newspaper Gorakhapatra.

Kirat Rai Dungmali Bhasa Sansthan-Sambardhan initiates for a magazine 'Punkhchika'. It is bilingual in nature where the matters are published in Nepali and Dungmali language. It has covered various genres of literature and thus the activities of the union. This is a voice of Kirat Dungmali Bhasa Sansthan-Sambardhan.

1.9 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Dungmali 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 look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- b) To assess the mother tongue proficiency and extent of community bilingualism of the Dungmali speakers in standard Nepali;
- c) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;
- d) To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Dungmali; and
- e) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity and the levels of intelligibility among the selected varieties in the language;

1.10 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. In chapter 3, we look at the major domains of language use. Chapter 4 examines mother tongue proficiency and bi-multilingualism. Chapter 5 evaluates language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes. In chapter 6, we look language resources and language development. Chapter 7 examines the possible dialectal variations in Dungmali. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annexes include word lists and sociolinguistic questionnaire.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

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

2.2 Overview

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

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

	GOALS OF THE SURVEY	RESEARCH METHODS/ TOOLS	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	FOCUS OF THE METHODS/TOOLS
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in Dungmali;	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language vitality • Language maintenance • Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires- C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language attitudes • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.3 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.

a. 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 Dungmali speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point (*i.e.* Basa and other points Kaku and Waku, Juving and Taksindu and , 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 the Dungmali speech community.

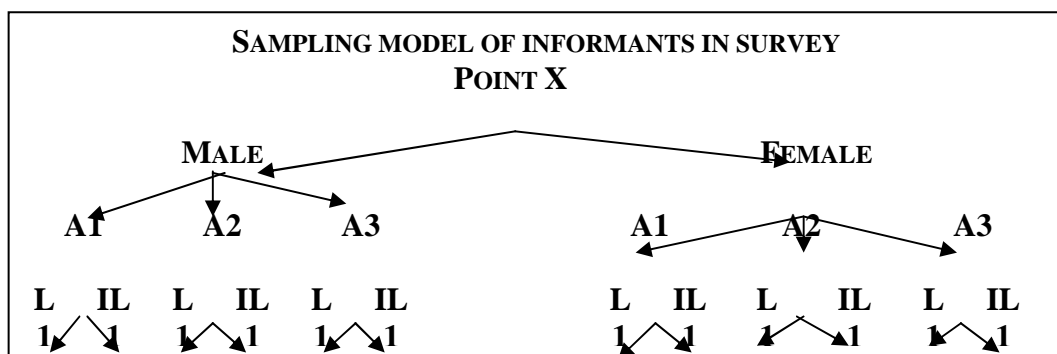


Figure 2.1: Sampling model of informants in survey points

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.

b. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of the Dungmali 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 Dungmali, how bilingual Dungmali people are, in which

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).

situations they use Dungmali 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):

Domains of language use (DLU)

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Dungmali community members to think about and visualize the languages which Dungmali people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Dungmali 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 Dungmali and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Dungmali. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Dungmali and both Nepali and Dungmali. 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.

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 Dungmali. The Dungmali participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Dungmali 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.

Bilingualism/Multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Dungmali and Nepali by different subsets of the Dungmali 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 Dungmali people who speak Dungmali well and the other the Dungmali 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 Dungmali ‘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 the Dungmali people that spoke Dungmali ‘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.

Appreciative inquiry

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Dungmali 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 the Dungmali 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.

c. 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 Dungmali.

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 Dungmali 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 Dungmali 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 Dungmali word from a mother tongue Dungmali 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 Dungmali. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

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

As mentioned in 2.2.1.1, Dungmali speaking areas were categorized into five survey points for the purpose of sociolinguistic survey. Table 2.2 presents the survey points used in the survey of the Dungmali language including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates.

In the sociolinguistic field survey of the Dungmali language, there were taken the information from the five survey points from two village development committee of the Solukhumbu district in the eastern Nepal. Table 1.7 presents the geographical location of the survey points recorded by the Global Positioning System (GPS) device.

Table 2.2: GPS information of the Dungmali speaking areas

Survey points		VDCs	GPS Coordinates	Elevation (in meter)
1	Bar tole-1	Thulo Dumma	087 ⁰ 09'18.8" E 027 ⁰ 05'11.2" N	1269
2	Danda tole-3		087 ⁰ 09'09.3" E 027 ⁰ 05'10.9" N	1274
3	Tharpu-3	Sano Dumma	087 ⁰ 10'21.9" E 027 ⁰ 06'48.6" N	1377
4	Chaukibari-4		087 ⁰ 09'33.5" E 027 ⁰ 06'27.5" N	1371
5	Bastim-1	Bastim	087 ⁰ 09'11.4" E 027 ⁰ 06'30.7" N	1613

Source: Field study (2014)

2.4.2 Sampling procedure

At first, the Dungmali speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point *i.e.* Basa. Other four points were Kaku, Waku, Jubhing and Taksindu VDC of the Solukhumbu district. Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.

Of the five sample points, sixty participants were sampled and interviewed. The interviewed participants were from different categories such as age, sex and educational background in each linguistic survey point. The questionnaire was administered in Nepali language and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali and English.

During the field survey, there were taken the information using the different tools like Sociolinguistic Questionnaires A, B, C and Wordlist. Table 1.8 shows the questionnaires and wordlist used in the survey.

Table 2.3: Questionnaires and Wordlist used in the Survey

	Areas	SLQ A	SLQ B	SLQ C	Wordlist
1	Bartole	12	1	1+1	1
2	Dandatole	12	1	1+1	1
3	Tharpu	12	1	1+1	1
4	Chaukibari	12	1	1+1	1
5	Bastim	12	1	1+1	1
Total		60	5	10	5

Source: Field study (2014)

General sampling for questionnaire A requires that the informants must be selected reasonably from both literate and illiterate groups. But the attempt has been made so far.

2.5 Limitations of the survey

The survey was conducted in five points of Solukhumbu district for the period of 15 days. Most of the points were deprived of transportation. 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 mainly four types of tools. However, there are other effective participatory tools like Cause and Effect Tree (a tool used to assist community leaders in thinking about the reasons they use the language they do and effects of the use of those languages on community members), Stakeholder Analysis (a tool used to help a small group of people to identify other stakeholders, categorize those stakeholders, select stakeholders to involve more and develop initial plans for involving them), Force field Analysis (a tool used to help a group who has a goal and wants to solve a problem to identify the forces working for and against the goal or solution. Sentence repetition test (RTT) and recorded text test (RRT) were not administered because of no dialectal variations among them.

CHAPTER 3

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the patterns of language use in different domains in the Dungmali speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. In section 3.3, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains in Dungmali. Section 3.4 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.5, we evaluate the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.6 looks at the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.7, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Language use in general domains

In this section, we examine the languages most frequently used by the Dungmali speakers in terms of sex, age, and literacy in different domains. The domains are as follows:

- a) counting
- b) singing
- c) joking
- d) bargaining/shopping/marketing
- e) storytelling
- 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 and village meetings

3.2.1 Patterns of language use in general

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 (Regmi, 213:38). 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 3.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Dungmali speakers in different domains.

Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains

DOMAINS	N=60	LANGUAGES			
		Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Dungmali, Nepali and English
Counting		1(1%)	52 (87%)	7 (12%)	-
Singing		-	46 (77%)	14 (23%)	-
Joking		5 (8%)	25 (42%)	30 (50%)	-
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing		-	3 (5%)	55 (91.66%)	2(3.33%)
Story telling		1 (1%)	10 (17%)	49 (82%)	-
Discussing/ Debate		3(5%)	6 (10%)	51 (85%)	-
Praying		29 (49%)	1 (1%)	30 (50%)	-
Quarrelling		9 (15%)	3 (5%)	48 (80%)	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)		6 (10%)	4 (7%)	50 (83%)	-
Telling stories to children		2 (3%)	6 (10%)	52 (87%)	-
Singing at home		10 (17%)	8 (13%)	42 (70%)	-
Family gatherings		39 (65%)	1 (1%)	20 (34%)	-
Village meetings		9 (15%)	4 (7%)	47 (78%)	-

Source: Field Study (2014)

Table 3.1 shows that in the Dungmali speech community, both Nepali and Dungmali can be used in different general domains of language use along with Dungmali language. Out of 60 informants, more than 87% of them responded that both Nepali

and Dungmali are used in the domain of counting in Dungmali. Around 1% of the informants responded that Dungmali. Dungmali speech community lacks songs in their mother tongue. Instead, they were found to have used Nepali in singing either at home or outside home. Around half of them responded that they used Dungmali and Nepali both in the joking, discussing and praying. Around 91% of the informants responded that they use both Nepali and Dungmali in the domains like shopping and bargaining. Bantwa is least used. Most of them understand Bantwa language. More than 70% of them responded that they use both Dungmali and Nepali in the domains like storytelling, quarreling, abusing and telling stories to the children. In the domains like family gatherings and praying, they seem to have retained their language around 50%. They seem to have been shifting to Nepali, wider communication in the domain of village meetings.

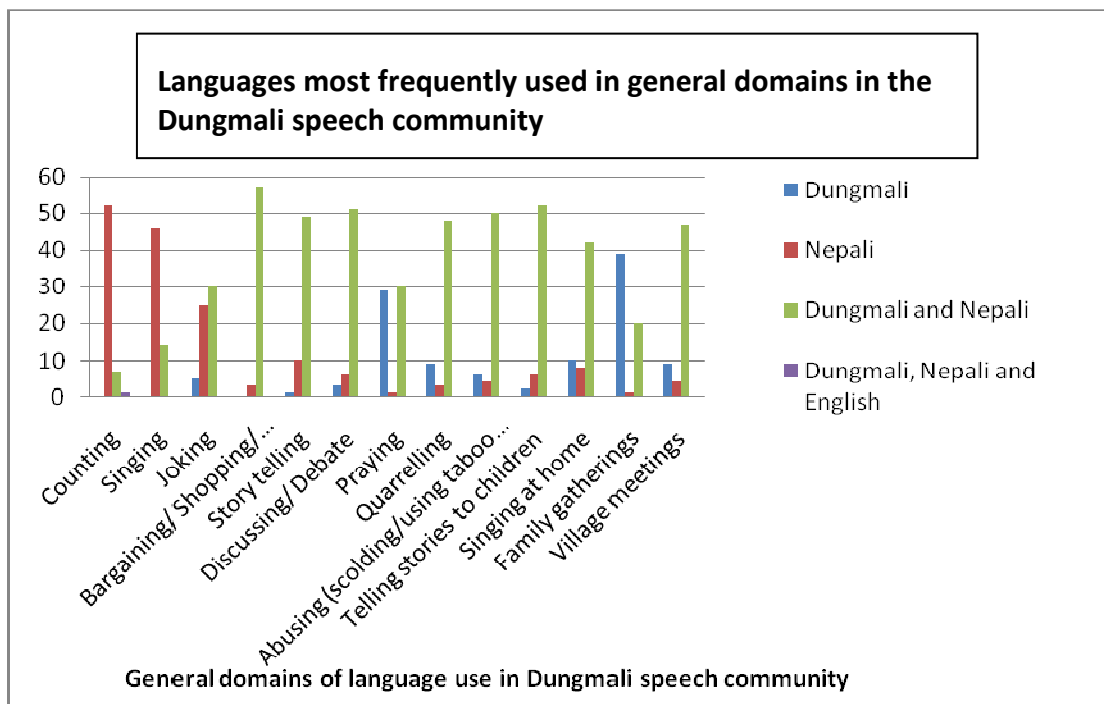


Figure 3.1: Languages most frequently used in general domains in the Dungmali speech community

3.2.2 Patterns of language use in general domains by sex

Table 3.2 presents the languages most frequently used by the Dungmali speakers in different domains by sex.

Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by sex

DOMAINS	Sex						
	Male (N=30)			Female (N=30)			
	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Dungmali, Nepali and English
Counting	1 (3%)	24 (80%)	6 (20%)	-	28 (94%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Singing	-	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	-	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	-
Joking	5 (17%)	13 (43%)	12 (40%)	-	12 (40%)	18 (60%)	-
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	-	2 (7%)	28 (93%)	-	1 (3%)	29 (97%)	-
Story telling	1 (3%)	7 (23%)	22 (74%)	-	3 (10%)	27 (90%)	-
Discussing/ Debate	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	25 (83%)	-	4 (13%)	26 (87%)	-
Praying	18 (60%)	1 (3%)	11 (37%)	11 (37%)	-	19 (63%)	-
Quarrelling	8 (%)	2 (7%)	20 (%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	28 (%)	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	6 (20%)	2 (7%)	22 (74%)	-	2 (7%)	28 (93%)	-
Telling stories to children	2 (7%)	4 (13%)	24 (80%)	-	2 (7%)	28 (93%)	-
Singing at home	5 (17%)	6 (20%)	19 (63%)	5 (17%)	2 (7%)	23 (76%)	-
Family gatherings	25 (84%)	1 (3%)	4 (13%)	14 (47%)		16 (53%)	-
Village meetings	9 (30%)	2 (7%)	19 (63%)		2 (7%)	28 (93%)	-

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.2 shows that all informants, both and male and female massively use Nepali, the language of wider communication. However, all the informants responded that they use the mother tongues in the family gathering and praying. Interestingly the male respondents seem to be loyal to their native language, Dungmali. In Comparison to the female respondents, the male respondents seem to be loyal which can be seen in the domain counting where 20% of the male respondents use Dungmali and Nepali whereas 3% of the female use Dungmali and Nepali.

3.2.3 Patterns of language use in general domains by literacy

Table 3.3 presents the languages most frequently used by the Dungmali speakers in different domains by literacy.

Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used in different domains by literacy

DOMAINS	LITERACY						
	LITERATE (N=41)				ILLITERATE (N=19)		
	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Dungmali, Nepali and English	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali
Counting	1 (3%)	33 (80%)	7(17%)	1 (3%)		19 (100%)	–
Singing	–	32 (78%)	9 (22%)	–	–	15 (79%)	4 (21%)
Joking	5 (12%)	15 (37%)	21 (51%)	–	–	9 (47%)	10 (53%)
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	–	3 (7%)	38 (93%)	–	–	–	19 (100%)
Story telling	4(10%)	7 (17%)	30 (73%)	–	–	1 (5%)	18 (95%)
Discussing/ debate	4 (10%)	5 (12%)	32 (78%)	–	–	1 (5%)	18 (95%)
Praying	19 (46%)	1 (3%)	21 (51%)	–	8 (42%)	–	11 (58%)
Quarrelling	9 (22%)	2 (5%)	30 (73%)	–	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	17 (90%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	6 (15%)	3 (7%)	32 (78%)	–	–	1 (5%)	18 (95%)
Telling stories to children	2 (5%)	6 (15%)	33 (80%)	–	–	1 (5%)	18 (95%)
Singing at home	6 (15%)	7 (17%)	28 (68%)	–	3 (15%)	2 (11%)	14 (74%)
Family gatherings	26 (63%)	1 (3%)	14 (34%)	–	13 (68%)	–	6 (32%)
Village meetings	8 (19%)	4 (10%)	29 (71%)	–	1 (5%)	–	18 (95%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.3 shows that no matter whether the speakers are literate or illiterate all of do not sing song in their native language. It indicates that the domain of singing is no more in the Dungmali speaking community. They seem to be sifting to Nepali, a wider communication. In the domains like family gathering, storytelling, discussing/debate, the illiterate informants use the mother tongue more than the literate informants in the Dungmali speech community. But in the domains like praying, quarreling, abusing/scolding, telling stories to children, the ratio of the literate informants tend to appear higher than those of the illiterate informants.

Table 3.3 clearly shows that the literate informants are more open to shifting to Nepali in the Dungmali speech community.

3.2.4 Patterns of language use in general domains by age

Table 3.4 present the languages most frequently used by the Dungmali speakers in different domains by age.

Table 3.4: Languages most frequently used by in different domains by age

DOMAINS	AGE									
	A1 (N=20)				A2 (N=20)			A3 (N=20)		
	D	N	D+N	D+ N+E	D	N	D+ N	D	N	D+ N
Counting	2 (10%)	15 (75%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	18 (90%)	1 (5%)	6 (30%)	14 (70%)	–
Singing	1 (5%)	16 (80%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	15 (75%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	14 (70%)	4 (20%)
Joking	4 (20%)	14 (70%)	2 (10%)	–	5 (25%)	10 (50%)	5 (25%)	3 (15%)	9 (45%)	8 (40%)
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	1 (5%)	4 (20%)	15 (75%)	–	2 (10%)	3 (15%)	15 (75%)	7 (35%)	5 (25%)	8 (40%)
Story telling	3 (15%)	8 (40%)	9 (45%)	–	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	12 (60%)	6 (30%)	5 (25%)	9 (45%)
Discussing/ debate	2 (10%)	7 (35%)	11 (55%)	–	3 (15%)	5 (25%)	12 (60%)	6 (30%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)
Praying	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	13 (65%)	–	8 (40%)	5 (15%)	7 (35%)	11 (55%)	2 (10%)	7 (35%)
Quarrelling	5 (25%)	4 (20%)	11 (55%)	–	5 (25%)	4 (20%)	11 (55%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	7 (35%)
Abusing (scolding/ using taboo words)	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	13 (65%)	–	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	6 (30%)	7 (35%)
Telling stories to children	2 (10%)	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	–	5 (25%)	5 (25%)	10 (50%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	5 (25%)
Singing at home	4 (20%)	9 (45%)	7 (35%)	–	5 (25%)	6 (30%)	9 (45%)	6 (30%)	7 (35%)	7 (35%)
Family gatherings	14 (70%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	–	16 (80%)	1 (5%)	3 (15%)	15 (75%)	2 (10%)	3 (15%)
Village meetings	8 (40%)	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	–	15 (75%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	7 (35%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.4 shows that in the domain of counting, the percentage of the use of Nepali by A2 (i.e., the informants of 30-59 years age group) is higher than that of A1 (i.e., the informants of 15-29 years age group). However, as expected, the use of Nepali used

by A3 (i.e., the informants of 60 above years) in this domain is the least. In comparison to the (A1 and A3) respondents, the (A2) respondents seem to be loyal which can be seen in the family gathering where only 5% of the (A2) respondents use Nepali.

3.3 Language use in specific domains

3.3.1 Language use at home

This subsection examines the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc), discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) and in writing letters. Table 3.5 presents the languages most frequently used in the Dungmali speech community in certain situations.

Table 3.5: Languages most frequently used in the Dungmali speech community in certain situations

<i>Language most frequently used at home while (a) Talking about education matters (b) Discussing social events and family matters and (c) Writing letters</i>		MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
<i>WITH...</i>	LANGUAGES /DOMAINS	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali
GRANDFATHER (N=60)	Educational matters	7 (23.33%)	9 (30%)	-	-	16 (53.33%)	1 (3%)
	Social events	7 (23.33%)	6 (20%)	2 (6.66%)	14 (46.66%)	7(23.33%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	5 (16.66%)	-	-	4 (13.33%)	-
GRANDMOTHER (N=60)	Educational matters	7 (23.33%)	9 (30%)	-	-	16 (53.33%)	1 (3%)
	Social events	7 (23.33%)	6 (20%)	2 (6.66%)	13 (43.33%)	7(23.33%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	5 (16.66%)	-	-	4 (13.33%)	-
FATHER (N=60)	Educational matters	8(26.66%)	12 (%)	-	-	18 (60%)	1 (3%)
	Social events	11 (36.66%)	6 (20%)	2 (6.66%)	14 (46.66%)	8(26.66%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	6 (20%)	-	-	3 (10%)	-
MOTHER (N=60)	Educational matters	9 (30%)	11 (36.66%)	-	-	17 (%)	1 (3%)
	Social events	12 (40%)	6 (20%)	2 (6.66%)	15 (50%)	7(23.33%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	7(23.33%)	-	-	3 (10%)	-
SPOUSE (N=60)	Educational matters	8(26.66%)	6 (20%)	-	-	16 (53.33%)	1 (3%)
	Social events	14 (46.66%)	1 (3%)	2 (6.66%)	17 (56.66%)	6 (%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	3 (10%)	-	-	2 (6.66%)	-
CHILDREN (N=60)	Educational matters	6 (20%)	12 (40%)	1 (3.33%)	-	21 (70%)	-
	Social events	13 (43.33%)	4 (13.33%)	2 (6.66%)	17 (%)	6 (20%)	-
	Writing a letters	-	4 (13.33%)	-	-	1 (3%)	-

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.5 shows that both male and female informants use their mother tongue, Dungmali while talking about educational matters (i.e. school, admission, teacher, etc.). It further presents discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc.).

3.3.2 Language use in the community

In this section, we look at the pattern of language use in the Dungmali speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings. Table 3.6 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings.

Table 3.6: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings

<i>What language does the community use in/for</i>	Sex			
	MALE (30)		FEMALE (30)	
	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali	Nepali
Marriage invitations?	5 (17%)	13 (43%)	–	23 (77%)
Writing minutes in community meetings?	–	30 (100%)	–	30 (100%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.6 shows that Nepali is used more than Dungmali in the marriage invitations. Male seems to be more loyal towards Nepali than female in the marriage invitations. Surprisingly, male and female reported that they do not use Dungmali in writing minutes in their community. It indicates that the Dungmali speech community is yielding to Nepali, a wider communication.

3.3.3 Language spoken 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 3.7 presents the languages usually spoken by children.

Table 3.7: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains

What language do your children usually speak while	N=49								
	MALE (24)				FEMALE (25)				
	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Nepali and English	Dungmali	Nepali	Dungmali and Nepali	Nepali and English	Dungmali, Nepali and English
Playing with other children?	7 (29%)	15 (63%)	2 (8%)	–	2 (8%)	20 (80%)	3 (12%)	–	–
Talking with neighbors?	18 (75%)	3 (12.5%)	3 (12.5%)	–	24 (96%)	–	1 (4%)	–	–
At school?	–	6 (25%)	16 (67%)	2 (8%)	–	5 (20%)	16 (64%)	1 (4%)	3 (12%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.7 shows that the both male and female children tend to speak Nepali than their mother tongue Dungmali while playing with other children. While talking with neighbours, they use Dungmali more. Since the school has Nepali language as a medium language they use Nepali.

3.4 Use of mother tongue and language of wider communication

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue and language of wider communication in practical life. In Dungmali speech community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 3.8 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Dungmali speech community.

Table 3.8: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Dungmali speech community

How often do you use ...	THE FREQUENCY OF USE		
	Every day	Rarely	Never
your mother tongue?	59 (98.33%)	1 (1.66%)	–
language of wider communication (LWC)?	59 (98.33%)	1 (1.66%)	–

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.8 shows that all the informants almost use mother tongue every day. On the other hand, they use language of wider communication, Nepali in the same ratio.

3.5 Language preference 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 3.9 presents the preference of medium of instruction at primary level.

Table 3.9: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level

What language do you prefer for your children’s medium of instruction at primary level?	Sex		
	MALE (21)	FEMALE (25)	Total
Mother tongue	19 (90%)	25 (100%)	44 (96%)
Nepali	2 (10%)		2 (4%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.9 shows that the informants prefer Dungmali as medium of instruction at primary level. Females seem to be more loyal towards their language which covers 100%.

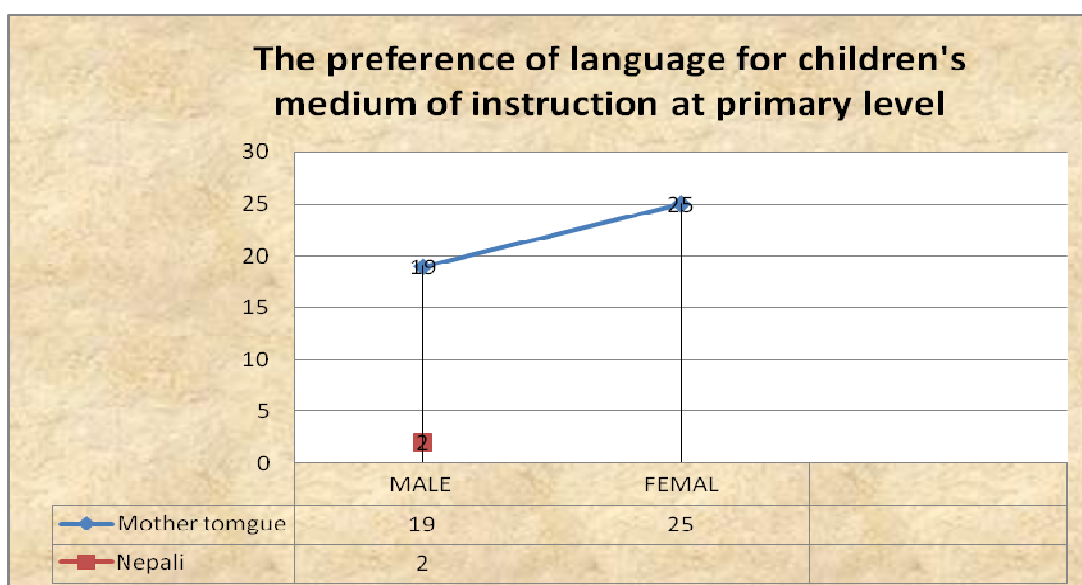


Figure 3.2: The preference of language for children's medium of instruction at primary level

3.6 Language used with the visitors at home

In Dungmali community, almost all the respondents irrespective of sex are proficient bilingual in Nepali. Table 3.10 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Dungmali speakers at home.

Table 3.10: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Dungmali speakers at home

<i>Which language do you speak when speakers of other languages visit you at home?</i>	MALE N=30	FEMALE N=30	TOTAL
Nepali	27 (90%)	29 (97%)	56 (93%)
Nepali and English	3 (10%)	1 (3%)	4 (7%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 3.10 shows that in Dungmali speech community, Nepali is overwhelmingly used with the persons of other languages visit them at home.

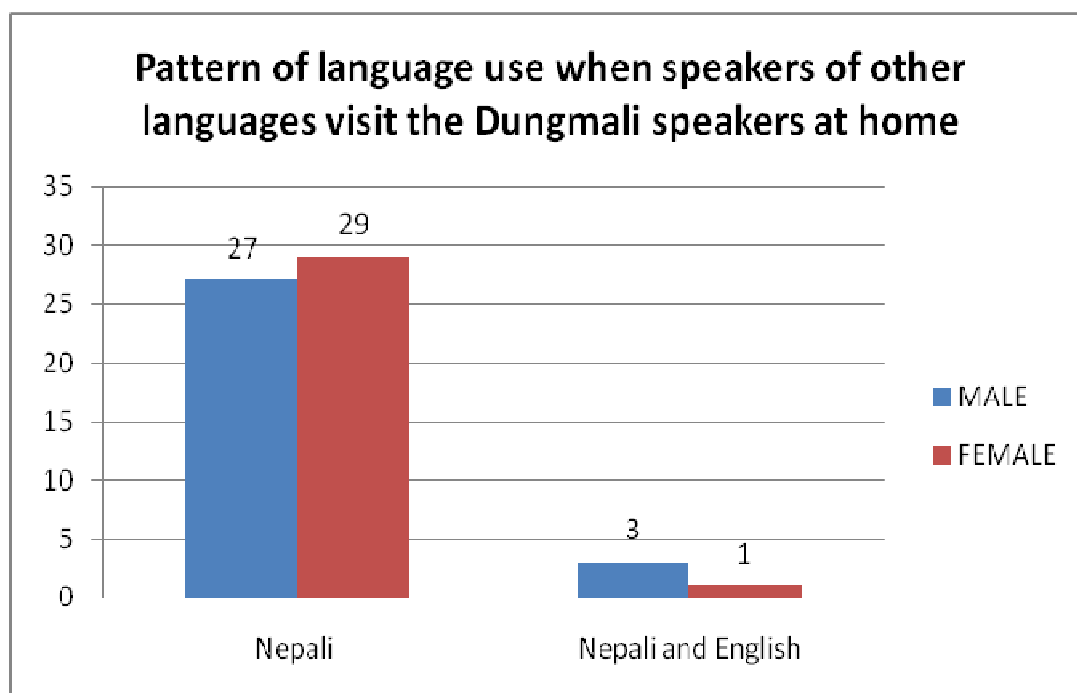


Figure 3.3: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Dungmali speakers at home

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the patterns of the language use in different domains in the Dungmali speech community. In the domains like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings, Dungmali speakers yield to have been shifting to Nepali, a wider communication slowly and gradually. Very few informants responded that Dungmali speech community lacks songs in their mother tongue. Instead, they were found to have used Nepali in singing either at home or outside home. Around half of them responded that they used Dungmali and Nepali both in the joking, discussing and praying. More than 90% of the informants responded that they use both Nepali and Dungmali in the domains like shopping and bargaining. Bantawa is least used. Most of them understand Bantawa language. More than 70% of them responded that they use both Dungmali and Nepali in the domains like storytelling, quarreling, abusing and telling stories to the children. In the domains like family gatherings and praying, they seem to have retained their language around 50%.

The majority of literate speakers were found to have used Nepali most frequently than those of the illiterate speakers while discussing social events and family matters with the major family members. More strikingly, literate respondents are found to have been shifting towards Nepali, the language of wider communication, quite more while discussing social events and family matters. In the same way, the illiterate respondents responded that they used Nepali, the language of wider communication, but not as much the literate ones. Nepali is greatly used for marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings in the Dungmali community. Nepali is exclusively used when the speakers of other languages visit Dungmali at home. Majority of both sexes prefer their mother tongue as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

CHAPTER 4

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI-MULTILINGUALISM

4.1 Outline

This chapter evaluates the mother tongue proficiency in the Dungmali speech community. Apart from this, this chapter attempts to assess the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of the Dungmali speakers in standard Nepali. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 4.2 examines mother tongue proficiency in the Dungmali speech community. In section 4.3, we assess the level and extent of community bi/multilingualism of the Dungmali speakers in Nepali, the language of wider communication. Section 4.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

4.2 Mother tongue proficiency

In response to the question: What language can you speak? all the informants, both male and female, informed that they can speak mainly two languages; namely, Dungmali and Nepali. Similarly, in response to the question: What language do you speak first? they all replied that they spoke Dungmali first. When they were inquired, among the languages that they speak, which language they love most, they all answered that they love their mother tongue, i.e, Dungmali, which they all speak best. In order, they said that they speak Nepali best after their mother tongue. 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 in the survey points of survey in Dungmali. Table 4.1 shows the present picture of mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Dungmali.

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

SPEAKING (N=60)				READING AND WRITING (N=37)		
Degrees	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total	Male n=21	Female n=16	Total
VERY WELL	21 (70%)	13 (43%)	34 (57%)	3 (14%)	1 (6%)	4 (10%)
SOME	7 (23%)	15 (50%)	22 (37%)	4 (19%)	1 (6%)	5 (14%)
ONLY A LITTLE	2 (7%)	2 (7%)	4 (6%)	14 (67%)	14 (88%)	28 (76%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 4.1 shows that all the 70% of male and 43% of female speak mother tongue very well. On the other hand 14% of male and 10% of female responded that they can read and write very well. 23% of male and 43% of female reported that they can read and write some. This situation indicates that Dungmali is a preliterate language in that there are very few reading materials. Of the males 7% and female by the same percent have a little bit proficiency in speaking. The data show that female have 88% proficiency in reading and writing.

Table 4.2 presents the levels of understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

Table 4.2: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school

<i>When a small child first goes to school, can (s) he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?</i>	SEX		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total
YES	3 (10%)	2 (6.50%)	5 (8%)
A LITTLE BIT	26 (87%)	26 (87%)	52 (87%)
NO	1 (3%)	2 (6.50%)	3 (5%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 4.2 shows that around 87% of the total informants seem to be confident that when a child first goes to school can understand the thing a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Only 8% of the informants are confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand the thing at all his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

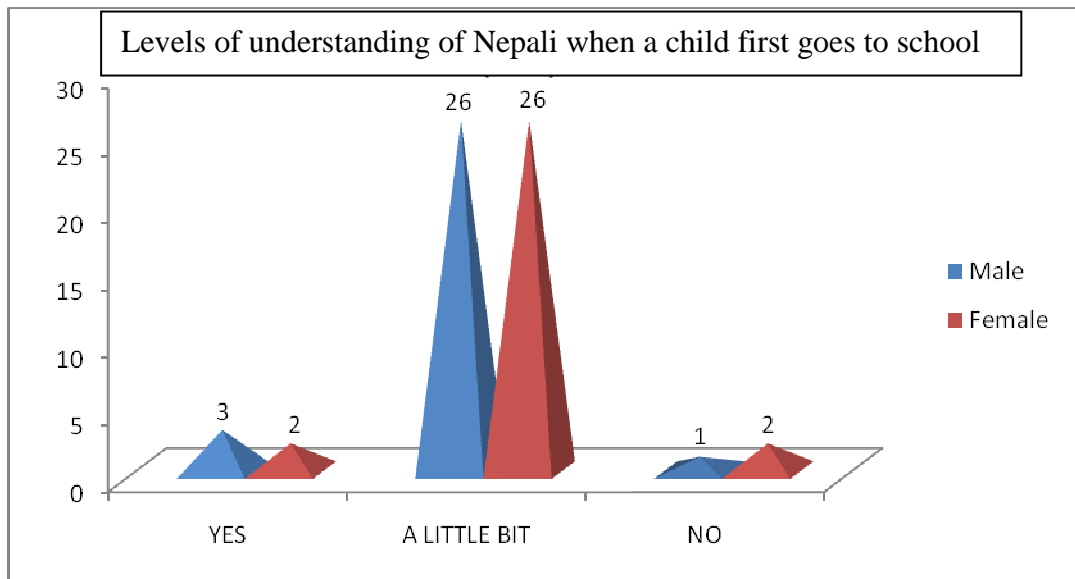
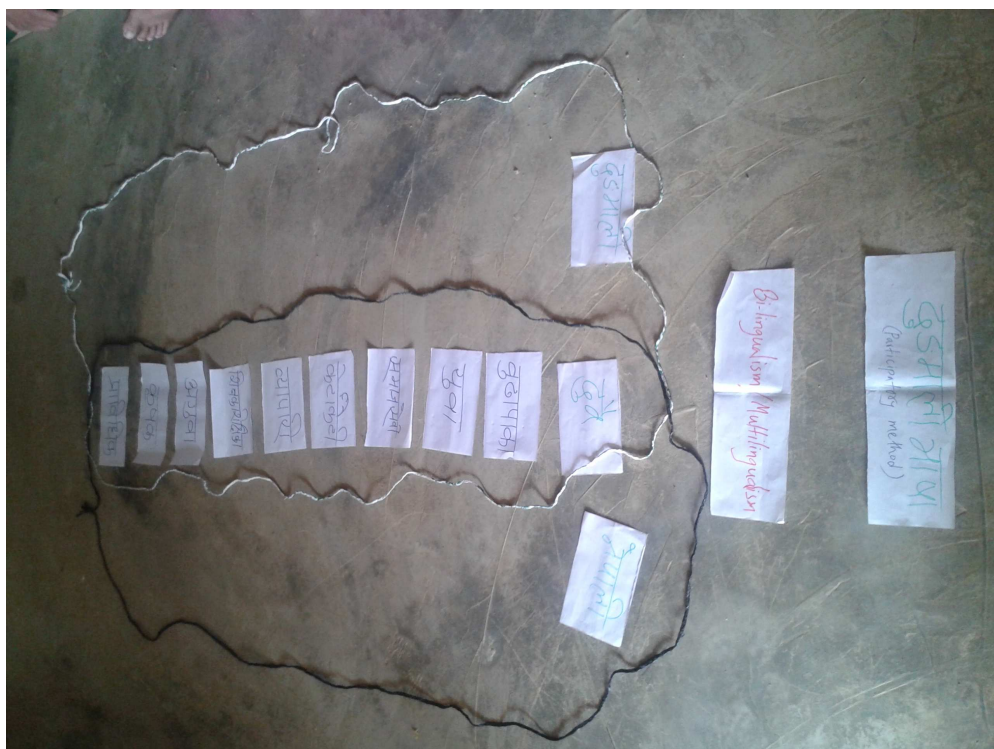


Figure 4.1: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school

4.3 Bi-Multilingualism

In a multilingual country Nepal, an individual may have a choice of many languages. Bi/multilingualism is a common phenomenon in all the indigenous nationalities in Nepal. Dungmali is no exception. Table 4.2 presents a general picture of multilingualism in the selected speech community.



Photograph 4.1: Mapping out Bi-multilingualism in the field work

Table 4.3 presents a picture of multilingualism in the Dungmali speech community.

Table 4.3: Multilingualism in the Dungmali speech community

	Languages	No. of speakers	%
1	Dungmali	60	100
2	Nepali	59	98
3	English	15	25
4	Hindi	22	37
5	Bantawa	9	15
6	Bhojpuri	1	2
7	Bangali	1	2

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 4.3 shows that 100% of informants can speak Dungmali. Around 98% of the informants reported that they can speak Nepali. Some of them speak English and Hindi which covers 25% and 37% respectively. 15% of them reported that they can speak Bantawa. 2% of them were found that they had proficiency in Bhojpuri and Bangali. Figure 5.1 intensely presents the situation of multilingualism in the Dungmali speech community.

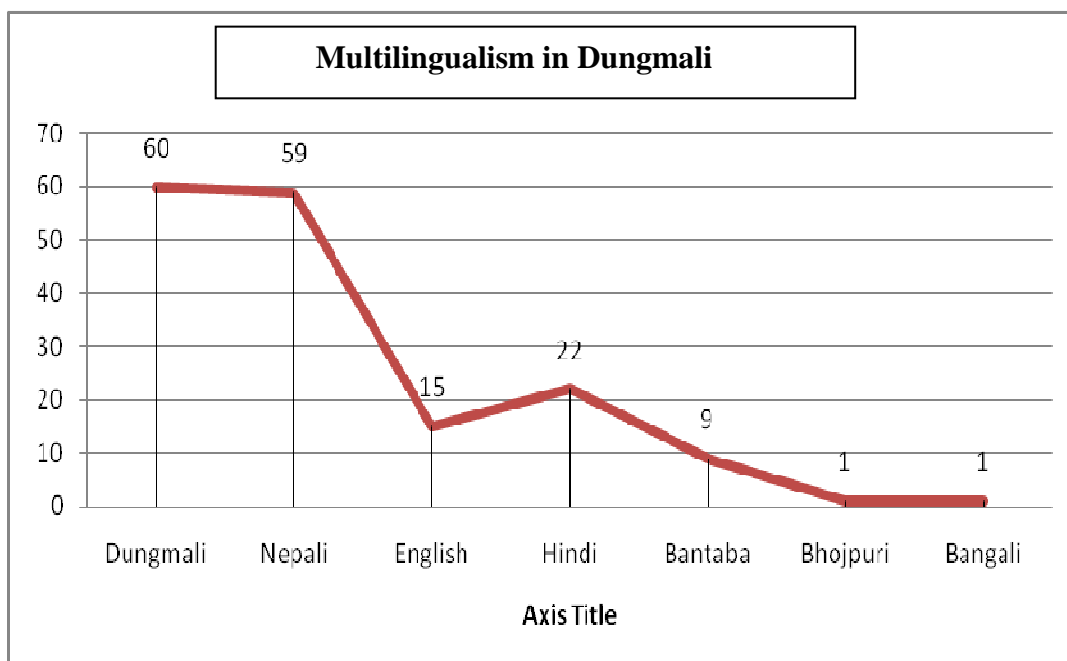


Figure 4.2: Multilingualism in Dungmali

Table 4.4 shows the general picture of multilingualism in the Dungmali speech community by sex.

Table 4.4: Multilingualism in the Dungmali speech community by sex

	<i>What languages can you speak?</i>	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total
1	Dungmali	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
2	Nepali	30 (100%)	29 (97%)	59 (98%)
3	English	8 (27%)	7 (23%)	15 (25%)
4	Hindi	14 (46%)	8 (27%)	22 (37%)
5	Bantawa	8 (27%)	1 (3%)	9 (15%)
6	Bhojpuri	1 (3%)	-	1 (2%)
7	Bangali	1 (3%)	-	1 (2%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 4.4 shows that all the informants, both male and female, can speak two languages, namely Dungmali and Nepali. 27% of males and 23% of females speak Nepali English. 46% of males can speak Hindi whereas 27% of females can speak Hindi. Around 27% of males were found to have proficiency in Bantawa. It can also be shown in Figure 4.3 below.

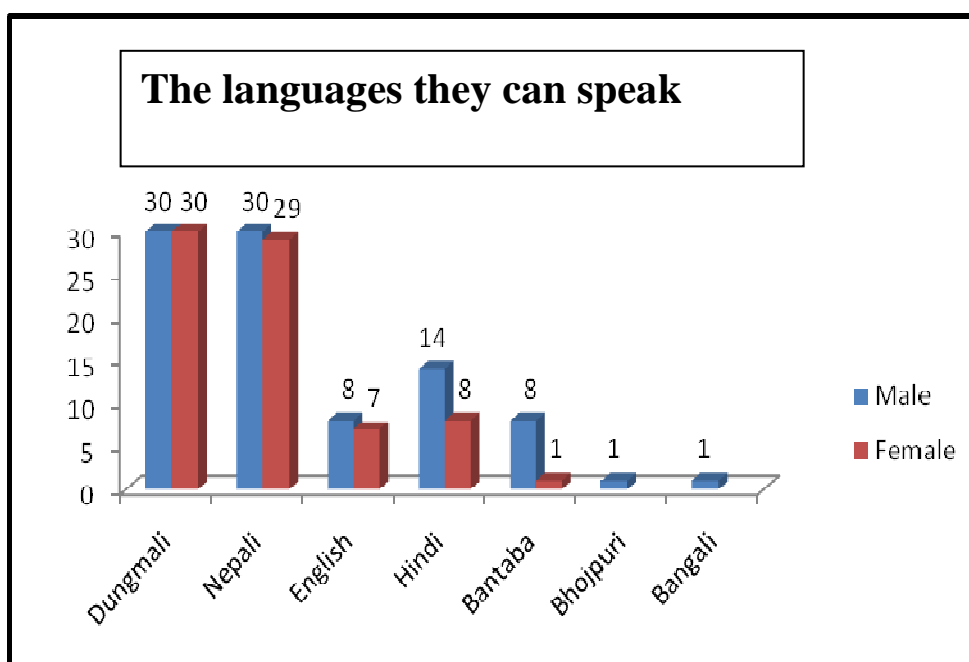


Figure 4.3: Multilingualism in the Dungmali speech community

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the mother tongue proficiency and bi-multilingualism in the Dungmali language. All the informants, both male and female have proficiency in two languages; namely, Dungmali and Nepali. They prefer much their own language. This is because in response to what language they speak first. They replied that they spoke Dungmali first. When they were inquired, among the languages that they speak, which language they love most, they all answered that they love their mother tongue, i.e, Dungmali, which they all speak best. Their second priority was for Nepali after Dugnmali. Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) had been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. For this, SLQA was administered in the informants in the survey points of survey in Dungmali. All the 70% of males and 43% of females speak mother tongue very well. On the other hand 14% of male and 10% of female responded that they can read and write very well. 23% of male and 43% of female reported that they can read and write some. This situation indicates that Dungmali is a preliterate language in that there are very few reading materials. Of the males 7% and female by the same percent have a little bit proficiency in speaking. The data show that female have 88% proficiency in reading and writing. Around 87% of the total informants seem to be confident that when a child first goes to school can understand the thing a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Only 8% of the informants are confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand the thing at all his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. 100% of informants can speak Dungmali. Around 98% of the informants reported that they can speak Nepali. Some of them speak English and Hindi which covers 25% and 37% respectively. 15% of them reported that they can speak Bantawa. 2% of them were found that they had proficiency in Bhojpuri and Bangali. All the informants, both male and female, can speak two languages, namely Dungmali and Nepali. 27% of males and 23% of females speak Nepali English. 46% of males can speak Hindi whereas 27% of females can speak Hindi. Around 27% of males were found to have proficiency in Bantawa.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.1 Outline

This chapter looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Dungmali. It consists of five sections. Section 5.2 examines language vitality in Dungmali. In section 5.3, we discuss language maintenance in Dungmali. Section 5.4 looks at the attitudes of the Dungmali community towards their language. In section 5.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.2 Language vitality

Dungmali community is also gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication. Table 5.1 presents the overall picture of language vitality in the Dungmali speech community.

Table 5.1: Language vitality in the key points in Dungmali speech community

QUESTIONS	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?	
	(N=44)		(N=60)		(N=60)	
RESPONSES	YES	NO	YES	NO	MOTHER TONGUE	NEPALI
		42 (95%)	2 (5%)	55 (92%)	5 (8%)	57 (95%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.1 shows the vitality level of the Dungmali language is quite high. For this, there were administered three questions from each survey points. When the informants were asked whether all their children speak their mother tongue, 95% informants from each key point responded that the children speak Dungmali. When the informants were asked if young people speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken, 92% of the informants responded that their mother tongue is spoken as well as it ought to be spoken. In response to the question, i.e., what

language most parents in this village usually speak with their children, 95% of the informants said that they all speak Dungmali with their children.

5.3 Language maintenance

Language maintenance in Dungmali is not so much disappointed. Table 5.2 presents the situation of language maintenance in Dungmali.

5.3.1 Inter-marriage situation

Inter-marriage is one of the most vibrant situations among the Rai communities. This is because of the inter-marriage situation, the language is being endangered. Dungmali is also facing this situation. Table 5.2 presents the situation of inter-marriage in the Dungmali speech community.

**Table 5.2: Situation of inter-marriage in the Dungmali speech community
(by sex and literacy)**

<i>Is their inter-marriage in your community?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
YES	7 (23%)	4 (13%)	11 (18%)	11 (27%)	1 (5%)	12 (20%)
NO	23 (77%)	26 (87%)	49 (82%)	30 (73%)	18 (95%)	48 (80%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.2 shows the situation of inter-marriage in the Dungmali speech community. Around 82% of the informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) replied that there is no inter-marriage in their community. However, the rest 18% of the informants (by sex) replied that there is inter-marriage system in their speech community. In terms of literacy, 20% of the respondents replied that there is inter-marriage system in the Dungmali speech community. The percentage of the literate informants who replied that there is inter-marriage system is slightly higher than that of illiterate informants. This situation indicates the inter-marriage is being one of the causes of language shift to the Dungmali community. This is not only the case of the Dungmali speech community; we can see this in Rai Kirat community which is being one of the causes of language endangerment.

**Table 5.3: Other language groups which have common marital relationship with
Dungmali**

	Other language groups	No. of informants	%
1	Bantawa	9	15%
2	Chamling	5	8%
3	Chetry	3	5%
4	Bahun	2	3%
6	Magar	3	5%
7	Limbu	2	3%
9	Others	5	8%

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.3 shows that other language groups which have common marital relationship with Dungmali speech community include Bantawa, Chamling, Chetry, Bahun, magar, Limbu and others. Around 8% of the informants replied that Bantawa has common marital relationship with their language group. The lowest percentage (3%) replied that Nepali has common marital relationship with their language group.

5.3.2 Use of mother tongue in education

Table 5.4 shows the opinion on like/dislike in reading/writing in MT in the Dungmali speech community.

Table 5.4: Opinion on like/dislike in reading/writing in MT

<i>Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=20	Female N=24	Total N=44	Literate N=25	Illiterate N=19	Total N=44
YES	20 (100%)	24 (100%)	44 (100%)	25 (100%)	19 (100%)	44 (100%)
NO	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.4 shows that all the informants (both male and female) like their children read /write in their mother tongue in the primary level. Not only this, in terms of literacy all the informants replied that they like their children learn /study in their mother tongue, Dunmali.

Table 5.5 presents the responses to how the informants would support if schools are opened for teaching their language.

Table 5.5: The ways informants support if schools are opened for teaching their language

	<i>If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:</i>	NUMBER OF RESPONSES		
		Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60
1	by sending children?	20 (67%)	24 (80%)	44 (73%)
2	by encouraging other people to send their children?	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)
3	by providing financial help?	29 (97%)	29 (97%)	58 (97%)
4	by teaching?	14 (47%)	6 (20%)	20 (33%)
5	by helping with the school?	24 (80%)	13 (43%)	37 (62%)
6	others?	1(3%)	-	1 (2%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.5 shows the status of the response of the informants in terms of the sex who are ready to support those schools in different ways: by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching, by helping with the school. The data show that female respondents are more enthusiastic than those of the male respondents. All the respondents seem to be encouraging other people to send their children in which is found 100% support by the respondents. Around 97% of the respondents are ready to provide financial help. Some even (33%) respondents are ready to support by teaching. Around 62% of the informants replied that they are ready to help with the school. This status shows that there is affection for their language. Moreover, this indicates that mother tongue based multi-lingual education is urgently needed in this community.

To make it more transparent, the ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools can also be presented in figure 5.1.

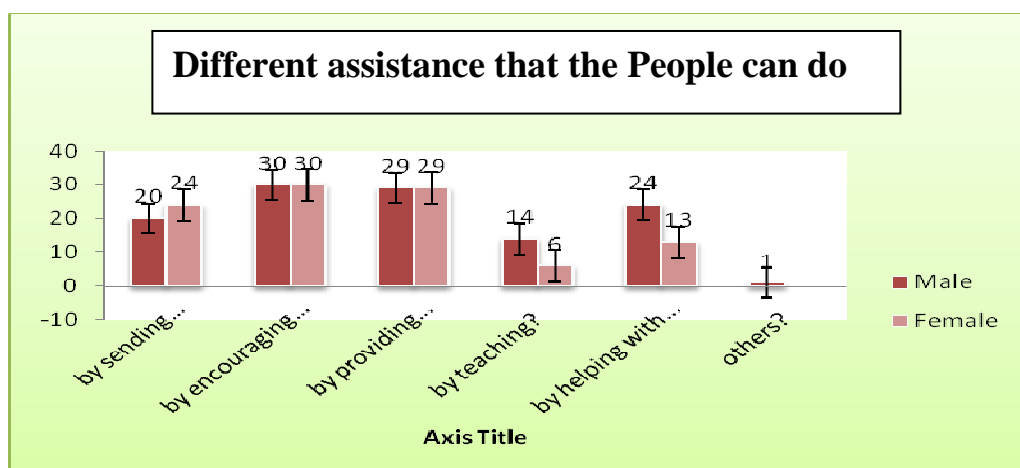


Figure 5.1: different assistants that the people can do

5.4 Language attitudes

In this section, we briefly look at language attitudes of the speakers in Dungmali speech community. A positive attitude may foster the use of language and widen the domains of language use whereas a negative attitude may help the shrinking of the domains and ultimately the death of the language. In general, there is an extremely positive attitude of the Dungmali people towards their language. Table 5.6 presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most.

Table 5.6: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most

	<i>What languages do they love the most?</i>	Male n=21	Female n=24	Total N=45
1	Dungmali	20 (95%)	24 (100%)	44 (98%)
2	English	1 (5%)	-	1 (2%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.6 shows that around 98% of the respondents love their language the most whereas only 1.7% of the respondents love English the most.

The Dungmali speakers do not feel any embarrassment while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 5.7 presents the feelings of the informants (in terms of literacy) while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 5.7: Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language

	<i>When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel... ?</i>	LITERACY		
		Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
1	prestigious	23 (56%)	11 (59%)	34 (56%)
2	embarrassed	10 (24%)	3 (15%)	13 (22%)
3	neutral	8 (20%)	5 (26%)	13 (22%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.7 shows that around 56% of the entire respondents feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. The ratio of illiterate is slightly higher than those of the literate. Around 22% of the respondents feel embarrassed while speaking in their mother in the presence of dominant language. Some others 22% of the respondents replied nothing.

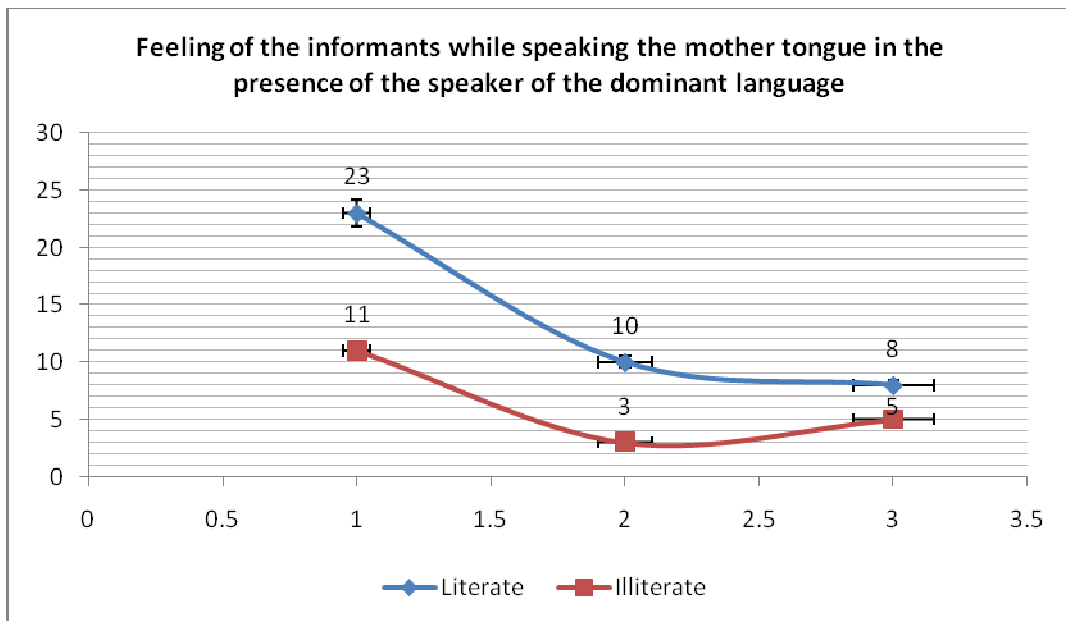


Figure 5.2: Speaking mother tongue in the presence of dominant language speakers

Table 5.8 presents the response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

Table 5.8: Response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue

	<i>Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?</i>	LITERACY		
		Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
1	YES	-	-	-
2	NO	41 (100%)	19 (100%)	60 (100%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.8 shows that all of the respondents replied that they didn't have to face any problems because of being a native speaker. Because of being a native speaker of the mother tongue, a man may have faced a number of problems like social discrimination, economic and political discrimination.

Table 5.9 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy).

Table 5.9: Different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy)

<i>How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=21	Female N=23	Total N=44	Literate N=28	Illiterate N=19	Total N=47
GOOD	2 (9%)	1 (5%)	3 (7%)	1 (4%)	2 (10%)	3 (6%)
INDIFFERENT	9 (43%)	10 (43%)	19 (43%)	13 (46%)	6 (32%)	19 (41%)
BAD	10 (48%)	12 (52%)	22 (50%)	14 (50%)	11 (58%)	25 (53%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.9 shows that more than 50% of the total respondents (both in terms of sex) replied that they would feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. 41% of the total respondents said that they were indifferent in such case.

Table 5.10 presents the response to the question: When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?

presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy).

Table 5.10: Response to the if future generation might speak the language (by sex and literacy)

<i>When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=40	Illiterate N=14	Total N=54
YES	23 (77%)	28 (93%)	51 (85%)	33 (83%)	12 (86%)	45 (83%)
NO	7 (23%)	2 (7%)	9 (15%)	7 (17%)	2 (14%)	9 (17%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.10 shows that more than 83% of the total respondents (both in terms of sex and literacy) are optimist that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. Only 7% of the female and 14% of the illiterate responded that their children would not speak the mother tongue in future.

Table 5.11 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters speak of their language.

Table 5.11: Different feeling of the informants if their children speak of their language (by sex and literacy)

<i>How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
GOOD	27 (90%)	29 (97%)	56 (94%)	38 (93%)	18 (95%)	56 (94%)
INDIFFERENT	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	2 (3%)	2 (5%)	-	2(3%)
BAD	2 (7%)	-	2 (3%)	1 (2%)	1 (5%)	2 (3%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.11 shows that more than 94% of the total informants feel good if their children speak their mother tongue. Only 3% of the total respondents have shown their indifference in such query. Around 7% of the male respondents replied that they would feel bad if their children speak their mother tongue.

Table 5.12 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters do not speak their language (by sex and literacy).

Table 5.12: Different feeling of the informants if their children do not speak of their language (by sex and literacy)

<i>How do you feel about this if they do not speak of your language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
GOOD	-	-	-	-	-	-
INDIFFERENT	8 (27%)	10 (33%)	18 (30%)	13 (32%)	5 (26%)	18 (30%)
BAD	22 (73%)	20 (67%)	42 (70%)	28 (68%)	14 (74%)	42 (70%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.12 shows that all informants do not feel good if their children do not speak their mother tongue. Only 70% of the total informants replied that they feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue. On the other hand, around 30% informants are indifferent in such a case.

In response to the question: What language should your children speak at first? all the informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) have responded that they should first speak their mother tongue. It means that all the people in this community are convinced that their children should speak Dungmali first. Table 5.13 presents the responses to: if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

Table 5.13: Response to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents? (by sex and literacy)

<i>Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
YES	4 (13%)	12 (40%)	16 (27%)	13 (32%)	3 (16%)	16 (27%)
NO	26 (87%)	18 (60%)	44 (73%)	28 (68%)	16 (84%)	44 (73%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.13 shows that more than 73% of the total informants do not think the language spoken by them is not different from their grandparents. It shows that they are still conservative in the language since they have been speaking the language spoken by their grandparents.

Table 5.14 presents different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language.

Table 5.14: Different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language N=60

<i>How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?</i>	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=41	Illiterate N=19	Total N=60
GOOD	–	–	–	–	–	–
INDIFFERENT	8 (27%)	15 (50%)	23 (38%)	16 (39%)	7 (37%)	23 (38%)
BAD	22 (73%)	15 (50%)	37 (62%)	25 (61%)	12 (63%)	37 (62%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.14 shows that more than 60% of the total informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel bad when they hear young people speak other language. But more than 30% of the informants seem to be indifferent. It indicates that the loyalty towards their mother tongue is still vibrant.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Dungmali. This speech community is found to have been maintaining their level of vitality in orality. Language maintenance is also quite good. Intermarriage is one of the causes of language endangerment in Rai Kirati community. So it is gradually picking up the pace in the Dungmali speech community. The community is ready to support the schools. Their attitude towards their mother tongue is extremely positive. As they reported that they feel prestigious while speaking in their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. They don't have any experience of how they are badly treated. In the Dungmali speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all the people are fully confident that their children would speak in their mother tongue in future. The Dungmali language is still conservative since the speakers are still following almost all the ways their grandparents would speak their mother tongue.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Outline

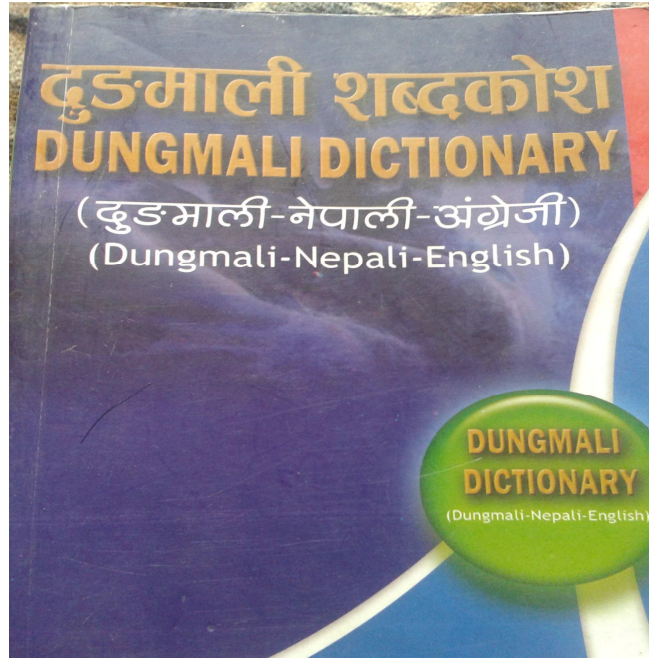
This chapter presents the situation of language resources and examines the views about language development in Dungmali. It consists of four sections. Section 6.2 presents the situation of language resources in Dungmali. In section 6.3, we examine the views/dreams about language development in the Dungmali speech community. Section 6.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

6.2 Language resources

As the informants in key points reported that there are oral literatures available in the Dungmali which are folk tales, songs and religious literatures. There is not any FM station of their own. While writing the language the Devanagari script, which has been suggested for unwritten Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, is used.

According to the informants, Dungmali has the publications like a phonemic inventory, dictionary, a magazine called Pungchikha, Dungmali myth, Chhitung-Dhitung. As the informants reported that there are three articles published in Gorkhapatra, a print media of the Government.

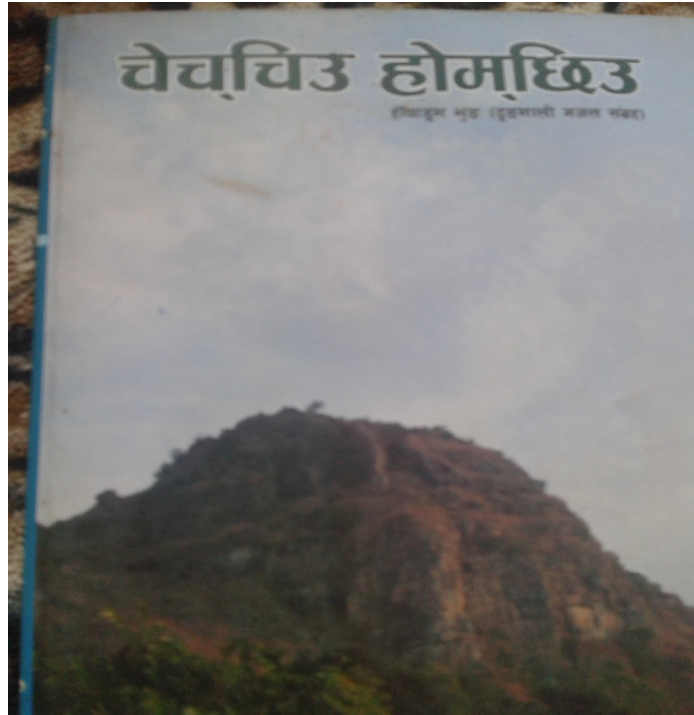
There is an album named Chhitung-Dhitung ever been released in the Dungmali language. This is a positive message for language resource. There is an organization of this community named Kirat Rai Dungmali Bhasa Sansthan-Sambardhan which has been working for preserving the language and culture. It has produced some of the resource materials like the phonemic inventory of Dungmali in collaboration with National Foundation of Indigenous Nationality (NFDIN). Some of the researchers and language activists have contributed to preserve the language and culture of this speech community by producing some of the reading materials which are as follows:



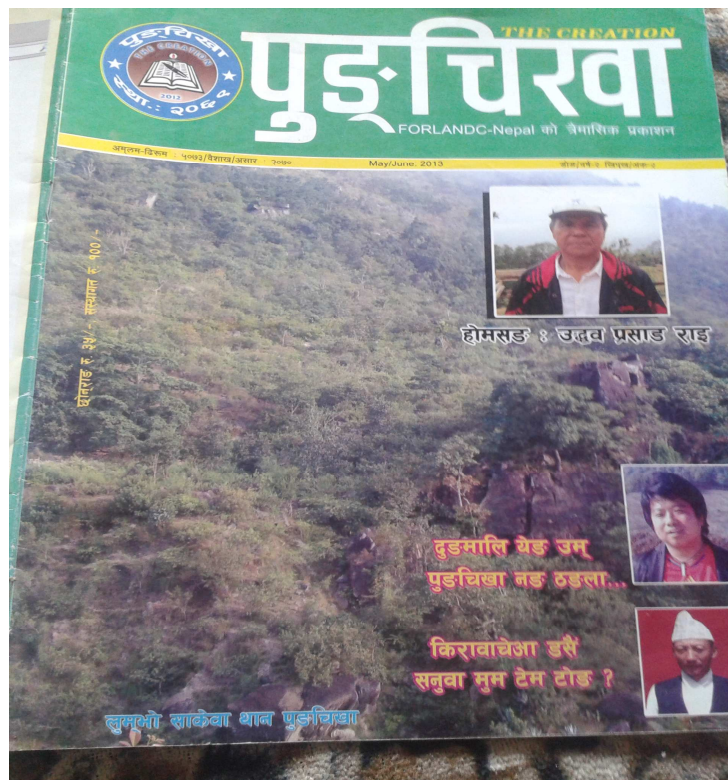
Photograph 6.1: A Dungmali-Nepali Dictionary



Photograph 6.2: Dungmali Yangmangkhu (A Ritual based book)



Photograph 6.3: A collection of Gajals



Photograph 6.4: A magazine published by Kirat Rai Dungmali Bhasa Samrakchhan Sambardhan Samiti

6.3 Language development

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

6.3 .1 Appreciative inquiry

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all five key points in Dungmali. The main purpose of this survey was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Dungmali community members for the development of their language as well their culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of at least eight participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and educational status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud of their language or culture.



Photograph 6.5: Participants of Dungmali speakers in Thulo Dummma

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 Dungmali 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. Table 6.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries in all seven key points in Dungmali.

Table 6.1: Summary of the findings from the appreciative inquiry in Dungmali

Survey points	Good things that made Dungmali feel happy or proud of their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
BAR TOLE-1, THULO DUMMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ mother tongue of Dungmali ▪ identity of Dungmali ▪ legacy of <i>Mundumi</i> language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to prepare a grammar and a dictionary in Dungmali ▪ to prepare textbooks for children in Dungmali ▪ to have equal access to media ▪ to start mother tongue based education at primary level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to pressurize the local authorities to initiate FM and TV programs in in Dungmali ▪ to pressurize the government for high school to University level courses
BAONDA TOLE-3, THULO DUMM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ancestral language ▪ easy to communicate secrete matters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to prepare textbooks in Dungmali ▪ to have any program in T.V ▪ to have Dungmali teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to pressurize the local authorities to initiate FM and TV programs in Dungmali ▪ to establish the University courses in Dungmali language
THARPU-3, SANO DUMMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ symbol of ethnic identity of ▪ easy to communicate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to prepare textbooks in Dungmali ▪ to have any program in T.V ▪ to have Dungmali teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to pressurize the local authorities to initiate FM and TV programs in Dungmali ▪ to establish the University courses in Dungmali language
CHAUKIBARI-4, SANO DUMMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ symbol of ethnic identity of Dungmali ▪ ancestral language ▪ easy to communicate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ to prepare textbooks in Dungmali ▪ to use Dungmali in government office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to pressurize the local authorities to initiate FM and TV programs in in Dungmali
BASTIM-1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ symbol of ethnic identity of Dungmali ▪ Dungmali culture embodied in this language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ to prepare textbooks in Dungmali ▪ to have any program in T.V 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to pressurize the local authorities to initiate FM and TV programs in in Dungmali

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 6.1 summarizes the responses of the participants in all the five key points. In response to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud of their language and culture, the participants in group came to a conclusion that Dungmali apart from being their mother tongue is an ancestral and 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 grammar in their language. They shared their dreams that they need to have textbooks for their children at primary level. Apart from this, they would like to have equal access to the mass media like FM and TV. In other words, they would like to have any program in their language transmitted nationally or regionally or locally. 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 Dungmali language and culture through FM.

Based on Table 6.1, taking all the responses together, we see that there are basically four things which made them feel happy or proud of their language. They are as follows:

- a) Dungmali is the mother tongue of Dungmali community to which they call *Dungmali*
- b) Dungmali culture is embodied in this language, i.e. while performing rites of passage, Dungmali language is must.
- c) It is easy to communicate secret matters in this language.
- d) It is the symbol of ethnic identity.

Based on those good things in Dungmali language and culture as mentioned above, they had the following “dreams” about how they could make their language even better:

- a) to prepare grammar in Dungmali;
- b) to prepare textbooks for children at primary level and University courses;
- c) to have equal access to media;
- d) to start mother tongue based education at primary level;
- e) to have Dungmali teachers;

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 TV in Dungmali, starting preparing textbooks in Dungmali and beginning mother tongue based education at primary level. However, they could not articulate concrete plans to get realized their “dreams”.

Table 6.2 presents the summary of hopes and plans of the Dungmali community for their mother tongue promotion and development.

Table 6.2: Hopes and plans for Dungmali language

H O P E S	development and preservation of Dungmali (<i>Mundum</i>)
	development of script (though there is debate on the Srijanga script);
	identification and development of Dungmali literature;
	identification and development of Dungmali folk music;
	identification and documentation of Dungmali myths/ folklore;
	identification and documentation of Dungmali art
	getting support from National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities(NFDIN) for preserving Dungmali language and culture and producing reading materials in Dungmali;
	application of Dungmali mother tongue at primary level education;
	Dungmali language be broadcast <i>via</i> local media;
	scholarship support be provided by the government for the study of linguistics;
	discussion is carried out for making plans;
P L A N S	awareness program in the community be carried out;
	informal education be implemented;
	fund raising from the community, related organization, government agencies, etc;
	financial management for the Dungmali language development and promotion.

Source: Field study (2014)

Their major hopes for their language development and promotion are recognition of Dungmali identity, identification and development of proper script, identification and development of Dungmali literature, identification and development of Dungmali folk art and music, identification and documentation of Dungmali myths, *mundum* etc.

6.3.2 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 (8) 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 Dungmali community. Table 6.3 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Dungmali.

Table 6.3: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Dungmali

<i>In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?</i>		Respondents	
		CAN	CAN'T
1.	by devising the script	8(80%)	2(20%)
2.	by making the spelling system systematic	8(80%)	2(20%)
3.	by compiling dictionary	8(80%)	2(20%)
4.	by writing grammar	9(90%)	1(10%)
5.	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	4(40%)	6(60%)
6.	by writing and publishing textbooks	4(40%)	6(60%)
7.	by publishing newspapers	4(60%)	6(60%)
8.	by making use of the language in administration	9(90%)	1(10%)
9.	by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	10(100%)	-

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 6.3 shows 80% of the respondents replied that they could preserve and promote the language by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic and compiling dictionary. Similarly, 90% of the total respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by encouraging people to write literature in their mother tongue and by making use of the language in administration. Only of the total respondents replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers. All the informants replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we outlined language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Dungmali. Dungmali community is rich enough in oral literatures: folk tales, songs and religious literature. They practice *Mundhum* as the religious norms. They have no access to mass media like television, FM radio, etc. Undoubtedly, Dungmali is a preliterate language. They use the Devanagari script if they want to write in their language.

There is an organization named Kirat Rai Dungmali Bhasa Sansthan-Sambardhan devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Dungmali community. So far as the knowledge of the informants is concerned, they have neither grammar nor full-fledged dictionary and textbooks. In general, the Dungmali community is aware that the language is very important for them. They think that Dungmali 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 have dreams that preparing textbooks for children in Dungmali, having equal access to media, starting mother tongue based education at primary level, establishing an organization for language development, having Dungmali teachers and using Dungmali language in government office.

More than 80% of the respondents replied that they could preserve and promote the language by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic and compiling dictionary. Similarly, 90% of the total respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by encouraging people to write literature in their mother tongue and by making use of the language in administration. Only of the total respondents replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers. All the informants replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

CHAPTER 7

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

7.1 Outline

The main purpose of this chapter is to observe dialectal variations in Dungmali. Basically two tools were used for this purpose. They include wordlist comparison, and Dialect mapping. This chapter is organized into four sections. Section 7.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Dungmali. Section 7.3 discusses the dialect mapping tool. In section 7.4, we summarize the findings of this chapter.

7.2 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists 210 words have been compared to map out the level of

In this section we discuss the methodology and the lexical similarities among the five key points in Dungmali.

7.2.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages in the Dungmali language from different points.

The standardized wordlists of 210 words (developed by LinSuN) were elicited in different points from mother tongue speakers (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 7.1 presents the key locations selected. They were selected from the Dungmali speaking five villages of Bhojpur district.

Table 7.1: Key locations of word survey in Dungmali

	KEY POINTS	VDC	WARD NO.	DISTRICT
1	Bar tole	Thulo Dumma	1	B H O J P U R
2	Danda tole		3	
3	Tharupu	Sano Dumma	3	
4	Chaukibari		4	
5	Bastim	Bastim	1	

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

7.2.2 Calculation and evaluation criteria

Generally, 60% has been taken as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. However, 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.

Table 7.2 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 7.2: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages¹

	Lexical similarity %	Evaluation	Remarks
1.	Less than 60%	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
2.	Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT
3.	60% or more similarity	Different languages or dialects of the same languages	-
4.	Higher than 85%	speech varieties likely to be related dialects	-
5.	Higher than 95% similarity	Same language	-

7.2.3 Lexical similarity among the key points in Dungmali

To map out the dialectal variation, the wordlist of 210 words were administered. Of them, there were 10 lexical items were left untouched since they are not relevant in Dungmali and other Kirati languages like cabbage, cauliflower, etc. which were omitted. We then analyzed the lexical variations carried out.

¹ This modality has been adapted from Regmi (2013).

Table 7.3: Lexical similarity among the key points of Dungmali

Variety	Bartole	Dandtole	Tharpu	Chaukibari	Bastim
Bartole	100%	96%	97%	97%	97%
Danda tole	96%	100%	97%	95%	96%
Tharpu	97%	97%	100%	96%	96%
Chaukibari	97%	95%	96%	100%	97%
Bastim	97%	96%	96%	97%	100%

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 7.3 shows the statistical information on lexical comparison that Bartole as the core survey point that holds 100%. Being based on the Bartole variety, the rest of the four village developments were compared. In the comparison, Dandatole variety shares the least similarity (96%) with Bartole. Other key points Tharpu, Chaukibari and Bastim share almost the same 97% with Bartole. In the same way, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Chaukibari is lowest 95% than other varieties. The statistical data show that there are not much lexical variations among these five key points.

7.3 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping is one of the tools that helps the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties. The informants in group in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Dungmali is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. In common, the following name of the villages was recognized as Dungmali language speaking areas: Bartole, Dandatole, Tharupu, Chaukibari and Bastim. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. But they told that there is

no unintelligibility each other in their language. 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. But they got puzzle with it and they suggested that they can easily understand their language each villages. Since the Dungmali speaking areas are compact, there is not found dialects.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the lexical comparisons from five different key points. Being based on the Bartole variety, the rest of the four villages were compared. The statistical information on lexical comparison that Bartole as the core survey point that holds 100%. Being based on the Bartole variety, the rest of the four village developments were compared. In the comparison, the Dandatole variety shares the least similarity (96%) with Bartole. Other key points Tharpu, Chaukibari and Bastim share almost the same 97% with Bartole. In the same way, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Chaukibari is lowest 95% than other varieties. The statistical data show that there is not much lexical variations among these five key points. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that they can easily understand the form of the speech in this area. The informants in group in Juving told that they can easily understand their language and suggested that no need to discuss about the dialect.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary of findings

The main purpose of this study was to observe the sociolinguistic situation of Dungmali, a Rai Kirati language of Nepal. The survey has included a plenty of informations about the possible dialectal variations and bi/multilingualism, language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Dungmali. Moreover, the survey has also attempted to gather information about language resources, dreams and plans of the speech community for the development the Dungmali language. The major findings of the survey are presented as follows:

8.1.1 Ethnolinguistic information

- a) Dungmali is one of the distinct Rai Kirati languages having indigenous nationality (2002 NFDIN Act, No. 20, Section 2C).It is one of the Kirat Rai languages of the Himalayish sub-group within Tibeto Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family.
- b) 'Dungmali' refers to the people as well as the language they speak. The term *dumma* is derived from *dungma* which means 'to drink'. The place where they have been living since time immemorial was lack of water. One of their ancestors originally Bantawa made a well and thus, settled a village. Only after his contribution, the people around this village got the water to drink. This is a mythology of the Dungmali people. What Dungmali says for 'to drink' is *tuŋma* which turned to *ɖuŋma* and now *duŋma* (*tuŋma*>*ɖuŋma*>*duŋma* >*dumma*).
- c) The latest Census gives the number of mother tongue speakers as 6,260 (CBS 2012).
- d) Dungmali is spoken mainly in Sano Dumma, Thulo Dumma of Bhojpur district in Nepal. They are found to have spread over Tiwaribhnjyang, Chyangre, Jarayotar VDCs.

- e) The Dungmali are people of mongoloid stock and of amicable in nature. They live in the hilly region of the eastern part of Nepal. The major crops are potatoes, maize, and especially millet.
- f) Dungmali society has exogamous kinship groups referred to as *pats^{ha}* 'little clan'. These kinship groups are based on the aggregates of closely related males and unrelated females, who have been brought into the group from other kinship groups, usually of the same community.
- g) Dungmali people follow the animism as other Kiratis do. But they are gradually shifting to the Hindu religion.
- h) Agriculture is the traditional occupation of the Dungmali people. They cultivate the lands to grow paddy, maize and millet. They made their living by selling these crops. Their nearest market is Pakhribas, Hile and Bhojpur bazaar.

8.1.2 Patterns of language use in different domains

- a) Dungmali is a multi-lingual community. They have mainly three choices: Dungmali, Nepali and sometimes Bantawa .
- b) In the domains like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings, Dungmali speakers yield to have been shifting to Nepali, a wider communication slowly and gradually.
- c) Dungmali speech community lacks songs in their mother tongue. Instead, they were found to have used Nepali in singing either at home or outside home. Around half of them responded that they used Dungmali and Nepali both in the joking, discussing and praying.
- d) More than 90% of the informants responded that they use both Nepali and Dungmali in the domains like shopping and bargaining. Bantawa is least used. Most of them understand Bantawa language. More than 70% of them responded that they use both Dungmali and Nepali in the domains like storytelling, quarreling, abusing and telling stories to the children. In the domains like family gatherings and praying, they seem to have retained their language around 50%.

- e) The majority of literate speakers were found to have used Nepali most frequently than those of the illiterate speakers while discussing social events and family matters with the major family members.
- f) More strikingly, literate respondents are found to have been shifting towards Nepali, the language of wider communication, quite more while discussing social events and family matters. In the same way, the illiterate respondents responded that they used Nepali, the language of wider communication, but not as much the literate ones.
- g) Nepali is greatly used for marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings in the Dungmali community. Nepali is exclusively used when the speakers of other languages visit the Dungmali at home.
- h) Majority of both sexes prefer their mother tongue as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

8.1.3 Mother tongue proficiency and bi-multilingualism

- a) Both male and female have proficiency in two languages; namely, Dungmali and Nepali. They prefer much their own language, Dungmali.
- b) Of the total informants, 70% of males and 43% of females speak mother tongue very well. On the other hand 14% of male and 10% of female responded that they can read and write very well. 23% of male and 43% of female reported that they can read and write some.
- c) This situation indicates that Dungmali is a preliterate language in that there are very few reading materials. Of the males 7% and female by the same percent have a little bit proficiency in speaking. The data show that female have 88% proficiency in reading and writing. Around 87% of the total informants seem to be confident that when a child first goes to school can understand the thing a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. Only 8% of the informants are confirmed that when a small child first goes to school can understand the thing at all his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

- d) Cent percent informants can speak Dungmali. Around 98% of the informants reported that they can speak Nepali. Some of them speak English and Hindi which covers 25% and 37% respectively. 15% of them reported that they can speak Bantawa. 2% of them were found that they had proficiency in Bhojpuri and Bangali. 46% of males can speak Hindi whereas 27% of females can speak Hindi. Around 27% of males were found to have proficiency in Bantawa.

8.1.4 Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes

- a) Dungmali speech community is found to have been maintaining their level of vitality in orality. Language maintenance is also quite good.
- b) Inter-marriage is one of the causes of language endangerment in Rai Kirati community. So it is gradually picking up the pace in the Dungmali speech community.
- c) The community is ready to support the schools. Their attitude towards their mother tongue is extremely positive.
- d) As they reported that they feel prestigious while speaking in their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. They don't have any experience of how they are badly treated. In the Dungmali speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all the people are fully confident that their children would speak in their mother tongue in future.
- e) The Dungmali language is still conservative since the speakers are still following almost all the ways their grandparents would speak their mother tongue.

8.1.5 Language resource and language development

- a) Dungmali community is rich enough in oral literatures: folk tales, songs and religious literature. They practice *Mundhum* as the religious norms. They have no access to mass media like television, FM radio, etc. Undoubtedly, Dungmali is a preliterate language. They use the Devanagari script if they want to write in their language.
- b) There is an organization named Kirat Rai Dungmali Bhasa Sansthan-Sambardhan devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational

development of the Dungmali community. So far as the knowledge of the informants is concerned, they have neither grammar nor full-fledged dictionary and textbooks. In general, the Dungmali community is aware that the language is very important for them. They think that Dungmali is not only their mother tongue. Moreover, it is the symbol of ethnic identity. The language has embodied many aspects of their culture.

- c) They have very particular dreams and aspirations for the development of their language and culture. They have dreams that preparing textbooks for children in Dungmali, having equal access to media, starting mother tongue based education at primary level, establishing an organization for language development, having Dungmali teachers and using Dungmali language in government office.
- d) More than 80% of the respondents replied that they could preserve and promote the language by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic and compiling dictionary. Similarly, 90% of the total respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by encouraging people to write literature in their mother tongue and by making use of the language in administration.
- e) Only of the total respondents replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by writing and publishing textbooks and by publishing newspapers. All the informants replied that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

8.1.6 Dialectal variations

- a) Being based on the Bartole variety, the rest of the four villages were compared. The statistical information on lexical comparison that Bartole as the core survey point that holds 100%.
- b) Being based on the Bartole variety, the rest of the four village developments were compared. In the comparison, Dandatole variety shares the least similarity (96%) with Bartole. Other key points

Tharpu, Chaukibari and Bastim share almost the same 97% with Bartole.

- c) In the same way, the wordlist provided by the participants from the Chaukibari is lowest 95% than other varieties. The statistical data show that there is not much lexical variations among these five key points. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that they can easily understand the form of the speech in this area. The informants in group in Juving told that they can easily understand their language and suggested that no need to discuss about the dialect.

8.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings, the following recommendations are surfaced for the promotion and development of the Dungmali language:

- a) Dungmali is one of the endangered and pre-literate languages of Nepal, the government must bring an effective policy to preserve and develop this language.
- b) As Dungmali children face difficulties in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the vernacular and textbooks in Nepali as well as the newly Constitution of Nepal has to guarantee the right of mother tongue based multilingual education;
- c) A single language development program would be appropriate to frame language development as there are no dialectal variations;
- d) The Dungmali community should be aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue in all the domains of language use;
- e) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings;
- f) By means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those illiterate;
- g) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Dungmali community;
- h) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve, promote and develop their language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial;

- i) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be preserved. The Dungmali 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.
- j) Specific language development programs such as developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched;

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Annexes

Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

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

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

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT.	YES
<input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	

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
<input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	

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

B. Language resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

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

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

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

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.		
f.		

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

D. Domain of Language Use

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

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

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

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

(enter below)

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
i. Grandfather:			

ii.Grandmother:			
iii.Father:			
iv.Mother:			
v.Spouse:			
vi.Children:			

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

E. Language Vitality

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

F. Language Maintenance

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

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

G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

76. What language should your children speak first?

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. (If "Yes") How?

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

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

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

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

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

8. Name of language consultant:

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

10. Age:
 11. Caste/ethnic group...
 12. Your mother tongue's name:
 13. Your mother's mother tongue.....
 14. Your father's mother tongue.....

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

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

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

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

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						

11.						
12.						

B. Domains of language use

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

C. Dialect mapping

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

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

D. Multilingualism

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

E. Appreciative enquiry

- A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels for each)
- B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)
- C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)
- D. As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)
- E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)
- F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group)
- G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)
- H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

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

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month.....Year..... VS Day.....Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	

	Ward No: Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	(a) (b)

5. Name of language consultant:
6. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other

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

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

20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

21. (If “Yes”): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

(a) by devising the script?

(a) Yes (b) No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

(a) Yes (b) No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

(a) Yes (b) No

(d) by writing grammar?

(a) Yes (b) No

(e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

(a) Yes (b) No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

(a) Yes (b) No

(h) by making use of the language in administration?

(a) Yes (b) No

(i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?

(a) Yes (b) No

(j) in any other ways?

Proceed to ask individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, if appropriate.

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (in Nepali)

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

छायांकृत कुराहरू मनमनै पढने।

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

सहमति: **छ** **छैन**

(अ) आधारभूत सूचना

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

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

	तारिख.....महिना वर्ष..... सन्
३. अन्तर्वार्ता स्थान	क. वार्ड नं.: ख. गाउँ/नगर: ग. गाविस/नगरपालिका: घ. जिल्ला: ङ. अञ्चल: च. जिपिएस कोओर्डिनेट्स:.....पू.उ.
४. अनुसन्धाता(हरू)को नाम:	(क) (ख)

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

१८. तपाईंको गाउँ/छरछिमेकमा बसोबास गर्ने अन्य जातजाति: (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)
 १९. तिनीहरूले बोल्ने अन्य भाषा: (तलको तालिकामा लेख्नु होस्)

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

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

- (क) पर्छ (ख) पर्दैन

२१. (पर्छ भने): तपाईंले आफ्नो मातृभाषाको संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धनको 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 लेख्न 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 रूपमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर
 (अ) सक्छु (आ) सक्दिन
- (ञ) अन्य प्रकारले:

उपयुक्त भएमा समाज-भाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली भर्न शुरु गर्ने।

Annex D: Word lists

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	Bar tole-1, TD	Danda tole-3, TD	Tharpu-3, SD	Chaukibari-4, SD	Bastim-1
1.	body	शरीर	pok	pokh	roŋ	ʌŋpoʔk	pokh
2.	head	टाउको	ʈaŋ	ʈaŋ	ʈaŋ	ʈaŋ	ʈaŋ
3.	hair	कपाल	ʈaŋmo	ʈaŋmo	mō	mo	mō
4.	face	अनुहार	ŋaʌŋ	ŋaʌŋ	ŋaʌŋ	ŋaju	ŋaʌwa
5.	eye	आँखा	maʌk	maʔk	maʌk	maʔk	maʌk
6.	ear	कान	naphak	naphak	naphak	naphak	naphak
7.	nose	नाक	nabuk	nābu	nābuk	nābhk	nābuk
8.	mouth	मुख	ʈo	ʈō	ʈō	ʈō	ʈo
9.	teeth	दाँत	kiŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ	kaŋ
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	lem	lem	lem	lem	lem
11.	breast	स्तन	dudh	dudh	dudh	dudh	dudh
12.	belly	पेट	puʃk	bhūḍi	puk	puʃk	puk
13.	arm/ hand	हात	tshuk	tshuk	tshuk	tshuk	tshu
14.	elbow	कुइनो	kuino	kuina	kuino	kuino	tshukuŋ
15.	palm	हत्केला	tshukpha	hatkela	puŋdza	tshuʔkphaʔu	tshukphak
16.	finger	आँला	aŋgula	ʌmlo	aula	ʌmbuʔlo	tshuksiwa
17.	finger nail	नङ	ʈaŋbaʌak	ʈuŋboro	tuŋburo	ʈuŋborok	ʈaŋburo
18.	leg	खुट्टा	ʌaŋ	ʌaŋ	ʌaŋ	ʌaŋ	ʌaŋ
19.	skin	छाला	tsʌm	tshaja	tsala	fiʔʔn	fiʔʔn
20.	bone	हाड	ro	rō	rurn	ro	rō
21.	heart	मुटु	ʌuŋma	ʌuŋma	fii	ʌuŋma	tso
22.	blood	रगत	fii	fii	tshep	fii	fii
23.	urine	पिसाब	tshep	tshek	khi	tshep	tshep
24.	feces	दिसा	khi	khi	disa	khil	khʌ
25.	village	गाउँ	ʈen	saʈʈen	khim	saʈʈen	ʈen
26.	house	घर	khim	khim	gar	khim	khim
27.	roof	छानो	chano	ḍhari	chano	chana	khap
28.	door	ढोका	phaʌleko	dwar	dwar	ʌamkhoʔm	dhoka
29.	firewood	दाउरा	saŋ	saŋ/siŋ	saŋ	saŋ	saŋ
30.	broom	कुचो	kutso	kutso	kutso	kutso	kutso
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	silauta	silauta	silauta	waʔʌuŋ	waʔʌuŋ
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	lohoro	lohoro	lohoro	waʔʌuŋ	lohoro
33.	hammer	हथौडा	hathauḍo	martol	martol	hathauḍo	hathauḍo
34.	knife	चक्कु	tshri	tsʌkku	tshuri	bitsʌkaʌn	tsuri
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	bantsaro	batsaro	bantsaro	maʔgri	bantsaro
36.	rope	डोरी	maʔri	maʔgri	ḍori	sikiri	maʔgri
37.	thread	धागो	dhago	pul	dhago	ʌuʔpmi	dhago
38.	needle	सियो	ʌuʔmit	ʌuʔmi	ʌuʔmi	ʈiʈi	ʌuʔpmi
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	ʈiʈi	ʈi	ʈiʔ	luga	ʈi
40.	ring	आँठी	aũḍhi	mundro	aũḍhi	aũḍhi	aũḍhi
41.	sun	घाम	naʌm	naʌm	naʌm	naʌm	naʌm
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	ʌḍipmn	ʌḍipma	ʌḍiʔma	ʌḍipma	ʌḍip
43.	sky	आकाश	naʌm	saʌʌʌ	namsuri	ninaʌm	naʌmtshʌra
44.	star	तारा	saŋenmn	saŋenma	taro	saŋenman	saŋen
45.	rain	वर्षा	wa	wa	barsha	ḍoŋ	barsh

46.	water	पानी	tsau	tsau	tsaʔu	tsau	wa
47.	river	नदी	fioŋ	ɖhiwa	nadi	dhiu	dhiwa
48.	cloud	बादल	kuiro	kuiro	kuiro	mʔkmui	waskhep
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	bijuli tsamkʌnu	tsamkolintso	bijuli tsamkʌnu	bijuli tsamkʌnu	tshereŋnʌmma
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	indreni	dhalku	kuwa	dhalku	indreni
51.	wind	बतास	fiʌk	fiʌ	laŋtak	fiɪmna	fiɪmma
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	luŋ	laŋtak	lam	luŋ	luŋ
53.	path	बाटो	lam	lam	paʌkʌ	lam	lam
54.	sand	बालुवा	balouʔa	balouʔa	baluwa	pakh	sʌregwa
55.	fire	आगो	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	ɖuwā	ɖhuwā	ɖuwā	ɖuwā	ɖuwāv
57.	ash	खरानी	ʈhabuʈ	ʈhabuʈ	khʌrani	ʈhabuʈ	ʈʌbiʈ
58.	mud	माटो	paʌkʌ	paʌkʌ	paʌkh	paʌkh	paʌkh
59.	dust	धुलो	ɖulo	ɖhale	ɖulo	paʌkh	ɖulo
60.	gold	सुन	sona	sona	sunā	sona	sona
61.	tree	रूख	sʌŋpo	sʌŋpu	sʌŋpō	fiʌrtshoʔmp	sʌŋphuk
62.	leaf	पात	phon	sumphka	suŋphak	sʌŋpuʔ	sumphuk
63.	root	जरा	pēn	dzʌra	umpen	sʌŋphonʔ	pen
64.	thorn	काँडो	sēn	kādā	sēn	watshipen	ʈʌŋkho
65.	flower	फूल	puŋ	puŋ	puŋ	ʈʌŋphowa	buŋ
66.	fruit	फलफूल	sʌŋsipʌʈpu	ʈulphal	phalʌphul	puŋ	sʌŋsibaɪʈbuŋ
67.	mango	आँप	ābu	āp	āp	tukhutʌm	āp
68.	banana	केरा	ŋaksi	ŋaksi	ŋaksi	ambubu	ŋaksi
69.	Wheat (husked)	गहुँ	gāū	gāhu	gāhu	ŋaksi	gāhu
70.	barley	जौ	jaʌ	dzou	jaʌ	jaʌ	jaʌ
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	tsamtsa	tsamtsa	tsamtsa	tsamtsa	tsamtsa
72.	potato	आलु	alu	alu	alu	alu	alu
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	ɖʌŋʈa	bheŋʈa	baɪgun	ɖʌŋʈa	ɖʌŋʈa
74.	groundnut	बदाम	baɖam	baɖam	baɖam	baɖam	baɖam
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	luŋa	luŋa	loŋa	loŋa	loŋa/birosi
76.	turmeric	बेसार	besar	hʌrdi	fiʌrdi	fiʌrdi	besar
77.	garlic	लसुन	maŋkhn	maŋkha	maŋkha	maŋkhuʔ	maŋkhu
78.	onion	प्याज	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj	pyaj
79.	cauliflower	काउली	kauli	kauli/ko	kauli	kauli	kauli
80.	tomato	गोलभँडा	ɖhēŋɖa	ɖhēŋɖa	ɖhenda	ɖhēŋɖa	ɖhēŋɖa
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	kopi	kopi	kopi	kopi	kopi
82.	oil	तेल	au	au	tel	au	au
83.	salt	नुन	jum	juŋ	au	jum	jum
84.	meat	मासु	sa	sa	juŋ	sa	sa
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	tshuʈ	untshuʈ	sa	tshuʈ	tshuʈ
86.	fish	माछा	ŋa	ŋa	umtshut	gu	ŋa
87.	chicken	चल्ला	watsha	watsha	ŋa	watsha	watsha
88.	egg	अण्डा	waʈin	waʈiŋ	watsha	waʈin	waʈin
89.	cow	गाई	piʈ	piu	waʈin	piʈ	piʈ
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	soū	sʌŋ	bhaisi	kaŋpiʔma	soūwa
91.	milk	दुध	dud	dudh	dud	dud	dud
92.	horns	सिङ	khunʈaŋ	khunʈaŋ	siŋ	khunʈaŋ	khunʈaŋ

93.	tail	पुच्छर	miri	miri	miri	miri	mirik
94.	goat	बाख्रो	tshegara	bakhra	tshegar	tshegari	tshagara
95.	dog	कुकुर	kutima	kuttima	kutima	kutima	kotso
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	putsha	putsha	putsha	putsha	putsha
97.	monkey	बाँदर	nās	nas	nas	nas	nas
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	mōs	mās	mās	mās	mās
99.	ant	कमिला	poʔpjoʔŋma	kʌlima	ɕamilo	ʈil	tsigjan
100.	spider	माकुरो	jaʔghŋma	jaghŋ	makuro	jaʔgma	jaʔghʌŋ
101.	name	नाम	nʌŋ	nʌŋ	nʌŋ	nʌŋ	nʌŋ
102.	man	मान्छे	min	min	min	min	min
103.	woman	आइमाई	metshama	metshama	metshama	tsha	metshama
104.	child	बच्चा	tsha	tsha	tsha	apa	tsha
105.	father	बाबा	apa	pa	apa	ama	papa
106.	mother	आमा	ama	ma	ama	abu	mama
107.	older brother	दाजु	abu	bu	abu	nu	baba
108.	younger brother	भाइ	nu	nū	nu	hu	nunu
109.	older sister	दिदी	ana	na	ana	mertsha	nana
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	nunu	nu	nu	mertshama	nunu
111.	son	छोरो	tshoro	mirtsha	tsha	tshoro	mirtsha
112.	daughter	छोरी	tshori	mirtshama	metshaʔma	tshori	mirtshma
113.	husband	लोभ्रे (श्रीमान)	budha	budha	umbadha	budha	paɖun
114.	wife	स्वारी (श्रीमती)	buɖhi	buɖhi	umbadhu	buɖhi	maɖun
115.	boy	केटो	mertsha	mertsha	mertsha	mertsha	wantshʌbaŋ
116.	girl	केटी	mertshama	mertshama	mertshama	mertshama	metshoʔbaŋ
117.	day	दिन	len	lenʈo	lenʈo	len	len
118.	night	रात	khakaɖ	khakuɖ	khakuɖ	khakhuɖ	khakhuɖ
119.	morning	बिहान	umbihani	bifian	bifiani	khaguwa	khausroŋ
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	lenʈok	lenʈo	lenʈo	lenʈok	mlenʈo
121.	evening	साँझ	namɖi	namɖi	namɖi	namɖi	namɖisroŋ
122.	yesterday	हिजो	ʌse	ʌse	ase	ʌse	ʌse
123.	today	आज	ʌi	ai	ʌi	ʌi	ai
124.	tomorrow	भोली	fiamai	fiamai	fiamai	fiamai	fiamai
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	saɖa	saɖa	saɖa	saɖa	saɖa
126.	month	महिना	mʌfina	fiamai	mʌfina	mʌfina	rimdon
127.	year	वर्ष	ɖoŋ	barsʌ	ɖoŋ	ɖoŋ	ɖoŋ
128.	old	बूढो	purano	purano	purano	fulok	peɖwan
129.	new	नयाँ	umnun	khannun	nʌya	ʌimiko	nʌwa
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	khannun	khannun	khannu	khannun	khannu
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	khannun	khaijeʔgo	khaiʔ	khai	khʌʔ
132.	wet	चिसो	waʔpoa	tsiso	bhijeko	wapha	wapoʔ
133.	dry	सुख्खा	tshopkhago	tshobgo	tshopa	tshoba	fian

134.	long	लामो	ɲeʔnmensi	juko	tshukhu	ɲeʔmisi	meʔtko
135.	short	छोटो	ɲeʔnmenset	tjuko	tshoto	lotshotshowa	tuɲjo
136.	hot	तातो	tato	tato	tato	tshotshotwa	kutsho
137.	cold	चिसो	tsunlowa	tsiso	tsuba	tsuwa	kentshuʔt
138.	right	दाहिने	tsaba	tsuba	dahine	phegwa	tsuzba
139.	left	देब्रे	phēwa	pheɲwa	debre	debre	phēwa
140.	near	नजिक	tsheu	tsheu	phēwa	ɲektan̄kha	keptan̄
141.	far	टाढा	tʌdha	fiæjuʔ	tʌdha	heʔja	man̄kha
142.	big	ठूलो	ɖhi	ɖhigo	ɖhi	ɖhigo	ɖhopʌ
143.	small	सानो	tsuk	tsukko	tsukho	tsukko	tsupʌ
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	bhari	rentso	luɲtsho	luɲtsho	luɲtshoʔp
145.	light	हलुका	hʌʌca	fiʌluɲ	jangotsh	jan̄go	jan̄tshoʔp
146.	above	माथि	fiʌtɛɖa	fiʌtɛɖa	fiʌtɛɖa	fiʌtɛɖa	fiʌtɛɖa
147.	below	तल	fiʌjumo	fiʌjuma	fiʌjumo	fiʌjumu	fiʌjumu
148.	white	सेतो	buthruma	omgo	omgo	ʌmgo	omga
149.	black	कालो	maʌtsuk	tsjukko	tshkko	tsʌkko	maʌtsuk
150.	red	रातो	fiartshoʔpma	fiartshop	rato	fiartshoʔp	fiartshoʔp
151.	one	एक	ʌkse	ʌkpo	fiikpo	akpo	ʌg
152.	two	दुई	fiikite	fiikpo	sumgupo	fiikpo	fiig
153.	three	तीन	sun̄utɛt	sun̄po	tin	tin	tshin
154.	four	चार	car	car	car	car	soɲgo
155.	five	पाँच	pāc	pāc	pāc	pāc	pheʔpgo
156.	six	छ	chɔ	chɔ	chɔ	chɔ	chɔ
157.	seven	सात	sat	sat	sat	sat	sat
158.	eight	आठ	aʈh	aʈh	aʈh	aʈh	aʈh
159.	nine	नौ	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau
160.	ten	दश	dəs	dəs	dəs	dəs	dəs
161.	eleven	एघार	egarəh	egarəh	egarəh	egarəh	egarəh
162.	twelve	बाह्र	barəh	barəh	barəh	barəh	barəh
163.	twenty	बीस	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis
164.	one hundred	एक सय	ek sə	ek sə	ek sə	ek sə	ek sə
165.	who	को	sagu	sago	sago	sagu	sagu
166.	what	के	tjigo	tjigo	len	tjigo	tjigo
167.	where	कहाँ	khibi	khibi	khibi	khibi	khibi
168.	when	कहिले	khina	khinam	khina	khina	khinam
169.	how many	कति	tjem	tem	tem	caʌti	tjem
170.	which	कुन	khigo	khikko	khiko	cun	khikko
171.	this	यो	igo	igo	igo	igo	igo
172.	that	त्यो	mogo	mugo	mugo	mugo	mugo
173.	these	यिनीहरू	iktse	ikhuitse	iktse	iktse	ikhotse
174.	those	उनीहरू	fiagtse	hukhutse	ugotse	moktse	mukhutse
175.	same	उही	fugun̄jogo	mugon̄ja	mobin̄ja	aksat	man̄jega
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	phʌʌʌc	phalto	phʌʌʌc	man̄ʌɲ	bh
177.	whole	सबै	dzhan	dzʌmma	dzhara	dzhara	phistine
178.	broken	फुटेको	kedgo	kerkhargo	keɖa	keɖa	keɖgo
179.	few	थोरै	atsitsi	atsitsi	juglo	tshwa	atsitsi
180.	many	धेरै	nikʌi	apunmma	tumloʔ	thuma	baʔdhe
181.	all	सबै	dzhan	dzʌmma	dzharan̄ʌ	dzhara	dzhara

182.	to eat	खानु	tsama	tsamma	tsama	tsama	tsama
183.	to bite	टोकु	khaʔma	khakma	khaʔkma	khaʔpma	khʌʔpma
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	sagasiʔma	saganma	saga	sagasima	sagasiʔma
185.	to drink	पिउनु	ʈuŋma	tuŋma	ʈuŋma	ʈaŋma	ʈuŋma
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	ʈuŋma	tsʔmima	miʔma	tsaumima	miʔma
187.	to sleep	सुतनु	imam	imma	imma	imma	imma
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	limma	juŋma	limma	limma	limma
189.	to sit	बसु	juŋma	piʔma	juŋma	pima	juŋma
190.	to give	दिनु	pima	pima	pima	ʃuʔima	pima
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	ʃuʈma	ʃuʈma	ʃuʈma	sima	ʃuʃuʈma
192.	to die	मर्नु	sima	siʈma	sima	seʔtma	sima
193.	to kill	मार्नु	seʈma	seʈma	seʔtma	penma	seʔtma
194.	to fly	उडनु	penma	penma	penma	ʃinma	penma
195.	to walk	हिँडनु	ʃinma	ʃinma	ʃinma	roʔtma	ʃinma
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	roʔtma	raʔtma	roʔtma	khʌʔtma	roiʈma
197.	to go /go	जानु	khʌiʔma	khaitma	khʌiʔtma	ʈama	khʌiʈma
198.	to come	आउनु	ʈʌʔkma	ʈaʔma	ʈʌʔpma	ʈseʔma	ʈama
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	tsema	tseʔma	tseʔma	tseʔpma	tseʔma
200.	to hear /hear/listen	सुतनु	enma	imma	jenma	enma	enmʔ
201.	to look /look	हेर्नु	khaŋma	khaŋma	khaŋma	khʌŋma	khaŋma
202.	I	म	uŋka	uŋka	uŋka	aŋ	uŋka
203.	you (informal)	तँ	ʃʌna	ʃana	ʃana	ʃama	ʃʌna
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	ʃʌnanim	ʃaunai	ʃananim	ʃʌnamn	ʃʌnani
205.	he	ऊ	ʃʌna	ʃugo	ugo	ʃugo	ʃʌgo
206.	she	उनी	ʃugo	ʃugo	ugo	ʃugo	ʃugo
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	inkan	inkan	inkan	inkango	inkan
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	inkanga	inkango	inkango	inkan	inkango
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	ʃananim	ʃanuni	mukhutse	ʃukutse	ʃanani
210.	they	उनीहरू	ʃuktse	ʃukttse	mukhutse	moktse	ʃukhotse