A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF MAGAHI

A report

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Nepal

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of the Magahi (ISO code: mag) language spoken mainly in the Eastern Region of Nepalese Tarai. The survey was mainly conducted in the five villages; namely, Nawalpur, Netragunj-7, Sarlahi; Khaira, Jaleshwar Municipality-11, Mahottari; Bhagwanpatti, Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha; Rupnagar, Kanchanrup Municipality-5; and Baluwahitol, Biratnagar Municipality-11, Morang.

This report provides field-based information about the Magahi language mainly in the domains of language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, patterns of language use, language vitality, language transmission, language attitudes, dialectal variation, and language development.

According to Eppele et al. (2012), there are about 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of speakers for 123 languages and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages'.

Magahi is an Indo-Aryan language, spoken in Eastern part of India. It is genealogically related to Magadhi Apbhransha, once having the status of rajbhasha, during the reign of Emperor Ashoka (Atreya et al., 2014). Magahi is one of the national languages spoken in Nepal. It is mainly spoken in Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptati, Sunsari, and Morang districts of Nepal. The alternate names for the Magahi language are Bihari, Magadhi, Magaya, Maghai, Maghaya, Maghori, Magi, Magodhi, and Megahi.

In this chapter, we mainly deal with the people (i.e., Magahi speaking), their religion and culture, occupation, caste/ethnic groups and literacy. Similarly, geographical location, linguistic affiliation, previous research works and purpose and goals of the survey are also briefly discussed in this chapter.

1.2 The Magahi people

This section deals with a brief introduction of the Magahi people in general. It includes caste/ethnicity of these speakers, their religion, literacy in the community, and the occupation of the Magahi speaking people.

1.2.1 Caste/ethnic groups

The people of Magahi speech community live in eastern and central parts of Nepalese Tarai. It is a community of different caste and ethnic groups. Magahi speech community is a community of large number of caste/ethnic groups. The Magahi language is spoken by different castes of Other Backward Communities (OBC). To be specific, it spoken by Yadav, Teli, Sudi, Chamar, Koiri, Kurmi, Dhanuk, Musahar/Sada, Dusadh/Pasawan, Kewat, Malah, Kalwar, Hajam, Kanu, Lohar, Tatma, Khatwe, Dhobi, Nuniya, Kumhar, Halwai, Badai, Amat, Dom, Halkhor, Musalman, etc. castes as their mother tongue. Their socio-cultural existence was influenced by Hindu culture.

1.3.2 Religion

There are ten types of religion categories reported in the census of 2011. Hinduism is followed by 81.3 percent (21,551,492) of the total population of the country. With the exception of a small Muslim minority, the rest of the populations of Magahi speech community are following Hinduism. Most of the Magahi speakers are following Hinduism and only a few are following Islam and Christianity. In the process of data collection most of the respondents said that they are following Hinduism as their religion. The major festivals celebrated in this speech community are Jitiya, Dashain, Sukhratri, Chhath, Tila Sankraint, Holi, Jursital, and many other Hindu festivals. Some of the major festivals celebrated in Magahi speech communities are introduced as follows.

Chhath: Chhaith is an ancient Hindu festival and only Vedic Festival dedicated to the Hindu Sun God, Surya and Chhathi Maiya (ancient Vedic Goddess Usha). Chhath puja is performed on *Kartika Shukla Shashthi*, which is the sixth day of the month of Kartika in the Nepali Calendar. This falls typically in the month of October or November in the Gregorian English Calendar. It is also celebrated in the summer (March–April), on Chaitra Shashthi, some days after Holi; this event is called *Chaiti Chhath*.

Jitiya: Jitiya is a festival in which *Nirjala* (without water) vrata throughout a day and night, is observed by mothers for the wellbeing of their children. A three day long festival is celebrated from seventh to ninth lunar day of Krishna-Paksha in the month of *Aswin*. The first day, the day before Jitiya is known as Nahai-khai. On that day mothers take food only after having their bath. On Jitiya day, a strict fast is observed without water. This is called *Khar Jitiya* (khar is dry hay). On the third day, the fast ends with Paaran (taking the first food of the day). The festival is celebrated mainly in the Tarai regions of Nepal and Bihar, Jharkhand, and Eastern Uttar Pradesh of India. This festival shows great love and extreme affection of mothers towards their children. The mother keeps a very strict fast, without a drop of water thinking of their children.

Holi: Holi is a spring festival also known as the festival of colours or the festival of love. It is an ancient Hindu religious festival which has become popular with non-Hindus in many parts of South Asia, as well as people of other communities outside Asia. It is primarily observed in India, Nepal, and other regions of the world with significant populations of Hindus or people of Indian origin. Holi is an important festival to Hindus. It is celebrated at the end of the winter season on the last full moon day of the lunar month Phalgun which usually falls in March, sometimes in late February. On the eve of Holi, typically at or after sunset, the pyre is lit, signifying Holika Dahan. The ritual symbolizes the victory of good over evil. People gather around the fire, sing and dance.

Tila Sankranti: Tila Sankranti (Makar Sankranti) is one of the most auspicious occasions of the Hindus and is celebrated in almost all the parts of the country with great devotion. It is the festival whose date always falls on the same day every year i.e., the 1st of Magh (14th of January with just a few exceptions when it is celebrated either on 13th or 15th of January). In this festival people take holly bath known as Makar Snan in the nearby ponds or river early in the morning. They we eat *ghee*, *khichdi* (porridge), *tilba* (sweet made up of Teel), *lai* (sweet made up of fried rice), *churlai* (sweet made up of beaten rice) etc.

1.3.3 Literacy

Overall literacy rate (for population aged 5 years and above) of the country in the census 2011 has increased to 65.9. Male literacy rate is 75.1% compared to female

literacy rate of 57.4%. The highest literacy rate is reported in Kathmandu district (86.3 %) and lowest in Rautahat (41.7%). Generally speaking, literacy rate in Magahi speech community is good. Women are deprived of formal education, though this seems to be changing with the younger generations. Literacy rate of the Magahi speakers in the first language is about 20% and in second language it varies from 30% to 60%.

1.2.4 Occupation

The majority of Magahi speakers is involved in farming and lives in villages. Rice is the main crop and its cultivation occupies the most of the villagers' time. The main occupations of the Magahi speakers are agriculture i.e., farming, and many other caste-wise occupations like barber, blacksmith, goldsmith, confectioner, mason, washer man, cobbler, fishing, potter, etc. These days Magahi speaking people are also involved in government jobs, teaching, NGOs and INGOs, business, social works, journalism, laborer, etc. Similarly, most of the female respondents of this community are housewives.

1.3 Demography and distribution

According to the Census of Nepal, 2011, Magahi is spoken by 35,614 speakers as their mother tongue that includes 17,599 male speakers and 18,015 female speakers. Table 1.1 presents the district-wise distribution of the Magahi speakers.

Table 1.1: District-wise distribution of the Magahi speakers

District	Mother tongue speakers	
Total	35,614	100%
Dhanusha	23,093	64.84%
Mahottari	5,621	15.78%
Morang	3,288	9.23%
Sarlahi	1,164	3.26%
Sunsari	1,017	2.85%
Saptari	925	2.59%
Siraha	245	0.68%
Jhapa	188	0.52%
Kathmandu	25	0.07%

1.4 Genetic affiliation

Lewis (2009) classifies Magahi as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Outer Languages, Eastern, Bihari language. Grierson (1883) classifies Magahi as Bihari, Eastern zone, Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European (LSI V, II: 1). Grierson grouped Magahi with Maithili and Bhojpuri under the same general classification, "Bihari".

Like Grierson (1883), Chatterji (1926) believes that Magahi belongs to the group of Magadhi Apabhramsa (called Magadhi Prakrit by Grierson). The genetic affiliation of the Magahi language made by Chatterji (1926) is presented in the Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Division of NIA languages, showing mainly the languages of North India
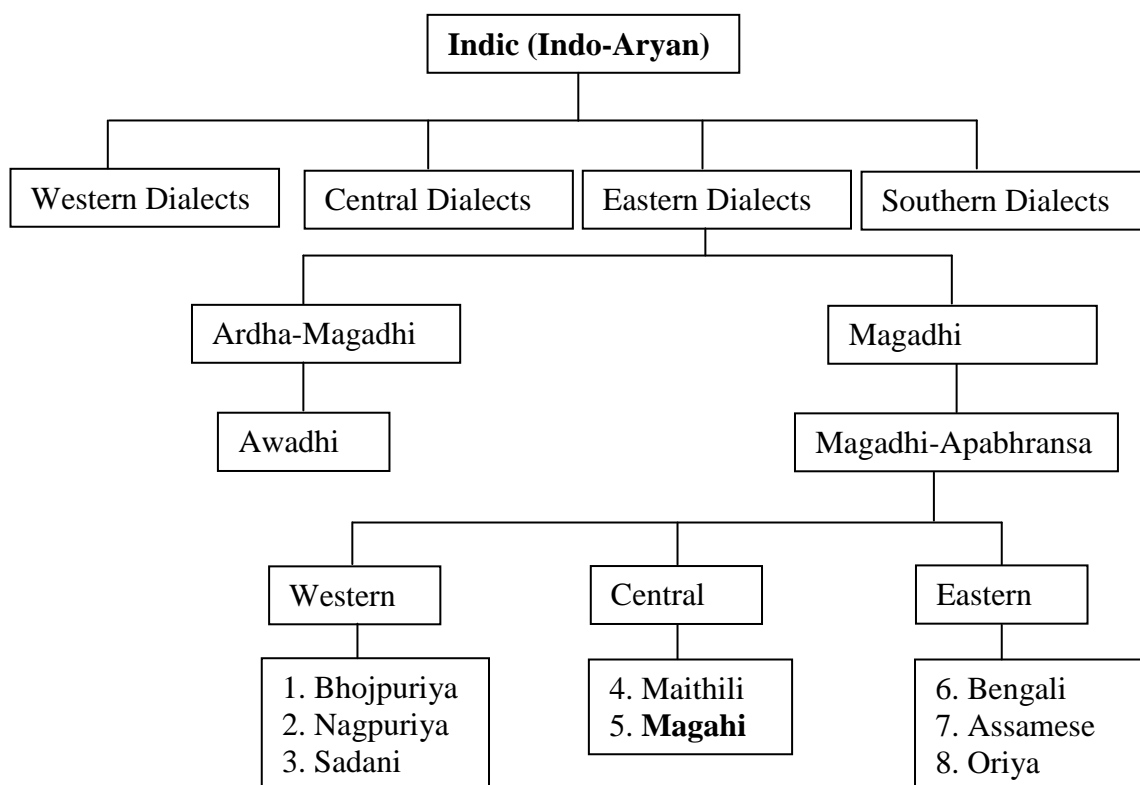
1.5 Previous research works

There has been published only a few linguistic works in the Magahi language in Nepal. However, there are a number of publications in the Magahi language and literature in India. The significant studies on the Magahi language include the works Prasad (2008); Sah (2065 BS); Atreya et al. (2014); Lambert et al. (2010); and Hammarström (2016). However, no substantial study has been carried out to understand the sociolinguistic study of the language and culture in the Magahi speech

community. Thus, this survey is highly essential to figure out the sociolinguistic situation of the language.

1.6 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Magahi language which has been categorized as an Indo-Aryan language of Nepal. The main 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 situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Magahi speech community;

(c) To evaluate the language maintenance, language vitality and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;

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

(e) To gather information regarding the resources available in the language and language development in the Magahi speech community.

1.7 Organization of the study

This survey report has been organized into nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides background information about the language and people including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with the domains of language use in the Magahi speech community. In chapter 4, we look at the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in Magahi. Chapter 5 evaluates the language maintenance, language vitality and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language. In chapter 6, we discuss the language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 7, we look at the dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in Magahi. Chapter 8 deals with language development in Magahi. In chapter 9, we present the summary of the major findings and recommendations for the development of the language. The annex includes sociolinguistic questionnaires and wordlist.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we present the research methodology used in this survey in detail. It consists of four sections. Section 2.1 deals with a brief overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used in the sociolinguistic survey of Magahi. In section 2.2, we discuss the different types of research methods/tools, their basic characteristics, and the ways they were employed in the survey. In section 2.3, we present the sampling procedure of this research, and section 2.4 deals with the limitations of this survey.

2.1 Overview

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

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

	Goals of the survey	Research methods/ tools	Brief description	Focus of the methods/tools
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance,	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	• Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and

			literacy in at least five points including the core point	multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language vitality • Language maintenance • Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	• Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	• Language attitudes • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the languages;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.2 Research methods/tools

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ)

Three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires have been employed in this survey to collect sociolinguistic information of the Magahi languages.

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, five survey points of the Magahi speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about this speech community. These survey points are Nawalpur, Netragunj-7, Sarlahi; Khaira, Jaleshwar Municipality-11, Mahottari; Bhagwanpatti, Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha; Rupnagar, Kanchanrup Municipality-5; and Baluwahitol, Biratnagar Municipality-11, Morang.

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

Figure 2.1: Sampling model of the informants in the survey
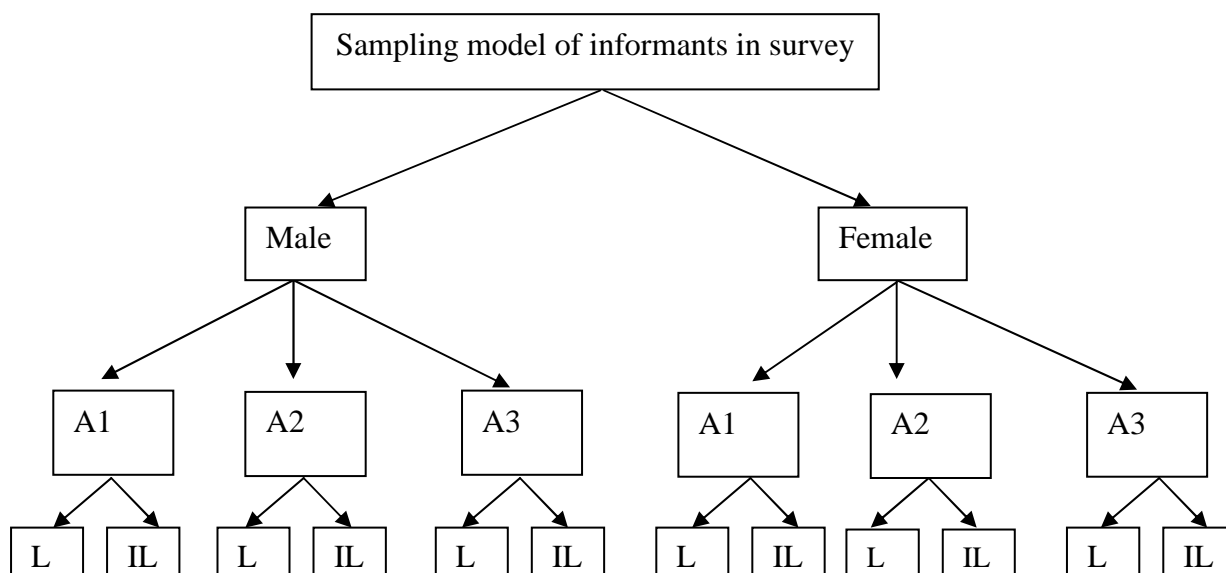
A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

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

Table 2.2: Checklist for Sociolinguistic questionnaire A

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

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

Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex, age and literacy 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 counted manually and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfill the research goals.

b. Sociolinguistic questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools were used with the groups of Magahi 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 Magahi, how bilingual the Magahi speakers are, in which situations they use their mother tongue and what are their dreams and aspirations 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 should 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 should belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.

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

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below.

i. Domains of Language Use (DLU)

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

ii. Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of Dialect Mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Magahi. The Magahi speakers in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village and districts where Magahi 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.

c. Bilingualism/Multilingualism (BLM)

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Magahi and Nepali by different subsets of the Magahi 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 Magahi people who speak Magahi well and the other the Magahi 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 Magahi '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 Magahi people that spoke Magahi 'well'. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

iv. Appreciative inquiry (ACI)

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

2.2.2 Wordlist comparisons

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 Magahi 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 7 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 Magahi 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 Magahi word from a mother tongue Magahi 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 Magahi. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.3 Sampling

2.3.1 Survey points

Magahi speaking areas were categorized into five survey points for the purpose of sociolinguistic survey. Table 2.3 presents the survey points used in the survey of the Magahi language including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates.

Table 2.3: GPS information of the survey points

Survey points	VDCs/municipalities and districts	GPS Coordinates	Elevation
Nawalpur	Netragunj-7, Sarlahi	085^0 03′ 56.8″ E 027^0 35′ 25.7″ N	136m
Jaleshwar	Jaleshwar-11, Mahottari	085^0 48′ 04.0″ E 026^0 48′ 04.0″ N	46m
Bhagwanpatti	Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha	085^0 59′ 02.9″ E 026^0 44′ 59.3″ N	67m
Rupnagar	Kanchanrup-5, Saptari	086^0 53′ 40.9″ E 026^0 38′ 47.7″ N	92m
Biratnagar	Biratnagar -11, Morang	087^0 17′ 56.3″ E 026^0 26′ 23.4″ N	61m

Source: Field study, 2016

2.3.2 Sample size

Table 2.4 presents the sample size and different tools used in the survey.

Table 2.4: Sample size and different tools used in the survey

Survey Points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Other tools
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory): DLU, DLM, BLM, API	C (Language activist/head)	Wordlist
Nawalpur	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Jaleshwar	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Bhagwanpatti	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Rupnagar	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Biratnagar	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Total	60	20	10	10

2.3.3 Data collection

Table 2.5 presents the total number of the data collected by using different tools in survey points in Magahi.

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Table 2.5: Total number of the data collected in the survey points in Magahi

Survey Points	SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRES						Other Tools
	A(Individual)	B (Participatory)				C	Wordlist
		DLU	DLM	BLM	API		
Nawalpur	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Jaleshwar	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Bhagwanpatti	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Rupnagar	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Biratnagar	12	1	1	-	1	2	2
Total	**60**	**5**	**5**	**4**	**5**	**10**	**10**

2.4 Limitations of the survey

This survey has the following limitations: -

a) This survey is limited to the sociolinguistic aspects of the Magahi language.

b) We surveyed only five points which may not be sufficient to picture out the sociolinguistic situation of the Magahi language.

c) We have used only four tools: Sociolinguistic questionnaires, A, B, C and wordlist.

CHAPTER 3
DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.0 Outline

This chapter examines the patterns of language use in different domains in the Magahi speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.1 deals with the patterns of language use in the general domains. In section 3.2, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains in Magahi. Section 3.3 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.4, we evaluate the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.5 looks at the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.6, we present the domains of language use uncovered from the participatory method. Section 3.7 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Language use in general domains

The main goal of this section is to look at the languages most frequently used by the Magahi speakers in general domains. Such domains consisting of counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. In this section, first, we present the general picture of patterns of language use and then, we present such patterns in terms of demographic categories such as sex, age and literacy.

3.1.1 Patterns of language use in general domains

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, 2011). 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 Magahi speakers in different domains.

Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains

(N=60)

DOMAINS	LANGUAGES			
	Mother tongue	Nepali	MT +Nepali	Hindi
Counting	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Singing	18 (30%)	5 (8%)	6 (10%)	31 (52%)
Joking	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Bargaining/ shopping	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Story telling	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Discussing	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Praying	49 (82%)	5 (8%)		6 (10%)
Quarrelling	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Abusing/scolding	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Telling stories to children	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Singing at home	48 (80%)	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)
Family gatherings	54 (90%)	-	6 (10%)	-
Village meetings	42 (70%)	6 (10%)	12 (20%)	-

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.1 shows that most of the Magahi speakers use their mother tongue in the general domains of languages use such as counting, joking, bargaining/shopping storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings, and village meetings. Similarly, in the domain of singing majority of the Magahi speakers use Hindi. Only a few percentage of respondents use Nepali and Hindi and both mother tongue and language of wider communication in all these domains. It shows that Magahi speakers are mostly using their mother tongue and they are not shifting towards the language of wider communication.

Domains of language use in the general domains in Magahi speech community can also be shown through the figure below.

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Figure 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains in the Magahi speech community
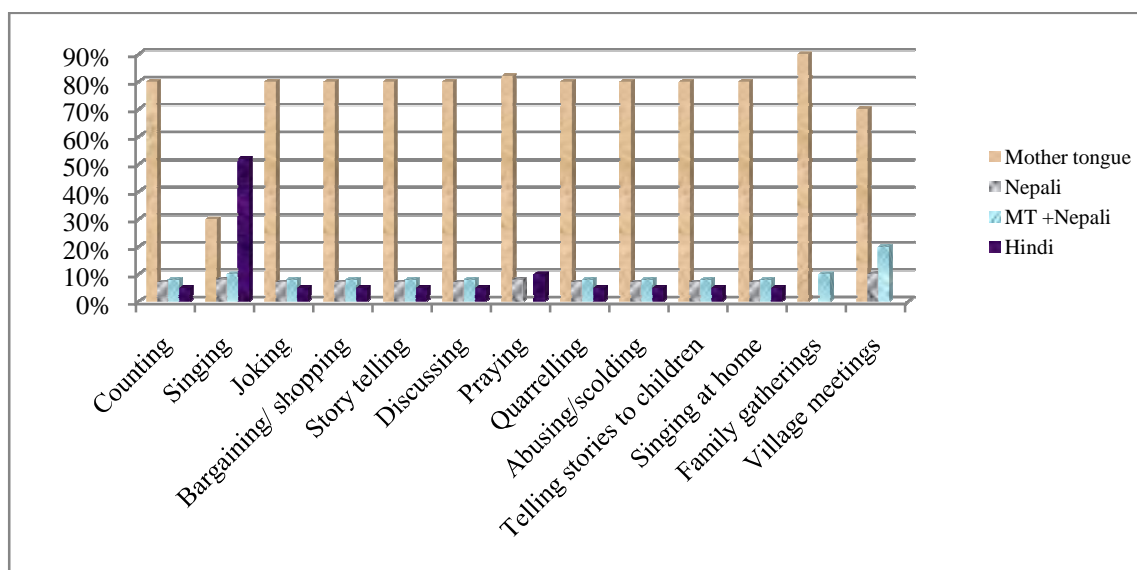
3.1.2 Patterns of language use in general domains by sex

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

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

DOMAINS	LANGUAGES			
	Male (30)		Female (30)	
	Mother tongue	LWC	Mother tongue	LWC
Counting	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Singing	8 (27%)	22 (73%)	10 (33%)	20 (67%)
Joking	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Bargaining/ shopping	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Story telling	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Discussing	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Praying	24 (83%)	6 (7%)	25 (80%)	5 (10%)
Quarrelling	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Abusing/ scolding	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Telling stories to children	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Singing at home	23 (77%)	7 (23%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)
Family gatherings	26 (88%)	4 (12%)	28 (93%)	2 (7%)
Village meetings	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	24 (80%)	6 (20%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.2 shows that most of the Magahi speakers, both male and female use their mother tongue in most of the general domains of language use. In this speech community, most of the male as well as female informants use their mother tongue in the domains of counting, joking, bargaining/shopping storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings, and village meetings. The percentages of the female respondents in using their mother tongue are slightly higher than that of male respondents in all the general domains of language use. However, majority of both male and female speakers use language of wider communication in singing.

3.1.3 Patterns of language use in general domains by literacy

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

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

DOMAINS	LANGUAGES			
	Literate (30)		Illiterate (30)	
	Mother tongue	LWC	Mother tongue	LWC
Counting	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Singing	7 (23%)	23 (77%)	11 (37%)	19 (63%)
Joking	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Bargaining/ shopping	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Story telling	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Discussing	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Praying	19 (63%)	11 (37%)	30 (100%)	-
Quarrelling	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Abusing/ scolding	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Telling stories to children	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Singing at home	18 (60%)	12 (40%)	30 (100%)	-
Family gatherings	24 (80%)	6 (20%)	30 (100%)	-
Village meetings	17 (3%)	13 (43%)	25 (83%)	5 (17%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.3 shows that illiterate informants, as expected, are much more loyal to the mother tongue in comparison to literate respondents in the Magahi speech community. Except in singing (i.e., 63%) and village meeting (i.e., 17%) no illiterate

speakers use their mother tongue in the most of the general domains of language use in the Magahi speech community.

3.1.4 Patterns of language use in general domains by age

Table 3.4 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by age (A1, A2, and A3).

Table 3.4: Languages most frequently used in different domains by age (N=60)

DOMAINS	LANGUAGES					
	A1 (20)		A2 (20)		A3 (20)	
	MT	LWC	MT	LWC	MT	LWC
Counting	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Singing	4 (20%)	16 (80%)	5 (25%)	15 (75%)	9 (45%)	11 (55%)
Joking	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Bargaining/ shopping	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Story telling	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Discussing	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Praying	14 (70%)	6 (30%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Quarrelling	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Abusing/ scolding	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Telling stories to children	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Singing at home	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)
Family gatherings	16 (80%)	4 (20%)	18 (90%)	2 (10%)	20 (100%)	-
Village meetings	11 (55%)	9 (45%)	14 (70%)	6 (30%)	17 (85%)	3 (15%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.4 shows that in most of the domains of language use, the percentage of the use of their mother tongue by A3 (age group of 60 and above) is higher than A1 (i.e., the informants of 15-29 years age group) and A2 (i.e., the informants of 30-59 years age group). Similarly, in the domain of singing the majority of speakers of all the three age categories A1, A2, and A3 use language of wider communication. In terms of age, A3 respondents are more loyal to their mother tongue in comparison to A1 and A2 age group respondents in using their mother tongue in most of the domains of language use.

3.2 Language use in specific domains

The main purpose of this section is to look at the use of the languages at home, in the community, and the languages used by the Magahi children.

3.2.1 Language use at home

In this subsection, we examine 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 Magahi speech community in certain situations.

Table 3.5: Languages most frequently used in the Magahi speech community in certain situations by sex (N=60)

Language most frequently used at home while (a) Talking about education matters (b) Discussing social events and family matters and (c) Writing letters					
	LANGUAGES /DOMAINS	Male (30)		Female (30)	
		Mother tongue	LWC	Mother tongue	LWC
GRAND PARENTS	Educational matters	30 (100%)	-	30 (100%)	-
	Social events	30 (100%)	-	30 (100%)	-
	Writing letters	6 (20%)	24 (80%)	4 (13%)	26 (87%)
PARENTS	Educational matters	29 (97%)	1 (3%)	28 (93%)	2 (7%)
	Social events	29 (97%)	1 (3%)	27 (90%)	3 (10%)
	Writing letters	5 (17%)	25 (83%)	3 (10%)	27 (90%)
SPOUSE	Educational matters	22 (73%)	2 (7%)	21 (70%)	3 (10%)
	Social events	22 (73%)	2 (7%)	21 (70%)	3 (10%)
	Writing letters	3 (10%)	21 (70%)	2 (7%)	22 (73%)
CHILDREN	Educational matters	18 (60%)	1 (3%)	17 (57%)	3 (10%)
	Social events	18 (60%)	1 (3%)	17 (57%)	3 (10%)
	Writing letters	-	19 (63%)	2 (7%)	18 (60%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.5 shows that most of the male and female informants use their mother tongue, i.e., Magahi, while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election,

ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) with their grandparents, parents, spouse and children. While writing letters with their grandparents, parents, spouse and children they primarily use the language of wider communication (LWC), i.e., Nepali and Hindi. Interestingly, the male informants use their mother tongue slightly more than that of female informants with their parents and grandparents while talking about educational and social matters.

3.2.2 Language use in the community

In this subsection, we look at the pattern of language use in the Magahi speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings. Magahi people mostly use their mother tongue and Hindi for writing marriage invitation. They hardly use Nepali for marriage invitation. However, they use only Nepali for writing minutes in the community meetings. Table 3.6 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings by sex.

Table 3.6: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings by sex (N=60)

What language does the community use in/for ...	MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
	MT	Hindi	MT/H/N	MT	Hindi	MT/H/N
Marriage invitations?	10 (33%)	15 (50%)	5 (17%)	7 (23%)	11 (37%)	12 (40%)
	MT	Nepali	Both	MT	Nepali	Both
Writing minutes in community meetings?	-	30 (100%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.6 shows that out of the total respondents of the Magahi speech community 33% of male and 23% of the female use their mother tongue in marriage invitations. Similarly, 50% male and 37% female respondents use Hindi, the language of wider communication in marriage invitations. The rest of the informants have replied that they use either mother tongue or Hindi or Nepali in writing marriage invitation. To the contrary, in writing minutes, all the male and female respondents have replied that they use only the official language of the nation Nepali, the language of the wider communication in community meetings.

3.2.3 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 the Magahi children in their speech community.

Table 3.7: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains by sex (N=60)

What language do your children usually speak while..	MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
	MT	Nepali	MT+N+E	MT	Nepali	MT+N+E
Playing with other children?	21 (70%)	6 (20%)	3 (10%)	24 (80%)	2 (7%)	4 (13%)
Talking with neighbors?	21 (70%)	6 (20%)	3 (10%)	24 (80%)	2 (7%)	4 (13%)
At school?	10 (33%)	14 (47%)	6 (20%)	10 (33%)	8 (27%)	12 (40%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.7 shows that the children while playing with other children and talking with the neighbors overwhelmingly use their mother tongue. Similarly, 47% male and 27% female respondents said that their children use Nepali at school. Likewise, 20% male and 40% female respondents responded that their children use either their mother tongue, or Nepali, the language of wider communication, or English at school as there is no provision of using mother tongue as mediums of instructions in the schools in the Magahi speech community.

3.3 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 the Magahi speech community, in general, Nepali and Hindi serve as the language of wider communication. Table 3.8 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Magahi speech community.

Table 3.8: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication by sex (N=60)

How often do you use...	MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
	Everyday	Sometimes	Rarely	Everyday	Sometimes	Rarely
your mother tongue ?	30 (100%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
language of wider communication (LWC)?	15 (50%)	8 (27%)	7 (23%)	12 (40%)	9 (30%)	9 (30%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.8 shows that all the informants use their mother tongue every day. However, 50% male and 40% female respondents have reported that they use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali and/or Hindi every day; 27% male and 30% female respondents said that they use LWC some times and rest of the respondents claim that they rarely use the language of wider communication.

Similarly, Table 3.9 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in the Magahi speech community by literacy.

Table 3.9: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication by literacy (N=60)

How often do you use …	LITERATE (30)			ILLITERATE (30)		
	Everyday	Sometimes	Rarely	Everyday	Sometimes	Rarely
MT ?	30 (100%)	-	-	30 (100%)	-	-
LWC?	21 (70%)	7 (23%)	2 (7%)	6 (20%)	10 (33%)	14 (47%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.9 shows that all the informants (both literate and illiterate) use mother tongue every day. However, 70% of the literate and 20% of the illiterate have reported that they use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali or Hindi every day. Similarly, only 23% literate and 33% illiterate respondents responded that they use the language of wider communication sometimes and rest of the respondents use LWC rarely. It shows that literate respondents use the language of wider communication more than that of illiterate respondents.

Table 3.10 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in the Magahi speech community by age.

Table 3.10: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication by age (N=60)

	A1 (20)		A2 (20)			A3 (20)		
	Everyday	Sometimes	Everyday	Sometimes	Rarely	Everyday	Sometimes	Rarely
MT	20 (100%)	-	20 (100%)	-	-	20 (100%)	-	-
LWC	15 (75%)	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	5 (25%)	12 (60%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.10 shows that all the informants of all the age groups i.e., A1, A2, and A3 use their mother tongue every day. However, the percentage of A3 speakers using the language of wider communication every day is lower than that of A1 and A2 in the Magahi speech community.

3.4 Language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level

Table 3.11 presents the patterns of language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level in the Magahi speech community.

Table 3.11: Language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level (N=60)

	SEX		LITERACY		AGE		
	MALE (n=30)	FEMALE (n=30)	LITERATE (n=30)	ILLITERATE (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)
MT	21 (70%)	22 (73%)	18 (60%)	25 (83%)	11 (55%)	14 (70%)	18 (90%)
Nepali	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	8 (27%)	2 (7%)	6 (30%)	2 (10%)	2 (10%)
English	4 (13%)	3 (10%)	4 (13%)	3 (10%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	-

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.11 shows that most of respondents of all the demographic categories prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary level in the Magahi speech community. Interestingly, the percentages of female, illiterate and A3 age group preferring the mother tongue as the medium of instruction is higher than that of male, literate and A1 and A3 age group in the Magahi speech community.

3.5 Language used with the visitors at home

Most of the Magahi speakers are proficient bilingual in Nepali and Hindi. Table 3.12 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Magahi speakers at home.

Table 3.12: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Magahi speakers at home (N=60)

Which language do you speak when speakers of other languages visit you at home?	MALE (n=30)	FEMALE (n=30)
MT	4 (13%)	9 (30%)
Nepali	12 (40%)	10 (33%)
Hindi	14 (47%)	11 (37%)
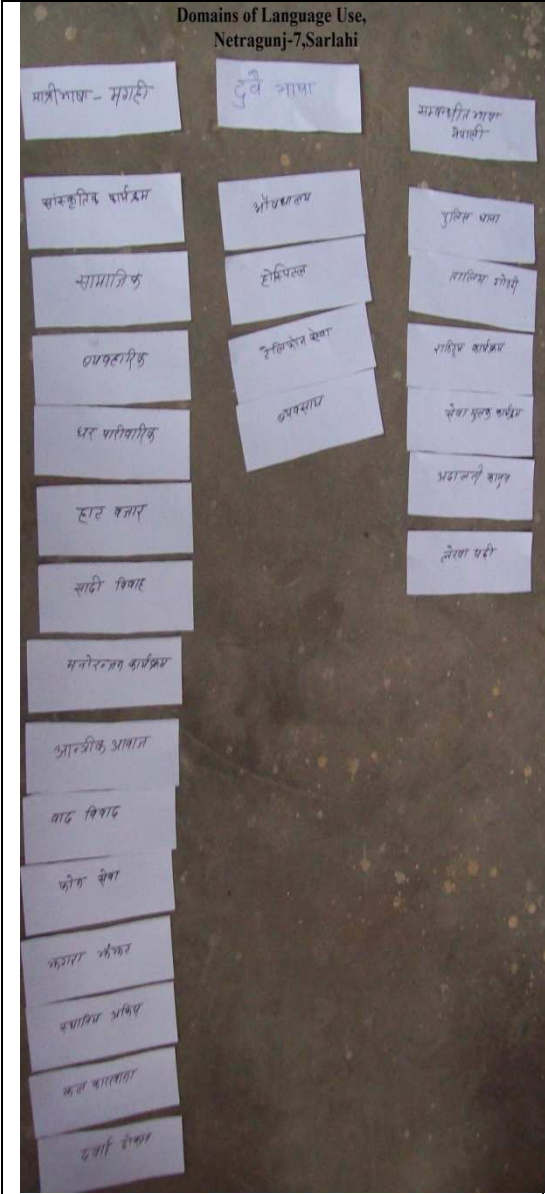
Source: Field study, 2016

Table 3.12 shows that out of the total respondents 13% male and 30% female respondents use their mother tongue when the speakers of other language visit at their home. Similarly, 40% male and 33% female Magahi speakers use Nepali and 47% male and 37% female respondents use Hindi while the speakers of other languages visit them at home.

3.6 Domains of language use uncovered by the participatory method

In five survey points, namely, Netragunj, Jaleshwar, Mansinghpatti, Kanchanrup, and Biratnagar, domains of language use tool was used in order to help the Magahi community members to think about and visualize the languages which Magahi speaking people speak in various situations. In groups, the Magahi participants in each survey points 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 Magahi and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Magahi. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Magahi and both Nepali and Magahi. 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

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situations. Photographs below present the situation of language use in the Magahi speech community.

Photograph 3.1: Domains of Language Use in Netragunj-7, Sarlahi	Photograph 3.2: Domains of language use in Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha
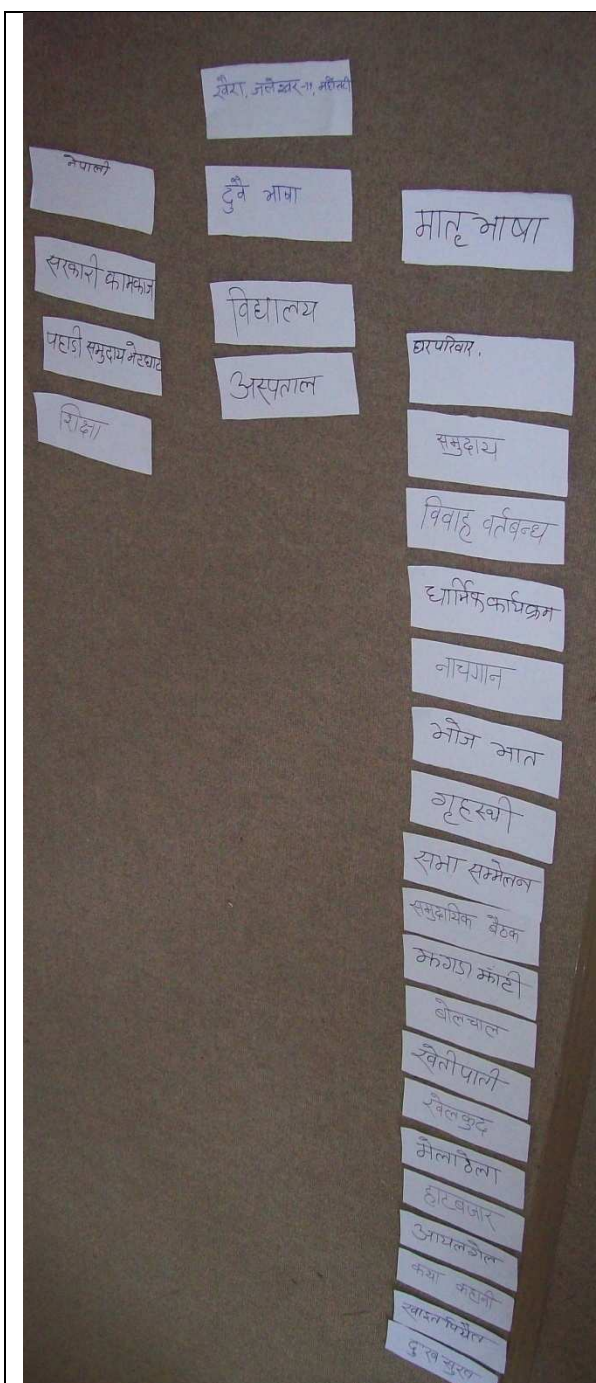
| Photograph 3.3: Domains of language use in Jaleshwar-11, Mahottari | Photograph 3.4: Domains of language use in Kanchanrup-5, Saptari |
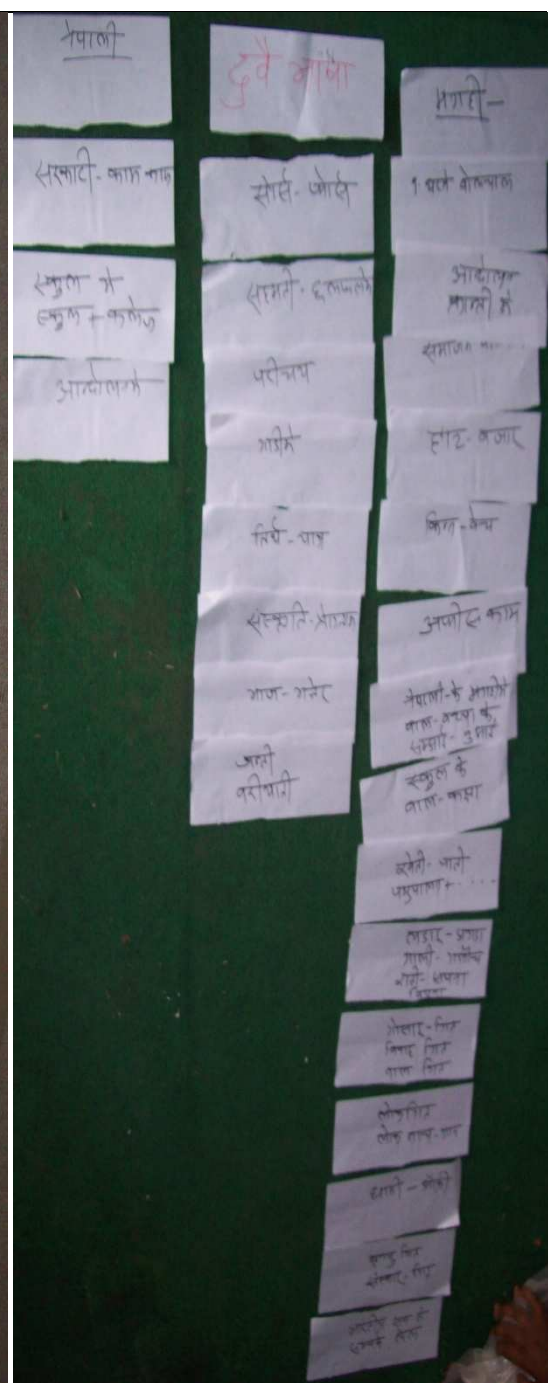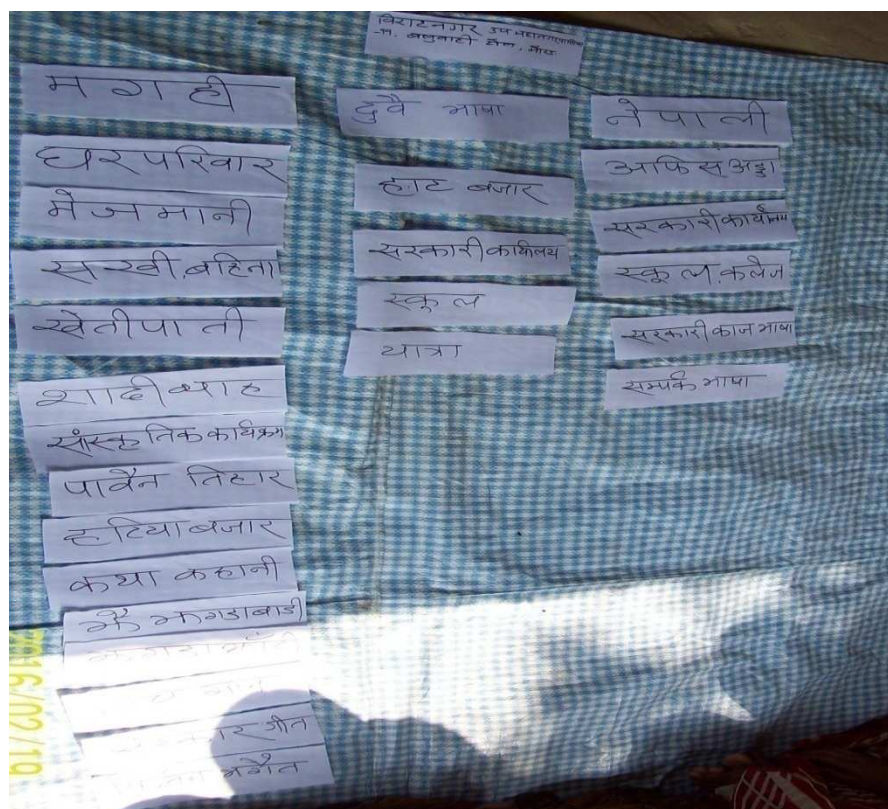
Photograph 3.5: Domains of language use in Biratnagar-11, Morang

Table 3.13 presents the situation of domains of language use in the Magahi speech community.

Table 3.13: Situation of domains of language use in the Magahi speech community

SURVEY POINTS	MAGAHI	BOTH	NEPALI
SARLAHI	a. Cultural programs b. Social works c. Family d. Local markets e. Marriage f. Entertainment programs g. Internal talking h. Discussion i. Telephone talk j. Quarreling k. Local offices l. Local factories and industries m. Medical shops	a. Hospitals b. Telephone service c. Business	a. Police station b. Trainings c. National programs d. Government offices e. Court f. Written documents for official use
MAHOTTARI	a. Family b. Community c. Marriage, Bratbandha d. Ritual programs e. Dancing/singing	a. School b. Hospital	a. Official works b. Talking to hilly people c. Education

	f. Meeting and seminars g. Community meeting h. Quarreling i. Talkin to each other in the society j. Farming k. Sports l. Fair m. Local markets n. Story telling o. Expressing happy and sorrow, etc.		
DHANUSHA	a. Family b. Culture c. Dancing/ Singing d. Performing Rituals e. Chanting f. Local markets g. Worship h. Farming i. Business j. Contact language in the school	a. School b. Hospital	a. Government offices
SAPTARI	a. At home b. In the revolutions c. In the society d. Local markets e. Marketing, f. Local offices g. Teaching the beginners at school h. Farming i. Quarreling/ abusing j. Ritual songs, k. Folk songs/folk dance l. Chanting by witch doctors m. Death ceremony, etc.	a. Approaching to Nepali speakers b. Discussion c. Introduction d. Travelling e. Cultural programs f. Feast and festivals g. Marriage procession	a. Government office b. School, colleges c. In the revolutions
MORANG	a. In the family b. With relatives c. With friends d. Agriculture/ farming e. Marriage f. Cultural programs g. Feast and festivals h. Local markets i. Storytelling, j. Quarreling, k. Dancing and singing, l. Ritual songs, etc.	a. Market b. Government offices c. Schools	a. Government offices, b. School, colleges c. Official language d. Contact language

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the patterns of the domains of language use in the Magahi speech community. In this community, Magahi is significantly used in most of the general domains of languages use such as counting, joking, bargaining/shopping storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings, and village meetings. However in the domain of singing, majority of the Magahi speakers use Hindi. The percentages of the female respondents in using their mother tongue are slightly higher than that of male respondents in all the general domains of language use. In terms of age, A3 respondents are more loyal to their mother tongue in comparison to A1 and A2 age group respondents in using their mother tongue in most of the domains. Most of the Magahi speakers use their mother tongue while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) with their grandparents, parents, spouse, and children. While writing letters they prefer the language of wider communication (LWC), i.e., Nepali and Hindi.

For marriage invitation they use their mother tongue, Hindi, and Nepali languages. However, majority of the respondents said that they use Hindi for marriage invitation. To the contrary, in writing minutes, all the male and female respondents have replied that they use Nepali, the language of the wider communication and also the official language of the nation. Magahi speaking children overwhelmingly use their mother tongue while playing with other children and talking with the neighbors. However, they use Nepali, the language of wider communication, or English at school as there is no provision of using mother tongue as mediums of instructions in the schools in the Magahi speech community. They use their mother tongue every day and majority of Magahi speakers use the language of wider communication, i.e., Nepali and/or Hindi every day. Literate respondents use the language of wider communication more than that of illiterate respondents. Similarly, the percentage of A3 speakers using the language of wider communication every day is lower than that of A1 and A2 in the Magahi speech community. Most of respondents of prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary level in the Magahi speech community. Interestingly, the percentages of female, illiterate and A3 age group preferring the

mother tongue as the medium of instruction is higher than that of male, literate and A1 and A3 age group in the Magahi speech community.

In this speech community, the mother tongue is used at home, while working in the fields, while praying and worshiping, in the meeting of the community, in discussion, in telling stories, secrecy, quarrelling, scolding, feasts and festivals, transaction, in local markets, love making, singing, and telling stories. Nepali, the language of wider communication, is used in the markets, in schools, writing minutes of the meeting, at government offices, talking with other language groups. Both Nepali and Magahi are used at hospitals, in the meetings of the VDC, at school, while teaching to the children, in seminars, and local offices.

CHAPTER 4

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

4.0 Outline

This chapter is an attempt to present the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Magahi speech community. It consists of four sections. In section 4.1, we examine level of mother tongue proficiency in the Magahi speech community. Section 4.2 assesses the situation of bi/multilingualism of in the Magahi speech community. Similarly, section 4.3 presents the situation of bilingualism using participatory methods. In section 4.4, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

4.1 Mother tongue proficiency

In response to the question: What language/s can you speak?, most of the informants, both male and female, have informed that they can speak mainly five languages; namely, Magahi, Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, and Bhojpuri. Similarly, in response to the question: What language did you speak first?, they all have replied that they spoke Magahi as well as Maithili, 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., Magahi, which they all speak best. In order, they said that they speak Maithili, best after their mother tongue. As the third and fourth best, they speak Nepali and Hindi respectively. Mother tongue proficiency (in listening, speaking, reading, and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some, and only a little. Sociolinguistic questionnaire-A was administered to the informants in the key survey points of the Magahi speech community. Table 4.1 shows the present picture of mother tongue proficiency in listening and speaking in Magahi.

Table 4.1: Mother tongue proficiency in listening and speaking in the Magahi speech community (N=60)

Please estimate how proficient are you in your mother tongue?	SEX		LITERACY		AGE		
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)
VERY WELL	28 (93%)	30 (100%)	29 (97%)	29 (97%)	18 (90%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)
AVERAGE	2 (7%)		1(3%)	1(3%)	2 (10%)		-
ONLY A LITTLE	-		-	-	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 4.1 shows that almost all of the Magahi respondents speak their language very well. Similarly, only 7% both male; 3% both literate and illiterate; and 10% A1 age group respondents have replied that they speak their language average. However, there was no one to say that they know their language only a little.

Similarly, Table 4.2 presents the mother tongue proficiency of Magahi speakers in reading and writing their language by sex.

Table 4.2: Mother tongue proficiency in reading and writing by sex

Please estimate how well you can read and write your mother tongue?	SEX		Total (N=30)
	Male (n=17)	Female (n=13)	
VERY WELL	7 (41%)	4 (31%)	11 (37%)
AVERAGE	9 (53%)	6 (46%)	15 (50%)
ONLY A LITTLE	1 (6%)	3 (23%)	4 (13%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 4.2 shows that out of the total respondents, who can read and write, 37%, said that they can read and write in their mother tongue very well. Similarly, 50% and 13% respondents have responded that they can read and write in their mother tongue average and only a little respectively. This situation indicates that Magahi does not have a strong written tradition in Nepal.

4.2 Bi/multilingualism

Most of the Magahi speakers are multilingual. In the Magahi speech community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz. Magahi, Maithili, Hindi, and Nepali. Magahi is used in most of the domains of language use in the Magahi speech community. There is an intense contact of the Magahi speakers with Maithili, Nepali, and Hindi speakers.

Table 4.3 presents a picture of multilingualism in the Magahi speech community by sex, literacy and age.

Table 4.3: Multilingualism in Magahi community by sex, literacy and age

What languages can you speak?	N=60							
	SEX		LITERACY		AGE			
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)	TOTAL (N=60)
Magahi	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	60 (100%)
Maithili	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)	60 (100%)
Nepali	24 (80%)	18 (60%)	30 (100%)	12 (40%)	18 (90%)	14 (70%)	10 (50%)	42 (70%)
Hindi	24 (80%)	20 (67%)	30 (100%)	14 (47%)	18 (90%)	14 (70%)	12 (60%)	44 (73%)
Bhojpuri	6 (20%)	4 (13%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	3 (15%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	10 (17%)
English	7 (23%)	3 (10%)	10 (33%)	-	6 (30%)	3 (15%)	1 (5%)	10 (17%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 4.3 shows different levels of bilingualism in the Magahi speech community by sex, literacy and age. In this community all the speakers irrespective of sex, literacy, and age speak their own mother tongue Magahi, as well as Maithili. Similarly, most of the respondents of the Magahi speech community are bilingual in the Nepali and Hindi languages, the languages of wider communication. Similarly, all the literate respondents are bilingual in both Nepali and Hindi languages. In this speech community, only insignificant number of speakers can speak Bhojpuri and only a few speakers can speak and understand English.

Table 4.3 also displays different levels of bilingualism in terms of sex, age and literacy. In terms of sex, the number of the male speakers being bilingual in the languages, namely, Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, and English is significantly higher than that of the female speakers in the Magahi speech community. Similarly, in terms of literacy, the number of the literate speakers being bilingual in languages, namely, Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, and English is significantly higher than that of the illiterate speakers in the Magahi speech community. Likewise, in terms of age, the number of the A1 and A2 speakers being bilingual in languages, namely, Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, and English is considerably higher than that of the A3 speakers in the Magahi speech community.

The situation of multilingualism in the Magahi speech community can also be shown through the figure below.
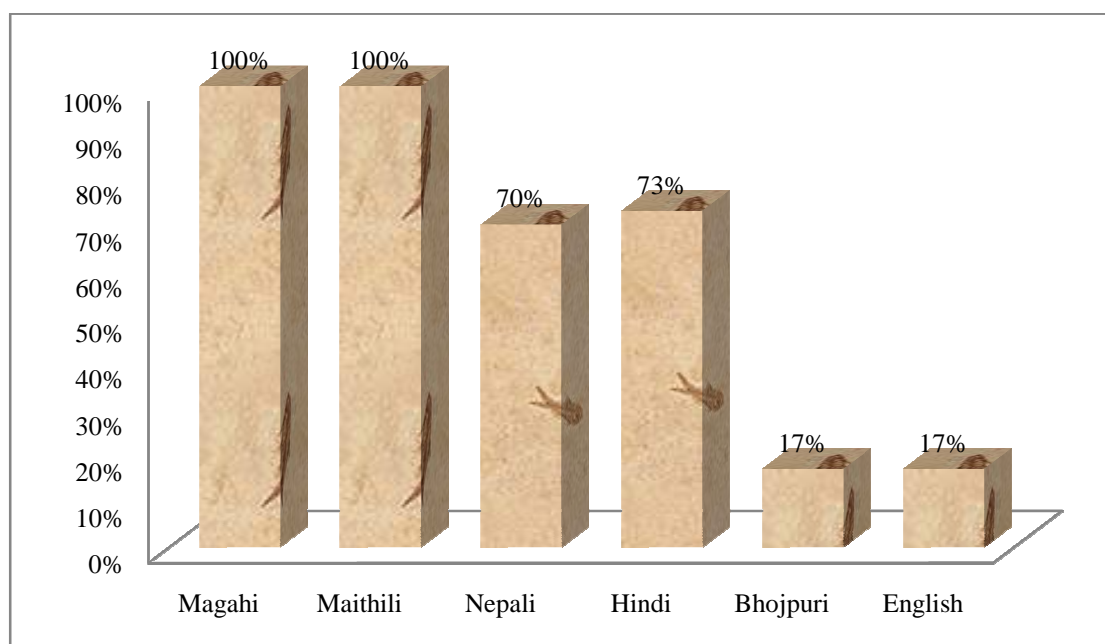
Figure 4.1: Multilingualism in the Magahi speech community

Figure 4.1 shows that in the Magahi speech community, besides Magahi and Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, and English are spoken by different percentages of the respondents.

4.2.1 Levels of understanding of Nepali in school

Most of the Magahi children learn Nepali only in schools, so they do have difficulties in understanding Nepali all when they first go to school. Table 4.4 presents the level of understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

Table 4.4: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a Magahi child first goes to school

When a small child first goes to school, can s/he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?	SEX		LITERACY		AGE		
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)
Understand all	4 (13%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	4 (13%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)
Understand a little	12 (40%)	10 (33%)	8 (27%)	14 (47%)	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	5 (25%)
Do not understand at all	14 (47%)	15 (50%)	17 (56%)	12 (40%)	6 (30%)	10 (50%)	13 (65%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 4.4 shows that 13% male and 17% female respondents respectively; and 17% literate and 13% illiterate respondents respectively are confirmed that a small child of the Magahi speech community understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school. Similarly, 40% male and 33% female; 27% literate and 47% illiterate respondents that when their small children first go to school they can understand a little their Nepali speaking teacher says. Likewise, 47% male and 50% female; 56% literate and 40% illiterate; and 30% A1, 50% A2, and 65% A3 speakers replied that a small child do not understand at all his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes.

4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in the Magahi families

As mentioned in 4.2 above, most of the Magahi speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual; their family members also seem to be bilingual in different languages. In the Magahi speech community, all the family members, father, mother and spouse can speak Maithili as well. Table 4.5 presents the picture of bi/multilingualism of Magahi family members i.e., their father, mother and spouse.

Table 4.5: The picture of other languages known to their father, mother and spouse in the Magahi speech community

Other languages known to your father and mother	Father		Mother		Spouse	
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Male (n=22)	Female (n=24)
MAITHILI	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	22 (100%)	24 (100%)
NEPALI	23 (77%)	21 (70%)	14 (47%)	12 (40%)	11(50%)	10 (42%)
HINDI	24 (80%)	19 (63%)	14 (47%)	13 (43%)	8 (36%)	15 (62%)
BHOJPURI	4 (13%)	2 (7%)	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	1 (5%)	3 (13%)
ENGLISH	2 (7%)	1 (3)	-	1 (3%)	2 (9%)	3 (13%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 4.5 shows that all the Magahi respondents' family members are bilingual in at least Maithili as cent percent respondents said that their fathers, mothers and spouse know the Maithili language. Similarly, majority of respondents both male and female said that their fathers are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi, the languages of wider communication. Similarly, 47% male and 40% female respondents responded that their mothers are bilingual in Nepali and 47% male and 43% female respondents said that their mothers are bilingual in Hindi. Likewise, 50% male and 42% female said that their spouse are bilingual in Nepali and 36% male and 62% female responded that in Hindi. Similarly, only a few respondents responded that their family members are bilingual in Bhojpuri and English languages.

Similarly, Table 4.6 presents the picture of other languages known to their children.

Table 4.6: The picture of other languages known to their children

What languages known to your sons/daughters	SEX			Where they learnt?
	Male (n=22)	Female (n=24)	Total (N=46)	
MAITHILI	22 (100%)	24 (100%)	46 (100%)	In family, neighborhood
NEPALI	18 (82%)	17 (71%)	35 (76 %)	At school, in the neighborhood
HINDI	11 (50%)	16 (67%)	27 (59%)	By watching television, and Hindi movies
ENGLISH	7 (32%)	8 (33%)	15 (33)	At school, college

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 4.6 shows that all the children of Magahi speech community are bilingual in Maithili, and they learn it in their family and neighborhood. Similarly, 82% male and 71% female respondents replied that their children are bilingual in Nepali, the language of wider communication and they learnt it at school and in the neighborhood. Likewise, 50% male and 67% female respondents said that their children are also bilingual in Hindi and they learnt it by watching television, Hindi movies and in local markets. Similarly, only 32% male and 33% female respondents replied that their children can also speak English and they learn it at school and colleges.

4.3 Bilingualism in Magahi (participatory methods)

In the survey points, the participatory tool referred to as bilingualism was also administered in order to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both their mother tongue, Magahi and Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC).

The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Magahi people who speak Magahi well and the other the Magahi 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 Magahi '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 Magahi people that spoke Magahi '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. Photographs below present the situation of bilingualism in the survey points: Dhanusha and Saptari districts Nepal.
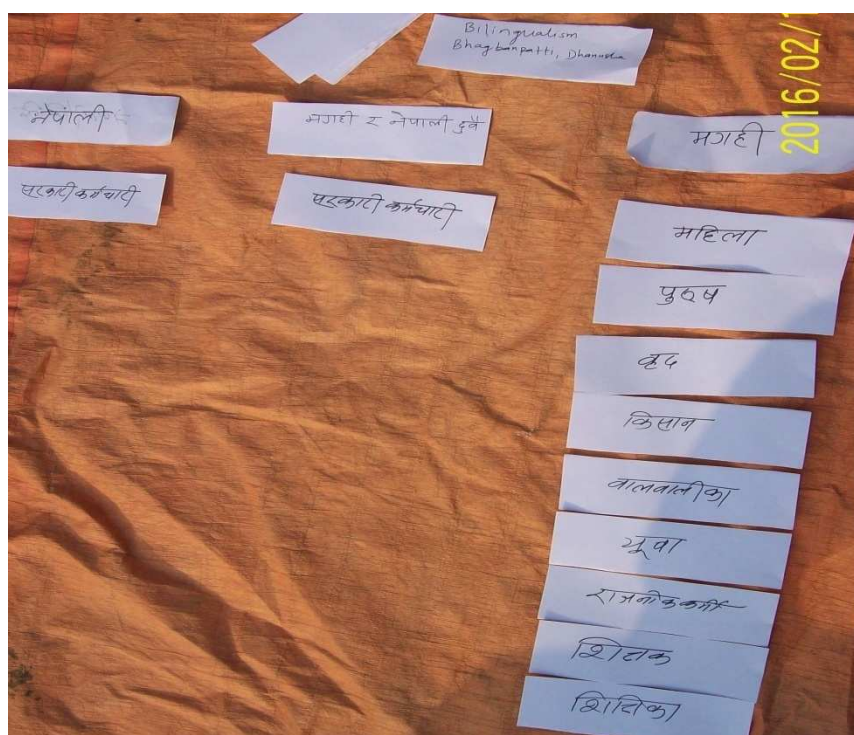
Photograph 4.1: Bilingualism in Magahi at Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha

Photograph 4.2: Bilingualism in Magahi at Kanchanrup-5, Saptari

Table 4.2 presents the situation of bilingualism in the Magahi speech community.

Table 4.7: Situation of bilingualism in the Magahi speech community

SURVEY POINTS	MAGAHI	BOTH NEPALI AND MAGAHI	NEPALI
SARLAHI	1. Elderly people 2. Uneducated people 3. Villagers 4. Farmers	1. Social leaders 2. Teachers 3. Students	1. Educated people 2. People living in town 3. Government employee
MAHOTTARI	1. Farmers 2. Elderly people 3. Labours 4. Farmers 5. Uneducated	1. Teachers 2. Educated people 3. Language activists 4. Social workers 5. Students	1. Educated people 2. Government employees 3. Police

DHANUSHA	1. Males 2. Females 3. Elderly people 4. Farmers 5. Children 6. Politicians 7. Teachers 8. Social workers	1. Educated people 2. Government officers	1. Government officers
SAPTARI	1. Dalit castes: Mushar, Bantar, Dusadh, Dom etc. 2. Elderly people 3. Female over 30 years of age 4. Other Backward Communities (OBC) 5. Farmers 6. Workers 7. Children	1. Educated people 2. Teachers 3. Lawyers 4. Doctors	1. Government officers 2. Children studying in boarding school.
MORANG	1. Villagers 2. Elderly people 3. Uneducated 4. Farmers 5. Priest 6. Children 7. Women	1. Businessmen 2. Social workers 3. Educated people 4. Politicians 5. Village leaders	1. Government Employees 2. People living in the district headquarter

Source: Field study, 2016

There have been three common findings from this participatory method:

1. There are no monolingual in the Magahi community.

2. Magahi speakers who are not going outside the village, women, elderly people, uneducated people, farmers, children, local people, Dalits etc. speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC.

3. School going children, government officials, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students of these speech communities are bilingual in Nepali and use both their mother tongue and LWC well.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we attempted to assess the situation of mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in the Magahi speech community. All the Magahi people can speak mainly two languages; namely, Magahi and Maithili. They all spoke their mother tongue, i.e., Magahi first. They all love their mother tongue, Magahi and they speak it best. They also speak Maithili, Nepali, and Hindi as second language or languages of wider communication. Most of the respondents replied that they speak their language very well and most of the respondents, who can read and write, said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. Similarly, Magahi, like other speech communities, is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz. Magahi, Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, and English. However, these languages are spoken by different percentages of the respondents. Most of the informants are confirmed that when a small child of Magahi speech community first goes to school, s/he does not understand his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. In the Magahi speech community, all the family members can speak Maithili; and majority of Magahi speaking people can speak Nepali and Hindi as well. Magahi speakers who are not going outside the village, women, elderly people, uneducated people, farmers, children, local people, Dalits, and Other Backward Communities (OBC) people speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC whereas school going children, government officials, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students of these speech communities are bilingual in Nepali and use both their mother tongue and LWC well.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE VITALITY, MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.0 Outline

This chapter looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Magahi. It consists of four sections. Section 5.1 examines language vitality in Magahi. Similarly, in section 5.2, we discuss language maintenance in Magahi. Section 5.3 looks at the attitudes of the Magahi speech community towards their language. In section 5.4, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.1 Language vitality

Most of the members of Magahi speech community use Magahi as their mother tongue and they also use Maithili simultaneously. The Magahi speech community is not is not shifting to Nepali like other minority languages. Table 5.1 presents the data based on the responses related to language vitality provided by the informants in key survey points.

Table 5.1: Language vitality in the Magahi speech community

N=60					
Do all your children speak your mother tongue?		Do young people speak your mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken?		What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Mother tongue	Nepali
100 (100%)	-	100 (100%)	-	58 (96%)	2 (3%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.1 shows the vitality level of the Magahi language is very high. There were three questions administered on the informants in each survey point. When the informants were asked whether all their children speak their mother tongue, cent percent informants from each key survey point responded that the children speak their mother tongue. When the informants were asked "Do young people speak your mother tongue as it ought to be spoken?, all the informants responded that their mother tongue is spoken by the young people of their speech community as it ought to be spoken. Similarly, in response to the question, what language most parents in this

village usually speak with their children, most of the informants said that they speak their mother tongue with their children, and only 3% responded that most of the parents in their village usually speak Nepali the language of wider communication with their children.

5.2 Language maintenance

Regarding the language maintenance in the Magahi speech community it is seen that there is a positive transmission of the language in the community. Language maintenance in Magahi is satisfactory. In this section, we try to assess the language maintenance situation by analyzing two factors: intermarriage situation and the use of mother tongue in school. Generally speaking, the language maintenance in the Magahi speech community is appalling.

5.2.1 Intermarriage situation

Intermarriage, which is one of the causes of language shift, is not common in the Magahi speech community. Table 5.2 presents the situation of intermarriage in the Magahi speech community by sex and literacy.

Table 5.2: Situation of intermarriage in Magahi by sex and literacy (N=60)

Is their intermarriage in your community?	Sex		Literacy	
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)
Yes	3 (10%)	4 (13%)	4 (13%)	3 (10%)
No	27 (90%)	26 (87%)	26 (87%)	27 (90%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.2 shows the situation of intermarriage in the Magahi speech community. Only 10% male and illiterate; and 13% female and literate have replied that there is the practice of inter-caste marriage in their speech community, and remaining 90% male and illiterate respondents; and 87% female and literate respondents said that there is not the practice of inter-caste marriage in Magahi speech community. This situation clearly indicates that intermarriage, which is one of the reasons for language endangerment, is not picking up the pace in the Magahi speech community.

The situation of intermarriage in the Magahi speech community can also be shown through the figure below:

Figure 5.1: Situation of intermarriage in the Magahi speech community
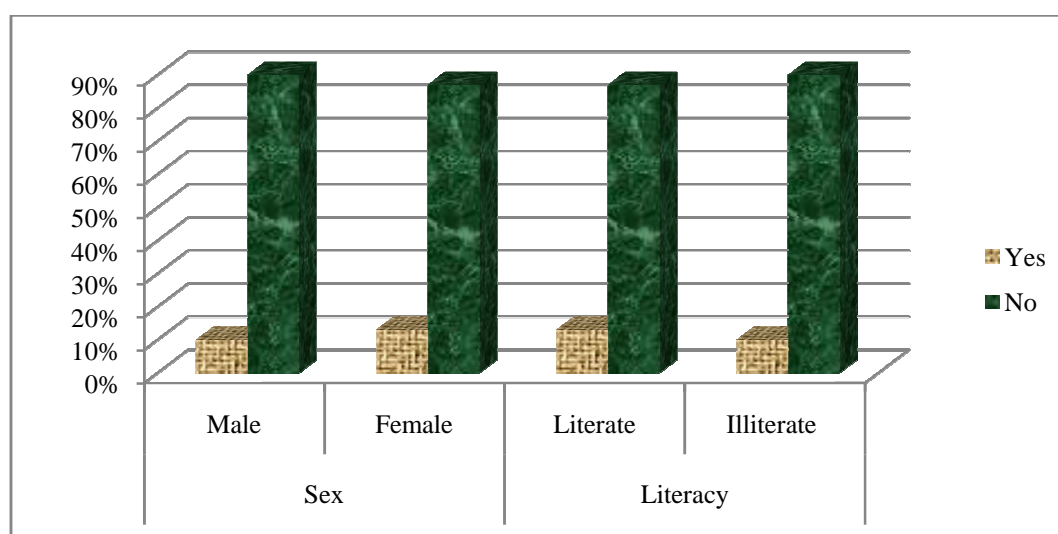
Table 5.3 presents other language groups which have common marital relationship with Magahi.

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

N=30	Male (n=3)	Female (n=4)
Maithili	2 (67%)	2 (50%)
Nepali	1 (33%)	2 (50%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.3 shows that other language groups which have common marital relationship with Magahi speech community include Maithili and Nepali. Out of the total respondents who said that there is intermarriage in their community only 67% male and 50% female respondents said that they have common marital relationship with Maithili speakers. Similarly, 33% males and 50% female respondents said that they have common intermarriage relationship with Nepali speakers.

5.2.2 Use of mother tongue in education

Magahi speakers have positive attitudes towards the maintenance of their mother tongue. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the Magahi language. In response to the question "Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?" Table 5.4 presents the responses of the Magahi speakers of the survey points.

Table 5.4: Likeness of the children's learning/studying in mother tongue

N=60	Sex		Literacy		Age		
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)
Yes	30 (100%)	28 (93%)	30 (100%)	28 (93%)	20 (100%)	19 (95%)	19 (95%)
No	-	2 (7%)	-	2 (7%)	-	1 (5%)	1 (5%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.4 shows that almost all the respondents irrespective of sex, literacy and age like their children to learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level. Only 7% female and illiterate; and 5% A1 and A2 respondents said that they do not like their children to learn/ study in their mother tongue. Then, the informants were asked how they would support if schools are opened for teaching their mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question "If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?" the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: The ways of supporting the mother tongue teaching schools

If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:	Sex		Total (N=60)
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	
By sending children?	24 (80%)	23 (77%)	47 (78%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	24 (80%)	23 (77%)	47 (78%)
By providing financial help?	24 (80%)	23 (77%)	47 (78%)
By teaching?	12 (40%)	7 (23%)	19 (32%)
By helping with the school?	24 (80%)	23 (77%)	47 (78%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.5 shows the different numbers and percentages of the informants (in terms of sex) who are ready to support the mother tongue schools. They are ready to support those schools by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching and helping with the school. In terms of

sex, it is clear that the female respondents are little bit less enthusiastic than the male respondent in supporting the schools. One of the reasons is that women are more illiterate than men in the Magahi speech community.

Table 5.5 shows that 80% male and 77% female responded that they will support the mother tongue teaching school by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, and by helping with the school. Similarly, 40% male and 23% female respondents responded that they will help mother tongue schools by teaching themselves.

This shows the strong feeling of affection for to their mother tongue. This indicates that mother tongue based multilingual education is urgently needed in this community in order to foster the cognitive development of the children. This is further evidenced as most of the respondents have replied that their children cannot understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says in the class (See Section 4.3 for details).

5.3 Language attitudes

Most of the Magahi speakers have positive attitude towards their language. 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 this section, we look at the attitudes of the speakers in the Magahi speech community. 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

What languages do you love most?	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Magahi	30 (100%)	28 (93%)	58 (97%)
Nepali	-	2 (7%)	2 (3%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.6 shows that almost all the respondents love their language the most. Similarly, only 7% female respondents love Nepali, the language of wider communication most.

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

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

When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel?	Sex		Literacy		Age			
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)	TOTAL (N=60)
Prestigious	9 (30%)	5 (17%)	8 (27%)	6 (20%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)	3 (15%)	14 (23%)
Embarrassed	2 (7%)	-	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (5%)	-	1 (5%)	2 (3%)
Neutral	19 (63%)	25 (83%)	21 (70%)	23 (77%)	12 (60%)	16 (80%)	16 (80%)	44 (74%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.7 shows that 23% of the entire respondents feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. In this speech community, 74% of the entire respondents feel neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and only 3% respondent said that he feels embarrassed when he speak his mother tongue, Magahi in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language like Nepali.

In terms of sex, male, in terms of literacy, literate and in terms of age, A1 age group feel prestigious more when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language in comparison to the female, illiterate and A2 and A3 age groups respondents. In case of being neutral, the female, illiterate and A2 and A3 age group respondents are more neutral than the male, literate and A1 age group respondents.

Similarly, in response to the question "Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?" Magahi native speakers have provided the responses as presented in the Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Magahi

Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Yes	5 (17%)	2 (7%)	7 (12%)
No	25 (83%)	28 (93%)	53 (88%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.8 shows only 17% male and 7% female respondents had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of his mother tongue whereas 83% male and 93% female respondents have responded that they have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue.

Because of being a native speaker of the mother tongue, they may have faced a number of categories of problems: Social discrimination, political discrimination, and economic discrimination, hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure, economic pressure, etc. In the Magahi speech community, the respondents who had faced a problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue were social pressure, social discrimination, and political pressure.

Most of the Magahi speakers feel bad if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question "How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?" Table 5.9 presents the responses of the respondents of the key survey points.

Table 5.9: Feeling about son or daughter's marriage with non-native speakers

How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?	Sex		Literacy		Age		
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)
Good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neutral	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	-
Bad	28 (93%)	29 (97%)	28 (93%)	29 (97%)	18 (90%)	19 (95%)	20 (100%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.9 shows that out of the total respondents, most of the Magahi respondents would feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Similarly, only two male/literate/A1 age group respondent feel neutral if his/her son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. There was not even a single respondent who feel good if his/her son or daughter married someone who does not know their language.

Similarly, most of the Magahi speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their mother tongue. Table 5.10 presents the responses of the Magahi speakers in the key survey points regarding the question "Will the children of the present children also speak your language?"

Table 5.10: Will the children of the present children speak your language

When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think those children might speak your language?	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Yes	25 (83%)	26 (87%)	51 (85%)
No	5 (17%)	4 (13%)	9 (15%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.10 shows that 85% of the total respondents are fully confident that the children of the present children would speak their mother tongue in future. Only17% male and 13% female respondents have responded that the children of the present children will not speak their mother tongue in future. It shows that they are very positive towards their language.

Similarly, regarding the question "If speak, how do you feel about this?" almost all the respondents both males and females feel good if their grandchildren will speak their language. Table 5.11 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters speak of their language.

Table 5.11: Feeling of the informants if their grandchildren speak their MT

How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Good	29 (97%)	27 (90%)	56 (93%)
Indifferent	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	4 (7%)
Bad	-	-	-

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.11 shows that almost all the informants feel good if their grandchildren speak their mother tongue and only 3% male and 10% female respondents feel indifferent if their grandchildren speak their mother tongue. And there is no one to say s/she feel bad if his/her grandchildren speak their mother tongue. It shows that they have positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, in response to the question "If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?" Table 5.12 presents the responses of the Magahi speakers in the key survey points.

Table 5.12: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language

How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Total (N=60)
Good	-	-	-
Indifferent	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	4 (7%)
Bad	29 (97%)	27 (90%)	96 (93%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.12 shows that most of the informants feel bad if their children will not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, only 3% male and 10% female respondent feel neither good nor bad if their children will not speak their mother tongue, and there is no one to say s/he feel good if his/her grandchildren will not speak his/her mother tongue.

In response to the question 'What language should your children speak at first?' all the informants irrespective of sex, literacy, and age have responded that they should speak their mother tongue, first. It means that all the people in this community are convinced that their children should speak their mother tongue, Magahi, first.

Similarly, in response to the question "Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" Table 5.13 presents the responses provided by the Magahi speakers in the key survey points.

Table 5.13: Response to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents (N=60)

	SEX		LITERACY		AGE		
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)
YES	4 (13%)	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	4 (13%)	3 (15%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)
NO	26 (87%)	25 (83%)	25 (83%)	26 (87%)	17 (85%)	18 (90%)	16 (80%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.13 shows that most of the respondents of the Magahi speech community do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents. It means that their language is still conservative. Only a few respondents i.e., 13% male and illiterate; 17% female and literate; and 15% A1, 10% A2, and 20% A3 respondents said that they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

Regarding the responses in the Table 5.13, "If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?" Table 5.14 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey points.

Table 5.14: The ways of differences in language between two generations

If yes, how?	SEX		Total (N=60)
	Male (n=4)	Female (n=5)	
Pronunciation	4 (100%)	4 (80%)	8 (13%)
Vocabulary	3 (75%)	3 (60%)	6 (10%)
Mixing of other languages	2 (50)	2 (40%)	4 (7%)
Way of speaking	-	3 (60%)	3 (5%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.14 shows that the language spoken by the present Magahi speakers is different from their grandparents in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, mixing of other language and the way of speaking. Out of the total male participants, who think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, 13% said that their language differentiates with their grandparents in pronunciation, 10% said that

the language differs in term of the use of vocabulary. Similarly, 7% respondents said that there are differences in missing of other languages, and 5% said that there are differences in the way of speaking. From the above discussion, it is clear that the language spoken by two different generations of the Magahi speakers has some differences in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, mixing of other languages, and in the way of speaking.

Similarly, in response to the question "How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?" Table 5.15 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

Table 5.15: Feeling about the young people who use other languages instead of their mother tongue

How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?	Sex		Literacy		Age			
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=30)	Illiterate (n=30)	A1 (n=20)	A2 (n=20)	A3 (n=20)	Total (N=60)
Good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indifferent	7 (23%)	4 (13%)	5 (17%)	6 (20%)	3 (15%)	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	11 (18%)
Bad	23 (77%)	26 (87%)	25 (83%)	24 (80%)	17 (85%)	16 (80%)	16 (80%)	49 (82%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 5.15 shows that 82% of the total informants feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. However, remaining 18% of the total informants have replied that they would feel indifferent when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. It indicates that the loyalty towards their mother tongue is strong in the Magahi speech community.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Magahi speech community. The vitality level of the language is very high. In this speech community, all the children speak their mother tongue. It is spoken by the young generation as it ought to be spoken. All the parents always speak

Magahi with their children. Language maintenance in the Magahi community is well maintained.

Only a few (both in terms of sex and literacy) replied that there is intermarriage in their community. They have common marital relationship with Maithili and Nepali speakers. Almost all the informants, irrespective of sex, literacy and age like their children learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level. They are ready to support the mother tongue schools in different ways: by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching and helping with the school.

In general, there is an extremely positive attitude of the Magahi speaking people towards their language. In this speech community, all the respondents love their language the most. Similarly, most of the respondents feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. They would feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. They think that the children of the present children will speak their mother tongue in future. Similarly, all the people in this speech community are convinced that their children should speak their mother tongue first. Most of informants do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and the differences are mainly in pronunciation, use of vocabulary, mixing of another language, and the way of speaking. Similarly most of the informants feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE RESOURCES

6.0 Outline

This chapter presents the situation of language resources in the Magahi community. It consists of four sections. Section 6.1 deals with the oral literatures available in the Magahi language. In section 6.2, we present written materials available in Magahi. Similarly, in section 6.3, we look at the organizations to promote the knowledge and/or use of the language. Section 6.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

6.1 Oral literature

Magahi is very rich in oral literature. In the Magahi speech community, we find folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), radio, films, CD/ DVD and others. Table 6.1 enumerates the major kinds of oral literature in the Magahi speech community.

Table 6.1: Major types of oral literature in the Magahi speech community

Types oral literature	Availability	Unavailability
Folktales	√	-
Songs	√	-
Religious literature	√	-
Radio/ fm	√	-
Films	√	-
CD/ DVD	√	-
Others	√	-

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 6.1 shows that the Magahi speech community blessed folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), fm radio, films, and CD/ DVD in their mother tongues. The informants of different demographic categories like sex, literacy and age were asked how often they listen to radio program broadcast in their language. Table

6.2 presents the frequency at which they listen to the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue.

Table 6.2: Frequency of listening to the radio program broadcast in Magahi

How often do you listen to radio broadcast in your language?	Sex		Total
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	(N=60)
Everyday	5 (17%)	3 (10%)	8 (13%)
Sometimes	9 (30%)	10 (33%)	19 (32%)
Never	16 (53%)	17 (57%)	33 (55%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 6.2 shows that only 17% male and 10% female respondents listen to the radio programs broadcasted in their mother tongue, everyday. Similarly, 30% male and 33% female respondents listen to those programs only sometimes. However, majority of Magahi speakers never listen to the programs broadcasted in their mother tongue.

6.2 Written materials available in Magahi

Table 6.3 presents the major materials written about the language and the languages in which such materials have been written in.

Table 6.3: Major materials written about the language and the languages in which such materials have been written in

Materials	Yes (√) or No (x)	What language(s) is it written in?	
		Magahi	English
Phonemic inventory	√	√	√
Grammar	√	√	√
Dictionary	√	√	x
Textbooks	x	x	
Literacy materials	√	√	
Newspapers	√	√	
Magazines	√	√	x
Written literature	√	√	x
Folklore	√	√	x
Others	√	√	x

Source: Field study, 2016

Photograph 6.1 presents the photograph of a book on Magahi phonology.
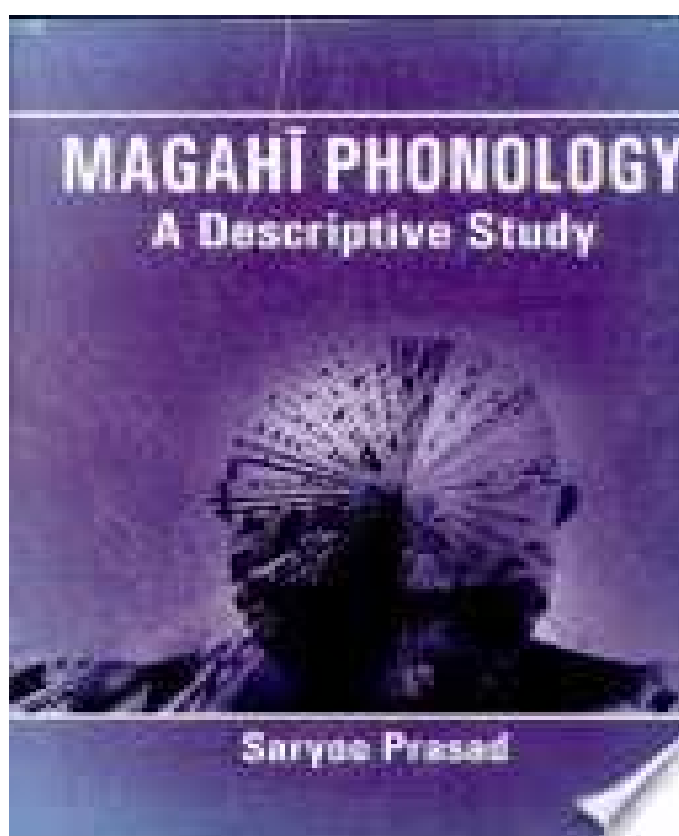
Photograph 6.1: Cover page of a book of Magahi phonology

Magahi is not a preliterate language. It has not a long written tradition. The informants were asked if they read any of these things written in their language. Most of them replied that they read them. Table 6.4 presents the situation of the reading of the materials written in the Magahi language.

Table 6.4: Situation of the reading written materials in the Magahi language

Do you read any of these things written in your language?	Sex		Total (N=30)
	Male (n=19)	Female (n=11)	
Yes	10 (53%)	4 (36%)	14(47%)
No	9 (47%)	7 (64%)	16(53%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 6.4 shows that out of the total literate respondents, 53% male and 36% female respondents responded that they read the written materials available in Magahi and remaining 47% male and 64% female respondent said that they do not read any of

these written materials available in their mother tongue. It also shows that the situation of reading the materials available in Magahi of male is higher than that of the females. Similarly, all the literate ones informed that their language is written in the Devanagari script.

6.3 Organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Magahi

In the Magahi speech community, there are a number of social organizations established to promote the knowledge and/or use of the language. Photograph 6.3 presents an office of the Magahi organization.

Table 6.5: Social organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Magahi put in italics for words in Nepali

	ORGANIZATIONS	Kinds of activities
1.	*Nepal Pichhada Barg (OBC) Mahasangh*	Social, cultural, awareness educational, and linguistic programs

Table 6.5 shows that there is only one organization dedicated to the preservation and promotion of the Magahi language and culture. This organization mainly works for social, cultural, awareness, educational, and linguistic programs. This organization is eager to work for the promotion and preservation of the Magahi language and culture.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we tried to discuss the language resources available in the Magahi language. Magahi community is rich in oral literature: folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), radio, films, CD/ DVD and others. They do not have a strong access to mass media. Similarly, there are also some written materials in the Magahi language. The written materials available in Magahi are: phonemic inventory, grammar, literacy materials, written literature, and folklore. Magahi is a written language as it has a long written tradition. They use the Devanagari script in writing. There is only one organization devoted for the social, cultural, and linguistic development of the Magahi community.

CHAPTER 7

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

7.0 Outline

This chapter assesses the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in the Magahi language. For this purpose, two tools were employed: Wordlist Comparison and Dialect Mapping (a participatory tool). This chapter consists of four sections. Section 7.1 deals with wordlist comparison in Magahi. Similarly, section 7.2 presents the lexical comparison with a recently developed program COG. Section 7.3 deals with the global phonetic correspondence among the varieties of Magahi. In section 7.4, we discuss the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 7.5 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

7.1 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Magahi speech forms the wordlists represent. In this section, we discuss the methodology employed in lexical similarity study, evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages and the lexical similarity study results in Magahi.

7.1.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the collection of wordlists and tool used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, namely, Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Morang from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex D for 210 wordlist). Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages were calculated in the WordSurv.

7.1.2 Evaluation criteria

Normally, 60% has been generally 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. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or greater lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors. Table 7.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 7.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

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

The evaluation the lexical similarity percentages displayed across the survey points do not clearly indicate the tendency towards dialectal variations in Magahi. The evaluation criteria points out that the 60% is, generally, used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of the lexical similarity. When lexical similarity percentages are less than 60% the form of the speech spoken in different survey points are considered to be different languages. If such percentages are 60% or more the intelligibility testing is required by using RTT (Recorded Text Test). Normally, percentages higher than 85% are taken as the indicators to conclude that the speech varieties being compared are likely to be related dialects. However, we require conducting intelligibility testing by using the tool RTT. Besides, the attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors in the evaluation of the dialectal variation.

7.1.3 Lexical similarity

Table 7.2 presents the lexical similarity percentages among the key survey points in the Magahi speech community.

Table 7.2: Lexical similarity percentages the key points in the Magahi[1]

Varieties	Sarlahi	Mahottari	Dhanusha	Saptari	Morang
Sarlahi	100%	85%	84%	86%	83%
Mahottari	85%	100%	89%	87%	85%
Dhanusha	84%	89%	100%	89%	86%
Saptari	86%	87%	89%	100%	88%
Morang	83%	85%	86%	88%	100%

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 7.2 presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the key survey points in Magahi. Sarlahi exhibits a significant degree (ranging from 83% to 86%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Morang. Moreover, of a total of 210 words, Sarlahi exhibits the highest degree of similarity with Saptari (86%) and the least similarity with Morang (83%). Similarly, Sarlahi maintains the second highest lexical similarity percentages with Mahottari (i.e., 85%). Likewise, Sarlahi has 84% lexical similarity with Dhanusha. Mahottari, another survey point, displays a significant degree (ranging from 85% to 89%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Sarlahi, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Morang. Mahottari variety of Magahi has the highest degree of similarity with Dhanusha (89%) and the least similarity with Sarlahi, and Morang (85%). Similarly, Dhanusha, another survey point, also shows a noteworthy degree (ranging from 84% to 89%) of lexical similarity with other survey points, i.e., Sarlahi, Mahottari, Saptari, and Morang. It has the highest degree of similarity with Mahottari and Saptari (89%) and the least similarity with Sarlahi (84%). In the same way, Saptari, another survey point, also displays a significant degree of lexical similarity (ranging from 86% to 89%) with other survey points, i.e., Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, and Morang. It exhibits the highest degree of lexical similarity with Dhanusha (89%) and the least

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[1] This is based on the comparative analysis of 210 wordlist from five different survey points of the Magahi language. These wordlists are analyzed in linguistic software program WordSurv.

similarity with Sarlahi (86%). Finally, Morang, another survey point, shows a noteworthy degree of lexical similarity (ranging from 83% to 88%) with other survey points, i.e., Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, and Saptari. It exhibits the highest degree of lexical similarity with Saptari (88%) and the least similarity with Sarlahi (83%). From this analysis, it can be concluded that the varieties of the Magahi languages spoken in all these districts (Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Morang) are mutually intelligible to each other. There is not any dialectal variation among these varieties.

7.2 Lexical comparison with COG[2]

This section compares and analyzes the 210 wordlist using COG, a recently developed program for lexical comparison between and among dialects and languages. Cog allows us to compare and analyze wordlists from different language varieties using an iterative approach. Using this program we can quickly make sense of the data and then progressively refine the wordlists and settings, improving the comparison results and the understanding of the varieties at each step. Table 7.3 presents the phonetic similarity based on wordlist of each variety with all other varieties.

Table 7.3: Phonetic similarity among all the five survey points in percentage

Varieties	Sarlahi	Mahottari	Dhanusha	Saptari	Morang
Sarlahi		85%	84%	86%	83%
Mahottari	85%		89%	87%	85%
Dhanusha	84%	89%		89%	86%
Saptari	86%	87%	89%		88%
Morang	83%	85%	86%	88%	

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2016)

The general finding from Table 7.3 is that the Magahi variety spoken in Sarlahi has 83%-86% phonetic similarities with other varieties. Similarly, Mahottari variety has 85%-89% phonetic similarities with other varieties. Likewise, Magahi variety spoken

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[2] COG is a tool for comparing languages using lexicostatistics and comparative linguistics techniques. It can be used to automate much of the process of comparing wordlists from different language varieties.

in Dhanusha has 84% to 89% lexical similarity. Similarly, Saptari variety has 86% to 89% and Morang variety has 83% to 88% phonetic similarities with other varieties of Magahi. This can also be presented in a hierarchical graph which displays the hierarchy of relation among the speech varieties based on COG.

Figure 7.1: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarities matrix in hierarchical dendrogram graph

(a)   (b)

Figure 7.1 shows that two speech varieties of Magahi: Mahottari and Dhanusha are closer to each other than other varieties both lexically and phonetically. Similarly, Saptari and Morang varieties are lexically closer to each other whereas Sarlahi and Morang varieties are phonetically closer to each other than other varieties. Similarly, phonetically, Saptari variety is much closer to Mahottari and Dhanusha varieties than Sarlahi and Morang varieties. This analysis can also be shown through the lexical and phonetic tree hierarchical graph as in the Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarities matrix in tree hierarchical graph

(a)   (b)
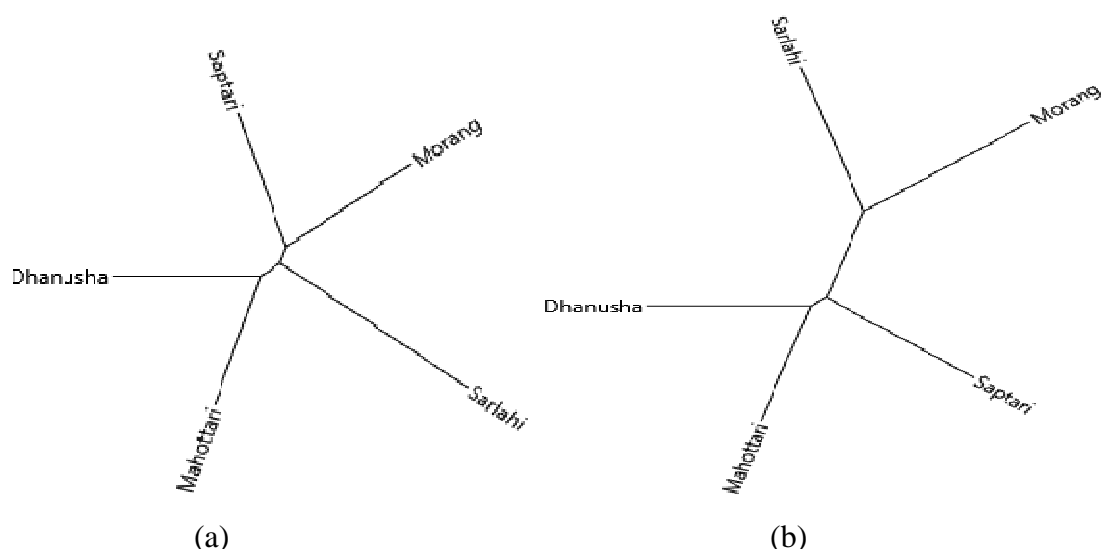
Figure 7.2 shows that Dhanusha and Mahottari varieties are closer to each other than other varieties both lexically and phonetically. Similarly, Saptari and Morang varieties are also closer to each other lexically than with any other varieties. Likewise, Sarlahi and Morang varieties are closer to each other phonetically than with any other varieties.

Similarly, the network graph lays out the language varieties, where similar varieties will tend to cluster together. This can be represented in the form of lexical and phonetic network graph in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3: Lexical (a) and phonetic (b) similarity matrix network graph

(a)   (b)
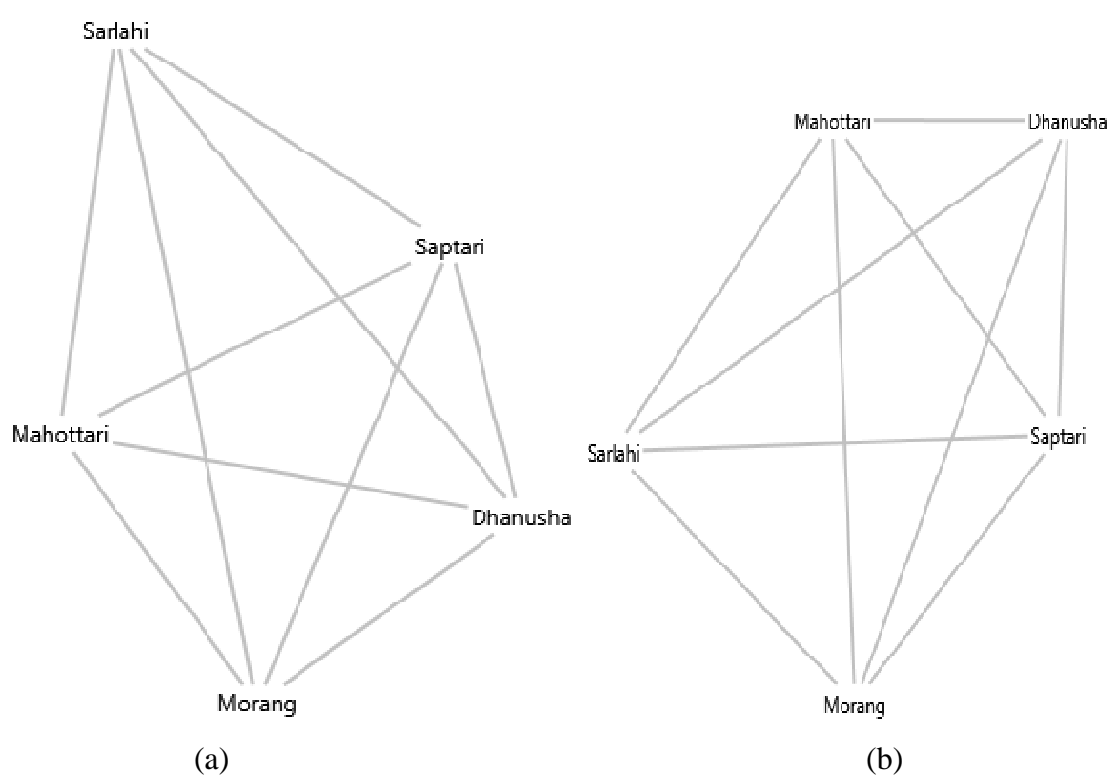
Edges are drawn between varieties that meet a specified similarity threshold. This graph allows us to make clusters of similar varieties and how they might be connected. Figure 8.3 shows that the Magahi varieties are closely related to each other both lexically and phonetically.

It is clear from the above discussion that in terms of the comparison of basic lexical items from the given 5 survey points, we can say that there is not any dialectal variation in the Magahi language. All the varieties spoken in these five survey points are mutually intelligible to each other.

7.3 Global correspondences

The global correspondence displays all of the segments that occur in a particular syllable position across the wordlists of all the survey points. Edges indicate that at least one correspondence has occurred between those two segments. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences. Figure 7.4 presents an IPA consonant chart (column headers are the place of articulation; rows are the manner of articulation) in their onset position.

Figure 7.4: Global correspondence of Magahi phonemes in onset positions
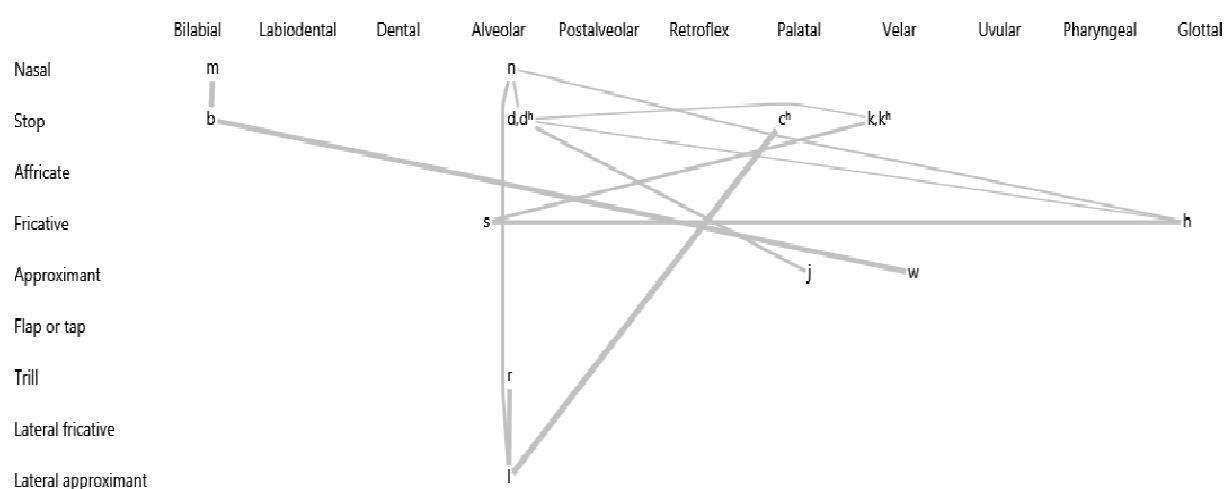
This chart allows us to get a good sense of correspondences that occur across multiple variety pairs. Similarly, Figure 7.5 presents the corresponding of the different phonemes in their nucleus position. A number of phonemes have occurred in the nucleus position i.e. IPA vowel chart (column headers are back of the tongue; rows are height of the tongue).

Figure 7.5: Global correspondence of Magahi phonemes in nucleus positions
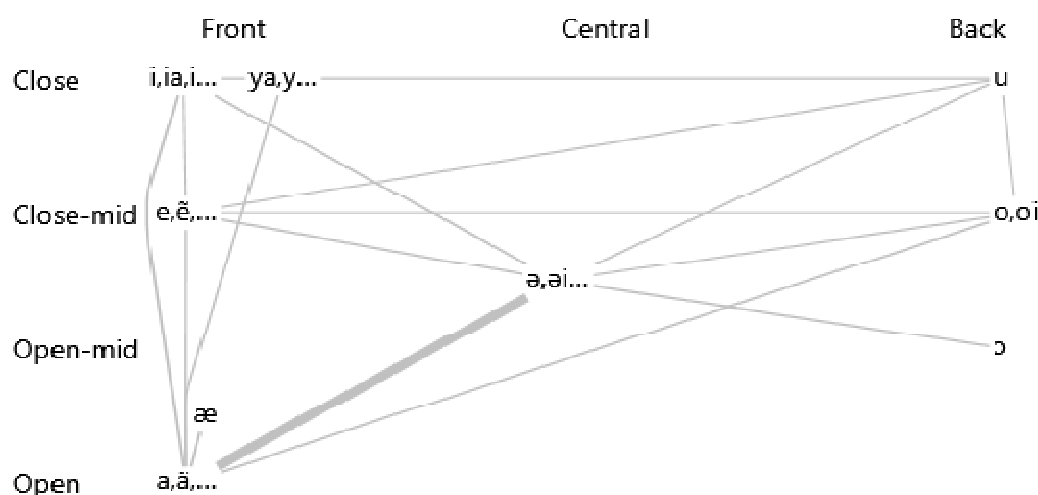
Figure 7.5 shows the vowels phonemes of Magahi in nucleus position of the syllables. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences.

7.4 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any, in Magahi. The informants in group of 8 to 12 in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village and district where Magahi 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. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as Magahi language speaking areas: Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari and Morang. Photographs below present the situation of dialect mapping in Magahi speech community.

Photograph 7.1: Dialect mapping in Netragunj-7, Sarlahi	**Photograph 7.2: Dialect mapping in Jaleshwar-11, Mahottari**

Photograph 7.3: Dialect mapping in Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha

Photograph 7.4: Dialect mapping in Kanchanrup-5, Saptari
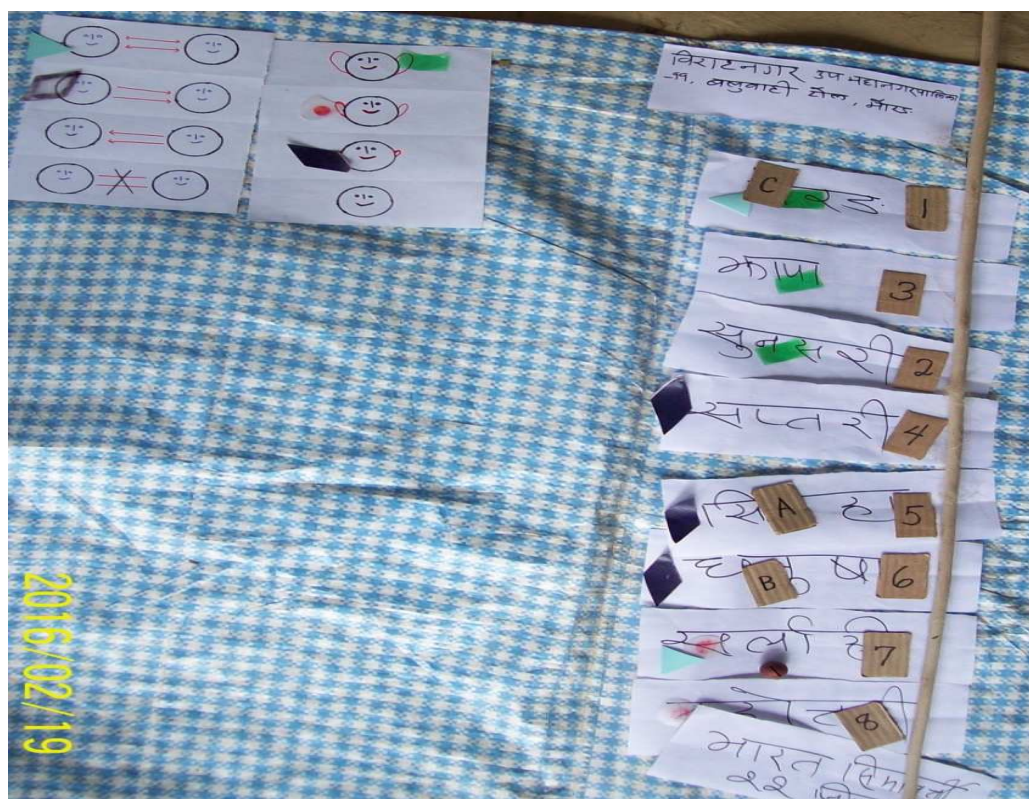
Photograph 7.5: Dialect mapping in Biratnagar-11, Morang

Table 7.4 lists the information about the places where Magahi is spoken as the mother tongue and where it is spoken the same as others.

Table 7.4: Information about the places where Magahi is spoken as mother tongue and where it is spoken the same

SURVEY POINTS	The places where Magahi is spoken as mother tongue	Where it is spoken the same as yours
SARLAHI	Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Jhapa, Rautahat, Patna, Muzaffarpur, Baishali, Samastipur, Sitamadhi, Hajipur, Madhuwani, Darbhanga	Dhanusha, Mahottari, Siraha, Saptari, Morang, Jhapa, and Rautahat.
MAHOTTARI	Mahottari, Dhanusha, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Jhapa, Madhuwani, Darbhanga, Supaul, Sitamadhi	Dhanusha, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang,
DHANUSHA	Bhajbanpatti, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Siraha, Rautahat, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Jhapa, Bara, Parsa	Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Siraha, Rautahat, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Jhapa
SAPTARI	Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Udaypur, Jhapa, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Patna, Hajipur, Baishali, Supaul, Madhepura, Saharsa, Jahanabad	Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Udaypur, Jhapa, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi
MORANG	Morang, Jhapa, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Sarlahi, Mahottari, and Neighboring districts of India	Morang, Jhapa, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Sarlahi, Mahottari,

Source: Field study, 2016

Unanimously, they concluded that there are not significant dialectal differences among the forms of speech in Magahi. Similarly, in response the question "Which forms of speech you prefer for preparing reading materials and recording", the participants in group responded as presented in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5: Preferences of speech variety for developing materials

SURVEY POINTS	First priority	Second priority	Third priority
SARLAHI	Sarlahi	Dhanusha	Mahottari
MAHOTTARI	Mahottari	Dhanusha	Saptari
DHANUSHA	Dhanusha,	Mahottari	Sarlahi
SAPTARI	Siraha	Dhanusha	Morang
MORANG	Siraha	Dhanusha	Saptari

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2016)

Table 7.5 shows that most of the participants of Magahi speech community gave first priority to their own variety for developing reading materials and recordings. However, participants from Saptari and Morang gave first priority to Siraha variety of Magahi. Similarly, Majority of participants gave second priority to the Dhanusha variety of Magahi however; the participants of Dhanusha gave second priority of to Mahottari variety and third priority to Morang variety. Likewise, respondents of Sarlahi gave third priority to Mahottari variety; respondents of Saptari gave third priority to Morang variety; and the respondents of Mahottari and Morang gave third priority to Saptari variety.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in the key survey points in the Magahi speech community. Across the survey points, there appear different ranges of lexical similarity. Such similarity percentages clearly indicate that there is not a clear tendency towards dialectal variation in the Magahi speech community. Magahi spoken in five survey points are mutually intelligible to each other. The lexical similarity among the key survey points of the Magahi language ranges from 83% to 89%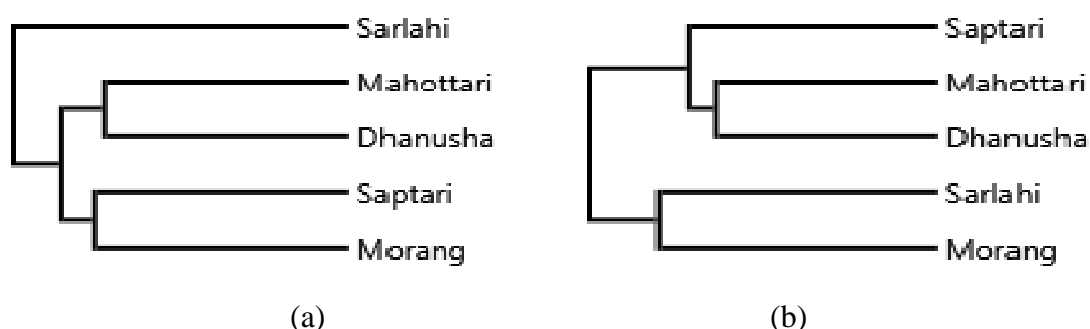. Two speech varieties of Magahi: Mahottari and Dhanusha are closer to each other than other varieties both lexically and phonetically. Similarly, Saptari and Morang varieties are lexically closer to each other, whereas Sarlahi and Morang varieties are phonetically closer to each other than other varieties.

The participatory method, Dialect Mapping, elicited a good deal of information about the locations where Magahi is spoken as mother tongues and the locations where it is spoken as the others. Participants in the survey points responded that the Magahi language spoken in most of the places is exactly the same with their speech variety and their speech varieties have some lexical variations with some of the places. Similarly, most of the participants of Magahi speech community gave first priority to their own variety for developing reading materials and recordings and gave second priority to Dhanusha variety.

CHAPTER 8

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

8.0 Outline

This chapter examines the views/dreams of the Magahi speech community about its language development. It consists of four sections. Section 8.1 discusses the dreams and aspirations of the Magahi community members for the development their language and culture. In section 8.2, we present the views of the village heads/language activists towards their language. Similarly, in section 8.3, we deal with the planning for realizing the views/dreams about language development in the Magahi speech community. Section 8.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

8.1 Dreams and aspirations for language development

In this section, we try to examine the views about language development in the Magahi speech community by employing two tools: Appreciative Inquiry tool and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language and culture. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture.

In the survey, this participatory tool was used in all the five survey points: Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Morang. It was conducted in these survey points in a group of 8 to 12 participants of different demographic categories of sex, age and educational status. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Magahi speech community for the development of their languages as well their culture.

The participants in these points were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the 'good things' in a piece of paper and placed them one after another on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in the Magahi 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.

The pictures of appreciative inquiry tools used in the key survey points present the language development and the ambitions to the development of language. By using this participatory tool, a lot of information about the dreams and aspirations of the Magahi community members for the development their language as well their culture was gathered.

Photographs below presents the things that made the Magahi participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as the planning informants made in Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari, and Morang.

Photograph 8.1: Appreciative inquiry in Netragunj-7, Sarlahi	**Photograph 8.2: Appreciative inquiry in Jaleshwar-11, Mahottari**
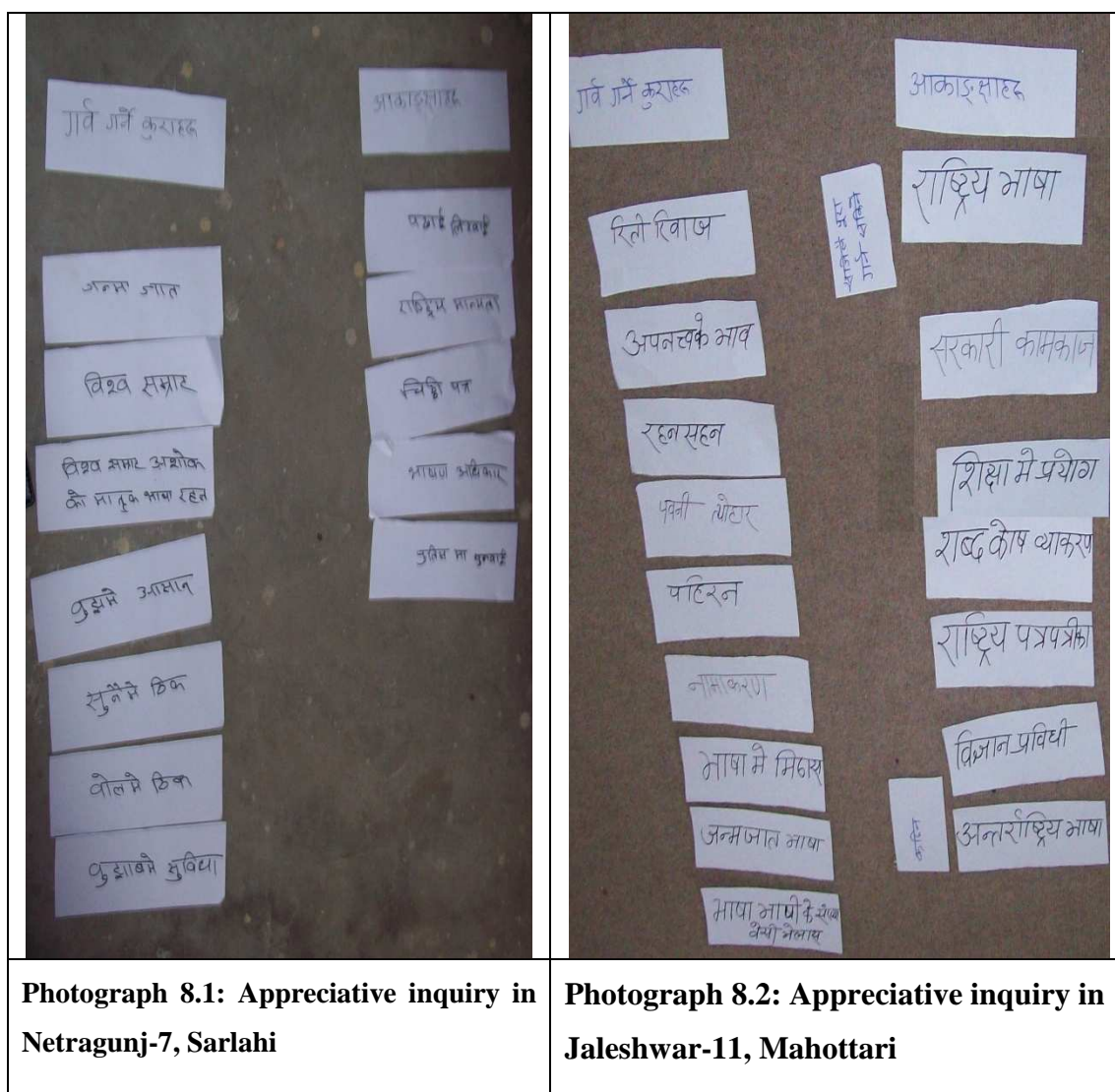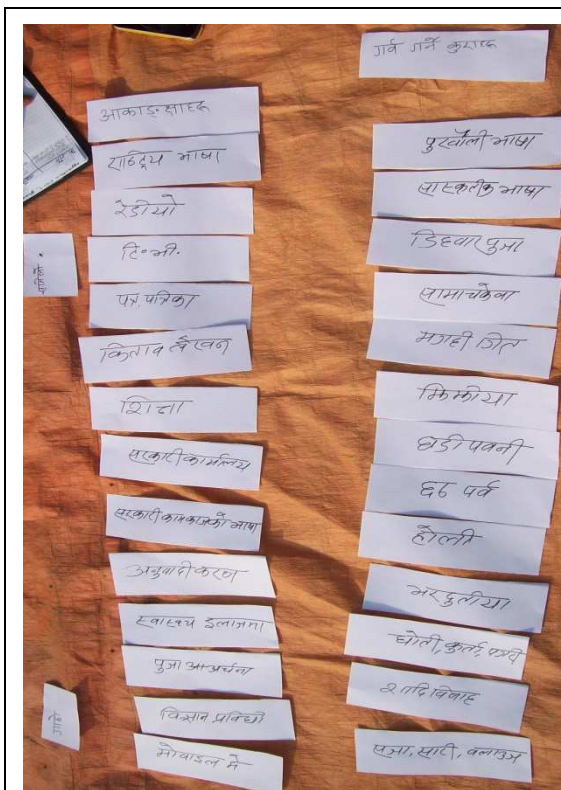
| **Photograph 8.3: Appreciative inquiry in Mansinghpatti-8, Dhanusha** | **Photograph 8.4: Appreciative inquiry in Kanchanrup-5, Saptari** |

Photograph 8.5: Appreciative inquiry in Biratnagar-11, Morang

Table 8.1: Summary of the responses to the major queries in the survey points

SURVEY POINTS	Good things that made Magahi speakers feel happy or proud about their languages	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
SARLAHI	- Having their own ancestral language - Mother tongue of the Emperor Ashoka - Easy to understand, speak and listen	- Education in the mother tongue up to secondary level - National identity - Official letters should be written in their own language in their community - Public speech	Education in the mother tongue up to secondary level
MAHOTTARI	- Their own culture - Feeling of ownership - Living styles - Feast and festivals - Dress materials - Naming - Sweetness in the language - Number of speakers - Ancestral language	- National language - Official language - Mother tongue teachers for primary level of education, - Grammar, dictionary - National newspapers - Science and technology - International language	- National language - Official language - Use of the language in Education.
DHANUSHA	- Ancestral and cultural language - Worship of the village deity - Sama, Chakeba - Magahi songs - Jhijhiya dance - Chath, Chaurchan, Holi, Ghadi, etc. festivals - Distinct dress materials, Male: dhoti, kurta, and gamcha; Female: Sari, petticoat, blouse	- National language - Radio, TV, newspapers - Book writing and publication - Use in education - Official language - Translation - Use of the language in hospitals - Science and technology	- Magahi should be used as medium of instruction at primary level of education. - Use of the language in media

SAPTARI	▪ Folk literature, folksongs, folk culture, and folkdance ▪ Having their own ancestral language, ▪ Their own dress materials ▪ Religious songs ▪ Historical background ▪ Having their own culture	▪ Preservation and promotion of their language ▪ Academy of Magahi language ▪ Need of detail study and research in the language ▪ Use of the language in government offices ▪ Use of the language in education ▪ Grammar, Dictionary ▪ Publication of Magahi folk songs	▪ Preservation and promotion of the language ▪ Magahi Language Academy ▪ Study and research in Magahi language
MORANG	▪ Linguistic identity ▪ Being their own mother tongue ▪ Ancestral language ▪ Lifelong use of the language	▪ Mother tongue based primary education ▪ Preservation of the language ▪ Advertisement of the use of language ▪ Radio, TV, and newspapers in their language ▪ Preservation of the Magahi culture ▪ Dictionary, Grammar ▪ University of Magahi ▪ Public holiday in the festivals of Magahi speakers.	▪ Mother tongue education in the primary level ▪ Publication of dictionary and grammar

Source: Field study, 2016

To summarize, the responses (Table 8.1) to enumerate the good things that made Magahi speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture include having their own mother tongue, their ancestral manner, dress materials, festivals, their life style, folk literature, folk music, folk songs, folk dance, and dancing and music.

The common dreams to make their language and culture better include academy of the Magahi language, book writing and publication, dictionary, grammar, education in the mother tongue up to secondary level, international language, mother tongue based primary education, national identity, national language, need of detail study and

research in the language, official language, preservation and promotion of their language and culture, public holiday in the festivals of Magahi speakers, public speech, publication of Magahi folk songs, radio, TV, and newspapers in their language, use of the language in science and technology, and establishment of Magahi university.

Similarly, the most important dreams to be planning soon include education in the mother tongue up to secondary level, national language, official language, use of the language in media, preservation and promotion of the language, Magahi language academy, study and research in the Magahi language, and publication of dictionary and grammar

8.2 Views of the village heads/language activists

In this section, we try to evaluate the views of the village heads and language activists, how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 10 informants in total one village head and language activist in each survey point. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

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

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

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue, Magahi. However, the responses to the ways they could do for the preservation and promotion of language varies in some cases in the Magahi community. Table 8.2 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in the Magahi speech community.

Table 8.2: Ways to preserve and promote their mother tongue

In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?		Responses (N=10)	
		Can	Can't
1.	By devising the script	7 (70%)	3 (30%)
2.	By making the spelling system systematic	7 (70%)	3 (30%)
3.	By compiling dictionary	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
4.	By writing grammar	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
5.	By encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	10 (100%)	-
6.	By writing and publishing textbooks	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
7.	By publishing newspapers	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
8.	By making use of the language in administration	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
9.	By making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	8 (80%)	2 (20%)

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 8.2 shows that most o f the respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue. They could support for the preservation and promotion of their language by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by writing grammar, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing news paper, by making use of the language in administration, and by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

Similarly, 30% of the total respondents replied that they could not support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by devising the script and by making the spelling system systematic. Likewise, 40% of the respondents replied that they could not support the preservation and promotion by compiling dictionary, by writing grammar, by writing and publishing textbooks, and by making use of the language in administration. Similarly, 20% respondents said that they could not

support by publishing newspaper and by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level. They said that these are academically challenging jobs.

8.3 Planning for realizing the views/dreams about language development

In the survey points, 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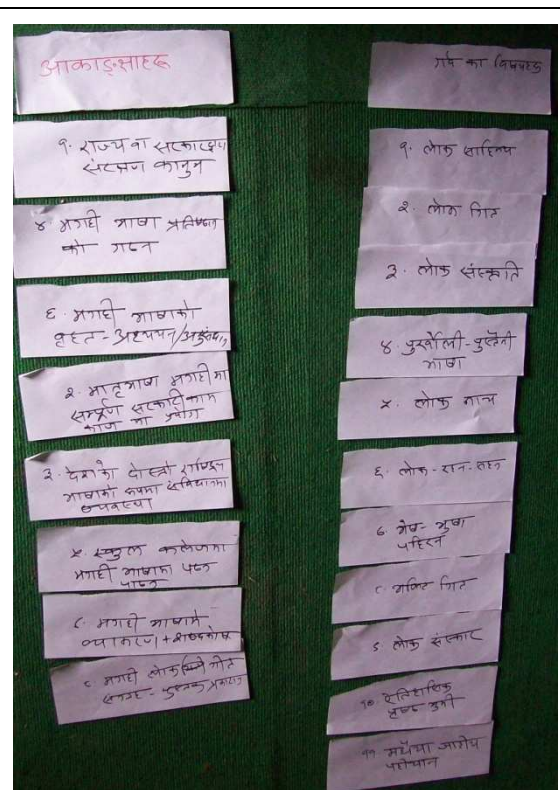 the first step should be and what resources they needed. Table 8.3 presents the summary of the planning to realize the most important dream in the survey points in Magahi.

Table 8.3: Planning to realize the most important dreams

SURVEY POINTS	What to do?	Who should be involved and what should they do?	When to do?
SARLAHI	▪ Education in the mother tongue up to secondary level	▪ Community: help for the establishment of school, ▪ Government: budget for the mother tongue based school, mother tongue teacher, textbooks	As soon as possible
MAHOTTARI	▪ National language	▪ Community should organize different programs to create pressure to the government. Discussion programs.	As soon as possible
	▪ Use of the language in Education.	▪ Government should organize a seminar of the experts and make available of textbooks and other literacy materials.	From the upcoming academic year
DHANUSHA	▪ Magahi should be used as medium of instruction at primary level of education. ▪ Use of the language in media	▪ Community: help for the establishment of school, ▪ Publish newspaper and magazines ▪ Government: budget for the mother tongue based school, mother tongue teacher, textbooks	Immediately

SAPTARI	■ Preservation and promotion of the language ■ Magahi Language Academy ■ Study and research in Magahi language	■ Community: create pressure, ■ Government: make adequate laws, and implement ■ Linguists: study and research for the preservation of the language.	Immediately
MORANG	■ Mother tongue education in the primary level ■ Publication of dictionary and grammar	■ Community: provide expert to compile dictionary and write grammar of the language. ■ Government: make policy, rules and regulations, adequate budget for the programs, and manage scholars to write textbooks for in Magahi.	Immediately

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 8.3 shows the most important dreams in each survey point, in order to start on developing plans such as what to do?, who else should be involved for the development of language, what should they do?, and when these works should be started. They responded that there should be the involvement of community members, community, and government for the development of Magahi language and culture. Similarly, they also responded that these development works should be started immediately or as soon as possible.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in the Magahi speech community. The good things that made Magahi speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture include having their own mother tongue, their ancestral manner, dress materials, festivals, their life style, folk literature, folk music, folk songs, folk dance, and dancing and music. The common dreams to make their language and culture better include academy of the Magahi language, book writing and publication, dictionary, grammar, education in the mother tongue up to secondary level, international language, mother tongue based primary education, national identity, national language, need of detail study and research in the language, official language, preservation and promotion of their

language and culture, public holiday in the festivals of Magahi speakers, public speech, publication of Magahi folk songs, radio, TV, and newspapers in their language, use of the language in science and technology, and establishment of Magahi university. Similarly, the most important dreams to be planning soon include education in the mother tongue up to secondary level, national language, official language, use of the language in media, preservation and promotion of the language, Magahi language academy, study and research in the Magahi language, and publication of dictionary and grammar. For the implementation of the most important dreams, they responded that there should be the involvement of community members, community, and government for the development of Magahi language and culture. Similarly, they also responded that these development works should be started immediately or as soon as possible.

Village leaders and language activists said that they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by writing grammar, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing news paper, by making use of the language in administration, and by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Summary of findings

The main goal of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Magahi, an Indo-Aryan language of Nepal. The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the domains of language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, patterns of use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes and dialectal variation in the Magahi speech community. Moreover, the survey has also attempted to collect information about the dreams and plans of the speech community for the development of the Magahi language. The major findings of the survey are presented as follows:

9.1.1 Ethnolinguistic information

(a) Magahi (ISO code: mag) is spoken mainly in Eastern Region of Nepalese Tarai.

(b) Elderly and well-informed persons in this speech community said that Magahi once having the status of Rajbhasa, during the reign of Emperor Ashoka.

(c) Magahi people claim that this speech community is a community of different caste and ethnic group.

(d) Jitiya, Dashain, Sukhratri, Chhath, Tila Sankraint, Holi, Judsital, etc. are the main festivals in the Magahi speech community.

(e) Literacy in the Magahi speech community is not encouraging. Especially, women are deprived of formal education even though attempts have been incessantly made to improve the situation of literacy.

(f) The main occupation of Magahi is agriculture i.e. farming, and many other caste-wise occupations like barber, blacksmith, goldsmith, confectioner, mason, washer man, cobbler, fishing, potter, etc

9.1.2 Domains of language use

(a) Magahi is significantly used in most of the general domains of languages use such as counting, joking, bargaining/shopping storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to

children, singing at home, family gatherings, and village meetings. However in the domain of singing, majority of the Magahi speakers use Hindi.

(b) The percentages of the female respondents in using their mother tongue are slightly higher than that of male respondents in all the general domains of language use.

(c) They use their mother tongue while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) with their family members.

(d) In marriage invitations, most of the Magahi speakers use their mother tongue. To the contrary, in writing minutes in community meetings, they use Nepali.

(e) In this speech community, the children use their mother tongue while playing with other children and talking to neighbors whereas at school, they use Nepali and English languages.

(f) the mother tongue is used at home, while working in the fields, while praying and worshiping, in the meeting of the community, in discussion, in telling stories, secrecy, quarrelling, scolding, feasts and festivals, transaction, in local markets, love making, singing, and telling stories.

(g) Nepali, the language of wider communication, is used in the markets, in schools, writing minutes of the meeting, at government offices, talking with other language groups.

(h) Both Nepali and Magahi are used at hospitals, in the meetings of the VDC, at school, while teaching to the children, in seminars, and local offices.

9.1.3 Bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency

(a) The Magahi people can speak mainly two languages; namely, Magahi and Maithili. They all spoke their mother tongue, i.e., Magahi first and love their mother tongue, Magahi and they speak it best.

(b) Magahi, like other speech communities, is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz. Magahi, Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, and English.

(c) A small child of Magahi speech community does not understand his/her Nepali speaking teacher says when s/he first goes to school.

(d) All the family members can speak Maithili; and majority of Magahi speaking people can speak Nepali and Hindi as well.

(e) Women, elderly people, uneducated, farmers, children, local people, Dalits, and Other Backward Communities (OBC) people speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC whereas school going children, government officials, educated, community leaders, businessmen, teachers, and students are bilingual in Nepali and use both their mother tongue and LWC well.

9.1.4 Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes

(a) The vitality level of the Magahi language is very high. All the children speak their mother tongue. It is spoken by the young generation as it ought to be spoken and all the parents always speak their mother tongue with their children.

(b) Intermarriage is rarely practiced in this community. However, they have common marital relationship with Maithili speakers. They like their children learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level. They are ready to support the mother tongue schools in different ways: by sending their children, encouraging other people to send their children, providing financial help, teaching and helping with the school.

(c) There is an extremely positive attitude of the speakers towards their language. Most of the speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages.

(d) They would feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. They think that the children of the present children will speak their mother tongue in future.

(e) They also convinced that their children should speak their mother tongue first. They do not think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and they feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language instead of their own mother tongue.

9.1.5 Language resources, dialectal variations and language development

(a) Magahi community is rich in oral literature: folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), radio, films, CD/ DVD and others are available in Magahi. The written materials available in Magahi are: phonemic inventory, grammar, literacy materials, written literature, and folklore. They use the Devanagari script in writing. There is only one organization devoted for the social, cultural, and linguistic development of the Magahi community.

(b) The lexical similarity among the key survey points of the Magahi language ranges from 83% to 89%. Two speech varieties of Magahi: Mahottari and Dhanusha are closer to each other than other varieties both lexically and phonetically; and Saptari and Morang varieties are lexically closer to each other, whereas Sarlahi and Morang varieties are phonetically closer to each other than other varieties.

(c) Magahi language spoken in most of the places is exactly the same with their speech variety and their speech varieties have some lexical variations with some of the places. They gave first priority to their own variety for developing reading materials and recordings and gave second priority to Dhanusha variety.

(d) The good things that made Magahi speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture include having their own mother tongue, their ancestral manner, dress materials, festivals, their life style, folk literature, folk music, folk songs, folk dance, and dancing and music.

(e) The common dreams to make their language and culture better include book writing and publication, Magahi language academy, dictionary, grammar, education in the mother tongue up to secondary level, national identity, national language, research in the language, preservation and promotion of their language and culture, publication of Magahi folk songs, radio, TV, and newspapers in their language, use of the language in science and technology, and establishment of Magahi university.

(f) The most important dreams to be planning soon include education in the mother tongue up to secondary level, national and official language, use of the language in mass media, preservation and promotion of the language, Magahi language academy, Magahi grammar and dictionary.

(g) For the implementation of the most important dreams, they responded that there should be the involvement of community members, community, and government for the development of Magahi language and culture.

(h) Village leaders and language activists can support the preservation and promotion of their language by devising the script, making the spelling system systematic, compiling dictionary, writing grammar, encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, writing and publishing textbooks, publishing news paper, making use of the language in administration, and making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level.

9.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings, the following recommendations are put forward for the promotion and development of the Magahi language:

(a) For the preservation, promotion and the development of the Magahi language, culture and literature, an immediate step should be taken by the speech community and local government bodies with the help of the government to launch effective programs.

(b) As most of the Magahi children do not understand Nepali, the curriculum and textbooks for the basic level should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings in the Magahi speech community.

(c) Effective strategies should be taken for the sustainable implementation of mother tongue based multilingual education in the Magahi speech community.

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

(e) A detailed language documentation project should be launched to preserve and promote abundance of genres of Magahi folklore, language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial.

(f) Grammar and dictionary of Magahi should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented immediately.

(g) RTT (recorded text test) should be administered to confirm level of dialectal variations in the forms of the speech in the Magahi speech community in Nepal.

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

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Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first:

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

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

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

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

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

| SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT.   YES □   NO □ |

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife …………
25. What village were you born in?
(a) Ward No……… (b)Village/Town.............   (c)VDC/municipality………….
(d) District…………..(d) Zone………………
Where do you live now?
How many years have you lived here?
Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
(if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

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

80. Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this intervies)	

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

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

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

8. Name of language consultant: ……………………….
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a)   Male   (b)   Female   (c)   Other
10. Age: ……………………….

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

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

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

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

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

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						

B. Domains of language use

A. I speak different languages in different situations, on different occasions and to different people.

B. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [LWC]? (Place [LWC] label to one side. Participants name domains, write them on paper and place them under [LWC] label)

C. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [L1]? (Place [L1] label to other side. Participants write domains and place them under [L1]. At this time participants may say "some children speak L1 but others speak LWC." Ask questions to help them explain which children speak each language, or the situation in which they speak each. Change the labels to show the categories clearly.)

D. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak both [L1] and [LWC]? (Participants write domains, and place them in the middle. They can place them nearer to one side or the other if most people speak a certain language in that domain or if they speak more of that language in that domain but some of the other language.)

E. Within each of these three main categories, let's move to the top, the occasions that occur daily and to the bottom the ones that occur rarely. (Put a label for 'Daily' and 'Rarely' at the top and bottom. Allow them to arrange the domains. Encourage them to leave a gap between the Daily and Rarely categories or place a string.)

F. (If there many in the daily category) Which are the people you speak to most during a day? Move those slightly higher than any others. (Or place the daily ones in order)

G. How do you feel about the languages that you use and who you use them with? Would you like to begin using either language more in any other situations?

C. Dialect mapping

A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask) Which name is the one you prefer to use?
   i. (Language name preferred by group)…
   ii. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
   iii. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).

B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.
   Be sure to get all the following information for each location:
   (i) Ward No…… (ii) Village/Town…........ (iii) VDC/municipality……
   (iv) District………… (v) Zone…………………………

C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.

D. What other languages are so similar to yours that when they speak, you can understand at least some words? (Write these on pieces of paper and add them to the "map" on the ground)

E. Do any groups of villages all speak [L1] in the same way? (Place a loop of string around each such group)

F. Which variety do you understand best? Second best? Etc. (Place numbers written on cardboard next to each municipality, language or group of municipalities)

G. Now we want to show which of these varieties you understand very well, which you don't understand at all, which you understand most of, but a few words you don't understand and which you understand only a few words of. In which of these villages can you understand the language Very Well? (Place a Key, have them select the color of plastic marker for "very well". Have them place those markers on each place they understand "very well." Repeat for each other category of comprehension.)

H. Some people have said they want to start writing books* in [L1]. If books were written in [L1], which villages would be able to use those books? (have them put a big string around those varieties) (*If they do not think books can or should be written in their language, then say they want to start making CDs using [L1])

I. Out of all these you have grouped together, which variety should be used as the one for writing (or recording) [L1] so that all the others will understand it well? If that one could not be used, then which one? (use A, B, and C written on cardboard)

D. Multilingualism

A. What are the two languages the [L1] people speak the most? This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [L1] well. This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. (Lay the circles on the ground)

B. When I overlap the two circles like this, what does this area where they overlap represent? ([L1] people who speak both [L1] and [LWC] well)

C. Let's think first about [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. Which types of [L1] people speak [LWC] well? (Have them write on paper).

D. Before we can put them inside the circle, we need to think whether these people also speak [L1] well, or whether they do not speak [L1] well? Where does each piece of paper belong in the circles? (Have them place the pieces they have written so far. If they want to, they may make the labels more specific or add more labels)

E. Which [L1] people speak [L1] well, but do not speak [LWC] well? (Have them write the category names and place them in the correct location)

F. When we think about people in these three different categories, which category has the most [L1] people? How do you feel about that? (let them express their feelings)

G. Is one of these three groups increasing more than the others? Why is that? How do you feel about that? (Let them express their feelings)

E. Appreciative enquiry

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

B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)

C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)

D.   As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)

E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)

F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group

G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)

H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

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

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

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

5. Name of language consultant: ……………………….
6. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a)   Male   (b)   Female   (c)   Other ……………
7. Age: ………………….
8. Caste: ………………….
9. Ethnic group: ……………….

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10. Your mother tongue's name: ………………

11. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language ………………

12. Different names of the language if any?

(i)…………….. ……   (ii) ……………………

(iii)………………… ……   (iv) ……………………

13. Your mother's mother tongue…………

14. Your father's mother tongue…………….

15. What village were you born in?

(a) Ward No……… (b)Village/Town.............   (c)VDC/municipality………

16. Where do you live now? ………………

17. How many years have you lived here? ………………

18. Other ethnic groups residing in your area: (enter below)

19. Other languages spoken by those groups: (enter below)

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

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

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

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

(a) by devising the script?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(d) by writing grammar?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

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

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

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

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

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

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(j) in any other ways? …………………………………..

Annex D: Wordlist

<div style="text-align:center">

██ २१० शव्दसूची ██

</div>

अनुसन्धाताहरूको नाम   मितिः

....

(१) ....

(२) ....

(३) ....

(४) ....

(५) ....

भाषासूचक(हरू)को नाम

(१) ....

(२) ....

(३) ....

(४) ....

(५) ....

स्थानः जिल्लाः ....गाविस/नगरपालिकाः.................वडा नः ....

गाँउ/टोल.........................

भाषको नामः ....अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषाः.......................

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	भाषाः...
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	
4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	
6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	
8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	

11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	औँला	
17.	fingernail	नङ	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्कु	
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	

39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औँठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	

67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	Tomato	गोलभेँडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	
90.	buffalo	भैंसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिङ	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाखो	

95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	

123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौं	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	

151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	
163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	
174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	

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

207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

Annex E: Filled wordlists from the five survey points

S.N.	English	Sarlahi	Mahottari	Dhanusha	Saptari	Morang
1.	body	deh	deh	deh	deh	deh
2.	head	kəpar	muri	muri	kəpar	kəpar
3.	hair	kes	kes	kes	kes	kes
4.	face	cehra	cehra	muh	muh	muh
5.	eye	aĩkʰ	aĩkʰ	aĩkʰ	aĩkʰ	aĩkʰ
6.	ear	kan	kan	kan	kan	kan
7.	nose	nak	nak	nak	nak	nak
8.	mouth	muh	muh	muh	muh	muh
9.	teeth	dãt	dãt	dãt	dãt	dãt
10.	tongue	ji	jiu	jiu	ji	ji
11.	breast	cuci	cʰati	əstən	cuci	cʰati
12.	belly	peʈ	peʈ	peʈ	peʈ	peʈ
13.	arm/ hand	hatʰ	hatʰ	hatʰ	hatʰ	hatʰ
14.	elbow	keuhni	keuhni	kehuni	kohni	kuhni
15.	palm	tərhətʰi	tərhətʰi	tərhətʰi	tərhətʰi	tərhətʰi
16.	finger	əũri	əũri	əũri	əũri	əŋri
17.	fingernail	nəh	nəh	nəh	nəh	nɔ
18.	leg	pəer	gor	ʈaŋ	ʈaŋ	ʈaŋ
19.	skin	cəmri	cəmra	cəmri	cəmra	cəmri
20.	bone	həɖɖi	həɖɖi	həɖɖi	həɖɖi	həɖɖi
21.	heart	hirdəy	dil	kəreja	kəleja	kəleji
22.	blood	kʰun	lehu	lehu	kʰun	ləhu
23.	urine	pesab	pesab	pesab	pesab	pesab
24.	feces	gũh	pəikʰana	gũh	jʰãɽa	pekʰana

25.	village	gam	gam	gam	gam	gam
26.	house	gʰər	gʰər	gʰər	gʰər	gʰər
27.	roof	cʰəppər	cʰəppər	cʰəppər	cʰəppər	cʰəppər
28.	door	kewar	duwair	kebari	kebari	kebar
29.	firewood	jərna	jərna	jərna	jərna	jərna
30.	broom	bərhni	bərhni	bəʈʰni	bəʈʰən	bəʈhni
31.	mortar	siləuʈ	siləuʈ	siləuʈi	siləuʈ	siləuʈ
32.	pestle	lorhi	lorhi	loʈʰi	loʈʰi	lorhi
33.	hammer	hətʰəuri	hətʰəuri	hətʰəuri	hətʰəuri	hətʰəuri
34.	knife	cəkku	cʰuri	cʰuri	cəkku	cəkku
35.	axe	kurhəir	kurhəir	kurhəir	kurhəir	kurhəir
36.	rope	rəssi	jəuri	jəuri	ḏoir	dori
37.	thread	ḏora	ḏori	ḏora	ḏora	dʰaga
38.	needle	suiya	sui	suia	suia	suiya
39.	cloth	lətta	kəpɽa	kəpɽa	nuwã	nuwã
40.	ring	əũʈʰi	əũʈʰi	əũʈʰi	əũʈʰi	əũʈʰi
41.	sun	rəud	surya	suruj	suruj	suruj
42.	moon	can	cand	can	can	can
43.	sky	akas	akas	akas	megʰ	akas
44.	star	tara	tara	təregən	tara	təra
45.	rain	bərkʰa	pʰũhi	bərkʰa	bərsa	bərsa
46.	water	pain	pain	pain	pain	pain
47.	river	dʰar	nədi	nədi	nədi	nədi
48.	cloud	megʰ	badəl	mẽgh	badəl	megʰ
49.	lightening	ləuka	ləuka	ləka	bijli	bijli
50.	rainbow	pəinsokʰa	pəinsokʰa	pəinsokʰa	pəinsokʰa	pəinsokʰa

51.	wind	hawa	haba	həba	hawa	bihair
52.	stone	pəttʰəl	pətʰəl	pətʰəl	pətʰəl	pəttʰəl
53.	path	d̪əgər	rəsta	rəsta	rəsta	rəsta
54.	sand	balu	balu	balu	bəul	bəul
55.	fire	aig	aig	aig	aig	aig
56.	smoke	dʰuwã	dʰuwã	dʰuwã	dʰuiyã	dʰuiã
57.	ash	cʰaur	cʰaur	cʰaur	cʰəur	cʰəur
58.	mud	maĩt̪	mãt̪i	mãt̪i	maĩt̪	maĩt̪
59.	dust	gərda	gərda	gərda	gərda	gərda
60.	gold	son	sona	sona	sona	sona
61.	tree	gacʰ	gacʰi	gacʰi	gacʰi	gaicʰ
62.	leaf	pətta	pətta	pətta	pətta	pətta
63.	root	jəir	jəir	jəir	jəir	jəir
64.	thorn	kãt̪	kãt̪	kãt̪	kãt̪	kãt̪
65.	flower	pʰul	pʰul	pʰul	pʰul	pʰul
66.	fruit	pʰəlpʰul	pʰəl	pʰəlpʰul	pʰəlpʰul	pʰəlpʰul
67.	mango	am	am	am	am	am
68.	banana	kela	kera	kera	kera	kela
69.	wheat(husked)	gəhum	gəhum	gəhum	gəhum	gəhum
70.	barley	jəu	jəu	jə	jə	jə
71.	rice (husked)	caur	caur	caur	cəur	cəur
72.	potato	əllu	əllu	əllu	əllu	əllu
73.	eggplant	bəigən	bəigən	bəigən	bəigən	bəigən
74.	groundnut	bədam	bədam	muŋpʰəli	ciniyã bədam	bədam

75.	chili	mircai	mircai	mircai	mərcai	mərcai
76.	turmeric	hərdi	hərdi	hərdi	hərdi	hərdi
77.	garlic	ləhsun	ləhsun	ləhsun	ləhsun	rəsun
78.	onion	pyauj	pyaj	pyauj	pyəuj	pyauj
79.	cauliflower	kobi	kobi	kobi	kobi	kobi
80.	Tomato	ṭəmaṭər	ṭəmaṭər	ṭəmaṭər	ṭəmaṭər	ṭəmaṭər
81.	cabbage	bəndʰa	munna kobi	munna kobi	bənha kobi	bəndʰa kobi
82.	oil	tel	tel	tel	tel	tel
83.	salt	nimək	nun	nun	nun	nun
84.	meat	maus	maus	maus	məus	məus
85.	fat (of meat)	cərbi	cərbi	tel	cərbi	cərbi
86.	fish	macʰ	macʰ	macʰ	macʰ	macʰ
87.	chicken	murgi	murgi	murgi	murgi	murgi
88.	egg	ənḍa	ənḍa	ənḍa	ənḍa	ənḍa
89.	cow	gai	gai	gai	gæ	gæ
90.	buffalo	məhis	bʰəĩsi	bʰəĩsi	məhẽ	bʰəĩs
91.	milk	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ
92.	horns	siŋh	siŋh	siŋh	siŋh	siŋh
93.	tail	nəŋri	nəŋri	nəŋəri	naŋəir	naŋəir
94.	goat	bəkri	bəkri	bəkəri	bəkəri	bəkəri
95.	dog	kutta	kutta	kutta	kutta	kutta
96.	snake	sãp	sãp	sãp	sãp	sãp
97.	monkey	banər	banər	banər	banər	banər
98.	mosquito	məccʰər	məccʰər	məccʰər	məccʰər	məccʰər
99.	ant	cuṭṭi	cuṭṭi	cuṭṭi	cuṭṭi	cuṭṭi
100.	spider	məkra	məkra	məkəra	məkəra	məkra

101.	name	nam	nam	nam	nam	nam
102.	man	admi	admi	mənukʰ	admi	admi
103.	woman	jəni	əurət	jəni	jənijait	jənijait
104.	child	bəcca	dʰiyaputa	bəcca	bəcca	bəuwa
105.	father	babu	babu	bap	bap	bau
106.	mother	mai	mai	mæ	mæ	mæ
107.	older brother	bʰəiya	bʰəiya	bʰəiya	bʰəiya	bʰəiya
108.	younger brother	bʰai	bʰai	bʰai	bʰæ	bʰai
109.	older sister	didi	didi	didi	didi	dai
110.	younger sister	dəiya	bəhin	bəhin	bəhin	bəhin
111.	son	beṯa	beṯa	beṯa	beṯa	beṯa
112.	daughter	beṯi	beṯi	beṯi	beṯi	beṯi
113.	husband	gʰərbəla	gʰərbəla	gʰərbəla	gʰərbəla	gʰərbala
114.	wife	gʰərbali	gʰərbali	gʰərbali	gʰərbali	gʰərbali
115.	boy	cʰəuṛa	ləṛka	ləṛka	ləṛka	cʰəuṛa
116.	girl	cʰəuṛi	ləṛki	ləṛki	ləṛki	cʰəuṛi
117.	day	din	din	din	din	din
118.	night	rait	rait	rait	rait	rait
119.	morning	bʰor	səber	səber	bʰor	bʰor
120.	noon	dupəhər	dupəhər	dupəhər	dupəhər	dupəhər
121.	evening	sãjʰ	sãjʰ	sãjʰ	sãjʰ	sãjʰ
122.	yesterday	kailh	kailh	kailh	kailh	kailh
123.	today	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai
124.	tomorrow	kailh	kailh	kailh	kailh	kailh

125.	week	həpta	səpta	səpta	həpta	həpta
126.	month	məhina	məhina	məhina	məhina	məhina
127.	year	bərs	bəris	bərəs	bəris	bəris
128.	old	pʊran	pʊran	pʊran	pʊran	pʊran
129.1	new	nəya	nəya	nəya	ləbka	ləbka
130.	good	nik	əccʰa	nimən	nik	bəʈhiyã
131.	bad	kʰərab	kʰərab	nəinimən	nəinik	nəinik
132.	wet	bʰijlə	bʰijlə	bʰijlə	bʰijlə	bʰijlə
133.	dry	sukʰəl	sukʰəl	sukʰəl	sukʰəl	sukʰəl
134.	long	nəmba	ləmba	nəmhər	ləmma	nəmma
135.	short	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ
136.	hot	dʰipəl	gərəm	gərəm	gərəm	dʰipəl
137.	cold	ʈʰəndʰa	ʈʰəndʰa	ʈʰəndʰa	ʈʰərəl	ʈʰəndʰa
138.	right	dəhina	dəhina	dəhina	dəhina	dəhina
139.	left	bama	bəmma	bəmma	bama	bəmma
140.	near	ləg	ləg	ləg	ləg	ləg
141.	far	durəs	dur	dur	dur	dur
142.	big	nəmhər	bəʈʰka	nəmhər	bəɽka	bəɽka
143.	small	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ	cʰoʈ
144.	heavy	bʰari	bʰari	bʰari	bʰari	bʰari
145.	light	həlluk	həlka	həluk	həluk	həluk
146.	above	upər	upər	upər	upər	upər
147.	below	nica	nica	nica	nica	nica
148.	white	ujjər	ujjər	ujjər	ujjər	ujər
149.	black	kari	kəriya	kari	kəriya	kari
150.	red	lal	lal	lal	lal	lal

151.	one	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek
152.	two	du	du	du	du	dui
153.	three	tin	tin	tin	tin	tin
154.	four	cair	cair	cair	cair	cair
155.	five	pãc	pãc	pãc	pãc	pãc
156.	six	cʰə	cʰə	cʰə	cʰə	cʰə
157.	seven	sat	sat	sat	sat	sat
158.	eight	aʈʰ	aʈʰ	aʈʰ	aʈʰ	aʈʰ
159.	nine	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə
160.	ten	dəs	dəs	dəs	dəs	dəs
161.	eleven	egarə	egarə	egarə	egarə	egarə
162.	twelve	barə	barə	barə	barə	barə
163.	twenty	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis
164.	one hundred	ek səy	ek səy	ek səy	ek sɔ	ek sɔ
165.	who	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke
166.	what	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki
167.	where	kəttə	kəttə	kəttə	kətə	kəttə
168.	when	kəhiya	kəhiya	kəhiya	kəhiya	kəkʰəin
169.	how many	kətek	kətek	kəte	kəte	kətte
170.	which	kon	kon	kon	kon	kon
171.	this	i	i	i	i	i
172.	that	u	u	u	u	u
173.	these	isəb	isəb	isəb	isəb	isəb
174.	those	usəb	usəb	usəb	usəb	usəb
175.	same	wehe	wəhe	wəhe	wəhe	wəhe
176.	different	dosər	ələg	ələg	ələg	dosər

177.	whole	səbʰe	səb	səbʰe	səb	səib
178.	broken	pʰuʈəl	pʰuʈəl	pʰuʈəl	pʰuʈəl	pʰuʈəl
179.	few	kəm	kəm	kəinke	kəni	kənie
180.	many	bəhut	bəhut	bəhute	bəhut	bəhut
181.	all	səbʰe	səb	səb	səb	səib
182.	to eat	kʰenai	kʰaəb	kʰaəb	kʰaəb	kʰenai
183.	to bite	kəʈnai	kaʈəb	kaʈəb	kaʈəb	kəʈnai
184.	to be hungry	bʰukʰael	bʰukʰ lagəb	bʰukʰaeb	bʰukʰaeb	bʰukʰael
185.	to drink	pinai	pib	piyəb	piyəb	pinai
186.	to be thirsty	piyasəl	piyasəb	piyas lagəb	piyasəb	piyasəl
187.	to sleep	sutnai	sutəb	sutəb	sutəb	sutnai
188.	to lie	ulʈənai	oɳtʰəb	oɳtʰəb	oɳtʰəb	ulʈənai
189.	to sit	bəisnai	bəisəb	bəisəb	bəisəb	bəisnai
190.	to give	denai	deb	deb	deb	denai
191.	to burn	jəronai	jəraeb	jərkaeb	jərkaeb	jəronai
192.	to die	mərnai	mərəb	mərəb	mərəb	mərnai
193.	to kill	marnai	marəb	marəb	marəb	marnai
194.	to fly	urnai	urəb	urəb	urəb	urnai
195.	to walk	cəlnai	cələb	cələb	cələb	cəlnai
196.	to run	dəurnai	dəurəb	dəurəb	dəurəb	dəurnai
197.	to go	jənai	jaeb	jaeb	jaeb	jənai
198.	to come	anai	aeb	aeb	aeb	anai
199.	to speak	bolnai	bajəb	bajəb	bajəb	bolnai
200.	to hear	sunnai	sunəb	sunəb	sunəb	sunnai
201.	to look	dekʰnai	dekʰəb	dekʰəb	dekʰəb	dekʰnai

202.	I	həm	həm	həm	həm	həm
203.	you (informal)	tũ	tũ	tũ	tũ	tũ
204.	you (formal)	əhã	əhã	əhã	ahã	ahã
205.	he	u	u	u	u	u
206.	she	u	u	u	u	u
207.	we (inclusive)	həmsəb	həmsəb	həmsəb	həmsəb	həmsəb
208.	we (exclusive)	həmsəb	həmsəb	həmsəb	həmsəb	həmsəb
209.	you (plural)	tusəb	tũsəb	tũsəb	tũsəb	tusəb
210.	they	usəb	usəb	usəb	usəb	usəb