

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEWAR/ NEPAL BHASA**

**A REPORT**

**SUBMITTED**

**TO**

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**CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**

**TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY, KATHMANDU,  
NEPAL**

**BY**

**PROF. TEJ R. KANSAKAR, PH.D.**

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**A SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NEWAR / NEPAL BHASA**

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Tribhuvan University  
Kirtipur, Kathmandu**

**Survey Team: First Phase**

**Team Supervisor: Prof. Tej R. Kansakar, Ph.D.  
Co-Supervisor: Prof. Nirmal Man Tuladhar**

**Research Assistants:**

**Mr. Omkareswor Shrestha, Co-ordinator  
Ms. Sulochana Sapkota  
Ms. Shova Kumari Mahato  
Mr. Narayan Gautam**

**Survey Team: Second Phase**

**Cluster Head: Prof. Tej R. Kansakar, Ph.D.**

**Researchers:**

**Ms. Shobha Kumari Mahato, Team Co-ordinator  
Ms. Sulochana Sapkota  
Mr. Kishore Rai**

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Newar / Nepal Bhasa Cluster Survey Team

Linguistic Survey of Nepal

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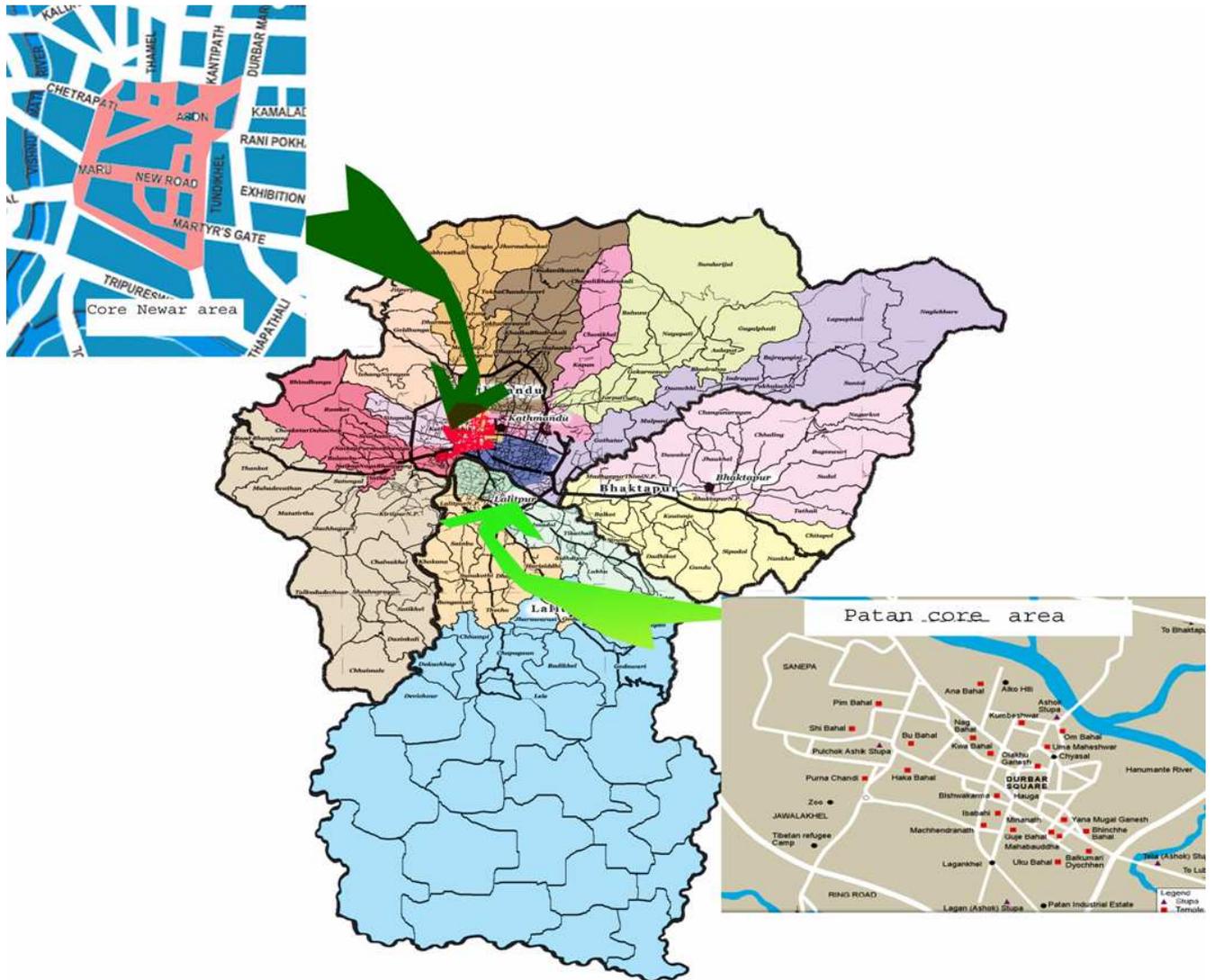
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## Preface

The primary aim of the Newar /Nepal Bhasa cluster survey is to develop a Sociolinguistic profile of the language and its speakers. The Questionnaire designed for the purpose seeks to compile information and data on the mapping of Newar dialects across the country, to determine the domains of language use, and the extent of intelligibility across dialect boundaries. It also attempts to assess the present state of the language as reflected in language maintenance and vitality or the loss of language loyalty due to poor language attitudes. The research tools we have used for dialect mapping and intelligibility testing include the Participatory Method, Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) and Recorded Text Testing (RTT). The second aim is to collect extensive word lists from speakers of various dialects to enable us to establish phonological and / or lexical isoglosses which in turn can help us to decide on the percentage of lexical cognates between or among dialect groupings. The first report made a preliminary attempt to compile 52 comparative word lists of Newar dialects based on phonetic / phonological and lexical variations. The data summary of the word lists from the second phase has provided more accurate information on lexical similarity percentages between and among the dialect groupings that have been proposed for the two surveys. The third phase of the survey of the western dialects of Pokhara, Bandipur and Tansen-Palpa including the Citlang Valley is not included in this report, as it will be submitted separately by the survey team of the Central Department of Nepal Bhasa, Patan Campus, who conducted the survey. These findings however may be further modified or revised on the basis of further research on the remaining Newar dialects that have not been covered in the present report.

List of Maps (\* Maps are not to scale)

Map 1: Kathmandu Valley and Periphery: The Core Newar Area



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 History

The Newars are commonly believed to be the indigenous inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley, and are recognized as such in the historical descriptions of the Nepal valley. The civilization and culture of the Kathmandu valley are identified with the Newar civilization and culture. Gopal Singh Nepali (1965) has observed that “the Newars are a people with a high degree of material culture and a distinctive social organization.” The origin of the Newars however still remains uncertain and the proto identity of the Newar people continues to be disputed among various schools of thought. Grierson (1909) in the *Linguistic Survey of India* had proposed the popular hypothesis that there were two branches of migration along the Himalayas from east to west, while Chatterjee (1950) and Regmi (1960) assign the first branch to North Assam (the Newars included) and the second branch to Outer Mongolia and Tibet in the north. Scholars thus have not been able to connect the Newars with the migration pattern proposed in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Gautam and Thapa-Magar (1994) put forward the argument that the indigenous populace like the Newars must have undergone various stages of assimilation and emerged as a mixed sociolinguistic group identified today by a common Newar tongue.

#### 1.2 The Newars

The Newar speakers are concentrated in the three principal cities of Kathmandu Valley, namely Kathmandu (Newar name Ye~), Lalitpur (Yela) and Bhaktapur (Khopa) and well-defined spread of urban settlements across the country. The CBS Census Report of 2001 gives a total of 12,45,232 (5.4 %) ethnic Newars, and 8,25,458 (3.03 %) mother-tongue speakers which indicate a decline of 33.7 % in active speakers. Some view this trend as alarming, but the Newars continue to use their language extensively in many domains of socio-cultural contexts, trade and commerce, education, literature and mass media. The Newars are also a highly literate community.

The Newar society can be divided into two broad groups, the Buddhists and the Hindus. Both of these two groups are subject to further classifications based on the hierarchy of caste relations and their social / professional status. The overview of this complex caste structure can be

summarized as in Table 1.1 below arranged in an approximate hierarchical order in relation to their traditional professions. The Newar names, where applicable, are given in brackets.

**Table 1.1: The Newar caste hierarchy and the traditional professions**

<b>Names of Castes / Communities</b>	<b>Traditional professions</b>
A. Buddhist Newars :	
1. Bajracharya	Tantric priests (Gabhaaju / Guru-ju)
2. Shakya	Gold / Silversmiths (Barhe / Bade)
3. Tuladhar	Traders / Merchants
4. Kansakar	Bronze / alloy metal craftsmen (Kasaa:)
5. Tamrakar	Coppersmiths (Tabah)
6. Baniya	Dealers in spices, herbal drugs
7. Sthapit	Builders & Carpenters (Syi Ka:mi)
8. Sikhrakar	Builders, Roof-layers ( Aawaa)
9. Sindurakar	Wood Carvers & Image making
10. Shilakar	Stone Masons & Sculptors (Lohã Ka:mi)
11. Shilalik (Kathmandu)	Pastry-makers, confectioners (Madhi-kã:mi)
12. Rajkarnikar (Lalitpur)	Pastry-makers, confectioners (Halwaai)
13. Manandhar	Oil- Pressers (Saaymi)
14. Prajapati	Potters (Kumaah)
15. Kisan	Farmers (Jyaapu)
B. Hindu Newars :	
16. Joshi	Astrologers (Jotish)
17. Rajopadhyaya	Priests of Hindu Newars (Dya: Baramhu)
18. Vaidya	Ayurvedic Physicians
19. Shrestha	Money-lenders (Shesya:)
20. Rajbhandari	Royal Palace Treasurers / Storekeepers
21. Tandukar	Grain merchants
22. Malakar	Gardeners / Florists (Gathu)
23. Ranjitkar	Cloth Dyers & Design Printers (Chipaa)
24. Chitrakar	Artists / Painters (Pu:)

25. Nakarmi	Blacksmiths (Kau)
26. Suchikar	Tailors & Traditional band players (Jogi)
27. Kasaai / Khadagi	Butchers (Naay)
28. Napit	Barbers (Nau)
29. Dhobi	Washermen (Dhobyaa)
30. Sarki	Cobblers / Leather shoe-makers
31. Dabaai~	Players of wind instruments
32. Dalli	Forest dwellers / Foragers (Dwi□:)
33. Majhi	Fishermen (Podyaa)
34. Chyami	Sweepers/garbage collectors (Chyaama-khalah)

The other Hindu Newars include Amatya, Malla, Pradhan, Mathema, Maskey Gurubacharya, Karmacharya, Kasaju / Kayastha and Kapali.

### 1.3 The Newar language: An overview

The typological and genetic classification of Newar / Nepal Bhasa has been controversial for several reasons. Firstly, does Newar belong to the Bodish or the Himalayan grouping of Tibeto-Burman languages? Secondly, the two systems of verb agreement co-exist in the language today, namely the simple conjunct-disjunct agreement in the Kathmandu Valley dialects, and the complex person-number agreement in the Dolakha Newar of eastern Nepal with a residue reflex in the Badikhel Pahari (Kodku) Newar dialect. This situation would compel us to recognize a typological sub-class for Dolakhae and Badikhel dialects which may later develop into full, independent languages. Another contributing factor has to do with the long periods of contact with Sanskrit, Prakrit and other Indic languages resulting in considerable lexical and grammatical borrowings, which in turn has tended to obscure its genetic relationships. The phases one and two of the survey reported here however seek to focus on the sociolinguistic description of the Newar language and its numerous dialects. As the language is spoken by a wide distribution of migrant Newars across the country, this survey would ideally cover an extensive area. The first phase of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LINSUN) project had sought to focus on the core areas of Kathmandu valley and the periphery dialects together with the Kavre district, while the second

phase focused on the divergent speech and grammatical varieties of Dolakha, Kavre and Sindhupalchok districts, and the periphery dialects of Carikot, Tauthal, Jethal, Duti and Listikot. The primary research tools used for the survey include a Sociolinguistic Questionnaire, a 210 classified word list and audio recordings of major dialect varieties.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **RESEARCH: A FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Scope of the survey**

It was envisaged that the survey of Newar dialects will include a qualitative study of the various domains of language use and the attitudes people have about their language. The research work also includes collection of word lists and audio recordings to establish the extent of variations and intelligibility between and among dialect groups. The first two phases of the survey reported here however will not include detailed studies in language documentation related to lexicography and grammar of at least one of the major dialects of each language, as projected for the later phase/s of the project.

#### **2.2 Survey methodologies: Description, purpose, procedure**

##### **2.2.1 Overview**

The methodologies used for the survey of Newar dialects were based closely on the tools of research developed by the LINSUN management team with the expertise and training provided by members of the SIL International. These included a Sociolinguistic Questionnaire, a Word List, a Sentence Repetition Test (SRT), Recorded Text Tests (RTT), and the Participatory Method on the uses of languages domains, dialect comprehension and language attitudes. The survey goals and corresponding methods are summarized in Table 1.2 below.

**Table 2.1: Overview of the survey goals and methods**

<b>Project goals</b>	<b>Methods</b>	<b>Brief Descriptions</b>	<b>Focus</b>
1. Evaluate the level & extent of community bilingualism of Newar speakers in standard Nepali.	Newar Sentence Repetition Test (SRT).	15 sentence test to determine level of bilingualism	Nepali bilingualism among Newar speakers
2. Study which languages Newar speakers use in certain domains, as well as language attitude & vitality.	Sociolinguistic Questionnaire	Questionnaire with 115 questions.	-Domains of language use -Language Attitudes -Language Vitality.
3. Assess the levels of lexical similarity among selected Newar varieties	Word Lists	Lexical comparisons of 210 words.	Lexical variations among the Newar language varieties.
4. Examine the levels of intelligibility among selected Newar varieties.	Newar Recorded Text Tests (RTT)	Recorded story in Newar with 10 questions about the story.	Intelligibility between selected Newar language varieties.

### **2.2.2 Questionnaire**

The comprehensive Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of 115 questions with important components such as Mother Tongue Proficiency, Domains of Language Use, Language Endangerment, Language Vitality and Language Attitude. The Questionnaire was used for the purpose of compiling information and data on the mapping of Newar dialects in various districts of the country, to determine the domains of language use, and to assess the present state of the language as reflected in language maintenance and language vitality, or the

decline in language loyalty due to poor language attitudes. The information on the questions were elicited from individual speakers with assistance, whenever necessary, from other native speakers present at the site. Normally, several Questionnaires were used in each research site. A total of 52 Questionnaires were administered to speakers of various Newar dialects in the first phase of the survey. The questionnaire was revised and divided into three functional parts A, B, and C for the second phase of the survey. The SLQ (A) provides the sex, age and literate-status of the language consultants, SLQ (B) consists of four types of questions, namely domains of language use, dialect mapping, bilingualism and appreciative enquiry, and SLQ (C) records the name, age, place of birth, place of current residence and educational status of each consultant together with individual code numbers. A total of 81 SLQ's, 31 wordlists, 7 RTT and 6 SRT were administered to Newar speakers during the second phase of the survey.

### **2.2.3 Word list comparisons**

The word list used for the Survey consists of 210 classified words. The primary aim was to collect extensive Newar words from speakers of various dialects to enable us to establish phonological and / or lexical isoglosses which in turn can help us to decide on the percentage of lexical cognates between or among dialect groupings. Our team however feels that more detailed analyses of the lexical data collected during the survey will need to be carried out to map the various isoglosses for individual words or classified groups of words. A total of word lists were elicited from speakers in different dialect areas during the first and second phases of the survey. See Section 3.3 below for comparative word lists of Newar dialects based on phonetic / phonological and lexical variations in the sampling of Newar dialects thus far surveyed.

### **2.2.4 Sentence repetition test**

The Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) has 15 sentences recorded in the Kathmandu Newar dialect. The test begins with a simple sentence and moves on to complex sentences with increasing difficulties in syntactic structures and meanings. The SRTs in Newar are intended to determine proficiency in the Mother Tongue or the second language, to identify dialect varieties and to study bilingual or multilingual situations in Newar communities. The researcher is required to record the name, sex, age, education, occupation and other relevant information of each respondent in the SRT score sheet. S/he is also required to make an audio recording of the

sentences repeated by the respondent. This test was administered to 14 speakers in different dialect areas of Kathmandu valley, and 10 speakers in the eastern districts of Dolakha, Sindhupalchok, and Kavre Palanchok. Since SRT is primarily a test of bilingual proficiency, we have not included the test scores in this report.

### **2.2.5 Recorded text tests**

The Recorded Text Tests (RTT) consist of two Newar stories recorded in the Kathmandu and Dolakha dialects, with 10 questions about the stories. The main objectives of RTT are to determine mutual intelligibility between selected Newar dialects, and to assess the extent of bilingualism of Newar speakers in Nepali. The RTT requires the respondent to listen to the recorded text carefully, and this is followed by 10 questions related to the sequence of the story. The responses to the questions spoken by the respondent are recorded for future analyses. This test was administered to 12 Newar speakers in different dialect areas.

### **2.2.6 Participatory methods**

The Participatory Method (PM) works best in a small group of speakers of a particular dialect to discuss domains of language use, to discover what language or languages they use in different situations and the frequency of language use. The other tools of PM are to identify dialect boundaries through dialect mapping and to determine the extent of bilingualism with Nepali or other regional language of the area. The success of PM depends largely on the facilitation skills of the moderator who should be able to encourage and coordinate the views of the participants. The ropes of different colours are used to demarcate the levels of intelligibility between localities in the area and the range of language use from daily to rarely. The PM was carried out in eight different survey sites where groups of speakers were available.

### **2.2.7 Limitations: time, access, area and informants**

The limitations we experienced during our survey were related mainly to our inability to use the appropriate methodologies such as the Recorded Text Testing and the Participatory Method in some of the research sites due to lack of time and non-availability of groups of competent native speakers. These problems arose because many of the village areas did not have direct transport access, and during the first phase survey it was the rice-planting season and many of the villagers were busy in the fields.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**LEXICAL SIMILARITIES**

**3.1 Grouping of dialects**

The LinSuN project classified the languages of Nepal under various typological groups, and proposes to undertake detailed surveys of 10 language clusters. According to the decision taken by the LinSuN Management Committee (LISMAC), the Sociolinguistic Survey work on the first five clusters began in Shrawan 2066 (July 2009) as the first phase of the project. The first five clusters include the survey of Newar / Nepal Bhasa and its dialects. The Newar language has internal diversity in terms of the native and borrowed vocabulary and grammatical structures, as well as in the number and diversity of dialects spoken across the country. The lack of social and cultural contacts between the central, western and eastern Newar dialects pose problems in communication and intelligibility, especially between Dolakha and the Kathmandu valley dialects. The grouping of the Valley and out of Valley dialects can be listed as follows:

**Table 3.1: Newar dialect clusters**

<b>Western</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>Eastern</b>
Tansen (Palpa)	Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur,	Chainpur
Butwal	Thimi, Kirtipur, Citlang, Lele,	Dharan
Old Pokhara	Balaju, Tokha, Pharping, Thankot,	Dolakha
Dumre, Bandipur	Dadikot, Balami, Gopali,	Sindhupalchok
Ridhi (Gulmi)	Bungamati, Badegaon, Pyangaon,	Taplejung
Baglung	Chapagaon, Lubhu, Sankhu,	Terhathum
Dotili / Silgadi	Chakhunti, Gamtsa Gorkha,	Bhojpur
	Badikhel (Pahari)	Dhankuta
	Kavre District : Banepa,	Narayangadh
	Nala, Sangaa, Chaukot,	Jhapa, Ilam
	Panauti, Dhulikhel, Duti	
	Khampu, Khopasi.	

There are also important issues in the verbal morphology of some Newar dialects. The most outstanding problem is that the two systems of verb agreement co-exist in the language today, namely the simple conjunct-disjunct agreement in the Kathmandu Valley dialects, and the complex person-number agreement in Dolakha Newar of eastern Nepal with marked variations in the Badikhel Pahari dialect. These two sub-grouping of Newar dialects based on verb conjugation morphology can be classified as follows:

**Table 3.2: Newar dialects based on verb conjugation morphology**

(1)	(2)
_____	_____
Kathmandu	Dolakha
Lalitpur	Pahari (Badikhel)
Kirtipur,	Tauthali
Chitlang, Lele	Jethal
	Listikot
	Duti

These two groups of dialects are linguistically quite distinct, but may share the same sociolinguistic typology.

The Sociolinguistic Survey of the dialect areas outlined above has provided much information on the sociology of the language and its speakers. It would be interesting to present an analytical view of the Newar speakers' responses to the key components in the Questionnaire such as Mother-Tongue Proficiency, Language Use and Language Loyalty as factors in language maintenance and development of the language. Such analyses have been included for the first and second phases of the survey in the Kathmandu Valley and the eastern dialects of Dolakha, Kabhre and Sindhupalchok districts. The third phase of the survey conducted in Bandipur, Pokhara, Citlang Valley and Tansen-Palpa of western Nepal by the Central Department of Nepal Bhasa, Patan Campus, will be submitted in a separate report.

### 3.2 Lexical similarities in the Kathmandu Valley & periphery dialects

The original word list elicited from the Newar speakers of various dialect areas consists of 210 classified words. The numerous dialects of Kathmandu Valley and the surrounding villages cover a wide area. However, this diversity of dialects can be divided into three main groups with minor sub-groups. Kathmandu Newar is generally recognized as the standard dialect with rich written literature and the largest number of speakers. Secondly, Bhaktapur Newar is regarded by linguists as one of the oldest dialects of the Valley with interesting phonological and lexical variations. The third significant variety is most certainly the Badikhel Pahari dialect still spoken today by a minority group of Newars located on the outskirts of Lalitpur district. As shown in Table 4 above, Pahari is closer to the Dolakha dialect than to the Valley dialects in terms of complex verb agreement systems. The other dialects of Balami and Gopali, on the other hand, can be classified as sub-groups with minor lexical differences. The lexical similarity percentages among the three major dialects of Kathmandu proper, Bhaktapur and Pahari, together with the two sub-dialects of Balami and Gopali are presented in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3: Kathmandu Valley Newar lexical similarity percentages<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Kathmandu**

58	<b>Bhaktapur</b>			
25	34	<b>Pahari</b>		
39	68	23	<b>Balami</b>	
40	70	24	96	<b>Gopali</b>

The percentage figures shown in Table 3.3 reveal an interesting relationship of Badikhel Pahari with the major dialects of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. While Bhaktapur has 58 % lexical similarity with Kathmandu, Pahari has the low figures of 34 % with Bhaktapur and only 25 % with Kathmandu. The two sub-dialects of Balami and Gopali with 96 % similarity can be recognized as one dialect with minor regional variations. However, an interesting fact that emerges from this analysis is that both Balami and Gopali are closer to Bhaktapur Newar than to Pahari and Kathmandu. Balami has 68 % similarity with Bhaktapur, but only 23 % with Pahari, and 39 % with Kathmandu. Similarly, Gopali has 70 % similarity with Bhaktapur, but show low

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<sup>1</sup> The percentage figures for Bhaktapur, Balami and Gopali have been calculated on the basis of the 210 word lists compiled by the survey team of the Central Department of Nepal Bhasa, Patan Campus.

percentages of 24 with Pahari and 40 with Kathmandu. A significant fact we get from these comparative figures is that Badikhel Pahari stands out as an isolated variety that has little or no contacts with the speakers of the major dialects of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and the lowest similarity with Balami and Gopali.

The word lists collected from the five main survey sites of Kathmandu Valley and its adjacent dialects also show some interesting lexical and phonological differences, as summarized in Tables 3.4 and 3.5.

**Table 3.4: Kathmandu and adjacent Newar dialects lexical differences**

Gloss	Kathmandu dialect	Other Valley dialects
body	mhə	dziu
head / forehead	tshyǎ	kəpa
mouth	mhutu	twa
arm / hand	ləppa	laha / lha
palm	palha	pati
door	lukha	khapa
cloth	kapə:	wəsə:
sky	alə	sərgə:
water	lə: / ləkhə	na:
cloud	supač	khəsu
rainbow	laelama	nasəu / nəśəla
banana	kera	modzi
ant	imu	yaitsa
older brother	dadzu	əra / ədra
few	bhətitsa	mho:tsa
we (inclusive)	dzhipi	tshiri
we (exclusive)	dzipi	dzəri
you (plural)	tshipi	tsəri

The word lists collected from the five survey sites of the Kathmandu Valley and its adjacent dialects show some well known phonological variations between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, but Table 3.5 below also includes a few less predictable differences.

**Table 3.5: Major phonological differences in the Kathmandu Valley Newar dialects**

Differences	Kathmandu dialect	Other valley dialects	Gloss
a versus e	mikha	mikhe	eyes
ae versus æ	nhaepḍ	nhæpḍ	ears
ə versus a	lḥ / pḥti	lā / pati	road /mosquito
ə versus u	gəbəle	guble	when
i versus u	dzhipī	dzhipū	we (inclusive)
" " "		dzipū	we (exclusive)
" " "		tshipī	you (plural)
o versus əu	pəu	pōlə	roof
l versus lh	loma	lhoma	stone pestle
n versus ŋ	neku	ŋəkə	horn (of animal)
ny versus D	nya	Dau	five
nh versus ts	nhipḍ	tsupī	tail

### 3.2 Cognate groupings of Eastern and Central Newar dialects

During the second phase of the survey, we selected 6 survey points: Dolakha, Charikot, Tauthali, Jethal, Listikot, and Duti in the three districts of Dolakha, Sindhupalchok and Kavre Palanchok for the following reasons:

Dolakha and its periphery dialects are highly important from the historical, cultural and linguistic points of view. The Dolakha dialect known locally as Dolakhae, is recognized by the speakers as the oldest or the proto –form of the Newar language and its speakers as the indigenous inhabitants of the district since ancient / pre-historic times. According to Shanta Krishna Shrestha, Dolakha is the oldest place for the Newars not only linguistically but culturally also. The Dolakha Newar is also linguistically distinct from the language spoken in the Kathmandu

Valley and western Nepal. Dolakha has complex person / number verb conjugation system, compared to the simple conjunct / disjunct inflections in the Valley dialects. There is also lack of intelligibility between the two groups of dialects, namely Dolakha, Tauthali, Jethal on the one hand, and Duti and Listikot on the other. These two groups can be recognized as dialect boundaries marked by phonological and lexical variations in vocabulary. We had thus selected these survey points for the interesting diversity in the use of the Newar language.

The word lists collected from the seven survey sites of the eastern and central Newar dialects are as follows:

**Table 3.6: Word list collection sites**

<b>Survey points</b>	<b>Districts</b>	<b>Geographical area</b>
Dolakha (6)	Dolakha	Eastern, Janakpur Zone
Carikot (1)	"	" "
Tauthali (6)	"	" "
Jethal (6)	"	" "
Banepa (6)	Kabhre Palaanchok	Central, Bagmati Zone
Duti (6)	" "	" "
Listikot (6)	Sindhupaalchok	" "
<b>Total 37</b>		

The varieties of Newar spoken in the above three districts are significant in terms of lexical similarities and differences which reflect the levels of intelligibility among these dialects. The question of intelligibility between dialects will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4 on Comprehension Testing, but at the word level we are concerned here with the grouping of dialects by tabulating the lexical similarity percentages. For the purpose of this analysis, we have tried to show how the four dialects of Dolakha district differ from each other, and how they compare with the two dialects of Kabhre and the one dialect of Sindhupaalchok.

**Table 3.7: Eastern and Central Newar lexical similarity percentages**

**Dolakha**

<b>96</b>	<b>Carikot</b>						
<b>82</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>Tauthali</b>					
<b>80</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>Jethal</b>				
-----							
<b>40</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>Banepa</b>			
<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>' 95</b>	<b>Duti</b>		
<b>29</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>' 84</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>Listikot</b>	

In Table 3.7 the percentage figures have been worked out by tabulating the lexical between and among all the seven dialect varieties. The lexical similarity percentages in Table 3.7 seem to indicate that the division of the dialects into three groups may be justified. The percentage range of 80-96 in the four dialects of the Dolakha district suggests a fairly high similarity. Further, the 96 % similarity of Carikot with Dolakha indicates that the two dialects can safely be considered as one dialect due to their geographic proximity.

The Kabhre Newar dialects of Banepa and Duti show a fairly sharp drop in lexical similarity. For Banepa, the percentage figures range from 40 to 68, while Duti which has 95% similarity with Banepa, records a 33-56 percent range. The Listikot dialect, on the other hand, has a fairly high similarity with the Kabhre dialects of Banepa (84%) and Duti (82%), but the four Dolakha dialects show a much lower percent range of 29-39.

According to the standard comparison, the small differences indicate a dialect cluster with high similarities, and the big differences point to distinct dialects with low similarities. The high percentages of 82-95 range among the Kabhre and Sindhupalchok dialects, however, are quite different from the 80-96 range of the Dolakha dialects. This distinction is due mainly to the high similarities within the Banepa-Duti-Listikot group. The analysis summarized in Table 7 thus indicates that the eastern dialects are the most divergent, as can be seen in some lexical and phonological differences in Tables 3.8 and 3.9.

**Table 3.8: Some lexical differences between Kathmandu and Dolakha dialects**

Gloss	Kathmandu	Dolakha
body	mhə	dziu
belly	pwa:	pete
finger nail	lushi	kutsiri
bone	kwəẽ	kõso
cloth	kapə:	wəsti
moon	timila	nərmila
lightening	mələ:	milikmilik
turmeric	həlu:	həlti
tail	nhyepẽ	tsumthu
boy	midzə mətsa	lathe
same	wəhe	anaku
to speak	nəwae	khalaiuri

There are also a large number of phonological variations between these two major Newar dialects. Some of these differences, as recorded at the survey sites, are displayed in Table 3.7, but these must be seen as generalizations because of the number of exceptions that exist especially in the Kathmandu Valley dialects.

**Table 3.9: Some phonological differences between Kathmandu and Dolakha dialects**

Difference	Kathmandu	Dolakha	Gloss
[mh] versus [m]	mhutu	muthu	mouth
[t] versus [n]	timila	nərmila	moon
[ɲ] versus [n]	(wa) ɲaye	ɲaiuri	to bite
[dzh] versus [tsh]	dzhipĩ	tshidzi / dzisi	we (inclusive)
[w] versus [y]	wa	ya	rice, unhusked
[lh] versus [l]	lha:	laha	hand
[lu] versus [lw]	lukha	lwakha	door

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The comparison of word lists above has given a clear indication of two distinct dialect groupings of the Central and Eastern Newar. It is also possible to further divide the Kathmandu Valley dialects into two sub-groups with Badikhel Pahari as a distinct variety which differs from Kathmandu in lexicon and grammar. It is however much more difficult to divide the eastern dialects into sub-groups as the Dolakha Newar shows more similarities to Kabhre and Sindhupalchok than to the Central varieties.

## CHAPTER 4

### DIALECT COMPREHENSION

Dialect comprehension is one of the important factors in the sociolinguistic study of Newar dialects. We need to determine to what extent a particular dialect is understood by the speakers of other dialects. More specifically, we need to find out whether the standard Kathmandu dialect is understood more widely than any other variety including the Dolakha and Badikhel Pahari dialects. In our analyses of lexical similarity, we have established that mutual intelligibility between the central and eastern Newar dialects is remarkably low. On the other hand, the many dialects of Newar spoken in and around the Kathmandu Valley and possibly the Tansen-Palpa variety in the west can be recognized as sub-dialects. This chapter in a sense is thus an attempt to explore and clarify these issues.

We had conducted Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) and Recorded Text Testing (RTT) in the two survey areas, namely the Kathmandu Valley and its suburbs, and the eastern regions of Dolakha, Kavre and Sindhupalchowk districts. The sentence repetition test of SRT and the story comprehension test of RTT were selected and constructed according to the representative speech of the above two areas of central and eastern dialects.

#### **4.1 Comprehension testing results**

##### **4.1.1 Interpretation of the data**

Varenkamp (1996: 55) states that there are three crucial pieces of information needed to interpret comprehension test results : an average percentage (% Avg) a standard deviation (St Dev) of the percentage, and the size of the sample. An average percentage is the mean or average score of all the participants in the RTT test. Apart from the average score, we need to know how much the individual scores deviate from the average percentage. Thirdly, the size of the sample (i.e. the number of people tested) is important as this helps us to determine whether the text we have used is representative of a particular community.

Standard deviation shows how an individual score differs from the total average. According to Blair (1990: 25) a comprehension in a test like the RTT can be high or low depending on how well the people understand the story and how many of them are able to give correct answers.

The survey of Newar dialects was conducted in two phases, namely the areas of Kathmandu Valley and its suburbs, and the eastern region of Dolakha, Sindhupalchok and Kavre districts. In the first phase survey of Kathmandu Valley dialects we had identified dialect boundaries between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and more distinctly between Kathmandu and Badikhel Pahari Newar. In Tables 5 and 9 above we had listed the lexical similarity percentages in the Kathmandu Valley dialects, and the eastern dialects of Dolakha, Kabhre and Sindhupalchok. The following Table 4.1 presents the results of RTT tests taken in the two dialect areas.

**Table 4.1: RTT scores of Kathmandu Valley and Pahari Newar**

Test areas	Total scores	Average %	Standard Deviation
Kathmandu	58 / 60	96.6	12.5
Lalitpur	58 / 60	93.3	12.1
Bhaktapur	25 / 40	62.5	8.2
Badikhel Pahari	15 / 40	37.5	4.8

Varenkamp (1996: 56) explains that Standard Deviation (St Dev) indicates the difference between the individual scores and the community average. Low St Dev shows that the average community test score is a valid indicator of the participants' comprehension level. A high deviation shows that most people's scores differed from the community average. The RTT scores given in Table 12 clearly shows that the average percentage scores in Kathmandu and Lalitpur are both high in mutual comprehension. On the other hand, the Bhaktapur Newar average percentage of 62.5 indicates a decline in comprehension, and the average percentage of 37.5 for the Badikhel Newar is an indication that the intelligibility level of Pahari vis-a-viz the Valley dialects is very low. In other words, these scores also reflect the low St.Dev between Kathmandu and Lalitpur, a higher deviation for Bhaktapur, and the highest deviation for the Pahari Newar dialect.

During the second phase of the survey, the RTT testing was carried out in six test centres, namely Dolakha, Charikot in the Dolakha district; Tauthal, Jethal, and Listikot in the Sindhupalchok district; and Banepa and Duti in the Kavre district. We tabulated the RTT score sheet for these seven test sites in the following Table 4.2

**Table 4.2: Comprehension test scores based on the Dolakha text**

<b>Test points</b>	<b>Total scores</b>	<b>Average %</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
Dolakha	37 / 40	92.5	17.1
Charikot	18 / 20	90.0	16.6
Tauthal	8 / 20	40.0	7.4
Jethal	6 / 20	30.0	5.5
Listikot	8 / 30	22.0	4.0
Duti	4 / 20	20.0	3.7
Banepa	5 / 20	22.0	3.8

#### **4.1.2 Conclusion**

Our analyses of the lexical similarities in the Central dialects represented by Kathmandu, and the Eastern dialects represented by Dolakha can be clearly demarcated as distinct dialect boundaries. This generalization, however, needs to account for the Badikhel Pahari Newar, located within the Kathmandu Valley, which stands midway or a bridge between these two major dialect groups. On the basis of these realities, we can perhaps arrive at two firm conclusions with regard to dialect comprehension. Firstly, Kathmandu Newar, as a highly literate and influential variety, is the most widely understood not only within the Valley but also by other dialect speakers, including the Dolakha Newars. Secondly, the Newars residing in the districts of Dolakha, Kabhre and Sindhupaalchok have no linguistic, social, cultural or commercial contacts with each other, even in this age of easy mobility. Such a situation is bound to create dialect isolates where intelligibility between dialects tends to break down. Pahari and a few other dialects spoken in Duti, Jethal and Listikot are clear cases in point because the speakers in these places are rapidly losing their language and the majority do not even claim to be ethnic Newars.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**LANGUAGE VITALITY**

**5.1 Domains of language use**

The question of language vitality is intimately connected with the domains of language use in various fields of communication. The domains are contexts or situations in which the speaker chooses to use his/her mother-tongue or in which context a second language such as Nepali or English is used. Apart from familiar domains like the home, social-cultural occasions, market places, government offices etc, the list of possible domains can be quite extensive such as the following purposes specified in the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A which poses the question : "Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes ?"

**Table 5.1: Language use by Domains**

<b>Language used</b>	<b>Newar</b>	<b>Nepali (only)</b>
a. Counting	6 (17 %)	30 (83 %)
b. Singing	2 (5 %)	40 (95 %)
c. Joking	25 (83 %)	5 (17 %)
d. Marketing / Bargaining	4 (14 %)	24 (86 %)
e. Story telling	9 (30 %)	21 (70 %)
f. Discussing / Debate	23 (74 %)	8 (26 %)
g. Praying	21 (60 %)	14 (40 %)
h. Quarreling	21 (84 %)	4 (16 %)
i. Abusing, Using taboo words	23 (82 %)	5 (18 %)
j. Telling stories to children	17 (55 %)	14 (45 %)
k. Singing at home	6 (16 %)	31 (84 %)
l. Family gatherings	29 (91 %)	3 (9 %)
m. Village meetings	16 (57 %)	12 (43 %)

**Table 5.2: Bilingual uses of Newar with Nepali and Dolakha Newar**

<b>Languages used</b>	<b>Newar / Nepali</b>	<b>Dolakha Newar / Nepali</b>	<b>Newar / Dolakha Newar</b>
a. Counting	2	1	7
b. Singing	4	2	3
c. Joking	5	1	17
d. Marketing / Bargaining	5		5
e. Story telling			13
f. Discussing / Debate	4		13
g. Praying			18
h. Quarreling	5		15
i. Abusing, Using taboo words	3	2	17
j. Telling stories to children			12
k. Singling at home	4	1	5
l. Family gatherings		1	23
m. Village meetings		1	11
<b>Total percentages</b>	32 (16 %)	9 (4 %)	159 (80 %)

The domains of language use tabulated in Table 14 provide a summary of the health or vitality of the language. The frequency of use was determined in contrast to the use of Nepali and Kathmandu-based Newar compared to Dolakha Newar (known locally as Dolakhae). The question of dialect intelligibility between Kathmandu Newar, Dolakhae and Pahari (Badikhel) has been discussed in some detail in the chapter on Dialect Comprehension.

The uses of Newar at home, family and community indicate the responses that are bilingual with Nepali, and the choice of standard Newar compared to Dolakhae. Table 14 clearly shows that Nepali is used predominantly in domains such as shopping / bargaining including counting, and even in entertaining activities like singing or story-telling, while Newar is used extensively in

joking, discussions / debates, quarreling, telling stories to children, at family gatherings and village meetings. Table 15 represents the bilingual uses of Newar with Dolakhae, Nepali with Dolakhae, and Newar with Dolakhae. The bilingual uses of Newar with Nepali accounts for 16 % of users, while Dolakhae / Nepali bilingual situations are quite restricted in most of the given domains with only 4 % of users. The alternate uses of Newar and Dolakhae, on the other hand, account for a high 80 % bilingual users, which is significant to show that Dolakha speakers have a good command of both the dialects. This however is not the case with the Kathmandu-based Newars who claim a very low (20 – 30 %) comprehension of Dolakhae.

The use of language by children and young people also relates directly to language vitality. The important question in this connection is whether language transmission is taking place and to what extent the younger generations continue to make active use of it. When the Questionnaire posed the question “Which language do you speak best ?” with a number of other options, 54 respondents out of 72 (75 %) said that they had the highest proficiency in the Newar language. Table 5.3 below summarizes the speakers’ perceived abilities in the mother-tongue.

**Table 5.3: Newar vitality questions**

<b>Questions</b>	<b>Very well</b>	<b>Some /A little bit</b>	<b>Only a little</b>
Estimate how proficient are you in your mother-tongue?	55 (91.7 %)	4 (6.7 %)	1 (1.6 %)
Estimate how well you can read and write your mother-tongue?	14 (45.2 %)	8 (25.8 %)	9 (29.0 %)
When your small child first goes to school, does s/he understand everything the Nepali-speaking teacher says?	16 (26.2 %)	35 (57.4 %)	10 (16.4 %)

Another index of language vitality has to do with the retention of language proficiency among the first generation (grandfather and grandmother), the second generation (father and mother) of language users, and the transmission or non-transmission of ancestral language to the third generation (sons, daughters and grand children). A language is normally learnt and used within

the family, in society, school and the media. A tentative profile of inter-generational uses of Newar and Nepali can be tabulated as in the following responses of speakers.

**Table 5.4: Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations**

1. Grandfather:	Educational matters	Social / Family	Writing letters
Newar	17 (47 %)	17 (47 %)	2 ( 6 %)
Nepali	1 ( 7 %)	1 ( 7 %)	12 ( 86 %)
2. Grandmother:			
Newar	20 (47.6 %)	20 (47.6 %)	2 (4.8 %)
Nepali	1 ( 6 %)	1 ( 6 %)	15 (88 %)
3. Father:			
Newar	40 (48 %)	41 (49 %)	3 (3 %)
Nepali	2 ( 7 %)	1 ( 4 %)	24 (89 %)
4. Mother:			
Newar	45 (48 %)	44 (47 %)	4 ( 5 %)
Nepali	2 ( 7 %)	2 ( 7 %)	26 (86 %)
5. Children:			
Newar	46 (49 %)	46 (49 %)	2 ( 2 %)
Nepali	4 (11 %)	4 (11 %)	29 ( 78 %)

The results summarized in Table 5.4 is an encouraging sign that Newar is used predominantly in the family, social interactions and educational matters, but most of the written communications tend to be in Nepali rather than in Newar. This trend seems to be true for the older generations as well as the children and grandchildren. The use of Newar in the three given domains among the parents is consistently higher than the grandparents, and the children/grandchildren continue to use their mother-tongue actively. This is a clear indication that the out-of-valley Newar speakers have not abandoned their language and show a greater language loyalty compared to the declining trend in the Kathmandu valley dialects.

## **5.2 Language attitudes**

### **5.2.1 Attitudes toward other Newar dialects**

The SLQ used in the survey includes a number of questions relating specifically to attitudes to other dialects spoken in the western, central and eastern areas of the country. This spread of multiple varieties across the country is both complex and interesting, and enables us to establish dialect boundaries based on attitudes and intelligibility between and among language varieties. However, conclusive dialect mapping cannot be done at this stage as the survey of Newar dialects is not yet complete.

The Survey seeks firstly to find out which language variety / ties are perceived to be similar or different from their own. The Bhaktapur dialect, for example, differs from Kathmandu/Lalitpur in pronunciation and certain lexicon but shares the same grammar. There are also some valley dialects such as Balami, Gopali, Citlang etc which show marked phonological and lexical differences. As mentioned earlier, the other major dialect Dolakhae of eastern Nepal also differ in verb conjugation systems, and so is hardly comprehensible to the Kathmandu valley speakers. The Pahari dialect of Badikhel, on the other hand, is more intelligible but can be considered what Varenkamp (1996: 87) called a “bridge dialect”. However, language contact between Kathmandu, Badikhel and Dolakha has remained very poor. While Kathmandu Newar is recognized as the standard dialect, Badikhel Pahari and Dolakhae continue to exist as isolated islands.

### **5.2.2 Attitudes toward speakers’ own language variety**

The questions posed in the SLQ focus on the attitude of speakers to their own language variety. The following tabulations of speakers’ responses reveal several problems of language use such as (1) prejudicial feelings, (2) social, political, economic and educational discriminations, (3) language issues in inter-caste marriages, (4) the transmission of Newar language to children, and (5) perceived changes in the language through code-mixing and contact with other language/s.

**Table 5.5: Attitudes toward use of one’s own language variety**

- (1) When you speak your mother-tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language, what do you feel?

	Prestigious	Embarrassed	Neutral
Count	55	3	4
Answers %	88.7 %	4.8 %	6.5 %

(2) Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother-tongue ?

	Yes	No
Count	6	57
Answers %	9.5 %	90.5 %

The problems specified in the SLQ include Social, Political, Economic and Educational discriminations; Hostile confrontation; Social, Political and Economic pressures, and any other. Of these, only one speaker responded that the problem was due to social pressure.

(3) How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language ?

	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Count	4	23	35
Answers %	6.5 %	37 %	56.5 %

Although 56.5 % of respondents felt that marriage outside one's community is undesirable, those who are indifferent (37 %) and those who feel it is a good practice (6.5 %) indicate a growing liberal attitude to the language factor in marital relations.

(4a.) When the children of your village grow up and have children, do you think those children might speak your language?

	Yes	No
Count	59	4
Answers %	93.7 %	6.3 %

(4b.) If they don't speak, how would you feel ?

	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Count	2	5	0
Answers %	28.6 %	71.4 %	0 %

(4c.) How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?

	Good	Indifferent	Bad
Count	9	12	42
Answers %	14.3 %	19.0 %	66.7 %

The tabulation in Table (4a.) show a robust confidence that the future generations will continue to use their native language. Table (4b.), on the other hand, indicate that out of 66 speakers interviewed only 10.6 % chose to respond to this question. However, Table (4c.) records a strong case of language loyalty when 66.7 % of elders feel that young people should retain their native language rather than use other languages.

(5a.) Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents ?

	Yes	No
Count	7	56
Answers %	11.1 %	88.9 %

(5b.) If yes, in what ways has the language changed?

	Pronunciation	Vocabulary	Sentence types	Code-mixing	Way of speaking	Other
Count	6	7	3	8	5	0
Answers %	21 %	24 %	10.3 %	27.5 %	17.2 %	0 %

In Table (5a.) only 11.1 % of the respondents felt that spoken Newar has changed, and 88.9 % were confident that no significant changes have taken place in the language. Table (5b.) tabulates the minority views that major changes can be seen in code-mixing, especially in the use of non-native vocabulary and pronunciation.

## CHAPTER 6

### MAIN FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The first and second phases of the Survey have in many ways been a very useful experience. We have gained a good deal of insight into the sociology of the language and its speakers. We have at the same time come to understand the complexity of the Newar dialect network, the relationships and intelligibility between and among dialects which in some cases are geographically remote and isolated from socio-cultural contacts. The study of these diverse dialects has made us aware of the uniqueness of each community of speakers and the linguistic resources they have managed to preserve for their communicative needs. Our task was to document these resources, to assess their strengths and weaknesses and formulate plans for development and revitalization of the endangered Newar dialects.

Apart from the third phase of this dialect cluster survey, future research will need to concentrate on the following research strategies:

- a) To discover where the Newar language fits in the classification of T-B languages into complex or simple verb agreement patterns.
- b) To compare verb conjugation systems across dialects to help us to figure out what the original or the proto-Newar was like.
- c) Other languages and this will help us to determine what other languages Newar is most closely related to. This method can also provide evidence about whether Newar is to be classified under the Himalayan or the Bodish sub-division of Tibeto-Burman.
- d) Our survey of the Newar dialects in the various districts of Central and Eastern areas show not only lexical and phonological variations, but also very distinct morphology and verb conjugation systems. Further, some of the dialect clusters do not seem to share the same sociolinguistic typology. More comparative studies will be required to arrive at firm conclusions.
- e) To collect more specific lexical data on social, religious and cultural fields to allow us to map dialect boundaries on the basis of various types of isoglosses.
- f) Languages and dialects may share a common goal in language development and revitalization, but different teaching-learning materials may be required for multilingual

education (Newar-Nepali-English). This strategy will apply in particular to the linguistically distinct dialects of Kathmandu, Badikhel Pahari and Dolakha Newar.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Field Survey Schedule : First phase

#### FIELD SCHEDULE

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Resource person</b>	<b>Name of the Dialect</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
2066/3/14 Sunday	Kirtipur	Sarita Karki		Appointment Letter
2066/3/15 Monday	Dallu Naradevi	Padma Tuladhar/	Kathmandu	
2066/3/16 Tuesday	Balaju	Krishna Das Manandhar	Kathmandu	
2066/3/17 Wednesday	Bhaktapur	Pradip Shakya	Bhaktapur	Ras Joshi
2066/3/18 Thursday	Sankhu	Roshan Lal Basi	Do	Hari P Shrestha
2066/3/19 Friday	Budhanilkant ha	Brahnma Dev Shrestha	Isogloss dialect	
2066/3/20 Saturday	Bode	Surya Ram Tha Shrestha	Bhaktapur	Ras Joshi
2066/3/21 Sunday	Gamca/Cakhu nti	Rajendra Rajthala	Isogloss dialect	
2066/3/22 Monday	Kodku, Badikhel	Mohan Nagarkoti	Pahari / Pahi	
2066/3/23 Tuesday	Pyangaon, Capagaon	Cara Sunder Maharjan	Pyangaon	Basudev Shrestha
2066/3/24 Wednesday	Khokana	Krishna Hari Hena:	Lalitpur	

2066/3/25 Thursday	Gyaneswor	Prem Shanti Tuladhar	Kathmandu	
2066/3/26 Friday		Malla K. Sunder; Naresh Bir Shakya; Naresh Tamrakar		Sociolinguistics Survey
2066/3/27 Saturday	Thankot/ Tekanpur	Santa P. Shrestha	Pahari	
2066/3/28 Sunday				
2066/3/29 Monday	Lalitpur	Hira Kaji Maharjan	Patan Dialect	
2066/3/30 Tuesday	Gyaneshwor	Prem Shanti Tuladhar	Kathmandu Dialect	
2066/3/31 Wednesday	Kavre: Banepa	Gyan Kaji Manandhar		
2066/4/1 Thursday				
2066/4/2 Friday	Sawal Bahal	Prakash Dya:la	Ethnic variation	Ras Joshi
2066/4/3 Saturday	Sangaa	Suddhi Bdr. Joshi		
2066/4/4 Sunday	Pangaa	Siddhi Bdr. Joshi; Jivan K. Maharjan		
2066/4/5Monday	Nepal Bhasa Department	Prem Shanti Tuladhar		
2066/4/6Tuesday	Nepal bandha			
2066/4/7Wednesday	Nepal Bhasa Department			

2066/4/8 Thursday				
2066/4/9 Friday	Caukot, Kavre			
2066/4/10 Saturday	Dhulikhel			
2066/4/11 Sunday	Naalaa			
2066/4/12 Monday	Panauti			
2066/4/13 Tuesday				
2066/4/14 Wednesday				
2066/4/15 Thursday	Dolakha	Syamji Pradhan		
2066/4/16 Friday	Banepa			
2066/4/17 Saturday	Sinduli	Gunakeshari Munakarmi	Sinduli Dialect	
2066/4/18 Sunday	Dakshinkali	Sagar Dangol	Balami Dialect	

**Appendix B: Selection of survey points: Second phase**

1	Dolakha	East point	2\4	Bhimeshwar	Dolakha	Janakpur	
2	Charikot	Far north	1	Bhimeshwar	Dolakha	Janakpur	
3	Tauthali	Far south	1\3\4\6	Tauthli	Sindhupalchok	Bagmati	
4	Jethal	Far west	1\2\3	Jethal	Sindhupalchok	Bagmati	
5	Duti	Far east	7\8\9	Nagregagarche	Kabhepalanchok	Bagmati	
6	Listikot		5	Listi	Sindhupalchok	Bagmati	

## Appendix C: Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) in Dolakha Newar

### SRT Practice Sentences

- |                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. dzi mewu wa yã ũi:           | I will go to Kathmandu next week.   |
| 2. akulanə li dzəu khinnə usinə | I will then move to the right side. |
| 3. dzənə buba yã-ku tsongnə     | My father is in Kathmandu.          |

### Test Sentences

1. dzi boŋə kuthi-ku dzyə yətə-gi ||  
I work in a school.
2. thənə-kesi pəsələ-ku hating mädə ||  
Nowadays there is nothing in the shop.
3. dzi nepalə-ku tsong gətkeḅ dā dət-ə ||  
I have been living in Nepal for many years.
4. tshənə tshyē kung bijuli itarə dəu dziyənə tson-ə ||  
You too have electricity in your home.
5. unə desə-yə vikasə yere-u ||  
This will develop the country.
6. dzakē paləu dzuseŋə dzən-tə sarə ||  
Although the food was hot and spicy, it was tasty.
7. soŋəgu kipa soŋə:ŋə dzita nirkayə tsonə ||  
I fall asleep while watching the movie.
8. aphulanə amə mu:lə lō tulke pitə dzasin ||  
From there, (you) walk on until (you) reach the exit of the main road.

9. un swasthya əle surəksya-yə ləginə gwaharə yetə-i ||

This will help to maintain health and security.

10. khə laye wə dze yā-ku gətkeŋ, byagələ dzurə ||

To talk about it and to work are two different things.

11. thənu ninəsə wa yəyəu hənə khə isin siyən tsongu pe ||

We knew that it would rain this afternoon.

12. unə dznəta-pe dokhunə, subidhayə lyakha yəreu ||

S/he considers the welfare of all the people.

13. rəne-nə bauri-yə sikutaŋ-yə dze khə thakəke yəri phər-dzu ||

Rane was able to perform the death ritual of his father with great difficulty.

14. boŋkeu piŋkeŋ, sāphər-yə khə la-I ||

S/he also talks to his/her teachers about the syllabus.

15. tshidzi desə-yə arthik əbəstha-nə yətəŋ, toŋə lokhu dokhu-wələŋ, thenə bhōtso

||

Our country has not been able to provide drinking water to all the places due to poor economic condition.

**Appendix D : Recorded Text Testing (RTT) : Text and comprehension questions in Dolakha Newar**

**mepin-tə syangnə nərŋə hati dzurə  
(What will happen when you deceive others ?)**

thankot thāi-ku hərikadzi hənŋə mi tsonŋu dzu || nidə dəu hərikadzi hāsə, kha. tsila sa-pen ləhiyen təu ale wesnə maya yekudzu thəutuŋ dadzu-kidzə pistə thētū mepisnə sa, tsila, kha, hāsə miye khongnə anthe yeri mate həku dzu || anthe miyen tshoyenə mepsinə yengnə syangnə those nərəi həngə khḥ-tə amun thi-thi yari məri həku || mepistə syariri ale ame those nəri həng papə kheng həku || dokuse-təng ŋenggu dzu hati tshidzi pyata murdaghatə kheng ? məkhe hərsə yinagu hating məsiu pistə syangnə hattə papə yengnə tsonegu || gunanung ame khḥ-tə mənengu dzu, syang-syang yeku nəye-nəye yeku || yithi dzunge singə gətkeng mi-pen məphəu dzurə dokhu-senung hattə yithi dzurə həngənə mwama-lenə phuke tsongu tənə || yinagu byalaku hərikadzi-nə uwa dokhunung thōsi-nə yetŋə dzu kheng hətnə-sinung ame khḥ gunanung mənendzu || thinu akuye ləhiyen təye sa, tsila, kha, mesə, hāsə dokhu-nung məphəu dzurə, sitə || siri dongnə-li amə thāi napəye hating ma-dəu mipini-nə amə yəngnə nərə-hin || gunan-gunan nərə-hin apen mə-phəu dzurə, thima nisma wa sit-hin || ale tuni sir-hin thōsi əmu giu thosi-pen nərəng hati dzurə həngən || yinigu byala-ku dokhunu soye-tə likhən hirakadzi tə luwenke-hin ame khḥ thur-hin || mepin-tə syatəng hati dzuro || those nəng hati dzurə həngə khḥ thuhine ||

**Questions :**

1. giwi hərikadzi hənŋə mi dəudzu ?
2. mepin-tə hati yengə khongnə yeri mətə hə-ku ?
3. hati nərə-i həngə khḥ - tə yəri mə-dzi hə-ku ?
4. hati nəri papə kheng hə-ku ?
5. gune byata sikkəlung thani kheng həngnə ŋeng-gu dzu ?
6. khḥ mə-ŋengu-pisinə hati hati yəku ?
7. gune khḥ gunatung mə-ŋendzu ?

8. gibiyə bhi pisi-nə ākkəye sikkə sa: ?
9. gunə gunə mə-phəu dzurə ?
10. dokhu-nung soyə-tə likhən guntə luwənkər-hin ?

### Annex E: 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: .....
Interviewer Name	Zone: .....
	GPS Coordinates: .....E .....N
	(a) .....
	(b) .....

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

(c) .....

(d) .....

(e) .....

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

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

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife .....

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

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:	YES <input type="checkbox"/>
NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.	

**B. Language resources**

30. What are the major kinds of Oral literature available in your language?  
 (a) folk tales,  
 (b) songs,  
 (c) religious literature,  
 (d) radio,  
 (e) films,  
 (f) CD/ DVD,  
 (g) Other.....
31. (If they mentioned radio programs) How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language?  
 (a) Usually (b) Sometimes (c) Never
32. (only ask literate language consultants) What materials written about your language?
33. (If “Yes”) What language(s) is it written in?

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

34. (If they mentioned written materials) Do you read any of these things written in your language?  
 (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

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

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

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

Which language do you speak...

41. best?  
 42. second best?  
 43. third best?  
 44. fourth best?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

--	--	--	--	--

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

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

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

53. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her speaking teacher says? Nepali

(a) Yes      (d) A little bit      (c) No

**D. Domain of Language Use**

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

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

M	Village meetings	
---	------------------	--

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

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

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

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
i. Grandfather:			
ii. Grandmother:			
iii. Father:			
iv. Mother:			
v. Spouse:			
vi. Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:

(a) playing with other children? .....

(b) talking with neighbors? .....

(c) at school? .....

57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations? .....

58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings? .....

59. How often do you use your mother tongue?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?

(a) Every day (b) Rarely (c) Never

61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?

62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) English (d) Other.....

#### E. Language Vitality

63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?

(a) Yes (b) No

64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?

(a) Mother tongue (b) Nepali (c) Other.....

65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?

(a) Yes (b) No

F. Language Maintenance

66. Is there intermarriage in your community?

- (a) Yes (b) No

67. (If "Yes") Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?

- (i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....

68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?

- (a) Yes (b) No

69. (If "Yes") If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:

- (a) by sending your children?
- (b) by encouraging other people to send their children?
- (c) by providing financial help?
- (d) by teaching?
- (e) by helping with the school?
- (f) other.....

G. Language Attitudes

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

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

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

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

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

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

75. How do you feel about this?

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

76. What language should your children speak first? .....

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

- (a) Yes (b) No

78. (If “Yes”) How?

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

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

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

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

**Annex F: 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 <input type="checkbox"/>
NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
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 G: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

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

INFORMED CONSENT: Given:  Not Given:

### A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

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

5. Name of language consultant: .....

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

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

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

20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?
- (a) Yes (b) No
21. (If "Yes"): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?
- (a) by devising the script?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (b) by making the spelling system systematic?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (c) by compiling dictionary?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (d) by writing grammar?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (f) by writing and publishing textbooks?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (g) by publishing newspapers?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (h) by making use of the language in administration?
- (a) Yes (b) No
- (i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?

- (a) Yes (b) No  
(j) in any other ways? .....

### Annex H: Word lists

अनुसन्धाता (हरू) को नाम: मिति:.....

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४) .....

(५) .....

भाषासूचक (हरू) को नाम:

(१).....

(२).....

(३).....

(४) .....

(५) .....

स्थान :

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

गाउँ/टोल:.....

भाषाको नाम: ..... अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा: .....

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

12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	औंला	
17.	finger nail	नड	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुटु	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	
34.	knife	चक्कु	
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	औंठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	

50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रूख	
62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गहुँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	tomato	गोलभँडा	
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	बाख्रो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरो	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्छे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वाम्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	
118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	

125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देब्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गह्रौँ	
145.	light	हलुका	
146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह्र	

163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	
174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोकु	
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	उडनु	
195.	to walk	हिँडनु	
196.	to run/ run	दौडनु	
197.	to go /go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear/hear/listen	सुत्नु	

201.	to look/look	हेर्नु	
202.	I	म	
203.	you (informal)	तँ	
204.	you (formal)	तपाईं	
205.	he	ऊ	
206.	she	उनी	
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	
210.	they	उनीहरू	

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