

Sociolinguistic Survey of Kagate

Language Vitality and Community Desires

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Abstract

This report presents the results of sociolinguistic research conducted among representatives of the Kagate [ISO 639-3: syw] language community of Ramechhap district in Nepal. The goals of this survey were to evaluate language vitality and clarify the community's desires for language-based development. This research recommends the Kagate language community be designated as EGIDS level 6a: *Vigorous* and describes the community's desire for products in their mother tongue.

सारांश

यस प्रतिवेदनमा, नेपालको रामेछाप जिल्लाको कागते भाषिक समुदायका मानिसहरूको बीचमा संचालित भाषिक-सामाजिक अनुसन्धानबाट प्राप्त प्रतिवेदनहरू समावेश गरिएका छन्। यस सर्वेक्षणको लक्ष्यहरू, भाषाको सजीवता मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु र भाषामा आधारित विकासका लागि समुदायको आकांक्षा निर्धारण गर्नु थिए। यस अनुसन्धानले यो देखाउँछ कि कागतेको प्रयोग सबै पुस्ताका मानिसहरूका बीच बोली चली द्वारा घरमा प्रयोग भइरहेको छ र यो भाषाको प्रयोगले निरन्तरता पाइरहनेछ। यस प्रतिवेदनमा समुदायको उनीहरूको भाषामा उत्पादनका लागि आकांक्षाको सारांश पनि दिइएको छ।

Preface

This sociolinguistic survey of the Kagate language of eastern Nepal was conducted in partnership with the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN), Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal. Fieldwork was conducted in September of 2012 in Ramechhap district. Our hope is that the sociolinguistic information summarized here will be useful for giving input into further Kagate language development.

We are deeply grateful for the many people who contributed to the completion of this survey. We are thankful for our colleagues at Tribhuvan University and their partnership. We are indebted to Norsang Tamang and Isaac Tamang who helped plan and facilitate this research. Their gracious company during fieldwork was invaluable, and we are grateful for their translation and facilitation skills which they contributed so generously to the work. During fieldwork, Pasang Maya Kagate provided expert guidance and assistance, making our time in the villages productive and enjoyable.

We greatly appreciate all the Kagate people of Ramechhap district who so warmly welcomed us into their homes and contributed to this research. Your hospitality and generosity touched our hearts. This report is for you.

Our hope is that this report is useful for Kagate language development. We trust that this report accurately reflects the data we collected. However, comments and suggestions are welcomed.

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प्राक्कथन

पूर्वी नेपालको कागते भाषाको यो सामाजिक भाषिक सर्वेक्षण, भाषिक सर्वेक्षण नेपाल(लिनसुन), त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, कीर्तिपुर, नेपालसँग संयुक्त रूपमा संचालन गरिएको थियो। फिल्डको काम सेप्टेम्बर २०१२ मा रामेछाप जिल्लामा संचालन गरिएको थियो। यहाँ सारांशमा दिइएको जानकारी कागते भाषाको थप विकासकालागि र सुभाव दिनका लागि उपयोगी हुने हाम्रो आशा छ। यस सर्वेक्षण सम्पन्न गर्न धेरै मानिसहरूबाट योगदान प्राप्त भएको छ, उहाँहरूप्रति हामी अत्यन्तै आभारी छौं। त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयका हाम्रा सहकर्मीहरू तथा उहाँहरूका साभेदारहरूप्रति पनि हामी कृतज्ञ छौं। नोर्साङ्ग तामाङ्ग र आइसाक तामाङ्ग जसले यो अनुसन्धानको योजना तर्जुमा गर्न, यसलाई सहज पार्न मद्दत गर्नुभयो, उहाँहरू प्रति हामी ऋणी छौं। फिल्ड कार्यको समयमा उहाँहरूको कृपापूर्ण साथ अमूल्य थियो र उहाँहरूको अनुवाद तथा सहजकर्ताको भूमिका, जुन उहाँहरूले यति उदारताकासाथ प्रदान गर्नुभयो त्यसका लागि हामी कृतज्ञ छौं। फिल्डको कामको समयमा पासाङ्ग माया कागतेले गाउँमा रहँदाको हाम्रो समयलाई उत्पादनशील र रमाइलो बनाइदिँदै एउटा विशेषज्ञले दिने अगुवाइ तथा सहयोग प्रदान गरिदिनुभयो। रामेछाप जिल्लाका कागते जनहरू जसले हामीलाई आफ्नो घरमा यति हार्दिकताकासाथ स्वागत गर्नुभयो उहाँहरूलाई धेरै कदर गर्दछौं। तपाईंहरूको सत्कार तथा उदारता हाम्रो हृदयमा सदा स्मरणीय रहनेछ। यो प्रतिवेदन तपाईंहरूकै लागि हो। कागते भाषा विकासका लागि यो प्रतिवेदन उपयोगी हुन्छ भन्ने हामीले आशा गरेका छौं। यस प्रतिवेदनमा हामीले संकलन गरेको तथ्याङ्क यथार्थरूपमा प्रतिविम्बित हुन्छ भन्ने हाम्रो विश्वास छ। जे होस्, तपाईंहरूको टीका- टिप्पणी तथा सुभावहरूको स्वागत गरिन्छ।

जुन २०१३

जेसिका आर मिचेल

स्तेफनी आर आइकान्तोफ्

1 Purpose and Goals

The purpose of this research is to provide a better understanding of language vitality within the Kagate community and the community's desires for language-based development activities. These purposes have been pursued in conjunction with Tribhuvan University's Central Department of Linguistics' Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) project. The goals for this research are to:

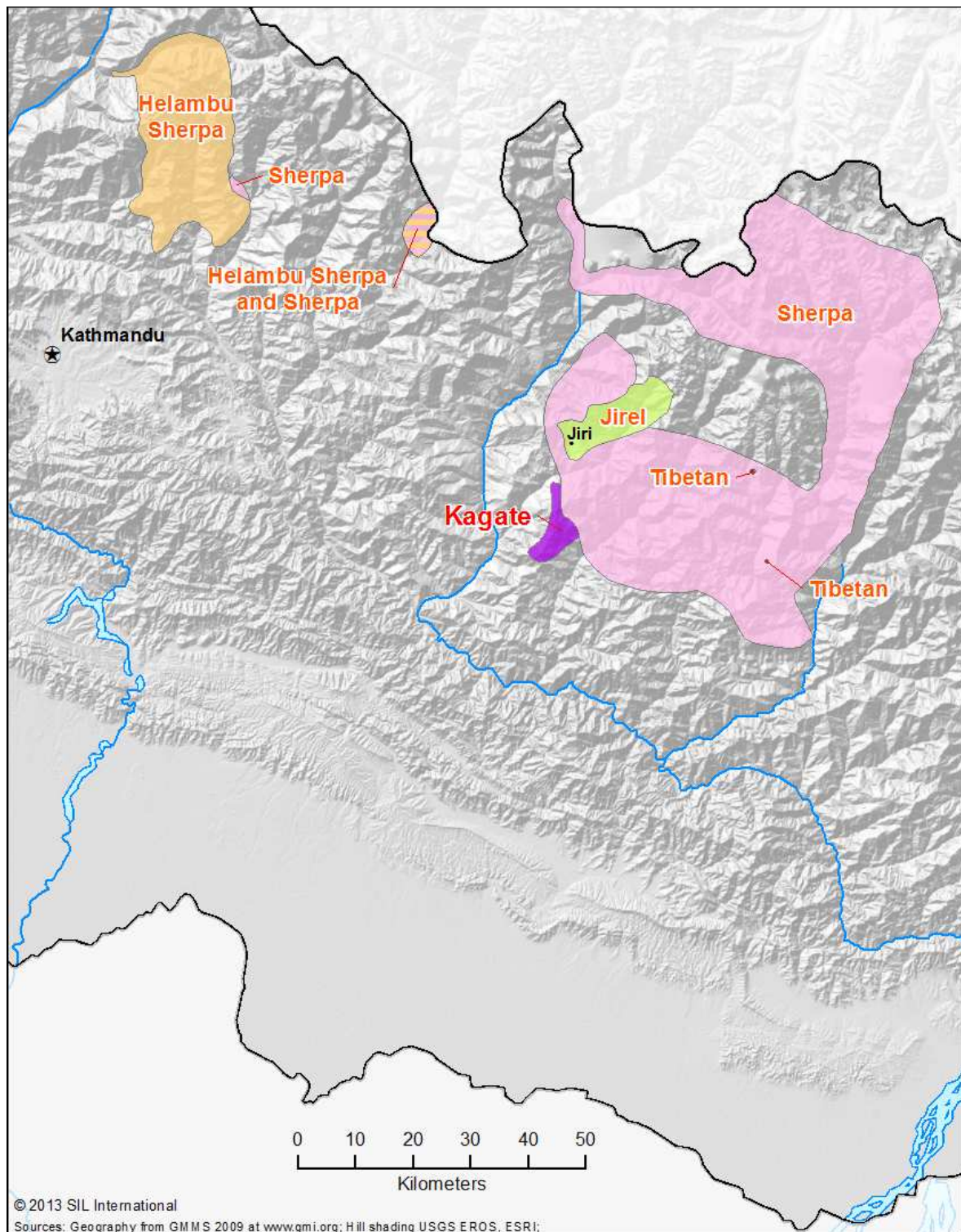
1. Investigate language vitality of the Kagate community.
2. Determine if the Kagate community desires language-based development and, if so, identify what development activities are desirable.

2 Introduction

2.1 Geography

Kagate live in the northeastern corner of Ramechhap district in Janakpur Zone. Ramechhap lies between Solokhumbu and Dolakha districts. Kagate villages are located on the upper portions of the hills between Khimti and Likhu rivers, primarily in the Village Development Committees (VDCs) of Duragaun, Namadi, and Bhuji. The community is accessible year-round by bus. Figure 1 shows the Kagate language area within the context of the languages of eastern Nepal.

Figure 1: Kagate language area



2.2 Language and identity

The term *Kagate* is the equivalent of *Syuuba* in Nepali, which means "paper maker." In past generations, paper making was a primary profession for Kagate people. During informal interviews, people often used different words to refer to their language and ethnic group. When speaking with outsiders, the Kagate people often refer to themselves as Tamang, the name of a large Tibeto-Burman ethnic group and language in the area. Many interview participants reported their family name as Tamang and their mother tongue as Kagate or Yholmo. Alternate names for Kagate include *Kagate Bhote*, *Shuba*, *Shyuba*, and *Syuba* (Lewis 2013). While the most common terms for respondents' mother tongue were *Syuuba*, *Yholmo*, and *Kagate*, based on the current ISO designation for this language name, the term Kagate will be used for this language throughout this report.

Kagate is classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Bodish, Central Bodish, Central, gTsang (Bradley 1997: 8). It is closely related to Helambu Sherpa [scp], a language spoken to the north. Due to less use of the honorific system in verbs, intelligibility between the two groups is more of a challenge for Kagate speakers than for Helambu Sherpa speakers (Lewis 2012). There are reportedly no dialect variations within the Kagate language community itself (Isaac Tamang and Norsang Tamang, p.c. 2012).

In 1976, the Kagate population in Nepal was estimated to be 1,000 speakers (Hoehlig and Hari 1976: 1). According to the 2011 Census of Nepal there are 99 people who claim Kagate as their ethnic identity. Based on interviews with village leaders, previous research, and observations during fieldwork, we estimate there are 1,500 Kagate speakers.

Previous research on Kagate includes *Kagate Phonemic Summary* published by Monika Hoehlig and Maria Hari in 1976. George van Driem has also written about Kagate in his *Languages of the Himalayas* (2001).

2.3 History

According to Kagate tradition, they originally migrated from the Helambu area in Chautara district. Hoehlig and Hari report that the migration to the current Kagate population center in Ramechhap occurred four generations prior to their research in the 1970s due to food shortages and lack of possibilities to support themselves. At the time

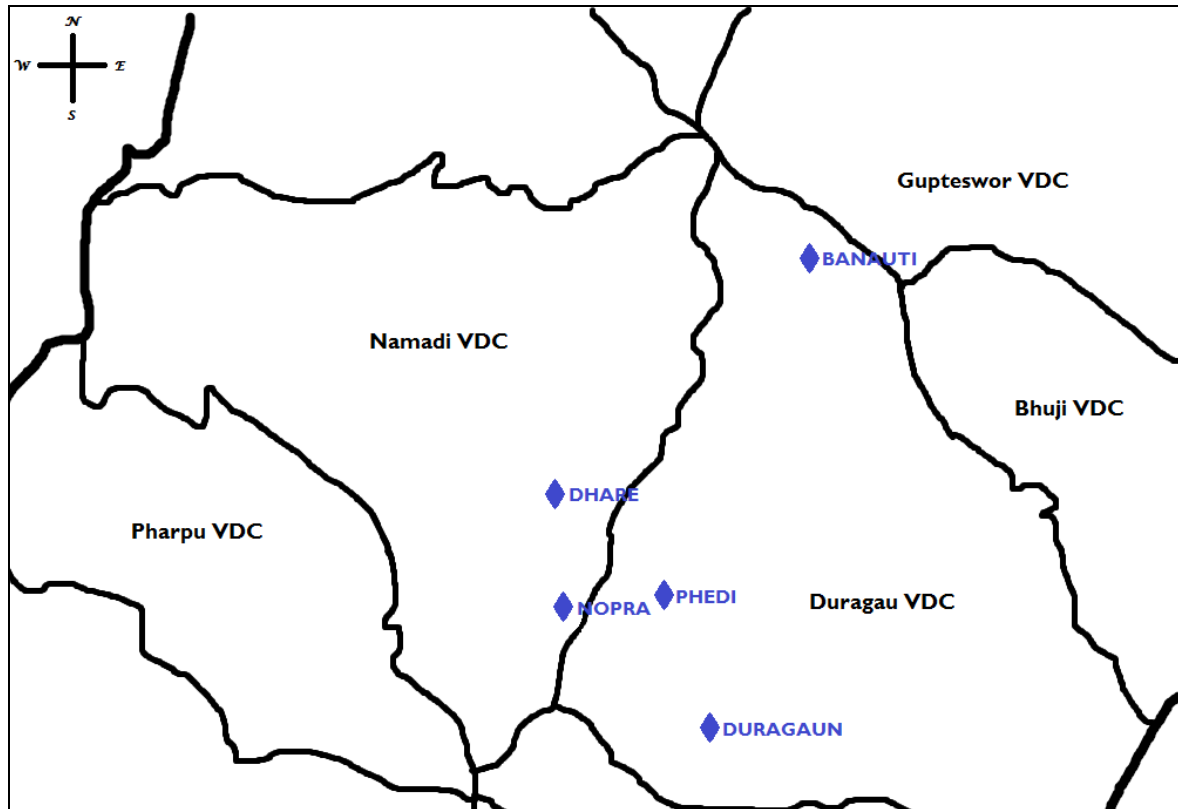
of their research a second migration took place for the same reasons, moving Kagate people to Darjeeling and Assam in India (1976: 1).

3 Methodology

3.1 Site selection

A total of five villages (Dhungare, Banauti, Phedi, Dhare, and Nopra) were visited in Duragaun and Namadi Village Development Committees (VDCs) in Ramechhap district. These villages were chosen based on their large Kagate population and their geographic distance from Phedi. Phedi is the most densely populated Kagate village and is known as the main Kagate village. Dhare and Nopra are about 1.6 km apart and were counted as one data site (Namadi VDC, ward 9) for our analysis. Isolation, location on a main road, and ethnic makeup of the population were also considered.

Figure 2: Kagate villages visited in Ramechhap district



3.2 Subject selection

The quota sampling plan used in this survey was based on four demographic categories: gender, age, education, and geographic location. These factors are known to influence

language use and attitudes. Also, the people in these demographic groups often have varying levels of exposure to other languages. Quota sampling is easier to accomplish and more practical for the purposes of this research than the more representative random sampling.

Within these demographic groups, we required subjects to meet two screening criteria to be eligible to take part in the informal interview:

1. Subjects are "from the village", meaning they have grown up in the village (or a nearby village), are living in the village at present, and if they have lived elsewhere, it was not, in the researchers' judgment, for a significant amount of recent time.
2. Subjects have at least one parent from the target speech variety.

In each location, 12 informal interviews¹ were administered to a sample of Kagate speakers, stratified by age and gender. Educational background was also recorded during data collection and taken into account during analysis. For this analysis, literate persons are classified as educated, which generally corresponds with the completion of primary level four. Figure 3 shows subject sampling as conducted in each location.

Figure 3: Sample size for informal interviews, stratified by age and gender

Sample size by strata		Age		Total
		<i>Young (15-34)</i>	<i>Old (35+)</i>	
Gender	<i>Male</i>	3	3	6
	<i>Female</i>	3	3	6
Total		6	6	12

3.3 Research methods

Background research was conducted in Kathmandu prior to fieldwork. Kagate speakers from Phedi and Kathmandu were interviewed and assisted in preparing various tools.

¹ In Dhungare, however, only 11 informal interviews were administered; two young men were interviewed instead of three. This is because most young men were not in the village at the time of fieldwork.

The participatory methods (PM) used in this survey were facilitated by Norsang Tamang and Isaac Tamang. PM tools are a way of engaging and empowering communities in language development. Truong and Garcez (2012: 24) describe PM as "guided facilitations with a small group of community members brought together to discuss the reality of their language situation."

During fieldwork, informal interviews and knowledgeable insider interviews were conducted in Dhungare, Banauti, Phedi, and Namadi VDC, ward 9. The Bilingualism PM tool was facilitated in Dhungare, Banauti, and Dhare. The Appreciative Inquiry PM tool was facilitated in Dhungare and Banauti. The Stakeholder Analysis PM tool was facilitated in Dhungare, Banauti, and Phedi.

3.3.1 *Informal interview (II)*

Description and Purpose: A prepared interview schedule guided interaction in order to gather information regarding specific sociolinguistic issues, while allowing freedom to inquire or discuss issues further if it might provide additional, relevant information. An additional interview schedule (the knowledgeable insider interview - KII) was used to investigate issues relevant to each village context.

Procedure: The interview schedule was written in English and Nepali, with interviews conducted in Nepali. An example of this procedure would be asking "What language do you usually speak with your children?" as listed on the planned interview schedule. If the interviewee responded with two or more languages, we followed up with questions such as, "Do you speak one of these languages more often than the other?" This allowed the interviews to focus more on patterns of language use (and their impact on language vitality and shift) than on other topics, such as generalized trends of multilingualism. The interview schedule, biographical data of respondents, and responses can be found in Appendix B. The knowledgeable insider interview and responses are in Appendix C.

Advantages: Depending on the length of the interview schedule, the time in administration can be minimal, allowing for relatively large numbers of people to be interviewed. The informal nature of the interviews helps subjects feel comfortable and share openly, while allowing greater depth and context for their responses.

Disadvantages: Informal interviews are limited in that subjects may only report what they want the researcher to hear, or what they believe the researcher would like to hear.

3.3.2 *Bilingualism participatory methods tool*

Description and Purpose: This method helps language community members describe the demographics and patterns of multilingualism within their community.

Procedure: Participants listed the languages spoken most frequently in their community. They then described categories of people who speak each language well, the relative size of each category of speakers, and which categories may be increasing most quickly. A complete description of the tool as well as results for this survey can be found in Appendix D.

Advantages: This tool does not assume languages spoken in the community, but allows the community to name and discuss relevant languages themselves.

Disadvantages: This method is not very accommodating to multilingual situations exceeding the complexity of two languages spoken within the community. It does not help document or illustrate community attitudes towards their bilingual context.

3.3.3 *Appreciative Inquiry (AI) participatory methods tool*

Description and Purpose: This method helps community members discuss what they are proud of and what desires they have for their language. It shows what the community regards as priorities for their own language-based development.

Procedure: Participants discuss things in their mother tongue or culture that have made them happy or proud. They then consider how to build upon the good things they identified, or list their own dreams for their language. Next, they discuss which dreams might be accomplished sooner and which ones will take longer. Then, they identify which dreams are most important to them. A full description of the Appreciative Inquiry method and results can be found in Appendix E.

Advantages: This method is very adaptable. Its emphasis is on what the community can do now to work towards their dreams for language development. Appreciative Inquiry helps build a concrete context by which to understand actual priorities that a community has for its own development.

Disadvantages: If not carried out appropriately, this method may raise false hopes of outside assistance in reaching their goals. If communicated, the facilitator's opinions could influence participants and skew results for the community's actual desires.

4 Language Use and Vitality

This chapter discusses the vitality of the Kagate language. One current measurement for vitality is the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis & Simons 2010). Built upon Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (1991), EGIDS measures vitality on a scale from zero to ten, with zero being the strongest vitality and ten the weakest. On the EGIDS scale, this research suggests Kagate should be classified as 6a: Vigorous. The EGIDS materials give a description of the Vigorous level: "A Level 6a language is an oral language that is maintaining sustainable oral use among all generations in the home domain" (Lewis & Simons 2010). For a full description of the EGIDS scale, see Appendix F.

This chapter addresses different areas of evaluating vitality, loosely based on Lynn Landweer's Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (IEV) (2000). Contact, domains of language use, intergenerational transfer, code switching, population and group dynamics, language and education, social outlook, and access to a stable economic base are discussed, as related to vitality, in turn.

4.1 Contact

Landweer uses contact with speakers of other languages as one of the indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. She asks, "Is the speech community located near a population center where its members could have contact with speakers of other languages? Do they have access to such a population center?" (Landweer 2000).

The Kagate speech community is located in a fairly remote location. The villages are scattered on the uppermost parts of interlocking ridges, located higher than most other groups. They are not located on paths or roads well travelled by others and, though there are neighboring Sunuwar (an ethnic and language group unrelated to Kagate) villages, there are no other major villages or towns in the area. These factors limit the community's interaction with speakers of other languages.

The road from Kathmandu ends in Dhobi, which is populated by a mix of Bahun (Nepali-speaking), Chettri (Nepali-speaking), and speakers of other languages. During our knowledgeable insider interviews in each village, the interviewees from Banauti, Phedi, and Nopra reported that Dhobi was the non-Kagate village people from their village most frequently travel to. (The interviewees from Dhungare reported that people from their

village do not usually travel outside their village). In this context, most contact with other language groups would be the result of Kagate speakers travelling outside of their village.

To investigate the frequency of travel, informal interview participants were asked how often they travel outside their village. Response options of daily, weekly, monthly, and rarely were given to each subject. Eighty-six percent (42/49) of respondents reported they travel either monthly or rarely outside their village. Only one respondent said she travels outside her village on a daily basis. This indicates that people do not travel frequently from the villages visited.

Investigating further, participants were asked how frequently they spoke with a non-Kagate speaker. The majority of participants (42/49) reported that they speak with a non-Kagate person either monthly or rarely. Only 14% of respondents (7/49) reported weekly or daily contact with a non-Kagate speaker. This further confirms the low degree of interaction with speakers of other languages.

These responses show that even though Kagate speakers have access to a population center (mainly Dhobi) where they could come into contact with speakers of other languages, and have Sunuwar villages surrounding their villages, there is no strong pattern of travel outside their own village or contact with non-Kagate people.

4.2 Domains of language use

Another way of investigating language vitality is to look at the community's language use choices in specific domains. Domains are certain contexts in which one language is considered more appropriate to use than another. There are three factors involved in any given domain: location, topic, and participants (Fasold 1984: 183). This section looks at language use in specific domains.

To provide a general context for language use, we asked participants what language they spoke best. Every respondent except one responded that Kagate was the language they spoke best.

4.2.1 *Language use in the home*

Of the various domains of language use, the home domain arguably has the greatest influence in a person's life. This is because the language of the home is generally a child's first language. We asked participants what language they usually use in their home when

chatting with or telling stories to different kinds of people. Figure 4 displays responses to the question, "When you are in your own home, what language do you usually use when chatting with your parents/your spouse/children?"

Figure 4: When you are in your own home, what language do you usually use when chatting with...?

	n =	Kagate	Nepali
Your Parents	48	98%	2%
Your Spouse	42	93%	7%
Children	49	96%	4%

In their own homes, with all three groups of people (parents, spouses, and children), respondents reported that they usually use Kagate.

We also asked participants which language they usually use when telling a story in their own home to these three groups of people. Responses are displayed in Figure 5.

Figure 5: When you are in your own home, what language do you usually use when telling a story to...?

	n =	Kagate	Nepali
Your Parents	48	96%	4%
Your Spouse	42	90%	10%
Children	49	96%	4%

When telling stories to an audience in their own home, almost all of the respondents reported they usually use Kagate with each of the three groups (parents, spouse, and children) .

Besides daily interactions, like chatting and telling stories, another important domain of the home involves religious activities. The Nepali word *puja* encompasses activities of worship. We asked each respondent if they do *puja* in their own home, and if so, what language they usually use. Of the 42 respondents who said they do *puja* in their home, 95% reported using Kagate.

In addition to responses from individual interviews indicating high use of Kagate in the home, observations support these findings. Despite the presence of the researchers who only spoke Nepali and English, Kagate was consistently used in the home among families and visitors.

4.2.2 *Language use in the village*

We asked participants which language children in the village usually use when playing with other Kagate children. All respondents said that children use Kagate in this situation. Similarly, all respondents also reported using Kagate when speaking with Kagate friends in their village. Observations in the villages visited are consistent with these findings.

The only domain in which Nepali was reported as the primary language is the domain of education. Both primary and secondary level schools that Kagate children attend use Nepali, the national language, as the medium of instruction.

Reported use of Kagate in the home and in the village is high among all generations. These interview responses and researcher observations indicate a high level of language vitality.

4.3 Intergenerational transfer

The extent of intergenerational transfer, the degree to which Kagate is being passed on to the younger generation, is another indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality.

As already discussed in Figure 4 and Figure 5, the majority of respondents reported speaking Kagate with children in the home when chatting or telling stories. Participants were also asked if they have children of their own. Of the 35 interviewees who have children old enough to speak, all 35 reported that all of their children speak Kagate.

As discussed in section 4.2.2, all interview respondents said that children use Kagate when playing with other Kagate children in the village.

In addition to questions about language use among Kagate children, we asked whether or not children speak Kagate the same way their grandparents speak it. Of the responses, 89% (42/47) said that children's way of speaking is the same as their grandparents' way of speaking.

Results of the facilitation of the Bilingualism PM tool indicate that young children (children who have not yet attended school) do not speak Nepali. This confirms interview responses that all children speak Kagate. In addition to participatory methods data, observations further confirm high intergenerational transfer.

In summary, high degrees of intergenerational transfer of Kagate can be seen in the villages visited. Supporting evidence includes: patterns of children's use of Kagate reported in interviews, observations, and participatory methods facilitation results.

4.4 Code switching/mixing

Another indicator of language vitality is the amount and type of code switching present in a language community. Code switching is when a word or phrase from a second language is inserted into the stream of speech in the first language. We asked participants how often they hear Nepali being mixed with Kagate. Figure 6 shows responses to this question.

Figure 6: When you hear Kagate people in the village talking to each other in Kagate, how often do they mix Nepali?

n = 48	Never	12%
	A little	78%
	Some	8%
	A lot	2%

Most respondents reported they usually heard a little mixing.

During fieldwork we were able to listen to hours of conversations in Kagate. Our team observed little to no mixing of Nepali in the conversations we overheard.

Reports of "a little" mixing of Kagate and Nepali does not necessarily suggest high or low vitality. High amounts of mixing would be a stronger indicator of low language vitality, while low levels of reported mixing are more ambiguous. Language communities may operate with a stable level of mixing, but it was beyond the scope of this research to investigate this topic more thoroughly.

4.5 Population and group dynamics

An additional indicator of language vitality is population and group dynamics. This requires investigating the ethnic and linguistic make-up of the community. What languages are spoken in Kagate villages? Do only Kagate people live there? Do people migrate to Kagate villages (through marriage or for work)?

We looked at whether there is a pattern of migration into Kagate communities by other ethnic or language groups. We asked knowledgeable insiders in each community if non-Kagate people migrate into their community. The response for each village was no,

outsiders do not typically immigrate to Kagate villages. In addition, of the 43 informal interview participants who are married, only three have non-Kagate spouses.

As for the ethnic make-up in Kagate villages, in Phedi, there are two Chettri homes, but it is reported that they speak Kagate in the village and not Nepali. The other four villages visited reported that their populations are solely Kagate.

Evaluating group dynamics includes looking at who holds different roles in the community, which ethnic group they are from, and which language(s) they use. People who work as teachers and doctors in these communities were reportedly Bahun, Chettri, Sunuwar, and Madeshi, all of whom use Nepali, but do not live in the villages we visited. We were told about one Kagate primary teacher. *Lamas* (Buddhist religious leaders) in the nearby *gombas* (Buddhist places of worship) are all from Kagate villages and use Kagate.

The homogeneous populations of the Kagate communities visited supports and strengthens the case for high language vitality.

4.6 Social outlook

According to Landweer (2000), the social outlook indicator considers both internal and external recognition of the language community as separate and unique within the broader society. In our research, we investigated the internal aspect of this indicator by asking participants questions about their perceptions of their language and identity.

Ninety percent of respondents (44/49) said that out of the languages they can speak, Kagate is the language they love the most. Eighty-two percent of respondents (40/49) said that, out of all the languages spoken in Ramechhap district², their own language is the most beneficial. When asked which language had the least benefit, no one answered Kagate.

Another question used to assess social outlook was, “When you hear that a non-Kagate speaker has married a Kagate speaker, how do you feel?” Three fourths of respondents (37/49) said they feel sad, 12% (6/49) said they feel indifferent, and 12% said they feel

² Nepali, Kagate, Tamang, Majhi, Sherpa, Sunuwar, and Magar.

happy. Of the six respondents that replied "happy", three have married non-Kagate speakers.

These responses show that, within the community, the Kagate language and group purity are valued. This suggests high vitality in the area of social outlook.

4.7 Access to stable and acceptable economic base

Another indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality is if the community sees its language as economically viable. If the community requires the use of a second language in order to survive economically, this could undermine use of the mother tongue.

The majority of interview respondents (38/49) are farmers. Knowledgeable insider interviewees in Dhungare and Banauti said they do not trade with others, while Phedi and Nopra interviewees reported trade among Nepali-speaking people groups.

In section 4.1, interview responses indicate that travel outside one's own village and interaction with non-Kagate speakers is infrequent. Knowledgeable insider interviewees reported differing levels of frequency of travel outside the village for income. In Nopra and Dhungare, responses were "never" and "rarely", respectively. However, in both Banauti and Phedi, "frequent" travel to find income was reported.

When asked if they have travelled outside their village for more than one year, one-third said yes. Most of these people travelled/lived outside of Nepal and most returned to the village within five years.

Considering the amount of contact Kagate people have with non-Kagate speakers, how often people leave the village for employment, as well as patterns of long-term travel/living outside the village, economic factors do not appear to strengthen nor weaken the vitality of Kagate.

4.8 Language and education

Education also plays a role in language vitality. In Kagate villages, school is the primary place where young people learn Nepali. In each village, knowledgeable insiders were asked, "How many children from your village go to secondary school?" In Banauti, the knowledgeable insider reported that "most" children go to secondary school, while knowledgeable insiders in Phedi, Dhungare, and Nopra reported that "few" go to secondary school.

This low level of secondary school attendance is reflected in the bio-data of informal interview participants. Ten out of 49 participants had any schooling. Five of the ten did not continue their education beyond year five, the year when students are considered literate in Nepali. Thus only five out of 49 subjects interviewed had any education beyond that of attaining basic literacy.

4.9 Summary of ethnolinguistic vitality

An EGIDS level of 6a: *Vigorous* is suggested by this research due to several indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. No strong patterns of contact with speakers of other languages, high use of Kagate in various domains of the home and village, high intergenerational transfer, patterns of immigration and the language choice of immigrants, and social outlook are some of the strongest arguments for claiming high language vitality among the Kagate villages tested. The extent of code-switching and a stable economic base supportive of mother-tongue use appear neutral, neither supporting nor undermining the use of Kagate. There is not a high level of formal education in Nepali. All factors considered, Kagate language vitality appears high.

5 Desires for Development

Informal interviews and Appreciative Inquiry were used to assess the community's desires for language-based development.

5.1 Appreciative Inquiry results

Appreciative Inquiry was facilitated in Banauti and Dhungare. Participants expressed a desire for books and songs in their own language. Dhungare participants also said they would like a calendar in Kagate. In Banauti, they said they would like general language development activities in Kagate (see Appendix E).

5.2 Informal Interview results

Informal interview participants were asked a number of questions relating to their desires for language-based development. We asked what language they prefer for the medium of education at the primary level with the multiple choice options "your mother tongue", "Nepali", "Tamang", "English", and "Other". Nearly half (23/49) said they prefer Nepali, 37% (18/49) said they prefer their mother tongue, and 16% (8/49) prefer English. Participants were also asked about languages they would like to be able to read and write. Of the 23 participants who reported they are unable to read and write but

would like to learn, 14 (61%) said they would like to read and write in their mother tongue. All 23 participants said that if their language was written in magazines or books that they would want to learn to read it. All 49 participants also said that it would be good for their mother tongue to be written.

5.3 Summary of desires for development

Through Appreciative Inquiry facilitations and informal interviews, respondents expressed positive interest toward language-based development in the mother tongue. Participants desire more products to be available in their language, including songs, books, and calendars.

6 Dialect Variation

As neither Hoehlig and Hari (1976) nor van Driem (2001) mention dialect variation in Kagate, we asked members of the Kagate community about varieties of their language. There is reportedly very little dialect variation in the language. For this reason, we collected just one wordlist for documentation purposes that is representative of the largest Kagate village, Phedi (found in Appendix A).

7 Summary of Findings and Implications for Language-based Development

The results of this research show the following:

- There is a high level of language vitality in the Kagate villages visited
- There is an expressed desire for language-based development.

This chapter will specify how the findings of this research can inform and guide the community to appropriate action.

7.1 Language use and vitality

7.1.1 *Summary of findings*

This research suggests an EGIDS level of 6a: *Vigorous* for the Kagate language community. This suggestion is based on several factors of ethnolinguistic vitality. Some of the strongest arguments for claiming high vitality among the Kagate villages tested are:

- No strong patterns of contact with speakers of other languages,
- High use of Kagate in various domains of the home and village,
- High intergenerational transfer,
- Patterns of immigration and the language choice of immigrants,
- And a positive social outlook.

The extent of code-switching and a stable economic base supportive of mother-tongue use appear neutral, neither supporting nor undermining the use of Kagate. All factors considered, Kagate language vitality appears high.

7.1.2 *Implications*

There are a variety of oral and literacy-based activities that would appropriately support and encourage Kagate language use. Fundamental literacy development (i.e. practical orthography and primers), technical support and computer training for on-site desktop publishing, and cultural dramas could help maintain and/or strengthen Kagate language vitality.

7.2 Desires for Development

7.2.1 *Summary of findings*

In each Kagate village visited, respondents expressed a positive attitude toward language-based development through Appreciative Inquiry facilitations and informal interviews. Participants desire to see more products made available in their language.

7.2.2 *Implications*

Products such as books, songs, or calendars in Kagate would be well received by the community.

7.3 Dialect variation

7.3.1 *Summary of findings*

This research found no indication of significant dialect variation among Kagate villages.

7.3.2 *Implications*

Kagate materials from any village would likely be understood in any other Kagate village. Phedi is accepted to be the largest and most prestigious Kagate village, therefore, it may be beneficial to develop materials there.

8 कागते: प्राप्त परिणामहरूको सारांश (Kagate: A Summary of Findings)

अनुवादक कृष्ण राना (Nepali Translation by Krishna Rana)

8.1 उद्देश्य तथा लक्ष्यहरू

यस अनुसन्धानको उद्देश्य, कागते समुदायभित्र भाषाको सजीवता, भाषामा आधारित विकासका क्रियाकलापहरूका लागि समुदायको आकांक्षा के छ, त्यस बारे अझ बढी जानकारी दिनु हो। भाषाको सजीवता भनेको कुनै समुदायभित्र प्रयोग गरिने भाषाको मात्रा हो। यी उद्देश्यहरूका साथ त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयको भाषा विज्ञान केन्द्रिय विभागको लिनसुन परियोजनासँग संयुक्तरूपमा अगाडी बढिएको छ। यस अनुसन्धानका लक्ष्यहरू निम्न अनुसार छन्:

१) कागते समुदायको भाषिक सजीवता छानविन गर्ने

२) कागते समुदायले भाषामा आधारित विकासको आकांक्षा राखेको छ कि भनेर निश्चित गर्ने, यदि त्यस्तो हो भने विकासका कुन कुन क्रियाकलापहरूको अपेक्षा गरिएको छ पहिचान गर्ने।

8.2 भाषिक प्रयोग तथा सजीवता

कागते समुदाय बीच भाषाको प्रयोगको स्तर निश्चित गर्न विभिन्न परिस्थितिहरू प्रयोगमा ल्याइएका थिए। हामीलाई प्राप्त भएका कुराहरूको सारांश यहाँ दिइएका छन्।

8.2.1 सम्पर्क

अन्य भाषा बोल्नेहरूसँगको बारम्बारको सम्पर्कले गर्दा भाषिक सजीवतामा कमी आउन सक्छ। नजिकैको जनसंख्या केन्द्र विशेषगरी धोवी र सुनुवारहरूसँगको पहुँच भए पनि उनीहरूको आफ्नो गाउँबाट बाहिर धेरै गइरहने बानी पाइँदैन र गैह्र-कागते भाषीहरूसँग त्यति सम्पर्क हुँदैन। अन्य भाषा बोल्ने मानिसहरूसँगको सम्पर्क त्यति धेरै हुँदैन र त्यसले हामी गएका कागते समुदायका बीचमा भाषाको प्रयोगलाई बलियो पार्दछ।

8.2.2 भाषाको प्रयोगको क्षेत्र

घरमा मातृभाषाको प्रयोगले भाषालाई बढी बलियो पार्दछ। अन्तरवार्ता तथा निरीक्षणमा, घर र गाउँमा सबै पुस्ताका मानिसहरू बीच धेरैजसो समयमा कागते प्रयोग गरिएको पाइयो।

8.2.3 एउटा पुस्ताबाट अर्को पुस्तासम्म हस्तान्तरण

कागतेको प्रयोगमा अघिल्लो पुस्ताबाट पछिल्लो पुस्तामा सारिएको अर्थात बाबु-आमाले छोराछोरीलाई सिकाएको कुरा प्रत्यक्ष देखिन्थ्यो। हामी गएका गाउँहरूमा केटाकेटीहरूले कागते सिकेर नियमितरूपमा बोलेका प्रष्ट देखिन्छ। केटाकेटीहरूले विद्यालयमा भर्ना नभएसम्म नेपाली सिक्दैनन्। यसले भाषाको उच्च सजीवता देखाउँछ।

8.2.4 शब्दहरूको मिश्रण

समुदायका सदस्यहरू जसको हामीले अन्तरवार्ता लियौं, उनीहरूले भने कि उनीहरूको कागते बोलीमा थोरै मात्र नेपाली मिसिएको हुन्छ। जे होस्, यी समुदायहरूमा, कागतेसँग कति मात्रामा नेपाली मिसिएको थियो भन्ने कुरा यस अनुसन्धानको क्षेत्रभन्दा बाहिरको कुरा थियो। यस क्षेत्रको केन्द्रविन्दु अनिर्णित थियो।

8.2.5 जनसंख्या तथा समुहको गति

समुदायमा बसाइँ सराइको ढाँचा, समुदायमा कुन जातिकाहरू बस्छन्, र कुन जातिको समुदायमा विभिन्न भूमिका हुन्छ त्यसले भाषाको प्रयोगलाई बलियो वा कमजोर बनाउन सक्छ। यस अनुसन्धानमा कागते समुदायमा एकदम कम मानिस बसाइँ आएका र उनीहरूले कागते सिकेका पाइयो। हामी गएका धेरैजसो समुदायमा शुद्ध कागते र एकदम कम मात्र गैह्र-कागते थिए। समुदायमा केही भूमिकाहरू जस्तै शिक्षक, डाक्टर गैह्र-कागतेहरूले लिएको पाइयो। समग्रमा, हामी गएको एकजातीय कागते जनसंख्या भएको समुदायले कागतेको प्रयोगलाई सहयोग गर्छ र बलियो पार्दछ।

8.2.6 सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण

हामीले कागते बोल्नेहरूले लिएको सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण, उनीहरूको भाषा र पहिचान सम्बन्धमा उनीहरूको धारणाबारे प्रश्नहरू सोधेर छानविन गर्‍यौं। जवाफ दिनेहरूले जवाफमा, कागते उनीहरूले सबभन्दा मनपराउने, उनीहरूलाई सबभन्दा फाइदाजनक भाषा हो र यो नै बच्चाहरूले पहिले सिक्नुपर्ने भाषा हो भने। समुदायभित्र कागते भाषाको मान्यता छ, जसको मतलब उच्च सजीवता छ भन्ने हो।

8.2.7 स्थिर तथा स्वीकारयोग्य आर्थिक आधारसम्मको पहुँच

आर्थिक कुराहरूले भाषाको सजीवतालाई प्रभाव पार्ने देखिएन।

8.2.8 भाषा तथा शिक्षा

प्राथमिक तथा माध्यमिक विद्यालयमा नेपाली प्रयोग गरिन्छ। दोस्रो भाषाको आवश्यकताले भाषाको सजीवतालाई न्यून पार्न सक्छ, तर हामी गएका कागते समुदायहरूमा विद्यालय मात्र एउटा क्षेत्र हो जहाँ नेपाली प्रयोग गरिन्छ। यसको अतिरिक्त, दीर्घकालीन अध्ययन अवधि (माध्यमिक र कलेज) त्यति हुँदैन जसले कागतेको प्रयोगलाई कायम राख्न मद्दत गर्छ।

8.2.9 सजीवताको सारांश

यस अनुसन्धानले यो देखाउँछ कि घरमा मौखिक रूपमा सबै पुस्ताका मानिसहरूको बीचमा प्रयोग गरिन्छ, र यो भाषाको प्रयोगले निरन्तरता पाइराख्नेछ। यी समुदायहरूमा लेख्ने र पढ्ने काम चाहिँ नेपालीमा हुन्छ।

8.3 विकासका लागि आकांक्षा

विभिन्न अनुसन्धानको औजारहरूद्वारा, समुदायका सदस्यहरूले आफ्नो भाषाको, भाषामा आधारित विकासतर्फ सकारात्मक रुची भएको अभिव्यक्ति दिए। उनीहरूले आफ्नो भाषामा गीतहरू, किताबहरू तथा पात्रोहरू लगायतका सामग्रीहरू उपलब्ध गराइयोस् भन्ने चाहना व्यक्त गरे।

8.4 स्थानीय भाषिक विविधता

यस समुदायमा पहिले गरिएको अनुसन्धान तथा अन्तरवार्ता अनुसार यस भाषामा एकदम थोरै भाषिक विविधताहरू छन्।

8.5 भाषामा आधारित विकासका लागि सुभावहरू

8.5.1 भाषिक प्रयोग तथा सजीवता – सुभावहरू

विभिन्न किसिमका मौखिक तथा साक्षरतामा आधारित क्रियाकलापहरू छन् जसले कागते भाषाको प्रयोगलाई उचित ढङ्गले सहयोगका साथै प्रोत्साहन दिनेछ।

8.5.2 विकासका आकांक्षाहरू – सुभावहरू

कागतेमा किताबहरू, गीतहरू र पात्रोहरू जस्ता सामग्रीहरूको उत्पादन समुदायले हार्दिकरूपमा ग्रहण गर्नेछ।

8.5.3 स्थानीय भाषिक विविधता – सुभावहरू

कागते भाषाको भाषागत सामग्रीहरू अरू जुन सुकै कागते गाउँकाहरूले बुझ्न सकिने खालका हुन्छन्। फेदीलाई सबभन्दा ठूलो र सबैले मानेको कागते गाउँको रूपमा लिइन्छ, त्यसैले त्यहीँबाट सामग्री विकास गर्नु लाभदायी हुने देखिन्छ।

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