The Report

of

National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission

1994(2050VS)

National Language Policy Recommendation
Commission
Academy Building, Kamaladi
Kathmandu, Nepal
April 13, 1994 (31 Chaitra 2050 VS)

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Kathmandu, Nepal

Date: April 13, 1994(31st Chaitra 2050VS)

Honorable Minister Mr. Govinda Raj Joshi
Minister of Education, Culture and Social Welfare
Keshar Mahal, Kathmandu.

Honorable Minister,
The constitution promulgated after the restoration of democracy in Nepal following the people's revolution 1990 ending the thirty-year autocratic Panchayat regime, accepts that Nepal is a multicultural and multiethnic country and the languages spoken in Nepal are considered the national languages. The constitution also has ascertained the right to operate school up to the primary level in the mother tongues. There is also a constitutional provision that the state while maintaining the cultural diversity of the country shall pursue a policy of strengthening the national unity. For this purpose, His Majesty's Government had constituted a commission entitled National Language Policy Recommendations Committee in order to suggest the recommendations to Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Welfare about the policies and programmes related to language development, and the strategy to be taken while imparting primary education through the mother tongue.

The working area and focus of the commission constituted on May 27, 1993 (14th Jestha 2050 VS) was the development of the national languages and education through the mother tongue. This report, which considers the working area as well as some other relevant aspects, has been prepared over the past 11 months, prior to mid-April 1994 (the end of Chaitra 2050VS), on the basis of the work plan prepared by the commission. The commission had collected opinions from seminars, field study, meetings, discussions, interviews and from reference materials. The following conclusion was reached after the discussion and analysis in the regular meetings of the commission.

The report has been divided into four parts. Chapter one includes a brief introduction of the language situation in Nepal whereas chapter two is about the preservation and promotion of national languages. Chapter three discusses the use of national languages for primary level education and chapter four suggests recommendations.

The following are some of the recommendations suggested by the commission:
    1.   To conduct a linguistic survey to identify the languages spoken in

Nepal.

2. To take steps for the preservation of the national languages, for example, selection of the norm, devising of writing system (spelling, script,), development of vocabulary, preparation of dictionaries and grammars including extending the domains of the language use (in media, administration etc.).

3. To conduct specific programs for the preservation of the endangered languages by identifying them.

4. To constitute National Language Council to serve as an institution to conduct and monitor plans and programs for the study research and development of national languages.

5. To begin programs to provide education through the mother tongue for children on a priority basis by categorizing the languages into three categories, i.e. languages with literate traditions, languages that are developing literate traditions, am languages with no literate traditions.

6. To provide education through the mother tongue in schools witl mother-tongue speaking children, provide bilingual education (ii the mother tongue and language of the nation) in the schools witl bilingual context and use the language of the nation in the school with multilingual context.

7. To provide recognition and grants by His Majesty's Government to schools established or to be established with people' participation.

8. To make a provision to study the mother tongue as the subject of all categories of schools, mother tongue school, bilingual an multilingual schools.

9. To make a provision to teach the mother tongue instead of Sanskrit as an alternative subject within the current framework of the lower secondary level curricula.

10. To establish a department of linguistics at the university for the training of manpower related to the teaching of languages and preparation of teaching and learning materials.

11. To establish an autonomous and separate body within Royal Nepal Academy and to make a provision to provide affiliation and financial assistance to them.

12. To establish a separate branch under Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Centre for the development of the teaching materials, and for their implementation and monitoring.

13. To involve the linguists as well as experts for making the linguistic statistics authentic in the national census.

It gives me great pleasure to hand over the suggestions in the form of

this report to you on behalf of the National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission after the comprehensive study, discussion and analysis of the suggestions gathered regarding the policies and programs including providing the education through the mother tongue. We wish to thank His Majesty's Government through you for offering us the task of preparing this report responsibly and I am optimistic about the immediate implementation of the recommendations suggested.

Mr. Til Bikram Nembang
Coordinator
National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission

Members of National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission

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   Coordinator
   (Litterrateur. Language activist, Sartap, Panchthar)
2.   Mr. Bhim Bahadur Tamang
   Member
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10.   Mr. Umashankar Dwibedi
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Acknowledgements

Content

BACKGROUND

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal promulgated following the people's revolution 1990 has provided definite guidelines towards the preservation and promotion of the languages and culture of several ethnic groups residing in Nepal. The constitutional provision has also created awareness for preservation and promotion of their culture. Taking cognizance of this reality, the first elected government constituted the National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (1993/2050 VS) to create initiatives for the development of the mother tongues, where several speakers of the languages were interested.

In such context, His Majesty's Government, in accordance with *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990* has constituted a committee to suggest recommendations to the Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Welfare for implementation as stipulated in the Articles (6.2), 18 (2), and 26 (2), stating that while maintaining the cultural diversity of the country, the State shall pursue a policy of strengthening the national unity by promoting healthy and cordial social relations amongst the various relations, castes, tribes, communities and linguistic groups.

The eleven-member National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission was constituted under the coordination of Mr. Til Bikram Nembang (Bairagi Kainla) on May 27, 1993 (Jestha 14 2050 VS).

Terms of reference

The following terms of reference of the commission were set by His Majesty's Government:

1. To make recommendations about the policy and programs associated with the development of national languages.
2. To suggest working policies for imparting education through the mother tongue at the primary level and to recommend whether the language of the nation would be appropriate to be taught as the subject or used as a medium of instruction.
3. To identify bases of priorities in order to impart primary education through mother tongues.
4. To suggest methods to be used for the effective implementation of the aforementioned recommendations.
5. To make other appropriate suggestions.

Meetings and discussion

The first meeting of the commission was held on June 10, 1993 (28th Jestha 2050 VS), on Thursday. Altogether 61 meetings were held in between June 10, 1993 (28 Jestha 2050VS) to April 12, 1994 (30 Chaitra 2050 VS).

Workplan

The meeting held on June 24, 1993 (10th Asar 2050 VS) decided to proceed with the outline of the following work plan:

1. Establishment and management of office
2. Gathering of relevant materials
3. Preparation of working paper and discussion
4. Collection of suggestions and their study
    (a) Field study and collection of suggestions obtained from talks and seminars.
    (b) Interview with distinguished experts of the related field and collection of suggestions from national newspapers.
    (c) Classification/Analysis of the suggestions
    (d) Seminar at the national level
5. Preparation of report

Preparation of working paper and discussion

Based on the data from various census reports, the papers entitled "An Analysis of Caste and Ethnic Groups", "An Analysis of Mother tongue wise Population" and "Definition of National languages" were prepared by the following member respectively and presented to the meeting of the commission.

1. Dr. Hemanga Raj Adhikari
2. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yavada
3. Mr. Kasi Nath Tamot

Papers related to "Present Status of the Mother tongue and Situation of Publication" was prepared by the following members including some other persons and presented to the meeting.

1. Mr. Amrit Yonjan Tamang
2. Mr. Kasinath Tamot
3. Mr. Ghanbahadur Lamichhane Gurung
4. Mr. Tejnarayan Panjiyar
5. Mr. Ngawang Bosher Lama
6. Mr. Tilbikram Nemwang
7. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava
8. Dr. Novel Kishor Rai
9. Dr. Harshabahadur Budha Magar
10. Dr. Hemangaraj Adhikari
11. Mr. Umashankar Dwibedi

12. Mr. Sitaramsharan Chaudhari

Collection of opinions

Collection of opinions from seminar

(a) The two-day seminar on October 15-16, 1993 (29th and 30th Ashoj 2050 **VS)** was concluded **at Royal** Nepal Academy in accordance with the decision of the meeting held on September 15, 1993 (30th Bhadra 2050 VS), which requested that the Nepal Foundation for the Development of Indigenous Nationalities host a two-day seminar.

(b) A seminar about National Languages Policy at Royal Nepal Academy was held on November 6-8, 1993 (21 to 23 Kartik 2050 VS). In the three-day seminar, the working papers were presented by the following and discussions over the papers were held:

1. Dr. Chuda Mani Bandhu: Language Planning in Nepalese Context
2. Dr. Madhav Prasad Pokharel: Language Policy and Language Planning to be adapted by Nepal
3. Dr. Novel Kishor Rai: Primary Education through Mother Tongue
4. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava: Language Development in the Context of Nepal

Altogether 69 participants attended the three-day seminar including distinguished scholars, members of parliament, linguists, professors, teachers, social workers, journalists, politicians, litterrateur, and member of other organizations.

Seminar and collection of opinions from the field

In accordance with the meeting held on October 17, 1993 (1st Kartik 2050 VS) the members of the commission visited numerous sites to gather opinions.

Pokhara: (Seminar) Mr. Kashinath Tamot, Mr. Ghan Bahadur Lamichhane Gurung

Butwal : (Seminar) Dr. Harshabahadur Budha Magar

Janakpur and Birgunj: (Discussion) Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava, Dr. Hemangaraj Adhikari, Mr. Umashankar Dwiwedi

Dharan and Damak: (Seminar/Discussion) Dr. Novel Kishor Rai Kavrepalanchowk and Ramechhap: (Seminar/Discussion) Mr. Amrit Yonjan Tamang

Collection **of institutional and personal opinions**

Opinions from 44 institutions were obtained.

The commission also received personal suggestions from the people of different areas. The total number of such suggestions amounted to 1570 in number.

Interview

60 distinguished scholars of diverse areas of development of the national languages and scholars working in the areas of language and education were interviewed.

Collection of opinions from other reference materials

Additionally, the relevant information and suggestions were obtained from the following sources:

I. Papers

Papers related to Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Newari, Thakali, Limbu, Rai, Nepali, Tharu, Awadhi, Himali language (Lama, Sherpa etc.)

2. Articles-notes

Articles published in newspapers

3. Working papers

Seminar papers presented at the regional and national seminars.

4. Published works

Reference materials, articles and notes related to sociolinguistics, language planning, education through the mother tongue, bilingual education and the language of Nepal.

Notes

The draft of the report was prepared by classifying and analyzing the information gathered using various theoretical and practical frameworks. The report was finally prepared after obtaining suggestions for revisions through considerable discussions about the draft with eminent scholars of related areas.

1. LANGUAGE SITUATION IN NEPAL

1.1 Classification

Nepal is a country' of linguistic and cultural diversity. Despite its small

size, many languages are spoken in this country. However, there is uncertainty related to the number of languages. The first modem census 2009-11 VS (1952/54) and the next census 2018 VS, mentioned 36 languages in the respective reports. Contrary to this, 2028 (VS) Census, 2038 (VS) Census and 2048 (VS) Census have mentioned only 17, 18 and 19 languages in their reports respectively. Based on the information of all the previous censuses in Nepal, the genetic classification of the languages spoken in Nepal in general is as follows:

(1)   Indo-European Family (15 languages)
        Nepali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Awadhi, Urdu, Hindi, Rajbanshi, Bengali, Danuwar, Marwadi (Marwari), Majhi, Darai, Kumal and English

(2)   Tibeto-Burman Family (15 languages)
        Tamang, Newari, Rai, Magar, Limbu, Gurung, Bhote/Sherpa, Chepang, Dhimal, Thami, Thakali, Jirel, Byangshi, Sunuwar, Lapche, Meche, Pahari, Hayu and Raji.

(3)   Austro-Asiatic Family (1 language)
        Satar/Santhal

(4)   Dravidian Family (1 language)
        Jhangar/Dhangar
        (See Appendix: One)

In addition to the census reports, independent studies related to the identification of the number of languages estimate that more than 70 languages are spoken in Nepal. HanBan (1991) and Nishi (1992) among others are worth mentioning which identified 32 Rai languages:
Bahing, Thulung, Khaling, Jerung, Tiling, Dumi, Koyu/Koi, Kulung, Nachhiring, Bangdel, Chakwa, Western, Mewahang, Eastern, Mewahang, Chamling, Polmacha, Puma, Sangpang, Bantawa, Dungmali, Waling, Yamphu/Yamphe, North), Lohorung, Yakkha, Lumba-Yakkha, Chintang, Lambichhong, Mugali, Belhare, Athpare, Phangduwali and Chulung.

In addition to the 19 Tibeto-languages included in the census reports, the following languages are also incorporated in the studies by Nishi:
Raute, Kham, Kaike, Chhantel, Marpha, Syang, Mananag, Nar, Ghale, Umbule, Chourase, Chhathare Limbu, Sam, Lingkhim, Toto

and Bhramu.

In the similar way, Bote and Churauti languages have been added in the Indo-European language family by Malla (1989). Some linguists have considered Yholmo as an independent language. In the similar vein, Bhote (Lama) is also considered a distinct language.

Among these languages, the identification of some languages is not without controversies. For example, it is not completely clear, whether Ghale and Manange are two independent languages or two different dialects of the Gurung language. One has to rely on some preliminary studies and the census reports, which, for several reasons, are not considered reliable (authentic). Therefore, there is an acute need for an authentic linguistic survey in order to determine the number of languages.

1.2 Geographical distribution

The identification of the languages spoken in Nepal is briefly reviewed earlier, but the identification of the languages is not adequate in order to make policies and implement programs related to the development and preservation of the languages, including the language use in education, media and so on. In addition to this, it is equally important to obtain information related to the languages and the areas they are spoken in. In order to achieve this objective, an effort is made to present the distribution of the languages in the three different geographical regions (mountains, hills and terai). The distribution of languages discussed is based on the 2048 VS Census.

1.2.1 Mountainous region

Nepali is the primary language in 9 out of 12 districts in the mountainous region (Taplejung, Sankhuwasabha, Solukhumbu, Dolakha, Sindhupalchowk, Dolpa, Mugu, Humla, and Darchula) on the basis of the languages and their distribution. In this region, Tamang occupies the primary language in Rasuwa but it has second position in Dolakha and Sindhupalchowk. Rai languages occupy the second position in Sankhuwasabha and Solukhumbu. The Gurung language is in the primary position in Mustang and Manang and in the third position in Humla. Newari occupies the third position in Sindhupalchowk and Thakali occupies the third position in Mustang. Moreover, a considerable number

of Sherpa speakers reside in Taplejung, Sankhuwasabha, Solukhumbu and Dolakha. Byangshi is spoken in Darchula.

1.2.2 Hilly region

Nepali occupies the primary position in 39 districts out of 43 districts in this region ranging from Panchthar in the east to Baitadi in the

west and it occupies the second position in the remaining 4 districts. In terms of the number of speakers, Tamang is the second major language in the hilly region. This language occupies the primary position in Makwanpur and second position in 5 districts (Sindhuli, Ramechhap, Kavre, Nuwakot and Dhading the third position in 7 districts (Tehrathum, Bhojpur, Okhaldhunga, Lalitpur, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Lamjung).

Newari is another major language of the hilly region. In the Kathmandu valley, the language occupies the primary position in Lalitpur and Bhaktapur and third position in the Kathmandu district. This language is in the third position in 7 other districts (Kavre, Ramechap, Nuwakot, Makwanpur, Kaski, Baglung and Palpa) in addition to the speakers spreading sporadically in other districts.

Magar, another important language of the hilly region, occupies second position in 12 districts (Tanahu, Syangja, Parbat, Pyuthan, Arghakhanchi, Myagdi, Rolpa, Salyan, Baglung, Rukum, Surkhet and Gulmi) whereas it occupies third position in 3 districts (Khotang, Udayapur and Sindhuli).

The Rai languages in the eastern hilly districts occupy the second position in the 6 districts (Bhojpur, Dhankuta, Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Udayaur and Ilam) and the third position in Panchthar. The Limbu language occupies the second position in 3 districts (Panchthar, Taplejung and Tehrathum) and third position in other 2 districts (Ilam and Dhankuta). Sizable settlements of Limbu speakers are found in Solukhumbu. Aside from these, Gurung occupies the second position in 3 districts (Lamjung, Kaski and Gorakha) and the third position in 2 districts ((Tanahun and Syangja). The Tharu language in Surkhet and Chepang in Dhading occupy the third position.

The hilly region is also the most densely populated region in Nepal. In addition to the languages mentioned earlier, some other languages are also spoken in the hilly region including: Sunuwar in Ramechhap, Okhaldhunga and Sindhuli, Kumal in Arghakhanchi and Gulmi, Majhi and Danuwar in the east south region of Kathmadnu and Sindhupalchowk, Thami in Ramechhap, Dolakha and Sindhuli.

1.2.3 Terai region

Nepali is the primary language in 6 districts in the terai region (Jhapa, Morang, Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Dang and Kanchanpur), occupies the second position in 11 districts (Sunsari, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Bara, Parsa, Rupandehi, Kapilvastu, Banke, Bardiya and Kailali) and the third position in 3 districts (Saptari, Siraha, and Rautahat).

Maithili has the second position in Nepal on the basis of the number

of speakers. This is the primary language in 6 districts (Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, and Sarlahi) and it occupies the second position in Morang and Nawalparasi. Maithili is also spoken considerably in Rautahat, Bara, Parsa and Rupandehi). Tharu, which is spreading from Jhapa to Kanchanpur, occupies the primary position in 2 districts (Bardiya and Kailali) and the third position in 6 districts (Morang, Sunsari, Bara, Rupandehi, Kapilvastu and Banke).

Awadhi is the primary language in two districts of the western Terai, (Kapilvastu and Banke), and the third position in 2 districts (Dang and Bardiya). Urdu occupies the second position in Rautahat whereas it is in the third position in 2 districts (Dhanusha and Mahottari). Rajbanshi occupies the second position in Jhapa. Rajbanshi speakers also reside in Morang.

Tamang is in the third position in 3 districts (Sarlahi, Chitwan and Parsa), as is Limbu in Jhapa and Magar in Nawalparasi. Sizable Limbu speakers also settle in Sunsari and Morang. Aside from these, Dhimal speakers are found in Jhapa and Morang, Sattar/Santal in Jhapa, Jhanghar in Morang, Darai in Chitwan and Nawalparasi, Danuwar in Dhanusa and Sarlahi and Bengali in Jhapa and Morang, Raji in Kailali and Kanchanpur, Meche in Jhapa and Kumal in Nawalparasi and Majhi in Rautahat and Sarlahi. A small number of Marwari speakers are found in the urban areas of the Terai.

The linguistic diversity found at national and regional level parallels at the district level. The situation is very acute in the urban areas and in the northern belt of the Terai. The main reasons for this are the migration, opportunity of employment, access to transportation, settlement of the multilingual communities in Nepal etc.

Because several minority languages are spoken in these districts along with the predominant languages as stated earlier, they are obliged to focus on the minority benefits. Aside from these areas of linguistic diversity, there are several areas where only one or two languages are in use in the hilly regions.

1.3 Multilingualism

The existing linguistic diversity in the Nepalese communities could be seen as jeopardizing communication between different speech communities. The real language situation in Nepal is different, however. Although it is difficult to say exactly regarding to this matter because of the lack of reliable studies, two kinds of tendencies may be suggested.

Firstly, the languages spoken in the plains, Mechi (in the east) and

Mahakali (in the west), are continuously related from the perspective of intelligibility. It is difficult to demarcate where one language ends and another begins. Owing to this, the people living in the two immediate vicinities can understand the language of other speech communities. Although it is the case in the immediate vicinities, intelligibility between these languages gets reduced with increases in distance. As a result, the residents living at the extremes of the two languages cannot communicate. In such a situation educated native speakers of the Terai languages use Hindi as *lingua franca* for intercommunity communication. This is also true with Tharu spoken in the Terai and in the inner Terai region.

A similar interrelationship is found among the language and dialects of Nepali spoken in the hills and mountains from the perspective of communication. In the hills and mountains, however, the communication among divergent languages is not possible among the speakers of different Tibeto-Burman languages, which diverge greatly in vocabulary and grammar. In such a situation, they are often found to use Nepali as their link language.

Multilingualism has thus become a reality in Nepalese society. Nepali is learnt as a second language by the other speech communities for diverse purposes (to use in education, study, administration, etc). Multilingualism is a necessity for day-to-day communication in several regions in the kingdom of Nepal.

1.4 Consequences of multilingualism

Numerous influences on the language (or languages) of Nepal are found as a result of this multilingual situation. Language convergence is one such influence, found in several languages. In the case of language convergence, linguistic features tend to converge from one language to another. As a result, a single language under the influences from other languages differs greatly. That is why the Gurung language (Manangwa) differs from Gurung spoken in Kaski and Lamjung. In a similar way, Nepali spoken in the Terai differs in vocabulary and structure from the standard Nepali spoken in the hills.

Another vital consequence of multilingualism observed in Nepal is language loss. It has been found that the speakers of minority languages gradually tend towards adopting Nepali eventually losing their own mother tongues. The speakers of minority languages who have settlements in the hills and migrated to the hills and mountains with a predominance of Nepali speakers have adopted Nepali. For example, as reported in Nishi (1992), 10 Rai languages have already died and another 12 Rai languages are on the verge of extinction. The Kusunda language is nearly

threatened to extinction. There are several other languages nearing extinction. The Dura language is a case in point. It is necessary to conduce thorough studies before the languages are extinct in order to document and preserve their identity.

1.5 Castes-ethnic groups composition and language

1.5.1. Classification of castes-ethnic groups

People belonging to different ethnic groups/castes live in Nepal. They are distributed in the mountains, hills, inner Terai and Terai. They are classified as either Himali, Pahadi, or Madhesi, named after the place they are from. The 1991 census report provided clear data on the caste and ethnic groups. This CBS listed 60 distinct castes/ethnic groups living in the mountains, hills, inner Terai and Terai.

Sherpa, Thakali, Bhote and Byangshi are known as the ethnic groups (castes) belonging to the mountains. Magar, Tamang, Rai, Gurung, Limbu, Sunuwar, Chepang, Thami, Thakali, Jirel, Lapche (Lepcha) belong to the ethnic groups (castes) of the hills. The other ethnic groups (castes) of this region are Chhetri, Brahmin, Kami, Darai, Sarki, Sanyasi, Badi, Churaute and Gaine. Newar is known as the Pahadi caste and ethnic group.

The ethnic groups/castes living in the inner Terai are Kumal, Majhi, Danuwar, Darai, Bote, Raute, and Raji. Although the major settlements of these people are in the inner Terai, they are found in the hills and Terai as well because of their migration tendencies and other reasons.

There are 22 ethnic groups known by their caste association in the Terai: Yadav, Teli, Chamar, Baniya, Dusadh, Mallah, Kanu, Dhobi, Dhanuk, Khatwe, Kayastha, Kumhar, Rajput, Haluwai, Marwari, Rajbhat, Kushwaha, Brahmin (Terai), Sudi, Kalwar, Kurmi, Musahar, Kewat. In addition, there are 7 groups known by their respective ethnic groups: Tharu, Rajbanshi, Satar, Gangai (Ganesh), Jhanghar, Dhimal and Meche. Musalman and Sikh (ethnic groups named after the religion they follow), and Bengali, (named after the place they belong to) also have settlements in the Terai.

Among these ethnic groups/castes, settlements of some of the castes have spread from east to west in a wide region whereas the settlements of some other castes have remained within a district or a specific region. Compared to the population categorized as ethnic groups, the caste groups have spread in several districts or regions. For example, Brahmin, Chhetri, Damai, Thakuri, Sanyasi etc in the hills and Yadav, Teli, Chamar, Kushwahs etc in the Terai.

The 1991 census failed to provide information related to the

castes/ethnic groups, Pahari, Hayu, Dura, Bhujel, Gharti, Kusunda in the hills and Badahi, Lohar, Koiri in the Terai.

1.5.2 Castes-ethnic groups and mother tongue
Nepal is a country of diverse castes and ethnic groups. The linguistic diversity coupled with the diversity of the castes is a characteristic feature of the nation. Taking into consideration the relationship between the castes/ethnic groups and the languages they speak, the following five major situations may be suggested:

(a)   One caste and one language
It is sometimes the case that a caste will have its own distinct language. For example, Magar, Tharu, Tamang, Gurung, Limbu, Sherpa, Rajbanshi, Sunuwar, Kumal, Majhi, Danuwar, Chepang, Thami, Thakali, Bhote, Dhimal, Darai, Lapche (Lepcha), Byangshi, Raute, Raji etc. have their own mother tongues. Thus there is a one to one correspondence between an ethnic group/caste and its language. Therefore, when there is this relationship between a caste and its language, the language is referred to as an *ethnic language.*

(b) One caste and several languages
It is more common for a caste that is known by one name to speak several languages. For example Rai-Kiranti speak Bantawa, Chamling and Thulung etc. Although these are considered distinct languages of different castes/ethnic groups, there are certain traditions by which Rai communities are recognized from other communities. In such contexts, Rai may be regarded as a caste and the languages they speak as distinct languages.

(c) Several castes and one language
Although Newar community consists of several castes, they speak a single distinct language. Therefore, Newars belonging to different castes are affiliated to a single language.

(d) One caste-ethnic group and several languages
The people of the same caste/ethnic group tend to adopt the language of the region when they move to different linguistic situations. The terai dwellers are not found using the languages of their castes or ethnicity. The several castes in the terai (i.e. Yadav, Teli, Kurmi, Kushwaha, Chamar etc) speak Maithili in Maithili speaking area, Bhojpuri and Awadhi in their respective areas. In this way, the identification of the language in terms of ethnicity is not common in the terai.

(e) Several castes-ethnic groups and one language

Nepali is a language of several castes (Chhetri, Brahmin, Kami, Damai, Thakuri, Sarki, Sanyasi etc.). Nepali may be regarded as a language of several caste/ethnic groups because Magars, Gurungs, Rais, Limbus, and Newars (and some other castes also) adapt Nepali as their mother tongues. This language may also be regarded as "inter-caste language" because this language is used as a link language among several castes/ethnic groups.

1.6 Literate tradition, literature and literacy

Majority of languages in Nepal are so far confined in the oral tradition. Nepali, Newari, Maithili, Limbu, Bhojpuri and Awadhi may be regarded as the languages with literate traditions. Some of the languages which have recently taken to writing are Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung and the languages of Rai groups like Thulung, Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling, Kulung.

Nepali is regarded as a developed and rich language among the languages that have a tradition literature. Since this language has already fulfilled some prerequisites for educational use, a separate initiation towards it may not be required for the same purpose. Since Nepali is the language of the nation and the official language, it is necessary to continue to develop it to fulfill that role. Newari and Maithili are considered developed languages in terms of established literate tradition and literature. Since they are subjects of study from secondary to the Master's degree as optional subjects, these languages may be considered developed languages suitable for educational use.

The Limbu language has been taught up to the higher secondary level in Sikkim. Because of this, and because of the literary and linguistic activities in the Limbu speaking area, it is possible to use Limbu in education. Owing to the availability of the literary texts, Bhojpuri and Awadhi can also be used in education.

There has been considerable increase in the awareness and interest of Tharu, Tamang, Magar and Gurung in recent years despite their very brief written tradition. The use of these languages in education has viability because they are beginning to be used for writing literature, and publication. Similarly, there has been an increase in the linguistic and literary activities in the languages of the Rai group, which includes Bantawa, Thulung, Chamling, Khaling, Kulung etc. Additionally, such activities are increasing in Sherpa and Thakali.

The 1991 census has also included Hindi, Urdu, Bhote (Lama/ Tibetan), English etc. in the census report. They are regarded as rich in

written literatures.

In addition to the aforementioned languages, the awareness of the respective communities towards their languages tends to increase gradually. Taking this fact into consideration, primary education should be imparted in the mother tongues based on the wishes of the respective communities.

However, the pace and degree of language development is not equal in all languages. The pace of language development is greatly affected by language attitudes and the level of education in the language communities. The greater the number of literates and educated speakers, the greater the contribution towards the progress and prosperity of the language. If the number of educated speakers of a language are increased , they help in the betterment of the language by participating in literary activities. If the number of literate people is increased, the readers for the published materials in the respective languages will increase. If the number of literate people is increased in a particular language, its readers will obviously increase. But some people of speech communities are leading the lives of extreme illiteracy and poverty. Unless their living status can be improved from low standards, their awareness and ability to preserve their language and culture is unlikely to flourish. That is why economic factors are also a determinant factor in the development of the language. This statement is justified because there is a considerable increase in awareness towards preservation of their language and culture within the speech communities in which the percentage of the literacy is fairly high and vice versa.

2. DEVELOPMENT AND PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

2.1 Background

Languages are a component of social heritages. With effective utilization of resources there can be an increase in the preservation and promotion of the national culture, including an increase in the popularity of, and access to education. In addition, the increased contact among diverse linguistic groups will encourage national integration and good will. The nation must plan for the development of languages in order to sustain the use of the entire linguistic heritage and resources, in the same way other national resources are developed.

Following the restoration of democracy, the nation intended to adopt an orientation to language development reflected above. This is clear from the following statement in *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990).*

> The state shall, while maintaining the cultural diversity of the country, pursue a policy of strengthening the national unity by promoting healthy and cordial social relations amongst the various religions, castes, tribes, communities and linguistic groups, and by helping in the promotion of their languages, literatures, scripts, arts and cultures.

Under this constitutional provision it is obvious that the development of Nepalese languages is considered an aspect of language policy.

The process of formulating policies regarding language development in any linguistic community is an elaborate and multidimensional process. That is why it is important to focus on several aspects in this process. First and foremost, the established sociolinguistic theories (Haugen 1966; Ferguson 1968; Neutuspny 1970; Fishman 1974) have been taken as theoretical conceptions for language development. In addition, despite the uncertainty persisting about language related statistics, these statistics have been employed because there are no other alternative sources. Since language development includes not only language process but also social and psychological processes, attention has also been directed to the linguistic attitudes of different linguistic communities.

2.2 Processes

For the development of national languages, it is necessary to take up the following five phases:

1. To identify the national languages.
2. To formulate corpus planning for the identified languages.
3. To formulate status planning for the identified languages.
4. To make programs for preserving the endangered languages.
5. To implement, monitor and evaluate the formulated plans.

2.2.1 Identification of national languages

There is a constitutional provision to develop all national languages as mentioned earlier. However, it is first necessary to identify the national languages (mother tongues) before beginning development processes. For this purpose, until and unless an authentic linguistic survey is carried out, one has to rely on the census reports of Central Bureau of Statistics with some revisions. The genetic classification of the languages spoken in Nepal is included in part (1.1) based on these reports (1952-4 to 1991).

2.2.2 Corpus planning of national languages

(a) Selecting the norm

Each language has variations because of geographic and social factors. It is usually necessary to choose a single dialect as a norm to use for language development. A comparative study of existing dialects is also necessary before selection of the norm. The choice becomes painless if the variations among the dialects are marginal. In such a context, it may be good to choose a variety which is used by educated speakers (with a literate tradition if possible) thereby simplifying development because the dialect is rich in vocabulary and more regular in grammar. It is usually necessary to choose a central dialect if the language has several dialects.

(b) Writing system

(i) Script

Several national languages of Nepal use Devanagari script for writing. Nepali written in Devanagari script is the official language. Maithili has its own traditional script, viz. Mithilaakshar or Tirhutaa. However, because of the influence of Hindi and ease of printing, it has now been replaced by Devanagari script. Though quite a few ancient texts in the Newari language are found in Bhujimol and Ranjana scripts, most of them are written in the existing Newari

script. Contemporary Newari speakers, have, however, adopted Devanagari script as its writing system.

Bhojpuri has also replaced Kaithi (similar to Mithilaakshar) , its traditional script, by Devanagari. Limbu, however, is written in Kiraanti (Sirijangaa) script, and Lapche in Ring (Lapche) script. Tamang Sherpa and other similar languages use Laamaa (Tibetan) script especially in their religious and cultural texts. Recently the Magar language has adopted Akhkha as its own script and this choice has been popular. To sum up, most of the languages spoken in Nepal betray a common tendency to use Devanagari script in their writing. Awadhi and Tharu have also adopted Devanagari script. There have been attempts to write the languages of Rai groups including Rajbanshi, Danuwar, Chepang, Darai, Majhi, Kumal. Looking into this diverse condition of scripts of the languages spoken in Nepal, the following advantages may be achieved if uniformity in script is maintained:

1 Learning a second language in addition to one's mother tongue for intralanguage communication and contact has been a day to day necessity for people living in a multilingual country like Nepal. In such a context, if the uniformity in script is maintained, it will be more convenient to learn a second language because one does not have to become familiar with a new script first.

2.The constitution assures that each community shall have the right to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children (Article 18.2). Owing to the fact that one has also to learn the second language in addition to one's mother tongue, it is obvious that it will be convenient to achieve education if the mother tongues and the national language have a similar script in the context of transitional bilingual education.

Although Devanagari script seems convenient for practical and linguistic reasons, it is relevant to consider the social and psychological attitudes of respective speech communities because its implementation will be difficult if the script is adopted without their consent. The following thoughts are relevant regarding the selection of the script:

1. To adopt Devanagari script for all languages of Nepal for maintaining consistency in language learning.

2. To adopt Devanagari script for all languages of Nepal but to preserve the conventional script of any language as a cultural heritage.

3. To adopt an indigenous script with some modification to make it more suitable.

(ii) Alphabets

There is a need of some modifications of alphabets based in Devanagari script as it will bring simplification for writing and pedagogical purpose. The alphabets are primarily based on the phonology of Sanskrit language which does not have one to one correlation with sound system observed in Nepalese languages, and thus can not fully represent phonological system of the languages of Nepal. It is therefore appropriate to modify the orthographic system according to the sound system of Nepalese languages. It is necessary to adopt two kinds of processes:

(1) To use the letters which represent the sounds of a language.
(2) To add new letters or appropriate diacritics to represent sounds when there is a lack of such letters or diacritics.

The attempt at reducing the differences between the phonemes and graphemes will not only help in mother tongue education but also in the teaching of the second language. It is necessary to study the sound system of national languages and to make the aforementioned improvements. While following these processes, it is obvious that despite great consistency in the alphabets of the languages, some differences will remain owing to phonemic differences.

(iii) Spelling

The phoneticization might naturally bring about a change in the form of spelling. It is possible that changes would bring about a one to one relation in phonemes and graphemes. Inconsistency in spelling is a hindrance to standardization. It is necessary to reduce the gap between the spoken and written form, thus developing a more consistent spelling system. Teachers of the respective languages, people involved in teaching and printing including journalists should have a leading role in this development because they will be most affected by the improvement of the spelling.

(c) Vocabulary

Generally each language has adequate vocabulary to communicate the beliefs and concepts that must be communicated. Thus, while attempting to express new beliefs and concepts, there is a change in the meanings of some words and some new words are developed. With changes in the functional domains of languages, there is a need for planned development of vocabulary since the natural development of vocabulary will not be adequate.

Since there are constitutional provisions of right to operate schools in the mother tongue up to the primary level in each community residing within the kingdom there is a real need of formulating the planned development for the dimension of the vocabulary of national languages. However, attention should also be directed to the linguistic forms and social needs, including linguistic attitudes toward the national languages in their planning and implementation. Vocabulary development in some nations has proved to be a complete fiasco because of the impracticality of their development plans. In this context, the following theories related to vocabulary development propounded by a UNESCO report (1953) are useful as guidelines:

(a) Begin by making a study of the vocabulary already in use.
(b) Avoid coining new words where native words are already in general use, or where there are words which could easily b(stretched to include the new concept without confusion.
(c) Before adding a word to the vocabulary, be sure that it is really needed either at once or in the relatively near future.
(d) Where a whole set of terms applying to a given field of science has to be adopted, try to maintain general consistency among them.
(e) Make necessary adaptations to the phonemic structure and the grammar of the language.
(f) Once the new terms have been chosen, try them out on a numbe. of people to see how readily they take to them.

Compilation of dictionary is of great importance in order to enhance uniformity and stability in the improved scripts, phonemic inventory, spelling, pronunciation including vocabulary and its use. On the one hand it is necessary to adopt new dictionary compilation processes and on the other hand there is a need for the revision of dictionaries already compiled in Nepali, Newari, Maithili, Limbu etc based on these principles It is also necessary to focus on the compilation of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries in addition to monolingual dictionaries in order to help the people of diverse speech communities to learn other languages.

(d) Grammar

The variations in a majority of national languages can be attributed to the lack of their written form. Lack of a standard grammar is another reason for this. Although Nepali has been established as the official language, medium of education, and as a lingua franca, and even thought it has a rich written literature, there is not a high degree of consistency in its written form. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the irregularities in

linguistic structures, regularize them, and prepare a standard grammar in the respective languages. Nepali language is also learnt by mother tongue speakers of other languages as a second language or as a foreign language.

First and foremost, in the process of writing a grammar of the national languages, it is appropriate to prepare basic pedagogical grammars for teaching purposes. Since the tradition of writing grammars has already been established in Nepali, Maithili, Newari, Bhojpuri, Limbu etc, it is obligatory to prepare reference grammars along with the pedagogical grammars. This process should gradually be applied to other languages as well. While preparing the grammars of any languages, it is necessary to analyze the grammars in the framework of modern linguistic theories using written literature, incorporating data from several dialects and also using data from oral use of the language.

2.2.3 Status planning of national languages

Background

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990), article 6(1) assures that the Nepali language in the Devanagari script is regarded as the language of the nation. Nepali is the language recognized as the national language in the previous constitution (2015 VS and 2018 VS) including other legal provisions.

The position that Nepali has gained is justifiable because Nepali is the mother tongue of a greater number of the population, lingua franca of the majority of the population, and it has a rich literate tradition. Aside from this, the other mother tongue speakers are also using Nepali as their second language. It is quite normal that Nepali has gained its position of the official language.

However, the domains of use of Nepali were not confined to official uses, but rather it is used in every domain. Consequently, aside from an official language, Nepali was exclusively used in education, media and employment and this trend seems to continue to the present.

It was argued that the national integrity will be strengthened by means of this kind of language policy. Contrary to this, it is a fact that Nepal is not a monolingual country, but a country of linguistic diversity. In such a context, it is not justifiable to assign a single language to fulfill communicative needs.

If a priority is given to a single language in a multilingual country like Nepal, the use of the remaining languages will shrink because their domains of use are reduced. There are several similar examples in other countries. Because of this, and several other reasons, the constitution promulgated after the restoration of democracy has accepted that all the

languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal (6.2). Although this constitutional provision has recognized Nepali as the only official language, all other languages including Nepali have also been recognized as national languages. The constitution has thus expressed the intention of establishing equality among the linguistic groups and languages. Consonant with this spirit, the constitution has offered opportunities to preserve and promote the languages, scripts and cultures in Article (18.1) of the constitution.

These constitutional provisions have realized the linguistic diversity in Nepal. Until and unless these languages are used in various domains of life, the use of linguistic diversity, including the preservation and promotion of several languages, cannot be realized. This will encourage the respective language communities to maintain their mother tongues by their widespread use.

Terms of reference

It is necessary to identify the use of national languages. *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990* has made a provision that each community shall have the right to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to the community's children. The use of the mother tongue in primary education including other levels is discussed in detail in section 3. The following may be other domains of language use aside from education.

(a) Media

The following three are the medium of media in Nepal.
  i. Audio medium
  ii. Reading medium
  iii. Audio-visual medium
Language has a key role in all these medium because language is mainly used for communication.

(i) Audio Medium

Radio is the most accessible and available among the medium of media in the context of Nepal because it is the least expensive and it is available in every part of the country. In addition, the illiterate also understand the news and other program by means of this medium.

In the context of the constitutional provision which has assured the right to information to every citizen, two kinds of improvements of the programs of Radio Nepal are needed for more effective and beneficial use of radio broadcasts:

1. Since Nepali is the official language, medium of instruction and also serves as *lingua franca,* it is necessary to simplify the oral use of Nepali in order to make it intelligible to a larger audience.
2. The use of national languages should be gradually increased to broadcast the events associated with public, cultural and local importance through news and other programs. The news may be broadcast in some national languages similar to Maithili, Newari and Hindi. The use of national languages may be gradually expanded by bringing the central and regional broadcasting channels into operation.
3. Special programs may be broadcast through radio and television for the preservation of the underdeveloped languages.

(ii) Reading Medium
1. Government notices, gazettes, and other publications, meant for the public, should be translated into national languages as required by the terms of their use.
2. Newspapers should be published in the national languages on behalf of the government because these activities will develop and promote not only these languages but also the culture associated with them.
3. It is necessary that publications that include literary and other activities should be encouraged in the national languages. Such efforts will help in creating understanding and coordination among speech communities.
4. Since children will be affected if the mother tongues are adopted as the medium of instruction at the primary level, special attention should be paid towards the development of children's reading materials in national languages.

(iii) Audio-visual medium
Television is the audio-visual medium of media. It is necessary to extend its area by telecasting the news and programs in the national languages.
It is necessary to see the linguistic efficiency and their forms in use in context while using any national language in media.

(a)   Writing/Study
It is necessary to better focus activities like literature writing, cultural and linguistic study/research, collection of folk literature and translation.

In order to encourage these activities, initiatives should be taken by the government and non-government sectors. Publication facilities, fellowships, and prizes may be the forms of such encouragements. Resources may be mobilized by organizations, native and foreign, to study linguistic and folk tradition.

(b) Languages of official use

It may be appropriate to use more than one official languages in order to interact the people of diverse speech communities similar to multilingual countries like India, Singapore, and Switzerland. It may be appropriate to take into consideration the efficiency of the other national languages, speakers' attitudes, and above all, the national betterment when making decisions about continuing the use of Nepali as an official language.

(c) Religious-cultural program

There is a need to establish a tradition to use local languages in local religious and cultural programs

2.2.4 Preservation and revitalization of endangered languages

There must be a commitment from speech communities to continue the use of every language. However, when a language reaches the verge of extinction because of the lack of use, there is a gradual loss of commitment. In this context, it is indispensable to find out which languages are seriously endangered and to study them for the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity. Additionally, it is necessary to commence revitalization processes for such languages.

2.2.5 Implementation and evaluation

There is a need for a mechanism of implementation and evaluation in order to achieve goals related to language development, including language policies and other goals. There must be an autonomous National Language Council to implement plans in order to achieve a specific goal. A brief discussion is presented in section (b) of the Council of National Languages in order to implement programs related to the national language policies.

3. USE OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal mentions that all the languages spoken as mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal (Article 6.2). In article (18.2) the constitution assures that each community shall have the right to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children as one of the fundamental rights. In consonance with that, respective materials related to educational purposes are mentioned herein.

3.1 Mother tongue: as a medium of primary education

According to the UNESCO report associated with mother tongue education (1953) the mother tongue is the natural means of self-expression of the experiences and thoughts learnt in childhood. There is ideological and emotional closeness of the child to it because it is the language learnt while playing in his childhood. Each person can express his view of the world himself, and his family through the mother tongue. This is also called the first language because this is the language a child learns first. In some contexts, this is also called the mother tongue even if he learns it later if it is the medium of easy expression of his thoughts and communication. Since the language is learnt along with the maturity of the child, its importance lies in the cultural surroundings. It is therefore natural that the mother tongue is easy and accessible for a child because this is the medium in which a child thinks, understands and expresses his desires and needs.

3.1.1 Rationale

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of community to which he belongs. Educationally he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (UESCO 1953:11).

It is easy to be literate in the mother tongue. The books written in the mother tongue are familiar and accessible for a child in terms of the socio-cultural surroundings. He pines for knowledge after he is literate. If his mother tongue is not adequate to quench the thirst of his knowledge, he tends to adopts the nearest clustered languages or any other means. First of all, a child should become literate in order to acquire education. It is

necessary to encourage the education though the mother tongue to boost up literacy. It is remarkable that the campaign of *Education For All,* started off by the World Conference of Thailand in 1990, has put an immense emphasis on it.

Only 65 percent of the children of school age attend school. There is a comprehensive expansion and improvement in the present context of His Majesty's goal of educating all the children of this age group by 2000. It would be easy to achieve the goal of educating children through their mother tongue while working towards the goal of making education accessible to all children.

The children enrolled at primary level tend to drop from the schools. In some cases, the students leave the school and enroll again. For these students it would take nine to twelve years to complete the primary education (National Education Commission 2049 VS). This is an indication of a great educational loss. The majority of the school dropouts are found in grade (1-2). This indicates that they find school life to be unfamiliar. One of the reasons given for this is the difference in the language they use at home and school. It would therefore be appropriate to educate the children through their mother tongue in order to make the break between home and school as small as possible.

On the whole, the following might be expected if education is imparted through the mother tongue:

1. To make the student familiar with his own home, family, and his environment,
2. To enable one to know and fully understand his social and cultural environment,
3. To arouse interest in his own language, literature and culture,
4. To provide education in appropriate, familiar, and easily accessible manner.
5. To make education accessible, interesting and attractive for children,
6. To help children increase their inborn emotional and creative abilities.
7. To make the break between home and school as small as possible.

3.1.2 Some major issues

Psychological aspect has been mainly focused while discussing the importance of mother tongue education. However, the geographical-social milieu, economic, and political contexts are also present while working out the educational policy for a nation. An educational policy will be

formulated taking cognizance of several social and linguistic communities and their interrelationships including unity among diversity.

The purpose of education is to nurture the maximum inherent potentialities of the children. So it is not deemed logical to confine this within any level (primary, secondary etc). Education leads a person to knowledge and efficiency which are advantageous for his entire life. One should be able to keep such unrestricted potentialities open from the primary level of the children. Despite the importance of mother tongues at the primary level of education, the full benefit of education cannot be realized if education only incorporates the mother tongue. Therefore, it may not be appropriate to limit primary education to one language realizing the linguistic diversity and milieu of our nation.

The size of a specific language community within a community or area is also an important factor for mother tongue education. Generally, if a language community comprises ten percent of a population the question of mother tongue education must be considered (Fasold 1992:293). In Nepal, the number of such languages amounts to only five even we take language communities amounting to only five percent of the total population. 50 percent of the total population speaks a single language and about 81 percent is accounted for by these five languages. The priority of a country like Nepal is likely to be directed to major areas of basic needs. Some of the languages do not have a literate tradition. In these cases a great effort needs to be applied to their linguistic studies, developing writing system, teaching and learning materials including administration in teaching-learning etc. The materials should not only be adequate to impart primary education to children in their language but should also provide supplementary and complementary materials so they can expand their knowledge by using them. But in several languages in Nepal, it is difficult to translate this into reality. If the language has a literate tradition and a body of its own literature that is attractive to its speakers and there is active participation of the respective communities in the language matters, there is a possibility that the domains of language use will be expanded.

3.1.3 Requirements of selecting mother tongue as a medium

Before selecting mother tongues for instruction at the primary level, it is important to notice what sorts of infrastructure have been developed in the language or not, and what further requirements need to be developed and how this can be resolved. Some of the requirements for imparting primary education will be discussed in this section.

(a) Developing writing system and its use

It is necessary to note whether a language has devised a writing system or not before planning for education in the mother tongue. If the language does not have a written tradition, efforts should be made to create a writing system. First of all, there should be a proper study of the sounds and grammar system. This is followed by choosing a script and devising a practical writing system. While devising a writing system, it is easy for mother tongue speakers to learn the language and to expand their knowledge and experience if the writing system resembles the writing systems of neighboring (clustered) languages which they need in their daily lives in immediate future. After devising the writing system, it is important to prepare written materials and use them.

Although devising a writing system is not important in the language in which the writing system has already been devised and which has a written tradition, it might be necessary to improve the writing system and spelling in order to maintain consistency in writing system. There are a few languages in Nepal that have a developed writing system. It is therefore necessary to work immediately for the development of writing systems in several other languages.

(b) Preparation of teaching materials

The preparation of textbooks is easier in languages with literate traditions than in other languages. One of the varieties of the language has already been established as a standard dialect in such languages. Consequently, one can proceed in accordance with the same trend. Although there may be diverse spoken forms, the written form has gained its social status. On the other hand, languages with an emerging written tradition may face hindrances owing to variations in local use. In such contexts, it is necessary to design curriculum and prepare textbooks by generalizing them or by selecting a language variety. It is also necessary to gain consent of the educated speakers of the speech community.

(c) Student number

It is important to note the number of students required to impart primary education through the mother tongue. While managing the teaching, each education institution determines the quota and decides the subjects to teach through the mother tongue on the basis of its physical facilities and human resources. It is also relevant to determine how many students are required in order to use their language as a medium of instruction in an existing school, or how many are required to start a new mother tongue school, or just offer the mother tongue as a subject. A large amount has to be

invested when a new school is established and a new teacher has to be recruited when a new subject is introduced. So, it is important to determine the maximum or the minimum number of students required for different options.

(d) Population and population density of speech communities

Population size and density of speech communities is another factor in determining how to impart education through the mother tongue. The greater the population and population density, the greater the commitment to help the speech communities preserve and promote their languages. In Nepal, 50.3 percent of the population is Nepali mother tongue-speakers. There are only 12 languages which occupy more than one percentage of the total population. Since the remaining languages each represent less than 1 percent of the population, it is natural that there is great diversity in the possibilities of the development and expansion of language domains. Speakers of these languages become bilingual because they cannot communicate only in their mother tongue. Some language speakers are migratory rather than settling where their language is spoken by a large percentage of the population and therefore they become bilingual because they can not communicate through their mother tongue.

If there is a large language community in a locality, and if it is dense, the requirements for providing primary education can be easily fulfilled. On the other hand, even if there is a large language community, if they are settled in sporadic settlements; or if the settlements are a combination of several language communities, it is difficult to use a single language as a medium in education. Such a situation is present in urban areas in particular and in some villages as well.

(e) Positive attitudes and help of speech communities

The attitudes of the speech communities are important in determining whether to provide education through the mother tongue. If the speech communities want to use their mother tongue with their children to nurture pride in their identity and their surroundings, and if they think that the knowledge of the mother tongue will be helpful for their future, it is obvious that they are positive about their language. If the language speakers are inquisitive and aware of the development of their language, and they have begun to participate in the writing system of the language and the creation of literature, they should be regarded as helpful also.

If the language speakers are not conscious of, or are unable to be conscious of, the language development, they may not be in a position to obtain help from others. In such a context, there is little chance of their language being

developed. Some parents believe that education is an opportunity for better employment and prestige and suspect that the mother tongue will confine their children within the villages depriving their children of these opportunities. In such contexts, therefore, efforts and encouragements are required to persuade them that the mother tongue will be beneficial.

(f) Availability of the teachers in mother tongue
Mother tongue teachers are needed to teach the children through their mother tongues. The number of mother tongue speakers qualified to be teachers is an important factor. There are some languages in Nepal that have very few mother tongue speakers who have completed a School Leaving Certificate (S.L.C.). It is difficult to start mother tongue education in such languages immediately. In cases where there are no educated speakers, it is impossible to begin to teach a writing system immediately. It is necessary for the people to learn to read and write before a literate tradition can begin. Such problems are not encountered in the languages in which there are substantial educated speakers, or literate people.

(g) Teacher training
Teachers are the main bases for imparting education through the mother tongue. Only efficient and competent teachers make such programs successful. It cannot be taken for granted that all teachers to be involved in teaching at the primary level should be newly recruited. Such teachers may be those who are working as teachers with different mother tongue speakers at the primary level. Additionally, the need for efficient teachers is likely to be fulfilled by recruiting additional teachers of the mother tongues.

(h) Government assistance
Approval from the government is a precondition to operate a school in a private sector in the mother tongue because educational management of schools is guided by government policies and instruction. Moreover, the government should encourage the people to operate schools in the mother tongue and the government itself also should begin initiatives in mother tongue education by identifying the densely populated areas where people desire mother tongue schools. In addition, assistance from the government is important in the development of teaching materials, the recruitment of teachers for teaching, teacher training and so on.

3.2 Bilingual education

Bilingual education refers to education that uses two languages as media of instruction. Such education is used in bilingual and multilingual contexts. Such education is relevant if the mother tongues of the children and the language of mainstream education in the community differ. Bilingual education may be useful to children because it can include them gradually into mainstream education without hindering their cognitive development.

Generally more than one language is used in several areas (settlements) in our country. In such contexts, one language is used at home whereas another is employed in the neighboring society. A child is not confined within a family. He becomes a member of a community with his growth. He begins to learn the language of his neighbor as he plays with other children. Since humans are social beings his familial activities are not restricted to his home either. People of the community visit the home. A child is influenced by such activities in a community where more than one language is spoken. As a child visits the local market with his parents or is involved in minor activities he can perform outside his home he has opportunities to be in touch with other language speakers. The opportunity to be in touch with the outer community expands as he begins to go to school. There might be more diverse linguistic experiences of children in urban areas. A child is also influenced by activities like reading books and newspapers, listening to radio and television broadcasts in an educated family. It is normal for some children to become bilingual by such informal activities. The aforementioned discussion reflects that in some circumstances the appropriate situation is bilingual at the primary level of education.

Although children can be taught in their mother tongue, it is appropriate for them to learn a second language in order to increase their interest in education, especially if materials are not available in their mother tongue. Providing bilingual education enables children to gradually become efficient in another language. It may be difficult to exist merely by learning the language of one's community. It might be the best utilization of time, labour and investment if children can be taught through bilingual education from the primary level because waiting until grade 6 might not allow enough time to gain proficiency in the language of the nation which is required to compete in the wider Nepalese context.

As students who have been in mother tongue primary schools reach grade six they might face difficulties joining students who have been learning in Nepali. It might be necessary to teach such children by dividing them into group/subgroups. Yet, teaching the children by dividing them into groups/subgroups may be inappropriate for socialization. It may

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not be suitable to be deprived of the language of wider communication in the primary years, because the language might become a barrier to becoming acquainted with their friends and ultimately become an obstacle to teaching and learning. It is like opening another door to let them feel the experience of the language of wider communication from the outset for the growth of their knowledge because learning another language is a means to expand the horizon of knowledge.

Nepal possesses not only linguistic and cultural diversity but also has diversity in geographical remoteness. Although it is easy to make the primary education easily accessible and affordable in the cities and in the Terai, it is not that easy in the hills, and remote and distant places. Although schools may be started in each ward of the VDC (village development committee) proper placement of schools might not be available, making it difficult for the children to reach the school conveniently from their home because of the distance in the hills. In such a context, the mother tongue schools alone may not solve the problems. In bilingual areas and contexts, although separate mother tongue schools are established, this will not only increase the number of schools but also increase the need for more teachers and physical facilities in the same proportion. Considering the social structure, interrelationship and interdependence, this issue is more significant in the areas where more than one linguistic community resides. It is appropriate to create a cordial situation where the children go to school and mould themselves according to the diverse linguistic setting particularly in rural settings where the children of diverse linguistic communities live with strong mutual social cohesion.

On the whole, some of the characteristic features may be included in the following points (Pattnayak 1977:22-26).

1. Bilingual education helps children adjust to school because the mother tongue is primarily used and the second language is used marginally in the initial phase of bilingual education. This may decrease the tendency to drop out.
2. Bilingual education helps children transfer experiences learnt in their mother tongue to the next language.
3. Bilingual education helps increase mutual friendship among children of diverse backgrounds.
4. Bilingual education may accelerate the socialization processes of children in school.
5. Such education makes it easy for children to transfer from the mother tongue to the second language, and

6. There is an increase in the economic burden if separate schools in the mother tongues are established. Compared with that, this may

reduce the economic burden as the children of diverse linguistic groups can be taught in the same schools.

3.3 Mother tongue: as the subject

Language is not only the medium of instruction but a subject in itself. Learning a language as a subject implies learning the written form of the language but it could also simply refer to using the oral form of the language. If the children are proficient in the written form, they can be taught using that form but the language should be taught as a subject to help them develop reading and writing skills.

First of all, the language should be in a written form while introducing the mother tongue as a subject. Teaching literacy may be regarded as teaching the mother tongue as a subject. Thus, it is also necessary to teach the mother tongue to develop the language in the written medium. The language, in which written materials are available, should also be incorporated as a subject in schools where mother tongue education operates because unless one knows the written form, teaching and learning activities cannot be conducted in the language. A language with written materials can receive several benefits from teaching the language as a subject. The mother tongue as a subject is possible in those languages which have prepared written textbooks for several grades, or the textbooks which are likely to be prepared in near future. It is therefore natural that the language with rich literary traditions comes to the fore in this respect. Languages with emerging literary traditions can also be encouraged by teaching them as different subjects. On the other hand, it is natural that the possibility of teaching languages with no literary tradition is very low because they are lacking written materials. Thus, this may also be regarded as a means of preserving and promoting the languages with written literary tradition and with written literature.

Ability in listening, speaking, and writing can also be emphasized by teaching the mother tongue as a subject. Correct spellings of words, sentence structure etc can be taught. This also encourages the children to develop an interest in their mother tongue and to develop literature.

3.4 The language of the nation: as a medium and subject

Nepali is the mother tongue of the majority of Nepalese people (50.3%). Nepali has therefore not only the role of being the medium of education, but also it has the roles of the language of the nation, and

official language. The non-Nepali speakers therefore need to develop

proficiency in Nepali. Nepali, the language of the nation, is also used as a medium of instruction at the secondary level and its use has also been gradually expanding in higher education. In a context where inter-linguistic and interethnic activities, including professional, social, and political activities at the national level are functioning in Nepali, the other mother tongue children should master Nepali from the very basic level.

It is also necessary to teach Nepali as a subject to children whose mother tongue is Nepali as well as children from other mother tongues to develop in them the linguistic skills required for the language of the nation from the primary level (grade two or three).

3.5 The language of the nation : as a second language

There is a sizable number of people speaking and adopting Nepali as a second language in a context where more than half of the population has non-Nepali speakers. Many non-Nepali speakers have to learn Nepali not only for educational and national activities but also for practical affairs particularly for the need of establishing relationships among others. The intentional teaching of the language of the nation is necessary to make other language groups have access to the social, economic, political and national activities and to eradicate the linguistic problems encountered through language competition in several areas. it is therefore appropriate to make the children proficient in the language of the nation by teaching it beginning in the primary classes.

Children in minority language communities often have not been exposed to a Nepali speaking environment until they attend school. Since it is difficult to teach those who do not have any exposure to Nepali language until they attend school, it is not desirable to teach Nepali using the theory and methodology of mother tongue teaching. Those students can be taught the language employing methodologies and theories of second language teaching in order to instill in them the exposure of the language of the nation effectively and purposefully. It is necessary to teach the children employing the materials which reveal the similarities and differences between the first and the second language based on the differences.

3.6 Informal education

The informal education system refers to any activities outside of any formal education system (National Education Commission Report 2049VS). Informal education can be a medium of providing educational access and opportunities to adults and children who are not embraced in the formal education in order to achieve a great educational goal like *Education for All.* There is a great importance of non-formal education in Nepal where only 41 percent of the population is literate according to the 1991

census report. Of late, literacy is provided to the children (8-12 years) and adults (15-25 years) who do not have an educational environment under informal education. In this context, the programs like Adult Literacy for the adults, *Chelibeti Karyekram* (Women Program) for the women, and *Bal Shikshya Sadan* (Child Education Sadan) for the children have been in operation.

Generally the medium of non-formal education so far is Nepali. Such programs are considered less attractive and ineffective for many non-Nepali speakers. It is necessary to prepare and use reading and teaching materials in several mother tongues when formulating such programs as an effective and comprehensive movement in order to eradicate illiteracy. The National Education Commission report (2049VS:138) has realized that the non-formal education materials may need to be in Nepali along with national languages or in dialects. It will help to educate the socially and economically backward people and it will also help teach the skills and knowledge for their overall development through literacy programs if the programs can be launched through the mother tongues.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Part A: Development and preservation of national languages

Identification of national languages

1. It is necessary to identify the national languages before they are developed. For various reasons, uncertainty exists about statistics in the census reports. Therefore it is necessary to identify the national languages by conducting an authentic linguistic survey.

Selection of a norm

2. When developing a language, it is necessary to select one of the dialects of the language as a norm. All the dialects should be identified before the norm is selected. In doing this, the linguistic capability of the dialect speakers, number of speakers, literate tradition, attitudes of the speakers towards the dialects, etc. should be considered.

Writing system

3. For practical, educational, and language learning purposes, it is appropriate to have consistency in script for the languages spoken in Nepal. The indigenous scripts may be used however, if any language communities express their willingness to maintain the indigenous script.

Alphabets

4. It is desirable to revise the alphabets of the languages spoken in Nepal according to the sound system of the Nepalese languages. It is necessary to study their sound systems for this purpose.

Spelling

5. It is necessary to improve the spelling system in order to minimize the gap between the spoken and written form. Additionally, it is also desirable to bring consistency and stability in the spelling of the standard written dialect.

Vocabulary

6. Development of vocabulary in several languages is required for the expansion of education and communication of advances in modern science and technology. It is desirable to work in consonance with the principles of UNESCO guidelines (1953) when developing vocabulary.

7. It is necessary to lay emphasis on compiling monolingual, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries of the national languages in order to systematize spelling, pronunciation and vocabulary.

Grammar

8. Writing grammars in national languages is deemed an essential prerequisite for regularizing and systematizing the languages. It is necessary to develop reference and pedagogical grammars for several languages.

Domains of use

9. On the basis of feasibility and capacity of the languages, their domains of use should be gradually identified. Some possible domains may be education, media, administration, literature etc.

Media

10. Audio Medium (Radio): Necessary preparation should be made to broadcast events associated with public, cultural, and local importance through the national languages, by means of news, as well as other programs. The domains of use should be gradually expanded depending on the capability of the languages in central and regional broadcasting. It is desirable to prioritize the languages with a literate or emerging literate tradition and expand their domains of use progressively. It is also necessary to use and expand the use of the languages have no literate tradition, but is likely to step towards literate tradition considering their practical possibility.

11. **Reading medium**:

The translations of the government notices, and other publications, published for the people should also be made available in the other national languages. Attention should be paid towards the publication of newspapers and other teaching-learning materials in the national languages.

12. **Audio-visual medium:**

Considering the linguistic efficiency and probability of the development of the national languages, the news will gradually be broadcast in the national languages. For this purpose, broadcasting of the national languages may be arranged under "National Language Program".

13. Notices, advertisements etc. should be broadcast in the national

languages through the radio and television.

Administration
14. In order to make the local administration more efficient and beneficial for the people, the local languages should be supported, taking into consideration the practicality of the use of local languages.

15. In dealings with all local administrative authorities, it would be useful to make translators available for people who do not know the national language.

Literature
16. It is appropriate to encourage the development of literature in the national languages. It would be desirable to administer publication facilities and incentives for such purposes.

Simplification of the language of the nation
17. Since Nepali is the official language, the medium of education as well as the *lingua franca,* it is appropriate to simplify the language so it will be more comprehensible for a wider audience.

18. It is indispensable to preserve the languages which have no literate tradition and special Programs for this purpose should be formulated immediately.

Part B: Council of National Languages
19. It is necessary to open (establish) the Council of National language as a regulatory body responsible for formulation and implementation of cultural and language policies related to identification of national language, corpus and status planning and identification of national languages.

Formation
Government approval is required in order to implement language policies including the use of language in education, media, culture etc. Implementation of the policies will be difficult without help from the government. Therefore, it is appropriate to constitute the Council of National Languages on behalf of the government. Since language policy is closely related to education and culture, it is appropriate that this committee is an autonomous body at the Ministry of Education and Culture. This should be constituted as:

1. Chairman: 1
2. Linguists: 2

3. Educationist: 1
4. Representing several national languages: 7 members

Tenure
The tenure of the chairperson and the members shall be five years.

Eligibility
In order to be eligible for appointment as the chairperson or the members of the Council of National Languages, a person must hold a Master's Degree or should have made remarkable contributions in national languages.

Functions
Language policy and planning
1. To formulate programs in order to implement status and corpus planning of national languages pursuant to part (A) of this section.
2. To suggest recommendations related to the language policies the nation should adopt, and
3. To explain the matters related to language policy if any.

Implementation
There is a need of a team of language experts for the implementation of the formulated programs related to national languages. This team will consist of several departments as necessary, i.e. linguistic studies, compilation of dictionaries, preparation of teaching and learning materials, publication, etc coordinated by the experts of the respective fields. In addition, the council shall coordinate with organizations including other institutions/persons for the accomplishment of objectives and programs related to national languages.

Monitoring and Evaluation
This Council shall make improvements and revisions by monitoring and evaluating the implemented programs as required.

Part C: Use of national languages in education
20. The primary mother tongues schools shall be opened in the areas where there are monolingual students. Approval shall be given to such schools to teach the children orally or in written form in their mother tongue if the teaching materials are presently available. If the languages lack written materials, the teaching activities can be conducted in the national languages, translating the materials written in the language of the nation to the national languages orally. The medium of instruction can be either the language of the nation or the national language, or both, based on the availability of the teaching

materials and willingness of the local communities.

21. His Majesty's Government shall provide approval and support for the mother tongue schools established in the private sector.

22. In the areas with densely populated monolingual speakers, mother tongue schools may be established if it is convenient for the linguistic community. His Majesty's Government shall provide recognition and grants to the mother tongue schools similar to other primary schools.

23. In the schools with a predominantly multilingual context, it would be appropriate to adopt the language of the nation as the medium of instruction.

24. Approval may be given to schools to use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the lower secondary level. If the community so desires, approval may also be given to schools to use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction with the upper level if the school has successfully used the mother tongue as the medium, and the language can satisfy appropriate requirements.

25. It would be appropriate to categorize the schools into three types at the primary level in terms of the medium of instruction.
    (a)   Mother tongue primary school
    (b)   Bilingual primary school
    (c)   National language primary school

26. While establishing the mother tongue schools, where there are densely populated monolingual areas or where it is otherwise convenient, first of all Basic Schools (schools of grades 1 – 3) will be established. Mother-tongue teachers shall be recruited for the Basic Schools.

Teaching the Mother tongue as a subject

27. There would be a provision to teach the mother tongue as a subject in mother tongue and bilingual schools.

28. In primary schools that use the language of the nation as the medium of instruction the mother tongues will be taught as subjects based on the demand of the children.

Mother tongue: As an alternative or an optional subject

29. It would be desirable to incorporate mother tongue languages as optional subjects within the existing curricula of the lower secondary *level* as an alternative to Sanskrit. It would be appropriate to include mother tongues as a subject carrying 100 full marks in the lower secondary schools in the future.

30. It is also necessary to include the teaching of the mother tongue in secondary and higher secondary level.

Mother tongue and national language in primary curricula
31. It would be desirable to commence the teaching of the national language in the mother tongue schools from grade 2 or grade 3 within the prescribed framework of the existing curricula.

32. It would be appropriate to teach the mother tongue as a subject carrying 100 marks as an alternative to the optional subject for mother-tongue students in the schools that use Nepali as the medium.

33. It is difficult to begin to teach through the mother tongue with all the languages of different categories, i.e. those with literate traditions, the languages stepping to the literate tradition and language with no literature tradition. It would therefore be desirable to follow the phases prescribed in the following table for the study of the languages, development of teaching materials and their teaching.

Table

Phases	Language with literate tradition	Languages inclined towards literate tradition	Language with no literate tradition
First	Teaching	Development of teaching materials	Study of language
Second	-	Teaching	Development of teaching materials
Third	-	-	Teaching

As the table demonstrates, the teaching of the languages may be started in the first phase with those languages with literate traditions in *which teaching materials have already been prepared. On the other hand for the languages* with *literate traditions in* progress the teaching may be *begun in the second phase only after the development of the teaching material in the first phase. The languages* will be studied in the first phase, the development of materials, and the teaching in the second and third phases respectively for the languages with no literate tradition. The teaching of languages can thus be continued till grade 5 based on the availability of materials. For the languages with no literate tradition teaching will only begin after the study of the language, development of the writing system, vocabulary, grammar etc.

Development of curriculum and preparation of teaching materials

34. It is necessary to formulate the objectives for teaching of the mother tongue as subjects, design the curriculum for students of each mother-tongue and to prepare textbooks.

35. While preparing textbooks, social and cultural features of respective communities and mother tongues will be incorporated as required to match different grades of school.

36. The design of curricula and preparation of the textbook should be accomplished with participation of the respective mother-tongue language consultants, and curriculum experts.

37. If the secondary and complementary reading materials have ever been prepared by the private sector in any mother tongues, they should be permitted to be used after assessing their standards.

38. Curricula can also be made by translating the textbooks into the respective mother tongues, except for Social Study, Environmental Science, Health and Physical Education, etc. for the languages without curricula and textbooks. The appropriate revision of the textbooks may be made to make the contents of the textbooks appropriate for local contexts and cultures of different mother tongues.

39. The books associated with basic reading and writing (teaching of literacy) should be prioritized while getting the textbooks prepared. This should be followed by the curricula designation of the following subjects in order.
    a. Social Education
    b. Environmental Education
    c. Physical Health Education
    d. Mathematics
    e. Science

However, it would be appropriate to prepare textbooks for the subjects like Mathematics and Science after considering the degree of viability in different mother tongues.

Bilingual education
40. It would be appropriate to adopt bilingual education particularly in schools located in the urban or rural areas with a predominantly bilingual context and multilingual context. The teacher would use both

the language of the nation and the mother tongue as required in such an education system.

4L In bilingual education, teaching mother tongue as a subject in the mother tongue and teaching of other subjects in the language of the nation would also be possible. But the teachers should be competent in both languages.

42. The medium of instruction at examinations may be in one or two languages based on the desire of local population.

Education through the language of the nation

43. The medium of primary education would be Nepali (the language of the nation) in the primary schools where national languages cannot be used as the medium of instruction.

44. While teaching the language of the nation as a subject to non-Nepali speaking children at the primary level, the emphasis should be laid to teach it as a second language.

45. Separate curriculum and textbooks for teaching the language of the nation as a second language will be prepared.

46. It would be necessary to keep on improving the curricula, textbooks and teaching methodology after studying the problems of teaching the language of the nation as a second language.

Teachers' management and training

47. Having prepared an inventory of mother-tongue speaking teachers who are presently working as teachers in any place in the country, it would be appropriate to recruit them who speak the local language to mother tongue schools at their convenience. Additionally, some more teachers would be recruited as required in the mother tongue schools.

48. Teachers who speak the local mother tongue would be recruited for each of mother tongue education schools.
49. Training for mother-tongue speaking teachers involved in teaching through the mother tongue in bilingual and multilingual classes should be properly arranged.

Non-formal education

50. Necessary initiatives should be taken to accelerate the literacy campaign in the country by beginning programs of informal

education in several mother tongues.

51. Teaching materials in the respective mother tongues would have to be developed as required in order to make such programs a success.

52. In order to conduct effective mother-tongue non-formal education, the respective mother-tongue speaking teachers or volunteers should be properly trained.

Part D: Miscellaneous
Department of Linguistics
53. A Department of Linguistics Tribhuvan University is urgently required for training the manpower related to the teaching of languages and preparation of teaching and learning materials.

Language body in Royal Nepal Academy
54. It would be appropriate to establish an autonomous and separate language section within the Royal Nepal Academy without incorporating any other sections in it to pursue the work of the preservation and advancement of national languages.

Academic Institutions in the National Languages
55. It shall be appropriate to coordinate with the academic institutions that are established or are likely to be established in the near future, to become affiliated with the Royal Nepal Academy and to provide financial assistance to them.

Curriculum Development Centre
56. A separate section (body) should be established under the Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Centre for the implementation of suggestions associated with the curriculum and textbooks developed in the national languages.

57. In order to enhance national unity and coherence, it shall be appropriate to develop textbooks incorporating and reflecting existing social and cultural diversities of each caste and ethnic group from the school level.

Language experts in the census
It would be appropriate to involve the linguists as experts for resolving the language matters during the national census.

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Appendices

Language Family/		Appendix: One Comparative Table of National Languages			
Language	2009-18	2018	2028	2038	2048
1. Nepali	4013567	4796528	6060758	8767361	9302880
2. Maithili	1024780	1130402	1327242	1668309	2191900
3. Bhojpuri	477281	577357	806480	142805	1379717
4. Tharu	359594	406907	495881	545685	993388
5. Awadhi	328408	477090	316950	234343	374638
6. Urdu	32545	2650	-	-	202208
7. Hindi	80181	2867			170997
8. Rajbanshi	35543	55803	55124	59383	85558
9. Bengali	-	9915		-	27712
10 Danuwar	9138	11624	9959	13522	23721
11. Marwari		6176			16514
12. Majhi	5729	5895	-		11322
13. Darai	3084	1645			6520
14. Kumal	3510	1724	-		1413
15. English		-	-		2784

(b) Tibeto-Burman					
1. Tamang	494745	528812	555056	522416	904456
2. Newari	383184	377721	4549970	448746	690007

3. Rai group	236049	239745	232264	221353	439312
4. Magar	273780	254675	288383	212681	430264
5. Limbu	145511	3705	170787	129234	254088
6. Gurung	162192	157778	171609	174464	227918
7. Sherpa	70132	84229	79218	73589	121829
8. Chepang	14262	9247	-	-	25097
9. Dhirnal	5671	8188	-		15014
10. Thami	10240	9046	-	-	14400
11. Thakali	3307	6432	-	5289	7113
12. Jirel	2721	2757			4229
13. Raji	1514	801	-	-	2959
14. Byangshi	1786	-		-	1314
15. Sunuwar	17299	13362	20380	10650	
16. Lapche	-	1272			
17. Meche	523	938			
18. Pahari	864	3002			
19. Hayu	233	-			
(c) Austro-Asiatic					

1. Sattar/ Santhal	16751	29485	23853	28207	33332

(d) Dravidian					
1. Jhanghar/ Dhanghar	4832	9140	-		15175
Others	70340	114302	487060	764802	504171
Not mentioned	752	6432	-		9157
Total	**8235079**	**9412996**	**11555986**	**15022839**	**18491097**

Source: National Census (from 2019 BS to 2048 BS).

Districtwise Distribution of National Language

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
(A) **Mountainous region**				
1. Taplejung	1,20,053	Nepali (60,096)	Limbu (40,706)	Sherpa (10,696) Tamang (3,638) Rai (2,426)
2. Shankhuwashava	1,41,903	Nepali (77,701)	Rai(24,926)	Sherpa (10,803)Tamang (10,409) Limbu (5,840) Magar (3,152) Newari (2,134)
3. Sholukhumbu	97,200	Nepali(39,027)	Rai(19,893)	Sherpa (19,328) Tamang(7,658)
4 Dolakha	1,73,236	Nepali(1,19,746)	Tamang(25,736)	Thami(9,420) Sherpa(8,040) Jirel(3,928) Newari (2,903)
5 Sindhupalchowk	2,61,025	Nepali(1,37,268)	Tamang(81,761)	Newari(21,190) Sherpa(12,321) Danuwar(2,077) Thami(1,820) Rai (1,189)
6. Rasuwa	36,744	Tamang(24,404)	Nepali(10,932)	
7. Manang	5,363	Gurung(2,571)	Nepali(1,575)	
8. Mustang	14,292	Sherpa(5,450)	Nepali(4,639)	Thakali(2,229)

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
9. Dolpa	25,013	Nepal i(16,262)	Sherpa(6,393)	Gurung(1,489) Local languages (2,073)
10. Mugu	36,394	' Nepali(32,286)	Sherpa(3,9I9)	
11. Humla	34,383	Nepali (28,351)	Sherpa(2,704)	Gurung(1,493) Tamang(1,398
12. Darchula	1,01,683	Nepali(97,919)	local languages(2,073	
(A) Hilly Regions				
1. Panchthar	1,75,206	Nepali (70,996)	Limbu(63,648	Rai(22,444) Tamang(10,315) Magar(4,677)
2. Ilam	2,29,214	Nepali (1,33,784)	Rai (37,876)	Limbu (25,903) Tamang (9,955) Magar (8,346) Sherpa(2,820) Gurung (1,903) Newari(1,595)
3. Tehrathum	1,02,870	Nepali (59,868)	Limbu(31,874)	Tamang(4,761) Rai(1,846) Magar(I,793)
4. Bhojpur	1,98,784	Nepali (1,24,022)	Rai(51,471)	Tamang(9,119) Magar(4,361) Newari(4,361) Sherpa(2,236)
5. Dhankuta	1,46,386	Nepali (70,076)	Rai(27,793)	Limbu(18,969) Magar(11,932) Tamang7,389 Newari(3,052)
6. Okhaldhunga	1,39,457	Nepali (89,349)	Rai(15,807)	Tamang(11,497) Magar(10,262) Sherpa(6,658

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
				) Newari(1,043)
7. Khotang	2,15,965	Nepali (1,34,539)	Rai(57,573)	Magar(6,084) Tamang (5,671) Newari (3,037) Sherpa(1,198)
8. Udayapur	2,21,256	Nepali (1,25,383)	Rai(28,238)	Magar (25,681) Tharu (19,631) Tamang(12,631) Maithili(4,072) Newari(1,703) Danuwar(1,437)
9. Sindhuli	2,23,900	Nepali (1,23,013)	Tamang(50,607)	Magar(20,945) Danuwar(10,294) Newari(6,308) Rai(3,872) Sherpa(2,280) Maithili(2,015) Majhi(3,652)
10. Ramechap	1,88,064	Nepali (1,10,414)	Tamang(37370)	Newari(13822) Magar(8,780) Sherpa(4,070) Majh i(3,652) Thami(1, 80)
11. Kavre	3,24,329	Nepali (1,71,959)	Tamang(1,04,337	Danuwar (3,599) Magar (2,303)
12. Lalitpur	2,57,086	Newari (1,10,800)	Nepali(1,09,196)	Tamang(25,626) Rai(1,512) Magar(1,375) Gurung (1,288) Sherpa (1,222)

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
13. Bhaktapur	172952	Newari (1,05,263)	Nepali(59,378)	Tamang(6,628)
14. Kathmandu	6,75,341	Nepali (3,49,158)	Newari (2,33,541)	Tamang(43,246) Gurung(7,994) Hindi(7,466) Sherpa(6,063) Rai(4,499) Maithili(4,074) Magar(3,788) Urdu(2,694) Bhojpuri(1,765) Limbu(1,012) Marwari(1,342
15. Nuwakot	2,45,260	Nepali (1,45,196)	Tamang(85,457)	Newari(8,860) Gurung(1,771) Sherpa(1,164
16. Dhading	2,78,068	Nepali (2,05,344)	Tamang(55,805)	Magar(4,274) Chepang(3,441) Gurung(3,297) Newari(2,280) Rai(1,436)
17. Makwanpur	3,14,599	Tamang (1,39,198)	Nepali(1,31,226)	Newari (19,241) Chepang(10,594) Rai(3,914) Magar(3,148) Bhojpuri(1,238) Maithili(1,484) Hindi (1,187)
18. Gorkha	252524	Nepali (1,96,908)	Gurung(31,213)	Magar(7,188) Sherpa(4,626) Tamang(4201)
19. Lamjung	1,53,697	Nepali(96,507)	Gurung(45,060)	Tamang(7,489), Newari (2,367)
20. Tanahun	2,68,073	Nepali (1,68,943)	Magar(46,514)	Gurung (25872) Newari(13,778) Rai(4,707) Darai(2,246) Urdu(1,298) Tamang(1,164)
21. Shyangja	2,93,526	Nepali (2,19,462)	Magar(36,458)	Gurung (26,101) Newari(5,265) Rai(4,474)

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
22. Kaski	2,92,945	Nepali (2,34,148)	Gurung(36,959)	
23. Myagdi	1,00,552	Nepali (95,909)	local languages(2,256)	Rai(1,404)
24. Parbat	1,43,547	Nepali (1,31,353)	Gurung(7,519)	Magar(1,739) Newari(1,325) Rai(1,240)
25. Baglung	2,32,486	Nepali (2,26,933)	Rai(2,280)	Newari(1,771)
26. Gulmi	2,66,331	Nepali (2,59,060)	Newari(2,963)	Rai(2,171)
27. Palpa	2,36,313	Nepali (1,61,155)	Magar (64,234)	Rai (2,328)
28. Arghakhanchi	1,80,884	Nepali (1,77,094)	Rai(2,361)	
29. Pyuthan	1,75,469	Nepali (1,69,199)	Magar(1,799)	Rai (1,635) Newari (1,480)
30. Rolpa	1,79,621	Nepali (152759)	Magar(15,190)	Local languages (10,387)
31. Rukum	1,55,554	Nepali (1,42,560)	Local languages(7,688)	Magar (3691), Rai (1353)*
32. Salyan	1,81,785	Nepali (1,80,145)	Rai(1,363)	
33. Surkhet	2,25,768	Nepali (2,11,416)	Magar(5,299)	Tharu (4,498) Local Language (1711) Rai(1151)

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
34. Dailekh	1,87,400	Nepali (1,85,501)	-	-
35. Jajarkot	1,13,958	Nepali (1,12,550)	-	-
36. Jumla	75,964	Nepali (75,320)	-	-
37. Kalikot	88,805	Nepali (88,122)	-	-
38. Bajura	92,010	Nepali (90,680)		
39. Bajhang	1,39,092	Nepali (1,35,896)	Local languages(2,773)	-
40. Achham	1,98,188	Nepali (1,97,362)		
41. Doti	1,67,168	Nepali (87,829)	Local languages(75,626)	Magar(1,79,3)
42. Dadeldhura	1,04,649	Nepali (1,03,820)	-	-
43. Baitadi	2,00,716	Local languages(1,86,863)	Nepali(11,310)	-

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
C Terai Region				
1. Jhapa	5,93,737	Nepali (3,46,292)	Rajbanshi (66,224)	Limbu (30,367) Sattar/Santhal (21,532) Rai (21,254) Maithili (14,814) Hindi (11,061) Tamang (0,819) Urdu(7,313) Dhimal(6,465) Magar(6,058) Newari(5,132) Tharu(4,80 I) Bengali(4,613) Bhojpuri (1,744) Marwari (1,587)
2. Morang	6,74,823	Nepali (2,63,506)	Maithili (1,43,200)	Tharu (52,460) Rai(28,177) Limbu(24,400) Urdu (18,480) Hindi(18,343) Rajbanshi (18,243) Magar 13584 Tamang12024 Sattar(9978 Newari(8,854) Dhimal (8,147) Marwari 5,303( ) Bhojpuri (4,628) Jhanghar(2,818) Gurung (1,763)
3. Sunsari	4,63,481	Maithili (1,40,290)	Nepali(1,36,894)	Tharu (73,274) Urdu(22,727) Rai(20,135) Jhanghar(11,789) Hindi (8,405) Limbu(8,217) Newari(6,731) Tarnang (5,967) Bengali (4,734) Bhojpuri (3,844) Marwari (1,807) Gurung (1,269)
4 Saptari	4,65,668	Maithili (3,38,237)	Tharu (80,526)	Nepali (28,831) Urdu(9,741) Hindi(1,572) Magar(1,531) Bengali (1,019)

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
5. Siraha	4,60,746	Maithili (3,94,644)	Tharu (1,15,235)	Nepali (24,239) Urdu (13,680) Tamang (4,406) Hindi (3,941) Magar (2,767)
6. Dhanusha	5,43,672	Maithili (3,59,947)	Nepali (37,855)	Urdu (12,542) Tamang (5,404) Magar (4,573) Hindi(2,639) Newari(1,889) Danuwar (1,023)
7 Mahottari	4,40,146	Maithili (3,59,947)	Nepali (29,087)	Urdu (22,548) Magar(9,536) Hindi(6,526) Tamang (4,696) Tharu (4,598)
8. Sarlahi	4,92,798	Maithili (2,81,554)	Nepali (73,443)	Bhojpuri (50,064) Tamang (24,128) Hindi (22,896) Urdu(13,175) Tharu(11,371) Magar(7,739) Newari(3,031) Danuwar (1,162)
Rautahat	4,14,005	Bhojpuri (2,88,144)	Urdu (46,969)	Tharu (14,759) Maithili (13,377) Hindi (6,034) Tamang (4,015) Rai(1,382) Magar(1,208) Sherpa(1,164)
Bara	415718	Bhojpuri (3,16,261)	Nepali (55,026)	Tharu (19,779) Tamang (11,851) Urdu (3,769) Newari(2,038) R a i (1 , 1 8 9) Maithili (1,166)
Parsa	372524	Bhojpuri (30,35,52)	Nepali (39,215)	Tamang (5,817) Urdu(5,070) Newari (4,417) Maithili (3,026) Marwari (2,924) Hindi (2000) Rai(1221) Tharu(1203)
Chitwan	3,54,488	Nepali (2,44,521)	Tharu (44640)	Tamang (14,670) Chepang (9,694) Newari (9,586) Gurung (8,409) Rai (5,432) Magar (4,337) Darai (3,738) Hindi(2,740) Bhojpuri (1,859)

A p p e n d i x : T w o
District-wise Distribution of National Languages

Region/Area	Total	First Position	Second Position	Other Noticeable language (up to 1,000) speakers
Nawalparsi	4,36,217	Nepali (2,06,460)	Bhojpuri (1,33,950)	Magar (44,963) Tharu (31, 598) Gurung (5,197) Newari (4,507) Hindi (2,636) Rai (2,534) Tamang (2,531)
Rupandehi	5,22,150	Bhojpuri (2,64,272)	Nepali (1,92,439)	Tharu (20,056) Hindi (8,259) Magar (7,629) Newari (6,690) Urdu (5,304) Gurung (4,890) Awadhi (4,330) Rai (2,678) Maithili (2,085)
15. Kapilvastu	3,71,778	Awadhi (2,48,881)	Nepali (75,594)	Tharu (37,571) Hindi (2,244) Rai (1,539) Newari (1,148,) Magar (1,062) Urdu (1,059)
16. Dang	3,54,413	Nepali (2,33,707)	Tharu (1,05,018)	Awadhi (5,378) Hindi (4,194) Magar (1,993) Rai (1,441)
17. Banke	2,85,605	Awadhi (97,510)	Nepali (96,433)	Tharu (44,197) Hindi (35,764) Urdu (4,407) Magar (1,733)
18. Bardiya	2,90,313	Tharu (1,49,865)	Nepali (1,06,711)	Awadhi (15,615) Hindi (10,564) Urdu (1,747
19. Kailali	4,17,891	Tharu (1,98,497)	Nepali (1,46,967)	Local languages (57,563) Hindi (5,456) Magar (2,268) Maithili (1,891)
20 Kanchanpur	2,57,906	Nepali (1,84,793)	Tharu (59,795)	Local languages (5,558) Tamang (4,101) Hindi (1,477)

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Appendix: Three
District-wise Distribution of Caste and Ethnic Groups

S.N.	District	First position	Second Postion	Third Position
1.	Taplejung	Limbu-49,077	Brahmin-13,907	Chhetri-13,655
2.	Panchthar	Limbu-69038	Brahmin-25029	Rai-24,020
3.	I lam	Rai-56,326	Brahmin-36,599	Limbu-30,962
4.	Dhankuta	Rai-34,336	Chhetri-29,551	Limbu-21,026
5.	Terhrathum	Limbu-35,656	Chhetri-20,101	Brahmin-18,680
6.	Shankhuwashabha	Rai-33,600	Chhetri-27,805	Tamang-19,971
7.	Bhojpur	Rai-65,874	Chhetri-41,638	Brahmin-18941m
8.	Solukhumbu	Rai-29618	Sherpa-20241	Chhetri-15251
9.	Okhaldhunga	Chhetri-34,745	Brahmin-19,050	Rai-16,679
10.	Khotang	Rai-83,725	Chhetri-48168	Brahmin-21,770
11.	Udayapur	Chhetri-46,494	Rai-37,804	Magar-31,852
12.	Jhapa	Brahmin-1,49,986	Chetri-91,427	Rajbanshi-52,753
13.	Morang	Brahmin-93,817	Chhetri-75,834	Tharu-60,391
14.	Sunsari	Tharu-57,029	Musalban-45,730,	Brahmin-(T)39,215
15.	Saptari	Yadav-78,746	Tharu-61,640	Teli-35,515
16.	Siraha	Yadav-1,20,707	Musalban-32,109	Musahar-26,170
17.	Dolakha	Chhetri-59,209	Tamang-27,036	Brahmin-19,805
18.	Ramechhap	Chhetri-49,841	Tamang-38,846	Newar-26048
19.	Sindhuli	Tamang-52,414	Chhetri-32,600	Magar-31,612

20.	Dhanusha	Yadav-1,13,443	Muslim-41,229	Kewat-35,170
21.	Mahottari	Yadav-74,783	Muslim-53,845	Brahmin- (T)33,759
22.	Sarlahi	Yadav79,408	Kushahawa-35,971	Muslim-32,724
23.	Kavrepalanchowk	Tamang-1,06,537 .	Brahmin-76,354	Newa-46,611
24.	Bhaktapur	Newar-1,08,653	Chhetri-31,604	Brahmin-15,261
25.	Lalitpur	Newar-1,18,439	Chhetri-50,057	Tamang-28,836
26.	Sindhupalchowk	Tamang-85,972	Brahmin-49,077	Brahmin-30,974
27.	Kathmandu	Newar-2,58,280	Brahmin-1,30,760	Chhetri-1,20,047
28.	Nuwakot	Tamang-93,047	Brahmin-53,252	Chhetri-33,862
29.	Rasuwa	Tamang-23,909	Brahmin-6,169	Chhetri-2,060
30.	Dhading	Tamang-59,822	Brahmin-51,910	Chhetri-41,538
31.	Makwanpur	Tamang-1,44,575	Brahmin-45,232	Chhetri-33,452
32.	Chitwan	Brahmin-1,04,696	Tharu-45,392	Chhetri-37,108
33.	Parsa	Muslim-45,653	Tharu-32,701	Kurmi-31,862
34.	Bara	Tharu-49,389	Muslim-48,642	Yadav-45,283
35.	Rautahat	MusRautahat-71,376	Yadav-55,159	Teli-24,552
36.	Gorakha	Gurung-53,872	Brahmin-50,585	Chhetri-30,228
37.	Lamjung	Gurung-51,590	Brahmin-24,889	Chhetri-24,832
38.	Tanahun	Magar-69,814	Brahmin-38,120	Gurung-34,728
39.	Syangja	Brahmin-98,350	Magar-59,675	Chhetri-34,475
40.	Kaski	Brahmin-90,759	Gurung-55,744	Chhetri-43,184
41.	Manang	Gurung-3,494	Sherpa-689	
42.	Mustang	Gurung-7,720	Thakali-2,810	Maga-657r
43.	Myagdi	Magar-43,768	Chhetri-17,000	Kami-5,120
44.	Parbat	Brahmin-55,875	Chhetri-23,255	Magar-15,317

45.	Baglung	Magar-64,605	Brahm in-54,660	Chhetri-34,035
46.	Gulmi	Brahmin-80,966	Chhetri-59,595	Magar-52,809
47.	Palpa	Magar-1,16,694	Brahmin-47,91 I	Chhetri20,150
48.	Nawalparasi	Tharu-73,494	Magar-72,463	Brahmin-60,904
49.	Rupendehi	Brahmin64,758	Tharu-55,803	Muslim-42,828
50.	Kapilvastu	Muslim-62,503	Tharu-43,709	Yadav-36,554
51.	Arghakhanchi	Brahmin-70,373	Chhetri-32,3 84	Magar-28,963
52.	Pyuthan	Magar-52,105	Chhetri-46,952	Brahmin-22,271
53.	Rolpa	Magar-79,846	Chhetri-57,924	Kam i-21,889
54.	Rukum	Chhetri-61,658	Magar-39,584	Kam i-23,116
55.	Salyan	Chhetri-94,995	Magar-26,224	Kam i-20,619
56.	Dang	Tharu-1,11,674	Magar-39,058	Brahmin-38,244
57.	Banke	Muslim-45,784	Tharu-45,564	Chhetri-31,184
58.	Bardiya	Tharul,-53,322	Chhetri-28,264	Brahmin-27,414
59.	Surkhet	Chhetri-65,327	Magar-46,068	Kam i-42,166
60.	Dailekh	Chhetri-65,751	Kam i-32,044	Brahmin-23,460
61.	Jajarkot	Chhetri-42,674	Kam i-24,974	Thakuri-18,977
62.	Dolpa	Thakuri-11,525	Chhetri-11,243	Gurung-4,899
63 .	Jumla	Chhetri-45,267	Brahmin-9,410	Kam i-5,486
64.	Mugu	Chetri 1-7,248	Thakuri-5,792	Kam i-4,090
65.	Kalikot	Chhetri-25,228	Thakuri-21,902	Brahmin-17,461
66.	Bajhang	Chhetri-71,461	Brahmin-12,402	Kam i-9,296
67.	Humla	Chhetri-4707	Sanyasi-6,453	Sherpa-2,904
68.	Bajura	Chhetri-51,097	Kam i-11,810	Brahmin-6,906
69.	Achham	Chhetri-1,02,090	Kam i-3 8,002	Brahm in-22,683

70.	Doti	Chhetri-86,767	Kami-18,928	Brahmin- I 8,062
71.	Dadeldhura	Chhetri-52,125	Brahmin-19,964	Kam i-6,995
72.	Kailali	Tharu-2,06933	Chhetri-60,421	Brahmin-40,023
73.	Baitadi	Chhetri-95,308	Brahmin-41,730	Kami-25,003
74.	Darchula	Chhetri-61,054	Brahmin-19,684	Kam i-7,508
75.	Kancharpur	Chhetri-73,008	Tharu-70,544	Brahmin-38,469

Source: National Census 2048 VS T: Terai

A p p e n d i x : F o u r
Situation of Literate Tradition of National Languages

1.   Languages with literate tradition

Nepali
Newari   Maithili
Limbu
Bhojpuri Awadhi
Others: Hindi, Urdu, Bhote/Lama (Tibetan)

2. Languages with literate tradition in progress

Tharu
T a m a n g
M a g a r   Gurung
Thulung (Rai)
 Bantawa (Rai)
 Chamling (Rai)
 Khaling (Rai)
 Kulung (Rai)
 Thakali   Sherpa
 Rajbanshi
 Bahing

3.   Languages without script or literate tradition

Sattar/Santhal
 Danuwar
 Chepang Marwari
 Thami

Jhanghar Dhimal
 Darai
 Jirel
 Chhantyal

Kham
Kagate
Kaike
Yholmo Raji
Kumal
Bote
Byangshi
Languages of Rai group: Nachhiring
Eastern Mewahang Western Mewahang Sampang
Yamphu/Yamphe
North Lohorung
 South Lohrung
 Yakkha Lumbayakhkha
 Athpare Umbule

4. Endangered languages Hayu

Dura Kusunda
Raute
Languages of Rai group: Koyu
P u m a J e r u n g   Chhukwa/Chakwa
Tilung Dumi Polmacha
Dungmali
Waling
Chhintang
Lambichhong
Mugali
Beihare
Phangdduwali
Chhulung

Name of the Organizations Giving Suggestions

1. Amarsingh High School, Pokhara
2. Continental Research Forum, Pokhara
3. Kalika High School, Pokhara
4. Kirant Dharma tatha Sahitya Utthan Sangh, Kathmandu
5. Kirant Yayukthung Chumlung, Central Committee, Kathmandu
6. Kirant Yayukthung Chumlung, Dharan, Sunsari
7. *Kirant Yayukthung Bhasa Samiti, Taplejung*
8. Kirant Rai Yayokkha, Central Committee, Kathmandu
9. Kirant Rai Yayokkha, Damak, Jhapa
10. Kirant Rai Yayokkha, Dharan, Sunsari
11. Kirant Rai Bhasa tatha Sahitya Parisad, Central Committee, Damak, Jhapa
12. Kirant Rai Yayokkha, Ilam
13. Gumba Byabstha tatha Bikas Samiti, Lalitpur
14. Chhantyal Pariwar Sangh, Kathmandu
15. Damphu Samuha, Kathmandu
16. Tamu Chhonj Dhin, Central Committee, Pokhara
17. Tamu Dhin Pariwar, Kaski
18. Tamang Gyoi Sengjang, Kathmandu
19. Thakali Sewa Samiti, Kathmandu
20. Thakali Sewa Samiti, Pokhara
21. Tharu Kalyankarini Sabha, Kathmandu
22. Tharu Bhasa Sahitya Parishad, Nepal
23. Danuwar Jagaran Samiti, Janakpurdhan
24. Dhimal Jatiya utthan bikas Kendra, Jhapa
25. Nepal (Gangai) Ganesh Kalyan Parishad, Jhapa
26. Nepali Janatati Mahasang, Kathmandu
27. Nepal Tamang Ghedung, Kathmandu
28. Nepal Tamang Samiti, Lalitpur
29. Nepal Bhasha Manka Khal, Kathmandu
30. Niko Thami Sewa Samiti, Dolakha
31. Nepal bhojpuri Sahitya Kala Parisad, Birgunj
32. Nepal Magar Sangh, Kathmandu
33. Nepal Magar Sangh, District Adhoc committee, Surkhet

34. Nepal Maithil Samaj, Kathmandu
35. Nepal Viswa Boudha Maitri Mahasangh, Kathmandu
36. Nepal Sadbhavana Party, Kathmandu
37. Nepal Santhal Bhasa Sanskrit Viksa Parisad, Jhapa
38. Nepal Tamang Sewa Samiti, Kathmandu
39. Magarati Itihas tatha Sanskriti Parisad, Kathmandu
40. Yholmbu Syrwa Chichhig, Kathmandu
41. Lasso Thetma Yambu
42. Samakhusi Tamang Pariwar Kosh, Kathmandu
43. Sunuwar Sewa Samaj, Kathmandu

Current Curricula and Mother Tongue

1. Primary School

Subject	Class (Full Marks)				
	1	2	3	4	5
1.Nepali*	150	150	150	100	100
2.Maths	150	150	150	100	100
3.English				100	100
4.Social Study and Environment	100	100	100	-	
5. Physical Education	50	50	50	50	50
6. Creative and Expressive Skill	50	50	50	50	50
7. EnvironmentalScience-				100	100
8. Social Study				100	100
9. Optional**	100	100		100	100
	600	600	600	600	600

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* This should introduce National languages (mother tongues) ** Mother tongue school should introduce the language of the nation (Nepali) and the school with language of the nation should introduce mother tongue (the national languages).

2. Lower Secondary School (General)

Subject	50	Class (Full Marks)	
	6	7	8
1.Nepali	100	100	100
2.Maths	100	100	100
3.English	100	100	100
4.Social Study and Environment	100	100	100
5. Science	100	100	100
6. Health and Physical Education	100	100	100
7. Sanskrit*	50	50	50
8. Population and Environmental Education		50	50
8. Arts or Pre-vocational	50	50	50

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3. Secondary School (General)

Subject	Class (Full Marks)	
	9	10
1. Nepali	100	100
2. Maths	100	100
3. English	100	100
4. Social Study	100	100
5. Science and Environmental-	100	100
6. Health and Physical Education Or, Computer Science Or, Population Education-	100	100
7. Optional Subj ect* * -	100	100
	700	700

* National language (Mother tongue) should be included as an alternative subject

** National language (Mother tongue) should be incorporated as an optional subject