

SURVEY OF NEPALI BILINGUALISM AMONG MAGARS OF THE NAWALPARASI HILLS

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

Nepal's democratic revolution in early 1990 ushered in a whole new era for language policy and planning in Nepal. The newly acquired constitutional rights to primary-education in one's own mother tongue raised many hopes, but it also raised many questions. Which language groups could really benefit from mother-tongue education? Isn't most Nepalese citizens bilingual in Nepali already?

There is a common misconception in Nepal that "virtually everyone speaks the national language". To be Nepalese is to speak the Nepali language. This myth of bilingualism is partly semantic in nature, ignoring the issue of bilingual proficiency. It obscures the fact that not everyone who speaks a second language does so as fluently as a mother-tongue speaker. Being able to correctly respond to the question, "Where are you from?" is entirely different from being able to discuss religion, philosophy, or highly emotional issues. To call both abilities "bilingual" is a gross oversimplification, which obscures reality. Only those whose Nepali ability (i.e. bilingual proficiency) allows them to control deeply felt and abstract material are linguistically able to be full participants in the modern nation-state.

A fundamental question which Nepal's aspiring ethnic groups needs to address is this: do they have a legitimate functional need for mother-tongue education? Any group can claim need based on ethnic identity and the desire for cultural preservation and promotion. Functional need, however, refers to the inability, on the parts of a significant portion of the language group, to adequately control oral and written Nepali. A major question is the motivating question for this study: how proficient in Nepali are the Magar?

This study seeks to quantitatively answer this question for one language group-the Magar of the Nawalparasi Hills of Central Nepal. In this study actual bilingual proficiency tests are correlated with detailed demographic data. Census data was elicited for over 700 Magar subjects; of these, 177 took an oral bilingualism test known as a sentence repetition tests (see section 3.2 for an explanation of this methodology).

This bilingualism survey focuses on the Arkhala and Pragatinagar Village Development Areas of Nawalparasi District. Nawalparasi District stretches east west along the Naryani River in Lumbini Zone in Central Zone. These villages are located in the northern hills of Nawalparasi District, in the Mahabharat Range. The low-lying hills around Pragatinagar are at an elevation of 500 to 6000 feet; the mountainous terrain around Upallo Arkhala ranges from 3000-6000 feet.

Magar is one of the largest minority languages in Nepal; spoken by approximately 430,000 speakers- 2% of Nepal's population (Government of Nepal 1993). It hardly needs to be mentioned that Magar is a Tibeto-Burman language, in an entirely different language family from Nepali. Mother tongue speakers of Magar must learn Nepali essentially as they would a foreign language.

2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this section I present a summary of the main findings of this study, then in subsequent sections discuss these results in more detail.

Over 170 subjects were tested on a Nepali sentences repetition test (SRT) in two different Magar villages. The results of this testing clearly show that the majority of Magars in this area do not control Nepali very well. The majority tested would be described as having only a "basic proficiency" in the language (Varenkamp 1993; Radloff (1991:242). It has been suggested that a level 3 on this Nepali bilingualism test is needed to successfully complete the advanced course of the HMG's Naya Gareto program. Looking at these two Magar villages together, only about 10% of those tested have reached this level, and the vast majority of those who are at least level 3 have already received Nepali-medium education.

Of all the factors analyzed, Nepali-medium education had the greatest effect on proficiency in Nepali. This, I think, is because of the long-term exposure to Nepali that it provides. Perhaps the best way to summarize the results from the two villages is by a chart showing the number of people at each level of proficiency. This profile in figure 1 projects the result from this test sample to the wider Magar population in the two test villages. It corrects for known over-or under-representation of subgroups within the sample. This profile, then, is the best prediction of what overall profile would look like if all the members of each village were tested.

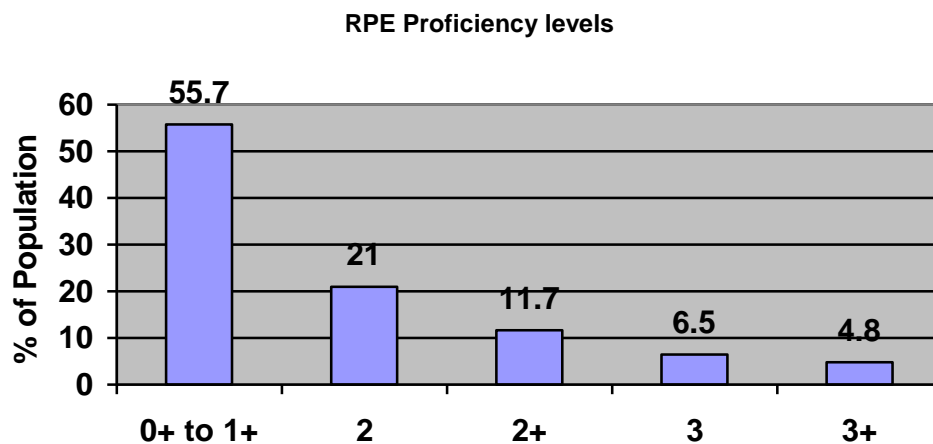


Figure 1. Nepali proficiency profile for two Magars villages

3. BILINGUALISM IN NEPALI

As used in this paper *bilingualism* is the ability to speak two (or more) languages, without reference to the degree of fluency in the second language. *Bilingual proficiency* refers to some objective standard by which overall ability in a second language is measured.

Bilingualism is the result of either formal or informal exposure to another language; this is nearly always uneven in a community. Thus, in any one community, different individuals and sections of the community are bilingual to different degrees.

Bilingualism arises from the simple fact that people of widely different backgrounds need and want to communicate with each other. Nepal has been referred to as a “flower garden” of linguistic and cultural diversity. People from different ethnic groups acquire second and third languages to communicate each other. Furthermore, education and religion commonly provide exposure to Nepali. Knowledge of Nepali is vital for the advancement of the people and their integration into national life.

Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not tell us much about the ability of others in community. It is necessary to also know the distribution of the relevant demographic characteristics in a community. Such detailed local-level information for the two communities studied in this survey could only be obtained by conducting a village census.

3.1 Census Procedures and results.

An extensive census was conducted in both Upallo Arkhala and Pragatinagar. In each village detailed demographic information was collected for about 350 people. A census book was constructed for each village with a separate form for each adult questioned. Blanks on the forms were filled-in by the census-taker. This was protection against some questions being inadvertently skipped. Generally the head of a household was polled for each member in his household. Detailed information was gathered for all members over age 14. Partial information was gathered for those under 15.

3.1.1 Pragatinagar Village

Pragatinagar lies on the East-Way Highway about seven hours by bus west of Kathmandu. Lying in transitional zone between the fertile plains and the rocky hills, Pragatinagar has only been settled in the last 30-40 years, previously being an area of dense forest infested with malarial mosquitoes. In addition to Magar, there are also significant numbers of Brahmin, Chhetri, Tamang, Newar, Tharu, and Darai in Pragatinagar. Pragatinagar was chosen as representing a “more developed” Magar village with a higher degree of bilingual contact. In general, a wide range of public amenities and services are available here. There are four public primary schools in Pragatinagar and one high school (up to grade ten). Post-high study is available just three kilometers west on the main highway.

Just over 40% of the men have completed at least one year of school; only about 10% of the women have completed one or more years of school.

Detailed census information was taken for a total of 390 Magars in Pragatinagar. This represents a large percentage of the entire Magar population in Pragatinagar. Table 1 summarizes this information for age, education, and sex. The first number in each cell is the number of people; the second number is the percentage of the total sample. This is the important number to use in interpreting test results.

Travel is also frequently a significant indicator of bilingual ability. For those who are educated the influence of travel would be hidden by the influences of education. Therefore, it will be helpful to look at the influence of travel for just the uneducated segment of the population. Travel is defined as having lived outside of Nawalparasi District for six months or more. Table 2 summarizes the demographic information related to travel for uneducated people in Pragatinagar village.

Table 1. Pragatinagar Village Demographic profile

SEX	AGE	EDUCATION			
		UNED. (0 YEARS)	PRIMARY (1-5)	HIGHER (6+)	TOTAL
MALE	YOUNGER (15-30)	26 7 %	36 9 %	38 10 %	100 27 %
	MIDDLE (31-45)	30 8 %	5 1 %	10 3 %	45 12 %
	OLDER (46+)	58 15 %	1 0 %	2 1 %	61 16 %
MALE TOTALS		114 (29%)	42 (11%)	50 (13%)	206 (53%)
FEMALE	YOUNGER (15-30)	75 19%	10 3%	6 2%	91 23%
	MIDDLE (31-45)	47 12%	3 1%	1 0%	51 13%
	OLDER (46+)	38 10%	0 0%	0 0%	38 10%
FEMALE TOTALS		161 41%	13 3%	7 2%	180 47%
TOTALS		276 70.8%	55 14.1%	59 15.1%	386 100%

Table 2. Demographic profile related to travel for uneducated people in Pragatinagar Village.

	+ TRAVEL	- TRAVEL
MALE	16	98
FEMALE	4	156

3.1.2 Upallo Arkhala Village

Arkhala is an almost entirely Magar village lying on a hilltop at about 5000 feet, about seven hours' hard walk north of Pragatinagar. Virtually all-arable land in the area is terraced and farmed. Upallo Arkhala was chosen as representing a "less developed" Magar village. In general, there are far fewer amenities in Arkhala than in Pragatinagar. A small branch of the Nepal Agricultural Development Bank provides capital assistances for local farmers and businessmen. A private road to the village is currently under construction. In Arkhala there is a primary school and a middle school. The nearest secondary school is one and half-hours from Arkhala. About 40% of the men have completed at least one year of primary school; only about 5% of the women have completed one or more years of school.

Detailed census information was taken for a total of 340 people in Upallo Arkhala village, representing a large percentage of the entire population of the village. Table 3 summarizes the information for age, education and sex, showing first sample size then the percentage of the total sample.

Table 3. Upallo Arkhala Village Demographic Profile

SEX	AGE	EDUCATION			
		UNED. (0 YEARS)	PRIMARY (1-5)	HIGHER (6+)	TOTAL
MALE	YOUNGER (15-30)	36 11%	25 7%	29 9%	90 26%
	MIDDLE (31-45)	27 8%	12 4%	0 0%	39 11%
	OLDER (46+)	50 15%	0 0%	1 0%	39 11%
MALE TOTALS		113 33%	37 11%	30 9%	180 53%
FEMALE	YOUNGER (15-30)	77 23%	2 1%	0 0%	79 23%
	MIDDLE (31-45)	43 13%	4 1%	0 0%	47 14%
	OLDER (46+)	34 10%	0 0%	0 0%	34 10%

FEMALE TOTALS	154 45%	6 2%	0 0%	160 47%
TOTALS	267 78.5%	43 12.6%	30 8.8%	340 100%

Just as for Pragatinagar, demographic information was also collected for travel. Table 4 summarizes this information for the uneducated segment of the population in Upallo Arkhala.

Table 4. Demographic profile related to travel for uneducated people in Upallo Arkhala Village.

	+ TRAVEL	- TRAVEL
MALE	43	70
FEMALE	11	143

3.2 Sentences Repetition Test Procedures

The sentences repetition test (SRT) used in this study was developed in strict adherence to the test development methodology presented by Radloff (1991, Chapter 3). An SRT consists of a set of carefully selected and tape-recorded sentences. Subjects listen to each sentence one by one, on headphones, and are evaluated according to a four-point scale (0-3) on their ability to accurately repeat each sentence. Essentially any deviation from the recorded sentences is counted as an error. The sentences are not related in meaning, but gradually increase in length and complexity. There are 18 sentences – three practice sentences followed by 15 which count toward the subject’s score. The test administrator allows replays of the practice sentences, as many times as is necessary to ensure that each subject understands the methodology before proceeding past the practice sentences.

The SRT is an indirect, correlated test. Scores on an SRT have validity by virtue of being calibrated with an independently validated external proficiency standard. This proficiency standard, the reported proficiency evaluation (RPE), consists of the carefully controlled evaluations of mother-tongue speakers.

In the RPE subjects who have taken a preliminary version of the SRT are also evaluated by close acquaintances who themselves are educated mother-tongue speakers of the test language. In the development of the Nepali SRT approximately 60 second-language speakers of Nepali, from a variety of mother tongues, took a preliminary form of the Nepali SRT, and were also evaluated on the RPE. Procedures require that the RPE evaluators be closely enough acquaintances with subjects to have spoken together in the test language over a period of time and on a wide range of topics. The Nepali evaluators were carefully guided as they ranked, and then rated, three to five friends (whose mother tongues were not Nepali) in each of several areas: vocabulary, fluency, accent, comprehension, and grammar. Each area of proficiency is weighted, producing a point total for each subject that is then calibrated with the raw score from the SRT.

Language proficiency criteria used in the RPE evaluation are the original Foreign Service Institute skill area descriptions that formed the basis for early versions of FSI oral proficiency tests. Radloff (1991: 130) explains that the advantages to using the RPE technique are that proficiency evaluations come from the test language community, are based on that community's norms, and rely on the strength of extended personal relationships with that community.

SRT results are expressed as a point total out of 45 possible points and correspond to RPE levels. These RPE levels range from 0+ (very minimal proficiency) to 4+ (approaching the proficiency of a native speaker). The SRT used for Nepali is based on the Kathmandu variety of Nepali as characterized by the *Gorkha Patra* and Radio Nepal. This SRT cannot discriminate beyond level 3+, combining RPE level 3+ with all higher levels. A non-formal education (NFE) specialist in Nepal estimates that, because of the higher register language commonly used in written communication, new literates who are not at least RPE level 3 in Nepali have considerable difficulty with Books 3 and 4 of the Nepalese government's *Naya Goreto* adult literacy program (Glover and Glover 1993: 4).

Table 5. Nepali SRT raw scores and equivalent RPE levels

SRT raw score range	Equivalent RPE level	Summary description of proficiency level
0-4	0+	Very minimal proficiency
5-8	1	Minimal, limited proficiency
9-14	1+	Limited, basic proficiency
15-20	2	Adequate, basic proficiency
21-27	2+	Good, basic proficiency
28-33	3	Good, general proficiency
34-45	3+ & above	Very good, general proficiency to excellent proficiency

Table 5 presents the calibration table converting SRT raw scores to RPE levels, and gives a brief summary description of proficiency levels (Varenkamp 1993, Radloff 1991:242).

3.3 Sentence Repetition Test Results

It is quite common to find that bilingual ability correlates with certain social characteristics such as age, sex, education, and frequency of travel. For this reason, bilingualism survey must include individuals from all socially relevant categories. The demographic profiles shown in Table 1 and 3 formed the basis for determining the sample for testing in the two villages. The sample tested was chosen to represent as accurately as possible, the characteristics of the village as a whole.

3.3.1 Pragatinagar Village

A total of 88 subjects were tested on the Nepali sentence repetition test in Pragatinagar. This represents over 22% of those polled in the census. The sample tested very closely reflected the demographic profile in table 1, with one minor exception. Young men with more than five years of education were over-represented in the test sample (17% compared in the population); likewise, young women with no education were under-

represented in the test sample (14 % compared to 19% in the population). This means that summarize results for the entire sample slightly overestimate the bilingual ability of the population.

In the display of results in table 6 the first number is the average score out of 45 possible points (see table 5 for a summary of what proficiency levels correspond with what point totals), followed by the number of subjects tested in each category.

Table 6. Sentence repetition test scores from Pragatinagar Village (showing average SRT score, and sample size)

		EDUCATION LEVEL			
SEX	AGE GROUP	UNEDUCATED 0 years	PRIMARY 1-5 Years	HIGHER 6+ Years	TOTAL
MALE	YOUTH (15-30)	19.7 N=6	24.4 N=8	32.5 N=15	27.6 N=29
	MIDDLE (31-45)	20.3 N=6	26 N=2	36 N=2	24.6 N=10
	OLDER (46+)	18.5 N=12	-----	22 N=1	18.8 N=13
MALE TOTAL		19.3 N=24	24.7 N=10	32.2 N=18	25.7 N=52
FEMALE	YOUTH (15-30)	14 N=12	18 N=2	35 N=2	17.1 N=17
	MIDDLE (31-45)	11.4 N=9	20 N=1	37 N=1	15 N=16
	OLDER (46+)	13.1 N=8	-----	-----	13.1 N=8
FEMALE TOTAL		13 N=29	18.7 N=3	37.3 N=3	15.5 N=8
OVER ALL SAMPLE TOTAL		15.8 N=53	23.3 N=13	32.9 N=21	21.7 N=87

By comparing tables 5 and 6 one gets a very revealing picture of bilingualism in Pragatinagar village. Looking first at the overall totals for each level of education, one sees that the average score increases as education increases, as might be expected. Even for the most educated group, however, the average score is less than 33, equivalent to an RPE Level 3. This group, representing only 15% of the population (from table 1), is able to use Nepali quite well in most circumstances, but would have difficulty completing more complex things in Nepali. Those with a primary education, 14% of the population, averaged 23 points or RPE level 2+ (good, basic proficiency).

It is not, however, the educated 30% who would benefit most from NFE programs; it is the uneducated 70%. But will those without formal education in Nepali medium be able to adequately use non-formal education materials in Nepali medium? Evidence suggests that performing at an average of a low level 2 on the RPE is not adequate for successful completion of advanced levels of a program such as the Naya Gareto. This proficiency

level, however, should be quite adequate for the beginning levels in such a program, the level at which the mechanics of literacy can be taught.

It is quite remarkable that the Magar population in Pragatinagar scores so poorly on an oral proficiency test in Nepali. One accepts Nepali proficiency to be higher given that the village population is mixed with other language groups necessitating a degree of inter-group communication. Obviously, this inter-group communication can be satisfactory handled at low proficiency levels of Nepali. It is this need to communicate with non-Magar speakers that is undoubtedly responsible for the uneducated sample scoring as well as they did (average of 15.8 on the SRT). The comparison of results between Pragatinagar and Uppalo Arkhala (section 3.4) will help understand the effect of location and village composition on bilingual proficiency.

By ignoring the different demographic categories one gains a picture of the overall Nepali proficiency on Magar in Pragatinagar. Figure 2 shows the number and percentage of people at each proficiency level. This figure shows that more people are at a level 1+ than at any other level, with a decreasing number of people at each higher level of proficiency.

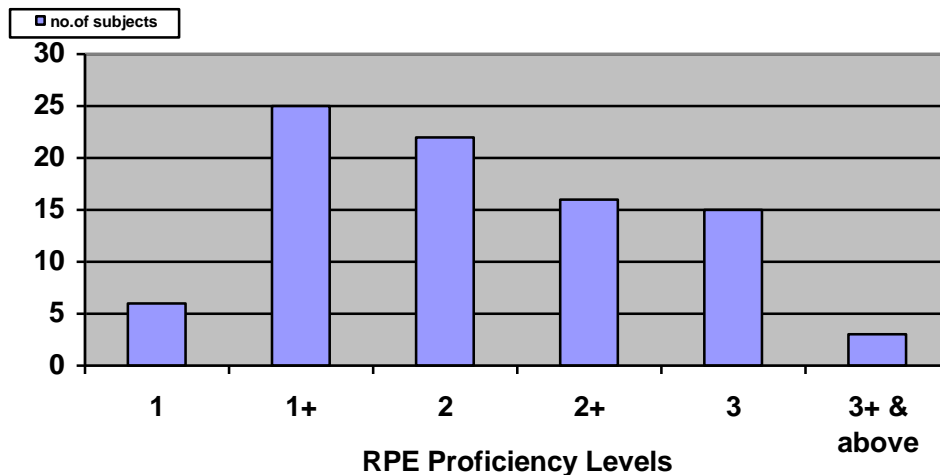


Figure 2. Bilingual proficiency profile of Pragatinagar sample

Test scores within the sample of 88 subjects in Pragatinagar showed substantial variation from the average of 21.7, as seen by the standard deviation of 10.6. A more detailed analysis of the results as a function of education, sex, age, and travel will reveal the significant sources affecting ability in Nepali.

Bilingual proficiency as a function of education

Figure 3 shows a very clear correlation ($p < .01$) between education and proficiency in Nepali. Those who are uneducated almost never score “high”; those who have at least one year of education almost never score “low”. Formal education (in Nepali medium) at any level is requirement for reaching above a level 2+.

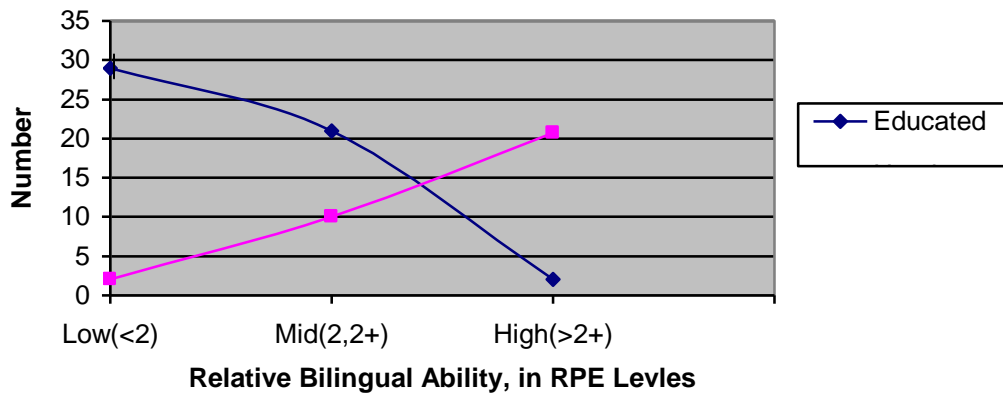


Figure 3. Bilingual proficiency as a function of education

Figures 2 and 3 include all subjects tested, leaving the possibility that the factor of gender (or some other factor) is causing deceptive results. If results for men and women are calculated separately, will education still have a significant effect on bilingual ability? Yes, results are very clearly similar: “no education” is a significant predictor ($p < .01$) of low Nepali proficiency, for both men and women.

Bilingual proficiency as a function of gender

Another important demographic factor affecting Nepali ability in Pragatinagar is gender. Often the men, because of their greater mobility in a community, are more bilingual than women. Taking out the confounding factors of education and travel highlights the effect of gender on Nepali ability. Figure 4 compares SRT results by gender for the uneducated and unraveled portion of the sample. Any significant difference in scores should be due primarily to gender (significant at $p < .01$). This suggests some other factor, such as local contact and interethnic interaction, which has resulted in men acquiring Nepali to a greater degree than women.

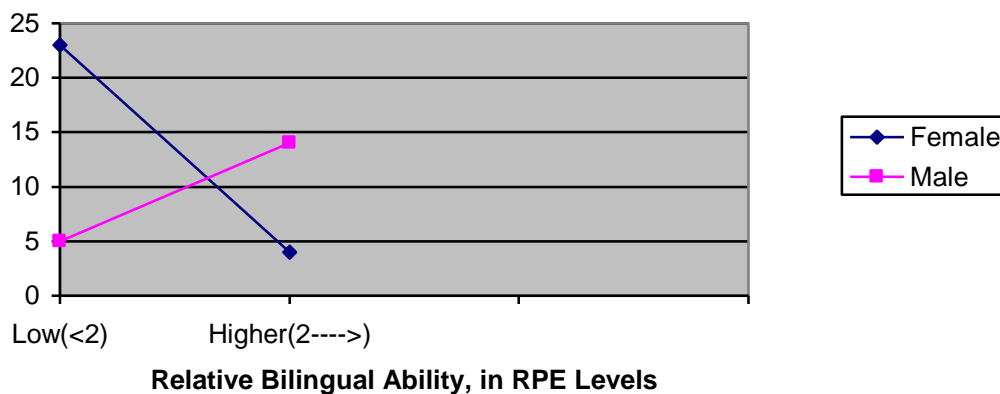


Figure 4. Bilingual Proficiency as a function of gender for an uneducated and untraveled sample

Bilingual proficiency as a function of travel

In this study “travel” was defined as living outside the home area for longer than six months. Because education and travel frequently coincided in our census population, it proved difficult to find an adequate test sample of uneducated and traveled subjects. This in itself is revealing: no one who would be classified as “traveled” is below a level 2 on the Nepali SRT. Results are graphically depicted in figure 5.

Bilingual proficiency as a function of age

One final demographic factor, age, was investigated for its effect on Nepali ability. Frequently this is seen to correlate with bilingualism, often in combination with other factors like sex or education. As for previous factors, this factor was analyzed in isolation; only uneducated and untraveled subjects were chosen in this analysis (both male and female were included). No statistically significant relationship was found between age and bilingual ability.

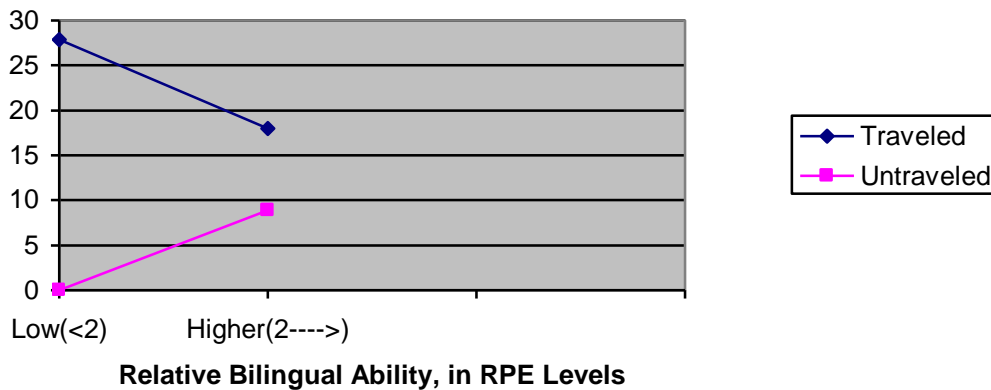


Figure 5. Bilingual Proficiency as a function of travel

3.3.2 Upallo Arkhala Village

A total of 91 subjects were tested on the Nepali sentence repetition test in Upallo Arkhala. This represents nearly 27% of the village population. This test sample very closely reflected the demographic profile in table 3, with one minor exception. Just as for Pragatinagar, the number of uneducated young females was under-represented in our sample (15% of the test sample compared to 23% of the population), and the number of young men with education was over-represented in our sample (23% of our sample compared to 16% of the population).

Table 7 summarizes the results for Upallo Arkhala village, looking at gender, age, and education level as factors.

Figure 6 collapses all of this information into the corresponding Nepali proficiency levels. This figure shows clearly that the vast majority of the population is at level 1+ proficiency and that almost no one is above a level 2+.

Table 7. Upallo Arkhala Village SRT Results (showing average SRT score and sample size)

		EDUCATION LEVEL			
SEX	AGE GROUP	UNEDUCATED 0 Years	PRIMARY 1-5 Years	HIGHER 6+Years	TOTAL
MALE	YOUTH (15-30)	13.3 N=9	17.3 N=8	23.3 N=11	18.4 N=28
	MIDDLE (31-45)	13.4 N=8	21.5 N=4	-----	16.1 N=12
	OLDER (46+)	12.8 N=13	-----	19 N=1	13.2 N=14
MALE TOTAL		13.1 N=30	18.7 N=12	22.9 N=12	16.5 N=54
FEMALE	YOUTH (15-30)	9.4 N=14	13 N=1	-----	9.6 N=15
	MIDDLE (31-45)	9.2 N=11	21.5 N=1	-----	11.1 N=13
	OLDER (46+)	9.7 N=9	-----	-----	9.7 N=9
FEMALE TOTAL		9.4 N=34	18.7 N=3	-----	10.2 N=37
OVER ALL SAMPLE TOTAL		11.1 N=64	18.7 N=15	22.9 N=12	13.2 N=91

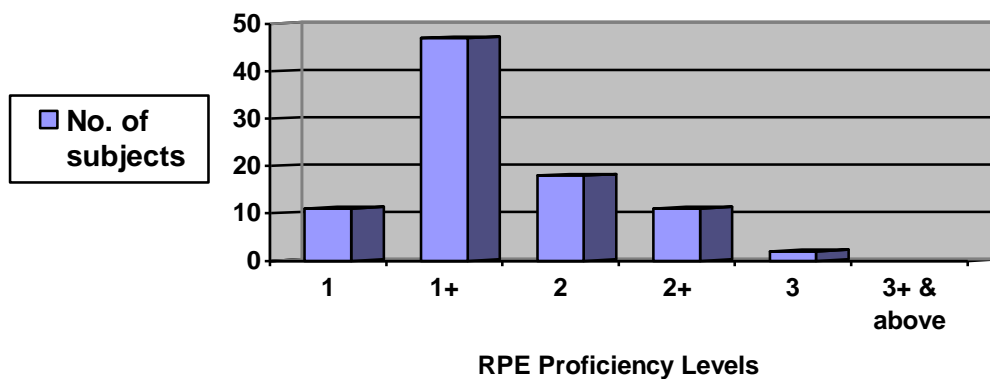


Figure 6. Bilingual proficiency profile for Upallo Arkhala sample

Results from Upallo Arkhala follow a very similar pattern to those from Pragatinagar, with one major difference, i.e. scores from this smaller and more remote village are substantially lower than those from Pragatinagar. Comparison of demographic data in table 3 and SRT results in table 7 gives the percentage of population and SRT results for each demographic category. The only segment of the population over RPE level 2 are those educated beyond fifth standard, and this is less than nine percent of the population. Though this group averaged 22.9 on the SRT, there was wide variation in scores as seen

by a standard deviation of 6.7. This suggests that gender and travel or other factors are affecting bilingual ability.

Most important to notice in table 7 is the performance of uneducated subjects, who represent nearly 80% of the population. An average score of 11.1, equivalent to an RPE level 1+, shows only a basic proficiency in Nepali. For this population access to oral media in Nepali is significantly restricted. Adult non-formal education in Nepali will be very difficult even for the beginning levels.

The results for the women are even more dramatic. Over 96% of the women are uneducated. This group averaged only 9.4 on the SRT, depicting of very limited, basic proficiency. At this level only the most basic things can be communicated in Nepali.

Access to the national life of Nepal via Nepali is almost completely restricted for these uneducated Magar women.

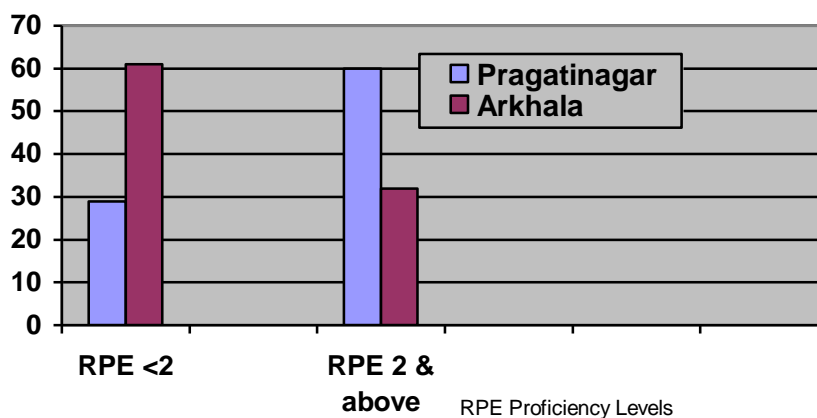
Bilingualism as a function of demographic factors

Just as for Pragatinagar, education, gender, and travel are all significantly correlated with Nepali ability ($p < .01$ for all three variables). Those who are males, who have some education, or who have lived outside the home area, score significantly better on the SRT than those for whom these factors are not true. Also, there is no clear relationship between age and bilingualism ($p > .05$).

These results are important because they show that the relationship between bilingualism and certain demographic factors in Pragatinagar, described in section 3.3.1, also hold true in more remote and more monolingual village.

3.4 Comparison of Result from Pragatinagar and Upallo Arkhala

Results on the SRT were consistently lower in Upallo Arkhala than in Pragatinagar. In fact, they were lower for virtually every demographic category. Magars in the more multi-ethnic multi-lingual village of Pragatinagar have more of a need to acquire Nepali, and show a correspondingly better proficiency in Nepali. Figure 7 clearly shows the difference in the two villages.



Figures 7. Distribution of RPE levels for total sample in two Magar villages.

The results in figure 7 include subjects from all demographic categories. Using only subjects from one very narrow demographic category highlights the factor of the speaker's village as a determinate of bilingualism. Comparing samples of uneducated men who have not traveled simply shows the factor of the speaker's village as an even more significant variable affecting proficiency.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study conclusively show that Nepali ability among Magars in the Nawalaprasi Hills is quite low. Among the 70-80 % who are uneducated, there is only a basic proficiency in Nepali. Magar is the language of daily life. Nepali ability is lowest among women, among the uneducated, and among those who have not lived outside the area. It is also lowest in villages like Upallo Arkhala that are mostly monolingual and relatively distant from roads and other government services. More developed villages like Pragatinagar have relatively greater access to Nepali media already; however, as it has been demonstrated above, Nepali proficiency even in these villages is not very high.

The Magar in this study, then, are a prime example of a group whose limited proficiency in Nepali gives them a very valid functional need for mother-tongue education.

NOTE

¹ This paper is partly drawn from my MA thesis "Indicators of Bilingual Proficiency in Nepali Among Tibeto-Burman Peoples of Nepal," which combines data from four research areas in addition to the Magar area. This research was conducted in 1992-93 while under affiliation with the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS). I am indebted to Dhanu Thapa, Bharat Thapa, and Bir Bahadur Thapa for their help in data collection among the Magar.

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