Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB MLE) in Nepal

A Framework in the Context of Federalism

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Analytical Report

Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB MLE) in Nepal

A Framework in the Context of Federalism

Based on

Six Regional Consultation Workshops and One Central Level Seminar

Prepared by

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

DEO	District Education Office / Officer
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DoE	Department of Education
DPs	Development Partners
ECED	Early Childhood Education and Development
EMIS	Education Management Information System
LWC	Language of Wider Communication
MILE	Medium of Instruction and Languages for Education (this study)
MLE	Multilingual Education
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoI	Medium of Instruction
MT	Mother Tongue
MTB-MLE	Mother Tongue Based Multilingual Education
NEGRP	National Early Grade Reading Program
SMC	School Management Committee
SSDP	School Sector Development Plan / Program
SSRP	School Sector Reform Plan / Program
ToR	Terms of Reference
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Definitions

All definitions from Jessica Ball (UNESCO, 2010), unless otherwise indicated.
(Ball, J. Analytical review commissioned by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Basic Education Division: Enhancing learning of children from diverse language backgrounds: mother tongue based bilingual or multilingual education in the early years. University of Victoria, 2010.)

Additive bilingualism: A practice that encourages acquisition of the mother tongue as the primary language, with sequenced introduction of a second language as an additional (not replacement) language.
Bilingual/ multilingual education: Formal use of at least two languages as the medium of instruction, generally including literacy.
Dialect: A manner of speaking a language that varies according to region or social group.
Foreign language: A language that is not spoken in the immediate environment of the learner.
Heritage language: The traditional/ historic language of an ethno-linguistic group (whether or not the group- or some individuals of that background) still uses that language.
Immersion education: A model in which the learner is completely 'immersed' for most or all of the day in a learning program that solely uses- but is designed to support acquisition of- an unknown language. Collier (quoted in Ball, 2010) suggests that this works well to support the revival of heritage languages, but when used to introduce minority speakers to a majority language it can hinder academic learning.
Interdependence hypothesis: A theory that postulates that competence in L2 is developed on the basis of an intact and well-developed L1.
Language-in-Education (LiE) A 'catch all' term used in this study for summarising all language-in education issues, including the use of languages as MoIs and for informal teaching-learning; and the teaching of languages as subjects when these are to become an MoI or are heritage / religious languages.
Language-in-Education policy: Legislation on and stipulations of practice pertaining to languages as media of instruction, languages of literacy used in education and other areas of language use and learning in the education system.
Language of Wider Communication (LWC)/ *Lingua Franca:* A language in common use for different ethno-linguistic groups to communicate within a region or locality.
Medium of Instruction (MoI): A language used for teaching and learning significant parts (or all) of the school curriculum.
Mother Tongue (Home language/ L1): The language that is spoken in the home and learned first from primary caregivers and has become the natural instrument of thought and communication.
Mother Tongue-Based Bilingual / Multilingual Education (MTB-BLE /MTB-MLE): MT based instruction combined with sequenced introduction of L2 and L3 as additive, implying the continued use of MT and its conscious use to support acquisition of L2 and L3.
Multilingual education (MLE): Whilst this often is used interchangeably with MTB-BLE /MLE, the term can also be used more broadly to describe any system where more than one language is used as a medium of instruction. (In this regards, it can be observed that most schools in Nepal employ MLE to some extent).

Official language: A language that is given special legal status in a particular country or territory. Typically, the official language is the one used in a nation's courts, parliament and administration.

Orthography / writing system: The graphic representation of a spoken language using a specific script (alphabet or characters) in a standardised form. **MILE: Ways forward for Education Policy, Planning and Practice In Nepal**

Script- the graphic form of the units of a writing system.

Subtractive bilingual environments: Environments that consciously or otherwise encourage acquisition of L2 in a way that results in the loss of L1, resulting in monolingual proficiency in L2 (often a minority language) but the loss of the mother tongue

Transitional bilingual education or multilingual education: Differently from MTB-BLE /MLE, this implies that learners pass through a planned transition and that L1 is phased out as L2 is phased in.

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Executive Summary

The MTB MLE Framework aims to present a design for managing and implementing mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB MLE) for children's better educational achievement in federal Nepal. It has been drawn upon the previous studies in this field (especially, *Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2009),* Medium of Instruction Roadmap (2014) and *Medium of Instruction and Languages for Education* (MILE)*: Ways Forward for Education Policy, Planning and Practice in Nepal* (2015) and the inputs received from the regional workshops and the national level seminar organized to disseminate these studies.

This framework mainly deals with the following issues related to MTB MLE in Nepal:

Concept: The term MTB MLE is often used to refer to the educational program using learners' mother tongue (i.e. first or home language) and two or more additional languages. In Nepalese context focus has been on MTB MLE program wherein learners' mother tongue has been conceived as MoI and other languages (such as Nepali, State official language(s), English, heritage and religious languages) as language subjects.

Rationale: "Since effective teaching depends on clear and understandable communication, the language of instruction is at the heart of any learning process. For this reason, mother tongue-based instruction is crucial to providing children with easy access to education and to enabling them to participate in learning processes according to their evolving capacities." (UNESCO 2007). In addition, various studies on cognitive development and second language learning also provide evidence in support of MTB MLE. There exist sufficient amount of studies which argue that minority children's academic success significantly depends on how much their language and culture are incorporated into the school program. Psycholinguistic principles of bi- or multi-lingual education (Cummins, 2009) suggest that positive transfer to a second language occurs when cognitive and academic proficiency in the mother tongue is well developed. Moreover, research on interdependence theory has shown that many of the skills learned in the native language can be transferred easily to the second language later, thereby helping children in learning L2 through the previous acquisition of L1.In nutshell, MTB MLE is 'additive' and contributes to the empowerment of children to succeed in school education.

Sociolinguistic context: Recognizing the primary importance that people attach to their language in gaining education it seems to be in order to understand the existing linguistic context of a country for envisaging an inclusive national policy for the use of various languages in education. Nepal is a multilingual nation with 123 officially-recognized languages according to the 2011 Census. It thus provides a rich array of possibilities for MTB MLE and language development. However, it is essential to visualize the capability of the MTs in terms of their size of speakers, scripts, written materials and other related matters before selecting and introducing them in education.

MLE-related international and national provisions: Several international and regional human rights documents (instruments) have been developed to ensure and regulate the right to education in relation to language. Nepal has been signatory to the relevant international (United Nations) instruments dealing with the right to education and language. Compared to other South Asian countries, Nepal has made greater achievements in the sphere of multilingual education (MLE)-related legal provisions and regulations such as *Constitution of*

Nepal (2015) and its predecessors) since the revival of democracy in 1990, *The Report of the Recommendation commission for Formulating Policy for National Languages* (1993, English translation 2007), *EFA National Plan of Action (2004-9), Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Implementation Guidelines (2009),* Medium of Instruction Roadmap (2014) *and* recently, the MILE Study (2015).

Issues and challenges: Despite the existing provisions, there still exist certain gaps, inadequacies and lack of explicitness in the constitutional and legal provisions guiding language-in-education policy and practice in Nepal.

Objectives: The MTB MLE Framework has been envisaged to develop a design for implementing MTB MLE for school children in Nepalese context. More specifically, it attempts to present this framework on the basis of the aforesaid reports and the feedbacks received from their dissemination in the six regional and one national presentation and workshops.

Organization of MTB MLE Framework document: MTB MLE Framework has been developed to explain its various ingredients such as language mapping of schools, selection, sequencing and transition of languages in school education, appropriate pedagogies, curricula and material development, capacity building, supporting system, advocacy strategy, sustainability, functional linkage among line agencies, language preservation, and monitoring and evaluation. This framework proposes options for selection and sequencing of (i) MT, (ii) Nepali and/or State language(s), (iii) English and (iv) heritage / religious languages as MoIs or subjects, which are linked to language mapping of schools and technical capacity of schools. It identifies and elaborates key elements of 'good practice' such as pedagogies, curricula, textbooks and supplementary reading materials, MT teachers' recruitment and deployment, training and manuals. The framework also integrates a strategy for advocacy, participation and communication on language-in-education that is embedded in wider dialogue around the multiple and multi-level purposes and benefits of education. It ensures effective MTB MLE implementation and sustainability of the mother tongue-based multilingual approach through strengthening of technical implementation units and committees, revision of guidelines and multiple approaches to capacity development at all levels and also revitalize seriously endangered languages through their use in education.

This framework, however, needs to be supported through the upcoming legal enactments for its effective management and implementation to achieve better education. There exist a number of unresolved issues which need to be sorted out in the present political context. The greatest hurdle is the impending structural changes in governance due to occur in the light of federal restructuring, especially local level power which has been constitutionally entrusted with the management of both basic and secondary education. The framework calls for its consolidation and confirmation through further consultations with the agencies concerned with school education, especially the Local Level authorities after it is sufficiently settled through the completion of all the local elections and legal enactments. The Local Level authorities will have a strong voice and influence in the final shape and implementation of the MTB MLE Framework as school education including MTB MLE has been listed under its jurisdiction. Above all, MTB MLE will be subject to variations in the context of sociolinguistic diversity existing in Nepalese communities.

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I. Introduction

1.1 Outline

Multilingual education has commonly been in practice in multilingual communities for facilitating child's learning in schools. This educational program using multiple languages for instruction can be of two types. One of them is 'mother tongue-based multilingual education' (henceforth, MTB MLE). The term MTB MLE is often used in one of the following two ways: 1.In some contexts it refers to the educational program using learners' mother tongue (i.e. first or home language) and two or more additional languages. 2.The educational program that uses two or more languages except the mother tongue of the children is called just 'MLE' and not 'MTB MLE'(UNESCO 2016:10).

In Nepalese context both the regional trends in multilingual educational programs have been found in practice. Community schools have been using Nepali, the official language, as medium of instruction, English as a subject and/or mother tongue as subject of instruction. However, Multilingual Education Program for All Non-Nepali Speaking Students of Primary Schools in Nepal (2007-09) launched by DoE with Finnish support as a pilot could not sustain the use of mother tongues as medium of instruction in early grades due to lack of support from the government as well as language communities. In private schools, however, English is being used as medium of instruction and Nepali language as a subject. Quite recently, however, with the increasing trend of globalization and other needs such as political economy of Nepalese people English has growing demands as medium of instruction.

For the present purposes focus has been on MTB MLE program wherein learners' mother tongue has been conceived as MoI and other languages (such as Nepali, State official language(s), English, heritage and religious languages) as a subject.

The MTB MLE Framework has been prepared to cater the need for designing a framework for managing and implementing this educational program in Nepal, a linguistically diverse country. It has been organized into three sections. Section 1 deals with the concept, rationale, sociolinguistic context, language-in-education policy existing in global context as well as Nepal, MLE-related issues, and challenges and the objectives of the study in question. Section 2 elaborates the core components of MTB MLE such as language typology of schools, selection, sequencing and transition of languages in school education, appropriate pedagogies, curricula and material development, capacity building, supporting system, advocacy strategy, sustainability, functional linkage among line agencies, language preservation through MTB MLE program, and monitoring and evaluation. Finally, this framework highlights some residual issues related to this study in the current federal restructuring of the state, especially legal empowerment of Local Level Authorities, which has been entrusted with the management and implementation of this program.

In the existing fluid political scenario, however, this framework is subject to constraints. It needs to be made compatible with the upcoming constitutional and legal enactments with regard to linguistic issues. Besides, the Local Level Authorities has the right to formulate policy for managing school education (consisting of basic and secondary levels) where MTB MLE can be implemented fall under its jurisdiction (*Constitution of Nepal* (2015) Schedule 8: List of Local Level Authorities r) but at this juncture when local level elections and

settlement are still in progress and local governance cannot be contacted for consultations at the moment this framework has been envisaged for seeking its confirmation at a later phase.

1.2 Rationale

South and Southeast Asia is the most multilingual region speaking two-third of the world's languages. Nepal, a home to more than 123 languages (of four genetic stocks) spoken in a small area (CBS 2011), is not immune to this linguistic diversity. Nepal's federalization offers an opportunity to use children's languages in education. It, however, poses a great challenge to educating children with diverse linguistic backgrounds. "Since effective teaching depends on clear and understandable communication, the language of instruction is at the heart of any learning process. For this reason, mother tongue-based instruction is crucial to providing children with early access to education and to enabling them to participate in learning processes according to their evolving capacities." (UNESCO 2007). However, most of the countries in this region and elsewhere employ their dominant or foreign languages as medium of instruction which may not be school children's mother tongue or first language. This 'linguistic mismatch' (to use Cummins'(2002) term) compels them to learn not only a new language but also new knowledge.

Various studies on cognitive development and second language learning also provide evidence in support of MTB MLE. There exist sufficient amount of studies which argue that minority children's academic success significantly depends on how much their language and culture are incorporated into the school program (Campos & Keatinge, 1984; Cummins, 1983a, 2002; Rosier & Holm, 1980).

Multilingual education (MLE) involves use of two or more languages for teaching and it seeks to develop high levels of multilingualism and multiliteracy (Mohanty, Panda, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). Psychological and neurological evidence show that general cognitive and intellectual performance of bilingual and multilingual individuals is better than those who are relatively more monolingual. Psycholinguistic principles of bi- or multi-lingual education (Cummins, 2009) suggest that positive transfer to a second language occurs when cognitive and academic proficiency in the mother tongue is well developed. Therefore, early support for development of mother tongue through schooling is necessary. International experience with MLE (Heugh & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010) shows that quality education for high levels of academic achievement and development of multilingual proficiency must begin with development of proficiency in MT used as the language of teaching for at least 6-8 years of schooling and gradually develop other languages through their systematic use as language subjects and language of teaching. Research on interdependence theory has shown that many of the skills learned in the native language can be transferred easily to the second language later, thereby helping children in learning L2 through the previous acquisition of L1.To sum up, MTB MLE is 'additive' and contributes to the empowerment of children to succeed in school education. It would be apt to refer to the following citation from Cummins (2001: 661):

> Students who are empowered by their school experiences develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge and interactional structures (Cummins, 1983b; Tikunoff, 1983). Students who are disempowered or "disabled" by their school experiences do not develop this type of cognitive/academic and social/emotional foundation. Thus, student empowerment is regarded both as a mediating construct influencing academic performance and as an outcome variable itself.

Some empirical studies (especially Malone 2004, Skutnabb-Kangas 2009, Skutnabb-Kangas-Kangas and Mohanty 2009 , Ball 2010, Jones 2012, Meiers 2013 and Seel et al 2015) carried out internationally and also nationally have clearly shown that MTB MLE schools had better educational achievement than Nepali medium schools.

1.3 Objectives

The MTB MLE Framework aims to develop a design for implementing MTB MLE for school children in Nepalese context. More specifically, it attempts to present this framework on the basis of the following reports and the feedbacks received from their dissemination in the six regional level workshops and one central level seminar:

a. *Mother Tongue Based Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2009),*
b. MoI Roadmap (2014) (Linking/ revisiting the MoI Roadmap with the rolling out of federalization in education), and
c. *Medium of Instruction and Languages for Education* (MILE)*: Ways Forward for Education Policy, Planning and Practice in Nepal* (2015).

1.4 The Socio-linguistic Context: Characteristics[1]

1.4.1 Language Distributions

Recognizing the primary importance that people attach to their language in gaining education it seems to be in order to understand the existing linguistic context of a country for envisaging an inclusive national policy for the use of various languages in education.

Nepal is a multilingual nation with 123 officially-recognized languages according to the 2011 Census, whilst some sources (e.g. *Ethnologue* 2012) recognize even more. Of the 123 languages spoken as mother tongues, 91 are also spoken as second languages. Taken together they belong to four language families: Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. The Indo-European languages, which are of the Indo-Aryan sub-family (except for English), constitute the largest group in terms of the numeric strength of their speakers, nearly 82.1% of the total population (Census 2011; Yadava, 2014). The Sino-Tibetan languages are from the Tibeto-Burman group. Though spoken by fewer people than the Indo-European family (17.3%), there are a greater number of languages, about 63 in total (Census 2011). Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages rank third at 0.19% and fourth at 0.13%, respectively and there are also at least four sign languages. Additionally, Kusunda is a language isolate consisting of a single language without any genetic relationship with other

[1] See Yadava (2014) for further details about Nepal's language situation.

languages and now confined to just 28 speakers. A set of maps illustrating language distribution in Nepal is given in Appendix A: Sociolinguistic Map.

In terms of mother tongue speakers, assuming 100,000 (one lakh) speakers as the cut off point for 'major' languages, their number in Nepal is 19, and their cumulative %age of the population is approximately 96%. By contrast, the residual 104+ languages are spoken by about 4% of Nepal's total population (Yadava 2014). These languages consist of 30 minor languages with 10,000–99,999 speakers, 37 minor languages with 1,000–9,999 to speakers and 37 minor (or marginalized) languages with fewer than 1,000 speakers. Many of these languages are to some extent endangered, however others have additional speakers living across Nepal's borders in India or China (Tibet)[2].

Nepali, spoken by 44.6% of Nepal's total population, is the largest language in terms of the number of speakers, but falls short of constituting a majority language. However, it is not evenly distributed throughout the country. Around 9.3% of Nepali speakers live in the mountains, 61.2% in the hills and 29.5% in the Tarai.

There is no simple one-to-one correspondence of language and ethnicity but there is nevertheless an overall correlation between the two. Broadly speaking, Nepali is the mother tongue of the Brahmin-Chettri groups of the hills, as well as of many hill Dalits, however there are dialectical variations across different communities. The Madhesis of all castes of the Tarai speak Maithili, Urdu, Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages. The indigenous 'Janajati' groups of Nepal speak many different languages, including the Tibeto-Burmese languages of the north and east (e.g. Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Magar, Tamang), the Indo-Aryan languages of the lower hills and Tarai (e.g. Tharu) and the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages of the Eastern Tarai (e.g. Santhali, Uranw). One encouraging aspect of the current context is that there is much stronger acknowledgement and awareness of Nepal's language diversity than in the past. This is illustrated in Table 1which indicates the number of first languages identified in successive censuses over the past six decades.

Table 1: A comparison of census enumerations of languages (1952/54 - 2011)

Censuses	**1952/54**	**1961**	**1971**	**1981**	**1991**	**2001**	**2011**
Number of languages	44	36	17	18	31	92	123

Source: Yadava (2014: 53:)

The mother tongues enumerated in Census 2011 (except Kusunda) belong to four language families: Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian while Kusunda is a

[2] See Annex B for the categorization of Nepal's languages in terms of the size of their population.

language isolate[3] consisting of a single language without any genetic relationship with other languages. Their number of speakers with %ages is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Population by the language families of mother tongues (1952/54-2011)

Language families	Census Population													
	1952/54		1961		1971		1981		1991		2001		2011	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1.Indo-European	6,351,899	77.13	7,449,604	79.14	9,062,435	78.42	12,417,88	82.66	14,701,28	79.50	17,982,76	79.1	21,753,00	82.10
2. Sino-Tibetan	1,795,33 7	21.08	1,813,08	19.26	1,982,63	17.16	1,811,94	12.06	3,098,69	16.76	4,183,99	18.4	4,584,52	17.30
3.Austro-Asiatic	16,751	0.20	29,485	0.31	23,853	0.21	28,208	0.19	33,332	0.18	40,260	0.2	49,858	0.19
4. Dravidian									15,1	0.1	28,6	0.1	33,6	0.13
5.Others (including the foreign languages)	70,340	0.85	114,392	1.22	487,060	4.21	764,802	5.09	648,627	3.51	NA	NA	25,745 *	0.09
6.Not stated	752	0.01	6,432	0.07					9,157	0.05	503,295	2.2	47,718	0.18
Total	8,235,0	100.00	9,412,9	100.00	11,555,	100.00	15,022,	100.00	18,491,	100.00	22,738,	100.00	26,494,	100 %

[3]. "A language isolate is a language which has no known structural or historical relationship to any other language." (Crystal 1997: 328). Whitehouse et al. (2004) mention that Kusunda has been misclassified as a Tibeto-Burman language. Instead, they claim on some linguistic evidence that this language is a member of the Indo-Pacific family though it needs to be further supported by its speakers' DNA evidence.

*This figure includes Kusunda, foreign and sign languages in addition to others.

Sources: Population censuses (1952/54-2011) (Yadava 2014: 54:).

*This figure includes Kusunda, foreign and sign languages in addition to others.
Sources: Population censuses (1952/54-2011) (Yadava 2014: 54:).

1.4.2 Writing Systems

Most of the languages spoken in Nepal are still confined to their oral traditions. They are disappearing with the growth of language shift for reasons such as the use of the dominant language in the domains of administration, education, media and so on. It is, therefore, time to document them before they are lost to posterity to come.

Nepali, Hindi, Maithili, Tibetan / Sherpa, Newar, Limbu, Bhojpuri, Avadhi and Lapcha have long traditions of written literature, employing various writing systems or scripts.[4] Most of the Indo-Aryan languages of the Indo-European family such as Nepali, Maithili (originally written in Mithilakshar or Kaithi script), Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Hindi and Rajbanshi now use the Devanagari script, though Bengali / Bangla has its own script, a variation of Devanagari. Newar has its own traditional script called Ranjana but it has also adopted the Devanagari script for the sake of convenience in reading and printing. Limbu uses its own Kirati Srijanga script. Lapcha is written in Rong script. Even where scripts have long been utilised, many languages lack orthographic standardisation. Since the 1950s, Nepali Braille has been developed based on a wider Devanagari Braille which, like English Braille, uses a six-dot system.
Of late some preliterate languages have taken to modified Devanagari script. Initiatives have been taken by various language communities such as Tharu, Tamang, Magar, Gurung, Rajbanshi and Kirati-Rai group of languages to develop writing systems appropriate to the sound system of their languages and practically acceptable to them, for example Magar has developed its own script, called Akkha. Recently, these languages have started developing some written literature in the form of newspaper, magazine, textbooks for adult literacy and primary education, as well as folk literature. As in India, Santhali in Nepal is written in Roman script. In addition, some of the languages have adopted Devanagari script. Perso-Arabic script is used for writing Urdu.

1.4.3 Further Language Characteristics

The languages of Nepal form a continuum in terms of mutual intelligibility and most of the more widely-spoken languages (including Nepali) have many dialectal variations.
The present census shows that the majority of Nepal's population (15.6 million people, 59%) are monolinguals, while the remaining 11 million people (41%) speak at least two languages. Of the latter group Nepali is spoken as a second language by the largest number, 8.7 mil (32.77%). Hindi ranks second with 1.2 mil speakers (4.62%). It is to be noted that there has been a drastic increase in the population speaking Hindi as a second language although the

[4] See Annex C for the specific scripts used in Nepalese languages.

population speaking Hindi as a mother tongue has considerably declined in the last censuses. In addition, there are other languages such as Bantawa and Sherpa, which are used as the lingua franca in the eastern hills and mountains, respectively.

Nepali, being spoken by 44.6% % and 32.77 % population as mother tongue and second language, respectively, constitute 77.37%of the total population and is thus a language of wider communication for most of the population in the country, especially in indigenous Janajati areas. A further dimension is that there are 50 cross border languages, mostly spanning Nepal and India but also a few that span Nepal and China (Yadava 2011). Some languages that have small numbers of speakers in Nepal have kin communities in India with a large population and cultivated written literature, rendering them vigorous and suitable for use in basic education. English is used quite widely for higher education, business, tourism and communications, but (unlike in India) few Nepalis claim it as a mother tongue.

1.5. Language use-in-education policy

1.5.1 MLE-related international law and human rights obligations

To achieve better education through children's mother tongue in a linguistically diverse country there have been made legal provisions globally and nationally.

Central International Instruments

There are several international and regional human rights documents (instruments) to ensure and regulate the right to education in relation to language. Nepal has been signatory to the relevant international (United Nations) instruments dealing with the right to education and language. These instruments are as follows:

- International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, 1966;
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966;
- Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966;
- Convention on Rights of the Child, 1989.

In addition, the following instruments are relevant for the right to education:

- Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict 2000;
- Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography 2000

International Policies

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948
- The UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education 1960
- The 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (EFA)
- The Dakar Framework of Action 2000
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966

(Article 13 and 14)

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (Article 18)
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 28)
- The Millennium Development Goals 2000
- The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007

In addition to the instruments and policies mentioned, there are countless Recommendations, Declarations, etc, which condemn subtractive education of minority language-speaking students through the medium of the dominant state language and recommend multilingual and bilingual teachers.

1.5.2 MLE policies and strategies in Nepal

Compared to other South Asian countries, Nepal has made greater achievements in the sphere of multilingual education (MLE)-related legal provisions and regulations. These provisions and regulations have been explained and examined as follows:

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990)

With the restoration of democracy there has been growing awareness among non-Nepali speaking people about their culture and languages since they consider them as the symbols through which they strive to assert their identity and recognition. *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990)* promulgated after the restoration of democracy gave constitutional recognition to all the mother tongues (Nepali as well as non-Nepali languages) spoken in Nepal and laid down the following provisions:

(1) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official language.(*Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 6.1*)
(2) All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal. (*The Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 6.2*)

In addition, the constitution also made a provision for the use of mother tongues in primary education (*The Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article18.2*). It also guaranteed Nepalese as a fundamental right to preserve their culture, scripts and their languages (*The Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 26.2*).

The greatest weakness of these provisions was the lack of any explicit plan and policy to implement them. The constitution was vague about the use of mother tongues as medium or subject of instruction in primary education. It has been witnessed in the Supreme Court's verdict (March 18, 1998) judging the use of Maithili and Nepal Bhasha in local administration as illegal, which violated Article 26.2 of the constitution.

The Report of the Recommendation commission for Formulating Policy for National Languages (1993; English translation 2007)

To tease out these constitutional provisions about languages, a recommendation commission for formulating policy for national languages was formed by the government in 1993. The

main objectives of the commission were twofold: promotion of national languages and their use in local administration, primary education and media. More specifically, they are as follows:

- To make recommendations for the policy and programs associated with the development of national languages.
- 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.
- To identify bases of priorities in order to impart primary education through mother tongues.
- To suggest methods to be used for the effective implementation of the afore-mentioned recommendations.

This report has recommended for introducing 'transitional multilingual education' in Nepal. To achieve this goal it has made the following major recommendations:

- Identification of mother tongue schools,
- Teaching the Mother tongue as a subject,
- Mother tongue: As an alternative or an optional subject,
- Mother tongue and national language in primary curricula,
- Development of curriculum and preparation of teaching materials,
- Bilingual education,
- Education through the language of the nation,
- Teachers' management and training, and
- Non-formal education

This report is the foremost scientific and inclusive initiative for language planning in the country at the government level. However, it is generic in nature addressed to corpus, status, and acquisition planning of the languages spoken in Nepal. It is important to supplement it with the specific details for introducing mother tongues as medium and subject of instruction in primary education such as materials development, monitoring and evaluation[5].

EFA National Plan of Action (2004-09)

Government of Nepal(GoN), which participated in different international fora like Jomtin Convention and Dakar Forum, is committed to making quality primary education accessible to all children including children from indigenous and minority language groups. In pursuance of this commitment, the seventh EFA goal for Nepal has been included besides other six universal EFA goals, viz. ***ensuring the right of indigenous people and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education through mother tongue[6].***

[5] For details about these aspects of MTB MLE in Nepalese context see Skutnabb-Kangas and Mohanty (2009), Yadava and Bajracharya ,eds.(2006), Yadava (2014) and other related works.

[6] The seven EFA goals are: EFA Goal 1: expanding early childhood development, EFA Goal 2 :ensuring universal access to free and quality primary education, EFA Goal 3: meeting the learning needs of all young people and

To achieve this goal a policy of transitional multilingual education policy has been put forward. According to this policy, a child will acquire basic educational skills through the medium of his/her mother tongue for achieving good and inclusive education and gradually switch to a language of wider communication (LWC) /an official language so that s/he can have broader communications and "feel at home in the language in which the affairs of government are carried on" and finally learn an international language (e.g. English) for global communications, access to science and technology and as a library language (Fishman 1968: 698).

According to the resulting vision of the EFA Core Document (HMG/N 2003), every child had a right to receive education of good quality in Nepal by 2015, and the schools would be inclusive learning centers of excellence that responded to the learning needs of all children. Nepal EFA National Plan of Action (HMG 2003) underlined the need of ensuring the rights of indigenous peoples and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education through mother tongues. The programs that provided education in mother tongues were encouraged in order to increase access of children from diverse linguistic groups to education.

Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007)

As a result of the MLE initiatives taken since *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal* (1990), *Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007)* has made more promising provisions for developing languages and carrying out MLE measures. It has made the following provisions for the national languages and their use in early education:

(1) All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.

(2) The Nepali Language in Devanagari script shall be the official language.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2), it shall not be deemed to have hindered to use the mother language in local bodies and offices. State shall translate the languages so used to an official.

(*The Interim Constitution of Nepal* (2007), *Part 1,Article 5*)

Article 17. Education and Cultural Right:

Sub-Article (1). Each community shall have the right to get basic education in their mother tongue as provided for in the law.

Once again this provision is not explicit about the use of mother tongues as mediums of instruction or subjects of instruction.

Seventh Amendment of the Education Act of Nepal (2001)

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adults with life skill education, EFA Goal 4: reducing adult illiteracy, EFA Goal 5: eliminating gender disparity, EFA Goal 6: improving all aspects of quality education, and EFA Goal 7: ensuring the rights of indigenous and linguistic minorities people to quality basic and primary education in their mother tongue.

Nepali language has been used as the medium of instruction in the community schools. The mother tongue can be used as a medium of instruction in the primary level. While teaching language as a subject, the medium of instruction can be the same language.

(*The Interim Constitution of Nepal* (2007), *Part 1, Article 17.1 Education and cultural right*)

The existing legal framework mentions the use of mother tongue in early grades but it does not explicitly states whether it should be used as medium or subject of instruction.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan 2002–2007

This Plan is the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Nepal prepared by the government. The Tenth Plan identifies human development and social inclusion as the main pillars of the poverty reduction policy. In this regard, it provides two major aims for the five-year period: (i) improving access to and quality of primary education and (ii) providing education in mother tongues of communities up to primary level.

The Local Self-Government Act*, 1998*

This act made the local VDCs (Village Development Committees) and municipalities responsible for supporting the schools and communities to manage primary education in the mother tongue.

Primary education curriculum (2008)

It has prescribed Nepali language as the medium of instruction. Local languages can be used as the teaching languages. A local language is prescribed as the optional subject with 100 marks. Curriculum for the local language can be developed locally. Textbooks for 23 different mother tongues to be taught as optional subjects of instruction have been translated, adapted and implemented.

There have been some advances in the use of minority languages in primary education. The CDC has so far developed textbooks in 23 national languages to be taught as subject. This initiative is no doubt a welcome step; for the first time some languages other than Nepali have been introduced in primary education. However, there are two serious drawbacks with this initiative. First, these textbooks, which are essentially the translation of the existing Nepali textbooks, are not tailored to the cultural requirements of the language communities in question. This may lead to cultural imposition on non-Nepali speaking communities. Secondly, such a translated textbook with non-native content may not be easily accessible to and motivating for its learners. What is essential is to develop curricula and textbooks suited to the cultures and physical milieu of the concerning language communities.

The concept of MLE stated in the legal provisions appears ambiguous. *The Interim Constitution of Nepal* provides the right to use mother tongue in ‘basic education’ (Grades 1-8) while the Fifth Amendment of Education Act prescribes the use of mother tongue in ‘primary education’ (Grades 1-5).

Three year Interim Plan (2007/08-2009/10)
This plan endorsed tri-languages policy: Nepali language as the official language, Mother tongue, and English as an international language. Basic education can be provided in the mother tongue.

***Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines* 2009**

It has been developed by Ministry of Education to provide a framework for implementing MTB MLE. However, all the MLE stakeholders (including Madheshi and some other minority language communities) were not represented in the National MLE Steering Committee, the apex body for making MLE policy and guidelines. There are no comprehensive legal provisions to introduce mother tongue-based education to children. The policy documents say nothing about teacher recruitment and teacher deployment to support primary education through mother tongue.
There is no data keeping system of the teachers and students on the basis of their mother tongues to help produce reading materials, teacher deployment and teacher training.

School Sector Reform Program (SSRP 2009-2015)

According to SSRP (2009-2015) a comprehensive MLE framework will be developed at the national level and will be implemented gradually in 7500 schools through the DEOs. Despite this provision no initiatives had been taken to devise and implement MLE strategies.

EFA Goal 7: "Ensuring the rights of indigenous people and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education through mother tongue (2013)"

This is a review of EFA Goal 7 aimed to ensure the rights of indigenous people and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education through the strategy of mother tongue-based multilingual education**.** It evaluated the government's existing MTB MLE policy and strategies, identified gaps therein and made a number of recommendations for its improvement as a way forward. Some of the major recommendations include to fill out the gaps in the existing legal provisions, conduct language mapping of school learners and teachers, frame an effective mechanism for the implementation of MTB MLE plan, carry out advocacy drive and achieve some success stories in this field.

***Constitution of Nepal* (2015)**

The present constitution has enshrined the following provisions for use of mother tongue in education:

> "Every Nepalese community residing in Nepal shall have the right to get education in its mother tongue and, for that purpose, to open and operate schools and educational institutes, in accordance with law." (Article 31.5)

A major provision in this constitution is the organization of Language Commission. One of the most important functions of the Language Commission is:

“ to measure the levels of development of mother tongues and make suggestions to the Government of Nepal, on the potentiality of their use in education. (Article 287.6c)

There have been made several international provisions for promoting MTB MLE. Of late Nepal has been signatory to many of them. Accordingly, both previous and present constitutions of Nepal have made provisions for use of mother tongue in early grade education. Some MLE policies and practices have been in existence. However, it is also important to learn official language(s) for communication with official transactions. English as medium of science and technology, library language and global communication also needs to be learned at a later phase of school education, especially at the secondary level of education.

Despite the existing provisions, there still exist certain gaps, inadequacies and lack of explicitness in the constitutional and legal provisions guiding Language-in-education policy and practice. Hence, the Joint Consultative Meeting (JCM) of the School Sector Reform Program (SSRP) agreed in the 2014 that the Ministry of Education (MoE) would, “undertake a comprehensive study on language issues as related to medium of instruction and effective teaching of mother tongue, Nepali and English with support of Development Partners (DPs).” Accordingly, the study on ‘*Medium of Instruction (MoI) and Languages for Education*’ (MILE) was commissioned by the Ministry of Education (MoE) Nepal, with financial and management support from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). This study was undertaken for the purpose of informing the drafting of a policy for ‘*Language-in-Education’* (LiE) in Nepal. The study findings were based on a combination of literature review, consultation meetings and field visits to sample districts and schools to undertake further consultation and observation using a set of qualitative research tools. A Stakeholder Consultation Workshop in mid-April and the SSRP Joint Annual Review Meeting in mid-June provided opportunity for further consultation and feedback on initial findings and their implications. The final report of the study based on these findings was prepared and submitted to Department of Education under Ministry of Education, Government of Nepal.

Prior to the MILE study, DoE and MoE had worked on two other documents on LiE, namely, *Mother Tongue Based Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2009)* and the Medium of Instruction Roadmap (2014). It was, however, felt necessary that broader discussion and consultations about the LiE policy (based on *Mother Tongue Based Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2009)* and MoI Roadmap (2014) and MILE study (2015)) with education implementers and managers working at the grassroots level would be crucial to sharing its information with the DoE and MOE and collecting their feedbacks and inputs in their preparation of a final National MTB MLE Framework. Hence, this activity, commissioned by DoE with financial assistance and guidance of USAID, was carried out to make the regional, district, and community level education stakeholders familiar with the findings of the MILE study and gather feedbacks and inputs on the

recommendations of the study to inform the development of the National MTB MLE Framework at the federal level. This Framework provides guidance for Central, State and Local level governance units to develop their own MTB MLE policy that is relevant to and appropriate for their context.

1.6 Issues and challenges

As described above, Nepal does not lack policy pronouncements for using mother tongues as medium and subject of instruction in early grade education. However, they suffer from the following issues and challenges.

- The existing legal framework mentions the use of mother tongue in early grades but it does not explicitly states whether it should be used as medium or subject of instruction.
- All the MLE stakeholders (including Madheshi and other language communities) are not adequately represented in the National MLE Steering Committee, the apex body for making MLE policy and guidelines.
- Some of the legal provisions to introduce mother tongue-based education to children are rather vague and inexplicit. For example, the expression' 'the right to get education in its mother tongue' (*Constitution of Nepal Article 31.5* (2015)*)* the right to use mother tongue has been misconstrued as subject of instruction and accordingly, CDC has developed reading materials for grades 1-5 to be taught as subject and not as medium of instruction.
- Nepal has adopted the early-exit model of MLE. Like different countries across Africa (see Heugh 2009), the limitations of this model are quite evident in Nepal as well. Early transition to the language of wider communication and/or international language is accompanied by poor literacy in L1 and L2, poor numeracy/mathematics and science, high failure and drop-out rates, and high costs/ wastage of expenditure (Heugh 2009).
- The policy documents say nothing about teacher recruitment and teacher deployment to support primary education through mother tongue.
- There exists no national policy setting criteria for identifying languages/dialects for use in MLE.
- There is no data keeping system of the teachers and students on the basis of their mother tongues to help produce reading materials, teacher deployment and teacher training.
- CDC has initiated translation of textbooks in mother tongues but the translated textbooks do not represent cultural needs of the mother tongue students.
- CDC has wrongly assumed the use of mother tongue textbooks as subject instead of medium of instruction and that too as 'optional subject'.
- Multiple language settings in Nepal required multiple teaching/learning arrangements. Where one language is in domination or all students belong to one MT implementation of MLE is less challenging. But inadequately prepared teachers for non-conventional teaching learning settings, inadequate classroom and unavailability of local MT teachers make teaching/learning more challenging in multilingual situation.
- It is difficult to sustain MLE program owing to the lack of adequate operational link with the system's mechanism (DoE 2009).

- There is lack of background data for selecting languages and dialects and schools and recruiting and training teachers. Hence, there is a need to conduct mother tongue school mapping in collaboration with Department of Education and other related agencies and also to explore the possibility for integrating the survey with the GIS database that exists in Nepal. The sociolinguistics survey being conducted at Central Department of Linguistics , Tribhuvan University can help in resolving this issue (Yadava 2008). No structure has not been set up to monitor and review the implementation of the policy.
- History, mathematics, geography, social studies, etc. are examples of subjects which are heavily CALP(COGNITIVE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY) - loaded: they are more abstract, talk about issues and phenomena which the child cannot see, touch, smell, or try out immediately. They also require a much larger vocabulary, both receptive (understanding) and productive (speaking/writing). 6 years of mainly mother tongue medium education is an absolute minimum, and 8 years would be preferable if one wants the minority children to reach high levels in at least their mother tongues and Nepali (Skutnabb-Kangas and Mohanty 2009).
- Another issue in respect of language planning and pedagogical practices in MLE relates to the use of different writing systems for the languages in Nepal.

II. Components of the MTB MLE Framework

Broadly speaking, MTB MLE Program is a complex process involving a number of issues. These issues include languages used in education, appropriate pedagogy, curricula, material development, capacity building, advocacy, monitoring and evaluation, and so on. All these issues need to be addressed through well-articulated strategies and planned actions. Hence, there is a need for designing a framework for managing and implementing MTB MLE in the country. The present MTB MLE Framework has been prepared to cater the need for designing a framework for managing and implementing MTB MLE in the country.
The MTB MLE Framework comprises the following components:

1. Languages in Education: Determining Language Typology of Schools, Selection, Sequencing and Transition
2. Appropriate Pedagogies, Curricula and Material Development
3. Capacity Building
4. Supporting system
5. Advocacy Strategy
6. Sustainability
7. Functional linkage among line agencies
8. Language preservation, and
9. Monitoring and Evaluation

10 Implementation Strategies

Finally, the framework addresses some outstanding issues. These components are presented in detail in the subsections that follow.

2.1 Languages in Education

2.1.1 Language Typology of schools

From the analysis of the sociolinguistic context outlined in subsection 1.3 given above and drawing also on work undertaken for NEGRP (USAID/RTI 2012), it has been possible to develop an indicative language 'typology' of school students (as well as school catchment communities) according to the actual languages spoken by children as they enter ECED or Grade 1. However, this typology needs to have an empirical reality check for confirmation prior to selecting actual languages to be used in school education. The indicative language typology of school catchment has been presented in the following table:

Table 3: Indicative Language Typology of Schools

School Type	Definition (NEGRP)	Sub-type	Expanded Definition
Type 1	Learners that are homogeneously[7] Nepali-speaking on entry to ECED / G1	Type 1a	Learners are homogeneously Nepali-speaking on entry to ECED / G1 and heritage language is Nepali
		Type 1b	Learners are homogeneously Nepali-speaking on entry to ECED / G1 but possess a different heritage language that is no longer much used in that community
Type 2	Learners that homogeneously speak a language other than Nepali as their MT on entry to ECED / G1	Type 2a	Learners homogeneously speak a MT language on entry to ECED / G1 and that language is 'MoI -ready'[8].
		Type 2b	Learners homogeneously* speak a MT language on entry to ECED / G1 and that MT language is not yet 'MoI' ready.
Type 3	Learners come from diverse language backgrounds	Type 3a	Learners enter ECED / G1 from diverse language backgrounds, but there is consensus on a main LWC ('lingua franca') of which most learners have some knowledge and that language is 'MoI -ready'.
		Type 3b	Learners enter ECED / G1 from diverse language backgrounds and there is no commonly-held LWC.

Source: Seel et al.(2015: 24)

According to the Table given above, schools may be of three types: Type 1, Type 2 and Type3. Type 1 refers to the schools with homogeneously Nepali-speaking learners on entry to ECED / G1. It may be further subdivided into Type 1a and Type 1b where Type 1a schools comprise the learners who are homogeneously Nepali-speaking on entry to ECED / G1 and whose heritage language is also Nepali and Type 1b schools is composed of the learners who

[7] ***Homogeneous:*** *NEGRP indicatively defines this as a situation where over 90% speak the same language.*

[8] ***'MoI ready'****: General characteristics of a language that is ready to be a full MoI (including for literacy) include that the language has a script, written literature and a reasonable population base. However, as elaborated later, there is a second level of 'MoI readiness', in which the school and community is ready in terms of availability of teachers, possibility of adaptation to local dialects, agreements about scripts, local interest and so on.*

are also homogeneously Nepali-speaking on entry to ECED / G1 but possess a different heritage language that they no longer speak.

Type 2 schools may have the learners that homogeneously speak a language other than Nepali as their MT (e.g. Maithili, Tamang, Sherpa, etc.) on entry to ECED / G1.[9] These schools can also be divided into two subtypes: 2a and 2b. In 2a schools learners homogeneously speak an MT on entry to ECED / G1 and that language is 'MoI -ready' (see footnote 2 for the elaboration of the term 'MoI-ready'). Type 2b schools, on the other hand, consist of learners that homogeneously* speak an MT on entry to ECED / G1 but that MT is not yet 'MoI' ready.

Type 3 schools may consist of learners speaking different MTs. This multilingual type is obviously complicated from pedagogical perspective. These schools may be of two types: Type 3a and Type 3b. In Type 3a schools learners enter ECED / G1 from diverse language backgrounds, but there is consensus on a main LWC (language of wider communication; also referred to as 'lingua franca') of which most learners have some knowledge and that language is 'MoI'. In Type 3b schools, learners enter ECED / G1 from diverse language backgrounds and there is no commonly-held LWC.

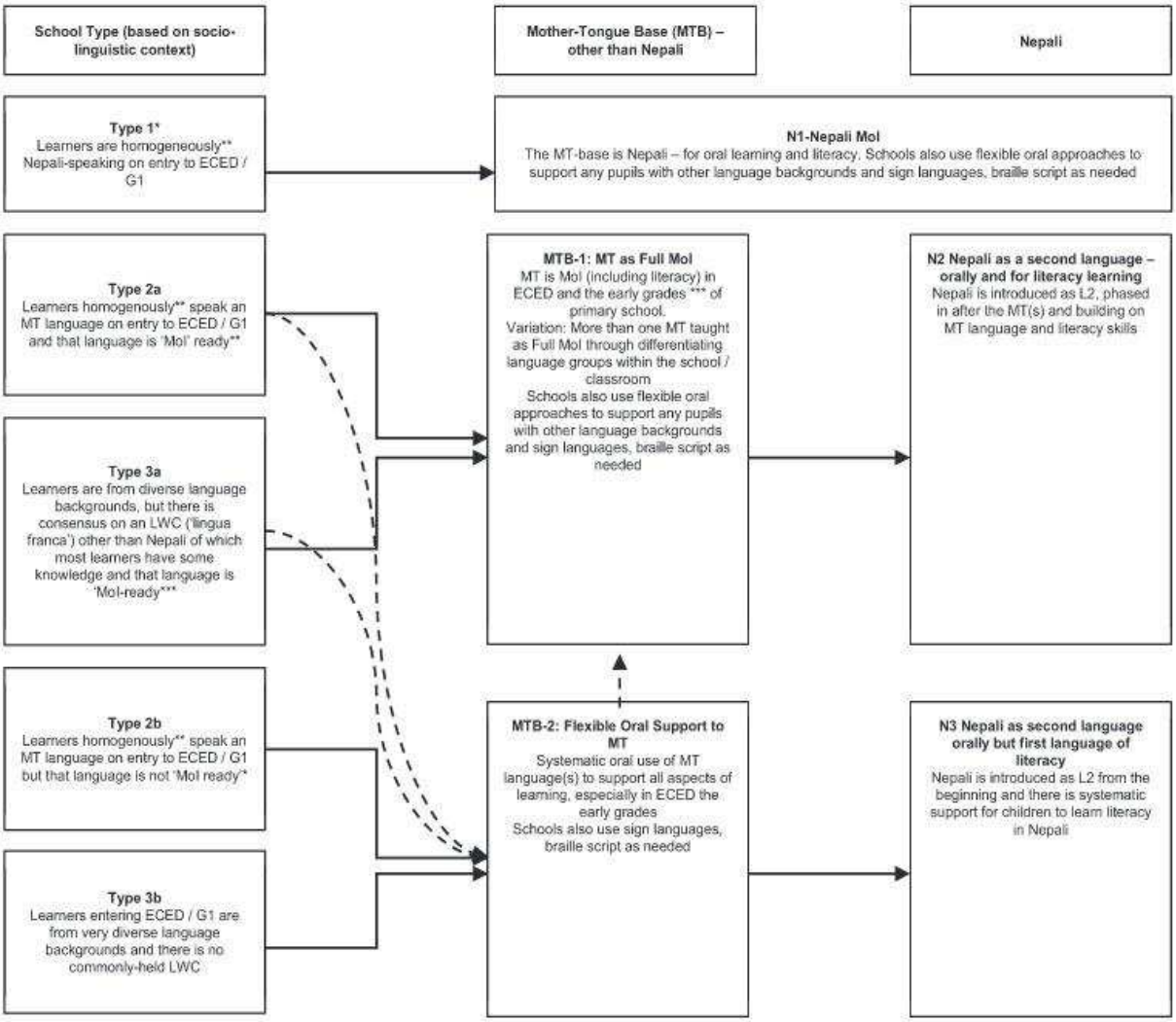
2.1.2 Selection

According to the language policy recommended by MoE, the languages-in-education are usually MTs, Nepali and English. However, it can also be bilingual if Nepali is learners' MT. In addition to Nepali as official language there can also be major languages spoken within States to be adopted as official languages in the States concerned (*Constitution of Nepal* (2015), Article 7.2)[10]. The selection and sequencing of the languages to be used as MoI and subject have been presented in Table 2.

[9] A language may have different social and regional dialects. Ideally it would be reasonable to select a specific dialect of a language which learners use as their native language.

[10] Indicative typology of state languages needs to be ascertained in this connection in the absence of a decision on this issue. .

Table 4: Recommended Approach for Identifying the MT Base and Approach to Nepali in ECED and Early Grades According to Schools' Sociolinguistic Types:



Source: Seel et al. (2015: 52)

Taking account of the typology of schools based on linguistic mapping of their teachers and learners it is necessary to identify the repertoire of the MTs for each school and develop a bi/trilingual system of MT, Nepali and compulsory English where Nepali is MT (as reflected in the draft MoI Roadmap 2014) and a bilingual system if it is not the MT. In a federal context where local governance has been empowered to manage school level education local leadership can engage itself in decision- making about the strategies for selecting and

sequencing languages on participatory basis and be conducive for the successful implementation of MTB MLE.

Regarding the use of MTs as MoI: As shown in Table5, schools can have homogeneous MT learners and diverse MT learners with or without their heritage/religious languages. In the context of homogeneous MT learners an MT can be used as MoI if it is 'MoI ready'. In other contexts, where it is not possible to use the MT of the students (or some proportion of students) as the MoI in the early grades, there should be maximum oral use of those MTs initially to support learning but not 'MoI ready' MTs can be gradually enabled through their corpus planning which will involve development, selection and modification of scripts and orthographic conventions for a language, elaboration, creation of written literature and curriculum planning and development (Cooper 1989; McCarty 2002). The Language Commission can support this activity of language development as it has been as one of its main activities.

However, if the learners with diverse MTs have a homogeneous language of wider communication (LWC) it can be used as MoI provided it is MoI ready. In other words, all schools in the country should be required to assess their sociolinguistic situation through the language mapping of school students and articulate their approach to supporting children's mother tongues (with appropriate capacity development and MT support).

Regarding the teaching of Nepali and its use as a MoI (when not the MT): There is a need for clearer acknowledgment of the requirement for Nepali to be introduced in a sequenced and progressive manner for children who are acquiring Nepali as a second language, especially when they have not had the opportunity to learn literacy in their MT. It calls for the study how Nepali can be taught as a second language with appropriate curricula, teaching/reading materials and teachers' training.

Regarding the teaching of State Official languages: Along with Nepali as Central Level official language, it is also necessary to learn State official languages where they are not MTs for learners. This issue is fresh in federal structure and needs to be further investigated.

Regarding the teaching of English and its use as a MoI*:* There will be a need to accommodate the strong desire for English, whilst taking account of the educational imperative of effective and sequenced pedagogies, and the inability of many schools to deliver this in the teaching of English. This implies the need to place greater emphasis on the effective teaching of English as a high-priority, compulsory subject as an alternative to adopt it as a MoI, as well as discouraging use of English as a MoI in ECED and the earliest years of schooling.

Table 5 presents the recommended approach for selecting options for English as subject or MoI. Depending on the varying contexts this Table suggests three options for selecting English as subject and partial/full MoI.

Table 5: Recommended Approach for Selecting Options for English as Subject or MoI

Options	Appropriate Context
E1 English as a compulsory, priority subject at all levels **English is taught as a subject only, through proven effective methods.**	'Default' option for community schools, in particular, those in remote, disadvantaged areas.
E2 English introduced as a subject and becomes a partial MoI **Intensive teaching of English as a subject in early grades alongside MT / Nepali with transition to English as a partial MoI alongside Nepali from G3 or G5 upwards.** **(Possibly through division of subjects as per 2014 Roadmap, or bilingual approach within single classes).**	Flexible option building on and systematizing existing approaches of use of MTs / Nepali in classes that are already formally 'English MoI', but lack the capacity to fully and effectively deliver the curriculum through the medium of English.
E3 English is introduced as a subject and becomes a full MoI **The official MoI is English.**	Option only where English as MoI is already well-established and running effectively, or where schools can demonstrate 'English MoI Readiness'.

Source: Seel et al. (2015: 53)

2.1.3 Sequencing

Following the bi/trilingual approach, the two/three languages in school education: MT, Nepali/State official language and English can be sequenced as: MT ->Nepali/State Official language->English. If children's language is other than the official language of the State, the sequencing may go beyond the three language framework.

Use of MT as MoI and SoI: In homogeneous MT learners' classrooms an MT is used as MoI for all subjects. Depending on the duration of using MTs as MoI there are two educational models related to MTB MLE: early-exit and late-exit models.

- **Early-exit model:** In early- exit program, children are taught all the subjects mainly in their MTs from ECED to Grade 3 and transitioned to Nepali and/or State Official language as MoI from Grade 4 and retaining MT optionally as a subject. Nepali and/or State Official language should be considered a subject, with a focus on oral language development, and should be introduced as early as ECED in order for the student to be able to transition to Nepali and/or State Official language as the MoI in Grade 4. As pointed out in the draft MoI Roadmap (2014), transitional MTB MLE is 'additive' and better than the 'subtractive' dominant language based education in Nepalese context.

- **<u>Late-exit model</u>:** Late-exit program involves the use of MTs as the MoI and would be flexible to be used beyond Grade 3 or even up to 12 if they are full MoI ready. This strategy may be useful for specific languages, especially State official languages to be designated under federalism. There exists robust research evidence to show that the length of mother tongue medium education is more important than any other factor in predicting educational success of MLE programs (Ramirez et al.1991 and Thomas and Collier Heugh et al. 2010).

2.1.4 Transition:

The early-exit or or late-exit educational model needs to be transitional. This implies that learners pass through a planned transition and that MT (ECED-Grade 3) is phased out as Nepali and /or any other State official language is phased in Grade 4 and that Nepali and/or any other official language is phased out as English is phased in Grade 9. However, the language tobe phased in needs to be introduced with flexible oral approach so that learners will have to start learning it from a scratch and will find it easier to learn.

Table 6: Recommended MoIs at ECED and Grades 1-12 (showing suggested amendments to the 2014 draft MoI Road Map)
Black type – existing draft MoI Road Map 2014 | Red type – suggested elaboration / amendment

		Basic Grades								Secondary Grades			
	ECED	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MT	MT as MoI	MT as MoI (including literacy) MTB-1 or			MTs continue as subjects as long as possible or		MTs continue as subjects as long as possible or			MTs continue as subjects as long as possible or			
		MTs as MoI through systematic oral use MTB-2			MT as MoI (or partial MoI) extended in Grades 4-5 where there is demand / or specified under federalism or		MT as MoI (or partial MoI) extended in Grades 6-8 where there is demand / or specified under federalism or			MT as MoI (or partial MoI) extended in Grades 9-12 where there is demand / or specified under federalism or			
					Use of MTs for scaffolding / learning support as required		Use of MTs for scaffolding / learning support as required			Use of MTs for scaffolding / learning support as required			
Nepali	Nepali as MoI when it is MT	Nepali as MoI when it is MT N1 or			Nepali as MoI (unless use of MT has been extended)		Nepali continues to be full MoI or			Nepali continued as a compulsory subject or			
		Nepali as compulsory subject where it is not the MT, with systematic teaching of Nepali as an additional language – N2 and N3					Nepali as MoI for social sciences, languages and arts or for other designated uses as a MoI (e.g. bilingual approach within all or specified lessons)			Option to continue Nepali as full MoI or partial MoI			
English		English as compulsory subject, with effective approaches to teaching of English as an additional language					English as a priority compulsory subject or English as MoI for maths and science or other designated uses as a partial MoI			English as MoI (except for language teaching) or English as a partial MoI or English as a priority compulsory subject			

Source: Seel et al. (2015: 54)

2.1.5 Strategies for Special Schools, Faith-based Schools and Heritage Languages

Sign Languages and Braille Script: For special schools / classes for users of sign language the mother tongue can be considered to be the sign language. For special schools / classes for users of Nepali Braille script, then this can be considered the language for literacy. Where users of sign language or braille are included in mainstream schools and classrooms, their language-learning needs should be supported as part of an inclusive approach.

Religious languages as subjects in faith-based schools: Religious (faith-based) schools are being incorporated into the mainstream system and many teach and use languages that are not the mother tongue of the students, but are associated with religious practice and culture. Such schools should factor these languages into their language planning and sequencing, whilst still taking account of the principle of the benefits of an MT-base and the need for careful sequencing. As was proposed for heritage languages, there should be a strong role for parents, local faith communities and leaders in supporting the teaching of religious languages.

- For Gumba, it may be important to distinguish of the actual mother tongues of children within these institutions (to enable MT-based teaching and acquisition of Nepali where it is a second language) from the forms of Tibetan language and Sambhota script that will be taught as subjects (albeit as major subjects forming a larger part of the curriculum than would be the case in a secular school.
- For Vihars, being mainly Newar, there may be a need to identify the use of Newar and Nepali as MoIs and the teaching of Sanskrit and / or Pali as religious languages, as subjects at least in the first instance.
- For Gurukuls, there may be a need to identify what are the mother tongues of the learners and plan for introducing Sanskrit first as a subject and gradually transitioning to its use as a MoI for religious subjects.
- For Madrasas, there is similarly a need to identify the MT of the children (most often Urdu) as a MoI and for introducing Arabic as a core subject, for it to become the medium of religious instruction.

Heritage Languages (and Scripts) as Subjects: Additionally to identification of the approach to the MT, Nepali and English, schools should be encouraged as far as possible to support the learning of heritage languages that children do not use as the mother tongue (e.g. because of migration and language shift). These should not be used as MoIs but instead can be included as subjects of study. Recognizing, however, that the 'trilingual' approach will already place demands on capacity and resourcing, opportunities should be sought for cost-sharing and partnership. Whilst the education sector should make policy provisions; implementation and financing responsibility could be shared with local language organizations and other sectors and agencies supporting linguistic preservation and cultural revitalization.

2.2 Appropriate Pedagogies, Curricula and Material Development

Appropriate Pedagogies

It is necessary for MTB MLE programs to identify and detail key elements of 'good practice' (pedagogies, curricula and teaching-learning resources) with regards to generic issues and in relation to the identified options of:

- MT as Full MoI (MTB-1)
- MT through Flexible Oral Support (MTB-2)
- Nepali as MT (N1)
- Nepali as a Second Language (N2) and/or other State official languages
- Nepali as Second Language Orally but First Language for Literacy (N3)**.**

MTB MLE pedagogical strategies should reflect international 'best practice' through incorporating an approach to strengthening and formalizing the oral use of MTs in scaffolding learning of and through Nepali and English, especially where MTs cannot be used as a full MoI (e.g. for literacy learning). Based on the similarities and differences between learners' MT and second language through their contrastive study, these strategies need to articulate measures to support structured teaching of Nepali and/or State official language as a second language for children for whom it is not their MT. In addition, it is important for CDC to adapt teachers' manuals for effective MTB MLE teaching-learning materials in classroom. A local community can provide a congenial setting for developing and introducing new pedagogies and teaching styles (e.g., immersion, critical literacy) for effective learning and teaching (McCarty 2002). MTB MLE can empower students through inculcating a sense of pride and identity in their languages, help to mitigate dropouts and failure and thus inspire them to succeed in schools.

As shown in MLE Project's report (Acharya 2009) shows, the ground conditions of early school education across different regions and communities in Nepal are quite diverse and many classrooms do have different combinations of students from different mother tongues. It is therefore necessary to plan different contextualized approaches such as multi-grading of children from one language and having single grades comprising of students from different languages (also discussed in more detail in Taylor's report for the MLE project(2009)). It is possible to follow a collaborative classroom pedagogy focused on development of high levels of metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness as a prerequisite for multilingual competence among all the students. Specific strategies can be worked out keeping in view the feasibility of different approaches. Educational language planning needs to view languages as resources rather than problems and to work out models of MLE for complex sociolinguistic contexts. As viewed by Sktnab and Mohanty (2009), while models of MLE cannot be transferred to other contexts and have to be localized, international experiences suggest some broad principles about the characteristics of highly successful and less successful MLE programmes. It is important to take care of the lessons from the international experience with respect to MLE, so that education in Nepal can strengthen maintenance of multilingual and multicultural and biological diversity and an egalitarian social order.

Curricula and Material Development

For an effective implementation of MTB MLE Programs it is necessary to develop locally need-based curricula, textbooks, teachers' guides and other supplementary materials and

technologies for both formal and non-formal education utilizing the knowledge and creative writing skills of local language communities and learners and as intended and guided by the National Framework and giving incentives to madrasas, gumbas, gurukuls and other such institutions.

2.3 Capacity Building

It is the responsibility of Local Level Power to utilize demand-based recruitment and deployment of MTB MLE teachers from among eligible persons from the respective local language communities (wherever feasible) with fluency in mother tongue in consultation with SMCs and provision of their appropriate orientation/training system. In return this strategy can help to raise local level employment and economic development as well as Identity assertion in the community (McCarty 2002). However, some plausible mechanisms need to be evolved to address the existing non-MT-speaking teachers though most of them may be adjusted for teaching Nepali and English as subject languages in Grades 1-3.

MT teachers should be provided pre-and in-service MTB MLE training in collaboration with MLE Unit at the central level to effectively handle the classroom teaching of MTs as MoI and SoI.
It would be reasonable to develop a long-term plan for attracting potential candidates from the language communities to teaching and sustaining MTB MLE. For the purpose language mapping of the existing pool of teachers and redeployment accordingly could be an option. Besides, an MTB MLE resource center should be established at NCED and universities.Training needs to be reformed to reflect the fact that most teachers will have MT children in their classrooms. Manuals should be developed and updated for training of trainers and teachers' training.

2.4 Supporting system

The MoE, development partners and other actors identify and support actions beyond the education sector that will complement and strengthen implementation of the MTB MLE Programs.

2.5 Advocacy Strategies

It is important MTB MLE program to integrate a strategy for advocacy, participation and communication on language-in-education that is embedded in wider dialogue around the multiple and multi-level purposes and benefits of education and indicatively incorporates the following elements:

- Strategies for advocacy and dialogue with education policy makers, implementers and partners, as well as wider government and influential stakeholders (duty bearers)
- Dialogue around the possibilities and benefits of multilingualism, costs in relation to benefits, the possibilities for reconciling different languages

- Provision of opportunities for discussion, learning and debate in non-threatening, respectful contexts, stimulating interest and enthusiasm
- Expert-facilitated mediation dialogues could be considered as a means of overcoming key bottlenecks in the Nepal context
- Further work to better document good practice and provide a stronger evidence base for MLE in Nepal context
- Identification of existing or new MLE initiatives for tracking of teaching practices and learning outcomes over time
- Support for documentation and publication of good practice and success stories
- Strategies for advocacy and participatory consultation with primary stakeholders (parents, children, communities)
- Appropriate communication of key MLE policies / options through multiple media, different MTs and at different levels of complexity, participation
- Ongoing (not just one-off) opportunities for non-threatening consultation, discussion and participation in decision-making in relation to language and education at local levels.
- Specific strategies to involve children in dialogue and discussion around language and articulate their own experiences and preferences.
- Making use of existing materials, in particular UNESCO *Advocacy Kit for Promoting Multilingual Education: Including the Excluded* (2007) and *MTB MLE Resource Kit Including the Excluded: Promoting Multilingual Education* (2016) for raising awareness about the advantages of MTB MLE programs and sharing information related to them.
- Use of ICT and electronic media (radio, TV, etc.) for disseminating information about MTB MLE
- Establishment of successful MTB MLE schools in different linguistic contexts to serve as 'role models' and motivate learners, parents, teachers and local management for promoting MTB MLE program.

2.6 Sustainability

To ensure effective implementation of the MTB MLE Framework and the programs at the school level and sustainability of the 'tri/bi-language' multilingual approach, local governance units should strengthen technical implementation units and committees, revision of guidelines and support multiple approaches to capacity development at all levels (in particular, teacher preparation, including through higher education, continuous training, redeployment, text book preparation, additional teaching-learning materials, availability of library with adequate materials in diff languages, etc).
It is also essential for these programs to identify and elaborate a range of mid-level strategies and actions such as supervision, monitoring and evaluation that will support the creation of conducive environment for effective MTB MLE practice to take root and be sustained at the

school level (including links with NEGRP, Inclusive Education policy, EMIS, ECED, NFE, SDG4 and other areas).

2.7 Functional linkage among line agencies

It is necessary for the MTB MLE Framework to be implementable through the new SSDP and be implemented as far as possible through integrated, mainstream institutional structures (including links with NEGRP, Inclusive Education policy, EMIS, ECED, NFE and other areas and SDG4). The Language Commission also needs to act as a liaison government agency in establishing rapport with SSDP and DPs.

2.8 Language preservation through MTB MLE

As mentioned in *Constitution of Nepal* (2015), Part 5, Article 56.5, "Any Special, Protected or Autonomous Region can be set by the Federal law for social, cultural protection or economic development." To implement this constitutional provision, the MTB MLE Framework should preserve seriously endangered languages through their documentation (e.g. corpora development, ethnolinguistic analysis, lexicon compilation, grammar sketch, etc.), development of their learning materials and their use in community children's early education (as implemented in Baram language). Such initiatives can create homely educational environment that would maintain and revitalize endangered languages and also safeguard ethnic cultural and linguistic identity. These efforts for language revitalization also constitute one of the major functions of the Language Commission; hence, they will be coordinated with the commission. Educational language planning should ensure *protection of Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) in education*. It must be noted that LHRs are necessary but not sufficient conditions for quality education and for maintenance of indigenous languages and cultures. From an *economics point of view*, there are strong grounds for protection and promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity in Nepal (Skutnabb-Kangas and Mohanty 2009).

Curricula should also be developed as a matter of urgency for those highly endangered languages where the parents no longer speak the language to their children. These models can be called indigenous revitalization immersion models.

2.9 Monitoring and Evaluation

Implementation of successful MTB MLE programs requires effective monitoring, continuous policy advocacy at all levels of governance down to the parents and community, formative programme evaluation and action research. MTB MLE program needs to strengthen its research and development activities at different levels of the program. An independent community managed Language Resource Center adjoined with the existing Resource Center or Community Learning Center (CLC) is necessary to be established to conduct research regularly in the field and ensure the monitoring and evaluation of the functioning and implementation of the MTB MLE strategies for maintaining consistency and uniformity.

Partnerships with other institutions working with language policy, MLE and linguistic human rights should be promoted, both nationally and internationally. Universities should have MLE-related subjects where students can major. In language description, in addition to support for writing grammars, dictionaries, etc, so that languages which are/will be used in schools as teaching languages/as subjects in the beginning, there should be an emphasis on the most marginalized languages before they are extinct. While a National Resource Centre for MLE is necessary to organize research, evaluation, monitoring, advocacy and coordination, the local school systems also have to be empowered to participate in this process.

School level database or school level Education, Management Information system (EMIS) will be designed to accurately reflect the MT-related data of the students.

2.10 Implementation Strategies

It is important for the Local Level Educational Cell to outline an implementation plan based on the MTB MLE Framework and building on the foundation provided by the previous piloting interventions and other experiences in Nepal.Wherever required support can be sought from MoE, Language Commission, local language communities and so on. An earlier version of the MLE implementation plan has been discussed and revised in *Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education Implementation Guidelines (2009)* published by DoE.

2.11 Residuals

In the preceding sections an attempt has been made to address the core aspects of MTB MLE in Nepalese context. There still remain some unresolved issues which need to be sorted out in the present political context. The greatest hurdle is the impending structural changes in governance due to occur in the light of federal restructuring especially local level power which has been constitutionally entrusted with the management of both basic and secondary education including the implementation of MTB MLE programs. Some of these important issues include the following:

i. According to *Constitution of Nepal* (2015) Article , **"**A State may, by a State law, determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the State as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali language." Along with Nepali as Central Level official language, it is also necessary to learn State official languages where they are not MTs for learners. This issue is fresh issue in federal structure and needs to be further investigated.

ii. It seems cumbersome for the Local Level governance to handle school education in its entirety; so it is important to articulate how Local Level Governance will interact with State and Central Level educational agencies to effectively implement the various aspects of MTB MLE program.

iii. There is a need to develop an indicative list of State official languages for educational purpose though these languages will be determined constitutionally by a State itself at the recommendation of Language Commission.

iv. To help the implementation of MTB MLE at Local Level it is essential to arrange for prompt assistance mechanism at the district, State and Central levels.

III. Conclusion

Like other countries in South and Southeast Asia Nepal is also characterized by linguistic diversity where children have to learn through Nepali, a single dominant language and English, an international language. Various studies have, however, shown that children should begin their education through the language they first understand, i.e. their home language or mother tongues as this type of education makes learning easy and also supports their cognitive development. Later children should gradually shift to an official language for official transactions and wider communication and even later switch to English for global communication and learning science and technology. This approach is known as mother tongued-based multilingual education (MTB MLE).

In this report an attempt has been made to discuss MTB MLE framework consisting of its core aspects in Nepalese contexts such as selection, sequencing and transition of languages in school education, appropriate pedagogies, curricula and material development, capacity building, supporting system, advocacy strategy, sustainability, functional linkage among line agencies, language preservation, and monitoring and evaluation.

According to the indicative school typology in terms of the languages used, schools may be of three types. Type 1 refers to the schools with homogeneously Nepali-speaking learners on entry to ECED / G1 with/without Nepali as their heritage languages. Type 2 schools may have the learners that homogeneously speak a language other than Nepali as their MT (e.g. Maithili, Tamang, Sherpa, etc.) on entry to ECED / G1. These schools can have 'MoI -ready' mother tongues or not. Type 3 schools may consist of learners speaking different MTs with/without a common LWC. Appropriate strategies have been recommended for these types of schools.

This framework, however, needs to be supported through the upcoming legal enactments (especially related to Local Government) for its effective management and implementation with a view to attaining children's better educational achievement.

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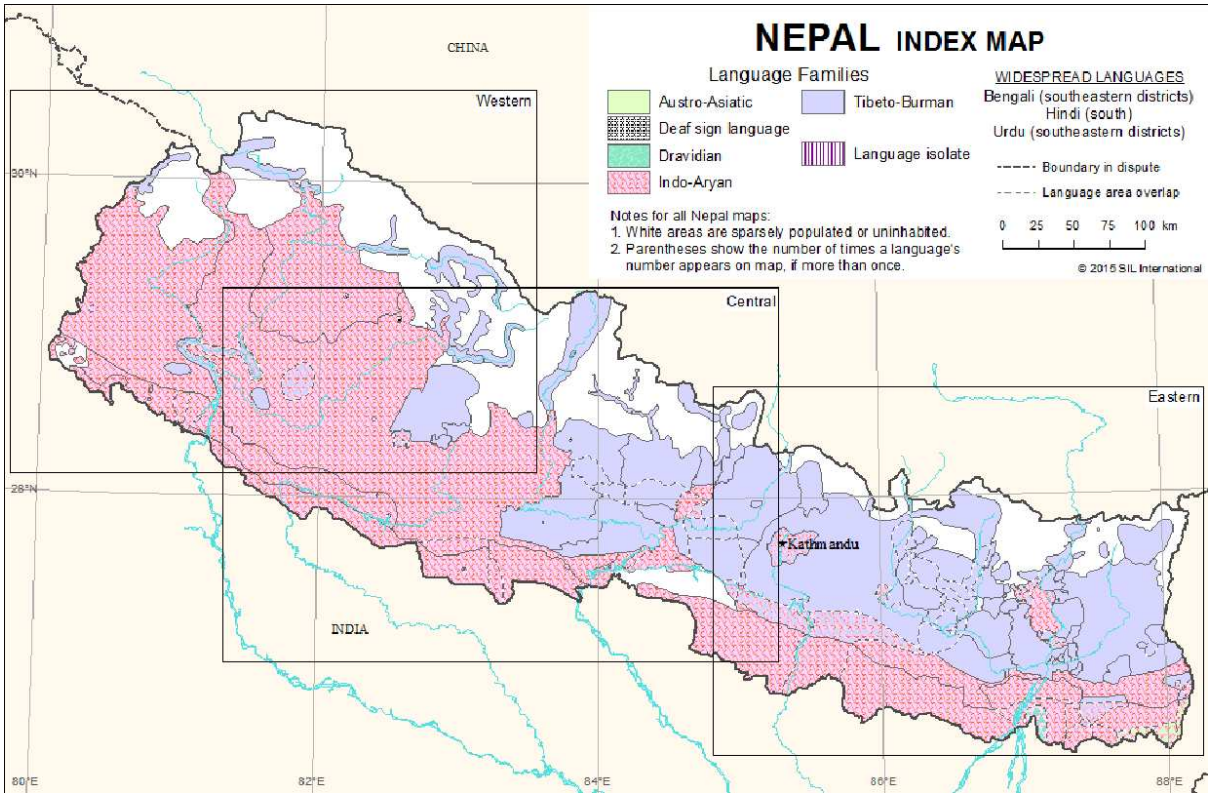
Annex A: Sociolingusitic Map of Nepal (SIL International)


NEPAL INDEX MAP
Language Families
Austro-Asiatic
Deaf sign language
Dravidian
Indo-Aryan
Tibeto-Burman
Language isolate
WIDESPREAD LANGUAGES
Bengali (southeastern districts)
Hindi (south)
Urdu (southeastern districts)
Boundary in dispute
Language area overlap
0 25 50 75 100 km
Notes for all Nepal maps:
1. White areas are sparsely populated or uninhabited.
2. Parentheses show the number of times a language's number appears on map, if more than once.
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CHINA
Western
Central
Eastern
Kathmandu
INDIA
30°N
28°N
80°E
82°E
84°E
86°E
88°E

Annex B: Categorization of Nepal's Languages Based on the size of their Speakers

Table 7: Nepal's major languages (minimum 100, 000 speakers, CBS 2012)

S.No.	Languages	Speakers	Per cent	Cumulative per cent
1.	Nepali	11,826,953	44.64	44.64
2.	Maithili	3,092,530	11.67	56.31
3.	Bhojpuri	1,584,958	5.98	62.29
4.	Tharu	1,529,875	5.77	68.07
5.	Tamang	1,353,311	5.11	73.18
6.	Newar	846,557	3.20	76.37
7.	Bajjika	793,416	2.99	79.37
8.	Magar	788,530	2.98	82.34
9.	Doteli	787,827	2.97	85.32
10.	Urdu	691,546	2.61	87.93
11.	Avadhi	501,752	1.89	89.82
12.	Limbu	343,603	1.30	91.12

13.	Gurung	325,622	1.23	92.35
14.	Baitadeli	272,524	1.03	93.37
15.	Rai	159,114	0.60	93.97
16.	Achhami	142,787	0.54	94.51
17.	Bantawa	132,583	0.50	95.01
18.	Rajbanshi	122,214	0.46	95.48
19.	Sherpa	114,830	0.43	95.91

Table 8: Minor languages (10,000 - 99,999 speakers, CBS 2012)

S.No.	Languages	Speakers	%	Cumulative %
20.	Hindi	77,569	0.29	96.20
21.	Chamling	76,800	0.29	96.49
22.	Bajhangi	67,581	0.26	96.75
23.	Santhali	49,858	0.19	96.94
24.	Chepang	48,476	0.18	97.12
25.	Danuwar	45,821	0.17	97.29
26.	Sunuwar	37,898	0.14	97.33

27.	Magahi	35,614	0.13	97.46
28.	Uranw	33,651	0.13	97.59
29.	Kulung	33,170	0.13	97.72
30.	Kham (Magar)	27,113	0.10	97.82
31.	Rajasthani	25,394	0.10	97.92
32.	Majhi	24,422	0.09	98.01
33.	Thangmi	23,151	0.09	98.10
34.	Bhujel	21,715	0.08	98.18
35.	Bangla	21,061	0.08	98.26
36.	Thulung	20,659	0.08	98.34
37.	Yakkha	19,558	0.07	98.41
38.	Dhimal	19,300	0.07	98.48
39.	Tajpuriya	18,811	0.07	98.55
40.	Angika	18,555	0.07	98.62
41.	Sampang	18,270	0.07	98.69
42.	Khaling	14,467	0.05	98.74
43.	Wambule	13,470	0.05	98.79

44.	Kumal	12,222	0.05	98.84
45.	Darai	11,677	0.04	98.88
46.	Bahing	11,658	0.04	98.92
47.	Bajhangi	10,704	0.04	98.96
48.	Yholmo	10,176	0.04	99.00
49.	Nachhering	10,041	0.04	99.04

Table 9: Minor languages with 1,000 to 9,999 speakers, CBS 2012)

S.No.	Languages	Speakers	%	Cumulative %
50.	Yamphu	9,208	0.03	99.07
51.	Bote	8,766	0.03	99.10
52.	Ghale	8,092	0.03	99.13
53.	Dumi	7,638	0.03	99.16
54.	Lapcha	7,499	0.03	99.19
55.	Puma	6,686	0.03	99.22
56.	Dungmali	6,260	0.02	99.24
57.	Darchuleli	5,928	0.02	99.26

58.	Athpariya	5,530	0.02	99.28
59.	Thakali	5,242	0.02	99.30
60.	Jirel	4,829	0.02	99.32
61.	Mewahang	4,650	0.02	99.34
62.	Sign language	4,476	0.02	99.36
63.	Tibetan	4,445	0.02	99.38
64.	Meche	4,375	0.02	99.40
65.	Chantyal	4,283	0.02	99.42
66.	Raji	3,758	0.01	99.43
67.	Lohorung	3,716	0.01	99.44
68.	Chhintang	3,712	0.01	99.45
69.	Gangai	3,612	0.01	99.46
70.	Pahari	3,458	0.01	99.47
71.	Dailekhi	3,102	0.01	99.48
72.	Lhopa	3,029	0.01	99.49
73.	Dura	2,156	0.01	99.50
74.	Koce	2,080	0.01	99.51

75.	Chhiling	2,046	0.01	99.52
76.	English	2,032	0.01	99.53
77.	Jerung	1,763	0.01	99.54
78.	Khas	1,747	0.01	99.55
79.	Sanskrit	1,669	0.01	99.56
80.	Dolpali	1,667	0.01	99.57
81.	Hayu	1,520	0.01	99.58
82.	Tilung	1,424	0.01	99.59
83.	Koi	1,271	0.00	_
84.	Kisan	1,178	0.00	_
85.	Waling	1,169	0.00	_
86.	Musalban	1,075	0.00	_

Table 10: Minor languages (less than 1,000 speakers, CBS 2012)

S.No.	Languages	Speakers	%	Cumulative %
87.	Hariyani	889	0.00	
88.	Jumli	851	0.00	

89.	Lhomi	808	0.00	
90.	Punjabi	808	0.00	
91.	Belhare	599	0.00	
92.	Oriya	584	0.00	
93.	Sonaha	579	0.00	
94.	Sindhi	518	0.00	
95.	Dadeldhuri	488	0.00	
96.	Byangshi	480	0.00	
97.	Assamese	476	0.00	
98.	Raute	461	0.00	
99.	Sam	401	0.00	
100.	Manange	392	0.00	
101.	Dhuleli	347	0.00	
102.	Phangduali	290	0.00	
103.	Surel	287	0.00	
104.	Malpande	247	0.00	

105.	Chinese	242	0.00	
106.	Khariya	238	0.00	
107.	Kurmali	227	0.00	
108.	Baram	155	0.00	
109.	Lingkhim	129	0.00	
110.	Sadhani	122	0.00	
111.	Kagate	99	0.00	
112.	Dzonkha	80	0.00	
113.	Bankariya	69	0.00	
114.	Kaike	50	0.00	
115.	Gadhawali	38	0.00	
116.	French	34	0.00	
117.	Mizo	32	0.00	
118.	Kuki	29	0.00	
119.	Kusunda	28	0.00	
120.	Russian	17	0.00	

121.	Spanish	16	0.00	
122.	Nagamese	10	0.00	
123.	Arabi	8	0.00	
124.	Not reported	47,718	0.18	99.77
125.	Others	21,173	0.08	99.85

Annex C: Scripts

Table 11: Scripts Used in Writing Nepalese Languages

No.	Scripts	Language(s)
1.	Devanagari	Nepali, Maithili,Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Newar, Tamang, etc.
2.	Sambota	Tibetan, Sherpa
3.	Srijunga	Limbu
4.	Prachalit/Ranjana	Newar,
5.	Rong	Lapcha
6.	Akha	Magar
7.	Tirhuta/Mithilakshar	Maithili
8.	Kaithi	Maithili, Bhojpuri
9.	Perso-Arabic	Urdu
10.	Tamhig	Sherpa,Tamang

11.	Ol Chik/Ol	Santhali
12.	Bangla	Bangla/Bengali
13.	Gurumikhi	Punjabi