

A Sociolinguistic Survey of Chhantyal

A Report

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Table of contents

Acknowledgements	i
Table of contents	ii
List of tables	v
List of charts	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1-8
1.1 Background	1
1.2 The Chhantyal people	2
1.2.1 Caste/ethnic groups	2
1.2.2 Religion	3
1.2.3 Literacy	3
1.2.4 Occupation	4
1.3 Demography and distribution	4
1.4 Geographical location of the survey points in Chhantyal	4
1.5 Linguistic affiliation	6
1.6 Previous research works	7
1.7 Purpose and goals	7
1.8 Organization of the study	8
Chapter 2: Research methodology	9-15
2.0 Outline	9
2.1 Overview	9
2.2 Research methods/tools	10
2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)	10
2.2.2 Wordlist	14
2.3 Limitations of the study	15
Chapter 3: Language resources and organizations	16-20
3.0 Outline	16

3.1 Language resources	16
3.2 Organizations working for language development	18
3.3 Summary	19
Chapter 4: Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism	21-29
4.0 Outline	21
4.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Chhantyal	21
4.2 Bi/multilingualism	22
4.2.1 Bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal speech community	22
4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal families	23
4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal children	23
4.3 Level of understanding of Nepali in school	24
4.4 Summary	28
Chapter 5: Domains of language use	30-43
5.0 Outline	30
5.1 Language use in common domains	30
5.2 Language use in educational and social matters	34
5.3 Language use in letter writing	35
5.4 Languages used outside the home	36
5.5 Languages of invitation	36
5.6 Language use in minutes writing	36
5.7 Frequency in the use of languages	38
5.8 Summary	42
Chapter 6: Language vitality, transmission and maintenance	44-50
6.0 Outline	44
6.1 Intergenerational transmission	44
6.2 Language spoken by younger people	45
6.3 Transmission	46

6.4 Language maintenance	48
6.5 Summary	50
Chapter 7: Language attitudes	51-59
7.0 Outline	51
7.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language	51
7.2 Problem because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal	52
7.3 Feeling about children's marriage with non-Chhantyal speakers	54
7.4 Grandchildren's language	55
7.5 First language of the children	56
7.6 Medium of instruction at primary level	56
7.7 Differences in the use of language between two generations	57
7.8 Summary	59
Chapter 8: Language development	60-65
8.0 Outline	60
8.1 Appreciative inquiry	60
8.2 Summary	65
Chapter 9: Dialectal variation	66-73
9.0 Outline	66
9.1 Lexical variation	66
9.1.1 Methodology	66
9.1.2 Lexical similarity among the key points in Chhantyal	67
9.2 Dialect mapping	68
9.3 Summary	73
Chapter 10: Findings and recommendations	74-78
10.1 Major findings	74
10.2 Recommendations	77
References	79-80

List of tables

Table 1.1	Castes/ethnic groups in Chhantyal	2
Table 1.2	Religion in Chhantyal	3
Table 1.3	Literacy in Chhantyal Kham in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts by sex	3
Table 1.4	Literacy in Chhantyal by age groups	4
Table 1.5	District-wise distribution of the Kham speakers (major districts of Chhantyal)	4
Table 1.6	GPS information of Chhantyal speaking areas in western region	5
Table 2.1	Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools	9
Table 2.2	Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A	12
Table 3.1	Language resources available in Chhantyal	16
Table 3.2	Reading of these things written in their language by sex	17
Table 3.3	Availability of organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Chhantyal	18
Table 3.4	Organizations and their responsibilities in Chhantyal community	19
Table 4.1	Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Chhantyal	21
Table 4.2	Multilingualism in Chhantyal speech community	22
Table 4.3	Other languages known to family members by sex	23
Table 4.4	Other languages known to Chhantyal children	24
Table 4.5	Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex	24
Table 5.1	Languages most frequently used in different domains by male	30
Table 5.2	Languages most frequently used in different domains by female	33
Table 5.3	Use of languages while talking about educational and social matters	34
Table 5.4	Use of languages in letter writing by male	35

Table 5.5	Use of languages in letter writing by female	35
Table 5.6	Languages Chhantyal children usually speak	37
Table 5.7	Languages used for marriage invitations	37
Table 5.8	Language used to write minutes in community meetings	37
Table 5.9	Frequency of the use of Chhantyal	38
Table 5.10	Languages of wider communication and their frequencies	39
Table 5.11	Language usually used when speakers of other languages visit their home	39
Table 6.1	Mother tongue spoken by children	44
Table 6.2	The language spoken by the parents with their children	44
Table 6.3	The way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation	45
Table 6.4	Intermarriage in Chhantyal community	46
Table 6.5	Common marital relationship with Chhantyal language group	47
Table 6.6	Likeness of the children's learning/studying in mother	48
Table 6.7	The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools	49
Table 7.1	Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages	51
Table 7.2	Having problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal	52
Table 7.3	Problems they had because of because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal	53
Table 7.4	Feeling about children's marriage with non- Chhantyal speakers	54
Table 7.5	Will the children of the present Chhantyal children speak your language	55
Table 7.6	Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will speak their language	55
Table 7.7	Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language	56
Table 7.8	The languages Chhantyal children should speak first	56
Table 7.9	Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level	57
Table 7.10	Differences between the languages spoken by two generations	57

Table 7.11	The ways of differences in language between two generations	58
Table 7.12	Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue	59
Table 8.1	Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Chhantyal	63
Table 9.1	Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages	67
Table 9.2	Lexical similarity comparison in Chhantyal	67
Table 9.3	Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different places	71
Table 9.4	Ranking from easier to understand to most difficult in Chhantyal	72
Table 9.5	Preferences of speech variety for developing materials	72

List of Charts

Chart 3.1	Reading of the written materials in Chhantyal	17
Chart 4.1	Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school	25
Chart 5.1	Language used to write minutes in community meetings	38
Chart 6.1	Speaking of mother tongue by younger generation	45
Chart 6.2	Inter-caste marriage in Chhantyal community	46
Chart 6.3	Common marital relationship with their language group	48
Chart 6.4	The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools	49
Chart 7.1	Speaking mother tongue in the presence of dominant language speakers	52
Chart 7.2	Having problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal	53
Chart 7.3	Feeling about children's marriage with non- Chhantyal speakers	54
Chart 7.4	Differences between the languages spoken by the speakers and their grandparents	58

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

This is a sociolinguistic survey report of Chhantyal language as spoken in Myagdi district Dhaulagiri zone. This is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts in western region of Nepal. In this report, we have presented the general introduction of the language. It also includes the methodology used in the survey, language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the Chhantyal language development. Similarly we have discussed the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism; domains of language use; language vitality transmission and maintenance; language attitudes; language development and dialectal variation of the Chhantyal language.

Nepal is a multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious country. It is rich in its linguistic diversity. The languages of four great language families namely- Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic are spoken in the country. According to Ethnologue (2012), there are 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest official census of 2011 records the numbers of languages for 123 languages and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages' with close to half million speakers. However, there is no reliable estimate of the actual number of languages spoken within the country.

This report mainly deals with caste and ethnic groups, religion, occupation, literacy, language resources, domains of language use, language vitality, language maintenance/transmission, lexical variation, mother tongue proficiency and bilingualism, language attitude and language development.

The language is also known as Chantel, Chantel Kham, Chhantel and Khamkura. According to the recent census report of Nepal 2011, the total number of speakers is 4283. According to 2011 census, the ethnic population is 11,810. Chhantyal is also spoken in Dang district Rapti zone ; Bardiya, Banke, Surkhet districts, Bheri zone; Kailali district, Seti zone; Rupandehi, Kapilvastu districts, Lumbini zone; Kathmandu district Bagmati zone.

1.2 The Chhantyal people

The Chhantyal community used to work in copper mines. They used to live in the hilly areas. Nowadays, they have migrated to the urban-areas. This community used to live in the organized society. They had both arranged and love marriage systems. Their socio-cultural existence was influenced by Hindu and Buddhist cultures.

1.2.1 Caste/ethnic groups

In this survey, the research team found the Chhantyal people living in different places of western regions of Nepal. Among them, we visited five spots i.e (Beni, (Arthunge VDC,1, Mygadi) ; Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple-1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16 , Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14, Rupandehi). Table 1 presents castes/ethnic situation in Chhantyal in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts.

Table 1.1: Castes/Ethnic groups in Chhantyal

	Castes/Ethnic Groups	Place
1.	Gharabja	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi
2.	Tathabja	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi
3.	Bhalanja	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi
4	Ghyapchan	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi
5.	Budhathoki	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi
6.	Khadka	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi
7.	Chan	Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi

Source: Field study, 2012

Table 1.1 shows that there is no caste division in Chhantyal speech community in Myagdi , Kaski and Rupandehi districts.

1.2.2 Religion

Chhantyal in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts, in general, follow Hinduism and Buddhism. Table 2 presents the situation of religion in Chhantyal in Myagdi , Kaski and Rupandehi districts.

Table 1.2: The situation of the religion in Chhantyal in Myagdi , Kaski and Rupandehi districts

	Religions	Number	Percentage
1	Hinduism	27	45%
2	Buddhism	31	52%
3	Bon	1	2%
	Total	60	100%

Source: Field study, 2012

Table 1.2 shows that 52% of Chhantyal people are Buddhists whereas 45% of them are Hindus and only 2% are reported to be following Bon.

1.2.3 Literacy

Generally, literacy in Chhantyal speech community is not so poor. Especially, women have learnt how to read and write through literacy programs. The survey has estimated the general trends of literacy in this community. Table 1.3 presents the literacy situation of Chhantyal in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts.

Table 1.3: Literacy in Chhantyal in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts

Literacy			
Male (N=30)		Female (N=30)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
20 (67%)	10 (33%)	9 (30%)	21 (70%)

Source: Field study, 2012

Table 1.3 shows that the females are more illiterate than the males in the Chhantyal community.

Table 1.4: Literacy in Chhantyal by age groups

A1 (n=20)		A2 (n=20)		A3 (n=20)	
Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
16 (80%)	4 (20%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)	5 (25%)	15 (75%)

Source: Field study, 2012

Table 1.4 shows that in the age group of 15-29 years literacy rate is higher than that of other groups. In this age group, 80% of Chhantyal are literate while only 20% of them are illiterate. There is equal percentage i.e., 50% of literacy rate between literate and illiterate in the age group of 30-59. Similarly, in the age group of 60 + literacy rate is very poor. In this group, only 25% of the speakers are literate whereas 75% of the speakers are illiterate.

1.2.4 Occupation

Chhantyal's traditional occupations are mining, farming, household works and foreign employments. Nowadays, they are also engaged in business, government and public jobs, and also in other occupations.

1.3 Demography and distribution

Nepal is divided into 14 zones and subdivided into 75 districts. Chhantyal speaking areas were selected on the basis of geographical location from the core point (i.e. Beni, (Arthunge VDC,1, Myagdi) ; Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple- 1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16 , Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14, Rupandehi). According to the latest census of Nepal (2011) the total number of ethnic Chhantyal is 11,810 whereas the number of speakers is only 4,283.

1.3 Geographical location of the survey points in Chhantyal

This survey has selected two points in Myagdi district and two points in Kaski district and one point in Rupandehi district. The core point is selected from Myagdi district i.e., Beni, Arthunge VDC-1. Normally this village is considered to be the least affected by other languages. The survey points include Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple- 1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP, 16 , Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14 , Rupandehi). The survey has provided Global Positioning System (GPS) for all the survey points.

Table 1.5 lists the GPS information of the survey points in Chhantyal in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts.

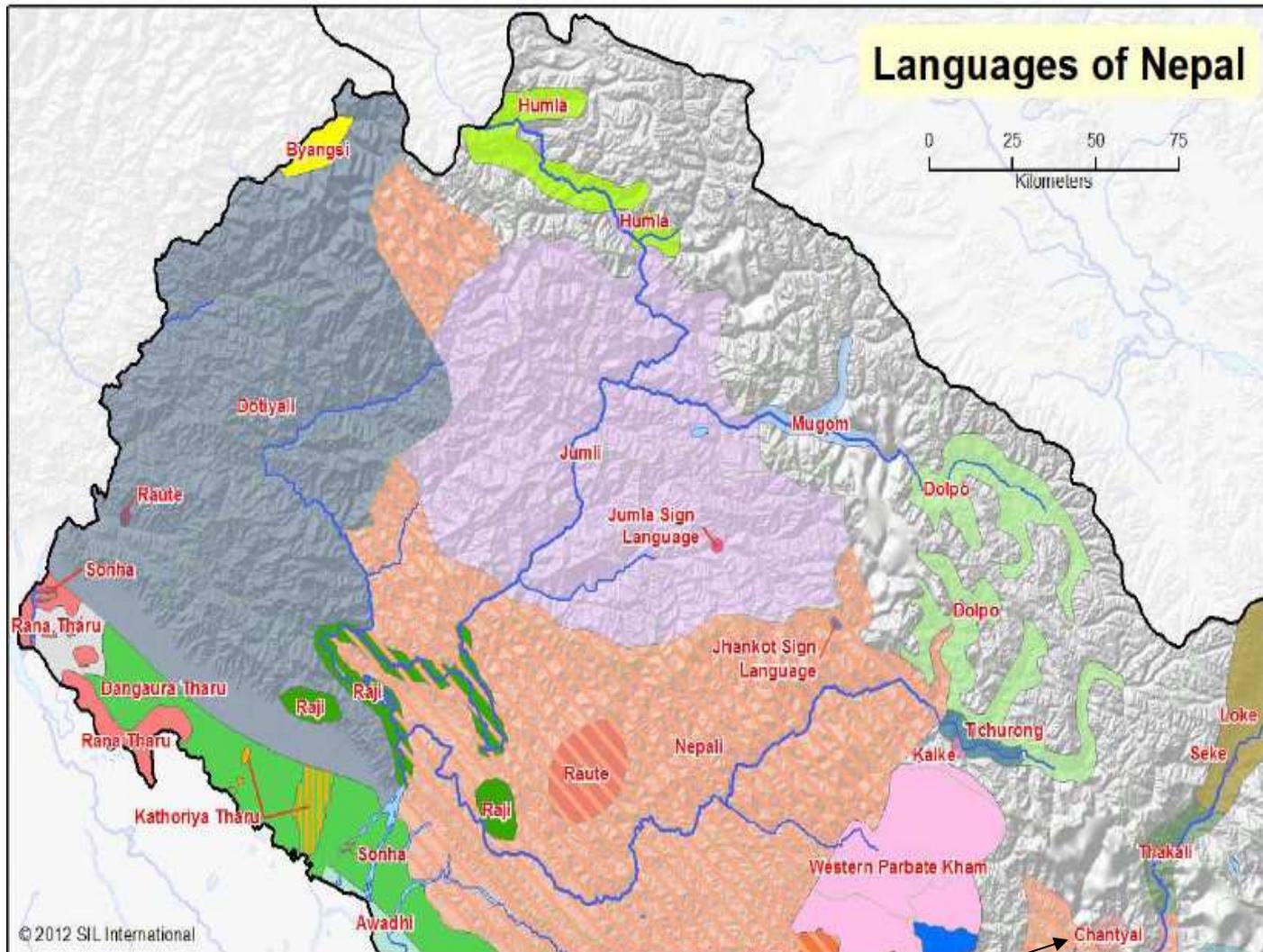
Table 1.5: GPS information of Chhantyal speaking areas in Western Region

Survey points	GPS Coordinates		Elevation (in meter)
BENI, ARTHUNGE -1, MYGADI	83 ⁰ 34' 06.4" E	28 ⁰ 22'. 34.3" N	915m
RAHUGHAT GALESHWOR, PIPLE- 1 MYAGDI	83 ⁰ 34' 06.4" E	28 ⁰ 22'. 34.3" N	911m
MYAGDI TOLE, HEMJA-6, KASKI	83 ⁰ 55' 26.4" E	28 ⁰ 17'02.1" N	1066m
DEEP, POKHARA NP -16, KASKI	83 ⁰ 461.839' E	28 ⁰ 17'50.1" N	1069m
TAMNAGAR, BUTWAL NP -14, RUPANDEHI	83 ⁰ 24' 21.6" E	27 ⁰ 41' 14.5" N	126m

Source: Field study, 2012

Map 1.1 presents the tentative locations of the Chhantyal speech community.

Map 1.1: The geographical distribution of the Chhantyal in Nepal



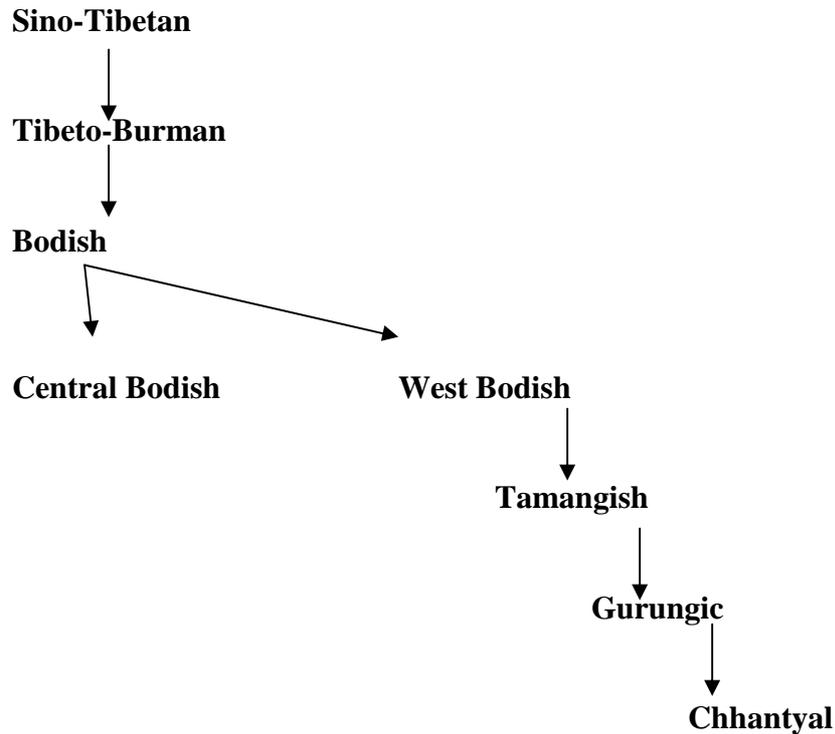
Chhantyal

1.5 Linguistic affiliation

The Chhantyal language is classified as Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Western Tibeto-Burman, Bodish, West Bodish, Gurung-Tamang, Gurungic which lies in the central zone of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Eppel et.al. 2012).

The Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal can be genetically subcategorized in the Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Genetic affiliation of the Chhantyal language



1.6 Previous research works

There has been a number of works on the economic, religious, cultural and traditional study of the Chhantyal community, but relatively there has been published only a few linguistic research works. The significant studies of the Chhantyal language by Michael Noonan include “The fall and rise and fall of the Chhantyal language”; *Chhantyal dictionary and texts*; “Converbal constructions in Chhantyal”; “Motion events in Chhantyal”; *Motion, direction and location in languages*; “Spatial reference in Chhantyal”; “Chhantyal discourses” and “Direct speech as a rhetorical style in Chhantyal”.

1.7 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Chhantyal language. The specific goals /objectives of the study are as follows:

- a. To gather information regarding the language resources;
- b. To assess the state of mother tongue proficiency in chhantyal community;
- c. To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;

- d. To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- e. To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;
- f. To find out language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Chhantyal; and
- g. To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity.

1.8 Organization of the study

This survey report is organized into ten chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory one that presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the methodology used in the survey. Similarly, chapter 3 deals with language resources available in the language and the organizations involved in the language development. In chapter 4, we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal Kham. Chapter 5 deals with the domains of language use. In chapter 6, we look at language vitality, transmission and maintenance. Similarly, chapter 7 deals with language attitudes and chapter 8 deals with language resources that make them feel proud, dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in Chhantyal. In chapter 9, we look at dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key points in Chhantyal. In chapter 10, we present the summary of the major findings and recommendations for the development of the language. The annex includes wordlists, and sociolinguistic questionnaire A, B and C.

Chapter 2

Research methodology

2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we present the research methodology employed in this survey in detail. Section 2.1 deals with a brief overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used in the survey. It also deals with a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.2, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics, and the ways they were employed in the survey. Similarly, section 2.3 deals with the limitations of this survey.

2.1 Overview

This survey has employed three different methods/tools in order to fulfill its goals. The methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Wordlist Comparisons (WLC), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). Table 2.1 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

Table 2.1: Overview of the major survey goals, research methods/tools including the major focus of the tools

	Goals of the survey	Research methods/ tools	Brief description	Focus of the methods/tools
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism and language resources in	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (SLQ)	Consisting of three sets: A, B and C	
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-A (SLQ A)	80 questions to be administered on individual of different age groups, sex and literacy in at least five points including the core point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language

	Chhantyal;			vitality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language maintenance • Language attitudes
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-B (SLQ B)	The four tools: DLU , BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language attitudes • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.2 Research methods/tools

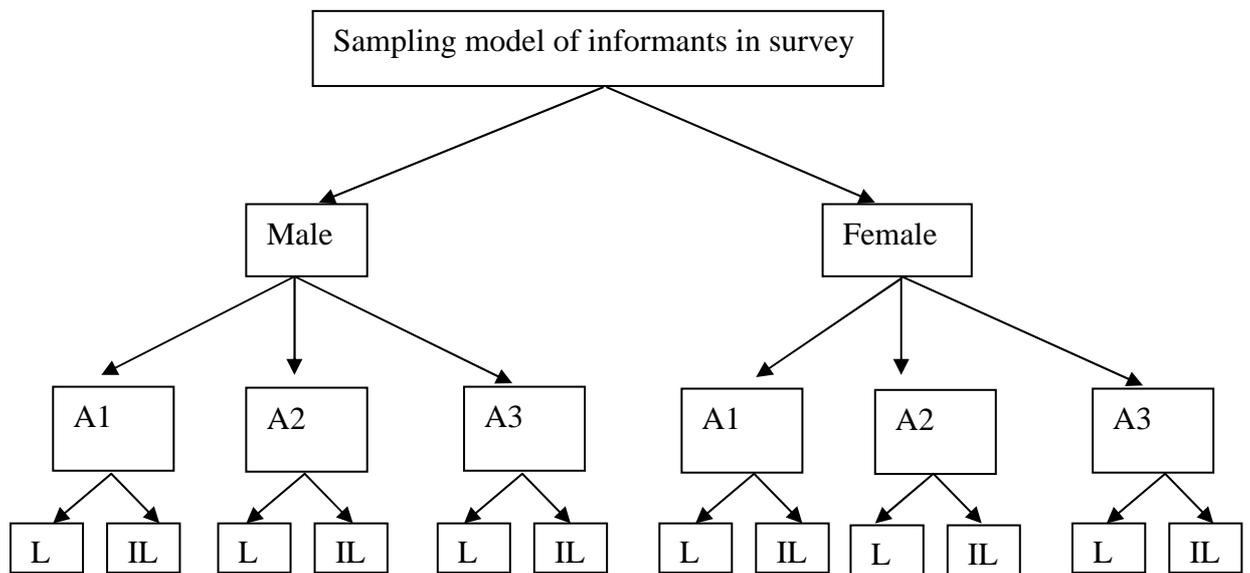
2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)

The survey has employed three sets of sociolinguistic questionnaires. They are:

(a) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language

attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. Prior to the administration of this set, first, two points of the Chhantyal speaking areas were selected on the basis of pre-information about the Chhantyal community (i.e.Beni, (Arthunge VDC,1, Mygadi) ; Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple -1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16 , Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14, Rupandehi). Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey points.¹ Figure 1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in the Chhantyal speech community.



A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

The survey has a specific checklist for the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A.

¹ For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3).

Table 2.2: Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) A											
Point X											
Male						Female					
A1		A2		A3		A1		A2		A3	
L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL	L	IL
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

A1= 15-29, A2= 30-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30- 59 (A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. The questions were asked by the administrators in Nepali to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali. After the data collection the answers were counted manually and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

(b) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Chhantyal participants of two survey points. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Chhantyal, how bilingual Chhantyal people are, in which situations they use Chhantyal and what their dreams and aspirations are for their language.

In the questionnaire, each tool is equipped with well-written step-by-step procedures for the facilitators in the group. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

- a) The group must consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant must belong to the target mother tongue and his/her, at least, one parent must be from the target language.

- c) The participants must be grown up in the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below.

(i) Domains of language use

We use the domains of language use tool in order to help the Chhantyal speakers to think about and visualize the languages which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the language participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they use their mother tongue, Chhantyal and the situations in which they use both Nepali and Chhantyal. After that, they were asked to place the labels Nepali, Chhantyal and both Nepali and Chhantyal. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

(ii) Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of dialect mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Chhantyal. Participants in the group of 8-12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns where Chhantyal is spoken and placed them on the floor to present the geographical location. Then, they were asked to use loops of string to show which districts or towns spoke the same as others. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

(iii) Bi/multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Chhantyal Kham and Nepali by different subsets of the Chhantyal community. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Chhantyal people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Chhantyal who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then,

the participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group, they also discussed whether they also spoke Chhantyal well or not so well. Then, they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Chhantyal speakers who spoke Kham well. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

(iv) Appreciative inquiry

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Chhantyal community members have in different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language and culture. Then, they were asked to express the dreams about how they could make their language and culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

Hasselbring (2009 as cited in Regmi 2011:21) points out that the first three tools helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language whereas this tool helped them to think about future possibilities.

(c) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

This set contains 21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head. The main purpose of this set of questions is to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development. This set was administered to at least two participants in each survey point in Chhantyal.

2.2.2 Wordlist

The basic wordlist contains 210 items. The main purpose of this wordlist is to determine the thresholds of lexical similarity uniting groups of languages and dialects at various percentage levels on the basis of standard word lists elicited from the mother tongue Chhantyal speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs.

From each survey point, at least two informants were chosen as the word list source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity,

have to speak Chhantyal Kham as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Chhantyal word from a mother tongue Chhantyal speakers. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as Wordsurv (word survey) and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Chhantyal.

2.3 Limitations of the survey

This study is limited to only sociolinguistic study of the Chhantyal language. For this study, five survey points from Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts are selected. This survey has selected two points from Myagdi district, two points from Kaski district and one point from Rupandehi district. Only 60 sociolinguistic questionnaires A (SLQ A) are administrated in each point. Similarly, four SLQ B and two SLQ C and two wordlists are administrated in each survey point.

Chapter 3

Language resources and organizations

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language resources and organizations in Chhantyal. This chapter consists of three sections. Section 3.1 deals with the language resources in the Chhantyal language. In section 3.2, we list the organizations for the development of language and culture in the Chhantyal community and mention their responsibilities. Similarly, section 3.3 presents the summary of the chapter.

3.1 Language resources

The resources available in the Chhantyal language are folk stories and folklore. The people of the old generations tell stories about their ancestors, supernatural stories and stories related to the animal kingdom. The modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, CD/DVD are not available in the language. Likewise, phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines and written literature are not available in the language. It is reported that a few years ago, a local radio program started in the language and it discontinued after some time because of financial problem. Table 3.1 presents the language resources in Chhantyal.

Table 3.1 presents the language resources available in Chhantyal.

Table 3.1: Language resources available in Chhantyal.

S. N.	Resources	Yes/no
1.	Phonemic inventory	No
2.	Grammar	No
3.	Dictionary	No
4.	Textbooks	No
5.	Literacy materials	No
6.	Newspapers	No
7.	Written literature	No
8.	Folklore	Yes

Table 3.1 shows that the language resources available in the Chhantyal are folklore. All these materials are available in oral forms in their own language.

Table 3.2 presents whether the literate Chhantyal speakers read these materials available in their language or not.

Table 3.2: Reading of these things written in their language by sex

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
20 (67%)	10 (33%)	9 (30%)	21 (70%)

Table 3.2 shows that out of 30 male respondents only 67% replied that they read the materials available in their language whereas 33% respondents do not read these materials. Similarly, out of 30 female respondents, only 14 female (47%) said that they read the materials available in their language whereas the rest of the participants i.e., 53% do not read the materials available in their language. This can also be shown through in chart 3.1

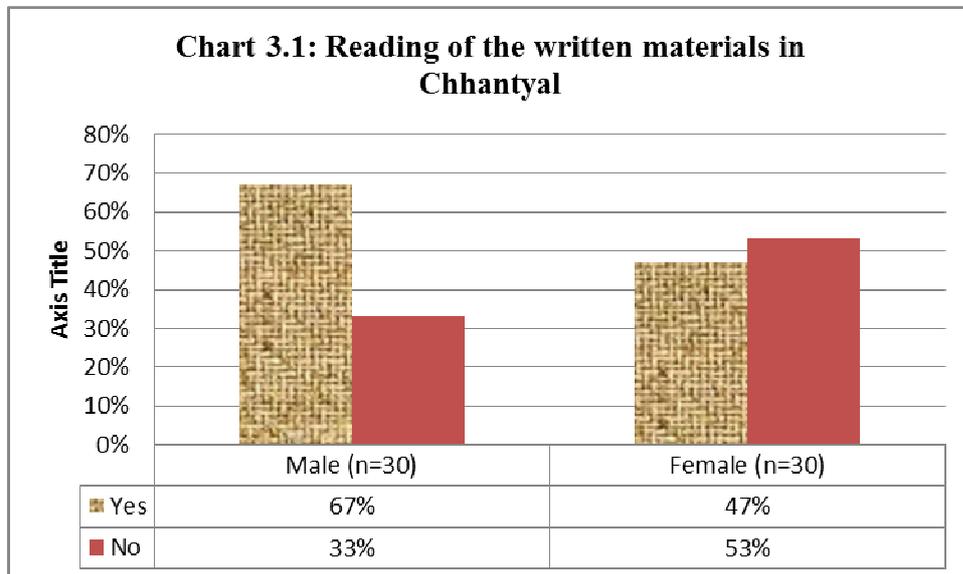


Chart 3.1: Reading of the written materials in Chhantyal

In chart 1 we can see that majority of male speakers read the reading materials available in their language but contrary to the male, majority of female do not read the materials available in their language.

Similarly, out of 31 literate respondents 25 speakers said that their language is written using Devanagari script whereas the rest of the participants said that they do not know in which script is.

Table 3.3: Availability of organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Chhantyal

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Yes	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Don't know
18 (60%)	9 (30%)	3 (10%)	15 (50%)	10 (33%)	5 (17%)

Table 3.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents 60% said that there are some organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Chhantyal while 30% said that there is no any organization whereas the rest of the respondents i.e., 15% said that they do not have any idea whether there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of their language or not. Similarly, out of 30 female respondents only 50% said that there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of their language while 33% said that there is no any organization whereas the rest of the informants do not have any idea about it.

3.2 Organizations working for language development

In Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi, the Chhantyal people have established six organizations for the preservation and promotion of language and culture. Table 3.4 presents organizations and their responsibilities in the Chhantyal community.

Table 3.4: Organizations and their responsibilities in the Chhantyal community

S. N.	Name of the Institutions	Responsibilities
1.	Nepal Chhantyal Federation Kathmandu , Nepal	To preserve Chhantyal culture, publish books, run educational programs
2.	Nepal Chhantyal Association, Nadipur, Pokhara, Kaski	To run socio-cultural and linguistic programs.
3.	Chhantyal Society, Tamnagar, Rupandehi	To develop culture and language
4	Chhantyal Association, Arhunge-1, Beni, Myagdi	To develop cultural and educational activities
5	Chhantyal Women's Association Arhunge-1, Beni, Myagdi	To develop political awareness and woman participation
6	Chhantyal Youth's Association Nadipur, Pokhara, Kaski	For develop literacy and cultural programs

Table 3.4 shows that there are altogether 6 different organizations of Chhantyal dedicated for preservation and promotion of their language and culture. These organizations mainly work for literacy, cultural, educational and awareness programs. These organizations are also eager to work for the promotion and preservation of the language and culture.

3.3 Summary

The resources available in the Chhantyal language are folk stories and folklore; songs; religious literature; and the modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films, and CD/DVD are not available in the language. Similarly, alphabet, grammar, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines, and written literature are not available either in the language.

Similarly, in this language, no radio program is available although a few years ago it existed but it discontinued after some time due to financial problem. Regarding the reading of the

materials in their language, both literate male and female speakers read the reading materials available in their language. There are altogether 6 organizations of Chhantyal dedicated for the preservation and promotion of their language and culture. These organizations mainly work for literacy, cultural, educational, and awareness programs. These organizations are also eager to work for the promotion and preservation of the Chhantyal language and culture.

Chapter 4

Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in detail. It consists of four sections. Section 4.1 discusses mother tongue proficiency in Chhantyal. In section 4.2 we discuss bi/multilingualism and bi/multilingualism in the Chhantyal language and bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal. Similarly, section 4.3 deals with the levels of understanding of Nepali in school. Section 4.4 presents the summary of this chapter.

4.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Chhantyal

Chhantyal speakers are very proficient in speaking their language. However, as literacy rate is concerned, the male speakers are very well at reading and writing in their language whereas the female speakers are not so good. Table 4.1 presents mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Chhantyal.

Table 4.1: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Chhantyal

SPEAKING (n=60)				READING AND WRITING (n=60)	
Degrees	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total	Male n=18	Female N=18
VERY WELL	28 (93%)	27 (90%)	55 (92%)	16 (89%)	7 (39%)
SOME	2(7%)	2(7%)		4(22%)	7(39%)
ONLY A LITTLE	-	-	-	1 (6%)	4 (22%)

Table 4.1 shows that most of the members of the Chhantyal community are very fluent in speaking their language whereas only 89% of males and 39% of females of the Chhantyal community are very good in reading and writing their language. Similarly, 39% of females and 22% of males do average reading and writing while 22% of females and 6% of males read and write only a little.

4.2 Bi/multilingualism

4.2.1 Bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal

Chhantyal is a multilingual speech community. They speak a number of languages.

Table 4.2 presents the situation of multilingualism in the Chhantyal community

Table 4.2: Multilingualism in the Chhantyal speech community

N=60	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Languages	No of speakers	Percentage	No of speakers	Percentage
Chhantyal	29	97%	30	100%
Nepali	29	97%	30	100%
Hindi	16	53%	4	13%
English	13	43%	6	20%
Japanese	1	3%	-	%
Tamang	1	3%	-	-
Arabic	1	3%		-

Table 4.2 shows that 97% of the male Chhantyal speakers are bilingual in Nepali whereas 53% of speakers are bilingual in Hindi. Similarly, bilingualism of Chhantyal speakers in English is 43%, and only 3% of Chhantyal speakers are bilingual in Tamang, Japanese and Arabic, respectively.

Table 4.2 presents that 100% of the female Chhantyal speakers are bilingual in Nepali whereas 13% of speakers are bilingual in English and 13% of speakers are bilingual in Hindi. In order to examine the situation of multilingualism in Chhantyal, multilingualism, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Chhantyal. There have been three common findings from this participatory method:

1. There is no monolingual in Chhantyal, the mother tongue.
2. The Chhantyal speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers and elderly people speak the mother tongue better than that of Nepali, a language of wider communication .
3. School going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in Chhantyal and Nepali languages.

4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal families

In table 4.2, most of the Chhantyal speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual, their family members also seem to be bilingual in different languages. Table 4.3 presents the bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal family members.

Table 4.3: Other languages known to family members by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Languages	Father	Mother	Wife	Father	Mother	Husband
Nepali	29 (97%)	29 (97%)	22 (73%)	25 (83%)	25 (83%)	23 (77%)
English	1(3%)	-	1(3%)	1(3%)	-	4(13%)
Hindi	4 (13%)	2 (7%)	-	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	4 (13%)
Japanese			1(3%)			1(3%)

Source: Field study, 2012

Table 4.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents 97% of fathers are bilingual in Nepali. 13 % of them are bilingual in Hindi and 3% of them are bilingual in English. In the same way, 97%, and 7%, mothers are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi languages. Similarly, 73%, wives are bilingual in Nepali. 3% of them are bilingual in Hindi as well as Japanese languages. Table 4.3 also shows that out of 30 female respondents, 83% of fathers are bilingual in Nepali. 7% of them are bilingual in Hindi and 3% of them are bilingual in English. Similarly, 83%, and 3% of mothers are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi languages respectively. In the same way, 77% of female respondents' husbands are bilingual in Nepali, 13% of them are bilingual in Hindi and English and only 3% are bilingual in Japanese.

From this analysis, we can conclude that the majority of Chhantyal families are bilingual as well as multilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali but the languages Japanese, Hindi and Arabic which are used by a few speakers cannot be taken as bilingualism because of low percentage of speakers.

4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal children

As the Chhantyal speech community is multilingual, most of the children in this community are multilingual as well. They are bilingual in Nepali, English and Hindi languages. Table 4.4 presents bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal children.

Table 4.4: Other languages known to Chhantyal children

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Where learnt?
Nepali	22 (73%)	22 (73%)	Schools, colleges, villages, towns, cities
English	18 (60%)	19 (63%)	School ,College, Foreign
Hindi	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	T.V

Table 4.4 shows that majority of Chhantyal children are bilingual in Nepali, English and Hindi. Out of 30 male respondents, 73%, 60%, and 10%, children are bi/multilingual in Nepali, English and Hindi languages. Similarly, 73%, 63%, and 7% female respondents' children are bi/multilingual in Nepali, Hindi and English languages.

Most of them learn Nepali in schools, colleges, towns and cities. Similarly, they learn Hindi through T.V programs broadcasted by different cable channels and by watching Hindi movies and television channels. They learn English in schools and colleges.

4.3 Levels of understanding of Nepali in school

Most of the Chhantyal children have learnt Nepali in schools and colleges, they have some difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.5 presents the levels of understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school.

Table 4.5: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school (by sex)

N= 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Understand all	17 (57%)	18 (60%)
Understand a little bit	10 (33%)	11 (37%)
Do not understand at all	3 (10%)	1 (3%)

Table 4.5 shows that only 57% male and 60% female respondents said that their children understand all their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Similarly, 33% males and 37% female respondents said that their child understands only a little bit. Likewise, 33% male and 37% female respondents said that their children do not understand at all their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school.

From this analysis, we can say that the majority of children understand a little of their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Since, most of the Chhantyal use their own mother tongue at home. The data clearly shows that most of their children are bilingual before going to school. Therefore, they face a little difficulty when they first go to school. It can also be shown through Chart 4.1 below to make it clear.

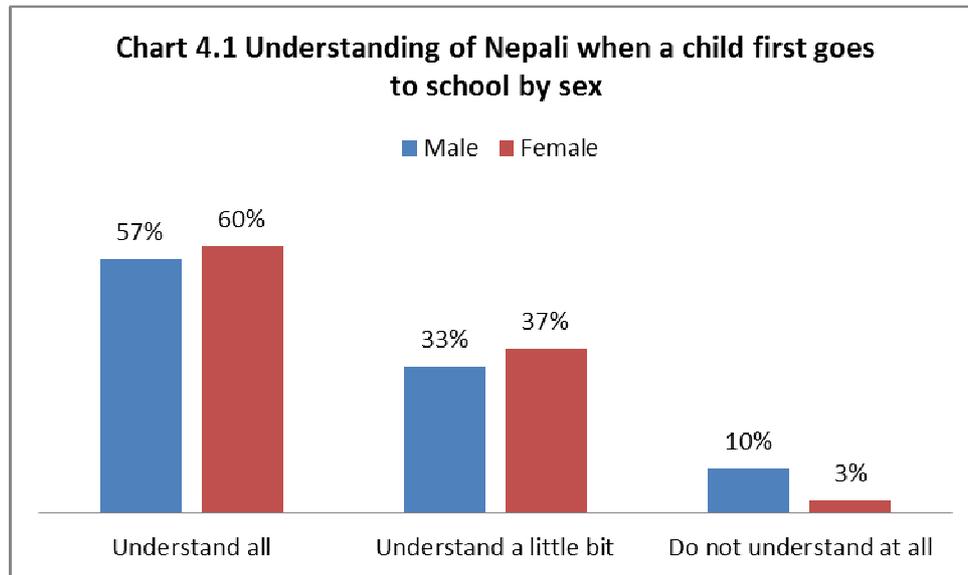
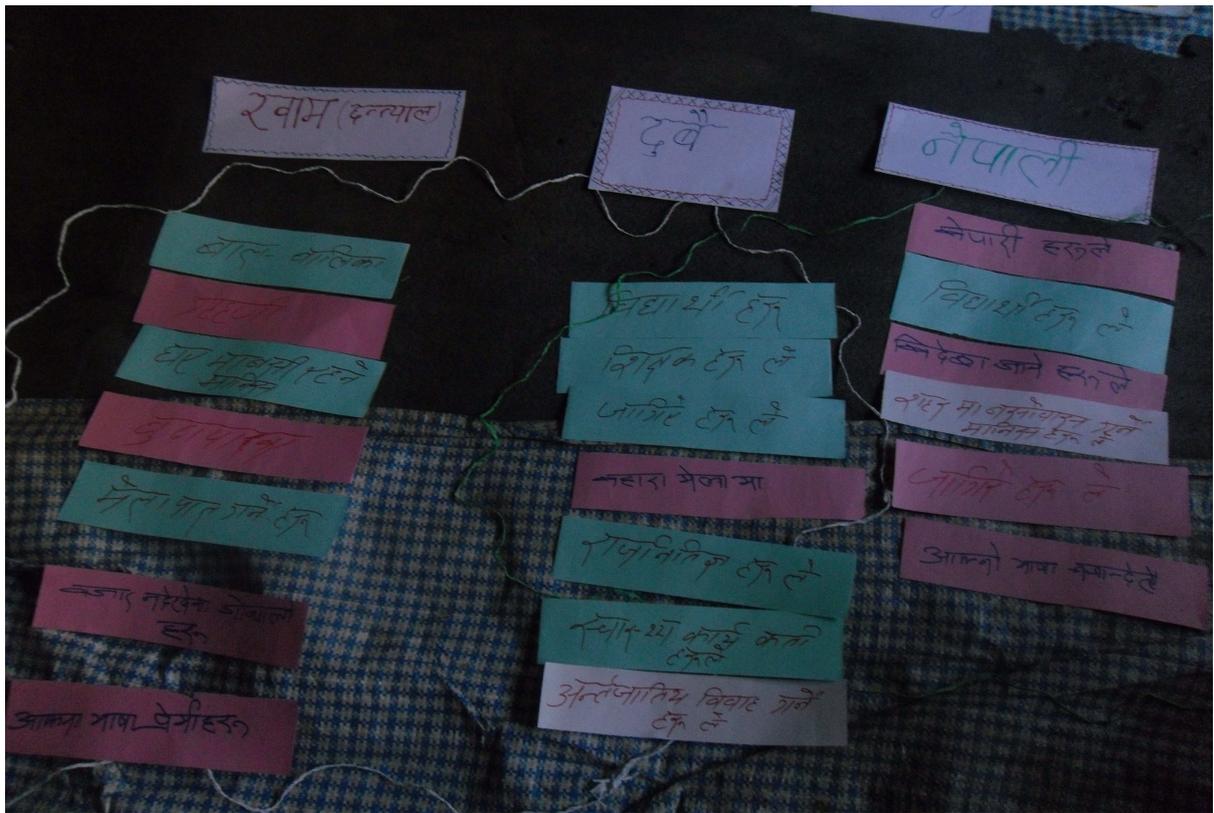


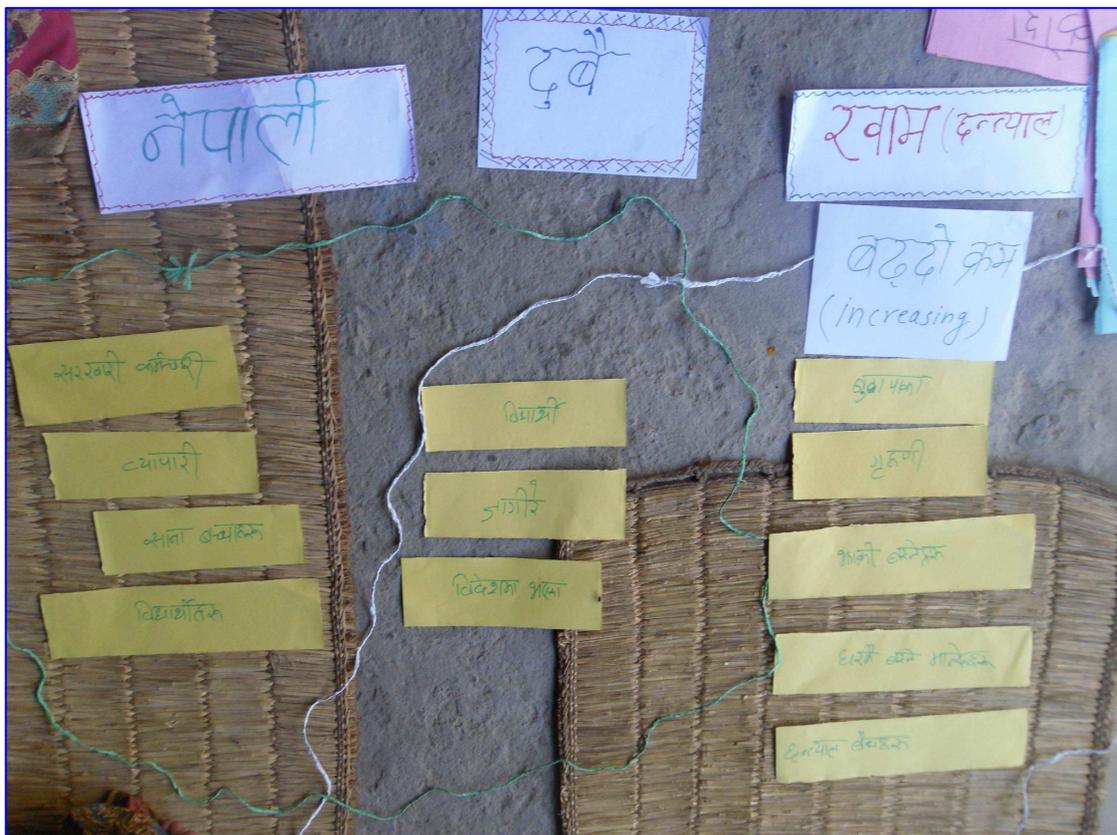
Chart 4.1: Understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school by sex

In order to examine the situation of bi/multilingualism in Chhantyal, bi/multilingualism, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Chhantyal Kham. The pictures of bilingualism tools used in Beni (Arthunge-1, Myagdi) Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple-1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16, Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14 ,Rupandehi) districts present the situation of bi/multilingualism in the Chhantyal speech community.

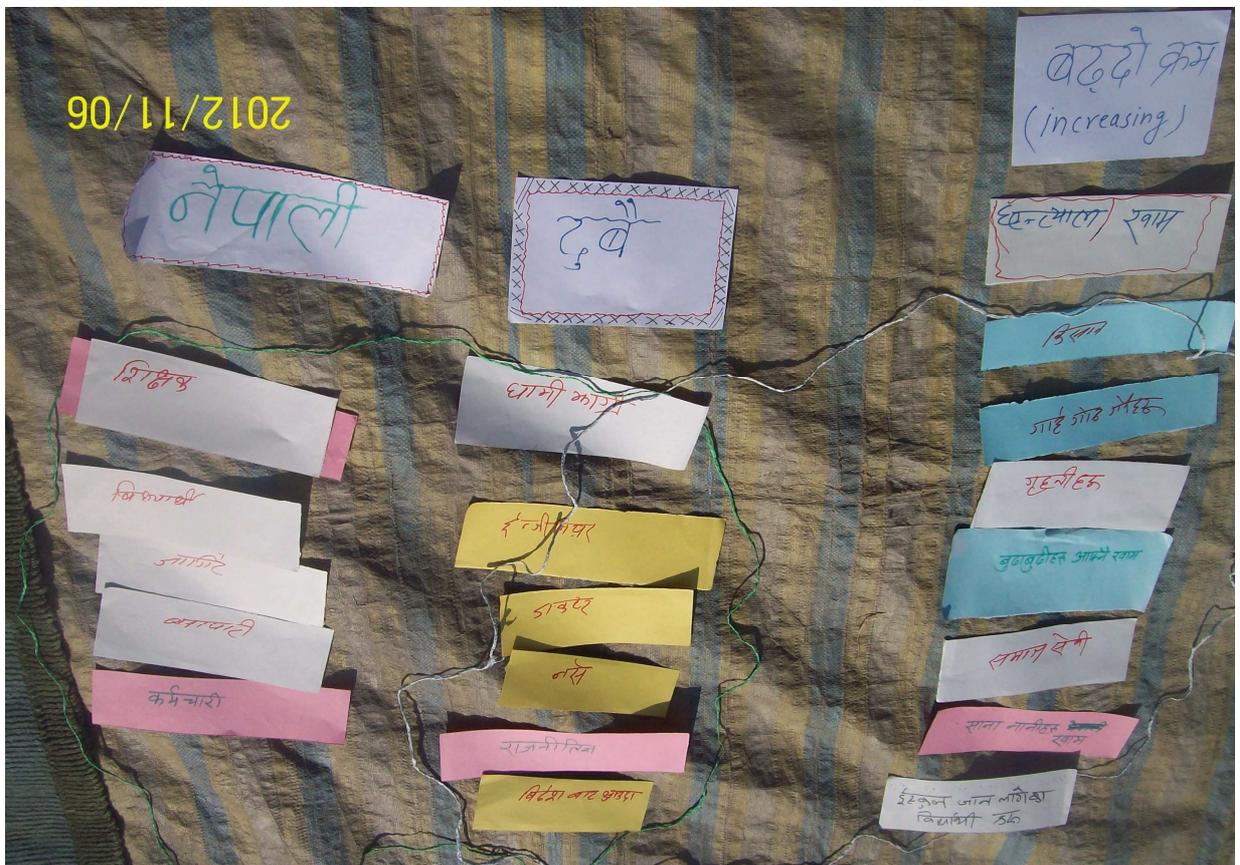
Picture 4.1: Bilingualism in Chhantyal at Beni village of Arthunge VDC, Myagdi



Picture 4.2: Bilingualism in Chhantyal at Galeshwor village of Piple VDC, Myagdi



Picture 4.3: Bilingualism in Chhantyal at Galeshwor village of Piple VDC, Myagdi





There have been three common findings from this participatory method of bi/multilingualism:

1. There is no monolingual in Chhantyal.
2. The Chhantyal speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, the LWC.
3. School going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in both Chhantyal and Nepali languages.

4.4 Summary

Chhantyal speakers are very much proficient in speaking their mother tongue as well as Nepali. All the members of the Chhantyal speech community speak their language very well and only the educated speakers of Chhantyal can read and write in their language. Most of

them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual as well. Similarly, the majority of Chhantyal families are bilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali, the official language of Nepal.

Most of the Chhantyal children are bilingual in the Nepali language and some of them are also bilingual in English and Hindi languages. Most of them learn Nepali in schools, colleges and in urban markets. Similarly, they learn Hindi from teleserial and CD/VCD songs, movies and televisions. They learn English in schools, colleges and the society. The majority of Chhantyal children understand a little of their Nepali speaking teacher when they first go to school. Most of the Chhantyal Children use their own mother tongue at home.

There is no monolingual in the Chhantyal community in all age groups. The Chhantyal speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, a language of wider communication. Similarly, school going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students are bilingual in both Chhantyal and Nepali languages.

Chapter 5

Domains of language use

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the domains of language use. It consists of eight sections. In section 5.1, we discuss language use in common domains. Similarly, section 5.2 deals with the language use in educational and social matters and section 5.3 presents the use of languages in letter writing. In section 5.4, we discuss the languages used outside the home and in section 5.5, the languages are used for invitation. Similarly, section 5.6 deals with language use in minute writing, section 5.7 deals with frequency in the use of Chhantyal, and in section 5.8 we present the summary of the chapter.

5.1 Language use in common domains

Domains of language evaluate the vitality of the language. Chhantyal is used in different domains of language use such as joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, story-telling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, family gatherings and village meetings.

Table 5.1 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by male

Table 5.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains by male

Domains	Sex			
	Male (N=30)			
	Chhantyal	Nepali	Both	Hindi
Counting	-	29(97%)	1 (3%)	-
Singing	1(3%)	11(37%)	19(63%)	2 (7%)
Joking	19(63%)	3 (10%)	8 (27%)	
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	-	14 (47%)	17(57%)	
Story telling	7 (23%)	6 (20%)	18 (60%)	
Discussing/ Debate	10 (33%)	3 (10%)	18(60%)	
Praying	18 (60%)	5(17%)	8 (27%)	
Quarrelling	22 (73%)	3 (10%)	6(20%)	
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	23 (77%)	3(10%)	5 (17%)	
Telling stories to children	14 (47%)	6 (20%)	11(37%)	
Singing at home	13(43%)	11 (37%)	10(33%)	
Family gatherings	29 (97%)	1 (3%)	2(7%)	
Village meetings	3 (10%)	2(7%)	26 (87%)	

Table 5.1 shows that 97% of Chhantyal male speakers use the Nepali language in counting whereas 3% of them only use both the Chhantyal language and the Nepali language. 63% of the speakers use both the Chhantyal language and the Nepali language in singing. 37% of them use only Nepali in singing. Hindi is also used by 7% of the speakers. Only 3% of them use the Chhantyal language in singing. In joking, 63% of the speakers use the Chhantyal language. 23% of them use both Chhantyal

and Nepali in joking. Only 10% people use Nepali in joking. 57% of the people use Chhantyal and Nepali in bargaining. 47% of them use only Nepali bargaining. 60% speakers use both Chhantyal and Nepali for storytelling. 23% of them use only Nepali for storytelling. 20% of them uses Nepali for story-telling.

60% people use Chhantyal and Nepali for discussion/debate whereas 33% of them use only Chhantyal for debate. Only 10% of people use Nepali for debate. 60% people use Chhantyal for praying whereas 27% of the speakers use both Chhantyal and Nepali for praying. 17% of them use only Nepali for praying. 73% of the language speakers use Chhantyal for quarrelling. 20% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for quarrelling. 10% of them use

Nepali for quarrelling. 77% of the speakers use Chhantyal for abusing. 17% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for abusing. 10% of them use Nepali for abusing. For telling stories to children 47% speakers use Chhantyal 37% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for telling stories to children. 20% of them use Nepali for telling stories to children.

43% of the speakers use Chhantyal for singing at home. 37% of them use Nepali for singing at home. 33% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for singing at home. For family gatherings, 97% of speakers use the Chhantyal language. 7% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for family gatherings. 3% of the people use Nepali for family gatherings. For village meetings, 87% of the speakers use both Chhantyal and Nepali. 10% of them use Nepali for village meetings. 7% of them uses Nepali for village meetings.

From this analysis, we can say that most of the Chhantyal male speakers use their own mother tongue the Chhantyal in different domains of language use except counting and bargaining. The majority of them use Nepali, the official language of the nation, in counting. Only a few speakers use both mothertongue Chhantyal and Nepali in many other common domains of language use.

Table 5.2 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by female speakers of the Chhantyal speech community.

Table 5.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by female

Domains	Sex		
	Female (N=30)		
	Chhantyal	Nepali	Both
Counting	-	29 (97%)	
Singing	1 (3%)	14 (47%)	14 (47%)
Joking	17 (57%)	1 (3%)	11 (37%)
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	2(7%)	18 (60%)	9 (30%)
Story telling	11(37%)	5 (17%)	11(37%)
Discussing/ Debate	10 (33%)	1 (3%)	18(60%)
Praying	22 (73%)	2 (7%)	5(17%)
Quarrelling	19 (63%)	1 (3%)	10(33%)
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	21(70%)	-	8(27%)
Telling stories to children	16(53%)	1 (3%)	12(40%)
Singing at home	11(37%)	9(30%)	9(30%)
Family gatherings	27 (90%)	-	2(7%)
Village meetings	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	24 (%)

Table 5.2 shows that 97% of the Chhantyal female speakers use the Nepali language in counting. 47% of the speakers use for singing .47% of them use both Kham and Nepali for singing. Only 3% of them use Chhantyal for singing. For joking 57% of them use Chhantyal. 37% of the people use both Chhantyal and Nepali for joking .Only 3%of them use Nepali for joking. 60% of the speakers use Nepali for bargaining. 30% Of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for bargaining. Only 7% of them use Chhantyal for bargaining. For storytelling, 37% of the speakers use Chhantyal. 37 % of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for storytelling. Only 17% of them of them use Nepali for story telling.60% of the speakers use both Chhantyal and Nepali for debate.33% of them use Chhantyal for debate. Only 3% of them use Nepali for debate. For praying 73% of the speakers use Chhantyal. 17 % of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for praying. Only 7% of them use Nepali for praying. 63% of the speakers use Chhantyal for quarrelling. 33% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for quarrelling. Only 3% of them use Nepali for quarrelling.

For abusing, 70% of the speakers use Chhantyal. 27% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for abusing. 53% of the speakers use Chhantyal for telling stories to children. 40% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for telling stories to children. Only 3% of them use Nepali for telling stories to children.

For singing at home, 37% of the speakers use Chhantyal. 30% of them use Nepali for singing at home. Similarly 30% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for singing at home. 90% of the speakers use Kham for family gatherings whereas only 7% of them use both Chhantyal and Nepali for family gatherings. For village meetings 80% of the speakers use both Chhantyal and Nepali. 10% of them use Chhantyal for village meetings. Only 7% of them use Nepali for village meeting.

From this analysis, we can say that most of the Chhantyal female speakers use their own mother tongue Chhantyal in different domains of language use except counting. Majority of them use Nepali, the official language of the nation, in counting. Most of the female speakers use both mother tongue and Nepali in many other common domains of language use.

5.2 Language use in educational and social matters

Most of the Chhantyal speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members discussing different family matters. The same is the case in talking about educational and social matters with their family members. Table 5.3 presents the situation of language use discussing about educational and social matters with the family members in the Chhantyal community.

Table: 5.3 Use of languages while talking about educational and social matters

N=60	Educational matters		Social matters	
	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Grandfather	22 (%)	20 (%)	22 (%)	20 (%)
Grandmother	22 (%)	20 (%)	22(%)	20 (%)
Father	23 (%)	23 (%)	23 (%)	23 (%)
Mother	23(%)	25 (%)	23(%)	24 (%)
Spouse	22(%)	22 (%)	22 (%)	23 (%)
Children	22 (%)	24(%)	23 (%)	24(0%)

Table 5.3 shows that all the speakers of Chhantyal speech community use only their mother tongue while talking to their family members about educational and social matters. All the males as well as females use their mother tongue to their grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, spouse and children while discussing about educational and social matters.

5.3 Languages use in letter writing

Since the literacy rate in Chhantyal is very poor, majority of speakers use Nepali in letter writing to their family members. Table 5.4 presents the use of languages used in letter writing by the male speakers of the Chhantyal community.

Table 5.4: Use of languages in letter writing by male

n=30 Languages	Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Children
Nepali	19 (63%)	19 (63%)	20 (67%)	19 (63%)	16 (53%)	17(57%)
Both Chhantyal & Nepali	- (%)	- (%)	1(3 %)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1(3%)

Table 5.4 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 63% male Chhantyal speakers use the Nepali language while writing letters to their grandparents and parents. 53% and 57% males use Nepali language while writing letters to their spouse and children respectively. Only 3% male speakers use both Chhantyal and Nepali in writing letters to their family members.

Similarly, Table 5.5 presents the use of languages used in letter writing by the female speaker of the Chhantyal community.

Table 5.5: Use of languages in letter writing by female

n=30 Languages	Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Children
Nepali	13 (43%)	13 (43%)	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	14 (47%)	12 (40%)

Table 5.5 shows that out of 30 female respondents of the Chhantyal speech community, 43% females use the Nepali language while writing letters to their grandparents and 50% of them use Nepali while writing letters to parents. Similarly, 47% and 40% females use Nepali while writing letters to their spouse and children respectively.

5.4 Languages used outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbors and at school by Chhantyal children. As Chhantya speakers are bi/multilingual, their children also use their mother tongue, Chhantyal; Nepali; both Chhantyal and Nepali, English and Nepali languages outside the home. Table 5.6 presents the languages Chhantyal children usually speak while playing with friends, talking with neighbors and at school.

Table 5.6: Languages Chhantyal children usually speak

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	With friends	With neighbors	At School	With friends	With neighbors	At School
Kham				15 (50%)	1(3%)	
Nepali	25 (83%)	19 (63%)	21 (70%)	28(93%)	14(47 %)	22 (73%)
Both Kham & Nepali	2 (7%)	8 (27%)	-	-	13 (43%)	
English & Nepali			7 (23%)			6 (20%)

Table 5.6 shows that out of 30 male respondents 80%, 86% and 70% said that their children use the Nepali language, while playing with their friends, talking with their neighbors and at school respectively. Similarly, only 7%, and 27% male respondents responded that their children use both Kham and Nepali while playing with friends and talking with neighbors respectively. In the same way, 23%, male respondents' children use both Nepali and English at school. No male respondent said that their children speak Chhantyal with friends, neighbors and at school.

Similarly, out of 30 female respondents, 50% and 93% children use their mother tongue, Chhantyal and Nepali languages respectively while playing with their friends. In the same way, 3%, 47%, and 43% children use their mother tongue, Chhantyal; Nepali and both Chhantyal and Nepali languages respectively while talking to their neighbors. And, 73%, and 20% respondents said that their children use Nepali, both Nepali and English languages respectively at school.

It is clear that there is no use of mother tongue at school. Nepali language is used dominantly in all domains.

5.5 Languages of invitation

Most of the members of the Chhantyal speech community use the Nepali language in marriage invitation. Table 5.7 presents the languages used by Chhantyal for marriage invitations.

Table 5.7: Languages used for marriage invitations

N= 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Kham	-	1 (3%)
Nepali	24 (80%)	22 (73%)
Both Chhantyal and Nepali	6 (20%)	7 (23%)

Table 5.7 shows that most of the Chhantyal people use Nepali for marriage invitations as 80% male and 73% female respondents said that they use Nepali for marriage invitations. Similarly, 20% of males and 23% of females said that they use both Chhantyal and Nepali; and only 3% of females said that they use their mother tongue Chhantyal for marriage invitations. This shows that there is the dominance of the Nepali language in social rites and rituals.

5.6 Language use in minutes writing

Since the official language of the nation is Nepali, the documents which are written for official purposes and the documents which should be documented in the community offices are wholly written in Nepali. Table 5.8 presents the data related to the language used in minutes writing provided by the speakers of the key survey points.

Table 5.8: Language used to write minutes in community meetings

N = 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Nepali	29 (97%)	30 (100%)
Both K&N	1 (3%)	-

Table 5.8 shows that most of the respondents said that minute in community meetings of Chhantyal community is written in Nepali as 97% of male and 100% of female respondents

said respectively. Similarly, only 3% of males responded that both Nepali and Kham are used for minute writings in the community meetings. Chart 5.1 makes it clear.

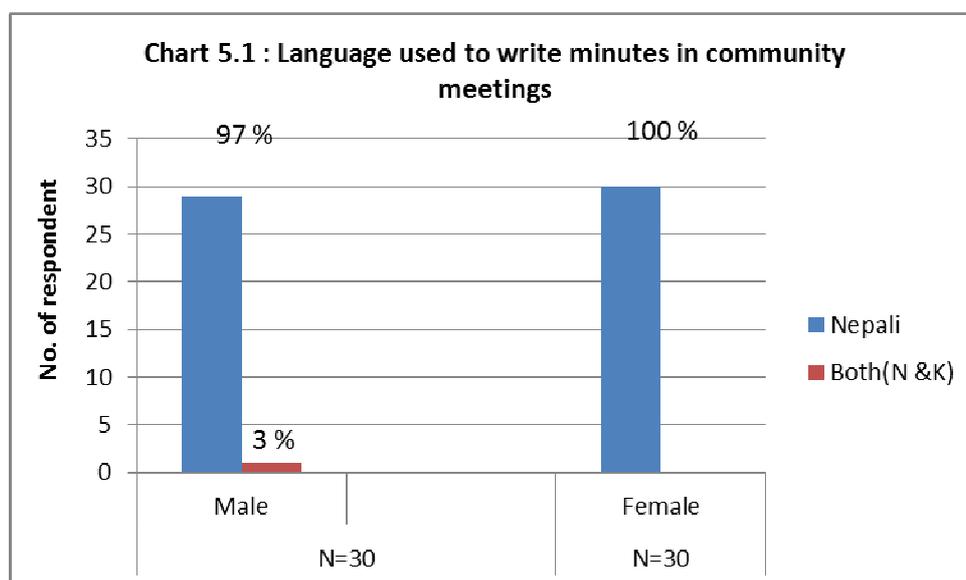


Chart 5.1: Language used to write minutes in community meetings

5.7 Frequency in the use of languages

Chhantyal is the most prominent language. In the Chhantyal community, the speakers of the community use their mother tongue very frequently. Table 5.9 presents the responses of the informants of the key survey points related to the frequency of the use of mother tongue.

Table 5.9: Frequency of the use of Chhantyal

N = 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Daily	28 (93%)	30 (100%)
Sometimes	2(7%)	-
Never	-	-

Field visit, 2012

Table 5.9 shows that all the speakers of the Chhantyal speech community use their mother tongue daily. Only 7% male speakers say that they use their mother tongue sometimes. Therefore, it can be said that the Chhantyal language is very frequently used in the speech community.

Similarly, they responded that the language of wider communication is Nepali. Table 5.10 presents the responses provided by the respondents about the language of wider communication and their frequencies in key survey points.

Table 5.10: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies

N=60	Male			Female		
LWC	Total	Daily	Sometimes	Total	Daily	Sometimes
Nepali	30	24(80%)	6 (32%)	30	20 (67%)	10 (33%)

Table 5.10 shows that out of 30 male respondents 24 responded that they use Nepali as the language of wider communication daily and 6 respondents use Nepali sometimes

Similarly, out of the 30 female respondents 20 said that they use Nepali daily and 10 respondents use Nepali sometimes. From table 5.10 we can say that all Chhantyal speakers use the Nepali language as language of wider communication in their daily life.

Similarly, Table 5.11 presents the data, related to the use of the language when the speakers of other languages visit at their home, taken from informants of the key survey points.

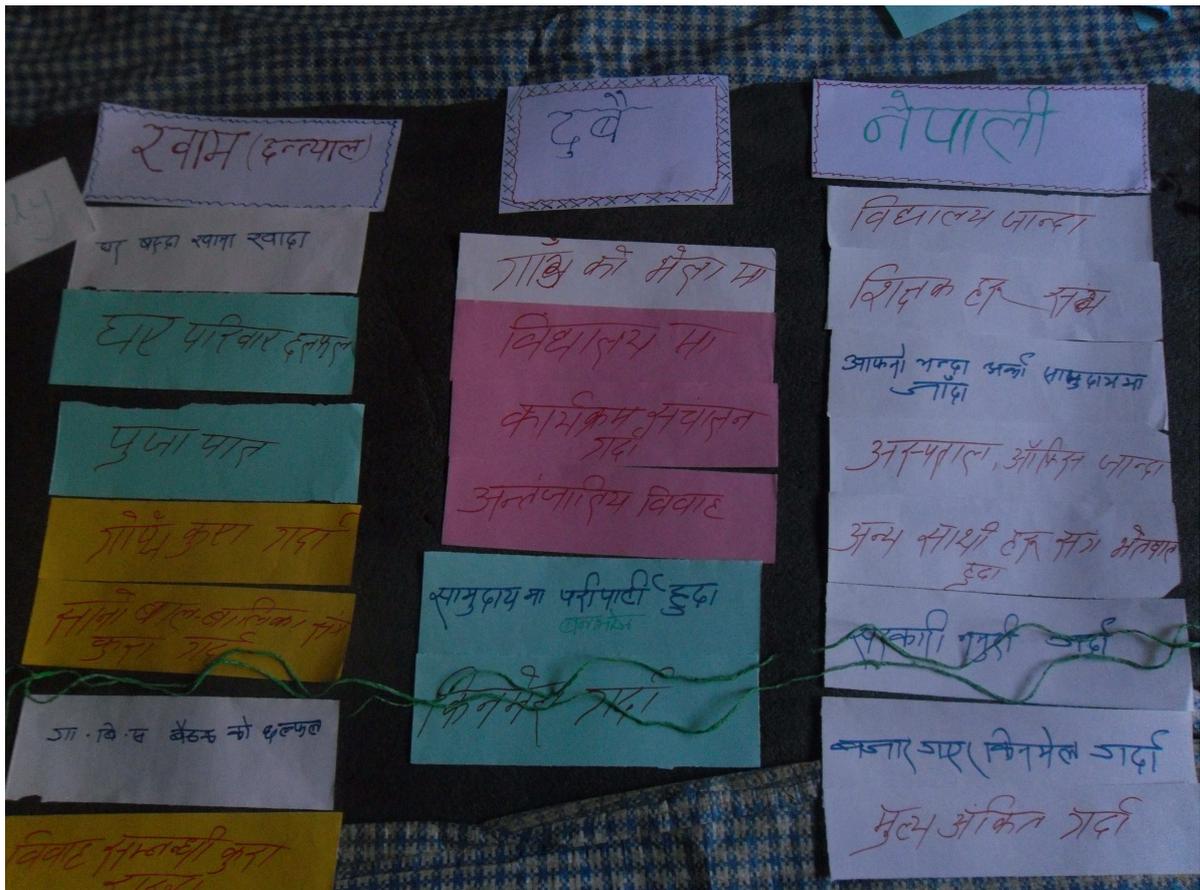
Table 5.11: Language usually used when the speakers of other languages visit their home

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Nepali	29 (97%)	30 (100%)

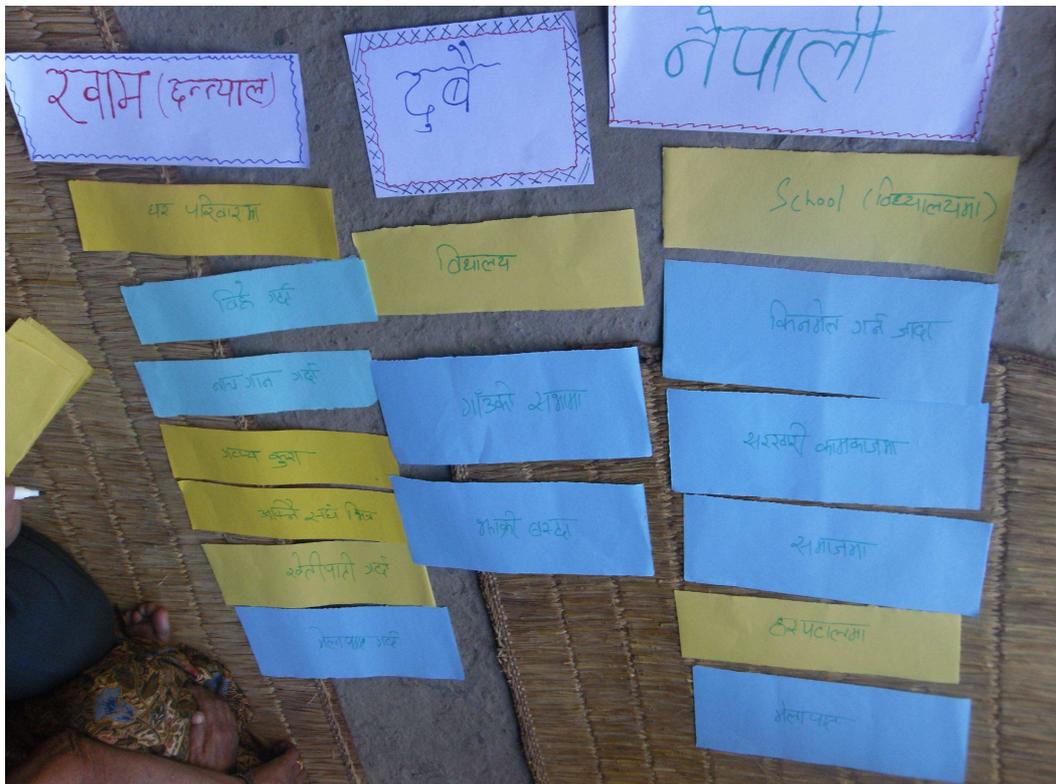
Table 5.11 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 97% of them use only Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit their home. 100% of female respondents use Nepali when the speakers of other languages visit their home. Only 3% of male speakers did not respond on the question

.In order to examine the domains of language use in the Chhantyal, domains of language use, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Chhantyal community. The pictures of domains of language use tools used in Beni (Arthunge-1, Myagdi), Rahughat, Galeshwor, (Piple-1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16, Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14, Rupandehi) present the use of the languages in different situations, and with different types of people.

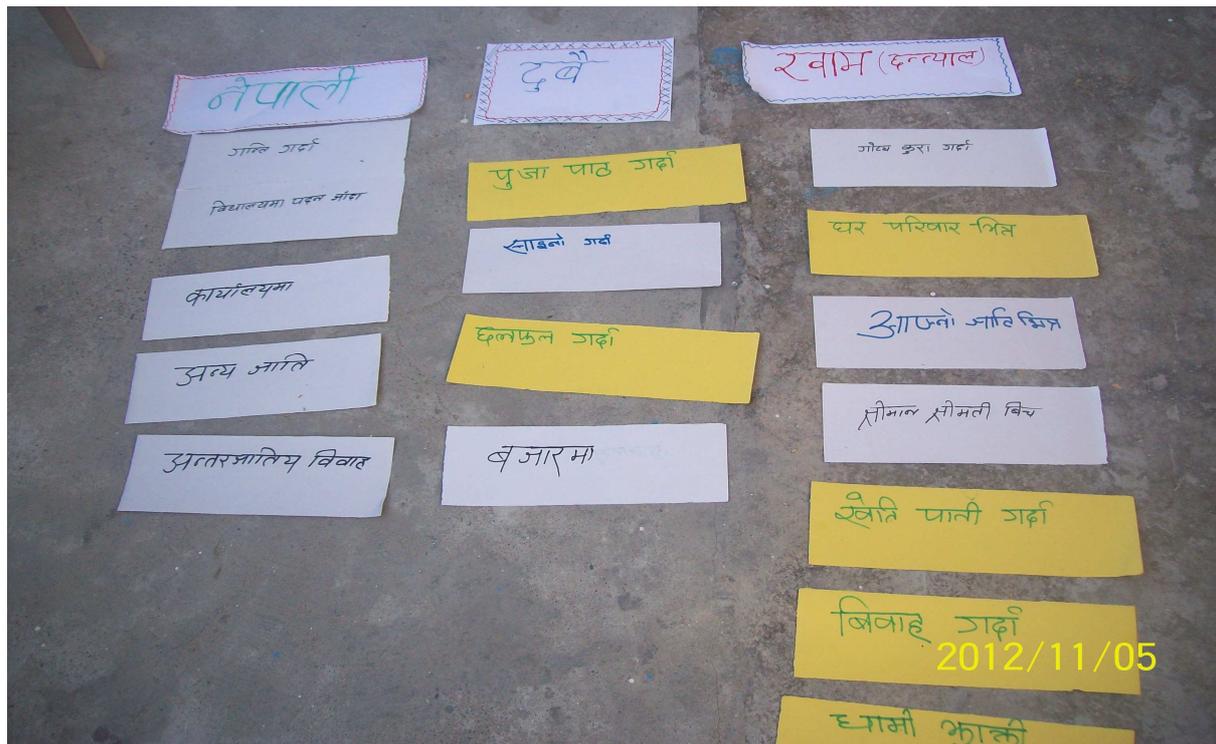
Picture 5.1: Domains of language use at Beni, Arthunge Myagdi



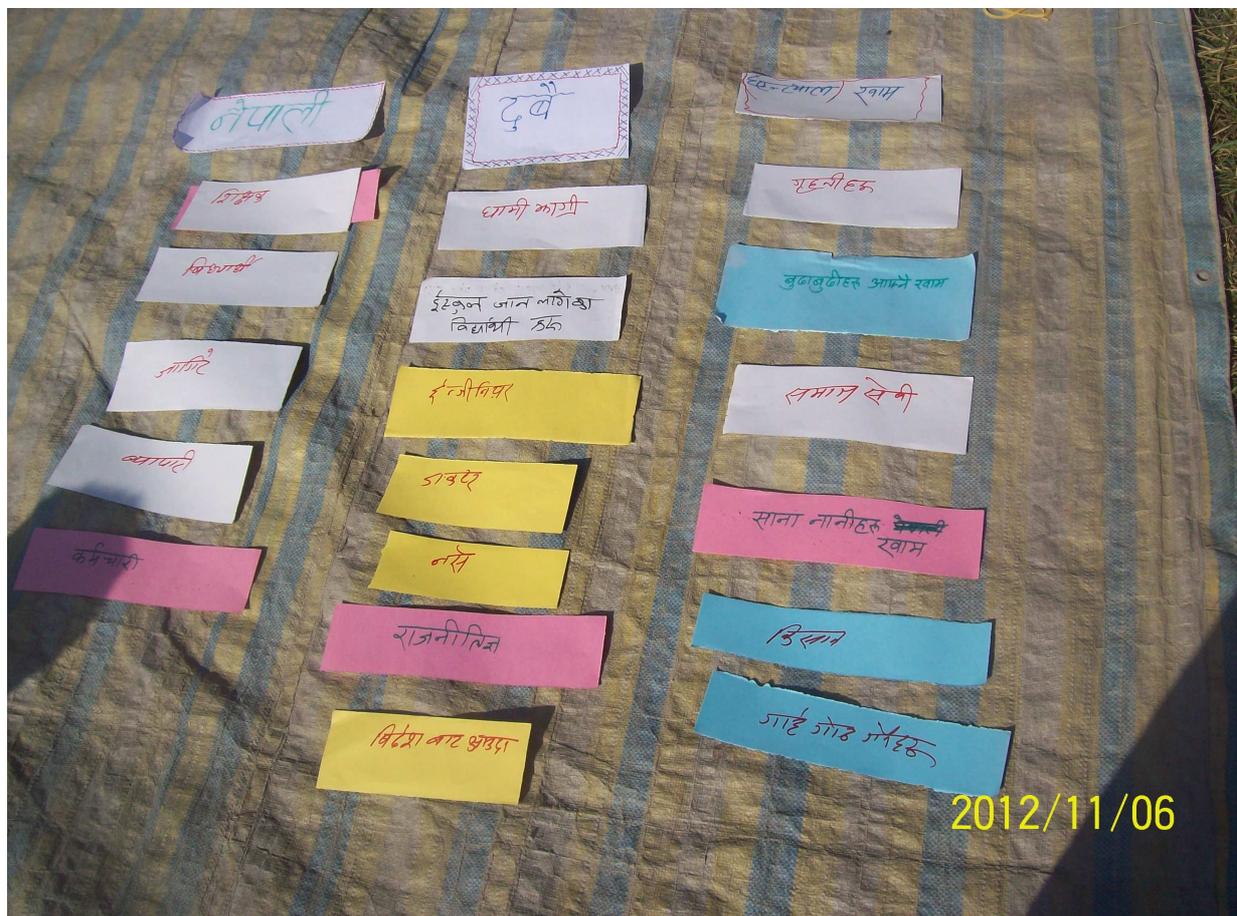
Picture 5.2: Domains of language use at Galeshwar, Piple-2, Myagdi



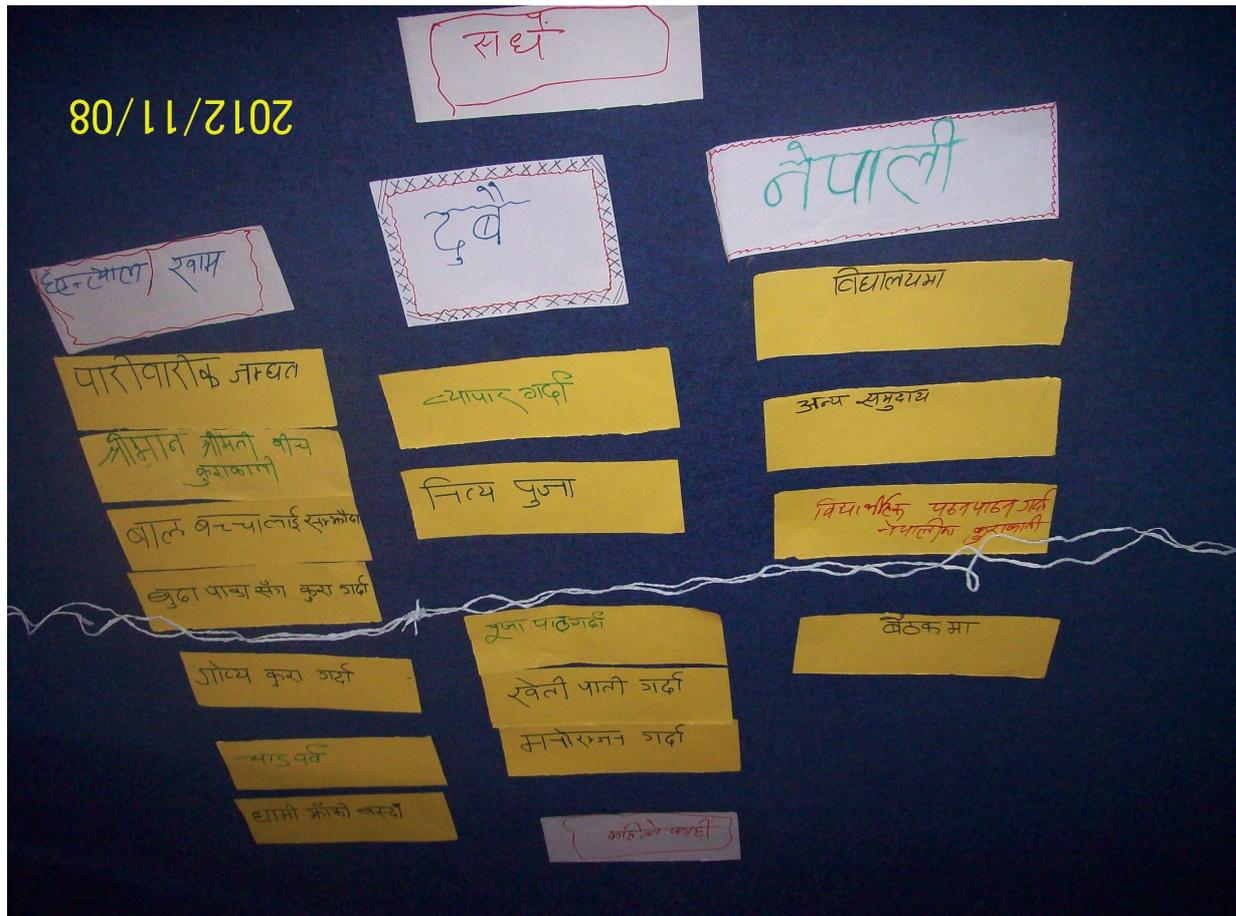
Picture 5.3: Domains of language use at Hemja, Myagdi Tole , Kaski



Picture 5.4: Domains of language use at Deep Pokhara NP-16, Kaski



Picture 5.5: Domains of language use at Tamnagar, Butwal-14, Rupandehi



The three major findings from this participatory method are as follows:

1. Chhantyal is used within the family members, celebrating different rites and rituals, village meetings, local markets, in abusing, in secret talking and in story telling.
2. The Nepali language, the language of wider communication (LWC), is used in the government offices, with non-Chhantyls and inter-caste married couple, in minute writing, hospitals, and in urban area markets.
3. Both Chhantyal, the mother tongue and Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC), are used in farming, in worshipping, in entertainment, in VDC office, in the government schools, trainings, district headquarter, in NGOs and offices, general assemblies and in business.

5.8 Summary

Chhantyal is used in all the common domains such as, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, family gatherings and village meetings. They use only their

mother tongue with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in writing letter to their family members. Chhantyal children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood and they use only Nepali in school.

There is the dominance of Chhantyal in social works. All the speakers of the Chhantyal speech community use their mother tongue daily. There are some speakers who say that they use mother tongue sometimes. Similarly, the language of the wider communication is Nepali. They use Nepali as the language of wider communication (LWC) when the speakers of other languages visit their home.

The domains where mother tongue is used are in the family, celebrating different rites and rituals, neighborhood, village meetings, local markets, abusing, and storytelling. The Nepali language, the language of wider communication (LWC), is used in the government offices, with non-Chhantyal, in minute writing, hospitals, and in urban area markets. Both the mother tongue and Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC), are used in farming, in worshipping, in entertainment, in VDC office, in the government schools, trainings, district headquarter, in NGOs and offices, general assemblies and in business.

Chapter 6

Language vitality, transmission and maintenance

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language vitality, transmission and maintenance. It consists of 5 sections. Section 6.1 deals with the intergenerational transmission of the language. Similarly, in section 6.2, we discuss the languages spoken by younger people of Chhantyal community. Section 6.3 deals with the transmission of the Chhantyal language, section 6.4 deals with language maintenance and in section 6.5 we present the summary of this chapter.

6.1 Intergenerational transmission

The Chhantyal community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting towards Nepali is very low. Table 6.1 presents the response to the question ‘Do all your children speak your mother tongue?’ by the informants in the key survey points.

Table 6.1: Mother tongue spoken by children

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
29 (97%)	1(3%)	30 (100%)	-

Source: Field study 2012

Table 6.1 shows that 97% of male respondents said that all the children of the community speak their mother tongue. The response provided by the female respondents is that all their children speak their mother tongue. Only 3% of male respondents said that they do not use their mother tongue. It shows that the Chhantyal language has 100% vitality.

Similarly, Table 6.2 presents responses of the informants in the key survey point related to the question “What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?”

Table 6.2: The language spoken by the parents with their children

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Mother tongue	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Nepali	-	-

Source: Field study 2012

Table 6.2 shows that both the male and the female parents speak mother tongue with their children. It also shows that the Chhantyal language has total language vitality.

6.2 Language spoken by younger people

In the Chhantyal speech community, most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication. The table 6.3 presents the responses to the question “Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?” by the respondents in the key survey points.

Table 6.3: The way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
27 (90%)	3 (10%)	29 (97%)	1 (3%)

Table 6.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents most of them i.e. 90% said that young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken and only 10% said that the young people of their village/town do not speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken. Similarly, 97% female respondents mentioned that most of the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue it ought to be spoken and only 3% responded that they do not speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken. It can also be shown through the following figure more clearly.

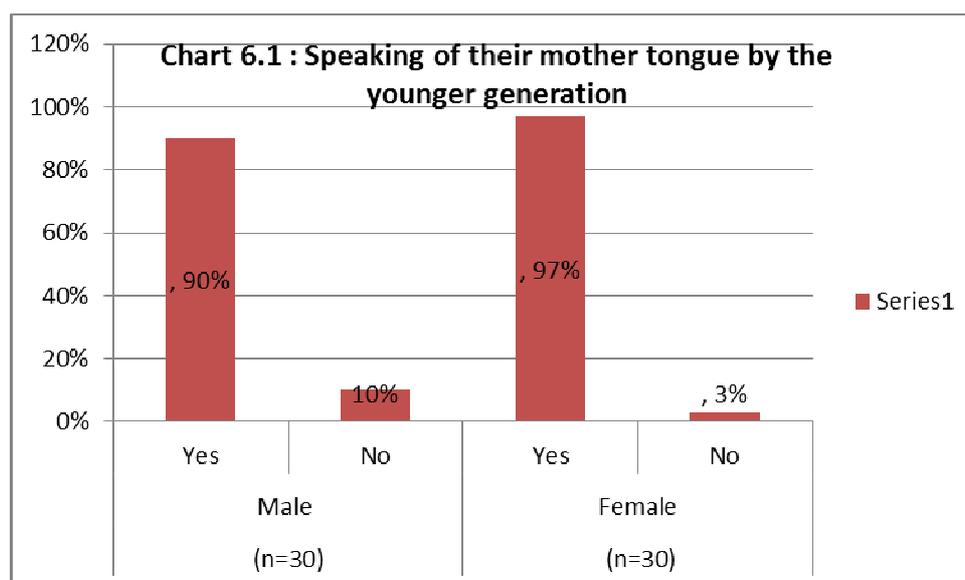


Chart 6.1: Speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generation

Chart 4 shows that the way of speaking of their mother tongue by the younger generations. Most of the Chhantyal speakers both male and female responded that young people of their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.

6.3 Transmission

Language maintenance in Chhantyal is satisfactory till now. Table 6.4 presents the situation of language maintenance on the key points in the Chhantyal speech community.

Table 6.4: Intermarriage in the Chhantyal community

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
29 (97%)	1 (3%)	28 (93%)	2 (7%)

Table 6.4 shows that out of the total male respondents 97% responded that there is intermarriage in the Chhantyal community and only 3% responded that there is no intermarriage in the Chhantyal community. Similarly, out of the total female respondents 93% responded that there is intermarriage in the Chhantyal community whereas a few of the speakers i.e., 7% said that inter-caste marriage in the Chhantyal community is not in practice. The chart 6.2 below makes it clearer.

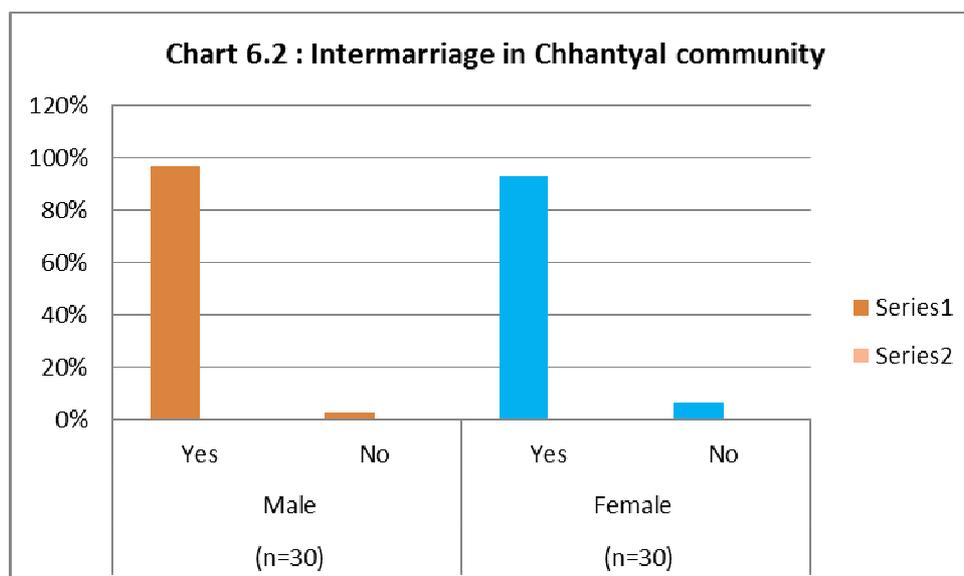


Chart 6.2: Intermarriage in Chhantyal community

Similarly, in response to the question “If there is inter-caste marriage in your community which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?” the language informants provided the data as presented in the Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Common marital relationship with Chhantyal group

Language groups	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Nepali	15 (50%)	23 (77%)
Magar	27 (90%)	27 (90%)
Gurung	14 (47%)	11 (33%)
Newar	2 (7%)	4 (13%)
Thakali	6 (20%)	1 (3%)

Table 6.5 shows that out of 30 respondents, who said that there is inter-caste marriage in practice, 50%, respondents said that there is inter-caste marriage with Nepali speaking people. 90% of them responded that they have inter-caste marriage with Magar speech community. 47%, of them responded that they have inter-caste marriage with Gurung speech community. 20% of them responded that they have inter-caste marriage with Thakali speech community. Similarly, 30 female respondents responded that there is the practice of inter-caste marriage in their society. 90% female respondents said that they have inter-caste marriage practice with Magar speech community. 77% of them responded that they have inter-caste marriage with Nepali speech community. 33%, of them said that they have inter-caste marriage with Gurung speech community. 13% of them said that they have inter-caste marriage with Newar speech community. It can also be presented in the chart 6.3 to make it clearer.

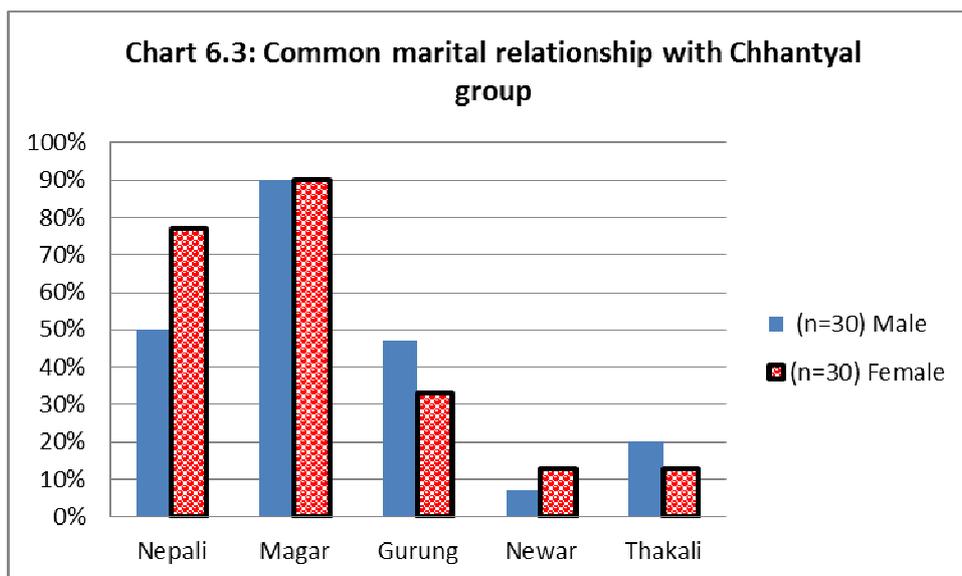


Chart 6.3: Common marital relationship with Chhantyal group

Chart 6 shows that Chhantyal speakers who said that there is the practice of intermarriage, responded that they have common marital relationship with Nepali, Magar, Gurung, Newar and Thakali language groups.

6.4 Language maintenance

Chhantyls have positive attitudes towards the maintenance of the language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. In response to the question “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” Table 6.6 presents the responses of the Chhantyal speakers from key survey point.

Table 6.6: Likeness of the children’s learning/studying in mother tongue

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
29(97%)	1(3%)	30 (100%)	-

Table 6.6 shows that almost all the male respondents i.e. 97% and 100% female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in their mother tongue and only 3% male respondents said that they do not like their children learn/study in their mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question “If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?” the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools

N= 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n= 30)
By sending your children?	29 (97%)	30 (100%)
By encouraging other people to send their children?	29 (97%)	30 (100%)
By providing financial help?	29 (97%)	30 (100%)
By teaching?	11 (37%)	11 (37%)
By helping with the school?	29 (97%)	30 (100%)
Others	3(10%)	5 (17%)

Table 6.7 shows that 97% of male and 100% of female respondents said that they will support the schools by sending their children if schools are opened for teaching their language. Similarly, 97% males and 100% females responded that they will support the school by encouraging other people to send their children. In the same way, 97% males and 100% females responded that they will support the school by providing financial help. Similarly, 37% male and female respondents are eager to support the mother tongue teaching school by teaching themselves. In the same way, 97% male and 100% female respondents will support and help the school.

To make it clear, the ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools can also be presented in the chart 6.4.

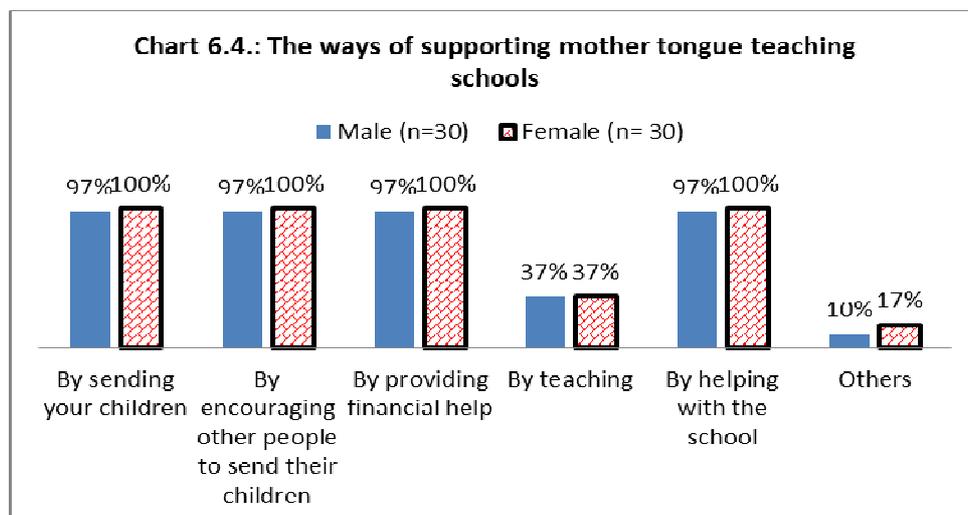


Chart 6.4: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools

Chart 6.4 shows that Chhantyal speakers are positive for the development of their language since they are ready to send their children to the mother tongue schools and also encouraging others to send their children. Similarly, they are also ready for financial support. Similarly, educated Chhantyal speakers can teach their language themselves.

6.5 Summary

The Chhantyal has 100% vitality as all their children speak their mother tongue; most of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and all the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.

Both male and female respondents said that there is intermarriage in the Chhantyal community and those who said that there is the practice of intermarriage, responded that they have common marital relationship with Nepali, Magar, Gurung, Newar and Thakali language groups. Similarly, almost all the Chhantyal speakers like their children learn/study in mother tongue and only 3% male respondents said that they do not like their children learn/study in mother tongue. Chhantyal speakers are positive for the development of their language since they are ready to send their children to the mother tongue schools and also encouraging others to send their children. Similarly, they are also ready for financial support. Similarly, educated Chhantyal speakers can teach their language themselves.

Chapter 7

Language attitudes

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the attitude of the Chhantyal speakers about their language. It consists of eight sections. Section 7.1 deals with the feelings of the speakers towards their language. In section 7.2, we discuss the problem because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal and in section 7.3, feelings about children's marriage with non-Chhantyal speakers. Similarly, section 7.4 deals with grandchildren's language and section 7.5 with first language of the children. Similarly, in section 7.6, we deal with medium of instruction at primary level, in section 7.7, about the differences in the use of language between the present speakers and their grandparents and in section 7.8 we present the summary of the chapter.

7.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language

In general, Chhantyal speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language. In response to the question "When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...?" Table 7.1 presents the responses of the informants of the key survey points.

Table 7.1: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Prestigious	21(70%)	24 (80%)
Embarrassed	1(3%)	1 (3%)
Neutral	9 (30%)	5(17%)

Table 7.1 shows that out of the total male respondents of the Chhantyal community 70% said that they feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali. Similarly, 3% and 30% of them feel embarrassed and neutral respectively when they speak Chhantyal in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages.

In the same way, 80% of female respondents replied that they feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages.

Similarly, 3% and 17% said that they feel embarrassed and neutral, respectively when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the other dominant languages. It shows that they have very positive attitudes towards their language. We can present it through the following chart 7.1 to make more understandable.

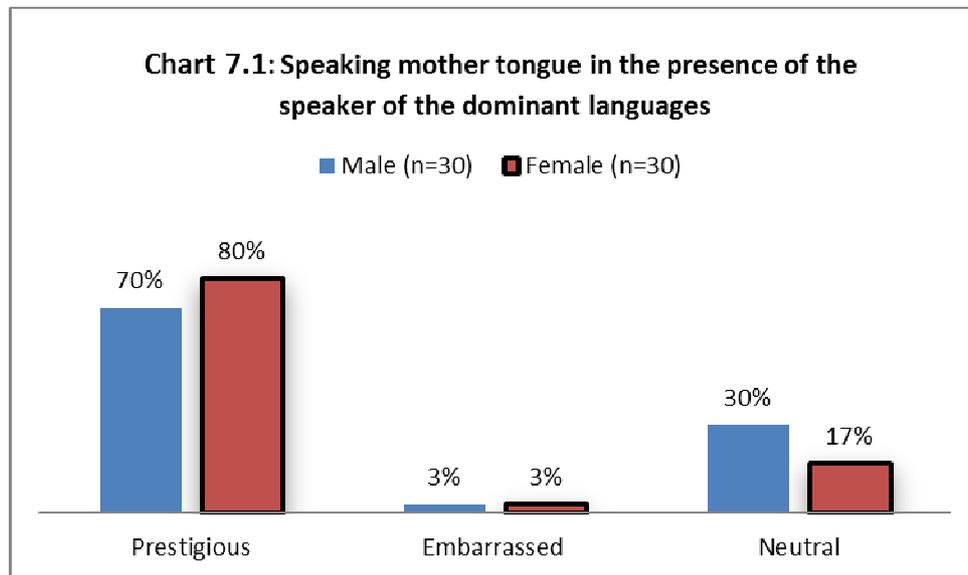


Chart 7.1: Speaking mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant languages

7.2 Problem because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal

In response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” Chhantyal native speakers have provided the responses as presented in the Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal Kham

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
2 (7%)	28 (93%)	1 (3%)	29 (97%)

Table 7.2 shows that out of the total male respondents 7% said that they had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal whereas most of the male speakers responded that they did not have faced any problem because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal. Similarly, only 3% female respondents said that they had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal and 97% responded that they did not have

faced any problem because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal. It can also be shown through the following chart 7.2 to make more understandable.

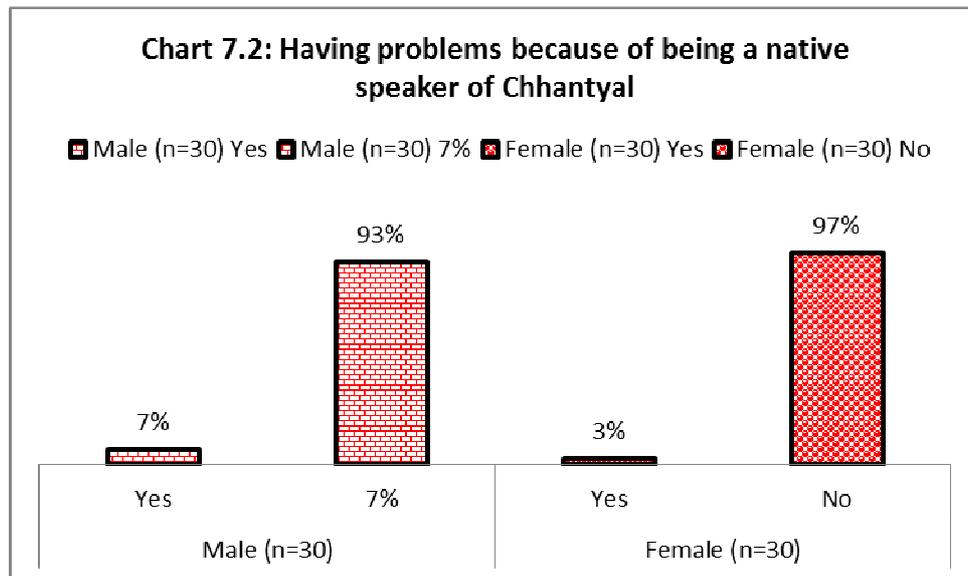


Chart 7.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal

Similarly, in response to the question “If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had? Table 7.3 presents the lists of the problems and their frequencies.

Table 7.3: Problems they had because of because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal

	Male (n=30)	Female (n= 30)
Teasing	2 (7%)	1(3%)
Understanding	-	-
Mental and social	-	-
In government offices	-	-

Table 7.3 shows that out of the total 30 male respondents only 2 males who said that they have had problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal. 7% said that they had been teased and they have problems the way they speak Nepali. Similarly, out of 30 female respondents only 3% responded that they have had problems because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal and they have problems the way they speak Nepali.

7.3 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Chhantyal speakers

Most of the Chhantyal speakers feel bad if their son or daughter gets married to someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question “How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?” Table 7.4 presents the responses of the respondents of the key survey points.

Table 7.4: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Chhantyal speakers

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
1(3%)	6 (20%)	18 (60%)	-	7 (23%)	20 (67%)

Table 7.4 shows that out of the total male respondents, 60% of males feel bad if their children get married to someone who does not know their mother tongue and only 20 % of them feel neutral. Similarly 67% of the female speakers feel bad and only 23% of females feel neutral if their children get married to someone who does not know their mother tongue. And there is a single speaker who feels good if his/her children get married to someone who does not know his mother tongue. The chart 7.3 below makes it more understandable.

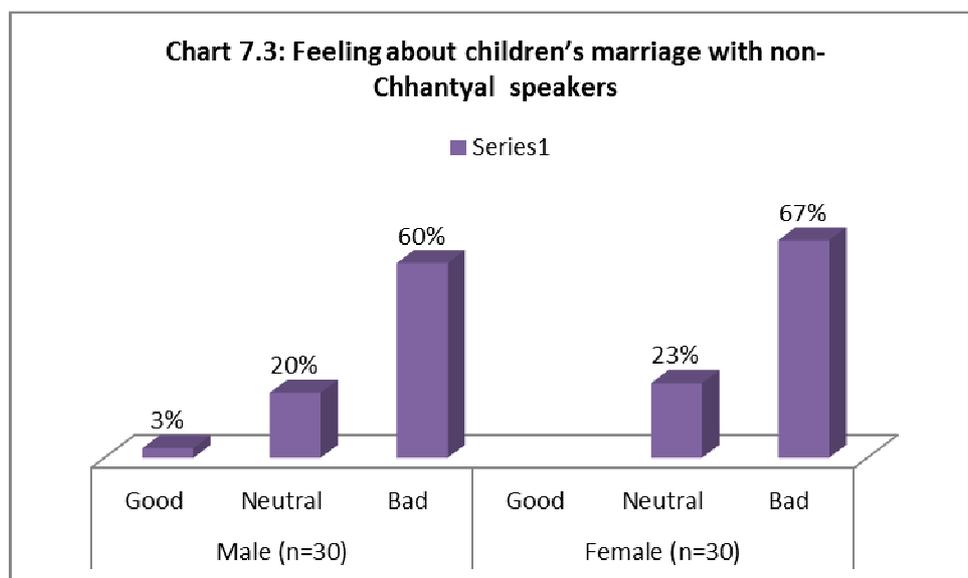


Chart 7.3: Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Chhantyal speakers

7.4 Grandchildren’s language

Chhantyal speakers are positive towards their language and culture. All the Chhantyal speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language. Table 7.5 presents the responses in the key survey points regarding the question “Will the grandchildren also speak your language?”

Table 7.5: Will the children of the present Chhantyal children speak your language

	Male N=30	Female N=30
Speak	28 (93%)	29 (97%)
Won’t speak	1(3%)	-

Table 7.5 shows that all the respondents, both males and females, responded that the children of the present Chhantyal children will speak their language. It shows that they are very positive towards their language.

Similarly, regarding the question “If speak, how do you feel about this?” Table 7.6 presents the responses of the Chhantyal speakers in the key survey points.

Table 7.6: Feeling of the speakers if their grand-children will speak their language

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
29 (97%)	-	-	29 (97%)	-	-

Table 7.6 shows that all the respondents both males and females feel good if their grandchildren will speak their language. It shows that they have very positive attitude towards their language.

Similarly, in response to the question “If they will not speak, how do you feel about this?” Table 7.7 presents the responses of the Chhantyal speakers in the key survey points.

Table 7.7: Feeling of the speakers if their grandchildren will not speak their language

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
-	1(3%)	29 (97%)	-	1 (3%)	29 (97%)

Table 7.7 shows that out of the total male respondents almost all feel bad if their grandchildren will not speak their language and only 3% feel neutral. Similarly, 97% of females feel bad and only 3% of them feel neutral if their grandchildren will not speak their language.

7.5 First language of the children

Since Chhantyal speakers have positive attitudes towards their language, most of them said that their children should speak their mothertongue, Chhantyal, first. Table 7.8 presents the responses for the question “What language should your children speak first?” from the respondents of the key survey points.

Table 7.8: The languages Chhantyal children should speak first

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Chhantyal Kham	28 (93%)	28 (93%)
Nepali	-	-

Table 7.8 shows that most of the males and females Chhantyal speakers said that their children should speak their own mother tongue i.e. Chhantyal, first as both 93% males and females said that Chhantyal is their first choice for their children’s language. Similarly, the rest of the respondents said nothing on the question.

7.6 Medium of instruction at primary level

Regarding the question “What language do you prefer for your children’s medium of instruction at primary level?” Table 7.9 presents the responses of the Chhantyal speakers of the key survey points.

Table 7.9: Preference for the medium of instruction at primary level

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Mother tongue	27(90%)	25 (83%)
Nepali	2 (7%)	-
English	1(3%)	-

Table 7.9 shows that most of the male respondents responded that they prefer their own mother tongue, i.e Chhantyal as their children’s medium of instruction at primary level. Similarly, only 7% and 3% said that they prefer the Nepali and English languages respectively for their children’s medium of instructions at primary level. Similarly, 83% female Chhantyal speakers prefer Chhantyal i.e. their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level.

7.7 Differences in the use of language between two generations

In response to the question “Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 7.10 presents the responses provided by the Chhantyal speakers in the key survey points.

Table 7.10: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations

	Male N=30	Female N=30
Yes	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
No	28 (93%)	29 (97%)

Table 7.10 shows that only 3 % both male and female Chhantyal speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas most of them i.e. 93% and 97% do not think that there is difference in the language spoken by them and their grandparents.

The chart 7.4 presents the responses of the Chhantyal speakers who responded about the whether there are differences between the languages spoken by them and their grandparents more clearly. The figure below can make this more understandable.

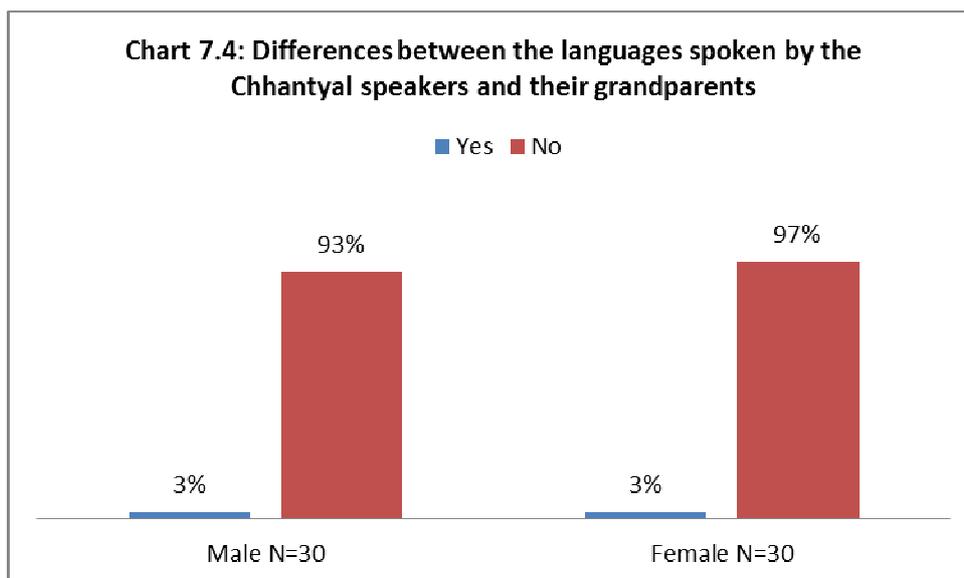


Chart 7.4: Differences between the languages spoken by the Chhantyal speakers and their grandparents

Regarding the responses in the Table 7.10, “If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?” Table 7.11 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey points.

Table 7.11: The ways of differences in language between two generations

If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?	Male (n=30)	Female (n= 30)
Pronunciation	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Vocabulary	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Use of specific type of sentences	-	1 (3%)
mixing of other languages	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Way of speaking	1 (3%)	1 (3%)

Table 7.11 shows that out of the total male and female participants, who think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, only 3% said that their language differentiates with their parents in vocabulary, pronunciation, use of specific type of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking.

Similarly, in response to the question “How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?” Table 7.12 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

Table 7.12: Feeling towards the user of other languages instead of their mother tongue

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Indifferent	Bad	Good	Indifferent	Bad
-	6(20%)	23 (77%)	1 (3%)	6 (20%)	23 (77%)

Regarding the language attitude table 7.12 shows that 77% of the males and females feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Similarly, only 20% male and female Chhantyal speakers respond that they feel indifferent.

7.8 Summary

Chhantyal speakers have very positive attitudes towards their language. Most of them feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali. Only a few respondents had faced some problems such as the way they speak Nepali because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal. Similarly, most of the Chhantyal speakers feel bad if their son or daughter gets married to someone who does not know their mother tongue.

All the Chhantyal speakers are optimistic that their grand children will speak their language and all of them feel good if his/her children will speak their mother tongue. Similarly, most of them feel bad if their grand-children will not speak their mother tongue. It shows that they are very positive towards their language. Similarly, most of the males and females Chhantyal speakers said that their children should speak their own mother tongue i.e. Chhantyal first.

Similarly, most of the Chhantyal speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Chhantyal as their children’s medium of instruction at primary level and only a few of them prefer Nepali and English languages. Only 3% of Chhantyal speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and the differences are in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking. Most of the males and females speakers feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language.

Chapter 8

Language development

8.0 Outline

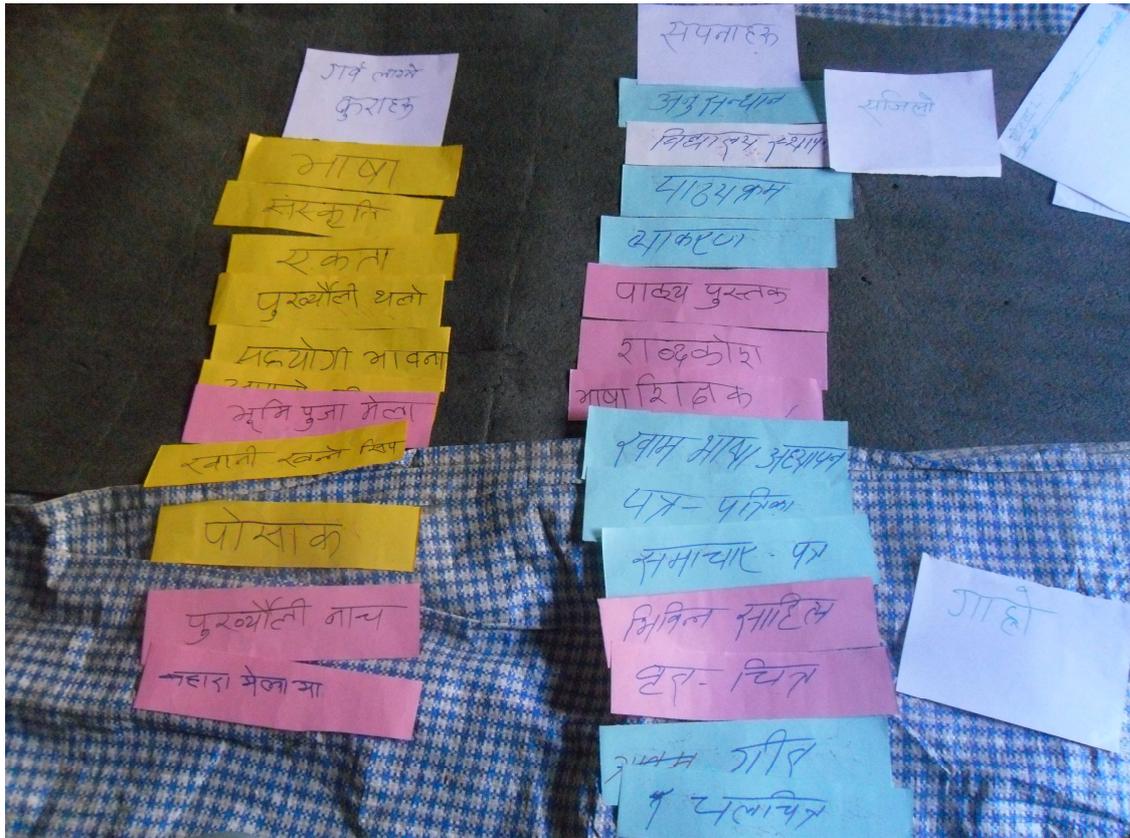
This chapter deals with the language development. It consists of two sections. Section 8.1 deals with the appreciative enquiry. In section 8.2, we present the summary of the chapter.

8.1 Appreciative inquiry

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all five key points in Chhantyal. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Chhantyal community members for the development their language as well their culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, education and educational status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ on a piece of paper and placed them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Chhantyal language and culture, say they “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

In order to examine the language development in the Chhantyal language, appreciative inquiry, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in the Chhantyal community. The pictures of appreciative inquiry tools used in Beni (Arthunge-1, Myagdi), Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple-1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16, Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14, Rupandehi) present the language development and the ambitions to the development of language.

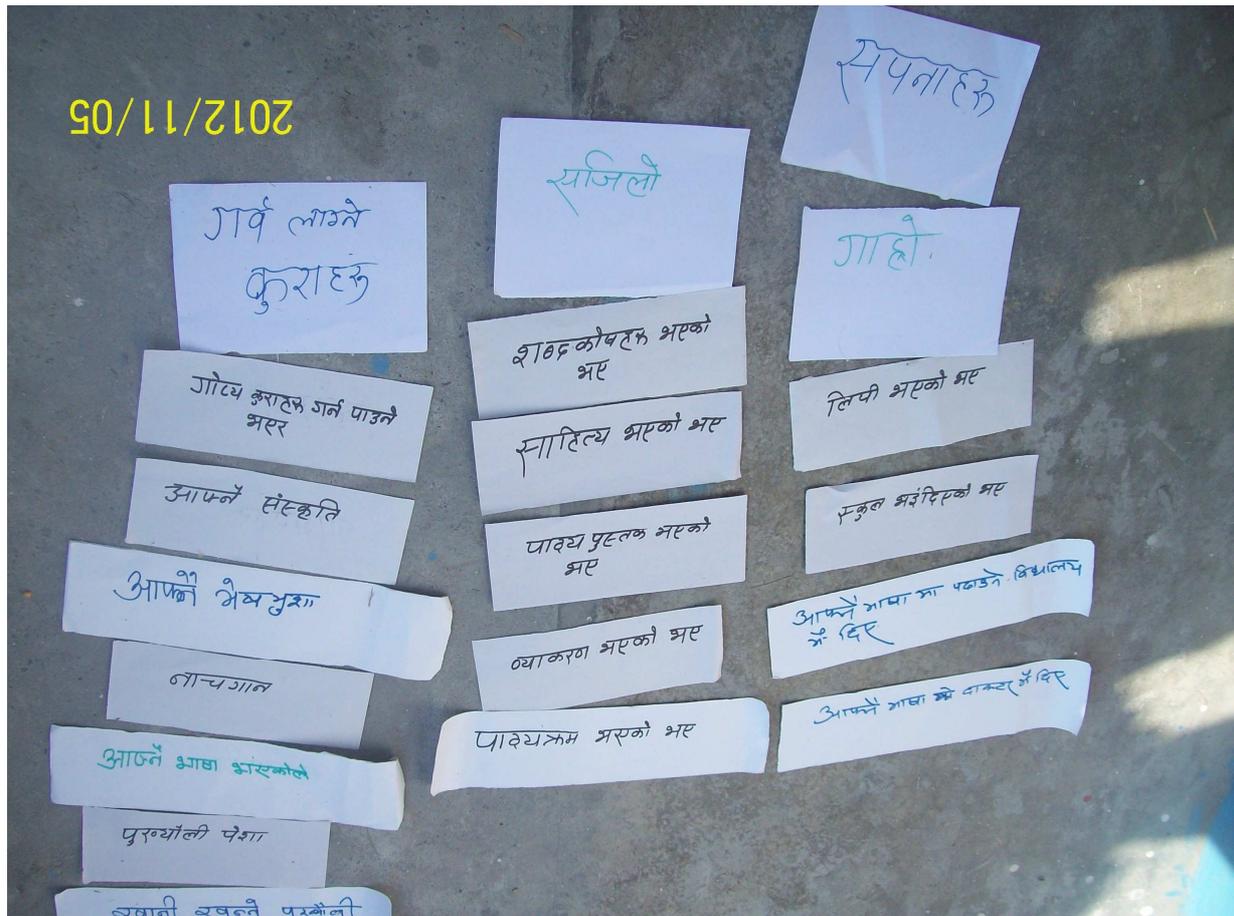
Picture 8.1: Appreciative enquiry at Beni, Arthunge-1, Myagdi



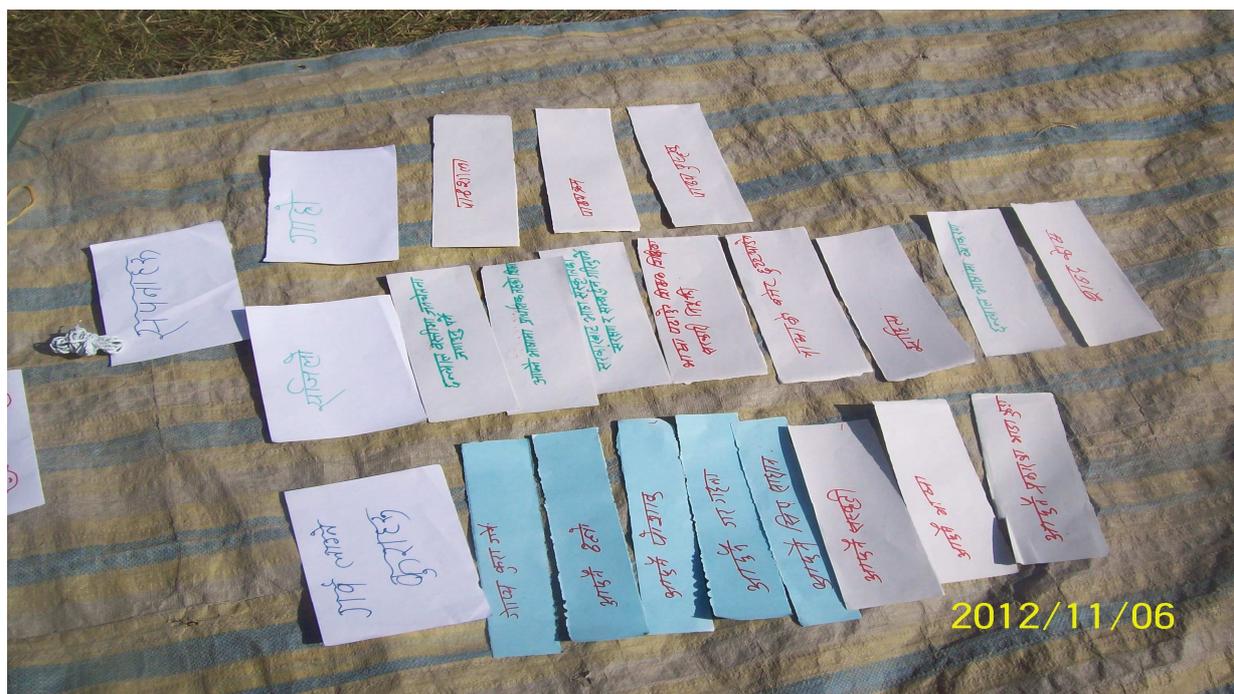
Picture 8.2: Appreciative enquiry at Rahughat, Piple - 1, Myagdi



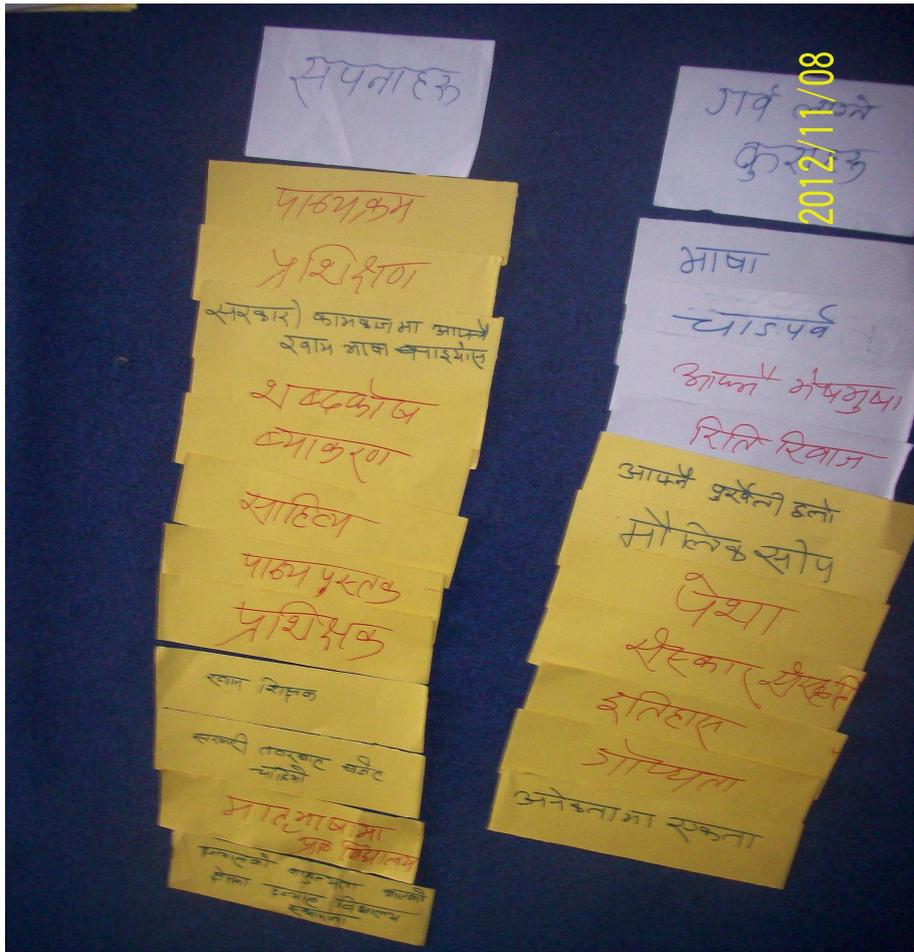
Picture 8.3: Appreciative enquiry at Myagdi Tole, Hemja-6, Kaski



Picture 8.4: Appreciative enquiry at Deep, Pokhara-16, Kaski



Picture 8.4: Appreciative enquiry at, Tamnagar-14, Rupandehi



In this survey, as we discuss we have employed different participatory tools such as dialect mapping, domains of language use and bilingualism. The main focus of these tools is to help the participants to verbalize things they have already known intuitively about their language and culture. However, appreciative inquiry, as the name suggests, is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture. Table 8.1 presents the summary of the responses to major queries related to preservation and promotion of the language on all five key points in Chhantyal.

Table 8.1: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Chhantyal

Survey Points	Good things that made Chhantyal feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning

<p>Beni Arthunge Myagdi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Long-established language ▪ Mother tongue of Chhantyal Chhantyal culture is embodied in this language ▪ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To prepare textbooks for children in Chhantyal ▪ To have equal access to media ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ To establish an organization for development of language and culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To pressurize the local authorities to start program in T.V in Chhantyal
<p>Rahughat, Piple, Myagdi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mother tongue of Chhantyal ▪ Easy to communicate secret matters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To prepare textbooks in Chhantyal ▪ To have any program in T.V ▪ To have Chhantyal teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To pressurize the local authorities to start program on T.V in Chhantyal
<p>Myagdi Tole Hemja, Kaski</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mother tongue of Chhantyal ▪ Easy to communicate secret matters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To prepare textbooks in Chhantyal ▪ To have any program in T.V ▪ To have Chhantyal teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To pressurize the local authorities to start program on T.V in Chhantyal
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
<p>Deep, Pokhara NP Kaski</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Symbol of ethnic identity of Chhantyal ▪ Ancestral language ▪ Easy to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ To prepare textbooks in Chhantyal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To pressurize the local authorities to start program on T.V in Chhantyal

	communicate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To use Chhantyal in government office 	
Tamnagar, Butwal, Rupandehi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Symbol of ethnic identity of Chhantyal culture embodied in this language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level ▪ To prepare textbooks in Chhantyal ▪ To have any program on T.V 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To start mother tongue based education at primary level

8.2 Summary

The good things that made Chhantyal speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are their mother tongue, stock of vocabulary, folk songs and folk stories, being the ancestral language, having their own culture and costume, art, history and literature.

Dreams about how they could make their language even better are writing a grammar, dictionary, textbooks, having mother tongue teachers, establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, development of their own script, Chhantyal should be taught at university level, Chhantyal should be used as official language in Chhantyal dominant districts, there should be a branch of Chhantyal in Nepal Academy, promotion and preservation of the Chhantyal language, culture and religion and there should be a huge coverage of the language in the field of mass media such as radio, TV, and national level newspapers and journals.

The most important ‘dreams’ which they would like to get realized immediately and to start planning are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for their children at primary level and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. They have made plans for these important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to realize these dreams and these dreams should be realized immediately.

Chapter 9

Dialectal variation

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the dialectal variations in the Chhantyal. It consists of nine sections. In section 9.1, we discuss lexical variations which include methodology of finding lexical variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in the Chhantyal language. Similarly, section 9.2 deals with dialect mapping which is a participatory tool to find out the possible dialects of the language and in section 9.3, we present the summary of this chapter.

9.1 Lexical variation

210 wordlist has been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the five Chhantyal speech varieties the wordlists represent. In this section, we deal with the data, methodology of lexical similarity study and present the lexical similarity study result.

9.1.1 Methodology

This subsection consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages in Chhantyal Kham. The standard wordlists of 210 words were elicited in different points from mother tongue speakers (grown up in the Chhantyal community, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions. In each key point, at least two sets of wordlists were administered.

Wordsurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the language or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationship between the different varieties of the Chhantyal language. After, the entry of words from each survey point is over, the words from the selected wordlist are aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages are calculated in Wordsurv.

The 60% has been generally used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity Regmi (2011). Table 9.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 9.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

Less than 60%	Different languages
60% or more	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT

The speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different language. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or above lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). But unfortunately, we could not use the tool, RTT, because of the limitation of the time period in the field visit.

9.1.2 Lexical similarity among the key points in Chhantyal

Chhantyal is spoken in western region of Nepal. However, especially in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts, this language generally does not show any variation as such. Table 9.2 presents the situation of lexical similarity comparison in Chhantyal.

Table 9.2: Lexical similarity comparison in Chhantyal

Variety	Beni	Galeshwor	Hemja	Pokhara	Tamnagar
Beni	100%	84%	82%	82%	81%
Galeshwor	84%	100%	82%	80%	80%
Hemja	82%	82%	100%	83%	83%
Pokhara	82%	80%	83%	100%	86%
Tamnagar	81%	80%	83%	86%	100%

Table 9.2 shows that the Chhantyal language spoken in Beni has 84% similarity with Galeshwor, 82% with Hemja and Pokhara, and 81% with Tamnagar of Butwal Municipality. Similarly the language spoken in Galeshwor has 84% similarity with Beni, 82% with Hemja and 80% with Pokhara and Tamnagar. Likewise the language spoken in Hemja has 82% of the similarity with Beni and Galeshwor and 83% with Pokhara and Tamnagar. In the same way, the language spoken in Pokhara has 82 % similarity with Beni, 80% with Galeshwor, 83% with Hemja and 86% with Tamnagar. Similarly, the Chhantyal language spoken in Tamnagar of Butwal municipality has 81% similarity with Beni, 80% with Galeshwor, 83%

with Hemja and 86% with Pokhara. From this table, it can be concluded that all varieties of Chhantyal are mutually intelligible to each other.

9.2 Dialect mapping

In order to examine dialects among the Chhantyal language, dialect mapping, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in the Chhantyal community. The pictures of dialect mapping tools used in Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple-1, Myagdi); Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski); Deep (Pokhara NP,16, Kaski); Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14 ,Rupandehi) district present the dialectal variation of the Chhantyal language.

Picture 9.1: Dialect mapping at Beni, Arthunge-1, Myagdi



Figure 9.4: Dialect mapping at Tamnagar, Butwal -14, Rupandehi



The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any in the Chhantyal. The language participants in group of 8 to 12 in each survey point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each district and town where Chhantyal is spoken and placed on the floor to represent the geographical location. In common, the following name of the districts and towns were recognized as the Chhantyal language speaking area: Beni, (Arthunge-1, Myagdi), Rahughat Galeshwar, (Piple- 1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski); Deep (Pokhara NP,16 , Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14, Rupandehi) etc.

Table 9.3: Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech spoken in different places

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Chhantyal	
	Group A	Group B
Beni	Malkabang, Kuinemangale, Thadakhani, Gurjakhani, Pokhara, Butwal, Dang	Baglung, Gulmi, Lekhani
Hemja	Mangale Chaurakhani, Malkabang, Malampar, Dhora, Duwadi, Kharibot, Patlekharka Gurjakhani, Ghyasikharka, Thadakhani, Dhola	Baranja, Bhakimli, Baglung, Machchhim
Deep, Pokhara	Malkabang, Kuinemangale, Thadakhani, Gurjakhani, Pokhara, Kathmandu, Beni, Butwal, Dang	Baranja, Bhakimli, Baglung, Machchhim, Rukum, Chhapa, Dandakhani, Mustang, Kapilbastu, Surkhet,
Tamnagar	Mangale Chaurakhani, Malkabang, Malampar, Dhora, Duwadi, Kharibot, Patlekharka, Ghyasikhar, Kathmandu, Pokhara, Butwal, Beni, Dang	Baranja, Bhakimli, Baglung, Machchhim, Rukum, Dandakhani, Mustang, Kapilbastu, Surkhet, Pyuthan, Lamela, Arman, Nawalparasi

Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly. Table 9.4 presents the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult in the Chhantyal language.

Table 9.4: Ranking from easier to understand to the most difficult in Chhantyal

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Chhantyal		
	Very well	Average	Poorly
Beni	Malkabang, Kuinemangale, Thadakhani, Gurjakhani, Pokhara, Butwal, Dang	Gurjakhani	Baglung, Gulmi
Hemja	Mangale Chaurakhani, Malkabang, Malampar, Dhora, Duwadi, Kharibot, Patlekharka, Ghyasikharka,	Thadakhani, Dhola, Gurjakhani	Baranja, Bhakimli, Baglung, Machchhim
Deep, Pokhara	Mangale Chaurakhani, Malkabang, Malampar, Dhora, Duwadi, Kharibot, Patlekharka, Ghyasikharka	Thadakhani, Dhola, Gurjakhani	Baranja, Bhakimli, Baglung, Machchhim, Rukum, Chhapa, Dandakhani, Mustang, Kapilbastu, Surkhet
Tamnagar	Mangale Chaurakhani, Malkabang, Malampar, Dhora, Duwadi, Kharibot, Patlekharka, Ghyasikharka,	-----	Baranja, Bhakimli, Baglung, Machchhim, Rukum, Chhapa, Dandakhani, Mustang, Kapilbastu, Surkhet

Similarly, in response the question “Which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials”, the participants in group responded as presented in the table below.

Table 9.5: Preferences of speech variety for developing materials

Survey points	Preferences of speech variety for developing reading materials		
	First priority	Second priority	Third priority
Beni	Malkabang, Kuinemangale	Gurjakhani	----
Hemja	Kuinekhani, Malkabang	Thadakhani	-----
Deep, Pokhara	Malkabang, Malampar	Kuine, Mangale	Thadakhani
Tamnagar	Kunekhani, Mangalekhani	Malkabang , Malampar	Thadakhani

Table 9.5 shows that language participants in Beni, Hemja and Tamnagar responded that the form of speech in Malkabang and Kuinemanglekhani should be used for reading materials.

Similarly, the participants of Deep (Pokhara) preferred Malkabang and Malampar variety for reading materials. Participants of all the four key survey points responded differently that Gurjakhani, Thadakhani, Kune, Mangale, Malkabang and Malampar speech varieties of Chhantal are in their second priority. The participants of Pokhara and Tamnagar responded that Thadakhani is their third variety.

9.3 Summary

All the varieties of Chhantyal are mutually intelligible to each other. There is lexical similarity ranging from 80% to 86% among the key survey points in Chhantyal. It may indicate that Chhantyal at present does not show any dialectal variation that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Chhantyal speakers residing in different key survey points.

In common, the following names of the districts and towns were recognized as the Chhantyal language speaking areas: Rahughat Galeshwor, (Piple- 1, Myagdi) ; Myagdi Tole, (Hemja-6, Kaski) ; Deep (Pokhara NP,16, Kaski) ; Tamnagar (Butwal NP, 14 ,Rupandehi) etc. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows they can easily understand the speech variety spoken in western development region of the country.

The participants in Beni, Hemja and Tamnagar responded that the form of speech in in Malkabang and Kuinemanglekhani should be used for reading materials. Similarly, the participants of Deep Pokhara preferred Malkabang and Malampar variety for reading materials. Participants of all the four key survey points responded differently that Gurjakhani, Thadakhani, Kuine, Mangale, Malkabang and Malampar speech varieties of Chhantal are in their second priority. The participants of Pokhara and Tamnagar responded that Thadakhani is their third variety.

Chapter 10

Findings and recommendations

10.1 Major findings

The main aim of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of the Chhantyal, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Western region of Nepal. The Chhantyal speakers are one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who reside primarily in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts of western Nepal. They have their own culture and language. The government of Nepal has recognized Chhantyal as a separate indigenous people group. Chhantyal use a distinct language belonging to Tibeto-Burman language family to communicate among them in the community.

The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the language resources; mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism; domains of language use; language vitality; transmission and maintenance; language attitudes; language development and dialectal variation of the Chhantyal language.

This survey has revealed a number of facts about the present situation of the Chhantyal language. They are presented as follows:

- a) This is a distinct language spoken by an indigenous nationality called Chhantyal.
- b) It is spoken by four thousand two hundred and eighty three Chhantyal in Myagdi, Kaski and Rupandehi districts of Western region of Nepal.
- c) The Chhantyal language exhibits no dialectal variation. This language is used in all domains of language use except counting and singing.
- d) Mother tongue proficiency is significantly high and strong in the speech community.
- e) In this speech community, no monolinguals are found in all age groups.
- f) Traditionally the language of wider communication is Nepali. The other languages they use include Hindi and English.
- g) Most of the Chhantyal children face a little difficulty in their basic education as the textbooks and medium of instruction is compulsorily Nepali which is almost familiar to them because they learn both the languages simultaneously
- h) Chhantyal community is traditionally involved in mining, agriculture and cattle farming.

- i) Religiously, the community is reported to be following Bon and they have recently adopted Buddhism and Hinduism.
- j) The Chhantyal community has highly positive attitudes towards the mother tongue and the language maintenance is optimum.
- k) Female literacy rate is satisfactory.
- l) Chhantyal is also known as Chantel, Chantel Kham, Chentel, Chhentel, khamkura. Majority of Chhantyal speakers are deprived of education.
- m) The resources available in the Chhantyal are folk stories and folklore; songs; religious literatures; But, the modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films and CD/DVD are not available in the language.
- n) Chhantyal speakers are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of the Chhantyal speech community speak their language very well and only educated speakers of Chhantyal can read and write in their language. Most of them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual as well. Similarly, majority of Chhantyal families are bilingual. Most of them are bilingual in the Nepali language.
- o) Chhantyal is used in all the general domains such as, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding), telling stories to children, family gatherings and village meetings.
- p) They use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in writing letter to their family members. Chhantyal children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school. There is the dominance of Chhantyal in social rites and rituals. They use the Nepali language of wider communication (LWC) with the non-native speakers.
- q) Chhantyal has 100% vitality as all their children speak their mother tongue; most of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the young people use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and all the young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.
- r) All the male and 97% female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue and rests and they are eager to help the mother tongue schools by

sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching themselves and by helping with the school.

- s) In general, Chhantyal speakers have very positive attitude towards their language and culture. More than two third of both male and female speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali and only a few speakers said that they feel embarrassed and neutral.
- t) Most of the Chhantyal speakers had not any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Only a few speakers had faced problems such as they have been teased and they have problems in understanding because of being a native speaker of Chhantyal, their mother tongue. More than 60% male and 67% female speakers feel bad if their son or daughter gets married to someone who does not know their mother tongue. All the Chhantyal speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language and most of them feel good if their grandchildren will speak their mother tongue.
- u) Most of the male and female speakers said that their children should speak their own mother tongue, Chhantyal, first. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Chhantyal as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and only very few of them preferred English and Nepali languages.
- v) Majority of the Chhantyal speakers both males and females do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents.
- w) The Chhantyal speech community is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs, religious literature. The good things that made Chhantyal speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are Chhantyal is their mother tongue, stock of vocabulary, being the ancestral language, having their own culture and costume, art and traditional skills.
- x) Regarding the dreams about how they could make their language even better are writing a grammar, dictionary, textbooks, having mother tongue teachers, establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, Chhantyal should be taught at university level, Chhantyal should be used as official language in dominant districts, There should be the promotion and preservation of Chhantyal, culture and religion

and there should be a huge coverage of the language in the field of mass media such as radio, TV, and national level newspapers and journals.

- y) The most important ‘dreams’ which they would like to get realized immediately and to start planning are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. They have made plans for these important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to realize these dreams and they should be done immediately.
- z) There is lexical similarity ranging from 81% to 86% of lexical similarity among the key survey points in Chhantyal. It may indicate that Chhantyal at present does not show any dialectal variation that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Chhantyal speakers residing in different key points.
- aa) The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that there is no difficulty in understanding all the forms of speech spoken in all western development region of the country.

(b) Recommendations

On the basis of the findings, the following recommendations are put forward for the promotion and development of the Chhantyal language:

- a) As Chhantyal children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the vernacular and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.
- b) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings.
- c) By means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those illiterate.
- d) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Chhantyal community.
- e) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve, promote and develop their language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial.

- f) Immediately grammar and dictionary should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented.
- g) As Chhantyal children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the vernacular and textbooks in Nepali as well as the Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.
- h) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings.
- i) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be preserved. The Chhantyal community should be made aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue and encouraged to transmit their mother tongue to the younger generation through advocacy.
- j) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.
- k) A detailed language documentation project is essential to preserve, promote and develop their language and culture in which life crucial knowledge is embodied from time immemorial. Specific language programs such as language documentation, developing orthography, compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched.
- l) Immediately grammar and dictionary should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented.
- m) Chhantyal exhibits no dialectal variation.
- n) The most important 'dreams' which they would like to get realized immediately and to start plans are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them realizing their dreams.

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