A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF CHITONIYA THARU

A REPORT

SUBMITTED

TO

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF NEPAL (LinSuN)

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

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JULY 2016

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a report of sociolinguistic survey of Chitoniya Tharu, an Indo-Aryan language mainly spoken in the Chitwan district of Nepal. The main goal of this report is to provide the basic information about the present sociolinguistic picture of the Chitoniya Tharu. This report mainly focuses on the domains of language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, patterns of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes, dialectal variation and language development.

Chitoniya Tharu is also spoken in some parts of Nawalparasi, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat and Makwanpur districts. The term 'Chitoniya tharu' refers to the people as well as the language they speak. It is recognized as the distinct national language (2002 NFDIN Act, No. 20, Section 2C). The total population of Chitoniya Tharu is 285,000 (Eppele et al. 2012:88).

Map 1.1: Chitoniya Tharu speaking area
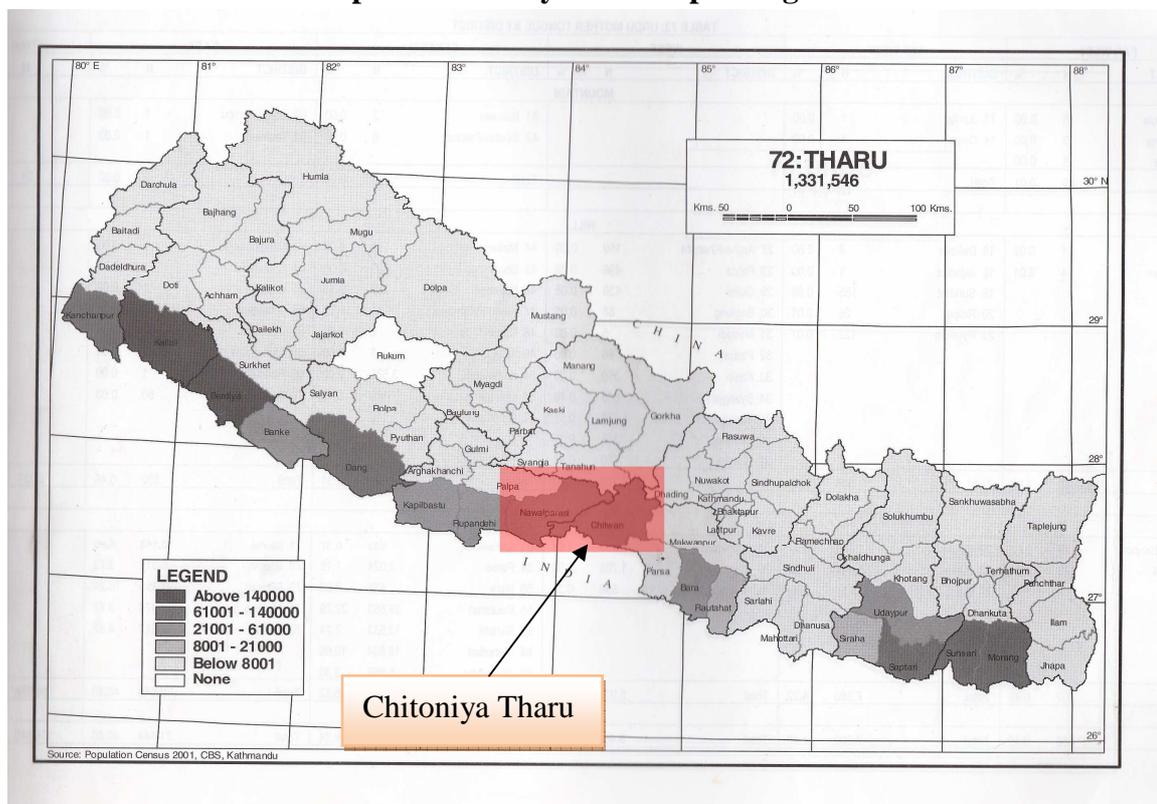
Source: Gurung, Harka, Yogendra Gurung, & Chhabi Lal Chidi (2006)

In this section, we briefly highlight on the naming and origin of the language, history of the language, occupation, family and social structure, tradition and culture, genetic

affiliation, distribution of the speakers, dialects, review of earlier works as well as the purpose and goals of the study.

1.2 Naming and origin of the language

Various thoughts have been expressed by different scholars about the origin of the Tharu in Nepal. Regarding the origin of the Nepalese Tharu community, there are two often quoted opinions of the scholars (Paudyal 2013). The first is that they were originated in the 'Thar' desert of Rajasthan, India and migrated to Nepal Terai in the period between thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. As they came from the 'Thar' desert, they were called Tharu. But this idea has been defined by the references of the Tharu community in Nepal even in the sixth century. The next idea is that they are the offspring of the Rajput women and their servants who had fled to the Nepal Terai in the thirteenth century when the Mughals attacked the Rajputana, Chitaurgarh, in Rajasthan of India. None of these ideas is convincing and has historical or logical grounds to support. Buchanan (1838) defies this idea that the Tharus are the descendants of Rajput claiming that "no Muslim historian has made the slightest allusion to the Tharus in connection with these events (expulsion by Muslims)" (see Meyer 1995). Quoting Nesfield (1885:33) and Meyer (1995:54), Boker (1999:63) remarks that 'the fiction of having migrated from Rajputana into the Terai must have been invented by some of the clans merely to raise themselves in their own and their neighbors' estimation". Furthermore, in the census of India (1961), Tharus are reported to be living in the Rajdeva village, northeast of Lucknow, who claim to be Rajputs migrated from Dang district of Nepal (Meyer 1995:54). Besides, there are some historical references that help us to have a general concept about the origin of the Tharus in Nepal.

Photograph 1.1: Chitoniya Tharu village

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1.3 People: Caste/ethnic groups

Chitawan Tharu is people of an ethnonym plus a loconym (Paudyal, 2013) in nature. They are very rich in culture with its legends, folk tales, proverbs, riddles, and folk songs sung on specific occasions.

Photograph 1.2: Chitoniya Tharu people

Photograph 1.3: Chitoniya Tharu things[1]

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[1] For more photographs See Annex 3

1.4 Occupation

Chitoniya Tharus are mainly engaged in farming and household works. The Chitoniya Tharu communities are situated in almost rural areas. Nowadays, they are also engaged in business and governments and public jobs, and also other occupations.

1.5 Religion

Most of the Tharu people practice a traditional religion; however, many claim to be Hindu (Boehm 1997: 27). Chitoniya tharu in Chitawan in general follow Hinduism. Table 1.2 presents the situation of religion in Chitawan district.

Table 1.1: The situation of the Religion in Chitoniya Tharu speech community

(n=60)

Religions	Number	Percentage
Hinduism	99	98.3%
Christian	1	1.7%
Total	60	100%

Table 1.1 shows that almost all of the participants responded that they follow Hinduism whereas 1.7% follows Christian as their religion.

1.6 Demography

According to Eppele et al. (2012:88), Chitoniya Tharu people are mainly found in Chitawan, Makawanpur, Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat districts of Narayani zone, and a few VDCs of Nawalparasi district of Lumbini zone. Table 1.2 shows the major distribution of the Chitoniya Tharu speakers in Nepal.

Table 1.2: Distribution of the Chitoniya Tharu language in Nepal

	Districts	Population
1	Chitawan	60,100
2	Nawalparasi	92,800
3	Parsa	41,000
4	Bara	63,300
5	Rautahat	27,500

Source: Population Census (2011)

1.7 Genetic affiliation

Chitoniya Tharu is classified as an Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone language. It has been referred to by several names such as Chitwan Tharu, Chitwania Tharu, Chitwaniya Tharu, and Chituniya Tharu. The Chitoniya Tharu language spoken in Nepal can be genetically subcategorized in the following diagram.

Diagram 1: Indo-European languages

Adapted from Yadava (2003: 145)
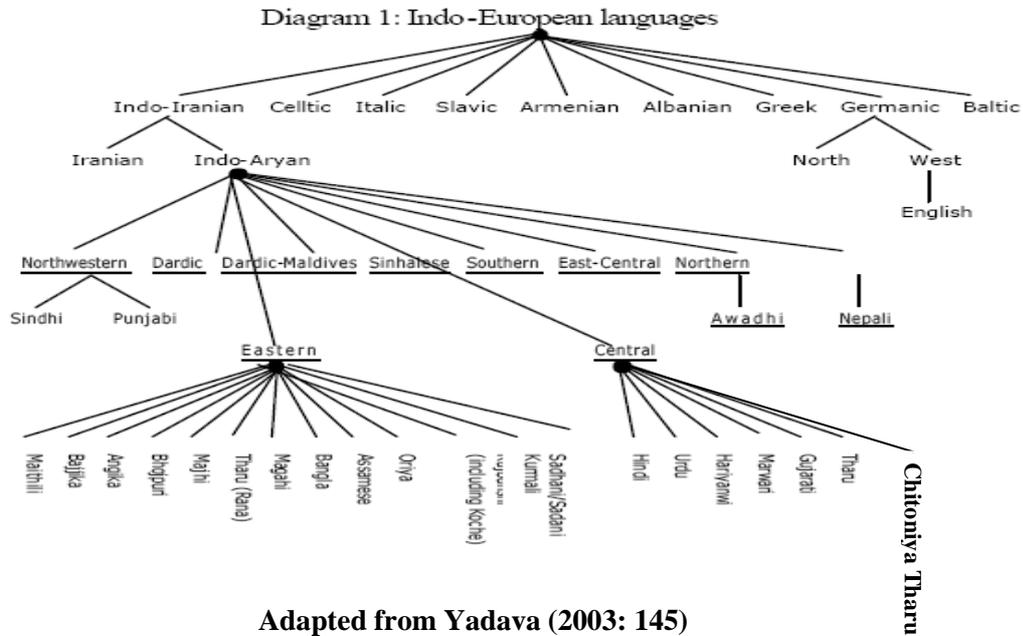
1.8 Review of earlier works

There are only a few works on the Chitoniya Tharu language and culture. Leal (1972b) is the first to introduce Chitoniya Tharu and their language. The author defies Grierson's (1968b:311) statement that "there is not such a thing as Tharu language" and states that Chitoniya Tharu is "substantially different from Nepali and Bhojpuri" though it is much influenced by them (Leal 1972b:2). She finds it much closer to Bhojpuri than to other Indo-Aryan languages. She mentions the phonemic inventory of 34 consonants comprising voice and aspirated forms of all the stops and affricates and six basic vowels. Moreover, she mentions four syllable structures V, CV, VC, and CVC.

Trail (1973) has collected wordlists of ten languages: three from Nepal including Chitoniya Tharu and seven from India. This research was conducted in 1972. This study prepares a glossary of approximately 1700 words including Swadesh's 100 lists, various domains of nouns, adjectives, and verbs with glosses in English and other selected languages.

Boehm (1998a) presents a phonological reconstruction of proto Tharu in Nepal. This study consists of 450 words from four different reprehensive areas of the Tharu speech communities based on the different cognates including Chitoniya Tharu.

Raut (2066 V.S.) presents the language and culture of Chitoniya Tharu. It is solely a descriptive presentation of the Chitoniya Tharu language and culture in a traditional manner. The focus of this study is on grammar. It is Raut (2066 V.S.) who first made an attempt to describe the grammatical categories of Chitoniya Tharu. He states that there are two numbers and seven cases with different case markers, and two levels of honorificity in the second and third person in this language. A special second person honorific pronoun *rʌure* 'you.H' is introduced along with special agreement marker *-iyu* affixed to the verb root. It is used for the in-law-relatives, maternal relatives and ritual friend called *mitji* or *yarji*. No grammatical gender is attested in this language. Besides, he has presented a brief discussion on the TAM categories of Chitoniya Tharu. It has three tense systems: present, past, and future, with distinct tense markers for each tense, two aspects: perfective and progressive, and three moods: imperative, indicative and subjunctive. In addition to the causativisation process, he has discussed the grammatical categories like adjectives, adverbs, postpositions and interjections in this language. Similarly, a list of the kinship terms, taboo words and the idiomatic expressions practiced in this language have also been included in this study. Besides, there is a discussion of various cultural activities performed at different times of the year.

However, a close examination of the presentation shows that the study does not follow any linguistic approach or methods for the description, nor does he use any tools for the language analysis. No phonological and morphological features of this language have been discussed. Nor does he mention the morphophonemic alterations that undergo during the derivation process. Although it is an attempt to examine the TAM categories, it does not make a comprehensive study of this aspect of this language. For example, he has discussed only two aspects and three moods, though there are evidences of habitual aspect, perfect aspect, plu-perfect aspect, iterative aspect and so on, and several moods like prohibitive mood, interrogative mood, optative mood, hortative mood, conditional mood and the like. Nevertheless, this study presents a brief account of the Chitoniya Tharu language and culture in a traditional way which serves as a resource for the present study too.

Paudyal (2067 V.S.) discusses the forms and functions of the 'be' verb in the

Dangaura Tharu. In this study, the author has mainly mentioned national scenario of the Tharu ethnic group with linguistic and cultural diversity and morphological processes for deriving finite forms of the 'be' verbs in all the tenses including Chitoniya Tharu varieties of Nepal. According to him, Chitoniya variety is quite different from the Danguara variety.

Paudyal (2010) analyzes the verbal morphology in Chitoniya Tharu. In this study, the author discusses various morphological processes occurring during the derivational and inflectional processes in Chitoniya Tharu. According to him, there are three types of tenses in Chitoniya Tharu. They are present, past, and future with distinctive tense markers: *-l* past marker, *-kʰ* and *-s* present markers, and *-b* and *-t* future markers. Moreover, the author discusses six different moods like declarative, interrogative, imperative, probabilative, optative and conditional moods as well as the copular verb 'be' with its different forms in tenses.

Eppele et al. (2012) is a bilingual English-Nepali volume consisting of a comprehensive listing of 124 languages (spoken and sign) spoken in Nepal "including 120 living languages and four reported as having no known mother tongue speakers" (Eppele et al. 2012:1). The most significant point of this volume is that it has listed five languages under the umbrella term Tharu including Chitoniya Tharu, however, we do not find in the report of Population and Housing Census 2011. According to Eppele et al. (2012:88), Chitoniya Tharu is an Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Eastern zone, unclassified language. It is spoken in all the districts of Narayani zone and Nawalparasi district of Lumbini zone.

Paudyal (2013) is a grammar of Chitoniya Tharu. His study is divided into 15 chapters. The first chapter introduces the study and reviews some previous literature. The second chapter discusses the theoretical framework. Chapter three provides a brief introduction of the Tharu ethnic group and the language they speak. The grammar proper begins with chapter four, which discusses the phonology of Chitoniya Tharu. Chapter five examines the morphophonological alternations attested in this language. Chapters six through ten explore the morphological processes of different word class words. Chapter six deals with the noun and nominal morphology, chapter seven with adjectives, chapter eight with verbs and verb morphology, chapter nine with adverbs, and the chapter ten deals with the closed word class words in this language. The noun phrase structures are analyzed in chapter eleven, whereas simple and complex sentences are examined in the chapters

twelve and thirteen respectively. We discuss and analyze the discourse types and the discourse strategies attested in this language in chapter fourteen. Finally, chapter fifteen concludes the findings of this study and presents the typological implications and the proposed classification of Chitoniya Tharu.

1.9 Purpose and goals

    (a) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of   language use in certain domains;

    (b) To assess the mother tongue proficiency and extent of community bilingualism of Kulung speakers in standard Nepali;

    (c) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language;

    (d) To gather information regarding the resources and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Chitoniya Tharu; and

    (e) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity and the levels of intelligibility among the selected varieties in the language.

1.10 Organization

The report is organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 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. Chapter 3 examines the major domains of language use. In chapter 4, we evaluate the bi-multilingualism and the mother tongue proficiency in Chitoniya Tharu. Chapter 5 looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Chitoniya Tharu. In chapter 6, we discuss language resources and language development. Chapter 7 examines the possible dialectal variations in Chitoniya Tharu. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the findings and recommendations. The annexes include sociolinguistic questionnaires, wordlist, basic information and some group photographs of the language consultants involved in the survey of Chitoniya Tharu.

CHAPTER 2
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Outline

This chapter deals, in detail, with the research methodology employed in the sociolinguistic survey of Chitoniya Tharu. It consists of five sections. Section 2.2 presents an overview of 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. In section 2.3, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.4 deals with the survey points, sample size and collection of data. In section 2.5, we deal with the limitations of the survey with respect to time, access, area, methods and informants.

2.2 Overview

This survey has employed five different methods/ tools in order to fulfill its goals. Table 2.1 presents methods/tools used in the survey of the Chitoniya Tharu.

Table 2.1: Tools/ methods used in the survey of Chitoniya Tharu
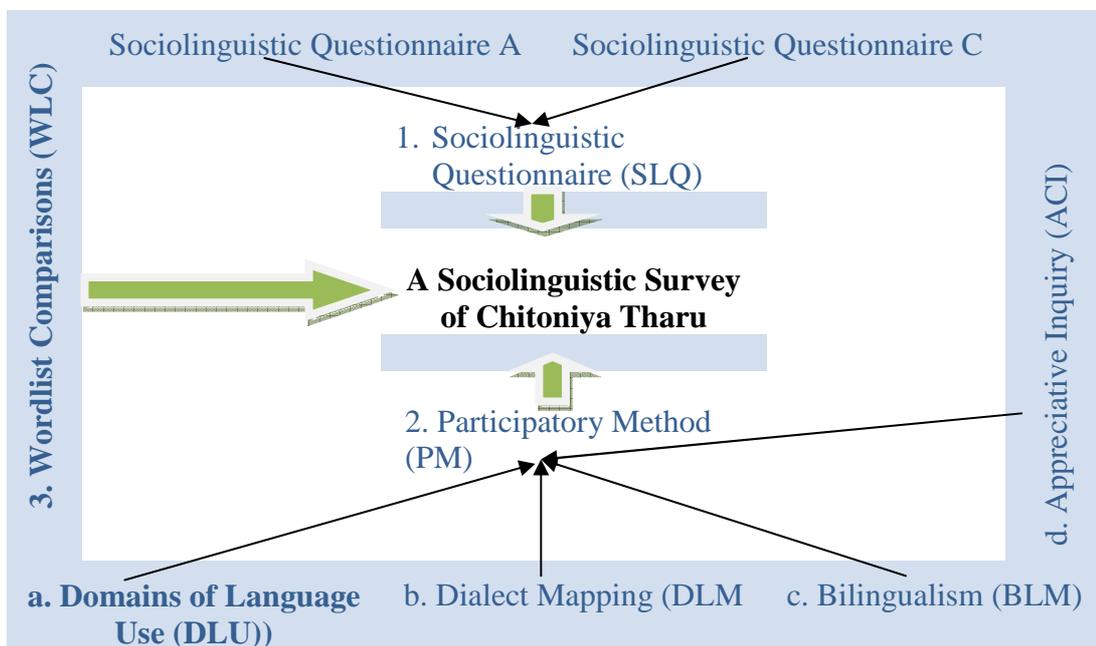
Table 2.1 shows that the methods/tools consist of Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), Participatory Method (PM) and Wordlist Comparisons (WLC). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of three sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use

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(DLU), Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI).

Table 2.2 presents the major goals of the survey, the research methods/tolls used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey.

Table 2.2: 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 Chitoniya Tharu	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	• Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of language use • Language vitality • 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	• 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	• 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

2.3 Research methods/tools

2.3.1 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.

From each village, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey points.[1] Figure 2.1 presents a model for sampling of informants from each point in Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Figure 2.1 Model for sampling informants in the survey points

A1=15-29, A2= 30- 59 and A3= 60 and above; L=Literate and IL=illiterate
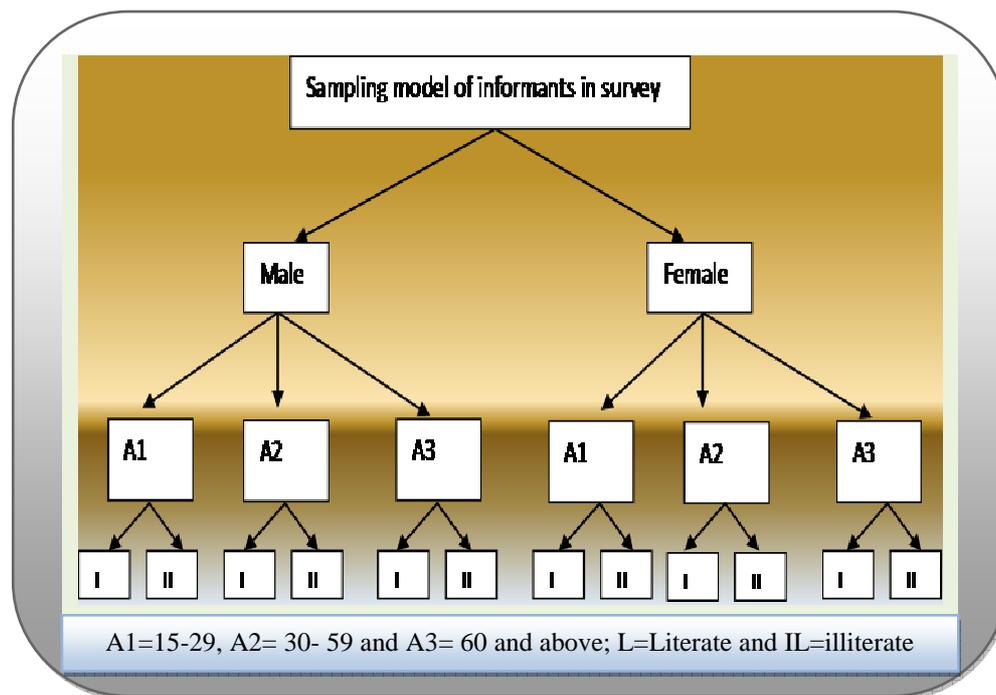
Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected age ranging 15-29 (A1), 30- 59(A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. The questions were asked by the administrators in Nepali to the informants and the answers given by the informants were recorded in the questionnaire in Nepali.

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[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).

2.3.2 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Chitoniya Tharu participants of different 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 Chitoniya Tharu, how bilingual Chitoniya Tharu people are, in which situations they use Chitoniya Tharu 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 (See Annex B for detail):

2.3.2.1 Domains of language use (DLU)

We used the Domains of Language Use tool in order to help the Chitoniya Tharu community members to think about and visualize the languages which Chitoniya Tharu people speak in various situations. In this tool, the Chitoniya Tharu 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 speak Chitoniya Tharu and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu. Then, the participants were asked

to place the labels Nepali, Chitoniya Tharu and both Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu. Next they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

2.3.2.2 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 Chitoniya Tharu. The Chitoniya Tharu participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Chitoniya Tharu is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

2.3.2.3 Bilingualism/Multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Chitoniya Tharu and Nepali by different subsets of the Chitoniya Tharu community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Chitoniya Tharu people who speak Chitoniya Tharu well and the other the Chitoniya Tharu people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. 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 Chitoniya Tharu '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 the Chitoniya Tharu people that spoke Chitoniya Tharu '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.

2.3.2.4 Appreciative inquiry

This tool was used to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Chitoniya Tharu 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 or culture. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in the Chitoniya Tharu language and culture, express they "dreamed" about how they could make their language or 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) points out that the first three tools helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language where as this tool helped them think about future possibilities.

2.3.3   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 Chitoniya Tharu.

2.3.4   Word list comparisons: Description, purpose and procedure

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 Chitoniya Tharu 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 (See Chapter 7 for detail)

From each survey points, at least six informants representative of different age, sex and educational status 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, had to speak Chitoniya Tharu 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 Chitoniya Tharu word from a mother tongue Chitoniya Tharu speaker. 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 Chitoniya Tharu. However, the intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.4 Sampling

2.4.1 Survey points

Chitoniya Tharu speaking areas were categorized into five survey points for the purpose of sociolinguistic survey. Table 2.3 presents the survey points used in the survey of the Chitoniya Tharu language including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates.

Table 2.3: Survey points including GPS (global positioning system) coordinates in Chitoniya Tharu

	Survey points	GPS Coordinates	Elevation (in meter)
1.	Gardi-1, Madi Municipality	$084^0\,16'57.2''$ E $027^0\,28'51.8''$ N	151
2.	Meghauli-2, Narayani Municipality	$084^0\,13'27.5''$ E $027^0\,34'49.7''$ N	138
3.	Debauli-4, Ratnanagar Municipality	$084^0\,30'46.4''$ E $027^0\,36'34.2''$ N	181
4.	Padampur-6, Kalika Municipality	$084^0\,29'07.2''$ E $027^0\,41'05.1''$ N	179
5.	Mangni-8, Khairhani Municipality	$084^0\,34'30.9''$ E $027^0\,36'54.2''$ N	174

Source: Field study, 2016

2.4.2 Sample size

Table 2.4 presents the sample size and different tools used in the survey.

Table 2.4: Sample size and different tools used in the survey

Survey points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires			Other
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory): DLU, DLM, MLT, APE	C (Language activist/head)	Wordlist
Core	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
North	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
South	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
West	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
East	12	1+1+1+1	2	2
Total	60	20	10	10

DLU= domains of language use, DLM= dialect mapping, BLM: multilingualism, APE= appreciative inquiry

2.4.3 Data collection

Table 2.5 presents the total number of the data collected by using different tools in survey points in Chitoniya Tharu.

Table 2.5: Total number of the data collection in the survey points in Chitoniya Tharu

Survey points	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires						Other Tools
	A(Individual)	B(Participatory)				C	Wordlist
		DLU	DLM	BML	APE		
Gardi	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Meghauli	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Debauli	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Padampur	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Mangni	12	1	1	1	1	2	2
Total	60	5	5	5	5	12	12

2.5 Limitations of the survey

a) Because of the constraint of the time, we used only four tools: sociolinguistic questionnaires, A, B, C and wordlist only in five points in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

b) Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) and Recorded Text Test (RTT) were not employed in the survey.

CHAPTER 3

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.1 Outline

This chapter deals with the patterns of language use in different in domains in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.2 deals with the patterns of language use in general domains. In section 3.3, we deal with the patterns of language use in specific domains in Chitoniya Tharu. Section 3.4 presents the use of mother tongue and language of wider communication. In section 3.5, we evaluate the language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level. Section 3.6 looks at the languages used with the visitors at home. In section 3.7, we present the summary of the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Language use in general domains

Chitoniya Tharu is used in different domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/ shopping/ marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarreling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gathering, and village meeting. In this section, first, we present the general picture of patterns of language use and then, we present such patterns in terms of demographic categories such as sex, literacy and age.

3.2.1 Patterns of language use in general

Domains of language use are generally referred to as the patterns of language use among the speakers of a language (Regmi, 2011). More specifically, they are the contexts or situations in which a speaker makes a choice, in most of the cases, a conscious choice among his/her mother tongue, a language of wider communication and both or other languages. The main domains consist in community, home, business and education. The vitality of a language can be better examined by looking at the patterns of language use among the speakers in terms of sex and literacy. Table 3.1 presents the languages most frequently used by the Chitoniya Tharu speakers in different domains.

DOMAINS	N=60	LANGUAGES											
		M	N	M+ N	N+M	N+E	N+M+E	H	Th	TH+N	M+H	M+H+B+A	M+N+H	M+N+H+B
Counting		2 (3.33%)	54 (90%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)							
Singing		40 (66.66%)	5 (8.33%)	7 (11.66%)	3 (5%)			1 (1.66%)			1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	2 (3.33%)	
Joking		48 (80%)	6 (10%)	5 (8.33%)	1 (1.66%)									
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing		48 (80%)	7 (11.66%)	5 (8.33%)										
Story telling		50 (83.33%)	7 (11.66%)	3 (5%)										
Discussing/ Debate		50 (83.33%)	6 (10%)	3 (5%)	1(1.66%)									
Praying		51 (85%)	6 (10%)	3 (5%)										
Quarrelling		51 (85%)	5 (8.33%)	2 (3.33%)	1 (1.66%)					1 (1.66%)				
Abusing (scolding/us ing taboo words)		50 (83.33%)	6 (10%)	2 (3.33%)	1(1.66%)					1 (1.66%)				
Telling stories to children		52 (86.66%)	2 (3.33%)	5 (8.33%)						1 (1.66%)				
Singing at home		50 (83.33%)	6 (10%)	2 (3.33%)				1 (1.66%)						1(1.66%)
Family gatherings		51 (85%)	4 (6.66%)							5 (8.33%)				
Village meetings		46 (76.66%)	2 (3.33%)	9 (15%)	2 (3.33%)					1 (1.66%)				

M=Chitoniya Tharu, N=Nepali,

Source: Field Study (2016)

Table 3.1 shows that in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community, is extensively used in all the general domains of languages use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. In the domains like counting, 90% of the

informants have responded that Nepali is used whereas only 3.33% responded that they use mother tongue, Chitoniya Tharu. In this speech community, in the domains of storytelling, discussing/debate, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home and Family gatherings more than 80% of the speakers use Chitoniya Tharu. However, in the domain of Joking, Bargaining/shopping, 80 % of the informants use Chitoniya Tharu. In case of singing in general, Chitoniya Tharu is predominantly (i.e., 66.66%) used in the Chitonya Tharu speech community whereas other languages like Nepali and Hindi are also used in singing. Similarly, In the domain of village meetings, more the 76% the speakers use Chitoniya Tharu whereas around 15% use both mother tongue and Nepali. The use of Nepali, the official language of Nepal, is insignificantly used in this speech community.

Figure 3.1: presents the patterns of language use in different domains in Chitoniya Tharu
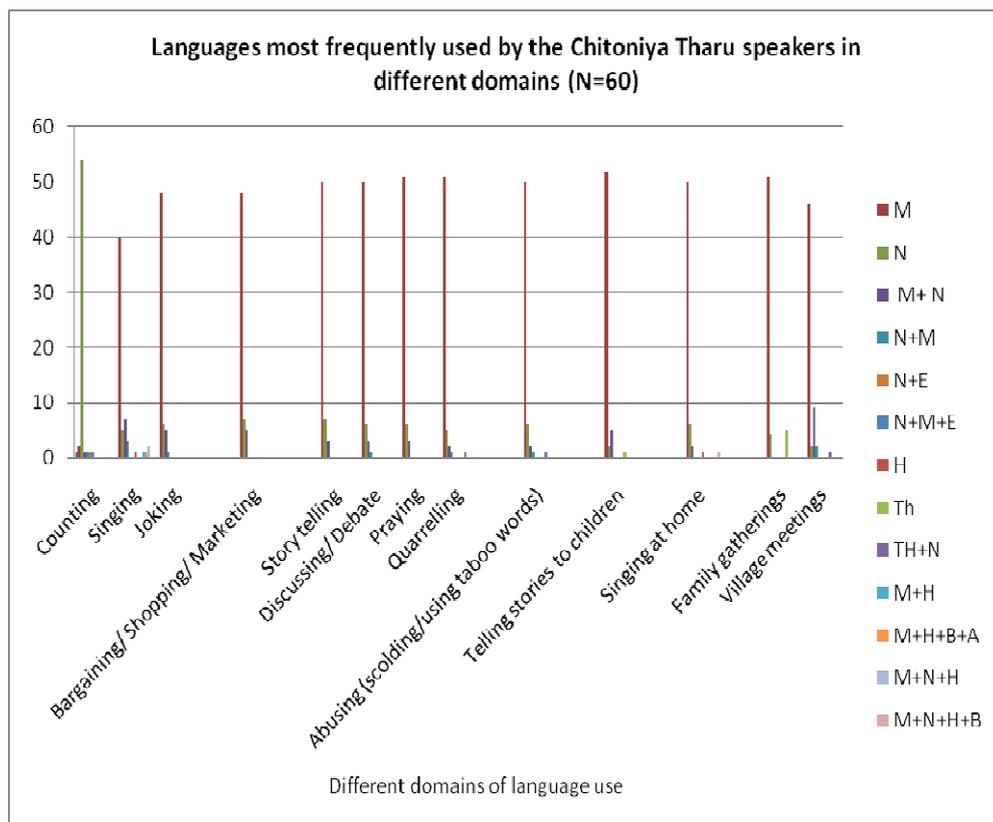
Figure 3.1: Languages most frequently used in general domains in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community

3.2.2 Patterns of language use in general domains by sex

Table 3.2 (a-b) present the languages most frequently used by the Chitoniya Tharu speakers in different domains by sex.

Table 3.2 (a): Languages most frequently used in different domains in Chitoniya Tharu speech community by male (N=30)

DOMAINS		Languages								
	MT	Nepali	MT and Nepali	N+M	TH+N	M+H+B+A	M+N+H+B	H	M+H	TH
Counting	-	29 (96.66%)	1 (3.33%)							
Singing	17 (56.66%)	3 (10%)	4 (13.33%)	3 (10%)		1 (3.33%)		1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)	
Joking	20 (66.66%)	6 (20%)	4 (13.33%)	-						
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	22 (73.33%)	5 (16.66%)	3 (10%)							
Story telling	23 (76.66%)	5 (16.66%)	2 (6.66%)							
Discussing/ Debate	22 (73.33%)	5 (16.66%)	2 (6.66%)	1 (3.33%)						
Praying	23 (76.66%)	6 (20%)	1(3.33%)							
Quarrelling	22 (73.33%)	6 (20%)	1(3.33%)	-	1 (3.33%)					
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	22 (73.33%)	6 (20%)	-	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)					
Telling stories to children	23 (76.66%)	2 (6.66%)	4 (13.33%)							1 (3.33%)
Singing at home	22	6	-				1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)		
Family gatherings	21 (70%)	4 (13.33%)								5 (16.66%)
Village meetings	21 (70%)	2 (6.66%)	4 (13.33%)	2 (6.66%)	1 (3.33%)					

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.2 (b): Languages most frequently used in different domains in Chitoniya Tharu speech community by female (N=30)

DOMAINS	Languages						
	MT	Nepali	MT and Nepali	N+M	N+E	N+M+E	M+N+H
Counting	2 (6.66%)	25 (83.33%)	-	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)	
Singing	23 (76.66%)	2 (6.66%)	3 (10%)	-			2 (6.66%)
Joking	28 (93.33%)	-	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)			
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	26 (86.66%)	2 (6.66%)	2 (6.66%)				
Story telling	27 (90%)	2 (6.66%)	1 (3.33%)				
Discussing/ Debate	28 (93.33%)	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)	-			
Praying	28 (93.33%)	-	2 (6.66%)				
Quarrelling	29 (96.66%)	-	1 (3.33%)				
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	28 (93.33%)	-	2 (6.66%)				
Telling stories to children	29 (96.66%)	-	1 (3.33%)				
Singing at home	28 (93.33%)	-	2 (6.66%)				
Family gatherings	30 (100%)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Village meetings	25 (83.33%)	-	5 (16.66%)				

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.2 (a-b) clearly show that all the informants, both male and female, overwhelmingly use Chitoniya Tharu in all the general domains of language use. Naturally, in almost domains, the female respondents are more loyal in the use of mother tongue than the male respondents. Table 3.2(a) presents that more than 96% of the male informants use Nepali in the domains of counting, more than 70% use mother tongue in the domains of bargaining, discussing, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. Similarly, more than 66% and 56% use mother tongue in the domains of joking and singing respectively. However, Table 3.2(b) presents that cent persent female

informants use Chitoniya Tharu in family gatherings. Only more than 83% of the informants use Nepali in the domains of counting. In the case of joking, story telling, discussing, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home more than 90% of the female speakers use mother. Similarly, more than 83% and 76% use mother in the domains of village meetings and singing, respectively.

3.2.3 Patterns of language use in general domains by literacy

Table 3.3 (a-b) present the languages most frequently used by the Chitoniya Tharu speakers in different domains by literacy.

Table 3.3 (a): Languages most frequently used by literate in different domains (N=33)

DOMAINS	Languages											
	MT	Nepali	MT and Nepali	N+M	N+M +E	H	M+H +B+A	M+N +H+B	M+ N+H	TH	Th+N	Nepali
Counting	1 (3.03%)	31 (93.93%)			1 (3.03%)							
Singing	20 (60.60%)	4 (12.12%)	6 (18.18%)	-		1 (3.03%)	1 (3.03%)		1 (3.03%)			
Joking	23 (69.69%)	6 (18.18%)	3 (9.09%)	1 (3.03%)								
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	23 (69.69%)	6 (18.18%)	4 (12.12%)									
Story telling	25 (75.75%)	6 (18.18%)	1 (3.03%)									
Discussing/ Debate	25 (75.75%)	6 (18.18%)	1 (3.03%)	1 (3.03%)								
Praying	24 (72.72%)	6 (18.18%)	3 (9.09%)									
Quarrelling	26 (78.78%)	4 (12.12%)	1 (3.03%)	1 (3.03%)							1 (3.03%)	
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	25 (75.75%)	5 (15.15%)	1 (3.03%)	1 (3.03%)							1 (3.03%)	
Telling stories to children	27 (81.81%)	1 (3.03%)	4 (12.12%)							1 (3.03%)		
Singing at home	25 (75.75%)	5 (15.15%)	1 (3.03%)			1 (3.03%)		1 (3.03%)				
Family gatherings	24 (72.72%)	4 (12.12%)								5 (15.15%)		
Village meetings	22 (66.66%)	2 (6.06%)	6 (18.18%)	2 (6.06%)							1 (3.03%)	

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.3(a) shows that except in counting, the literate informants use their mother tongue at the higher percentages.

23

Table 3.3(b): Languages most frequently used by illiterate in different domains

(N=27)

DOMAINS	Languages						
	MT	Nepali	MT and Nepali	N+M	N+E	M+N+H	M+H
Counting	1 (3.70%)	23 (85.18%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)		
Singing	20 (74.07%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)	3 (11.11%)		1 (3.70)	1 (3.70%)
Joking	25 (92.59%)	-	2 (7.40%)				
Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	25 (92.59%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)				
Story telling	25 (92.59%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)				
Discussing/ Debate	25 (92.59%)	-	2 (7.40%)				
Praying	27 (100%)	-	-				
Quarrelling	25 (92.59%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)				
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	25 (92.59%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)				
Telling stories to children	25 (92.59%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)				
Singing at home	25 (92.59%)	1 (3.70%)	1 (3.70%)				
Family gatherings	27 (100%)	-	-				
Village meetings	24 (88.88%)	-	3 (11.11%)				

Table 3.3(b) shows that illiterate informants, as expected, are much more loyal to the mother tongue in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Except in counting, the illiterate speakers exclusively use their mother tongue at the highest percentages.

3.3 Language use in specific domains

3.3.1 Language use at home

This subsection examines the patterns of language use at home especially while talking about education matters (i.e., school, admission, teacher, etc), discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc) and in writing letters. Table 3.4 presents the languages most frequently used in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community in certain situations.

Table 3.4: Languages most frequently used in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community in certain situations (N=60)

Language most frequently used at home while (a) Talking about education matters (b) Discussing social events and family matters and (c) Writing letters WITH…	LANGUAGES /DOMAINS	MALE (30)			FEMALE (30)		
		MT	Nepali	MT and Nepali	MT	Nepali	MT and Nepali
GRANDFATHER (N=60)	Educational matters	8 (13.33%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	20 (33.33%)		
	Social events	8 (13.33%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	20 (33.33%)		
	Writing a letters		7 (11.66%)		1 (1.66%)	17 (28.33%)	
GRANDMOTHER (N=60)	Educational matters	9 (15%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	20 (33.33%)		
	Social events	8 (13.33%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	20 (33.33%)		
	Writing a letters		7 (11.66%)		1 (1.66%)	17 (28.33%)	
FATHER (N=60)	Educational matters	17 (28.33%)	1 (1.66%)	3 (5%)	23 (38.33%)		
	Social events	9 (15%)	1 (1.66%)		19 (31.66%)		
	Writing a letters		10 (16.66%)			19 (31.66%)	
MOTHER (N=60)	Educational matters	18 (30%)	1 (1.66%)	3 (5%)	25 (41.66%)		
	Social events	8 (13.33%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	20 (33.33%)		
	Writing a letters		11 (18.33%)		1 (1.66%)	18 (30%)	
SPOUSE (N=60)	Educational matters		19 (31.66%)	3 (5%)	23 (38.33%)		
	Social events	3 (5%)		1 (1.66%)	14 (23.33%)		
	Writing a letters		11 (18.33%)		1 (1.66%)	15 (25%)	
CHILDREN (N=60)	Educational matters	3 (5%)		17 (28.33%)	14 (23.33%)	1 (1.66%)	7 (11.66%)
	Social events		1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)	12 (20%)	1 (1.66%)	1 (1.66%)
	Writing a letters		15 (25%)		1 (1.66%)	16 (26.66%)	

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.4 shows that both male and female informants use their mother tongue, Chitoniya Tharu while talking about educational matters (i.e. school, admission, teacher, etc.). It further presents discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc.).

3.3.2 Language use in the community

In this section, we look at the pattern of language use in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings.

Table 3.5 presents the patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings.

Table 3.5: Patterns of language use in marriage invitations and writing minutes in community meetings

What language does the community use in/for	Sex					
	MALE (30)			**FEMALE (30)**		
	Chitoniya Tharu	**Nepali**	**N+M**	**Chitoniya Tharu**	**Nepali**	**N+M**
Marriage invitations?	1 (3.33%)	28 (93.33%)	1 (3.33%)	4 (13.33%)	12 (40%)	14 (46.66%)
Writing minutes in community meetings?	1 (3.33%)	29 (96.66%)	-	4 (13.33%)	26 (86.66%)	-

M=Chitoniya Tharu

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.5 shows that Nepali is used more than Chitoniya Tharu in the marriage invitations. Male seems to be more loyal towards Nepali than female in the marriage invitations. Surprisingly, male and female reported that they do not use Chitoniya Tharu in writing minutes in their community. It indicates that the Chitoniya Tharu speech community is yielding to Nepali, a wider communication.

3.3.3 Language spoken by the children

There are three domains to examine the patterns of language used by the children: Playing with other children and talking with neighbors and at school. Table 3.6 presents the languages usually spoken by children by sex**.**

Table 3.6: Languages usually spoken by children in certain domains by sex

(N=60)

What language do your children usually speak while	MALE n=30				FEMALE n=30			
	Chitoniya Tharu	Nepali	Chitoniya Tharu and Nepali	Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu	Chitoniya Tharu	Nepali	Chitoniya Tharu and Nepali	Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu
Playing with other children?	9 (30%)	21 (70%)	-		19 (63.33%)	10 (33.33%)	1 (3.33%)	
Talking with neighbors?	22 (73.33%)	3 (10%)	5 (16.66%)		25 (83.33%)	3 (10%)	2 (6.66%)	
At school?	-	25 (83.33%)	-	5 (16.66%)		17 (56.66%)	5 (16.66%)	8 (26.66)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.6 shows that 70% male and more than 33% female of the total informants said that their children tend to speak Nepali than their mother tongue Chitoniya Tharu while playing with other children whereas 30% male and 63.33% female informants responded that their children use Nepali and rest of the 3.33% female informants replied that their children use mother tongue and Nepali both.

Similarly, more than 73% male and 83% female of the total informants said that their children use their mother tongue while talking with neighbors. In the same way, more than 16% male and 6% of the female of the total informants responded that their children use both mother tongue and Nepali whereas rest of the 10 % male and the same present of female informants replied that their children use Nepal while talking with neighbors.

  Likewise, more than 83% male and 56% female of the total informants said that their children use Nepali while in the school whereas 16.66% male and 26.66% of the female of the total informants responded that their children use both Nepali and their mother tongue and rest of the 16.66 % female informants replied that their children use both their mother tongue and Nepali while in the school.

3.4 Use of mother tongue and language of wider communication

The vitality of language may be better measured in terms of the frequency of the mother tongue and language of wider communication in practical life. In Chitoniya Tharu speech community, in general, Nepali serves as the language of wider communication. Table 3.7 presents the frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 3.7: Frequency of use of mother tongue and language of wider communication in Chitoniya Tharu speech community (N=60)

How often do you use …	THE FREQUENCY OF USE		
	Every day	Rarely	Never
your mother tongue?	53 (88.33%)	7 (11.66%)	-
language of wider communication (LWC)?	40 (66.66%)	20 (33.33%)	-

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.7 shows that almost all the informants use their mother tongue every day. On the other hand, more than 66% of the total informants responded that they use Nepali as the language of wider communication every day while rest of the 33.33% of the informants replied that they use Nepali as the language of wider communication rarely.

3.5 Language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level

Generally, children gradually go on shifting to the language of the medium of instruction if their mother tongue is not used in education especially at primary level.

Table 3.8 presents the patterns of language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 3.8: Language preference for children's medium of instruction at primary level in Chitoniya Tharu speech community (N=60)

Which language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?	Sex		Literacy		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate n=33	Illiterate n=27	Total n=60
Chitoniya Tharu	29 (96.66%)	27 (90%)	29 (84.84%)	27 (100%)	56 (93.33%)
Nepali	1 (3.33%)	2 (6.66%)	3 (6.06%)	-	3 (5%)
English	-	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.03%)	-	1 (1.66%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.8 shows that more than 93% of the total informants, of all the demographic categories prefer their mother tongue as the medium of instruction at primary level in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community whereas 5% of the total informants responded that they prefer Nepali as the medium of instruction and the rest of the 1.66% replied that they prefer English as the medium of instruction at primary level.

3.6 Language used with the visitors at home

In the Chitoniya Tharu community, almost all the respondents irrespective of sex are proficient bilingual in Nepali. Table 3.9 presents the pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Chitoniya Tharu speakers at home.

Table 3.9: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Chitoniya Tharu speakers at home (N=60)

Which language do you speak when speakers of other languages visit you at home?	MALE n=30	FEMALE n=30	TOTAL n=60
Nepali	29 (96.66%)	28 (93.33%)	57 (95%)
Chitoniya Tharu	-	2 (6.66%)	2 (3.33%)
English	1 (3.33%)	-	1 (1.66%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 3.9 shows that in Chitoniya Tharu speech community, Nepali is overwhelmingly (i.e., 95%) used with the persons of other languages visit them at home. Only 3.33% of the entire respondents have replied that they use Chitoniya Tharu with the persons of other languages who visit them at home as well as the rest of the 1.66% use English.
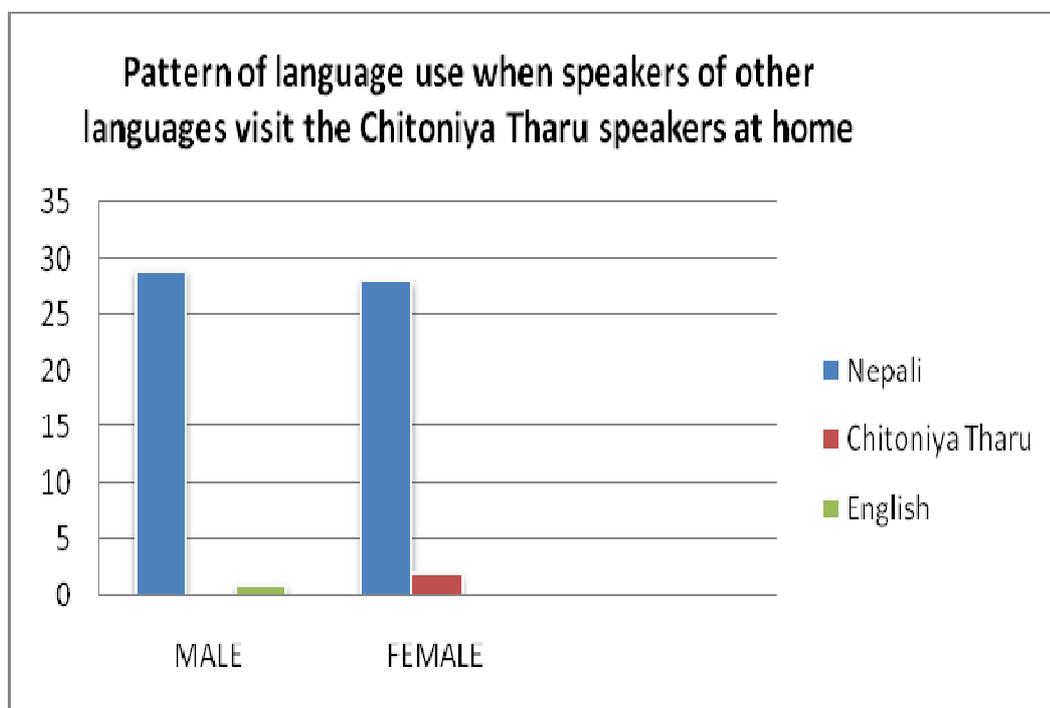
Figure 3.2: Pattern of language use when speakers of other languages visit the Chitoniya Tharu speakers at home

3.7 Domains of language use uncovered from the participatory method

In three survey points, namely, Debauli, Gardi and Meghauli Domains of Language Use tool was used in order to help the Chitoniya Tharu community members to think about and visualize the languages which Chitoniya Tharu people speak in various situations. In groups, the Chitoniya Thru participants in each survey points 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 speak Chitoniya Tharu and those situations in which they use both Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu. Then, the participants were asked to place the labels Nepali, Chitoniya Tharu and both Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu. Next, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At the end, the participants concluded by

discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations. Photograph 3.1 (a-c) presents the situation of language use in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.
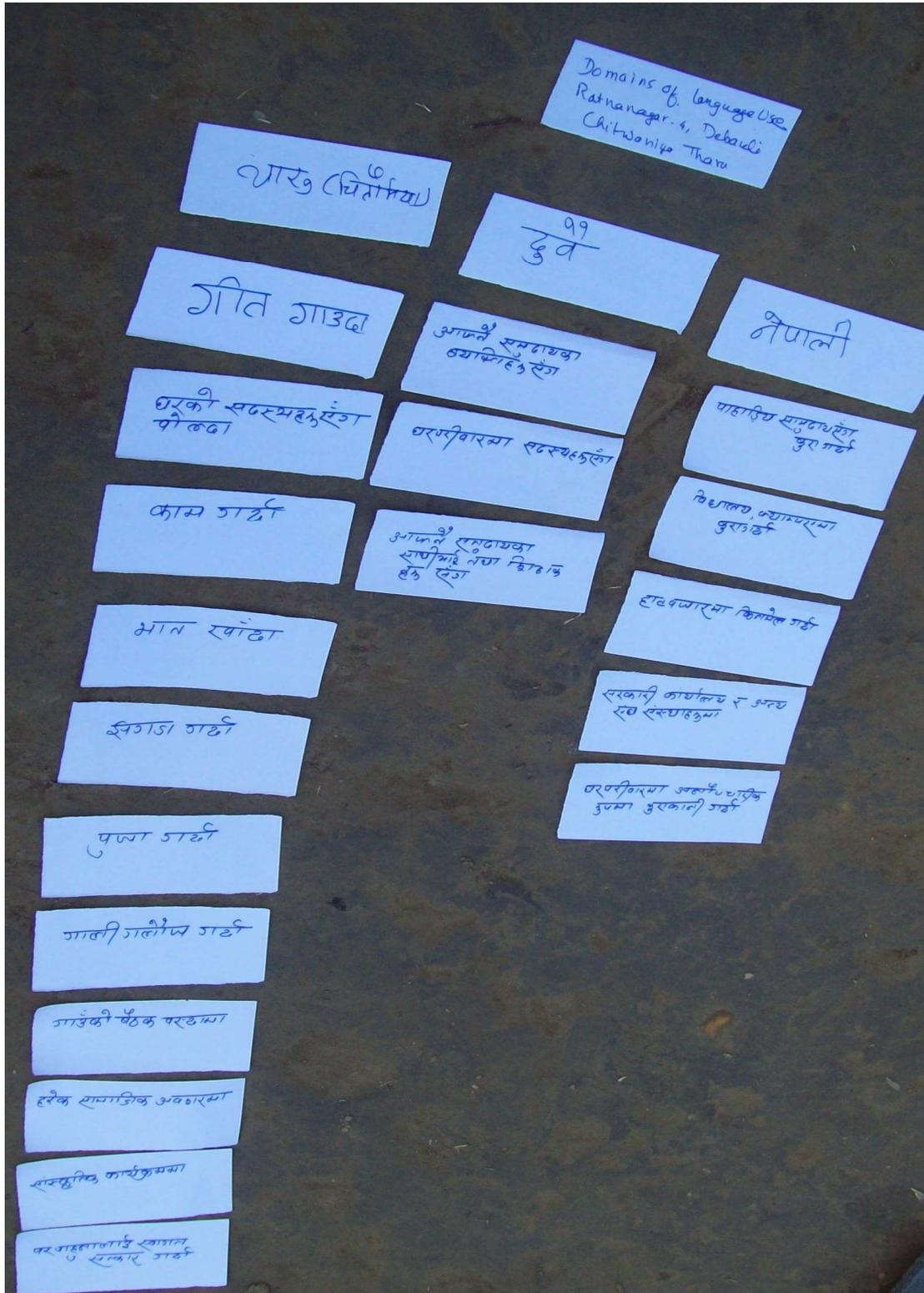
Domains of Language Use in Photograph 3.1a: Debauli, Chitawan
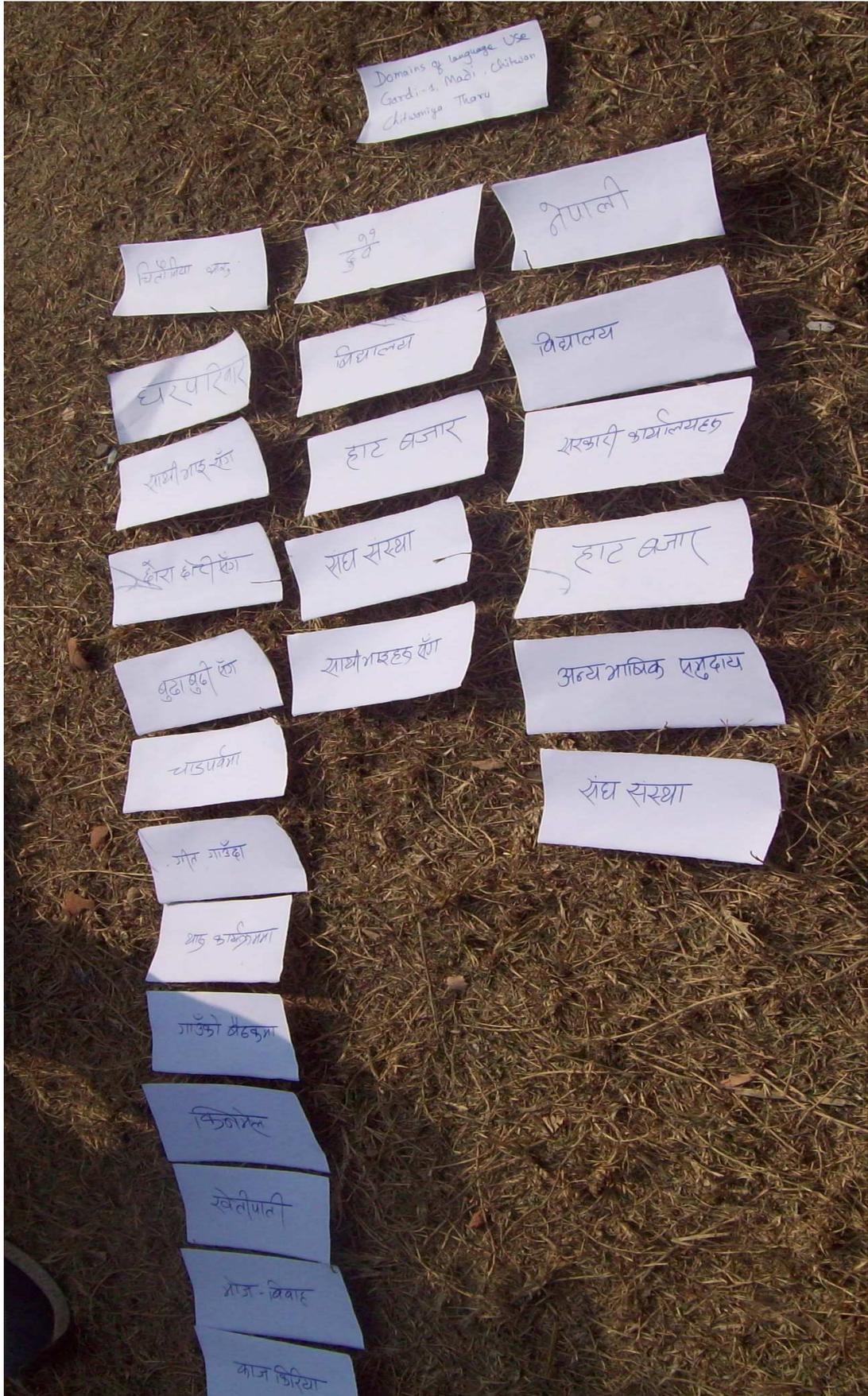
Domains of Language Use in Photograph 3.1b: Gardi, Chitawan

Domains of Language Use in Photograph 3.1c: Meghauli, Chitawan

Table 3.10 presents the situation of domains of language use in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 3.10: Situation of domains of language use in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Survey points	Chitoniya Tharu	Both Chitoniya and Nepali	Nepali only
Debauli	1. Songs and music 2. All the members of the Chitoniya Tharu Community 3. In farming 4. While Praying the god 5.While quarrelling 6. Village meetings 7.To welcome the outsiders etc.	1. All the members of the Chitoniya Tharu Community 2. Family members	1. While talking with speakers other than Chitoniya Tharu 2. In government offices 3. In markets

Gardi	1. With friends 2. Elderly people 3. In festivals 4. Songs and music 5. While dancing 6. Village meetings 7. Farmers 8. While quarrelling 9. In marriage parties	1. In schools 2. In markets 3. Organizations 4. Friends 5. Personnel 6. Businessmen	1. At school 2. In the government offices 3. In markets 4. Others language speakers 5. Organizations
Meghauli	1. Family members 2. Friends 3. Villagers 4. Sing a song 5. While quarrelling 6. plannting paddy 7. marriage ceremony 8. In local programs 9. In marriage parties	1. In markets 2. In schools 3. office 4. Businessmen	1. In markets 2. In schools 3. While talking with speakers other than Chitoniya Tharu 4. In the government offices 5. While travelling

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the patterns of language use in different in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Chitoniya Tharu is extensively used in all the general domains of languages use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings. In the domains like counting, 90% of the informants have responded that Nepali is used. In this speech community, in the domains of storytelling, discussing/debate, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home and Family gatherings Chitoniya Tharu is overwhelmingly used. However, in the domains of Joking, Bargaining/shopping, 80 % of the informants use Chitoniya Tharu. In case of singing in general, Chitoniya Tharu is predominantly (i.e., 66.66%) used in the Chitonya Tharu speech community whereas other languages like Nepali and Hindi are also used in singing. Similarly, In the domain of village meetings, more the 76% the speakers use Chitoniya Tharu whereas around 15% use both mother tongue and Nepali. The use of Nepali, the official language of Nepal, is insignificantly used in this speech community.

The majority illiterate informants, as expected, are much more loyal to the mother tongue in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Except in counting, the illiterate speakers exclusively use their mother tongue at the highest percentages. Similarly, both that both male and female informants use their mother tongue, Chitoniya Tharu while talking about educational matters (i.e. school, admission, teacher, etc.). It further presents discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc.). Nepali is exclusively used when the speakers of other languages visit Chitoniy Tharu at home. Majority of both sexes prefer their mother tongue as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

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CHAPTER 4

BI/MULTILINGUALISM AND MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY

4.1 Outline

This chapter assesses the situation of bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. It consists of four sections. Section 4.2 assesses the situation of bi/multilingualism of in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. In section 4.3, we examine level of mother tongue proficiency in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Section 4.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

4.2 Bi/Multilingualism

Chitoniya Tharu is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz., Chitoniya Tharu, Nepali, English, Hindi and Bhojpuri. Chitoniya Tharu is overwhelmingly used in almost all the domains of language use in their own community. There is an intense contact of Chitoniya Tharu speakers with Nepali and Hindi speakers. Table 4.1 shows an overall picture of multilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 4.1: Multilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community (N=60)

	Languages	No. of speakers	%
1	Chitoniya Tharu	60	100
2	Nepali	57	95
3	English	14	23.33
4	Hindi	7	11.66
5	Bhojpuri	3	5

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 4.1 shows that out of the total informants, 95% are bilingualism in Nepali whereas some of them speak English and Hindi which covers 23.33% and 11.66% respectively. 5% of them reported that they can speak Bhojpuri.

Figure 4.1 intensely presents the situation of multilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.
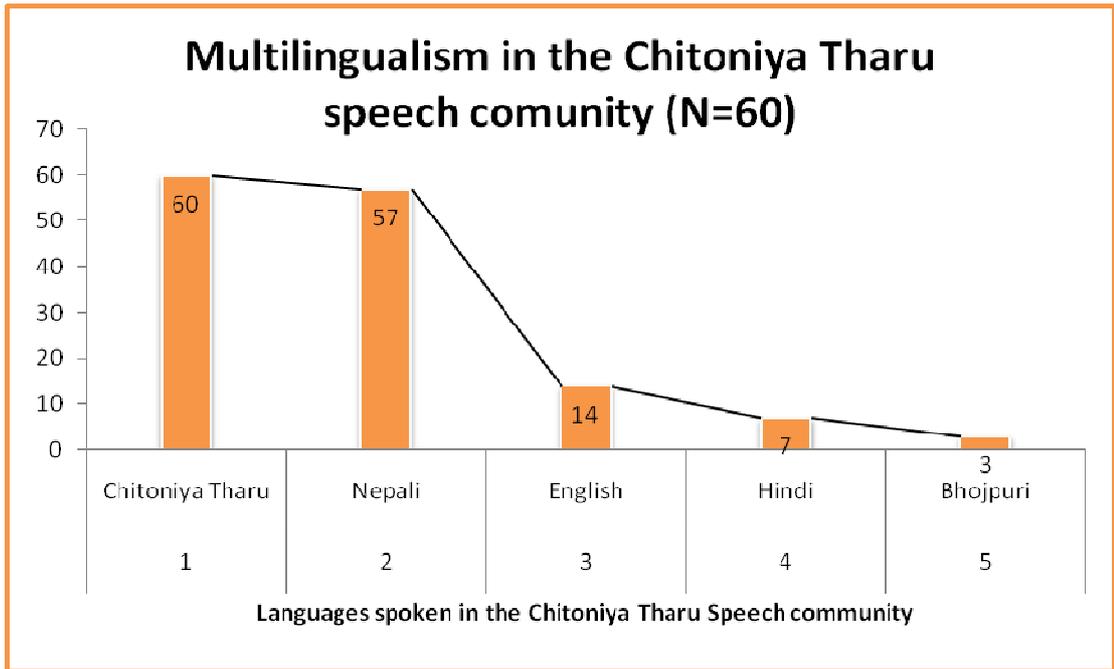
Figure 4.1: Multilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community

Table 4.2 presents a picture of multilingualism in the Chitoniya Tahru speech community by sex and literacy.

Table 4.2: Multilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community by sex and literacy (N=60)

	What languages can you speak?	Sex		Literacy		
		Male n=30	**Female n=30**	**Literate n=33**	**Illiterate n=27**	**Total n=60**
1	Chitoniya Tharu	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	33 (100%)	27 (100%)	60 (100%)
2	Nepali	29 (48.33%)	28 (46.66%)	32 (53.33%)	25 (41.66%)	57 (95%)
3	English	10 (16.66%)	4 (6.66%)	14 (23.33%)	-	14 (23.33%)
4	Hindi	5 (8.33%)	2 (3.33%)	6 (10%)	1 (1.66%)	7 (11.66%)
5	Bhojpuri	2 (3.33)	1 (1.66)	3 (5%)	-	3 (5%)

Table 4.2 shows different levels of bilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community by sex and literacy. Of the total informants, 95% are bilingual in their

mother tongue and Nepali. In this community, 11.66% of the total informants are bilingual in Hindi whereas 5% are bilingual in Bhojpuri.

In the survey points, the participatory tool referred to as Bilingualism was administered in order to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Chitoniya Tharu and other languages by different subsets of the Chitoniya Tharu community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Chitoniya Tharu people who speak Chitoniya Tharu well and the other the Chitoniya Tharu people who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both languages well. 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 Chitoniya Tharu '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 Chitoniya Tharu people that spoke Chitoniya Tharu '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.
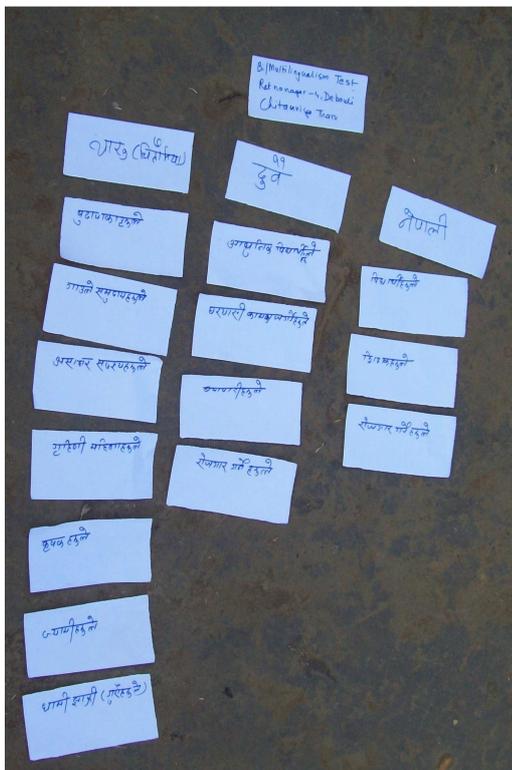
Photograph 4.1a: Bilingualism in Debauli
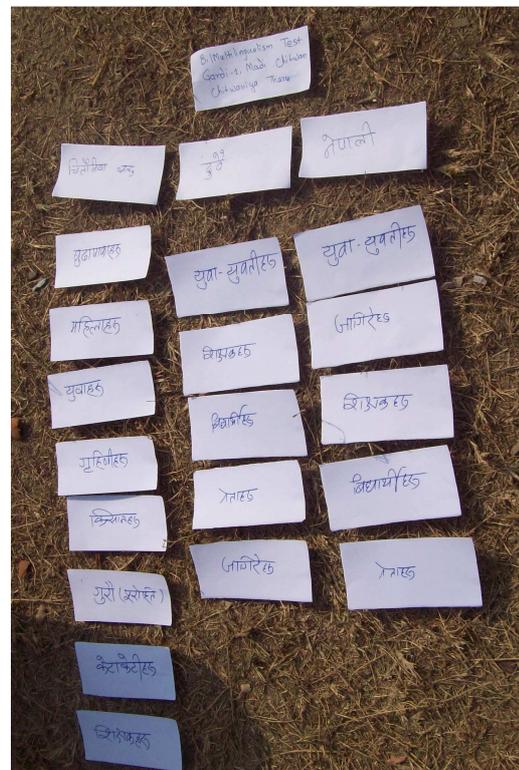
Photograph 4.1b: Bilingualism in Gardi

Table 4.3 presents the information drawn from the participatory tool: Bilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 4.3 presents the information drawn from the participatory tool: Bilingualism in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Survey points	Chitoniya Tharu	Both Chitoniya and Nepali	Nepali only
Debauli	1. Elderly people 2. Villagers 3. Uneducated 4. Children 5. House wives 6. Farmers 7. Workers 8. Dhami	1. Students 2. Businessmen 3. Workers	1. Students 2. Teachers 3. Workers
Gardi	1. Elderly people 2. Women 3. Youths 4. House wives 6. Farmers 7. Priest 8. Children 9. Teachers	1. Youths 2. Teachers 3. Students 4. Political leaders	1. Teachers 2. Students 3. Political leaders

4.3 Mother tongue proficiency

In response to the question: What language can you speak? all the informants, both male and female, informed that they can speak mainly two languages; namely, Chitoniya Tharu and Nepali. Similarly, in response to the question: What language do you speak first? they all replied that they spoke Chitoniya Tharu first. When they were inquired, among the languages that they speak, which language they love most, they all answered that they love their mother tongue, i.e, Chitoniya Tharu, which they all speak best. In order, they said that they speak Nepali best after their mother tongue.

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQA was administered in the informants in the survey points of survey in Chitoniya Tharu. Table 4.4 shows the

present picture of mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Chitoniya Tharu.

Table 4.4: Mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Chitoniya Tharu (N=60)

	SPEAKING (60)			READING AND WRITING (33)		
Degrees	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total n=60	Male n=20	Female n=13	Total n=33
VERY WELL	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	60 (100%)	10 (50%)	8 (61.53%)	18 (54.54%)
SOME	-	-	-	8 (40%)	4 (30.76%)	12 (36.36%)
ONLY A LITTLE	-	-	-	2 (10%)	1 (7.69)	3 (9.09%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 4.4 shows all the informants by sex are very proficient in speaking in Chitoniya Tharu in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. On the other hand, 54.54% of the total informants, who can read and write, said that they can read and write their mother tongue very well. And 9.09% have responded that they can read and write their mother tongue only a little. This situation implies that Chitoniya Tharu is a preliterate language in which there is a practice of writing literature and other reading materials.

Table 4.5 presents the degrees at which a small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

Table 4.5 presents the degrees at which a small child who first goes to school can understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says (N=60)

When a small child first goes to school, can (s) he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?	SEX		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Total n=60
YES	7 (23.33%)	4 (13.33%)	11 (18.33%)
A LITTLE BIT	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	30 (50%)
NO	8 (26.66%)	11 (36.66%)	19 (31.66%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 4.5 shows that around 50% of the total informants have informed that a small child who first goes to school can understand the thing a little bit his/her Nepali speaking teacher says whereas insignificant number of informants have replied that s/he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says. It can also be shown through the figure 4.2 below to make much clearer.
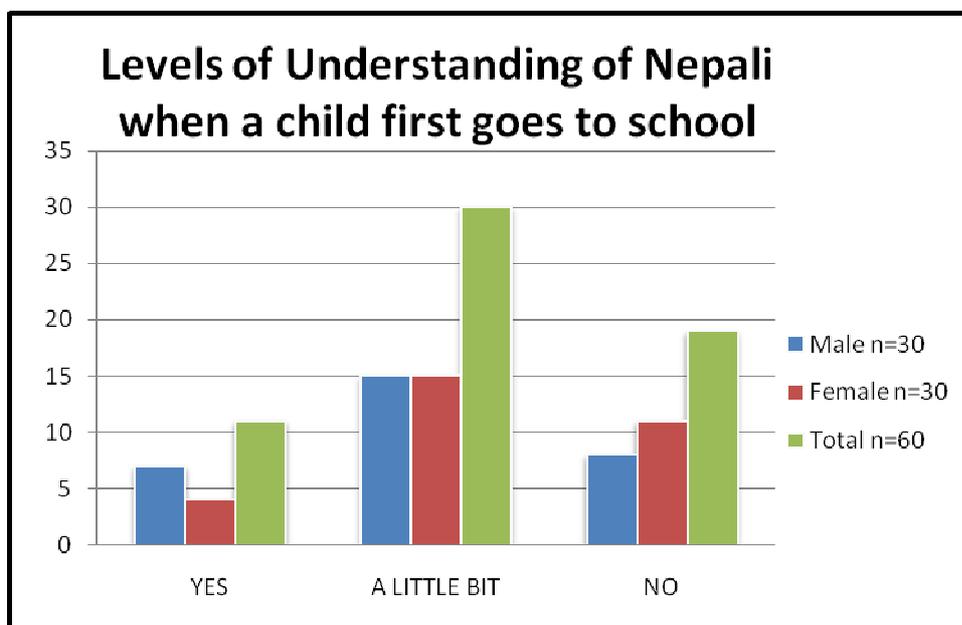
Figure 4.2: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we assessed the situation of bilingualism and the mother tongue proficiency in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Chitoniya Tharu is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers can speak or understand the languages, viz., Nepali, English, Hindi and Bhojpuri. Around two-third of the respondents are bilingual in their mother tongue and Nepali. Elderly people, social workers, members of civil societies, children, house wives, businessmen, farmers and uneducated people normally use Chitoniya Tharu whereas businessmen educated, people from mixed society, inter-caste married couples, teachers, students, political leaders and civil servants use both Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu. In this speech community, Chitoniya Tharu is spoken first. This language is loved most and spoken best. Everybody is very proficient in speaking in Chitoniya Tharu. They (more than54%) are also able to read and write in their mother tongue very well. More than 31% of the small children who first go to school cannot understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

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CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE VITALITY, LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.1 Outline

This chapter looks at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in the Chitoniya Tharu. It consists of five sections. Section 5.2 examines language vitality in Chitoniya Tharu. In section 5.3, we discuss language maintenance in Chitoniya Tharu. Section 5.4 looks at the attitudes of the Chitoniya Tharu speech community towards their language. In section 5.5, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

5.2 Language vitality

Chitoniya Tharu community is also gradually shifting to Nepali, the language of the wider communication. Table 5.1 presents the overall picture of language vitality in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 5.1: Language vitality in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community

QUESTIONS	Do all your children speak your mother tongue?	Do young people speak your mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken?	What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?
	(N=55)	**(N=60)**	**(N=60)**
RESPONSES	**YES**	**MOTHER TONGUE**	**YES**
	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.1 shows the vitality level of the Chitoniya Tharu is very high. There were three questions administered on the informants from each survey points. When the informants were asked whether all their children speak their mother tongue, cent percent informants from each key point responded that the children speak their mother tongue, i.e., Chitoniya Tharu. When the informants were asked if young people speak their mother tongue as well as it ought to be spoken, all the informants responded that

their mother tongue is spoken as well as it ought to be spoken. In response to the question, i.e., what language most parents in this village usually speak with their children, all the informants said that they all speak Chitoniya Tharu with their children.

5.3 Language maintenance

In this section, we try to assess the language maintenance situation by analyzing two factors: intermarriage situation and the use of mother tongue in school. Generally, the language maintenance in Chitoniya Tharu is not appalling. Table 5.2 presents the situation of language maintenance in Chitoniya Tharu.

5.3.1 Intermarriage situation

Intermarriage, which is one of the causes of language shift, is not common in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Table 5.2 presents the situation of intermarriage in Chitoniya Tharu speech community by sex, literacy and age.

Table 5.2: Situation of intermarriage in Chitoniya Tharu speech community by sex, literacy and age
(N=60)

Is their intermarriage in your community?	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=33	Illiterate N=27	Total N=60
YES	10 (33.33%)	11 (36.66%)	21 (35%)	15 (27%)	6 (5%)	21 (35%)
NO	20 (66.66%)	19 (63.33%)	39 (65%)	18 (73%)	21 (95%)	39 (65%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.2 shows the situation of intermarriage in Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Around 65% of the informants (in terms of sex and literacy) replied that there is no intermarriage in their community. However, the rest of the informants (in terms of sex and literacy) 35% have responded that there is intermarriage in their community. In terms of sex only, 66.66% of the male and 63.33% of the female informants have replied that there is no intermarriage in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Similarly, in terms of literacy, 73% of the literate and 95 % of the illiterate informants have replied that there is no intermarriage in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. This situation clearly indicates that intermarriage, which is one of the reasons for

language endangerment, is not picking up the tempo in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Table 5.3 presents other language groups which have common marital relationship with the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 5.3: Other language groups which have common marital relationship with Chitoniya Tharu

	Other language groups	No. of informants	%
1	Bahun	5	8.3%
2	Chaudhary	7	11.7%
3	Chetri	4	6.7%
4	Gurung	1	1.7%
5	Magar	1	1.7%
6	Tamang	2	3.3%
7	Others	1	1.7%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.3 shows that other language groups which have common marital relationship with Chitoniya Tharu speech community include Bahun, Chaudhary, Chetri, Gurung, Magar, Tamang and others. More than 11% of the informants replied that Chaudhary (other Tharu group) has common marital relationship with their language group. The lowest percentage of the (1.7%) replied that Chetri has common marital relationship with their language group.

5.3.2 Use of mother tongue in education

Table 5.4 presents the situation of the use of mother tongue in education in Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 5.4: The situation of the use of mother tongue in education in Chitoniya Tharu speech community by sex and literacy (N=60)

Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?	SEX			LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60	Literate N=33	Illiterate N=27	Total N=60
YES	30 (100%)	29 (96.66%)	59 (98.3%)	33 (100%)	26 (96.29%)	59 (98.3%)
NO	-	1 (3.33%)	1 (1.7%)	-	1 (3.70%)	1 (1.7%)

Source: Field study (2016)

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Table 5.4 shows that 98.3% of the informants (sex and literacy) like their children learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level. Only 1.7% of informants do not like their children learn/study in their mother tongue in the primary level. Then, the informants were asked how they would support if schools are opened for teaching their language. Table 5.5 presents the responses to how the informants would support if schools are opened for teaching their language.

Table 5.5: The ways informants support if schools are opened for teaching their language (N=60)

	If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:	NUMBER OF RESPONSES		
		Male N=30	Female N=30	Total N=60
1	by sending children?	27 (90%)	17 (56.66%)	44 (73.33%)
2	by encouraging other people to send their children?	23 (76.66%)	15 (50%)	38 (63.33%)
3	by providing financial help?	28 (93.33%)	17 (56.66%)	45 (75%)
4	by teaching?	8 (26.66%)	6 (20%)	14 (23.33%)
5	by helping with the school?	27 (90%)	25 (83.33%)	52 (86.66%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.5 shows the status of the response of the informants (in terms of the sex) who are ready to support those schools in different ways: by sending their children, by encouraging other people to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching, by helping with the school. The data show that female respondents are less enthusiastic than the male informant in supporting the school. Around 73.33% of the informants are ready to support the school by sending their children in the school whereas 63.33% of the informants seem to be encouraging other people to send their children in the school. Around 75% of the informants are ready to provide financial help. Some informants (23.33%) even responded that they would be ready to teach Chitoniya Tharu if the schools are opened in Chitoniya Tharu. This shows the strong feeling of affection for to their language. This indicates that mother tongue based multilingual education is urgently needed in this community in order to foster the cognitive development of the children. This is further evidenced as most of the respondents have replied that their children cannot understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says in the class (See Section 4.3 for details).

5.4 Language attitudes

The Chitoniya Tharu speech community exhibits a very positive towards its language. It is proven that positive attitude may foster the use of language and widen the domains of language use whereas a negative attitude may help the shrinking of the domains and ultimately the death of the language. Table 5.6 presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most.

Table 5.6: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most (N=60)

	What languages do they love the most?	**Male n=30**	**Female n=30**	**Total N=60**
1	Chitoniya Tharu	28 (93.33%)	30 (100%)	58 (96.66%)
2	Nepali	2 (6.66%)	-	2 (3.33%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.6 shows that more than 96% of the informants (male and female both) love their language the most and rest of the 6.66% of the informants replied that they love Nepali.

The Chitoniya Tharu speakers do not feel any embarrassment while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 5.7 presents the feelings of the informants (in terms of sex and literacy) while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language.

Table 5.7: Feeling of the informants while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language (60)

When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...	**SEX**		**LITERACY**		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Literate N=33	Illiterate N=27	Total N=60
Prestigious	29 (96.66%)	19 (63.33)	27 (81.81%)	21 (77.77%)	48 (80%)
Embarrassed	-	5 (16.66%)	3 (9.09%)	2 (7.40%)	5 (8.33%)
Neutral	1 (3.33%)	6 (20%)	3 (9.09%)	4 (14.81%)	7 (11.66%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.7 shows that around 80% of the entire informants feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. Around 11.66% the entire informants feel neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. In terms of sex, male, and in terms of literacy, literate groups feel more prestigious than female and illiterate when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language. To the contrary, in terms of sex, female and in terms of literacy, illiterate feel more neutral than female and illiterate when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language.

Table 5.8 presents the response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

Table 5.8: Response to the question if they ever have had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue

Have you ever had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male N=30	Female N=30	Literate N=33	Illiterate N=27	Total N=60
YES	-	2 (6.66%)	2 (6.06%)	-	2 (3.33%)
NO	30 (100%)	28 (93.33%)	31 (93.93)	27 (100%)	58 (96.66%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.8 shows that more than 96% of the entire informants have responded that they have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. Only 3.33% of the entire informants replied that s/he had faced some problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. Interestingly, 6.06% of the literate informants have responded that they have had some problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

Because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, a man may have faced a number of categories of problems: Social discrimination, political discrimination, and

economic discrimination, and hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure and economic pressure.

In the Chitoniya Tharu speech community, a literate respondent who had faced a problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue was only social pressure.

Table 5.9 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language by sex and literacy.

Table 5.9: Different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language by sex and literacy (N=60)

How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate n=33	Illiterate n=27	Total n=60
GOOD	5 (16.66%)	1 (3.33%)	5 (15.15%)	1 (3.70%)	6 (10%)
INDIFFERENT	17 (56.66%)	14 (46.66%)	18 (54.54%)	13 (48.14%)	31 (51.66%)
BAD	8 (26.66)	15 (50%)	10 (30.30%)	13 (48.14%)	23 (38.33%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.9 shows that more than 50% of the total informants (both in terms of sex) replied that they would feel indifferent if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language whereas 38.33% of the total informants said that they were bad in such case, and around 10% of the informants said that they would feel good if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language.

In the response to the question: When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?, the informants present different feeling about if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (by sex and literacy). Table 5.10 presents different feeling about if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language by sex and literacy.

Table 5.10: Response to the if future generation might speak the language by sex and literacy (N=60)

When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate n=33	Illiterate n=27	Total n=60
YES	29 (96.7%)	30 (100%)	32 (96.96%)	27 (100%)	59 (98.3%)
NO	1 (3.3%)	-	1 (3.03%)		1 (1.6%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.10 shows that more than 98% of the total informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. Only 3.3% of the male and 3.03% of the literate responded that their children would not speak the mother tongue in future.

Table 5.11 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters speak of their language.

Table 5.11: Different feeling of the informants if their children speak of their language by sex and literacy (N=60)

How do you feel about this if they speak of your language?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate n=33	Illiterate n=27	Total n=60
GOOD	27 (90%)	27 (90%)	27 (81.81%)	27 (100%)	54 (90%)
INDIFFERENT	3 (10%)	3 (10%)	6 (18.18%)	-	6 (10%)
BAD	-		-	-	-

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.11 shows that around 90% of the total informants feel good if their children speak their mother tongue whereas rest of the 10% informants replied that they would feel indifference in such query.

Table 5.12 presents different feeling of the informants if their sons or daughters do not speak their language by sex and literacy.

Table 5.12: Different feeling of the informants if their children do not speak of their language by sex and literacy (N=60)

How do you feel about this if they do not speak of your language?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate n=33	Illiterate n=27	Total n=60
GOOD	1 (3.33%)	–	1 (3.03%)	–	1 (1.66%)
INDIFFERENT	6 (20%)	5 (16.66%)	9 (27.27%)	2 (7.40%)	11(18.33%)
BAD	23 (76.66)	25 (83.33)	23 (69.69)	25 (92.59%)	48 (80%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.12 shows that 80% of the total informants do not feel good if their children do not speak their mother tongue whereas only 18.33% of the informants replied that they feel indifferent if their children do not speak their mother tongue. Similarly, rest of the 1.66% informants feel bad in such case.

In response to the question: What language should your children speak at first? all the informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) have responded that they should first speak their mother tongue. It means that all the people in this community are convinced that their children should speak Chitoniya Tharu first.

Table 5.13 presents the responses to: if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents.

Table 5.13: Response to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents by sex and literacy (N=60)

Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate n=33	Illiterate n=27	Total n=60
YES	6 (20%)	10 (33.33%)	11 (33.33%)	5 (18.51%)	16 (26.66%)
NO	24 (80%)	20 (66.66%)	22 (66.66%)	22 (81.48%)	44 (73.33%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.13 shows that more than 73% of the total informants think the language spoken by them is not different from their grandparents. The rest of the total informants think that the language spoken by them is different from their

grandparents. It shows that they are still conservative in the language since they have been speaking the language spoken by their grandparents.

Table 5.14 presents response to how the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents by sex.

Table 5.14: Response to how the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents by sex, literacy and age (N=16)

	If yes, how?	Sex		
		Male (n=6)	Female (n= 10)	Total (n=16)
1.	Pronunciation	6 (100%)	10 (100%)	16 (100%)
	Vocabulary	6 (100%)	10 (100%)	16 (100%)
	Use of specific type of sentences	1 (16.66%)	-	-
	mixing of other languages	5 (83.33%)	6 (60%)	11 (68.75%)
	Way of speaking	5 (83.33%)	4 (40%)	9 (56.25%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 5.14 shows that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking. Mainly, the language is different more in pronunciation, in vocabulary mixing of other languages and the way of speaking.

Table 5.15 presents different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language.

Table 5.15: Different feeling of the informants when they hear young people of their community speaking other language (N=60)

How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other language?	SEX		LITERACY		
	Male n=30	Female n=30	Literate N=33	Illiterate N=27	Total N=60
GOOD	1 (3.33%)	1 (3.33%)	2 (6.06%)	–	2 (3.33%)
INDIFFERENT	4 (13.33%)	2 (6.66%)	6 (18.18%)	-	6 (10%)
BAD	25 (83.33%)	27 (90%)	25 (75.75%)	27 (100%)	52 (86.66%)

Source: Field study (2014)

Table 5.15 shows that most of the informants (both in terms of sex and literacy) feel bad when they hear young people of their community speaking other language whereas 10% of the total informants have replied that they would feel indifferent. The rest of the 3.33% feel good when they hear young people of their community speaking other language. It indicates that the loyalty towards their mother tongue is still vibrant.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes in Chitoniya Tharu. In terms of orality, Chitoniya Tharu has a high level of vitality. Language maintenance in Chitoniya Tharu is not appalling. In this community, intermarriage is gradually picking up the pace. Such marriage is arranged with the speakers of Chaudhary, Bahun, Chetri, Tamang, Gurung and Magar. The community as a whole wants its children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level and the community are ready to support the schools opened for teaching their language in whatever ways they could. In this speech community, there is an extremely positive attitude towards the mother language. Almost all people love their language the most. Moreover, around 80% of the people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and almost have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue. In the Chitoniya Tharu speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all people are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future. In this community, around 90% people feel good if their children speak their mother tongue and around 80% feel bad if their children do not speak their mother tongue. All the people are convinced that their children should first speak their mother tongue. The language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking. The Chitoniya Tharu language is still conservative.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Outline

This chapter deals with language resources and language development in Chitoniya Tharu. It consists of four sections. Section 6.2 presents language resources in Chitoniya Tharu. In section 6.3, we discuss the dreams of the Chitoniya Tharu community for the development of their language. Section 6.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

6.2 Language resources

6.2.1 Oral literature

Chitoniya Tharu is very rich in oral literature. In Chitoniya Tharu speech community, we find folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), radio, films, CD/ DVD and others. Table 6.1 enumerates the major kind of oral literature in Chitoniya Thru speech community.

Table 6.1: Major kinds of oral literature in the Chitoniya Thru speech community

	Kinds oral literature	AVAILABILITY	UNAVAILABILITY
1.	FOLK TALES	√	x
2.	SONGS	√	x
3.	RELIGIOUS	√	x
4.	LITERATURE	√	x
5.	RADIO/ FM	√	x
6.	FILMS	√	x
7.	CD/ DVD	√	x
8.	OTHER	√	x

Source: (Field study, 2016)

6.2.2 Radio broadcast

Table 6.2 shows that the Chitoniya Tharu speech community blessed with radio programs in their mother tongues. The informants were asked how often they listen to radio program broadcast in their language. Table 6.2 presents the frequency at which they listen to the radio program broadcast in their mother tongue.

Table 6.2: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in their mother tongue (N=60)

N= 60	Always	Sometimes	Never
	4 (7%)	45 (75%)	11 (18%)

Source: (Field study, 2016)

Table 6.2 shows that out of the 60 respondents 7% Chitoniya Tharu speakers always listen to radio programs broadcast in their mother tongue, 75% responded that only sometimes they listen to radio programs in their language and rest of the speakers i.e. 18% said that they never listen to the radio programs broadcast in their mother tongue. This can also be shown as in the following figure 6.1.
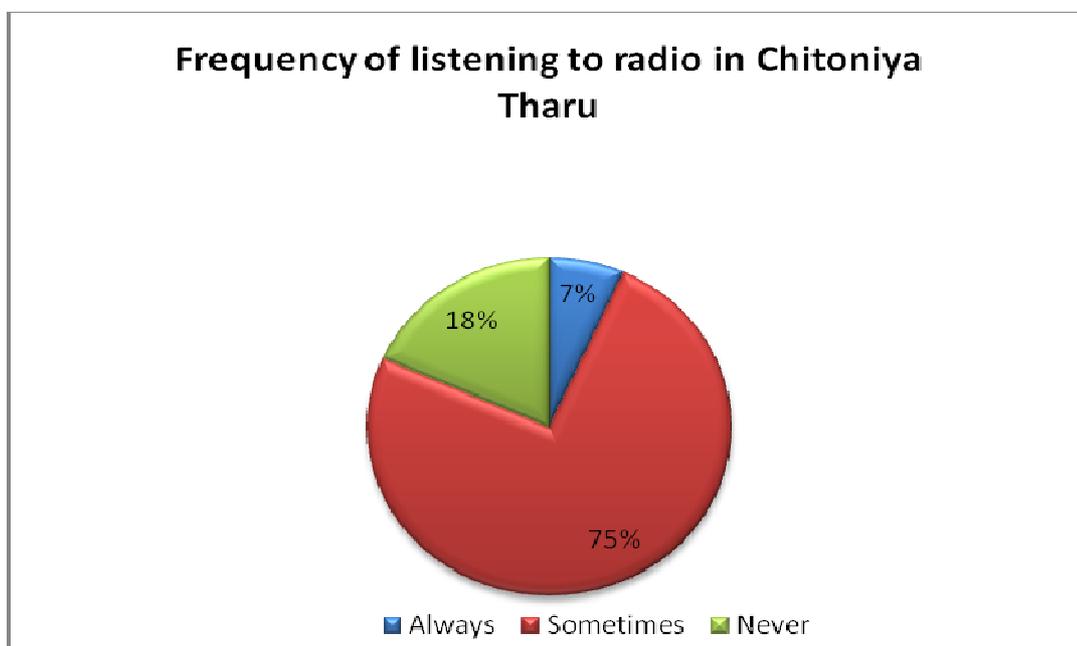
Figure 6.1: Frequency of listening to radio in Chitoniya Tharu

6.2.3 Materials written about the language

Table 6.3 presents the major materials written about the language and the languages in which such materials have been written in.

Table 6.3: Major materials written about the language and the languages in which such materials have been written in.

	Resources	Yes/no	What language (s) it is written in? all in Chitoniya Tharu?	
			Chitoniya Tharu	English
1.	Phonemic inventory	√	√	
2.	Grammar	√	√	
3.	Dictionary	√	√	
4.	Textbooks	√	√	
5.	Literacy materials	√	√	
6.	Newspapers	√	√	
7.	Newspapers	√	√	
8.	Written literature	√	√	
9.	Folklore	√	√	

Source: (Field study, 2016)

The informants were asked if they read any of these things written in their language. Most of them replied that they read them. Table 6.4 presents the situation of the reading of the materials written in the Chitoniya Tharu.

Table 6.4: Situation of the reading materials in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community

Do you read any of these things written in your language?	Sex		
	Male N=20	Female N=13	Total N=33
Yes	14 (70%)	4 (31%)	18 (54.54%)
No	6 (30%)	9 (69%)	15 (45.45%)

Source: (Field study, 2016)

Table 6.4 shows that an overwhelmingly highest percentage (54.54%) of the total respondents who can read replied that they read the materials written in their language and rest of the informants said that they can't read. Photograph 6.1 (a-b) presents some documents of Chitoniya Tharu.
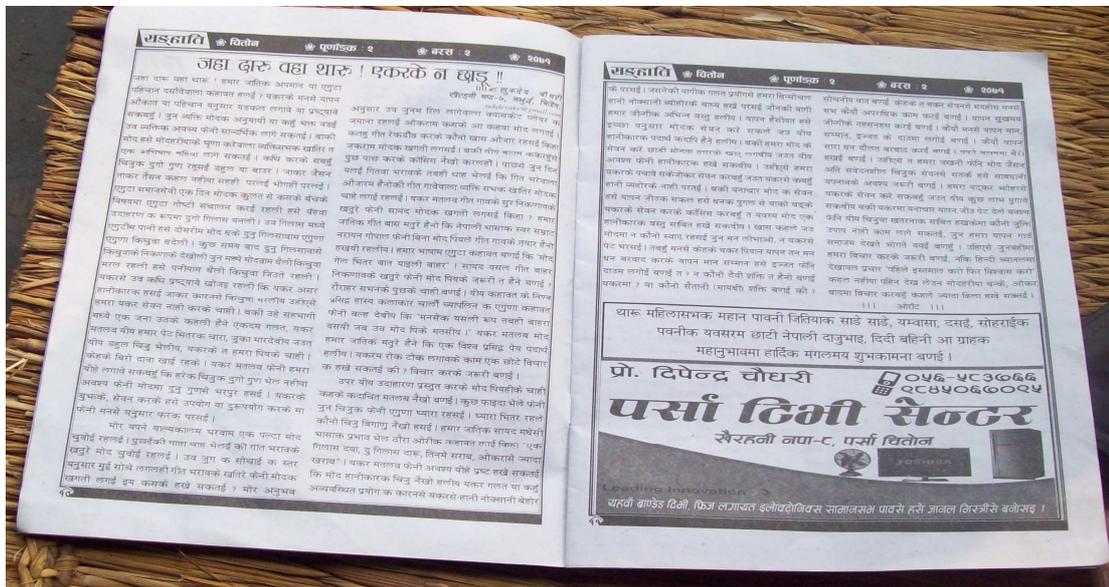
Photograph 6.1a: A Chitoniya Tharu magazine
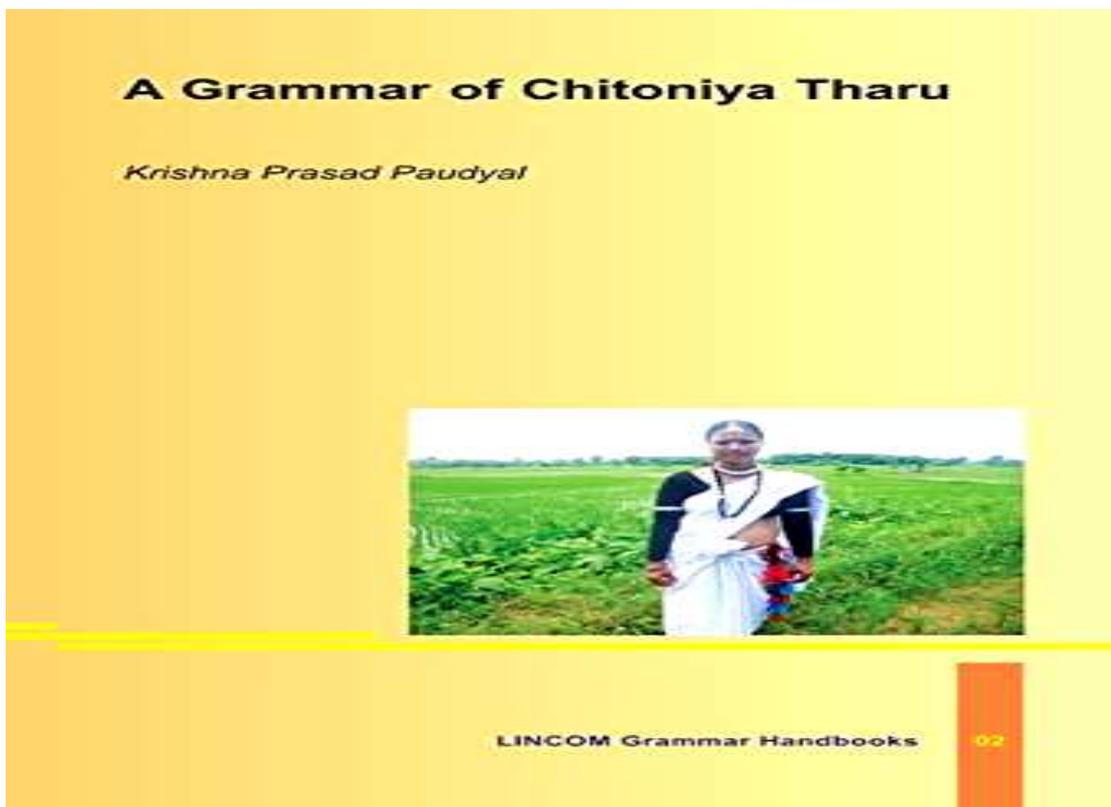
Photograph 6.1d: A Grammar of Chitoniya Tharu

6.2.4 Organizations to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language

In Chitoniya Tharu speech community, there are a number of social organizations established to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language. Table 6.5 enumerates such organizations established in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

Table 6.5: Social organizations established to promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community

S. N.	ORGANIZATIONS	Kinds of activities
1.	Tharu Kaliyankarini Sabha	To protect language and culture
2.	Tharu District Committee	Language and culture development
3.	Tharu Sahasi Mahila Samuh	To struggle against discriminations
4.	Indreni Yuba Club	Youth mobilization
5.	Tharu Samaj	To save language and culture

Source: Field study (2016)

6.3 Dreams and aspirations for language development

In this section, we try to examine the views about language development in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community by employing mainly, two tools: Appreciative Inquiry and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C.

6.3.1 Dreams and aspirations of the community

As mentioned in Chapter 2, this tool is designed to help the participants think about future possibilities about their language and culture. In the survey, this participatory tool was used only in four survey points: Debauli, Gardi, Meghauli and Padampur. It was conducted in these points in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, age and educational status. The participants in these points 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' in a piece of paper and placed them serially in the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Chitoniya Tharu 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.

By using this participatory tool, a lot of information about the dreams and aspirations of the Chitoniya Tharu community members for the development their language as well their culture was gathered.

Photograph 6.2 presents the things that made the Chitoniya Tharu participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in Debauli, Chitawan.

PHOTOGRAPH 6.2: APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY IN DEBAULI, CHITAWAN

Table 6.6 presents the summary of the responses to the major queries in Debauli, Chitawan.

Table 6.6: Summary of the responses to the major queries in Debauli, Chitawan

GOOD THINGS THAT MADE **CHITONIYA THARU** FEEL HAPPY OR PROUD ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE	DREAMS ABOUT HOW THEY COULD MAKE THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN BETTER	MOST IMPORTANT DREAM TO START ON PLANNING
▪ Birth place ▪ Distinct case ▪ Distinct dress ▪ Distinct culture ▪ Distinct language ▪ Distinct songs	▪ Education in the mother tongue ▪ Use of Chitoniya Tharu others people also ▪ Distinct from other Tharu language ▪ Develop the script and alphabet	▪ To use their mother tongue in eduction

Photograph 6.3 presents the things that made the Chitoniya Tharu participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in Gardi, Chitawan.
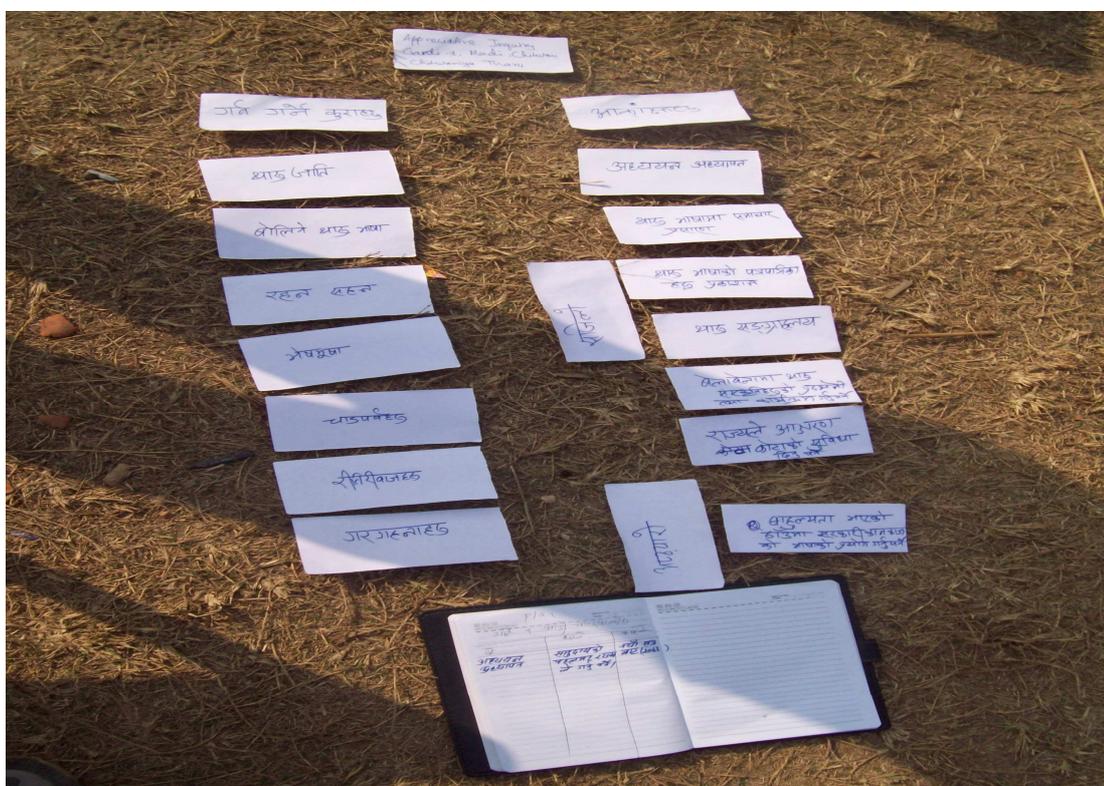
PHOTOGRAPH 6.3: APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY IN GARDI, CHITAWAN

Table 6.7 presents the summary of the responses to the major queries in Gardi, Chitawan.

Table 6.7: Summary of the responses to the major queries in Gardi, Chitawan

GOOD THINGS THAT MADE **CHITONIYA THARU** FEEL HAPPY OR PROUD ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE	DREAMS ABOUT HOW THEY COULD MAKE THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN BETTER	MOST IMPORTANT DREAM TO START ON PLANNING
▪ Tharu cast ▪ Mother tongue ▪ Distinct life style ▪ Distinct culture ▪ Distinct festivals ▪ Distinct identity ▪ Distinct ornaments	▪ To set schools for teaching in the mother tongue. ▪ To get magazine published in mother tongue. ▪ To get up Thru museum ▪ To get up the Tharu culture ▪ To get secured the inclusive sits for Tharu separately	▪ To use their mother tongue in eduction

Photograph 6.4 presents the things that made the Chitoniya Tharu participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in Meghauli, Chitawan
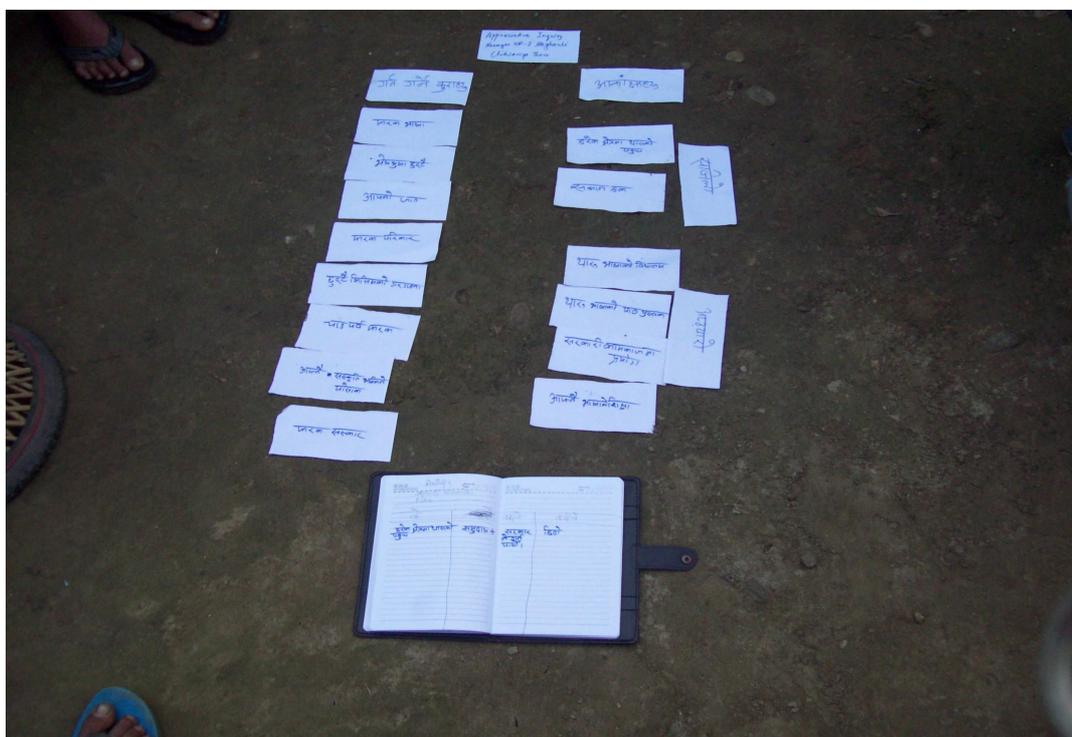
PHOTOGRAPH 6.4: APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY IN MEGHAULI, CHITAWAN

Table 6.8 presents the summary of the responses to the major queries in Meghauli, Chitawan.

Table 6.8: Summary of the responses to the major queries in Meghauli, Chitawan

GOOD THINGS THAT MADE **CHITONIYA THARU** FEEL HAPPY OR PROUD ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE	DREAMS ABOUT HOW THEY COULD MAKE THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN BETTER	MOST IMPORTANT DREAM TO START ON PLANNING
▪ Distinct language ▪ Distinct culture and tradition ▪ Distinct caste ▪ Distinct ornaments ▪ Distinct festivals	▪ To include the Tharu in the every field of the country ▪ To provide quell rights ▪ To prepare books in the Tharu. ▪ To use their mother tongue in the offices ▪ To use their mother tongue in education	▪ To include the Tharu in the every field of the country

Photograph 6.5 presents the things that made the Chitoniya Tharu participants feel happy or proud about their language or culture and their dreams or aspirations for the development of the language as well as a plan the informants made in Padampur, Chitawan.

PHOTOGRAPH 6.5: APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY IN PADAMPUR, CHITAWAN

Table 6.9 presents the summary of the responses to the major queries in Padampur, Chitawan.

Table 6.9: Summary of the responses to the major queries in Padampur, Chitawan

GOOD THINGS THAT MADE CHITONIYA THARU FEEL HAPPY OR PROUD ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE	DREAMS ABOUT HOW THEY COULD MAKE THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN BETTER	MOST IMPORTANT DREAM TO START ON PLANNING
▪ Distinct culture and tradition ▪ Distinct ornaments ▪ Distinct festivals ▪ Distinct dress ▪ Distinct meal	▪ To establish mother tongue school ▪ To publish magazines in the Tharu language ▪ To fulfill the demands raised by Tharu people	▪ To provide equal rights the Tharu people in every field in the country

To summarize, the responses (Table 6.6-6.9) to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud about their language. In addition, they feel that it is a language in which their life crucial knowledge is embodied. Similarly, in response to enumerate the good things that made them feel happy or proud about their culture, the participants in group came to a conclusion that they have distinct songs, traditions, life style, marriage system, festivals, dresses, culture and religion, agriculture patterns and distinct skills.

In response to the query how they could make their language or culture even better, they concluded that they wanted to publish newspapers in the Chitoniya Tharu language, to get Chitoniya Tharu used in the government offices, to use their mother tongue in the mass media, to frame curriculum and textbooks in the mother tongue, to make dictionary in the mother tongue, to write grammar of the mother tongue, to set schools for teaching in the mother tongue and to make films in the mother tongue.

6.3.2 Views of the village heads/language activists

In this section, we try to evaluate the views of the village heads/language activists how they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 10 informants in total. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

a) Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

b) In what ways do you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, the responses to the ways they could do vary in some cases in the Chitoniya Tharu community. Table 6.10 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Chitoniya Tharu.

Table 6.10: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Chitoniya Tharu (N=10)

In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?	RESPONSES	
	CAN	CAN'T
1. by devising the script	8(80%)	2(20%)
2. by making the spelling system systematic	8(80%)	2(20%)
3. by compiling dictionary	10(1000%)	-
4. by writing grammar	10 (100%)	-
5. by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	8(80%)	2(20%)
6. by writing and publishing textbooks	9 (90%)	1(10%)
7. by publishing newspapers	10 (100%)	
8. by making use of the language in administration	7(70%)	3(30%)
9. by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level	10(100%)	-

Table 6.10 shows that all the respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue by compiling dictionary, by writing grammar, by publishing newspapers and by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level. Similarly, 90% of the total respondents replied that they could support by writing and publishing textbooks, 80% replied that they could support by devising the script, by making the spelling system systematic and by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue. Likewise, the rest of the 70% informants replied that they could support by making use of the language in administration.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the dreams and plans of the speech community for language development in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. In addition, it is a language in which their life crucial knowledge is embodied. They also feel happy or proud about their culture, distinct songs, traditions, life style, marriage system, festivals, dresses, culture and religion, agriculture patterns and distinct skills. They want to publish newspapers in the Chitoniya Tharu language, to get Chitoniya Tharu used in the government offices, to use their mother tongue in the mass media, to frame curriculum and textbooks in the mother tongue, to make dictionary in the mother tongue, to write grammar of the mother tongue, to set schools for teaching in the mother tongue and to make films in the mother tongue. Among a number of dreams, they want to start education up to the secondary level in the mother tongue, with the help of state/government by involving the experts at local and national level to frame curriculum and write textbooks. Apart from this, they want to use their language in the mass media offices with the help of government by broadcasting the news and publishing newspapers and magazines in Chitoniya Tharu. They also want to use their language in the government offices by creating pressure to the government to use their language in the government offices. All the village heads are convinced that they could preserve their mother tongue by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level and a greater number of the village heads/ language activists would like to take immediate steps to make use of the language in administration. To sum up, the Chitoniya Tharu speech community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education.

CHAPTER 7

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

7.1 Outline

This chapter assesses the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in survey areas in order to look at if there are any dialectal variations in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community. For this purpose, two tools were employed: Wordlist Comparison and Dialect Mapping (a participatory tool). This chapter consists of four sections. Section 7.2 deals with wordlist comparison in Chitoniya Tharu. In section 7.3, we discuss the results drawn from dialect mapping tool. Section 7.4 presents the summary of the findings of the chapter.

7.2 Wordlist comparison

The standardized wordlists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the Chitoniya Tharu speech forms the word lists represent. In this section, we discuss the methodology employed in lexical similarity study, evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages and the lexical similarity study results in Chitoniya Tharu.

7.2.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the collection of wordlists and the tool used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, namely, Gardi, Meghuli, Debauli. Padampur and Mangni from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex D for 210 wordlist). Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the WordSurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the languages or dialects. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist were aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages were calculated in the WordSurv.

7.2.2 Calculation and evaluation criteria

Generally, 60% has been taken as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. However, the 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using such a method, the speech verities having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different languages.

Table 7.2 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 7.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages[1]

	Lexical similarity %	Evaluation	Remarks
1.	Less than 60%	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
2.	Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT
3.	60% or more similarity	Different languages or dialects of the same languages	–
4.	Higher than 85%	speech verities likely to be related dialects	–
5.	Higher than 95% similarity	Same language	–

7.2.3 Lexical similarity

Table 7.2 presents the lexical similarity among the survey points, i.e., Gardi, Meghuli, Debauli. Padampur and Mangni in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

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[1] This modality has been adapted from Regmi (2013).

Table 7.2: Lexical similarity tally among the key points in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community

Varieties	Madi	Narayani	Ratnanagar	Kalika	Khairahani
Madi	100%	96%	94%	93%	94%
Narayani	96%	100%	96%	93%	94%
Ratnanagar	94%	96%	100%	95%	92%
Kalika	93%	93%	95%	100%	95%
Khairahani	94%	94%	92%	95%	100%

Source: Field study, 2016

Table 7.2 presents different arrays of lexical similarity percentages among the survey points. Madi, as the core survey point, holds 100%. Being based on the Madi variety, the rest of the four varieties were compared. In the comparison, Madi has 96% similarity with Narayani, 94% with Ratnanagar, 93% with Kalika and 94% with Kairahani. Similarly the language spoken in Narayani has 96% similarity with Ratnanagar, 93% with Kalika and 94% with Khairahani. Likewise, the spoken in Ratnanagar has 95% with Kalika and 92% with Khairahani. In the same way, the language spoken in Kalika has 95% withi Khairahani. From this table, it can be concluded that all the varieties of Chitoniya Tharu is mutually intelligible to each other.

7.3 Dialect mapping

The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any, in Chitoniya Tharu. The informants in group in each key point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Chitoniya Tharu is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages spoke the same as others. In common, the following names of the villages/places were recognized as Chitoniya Tharu language speaking areas: Gardi, Meghuli, Debauli. Padampur and Mangni. Photograph 7.1(a-b) presents the situation of dialect mapping in Chitoniya Tharu speech community.
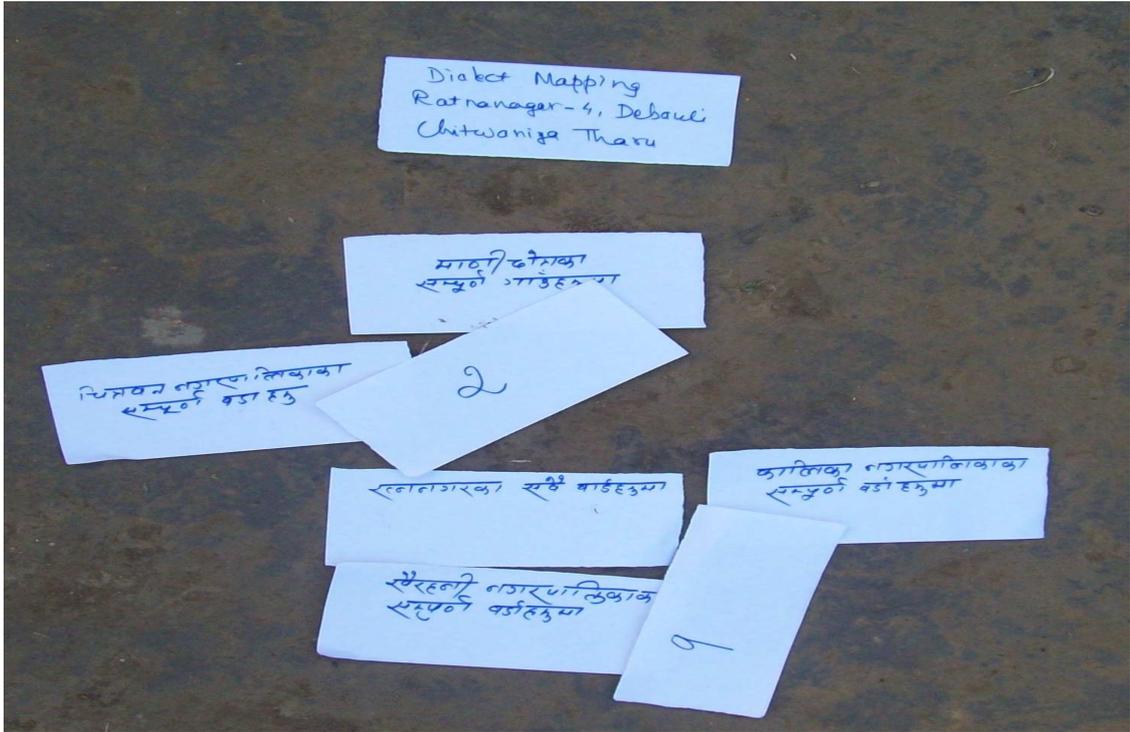
Photograph 7.1a: Dialect Mapping in Debauli, Chitawan
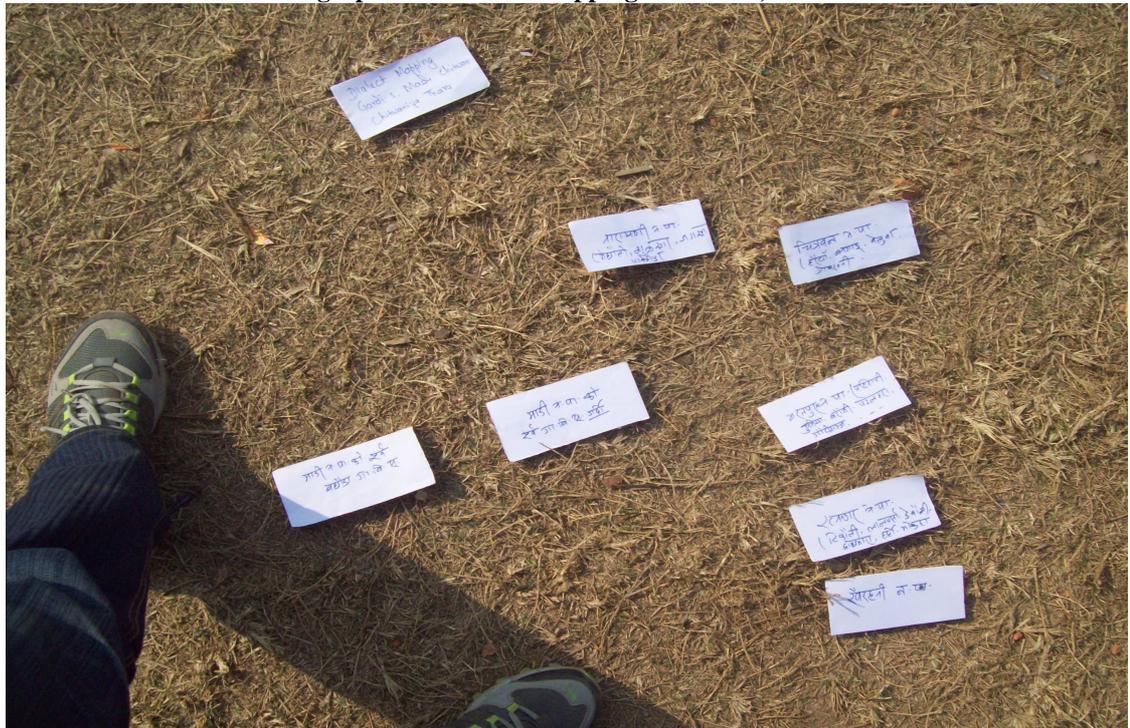
Photograph 7.1b: Dialect Mapping in Gardi, Chitawan

The dialect mapping is one of the tools that help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties. The informants in group in each key point were

asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Chitoniya Tharu is spoken and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. In response to which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials, the informants responded that the forms of speech, especially Debauli, the core point, would be alright for this purpose.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we assessed the levels of lexical similarity among the forms of speech spoken in the survey points of Chitoniya Tharu speech community. Being based on the Madi variety, the rest of the four varieties were compared. Madi, as the core survey point, holds 100%. Being based on the Madi variety, the rest of the four varieties were compared. In the comparison, Madi has 96% similarity with Narayani, 94% with Ratnanagar, 93% with Kalika and 94% with Kairahani. Similarly the language spoken in Narayani has 96% similarity with Ratnanagar, 93% with Kalika and 94% with Khairahani. Likewise, the spoken in Ratnanagar has 95% with Kalika and 92% with Khairahani. In the same way, the language spoken in Kalika has 95% withi Khairahani. From this table, it can be concluded that all the varieties of Chitoniya Tharu is mutually intelligible to each other. The participatory method, Dialect Mapping, elicited a good deal of information about location where Chitoniya Tharu is spoken as mother tongue and the locations where it is spoken as the others. It has indicated that Chitoniya Tharu is spoken in a number of villages mainly in Chitawan district. The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that they can easily understand the form of the speech in the area.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary of findings

The main goal of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of Chitoniya Tharu, an Indo-Aryan language of Nepal. The survey has gathered a good deal of information about the domains of language, bi/multilingualism and mother tongue proficiency, language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes, language resources and language development, and dialectal variations in Chitoniya Thru speech community. The major findings of the survey are presented as follows:

8.1.1 Ethnolinguistic information

a) Chitoniya Tharu is an Indo-Aryan lanugae mainly spoken in the Chitawan destrict of Nepal. It is also spoken in some parts of Nawalparasi, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat and Malwanpur disctricts.

b) 'Chitoniya Tharu' refers to the people as well as the language they speak. In the census of Nepal, 2001, Chitoniya Tharu recognized for the first time as an independent language.

c) The total population of Chitoniya Tharu is 285,000 (Eppele et al. 2012:88).

d) The majority, in this community, forms of Hindus who follow the caste rules a closely as possible as to classical Hindu pattern (Boehm 1997:27).

e) Chitoniya Tharu is people of an ethnonym plus a loconym in nature.

f) Agriculture is the traditional occupation of the Chitoniya Tharu people.

8.1.2 Patterns of language use in different domains

a) Chitoniha Tharu is extensively used in all the general domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing, telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meetings.

b) In the domains of counting, 90% of the total informants replied that they use Nepali.

c) In the case of singing in general, Chitoniya Tharu is predominantly (i.e., 67%) used in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community whereas other languages like Nepali and Hindi are also used in singing.

d) In almost domains, the female respondents are more loyal in the use of mother tongue, Chitoniya Tahru.

e) The illiterate informants, as expected, are moch more loyal to the mother in the Chitoniya Tharu speech community.

f) All people use their mother tongue, Chitoniya Tharu while talking about educational matters (i.e. school, admission, teacher, etc.) and discussing social events and other family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, saving, spending, etc.) with their grandfather and grandmother.

g) Nepali is used more than Chitoniya Tharu is the marriage invitations.

h) The children while playing with other children and talking with the neighbors overwhelmingly use their mother tongue whereas at school, the children speak Nepali or Chitoniya Tharu and Nepali.

i) Majority of both sexes prefer their mother tongue as the children's medium of instruction at primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

8.1.3 Mother tongue proficiency and bi-mulitlingualism

a) Chitoniya Tharu is a multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz., Chitoniya Tharu, Nepali, English, Hindi and Bhojpuri.

b) Around 95% of the informants are bilingual in their mother tongue and Nepali.

c) Elderly people, social workers, children, house wives, businessmen, farmers and uneducated people normally use Chitoniya Tharu whereas businessmen, educated people, people from mixed society, inter-caste married couples, teachers, students, and political leaders use both Nepali and Chitoniya Tharu.

d) In this community, Chitoniya Tharu is spoken first. This language is loved most and spoken best. Everybody is very proficient in speaking in

Chitoniya Tharu. They are also able to read and write in their mother tongue very well.

e) More than 31% of the small children who first go to school cannot understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says.

8.1.4 Language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes

a) Language maintenance in Chitoniya Tharu is not appalling. In this community, intermarriage is gradually picking up the pace. Such marriage is arranged with the speakers of Nepali, Gurung, Magar etc.

b) The community as a whole wants its children learn/ study in their mother tongue in the primary level and the community are ready to support the schools opened for teaching their language in whatever ways they could.

c) In this speech community, there is an extremely positive attitude towards the mother language. Almost all people love their language the most.

d) Moreover, around 80% of the people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and almost have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue

e) Moreover, around 80% of the people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and almost have never had any problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue.

f) The Chitoniya Tharu is still conservative.

8.1.5 Language resource and language development

a) Chitoniya Tharu is very rich in oral literature. In Chitoniya Tharu speech community, we find folktales, songs, religious literature (based mainly on Hinduism), radio, films, CD/ DVD and others.

b) Chitoniya Tharu speech community blessed with radio programs in their mother tongues.

c) There are some organizations named Tharu Kaliyankarini Sabha, Tharu District Committee, Tharu Sahasi Mahila Samuh, Indreni Yubal Club and Tharu Samaj devoted for the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Chitoniya Tharu community.

d) Among a number of dreams, they want to start education up to the all levels in the mother tongue, with the help of government by involving the experts at local and national level to frame curriculum and write textbooks. Apart from this, they want to use their language in the mass media offices with the help of government by broadcasting the news and publishing newspapers and magazines in Chitoniya Tharu. They also want to use their language in the government offices.

e) The Chitoniya Thru speech community in general wants to use its mother tongue in primary education.

8.1.6 Dialectal variations

a) Across the survey points, there appear different ranges of lexical similarity. Such similarity percentages clearly indicate that there is a tendency towards dialectal variation in Chotoniya Tharu.

b) The core survey point, Madi has the highest similarity with Narayani and least with Khairahani.

c) The participatory method, Dialect Mapping, elicited a good deal of information about location where Chitoniya Tharu is spoken as mother tongue and locations where it is spoken as the others.

8.2 Recommendations

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

a) As Chitoniya Tharu 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 sprit of the constitution.

b) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings.

c) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be preserved. The Chitoniya 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.

d) In this speech community, still in rural areas, most of the speakers are monolingual, especially the women over 50 in the age and since most of the women are pre-literate. Therefore by means of non-formal education in their mother tongue, the literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those pre-literates.

e) 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.

f) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Chitoniya Tharu community.

g) 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.

h) Immediately grammar and dictionary should be written and compiled and the folklore must be documented.

i) Chitoniya Tharu exhibits dialectal variation as the least similarity between the two places of the survey is found 92%. But the respondents reported their language varies from district to district. Therefore, Recorded Text Test (RTT) is required to evaluate the intelligibility among the key points.

j) Linguistically and culturally, Chitoniya Tharu community is distinct from other Tharus such as Rana Tharu, Kathauriya Tharu, Dangaura and so no. Therefore, it should get the status of an independent language.

k) The most important 'dreams' which they would like to get realized immediately and to start on 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. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them realizing their dreams.

Annexes

Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

Introduce yourself first:

My name is ………. I am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: □   Not Given: □

A. Meta data (Baseline information)
Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day……… Month……..........Year..…… VS Day….. …..Month ………… Year…… AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: ……………………………. Village/Town: ……………………………. VDC/Municipality: ……………………………. District: ……………………………. Zone: ……………………………. GPS Coordinates: ……………………………E …………………………………………………..N
Interviewer Name	(a) ……………………………. (b) ……………………………. (c) ……………………………. (d) …………………………….

	(e) …………………………….
Language of Elicitation	
Language of Response	
Interpreter Name (if needed)	

8. Name of language consultant: ……………………….
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other
……………
10. Age group: (i) 15-34 (ii) 35-60 (iii) 60+
11. Are you literate?
(a) Yes (b) No
12. (If "Yes") How did you learn to read & write?
(a) Formally (b) Non-formally
13. (If "Formally") What year/level did you complete?
(a) Primary (b) Lower Secondary (c) Secondary
(d) Higher (specify highest degree)………………….
14. Marital status: (a) Married (b) Unmarried
15. (If "Married") Do you have any children?
(a) Yes (b) No
16. Caste
17. Ethnic group: ……………….
18. Religion:
(a) Hinduism (b) Buddhism (c) Kirant (d) Christianity
(e) Jain (f) Islam (g) Shamanism (h) Other
19. Your mother tongue's name:
(a) (Given by respondent)………………
20. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language (tapaiko bhasha nabholne manchele tapaiko bhasalai ke bhanchan?)………………..
21. Different names of the language if any (yo bhashalai aru naamle pani chinincha?)
(i)…………….. …… (ii) ……………………
(iii)………………… …… (iv) ……………………
22. Your mother's mother tongue…………
23. Your father's mother tongue…………….

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: At least one parent from target MT. YES □ NO □

24. Mother tongue of your husband/ wife …………
25. What village were you born in?
(a) Ward No……… (b)Village/Town............. (c)VDC/municipality………….
(d) District…………..(d) Zone………………
Where do you live now?
How many years have you lived here?
Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?
(if so) Where? When? How long did you live there?

SCREENING CRITERIA #2: YES □ NO □

B. Language resources

30. What are the major kinds of Oral literature available in your language?
(a)   folk tales,
(b)   songs,
(c)   religious literature,
(d)   radio,
(e)   films,
(f)   CD/ DVD,
(g)   Other………………..

31. (If they mentioned radio programs) How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language?
 (a)   Usually   (b)   Sometimes   (c)   Never

32. (only ask literate language consultants) What materials written about your language?

33. (If "Yes") What language(s) is it written in?

Material:	32. Yes or No	33. (If "Yes") What language(s) is it written in?
a. Phonemic inventory		
b. Grammar		
c. Dictionary		
d. Textbooks		
Literacy materials		
Newspapers		
Magazines		
Written literature		
Folklore		
Other		

34. (If they mentioned written materials) Do you read any of these things written in your language?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No

35. (Only ask literate consultants, if their language has written materials):
What script(s) is your language written in? ……………

36. Are there any organizations that promote the knowledge and/ or use of the language?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No

37. (If "Yes") Please name those organizations. (enter below)

38. What kinds of activities do each organization perform? (enter below)
(a)   Cultural
(b)   Linguistic
(c)   Educational
(d)   Other…………………

	36. Organization	37. Kinds of activities
i.		
ii.		
iii.		
iv.		
v.		
vi.		

C. Mother-tongue Proficiency and Multilingualism

39. What languages can you speak?

40. What language did you speak first?

So you speak… (remind of Q. 38)

Which language do you speak…

41. best?

42. second best?

43. third best?

44. fourth best?

45. Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most? ....

46. (Only ask if MT was not best language) Please estimate how proficient are you in your mother tongue:

(a)   Very Well   (b)   Some   (c)   Only a Little

47. Please estimate how well you can read and write your mother tongue:

(a)   Very Well   (b)   Some   (c)   Only a Little

48. Other languages known to your father (enter below)

49. Other Languages known to your mother (enter below)

50. Other Languages known to your spouse (enter below)

Persons	Other Languages			
	a	b	C	d
48. Father				
49. Mother				
50. Spouse				

51. What languages are spoken by your sons/ daughters? (enter below)

52. Where did they learn those languages? (enter below)

	50. Other languages spoken by children:	51. Where learned:
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		

e.		
f.		

53. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her
Nepali speaking teacher says?

(a)   Yes   (d)   A little bit   (c)   No

D. Domain of Language Use

54. Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes?

	Domain	Language
A	Counting	
B	Singing	
C	Joking	
D	Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing	
E	Story telling	
F	Discussing/ Debate	
G	Praying	
H	Quarrelling	
I	Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)	
J	Telling stories to children	
K	Singing at home	
L	Family gatherings	
M	Village meetings	

55. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:

(a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)
(enter below)

(b) Discussing social events and family matters (like festivals, election, ceremonies, marriage, savings, spending, etc.) (enter below)

(c) While writing letters? (enter below)

	a. Education Matters	b. Social Events & Family Matters	c. Writing Letters
i.Grandfather:			

ii.Grandmother:			
iii.Father:			
iv.Mother:			
v.Spouse:			
vi.Children:			

56. What language do your children usually speak while:
(a) playing with other children? ....
(b) talking with neighbors? ……………………………….
(c) at school? …………………………………………….
57. What language does your community use for marriage invitations?
……………………
58. What language is usually used to write minutes in community meetings?
…………….
59. How often do you use your mother tongue?
(a)   Every day   (b)   Rarely   (c) Never
60. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?
(a)   Every day   (b)   Rarely   (c) Never
61. Which language do you usually use when speakers of other languages visit you at home?
62. What language do you prefer for your children's medium of instruction at primary level?
(a)   Mother tongue   (b)   Nepali   (c) English   (d) Other…………………

E. Language Vitality
63. Do all your children speak your mother tongue?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No
64. What language do most parents in this village usually speak with their children?
        (a) Mother tongue   (b) Nepali   (c) Other…….
65. Do young people in your village/town speak your mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No

F. Language Maintenance
66. Is there intermarriage in your community?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No
67. (If "Yes") Which other language groups have common marital relationship with your language group?
 (i)………………… (ii)………………. (iii)…………………...
68. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No
69. (If "Yes") If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:
        (a) by sending your children?
        (b) by encouraging other people to send their children?

(c) by providing financial help?
(d) by teaching?
(e) by helping with the school?
(f) other…………………………

G. Language Attitudes

70. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel…
(a)   Prestigious   (b)   Embarrassed   (c)   Neutral

71. Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No

72. (If "Yes") What kinds of problems have you had?(These options are not to be listed in the SLQ, but left as categories in the database.)

(a)   Social discrimination.
(b)   Political discrimination.
(c)   Economic discrimination.
(d)   Hostile confrontation.
(e)   Discrimination in education.
(f)   Social pressure.
(g)   Political pressure.
(h)   Economic pressure.
(i)   Other

73. How would you feel if your son or daughter married someone who does not know your language?
(a)   Good   (b)   Indifferent(c)   Bad

74. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No

75. How do you feel about this?
(a)   Good   (b)   Indifferent(c)   Bad

76. What language should your children speak first? ....

77. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?
(a)   Yes   (b)   No

78. (If "Yes") How?
(a) pronunciation
(b) vocabulary
(c) use of specific type of sentences
(d) mixing of other languages
(e) way of speaking
(f) Other……………………..

79. How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?
(a)   Good   (b)   Indifferent(c)   Bad

Comments (anything unusual or noteworthy about this interview)	

Annex B: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B: Participatory Method

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day……… Month……..........Year..…… VS Day….. …..Month ………… Year…… AD
Place of Interview	Ward: ……………………………. Village/Town: …………………………… VDC/Municipality: ……………………………. District: ……………………………. Zone: ……………………………. GPS Coordinates: ……………………………E …………………………………………….......N
Interviewer Name	(a) ……………………………. (b) ……………………………. (c) ……………………………. (d) ……………………………. (e) …………………………….
Language of Elicitation	
Language of Response	
Interpreter Name (if needed)	

It is best if there are 8 to 12 participants for this questionnaire. It can be done with less than 8 people in the group, but is far more reliable with more than 8 people. There should be several women and men in each group. It is also best to have people of all ages (15 years and older) in the group, with several older, middle-aged, and younger subjects.

8. Name of language consultant: ……………………….
9. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a)   Male   (b)   Female   (c)   Other

10. Age: ………………………..

11. Caste/ethnic group…

12. Your mother tongue's name: ………………

13. Your mother's mother tongue…………

14. Your father's mother tongue…………….

SCREENING CRITERIA #1: From target MT and at least one parent from target MT.　　　　　　　YES　□　　　NO　□

LC#	15.Name	16. Sex	17.Age	18.Caste	19. MT	20. Mother's MT	20. Father's MT	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								

15. Where do you live?

(a) Ward No……… (b) Village/Town.............　　　(c) VDC/municipality………….

16. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year?

(a)　Yes　　　　　(b)　No

17. (If "Yes") Where? When? How long did you live there?

SCREENING CRITERIA #2:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　YES
□　　　NO　□
Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not more than 5 years and they have lived in this village for the past 5 years.

LC#	15a. Ward	15b. Village	15c. VDC	16. Elsewhere more than year?	17. Where? When? How long?	Screening Criteria: Y or N?
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						

11.					
12.					

B. Domains of language use

A. I speak different languages in different situations, on different occasions and to different people.

B. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [LWC]? (Place [LWC] label to one side. Participants name domains, write them on paper and place them under [LWC] label)

C. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak [L1]? (Place [L1] label to other side. Participants write domains and place them under [L1]. At this time participants may say "some children speak L1 but others speak LWC." Ask questions to help them explain which children speak each language, or the situation in which they speak each. Change the labels to show the categories clearly.)

D. On which occasions or to which people, do you usually speak both [L1] and [LWC]? (Participants write domains, and place them in the middle. They can place them nearer to one side or the other if most people speak a certain language in that domain or if they speak more of that language in that domain but some of the other language.)

E. Within each of these three main categories, let's move to the top, the occasions that occur daily and to the bottom the ones that occur rarely. (Put a label for 'Daily' and 'Rarely' at the top and bottom. Allow them to arrange the domains. Encourage them to leave a gap between the Daily and Rarely categories or place a string.)

F. (If there many in the daily category) Which are the people you speak to most during a day? Move those slightly higher than any others. (Or place the daily ones in order)

G. How do you feel about the languages that you use and who you use them with? Would you like to begin using either language more in any other situations?

C. Dialect mapping

A. What is the name of your language? What is the name of your people? (write all names on a single piece of paper) (If more than one, then for each category ask) Which name is the one you prefer to use?
   i. (Language name preferred by group)…
   ii. Different names of the language if any (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).
   iii. What do speakers of other languages call your language? (Write these on other pieces of paper & place to the side of their paper).

B. Please name all the Districts/Villages where [L1] is spoken (Write each on a separate piece of paper.) (In some situations, rather than district or village one could ask for the confirmation in this way.
   Be sure to get all the following information for each location:
   (i) Ward No…… (ii) Village/Town…........ (iii) VDC/municipality……
   (iv) District………… (v) Zone………………………….

C. Place these papers on the ground to show which dialects/municipalities/districts are next to each other.

D. What other languages are so similar to yours that when they speak, you can understand at least some words? (Write these on pieces of paper and add them to the "map" on the ground)

E. Do any groups of villages all speak [L1] in the same way? (Place a loop of string around each such group)

F. Which variety do you understand best? Second best? Etc. (Place numbers written on cardboard next to each municipality, language or group of municipalities)

G. Now we want to show which of these varieties you understand very well, which you don't understand at all, which you understand most of, but a few words you don't understand and which you understand only a few words of. In which of these villages can you understand the language Very Well? (Place a Key, have them select the color of plastic marker for "very well". Have them place those markers on each place they understand "very well." Repeat for each other category of comprehension.)

H. Some people have said they want to start writing books* in [L1]. If books were written in [L1], which villages would be able to use those books? (have them put a big string around those varieties) (*If they do not think books can or should be written in their language, then say they want to start making CDs using [L1])

I. Out of all these you have grouped together, which variety should be used as the one for writing (or recording) [L1] so that all the others will understand it well? If that one could not be used, then which one? (use A, B, and C written on cardboard)

D. Multilingualism

A. What are the two languages the [L1] people speak the most? This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [L1] well. This loop will represent the [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. (Lay the circles on the ground)

B. When I overlap the two circles like this, what does this area where they overlap represent? ([L1] people who speak both [L1] and [LWC] well)

C. Let's think first about [L1] people who speak [LWC] well. Which types of [L1] people speak [LWC] well? (Have them write on paper).

D. Before we can put them inside the circle, we need to think whether these people also speak [L1] well, or whether they do not speak [L1] well? Where does each piece of paper belong in the circles? (Have them place the pieces they have written so far. If they want to, they may make the labels more specific or add more labels)

E. Which [L1] people speak [L1] well, but do not speak [LWC] well? (Have them write the category names and place them in the correct location)

F. When we think about people in these three different categories, which category has the most [L1] people? How do you feel about that? (let them express their feelings)

G. Is one of these three groups increasing more than the others? Why is that? How do you feel about that? (Let them express their feelings)

E. Appreciative enquiry

    A. Describe something you saw, heard or did that made you proud of [L1] or your culture or that made you happy to see [L1] used in that way. (write summary labels for each

    B. How can we take these good things and make them even better? Improve them? Build on them? What are your dreams for your language? (Share in 3s, give time – allow any dream – even impossible ones!)

    C. Let's come back to the big group and listen to the dreams of each small group. Who will write the dreams for the group? Write one dream per paper. (Everyone can help to summarize the dream in 3-4 words. Place each dream under the heading Dreams.)

    D. As we think about your dreams, some seem easy and others seem difficult. Let's put this in order from the 'Easiest' to the most 'Difficult'. (Put down these two labels then let the participants sort the dreams along a continuum.)

    E. Some of these dreams may be more important than others. Still keeping them in order, slide to this side, the ones that are most important. (Let them slide over the ones that they feel are most important. Take a photo now if possible!)

    F. Now you have the chance to begin making plans to make these dreams come true. Which of the dreams do you want to begin making plans for right now? Take the written dream and form a group. (Allow them to form groups. Encourage everyone to join a group

    G. As you make your plans, think about 1) the steps you need to take, 2) the other people besides who could also be involved and 3) the things you need to begin making this dream happen. (Give them paper and markers to write their plans. Let them write in big letters for the group to see.)

    H. We would like each group to share their plans with all the others. Who would like to share first?

Annex C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first: My/our name is ………. I/we am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: □ Not Given: □

A. Meta data (Baseline Information)

Enter the answers to the following BEFORE the INTERVIEW:

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day……… Month……..........Year..……. VS Day….. …..Month ………… Year…… AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: ……………………………. Village/Town: ……………………………. VDC/Municipality: ……………………………. District: ……………………………. Zone: ……………………………. GPS Coordinates: ……………………………E …………………………………………………..N
Interviewer Name	(a) ……………………………. (b) …………………………….

5. Name of language consultant: ……………………….

6. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) Male (b) Female (c) Other ……………

7. Age: ………………….

8. Caste: ………………….

9. Ethnic group: ……………….

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10. Your mother tongue's name: ………………

11. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language ………………

12. Different names of the language if any?

(i)…………….. ……   (ii) ……………………

(iii)………………… ……   (iv) ……………………

13. Your mother's mother tongue…………

14. Your father's mother tongue…………….

15. What village were you born in?

(a) Ward No……… (b)Village/Town.............   (c)VDC/municipality………

16. Where do you live now? ………………

17. How many years have you lived here? ………………

18. Other ethnic groups residing in your area: (enter below)

19. Other languages spoken by those groups: (enter below)

	18. Ethnic Group:	19. Language:
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		
f.		

20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

21. (If "Yes"): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

(a) by devising the script?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(d) by writing grammar?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(h) by making use of the language in administration?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

(i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?

(a)   Yes   (b)   No

     (j) in any other ways? ………………………………………..

Annex D: Word lists

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	Madi	Narayani	Ratnanagar	Kalika	Khairani
1.	body	शरीर	jiu	jiu	dehi	jiu	dehi
2.	head	टाउको	mudi	mud	muṛ	mudiya	kẽs
3.	hair	कपाल	kẽs	kẽs	kẽs	kes	kẽs
4.	face	अनुहार	muh	muhara	muh	muh	mohəda/muhə
5.	eye	आँखा	tẽḍ	tẽḍ	tẽḍ/ãkhi	ãkhi	yã khi
6.	ear	कान	kan	kan	kan	kan	kanə
7.	nose	नाक	nakno	nakno	nakno	nakno	nakno
8.	mouth	मुख	muh	muhə	muh	muh	muhə
9.	teeth	दाँत	dãt	dãt	dãt	dãt	dãt
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	jivi	jivi	jivi	jivi	jivi
11.	breast	स्तन	cuci	cũc	cuci	cuci	cuci
12.	belly	पेट	peṭ	peṭ	dhid	pet	peṭ
13.	arm/ hand	हात	hathə	hath	bahĩ	hath	hathə
14.	elbow	कुइनो	kehuni	kehuni	kehuni	kəhini	kehuni
15.	palm	हत्केला	hat	pənja	hat	hat	hathə
16.	finger	औँला	yeŋuri	yẽŋuri	yẽuri	yeŋuri	yeŋuri
17.	fingernail	नङ	nahũ	nahu	nahũ	nahu	nahun
18.	leg	खुट्टा	ṭaŋri/god	ṭaŋ	taŋ	taŋ	taŋə
19.	skin	छाला	cʰala	cʰala	cʰala	cʰala	cʰala
20.	bone	हाड	haḍ	haḍ	haḍ	haḍ	haḍ
21.	heart	मुटु	koda	kõra	kõda	koda	koda
22.	blood	रगत	rəkət	rəkət	rəkət	rəkət	rəkətə
23.	urine	पिसाब	mutə	mut	mut	mut	mutə
24.	feces	दिसा	guhə	guh	guh	guh	guhə
25.	village	गाउँ	gaũ	gaũ	gaũ	gaũ	gaũ
26.	house	घर	ghər/cʰəpəri	ghər/cʰəpəri	ghər/cʰəpəri	ghər/cʰəpəri	ghər/cʰəpəri
27.	roof	छानो	cʰani	cʰani	chani	chani	chanhi
28.	door	ढोका	kẽwari/ṭaṭi	kẽwari	kẽwaṛi	dwari	kẽwari
29.	firewood	दाउरा	kaṭhi	kaṭhi	kaṭhi	kathi	kaṭhi
30.	broom	कुचो	khərəhara	badəni	haḍani	bədəni	baḍhəni
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	siloṭi	lohəri	siləuti	siloti	siloti
32.	pestle	लोहोरे	lohra	lathi	lohəra	lorha	lohəri
33.	hammer	हथौडा	həthədi	həthruri	həthəḍi	hətəudi	həthədi
34.	knife	चक्कु	churi	cəkku	churi	churi	churi
35.	axe	बञ्चरो	ṭaŋi	ṭaŋi	ṭaŋi	taŋi	taŋi
36.	rope	डोरी	doriha	jəuri	jeũri	jəh͂ri	jəurhi
37.	thread	धागो	dora	dora	dora	dohra	dora
38.	needle	सियो	sui	sui	sui	sui	sui
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	luga	luga	luga	luga	luga
40.	ring	औँठी	yeŋuṭhi	əũthi	yẽuthi	yeuthi	yẽŋuṭhi
41.	sun	घाम	gʰam	gʰam	gʰam	ghame	beriya
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	dhəwarə	beriya	jun/ə	jonə	jonhə
43.	sky	आकाश	yekas	yekas	yekas	yekas	yekas
44.	star	तारा	tərəŋan	tərŋən	tərəgənə	tərəgən	tərəŋən
45.	rain	वर्षा	jhəri/bərkha	bərkha	jhəri/bərkha	jhəri/bərkha	bərkha

46.	water	पानी	pani	pani	pani	pani	pani
47.	river	नदी	lədi	lədi	lədi	lədi	lədi
48.	cloud	बादल	badəre	badəre	badəri	badəri	badəri
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	cilkəi	baj/clikəliya	ṭhanka cəmkə	ṭhənaka pərəl	cilkəi
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	dhənubãs	dhənubas	dhərbãs	dhənbãs	dhanbãs
51.	wind	बतास	dhudhuhi/bəyar	bəyar	bəyar	bəyar	bəyar
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	pəthəra	pəthəra	pəthəra	pəthəra	pəkhəna
53.	path	बाटो	dəgər	pəĩra	pəĩra	paira	pəĩɽa
54.	sand	बालुवा	bəluwa	balu	balu	balu	balu
55.	fire	आगो	yagi	yaga	yagi	yagi	yagi
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	dʰuwʌ̃ĩ	dʰuwʌ̃ĩ	dʰuwʌ̃ĩ	dʰuwʌ̃ĩ	dʰuwʌ̃ĩ
57.	ash	खरानी	chaur	chaur	chaur	chaur	chauru
58.	mud	माटो	maṭi	mati	maṭi	mati	maṭi
59.	dust	धुलो	dhuri	dhuri	dhuri	dhuri	ḍhuri
60.	gold	सुन	son	son	son	son	son
61.	tree	रूख	gachə	gach	gach	gachə	gachə
62.	leaf	पात	pata/pətəri	pata	pata	pata	pata
63.	root	जरा	jəri	sori	jəri	jəri	jəri
64.	thorn	काँडो	kãṭ	kãt	kãt	kãt	kãtə
65.	flower	फूल	phula	phula	phula	phula	phula
66.	fruit	फलफूल	pʰʌlpʰul	pʰʌlpʰul	phəl	pʰʌlpʰul	pʰʌlpʰul
67.	mango	आँप	yamə	yam	yam	yamə	yamə
68.	banana	केरा	kera	kera	kyara/kyara	kera	kera
69.	Wheat (husked)	गहुँ	gʌhũ	gʌhũ	gohũ	gʌhũ	gʌhũ
70.	barley	जौ	jʌu	jʌu	jəu	jʌu	jʌu
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	caur	caur	caur	caur	caur
72.	potato	आलु	yalu	yalu	yalo	yalu	yalo
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	bhãta	bhãta	bhẽda	bhãta	bhãta
74.	groundnut	बदाम	bedam	bedam	bedamu	bedam	bedam
75.	chili	खुर्सानी	mərca	mərca	mərca	mərca	mərca
76.	turmeric	बेसार	hərədi	hərəd	hərədi	hərədi	hərdi
77.	garlic	लसुन	rʌsun	rʌsun	ləhəsun	rʌsun	ləhəsun
78.	onion	प्याज	pyaj	pyaj	piyaju	pyaj	pyaju
79.	cauliflower	काउली	kobhi	phulkovi	kobhi	kovi	kobhi
80.	tomato	गोलभैँडा	golbʰẽḍa	təmatər	təmatər	təmatər	rambhãṭa
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	bʌnda	bənda	bəndakobhi	bʌnda	pətkobhi
82.	oil	तेल	tel	tel	kəruwatel	tel	tel
83.	salt	नुन	nun	nun	nun	nun	nun
84.	meat	मासु	gos	mase	gos	gos	gos
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	moṭ	mot	moṭ	motə	motə
86.	fish	माछा	machəri	machəri	machəri	machəri	machəri
87.	chicken	चल्ला	cigəni	bəca	cigənikə baca	bəca	bəca
88.	egg	अण्डा	ãɽa	yẽda	yãda	yẽda	yãda
89.	cow	गाई	gai	gai	gai	gai	gai
90.	buffalo	भैँसी	bʰʌ̃ĩsi	bʰʌ̃ĩsi	bʰʌ̃ĩsi	bʰʌ̃ĩsi	bʰʌ̃ĩsi
91.	milk	दुध	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ	dudʰ
92.	horns	सिङ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ

93.	tail	पुच्छर	puchi	puchi	puchi	puchi	puchi
94.	goat	बाख्रो	cheri	cheri	cheri	bəkəri	cheri
95.	dog	कुकुर	kukur	kukur	kukur	kukur	kukur
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	sãp	sãp	sap	sãp	sãp
97.	monkey	बाँदर	banər	banər	banər	banər	banər
98.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	məs	məchər/ghus	məs	mos	mosə
99.	ant	कमिला	cihũti	ciũti	ciuti	ciũti	ciũṭi
100.	spider	माकुरो	məkəra	məkəra	məkəra	məkəra	məkəra
101.	name	नाम	nau	nahu	nau	nau	nau
102.	man	मान्छे	mənse	mənche/mənse	mənse	mənse	mənse
103.	woman	आइमाई	jəni	jəni	jəni	jənyani	jəni
104.	child	बच्चा	chokəni	chokəni	chokəni	chokəni	chokəni
105.	father	बाबा	buwa	buwa	buwa	buwa	buwa
106.	mother	आमा	dawo	dau	dao	dau	dau
107.	older brother	दाजु	dada	dada	dada	dada	dada
108.	younger brother	भाइ	bʰai	bʰai	bʰai	bəbuwa	bʰai
109.	older sister	दिदी	didi	didi	didi	didi	didi
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	bʌhini	bʌhini	bəhin	bəbi	bʌhini
111.	son	छोरो	beṭa	beṭa	beṭa	beṭa	beṭa
112.	daughter	छोरी	beṭi	beṭi	beṭi	beṭi	beṭi
113.	husband	लोग्ने (श्रीमान)	mərəd	mərəd	mərəd	mərəd	mərəd
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	jəni	jəni	jəni	mərdəna	jəni
115.	boy	केटो	beṭa/chəũḍ	chəũḍ	chəuḍa	chəũḍ	chəũḍ
116.	girl	केटी	beṭi/chəũḍi	chə̃ũdi	chəuḍi	chəũḍi	chə̃ũḍi
117.	day	दिन	din	din	din	din	din
118.	night	रात	rati	rat	rat	rati	rati
119.	morning	विहान	bihan	bihana	bihan	bihan	bihana
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	dina	dinə	dina	dinə	dinə
121.	evening	साँझ	berʌ	berʌ	berʌ	berʌ	berʌ
122.	yesterday	हिजो	kalu	kaluh	kalu	kalu	kalu
123.	today	आज	yaju	yaju	yaju	aju	yaju
124.	tomorrow	भोली	yindine	indine	yendini	yandine	yindini
125.	week	हप्ता (साता)	hʌpta	hʌpta	hʌpta	hʌpta	hʌpta
126.	month	महिना	mʌhina	mʌhina	mʌhina	mʌhina	mʌhina
127.	year	वर्ष	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ	bʌrsʌ
128.	old	बूढो	budhə	budhə	budhə	budhə	budhə
129.	new	नयाँ	ləuṭha	lətha	ləuṭha	ləuṭha	ləuṭha
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	dəul/dəhul	dəhul	dəul	dəul	dəulə
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	haine dəhul	hain dəhul	hain daul	hain dəul	haine dəulə
132.	wet	चिसो	judə/bhijələ	judə	juḍə	bhijəl	wosəili
133.	dry	सुख्खा	sukkʰa	sukkʰa	sukhail	sukkʰa	sukkʰa

134.	long	लामो	ləməhərə	ləmhərə	l/nəməhər	nəməhər	ləməhər
135.	short	छोटो	cʰõt/cʰõțe	țhebhər	jhinik	chotel	choțe
136.	hot	तातो	dhikələ	dhikəl	dhikəl	dhikələ	dhikəl
137.	cold	चिसो	judə	judə	juda	jud	judə
138.	right	दाहिने	dəhine	dəhine	dəhini	dəhine	dəhine
139.	left	देब्रे	ləhine	ləbəri	ləbədi	ləbədi	ləbədi/ṛu
140.	near	नजिक	nəjike	ləjike	ləjike	ləjike	ləgice
141.	far	टाढा	tənau	tənau	tənau	tənəu	tənau
142.	big	ठूलो	jəbad/bədəke	jəbhər	bədəke	jəbbaərə	jəbbad
143.	small	सानो	chote	jhiniyak	jhinikə	jhinekə	choțe
144.	heavy	गह्रौं	bodəhər	bodəhər	bodəhərə	bodəhərə	bodəhər
145.	light	हलुका	həluk	həlukə	həlukə	həluktəka	həlukə
146.	above	माथि	upərə	upərə	upərə	upərə	upərə
147.	below	तल	tərə	tərə	tərə	tərə	tərə
148.	white	सेतो	gorahər	gorahər	gorahər	gorahəra	gorahər
149.	black	कालो	kəriya	kəriya	kəriya	kəriya	kəriya
150.	red	रातो	lal	lal	lal	lal	lal
151.	one	एक	ek	ek	ek	ek	ek
152.	two	दुई	dui	dui	dui	dui	dui
153.	three	तीन	tin	tin	tini	tin	tin
154.	four	चार	car	car	cari	car	car
155.	five	पाँच	pãc	pãc	pãci	pãc	pãc
156.	six	छ	cʰʌ	cʰʌ	chəu	cʰʌ	cʰʌ
157.	seven	सात	sat	sat	sat	sat	sat
158.	eight	आठ	ațʰ	ațʰ	ațʰ	ațʰ	ațʰ
159.	nine	नौ	nʌu	nʌu	nʌu	nʌu	nʌu
160.	ten	दश	dʌs	dʌs	dʌs	dʌs	dʌs
161.	eleven	एघार	egʰarʌ	egʰarʌ	egʰarʌ	egʰarʌ	egʰarʌ
162.	twelve	बाह्र	barhʌ	barhʌ	barhʌ	barhʌ	barhʌ
163.	twenty	बीस	bis	bis	bis	bis	bis
164.	one hundred	एक सय	ek sʌy	ek sʌy	ek sʌy	ek sʌy	ek sʌy
165.	who	को	kune	kune	kune	kun	kunə/kune/kun
166.	what	के	kəthi	kəthi	kəthi	kəthi	kəthi
167.	where	कहाँ	kə̃hɔ̃wã	kə̃hɔ̃wã	kəhəwa	kəhɔ̃wa	kəhəwã
168.	when	कहिले	kəkhəni	kehiyə	kəkhəni	kəhiya	kəhiya
169.	how many	कति	kətek	kətekə	kətek	kəthi	kətekə
170.	which	कुन	kune	kun	kune	kun	kunə
171.	this	यो	iə	iyə	iə	iyə	yiə
172.	that	त्यो	uə	uwə	uə	uə	wuə
173.	these	यिनीहरू	hinka	hinka	hinika	hinka	hinka
174.	those	उनीहरू	hunka	hunka	hunka	hunka	hunka
175.	same	उही	wosəne	uhe	uhe	uhe	uhe
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	pʰʌrʌk	dosər	dosər	pʰʌrʌk	dosəre
177.	whole	सबै	səb	jəmme	jəmma	jəmme	jame
178.	broken	फुटेको	phutal	phutəl	phutəl	phutəl	phutələ
179.	few	थोरै	icike	icike	icike	icike	icikə
180.	many	धेरै	bəhute	bəhutə	bəhutə	bəhutə	bəhut
181.	all	सबै	səb	jamme	jəmma	jəmme	jame

182.	to eat	खानु	khayeke	khayeke	khayeke	khayeke	khayeke
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	kaṭeke	kəpteke	kəptəke	kəpəhəke	kaptəke
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	bhokhayeke	bhukhayeke	bhakaike	bhokəle	bhukheyeke
185.	to drink	पिउनु	piyeke	piyeke	piyeke	piyeke	piyeke
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	pyas	pyas/lageke	pyas/lagəl	pyal ləgnike	pyasəke
187.	to sleep	सुत्नु	suteke	suteke	suteke	sutke	sutəke
188.	to lie	पल्टनु	letke	bhəhə̃nke	letke	letke	bhə̃dəke
189.	to sit	बस्नु	bəitheke	bəitheke	bəisəl	bəike	bəiṭhəke
190.	to give	दिनु	denke	deuke	dewəke	deuke	dewəke
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	dahauke	jəraoke	dəhauke	dahake	jərawoke
192.	to die	मर्नु	məreke	məreke	məreke	mərke	məreke
193.	to kill	मार्नु	mareke	mareke	marəke	marke	mareke
194.	to fly	उड्नु	udyake	udəke/udiyake	udiyaike	udyake	udyayeke
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	buleke	buleke	buleke	buləike	buləke
196.	to run/ run	दौड्नु	dagureke	dəudəke	dəgurəke	durke	dəgurəke
197.	to go /go	जानु	jayeke	jayake	jaeke	jaike	jayəke
198.	to come	आउनु	yauke	yaoke	yawəke	yauke	yawoke
199.	to speak/ speak	बोल्नु	phədəkeke	phətkeke	phədkeke	phədkake	phədəkəke
200.	to hear /hear/listen	सुत्नु	suneke	sunəke	sunəike	sunəike	sunəke
201.	to look /look	हेर्नु	dedheke/hereke	dekheke/hereke	hereke	dekhaike	herəke
202.	I	म	moi	mui	məi	moi	mui
203.	you (informal)	तँ	tũĩ	tũi	tuĩ	tũi	tũi
204.	you (formal)	तपाई	yepənəhu	yepnəhike	yəpnəhike	tũi	yepənəhike
205.	he	ऊ	uə	uuə	uwə	ui	uwə
206.	she	उनी	uə	uuə	uwə	unile	uwə
207.	we (inclusive)	हामी (समावेशी)	həmərā		həmərā	həmərā	həmərā
				həmərā			
208.	we (exclusive)	हामी (असमावेशी)	həmərā	həmərā	həmərā	həmərā	həmərā
209.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	tuhərā	tohərā	tohərā	hinka	tohərā
210.	they	उनीहरू	hunuka	hunka	hunka	hunka	hunka

Annex E: Some group photographs of the informants from different survey points

Photograph 1: Debauli, Chitawan

Photograph 2: Gardi, Chitawan

Photograph 3: Gardi, Chitawan

Photograph 4:Meghauli, Chitawan

Photograph 5: Padampur, Chitawan

Photograph 6: Chitoniya Tharu dress

Photograph 7: The cultural dress of Chitoniya Tharu

Photograph 8: Cultural Things of Chitoniya Tharu

Photograph 9:The traditional ornaments of Chitoniya Tharu

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