

A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Santhali Language

(As Spoken in Jhapa and Morang Districts)

A Report

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By

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Outline

This chapter deals with general background of the Santhal people and their language. It includes the Santhal people, caste/ethnic groups, religion, literacy, occupation. This chapter consists of nine sections. Section 1.1 deals with general background of the study and in section 1.2 we discuss about Santhal people, caste/ethnic groups, religion, literacy, and occupation. Section 1.3 presents the demography and distribution the Santhali language. Similarly, section 1.4 deals with geographical location of the survey points in Santhali. In section 1.5, we discuss the linguistic affiliation of the Santhali language. Similarly, section 1.6 deals with previous research works available about Santhali language in general and Santhali language in specific. Section 1.7 presents the purpose and goals of the study and 1.8 deals with the organization of the report.

1.1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of the Santhali language spoken in Jhapa and Morang districts of Eastern Development regions of Nepal. This report includes a brief description of Santhali language, its language resources, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, domains of language use, language vitality and language transmission, language attitudes, language development, and dialectal variation.

Nepal is a multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious country. It is rich in its linguistic diversity. The four great language families namely, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic. According to Ethnologue (2012), there are about 124 living languages and dialects of four different genetic stocks spoken within the country. The latest national census of 2011 records the total 123 languages in Nepal and also allows an additional category of 'other unknown languages' which comprise half million speakers.

The Santhali language is a cross-border language mainly spoken by people who live in Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and India. In Nepal, Santhali is spoken in the eastern Tarai, especially in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts. Santhali is spoken by indigenous people in Nepal. Santhali, one of the largest spoken tribal languages of the India, is spoken by millions of

people in India. In India, they are in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. The Santhal tribes are one of the aboriginals and major tribes India. In India, they have preserved their language, literature, and culture till date (<http://santali.jharkhandi.com>). According to the 2001 census, Santhali language is spoken mainly in Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari districts of Nepal. The number of native speakers (40,260) is less than the total number of the Santhals. The total number of Santhals is 42,698 i.e. 0.19% of the total population of Nepal where as the speakers are 0.18%. The variation between the total number of population and its speakers shows that 2,438 Santhals have left speaking Santhali as their mother tongue (CBS: 2001). According to the recent Census of Nepal, 2011, Santhali is spoken by 49,858 speakers i.e. 0.18% of the total population of Nepal as their mother tongue whereas the total Santhal population are 51,735.

According to Grierson (1909), Santhali is the most important of all the Munda languages. Santhali literally means the language of Santhals. Santhal is the name applied by foreigners to the tribe which has given its name to the Santhal Praganas. It is the language of tribals called Santhals. The Santhali language has different alternate names like Satar, Santhali, Santhal, Sonthal, Sangtal, Santal, Sentali, Sainiti, Har, and Hor. But the native speakers of Nepal prefer Santhali as they are of Santhal ethnic group.

Santhali language has its own script. The alphabet of this script is known as OL Chiki which is invented by Pandit Raghunath Murmu in 1925. This OL Chiki script does not share any of the syllabic properties of the other Indic scripts such as Devanagari. Ol Chiki script uses 30 symbol and five basic diacritics. It has 6 basic vowels symbols and three additional vowels symbol.

Santhali, one of Nepal's languages, has originated from the Austro- Asiatic related to Ho and Mundari. Linguists traditionally recognize two primary divisions of Austro- Asiatic; the Mon- Khmer languages of South Asia, Northeast India and the Nicobar Islands, and the Munda languages of East and central India, parts of Bangladesh, and south-east Tarai of Nepal. Grierson (1909), Ethnologue identifies 168 Austro-Asiatic languages, of which 147 are Mon- Khmer and 21 are Munda. However, no evidence for this classification has ever been published, and it is possible that the linguistic classification has been influenced by researchers' subjective perception of a racial dichotomy between the speakers of languages that have traditionally been classified as Mon- Khmer and those that have traditionally been classified as Munda (Thakur and Mahato 2008).

1.2 The Santhal people

From the field observation we explored the historical back ground of Santhal from some of the leading figure of Santhal community. The leader of Santhal community narrated their legendary history as following:

Our ancestor is Aklabya the one of the well-known character of Mahabharat. The parents of Aklabya are Pilchu Haram and Pilchu budhi . In Mahabharat Aklabya was expert in Tir Dhanus but later Guru Dron had taken his thumb and from then to till the date the Santhals are drawing Tir Dhanush by the help of middle finger and index finger instead of their thumb.

In the different time span they scattered in different place of the world. Now they mainly inhabit in India Pakistan Bangladesh Bhutan and Nepal especially in the Eastern part of Tarai

Santhals are one of the ethnic groups of Nepal. The language spoken by Santhals as mother tongue is Santhali. The Santhali language has different alternate names like Satar, Santhali, Santhal, Sonthal, Sangtal, Santal, Sentali, Sainiti, Har, and Hor (Griersion, 2009). In Nepal, Santhli language is mainly known as Santhali, Satar and Hor. The non-native mainly articulates their language as satar which they do not prefer.

They have mainly arranged marriage system and these days very few are enjoying doing love marriage too (in the name of modernization). Their socio-cultural existence is influenced by Hindu culture.

1.2.1 Caste/ethnic groups

In this survey, the research team has found the Santhali people living mainly in three districts of eastern Tarai regions of Nepal. Among them, we visited five spots i.e. Maheshpur, Garamani and Sharanamati in Jhapa district and Hoklabari and Majhare in Morang district. Though we have divided the five spots in the name of five VDCs, we met the people from more than these VDCs. Table 1.1 presents castes/ethnic situation in Santhal people in Jhapa and Morang districts. According to Mohan Tudu (Key informants) there are all together 12 surname in Santhal ethnic group. Those are Tudu, Murmu, Hemram, Baske, Kisku, Hasda, Besra, Soren, Marandi/Mardi, Chande, Paudiya and Bediya. However, there are no any hierarchies between any of the surname. The people of the entire surname are treated equally. Table 1.2 presents the surname of Santhal people.

Table 1.1: Castes/ethnic groups in Santhali

Zone	District	Point	Caste/ethnic group
Mechi	Jhapa	Maheshpur	Santhal
		Garamani	Santhal
		Sharanamati	Santhal
Koshi	Morang	Hoklabari	Santhal
		Majhare	Santhal

Table 1.1 shows that in Santhali speech community there is only one ethnic system. There is no caste and clan division in Santhal community in Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal.

Table 1.2: Surname in Santhal people

Surname (Thar)		No.	%
1.	Murmu	14	23.3
2.	Baske	1	1.7
3.	Besra	6	10.0
4.	Hasda	12	20.0
5.	Hemram	9	15.0
6.	Kisku	8	13.3
7.	Soren	4	6.7
8.	Tudu	3	5.0
9.	Marandi/mardi	3	5.0
Total		60	100.0

In all 60 respondents of those two districts, we get only 9 surname out of total 12 surname used by Santhal people. The remaining three surnames (Chande, Paudiya and Bediya) are found in India. Mainly Murmu and Hasda are found frequently.

1.2.2 Religion

Most Santhal people practice the nature worship (*Prakriti Puja*) as their religion. The elite people of Santhal are disseminating to the community that their religion is 'Sarana' which is a kind of nature worship. The Sal tree is very important for their worship. However, many Santhals claim that they are Hindu. Simultaneously, changing religion is very common practices in them so the Christianity has been highly incorporated in that community. Table 1.3 presents the situation of religion in Santhal of Jhapa and Morang districts

Table 1.3: Religion in Santhal in Jhapa and Morang

Religion	Literate(n=28)		Illiterate (n=32)	
Hindu	9	32.1%	25	78.1%
Sarana	11	39.3%	2	6.2%
Christian	8	28.6%	5	15.6%
Total	28	100.0%	32	99.9%

Table 1.3 displays that most of the illiterate Santhali people are Hindus whereas only 2 out of 32 illiterate reported as their religion is Sarana. The Christians are relatively higher in literate people than in illiterate people. The analysis reflects that the literate people are more aware to identify their religion as Sarana

1.2.3 Occupation

As the Santhals prefer to live near forests and rivers, hunting and fishing are said to be their favorite occupation according to the previous literature. However, Santhal claims them that their occupation is not hunting or gathering. They say that their festivals reflect that they are farmer by occupation. They are also adept in farming and put much labour in that activity. Although they were owners of land in past, there are very few landowners among the Santhals today. (Source: Key informant interview) The majorities of Santhals are dependent on forests and rivers, tea plantation or working as a labour in the fields of others. However, these days Santhals are working in tea states as well.

1.3 Demography and distribution

Santhals are one of the marginal ethnic groups of Nepal. According to the CBS (2001) they are scattered in 48 districts of Nepal. However, the concentrated areas are only three districts of eastern Tarai i.e, Jhapa, Morang, and Sunsari. Since Santhali is a cross boarder language, it is found that millions of Santhal people are living in our neighboring country India. According to the 2001 census, the total Santhal population of Nepal is 42698 whereas the Santhali speakers are 40,260 which is the 0.18% of the total population of Nepal as compared 0.20% in 1952/54, 0.31% in 1961, 0.21% in 1971, 0.19% in 1981, and 0.18% in 1991. According to the recent Census of Nepal, 2011, Santhali is spoken by 49,858 speakers i.e. 0.18% of the total population of Nepal as their mother tongue whereas the total Santhal population is 51,735.

The present study focuses mainly in Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal. The survey points are selected by considering the concentrated habitation of these people. The points were also selected on the basis of its geographical location from that is from east to west. In east part three points were made : a) in Maheshpur VDC, b) in Garamani VDC and c) in Sharanamati VDC in Jhapa, and in west two points were made : a) Hoklabari and b) Majhare in Morang to cover most of the concentrated settlements of Santhali people. Though five VDCs name are provided for its points, the data collected from respondents were from more than these VDCs.

Table 1.4: District-wise distribution of the Santhali speakers

Districts	No of speakers
Jhapa	22,732
Morang	16,597
Sunsari	353
Source: Population Census 2001	

1.4 Geographical location of the survey points in Santhali

This survey has selected three points in Jhapa district and two points in Morang district. The core point is selected from Jhapa i.e., Maheshpur VDC which was the southeast corner. Then after we moved to the Rajmarg i.e., Garamani VDC and the third one was Sharanamati which was very populated area of Santhal people as well as the west part of the Jhapa district. However, the conjoint VDCs of Maheshpur were Jalthal, Haldibari from where also we have collected the data. Similarly, in Morang district we have pointed out two points which were the densely populated area of Santhal people i.e., Hoklabari in east part of Morang and Majhare the west part of Morang. Global Positioning System (GPS) system was used for all the survey points.

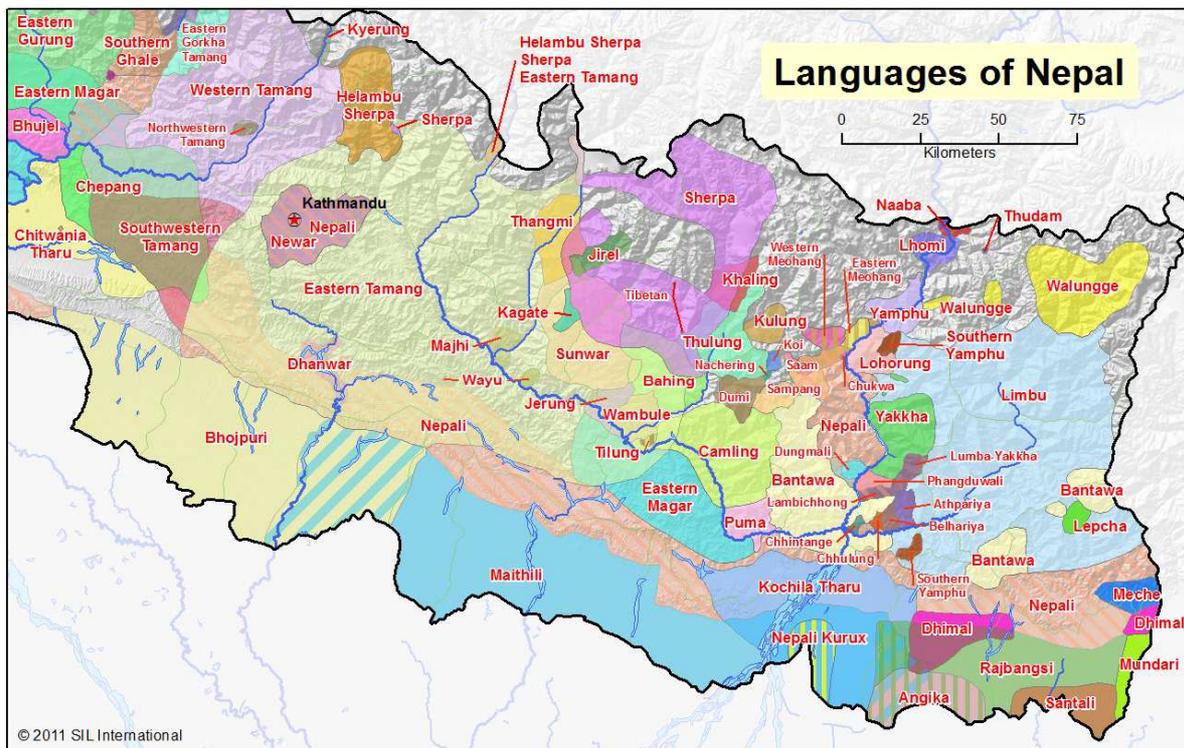
Table 1.5 lists the GPS information of the survey points in Santhali in Jhapa and Morang districts.

Table 1.5: GPS information of Santhal speaking areas in Eastern Tarai

Survey points	GPS Coordinates		Elevation
Badrigau-1, Maheshpur	26° 31' 24.8" N	088° 05' 02.6" E	73m
Pagalibari-3, Garamani	26° 31' 24.9" N	088° 05' 02.6" E	83m
Madar Gachhi-9, Sharanamati	26° 36' 29.3" N	087° 51' 54.2" E	92m
Bishanpur-8, Hoklabari	26° 35' 59.0" N	087° 51' 59.6" E	87m
Sutom Tol-6, Majhare	26° 32' 22.9" N	087° 28' 44.9" E	62m
Source: Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepal (2011)			

Map 1.1 presents the locations of the Santhal speech community.

Map 1.1: The geographical distribution of the Santhal in Nepal



Note: The arrow shows the place of where the Santhali Speech community is densely situated.

1.5 Genetic affiliation of Santhali language

Santhali belong to the Austro-Asiatic group of human families. They have also been called as a sub-group speaking a language belonging to the Munda family. Santhals are the people in Nepal speaking a language belonging to the North Munda of Austro-Asiatic family. The Santhali language spoken in Nepal can be genetically subcategorized in the following diagrams:

This is widely cited classification of Austro-Asiatic languages. This classification is forwarded by Gerald Diffloth.

Diagram 1: Genetic classification by Gerald Diffloth

Munda

North Munda

Korku

Kherwarian

Kherwari branch: Agariya, Bijori, koraku

Mundari branch: Mundari, Bhumij, Asuri, Kodu, Ho,
Birhor

Santhali branch: Santhali, Mahali, Turi

South Munda

Kharia-Juang: Khariya, Juang

Koraput Munda:

Remo branch: Gata, Bondo, Bodo Gadaba

Savara branch: Parengi, Sora, Juray, Lodhi

Mon-Khmer

Eastern Mon-Khmer

Khmer (Cambodia)

Pearic

Bahnaric

Katuic

Veitic (Includes Vietnamese)

Northern Mon-Khmer

Khasi (Meghalay, India)

Palaungic

Khmuic

Southern Mon-Khmer

Mon

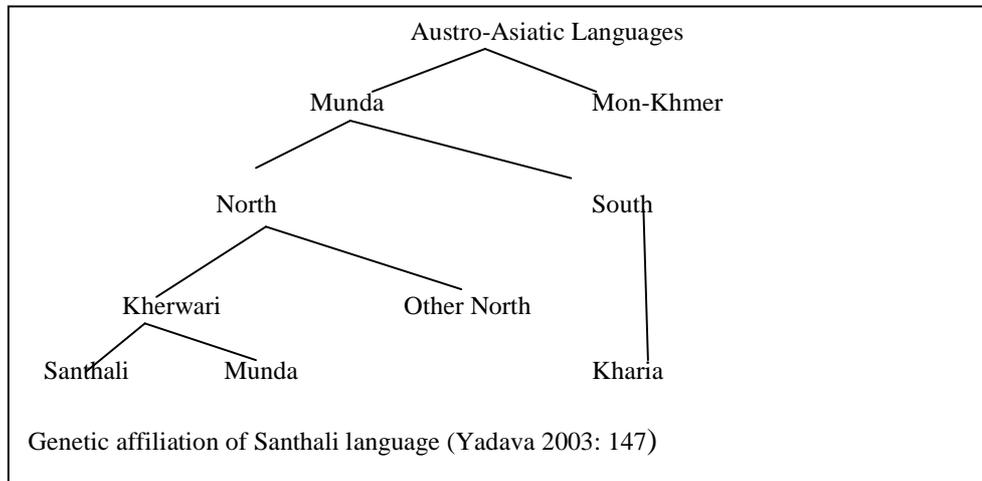
Aslian (Malaya)

Nicobarese (Nicobar Island)

Source: Gerald Diffloth (1974)

The diagram 2 is forwarded by Yadava which comprises the austro-asiatic language of Nepal.

Diagram 2: Genetic classification by Yogendra p. Yadava



1.6 Previous research works

There has been a number of works on the economic, religious, cultural and traditional study of Santhali community, but relatively there are few published linguistic research works. There exist a large amount of literature on Santhali people and language. However, most of these works deal with Santhals are from India because India is the place of Santhali origin and accommodates a larger chunk of their population. Two major works are Grierson (1909) and Diffloth (1974). Writings on Santhali people and language in Nepal have recently started. These include Acharya (2055), Niraula (2057), Yadava (2003), Hansdah and Murmu (2005) and Thakur and Shobha (2008)

1.7 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Santhali language which has been categorized as an Austro-Asiatic language family of Nepal. The specific goals/objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To gather information regarding the resources available in the language and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Santhali language.
- b) To assess the mother tongue proficiency and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Santhal speakers;

- c) To look at the vitality of the language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- d) To evaluate the language maintenance and the attitudes of the speakers towards their language; and
- e) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language.

1.8 Organization of the study

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

Chapter 2

Research methodology

2.0 Outline

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

2.1 Overview

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

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

	Goals of the survey	Research methods/ tools	Brief description	Focus of the methods/tools
1.1	To examine the patterns of language use in certain domains, language attitudes, and language vitality, language maintenance, mother-tongue proficiency and	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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language resources • Mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism • Domain of

	multilingualism and language resources in Santhali language;		including the core point	language use <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domain of language use • Dialect mapping • Multilingualism • Appreciative enquiry
		Sociolinguistic Questionnaires-C (SLQ C)	21 questions to be administered on language activist or village head	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language attitudes • Language maintenance • Language vitality • Language development
1.2	To assess the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language;	Wordlist Comparisons (WLC)	Lexical comparison of 210 words	Lexical variation among selected varieties in the language

2.2 Research methods/tools

2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ)

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

(a) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A (SLQ A)

This set, consisting of eighty questions, is intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals

about the language resources, mother-tongue proficiency and multilingualism, domain of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and their language attitudes. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex. The points for this survey were selected on the basis of pre-information from the some elite persons of Santhal community. And the information from CBS was also helpful to determine the points for this survey. So the five points like Maheshpur, Garamani, Sharnamati from Jhapa district and Hoklabari and Majhare in Morang district. Secondly, the individuals were chosen from different categories of sex, age and educational background from each survey point.¹

The survey has a specific checklist for the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A. Table 2.2 presents the checklist for Questionnaire A.

Table 2.2: Checklist for Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

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

A1= 15-34, A2= 35-59, A3= 60 and above, L= Literate, IL= Illiterate

Following the sampling model to the maximum, at least 12 informants were selected for age ranging 15-34 (A1), 35- 59 (A2) and 60 and above (A3) with their sex and educational background in each survey point. The questions administered in Nepali and Maithili language to the informants and the answers given by those informants were recorded in Nepali language. After the data collection, the data were analyzed statically to find out general patterns and trends in Santhali language.

(b) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B (SLQ B)

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Santhal participants of each 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 Santhali language i.e., what is the situation of

¹ For the purpose of the survey, the age range of the informants has been categorized into three sets: 15-34 (A1), 35-59(A2) and 60 and above (A3).

bilingualism in Santhal community; in which situations they use Santhali language; and what are their dreams and aspirations for the development of 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 should 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; at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants must be grown up in the survey point and must have been living here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

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

(i) Domains of language use

We used the domains of language use tool in order to help the Santhali speakers to think about and visualize the language which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the language participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they use their mother tongue, Santhali and the situations in which they use both Nepali and Santhali. After that, they were asked to place the labels Nepali, Santhali, and both Nepali and Santhali. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants provided us the information about the uses of different language at different situation. Further, that information was captured in snap and analyzed further.

(ii) Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of dialect mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Santhali language. Participants in the group of 8-12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns where Santhali is spoken and placed them on the floor. The places written on the paper sheet were further rearranged to present the geographical location from east west. Then, they were asked to use the string and keep the places within that string. The places kept within a string show the identical language. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

(iii) Bi/multilingualism

This tool is used to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Santhali and Nepali by different subsets of the Santhal community. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Santhal people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Santhal who speak Nepali well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then, the participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Santhali well or not so well. Then, they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After that they were advised to write down the names of Santhal speakers who spoke Santhali well; the names of those speakers who spoke both language; and the names of those speakers who spoke LWC (language in wider community). At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people and which was increasing, and how they felt about that.

(iv) Appreciative inquiry

The main purpose of this tool is to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Santhal community members have in different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language and culture. Then, they were asked to express the dreams about how they could make their language and culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start

on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

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

(c) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C (SLQ C)

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

2.2.2 Wordlist

The basic wordlist contains 210 words. 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 wordlists elicited from the mother tongue, Santhali speakers. The results have been presented in a table which illustrates the relative linguistic distances among various speech communities, and lexical differences have been compared in an exhaustive matrix of pairs.

From each survey points, at least two informants were chosen as the wordlist source. In the selection, those speakers were selected who were born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Santhali as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

For each item on the wordlist, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Santhali word from a mother tongue Santhal 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 Santhali.

2.3 Limitations of the survey

This survey was conducted in five key points of two districts for the period of 15 days. This study was limited to only sociolinguistic study of the Santhali language. For this study five survey points from Jhapa and Morang districts: three from Jhapa and two from Morang were selected. Only 12 sociolinguistic questionnaires A (SLQ A) were administrated in each survey point. Similarly, four SLQ B and two SLQ C and two wordlists were administrated in each survey point.

Chapter 3

Language resources and organizations

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the language resources and organizations in general. Section 3.1 deals with the language resources in the Santhali language. In section 3.2 we have discussed about the organizations for the development of language and culture in the Santhal community and their responsibilities. Similarly, section 3.3 deals with the summary of the chapter which presents the major findings of this chapter.

3.1 Language resources

The resources available in the Santhali language are folk stories and folklore, songs, religious literatures. Santhal community is very rich in folk music and religious literature. They have different types of songs for different rites and rituals. The modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films and CD/DVD are also available in the language. Table 3:1 lists the different sources in Santhali language.

Table 3:1 Lists of available resources

Domains	Folklore	Music	religious lit	Radio	Cinema	Cd/Dvd
No. (n=60)	58	60	60	57	28	50
%	96.7%	100 %	100 %	95 %	46.7%	83.3%

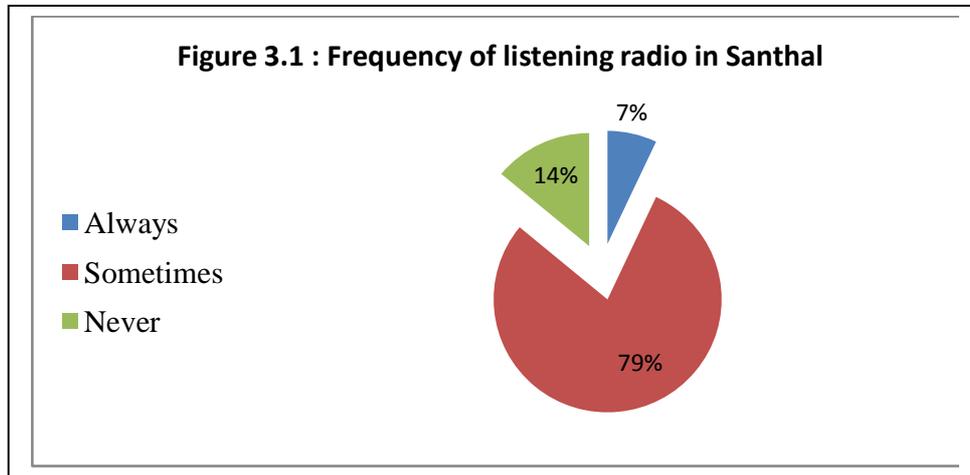
The table 3.1 displays that out of total 60 respondents all have reported that there is music and religious literature in Santahl language and similarly majority have reported that there is folklore (96.7%) and radio (95%) program. Whereas only 46.7% has reported that there is cinema in their language. One fact was found that the available cinema is made in India not in Nepal.

Regarding the listening to the radio program broadcast in Santhali, Table 3.2 presents its frequency.

Table 3.2: Frequency of listening to radio program broadcast in Santhali

N= 57	Always	Sometimes	Never
	4 (7 %)	45 (78.9 %)	8 (14 %)

Table 3.2 shows that out of the 57 respondents about 78.9 % Santhali speakers sometime listen to radio programs broadcast in their mother tongue while only 7% are regular listener of Santhali program. This is shown in following table as well.



Similarly, Table 3.3 presents the language resources available in Santhali.

Table 3.3: Lists of written resources available in Santhali

S. N.	Resources	Yes/no	Language in which it is written
1.	Phonemic inventory	Yes	Santhali, English,
2.	Grammar	Yes	Santhali, Nepali, English, Hindi
3.	Dictionary	Yes	Santhali, Nepali, English, Hindi
4.	Textbooks	Yes	Santhali, Nepali, English, Hindi
5.	Literacy materials	Yes	Santhali, Nepali, English, Hindi
6.	Newspapers	Yes	Santhali, English, Hindi
7.	Magazine	Yes	Santhali, English, Hindi
8.	Written literature	Yes	Santhali, Nepali, English, Hindi
9.	Folklore	Yes	Santhali, Nepali, English, Hindi

Table 3.3 shows that the language resources available in the Santhali are Santhali, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literary materials, newspapers, magazines, and written literatures. All these materials are written in Santhali, as well as in Nepali, English and Hindi also. They responded

that these materials are mainly published in India whereas some of these are also published in Nepal. Santhali has own script that is OL Chiki.

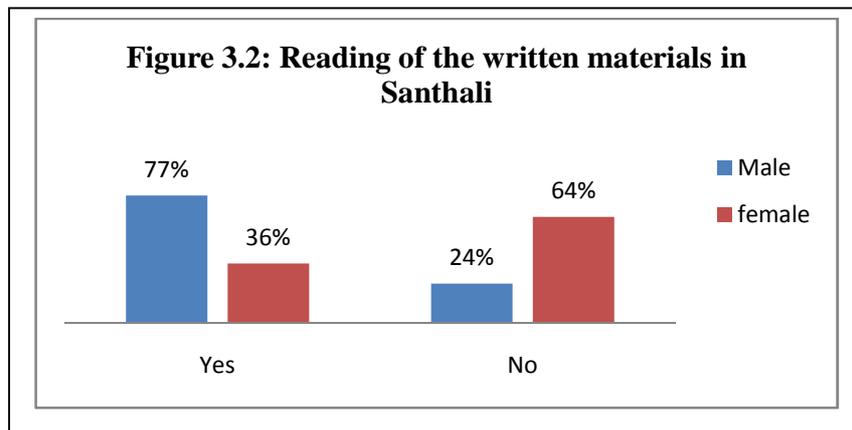
In this survey out of 60 there were 28 literate respondents who helped to gather this data for written resources in Santhali language.

Table 3.4 presents whether the literate Santhali speakers read these materials available in their language or not.

Table 3.4: Reading of written resources of Santhali by sex

Male (n=17)		Female (n=11)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
13 (77 %)	4 (24%)	4 (36%)	7 (64%)

Table 3.4 shows that out of 17 literate male respondents 77 % replied that they read the materials available in their language whereas 24 % respondents do not read these materials. Similarly, out of 11 literate female respondents 36% responded that they read the materials available in their language whereas rests of the participants i.e., 64% do not read the materials available in their language. The following figure can display more clearly the situation of reading and writing by Santahli materials by Santhal people.



This figure shows that more literate males read and write in Santhali language.

Similarly, the literate respondents had reported that there written materials are written by using the Ol Chiki, Devnagari and Roman script as well.

3.2 Organization working for language development

After the restoration of democracy in 2047 B.S., a number of organizations were emerged to promote their ethnic identity. Santhal did not remain untouchable from that task. Cosequently there are few organization focused to the preservation and promotion of cultural identity of Santhal community Table 3.4 presents awareness of people towards their organization whether they know about their organization or not.

Table 3.5: Availability of organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Santhali

		Yes	No	don't know
gender	Male	10 (33.3%)	12 (40 %)	8 (26.7%)
	Female	15 (50 %)	11 (36.7%)	4 (13.3%)
literate	Literate	15 (53.6%)	10 (35.7%)	3 (10.7%)
	Illiterate	10 (31.3)	13 (40.6%)	9 (28.1%)

The table 3.5 displays that 53.6 % literate respondents reported that there is Santhal focused organization where as only 31.3% illiterate respondents reported that there is Santhal focused organization.

Across gender 50% female reported that they know about their organization whereas only 33.3 % male reported that they know about their organization.

From this analysis it is clear that literate Santhals are more aware towards their organization. And it also shows that more female is aware towards their organization than male.

Table 3.6 presents the list of organizations and their responsibilities in Santhal community

Table 3.6: Organizations and their responsibilities in Santhal community

S. N.	Name of the institutions	Responsibilities
1.	Nepal Santhal Adibasi Uthan Sangh	Cultural, linguistic and educational development.
2.	Janjati Mahasangh	Cultural, linguistic and educational Preservation and promotion
3.	Lutharan Kalyan Samaj	Developing Santhal community
4.	Nepal Juwan Akhada	Cultural Activities
5.	Tadamlaha Santhal Samaj	Cultural Activities

Table 3.6 shows that there are altogether 5 organizations of Santhals dedicated for preservation and promotion of their language and culture. These organizations mainly work for literacy, cultural, educational, and awareness programs. These organizations are also eager to work for the promotion and preservation of the Santhal language and culture.

3.3 Summary

The resources available in the Santhali language are folk stories and folklore; songs; religious literatures; and the modern language transmission resources like radio, cinema, films, and CD/DVD are also available in the language. But available cinema is not made in Nepal but in India and they see it by bringing from India. Similarly, script, grammar, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines, and written literatures are also available in the Santhali language and these written sources are written in the Santhali, Nepali and Hindi language as well. Santhali language has its own script, i.e., Ol Chiki which is used as the script for their written material. However, Roman and Devnagari script are also used.

Similarly, only a few speakers always listen to the radio programs always in their language whereas majority of Santhali speakers listen to radio programs in their language only sometimes. Regarding the reading of the materials in their language, majority of literate male speakers read the reading materials available in Santhali language. There are altogether 5 organizations of Santhal dedicated for the preservation and promotion of their language and culture. These organizations mainly work for literacy, cultural, educational, and awareness programs. These organizations are also eager to work for the promotion and preservation of Santhal language and culture.

Chapter 4

Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism

4.0 Outline

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

4.1 Mother tongue proficiency in Santhal

Santhals are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Santhali speech community speak their language very well. All of them are fluent speaker of their mother tongue i.e. Santhali. In general, Santhali are very good in speaking their language. However, as literacy rate is not so good, only half of the speakers are reported to be very good at reading and writing in their language. Table 4.1 presents mother tongue proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in Santhali.

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

Speaking (N=60)			Reading and writing	
Degrees	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Male (n= 17)	Female (n= 11)
Very well	30 (100%)	30 (100%)	8 (47.1%)	4 (36.4%)
Some			3 (17.6%)	6 (54.5%)
Only a little			6 (35.3%)	1 (9.1%)

The above table 4.1 reflects that all the 60 Santhali speakers are fluent in their mother tongue. However in 28 literate people only 8 (47.1%) from male and 4 (36.4%) from female have reported that they can read and write very well in their own language. This analysis shows that literacy among female is poor.

4.2 Bi/multilingualism

Bilingualism is the ability to speak and to understand a second language. It is usually in a language of national or regional importance. It is the result of either formal or informal exposure to another language; this is nearly always uneven in a community. Thus, in any community, different individuals and sections of the community are bilingual to different degrees. Bilingualism arises from the simple fact that people of widely different backgrounds need and want to communicate with each other. Nepal has been referred to as a "flower garden" of linguistic and cultural diversity. People from different ethnic groups acquire second and third languages to communicate with each other for various purposes. Knowledge of Nepali is vital for the advancement of the people and their integration into national life. Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not tell us much about the ability of others in a community.

4.2.1 Bi/multilingualism in Santhal

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

Table 4.2 presents the situation of multilingualism in Santhal people.

Table 4.2: Multilingualism in Santhali speech community

N=60	Male (n=30)	%	Female (n=30)	%	Literate (n=28)	%	Illiterate (n=32)	%
Santhali	30	100	30	100	28	100	32	100.0
Nepali	28	93.3	30	100	28	100	30	93.8
Hindi	24	80.0	11	36.7	23	82.1	12	37.5
Mathili	14	46.7	13	43.3	14	50.0	13	40.6
Rajbansi	15	50.0	9	30.0	12	42.9	12	37.5
Bangla	11	36.7	2	6.7	10	35.7	3	9.4
English	5	16.7	3	10.0	8	28.6	0	
Bhojpuri	1	3.3	1	3.3	2	7.1	0	

Table 4.2 shows all the Santhal speakers are proficient in their mother tongue. Majority of the male as well as female Santhal speakers are bilingual in Nepali. In addition, they speak Hindi, Maithili, Rajbansi, Bangla, English and Bhojpuri as well. Similarly, all the literate Santhal have reported that they speak Nepali as well. However, same table also reflects that literate Santhal know more language than illiterate. 8 (28.6%) and 2(7.1%) literate Santhal have reported that they know English and Bhojpuri respectively whereas there is no any illiterate who can know these two languages.

4.2.2 Bi/multilingualism in Santhal families

As mentioned above, most of the Santhali speakers are bilingual as well as multilingual, their family members are also seems to be bilingual in different languages. Table 4.3 presents the bi/multilingualism in Santhal family members.

Table 4.3: Other languages known to family members by sex

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Language	Father	Mother	Wife	Father	Mother	Husband
Nepali	12 (40%)	9 (30%)	20 (67%)	23 (77%)	16 (53%)	24 (80%)
Hindi	10 (33%)	8 (27%)	8 (27%)	10 (33%)	5 (17%)	21 (70%)
Rajbansi	8 (27%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	10 (33%)	9 (30%)	14 (47%)
Maithili	5 (17%)	5 (17%)	9 (30%)	6 (20%)	4 (13%)	9 (30%)
Bangali	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	5 (17%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	7 (23%)
Meche				1 (3%)		

The table 4.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents, 40% and 33% respondents' father are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi respectively. Further we can see that 30% and 27% respondents' father are bilingual in Rajbansi and Maithili respectively whereas only 7% are bilingual in Bangali. In the same way 30% and 27% respondents' mother are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi respectively. Some respondents' mother also speaks Rajbansi, Maithili and Bangali which is less than 20%. Regarding respondents' wives majority (67%) is bilingualism in Nepali. However, respondents' wives also speak Hindi (27%), Rajbansi (20%), Maithili (30%) and Bangali(5%).

Table 4.3 also shows that majority (77%) of female respondents' father speak Nepali, 33% speak Hindi and Rajbansi and less 20% speak Maithili, Bagali and Meche. In the same way

majority (57%) of the female respondents' mother speak Nepali and less than 17 % female respondents' mother speak Rajbansi, Maithili and Bangali. 80% and 70% female respondents' husband speak Nepali and Hindi respectively. However they also speak Rajbansi(47%), Maithili (30%)and Bangali (23%).

From this analysis we can conclude that majority of Santhal families are bilingual as well as multilingual. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi languages.

4.2.3 Bi/multilingualism in Santhal children

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

Table 4.4: Other languages known to Santhali children

N=60	No.	%	Where learnt?
Nepali	51	85	Schools, colleges, in towns, cities
Hindi	17	28.3	Local markets, India, watching Hindi movies and televisions
English	10	16.7	School, colleges
Maithili	12	21	In the society
Bangla	4	6.7	In the society
Rajbansi	5	8.3	In the society

Table 4.4 shows that majority of Santhal children are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi. Out of 60 respondents 85%, 28%, 18%, and 21%'s children are bi/multilingual in Nepali, Hindi, English and Maithili languages. In addition, 7% and 8% children speak Bangle and Rajbansi respectively².

² It is observed that this information is not applicable to pre-school children since they are almost monolingual.

Most of them learnt Nepali in schools, colleges and in markets. Similarly, they learnt Hindi in local markets, in India, and by watching Hindi movies and television. They learnt English in school and colleges, and learnt Maithili, Bangla and Rajbansi languages in the society.

4.3 Levels of understanding of Nepali in school

As mentioned earlier most of the Santhal children have learnt Nepali in schools and colleges, they have difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.5 presents the levels of understanding of Nepali when a child first goes to school.

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

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)	Literate (n=28)	Illiterate (n=32)
Understand all	5 (17%)	9 (30%)	9 (32%)	5 (16%)
Average	17 (57%)	19 (63%)	16 (57%)	20 (63%)
Not at all	8 (27%)	2 (7%)	3 (11%)	7 (22%)

Table 4.5 shows that only 17% male and 30% female respondents reported that their children understand all Nepali when s/he first goes to school whereas 27% males and 7% female respondents reported that their children do not understand Nepali when s/he first goes to school. Further, 57% males and 63% female respondents reported that their children understand average Nepali when s/he first goes to school.

In terms of literate people the data slightly vary where 32% literate respondents reported that children understand well. However all most same findings we can get in terms of average understanding of Nepali by both literate and illiterate groups. However, 11 % literate and 22% illiterate respondents reported that the children do not understand at all Nepali when s/he first goes to school.

From this analysis we can conclude that majority of children do not understand at all of his/her Nepali speaking teacher when s/he first goes to school. Since, most of the Santhali use their own mother tongue at home; their children are monolingual before going to school. Therefore, they face difficulty when they first go to school. It shows that there is the need of mother tongue based multilingual education (MLE). It can also be shown through the figure. The data of table 4.4 is mainly for grown up children.

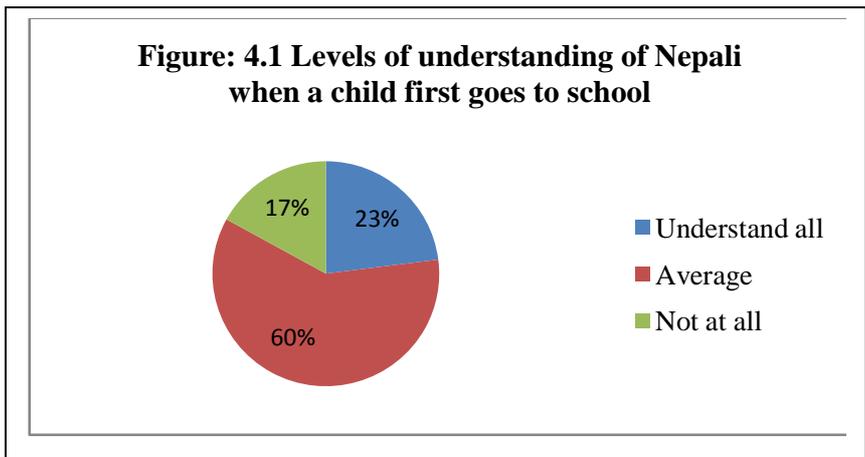


Figure 4.1 shows that out of 60 respondents 60 % has reported that children know average Nepali in the school. And 17 % has responded that they do not know at all.

In order to examine the situation of bi/multilingualism in Santhali, bi/multilingualism, a participatory tool was used in a group of where at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Santhali. The pictures of bilingualism tools used in Haldibari VDC and Garamani VDC and Shibganj VDC of Jhapa and Hoklabari VDC and Majhare VDC in Morang district present the situation of bi/multilingualism in Santhali speech community.

Figure 4.2: Bilingualism in Santhal at Haldibari VDC

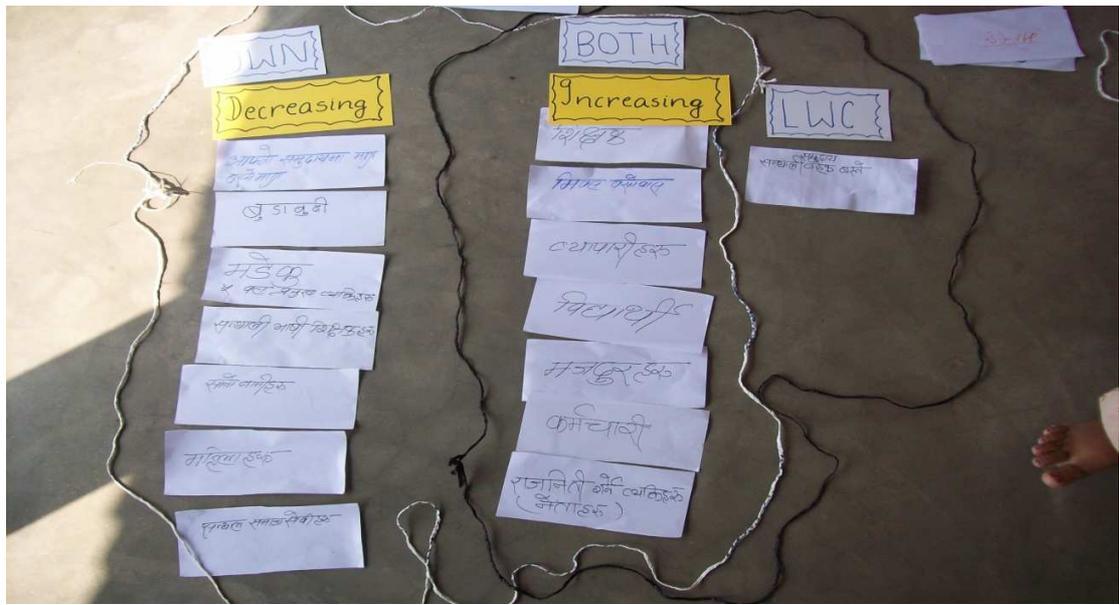


Figure 4.3: Bilingualism in Santhal at Garamani VDC

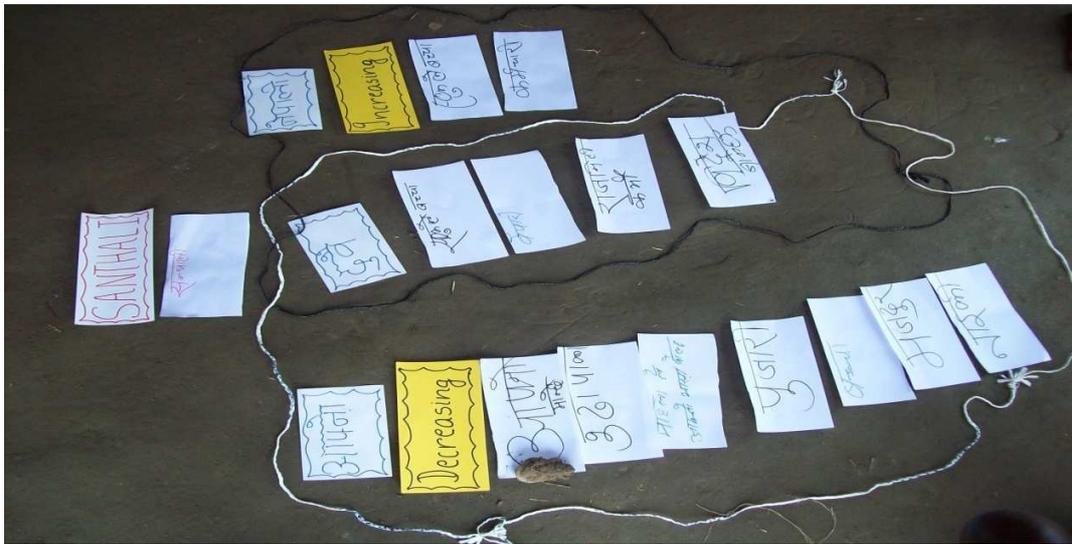


Figure 4.4: Bilingualism in Santhal at Shibganj VDC

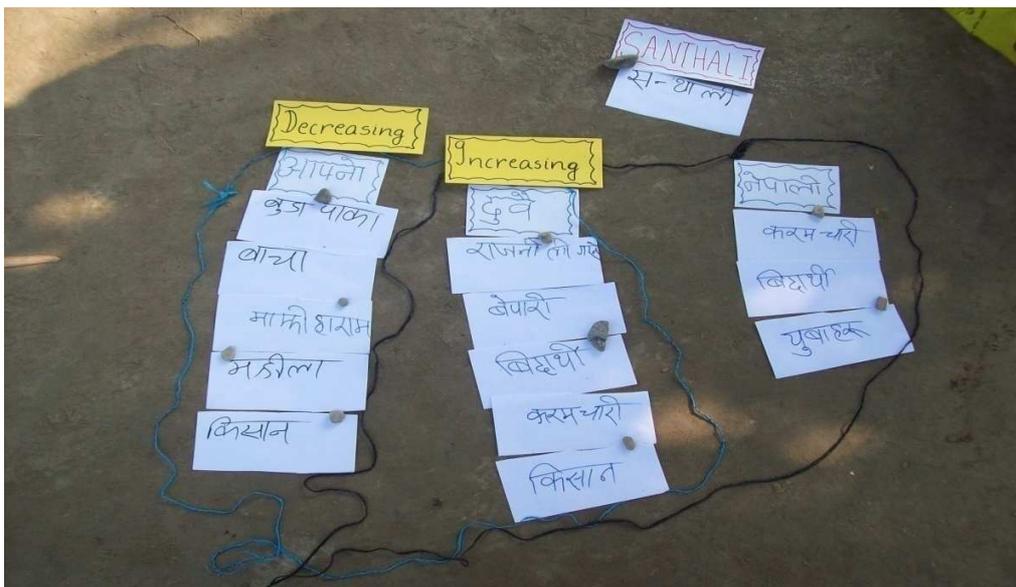


Figure 4.5: Bilingualism in Santhal at Hoklabari VDC

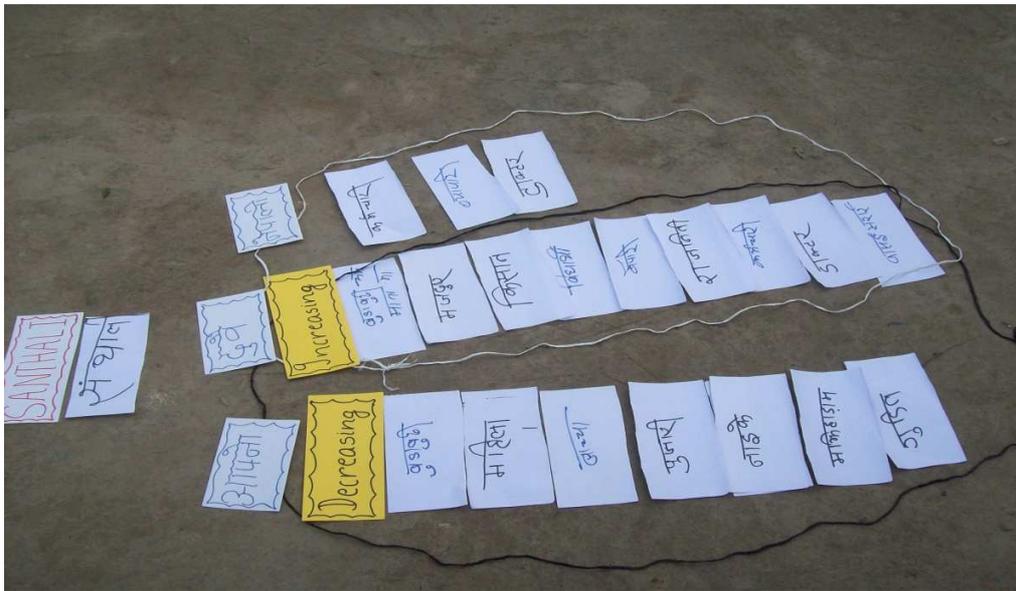
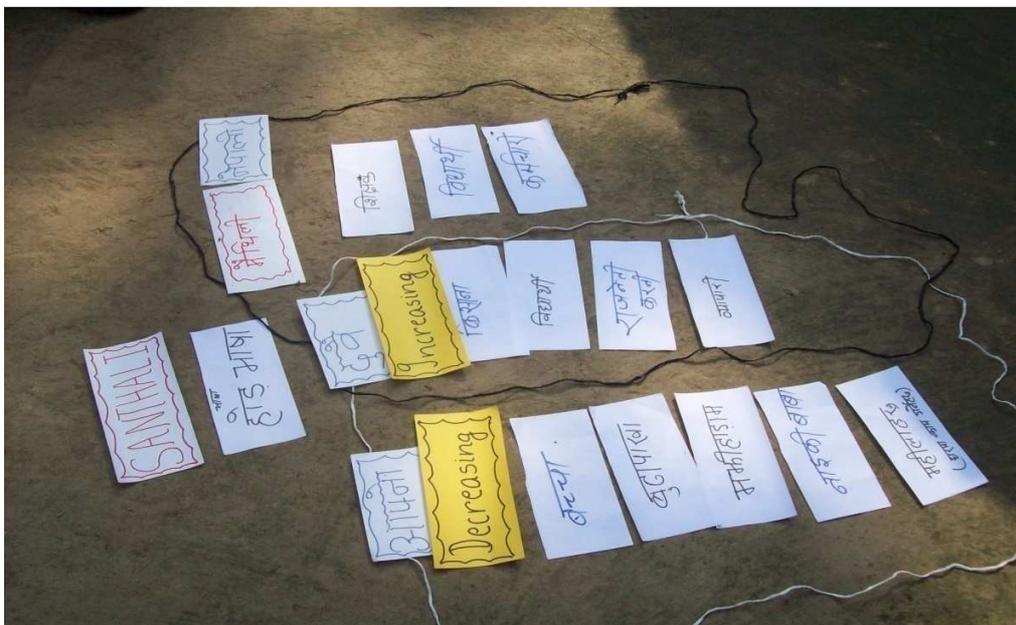


Figure 4.6: Bilingualism in Santhal at Majhare VDC



There have been four common findings from this participatory method:

1. There are no monolingual respondents in this Santhali survey; however some older people especially the female speakers of the older age group were observed as monolingual.
2. The Santhali speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC.
3. School going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, students are bilingual in both Santhali and Nepali particularly in Jhapa area, and Santhali and Maithili in Morang side languages.
4. In all these five places participants have responded that the speaker of only native speaking is decreasing day by day because they speak either both language (Nepali and Santhali) or Nepali as LWC. The situation of speaking both languages (Nepali and Santhali) and only Nepali (or other contact language i.e. Maithili) is increasing.

4.4 Summary

Santhals are very much proficient in speaking their mother tongue. All the members of Santhal speech community speak their language very well but only educated speakers of Santhal can read and write in their language. From the observation it is observed that most of them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual as well. Similarly, majority of Santhal families are bilingual as well as multilingual. They are bilingual and multilingual in Nepali, Hindi, and Maithi, Rajbansi languages. Most of the Santhal children are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi, Rajbansi and Maithili languages and some of them are also bilingual in English and Bangali languages also. Most of them learnt Nepali in schools, colleges and in urban markets. Similarly, they learn Hindi in local markets, in India, and by watching Hindi movies and televisions. They learnt English in school and colleges and learnt Rajbansi and Maithili in the society. But these facts are applicable for the grown up children. Regarding pre-school going children majority of Santhal children do not understand at all Nepali when s/he first goes to school because most of the Santhal use their own mother tongue at home. This is why Santhali children are monolingual at pre-school stage. So, they prefer multilingual education for primary level education.

There are no monolingual respondents in this Santhali survey; however some older people especially the female speakers of the older age group were observed as monolingual.

The Santhal speakers who are not going outside the village, women, farmers, elderly people, priests, and pre-literates speak the mother tongue better than Nepali, an LWC. Similarly, school going children, educated people, leaders of the community, businessmen, teachers, and students are bilingual in both the Santhal and Nepali languages.

Chapter 5

Domains of language use

5.0 Outline

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

5.1 Language use in common domains

Domains of language use are used for evaluating the vitality of the language. Santhali is used in different common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, and 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. Table 5.1 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains by male.

Table 5.1 displays that about 75 % and more use their mother tongue in the different domain like singing, joking, storytelling, discussion, quarreling, and scolding, storytelling to child singing at home and in marriage invitation. Similarly, 100 % had reported that they use mother tongue for praying and in family gathering. 73.3% and 63.3% respondents use Nepali in counting and minuting respectively. In some domain like in market, in discussion, quarreling, meeting and marriage invitation few (less than 20 %) respondents had reported as they use Nepali. In many cases, they use both-language which are sometime Nepali and Santhali (in Jhapa area) and sometime Maithili and Santhali (in Morang area).

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

Male						
	Santhali	Nepali	Both (San+Nep)	San+Hin+Nep	Both (San+Mai)	Maithili
Count	5(16.7%)	22(73.3%)	3(10%)			
Sing	26(86.7%)		3(10%)	1(3.3%)		
Joke	24(80%)		5(16.7%)	1(3.3%)		
Market	3(10%)	6(20%)	16(53.3%)		5(16.7%)	
Story	25(83.3%)		4(13.3%)	1(3.3%)		
Discuss	22(73.3%)	4(13.3%)	3(10%)		1(3.3%)	
Pray	30(100%)					
Squire	23(76.7%)	1(3.3%)	6(20%)			
Scold	24(80%)		6(20%)			
Child	28(93.3%)		2(6.7%)			
Song	26(86.7%)		3(10%)	1(3.3%)		
Family	30(100%)					
Meet	13(43.3%)	3(10%)	11(36.7%)		1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)
invitation	25(83.3%)	5(16.7%)				
Minute	6(20%)	19(63.3%)	4(13.3%)			

Note: San=Santhali; Hin=Hindi; Nep=Nepali; Mai=Maithili

In Morang area they use Maithili as LWC also in some domain. Since in all domains Santhal people uses Santhali it indicates that Santhali language is safe.

Table 5.2 displays that about 80% respondents have reported that they use mother tongue in the domain like Singing, joking, storytelling, storytelling to child, singing at home, quarreling, scolding and in marriage invitation. Similarly all the female respondents have responded that they use mother tongue for praying and family gathering. Majority (more than 75%) have reported that they use only Nepali in the domain like counting and in minute writing whereas in other domain this is less. Except praying and family gathering some have responded for using both language (Nepali and Santhali in Jhapa area and Maithili and Santhali in Morang area). Since in all domains Santhal people uses Santhali it indicates that Santhali language is safe.

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

Female						
	Santhali	Nepali	Both (San+Nep)	San+Hin+Nep	Both (San+Mai)	Maithili
Count	7 (23.3%)	19 (63.3 %)	4 (13.3 %)			
Sing	26 (86.7%)	1 (3.3 %)	2 (6.7 %)	1 (3.3%)		
Joke	25 (83.3%)	2 (6.7 %)	3 (10)			
Market	2 (6.7%)	11 (36.7%)	10 (33.3 %)		5 (16.7%)	2 (6.7%)
Story	25 (83.3%)	3 (10%)	2 (6.7%)			
Discussion	19 (63.3%)	3 (10%)	5 (16.7 %)		3 (10%)	
Pray	30 (100 %)					
Quarrel	24 (80 %)		6 (20 %)			
Scold	24 (80 %)		6 (20 %)			
Child	26 (86.7 %)	1 (3.3%)	3 (10 %)			
Song	25 (83.3 %)	1 (3.3 %)	3 (10 %)	1 (3.3%)		
Family	30 (100 %)					
Meet	12 (12 %)	3 (10 %)	11 (36.7 %)		1 (3.3%)	3 (10%)
Invitation	27 (90 %)	2 (6.7 %)	1 (3.3 %)			
Minute	2 (6.7 %)	23 (76.7 %)	5 (16.7 %)			

Note: San=Santhali; Hin=Hindi; Nep=Nepali; Mai=Maithili

5.2 Language use in educational and social matters

Most of the Santhali speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members discussing different family matters. Similarly, Santhali speakers use mother tongue while discussing on educational and social matters with their family members. Table 5.3 presents the situation of language use discussing about educational and social matters with the family members in Santhal community.

Table: 5.3 Use of languages while talking about educational matters

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	n=	Santhali	Nepali	n=	Santhali	Nepali
Grand Father	12	12 (100 %)		15	15 (100 %)	
Grand mother	12	12 (100 %)		15	15 (100 %)	
Father	18	18 (100 %)		24	24 (100 %)	
Mother	20	20 (100%)		27	27 (100 %)	
Wife	24	24 (100 %)		27	27 (100%)	
Child	24	22 (91.6 %)	2 (8.4 %)	28	26 (92.8 %)	2 (7.2 %)

Note: Res.=respond

Table 5.3 reflects that 100% male and female respondents responded that they use Santahli while talking about social matter with their family members; however, 2 male and 2 female respondents have reported that they use Nepali while talking with their children. Most of the respondents have not responded on this matter because they do not have those family members with them.

Table: 5.4 Use of languages while talking about social matters

N=60	Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
	n=	Santhali	Nepali	n=	Santhali	Nepali
Grand Father	12	12 (100 %)		15	15 (100 %)	
Grand Mother	12	12 (100 %)		15	15 (100 %)	
Father	18	18 (100 %)		24	24 (100 %)	
Mother	20	20 (100 %)		27	27 (100 %)	
Wife	24	24 (100 %)		27	27 (100 %)	
Child	25	24 (96 %)	1 (4 %)	27	26 (96.2 %)	1 (3.8 %)

Note: Res.=respond

Table 5.4 reflects that 100% male and 100% female respondents responded that they use Santahli while talking about social matter with their family members; however, 1 (4%) male and 1 (3.8) female respondent have reported that they use Nepali while talking with their children. Most of the respondents have not responded on this matter because they do not have those family members with them.

5.3 Languages use in letter writing

Most of the Santahl use their own language in most of the domain. However, in letter writing some use Nepali also. Table 5.5 presents the use of languages used in letter writing by the male speaker of Santhal community.

Table 5.5 reflects that majority (above 76%)of male respondents use Santahli for writing letter to their family members, however, less than 11% respondent have reported that they use Nepali with their grandfather grand mother, father, mother and wife for writing letter , and 5 (20%) male respondents use Nepali with their children for the same task

Table 5.5: Use of languages in letter writing by male

N=60	Male (n=30)				Female		
	n=	Santhali	Nepali	Hindi	n=	Santhali	Nepali
Grand Father	12	11 (91.7 %)	1 (8.3 %)		14	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)
Grand mother	12	11 (91.7 %)	1 (8.3 %)		14	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)
Father	18	15 (83.3%)	2 (11.1 %)	1 (8.3%)	23	16 (69.6%)	7 (30.4%)
Mother	19	16(84.2%)	2 (10.5 %)	1 (8.3 %)	26	20 (76.9%)	6 (23.1%)
Wife	23	21 (91.3 %)	1 (4.3 %)	1 (8.3 %)	26	19 (73.1%)	7 (26.9%)
Child	25	19 (76 %)	5 (20 %)	1(8.3%)	27	17 (63 %)	10 (37%)

Regarding female respondents, more than 57 % respondents use Santhali with their family members for writing letters while less than 43 % have responded that they use Nepali for writing letter to their family members. Most of the respondents have not responded on these domains because they do not have those family members with them.

5.4 Languages used by children outside the home

This section deals with the languages used outside the home: with friends, with neighbors and in school by Santhal children. As Santhal speakers are bi/multilingual, their children also use their mother tongue Santhali, Nepali, and English languages outside the home. Besides these languages they use Rajbansi and Maithily fluently. In the Jhapa district the Santahl usually have the contact with Rajbansi people so their children accordingly articulate Rajbansi and Nepali with other children. On the other hand in Marang district the Santhal have contact with Mathili speaker so Maithili is highly influencing in this locality and the children also accordingly response to the Maithili language. In Morang area the children use Nepali also. Table 5.6 presents the languages Santhali children usually speak while playing with friends, talking with neighbors and in school.

Table 5.6: Languages Santhali children usually speak

Languages	Playing with other friend		With neighbor		In school	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Santhali	17	28.3%	11	18.3%	1	1.7%
Nepali	20	33.3%	12	20.0%	56	93.3%
both (Santhali/Nepali)	12	20.0%	22	36.7%	2	3.3%
both (Santhali/Maithili)	5	8.3%	5	8.3%		
Maithili	5	8.3%	6	10.0%		
Santhali/Nepali/Rajbansi	1	1.7%	4	6.7%	1	1.7%
Total	60	100%	60	100%	60	100%

Table 5.6 reflects that out of 60 respondent 28%, 33% have responded that they use Santhali and Maithili respectively while playing with other friend whereas 20 % have responded for using both language (Santhali and Nepali).

Similarly, 18% and 20% respondent have responded that children use Santhali and Nepali respectively with neighbor whereas 37% have responded for using both language, i.e. Nepali and Santahli.

On the contrary, 93% respondents have responded that their children use Nepali in school. However, few (less than 3%) have responded that their children use Santahli and both language in school.

The table 5.6 also reflects that children use mainly Rajbansi in the Jhapa area and Maithili in the Morang area while playing with their friend, and with neighbor.

5.5 Frequency in the use of languages

Santhali is the most prominent language in the Santhal community so the speakers of the community use their mother tongue very frequently. Table 5.7 presents the responses of the informants of the key survey points related to the frequency of the use of mother tongue.

Table 5.7: Frequency of the use of Santhali

N = 60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Daily	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Sometimes		
Never		

Table 5.7 shows that all (100%) the speakers of Santhal speech community use their mother tongue daily. Therefore, it can be said that the Santhal language is very frequently used in the speech community.

Similarly, they responded that the languages of wider communication are Nepali, Santhali and both Nepali and Hindi languages. Table 5.8 presents the responses provided by the respondents about the languages of wider communication and their frequencies.

Table 5.8: Languages of wider communication and their frequencies

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Santhali	1 (3.3%)	
Nepali	23 (76.7%)	25 (83.3%)
Hindi	1 (3.3%)	
Maithili		2 (6.7%)
Nepali/maithili	3 (10.0%)	3 (10.0%)
Nepali/hindi	1 (3.3%)	
Nepali/rajbansi	1 (3.3%)	
Total	30 (99.9%)	30 (100.0%)

The table 5.8 shows that majority of male (77%) and female (83%) used Nepali as their contact language. However, some uses Hindi, Maithili, Rajbansi also as their contact language.

Table 5.9: frequency of Use of wider communication

	male		female	
Daily	25	83.30%	27	90.00%
Sometime	5	16.70%	3	10.00%
Never				
	30	100.00%	30	100.00%

Similarly, Table 5.9 presents that majority (more than 83%) of them use these contact languages (mentioned in 5.8) daily.

Table 5.10: Language usually used when the speakers of other languages visit their home

Languages	Male(n=30)		Female(n=30)	
Santhali	1	3.3%	0	0.0%
Nepali	21	70.0%	24	80.0%
Hindi	1	3.3%	0	0.0%
Nepali/Maithili	4	13.3%	5	16.7%
Nepali/Rajbansi	3	10.0%	1	3.3%
Total	30	99.9%	30	100.0%

The table 5.10 displays that majority (more than 70% respondents) of the respondents use Nepali as their LWC while some of them use Hindi, Maithili and Rajbansi also with the different language speakers.

In order to examine the domains of language use in the Santhali language, domains of language use, a participatory tool, is used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Santhal community. The pictures of domains of language use tools used in Haldibari; Garamani-3; and Shibganj of Jhapa district and Majhaare and Hoklabari of Morang district present the use of the languages in different situations, and with different types of people.

Figure 5.1: Domains of language use at Haldibari, Jhapa



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

1. Santhali, the mother tongue, is used in the family in home, working in field celebrating different rites and rituals, neighborhood, village meetings, local markets, in abusing, in storytelling, dreaming and praying mainly. There are some domains where the language is used daily and in some domain the language is not used daily rather it is used sometimes. For example in festivals or rites and rituals the Santhali language is not used daily because it occurs occasionally. However with family members or in home Santhali is used daily.
2. The Nepali language, language of wider communication (LWC), is used in the government offices, with non-Santhali and hilly people, in minute writing, hospitals, delivering speech and in urban area markets. In some domain like minute writing or hospital the LWC is not used daily where as the domain like market the LWC is used daily.
3. Both Santhali (the mother tongue) and Nepali, and the language of wider communication (LWC), are used in travelling, in VDC office, in pre-primary level in government schools, in trainings, in district-headquarter, in NGOs and INGOs offices, in general assemblies and in business.

The responses collected from respondent can be seen in the figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5. There are also some overlapping domains in the entire three categories which can be seen in the figure.

5.8 Summary

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

There is the dominance of Santhali in social works. All the speakers of Santhali speech community use their mother tongue daily. Similarly, the languages of wider communication are

Nepali, Rajbansi and Maithili. They use Nepali, Rajbansi and Maithili as the languages of wider communication (LWC) when the speakers of other languages visit at their home.

The domains where mother tongue is used are the family, home, celebrating different rites and rituals, praying, neighborhood, village meetings, local markets, abusing, and storytelling. Regarding LWC, Nepali is often used in Jhapa area and Maithili language is often used in Morang area. The language of wider communication (LWC) is used in the government offices, with non-Santhal and hilly people, in minute writing, hospitals, and in urban area markets. In Both language categories which are Santhali and Nepali and Maithili are used in VDC office, in the beginning classes in government schools, in trainings, in district headquarter, in NGOs and INGOs offices, and in field. The language used here in the different domain did overlap in the three categories classified by this tool.

Chapter 6

Language vitality, transmission and maintenance

6.0 Outline

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

6.1 Intergenerational transmission

Santhal community in common is seen to have maintained their language vitality. The rate of shifting toward Nepali is very low. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. Table 6.1 presents the data based on the responses to of the question ‘Do all your children speak your mother tongue?’ by the informants in the key survey points.

Table 6.1: Mother tongue spoken by children

N=60	Male (n=30)	%	Female (n=30)	%
No Response	5	16.70%	3	10.00%
Yes	25	83.30%	27	90.00%
No				
Total	30	100.00%	30	100.00%

The table 6.1 display that the 90% female and 83.3% male respondents have responded that their children speak mother tongue. Some of them have not responded because they are unmarried. It shows that the Santhali language has 100% vitality.

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

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

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

Table 6.2 shows that 100% parents speak only their mother tongue with their children. It also shows that the Santhali language has high degree of vitality.

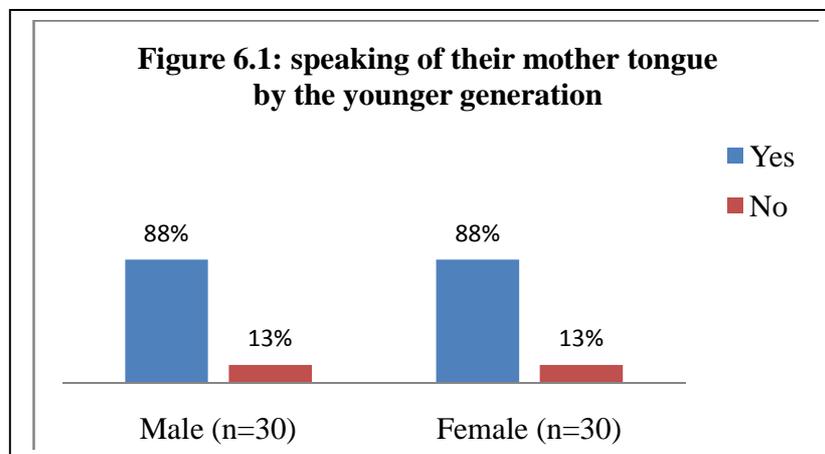
6.2 Language spoken by younger people

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

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

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
26 (88%)	4 (13%)	26 (88%)	4 (13%)

Table 6.3 shows that out of 30 male respondents majority (88%) of the respondents responded that young people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken and only 13% said that the young people of their village/town do not speak their mother tongue well, the way it out to be spoken. There is similar finding with the case of female. The table 6.3 is presented through figure 6.1 also.



6.3 Transmission

Language maintenance in Santhali is satisfactory till now. All most all the respondents have responded that there is no inter-caste marriage is allowed by the community norms of Santhal. So there is no arrange-marriage practice in terms of inter-caste system occurring in this community. However, there is no limitation of love marriage so eloped marriage is occurring here. But there

is no valid record of eloped marriage so it is hard to exact the caste or ethnic group with whom the young Santhal do love marriage.

6.4 Language maintenance

Santhals have positive attitudes towards the maintenance of the language. They are eager to maintain the transmission and vitality of the language. In response to the question “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” Table 6.4 presents the responses of the Santhali speakers from key survey point.

Table 6.4: Likeness of the children’s learning/studying in mother

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
30 (100%)		30 (100%)	

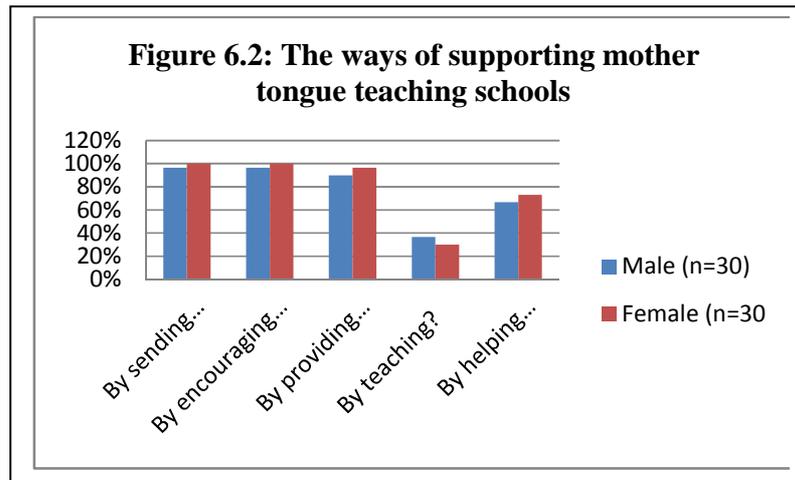
Table 6.4 shows that 100% male and 100% female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in their mother tongue.

Similarly, in response to the question “If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?” the respondents have answered as presented in the Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: The ways of supporting mother tongue teaching schools

N=60	Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
By sending your children?	29	96.7%	30	100 %
By encouraging other people to send their children?	29	96.7%	30	100%
By providing financial help?	27	90%	29	96.7%
By teaching?	11	36.7%	9	30 %
By helping with the school?	20	66.7%	22	73.3%

Table 6.5 shows that 97% male and 100% female respondents said that they will support the schools by sending their children if schools are opened for teaching their language. Similarly, 97% males and 100% females responded that they will support the school by encouraging other people to send their children. In the same way, 90% males and 97% females responded that they will support the school by providing financial help. Similarly, 37% male and 30% female respondents are eager to support the mother tongue teaching school as a teacher. In the same way, 67% male and 73% female respondents will support the schools by helping with the school.



6.5 Summary

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

No respondent has responded that for the occurrence of the inter-caste marriage in that Santhal community but the love marriage is still in practice. So, there is hard to exact the other language community where the inter-caste marriage is happening. Similarly, almost all the Santhal speakers like their children learn/study in mother tongue and only 3% female respondents said that they do not like their children learn/study in Santhali language. Santhali speakers are positive for the development of their language since they are ready to send their children to the mother tongue schools and also encouraging others to send their children. Moreover, they are also ready for financial support. Likewise, educated Santhali speakers can teach their language themselves.

Chapter 7

Language attitudes

7.0 Outline

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

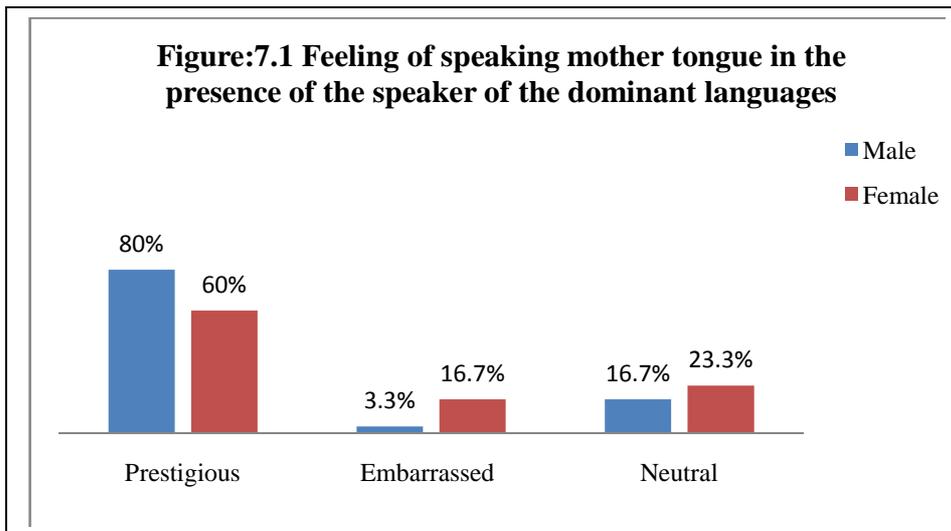
7.1 Feeling of the speakers towards their language

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

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

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Prestigious	24 (80%)	18 (60%)
Embarrassed	1 (3.3%)	5 (16.7%)
Neutral	5 (16.7%)	7 (23.3%)

Table 7.1 shows that out of the total male respondents of Santhal community 80% male and 60% female responded that they feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali. However, 3% male and 17% female feel embarrassed and 17% male and 23% female feel neutral when they speak Santhali in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. It shows that they have very positive attitudes towards their language. The figure 7.1 can display this response clearly.

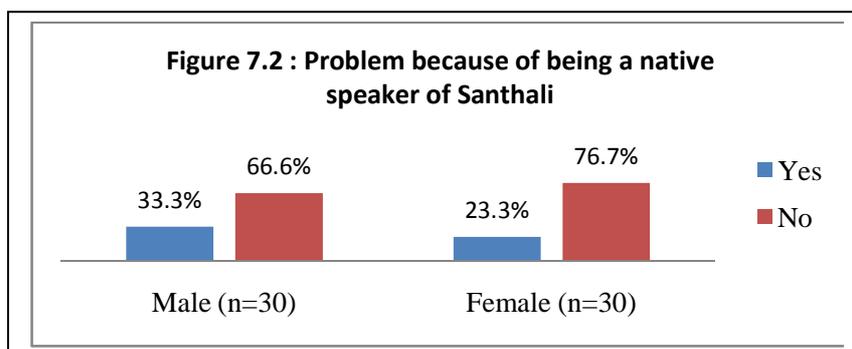


In response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” Santhali native speakers have provided the responses as presented in the Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Santhali

Male (n=30)		Female (n=30)	
Yes	No	Yes	No
10 (33.3%)	20 (66.6%)	7 (23.3%)	23 (76.7%)

Table 7.2 shows that out of the total male respondents 33% said that they had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Santhali. However majority (66.6%) male respondents responded that they didn’t have faced any problem because of being a native speaker of Santhali. Similarly, only 23% female respondents responded that they had faced some problems because of being a native speaker of Santahli and 77% responded that they didn’t have faced any problem because of being a native speaker of Santhali. It can also be shown through the figure 7.2 to make it more visible.



Similarly, in response to the question “If you had problems because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue, what kinds of problems have you had?”

On the responses to this question, they reported that they feel problem in political and educational matters.

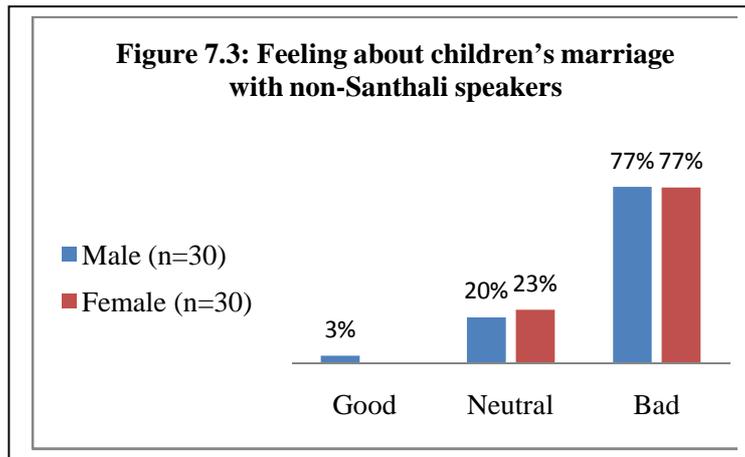
7.3 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Santhali speakers

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

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

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
1(3.3%)	6 (20%)	23 (76.7%)		7 (23.3 %)	23 (76.7%)

Table 7.4 shows that majority of male (76.7 %) and female (76.7%) Santhali feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue .And 20% male and 23.3% female Santhali speakers feel neutral if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. And there is a single male speaker who feels good if his son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. But majority of the respondents (77%) whether male or female feel bad if his/her son daughter married with non-native speaker and thus this is indication of their positive attitude towards their language. The figure 7.3 can make the output more visible.



7.4 Grandchildren’s language

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

Table 7.5: Whether the grand children will speak mother tongue in future

	Male N=30	Female N=30
Speak	28 (93.3%)	100%
Won’t speak	2 (6.7%)	

Table 7.5 shows that in all the respondents, majority (93 %) of males have responded that the children of the present Santhali children will speak their language whereas all the 100 % female have responded that children of present Santhali children will speak Santhali. Only 2 (7%) respondents have responded that children of present Santhali children will not speak Santhali language. It shows that they are very hopeful towards their language.

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

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

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
30 (100%)			29 (96.7%)	1 (3.3%)	

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

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

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

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Neutral	Bad	Good	Neutral	Bad
		30 (100%)		1 (3.3%)	29 (96.7%)

The table 7.7 reflects that 100% male and 97 % female feel bad if their grand children will not speak their language. From this analysis, it can be concluded that they are very much responsive to their language.

7.5 First language of the children

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

Table 7.8: The languages Santhali children should speak first

N=60	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Santhali	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Nepali		

Table 7.8 shows that all the respondents (male and female) reported that they think that their children should speak Santhali as their first language. This analysis shows that they are very much loyal towards their language.

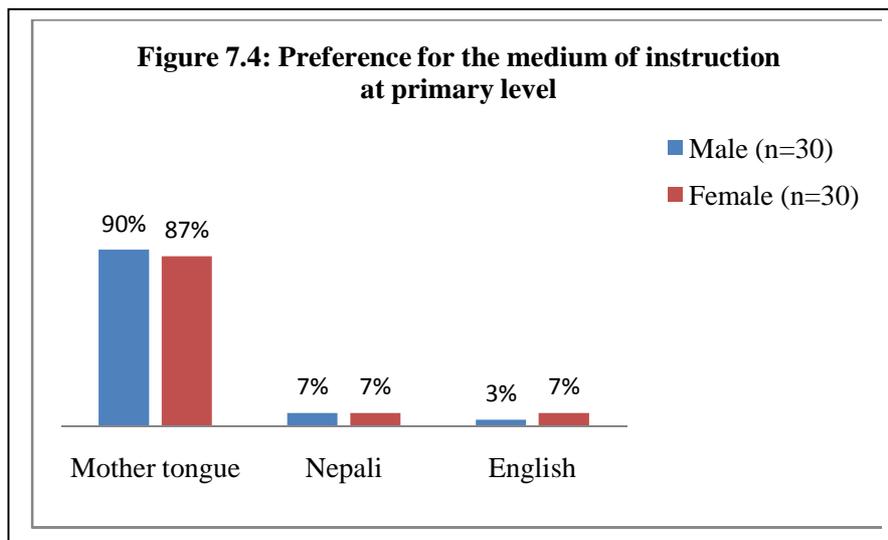
7.6 Medium of instruction at primary level

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

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

	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Mother tongue	27 (90%)	26 (86.7%)
Nepali	2 (6.7%)	2 (6.7%)
English	1 (3.3%)	2 (6.7%)

Table 7.9 shows that majority of the male (90%) and female (86.7) respondents responded that they prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Santhali as their children’s medium of instruction at primary level. Whereas only 6.7 % both male and female reported that they prefer the Nepali language and similarly only one (3%) and 2 (7%) male and female reported for English for their children’s medium of instructions at primary level. The table 7.9 is also presented through the figure 7.4 to make it more visible.

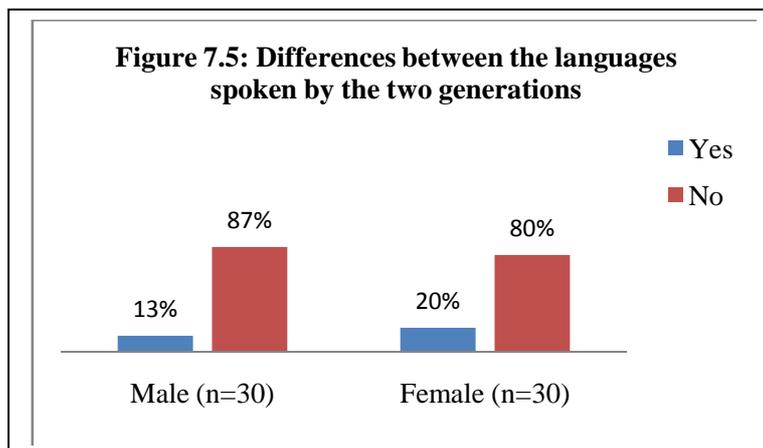


7.7 Differences in the use of language between two generations

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

Table 7.10: Differences between the languages spoken by the two generations		
N=60	Male N=30	Female N=30
Yes	4 (13.3%)	6 (20%)
No	26 (86.6%)	24 (80%)

Table 7.10 shows that only 13% male Santhali speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents whereas majority (87 %) of male respondents do not think that there is differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Similarly, out of the total female respondents only 20 % said that they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and whereas majority (80%) of female respondents answered that they do not think that there are any differences between the languages spoken by them and their grandparents. The figure 7.5 can clearly depict the responses.



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

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

If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?	Male (n=30)	Female (n=30)
Pronunciation		2 (6.7%)
Vocabulary		2 (6.7%)
Use of specific type of sentences		
mixing of other languages	4 (13.3%)	5 (16.7%)
Way of speaking		1 (3.3%)

Table 7.11 shows that out of the total male participants, only 4 (13.3%) think that the language of now is different than that of their grandparent and that happen by mixing other language whereas 16.7% female respondent reported that there is difference mixing of other language in Santhali language of now than that of their grandfather's time. And few (less than 7%) female respondents have answered that there are differences in pronunciation, vocabulary and way of speaking as well in the language of now than that of their grandfather's time.

From this analysis we can conclude that the language spoken by two different generations have some differences in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking of language.

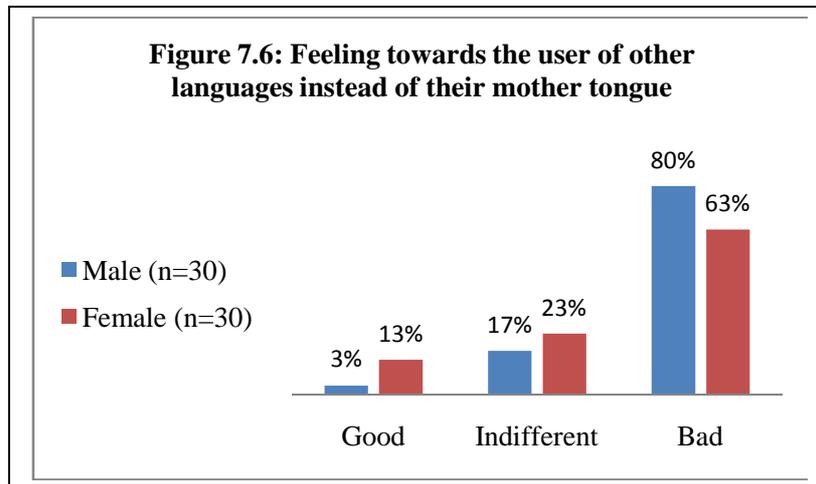
Similarly, in response to the question "How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of Santhali?" Table 7.12 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points.

Table 7.12: Feeling towards the user of other languages than Santhali

Male (n=30)			Female (n=30)		
Good	Indifferent	Bad	Good	Indifferent	Bad
1(3.30%)	5 (16.7 %)	24 (80%)	4 (13.3%)	7 (23.3%)	19 (63.3%)

Regarding the language attitude table 7.12 shows that majority of male (83%) and female (63.3%) feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. However, 17 % male Santhali speakers responded that they feel indifferent and 1 male respondent has responded that he feel good when they hear

young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language. In this way, 13 % females responded that they feel good and 23 % responded as indifferent when they hear young people of their own community speaking other language instead of their mother tongue. Figure 7.6 can clearly present the responses of table 7.12



7.8 Summary

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

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

Similarly, most of the Santhali speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Santhali as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and however a few prefer Nepali and English languages as well. Few Santhali speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents and the differences are in the way of pronunciation, use of vocabulary,

use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and in the way of speaking. Most of the males and females speakers feel bad when they hear young people of their own community speaking other languages instead of their first language.

Chapter 8

Language development

8.1 Appreciative inquiry

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was administered in all five key points in Santhal community. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Santhal community members for the development their language as well their culture. It was conducted in each of selected five points. The tool was administered in group which comprises 8-12 people where the participants comprise of different demographic categories of sex, education and educational status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them proud about their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ on a piece of paper and placed them serially on the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Santhali language and culture, express their “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 in the degree of easiest to the most difficult. Further they were asked to specify which ones were most important, and then to choose two/three of their dreams. Further the plan was made on those chosen dreams. The plan consisted three important categories of questions: what action should be done, who would be involved to fulfill the action and when should be the action initiated.

In order to examine the language development in the Santhali language, appreciative inquiry, a participatory tool, need to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the survey points of the Santhal community. The figures of appreciative inquiry tools used in Haldibari, Garamani-3, Shibganj VDCs of Jhapa district and Hoklabari and Majhare VDCs of Morang district present the dreams of Santhal people.

Figure 8.1: Appreciative enquiry at Haldibari, Jhapa



Figure 8.2: Appreciative enquiry at Garamani, Jhapa

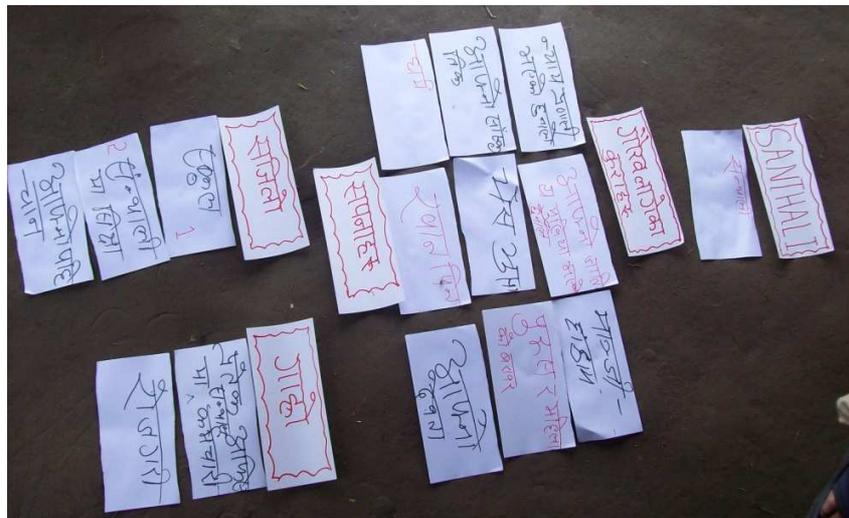


Figure 8.5: Appreciative enquiry at Majhare, Jhapa



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

Table 8.1: Findings from the appreciative inquiry in Santhali

Survey Points	Good things that made Santhali feel happy or proud about their language	Dreams about how they could make their language even better	Most important dream to start on planning
Jalthal, Jhapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Single language ▪ Having own script ▪ Having own grammar ▪ Having own art and culture ▪ Having own dressing pattern ▪ Having own 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Preservation of their language, culture ▪ Santhali school ▪ Education in santhali language ▪ Establishment of Santhali academy ▪ Curriculum development in Santhali language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education for all ▪ To establish mother tongue based child school ▪ Education in Santahli language

	<p>judiciary system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Having own Social system and structure ▪ No discrimination in male and female ▪ Unique respect system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Santhali language should be taught in university level ▪ Recognition of Santhali judiciary system 	
Garamani, Jhapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Judiciary system ▪ Chief from own ethnic group ▪ Own culture, religion ▪ Own dressing pattern ▪ Food pattern ▪ Own god 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For School ▪ Education in Santhal ▪ Identity from government ▪ Officials from Santhal ▪ Employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ School in Santhali
Shibganj, Jhapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Songs and music ▪ Own festivals ▪ Own judiciary system ▪ Culture ▪ Own god 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of their won script ▪ Book in Santhali ▪ School of Santhal ▪ Use of language in mass media ▪ To have Santhali program on T.V ▪ Access in government's bodies ▪ Bilingualism in Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bilingualism in Office ▪ School of Santhali
Hoklabari, Morang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Being Santhal ▪ Own identity ▪ Own culture ▪ Songs and music and dance ▪ Own judiciary system ▪ Own custom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establishment of religious place ▪ Preservation of language ▪ Santhali officials ▪ Book in Santhali ▪ Santhali school ▪ Education in own language ▪ Santhal office ▪ Santhali teacher ▪ 1 katta land for residence ▪ Santhali military and minister 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education in santhl ▪ Santhali military ▪ 1 katta land for residence

Majhare, Morang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Own dressing pattern ▪ Festivals ▪ Own culture ▪ Songs and music ▪ Own language ▪ Food pattern ▪ Judiciary system ▪ Unique respect system ▪ Unique jewelers ▪ Musical instrument 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education in own language ▪ Book in Santhali ▪ All educated ▪ Santhali in mass media ▪ Santhali as national language ▪ Santhal officials ▪ Access in politics ▪ Development of own script ▪ Minister from Santhal ▪ Santhali teachers ▪ Santhali officers in all sectors ▪ Use of language Santhali in all sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ All educated Santhal ▪ Santhali official in all sectors
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8.2 Summary

The good things that made Santhali speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are their mother tongue Santhali, folklore, having their own culture and costume, art, judiciary system, festivals, marriage system, food pattern, their own god.

They have certain dreams like having textbooks, mother tongue teachers, establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, development of their own script, Santhali should be taught at university level, Santhali should be used as official language, recognition of Santhali language as national language, education for all Santhal, promotion and preservation of Santhli language, script, culture and religion and there should be a huge coverage of the language in the field of mass media such as radio, TV, and national level newspapers and journals.

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

Chapter 9

Dialectal variation

9.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the dialectal variations in the Santhali language in general. In section 9.1 we have discussed about lexical variations which includes methodology of finding lexical variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in the Santhali language. Similarly, section 9.2 deals with dialect mapping which is a participatory tool to find out the possible dialects of the language and in section 9.3, we present the summary of this chapter.

9.1 Lexical variation

The wordlist consists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the degree of lexical similarity among the five points of this survey areas. In this section we deal with the data, methodology of lexical similarity study and present the lexical similarity study result.

9.1.1 Methodology

This subsection consists of the data, tool and the calculation and evaluation criteria for lexical similarity percentages in Santhli.

The standard wordlists of 210 words were elicited in different points from mother tongue speakers (grown up in the Santhli community, representing different sex, age and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions. In each key point, at least two sets of wordlists were administered.

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

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

Table 9.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

Less than 60%	Different language
60% or more	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT to identify the dialects of language.

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

9.1.2 Lexical similarity among the key points in Santhali

Santhali is spoken in a vast stretch of geographical location. However, especially in Jhapa and Morang districts, this language generally does not show any variation as such. Table 9.2 presents the situation of lexical similarity comparison in Santhali.

Table 9.2: Lexical similarity comparison in Santhali

Variety	Garamani	Hoklabari	Maheshpur	Majhare	Sharanamati
Garamani	100%	90%	90%	90%	93%
Hoklabari	90%	100%	90%	93%	94%
Maheshpur	90%	90%	100%	91%	94%
Majhare	90%	93%	91%	100%	93%
Sharanamati	93%	94%	94%	93%	100%

Table 9.2 shows that Santhali language spoken in Garamani has 90% similarity with Hoklabari, 90 % with Maheshpur, 90 % with Majhare and 93 % with Sharanamati. Similarly the language spoken in Hoklabari has 90% similarity with Maheshpur, 93% with Majhare and 94 % with Shranamati. Likewise, the language spoken in Maheshpur has 91% similarity with Majhare and 94% with Shranamati. In the same way, the language spoken in Majhare has 93 % with Sharanamati. From this table, it can be concluded that varieties of Santhali spoken by all these five places are mutually intelligible to each other. Some of the differences seem here but these may be because of personal style of speaking of the people (idiolects variation).

9.2 Dialect mapping

In order to examine dialects among the Santhali language, dialect mapping, a participatory tool to be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category, was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Santhali community. The pictures of dialect mapping tools used in Haldibari, Garamani, Shibganj of Jhapa and Hoklabari and Majhare of Morang district present the dialectal variation of the Santhali language.

Figure 9.1: Dialect mapping at Haldibari, Jhapa

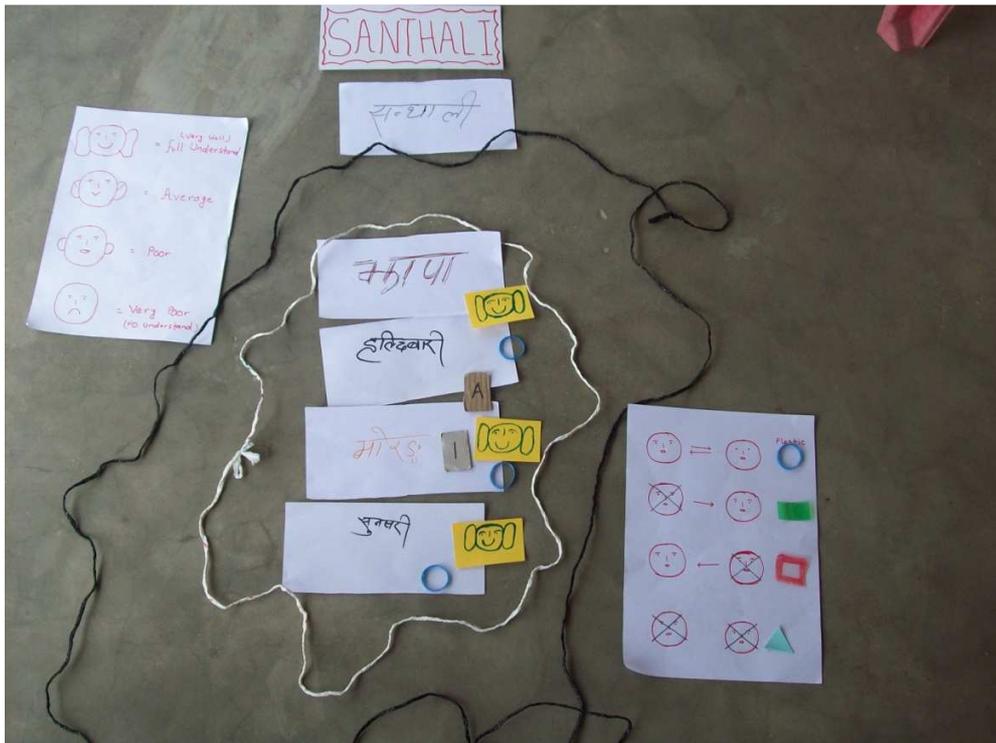


Figure 9.2: Dialect mapping at Garamani, Jhapa

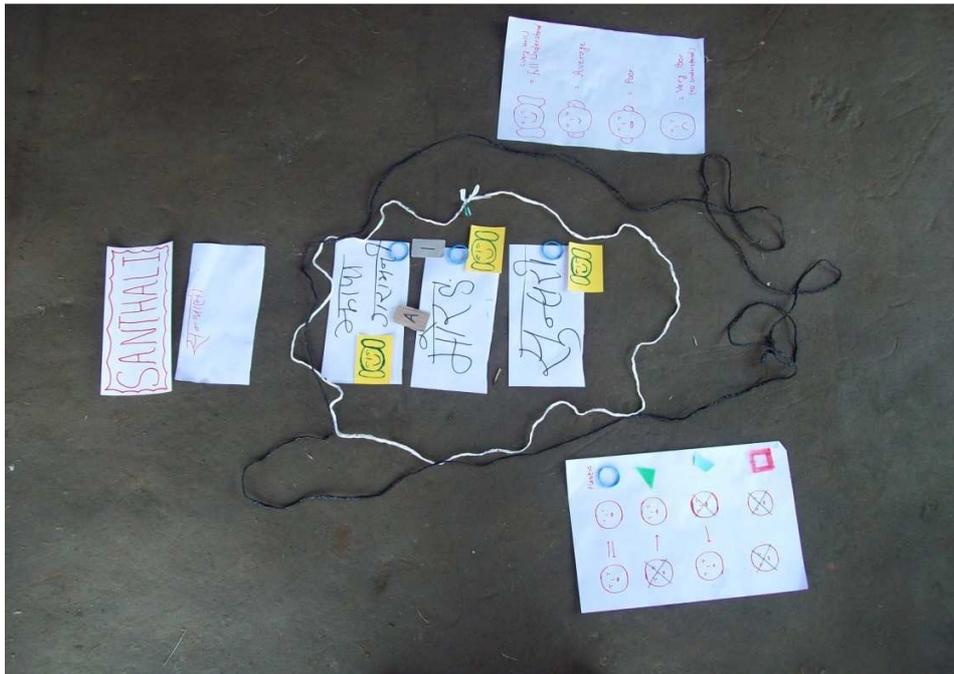


Figure 9.3: Dialect mapping at Shibganj, Jhapa



Figure 9.4: Dialect mapping at Hoklabari, Morang

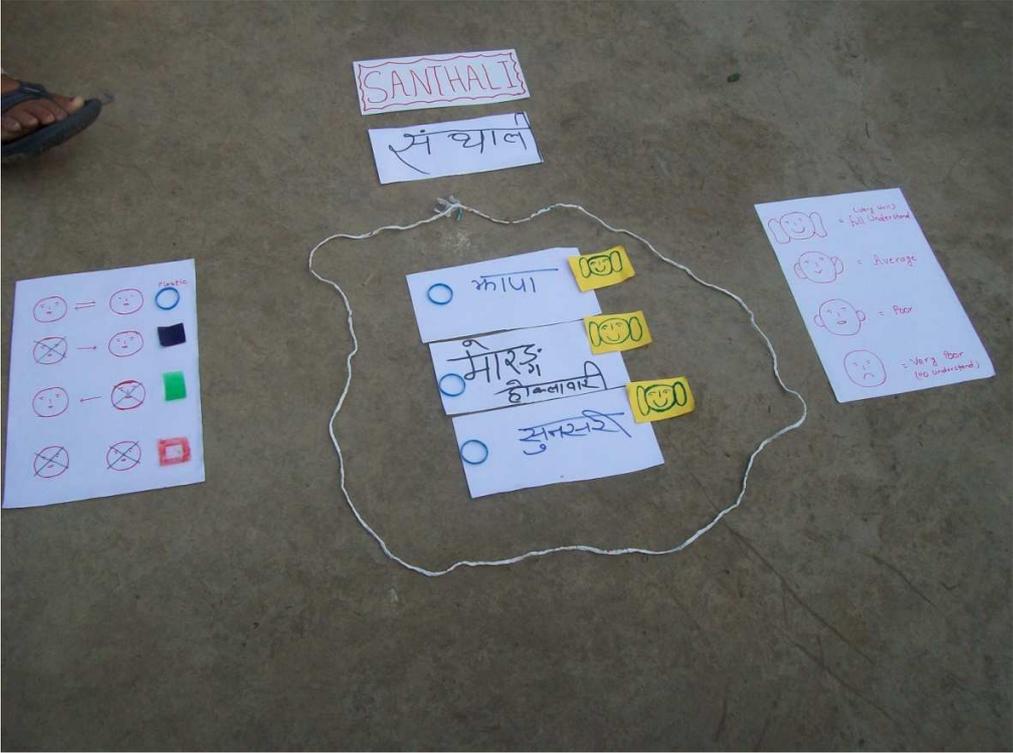


Figure 9.5: Dialect mapping at Majhare, Morang



The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties. The language participants in group of 8 to 12 in each survey point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each district and town where Santhali is spoken. They have mainly preferred to write the name of district and it was placed on the floor to represent the geographical location. In common the following name of the districts were recognized as the Santhali language speaking area: Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts

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

When they are asked to give the boundary of the similar language of Santhali, No one has preferred to differentiate between the different places of Santhali language. The figure 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5 can illuminate the similarity preferred by that community. They all reported that there is no any language variation in Santhali language.

Next, they are asked to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly. Table 9.3 presents the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult in the Santhali language.

Table 9.3: Ranking from easier to understand to the most difficult in Santhali

Key survey points	Forms of speech in Santhali		
	Very well	Average	Poorly
Haldibari	All three districts (Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari)		
Garamani	All three districts (Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari)		
Shibganj	All three districts (Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari)		
Hoklabari	All three districts (Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari)		
Majhare	All three districts (Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari)		

Similarly, in response to the question “Which forms of speech they preferred for preparing writing materials”, the participants in group responded that there is no variation in Santhali language so any of the places may be used for preparing writing materials.

9.4 Preferences of speech variety for developing materials

Similarly, in response the question “Which forms of speech they preferred for preparing reading materials”, the participants in group responded that there is no variation in Santhali language of either place. So there is no need to prefer for any one place. All are equal so either one may be used to develop the writing material in Santhali language. The statement can be illuminated from the evidence from the language similarity table 9.3 and the figure 9.1 to 9.5 where they have decided.

9.5 Summary

All the varieties of Santhali are mutually intelligible to each other. There is lexical similarity more than 90% among the key survey points in Santhali. It may indicate that Santhali at present does not show any dialectal variation that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Santhal speakers residing in different key survey points.

The three districts were recognized as the concentrated area of Santhali speaking people. These are Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari and the language of these areas are similar. No different in ranking of five survey points were recognized by the respondents and similarly no any variation in preferring the writing material was realized.

Chapter 10

Findings and recommendations

10.1 Major findings

The main aim of this survey was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of the Santhali language, an Austro-asiatic language spoken in the Eastern Terai of Nepal. The Santhali are one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who reside primarily in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts of Eastern Nepal. They have their own culture and language. Government of Nepal has also recognized Santhal as a separate indigenous community.

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

The major findings of this survey are presented as follows:

- a) The Santhals are one of the indigenous nationalities of the nation and the language spoken by them is Santhli. Santhali, a language of Austro-asiatic family is mainly spoken in the Terai region of Eastern development regions of Nepal and some adjacent parts of Indian states of Bihar, Uttarpradesh and Utarakhand.
- b) According to the recent Census of Nepal, 2011, Santhali is spoken by 49,858 i.e. 0.18% of the total population of Nepal and the total population of Santhal are 51,735. Santhali mother tongue speakers have been dispersed in almost 26 districts of the nation according to census 2011. Majority of the Santhal are residing in Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari districts.
- c) Santhali is also known as Santal, Satar, Hor. Religiously, most of them follows Hinduism but they follows christian, and Sarana religion as well . Majority of Santhal are deprived of education. The main occupations of Santhal are farming and fishing and recently they are mainly working in tea plantation.
- d) The resources available in the Santhali language are folk stories and folklore; songs; religious literatures; and the modern language transmission resources such as radio,

cinema, films and CD/DVD are also available in Santhali language. Similarly, script, grammar, dictionary, textbook, literary materials, newspaper, magazines, and written literatures are also available in the language. However the resources are mainly developed in India than Nepal since in India there is millions of Santhali population.

- e) Santhals are very much proficient in speaking their language. All the members of Santhal speech community speak their language very well and only educated speakers of Santhal can read and write in their language. There is very few monolingual in Santhal, particularly some older people especially the female speakers of the older age group. Most of them are bilingual and majority of them are multilingual as well. Most of them are bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, Maithili, Rajbansi and Bangali languages.
- f) Majority of Santhali children do not understand Nepali at all at the beginning when s/he goes to school. Since most of the Santhal use their own mother tongue at home, their children are not fluent in Nepali before going to school.
- g) Santhali is used in all the general domains such as singing, joking, storytelling , praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, and family gatherings. In other domain such as in counting, bargaining/shopping/marketing, discussing/debate and village meetings, they mainly used Nepali in Jhapa areas and Maithili in Morang areas.
- h) They use only their mother tongue with their family members while discussing about educational and social matters whereas majority of them use Nepali in writing letter to their family members. Santhali children use both the mother tongue and Nepali with their friends and in neighborhood while they use only Nepali at school. There is the dominance of Santhali in social rites and rituals. They use Nepali, Maithili and Hindi as language of wider communication (LWC) with the other than Santhali speakers.
- i) The Santhali language has 100% vitality as all their children speak their mother tongue; most of the parents in their community usually speak their mother tongue to their children; most of the youth use their mother tongue in their day-to-day communication and all the youth in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken.

- j) Majority of the male and female respondents said that they like their children learn/study in mother tongue and rests and they are eager to help the mother tongue teaching schools by sending your children, by encouraging the people of Santhal community to send their children, by providing financial help, by teaching themselves and by helping with the school.
- k) In general, Santhali speakers have very positive attitude towards their language and culture. More than two third of both male and female speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language like Nepali and only a few speakers said that they feel embarrassed and some respond as neutral because they do not feel anything like embarrassed or prestigious when they speak mother tongue before presence of the dominant language.
- l) Most of the Santhali speakers had not any problem because of being a native speaker of their mother tongue. Only a few speakers had faced problems such as they have been teased and they have problems in understanding of others language; and had problems in government offices because of being a native speaker of Santhali language, their mother tongue. Majority of males and female speakers feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Moreover majority of Santahli speakers said that their grand children will speak their language and most of them feel good if their grand children will speak their mother tongue.
- m) Most of the male and female speakers prefer that their children should speak their own mother tongue, Santhali, first while only a few speakers are in the favor of Nepali. Similarly, most of both male and female speakers prefer their own mother tongue, i.e. Santhali as their children's medium of instruction at primary level and only very few of them preferred to English and Nepali languages.
- n) Majority of the Santhali speakers both males and females do not think that there are differences in the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Only less than one third of both male and female Santhali speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in pronunciation, use of vocabulary, use of specific types of sentences, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking.

- o) Santhal community is rich in oral literature: folk tales, songs, religious literature. The good things that made Santhali speakers feel happy or proud about their language and culture are their Santhali songs, having their own culture and costume, art, history and literature, own religion, own judiciary system, own god, food pattern.
- p) Regarding the dreams about how they could make their language even better are writing a grammar, dictionary, textbooks, having mother tongue teachers, establishment of mother tongue based primary schools, development of their own script, Santhali should be taught at university level, Santhali should be used as official language in Santhal dominant districts, promotion and preservation of Santhali language, culture and religion and there should be a huge coverage of the language in the field of mass media such as radio, TV, and national level newspapers and journals.
- q) 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. They have made planning for these mentioned three important dreams. They said that there should be the involvement of both the community and the government to realize these dreams and they should be done immediately.
- r) The lexical similarity in Santhal are more than 90% among the key survey points in Santhali. It may indicate that Santhali at present does not show any dialectal variation that may hinder the mutual intelligibility among the Santhali speakers residing in different key points.
- s) The result of the dialect mapping tool shows that Santhali language of all places are similar. They do not prefer to differentiate the Shantahli language .
- t) Next for the writing material also they think that language of all places are equal so either one may be used to develop the writing material in Santhali language.

10.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings, the following recommendations are forwarded for the promotion and development of the Santhali language:

- a) Santhali children face difficulty in basic education because of in the beginning they are not familiar with the Nepali language and vernacular and textbooks in Nepali. The Interim Constitution of Nepal has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education schools. So, this commitment should immediately be facilitated financially and logistically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.
- b) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they include the local needs and local settings.
- c) Unless the domains of use of language are broadened the language cannot be preserved. The Santhal 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 of older age and because most of the women of older age 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 Santhal 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 prepared and the folklore, folk story and folk literature should be documented.

- i) 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.

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