

***Sociolinguistic factors considered in determining  
whether to produce Scripture materials in the  
Chalkan variety of Northern Altai***

***Социолингвистические факторы, определяющие  
необходимость перевода Священного Писания на  
челканский диалект северно-алтайского языка***

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This paper is a summary of a survey undertaken to investigate some aspects of the current sociolinguistic state of the language variety spoken by the Chalkans of southern Siberia. The purpose of this survey was to determine whether separate Scripture materials in the Chalkan variety are required and what format would be appropriate if such materials were necessary. Furthermore, the survey sought to evaluate whether Chalkan speakers could adequately comprehend existing or future Scripture resources in Russian, Southern Altai or Shor. This was done using a questionnaire, a word list and the story re-telling method in five Chalkan villages. The results demonstrated that Chalkan is a distinct enough language variety to justify translating Scripture material, as it is still used by many as the primary language in the home. However, the Chalkan language variety is dying out because of the influence of two other established languages: Southern Altai and Russian. The majority of Chalkans, especially those who are younger, understand basic Southern Altai, but prefer to read written material in Russian. The Chalkan language variety is more vital in the more remote communities.

Key words: Chalkan, Altai, survey, sociolinguistic factors, word list, language variety, questionnaire, vitality, intelligibility, genre

В статье представлены результаты исследования некоторых аспектов современного социолингвистического состояния идиома,

на котором говорят челканцы — этнос, проживающий в Южной Сибири. Целью обследования было определить, есть ли необходимость в переводе библейских текстов на челканский идиом и какой формат их перевода был бы уместен в случае его необходимости. Кроме того, в ходе обследования проводилась оценка адекватности восприятия носителями челканского идиома Священного Писания на русском, южно-алтайском и шорском языках. Обследование проводилось в пяти челканских деревнях с использованием анкетирования, списка слов и метода пересказа текстов. Результаты показали, что челканский идиом обладает достаточным количеством отличительных черт для того, чтобы перевод на него Священного Писания был оправдан, поскольку он все еще многими используется как основной язык домашнего общения. Тем не менее, челканский идиом вымирает, вытесняясь двумя другими языками: южно-алтайским и русским. Большинство челканцев, особенно молодое поколение, понимают алтайский язык на базовом уровне, но предпочитают читать по-русски. Челканский идиом лучше сохраняется в наиболее отдаленных районах.

Ключевые слова: челканский идиом, алтайский язык, обследование, социолингвистические факторы, список слов, идиом, анкетирование, витальность, понимание речи, жанр

## 1. Introduction

In 2016 a survey was undertaken to investigate some aspects of the current sociolinguistic state of the language variety spoken by the Chalkans of Southern Siberia. Chalkan is classified as a Northern Altai (ISO 639-3: atv) dialect [Simon & Fennig 2017; Ager 2017]. Northern Altai is considered a separate language from Southern Altai (ISO 639-3: alt). Simon & Fennig [2017] state that Northern and Southern Altai are not mutually intelligible. Thus, this survey included testing to determine whether Chalkan and Southern Altai are mutually intelligible.

The purpose of this survey was to determine whether separate Scripture materials in the Chalkan variety are required and what format would be appropriate if such materials were

necessary. Furthermore, the survey sought to evaluate whether Chalkan speakers could adequately comprehend existing or future Scripture resources in Russian, Southern Altai or Shor. Chalkan was not compared to other Northern Altai language varieties, such as Tuba or Kumandy, since there are no Scripture resources available in these dialects, and there are very few speakers left today.

The following are the questions that the survey proposed to answer:

1. What are the Chalkans' attitudes to the languages they speak (Russian, Southern Altai and Chalkan)?
2. How and where is the Chalkan language variety used, and what is its vitality?
3. What is the lexical similarity and intelligibility between Southern Altai and Chalkan, and what factors influence this?
4. What is the lexical similarity and intelligibility between the Shor language variety and Chalkan and what factors influence this?
5. What is the attitude of the Chalkans to different orality genres?

This paper shows the results from the survey and how they informed the answers to these questions. From this information, it draws a conclusion about the need for Scripture materials in Chalkan.

## 2. The Altai

The Altai are a traditionally nomadic<sup>1</sup> Turkic people group now living in settled communities in the Republic of Altai, approximately 500 km south of Novosibirsk, in Southern Siberia. According to the 2010 Russian census, there are 69,963 Altai people living in the Republic of Altai [Федеральная служба государственной

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<sup>1</sup> Their lifestyle was based on hunting, fishing, trapping and pastoral herds.

статистики 2010]. The Ethnologue classifies Northern Altai as 6b (threatened) on the EGIDS Scale [Simons & Fennig 2017].

There are two ethnographic groups within the Altai Republic — the Southern Altai peoples and the Northern Altai peoples. The Chalkans are one of the groups that make up the Northern Altai peoples. According to the 2010 census, there are 1,181 Chalkans [Федеральная служба государственной статистики 2010], who live mostly in the Turachak Region of the Republic of Altai. Erdal et. al [2013: 312] state, “In 2000, the Chalkans (along with the Tuba and Telengit) were granted official minority status by Russia, and the language was listed in the Red Book of the peoples of Russia. However, this has not changed the acute endangerment of the Chalkan language.” The Ethnologue does not give Chalkan a separate ISO 639-3 code but includes it as a dialect of Northern Altai [Simons & Fennig 2017].

The Shor are another Turkic people group closely related to the Altai. They live in the Shor Mountains in the Kemerovo Region of Siberia. Their language, Shor (ISO 639-3:cjs) is a Northern Turkic language related to Altai. Geographically they live extremely close to remote Chalkan villages, and there has been regular contact between the two groups, including mixed marriages.

### 3. Methodology

To assess the Chalkans’ attitude towards their own language variety, Russian and Southern Altai (Question 1, §1), a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) based on the work of Blair [2007: 11–113] was completed by individuals who represented a broad cross-section of the Chalkan communities described in §4. This questionnaire also included questions that would help to determine the vitality of Chalkan and its domains of use (Question 2, §1).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In a more detailed survey, it would be useful to include questions on the birth place of the participants, the birth place and current residency of their parents and grandparents, and questions about what language is used specifically with Chalkan neighbours and colleagues.

To test intelligibility between the Chalkan variety of Northern Altai and Southern Altai (Question 3, §1), a word list of 222 tokens was collected in Chalkan from a mother tongue speaker in the village of Kurmach-Baigol, and this was compared with a word list of 222 words in Southern Altai, collected from a mother tongue speaker of Southern Altai, from Kosh-Agach. By comparing the word lists elicited from the different communities and calculating the percentage of those items determined to be similar, the similarity between Chalkan and Southern Altai was assessed [Blair 2007: 26–33]. Intelligibility was also tested using the standard retelling method. A speaker from a Chalkan community listened to a text recorded by a mother tongue speaker of Southern Altai. After listening to this text a second time in sections, the speaker retold the story in Chalkan as they understood it from the recording. Scores ranging from 0 to 39 (see §4.3 for the results) were given according to the amount of correct information that was retold. A score greater than 31 (80 %) indicates that the varieties are likely to be mutually intelligible.

Since the Shor, who speak a related language, live in close proximity to and have contact with the Chalkan, the same retelling method was used to test if the Shor language was intelligible to Chalkan speakers. This test was completed by 13 individuals from 2 communities (Kurmach-Baigol and Suronash).

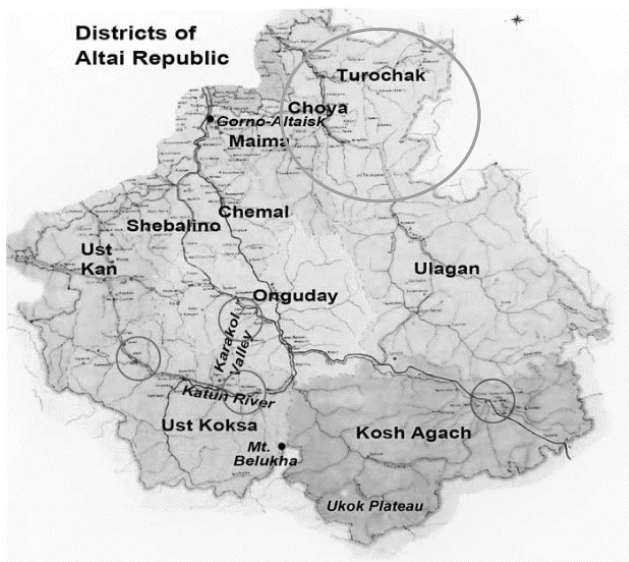
A questionnaire to assess language attitude was given to 68 individuals<sup>3</sup>, 9 men and 59 women, from 7 communities (Kurmach-Baigol, Suronash, Turachak, Biyka, Maisk, Tuloy and Chuyka<sup>4</sup>) in the Turachak Region of the Republic of Altai (see Map 1).

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<sup>3</sup> Since men were often out in the forest it was hard to interview them, thus the majority of those tested were female. Significant conclusions about the role of gender could not be assessed. In total 9 males and 59 females were tested.

<sup>4</sup> There was only one individual interviewed in both Chuyka and Tuloy, thus those statistics will not be included in this paper.

*Map 1: Districts of Altai Republic*



#### 4. Chalkan language communities

**Kurmach-Baigol** is a village comprised of approximately 350 people, the majority of whom are Chalkan. From this village, 33 individuals completed the questionnaire, 30 of whom were female. The age range of the individuals completing the questionnaire was from 16 to 80 years old. Two individuals from this village completed the Chalkan word list, both of whom were female. Also, from Kurmach-Baigol, 11 Chalkans completed the intelligibility test of Southern Altai, 5 of whom were male, with age ranges from 30 to 61 years old. The intelligibility test of the Shor language variety was completed by 9 individuals from this community.

**Suronash** is a remote village, made up of 7 families, with approximately 40 inhabitants, all of whom are Chalkan. From this village 8 individuals completed the questionnaire, 4 males and 4 females. The age range was from 39 to 64 years

old. Two individuals from Suronash, one male and one female, confirmed the Chalkan word list that was completed in Kurmach-Baigol, and made no changes. Four individuals from Suronash participated in the intelligibility test for the Shor language.

**Turachak** is a regional centre, and has a population of approximately 5,000 people, a small minority of whom are Chalkan. From Turachak 7 individuals completed the questionnaire, 1 of whom was male. The age range was from 47 to 74 years old.

**Biyka** is a larger village made up of 800 inhabitants, about half of whom are Chalkan. From Biyka 13 individuals completed the questionnaire, 1 of whom was male. The age range was from 33 to 67 years old.

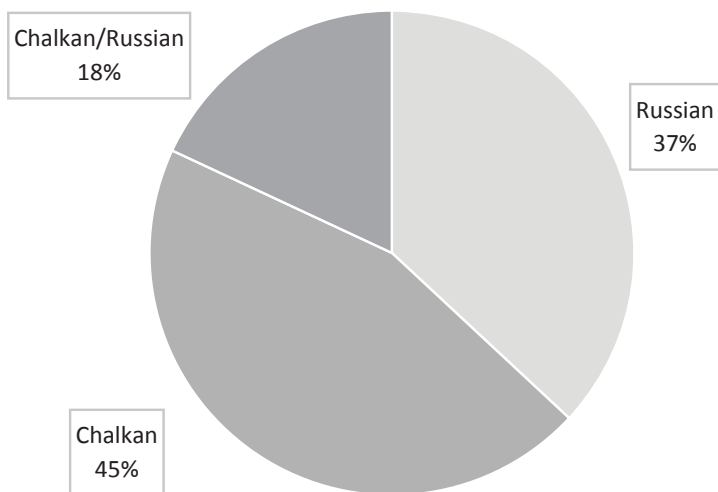
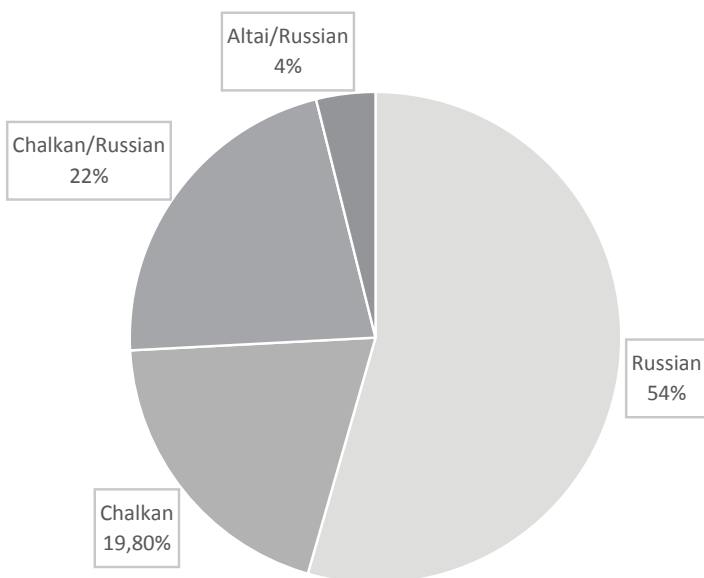
**Maisk** is also very remote and has a population of 100 people, half of whom are Chalkan. From Maisk, 5 individuals completed the questionnaire, all of whom were female, with ages ranging from 49 to 63 years old.

## 5. Results

### 5.1. Language Use and Attitudes

#### **Question 1: What are the Chalkans' attitudes to the languages they speak (Russian, Southern Altai and Chalkan)?**

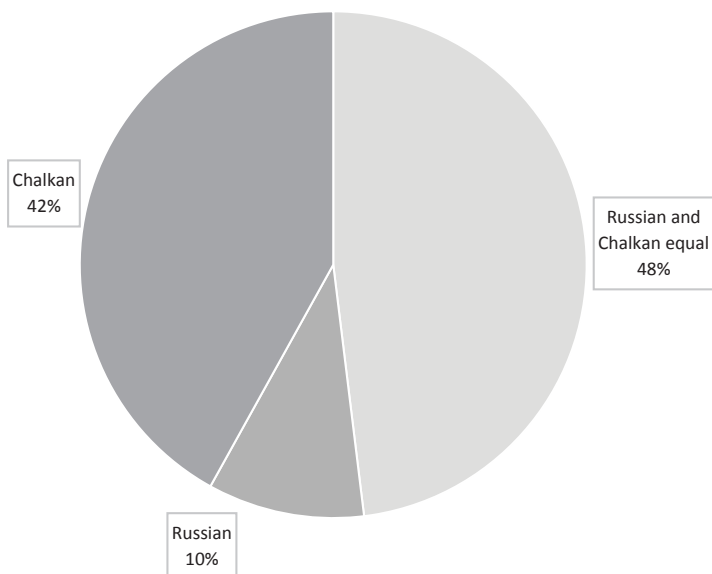
Most people surveyed use either Chalkan (45 %) or mixed Chalkan/Russian at home (18 %) the latter including the 2 under 30 years old who completed the survey (see Figure 1). Russian is used by the majority of Chalkan speakers at work. (see Figure 2). Of the two under 30's, one uses Russian at work, and one a mixture of Chalkan and Russian. Since there were only two respondents under 30, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the influence of age on language use and attitude, but it appears that Russian is used more frequently than Chalkan at work.

*Figure 1: Language used at home**Figure 2: Language used at work*

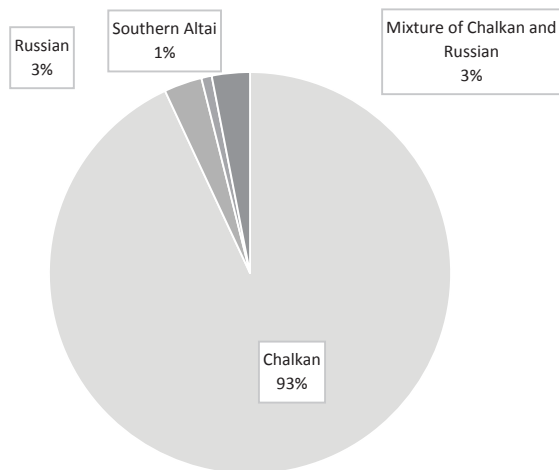


Of those who completed the questionnaire, 48 % say they were equally fluent in both Russian and Chalkan, 10 % considered themselves more fluent in Russian than Chalkan, and 42 % say they are most fluent in Chalkan (see Figure 3). Of the two under 30's surveyed, one is most fluent in Chalkan and one equally fluent in Russian and Chalkan. The overwhelming majority (93 %) say that Chalkan is the first language they learnt (see Figure 4), which includes the two surveyed under age 30.

*Figure 3: Most fluent language*

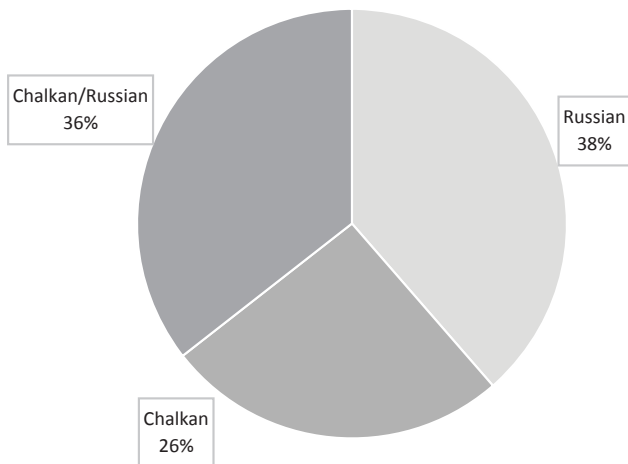


*Figure 4: First language learnt*



At home with their children 26 % of respondents say they use only Chalkan, while 36 % report using mixed Chalkan and Russian. The remaining 38 % use Russian exclusively (see Figure 5). As a result, there are about one third of the children growing up who may not speak or understand Chalkan to any extent.

*Figure 5: Language used with children*



Of the respondents, 78 % say their children did not speak Chalkan as well as they would like them to, and 96 % say they would like their children to be fluent in Chalkan. Children study Southern Altai in school, which is considered literary Altai, rather than Chalkan, which is only oral. However, 72 % think that studying Chalkan in some way should be included in the school curriculum.

## 5.2. Domains of Use

### Question 2: How and where is the Chalkan dialect used?

The results of the questionnaire pertaining to domains of use are discussed in this section (see Table 1). Differences in the Chalkan domains of use in Turachak, Suranash, Maisk, Kurmach, and Biyka (see Map 2) are discussed as well as possible factors contributing to these differences.

*Table 1: Chalkan use in 5 different locations*

<b>Chalkan most used:</b>	<b>Kurmach</b>	<b>Suranash</b>	<b>Biyka</b>	<b>Maisk</b>	<b>Turachak</b>
at home	61 %	88 %	0 %	0 %	43 %
at work	33 %	50 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
in unofficial situations	52 %	50 %	23 %	0 %	0 %
with neighbours	56 %	100 %	8 %	0 %	0 %
with friends	48 %	50 %	8 %	0 %	29 %
with spouse	48 %	63 %	0 %	0 %	67 %
with siblings	86 %	63 %	46 %	40 %	71 %
with children	43 %	13 %	8 %	0 %	17 %
Consider Chalkan most fluent language	52 %	63 %	23 %	0 %	50 %

Map 2: The 5 locations where the survey was conducted in the Tirachak region



**Kurmach-Baigol** is a village comprised of approximately 350 people, most of whom are Chalkan. Of the 33 individuals interviewed in Kurmach-Baigol, 61 % say they exclusively use Chalkan at home, 33 % of the respondents report using it at work and 52 % of the respondents use it in unofficial situations. Fifty-two percent of respondents state Chalkan is their most fluent language. Chalkan is used by 56 % of the respondents with neighbours<sup>5</sup>, 48 % use it with friends, 48 % with their spouse, 86 % with their siblings but only 43 % use it with their children.

*Table 2: Chalkan use in Kurmach-Baigol according to age*

<b>Chalkan most used:</b>	<b>Under 40's</b>	<b>40-60's</b>	<b>Over 60's</b>
at home	67 %	63 %	50 %
at work	0 %	46 %	33 %
in unofficial situations	50 %	47 %	63 %
with neighbours	67 %	50 %	63 %
with friends	50 %	42 %	63 %
with spouse	33 %	50 %	50 %
with siblings	40 %	100 %	83 %
with children	25 %	39 %	63 %
Consider Chalkan most fluent language	33 %	53 %	63 %

Table 2 records the use of Chalkan in Kurmach according to age. It shows that a significantly lower percentage of the under 40's use Chalkan with siblings and children, indicating that the vitality of the language among the younger generation is decreasing. Similarly, only 33 % of the under 40's considers Chalkan their most fluent

<sup>5</sup> It was observed that when Chalkans used Russian with neighbours these neighbours were mostly Russian, although there is no recorded data to support this observation.

language, compared to 53 % among the 40's–60's and 64 % among the over 60's, which indicates a generational decline in language use.

**Suronash** is a remote village made up of 7 families, with approximately 40 inhabitants<sup>6</sup>, all of whom are Chalkan. Of the 8 individuals interviewed in Suronash, 88 % use Chalkan at home and 50 % use it at work. Sixty three percent of the respondents consider Chalkan their most fluent language. Chalkan is used 100 % with their neighbours, 50 % with friends, 63 % with a spouse, 63 % with siblings and 13 % with their children. It was observed that most of the friends and all the children referred to live outside this village.

*Table 3: Chalkan use in Suronash according to age*

<b>Chalkan most used:</b>	<b>Under 40's</b>	<b>40-60's</b>	<b>Over 60's</b>
at home	100 %	75 %	100 %
at work	0 %	33 %	100 %
in unofficial situations	0 %	75 %	33 %
with neighbours	100 %	100 %	100 %
with friends	100 %	50 %	33 %
with spouse	0 %	75 %	67 %
with siblings	100 %	50 %	67 %
with children	0 %	25 %	0 %
Consider Chalkan most fluent language	100 %	50 %	67 %

<sup>6</sup> There are very few people left in Suronash as many residents have migrated to less remote locations.

In Suronash there was only one respondent interviewed under 40.<sup>7</sup> Table 3 shows that at home, at work and with siblings Chalkan is used less among people aged 40–60 than among those over 60, and fewer individuals from ages 40–60 consider Chalkan to be their most fluent language. This tells us that the language is less vital among the lower age range.

In all categories except with siblings and children, Chalkan is used more frequently in Suronash than in Kurmach-Baigol. This may be influenced by the fact that in Suronash only 8 people were interviewed, as opposed to 33 in Kurmach-Baigol. Less frequent use with siblings and children may also be a result of the fact that the siblings and children of the respondents in Suronash have moved to areas where Russian is spoken more, whereas in Kurmach-Baigol more extended families have stayed in the village. The fact that in Suronash Chalkan is used less frequently with closer family members, such as siblings and children, may also indicate the language is less vital than in Kurmach-Baigol. In Kurmach-Baigol and Suronash Chalkan is used with more frequency than anywhere else.

**Biyka** is a larger less remote village made up of 800 inhabitants, about half of which are Chalkan. Of the 13 individuals, who were 33 years or older, interviewed in Biyka, 0 % use Chalkan exclusively at home and at work. In unofficial situations 23 % use Chalkan, and 23 % said that Chalkan is their most fluent language (see Table 1). Chalkan is used by 8 % with neighbours and with friends. None of the respondents use only Chalkan with their spouse and only 8 % with their children. The use of Chalkan is significantly lower in Biyka than in Kurmach-Baigol or Suronash. The location of the village and the large percentage of mixed marriages have contributed to diminished use of Chalkan in this location.

**Maisk** is also very remote and has a population of 100 people, half of which are Chalkan. Maisk was a gold mining town, but now the inhabitants are moving away since the mine has closed. Most Chalkans in Maisk are in mixed marriages. Of the 5 individuals

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<sup>7</sup> This respondent was 39 years old.

interviewed, who were 49 years or older, 100 % use Russian at home, at work and in official situations. None give Chalkan as their most fluent language, and none use Chalkan with friends, or neighbours or a spouse or children. However, 40 % still use Chalkan with siblings. It is clear that Chalkan is used in very limited domains in Maisk.

**Turachak** is the regional centre of the Turachak Region, and has a population of approximately 5,000 people, a small minority of which are Chalkan. Of the 7 individuals interviewed in Turachak, 43 % use Chalkan at home, while 0 % use it at work, or in official or unofficial situations. Half say it is their most fluent language. Of those interviewed, 0 % use it with neighbours, while 29 % use it with friends, 67 % with their spouse, 17 % with their children, and 71 % with siblings. The Chalkans in Turachak are in the minority, but most have moved with extended family from Kurmach-Baigol or Suronash to Turachak and settled in close proximity to one another. Furthermore, the Chalkans in this community spend much time together, hence the language is used more frequently than in Biyka, where there are more mixed marriages.

In Turachak there was no individual interviewed under 40, and only 2 out of 7 people were 40-60's, thus conclusions from the data about how age affects language use in Turachak cannot be drawn with any accuracy.

In terms of usage and vitality, we see that Chalkan is used in more domains and is more vital in Suronash and Kurmach-Baigol followed by Turachak, Biyka and then Maisk. This is as would be expected when looking at the remoteness of the communities and the numbers of mixed marriages.

### 5.3. Intelligibility

#### **Question 3: What is the lexical similarity and intelligibility between Southern Altai and Chalkan, and what factors influence this?**

To ascertain the degree of intelligibility between Southern Altai and Chalkan, a dialect intelligibility test and a word list comparison were conducted as described in §3.



The samples taken from the dialect intelligibility test between Southern Altai and Chalkan indicate that the younger Chalkan generation (under 50 years old) have a good understanding of Southern Altai (as good as Southern Altai speakers) with scores ranging from 35 to 38 out of 39 (an average of 92 %). However, Southern Altai is less intelligible to the older Chalkan generations. The average score for over 50's was 29 out of 39, which is 75 % (see Figure 6). There was no significant difference in the understanding of Southern Altai between men and women.

Respondents state that marriage to a Southern Altai speaker and continued study of Southern Altai or material presented in Southern Altai after school are the main factors that contribute to greater intelligibility.

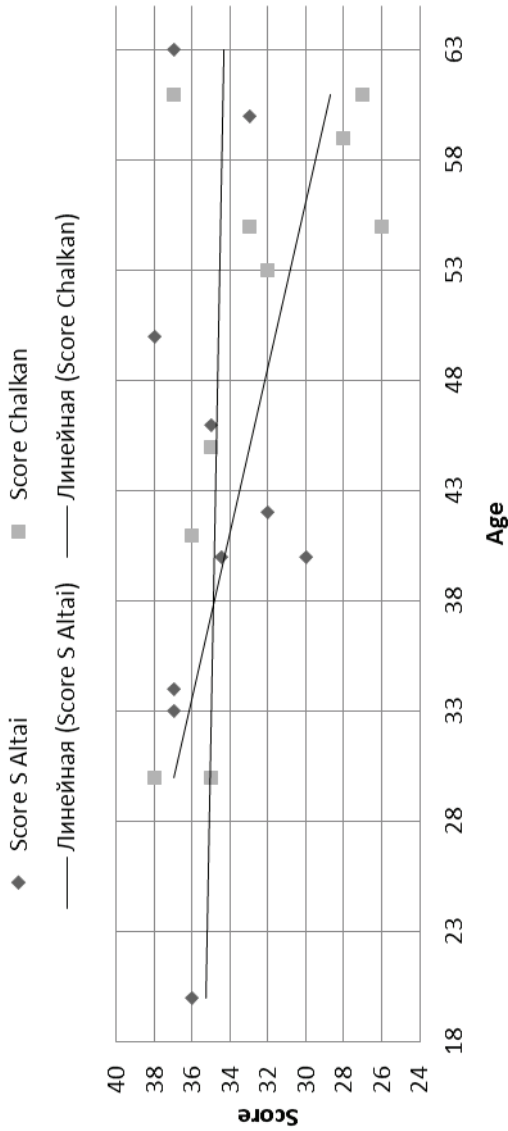
A comparative list of 222 words was collected from mother tongue speakers in both Southern Altai and Chalkan (see Appendix 2). The word list in Chalkan was collected from two Chalkan women in Kurmach-Baigol and checked by a Chalkan man and woman in Suronash.<sup>8</sup> The word list in Southern Altai was made and checked by 2 Southern Altai women from Kosh-Agach, who now live in Gorno-Altai.<sup>9</sup> Following the methodology laid out by Blair [2007], both the technically similar words and those words where a relationship could be seen were calculated. Between Southern Altai and Chalkan 168 out of 222 words are technically similar resulting in 76 % similarity. When the words where a relationship was seen are added to the total number of technically similar words, the total of similar words is 176 out of 222 resulting in a 79 % similarity. Since there is almost an 80 % similarity between the language varieties mutual intelligibility is borderline.

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<sup>8</sup> No changes were made to the list by the speakers from Suronash.

<sup>9</sup> Gorno-Altai is the capital of the Republic of Altai.

Figure 6: Intelligibility of Southern Altai



**Question 4: What is the lexical similarity and intelligibility between Shor and Chalkan and what factors influence this?**

In a similar manner the intelligibility test was used to determine intelligibility between Shor and Chalkan. The test was administered to 13 Chalkans.<sup>10</sup> As described in §3, they were asked to retell a story in Chalkan that they listened to in Shor. An individual received a score for each section depending on how much relevant information was re-told correctly, demonstrating how much they had understood. The comprehensibility scores of the Chalkan speakers ranged from 15 to 28 out of a possible total score of 36. The respondents' average score of 20.8 out of 36 shows a 58 % comprehension rate. Since there is far less than 80 % similarity between the Chalkan and Shor language varieties, they are considered not to be mutually intelligible.

The results did not significantly vary for age (see Figure 7), gender or location.

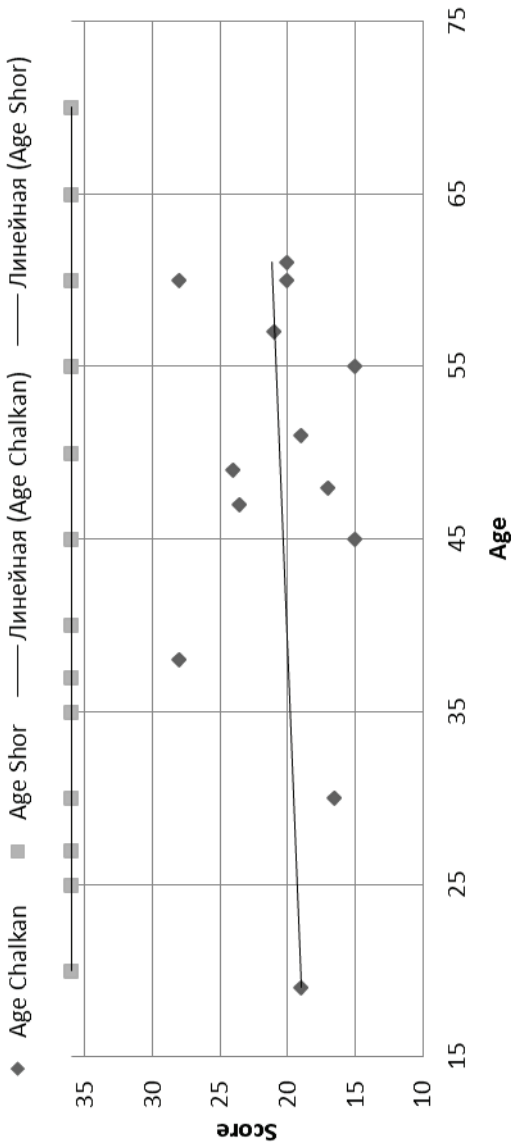
**5.4. Genres and Attitudes****Question 5: What is the attitude of the Chalkans to different orality genres?**

Chalkan has traditionally been an oral language and is not used for reading or writing. Formal education is conducted in Russian. Chalkan does not have an accepted orthography or history of use in written form.<sup>11</sup> To investigate the most effective way to produce Christian materials in Chalkan, it is important to assess which genres are being used today for Chalkan materials and which publication formats would be the most popular among the Chalkans.

<sup>10</sup> Due to time constraints 10 individuals were interviewed in detail and 3 in less detail.

<sup>11</sup> Even if there was an accepted orthography, it is unlikely that Chalkan would be used in written form unless a perceived benefit was determined for reading and writing in Chalkan.

Figure 7: *Intelligibility of Shor*



The respondents were asked if there were any folk stories or children's songs in Chalkan. From the group interviewed, 94 % say there are folk stories in Chalkan while 65 % say there are children's songs.

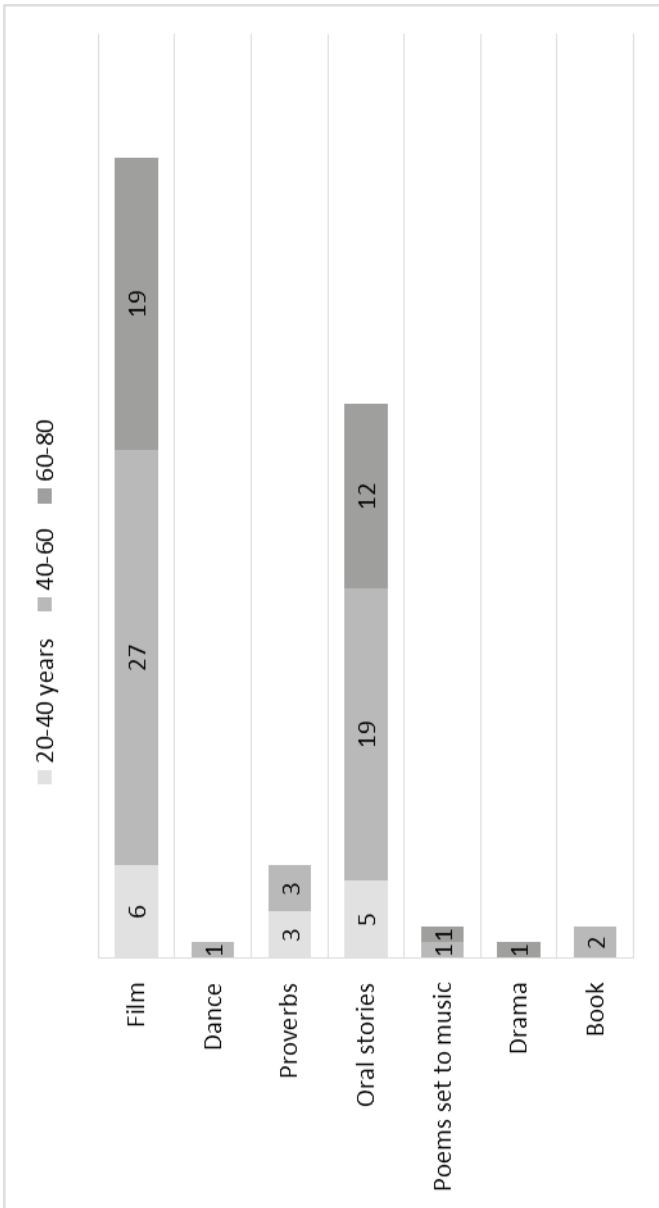
73 % of respondents say they very rarely hear Chalkan songs, and 74 % percent say they never listen to Chalkan proverbs or poems. Similarly, 63 % say they never listen to or tell stories in Chalkan. Of those interviewed, 68 % say they never see Chalkan dancing or any similar performance.<sup>12</sup>

If Christian material was made available in Chalkan, 52 % of respondents say they would like to see this in a video format while 36 % say they would like it presented in oral recorded stories (see Figure 8). There were 8 % who indicate a preference for poems or proverbs. The question about orality genres was added later during the survey, and only 48 individuals responded to it.

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<sup>12</sup> It was observed that there is little ready access to such materials. Thus, individuals in these communities are not using their language in these formats.

Figure 8: Preferred genre for Christian materials in Chalkan by number of respondents



Preferred genre	20–40 years old	40–60 years old	60–80 years old
Book	0	2	0
Drama	0	0	1
Poems set to music	0	1	1
Oral stories	5	19	12
Proverbs	3	3	0
Dance	0	1	0
Film	6	27	19

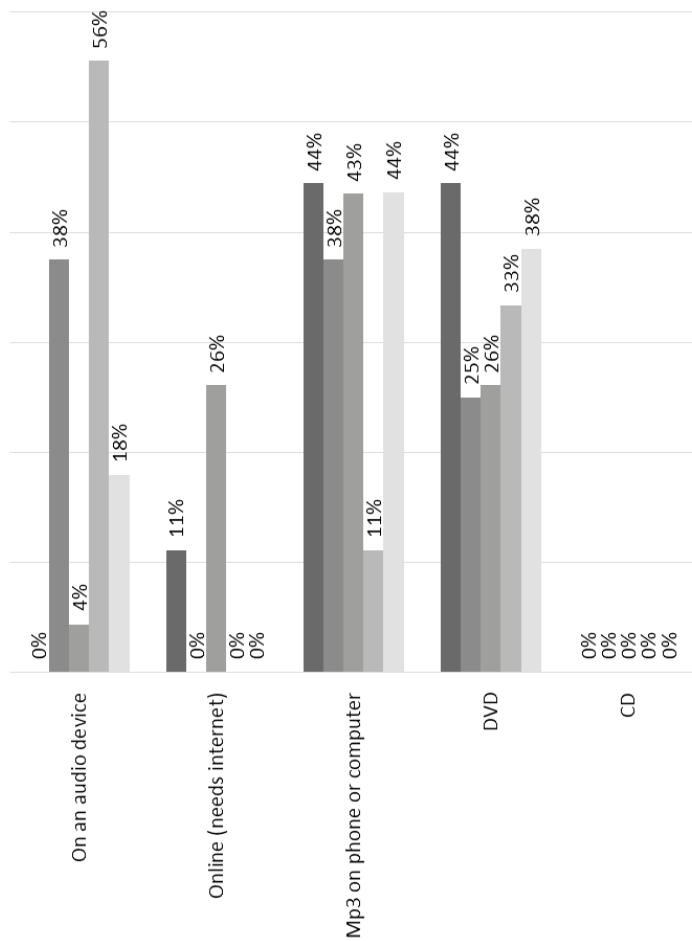
When the data is examined according to age differences, it is clear that the preferences were spread fairly equally over all the ages.

When asked in what format individuals would like the Christian materials to be distributed, of the 39 respondents, 44 % say as Mp3 files, 38 % say on DVDs and 18 % say on an audio device such as a Proclaimer or AudiBible<sup>13</sup> (see Figure 9). In Biyka, which has Internet access, 26 % of respondents say they would be able to get access to the stories or videos online, while only 11 % in Turachak say they have such access. The other 3 locations do not have Internet access<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> The individuals interviewed were shown the Proclaimer and AudiBible devices.

<sup>14</sup> In future research it would be helpful to include a question about mobile data use as it is increasing worldwide.

Figure 9: Preference for Story Formats





	CD	DVD	Mp3 on phone or computer	Online (needs internet)	On an audio device
■ Turachak	0%	44%	44%	11%	0%
■ Maisk	0%	25%	38%	0%	38%
■ Biyka	0%	26%	43%	26%	4%
■ Suronash	0%	33%	11%	0%	56%
■ Kurmach	0%	38%	44%	0%	18%

## 6. Conclusions

From the above results two things are clear: 1) Chalkan is a distinct enough language variety to justify translating Scripture material. Speakers of Chalkan do not necessarily understand Southern Altai. Today Chalkan is still used by many as the primary language in the home. 2) The Chalkan language variety is dying out because of the influence of two other established languages: Southern Altai and Russian.

This study shows that the Chalkan language variety is more vital in the remote communities of Suronash and Kurmach Baigol. Chalkan is used in more domains and by a greater number of individuals in these more remote villages. However, as road access and electricity have improved in Kurmach Baigol and Chalkans continue to migrate away from Suronash<sup>15</sup> the vitality of Chalkan is threatened in these locations as well. In Biyka and Maisk, where half the population is Russian and inter-marriage has had a significant impact, Chalkan is used very little, even within the home. Chalkan is still used orally by the Chalkan families who have relocated to Turachak.

From this survey it appears that there are very few cultural activities that continue to be conducted in Chalkan including singing, story-telling or reciting poetry. There appears to be very little desire or motivation for such activities. Therefore, material developed in these genres would likely be used little, if at all.

<sup>15</sup> If current trends continue it is very likely that the village of Suronash will cease to exist in the near future.

The majority of Chalkans, especially those who are younger, understand basic Southern Altai, but prefer to read written material in Russian. This is influenced by factors such as education in Southern Altai and inter-marriage with speakers of Southern Altai. Oral and written materials already available in Southern Altai will be comprehensible to some of the Chalkan population, especially to those who have been exposed to the Southern Altai language through education, marriage or relocation. However, for the majority of Chalkans, oral and written materials in the Southern Altai language will not be sufficiently comprehensible.

Chalkans have less understanding of Shor than of Southern Altai despite geographic proximity. It is likely that oral or written materials available in Shor would not be comprehensible for the Chalkan population.

Therefore, although the distinctiveness of the Chalkan language variety warrants the translation of Scripture resources into the language, the endangered status and declining vitality of this language variety does not motivate the translation of the whole New Testament, especially as this would only be an oral translation. A more realistic approach would be to select 20 to 30 key stories which in themselves give an overview of the whole Biblical narrative and make a paraphrase of these available using an audio MP3 or DVD format, accompanied by an illustrated book in Chalkan.

## Appendix 1 – Questionnaire

<i>2. (G2) Group or Individual Interview (Language Use) Form ID:</i>			
1. RESEARCHER	2. DATE	3. LOCATION	3A. LANG OF INTERVIEW
4. NAME			5. GENDER M F
<i>Language Use</i>			
<i>Functional Domains</i>			
6a. Most Used Language at home		7. Work Language	
8. Language for official situations		9. Language for Unofficial Situations	
10. First Language learned		11. most Fluent language	
12. Language most read		13. Language easiest read	
14. Difficulties in reading			
15. Language Preferred for radio		16. radio language most listened to	
17. language preferred for television		18. television language most watched	
19. Most used Language for singing		20. Language for letters	
21. Easiest language to write		22. Language for arguing	
23. Language for cursing		24. language for counting	
<i>Interpersonal Domains</i>			
25. LANGUAGE WITH NEIGHBOURS			
26. language with friends			
27. Language with guests			
28. Language with parents			
29. Language with spouse			
30. Language with children			
31. Language with siblings			
32. Parents use which language with you?			
33. Spouse uses which language with you?			

<i>Children's Language</i>
<b>34. Children study Vernacular in school?</b>
<b>35. Children speak as ought?</b>
<b>36. Children should speak well?</b>
<b>37. Vernacular should be in school?</b>
<b>38. Folk stories in Vernacular language?</b>
<b>39. Vernacular children's songs?</b>

<i>Other</i>
<i>Notes</i>
<p>If there was Christian material available in Chalkan, in which format would you prefer?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Book</li> <li>- Drama</li> <li>- Poems set to music</li> <li>- Stories</li> <li>- Proverbs</li> <li>- Dance</li> <li>- Film</li> </ul> <p>If stories in which format would you prefer?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- CD</li> <li>- Mp3 on phone or computer</li> <li>- Online (needs internet)</li> <li>- On an audio device (like the one we are showing you)</li> </ul>

## Appendix 2 – Word list

### Part 1

	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
1	Body	тело	Эт-кан	эди	similar
2	Head	голова	баш	паш	similar
3	Hair	волосы	чач	шьашь	similar
4	Face	лицо	јүс	тьүс	similar
5	Eye	глаз	кӧс	кӧс	similar
6	Ear	ухо	кулак	кылак	similar
7	Nose	нос	тумчук	танак	not similar
8	Mouth	рот	оос	аас	similar
9	Teeth	зубы	тиштер	тиштер	similar
10	tongue	язык	Тил	Тил	similar
11	Breast (woman's)	грудь	эмчек	эмжек	similar
12	Belly	живот	ич	ишь	similar
13	Arm	рука	кол	кол	similar
14	Elbow	локоть	чаганак	шьаганак	similar
15	Palm	ладонь	алакан	алакан	similar
16	Finger	палец	сабар	салажыак	Not similar
17	Nail	ноготь	тырмак	тырвак	similar
18	Leg	нога	бут	пут	similar
19	Skin	кожа	тере	тере	similar
20	Bone	кость	сӧок	сӧок	similar
21	Heart	сердце	јүрек	тьүрек	similar
22	Blood	кровь	кан	кан	similar
23	Urine	моча	сидик	сидек	similar
24	Feces	кал	бок	пок	similar
25	Village	деревня	јурт	айыл	Not similar
26	House	дом	тура	уг	Not similar

	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
27	Roof	крыша	јабынты	тъавынты	similar
28	door	дверь	эжик	эжик	similar
29	Firewood	дрова	одын	одын	similar
30	Broom	метла	јалмууш	сыйвашь	Not similar
31	Hammer (for breaking stone)	молоток	маска	маска	similar
32	Knife (for cutting meat)	нож	бычак	пъжък	Similar
33	Axe (for cutting wood)	топор	малта	палта	similar
34	Rope	веревка	буу	паг	Not similar
35	thread	нитка	учук	ужук	similar
36	needle	иголка	ийне	ине	similar
37	cloth	ткань	бӱс	Тавар/кеден	Not similar
38	Ring (gold band)	кольцо	јӱстӱк	эгвешь	Not similar
39	Sun	Солнце	Кун	Койешь	Not similar
40	Moon	Луна	ай	ай	similar
41	sky	Небо	тенери	тегри	similar
42	Star	звезда	јылдыс	шыган	Not similar
43	Rain	дождь	јагмыр	нӱанмыр	similar
44	Water	вода	суу	сууг	similar
45	River	река	Суу	сууг	similar
46	Cloud (white)	Облако	Булут	пулут	similar
47	Lightning	молния	јалкын	тъалгын	similar
48	Rainbow	радуга	солонгы	тъедеен	Not similar
49	Wind	ветер	салкын	салгын	similar

	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
50	Stone (fist-sized)	камень	таш	таш	similar
51	Path (walking)	тропинка	жолычак	тьолыжыак	similar
52	Sand	песок	кумак	кувак	similar
53	Fire	огонь	от	от	similar
54	Smoke	дым	ыш	түдүн	Not similar
55	Ash	пепел	құл	пагал	Not similar
56	Mud (wet)	грязь	балкаш	палгаш	similar
57	Dust	пыль	тоозын	тоозын	similar
58	Gold	золото	алтын	алтын	similar
59	Tree	дерево	агаш	агаш	similar
60	Leaf	листок	жалбырак	кавак	Not similar
61	Root	корень	тазыл	тазыл	similar
62	Thorn	щипы	Кадалгак өлбн	Тыдалуг өлбн	Not similar
63	Flower	цветок	чечек	шыкайяк	Not similar
64	Fruit	фрукты	фрукты	фрукты	similar
65	Wheat (husked)	пшеница	буудай	пугдей	similar
66	Rice (husked)	рис	рис	рис	similar
67	Potato	картошка	картоп	картоко	similar
68	Eggplant	баклажан	баклажан	баклажан	similar
69	Groundnut	Земляной орех	жеркузук	тьеркузук	similar
70	Chilli (whole, red, dry)	Перец острый	Мырчык	мыршыак	similar
71	Garlic	чеснок	Чеснок	чеснок	similar
72	Onion	лук	согоно	Лук	Not similar

	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
73	Cauliflower	Белая капуста	Ак капуста	Ак капуста	similar
74	Tomato	помидор	помидор	помидор	similar
75	Cabbage	капуста	капуста	капуста	similar
76	Oil	Растительное масло	кўнкузуктын саржузы	Растительный масло	Not similar
77	Salt	соль	тус	тус	similar
78	Meat (raw)	мясо	эт	эт	similar
79	Fat	жир	жуу	тьяг	Not similar
80	Fish	рыба	Балык	Балык	similar
81	Chicken	Курица	Такаа	кўрўске	Not similar
82	Egg	яйцо	јымыртка	нўмуртка	similar
83	Cow	корова	инек	нек	similar
84	Milk	молоко	сўт	сўт	similar
85	Horns	рога	мўўстер	мўўстер	similar
86	Tail	хвост	куйрук	койрук	similar
87	Goat	коза	эчки	Эшьки	similar
88	Dog	собака	ийт	ийт	similar
89	Snake	змея	јылан	тьылан	similar
90	Monkey	обезьяна	Мечин, кижикийик	кижи-кийик	similar
91	Mosquito	комар	Томонок, бёкөнёк	Товонок	similar
92	Ant	муравей	чымалы	шьывалга	Not technically similar but can see a relationship
93	Spider	паук	јоргёмёш	агжывак	Not similar
94	Name	имя	ат	ат	similar
95	Man	мужчина	эр кижик	эр кижик	similar



	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
96	Woman	женщина	ўй кижн	каат кижн/ тижи кижн	Not similar
97	Child	ребенок	бала	пала	similar
98	Father	отец	ада	ава	Not similar
99	Mother	мать	эне	анэ	similar
100	Older brother	Старший брат	ака	ажа	similar
101	Younger brother	младший брат	карындаш	тыгма	Not similar
102	Older sister	старшая сестра	эје	эже	similar
103	Younger sister	младшая сестра	сыйын	тыгма	Not similar
104	Son	сын	Уул	оол	similar
105	Daughter	дочь	Кыс	Кыс	similar
106	Husband	муж	оббөгөн	апшийак	Not similar
107	Wife	жена	эмегени	куртыйак	Not similar
108	Boy	мальчик	уул	олашь	Not similar
109	Girl	девочка	кызычак	кызыжбак	similar
110	Day	день	кун	күн	similar
111	Night	ночь	түн	түн	similar
112	Morning	утро	эрген тура	эрген	similar
113	Noon	полдень	талтүш	түш	similar
114	Evening/ afternoon	вечер, днем	Энгир, түште	Кешь/ээр, түште	Similar
115	Yesterday	вчера	кече	кежен	Similar
116	Today	сегодня	бүгүн	пийин	similar
117	Tomorrow	завтра	эрген	танда	Not similar
118	week	неделя	неделе	неделе	Similar
119	Month	месяц	ай	ай	Similar

	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
120	year	год	јыл	тыыл	Similar
121	Old (object)	старый	эски	эски	Similar
122	New (object)	новый	јангы	тыаа	Not similar
123	Good	хороший	јакшы	тыакшы	Similar
124	Bad	плохой	јаман	ныемен	Similar
125	Wet	мокрый	Чыкту,ўлўш	Ўйўшь/ўўшь	similar
126	Dry	сухой	кургак	куру	Not technically similar but can see a relationship
127	Long (object)	длинный	узун	узун	Similar
128	Short (object)	короткий	кыска	кысашь	similar
129	Hot (water)	горячий	изў	изў	Similar
130	Cold (water)	холодный	соок	туну	Not similar
131	Right	правый	онг	онг	Similar
132	Left	левый	сол	сол	Similar
133	Near	близкий	јуук	тыагында	Not similar
134	Far	далекий	ыраак	ыракта	similar
135	Big	большой	јаан	ныаан	Similar
136	Small	маленький	кичинек	кишьешь	similar
137	Heavy	тяжелый	уур	ар	similar
138	Light	легкий	јенил	тыегжешь	Not similar
139	Above	Наверху	ўстинде	сыргында	Not similar
140	Below	внизу	алдында	кадында	Not similar
141	White	белый	ак	апашь	Not similar
142	Black	черный	кара	кара	Similar

	English	Russian	S. Altai	Chalkan Kurmach	Similar or not
143	Red	красный	кызыл	кызыл	Similar
144	One	Один	Бир	пир	Similar
145	Two	Два	Эки	Эки	Similar
146	Three	Три	үч	үшь	Similar
147	Four	Четыре	төрт	төрт	Similar
148	Five	Пять	беш	пешь	Similar
149	Six	Шесть	Алты	алты	Similar
150	Seven	Семь	јети	тьети	Similar
151	Eight	Восемь	сегис	Сегис	Similar
152	Nine	Девять	Тогуc	тогуc	Similar
153	Ten	Десять	он	он	Similar
154	Eleven	Одиннад- цать	он бир	онпир	Similar
155	Twelve	Двенад- цать	он эки	онэки	Similar
156	Twenty	Двадцать	јирме	тьерве	Similar
157	One hundred	Сто	јүc	тьүc	Similar
158	Who	Кто	кем	кем	Similar
159	What	Что	не	тьууг	Not similar
160	Where	Где	кайда	кайда	Similar
161	When	Когда	Качан	Кажьан	Similar
162	How many	Сколько	Канча	Канжья	Similar
163	What kind	Какой	Кандый	Кандуг	Similar
164	This (in hand)	Это	Бу	По	similar
165	That (distant)	То	Ол	Ол	Similar
166	These (in hand)	Эти	бу/былар	по/ пылар	similar

	<b>English</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>S. Altai</b>	<b>Chalkan Kurmach</b>	<b>Similar or not</b>
167	Those (distant)	Те	Ол/олор	Ол/ылар	similar
168	Same (like)	Похожий	тўней	андуак	Not similar
169	Different (other)	Другой	ёскё	Ёскё, пашка	Similar
170	Whole (unbroken)	Целый	бўдўн	Туйак	Not similar
171	Broken (pot)	Разбитый	Одык, сы- нык	Оодылкан, сынкан	similar
172	Few	Мало	ас	ас	Similar
173	Many	Много	кёп	кёп	Similar
174	All	все	бастыра	кёдёре	Not similar
175	Here	здесь	мында	мында	similar
176	I (1s)	Я	Мен	Мен	similar
177	You (2s, informal)	Ты	Сен	Сен	similar
178	You (2s, formal)	Вы	Слер	Слер	similar
179	He (3s, masculine)	Он	Ол	Ол	similar
180	She (3s, feminine)	Она	Ол	Ол	similar
181	We (1p, inclusive)	Мы	Бис	Пис	similar
182	We (1p, exclusive)	Мы	Бис	Пис	similar
183	You (2p)	Вы	Слер	Слер	similar
184	They (3p)	Они	Олор	ылар	similar

## Part 2

1	He is eating, eat (imp to 1 person)	Он ест, ешь	Ажанып јат, ажан	Аштъептъит, аштъе	Not technically similar but can see a relationship – both forms.
2	He is biting, bite	Он кусает, кусай	Ол тиштеп јат, тиште	Тиштептъит, тиште	Similar, similar
3	He is hungry, hunger	Он голодает, голодай	Ол аштап јат, ашта	Ол аштаптъит, ---,	Similar, not similar (does not exist)
4	He is drinking, drink	Он пьет, пей	Ичип јат, ич	Ишьтъит, ишь	Similar, similar
5	He is thirsty, thirst	Он жаждет, жаждай	Ол суузап јат, сууза	Сускаптъит, сууг ижере санаптъит	Not similar technically but can see a relationship – both forms.
6	He is sleeping, sleep	Он спит, спи	Ол уйуктап јат, уйукта	Ол уйтаптъит, уйта	Not technically similar but see a relationship – both forms.
7	He is lying down, lie down	Он лежит, лежи	Ол јадып јат, јат	Ол тъаттъит, тъат	Similar, similar
8	He is sitting down, sit down	Он сидит, сиди	Ол отурып јат, отур	Ол ошьоптъит, ошьор	Not similar, not similar
9	He is giving, give	Он дает, дай	Ол берип јат, бер	Ол пеертъит, пер	Similar, similar
10	It is burning, burn (wood)	Он горит, гори	Ол куйуп јат, куй	Ол куйтъит, куй	Similar, similar

11	He is dying, die	Он умирает, умри	Ол өлүп јат, өл	Ол өлтыйт, өл	Similar, similar
12	He is killing, kill	Он убивает, убей	Ол өлтүрип јат, өлтүр	Ол өлтөртыйт, өлтөр	Similar, similar
13	He is flying, fly (bird)	Он летает, лети	Ол учуп јат, уч	Ол ўшьыйт, ўшь	Similar, similar
14	He is walking, walk	Он ходит, ходи	Ол базып јат, бас	Ол тьор- тыйт, тьор	Not similar, not similar
15	He is running, run	Он бегаёт, беги	Ол жүгүрип јат, жүгүр	Ол тевин- тыйт, тевин	Not similar, not similar
16	He is going, go	Он уходит, уходи	Ол барып јат, бар	Ол пар- тыйт, пар	Similar, similar
17	He is coming, come	Он приходит, приходи	Ол келип јат, кел	Ол келтыйт, кел	Similar, similar
18	He is speaking, speak	Он говорит, говори	Ол айдып јат, айт	Ол тьок- тьоптыйт, айт	Not similar, similar
19	He is seeing, see	Он видит, смотри	Ол көрүп јат, көр	Ол көртыйт, көр	Similar, similar

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