

# **3<sup>RD</sup> ENDANGERED AND LESSER KNOWN LANGUAGES SEMINAR**

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## **ABSTRACTS**



**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW  
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INDIAN COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND RESEARCH, NEW DELHI  
&  
CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES, MYSORE**

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## **The Fight for Endangered Languages**

Jana Fortier, PhD, University of California, San Diego

This is a lecture about opposing forces, of indigenous culture and language versus modern introduced cultural morays with their languages spoken by the masses. Whose languages will prevail? Whose will dwindle and die? Only time will tell, but history does provide some clues. In an increasingly connected world, part of the project of globalization involves connecting people from distant places via a major language, or two, or even three. But at what cost? How does this chain of communication createlanguage inequity? The fight for endangered languages is not about establishing frozen dialects, but rather, concerns establishing places where autonomous languages can adapt and flourish. Many of the papers to be presented will also engage with these themes of adaptation and language contact. Roughly half of the paper presentations will focus on the “endangered” aspects of languages, or the social and political contexts of endangered languages. And the other presentations focus on the linguistic side of things, documenting important features of given languages. In this lecture, some of the topics integral to both the political aspects and the linguistic aspects of endangered language studies will be discussed.

### **Parimi community in Gopalpora: A study of linguistic identity**

Aadil Amin Kak  
Shahid Yousuf Gilkar  
Nahida Ali

Identity relates to the attributes, beliefs, etc., that make a particular person or group different from others, and language is one of the main attributes that makes a person or group different. Language can also be said to be a characteristic which has an overwhelming effect in determining what or who we are. This paper will try to explore how language is used to project one’s identity focusing on a community living in a village in Islamabad (Anantnag), Jammu and Kashmir.

The community in question is called the Parimi community. The Parimi population in the area under study numbers around 2000 and is settled at a distance of about 6kms from Islamabad (Anantnag). This community, as opposed to the surrounding communities use a different language known as ‘Parimi’ among themselves instead of Kashmiri.

This paper will attempt at a sociolinguistic overview of this Parimi community residing in the village of Gopalpora, Islamabad (Anantnag), Jammu and Kashmir. The main focus of the paper will be to explore the Parimi community with an aim to understand their linguistic preferences in the multilingual scenario surrounding them. The study will go on to understand their linguistic identity.

## Documenting and Revitalizing A Lesser Known Language: Dirang Monpa

Ankita Karmakar

Government of India has started a project called SPPEL. SPPEL stands for Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages. The title itself defines the whole nature of this project. It aims at documenting the endangered languages which are recognized by Government of India. This project is supervised by Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) which is working on the protection, preservation and documentation of endangered languages. The main objective is to document and revitalize the endangered languages. The languages which are spoken by less than 10,000 speakers are taken for the study.

I am working in this project for the language Dirang Monpa. It belongs to Tibeto - Burman language family. The tribe is called Dirang Monpa tribe. They belong to the Tsangla sub-culture of the greater Monpa culture. Basically they are Tibetan Buddhist. They believe themselves to be the original inhabitants of the Dirang circle of the West Kameng district. The 1981 census recorded the population of the Dirang Monpas as 3599.

I went to west Kameng District on (16 October 2014). Based on my personal experience of the field survey I have chalked out a plan for the revitalization of Dirang Monpa. As mostly they are speaking Hindi and abandoning their native language as can be seen in the following examples.

Data:

Pandit	/lɑmɑ/
Doctor	/mɑnpɑ /
Carpenter	(forgotten)
Rain	/nəm/
Rainy Season	(forgotten)
Shawl	/cɑ:ɖər/ (They said that there is a word , but they can not recall)

As shown in the data the equivalent of words have been given in Monpa language. For some words like ‘nurse’, carpenter, rainy season and shawl, they have forgotten, instead they are telling in Hindi. It refers to relatively slow loss of a language due to language shift away from the local language to a language of wider communication which in this case is Hindi. The speakers are less and children were not taught by their parents to speak their mother tongue. Speakers wish not to be identified with their ethnic group so as to avoid persecution and accordingly, cease speaking their heritage language. In the market, seller and buyer both are enough competent in Hindi to communicate in Dirang area, but if they speak their native language some people could not understand; so they are forced to speak in Hindi outside the house or outside their village. One village is not so far from another one. In spite of this they cannot even understand

each other's language. Because they feel their language has no recognition. Other than their tribe no one speak their language. Speakers in the community are becoming less. Hence the language is gradually dying.

I feel revitalization of the language of Dirang Monpa tribal is essential. A small gathering can be arranged where only MT will be used for communication. Study materials of the basic knowledge of that language can be provided. Aged members of that community can also tell some riddles, lullaby, narration, folk songs of their community to the young ones. So that they can at least listen to their MT. If they find any problem in understanding the stories, a mediator can help. In the area where Dirang Monpa resides, there are no schools for the difficult geographical and climatic condition. So parents had a tendency to send their children to the city schools. As schools are very far from their settlement they migrate from the area which they live to the areas where the schools are. If there will be a schools then they will not shift to other places. In these schools MT can be the medium of education.

Cultural programs can be organized. Children will be asked to recite poems in their MT. Most of these people have a quality of singing. They can be motivated to sing songs in their MT. Debates competitions on interesting topics like... in their language can encourage the children to speak their native language. Some kind of prizes may be given to the winner which can work as a motivation for them to learn their own language. This way the young generation can feel motivated to speak their native language. This can be a small try where people from all generations can sit together and use their language. Using the language can start from one domain, like the public domain. It can at first be introduced only in public gatherings afterwards then slowly it can spread to other domains like home domain. Then the language can function as the language of government, education and commerce.

### **Case markers in Nilgiri languages**

BasavarajaKodagunti

There are several languages used in the Nilgiri forest area which situated in the Southern part of India. Most of the languages and dialects used in this area belong to Dravidian language family. Toda, Kota, Irula etc. are the major languages used in this area. The present paper is an attempt to study the case markers of all three languages. The intention of the paper is to make a comparative study of case markers if all three languages. As well, the paper also makes an attempt to understand the source and historical development of case markers.

The case markers used in all three languages are listed here.

Languages	Irula	Kota	Toda
Case markers			
Locative	-ili, -I, -kke, -akke	-l	-s, -kids
Dative	-kk	-k	-k
Accusative	-e, -ne	-n	-n
Instrumental	-Ale, -I, -ili	-Al, -Ar, -Or	-Al, -id, -Ar, it
Ablative	-ilirund, -irund	-ltr	-sn

The source of the case markers of three languages:

The major observations are,

All three languages have unique marker for dative, accusative and instrumental case relations. The locative has different case markers in all three languages. Ablative case markers are for related to each other.

This comparison makes sense that the locative and ablative case relations have different suffixes and the other case relations have similar or related markers.

The source of the case markers in these languages may be understood as shown below,

	Irula	Kota	Toda
Distal		-l	-s, -kids
Distal	-e, -ne, -Ale	-Al, -Ar, -Or, -n	-Al, -Ar, -n
Intermediate	-ili	--	-id,it
Proximate	-ili, -I,	--	--
?	-l	--	--
Noun	-kke, -akke, -kk	-k	-k
?	--	--	S
Compound case marker	-ilirund, -irund	-ltr	-sn

More number of case markers have been developed from the deictic. Among the three deictic distal is a source for several suffixes. There are markers from a noun *\*-akanin* all three languages.

## A Close look at Sociolinguistic Survey of Nepalese languages

Bhim Lal Gautam

This paper tries to discuss some experiences from the sociolinguistic survey of Nepalese languages. It also reviews the questionnaires developed in the early days (Pilot study, 2008) and its implications in the following years (2009 and after). Most of the sociolinguistic surveys are based on data collection and their analysis in quantitative techniques. The most important striking feature of this survey is the lack of balance between the data collected and unique ethno linguistic investigations found by the researchers. The writer tries to share his own experiences from some sociolinguistic field visits viz. Kaike (2012), Bhojpuri and Awadhi (2013) & Thulung (2014) where he observes the misuse of various sociolinguistic variables and the wrong information because of other socio-cultural and geographical regions.

The observation of Kaike language and people in three different but connected villages i.e. Sahartara, Tupatara and Tarakot villages of Dolpa district is different than the sociolinguistic field visit and data collection of Bhojpuri and Awadhi languages in Central and Western terai region i.e. Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Nawalparasi, Kapilvastu, Banke, Bardiya and Dang districts of Nepal. Moreover the writer experiences the different observations while collecting data and visiting Thulung villages and people in Solukhumbu, Okhaldhunga and Khotang district of Nepal.

In conclusion it can be generalized that the description of endangered languages and their sociolinguistic observations are different than that of dominant and less endangered languages because some factors like socioeconomic condition, cultural norms and values, geographical condition of the speakers and their age and gender differences and many other hidden experiences are problematic to make a clear description of language.

## **Dhimal: A struggle for Existence**

Bornini Lahiri

India is a multilingual country with census conducted by Government of India, to record the number of speakers of different languages. But census, does not mention the languages spoken by less than 10,000 speakers. Often such languages get dominated by the major languages of the region which leads to endangerment of these languages. Dhimal, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in a pocket of Darjeeling district of West Bengal, India is one such language. A variety of Dhimal is also spoken in Nepal. But the variety spoken in India is highly endangered. The language is surrounded by Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali, Rajbanshi and Hindi. The Dhimal community mostly speaks Rajbanshi and Bengali. Rajbanshi is the local language of the area and Bengali is taught in the schools. Only people above the age of sixty can speak fluent Dhimal. However they too have problem in recalling the numbers, names of seasons and various body part terms. The present paper describes the situation of Dhimal speech community and their struggle for existence.

This community comes under the Other Backward Class (OBC) category. But they are struggling to get the status of Scheduled Tribe (ST). For that they are trying to establish themselves as a tribe with distinct characteristics. Though they largely speak Rajbanshi yet they want to show themselves distinct from the Rajbanshis. For that they have formed two groups *Dhimal existence preservation welfare society* and *Dhimal folk-culture preservation group (DhimalLok-SanskritikRokha Dal)*. Politically they want to show the government that they are maintaining their indigenous language and culture. Some politically aware members of the community dominate the other members of the community. They think losing the language will lead them to political as well as identity loss so they want to maintain the language. However, paradoxically these members of the community, who are politically aware, studied in Bengali medium schools and can hardly speak Dhimal. However, a basic grammar of Dhimal was produced by the community written in Bengali script.

They also tried to publish a magazine named Somdin. But they could not continue it as the population of Dhimal is very less. After one month they were forced to stop the magazine from getting published due to financial crisis. They said that in that magazine they used to write poems and stories in Dhimal using Bengali script. They even tried to sell the magazine by keeping it in the shops so that people can take and read. But the literacy rate is very less in Dhimal community. Dhimal people are also poor so they did not take interest in the magazine. Illiteracy and poverty is forcing them to quit their language.

Dhimal speakers have no motivation for speaking Dhimal. The language is neither taught in the schools nor does anyone outside their community understand the language so they are forced to learn and speak Bengali or Rajbanshi. Effect of media on the community is such that they are forced to learn Hindi. Though now the literate members of the group feel that they should not abandon their language yet it has been quite late as they themselves do not know the language. But still they are trying to save their language through various activities. They are struggling for their existence though they have very restricted means.

**Language shift, question of Identity and language endangerment: a case of Magahi**

Chadnan Kumar

Colonization is the establishment of imposing the practices which are foreign to the colonized territories. It is achieved through making other feel unsafe/underdeveloped about their existing values and practices and identities. Nowadays, colonization is being created in the minds, as assumed by colonizer, of powerless and linguistically disenfranchised minority by forcing them to leave their language and identity and adapt the one which is more prestigious and powerful than theirs. The covert feeling (Labov, 1966) is largely responsible for the most language change, shift or dialect leveling; it can be seen as the case of covert identity too. Various socio-economic, political and psychological factors work behind deciding that certain language is prestigious and more useful than another. In the case of shift from Magahi to Hindi these all factors are supposedly working continuously in young minds, which have almost not been in favor of using Magahi language, spoken in 8 districts of Bihar by 18 million people (Atreya, Singh and Kumar, 2014). The Magahi speaking people pretend to be convinced of replacing the local features of language and the use of domain with more prestigious and powerful language, Hindi, particularly in Patna in this process of language shift or dialect levelling (Chamber and Trudgill, 1984), (Trudgill, 1986).

The paper along with looking the exact reasons behind language shift, it also tries to see the role of linguistic identity as crucial factors, playing the central role in the replacement of language. The very idea behind the formation of identity and its dislocation (Laclau, 1990) raises the question of identity formation and identity deconstruction due to many unnoticed social-politico-economic reasons or the components of identity composition itself (Hall, 1996:597). The construction of self and others is always multidimensional, multistructural and multicultural, in the case of linguistic identity and the association of self with native language or the culture remains suspectable because of the above mentioned reasons, which raises the possibility of movability of identity which further raises the question of nationality and the representation of self. The association of self with the language of birth balances on certain facts and components, and that brings the strong feeling of nationalism or regionalism. But, the tendency or the psychology behind always attaining the higher status not only in economy, but in each and every domain leads the possibility of identity dislocation both in terms of linguistic and cultural identity. The very idea, through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable, and problematic.

There are two larger issues to be addressed, first, the question of language shiftiness or dialect leveling and language endangerment, second, question of language endangerment and linguistic identity. India being the home of multilinguality (Annamalai, 1990) which do not oppose the possibility of the existence of two or more than two languages, because of its survival tendencies and i.e. the division of domains of languages, however, this is not strictly guided, and there are possibility of using the language of official domain in others informal domains, There are evidences that two language remains healthy in diglossic situation (Ferguson, 1959) (here, in case of Hindi and Magahi), may be because they are mutually intelligible or because they share almost similar language features (largely lexical items), but here, in the case of Magahi speech community, I think and believe that there are these very tenets which actually responsible for the language shiftiness of dialect leveling or ultimately language endangerment.

### **Is Thadou an Endangered Language?**

D. MarykimHaokip



The UNESCO Declaration on endangered languages 2009 lists 196 Indian languages (and dialects as endangered. Out of the 196 Indian languages (and dialects) 89 languages (and dialects) are located in the northeastern region. Thadou (ISO 639-3: TCZ) is also listed as one of the endangered languages. Thadou, belonging to the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-Burman language family is a tribal language of the North east, spoken mainly in Manipur, Assam and Nagaland with a total of 200,000 speakers. Is Thadou an endangered language? Does the language face threat of extinction in the next few decades? The answer is not a simple yes or no.

The present paper addresses this issue with some illustrational analysis. The paper also highlights some preventive measures that can be taken for the Thadou language to protect and be able to overcome the danger of losing domains in a multilingual setting and also preserve it in the present fast growing globalization

## **Gaps and challenges in language documentation**

(A case of lexical documentation of Manbhumi)

Dishari Chattaraj

Chandan Kumar

The trend of documentation and description is now well established and known, linguists have been extending their scholarship in meeting the different kinds of problems and challenges in the field and in theory (Corbett 2000, Combrie 1989, Payne 1988, Abbi 2001, Croft 2003, Shopen 2007 et al). The paper goes beyond the general restrictive approach of documenting the grammatical aspects of language (morphology and syntax per se) and endeavors to depict the importance of documenting the unnoticed sub-fields of linguistics. In this regard the paper is divided into two parts, on its very first part, from the descriptive point of view it will bring to notice what has not been given significance in the course of documentation e.g. the folklores, mythical stories, and socio-linguistic information, which is the central in archiving knowledge system of a community (Masica 1976, Labov 1972, Gumperz 1971). Practically, we describe the grammar and lexicon of the language but fail to archive any socio-logical or anthropological information. We can find many reasons for this, e.g. documentation is considered a non-serious business in linguistics (Austin and Sallabank, 2011), socio-linguistics, which has a huge potential to grow in situation like India (Masica, 1976), has dimmed its existence. There are several reasons for this.

Second part of the paper will discuss the process and use of e-dictionary and the challenges involved in its composition. The usefulness of a multilingual e-dictionary in the field of language documentation is undeniable. The paper presents a multilingual dictionary of a language which has an enormously powerful history; it is the tongue of a region which is a reserve of folklore and culture. Considered a dialect of Standard Bangla, it is known as Manbhumi Bangla (Indo Aryan). Spoken in the Purulia district of West Bengal (adjacent to Bihar), it is influenced by two languages i.e. Magahi and Santali (Sinha, 1985). After

giving a very brief history of the language and assessing the vitality of the language and its state of endangerment on the UNESCO scale, it shows how the making of a multilingual dictionary can help in preserving a pool of valuable 'data' which, evidently will be engulfed sooner by the Standard Bangla.

The multilingual e-dictionary consists of entries of flora, fauna, agriculture, verbs, adjectives derived from flora/fauna etc in IPA, English and Bangla. It gives information about the etymological orientation of the word, followed by its description, part of speech, scientific name, definition and representative sentences both in English and in Bangla. It does not restrict itself to the conventional information but goes on to give encyclopedic information along with visual and auditory illustrations. This dictionary is not limited to that only, it also becomes the source of great linguistic knowledge in terms of knowing the morphology of the language, the word-formation process, plural marking system, the tense or some other inflectional categories. This paper however in brief will also discuss the challenges and shortcomings in this kind of dictionary.

Example of a Dictionary Entry:

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\lx dʒʰidʒʰipɔkɑʰ
\mr dʒʰidʒʰi-pɔkɑ
\so dishari/dipak/5.11.13/jnu/jhijhi/pg3
\ps noun
\ge cricket
\gn ঝিঁঝিপোকা
\sc Gryllidae
\de Small black/brown/green insects with wings and huge antena which male chirping sound
\xv dʒʰidʒʰipɔkɑ dʒʰope tʰake
\xe Crickets live in bushes
\xn ঝিঁঝিপোকা ঝোপে থাকে
\sف sounds\jhijhi.wav
\pc pictures\cricket.jpg
\sd insects
\ee They make constant chirping sound after the sunset. This sound is generally heard in desolate place.
\dt 29/Nov/2013
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## **Power , Language contact and Language endangerment : A case study of Kashmiri Pahari**

Farooq Ahmad Sheikh  
Shaila Bashir

The Pahari of Jammu and Kashmir resembles more to Punjabi than any other language group. It is considered as a dialect of Punjabi or other dominating languages of region. Pahari is the second largest

language of Kashmir province after Kashmiri and the second largest language of Jammu province after Dogri and Pahari.

The present paper studies Kashmiri Pahari spoken in Baramullah District of Jammu and Kashmir. The focus of the study is the contact of Kashmiri Pahari with other dominant languages such as Kashmiri, Urdu and English and its chances of endangerment. All these languages in contact enjoy higher power and prestige than Kashmiri Pahari. In the present study the researchers explore the chances of endangerment of a language in such situations in general and Kashmiri Pahari in particular.

## **Language Endangerment and Vitality: A Sociolinguistic Study of Chinali Language**

Farooq Ahmad Mir

Owing to the essentialities of language diversity, the language endangerment is of great concern to which linguists and language planners are responding keenly with different methods for language maintenance, preservation and prevention. With the due course of time many languages fall out of use due to various reasons such as the death of native speakers or their shift towards some other language and hence such languages extinct and die. However, if a language is at risk of falling out of use due to any reasons then it is termed an endangered language. In India alone at least 197 languages are surviving at various levels of endangerment. Chinali is one such language, predominantly spoken as mother tongue by not more than 900 speakers in Himachal Pradesh, which is surviving a moribund stage of endangerment which implies its transmission to younger generations has completely stopped. This paper will focus on various causes and reasons of its endangerment and will discuss some measures and methods of language vitality by which this language will be preserved and protected.

## **Language Identity and Patterns of Language use in the Sikh community in Srinagar city**

Sumaya Jehangir  
Neelofar Wani  
Ambreen Farooq  
Mansoor Khan

Language is one of the important cultural tools with which people identify themselves and are identified by others. At present majority of the population of the world is multilingual not by choice but because of necessity and the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not an exception to this phenomenon. The state has a number of communities like Pashtuns, Botraji, Gujjars, Bakarwals, Sikhs, etc. The Sikh community, the community under study, uses a variety of Pahari as their mother tongue. Apart from this they also appear to use Kashmiri (the predominant language), Urdu (the official language), and English (the language of education). All these languages depict different levels of power and prestige in the society of Kashmir. It

will be interesting to explore to which language/languages they identify themselves with in this multilingual setting.

The present paper will study patterns of language use across different domains like home, peer groups, offices, and village community etc. From the observations of language use across several domains, conclusions will be drawn about the language with which the Sikh community in Srinagar identifies itself.

## **Community Attitude, Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization: A Case study of Gahri**

Parman Singh

Language endangerment is a process which goes through the language attrition and language shift. Languages are both threatened by external and internal factors. Lack of official recognition can undermine a language making less attractive and less prestigious for its speakers to pass on to the next generation but even an officially recognized language can also be endangered if it will not get a strong community support. There are many cases where speakers of minority languages are voluntarily abandoning their languages in favors of others dominant/national/international languages which brings prestige, employment, modernism, scientific advancement etc. whereas these things seems unattainable by only confining to their mother tongue which is barely spoken by few hundred or thousands of people. There can be several reasons for language shift but the most important micro level variable is the community members' attitude towards the language. Attitudes towards one's language interact with government's policy and societal pressures which often results in increased or decreased levels of language use in different domains.

This research presents a case study where difference in language attitudes chalks out different trajectories for minority language. The research presented here focuses on importance of language attitude in a bottom up approach towards language retention and revitalization. The case study reported here is based on a pilot survey for linguistic identity and language attitude from Gahr valley of Lahaul & Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh. The survey aims at finding the language attitude of the Gahri speakers based on the following parameters: (a) Language Learnability (b) Intergenerational Transmission (c) Accessibility to language resources and (d) Social Mobility.

For revitalizing Gahri there will be some major tasks which are as follows:

- a. To arouse ethnic feeling among speakers
- b. To establish a linguistic/cultural society
- c. To teach the language to those who do not know it;
- d. Promote the language use ; and
- e. Broadening the domains of language use

Through the pilot survey we observed the Gahri's community attitude towards their language is not very positive. In a democratic country like India where every communities have got the linguistic and cultural

rights by constitution of maintaining and promoting their languages and cultures and to run the academic and cultural institutions, the Gahri community do not have even a single registered linguistic or cultural institution but they have some political leaders and few bureaucrats from their community which shows their indifference. Gahri speakers predominantly saw the language as an hindrance to their socio-economic mobility. They do not find any prestige related with their language therefore they are not making any conscious effort in rejuvenating their linguistic and cultural identity and consequently shifting towards the languages of wider communication. The prestige issue, hindrance to socio-economic mobility, lack of educational and cultural institutions and promotion of Bhoti are some of the dimension for this attitudinal indifference. The paper argued that the voice for protection, preservation and revitalization of Gahri must come from the community itself because strong community support is required to ensure the survival of Gahri but this does not mean that help from the outside of the community should be dismissed or ignored.

## **Thangmi Surnames**

Pratigya Regmi

This paper is a preliminary attempt to present the system of Thangmi surnames, a Tibeto-Burman language community of Nepal. The paper is mainly based on Ethnolinguistic research conducted among the Thangmi language community of the Daduwa VDC in the Ramechhap district in the fall of March to April, 2014. Surname trend is very interesting phenomena in the Thangmi language community. There are each seven different surnames for the male and female with different sub-surnames and *Gotras*. All surnames exist with their particular meaning which provide unique identity to the Thangmi people. The most important and interesting thing is that the surname of the Thangmi women is not changed because of marriage. The family name of the mother is transmitted to her daughter and the family name of the father is transmitted to his son. It is very important to manage the surname and *Gotras* for marriage practices because all surnames and *Gotras* are not acceptable in the same manner. There exist other sub-surnames for the both male and female but still they are not recognized as the sub-categories of which major surname. It seems quite different from other Tibeto-Burman language communities of Nepal.

## **Language in the context of plain - An Ethno linguistic study in Baatla Khan Community**

Rahila safdar  
Sanna Usman

The field of Ethno linguistics studies the relationship between language and culture, and the way different ethnic groups perceive the world. It is the combination between ethnology and linguistics. Ethno linguists study the way perception and conceptualization influences language, and show how this is linked to different cultures and societies.

The present study deals with language in context of the pain in **Baatla Khan Community** who are the speakers of the language called Parmi .This minority community is situated in area of Limbar (Uri- a few kilometers away from Indo-Pak border).

Pain is a ubiquitous feature of the human experience, Pain can be acute or periodic, and pain can be constant and uninterrupted. Acute pain, lasting for minutes or hours, is reported at some time by virtually all adults and by most juveniles and is indicated by the cries and facial expressions of toddlers and infants. This universality of pain as a part of the human condition has been established by the research of many biological, physical, and social scientists. Pain transcends all cultural boundaries, with no preference as to who will be afflicted. How an individual expresses pain is influenced by each individual's past experiences, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and in particular their cultural underpinnings (Fenwick, 1998). The cultural differences in the way individuals express their pain varies considerably from person to person as in this world there are thousands of languages spoken which belong to the thousands cultures indeed, so each and every culture or one can say each and every person has his her own way of expressing Pain. This paper will be analyzing the various expressions used to communicate pain in Parmi language.

## **Role of Sociolinguistic Factors on Determining Level of Attrition and Maintenance of Endangered/Minority Languages**

Rajeev Saxena  
Alemmenla Walling

Notion of endangered/minority language is a contested notion. Various contesting formulations of the notion have rendered it an open ended area of enquiry. In 2011 census 18 north-eastern languages are categorized as endangered languages. This paper argues/supports the claim that designating a language as an endangered language has less to do with statistically driven conclusions. Statistically driven parameter to designate a language as an endangered/ minority language constitutes a partial and misleading understanding of the notion. A different understanding of the notion of endangered/minority language emerges while assessing a language in its holistic sociolinguistic contexts.

Research on endangered languages indicates that the social prestige and status are vital to the process of attrition and its maintenance depends on economic and cultural factors. It further reflects the power relation among the communities of the speakers involved. By power means cultural, political, and social benefits a language offers. For example Sanskrit does not offer any commercial benefit but it upholds Hinduism without any native speaker likewise English offers both commercial and social advantages and cannot be labeled a minority language. To understand the power relation, it is important to investigate the functional aspects of language and its use in various domain and registers.

In this paper a study of Yimchungre and Sangtam languages belonging Tibeto-Burman language family spoken in the Tuensang district of Nagaland is undertaken. The focus of study is to examine the level of attrition and the specific characteristics of attrition from a sociolinguistic perspective. To find out the level of attrition rate use of afore mentioned languages by their speakers in its socio-political, economical, cultural and religious contexts will be evaluated through a questionnaire technique.

## **Verb Agreement in Raji of Nepal**

Ramesh Khatri

Pronominalization or verb agreement is a common morpho-syntactic phenomenon in Himalayan branch of Tibeto-Burman languages. The Raji data exhibits that the agreement system is largely based on person hierarchy, with first and second person taking precedence over third person. Furthermore, the language shows that the agreement for person and number are partly independent since number of the patient is marked on the verb independently on the person. In addition, the Raji language displays an agreement system which has been thought to be rare across languages.

## **Death of Weight & Measurement Items in Modern Maithili**

Riya Bhadra

Md. Asad

Maithili is one of the 8<sup>th</sup> schedule languages of India and is an eastern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) language. It is spoken mostly in the eastern and northern part of the Bihar state in India and also widely spoken in the southern & eastern regions of the Tarai districts of Nepal. According to Indian Census report (2001), Maithili is broadly spoken by around 12 million speakers but Ethnologue report (2013) suggests that it is widely spoken by around 30 million speakers in Bihar in India. According to Nepal Census Report (2011), Maithili is officially the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest spoken language of Nepal and spoken by around 12% of the total

population of Nepal. According to Ethnologue report (2001), Maithili is spoken widely by 2.8 million speakers in Nepal.

The present paper mainly deals with the endangered unique measurement lexical items and the loss of words in Maithili, although Maithili is widely spoken and survived in Bihar. The present study is an attempt to show how unique measurement items in Maithili are getting lost and standing at the gate of extinct. Old age people only speak and used these lexical items, but not new generations. Due to the influence of Hindi and English, these lexical items are no longer used by new generation.

The more than hundreds words are collected from the native speakers of Maithili, aged between 30 to 50 years through interview in a formal sitting in the field. These words have been cross checked as well. These words also have been asked to the new generation aged below 30 years.

**Examples:**

<b>S.No</b>	<b>Names</b>	<b>References</b>	<b>Category</b>
1	/ser/	1 kg	Uncountable items
2	/jora/	a pair of something	Countable items
3	/genḍa/	set of 4 items	Countable items
4	/pæseri /	5 kg	Uncountable items
5	/sori/	set of 8 items	Countable items
6	/dərjən/	set of 12 items	Countable items
7	/mən/	40 kg	Uncountable items

**Names of weight and measurement items in Maithili**

A list of lexical items is given above on the brink of extinction. These lexical items are no more used by the new generation.



## **Language, Hyperreal and Nation state: A special focus on Lodha Community**

Rimi Ghosh Dastidar  
Sibansu Mukhopadhyay

If we take a quick look in the Indian history from the colonial period, we see that the Language has been the best option to be maintained as a totality with a flagged identity for the Indian communities. Language based (nation-) states are the regular evidence of this fact. The prior Indian states, which as a member of Indian nation take part in the central politics are made on the basis of the linguistic homogeneity. Even the subaltern groups, accepting and not accepting the state as a 'lead', both use language as identity to introduce themselves in the national politics. Though there is no universal theory of linguistic identity, language is prioritized as a prestigious and supreme factor in case of self identification in India, even for the 'other' who are not accepting the state as a lead. Irony lies in the fact that language itself has no authority over its speakers but it is used as a tool by which state rules.

We have three spaces to observe this state-language-other nexus, i.e., 'real' where newspapers report, 'subjective' where researchers involve and 'hyperreal' where communities that accept state and negotiate the situation bound condition provided by the state. This time we focus on hyperreal on one hand and non-utilitarian question of language on the other, exploited by the 'accepting' communities of the state as diplomatic strategies to wield power.

To proceed in this study we have to presuppose some practical departure made in the previous studies, for example 'inner domain' proposed by Chatterjee (1993). According to Chatterjee inner domain defines sovereign territory and refuses to allow the colonial power to intervene in that domain ...' keeping this idea in mind we proposed an idea on 'linguistic inner domain' which still exist in India as a primitive space of identity (Ghosh Dastidar and Mukhopadhyay 2014). Now the fact is that each community is fronted by a mediator, a member of the negotiating intelligentsia, to represent voice of their existence but the mediator defines the community through his own politicized approach. Therefore, whenever we try to examine a situation of worse in the real, we have to face a hyperreal in which the mediators develops inner domain into a solidified self.

In this conversation we will look on Narayangarh, a community development block in Kharagpur subdivision of West Midnapore, to focus on Lodha community. We talk about them who are considered as a well known scheduled tribe by the census and maintaining their 'self' in the synthesis of state power. We will typically restrict our survey on a Lodha community and also try to find how 'they' are defined by the state. Our primary task will be to see how language interferes in the sphere of hyperreal.

## Deictic categories in Galo

Ritesh Kumar

Galo is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by around 30-40000 people of Galo tribe almost throughout the West Siang district of central Arunachal Pradesh. It has two major varieties—

- Pugo, spoken around the district capital Along, and
- Lare, spoken to the south of Along.

Besides these there are several other varieties, which often correspond to regional or clan groupings. For example Karka is one such variety, which may also be a different language altogether and not just a variant of Galo. Galos are socio-economically dominant in their area. And so the language is also considered quite respectable. It has been passed over to the next generation and almost all the Galo children learn Galo as their mother tongue. However, most of them are multilingual and are proficient in other languages, chiefly their variety of Hindi, English and some other neighbouring languages. Education is mainly in Hindi.

Like most central and eastern Tani languages, Galo is largely synthetic and agglutinating. In some older variety of Galo, there were two chief tones—high and low. Even now it lingers in the speech of older people and the people living in the villages. However the new city dwelling generation has lost these tones. The major lexical classes in Galo are noun, verb and adjective. Galo exhibits a very strong finite/non-finite asymmetry. There are also many instances of clause chaining and nominalization. There does not seem to be any instance of verb serialization. But there is a very rich and productive system of derivational suffixation. Other chief grammatical features of the language include postpositions, relator nouns, a very rich numeral classifier system, an extremely large system of aspectual suffixes, and a rich set of constituent-final particles having functions like showing evidentiality, discourse/pragmatic status, modality, and other related functions. Case-marking is basically accusative. There is also a very large system of deictic elements.

In my talk, I shall present a detailed discussion of 4 major deictic categories in Galo – spatial, temporal, personal and social deixis. Deictic categories in the Tibeto-Burman languages present a very interesting picture in terms of the variety as well as the extent of distinct categories used in these languages. For example, Galo has three different lexical items for mountain - moḍi (meaning simply ‘mountain’); bi:ṭə (meaning ‘huge mountain’); and bi:me (meaning ‘small mountain’). Besides this, there are 6 different lexical items to represent different spatial location of mountain as seen from different spatial location with respect to the mountain. The deictic categories are also marked on the verbal items to represent different kinds of location. Similarly in case of temporal deixis also, Galo exhibits a very varied picture. For example, it has distinct lexical items for up to 5 days ahead of today and 3 days before today. 24 hours of the day are divided into 11 distinct (but not equal) parts. I shall give a detailed description of these and other deictic elements in Galo.

## **Language Maintenance and Shift: A study of patterns of language use among Siraji speech community of Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir.**

Sabba Mushtaq  
Javaid Aziz Bhat

Siraji has been classified as a dialect of Kashmiri (Grierson 1919) spoken in Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir. The word 'Siraj' means 'The kingdom of Shiva' and hence any 'wild mountainous country' and the speech variety became Siraji. It can be said that Siraji's are a minority community in Kashmir and have considerable differences from the mainstream society. In spite of being surrounded by Kashmiris, Siraji's are somehow successful in maintaining their identity in terms of language and the influence of mainstream society is negligible. After the early sketches published in Bailey (1908), and Grierson (1919), it has received very little attention from linguists.

The objective of this paper is to study the patterns of language use with special reference to Siraji

1. Across different domains
2. Across interlocutors in different domains
3. Across formal and informal contexts

The study is based on the analysis of the speech of 76 respondents of the Siraji community. All of them are the native speakers of Siraji. The questionnaire acted as a tool for eliciting the sociolinguistic data from the Siraji speech community.

## **Linguistic Human Rights in Jharkhand**

Sabiha Hashami

On 9th of August international day for indigenous people was celebrated worldwide. The theme for this year is "implementing rights for indigenous people". The paper will present a case study on Jharkhand-a state in India with large Tribal population. Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar due to the demands for a separate tribal homeland where the identity of the tribes who inhabit the land is secure; the natural resources like land, forests and minerals which they have been using since time immemorial are not taken away from them, but after the state was formed in the year 2000, Hindi was made the state official language of Jharkhand, though four other languages were added to the list of co-state official languages, only one of them- Santhali is a tribal language. Jharkhand is surrounded by dominant languages like Hindi, Bangla and Oriya and the figures for bi and multilingualism in Jharkhand is higher than national average. The figure for tribal bilingualism is higher than non tribal. Till date tribal languages are not used in state notifications. They are not medium of education even at primary level (in practice), they are not languages of broadcast, none of the welfare schemes are circulated in these languages, they are not used in public places, railways, airports, hospitals, banks, and courts etc. This has led to a systemic exclusion of indigenous people

from participation in state functioning and getting full benefit of the welfare measures. The paper will in detail discuss about the human development index in Jharkhand, with regard to accessibility to education, jobs, security and life chances available to tribal population in comparison to non-tribal population to show how linguistic and cultural exclusion has resulted in marginalization of tribal population.

The paper further deals with the issues of multilingualism, tribal and mainstream identity, exclusion and inclusion, displacement and migration and the impact these have on the mother tongue retention and use of mother tongue as well as other languages in the tribal population of Jharkhand.

### **Sociolinguistic Profile of Milky**

Saif Ahmed

Mahboob Zahid

The present paper intends to make a contribution in the study of lesser known languages by presenting sociolinguistic profile of Milky. Milky is one of the lesser or we can say unknown language of Bihar. The milky speech community consists of not more than fifteen villages of Siwan District in Bihar. It is mainly spoken by the Sheikh community of Siwan district who generally considered themselves as the immigrants of Baghdad and Medina and refer themselves as milky sheikh. Although this language is surrounded by Urdu, Hindi and Bhojpuri and has no official or unofficial status, it plays a role in developing the sense of solidarity among the speakers of the speech community. Since sociolinguistic profiles vary in scope and depth, therefore, more specific purpose of the present paper is to illustrate the name of the language and its genetic affiliation, its demographic situation, its multilingual and bilingual situation, domain of language use, challenge of survival and attitude of the speakers towards the language.

### **Kishtwari : A Phonological Description**

Sameer Ahmad Kuchay

Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh

The state of Jammu and Kashmir has a rich linguistic diversity with languages like Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi, Punjabi, Balti, Shina, etc., contributing to the linguistic composition of the state. Kashmiri language is primarily spoken in the valley of Kashmir and the neighbouring areas like Kishtwar, Doda, Ramban, etc. The language exhibits regional as well as social variation. Kistwari and Poguli are the two main dialects spoken outside the valley of Kashmir. Kishtwari is spoken in the valley of Kishtwar lying to the southeast of the valley of Kashmir on upper Chinab. It is bordered on the south by Baderwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi and on the east by Tibetan speaking region of Zaskar (Koul, 2005:2). Kishtwari is one of the important regional dialects of Kashmiri. According to Grierson (1919:233), it is the only true dialect of Kashmiri, which shares some features of standard Kashmiri but retains archaic features which have disappeared from the latter.

Although linguistic study of Kashmiri began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no linguistically oriented investigation has been undertaken to study its dialects, particularly Kishtwari. Although Grierson regards it as the only true dialect of Kashmiri, the dialect is still unexplored vis-a-vis modern descriptive framework. The dialect shows significant variations from standard Kashmiri in phonology, morphology and lexicon but linguistic research on these aspects of the dialect is inadequate and fragmentary. In this backdrop the present paper aims to provide a description of Kishtwari phonology, wherein a detailed account of Kishtwari sounds and Supra segmental features will be given.

## **Birhor Language: A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Endangerment**

Sangita Sarkar

Each language contains inherited knowledge i.e. traditional knowledge, history of a community, cultural elements etc. But melodies of some languages are becoming vanishing voices these days. Tribal language speakers of India like Birhor are shifting to other languages as the domain of using the language is restricted. These situations lead this language to language endangerment. Birhor is count as an endangered language. But what is the exact situation of Birhor language? Whether it is critically endangered or vulnerable? Where and how speakers of this language use it? And how could we preserve/reinforce this language?

## **Person-Number-Gender Agreement (PNG) in Birjia**

Sayantani Banerjee  
Poushali Mitra

The Birjia (Birjiya or Binjhiya), is an endangered language of India. The Birjia Tribe is one of primitive inland tribe of India (Census 2001) who resides primarily in Lohardaga, Gumla, Ranchi and Palamau districts of Jharkhand. They have also migrated to other different states of the country for economic purposes. Anderson (2008:195), suggests that Birjia (Binjhiya) may in fact be an Indo-Aryan language. This paper describes the unique system of agreement patterns of Gender, Number and Person of the language which shows similarity to no other Indo-Aryan language. The presence of dual number, First-person inclusivity and dual animacy and their parallel alignment will be explored in the paper.

The field data is collected from Bishunpur Block of Gumla district in Jharkhand from two male informants (native Birjia speakers). The work is funded by Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) under project SPPEL.

## **Linguistic Minority, Negotiating Selves and Otherness in Diaspora**

Sibansu Mukhopadhyay  
Rimi Ghosh Dastidar

This paper deals with the method of managing identity in a diasporic condition. Identity is a specific abstract idea that has something to do with the predicament of a contradiction between selfness and otherness. We will trace the strategic formation of diaspora with a special reference to linguistic minority issue and linguistic right.

There are two different ways to bear with the question of linguistic human right (LHR). One, where speakers must have their say and two, irrespective of social class, caste, religion and national identity one has to have the freedom to speak in his/her own language, i.e., the vernacular defined as mother tongue by the governing state as per the constitution. LHR as a part of the enterprising issue of human right is basically an endeavor where a complex negotiation happens between selves. Other always works as the subjected factor of that negotiation but not as a subject. Negotiation is not a universal strategy but very surprisingly established as a universal relation in diaspora.

Our bottom line is that the other denotes differences but hegemonic selves with their negotiating strategy form and maintain diaspora. We in this occasion try to draw the map of a given negotiation and the subjected individuals termed as a homogeneous community and defined as a totality. In this case we have for example the reference of Lodha tribal kaums in India.

## **Documenting Oral Literature of Gutob-Gadaba to Revitalising the language**

Srikanthkumar

Endangerment of any language is a natural phenomenon. But to preserve the languages which are in danger situation means going to die, should be documented as immediately as possible. As India is a multicultural and multilingual country. The endangered languages in India are mostly languages of the Scheduled tribes/unrecognized languages. The languages which are lesser known are in endangered situation due to the dominant languages or negative attitude (inferiority complex) towards their mother tongue. There are many factors which causes

language becoming endangered. Language shift is one of the major factor. It is a social phenomenon. There are many possibilities which leads to language shift. The negative attitude of the community towards their language, lack of written form (script), migration of the community from one place to another, dominant language influence and there are many historical, cultural, social, economic, and psychological factors which are leading to language shift. Hence It will be an unavoidable unless the community takes an initiative to prevent it.

This study is mainly based on the pilot survey on Gutob-Gadaba located in Kangrapada and Tikrapada of Lamtaput Block. It is also majorly spoken by nearly 40 villages of the Lamtaput block of Koraput district of Odisha. Survey is a part of the Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages. In this survey we have recorded some oral literature of the community and collected some basic words.

Revitalizing the language through the oral literature of the community:

- a. Put a committee or a cultural organization where everyperson of the community meet each other and share their oral literature i.e. folk songs, stories, riddles, proverbs etc in their mother tongue. And which could be recorded by on the spot.
- b. Bringing awareness of their ethnic language. Encourage the native speakers to talk in their language only.
- c. Use eletronic media to preserve the oral literature like songs, stories, riddles, proverbs, etc. of the community.
- d. Oral literature could be transcribed and analysed.
- e. Adopt the local script that is the regional language Desiya/ Odiya script to have a written literature to preserve it.
- f. Committee should take initiate to produce the books in that regional language.
- g. Government should give an oppurtunity to develop their language. If not the community should demand for it because every community has right to protect their language.

This paper discusses the Oral literature of Gutob-Gadaba. By preserving the oral literature of the language we could revitalize the language. Oral literature is more essential for revitalizing the language. And also concentrated on how could we preserve, protect and revitalize the language through oral literature. It is very important to preserve the oral literature of the language. Because losing of which could be a grate loss to the community and also to the society.

## Analyzing TOTO a critically endangered language of West Bengal

Subhanan Mandal  
Bidisha Hore

*“Globalization has helped to make the world a smaller place. But it has also contributed to loss of many languages across the world. Every two weeks another language disappears forever. Once a language is lost, humanity loses a part of our rich heritage. Helping to preserve endangered languages is important to keep traditions alive.”*

-Robert Alan Silverstein.

In India language endangerment is a serious matter of concern to which linguists and language planners have turned their attention to in the last few decades. An Endangered Language is a language that is at a risk of falling out of use, generally because it has few surviving speakers. UNESCO distinguishes four levels of endangerment- ***Vulnerable, Definitely Endangered, Severely Endangered & Critically Endangered***. To this vulnerable issue, Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) has come up with the initiative of preserving the endangered languages. Having already lost nine languages since 1950s- ***Ahom, Aimol, Andro, Chairel, Kolhreg, Rangkas, Sengmai, Tarao & Tolcha***, CIIL, an initiative of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India has taken up the mega project to document the Endangered Languages in the country, each spoken by less than 10,000 people.

This paper will concentrate on the ***present social scenario*** and ***linguistic analysis*** of Toto, a ***Sino-Tibetan*** language spoken in **Totopara area of Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal**. It has been recognised by UNESCO as one of the 35 ***critically endangered languages*** found in India. Totopara is situated near the edge of the Torsa river belt, on the border with Bhutan and along the foothills of the Himalayan range. Against the ever growing economic pull and their social backwardness, Totopara is fighting a hard battle to keep their language, culture & heritage alive.

The Totos speak their own language, a tongue that shares no linguistic association with those spoken around — Nepali, Bengali, Hindi or Bhutanese. They are in constant fear of their language being consumed by the current education system that pushes them to learn Bengali & an economy that leans them towards the use of Hindi or English.

With no script for the language, the threat is ever increasing. The preservation of the language in the long run is becoming increasingly difficult. **Dhaniram Toto**, one of the members of the community, has written two books in Toto language over the past two years with the help of the **Bengali script**. His book, ***Lokeswar***, is about the folk culture of Totos and his other book ***Uttar Banga Lokpath*** is about folk tales of the community.

Regarding the phonological characteristics of the language some critical observations have been noticed which will be descriptively analysed in the main part of the paper. A general overview would be the fact that the language has 17 consonant sounds (**m, n, ŋ, p, b, t, d, k, g, s, tʃ, dʒ, j, w, r, l, ʔ**) & 6 vowel sounds (**/i/, /e/, /æ/, /a/, /u/, /o/**).

In Toto some vowels are spoken with more breath and more relaxed. These vowels are different from the ones that are spoken with less breath and more tension. Also in Toto some words are spoken with a rising tone, others have a falling tone. Other words have a neutral or flat tone. For these words the pitch of the voice doesn't need to go up or down.



The speakers of Toto still seek and try hard to preserve their language by communicating the same to the next generation inspite of educational and economic obstacles. Bhavesh Toto, another member of the community strongly believes in his roots and says ***“Here we speak our language, here we are Toto people still.”***

## **Expression of socio-cultural rituals in Gojri: An Ethnolinguistic study**

Syed Iram Bashir  
Humaira Khan

Ethno linguistics is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry which derives its methods from anthropology or its sub division ethnology and linguistics. It is an integrated approach to the problems of social science and linguistics. The main aim of this field is to understand how language helps us to unravel the underlying patterns and structures of cultural characteristics such as mythology, gender, social roles, symbols, rituals etc. especially with regards to their historical development, similarities, and dissimilarities.

The present study deals with the ethno linguistic aspects of the language spoken by *Gujjar* community of Jammu and Kashmir who speak *Gojri* in general and the expression of socio-cultural rituals in particular. The present study explores *Gojri* as a storehouse of the socio-cultural rituals of the *Gujjars* of Jammu and Kashmir. It examines the specific terms used in their language to describe religious and cultural rituals. The study is based on the data collected by the way observatory participation and interview by the researchers from the respective community.

## **Kohistani Morphology: A Descriptive Study**

Zargar Adil Ahmad  
Hafsa Riyaz

Kohistani is a Dardic language spoken in the upper parts of the Swat and Panjkora valleys (Swat Kohistan and Dir Kohistan), in Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province and in some parts of Jammu and Kashmir state of Indian administered Kashmir. In the literature, the language is known by different names, the most familiar of which are Garwi and Bashkarik. The name Garwi occurs in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson, 1919, Vol. 8, Part 2:507), while Bashkarik is used by Morgenstierne (1940), which is the standard reference on the

language till date. The Kohistani spoken in the valley has about 5000 speakers comprising 2600 males and 2400 females in migrant Gujjar Dynasty of Jugtiyal Hyhama, Kundnar, Kanibahak and Balhama of district Kupwara (Jammu & Kashmir). Kohistani is also spoken in different areas of Kangan like Waniyarm Wangath, Mirpati Mamar and Ganivan of district Ganderbal (Jammu & Kashmir).

Kohistani of Swat Kohistan has been already described by Grierson (1919) and Hallberg (1992) to a large extent but the Kohistani spoken in the valley of Kashmir is yet to be taken into consideration. It shows significant variation in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax from the variety spoken in Swat valley but the research on these aspects of this language is too little and fragmentary. This language is still unexplored vis-a-vis the modern descriptive framework. The present paper will be an attempt towards that direction, wherein a complete morphological profile of different parts of speech of this language will be provided. The data for the present study will be elicited from the native speakers of Kohistani in Kashmir valley by means of questionnaires focused on different parts of speech and the data thus collected will be transcribed and analyzed using descriptive qualitative approach.

### **Possibilities in the order of polar questions in Tai Ahom**

Zeenat Tabassum

The Tai languages of north-east India has retained the historical AVO order with historically and pragmatically explained VO flexibility (Morey, 2006) and this phenomenon is observed in the order of polar questions, specifically speaking that of Tai Ahom. The polar question particle occurring at the clause final position or second final position, before a vocative phrase along with demonstrative markers as found in Tai Ahom manuscripts is considered by Morey as the unmarked order *Clause DEM kai* (2010).

- hit    rv    ju    tam    nai    sang    **kai**    [kham vi]  
do    why    stay    there    this    what    **QN**    gold VOC

“Why do you stay here, my golden lord?”

Tomlin argues that regularly in SVO languages the question particle should precede the verb (probably coming initially); the restrained order resulting from Lehmann’s (1973) principle of Sentence Qualifier Placement – grammatical morphemes (negation, interrogation, desiderative, etc.) modifying the primary predication are strung on the side of the verb opposite the object – and further formulated in the his (Tomlin’s) Verb Object Bonding principle (1986) where the object NP is more tightly bonded to the verb than the subject NP.

As for Tai Ahom since the VOB principle constrains question particles, desiderative and negative markers from separating the verb from its objects we have the following the orders

*S- QN- V- O*

*S -QN DESID- V- O*

*(S)- NEG- V-O*

- mau pha **chang** chau su  
2SG king **QN** heart agree  
“‘Oh king, do you like her?’”
- k(a)nglang mav **ko phav** ma tem rang tau ju nam kha kin  
pa  
sideback 2SG **QN want** come write image tortoise stay water search eat  
fish  
“‘Afterwards, do you also want to come and draw the image of a tortoise that lives in water and searches for fish with me?’”
- **nyang** mi ru **bau** tvn  
**do not** have know **not** awake  
‘The princess did not know to wake up.’

There are very few sentences in the manuscripts of Tai Ahom exemplifying the use of polar questions in the language. However, from the limited data we observe there is a flexibility in the movement of question particle in polar questions; occurring at the initial as well as at the final position of a clause. As such we cannot ascertain the structure *Clause DEM ‘kai’* as the commonly occurring one since such a statement would prove the constituent order of polar questions in Tai Ahom follows *OVQN* pattern whereas we have seen the occurrence of *SQNVQ* pattern and that those structures exemplify polar structures. Since Tai Ahom is historically attested as AVO language it is obvious that VOB principle doesn’t allow the QN particle to occur at the end along with the verb at times. However, the unusual movement of QN particle at clause final position can be accounted for either (a) or (b).

- a) An obvious influence of neighboring Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan languages that follow the clause final interrogative marking structure most commonly as in Assamese.

Tum-i	bhat	kha-b-a	ne
2SG	rice	eat-FUT-ACC	QN PRT
Will you eat rice?			

- b) Or the *Demonstrative Wh-morpheme QN PRT ‘kai’* order is an indication that the demonstratives and wh-markers are actually grammaticalised/serialized interrogatives.

## **A Field Report on Jad**

Ajay Kumar Singh  
Annapurna

This paper presents a field study on Jad community and their language. This tribal community lives in the hill area of Uttarkashi district of Uttarakhand state. In official records as well as in much popular discourse they are simply called “Bhotiya”. The Bhotiyas are one of the major sub groups of the Central Himalayan region. Historically, the community belongs to the Nilaang and Jadong valley situated at the bank of Jad Ganga in Uttarakhand near the border of Tibet. After the war of India and China in 1962, the community shifted from Nilaang and Jadong valleys to Bagori village near Harsil. Right now their original place is occupied only by the Indian Army. Presently the speaker of the language lives in two villages of Uttarkashi district, Bagori and Dunda near the river Bhagirathi. The census population of India does not count them separately because their total population is less than 10 thousand. The name of their language is also Jad/JaaR which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The study of this language has been neglected. The language is also being influenced by the other dominating languages of that area. These days the younger generation is shifting towards other languages which are economically and politically more powerful than Jad.

### **Present state of Darma Language Dharchulla Darma valley**

Ashish Kumar Pandey

Researcher has found Darma to have the following state at present. The language belongs to Darma valley, Dharchulla Tahseel, Pithauragarh district of Uttaranchal state. It is one of the fifteen tribes, as stated in undivided Uttar Pradesh 1[THE CONSTITUTION (SCHEDULED TRIBES) (UTTAR PRADESH) ORDER, 1967 (C.O. 78) in clause (1) of article 342 of the Constitution of India. Majorly it is called Bhotia; Bhotia is the broad term used in Himalayan region: several communities and languages are considered under this term. This tribal language is the member of west Tibeto-Burman language family in the Himalayan region of Uttaranchal.

Darma belongs to west Tibeto-Burman language family spoken by less than 3019 people of all villages of Darma valley (according to census 2011). Darma speakers are situated in the surroundings of “Dhaulti Ganga” river. It is known by another name “Darmiya”, in Grierson’s Linguistics survey of India. Yearly migration placed them in two different language situations

is Hindi and Kumauni, dominating area of Dharchulla. This situation is forcing them to shift their language towards another language. The place where they have migrated is a linguistically diversified area. In these areas central armed forces and various research agencies are working and the people come from across the country. It might be due to language mixing. Based on my experience or from what I have gathered, the language appears to be shifting towards Hindi, Kumauni. And they use the words of English, Hindi, and Nepali for code mixing. Further details are discussed in the research report submitted to CIIL.

## मैथिलीमगही-: एक तुलनात्मक अध्ययन

Dr. Arun kumar Singh

भारत अनेक प्रकार के भाषाओं के लिए मानो एक सुरम्य उद्यान की तरह है। यहाँ भारोपीयद्रविड, तिब्बतीय-एसिआटिक तथा चीन-आस्ट्रोकुल के लगभग भाषाएँ 175 एवं 544 उपभाषाएँ पायी जाती हैं। इन चारो परिवारों के बीच मैथिली एवं मगही भारोपीय परिवार में पड़ता है। एक मत के अनुसार लगभग 1455 भाषाएँ ऐसी हैं जिसको 10 हजार से कम ही लोग बोलते हैं। आज संविधान मान्यता प्राप्त 22 भाषाएँ (मैथिली, हिंदी, संस्कृत, मलयालम, तेलगु, तमिल, कन्नड़, मराठी, बंगला, पंजाबी, गुजराती, कश्मीरी, उर्दू, उड़िया, असमिया, बोडो, संथाली, सिंधी, डोगरी, कोंकणी, मणिपुरी, नेपाली) हैं तथा 100से ज्यादा ऐसी भाषाएँ हैं जो आठवीं अनुसूची में नहीं हैं। भारत का ऐसा बहुसंख्यक भाषाई परिदृश्य पर बोलनेवालों की संख्या और भौगोलिक दृष्टि से जब विचार किया जाता है तो पता चलता है कि मगही के महत्त्व को नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जा सकता; क्योंकि यह देश के एक बड़े भू-भाग की भाषा है। यह मैथिली की तरह ही बिहार की एक प्रमुख भाषा है। प्रस्तुत आलेख का प्रमुख ध्येय है मगही-मैथिली एक दूसरे से कैसे भिन्न है।

जिस समय ह्येन त्साङ भारत आए उस समय तक अर्थात् सातवीं शताब्दी तक मागधी वर्ग की पाँचो भाषाएँ एक थी। लगता है कि 18वीं शताब्दी तक मगही और मैथिली एक ही भाषा थी। मगही को अलग भाषा की प्रतिष्ठा संभवतः ग्रिअर्सन साहब की देन है। जटिल क्रियापद रूपावली मगही और मैथिली को मागधी वर्ग की दूसरी भाषाओं से अलग करता है। मगही के संबंध में डा० ग्रियर्सन ने कहा है कि—“ मैथिली और मगही की मुख्य विभिन्नता यह है कि मैथिली वैसे व्यक्तियों के द्वारा सौ वर्ष से भी अधिक दिनों से बोली जाती रही है, जो अपनी विद्वता के लिए प्रसिद्ध रहा है, जबकि मगही ऐसे लोगों की भाषा रही है जिनको वैदिक काल से जंगली कहा जाता रहा है” लेकिन परम्परा, जनभावना और सामाजिकता के आधार पर यह मैथिली से भिन्न रूप में खड़ा दिखाई देता है। मगही को मैथिली से अलग करने का सबसे बड़ा कारण है शब्द के अन्त में स्वनक्षय। क्रियापद, संज्ञा में वचन भेद, कारक चिह्न, काल आदि के स्तर पर भिन्नता स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई देता है।

## अवधी की भाषायी अस्मिता (सीतापुर जिले के विशेष संदर्भ में)

Dr. Satyaendra Kumar Awasthi

21वीं सदी में 'संकटग्रस्त भाषाओं' को लेकर बड़ी चिंता जताई जा रही है। इसी संदर्भ में यूनेस्को ने एक रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि अनेक भारतीय भाषाएँ संकट की स्थिति में हैं और विलुप्त होने की कगार पर हैं। इन भाषाओं पर चिंतित होना उचित भी है क्योंकि यह संकट सिर्फ भाषा के लिए ही खतरनाक नहीं है बल्कि उस समुदाय की सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति के लिए भी एक खतरा है। भारत जैसे विशाल बहुभाषी क्षेत्र में जहाँ बड़े-बड़े भाषा-समुदाय निवास करते हैं वहीं छोटे-छोटे भाषा-समुदाय भी निवसित हैं। एक ओर तो यह भाषिक विविधता बहुत आकर्षक लगती है किन्तु दूसरी ओर इन भाषाओं को सहेजना एक कठिन कार्य है।

भारतीय संविधान की आठवीं अनुसूची में 22 भाषाओं को सम्मिलित किया गया है लेकिन यह संख्या यहीं तक सीमित नहीं है। भारतीय भाषाओं में अवधी भाषा का पूर्वी हिंदी की बोलियों में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है जिसका प्रयोग उत्तर प्रदेश में लखनऊ, उन्नाव, रायबरेली, सीतापुर, बाराबंकी, गोंडा, बहराइच, सुल्तानपुर, अमेठी, प्रतापगढ़, फैजाबाद, लखीमपुर, खीरी, फतेहपुर, इलाहाबाद, मिर्जापुर आदि जिलों में होता है। अवधी शब्द का निर्माण अवध से हुआ है जिसका अर्थ है अवध का, अर्थात् अवध के अन्तर्गत बोली जाने वाली भाषा। साहित्यिक दृष्टि से अवधी एक समृद्ध भाषा है। इस भाषा का अत्यन्त प्रसिद्ध ग्रंथ गोस्वामी तुलसीदास कृत रामचरितमानस है।

भूमंडलीकरण और संप्रेषण माध्यमों की तीव्रता ने साहित्यिक दृष्टि से समृद्ध भाषाओं के लिए भी आज संकट खड़ा कर दिया है। साहित्यिक रूप से समृद्ध होने के बावजूद, दिनों-दिन अन्य भाषाओं के प्रति जनसामान्य का बढ़ता रुझान मातृभाषाओं के लिए एक चुनौती बन गया है। प्रस्तुत लेख का उद्देश्य इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में अवधी भाषा की वर्तमान स्थिति पर प्रकाश डालना है।

## दारमा भाषा का समाज भाषिक अध्ययन

Dr Vishnu Kumar Singh

भारत एक बहुभाषी देश है। जहाँ पर कई बड़े भाषा समुदाय निवास करते हैं, वहीं कुछ छोटे-छोटे भाषिक समुदाय भी दुर्गम स्थानों पर रहते हैं। छोटे भाषा समुदायों के इन दुर्गम स्थानों पर निवास

करने के कारण इनका अन्य भाषिक समुदाय से सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक संपर्क नहीं हो पाता है। प्रत्येक भाषा-समुदाय की अपनी कुछ विशिष्टताएं होती हैं, जिसके कारण वह अन्य भाषा-समुदाय से भिन्न दिखाई देता है।

उत्तराखंड राज्य के पिथौरागढ़ जिले की धारचूला तहसील के परगना दारमा की व्यास, चौदांश और दारमा पट्टियां हैं, इन्हीं पट्टियों में शौका क्षेत्र फैला हुआ है। ये लोग सम्मिलित रूप से अपनी भाषा तथा अपने समाज को शौका या रंग के नाम से सम्बोधित करते हैं। व्यास, चौदांश और दारमा पट्टियों की भाषा में भी अंतर मिलता है। व्यास और चौदांश की भाषा को क्रमशः व्यांसी और चौदांशी कहा जाता है वहीं दारमा पट्टी के लोग अपनी भाषा को दारमा या दरमानी कहते हैं। दारमा में कुल मिलाकर 19 गांव- सेला, चल, नागलिंग, बालिंग, बोन, फिल्म, सौन, दुग्त्, दान्तू, गौ, ढाकर, तिदांग, मार्छा और सीपू मल्ला तथा सोबला, तेजम, वतन, बोंगलिंग और दर तल्ला दारमा में आते हैं। मल्ला दारमा निवासी नवम्बर से फरवरी तक अधिक ठंड होने के कारण धारचूला से लेकर बलुवाकोट तक स्थित अपने शीतकालीन आवासों में आ जाते हैं .

एक शौका का वास्तविक परिचय व्यापारी के रूप में मिलता है इसलिए यहाँ व्यापार में सहायक देवताओं की पूजा होती है। यहाँ व्यापार के लिए 'पण' शब्द तथा व्यापारी के लिए 'पण चा' (चा-कर्ता या वाला) शब्द है। इनका व्यापार क्षेत्र टनकपुर से लेकर तिब्बत तक फैला हुआ था। लम्बे समय तक शौका तिब्बत, नेपाल और शेष भारत के मध्य ये एक कड़ी के रूप में कार्य करते थे। सर्दियों में ये व्यापारी शीतकाल में भारत वस्तुएँ जमाकर मई-जून में तिब्बत जाते थे, वहाँ व्यापारिक केन्द्रों में वस्तुओं की क्रय-विक्रय एवं अदला-बदली करके नवम्बर या दिसम्बर तक भारत लौट आते थे। व्यापारिक सम्पर्क के कारण यह तिब्बतियों और नेपालियों से प्रभावित हुए और उस समय के शौका व्यापारी कम-से-कम तीन-चार भाषाएँ तिब्बती, नेपाली, दारमा और कुमाँऊनी भाषा जानते थे।

1962 के भारत-चीन युद्ध के पश्चात् तिब्बत से व्यापार समाप्त हो गया और साथ ही भाषा की जुड़ी कड़ियां भी समाप्त हो गईं। आज शौकाओं ने अपनी अपनी भाषा में कुमाँऊनी तथा हिंदी के बहुत से शब्दों को ग्रहण कर लिया है। एक अनुमान के अनुसार दारमा भाषा में अनुमानतः 10 प्रतिशत तिब्बती, 40 प्रतिशत हिन्दी तथा संस्कृत आदि के शब्द निहित हैं। तिब्बत से व्यापार समाप्त होने के बाद इनका सम्पर्क कुमाँऊनी, हिंदी तथा अंग्रेजी से बढ़ा है और इनकी वर्तमान पीढ़ी में दारमा भाषा की जगह धीरे-धीरे ये भाषाएँ लेती जा रही हैं। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र का उद्देश्य दारमा भाषा की समाज भाषिक स्थिति पर प्रकाश डालना है।

