

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

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Notion of endangered language is a contested notion. Various contesting formulations of the notion have rendered it an open ended area of enquiry. In 2010 Christopher Moseley categorized the 16 north-eastern languages in *The Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* as vulnerable languages. This paper argues 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 language constitutes a partial and misleading understanding of the notion. A different understanding of the notion of endangered 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 labelled 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 Yimchungru and Sangtam languages belonging to the 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 aforementioned languages by their speakers in its socio-political, economical, cultural and religious contexts will be evaluated through a questionnaire technique.

Introduction

Language learning has twofold nature. One belongs to cognitive aspect of language and other is social object of study. Language as social object suggests that “languages are the collaborative products of their speech community, how they spread and affect each other, and that every utterances and every language could be different from what they actually are.” (Florin 2013:1)

Languages are characterized and recreated by being used and handed down from generation to next generation. In the process of handing down language from one generation to another generation languages undergo some changes. Changes may take place in choice of

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vocabulary, structural possibilities, and phonological alternation etc. Sociolinguistics in particular concerns with “. . . studies how social factors affect these choices” (ibid).

Choice of dropping or pronouncing [r], Labov (1966) proved, reflects a larger connection between language and social structure and society. Language has a deep connection with society. Choice of language depends upon societal norms.

Studies in sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics show that social factors are highly responsible for using or dropping to use a language. Most important factors are political and economic factors and they seem to have a decisive impact on speakers of a community to choose a dialect of language. As a matter of fact, a language offering social and economic benefit is usually a preferred one. With minority or endangered languages it is noticed that there are no such accompanying benefits. As endangered languages are short of offering certain benefits, speech community tends to develop a negative or indifferent attitude towards them; however speech communities are reported to make effort to use their language to intact its ethnic identities.

Positive or negative attitude towards a language ensures level of its attrition. Julia Sallabank in this regard explains that “minority languages are not only defined numerically (spoken by minority of the population of a country), but in term of social status, marginalization and access to resources”. And process of minorization as Hagege (2000) refers to the “. . . process of reduction in status/domain of a language. The process is known as minorization, which can be seen as continuum or process of decline and endangerment linked to language attitudes and ideologies.”(Quoted in Sallabank, 2012:102).

“Attitudes and ideologies are key to whether languages are maintained or abandoned” (Sallabank,2012:104). This view is held and supported by many other scholars. The view that language of maintenance or abandonment majorly depends upon the way people think or feel about their language enfeebles statistically driven notion of language endangerment. Idea of statistically determining a language as endangered or not has received a great deal of criticism. UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger decides level of endangerment on the basis of use of a language in domains. Table 6.2 UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework explains degree of endangerment as follows;

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational language transmission
Safe	Language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domain (e.g. home)
Definitely endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
Critically endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	There are no speakers left

<http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap&cc2=MX>

This paper supports the notion that use of language in domains is more a full proof method to ascertain rate of attrition of a language. For this purpose study of use of languages Yimchungru and Sangtam in certain domains is undertaken. Both the languages are given status of vulnerable in UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger. Both the languages are spoken in the district of Tuensang which encompasses five major tribes of Chang, Sangtam, Khiamniungan, Phom, and Yimchungru. Besides this a few populations of Sumis, Aos and a sub-tribe Tikhir under the nomenclature of Yimchungru inhabits the district of Tuensang. Each individual tribe has its own rich culture, tradition and language, these makes it impossible for the inhabitants to have mutual intelligibility of the different languages. So the need of the use of third language arises and consequently, 'Nagamese' a pidgin surfaces as a link language in the district and the state as a whole.

The Yimchungrus (Tozhuma) :

Yimchungru also known as the '*Tozhuma*' or '*Yachumi*' is one of the major tribes of the Tuensang district inhabiting the eastern most part of the Nagaland covering Mount Saramati range. This tribe is believed to emerge at a village called 'Moru' who were migrated from the upper Burma as one group along with the Khiamnungans. Yimchungru is also an ethno-linguistic term, which stands for both the tribe and the language. It has five distinct dialectal variations namely Tikhiyi, Mokuryu, Longpur, Jiyu and Phunungyu. There is no standard variety of language for the Yimchungrus, except the slight variations in the phonology and morphological aspect of one variety to another. It is estimated that the speakers of Yimchungru is approximately **92100**, inhabiting the parts of Tuensang district between Namchik and Patkoi. The speakers are mainly concentrated in the Shamator region. The Yimchungru language belongs to the Central sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman language family as classified by Grierson and Robert Burling in their genetic classification of language. It follows the SOV word order and it's an agglutinating type of language and exhibits tonal contrast.

The Sangtams (Isachanure):

Sangtam with its alternate name 'Isachanure' or 'Lophomi' is one of the approximately 16 indigenous languages of Nagaland spoken in two major regions, separated by a mountain range that also divides India from Burma. Each region is concentrated by a separate territorial group: the eastern group (or the central Sangtam) that occupies the Kiphire district, which is also the home of the Sangtams and the western group (or the northern Sangtam) that inhabits the westernmost part of the Tuensang district. Sangtam is an ethno-linguistic term, which stands for both the tribe and the language.

As a language, Sangtam is spoken approximately by **84,300** people. According to the 2001 census report of India, it is estimated that there are **74,033** total populations of the Sangtam speakers in Kiphire district of Nagaland comprising an average 3.75% people of the total population of Nagaland and the remaining 10,267 speakers are found in the entire region of Tuensang district.

Linguistically, Sangtam belongs to the sub-group of Tibeto-Burman language family and it follows the SOV word order.

Genetic Classification of Sangtam and Yimchungru:

Many linguists have given the classification of languages on the basis of its genealogy, typological comparisons and colonial era. Tibeto-Burman is generally regarded as a member

of Sino-Tibetan family and it is mostly classified on their genetic relationship. Grierson (1903) accords the classification of Sino-Tibetan family into two branches: Sinitic, consisting of the Chinese languages, and Tibeto-Burman, which includes several hundred languages spoken from Tibetan plateau in the north to Malay Peninsula in the East.

Benedict (1972) analyzes two main sub-types of Naga languages in the Kuki-Naga crux: Northern Naga and Southern Naga, of which ‘Sangtam’ and ‘Yimchungru’ is classified under the former. The Naga languages spoken in the Tirap and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh and in adjacent regions of Burma (often referred to generically as ‘Naked Naga’, or as Konyak languages in the literature) are posited in the Barish supergroup with Bodo-Garo. The eastern most languages of this group, Moshang and Shangge (both also known as Tangsa), are recorded to exhibit contact effects with Kachin.

In the book “*Linguistic survey of India, VOL III, PART II*”, Grierson classified the Naga group of languages into three groups; Western group consisting of Angami, Sema, Rengma and Khezha languages; Central group consisting of Ao, Lotha, Sangtam, Yimchungru and others; and the Eastern group consisting of Konyak(Tablen), Phom(Tamlu), Chang(Manjung), Bampara, Mutonia, Asiringia, Moshang and Tangsa. Sangtam (mentioned as Thukumi) and Yimchungru are categorized under the central group along with Ao and Lotha. This classification was largely based on geographical grouping to give light on the shared vocabulary and syntactic features of the languages. Apart from this, there are other classifications proposed on the account of language datas’ collected, like that of Bradley (1997), Marrison (1967), Shafer (1974) and Benedict (1972).

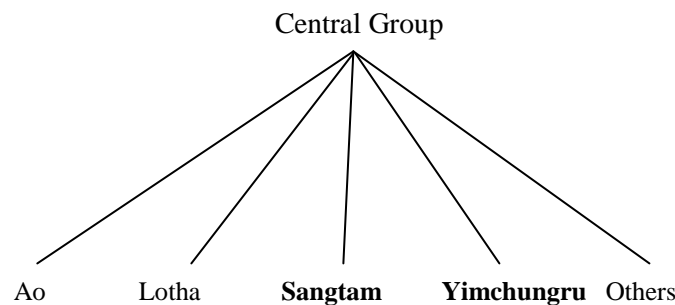


Fig 1: Grierson’s Classification of Naga Languages

Though not comprehensive, Shafer (1955-1974) made an explicit attempt to classify the Tibeto-Burman language family based on colonial era. He posits the Sino-Tibetan language into six main divisions: Sinitic (Chinese), Daic (Thai), Bodic (Tibetan), Burmic (Burmese), Baric (Bodo) and Karenic (Karen). Out of these six divisions, the latter four encompasses of the Tibeto-Burman family, and then each main division is further classified into branches and lower level units. Shafer’s Burmic and Baric divisions comprises of the Naga languages, where Sangtam and Yimchungru languages are specifically based in the Northern Naga branch of Kukish section of the Burmic Division, along with Ao, Lotha, and Rong (Lepcha). The figure given below will subsume the above explanation.

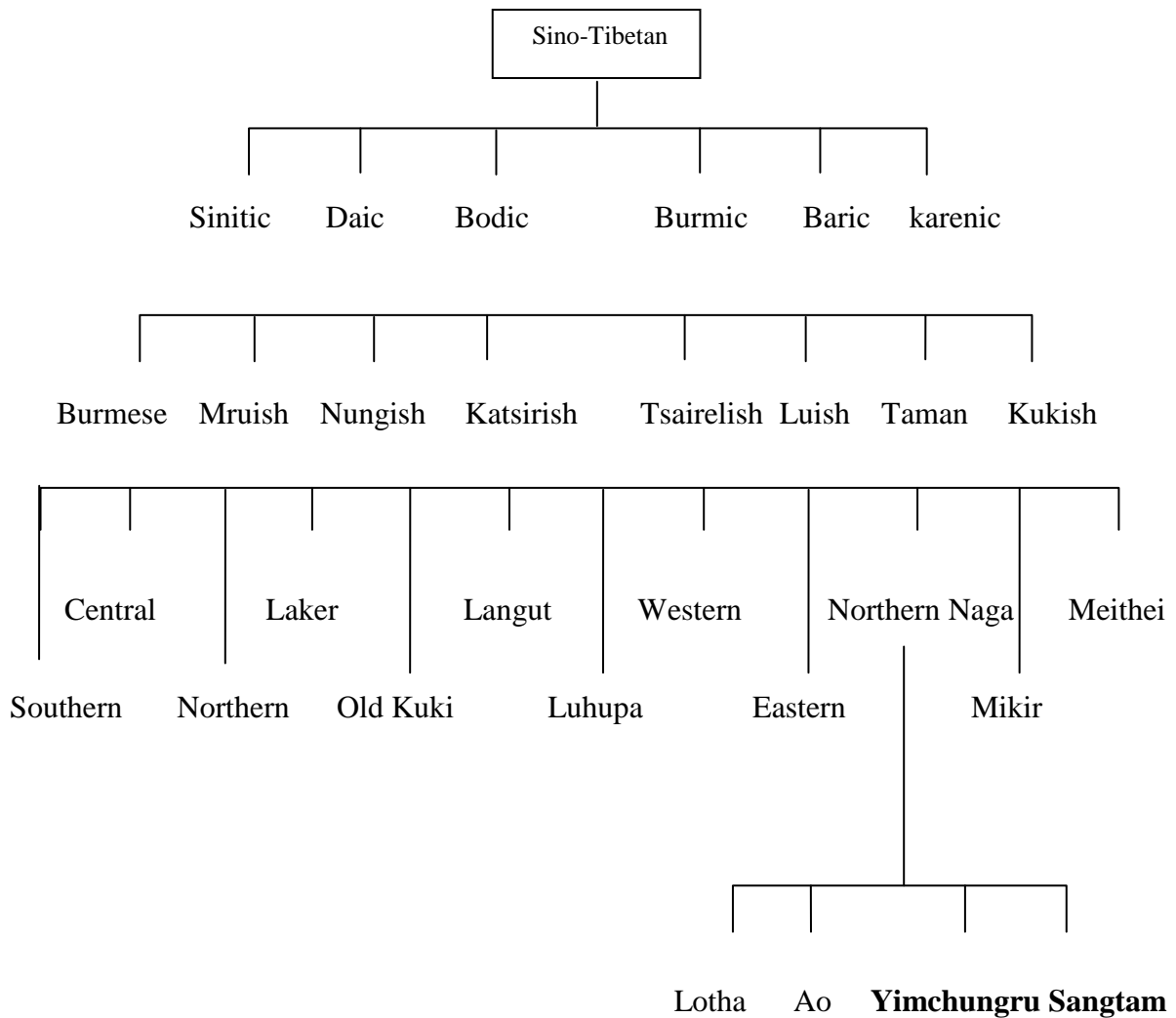
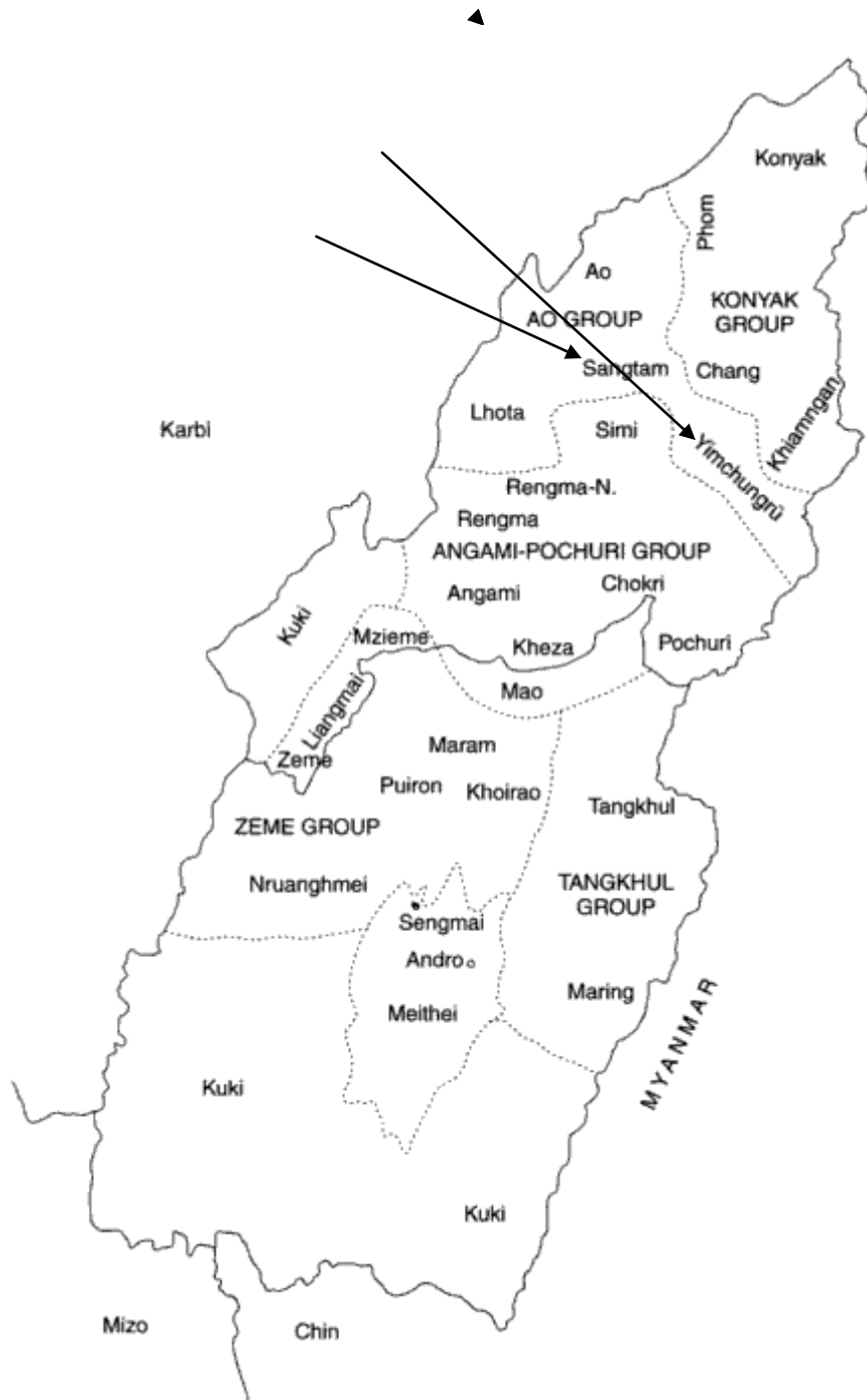


Fig 2: Classification based on Shafer (1996)

Fig 3 shows Burling’s (2003) classification of the languages of North-east India on the basis of geographical distribution. In his classification it is noticeable that though Sangtam and Yimchungru are genetically classified with the members of Ao and Lotha under central group, yet it is geographically affiliated more to the western and eastern region with the members of Angami, Pochuri and the Konyak group.



Domain of Use

Concept of domain is mainly developed by Fishman. According to Fishman domains of language behaviours refer to a theoretical construct which specifies a cluster of interaction. For him, domains are also institutional contexts in which one variety of language is more favoured than another. Domains are taken to be configuration of various activities, location, participants. Use of language in variety of domains ensures its vitality. Endangered languages are usually restricted to private domains or confined to low status. Fishman regards use of

language in family domain as the ‘gold standard’ for language vitality and the most important factor in language survival.

Methodology

To gauge attitude of language speakers of both languages a questionnaire technique was employed. Questionnaire had 24 questions designed to elicit responses of speakers about the use of language in domains like-family, transactional, education, stranger. Some questions were formed to decipher the reaction of speakers regarding their attitude, political, ethnic, social prestige toward their language. Questions informing Ethnic, social prestige, political attitude of speakers is put under a broad domain/category-attitude. Some separate questions were formed to know the viewpoint of speakers if they consider English a threat to their language or not.

In the study of Yumchungru 26 respondents participated and in the study of Sangtam 23 participated.

Diagnostics

YIMCHUNGER ANALYSIS

Domains and Language Use

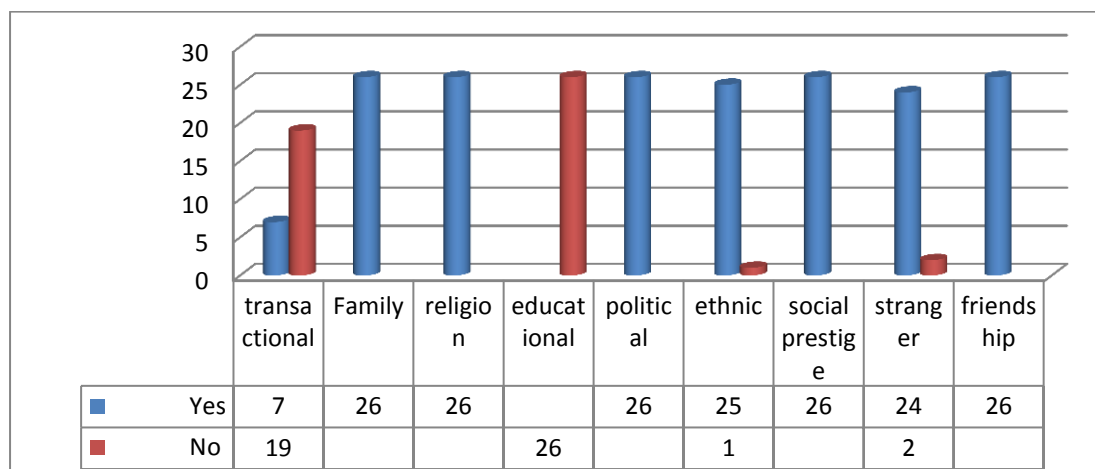


Table-1

Transactional:

Level of education seems to have a decisive influence of the use of language. Respondents belonging to educational level from graduation to post graduation showed fewer tendencies to use Yimchungru in the domain of transaction. 4 out of 19 respondents belonging to the same education group reported to use Yimchungru in market place. It is a tiny percentage 21.5%. On the other hand people with lower educational background tend to use more Yimchungru in market place. 4 out of 7 respondents with lower educational background are reported to use Yimchungru which makes 57.14%.

However, this domain of language use is difficult to be factored in. Market place in the district of Tuensang offers a complex linguistic scenario. Sellers from different tribal communities do not share a mutually intelligible dialects and it leads to majorly use the link language i.e. Nagamese. In Such a complex linguistic predicament it is less expected for all the practical purposes to use one's own language. Therefore, use of language in market place does not render any definite understanding of linguistic attitude of respondents, thus much cannot be predicted about language shift.

Family:

In our study we found that all the respondents (100%) use Yimchungru in family. Fishman explains the domain of family is usually anchored in home (locale). In this domain communication is expected to be done in more informal manner and family members are less worried about their social status. Social status has an incisive effect on the choice of language. Use of mother tongue in family ascertains intergenerational transmission.

Religion:

A question asked to use of language in religious setting gave 100% positive answer. Respondents showed strong attitude to stick to their language when anything related to religion is performed.

Educational:

In the domain of education respondent responded negatively. All the respondents (100%) preferred English to Yimchungru. It is interesting to note here that in the domains where language serves more as an ethnic identity marker and a medium to develop cultural awareness or even to raise the socio-political status of Yimchungru, all the respondents gave positive answers, however in case of use of language in education domain they prefer English. One of the possible reasons to choose English as a language of medium of education is the commercial benefits English offers. Another reason seems to be the aspirations of respondents to connect with larger diverse linguistic communities of the nation. This understanding emerges from the response of a question- "*Do you think you cannot move freely in the country because you cannot speak English?*" And in response of this question 53.84% people answered that language is a barrier to them to move freely. Respondents also reflected negative attitude towards their language when asked- "*If you had chance to teach your children only one language, it would be?*" A small number of respondents (11.53%) favoured Yimchungru whereas majority of speakers favoured English.

Attitudinal:

Given to the size of study and time constraint we included questions which informed us about the social, political and ethnic attitude of the speakers of Yimchungru language. For this we have a broad domain under which comes the domains- political, social and ethnic.

- i) Political: People showed (100%) positive attitude towards their language in relation to upgradation of language at political level which was evaluated through a question *if they want a separate script should be developed for their language and literature.*
- ii) Social: In order to gauge the social attitude of the speakers of Yimchungru language, they were asked "*People who want to appear modern should speak Yimchungru?*" it is a very curious situation in the sense that in North eastern states

English is the official language and most of the population there understand English. So it seems that English has largely failed to attract the speakers of Yimchungru on the ground of social prestige. It is well established fact that a language promising social prestige expedites language shift. But this does not seem to be the case in Yimchungru.

- iii) **Ethnic:** To understand the attitude of speakers of Yimchungru in relation to their ethnicity, two questions were asked to them “*Do you like to listen to stories in Yimchungru?*” and “*Do you listen/sing folk songs in Yimchungru?*”. When it comes to listening stories (stories are usually related to some sort of cultural value of the community) speakers (96.65%) like to listen to stories in Yimchungru. Using mother tongue while telling stories does not just ensures transmission of language but also orients younger generation to their culture. Transmission ensures life or at least promises maintenance of language. And the speaker showed the same attitude in case of listening folk song. It indicates that they are deeply rooted to their ethnicity.

Stranger:

In this domain a chunk part of respondents (92.30%) preferred to use a language other than Yimchungru. Assessing the responses under the multilingual setting of the state helps to get more realistic picture of the linguistic behaviour of speakers of Yimchungru. Nagamese is a lingua franca of the state and dialects spoken by different tribal communities are not mutually intelligible and in such a situation Nagamese serves as link language. Thus nothing definite can be inferred from the use of language in this domain.

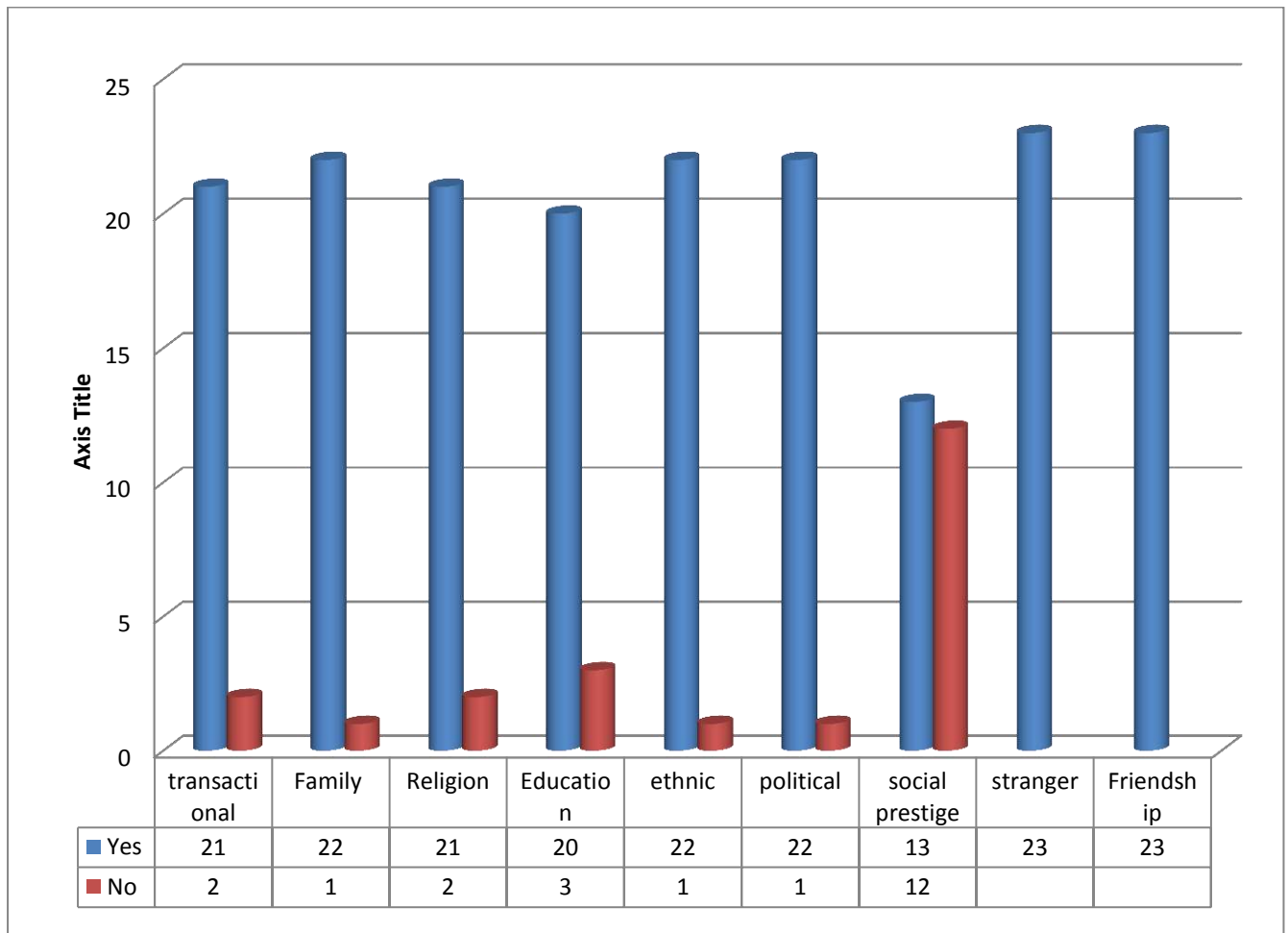
Friendship:

The domain of friendship in the opinion of many scholars intersects with the domain of family. However there is a certain fluidity of these two domains. In family a status of a family member is realized through the kinship relationship which has an impact on the choice of language. There are higher chances of metaphorical switching in family. Metaphorical switching refers to changing your linguistic gear between high to low or vice versa. On the other hand in the domain of friendship the status of friends are not marked by hierarchy as it does in family. Therefore linguistic behaviour in this domain is more likely to be consistent. Therefore, a question was set to elicit the response of the speakers of Yimchungru – “*Do you like to crack joke in Yimchungru?*” The entire respondent (100%) answered affirmatively. On the response of another question – “*When you send message to your friends, which language do you use?*” We got a unanimous answer (100%) i.e English. This particular instance seems to offer very different insight into linguistic behaviour of the speakers. When they talk with their friends face to face, they opt for Yimchungru, whereas when they use a medium to communicate, the choice of language changes. This deviant linguistic behaviour might be determined by the choice of medium itself. Mobile phones which have come to be an icon of modernity are more seen in unison with English language. English is emerging fast as a dominant global language and with it the concept of modernity seems to be apparently tied with. Maybe this spurious impression causes a change in the linguistic behaviour of speakers. Another interesting fact is this linguistic behaviour is regardless of the age group. What else drew attention is the response of question – “*Do youngsters mix more English while conversing to the same age group?*” A considerable number of the respondents (96.15%) of people affirmed to the greater use of language by younger generation in conversation. It implies that the linguistic attitude of younger generation is influenced by more factors, such as interaction with latest gadgets and appearing modern. Usually there are three ways with

which language makes a progress in a new setting namely, migration, infiltration and diffusion. In India for example English made its progression by diffusion. In South Africa spread of English is marked by infiltration as English colonies being setup separately but is in contact with other linguistic communities and subsequently merging in multilingual community with Africans. In North America English is noticed to be spread by migration as the English colonies simply displaced the previous inhabitants. However, in present scenario all these channels of language progression had been made easier by technical progress. It is particularly made easier by electronic communication system of various kinds. It is often referred as globalized media. Through it diffusion of languages is now possible with little or no presence of the speakers. This particular aspect of language shift through “globalized media” came to forth when respondent reported to use English while using a technically advance means of communication that is mobile phone.

SANGTAM ANALYSIS

Domains and Language Use



Transactional:

In this domain (91.30%) speakers of Sangtam do not use Sangtam. Only (8.69%) people speak their mother tongue. But not to use Sangtam in the market place fails to explain us anything definite. The same explanation given for Yimchungru can be given here also because in the market place speakers of both the language face the same set of communicational problems.

Family:

In this domain (95.65%) chose to use their mother tongue Sangtam. Only one (1) respondent answered negatively. Like “Yimchungru”, speakers of Sangtam reflect a positive attitude to their language. Communication in family is marked by informality.

Religion:

91.30% people answered they want the religious performances should be performed in Sangtam.

Educational:

In this domain respondents of Sangtam seemed to have a divided opinion. 86.95% speakers answered in favour of English as the language of medium of education and 13.04% speakers chose both the languages English and Sangtam as to be language of instruction, while 4.34% speakers restricted both languages to be the medium of instruction. It is interesting in the case of Sangtam that unlike the speakers of Yimchungru, speakers of Sangtam have more positive attitude towards their language. When they were asked- *“If you had the chance to teach your children only one language it would be?”* in response to this question above 50 percent (52.17%) respondent favoured their language and not English. Even in the response of the question *“Do you think you can’t move freely in the country because you cannot speak English?”*(43.47%) people did not consider language as a barrier to their free movement in the country, whereas in the case of Yimchungru a good number of people considered language as a barrier to free movement.

Attitudinal:

As explained earlier this category contains three sub-categories:-

- i) Political: Speakers of Sangtam showed strong politically motivated linguistic attitude. Majority of the speakers (96.65%) speakers gave positive approval to the development of script.
- ii) Social Prestige: When the speakers were asked to give their responses on the question- *“People want to appear modern should speak Sangtam?”*. On the question of language prestige we have diverse answers. (39.13%) people chose English to be a language of modernity, while 52.17% people did not assign notion of prestige with English. On the other hand (8.69%) people did not give any clear cut opinion on it.
- iii) Ethnic: Inorder to understand ethnic attitude of Sangtam speakers two questions were asked – *“Do you like to listen to stories in Sangtam?”* and *“Do you listen /sing folk songs in Sangtam?”* respondent displayed a more positive attitude when it is a matter of listening stories because stories creates a sense of cultural awareness. (96.65%) speaker answered positively and (4.35%) negatively. Speakers of Sangtam showed lesser propensities of listening to folk song in comparison to stories. Their choice is affected by a certain difference in domain. It means the attitude of the speakers in regard to the ethnic identification is less

strong when there is a certain difference in the domain from more socially oriented domain to more individually oriented domain.

Stranger:

In this domain speakers of Sangtam do not choose their mother tongue to use when they meet a stranger. We believe the same explanation that is given for Yimchungru hold too here for Sangtam.

Friendship:

The responses of the respondent in this domain have the conformity with the responses that speakers of Yimchungru gave. What can be inferred from the socio-linguistic behaviour of Sangtam and Yimchungru is that in few domain linguistic attitude does not tend to vary. Therefore, the same explanation holds true here.

Conclusion:

Language speakers of both the language reflected strong positive attitude toward their language in the domains of religion and family. These domains promise survival of language as they ensure transmission of language and its social utility. In other domain political, ethnicity, and social prestige, English does not seem to penetrate. Study indicates that speakers of both the languages hold high positive attitude towards language when they serve to be identity marker and want their languages to be upgraded. Use of language in the domains likes transactional, stranger given to complex linguistic scene of state has failed to provide any significant insight.

It seems the complex linguistic situation of the state multilingualism has come to be constituted as a domain itself. However, study indicated that an insidious shift in language attitude has begun. Younger generations reported to use more English in peer group communication and uses English while communicating through technical means. Responses on the question designed to gauge attitude towards language in the domain of education, which prepare for employability, enhances connectivity with nation and the world. All the speakers (96.65%) of Yimchungru favoured English whereas speakers (52.17%) of Sangtam seemed to favour their language when it comes to teach a single language to their kids.

Understanding of linguistic attitude of both the speakers cannot be evaluated realistically if it is not placed in the prevailing multilingual context. English is an official language of the state and Hindi which is taught as second language under three languages formula is expected to be a link language. On the contrary Nagamese has established as lingua franca of the state and people of the state overtime has developed rather a hostile attitude towards Hindi. Under such situation English is favoured. Therefore, English more than a language of social prestige; it is an important language for many practical purposes. However, speakers of both the language believe that English poses threat to their language.

Findings

- Speakers of both the languages hold their language high wherever their language serves as identity marker.
- Intergenerational transmission still exists strongly.
- An insidious shift in the attitude towards English surfaced in this study.

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Reduplication in Angika

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Introduction

This paper discusses Reduplication in Angika language. Reduplication is the morphological process in which a root or stem is repeated completely or partially. According to Koul the term is used to mean repetition of any linguistic unit such as phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, clause or the utterance as a whole. Duplicating a morpheme or a word to coin new words and express various grammatical aspects is called Reduplication (Abbi, 1990). The process of reduplication is very important both from the grammatical as well as semantic point of view. The repetition of linguistic units may be broadly divided into two categories:

(a) repetition at the expression level, and (b) repetition at the content or semantic level. At times a reduplicated form can give a meaning which is completely different from its basic counterpart.

Reduplication is a very common phenomenon in Angika- a language spoken in the eastern region of India. It is an east Indo-Aryan language spoken in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. It is spoken by about 30 million people (according to 2001 census). It has not been recognized constitutionally.

Reduplication of the various linguistic units is done for generality, emphasis, intensity and to show continuation of some action. It can be complete or partial.

Repetition at Expression level

Word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns and adverbs are reduplicated to form new words. One word utterances are also formed by reduplicating linguistic units at the expression level. Following are some examples.

Nouns

1. *a:i kal ghare ghar TV fridge rahai chhai.*
(today tomorrow house house TV fridge reside is) TV and fridges are there in every house.
2. *hame nai janai chhiye kono ruche-tuchi ke!*
(I not know is(present-first person) any Ruchy) I do not know any Ruchy or anyone like her.

Pronouns

1. *jekra-tekra se khissa nai kar!*
(anyone to talk no do)
Do not talk to any random person.

2. **je-je jaibhiN, taiyyar bhae jo!**
(who-who go(future-second person), ready become)
Those who want to go, get ready.
3. **ki-ki khailhiN?**
(what what eat(past-second person)) What all did you eat?

In the above examples, repeating the word “ki” and “je” have changed their meanings from “who” to “who all” in 2 and from “what” to “what all” in example 3. So, here, reduplication has been done to express plurality.

Adjectives

1. **hamar ghor khu:b chikkan chaakkan chhai.**
(my house very clean is)
My house is very neat and clean.
2. **u: jaisan taisan samaan kin ke burbak banai chhai.**
(he/ she like things buy fool become)
He/ she fools himself/herself by buying things of low quality.
3. **hame tani mani khai chhiye.**
(I little eat (present-first person))
I eat very little.

Verbs

1. **ette kahe hab-hababei chiiN?**
(This much why speak (present-second person)) Why do you keep speaking uselessly?
2. **pa:ni jhamjhamaib rahal chhai.**
(water falling(heavily with audible noise, present- third person)) It’s raining heavily.

Adverbs

Semantically, adverbs can be classified into three types- adverb of time, adverb of place and adverb of manner.

Adverbs of time-

1. **kahiyo kahiyo aail karho.**
(sometimes come) Come sometimes!

2. *u: bihane bihan uthai chhai.*
 (he/she morning wake up (present-third person)) He/
 she wakes up very early in the morning.

In Angika, ‘*bihan*’ means morning. Here the word is reduplicated to form “*bihane bihan*” and the meaning changes to ‘very early morning.’ Another such word is “*bhor*” which also means ‘morning’ and it is reduplicated as “*bhore bhore*” to mean ‘early morning’.

Adverbs of place-

3. *u: bhitre bhitari kaanlai.*
 (He/she inside cried) He/she
 cried from inside.
4. *inne unne baukhal chalai chhai.*
 (here there)

Adverb of manner-

At times the linguistic unit which is reduplicated cannot stand on its own. For example words like “*habar*” and “*phusur*” are meaningless in Angika.

5. *ki habar habar khissa karai chiN?*
 (what quickly talk do) Why do
 you speak so fast?
6. *kanaiya phusur phusur khissa karai chhai.*
 (daughter-in-law whisperingly talk do)
 Daughter- in- law speaks whisperingly.

One Word Utterances

There are various instances where a single word is repeated to form a complete utterance.

Following are some examples-

1. *jo-jo!* (go go!)
2. *su:t su:t* (sleep sleep!)

Apart from these question particles are also repeated to form complete utterances.

3. *ki ki:* (what what?) means “what all”
4. *kakhni: kakhni:* (When when?) means “at what times”
5. *ke ke?* (who who?) means “who all”
6. *kena kena?* (how how?) means “in what ways”

Repetition at semantic level

Reduplicating linguistic units at the semantic level is also a very common phenomenon in Angika. Repetition at the semantic level are basically used to express generality. Following are a few examples-

1. *thari-chipli* (plates and related stuff)
2. *nipal-potal* (painted)
3. *suttal- paRal* (lazing)
4. *dhakka-mukka* (pushing in crowds)
5. *ka:m-ka:j* (work and related stuff)
6. *tuttal-phuttal* (broken)

Besides the above mentioned types of reduplication, there are onomatopoeic words which represent an imitation of a particular sound or imitation of an action along with the sound. Following are a few examples-

1. **bak bak** (unnecessary talk)
2. **ke:N ke:N** (noise produced by doors)
3. **gham gham** (sound produced when someone is punched on the back)

Conclusion

Reduplication is a very fruitful process in Angika language. Many times the reduplicated form has a completely different meaning from the words it has been made of. Reduplication can be complete as well as partial. In complete reduplication the linguistic unit is reduplicated completely while in partial reduplication a part of the linguistic unit is repeated.

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लुसप्राय भाषा राजी: लेखन की चुनौतियाँ

डॉ. कविता रस्तोगी

प्रो. एवं अध्यक्ष भाषाविज्ञान विभाग
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परिचय

राजी एक आदिम जनजाति है जिसे बनमानुस, बनरावत, जंगली, रावत आदि नामों से पुकारा जाता है। उत्तराखण्ड राज्य के पिथौरागढ़ एवं चम्पावत जिलों के सघन जंगलों में निवास करने वाली इस जनजाति के विषय में बाह्य जगत को सबसे पहले 1823 में कुमाऊ के तत्कालीन कमिश्नर सी. डब्ल्यू.ट्रेल ने जानकारी दी। छोटी-छोटी 10 बस्तियों (जिनमे 5 से लेकर 15 घर मिलते है) में रहने वाली इस जनजाति की सन 2001 में कुल जनसंख्या 680 थी और 2011 जनगणना के अनुसार अब इनकी संख्या 732 हो गई। दस वर्षों में इनकी जनसंख्या में मात्र 7.65% प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई है। वर्तमान में इस समुदाय की समाज-आर्थिक स्थिति अत्यंत कमजोर है। जनसंख्या कम होने के कारण क्षेत्रीय नेताओं के लिए समुदाय कोई महत्व नहीं रखता है। अतः समुदाय के विकास के लिए किसी प्रकार के राजनैतिक प्रयास नहीं हो रहे है। समुदाय की मात्र दस बारह प्रतिशत जनसंख्या शिक्षित है, दो प्रतिशत लोग सरकारी नौकरी कर रहे है। लकड़ी काटना, मुर्गी पालन, खेती करना या कुमाऊ लोगों के घर और दूकान में काम करना आज इनके जीविकोपार्जन के प्रमुख साधन है।

राजी भाषा

इस जनजाति की भाषा का नाम राजी / राऊती है। सरकारी फाइलों एवं आसपास के लोग राजी या रजबार नाम से ही भाषिक समुदाय को बुलाते है। यह जनजाति स्वयं को “भुल्ला” और भाषा शब्द को बोलने के लिए “बत्काओ” शब्द का प्रयोग करती है। भारत का प्रथम भाषा सर्वेक्षण करने वाले सर जार्ज ग्रियर्सन ने अपने कार्यों में इस भाषा के लिए ‘जंगली’ नाम का प्रयोग किया और भौगोलिक समानता के आधार पर इसे तिब्बती-चीनी परिवार की भाषा स्वीकार किया है। उनके इस मत का समर्थन प्रसिद्ध भाषाविद डॉ. सुनीति कुमार चटर्जी ने भी किया। किन्तु डॉ.शोभा राम शर्मा एवं डॉ. डी. डी.शर्मा सरीखे कतिपय विद्वानों ने इस भाषा को मुंडा परिवार से सम्बन्धित बताया है। मैंने अपने पूर्व शोध कार्य में यह स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया है कि इस भाषा रूप के वर्तमान अभिलक्षण इस तथ्य के संकेतक है कि ये भाषा तिब्बती-चीनी परिवार के केन्द्रीय हिमालयी उपवर्ग की भाषा है जिसमे लम्बे समय से हो रहे संपर्क के कारण हिंदी और कुमाउनी भाषाओं के केवल शब्द ही नहीं वरन व्याकरण सम्बन्धी अनेक लक्षण भी मिलते है।

सम्प्रेषण अभिरचना

राजी समुदाय के स्वरूप पर यदि ध्यान दे तो ज्ञात होता है कि जहाँ एक तरह नई पीढ़ी भाषा को सीख रही है वहीं दूसरी तरफ भाषा की शब्दावली संकुचित हो रही है। इनकी भाषा में आगत शब्दों का बाहुल्य है तथा आज अनेक राजी शब्दों का स्थान हिंदी और कुमाउनी शब्दों ने ले लिया है, जैसे - पिता के भाई के लिए राजी भाषी “दुक्कइया” शब्द का प्रयोग करते थे परन्तु आज वे “कक्का” बोलते हैं। समुदाय के लगभग सभी सदस्य द्विभाषी हैं जो एक ऐसे भाषा रूप का प्रयोग करते हैं जिसमें कुमाउनी एवं हिंदी के ना केवल शब्द वरन सम्पूर्ण वाक्य बोले जाते हैं। राजी माता-पिता भाषा के इसी रूप को आने वाली पीढ़ी को हस्तान्तरित भी कर रहे हैं। इस तरह एक तरफ राजी भाषा बच्चों द्वारा सीखी जा रही है तो दूसरी तरफ इसके वक्ता भाषा के अत्यंत मिश्रित रूप का प्रयोग कर रहे हैं। प्रयोग क्षेत्र की दृष्टि से देखे तो कतिपय क्षेत्रों में इसका बहुत कम और कुछ क्षेत्रों में बिलकुल प्रयोग नहीं होता है, जैसे शिक्षा एवं साक्षरता में राजी का कोई भी योगदान नहीं है जबकि घर एवं धार्मिक क्रिया-कलापों में इसके मिश्रित रूप का प्रयोग किया जाता है और बाज़ार तथा पड़ोसियों के साथ बातचीत समृद्ध समुदाय की भाषा कुमाउनी या हिंदी में होती है। भाषाविदों का मानना है की यह स्थिति भाषा के अनुरक्षण एवं विकास के लिए संकट की कही जा सकती है।

पुनरुद्धार कार्यक्रम: लेखन व्यवस्था का विकास

वर्ष 1998 में इस समुदाय एवं उसकी भाषा पर कार्य आरंभ करने के पश्चात् मुझे इस भाषाभाषी समुदाय की वास्तविक स्थिति का ज्ञान हुआ जो इस तथ्य की स्पष्ट संकेतक थी कि राजी भाषा का अस्तित्व संकट में है जिसे बचाने के लिए व्यवस्थित प्रयास की आवश्यकता है। स्थिति का अवलोकन एवं मूल्यांकन कर मैंने राजी भाषा के पुनरुद्धार का कार्यक्रम बनाया। इसका प्रलेखन कर भाषा के व्याकरण लेखन के बाद मैंने इस मौखिक भाषा को लिखित रूप देने की दिशा में कार्य आरम्भ किया। वर्ष 2004 में लेखन व्यवस्था विकास के प्रथम चरण में राजी वक्ताओं को जोड़ने के लिए हम ने जौलजीबी में स्थित उनके आवासीय विद्यालय में एक निबंध प्रतियोगिता आयोजित की जिसका उद्देश्य यह भी जानना था कि राजी बच्चे देवनागरी एवं रोमन में से किस लिपि में लिखना पसंद करेंगे। देवनागरी के प्रति उनके रुझान को देख कर मैंने ब्लैक बोर्ड पर दो वाक्य हिंदी में लिख कर उनका राजी में अनुवाद किया और उस अनुवाद को देवनागरी में लिखा जिसको देख कर निबंध में भाग लेने वाले सभी बच्चे अत्यंत प्रसन्न हुए। उसके पश्चात् उन्हें ‘मेरा परिवार’ विषय पर दस पंक्तियां लिखने को कही गईं। अंत में तीन बच्चों को पुरस्कार भी दिए गए। बच्चों ने बड़े उत्साह के साथ प्रतियोगिता में भाग लिया।



निबंध प्रतियोगिता राजी आवासीय विद्यालय

राजी व्याकरण लेखन के समय इस भाषा की स्वनप्रक्रिया पर कार्य करते हुए भाषा की स्वनिम सूची बनाई गई थी। जिसने लेखीम की प्रथम सूची का निर्माण करने में सहायता की। लेखन व्यवस्था के इस प्रथम ड्राफ्ट पर वर्ष 2007-2009 के दौरान कई बार राजी समुदाय से चर्चा हुई। अंत में वर्ष 2010 में राजी वर्णमाला का प्रकाशन और वितरण किया गया।

समस्याएँ एवं चुनौतियाँ

मौखिक भाषा में सहज साक्षरता लाने के प्रयास भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार के उलझावों को जन्म देते हैं

- मनोवैज्ञानिक समस्याएँ
- सांस्कृतिक समस्याएँ
- राजनैतिक समस्याएँ
- तकनीकी समस्याएँ

कभी कभी जनजातीय समाज इस कारण लेखन का चुनाव नहीं करता क्योंकि उसे भय रहता है कि लेखन उनकी भाषा पर से उनका अधिकार समाप्त कर देगा। एक तरफ बाह्य दुनिया उन बातों को जान लेगी जो वो उनके साथ बाटना नहीं चाहते हैं तो दूसरी तरफ भाषा सबके लिए सुलभ हो जाएगी। राजी जनजाति के परिपेक्ष्य में विचार करे तो ये लोग स्वभावतः शर्मीले और बहुत कम बोलने वाले और कम मिलनसार हैं। लम्बे समय तक कुमाऊ परिवारों के पड़ोसी होने पर भी प्रायः ये ना तो उनके विवाह आदि संस्कारों में जाते हैं और ना ही उन्हें निमंत्रित करते हैं। बाज़ार में भी कुछ निश्चित दुकानदारों से सामान खरीदना, निश्चित ढाबे पर ही चाय पीना और कुछ ही परिवारों के लिए लकड़ी काटना अथवा खेती करना पसंद करते हैं। इस मानसिकता वाले समुदाय को लेखन के लिए प्रेरित करना मेरे लिए एक चुनौती भरा कार्य था। जो लगातार समुदाय के लोगों से मिलते रहने, अर्पण नामक स्वयंसेवी संस्था के सदस्यों की मेहनत एवं मेरे साथ शोध सहायक के रूप में कार्यरत डॉ. सत्येन्द्र अवस्थी के अथक परिश्रम से संभव हुआ और धीरे धीरे समुदाय हम पर विश्वास करने लगा।

इस समुदाय के साथ लंबा समय व्यतीत करने के कारण हम इस तथ्य से परिचित थे कि राजी भाषी अपनी भाषा के प्रति उदासीन मनोवृत्ति रखते हैं। वह जानते हैं कि उनकी मातृभाषा उन्हें रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान नहीं दे सकती है। यही नहीं शिक्षा एवं व्यवसाय के क्षेत्र में आगे आने के लिए उन्हें पड़ोसी भाषाओं का ही सहारा लेना पड़ेगा। अतः अपनी भाषा को लिखने का प्रश्न किसी राजी वक्ता के मन में शायद ही कभी उठा हो। अपनी भाषा उनके लिए महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। वे इसे बोलने में शर्म महसूस करते हैं। लगभग ९ वर्षों तक लगातार उनके सम्पर्क में रहकर हम ने उनके मन में बैठी इस हीनभावना को दूर करने में सफलता प्राप्त की और समुदाय के अनेक नवयुवक, स्त्रीयां एवं बच्चे हमारे कार्यक्रम से जुड़ गए।

यह सर्वविदित तथ्य है कि लिखे जाने पर शब्द जड़ीभूत हो एक निश्चित अर्थ के संकेतक हो जाते हैं। यह वही अर्थ होता है जो उस भाषा पर काम करने वाला शोधकर्ता समझता है। प्रश्न यह उठता है कि क्या शोधकर्ता उस शब्द की समस्त आर्थी छटाओं को पकड़ पाया है? जैसे राजी भाषा में 'सुन्दर स्त्री' के लिए आरम्भ में सभी वक्ता "निक्को गरोड" का प्रयोग कर रहे थे। अचानक एक दिन एक पुरुष सूचक ने "काफुल्लया गरोड" कहा। ज्यादा पूछ-ताछ करने पर ज्ञात हुआ कि यह शब्द भिन्न आर्थी छटा से बंधा है।

हर समुदाय एकाधिक बस्तियों में रहता है जिनमें भाषागत थोड़ी बहुत भिन्नता अवश्य होती है। समस्या यह होती है कि किस बस्ती की भाषा को लेखन का आधार बनाया जाए। जिस गाँव के लोग जागरूक होते हैं, सहायता के लिए आगे आते हैं उस बस्ती के भाषा रूप का प्रतिनिधित्व लिखित भाषा में होना एक सामान्य बात है। इस स्थिति में अन्य गावों के भाषिक अभिलक्षणों की उपेक्षा की संभावना बनी रहती है। राजी लेखन व्यवस्था के विकास के समय इस बिंदु को ध्यान में रखते हुए सभी गावों के लोगों से बातचीत की गई। यही नहीं लेखन के प्रथम चरण में बनाई गई वर्णमाला की जांच में भी सबकी भागीदारी हो इसका विशेष ध्यान रखा गया।

लेखन विकास के साथ समुदाय मौखिक समाज से कट कर लिखित संस्कृति में समीकृत होने लगता है जिसकी अपनी अनेक समस्याएं होती हैं। राजी भाषा में कुछ शब्द मुंडा परिवार, कतिपय चीनी परिवार के तथा अनेक शब्द आर्य परिवार के मिलते हैं। यही नहीं बहुत से शब्द अज्ञात व्युत्पत्ति के कहे जा सकते हैं। इन शब्दों के लेखन में अल्प प्रस्तुतीकरण की समस्या हो सकती है।

प्रायः एक बड़ी समस्या समुदाय के भीतर होने वाली असहमति की भी हो सकती है। राजी लिपि व्यवस्था विकास के दौरान भाषा के लिए प्रयुक्त होने वाले शब्द "बत्काओ" की पांच वर्तनी लोगों ने बताई - /बत्काओ/ बत्काव/ बत्काऊ/ बत्कव/ समस्या यह उठी कि इनमें से किसे स्वीकार किया जाए। ऐसी स्थिति होने पर सर्वमान्य सिद्धांत के आधार पर वर्तनी का चुनाव किया गया।

इस प्रकार अनेक भाषिक एवं अभाषिक चुनौतियों का सामना कर उनके समाधान ढूँढने के उपरान्त राजी के लिए निम्न लेखिम व्यवस्था तैयार की गई।

राजी लेखिम व्यवस्था

Phoneme	p	p ^h	t	t ^h	T	T ^h	k	k ^h
Grapheme	प	फ	त	थ	ट	ठ	क	ख
Phoneme	b	b ^h	d	d ^h	D	D ^h	g	g ^h
Grapheme	ब	भ	द	ध	ड	ढ	ग	घ
Phoneme	c	c ^h	j	j ^h	s	ʃ	h	m
Grapheme	च	छ	ज	झ	स	श	ह	म
Phoneme	n	ɳ	l	r	R	w	y	
Grapheme	न	ड़	ल	र	ड़	व	य	
Phoneme	i	u	e	o	ɛ	ə	a	~
Grapheme	इ	उ	ए	ओ	ऐ	अ	आ	ँ

vowel	अ	आ	इ	उ	ए	ऐ	ओ
signs	-	।	ि	ु	े	ै	ो

राजी भाषा के 30 व्यंजन एवं 7 स्वर ध्वनियों को उपरिवत देवनागरी में लिखा गया। इसके अतिरिक्त /ण/, /ङ/ एवं चन्द्र बिंदु को भी स्वतंत्र लिपि चिह्न दिया गया। इस भाषा के मौखिक रूप में ह्रस्व और दीर्घ /ई/ ध्वनियां मिलती हैं किन्तु इनमें व्यतिरेक नहीं प्राप्त होता और ये सहस्वनिमवत भी कार्य नहीं करती है। आरम्भ में इनके लिए दो स्वतंत्र लिपि चिह्न रखे गए थे किन्तु बाद में भाषिक समुदाय के लोगों ने सिर्फ एक - एक ग्राफीम /इ/ और /उ/ रखने पर जोर दिया। /ङ/ ध्वनि /न/ की सहस्वनिम है जो सदैव शब्द के अंत में या आगत शब्दों को बोलने के लिए प्रयोग में लाई जाती है जैसे- /दुधङ, पलङ/ अनेक राजी वक्ता इसे लिखना चाहते थे अतः उनकी इच्छा का सम्मान करते हुए इसे अलग लिपि चिह्न दिया गया।

मूर्धन्य स्वनिम /ट, ठ, ड, ढ/ के अतिरिक्त /ड़/ का भी व्यवहार यह जनजाति करती है। ध्यान रहे कि ये पाँच स्वनिम आगत शब्दों में ही मिलते हैं। परवर्ती भाषिक सामग्री में मूर्धन्य स्वनिम /ड़/ से संबंधित यह तथ्य देखा गया कि (कई शब्दों में) वत्स्य /र/ के स्थान पर /ड़/ का प्रयोग वक्ता कर रहे हैं। यथा- /पाड़ी/~पारी/ इस भाषा की स्वन्यात्मक संरचना में नासिक्यीकरण स्वनिम रूप में कार्यरत दृष्टिगत होता है किन्तु सम्पूर्ण एकत्रित सामग्री में मात्र एक उदाहरण के अतिरिक्त कोई भी शब्द नहीं मिलता नासिक्यता जहाँ सार्थक भेद उत्पन्न करे, जैसे- /हा/ /हाँ/

राजी लोगों ने इसको लिखने की इच्छा जाहिर की अतः इसके लिए देवनागरी /ँ/ का प्रयोग किया गया। /न, म, ल, व/ स्वनिमों के सहस्वनिम भेद महाप्राणता युक्त न्ह, म्ह, ल्ह और व्ह का व्यवहार भी कुछ शब्दों में होता है जैसे- /नी~न्ही/ = दो, /मन्ध्रवा~ मन्ध्रहवा/= आदमी। इनको भिन्न लिपि चिह्न देने के स्थान पर सस्कृत /ः/

चिह्न का प्रयोग किया गया, यथा- ल्, न् किन्तु बाद में लिपि चिह्न का उपयोग अधिक ग्राह्य लगा जैसे /ल्ह/ के स्थान पर / ल्ह / का प्रयोग। आरम्भ में यह निर्णय तकनीकी सुविधा को ध्यान में रख कर भी लिया गया था किन्तु वर्ष 2010 से आज तकनीकी में बड़ा परिवर्तन आया है और इन्हें सरलता से लिखा जा सकता है अतः

अब मैं / ल्ह / के स्थान पर /ल्ह/ लिखे जाने का समर्थन करती हूँ। राजी लेखिम व्यवस्था में देवनागरी में प्रयुक्त स्वर चिह्नों को भी प्रयोग में लाया गया। इस प्रकार अनेक चुनौतियों का सामना करते हुए राजी /राउती लिपि व्यवस्था का विकास हुआ। वर्ष 2010 में लेखिका ने एक राजी वर्णमाला तैयार कर समुदाय में प्रयोग के लिए वितरित की।



राजी वर्णमाला वितरण

स्पष्ट है कि अलिखित भाषाओं के लेखन का कार्य अत्यन्त चुनौतीपूर्ण होता है जिसके लिए विषय की समझ के साथ-साथ सहनशीलता, लगन और परिश्रम की आवश्यकता होती है।

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Swadesh Word List (100)

Bangani

SL. No.	English	Hindi	Bangani (Devanagari)	IPA
1	I	मैं	आऊँ	<i>a:ũ</i>
2	you (singular)	तू , तुम , आप	तुमे	<i>tum</i>
3	he	वह	सेऊ	<i>seu</i>
4	we	हम	आमें	<i>amẽ</i>
5	you (plural)	तुम , आप	सेऊ	<i>seu</i>
6	they	वे , ये	सै	<i>si</i>
7	this	यह	एजौ	<i>edʒo</i>
8	that	वह	सेजौ	<i>sedʒo</i>
9	here	यहाँ	एतकै	<i>etəke</i>
10	there	वहाँ	तेतकै	<i>tetəke</i>
11	who	कौन	कूण	<i>kũŋ</i>
12	what	क्या	का	<i>ka</i>
13	where	कहाँ	केतकै	<i>ketəke</i>
14	when	कब	केतरा	<i>ketəra</i>
15	how	कैसा	केशौ	<i>keʃo</i>
16	not	नहीं	ना	<i>na</i>
17	all	सब , सारा	बादै	<i>badde</i>
18	many	बहुत	भौरी	<i>b^hori</i>

19	some	कुछ	थोड़ौ	<i>t^hoɽɔ</i>
20	few	थोड़ा	उशिया	<i>uʃija</i>
21	other	दूसरा	दुजौ	<i>dudʒɔ</i>
22	one	एक	एक	<i>ek</i>
23	two	दो	दुई	<i>dui</i>
24	three	तीन	चीन	<i>tʃin</i>
25	four	चार	चार	<i>tʃar</i>
26	five	पाँच	पाँच	<i>pā̃tʃ</i>
27	big	बड़ा	बौड़ौ	<i>boɽɔ</i>
28	long	लम्बा	लाम्बौ	<i>lambɔ</i>
29	wide	चौड़ा	चौड़ौ	<i>tʃɔɽɔ</i>
30	thick	गाढ़ा , मोटा	मोटौ	<i>moɽɔ</i>
31	heavy	भारी	गौरकौ	<i>gɔrko</i>
32	small	छोटा	लोडेड़ौ	<i>loɽeɽɔ</i>
33	short	छोटा, नाटा	अदबौजौ	<i>adbɔɽtʒɔ</i>
34	narrow	तंग	घाटौ	<i>g^hatɔ</i>
35	thin	पतला	पातलौ	<i>patɔlɔ</i>
36	woman	औरत	छेवेड़	<i>tʃ^heweɽ</i>
37	man (adult male)	आदमी	माणूश	<i>maɽuʃ</i>
38	man (human being)	इंसान , व्यक्ति	माणूश	<i>maɽuʃ</i>
39	child	बच्चा	नानौ	<i>nanɔ</i>
40	wife	पत्नी	गौरवाळी	<i>g^harwaɽi</i>
41	husband	पति	बोटौ	<i>botɔ</i>

42	mother	माता, मां	इजै	<i>idʒe</i>
43	father	पिता	बाबा	<i>baba</i>
44	animal	जानवर	पौशु	<i>pəʃu</i>
45	fish	मछली	माछी	<i>matʃ^hi</i>
46	bird	चिड़िया	चौड़ी	<i>tʃɔri</i>
47	dog	कुत्ता	कुकुर	<i>kukur</i>
48	louse	जूँ	जूँ	<i>dʒũ</i>
49	snake	साँप	साप	<i>sap</i>
50	worm	कीड़ा	कीड़ौ	<i>kiɽə</i>
51	tree	पेड़	बूट	<i>buɽ</i>
52	forest	जंगल	जांगळ	<i>jangəɻ</i>
53	stick	डण्डा	डींगौ	<i>d̪iŋə</i>
54	fruit	फल	फौळ	<i>p^hɔɻ</i>
55	seed	बीज	बीज	<i>biɽʒ</i>
56	leaf	पत्ता	पातेर	<i>pater</i>
57	root	जड़	जौड़	<i>dʒɔɽ</i>
58	bark (of a tree)	छाल	बौकौट	<i>bəkəɽ</i>
59	flower	फूल	फूल	<i>p^hul</i>
60	grass	घास	गास	<i>gas</i>
61	rope	रस्सी	लोल्टी	<i>lolɽi</i>
62	skin	त्वचा , चमड़ी	चामड़ी	<i>tʃaməɽi</i>
63	meat	माँस	शिकार	<i>ʃikar</i>
64	blood	खून	लो	<i>lo</i>

65	bone	हड्डी	आइखै	<i>a:rk^hε</i>
66	fat (noun)	चरबी	बौ	<i>bɔ</i>
67	egg	अंडा	पीनी	<i>pini</i>
68	horn	सींग	शींग	<i>ʃiŋ</i>
69	tail	पूँछ	पूँजुड	<i>pũdʒuɽ</i>
70	feather	पंख, पर	पाख	<i>pak^h</i>
71	hair	बाल	मुडाळ	<i>muɖal</i>
72	head	सर	मूँड	<i>mũɖ</i>
73	ear	कान	कान	<i>kan</i>
74	eye	आँख	आखौ	<i>ak^hɔ</i>
75	nose	नाक	नाक	<i>nak</i>
76	mouth	मुँह	खाब	<i>k^hab</i>
77	tooth	दाँत	दाँद	<i>dãd</i>
78	tongue (organ)	जीभ	जीब	<i>dʒib</i>
79	finger nail	नाखुन	नौग	<i>nɔg</i>
80	foot	पैर	बांगणै	<i>baŋgəɳε</i>
81	leg	टांग	टांग	<i>tãg</i>
82	knee	घुटना	गुंडौ	<i>gundɔ</i>
83	hand	हाथ	आथ	<i>a^h</i>
84	wing	पंख	पाख	<i>pak^h</i>
85	belly	पेट	पैंद	<i>pẽd</i>
86	guts	अंतड़ी	आंदरै	<i>andərəε</i>
87	neck	गरदन	केर	<i>ker</i>

88	back	पीठ	चींगड़ौ	<i>tʃiŋəɽə</i>
89	breast	छाती	याळौ	<i>jaɭə</i>
90	heart	दिल	जीउ	<i>dʒiu</i>
91	liver	यकृत्	काळजौ	<i>kaɭdʒə</i>
92	to drink	पीना	पीणौ	<i>piŋə</i>
93	to eat	खाना	खाणौ	<i>kʰaŋə</i>
94	to bite	काटना	काटणौ	<i>kaɽəŋə</i>
95	to suck	चूसना	चूशणौ	<i>tʃuʃəŋə</i>
96	to spit	थूकना	थुकणौ	<i>tʰukəŋə</i>
97	to vomit	उल्टीकरना	छादणौ	<i>tʃʰadəŋə</i>
98	to blow	फूँकमारना	फूँकणौ	<i>pʰukəŋə</i>
99	to breathe	साँसलेना	सौसियाणौ	<i>səsiʃəŋə</i>
100	to laugh	हँसना	औसणौ	<i>əʃəŋə</i>

Swadesh Word List (100)

Rawalti

SL. No.	English	Hindi	Rawalti (Devanagari)	IPA
1	I	मैं	मुई	<i>muĩ</i>
2	you (singular)	तू , तुम , आप	तू	<i>tu</i>
3	he	वह	सू	<i>su</i>
4	we	हम	आज्म	<i>a:m</i>
5	you (plural)	तुम , आप	तुम	<i>tum</i>
6	they	वे , ये	सी, ई	<i>si, i</i>
7	this	यह	यू	<i>ju</i>
8	that	वह	सू	<i>su</i>
9	here	यहाँ	येखऽ	<i>jek^h:</i>
10	there	वहाँ	तेखऽ	<i>tek^h:</i>
11	who	कौन	कूण	<i>kuŋ</i>
12	what	क्या	का	<i>ka</i>
13	where	कहाँ	कोख	<i>kok^h</i>
14	when	कब	कतरा	<i>kətəra</i>
15	how	कैसा	कणू	<i>kəŋu</i>
16	not	नहीं	ना	<i>na</i>
17	all	सब , सारा	सब्बा	<i>səbba</i>
18	many	बहुत	बोऽता	<i>bo:ta</i>

19	some	कुछ	कणिक	<i>kəŋik</i>
20	few	थोडा	उस्या	<i>usja</i>
21	other	दूसरा	ह्वेकु	<i>hweku</i>
22	one	एक	एक	<i>ek</i>
23	two	दो	द्वी	<i>dwi</i>
24	three	तीन	तीन	<i>tin</i>
25	four	चार	चार	<i>tʃar</i>
26	five	पाँच	पंच	<i>pəntʃ</i>
27	big	बड़ा	बड़ू	<i>bəɽu</i>
28	long	लम्बा	लम्बू	<i>ləmbu</i>
29	wide	चौड़ा	चोड़ू	<i>tʃoɽu</i>
30	thick	गाढ़ा , मोटा	काटू	<i>kaʈʰu</i>
31	heavy	भारी	गौरू	<i>gəru</i>
32	small	छोटा	नानू	<i>nanu</i>
33	short	छोटा, नाटा	लोऽडू	<i>lo:ɖu</i>
34	narrow	तंग	सांगड़ू	<i>sangəɽu</i>
35	thin	पतला	पातलू	<i>patəlu</i>
36	woman	औरत	बैटमास	<i>bətəmas</i>
37	man (adult male)	आदमी	बैटूडा	<i>bətʰura</i>
38	man (human being)	इंसान , व्यक्ति	मनखि	<i>manəkʰɪ</i>
39	child	बच्चा	नन्या	<i>nənja</i>
40	wife	पत्नी	सैण	<i>sɛŋ</i>
41	husband	पति	बैटूडा	<i>bətʰura</i>

42	mother	माता, मां	बुई	<i>bui</i>
43	father	पिता	बा	<i>ba</i>
44	animal	जानवर	चईन	<i>tʃəin</i>
45	fish	मछली	माच्छा	<i>matʃʰa</i>
46	bird	चिड़िया	चलकुणी	<i>tʃələkun̩i</i>
47	dog	कुत्ता	छौणू	<i>tʃʰɔnu</i>
48	louse	जूँ	जूं	<i>dʒũ</i>
49	snake	साँप	सरप	<i>sərəp</i>
50	worm	कीड़ा	कीड़ू	<i>kiɽu</i>
51	tree	पेड़	बूट	<i>buɽ</i>
52	forest	जंगल	बण	<i>bəŋ</i>
53	stick	डण्डा	लाटू	<i>laɽʰu</i>
54	fruit	फल	फल	<i>pʰəl</i>
55	seed	बीज	बीज	<i>bidʒ</i>
56	leaf	पत्ता	लाबू	<i>labu</i>
57	root	जड़	जड़	<i>dʒəɽ</i>
58	bark (of a tree)	छाल	बगट	<i>bəgəɽ</i>
59	flower	फूल	फूल	<i>pʰul</i>
60	grass	घास	घास	<i>gʰas</i>
61	rope	रस्सी	पागेटू	<i>paɡeɽʰu</i>
62	skin	त्वचा , चमड़ी	मास	<i>mas</i>
63	meat	माँस	शिकार	<i>ʃikar</i>
64	blood	खून	लीई	<i>lii</i>

65	bone	हड्डी	आइगु	<i>aɾəgu</i>
66	fat (noun)	चरबी	चरबी	<i>tʃəɾəbi</i>
67	egg	अंडा	बाति	<i>batɪ</i>
68	horn	सींग	सींग	<i>sīŋ</i>
69	tail	पूँछ	पूछइ	<i>puʃʰəɽu</i>
70	feather	पंख, पर	पाँख	<i>pāṅkʰ</i>
71	hair	बाल	मुंडाल	<i>muṅḍal</i>
72	head	सर	मुल्लू	<i>mullu</i>
73	ear	कान	कनेल	<i>kənel</i>
74	eye	आँख	आँखू	<i>āṅkʰu</i>
75	nose	नाक	नाक	<i>nak</i>
76	mouth	मुँह	गीचू	<i>gitʃu</i>
77	tooth	दाँत	दाँत	<i>dāṭ</i>
78	tongue (organ)	जीभ	जिबडु	<i>dʒɪbəɽu</i>
79	finger nail	नाखुन	नग	<i>nəg</i>
80	foot	पैर	बाँगडु	<i>bāŋgəɽu</i>
81	leg	टांग	बाँगडु	<i>bāŋgəɽu</i>
82	knee	घुटना	गुंडू	<i>gundu</i>
83	hand	हाथ	हात	<i>hat</i>
84	wing	पंख	पाँख	<i>pāṅkʰ</i>
85	belly	पेट	पैँद	<i>pēḍ</i>
86	guts	अंतड़ी	आँदरा	<i>āḍara</i>
87	neck	गरदन	गलु	<i>gəlu</i>

88	back	पीठ	तिंगडू	<i>tīgəɽu</i>
89	breast	छाती	छाती	<i>tʃ^hati</i>
90	heart	दिल	जिकुडी	<i>dʒikud̪i</i>
91	liver	यकृत	कलेजु	<i>kələdʒu</i>
92	to drink	पीना	पिणु	<i>piṇu</i>
93	to eat	खाना	खाणु	<i>k^haṇu</i>
94	to bite	काटना	काटणु	<i>kaṭəṇu</i>
95	to suck	चूसना	चुसणु	<i>tʃusəṇu</i>
96	to spit	थूकना	थुकणु	<i>t^hukəṇu</i>
97	to vomit	उल्टी करना	छादेणु	<i>tʃ^hadəṇu</i>
98	to blow	फूँक मारना	फुकणुं	<i>p^hukəṇũ</i>
99	to breathe	साँस लेना	ससकारेणु	<i>səsəkareṇu</i>
100	to laugh	हँसना	हसणु	<i>həsəṇu</i>

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