

Documentation of the Kullui language: problems, results, prospects¹

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The project on documentation of the Indo-Aryan languages of Northern India is carried out at the Institute of linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, since 2014. For today, three linguistic fieldwork trips have already taken place (2014, 2016, 2017). The starting point of our research is the Kullui language. Kullui is one of the Himachali languages spoken in the Kullu district (Himachal Pradesh). Himachal Pradesh is an interesting area from linguistic point of view. The Indo-Aryan languages of the state belong to the genetic group Himachali Pahari (also known as Western Pahari). This group is a dialectal continuum with a significant differences between geographically remote idioms. Himachali Pahari group according to different estimates includes 30 to 60 idioms with no official status. The goal of our current project is a state-of-the-art documentation of the Kullui language, including a grammar description, a modern digital dictionary, and a corpus of glossed texts with audio and video materials. All these specific linguistic objectives are directly connected to sociolinguistic and dialectological ones.

A number of works on Kullui were written more than a hundred years ago, including [Diack 1896], [Bailey 1908], and [Grierson 1916]; there are a few more recent studies (see e.g. [Thakur 1975], [Ranganatha 1981], [Sharma 2014]), however none of the above can be viewed as a comprehensive and systematic description of the language. According to the Census of India 2001, the number of speakers of Kullui is about 170,000. In order to study the sociolinguistic situation in Kullui-speaking area we interviewed the speakers of all age groups. We have also investigated the functional distribution of language use and the degree of preservation of the Kullui language. Our research demonstrates that the main

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function of Kullui is oral communication in the family and with the neighbours from the same villages. Besides, Kullui plays a significant role in maintaining cultural heritage as a language of folk songs and tales and of gurs' (shamans') rituals. The preliminary results of the small-scale sociolinguistic enquiry among the schoolchildren show that they speak Kullui with their grandparents only, but not with parents or friends. This means that the next generation might have no need in using Kullui, so the language shift is quite possible.

The data gathered in the course of the fieldwork trips also help to identify the geographical borders of Kullui in the dialectal continuum of Himachali languages. Using special questionnaire on linguistic features of Himachali region we have interviewed people from remote villages. The questionnaires from speakers of several tehsils (Kullu, Manali, Banjar, Sainj, Ani) show substantial phonetical and grammatical differences. For now, we can affirm that the approximate territory of the Kullui language (with some dialectal variation) spreads along Beas river from Bhuntar in the south to Manali in the north.

The main objective of our research is linguistic description of the Kullui. Multiple gaps in grammar description have been filled: for the first time some grammar phenomena have been described. Here we have to mention some features presenting interest from typological point of view in comparison to the other languages of Himalayas:

- Two types of demonstrative pronouns. Animate and inanimate demonstrative pronouns (*ei* and *ũi*) were first mentioned in [Thakur 1975: 258], and according to this grammar description animate nouns must be substituted only by animate pronouns, and inanimate nouns must be substituted only by inanimate pronouns. However, our fieldwork data show that the choice of the pronoun depends also on the type of the antecedent and, more interesting, on postposition. The preferable positions of the animate demonstratives is without postpositions or with ACC/DAT postposition, while inanimate pronouns are mostly used in combinations with other postpositions, cf.:

(1)	<i>le</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>senge</i>	<i>likh</i>
	take.IMP	3SG.AN	pen	3SG.INAN	INSTR	write.IMP
	<i>tebe</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>mumbe</i>	<i>vapas</i>	<i>de-i</i>	
	then	3SG.AN.OBL	I.ACC/DAT	back	give-IMP.FUT	
	Take this pen, write with it, then give it back to me					

- Two systems of cardinal numerals (see more in [Krylova 2017]). New Indo-Aryan languages typically have both decimal and vigesimal systems of numerals. In decimal systems, numerals from 1 to 100 are independent lexemes originating from the ancient Indian decimal system. Numbers greater than 10, ending with 9, are denoted with a word derivated from the next numeral. Vigesimal system used in village dialects includes non-derivative cardinals from 1 to 10 and 20, and other cardinals are derived using following models: $n*20\pm m$ or $\pm m+n*20$ (m and n are numbers from 1 to 10). Vigesimal systems are supposed to be substrate-based and it is not mentioned in the most of grammatical descriptions of NIA languages. At the same time, systems of cardinals of Kullui are described differently in [Thakur 1975, Ranganatha 1981, Sharma 2014]. Our field research presents both a full picture of the decimal system of Kullui cardinals and its vigesimal system, different from previous descriptions and derivated by the model $n*20+m$ (m is a number from 1 to 20). Two hypotheses are possible: either Kullui has more than one vigesimal cardinal systems or the vigesimal system of Kullui in the process of disintegration and replacement by the decimal one has developed a lot of varieties in different idiolects.

- The genitive marking of arguments which is different from standard genitivus possessivus in NIA (New Indo-Aryan) languages, where genitive postposition / case affix agrees with the possessed NP in gender, number and case (if there are any) like an adjective. Genitive marker in Kullui that does not mark genitivus possessivus has only one form: OBL.M = $\text{r}\epsilon$ and it has no agreement with any NP. It can mark subject in inabilitive and involitive constructions (this type of marking in other Himachali languages has been described in details in [Zoller 2009]), and external possessor:

(2) *fohru-rε* *foh^hl-i* *təre* *nei* *bef-i-d-a*
 boy-GEN.OBL.M good-F way(F) NEG sit-PASS-PTCP-M.SG
 The boy is not able to sit properly

(3) *d^hũ-ε* *laija* *meri* *ɔtʃtʃ^hi duk^h-i*
 smoke-INSTR INSTR I.GEN.DIR.F eye(F) ache-PFV.F
 My eyes ache from the smoke

- (4) *merε* *d^hũ-ε* *laija* *ɔtʃtʃ^hi duk^h-i*
 I.GEN.OBL.M smoke-INSTR INSTR eye(F) ache-PFV.F
 I have an ache in my eyes because of smoke

• Prohibitive and preventive constructions. There are two types of imperative: simple imperative and future (or delayed) imperative are relatively frequent for Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayan area. Prohibitive and preventive constructions (the negative forms of the imperative) in Kullui are more interesting, they do not include imperative forms with added negative particle, but have a special structure. These constructions form by adding of a special prohibitive particle (*mɔt* or *heri*) added to participles showing agreement with the subject in gender and number. The earlier indeclinable particle *mɔt* (related to Sanskrit *mā*, Hindi *mat*) is reinterpreted in Kullui as imperative of a non-existent prohibitive verb **mɔtna* and can be represented in all possible imperative forms: *mɔt* (IMP 2SG) / *mɔta*=*mɔtat* (IMP 2PL) / *mɔti* (IMP.FUT 2SG) / *mɔtit* (IMP.FUT 2PL). The particle *heri* is developed by the grammaticalization of the future imperative form of the verb *herna* ‘to see’ that is also shows agreement with the subject in number – *heri* (IMP.FUT 2SG) / *herit* (IMP.FUT 2PL). Cf.:

- (5) *bhau ron-d-a* *mɔt*
 baby cry-PTCP-M.SG PROH.SG
 Baby, do not cry

- (6) *mu pitse mɔta* *en-d-ε*
 I.OBL after PROH.PL come-PTCP-PL
 Do not follow me

- (7) *bɔn-a* *bε* *kεε* *mɔti* *jan-d-a*
 forest-OBL ACC/DAT alone PREV.SG go- PTCP-M.SG
 Do not go to the forest alone

- (8) *ei* *saĩ* *kadi* *heri* *ker-d-a*
 He.OBL EQ when PREV.SG do- PTCP-M.SG
 Never do it like him

Grammaticalization of the imperative form of the verb ‘to see’ into the prohibitive particle is also attested in some Mandeali dialects.

- The negative mirative construction in Kullui (see more in [Renkovskaya in print]). It is stated in [Peterson 2000: 13] that mirativity is typical for Himalayan languages, including Dardic (see [Bashir 2010]) and Tibeto-Burman (see [DeLancey 1997]). Still the data on the Indo-Aryan languages of the region are rare, mirativity is described in details only for Nepali [Peterson 2000]. The mirative construction in Kullui may be an argument that mirativity is one of the areal characteristics of the Himalayan region, so we may suppose that it is presented in the Indo-Aryan languages of the Western Himalayas as much as in Dardic and Tibeto-Burman. See:

(9) *mer-a g^hɔr ɔk^hɛ nə nei her-i-d-a*
 my-M.SG house here ABL NEG see-PASS-PTCP-M.SG
 My house is not seen from here

(10) *mer-a g^hɔr ɔk^hɛ nə nisi her-u-i*
 my-M.SG house here ABL NEG.MIR see-PASS-MIR
 My house is not seen from here (though it has to be seen)

Besides grammatical data, a lexicon (about 2000 lexical units) has been collected in the course of the fieldwork, including grammatical information, examples and sound recording. Also a number of texts (folk tales, legends, songs, stories, conversations) has been recorded and glossed. On the base of our fieldwork data, a website, www.pahari-languages.ru, has been created. It contains regularly updated data on the Kullui language in Russian, English, and Hindi such as general information on the Kullui language, a preliminary version of the Kullui-Russian-English dictionary, and a number of glossed texts. We hope the website will become a valuable information source on Kullui and, in future, other Pahari languages and help popularize minor languages among local people in an attempt to revert the trend of their functional limitation and endangerment.

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Glosses

ABL – ablative postposition; ACC/DAT – accusative-dative postposition; AN – animate pronoun; DIR – direct case; EQ – equative postposition; F – feminine; FUT – future tense; GEN – genitive postposition; IMP – imperative mood; IMP.FUT – future imperative; INAN – inanimate pronoun; INSTR – instrumental postposition; IPFV – imperfective; LOC – locative postposition; M – masculine; MIR – mirative; NEG – negative particle; OBL – oblique case; PASS – passive; PFV – perfective; PREV – preventive particle; PROH – prohibitive particle; PTCP – participle; SG – singular.

The verb ‘to see’ as a source of new postpositions: evidence from Kumaoni and other Himalayan languages

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The verb ‘to see’ in a typological perspective is often grammaticalized in different ways, inter alia it becomes a source of adpositions. According to [Heine and Kuteva 2002: 269-270] mostly allative markers as well as markers of mental direction (‘towards’) can arise following this grammaticalization pattern. This study is based on the field linguistic research on the Kumaoni language (2010-2017). The paper deals with the Kumaoni postposition grammaticalized from the conjunctive participle (converb) of the verb *dekhno* ‘to see’ and functioning as a marker of a stimulus in the constructions of emotional state (hereinafter STIM). These constructions are formed by predicates expressing emotional states like ‘to be afraid’, ‘to be glad’, ‘to be angry’, ‘to feel shy’ etc. This postposition is attested in many dialects of Kumaoni and has never been studied (before it was considered only as a converb), cf:

- (1) *mē ye kukur dekh-bhaṭin ne dar-nū*
I this.OBL dog STIM (=see-CVB) NEG fear-NEGPRS.1SG
I’m not afraid of this dog (Soryali dialect, Pithoragarh)
- (2) *mi-ke dikh-ber nārāj jan he*
I-ACC/DAT STIM (=see-CVB) angry NEGIMP be.IMP.SG
Don’t be angry with me (Khasparjiya dialect, Someshwar)
- (3) *mē u dekha khussī ho ra-yū*
I he STIM happy be stay-PST.1SG
He made me happy (Soryali dialect, Bajethi)

The formation of the converb in Kumaoni is verbal stem + *-i* + (*-ber*), where *-i* goes back to the form of the converb in Old Indo-Aryan ([Zograf 1976: 218], [Masica 1991: 323]) and *-ber* is presumably derived from OIA *vēlā* ‘time’ (cf. Nepali *ber* ‘time’). The element *-i* can be elided in some dialectal varieties and enclitic *-ber* can also be dropped in stylistic or idiomatic variations ([Sharma 1987: 125]), forming hereby full and short forms of the converb. Also, in many modern Kumaoni dialects the enclitic *-ber* tends to be substituted by ablative postpositions (*baṭi*, *bhaṭi* etc). So, the set of STIM-postpositions in Kumaoni consists of many areal variants, these are: *dekhⁱber* / *dikhber* / *dekhⁱbhaṭi* / *dekhⁱbhaṭin* / *dehber* / *deber* (derived from the full form of the converb)¹ and *dekhi* / *dekhya* / *dekhe* / *dekha* / *dikha* (going back to the short one).

¹ A superscript indicates the vowel which can be elided.

These postpositions can be treated as completely grammaticalized items on the following grounds:

- phonetic changes typical for postpositions in Kumaoni (*-i -> -(i)ya -> -ε/-a; kh -> h*);
- more frequent use of the short form of the converb;
- omission of accusative-dative postposition (ACC/DAT) after a NP. A converb from *dekhno* normally governs the accusative-dative postposition (in case of a specific NP). When STIM is grammaticalized from the full form of a converb, the ACC/DAT can be preserved, but usually it is dropped in case of short-formed-STIM, cf.:

(4) *mẽ timin thẽ dekhber ne dara-n*
 I you.PL.OBL ACC/DAT STIM NEG fear-NEGPRS
 I'm not afraid of you (Johari dialect, Devibagad)

(5) *mẽ tu deber ni dara-n*
 I you.SG STIM NEG fear-NEGPRS
 I'm not afraid of you (Southern Khasparjiya dialect, Shitlakhet)

(6) *mẽ twi dekhe ne dar-ṇi*
 I you.SG.OBL STIM NEG fear-NEGPRS.F
 I'm not afraid of you (Khasparjiya dialect, Almora)

- semantic bleaching. According to native speakers, it is possible to use STIM when a person or a thing causing some emotional state is not visible at the moment. The rare cases of using STIM after infinitives are also attested.

(7) *mẽ dekhyā risā-yā jan*
 I STIM angry-IMP.PL NEGIMP
 Don't be angry with me (Askoti dialect, Chamdungri)

(8) *nantin^o bhūt dekha dar-cha*
 child ghost STIM fear-PRS.3SG
 The child is afraid of ghosts (in general) (Soryali dialect, Pithoragarh)

(9) *mẽ ijā thẽ yo kūn dekha sarmā-chũ*
 I mother APUD this tell STIM feel_shy-PRS.1SG
 I feel shy to tell it to my mother (Soryali dialect, Pithoragarh)

Examples with STIM-postpositions were already attested in [Grierson 1916], where the examples are taken from previously published texts. It can be argued that in [Grierson 1916: 172] in the text example from Joshi Jwala Datt's *Daśa-kumāra-charita* a grammaticalized STIM and not a converb is used, cf.:

(10) *unan maĩ dekhi bar-i rīs a-i aur maĩ-kaṇi*
 they.OBL I STIM great-F rage come-PST.F and I-ACC/DAT

mār-i di-yo
 kill-PPP give-PST.3SG

In spite of the fact that in the word-by-word translation the author translates *dekhi* as 'seeing', the literary translation is given as follows: "They turned their rage upon me and they killed

me². In addition, the pronoun 1SG *maĩ* is not marked by ACC/DAT that would be necessary in case of a converb.

The grammaticalization of a converb into a postposition marking a stimulus of emotion can be considered a fairly natural process in the development of the New Indo-Aryan languages. According to [Masica 1991: 399], the main semantic relations of the converb clause to the main clause are (in the order of semantic development): Temporal priority => Cause => Manner. In case of emotional predicates, the action immediately preceding the emergence of emotional state is semantically identical with the action leading to this state. So, the semantic relation of the converb clause to the main clause in this case is causal, cf. examples from Hindi:

- (11) *āp-se mil-kar khuṣī hu-ī*
 you-ABL meet-CVB happiness be-PST.F
 Nice to meet you!

- (12) *mujhe in ciz-ō ko dekh-kar*
 I.ACC/DAT these.OBL thing-OBL.PL ACC/DAT see-CVB
bahut gussā ā-yā
 very anger come-PST.M.SG

When I saw these things [= as a result], I became very angry ([Davison 1986: 1] cited from [Masica 1991: 399])

Then, the semantics of the verb ‘to see’ used as a converb in the expressions of emotional state in Kumaoni expands to the general perceptual semantics and after that the converb is completely grammaticalized.

It is interesting to note that there is a similar postposition grammaticalized from the verb *dekhnu* ‘to see’ in the Nepali language, closely related to Kumaoni [Turner 1962-6: 371, №6507]. It functions as a standard ablative marker (along with the postposition *bāta*), but in [Korolev 1968: 1312] the author also mentions the “source of a particular internal state”, which, compared to Kumaoni, was likely to be the initial function of this postposition in Nepali, expanded afterwards to the ablative function, cf [Korolev 1968:1312]:

- (13) *phal rukh-dekhi khas-yo*
 fruit tree-ABL fall-PST.M.3SG
 The fruit has fallen from the tree

- (14) *babu chor-a dekhi risāũ-cha*
 father son-OBL ABL (=STIM) be_angry-PRS.3SG
 The father is angry with his son

We can also observe the same grammaticalization path in Phalura (Palula), a Dardic language not so closely related to Pahari, which makes this linguistic phenomenon typologically more interesting. So the postposition *paśi*, translated in [Morgenstierne 1941: 45] as ‘from, for’, presumably originates from the verb *paś-* ‘to see’ ([Liljegren 2016: 208], [Turner 1962-6: 452, №8012]), but the only example in Morgenstierne’s work is not about standard ablative, it is more like above-mentioned stimulus in the constructions of emotional state, cf.:

² The previous part of the text was about the group of robbers that had caught a Brahmin in the forest and one of them then suddenly decided to save the Brahmin, attracting thereby the wrath of his fellows.

- (15) *ase moś paś-i ma biy-ānu*
 that man STIM (=see-CNB) I fear-PRS.1SG
 I'm afraid of that man

Abbreviations

1, 3 — 1, 3 person; ABL – ablative postposition; ACC/DAT – accusative-dative postposition; APUD – apudessive postposition; CVB – converb; F – feminine gender; IMP – imperative mood; M – masculine gender; NEG – negation particle; NEGIMP – imperative negation particle; NEGPRS – present tense of negative conjugation; OBL – oblique case; PL – plural; PPP – past passive participle; PRS – present tense; PST – past tense; SG – singular; STIM – postposition marking stimulus in the constructions of emotional conditions;

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Role of Linguistic Landscape in the Revitalization of an Endangered Language RAJI¹

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Linguistic Landscape: different views

Whenever the structural arrangement of our surrounding changes, the place sounds and looks differently. In a multilingual country like India, one can easily feel this change while traveling from one state to another. We hear and read different languages than the ones we are habitual of. There is a very famous Hindi saying which reflects this idea - कोस कोस पर पानी बदले और चार कोस पर बानी. It means that in this country the taste of water changes as you travel a mile and after every four-mile, you can hear a different variety of languages. I just remember my childhood days when while traveling to Kolkatta by train we used to observe this. The change from Hindi/ Devanagari to Bengali was considered as an identity marker of the state...that now we are in west Bengal. Linguistic diversity is one of the most distinguishing features of India. The study and analysis of this pluricultural and multilingual situation come within the purview of Linguistic Landscape. Linguistic landscaping henceforth LL is not a very old field of study as we all are aware of. The notion of LL has been used in different meanings though most of them are related they do vary in their focus. According to Sciriha & Vassallo 'The description and analysis of language situation of any country' can be called LL, whereas while doing a study on Baltic languages Krislins considered LL as 'The presence and use of many languages in a larger geographic area'. Thus, as a specialized branch of sociolinguistics, one can say that LL focuses on the analysis of the written information that is available on language signs in a specific area. The linguistic landscape can provide important insights and a different perspective on our knowledge about the language.

In 1997 Landry and Bourhis gave the most comprehensive definition of LL. They stated- 'The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration.' In 2009 certain new dimensions were added by Pennycook and he opined that, '...a far more account of space, text and interaction (is needed in linguistic landscape studies): readers and writers are part of

¹ This is the revised version of the paper presented at the 1st International Conference on Linguistic Landscaping at NEHU, Shillong.

the fluid urban semiotic space and produce meaning as they move, read, write and travel. Taking into consideration the broader definition of LL provided by Pennycook in this study we are going to analyze two major points-

- Firstly, how the change in settlement pattern and in the natural environment of a community affects its semiotic understanding.
- Secondly, how the present linguistic landscape of RAJI space is affecting the community and the revitalization program.

Raji community and their language

In India Raji tribal community was brought into light for the first time in 1823 by the then commissioner of Kumaun G.W. Traill. It is said that Rajis or Banrawats are descendants of the prehistoric Kiratas, who were comparatively early settlers of the region than the Nagas and the Khasas. Atkinson (1882) stated that these early tribes entered India by the same route as the Aryans and the Kiratas were the first to arrive than the others. In course of time Kiratas were gradually uprooted from the region by the dominating impact of other ethnic groups, but their few descendants remained in Kumaun and Nepal. In Kumaun they are called Rajis² but they are not aware of their pre-historic Kirati origin. The legend current among them, as told to me, is that they were descendants of the royal family of Askote.

In India, they have been located living in ten small, remote and distant hamlets, consisting of four to fifteen households. Most of these hamlets lie in an inhospitable terrain amidst dense forests far away from the surrounding Kumauni villages of Pithoragarh district.³

The name of their language is also Raji/Rawati⁴ which is an ethnonym used both for the group and the language they speak. Grierson (1909), in his book '*Linguistic Survey of India*' had named this language as '*janggali*'; and due to geographical affinity placed it in Tibeto-Burman family. Chatterji (1926) also supported Grierson's claim. On the other hand, some linguists like Sharma (1987) and Sharma (1994) have suggested that the linguistic components of Raji language were paleo-linguistic relics of some of the Munda dialects, which, in the ancient past were spoken in the Himalayan region. In my previous works (Rastogi: 2002; 2012) I have tried to establish that though this indigenous language belongs to the Central Himalayish branch of Tibeto-Burman family yet long contact with Indo- Aryan languages like Kumauni and Hindi has not only affected its vocabulary but also its grammar.

At present, its vocabulary is shrunken many words have been replaced by loans and structural simplification is also evident. All community members speak a highly mixed variety, but the positive point is that intergenerational language transmission exists. Bilingualism and/or multilingualism⁵ is prevalent in the community, through education and literacy development

² During our recent visit (between 12th October -15th October 2017) we noticed that now the speakers of Kimkhola hamlet have started using a title 'rəjbar' with their names and they mention the name of their language as - 'rəjbari'.

³ We have noticed that presently in some Raji hamlets Kumauni people also reside.

⁴In *Ethnologue* the name of the language is mentioned as Rawat [jnl] government given name Raji (ISO639- In my earlier works I have mentioned the name Rawati not Rawat for their language as the word Rawat is used as a caste name in the Northern hill region of India. But later on I dropped it as the group is comfortable with Raji name. In 2017 during our field survey, we have heard one new word 'Rajbaari' for their language.

⁵ Our most of the informants, from Kimkhola hamlet, which is closer to the town of Jauljibi (a Kumauni dominant area) ,can easily speak and understand Raji -Kumauni and Hindi languages.

occur exclusively in Hindi and thus, while it continued to be learned as a first language by children, they do not use it in certain domains. As a result, it is gradually becoming functionally less loaded. Presently a highly mixed variety of Raji is used within the community, mainly at home and for religious activities. Still, they avoid using their mother tongue in front of others.

Challenges and response

The above description suggests that Raji is an endangered oral language, which falls between ‘c’ (endangered) and ‘d’ (nearly extinct) groups established by S.A. Wurm (1998) which makes it a ‘potentially endangered’ language. If we analyze its situation further on Fishman’s GIDS, it can be classified at stage 7. This stage is only two stages above the most severe level of language endangerment. Taking into consideration the state of Raji language and challenges faced by the community in 2001 I had chalked out a revitalization program consisting of following objects.

- Documentation and preparation of grammar
- Orthography development
- Curriculum development
- Preparation of Dictionary
- Creation of a Community-learning Centre

So gradually I started working towards the goal. Here I would like to underline the fact that my interaction with the community started in 1998 and I visited the field many times. On the basis of collected data I have prepared a grammar book, developed orthography for them, published an alphabet reader and prepared a trilingual dictionary also. Presently working on an easy grammar book and preparing some other pedagogical material. But things are rolling slowly. In what follows I would like to throw light on reasons behind the dawdling progression. First of all we will consider the changes that took place in the social and environmental situation of Raji community in last hundred years.

Past and Present state of the community

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hunter-gatherers, nomadic life • hunting, fishing and jungle produce was their means for survival • make their clothing from ‘baubinia’ <i>malu</i> trees • diomelanophyma tuber was their staple food • Earlier all children have two names • In olden days polyandry was popular • They used to throw away dead bodies in jungle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead sedentary life • Crude cultivation, agricultural laborer, wood cutting • purchase cloth from the market • They eat rice, ‘maduwa’ and other products • Now they have only Hindi names • Presently they practice monogamy • They either burn or bury the body now
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A community that was once a hunter-gatherer, independent and liked to wander in the forest and ate whatever (tuber or meat) available and used to live in caves and makeshift huts called ‘mauvas’ was obligated to live a sedentary life. As a result due to post-independence trends of democratization, economic mobility and mass media exposure and government policies this isolated, inaccessible community, not by choice but by compulsion, have to open up with the non-tribal world. Apart from this in the name of development instead of gradually introducing the necessities of settled life, it was forcibly imposed upon them. The transmission from the natural environment to the village/ city /modern environment has played havoc in the semiotic space of this tribal community. The analysis of the present structure of Raji language clearly reflects this. In a list of 1140 lexical items of Raji 519 belong to Indo- Aryan family. The numerical expressions are only up to six and beyond that, they use loans with little or no phonetic modification. Raji has also borrowed many nominals and verb forms from the dominant languages. Names of days and months are also Indo Aryan loans. Except for the red and black other colour names are borrowed from Kumauni or Hindi. Apart from these kinship terms, names of body parts, the expression for flora and fauna, household artifacts, adjectives, conjunctions have also been heavily borrowed. The following pictures throw light on their earlier abode and on their present environment. Now they regularly visit market places.



Traditionally it was thought that identity is static and bounded within specific borders in such a way that the self is usually identified as never changing, but according to modern thinkers, the identity also evolves. If we analyze Raji’s case one can notice that they are shedding their shyness and trying to merge in the so-called mainstream yet they do not feel comfortable. Presently they visit market places to sell their wooden products or buy household things but they still approach only a few chosen shopkeepers. It must be remembered that public spaces are social arena and an instrument of power, which reflects the social dynamics deployed in

that space. In Rajis case the Jauljibi market road is a shared space over which multiple people have authority. The local Kumauni speaking residents, Bhotia shopkeepers and Hindi speaking school teachers and Government officials control the area. Thus, for them communicating in this area is like participating in a field of power. As mentioned earlier due to their shy nature earlier they use to shun interaction but now they have their fixed shops and restaurants where they visit. They mostly try to use Hindi in this space. They also avoid using their own language in market and in front of non Raji speakers.



The semiotic regime of their public space clearly reflects a normative pattern. Though local people use English words in their spoken communication yet all the English words on the billboards etc. are written in Devnagari, the script of Hindi. It is the same for the government information boards also but the numerals are always written in English (Arabic numerals). Not only this I have noticed that during the cluster meets or in the BDO meetings all the information is shared in written Hindi only (pamphlets, booklets carrying schemes) When we try to summarise the order of dominance we find that Hindi is the most prominent language in the language space of Rajis, followed by Hinglish. The use of Hindi both in top-down and bottom-up signs is clearly visible. Kumauni, Bhotia and Raji have an only oral presence. The use of English words in commercials, as well as official signboards, could be interpreted as to its increasing presence. Its use is considered more prestigious than using local languages. In some cases, the use of English words is need-driven also.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES AND BOARDS



SCHOOL AREA OF RAJI CHILDREN



It must be remembered that revitalization is easier said than done process. It needs support and efforts from various corners, especially from the community. The psychological factors like language attitude, the linguistic identity of the speakers play an important role. The linguistic landscape of the area under study in which Raji speakers usually live and move forced them to increase a kind of negative opinion towards their language. The use of Hindi both in top-down and bottom-up signs built psychological pressure and generate a downbeat feeling for their language. Time and again they face the worthlessness of their language. With one single alphabet reader, its presence in the current linguistic scenario is negligible in terms

of percentage. I hope after the preparation of more pedagogical material the situation will take a positive turn and Raji language will be able to create a place for itself in the Linguistic Landscape of the region.

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Swadesh Word List (100)

Kavita Rastogi

Raji

Raji/Rawati¹ is an ethnonym used both for a small tribal group, residing in an around Pithoragargh district of Uttarakhand, India and for the language they speak. Grierson (1909), in his book '*Linguistic Survey of India*' had named this language as '*janggali*'; and due to geographical affinity placed it in Tibeto-Burman family. Chatterji (1926) also supported Grierson's claim. On the other hand some linguists like Sharma (1987) and Sharma (1994) have suggested that the linguistic components of Raji language were paleo-linguistic relics of some of the Munda dialects, which, in the ancient past were spoken in the Himalayan region.

SL. No.	English	Hindi	Raji (Devanagari)	IPA
1	I	मैं	ना	<i>na</i>
2	you (singular)	तू, तुम	नड	<i>nəŋ</i>
3	he	वह	अइ / आइ	<i>əɪ / aɪ</i>
4	we	हम	नानि	<i>nanɪ</i>
5	you (plural)	तुम, आप	नड	<i>nəŋ</i>
6	they	वे, ये	व्हइला जम्मा	<i>whəɪla ʃəm̩ma</i>
7	this	यह	अइ	<i>əɪ</i>
8	that	वह	व्हाइ	<i>whaɪ</i>
9	here	यहाँ	अइया	<i>əɪja</i>
10	there	वहाँ	आइया	<i>aɪja</i>

¹ In *Ethnologue* the name of the language is mentioned as Rawat [jnl]/ government given name Raji (ISO 639-3). In my earlier works I have mentioned the name Rawati not Rawat for their language as the word Rawat is used as a caste name in the Northern hill region of India. But later on I dropped Rawati as the group is comfortable with Raji name.

11	who	कौन	खूँ	<i>k^hũ</i>
12	what	क्या	हड / खड	<i>həŋ / k^həŋ</i>
13	where	कहाँ	गोहा	<i>goha</i>
14	when	कब	कबय / कनो	<i>kəbəj / kino</i>
15	how (much)	कैसा (कतना)	घै	<i>g^hɛ</i>
16	not	नहीं	हा	<i>ha</i>
17	all	सब , सारा	जम्मा / जम्मल	<i>ʃəmma / ʃəmməl</i>
18	many	बहुत	झक्कल / झक्क	<i>ʃ^hikkəl / ʃ^hikk</i>
19	some	कुछ	हचा	<i>hətʃa</i>
20	few	थोड़ा	इतुड / इतुश्या	<i>itʊd / itʊʃja</i>
21	other	दूसरा	च्यूह	<i>tʃjuh</i>
22	one	एक	डा / दा	<i>dɑ / da</i>
23	two	दो	नी / न्ही	<i>ni / nhi</i>
24	three	तीन	खुड	<i>k^hʊŋ</i>
25	four	चार	पाइ	<i>paɽi</i>
26	five	पाँच	पँडा	<i>pəŋɑ</i>
27	big	बड़ा	बइना	<i>bəma</i>
28	long	लम्बा	लड	<i>ləŋ</i>
29	wide	चौड़ा	पेन्	<i>penu</i>
30	thick	गाढा , मोटा	मोट्या	<i>moʈja</i>
31	heavy	भारी	नाली	<i>nali</i>
32	small	छोटा	तुहा /	<i>tuha</i>
33	short	छोटा, नाटा	चुइ	<i>tʃʊi</i>

34	narrow	तंग	-	-
35	thin	पतला	हापुर	<i>hapur</i>
36	woman	औरत	मठ्या	<i>mətʰja</i>
37	man (adult male)	आदमी	मंछ / मंछवह	<i>məntʃʰ / məntʃʰəwəh</i>
38	man (human being)	इंसान , व्यक्ति	मंछ / मंछवह	<i>məntʃʰ / məntʃʰəwəh</i>
39	child	बच्चा	गेदा	<i>geda</i>
40	wife	पत्नी	मेते	<i>metɛ</i>
41	husband	पति	नाओके / परीयार / मीतेये	<i>naoke / pərijar / miteje</i>
42	mother	माता, मां	इजा	<i>idʒa</i>
43	father	पता	बा	<i>ba</i>
44	animal	जानवर	डडो / डीडो	<i>dɪno / dɪjō</i>
45	fish	मछली	बोरा	<i>bora</i>
46	bird	चड़या	ब्वॉ	<i>bwã</i>
47	dog	कुत्ता	कुइ	<i>kui</i>
48	louse	जूँ	शर	<i>ʃir</i>
49	snake	साँप	माबू	<i>mabu</i>
50	worm	कीड़ा	कीरे	<i>kire</i>
51	tree	पेड़	शड	<i>ʃɪŋ</i>
52	forest	जंगल	मनड	<i>mənəŋ</i>
53	stick	डण्डा	शेटा / जाँठो / डेन्तु / ठयन्टो	<i>ʃɛta / dʒãtʰo / dɛntu / tʰəjnto</i>
54	fruit	फल	फल	<i>pʰəl</i>
55	seed	बीज	बिये	<i>bije</i>

56	leaf	पत्ता	हुवा / खुवा	<i>hɔwa / k^hɔwa</i>
57	root	जड़	जड़ा / जर	<i>dʒəɽa / dʒər</i>
58	bark (of a tree)	छाल	खल्लाव	<i>k^həllaw</i>
59	flower	फूल	फुलंड	<i>p^huləŋ</i>
60	grass	घास	घाहे	<i>g^hahe</i>
61	rope	रस्सी	जउड़ा / जोड़ो	<i>dʒəuɽa / dʒoɽo</i>
62	skin	त्वचा , चमड़ी	खल्लये	<i>k^həlləje</i>
63	meat	माँस	श्याउ	<i>ʃjau</i>
64	blood	खून	शुई	<i>ʃuɪ</i>
65	bone	हड्डी	हडड	<i>həɽəŋ</i>
66	fat (noun)	चरबी	घेड	<i>g^heŋ</i>
67	egg	अंडा	आँइयउ	<i>āɽjəu</i>
68	horn	सींग	सीगड	<i>siɡəŋ</i>
69	tail	पूँछ	पुछेड	<i>puɽʃ^heɽ</i>
70	feather	पंख, पर	पखाउ	<i>pək^hau</i>
71	hair	बाल	हामू / हाँमु	<i>hamu / hāmu</i>
72	head	सर	गड़ा	<i>gəɽa</i>
73	ear	कान	घुना / घुनह	<i>g^huna / g^hunəh</i>
74	eye	आँख	म्हीके / मीके	<i>mhike / mike</i>
75	nose	नाक	शना	<i>ʃina</i>
76	mouth	मुँह	खाबर	<i>k^habər</i>
77	tooth	दाँत	दारो	<i>daro</i>
78	tongue (organ)	जीभ	जिबड़ा / जिबेड़ो	<i>dʒibəɽa / dʒibeɽo</i>

79	fingernail	नाखुन	निहड	<i>niħəŋ</i>
80	foot	पैर	पंचा	<i>pəntʃa</i>
81	leg	टांग	भा	<i>b^ha</i>
82	knee	घुटना	पुहै / पुहे	<i>puɦe / puhe</i>
83	hand	हाथ	हाके	<i>ɦake</i>
84	wing	पंख	पखड	<i>pək^həʊ</i>
85	belly	पेट	लादो	<i>lado</i>
86	guts	अंतडी	गुदोंग	<i>ɡudəŋ</i>
87	neck	गरदन	गरधन	<i>ɡərəd^hən</i>
88	back	पीठ	पुट्ठी	<i>puʈ^hi</i>
89	breast	छाती	चुच्चा / चुच्या / शेक्ते	<i>tʃuʈʃtʃa / tʃuʈʃja / ʃekte</i>
90	heart	दिल	मूठाड	<i>muʈ^hau</i>
91	liver	यकृत्	-	-
92	to drink	पीना	जा	<i>dʒa</i>
93	to eat	खाना	जा	<i>dʒa</i>
94	to bite	काटना	चकइए	<i>tʃikəie</i>
95	to suck	चूसना	न्हुको	<i>nhuko</i>
96	to spit	थूकना	थुक्का पी ए	<i>t^hukka pi e</i>
97	to vomit	उल्टी करना	ओखालो	<i>ok^halo</i>
98	to blow	फूँक मारना	हबा-हो	<i>ɦəba-ho</i>
99	to breathe	साँस लेना		<i>ɦa ɦa</i>
100	to laugh	हँसना	जहरे	<i>dʒəɦəre</i>