

An Overview of The Consonant Sounds in Lotha

Imlienla Imchen & Nzanmongiz Ezung
yentyimchen86@gmail.com
nzanezung963@gmail.com

Abstract

The present paper seeks to explore the consonant sound of Lotha spoken in Wokha district of Nagaland, North-Eastern part of India. It is an attempt to identify the phonemic features of consonant sounds. Lotha has 37 consonantal phonemes; eight place of articulation; bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, post alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal and seven manners of articulations; plosive, nasal, trill, fricative, affricate, lateral and approximants. It also discusses minimal pairs, palatalization and consonant cluster. The Lotha language shows the presence of the affricate sounds [pf, pv, kf and kv] which are not found in other Central Naga languages; Ao, Sangtam and Yimkhiung (Lotha has been placed under the Central group, Grierson 1903). Though these affricate sounds are common under some of the Tenyimia group of languages; Angami, Chokri, Khezha and Rengma. Lotha exhibits secondary palatalization and labialization. Lotha also has a consonant cluster which is limited and occur only in onomatopoeic words.

Keywords: Consonantal Phoneme, minimal Pairs, Primary and secondary palatalization, labialization, Consonant Cluster.

1. Introduction

The Lotha is known as the *Kyong/Lotha* and is one among the major tribes inhabiting Wokha district of Nagaland. The district was officially recognized by the state government in 19th December 1973. Popularly referred as the 'Land of Plenty', the district covers an approximate area of 1628 sq km. Wokha district is broadly divided into three ranges - upper, middle and lower with 153 villages¹. Wokha town is the headquarters of the tribe, which is situated 80 km away from the state capital Kohima. According to population Census of India 2011, the district is recorded to have a total population of 166,343².

The language of the Lotha is called *Lotha Yi/ Kyong Yi* where '*kyong*' refers to 'Lotha people' and '*Yi*' refers to language. Grierson (1903) has placed Lotha with the group of language Ao, Sangtam and Yimchungür (present day Yimkhiung). To which Burling's Genetic Classification (2003) added Yacham – Tengsa.

¹Census of India 2011 Nagaland Series- 14 PART xii-B District Census Handbook Wokha (Pg- 11)

²Census of India 2011 Nagaland Series- 14 PART xii-B District Census Handbook Wokha (Pg- 13)

The Lotha community speaks and shares one common language called Lotha Yi. However, there is presence of slight variation in tones and differences in some semantic features of words which varies from village to village.

The young children are advised to acquire their mother tongue and hence intergenerational transmission of mother tongue is practiced. Apart from Lotha language the younger generations are also exposed to English (official language), Nagamese (the lingua franca of Nagaland), Hindi and other Naga languages.

The language follows the Roman script. The Lotha language is taught in both private and government schools in Wokha, Dimapur and Kohima. At present the Lotha subject is taught till higher secondary school level in and around Nagaland.

The present study is an attempt to provide a detailed analysis on the consonant sounds of Lotha language, particularly spoken in the upper range of Wokha town. The Upper Range of Wokha district covers Longsa Village, Mungya Village, Pongitong Village and Tsungiki Village. The work aims to provide a foundation for further research work in the language.

2. Previous works

Among the earlier works done on Lotha tribe and language, Rev. W. E. Witter (1888) work on “Outline Grammar of the Lotha Naga Language; with A Vocabulary and Illustrative Sentences” is a monograph and a beginner in every aspects of Lotha works. However, this work lack detailed linguistic description and in-depth analysis in this language. ‘The Lotha Nagas’ (1922) by J.P Mill’s also stands out as the most detailed and serious study. In his monograph, he portrays an ethnographic detail; the different aspects of Lotha folk life, and towards the end of his book, provides an inch deep study of the Lotha language encapsulating phonological, morphological and syntactic structures from an anthropological point of view.

Very little linguistics work has been done in Lotha. Acharya (1975) in “Lotha Phonetic Reader” is a noteworthy work which gives an analysis on the consonants, vowels and Lotha orthography. In Matisoff A. James (1996; 228-230) work on ‘Phonological Inventories of Tibeto-Burman Language’ with data source from Acharya’s (1975) and Marrison’s (1967) works gives a sketch of the consonants, vowels, tones and the occurrences of syllable canon in Lotha Language. Bruhn Daniel Wayne, in his PhD dissertation ‘A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-Central Naga’ (2014) worked on the Central Naga Languages; Ao, Lotha, Sangtam and Yimkhiung. He gives a preliminary sketch on the phonology of the Central Naga Languages which include Lotha as well. His inventory on the Lotha language is based on the data collected from his consultant from Tsungiki village, in Upper range under Wokha district (2014; 26). With regard to the analysis of tones in the Lotha Language, it is found that it has three register tones which are also seen in the works of Acharya (1975) and Marrison (1967), Bruhn (2014).

3. Methodology

The linguistic fieldwork methodology was adopted for this study. The data collected for this study were from the native speakers of Upper range and Wokha town and extended villages. The

Primary source includes interview and interaction with native speakers of the community varying in gender, age and occupation. Informants include 8 speakers from different locations. The collected data were organised in the form of word and sentence lists, conversation, narratives and folklore. The tools used for eliciting data were interview both formal and informal using audio recorder.

Secondary mode of data collection were from books, journals, articles, official documents, School text books, Bible, Hymn book and other related literature written on the tribe.

4. Consonants of Lotha language

Lotha consists of 37 consonantal phonemes with bilabial, labiodentals, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal in the place of articulation and with plosive, nasal, trill, fricative, affricate, lateral and approximants under its manner of articulation. It is observed that Lotha consonantal sounds are more in number in comparison to the other languages under the Central Naga group³ - Ao, Sangtam, Yimkhiung.

Manner	Place of Articulation						
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	velar	Glottal
Plosive	p p ^h		t t ^h			k k ^h	
Nasal	m̥ m		n̥ n		ɲ̥ ɲ	ŋ̥ ɳ	
Trill			r̥ r				
Fricative		f v	s z		ʃ ʒ		h
Affricative		pf pv	ts ts ^h				
		kf kv					
Lateral			l̥ l				
Approximant			ɹ̥ ɹ		j	w	

(IPA symbols for Pulmonic consonant based on IPA 1993, revised 2005)

5. Description of consonant phonemes

5.1 Stop sounds in Lotha

Lotha Language has six stop sounds that include three voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ with contrast to three aspirated voiceless stops /p^h/, /t^h/ and /k^h/.

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop; it is always realized as [p]. /p/ in Lotha occurs in all the word positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/p̥.nĩ/ ‘couple’	/vã.p̥ẽ/ ‘seat’	/õ.lũp/ ‘grave’

³Classification of these languages in Central group is based on Grierson’s (1903) and Burling’s Genetic Classification (2003).

/pā.nā/ ‘dismantle’ /ò.pə̀ŋ/ ‘mouth’ /mí.tə̀p/ ‘lung’

/p^h/ is a voiceless aspirated stop and it is always realized [p^h]. /p^h/ occurs only in the word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	
/p ^h óŋ.lǎ́/ ‘mountain’	/k ^h ā.p ^h ě́/	‘school’
/p ^h á.rə̀/ ‘garden’	/há.p ^h oḗ/	‘outdoor’

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop; it is always realized as [t]. It occurs in the word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	
/tá.rā́/ ‘abit’	/tòŋ.tā̀ō/	‘switch’
/tòŋ.pī́/ ‘change’	/è.mà.tà.tā́/	‘happy’

/t^h/ is a voiceless alveolar aspirated stop and is always realized as [t^h]. It can occur in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	
/t ^h ē.tā́/ ‘to score’	/é.mə̀ŋ.jǎ́.t ^h āv́/	‘Marvelous’
/t ^h á.nā́/ ‘offer’	/jī.t ^h ě́/	‘message’

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop; it is always realized as [k]. It can occur in all the three positions. The examples of voiceless velar /k/ are provided below;

Initial	Medial	Final
/kónā́/ ‘far’	/ka.t̚o/ ‘infected’	/kaŋ.kòk/ ‘hip’
/ká.ná́/ ‘million’	/ò.kòk/ ‘container’	/è.lòk/ ‘cloud’

/k^h/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop and is always realized as [k^h]. It can occur only in word initial and medial positions;

Initial	Medial
/k ^h à.rā́/ ‘blocker’	/è.k ^h ṓ/ ‘steps’
/k ^h ētā́/ ‘to sweep’	/ò.k ^h ṓ/ ‘group’

5.2 Nasal sound in Lotha

‘Many languages in South East Asia have voiceless nasal consonants that contrast with their counter parts’ Bhaskararao and Ladefoged (1991). Chirkova et al. (2019) noted that ‘voiceless nasal is uncommon in the world’s languages and is found in Tibeto-Burman language’. They noted that voiceless nasals have distinct voicelessness with ‘two subtypes and then which is characterized by

- (a) a period characterized by both nasal and oral airflow, and
- (b) a period characterized only by nasal airflow’.

This shows that the voiceless nasal has continuous airflow after the nasal sound is released. This subtype of voiceless nasal is also present in Angami as mentioned by Chirkova et al. (ibid). Analyzing the voiceless nasals; /m̥/, /ŋ̥/, /ŋ̥/ and /ɲ̥/ has a counterpart voiced nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are present in Lotha. The occurrence of /m̥/, /m/ and /ŋ/ are found to be in all word positions. The eight nasal sounds in Lotha; /m̥/, /m/, /ŋ̥/, /n/, /ŋ̥/, /ŋ/, /ɲ̥/ and /ɲ/ are given below with examples;

/m̥/ is a voiceless bilabial nasal stop; it is always realized as [m̥]. It can occur in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/m̥mā/ ‘to blow’	/ò.m̥ā/ ‘face’	/ò.m̥/ ‘powder’
/m̥è.tā/ ‘rube’	/lí.m̥á.ʦó/ ‘nation’	/m̥é.m̥/ ‘beard’

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal stop; it is always realized as [m]. It can occur in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/má.ʧī/ ‘chilly’	/è.ləm.tōŋ/ ‘alder tree’	/ò.kēm/ ‘season’
/mē.tā/ ‘place’	/ō.mī/ ‘fire’	/n.ʧūm/ ‘pure’

/ŋ̥/ is a voiceless alveolar nasal; it is always realized as [ŋ̥]. /ŋ̥/ occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ŋ̥ā.kā/ ‘to wait’	/è.ŋ̥í.kā/	‘to depend’
/ŋ̥ó.ʦē/ ‘mixed together’	/n.ŋ̥ā/	‘stuck’

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal; it is always realized as [n]. It can occur in word initial and medial position.

Initial	Medial
/n.rè/ ‘snake’	/è.lá.nā/ ‘correct’
/ní.nī/ ‘both’	/rà.nā/ ‘to mature’

/ɲ̥/ is a voiceless palatal nasal; it is always realized as [ɲ̥]. It can occur in word initial and medial position.

Initial	Medial
/ɲ̥ā/ ‘dry fry’	/thē.ɲ̥ā/ ‘to include someone’
/ɲ̥rōā/ ‘extreme heat’	/vá.ɲ̥á/ ‘presence of mind’

/ɲ/ is a voiced palatal nasal; it is always realized as [ɲ]. It can occur in word initial and medial position.

Initial	Medial
/ɲá.zə.ɲì/ ‘dawn’	/ɲá.ɲā/ ‘goat’
/ɲá.nā/ ‘to chant’	/ɲá.ɲá.sō/ ‘mutton’

/ŋ̊/ is a voiceless velar nasal; it is always realized as [ŋ̊]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ŋ̊.ŋa/ ‘observable’	/n.zē.ŋ̊tā/ ‘odium’
/ŋ̊.ʃhō/ ‘saw’	/nò.ŋ̊ó.rē/ ‘child’

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal; it is always realized as [ŋ]. It can occur in word initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/ŋō..iəm/ ‘fisherman’	/k ^h ŋ.rōē/ ‘bachelor’	/má.tsōŋ/ ‘salty’
/ŋá.rō/ ‘child’	/è.nēŋ.vā/ ‘sweet’	/tì.jīŋ/ ‘seven’

5.3 Fricatives sound in Lotha

There are seven fricatives consonant in Lotha; /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/ and /h/. /v/ is the only fricative sound occurring in all three word positions, examples are given below;

/f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative; it is always realized as [f]. It occur word initially and medially.

Initial	Medial
/fā.rō/ ‘dog’	/rā ^h .fā/ ‘wolf’
/fá.ró.rō/ ‘puppy’	/ʃi.fə/ ‘tortoise’

/v/ is a voiced labiodental fricative; it is always realized as [v]. It can occur in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial	Medial	Final
/vā.p ^h ē/ ‘seat’	/vā.vəŋ/ ‘stable’	/té.rīv/ ‘tiny’
/vəŋ.p ^h ēkī/ ‘jail’	/sè.vā/ ‘bear’	/zə.zəv/ ‘snail’

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative; it is always realized as [s]. /s/ occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/sō.tsə/ ‘elephant’	/sē.sē/ ‘very smooth’
/sà.kī/ ‘balcony’	/bō.ksō/ ‘bomb’

/z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative; it is always realized as [z]. It can occur in initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/zō.tō.rō/ ‘vehicle’	/zūm.zūm/ ‘descent’
/zē.tā/ ‘to look’	/zō.zō/ ‘shabby’

/ʃ/ is a voiceless post alveolar fricative; it is always realized as [ʃ]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ʃē.ī/ ‘ice’	/kʰó.ʃā/ ‘plenty’
/ʃəŋ.ī/ ‘cricket’	/tsōk.ʃ/ ‘naked’

/ʒ/ is a voiced post alveolar fricative; it is always realized as [ʒ]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ʒō.ʒō/ ‘buffalo’	/è.ʒō.rō/ ‘breeze’
/ʒō.rō/ ‘rat’	/mò.ʒō/ ‘medicine’

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative; it is always realized as [h]. It occurs word initially and medially.

Initial	Medial
/hà.kfə/ ‘yellow’	/hà.tò.hà.rə/ ‘estimate’
/hà.ʃàŋ/ ‘sand’	/ò.hò/ ‘teeth’

5.4 Affricates sound in Lotha:

The following are the affricate sounds in Lotha; /pf/, /pv/, /kf/, /kv/, /ts/, /tsʰ/, /tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/. The occurrence of the affricates sounds [pf, pv, kf, kv] is not found in other Central Naga languages; Ao, Sangtam and Yimkiung but are common in Tenyimia group of languages- Angami, Chokri, Khezha and Rengma.

/pf/ is voiceless labiodental affricate; it is always realized as [pf]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/pfá/ ‘pull out’	/tsó.pfə/ ‘cooking utensils’
/pfá.mè/ ‘charcoal powder’	/è.pfə/ ‘companion’

/pv/ is voiced labiodental affricate; it is always realized as [pv]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/pvē.tso.pà.tsà/ ‘siblings’	/ò.pvə/ ‘mother’

/pvə/ ‘something to carry’ /è.pvə.tā/ ‘to crawl’

/kf/ is voiceless labiodental affricate; it is always realized as [kf]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/kfā ‘to sing’	/zə.kfə/ ‘river’
/kfə.sā/ ‘to break’	/ò.kfə/ ‘fishing hook’

/kv/ is voiced labiodental affricate; it is always realized as [kv]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/kvā ‘to flip’	/lōŋ.kvə/ ‘cave’
/kvə.tā.la ‘how much’	/è.kvə/ ‘to cook’

/ts/ is voiceless alveolar affricate; it is always realized as [ts]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/tsā ‘to eat’	/è.tsəŋ.ŋā/ ‘to count’
/tsā.tā/ ‘to come’	/k ^h ò.lök.tsə/ ‘a crowd of people’

/ts^h/ is an aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate; it is always realized as [ts^h]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ts ^h ò.tī.mō.rə/ ‘talent’	/ò.ts ^h ā/ ‘offside’
/ts ^h ò.k ^h ök.kā/ ‘may be’	/ò.ts ^h ök/ ‘bee’

/tʃ/ is a voiceless palato- alveolar affricate; it is always realized as [tʃ]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/tʃò.pfə/ ‘earthen pot’	/tʃök.tʃā/ ‘broom’
/tʃē.rū/ ‘spinal’	/ò.tʃī.nīō/ ‘brother’

/tʃ^h/ is an aspirated voiceless palato- alveolar affricate; it is always realized as [tʃ^h]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/tʃ ^h ó.rō/ ‘moon’	/sə.n.kí.tʃ ^h ō/ ‘abandoned’
/tʃ ^h ō.tʃī.p ^h ē/ ‘opener’	/təŋò.tʃ ^h ā/ ‘careful’

5.5 Lateral sounds in Lotha

There are two lateral sounds in Lotha. The voiceless and voiced alveolar laterals i.e., /ɺ/ and /l/.

/ɺ/ is a voiceless alveolar lateral; it is always realized as [ɺ]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ɺà.sā/ ‘careless’	/è.ɺí.ŋō/ ‘task’
/ɺā.ɺā/ ‘weak’	/è.ɺǎ.nè.ɺī/ ‘duty’

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral consonant; it is always realized as [l]. It occurs in word initially and medially.

Initial	Medial
/lé.pōk/ ‘machete’	/n.lǎ/ ‘sin’
/li.kiā/ ‘orchid’	/ó.lī/ ‘field’

5.6 Trill sounds in Lotha

There are two trill sounds in Lotha; the voiceless alveolar trill [ɽ] and the voiced alveolar trill [r].

/ɽ/ is a voiceless alveolar trill; it is always realized as [ɽ]. It can occur in word initial and medial positions.

Initial	Medial
/ɽəm.p ^h ī/ ‘to roam’	/ò.ɽōŋ/ ‘boat’
/ɽò.mà.tā/ ‘to capture or to hold’	/sǎ.ɽù.ki/ ‘hall’

/r/ is a voiced alveolar trill; it is always realized as [r]. It occurs in an initial and medial position.

Initial	Medial
/rā.kiə/ ‘red’	/rà.rà.k ^h ōm/ ‘basil’
/rà.sǎ/ ‘soldier’	/k ^h ē.rō/ ‘branches’

5.7 Approximant sounds in Lotha

There are four approximants in Lotha; /j/, /w/, /ɹ/ and /ɻ/.

/j/ is a voiced palatal approximant; it is always realized as [j]. It occurs word initially and medially.

Initial	Medial
/jē.thē/ ‘news’	/li.kià/ ‘orchid’
/jāk.sō/ ‘monkey’	/sá.já.tā/ ‘govern’

/w/ is a voiced velar approximant; it is always realized as [w]. It occurs in word initial and medial positions.

Initial

/wó.ná.lā/ ‘to brighten’
/wōā/ ‘go’

Medial

/n.wó.ɸ^hēō/ ‘inaccessible’
/pó.tsò.wī/ ‘heavenly’

/ɸ/ is a voiceless alveolar approximant; it is always realized as [ɸ]. It can occur in the word initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ɸá.ɸoá/ ‘to overtake’
/ɸā.ná/ ‘same category’

Medial

/è.ɸé.tā/ ‘to snore’
/è.ɸōp.pā/ ‘to beat’

/ɸ/ is a voiced alveolar approximant; it is always realized as [ɸ]. It can occur in the word initial and medial positions.

Initial

/ɸáŋ.só.k^həv/ ‘purse’
/ɸē.nī/ ‘to arrange’

Medial

/è.jíŋ.ɸoā/ ‘clam’
/rà.sǎ.ɸoē/ ‘cadet’

6. Minimal pairs: Following are some minimal pairs of voiced and voiceless, aspirated and unaspirated sounds in Lotha.



/p/ and /p^h/

/pánā/ ‘dismantle’ /p^hànā/ ‘chase’
/pénā/ ‘fulfill’ /p^hènā/ ‘pulling of skin’

/t/ and /t^h/

/térā/ ‘few’ /t^hérā/ ‘flower’
/tálà/ ‘half’ /t^hálā/ ‘passive’

/k/ and /k^h/

/kā.tā/ ‘infected’ /k^hā.tā/ ‘to study or to count’
/koà/ ‘to open’ /k^hoà/ ‘sour’

/ŋ/ and /m/

/ŋétā/ ‘to rub off’ /métā/ ‘place’
/mánā/ ‘challenge’ /mánā/ ‘profit’

/ŋ/ and /n/

/èŋíkā/ ‘depend’ /èníkā/ ‘exact two’
/ŋítà/ ‘fry or dry’ /nítà/ ‘your elder brother/s or sister/s’

/ɲ/ and /ɲ/

/è.ɲō/ ‘source’ /è.ɲā/ ‘dawn’
/è.ɲí.kā/ ‘responsibility’ /è.ɲí.kā/ ‘both’

/ŋ/ and /ŋ/

/è.ŋōkā/ ‘to lean on’ /è.ŋōkā/ ‘noontime’
/ŋà.tā/ ‘to dry up’ /ŋā.tā/ ‘to stand on motion’

/f/ and /v/

/ò.fā/ ‘skin’ /ò.vā/ ‘frog’
/fá/ ‘to weight’ /vá/ ‘to stitch’

/s/ and /z/

/səā/ ‘throw away’ /zəa/ ‘breast feeding’
/soā/ ‘involve’ /zoā/ ‘hear’

/ʃ/ and /ʒ/

/ʃā/ ‘kind of bad luck’ /ʒà/ ‘not’
/ʃəʃə/ ‘a person who works constantly’ /ʒəʒə/ ‘buffalo’

/pf/ and /pv/

/pfá/ ‘pull out’ /pvə/ ‘carry’
/ò.pfā/ ‘pot’ /ò.pvā/ ‘axe’

/kf/ and /kv/

/kfá/ ‘to break’ /kvà/ ‘to flip’
/ó.kfá/ ‘kidney’ /ó.kvə/ ‘hole’

/ts/ and /tsʰ/

/tsènā/ ‘to kneel’ /tsʰènā/ ‘squeeze’
/tsākātā/ ‘to pick up’ /tsʰākātā/ ‘princely’

/tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/

/tʃākā/ ‘break’ /tʃʰākā/ ‘shortcut’
/tʃúmpó/ ‘different’ /tʃʰúmpō/ ‘morung’

/l/ and /l/

/lō.lō/ ‘very weak’ /lō.lō/ ‘an act of suffusion’
/ēlō/ ‘phlegm’ /ēlō/ ‘to pay’



C- [+ alveolar stop] → /C/- [+palatalized]
 /t/ → /tʲ/-
 /tia/ → /tʲiā/ ‘to pull out with soft manner’
 /nzantio/ → /nzātiō/ ‘address term to show affection’

C- [+ bilabial stop] → /C/- [+palatalized]
 /m/ → /mʲ/-
 myako → /mmʲa.ko/ ‘spanish green’
 myikon → /mʲik.kõ/ ‘eyelash’

8. Labialized consonant in Lotha

According to Clark and Yallop (1995; 64) ‘labialization is the addition of lip rounding or lip protrusion to any sound which is normally articulated with lips in a neutral or spread position’. The phonemes can be ‘changed completely (complete assimilation) or partially (partial assimilation) to seem its neighbor’ as noted by Garoma (2012). Further, he defines that labialization is that the ‘phonemes in the morpheme or across morphemes are effected in their nearby, especially preceding them’. Following Garoma (ibid) non-labial stop and lateral consonant which becomes labialized/-rounded consonants when it is followed by a glide/approximants /j/, in Lotha, it is found that the stop and lateral consonants [t, l] gets labialized to /tʷ/ and /lʷ/ when it is followed by glide/approximants /j/. Below are some examples in Lotha;

C- [+ alveolar stop] → C/- [+labialized]
 /t/ → /tʷ/-
 tyua → /tʷūā/ ‘oily’
 tyuta → /tʷū.tā/ ‘to discuss’

C- [+ lateral] → C/- [+labialized]
 /l/ → /lʷ/-
 lysora → /lʷù.sō.rā/ ‘differently able’
 lyukata → /lʷú.kā.tā/ ‘pour over’

9. Consonant clusters in Lotha

Consonant cluster are found within syllabic boundary with no intervening vowels where each consonant sound has its own explosion. In Lotha, it is observed that consonant cluster is very limited and occurs only in onomatopoeic words. Occurrence of geminate consonants are found to be common in Lotha,

/pʰrpʰr/ ‘sounds of a flying bird’
 /ᱞᱟᱞᱟ/ ‘sounds of a vehicle’

/frfr/ or /vrvt/ ‘sounds of a wind’
 /r r/or /krkr/ ‘calling the chicken to feed’

10. Geminate consonant

A geminate consonant is also called consonant lengthening. It is the occurrence of two identical consonant adjacent to one another within a phonological word. A geminate consonant are little longer form of the corresponding simple consonant or a double consonant. The examples of geminate consonant in Lotha are /m/, /n/, /p/ and /k/; examples are given below:

Nasal + nasal

/mmúŋõŋfã/	‘urine’	/túmmā/	‘slap’
/mmẽ/	‘dirty’	/zùmmā/	‘ambush’
/nnànā/	‘smelly’		
/nnijā/	‘revenge’		

Stop + Stop

/è.tséppā/	‘tug’
/n.tséppā/	‘kiss’
/ŋʰékkā/	‘question’
/kēkkā/	‘creak’



10. Conclusion

Lotha exhibits, 37 consonantal phonemes; seven places of articulation- bilabial, labiodentals, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal and seven manners of articulation- plosives, nasal, trill, fricative, affricate, lateral and approximants. The affricative[pf, pv, kf, kv] sounds are observed commonly in Lotha and these sounds are also found under some of the Tenyimia group of languages; Angami, Chokri, Khezha and Rengma but not common in Central Naga group; Ao, Sangtam, Yimkhiung.

This study does not claim to be complete work on consonants. Further research may be conducted using phonological tools.

References

Acharya, K. P. 1983. *Lotha Grammar*. Central Institute of Indian Languages.
 Aye, Khashito. N. 2015. *Nagaland G.K* (10th ed.). S.P. Printers, Near D.C. Residence, Kohima Road, Dimapur.
 Baskaran, S. Ganesh. 2015. *Consonant Sequence and Syllable Formation in Asuri*. Language in India www.languageinindia.com ISSN 1930-2940 Vol. 15: 5th May 2015.

- Bhaskararao, P., & Ladefoged, Peter. 1991. *Two Types of Voiceless Nasals*. Journal of the International Phonetic Association, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 80–88. www.jstor.org/stable/44526108. Retrieved 19th August 2020.
- Bruhn, Wayne, David. 2014. *A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto- Central Naga*. (PhD Dissertation) University of California, Berkeley. Unpublished.
- Clark, John., & Yallop, Colin. (2003). *An Introduction to Phonetic and Phonology*. (2nd ed). Blackwell Publishing.
- Burling, Robbins., & Mark W. Post. (2017). *The Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India*. Publication at <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282662694> Retrieved at 6th November 2020.
- Chirkova, Katia.; Basset, Patricia.; & Amelot, Angélique. (2020). *Voiceless nasal sounds in three Tibeto-Burman languages*. Journal of the International Phonetic Association, Cambridge University Press (CUP) 2019. hal01684889v2.
- Cope, A. R. (2007). *Grammar of Mongsen Ao*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Crystal, David. (1991). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (3rd ed.). Blackwell Publisher.
- Ezung, Mimi. (2016). *A Preliminary investigation of the speech sound of the Naga Lotha Language' under SCERT Project*. Nagaland University. Unpublished work.
- Ezung, Nzanmongi Z. (2021), *Phonetics and Phonology of Lotha*. M.Phil Dissertation. Nagaland University. (Unpublished).
- Grierson, G. A. (1903). *Linguistics Survey of India Volume 3: Tibeto-Burman Family, Part 2*. Delhi: Low Price Publication.
- Imchen, Imlienla. (2018). *The phonology and morphology of Sangtam*. PhD Dissertation. NEHU, Shillong. (Unpublished).
- Konnerth, Linda., Morey, Stephen., Sarmah. Priyankoo., & Teo, Amos. (2015). *North East Indian Linguistics 7 (NEIL 7)*. Published by Asia-Pacific Linguistics College. Australia.
- Lotha, Academy. (2018). *Lotha Yipshüip (Lotha Grammar)* (1st ed.). Ben's offset-printing press.
- Matisoff, A, James. (1996). *STEDT Monograph Series, No.3: Phonological Inventories of Tibeto-Burman Languages*. IAS Publications Office University of California, 228-230.
- Mills, J. P. (1992). *The Lotha Nagas*. Macmillan and Co. Limited, London.
- Murry, K.P. (2009). *Kyong Yinsanlan (Lotha Grammar)* (2nd ed.). Kyong Academy Wokha.
- Spencer, Andrew. (2002). *Phonology*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Teo, Amos. (2014). *A Phonological and Phonetic description of Sumi, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nagaland*. Published by Asian –Pacific Linguistics College of Asia and the Pacific The Australian National University.
- Will (2007), *A Descriptive Grammar of Darma: An Endangered Tibeto-Burman Language*, PhD dissertation.
- Witter .W. E. (1888). *Outline Grammar of The Lotha Naga Language with A Vocabulary and Illustrative Sentences*. Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

Acoustic Analysis of Heritage Konkani Speaker's English

Reshma Jacob¹
reshmajacobhere4@gmail.com

Abstract

Interactions between different languages in a multilingual brain have been the interest of many linguists. However, not many studies have explored the phonemic interactions in multilinguals. This paper will analyze the extent of such interactions in heritage Konkani speakers' English. Heritage Konkani speakers migrated to Kerala, the southernmost state of India, from Goa many centuries ago. The Konkani community were forced to flee their land as a result of Portuguese inquisition which demanded compulsive conversion to Christianity. Since their arrival in Kerala, they have taken several careful steps to retain their language in a place where they are a minority. Most heritage Konkani speakers of Kerala acquire their mother tongue Konkani and the majority language Malayalam by the age of three. Whereas, they learn English after the age of six at school along with other Malayali students. Over the years, Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language, must have had a few influences from its contact Dravidian language Malayalam. As a closed community, which gives much importance to language maintenance, they must have retained many of the language's features as well. Keeping both possibilities in mind, this paper investigates which language (Konkani or Malayalam) affects the English speech of the community. Phonemic analysis of the consonant sounds and analysis of Konkani, Malayalam and English acoustic spaces suggest the dominance of Konkani in their English speech even after being a minority community in Kerala for centuries.

Keywords: Heritage language, Second Language, Acoustic Space, Heritage Konkani, Phonemic Interaction

1. Introduction

Heritage Language (HL) is a language that is spoken by a community at a place where the community is a minority. According to Montrul (2013) the term "heritage language" began to be used in the United States in the 1990s to refer to the minority languages of immigrants. It is a linguistic scenario in which a language, which once used to be primary and native, becomes a secondary language. Heritage Konkani speakers (HKS) of Kerala are people who migrated from Goa to Kerala during 13th to 16th century (Mallaya 1994). Although the HKS community of Kerala belong to five different castes, this paper focuses on the speech of Gowda Saraswat

¹ The research was financed by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. File No. RFD/2018-19/GEN/LNST/325

Brahmins (GSB) who belong to the upper caste and therefore, privileged to have their language retained. Konkani GSBs identify themselves as Konkanis who live in Kerala and can also speak Malayalam, the majority language. Montrul (2012) distinguishes a second language learner and a heritage speaker on the basis of their order of language acquisition and language use in socio-political and functional domains. According to this distinction, Konkani GSBs in Kerala qualify as heritage speakers. Linguistic preference of HKS, produced in Table 1 explains the heritage status of the Konkani community in Kerala.

Table 1. Linguistic preference of HKS

Linguistic dimension	Konkani Heritage speakers of Kerala (KHS)	
Socio-political dimension	Majority	Malayalam
	Minority	Konkani
Order of Acquisition	L1	Konkani
	L2	Malayalam
Functional Dimension	Primary	Malayalam
	Secondary	Konkani

For a very long time, Heritage languages were the subject of interest only for sociolinguists (Dorian 1981; Montrul 2012). Most studies focused on their historical, cultural and socio-economic aspects, and ethnic identity. Studies on the phonetic/phonological aspects of HL, analysed the sound variations in Heritage Speakers (HS) and the native speaker of the language who uses it as a primary language (Au et al. 2002, Godson 2004, Polinsky and Kagan 2007, Binghadeer 2008, Saadah 2011, Lukyanchensko and Gor 2011). For example, Saadah (2011) studies the vowel productions of heritage Arabic speakers and English speakers who learn Arabic as L2 and Godson (2004) analyses the vowel production of Western Armenian HSs and compares it to that of non-heritage Armenian speakers. Second language acquisition studies on HS presents different arguments. While some studies (such as Chang et al. 2009) state that the sounds of L1 and L2 are maintained separately, most of the studies claim at least some degree of L1 influence on L2. However, such influences can be mostly seen in adult bilinguals and are not that evident in early bilinguals. Selinker, Krashen, and Ladefoged (1975), Flege (1987), Au et al. (2002), Guion (2002), and Baker (2005) confirm that the phonetic systems of early bilinguals show less interaction. Baker (2005) suggests that this is because, in the initial stages of late bilingualism, two distinct phonetic systems are not formed but only one enlarged phonetic system that has both L1 and L2. It is only after a long-term exposure that L1 and L2 systems separate.

Based on this explanation, it is assumed that HKSs have two separate phonetic/phonological systems for their L1 and L2 as they are early bilinguals. This paper proposes to explore a different aspect of the phenomenon. Heritage Konkani speakers are very particular that their language is maintained as their identity as a Konkani GSB is exclusively represented through their language. Among the GSBs settled in Kerala, it is observed that parents talk to their kids in Konkani and they get exposed to Malayalam, the majority language, around the age of 3–4 once they start to go to playschools, and hence are sequential bilinguals. However, most of today’s younger generation gets introduced to Malayalam before the age of 4. Regardless of whether they are sequential or simultaneous bilinguals, all of them are fluent and well-versed

in both Konkani and Malayalam.

Over the years, Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language, must have had several influences from its contact Dravidian language Malayalam. As a closed community that gives much importance to language maintenance, they must have retained many of the language's features as well. Keeping both possibilities in mind, this paper investigated which language (Konkani or Malayalam) affects the English speech of the community. Once the kids reach the age of schooling, they are sent to various schools (both English and Malayalam medium) across Kerala. Though there are Thirumala Devaswom (TD) schools across Kerala that are run by GSBs, it is not necessary that all the teachers are GSBs. Neither do all GSBs send their kids to TD schools. In such a scenario, we can see both Heritage Konkani speakers and Malayalam speakers learning English in the same classroom. Their English language teachers could be Malayalam speakers as well. Therefore, it is inevitable that the features of Malayali English get transferred to the English speech of Heritage Konkani speakers.

Given the peculiar linguistic situation of the heritage Konkani speakers of Kerala, this paper will answer the following research questions.

1. Do heritage Konkani of Kerala and the Malayali community speak an identical variety of English?
2. If not, how different are their varieties in terms of their segmental features?
3. Which language—Konkani or Malayalam—has a greater influence on English spoken by heritage Konkani of Kerala.

2. Methodology



The Konkani population in Kerala is scattered and each community has speech differences according to their geographical locations (regional dialects). Each Konkani sub-caste also has its own distinguished linguistic variations as well (caste dialects). Thus, to avoid experimental manipulation, Konkani GSBs settled in Kochi were considered as subjects for this study. Informants were chosen based on their linguistic identity and proficiency in the language. To analyse the segmental features of Heritage Konkani English (HKE), data was collected from 10 male and 10 female informants whose both parents are of GSB Konkani origin, living in Kochi since birth. The data for acoustic analysis, however, were only collected from female informants solely based on their availability. All 20 informants belong to the age group of 18–35 years. While four of them were college students, others were working in various sectors in and around Kochi. Most of them did their schooling in the Konkani run TD school, and uses both Malayalam and English as its medium of education. Since students enrolled in both Malayalam and English medium at TD school were mostly taught by same teachers, and everyone did their college education through Malayalam and English medium, the informants' medium of education is not considered as a control variable. A Sony ICD-PX240 MP3 Digital Voice IC Recorder was used to record the informants' speech.

The recorded speech was keenly observed and analysed to find the segmental features of HKE. Acoustic spaces of English, Konkani, and Malayalam vowels of Heritage Konkani speakers were studied to analyse the extent of variation in their vowel productions in the respective

languages using PRAAT software. Since Konkani has more vowels than Malayalam, and both Konkani and Malayalam lack certain vowel sounds that are present in English, vowels that are commonly found in all three languages (/i:, e:, a:, o:, u:/) were chosen for the acoustic analysis. First two formants corresponding to the height and frontness / backness (F1 and F2) of each vowel respectively were analysed in PRAAT and the acoustic space was determined by plotting the values of $-(F2-F1)$ against that of $(-F1)$.

It was assumed that the average result obtained from the selected informants will represent the features of the English speech of the HKS of Kochi.

3. Features of Heritage Konkani English (HKE)

As a heritage language whose use is restricted only in the domains of house, temple, and within the community, and because of the large-scale influence of Malayalam on Konkani itself, it was assumed that the segmental features of HKE is primarily influenced by Malayalam. However, close analysis of linguistic data proved the initial assumptions wrong. It was observed that although HKE and Malayali English (MalE) are similar on various grounds, HK variety has many segmental features that are absent in the MalE. Similarly, HKE lacks several MalE features that are mostly present due to mother tongue influence.

Table 2. Inventory of HKE consonants

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labiodental</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>Prealveolar</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Postalveolar</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
<i>Stops</i>	p b		t̪ d̪		t d		ʈ ɖ		k g	
<i>Nasal</i>	m				n		ɳ ŋ			
<i>Trill</i>					r					
<i>Tap</i>				ɽ						
<i>Fricative</i>		f			s z		ʂ			h
<i>Approximant</i>		ʋ						j		
<i>Lateral approximant</i>					l		ɭ			
<i>Affricate</i>								tʃ dʒ		

Comparisons were drawn between HKE and MalE to understand the similarities and differences. Lack of morphophonological alternations is a feature common to both MalE and HKE as English plural and past tense morphemes are realised as /s/ and /d/ unlike in Native

English (NE), which has different allomorphs depending on the phonetic environment. Similarly, the addition of class I derivational affixes that alters the pronunciation/stress of the base word in NE does not bring any change in MalE variety. No matter how many affixes get added to a word, primary stress always falls on the initial syllable or the first heavy syllable with a long vowel. Similar productions were observed in the speech of HKSs in most words. For example,

- (a) Photo ['fo:tɒ] photography ['fo:tɒgrəfi] photographer ['fo:tɒgrəfər]
 Psychology [sai'ko:lədʒi] psychological [sai'ko:lədʒikəl]

Consonant gemination word medially, a prominent feature of Indian languages, is also common to both HKE and MalE. However, intervocalic gemination in HKE and MalE does not happen uniformly. In MalE, consonants are geminated if it occurs between vowels and the vowel quantity of the preceding or following vowel does not affect such gemination. On the contrary, in HKE, vowel quantity of the preceding vowel determines gemination in bisyllabic words. This can be understood as the influence of their mother tongue Konkani. HK does not allow intervocalic gemination in words with two syllables, given that the first syllable contains a long vowel, or the word is of the syllabic structure CV:CV(C). Thus, although gemination is a prominent feature of both varieties, gemination in HKE and MalE is influenced by the rules of gemination of their respective mother tongues.

(b)	Word	HKE	MalE
	Metre	mi:tər	mi:ttər
	Super	su:pər	su:ppər
	funny	fʌŋŋi	fʌŋŋi
	city	sitti	sitti

(c)	Word	HKE	MalE
	Now	[ŋau]	[nau]
	Love	[lau]	[lauʋ]
	White	[vait]	[vait]

Similarly, a comparison of the phonetic inventories of both HKE and MalE showed a substantial use of retroflex sounds. Both the varieties have retroflex sounds /ʈ, ɖ, ɳ, ʂ, ʌ/ and their distribution is similar in the medial and final positions. In MalE, unlike HKE, retroflex sounds [ɳ and ʌ] are not allowed in the initial position and voiceless retroflex stop [ʈ] does not occur after a front vowel in the final position (See example c). Realisations of diphthongs in MalE and HKE also vary according to the rules of Malayalam and Konkani. While [əu] is not realized in both the varieties, glides [j] and [v] are inserted between vowel sounds in MalE. Palatal approximant /j/ is inserted between [eə, ɪə, əɪ, aɪ, eɪ] and approximant [v] is inserted between [uə] and [au]. However, such insertions are minimal in HKE and are similar to the General Indian English (GIE) Variety.

3.1 Malayalam or Konkani: Experimental Evidence

From the above discussion, a predominant influence of Konkani can be seen in HKE, even after years of being a minority language. In order to find experimental evidence for this claim, the vowel spaces of HKE speakers' Konkani, Malayalam and English were compared and analysed for their formant values, to know the extent of similarity/difference of vowels produced in each language. The tables below show the average formant values of 10 female HKE speakers' Konkani, Malayalam, and English respectively, and the graph represents their vowel spaces, plotted using the formant values.

Table 3. Formant values of long vowels in HK (female)

HK	Gloss	Vowel	F1	F2	F3	-(F2-F1)	(-F1)
gi:n̄tu	Song	/i:/	311.635	2952.16 4	3349.67 9	-2640.53	-311.635
ke:su	Hair	/e:/	463.613	2776.42 2	3288.28 2	-2312.81	-463.613
sa:li	Skin	/a:/	1006.07 7	1537.39 3	2965.73 5	-531.316	-1006.08
kho:re	A weapon	/o:/	715.199 3	1090.03 3	3026.57 6	-374.834	-715.199
ru:ku	Tree	/u:/	337.741	897.142	2624.19 4	-559.401	-337.741

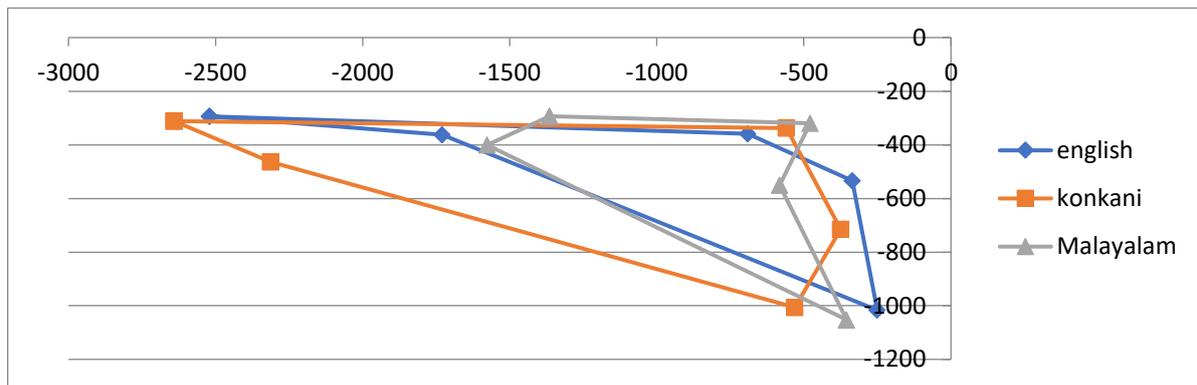
Table 4. Formant frequencies of HK speakers' Malayalam (female)

Sound	Word	Duration	F0	F1	F2	F3	-(f2-f1)	(-f1)
/i:/	pi:t̄ham	0.185663	284.8 5	293.28 6	1657.34 8	2990.28 1	- 1364.06	- 293.286
/e:/	ke:t̄tu	0.188791	287.5 4	400.47 3	1977.12 8	3138.00 8	- 1576.66	- 400.473
/a:/	pa:t̄ti	0.235711	276.1 5	1052.5 0	1406.94 7	3248.48 3	- 354.443	-1052.5
/o:/	po:ku	0.211009	278.8 6	550.52	1132.99	2751.63 3	-582.47	-550.52
/u:/	ku:t̄t̄əm	0.150335	300.6 6	319.63 5	797.936	2004.82 4	- 478.301	- 319.635

Table 5. Formant frequencies of HKE long vowels (female)

Sound	Word	Duration	F0	F1	F2	F3	-(F2-F1)	-F1
/i:/	Seat	0.168406	246.712	293.653	2814.2 94	3050.14 2	-2520.64	- 293.653
/e:/	Mary	0.191865	289.2	361.835	2091.2 92	3231.91 4	-1729.46	- 361.835
/a:/	Palm	0.167623	270.8	1016.409	1267.0 77	3608.5 8	-250.668	- 1016.41
/o:/	Port	0.134767	276.322	533.732	868.52 2	2978.15	-334.79	- 533.732
/u:/	Soup	0.139223	301.834	359.003	1049.6 42	3004.08 5	-690.639	- 359.003

Figure 1. Vowel space plotting for HK speakers' Konkani, English, and Malayalam



A comparison between HK speakers' English and Konkani vowel space (Figure 1) and formant frequencies (Figure 2) suggested that the formant frequencies of HK vowels are slightly higher than that of HKE. The difference between F1 frequencies of Konkani and HKE (Table 6) for the sounds [i:, a:, u:] is less than 22 Hz. That is, the vowel height of both Konkani and HKE vowels are roughly the same and therefore, perception of these sounds does not cause unintelligibility. However, the difference between F2 frequencies of /e:/ shows an extensive variation making the production of /e/ in HKE more centralised.

Table 6. Distance between HKE and HK vowels' F1 and F2

Sounds	Difference between HK and HKE F1	Difference between HK and HKE F2
[i:]	17.982	137.87
[e:]	101.778	685.13
[a:]	10.332	270.316
[o:]	181.467	221.511
[u:]	21.2	152.5

Figure 2. (F2-F1) values of HKE and Konkani vowels

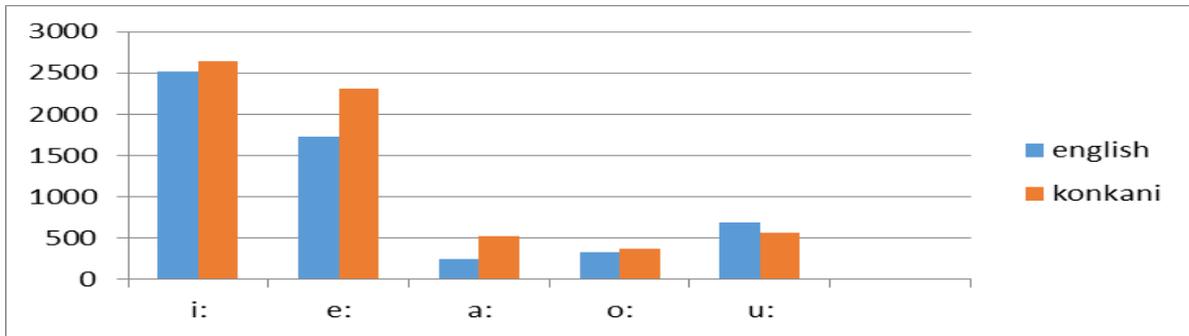


Table 7. Distance between HKE vowels from HK and Malayalam

<i>Sounds</i>	<i>Diff between HK and HKE F1</i>	<i>Diff between HK and HKE F2</i>	<i>Diff between Mal and HKE F1</i>	<i>Diff between Mal and HKE F2</i>
[i:]	17.982	137.87	0.367	1156.946
[e:]	101.778	685.13	38.638	114.164
[a:]	10.332	270.316	36.095	139.87
[o:]	181.467	221.511	16.788	264.468
[u:]	21.2	152.5	8.548	607.706

Table 7 gives a clearer picture of how vowels of different languages in question are placed from each other. A close analysis of the same revealed that the HKE and Malayalam vowels are similar in terms of vowel height. Moreover, the difference of F1 between HKE and Malayalam [i:] is less than 1 Hz and the average difference between all the vowels is 20 Hz, which makes the productions similar. However, the similarity in vowel height does not mean that HKE is largely influenced by Malayalam vowels as the average difference between HKE and Malayalam vowels' F2 is more than 450 Hz, which makes the sounds largely different. On the other hand, the average difference between HK and HKE vowels' F1 and F2 is 53 Hz and 293 Hz (mid-range) respectively and therefore, does not cause an evident variation in sound perception. It is also interesting to note that both English and Malayalam vowels are produced within the acoustic space of Konkani vowels and the production of Malayalam vowels is more back when compared to HK and HKE.

Thus, the experimental data also indicate the answers to the questions posed in the beginning of this section. The comparison of English spoken by the Heritage Konkani community and Malayalis of Kerala are different on various levels and the analysis of segmental features and acoustic spaces indicates the predominant influence of Heritage Konkani in HKE's segmental production.

4. Conclusion

Learning a second language can be a difficult task for many, despite being early learners. Seliger, Krashen, and Ladefoged (1975) argues that although early bilinguals have added advantages when compared to late learners, they may perceive or produce phonetic and

phonological systems like monolinguals yet will be different from monolinguals. That is, it may have the influence of the learner's first language. The examination of the segmental features of HK speakers' English also suggests the inevitable influence of their mother tongue, Konkani. Heritage Konkani, although a minority language in Kerala, has managed to retain a number of its features, which is carried on to HKE. Such an influence of Konkani is interesting as it points towards the status of Konkani in Kochi. As a minority language that has been surviving in Kerala for hundreds of years, Konkani has still maintained many of its unique segmental features and has not given it away to the majority language Malayalam.

References

- Au, T., Knightly, L., Jun, S., and Oh, J. 2002. Overhearing a language during childhood. *PsycholSci*, 13, 238-243.
- Baker, W. 2005. The Interaction of the Bilingual's Two Phonetic Systems: Differences in Early and Late Korean-English Bilinguals, In Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, (ed.) James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 163-174. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Binghadeer, N. 2008. An acoustic analysis of pitch range in the production of native and nonnative speakers of English. *Asian EFL Journal*, 10(4), 96-113.
- Cummins, J. 2005. A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. *Modern Language Journal*.
- Chang, C. B., Haynes, E. F., Yao, Y., & Rhodes, R. 2009. A tale of five fricatives: Consonantal contrast in heritage speakers of Mandarin. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 15(1), 37-43.
- Dorian, N. C. 1981. *Language death: the life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Flege, J. E. 1987. A critical period for learning to pronounce foreign languages? *Applied linguistics*, 8(2), 162-177.
- Godson, L. 2004. Vowel Production in the Speech of Western Armenian Heritage Speakers. *Heritage Language Journal*, 2:1.
- Guion, S.G. 2002. The vowel systems of Quichua-Spanish bilinguals: Age of acquisition effects on the mutual influence of the first and second languages. *Phonetica*, 60, 98-128.
- Kirillina, Elena v., Lysanova, Natalya v., Alaxeeva, Natalya N. (2021). Mental Attitude and Effective English Language Learning: A Study of Indigenous People of North Eastern Siberia. *Asian EFL Journal*, 2(1), 128-143.
- Kim, J., Montrul, S., & Yoon, J. 2009. Binding Interpretations of Anaphors by Korean Heritage Speakers. *Language Acquisition*, 16(1), 3-35. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20462541>
- Lukyanchenko, Anna and Gor, Kyra 2011. Perceptual correlates of phonological representations in heritage speakers and L2 learners. *Proceedings of the 35th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

- Mallaya. N. Purushothama.1994. Saraswats in Kerala History. Cochin; Konkani BhashaPracharSabha, pp. 33.
- Moag, R. 1995. Semi-native speakers: How to hold and mold them. *The teaching and acquisition of South Asian languages*, 168-181.
- Montrul, Silvina and Bowles, Melissa 2010. Is grammar instruction beneficial for heritage language learners: Dative case marking in Spanish. *The Heritage Language Journal* 7:47–73.
- Montrul, S. A. 2012. Is the heritage language like a second language? *Eurosla Yearbook*, 12(1), 1-29.
- Montrul, S. 2013. How “native” are heritage speakers. *Heritage Language Journal*, 10(2), 15-39.
- O’Grady, William, Kwak, Hye-Young, Lee, On-Soon, & Lee, Miseon.2011. An emergentist perspective on heritage language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 33, 223-245.
- Öztüfekçi, A., & Dikilitas, K.2020. An Investigation of an Early Bilingual Child: Phonological Development at Its Finest? *Journal of English as an International Language*, 15(1), 64-81.
- Polinsky, M. & Kagan, O.2007. Heritage languages: in the ‘wild’ and in the classroom. *Languages and Linguistics Compass*, 1,5, 368-295.
- Polinsky, Maria 2008a. Russian gender under incomplete acquisition. *Heritage Language Journal* 6: 1.
- Polinsky, Maria 2008b. Heritage language narratives. In D. Brinton, O. Kagan, and S. Bauckus (eds.), *Heritage Language Education. A New Field Emerging*. 149–64. New York: Routledge.
- Rothman, J. 2007. Heritage speaker competence differences, language change, and input type: Inflected infinitives in Heritage Brazilian Portuguese. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11(4), 359-389.
- Saadah, E. 2011. *The production of Arabic vowels by English L2 learners and heritage speakers of Arabic* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).
- Seliger, H., Krashen, S. and Ladefoged, P.1975. Maturation Constraints in Acquisition of a Native-like Accent in L2 Learning. *Language Sciences* 36, 20-22.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tocaimaza-Hatch, Cecilia C.2018, A Comparison of Formal Register through Lexical Choices in Heritage and Second Language Speakers of Spanish. *The Linguistics Journal*, 12(1), 70-96.
- Valdés, Guadalupe (2000). Introduction. *Spanish for Native Speakers, Volume I*. AATSP Professional Development Series Handbook for teachers K-16. New York: Harcourt College.

Saura Folklore of Odisha

Dr. Surendra Nath Sahu
surendranathasahu@gmail.com

Abstract

Out of present 75 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) in India 13 such groups have been listed in Odisha. Among these 13 groups Saura and Lanjia Saura are two communities which were listed by the Government during 1979-80. They inhabit Gajapati, Ganjam and Rayagada districts since time immemorial. Due to their concentration in Paralakhemundi and Gunupur sub-divisions, the region is known as the Saura land or the Saura country. The Saura community has its own culture, as well as its own spoken language. The Saura language is called 'Sora'. It belongs to Munda group. The Saura script was developed by Guru Mangai Gamang. It is accepted by the Sauras as Sri Jagannath's 'Aksharabrahma'. Now it has been digitized by an IIT student, Sony Salma Priyadarsini a tribal girl of Kandha tribe of Rayagada district. Although Sauras speak Odia, they love their own language very much. While they speak their own language, their affection towards the language becomes very clear. The Sauras are perfect in composing folksongs based upon different activities. Their Folktales, Proverbs, and Faiths are extraordinary.

Key Words: Saman, Bagada, Dungurani, Birinda, Sarangi

1. Introduction

Scheduled Tribes are known as *adivasis*; a heterogeneous set of ethnic and tribal groups claimed to be the aboriginal and indigenous population of India. Out of 705 Scheduled Tribes in India, 62 are from Odisha. Similarly, there are a total of 75 indigenous tribes living in India, while in Odisha alone, there are 13 indigenous tribes with the highest number of groups. They are- Saura, Lanjia Saura, Kutia Kandha, Dangria Kandha, Banda, Lodha, Didayi, Mankidia, Birhor, Paudi Bhuiyan, Pahadi Khadia, Juang, and Chukatia Bhunjia. The Saura and Lanjia Saura are recognized as ancient tribes by the Government of India during 1979-80. They have been living in Gajapati, Ganjam and Rayagada districts of the Eastern Ghats since time immemorial. The tribe is known everywhere as Saura, Saora, Sara, Sahara and Shabar. They are the Proto-Australian group and a major tribal group in Central and South India. They live in Odisha, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Assam. Sauras are well-known in every district of Odisha. However, Paralakhemundi and Gunupur sub-divisions are known as the Saura land and the Saura country for their large concentration.

The Saura community has its own culture, as well as its own spoken language. Their language is called Sora. Sora script was developed by Guru Mangai Gamang. It is worshiped at a temple in Marichiguda village in Rayagada district. Guru Mangai Gamang created a new awakening with the aim of civilizing, educating and improving the Saura tribe, which also had this script and the religion of 'Mattar Bnum Damri'; that is, the religion of 'looking at the world and being good'. Through this script, the Sauras of Gunupur region strive to improve their language and protect their culture. The Sauras of Gajapati district are using this language to communicate but have not yet received the script. They write their language through English or Odia script. Each Saura speaks the Sora language within their own community. In addition, those who have studied in schools or colleges understand and speak Odia language too.

2. The spoken language of the Saura community:

Although Odia language is prevalent in Odisha, the tribes living here use their own languages. Many of them use their own tribal languages, while others prefer their own languages as well as Odia. In this sense, they can be called bilingual. Prof. Krushnachandra Pradhan has divided the tribal languages in Odisha as follows:

“A) Munda (Austro-Asian): 1- Gata (Didayi), 2- Goodb (Gadba), 3- Juang, 4- Koda, 5- Bihor, 6- Mundari, 7- Santali, 8- Saura (Sora), 9- Gorum, 10- Remo (Banda), 11- Kharia, 12- Koroba, 13- Bhumij, 14- Ho (Kohl), 15- Mahili.

B) Dravidian: 1- Parzi, 2- Koya, 3- Kui, 4- Konda, 5- Olari (Gadaba), 6- Kurukh, 7- Gandi, 8- Madia, 9- Kandha, 10- Pengu, 11- Kisan.

C) Indo-Aryan: 1- Desia, 2- Bhuyan, 3- Uturi, 4- Jharia, 5- Matia, 6- Kondhan, 7- Laria, 8- Bhulia, 9- Aghria, 10- Kudmi, 11- Saunti, 12- Bhatudi, 13- Sadri, 14- Binjhia, 15- Banjara, 16- Balga, 17- Bhunjia, 18- Haldi.”¹

From the three language families, the Sora language belongs to Austro-Asian Munda group.

3. The written language of the Saura community:

Indigenous languages are usually spoken languages. It was never written, so there was no writing literature. Its primary source is tribal life and its environment. The uniqueness and majesty of the Saura language, to date, has attracted the attention of many indigenous linguists. The researcher, Dr. Khageshwar Mohapatra has achieved the greatness of their language. He mentioned in his book that many scholars had written books on Saura language- "In particular, the grammar of G.V. Rammurthy (1931) and the dictionary (1938), Stannele Starsta (1967), H.S.Biligiri (1965) and Arlin Zide (1971). The discussions of these leading linguists give a proper introduction to the Saura language. In Odia, Shri Gopinath Mohanty's writing Saura Bhasha (1978) is a remarkable achievement.”²

Many scriptures have given examples of this ancient language and culture of the Sauras. Great Indian play-writer Bharat, in his plays describes their antiquity-

*'Shabara Veer Chandal Shabar Dravidodrajah Hina Bane Charana Vibhashi Natake Snata.'*³

4. Saura Script and Guru Mangai Gamang:

‘Saura’ script was developed by Guru Mangai Gamang. With the help of this script, he made every effort to develop and disseminate the Sora language. It is accepted by the Sauras as Sri Jagannath's ‘Akshar Brahma’. Guru Mangai Gamang was born on June 18, 1918 in Marichiguda under Rayagada district to his father Pitambar Gamang. He had received a letter of appointment for a job after completing compounder training at Cuttack, but he refused and always wondered how his nation could improve. He was concerned that the language of the underdeveloped Saura community would be lost forever without its script. Eventually, he became inspired by religious thought and nationalism. For a long 21 days, in Marichiguda, he meditated on a small hill. One night on June 14, 1934, he saw a script in front of him, in the form of Darubrahma, Aksharbrahma or Shabdabrahma, the invisible deity of the Saura people. Combined with the symbolic 24 letters of the 24 major deities of the Saura community, the Akshar Brahma is the Saura script Saura Dhwani Petika or 'Sorang Sompeng'.

During the field study, I came across a book sent to Mangai Gamang by the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Aksharabrahma temple in Marichiguda. Excerpts from the great sons of India and in the book 'Gulchha's Industrial & Commercial Directory including ‘Who's Who in India’, published in Nagpur in 1955, can be found here. “GOMANG S.P. Mangai- B. 16-06-1916. Educ. IV form. M. in 1935. Has 1s. and 2 Ds. Activities: Taken keen interest in Research work for Adivasi upliftment. After a long strenuous effort, found a script for Adivasi language. Engaged in the spread of the writing of Savara Language among them. Address: Morchiguda, Padmapur, Gunupur Taluq.”⁽⁴⁾ From this it is clear that Guru Mangai Gamang's personality was not limited to the Sauras, but that he had a reputation throughout India. According to the linguist, Dr. Khageswar Mahapatra "It is not only a script but also a symbol of the spiritual, social & cultural awakening of the Saura community in total. None but Mongei deserves all the credit for this." ⁽⁵⁾

Sorang Sompeng (The Saura Script)



5. Digitization of Saura Script:

Indian type designer Sony Salma Priyadarsini, an IIT student has created a new typeface for the Sorang Sompeng alphabet to write Sora language. She got curious after learning about the Sorang Sompeng script and started creating a digital font in December 2012. She got the opportunity to work with noted typographer and type researcher Prof. Girish Dalvi. In the last eleven years, the font has been used by the Sora people for printing books, calendars and invitation cards. The typeface that she made in 2012 is used by many on their computers. Google’s Noto Sans Sora typeface is underway and existing cross-platform input tools like Keyman Sora Basic keyboard can be used to type in Sora. Microsoft Windows has made a font called Nirmala UI, which supports Sorang Sompeng. Google Noto is also making a font, called Noto Sans Sora Sompeng. Meanwhile, she invited some of the community experts to review her second typeface, and it is going to be available soon.

Most indigenous communities such as the Sora are under-resourced; only a few can count with experts like Sony Salma. Efforts such as hers help communities to preserve oral knowledge in written form and use the internet to exchange knowledge in their own languages. Unfortunately, Sony Salma committed suicide on 17th February 2023, which is a great loss to the Saura Community.

<u>Computer KEY BOARD</u>										
ENGLISH→SORA→ODIA										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
୧	୨	୩	୪	୫	୬	୭	୮	୯	୦	
Q	W	E	R	T	Y	U	I	O	P	Eng
୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	Sora
୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	Odia
A	S	D	F	G	H	J	K	L		Eng
୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩		Sora
୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩		Odia
Z	X	C	V	B	N	M				Eng
	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩				Sora
	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩	୩				Odia

6. The birth of Saura Script:

Regarding the birth of the Saura script, Pandit Mangai Gamang says- “All the Sabaras served ShriDarubrahma. They served Darubrahma when Lalita daughter told all the secrets to the Brahmin, he listened to the Brahmins not to the Sabaras. Even though he called because of it, he would not listen- he did not listen. Because of it, the Sabara said– “All is good, why don't you listen to me, listen to the Brahmins, listening to the others, why don't you talk to me? From now on, as long as you will not say good words to us, we will do everything on your head, where your praisings, and where you are worshiped, we will pray you but we will shed blood and wine on your head in the last verse. "When you will born at our home, when you will speak good words, when you will speak wisdom, then we will worship you with flowers and leaves," he said. That's why as many as Sabaras- there are tribals, they worshipped him by giving goats, sheep, buffalos, oxen, and human beings. They offered prayers and prayers, shed blood on his head, blood and

wine. A few days later, at the end of this quarrel, SriAksharbrahma, instead of Darubrahma, said, "I am coming to your house as Aksharbrahma, serve and worship me." He appeared in the forest as Aksharabrahma at Shree Mattar Banjan mountain. He said he would see. When the Sabara saw there were twenty-four letters, and as soon as he saw, the temple was built. There Aksharbrahma is worshipped.”⁶

7. Folk songs prevalent in the Saura community:

The Saura are perfect in composing folk songs. Folk songs of Odia literature is adorned with the folk songs of Saura culture. They accept their happiness and sorrow as a blessing of God. So, they try to strengthen themselves without losing patience in grief or danger. They pray to their Gods, not just for themselves, but for the entire human race. Evidence of their humanity is found in this. They celebrate every festival with great joy. Songs are the main means of expressing them. Young people like to express their love in the form of songs. Various folk songs such as consolation songs, love songs, sports songs, songs for work, festive songs, wedding songs, crying songs, etc. introduce the folk songs of the Sauras. Here are some examples of their folk songs.

7.1 Consolation songs for crying child

Song- 1

Edang edang edangla langion
Gudang gudang gudangla tirmangon.
Awangn dentin dansiai langion
Awangn dentin danrabai tirmangon.



English translation:

Oh, my beautiful! do not cry.
Oh, my cute! do not upset.
Oh, my queen! when will I hold.
Oh, my wealth! when will I thresh.

Song- 2

Jabtadle dakudongne langion
Gablule dakudongne tirmangon.
Rupajang mad danam langion
Rangatang mad danam tirmangon.

English translation:

Do not shed tears from your eyes.
Do not shed water from your eyes.
Tears of silver water.
Tears of gold water.

Song- 3

Anreng tar pidnetin langion
 Anreng pid pidnetin resاون.
 Kanringan da tadaran
 Kanringan da sagadan.

English translation:

Oh, mine! I decorated.
 Oh, mine! I prepared.
 Fruit of the forest.
 Hen of the forest.

Song- 4

A langion angtin angdiidai
 A tirmang angatin adingdai.
 Karisi da irian langion
 Bandada da iriaan tirmangon.

English translation:

When will I hold, my beauty.
 When will I touch, my pretty.
 My queen of Sirisa wood.
 My queen of Banjana wood.



Song- 5

Angaden yu tarpiddai lanagion
 Angaden yu pidpidai tirmangon.
 Sangudan dong kingen langion
 Adanjan dong kingen tirmangon.

English translation:

When will I clean, oh, my beauty!
 When will I play you, oh, my beauty!
 Oh, my winnowing pan!
 Oh, my winnowing pan!

7.2 Mourning song:

When a father dies, a son dies, a mother dies, a distant husband dies, a wife dies, a brother dies, and a sister dies all get distressed. The tears in the eyes and the feelings of the mind flow into mourning songs to lighten the mind. For a mother, the son is like a blossoming flower. The mourning songs of Sauras are heart touching. The song is easily reminiscent of how a sad mother is devastated by her son's death.

Oh, waang! Oh, King! Oh, my heart!

Oh, handsome son! Oh, king son!
Who ate you, who killed you my son?
My son is like a flower,
My son is like a fragrant flower.
This time it fell, this time it blew.
Oh, son of mine! the son of the king.
My son is as green as mango leaves.
Oh, my son! you have fallen, you have been.
Oh, king! Oh my father!

In the same way, the son mourns at the death of a father

Oh, father! Oh, father! where are you going?
Leaving us, leaving your home.
Leaving the property, where are you going?
Where did you go? The house became empty.
Look at the mother, look at the house.
Father, how can we live? How will we work?
Who will help us? Who will take care of us, Dad?
Who will take care of us? Who will save us?
You left us Dad, how can we survive, Dad?

Wife mourns at the death of her husband. She is crying

Iyung Iyungla, Iyung Iyungla..
What happened to you?
Can't I see you again?
What happened to you?
Who did your this?
Who hurt you? Oh! my husband.
What happened to you?
Who will eat my hand-cooked food?
Who else will love me?

7.3 Love song:

It is impossible to live human life without love. Love makes the heaven happy and makes people blind. In love, everything is meaningless, high, low, rich, poor, beautiful, ugly. So the love affair in the lives of the tribals is bizarre and charming. Indigenous peoples like to love as much as they love their youth. Young Saura, in particular, is intoxicated by the perversion of during adolescence. The young men and women of Saura are perfect in composing songs immediately. They begin to sing wherever they can, whether they are working in hill or on the road. A group

of young men and women travel to nearby villages to witness a festival. On the way, the two teams met each other. The young men began to sing-

Dangada- Malli taran dangai len, dung naidin marangding dangadi

Mara badan dangailen, dung naidin marangding dangadi

Rajitra sitata, kumpetra sitata

Rag ragei rag ragei.

Dangadi- Chhampa taran dangailen, dung naidin maranda dangada

Dayung tanran dangailen, dung naidin maranda dangada

Rajitra sitata, kumpetra sitata

Rag ragei rag ragei.

Dangada- Bar taran dangai len, dung naidin marangding dangadi

Reg taran dangai len, dung naidin marangding dangadi

Rajitra sitata, kumpetra sitata

Rag ragei rag ragei.

Dangadi- Sirsu taran dangailen, dung naidin maranda dangada

Karidaran dangailen, dung naidin maranda dangada

Isam tanat langamanani telenga.

Rag ragei rag ragai.....

English translation:

Young men- Dressed with white Tulip, came out gang of young women,
Dressed with peacock feathers, came out gang of young women,
Whether the young women would agree or not.

Young women- Dressed with Champak, came out gang of young men,
Dressed with peacock feathers, came out gang of young men,
Whether the young men would agree or not.

Young men- Dressed with yellow flowers, came out gang of young women,
Dressed with Pulse flowers, came out gang of young women,
Whether the young women would agree or not.

Young women- Dressed with Mustard flower, came out gang of young men.
Dressed with Kutai flower, came out gang of young men.
Whether the young men would agree or not.

The Saura lady does not want to hurt the anxious soul of the young man, eventually gets the young woman's approval. The bond of love acts as the thread of marriage. The music of the young woman's soul is in the language of folk song. It is heartwarming. A young Saura wants to attract a young woman by playing Sarangi (a violin). He sings a song for the lady. This is the English meaning-

Why don't you look at me?

Why don't you want me?

By looking your hair, like an ox's tail,

By looking your plait, like a rope,
 Looked at your back like a wall,
 Looked at your face like a small red flower,
 Looked at your face like a red flower,
 Looked at your beautiful face like an angel,
 I will be happy, I will be delight.

The young men and women of Saura address each other as brothers and sisters. It is usually called Kakung (brother) and Boi (sister). Whether they are known or not.

Itini aaing delam,
 Itini aalaam aalaam laam,
 Itini aaing delam,
 Gangaan aalaam aalaam aam.

English translation:

What is this, sister? Where did your charming go?
 The face looks like an Oat tree, looks like a finger Millet stick,
 It has become like a dry broom.

Young Sauras are perfect at sarcasm. A young Saura is anxious for the love of a young woman. But he failed to make love to her. This is reflected in the form of 'stone'. Finally, the girl tells to the failed youth-

Young woman- My brother fell off the rock.

My brother fell from a deep valley.

Young man- I was climbing because the rock looked beautiful.

I was climbing because it was easy to catch.

Young woman- Who told you to climb?

Who ordered you to climb?

Young man- I wanted to climb the rock myself.

I wanted to catch the rock myself.

It is noteworthy here that he felt that the heart of the young woman who was rejecting the love proposal was a stone. The state of falling from a high place, was the state of being rejected in love. How can a young man have an affair without the consent of a young woman? That's the decent thing to do, and it should end there. The feeling of love within the work ethic of a young woman is great. The poem has a sweet combination of action and love. Heartfelt love has been shown in two unconditional acts of amicable heart, in music, in words, and in form. The anxieties of love and the tendency to work are both astounding.

Sports song:

Sauras love sports. They don't like get to sit alone in a little bit of break from working life. There is no interruption to play with friends or someone younger or older than to them. They play by creating a variety of sounds and sometimes singing. The songs are heartwarming even though

there are no specific vocal combinations. The songs are a variety of humor and love related. During sports both boys and girls are present. Those who are present at the sports applauds and inspires everyone.

A Sports Song:

Bamanra jalda ingten, bamanra jalda ingten.
 Yeh buyan uan yerte, jaba agata sinaba.
 Yeh buyan uan yerte, jaba agata sinaba.
 Yera! bagunlen agatasine.
 Yera! anlen agbe, tedne agba.
 Pasijanji kuddub ayam gatasi tenji.
 Gatasi maranji garatasi baseng lingan dakuji.
 Anlen abai ampun asabjaba.
 Anlen abai gatasi agatasinaba.
 Kaninkenanan akenba, kadingan adeba.
 Kanenkenanan kenle atarzuba.
 Kanenkenanan kenle atarzuba.

English translation:

Someone cheated me, someone cheated me.
 Oh, brother! where are you going? Let's come and play.
 Oh, brother! where are you going? Let's come and play.
 Let's come and play together.
 Let's come and sit down, let's sit here.
 Boys always play.
 The players play in the field.
 We will build an organization.
 We will play a game.
 Will sing the song, will play the drum.
 Let's sing by clapping.
 Let's sing by clapping.

8. Folklore prevalent in the Saura community:

Folklore is universal and timeless. From ancient times to the modern era, it has always existed and spread everywhere. It's as old as the story. Probably it is created from environment and circumference. Human cave life can be traced as its creation. When everyone in the family is together after a busy day, it is only natural for them to spend the rest of their lives laughing and having fun with these folklores. The puzzle is a game of intellect. The Saura tribe is an ancient, civilized and reformed tribe, and their intelligence is superior to that of other tribes. The Saura language has a lot of use of 'paheli' or puzzles for the game of intellect. In Sora language, it is called Digur or Dikui.

Digur or Dikui (Proverbs)

Saura- Abai dukribai satan yamle dakutin.

English- An old woman is sitting and holding an umbrella. (Mushroom)

Saura- Aakam punglingan alangan daku.

English- There is a tongue in the stomach. (Lantern)

Saura- Ayang singan gurumang, atanagba singan yaga dom.

English- White at home, black at mother-in-law's house. (Pot)

Saura- Bamanra tadang gi-gilin dakutin.

English- One is always looking. (Sun)

Saura- Rajan andarai atuntin Agasa.

English- The brinjal of the king has no stalk (Egg)

Saura- Tadang edalin dakutin.

English- She is crying everyday. (Spring)

Saura- Bobruling gulji moon duyan daaku.

English- There are seven tops in one hill. (Chicken coop)

Saura- Rajan asanang adrine.

English- The doors of the palace have not been opened. (Snail)

Saura- Ta-ar tangan ab Mangtin je a tangan.

English- White cow in front of brown cow. (Smoke and Fire)

Saura- Asanan jijitin sudalin putatin.

English- Wear as a child and become naked when he grows up. (Bamboo)

Saura- Bungasam abmangin pintasam tikite.

English- Sleep pot in front of Pola pot in front. (Mahula and Tola)

Saura- Asin arika, agiwan arika, gieel bin del dangada.

English- No hands, no legs, when I saw it, it was a young. (Shovel)

Saura- Ayangan, a onan abake, bab lenden an onam. (Baasit)

English- If a mother touches a son, she will not have seen. (Salt)

Saura- Muil amandra, abnin aba. (Sagada)

English- One head of twelve people. (Cart)

Saura- It abai phasib den, sanaatum sron saleng tinto. (Kuda)

English- A child, but as a child he carries a pot. (Oven)

Saura- Aakam punglir, gaman amadam. (Langtera)

English- Eye in the stomach. (Lantern)

Saura- Laka tarba, baitan adan. (Sersena)

English- Flowers above, fruits below. (Peanuts)

Saura- Aabai anask, mandra gijetin sotin. (Kulu)

English- A woman, who hides seeing man. (Turtle)

Saura- Tadaban ilebin den, aigul mat taibi. (Aaya)

English- When you go to dam, they are eyeing you. (Fish)

Saura- Manlai banuyang danangji saari gaitid.

English- The five brothers are not the same. (Five fingers)

Saura- Itkukur rajandi, ableng den saiti adibe. (Ub)

English- The roof of the king, but can never be counted. (Head hair)

Saura- Yagi abangal jiajangan? Ara

English - It has three heads and ten legs, what is it? A farmer with his plough”⁽⁷⁾

9. Saura Folktales:

Saura folktales are funny and interesting. It flows from face to face. It has evolved over the centuries to meet the needs of the people. Here are some of the folktales.

9.1 Creation of human being

Indigenous Saura tribe worship innumerable deities. But Kitung is the main deity of the Sauras. According to them, Kitung cooks in the sky. His stove is lit by sunlight. When he goes to sleep, the fire goes out and the night arrives. After the creation of the earth, ‘Kitung’ built a house for himself. He first painted a picture of a woman and a man on the wall of the house. He then tried to draw pictures of trees and animals but could not. The next day he tried again but still couldn’t. So, he went to the sun-God ‘Uyungsum’. Uyungsum said, “Draw a picture of a woman and a man in the drawing room, and seven days later cut off your finger, then put two drops of blood on the picture of man and three drops of blood on the woman. Kitung did that. Eight days later, a beautiful girl was born from the blood on the woman’s picture and immediately started crying. The next day a boy was born from the male figure. But he was amazed. When the two grew up together and became young man and woman, Uyungsum asked them to marry. The two of them were married by Kitung. They lived together. A few years later a son and a daughter were born to them. Thus, humans were created on the earth. To commemorate this occasion, the Sauras worshiped painting on the wall. These wall paintings are called ‘Idital’.

9.2 Creation of Saura tribe

God created all things in heaven, in earth and in hell. God was very pleased to see the perfect atmosphere of heaven, the most beautiful atmosphere of earth, and the most peaceful atmosphere of hell. Heaven and hell are invisible to man, while their environment is visible. He created humans like himself to give him rights. He gave his life for man. God was pleased to see man. Then all the rights of the earth were given to man and he fled to heaven. Man lived in earth as he pleased. After many centuries and thousands of years, God came to meet the man He had made. God appeared on the earth in glory, with noise, wind, lightning, thunder, and clouds. Humans have never heard such a voice since the creation of the world. So he started running. Eventually he hid in a tree trunk. God saw that the man was hiding in a tree. God did not know the reason for man to hide. When God called man, he did not answer. Thinking that man was frightened by the noise, God took on the form of a man and said, O man! Where are you? I am your Creator

Kitung. You come to me. There is nothing to be afraid of. The fear of man was removed when he heard the word of God.

Man trembled and came to God. God asked man, "Where were you when I came to earth with all of my glory?" The man said, "God! I have never heard such a noise since the beginning of creation. Suddenly I was shocked to hear this. So I went to the trunk of a tree and hid." God said, "Hearing the sound of my glory, you hid yourself in the tree. So I will give your name 'Sara' according to your deeds." 'Sa' means hiding, 'Ara' means tree. 'Saraa' means a person hiding in a tree cordon. Since then, the human race, which has been living in the jungle, has been called a nation. In time, it has become a 'Saura'. Even today, in some areas, they are known as 'Saraa'. To this day, the Sauras of some areas are hiding from educated people, and some of the Sauras have reached the pinnacle of civilization and have held many high positions.

10. Idital

"I will be with you in your house," once an ancestor said to a Saura in his dream. "Ghosts can't live in this house," he protested in fear. He had a fever because he was upset. He apologized for the fever and told his ancestors of his grief. "Let me have a house on the inner wall of the house and keep me," the ancestor told Saman in a dream. The Saura could not understand anything. As a result, he built a small room with a wooden wall inside the house. The ghost disliked the house and blew it away with a smile. The Saura told his grief to Kitung. Kitung understood the spirit, licked the rice, and added water to make white colour. With the help of a stick he painted a picture of a room on the inner wall of the house. The ghost lived happily ever after. The fever of the Saura recovered. Then the ghost no longer bothered him. Thus the 'Idital' was born. From that day on, the Sauras paint Iditals on the walls of the house for the sake of the dead and the Gods, to prevent disease, to increase the fertility of the land, to improve agriculture, for all peace, to protect against danger and to protect the fields from bugs. It is called 'Idital' in Saura language and 'Icon' in English. In Saura, 'Id' means painting and 'tal' means wall. So, this wall painting is called 'Idital'.

11. Counting

In the village of Tinaling there was an old man and an old woman named Javan and Jabri. They had two sons and a daughter. They lived on a hill a short distance from the village. In Bagad, they cultivated Pulses, Maize, Dungurani, Jahna, Pumpkins etc. The old couple lived in the huts of the Bagada to guard the crops. The son and daughter used to go to Bagad every morning and return to the village in evening. On a new moon night, it was dark all around. The stars were shining in the sky. The old couple used to cook Pulses and bring them to eat on the leaves. They sat near the hut to escape the cold. Just then a bright meteor slipped over the hut. The old woman was frightened and said to the old man, "Look, a star has fallen from the sky." The old man laughed and said, "This is not a star, but a Goddess of the earth." We have a good harvest in our Bagad, so being happy it has come to bless us and will return. "Don't the stars fall?" said the old woman. "Who can tell if the stars will fall or not?" But when I was a child, my mother used to

say, "If the stars fall, the earth will burn. All living things will die". The old woman said, "How many stars are there in the sky?" Let's count. The old man said, "Let's throw pulses to mouth and count one by one stars." The old man began to count. Aabai(1), Baagu(2), Yaagi(3), Unji(4), Manlai(5), Tudru(6), Gulji(7), Taamji(8), Tinji(9), Gaalji(10), Gaalmui(11), Miyagaal(12). Just then a tiger took the old man from behind. The old woman in fear, fled to the village in the dark of night. The old woman told the villagers that a tiger had taken the old man away. Since it was a dark night, no one dared to go to Bagad. In the morning, the villagers went to the Bagad and searched for the old man, but they found only the skull and bones of the old man. What would have the old man counted after Miyagaal(12), if the old man had not been taken by the tiger but from that day onwards the Sauras were afraid to count the number after Miyagaal. Therefore, for counting thirteen, they count as Miyagaal aabai, fourteen as Miyagal baagu, for Nineteen Miyagaal gulji, and so on. They then referred to twentieth as Bakudi.

12. Funeral

It has been a long time ago, Sauras lived in deep forests. Many animals, including tigers, lions, boars, and bears also lived in forests. Once upon a time in a village, a Saura died naturally. The news reached everyone in the village, and everyone came to his house. According to the Saura tradition, all members of the Birinda and all the men and women of the village were present at the funeral. They took the corpse to the cemetery, playing various traditional instruments. Arriving at the cemetery, they turned the corpse around three times and laid it on the funeral pyre. Those who dared to catch the fire greeted all around and set the fire on the funeral pyre. The stench of the burning body was spread around. Animals are very interested in eating roast meat. So, they arrived at the cemetery with the stench of burning meat. Seeing tigers, lions, jackals, wolves etc., Sauras ran to the village. The animals were not afraid of the Sauras because they did not carry traditional weapons. Animals such as tigers, lions, and wolves ate the half-burnt carcass from the funeral pyre. By the time the Sauras returned to the cemetery with weapons, the tigers, lions, and wolves ate the corpse and returned. From that day on, the Sauras go to the cemetery with traditional weapons and instruments. The animals no longer come to the place when they hear music, and everyone is guarding the cemetery by playing the trumpet until the corpse is completely burned.

12. Singkunda

They believe in the soul and the spirit. They also believe that the ancestral spirit was born into the family as the heir to the family. They believe that if someone in the family dies, he or she will be born again in that house. The connection of Saura's life to the invisible and invisible forces connects the past with the present. The souls of the ancestors share in the joys and sorrows of the present man. After death, there are regular interviews with the man of the soul and family members. There is always a reunion of souls and bodies between life and death, and within that there is a kinship. It is available in the Saura life philosophy. The Sauras get the direction of their lives by inviting the dead soul (Sonam). In worship and chants, the Sauras call for the glory of

their ancestors. Preserves the glory of the ancestors through legends. The body dies yet Sonam inside the body does not die. Sonam is close to the Saura race. Supports in times of danger. Shows the right way. So, the Sauras end the funeral of their relatives with great reverence and devotion. The Sauras celebrate the Singkunda with the intention of saying goodbye to the soul of the dead. The role of Singkunda is very important in the Saura community. Singkunda is celebrated for the dead. It is said that Singkunda is celebrated to entertain those who go to the funeral. It is a customary for men to go to this party. Relatives of the deceased cooked a feast in one place with a chicken and some rice. Then everyone eats the rice and meat in the leaf plate. Sauras have a strong belief that the ghosts of the deceased will not be associated with anyone in the ghosts for two or three days. In the abode of Yama, the deceased looks everything new. He wonders if he has been eaten or not, so he summons the ghost and lets him eat the rice and the meat in the plate. Sauras believe that giving such food gives peace of mind to the dead. In the abode of Yama, the spirit can't eat as much as he wants. Because of this belief, no one eats a full meal at the Singkunda feast or even allows the spirit to eat a full stomach.

13. Labasum (God of the Ganga)

The beauty of the Kantitam mountain is very beautiful. There, animals roam fearlessly. It is difficult to say when a spring came out of the mountain. Labasum (Gangi deity) lives in that spring. By the grace of the Gangi deity, the animals enjoy eating fruits from the forest and drinking water from the springs. Labasum is happy when animals come to drink water. Since there are a lot of animals and birds there, the Sauras go there to hunt and come home happily with animals. As the Sauras came hunting every day, the birds and animals began to run out of the Kantitam forest day by day. As usual, the animals did not go to the spring to drink water. Seeing this, Labasum became sad. So Gangi devata came up with a way. The Saura people who go to the spring to drink water to quench their thirst, the God of the Gangi grabs his leg and pulls him into the spring. As a result, the man dies. So, the hunter who went to the spring died. But when the travelers or anyone else go to drink water, nothing happens. Knowing this, the Sauras do not go to the Kantitam forest for hunting in fear. He also worships the spring, believing that the Gangi deity lives in the spring.

14. Conclusion:

The language of Saura community is very heart touching. In this heartfelt language, he has created his own folk literature. Folk songs are completely complementary to this lifestyle. It is not based on intelligence. It is a very simple, refined and juicy lyric. All aspects of life and all aspects of nature are included in this folk song. Music and dance are also closely associated with this song. It has been preserved in public. But in the modern age of language, there has been a lot of talk about language, and there has been an interest in collecting and documenting folklore and discussing it. Guru Mangai Gamang has given this language and culture a new life. The digitization of Saura language by Sony Salma will create a new dimension among the society. The uniqueness of their folk songs, folk tales, and folk dances is still deeply rooted in our society

today. The analysis of their folklore, puzzles, and proverbs provides a powerful formula for solving potential complications. In the 74 years since independence, the implementation of 12 annual schemes and many tribal development projects has failed to meet the needs of the Saura people. The Saura society is not shining in the light of freedom. The kettle-drum of improvement has been playing for years, plan after plan, but in reality, their progress has not been as expected. As a result, the mother tongue of the Sauras is gradually disappearing under the influence of modernity. Currently, the Saura community is moving through a period of emotional, economic and cultural change. Folklore has not changed as a result of the spread of modernity and technology. People from the Saura community should be encouraged to do research on this language as it would bring out the nuances of the languages missed out by the external research scholars.

Bibliography:

Pasayat, Chitrasena; Adivasi Moukhika Sahitya Parampara(O), Compilation and Editing, Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar, first published - 2009, P- 116.

Mohapatra, Dr. Khageshwar, 'Mukha Nathiba Manisha'(O), Friends Publishers, Binod Bihari, Cuttack, 1995, P- 50.

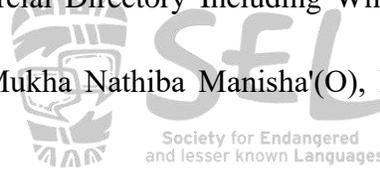
Bharat Natyashastram, verse 36.

'Gulchha's Industrial & Commercial Directory Including Who's Who in India', Nagpur, 1955, Page -235.

Mohapatra, Dr. Khageshwar, 'Mukha Nathiba Manisha'(O), Friends Publishers, Binod Bihari, Cuttack- 2,1995, P- 51.

Ibid, P- 53.

Adivasi, Volume- 53, Number- 1 & 2, June & December- 2013, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, Odisha, Page- 126.



Indian Census and Tibeto-Burmese Languages of India

Kakali Mukherjee
kakali.linguist@gmail.com

1. General information of Indian Census

1.1. Indian Census is considered as the authentic source of data on Indian Languages and Mother tongues, deriving out of the decennial data on Mother Tongues in response to the question on Mother Tongue, returned by everyone of each household canvassed for the entire population of the country. The raw returns of Mother Tongues are edited-scrutinized-rationalized-classified suitably into languages inclusive of Mother Tongues following the principles of linguistic methodology and available knowledge base. The classified languages and mother tongues are brought in public domain after due approval of the Government of India. The latest published census data is that of 2011 Census when the result arrives at 121 languages distributed in five language families of India, namely -

1. Indo-European (including (a) Indo-Aryan, (b) Iranian and (c) Germanic)
2. Dravidian
3. Austro-Asiatic
4. Tibeto-Burmese
5. Semito-Hamitic.

1.2. While the no.1. group of languages constitute 78.07 % to the total population of India in 2011, the no.2. is constituted by 19.64 % which is further followed by 1.11 %, 1.01 % and negligible by the remaining language families respectively. The break-up of Languages and Mother Tongues is furnished herewith.

The 23 Indo-European languages with 94,53,33,910 speakers include 130 mother tongues (of 10000 and above population at all India level with break- up of Indo-Aryan-94,50,52,555+Iranian-21,677+Germanic-2,59,678);

The 17 Dravidian languages with 23,78,40,116 speakers include 34 mother tongues (of 10000 and above population at all India level);

The 14 Austro-Asiatic languages with 1,34,93,080 speakers include 22 mother tongues (of 10000 and above population at all India level);

The 66 Tibeto-Burmese languages with 1,22,57,382 speakers include 83 mother tongues (of 10000 and above population at all India level);

The 1 Semito-Hamitic language with 54,947 speakers include 1 mother tongue (of 10000 and above population at all India level).

(Ref: Census of India 2011: Paper I of 2018: 21)

1.3. Interesting part comes out from the above statistics i that the language family constituting 1.01 % only is comprising of a huge number of languages like 66 inclusive of 83 relevantly grouped mother tongues The hugeness in number of languages and mother tongues is not so in case of other families, keeping parity with the proportion of volume of the other families The present paper is an humble attempt to look deeply into the classified distribution of this smallest family with highest members under its fold.

2. Tibeto-Burmese (Tibeto-Burman) family

2.1. *Tibeto-Burmese* (TB) Language family is one of the above discussed five established (so far) language families of India. Population wise the family occupies the fourth position in India among the five families constituting 1.01% to the total population of India in 2011. [*The percentage of the other families has already been furnished in above section (1.2) and is not repeated here.*] Apart from India, the languages of the TB family are spoken (alphabetically) in Bangladesh, Bhutan, China (including Tibet), Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, Vietnam etc. which geographically encompass South East Asia, East Asia and South Asia. The estimated global number of the languages of this family is 250-300. Tibeto-Burmese is popularly referred as Tibeto-Burman. But the nomenclature *Tibeto-Burmese* has been used here following the Indian Census tradition till date.

2.2. The nomenclature ‘Tibeto-Burman’ is itself the source of infinite curiosity about its entity so far Tibeto-Burman linguistic phylum in India is concerned. However, as per the existing knowledge base the “Tibeto-Burman” name first came into use in 1823 by French linguist Julius von Klaproth who identified the name for altogether ‘Burmese’, ‘Tibetan’ and ‘Chinese’. And this phylum, of course, excluded Kradai or Daic languages like Thai, Laos, Shan etc. under the consideration of monosyllabicity and lack of inflection as the main characteristics of Tibeto-Burman taxon which are not possessed by Kradai languages. The alternative nomenclature ‘Sino-Tibetan’ is found in use for ‘Indo-Chinese’ since 1924 following the term ‘*Sino-Tibetain*’ coined by French Orientalist Jean Przyluski. Sino-Tibetanists are identified for their practice to differentiate between Tibeto-Burman (as the non-Sinitic) and the Sino-Tibetan as Sinitic group of languages (van Driem : 2014).

2.2.1. However, it is accepted by all concerned that all the Indo-Chinese languages were once agglutinative, but some of them like Chinese is now isolating. The old prefixes and suffixes of Chinese have lost their significance and every word of Chinese is now monosyllabic. But, the Tibeto-Burmans of the Indo-Chinese phylogeny are agglutinative languages with few exceptions (Grierson: 1901: Census of India, 1901: Volume-I, Part-I: 375).

In this context Julius von Klaproth’s branching of Tibeto-Burman appears quite pertinent which reads like that the Tibeto-Burman nomenclature encompasses

1. Tibetan
2. Chinese
3. Burmese
4. And all languages genetically related to this three.

The Sino-Bodic sub-group hypothesis extended by Klaporth in 1923 observed the the closer relation between Tibetan and Chinese than with Burmese to each other. (Ref: Van Driem : Trans Himalayan:2014)

2.3. The TB sub-family is one of the components of Tibeto-Chinese Language family with Siamese-Chinese (Sinitic) being the other component of the family. [Grierson: 1927 (2005: p-41)]. Siamese-Chinese is alternatively termed or popular as Sino-Tibetan [Robert Shafer: 1966-67 & 1974; James A. Matisoff: 2003]. Accordingly, the Tibeto-Chinese family is the combination of non-Sinitic and Sinitic group of languages. Tibeto-Chinese is popularly known as Indo-Chinese also, *so far it relates to British India*. Indo-Chinese languages encompass Asian languages from Caspian Sea to Polynesia. Scholars in favour of viewing the language family as a whole “Tibeto- Burman” are differing from those who refer “Tibeto-Burman to denote all non-Sinitic languages of the chain from Tibet to Burma (Van Driem: 2007:226).

2.4. Non-Sinitic TB family is relevant for the present India so far, its geo-political territory is concerned. The speakers comprise mostly of Burmese followed by Tibetic. Tibeto-Burmese or Tibeto-Burman name, thus, is derived from the names of widely spoken Burmese and the Tibetan languages. Sinitic languages are Chinese and related languages. (Grierson: 1927 &1909). However, census data focuses non-sinitic Tibeto-Burmese languages in India.

3. Linguistic studies in India and classification on Tibeto-Burman languages

3.1. Though the consciousness of the scholars, noticed during the 18th century, centered on *Tibetan* and *Burmese* entity but it is in the 19th century only that Brian Houghton Hodgson primarily brought the knowledge of TB languages (of Nepal and Tibet [*Bhot*]) in 1828 (Grierson:1927/2005 :55-56) in the domain of this particular interest. In 1857 Hodgson produced philological enquiries with ‘*Comparative Vocabulary of Sub-Himalayan dialects*’ based on data collected on the non-literary languages of both Tibetan and Burmese identifying the relationship of Tibetan and Burmese without assigning any definite nomenclature. The name "Tibeto-Burman" was first applied to this group in 1856 by James Logan, in “Journal of Indian Archipelago” by way of analyzing and comparing the languages of Burma and Assam (Grierson:1927 [2005]:14).

3.2. Following the discussion held at Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886 and subsequent resolution for ‘a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India’ (during British India) Sir George Abraham Grierson (an Irish linguistic scholar and civil servant) was entrusted with the job of Superintendent for conducting Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) Project (1898-1928) along with simultaneous association with the decennial Census of 1901 as the analyzer of Census data and contributor of Language Report of 1901. The Survey result of the above historical Project was published in eleven volumes and 19 parts where the output on Tibeto- Burman languages of the- then India was covered in three parts of Volume III apart from the Introductory Volume- I.

3.3. As per Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India-Vol.1 (Part-I) and Vol.III (Part-I, II, III) the Tibeto-Burmese family is divided into following branches

A. Tibeto-Himalayan

- B. Assam-Burmese
- C. North-Assam

The above branches are further sub-divided in the following groups and sub-groups:

3.3.1. A. Tibeto-Himalayan is divided into

- i) Tibetan Group (comprising mainly of Tibetan, Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Danzongke, Lhoke etc.);
- ii) Himalayan -Group is sub-divided into

Non- Pronominalised Himalayan Group comprising mainly by languages like - Gurung, Murmi or Tamang, Sunwar, Magari, Newari, Rong or Lepcha etc.;

Pronominalised Himalayan- Group being divided into:

- a) Eastern group consisting of Limbu, Rai, Dhimal, Khambu, Thami, Yakha and others.
- b) Western group consisting of Manchati, Byangshi, Rangloi, Kanashi, Chamba Lahauli etc.

[Note: Pertinently it appears necessary to highlight the difference between Pronominalised and non-Pronominalised sub-branches of Himalayan languages. The Pronominalised languages are identified on the basis of morpho-syntactic structure where the pronominal forms are carried into the structure of finite verb forms. example

Limbu

/ansi kopmo yalik yem a yumessi /

(we) (here) (long time -for) (live-past-1st PN pl.)

“We have lived here for long time”

Rai

/anka bede:ka wai Damka oya yuMsao yainka /

(we) (long) (time) (here) (live-past-1st PN.pl.)

“We have lived here for long time”

In both the cases the respective pronominal forms /ansi/ and /anka/ are syntactically carried with finite verb forms respectively. But the same is not the case with Non-Pronominalised languages.

For Example

Gurung

/Mi syombai churi Tibamula /

(we) (for long time) (here) (live-past)

“We have lived here for long time”

Tamang

/hyaM Macan rance curi cibamula /

(here) (we) (time) (here) (live-past)

“We have lived here for long time”

Here, the pronominal forms are not morpho-syntactically carried in the finite verb forms.]

3.3.2. B. Assam- Burmese Branch comprises the following 7 groups namely-

1. Bodo , 2. Naga, 3. Kuki-Chin, 4. Kachin, 5. Burmese, 6. Lolo- Moso, 7. Sak(Lui).

Brief details under each group followed by the components of each sub- group are furnished. Of course, the last named four group of languages principally belong to Burma (present Myanmar) which is no more in the present Indian territory.

- I. **Bodo group** consists of Kachari, Bodo, Dimasa, Garo, Koch, Rabha, Tripuri, Chutiya, Moran etc.
- II. **Naga group** is divided into sub-groups like Naga-Bodo, Western Naga, Central Naga, Eastern Naga, Naga-Kuki etc.

Naga-Bodo sub group of (**II-Naga Group**) comprises of Kachcha Naga (Empeo), Kabui, Khoirao etc.

Western Naga sub- group of (**II-Naga Group**) consists of Angami, Sema, Rengma etc.

Central Naga sub- group of (**II-Naga Group**) consists of Ao, Lhota, Tengsa Naga, Thukumi, Yachumi.

Eastern Naga sub-group of (**II-Naga Group**) consists of Chang, Assiringia, Moshang, Namsangia etc.

Naga-Kuki sub- group of (**II-Naga Group**) comprises of languages like Mikir, Mao (Sopvoma), Maram, Kwoireng, Tangkhul, Maring etc.

III. **Kuki-Chin group** is represented majorly by *Meithei* (Manipuri) followed by other *Chin languages* which include

- Old-Kuki group (represented by Hrangkhul, Hallam, Langrong, Hmar etc.);
- Northern Chin represented by Thado, Ralte, Paite etc.;
- Central Chin includes mainly Lai, Lakher, Lushai etc.
- Southern Chin is mainly identified by Khyang, Khami etc.

[*Kachin and other sub groups like - Burmese, Lolo-Moso, Sak (Lui) of Assam-Burmese branch are not geographically relevant for present India.*]

3.3.3 C. North- Assam Branch comprises Aka/ Hrusso, Miri, Dafla, Mishmi, Abor etc.

[*Above classificational information adopted from Professor Sten Konow's genetic classification of "Tibeto-Burman" languages in 1911 by George Abraham Grierson in Survey result presentation under Linguistic Survey of India: (LSI-Vol.1.Part-I, 1927/2005: Chapter VI : 58-80)*]

3.4. However, the highlights of Grierson's above classification of TB languages are mainly

- TB languages are divided into three main branches;
- The northern most representative of Tibeto-Himalayan branch of TB sub-family is Tibetan.
- The southernmost representative of Assam-Burmese branch of TB sub-family is Burmese.
- Between these two ends lie all the languages of all branches of TB sub-family spoken within Indian territory.

3.5. Linguistically the difference between Tibeto-Himalayan branch and other branches are realised through the following features in particular and many others in general.

- Counting of higher numbers in twenties (not in tens);
- Existence of dual number in personal pronouns;
- Double set of 1st personal duals and plurals towards inclusive and exclusive;

- Adding pronominal suffixes to the verb to distinguish person of the subject;
- And others.

3.6. Subsequent to the Grierson's classification vide LSI- Vol.I, Vol.III-Part i, ii, iii, many more grouping-regrouping of TB languages postulates some consensus about classification of TB family by various scholars like

Robert Shafer	(1955 & 1974)
Paul Benedict	(1972 , 1976))
George Van Driem	(1998 , 2001)
James A Matisoff	(1978 , 2015)
David Bradley	(2002)
Others.	(1992 & 1997, 2011, 2017 etc.)

3.7. Among all these scholars' efforts the extensive and exhaustive classification devised by Robert Shafer in 1955 deserve primary mention since he classified the Tibeto-Burmese languages of the Indian sub-continent into *six primary divisions* of Sino-Tibetan discarding the scheme of classification adopted by Grierson. The divisions are -

1. Karenic (Central and South Myanmar /Burma), 2. Baric (Assam), 3. Burmic (Indo-Burman frontier, Myanmar/Burma,China), 3. Bodic (ranging from Western Himalayas through Nepal to Assam,Western China including Tibet), 5. Daic (Western China, Daos, Thailand and parts of Myanmar) and 6. Sinitic (China). Out of these six divisions the Baric, Burmic and the Bodic divisions correspond more or less to Grierson's classification scheme of Assam-Burmese branch, North Assam branch and Tibeto-Himalayan branch of languages respectively. However, shafer observed a closer genetic affinity between Sinitic and Bodic.

3.8. Departing from Shafer's divisions, Paul Benedict in 1972 devised classification scheme as Sino-Tibetan under which 1. Chinese and 2. Tibeto-Karen are the principal divisions. The Tibeto-Karen is sub-divided into i) Karen and ii) Tibeto- Burman. Paul Benedict's Tibeto-Burman sub-division covers Grierson's three principal branching of Tibeto-Burman languages since the Tibeto- Burman sub-division of Benedict is found with 7 divisions, namely 1. Tibetan-Kanauri (jnclusive of Bodish –Himalayish), 2. Bahing-Vayu, 3.Abor-Miri-Dafla, 4. Kachin, 5. Bodo-Garo, 6. Kuki-Naga relevant to Indian territory and Burmese-Lolo.

3.9. Matisoff subsequently in 1978 divided the languages of Tibeto-Burmese family into same 7 branches based on geographic location in the following manner. 1. Kamarupan (which includes Kuki-Chin-Naga, Abor-Miri-Dafla, Boro-Garo), 2. Himalayish which includes Mahakiranti (comprising of Newr, Magar, Kiranti) and Tibeto-Kanauri (including Lepcha), 3. Qiangic, 4. Jingpho-Nungish-Luish, 5. Lolo-Burmese-Naxi, 6. Karenic, 7. Baic and Tujia (unclassified). [Out o7 classified list the Baic and Karenic group of languages are identified by him as SVO languages. Rest are SOV.] The Kamrupan, Himalayish groups mainly and Jingpho-Nungish-Luish group scantily cover most of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Grierson's classification. Grierson's Tibeto-Himalayan shows correspondence with Matisoff's Himalayish group, where the Kamarupan sub-group go with Assam-Burmese, North-Assam branch of Grierson.

3.9.1. In 2015 Matisoff reclassified the Tibeto-Burman languages aeri ally in following nine groups: 1. North-East Indian group clustering North Assam (Tani and Deng) and Kuki-Chin sub-group, 2. Naga group (with Central or Ao Naga, Angami-Pochuri, Zeme, Tangkhul sub-groups), 3. Meithei, 4. Mikir/Karbi, 5. Mru, 6. Sal (with Boro-Garo, Northern Naga or Konyak, Jingpho-Asakian sub-groups), 7. Himalayish (with Tibeto-Kanauri, Bodic, Lepcha, Tamangish, Dhimal, Newar, Kiranti, Kham-Magar-Chepang sub-groups), 8. Tangut-Qiang, 9. Lolo-Burmese-Naxi (with Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, Bai sub-groups). Except Tangut-Qiang and Lolo-Burmese-Naxi all other areal groups correspond to Grierson's scheme of classification of Tibeto-Burman languages of present India.

3.10. David Bradley (1997/2002) classified the Tibeto-Burman languages of India into groups namely, 1. *Western* (= *Bodic*) comprising of A. Tibetan-Kanauri (Tibetan-Gurung- East Bodic including Tsangla – Kanauri) and B. Himalayan (Eastern Kiranti- Western Kiranti) which mostly cover the mentioned Tibeto-Himalayan languages of Grierson,, 2. *SAL* (Baric= Boro-Garo-Northern Naga – Jingphaw- Luish- Kuki-Chin including Meithei and Karbi, which mostly covers languages of Assam-Burmese branch devised by Grierson in LSI, 3. *Central* [a. Adi-Garo-Mishing-Nishi, b. Mishmi (Digarish, Keman), and c. Rawang] which corresponds mostly to languages of Grierson's North-Assam branch, 4. *North-Eastern* (Qiangic-Naxi (Bai)-Tuija-Tangut) and 5. *South-Eastern* (a. Burmese-Lolo inclusive of Mru and b. Karen) groups.

3.11. In 2011 Roger Blench and Mark W. Post grouped the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Arunachal Pradesh of present India (that is, Grierson's North-Assam branch of languages) in Kamengic, Mishmi, Siangic, Puroik, Hruso, Miji, Miju. The languages corresponding to Bodish (like Monpa, Bhotia etc.) and Tani (like Apatani, Bangni, Nishi, Dafla, Adi etc.) are considered or treated by them as exclusively Sino-Tibetan.

3.12. George vanDriem in 2012 contributed by treating the Tibeto-Burman language family synonymously with Sino-Tibetan by discarding the existing divisional nomenclature --Tibeto-Burman and Sinitic. In 2014 VanDriem establishes the linguistic phylogeny among the languages of eastern Eurasia based on the relationship from Tibeto-Burman to Trans-Himalayan through Indo-Chinese, Sino-Tibetan, Sino-Himalayan, Sino-Kiranti tree. His reclassification reveals 42 broad categories out of which 20-22 names appear relevant so far Tibeto-Burman languages of present day India are concerned. The relevant categories out of 42 are namely, *Angami-Pocchury, Ao, Bodish, Brahmaputran, Chepangic, Dhimalish, Digarish, Hruish, Karbi, Kho-Bwa, Kiranti, Kukish, Lepcha, Magarish, Meithei, Midzuish, Newarish, Tamangic, Tangkhul, Tani, West Himalayish, Zeme etc.*

3.12.1. Angami-Pochury, Ao, Tangkhul, Kukish, Zeme of Van Driem's tree covers the Naga-Kuki languages and Meithei group bears coverage of Kuki-Chin group of Grierson's Assam-Burmese branch while Bodish, Dhimalish,, Kiranti, Magarish, Lepcha, Newarish, Tamangic , West Himalayish etc. correspond to Tibeto-Himalayan languages of Grierson. Van Driem's Digarish, Hruish, Midzuish group along with Karbi, Kho-Bwa, Tani appear identical with North-Assam branch of Grierson.

3.13. On the basis of shared morphological evidences Scott DeLancey (2015) proposed a branch targeting the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in north eastern India which he termed as Central Tibeto-Burman or Central Trans-Himalayan of the Sino-Tibetan family. This branching is found to keep parity with the North East Indian areal grouping by Matisoff mentioned in 3.9.1. DeLancey's Central Tibeto-Burman groups 1. Sal [Garo, Jingpho, Konyak, Bodo-Kachari], 2. Lushai-Naga, 3. Meithei, 4. Meyor.

3.14. Robert Burling & Mark W. Post in 2017 geographically clustered the genealogically grouped languages of north east India especially of Arunachal Pradesh in following manner:-

A. Northern area

1. Kamengic and Sulung (comprising Sherdukpen, ButMonpa, Lish Monpa, Chunpa Puroik, Sulung etc.)
2. Hruso and Miji (Aka/Hruso, Miji)
3. Koro-Milang
4. Tani (abor-Miri-Dafla, Miri, Mishing etc.)
5. Digarish consisting of Digaru , Idu, Taraon Mishmi

B. Central area

1. Kaman –Meyor or Lohitic [Midzuish]
2. Sal [Bodo-Konyak- Jingpho]

C. Lolo-Burmese [not very relevant to present geography of India]

D. Eastern Border area (Naga and Kuki-Chin)

1. Central Naga (Ao group)
2. Angami-Pochury group
3. Western Naga [Zeliangrong] (a group consisting of Zeme, Liangmaei, Rongmei)
4. Tangkhulic [Tangkhul Naga and others]
5. Karbi [Mikir, Arleng]
6. Meithei [Meithei(lon), Manipuri]
7. Kuki-Chin

North-Western Kuki–Chin consisting Anal, Chothe, Kom, Moyon, Monsang, Lamkang, Tarao;
Northern Kuki-Chin comprising of Zou, Thadou, Purum, Ralte, Paite, Gangte, Vaiphei;
Central Kuki-Chin (Mizo, Hmar, Lai, Mara)

3.15. Genetic classification of Tibeto-Himalayan languages of India as classified by Grierson has been reclassified by Anju Saxena (1992 & 1997) is as follows

Tibeto- Burman

- > Bodish
 - > Tibeto-Kanauri
 - > Tibetan
 - > western, Central, Southern Khams, Amdo, Monpa
 - > West Himalayish
 - > Kinnauri – Patani – Tinani
 - > Thebor- Galric- Rungpa- Chaudyashi- Darmiya

3.16. Genetic classification of Tibeto-Burman Languages of India by Ruhlen (1991) reveals the following.

- Sino-Tibetan
 - o Sinitic
 - o Tibeto-Karen
 - A. Tibetic
 - a) Newari-Pahri
 - b) Digaro-Midu
 - c) Dhimal-Toto
 - d) Adi-Nishi
 - e) Bodic
 - f) Central Himalayan
 - g) West Himalayan
 - i) North ; ii) North-West ; iii) Almora (Rangka, Darmiya, Chaudangshi, Byangshi
 - h) East Himalayish (Dzorgaic)
- B. Baric
- C. Burmic

3.17. There are many more proposed classifications mention of all is not possible in the perspective of the present paper. However, this is true that both at national and international level regular exploration on Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan languages of India is going on with equal force and scholastic passion.

3.18. The contributions extended by various scholar's time to time with various classifications subsequent to Linguistic Survey of India Vol.III, Part i), ii) and iii) by Grierson, highlight broadly five main branches of TB family as

1. Western, 2 North Eastern, 3. South-Eastern, 4. Sal, 5. Central.

The above classification is not accepted by George Van Driem who differs in the primary split of Sinitic and non-Sinitic Tibeto-Burman languages under the consideration of both the groups as synonymous and identical with Sino-Tibetan only as already mentioned earlier.

3.18. Keeping the above series of classifications of Tibeto-Burmese languages of India by different scholars in background, the latest Census statistics is presented below to look into the authentic existence of the languages of TB family in India based on their responses during census enumeration in 2011.

4.Tibeto-Burmese languages through Indian Census Statistics

4.1. According to latest published Census result of 2011, the languages under TB family with 1, 22, 57,382 speakers constitute 1.01% to the total population of India which is 1,20,89,79,435. Further, according to this report, the TB family of India encompasses 66 languages inclusive of relevantly grouped 83 Mother Tongues of 10000 + population and other Mother tongues also below 10000 populations. Accordingly, $66+83 = 149$ names are traced under TB family in India in public domain as per latest Census. The details of number and names of existing mother

tongues below 10000 speakers can be obtained from the competent authority of the Government of India according to specific necessity. And the present discussion cannot shed light on those.

4.2. Out of the world of 149 TB languages/ mother Tongues altogether, 1. **Manipuri** and 2. **Bodo** (inclusive of respective grouped Mother tongues) are recognised as Eighth Scheduled languages of India. Other statistical highlights are furnished below.

4.3. Out of 66 languages *Manipuri* is the largest one with 17, 61,079 population constituting 0.15 % to the total population of India followed by *Bodo* with 14,82,929 speakers and 0.12 % to the total Indian population. Respectively these two languages occupy 20th and 21st rank among 22 Scheduled languages of India.

4.4. *Garo* and *Tripuri* also with respective 11,45, 323 and 10,11,294 speakers at all India level constitute the population above 10 lakh.

4.5. The **25** languages namely *Lushai/Mizo, Miri/Mishing, Karbi/Mikir, Nissi/Dafla, Ao, Konyak, Adi, Mao, Bhotia, Thado, Tangkhul, Tibetan, Lotha, Angami, Dimasa, Kabui, Chakru/Chokri, Kuki, Kinnauri, Yimchungre, Chang, Zeliang, Khiemnungan, Wancho, Zemi* constitute population within the speaker range from 10 lakhs to 50000 in descending order.

4.6. Rest **37** languages cover the population- range at all India level below 50000 to 10000 speakers. And they are the following in alphabetic order.

1. Anal, 2. Balti, 3. Chakesang, 4. Deori, 5. Gangte, 6. Halam, 7. Hmar, 8. Khezha, 9. Koch, 10. Kom, 11. Ladakhi, 12. Lahauli, 13. Lakher, 14. Lalung, 15. Lepcha, 16. Liangmei, 17. Limbu, 18. Maram, 19. Maring, 20. Mishmi, 21. Mogh, 22. Monpa, 23. Nocte, 24. Paite, 25. Pawi, 26. Phom, 27. Pochury, 28. Rabha, 29. Rai, 30. Rengma, 31. Sangtam, 32. Sema, 33. Sherpa, 34. Tamang, 35.. Tangsa, 36. Vaiphei, 37. Zou.

4.7. Sema (sl. No.32: 4.6) is distributed with lowest population among 66 languages with 10,802 speakers. Thus, between Manipuri (numerically the first populous language) and Sema (The lowest by speakers' strength) lie all the TB languages of India.

Thus, the TB languages may be summarized by speaker s' strength wise in following ways

4 languages with 10,00,000 and above range at India.

25 languages with below 10,00,000 to 50,000 population at all India level.

37 languages ranging from 50,000 to 10,000 population at all India level.

4.8. The brief account of the 88 mother tongues grouped under these 66 languages is presented below for ready reference.

Manipuri is inclusive of 1, Manipuri + Others; **Bodo** is inclusive of 1. Bodo, 2. Kachari, 3. Mech / Mechhia + Others; **Garo** 1. Garo + Others; **Tripuri** is inclusive of 1. Kokbarak, 2. Reang, 3. 3. Tripuri + Others; **Adi** is inclusive of 1. Adi, 2. Adi Gallong/ Gallong, 3. Adi Miniyong /Miniyong +Others; **Anal** is inclusive of 1. Anal +Others; **Angami** inclusive of 1. Angami +Others; **Ao** is inclusive of 1. Ao, 2. Chungli, 3. Mongsen +Others; **Balti** is inclusive of 1. Balti +Others; **Bhotia** is inclusive of 1. Bhotia, 2. Bauti +Others; **Chakhesang** is inclusive of 1. Chakhesang; **Chakru/ Chokri** is inclusive of 1. Chakru / Chokri +Others; **Chang** is inclusive of 1. Chang; **Deori** is inclusive of 1. Deori; **Dimasa** is inclusive of 1. Dimasa + Others; **Gangte** is inclusive of 1. Gangte; **Halam** is inclusive of 1. Halam + Others; **Hmar** is inclusive of 1.

Hmar; **Kabui** is inclusive of 1. Rongmei, 2. Kabui + Others; **Karbi / Mikir** is inclusive of 1. Karbi / Mikir; **Khezha** is inclusive of 1. Khezha + Others; **Khiemnungan** is inclusive of 1. Khiemnungan + Others; **Kinnauri** is inclusive of 1. Kinnauri + Others; **Koch** is inclusive of 1. Koch + Others; **Kom** is inclusive of 1. Kom; **Konyak** is inclusive of 1. Konyak; **Kuki** is inclusive of 1. Kuki +Others; **Ladakhi** is inclusive of 1. Ladakhi; **Lahauli** is inclusive of 1. Lahauli + Others; **Lakher** is inclusive of 1. Mara +Others; **Lalung** is inclusive of 1. Lalung; **Lepcha** is inclusive of 1. Lepcha; **Liangmei** is inclusive of 1. Liangmei + Others; **Limbu** is inclusive of 1. Limbu + Others; **Lotha** is inclusive of 1. Lotha; **Lushai / Mizo** is inclusive of 1. Lushai / Mizo + Others; **Mao** is inclusive of 1. Mao, 2. Paola + Others; **Maram** is inclusive of 1. Maram; **Maring** is inclusive of 1. Maring; **Miri / Mishing** is inclusive of 1. Miri / Mishing; **Mishmi** is inclusive of 1. Mishmi + Others; **Mogh** is inclusive of 1. Mogh + Others; **Monpa** is inclusive of 1. Monpa; **Nissi /Dafla** is inclusive of 1. Apatani, 2. Nissi / Dafla, 3. Tagin +Others; **Nocte** is inclusive of 1. Nocte + Others; **Paite** is inclusive of 1. Paite + Others; Pawi is inclusive of 1. Pawi; Phom is inclusive of 1. Phom; **Pochury** is inclusive of 1. Pochury + Others; **Rabha** is inclusive of 1. Rabha + Others; **Rai** is inclusive of 1. Rai + Others; **Rengma** is inclusive of 1. Rengma; **Sangtam** is inclusive of 1, Sangtam + Others; **Sema** is inclusive of 1. Sema; **Sherpa** is inclusive of 1. Sherpa; **Tamang** is inclusive of 1. Tamang; **Tangkhul** is inclusive of 1. Tangkhul +Others; **Tangsa** is inclusive of 1. Tutcha Tangsa + Others; **Thado** is inclusive of 1, Thado + Others; **Tibetan** is inclusive of 1. Purkhi, 2. Tibetan+ Others; **Vaiphei** is inclusive of 1. Vaiphei; **Wancho** is inclusive of 1. Wancho; **Yimchungre** is inclusive of 1. Chirr, 2. Tikhir, 3. Yimchungre + Others; **Zeliang** is inclusive of 1. Zeliang; **Zemi** is inclusive of 1. Zemi +Others; **Zou** is inclusive of 1. Zou.

(Source: Census of India 2011: Paper I of 2018: Language table: New Delhi)

5. The distribution of TB languages as per Census, 2011

5.1. The states where these 66 languages and 83 mother tongues are distributed are presented alphabetically here.

Arunachal Pradesh having 6 languages (1. Adi, 2. Mishmi, 3. Monpa, 4. Nissi/Dafla, 5. Tangsa, 6. Wancho).

Assam having 7 languages namely (1. Bodo [Scheduled language], 2. Deori, 3. Dimasa, 4. Karbi/Mikir, 5. Lalung, 6. Miri/Mishing, 7. Zemi).

Himachal Pradesh having 2 languages (1. Kinnauri 2. Lahauli).

Jammu & Kashmir (as was in 2011) is having 3 languages (1. Balti, 2. Ladakhi, 3. Tibetan).

Manipur is having 16 languages namely (1. Manipuri (Scheduled language), 2. Anal, 3. Gangte, 4. Hmar, 5. Kabui. 6. Kom, 7. Kuki, 8. Liangmei, 9. Mao, 10. Maram, 11. Maring, 12. Paite, 13. Tangkhul, 14. Thado, 15. Vaiphei, 16. Zou).

Meghalaya is having 2 languages (namely 1. Garo, 2. Koch).

Mizoram shows 3 languages (1. Lakher, 2. Lushai/Mizo, 3. Pawi).

Nagaland is showing 17 languages namely, (1. Angami, 2. Ao, 3. Chakesang, 4. Chakru/ Chokri, 5. Chang, 6. Khezha, 7. Khiemnungan, 8. Konyak, 9. Lotha, 10. Nocte, 11. Phom, 12. Pochury, 13. Rengma, 14. Sema, 15. Yimchungre, 16. Zeliang, 17. Sangtam).

Sikkim is identified with 6 languages, namely (1. Bhotia, 2. Lepcha, 3. Limbu, 4. Rai, 5. Sherpa, 6. Tamang).

Tripura showing 3 languages, namely, 1. Halam, 2. Mogh, 3. Tripuri.

West Bengal is identified with 1 language namely, 1. Rabha.

Except Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir, all other states returning TB languages are the units of North East India which comprises 9 states. Jammu & Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh are parts of Northern India.

5.2. Accordingly, the homeland of TB languages in India are principally and primarily the north eastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim - West Bengal on one hand identifying North East India as one region of ethno- linguistic diversity. The Jammu & Kashmir (as it was in 2011 census) and Himachal Pradesh of the north-west on the other hand also showcase 5 major languages of the TB family. Moreover, out of the above mentioned respective state-specific linguistic existence many a more are also distributed in contiguous states apart from the states of their major concentration. (The state of major distribution is shown in italicized font.) For example,

Bodo speakers are in *Assam* and West Bengal;

Miri/Mishing is in *Assam* and Arunachal Pradesh;

Zemi is in *Assam*, Manipur and Nagaland;

Hmar is in *Manipur*, Assam and Mizoram;

Paite is in *Manipur* and Mizoram;

Garo and Koch are in *Meghalaya* and Assam;

Kuki is in *Manipur*, Assam and Nagaland;

Rai is in *Sikkim* and Arunachal Pradesh;

Wancho is in *Arunachal Pradesh*, Mizoram and Assam.

Mogh, Tripuri are in *Tripura* and Mizoram.

The reason of such distribution may be related with the existence of integrated Assam which has been made separated in various north eastern states. The above distributional information confirms the homes of Tibeto-Burman languages and races in India in north east and northern (north-west) part.

6. The status of classification of Tibeto-Burmese languages in Indian Census

6.1. Indian Census tradition of treatment of Tibeto- Burman languages is more or, less Grierson based still today. In this context it may be referred here relevantly that the time Grierson entered the task of launching, operating **Linguistic survey of India project**, the classification of Indian languages by units of branches, sub-families, families was already exposed to the philological scholastic world by the effort of Sir William Jones. Of course, Sir William Jones's contribution

centered primarily on establishing common source of relatedness of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Gothic, Celtic languages. Grierson carried out that practice of Indian linguistic studies by establishing classification of the-then Indian languages in late 19th and early 20th Centuries on grammatical or structural criteria along with affiliating their genealogical order. The classification units thus starting from ‘sub-dialect’ to ‘dialect’ to ‘language’ to ‘group’ to ‘sub-branch’ to ‘branch’ to ‘sub-family’ and ultimately to ‘family’ according to historical and comparative method. Following this methodology he established the language-family as **Tibeto-Chinese** along with **Austic, Karen, Man, Dravidian** and **Indo-European**.

6.2. The Classification scheme of Tibeto-Burman languages by Sir Grierson has briefed in sections from 3.2 to 3.6. above. The details provided in *Linguistic Survey of India Vol.III in 3 parts* could not be provided here due to limitation of space which the interested researcher and reader may consult directly from the Volumes on his or her own interest.

6.3. The area of Tibeto-Chinese vis-a vis Tibeto-Burman family within the-then Indian boundary stretching from Ladakh (and Baltistan) in the west to the north-eastern frontiers of the country (NEFA or presently the Arunachal Pradesh and adjacent places) and further fanned to southern most Assam (the-then entire Assam). From the earlier integrated Assam seven different states have been carved out where the Tibeto-Burman races with their respective speeches settled. The states are namely 1. Arunachal Pradesh, 2. Assam, 3. Manipur, 4. Meghalaya, 5. Mizoram, 6. Nagaland and 7. Tripura. Along with these states the Sikkim State and Darjeeling district of West Bengal state, being part of north east India, are also the homeland of handful Tibeto-Burman languages.

6.4. The Census data on Indian languages used to be released following the classification adopted by Grierson in *Linguistic Survey of India* upto 1931 in pre-Independence India and in 1961 in post-Independence India. The Language Table of 1961 Census with detailed linguistic note on classification of Indian languages / dialects by Grierson and the classified list of Mother Tongues / Languages in 1961 Census establishing togetherness with Grierson and departure from Grierson is the authentic reference in this field (R. C. Nigam: **Introductory Note**: Census of India, 1961 India: Language tables). After 1961 Census the detailed presentation of classified languages and mother tongues by sub-branch, branch, group, sub-family was discontinued following the decision of the Government of India. Only the broad frame of Language Families is continuing showing the classified Languages inclusive of relevantly grouped Mother Tongues under each language since 1971 Census till the latest published Census result of 2011 are accessed by every concerned data user and researcher. Regarding the details of the languages and mother tongues’ grouping / sub-grouping, one must have consult Grierson’s Volumes pertinently.

6.5. The basis of this kind of data arrangement in Indian Census since 1971 is connected with the original scheme of *Linguistic survey of India Project* and its operation by George Abraham Grierson during British India under the same and identical Ministry of Home of the Government of India. Relevant to mention here that Grierson being entrusted with the accomplishment of Language Census wrote the Language Chapter in 1901 Census following the line he already

adopted for *Linguistic survey of India Project*. The Report as reprinted in Census of India, 1961, Language Tables Volume mentions that “The Chapter on Language has been contributed by Dr. G. A. Grierson,, who is in charge of the Linguistic Survey which is now being conducted under the orders of the Government of India.....” (Census of India, 1901: Volume I. India: Part I- Report: 247-348 and E.A. Gait: Census of India, 1901, Vol.I, Part I, Introduction: p XVII: Reprint. Census of India, 1961: Language Tables: pp.371- 429). Barring the distribution of the languages / mother tongues in Indian States and Union territories along with speaker strength and time to time updated research output based variation or departure from Grierson’s classification on the basis of ongoing language researches in India and resultant outcome , the *Linguistic survey of India* Volumes are the source of all other detailed information related to languages, mother tongues, and their classification in pr decennial censuses since 1971 till date.

6.6. Many more years have flown changing the geo-political-cultural situation of India since the outcome achieved through Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India about the form-structure-grammar-classifications of Indian languages. The greater number of synchronous studies and researches on Indian languages are highly desiderative for presentation of updated language structures and classifications considering the convergence among members of diverse language families as a result of co-existence and displacement of languages by urbanization and dominance of languages of power in entire India. The updated research result will be of useful guidance of viewing the diverse languages from classification/ reclassification point of view and overall linguistic scenario of India in view.

7. Conclusion

Tibeto-Burman language family is one of the five language families established in Indian Census till 2011.

- Tibeto-Burman is popular as Tibeto-Burmese in Census published language list.
- Tibeto-Burman family, constituting only 1.01% to the population of India, bags maximum number of languages like 66 where Indo-European, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic family with 78.07%, 19.64%, 1.11% respectively altogether comprise 54 Languages only.
- 66 Tibeto- Burman languages include 83 Mother tongues of 10000 and above population.
- The classification of Tibeto- Burman languages has been extended by various scholars in various ways starting from Sir George Abraham Grierson in last century till today.
- Indian Census classification of Indian languages and mother tongues follows mainly classification scheme adopted by Grierson in *Linguistic Survey of India* project and updated information based on knowledge base derived from continuous language researches in India.
- During their co-existence with the diverse members of neighbouring Language families the Tibeto-Burman languages might have changed their own languages by form-grammar-structure by borrowing and then acculturation. At the same time the Tibeto-Burman languages have also influenced the neighbouring languages of diverse families. The situation has resulted in convergence of Tibeto-Burman languages and other language families too.

- More and more synchronous and integrated study or researches of Indian languages will shed light on the nature of convergence and divergence among the language families of India which ultimately will facilitate as well as enrich the output of decennial Language Census.

References and Bibliography

- Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. [Princeton-Cambridge Series in Chinese Linguistics 2.] Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
- Benedict, Paul K. 1976. *Sino-Tibetan: Another look*. Journal of the American Orient Society 96 (2): 167–197.
- Bradley, David 1977. *Tibeto-Burman Languages and Classification*. In D. Bradley (ed.), Papers in South East Asian Linguistics: Tibeto-Burman languages of The Himalayas (No.14. pp.1-71). Canberra. Pacific Linguistics.
- Burling, Robbins 2003. The Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeastern India. 'The Sino-Tibetan Languages. (ed.) Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla , 167–192. Routledge: London.
- Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar 1926. *The Origin And Development of The Bengali Language*, in two Parts (Reprint Rupa & Co., 1975, Calcutta.), Calcutta University Press, Calcutta.
- De Lancey, Scott 2010. 'Language replacement and the spread of Tibeto-Burman.' *Journal of the South East Asian Linguistics Society* 3.1): 40–55.
- De Lancey, Scott (2015). "Morphological evidence for a Central Branch of Trans Himalayan (Sino-Tibetan)" in Cahiers de linguistique - Asie Orientale 44(2): 122-149. December 2015.
- Diffloth, Gerard 2005. 'The contribution of paleoanthropology to the homeland of Austro-Asiatic.' In Laurent Sagart, Roger Blench and Alicia Sanchez-Mazas, Eds, *The Peopling of East Asia: Putting Together Archaeology, Linguistics, and Genetics*. London, Routledge-Curzon: 77–80.
- Emeneau, Murray B. (1956). 'India as a linguistic area.' *Language* 32 (1): 3–16.
- Grierson, George A., Ed. 2005 [1927]. *Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 1. Introduction*. pp.53-80. New Delhi, Low Price Publications
- Grierson, George A, Ed. 2005 [1909]. *Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 3: Tibeto-Burman Family, Part 1: General Introduction, Specimens of the Tibetan Dialects, Himalayan Dialects, and North Assam Groups* . New Delhi, Low Price Publications.
- Grierson, George A, Ed. 2005 [1903]. *Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 3: Tibeto-Burman Family, Part 2: Specimens of the Bodo, Nāgā and Kachin Groups*. New Delhi, Low Price Publications.
- Grierson, George A, Ed. 2005 [1904]. *Burma Groups*. New Delhi, Low Price Publications.
- Grierson, George a., Ed. 2005 [1909]. *Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 3: Tibeto- Burman Family, Part 1: General Introduction, Specimens of the Tibetan Dialects, Himalayan Dialects, and Assam groups*. New Delhi, Low Price Publications.
- Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1857. Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the broken Tribes of Nepal. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 26: 317–371.
- Konow, Sten (1902). 'Note on the languages spoken between the Assam Valley and Tibet.' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 34 (1): 127–137.
- Mahapatra, B.P. & et.al 1989. *The Written Languages of the World – A Survey of the Degree and Modes of Use*. Vol.2. Book 2. The Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. Delhi.

- Matisoff, James A. 2003 *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman—System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan*. University of California Press.
- Matisoff James A. 2015. ‘Re-examining the genetic position of Jingpho: Putting Flesh on the bones of the Jingpho/Luish relationship.’ In Eds, *Languages of Mainland South-east Asia: The State of the Art* [Pacific Linguistics 649.]. Berlin, de Gruyter: 111–15
- Morey, Stephen and Mark W. Post, Eds 2008&2010. *North East Indian Linguistics*. Delhi, Cambridge University Press.
- Mukherjee, Kakali & et.al 2013 *Linguistic Survey of India. Sikkim (Part I)*. Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi
- Post, Mark W. & Burling, Robbins 2017. “The Tibeto-Burman languages of North east India” in *North East Indian Linguistics. Volume 4 (eds)*.3– 20, Cambridge University Press.
- Post, Mark W. & Roger Blench 2011. ‘Siangic:A New language phylum in North East India’ Paper presented at the 6th International Conference of the North East Indian Linguistic Society, Tezpur University (31st January- 2nd February, 2011).
- Saxena, Anju 1992. “Finite Verb Morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri “. Linguistics, University of Oregon: Doctoral Dissertation.
- Saxena, Anju 1997. “Aspect and Evidential Morphology in Standard Lhasa Tibetan: A Dichronic Study, in Cahiers de linguistique- Asie Orientale 26 :281-306.
- Shafer, Robert 1955. ‘Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages’ in *Word. Journal of the Linguistic circle of New York* 11: 94-111
- Shafer, Robert 1966-1968.*Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*. Part-1, 2, 3. Weisbadan. Otto Harrassowitz.
- Van Driem, George 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region, Containing an Introduction to the Symbiotic Theory of Language*. Leiden.
- Van Driem, George 2007. *The diversity of the Tibeto-Burman language family the linguistic ancestry of Chinese*. Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics 1 (2): 211–270.
- Van Driem, George 2014‘Trans Himalayan’ in*Trans Himalayan Linguistics*. pp.11-40. De Gruyter. Mouton.
- Census of India 2011. Paper I of 2018; *LANGUAGE*. Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi
- Census of India 1961. Volume I-India, Part-II- C(ii) *Language Tables*. Delhi.

Case marking in Kokborok

Samir Debbarma
samirdebbarma85@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper provides an overview of case system of Kokborok (Tripuri) language spoken mainly in the North Eastern State of Tripura. Case relations in Tibeto-Burman and Bodo-Garo are expressed by case suffixes and ad positions. The paper focuses on the system of case marking in Kokborok – that is, the morphemes that specify the syntactic function of the noun phrase. Case relation in Kokborok is expressed by means of case suffixes.

1. Introduction

Kokborok is a Bodo-Garo language of the Tibeto-Burman language family. The Kokborok speaking communities are the scheduled tribes of North East India. They live mainly in Tripura and some parts of Assam and Mizoram and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. Kokborok is the language of wider communication originally spoken in Tripura where Kokborok speaking population is majority. Like most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Kokborok is a highly agglutinating language. The indigenous Kokborok speaking people are ethnically, linguistically and culturally close to other Bodo-Garo languages of North East India. According to 2011 Census of India the total population of Kokborok speakers in the state of Tripura was 9,17,900.

2. Overview of case marking in Bodo-Garo

There must have existed a nominative suffix **-a* that has been abandoned completely by Rabha, retained as an optional nominative-determinative indicator in Bodo and preserved in a fossilized form on the pronouns of Garo (Joseph; 2007). Other than Boro and Garo, the other modern languages have also completely lost the nominative case ending suffix **-a* as illustrated in the table 1. The accusative suffixes, bear close phonemic similarity across the languages; Garo, Bodo, Dimasa and Ruga. The dative and genitive suffixes, also bear close phonemic similarity across the languages; Garo, Bodo, Dimasa and Ruga as illustrated in the table 1. Case syncretism is found in almost all the Bodo-Garo languages viz. Garo, Boro, Kokborok, Dimasa, Rabha and Ruga.

	Garo	Boro	Deuri	Kokborok	Tiwa	Dimasa	Rabha	Atong	Ruga	*PB G
NOM	-Ø -a	-Ø -a	-Ø	-Ø		-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	*-a
ACC	-ko	-khow	-	-no	-go	-khɔ -khe	-o	-aw ~ -taw	-ko	*-kho
DAT	-na	-nə	-na	-no	-na	-ne	-na		-no	*-na
GEN	-ni	-ni	-o	-ni	-ne	-ni	-ni	-ni -mi	-ni	*-ni
ABL	-ni	-níphray	-capi	-ni	-	-niphəraŋ	-ni para	-mi	-ani, -oni	*-ni
LOC	-o	-ao, -ha	-(h)o	-o	-o	-ha	-i	-ci	-chi, -sung	*- ao/aw
INST	-cha	-zwnɡ	-coŋ	-bai	-re	-jaŋ	peke	sung	-chi, -sung	*-caŋ
COM	baksa	-zwnɡ	-	-bai		-jaŋ	peke	mu ~ mung		
PER	gita	zwnɡ	-	-tui			-koro, -tokoro	təkəy		

Table 1: case marking in Bodo-Garo

3. Case marking in Kokborok

The term ‘case marking’ refers to the marking of an NP determined by the syntactic function it has in the clause or phrase (cf. Haspelmath 2009). Case marking is done by suffixes and the case relation in Kokborok is shown by case markers. Case in Kokborok can be marked on nouns, pronouns, adjectives and postpositions. Kokborok is a nominative-accusative language where nominative case is unmarked like other Bodo-Garo languages as can be seen in table 1.

The case markers determine and characterise clearly the relationship between noun phrases and verbs. In a noun phrase the case markers can be suffixed to nouns and nominals such as pronouns and nominalised nouns. Case markers are suffixed to the final element in the noun phrase, followed by a postposition if it is present. Case syncretism’s in nominals (nouns, pronouns, and adjectives) are common in Tibeto-Burman languages. Case syncretism is found in accusative/ dative, genitive/ablative and instrumental /comitative. There are nine cases in Kokborok. The nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, instrumental, comitative, perlativ and locative immediately follow the head noun or its classifier.

The nominative case is used for the actor, the active agent. The accusative marks the things acted upon, the dative marks the recipient. Table 2 gives an overview of the case markers in Kokborok:

Case Markers	Meaning
/- \emptyset /	nominative
/-no/	Accusative
/-no/	Dative
/-ni/	genitive
/-ni/	ablative
/-bai/	instrumental
/-bai/	comitative
/-tui/	perlativ
/-o/	locative

Table 2: case markers of Kokborok

3.1 Nominative case - \emptyset

The nominative in Kokborok is morphologically unmarked case which is primarily used for the subjects (noun and Pronoun) of a sentence or clause. The subjects or agents of both the transitive and intransitive clauses do not take any case marker as seen in (1) – (6). The demonstratives too are unmarked as in (7). Whereas Bodo and Garo are the only two languages of Bodo-Garo where the demonstratives can take the nominative case marker.

- (1) *bo- \emptyset kap-kha*
 he-NOM cry-PST
 ‘He cried’
- (2) *a η - \emptyset bo-no nuk-kha*
 I-NOM he-ACC see-PRES
 ‘I saw him’
- (3) *Mothoray- \emptyset kami-ni kiphil-kha*
 Mothoray-NOM village-GEN return-PST
 ‘Mothoray returned from the village’
- (5) *Isiri- \emptyset munui-ya*
 Queen-NOM laugh-NEG
 ‘The queen didn’t laugh’
- (6) *Aphuray- \emptyset thu-k^ha*
 Aphuray-NOM sleep-PST
 ‘Aphuray slept’
- (7) *i- \emptyset tokma kosom*
 this-NOM hen black
 ‘This hen is black’

3.2 Accusative *-no*

The accusative case marker *-no*, marks the direct object of a transitive verb in finite and non-finite clauses. It is used for patients of transitive verbs. Not all the objects can be marked with accusative case marker. Kinship terms, proper names, pronouns and animate nouns (humans) can be marked by the accusative case marker *-no*.

- (8) *Hutu Atu-no bu-kha*
 Hutu Atu-ACC beat-PST
 ‘Hutu beat Atu’
- (9) *Hapingray bo-no nuk-kha*
 Hapingray he-ACC see-PST
 ‘Hapingray saw him’

However, patient of intransitive clause can also be marked by accusative marker by changing the valency of the verb with the causative affixes.

- (10) *aŋ bo-no kap-ri-kha*
 I he-ACC cry-CAUS-PST
 ‘I made him to cry’
- (11) *aŋ bo-no mu-thu-kha*
 I he-ACC CAUS-sleep-PST
 ‘I made him to sleep’

Interrogative pronouns in Kokborok can also take case markers. The interrogative pronoun ‘whom’ is formed by adding *-no* to the pronoun *sabo* ‘who’ as in (12) and (13). In the same way ‘whose’ is formed by suffixing *-ni* to the pronoun *sabo* ‘who’ as in (14).

- (12) *bo sabo-no ring*
 who who-ACC call
 ‘Whom did he call?’
- (13) *Atu sabo-no sa*
 Atu who-ACC say
 ‘Whom did Atu tell?’
- (14) *sabo-ni nok naitbok*
 who-GEN house beautiful
 ‘Whose house is beautiful?’

There are many instances where accusative case is dropped. The inanimate objects, objects that belong to non-human nouns etc. are unmarked as given in (15) – (17).

- (15) *oro mai-∅ tubu-di*
 here rice-ACC bring-IMP
 ‘bring the rice here’
- (16) *bo aming-∅ nuk-kha*
 He cat-ACC see-PST
 ‘He saw the cat’

- (17) *bo tok ma-sa pai-kha*
 he bird CLF-num buy-PST
 ‘he bought one bird’

3.3 Dative -no

The dative case is marked by the same marker as accusative marker *-no*. The dative marks all recipients of ditransitive verbs. The primary use of the dative case is to mark the indirect object, especially the recipient of some action. The indirect is always being marked by the marker *-no* while the direct object remains unmarked. The indirect object always precedes the direct object.

- (18) *Alin Khumpairai-no bijap ri-kha*
 Alin Khumpairai-DAT book give-PST
 ‘Alin gave a book to Khumpairai’
- (19) *Tokhirai bo-no nok phunuk-kha*
 Tokhirai he-DAT house show-PST
 ‘Tokhirai showed a house to him’
- (20) *Lokti Thenta-no khum bak-kha*
 Lokti Thenta-DAT flower distribute-PST
 ‘Lokti distributed flower to Thenta’

3.4 Locative case -o,

Both temporal and spatial locations are marked by the locative case. The locative case expresses the location of the subject and it is marked by the case ending suffix *-o* occasionally preceded by postposition if present as in (22) and (23).

- (21) *Tini nog-o than-nai*
 Today house-LOC go-FUT
 ‘Will go home today’
- (22) *aming phaklai sakaw-o*
 bird beam top-LOC
 ‘The cat is on the top of the beam’
- (23) *kenjuwa hakor bisin-o*
 earthworm hole inside-LOC
 ‘Earthworm is in the hole’
- (24) *tok buphan beceng-o*
 bird tree twig-LOC
 ‘The bird is on the twig’
- (25) *pun bolong-o than-kha*
 goat forest-LOC go-PST
 ‘The goat went to the forest’
- (26) *aη bó-ni kamiw-o than-nai*
 I he-GEN village-LOC go-FUT

‘I will go to his village’

- (27) *hór -o phantok sok-di*
 fire-LOC eggplant burn-IMP
 ‘Burn the eggplant in the fire’
- (28) *tui wasung-o*
 water bamboo tube-LOC
 ‘Water is in the bamboo tube’
- (29) *Hunu-ni bokhorog-o thuk ton-na*
 Hunu-GEN head-LOC louse have-PRE
 ‘There might be louse in Hunu’s head’

3.5 Ablative -ni

The ablative case conveys source i.e., ‘from’ or ‘out of’ of an action. It is expressed by the marker *-ni*.

- (30) *bó Aguli-ni kamiw-o thán-kha*
 he Agartala-ABL village-LOC go-PST
 ‘He went from Agartala to village’
- (31) *Tokhiray rungnok-ni kiphil-kha*
 Tokhiray school-ABL kiphil-PST
 ‘Tokhiray returned from school’
- (32) *Hatu nukhun saka-ni bahar-kha*
 Hatu roof above-ABL jump-PST
 ‘Hatu jumped from the roof’
- (33) *sor tak-nai sor-ni da sinam-kha*
 iron make-NOMZ iron-ABL chopper make-PST
 ‘Blacksmith made sickle out of iron’

3.6 Instrumental -bai

NPs marked with *-bai* can also refer to an instrument used in an action. The instrumental case indicates that the noun is the instrument or means by or with which the subject achieves or accomplishes an action.

- (24) *bo wapham-bai phai-kha*
 he raft-INST come-PST
 ‘He came by raft’
- (35) *silai-bai wak kok-di*
 gun-INST pig shoot-IMP
 ‘Shoot the pig with the gun’
- (36) *bó tharuk-bai mai bok-kha*
 he ladle-INST rice distribute-PST

- (37) *Anal malkung-bai phai-kha*
 Anal car-INST come-PST
 ‘Anal came by car’
- (38) *yakuη-bai ka-di*
 leg-INST walk-IMP
 ‘Step with leg’
- (39) *dá-bai tan-di*
 chopper-INST cut-IMP
 ‘Cut with chopper’
- (40) *aη buwa-bai war-kha*
 I teeth-INST bite-PST
 ‘I bite with teeth’

3.7 Comitative -bai

The comitative suffix *-bai* expresses the meaning of ‘with’ or ‘accompanied by’. The postposition *baksa* ‘along/together’ follows the comitative nouns or pronouns (44) and (45).

- (41) *bó-bai phai-di*
 he-COM come-IMP
 ‘Come with him’
- (41) *David Amal-bai himlai-kha*
 David Amal-COM walk-PST
 ‘David walked with Amal’
- (42) *bó Siri-bai Assam-o thán-nai*
 he Siri-COM Assam-LOC go-FUT
 ‘He will go to Assam with Siri’
- (43) *Tini nu-ma-bai him-di*
 he 3-mother-COM walk-IMP
 ‘Walk with your mother today’
- (44) *bo aη-bai baksa kiphil-kha*
 he I-COM along return-PST
 ‘He returned along with me’
- (45) *bó aη-bai baksa thán-nai*
 he I-COM along go-DEF.FUT
 ‘He will go along with me’

3.8 Genitive case

The main function of the genitive on lexical nouns is the expression of a possessor. Genitive in Kokborok is expressed by the marker *-ni*. It can be attached to a noun or pronoun. The genitive

case expresses the meaning of possession of something by the noun or pronoun. The genitive always precedes the thing that is being possessed.

- (46) *Mothoray-ni nok kotor*
mothoray-GEN nok big
'Mothoray's house is big'
- (47) *bó-ni bukung*
he-GEN nose
'His nose'
- (48) *a-ni nok Aguli-o*
1-GEN house Agartala-LOC
'My house is at Agartala'
- (49) *sabo-ni nok*
who-GEN house
'Whose house?'
- (50) *Tokhiray-ni malkhung dera-kha*
Tokhiray-GEN car spoil-pst
'Tokhiray's car got spoiled'
- (51) *phung-ni nobar*
Morning-GEN air
'The air of morning'



3.9 Perlative -tui

The perlative case indicates the medium through which the action is performed. It is expressed in Kokborok by suffixing the marker *-tui* to the nouns. The suffix *-tui* expresses the meaning of 'via or through'.

- (52) *aŋ Imphal-o Silchar-tui thán-kha*
I Imphal-LOC Silchar- PER go-PST
'I went to Imphal via Silchar'
- (53) *bó a-ni yak-tui Amal-no raŋ ho-kha*
he 1-GEN hand-PER Amal-DAT money send-PST
'He sent money to Amal through my hand'
- (54) *bó lama kicar-tui him-kha*
he road middle-PER walk-PST
'He walks through the middle of the road'
- (55) *Tripura-ni borók Manipur-o Silchar-tui thán-g-o*
Tripura-GEN people Manipur-LOC Silchar-PER go-DECL
'People of Tripura go to Manipur via Silchar'
- (56) *David-ni yak-tui a-ni manui ho-di*
David-GEN hand-PER 1PM-GEN thing send-IMP

- ‘Send my thing through David’s hand’
- (57) *Atu Lali-ni kami-tui phai-na naŋ-nai*
 Atu Lali-GEN village-PER come-INF need-FUT
 ‘Atu will have to come via Lali’s village’

4. Conclusion

Cases are generally used on noun phrases. Kokborok has generally eight case markers where there is one more case: nominative which remain unmarked. One case marker may indicate more than one case relation. Case morphemes always occur at the end of the noun phrase. Cases are marked predominantly with suffixes. Like many Tibeto-Burman languages, case syncretism is also common in Kokborok. Syncretism of core and non-core cases between accusative/dative, genitive/ablative and instrumental/comitative is evident in the above examples as illustrated. There are nine cases in Kokborok.

Abbreviations

1	first person singular	DAT	dative
3	third person singular	DEM	demonstrative
ABL	ablative	DECL	declarative
ACC	accusative	FUT	future
CAUS	causative	GEN	genitive
COM	comitative	IMP	imperative
COM	comitative	INF	infinitive
CLF	classifier	INST	instrument
LOC	locative	NF	nonfinite
NOM	nominative	PRE	presumptive
PST	Past		

References

- Brahma, Aleendra. 2012. *Modern Bodo Grammar*. Guwahati: N.L. Publications.
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burling, Robbins. 1961. *A Garo Grammar*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Burling, Robbins. 2004. *The language of the Mohdupur Mandi (Garo), Vol.-1: Grammar*. New Delhi: Bibliophile South Asia.
- Census of India. 2011. Series 1-India (Language, Indian States and union territories) Table C-16. Office of the Registrar General, India 2A, New Delhi.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Croft, William. 1990. *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Debbarma, Samir. 2014. *The Structure of Kokborok*. Assam University, Silchar:
- Grierson, G.A. Ed.,1903-28. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III Part II. Reprinted 1967-68, Delhi-Varanasi, Patna: Motilal Banarasi das.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2009. "Terminology of case." In: Malchukov, Andrej & Spencer, Andrew (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of case*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 505-517.
- Jacquesson, Francois. 2008. *A Kokborok Grammar*. Agartala: Kokborok tei Hukumu Mission.
- Joseph, U.V. 2007. *Rabha*. Leiden: Brill.
- Van Breugel, S. 2008. *A Grammar of Atong*. Ph.D Dissertation. Bundoora, La Trobe University Research Centre for Linguistic Typology.
- Karapurkar, Pushpa P.1979. *Kokborok Grammar*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Marak, Caroline R.2016. *The Ruga Language*. Guwahati: ABILAC.
- Matisoff, James A.2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and philosophy of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.
- Singha, Dhiren Kh. 2004. *The Structure of Dimasa: A Typological Study*. Unpublished Ph.d dissertation. Assam University. Silchar.
- Thurgood, G and LaPolla, R.J. Ed. 2003. *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. London: Routledge.
- Wood, Daniel Cody. 2008. *An Initial Reconstruction of Proto-Boro-Garo*. Master Dissertation. Oregon: University of Oregon.

पुस्तक परिचय

कविता रस्तोगी

प्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार जयशंकर प्रसाद जी की कृतियाँ राष्ट्रीय चेतना को मुखरित करती हैं। उनके द्वारा लिखित नाटक राष्ट्र की धरोहर हैं। डॉ. आरती पाठक की पुस्तक ऐसे महान रचनाकार के नाटकों के पात्रों की भाषा का समाजभाषिक विश्लेषण सहज, सरस शैली में करती है। छह अध्यायों में विभाजित प्रस्तुत पुस्तक लेखिका के शोध का रूपान्तर प्रतीत होता है।

आरंभिक अध्यायों में लेखिका ने प्रसाद जी व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व का सामान्य परिचय देते हुए साहित्य की इस विधा के इतिहास को भी रेखांकित किया है। भाषा एक सामाजिक उपादान है जिसका स्वरूप विविध सामाजिक परिवर्त्यों के अनुरूप बदलता है। परिणामस्वरूप भाषा में वक्ता की आयु, लिंग, जाति, वर्ग, शिक्षा और क्षेत्र के आधार पर भिन्नता प्राप्त होती है। यही नहीं वक्ता श्रोता के संबंधों से भी इसके रूप पर प्रभाव पड़ता है। भाषा, समाज और उसके वक्ता के अंतर्संबंध को सरल शैली में समझाते हुए समाजभाषावैज्ञानिक सिद्धांतों पर पुस्तक के चतुर्थ अध्याय में प्रकाश डाला गया है।

नाटकों में वर्णित ऐतिहासिक एवं सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि, उनके पात्रों द्वारा प्रयुक्त भिन्न-भिन्न भाषाई प्रयोगों का विवरण अगले अध्याय में दृष्टिगत होता है। किस प्रकार कतिपय पात्र जहाँ संस्कृत और मानक हिंदी का व्यवहार करते दिखते हैं वहीं अन्य पात्रों द्वारा अवधी, उर्दू बोली जाती है। किस आयु और लिंग के पात्र किस भाषा रूप और शैली का व्यवहार करते हैं तथा क्षेत्रीय भिन्नता होने पर कौन सा पात्र किस भाषा को बोलता है, इन सभी बिन्दुओं पर गहराई और विस्तार से पुस्तक में चर्चा की गई है। पुस्तक के अंत में उपसंहार के अंतर्गत शोध में प्राप्त निष्कर्षों को व्यवस्थित ढंग से प्रस्तुत किया गया है। प्रत्येक अध्याय के अंत में दी गई सन्दर्भ सूची पाठक के कार्य को सरल कर देती है। आशा है विद्यार्थियों के लिए यह पुस्तक उपयोगी सिद्ध होगी।

पुस्तक - समाजभाषाविज्ञान और प्रसाद के नाटक, लेखिका – डॉ. आरती पाठक, प्रकाशक - नालंदा प्रकाशन, यमुना विहार, दिल्ली। प्रथम संस्करण -2019, पृष्ठ स. – 175 , मूल्य- 525.