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सोसाइटी फॉर इंडेन्जर्ड एंड लेसर नोन लैंग्वेज़ेज की शोध पत्रिका

'This' and 'that' in Uipo

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Introduction:

Uipo is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 2000 people in the Tengnoupal District of Manipur. **Uipo** represents both the language and the people. **Khoibu** is the exonym. **Uipo** is clearly an endangered language as a huge population of the younger generation has shifted to languages such as Meitei, Hindi and English, in their day today conversation, whether they are in Manipur or Delhi. There is huge loss of lexical items and vocabulary due to change of lifestyle, occupation and religion. This paper deals with the demonstratives of Uipo spoken by around 2000 speakers in Chandel district of Manipur, India. The demonstratives discussed here are ***hata*** which means 'this' and ***tasa, adsa, akhuisa, hiekhuisa, aningsa, hieningsa, aluisa,*** and ***hieluisa*** all of which mean 'that' in different conditional and topographic situations. The paper explores the semantics behind the usage of these demonstratives in Uipo. The nuances of these demonstratives are as follows:

hata [hətə]: this demonstrative translates as **'this (is)'** is used to point at or to refer to an object which lies within the reach of, or being held by the speaker.

hata chim
hə   -tə   cím
this   DET   house
'this is a house'

hata keirakuol
hə   -tə   kəi   -rəkò:l
this   DET   my   garden
'this is my garden'

tasa [təsə] : this demonstrative which translates as **'that (is)'** is used, in normal and general context, to point at or to refer to an object which is not within the speaker's reach but held or within the reach of the hearer.

tasa chim
tə   -sə   cím
that   DET   house
'that is (a) house'

there are seven more kinds ***'that (is)'*** spoken in different contexts. they are –

ad-sa [ətsə]	'that at nearby but not reachable (is)'
akhui-sa [əkhuísə]	'that at far straight (is)'
hiekhu-sa [hèkhuísə]	'that at near straight (is)';
aning-sa [ənìŋsə]	'that at far up (is)';
hiening-sa [hèníŋsə]	'that at near up (is)';

      alui-sa [əluísə]   'that at far down (is)'; and

      hielui-sa [hèluísə]   'that at near down (is)'

the last determining syllables of these demonstratives, i.e. ***[-tə]*** of ***[hətə]*** and ***[-sə]*** of ***[təsə]*** are omitted and replaced by other types of determiners, viz. *[-raang], [-raangrie], [-rei], [-reirie],[-ri], [sam]or[-tam], [-sir] or [-tir], [-sou] or [-tou]***,** etc resulting to different meanings:

haraang mang-aa

hə	*-ràŋ*	*məŋ*	*-á*
this	DIR	come	IMP

'(do) come this side'
*hataraang mang-aa

taraang louchaa

tə	*-ràŋ*	*ləú*	*-ca*
that	DIR	IMP	go

'(obey and) go that side'
*tasaraang louchaa

haraangrie mang-aa

hə	*-ràŋ*	*-rè*	*məŋ*	*-á*
this	DIR	towards	come	IMP

'(do) come towards this side
*hataraangre mang-aa

taraangrie louchaa

Tə	*-ràŋ*	*-rè*	*ləú*	*-ca*
that	DIR	towards	IMP	go

'(obey and) go towards that side'
*tasaraangre lou-chaa

harei manglou

hə	*rəì*	*mən⁴*	*-ləu*
this	from	come	take

'(come and) take from this side'
*hatarei manglou

tarei loulou

tə	*-rəí*	*ləú*	*-lə́u*
that	from	IMP	take

'(do) take from that side'
*tasarei loulou

hareirie manglou

hə	*-rəì*	*-rè*	*mən⁴*	*-ləu*
this	from	side	come	take

'(come and) take from this side'
*hatareirie manglou

tareirie loulou

tə	*-rəì*	*-rè*	*ləú*	*-ləú*
that	from	side	IMP	take

'(do) take from that side'
*tasareirie loulou

hari   mang-aa
hə   -ri⁴   məŋ   á
this   upto   come   IMP
'(do) come up to this'
*hatari mang-aa

tari mang-aa
tə   -ri⁴   məŋ   á
that   up.to   come   IMP
'(do) come up to that'
*tasari mang-aa

hatam mangkhou
hə   -tə̀m   məŋ⁴   -kʰə́u
this   exact.spot   come   keep
'(come and) keep at this (exact spot/place/location)'
*hatatam mangkhou

tasam   heikhou
tə   -sə̀m   həì   -kʰə́u⁵
that   exact.spot   IMP   keep
'keep at that (exact spot/place/location)'
*tasasam heikhou

hatir   mangkhou
hə   -tir   məŋ⁴   -kʰə́u
this   area   come   keep
'(come and) keep at this (area)'
*hatatir mangkhou

tasir   heikhou
tə   -sir   həì   -kʰə́u⁵
that   area   IMP   keep
'(do) keep at that (area)'
*tasasir heikhou

hatou   heicha
hə   -tə̀u   həì   -cə⁵
this   like   IMP   eat
'(do) eat like this'
*hatatou heicha

tasou   heicha
tə   -sə̀u   həì   -cə⁵
that   like   IMP   eat
'(do) eat like that'
*tasasou heicha

However, *[-sa]* of *[adsa]* *'that at near but unreachable (is)'* is NOT omitted while suffixing these determiners viz. *[-rei], [-reirie]* and *[-ri]:*

adsarei

əd	sə	-rəì
that at near but unreachable	DET	from

'from that (at near but unreachable)'
*ad-rei

adsareirie

əd	-sə	-rəi	-rè
that at near but unreachable	DET	from	side

'from that (at near but unreachable) side'
*adreirie

adsari

əd	-sə	-ri⁴

əd	-sə	-ri⁴
that at near butunreachable	DET	upto

'upto that (at near but unreachable)'
*ad-ri

The determiners *[-raang], [-raangrie], [-tam],* etc. are not at all applicable to *[adsa]*.

However, **no** part of '**this (is)'** or '**that (is)',** i.e. '**hata**' or '**tasa**' is dropped when they are further suffixed by the following determiners:
 [-na], [-ngai], [-pui], [-ruoi], [-ta], [-ti] [-ung], [-ya] etc.

[hata] 'this (is)':

hatana katan

hə	-tə	-nə́	kə̀	-tən⁵
This	DET	DET	V.PRX	beat

'beaten with/by this'

tasana katan

tə	-sə	-nə́	kə̀	-tən⁵
that	DET	DET	V.PRX	beat

'beaten with/by that'

adsangai kakhou

əd	-sə	-ŋai	kə	-kʰə́ú
that (at near but unreachable)	DET	only	V.PRX	have

'(I) have only that (at near but unreachable)'

akhuisapui kachaa

əkʰuí	-sə	-puì	kə̀	-ca⁵
that (at far straight)	DET	DET (with)	V.PRX	go

'(I) go with that (at far straight)'

hiekhuisaruoi louroi

hèkʰuí   **-sə**   **-rɔ̀ːi**   **ləú**   **-roːi**
that (at near straight)   DET   DET (also)   IMP   carry
'carry that (at near straight) also'

aningsata nayi
əníŋ   **-sə**   **-tə**   **nəji⁴**
that far up   DET   DET (BUT)   yours
'that (at far up) is (but) yours'

hieningsati kayai
hèníŋ   **-sə**   **-tí**   **kə̀**   **-jai⁵**
that (at near up)   DET   DET (about)   V.PRX   talk
'(it's) talking about that (at near up)'

aluisa-ung yongpi
əluí   **-sə**   **-uŋ⁴**   **joŋ**   **-pi**
that (at far down)   DET   DET (for/to)   go down give
'(go down and) give (it) for/to that (at far down)

hieluisaya kayai
hèluí   **-sə**   **-jə**   **kə̀**   **-jai⁵**
that (at near down)   DET   DET (of about) V.PRX   talk
'(it's) talking about (thing or things of) that (near down)'

Plural Demonstratives:
–yiao [-jaɔ̀] is the uncountable plural marker suffixed to '**ha-**' of '**hata**' 'this (is)'and to '**ta-**' of '**tasa**' *'that (is)'* replacing its '**–ta**' of '**hata**' and '**–sa**' of '**tasa**'.e.g.

Hayiao   'these'
and
tayiao   'those';
ad-yiao   'those (at near but unreachable)';
akhuiyiao   'those (at far straight)';
hiekhuiyiao   'those (at near straight)';
aningyiao   'those (at far up)';
hieningyiao   'those (at near up)';
aluiyiao   'those (at far down)'; and
hieluiyiao   'those (at near down)'

And the plural marker '**-yiao**' cannot be affixed or suffixed more than once to any word in a sentence or a clause:

hayiaosa thangaa
hə   **-jaɔ̀**   **-sə**   **tʰəngá**
this   PL   DET   fish
'these are fishes'
*hatayiaosa thangaa

*hatayiaosa thangaayiao
*hayiaosa thangaayiao

tayiaosa thangaa

tə	-jaò	-sə	tʰəŋá
that	PL	DET	fish

'those are fishes'
*tasayiaosa thangaa
*tasayiaosa thangaayiao
*tayiaosa thangaayiao

adyiaosa thangaa

əd	-jaò	-sə	tʰəŋá
that (at near but unreachable)	PL	DET	fish

'those (at near but unreachable) are fishes'
*adsayiao thangaa
*adsa thangaayiao
*adyiaosa thangaayiao

akhuiyiaosa thangaa

əkʰuí	-jaò	-sə	tʰəŋá
that	PL	DET	fish

'those (at far straight) are fishes'
*akhuisayiao thangaa
*akhuisa thangaayiao
*akhuiyiaosa thangaayiao

…and so on.
[-yiao] also comes after nouns followed by DET [-sa] in both 'this' and that':

hathangaayiaosa

hə	-tʰeŋá	jaò-	sə
this	fish	PL	DET

'these fishes (are)'

tathangaayiaosa

tə	-tʰəŋá	-jaò	-sə
that	fish	PL	DET

'those fishes (are)'

adthangaayiaosa

əd	tʰəŋá	-jaò	-sə
that (at near but unreachable)	fish	PL	DET

'those fishes at near but unreachable (are)'

akhui yaayiaosa

əkʰuí	já	-jaò	-sə
that (at far straight)	animal	PL	DET

'those animals at far straight (are)'

…and so on.

however, the plural marker *-yiao* [-jaò] is not used to nouns followed by numerals: e.g.,

[-rug] and **[khani]:** **-rug** implies **'two-together'** *in number of persons* and **khani** means *'two together in number of objects'*.

harug charchaa
hə   -rúg   cə́rcá
this   two (persons are)   brother-sister
'these two (persons together) are brother and sister'
harugsayiao
harugyiaosa

hieningrug kanaa
hèníŋ   -rug   kə̀   na⁵
that (at near up)   two (persons together are)   ADJ.DET   sick
'those two (persons together at near up) are sick'
hieningrugsayiao
hieningrugyiaosa

hakhani honkhei
hə   kʰəní   hòn   -kʰəí
this   two (things)   take along   IMP
'(do) take along these two (things)'
hakhaniyiao honkhei

akhui   khani   man
əkʰuí   kʰəní   mə̀n
that (at far straight)   two (things)   bring
'bring those two (things at far straight)'
akhui khanisayiao
akhui khaniyiaosa

akhui   tharugsa
əkʰuí   tʰərug -sə
that (at far straight)   six   DET
'those six (at far straight) are'
akhui tharugsayiao
akhui tharugyiaosa

adrayiasa
əd   -rəjà   sə
that (at near but not reachable)   hundred   DET
'those hundred (near but unreachable) are'   *ad-rayia-sa-yiao* *ad-rayia-yiao-sa*

…and so on.

The pronominal marker **a-**[ə-] is prefixed to the figure names to give the meaning **'both'** or **'all these/those'**: e.g., **[akhani]** 'both the two (of them)'; **[akhayum]** 'all the three (of them)'; **[aphangaa]** 'all the five (of them)' and so on.

akhani heikhou

ə	-kʰə́ní	hə̀i	-kʰə́u⁵
PRO	two	IMP	keep

'(do) keep both'

akhayum heikhou

ə	-kʰə̀jum⁵	hə́i	-kʰə́u
PRO	three	IMP	keep

'(do) keep all three of them'

-phangaa heikhou

ə	-pʰə̀ŋa⁵	hə̀i	-kʰə́u⁵
PRO	five	IMP	keep

'(do) keep all five of them'

… and so on.

[hətə] 'this (is)' and **[təsə]** 'that (is)' cannot occur after a noun but the noun can occur before or after the determiners in all respects:

hata   keichim

hə	-tə	kə́i	-cim⁴
this	DET	PPS	-house/home
this	is	my	house

'this is my house'

hachimsa kayi

hə	-cim⁴	-sə	kə́ji⁴
this	house	DET	mine

'this house (in particular) is mine'

note: the determiner **[-sə]** follows the noun instead of **[-tə]**. *[hə-cim-tə kə́yi]* means 'this house is but mine'.

tachimsa a-ei

tə	-cim⁴	-sə	ə	ə́i⁴
that	house	DET	3S	of

'that house is his/hers'
tachimsa nayi

adchimsa kayi

əd		cím	-sə	kə́ji⁴
that (at near but not reachable)		house	DET	mine

'that house (at near but unreachable) is mine'
adchimsa nayi

hata versus *tasa*:

hatatita tasana kapaag

hə	*-tə*	*-tí*	*-tə*	*tə*	*-sə*	*-nə*	*kə*	*-pág*
this	DET	ACC	DET	that	DET	NOM	ADJ.PRX	wide

'that is wider than this'

tasa   thlangaichai hatana kadoi

tə	*-səq*	*tʰləŋai*	*-caì*	*he*	*-tʍ*	*-nə*	*kə*	*-dóːí*
that	DET	good		but	this	DET	NOM	ADJ.PRX better

'that is good but this is better'

adsa-ungkum hata   heilou

əd	*-sə*	*-uŋ⁴kum⁴*	*hə*	*-tə*	*həì*	-
ləu⁵						
that (at near but not reachable)	DET	for/of instead	this	DET	IMP	
take						

'take this instead of that (at near but not reachable)'

hata versus *hata*:

hata-ungkum hata heilou

hə	*-tə*	*-uŋ⁴kum⁴*	*hə*	*-tə*	*həì*	*-ləu⁵*
this	DET	instead of	this	DET	IMP	take

'take this instead of this'

hasaratlaang-ungkum hatapei heihol

hə	*-sərət¹aŋ⁵*	*-uŋ⁴kum⁴*	*hə*	*-tèpəi⁵*	*hə̀*	*-hol⁵*
this	cloak	-instead of	this	dhoti	IMP	choose

'choose this dhoti instead of this cloak'

tasa versus *tasa*:

heningsati aningsana kachou

hèniŋ	*-sə*	*-tí*	*əníŋ*	*-sə*	*-nə*	*kè*	*-cəu⁵*
t (at near up)	DET	ACC	that far up	DET	NOM	ADJ.PRX	high

'that (at far up) is higher than that (at near up)'

hielui   sana aluisarei kadar

hèluí	*-sə*	*-nə*	*əluí*	*-sə*	*-rəì*	*kə*	-
dər							
that (at near down)	DET	NOM	that far down	ABL	-FROM	ADJ.PRX	
shallow							

'that near down is shallower than that is far down'

[hətə] and *[təsə]* in adverbial comparison in size, quantity, quality, etc:

hatayangkhei katang
hə   **-tə**   **-jeŋ⁴** **-kʰəí** **kə**   **-téŋ**
this   DET   like-?   DET   ADJ.PRX big
'as big as this much (comparing with another size)'

tasayaakhei kachung
tə   **-sə**   **-ja⁴**   **-kʰəi**   **kə̀**   **-cuŋ⁵**
this   DET   like-?   DET   ADJ.PRX numerous
'as numerous as this much (comparing number)'

adsouri karei
əd   **-səù**   **-ri⁴**   **kə**   **-rəí**
that (at near but not reachable)   like   DET   ADJ.PRX   cold
'as cold as that much (at near but unreachable)'

akhuisouri katlaa
əkʰuí   **-səù**   **-ri⁴**   **kə**   **-tˡá**
that (at far stretch)   like   DET (UPTO)   ADJ.PRX   far
'as far as that much (at far straight)'

hiekhuisouri khayaang
hèkʰuí   **-səù**   **-ri⁴**   **kʰə̀**   **-jaŋ⁵**
that (at near straight)   like   DET (UPTO)   ADJ.PRX   long
'as long as that much (at near far)'

aningsouri kachou
əníŋ   **-səù**   **-ri⁴**   **kə̀**   **cəu⁵**
that (at far up) like   DEt   ADJ.PRX   high
'as high as that much (at far up)'

Having discussed the demonstratives above, it is evident that Uipo demonstratives come with different meanings depending on the situations of the speaker and the hearer. This article has not taken any reference from the work of any scholar. It is totally based on my personal research and consultations with the community speakers during the last 49 years. I would like to thank all the community members and others who helped me.

Abbreviations:

ACC - accusative   NOM – nominative
ADJ. PRX– adjectival prefix   PL – plural
DET – Determiner   PURP – purpose
DIR – directive marker   V.PRX – verbal prefix
IMP   - imperative
LOC - locative   PPS – Pronominal possessive marker

In the IPA glossing, superscripted '**4**' and '**5**' are used to indicate the tone between mid-tone and high-tone and the tone between low-tone and mid-tone respectively. However, the **5**[th] tone syllable happens only when it is prefixed by a low tone syllable and it changes to mid tone when not prefixed.

Deictic Expressions in Punjabi

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Abstract

The present study aims to investigate deixis in Punjabi language. Deictic expressions are used to identify the speaker, hearer, time and location of the context in which the utterance takes place. Punjabi possess a good number of deictic expressions. The paper describes precisely deictic expressions. The paper will also discuss briefly the nature of Punjabi language and talks about Person, Spatial and Temporal deixis. Person deixis are the words and expressions that indicate role of participants in a conversation. Spatial deixis is used to indicate location concerning speaker and the listener. Temporal deixis is used to indicate time in which the utterance takes place. It also unveils different features of Person, Spatial and Temporal deixis. The everyday sentences used by native adult Punjabi speakers has been used to analyze deictic expressions.

Keywords*: Deixis, Context, Deictic expressions, Context, Utterances.*

1. Introduction

Language is one of the fascinating and unique properties of human beings. Languages are the principal systems of communication used by particular groups of human beings within the particular society (linguistic community) of which they are members (Lyons,1970). People have an inherent desire to communicate. Language helps in the exchange of knowledge, ideas, experiences, feelings etc both in spoken and written forms. It is not just a part of us, rather it is our identity.

For children to acquire deictic expressions, it takes many years for them to completely understand the deictic contrast between here and there and between this and that. The process of comprehending deictic expressions grows out of theory ability of pointing with fingers. They don't understand the deictic contrast in their early years. However, they start using deictic terms very early. It is then followed by understanding two principles: the speaker is the point of reference (the SPEAKER PRINCIPLE) and each pair of terms contrasts on the distance dimension (the DISTANCE PRINCIPLE). Most children start using one or two deictic terms by two and a half, but they don't know the contrast between them. They learn deictic expressions through three stages- no contrast then a partial contrast and finally full deictic contrast. They go through these stages initially with this and that and later here and there ((C.J.SENGUL, 1978).

People around the globe speak different languages. Ethnologue states there are currently 7,164 languages spoken around the world. All languages vary from region to region in terms of structure and vocabulary, but they share universal properties too. Linguists have classified and categorized various languages into a language family. A language family is a subgroup of languages that have been descended from a common ancestor, called the proto language of that language. There are about 147 language families in the world.

There are several hundred languages spoken in South Asia. The major language families of South Asia include- Indo – Aryan languages, Dravidian languages, Astro Asiatic and Tibeto Burman languages. Punjabi is an Indo – Aryan language. It is spoken primarily in Punjab and other parts of India. It is also spoken in Pakistan. It is one of the 22 scheduled languages mentioned in the 8th schedule of the constitution of India. The word order of Punjabi is SOV and is written in Gurmukhi script.

2. Scope of the Study:

Though, research has been done in Punjabi from various perspectives (phonology, grammar, semantics etc.), no significant study has been conducted to analyze Person, Temporal and Spatial deixis. The present study aims to bridge this gap. Deictic expressions used by native speakers of Punjabi has been studied and analyzed. Thus, the study addresses an underexplored area in Punjabi linguistics, contributing to the understanding of deixis in an Indo-Aryan language.

3.Methodolgy:

 The study is comparative and descriptive in nature. For this study, approximately 60 native Punjabi speaker everyday conversations were selected to analyze deictic expressions. Examples were extracted from these conversations to provide authentic insights. This approach enables an in depth understanding of Punjabi deixis usage.

4. Deictic Expressions:

Deictic expressions play an important role in communication as it helps to identify who is the speaker, who is being addressed and who is being referred to. Every language chooses certain words to fulfill the requirement of humans in order to have complete and successful communication. The reference of certain words and expressions in all the languages relies entirely upon the situational context in which utterance takes place. The term "deixis" has been borrowed from Greek meaning to point, pick out or indicate. So, deictic expressions refer to a class of linguistic expressions that describe the situational context of the speech event occurred i.e. the speech participants and the time and the location.

"Language is not merely a set of unrelated sounds, clauses, rules and meanings; it is a total coherent system of these integrating with each other, and with behavior context, universe of discourse, and observer perspective," says American linguist and Anthropologist Kenneth L. Pike. Therefore, meaning alone cannot be analyzed in terms of linguistic system alone but also takes into account the context in which the event takes place.

English has a variety of deictic expressions. Person deixis such as he and she, demonstratives such as this and that, spatial adverbs such as here and there, temporal verbs such as now, then, today etc. Like English, all languages have deictic expressions that places in them the sender/speaker, hearer/receiver and the narrated participant in addition to the time and place situated. Initially, there were only three categories of deixis: person, place and time. However, discourse and social deixis were included in 1980's. In Punjabi, deictic expressions go hand in hand with the distinction provided by them.

5. Deictic Expressions in Punjabi

5.1 Person deixis

There are three divisions in person deixis, first person, second person and third person. First person is the speaker's reference to himself, the second person is the speaker's reference to one or more addressees and the third person is reference to person and identities that are neither speaker or addresses of the utterance in question.

1. mẽ   kuɽi   han

   1sg   girl   aux

   I am a girl

2. əsi   kal   milange

   1pl   tomorrow   meet-fut

   We will meet tomorrow

3. t̪u   kit̪θa   rendi   e?

   2sg   where   live-prs-f-int

   Where do you live?

4. t̪usi   khana   kha   rəe   ho?

    2pl   food   eat   prs-prog-int

    Are you eating food?

5. o   meri   dɔst   æ

   3sg   poss   friend   aux

   She is my friend

6. o   mera   pra   æ

   3sg   poss   brother   aux

   He is my brother

7. o   ɟan   lge   æ

   3pl   leave-prs-prog   aux

   They are leaving

8. e   ek   kələm   æ

   3sg   one   pen   aux

   It is a pen

9. e   mere   nal   bethɪ   æ

   3sg   poss   with   sit-prs-aux

   She is sitting with me

10. o   uʈθa   khəɽa   hæ

   3sg   there   standing   aux

   He is standing there

In the examples mentioned above, the person deixis refers to persons irrespective of gender but changes with number. For example, in the case of first person /mẽ/ is used both for masculine as well as for feminine but changes when we use with plural i.e. /asse/. In the case of second person /tu/ is used for masculine as well as feminine but changes when we use with plural i.e. /ʈusɪ/. There are two aspects of third person. In one, the deictic expression remains same both for masculine as well as feminine i.e /o/ as in example 5 and 6. It also remains same for plural as in example 7. Another aspect of third person is that it changes to indicate proximity or remoteness. For example, /e/ characterized by front vowel is used both for masculine and feminine to indicate proximity as in example 9 and /o/ characterized by back vowel is used for both the genders to indicate remoteness as in example 10. For inanimate objects /e/ is used.

Table No-1 enlists Person deixis in Punjabi

S. NO.	Person deixis	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1.	Ist	mẽ	I	əsɪ	We
2.	2nd	tu	You	Ʈʊsɪ	You
3.	3rd	ɔ	He/She/It/	ɔ	They

5.2 Spatial deixis

Spatial deixis or place deixis tells us the location of the entities.

11. e   merɪ   kɪtɑb   æ

    Dem   poss   book   aux

    This is my book

12. o   mera   kar   æ

    Dem   poss   house   aux

    That is my house

13. e   mere   kəpɽe   hən

    Dem   poss   clothes   aux

    These are my clothes

14. o   mere   dɔsṯ   hən

    Dem   poss   friend   aux

    Those are my friends

15. kəp   ɪṯthe   rəkhɔ

    Cup   adv   place

    Place the cup here

16. uṯthe   merɪ   belṭ   pəɪ   æ

    Adv   poss   belt   lie   prs

    There lies my belt

17. ɪdhr   ao

    Here   come

    Come here

18. ʊdər   ɟao

    Adv   go

    Go there

The Spatial or place deixis changes in order to indicate proximity or remoteness. It includes adverbs of location (here, there i.e. /ɪṯhe/ /ɪdər/ /ʊthe/ /ʊdər/), demonstratives (this, that, these, those i.e. /e/, /o/) and certain verbs (come, go). For instance, /eh/ /ɪthe/ and /ɪdər/ are used to indicate nearness while /uh/ /ʊṯthe/ and /uḍr/ are used to indicate remoteness.

However, /ɪdər/ and /ʊdər/ are used in informal speech and more often in non-standard varieties of the language.

Table No-2 enlists Spatial deixis in Punjabi

S.no.	Proximity	Gloss	Remoteness	Gloss	Usage
1.	e	this/these	o	that/those	formal
2.	ɪt̪he	here	ʊt̪he	there	formal
3.	ɪdər	here	ʊdər	there	informal

5.3 Temporal deixis

Temporal deixis communicate time. Three types of expressions can be used to present the concept of time. These expressions can be lexical, grammatical and lexically composite. Inflections or auxiliaries serve as grammatical expressions. Expressions like today, tonight as lexical and two days before as lexically composite. The name of days, months, year also indicates time.

19. aɪ   mẽ   bəʒar   ɟavãgɪ

   Today   1sg   market   go-fut-f

   Today I will go to market

20. kaɭ   mẽ   dɪlɪ   gəɪ

   Yesterday   1sg   Delhi   go-pst

   I went to Delhi yesterday

21. menʊ   hʊne   cahɪde

   1sg   now   want

   I want it now

22. apã   mɪlde   ã   phɪr

   1pl   meet   a   then

   We will meet then

23. ɟəldɪ   kərə   un

   Fast   do   now

   Do it fast now

24. menʊ   une   cahɪde

    Fast   now   want

    I want it now

25. mẽ ambə   khada   do   din   pehle

    1sg mango eat-pst two days before

    I ate mango two days before

26. kuʃ   sal   pehle   mẽ   ɖili   gəɪ

    Few years ago   1sg delhi go-pst

    Few years ago I went to Delhi

The above examples represent deictic expressions of time. Inflections such as ɟavã-gi , gəɪ function as grammatical expressions as in the examples above. Lexical expressions includes /aɟ/, /kal/ , /hune/ , /phir/ , /un/ /une/. Lexically composite expressions are represented as in example 25 and 26 – do din pehle and kuʃ sal pehle. There are also some variants of these deictic expressions that are used in informal speech and more often non-standard varieties of the language. For example, lexical /un/ and /une/.

Table No-3 enlists Temporal deixis and its variants in Punjabi

S.no.	Temporal deixis	Gloss	Dialectal Variants	usage
1.	Aɟ	Today	------	formal
2.	kal	Yesterday / Over morrow	------	formal
3.	Hʊn	now	un	informal
4.	Hʊne	now	une	informal
5.	Phɪr	then	------	formal
6.	do din pehle	Two days before	-------	formal
7.	Kuʃ sal pehle	Few years ago	--------	formal

6. Conclusion

The present study focused on understanding the phenomenon of Person, Spatial and Temporal deixis. Like other aspects of the language, deixis is one of the most important elements of a language. The use of Person deixis showed that it is not marked by gender but with number. However, the second person plural is also used as an honorific to give respect to elders. Likewise, there are Spatial and Temporal deictic expressions some of which are used formally and others informally. There are two deictic expressions that are found commonly in both Person deixis as well as Spatial deixis i.e. /e/ and /o/ that functions to represent proximity and remoteness.

Thus, deictic expressions play an important role in Punjabi, strengthens communication by indicating personal, spatial and temporal references. It offers valuable insights into how we perceive our world while having communication. Understanding deixis helps us to establish connections. The findings of the study significantly contribute to the broader field of Punjabi linguistics. By exploring the intricacies of Punjabi deixis, this research demonstrates the Punjabi's richness and complexity, underscoring its importance in the broader field of linguistic studies and informing future research direction.

Abbreviations:

1SG – first person singular
1PL – first person plural
2SG – second person singular
2PL – second person plural
3SG – third person singular
3PL – third person plural
F - feminine
M – masculine
PRS – present

PST – past
FUT – future
INT – interrogative
DEM – demonstrative
POSS – possessive
AUX – auxiliary
PROG – progressive
ADV – adverb

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Emphatic Particles in Kashika

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Abstract

Kashika is a variety of Bhojpuri spoken in Varanasi district. It is also known as Banarasi by scholars. It is still an oral tradition in Varanasi and demands for its culture to be preserved. Therefore, this work is an initiative towards documenting the present day local language of Varanasi. This paper specifically deals with the Emphatic Particles in Kashika. The objectives of the study are

- To focus on what are Emphatic particles in Kashika.
- How particle changes with different grammatical categories.
- How they used in different context.

Kashika Particles are usually short words or affixes that convey specific grammatical or semantic information. They are used to express grammatical relationships or nuances. Depending on context, the meaning of term may overlap with concepts such as morpheme, marker, or even adverb. The data collected by the observation method directly from native speakers of Kashika. It includes informal general conversation with Kashika people, native of Varanasi and the decided area is Varanasi region.

There are so many Emphatic particles which are used in Kashika. They are like /vɒ/, /hʊ/, /ə/, /hi:/, /jə/, /tə/. The paper highlights and examines Emphatic Particle's used with different grammatical categories.

Keywords: Kashika, Particle, Grammatical category, Emphatic Particle.

Introduction

Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri is a dynamic and culturally rich language with deep historical roots and a significant presence in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent. Bhojpuri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the Bhojpuri region of India and Nepal. It's one of the major languages of the Indian state of Bihar, and it's also spoken in parts of Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand, as well as in the Terai region of Nepal. It is primarily written in the Devanagari script, though it has also been written in the Kaithi script historically. Outside India, many other countries like Nepal, Mauritius, Guyana, Burma, Fiji and Guyana also have a big Bhojpuri speaking population. This spread of Bhojpuri claims for its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Singh and Banerjee, 2014).

Kashika

The variety of Bhojpuri spoken in Varanasi district (also known as Banaras) is acknowledged as Kashika. It is also known as Banarasi by some scholars. Kashika is a dialect of Hindi with its own unique features and cultural significance. It reflects the linguistic diversity of Varanasi and plays a role in the city's rich cultural and historical landscape.

Linguistically, Kashika is a variety of Bhojpuri that lies in between Hindi and Bhojpuri. It has relatively free word order shares much vocabulary with Hindi but syntactically it is closer to Bhojpuri. Kashika is characterized by its unique pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammatical nuances. It reflects the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Varanasi region. Although it is very rich culturally, but for an oral tradition to live long, there is always a need for its documentation and preservation. The language is used for spoken communication only and no local journals, newspaper or texts are found for this.

Particles

A particle is a function word that must be associated with another word or phrase to impart meaning, i.e., does not have its own lexical definition. These are usually short words or affixes that convey specific grammatical or semantic information. They often do not change form and cannot stand alone as a full sentence. Particles are used to express grammatical relationships or nuances. They might indicate tense, aspect, mood, or other grammatical features. Particles are separate part of speech and are distinct form other classes of function words, such as articles, prepositions, conjunction and adverbs.

Emphatic particles are words or morphemes used to add emphasis, intensity, or affirmation to a sentence. They can modify the meaning of a statement or add emotional or evaluative weight. The role of emphatic particles varies depending on the language, but they generally serve to highlight or underscore specific parts of a sentence. They help speakers and writers convey their intended meaning more effectively, making communication more nuanced and expressive.

Languages vary widely in how much they use particles, some using them extensively and others more commonly using alternative devices such as prefixes/suffixes, inflection, auxiliary verbs and word order.

Data collection: The study has collected data by the observation method directly from native speakers of Kashika. It includes informal general conversation with Kashika People, native of Varanasi and the decided area is Varanasi region.

Aim and Objectives: The main Objective of the paper is to highlight Emphatic Particle's used with different grammatical categories.

- To focus on what are Emphatic particles in Kashika.
- How particle changes with different grammatical categories.
- How they used in different context.

Literature review: Kashika is the language used for spoken communication only and no local journals, newspaper or texts are found for this so it is very necessary to focuses on its grammar.

The paper titled **"The Grammar of Complex Particle Phrases in English"** by Bert Cappelle examines the grammatical structure and usage of complex particle phrases in English. Particle phrases, often involving combinations of particles with verbs, are a significant feature of English grammar. This study delves into their formation, syntactic behavior, and semantic roles. The paper aims to provide an in-depth analysis of complex particle phrases in English. It focuses on how these phrases are structured, their syntactic properties, and their functions within sentences.

The paper titled **"Sociolinguistic Variation of Particles in Urban Dialects"** by D. C. McGregor and R. K. Davidson explores how particles vary across different urban dialects, examining their sociolinguistic implications. The objective of the paper is to investigate the sociolinguistic variation of particles in various urban dialects, focusing on how particles are used differently across social groups and geographic regions within cities. It aims to understand the role of particles in marking social identity, group affiliation, and linguistic variation.

The key findings of the paper are that particle usage varies significantly across different social strata. For example, certain particles might be more prevalent in specific socio-economic groups or among different age cohorts. There were notable differences in particle usage among speakers from different urban neighbourhoods, reflecting regional dialectal variation within the city. The study revealed that particles can convey social attitudes, including formality, solidarity, or distance, depending on the context in which they are used. The paper concludes that particles are a significant aspect of sociolinguistic variation in urban dialects. They serve as markers of social identity and regional affiliation, reflecting broader patterns of social stratification and language change. Understanding the variation in particle usage can offer insights into the dynamics of urban dialects and the ways in which language is used to navigate social relationships and group identities.

A research paper **"Grammatical Sketch of Banarasi: A Dialect of Bhojpuri" by Singh Srishti,** deals with different grammatical aspect of Banarasi language. The paper aims to present a comprehensive grammatical description of the Banarasi dialect. It seeks to document and analyze the unique linguistic features of Banarasi, highlighting its place within the Bhojpuri language family and its distinct characteristics compared to other Bhojpuri dialects. Overall, the study provides valuable insights into the grammar of Banarasi and its unique linguistic identity, offering a comprehensive resource for scholars and linguists interested in Bhojpuri dialectology.

Data Analysis

1. **Use of particle /vɒ/**

In Kashika, the particle like /vɒ/ is used with noun. And it gives the sense of Hindi particle /bhi:/. And in English it gives the sense of 'Also'.

   a. /virɜ:tʌvɒ ni:k hʌv/

       Virat (also) good is.

       Virat is also good.

   b. /si:tʌvɒ ʒɑ:t hʌv/

       Seeta (also) going is.

       Seeta is also going.

2. **Use of particle /hɒ/**

In Kashika, particle /hɒ/ is used with Pronoun and it gives the meaning of /bhi:/ in Hindi and 'also' in English.

   a. /ʊhɒ əʧʧɑ: kɑ:m kərelɑ:/

       She (also) good work doing is.

       She is also doing good work.

3. **Use of particle /hʊ/**

In Kashika, particle /hʊ/ is the Adverbial use /bhi:/ of this and it also give the sense of in Hindi and 'Also' in English.

a.   /hʌmhʊ ke kʊkkʊr se dʌr lɜːgelɑː/

I (also) from dog afraid.

I also afraid of dog.

Note: when we use it as an Emphatic particle /ə/ as /ʊ/, it can often be translated as 'even'.

b.   /hʌm ekkʊ ghʌntɑː naːhɪ sʊt peɪlɪ/

I wasn't able to sleep for even an hour.

4.   Use of particle /ə/

In Kashika, particle /ə/ is use to convey the meaning of /hiː/ in hindi and 'Only' in English in different context.

In Kashika, particle /ə/ convey the sense of 'no more than'.

a.   /i: tiːnə lɔːg eɪhɜːn/

Three (only) people come.

Only three people come.

Here in following sentence, it expresses that 'no one else' but NP modified by /jə/.

b.   /rɑːmə ke ʒɑːe ke pʌdɪ/

Ram only has to go.

Here in the following sentence, particle /jə/ gives the meaning of Only.

c.   /əmeriːkiːjʌn əŋgreʒiːjə bɔːlelʌn/

Americans speak only English.

5.   Use of particle /hiː/

Sometimes in Kashika we use /hiː/ as particle with Pronoun and it also gives the meaning of 'Only'.

a.   /tu/ + /hiː/ = /tɔːhiː/ 'you' (alone)
b.   /hʌm/ + /hiː/ = /hʌmhiː/ 'me'(alone)

6.   Use of particle /t/

In Kashika, it's not possible to translate the effect of 'particle 't' concisely.

a.   /tʊ t sʊndʌr hʌuː/

You are beautiful.

b.   /hʌlɑːkɪ i: mez t sʊndər naːhi: hʌv, pʌr bʌhuːt mʌzbuːt hʌv/

This table isn't beautiful, but it's very sturdy.

Conclusion

The present paper on the Emphatic Particles in Bhojpuri language throws lights on which are the particles used in Kashika and how particle changes with different grammatical categories. There are so many Emphatic particles which are used in Kashika. They are like /vɒ/, /hʊ/, /ə/, /hi:/, /jə/, /tə/.

Here in Kashika, /vɒ/, /hi:/ and /hʊ/ are used in the place of Hindi particle /bhi:/. Particle /vɒ/ is used with Noun, particle /hʊ/ is used with Pronoun and /hʊ/ is the Adverbial use of this. Where particle /ə/ is used to convey the meaning of /hi:/ in Hindi. And it's not possible to translate the effect of 'particle /tə/ concisely.

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A note on Kannauji, with special reference to lexical influence of its surrounding languages

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Abstract

Kannauji, a language spoken in northern India, presents notable language variation shaped by the region's diverse sociolinguistic landscape. Factors such as geography, social hierarchy, and contact with neighbouring languages significantly influence this variation. A prominent feature of Kannauji is its extensive lexical borrowing from languages like Hindi, Awadhi, and Braj, resulting from historical and contemporary language interaction. These borrowed lexemes play a crucial role in enriching Kannauji's vocabulary, contributing to its dynamic nature and further differentiating its regional dialects. This paper looks at how some of these changes happen in Kannauji and what effects they have on the language.

Keywords: Kannauji, language variation, lexical borrowing.

Introduction

The Kannauji language, a variation of Hindi[1] (Grierson, G.A. 1903-28) primarily spoken in the Kannauj region of Uttar Pradesh, India, is deeply embedded in the cultural and linguistic fabric of the region. It is majorly spoken by residents of 7-8 western districts[2] of Uttar Pradesh(Grierson, G.A. 1903-28) . Grierson and Bholanath have however classified Kannauji as a 'dialect' of Braj Bhasha[3] by John and Varghese (2021). The John and Varghese report on 'The Kannauji speaking people of Uttar Pradesh: a Sociolinguistic Profile' mentions how the name 'kannauji' itself might be an exonym provided by scholars of the language and not the people itself. They report a very low percentage of recognition of the name Kannauji or voluntary usage of the word Kannauji to indicate their language by the speakers of the same, a result that is similar to the data collected by the authors of this paper as well. While there can be various reasons for the same, these reasons are beyond the scope of this paper, where we tried to provide a brief introduction of Kannauji based on existing literature, and its relationship to Hindi with reference to its widely shared vocabulary.

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[1] In his *Linguistic Survey of India* classifies Kannauji as a dialect of Hindi, providing foundational insights into its linguistic characteristics and geographical distribution.

[2] Kannauji is primarily spoken in several western districts like *Kannauj, Farrukhabad, Hardoi, Auraiya, Mainpuri, Shajahanpur, Kanpur rural and Pilibhit districts of Uttar Pradesh*

[3] Grierson, in his monumental work "Linguistic Survey of India," refers to various dialects and languages of the region, including Kannauji and Braj Bhasha.

Kannauji of Uttar Pradesh

While often overshadowed by more widely studied languages in India, Kannauji carries a rich linguistic heritage shaped by centuries of historical, cultural, and social influences.

The historical roots of Kannauji stretch back to the ancient Prakrit languages[4], which laid the foundation for its development (Dwivedi, P., & Kar, S. 2021). Over the centuries, Kannauji has been shaped by a variety of linguistic and cultural influences, including Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish languages [5] (Cardona G. & Jain D. Eds 2007). These interactions have left a lasting impact on its vocabulary and syntax, making Kannauji a linguistic mosaic that reflects the region's rich history. Historical documents, such as inscriptions and (very limited) literary works, provide valuable insights into this evolution, highlighting how Kannauji contributed to the cultural identity of its speakers and the broader Kannauj region.

Kannauji exhibits distinct linguistic features that support its classification as a separate variation. These differences manifest in phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and sociocultural significance, making Kannauji a unique language variation within the broader Indo-Aryan family, despite its strong resemblance to Hindi.

Phonologically, Kannauji demonstrates distinct pronunciation patterns that set it apart from standard Hindi. One such difference is the nasalization of vowels. For example, in Hindi, the word "हूँ" (hũ, meaning "am") has a clear nasalized vowel sound at the end. In Kannauji, this sound may become even more pronounced or, conversely, omitted in favor of a lighter nasalization depending on the regional variation within Kannauji itself. Similarly, certain consonants in Kannauji are softened compared to their Hindi counterparts. For instance, the Hindi word "दूसरा" (dusɑrɑ, meaning "second" or "other") might be pronounced as "आउरे" (aaure) in Kannauji, where the dental sound softens the overall pronunciation. These phonological differences, though subtle, reflect a systematic divergence from Hindi, emphasizing Kannauji's unique phonetic rules.

Grammatically, Kannauji retains several archaic structures that have disappeared from modern Hindi. Verb conjugation is one such area. For example, the verb "to go" in Hindi is conjugated as "गया" (gəjɑ) in the past tense. In Kannauji, however, older forms like "जाय" (ɟajə) or "जाई" (ɟaĩ) are still commonly used, especially in rural areas, reflecting the language's retention of earlier linguistic stages.

Table 1.1 shows examples of sentences showing how Hindi and Kannauji verb endings are different.

Hindi	Kannauji
1. मैं खाना खा रहा हूँ। (Main khana kha raha hun.)	हम खाना खाई रहे हेन। (Hum khana khai rahe hein.)
2. मुझे दूसरा कपड़ा देखना है (Mujhe dusra kapda dekhna hai)	हमे आउरे कपड़ा दिखावाउ। (Hume aaure kapda dikhavau)
3. वह कल अपने घर गया होगा (Voh kal apne ghar gaya hoga)	बे कल अपने घाराई गे हुइहाई। (Be kal apne gharai ge huihai)

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[4]Kannauji of Kanpur: A Brief Overview- This paper discusses the historical and cultural context of the Kannauji language, including its roots in ancient Prakrit languages and its current sociolinguistic dynamics.

[5] Overview of Indo-Aryan languages *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved 8 July 2018, Cardona, G., & Jain, D. (Eds.). (2007). *The Indo-Aryan languages.*

Kannauji possesses a more nuanced system of honorifics and polite forms than modern Hindi. For instance, where Hindi primarily uses "तुम" (tʋm) for informal "you" and "आप" (ɑp) for formal "you," Kannauji retains the second-person pronoun "तोहेका (tohekɑ)" that enables speakers to avoid the potential rudeness of the informal "तू" while maintaining an approachable tone. The usage of "तोहेका (tohekɑ)" in Kannauji reflects a nuanced understanding of social relationships and respect among speakers. For example, when addressing a younger sibling or a friend in a respectful manner, one might say: " तोहेका खाना खाइबे हाईं?" (Toheka khana khaibe hayi?), meaning "You want to eat?". This term functions as a familiar yet respectful form of address, primarily used to refer to individuals with whom the speaker has a degree of closeness or familiarity, such as friends, younger relatives, or peers.Pronouns such as "तू" (tu), "तोहेका (tohekɑ)" and "तोहार" (tohɑr) offer multiple layers of formality and politeness, indicating the relative status of the speaker and the person being addressed. This system of honorifics, which has faded in standard Hindi, is still very much alive in Kannauji, marking a key area where the two languages differ.

Vocabulary is another domain where Kannauji differentiates itself from Hindi. While both languages have borrowed extensively from Persian, Arabic, and English, Kannauji has preserved many indigenous terms and phrases that are either no longer used or have evolved in Hindi. For example, Kannauji continues to use words like "बिटिया" (bɪʈɪjɑ, meaning "daughter") and "दवा" (dəwɑ), meaning "medicine") in ways that reflect its local linguistic heritage [6] (Dwivedi, Pankaj & Kar, Somdev 2021, Ramesh Chandra 2020). Additionally, Kannauji has retained many older Sanskrit-derived terms [7]that are used in everyday speech. Words like "मोक्ष" (mokʃ, meaning "liberation") and "धर्म" (dʰərmə, meaning "duty" or "righteousness") are commonly used in Kannauji and carry significant cultural weight, especially in religious or philosophical contexts (John & Varghese 2021).

Kannauji has also borrowed heavily from neighboring languages, such as Braj and Awadhi, further enriching its vocabulary (however there is an understanding that it might have been Kannauji that influenced Braj Bhasha as well, but due to the cultural prominence of Braj and the existence of its relatively larger body of literature, Braj is considered the donor language by the larger majority of scholars). These borrowings include words and expressions that do not exist in Hindi or are used differently in context. For example, the word "बउराना" (bəʋrɑnɑ, meaning "to wander aimlessly" or "to go mad") comes from Awadhi but is commonly used in Kannauji, demonstrating how Kannauji's geographical position has facilitated linguistic exchange with surrounding languages. Some examples of kannauji words which are borrowing from braj and awadhi – Examples of Awadhi "चिरईं" (cɪrəi) – meaning "bird", सांझ (sã:jʰ) – meaning "evening. Examples of braj – "डार "(ɖɑr) –meaning "Tree branch", चौका" (chauka) meaning "cooking area".

Socio-culturally, Kannauji plays a critical role in defining regional identity. While Hindi serves as the lingua franca for much of northern India, Kannauji is deeply embedded in the cultural practices, folklore, and daily lives of its speakers in the Kannauj region. There is however, little to no linguistic

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[6] 1. Linguistic Features of the Kannauji Language 2021, 2. The Sociolinguistics of Kannauji: A Study of Language Variation 2020. This study discusses the lexical differences between Kannauji and Hindi, emphasizing the influence of local heritage on vocabulary.

[7] The Sociolinguistics of Kannauji: A Study of Language Variation. Sanskrit-derived terms can be found in many Indo-Aryan languages, as documented in linguistic studies on language evolution in India

pride [8] (John & Varghese 2021). As stated in the above, even acknowledgement of the name Kannauji as the language's monicker is very limited. The language functions as a medium of communication and has persisted in informal settings, despite the dominance of Hindi in formal education and media.

As a language spoken by a significant population in the Kannauj region, Kannauji continues to play an important role in the linguistic landscape of Uttar Pradesh. It remains a crucial medium for communication and cultural expression, serving as a testament to the region's diverse heritage. In this paper, we aim to highlight the significance and instances of lexical borrowing in Kannauji and its broader implications for understanding language variation and change in the context of India's multilingual environment.

Lexical borrowing in Kannauji

In Kannauji, lexical borrowing refers to the process of integrating words from other languages into the vocabulary. This phenomenon arises from historical, cultural, and social interactions with speakers of different languages, significantly enriching Kannauji by allowing speakers to express new concepts, ideas, and experiences that previously lacked native expressions.

One form of borrowing is direct borrowing, where words are adopted from another language with little or no modification. For instance, terms like "computer," "telephone," and "internet" are borrowed directly from English into Kannauji. In some cases, borrowed words undergo phonological adaptation, where pronunciation is modified to fit the phonological system of Kannauji, ensuring easier usage for native speakers. For example, the English word "bus" may become "bəš̃" in Kannauji. Another form is loan translation (calques), where instead of directly borrowing words, Kannauji translates the meaning of foreign terms into its own vocabulary.

Lexical borrowing plays a pivotal role in language evolution, and Kannauji, like many other languages, has undergone significant linguistic changes due to this process. Historically, Kannauji has been shaped by contact with other cultures, including Persian, Arabic, Turkic, and more recently, English due to colonial influence. This borrowing process has helped expand its lexicon, particularly in areas such as technology, medicine, trade, and commerce.

Technological advancements, in particular, have driven much of the borrowing in recent years. As new inventions and concepts arise, languages often lack native terms to describe them, leading to the borrowing of terms from languages with established vocabulary in those fields. Words related to technology and medicine in Kannauji have been borrowed largely from English and Sanskrit. For example, technological terms like "computer" and "internet" come from English, while medical and philosophical terms have often been borrowed from Sanskrit. Similarly, commercial interactions have led to the borrowing of words related to trade, currency, and economic activities, reflecting the importance of trade in shaping the linguistic landscape.

As languages are dynamic and continuously evolving, lexical borrowing allows them to adapt to new circumstances and express increasingly complex ideas. In the case of Kannauji, this adaptability is particularly important given its cultural and historical context. The history of Kannauj as a major center

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[8] SIL International, 2021. This document discusses the sociolinguistic identity of Kannauji speakers, highlighting their cultural practices and the perception of their language in relation to Hindi and neighboring languages.

of political and commercial activity has facilitated contact with numerous linguistic groups over the centuries, leading to a significant influx of borrowed vocabulary from various languages.

Kannauji has borrowed several words from diverse languages, reflecting its rich historical and cultural interactions.

Language (Sanskrit)	English	Meaning	Kannauji	IPA
ध्यान	Attention	Meditation	ध्यान	dʰjɑn
धर्म	Religion	Duty or righteousness	धर्म	dʰərm
मोक्ष	Salvation	Liberation	मोक्ष	mokʃ
गुरु	Master	Teacher	गुरु	gʊru

Table 1.2 These words highlight the influence of Sanskrit on Kannauji's spiritual and philosophical vocabulary.

Language (Persian)	English	Meaning	Kannauji	IPA
सलामत	Safe	Free from danger	सलामत	sɵlɑmət
मज़ा	Fun	Pleasure and Enjoyment	मज़ा	məj̃ɑ
बख़्शीश	Tip	A small piece of useful advice	बख़्शीश	bɵkʰʃiʃ
दीवार	Wall	Solid barrier that encloses or divides spaces,	दीवार	dɪwɑr

Table 1.3 These words show the Persian influence on everyday vocabulary and commerce.

Language (Arabic)	English	Meaning	Kannauji	IPA
ज़िक्र	Mention	Say something about somebody	ज़िक्र	ɟĩkrə
नमाज़	Prayer	The act of speaking to god	नमाज़	nəmɑj̃
इमाम	Religious leader	Who holds a position of authority	इमाम	ɪmɑm
मस्जिद	mosque	A place of worship	मस्जिद	məsdʒɪd

Table 1.4 These terms reflect the integration of Islamic religious practices into the language.

Language (English)	English	Meaning	Kannauji	IPA
कंप्यूटर	Computer	An electronic device	कंप्यूटर	k̃əpuʈər
टेलीफ़ोन	Telephone	Voice communication between people	टेलीफ़ोन	ʈɛlipʰon
टिकट	Ticket	Serving as proof of payment	टिकट	ʈɪkəʈ
रेस्टोरां	Restaurant	A place where you can buy and eat a meal	रेस्टोरां	rɛsʈorã

Table 1.5 These borrowings illustrate the influence of English on technology and communication.

Language (Bangla)	English	Meaning	Kannauji	IPA
भात	Rice	Type of grain	भात	bʰɑt
बगिया	Garden	Piece of land	बगिया	bəgɪjɑ

Table 1.6 Words borrowed from Bangla.

Language (Bhojpuri)	English	Meaning	Kannauji	IPA
चाय	Tea	Beverage	चाय	cɑj
लुच्चा	Mischievous	Playful or Cheeky	लुच्चा	lʊccɑ

Table 1.7 Words borrowed from Bhojpuri.

The impact of lexical borrowing on Kannauji is profound. It has significantly enriched the language's vocabulary by introducing words from a variety of linguistic sources, allowing speakers to articulate a broader range of concepts. This borrowing not only reflects historical cultural exchanges but also helps maintain the language's relevance in a rapidly changing world. For example, the adoption of English terms has been essential for Kannauji speakers to engage with modern technology and science.

Furthermore, lexical borrowing showcases the region's multicultural heritage. The use of Sanskrit borrowings often signals an alignment with Hindu traditions, while the presence of Persian and Arabic vocabulary reflects Islamic cultural influences. This dynamic illustrates how borrowed words contribute to the expression of both individual and collective identities among Kannauji speakers.

In conclusion, lexical borrowing in Kannauji has been instrumental in shaping its linguistic diversity and cultural identity. By examining the sources and impacts of these borrowed words, we gain insights into the historical, social, and cultural forces that have influenced Kannauji over time. This process of linguistic adaptation demonstrates Kannauji's resilience and capacity for growth, ensuring its continued evolution in response to changing linguistic and cultural landscapes.

Multilingualism in India: NEP 2020's Vision and Challenges

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Abstract

Multilingualism in India is not merely a policy consideration but a lived reality. It is deeply ingrained in the cultural fabric of the country. There are five language families present in the country which carry this cultural fabric. India's linguistic diversity, with over 1,600 mother tongues, has historically been marginalized in education, favoring dominant languages like Hindi, English and other scheduled languages. With the introduction of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, multilingual education receives renewed emphasis, challenging dominant language paradigms. This paper discusses the implications of NEP 2020 in promoting linguistic diversity, particularly among marginalized and indigenous communities. We reflect on the policy's potential to correct historical wrongs in language education and critically analyze the challenges of implementing multilingualism in an educational context that has long favored dominant languages.

Keywords: National Education Policy 2020, Multilingualism, Indian Languages, Linguistic Rights, Mother Tongue, Education Reform.

1.Introduction

Multilingualism in India has often not been centred around indigenous languages but instead around dominant languages such as Hindi and English (Annamalai, 1997). NEP 2020 offers a pivotal moment to reorient this linguistic imbalance by prioritizing mother tongues and local languages in early education. The policy's vision is to foster inclusivity while also addressing the linguistic aspirations of indigenous and minoritized communities.

In this paper, we examine how NEP 2020's emphasis on multilingual education reflects a broader recognition of linguistic diversity, which has long been sidelined in favor of dominant Indo-Aryan (IA) and Dravidian (DR) languages. We also highlight the potential for the policy to address the linguistic rights of indigenous, tribal, and minoritized (ITM) groups, aligning with Skutnabb-Kangas' (2014) observation regarding the inappropriate choice of instructional languages as a direct cause of the educational challenges faced by these communities.

The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 seeks to redress this imbalance by promoting multilingual education, particularly through the use of mother tongues or local languages as the medium of instruction until at least Grade 5. This policy aims to foster inclusivity, improve learning outcomes, and address the educational challenges faced by indigenous, tribal, and minoritized (ITM) communities.

However, implementing multilingual education faces several challenges, including regional disparities, shortages of teaching materials, a lack of trained teachers, and parental preferences for English as the medium of instruction. This paper examines NEP 2020's potential to promote linguistic diversity and

suggests policy recommendations, such as localized strategies, strengthening teacher training, and engaging communities to ensure successful implementation. While NEP 2020 holds promise for promoting linguistic equity, its success will depend on sustained efforts and context-specific solutions.

2.Multilingual Education in India

India's linguistic landscape is complex, with over one thousand and six hundred languages as mother tongues. Historically, educational policies have failed to fully account for this diversity, and opted instead for a linguistic hegemony that marginalizes regional and tribal languages. NEP 2020 challenges this by advocating for early childhood education to be conducted in the child's mother tongue or local language, particularly up to Grade 5 (Government of India, 2020). This is indicative of a general recognition of the cognitive and cultural benefits of learning in one's actual first language.

In regions like Jharkhand, where Austroasiatic and Dravidian languages are spoken by a predominantly large population, education continues to be delivered primarily in Indo-Aryan languages, thus perpetuating Mohanty's (2019) 'double divide' between dominant and minoritized languages. This gap is particularly evident in classrooms, where students struggle to engage with a curriculum delivered in a language that is not their own, further exacerbating educational inequalities.

3.NEP 2020's Vision for Multilingualism

NEP 2020 provides an unprecedented opportunity to shift the linguistic focus in Indian education. By emphasizing multilingualism through the medium of instruction and textbook, the policy aims to create more inclusive educational environments that respect and reflect the linguistic realities of students. The policy proposes that the medium of instruction until at least Grade 5 should be the child's mother tongue or home language, aligning with research that indicates children learn better when taught in their native language (Government of India, 2020). This vision is particularly relevant in tribal-dominated regions like Jharkhand, where linguistic diversity is often seen as a barrier rather than a resource.

NEP 2020 also promotes the revival of classical and regional languages, ensuring that linguistic diversity is maintained and celebrated across the country. Schools and higher education institutions are now encouraged to introduce courses and resources in regional languages, providing students with the opportunity to engage with their cultural heritage (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014), thereby playing an active role in their revitalisation.

4.Challenges in the implementation of multilingualism

The potential benefits of NEP 2020 are significant, but several challenges stand in the way of its full realization. Listed below are some of these challenges.

4.1 Regional Disparities

Implementing multilingual education in a country as diverse as India is a herculean task. This diversity is multifarious and lacks uniformity as the geography and demography changes. Although the political states in India were formed based on linguistic boundaries, the linguistic variations within the states are potentially so wide to form complexities towards a uniform education system. Although the Government of India recognizes twenty-two languages as the scheduled official languages and endeavours to make education available through them, the core educational infrastructure has proven inadequate when it is about catering to all the mother-tongues.

4.2 Shortage of Teaching and Learning Materials (TLMs)

One of the major challenges in the implementation of MLE is the shortage of TLMs. This has always been the argument which went in favour of the dominant languages and against the minority

languages. Mohanty (2019) reports that the availability of appropriate materials and administrative support for development of the same varies significantly from region to region. This is particularly true in states like Uttarakhand, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, where the multilingual reality is not reflected in the educational infrastructure at all.

4.3 Lack of Trained Teachers

One of the major hurdles in adopting a multilingual approach is the shortage of teachers trained to teach in multiple languages. Most teacher training programmes in India have traditionally focused on Hindi and English, leaving a significant gap in the ability to provide education in regional and tribal languages.

4.4 Structural and semantical differentiation

In some states, there are cases where the mother tongues belong to one language family, while the medium of instruction and textbooks are from another language family. In such cases, the syntactical and semantical differences prove to be a major hurdle. For example, in West Bengal, the state official language Bengali is an IA language, whereas, there are languages like Santhali, Ho, Kudmali and Mundari which have a two tense structure. The three tense structure of Bengali, then, becomes a hurdle for these learners. Similarly, there are differences at the level of vocabulary due to language alienation. One such noticeable example is at the level of pronouns. These tribal languages have four pronominals for first person plural. To map them to one label 'we' is an uphill task for a teacher of English in this region.

4.5 Parental Preferences

Many parents continue to favor English as the medium of instruction, perceiving it as key to better job opportunities and socio-economic mobility. This preference often conflicts with the policy's emphasis on mother tongues, particularly in urban and semi-urban areas, where English-medium schools are proliferating.

5. Policy Recommendations

While NEP 2020 provides a strong foundation for promoting multilingualism, its success depends on thoughtful implementation and sustained policy support. The following recommendations aim to address the challenges outlined above:

5.1 Localized Implementation Strategies

Policy implementation must be sensitive to the unique linguistic contexts of different states. Jharkhand, for instance, could benefit from a more localized approach that prioritizes the languages spoken by its indigenous communities. This could help bridge the existing 'double divide' and create more equitable learning environments (Mohanty, 2019).

5.2 Strengthening Teacher Training

Robust teacher training programs are essential to the success of multilingual education. Investments must be made in developing teacher competencies in multiple languages, particularly in regions with high linguistic diversity.

5.3 Community Engagement

The success of NEP 2020's multilingual vision also hinges on community buy-in. Efforts must be made to engage parents and local communities in discussions about the value of mother tongue education, addressing concerns about future opportunities while highlighting the cognitive and cultural benefits of multilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014).

6. Conclusion

The NEP 2020 offers India an opportunity to redefine its linguistic policies and embrace the multilingualism that characterizes its educational and social landscape. In states like Jharkhand, where indigenous languages continue to be marginalized, the policy could serve as a powerful tool for ensuring linguistic rights and promoting educational equity. However, successful implementation will require sustained commitment, localized solutions, and community involvement. Only then can India's multilingual reality be truly reflected in its educational practices.

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Aspect in Kokborok

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to describe some of the aspect markers used in Kokborok language, a Tibeto-Burman language family of Bodo-Garo group, spoken in the Northeastern state of Tripura, India. The language is also spoken in the adjoining states of Assam, Mizoram and the neighbouring country Bangladesh.

Kokborok falls into the grammatical aspect rather than lexical aspect. Aspect in Kokborok refers to the grammatical feature that helps to express the temporal flow of actions or states, including their internal dynamics, duration, completion or repetition of an action. Unlike some languages that heavily rely on tense, Kokborok uses aspect markers to provide additional information about the nature of the event or action described by the verb. While tense focuses on the time of the action, aspect focuses on the nature of the action itself. Different languages may express aspect differently, and some languages may have more additional aspects compared to English. In Kokborok, aspect is marked on the verb itself or through specific aspect suffixes to the root verb without having its intervention of aspect oppositeness and the constituent order is verb-aspect-tense.

Keywords: Kokborok, Bodo-Garo, Tibeto-Burman, aspect markers, statement of action verbs.

1. Introduction

Kokborok is a Bodo-Garo sub-group that falls under the Tibeto-Burman branches of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is one of the major languages of Tripura. The language also got its status as an official language of the state by the Government of Tripura on 19th January 1979. It has close affinities with Bodo, Dimasa, Garo, Rabba, Tiwa, etc. The speakers of the language are also found in the adjoining states of Assam, Mizoram, and the neighbouring country Bangladesh.

According to Liu (2015) Chinese lacks "grammaticalized" tense but makes clear aspectual distinctions. Comrie (1976), says for instance, students of Russian and other Slavonic languages are familiar with the distinction between Perfective and Imperfective aspect, as in on *pročital* (Pfv.) and on *čital* (Ipfv.), both translatable into English as 'he read', although some idea of the difference can be given by translating the Imperfective as 'he was reading, he used to read'. Aspect is "the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: 3). Torau displays a highly complex system of aspect, tense, and modal marking. One of the most complex elements of this system is the marking of imperfective aspect. Imperfective in Torau is marked by a construction employing a choice of two overt imperfective markers and the possible presence of reduplication. The range of imperfective semantics encoded by this construction varies widely, encompassing progressive, habitual, persistive, and progressive inchoative or inceptive (Palmer 2007).

In linguistics, aspect indicates grammatical elements that express the action or states described by a verb unfold over time. It describes how the action relates to time, focusing on its progression, completion, or repetition. Aspect contrasts with tense, which primarily indicates when an action takes place (past, present, or future). While tense focuses on the time of the action, aspect focuses on the nature of the action itself. Different languages may express aspect differently, and some languages may have more additional aspects compared to English. In Kokborok, aspect is expressed by different aspect markers suffixed to the root verb.

It is also important to note that Kokborok doesn't have its equivalent counterpart of aspectual markers. Some common aspectual markers in Kokborok include:

Progressive aspect	*-ui, ɨi*
Inceptive aspect	*-sɔk*
Completive aspect	*-bai*
Iterative aspect	*-sau*
Habitual aspect	*-burum-burum, -maŋ*
Terminative aspect	*- pai, -tʰak, -cɔ*

2. Methodology

The data for the present study draws primarily on standard dialects of Kokborok concentrated mainly in 3 districts of West Tripura, Khowai and Sipahijala spoken in the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council (TTAADC). As a native speaker of Kokborok, the data elicitations presented in this paper are all self-oriented collection. Consequently, the majority of the primary data employed in this research are self-observation and self-reporting. The examples in Kokborok are written with International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) Unicode.

3. Objectives

The objectives of studying aspect in Kokborok, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Indian state of Tripura, may include the following aspects:

1) **Understanding Temporal Structures**: Investigating how aspect in Kokborok reflects different stages of action i.e., completed, ongoing, or repetition, etc. that helps to understand the temporal structure of the language.

2) **Differentiating Aspect and Tense**: Clarifying the distinction between tense (relates to the timing of an action) and aspect (refers to the nature of the action itself, such as whether it is completed or ongoing).

3) **Indicating continuation**: Indicating that an action is ongoing.

4) **Showing inceptive**: Marking the beginning of an action.

5) **Expressing completion**: Indicating whether an action is complete or incomplete.

6) **Indicating duration**: Showing how long an action takes.

7) **Describing repetition**: Signaling whether an action is repeated or not.

8) **Indicating Habitual**: Indicating that the action has regular or routine action.

9) **Indicating termination**: Indicates the termination of an action, often no specific marked by a suffix is found in the language.

Understanding aspects in Kokborok helps to seize the complexity of verb conjugation and sentence structure in the language. Aspect markers are grammatical elements that indicate the temporal structure or duration of an action or event. Aspect helps to convey the speaker's perspective on the action's progression, completion, or repetition. While tense tells when an action occurs (past, present, or future), aspect describes how the action unfolds over time.

4. Literature review

After a preliminary review, no linguists or researchers have worked on aspect in Kokborok. Only Jacquesson (2007), in his Kokborok Grammar have mentioned on aspect in Kokborok. He mentioned that Kokborok is a rather aspect-oriented language, because it lacks any past tense, a fact which makes a striking difference from Boro or Dimasa. He further stated that a good number of expressions depict the aspects of the weather and the variations of the sky. It is noted that the language needs to be classified by different scholars in terms of aspect. Therefore, this proposed study may help to generate information into the aspect in Kokborok language.

5. Aspect in Kokborok

In Kokborok, aspects are typically marked using suffixes or particles attached to the root verb. The condition or statement of the action of different types of aspectual markers are expressed in the following table.

Sl. No.	Aspect	Statement of the action	Specific markers (suffix)
01	Progressive	Ongoing	*-ui, -ii*
02	Inceptive	Beginning	*-sɔk*
03	Completive	Finished	*-bai*
04	Iterative	Repeated	*-sau*
05	Habitual	Regular or routine	*-burum-burum, -maŋ*
06	Terminative	End or conclude	*-pai, -tʰak, -cɔ*

Table 1: Types of aspect in Kokborok

Many languages like English have double entities that are expressed through perfective vs. non-perfective, progressive vs. non-progressive, etc. In Kokborok, the set of aspectual values are expressed through single entity, i.e., it doesn't have its aspectual counterpart like English.

In addition to aspect, it is important to mention that Kokborok has relatively a simple tense system with three main tenses, i.e., present, past and future. Morphologically, these tenses in Kokborok are marked by different suffixes that are attached to the root verb.

Some examples of three tenses in Kokborok are demonstrated in (1) to (4).

1) *aŋ   mai   ca-ɔ*
   I   rice   eat-PRT
   'I eat rice'

2) *aŋ   mai   ca-kʰa*
   I   rice   eat-PST
   'I ate rice'

3) *aŋ   mai   ca-nai*
   I   rice   eat-DEF.FUT
   'I will eat rice'

4) *aŋ   mai   ca-wani*
    I   rice   eat-IND.FUT
    'I will be eating rice'

The examples in (1-4), the word *ca* 'eat' is the main verb attached by different suffixes as (1) *-ɔ* is the present tense marker (2) *-kʰa* is the past tense marker (3) *-nai* is the definite future tense marker; and (4) *-wani* is the indefinite future tense marker.

5.1. Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect has two markers in Kokborok (1) *-ui*; and (2) *-ii*. The progressive aspect expresses an actions or events that are ongoing or in progress at a specific point in time. It focuses on the duration or continuity of an action, rather than its completion.

The progressive marker with *-ui* is shown below in (5) to (9).

5)   *aŋ   mai   ca-ui   tɔŋ-ɔ*
        I   rice   eat-PRG   EV-PRES
        'I am eating rice'

6)   *aŋ   mai   ca-ui   tɔŋ-kʰa*
        I   rice   eat-PRG   EV-PST
        'I was eating rice'

7)   *aŋ   mai   ca-ui   tɔŋ-ani*
        I   rice   eat-PRG   EV-PST
        'I will be eating rice'

8)   *aŋ   dɔ-ui   him   tɔŋ-ɔ*
        I   fast-PROG   walk   EV-PST
        'I am walking fast'

9)   *aŋ   jɔli-ui   tɔŋ-ɔ*
        I   fast-PROG   EV-PST
        'I am getting angry'

In examples (5-9), the word *ca* 'eat', *dɔ* 'fast', *jɔli* 'angry' are the main verbs. Here, the progressive aspect *-ui* is suffixed to the entire root verb showing that an action or an event is in progress.

The progressive marker with *-ii* is shown below in (10) to (14).

10)   *aŋ   nɔk-ɔ   tʰaŋ-ii   tɔŋ-ɔ*
        I   house-LOC   go-PROG   EV-PRT
        'I am going home'

11)   *piya   cik-ii   tɔŋ-ɔ*
        bee   sting-PROG   EV-PRT
        'The bee is stinging'

12)   *aŋ   nɔk   pʰar-ii   tɔŋ-ɔ*
        I   house   sweep-PROG   EV-PRT
        'I am sweeping the house'

13)   *aŋ*   *lama-ɔ*   *him-ii*   *tɔŋ-ɔ*
      I   road-LOC   walk-PROG   EV-PRT
      'I am walking on the road'

14)   *aŋ*   *wa*   *tan-ii*   *tɔŋ-ɔ*
      I   bamboo   cut-PROG   EV-PRT
      'I am cutting the bamboo'

Here, the progressive aspect *-ii* is suffixed to the root verb in (10-15). The main defragmentation between the two markers *-ui* and *-ii* is to differentiate between in using markers properly with final sounds of phonemes in a syllable. It is to be noted that the root verb which ends in vowels *-a*, *-ɔ*, *-i* in (5-9) has attached with *-ui* progressive aspect and other than *-a*, *-ɔ*, *-i* has an attachment with *-ii* as in (10-14). The syntactic examples also expressed by the existential verb *tɔŋ* 'existential verb' and then followed by the tense suffixes.

5.2. Inceptive aspect

The inceptive aspect describes the starting or initiation of an action, event, or state. In Kokborok, the inceptive aspect is typically marked morphologically with suffixes to the root verb.

Examples of inceptive aspect in Kokborok includes in (15) to (17).

15)   *aŋ*   *nɔk-ɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sɔk-ii*   *tɔŋ-ɔ*
      I   home-LOC   go-INCP-PROG   EV-PRT
      'I am starting to go home'

The sentence implies that the speaker is at the initial stage of going home. The action has not been completed, but rather is just starting. The inceptive marker *-sɔk* signifies the start of an action. The existential verb *tɔŋ* with present tense marker *-ɔ* indicates the ongoing state in the present.

16)   *aŋ*   *nɔk-ɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sɔk-ii*   *tɔŋ- kʰa*
      I   home-LOC   go-INCP-PROG   EV-PST
      'I was beginning to go home'

The existential verb *tɔŋ* with past tense marker *-kʰa* indicates the ongoing state in the past. Here also the inceptive marker *-sɔk* signifies the start of an action.

17)   *aŋ*   *nɔk-ɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sɔk-ii*   *tɔŋ-anɨ*
      I   home-LOC   go-INCP-PROG   EV-IND.FUT
      'I will start going home'

The sentence implies that the speaker intends to initiate going home at a future point. The action has not begun yet but will start soon. The indefinite future tense marker *-anɨ* which is suffixed to the existential verb *tɔŋ* indicates the future action.

The sentence can also be used without progressive aspect and existential verb followed by the tense marker.

18)   *aŋ*   *nɔk-ɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sɔk-kʰa*
      I   home-LOC   go-INCP-PST
      'I begun to go home'

19) *nɨŋ*   *nɔk-ɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sɔk-di*
you   home-LOC   go-INCP-IMP
'you start to go home'

20) *bɔrɔk*   *nɔk-ɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sɔk-kʰa*
they   home-LOC   go-INCP-PST
'they started to go home'

The examples from (15-20) follows the simple constituent order of verb-aspect-tense in Kokborok.

5.3. Completive aspect

The completive aspect describes an action or event that is ended or completed. The completive aspect contrasts with other aspects like the progressive or inceptive which emphasize ongoing or repeated actions.

In Kokborok, this aspect is expressed through verbs, often using perfective forms of suffixes *-bai*.

21) *aŋ*   *samuŋ*   *taŋ-bai-kʰa*
I   work   do-COMPL-PST
'I completed the work'

22) *aŋ*   *samuŋ*   *taŋ-bai-nai*
I   work   do-COMPL-FUT
'I will complete the work'

23) *aŋ*   *samuŋ*   *taŋ-bai-anɨ*
I   work   do-COMPL-IND.FUT
'I will be completing the work'

The completive aspect marker *-bai* suffixed to the root verb *tang* 'do' indicates the completion of action in the past in (21), example (22) indicates the action will complete in the future, and will be completing the action in the future in (23). Here also the pattern follows as verb-aspect-tense.

5.4. Iterative aspect

The iterative aspect describes an accomplishment or occurrence that is repeated or occurs multiple times. It emphasizes the recurrence or frequency of the action. It emphasizes that an event or action happens multiple times, either continuously or at intervals. This aspect contrasts with the perfective (which shows a single, completed action) and the progressive (which shows an action as ongoing at a specific moment).

In Kokborok, it is expressed by the iterative aspect marker *-sau* to the root verb.

24) *bɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sau-kʰa*
he   go-ITR-PST
'he went again'

25) *bɔ*   *tʰaŋ-sau-nai*
he   go-ITR-FUT
'he will go again'

26) *aŋ   ca-sau-nai*
     I   eat-ITR-FUT
     'I will eat again'

The examples in (24-26), the subject *bɔ, aŋ* 'she/he, I' refers to the person performing the action. The iterative aspect *-sau* indicates repetition or iteration of the action by suffixing to the root verb and then followed by tense suffixes. The tenses of *-kʰa* (past) and *-nai* (future) which is suffixed to the iterative aspect *-sau* suggests completed or will complete actions, repeated in the past or future. The sentence implies that 'I/he' went or will go or eat again somewhere, returned or ate, and then went/will go or eat again. The constituent order of iterative aspect in Kokborok can be subject-verb-aspect.

5.5. Habitual aspect

In Kokborok, the habitual aspect describes an action or state that occurs regularly over time. The habitual aspect is a grammatical feature used to describe actions that occur regularly, habitually, or repeatedly over a period of time. It indicates a general state of affairs, rather than focusing on any single instance of the action. The habitual aspect often conveys actions that are routine or characteristic of the subject.

This habitual aspect is different from other aspect markers. Here, the habitual marker is used as a reduplicated word '*burum-burum*' which is suffixed to the root nouns *sal* 'day'.

27) *bɔ   sal-burum-burum   cuwak   niŋ-ɔ*
     he   day-every   alcohol drink-PRT
     'he drinks alcohol everyday'

28) *bɔ   sal-burum-burum   riŋnɔk-ɔ   tʰaŋ-ɔ*
     he   day-every   school-LOC   go-PRT
     'he goes to school everyday'

In examples (27), the sentence construction summarizes *bɔ* 'she/he' (subject) indicates the performing of an action, *sal* 'day' (noun) indicates the time of day, the reduplicated word *-burum-burum* 'every' (adverb) indicates frequency of all or each, *cuwak* 'alcohol' (object) indicates the type of drinks being consumed, *niŋ* 'drink' (verb) indicates the action of consuming drinks and then followed by the present tense marker. The example (28) follows the same syntactic structure of example (27).

Expression with *-maŋ* 'always'

29) *aŋ   niŋ-ii-maŋ   tɔŋ-ɔ*
     I   dink-PRG-HAB   EX-PRT
     'I drink all the time/I always drink'

30) *niŋ   niŋ-ii-maŋ   tɔŋ-ɔ*
     you   dink-PRG-HAB   EX-PRT
     'you drink all the time/you always drink'

31) *bɔ   niŋ-ii-maŋ   tɔŋ-ɔ*
     he   dink-PRG-HAB   EX-PRT
     'he drinks all the time/he always drinks'

The sentence in (29-31) describes a habitual action, implying that *aŋ, niŋ, bɔ* 'I, you, she/he' drink(s) all the time. The word *-maŋ* 'always' is suffixed to the root verb preceded by progressive marker *-ii* in between, indicates that the action occurs every time or on all occasions.

The example (27) and (28) are not explicitly marked while many languages do mark explicitly. Instead, habitual actions may be expressed through context, adverbs like 'every day', 'every month', 'every year', etc. that imply regularity without the need for a dedicated marker. The speakers of Kokborok often rely on contextual cues to indicate an action of habitual context.

5.6. Terminative aspect

There is no special form of expressing terminative aspect in Kokborok. It emphasizes the termination or conclusion of the action. This terminative meaning is expressed through lexical words followed by the tense markers.
Expressed by the expressive root verbs *-pai* 'finish'

32) panda   kʰina   pai-nai
    program   tomorrow   finish-FUT
    'the program will conclude tomorrow'

33) aŋ   sii-mani   pai-ri-kʰa
    I   write-NOMZ   finish-give-PST
    'I stopped writing'

Expressed by the expressive root verbs *-tʰak* 'stop'

34) watii   tʰak-kʰa
    rain   stop-PST
    'the rain ceased'

35) bɔ   cuwak   niŋ-mani   mi-tʰak-ri-kʰa
    he   alcohol drink-NOMZ   CP-stop-give-PST
    'he stopped drinking alcohol'

Expressed by the expressive root verbs *-cɔ* 'split'

36) bini   laŋma   cɔ-kʰa
    his   life   split-PST
    'his life has ended'

The terminative aspect in examples (32-33) the root verb *pai* 'finish, *tʰak* 'stop' in (34-35), and *cɔ* 'split' in (36) stands as free morpheme and followed by tense suffixes. The sentence describes an action or state that reaches its endpoint or conclusion. This is the only aspect which doesn't fall into grammatical aspect rather than falls into the category of lexical aspect in Kokborok.

The terminative aspect is used to indicate that an action has been completed or terminated (e.g., 'I finished the work'). In languages with a terminative aspect, a specific marker signals the completion of an event. Kokborok does not have a clear terminative aspect marker, and actions that could be understood as completed or terminated may be expressed through the verb followed by the tense suffixes that imply the action being stop or terminated. Furthermore, the different root verbs with the tense suffixes can be a polysemous of the terminative aspect as can be seen in the examples from (32) to (36) which are expressed by different verbs implying the meaning of terminative aspect.

Conclusion

In this paper, it was discussed various aspect found in Kokborok language. It is observed that verbs are marked by tenses of present, past and future in Kokborok. It is also observed that the occurrence of tense and aspect in Kokborok follows the constituent pattern of subject-object-verb (SOV), the pattern of aspect in Kokborok will follow as verb-aspect-tense. Unlike English, Kokborok aspect falls into the entity of single set without its counterpart. So, six types of aspect markers are found in Kokborok. It is also observed that excluding terminative aspect, all the aspect markers are suffixed to the root verbs in the language. All the aspects in Kokborok can occur with the three person's criterion, i.e., first, second and third. The four types of aspect- progressive, inceptive, completive, and iterative have no complexity and are easily traceable in the language. The only aspect that is used with reduplication is habitual aspect. The terminative aspect is expressed by different root verbs indicating the action of termination or conclusion. This complexity of terminative aspect needs further investigation. It can be concluded that Kokborok marks aspect grammatically.

Abbreviations

COMPL	:	Completive aspect
CP	:	Causative prefix
DEF	:	Definite future
EV	:	Existential verb
FUT	:	Future tense
HAB	:	Habitual aspect
IMP	:	Imperative
INCP	:	Inceptive aspect
IND	:	Indefinite future
ITR	:	Iterative aspect
LOC	:	Locative case
NOMZ	:	Nominalizer
PRG	:	Progressive aspect
PRT	:	Present tense
PST	:	Past tense
SOV	:	Subject Object Verb
TTAADC	:	Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council

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A Preliminary study of Chokri tones

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Abstract

This paper examines the tone system of Chokri in Pholami variety of Phek district. Chokri is an understudied language and there are not many resources available. The tone in this paper is targeted at a lexical level. This paper is a part of ongoing research and quantitative measures have been taken to normalize the pitch properties. There are four level tones, namely, Extra-High, High, Mid and Low, and a Contour tone, namely, Mid-Rising. For tone identification, the z-score normalization has been implemented to represent the pitch normalization of all speakers. For tone markings, the diacritics have been used respectively; Extra-High [˥], High [˦], Mid [˧], Low [˩] and Mid-Rising [˧˦].

Keywords – Chokri, Naga, Tibeto-Burman, Chakhesang, tones

1.Introduction

Naga languages are rich in dialects and Chokri being a language of a major tribe, has different varieties of its language spoken in each village where tones play a major role in the language. Burling (2003) [1] placed the Chokri language in the Angami-Pochuri group in his classification of the Tibeto-Burman Languages of Northeast India (Ntenyi in Marrison 1967). Chokri is one of the eighteenth Naga languages and one of the dialects spoken by the Chakhesang tribe of Phek district, Nagaland in the northeastern part of India. Formerly known as the Eastern Angami, Chakhesang is an acronym of the three sub-tribes Cha-Chakru or Chokri, Khe-Khezha, and Sang-Sangtam (Pochury). The Sangtam-Pochury mentioned as part of the tribe because of migration in the past, the five Sangtam villages and three Rengma villages established themselves in the Pochury vicinity in the Chakhesang area. Pochury tribe was later recognized as a separate tribe from Chakhesang in 1991 by the census of India. Even so, there are still several small communities living in Phek district as Chakhesangs, like the Poumai, Sumi, and Rengma tribes. Thus, it is said that Chakhesang is a conglomeration of Chokri, Khezha, Poumai, Sumi, Rengma and Pochury (Pou, 2016). Chakhesang tribe has three varieties of language: Chokri, Khezha, and Poula, where Chokri language is spoken on a larger scale.

The three main linguistic groups in Phek district are Chokri with a population of 95,576, Khezha – 34,363 and Pochury - 18,307 (2001 census). The accent of each dialect varies from village to village even among these three linguistic groups (District Profile). Chokri is much closer to Angami language than with Khezha and Pochury due to its phonemic and lexical similarities, but they are not mutually intelligible. According to 2011 census[1], Chokri speakers have a population of 111,062.

The Chokri Language Committee set up in 1968 has been taking an active role for the preservation and development of the language. The language is taught at the primary level. There are three earlier known sources on Chokri phonology presented by Marrison (1967), Vikuosa Nienu (1990), and Brian Bielenberg and Zhalie Nienu (2001), and also in recent publications, linguists have published papers on the language by Gogoi, Tetseo and Gope (2023) and Gope et.al. (2024).

1.   Methods
2.1   Data preparation and participants

For this study, a set of eight toneme minimal pairs was prepared in monosyllables where all the onsets were any of the 33 consonants and the 7 vowels. It contains a list of 76 target words in isolation which were repeated 3 times in sentence form. A total number of 620 tokens were analyzed focusing only on the target words. The participants were 3 female and 3 male native speakers residing in their native place Pholami village located in Phek district of Nagaland at the time of interview, translations, and recording. The age range is from 26 – 78 years old.

2.2   Recordings

The tool used for audio recordings is a Sony ICD-PX470 Digital Voice Recorder with a built-in microphone at a sampling rate of 44.1 Hz. Before the recording, they were given time to look at the data which were written in Chokri and English. They were asked to repeat the target words three times in a calm manner. For the sentences, they were asked to articulate the exact tonal production they use during normal conversations. The total duration of recordings done for every speaker took about 1 hour. The participants were met on alternate days in a secluded area for better recording.

1.3   Data annotation

The data recorded were saved in WAV audio format and annotated in the sound analyzing software Praat (6.2.14) in four tiers: phoneme, tone, word, and gloss as in the figure below:

[1]https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chokri_language
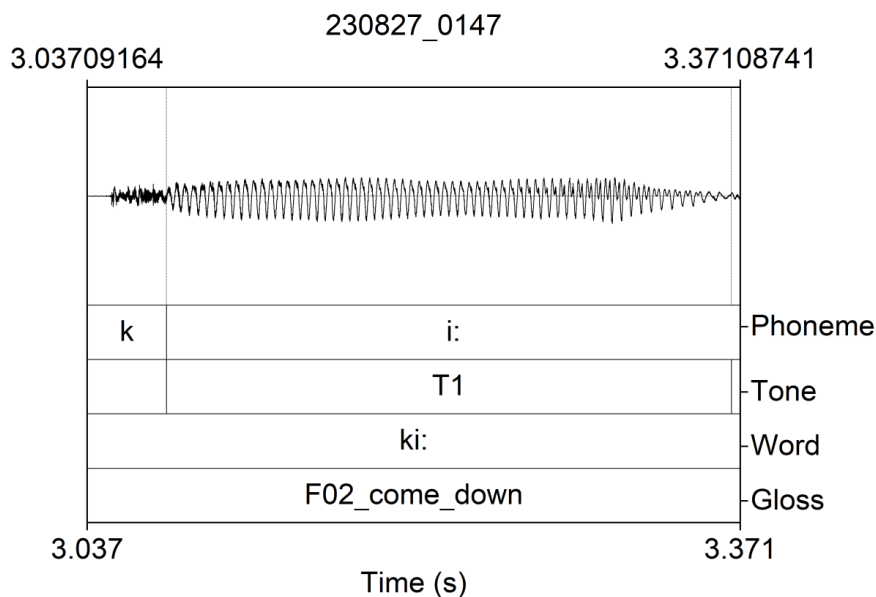
Figure 1: Data annotation

3.   Syllable Structure

To understand tone, it is imperative that the syllable structure of the language is understood. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Chokri has two types of syllables: open syllable, which minimally consists of an onset, a nucleus and a tone; and closed syllables, which consist of an onset, a nucleus, and a coda. Closed syllables are rare in this variety and have been found in very few words that require more extensive data collection.

Almost all languages worldwide have a common syllable structure comprising an onset (consonant) and a nucleus (vowel) CV. The canonical shape of Chokri syllable consists of an optional onset, an obligatory vowel nucleus and a tone as shown in the linear structure:

σ = (C) V T

Here, σ represents syllable, C represents consonant, V represents vowel and T represents tone. It can also be represented in the hierarchical structure as shown in figure 2:
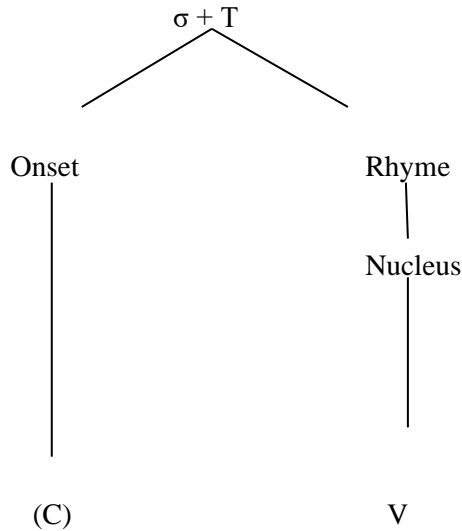

Figure 2: Syllable Structure of Chokri

The following table shows the distribution of possible syllabic constituents within a syllable:

C	V	T
p pʰ pʰɻ b t tʰ d k kʰ kʰɻ g m mʰ n nʰ ɲ ɲ̊ ŋ r ʧ ʧʰ ʤ f v s z ʃ ʒ ʦ ʣ h ɻ l j	i ɨ u ɛ ə ɐ o	High High-Mid Mid Mid-Rising Low

Table 1: Phonotactic distribution of syllable constituents

As mentioned, Chokri has both open and closed syllables. In monosyllabic structures, the open syllables have formations like V, CV, CCV; whereas, the closed syllables have structures like C, VC, CVC.

Open or light syllables are those syllables that end with a short vowel. Some examples are:

1) V   –   *i*   [iˀ]   'I/me'

   o   [oˌ]   'okay'

   u   [uɟ]   'he/she'

2) CV	–	*pü*	[pɨꜜ]	'one'
		me	[mɛ˥]	'fire'
		to	[to˥]	'burn'
		che	[ʧɛ˧]	'wet'
3) CCV	–	*tra*	[tɹɐ˥]	'drink'
		thrü	[tʰɹə˥]	'bury'
		thri	[tʰɹi˥]	'moon'
		phri	[pʰɹi˧]	'read'

Closed syllables contain a short vowel followed by a consonant (coda). It can also end with a diphthong or a long vowel with a coda in some languages. The peak of sonority as we know is the nucleus of a syllable i.e. a vowel which has the most sonorous sounds. However, in some cases, sonorous consonants like the nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ or liquid /l/ acts as an entire syllable on its own without a vowel.

In Chokri, closed syllables are less and are found in a few words only. It ends with a sonorous nasal consonant which function as a syllable without any accompanying vowel. These consonants are also known as syllabic consonants and are marked by a vertical line. Some examples are:

4)	C	-	*n*	**[n̩˧]**	'laugh'
5)	VC	-	*un*	**[u˧ n̩˧]**	'he/she'
6)	CVC	-	*thün*	**[tʰə˧ n̩˥]**	'to smell'
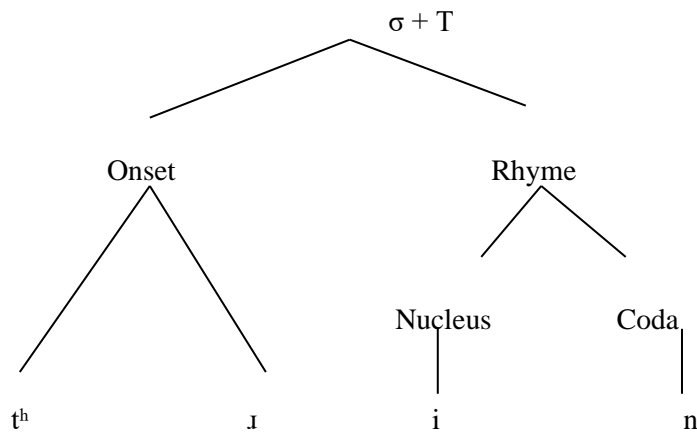
Figure 3: Chokri closed syllable structure *thrin* - 'Star'

Chokri being an agglutinative language, also has CVC structure in the transitive verb 'want' in examples like:

7)	**/ti.n-sa.mo/**	**[ti˩ n̩˧ sa˧ mo˩]**	'do not want to eat'
	/ba.n-sa.mo/	**[ba˥ n̩˧ sa˧ mo˩]**	'do not want to sit or stay'
	/kho.n-sa.mo/	**[kʰɔ˥ n̩˧ sa˧ mo˩]**	'do not want to go up'
	/vo.n-sa.mo/	**[vo˥ n̩˧ sa˧ mo˩]**	'do not want to come'

Heavy syllables are explained as syllables having a branching nucleus (long vowel or diphthong) or a branching rime (closed syllables). The branching nucleus abbreviated as CVV which contains either a long vowel or diphthong is also found in Chokri. Examples are:

8)	CVV	-	*chü*	/tʃʰɘ/	[tʃʰɘ:˥]	'bangles'
			chü	/tʃʰɘ/	[tʃʰɘ:˥]	'millet'
			she	/ʃɛ/	[ʃɛ:˥]	'python'
			khi	/kʰi/	[kʰi:˥]	'grain storage basket'
			ki	/ki/	[ki:˥]	'come down'
			kho	/kʰo/	[kʰo:˥]	'come up'
			nie	/niɛ/	[niɛ˦]	'thousand'
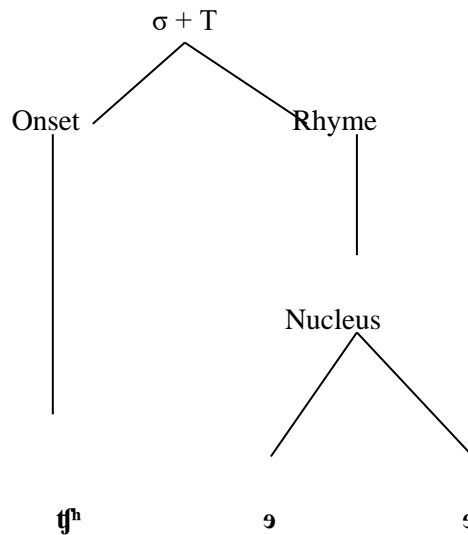
Figure 4: Branching nucleus syllable structure *chüü* - 'bangles'

From the above data, Chokri has both open and closed syllables where open syllables are more frequent than closed syllables. In closed or heavy syllables, the syllabic consonant /n/, the long vowels and the diphthong are the only known codas in this study.

2. Analysis

As mentioned above, Chokri has four level tones i.e., Extra-high, High, Mid and Low, and a contour tone which is Mid-Rising. Like most of the South East-Asian languages, the tones in Chokri also show its importance in the language to provide semantic meaning. As with most of the speakers in the world, the female speakers have a high pitch tendency than male speakers. In Chokri as well, this has been observed.

Fig. 2 and 3 shows the pitch plots of one female and one male speaker producing the distinct level tones found in the language. In table 2, the Extra High tones are labeled as T1, High tone as T2, Mid tone as T3 and Low tone as T4.

Female		Male	
Tone	**Pitch in Hertz (approx)**	**Tone**	**Pitch in Hertz (approx)**
T1	240-270 hertz	T1	170-200 hertz
T2	225-240 hertz	T2	160-170 hertz
T3	190-225 hertz	T3	110-150 hertz
T4	160-190 hertz	T4	100-110 hertz

Table 2: Pitch estimation in hertz for one female and one male

Tones as universally known can change the lexical meaning of a word. The examples below show a minimal set of tones in table 3:

English	**Chokri**	**Word**	**Tone**
'gossip'	[ʧeꜛ]	*Che*	Extra-High
'house'	[ʧeˈ]	*Che*	High
'wet'	[ʧe˧]	*Che*	Mid
'torn'	[ʧeˌ]	*Che*	Low

Table 3: Minimal set of the four level tones

3.1   Z-score normalization

Raw F0 values of every speaker cannot be completely and correctly represented since it is widely accepted that male speakers have lower f0 than female speakers. So, for a better result of a normalized pitch between the two genders, the z-score normalization is used in this study. The following equation is used for obtaining the normalized pitch values:

$$z = \frac{x - \mu}{\sigma}$$

Where, x is the pitch data, μ is the mean and σ is the standard deviation. Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 show the pitch plot of one female speaker and one male speaker representing the level tones from a minimal set of datas. It represents the level of fundamental frequency between the two genders. This is done so to illustrate the average tone realization at an interval of 10%.
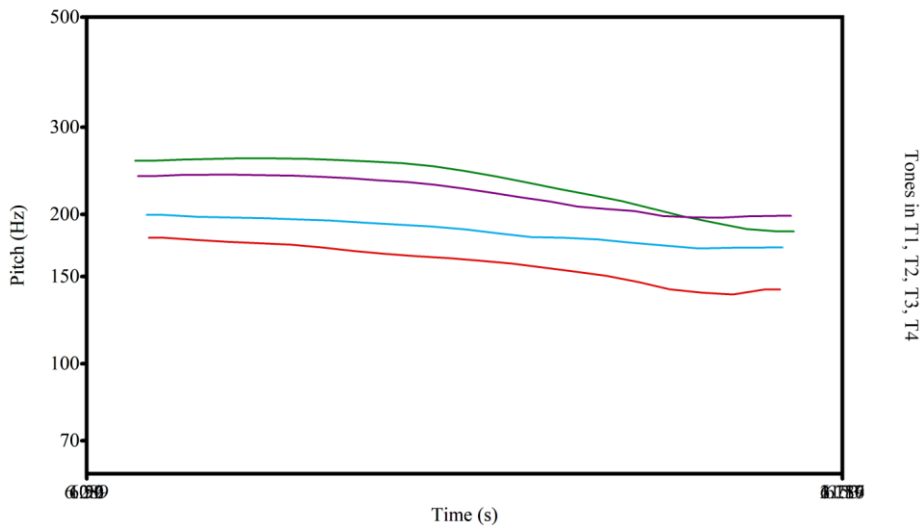
Figure 5: Non-normalized pitch track of a female speaker of the four level tones
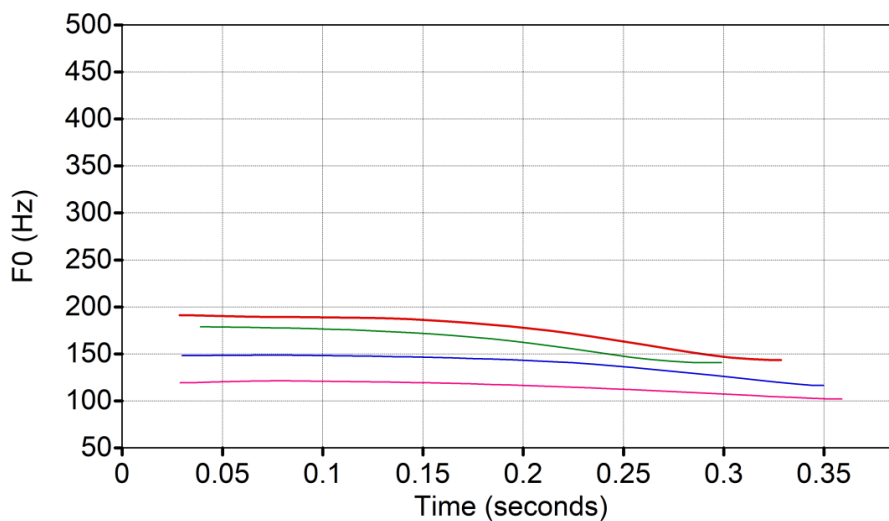

Figure 6: Non-normalized pitch track of a male speaker of the four level tones

3.2   Normalization of both speakers

Taking the f0 mean values at an interval of 10% of the TBU, a normalized plot is taken out. Using the script to extract the F0 of the pitch, its total duration, average and standard deviation are analyzed.
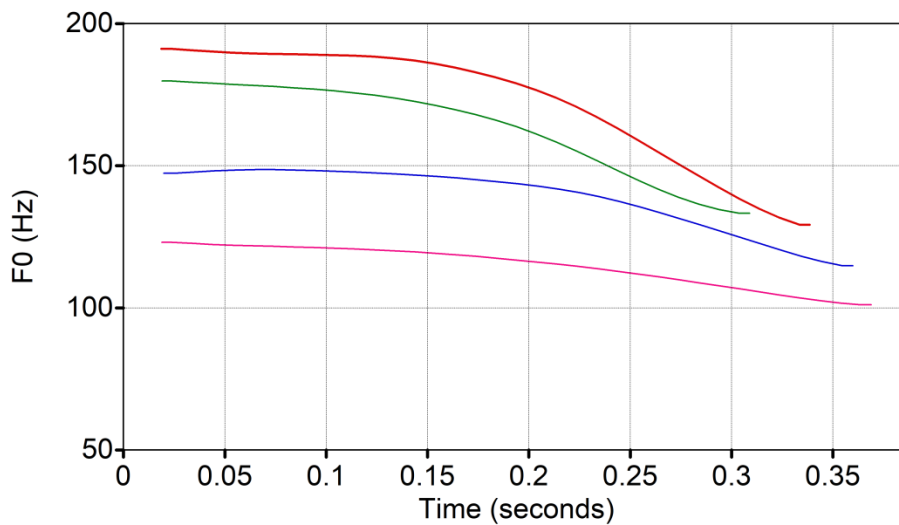
Comparison of smoothed pitch contours, Hertz:

Figure 7: Normalized pitch of both male and female

Table 3 provides the standard deviation and means of the f0 values of each tone. It is significantly evident that the male speakers have a lower pitch by looking at the total differences in hertz than the female speakers. This is because the human male has a bigger and larger vocal folds and the female has smaller vocal folds.

	Tone	Mean (hertz)	Standard deviation
Female	T1	218.3931136	18.22681779
	T2	202.8986327	21.05402984
	T3	178.1267057	12.40694191
	T4	155.7756482	18.42920755
Male	T1	183.3652	25.20644
	T2	168.0125	19.90059
	T3	151.5824	20.52265
	T4	127.6038	13.99907

Table 4: F0 mean and standard deviation of both male and female

The contour tone which is a rising tone found in only one word is represented below. Figure 8 and Figure 9 shows the annotated contour word in Praat of one male and one female.
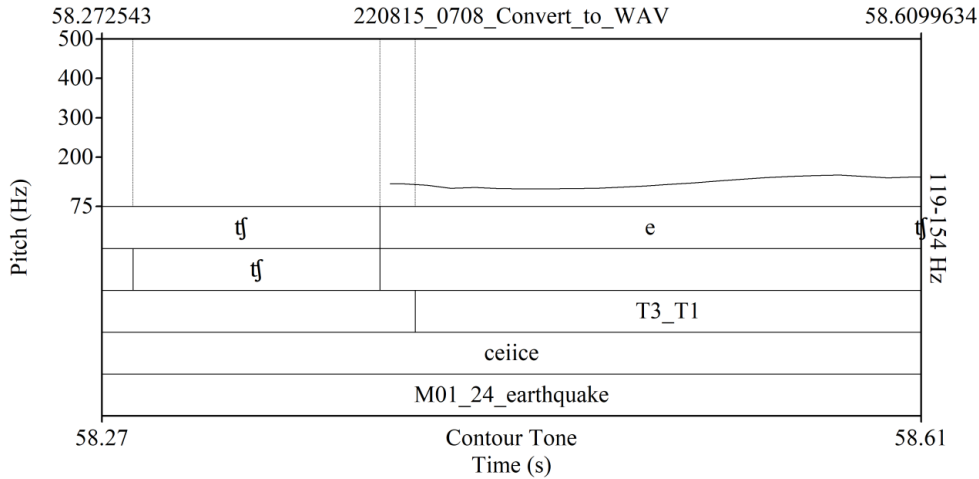
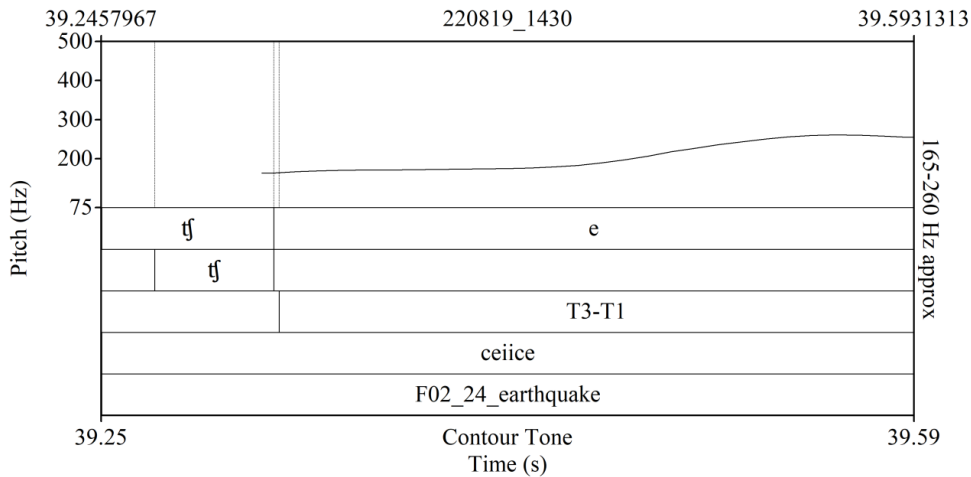**Figure 8**: Annotated contour tone in a four tier segment of a male speaker

Figure 9: Annotated contour tone in a four-tier segment of a female speaker

4.   Conclusion

This paper attempts to show the various tones present in the Chokri language. Two types of syllables were found in Chokri: open syllables and closed syllables. Closed syllables are uncommon and we see that the coda is a syllabic nasal consonant which means it can exist as a separate syllable like the vowel. In addition, the long vowels and the only diphthong also act as heavy syllables in the language. Although Chokri consonants were not discussed in this paper, in the syllable structure, we find that consonant clusters in the coda are absent or restricted. In the heavy syllables, the branching nucleus is illustrated with a diagram and a few examples where the nucleus ends with the long vowels and the diphthong. For the analysis of tone normalization, the z-score normalization method proved accurate for this study. As preliminary research, this paper aims to analyze more in-depth study of tones in the future.

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Language Attitudes and Maintenance of Kutchi Language Among its Minority Speakers of Kerala

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Abstract

Language attitude studies gain more importance in multilingual societies to explore the possibilities of language shift and language death of the language spoken by the linguistic minority. For linguistic intervention and preservation of such heritage languages, extensive research on the linguistic situation and attitude of the speakers is necessary. This paper investigates attitudes of a group of Kutchi speaking Memon community in some parts of Kerala, namely Alleppey and Cochin, towards the Kutchi language. Based on semi-structured interviews, this exploratory study looks at the three components of attitudes (cognitive, affective, behavioural) of the participants. Two different age groups (15-30 & 55-70) are focused to study differences in attitudes between the two groups with a substantial age gap. The study reveals differences in the attitudes of both groups in various aspects, but an overall positive attitude and a desire to preserve the Kutchi language. In such a scenario, recommendations and steps to be taken by the speakers as well as official bodies of the government to preserve the language are also suggested.

Key words: Sociolinguistics, Language contact, Heritage Language, Language attitude studies, Kutchi language, Kerala.

1.Introduction

In today's globalised world, the prominence and need for sociolinguistics see a remarkable increase as more societies turn multilingual, with people from different linguistic backgrounds interacting and communicating with each other to a greater extent. As a direct result, languages come in contact. Language contact is one of the most interesting areas of research for linguists because of the various outcomes it produces and the effects that the involved languages have on the structures of each other. Although a common phenomenon, the results of language contact vary from language to language and cannot be generalised. Studying language contact situation is important that it is closely associated with various other linguistic phenomena such as language shift, codeswitching, code mixing, language endangerment, language death, and is significant in learning and preserving minority and heritage languages. Heritage language, according to Valdés (2000), is the language of the immigrants in a place where there is yet another dominant primary language. The preservation of heritage language depends a lot on the transmission of it to the next generation and may be influenced by various factors, among which language attitude is an important one. The attitude of the older generation is instrumental in transmission of the language as it is only with their sustained efforts that language can be passed onto the next generation. But as for the younger generation learners, factors such as their motivation to study the language, the need to study it, power and prestige associated with the language, attitude towards the speakers of the language etc. affects the learning process, and thus the preservation of language in the long run.

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As far as linguists and the State itself are concerned, protecting languages and language varieties and preventing language death is important to preserve the linguistic and cultural diversity of the place. Any attempt in trying to do so must be on par with the needs and wishes of the particular language speakers. It is in such a scenario that language attitude studies take an important role. Studying the attitude of the speakers towards their language will help in understanding their stance towards language preservation, and the 'need analysis' of the situation will help in taking the necessary planning and policy steps. A positive attitude would denote willingness to preserve the language and the negative attitude would let the linguist know and understand the nature of intervention required.

This study focuses on the language attitudes of the Kutchi speaking Memons of Kerala, from Alleppey and Fort Kochi. Kutchi (Cutchi/Kachchi) is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Kutch region of Gujarat and Sindh region of Pakistan. From the available resources and the response from the participants of the study, the Kutchi Memons are believed to have migrated to Kerala, a southern state in India, for trade and commerce in the 18th century. Since the main ports in Kerala at the time were in Cochin and Alleppey, these are the places that were mostly occupied by the Kutchis. Considering the fact that the Kutchi Memons of Kerala use their mother tongue only in restricted domains, this paper argues that the Kutchi speaking Memon communities in Kerala require a linguistic intervention to preserve their language; to avoid a possible language shift to Malayalam and thus to preserve a part of the culture and identity of their community. This paper also tries to examine the attitudes of different generations towards Kutchi language, assess their language use and competence to suggest methods for language preservation.

2. Background

Heritage language loss is a reality in most societies and has been researched by many linguists (Fishman, 1990; Carreira & Kagan, 2011). While all linguists agree that maintaining heritage languages is important, linguistics is not the only stakeholder. Various other factors such as psychological, cognitive, social/cultural, political, economic, pedagogic, legal, etc., also come into play in heritage language maintenance (Vallance, 2015). Language attitude studies occupy a primal role in heritage language maintenance and have been looked at under various titles, from different perspectives.

Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) studied the language attitudes and heritage language maintenance among Chinese immigrant families in the USA, and it highlighted the importance of parents' role in HL maintenance. They observe two major types of positive attitudes towards the language: a) Heritage language as a resource: where parents expect the ability for their kids to be multilingual to be useful academically in the future and b) Heritage language as a part of their identity: where parents look at the language as a medium to transmit their cultural identity to the next generations. Their efforts to maintain the heritage language is evident in their insistence on using it at home and engaging in cultural activities. Studying the attitude and competence of young speakers, the study shows how parents' efforts alone cannot result in language learning and maintenance but the efforts required from children's side and their attitude towards the language and culture, which is found to be often only developed at a later stage of life. Moreover, the study shows the importance of academic spaces encouraging bilingualism in maintaining HLs.

Studies on attitudes have also acquired great importance especially in psychology, anthropology, communication studies etc. Allport (1933, p. 810) defines attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related." The tri component model of attitude is one that has been accepted by scholars in studying attitudes in various contexts. This model speaks of the three components of attitude as being Cognitive, which is related to the thought processes of an individual, Affective, which is related to the feeling or emotional side and Conative, which is related to the behavioural aspect of an individual (Breckler 1984; Fishbein & Ajzen 1975). According to Gass and Seiter (1999), studies in attitude are relevant as it predicts the behaviour. Attitude towards a language, especially by its speakers, predicts the future course of the language as it is a decisive factor in the maintenance, shift or even death of a language.

Comparing the language attitudes across generations of minority language speakers help in assessing the present state of the language. Tuominen (1999), distinguishes two sets of factors relevant to intergenerational language transmission: one pertaining to a couple's conscious decision whether or not to transmit the language and the other pertaining to the success or failure of the endeavour. For example, a study by Giacalone (2016) that looked at the language use and attitudes of Sicilian speakers, both in Sicily and abroad, in the US, across four generations. The study showed a substantial decline in the use and competence of the young speakers as compared to the older generations. Thus, the language was found to be under threat, especially in the third-generation speakers, where the possibility of the language being transferred was found to be close to nil. Similarly, Siebenhütter (2020) studied the language practices and attitudes among young minority language speakers in Thailand and the results showed that the minority language Kui, was under no threat and that the young speakers could switch to Kui whenever necessary. The role of gender, social space (language domain or situation where a language is used) and other internal/external factors influence young speakers to use Kui or shift to another language. Prestige associated with the dominant language is another important factor influencing shift. On the other hand, factors such as sociolinguistic identity and competence were found to have been a motivation to maintain the use of heritage language. These studies clearly point to an increased effort from the part of the older generations for language maintenance. The role of language attitude of speakers is seminal in revival situations as well. Bell (2013) outlines the impact of positive attitude on language revival programmes and the need for a better understanding of language attitudes in language revival, especially in aboriginal communities.

On the other hand, issues with studying language attitudes have also been researched. Soukup (2012) explores the extent to which attitudes can be regarded as stable and reliable mental entities. Her study focuses on the requirement of a dialogue with constructionist theories, when it comes to studying language attitudes. Although the study finds a need to update language attitude studies' concepts and methods, the place of attitude studies in the constitution, negotiation, and (re)configuration of human social life is undebated.

Although studies on Kutchi language have been done before, they focused mainly on the history and culture of the Kutchi community (Bhatt, 2008; Goswami, 2003), the grammatical structure of the language (Keine, Nisar, Bhatt, 2014; Grosz and Grosz, 2014) or the very few literatures in Kutchi language (Savla, 1976). A sociolinguistic analysis, especially on the linguistic situation in Kerala with regard to the Kutchi community has not been done yet. In this context, this paper tries to understand the attitude of the two age groups (15-30 and 55-70) towards the heritage language Kutchi and its implications on the maintenance of Kutchi language.

3.Method and Methodology

The research employs an ethnographic study of the Kutchi speaking Memon community within the linguistic landscape of Kerala, where Malayalam is the official language. It looks at attitudes of the native speakers of Kutchi towards their language. Considering the limited scope of the study, the Kutchi speakers in two particular districts of Kerala have been chosen for the same, namely Alleppey and Ernakulam. Besides geographical proximity, this was due to the fact that the Kutchi community is more organised in these two districts with relatively high population, socio-economic structure, and religious organizations that facilitate community living.

The age groups selected for the study are 15-30 and 45-70, to compare the differences in attitudes between the two groups with a substantial age gap. For the same reason, the age group of 31-44 has been omitted. For the collection of data, the Direct Method (Garret, Coupland and William, 2003) is employed, through semi-structured, formal, face-to-face interviews and telephonic interviews. As a criterion for selection of participants, the snowball method has been used. 15 participants each from both age groups have been interviewed. Questions are structured at par with the tri component model of attitude (Breckler 1984, Fishbein and Ajzen 1975,): cognitive, affective and conative, which are related to the thought processes, feeling or emotional side and behavioural aspects respectively. The questions directly or indirectly try to address and find out all three aspects of the participants' attitudes.

The results of the survey were compiled and analysed to propose suggestions and recommendations to ensure the maintenance of heritage Kutchi language.

4.Findings and Discussion

In a multicultural and multilingual situation, it often becomes a difficult task to keep the identity of the minority group intact. A sense of collectiveness and cultural identity are crucial in heritage language (and culture) maintenance as it connects the individual with the culture and language more deeply and creates in the individuals a sense of protectiveness for the same. In such cases, the 'us' and 'them' feeling comes of use as the heritage language speakers find themselves wanting to retain their exclusivity. For example, when asked about the opinion of other people (Non-Kutchi speakers) learning Kutchi, 100% of the participants from the older generation were of the opinion that it is always good for an individual to learn another language. As for the younger generation, the feeling of group exclusivity was stronger. 40% of the participants reported Kutchi as a language exclusive to their community and that they would not prefer other people learning it. Whether they wanted to keep the language within their own community or not, both the groups wanted to avoid the death of the said language. This gives insights to the cognitive component of attitude as they think of Kutchi as a language that is closely tied to their cultural identity and believes that the projection of their distinct heritage identity is enabled through language. This is also affirmed with the participants responses on questions related to marriage within/outside the community. While most of the younger participants are ready to marry outside the community, 33% of the older participants highlighted the necessity of the potential spouse learning Kutchi to "integrate" with the community. Although this was not reported as the general sentiments of the younger participants, Kutchi as a linguistic marker of their ethnic identity was evident as even the younger generation thought "it would be good to have a partner who speaks Kutchi."

To study the affective component of language attitude, language use in private and emotional space was analysed (Table 1). The results show a clear affinity of the majority of the participants with their heritage language. The fact that for the majority of participants, Kutchi is the language that naturally comes to them during private prayers, while speaking to infants and while they are emotional, points to the fact that they have a close and positive relationship with Kutchi.

Purpose	Preferred language of the age group 15-30		Preferred language of the age group 55-70	
	Malayalam	Kutchi	Malayalam	Kutchi
Private Prayer	04	11	02	13
Talking to infants	01	14	00	15
When emotional	05	10	04	11

Table 1. Preferred Language of different age groups

Questions to explore the language competency of the participants gave insights into the pattern of language use and frequency as well. Although most speakers felt comfortable in Kutchi, they highlighted that their language is not the "same" or "as good" as their parents, which points to the issue of language dilution as a result of the language contact situation. The frequency of use has also come down as a result of the restricted domains wherein Kutchi is used. Both the issues of decrease in the frequency of language use and contact-induced dilution highlight the need of a linguistic intervention to avoid the acceleration of language attrition. Although the speakers of Kutchi expressed a positive attitude to the linguistic interventions, they also expressed hopelessness in the possibility of any such effort.

To study the cognitive /behavioural component, questions regarding identity maintenance and language use were asked. It was reported that they conducted annual events within the community to promote their language and culture, where they perform various arts in Kutchi and reinvigorate their roots. This was seen to be more organised in Ernakulam than Alleppey, and it stemmed out of a desire to sustain their unique culture and language. Similarly, participants from the younger age group reported that negative reactions from their Malayali speaking peers have not stopped them from asserting their distinct heritage identity. In terms of language use, questions were focused on identifying the daily language use/behaviour among the Kutchi speakers to perform their heritage linguistic identity. Although most of the participants from both age groups expressed a positive attitude towards their language, it was not reflected in their linguistic knowledge. For example, among the older age group, 53.3% could count in Kutchi, at least till 10, whereas 13.3% participants could recall the names of the days of the week. When it comes to the younger generation, 40% of the participants could count till 10, but only 6.6% of the participants could recollect the names of the days of the week. Similarly, majority of the participants from both the age groups could not recollect any of the oral traditions in their language, which is also suggestive of the lack of intergenerational transmission, besides restricted domains of use, and absence of need to use the language.

It is evident from the data that the overall positive attitude towards the language is not resulting in the desired progress of intergenerational transmission. There is a decline in the awareness regarding some of the key features of a culture such as the folklore and basic transactional words. Such a progressive decline could mean a complete loss of seminal cultural elements like folklore, after a few more generations. This possibility can further be substantiated with the fact 100% of the participants from both the age groups reported that they would prefer their children and grandchildren to know Kutchi, but it was not something they considered to be absolutely necessary. This can be amounted to the lack of commercial benefit in knowing Kutchi, as their business dealings are all done in other languages such as Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Urdu etc. Prestige associated with the dominant language Malayalam, lack of motivation to learn the language, absence of mother tongue education, extended period of contact and resultant assimilation with the Malayali community etc., could be cited as some of the reasons for this paradoxical status, which calls for a linguistic intervention.

5.Recommendations and Conclusion

The creators of the Constitution of India recognised the multilingual and multicultural nature of the country and made it to a point that the rights of the minorities were protected. In such a context, it is important to take initiatives to help the heritage community conserve their language and thereby culture. This study on the attitude of Kutchi speakers in Kerala reveals that the speakers, in general, foster a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. According to the survey, it is evident that majority of the participants still identify Kutchi to be their mother tongue, regardless of their proficiency in the language or frequency of use, which corresponds to a higher sense of cultural identity among the participants and a greater pride in identifying themselves with the language.

In this context, execution of language planning and policy would largely be beneficial to the heritage Kutchi community. A community-based language planning which is "motivated by local needs and desires, and shaped by local resources and opportunity structures" (Hinton et al. 2018, p.24) will enable the heritage speakers to maintain their distinguished linguistic identity. In the Kutchi context in Kerala, one major difference observed between the speakers of the two different districts was the organised nature of the communities. In Cochin, there were more efforts from the part of the people to uphold their culture, whereas in Alleppey, the community was loosely held together. A directly proportional relationship could be seen between the efforts from the part of the community and the overall attitude and wish to sustain the language. Thus, the efforts from the Memon community could be extended to include more presence in New Media- such as groups and YouTube channels, Podcasts, Blogs etc. that would raise awareness within and outside the community. Linguistic interventions in terms of creating awareness, immersion programs, and language retreats, developing a Malayalam-Kutchi bilingual dictionary, archival of oral traditions, creation of language nests etc., will also ensure revitalization, given the overall positive attitude the community has towards their language.

With every language loss, the human world loses, not mere words, but also an integral part of what makes our lives richer. As for the speaker of a heritage language, with their mother tongue lost, a part of their identity and culture is lost. "Maintaining the heritage language strengthens and reinforces bonds with the heritage community and leads to a greater overall connectedness with family and friends who also speak the language" (Vallance 2015, p. 15). This research on the language attitude of the minority Kutchi speakers in Kerala reveals that although a majority of the speakers harbour a positive attitude towards their mother tongue, there is no structured planning present in maintaining or revitalizing the language. More linguistic interventions such as community-led research, identification of language nests, promotion of intergenerational transmission etc., are necessary to bring about substantial changes. This would result in the deliverance of social justice by helping the younger generation have more awareness about their language and develop affinity for the same.

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Pronouns in Pochuri (Meluri)

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to describe the pronouns in Pochuri (ISO 639-3 npo), a Tibeto-Burman language under Angami-Pochuri group. It is spoken by the Pochury tribe of Nagaland, north east India. Pronouns in Pochuri such as personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronoun, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronoun are discussed. This study is concerned with Meluri variety of Pochuri, which is considered the lingua franca among the tribe. There are ten different dialects spoken by the Pochury tribe. The personal pronouns in Pochuri exhibits three numbers; singular, dual and plural. There is no gender distinction in the first- and second-person pronouns; the words /*hi*/ 'I' and /*nɔ*/ 'you' is used to refer to both genders respectively. However, the third person singular pronoun have separate words for female; /*ɲimzʌwa*/ 'she' and male; /*ɲimpʌwa*/ 'he' other than the gender neutral third person pronoun /*ma*/ *'s/he'*.

Keywords- Pochuri, Pronoun, Phek, Meluri, Tibeto-Burman.

1. Introduction

Pochuri[1] is spoken by the Pochury tribe of Nagaland northeast India. The Pochury tribe inhabits the Meluri sub-division of Phek district in Nagaland. Meluri is 166km away from the state capital Kohima. Its geographical coordinates are 25˚41ʹ0ʺ North, 94˚38ʹ0ʺ East. The Pochury tribe is believed to be a composition of different ethnic groups who came from different parts to the present location. The term 'Pochury' is an acronym formed by compounding the second syllables of the words *sapo, küchu and Khwiry* (Po+chu+ry). Sapo group consist of Sangtams, Küchu and Khwiry groups were from Myanmar[2]. The Pochury tribe were described by Britishers as 'Eastern Sangtam' or 'Eastern Rengma' due to the establishment of five Sangtam villages and three Rengma villages in the Pochury area in the past. There are thirty recognized villages of the Pochury tribe (Mepingthü, 2016). The census of India recognized Pochury as a separate scheduled tribe in 1991. Pochury is now the 15th recognized tribe of Nagaland.

Burling (2003:183) places Pochuri under the Angami-Pochuri group along with Rengma, N.Rengma, Simi, Angami and Chokri of the Eastern Border languages in his classification of the Tibeto- Burman languages of the North East India.

There are as many as ten dialects spoken by the Pochury tribe: Müluozhü[3], Mipfizhü, Tshüywü, Yisiywü, Akkezü (Apoksah dialect), Lürathüra, Sangphuyu, Mükuri, Kuki, and Kuzha (Khezha)[4]. The dialects are not mutually intelligible except Yisiyü and Tshüywü[5]. Other than the first six dialects mentioned above, the others are spoken by other tribes as well. Kuzha (Khezha) is spoken by the Chakhesang tribe in Pfutsero area, Kuki by the Kuki tribe. This study is concerned with the Meluri (Müluozhü) variety spoken in Meluri. This variety is chosen as it is the standardised variety and the lingua franca of the tribe.

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[1] The name of the language is spelled 'Pochuri' which is differentiated with the name of the tribe 'Pochury'

[2] In an interview with Nyuletho (native speaker from Meluri)

[3] Also known as Meluri

[4] From Pochury Women Organisation 25th Anniversary souvenir, 1992-2017, p.60

[5] In an interview with Lingochu (Asst. language officer of Pochuri)

2.Methodology

In this study, language data was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was obtained from Pochuri speakers (two male and one female) from Meluri area through interviews, sentence elicitation, and narratives. Secondary data was sourced from books, souvenirs, and journals which provided a broader context and background of the tribe and language.

The data in this paper is presented in the following manner:

First line: IPA Transcription

Second line: Glossing

Third line: English Translation

3.Previous work

Pochuri had barely been the focus of any linguistic study thus, little to no linguistic work has been done on the language. No linguistic work on the morphology of Pochuri in general and Pronouns of Pochuri in particular has been found. However, some linguistic study on the language can be found in some few writings.

Matisoff's (1996:254) 'Phonological Inventories of Tibeto-Burman languages' provided a data on Meluri where 34 phonemes are recorded: 28 consonants and 6 vowels. The syllable canon description is also given as (C)V. Ezung and Walling's (2021:72) 'Typology of Naga Languages: A Pilot Study' presented a comparative study of 17 Naga languages in which Pochuri is included. Based on their tentative generalization of the languages, Pochuri is said to incline more towards Group A with a ratio of 1:3 rather than Group B. This grouping of the languages is based on four parameters namely: i) position of the negative marker ii) wh-question marker iii) position of the adverb and iv) tense system.

The Pochury Literature Board which was founded in 1989 plays an active role in providing consultation to the literary works and educational courses. Pochuri is also one of the eighteen Naga languages which is included in the Nagaland Heritage Studies textbooks, graded structurally for class I till VIII, developed by SCERT. It may also be noted that on 3rd April 1957, in a general meeting, attended by Pochury leaders from 32 villages decide to adopt *Müluozhü* as Pochury common language[6], that is the lingua franca of the tribe.

4. Pronouns in Pochuri

The *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Crystal, 2008:391) defines pronouns as a term which can be used to substitute for a noun phrase or a single noun. As such, pronouns can occupy the same positions as proper names, nouns, and both pre and postmodified noun phrases, and they typically function independently as heads (Wales 1996:11). Thus, pronouns are terms which can be used in place of a noun and may function as arguments of sentences. In Pochuri, pronouns are free-standing forms that can function as and take the place of a noun phrase. Pronouns in Pochuri can be discussed under the following:

1.1. Personal pronouns
1.2. Possessive pronouns
1.3. Reflexive pronouns
1.4. Reciprocal pronouns
1.5. Interrogative pronouns
1.6. Demonstrative pronouns

4.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns typically refer to the persons involved in a speech act or a conversation which can be in terms of first person, second person and or third person referring to someone other than those engaged in a discourse. In other words, the third person is not part of the speech act (Siewierska, 2004:8). In addition to the

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[6] From Pochury Women Organisation 25th Anniversary souvenir, 2017, p.60.

person, personal pronouns in Pochuri have a three-number system i.e., singular, dual and plural, where plural refers to more than two. A paradigm of the personal pronouns is shown below in Table 1. The duality in Pochuri does not make a distinction based on exclusiveness or inclusiveness. The number markers */-sə/* and */-ɹi/* are suffixed to the personal pronouns to form duality and plurality in Pochuri respectively. A point to be noted is that the dual marker */-sə/* only attaches to the personal pronouns to form duality and it does not occur with other forms. For example:

1. hi-sə   kəm.huʒe   və   wa-tʰʉ
   1SG- DU   church   LOC   go-PST
   'We went to church'

2. hi-ɹi   kəm.hūʒe   və   wa-tʰʉ
   1SG - PL   church   LOC   go-PST
   'We went to church'

3. ʧə   aɲi   kɨɲi
   DEF   human   two
   'The two people'

4. ʧə   alʌsi   kɨɲi
   DEF   book   two
   'The two books'

There is no gender distinction in the first- and second-person pronouns; the words */hi/* and */nɔ/* is used to refer to both genders respectively. However, the third person singular pronoun have separate words for female; */ɲimzʌwa/* and male; */ɲimpʌwa/* other than the gender neuter third person pronoun */ma/* (see example 5-7).

5. mɐ   lʌsiʒɛ   və   wa-ve
   3SG   school   LOC   go-PRG
   'S/he is going to school'

6. ɲimzʌwa   lʌsiʒɛ   və   wa-ve
   3SG   school   LOC   go-PRG
   'She is going to school'

7. ɲimpʌwa   -ʒi   aʃuʔ
   3SG   -POSS   dog
   'His dog'

Table 1. Personal Pronouns.

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Person	/hi/, 'I' 'me'	/hi-sə/ 'we' 'us'	/hi-ɹi/ 'we'
2ⁿᵈ Person	/nɔ/ 'you'	/nɔ-sə/ 'you'	/nɔ-ɹi/ 'you'
3ʳᵈ Person	/ma/ 's/he	/ma-sə/ 'they' 'them'	/ma-ɹi/ 'they''them'

4.2. Possessive pronouns

The possessive marker in Pochuri is */ʒi/*. It is suffixed to the person pronouns to form possessive pronouns. The singular personal pronouns can be used in possessive constructions without the possessive marker */ʒi/*. For the first-person singular pronoun, the contracted form of */hi/, /i/* which can be translated as 'my' is used in possessive constructions. The possessive pronouns are represented in Table 1.2. The possessive marker precedes the plural marker and follows the personal pronouns to form the plural possessive pronouns. However, it follows the dual marker */-sə/* to form dual possessive pronouns. Some examples are given below.

Table 2. Possessive Pronouns.

	Singular	**Dual**	**plural**
1ˢᵗ person	/i/ 'my' /i-ʒi/ 'mine'	/hi-sə-ʒi/ 'ours'	/i-ʒi-ɹi/ 'ours'
2ⁿᵈ person	/nɔ-/ 'your' /nɔ̀-ʒi/ 'yours'	/nɔ-sə-ʒi/ 'yours'	/nɔ-ʒi-ɹi/ 'yours'
3ʳᵈ person	/ma-/ 'her' /ma-ʒi/ 'hers/his/	/ma-sə-ʒi/ 'theirs'	/ma-ʒi-ɹi/ 'theirs'

8. i-ke
   1SG.POSS-hand
   'My hand'

9. nɔ   m.pʰa
   2SG.POSS   foot
   'Your foot'

10. nɔ   ʒi   kʌɹɔ   sa-lʉ
    2SG   POSS   work   do-IMP
    'Do your work'

11. ma   m.pʰa
    3SG.POSS   foot
    'his/her foot'

12. mɐ   kʰu
    3SG.POSS   basket
    'his/her basket'

13. i-lʌsi   kɨɲi
    1SG.POSS-book   two
    'My two books'

14. tuma   aʒɛ   tə   i-ʒi-ɹi
    that   house TOP   1SG-POSS-PL
    'That house is ours'

15. tuma   aʒɛ   tə   hi-sə-ʒi
    that   house TOP   1SG-DU-POSS
    'That house is ours' (dual)

4.3. Reflexive Pronouns

In Pochuri the word for 'self/alone' is */m.ba/*. It attaches to the personal pronouns to form the reflexive pronouns. Some examples are given below.

Table 3. Reflexive Pronouns

	Singular	**Dual**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Person	/hi-m.ba/ 'myself'	/hi-sə-m.ba/ 'ourselves'	/hi-ɹi-m.bɐ/ 'ourselves'
2ⁿᵈ person	/nɔ-m.ba/ 'yourself'	/nɔ-sə-mba/ 'yourselves'	/nɔ-ɹi-m.ba/ 'yourselves'
3ʳᵈ person	/ma-m.ba/ 'herself,' 'himself', 'itself'	/ma-sə-m.ba/ 'themselves'	/ma-ɹi-m.ba/ 'themselves'

16. hi-m.ba   nə   sa-tʰʉ
    1SG-self   AGT   do-PST
  'I did it myself'

17. hi-m.ba   nə   sa-ve
    1SG-self   AGT   do-PRG
  'I am doing it myself'

18. hi-sə-m.ba   nə   sa-na
    1SG-DU-self   AGT   do-FUT
  'We will do it ourselves'   (DUAL)

19. nɔ-m.ba   nə   sa-lʉ
    2SG-self   AGT   do-IMP
  'Do it yourself'

20. ma-ɹi-m.ba   nə   sa-tʰʉ
    3SG-PL-self   AGT   do-PRF
  'They did it themselves'

4.4. Reciprocal Pronoun

Reciprocal pronouns are use to describe mutual relationship. Pochury uses the reduplicated numeral 'one' */kɨsɨ/* attached to the morpheme */ɲi/* 'person' to form the reciprocal pronoun; */ɲi-kɨsɨ-kɨsɨ/* which means 'one another' or 'each other'. For example,

21. ɲi-kɨsɨ-kɨsɨ   və   hu   lʉ
    person-one-one   ACC   wait   IMP
  'Wait for each other'

22. hi-ɹi   ɲi-kɨsɨ-kɨsɨ   və   kɨməze   lʉ
    1SG-PL   person-one-one   ACC   love   IMP
  'We should love one another'

4.5. Interrogative pronouns.

In Pochuri, the interrogative pronoun in reference to human, can be marked for singular and plural number but the dual number is not marked. There is no gender distinction with the human interrogative pronoun */tʰawa/*. The determiner */-wa/* is omitted and replaced by the plural marker */-ɹi/* to form the human interrogative plural pronoun */tʰaɹi/*. Pochuri also do not make a distinction between human and non-human references when it comes to interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns in Pochuri are given in the table below:

Table 4. Interrogative Pronouns

Singular	Plural
/tʰawa/ 'who/whom'	/tʰa-ɹi/ 'who'
/tʰawa-ʒi/ 'whose'	-
/kʰemawa/ 'which'	-
/mɔwa/ 'what'	-
/kʰela/ 'where'	-
/mɔken/ 'why'	-
/kəse/ 'when'	
/mɔta/ 'how'	

23. tʰa-wa   ɹu   lɔ?
    who-DET   come   QP
      'Who came?' (singular)

24. tʰaɹì   ɹu   lɔ?
      who-Pl   come   QP
    'Who came?' (plural)

25. tʰa-wa   nə   hi   və   ɲi   ɹu-na   lɔ?
      who-DET   NOM   1SG   ACC   with   come-FUT   QP
      'Who will come with me'?

26. nɔ   tʰa-wa   və   ŋu   lɔ?
      2SG   whom-DET   ACC   see   QP
      'Whom did you see?

27. ha   tʰa-wa   -ʒi   pen   lɔ?
      this   who-DET   POSS   pen   QP
      'Whose pen is this?'

The interrogative pronoun */tʰawa/* is used for 'whom' as well. Pochuri does not have a word for 'whose'. The word */tʰawa/* along with the possessive marker */ʒi/* is used for possessive construction. (see example 25-27)

28. ha   nə   mɔ-wa   lɔ?
      this   NOM   what-DET   QP
      'What is this?'

29. nɔ   ʒɛ   kʰema-wa?
      2SG   house   which-DET
      'Which is your house?'

30. nɔ   ʧe   kʰemɐ-wɐ?
      2SG   brother   which-DET
    'Which is your brother?

31. nɔ   nə   kəse   wa-na   lɔ?
      2SG   NOM   when   go-FUT   Q
      'When are you going?'

4.6. Demonstrative pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns refer to objects that are pointed out rather than named. It may be used anaphorically, this is seen as an extension of their primary function, which is deictic and directly indicate entities in the discourse. (Bhat, 2004:3). Pochuri has three-term demonstrative pronouns. These demonstrative pronoun forms are used to refer to both human and non-human references. The demonstrative pronouns do not make person and the dual number distinction. The plural marker */-ɹi/* is added to the demonstrative pronouns for its plural forms. However, when it comes to the remote demonstrative pronoun, the plural is not marked on it, rather it is marked on the following head noun (see example 37 & 38). The neutral demonstrative pronouns /tuma/ can be shorten as in the singular form but not in plural. The demonstrative pronouns in Pochuri are presented in the table below.

Table 5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Distance	Singular	Plural
Proximate	/hama/ 'this' /ha/ 'this (short from)	/hama-ɹi/ 'these'
Neutral	/tuma/ 'that' /tu/ 'that' (short form)	/tuma-ɹi/ 'those'
Remote	/ ʧəma/ 'that'	-

32. hama   i-lʌsi   (Proximate)
    this   1SG.POSS-book
    'This is my book'

33. i   ʒe   məŋa   hama-ɹi
    my   house   five   this-PL
    'These are my five houses'

34. tuma   alʌsi   (Neutral)
    that   book
    'That book'

35. tu   alʌsi   vike-ɹa
    that   book   pick-come
    'Bring that book'

36. tuma-ɹi   tʰʉʧi   iʒi
    that-PL   is   mine
    'Those are mine'

37. ʧəma   aɲupe   və-mɨ   (Remote)
    that   village   beautiful- DECL
    'That village is beautiful'

38. ʧəma   aɲupe-ɹi   və-mɨ
    that   village-PL   beautiful-DECL
    'Those villages are beautiful'

5.Conclusion

Pochuri's personal pronoun system is complex and distinctive, incorporating a three-number system, and a nuanced approach to gender marking in the third person. The possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns show a system that prioritizes number marking and flexibility in dual and possessive forms. The possessive system is marked by the suffix */ʒi/,* which combines with personal pronouns to form possessive pronouns. The language also contracts the first-person singular pronoun */hi/* to */i/* in

possessive forms, reflecting a tendency towards phonological economy. Pochuri also has a simple strategy for forming reflexive pronouns by attaching the morpheme */m.ba/* meaning 'self' to personal pronouns. This simplicity is mirrored in the reciprocal pronoun, where the numeral 'one' is reduplicated and attached to the morpheme */ɲi/* 'person' to form */ni-kisi-kisi,* meaning 'one another' or 'each other'. This construction highlights how numerical concepts are integrated into pronoun formation. The interrogative system is marked for singular and plural, though the dual number is notably absent, reflecting a potential simplification in this aspect of the language. The use of */tʰawa/* for both singular and possessive interrogatives further streamline the system, compensating for the lack of a distinct word for 'whose'. The demonstrative pronouns in Pochuri operates without distinction for person or dual number. They follow a three-term system for demonstratives.

Abbreviations:

1SG	- first person singular	2SG	- second person singular
3SG	- third person singular	1DU	- first person dual
2DU	- second person dual	3DU	- third person dual
1PL	- first person plural	2PL	- second person plural
3PL	- third person plural	ACC	-accusative
AGT	- agentive	DEF	- definitive
DET	- determiner	DECL	-declarative
FUT	- future	IMP	- imperative
NEG	- negative	NOM	- nominative
NR	- nominalizer	POSS	- possessive
PERF	- perfective	PST	- past
PL	- plural	LOC	- locative
RFLX	- reflexive	Q	- question particle

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Notes

A Note on Nomenclature and Place Names

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Nomenclature and place names play a significant role in understanding the languages of North East India. A couple of names of ethnic communities are derived from 'man', 'human being', or 'messenger', as in Nyishi (ɲi 'human being' - shi 'this') 'civilized being', Nocte (nok 'village' - te 'people') 'people of village'. One community addresses another community with a unique name. In West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh, the Sherdukpen community addresses the Bugun community as "Sulung", and Aka Hrusso as "Khnu", Miji (Sajolang) community as "Waro", Monpa as "Jomo"; the Dirang Monpa addresses Bugun people as "Munda", and Aka Hrusso calls Bugun as "Nike". Some communities like Lushai, Mikir, Karbi (Plains) and Chulikata replaced their original derogatory names with new names Mizo, Karbi, Mising and Idu Mishmi respectively. Certain terminology creates confusion regarding the ethnic or linguistic similarities. For instance, Koro Aka (ISO 639-jkr) and Hrusso Aka (ISO 639-3 hru) are two different languages (Post & Burling, 2017: 217). The Naga group of languages or 'Northern Naga' languages of Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh were suffixed with Naga like Tangsa-Naga, Nocte-Naga, Ollo-Naga to enjoy the benefits of scheduled tribe communities. Presently, the suffix is no longer used. These Northern Naga languages and the Naga languages of Nagaland do not show mutual intelligibility and are structurally distinct.

The village names carry the linguistic features, habitation, societal structures (based on clans), among many other things. These essentially identify the original settlers who may no longer reside in the same area owing to many reasons- one may be that the original residents shift from the area occupied by a dominating group to a place where their group or clan resides in large numbers. Alternately, the original residents may identify themselves with another dominating group name; in this case, there might be a change in the village name. In the Namsai district of Arunachal Pradesh, Tai Khamti has acquired an important status among Singpho and other smaller Tai groups for whom it serves as a lingua franca for inter- ethnic group communication. Thus, in Namsai (which is presently dominated by Tai Khamti), Nongtaw village was a Singpho area – the residents shifted to Wakhetna village in Bordumsa circle (Changlang District where Singpho are majority in number). Again, a village named Deobeel (old name, Nonglu) located in Namsai is a Singpho area; but presently these Singpho residents are converted to Khamti. Munglang village is a name of a Singpho clan but presently Munglangs speak Khamti. The village Lekang is after a Singpho clan name; presently the people of this clan identify themselves as Khammaw clan and are converted to Khamti.

The names of the places on the route to Assam from the Rupa-Shergaon area (in West Kameng district, Arunachal Pradesh) preserves the topographical terms, other nouns and verbs in Mey language as spoken by the Sherdukpen people. These are a few instances of place names:

Hingmu-duchhok   'red oak tree' – 'resting place'

Bokhri-lok   *bokhri* 'a raincoat-like thing which covers the head and body, made of bamboo/cane and leaves to protect from rain'; *lok* 'downward slope'

Sersing-mze   *mze* 'fairly plain track in the hill'

Lumu-ninjo   *lumu* 'road/path'

Kro-ri   *rĩ* 'thick forest'

Kaererĩ   *kaere* 'flood'; *rĩ* 'thick forest'

Stu-kho-chhi-thang   horse-water-to drink-place

Zudung-ya-chho-thang   monkey-stool-excrete-place

Khastokbao   *bao* 'small plateau'

Distanghor   *hor* 'track ([stoŋ-hor] 'elephant's track')

Bumpo-khmu   *bumpo* 'stupa'; *khmu* 'top'

Nayu-kho   *nayu*/*nayi* 'green gem stone'; *kho* 'river'

Kakum-zor   *kakum* 'roasted maize'; *zor* 'ridge'

डॉ. सुरेन्द्र आर्यन का जन्म 01 अक्तूबर 1976 को ग्राम- छाजड़, ब्लॉक- चकराता, ज़िला- देहरादून पिता- श्री साधु राम   माता- श्रीमती सामी देवी शिक्षा- एम.ए, बी. एड के अतिरिक्त आर्टिफीसियल इंटेलिजेंस का भी ज्ञान प्राप्त किया

भाषा ज्ञान- हिंदी, अंग्रेज़ी के अतिरिक्त जौनसारी, बावरी, बंगाणी, जुब्बली, रंवाल्टी, पारवती और गुर्जरी जैसी लोकभाषाओं का ज्ञान। वर्तमान कार्यस्थल- प्रधानाध्यापक प्राथमिक विद्यालय, दार्मीगाड़, टिवनी ब्लॉक- चकराता, ज़िला- देहरादून

उपलब्धियां-
विलुप्त हो रही वस्तुओं के लिए संग्रहालय का निर्माण,2023-24 में उत्तराखंड में विज्ञान शिक्षा में प्रसार सम्मान, 2023-24 में मानद डॉक्टरेट की उपाधि,2024-25 में शिक्षा रत्न पुरस्कार और वर्ष 2024-25 में डॉक्टर ऑफ़ लिटरेचर की उपाधि से सम्मानित।

साक्षात्कारकर्ता – डॉ विष्णु कुमार सिंह

प्रश्न: आपकी मातृभाषा का नाम तो जौनसारी है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: जौनसारी तीन प्रकार की है- जौनसारी, बावरी और देवधारी। तीनों में थोड़ा- थोड़ा अंतर है, मेरी मातृभाषा बावरी है।

प्रश्न: आपके समुदाय में भाषा प्रयोग की क्या स्थिति है ?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: बातचीत में मातृभाषा का प्रयोग कम हो रहा है। 60-65 वर्ष के लोग जौनसारी बोलते तो हैं लेकिन उसमें भी अब हिन्दी के काफी शब्द आ गए हैं।

प्रश्न: परिवार मे आपस मे बातचीत करने के लिए आप किस भाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: माता-पिता या बुजुर्गों से बातचीत करने के लिए तो अपनी भाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं लेकिन नई पीढ़ी से बातचीत करने के लिए हिन्दी भाषा के साथ-साथ जौनसारी का भी प्रयोग करते हैं, परंतु जौनसारी का प्रयोग कम ही करते हैं। बच्चों को जौनसारी समझ में तो आती है लेकिन बोलने में अटकते हैं, उच्चारण में कठिनाई महसूस करते हैं।

प्रश्न: पारिवारिक मित्रों या रिश्तेदारों से किस भाषा में बात होती है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: मित्रों या रिश्तेदारों के साथ बातचीत में अपनी ही भाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं।

प्रश्न: बाज़ार में बातचीत करते समय किस भाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: बाज़ार में बातचीत करते समय हिन्दी भाषा के साथ जौनसारी का भी प्रयोग करते हैं। अगर सामने वाला व्यक्ति स्थानीय है तो जौनसारी भाषा में बात होती है लेकिन यदि बाहर से आया हुआ कोई व्यक्ति है तो हिन्दी बोलता हूँ।

प्रश्न: कार्यालय मे आपसी बातचीत में किस भाषा का प्रयोग होता है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: कार्यालय में तो हिन्दी भाषा का ही प्रयोग होता है।

प्रश्न: पूजा-पाठ, विवाह और धार्मिक संस्कारों मे किस भाषा का प्रयोग होता है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: पूजा-पाठ जौनसारी रीति-रिवाज से होता है, मंत्र उच्चारण भी जौनसारी भाषा में होते हैं। पूजा-पाठ और धार्मिक संस्कारों के मंत्र जौनसारी भाषा और टांकरी लिपि मे लिखे होते हैं।

प्रश्न: बच्चों को शिक्षा किस भाषा में मिल रही है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: बच्चों को शिक्षा हिन्दी भाषा में ही मिलती है, अब तो कक्षा-1 से अंग्रेजी भाषा भी पाठ्यक्रम में शामिल कर ली गई है।

प्रश्न: क्या आपको अपनी भाषा और संस्कृति पर गर्व महसूस होता है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: हाँ बहुत । बाहर कहीं जाते हैं और वहां कोई जौनसारी भाषी अगर हिंदी भाषा भी बोल रहा है तो मैं उसके लहजे से जान जाता हूँ कि यह जौनसार क्षेत्र का है।

प्रश्न: भाषा का लिखित रूप या लिखित सामग्री उपलब्ध है या नहीं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: जौनसारी का लिखित रूप कम ही है लेकिन लोग लिखना शुरू कर रहे हैं। भाषा को लिखने में देवनागरी लिपि का प्रयोग हो रहा है। ब्राह्मण समाज के लोगों के पास एक पुस्तक है, जिसकी लिपि टांकरी है पर इस लिपि को जानने वाले लोग बहुत कम हैं।

प्रश्न: क्या आप चाहते हैं कि आपकी भाषा लिखी जाए?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: जी! बिल्कुल चाहते है कि हमारी भाषा लिखी जाए।

प्रश्न: क्या आप लोगों नें भाषा और संस्कृति के बचाव के लिए कोई समिति बनाई है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: भाषा संरक्षण के लिए ऐसे छोटे संगठन बन रहे हैं। जौनसारी भाषा में कभी कविता, कभी नाटक जैसे कार्यक्रम होते रहते हैं। फेसबुक और यूट्यूब पर भी जौनसारी भाषा में चर्चा हो रही है, अभी ये प्रयास मौखिक हैं लेकिन लिखित से ज्यादा महत्त्व रखते हैं। लिखित सामग्री सदैव रहेगी और प्रमाणिक भी रहेगी परन्तु उच्चारण ऑडियो और विडियो माध्यम से ही आएगा।

प्रश्न: आपके द्वारा भाषा और संस्कृति संरक्षण के लिए क्या प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: मैं एक शब्दकोश पर कार्य कर रहा हूँ, उसमें पांच भाषाएँ हैं। शब्दकोश के लिए 3500 शब्द एकत्रित किये जा चुके हैं। मेरे द्वारा पुरातन वस्तुओं के संग्रह के लिए एक वस्तु संग्रह भवन भी बनाया गया है, जिसमें लगभग 300 वस्तुएं हैं। वस्तु संग्रह कार्य के लिए मुझे ग्लोकल यूनिवर्सिटी, सहारनपुर द्वारा शिक्षा रत्न सम्मान दिया गया ।

प्रश्न: क्या जौनसारी समुदाय द्वारा भी भाषा संस्कृति के संरक्षण के लिए कुछ प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: गांवों में शिक्षा से जुड़े लोग हैं, उनके द्वारा भाषा संरक्षण के लिए प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं। कुछ समय पहले तक हमारा परंपरागत पहनावा लगभग समाप्त हो चला था, मैंने अपने परिवार के लोगों के लिए पुराना पहनावा- घाघरा, चोली और टोपी बनवाया । शुरू में जब एक-दो विवाह समारोह में हम परंपरागत पहनावा पहन कर गए तो सबसे अलग दिख रहे थे, लेकिन कुछ समय बाद लोगों ने भी पहनना शुरू कर दिया। यह देखकर लगता है कि समुदाय के सभी लोग एक बार फिर से जौनसारी भाषा बोलेंगे।

प्रश्न: भाषा को संरक्षित रखने के लिए क्या रेडियो, व्हाट्सएप ग्रुप, यूट्यूब या कम्युनिटी रेडियो जैसी कुछ योजना चल रही है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: अभी ऐसा कुछ विशेष नहीं है। हमारे क्षेत्र के नारायण सिंह चौहान (राणा जी) हैं, जिनके द्वारा फेसबुक पर एक डिबेट रखी जाती है और यह परिचर्चा पूरी तरह से जौनसारी भाषा में ही रहती है। मेरी भी योजना एक ऐसा डिजिटल-रूम बनाने की है, जिसमें परिचर्चा की तरह ही कविता, कहानी या अन्य कार्यक्रम संचालित किये जा सकते हों, कभी किसी कहानीकार, संगीतकार या अन्य किसी को बुलाकर पूरी तरह से जौनसारी भाषा में ही कार्यक्रम रखा जाएगा।

प्रश्न: क्या सरकार द्वारा भी भाषा संरक्षण के लिए इसी तरह के प्रयास हो रहे हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: मुझे नहीं लगता सरकार द्वारा कोई प्रयास किया जा रहा है ना ही यह सुना है कि सरकार द्वारा दूरदर्शन या यू-ट्यूब चैनल बनाया गया है।

प्रश्न: क्या जौनसारी प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में पढ़ाई जा रही है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: नई शिक्षा नीति (एनईपी) लागू हुई है, जौनसारी भाषा की किताबें बन रही हैं लेकिन हम लोगों ने 2018 से ही जौनसारी भाषा को पढ़ाना शुरू कर दिया था। इसके लिए कक्षा- एक से तीन का डिजिटल कंटेंट भी हमने बनाया है। आप इसे डायट देहरादून के यू-ट्यूब चैनल पर देख सकते हैं। एनसीईआरटी में कक्षा- एक से पांच तक का पाठ्यक्रम तैयार हो चुका है, इसका संपादन स्वयं मेरे द्वारा ही किया गया है। कुछ ही समय में ये पुस्तकें विद्यालय में आ जायेंगी। एनसीईआरटी उत्तराखंड की 22 भाषाओं का एक शब्दकोश भी तैयार कर रहा है।

प्रश्न: संस्कृति से जुड़ी वस्तुएं, आभूषण, कृषि-यंत्र, बर्तन और मुद्रा इत्यादि का संग्रह का कार्य जो आपके द्वारा किया जा रहा है वह भाषा संरक्षण में किस प्रकार सहायक हो सकता है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: संग्रहित प्रत्येक वस्तु का मेरे द्वारा बारकोड बनाया जाएगा और यह बारकोड हिंदी अंग्रेजी के अतिरिक्त जौनसारी में भी होगा।

प्रश्न: पुराने कृषि यंत्र बनाने वाले लोग अब हैं या नहीं हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: सीमित क्षेत्र है, यहां पर कृषि यंत्र बनाने वाले लोग हैं। धान की रोपाई से संबंधित कुछ यंत्र अभी प्रयोग में हैं, अधिकतर लोगों ने सेब लगना शुरू कर दिया है। छोटे-छोटे ट्रैक्टर भी आ गए हैं, इस वजह से बैलों के साथ-साथ कृषि यंत्र भी विलुप्त हो गए हैं।

प्रश्न: क्या परंपरागत रूप से बर्तन बनाने वाले लोग हैं?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: बर्तन बनाने वाले लोग तो अब है ही नहीं। मेरे पास 15 से 20 बर्तन लकड़ी के हैं, जिनमें 200 साल पुरानी एक परात है, जिसे बुरांश की जड़ जहां से शुरू होती है, वहां के तने से बनाया गया है। लकड़ी के कारीगर हैं, पर वह अब बर्तन नहीं बनाते हैं और अब इन बर्तनों का कोई खरीददार भी नहीं है। वन विभाग की सख्ती की वजह से भी लकड़ी के बर्तन बनना बंद हो गए हैं ।

प्रश्न: सांस्कृतिक पर्यटन के अंतर्गत भाषा और संस्कृति की बात की जाती है। क्या यहां भी कुछ ऐसा हो रहा है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: जो बाहर से पर्यटक आ रहे हैं, उनका पहनावा, बोलने का ढंग, कपड़े और जूते देखकर यहां के लोग आकर्षित हो रहे हैं फिर यहां के लोग अपने परंपरागत कपड़े नहीं पहनना चाहते । हमारा जो परंपरागत कोट बनता है, वह काफी महंगा होता है। कोट बनाने के लिए एक साल तक तीन भेड़ों को पालना पड़ता है, फिर ऊन काटकर धागे बनाए जाते हैं और उस धागे से 'चोड़ी कोट' बनता है। इस कोट को बनाने की लागत आज 12 से ₹15 हज़ार रूपये आती है।

प्रश्न: सुरेंद्र जी आपकी दृष्टि में वर्तमान समय में भाषा संरक्षण की सबसे बड़ी चुनौती क्या है?

सुरेन्द्र आर्यन: भाषा का बोलना और बोलने के लिए प्रेरित करना। मैं भी अगर बोलता हूं तो एक वाक्य में एक-आध हिंदी के शब्द आ जाते हैं, तो बोलना ही सबसे बड़ी चुनौती है। सामने वाले को भी इस बात के लिए प्रेरित करना कि वह भी अपनी भाषा या बोली का प्रयोग करे । लोग भाषा के महत्व को समझ तो रहे हैं, लेकिन गांव से शहर की तरफ पलायन हो रहा है जो भाषा के साथ-साथ संस्कृति के लिए भी खतरा है, अगर ऐसा ही रहा तो अगले 15 वर्षों में हमारी भाषा और संस्कृति समाप्त हो जाएगी जैसे-मसूरी का हाल हुआ वैसा ही जौनसार का भी होगा।

पुस्तक परिचय
झिक्कल काम्ची उडायली : बहुभाषी शब्दकोश

डॉ. विष्णु कुमार सिंह

'झिक्कल काम्ची उडायली' उत्तराखंड की भाषाओं का व्यावहारिक शब्दकोश है। इस शब्दकोश का संपादन डॉ. उमा भट्ट और डॉ. चन्द्रकला रावत ने किया है। इस कोश में उत्तराखंड की तेरह भाषाओं के पंद्रह सौ शब्दों को रखा गया है। इसका प्रकाशन 'पहाड़' नैनीताल और मुद्रण सरस्वती प्रेस देहरादून से हुआ है।भाषाई विविधता की दृष्टि से हिमालय की गोद में बसा भारत का पर्वतीय राज्य उत्तराखंड बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। इस कोश का नाम 'झिक्कल काम्ची उडायली' भाषिक विविधता को दर्शाता है। यह नाम उत्तराखंड की तीन भाषाओं के शब्दों को मिलाकर बना है, जिसका अर्थ है- बहुत सी भाषाओं की टोकरी. 'झिक्कल' शब्द राजी से, 'काम्ची' माच्छर्ग से और 'उडायली' जौनसारी भाषा से लिया गया है। इस कोश में जहाँ एक तरफ लाखों लोगों द्वारा बोली जाने वाली प्रभावशाली हिंदी, गढ़वाली और कुमांउनी भाषाओं को रखा गया हैं तो वहीं दूसरी तरफ केवल कुछ हज़ार लोगों द्वारा बोली जाने वाली जाड़, जोहारी, जौनपुरी, थारू, बंगाड़ी, बोक्साड़ी, माच्छर्ग, रंग-ल्बू और रंवाल्टी जैसी संकटग्रस्त भाषाओं की शब्द सम्पदा को भी सहेजा गया है। कोशविज्ञान की दृष्टि से यह एक बहुभाषी कोश है जिसका परिचय 'भाषाओं का इन्द्रधनुष' नाम से प्रसिद्ध, ख्यातिप्राप्त इतिहासकार पद्मश्री शेखर पाठक ने लिखा है।1500 शब्दों के इस व्यावहारिक कोश में मूल प्रविष्टियाँ हिंदी में दी गई हैं और सभी तेरह भाषाओं के शब्दों को बराबर का महत्त्व देते हुए, प्रत्येक भाषा के समानार्थी शब्द का चयन करके एक साथ इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत किया गया है कि उनकी समानता व भिन्नता देखी जा सकती है। कोश में विभिन्न आर्थी क्षेत्रों से शब्द लिए गए हैं, जैसे- शरीर के अंग, वस्त्र-आभूषण, खेती-बड़ी, आनाज, धर्म-संस्कृति, पर्व-त्यौहार और महीनों के नाम इत्यादि। कोश का परिशिष्ट चार खण्डों में विभक्त है, भाग (क)- के अंतर्गत विभिन्न भाषाओं की सांस्कृतिक शब्दावली और उनके संकलनकर्ताओं के नाम दिए गए हैं। भाग (ख)- में प्रत्येक भाषा की लोककथा देवनागरी लिपि में दी गई है। भाग (ग)- इस भाग में भाषाओं का परिचय दिया गया है। परिशिष्ट के अंतिम भाग में शब्दकोश के निर्माण में सहयोग करने वाले प्रत्येक भाषा के लेखकों का परिचय दिया गया है। यह शब्दकोश उत्तराखंड की भाषाई विविधता को प्रस्तुत करता है। भाषाओं का अध्ययन करने वाले विद्वतजनों तथा छात्रों के लिए यह बहुभाषी कोश बहुत उपयोगी होगा। शब्दकोश में यदि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय ध्वन्यात्मक वर्णमाला (international phonetic alphabet) को भी सम्मिलित किया जाता तो इसका प्रभाव और अधिक व्यापक हो जाता और भाषाविज्ञान के विद्यार्थी उस शब्द का सही उच्चारण भी जान पाते। भूमंडलीकरण के इस युग में यह बहुभाषी शब्दकोश उत्तराखंड की भाषाई विविधता को संजोने और संरक्षित रखने में उपयोगी होगा।

प्रकाशक: पहाड़ 'परिक्रमा', तल्ला डांडा तल्लीताल, नैनीताल- 263002 Email: pahar.org@gmail.com मूल्य: ₹ 250 (जन संस्करण); ₹ 500 (पुस्तकालय संस्करण) मुद्रक: सरस्वती प्रेस, 2-ग्रीन पार्क, देहरादून

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