

Language Maintenance and Shift: A Socio-Linguistic Study of Kumauni

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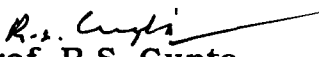


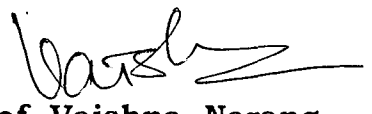
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CERTIFICATE

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I am responsible for any oversimplification and inaccuracies which may remain.

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

When languages come in contact, three principal outcomes are possible: a population may decide to continue use of their mother tongue for all functions; they may decide to use the other language instead of the mother tongue in all domains, or even decide to use the mother tongue in some domains and the additional language in others.

An occurrence of this type of contact can be seen in Haldwani town in the case of Kumauni language. Kumauni is a non-scheduled language belonging to the Indo-Aryan family, spoken by about two million people in the state of Uttaranchal (Census of India, 1991). Kumauni is seen as an inferior language, a language of lesser importance, and an impediment to be overcome if people want to progress. It is spoken in limited domains: at home and in limited outside spheres where close friends and relatives may meet and interact with one another. The language that one sees and hears in most public places is Hindi.

The state of Uttaranchal has two official languages—English and Hindi. English is the Associate Official Language of India, while Article 343(1) of the Constitution of India states Hindi as the Official Language of the Union, but not as the national language. Hindi is used as the medium of instruction in public school systems with English as a second language taught as a subject at all levels. Hindi is also a language of instruction in the universities. It is the language spoken by the majority of people at work, in schools and other domains.

This research proposes to study the shift from Kumauni to Hindi in the town of Haldwani, where some of the domains are seen to be showing maintenance in opposition to some other domains. There are no plans or policies to maintain the mother tongue. The absence of language policies in Uttaranchal vis-à-vis Kumauni demonstrates the importance of language planning with respect to ethno-cultural identity. If not undertaken at the earliest, some of these languages may no longer exist in the near future.

It is only through organised efforts made by the intelligentsia that a language symbolising the ethno-cultural identity can be maintained to some degree. Educated persons who understand language as an integral symbol representative of ethno-cultural identity have to make a conscious endeavour for the maintenance of Kumauni language before it is too late.

Aim of the study

This study aims to explore some of the issues related to Kumauni speakers in Haldwani town. Its purpose is to find out how far a language can be maintained through spoken form without the help of a written script. It also intends to do a synchronic study of the language shift and provide information regarding the language shift process, i.e. the direction of the shift from one's own mother tongue to the regional language or national or international language.

Though a number of processes are responsible for language shift, not all of them function simultaneously. Some of them are active in some regions whereas others are dominant in others, depending upon the socio-economic and cultural conditions. The degree of language shift differs in different time periods. Thus, the

time period has been regarded as an important factor to examine the process of language shift (Weinreich, 1953:103)

The study also reflects on:

- a) *The domains of use of Kumauni and the majority language, i.e. Hindi.*
- b) *The attitude of Kumauni speakers towards their mother tongue and Hindi.*
- c) *Language preferences at the work place and religious places.*
- d) *Role of language based associations or organisations.*
- e) *Language shift towards Hindi.*

However, it was far more important to know how language shift has occurred and the major factors responsible for it. The study hopes to contribute to the knowledge, which will aid in the creation of more sensitive attitudes towards the language maintenance.

Justification

There are several factors closely related with language issues in society – socio-economic, cultural, and political. Although a number of studies have been undertaken on the language shift, language maintenance and language death, the area chosen for this particular study of language shift has hardly ever been studied with respect to the above factors.

Sharma (1985) in his study has worked on Kumauni with respect to phonology and morphophonemics in two parts. He also

has to his credit titles such as *Linguistic Geography of Kumaun Himalayas*, *Linguistic History of Uttarakhand* etc.

The Research Issues / Problems

To study the impact of different variables and domains on language shift and maintenance when compared with the growth of Hindi and English languages in the schools and other societal institutions, the following queries were designed:

- What are the factors responsible for language shift?
- Has Hindi/English been incorporated in societal institutions other than schools?
- What are the domains in which mother tongue has been maintained and where has the shift taken place or is taking place.
- What are the steps taken to promote the spread of Hindi/English? Is the mother tongue included as an official or national language?

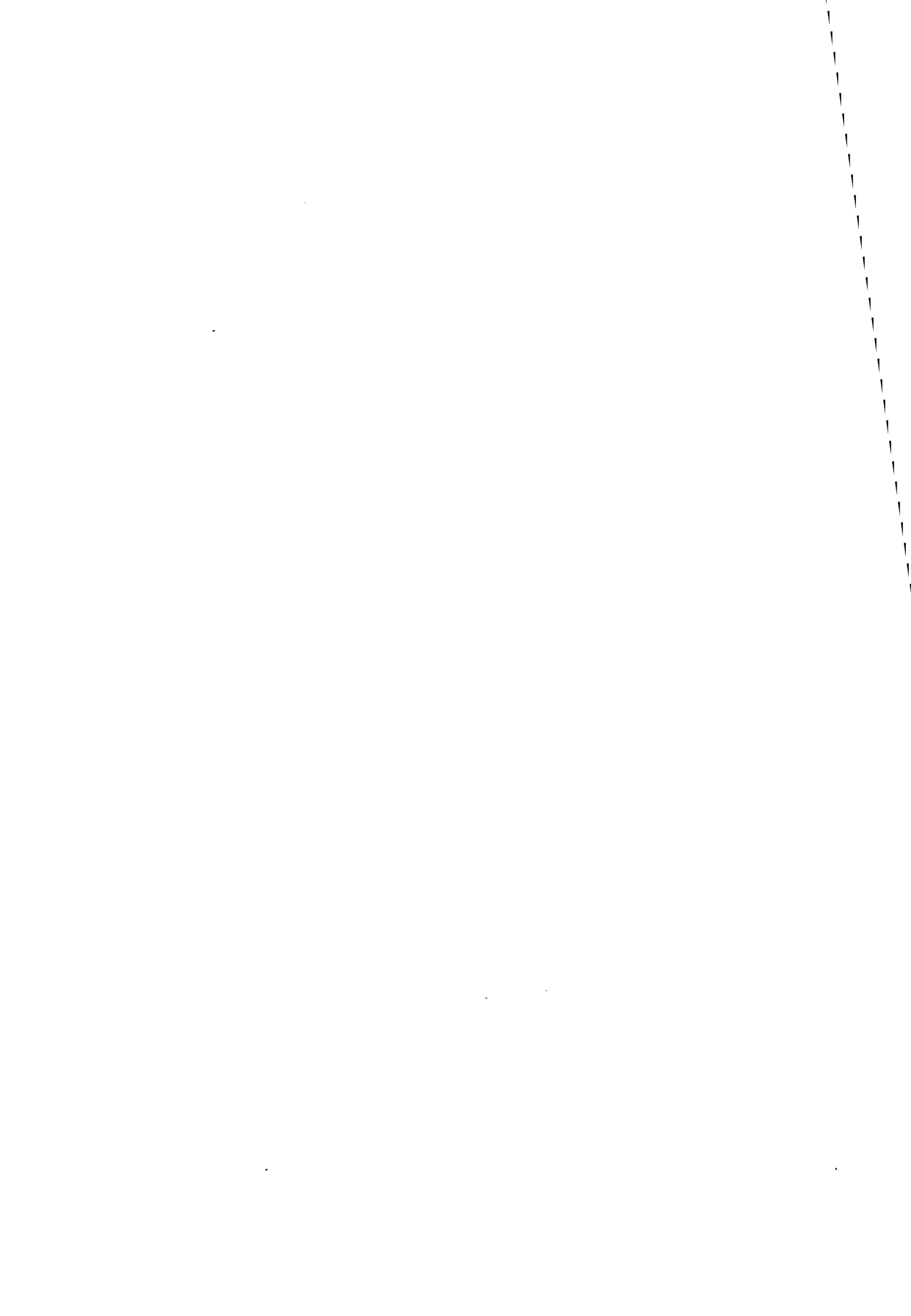
Limitations

There cannot be one single cause to which language maintenance or shift of any language can be attributed. There are several factors □ social, political, economic, socio-psychological and demographic responsible for language shift in a society. This study only attempts to explain the role of different variables in different domains of language use, especially an analysis of factors such as attitudes towards the mother tongue, Hindi, and English at an individual or personal level, which have contributed to different language choices at different levels. The research does not go in to the details of formal data analysis, due to time

constraints. The study however concentrates on the sociolinguistic aspects of language shift and language maintenance.

Haldwani as a town is a mixture of a number of different speech communities. Although Hindi dominates in most public spheres, other languages like Kumauni, Punjabi, Garhwali and Urdu are also spoken. Kumauni people form a majority of the population. Being a border town to the plains of Udham Singh Nagar and the hills, Haldwani shares a number of diglossic situations as far as Hindi is considered. Hindi, English and Urdu newspapers, magazines are easily available here. Kumauni language speakers are influential and dominant, but only in the few areas where they are concentrated. Until very recently, i.e. till four to five years ago, there were hardly any communities or associations for Kumauni speakers. This is now beginning to change. A large number of people participate in organisational activities, but the language of interaction, in general, still remains Hindi. Kumauni is not taught in schools as a subject, nor is it used as a medium of instruction. On the other hand, both Hindi and English are taught as subjects and are also used as a medium of instruction. Even Punjabi and Sanskrit languages are taught in some of the schools as subjects. Kumauni is used only at the spoken level.

The areas with concentration of Kumauni speech community show an extra effort towards language maintenance, as compared with areas of scattered Kumauni population, where a trend is seen towards lesser use of the mother tongue. After field visit and data collection, it was felt that at times respondents might lie about their abilities to use a particular language for a variety of reasons. In this instance too, the informants may actually have lied about their language use in different domains.



Chapter II

THE AREA AND THE PEOPLE

THE AREA AND THE PEOPLE

Uttaranchal, a new state was carved out of the northern part of Uttar Pradesh, on 9th November 2000. This new state lies on 28°43' to 31°28' north and 77°32' to 81°00' east. It is surrounded by Himachal Pradesh to the West, Uttar Pradesh to the South, Nepal to the east and China to the North and lies in the Central Zone of the Himalayas. The state comprises, in all, thirteen districts, out of which the six — Almora, Pithoragarh, Nainital and the newly carved out districts of Bageshwar, Champawat, and Udham Singh Nagar — constitute the Kumaun division and the remaining seven — Uttar Kashi, Chamoli, Dehradun, Pauri Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal and the newly formed districts of Rudraprayag and Haridwar make up the Garhwal division. The state is spread over an area of 53,483 sq. kms. which accounts for about 1.62 per cent of the total area of the country. The total population of the State according to 2001 Census (Provisional), is 84,79,652 lakhs, which works out to approximately 0.83 percent of the population of India. Uttaranchal is one among the four new states created after the 1991 Census. (Census, Provisional 2001)

Geographically, the state is divided into four zones — foothills, Lesser Himalayas, Greater Himalayas, and Trans Himalayas. In the foothills, terai has a marshy nature with moist alluvial soil while Bhawar is devoid of water. This state, also renowned earlier as the U.P. Hills is regarded as a distinction in South -East Asia and is known for its high location, natural resources, and gift of water, hydropower, and fertile soils to northern India. The high altitude mountains covered with

perpetual snow have gifted Indians with perennial sources of water flowing through the famous five river systems of Ganga and Kali.

As transpires from the geographical features, the entire state demonstrates a wide range of intra-regional variations not only in respect of topography, geology and climate but also habitational patterns, socio-economic structure and levels of living and development (Tewari, 2001).

Settlement pattern

Administratively, the entire state of Uttaranchal has been divided into two divisions of Kumaun and Garhwal, which have in all, 13 districts, 42 tehsils and 95 development blocks. According to the 1981 Census data, most of the habitats in Uttaranchal are sparsely populated and widely scattered. The location choice of villages is guided by such factors as accessibility to road, nearness to market, availability of fertile land and supply of water. Obviously, because of these attractions, larger size settlements are mostly concentrated in the lower reaches of terai and foothills of Nainital, Dehradun, Haridwar and Udham Singh Nagar, whereas the landscape in the upper reaches are covered with most of the smaller -size settlements.

Demographic structure

According to the 1981 Census, the density of population in the state excluding Haridwar is extremely low i.e. 116 persons per sq. km of area as against 473 persons in UP. Density of population is highest (332 persons) in Dehradun followed by Nainital (227 persons) and the lowest (30 persons) in Uttarkashi. With regard to the degree of urbanization, Uttaranchal stands at a better position (21.7 per cent) than UP's average of 19.8 per cent.

Interestingly, Dehradun and Nainital happen to be highly urbanized districts of Uttarakhand State. Largely because of immigration, these two urbanized districts have also registered the highest growth rate of population, hovering around 35 per cent in 1991 over 1981 as against the corresponding growth rate of 22.55 per cent in Uttarakhand (Mujoo, 2001).

The literacy rate in Uttarakhand, according to 2001 Provisional Census is 72.28 per cent, which is much higher than UP's average of 45.60 per cent. In case of males, the literacy rate is found to be significantly higher (84.01 per cent) in the former than 58.8 per cent in the latter. Similarly in case of females, the literacy rate is much higher (60.26) in Uttarakhand as against 35.3 per cent in U.P. (Tewari, 2001).

Migration of people, especially able-bodied unemployed people sharing significantly in the total labour force has been a regular feature. In fact, the low income resulting from the low productivity and lack of job opportunities are the two major factors necessitating large-scale migration of people from the hills to the plains in search of gainful employment and for the betterment and livelihood of their families. In the past there appears to be no study, which could indicate any reliable estimate regarding the rate of migration. However, a survey conducted by the Pantnagar University during 1983 pointed out that about 55 per cent of the total households covered under the survey had migrants. (Tewari, B. 2001).

The major portion of the land in Uttarakhand is covered under forest. Some portion is snow covered and some other portion suffers from steepness of slopes. In spite of numerous odds, agriculture remains the main stay of the population.

Infrastructure is a basic need to ensure efficient resource utilisation, increase in opportunities for people to participate in developmental activities and improve marketability.

As a social Infrastructure, educational institutions have to play a significant role in improving the quality of human resources. The number of schools per lakhs of population was more than the state of Uttar Pradesh during 1994-95 (Mujoo, 2001). Nainital with 79.60 literate rate leads among all districts in the state followed by Dehradun (78.96 per cent). Uttarkashi has the least proportion of literate in the state (66.58.).

As regards female literacy, Dehradun district is at the top (71.22 per cent), followed by Nainital (70.98). There are only two districts where female literacy is below 50 per cent, viz. Uttarkashi (47.78) and Tehri Garhwal (49.36).

The population pressure in Uttaranchal has increased during the past decade. The highest density of population has been observed in Haridwar district (612) followed by Udham Singh Nagar and Dehradun. Nainital is placed fourth in the overall population size of the districts.

Within Uttarakhand region itself, Kumaun has an area of 21,000 sq.kms. The district of Nainital has an estimated area of 6794 sq.kms, while the town of Haldwani has an estimated area of 24,247.23 hectares (Census, 1981, 1991, 2001).

The Historical Background: Kumaun

The history of Kumaun is a resume of the main dynasties that ruled over Kumaun and the movements that affected it. Historical patterns in Kumaun are not very distinct from the history of the rest of Northern India because neither the hills nor

the high Himalayas have ever been a barrier to cross-cultural movements.

The origins of the people of the area are shrouded in ambiguity, but recently discovered artefacts now seem to point to the fact that the original inhabitants were Kols of the Munda ethnic group. The present day Shilpkars are their descendants. A Mongoloid group, the Kirats, was the ancestors of the tribes known as the Shaukas, Baurajis, Tharus and Boksas now collectively labelled as Bhotias (Ramesh, 2001).

Atkinson and several other historians after him, maintain that the Khasas were an early wave of Aryan migrants who settled down in these hills. Though the Khasas are supposed to have played a significant role in later Kumauni history, there is no evidence of any existing group at present that calls itself Khasa.

It is said that in the middle ages Kumaun played host to migrants from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Bengal, Kanyakumari and Kurukshetra, all of whom managed to integrate totally in to the local culture. It is generally acknowledged that two main dynasties ruled over Kumaun until the British entered the region. These were the Katyuris (eighth to twelfth century AD) and the Chands who replaced them as the dominant dynasty and are supposed to have ruled from the twelfth to eighteenth century AD.

Around the eleventh or twelfth century AD, the downfall of the Katyuri Empire began. Historian B.D. ~~Pan~~ describes this to "*the curse of the God Marsingh or to oppressions of the later descendants of the Katyuris*".

Som Chand was the first of the Chand kings. When Som Chand became the king and established himself in Champawat, he was a princeling. However, in twenty-one years of his kingship, he enlarged his kingdom and the whole of Kali Kumaun (a part of district Champawat) came under his rule. The Khasa rule is supposed to have lasted for two hundred years after the Chands lost to them (Ramesh, 2001).

In the early part of the eleventh century, or 1065 AD, Chand resumed control over Champawat. Gyana Chand became the king, and ruled for 45 years from 1374-1419 AD. Chand maintained excellent relations with the Mogul emperor.

During this period of Kumauni history, the Chands were not the only dynasty ruling the area. The Katyuris and the Manboti also had substantial holdings, and wars among them were very frequent.

King Vikram Chand ruled from 1433-1437 AD. After him came other Chand kings until in 1744, the Rohilla Nawab of Rampur, defeated Kalyan Chand's army and he took shelter in Garhwal. A transaction was reached and the Rohillas left Almora when they were paid a sum of three lakh rupees on behalf of Kalyan Chand.

In 1779, the king of Garhwal attacked Kumaun, and, as a result, a Garhwali ascended the throne of Almora. In 1790, the Gorkha Army entered Kumaun and took possession of Almora.

The Gorkhas conquered Garhwal in 1803. They evolved a highly personalized system of administering justice, which contributed to the sufferings of the populace that they governed. Three forms of ordeal were commonly employed for criminals.

- (a) *the accused was made to carry a red hot iron bar for a certain distance.*
- (b) *the hands of the accused were plunged into burning oil .*
- (c) *the accused was weighed against a number of stones, which were carefully sealed. He was weighed again the next morning, and if he then weighed more, he was presumed innocent .*

In November 1814, the British army attacked the Nepalese army on several fronts in Garhwal. On 27 April 1815, after heavy fighting, province of Kumaun was evacuated by Bam Sah, the governor of Kumaun and was attached to the British provinces. (Ramesh, 2001).

In 1839, what was originally called Kumaun, but which included Garhwal too, was divided into the two provinces of Kumaun and Garhwal. The terai was formed as a new district in 1842, and in 1892, there was yet another reorganisation. The new districts thus formed were Almora, Nainital, and British Garhwal. The railroad was extended to Kathgodam in 1884, and Ramnagar was linked to Moradabad in 1907. In 1915, motor vehicles began to ply from Kathgodam to Nainital, and in 1920, from Kathgodam to Almora.

The Indian Independence movement did not create the same kind of turmoil in Kumaun as it did in the plains. The revolt of 1857 did not touch the hills, as Sir Henry Ramsay was the Commissioner of Kumaun at that time. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the national movement began to percolate into the mountains. Newspapers like **Almora Akhbar** and **Shakti** began to criticise the British.

In 1917, GB. Pant, at that time secretary of the Kumaun Association, led a wider delegation,^{which} led to the formation of Kumaun Forest Committee in 1930. The Kumaun Parishad was formed in 1916. Its aim was to house social political and cultural awareness among the people. The initial thrust was against certain British customs, which the local people had begun to hate. GB. Pant launched an agitation under the aegis of the Parishad against the Rowlatt Act(Ramesh,2001).

On 12th and 13th of January 1921, a movement was launched at Bageshwar by Badri Dutt Pande, Har Govind Pant and Chranji Lal against certain British customs. The Quit India movement stirred the rural masses of Kumaun. The two movements became part of the movement for independence in the Kumaun.

After India's independence in 1947, Kumaun and Garhwal were officially merged with the state of Uttar Pradesh, but in several respects their individuality was preserved. For instance, their systems of revenue and police administration are distinctive and different from that prevailing in the plains. However, since opportunities for employment is minimal in hill areas, there was considerable discontent and this fuelled the demand for a separate hill state (Pandey 1997, Ramesh 2001).

Geographical Background

The Kumaun Himalayas extend over 320 km, from Sutlej in the west to the Kali in the east. Nanda Devi is the highest peak in these ranges. The Himalayas are often divided into three broad regions – the western Himalayas consisting of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh, the central Himalayas consisting of Kumaun and Garhwal divisions, and the eastern Himalayas

comprising the states of Sikkim, Manipur Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram and the hill areas of Assam and West Bengal.

The Kumaun division till recently comprised of the three districts: Almora, Nainital and Pithoragarh. The new Champawat has been carved out of these three districts. The Himalyan plates lie down to the North, and the foothills of terai and Bhabar lie to the south. The height above sea level ranges from 180 metres or more along the foothills to magnificent 7000 metres in the snow clad peaks in the north.

The entire region is one of great contrast and varying landscapes. The steepness of the slopes as well as the sharpness of the contours is the most striking features of the northern parts. Even more striking is the variety and diversity of the forest vegetation and climate in the mountainous terrain, and the comparative uniformity of the terai plains.

The geography and economy are more closely related in the hill areas than in the plains. There is a close and high degrees of mutual dependence between the environment, resources, population, and development. This four-dimensional relationship is even more important in the hill areas. To meet the requirements of the increasing population pressure, technology is harnessed by man in utilizing the natural resources of land, water etc.

Economic development can be broadly decried as the process of improvement in income and the standard of living of the population. The main income, which sustains a majority of the rural areas of Kumaun, is partly from tourism and substantially

from the 'money order economy' that is supported by the Kumauni work-forces and elsewhere.

Agriculture as it is practiced in Kumaun, is essentially an uneconomic pursuit at present except in some scattered pockets in relatively fertile and irrigated valley areas in the lower altitudes. Generally, agriculture contributes between 15 to 40 per cent of the household income and meets only a third of the annual foodgrain requirements.

The migration from hills to the plains is an ongoing exercise. There are persons who have migrated with their entire families to the plains, but a very large number are of those who have left their families in the hill villages.

Kumaun has some of the most scenically beautiful places in the world. The scenic beauty and climate are the main characteristics of the hill areas that attract the domestic as well as foreign tourist. The hills present a different type of attraction in different seasons for tourists of different age groups and social backgrounds. There are opportunities for trekking for the younger tourists while the older tourists can take in the mountain views and enjoy the clean mountain air.

Nainital

The district of Nainital with wide varying topographical features – the hill strips, the bhabar, the terai and the plain and highly heterogeneous demographic and racial characteristics is situated at the southern rim of Himalayas. The district of Nainital comprises partly of hills and partly of plains and is bounded on north by district Almora, Pithoragarh and on the northwest by Garhwal, in the west by Bijnor, on the southwest by Moradabad and on the south by district Rampur, Bareilly and Pilibhit. It is

irregular in shape and occupies the southern and southeastern portion of the Kumaun division. The district has a total area of 6,794-sq. km. (Census India, 1981).

The district is divided into three main regions (i) hilly region (ii) bhabar region (iii) terai region. Haldwani that is in the bhabar region along the foot of the hills is a stretch of narrow belt of the country, only eight to twenty four kilometres in breadth. It is called bhabar because of being a waterless belt of the forest. The elevation of Haldwani from the sea level is between 1,200 feet and 1,800 feet. Although extremely hot in summer, the climate of this region becomes cool and pleasant during winter. To the south of the bhabar region lies the region of terai, extending southward, with an average breadth of 11 miles from north to south to the cultivated plains of the Rohilkhand division. The general appearance of this region is that of a plain gently sloping towards the southeast. Topographically, the region is akin to the plains, having good forests and jungles of grass and reed (District Gazetteer, 1981).

The mineral products of the district are various but of no great value. Limestone is found throughout the hillsides, while sandstone is equally abundant. Iron is found in various parts of the hills at Kaladhungi, Ramgarh parganas. The flora and the fauna of this region is diversified and deserves some attention. The forest below the hills and those clothing outer spurs, the most common and at the same time the most valuable trees are the Sal and Shisham (Census, 1981).

Nainital is jewel among tourist places in U.P. The district has been attracting tourists for sheer beauty and *serene environs* of the lakes. Brisk climate of hill stations of the district is quite in.

contrast with the enervating heat and humdrum landscape of gangetic plains. The district is a retreat for all the seasons of the year; it is a refuge from the scorching heat of the summers, enchantment in the autumn, a sport paradise in the winters and an angler's delight in the spring.

One of the most extensively cultivated areas is the town of Haldwani, with 88 per cent cultivable area. The rural area of Haldwani town is least served with educational facilities. The second largest proportion of 3.5 per cent in which markets are held is observed in Haldwani. Among the chief commodities manufactured in the town are cable wire, cement, sugar, television, fruit-juice, rice, lime, quilt, milk products, candles & oil.

Kumauni language and dialects

Media in Kumaun

Kumaunis could not participate in the 1857 war for independence, as communication was not possible. Feeling the need to solve the social, economic, and cultural problems, a debating club was established under the auspices of Chand dynasty king Bhim Singh in 1870. Later, the State Governor Sir William Cuer suggested that in order to build a rapport between the administration and the public a newspaper should be brought about. Beneath the editorship of famous educationist B.B. Pant, '**Almora Akhbar**', the newspaper was started in 1871.

The inference from the above historical background is that the ancient tribes in Kumaun were the 'Kols' and 'Kirat', which were followed by *Khasa* tribes, *Aryans* (Katyuri and Chand kings especially), '*gorkhas*', and finally succeeded by the British.

Therefore the Kumauni language dialect has developed as mixture of above languages/tongues (Ruwali, 1994).

A general discussion on language

The state of Uttaranchal is multilingual. The leading mother tongues in the state are Hindi, Kumauni, Garhwali, Punjabi, Sindhi Urdu. Kumauni and Garhwali have prominence in Kumauni and Garhwal divisions, respectively. Kumauni, which is the mother tongue of a major part of the population in Kumaun is not used as an official language or medium of instruction in schools. Hindi, which is the *lingua franca* and is generally preferred by the middle aged and young ones wins the positive attitude especially among the educated.

The Kumaun province is dominated by Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and Munda language-families. According to 1981 Census the population of Kumaun was 23,83,163 and according to 2001 Census, (provisional), the population of Kumaun is 35,63,969. The exact number of Kumauni speakers may be difficult to ascertain owing to the fact that majority of Kumaunis are scattered all over the country. Roughly, the number may be estimated at 18 lakhs.

Haldwani covers an area of 1223 sq. km. and is situated at the foothills of district Nainital at an altitude of 1500 feet from the sea-level. The literacy rate of district Nainital during 1991-2001 are given in the table below :

	1991(literacy rates in %)	2001(literacy rates in %)
Total	68.36	79.60
Male	80.42	87.39
Female	54.42	70.98

In case of females, literacy rate shows a remarkable increase in the past decade compared to the male literacy. This can be attributed to the awareness generation among the public. Presently two colleges, one polytechnic, and a number of coaching institutes along with computer training centres are located in Haldwani. There are more than fifteen private /government schools in the town, with two for girls especially.

The notably intricate history of Kumaun had a strong impact on its language. The variety of rulers who governed the region left an indelible mark on the Kumauni language. English came with the arrival of the British.

The history of Kumaun had an impact on the language preferences of the people in terms of day to day interaction and other formal activities. Though Moguls never dominated Kumaun, it can be seen in '*Jehangirnama*' and '*Shahnama*' that kings of Chand dynasty were on good terms with Mogul rulers in Delhi.

In the midst of 18th century Kumaun came in touch with Ruhels, as a result of which a number of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words made imprints on Kumauni. Educationists estimate these words to be around 1500 in number. The British arrived in Kumaun in 1815. The language of the court was Persian written in devnagri script, the language used by the judges was English in the decision making. Consequently, Kumauni incorporated English, French and Portuguese words along with Arabic and Persian words in its lexicography.

Pahari Language

Kumauni and Garhwali languages come under the group of Central Pahari languages. The word *pahari* means 'of or belonging

to the mountains', and is specially applied to the group of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan tract extending from the Bhadrawah, north of the Punjab, to the eastern parts of Nepal (Grierson, 1916).

The Pahari languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme east, there is Khas Kura or Eastern Pahari, commonly called *Naipali*, the Aryan language spoken in Nepal. Next, in Kumaun and Garhwal, we have the Central Pahari languages. Finally, in the west are the Western Pahari languages spoken in Jaunsar-bhabar, the Simla Hill states, Kulu, Mandi and Suket and Western Kashmir (Grierson, 1916).

The number of Central Pahari speakers in the British India was 1,107,612, according to 1891 Census. Although Pahari has little connection with Punjabi, Eastern and Western Hindi, and Bihari spoken immediately to its south, it shows manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Rajputana. The mass of the Aryan speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahari is spoken belongs to the *Khasa* caste.

There is a legend regarding a woman called 'Khasa' of which the most accessible version will be found in the Vishnu Puran. The famous Kasyapa, to whom Kashmir is attributed as his origin, had many wives, of whom *Krodhavasa* was the ancestress of the cannibal *Pisitasis* or *Pisachas* and *Khasa* of the *Yaksha's* and *Rakshasas*. These *Yakshas* were also cannibals and so were the *Rakshasas*. In Buddhist literature, *Yakshas* correspond to the *Pisachas* of Hindu legend. There are a series of legends connecting the name *Khasa* with cannibalism.

Many references to the *Khasas* occur in the Puranas. The most accessible ones are in Vishnu and Markandeya Puranas.

The Markandeya Purana mentions the *Khasas* as a mountain tribe. According to the laws of Manu, "looking at *Khasas* from the Brahmanical point of view, *Khasas* are the offspring of outcast *Kshatriyas*. Bharata's *Natya Sastra* and the *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira ask for one's attention". The former in the chapter on dialect says, "The Bahiliki language is the native tongue of Northerners and *Khasas*." Varahamihira mentions *Khasas* several times with the people of Kulu and Kashmiris. In his famous chapter on geography he mentions them twice, being from Eastern India and next from northeast (Grierson, 1916).

Bhattotpala, in his commentary on Brihatsamhita, quotes Parasara as saying the same thing. At present *Khakhas* of the Jhelum valley and some of the *Kanets* of hill country between Kangra and Garhwal are the descendants of *Khasas*.

Grierson further states that towards the east in Garhwal and Kumaun, the bulk of the population is called *Khasia*, and these people are universally taken to be *Khasas* by descent. The principal dialect of Kumauni is known as *Khasparjiya*, or the speech of *Khasas*.

Gujars entered India together with Hunas in the 6th century AD. They founded the Rajput tribes. They have a distinct language of their own called *Gujari*, connected with *Mewati* dialect of Rajasthan.

To sum up, we can say that regarding the Aryan speaking population of the Pahari tract, earliest immigrants were the *Khasas*, a race probably hailing from Central Asia and speaking an Aryan language. They were followed by Gujars, who invaded India about the sixth century AD and occupied the same tract—Sapadalaksha. Of these the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and

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merged with *Khasas*. Others were identified by *Brahman's* with *Kshatriyas*. They invaded eastern Rajputana, and western Rajputana from Sindh, and founded, as Rajputs, the great Rajput states of Rajputana.

Pahari languages, are much more closely related to Rajasthani. This must be due to the *Gujar* influence. As the Sapadalaksha Gujars came in to eastern Rajputana, their language developed in to modern Rajasthani. They had settled here among the people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the inner group akin to western Hindi. They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech. The result was Rajasthani, a mixed language in which the influence of the inner group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north east of Rajputana, in Alwar and Mewat, the influence of the inner group increases.

Now the *Gujars* of the Swat speak mixed Mewati Rajasthani, and not the language of the Sapadalaksha. Gujars, more enterprising than their fellows, went on further into the mountains beyond the subnormal tract and are now represented as *Gujars* of Swat, Kashmir etc. (Grierson, 1916).

Central Pahari

Central Pahari is the language of the western portion of the ancient Sapadalaksha, viz. of the lower Himalaya between Nepal and Punjab. Grierson has quoted Atkinson's second volume ***Himalayan Districts*** which describes the ethnic element of the population of this tract-

"The great mass of the population in Kumaun and Garhwal profess a belief little differing from the orthodox Hinduism of the plains.

The existing inhabitants belong to the *Khasa* or *Khasiya* race, and speak a dialect of Hindi. There are several facts connected with *Khasa's* history that whatever their origin may have been, the *Khasas* have for centuries been under the influence of Brahmanical priesthood” (Grierson, 2001).

The people of Tibeto Burman group inhabit the higher parts of the Himalayas in Kumaun and Garhwal, while *Khasas* inhabit the lower valleys. Their tongue had the same origins that of the Aryan languages - Lahnda, Kashmiri, Shina and Khowar. The Gorkhas of Nepal, were themselves Rajputs who claim to have come originally from Udaipur.

Kumauni

Central Pahari includes two closely connected languages—Kumauni spoken in Kumaun and Garhwali of Garhwal. Grierson in *Linguistic Survey of India* has given the number of Kumauni speakers in Kumaun to be around 4.37 lakh. Kumauni is the Indo Aryan language spoken in the sub-Himalayan tract known as Kumaun, including the whole of Almora district and the northern part of the Nainital district. (Grierson, 1919).

In the south east of the Almora district, there is a peak over 7,000 feet high named *Kanadeo* the old name of which was *Kurmachala* (Kurma means tortoise). The name 'Kumaun' is said to be connected with this word 'Kurmachala'. 'Kumauni' is an adjective formed from "Kumaun". (Grierson, 1919).

Grierson states “There are certain well defined peculiarities in Kumauni language. The most important of these is the frequent occurrence of epenthesis or the change of vowel owing to the influence of another vowel in the succeeding syllable. Therefore,

in Kumauni the word *chelo*, a son becomes *chyalā* in the plural, the *che* becoming changed to *chya* on the account of a following in the syllable /la/. Another marked peculiarity of Kumauni is the tendency to de-aspiration, as in the word *paṛ* for *paṛh*, read.

Ruwali (1994) states that 'In the bhabar area of district Nainital few number of families speak Kumauni and rest of the population speaks Hindi and other languages. From the linguistic point of view, areas covered up by *Bhotia* tribes in Pithoragarh and the bhabar area of southern Nainital district can not be included in Kumauni language area.' He estimates the Kumauni speakers to be around 15 lakhs.

Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan

Kumauni on its northern borders meets with languages belonging to Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan languages. Besides, it remained, for some time, under the domain of Tibet as well. As such, many words belonging to these dialects have naturally crept into it. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

Pattani (a dialect of Laholi) – *Dhador* 'hollow of tree' = Kumauni. *dhodaro* (also cf. Santhali-dhoḍra), *jawār* 'grazing of corn field stealthily' = Kumauni. *Ujār-Ujyār* 'ibid' 'pupu father's sister' = Kumauni. *bubu* 'ibid';

Dravidian

"This region was once occupied by people speaking languages of Dravidian families as may be attested from the following linguistic remnants." But in most of the cases it seems that these words already assimilated by old Indo-Aryan and have developed from there through various Middle Indo-Aryan dialects

or directly from Old Indo-Aryan e.g. *kuri* 'house' Sanskrit *Kuti*, Malayalam *Kuṛi*, Tamil *-kure*, *Kui-kur*." (Sharma,1985).

T. Barrow in his book '*Sanskrit Language*' has given a fairly long list of such words. Some of these, which are attested in Kumauni, are as follows:

Kālo=kāla 'black'; *kuṭalo* = *kuṭila* 'crooked' <Tamil. *Kuṭa* 'curved, 'bent'; Kannara, Telugu *guḍḍali* 'hoe'; *kuṭ* <*kuṭṭa* -'to pound', *kunḍ* < *kunḍa* 'a hole in the ground, pit <Tamil. *Kuṅṭu* 'pool'; *cupano* 'to chew, to suck' <*cumba*- 'to kiss' cf. Tamil *Cumpu*, 'to suck'.

Prof. D.D.Sharma (1985) states-There are also a few words of Dravidian origin. They seem to have come to Kumauni through Prakrit languages:

Urd 'blackgram' Prakrit. *Uiḍa*, Tamil. *Uluṅḍu*, Kannada, *Uddu*, *kārano* 'to sharpen an instrument', Prakrit. *Karam* 'sharp' Dravidian. *kara*; Dr. S.K. Chatterji, while tracing the influence of Dravidian on Bengali, has traced the origin of the word *jhol* 'soup', 'watery mass' (also saliva) to its Dravidian counterparts, Kannada *jollu* and Telegu *dzoll* with identical meaning. Some scholars have found a correlation between Kumauni, ^{gaṭṭo}'bad' Tamil *keṭṭa*.

Criterion of dialect

The term '*dialect*' refers to the variations in pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary. Though many criteria have been used for determining the status of a dialect within a speech community, yet most of the linguists tend to concentrate on the criterion of mutual intelligibility, i.e. dialects are those forms of speech variety of a language that are different from one another, but are mutually intelligible without special training. From the point of mutual

intelligibility the dialects of Kumauni can be viewed from two spatial dimensions, i.e. lying next to one another, and spoken at each end of the language area. In the former situation, there is hardly any problem of mutual intelligibility at any level of the linguistic expression, but in the latter case, there may be some difficulty at one level or another.

Another criterion that needs to be taken into account for dialectal differentiation is the frequency or the particular use of various items, i.e. the same word, though intelligible, may have less frequency in one area and more in another, or in one dialect it may have a general use, whereas in another, it may be reserved for a particular or restricted use.

Dialectal variations

The dialectal variations within a language are always a matter of common knowledge and acceptance, though their accurate and systematic descriptions are meant for linguists. Such differences arising from various historical and geographical reasons are a universal feature of linguistic development and are attested at all the levels—phonetic phonemic, morphemic, syntactic and semantic—of the structure of a language. Dialectal variations in Kumauni, may largely be assigned to geographical factors, which had made inter-communication difficult among different valleys of the region in the past. Consequently, each valley (along with many other social and ethnic factors) developed its own peculiarities exhibited at different levels of the dialect spoken in that area.

Areas where different varieties of Kumauni are spoken

Sharma (1985) gives the names and areas showing minor sub-regional variations and designated as different dialects by Grierson and others (see map in the appendix) are as follows:

Khasparjiya –It is spoken in the centre of the Almora District, including the city proper, comprising Pargana Baramandal and the adjoining parts of the Pargana Danpur. It forms the base of the standard Kumauni.

Danpuriya–It is spoken in the northern part of the Pargana Danpur and in the southern part of the Pargana Johar.

Phaldakoti – The area of this dialect is the Paragana Phaldakot of Almora District and the adjoining part of Nainital District.

Pachai–It is spoken in the southwest of Almora, adjoining the area of district Garhwal and immediately to the west of Phaldakoti and Khasparjia.

Gangoi/Gangoli– It is spoken throughout the Pargana Gangol and in parts of the Pargana Danpur, viz. Dug Patti, and parts of the Pargana Baramandal, viz. Kamsyar Patti.

Kumaiya–Its area is the Pargana Kali-Kumaun and the adjoining area of Champawat and Lohaghat.

Chaugarkhiya–It is spoken in the Pargana Chaugarkha, situated in the north-west of the Pargana Kali-Kumaun. Structurally it is nearer to Khasparjia.

Rau Chaubhainsiya – Its area is the southwest hilly part of the district Nainital.

Soryali-It is the main dialect of eastern Kumauni.

Sirali- It is spoken in the Pargana of Sira in Pithoragarh District.

Ashkoti-The area of this dialect is the Pargana Askot.

Chakhatiya-It is spoken in the western part of the Pargana Chhakhata of the Nainital District.

Johari-It is spoken in the southern part of the Pargana Johar.

Darmiya-It is spoken in the Pargana of Darma.

Bhabari-Some people have given a separate name to the speech of the people living in the plains of the Nainital district.

Nevertheless, by any standard it cannot be given a separate name. Because of the fact that the settlers of these areas originally belong to various parts of Kumaun, they speak the dialect of the area from which they have come. As such, in the absence of any homogeneity in their form, these cannot be designated as a separate dialect. Some other names such as Ramgarhiya, Bhimitali, Nainitali, Almori etc. are recorded in the census reports.

Notable regional peculiarities

The notable peculiarities found in the speech of various regions, which prompted Grierson and others to give the above classification of Kumauni may be noted as follows:

Khasparjiya-In fact, Khasparjiya is the basis of the standard or the written form of Kumauni. The notable differences in the present day speech of the Khasparjiya dialect are: (1) the loss of final /o /and /a/ and reduction of other vowels; (2) maintenance

of *l* in all positions; (3) development of Old Indo-Aryan /*n*/ into /*ɳ*/ and formative /*ɳ*/ into /*n*/.

Re-Grouping of Kumauni Dialects

An indication of broader groups of Kumauni dialects is found in Grierson as well. According to his suggestion the grouping can be as under:

1. *Western dialects*-dialects of Almora; Khasparjiya, Phaldakoti and Pachai.
2. *Central and southern dialects* – Kumauni of Nainital, Chaugarkhiya, Gangoli, Danpuriya and Kumaiya.

Literary contributions in Kumauni-

Kumaun can be proud of producing a number of intellectuals ,some of them are: Pandit. Ganga Dutt Upreti, and Dr. Hem Chandra Joshi (linguists); Pandit. G.B. Pant (statesman), Pandit. B.D. Pandey (journalist-historian); Shri Shailesh Matiani (novelist, story writer) etc.

Kumaun has a rich heritage of various sagas of heroes, demi-gods, romantic tales of lovers and ritualistic songs sung during all ceremonial occasions. Studies, in the past, have been made on the folkloristic and other aspects of Kumauni language (Upreti, G.D. 1894. *Proverbs and folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal*. Lodiana.)

All India Radio Lucknow and Almora, broadcasts programs in Kumauni and Garhwali, especially for the 'listeners' service for this region. Also, programs in Kumauni and Garhwali are telecast by the doordarshan kendra.

Pioneer works on Kumauni

Even much before the Linguistics Survey of India was prepared, Kumauni had been drawing attention of scholars towards its peculiarities. It was in the year 1900 AD that Pandit Ganga Dutt Upreti wrote a book on Kumauni under the title '***Hill Dialects of the Kumaun Division***' (Almora, 1900).

Linguistic studies

A few more publications need mention here. These are :

An outline of Kumauni Grammar by M.L. Apte and

D.P. Patatanayak, Duke University, Monograph No. 6, 1967.

Kumauni Bhasha Ka Addhyayana (with special reference to dialects of Pithoragarh) by B.D. Upreti, Allahabad, 1976.

Kumauni Phonology by D.D. Sharma (unpublished thesis Punjab University, 1973).

Linguistic Geography of Kumaun Himalayas by D.D. Sharma. New Delhi, 1994.

Some papers also have appeared in various journals concerning different aspects of Kumauni and Central Pahari, by researchers in different Universities.

However, it may be evident from the above list that most of these works are primarily concerned with the descriptive analysis of this language. Except H.S. Joshi and K.D. Ruwali, no one else has touched the historical aspect of this language.

Existing knowledge about Kumauni may be said to be confined to in the thorough investigation of various features of this language, both synchronically and diachronically.

The only works, dealing with its diachronic aspects are those of H.S. Joshi and of K.D. Ruwali.

Chapter III
METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

This study intends to systematically present the factors and social processes related to language maintenance and language shift in Haldwani town, in particular. The factors related to domains of language use and the attitude and views of the Kumauni speakers have been taken into account.

The basic strategy behind the design was to find out processes related to language shift and language maintenance. Haldwani is a widespread area with social, political and religious dimensions that make it an uphill task to undertake an empirical socio-linguistic study of the area. It was possible for me to draw out a random sample from a given population in different areas of Haldwani. It is said that if random samples of an adequate size are properly chosen and analysed, it is most likely to reveal the characteristics of the whole population.

Moreover, a sample of reasonably large size when selected at random is almost sure to represent the characteristics of the population (*Law of statistical regularity*). Another law states that samples of large size show a high degree of stability i.e. the results obtained therefrom are expected to be very close to the population characteristics (*Law of inertia of large numbers*). The sample thus represents a stratified random sample with different chosen areas and then further subcategorised into smaller parts.

The study of language maintenance and language shift could be dealt with great care and seen from different perspectives. Other than the socio-economic, cultural and demographic patterns, we need to look for the social and educational status of

individual members of the speech community. The attitudes and views of the informants are also to be looked into.

As part of my study, a questionnaire was prepared and administered with the aim of collecting general information, language use in various domains, language attitude and views of the Kumauni speakers. The questionnaire was prepared with precision so that it elicited all the relevant information needed. Questions selected were already tested and proved in several sociolinguistic studies.

I personally administered the questionnaire; the unclear questions were clarified. Interviews were conducted with informants to collect information regarding their language, customs, culture, prestige associated with their mother tongue, etc. Participant observation method was also used during the study to investigate their language use, language proficiency, language attitude and code mixing, code switching phenomenon. The questionnaire appears in Appendix 1.

Selection of Samples

Since the majority of the population in Haldwani is of Kumauni speakers, it was not difficult to identify the potential speakers. In some of the areas dominated by the other speech communities, locating Kumauni speakers was a bit difficult. It was beneficial to come across such isolated speakers of Kumauni as their speech was affected more by the different speech community persons present in that area. The samples were taken using random sampling technique. In this exercise, every attempt was made to control the choice of items so that every item in the list had an equal chance of being included in the sample. Deliberate

sampling was used in selecting individual samples, which represented the whole community of the Kumauni people.

Sample or Coverage

For the present study, 100 samples were taken consisting of variables like

1. Age
2. Education
3. Migration
4. Income
5. Family (Joint/ Nuclear)
6. Domains of Language used

Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted before the final survey. The purpose was to modify tools like checking the time taken to fill in the questionnaire and seeing whether the instructions and items were clear and if some questions needed to be added or deleted according to the requirement of the study. The pilot study was of much use to me before going in for the actual fieldwork.

Area selected for the present study

Haldwani was selected for the present study due to various reasons. Haldwani is a town consisting of widely varying topographical features - the hill strips, the *bhabar*, the *terai* and the plains and highly heterogeneous demographic and racial

characteristics. As discussed, this land at the southern rim of Himalayas has never entirely been under rule by a single dynasty.

This area comprises partly of hills and chiefly of plains and is bounded in the north by the districts of Almora and Pithoragarh, in the north-west by Garhwal, in the west by Bijnaur, in the south-west by Moradabad and in the south by the districts Rampur, Bareilly and Pilibhit. On the east, it forms an international boundary with Nepal. This region along the foot of the hills is a stretch of a narrow belt of the country. It is only eight to twenty four kilometres in breadth. It is called bhabar due to its being a water-less belt of forest.

Haldwani comprises of this water less belt of forestland. Its elevation from the sea level is between 1,200' and 1,800'. Although extremely hot in summer, the climate of this region is cool and pleasant during winter. The general appearance of this region is that of a plain gently sloping towards the Southeast. "Topographically, the region has good forests and jungles. Extending southwards, there are damp and marshy tracts due to heavy rainfall. This region is the most fertile in this district" (*Census, 1991*).

In the forests below the hills and those clothing the outer spurs, the most common and at the same time the most valuable trees are the *Sal* and *Shisham*. Bamboo forms the most important portion of the minor forest. The zoology and the wide varied range of climate deserve some attention.

Haldwani is gradually becoming an industrialised town with the HMT unit established at Ranibagh; Haldwani is also known for its Soyabean plant, papermill, and other industrialised concerns. As per the provisional *Census 2001*, the total population of the

district is 7,62,912 persons and it is placed ninth in terms of population in the state of Uttaranchal. With more than 20 per cent migrants and a multilingual situation, Haldwani could be an interesting place of study for linguists. Migration happens due to the facilities available for education, employment, business etc., which bring in increasing number of immigrants.

Haldwani is also known as 'Green city', with the hills close to it. The total area of the district that is cultivable is 82.56 percent of which 48.57 per cent is irrigated. Haldwani is the most extensively cultivated town with 87.07 per cent cultivable land.

Haldwani offers ample opportunities for business and employment, and attracts lots of people from different regions. With the setting up of Mahila Mahavidyalaya and a number of professional and educational coaching institutes, a large majority of students from the upper hills come and settle down here for education.

(Location of Haldwani town, and area of data collection is illustrated in the Appendix).

Haldwani is a big town with urban and rural settings. It was a bit difficult to conduct a socio-linguistic study in the area. In addition to history, demography, and cultural patterns of the speech community, it was necessary to understand the socio-economic and educational background of each member of the speech community as well as examine the attitudes and views of the people. The basic design of the questionnaire was to identify the informants' overall attitudes towards Kumauni language.

Tools

The tools designed for this study of language shift and maintenance can be classified into two parts- socio-psychological and the changing patterns of language use.

Socio-psychological measures

A questionnaire was prepared and administered which aimed at collecting general information, and aspects of language use in various domains, and language attitudes. Each variable is discussed in the following passages.

Age (V.1)

Coulmas [1997:151] states, age is central to human experience. Age is a person's place at a given time in relation to the social order stage, a condition, and a place in history. Age stratification as a linguistic variable, can therefore reflect changes in the speech of the community as it moves through time [historical change], and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life [age grading].

Respondents	Age range	Number of informants	Mean age
Old(O)	Above 46 years	18	56.22
Middle aged (M)	26-45 years	40	34.42
Young (Y)	Upto 25 years	42	18.57

He further quotes that studies that separate age stratification by class [Flower, 1986, (N.B. discussed in Labov, 1994) Labov, 1994:53] and gender have shown that grossly

combined age figures can mask specific group effects .The younger generation have had more exposure to Hindi language. This is the language they speak right from their childhood, to their friends, neighbours and they also learn it in school. During my data collection, I often found that the younger generation did not show much interest in maintaining their mother tongue whereas, the informants in the age group between 26-45 years and above 46 years showed more attachment towards Kumauni.

Sex (V.2)

British sociologist Anthony Giddens defines 'sex' as 'biological or anatomical differences between men and women.' (Coulmas, 1997:128). Labov was the first to notice the important role of sex as a sociolinguistic variable. In order to integrate the observed interpersonal variation into approved linguistic theories, Labov, formulated the concept of 'variable rules'. (Coulmas, 1997:133).

J.Milroy (1992) connects the degree of differentiation of male and female language behaviour while using stable variables (variables, which show only a minor age gradation and which are unlikely to be involved in an ongoing language change) with the stability of a social group. (Coulmas, 1997:137)

In the questionnaire, sex was included as a question. The male-female subdivision in each age group is shown below where old males are denoted as OM, old females as OF, middle aged males as MM, middle aged females as MF, young males as YM and young females as YF.

O(18)		M(40)		Y(42)	
Old males(OM)	Old females (OF)	Middle aged males (MM)	Middle aged females (MF)	Young males(YM)	Young females (YF)
13	5	21	19	22	20

Occupation (V.3)

In the questionnaire, question no. 7 elicited information about the occupation of the informant. The informants were classified on the basis of government service, business and others (students, housewives, unemployed, labourers) scale for occupation of the informants.

The codifying was done as :

Others	1
Businessman	2
Government Employee	3

Income (V.4)

Question no. 6 of the questionnaire was related to the income of the informant. Income was codified in the following manner:

Below Rs. 5000	1
Rs 5001 to 10000	2
Rs.10001 and above	3

Educational level (v.5)

Question no. 4 of the questionnaire sought information regarding the educational qualifications of the informants. The informants were classified in three groups and the coding was done as shown below:

Up to Vth standard	1
VIth to Xth standard	2
XIth and above	3

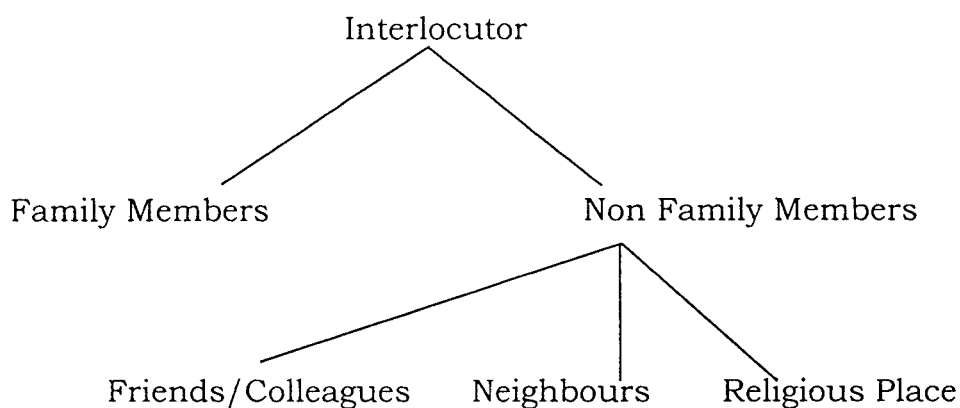
Question no. 5 elicited the data regarding language priority of the informants, it was meant to find out as to what preference is given by the informant to mother tongue, Hindi and other languages.

Exposure to Kumauni, Hindi and other languages

Question nos. 22-35 of the questionnaire dealt with the exposure {preference} of the informant to Kumauni, Hindi, and other languages in mass media and in terms of other preferences. Various questions were divided into subscribing to newspaper/magazines {Q.21-26}, Books of literature/Science in mother tongue {Q.27}, Listening /Watching to radio /T.V programs {Q.28-23}, Watching movies in MT {Q.20-21},

Patterns of language Use (Q.16, 39)

Question no. 16 dealt with the pattern of language use At home, with friends in workplaces etc. i.e. in different domains with different interlocutors.



Interlocutor’s patterns of language use at home, office or social gathering and formally or informally was investigated.

Migration (V.6)

Question no. 9 dealt with migration. The Informant was asked if he/she had migrated or not. The codification was done as:

Migrated	1
Not migrated	2

Attitudes

Questions were designed to elicit the attitudes of the informant’s .In question no.43, the informants were asked about the language they felt most comfortable with. In question no.45, informants were asked about the language they preferred in the

place of worship. In question no.- 47, use of mother tongue in prayers and other religious activities was asked about.

Views

Questions nos. 18 and 44 were asked to know the views/opinion of the informants regarding their mother tongue of any use for jobs, higher education, language group, and integration. In question nos. 33 and 41 their views regarding MT useful in promoting the use of language and development of the language; the leaders of the community not using mother tongue and what is the informant's opinion of the same.

And lastly, the informant's attitudes regarding language maintenance and shift, mother tongue promotion, developments were asked.

Ignored to check the socio-economic status of the informants questions were designed to provide with sufficient data which could help in understanding the relationships between socio-economic status and language priority/ preference.

Kumauni is basically a language of the home and it is the domain in which Kumauni speakers generally acquire their mother tongue. English and Hindi are acquired in schools, as both are a part of the curriculum. It is important to see if certain domains are acquiring English, Hindi and certain domains losing Kumauni.

Constraints in Data Collection

A number of problems were encountered during the data collection. The major problem confronted by me was to cover great distances where even a bicycle cannot make inroads. Convincing people about the research and taking them into confidence was

almost next to impossible. Not more than three to four informants could be interviewed in one day. The female informants were shy to face the stranger (*read*: the researcher) due to which data collection took much of the precious time; more females could not be interviewed because of the same reason.

Some of the informants asked to be handed over the questionnaires to them and fix it to be collected after two or three days which resulted in the cancelling of the interview.

Generally the time-span of meeting and interviews with the informants was spread throughout the day except for officegoers and school goers. When there were some television programs or friends coming, the respondents showed little interest in giving information. In such cases the data collection was frequently stopped to harmonise with the informants' interest.

Field Experience and Observations

The fieldwork was a unique and exciting experience for me. The informants, though sometimes elusive, were very co-operative and hospitable. They were eager to know about their language and offered all sorts of help. Some of the impressions during the field visit are given below.

In one household, in the absence of the seniormost member, when told that a researcher had come for interviewing, they immediately switched over their medium of communication from Hindi to Kumauni. When they came to know that the researcher was not conversant with Kumauni, they felt disappointed.

Another informant who was very helpful throughout the fieldwork provided me with some booklets and a book on Kumauni language published by their association in Haldwani and asked me

to pass the information contained in it about their language to other Kumauni speakers who were not aware of it.

A gentleman who was an office bearer provided me with the address list and a book published by their association. He had a side business too, and while interacting with his customers gave information about the activities of their association.

Some of the informants gave information about dialectal variations and code switching and the awkward situations they had encountered due to this. Some informants informed that their language was not included in the list of Scheduled languages and they were eager to know whether the study by the researcher could be of any help for the development and spread of Kumauni language.

One informant came out with a valid question—‘How can one learn about a language without learning to speak in it?’ When explained in detail he was satisfied and thanked me for showing interest in their language. Some of the informants were not aware of the fact that their language is written in *Devanagari* script and that it belongs to the Indo-Aryan family.

Chapter IV
ANALYSIS OF DATA

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Techniques of Analysis

Statistical analysis was done in the following manner:

- a.) The data was codified, tabulated and quantified for every informant
- b.) The data was fed into an excel worksheet (*Windows 98* based *Microsoft-Office* package)

List of Variables

The list of variables taken into consideration for the study is:

Variable No.	Variable
1.	Age
2.	Sex
3.	Education
4.	Occupation
5.	Income
6.	Migration
7.	Domains of language use

The attitude of speakers towards the language and the social-economic-psychological features are the factors that influence the linguistic priorities of multilingual speech community.

The informants were evaluated for the linguistic background and then their preference / priority was seen for the language

used by them. The data was analysed with respect to following aspects: -

(a) Linguistic profile

(b) Attitude and views

The respondents were all Kumauni and most of them were native speakers of Kumauni, except a few in the age group below 25 years. Nearly all of them were well-versed in Hindi language at the level of proficiency in different skills i.e. speaking, reading, writing and understanding. When it comes to mother tongue the proficiency varies in different age groups according to different skills of speaking, reading, writing and understanding. Generally, the respondents in the upper age groups were proficient in understanding and speaking, though reading and writing could hardly be taken into account. English is largely acquired in educational institutions. Hindi is acquired in all the domains with some difference in home domain and religious places, where its use is lesser still. In general, it is clear that Kumauni is the language of home and that is where it is generally acquired.

Among the younger generations some informants claim to have learnt Kumauni either at home or in the environment. Some of the informants did not want to reveal that Kumauni is spoken at their home as it puts them in backward (non-elite) class. However, in general it is well understood that Kumauni is the language of home and that is the domain where it is acquired.

In comparison to Kumauni, Hindi is acquired largely from the environment and school. Hindi being the *lingua franca* seems to be indispensable as far as work place and domain of peer group is concerned. The gradual increase of Hindi in home domain is due

to the time spent at home, which is less compared to environment outside. That introduction of Hindi in the schools as a subject and as a medium of instruction only strengthens the overall skills of the person in this language. It would be interesting to note that usage of the language in all the skills tend to enrich overall proficiency in that language. This is a major hurdle in maintaining the mother tongue.

In Haldwani well to do families and even those with social mobility tend to inculcate Hindi speaking habits in their children from an early age; an example would better clarify the situation—an informant recently migrated to Haldwani in search of better job prospects. He brought his family members also to the town. The children of this informant were very good at speaking Kumauni when they first arrived in Haldwani; but since the last one year they started losing control over their mother tongue, and the proficiency with which they used to speak Kumauni earlier has declined. Also, the attitude of the kids towards their mother tongue has changed. When their mother tries to speak with them in Kumauni, they are not comfortable to reply in Kumauni; rather they prefer to reply in Hindi. On the other hand, it has become a trend in mothers to speak to their children in Hindi, and sometimes with code switching (English). It is generally believed that those children are well mannered who are fluent in Hindi and English. Hence, acquiring English language gives them social standing/ prestige, particularly in terms of jobs. Thus, convent schools are becoming hub for *better education*. The above stated factors are also responsible to some extent for language shift in the context of acquiring Hindi.

When we rank the languages in hierarchical positions in Haldwani by taking the pool data including both the sexes (male

as well as females) and persons of all age groups, we find that English enjoys the top most position whereas, Hindi lies in the middle position and Kumauni is ranked at the bottom. There is a trend where upper middle class families send their children to convent schools to acquire English language, which is a path which gives children an orientation towards not just language but to life as well. It also indicates the children moving away from vernacular.

The language English is being used in public places and government offices. There has been an increase in the trend on the part of parents to send the children to convent schools, which is based on the belief that English language acquisition gives them prestige in the society and the user of Hindi and English are considered literate and from very good economic background. As far as Kumauni is concerned, it does not give people any kind of recognition, other than providing platform to the community, as an integrated unit and for performing social functions.

Nowadays Kumauni has gained a certain degree of literary status but, on the other hand, Kumauni language is losing its grip in the domains of home, peer group and workplaces. The other interesting fact, which has come to light, is that there exists a positive correlation between English language acquisition and the rise in income levels among the Kumaunis. The proficiency in Hindi and English languages can largely be attributed to the factor that these languages are part of the school curriculum.

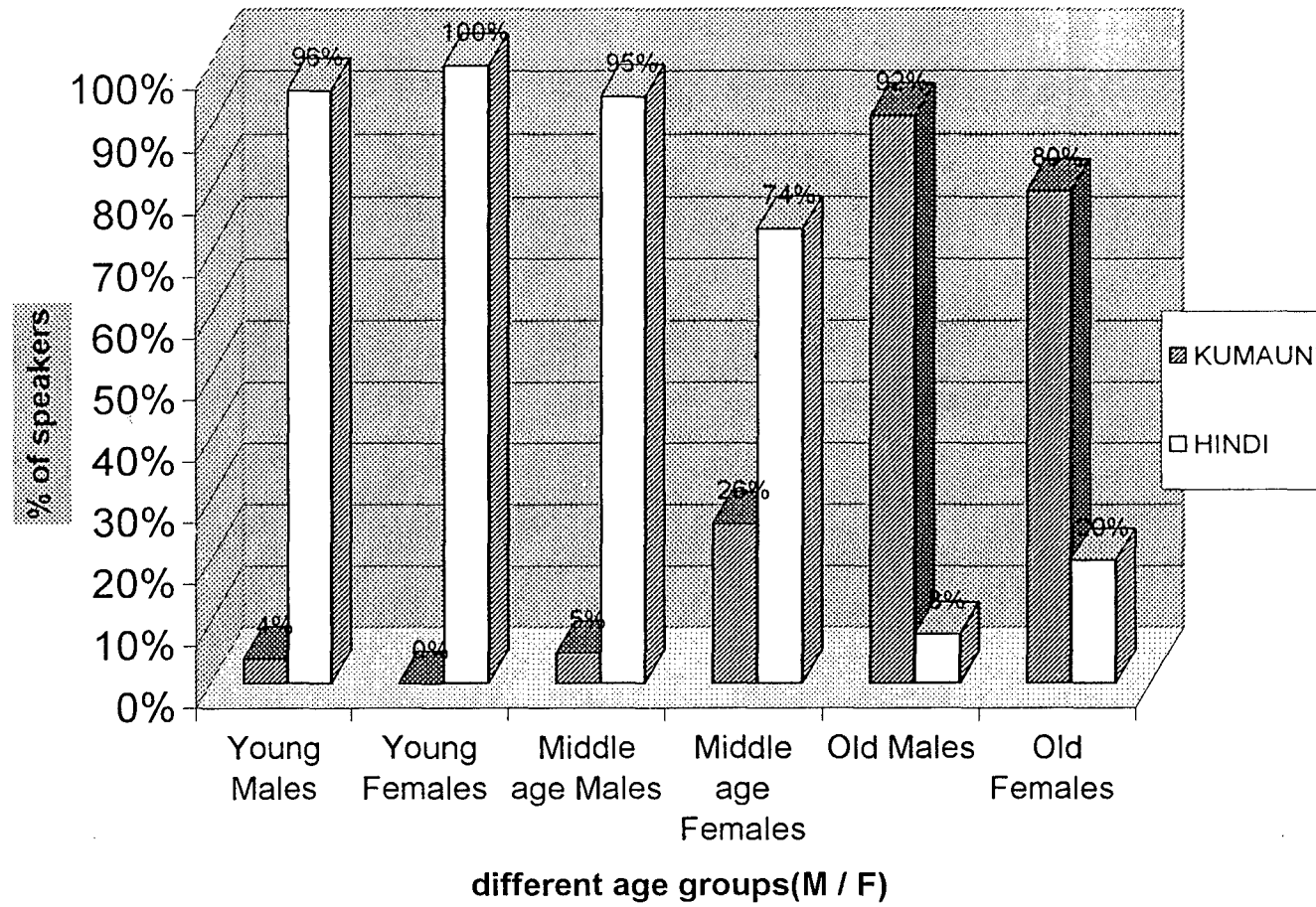
Table 4.1: Language most comfortable with

<u>Informants</u>	<u>Languages</u>		
	Kumauni	Hindi	Others(English)
Young males	4%	96%	0%
Young females	0%	100%	0%
Middle aged males	5%	95%	0%
Middle aged females	26%	74%	0%
Old males	92%	8%	0%
Old females	80%	20%	0%

Looking at table no. 4.1 and the graph no. 4.1 (analysed from the question no. 43 of the questionnaire), it is seen that almost informants of all age groups consider Hindi as a language with which they feel most comfortable, followed by Kumauni and then by other languages. There emerges a contrast between older and younger generations (including the middle-aged males and females) in their scales of comfort. The percentage of females feeling comfortable in using Kumauni is higher in comparison to males, for the middle and old age groups. When we take Hindi as a language on the comfort scale, there emerges a sharp difference between older and younger generations.

The definition of comfort levels people with language basically corresponds to fluency, expert command that is acquired by regular use and exposure to language or to express solidarity with regional culture to which a particular language belongs. In

Language most comfortable with



case of Haldwani, people feel comfortable with Hindi language, which has emerged as the *lingua franca* of the region. Some people feel that there are certain issues, which can be dealt with only in Hindi or English.

Medium of Instruction

The informants were also asked (related to question no. 20 of the questionnaire) about their views on teaching their mother tongue as a subject or using it as a medium of instruction in the schools. The response was largely negative. They were doubtful about their mother tongue for getting better jobs at all. The knowledge of English language helps in employment, according to them.

Table 4.2: Kumauni as a medium of instruction/subject in schools (in %)

	<u>A1</u>	<u>A2</u>	<u>A3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	2	4	3	9
Hindi	15	13	6	34
Other(English)	25	23	9	57
Total	42	40	18	100

It is clear from the table no. 4.2 that the craze for English is maximum in all the three age groups (A1-age group means upto 25 years; A2-age group means 26-45 years; A3-age group means 46 years and above). A total of 57% of respondents gave preference for English and 34% for Hindi and the lowest, i.e., 9% for Kumauni. In this miniscule group of 9%, people in the A-2 and A-3 have shown more inclination towards Kumauni as a medium

of instruction/subject, showing that among the younger generation there is less interest in Kumauni. The younger generation expressed an open view of Kumauni not having enough market value. As far as knowing about one's culture and the social set up, Kumauni as a subject can be preferred. (Given a choice, parents will opt for schools with English as the medium and better still the missionary schools, which are supposed to be harbingers of English and synonymous with modern education).

When the informants were asked about giving up their identity as Kumaunis the overall response was negative. The emotions attached with the mother tongue were strong and all the informants took pride in being called a Kumauni with a unique identity. Asked further on the issue of the formation of the independent state of Uttaranchal, which came in to being in 1990, the respondents felt more close to the Kumauni language and expressed a desire to have a standard language of the state. Kumauni identity was not so strong, but after 1990, Kumaunis started developing a sense of belongingness.

The informants agreed that though there is maximum maintenance of language in the home domain, there is a partial shift from Kumauni (refer to question no. 17).

Organisations/associations of Kumauni community

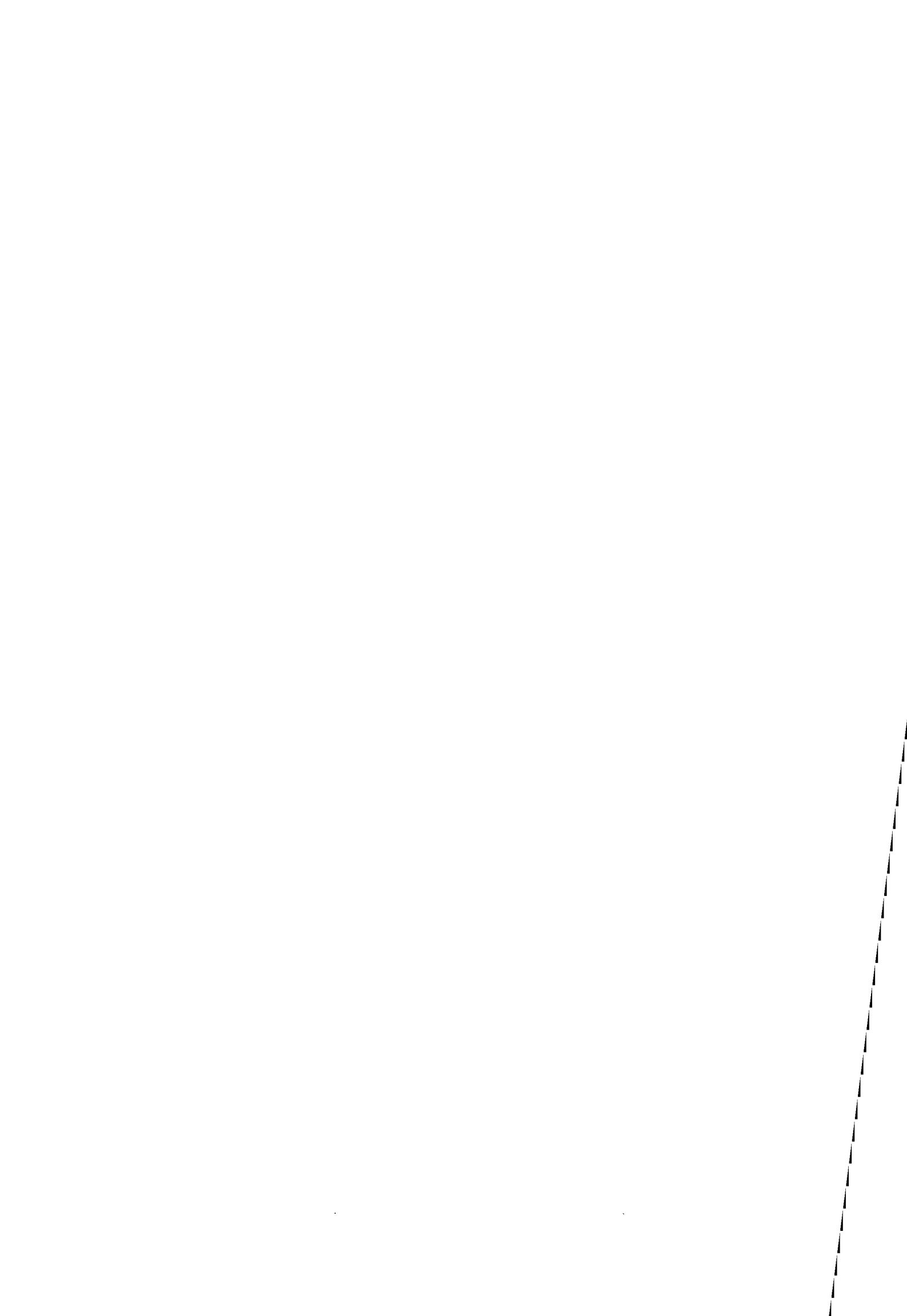
Informants were asked about their affiliation to any association or organization of Kumauni community in which they take part (refer to question nos. 36-39).

**Table 4.3: Organisations/ associations of Kumauni
Community**

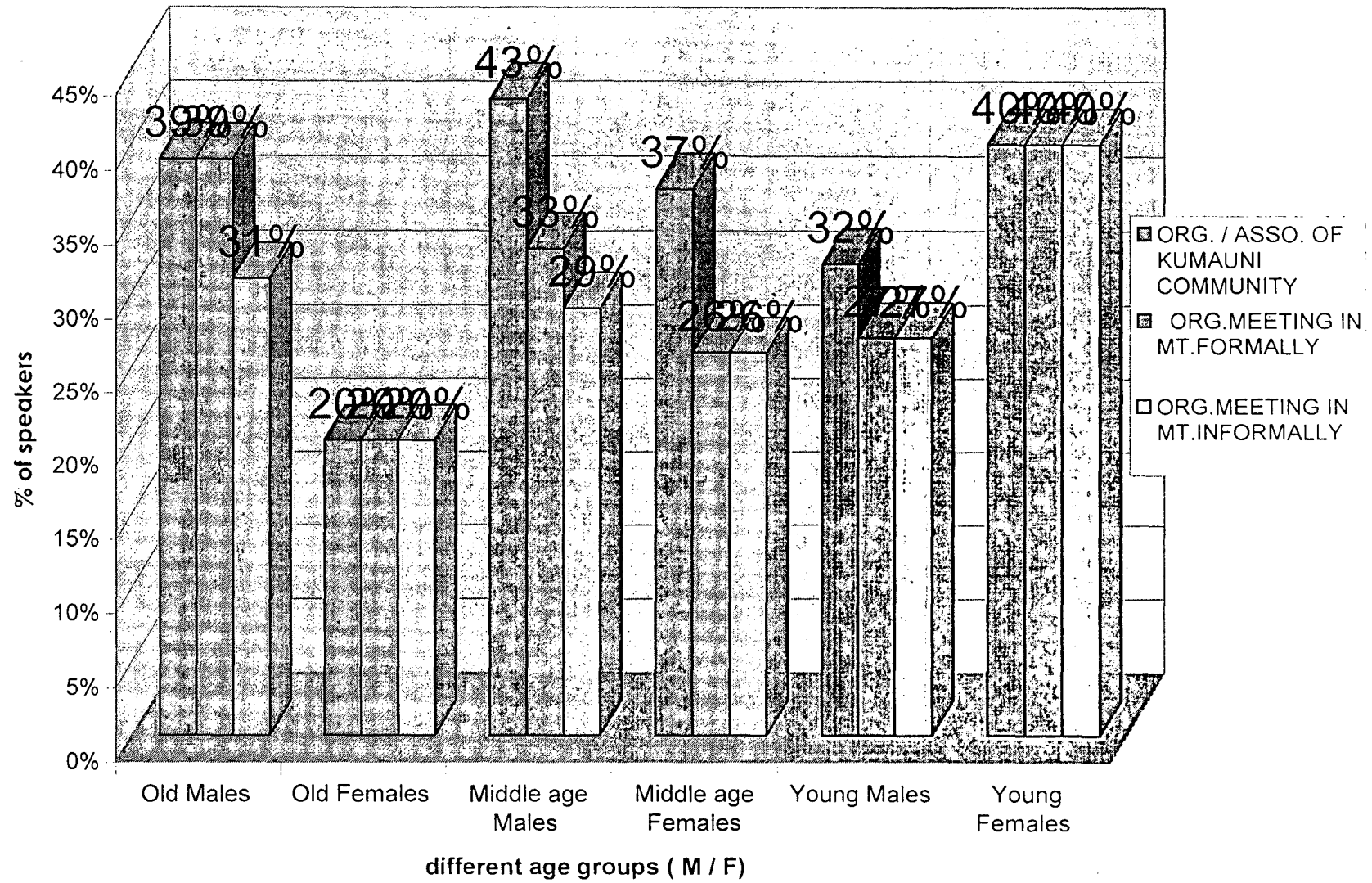
<u>Respondents</u>	<u>Org./Asso. of Kumauni Community</u>	<u>Organisation meetings in mother tongue</u>	
		<i>Formally</i>	<i>Informally</i>
Old Males	39%	39%	31%
Old Females	20%	20%	20%
Middle aged Males	43%	33%	29%
Middle aged Females	37%	26%	26%
Young Males	32%	27%	27%
Young Females	40%	40%	40%

72% of informants in the age group-1 (including males and females) are aware of the Kumauni community organizations, while the figures for middle-aged informants is 80% and that of older respondents is 59%. This shows that there is a possibility of spreading Kumauni through these organisations/associations among the younger and middle-aged generations, in the face of growing disenchantment with mother tongue.

The responses to the organizational meetings taking place in the mother tongue (MT), formally and informally, are different. The age group-1 accepts that 67% of the formal and informal meetings take place in MT while age group-II (55%) and III (51%) have an equal response to the meetings taking place in MT.



**Organisations or Associations of the Kumauni community and
the meetings held in mother tongue while meeting formally or informally**



The overall response shows that the awareness of one's MT can be spread among the younger generation through these Kumauni organisations/associations. For the graphic treatment of the above analysis we can refer to graph no. 4.2.

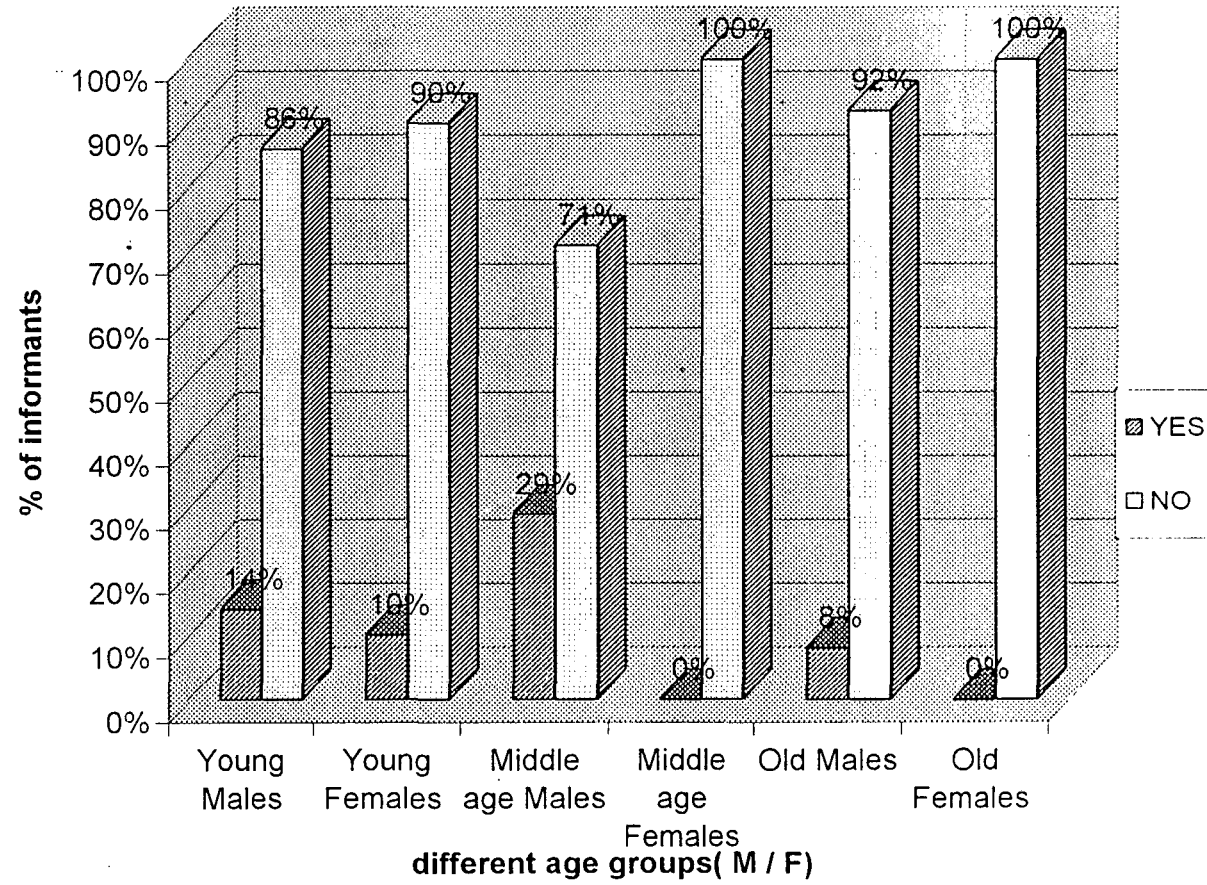
Books Published in Mother Tongue

Table 4.4: Books published in mother tongue

	<u>Books in Kumauni (in %)</u>	
	Yes	No
A-1 males	14	86
A-1 females	10	90
A-2 males	29	71
A-2 females	0	100
A-3 males	8	92
A-3 Females	0	100

The Question no. 27 of the questionnaire elicited the information regarding the books of literature/science in Kumauni. The response to the question was the denial of knowledge of the books published in MT. From table no. 44 we find that only a meagre 29% in the middle age group are aware of the books

Books published in mother tongue Kumauni



published in their mother tongue. Old age informants were least aware of the existence of books in Kumauni. This shows that knowledge of written literature is negligible in Kumauni, which should be a major concern for the language planning and policy-makers.

For a clear picture of the above analysis one can look at the graph no. 4.3.

Percentage use of Kumauni and Hindi in Religious Places

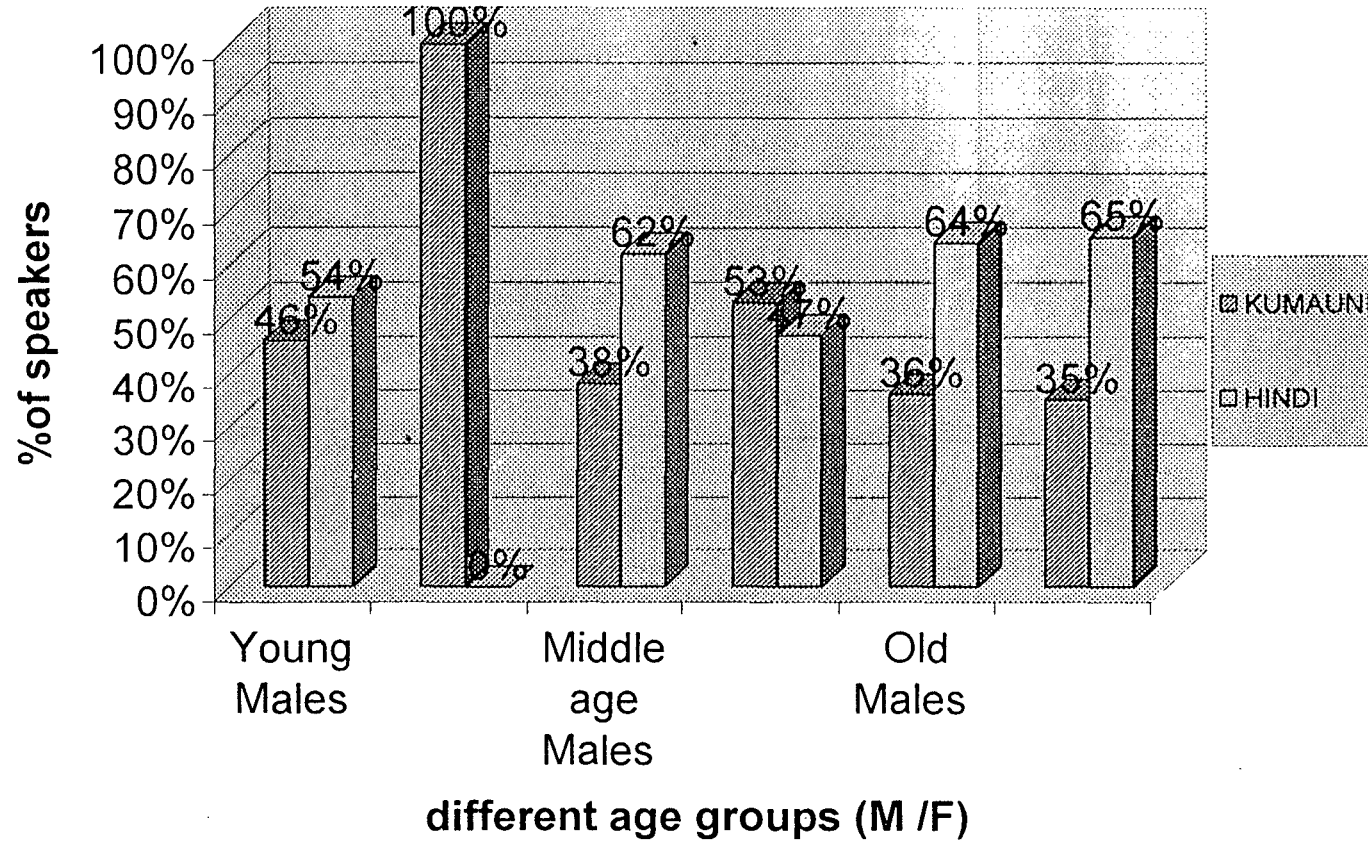
Table 4.5: Language used in religious places(in %)

<u>Informants</u>		<u>Kumauni</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
<i>Old</i>	Male	46%	54%
	Female	100%	0
<i>Middle Aged</i>	Male	38%	62%
	Female	53%	47%
<i>Young</i>	Male	36%	64%
	Female	35%	65%

From table no. 4.5 we find that the percentage use of Kumauni in religious places is maximum in the case of old females and is least in case of young females, which is 35%. In case of Hindi, mostly males of all-age groups use Hindi in religious places.

The possible reason behind the females giving more preference to Kumauni in religious places is that they participate actively in religious activities and may have their own well maintained groups.

Percentage use of Kumauni and Hindi in religious places
by different age groups (M / F).



(For a clear understanding of the above analysis please see graph no. 4.4.)

Perceived functional use of Kumauni, Hindi, and other languages in different age groups for jobs, higher education, and Language Group Integration (LGI)

Table 4.6.1: Preference of language for jobs (in %)

	Kumauni	Hindi	Others
A-3 males	0	92	8
A-3 females	0	100	0
A-2 males	0	86	14
A-2 females	0	90	10
A-1 males	0	91	9
A-1 females	0	85	15

**Table 4.6.2: Preference of language for higher education
(in %)**

	Kumauni	Hindi	Others
A-3 males	0	77	23
A-3 females	0	100	0
A-2 males	0	86	14
A-2 females	0	63	37
A-1 males	0	91	9
A-1 females	0	90	10

Table 4.6.3: Preference of language for LGI (in %)

	Kumauni	Hindi	Others
A-3 males	69	31	0
A-3 females	20	80	0
A-2 males	33	67	0
A-2 females	47	53	0
A-1 males	23	77	0
A-1 females	70	30	0

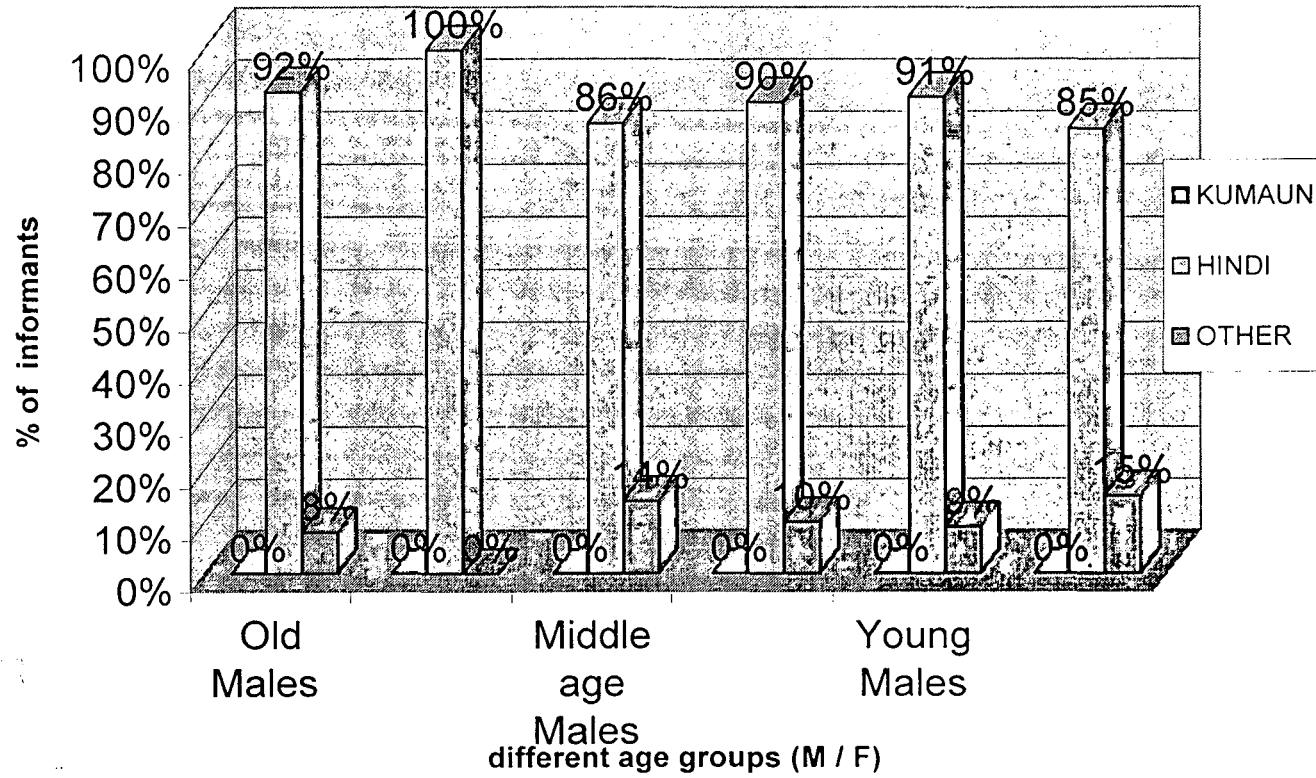
In terms of job prospects, Kumauni, is of no perceived functional use in all the three age groups (see table no. 4.6.1). More percentage of respondents think that Hindi is of more help in getting jobs compared to Kumauni or other languages. Same percentage of respondents belonging to the middle age groups and young age groups think that other languages are useful for getting jobs.

In table no. 4.6.2, for higher education, the perceived functional use of Kumauni is zero, while more percentage of people in all the age groups think that Hindi is important for higher education.

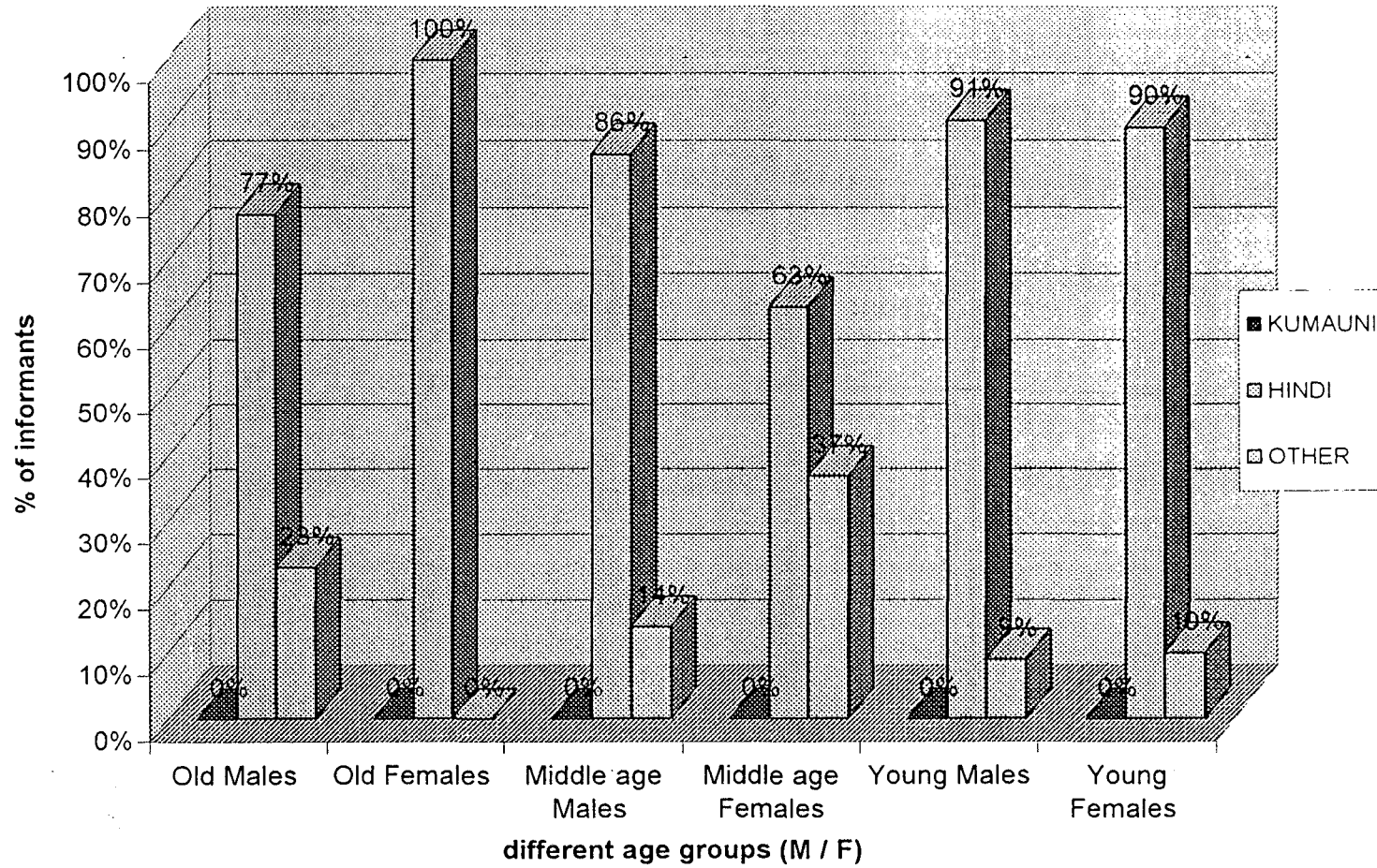
In table no. 4.6.3, for language group integration, percentage of people belonging to the groups' A-3 males and A-1 females is high while giving preference for Kumauni over Hindi.

(For a clear illustration of the above discussions, please see graph nos. 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7).

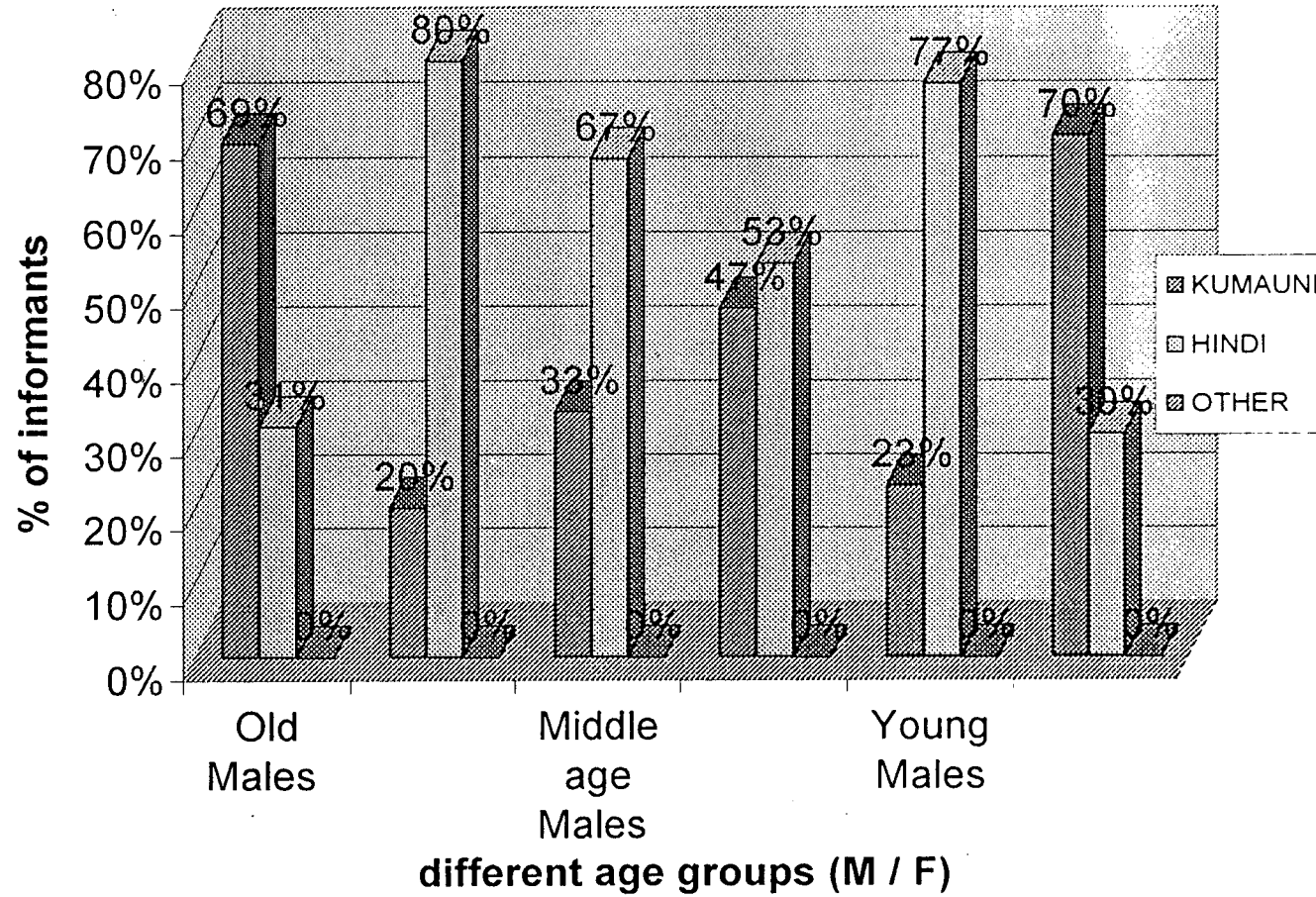
Perceived functional use Of Kumauni, Hindi and other languages for JOBS in different age groups



Perceived functional use of Kumauni, Hindi and Other Languages for Higher education in different age groups(M / F).



Perceived functional use of Kumauni, Hindi and Other languages for language group integration in different age groups (M / F)



Domains of language use and language attitude

General

“It is just normal practice of daily living that people speak different languages perhaps one or more at home, another in village, still another for purpose of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider political or social organization. This is known as multilingualism.” (Wardhaugh, 1986:94-95).

“A person who knows three or more languages usually, a multilingual does not know all the languages equally well.” For example he/she may

- a.) speak and understand one language
- b.) be able to write only one
- c.) use each language in different types of domains (situations), e.g. one language at home, one at work and one for shopping
- d.) “use each language for different communicative purposes, e.g. one language for talking about science, one for religious purposes, and one for talking about personal feelings.” (Longman’s Dictionary, 1985 :185).

Coulmas (1997) states that a common definition of “multilingualism” would be “the use of more than one language” or competence in more than one language. Multilinguals are people who either belong to more than one language group or function within more than one language group. A multilingual’s choice of languages is determined according to:

-interlocutor

-role relationship

-domain

-topic

-venue

-channel of communication

-type of interaction

-phatic function

Bloomfield defines bilingualism as “native like control of two languages by an individual”. (Bloomfield, 1953, in Suzanne Romaine, ***Bilingualism***, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, p:10)

In multilingual settings, different languages are used for various purposes. Joshua Fishman developed the notion of ‘domains of language use’, which paved the way for a systematic study of the distribution of varieties of a language within a speech community. Domain give us ways of studying the distribution of varieties in a society as whole.

“A domain is a grouping together of recurring situation type in such a way that one of the languages or varieties in a repertoire as opposed to the others, normally occurs in that class of situations. And members of the speech community judge that the use of that variety, and not the others, is appropriate to that domain” (Sapir, 1970:49).

Domain is an important tool that analyses language. A domain is an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity

representing a combination of specific times, settings and relationships” (Romaine, 1981:29).

A language is used in several domains: family, friendship, employment, travelling, education, religion, market etc. Each domain is influenced by competing pressures such as economic, administrative, political, cultural and religious, which in turn influence bilingual use of one language rather than other. It is not possible to know with absolute certainty which language an individual will use in a particular situation.

Language used in home domain

Migrant community maintains the mother tongue generally in the home domain. In this domain, the members interact freely in their mother tongue. Mackey (1965, 66) has specified family as “members’ father’ mother’, child, domestics, governess”. The study is based on the model adopted by (Kak, 2001): ***Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Srinagar***, dissertation, submitted in Delhi University. The main purpose of this data collected on Haldwani town by conducting a field survey was to observe and understand if there is shift away from Kumauni.

Across different domains

From the informal to the formal context.

By looking at the language used in different domains, one can get an idea as to whether there are any particular linguistic preferences for different domains and different interlocutors. Then what remains to be seen is whether this multilingual community is stable or unstable (Fishman, 1968). In the unstable case the gradual reallocation of different languages to different domains varies so fast that over an interval of time, people may give up one

language for the other. The picture is quite clear wherein the use of Kumauni decreases with the decrease in age. This pattern appears to be consistent. The younger generation is more prone to language attrition levels.

1. *The language used by the older generation is assumed to be Kumauni.*

2. *Language used in the home domain shows variation. Kumauni and Hindi are used in varying degree.*

3. *The language used among the younger ones is Hindi and English with very little of Kumauni.*

4. Overall hierarchy is somewhat like O>M>Y, where 'O' stands for old informants, 'M' for (middle age) informants and 'Y' for young informants, and within youth the use of Kumauni is greater in young males as compared to the young females.

Table 4.7: Education levels (E1, E2, E3) Vs. Language Priority for (Kumauni, Hindi ,Other) in different Domains (home, friends, work place, religious places).

<u>HOME</u>	<u>E 1</u>	<u>E 2</u>	<u>E 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	10	11	34	55
Hindi	0	12	31	43
Other	0	0	2	2
Total	10	23	67	100
<u>FRIENDS</u>	<u>E 1</u>	<u>E 2</u>	<u>E 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	6	8	18	32
Hindi	6	23	30	59
Other	0	2	7	9
Total	12	33	55	100
<u>WORK PLACE</u>	<u>E 1</u>	<u>E 2</u>	<u>E 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	5	3	19	27
Hindi	5	20	48	73
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	10	23	67	100
<u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u>	<u>E 1</u>	<u>E 2</u>	<u>E 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	5	14	25	44
Hindi	6	10	40	56
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	11	24	65	100

E1= Up to Vth standard

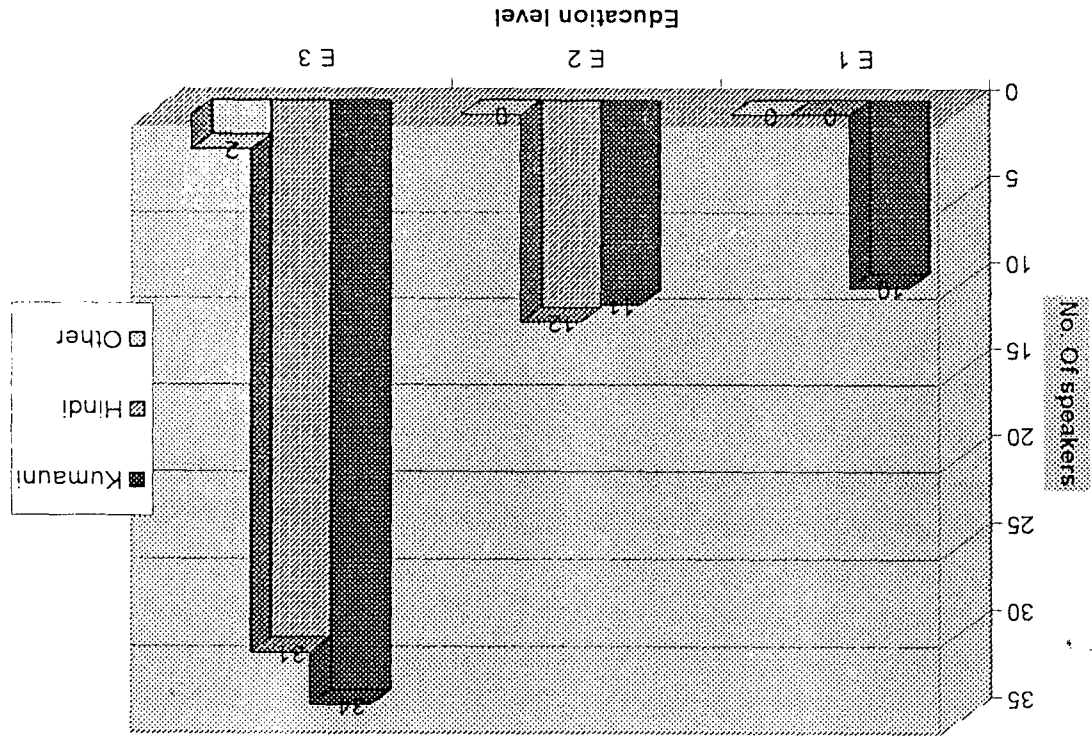
E2= VI to Xth standard

E3= XIth and above

The table no. 4.7 given above shows the three education levels, which correspond to language priority among various domains. There is a remarkable variation in usage of Kumauni language across home domain, religious domain, domain with respect to workplace and the domain of friends.

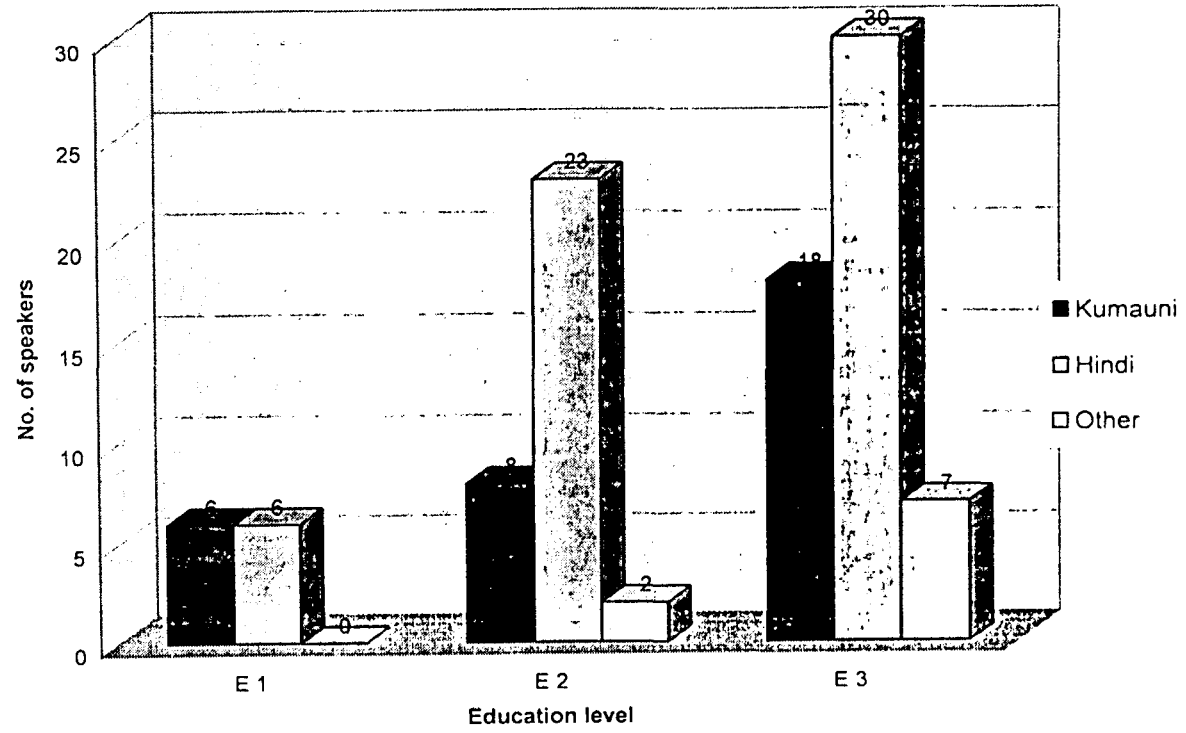
The above table-4.7 also reflects a polarity in the preferences to Hindi. As indicated by the table, the percentage of Hindi speakers supercedes that of Kumauni both in 'friends' and 'work place' domain. After analysing all the four domains the picture that emerges is that in 'friends' domain, other languages enjoy a considerable usage as compared to the other domains where it is negligible.

In the above table-(4.7) we see that with the increase in educational levels across all domains, there is a trend of increment in the language acquisition of both Hindi and Kumauni, but the trend in favour of Hindi language acquisition is more (except in the home domain).

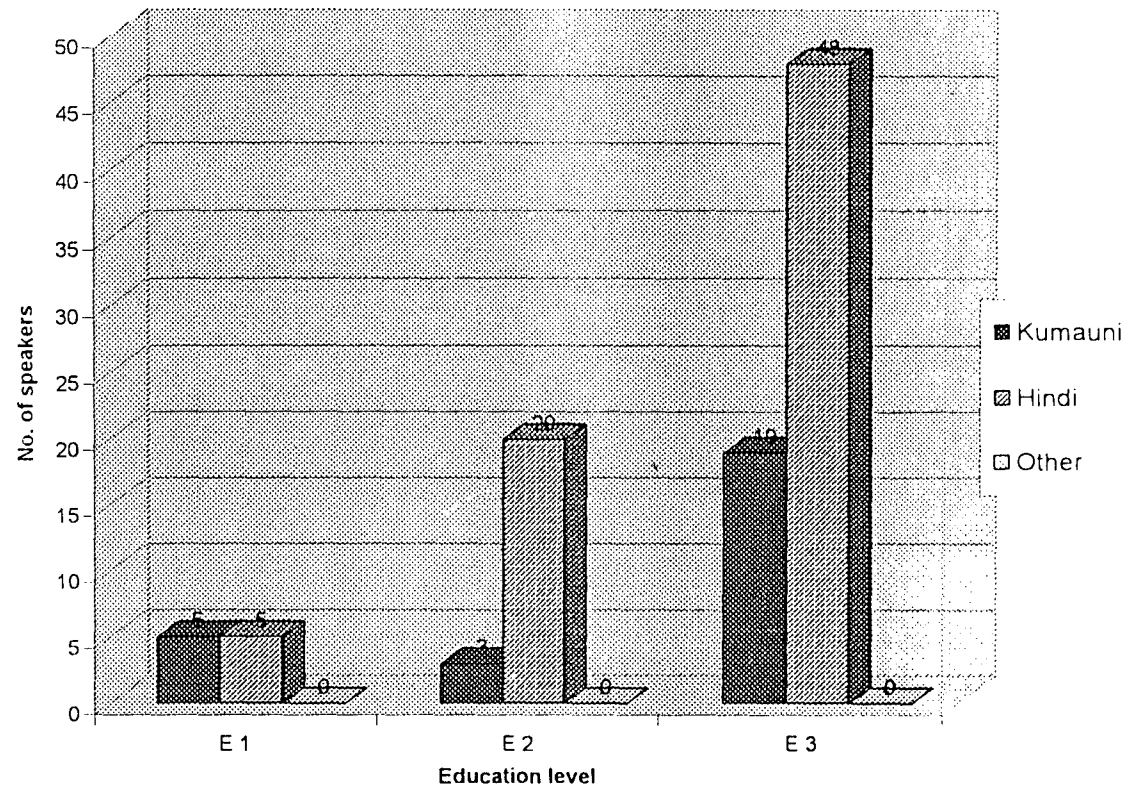


HOME

FRIENDS



WORK PLACE



RELIGIOUS PLACE

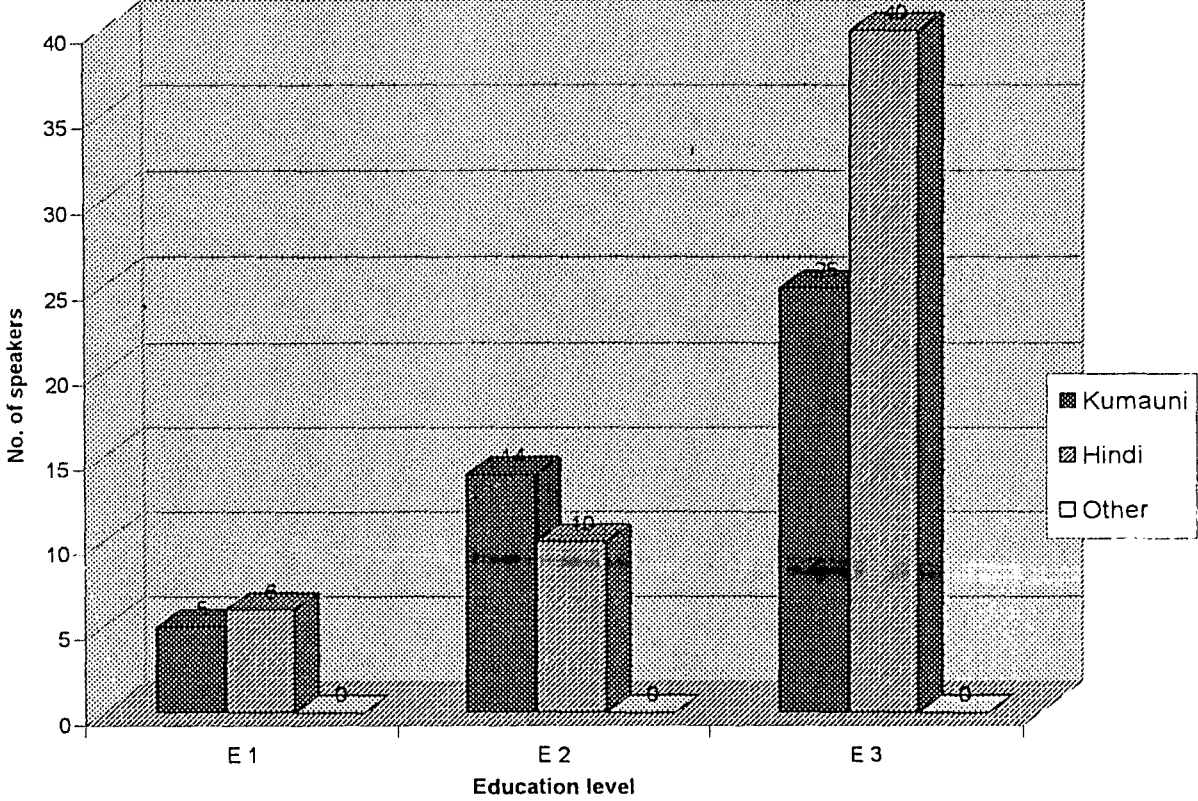


Table 4.8: Income levels (I1 , I2, I3) Vs. Language Priority for (Kumauni, Hindi ,Other) in different Domains(home, friends, work place, religious places).

<u>HOME</u>	<u>I 1</u>	<u>I 2</u>	<u>I 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	23	25	7	55
Hindi	35	3	6	44
Other	0	0	1	1
Total	58	28	14	100
<u>FRIENDS</u>	<u>I 1</u>	<u>I 2</u>	<u>I 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	13	12	2	27
Hindi	40	16	15	71
Other	0	0	2	2
Total	53	28	19	100
<u>WORK PLACE</u>	<u>I 1</u>	<u>I 2</u>	<u>I 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	10	14	3	27
Hindi	47	14	10	71
Other	0	0	2	2
Total	57	28	15	100
<u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u>	<u>I 1</u>	<u>I 2</u>	<u>I 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Kumauni</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>44</u>
Hindi	32	15	9	56
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	59	28	13	100

I 1 = Up to Rs. 5,000

I 2 = Rs. 5,000 to 10,000

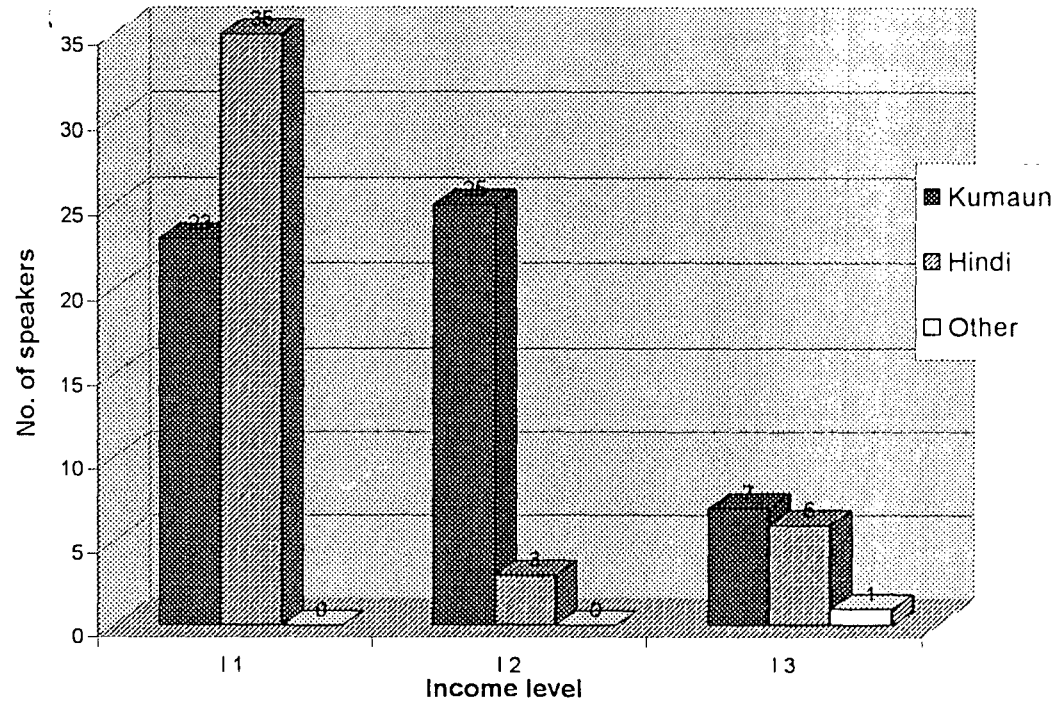
I 3 = Rs. 10,000 and above

In the overall view that emerges from table no. 4.8 is that Hindi is the language of preference across all the income-groups.

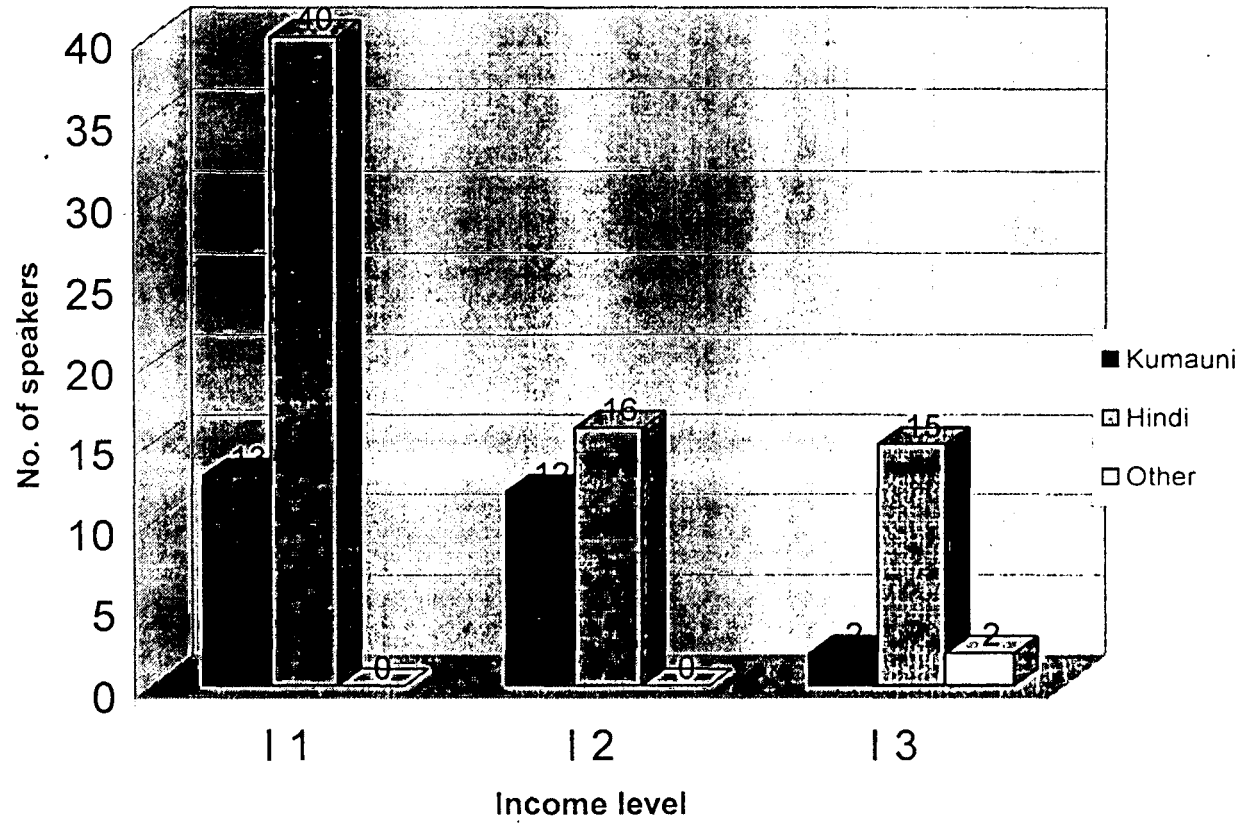
Another thing, which emerges, is that the native language (Kumauni) has to compete with Hindi in the domain of friends and work place in the higher income group. Even in the case of religious domain, there is a surprising element i.e. Hindi dominating over Kumauni across all the income groups.

In the middle income group, Hindi and Kumauni compete with each other across the three domains, whereas, in the home domain Kumauni is given preference. In the lower income group, Hindi is the language of preference. As the ambition during their upbringing is to be socially mobile, they have to be conversant in Hindi. Moreover, the government schools where Hindi is the medium of instruction meet their educational needs and tend to instil in them a preference for Hindi.

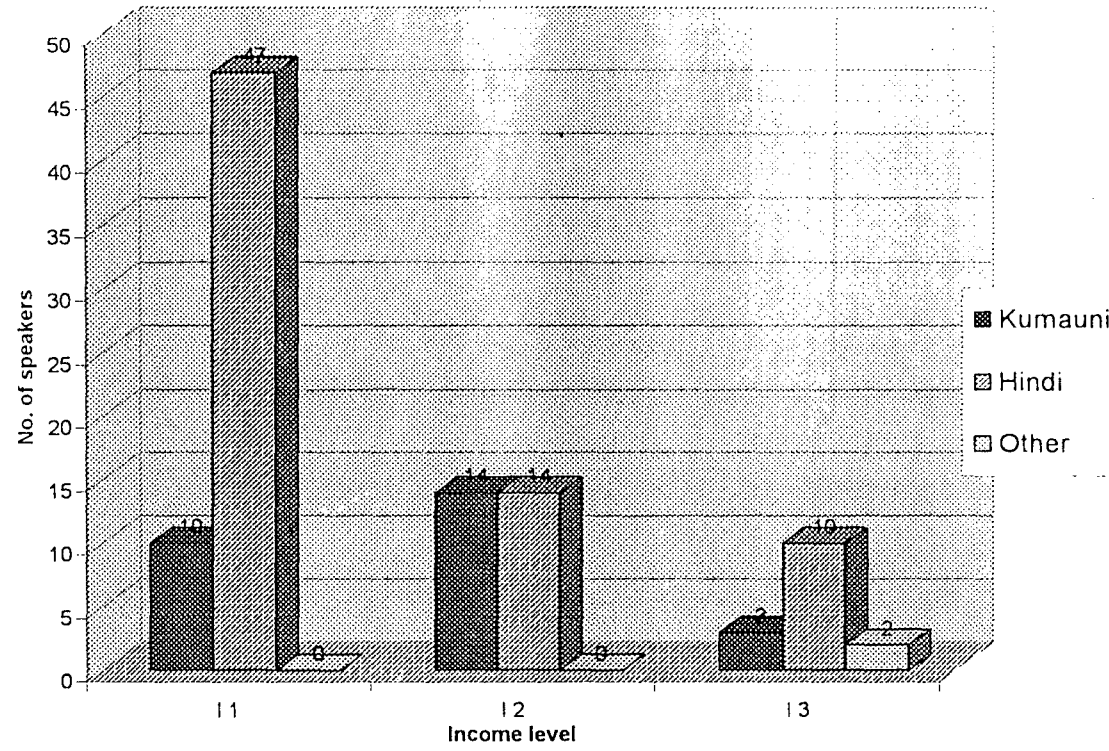
HOME



FRIENDS



AT WORK PLACE



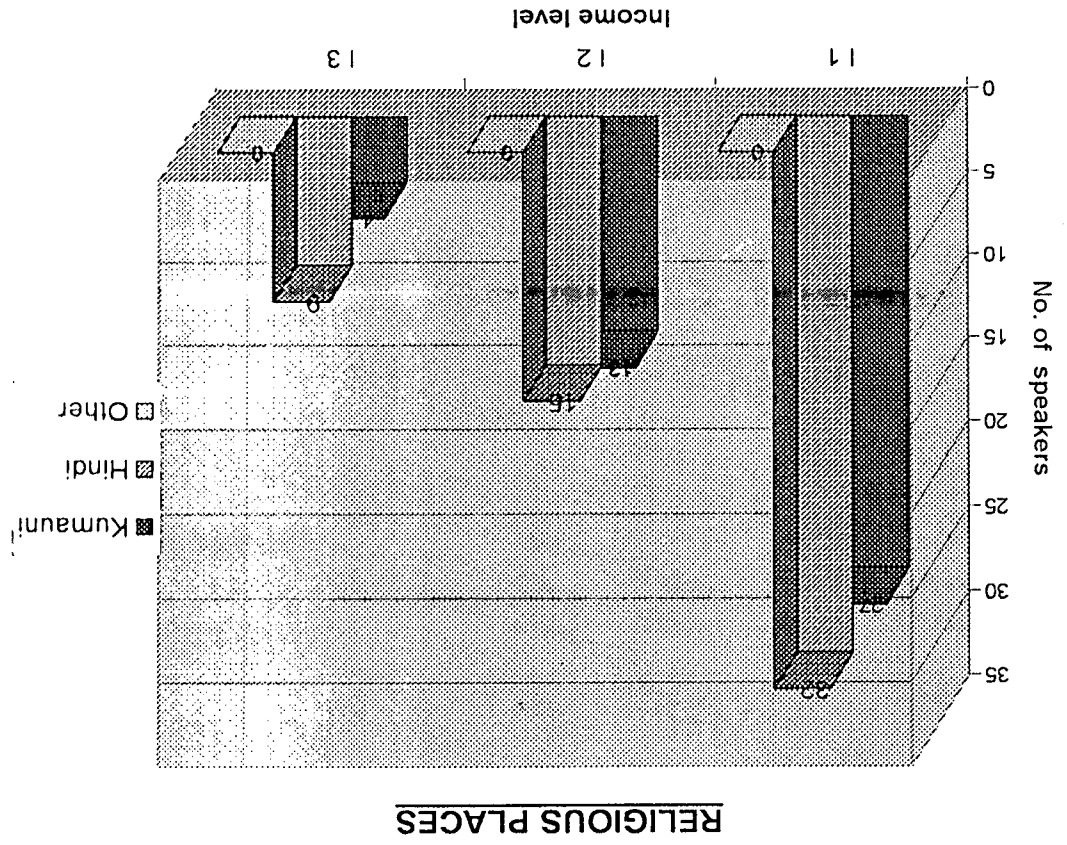
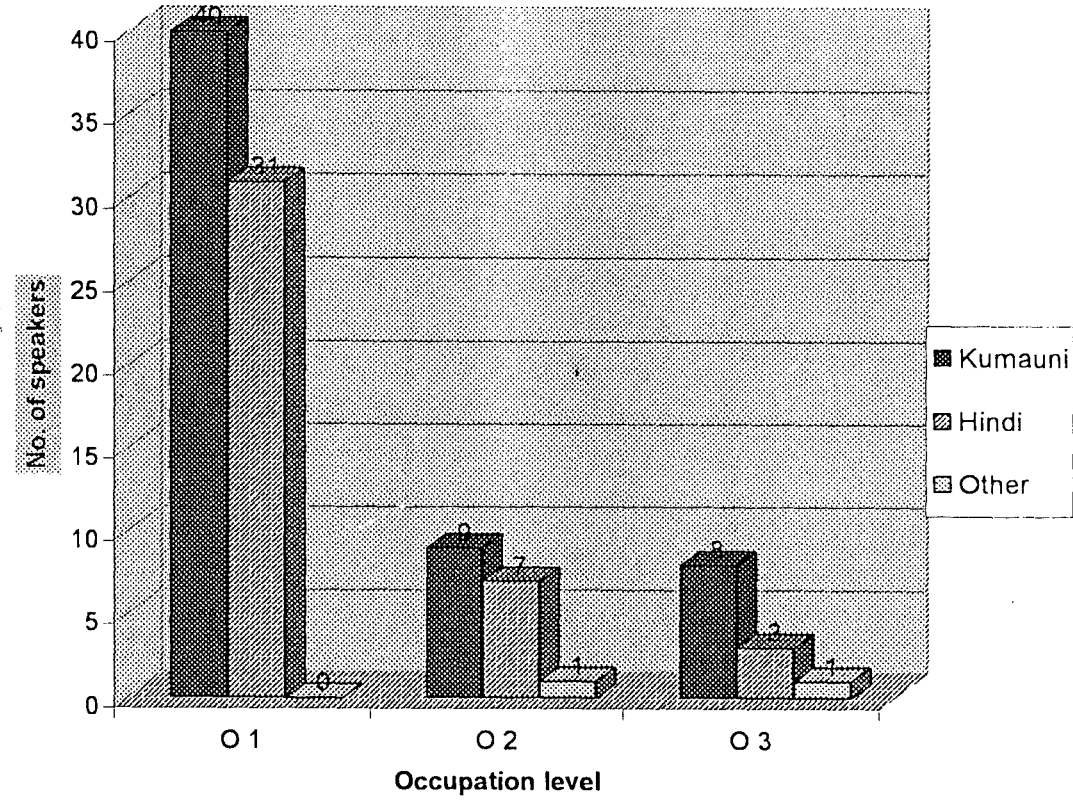


Table 4.9: Occupations levels (O 1, O 2, O 3) Vs. Language priority (for Kumauni, Hindi, Other) in different Domains(home, friends, work places, religious places)				
HOME	O 1	O 2	O 3	Total
Kumauni	40	9	8	57
Hindi	31	7	3	41
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	71	17	12	100
FRIENDS	O 1	O 2	O 3	Total
Kumauni	16	7	3	26
Hindi	54	10	8	72
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	70	18	12	100
WORK PLACE	O 1	O 2	O 3	Total
Kumauni	14	7	6	27
Hindi	57	9	5	71
Other	1	0	1	2
Total	72	16	12	100
RELIGIOUS PLACE	O 1	O 2	O 3	Total
Kumauni	30	12	5	47
Hindi	40	7	6	53
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	70	19	11	100
O 1= Others (student, house wife, agriculture etc.)				
O 2= Businessmen				
O 3= Govt. servants				

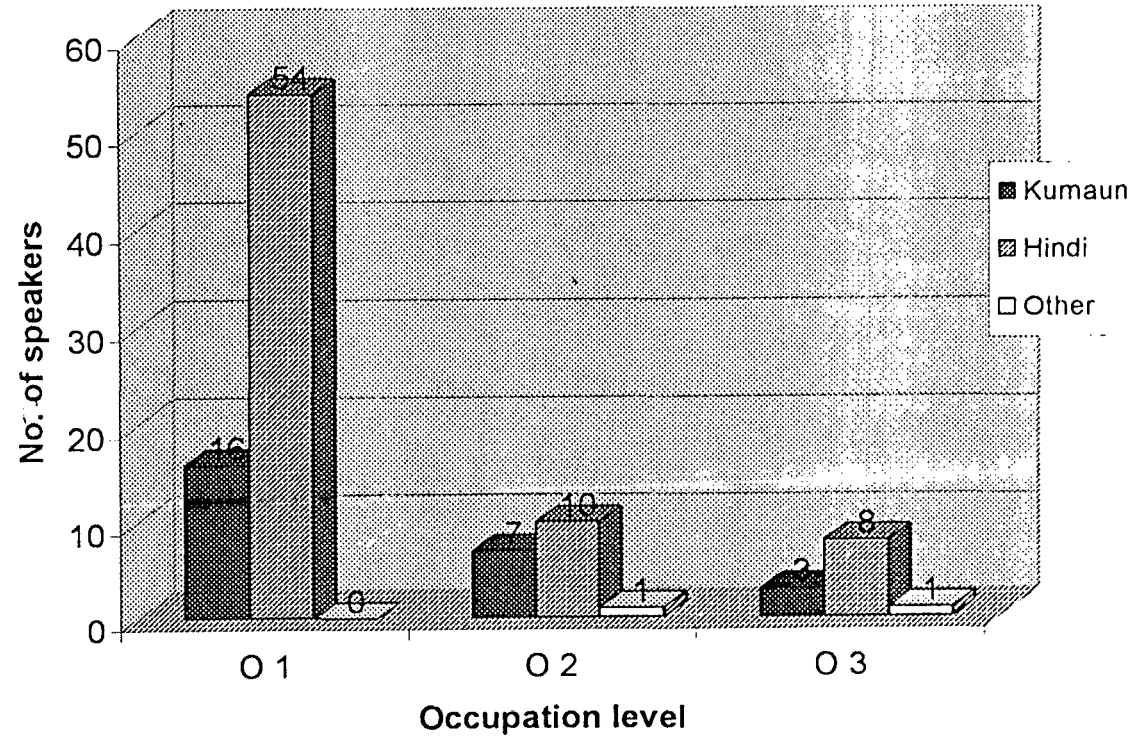
From table no. 4.9 we find that across the occupational groups Kumauni is the language of preference in the home domain as compared to Hindi, whereas Hindi is the language of preference across workplace (except O-3 i.e. government servants) and friends domain compared to Kumauni. In case of religious domain, Kumauni and Hindi co-exist with declining dominance of Hindi with the shift from O-1 to O-3.

In the occupational scale related to the business community, Kumauni enjoys preference over Hindi in religious and home domain. In workplace, Kumauni and Hindi are co-existing without any competition. In the occupational scale-3, there is a little variation among two languages in the domains of workplace and religious place.

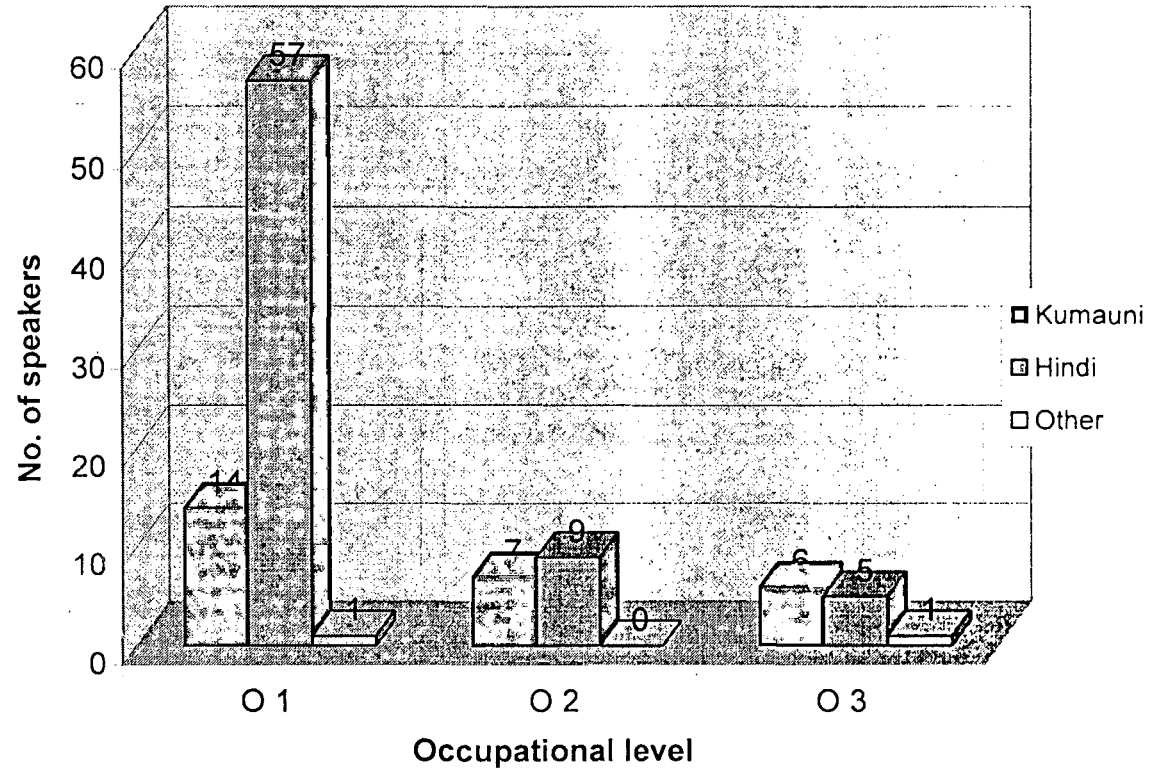
AT HOME



WITH FRIENDS



AT WORK PLACE



RELIGIOUS PLACES

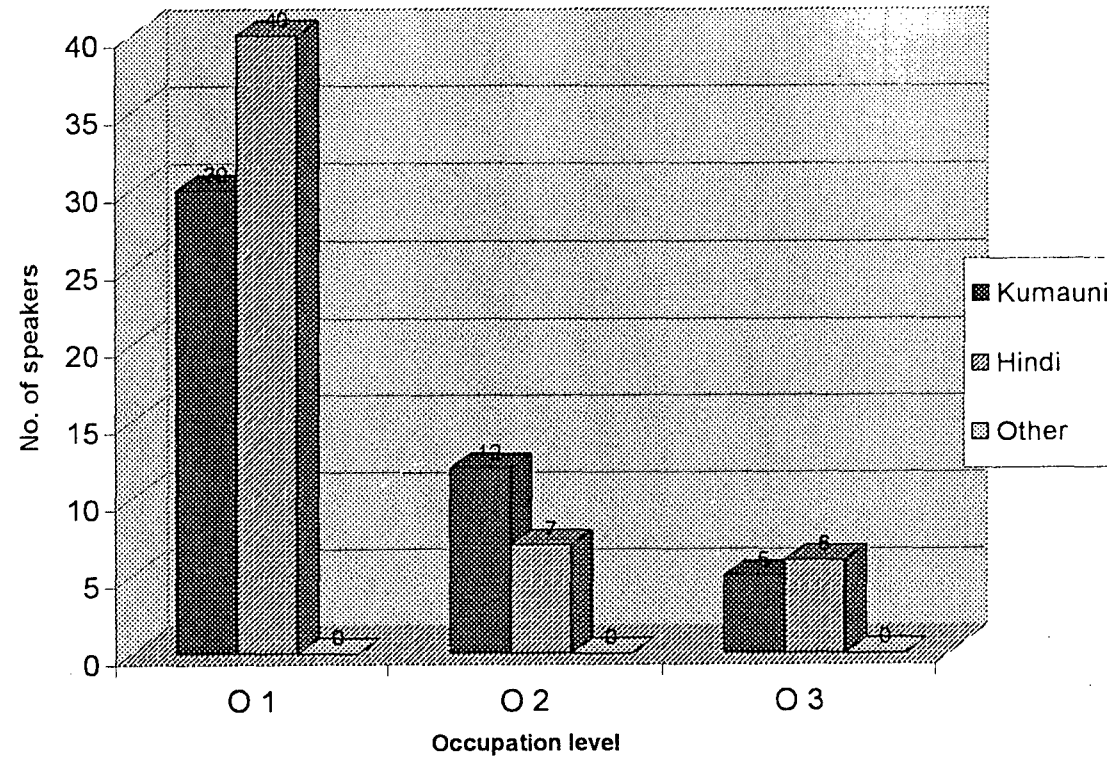
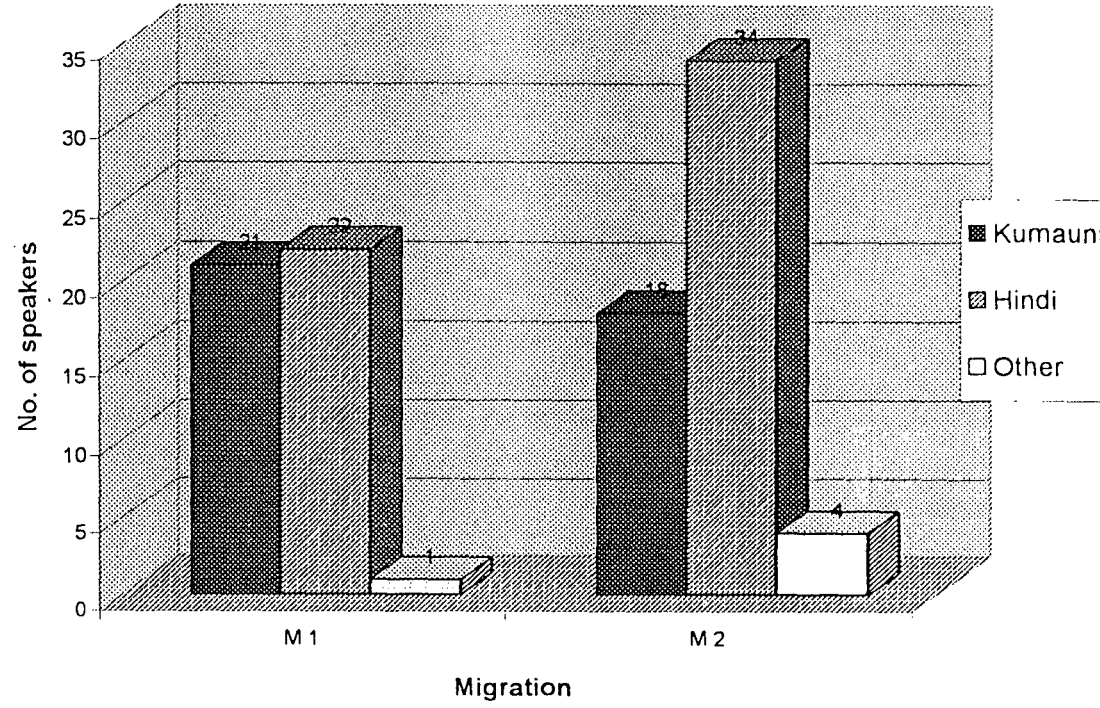


Table 4.10: Migration (self, not self) Vs.Language priority (for Kumauni, Hindi, Other) in different Domains(home, friends, work place, religious places).

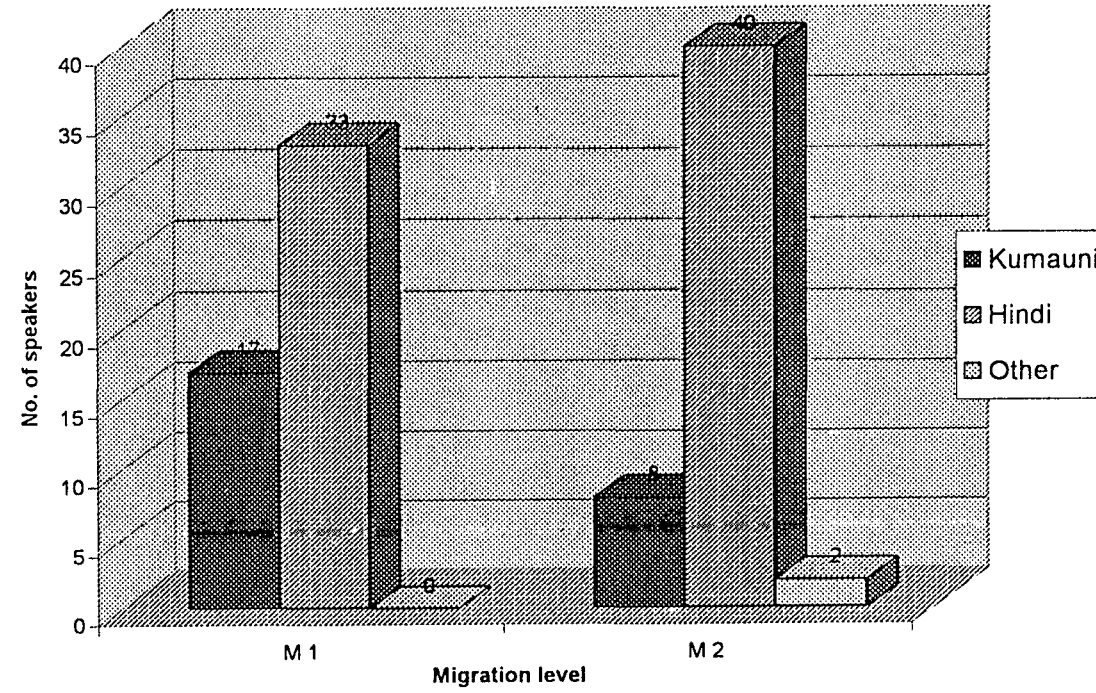
<u>HOME</u>	<u>M 1</u>	<u>M 2</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	21	18	39
Hindi	22	34	56
Other	1	4	5
Total	44	56	100
<u>FRIENDS</u>	<u>M 1</u>	<u>M 2</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	17	8	25
Hindi	33	40	73
Other	0	2	2
Total	50	50	100
<u>WORK PLACE</u>	<u>M 1</u>	<u>M 2</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	19	8	27
Hindi	31	41	72
Other	0	1	1
Total	50	50	100
<u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u>	<u>M 1</u>	<u>M 2</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	25	20	45
Hindi	24	31	55
Other	0	0	0
Total	49	51	100
M 1= migrated			
M 2= Not migrated			

From table-(4.10) we see that the migrated informants give more priority to Kumauni as compared to Hindi, only in the religious domain. Hindi is given more priority across all the domains. Only one percent of migrated respondents uses other languages in the home domain. Among the non-migrated informants, Hindi is given more priority compared to that of Kumauni in across all the domains, which shows that language shift exist at the core of the situation.

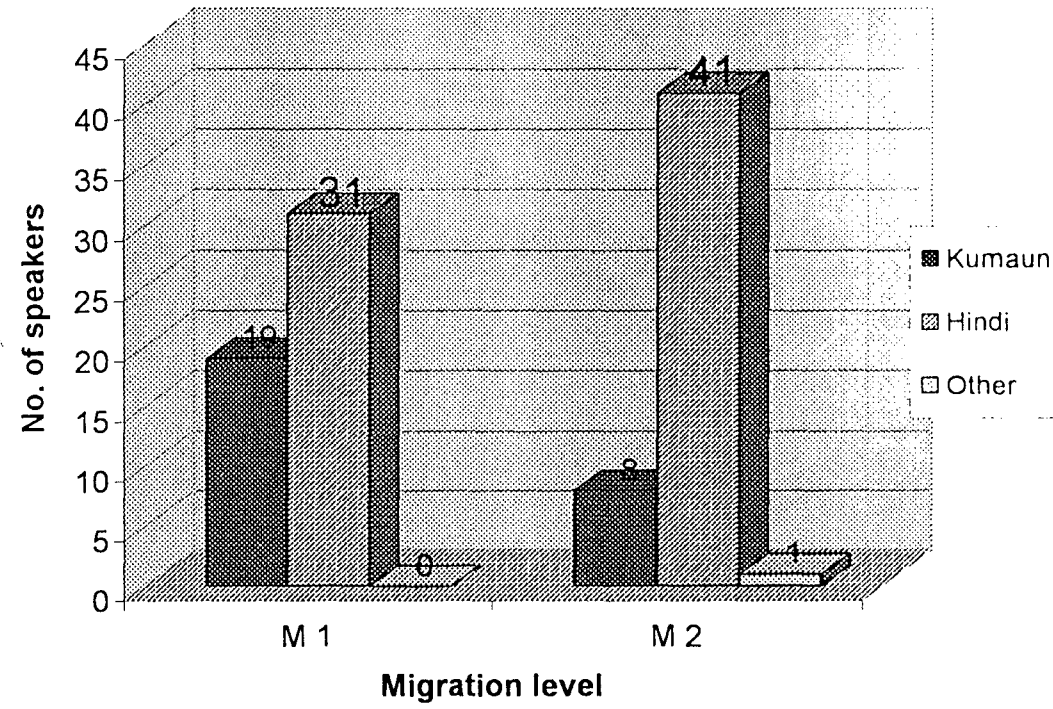
AT HOME



WITH FRIENDS



AT WORK PLACES



AT RELIGIOUS PLACES

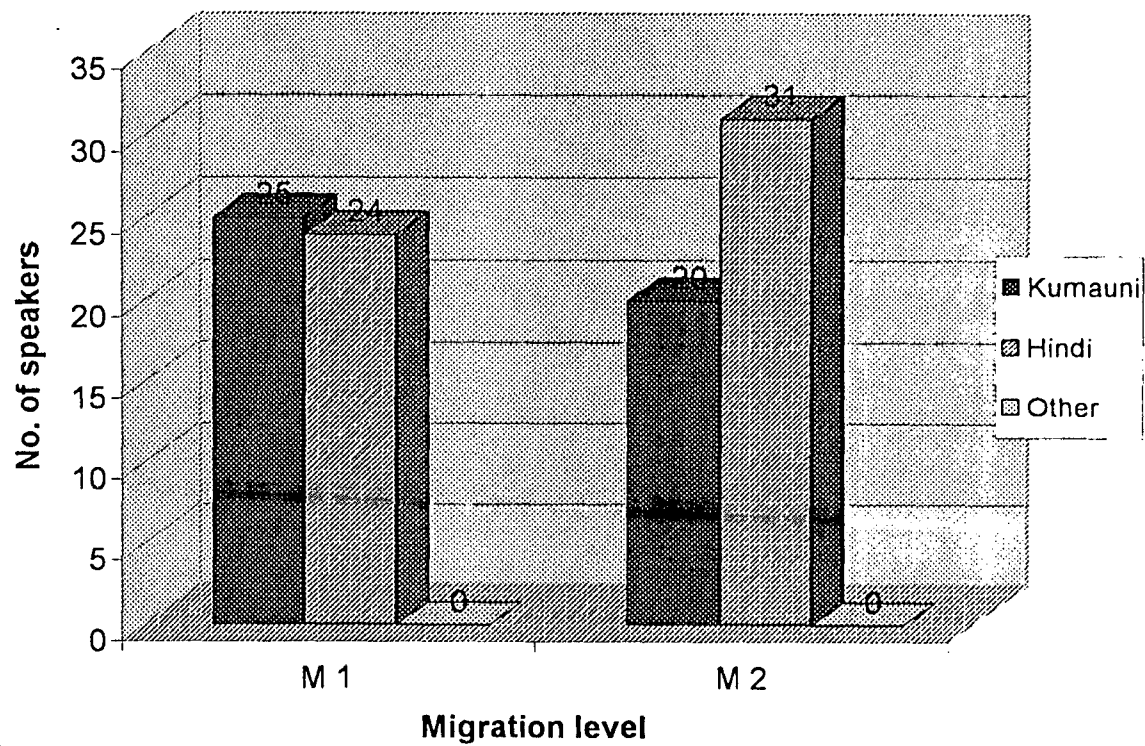


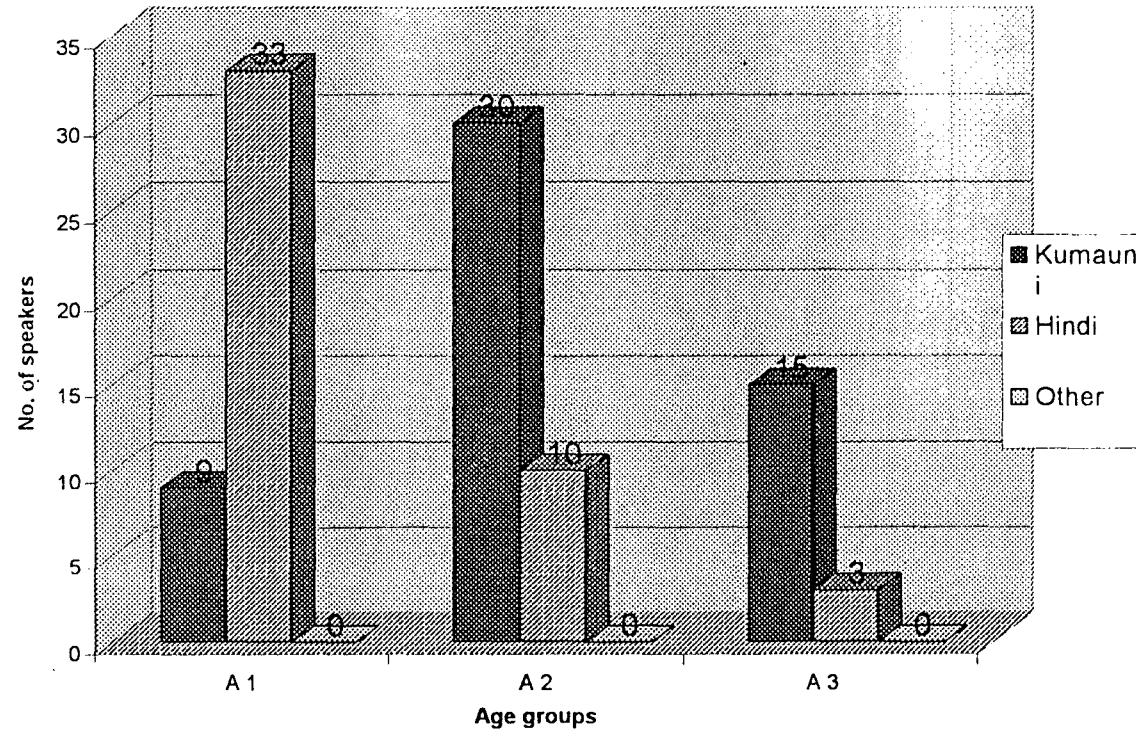
Table 4.11: Age groups(A 1, A 2, A 3) Vs. Language priorities (for Kumauni, Hindi, Other) in different Domains (home, friends, work places, religious places).				
HOME	A 1	A 2	A 3	Total
Kumauni	9	30	15	54
Hindi	33	10	3	46
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	42	40	18	100
FRIENDS	A 1	A 2	A 3	Total
Kumauni	2	17	7	26
Hindi	38	23	11	72
Other	2	0	0	2
Total	42	40	18	100
WORK PLACE	A 1	A 2	A 3	Total
Kumauni	0	18	9	27
Hindi	40	22	9	71
Other	2	0	0	2
Total	42	40	18	100
RELIGIOUS PLACE	A 1	A 2	A 3	Total
Kumauni	15	18	11	44
Hindi	27	22	7	56
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	42	40	18	100
A 1= Below 25 years				
A 2=26 to 45 years				
A 3= 46 and above				

From the table no. (4.11) we find that the younger generation across various domains shows the least preference for Kumauni except in religious domain.

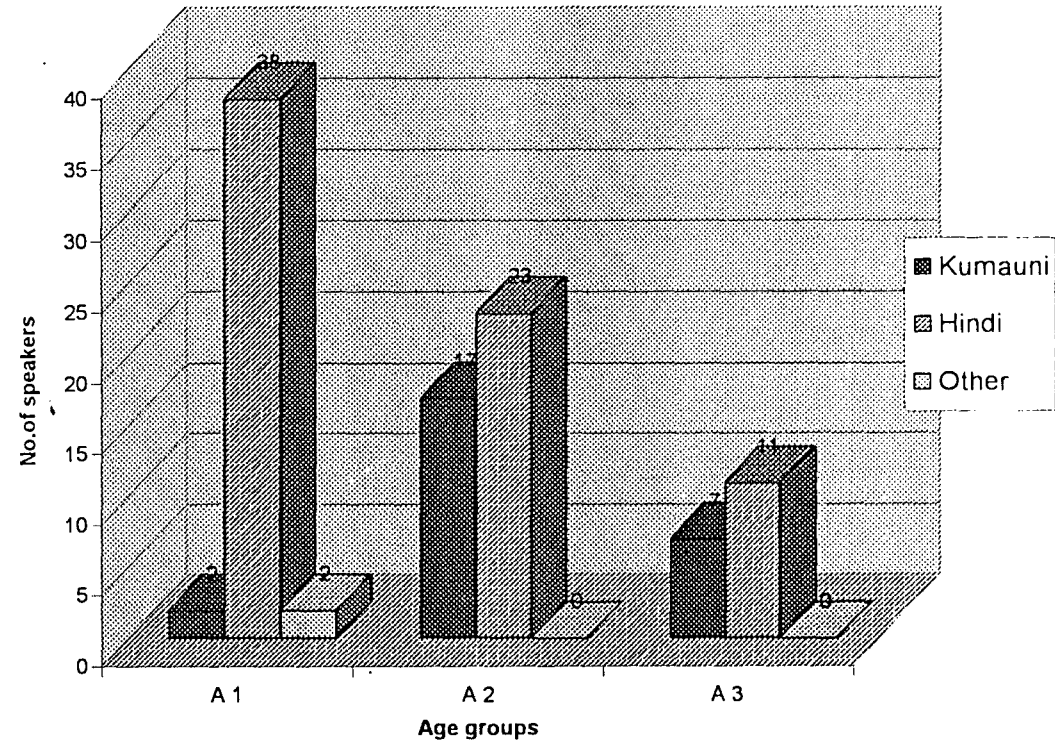
The middle age group has no preference for other languages but they use Kumauni and Hindi alternatively across the three domains. For them, the language of preference in home domain is Kumauni.

The old age group prefers using Kumauni both at home and in religious domains. They give due importance to both Kumauni and Hindi at workplace. If we look at the different age groups, the middle age group shows most vibrancy in Kumauni. Other language is being acquired only by younger generation.

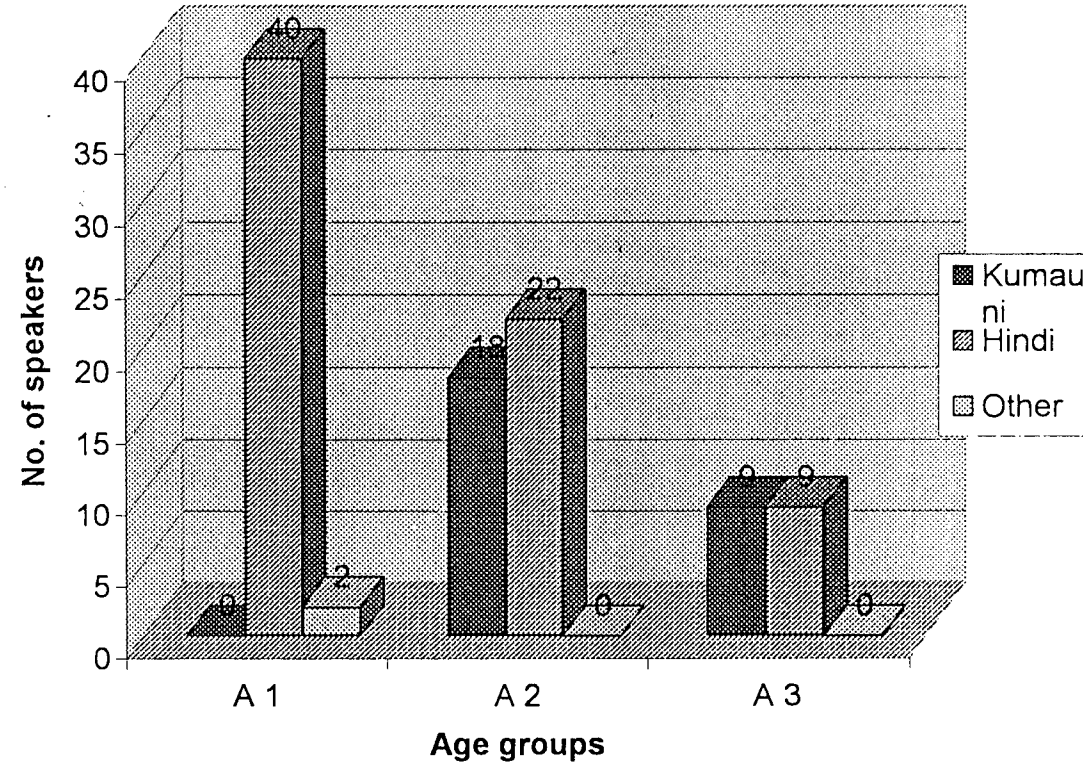
AT HOME



WITH FRIENDS



AT WORK PLACES



AT RELIGIOUS PLACE

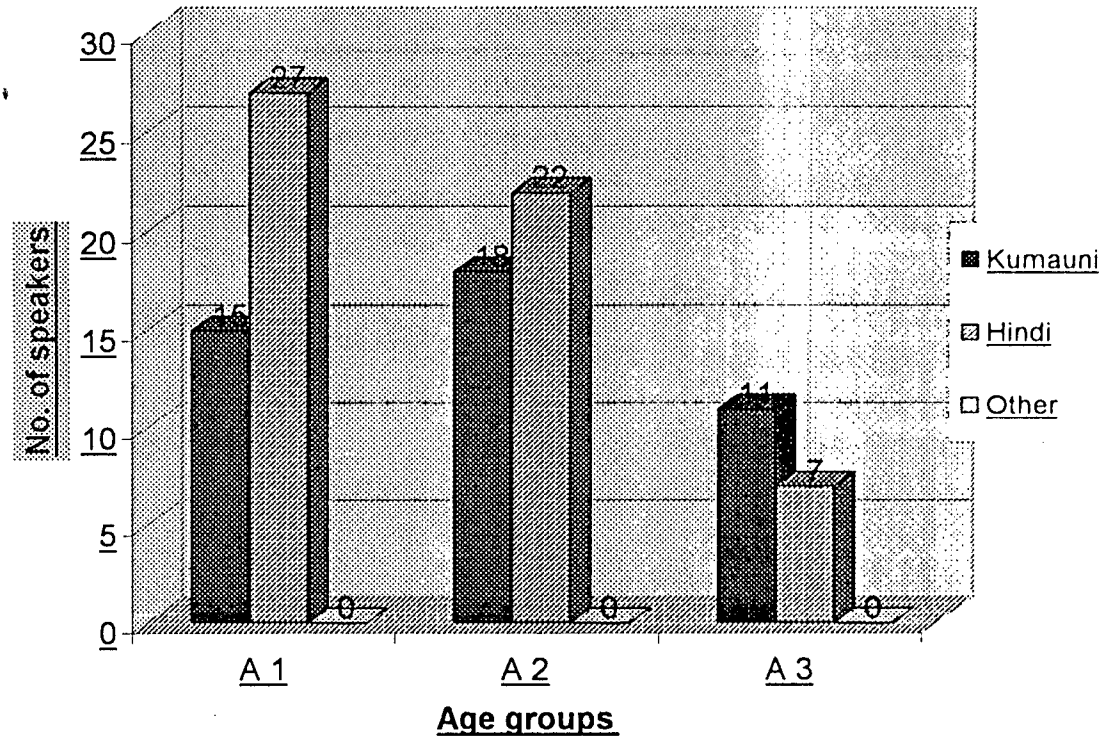
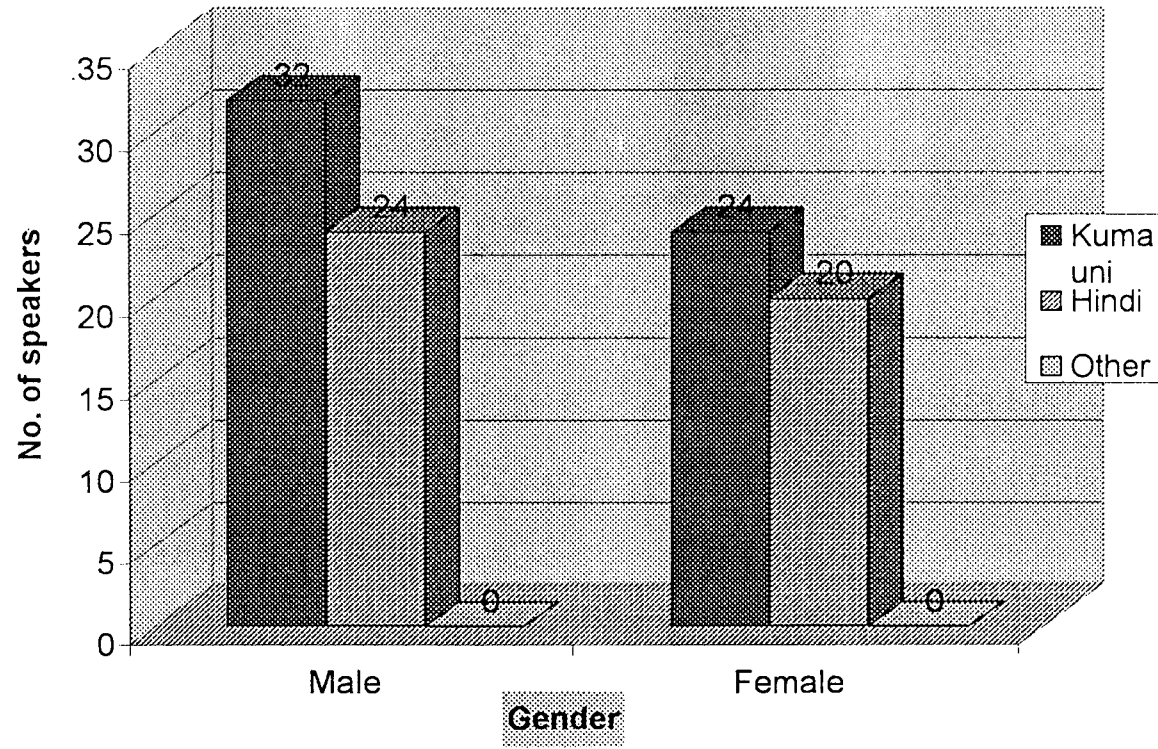


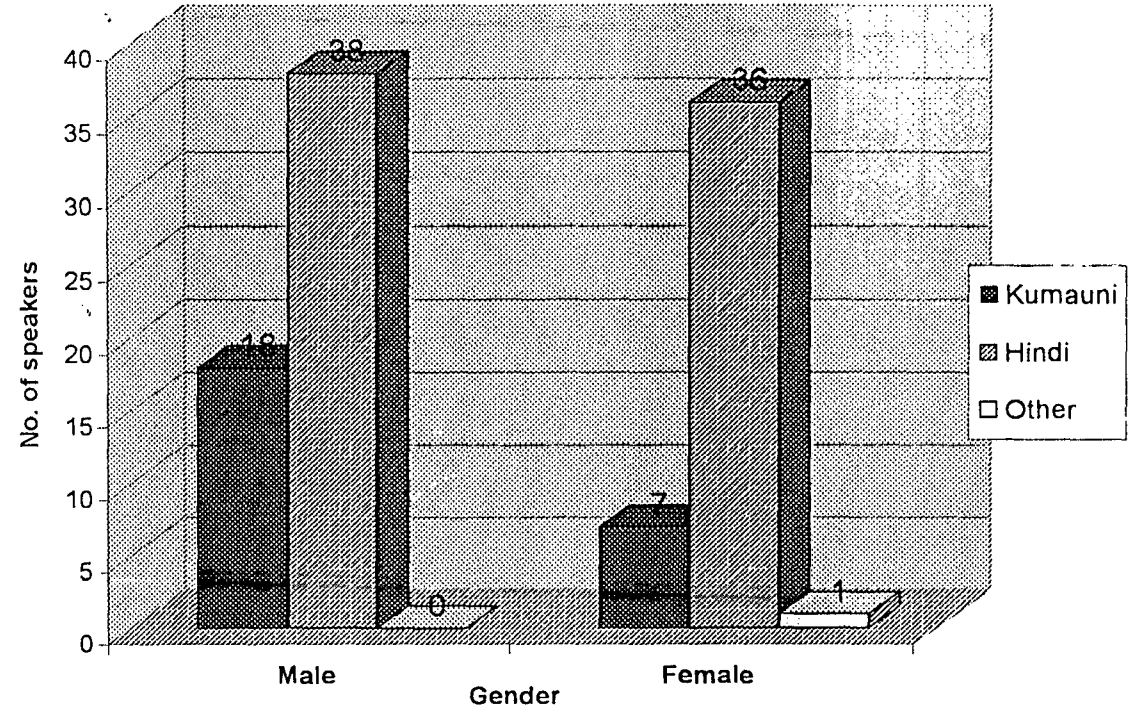
Table 4.12: Gender(male, female) Vs. Language priority for (Kumauni, Hindi, Other) in different Domains(home, friends,work place,religious place).			
<u>HOME</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	32	24	56
Hindi	24	20	44
Other	0	0	0
Total	56	44	100
<u>FRIENDS</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	18	7	25
Hindi	38	36	74
Other	0	1	1
Total	56	44	100
<u>WORK PLACE</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	20	7	27
Hindi	36	37	73
Other	0	0	0
Total	56	44	100
<u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	22	22	44
Hindi	34	22	56
Other	0	0	0
Total	56	44	100

From table no. 4.12 we see that the males prefer Kumauni at home domain; females use Kumauni and Hindi with equal ease in all the domains and they use Hindi and Kumauni interchangeably while performing religious discourses. The surprising element is that one out of 44 females are using other language when it comes to 'friends' domain.

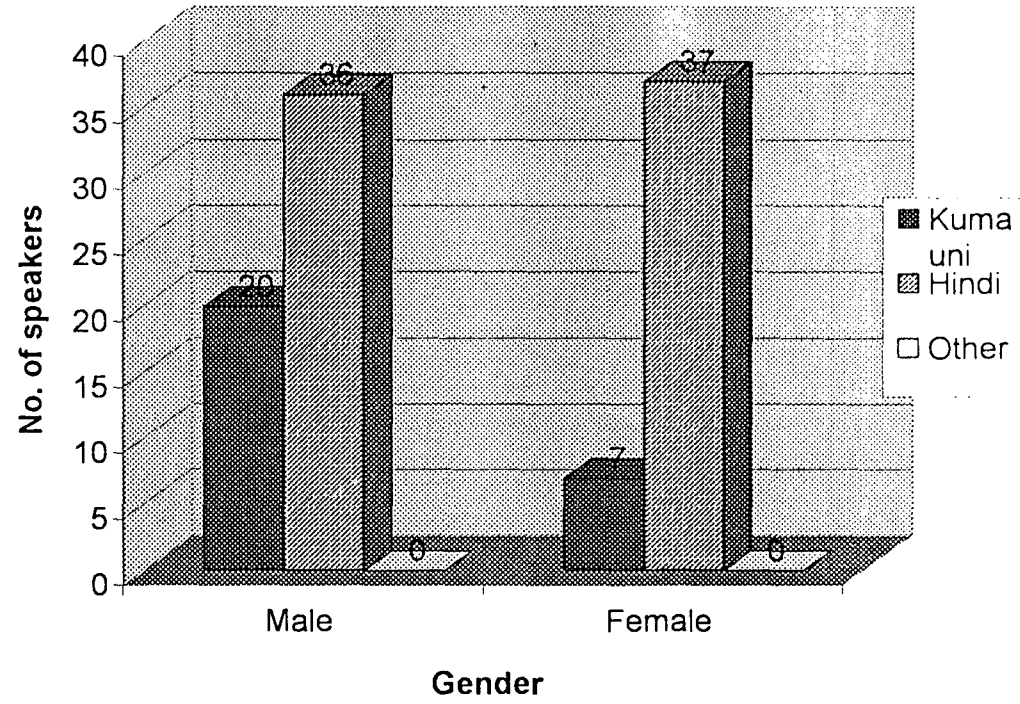
AT HOME



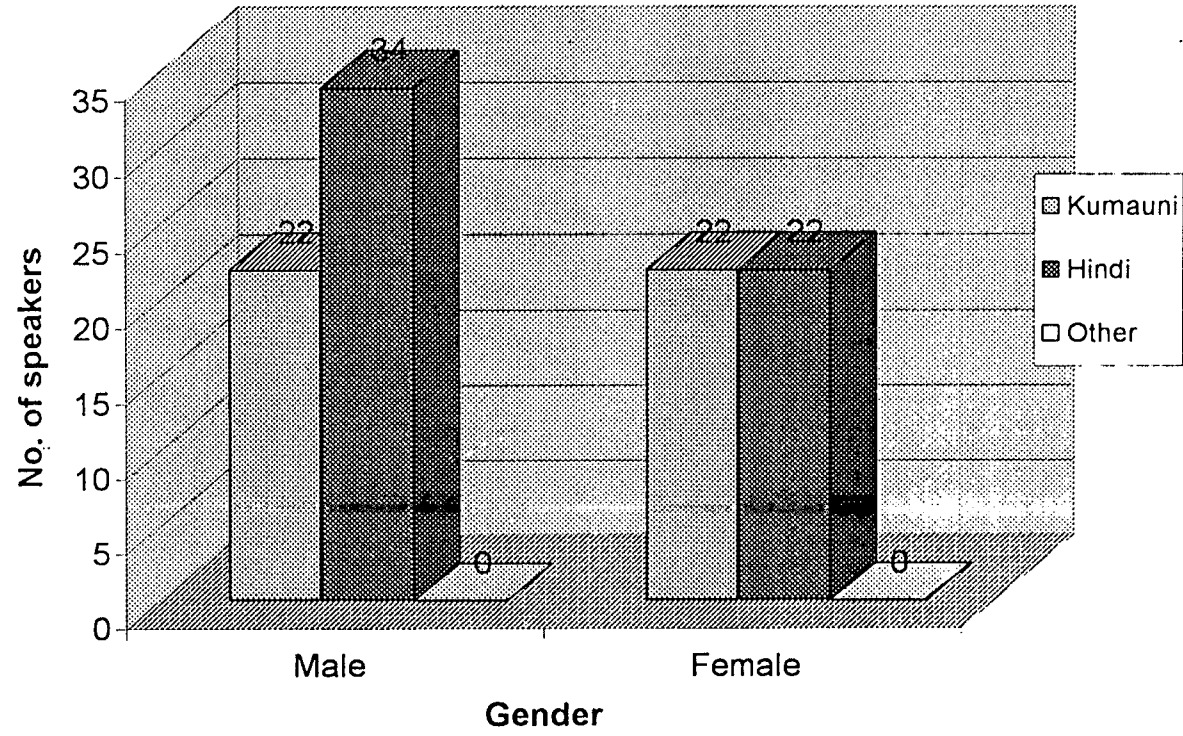
WITH FRIENDS



AT WORK PLACE



AT RELIGIOUS PLACES



CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In a multilingual, and multicultural society like India, continuous movement of people over a long period has resulted in diffusion of linguistic features across language families. One of the significant features of Indian society is the existence of stable bilingual and multilingual communities.

The domain where usually the language is free from any pressure is home. Unless mother tongue is properly maintained, reinforced in children and transferred from one generation to another, there is a chance of adoption of dominant language of the host area as mother tongue. This in turn results in language shift.

From the study it is clear that if there is a linguistic group which claims a minority status in other linguistically dominant language area, it always shows bilingual identity in the following conditions:

1. If there is no facility for using their language in the formal domains like work places, offices, schools, market place etc.
2. If that group is numerically less significant in social, economic and political terms .
3. If that group is geographically isolated to a large extent from their native land.
4. If that group does not want to reveal their identity in the host area.

All these factors are relevant to Kumauni population in Haldwani. Apart from this, variables like age, education, income,

migration, sex and different domains of language use also plays an important role in various aspects of language use.

Language use in various domains shows that Kumauni is only used at home and with relatives, and in religious places. The majority language of the area, Hindi is used extensively in all domains other than home and in religious places. English is also used by some but its use is restricted to some domains.

Generally, patterns of language use in domains other than home and religious places indicates structural incorporation of another language due to functional and situational needs.

Attitudes towards language etc. have been verified through various questions. The analysis shows that Kumaunis in Haldwani are very proud of their language. They are friendly towards Hindi language and care for their identity.

It is the retention of mother tongue in the home domain and some of the language structure at all levels of grammar, i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax that signal the continuity of language and identity of its speech community.

Finally we can say that mother tongue cannot be maintained for a long period only by way of speaking it in home domain. Mother tongue is maintained when the speakers use it for a wide variety of purposes. They should speak it, write it, work in it, govern themselves in it, publish materials in it, use it in mass media and they should keep in touch with those who use the same language elsewhere.

However, as far as Kumauni Language in Haldwani is concerned, the domain of language use is restricted to home and the religious places. Mother tongue is maximally maintained in

the home domain and maximum shift is taking place in workplace and peer group. The younger generation is becoming more bilingual.

APPENDICES

Background Information

1. Informant Name
2. Sex: M [] F []
3. Age: Below 25 26-45 46 & above
4. Education: Illiterate Literate
 Primary [upto V Std.] Secondary [VI to Xth Std.] H. Sec. and above []
5. Languages Known in Priority:
6. Income [upto-5000] [5000-10000] [10000 & above]
7. Occupation: Student, teacher, businessperson, agriculture, unemployed, govt. service etc.
8. Place of birth
 a) Infomants
 b) Father's
 c) Mother's
 d) Spouse's
9. Have you migrated Yes [] No [] Not Known []
 Duration of stay
 a) Self
 b) Father/Husband
- If yes, State
 a) Earlier place of residence (State, Town)
 b) No. of years since migration, purpose of migration
10. Do people from your native place continue to migrate to this place.
 Yes [] No [] Not Known []
11. Do you live in nuclear/joint family?
12. Are people of your community concentrated in a place or dispersed in many localities
 a) Concentrated
 b) Dispersed
13. What are the major functions and festivals observed in your speech community
 a) Social
 b) Cultural
 c) Religious
14. What are the other communities in the area?
 a) language
 b) religion
15. What other communities do your come in contact with frequent and what is the nature and duration of contact.
- Language Maintenance and Shift
16. What language(s) do you speak (Priority/preference)
 a) at home
 b) with friends
 c) with neighbours
 d) religious places
17. Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home.
 Yes [] No [] No Opinion []
18. If yes, how far do you consider the following factors response for it.

a) You want your children to be proficient in this (OT) lg(s)

i) For job opportunities			
ii) for higher education			
iii) lg. Group integration			

b) You consider it (OT) important for

i) Social status and prestige			

i) business and other economic gains			
--------------------------------------	--	--	--

c) You consider there is

i) Social Pressure			
ii) any other			

18. If your MT is not taught in schools, have you any arrangements to teach it.

- a) at home by parents
- b) by tutor

19. In what script is your child taught to read and write your MT.

20. If schools are opened for teaching your language (MT) as a subject or is used as a medium of instruction will be support it.

	Subject		Medium	
	Yes		Yes	
a) by sending your children				
b) encouraging other members of your community to send their children				
c) by providing financial help				
d) by providing self service				

21. Are there newspapers/magazines in your language (MT) Yes [] No []

22. If yes, do you subscribe to: Yes [] No []

Newspapers		
Magazines		

23. Who reads these newspapers/magazines

	Newspapers	Magazine
a) Self		
b) Spouse		
c) Children		
d) Father		
e) Mother		

24. You don't subscribe because

- a) you don't know the script
- b) you are not interested
- c) can't afford

25. If a newspaper/magazine is started in your language (MT) will you subscribe for it?

Yes [] No []

26. Do you subscribe for newspaper/magazine coming out in other languages. If yes, to which language.

Language	Newspaper	Magazine

27. Are there any books of Literature/Science, etc. in your language (MT)

Yes [] No []

If not what are the reasons

- a) language is not developed
- b) there is no script for the language
- c) here aren't good writers
- d) printing facilities unavailable
- e) no market for them
- f) any other

28. How frequently do you listen see the following programs broadcast in your language (MT) on T.V. or Radio

	Regularly	Occasaionally	Never
a) News			
b) folk songs			
c) dramas			
d) talks			
e) religious			
f) film songs			
g) others			

29. If you do not listen to /radio programs/or see TV programs/ in your language (MT) what are the reasons.

- a) you do not get time
- b) programs are not broadcast at appropriate time
- c) programs are not interesting
- d) you listen to programs in other languages

30. If you listen to Radio programs /see TV programs in your language (MT) what are the reasons.

	Very much	Somewha t	Not at all
a) you enjoy them			
b) find them informative/educative			
c) you understand them better			
d) They are better than in other languages			

31. In what other languages do you listen to the ratio programs most frequently give order of preference?

32. If you listen to ratio programs see TV programs in other languages, what are the reasons

	Very much	Somewha t	Not at all
a) programs have a wide coverage			
b) they are better in quality			
c) they help in learning and using the language			
d) They are better than in other languages			

33. Were there any films in your language (MT) when you were child?

Yes [] No []

If yes, how frequeently did you see them if you did not see them - reasons

	Frequently	Occasionally	Never
a)			

34. Are there any attempts to make films in your language (MT) at present

Yes [] No []

If no how far do you consider the following important

	VM	SW	NA
a) they are expensive to make			
b) language is not developed enough			
c) there is not much market			
d) any other (specify)			

35. Do you have any association/organisation/institution of your own community

Yes [] No []

If yes, are you a member of them

	Yes	No
a) cultural		
b) religious		
c) language		
d) political		
e) literary		
f) any other		

36. How far are the members of your community interested in these organisations

	VM	SW	NA
a) Cultural			
b) religious			
c) language			
d) political			
e) literary			
f) others			

37. What language is used for interaction by members of the community when they meet

	MT	Other language (Specify)
a) while meeting formally		
b) while meeting informally		

38. Are members of other communities permitted to join these organisations

Yes [] No []

If yes, in what languages do you interact with them?

	Orally	In writing
A) your language (MT)		
b) their language		
c) any other language		

39. What languages do the social/political leaders of your community speak in the following situations

	MT	O. language (specify)
a) public speeches		
b) among themselves		
c) informally with members of your own community		
d) with members of other community		

40. If political leaders of your community do not make public speeches in your MT. What are the reasons?

- you MT is not suitable for public speech
- people laugh at it when they speak in it.
- It is used for humorous effects
- Members of other language community also attend speeches

41. Are you satisfied with the views and programs of your leaders regarding

	VM	SW	NA
a) for getting jobs			
b) the promotion of your language (MT)			

42. Among Kumauni, Hindi and Other languages which do you find most comfortable with

43. How useful do you think think your MT is for the following purpose?

	VM	SW	NA
a) for getting job			
b) for higher education			
c) for communication with other communities			
d) for spreading your cultural and social values			
e) for creating a sense of unity among the members of your own community			
f) for integration with other communities			
g) any other			

44. Do you have a place of worship constructed by your own community?

Yes [] No []

If yes, what language is used by the preacher in formal functions at that place.

a) the language spoken by you and your community

b) any other language (please specify)

45. Do you have any religious books in your language (MT)

Yes [] No []

a) if yes, what is the script

b) if no, are there any attempts to write/translate any such books in your language.

Yes [] No []

i) translating

ii) writing

46. How far is the use of your language (MT) in prayers and other religious activities helpful for the following

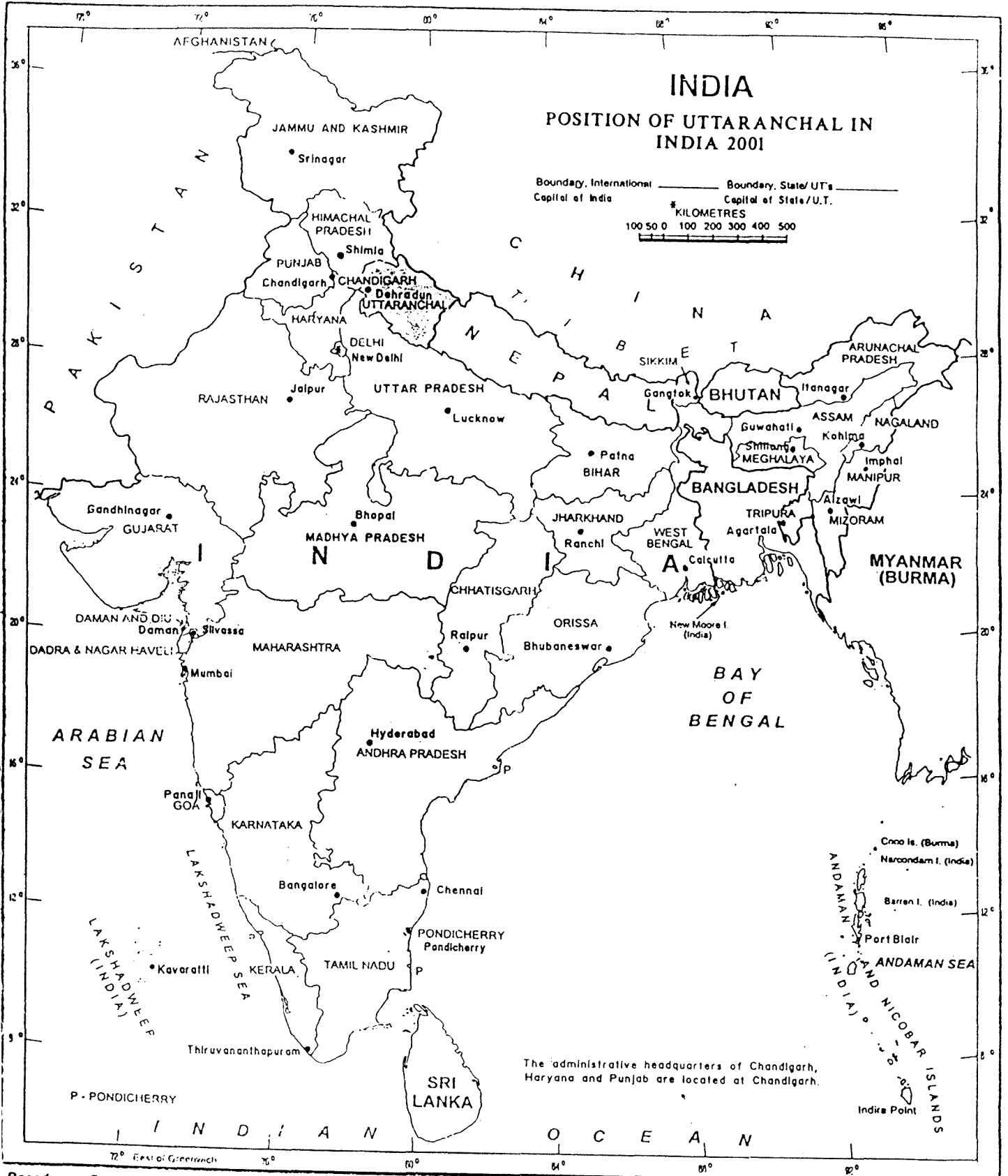
	VM	SW	NA
a) for promoting the religious unity of your group			
b) for stressing the separate identify of your language group			
c) for getting satisfaction in your prayer			
d) for preserving the religious rituals and practices			
e) organising cultural activities for			
i) the promotion of your culture			
ii) integration with other groups			

47. If you have any language organisation etc., how are the following objectives important?

	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
a) production of textbooks			
b) standardization of language			
c) promoting the use of language			
d) printing and publications of			
i) magazine/newspapers			
ii) cultural/religious work			
iii) literary work			
textbooks			
dictionaries			

48. Do you have any suggestions to make regarding the use/spread/development of your language and language shift (MT) give details

49. Stereotypes of (K,H,O languages), speakers (friendly, respectable, honest, cultured) attitude - opinion, position (feelings or opinion about something or someone, or a way of behaving that follows from this view an opinion of belief of idea, or a way of thinking (about something), verify - to say or with unpleasant things about (someone or something) in order to cause other people to have a bad opinion of them.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of Surveyor General of India

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The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.
The interstate boundaries between Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya shown on this map are as interpreted from the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971 but have yet to be verified.

UTTARANCHAL

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

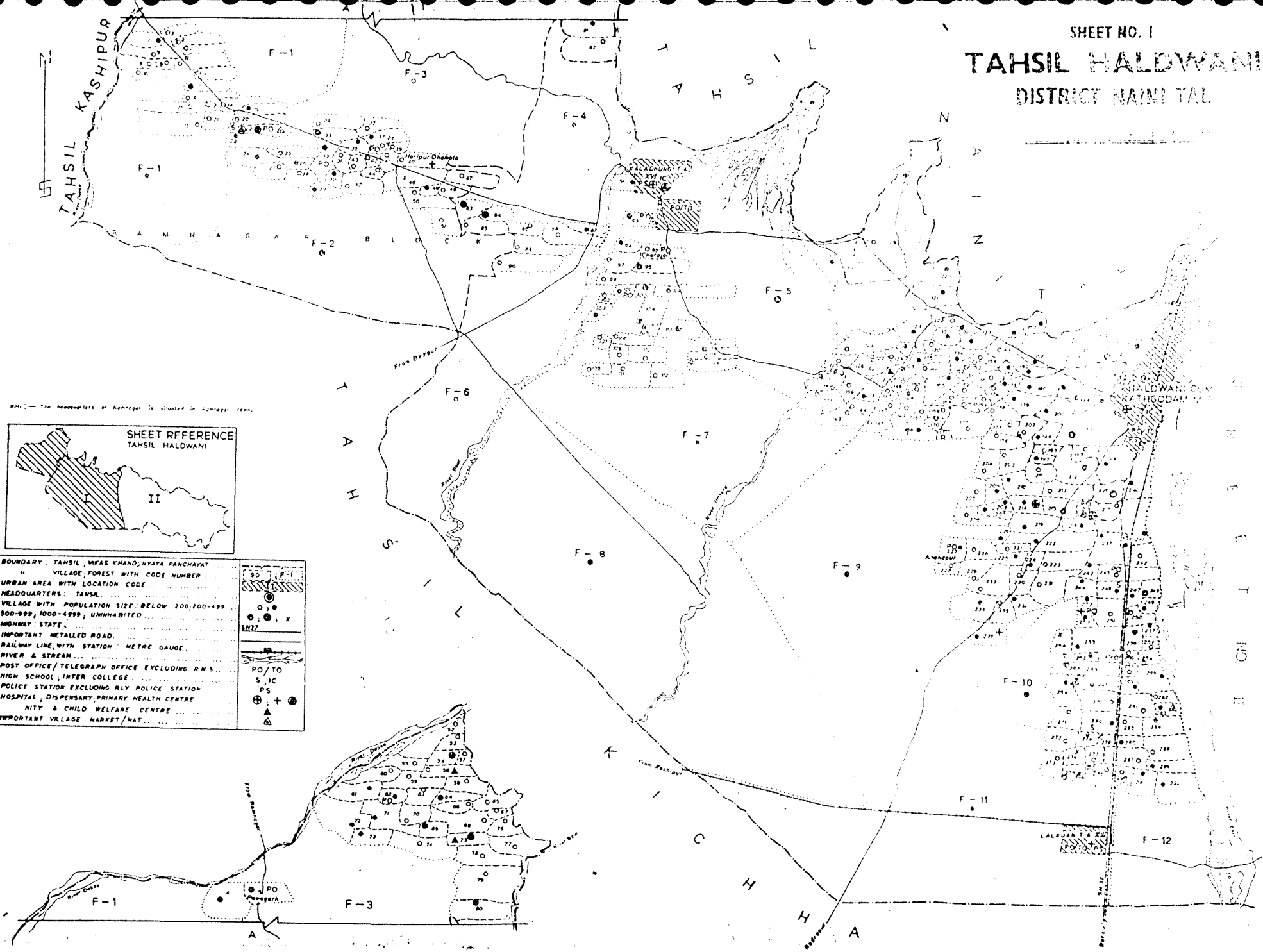
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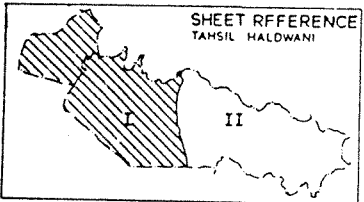
Note :- (1) Where the District name differs from its Headquarters town name, the former appears within brackets, for example Rudrapur (Udham Singh Nagar), Pauri (Garhwal)

BOUNDARIES:
 INTERNATIONAL ————
 STATE ————
 DISTRICT ————
 STATE CAPITAL *
 DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS ⊙

SHEET NO. I
TAHSIL HALDWANI
 DISTRICT MAIN TAL

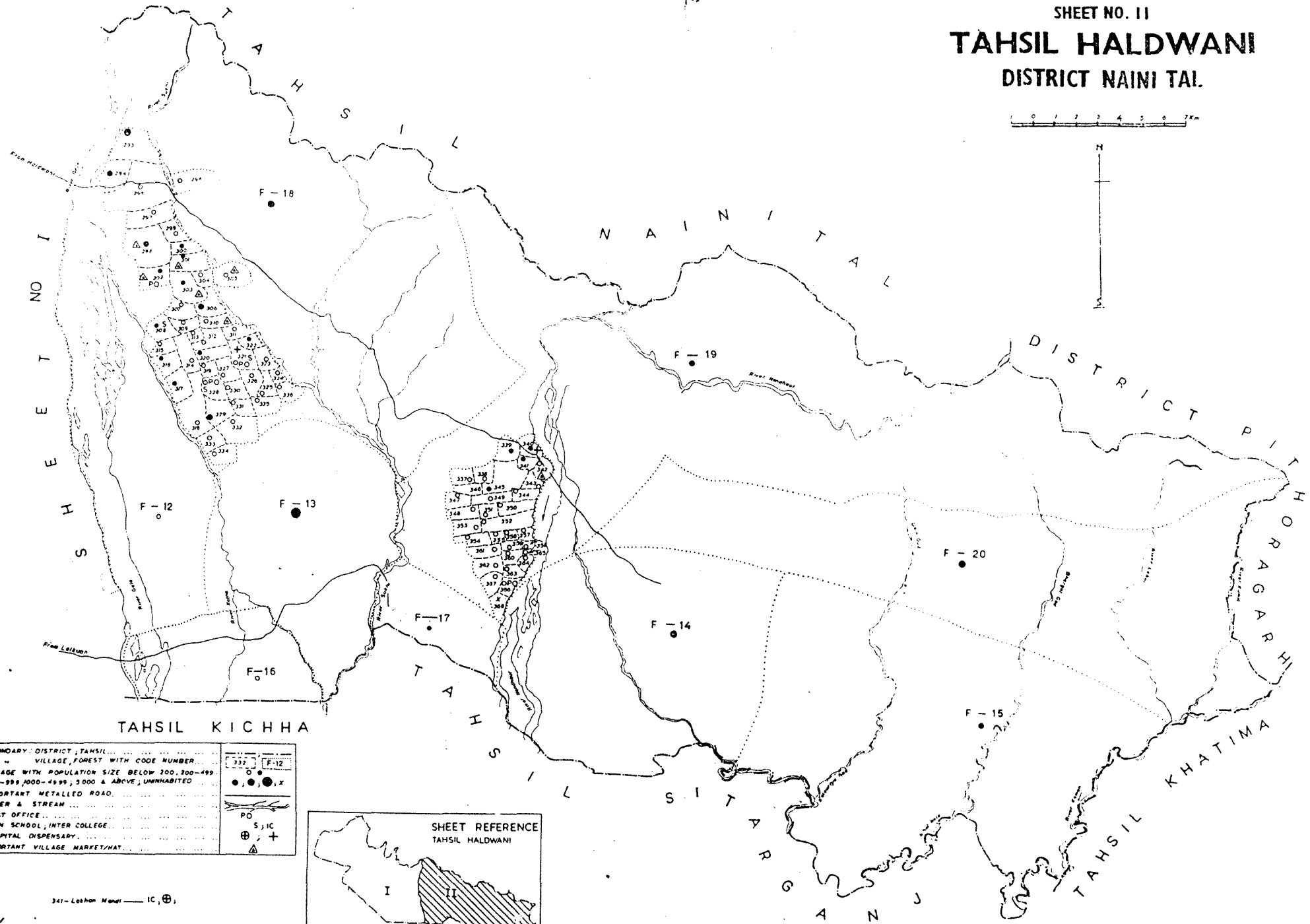
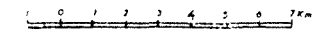


R.M.: The headquarters of Khatola is situated in Khatola town.

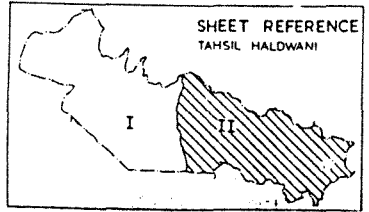


BOUNDARY: TAHSIL, UKAS KHAND, NYAYA PANCHAYAT	
VILLAGE, FOREST WITH CODE NUMBER	
URBAN AREA WITH LOCATION CODE	
HEADQUARTERS: TAHSIL	
VILLAGE WITH POPULATION SIZE BELOW 200, 200-499	
500-999, 1000-4999, UNINHABITED	
HIGHWAY: STATE	
IMPORTANT METALLED ROAD	
RAILWAY LINE, WITH STATION: METRE GAUGE	
RIVER & STREAM	
POST OFFICE/TELEGRAPH OFFICE EXCLUDING R.M.S.	
HIGH SCHOOL, INTER COLLEGE	
POLICE STATION EXCLUDING RLY POLICE STATION	
HOSPITAL, DISPENSARY, PRIMARY HEALTH CENTRE	
NITY & CHILD WELFARE CENTRE	
IMPORTANT VILLAGE MARKET/HAT	

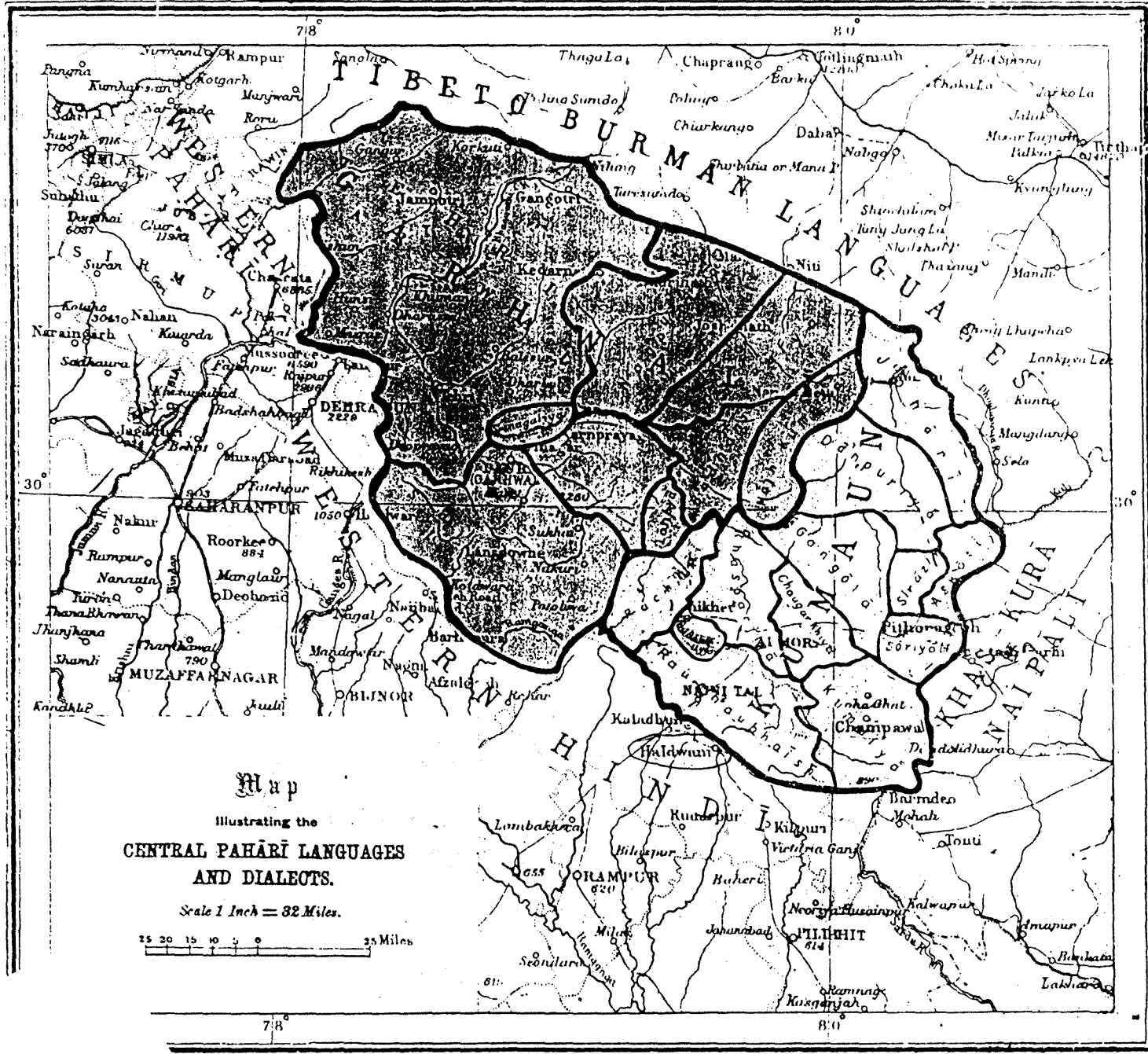
SHEET NO. 11
TAHSIL HALDWANI
 DISTRICT NAINI TAL.



BOUNDARY: DISTRICT, TAHSIL	332	F-12
VILLAGE, FOREST WITH CODE NUMBER	○	○
VILLAGE WITH POPULATION SIZE BELOW 200, 200-499, 500-999, 1000-4999, 5000 & ABOVE, UNINHABITED	●, ●, ●, ●, X	
IMPORTANT METALLED ROAD	—	
RIVER & STREAM	~	
POST OFFICE	PO	
HIGH SCHOOL, INTER COLLEGE	S, IC	
HOSPITAL DISPENSARY	⊕, +	
IMPORTANT VILLAGE MARKET/HAT	△	



341-Lashan Mandi — IC, ⊕



Map
 Illustrating the
**CENTRAL PAHĀRĪ LANGUAGES
 AND DIALECTS.**
 Scale 1 Inch = 32 Miles.



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