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FOREWORD

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GENERAL SUPERVISION

AND GUIDANCE

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INVESTIGATION AND

REPC

-IVANAN.

SURVEY OF KANAURI IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

LANGUAGE DIVISION

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL,

INDIA

CONTENTS

	Pages
Foreword—Dr. Asok Mitra	i
Note—Shri R. C. Nigam	iii
Introduction	1
Phonology	10
Morpho-phonemics	24
Morphology	27
Current trends and Aryan Influence	45
Kanauri Glossary (Kalpa dialect)	59
Unconnected texts	80
Connected texts	87
Free translation	88

FOREWORD

This Survey of Kanauri in Himachal Pradesh is one of several undertaken by Sri R. C. Nigam, Assistant Registrar General and Linguist, and his colleagues in pursuance of a decision taken in the early years of the last decade to conduct inquiries into specific speeches belonging to the Himalayan Group along the lower slopes of the Himalayas on the lines of the great Linguistic Survey of India.

The reason why certain languages along the lower slopes of the Himalayas were chosen for particular investigation has been explained in Sri Nigam's Prefatory Note. The chief aim was to inquire into the uncertainties of their origins, affiliations, specific features as contact languages and to assess how these speeches were themselves being gradually transformed through a variety of contacts over time.

The inquiries could be entrusted only to trained specialists who would be prepared to undertake field investigation of adequate duration and satisfactory coverage. The investigators were, in addition, to have the right aptitude to be sufficiently accepted in the life of the particular language group to be initiated into their idiom. Kanauri in the lower reaches of the Western Himalayas and Lepcha and Limbu in the Eastern Himalayas were chosen for the first studies, for all three speeches have similar roles, similar problems and possess fairly comparable features of internal transformation in their passage through time.

It is the steadfastness of the Linguist and his colleagues that is now seeing these studies in finished form and print,

for around 1969 one had one's fears that the series and the other series on the Grammars of the Main Languages of India would probably fail to materialise. But precisely when one had had one's doubts—the difficulties over securing the right press and the types threatening to prove on several occasions insurmountable—they came trooping in, a little behind time, but all in good shape nevertheless. This has been possible entirely through the perseverance, sense of mission and patience of Sri Nigam and his associates to whom, for fulfilling a task that we so fondly set ourselves, my warm thanks are addressed.

Asok Mitra
Registrar General, India
1958-1968

Jawaharlal Nehru
University,
New Delhi.
10th February, 1976.

NOTE

At the time of releasing the all India census report on Languages for 1961 Census, the Registrar General, Sri A. Mitra, had observed that one of the tasks of the Census Organisation would be "a more extended long term survey in the manner of Grierson's LSI which would continue work in intercensal period and would bring in a richer harvest to 1971 and 1981"[1]. The department had specified some of the areas in the country which needed such field surveys to bring out linguistic information that would contribute to better understanding of lignguistic affiliations of little known languages and of the changes taking place in the language behaviour of the people. A survey of the speeches belonging to the Himalayan Group of the Sino Tibetan Language family was taken up as one of the projects in the above scheme. Field investigations were carried out on three important languages namely Kanauri (now Kinnauri) in Himachal Pradesh, and Lepcha and Limbu in West Bengal during the inter-censal period of 1961-71. This monograph on Kanauri is the first work in the series.

The languages of the Himalayan Group in the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family of the Sino Tibetan Family of languages were found to have a number of features which were not in accordance with Tibeto-Burman principles. In the course of early migrations the speakers of these languages appear to have crossed the Himalayan watershed and developed their speeches independently, although their distant relationship with Tibetan cannot be denied. It is for these considerations that the authors of Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) defined it as a separate group in the Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family. The speeches of the group are found to have spread all along the south side of the Great Himalayan range from Himachal Pradesh to Sikkim. The speech communities have lived mostly along the high mountaineous terrain and till lately kept up communication with their neighbours on both sides of Indian borders. B.H. Hodgson, whose findings were adopted in the LSI, further divided the

[1]Census of India vol. I, part II-C(ii) language Tables (1964) p-iv.

Himalyan Group into Simple or Non-Pronominalized and Complex or Pronominalized sub-groups of the languages. Later, however, on the basis of comparative studies of available data, R. Shafer suggested a radical change in the entire scheme of Sino-Tibetan classifications and discarded the scheme of Hodgson. Further, Sten Konow, a collaborator of Grierson in the work of LSI found a number of features in the Pronominalized sub-group of Himalayan languages which were comparable to those of Munda languages and put forth his theory that there was possibly a period when Munda speakers inhabited these Himalayan areas and that these features in the Pronominalized languages of the region are a part of the Munda substratum,. Shafer, however, observed that Konow had "adduced no specific comparisons to support his view"[1].

A survey of the Himalayan languages was therefore, considered desirable for a number of reasons. The speech communities of our border areas, of late, for reasons of changes in the administrative set-up of the country after independence and for the introduction of developmental plans and programmes have established closer communication with the rest of the country. Socio-cultural changes due to such contacts are inevitable and languages of the communities concerned play a significant part in this process of ongoing change. It was, therefore, considered useful to have information on such languages and regions as were little known so far. The Himalayan language area was such a region. Hodgson's and Konow's views needed a reexamination through collection of dependable data. The situation of communities with regard to their language behaviour in the context of their current contacts with the more predominant languages of their habitats demanded study. Such studies would contribute to a better understanding of such communities as were little known so far on account of their existence in comparatively isolated regions.

As already mentioned, three languages, *viz.*, Kanauri, Limbu and Lepcha were selected for field studies. These languages were selected since in 1961 Census they were returned

[1]R. Shafer, introduction to Sino-Tibetan (1966), part 2, p. 142.

by numerous speakers in each group. Thus Kanauri represented the Western sub-group and Limbu represented the Eastern sub-group of the Pronominalized Himalayan languages while Lepcha represented the non-pronominalized group. Lepcha provided further interest for a check since the authors of LSI had found in this language some special features which entitled it to be considered as forming "one of the links which connect Tibetan and the Himalayan dialects with the Tibeto-Burman Languages of Assam and Further India"[1]. Shafer, however, had included Lepcha under Northern Naga Branch[2].

Shri Neethivanan, during his two field trips of a couple of months' duration each time to Kinnaur District of Himachal Pradesh in 1965 and 1966 was able to accomplish a fairly wide coverage of Kanauri, although conditions of the mountaineous terrain presented considerable difficulties of movement. In this short study of Kanauri he has been able to present his findings and illustrative linguistic material along with a short sketch of Kanauri grammar including his observations on some of the significant dialect variations. The work is divided in four sections. The first is the introdcutory section in which the situation of Kanauri in the current linguistic classification is introduced along with obesrvations on the socio-cultural set-up of the speech community. The second section includes a grammatical sketch of the language. The third discusses some relevant points on the issue of linguistic classification and on the current situation of linguistic change and contact influences on the speech community of the area. In the last section vocabulary and texts of Kanauri are given.

This study is now being brought out for use of interested scholars. The field of Sino-Tibetan linguistics is vast and the areas in India are comparatively less known. Thus it provides useful first hand information on the language and discusses the issues related to the place of Kanauri in Tibeto-Burman language set-up and its special grammatical features. It also discusses Kanauri features that are in agreement or

[1] G.A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III, part I (1909), p..233,
[2] R. Shafer, Introduction to Sino-Tibetan (1966), part-I, p 7.

disagreement with those prevailing in Munda languages and which were propounded earlier by Konow. It attempts an assessment of the influence of contact of Indo-Aryan languages on the phonetic and lexical levels of Kanauri and examines the current trends of language-use by the speech community. The author has not only sounded notes of caution against hasty generalizations on controversial matters but has provided sufficient evidence through illustrative speech materials on the points he seeks to make.

Although field work for this study was undertaken in 1965-66, the publication of this monograph has been delayed for certain difficulties of printing of reports in the Government of India Press for want of phonetic symbols. The press has since been equipped with the necessary symbol types and it will now be possible to bring out the remaining reports faster.

While offering our apologies for this delay, we believe that the findings of Shri Neethivanan on Kanauri will still be found of great interest.

We offer our warm thanks to Shri Neethivanan for the pains he took in doing the field work in difficult and remote regions of the country and in preparing this monograph. We are very thankful to Shri A. Mitra, former Registrar General, who kindly approved the idea of taking up his project of Himalayan Language Survey and who continued his interest in the work of the Language Division even after the expiry of his term in the Registrar General's Organisation. Shri R.B. Chari, the present Registrar General was extremely kind to go through the manuscript. He was good enough to suggest a number of improvements in the draft. We offer our warmest thanks to him.

Language Division,

Calcutta
[illegible]76

R. C. NIGAM

Assistant Registrar General.

INTRODUCTION

A meagre 0.73 per cent of the total population of India returned languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family as their mother tongues in the 1961 census.[1] All these speakers were found in a geographically contiguous area along the Himalayan region on the north Indian boundary reaching down to south-east Assam. These people, their culture and their languages differ much from the rest of the country. This is in contrast to speakers of the Austric groups of languages who are spread over a large area in central and eastern India, have easy contacts with other people and whose cultural habits do not differ much from those of their neighbours. Names like Santali, Bhumij, Kharia, Asuri, Ho and Savara are very familiar and their presence very common on the plains. But speakers of the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages live in an area where adequate communication and transport facilities are lacking. One has to walk long distances to reach the different villages, there is not much cultural contact between the people of the hills and the people of the plains. Living in higher altitudes and wearing a characteristic dress, these people become conspicuous when they come down to the plains occasionally. Their language sounds strange, their way of living appears distinct and their religion generally different from that of the residents of the plains. Lack of communication has acted as a psychological barrier and caused mutual suspicion. A study of languages spread along the sub-Himalayan tracts can be of use in breaking down this barrier to some extent.

The people of western Himalaya can be distinguished from those of eastern Himalaya. The western people generally live in higher altitudes of 2,000 metres and above. Communications are comparatively better in the eastern region than in the west. Christian missionaries have actively spread education in the eastern region and, as a result, the literacy rate is many times higher than even the national average in the eastern region. The people in the east are reported to be somewhat assertive while their western counterparts are rather submissive. Christianity has spread in the east whereas Hinduism and Buddhism are dominant in the west.

The language taken up for this investigation is Kanauri spoken in the Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh from the western region. Investigations on this language were conducted in Kinnaur during the summer months of 1965 and 1966. Preliminary information was collected at Simla in the office of the Census superintendent, Himachal Pradesh.[2]

[1] Census of India 1961, I Part IIC(ii) Language Tables, p. CLXXXIII.

[2] Sri R. C. Pal Singh, Superintendent of Census Operations, Himachal Pradesh, took a keen interest in the progress of this work and rendered whatever help was possible to this investigator, who wishes to express his gratitude to him and his staff in Simla.

B. H. Hodgson has classified the entire Himalayan languages into two sub-groups—pronominalised and non-pronominalised languages[1] on the basis of certain features observed by him and generally accepted by many. Sten Konow has followed the same classification in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) while discussing the Tibeto-Chinese family of languages. Pronominalised languages have been subdivided into eastern and western languages. The western sub-group which includes Kanauri can be represented as below.[2]

Tibeto-Chinese family
Tibeto-Burman sub-family
Tibeto-Himalayan branch
Himalayan group

Pronominalised		Non-pronominalised
Eastern (Kiranti dialects)	Western	
	Manchātī	
	Chamba Lāhulī	
	Bunán	
	Ranglōī	
	Kanāshī	
	Kanaurī	
	Rangkas	
	Darmiyā	
	Chaudāngsī	
	Byāngsī	
	Janggalī	

Of these, Manchati, Chamba Lahuli, Bunan and Rangloi were reported from Chamba and Lahul. Rangkas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi and Byangsi were reported from north-west Almora. Kanauri was reported from Kinnaur (Himachal Pradesh) and Kanashi from the Beas valley in Kangra district. Sten Konow selected the area north of Almora, Kanawar (Kinnaur), Lahul and Chamba for his investigation.

Mutual relationship

The mutual relationship of some of these dialects can be illustrated thus.

Rangoli
↓ ↓
Manchati Bunan (or Gahri)
↓
Kanawari ⟶ Kanashi

[1] LSI III, Pt. I, p. 177.
[2] LSI I, Part I, p. 392.

Hodgson, Rev. J. Brusks, Pandit Tikha Ram Joshi and a few others have worked on Kanauri. Rev. H. A. Jaeschke has worked on Bunan, a Lahul dialect.[1] Konow held that Bunan was a dialect of the same kind as Kanauri, Lahuli and the Almora dialects on the basis of the notes prepared by Rev. A. H. Francke[2]. A comparison of the glossary of Bunan given in LSI and of Kanauri shows that at least 50 per cent of their vocabulary is common. In his recent reclassification of Himalayan dialects,[3] Robert Shafer has also grouped Bunan with Kanauri and Thebor under the west Himalayish section. Thebor has been treated by Shafer as an independent language. Unfortunately the basis for his treatment was not available to this investigator during the time of writing this monograph. The LSI speaks of 'Thebor Skadd' and 'Tibar Skad' as other names of Kanauri and as such the number of their speakers was clubbed with that of Kanauri. This investigator could not come across any such name during his stay in Kinnaur district. According to Rev. T. Grahame Bailey[4] "Tibarskad" stands for 'Thebor-skadd,' a name or nickname given by speakers of ordinary Kanawari to the dialect spoken far to the east in Kanawar just before the Tibetan area begins. This dialect is not intelligible to them, but is presumably a form of Kanawari." Rangloi is said to be more closely related to Manchati than Bunan. Manchati is connected with Bunan through Rangloi

Kanashi is another language of this group which is said to be more closely related to Kanauri though it makes a less complex impression[5]. It is popularly known as 'Malani' which means 'language of (the village) Malan'.

Konow's analysis of this language was based entirely on the material supplied by G. C. L. Howell, which Konow considered to be far superior to anything that had till then been published about Kanashi.[6] Some other authorities on Kanashi mentioned by Konow are A. H. Diack, A.F.P. Harcourt and H. C. Fanshawe.[7] Konow has recorded the following features about Kanashi (1) doubtful existence of aspirates, (2) frequency

[1] LSI III, pt. I, p. 428 and p. 469.

[2] Ibid .... p. 469.

[3] Shafer, Robert — Classification of some languages of the Himalayas ; Journal of the Bihar Research Society vol. 36, pts. 3-4 1950.

[4] LSI III, pt. I, p. 430. *See* footnote.

[5] Ibid ... ... p. 428.

[6] LSI III, pt. I, p. 442

[7] Ibid ... ... p. 442.

Diack A.H.; The Kulu Dialect of Hindi : some note on its grammatical structure, with specimens of the songs and sayings current amongst the people, and glossary. Lahore 1896. pp. 99 and f. contains a Kanashi vocabulary on pp. 102 and ff.

Harcourt A.F.P., The Himalayan districts of Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti. London 1871. Contains a Malauna vocabulary on pp. 379 and ff.

Fanshawe H.C.; Kulu Language spoken at Malana, Punjab. Notes and Queries. Vol. I, Nos. 376, 471, 554. Cp. Mr. Tribe's notes in Nos. 806, 879 and 958.

of cerebrals, (3) existence of "semi-consonants", (4) same accent as in Kanauri, (5) same form /i/ used as article, (6) gender distinction and (7) classification of number on the same line of Kanauri These are on the same lines in Kanauri.

We need not go into a structural analysis of Kanashi language But its similarities with Kanauri would help us decide the position of Kanauri among the Himalayan languages

There is one more language, Janggali, which literally means 'of the jungle'. As the language of many hill people has come to be known as Pahari (of the hill), the language of some forest people may have come to be identified as Janggali. Unless we get a large number of specimens of the speech, we may not be able to identify the language Konow could only say that it was a Tibeto-Burman form of speech [1]

Konow has given a brief description and analysis of all these dialects in the LSI One of his important observations regarding the Himalayan languages is the "Munda influence" over them He has pointed out certain features which are not to be found in other Tibeto-Burman languages but found in some Munda languages On this basis he concludes that the Munda people should have once lived in the Himalayan region before moving to their present place of living Some of the Munda features that are said to be prevailing in Himalayan languages according to Konow are the presence of abrupt tone or the 'semi-consonants classification of personal pronouns and counting by twenties On the basis of these remarks, Grierson concluded that the dialects of Chamba, Lahul and Kanawar could be connected with the Indonesian and Polyneasian languages in the following way.[3]

Dialects of Chamba Lahul Kanawar , Munda of Central India Khasi of Assam , Mon-Khmer of further India Indonesian and Polynesian

One objective of the present investigation was to check whether all these remarks still hold good

A comparison of information available in the LSI[4] and the 1961 census reveals that the LSI has grouped 14 mother-tongues under Kanauri and that 1961 census speaks of six mother-tongues only

L S I	*1961 census*
1 Chitkuli	1 Baudh
2 Kanam or Laharang	2 Chini Pahari
3 Kanawari	3 Jangi

[1] Ibid p 530
[2] Ibid p 179
[3] LSI I pt I p 59
[4] LSI I pt I Introductory
Ibid vol III-Tibeto Burman family pt I Cal 1909
Ibid vol IV Munda and Dravidian languages
[5] Census of India Vol I pt IIC(ii) language tables

L S.I.	*1961 census*
4 Lidang of Lippa	4 Pahari Chamang
5 Kanoring Skadd	5 Samchu
6 Malhesti	6 Kanauri
7 Mil Chanang	
8 Mil Chang	
9 Min-chhan	
10 Multhani	
11 Sagnum	
12 Samchu	
13 Thebor skadd	
14 Tibar skad	

Of the fourteen, at least six are supposed to be the names of places wherefrom the mother-tonuge was returned. The rest are given as other names of Kanauri. Only two names, Kanawari and Kanoring Skadd, are very commonly known even to day. Of the six names returned during the 1961 census, Baudh is the name of a scheduled tribe. Two other names, Chini Pahari and Jangi, are place names. The mother-tongues Pahari Chamang and Samchu are totally negligible as they were returned by only one and four speakers respectively in 1961[1]. Of all these names, Samchu alone finds place in both the lists in addition to Kanauri Two other names of Kanauri came to the notice of this investigator 'Ham kad' and 'Men cara'. These are the names by which Kanauri is identified in Tibetan. Many educated Kanauras are inclined to derive their name from the Kinnaras of Sanskrit literature.

The number of persons speaking Kanauri as their mother-tongue has been recorded since the 1901 census.

Source	Number of Speaker—
LSI	13,099
Census 1901	19,525
, 1911	22,542
, 1921	22,098
,, 1931	26,122
,, 1961	28,630

The census figures reflect in general an even growth. We do not have any substantive evidence as to why the LSI figure appears to be out of tune. A possible reason is that some interior areas had gone uncovered as happened in some other parts of the country as well.

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[1] LSI Vol I, pt I pp 426 & f

- Mr Devi Chandra Kazi of Pooh, an interpreter cum Tibetan teacher, was kind enough to give this informations for which this author is very thankful to him

Selection of Kanauri

The 1961 census retained only two other languages of the western pronominalised group of Himalayan languages[1]. Kanashi, one of them, is spoken by only 562 persons in the Kangra region. This language has already received some attention. In 1961, only one person returned this language as Kanashi while all the others preferred the name Malani[2]. Hence it would be more appropriate to call this language Malani. This may be due to the fact that the language is spoken only in the village Malana in the Beas valley of Kangra.

Jangali[3] was returned in the 1961 census by 111 persons as their mother-tongue. It is a very ambiguous term which could refer to any language of the forest or hill areas. Different groups of people use it in different areas in different contexts. Many persons who returned this as their mother-tongue are concentrated in Uttar Pradesh whereas our area of investigation was confined to Himachal Pradesh.

While the LSI has recorded ten languages under the western pronominalised group, the 1961 census has recorded only three, out of which one is a vague term and the second (Kanashi) has already received some attention though the number of speakers is very small. The language that is left out is Kanauri spoken by nearly 29,000 speakers[4]. Konow has already noted that Kanauri has many of the characteristic features of the pronominalised group of languages and that some Munda influence is also to be found therein. We therefore conclude that Kanauri is the most cnaracteristic and representative language of the western pronominalised group of Himalayan languages.

The people and their land

Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh is the home of Kanauras. The celebrated peak, Kinner Kailash, is in this district. Kinnaur touches the Indo-Tibetan border. The Kanauras are a very hospitable and friendly people. We do not have any written record about their history or their language. There are not even legends which could throw some light. Only very recently have they lost all their contact with Tibet. They are now anxious to identify themselves with the culture of the plains people and other Pahari people of Himachal Pradesh. They feel shy in spelling out their ancient customs and individuality in such circumstances.

Within Himachal Pradesh, Kinnaur district adjoins Mahasu district which was previously known as Rampur (Bushahr) State. The land of Kanauras is known as 'Kuni, 'K'unaŋ or 'K'unu' in Tibetan[5]. Kalpa is situated at an altitude of about 2,200 metres, facing the Kinner Kailash peak, with a population of nearly 1,000 people. Bus transport is available upto Pooh, 50 miles further east of Kalpa, on the bank of the

[1] Census of India 1961 vol. I, pt. IIC(ii) Language tables.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Information through the courtesy of Mr. Devi Chandra Kazi.

Sutlej. Pooh in Tibetan means 'border'. The exact pronunciation as suggested by D. B. Nagi[1] is (fu:). The Sutlej flows into the heart of the district and the national highway is being constructed along its bank. There are no all-weather roads and the bus service is entirely at the mercy of climatic conditions. At any time, at any point landslides can affect traffic. In winter heavy snowfall covers the region. Summer is the only season when an outsider would find transport comparatively easier.

Geographical and political divisions

Kinnaur district is divided into three-sub-divisions—Nichar, Kalpa and Pooh. Nichar is close to the Rumpur sub-division of Mahasu district and Pooh is closer to Tibet. The Sutlej divides the district into two parts—the area north (or on the right bank) of the river and the area south (or on the left bank). There are two main highways. The national highway runs at an altitude lower than the old Hindustan-Tibet road. We can divide the villages as those touched by the national highway and those touched by the old road. Buses and heavy vehicles ply only on the national highway and communications are better in respect of these villages than those connecting the old road.

Kalpa sub-division includes the Chini valley and the rich Sangla valley. Pooh sub-division includes the valleys of Kanam, Moorang, Gangul and Labrang. The entire area differs from the rest of the district. Nichar and of late Kalpa sub-divisions come within the monsoon zone. Pooh sub-division remains a dry zone with barren hills. Beyond Kalpa, the land is fertile only upto Moorang.

Hinduism[2] is dominant in Nichar sub-division. In Kalpa, both Hinduism and Buddhism are prevalent. In fact, at least one gentleman was pround of introducing himself as a 'Hind-Buddhist'. The Buddhist lamas freely visit Hindu houses to perform religious rites. People generally do not make any distinction between the two religions. Hindu mythological stories are very popular. There is only a two-fold division of Rajputs and Harijans. Temples dedicated to the devatas are found in many villages. In Pooh sub-division many people are Buddhists and many Buddhist 'konpas' are found in these areas.

Owing to its proximity to Rampur sub-division, Nichar has naturally come under the influence of other Pahari languages. Kalpa, the headquarter of the district, draws many people from all over the state and outside influence is automatically felt. Tibetan influence is evident in Pooh sub-division and most of the people beyond Pooh, in villages like Dabling, Dubling, Khabo, Namgia, Tashigong, Nako, Chango and Leo, speak Tibetan[3].

Dialectal areas

The literacy rate seems to be higher in the Sangla valley which has produced many school-teachers. The speech forms of the Kalpa and Sangla

[1] A leading businessman of Pooh.

[2] Information received thankfully from Mr. Priya Bharat Negi of Purbani, a school-teacher. Corroborated by Mr. Dharam Bhag Negi of Pooh, a businessman.

[3] Information by Mr. Dharam Bhag Negi of Pooh.

valleys do not differ to any considerable extent. Together, Kalpa and Sangla speeches constitute a dialect. Nichar constitutes a separate dialectal area. Pooh sub-division offers at least three varieties of Kanauri speech. Owing to its political hegemony, Kalpa draws more and more people from the whole of the state. Most of the government employees are from other districts and neighbouring states. This is one reason why Kanauri has come under such a marked influence of Aryan languages. Kalpa is situated almost in the centre of the district. It is for this reason that the people of Kinnaur freely admit that it is the form of Kanauri that is spoken in Kalpa which should be evolved as the *lingua franca* of the district. So it was decided to study the speech form of Kalpa and collect a basic vocabulary of other important villages. Many school-teachers and leading citizens of Kinnaur agreed with this[1].

Three sub-divisional headquarters—Kalpa, Nichar and Pooh—were selected for the collection of material. Three other important villages—Kanam, Sunnam and Moorang—were selected as points of investigation. Enough informants were available for Sangla speech in Kalpa itself. Nichar, Sangla and Moorang are situated on the left bank of the Sutlej at comparatively lower altitudes ; Kalpa, Kanam, Sunnam and Pooh are situated on the right bank of the river at higher altitudes. Pooh and Moorang are on the national highway while most of the rest are touched by the old road. An informant was later on available at Kanam itself for the collection of Sunnam speech.

Rev. T. Grahame Bailey has recorded four distinct dialects of Kanauri (1) lower Kanauri, (2) standard Kanauri, (3) Chitkuli and (4) Theborskad[2]. According to him, lower Kanauri is spoken in the western area of Kanaur north of Sutlej. He has not defined the area where standard Kanauri is spoken. Perhaps he had in mind the speech of Kalpa and the adjoining areas in the centre of Kinnaur. Chitkuli is the speech spoken in two villages in the Bospa valley—Chitkul and Raksham. Theborskad is the form spoken in the eastern area of the state in Lippa, Asrang, Labrang, Kanam, Shnnam, Shaso (between the river Lippa and the Tibetan-speaking area of Kanaur). Bailey points out that the lower Kanauri dialect and the standard Kanauri dialect are mutually intelligible while the Chitkuli dialect is totally unknown to both. Theborskad was reported to be intelligible only by half even in villages within ten miles of the Lippa. Generally, his classification agrees with ours. While he has taken the speeches of Kanam and Shnnam (Sunnam) as the same form (Theborskad) our classification treats them

[1] This decision was taken after careful discussions with many school-teachers who were of immense help to this investigator. Thanks are due to Mr. Vinay Singh Negi, Headmaster of the Government High School, Kalpa, our informant, Mr. P. B. Negi, Mr. Narain Singh Negi and Mr. Uday Singh Negi, both teachers of Kalpa. Mr. D. B. Negi gave useful comments. These remarks were later on corroborated by Mr. T. O. Negi, retired Chief secretary to the Government of Himachal Pradesh, during a private conversation with this investigator.

[2] Bailey, Rev. T. Grahame : 'Kanauri vocabulary in two parts' Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1910, p. 659 and ff.

separately. Chitkul spoken in the Bospa valley beyond Sangla was not studied during our investigation. The major disagreement with Bailey lies with the classification of Theborskad only While he has treated all the speeches in eastern Kinnaur as one dialect, we have recorded at least three dialects excluding the speech of Sunnam which is supposed to be spoken only in that village. Perhaps, all the non-standard speech forms of eastern Kinnaur have been treated by Bailey as one dialect simply because they were not mutually intelligible His earlier definition of Theborskad, quoted by Konow, proves this[1].

Nichar which is the biggest village at the entrance of Kinnaur district was our western limit while Pooh, the meeting place of Kanauri and Tibetan, was our north-eastern limit Kalpa was the heart of our operations geographically as well as politically The investigations were completed after two field trips spread over two summer seasons[2].

Informants

Our experience has been that it is very difficult to get more information without inducing the informant to the maximum possible limit. People seems to have developed an idea that their mother-tongue which is ' after all a dialect ' is bound to die a ' natural death ' They do not as a rule show much interest in work of this kind Educated people seldom show any interest , everyone directs you to the other man ' who might be knowing more '. Only the school-teachers and some students were sympathetic to our appeal even though they also felt sorry that they could not ' help you much '

On the suggestion of many teachers, Mr Priya Bharat Negi, a primary school teacher near Kalpa, agreed to act as an informant He was a native of Purbani village nine miles east of Kalpa on the Sutlej He was 43 at that time and well versed in Urdu, English and Hindi, apart from his mother-tongue, Kanauri He was mainly responsible for the successful completion of this project In other areas also, the school-teachers helped this investigator either by acting themselves as informants or finding out other suitable informants Some employees of the Himachal government gave good help Mr Dharam Bhag Negi, a leading businessman and contractor of Pooh, provided valuable information regarding the linguistic distribution of Pooh sub-division He has travelled extensively in Tibet and has a good knowledge of all the dialects of Kanauri prevalent in the Pooh area apart from Tibetan, Urdu, Hindi and English. Mr Vinay Singh Negi, Headmaster of the Government high School, Kalpa, who belongs to the Sangla valley, was also of great help. Mr Thakur Singh, a student, and Mr Daulat Ram Negi, a businessman, acted as informants in Nichar Mr Amar Chand Negi, a school-teacher,

[1] Supra p 5

[2] This investigator would like to put on record his deep sense of gratitude to Mr. Nalini D Jayal, the then Deputy commissioner of Kinnaur district, for help in this regard and for providing all facilities that were necessary during the entire period of two investigations spread over five months.

was our Kanam informant while Mr. Budhi Ram Negi, another teacher was our Moorang informant. Mr. Funchag Durje Negi, a student and Mr. Jabar Singh Negi, a village level worker, supplied material at Pooh. Most of these informants were polyglots, English, Urdu, Hindi or Tibetan in the case of eastern areas, being the most common subsidiary languages other than their mother-tongue.

Nature of investigation

During the first field-trip, material was collected from Kalpa, Nichar and Pooh areas. At Kalpa enough material was collected to provide a preliminary idea about the phonological and morphological structure of the language. It was also very useful to study the impact of Aryan influence over this language at the phonological and lexical level. Sample data were collected at Nichar on the one end and Pooh at the other. During the second trip more sentences and texts were collected at Kalpa so that a syntactic analysis would be possible. There was also a final check-up of material collected earlier. Samples from Kanam, Sunnam, Moorang and Sangla speeches were also collected.

On the whole nearly 1,000 words, 500 sentences, two stories and a few proverbs were collected at Kalpa. From the rest, nearly 300 words and 200 sentences were collected. Apart from these, notes on some extra linguistic features were gathered.

Orthography

At present there is no standard script for Kanauri. Tibetan and Tankare scripts were once used, but are now obsolete. Of late some people have started using Devanagari, but there are complaints that it does not suit the genius of the language. The present analysis should be helpful in giving a correct picture of the phonemic structure of the language which might be useful in evolving a script acceptable to all. The Roman alphabet with certain diacritic marks could also be tried as has been in the case of Naga languages. The development of a new system is very essential so that people could record their history and literature.

Nomenclature

We have noted so many names of this language in the preceding pages. The most common name at present is ' kannori skad ' which means ' language of Kanaur '. Of late, the Himachal government has started using a different name ' kinnauri ' which has been coined on the analogy of Punjabi from Punjab, Kashmiri from Kashmir and Bengali from Bengal. On this line, the language spoken in Kinnaur district, it has been concluded, should be ' kinnauri '. The people also seem to have accepted this name since ' kinnauri ' is closer to the ' kinnars ' of Hindu epics than ' kanauri ' or ' kannori skad '.

Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Vowels

i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
aː	a	ɔ

Semi vowels

/w/
/y/

Length

/ : /

Consonants

p	p'	b		t	t'	d	d'		ṭ	ṭ'	ḍ		c	c'	j		k	k'	g
		f	v				s	z			ṣ	ẓ							h
	m								n	ṇ								ŋ	
									l	ḷ									
									r										

***Supra** segmental*

/(ṽ)' Nasalisation

***Allophonic** distribution and contrasting pairs*

Vowels

/i' This has an allophone [i], a front high, unrounded oral vowel which occurs in all the three positions.

idɫ	'one'
niṣ	'two'
sa : gi	'empty'

/ɫ/ This has an allophone [ɫ] a central unrounded, high vowel which occurs medially and finally.

ṣupɫṭi	'busy'
ḷi : gɫ	'heavy'

***Constrasting** pairs* /i/ ÷ /ɫ/

ṣa : gi	'empty'
ḷi : gɫ	'heavy'
niṣ	'two'
bɫṣ	'rope'

/e' This has an allophone [e], a front, mid, unrounded vowel which occurs in all the three positions.

edci	'alone'
ḍeri	'heap'
ce	'all'

/æ' This has an allophone [æ], an unrounded, front, low vowel which occurs in all the three positions.

æya : naŋ caŋ	'baby'
bæsa	'wife's sister'
sæ	'ten'

Constrasting pairs /e/ ÷ /æ/

ḷe	'tongue'
sæ	'ten'

ṣæ ṣo	'mustard'
cesmi	'woman'

/a/ This has an allophone [a] a central, low, unrounded vowel which occurs in all positions.

arti	'funeral'
namaŋ	'peculiar'
niza	'twenty'

/o/ This has an allophone [o], a back, rounded, higher mid, oral vowel which occurs in all the three positions.

oms	'before'
dok	'therefore'
hodo	'he'

/ɔ/ This has an allophone /ɔ/, a back, rounded lower mid vowel which occurs only medially.

/rɔn/	'iron'

Constrasting pair /o/ ÷ /ɔ/

som	'morning'
rɔn	'iron'

/u/ This has an allophone [u], a back, rounded high vowel which occurs in all the three positions.

u :	'flower'
ruŋ	'rock'
kinu	'to you (sg.)'

Constrasting pairs (1) /o/ ÷ /ɔ/ ÷ /u/

ruŋ	'rock'
rɔŋ	'iron'
som	'morning'

(2) /i/ ÷ /ɨ/ ÷ /u/

ḷi :gɨ	'heavy'
ṣa : gi	'empty'
kina : nu	'to you (pl)'

/ə/ This has an allophone [ə], a central mid, unrounded vowel which ocurs medially and finally.

gə	'I'
bə̃i	'came'

/:/ Length

As Sten Konow has observed, the length is quite indefinite in Kanauri. The distinction between short and long vowels is generally felt clearly in loan words. In native words it is not so clear. The long vowel in the final position is a little shorter than when it occurs in the medial position. At the same time both are in complementary distribution and

stand in contrast to the shorter ones. Hence, only two degrees of length short and long—have been taken up as phonemes.

namaŋ	'peculiar'
na : maŋ	'name'

All the vowels except /ə/, /ɨ/ and ɔ/ occur with length.

sɪ : sɪ	'dead'
te . gɨ	'big'
sæ :	'ten'
wa : l	'very much'
go : to :	'little'
muṣu . r	'famous'

/(ṽ)/ Nasalisation

Nasalisation occurs with almost all vowels with greater frequency with diphthongs.

kũɪ	'dog'
kũis	'by-dog'

Semi-vowels

/w/ This has an allophone [w] which occurs initially and medially

won won	'hungry'
twa	'up'

/y/ This has an allophone [y] which occurs initially and finally.

yuwa	'below'
sodoy	'always'

Consonants

Stops

(1) Labial : /p/, /p'/, /b/

/p/ This has an allophone [p], a voiceless bilabial, unaspirated stop, which occurs initially and medially.

/p'/ This has an allophone [p'], a voiceless bilabial, aspirated stop, which occurs initially.

/b/ This has an allophone [b], a voiced, bilabial, unaspirated stop, which occurs initially and medially.

(1) *Initially* : /p/ — /p'/ — /b/

pan
p'ammik
ba

(2) *Medially* : /p/ — /b/

bapu	'mother's sister's husband'
kɨtabɨ	'book'

Even though /p'/ occurs in only one position it stands in clear contrast with the other two as the examples show. The environment is exactly the same for all the three, viz., followed by central vowel /a/ which in turn is followed by a nasal. Hence, /p'/ is being treated as an independent phoneme.

Apical /t̪/, /t̪'/, /d̪/, /d̪'/

/t̪/ This has an allophone [t̪], a dental voiceless, unaspirated stop which occurs in all the three positions.

/t̪'/ This has an allophone [t̪'], a dental, voiceless, aspirated stop which cocurs in an initial and medial positions only.

/d̪/ This has an allophone [d̪], a dental, voiced, aspirated stop which occurs in all the three positions.

/d̪'/ This has an allophone [d̪'], a dental, voiced, aspirated stop which cocurs initially.

(1) *Initially :* /t̪/ ÷ /t̪'/ ÷ /d̪/ ÷ /d̪'/

te : g	'big'
t̪'ar	'leopard'
dam	'good'
d̪'agaḷṭi	'wave'

(2) *Medially :* /t̪/ ÷ /t̪'/ ÷ /d̪/

ju : ti	'fog'
prit'i	'earth'
kodɬ	'manure'

(3) *Finally :* /t̪/ ÷ /d̪/

zot	'wheat'
bod	'bark'

Cerebral /ṭ/, /ṭ'/, /ḍ/

/ṭ/ This has an allophone [ṭ], a cerebral voiceless unaspirated stop which occurs in all the three positions.

/ṭ'/ This has an allophone [ṭ'], a cerebral, voiced, unaspirated stop which occurs initially and medially.

/ḍ/ This has an allophone [ḍ], a cerebral, voiced, unaspirated stop which occurs initially and medially.

(1) *Initially :* /ṭ/ ÷ /ṭ'/ ÷ /ḍ/

ṭod	'sick'
ṭ'okɬ	'white'
ḍo : i	'drum'

(2) *Medially :* /ṭ/ ÷ /ṭ'/ ÷ /ḍ/

laṭa	'dumb'
miṭ'a	'sweet'
kaḍā : i	'pan'

(3) *Finally :* /ṭ/

te : g kyo : ṭ	'ladle'
su : pya : ṭ	'butterfly'

Velar /k/, /k'/, /g/

/k/ This has two allophones - [ḳ] and [k]. This phoneme occurs in all the three positions.

[ḳ] This is a post-velar, voiceless unaspirated stop which occurs when it is followed immediately or in the next syllable by the Semi-vowel /y/.

[k] This is a medio-velar voiceless, unaspirated stop which occurs elsewhere.

[kanmik]	'bring'
[ḳya : mik]	'watch'

/k'/ This has an allophone [k'], a medio-velar, voiceless, aspirated stop, which occur initially and medially.

/g/ This has two allophones -[g*] and [g]. This phoneme occurs in all the three positions.

[g*] This is a post velar, voiced, unaspirated stop which occurs when it is followed immediately or in the next syllable by the semi-vowel [y].

[g] This is a medio-velar, voiced, unaspirated stop which occurs elsewhere.

[g*ya : mik]	'want'
[gismik]	'smell'

Constrasting pairs

(1) *Initially :* /k/ ÷ /k'/ ÷ /g/

koḷḍo	'heavy'
k'uṇḍo	'a nose ring'
golti	'mistake'

(2) *Medially :* /k/ ÷ /k'/ ÷ /g/

ẓak'araŋ	'bush'
tego	'mother's mother'
æko	'only'

(3) *Finally :* /k/ ÷ /g/

rag	'stone'
ra : k	'green'

Affricates /c/, /c'/, /j/

/c/ This has an allophone [c], a palatal, voiceless unaspirated affricate which occurs in all the three positions.

/c'/ This has an allophone [c'], a palatal, voiceless, aspirate affricate which occurs initially.

/j/ This has an allophone [j], a palatal, voiced unaspirated affricate which occurs initially and medically.

(1) *Initially :* /c/ ÷ /c'/ ÷ /j/

cam	'staircase'
c'aŋ	'child'
jammik	'climb down'

(2) *Medially :* /c/ ÷ /j/

macas	'fish'
gajar	'garlic'

(3) *Finally :* /c/

pya : c	'bird'

Spirants

(a) Slit : /f/, /v/

/f/ This has an allophone [f], a labio-dental voiceless, slit fricative which occurs in all the three positions. This occurs mostly in loan-words with a limited number of frequency.

/v/ This has an allophone [v], a labio-dental, voiced, slit fricative which occurs in medial position. This too has a limited number of frequency.

Medially : /f ÷ /v/

sofar	'travel'
wãvaŋ	'wroŋg'

Initial and final

ʃa : sɬ	'army'
sa : f	'clean'

(b) Groove : /s/, /z/, /ʂ/, ʐ/

/s/ This has an allophone [s], a dental, voiceless, groove, fricative which occurs in all the three positions.

/z/ This has an allophone [z], dental voiced, groove, fricative which occurs initially and medially.

/ʂ/ This has an allophone [ʂ], a cerebral voiceless, groove, fricative which occurs in all the three positions.

/ʐ/ This has an allophone [ʐ], a cerebral voiced groove fricative which occurs initially and medially.

(1) *Initially :* /s/ ÷ /ṣ/ ÷ /z/ ÷ /ẓ/

som	'morning'
ṣog	'throat'
zot moiṣ	'she-buffaloe'
ẓokana	'bush'

(2) *Medially :* /s/ ÷ /ṣ/ ÷ /z/ ÷ /ẓ/

kusi	'happy'
miṣa	'flesh'
ruza	'old man'
a : ẓa	'fore head'

(3) *Finally :* /s/ ÷ /ṣ/

rɔs	'juice'
niṣ	'two'

(*c*) *Glottal :* /h/

/h/ This has an allophone [h], a voiceless, glottal fricative which occurs initially and medially.

hodo	'he'
hun	'none'
la : he	'day'

Lateral : /l/, /ḷ/,

/l/ This has an allophone [l], a dental voiced lateral which occurs in all the three positions.

/ḷ/ This has an allophone [ḷ], a cerebral, voiced lateral which occurs in all the three positions.

(1) *Initially :* /l/ - /ḷ/

lis	'cold'
ḷum	'thing'

(2) *Medially :* /l/ ÷ /ḷ/

kila	'fort'
goḷi	'street'

(3) *Finally :*

ṣol	'summer'
go : ḷ	'month'

Nasals : /m/, /n/, /ɳ/, /ŋ/

/m/ This has an allophone [m], a bilabial, voiced, nasal which occurs in all the three positions.

/n/ This has three allophones viz., x [ñ], [n]. and [*n*] This phoneme occurs in all the three positions.

/ñ/ This is a palatal, voiced, nasal, which occurs when it is followed by [c] or [j].

/n/ This is a dental, voiced nasal which occurs when it is followed by [t] or [d].

/n/ This is an alveolar, voiced nasal which occurs elsewhere.

ma*n*deli	'mat'
deñc	'next to'
pank'a	'fan'

/ŋ/ This has an allophone /ŋ/, a velar, voiced nasal which occurs in all the three places.

/ɳ/ This has an allophone [ɳ] a cerebral voiced nasal which occurs medially and finally.

(1) *Initially :* /m/ ÷ /n/ ÷ /ŋ/

ma	'not'
na*ŋ*	'and'
*ŋ*a	'five'

(2) *Medially :* /m/ ÷ /n/ ÷ /ɳ/ ÷ /ŋ/

ḍoma*ŋ*	'blacksmith'
goni*ŋ*	'trunk'
ṣoṇa*ŋ*	'beak'
maja*ŋ*o	'between'

(3) *Finally :* /m/ ÷ /n/ ÷ /ɳ/ ÷ /ŋ/

cam	'staircase'
rɔn	'iron'
ḷaṇ	'air'
ca*ŋ*	'child'

Trill

/r/ This has an allophone [r] which sometimes freely varies with a phone with more trilling. This occurs in all the three positions.

(1) *Initially :*

rim	'field'
ra*ŋ*	'hill'

(2) *Medially :*

kra :	'hair'
kukres	'cock'

(3) *Finally :*

gurgur	'thunder'
skar	'star'

Gemination

The following geminated consonants are frequently used in Kanauri. All of them occur in the medial positions.

/tt/, /ll/, /ɳɳ/, /mm/

atte	'brother'
ca : llannik	'row'
lannu	'to do'
kaɳɳa : l	'trumpet'
p'ammik	'defeat'

/d/ also geminates occasionally rather as a free variation of /t/.

skat~skaddɬ	'language'

Clusters

A large number of consonantal clusters occur very frequently in Kanauri. Most of them occur in the medial position. The occurance is much less in the final positions. In the initial position the clusters occur mostly in the loan words.

(1) *Initially :*

skat	'language'
sgui	'nine'
kra	'hair'
prit'i	'earth'

(2) *Medially :*

ʂotkɬ	'cool'
dɛstaŋ	'till'
ma : rpoto	'through'
ʈipl̥okʈ	'frog'

(3) *Finally :*

prats	'finger'
bæ : ns	'bamboo'
ʈa : l̥k	'tight'
tipl̥okʈ	'frog'

/l̥/, /r/ and the nasals are the frequent members of consonantal clusters.

There are some three-consonantal clusters also in Kanauri. We do not find any clusters with four or more than four members.

samɔndroŋ	'river'
ʈok koŋkne	'white ant'
bonprats	'thumb (hand)'

CHART II

Consonantal Clusters

	p	p'	b	t	t'	d	d'	ṭ	ṭ'	ḍ	k	k'	g	c	c'	j	f	h	s	ṣ	z	ẓ	l	ḷ	m	n	ŋ	r	y	w	ṇ
p														√										√				√	√		
p'																													√		
b																												√			
t											√								√									√			
t'																			√												
d																												√			
d'																															
ṭ																													√		
ṭ'																															
ḍ																															
k								√						√					√						√			√			
k'																												√			
g			√																									√			
c																															
ç'																															

	p	p'	b	t	t'	d	d'	ṭ	ṭ'	ḍ	k	k'	g	c	c'	j	f	h	s	ṣ	z	ẓ	l	ļ	m	n	ŋ	r	y	w	ṇ
j																															
f																															
h																															
s	√			√							√		√												√			√			
ṣ								√			√																				
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l												√																	√		
ļ					√	√			√		√				√				√										√		
m	√					√		√						√																	
n						√								√					√		√									√	
ŋ													√						√						√				√		
r	√										√		√	√									√								
y																															
w																															
ṇ										√																			√		

Free variation

Two types of free variation are found to be operating in Kanauri. The first one is the variation between aspirated and unaspirated stops and the second is between voiceless and voiced stops.

		Aspirated	vs	*Unaspirated*	
(i)		c'aŋ		caŋ	'child'
		c'oŋmi		coŋmi	'man'
Cf. Mo'orang dialect		k'akaŋ		kakaŋ	'mouth'
		b'oṭaŋ		boṭaŋ	'tree'
Cf. Nichar dialect		k'akaŋ		kakaŋ	'mouth'
		k'adiŋ		kadiŋ	'festival'
(ii)		*Voiceless*	vs	*Voiced*	

There are two types to be seen in this free variation.

(*a*) Voiceless consonant ~ Voiced consonant

(*b*) Voiceless consonant ~ Voiced geminated or single consonant followed by 'ɬ'

(*a*)	aza:t	aza:d	'free'
	rak	rag	'stone'
(*b*)	skat	skaddɬ	'language'
	ṭuk	ṭugɬ	'six'

In Sangla dialect it is always the case of geminated consonats followed by central /ɬ/. They do not vary with any other form.

Cf. (Kalpa)	kag:	(Sangla)	kaggɬ	'crow'
,,	mig:	,,	miggɬ	'eye'
,,	gud:	,,	guddɬ	'hand'

The Kanam dialect is mostly a simple replacement of voiced stop by voiceless stop.

Cf. (Kalpa)	id:	(Kanam)	it	'one'
,,	gudɬ	,,	gut	'hand'

Kanauri dialect presents one more interesting feature in this regard. There are certain forms which undergo a sort of double variation or metathesis. If the voiceless stop in the base form becomes voiced, then the voiced stop in the suffix becomes voiceless.

Yak mig	~	Yagmik	'sleep'
kaksimig	~	kagsimik	'divide'

General observations

There is no neatness of pattern in the phonemic inventory as far as the aspirated stops are concerned. While all the voiceless unaspirated stops have their counterpart aspirated stops, we do not find the voiced aspirated stops except the lonely dental voiced aspirated stop. Moreover, the aspirated stops do not occur frequently in the language and they freely vary with the unaspirated ones in many places wherever they occur. This may tempt us to conclude that the occurrence of these aspirated

stops is very recent, probably owing to the influence of Aryan languages. But we find aspirated stops being freely used even in the Pooh dialect which is less influenced by Aryan languages. The fact that the aspirated stop /k'/ is frequently used in the pronouns suggests that this feature is not due to the influence of any foreign source. Moreover the Tibetan dialects also have the same type of phonemic inventory. So we could conclude that the occurrence of the voiced aspirated stop might be due to the influence of Aryan languages. Sten Konow has also pointed out that there is no aspirated soft consonant at all in the list prepared by Rev. Bruske. He did not find even /d'/ which has been noticed during this investigation. Konow has also noted that according to some other materials two aspirated voiced stops were found *viz.*, /g'/ and /j'/. But the data we collected could not prove it. Konow has also attested our view that aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops are in free variation. The free variation between voiceless and voiced stops has also been attested by him.

Both /f/ and /v/ are marginal phonemes and their frequency is very less /f/ occurs sometimes as a variant form of /p'/ and in some loan words only

p'a:sɬ	fa:sɬ	'army'

The trill /r/ is sometimes pronounced with a more trilling. But this feature is not common.

ɾuza	ruza	'old man'
gar	gaɾ	'tooth'

The fricative /ʐ/ is sometimes pronounced with more retroflexation.

a:ʐa	a:ʐa	'forehead'

Nasalised vowels and retroflex consonants occur frequently in this dialect of Kanauri. This may be partly due to the influence of Punjabi.

We do not have any allophonic problem in Kanauri language. The limited size of vocabulary that is available in this language might be the reason. Moreover the people also try to generalise everything by overshadowing the minute differences and are always ready to switch over to a second language whenever there is a doubt regarding a particular usage, thereby reducing the chances of the native words surviving for a long time.

DISTRIBUTIONAL CHART OF KANAURI PHONEMES

(i) *Vowels*

Phoneme	i	e	æ	ɬ	ə	a	ɔ	o	u
Initial	√	√	√	×	×	√	×	√	√
Medial	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Final	√	√	√	√	√	√	×	√	√

(ii) *Semivowels*

Phoneme	w	y
Initial	√	√
Medial	√	√
Final	×	×

(iii) *Consonants*

Phoneme	p	p'	b	t	t'	d	d'	ṭ	ṭ'	ḍ
Initial	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Medial	√	×	√	√	√	√	×	√	√	√
Final	×	×	×	√	×	√	×	√	×	×

Phoneme	k	k'	g	c	c'	j	f	v	s	z
Initial	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	×	√	√
Medial	√	√	√	√	×	√	√	√	√	√
Final	√	×	√	√	×	×	√	×	√	×

Phoneme	ṣ	ẓ	h	l	ḷ	m	n	ṇ	ŋ	r
Initial	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	×	√	√
Medial	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Final	√	×	×	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

Morphophonemics

If any language uses a very high percentage of the favourite shapes of canonical forms then it would mean that the language in question manifested a fairly efficient morphophonemic economy.[1] If the phonemic inventory is relatively small, the favourite forms are naturally long, and made of more syllables. On the other hand if a language has more number of phonemes the favourite forms are naturally small, mostly mono-syllabic or di-syllabic. Kanauri belongs to the latter group. A large number of mono-syllabic words are freely used. Di-syllabic words are also equally frequent. As

[1] *See* Hecket, C.F. 'A course in modern linguistics' ch. 34 pp 284 and ff.

a result, Kanauri does not present serious problems at the morphophonemic level. The phonemic shape generally remains the same without undergoing any modification.

The favourite canonical forms are the following.

I. *Mono-syllabic*	*examples*
1. V:	ū, ã:, ə̃:
2. CV:	lē, pɬ, ki
3. VC	aŋ
4. CVC	caŋ, lis, rim, mig
5. CCV	ʂṭo, kra
6. CCVC	ʂṭuk, skar
7. CVCC	bə̃ns
II. *Di-syllabic*	
1. VCV	a:za
2. CVCV	laṭu, ruza:

These forms suggest that Kanauri words generally begin only with a consonant and a vowel in an initial position is not favoured. While the di-syllabic words have enough number of consonantal clusters, the favourite forms do not have them.

A few examples of the favourite forms are :

(1) CV/CV:

ḷe:	'tongue'
pɬ	'four'
ki	'you'
wa:	'nest'
mo:	'arrow'
ṭ'o	'charcoal'
ra	'hundred'
ŋa	'five'
ḷi	'also'

(2) CVC

caŋ	'baby'
naŋ	'with, and'
gud	'arm'
piŋ	'cheek'
baḷ	'head'
mig	'eye'
cin	'nail'
lum	'thigh'
pom	'star'

(3) CVCV/CVCV:

laṭu:	'boy'
ruza:	'old man'

(3) CVCV/CVCV :—*concld.*

muṭu	'fist'
ju:ti	'fog'
misa	'flesh'
ziva	'soul'

(4) CVCVC

peṭiŋ	'belly'
ḍeker	'young lady'
haraŋ	'bone'
k'jaŋ	'left'
solok	'road'
kanaŋ	'ear'

While the occurrence of onsets are favoured zero-onsets are less favoured. The frequency of codas as well as zero-codas is equally distributed. Vowel sequences and consonantal sequences are not favoured.

Morphs are generally arranged one after another without any morphophonemic change. The places where such change occurs are very few.

kim + o	kimo	'to house'
ka:g + u	ka:gu	'crow's'

The possessive suffix /-u/ is always added to a vowel ending noun whenever it is followed by a post position and a morphophonemic change is sometimes effected.

ti + u tyu	
tyu den	'on the water'
tyu komo	'in the water'

When it is a consonant ending noun, there is no change.

rag	'stone'
ragu den	'on the stone'

Kanauri presents one interesting case of morphophonemic change. When the suffix /u/ is added to a form ending in a velar nasal, the vowel becomes nasalised and the velarisation disappers.

aŋ	+	u	aũ
deṣaŋ	+	u	deṣaũ
ku:waŋ	+	u	ku:waũ

Numerals undergo certain changes in some dialects which would be treated under the headline 'numerals' in the following pages.

Pandit Tika Ram Joshi has noted that in certain cases, the final consonant of the root disappers before a form that is suffixed.

nish + ra	nira	'two hundred'
rag + pya	rapya	'green pigeon'

This investigation could not prove this theory. In all the dialects available to this investigator, the final consonant remains undisturbed as

niṣra	'two hundred'
ra:k maṭar	'green pea'

There is only one instance where the final consonant disappears.

id + jabɨ		ijabɨ	'once'
one time			

But it is not the same with 'twice' where the consonant is retained.

niṣ + jabɨ	nisjabɨ	'twice'

The simplicity of Kanauri language could be explained by the following examples wherein we may find morphemes being simply arranged one after another without any morphophonemic change.

i	po	taŋ	-ma	gə sa-tak	
one deer		if-see		I shall-shoot	
If I see a deer, I shall shoot.					
gə	domi-paŋ	ma-taŋ-ma		gə kim-o	bi-tak
I	he-with	not-see-if		I house-to	go-well
If I do not see him, I shall go home.					

MORPHOLOGY

Noun

***Personal** pronoun*

The first person plural has two forms, one including the addressee and the other one excluding the addressee. The second person also has two forms. One is used while addressing a person inferior to the speaker. The other one is used as a polite form.

	Singular	*Plural*	*Including*	*Excluding*
I person	gə	kaṣa	kasaŋ	niya:s
	Singular	*Plural*	*Inferior Sg.*	*Inferior Pl.*
II person	ki	kina	ka	kaṇa
	Mas/Fem. (S)	*Pl.*	*Neuter*	*Plural*
III person	hodo	hodogo	huju	hunuga
	hodomi		hodo	hodogo
	ḍomi			

In certain dialects, there are forms for dual also. This form is not generally used in present-day speech. The conjunction naŋ 'and' is used instead. Nichar dialect offers a variety of personal pronouns. This first person plural form 'nisi' is used for dual also. Yet there is a distinct form for the second person dual 'kisi'. There is no gender distinction in this dialect. Nichar has another interesting feature not found in other dialects. There are three distinct forms of the third person singular noun. They denote three levels of distance of the addressee from the speaker.

ju	He/She	(Proximity)
nu	,,	(Intermediary)
do	,,	(Remote)

This same distinction is to be found in Tamil also, viz., ivan, uvan, avan. Now-a-days 'uvan' is not generally used and has become obsolete. The same is the case with Kanauri also.

While Nichar and Moorang use the same form 'gə' for the first person singular, Sunnam uses the form 'gi' and Kanam uses the form 'gɨ'.

Demonstratives

A prefix /hu/ is added to the third person forms.

huyu	'this'
hodo	'that'

In the first form there is a variation of /y/ and /j/. In the second form, 'hu' becomes 'ho' due to assimilation. Even without this prefix 'hu', demonstratives could be used.

ju	'this'
do	'that'

For plural forms a suffix /-ga/ is used.

hodogo	'those'
hunuga	'these'

We may find here the use of the intermediary for /-nu/. The 'hujugo' is not found. Even though we get different sets of words for plural forms, they need not necessarily be used.

hodo	mi	'that man'
hodo	miga	'those men'
huyu	cesmi	'this woman'
huyu	cecac	'these women'

Nichar uses the same forms as that of non-neuter gender.

ju	'this'
nu	'it'
do	'that'

The plural is formed by a simple addition of the suffix /-ga/.

juga	'these'	(Prox.)
nuga	'these'	(Int.)
doga	'those'	(Remorte)

Interrogative

ha:le	'how'
t'et	'what'
teraŋ	'where'
ham	'when'
hat	'who'
t'u	'why'

hat 'who' takes the suffix /-u/ to form the words for 'whom' and 'whose'.

hat + u > hatu 'whom or whose'

'which' is formed by suffixing /-ṣya/ to the form t'et 'what'.

t'et + ṣya > t'etṣya 'which'

When the suffix/ḷanna/is added to the form t'u 'why' it gives another meaning.

t'u + ḷanna > t'uḷanna 'because'

Relative

There are no relative pronouns in the language and an expression like 'I think that he is sick' would comprise two simple sentences.

gə	kyāḷo	domi	ṭoṭo	nito
I	think	he	sick	will be

Reflexive

The morpheme 'mæḷ' is used.

gə	mæḷ	ṣek
I	myself	hit

There is one more form also which is used in the first person singular form only.

gə	gẽi	su:sak
I	myself	shall-wash

Number

There are two numbers, singular and plural. A dual number is sometimes used, but is becoming obsolete. Instead, the plural form or the numeral nis 'two' is used.

There are three allomorphs which denote plurality.

(1) /-ga/ is added to the vowel ending stems.

mi + ga > ɱiga 'men'

u: + ga > u:ga 'flowers'

(2) /-a/ is added to the consonant ending stem.

rag + a > raga 'stones'

kim + a > kima 'houses'

(3) There is no plural marker in some cases.

i mi 'one man'

miṣ mi 'two men'

In the third example the plural suffix is /∅/.

There is at least one irregular form wherein /-e/ is used.

kui + a > kuye 'dogs'

This could be explained in terms of assimilation. The suffix /-a/ is assimilated to front vowel /-e/ due to influence of the front vowel /i/ in the preceding syllable.

In Pooh dialect the suffix /-ya/ is used.

to + ya > toya 'boys'

mi + ya > miya 'men'

Sometimes, the plural suffix is not used.

si dok 'fruit'

si dok 'fruits'

Kanam and Sunnam use the suffix /-pa/

p'al +paŋ	>p'alpaŋ	'fruits'
mɪ +paŋ	>mɪpaŋ	'men'

In Moorang dialect /-en/ is used.

rag + en	>ragen	'stones'
mɪ + en	>mɪn	'men'

Aslo ∅ morph is used.

p'olaŋ	'fruit, fruits'

Apart from this, plurality is indicated by separate words like 'all, many' etc.

ce	mɪ	'all men'
gop	kat	'many language'

Gender

There are distinct forms for masculine, feminine and neuter genders at the personal pronominal level. But this distinction is not generally followed in speech. No distinction is made between human and neuter gender or masculine and feminine gender. Separate words are sometimes used and different dialects use different forms.

/kyo/ is a form used for masculine non-human beings and /mun/ is used for female forms. Kanam, Sunnam and Moorang use the following.

koy kukrɪ	'cock'
mun kukrɪ	'hen'

In Kalpa dialect, masculine forms are indicated by the absence of any morpheme while feminine forms take one or other form.

1.	kukras	'cock'
	mant kukrɪ	'hen'
2.	moɪs	'he-buffaloe'
	zot moɪs	'she-buffaloe'

Nichar makes a distinction in the inflection itself. The third person feminine form takes a /-e/ suffix as different from masculine.

	cɪme	'girl'	
1.	tapso	'blind'	(m)
	tapse	'blind'	(f)
2.	lātos	'dumb'	(m)
	lātē	'dumb'	(f)
3.	tonyā	'deaf'	(m)
	tonyē	'deaf'	(f)
4.	k'orya	'lame'	(m)
	k'orye	'lame'	(f)

In Kanam dialect we find another set of forms used to distinguish masculine and feminine names. But these forms are most used with kinship terms only.

1.	p'oma laŋk		'man'
	yoma laŋk		'woman'
2.	p'oma laŋk	bete	'younger brother'
	yoma laŋk	bete	'younger sister'

'bete' makes no gender distinction.

Case suffixes

Nominative : The nominative case does not have any particular suffix. The noun form itself is used as nominative depending upon the context. There is one interesting feature in the transitive verb forms. Subjects take an /-s/ suffix in such cases.

sapes	aũ	kya:ce
snake-by	me	sees

This occurrence of agentive nominative suffix is common in the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages.

Accusative

There are three morphs—(1) /-u/, (2) /-nu/ and (3) /∅/

(1) caŋ + u > caũ 'child'

This suffix is used with consonant ending stems.

(2) ki + nu > kinu 'you'

This suffix is used with vowel-ending stems.

(3) ama+kyamu>ama kaymu 'mother-see'
(see the mother)

In this case, no morph is used to indicate the accusative case. This usage is more common than the other two. It is why Konow was tempted to say that there was no distinction between nominative and accusative. In any case the context is more important. In Kanam dialect there is one suffix /-ɽa/-

aco + ra > acora 'brother'
ulpa + ra > ulpa ra 'fruits'

Dative

This has two morphemes /-paŋ/ and /-u/. /paŋ/ is used as a post position while the second one is suffixed to the stem.

hunu + paŋ > hunu paŋ 'to him'
musafir + u > musafiru 'to the traveller'

Owing to the same phonemic shape as that of the accusative suffix /-u/, Pandit Tikha Ram Joshi was tempted to say that there was no dative case suffix in the language. He should have taken /paŋ/, purely as a post-position meaning 'with', rather than a case marker. Konow has also mentioned that the dative suffix /-u/ is 'often used for accusative also'.

Possessive

Once again we find the suffixes of similar phonemic shapes which are used for other cases also. There are two suffixes viz., /-u/ and /-nu/. These are exactly the same as accusative case markers.

ceriŋ + u > ceriŋu 'cherring's'
pya:c + u >pya:cu 'birds'

This suffix is used with consonant ending stems.

The suffix /-nu/ is used with vowel ending stems.

hodoga:+nu>hodoganu 'their'

In Kanam there is only one form /-u/

ceriŋ + u > ceriŋu 'cherring's'
apa + u > apavu 'father's'

(The appearance of /v/ is due to morphophonemic change)

In Pooh the suffix /-y/ is used.

no + y > noy 'brother's'
apa + y > apey 'father's'

(Owing to the influence of the palatal semivowel, the final /a/ in the stem apa, becomes /e/)

In certain cases like pomo, 'daughter', different morphophonemic change takes place.

pomo + y > pome 'daughter's'

In another example, both /y/ and /e/ occur.

negi + y > negiye 'negi's'

It seems that the possessive morpheme should have been */-ye/ which later on split into two suffixes, in this dialect.

Nichar, on the other hand, offers a different type where no case suffix is used at all. ŋu 'he' and 'his'

Of course, usage of this short is much restricted.

Locative

The suffix is /o/.

zaŋgal + o > zaŋgalo 'in forest'
kim + o > kimo 'in the house'

This suffix is used in almost all the dialects without any change.

Ablative

The suffix is /-c/.

simla + c > simlec 'from Simla'

In Nichar dialect the suffix becomes voiced.

saŋla + j > saŋlaj 'from Sangla'

Mooring uses a post position 'deŋs'.

Ram deŋs 'from Ram'

Kanam uses a different post position 'rat'.

dou + rat dourat 'from him'

While the suffix /-e/ has been attested by Konow, other prepositions are not found. He has given a post-position 'dagts' which could not be attested by this analysis.

Articles

The abbreviated form of /idɬ/ 'one' is generally used as an article. No other article is to be found.

i cesmi 'one woman'

The article is not used commonly in a sentence.

1. sapes skad me tacɬ
   'a snake can not here sound'
2. caĩs kaşaũ kulce
   'the boy hit us-two'

Adjectives

Adjectives precede the nouns they qualify. Demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns and numerals are also used as adjectives.

dam	mi	'good man'
hodo	mi	'that man'
kan	mig	'your eye'
niṣ	mi	'two men'

Comparison of adjectives

The suffix /-i/ is added to the adjectives.

(1) dam	'good'	(2) mar	'bad'
(3) dami	'best'	(4) mari	'worse'

A preposition waḷ' is also used.

waḷ	dam	'very good'

Another preposition meaning 'than' is also used when two objects are compared.

1.	ṭok		'white'
	kāc	ṭok	'whiter than'
2.	mari		'worse'
	kāc	mari	'worse than'

Most of the adjectives have a velar stop as their final member. This is found specially with the adjectives denoting colours.

raŋ-k	'tall'
te:-g	'big'
ṭo-k	'white'
pi:-k	'yellow'
ro-k	'black'
swi:-k	'red'

In Nichar the following are used.

ro-k	'black'
co:-g	'white'
swi:-g	'red'
ra:-g	'blue/green'
pi-g	'yellow'

Sunnam dialect uses a suffix /-ni/.

caŋ-ni	'white'
k'a-ni	'black'
maŋ-ni	'red'
tiŋ-ni	'blue/green'

Pooh uses the suffixes /-bo/ and -po/.

nak-po	'black'
ŋon-po	'green'
mar-bo	'red'
kar-bo	'white'
sir-bo	'yellow'

Numerals

Cardinal

id	'one'	ṭuk	'six'
ñiṣ	'two'	sṭis	'seven'
ṣum	'three'	re	'eight'
pɬ	'four'	sgui	'nine'
ŋa	'five'	sæ	'ten'

Higher numbers are counted in twenties as in Munda languages. Each dialect has its own set of words for the numerals. No multiplier or additive is generally used for making higher numbers. For example, 'one hundred and fifty' would be simply, 'seven, twenty, ten'.

stis	nizo	sæ
seven	twenty	ten

Dialectal variations

	Sunnam	*Moorang*	*Kanam*	*Pooh*
1.	ti	id	it	c'i
2.	nisi	niṣ	niṣ	ŋi
3.	ṣum	ṣum	hum	cum
4.	pi	pə	pɬ	ji
5.	ŋai	ŋa	ŋa	ŋa
6.	ṭugi	ṭug	ṭu	ṭu
7.	nasi	tis	tsɬ nis	dun
8.	gya:i	ræi	gyat	gyet
9.	gui	gui	gu	gu
10.	cūi	sæi	sa:	cu
11.	cuti	sigit	sa it	cuk ṣik
12.	cɬnni	sonis	saniṣ	cuŋi
20.	nisa	niza	nisa	ŋiṣu

Owing to the influence of Aryan languages some changes are seen in some dialects. For example, 'fifty' should be 'two twenty ten'. But in Sunnam dialect it is 'two and a half twenty' ḍai nisa. Kanam also uses the same form.

ḍai nisa	'$2\frac{1}{2} \times 20$'	'fifty'
sāḍa hum nisa	'$3\frac{1}{2} \times 20$'	'seventy'
sāde pɬ nisa	'$4\frac{1}{2} \times 20$'	'ninety'

Ordinal

Kalpa does not have forms in this respect except aidɬṣya 'second'. Otherwise Hindi terms are used.

In Sunnam we get different words.

abal	'first'
doyaŋ	'second'
swayam	'third'

Pooh has the following forms :

taŋbo	'first'
niba	'second'
sumba	'third'

For 'one quarter', 'half', etc., there are no particular words in Kalpa dialects. The Hindi word 'paw' is used as 'pe :' for quarter. Otherwise a phrase like the following should be used.

Pe : hisodenco i hisa 'making four take one'. 'adaŋ : is used for 'half'. One and quarter and one and half are expressed in the following way.

i' dis pehisa	'one and quarter'
i dis adaŋ	'one and half'

The morpheme/jabɬ/ is generally used to denoted the number of times.

i jabɬ >	ijabɬ	'once'
niṣ+jabɬ >	niṣjabɬ	'twice'

Pooh dialect uses different words.

p'eka	'half'
p'ekya : p'eka	'half of half-quarter'
kāla sum	'three-quarter'
petaŋŋi	'one and a half'

Following forms are used in Moorang.

ada	'half'
oms	'first'
aid	'second'

Verbs

Verbs could be classified into two types-transitive and intransitive. In turn these could be classified into two types--verbs having the base forms ending with /-n/ and others.

Imperative forms could be taken as basic forms. Stems ending with /-n/ take the morpheme /-nig/ or /-ink/ to become imperative forms.

lan+nik >	lannik	'make'
yuṇ+nik >	yuṇṇik	'grind'

Stems ending with any other phoneme take any one of the following.

(1) -mig ~ -migɬ, (2) -mik.

k'el mik	'choose'
nar mik	'count'
jam mik	'climb down'
san migɬ	'kill'
kuksi mig	'devide'
yak mig	'roll'

/-mig/ is more frequent. In fact, /-mig/ could be treated even as free variation of /-mik/. Since there are instances of such variations between voiced and voiceless stops.

In Kannam dialect we have two types.

(1) Without any suffix.

pos	'sit'

k'on	'see'
zau	'eat'
t'an	'touch'

(2) Suffix /-au/

payau	'throw'
t'au	'break'
zurau	'make'

Only in case of honorific forms a suffix -na is used.

posna	'sit'	(Honorific)
zana	'eat'	,,
k'onna	'see'	,,
t'anna	'touch'	,,

Moorang uses a different suffix /-ñɬ/.

kyañɬ	'see'
toṣiñɬ	'sit'
ṣañɬ	'kill'

Sunnam uses the suffix /aŋ/.

kaŋmaŋ	'see'
pop'aŋ	'sit'
t'oŋmaŋ	'beat'
zavaŋ	'eat'

Apart from this type, there is one more type where no suffix is used. Every word is an independent unit.

ra:	'come'
ru k'a	'hear'
satni	'kill'

In Pooh dialect also we get a variety of words rather than a particular suffix. Each stem is iteself an imperative form.

dot	'sit'
loŋ	'stand'
d'un	'walk'
ŋo	'touch'

Nichar dialect uses the suffix /-mu/

taŋ+mu	>	ta mu	'see'
lan+mu	>	lanmu	'do'
byo+mu	>	byomu	'go'
san +mu	>	sanmu	'kill'

There is one more suffix /-mo/ which is used in Nichar by certain people. This could be explained as variations of idiolects rather than dialectal.

taŋ+mo	>	ta mo	'see'
lan+mo	>	lanmo	'do'
byo+mo	>	byomo	'go'
san+mo	>	sanmo	'kill'

It would thus be seen that every dialect of Kanauri has its own form. This shows the diversity of Kanauri dialects which justifies our identification of so many dialects.

Transitive

kyamu 'to see'

Base form is kya-. The transitive form will take the affix /-c/ and thus it will be 'kyace'.

sapes	au	kyace	'The snake sees me'
snake	me	sees	

Indefinite verbs

Indefinite verbs are formed by suffixing /-u/ to the imperative form. In this process, the imperative morph loses its last syllable leaving the nasal alone.

kya- is the base form

kyāmk		'see'		
kyā-mik+u	>	*kyamiku >	kyāmu	or
kyā-mik	>	*kya-m+u >	kyamu	

The imperative morpheme is thus lost leaving the nasal.

lan-nik >	*lan-n+u >	lannu	'to-do'
kan-nik >	*kan-n+u >	kannu	'to bring'
tuŋ-mig >	*tuŋ-m+u >	tuŋmu	'to drink'

Indicative mood—Pronominal terminations

Following are the verbal forms that denote the indicative mood.

tok	'(I) am'
tokek	'(I) was'
nitak	'(I) shall be'
toṣe	'(We) are'
tokiṣe	'(We) were'
nitic	'(We) will be'
toĩ	'(You) are'
toke : ĩ	'(You) were'
nic toĩ	'(You) will be'
toṣ	'(He) is'
tokeṣ	'(He) was'
nic toṣ	'(He) will be'

Abstract ideas are denoted by the following mood.

to du	'is'
duwe	'was'
niṫo	'will be'

The same are used for inferior forms of the third person nouns.

Tense

There are three tenses in Kanauri—Present, past and future. They are differentiated by taking different forms which are added to the base. Pro-

nominal terminations are conjugated according to the subjects. (This is why Hodgson called these languages 'Pronominalised'). There is only one mood expressed in all the tenses—*finite verb. Continuous tenses* do not have different pronominal terminations.

gə	ro	tok	'I talk' or 'I am talking'
gə	ro	tokem	'I talked ' or 'I was talking'
gə	ro	tak	'I shall talk' or 'I shall be talking'

The pronominal termination are thus simply added to the base.

In certain cases the pronominal terminations undergo some changes. Generally, the initial /t/ is lost and the rest come under certiain morphophonemic changes.

bə	+ tokek	>	byo: k	'I went'
lac	+ tokek	>	la: ik	'I waited'

There are many other irregular forms like these. The conditioning factors for such a morphophonemic changes could not be explained.

Third person singular nouns take altogether a different form as pronominal terminations for present tense.

The suffix denoting the mood is /-du/ or toş ; the suffix used as pronominal termination is /-c/

şiŋ	calec	'wood floats'
rak	zaŋkc	'stone sinks'
miga	yunc	'men walk'

/duwe/ or /tokes/ are normally expected to act as pronominal terminations where as we get /-da/ in that place.

ḍehrats bəda	'boy came'
poḷaŋ dada	'fruit fell'
kui ṭure da	'dog ran away'

The suffix /-du/ is also used in certian places. It seems some attepmt is being made to make a distinction between finite and continuous tenses.

kui	culo	du	'dog is barking'
ra	grado	du	'horse is neighing'
lan	caledo	du	'wind is flowing'
imi	wado	du	'one man is smiling'

Here /-du/, as distinct from /-duwe/, has been used as the present continuous morpheme. To differentiate this newly formed morpheme from the original present finite verb morpheme /-du/ the bace form of verb takes a suffix /-do/. There is only one exception : 'kui euḷo du'. This could have been simply a present finite verb returned as continuous tense due to misunderstanding by the informant.

The same attempt has been made to denote past continuous tense also even though instances are very less.

ki	wa	do	toke: ĩ	'you were smiling'

Subjunctive mood

Suffix /-ma/ is used to denote this mood.

lagen+ma	>	lagenma	'if it rains'
taŋ+ma	>	taŋma	'if (I) see'

Negative mood of the imperative forms

The morpheme /ta-/ is used. It is prefixed to the imperative forms.

ta: ĩ	'put'
ta ta: ĩ	'do not put'
kya: ĩ	'see'
ta kya : ĩ	'do not see'

Causative verbs

The suffix /-m/ is added to the base form of the verb.

*/p'ikya-/ is the base of 'p'ikyamu' 'to throw'

/za-/	<	zamu	'to eat'
/tu-/	<	tuŋmu	'to drink'
pikya+m	>	pikyam	ṣek to-throw (make) cause

gə demipaŋmē rag p'ikyam ṣek
'I him yesterday stone to-throw caused'
gə momipaŋ me zam ṣek
I made him eat yesterday.

This causative verb could be analysed in another way also, simply as the loss of the final vowel of the indefinite verb.

zamu	>	zam	> zam
tuŋmu	>	tuŋm	> tuim
p'ikyamu	>	p'ikyam	> p'ikyam

In the second example we get the usual morphophonemic change of /ŋ/, totally losing its shape into a vowel retaining only the nasality.

Voice

There is no passive voice in the language. To indicate passivity, the base form of the verb is simply reduplicated.

lasta	ẓakẓak	du		'the axe is broken'
lasta	ẓakẓak	duwe		'the axe was broken'
raḷ	tekeriban	baba	du	'the rice is almost cooked'

Adverbs

Adverbs precede the verb they qualify.

Numeral adverb

gə domipaŋ ijabɨ kuḷek
I him once hit
'I hit him once'

Adverb of time

gə domipaŋ darymstaŋ kuḷo tak
I him long-time am-hitting
'I hit him for a long time'

Adverb of manner

Sometimes, the indefinite verbal forms act as adverbs.

gə aŋ ama: kya: mu hajaŋ bək
I my mother to-see there came

Here 'kya: mu' is treated as an adverb.

Sometimes the adjective itself is used as adverb.

hodo mari du
he bad is
'he is bad'

borco ḷames du
spear long is
'The spear is long'

Post-positions

The post-positions usually follow the nouns to which they are suffixed.

ti+den > tyuden 'on the water'
water on

rag+na > ranga 'by the stone'
stone by

ragu Yəṭaŋ 'under the stone'
to-stone under

bo : ṭaŋu Yums 'beyond the tree'
tree beyond

Interjections

Like any other language, Kanauri has also got mono-syllabic interjections which are used in conversation.

/ã:/
/ã:/ } 'Yes'
/ni/

/ap'o/ Oh

Conjunctions

/naŋ/is used exactly in the same manner as the English 'and'.

hodo naŋ gə
he and I

There are not many conjunctions in Kanauri. We do not find any specific forms for 'but', 'unless', 'while', 'yet, etc. Whenever there is a need to make use of a conjunctive, the sentence is being split into simple construction. In such cases, even the use of /naŋ/ is omitted.

'Wash the clothes and make them
whiter than they are now.

This sentence could be rendered in Kanauri in the following way.

gasa: nu	cĩ: tog	ho nugo: nu	huna kã:c	tok lani
clothes	wash	them	now then	white make

Verbal nouns

Imperative forms are sometimes used as verbal nouns also.

sɔfar laṇṇik	'travel ~	travelling'
tuŋmig	'drink ~	drinking'

In Kanam dialect a verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix/-ma/.

yun+ma	>	yunma	'walking'
t'aṅ+ma	>	t'anma	'touching'
ko'n+ma	>	k'onma	'seeing'

Negative particle

/ma/ is used as the negative particle.

ma ni	'is not'

This form is used generally as a reply to a question, meaning 'no'. In other cases where the negative mood is to be expressed /ma/ alone is used.

ma lanik	'(I) do not believe'
ma bik	'(I) shall not go'

Another form /ta/ is used with imperative forms.

ta ṣẽi	'do not send'

Directions

Most of the Kanauri dialects do not have separate words for north and south.

Kanam has the following :

(ni) zuri fok	'(sun) rising side'
(ni) geti fok	'(sun) setting side'

For north and south, 'Jo fok' and 'su fok' are used. The meanings are simply 'upper side' and 'lower side'.

Sunnam uses 'syar' 'east' and 'nubbɨ' 'west'. There are no words for north and south.

Moorang uses 'zergo' 'rising side' for east and 'retko' 'setting side' for west. No words are used for the rest.

Nichar uses almost the same forms—'zarko' 'east' and 'redko' 'west'. For 'north' 't'ur' is used and for 'south' 'yur' is used. But these two are not popular. Two other forms, 'koja' 'right side' are used for north and south respectively.

In Kalpa, red kojaŋ and zer kojaŋ are used for west and east respectively. There are no words for south and north.

In Moorang dialect we get different words for the 'following days after today' upto five days.

nasom	'to-morrow'
romi	'day-after-tomorrow,
pãye	'the second day after tomorrow'
yiŋe	'the third day after tomorrow'
ceŋe	'the fourth day after tomorrow'
kroŋe	'the fiftn day after tomorrow'

Syntax

The study of syntax in any language is about the meaningful arrangement of the morphemes and it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut line between morphology and syntax. If the morphemes undergo more inflectional changes then the study of syntax becomes somewhat complex. But in an analytic language like Kanauri where we find the morphemes simply appearing one after another without considerable change, one may not expect more problems. This chapter attempts to illustrate the way in which Kanauri morphemes are arranged.

Normally, a Kanauri sentence may or may not comprise any one or more of the following - (1) Nouns, (2) Verbs, (3) Attributes, (4) Remnants.

Nouns and verbs occur at the head of a sentence. Attributes and Remnants may occur mostly as tails and in some cases as heads.

Nouns include all the personal and substantive nouns, the verbs include both intransitive and transitive. Adverbs, numerals and adjectives form the attributes while the rest like connector etc., come under remnants. The subject come first in a sentence followed by the object, if any : the predicate comes last.

1. Formation of single form sentence.

This type of sentences are generally formed as reply to some other bigger sentences.

(a)	*Noun*	
	(Kin naman ced?) cherriŋ	'what is your name'
(b)	*Verb*	
	tosiŋ	'sit'
(c)	*Attribute*	
	dam	'good'
(d)	*Remnant*	
	ni	'yes'

2. Sentences formed with one or more forms,

(i)	Attribute Head	
	sum mi	'three men'

This order is reversed in Pooh dialect wherein head come first.

mi sum	'men three'

When a noun occurs as a head, it could be preceded by the following as attributes: (1) Demonstrative, (2) Adjective, (3) Genitive, (4) Quantitative, (5) Zero attributes.

(1)	ju desaŋ	'this village'
(2)	ṭok gas	'white dress'
(3)	aŋ boba	'my father'
(4)	ce miga	'all men'
(5)	kim deg du	'house is big'

All these may or may not occur in one clause. Generally three units can occur together, in which case adjectives and genitives would be the

immediate constituents of the nouns they attribute. Quantitative or demonstratives precede them.

wal	dam	raŋ	'very good horse'
very	good	horse	
ju	aŋ	laŋ du	'this is my cow'
this	my	cow is	

A noun is then followed by any case suffix, plural suffix or post-position in the following way.

1 Noun + Locative
deṣaŋ + o 'in village'

2 Noun + Possessive
kag u 'crow's'

3 Noun + Ablative
simle c 'from Simla'

4 Noun Plural Suffix
mi ga 'men'

5 Noun + Agentive Nominative
sap-ı-es 'snake-by'

6 Noun + Post-position
rag -naŋ 'stone, by the side of'

7 Noun Genitive Suffix Post-position
ti u den tyudèn 'on water'

Hence, a noun clause may be constructed in the following way.

Demonstrative + Adjective- Genitive-+Quantitative-+Noun -Case Suffix+Post position.

Nouns could not be declined to any of its attribute, except numeral attributes. This is also not regular. Sometimes the noun is not declined to numerals also.

ṣum miga	'three men'
ṣum mi	'three men'

Likewise no attribute is declined to the head they qualify.

A verb also could be preceded by the following attributes.

1 Negative morpheme
2 Interrogative
3 Adverb
4 Preposition

e.g.

1	ma du not is	'is not'
2	hatis tut who-by took	'who took'
3	dam du good is	'well, good'
4	nodi work du river far is	'the river is far away'

All these may or may not occur together or with two or more.

Adverb+negation+verb
dam + ma +du 'not friendly'
good not is
Interrogative negation verb
t'u ma byō : i 'why did not go'
why not did-go

Pronominal terminations always follow the root.

sa tak 'will shoot'
bi'tak 'will go'

There is no concordance between the gender of the head and the verb.

ḍehrats motes du 'boy is fat'
cecac patles du 'girl is slim'

There is no concordance with number also.

(1) kasanu lastaga irongṣya du
our *axes* similar *is*
Our axes are similar.
(1) ṣum kuye kindeŋ toṣis du
three *dogs* you-by sitting *is*
three dogs are sitting by your side

When there are two heads, the pronominal terminations are declined to the immediate head.

(1) gə naŋ ki hoyaŋ tohi
I and *you* here *are*
I and you are here.
(2) hodo naŋ gə hoya toc
he and *I* here *am*
He and I are here

Copula does not occur in some places.

kin nāmaŋ ced
your name what
What is your name?

Connectors are not used in complex sentences.

gə kyāḷo domi ṭoṭo nito
I think he sick will
I think that he will be sick

Multipliers or additives are not used.

stis nizo se
seven twenty ten
'one hundred and fifty'

Objects come between subject and predicate.

i	mi	aũ	kyocodɨ
a	man	me	sees

a man sees me

Sometimes they occur at the beginning.

aũ	kuĩs	cik'ce
me	dog-by	bit

dog bit me

It may be concluded that noun clauses are formed by prefixing certain morphemes and by suffixing certain others. A verb clause could be formed in the same way.

Neg.+Intro.+Adv.+Prepo.+Root.+pt.

All these suffixes need not occur at the same time. One or more may or may not occur at all.

Noun clauses take the first place in a sentence when they are used as subjects and verb clauses take the final place while the noun clauses as objectives occur medially in the following manner.

Subject+Object+Predicate.

The current trend and Aryan influence

Two events that took place in Kinnaur after independence are changing the cultural habits of the people and shaping their language into a new form. Chini tehsil, which was only a part of Rampur (Bushahr) state, was reconstituted into a separate district, thereby enhancing its political as well as administrative status. The district was named as Kinnaur district. This new set-up opened the doors of Kinnaur to many Indo-Aryan speakers of the plains and other Pahari dialect speaking people who arrived there in large numbers. The second event was the sealing off of the Tibetan border and the people thereby losing contact with Tibet which was till then their cultural as well as mercantile outpost. As one school teacher put it, everything from salt to transistor sets come now from the plains.

The days are gone when only a mule trod the lovely tracks. Now heavy vehicles more through the heart of the district upto the Tibetan border and many villages are being connected by bus service day by day.

It was not an one-way traffic either. Kinauras who had for a long time been confined to their hilly abodes started moving down from their homes and developed closer contact with others. Whenever they went back home, they took something new, pleasant memories and the history of the people they met and their languages.

With the introduction of Hindi as the medium of instruction in schools, almost the entire younger generation of village, wherever there is a school, talks Hindi quite well. Their language has greatly been influenced by Hindi and other Aryan languages. Urdu was the court language of Rampur state and its influence was naturally there before the reorganisation

of states. The influence of Tibetan which was once the prestige language ceased and Aryan languages like Hindi and Punjabi moved in to fill the vacuum. It is therefore quite natural to expect all these languages to have influenced Kanauras and their language to a considerable extent. This is confirmed by the presence of an unusually large number of foreign words in Kanauri.

As Hockett has observed, prestige and the need-filling motive are the two most important reasons for any language to borrow words from other languages. In Kanauri, we find both these factors operating. When Kanauras found themselves completely surrounded by people speaking Pahari languages, they naturally wished to identify themselves as one among them and to join the mainstream of national life. Hindi which was emerging as the prestige language of those Pahari areas gradually entered Kinnaur also. With the Himachal Government's resolve to make it the official language of the state, Hindi almost occupied the position of Urdu and Tibetan. While the older generation was well versed in Urdu, the younger generation mastered Hindi. With the opening of many schools, teachers whose mother-tongue was one or other Pahari language came to Kinnaur in addition to white-collar workers who were already there manning the administrative machinery. Finally when the time came to complete with other people to secure jobs and develop trade relations with the plains people, many Kanauras switched over to Hindi. When automobiles started replacing mules, along with them came the requirements of the modern age, like radio receivers and watches and their foreign terms too.

When Hindi attained the status of a prestige langauge much of its vocabulary found its way into Kanauri language. Whenever two educated Kanauras meet, there is a free use of Hindi words ; it has also been developed into a communication medium with outsiders. This state of affairs is to be found only in big villages. When one goes into the interior of the district, it is not possible to feel the influence of Hindi in those areas. Those villages which are not touched either by the old Hindustan-Tibet road or the national highway fall in this category. But as many children go to school in the nearby bigger villages one may yet meet one or two schoolboys in each village who could talk Hindi. Women generally lag behind men in the knowledge of Hindi or any other second language. Their attachment to their own mother-tongue is definitely more than that of their menfolk. Kanauri women speak Hindi only in some big villages where people from all places come to work. Without the help of an interpreter it would be rather difficult to travel through the interior villages.

Since the Kanauras took Hindi as a prestige language, outsiders no longer take much interest in learning the language of the soil, however long they live there. This investigator met many Kanaura people who felt shy of telling their Tibetan names ; it was indeed only after long insistence that many divulged such names.

Hinduism has played a vital role by way of propagating Hindu mythological stories as a result of which one finds today that almost all names

are Hindu such as Priya Bharat, Vinay Singh, Budhi Ram, etc. A host of other religious terms has also crept in. The influence of Hinduism is clearly felt upto Kalpa whereas the Buddhistic influence is felt in the north-eastern dialectal areas. The influence of Tibetan language is predominant even today in those areas.

Like any other language, Kanauri also changes the form of a borrowed term according to its own genius. Generally, the borrowed terms are not accepted with the same phonomic shape. In turn, these terms have helped Kanauri undergo certain changes at the phonetic and lexical level. The increasing frequency in the use of aspirated stops, the clear-out distinction that is being made between voiced and voiceless stops, the innovation of a voiced asphirated stop, the presence of a large number of nasalised vowels and cerebrals are all due to the same reason. One is surprised to see the large number of Urdu words at the lexical level. The fact that the older generation had Urdu as its subsidiary language, as the younger generation has Hindi at present, would explain this state of affairs. No Kanaura ever hesitates to use a Urdu term in his speech whenever he feels that he could not express himself properly and does not get a suitable word in his own language. This tendency is very commonly found among the speakers of the dialects Kalpa, Nichar, Sangla, etc. In the north-eastern dialects like Pooh, the Tibetan influence is more.

The following chart would give an idea about the Aryan influence over Kanauri dialects.

Glossary	Kalpa	Nichar	Kanam	Sunnam	Moorang
High	rank	lamesh~rank	tonpo	tompo	N. A.*
Tall	lames	lames~raŋk	ṣui	ṣuko	lames
Short	coṭes	cotas gaṭo:	cigit	cikit	coṭes
Fat	moṭes	moṭos	ṣeto~gyakpa	boṭo	moṭes
Thin	patles	nakie~na: k	ṣiko	byako~nakin	patles

* N. A. Not available.

Of late, English words are freely used. We may cite some examples like ' bildiŋ ' (building) ' siliŋ ' (ceiling) ' ' bramda ' (verandah) 'bas' (bus) ro:ḍ (road) etc.

Many vegetables and cereals which come to Kinnaur from other parts of the country are known by their Hindi or Punjabi names only. Some of them are taken into the language with some phonemic changes, some are given some suffixes and a few are taken without any modification. On the whole the loan words from Aryan languages could be classified into the following five types.*

* For more loan words the reader may refer to the glossary of words given at the end.

I. Words without any modifications.

komra	' room '	santra	' orange '
Papaḍ	' papad '	ni : m	' margosa '
baza:r	' bazaar '	p'ulgo : bi	' cauliflower '
zaga	' place '	matar	' pea '
zaŋgal	' forest ' etc.		

II. Words with slight modifications.

pya: sɬ	' onion '	cf.	pya: j
halu	' potato '	cf.	a: lu:
cone	' gram '	cf.	cana
bakɔr	' *goat* '	*cf.*	*bakra:*
bramca: ri	' bachelor '		
prit'i	' earth '		

III. Words which take aŋ/-aŋ/suffix, after modifications.

samɔndraŋ	' sea, river '	cf.	samudra
patraŋ	' leaf '	cf.	patta:
de: saŋ	' country, village '	cf.	de: s
duk'aŋ	' sorrow '	cf.	duhkh
telaŋ	' oil '	cf.	te: l

IV. Words which take /es/ suffix after some modifications.

coṭes	' small	cf.	c'o: ta:
patles	' slim '	: cf.	patla.
lames	' tall '	: cf.	lamba:
moṭes	' fat '	cf.	mo: ta:

V. Words which take auxiliary verb 'rannik' or ' lannik ' before being used as imperative forms,

golti	rannik	' make a mistake '
bond	lannik	' shut '
jaba: b	rannik	' answer '
ya: d	lannik	' remember '
git'aŋ	lannik	' sing '
itla	rannik	' inform '
sɔfar	lannik	' travel '
ṣuru	lannik	' begin '

A few typical Kanauri sentences with loan words freely used are given below.

I. Kalpa dialect

ra . za ṣormindahacis raŋ turu	musafiru
king became ashamed horse calf	traveller-to
wa: fes raŋgyo:	
return made	

' The king ' was ashamed (and) returned the colt to the traveller '.

II. Nichar dialect :

fal	fru:t	raŋsabziga	şirib	gunohi poretoto
fruit	fruit	and vegetables	only	winter in is available.

' Fruits and vegetables are available only in winter '.

Concluding remarks

While summing up his introduction to the Tibetan and Himalayan languages in the LSI, Sten Konow agreed very modestly that on the whole it was impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily. He continued that the remarks that were found in the LSI did not pretend to be more than a provisional attempt at a classification based on the facts brought to light in the LSI.[1] Yet we find a remarkable work on the classification of these languages by Sten Konow which stands valid to a large extent till today. But for Robert Shafer[2] who has of late introduced a new classification which is yet to be checked, no other fresh attempt seems to have been made.

As far as Himalayan dialects are concerned, Konow has followed B. H. Hodgson's classification into pronominalised versus non-pronominalised groups of languages.[3] Hodgson introduced this theory as far back as 1828. He was perhaps the first scholar to take note of this interesting feature among the Himalayan languages. Max Muller[4] also attempted a classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages into sub-Himalayan or Gangetic and Lohitic which was not taken seriously by many scholars. There are few other scholars who have worked on this line. The LSI gives a list of names and their contributions.[5]

The Himalayan language group is one of the two western chains which connect the northernmost Tibeto-Burman language, Tibetan, with the southernmost langauge, Burmese, through merger with Bodo and the Kuki-Chin groups of languages.

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[1] LSI · vol. III. pt. I. p. 10.

[2] Shafer, Robert : " Classification of some languages of the Himalayas ". Journal of the Bihar Research Society. vol. 36. pts. 3-4, 1950.

[3] LSI : vol. III. pt. I. p. 179.

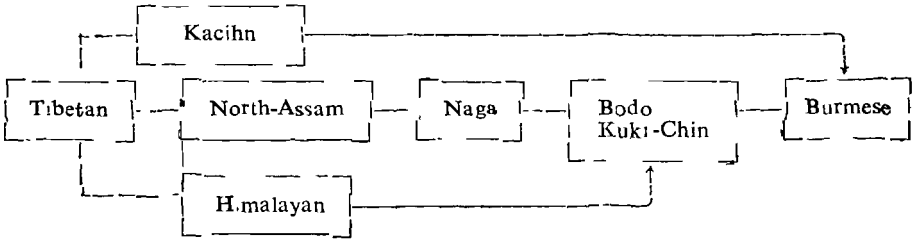
[4] Muller, Max.....Letter to Chevalier Bunsen on the classification of the Ruranian languages. London 1854. pp. 97and ff.

[5] LSI : vol. III. pt. I. p. 12. ....Few notables are; (i) *Logan. J.*. The West Himalayic or Tibetan Tribes of Assam, Burma and Pegu. Journal of the Indian Archipelago vol II. 1858 pp. 100 and ff. 230 and ff. (ii) *Forbes, Capt. C J. F. S.* On Tibeto-Burman Languages. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society N. S. Vol. X, 1878. pp. 210 and ff.

Some other contributions :

Shafer, Robert : " The vocalism of Sino-Tibetan ". Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 60. ' Classification of some languages of the Himalayas ' Journal of Bihar Research Society. Vol. 36. pts. 3-4, 1950. ' Classification of Northernmost. Naga Languages. Word. vol. XI. 1956. *Bailey. Rev. T. Grahame* ' Kanauri Vocabulary in two parts '. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1910. *Joshi, Tika Ram* · ' A Grammar and Dictionary of Kanawari ', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. V. Ns. Extra. 1909 *Bonnerjea, Biren. :* ' Phonology of some Tibeto-Burman dialects of the Himalayan Region.

Konow's statement[1] on the comparative relationship of the Tibeto-Burman languages could be represented by the following graph.



According to Shafer's new classification, Kukish includes all the Naga languages except the northernmost. He has divided all the Himalayan languages into six sections under Bodi division and one under Burmic division. He has made certain other changes also in his proposal by putting certain dialects under new groupings.

Given below is his new classification.[2]

Bodic division:

(i) *Bidish section*
- (*a*) Bodish branch.
- (*b*) Rgyarong branch.
- (*c*) Gurung branch.
  - (1) Gurung
    Murmi
  - (2) Thaksya

(ii) *West Himalayish section*
- (1) Bunan
- (2) Thebor
- (3) Kanauri, etc.

(iii) *West central section*
- (1) Magari
- (2) Tsepang
  Vayu

(iv) *East Himalayish section*
- (*a*) Western branch
  - (1) Bahing
    Sunwari
  - (2) Thulung
  - (3) Tsaurasya
  - (4) Dumi Unit
- (*b*) Eastern branch

[1] LSI : Vol. III. pt. I. p. 12.

[2] Shafer, Robert : Classification of some languages of the Himalayas', Journal of the Bihar Research Society vol. 36, pts. 3-4, (1950).

(v) *Newarish section*
(1) Newari
Pahri

(vi) *Dhimalish section*
(1) Dhimal
Toto

Burmic division
(i) Kukish section
(*a*) Northern Naga branch

(1) Hlota	Mongsen	(3) Yatsumi
(2) Tsungli	Tengsa	(4) Thukumi
Longla	Rong	
Ao Unit	Yatsam	

Shafer has not adhered to the classification of Himalayan dialects into pronominalised versus non-pronominalised groups Thaksya which has been treated as a pronominalised language by Hogdson and Konow, has now been grouped together with two other non-pronominalised languages -Gurung and Murimi—under the Gurung branch Likewise, Magari a non-pronominalised language, has been grouped with Tsepang and Vayu, both pronominalised languages, under the west central section Sunwari, a non-pronominalised dialect, has been grouped together with four other pronominalised dialects, under the western branch. Toto, a non-pronominalised language, has been grouped with Dhimal under the Dhimalish section Almost all the central Naga languages have been treated as Kukish languages under the Kukish section of the Burmic division. The most important reclassification is the treatment of Rong (Lepcha) which has been grouped under the northern Naga branch of Kukish section, Burmic division This language is, according to Konow, a non-pronominalised Himalayan language.

There is no doubt that Shafer has shaken the very foundation of Hodgson's theory. He has altogether discarded the theory of pronominalisation. Many of his statements are yet to be throughly checked It is not known whether he had enough data with him before proposing such modifications. He himself has accepted elsewhere that owing to the presence of a very great number of languages or quite distinct dialects, one person could not satisfactorily accomplish the objective in a lifetime.[1] Unfortunately some of his articles relating to these classifications were not available to this investigator. It is also not clear whether he followed the principle of mass comparison as against the isolated comparisons between pairs of languages or the principle of sole relevance in comparison of resemblances involving both sound and meaning in specific forms as suggested by J H. Greenberg.[2]

[1]Shafer, Robert 'The vocalism of Sino-Tibetan', Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol 60, pp 302-337

[2]Greenburg, J. H. . 'Languages of Africa' Indiana university, Jan. 1963, p 1.

We have to agree with Shafer when he says that the difficulty (of proper re-classification) could be solved only by mass linguistic production[1] which is still a desideratum.

One remarkable change proposed by Shafer is the change of nomenclature of the linguistic groups. He has attempted a rationalisation of such names of the Tibetan family. He argues that there must be a uniform pattern of technical terms throughout the world which would suggest by its very appearance whether a particular name is indicative of a group, branch or family. Following the pattern that is current in the west, he suggests that all the family names should bear the /an/ suffix, like Sino-Tibetan (it would be interesting here to mention here Maspero's observation;[2] that it prejudges the question to give the name Sino-Tibetan to this group of languages when the relationship of Chinese and Tibeto-Burmic is still questionable). For the sub-divisions of the family he suggests /-i/ suffix (like Bodic, Baric, Germanic, Slavic) Sub-groups should bear /-ish/ suffix such as Burmish, Kukish, English, Irish). One can only appreciate Shafer's efforts to evolve an international set of technical terms but this may not be the proper place to comment on it.

Shafer remarks that the unfamiliarity with what has been accomplished (in the field of Tibetan, Chinese and Burmese languages) and the general resemblance of the numerical systems and the mono-syllabic and tonal characteristics are the main reasons why the Sino-Tibetan languages have been grouped together.;[3] Konow, on the contrary, has explained some of the common features found among the Tibeto-Burman and Chinese-Siamese groups of languages. He further gives some other important characteristic features, such as word order, expensive use of auxiliary words, etc., which stand in contrast to them. Hence, he treats Tibeto-Burman languages as a distinct family as compared with Tai and Chinese.

Konow[4] lists a few characteristic features of Tibeto-Burman languages. According to him, there is a tendency towards individual conception of all objects leading to a richly varied vocabulary and at the same time avoiding the use of words like 'hand', 'foot', etc. They speak only of 'my hand', 'your hand', etc. Konow explains that such a phenomenon is to be found commonly among some dialects of Bodo, Kuki-Chin and also in some Himalayan dialects. As far as this investigation has revealed, this statement is not valid for Kanauri which is an important language in the western Himalayan pronominalised group. There is a separate word each for 'hand', 'foot', 'father', 'mother', etc. and the tendency towards individual conception of all objects is not to be found. If other Himalayan dialects are having this characteristic feature, then we should note that Kanauri stands apart from them.

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[1]Shafer, Robert : 'The Vocalism of Sino-Tibetan' ,JAOS, vol. 60, pp. 302-337.

[2]Maspero, H : B. S. L. P. (1938).

[3]Shafer, Robert : 'The vocalism of Sino-Tibetan', Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 60.

[4]L S I, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 1-12.

There is another instance where Kanauri does not fall in line with most of the other Tibeto-Burman languages. Konow pointed out that the genitive case suffix which is most important in Aryan grammar is often left without any sign in Tibeto-Burman languages. This statement does not apply to Kanauri very properly wherein we find the genitive suffix /-u/ being invariably used.

ceriŋu	kim	'Cherring's house'
apāvu	kolam	'father's pen'
pyācu	wa	'bird's nest'

The Tibetan example given in this context by Konow is much similar to the Dravidian languages wherein the genitive suffix may or may not be used.

Tibetan :	mi — i	khyim	'a man's house'
	man-one	house	
Tamil :	oru aḷu	viṭu	'a man's house'
	one-man	house	

The next point where Kanauri differs from the general characteristics of Tibeto-Buram languages is the presence of objectives of comparison. Generally the comparision is effected by adding post-positions to the compared noun in order to show that the meaning of the adjective is relative as is the case with other Tibeto-Burman languages. Kanauri goes one step further. There are three distinct degrees of comparisons as in English.

dam	'good'
wāl dam	'very good'
dami	'best'

kinda	wāl	dąm	raŋ	ḍui ;	doli	aŋda	dami	to.
yours	very	good	horse	is	but	mine	best	is.

'Your horse is very good ; but mine is the best'.

As Konow has observed, a post position /kāc/ is also used.

borċo	ḷasta	kāc	ḷames	du
spear	axe	than	long	is

spear is longer than the axe.

While most of the Tibeto-Burman dialects use the decimal system, many Himalayan languages make use of a different system in the formation of higher numbers which are counted in twenties. In this regard Kanauri is much closer to same dialects of Bodo and Kuki-Chin groups and also to the Munda languages. But while the Bodo, Naga and Kuki-Chin groups of dialects suffix the multiplier for the formation of higher numerals, Kanauri prefixes the multiplier like any other Munda, Tibetan or Dravidian language.

The presence of two first person plural forms, one inclusive and the other exclusive of the addressee, is found in Kanauri as in Munda and Dravidian languages. This feature, according to Bishop R. Caldwell.;[1]

[1]Caldwell, Rt. Rev. Robert : 'A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages', Madras 1961, pp. 414-415.

is said to be prevailing in Mongolian, the northern dialect of Chinese and some Polynesian languages too. It could only be a matter of conjecture to say anything about such a feature found in such a wide area. (It may be interesting to note that such a distinction is not found in the Jaffna Tamil dialect of Ceylon). Konow lists this feature as one of the characteristics of Munda influence found in Himalayan languages. It is highly questionable whether a feature like this which is prevalent over such a wide area covering so many different families could be attributed to one particular family without going deep into the structural details of the families concerned.

Konow's observation that the subject of transitive verb is usually put in the case of agent holds good for Kanauri. This feature described as one of the Tibeto-Burman characteristics is to be found very commonly in Kanauri.

	sapes	aũ	kyã ce	
	snake-by	me	sees	
	The snake sees me.			
aŋ	attes	ṣum	pōga	sasa
my	brother-by	three	deer	killed.
	My brother killed three deers.			

This features is found among some of the Indo-Aryan languages belonging to Inner Group and most commonly in Hindi.

Hindi :	sãpne	mujhe	dekhã
	snake-by	me	saw
	The snake saw me.		

While /-ne/ acts in Hindi, /-es/ acts in Kanauri as agentive nominative suffix.

Kanauri differs in regard to another common feature of other Tibeto-Burman languages when it uses a seperate suffix as well as words meaning 'many', 'all' etc., to denote plurality.

muluk	miga	'many men'
cē	miga	'all the men'
te	miga	'some men'

Kanauri does not use the plural suffix mostly with reference to non-human beings as is the case with Dravidian languages too. Sometimes it is the same with human beings also.

Kanauri :	niṣ kui/kuye	'two dogs'
	ṣum mi/miga	'three men'
Tamil :	iraṇṭu nay/māykaḷ	'two dogs'
	muṇru āḷu/āṭkaḷ	'three men'

Kanauri uses the same negative prefix/ma-/as Kuki and other languages apart from one more prefix/ta-/which is used in the negative mode of imperative.

kyãi	'see'
ta kyãi	'do not see'

The languages of the central Naga group and Trbetan use a negative prefix as practised by Kanauri. In this respect Kanauri differs from Bodo and the Kuki-Chin groups which use a suffix.

As has been noticed by Konow, the word order of Kanauri is in conformity with the one that is prevalent in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Kanauri and other Himalayan languages differ from central Tibetan, Kachin and Naga languages in respect of the absence of tonal system. Konow suggests two reasons for this—the preservation of the old prefixes and the influence of the languages spoken by the old inhabitants of the country. Though the preservation of the old prefixes, the dropping of which could have developed into a tonal system, is found among languages like Gurang, Lepcha and other Himalayan languages, the same may not be true as regards Kanauri as we do not get any remarkable account of prefixes in the language. The absence of tones could be attributed to the influence of some other languages.

Konow opines[1] that some of the important features which are not in accordance with Tibeto-Burman principles are due to the influence of Munda languages. In his view, Mundas or some other related tribes should have once lived in the Himalaya and left their stamp on the languages spoken there today. He holds that a particular feature such as the presence of two forms of the first person plural which is found in the western dialects of Tibetan is also due to the same influence. Konow lists the following as the important characteristics features that are found in Himalayan languages in thorough agreement with the principles prevailing in the Munda languages, but differing from the rest of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

(1) The difference made between such words as denote animate beings and inanimate things.
(2) Counting of higher numbers in twenties instead of tens as in Tibetan, Burmese, etc.
(3) Presence of dual number in the forms of personal pronouns.
(4) Two forms for the first person plural pronoun, one including and the other excluding the addresses.
(5) Tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by adding pronominal suffixes.

Differentiating between animate and inanimate beings is a very common feature in both Munda and Dravidian languages. (cf. Tamil 'Uyartinai' and 'Axrinai', meaning 'higher sect' and 'sectless'; also Telugu 'mahāt' an 'amahāt' meaning 'major' and 'minor'). Though there are different words in Kanauri to denote human and non-human personal pronouns, the verb however is not declined accordingly. No distinction is made between a human pronominal termination and a non-human termination. More-

[1]L. S. I., vol. III, pt. I, p. 179.

over the distinction in the pronoun itself is not strictly adhered to in present-day speech. The same form could be used for both.

hun	lis	du	'it is cold now'
ḍehrats	moṭes	du	'the boy is fat'
cecac	patles	du	'the girl is slim'
botaŋ	teg	du	'the tree is big'

It is likely that Kanauri had earlier used different sets of words strictly and that they are now slowly becoming obsolete under the influence of other Aryan languages that are spoken. Among the Dravidian languages, Telugu has lost this distinction as far as the third person feminine and neuter pronouns are concerned at least in the spoken form. Malayam has totally given up this distinction in the pronominalised termination and they are never declined according to the subject. Caldwell[1] says that it is Malayalam which represents the earlier stage. Whichever may be the earlier stage, it is a fact that Kanauri is gradually giving up the distinction which was borrowed from some other source.

Forms of the dual number in personal pronouns are also on the way out. Even though there are some distinct forms, the present practice is simply to use the conjunction/na/'and', such as 'gənaŋ hodo' 'I and he' or to prefix the numeral niṣ 'two'. Munda languages like juāng, Savara and Gadaba have already abandoned the use of dual[2].

The feature regarding the presence of two forms for the first person plural pronoun has already been discussed earlier and it has been found that it is prevailing in may language families.

The tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by adding pronominal suffixes is the important reason on the basis of which Hodgson classified the Himalayan languages into two groups—pronominalised and non-pronominalised. As we have already seen, this basis has been seriously challenged by Shafer. This feature is found most commonly in Dravidian and Munda languages. The question as to which family among these two influenced the other one is out of place here. We should also agree that the analysis of Kanauri alone could not provide us with a reasonable answer whether pronominalisation could be taken as a major criterion of classifying Himalayan languages. As far as this analysis has revealed, Kanauri practises this pronominalisation extensively and we are tempted to agree with Hodgson. But unless we study the structure of most of the other Himalayan languages also, we would not be in a position to comment upon Shafer's views. In the meantime we have to record certain interesting developments in certain Kanauri dialects which suggest that this feature is also dying out, as in Malayalam.

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[1]Caldwell, 'A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of language, Madras 1961, p. 416.

[2] L. S. I., vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian languages, p. 25.

In Kanam dialect, we do not find the use of pronominal terminations of the second and third person pronouns in certain places.

	Past tense		
ka	jeu		'you(sg.) went'.
giraŋ	jeu		'you(pl.) went'.
ono	jeu		'he/she/it went'.
nopaŋ	jeu		'they went'.
	Present tense		
ka	jeu	ton	'you(sg.) go'.
giraŋ	jeu	toy	'you (pl.) go'.
onɔ	jeu	tas	'he/she/it goes'.
nopaŋ	jeu	tas	'they go'.

This tempts us to conclude that pronominal terminations are not used in the past tense, but we have one more example which suggests that they could be discarded in the present tense also.

ka	tu	'you (sg.) come'.
giraŋ	tu	'you (pl.) come'.
ono	tu	'he/she/it comes'.
nopaŋ	tu	'they come'.

Again we find the usage of pronominal terminations in the following present continuous tense paradigm.

ka	tu	ton	'you(sg.) are coming'.
giraŋ	tu	toy	'you(pl.) are coming'.
ono	tu	tas	'he/she/it/is coming'.
nopaŋ	tu	tas	'they are coming'.

Obviously, there is some irregularity in the usage of these pronominal terminations in this dialect. It seems that no distinction is attempted between the action that is perfect and the action that is continuing. A doubt might arise that either the informant or the investigator has missed something which has led to a confusion of continuation and perfection. The very fact that such a confusion has risen only shows that the dialect does not make much difference between the two and that the usage of pronominal terminations is simply optional. We find similar examples in the dialect of Sunnam wherein dvā 'went' is used with both second and third person terminations. In Pooh dialect also, ḍok 'go' is used for both second and third person terminations.

We may conclude on the basis of the examples cited above that the pronominal terminations are not always used in all the dialects of Kanauri and that there should be no wonder if at a future date their usage is altogether discarded. In our view while the basis of Hodgson's classification seems to be valid for the present, it might not be wise to cling to such a policy for ever in the light of recent findings unless some more languages of the Himalayan group are further explored.

Another important feature suggested by Konow as the result of the influence of Munda languages is the presence of the so-called semi-consonants. As far as this investigation has revealed, no such sound could be noticed any time. While the informant is being asked to repeat certain words, it is natural for him to slow down his speech and try to make a pause forcibly after the word final. It is also possible that when another word follows immediately, a glottal sound may sometimes be heard following the pause. This could have been taken by Bruske who supplied the Kanauri material to Konow as a semi-consonant. Bailey has explained that such sounds are apt to be replaced by the corresponding soft sounds when their pronounciation is emphasised[1]. This statement is almost nearer to the current trend. Most of the consonant—ending words in Kanauri are generally pronounced with a central vowel 't' for the sake of euphony. Konow himself has recorded that the materials collected for the LSI have not been prepared by scholars with a phonetic training[2].

Like any other language of the Munda, Aryan or Dravidian family, the Himalayan languages also use the same word order—subject+,object+, predicate. This contrasts with the practice followed by Tai and Chinese languages wherein the order is subject+,predicate+,object. The Himalayan languages have been influenced by other Indian languages in this regard too.

As we have seen, there are many features in Himalayan languages which differ mostly from Tibetan and other Tibeto-Burman languages. Most of such features which are characteristics of the Himalayan languages among the Tibeto-Burman languages are not exclusively owing to Munda influence. As our discussion has shown, many of these features belong to Dravidian and Aryan languages also. Especially at the lexical level, Kanauri owes a lot to Aryan languages. The only feature that could be ascribed solely to Munda languages as operating today in Himalayan languages is the counting of numerals in twenties. Apart from this, Munda languages do not seem to have any other feature showing plausible affinity with Kanauri. It will be interesting to note here that Juang and Gadaba, two Munda languages, have started using Aryan forms of numerals[3].

So the view expressed by Konow that Munda speakers could have once lived in the Himalayan should be very carefully and cautiously approached. An analysis like this, based on one particular language, could not be taken as a basis to support or repudiate his statement. Only a wide survey of Himalayan languages could throw light in this field. Kanauri is but one link in the big chain of Tibeto-Burman Himalayan dialects comprising the two distinct sub-groups of pronominalised and non-pronominalised speeches as were initially proposed by Hodgson. That his classification needs re-examination after comparable researches all along the spread of the speeches will perhaps be clear from the present study of Kanauri.

[1]L. S. I., vol. III, pt. I. P. 427.

[2]L. S. I., vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian languages, p. 22.

[3]L. S. I., vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian languages, p. 25.

Kanauri Glossary (Kalpa District)

iṭ la: ke: mik (information get)	know
itla: rannik (information give)	inform
idis adaŋ	one and a half
idis pəhiṣa	one and a quarter
imtiya:n rannik (examination do)	examine
idɬ	one
i jabɬ ~ iyabɬ	once
iha:pta:	week
i:braŋ	sometimes
i:braŋṣoŋ	sometimes
i:mik	ask
em	sweet
em haḷu	sweet potato
ədci	alone
ə̃:	yes
əpi	father's mother
ə̨pa: ṣivra:	father-in-law
atte	brother (elder)
atte: baya	father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son
adaŋ	half
afso:ci	snow
ava:saŋ	new moon
ase: lannik	trample, tease
asa:n	easy
aza:d	freedom
aca:nak	suddenly
ama:	mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law
ama:tsɬ	mother's sister
anu raŋgiya	rude man
aŋ	my, mine
aŋ coŋmi (my man)	husband
arti	funeral
ã:	yes
a:dat	habit
a:s pa:s	surround

a:s ma:niraŋ	blue
a:za:	forehead
a:za:d lannik	free
a:mu bo:taŋ	mango tree
a: ra:m lannik	rest
oms	before, forward
omsko:	presence
on	stream
odennik	laugh
o:res	carpenter
ugennik	grow
uskə	old
uḷṭa:	wrong
uni	take off
unnigɬ, unnik	get, take
uncimik	beg
u:	flower
u: ba: laŋ	boil
ai	father's mother, mother's mother
aidɬ	other, and
aidɬṣya:	second
aid ya:rɬ	the other day
airoŋgṣya	different
aũ	to me, me
æ ya: naŋcaŋ	baby
æya:raŋ ratiŋ	moonless night
æyã: raŋ	dark
æko:	only
yeḷu	wild rose
yæŋ	fly (insect) ; bee
yaba	flow
yabmig	fly
yak mig ~ yag mik	sleep
yaḷ yaḷ	tired
yanc	awake
yad lannik	remember
yəŋ ṣe	old woman
yo:cimik	play
yum ḷa:he	afternoon
yumsdeskɬ	afterwards
yums kocaŋ	behind
yumsɬ	after
yu:meddɬ	mother-in-law
yums jæĩ	come behind (horn.)
yums jæra	come behind (inf.)

(yu:ne:) zara	(sun) rising
yuṇṇik	travel, walk
yu:ne	sun
yuŋmik	swallow
yuwa:	below, down, low
yu:me	mother-in-law
yũ:kɬ	new
we:geṇṇik	belch
wa:	nest
wa:l	very
wa:maŋ	mistake
woṇṇik	smile
wos	honey
woṇ woṇ	hungry
workɬ	far
wu ən sæin	bloom
piŋ	cheek
pitaŋ	door
pica: lannik	chase
pişi	cat
pikya:mik	throw
piːkɬ ~ piːk	yellow
pĩ:	take off
peştiŋ	arm
petiŋ	belley
pe:sa	money
papu rannik	kiss
patles	thin
papa:	boiled, cooked
pahaŋ	wing
paşidɬraɬ	boiled rice
pakya: kya	ripe
paŋtɬ	spinning wheel
paguri	turban
pakes	strong
paŋ	to, with
pas baŋ	knee
paŋmik	fill
pagaleŋ	dew
patraŋ	leaf
papaḍ	'papad'
pank'a:	fan
pataŋɬ	kite
pa:paŋ	pity
pa:n	betel nut
pa:p	sin

pa:raŋ	wound
pa:lya:mik	feed
polaŋ	fruit
porda	veil
pola:c	blood
pota:	information
pom	snow
pocimik	search for
po:ḷiha:	money
po:rmi	wire
po:resmik	read
po:rya:mik	tame
pura: lannik	cover up
purcutiŋ	dust
pɬ	four
pɬ kojaŋ	four-fold
pɬ cænyæ	tail
pəya: mic	worship
prit'i	earth
pre cesmi	married woman
prats pra:c	finger
pra:mik	spread
pya:sɬ	onion
pya:c	bird
pyu:	mouse
p'imik	carry
p'aṣṭɬ	first
p'asmik	vomit
p'ammik	defeat
p'arkina:tɬ	nose ring
p'asɬ	army
p'o	deer
p'or	floor
p'oksimik	wear
p'urkɬkra:	grey haired
p'u:l go:bi	cawli flower
p'ya	foot
bisa:raŋ	astonished
bizili	current (electric)
bildiŋ	building
bitiŋ	wall
bimo:les	sleepy
biṣuḷ	lightinning
biyaŋ	seed
bi:saŋ	poison
bi:n	'Veena'

bɪ mɪk	to go
bɪ.r	shoulder
belca	spade
be ma:n	dishonest
be.raŋ	outside
be raŋ bɪ.	go out (hon.)
be raŋ byu	go out (order)
be raŋs	surrounding
bæsa	wife's sister
bæns	bamboo
bæ saŋ	flute
baŋgɪ	full
bateles	circles
batakł	duck
bataŋcugł	conversation
bakor	goat
bandres	monkey
bandł	bund
bagɪ ca:	garden
baḷtɪ	bucket
bandłgo bɪ	cabbage
baẓa.r	market
balu	nose ring
baya	brother
bapu, baputsł	mother's sister's husband
banu·tsł	sister's daughter
banza:	sister's son
bateḷeso	roll
baltɪ	spring
baŋ	leg
bauŋ kada	anklet
baḷ	heed
bancu lɪŋ	earthquake
baŋgoḷ saŋ	fullmoon night
batyaşımık	promise
baḷıya	beans
bar	branch
bandeḷa	bundle
bajyamik	ring (a bell)
ba:na:tonnik	pretend
ba:hıts	thin
ba s	good smell
ba·rɪ	turn
ba:lyæŋ ẓaga:	desert
ba:lyæŋ	sand
bo gwa:m	god

borco	spear
boba	father, mother's sister's busband
boba:tsɬ	father's brother
bore	brother's wife
bondɬ	shut
bogeres	rough
bok	hot
bon za:nwar	wild animal
botak: ƀutuks	spider
bospa	ashes
boṣimik	forget
bortennik	use
boṣaŋ	age , year
bore	husband's sister
bodolya:mik	change
bond lannik	close
bonba:sbi:mik	desert (v)
bod	skin , bark
bocannik	escape
boci mik	find
bocya:mik	save
bon prats	thumb (hand)
bo:	go away (order)
bo:taŋ – botaŋ	tree
bõ:i	go away (hon.)
bɬs	rope
baitsɬ	brother (young)
brindisimik	lie
brinḷya:mik	wrap up
bri:k	smooth
brecimik	slip
brecimikṣya	slippery
brennik	overflow
brakmik	chew
bramca:ri	bachelor
bramda:	verandah
bra:bar majaŋo:	centre
bra:bar la:he	noon
bra:nes	shallow
byaŋ mik	fear
byaŋ	afraid
byaŋ migsya	dangerous
titaŋ zaga	holy place
tiraŋ mets	rainbow
tinnik	stretch
tilu telaŋ	guigely oil

tiwa:raŋ	festival
ti:skar	thirsty
ti:	water
tete	father's father, mother's father
tego	father's mother, mother's mother
teg samondraŋ	sea
tete res	beans
telaŋ	oil
tepeŋ	cap
te:gɬ: te:g	big
te:raŋ	when
te:g raŋ	mountain
taŋk	narrow
tanaŋ	attic
takra:	strong
takɬli:f	worry
tacimets	without
tapaŋ	heat
tames	bull
taŋ lannik	tease
ta:laŋc	key
ta:riʂ lannik	praise
ta:mik	put
toro:	to-day
toktc	corner
top'ya:mik	prick
toma:ku	tobacco
toma:ku tummik	smoke
to:ta:	parot
to:simik	sit
to:s	sit down
to:sĩ	sit down (hon.)
to:	fever
tummigʂya	drunk
tunaŋ	lip
tummik	drink
turpya:c	bat
tubakisrannik	shoot
tu:la sima	because
tu:mik	carry
tramaŋ	copper
twa:	up
twa:zaga	stage
ʈiplokt	frog
ʈi:k	right
ʈag	barley
ʈaŋ	steep

ʈa:lkɬ	hard, tight
ʈop	right
ʈoʈo	sick
ʈok	white
ʈok koŋkne	white ant
ʈotɬ, toddɬ	ill
ʈoŋgalc	heel
ʈugɬ: tuk	six
ʈupcimɟk	suck
ʈukɬ ra:ts	piece
ʈu:ya:mik	prepare
ʈu:ʈu	swell (n)
ʈu:mig	swell (v)
ʈ'o	charcoal
ʈ'uras	runaway
ʈurasmik	run
t'et	what
t'etʂya	which
t'ar	tiger, leopards
t'akaŋ	grapes
t'annik	touch
t'a:ri	stop
t'u	why
t'um	lap
t'urmik	fold
t'ukaŋ pikya:mik	spit
t'u:mik	lift
den	at, on
denc	next to
destaŋ	till
de:saŋ	village
dam	good
daw	father's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter, sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter
dabəraŋ	cave
dam lannik	repair
dam sitral	parched rice
dagɬlo	bracelet
damatsɬ	few
dam mo:sam	pleasant
da:ts: da:c	husband
da: nuropaŋ	paddy
damesu ga:ɖi	bullock cart

ɗok	therefore, then
ɗom	asthma
do:ti	dhoti
dokḷi	although
doyaŋ	curd
dobya:mik	bury, press
ɗora:ma	drama
dona:bya	the other day
do:ka:c dam	better of all
ɗõ:yamig sakul	bellows
ɗuk'aŋ	sad, sorrow
ɗurgɨ	fort
ɗusman	hostile
dubaŋ rannig	dive
draṣṭiŋ	crab
ɗya:n lannik	pray
ɗ' a ga ḷti	wave
ɗeri	heap
ɗekrəs	young man
ɗekər	young lady
ɗe:	two and a half
ɗensarsiŋ	stand
ɗaḷḍis	poor
ɗabṣyo	crawl
ɗammik	drag, pull
ɗa:l	shield
ɗomaŋ	blacksmith
ɗo:l	drum
ɗubennik	sink
ɗumaŋ	smoke
ɗu:ŋges	deep
ɗu:ṣimik	begin
ɗəyəŋspu	hair of body
ɗəyəŋ	body
kirki	window
kim	house
kinu	(to) you (sg.)
kinanu	(to) you (pl.)
ki	you (hon.)
kina	you (many)
kinu	your (hon.)
kisi	you (dual)
kiṣṭi	boat
kila	fort
kilya:mik	hang
ke:le: botaŋ	plaintain tree

kæɳya ɭannik	shout
kwe:	or
ka	you (inf.)
kamaŋ lannik	work
katanc lum	buttock
kag	crow
kagɔn	ring
kan p'okru	deaf
kaniya	noise
kanaŋ	ear
kaca:	raw
kagɬli	paper
kaɳɳa:l	trumpet
kamʐor	weak
kamaya:migɬ	earn
kas	sheep
kasa	we (including the addressee)
kasa:nu	to us
kaṣaŋ	we (exclu.)
ka:ts	lamb
kanu	your (inf.)
kanmig	bring
kakts	neck
kagsimik	devide
kapa:s	cotton
kabmik	prick
kavãɭu	lotus
kada:i	pan
kati:ts	bride
ka:no	blind
ka:ti	saddle
kodɬ	manure
koṣbis lannik	try
komɬra	room
koɭḍo	hollow
kobar sa: ɭi	news
koɭɭats	ring
kot'a:	story
komo:s kojaŋ	inside
kormig	try
koŋkne	ant
konta:y	ear ring
ko: yal	cuckoo
ko:laŋ	threshing floor
ko:jaŋ kojaŋ	left side
ko:t'aŋ	comb

kunnik	call
kus	many
kuskya	more
kunkł, kuncł	wide
kukri caŋ	chicken
kukres	cock
kugł	owl
kusi	happy
kuṭiŋ	hut
kucimik	steal
kucaŋ	brown
kuḷi	labourer, porter
kudł gorsł	selfish
kum	pillow
kuŋ kun tilik	vermilion
kusti	wrestling
kumo: bimigł	enter
kul şimik	fight
kulmik	beat
kucaŋ lannik	sweep
kuṇḍa	idol
kukşya:mik	wipe
kũ:waŋ	well
kui	dog
kłta:bł	book
kriŋmik	tremble, shiever
krabmik	cry
kra:naŋ	brain
krar lannik	promise
krampa	tougs
kra:	hair
kru:ts	elbow
krłgo:ş	hare
kya: lek'o	enough
kya:mik	see, watch
K'erdişimik	lean
k'elmik	chose
k'eraŋ	milk
k'ataŋ	court yard
k'ama:r	potter
k'aṭa:	sour
k'agaŋ	mouth
k'aŋ mik	snatch
k'ocop	hoof
k'ojaŋ	Left (hand)
k'orc lannik	spend

k'o:ra	lame
k'uɳḍo	nose ring
k'uɳḍotsɬ	nose ring (another design)
k'au lannik	cook
k'ra k'ra	late
git'aŋ lannik	sing
git'aŋ	song
gismik	sneeze
gi: dari	fox
gemmik	fasten
gə	I
gaṭo:	little, small
gaṭes	narrow
garmig	fall
ganam	bad smell
gar	tooth
gajar	garlic
gabmik	pinch
ga: liŋ rannik	abuse
ga la: bu u:	rose
ga li: sɬ	dirty
gaca: cimik hasa	clothing
gastaŋmig na: ḷu	shuttle
gə ra m	warm
gones	thick
goṣṭaŋ	cattle
gori: u telaŋ	ground-nut oil
goḷḍes	vulture
golyæŋ: goḷi	street
goŋgya: mik	chop
goḷti	mistake
goḷṭi rannik	commit mistake
goḷsaŋ	moon
goniŋ	trunk
go: nep'ip'i	married woman
go: raŋ	fort
go: me	wife
go: ḷ	month
guɳ: guɳo	winter
gun benennik	whisper
gud	arm, hand
gusre:	mosquito
gur gur	thunder
guraŋ ṣiŋ	sugar cane
go: amik	jump
graŋ	open

głła: m	veins
greḷ cimik	hiccough
gra: ri	pulley
gya: mik	want
cin	nail
cini	sugar
cikor	mud
cimṭo	tongs
cisaŋ	flour
ciscis	rotten
cime	brother's daughter, daughter
cismik	rot
cik cimik	bite
ci: ni	chisel
ci:	grass
ci: mik	clean
ce	all
cesmi	woman
ceḷa: k	cunning
cet kaŋ	chin
cemmik	sew
ce: mik	write
ce: kudam	best (of all)
ce: paŋ	every where
ca: mcoko	suddenly
ca: migł	dance
ca: l lannik	row (a boat)
cæyeya: kuṭiŋ	shed
cam	bridge, stircase
candi	silver
cakukis ma: ryæmik	whip
cambya	cock
carcə	dry
catige	mosquito
cata:	tile
caku	knife
catkł	light
capu:	oar
caŋ	brother's son, son
caraya: mik	free
caṭpaṭ bi: mik	scatter
caṭos	basket
co ṭes	short, small
coŋmi	man
coṭampoṭam	haste
copraŋma: r	butter
cone:	gram

coṭpoṭ	hurry
cok migɬ	leak
coma: y	rainy season
coḷi	choli
co: res	thief
co: ṭ ma: r ya: mik	hit
cu: stɬ	active
cummik	catch, hold
cukṣimik	meet
cura: lannik	smash
cunnik	tie
curi	bungle
cu: mik	cough
ca:	salt
c'a: tisya	brave
c'amar	lizard
c'aklaya: mik	shake
c'aḷiya	maize
c'odaŋ	water fall
jitennik	win
jild poḷṭiyæ̃: i	uncover
jilaŋ	root
jæra	come (inf.)
jæi	come (hon.)
jagari: ga	coin
jagaḍ yasimik	quarrel
jammik	climb down
jaba: b rannik	answer
jaro:	deaf
ja: li	net
jo: la:	bag
ju:	cloud
ju: ti	fog
sikya: mik	teach
siliŋ	celling
siraŋ	vein
semcen	pet animal
senmik	send
se: o	apple
sæ	ten
sæli	trip
sakpo	wife's brother
sarṣimik	wake
sa: p	snake
sauka : r	rich
sarṣyə	awake, get up
sannik	kill

samondraŋ	river
santra	orange
sandu: kɬ	box
sa: f	clean
sa: f lannik	clean (v)
sa: saŋ pukraya: mik	blow (with mouth)
sa: saŋ tonnik	breadth
sa: ntsɬ	some
sa: re lannik	cure
sa: ri	sari
səfar lannik	travel
sotkə	freeze
soday	always
soko:	scorpion
som	morning
somzennik	understand
sormennik	(to be) born
soḷok	road
soskoḷaŋ	true
soŋa: dyaruden	fort-night
sorgaŋ	sky
so: ḷḍes	straight, flat
suncennik	hope, think
suṇa: res	goldsmith
suŋres	pig
sustə	lazy
surkɬ	sour
sulu: k	treaty
su: si	take bathe
su: simik	wash
spincə	wet
spinc maṭyæŋ	clay
spiti: pa:	beans
spra: şimig	wrestling
stisɬdya: ruden	week
stakuts	nose
stal	plough
sto	face
stukmik	push
skad	noise, language
skannik	mix
skar	star
skocmedɬ	worse
sgu: i	nine
swa: dɬ	taste
sya ba: v	habit

ʂorme: mya	blush
ʂoru:	hail
ʂo: sennik	lose, miss
ʂum	three
ʂupɬti	busy
ʂuru lannik	begin
ʂuŋmik	finish
ʂupa:	evening
ʂummik	spend
ʂpon	shoe
ʂtis	seven
ʂtrabʂimik	climb
ʂtuk	chest
ʂkoḷ	yoke
ʂku: ʂimik	comb (v)
ʂle: ṭiraŋ	gray
ʂwi: k	red
ʂya	mat
ʂĩ:	lion
ʂaḷits	fox
ʂa: naŋ	lock
ʂog	throat
ʂoɳaŋ	beak
ʂut	bed-bug
ʂupua: t	butterfly
ʂiso	mirror
ʂiʂi	dead
ʂi: mik	die
ʂi: miyu: bospa:	ashes (of body)
ʂi: ṭraŋ	sickle
ʂeki	proud
ʂesmik	recognise
ʂare	beautiful
ʂau: l	shovel
ʂakpo	sister's husband
ʂaɳekaŋ ḷannik	marry
ʂa: gi	empty, without
ʂæ so	mustard
ʂerya: mik	praise
ʂol	summer
ʂokʂimik	ride
ʂosta	cheap
ʂotkɬ	cool
ʂoram	shame
zindagi	life
zimdar	farmer

ze: lk'a: na	prison
ze: ka:	taste
zaga	place, land
zaru: li	important
zaŋgal	forest
zaru: rat	need
zaŋu mundi	ring
zak'aŋkojaŋ	right side
zaŋ	gold
zapra: liŋ cummik	pounce, attack
zaŋcimik	show
za: mik	eat
za: nwar	wild animal
zɔkom	wound
zomennik	grow
zokmiķ	buy
zoţ moiş	she-buffaloe
zot	wheat
ẓi: va	soul
ẓer kojaŋ	east
ẓek mik	break
ẓa: li	false
ẓak'araŋ	bush
ẓokana'	bunch
he:	again
he: ja: ri	come back
he: ra: n	astonished
he: lannik	repair
hajaŋ	here
hat	who
haḷesya	which
haleskł	which
haḷu	potato
haraŋ	bone
hasgo: ţ'aŋ	grinding stones
hamesa	always
ham	where
ha: le	how
hatu	whose, whom
hati	elephant
hadeyĭ	next to
hadeŋ	there
hapto: kumo:	week
haŋşa: r	thousand
hanspya	goose
hastalaŋ	plam

ha: tko: ri rannik	arrest
ha: sal	soon, early, hurry
ha: ṣkamṣimik	yawn
ha: l ca: l	news
ha: le: yã:	as
ha: ya: mik	defeat
hod	his
hodo, hodomi	he
ho daga: nu	to them
hodogo	she
hodoga	those (ones)
hodoga: nu	their
hodoi	same
hoṣya: r	clever
hoḷdi	turmeric
hoḷdo	flood
holaf lannik	swear
hoŋ	worm
huṣimik	learn
huju	this
hun	now
hunu	that
hunupaŋ	to him
hunuga	they
hunnik	teach
huyugo	these (ones)
miṭ'a	sweet
mig jip kyamik	wink
mig	eye
mig bed	eye lash
mig spu	eye brow, eye lid
migo: ḷaglts	attractive
micaŋ	jeolous
misti	tears
misa: ra: tiŋ	last night
miṣa:	flesh
miyom	track
melab	flame
merba: n	kind
me	yesterday
me:	fire
me: r ba: ni	owe
me: saŋ	slow
mæṭaŋ cesmi	unmarried woman
mæḷiŋ	over
mæḷt'aŋ	roof

maṭar	pea
magaḷsimik	quarrel
maḷmik	cut
mari calmik	pinch
masa: ḷo	spice
mari	bed
macas	fish
maṇṭkukri	*hen*
marukṣo	different
mazo co: kat	bed stead
mandeli	mat
mani	not
magore	pregnant
maṇḍi	market
mane: [migis	secret
maspu: t	strong
maŋmigɬ	hide
majaŋo:	between
majaŋo: lɬ	fort-night
majaŋ la: he	noon
ma: orgetsɬ	crippled
ma: pakec	raw
ma: ryæ: mik	stab
ma: li	gardener
ma: laŋ	garland
moma	father's sister's husband, mother's brother
moíṣ	he-buffaloe
mogarmaci	crocodile
mormat lannik	repair
mo:	arrow
mo: ti	pearl
mo: ṭes	fat
mo: res	peacock
mo: rsi ḷannik	accept
mo: laŋ	price, cost
mo: sam	season
muṭu	fist
muṭuŋri	bud
muṭukmik	squeeze
muce:	moustache
muḷi	raddish
muḷuk	country
muluki	most
muṣu:r	famous
muṣkɔi	difficult

muzat rannik	help
muŋ poli	ground nut
nito	will be
nika: ļis	pure
nimbu	lemon
niṣḍi yaŋnaŋ	pregnant
niṣ	two
nisis a daŋ	two and a half
niṣ jabł	twice
niza	twenty
ni	yes
ni: m	neem tree
nesrannik	return (with thanks)
ne: mik	know
ne: raŋ	near
næ: yiŋ	navel
nasom	to-morrow
namaŋ	peculiar
nane	mother's brother's wife, father's sister
naŋ	with, and
nare: ł	cocoanut
narmik	count
na: maŋ	name
na: ļaŋ	valley
na: ṣpati	pear
nuni	breast
nu: kur	servant
noram	polite, soft
no: mik	rub
ŋa	five
ŋyures	polite-
ri	day before yesterday
rib	rib
rim	field
rig	louse
rim spa: tsł	daughter's daughter, daughter's son
riŋze	sister
ren ṣenmik	swear
red kojaŋ	west
red paso:	west
renmik	sell
re:	eight
ra:	hundred
ra: hoŋ	grass-hopper
ra: saŋ	pain

ra: k cone	green gram
ra: k matar	green pea
ra: k	green
ra: kskan	vegetable
ræ şem	silk
rak	wine
rats	calf
ratiŋ	night
raŋkɬ	high, tall
raŋ cesmi	widow
raŋ coŋmi	widower
raŋ	horse, hill
rapɬya	pigeon
rag	stone
raskɬ	sharp
ranmik	give
rannik	pay
raṇekaŋ lannik	marry
rɔdi	waste
rɔk	black
rɔncimik	listen to
rɔs	juice
rɔso: yi	kitchen
rok morc	black pepper
ron	iron
ron cimik	hear
roşaŋ taŋmig	get angry
romi	day after to-morrow
rokşimik	graze
rok koŋkne	black ant
ro: şiɕya:	angry
ro: mik	say, speak
ro: şaŋ	anger
ruŋ	rock
rudɬ	horn
ruẓa	old man
lis	cold
likca	necklace
liṭə	egg
laṭkya: mik	hang
laŋc	wait for
latãis rannik	kick
lasta	axe
laṭu	boy
la: ŋgɬ	nose ring

la gəts	rain
lækcimik	burn
l̥i: gł	heavy
l̥i	also
l̥i: l̥a: n	storm
l̥e:	tongue
l̥emmik	lick
l̥aṭa	dumb
l̥ames	long
l̥a: n	air
l̥a: niŋ	twig
l̥a: ri	bride
l̥a: ra	bride groom
l̥aŋgoṣṭaŋ	cattle
l̥aŋ	cow
l̥al̥ci	greedy
l̥ajaŋ	tabbo
l̥annik	do, make
l̥onnik	tell, say
l̥um	thigh
l̥ya: mik	melt
ve: da lannik	promise

Unconnected Texts

niṣ two	raga stones				'two stones'
kin your	kanaŋ ear				'your ear'
kagu crow's	liṭa eggs				'crow's eggs'
aŋ I	i one	kui dog	to have		'I have one dog'
ju this	l̥aŋ cow	hatu whose	du is		'Whose cow is this ?'
ju this	padł bag	kin your	ma is	ni not	'This is not your bag'
kin your	amā: mother				'your mother'
kinā: yours	nu (pl.)	amāga mothers			'your (pl.) mothers'
kin your	boba father	hat who	duĩ is		'Who is your father ?'
idł one	tẽg big	caŋ boy			'one big boy'

kus	dam	kima				
many	good	houses				'many good houses'
gə	bokł	caḷotok				
I	hot	feel				'I feel hot'
aŋ	kim	dam	to			
my	house	good	is			'My house is good'
kin	hodo	borco	mar	ma	duĩ:	'That spear of yours is
your	that	spear	bad	not	is	not bad'
hodo	mēsaŋs	be	to			
he	late	will	come			'He will come late'
gə	idł	dam	ḷasta	gyagya	tog	
I	one	good	axe	want		'I want a good axe'
gə	raŋk	tok				
I	tall	am				'I am tall'
kim	gaṭŏs	du				
house	small	is				'The house is small'
ju	deṣaŋo	adaŋ	gaṭoça	adaŋ		'In this village some are
this	village in	some	young	some		young, some are old'
	tēge toṣ					
	old are					
iḍł	ṭokł	u:				
one	white	flower				'one white flower'
niṣ	pik	larāŋ	gasā			
two	yellow	wearing	clothes			'two yellow clothes wearing'
hunu	kap aṛa	pik	ma	du		
this	cloth	yellow	not	is		'This cloth is not yellow'
hodogõnu	aŋ	ṭog	gas	rani		
her - to	my	white	dress	give		'Give her my white dress'
borco	lasta	kãcł	ḷames	du		
spear	axe	than	long	is		'The spear is longer than the axe'
hodo	ce	caŋānu	kāc	mari		
he	all	boys-(of)	than	bad		'He is worst boy of all'
	du					
	is					
gasānu	cĩ	tog	honugõnu	huna		'Wash the clothes and make
clothes	wash		them	now		them whiter than they are now'
	kāc	ṭog	lani			
	than	white	do			
kinda	wāḷ	dam	raŋ	duĩ		'You have a very good horse,
yours	very	good	horse	is		but mine is the best'
	dokḷi	aŋda	dami	to		
	bit	mine	best	is		
huju	mi					
this	man					'this man'
hodo	niṣ	miga				
those	two	men				'those two men'

ki	toro	biyõ	toĩ		
you	today	going	are		'You are going today'
gə	miaş	byõk			
I	last night	went			'I went last night'
hun	lis	du			
now	cold	is			'It is cold now'
nasom	lis	nito			
to-morrow	cold	will be			'It will be cold to-morrow'
nasom	lis	nima	gə	mã	bĩk
to-morrow	cold	if is	I	not	shall go
					'If it is cold to-morrow I shall not go'
ki	me	kimo	t'u	ma	byõi
you	yesterday	home to	why	not	did go
					'Why did you not go home yesterday ?'
ki	aŋdcŋ	teraŋ	bətĩ		
you	me - to	when	will see		'When will you see me ?'
gə	kindeŋ	krākrā	bətak		
I	you-to	later	shall see		'I shall see you later'
gə	nasom	ki	naŋ	kinatte	cukşak
I	to-morrow	you	and	your brother	shall meet
					'I shall meet you and your brother to-morrow'
gə	domi	paŋ	dar yum	staŋ	'I waited a long time for him'
I	him	for	long	time	
	lãyek				
	waited				
gə	kimo	boba	kāc	õms	'I shall go home before father'
I	house to	father	than	before	
	bitak				
	shall go				
domi	kimo	aŋ	kāc	yums	'He will go home after me'
that man	house to	me	than	after	
	bito				
	will go				
domi	paŋ	ki	ham	tãyẽi	
that man	for	you	where	did find	'Where did you find him ?'
i	mi	hojaŋ	toşiş	du	
one	man	here	sitting	is	'One man is sitting here'
ceca	deŋ	ma	toşõdu		
woman	there	not	standing		'Woman is not standing there'
şum	kuye	kin	deŋ		'Three dogs are sitting near you'
three	dogs	you	near		
	toşisãdu				
	sitting are				

gə	jaŋ	tok				
I	here	am				'I am here'
gə	naŋ	ki	hayaŋ	tõi		
I	and	you	here	are		'I and you are here'
domi	kimo		nito			
that-man	house in		will be			'That man will be in the house'
hodoga	mē	kimo	duwe			
they	yesterday	house in	were			'They were in the house yesterday'
æ n	boṭo	toṣidɬ				
squirrel	tree in	lives				'Squrrel lives in the tree'
tyu	den					
water	on					'on the water'
rag	naŋ					
stone	by					'by the stone'
kim	nadyu	kināre	du			
house	river's	bank by	is			'The house is by the river
nodi	work		du			
river	far away		is			'The river is far away'
dehrats	ti	tuŋmu	hē	bədā		'The boy came back to drink water'
boy	water	to drink	back	came		
aŋ	boba	sēli	lannu	bēraŋ		'My father has gone out for a walk'
my	father	walk	to do	out		
	bibi	tos				
	haś	gone				
gə	hasal	biyo	tok			
I	early	going	am			'I am going early'
uṣ	miga	mēsaŋs	yunc			
old	man	slowly	walks			'The old man walks slowly'
hodo	mi	du				
he	man	is				'He is man'
gə	wonwon	tok				
I	hungry	am				'I am hungry'
ki	naŋ	gə	wonwon	ni tic		
you	and	I	hungry	will be		'You and I will be hungry'
aŋ	ama	wado	toṣ			
my	mother	is	smiling			'My mother is smiling'
ratiŋ	lagenna	gə	ma	bīk		'If it rains to-night I shall not go'
night	if rains	I	not	will go		
i	cesmi	kimu	kyăce			
a	woman	you	saw			'A woman saw you'
ki	aũ	taŋ	cīyă			
you	me	can	see			'You can see me'
kin	bobās	kinu	desaŋo	taŋ	cesā	'Did your father see you in the village ?'
Your	father by	you	village in	did	see	

sapes aũ kyãcẽ
snake by me saw
'The snake saw me'

gə hodomipaŋ tõṣiṣ taŋ tok
I him sitting see down there'
'I see him sitting

kaṣaŋ hodomi paŋ taŋc hodomi kaṣavũ
we him see he us
'We (two) see him, he sees us (two)'
taŋ cidɬ
sees

gə domipaŋ taŋmã huju domipaŋ ran tak
I him' if see it him to give will
'If I see him I will give it to him'

gə domipaŋ ma taŋma gə kimo bitak
I him not if see I home to go will
'If I do not see him I will go home'

yupaŋ gãi tãyek
it myself saw
'I saw it myself'

gə hodomyu den ũga pikyã ta k
I him at flowers throw
'I throw flowers at him'

hodoniṣ hodocesmiden ragã pikyõ du
they-two that-girl-at stones throw
'They (two) throw stones at her'

domi anu caũ ma ṣe
he his son not send
'He will not send his son'

ki kin lasta ma kãi
you your axe not brought
'You did not bring your axe'

aŋ cime ṭoṭo to
my daughter sick is
'My daughter is sick'

aũ kuis cikce
me dog bit
'The dog bit me'

aŋ attẽs ṣum põga sasa
my brother by three deers killed
'My brother killed three deers'

hodomi ham du
he where is
'Where is he ?'

hodomi honaŋ toṣo
he there sits
'He sits there'

domipaŋ ki ham taĩ
him you where see
'Where did you see him ?'

kinu mẽc niyã ceẓo
for you none for us all eat
'You have none and we are all eating'

kinu damaric hojaŋ du hun kaṣa ce
for you some here is now we all
'Here is some for you ; now we can all eat together'
æke ẓãte
together will eat

boba aũ damaric bodi ketiṣ
father to me some more will give
'Father will give me some more'

gə damaritsda aŋ niṣ attegānu rantak 'I will give some to my two
I a little my two brothers-to shall-give brothers'

gə toṣo tok
I am sitting ' I am sitting'

kaṣace hojaŋ toṣo
we-all here sitting 'We are all sitting here'

kaṣace æke toṣo
we-all together sitting 'We all keep sitting together'

cesmi ji laŋa ma zaryō
woman root not gather 'The woman does not gather root'

miga p'olaŋa ma ẓaryat
men fruits not gathered 'The men did not gather fruit'

gə lasta tūyō
I axe make 'I make an axe'

i mi naŋ i cesmi caṭoŋa ma ṭuyodu 'A man and a woman are not
a man and a woman baskets not making making baskets'

dogace anēgānu kutiŋa lanim gyo 'They all like to make their
they all their huts to make like huts'

nu kinu hatis riŋa
that you-to who-by told 'Who told you that

ki aũ tēraŋ riŋeī
you me when told 'When did you tell me

hodoga cekis aũ riŋa
they all by to me told 'They all told me'

hodogās kiṣu t'e riŋa
they-by you-two what told '*What did they tell you (two)* ?'

caīs aũ kuḷce
boy-by me hit 'The boy hit me'

caīs kaṣaũ kuḷce
boy-by us-two hit 'The boy hit us (two) '

gə ja lis caũ kuḷce
I stick-by boy hit 'I hit the boy with a stick'

hodogās aũ ma kuḷce
they me not hit 'They did not hit me'

sapes skad ma tacł
snake sound not hear 'A snake cannot hear sound'

gə hodomi t'e riŋodu yakin ma lanik 'I do not believe what he
I that-man what says believe not do says'

ki tōṣidł gyāmik tūlanna ki yaḷyal toi 'You ought to sit down
you to-sit ought because you tired are because you are tired'

gə narās tok tūlanna ki aũ kuḷcis 'I am angry because you
I angry am because you me struck struck me'

domīs aũ zāmu riŋa
he-by me to-eat told 'He told me to eat'

gə tōṣotok ai kyotok
I sitting and looking 'I am sitting and looking'

gə tōṣotok ai ṣotok
I sitting and eating ' I am sitting and eating'

gə kinu niṣ jab riŋek ijebł 'I have told you twice ; once
I to-you two times have-told once should be enough and I shall
kãfi nic gə kinu hargisł ṣum certainly not tell you three
enough is I to-you certainly three times'
jabł ma riŋkł
times not tell

i yi mi lasta tac idaŋke niṣ tac 'Each man had an axe ; some
each man axe had some two had had two'

tuŋmigu pēle gə zatak
drink-to before I eat 'I eat before I drink'

gə jupaŋ goṭōs lantak
I that short shall-do 'I'll shorten it'

gə jupaŋ rok lantak
I that black shall-do 'I'll blacken it'

ki jupaŋ yunego tãmã huju rok hajo 'If you leave this
you that in the sun if leave it black will-become in the sun it will
go black'

hodomi tu ma bad odu
that-man why not has come 'Why he has not come ?'

aŋ kyāḷo domi ṭoṭo nito
I think he sick is I think he is sick'

ki pēle numipaŋ taŋēya
you before him did-see 'Did you see him before ?'

ma gə numipaŋ pele ma taīk 'No I did not see him
no I him before not saw before'

ceca gitaŋ laṇṇu ṣuru lanadu
woman song doing start does 'The woman is starting to sing'

kin dēsaŋ ham to
your village where is 'Where is your village?'

ki ham biyo tõi
you where are-going 'Where are you going ?'

huju teta work du
it how far is 'How far is it ?'

ki t'e gyatī
you what want 'What do you want ?'

ki domipaŋ kūtīyã
you her will-call 'Will you call her ?'

honu ṭik duwa
that true is 'Is that true ?'

ki hāle nētī
you how know 'How do you know ?'

ki	hunu	teraŋ	ta seĩ		
you	that	where	heard		'Where did you hear that?'
jupaŋ	hatis	ḷana			
that	who-by	did			'Who did it ?'
gə	kinu	yækin	ma	ḷanik	
I	you	believe	not	do	'I do not believe you'
ki	jaŋ	hāle	bəĩ		
you	here	how	came		'How did you come here ?'
kin	boba	ham	toṣ		
your	father	where	is		'Where is your father ?'
ki	hat	toĩ			
you	who	are			'Who are you ?'
kama	halam	ṣuŋsuŋ	du		
work	almost	finished	is		'The work is almost finished'
caŋ	raũ	deṇc gɬra			
child	horse-on	back fell-down			'The child fell down from the horse back'

Connected Texts

Om	kanōriŋ	rāzā	rāmpūr	rāzā	toṣ.	ju	
Earlier	Kinnaur's	kind	Rampur	King	was.	this	
zilā	plŋ	cine	tesil	lodo	toc.	azādi	
district	to	Chini	tehsil	was	called.	independence	
hācimyūm		ju	tesilu	aiḍ	k'eci	zilā	
when-became		this	tehsil	and	separate	district	
laṇṣid.	hun	jupaŋ	kinnorì	zilā	lotc.	ju	zilā
was made.	now	this to	Kinnaur	district	is called.	this	district
tibet	naŋ	hindustānō	majaŋo		patc.	ju	zilā
Tibet	and	India-of	in-between		lies.	this	district
guptɬ	zāgā	hacisɬ.	ceku		komo	tōṣimu	ma
hidden	place	has-become.	all-for		into	to-sit	not
ṣoketc.	hāte	zilo	komo		bīm	gyāmā	pēlē
allowed.	any one	district	into		go	if wants	first
perment	ton	gyatc .	zaŋti				somondroŋ
permit	get	has to,	golden water (Sutlej)				river
ju	zilo	komo	bədodɬ.		kalpakcɬ		kinōriŋ
this	district in	into	flows.		from Kalpa		Kinner
koilās	c'altakpo	taŋmikdu.	jwā		kanōriŋ		skadɬ
Kailash peak	clearly	is seen.	here		Kanauri		language
loṣidɬ.	tecāmı	coṣpaga	tos.		dēsavū		
is spoken.	most people	Buddhists	are.		village in		
dēsavū	i	i	ṣu	koṭ'i	li	du.	gunō
village in	one	one	devta	temple	also	ıs.	winter in
ju	muḷukō	afār	pom	bədo	nito.	dokkyāmu	
this	country in	heavy	snow fall	will be	coming.	then to see	

wāl dam calmik nito.
much good could be.

ju zilo niṣ tēg soloke du. idɬ omikcu
this district in two big roads are. one previous

oṣk soḷok du. nu wāl gaṭes solok du. nōr
old road is. that much narrow road is. in that

ækō jīp caletc. aidɬ hunā tēg solok nizōniṣ
only jeep can-go. another how big road twenty-two

lambaru raksa mantrīs lanim dūṣis to.
number defence ministry by construct to being done.

kalpā zilo tēg zāgā to. solok dam nimā
Kalpa district in big place is. road good if is

kalpakstaŋ basli caledo to. nalce, pūē,
Kalpa upto bus also is running. Nichar, Pooh,

sginam aidɬ saŋlāli maṣurɬ zāgagā to. pūē staŋ
Moorang and Sangla important places are. Pooh upto

basli calets. kanōriŋ zilo komo ki cēpaŋ
bus also runs. Kinnaur district in into you all-parts

hundustānōc mī bəbɬ æ kē toṣō
India-from people having come together sit-to

taŋ tī. Kalpa simlēc stisnizose mēl workɬ
can see. Kalpa Ṣimla from 150 miles far

to. simlēc Kalpā bangyāma ṣum basā
is. simla from Kalpa if-want-to go three buses

gyāmic.
have to require.

Free Translation

Kinnaur district was once ruled by the raja of Rampur. The district was known as Chini tehsil. After India's independence, Chini tehsil was made a separate district and it was named as Kinnaur district. This district lies in the Indo-Tibetan border. It has been declared as a protected area and all cannot enter the district. One must get the 'inner line' permit before entering. The Sutlej river runs through the district. Kinner Kailash peak is clearly visible from Kalpa. The people speak Kanauri language. Most of them are Buddhists. In each village there is one Dévata temple. During winter there will be heavy snowfall and it will be very beautiful to see.

There are two main roads in the district. One is very old. It is very narrow and only jeeps can go. Another one is national highway 22 which is being constructed by the Defence ministry.

Kalpa is the district headquarters. Now-a days the bus runs upto Kalpa if the road is clear. Nichar, Pooh, Moorang and Sangla are the other important villages. There is a bus service to Pooh also. In Kinnaur district you will find people from all parts of India living together. Kalpa is 150 miles away from Simla. One must take three buses to reach Kalpa from Simla.

MGIP Sant.(K.S.R. Un t)—S 14—1 RGI/75 —11-12-75 500.

ERRATA

Page No.	*Line from Top*	*For*	*Read*
1	23	Himalaya	Himalayas
	24	Himalaya	Himalayas
5	3 (Foot Note)	informations	information
45	32	more	move
46	20	complete	compete
47	10	clear-out	clear-cut
	12	asphirated	aspirated
50	5	H malayan	Himalayan
	8	Bodi	Bodic
	13	Bidish	Bodish
52	14	/ -i /	/ -ic /
	26	expensive	extensive
53	18	objectives	adjectives
54	20	features	feature
55	1	Trbetan	Tibetan
56	20	juāng	Juang
	24	may	many
84	28 (4th column)	deers	deer
	28 (6th column)	deers	deer
86	22	he has	has he