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## Attitude towards Mother Tongue: A Case of ‘Kumauni’ Speakers

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### ABSTRACT

*Haldwani is a small city in district Nainital situated in the lower terai region of Kumaun, which is one part of the state of Uttarakhand, the other part is Garhwal. The varieties of speech communities established here have affected the linguistic background of every other community. Kumauni speakers form a major part of the population here. The other language speakers are Hindi, Punjabi followed by Urdu etc. Hindi is the lingua franca. The different socioeconomic, demographic, socio-psychological and sociopolitical factors contribute to the language shift (MT shift) in Kumauni speakers and spread of Hindi and other (English) languages, is the principal subject of research in this paper. An attempt was made to answer the question “what has been the role of gender, age and different domains (of language use) in language shift and maintenance in Haldwani city with the possible spread of Hindi and other (English) languages in different domains of the societal institutions. Language shift and language maintenance factors including societal bilingualism, migration, industrialization, the school and other governmental use of the language, urbanization and the prestige level of the language in contact were studied through research, field observation and informal interviews. The major findings of the study included the apparent relationship between the existence of the independent variables and dependent variables i.e. gender and age with respect to the domains of language use in language shift and language maintenance. Language planning efforts could be materialised only if educated class is present. Whether Hindi, English was seen as a threat to the mother tongue or culture was also found to have some relations to the activities carried out by the intelligentsia.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Language Shift, Maintenance, Language Attitude, Kumauni, Language Use.*

### INTRODUCTION

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

An occurrence of this type of contact can be seen in Haldwani city in the case of Kumauni language. Kumauni is a non-scheduled language belonging to the Indo-Aryan family, spoken by about two million people in the state of Uttarakhand (Census of India, 2011). It is spoken in limited domains: at home and in limited outside spheres where close friends and relatives may meet and interact with one another. The language that one sees and hears in most public places is Hindi.

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

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

This paper wishes to explore some of the issues related to Kumauni speakers in Haldwani city. Its purpose is to find out how far a language can be maintained through spoken form without the help of a written script. It

also intends to do a synchronic study of the language shift and provide information regarding the language shift process, i.e. the direction of the shift from one's own mother tongue to the regional language or national or international language.

Though a number of processes are responsible for language shift, not all of them function simultaneously. Some of them are active in some regions whereas others are dominant in others, depending upon the socio-economic and cultural conditions. The degree of language shift differs in different time periods. Thus, the time period has been regarded as an important factor to examine the process of language shift (Weinreich, 1953:103).

The study also reflects on:

- a) *The domains of use of Kumauni and the majority language, i.e. Hindi.*
- b) *The attitude of Kumauni speakers towards their mother tongue and Hindi.*
- c) *Language shift towards Hindi.*

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

There are several factors closely related with language issues in society, viz. socio-economic, cultural, and political. Although a number of studies have been undertaken on the language shift, language maintenance and language death, the area chosen for this particular study of language shift has hardly ever been studied with respect to the above factors. Sharma (1985) has worked on phonological and morphophonemic aspects of Kumauni.

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

- What are the factors responsible for language shift?
- What are the domains in which mother tongue shift has taken place or is taking place.
- What are the steps taken to promote the spread of Hindi/English?

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

Administratively, the entire state of Uttarakhand has been divided into two divisions of Kumaun and Garhwal, which have in all, 13 districts, 42 tehsils and 95 development blocks. Larger size settlements are mostly concentrated in the lower reaches of terai and foothills of Nainital, Dehradun, Haridwar and Udham Singh Nagar, whereas the landscape in the upper reaches are covered with most of the smaller –size settlements.

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

## **KUMAUNI LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS**

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

The Kumaun province is dominated by Indo-Aryan, Tibeto- Burman and Munda language-families. The exact number of Kumauni speakers may be difficult to ascertain owing to the fact that majority of Kumaunis are scattered all over the country.

The literacy rate of district Nainital during 2001-2011 are given in the table below:

	2001(literacy rates in %)	2011(literacy rates in %)
Total	79.60	83.88
Male	87.39	90.07
Female	70.98	77.29

Central Pahari includes two closely connected languages—Kumauni spoken in Kumaun and Garhwali of Garhwal. Grierson (1919) states “There are certain well defined peculiarities in Kumauni language. The most important of these is the frequent occurrence of epenthesis or the change of vowel owing to the influence of another vowel in the succeeding syllable.

Therefore, in Kumauni the word *chelo*, a son becomes *chyalain* the plural, the *che* becoming changed to *chyaon* on the account of a following in the syllable /la/. Another marked peculiarity of Kumauni is the tendency to de-aspiration, as in the word *par* for *parh*, read.

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

## METHODOLOGY

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

Haldwani is a widespread area with social, political and religious dimensions that make it an uphill task to undertake an empirical socio-linguistic study of the area. It was possible to draw out a random sample from a given population in different areas of Haldwani. The sample thus represents a stratified random sample with different chosen areas.

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

A questionnaire was prepared and administered to collect general information, language use in various domains, language attitude and views of the Kumauni speakers. The questionnaire was prepared with precision so that it elicited all the relevant information needed. Questions selected were already tested and proved in several sociolinguistic studies.

The questionnaire was personally administered. Interviews were conducted with informants to collect information regarding their language, customs, culture, prestige associated with their mother tongue, etc.

## SAMPLE SELECTION

Since the majority of the population in Haldwani city is of Kumauni speakers, it was not difficult to identify the potential speakers. In some of the areas dominated by the other speech communities, locating Kumauni speakers was a bit difficult. It was beneficial to come across such isolated speakers of Kumauni as their speech was affected more by the different speech community people present in that area.

For the study, 100 samples were taken consisting of variables like: Age, Education, Income, Family (Joint/ Nuclear) and Domains of language use.

### AGE (V.1)

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

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

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

### SEX (V.2)

British sociologist Anthony Giddens defines 'sex' as 'biological or anatomical differences between men and women.' (Coulmas, 1997:128). In the questionnaire, sex was included as a question. The male-female subdivision in each age group is shown below where old males are denoted as OM, old females as OF, middle aged males as MM, middle aged females as MF, young males as YM and young females as YF.

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

### OCCUPATION (V.3)

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

The codifying was done as:

Others	1
Businessperson	2
Government Employee	3

### INCOME (V.4)

Income was codified in the following manner.

<b>Below Rs. 5000</b>	1
<b>Rs 5001 to 10000</b>	2
<b>Rs.10001 and above</b>	3

### EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (V.5)

Information was sought regarding the educational qualifications of the informants. The informants were classified in three groups and the coding was done as shown below:

<b>Up to 5<sup>th</sup> standard</b>	1
<b>6<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> standard</b>	2
<b>11<sup>th</sup> and above</b>	3

### EXPOSURE TO KUMAUNI, HINDI AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Questionnaire dealt with the exposure of the informant to Kumauni, Hindi, and other languages in mass media and in terms of other preferences.

### PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE

Questions related to pattern of language use at home, with friends in workplaces etc. i.e. in different domains with different interlocutors were designed. Interlocutor's patterns of language use at home, office or social gathering and formally or informally was investigated.

### MIGRATION (V.6)

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

<b>Migrated</b>	1
<b>Not migrated</b>	2

### ATTITUDES

Questions were designed to elicit the attitudes of the informants. The informants were asked about the language they felt most comfortable with. They were also asked about the language they preferred in the place of worship. Whether mother tongue is used in prayers and other religious activities was asked.

Questions were asked to know the views/opinion of the informants regarding their mother tongue of any use for jobs, higher education, language group, and integration. And lastly, the informants' attitudes regarding language maintenance and shift, mother tongue promotion, developments were asked.

Questions were designed to provide with sufficient data which could help in understanding the relationships between socio-economic status and language preference.

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

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## ANALYSIS OF DATA

The attitude of speakers towards the language and the socio-economic-psychological features influence the linguistic priorities of multilingual speech community.

The informants were evaluated for the linguistic background and then their preference was seen for the language used. Generally, the respondents in the upper age groups were proficient in understanding and speaking, though reading and writing could hardly be taken into account.

Hindi is acquired in all the domains with some difference in home domain and religious places, where its use is lesser still. In general, it is clear that Kumauni is the language of home and that is where it is generally acquired.

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

In comparison to Kumauni, Hindi is acquired largely from the environment and school. Hindi being the *lingua franca* seems to be indispensable as far as work place and domain of peer group is concerned. The gradual increase of Hindi in home domain is due to the time spent at home, which is less compared to environment outside. That introduction of Hindi in the schools as a subject and as medium of instruction only strengthens the overall skills of the person in this language.

In Haldwani affluent families and even those with upward social mobility tend to inculcate Hindi speaking habits in their children from an early age; an example would better clarify the situation—an informant recently migrated to Haldwani in search of better job prospects. He brought his family members also to the city. The children of this informant were very good at speaking Kumauni when they first arrived in Haldwani; but since the last one year they started losing control over their mother tongue, and the proficiency with which they used to speak Kumauni earlier has declined.

Also, the attitude of the kids towards their mother tongue has changed. When their mother tries to speak with them in Kumauni, they are not comfortable to reply in Kumauni; rather prefer replying in Hindi. On the other hand, it has become a trend in mothers to speak to their children in Hindi, and sometimes with code switching (English). It is generally believed that those children are well mannered who are fluent in Hindi and English. Hence, acquiring English language gives them societal prestige.

When we rank the languages in hierarchical positions in Haldwani by taking the pool data including both male as well as females, and persons of all age groups, we find that English enjoys the top most position whereas, Hindi lies in the middle position and Kumauni is ranked at the bottom.

There is a trend where upper middle class families send their children to convent schools to acquire English language, which is a path which gives children an orientation towards not just language but to life as well. It also indicates the children are moving away from vernacular.

English is being used in public places and government offices. There has been an increase in the trend on the part of parents to send the children to convent schools, which is based on the belief that English language acquisition gives them prestige in the society and the user of Hindi and English are considered literate and from good economic background.

As far as Kumauni language is concerned, it does not give people any kind of recognition, other than providing platform to the community, as an integrated unit and for performing social functions.

The other interesting fact, which has come to light, is that there exists a positive correlation between English language acquisition and the rise in income levels among Kumauni community. The proficiency in Hindi and English languages can largely be attributed to the factor that these languages are part of the school curriculum.

**TABLE 4.1: LANGUAGE MOST COMFORTABLE WITH**

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

Looking at table no. 4.1, it is seen that informants of almost all age groups consider Hindi as a language with which they feel most comfortable, followed by Kumauni and then by other languages. There emerges a contrast between older and younger generations (including the middle-aged males and females) in their scales of comfort.

The percentage of females feeling comfortable in using Kumauni is higher in comparison to males, for the middle and old age groups. When we take Hindi as a language on the comfort scale, there emerges a sharp difference between older and younger generations.

The definition of comfort levels, for people basically corresponds to fluency, expert command that is acquired by regular use and exposure to a language or to express solidarity with regional culture to which a particular language belongs. In case of Haldwani, people feel comfortable with Hindi language, which has emerged as the *lingua franca* of the region. Some people feel that there are certain issues, which can be dealt with only in Hindi or English.

### MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

The informants were also asked about their views on teaching their mother tongue as a subject or using it as a medium of instruction in the schools. The response was largely negative. They were doubtful about their mother tongue for getting better jobs at all. The knowledge of English language helps in employment, according to them.

**TABLE 4.2: KUMAUNI AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION/SUBJECT IN SCHOOLS (%)**

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

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

The younger generation expressed an open view of Kumauni not having enough market value. As far as knowing about one's culture and the social set up, Kumauni as a subject can be preferred. (Given a choice,

parents will opt for schools with English as the medium and better, missionary schools, which are supposed to be the harbingers of English and synonymous with modern education).

When the informants were asked about giving up their identity as Kumaunis the overall response was negative. The emotions attached with the mother tongue were strong and all the informants took pride in being called a Kumauni with a unique identity. Asked further on the issue of the formation of the independent state of Uttarakhand, which was formed in November, 2000, the respondents felt more close to the Kumauni language and expressed a desire to have a standard language of the state.

Kumauni identity was not so strong, but after the year 2000, Kumaunis started developing a sense of belongingness. The informants agreed that though there is maximum maintenance of language in the home domain, there is a partial shift from Kumauni.

### ORGANISATIONS/ASSOCIATIONS OF KUMAUNI COMMUNITY

Informants were asked about their affiliation to any association or organization of Kumauni community in which they take part.

**TABLE 4.3: ORGANISATIONS/ ASSOCIATIONS OF KUMAUNI COMMUNITY**

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

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

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

The overall response shows that the awareness of one's MT can be spread among the younger generation through these Kumauni organisations/associations.

### BOOKS PUBLISHED IN MOTHER TONGUE

**TABLE 4.4: BOOKS PUBLISHED IN MOTHER TONGUE**

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

A-3males	8	92
A-3Females	0	100

From table no. 44 we find that only a meagre 29% in the middle age group are aware of the books published in their mother tongue. Old age informants were least aware of the existence of books in Kumauni. This shows that knowledge of written literature is negligible in Kumauni, which should be a major concern for the language planning and policy-makers.

## PERCENTAGE USE OF KUMAUNI AND HINDI IN RELIGIOUS PLACES

**TABLE 4.5: LANGUAGE USED IN RELIGIOUS PLACES(%)**

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

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

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

## PERCEIVED FUNCTIONAL USE OF KUMAUNI, HINDI, AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS FOR JOBS, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND LANGUAGE GROUP INTEGRATION (LGI)

**TABLE 4.6.1: PREFERENCE OF LANGUAGE FOR JOBS (%)**

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

**TABLE 4.6.2: PREFERENCE OF LANGUAGE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION (%)**

	Kumauni	Hindi	Others
A-3 males	0	77	23
A-3 females	0	100	0
A-2 males	0	86	14

A-2 females	0	63	37
A-1 males	0	91	9
A-1 females	0	90	10

**TABLE 4.6.3: PREFERENCE OF LANGUAGE FOR LGI (%)**

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

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

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

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

### DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

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

### LANGUAGE USED IN HOME DOMAIN

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

### ACROSS DIFFERENT DOMAINS

By looking at the language used in different domains, one can get an idea as to whether there are any particular linguistic preferences for different domains and different interlocutors. Then what remains to be seen is whether this multilingual community is stable or unstable (Fishman, 1968).

In the unstable case the gradual reallocation of different languages to different domains varies so fast that over an interval of time, people may give up one language for the other. The picture is quite clear wherein the use of Kumauni decreases with the decrease in age. This pattern appears to be consistent. The younger generation is more prone to language attrition levels.

1. The language used by the older generation is assumed to be Kumauni.
2. Language used in the home domain shows variation. Kumauni and Hindi are used in varying degree.
3. The language used among the younger ones is Hindi and English with very little of Kumauni.

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

**TABLE 4.7: EDUCATION LEVELS (E1, E2, E3) VS. LANGUAGE PRIORITY FOR (KUMAUNI, HINDI, OTHER) IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS (HOME, FRIENDS, WORK PLACE, RELIGIOUS PLACES)**

<b>HOME</b>	<b>E 1</b>	<b>E 2</b>	<b>E 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	10	11	34	55
Hindi	0	12	31	43
Other	0	0	2	2
Total	10	23	67	100
<b>FRIENDS</b>	<b>E 1</b>	<b>E 2</b>	<b>E 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	6	8	18	32
Hindi	6	23	30	59
Other	0	2	7	9
Total	12	33	55	100
<b>WORK PLACE</b>	<b>E 1</b>	<b>E 2</b>	<b>E 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	5	3	19	27
Hindi	5	20	48	73
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	10	23	67	100
<b>RELIGIOUS PLACE</b>	<b>E 1</b>	<b>E 2</b>	<b>E 3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	5	14	25	44
Hindi	6	10	40	56
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	11	24	65	100
E1= Up to 5 <sup>th</sup> standard E2= 6 <sup>th</sup> to 10 <sup>th</sup> standard E3= 11 <sup>th</sup> and above				

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

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

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

**TABLE 4.8: INCOME LEVELS (I1, I2, I3) VS. LANGUAGE PRIORITY FOR (KUMAUNI, HINDI, OTHER) IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS (HOME, FRIENDS, WORK PLACE, RELIGIOUS PLACES)**

<b>HOME</b>	<b>I1</b>	<b>I2</b>	<b>I3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	23	25	7	55
Hindi	35	3	6	44
Other	0	0	1	1
Total	58	28	14	100
<b>FRIENDS</b>	<b>I1</b>	<b>I2</b>	<b>I3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	13	12	2	27
Hindi	40	16	15	71
Other	0	0	2	2
Total	53	28	19	100
<b>WORK PLACE</b>	<b>I1</b>	<b>I2</b>	<b>I3</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kumauni	10	14	3	27
Hindi	47	14	10	71
Other	0	0	2	2
Total	57	28	15	100
<b>RELIGIOUS PLACE</b>	<b>I1</b>	<b>I2</b>	<b>I3</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Kumauni</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>44</b>
Hindi	32	15	9	56
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	59	28	13	100

I 1 = Up to Rs. 5,000; I 2 = Rs. 5,000 to 10,000; I 3 = Rs. 10,000 and above

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

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

In the middle income group, Hindi and Kumauni compete with each other across the three domains, whereas, in the home domain Kumauni is given preference. In the lower income group, Hindi is the language of preference. As the ambition during their upbringing is to be socially mobile, they have to be conversant in Hindi.

Moreover, the government schools where Hindi is the medium of instruction meet their educational needs and tend to instil in them a preference for Hindi.

**TABLE 4.9: OCCUPATION LEVELS (O1,O2, O3) VS. LANGUAGE PRIORITY (FOR KUMAUNI, HINDI, OTHER) IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS (HOME, FRIENDS, WORK PLACE, RELIGIOUS PLACE)**

<u>HOME</u>	<u>O 1</u>	<u>O 2</u>	<u>O 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	40	9	8	57
Hindi	31	7	3	41
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	71	17	12	100
<u>FRIENDS</u>	<u>O 1</u>	<u>O 2</u>	<u>O 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	16	7	3	26
Hindi	54	10	8	72
Other	0	1	1	2
Total	70	18	12	100
<u>WORK PLACE</u>	<u>O 1</u>	<u>O 2</u>	<u>O 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	14	7	6	27
Hindi	57	9	5	71
Other	1	0	1	2
Total	72	16	12	100
<u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u>	<u>O 1</u>	<u>O 2</u>	<u>O 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Kumauni	30	12	5	47
Hindi	40	7	6	53
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	70	19	11	100
O1= Others (student, house wife, agriculture etc.) O2= Businessmen O3= Govt. servants				

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

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

**TABLE 4.10: MIGRATION (SELF, NOT SELF) VS.LANGUAGE PRIORITY (FOR KUMAUNI, HINDI, OTHER) IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS(HOME, FRIENDS, WORK PLACE, RELIGIOUS PLACES)**

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

From table-4.10 we see that the migrated informants give more priority to Kumauni as compared to Hindi only in the religious domain. Hindi is given more priority across all the domains.

Only one percent of migrated respondents use other languages in the home domain. Among the non-migrated informants, Hindi is given more priority compared to that of Kumauni in across all the domains, which shows that language shift exist at the core of the situation.

**TABLE 4.11: AGE GROUPS(A 1, A 2, A 3) VS. LANGUAGE PRIORITIES (FOR KUMAUNI, HINDI,OTHER) IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS (HOME, FRIENDS, WORK PLACES, RELIGIOUS PLACES)**

<b><u>HOME</u></b>	<b><u>A 1</u></b>	<b><u>A 2</u></b>	<b><u>A 3</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	9	30	15	54
Hindi	33	10	3	46
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	42	40	18	100
<b><u>FRIENDS</u></b>	<b><u>A 1</u></b>	<b><u>A 2</u></b>	<b><u>A 3</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	2	17	7	26
Hindi	38	23	11	72
Other	2	0	0	2
Total	42	40	18	100
<b><u>WORK PLACE</u></b>	<b><u>A 1</u></b>	<b><u>A 2</u></b>	<b><u>A 3</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	0	18	9	27
Hindi	40	22	9	71
Other	2	0	0	2
Total	42	40	18	100
<b><u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u></b>	<b><u>A 1</u></b>	<b><u>A 2</u></b>	<b><u>A 3</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	15	18	11	44
Hindi	27	22	7	56
Other	0	0	0	0
Total	42	40	18	100
A1 = Below 25 years A2 =26 to 45 years A3 = 46 and above				

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

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

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

**TABLE 4.12: GENDER(MALE, FEMALE) VS. LANGUAGE PRIORITY FOR (KUMAUNI, HINDI, OTHER) IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS(HOME, FRIENDS,WORK PLACE,RELIGIOUS PLACE)**

<b><u>HOME</u></b>	<b><u>Male</u></b>	<b><u>Female</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	32	24	56
Hindi	24	20	44
Other	0	0	0
Total	56	44	100
<b><u>FRIENDS</u></b>	<b><u>Male</u></b>	<b><u>Female</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	18	7	25
Hindi	38	36	74
Other	0	1	1
Total	56	44	100
<b><u>WORK PLACE</u></b>	<b><u>Male</u></b>	<b><u>Female</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	20	7	27
Hindi	36	37	73
Other	0	0	0
Total	56	44	100
<b><u>RELIGIOUS PLACE</u></b>	<b><u>Male</u></b>	<b><u>Female</u></b>	<b><u>Total</u></b>
Kumauni	22	22	44
Hindi	34	22	56
Other	0	0	0
Total	56	44	100

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

## CONCLUSION

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

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

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

1. If there is no facility for using their language in the formal domains like work places, offices, schools, market place etc.
2. If that group is numerically less significant in social, economic and political terms.

3. If that group is geographically isolated to a large extent from their native land.
4. If that group does not want to reveal their identity in the host area.

All these factors are relevant to Kumauni population in Haldwani. Apart from this, variables like age, education, income, migration, sex and different domains of language use also plays an important role in various aspects of language use. Language use in various domains shows that Kumauni is only used at home and with relatives, and in religious places.

The majority language of the area, Hindi is used extensively in all domains other than home and in religious places. Attitudes towards language etc. have been verified through various questions. The analysis shows that Kumauni speakers in Haldwani are very proud of their language. They are friendly towards Hindi language and care for their identity.

It is the retention of mother tongue in the home domain and some of the language structure at all levels of grammar, i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax that signals the continuity of language and identity of its speech community. Finally we can say that mother tongue cannot be maintained for a long period only by way of speaking it in home domain.

Mother tongue is maintained when the speakers use it for a wide variety of purposes. They should speak it, write it, work in it, govern themselves in it, publish materials in it, use it in mass media and they should keep in touch with those who use the same language elsewhere.

However, as far as Kumauni Language in Haldwani city is concerned, the domain of language use is restricted to home and the religious places. Mother tongue is maximally maintained in the home domain and maximum shift is taking place in workplace and peer group. The younger generation is becoming more bilingual.

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