

Addressing the Issues of Language Endangerment through Documentation: A Case Study of Saura

**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics**

by

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DECLARATION

I, Ms. Ankita Satapathy, hereby declare that I have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis entitled “**Addressing the Issues of Language Endangerment through Documentation: A Case Study of Saura**” for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of University of Hyderabad. I also declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other university or institution.

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CERTIFICATE

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Research work related to the thesis have been published in various academic platforms are mentioned below:

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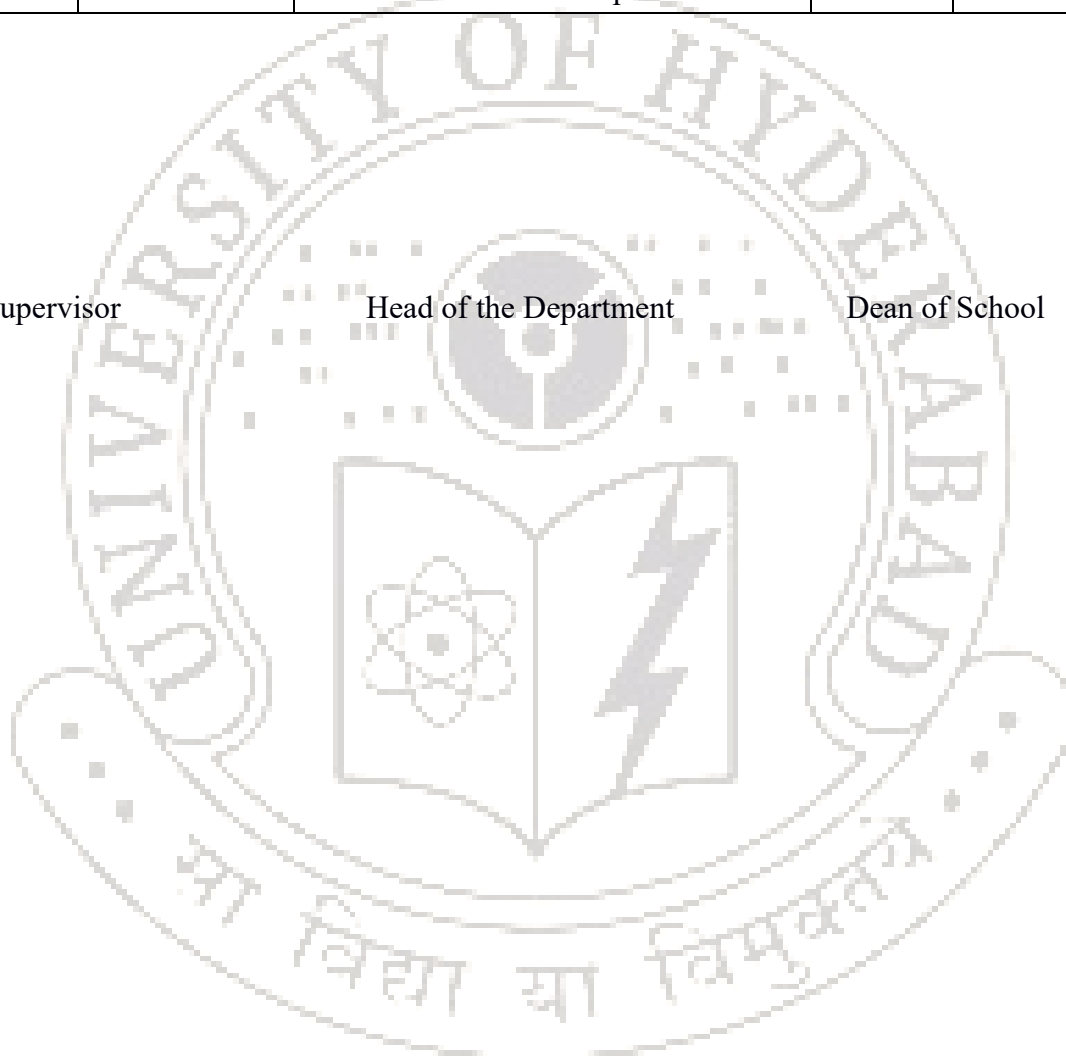
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Supervisor

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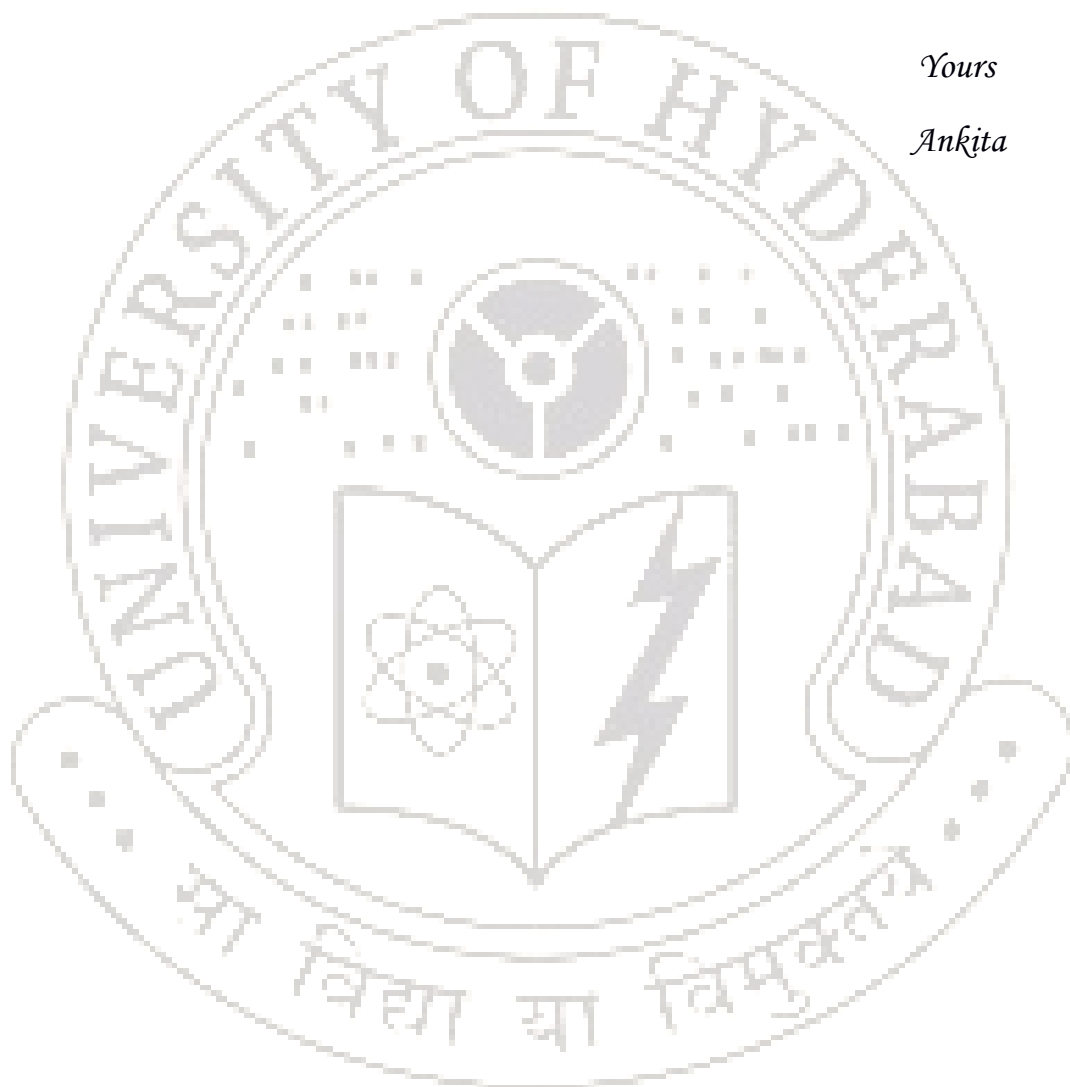


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Abbreviations

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Definition</i>
1	First person
1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2	Second person
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3	Third person
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
ABS	Absolutive
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
DEM	Demonstrative
INF	Infinitive
INFER	Inferential evidential
INST	Instrumental
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NPST	Non-Past
PST	Past
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive

Chapter 1

1.0.Introduction

Language loss can be caused by a variety of factors. The human race has lost many dialects and dialect varieties. Linguistic experts and researchers alike anticipate that fifty percentage of the languages of the world will disappear by the end of 21th century. In-depth research into endangered languages and cultures should be a primary consideration.

1.1. Language Endangerment in the World

Language loss is a phenomena that puts languages in risk on a linguistic, cultural, and social level. Austin and Sallabank say that "language endangerment" occurs when future generations don't learn a language in its original form as a first language (2011:1). Brenzinger highlighted (1992:3) that “the biological term in danger of extinction throughout all or a considerable portion of their range served as the sociolinguistic model for the term endangerment”. The gradual loss of language from one generation to the next is also regarded as a sort of endangerment. There are enough speakers of endangered languages for them to have a chance of survival, but only under ideal conditions and with an increase in local support, as Crystal (2000:20) explains.

It's important for the research community, but it's even more important for the people who speak the languages affected by language extinction. There are numerous reasons to study and conduct research on languages that are in decline. Firstly, Crystal (2000:39) argues that language reveals one's identity. Identity, according to him, is what “distinguishes the members of a community”. Emotions are expressed through language. It is inherently social, cultural, and historical legacies of a society's legacy that are embodied in the attribute of language identity.

Diversity is also a key concept in endangerment theory. Biodiversity and linguistic diversity are equally important for a long-term survival. Biological systems, according to Odum (1986:12), "may necessitate the existence of a wide range of living organisms in order to maintain their stability." In today's multicultural society, linguistic variety is essential for the transmission of a wide range of cultural values. Languages are essential to the development of diverse civilizations since cultures are primarily transmitted verbally and in writing, as Crystal (2000:34) points out. The preservation of linguistic diversity necessitates studies of rare and endangered languages. There are three reasons why language endangerment is so important in defining human rights: Minority speakers of official or major languages should have no difficulty entering the justice system, the media, and education, Austin and Sallabank (2011) argue. As a result, in the context in question, a low-status endangered minority language may be prohibited from participating in social activities. If a language is to be preserved in its fullest sense, it must be maintained by those who speak it, according to Romaine (2008:19). Therefore, the main justifications in charge of getting action to stop the linguistic transition centre on protecting cultures and environments. In the given context, various kinds of research and studies on language endangerment are of significant importance.

In the last few decades, linguists have finally given language endangerment the attention it deserves. It is a relatively new phenomenon, but there are numerous reasons why we should study languages that are at risk of extinction. Initially, research on endangered languages was conducted for non-academic purposes. There was a lot of non-academic motivation for the initial fieldwork on indigenous endangered languages. An important role is clearly played by Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) here. It began as a summer training programme in 1934. The institute published the first edition of *Ethnologue*, a language index, in 1951. There were 46 languages listed in the

first edition. A total of 4447 languages have been added to the most recent version of this dictionary. In 1992, UNESCO launched the “Red Book of Endangered Languages”, a collection of languages who are endangered. The facts and figures about endangered languages were covered in this project. An effort by the Linguistic Society of America was made to do this. As early as 1992, it established the Committee on the Preservation of Endangered Languages. Documentation and research on endangered languages were the committee's primary goals. It was established at Tokyo University in Japan in 1994 as the “International Clearing House for Endangered Languages”. The center's primary goal was to collect documentation. There was a lot of fundraising activity in the following years. These organisations include the “Foundation for Endangered Languages” (FEL) and the “Endangered Languages Fund” (ELF), for instance (Moseley 2007).

1.1.1. Different Frameworks for Classification of Endangered Languages

“Language endangerment” is a multifaceted subject that can be approached from a variety of angles. In the structural linguistic approach, obsolescence and language decay are studied in terms of linguistic structure. In linguistic research, sociolinguistics looks at how people use and maintain a language in their daily lives. In Florey's (2005: 46) view, lexical and morphosyntactic change between generations can be used to evaluate language endangerment, and this can be done by studying language change. Examples of language change include grammatical restructuring and morphological and syntactic reductions (Janse 2003: xii). In a situation where a language is at risk, some registers or speech varieties may be reduced. To assess a language's survival risk, fluency of the speaker must be considered. One way to gauge this is by asking speakers to rate their own

fluency. Another option is to use a formal assessment to gauge a person's level of language proficiency and then compare the results over time (Florey 2005: 46).

A sociolinguistic approach to evaluating linguistic vitality is included in this dissertation because the researcher is particularly interested in the social contexts in which languages are used and maintained however, there is still room for more research in this area, such as examining the relationship between speaker attitudes and language decay or fluency.

Many frameworks and classification scales have been developed to identify a language's vitality, including a variety of sociolinguistic approaches. Some of these approaches are discussed in this section.

1.1.1.1. Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale developed by Fishman (1991) (GIDS)

Scales can also be used to determine the danger level. Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale developed by Lewis and Simons (2010) provides an example of an expanded scale for assessing how endangered particular languages are (hereinafter EGIDS). This scale's goal is to extend Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). For intergenerational transmission classification, this is regarded as one of the most widely used methods

Fishman's GIDS has eight distinct levels of language disruption (1991:17). Language use in the workplace, education, and government are all covered in this first level. In the Level 8 of GIDS, only the older generation uses the language, and it is primarily used in the home domain; it has lost its function in all other domains of life. For the purposes of illiteracy, the media, and the transmission of language across generations, proficiency levels 2–7 describe how people use language. Language transmission is critical, according to Fishman (1991), who emphasises this

point. In this transmission, social and institutional choices are critical. Table 1.1 lists Fishman's (1991) GIDS.

Table 1.1. Adapted Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman 1991)

Level	Illumination
Stage 1	Higher education institutions and a wide range of professions are among the places where the language is most commonly heard. In addition to government offices, the language is frequently used in television and radio broadcasts, as well.
Stage 2	Only a small number of government institutions speak it. The regional and local press utilise it while reporting on events.
Stage 3	Lower-level workers' use of the language. Some other communities' speakers may also use it in order to facilitate communication.
Stage 4	The language is utilised in primary level schooling in order to meet government requirements.
Stage 5	Few domains use the language. It is widely used in a number of important domains, including the speech community. The house and school are other spheres.
Stage 6	The younger generation, especially the youngsters, speak the language, proving that it has been successfully passed down from one generation to the next.
Stage 7	The more seasoned members of society speak it naturally. While speaking the language to their older generation is quite convenient for middle-aged members of society, they avoid doing so with their offspring.
Stage 8	Senior members who are elderly speak the language, but because they do not belong to any social groups, only a very small number of people in the community can speak it..

1.1.1.2. Framework for the Vitality and Endangered Languages by UNESCO (2003)

UNESCO is dedicated to protecting and preserving the world's diverse languages and cultures. As part of UNESCO's Endangered Languages Program, data on endangered languages has been gathered since its beginning. Endangered languages are categorised according to the degree to which they're in danger. According to Berzinger and Graaf, India is one of those twenty two countries which host eighty five percentage of the languages of the world (2004). According to Bernard, about 3% of the global population speaks about 96% of total number of languages,

whereas about 97% people of the world speaks merely 4% of the total languages spoken in the world (1996:142). People's partisanship in terms of language use is evidenced by the proliferation of dialects and dialect groups. In accordance with the Atlas of Endangered Languages, nearly 2500 dialects are classified as endangered (2010). It's been fifty to sixty years since 230 languages were wiped off the face of the Earth.

A total of nine factors by Brenzinger et al (2003) were proposed at the UNESCO expert meeting. Many worldwide experts who work in the area of endangered language were present at this international meeting. The sociolinguistic status of a language can be determined using these factors. In order to determine whether or not a language is in danger, the nine criteria outlined above are taken into consideration. Two factors are concerned with gaining access to language attitudes, while a third considers the importance and necessity of documentation, and a fourth considers one's own attitude toward the language. According to few well-known authors, it is difficult to evaluate the vitality or necessity for documentation of a language using just one factor. (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 7). The six-level UNESCO classification includes GIDS levels 6–8, literacy levels, educational materials, and domains, but the Fishman (1991) GIDS framework utilises each of these factors on a six-level intergenerational transmission scale. Table 1.2 to Table 1.8 includes these six variables, as well as measures of attitudes and supporting documentation.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Transmission of Language

For a language to survive, it must be passed on from generation to generation. When teaching a language, speakers must be prepared to stop at any time for a variety of reasons in order to ensure its survival.

Table 1.2: UNESCO Factor 1

Endangerment Level	Total Strength of Speaker	Grade
Safe	The speech community as a whole keeps the language alive.	5
Unsafe	Only a few young people are universally skilled in the language.	4
Definitely Endangered	The older and middle generation continue to speak the language..	3
Severely Endangered	Grandparents represent the majority of elderly language users.	2
Critically Endangered	Only those older than your grandparents speak it.	1
Extinct	The language is unknown to the locals. Nobody speaks the language as a first language.	0

Factor 2: Number of Absolute Speakers

Due to the difficulty in providing a reasonable explanation of absolute speakers, this factor does not have a scale.

Factor 3: Speaker ratio within the Total Population

Table 1.3: UNESCO Factor 3

Endangerment Level	Grade	Ratio of Exact Speakers as a Percentage of Total Speakers
safe	5	Everyone in the neighbourhood speaks it in all contexts.
Unsafe	4	The language is widely spoken by many people.

definitively endangered	3	The majority of the members speak it.
severely endangered	2	Many people do not speak any language.
critically endangered	1	There are incredibly few speakers of the language.
extinct	0	The language is now extinct.

Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains

Saura speakers also use Odia as their primary language in all areas. While Saura remains the primary language at home, Odia is becoming more widely used in the workplace. Elderly members of the community, such as parents and grandparents, are the most effective bilinguals. Youth culture is an especially difficult issue to deal with.

Table 1.4: UNESCO Factor 4

Quantity of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Purposes
universal use	5	The bulk of professions include the use of language
multilingual parity	4	In areas relating to society, characteristics of bilingualism or multilingualism are evident.
dwindling domains	3	For the majority of functions, language usage is restricted to the home domain, with the dominant language also permeating the home domain.
restricted or official domains	2	The language is employed in a variety of social contexts.
highly limited domains	1	Language is only used for a few simple purposes.
extinct	0	There is no language used.

Factor 5: Response to new domains and media

The Internet or broadcasting are two examples of new media that are considered to be "new domains". For grades 1 and 2, the "minimal" standard has been accepted by a new educational domain (see chapter 6).

Table 1.5: UNESCO Factor 5

Quantity of Endangerment	Grade	Language use in contemporary fields, such as the media
Dynamic	5	Each of the new domains includes the language that will be used.
robust/active	4	The majority of new domains use it.
Receptive	3	All of the new domains might be a result of language usage.
Coping	2	The language makes an effort to keep up by expanding its functionality into a few new fields.
Minimal	1	There are few to few domains in which language is used.
Inactive	0	In every domain, the language is utterly dormant.

Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy

This scale takes into account a variety of factors, and as a result, Saura only partially meets the requirements for a few levels. Out of ten, Saura receives a zero. Please refer to Chapter 6 for more information.

Table 1.6: UNESCO Factor 6

Grade	Written learnable information reachability”
5	The orthography of the language is quite rich in tradition. Literature, grammar guides, and other resources are all written in the language. Both at the official level and in academia, it is heavily utilised. The rate of literacy is high.
4	The language is taught to students as part of their academic programme. For official use, the language is utilised as a second language, not as the major language. There aren't many useful resources in this language.
3	The language is hardly advertised in print. Utilizing the language-written materials aids students in understanding a few things.
2	Documents may serve a functional purpose for certain community members while serving as a nostalgic recall for others. Literacy teaching in the language is not taught in schools as a topic.
1	The community is aware of a useful orthography, and articles have been written about it.
0	There is no available orthography in the area.

Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use

When it comes to this factor, it's impossible to categorise Saura. Government programmes especially foster the preservation of a country's multiple languages, which are all valued and preserved as national assets (Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al. 2003: 13). Policymakers in the United States do not explicitly encourage the use of vernacular languages in elementary schools, but the policies do exist and are not always fully implemented. Despite the government's explicit protection of the latter, there are clear distinctions between the usage of official/dominant languages and non-dominant (protected) languages. Saura's descriptions of grades 2 and 3 aren't perfect, but they're still better than the others.

Table 1.7: UNESCO Factor 7

Support Level	Grade	Governmental Views of Language
equal support	5	Every language is shielded
differentiated support	4	As the language of the private spheres, minority languages are principally safeguarded. The language is respectable when used..
passive assimilation	3	Minority languages are not explicitly covered by any policies; the majority language is used in public.
active assimilation	2	The government promotes adaptation to the language in use. Minority languages are not safeguarded
forced assimilation	1	Both protection and official language status are not accorded to quasi languages.
prohibition	0	Languages of minorities are forbidden

Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language

If "some" and "many" are defined differently, Saura could receive either a grade 2 or 3 for this factor (for detailed analysis refer to Chapter 6).

Table 1.8: UNESCO Factor 8

Grade	Community members' perspectives on language
5	<i>Each</i> person values their mother language and wants it to be supported.
4	<i>The majority</i> of speakers favour maintaining languages
3	<i>Most</i> participants advocate for language preservation, while others are neutral or might even
2	<i>Some</i> group members advocate for language preservation, while others are neutral or might even advocate for language loss.
1	Only a <i>few</i> members are in favour of language preservation, whereas the majority are neutral or may even be in favour of language loss.
0	<i>Nobody</i> worries if the language is lost; everyone would rather speak the prevailing language.

Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

There were only a few texts and an unfinished grammatical sketch, but there were also audio recordings that made it more like Grade 2 "fragmentary" than Grade 1. (refer to Chapter 6).

Table 1.9: UNESCO Factor 9

Documentation Types	Grade	Documenting languages
superlative	5	There are huge books, comprehensive dictionaries, and a never-ending supply of language resources. There are numerous greater audio and video files with annotations.
good	4	A variety of competent grammars and dictionaries are also available, along with excellent audio and video recordings that have adequate annotations. Additionally, the media receives updates on a regular basis.
fair	3	There are no common grammatical rules or dictionaries, however recorded audio and video may be of variable attribute or annotated.
fragmentary	2	Basic linguistic study can be done using texts, word lists, and grammar sketches. The quality of audio and video recordings, with or without annotations, may vary depending on where they were captured.
inadequate	1	There are only short word lists and snippets of text here. No audio or video recordings exist, or the ones

		that do are useless or lack any commentaries..
undocumented	0	There is nothing there.

1.1.1.3. Lewis and Simons's (2010) Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

The Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), developed by Lewis and Simons (2010:117), incorporates all levels of Fishman's GIDS (1991) with some additional features. When comparing EGIDS to GIDS, some of the differences are well-represented. The importance of levels 6 and 8 has been increased. In order to distinguish between two distinct situations, the scale is thoughtfully divided into two categories, as shown in Table no. 1.10.

Table 1.10. Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale by Lewis and Simon (2010:117)

Level	Lebel	Illustration
0	International	It is frequently utilised in trade, knowledge exchange, and foreign politics between countries.
1	National	The public sector, media, and educational establishments all make use of the language.
2	Provincial	Within the country's principal administrative units, the language is utilised in administration, mainstream media, and the fields of training and employment.
3	Wider Communication	The language is employed in the workplace and the media to fill linguistic deficiencies within a region even though it has no formal status.

4	Educational	To fill linguistic gaps within an area, the language is utilised in commerce and the media while not having official status.
5	Developing	The language is actively used, and some people even employ standardised literature, however this is neither widespread nor long-lasting.
6a	Vigorous	Face-to-face interaction is used by all parties, and the condition is manageable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for direct communication by people of all ages, but its user base is diminishing.
7	Shifting	Although the generation with children may speak the language amongst individuals, it is not being passed on to the next generation
8a	Moribund	Grandparents and older are the only ones who are still actively using the language.
8b	Nearly Extinct	Only elderly people with limited opportunities who are grandparents or older still speak the language.
9	Dormant	No one is more adept than symbolically, but the language acts as a reflection of an ethnic community's heritage identity.
10	Extinct	No one has a sense of ethnic identity connected to the language as it is no longer spoken.

When it comes to the status of a language, EGIDS asks five key questions about how people speak in the community. These are the following questions: What percentage of the time is this used by the government? To answer these questions, we must answer a number of questions first. In addition, how well-educated are they? The first question focuses on the language's ability to identify its speakers. It's possible to look at these questions from multiple angles. Languages that are in use at the global, national, or regional level are first examined to determine their status as official/formal languages. Another consideration is whether or not the language is officially used and whether or not it is restricted to cross-group interactions. For the second option, it could be a recognition of the language's history, such as a family's use of the language at home. Intergenerational transmission is addressed in question three. There are two categories of answers to this question. Language transmission is intact in both examples, but it has been disrupted in the second. In the fourth question, the topic of literacy is brought up. There are a number of possible scenarios that could occur:

- (a) Institutions can aid in the development of literacy.
- (b) Without the aid of existing public institutions and organisations, the literacy is achieved.
- (c) There is a lack of literacy in the country (Lewis and Simons, 2010:15-18).

Ethnologue publishes statistics on the state of endangerment of various languages and the people who speak those languages. List of languages still spoken and the number of persons who can speak them, organised by EGIDS level, may be found in Table 1.11 (Lewis et al. 2014:2). The people of Saura is only sparsely passing along the language to the following generation, putting the region in danger of extinction under category 6b, or "threatened" (Lewis and Simons 2010: 110-111).

Table 1.11. The numbers of living languages and speakers by EGIDS level (Lewis et al. 2014:2)

EGIDS	Common Languages	A Recap Of The Power Of Speakers
0	6	1,818,381,087
1	95	1,917,448,973
2	70	702,091,475
3	166	520,850,403
4	345	240,886,146
5	1534	587,368,289
6a	2504	383,431,031
6b	1022	53,902,645
7	456	12,053,321
8a	289	923,884
8b	432	75,305
9	189	0
Total	7106	6,226,521,569

As the threat level increases, we see a decline in the number of people who speak these languages.

1.1.1.4. Endangered Language Framework by Moseley (2010)

The state of the languages in the world today is examined using a wide variety of numbers. According to Moseley, there are around 6000 different languages spoken throughout the world (2010: 5). These languages make up 43 % of the endangered languages list.. In Table 1.12, you'll see how endangered languages are organised.

Table 1.12. “Level of Endangerment and Total no. of Endangered Language” (Moseley 2010:5)

Level of Endangerment	0-9999	10000-99999	100000- more	No data on Number of Speakers	Total
Vulnerable	347	151	104	7	598
Definitely endangered	418	154	61	27	646
Severely endangered	440	46	12	39	528
Critically endangered	570	16	1	50	575
Extinct	231	1	0	9	232
Total	1906	365	176	132	2579

We can see from the table above that a language's number of speakers is an important consideration when determining whether or not it should be designated as an endangered language. 589 languages are listed as "vulnerable" in this table. Although most young people speak it, Moseley (2010:5) notes that it may only be used in specific contexts (mainly at home). Additionally, 646 languages have been identified as definitely endangered. As a result, this language is definitely endangered because it is no longer taught to children in the home as a mother tongue. The following category applies to language spoken by grandparents and other elder generations that parent generation members may understand but do not use with children or among themselves. These "severely endangered" languages number 528. There are now 575 languages that are critically endangered. There are few younger people who speak these languages fluently;

they tend to be grandparents and older. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 232 other languages are extinct. These extinct languages have no speakers. As a result, an exact number cannot be provided because the numbers could be misleading.

There are several reasons given by Austin and Sallabank (2011) for the need to revise language statistics. There are two ways to distinguish between a language and a dialect: mutual intelligibility, which refers to how well both parties understand the form, and dialectic intelligibility. A variation or a dialect's status is clearly influenced by politics and people's attitudes toward language forms. In the second phase, the current number of spoken languages, especially indigenous languages, must be precisely determined. As a result, the data does not include a large number of languages.

1.1.1.5. Landweer: Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (IEV) (2012)

This can be a problem with the frameworks we've discussed so far because they don't take the Indian context into account. Because this framework of classification of endangered languages is unique to the Melanesian context, it is the best fit for this particular situation. For the Saura situation, this framework is the best so far, if not completely. Endangered languages of India need a similar framework to IEV.

The countless languages Melanesia's local linguistic communities speak, where “equally common is equitable multilingualism, and the dominance of a single world language is less obvious”, are a result of powerful groups forcing their language on the people they rule (Landweer 2012: 153). This means that an international framework like UNESCO, based on the idea that there are dominant and non-dominant languages, is completely out of place in the Melanesian context.

According to Landweer, there are significant differences between the Melanesian setting and that of other countries (2012). Landweer (2012: 153) advances the argument that “earlier assessment methods were created in non-Melanistic sociolinguistic environments” while taking into account a number of evaluation approaches, including Fishman's (1991) GIDS. It is understandable that “the distinctive Melanesian situation was not captured in the assessment methods given that 97% of the language published studies listed in these landmark conceptual and typological classifications were beyond the Melanesia”, according to Landweer's analysis of the literature (Landweer 2012: 153). In response to this, Landweer (2012: 164–171) proposes eight markers of ethnolinguistic life within the context of Melanesian sociolinguistics (IEV). Every indicator has a score between zero and four, and these points are added together for the final overall vitality score. Review of IEV organisation and implementation, as well as an assessment of Saura for each indicator, can be found in Landweer (2012: 164-170).

Indicator 1: Potential for contact

The following sentences are part of the same community of speech:

3. The closest metropolitan or populous centre cannot be reached directly by road;
2. Accessibility to and from the closest metropolitan or populous centre is constrained;
1. In general, it is simple to get to and from the nearest metropolitan or populous area;
0. in a city or other major population centre.

Landweer's (2012: 164) touchstone include government buildings, local schools, and mission compounds. The locals often travel many miles to and from respective village homes, giving the place the image of being distant, therefore it's necessary to consider transportation

expenses and options as well in addition to distance travelled. Therefore, a score of 2 is awarded to the Saura speech community.

Indicator 2: Domains in which the target language is used

Vernacular vitality is determined by the following elements:

3. If communicating at home and in all other social settings is done in the target language;
2. If the desired language is spoken primarily in the home and at cultural events, but another language is also used when people are gathered together socially;
1. If the target language is preferred at home but other languages are used during cultural and social gatherings.
0. The target language is not mixed with any other languages in any part of society, not even the home environment, so it is not a problem.

When it comes to cultural events, Landweer (2012: 165) distinguishes between those that are "traditional" and those that were introduced after Western contact. Many of India's tribal people have become Christians, hence there is shift in the cultural aspect of Saura. Saura is given a grade ranging from 0 to 1. (For a more in-depth look at this, read Chapter 6).

Indicator 3: Frequency and type of code-switching

The effects of the frequency and type of code switching are ranked as follows:

- (3) if there is infrequent individual unbounded code switching (code mixing);
 - (2) if there is evidence of a diglossic or stable bilingual situation;
 - (1) if there is monolingual allegiance to the vernacular among the majority of speakers;
- and
- (0) In the event where there is regular individual unconstrained code switching (code mixing).

As said by Landweer (2012), When a speaker uses words from one language in a phrase that is mostly composed of another language, this is known as "code-switching.". Contrarily, "intra-sentential code switching" or "code mixing" refers to language shifts that occur within a single thought group and are therefore "unmeasurable," whereas "inter-sentential code switching" refers to language shifts that occur at important communication borders and is therefore "constrained." Landweer (2012: 166) differentiates between these two types. This indicator is zero in Saura because code-swapping is not studied there.

Indicator 4: Population and group dynamics

3. Immigrants who are diligently multilingual use the language of their fledgling nation;
2. Passively bilingual immigrants answer in a lingua franca or commercial language despite understanding the colloquial of their adoptive country;
1. The outsiders only need two-way communication when speaking a lingua franca or a commercial language;
0. To converse with them, they insist that their new neighbours learn their language.

Any language's success depends on its native speakers, and a community's usage of that language can either build or undermine its foundation (via employment, trade alliances or marriage). Saura does not have any true immigrants, however there are some locals who speak the language as their first language (see chapter 6).

Indicator 5: Social networks

3. The ability to communicate across cultural boundaries and within communities is made possible by a dense, multiplex network that makes use of the local language;
2. For various commodities and services, it is crucial to convey with clients who do not speak the native tongue using a language other than the local tongue;

1. Foreigners must be able to converse with locals in order to purchase and offer commodities and goods;
0. In a society that places a high value on individual freedom, there are few to no social connections that support the vernacular.

On Milroy's (1987) theory of social networks, this indicator is based. A social network is said to be thick when “a high percentage of the persons to whom ego is attached are also linked to each other” (Milroy (1987) in Landweer (2012)). The term "multiplexity" refers to a person's ability to maintain multiple social ties at the same time (Milroy, 1987 cited in Landweer, 2012). The term "multiplex" refers to a relationship in which two or more people are connected by more than one social context, such as a shared workplace. Saura appears to fall into the first category for this indicator (see chapter 6).

Indicator 6: Social outlook

According to this sixth indicator, the following ethnic groupings are ranked:

3. Powerful sense of self recognition, high standing or reputation granted by others, and active presence.
2. Lack of internal character, poor treatment by others, and little or no ethnic indicators.
1. Ineffective internal heritage, impartial status imparted by strangers, with certain cultural markers present;
0. An ineffective internal recognition, a bad reputation brought on by others, and little to no cultural markers.

This indicator examines whether or not the language community is recognised as distinct and distinct from the rest of society, both internally and externally, and whether or not there are tangible or intangible signs of this distinction. Saura has a 0 on this metric.

Indicator 7: Language prestige

3. The language at question is a distinguished, popular universal language;
2. The in question language is a commonly used lingua franca, religious, academic, or commercial language in the region;
1. the in issue language is a regionally acknowledged variant with with no preference;
0. An uncommon dialect of the target language is being discussed.

Saura's rating for this metric ranges from 1 to 2.

Indicator 8: Possibility of obtaining a reliable and respectable economic foundation

- (3) a reliable and agreeable economic foundation where the preferred coding system is the vernacular;
- (2) When there are two economic systems, the terminology used depends on the base economy;
- (1) In order to maintain the marginal economy, integration with hard money economic structures, which demand the adoption of a language different from the target language, is necessary;
- (0) dependance on an economic system that uses a language different than the target language is necessary.

This metric gives Saura a score of 1. The IEV instrument developed by Landweer (2012) for the Melanesian context is extremely well defined. A score of 6 or 7 indicates "endangered" status for a language, while a score of 15 or 17 indicates "possible viability," a score of 12 or 14 indicates "on the verge of shifting," and a score of 0-12 indicates "endangered" (Landweer 2012: 163). There is a six-point difference in the first category, a three-point difference in the second category, and a twelve-point difference in the final category, "endangered." The only approach to determine which languages need to be documented and/or revived and in what order is to evaluate linguistic vitality. It is clear that a language with a score of 10 is in a much more serious danger

than one with a score of 1. As a result, it isn't clear why Landweer would want to group these situations together. Languages should not be categorised using margins of six, three and twelve scores. Language endangerment indicators and causes are often conflated in assessment frameworks like in IEV of Landweer.

1.1.1.6. Language Endangerment Index (LEI), a project of the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat) (Way and Lee 2013)

The “Language Endangerment Index” (LEI), developed by the “Catalogue of Endangered Languages Project” (ELCat), is the most modern of the various frameworks for assessing endangered languages (Way and Lee 2013). The LEI considers trends in speaker counts, absolute speakers, generational transmission, and application fields. According to the criteria listed in Table 1.13, a language receives a score ranging from 0 to 5 in each of these categories. In terms of intergenerational transmission, Saura ranks 1-2. As far as speaker count is concerned, Saura is unsurpassed. For both speaker trends and domains, it receives a score of 3.

Table 1.13: Language Endangerment Index (LEI), a project of the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat) (Way and Lee 2013)

Level of Endangerment	(5) Critically Endangered	(4) Severely Endangered	(3) Endangered	(2) Threatened	(1) Vulnerable	(0) Safe
Intergenerational Transmission	There aren't many seasoned speakers..	Grandparents speak the language to a large extent, but younger	Children in the neighbourhood do not speak the language, while some adults in the community do.	Children typically aren't speakers in the neighbourhood, but the majority	The majority of adults and some kids can speak.	Children and adults alike in the neighbourhood are fluent in the language.

		generations typically do not.		of the adults are.		
Speakers In Absolute Number	Speakers From 1-9	Speakers From 10-99	Speakers From 100-999	Speakers 1000-9999	Speakers from 10,000-99,999	Speakers From >100,000
Trends in Speaker Number	Only a small minority of people in the population speak it, and the number of speakers is rapidly dwindling.	Less than a quarter of the population speaks the language, and the percentage of speakers is steadily declining.	Only around half of the locals are able to communicate in it. Although not quickly, the number of speakers is progressively decreasing.	The bulk of the local population is able to communicate in it. The number of speakers is steadily declining.	The language is spoken by the most of the neighborhood or cultural minority. The number of speakers may be declining, although very slowly.	The language is almost universally spoken by community members or members of the ethnic group, and the number of speakers is either stable or growing

Domains of use of the language	used exclusively in a small number of extremely narrowly defined contexts, such as in prayers, proverbs, ceremonies, songs, and some limited domestic chores.	Used primarily only at home and/or with family, and for many community members, not even in these contexts, as their first language.	Used mostly just at home and/or with family, however it is still widely used by community members in various contexts.	Used in various non-official contexts alongside other languages, and many community members continue to use it as their mother tongue at home.	used in the majority of fields with the exception of official ones like government, media, education, etc.	used throughout the majority of fields, notably formal ones like the government, journalism, academia, etc.
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1.1.1.7. Lewis et al's criteria for language endangerment (2014)

Lewis et al. (2014) developed a scale based on extinction criterion and provided the scale's results, along with the percentage of endangered languages. Lewis et al's (2014) criteria provide a thorough reference guide to the world's living languages and are also utilised by Ethnologue. The following are the endangerment criteria suggested (Lewis et al (2014:1)

1. Total number of speakers/people
2. The percentage of people who believe that their language is a direct reflection of their ethnicity (if they speak the language or not)
3. not with standing their proficiency in the language
4. Migration and residency patterns among speakers
5. The usage of second languages in the workplace

6. Community opinions about language
7. The variety of ages represented by the speakers
8. Language use in various contexts.
9. Languages recognised by the government or region of origin
10. A data transmission technique (whether or not they are receiving language instruction in schools or at home)
11. Extralinguistic aspects including a lack of job opportunities.

1.2. An Overview of Documentary Linguistics and Language Documentation

Studies on endangered languages rely heavily on language documentation as a primary source. As stated by Himmelmann (2006:2), documentation of a language is a "long term, multifunctional record." According to the author, the term "lasting" refers to a document that will be referenced in the future, a long-term document. His use of the term 'bifunctional' implies that it can be put to use in a variety of ways, including language planning, educational materials development, and solving theoretical problems in linguistics. A growing number of field linguists are interested in endangered language research, which requires better documentation. More than one project is underway in the field of language documentation. These efforts include, for example, UNESCO's Endangered Language Program (ELP), the HRELP of Hans Rausing and the Volkswagen Foundation, the Endangered Languages Program (ELP) and the Documentation of Endangered Languages (DEL), a program by NSF to name a few. Endangered Language Program (ELP) was developed by UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Section in response to these efforts. The program's goals include promoting writing systems and documenting languages that are not written down. The University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies is home to the Hans

Raising Endangered Languages Project (HRELP). Some of the project's goals include data collection and protection, mentoring, and contributions to academia on documentation. To learn more about the German DoBes project financed by the Volkswagen Foundation, visit DoBes (Documentation bedrohter Sprachen). The initiative, which started in 2000, has financed more than 70 projects by the end of 2016. The Documentation of Endangered Languages (DEL) initiative of the National Science Foundation (NSF) is another initiative that aids in language documentation. This program's primary concentration is on language fieldwork, including recording, documentation, and achievement. Language loss is the subject of several workshops, seminars, and summer schools. The Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages (SPEEL) under CIIL in India was created in response to the alarming state of India's endangered languages. The Ministry of Education of India has been in charge of it since its foundation in 2013. As part of the Scheme, languages that are close to extinction will be recorded and archived. The Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) in Mysore, Karnataka, is in charge of overseeing the project. To do this, the CIIL has partnered with a number of Indian colleges and institutions. The Indian government is making an attempt to study languages that are spoken by fewer than 10,000 people or that have never been researched previously. As of this writing, the documentation lists 117 languages that can be used. There are plans to document the grammar, dictionaries, and ethnolinguistic profiles of 500 lesser-known languages during the next few years.

An increasing number of people appear to be concerned about language preservation. Many countries' language policies take language conservation into consideration. In general, as a result of these measures, the areas in which minority languages can be heard have grown. The US government passed it to safeguard the nation's native languages.. The United States Congress

approved the Native American Languages Act (NALA) in 1990. The indigenous languages of the Americas were preserved by this law.

In spite of the many attempts, it is difficult to say that policies are successful in maintaining endangered languages around the world. Due to their limited use, some languages are at risk of disappearing from the official lexicon. As of now, India does not have a policy regarding tribal languages.

A successful language policy must take into account non-linguistic factors. Because of this, the survival or extinction of a language in danger may have different consequences in different countries.

Languages around the world are documented in documentary linguistics. This is a new area of study in linguistics that is gaining traction. Because of the global trend of language extinction, a new subfield of linguistics has emerged. Since its inception, language documentation technology has advanced significantly. In order to adequately document a language, digital audio and video recorders and software like ELAN, FLEX, or Praat have been developed. Many more linguists and researchers are becoming interested in the preservation of vanishing tongues and cultures.

1.3. Factors Leading to Language Endangerment

Many factors contribute to the extinction of a language. There is no single reason that inevitably leads to language death," Dorian (1981) stated, according to Crystal, 2000. A combination of factors, not just one, appear to have contributed to the language's death. Language endangerment can't be described by a single assumption despite the fact that some of the causes predate others. Austin and Sallabank (2011:5) say the following variables contribute to language loss:

- a. natural disasters, food shortages, and disease outbreaks

- b. war crimes and ethnic cleansing,
- c. overt repression
- d. influence on all levels of society

Language loss is attributed to intergenerational language transmission, which is universally acknowledged (Brenzinger and Graaf, 2004). Translation from one generation to another is referred to as intergenerational transmission. More often than not, the generation-to-generation transmission of endangered languages in India is not taking place. One of the key causes of a language's decline is due to this. Another warning indicator of language extinction is a decline in the average number of persons who use the language. In comparison to bigger populations, smaller ones are more susceptible to linguistic shifts. The percentage of speakers in the whole population must also be taken into account while evaluating this aspect. Brenzinger and Graaf (2004) believe that the minority language should be taken into account if it is still an essential indicator of community membership. Do you have to be fluent in the local language to be part of the community? The factor is a measure of how many people in the general population can speak the language. Six groups, ranging from safe to extinct, were identified by Brenzinger et al., according to Brenzinger et al. (2003:9). Different situations are categorised as “safe, unsafe, irrevocably endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered, and extinct” (none speak the language). If a language is no longer employed in any of the previously defined domains, then this aspect is considered to be a loss of existing language. Brenzinger and colleagues (2003:10) have developed six categories for assessing language endangerment that can be applied to a variety of contexts. Language can be used to express oneself in six different ways: First, there is universal use, followed by multilingual parity, declining domains, formal or limited domains, very limited domains, and finally, universal use (The language serves no purpose in any domain or industry).

It's also a good thing that media like blogs, social media, and broadcast and cable television and radio encourage language usage. People's reactions to new media and domains were studied by Brenzinger & colleagues (2003:11). Only a tiny number of new domains are being used for the language, although one of those domains, where it is being utilised, is dynamic (No new fields are using the language). The sixth element examines educational and literacy materials, including orthography. If a language lacks orthography, it is in danger of extinction.

It's critical to evaluate how governments and institutions feel about the language they use. This may be seen through a number of different indicators, such as the language's use and official status. People's views on language are strongly influenced by the policies that governments and institutions put into place. Language policies can either inspire minorities to mobilise their populations in support of maintaining their languages, or they can force them to do so.

Governmental and institutional attitudes can be classified in two ways by Brenzinger et al. (2003: 14): as either supporting all languages equally or supporting minority languages differently. Aggressive assimilation or passive assimilation (The prevalent language is used in public, and there is no explicit policy in place) (The use of the language is considered as an indication of respectability). When non-dominant languages aren't recognised or protected, people are forced to assimilate. f) Prohibition of minorities (Minority languages are prohibited). Members of the community's attitudes about their own language are examined in order to determine whether or not they develop positive or negative attitudes toward their own language. Speakers of ethnic languages are influenced greatly by the policies of their government about language use according to Brenzinger (2003:5).

Lastly, the documentation for the language is examined in terms of its quantity and quality under the Amount and Quality of Documentation aspect. To carry on a language with a limited

amount of qualifying language data to future generations, this is essential. (a) Brenzinger et al. (2003:16) categorises them as follows: a superlative adjective (New linguistic materials, like as thorough grammars and dictionaries, are always being produced), Recordings ranging from excellent (Texts, literature, and periodically updated everyday media are available, as are a few decent grammars and one good one. Appropriate documented elevated audio and video recordings are also available), to fair (While audio and video recordings of variable quality and extent of annotation may be easily accessible, there may not be any common media but an appropriate grammar). It is challenging to obtain a thorough understanding of the language because so few grammatical outlines, short word lists, and partial texts are known to have survived. Audio and video recordings that can be annotated and used are not available (or are of poor quality). We can learn which languages are most in danger of extinction through classes like these. The literature on language endangerment offers a wide range of categories to learn more about the condition of these languages. To sum it up: the aforementioned reasons for the decline of the Indian language are substantially to blame for its demise.

1.4. Language Endangerment in India

India is the home of many different languages. The majority of Indians speak Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic/Munda, Tibeto-Burman, and yet-to-be-officially-classified Andamanese and Himalayan languages. There are at least 462 different languages spoken in India, according to ethnologue. Four hundred and forty-eight of them are still with us, while only fourteen have gone extinct. There are 420 indigenous languages and 28 non-indigenous languages still in use today. As a result, there are 64 institutions, 126 in development, and 190 vigorous, as well as 55 in danger and 13 dying. There are 197 languages in India listed as endangered by UNESCO. There are 42 critically endangered species, 7 species that are critically endangered, 62 species that are

endangered, 81 species that are at risk, and 5 species that have gone extinct. In terms of languages in danger of extinction, India, a country known for its rich cultural diversity, comes out on top. There are 191 languages at risk in the US, and 143 are in danger in Indonesia, which is right behind India.

Hindi and English are the Republic of India's official languages. The Indian population, at a little over 1%, is fluent in 13 different languages. 98% of Indian languages are classified as "non-scheduled" by the constitution (Census of India: 2011). Schedule VIII, Articles 343–51 of the Indian Constitution recognises twentytwo languages as "schedule" languages, while those languages not included in the schedule are referred to as "minority languages" (as defined by the Constitution). According to the criteria used to determine "scheduled" and "unscheduled" languages in India, the status of languages is not taken into account. The Constitution does not clearly define minority languages.

1.5. The Saura Language

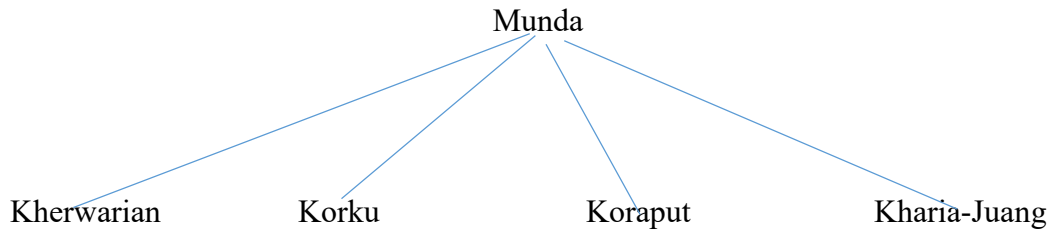
One of the major native speaker populations in Odisha is that of the Saura language. Southern Odisha and the northern part of Andhra Pradesh have a large population of people who speak the language. Sora, Saura, Savara, Saora, etc. are all variations of the name Saura. The name that the group uses to identify itself is Saura. So, the name Saura has been retained in this thesis as the name of the language. According to a legend, Jagannath, the patron saint of Odisha, is and has long been a Saura God. We can plainly see Saura and Odia worshipping Jagannath in the temple's culture and customs. According to "Jagannath temple rites" and practises, "Legend Jagannath" is from a tribe of Odisha.

1.5.1. Genetic and Subgroup Affiliation

The Austro-Asiatic branch of languages is where many linguists categorise the Munda languages. There have been several attempts to categorise the Munda languages, and Anderson (2001) makes an effort to collect them all in one place. Anderson (2001) makes an effort to unify various classifications of Munda languages by summarising the literature that has been written about them. The classification of a Munda language is commonly given in the opening to a grammar or sketch (Pinnow 1959; Zide 1969; Bhattacharya 1975c; Anderson 2001), and Saura is no different (Bhattacharya 1975c; Anderson 2001). It is possible to classify a language into four distinct categories as shown in Figures below (1.2-1.5.). In Jenny and Sidwell, several of the systems presented here are outlined (2014). Apart from minor terminological discrepancies, the various categories demonstrate that additional effort is needed to completely comprehend the Munda languages. Except for Bhattacharya's (see Figure 1.3), all of the classifications below place Saura in the Upper Munda branch (cf Figure 1.3).

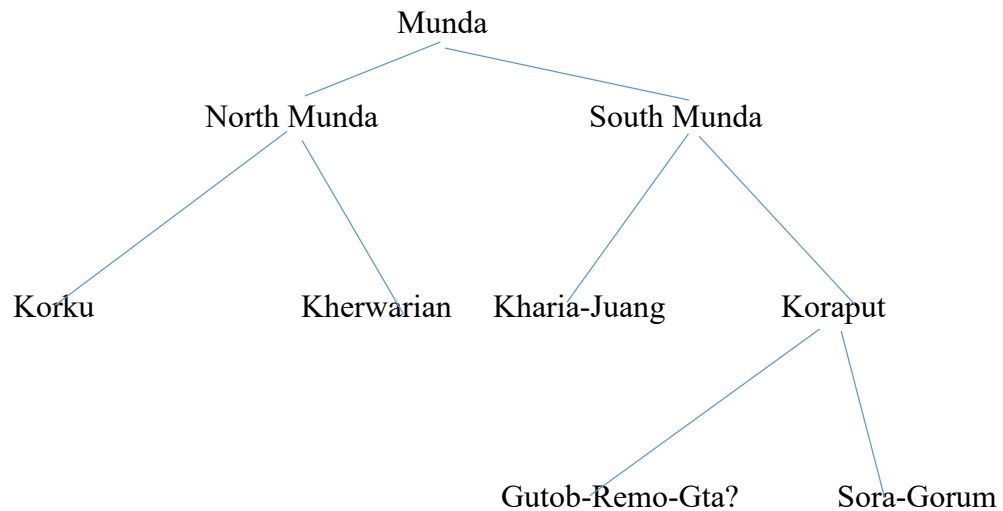
“The Proto-South Munda is divided into two daughter languages, Proto-Kharia-Juang [KJ] and Proto-Koraput Munda [KM], with the latter language later splitting into two daughter languages, Proto-Sora-Gorum [SG] and Proto-Gutob-Remo-Gta, according to traditional classifications of the South Munda languages, such as Zide & Stampe (1964) and Bhattacharya (1975). [GRG]” (Anderson 2001).

Figure 1.2. Classification of Munda by Pinnow (1959) (cited in Jenny and Sidwell 2014)



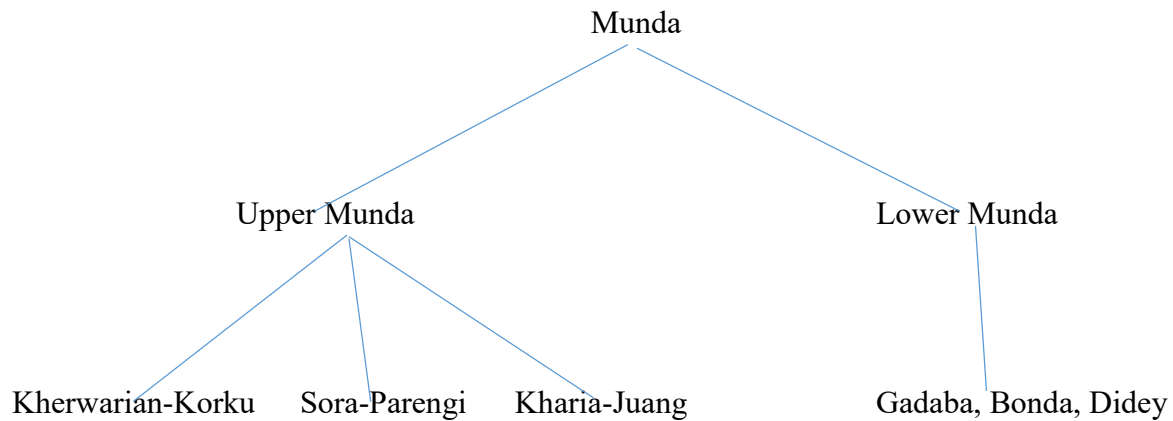
Kharia-Juang, Korku, and Kherwarian are four of the Munda language families that Pinnow (1959) categorised. This is perhaps the earliest effort to categorise the Munda language family.

Figure 1.3 Classification of Munda languages by Zide (1969) (cited in in Jenny and Sidwell 2014)



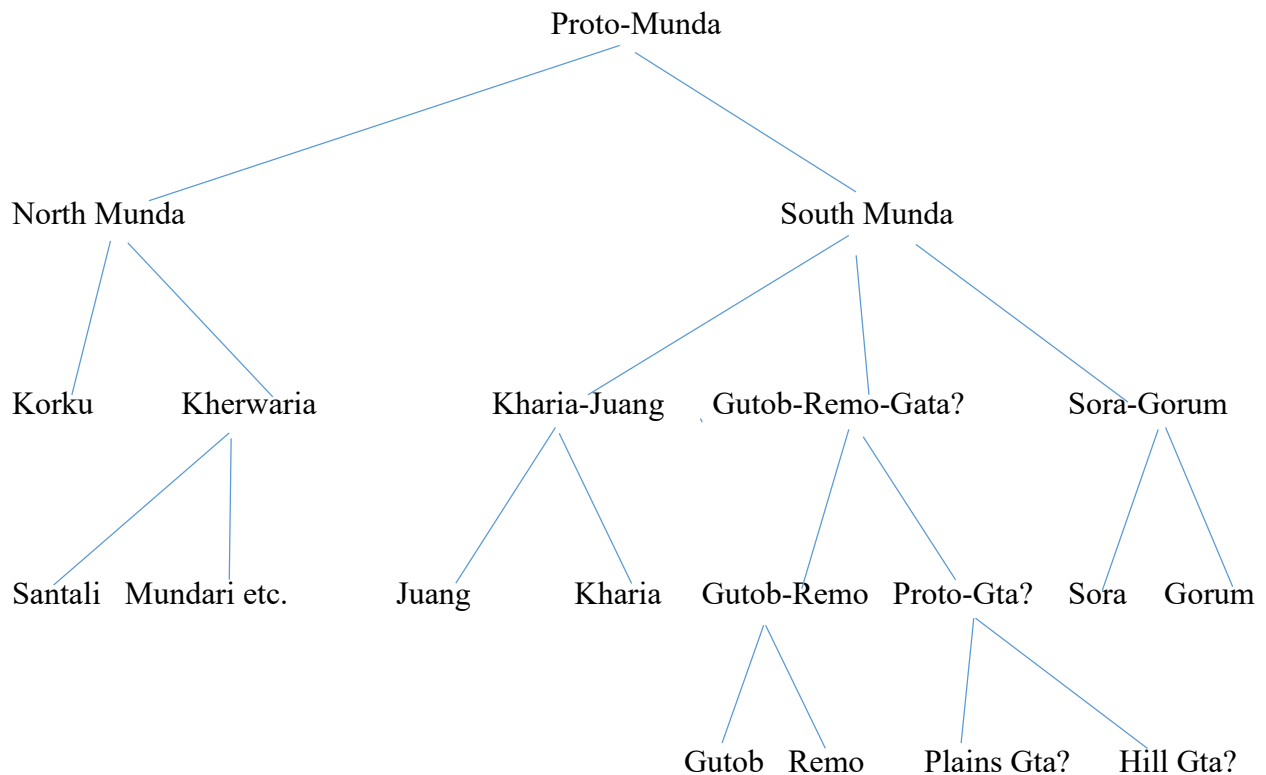
Zide (1969) separated the Munda language family into two groups: north Munda and south Munda. Korku and Kherwarian are North Munda languages, while Kharia, Juang, Gutob, Remo, and Gta? are South Munda languages.

Figure 1.4 Classification of Munda languages by Bhattacharya (1975c) (cited in Jenny and Sidwell 2014)



Upper Munda and lower Munda are subtypes of Munda, according to Bhattacharya (1975c). Korku, Kherwarian, , Parengi, Sora, Kharia, and Juang belong to the upper Munda group, while Gadaba, Bonda, and Didey belong to the lower Munda group.

Figure 1.5 Classification of Munda languages by Anderson (1999) in Anderson (2001)



Anderson classified the Munda languages into two groups: north Munda and south Munda, following Zide's lead in 1969. When the Munda languages were subdivided, their classifications diverged. Anderson divides the north of Munda into two groups: the Korku and the Kherwarian. Santali and Mundari were sub-categories of Kherwarian. The Kharia-Juang, Gutob-Remo-Gata?, and Sora-Gorum appear to be the three main branches of South Munda, each with its own sub-branch.

In 1999, South Munda (SM) divided into three daughter groups: Proto-KJ, Proto-GRG, and Proto-SG, altering the traditional classification of South Munda languages (see Figure 1.5).

1.5.2. The Linguistic Community

The Saura speakers live in Odisha's Gajapati district. There are also a few Dravidian languages spoken in this area, including Kui and Kuvi. Gajapati could be considered the "heartland" of Saura speakers. Figure 1.1 shows the geographical layout of Gajapati district as well as its language distribution. This map was created by an elderly Saura language consultant who is also a local resident.

Figure 1.1. Map of Gajapati District



Almost everyone in this area speaks Odia. State government officials use it to communicate with non-residents and locals alike. The Sauras, like the rest people this region, speak a diversity of languages. The majority of the Odia-speakers in the area are from the state of Odisha, and they regularly engage with the locals. The Saura and Odia have a cordial relationship.

1.5.3. Census of India Reports of Saura

Saura, one of India's 99 unscheduled languages, is among the most extensively used languages. Census data from 1961 to 2001 shows a steady decline in the number of native speakers until 2001. A new look at the country's population is provided by data from the 2011 Census. In 2011, the Saura language had 4,09,549 speakers, with 2,98,655 of them hailing from Odisha. Surprised by the increase in speakers, I believe this is a good sign.

Table 1.14 (number of speakers of Saura from 1961 to 2011 according to the Census of India)

Year	Speaker Strength	Total of No. of Speakers of Saura's decadal percentage
1961	265,722	--
1971	222,0189	-16.445
1981	209,0923	-21.32
1991	273,1689	2.723
2001	252,518	-7.55
2011	409,547	63

1.6. Language Contact and Sociolinguistic Background of Saura Language

This section's primary focus is the sociolinguistic context of the Saura language community. Following an overview of language contact, this section presents the history of the Saura language community's intergenerational transmission and its current use.

1.6.1. Language Contact

Simply put, "the simultaneous use of two or more languages in the same place and time" is a simple definition of language contact (Thomason 2001: 1). It doesn't matter where the speakers of various languages are located, though; Thomason (2001: 2) acknowledges that language interaction necessitates at least some communication between them, such as through a website or religious literature. Since the dawn of time, languages have interacted with each other. Language contact is so commonplace that it has been referred to as "the norm, not the exception" (Thomason 2001: 10). The following is a breakdown of the three main types of language contact: intermarriage or

trade between settled and equal societies, such as intermarriage or trade between settled and equal cultures, such as intermarriage. Traveling for trade or migration, whether temporary (for example, for work) or permanent, would introduce new ideas and products to society in the latter case (due to congestion, sociopolitical issues, or natural calamities that could damage or demolish a property). One of the ways that people come into contact with various languages is by learning a new language. The current state of globalisation and the rapid advances in information and communication technology also play a significant role in this process. There are many ways in which languages come into contact, and Lynch's (1998: 205-208) categories may not be as accurate as they appear to be. Various linguistic effects can result from language contact. A common effect of interaction is a shift in one or more languages, or at least some influence on one or more languages (Thomason 2001: 10). When it comes to a language's structure and semantics, borrowing words or structural transfer can have a significant impact. Language death is another outcome of language contact, in which one language dies. It is common for language shift to occur before language death. "Loss of language, reduction in structure, and simplification without any compensatory additions", may occur when the language is threatened or under stress (Thomason 2001: 12). The term "extreme language mixture" (Thomason 2001: 10-12) or "creation of new contact languages" (Winford 2003: 18-22) refers to the development of bilingual mixed languages, pidgins, and creoles. It's the third effect of "language contact". Based on the context in which the language contact occurs, a variety of outcomes may be possible.

1.6.1.1. History of Endangered Language Contact in India and Tribal Languages

The Saura language community's history of contact with other endangered languages in India is described in detail in this section. Several Tribes have gone to great lengths to avoid contact with outsiders. There hasn't been any change in their way of life, regardless of who was in power

at the time. Invasions into tribal lands only grew worse as transportation and communication improved. Because of various government policies, participation in the cash economy was not always easy for tribal peoples. Due to lack of government intervention pre-independence, large tracts of land were taken over by non-tribals.

Even if someone didn't own any land, it was considered a common resource that could be used by anyone who needed it. The opportunity to claim previously unclaimed land was long gone by the time tribes learned of the significance of formal land titles. With regard to obtaining land titles, indigenous peoples had a severe disadvantage. Colonists realised how important it was to keep natives safe, so they forbade the sale of tribal lands. Tribes had a major loophole left open, but progress was made by the mid-20th century. After a long period of delay caused by local law enforcement and land officials, some land was finally returned to tribal people.

In many areas, particularly in eastern and central India, tribal gains from earlier decades were lost during the 1970s. There was an increase in the number of non-tribals who were willing to bribe local officials, as well as a deadly combination of police and revenue officers who were not interested in the welfare of the tribes. Many tribes were stripped of their lands as a result of this one act. Many tribal members became landless laborers as a result of this process, and regions that had previously been exclusively inhabited by one or more tribes began to become more and more diverse. By the 1980s, there was a scarcity of uninhabited land, in contrast to previous eras when tribal people were relocated to more remote forests.

1.6.1.2. The 21st Century Scenario

Odisha's Gajapati district is home to a large population of Sauras. Communities are experiencing a wave of mobility. Therefore, a greater number of people are relocating to pursue employment,

education, or health care, or to attend sporting events or religious celebrations held at a larger parish. Public motor vehicles and the nearby railway have made it much easier to get around the Gajapati district, making it easier to visit places like Parlakhemundi and Berhampur, as well as government offices like the district administrative office and, of course, local high schools. Disputes within families or a desire to be near desirable resources, such as running water or specific crops, have caused some members of the Saura community to relocate within the community. People have moved into and out of the Saura neighbourhood for a number of reasons, such as relocating, finding work, and enjoying themselves. A Saura-speaking family moved to another area so that their kids could attend schools where the language is taught in English. As a result of media and technology, there has been an increase in contact. In television, state radio, and state newspapers, Odia is the primary location. The majority of Saura community members possessed mobile phones in 2015. A small number of youths also owned laptops, although their use was limited.

1.6.2. Saura Language Use in a Range of Family Domains

Up to 4 million people speak Saura, a Munda language that is mostly used in the Odisha districts of Ganjam, Gajapati, Khurda, Koraput, and Kandhamal. A variety of spellings are available for this language. Although they are known as the Sauras by scholars, the Suari and Saurae, two wild woodland tribes mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy, are thought to be the same people in Vedic and Sanskrit literature (Grierson 1967-68). There are 4,09,549 speakers of this language according to the 2011 census, as bilingualism is common among Saura speakers. Considered at risk of extinction, it is (Mosley: 2007: 342). Gorum is the closest Munda language to Saura. The dialects of the Saura people vary from region to region. Because of their plight, it's obvious that they've interacted with humans for a considerable period of time.

Is there a written form of Saura? In order to write Saura, the Sorang Somppeng script was created. Mangei Gomango penned the script in 1936, but it was never widely known in the Saura community. It is no longer in use in today's world. They only know a few words in a few different languages. These findings, as well as the ones that follow, in particular those that deal with the future viability of Saura as a language, are discussed in greater detail further along in the dissertation. This is the sixth chapter of this dissertation. There are 24 Saura tribes, according to Ramamurti (1931: 88). They are

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. “Arsi:d so:ra | 13. kudumba so:ra |
| 2. besed so:ra | 14. kumbi so:ra |
| 3. bimma so:ra | 15. lamba-lanjia so:ra |
| 4. bobili so:ra | 16. luan so:ra |
| 5. dondija: so:ra | 17. ma:la sora |
| 6. jadu: so:ra | 18. ma:ra so:ra |
| 7. jaro so:ra | 19. moni so:ra |
| 8. ja:ti so:ra | 20. muli so:ra |
| 9. juari so:ra | 21. mutta: so:ra |
| 10. ka:mpu so:ra | 22. sarda so:ra |
| 11. kinda:l so:ra | 23. sudda so:ra |
| 12. kinser so:ra | 24. tekkeli so:ra” |

1.6.2.1. Home

The sleeping and cooking areas of a Saura household are located in separate structures. Since a government initiative to provide funds for the construction of low-income housing, most of these structures have been modernised. There may be one or more rooms in the house. Parents and children may each have their own sleeping quarters in a home's multiple sleeping quarters. In most cases, the structures used to prepare food are built on the backside of the house. Buildings are frequently divided into two sections, with the second serving as a dining room. Outside of the building, people eat their meals. Outside, people relax and unwind. People who live next to each

other are usually related, and oftentimes, the houses of those who are more closely related are located closer together. In other words, being "at home" does not necessarily mean being in the same building as the rest of your family, with its associated rooms like a bedroom and bathroom. In addition, a "home" doesn't have to be a place where parents and children live together. A more sociable and fluid way of life, "at home" refers to being in the vicinity of the structures where people live, work, and eat. Family members include grandparents, parents, children, siblings and cousins, as well as in-laws. Rather than referring to a physical residence, the word "home" can be used to describe the community in which one lives. I was able to comprehend more about how languages are transmitted through generations and the predominance of multilingual persons using the historical and sociolinguistic data I obtained in the field (For more information, check Chapter 6).

1.6.2.2. Work

Some residents in the villages sell and buy produce at marketplaces in Parlakhemundi and Berhampur, while others do their own housework, build shelters, cook, hunt (sometimes), gather, and garden. On the district's main thoroughfare, markets have been erected. Several Saura residents work in nearby towns as teachers or clerks, while others work in local government offices or as traders. In contrast to work done within the village, which could be categorised as either domestic or educational, work done outside the village is more clearly delineated. Although Saura may be used by native speakers outside of the workplace, it is not the language of that industry, and its use is even less likely now that there is a greater likelihood of non-Saura speakers in the room.

1.6.2.3. Religion

Christians have taken over most of the villages I've visited. They have a variety of churches, both large and small. There are weekly church services in each village. Younger generations,

particularly those between the ages of 14 and 30, prefer to sing in Odia rather than Saura. Saura and Odia both have a church, where funerals and weddings are held, but traditional ceremonies are only held in Saura, according to one community member.

1.6.2.4. Education

Schooling in Odisha is divided into three phases: primary school, middle school, and high school. Students typically start primary school when they are five or six years old and end when they are ten years old. Students in grades six and seven, or eleven and twelve, make up secondary school. As a final point, students in high school are typically between the ages of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen. The majority of Saura's youth have dropped out of school. Recruiting high school students is, therefore, extremely difficult. This opportunity is further lowered because not all of the youngsters in Gajapati attend school. As a result, some students may not complete their education, while others may go to school elsewhere or not at all. The language of instruction is Odia, and everything on the curriculum besides the English language is written in Odia.

1.7. Organization of the Thesis

Seven chapters make up the thesis. This thesis' first chapter, which introduces the thesis and its purpose, is the one that is now being read. This report assesses global classification systems for endangered languages. It also covers the history of the Saura language, the number of speakers, and the genetic relationship between Saura and other languages. Saura language studies are reviewed in detail in chapter two. A comprehensive review of works in language endangerment is also provided. For the most part, Chapter 3 focuses on research methodology. The study methodologies utilised to collect data, the field site placement, and the informant selection are all described in this chapter. The phonological description of Saura in Chapter 4 covers the phoneme inventory, allophones, syllable structure, phonological variation and change. In Chapter 5, you'll

learn about noun and verb morphology. Saura's linguistic vitality is examined in Chapter 6 using the best classification models currently available. After that, it delves into the reasons for and the extent to which Saura is in danger of extinction. Analyses of linguistic vitality assessment frameworks are used to assess Saura's reasons for changing their language.

1.8. Summary

Endangerment of the language is the focus of this chapter. It also focuses on the classification of endangered languages in various ways. It sheds some light on the documentation of languages and the study of linguistics in the archives. This chapter has gone in-depth on Saura's sociolinguistic predicament. Even though Odia is a common language in the general population, it appears that Saura speakers use it at home and during religious ceremonies. It's possible to learn Saura in elementary school, but Odia is the language that's most commonly used. In the home domain, Saura is present, but Odia appears to be the predominant language.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

2.0. Introduction

This chapter gives a general summary of the history of linguistics' study of language endangerment, as well as details on the importance of this type of research that led to the field's current growth. Research regarding language endangerment, language shift and loss have been looked into. Review on studies on the process of language contact and change has been done. Then various mechanisms of contact-induced change have been discussed. Then the review focuses on variation and variability in endangered languages. Next, earlier literature on Saura, their contributions to linguistics as a discipline and to Saura community in general has been discussed. In the end, structural change and cultural change due to language shift have been discussed.

2.1. An Overview of Studies on Language Endangerment and Language Loss

People who speak a language or a language variety that has gained social, political, and economic prominence in the area are more likely to see their language or variety disappear. When persons from diverse linguistic backgrounds begin to converse with one another, the language ecology of the speech community shifts. Previously one-sided social contacts can now be conducted, at least in part, in a different language. The outcome has been a change in how individuals communicate. Changes in lexical preferences, structure (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, discourse analysis) or pragmatic standards may be displayed by speakers (the common methods used to conduct linguistic acts). First-generation speakers may not be able to discern some of these changes, but subsequent generations may.

When studying linguistic interaction phenomena, social as well as structural issues must constantly be taken into account (Weinreich 1953). Migration (which can happen for a variety of

reasons), trade, colonisation, military occupation, and increased mobility of speakers are all examples of social factors that contribute to language contact. As a result, different outcomes are produced in various social contexts and mindsets. Specific language habits can act as both a result and a method for bringing about change, based on the social variables of the circumstance. Social factors that affect mechanisms and outcomes include the causes of contact, variations in the size, social dominance, and socioeconomic standing of the speakers' panel, together with the degree of interpersonal and cultural exchange between the speakers. For instance, when it happens frequently in a situation of sustained multilingualism, code-switching, or the use of a variety of languages in a single debate, can be both a consequence and a process. The instrumental value of a language is one of the most crucial characteristics of its use for a speaker's economic and social success. The level of proficiency that each group seeks is crucial as long as they are willing and capable. Social-psychological factors include second and subsequent language learning strategies, individual language supremacy, opinions towards every language, and linguistic ideology. Speakers' ability to adapt their individual speech patterns so that they roughly match those of their interactants is another.

In both cases, the term "language dominance" refers to a specific phenomenon. In the first case, a language is socially and politically dominant, while in the second, a person uses multiple languages in different ways. When one language is used more frequently than another by a person who is bilingual or multilingual, that language is said to be the "dominant language." A language shift is the most common way in which a language dies out because it gradually loses its speakers, who use it in a limited number of contexts, until it is no longer spoken at all (Grenoble 2000). The word "obsolescing language" refers to a language that is rapidly fading from use. These factors could have a considerable impact on how an endangered language is structured (Campbell and

Muntzel 1989). This may have a substantial impact on the research of language change in endangered languages as well as typological claims.

2.2. An Overview of Language Contact and Change

As a result of language contact, the preservation or loss of a language and the linguistic and social factors that govern contact circumstances are examined in this chapter. Contact-induced change and the topic of whether or not it is inevitable are examined following these concepts.

2.2.1. Language Maintenance

Contact with other languages can lead to one of three outcomes: preserving the language, shifting the language, or creating a new language. Language contact can result in any one of these three outcomes. These severe consequences are not usually the result of common mechanisms that might lead to language shift or creation in instances of language contact. It is possible for each aspect of a language's structure and usage to impact the other. As long as a language is spoken, there is likely to be some influence from one language on another, both structurally and lexically. A language can still be maintained, but with some modifications, if this is what happens. The majority of a language's vocabulary and grammar come from other languages, and this is especially true of languages that are still actively spoken today. As the term "recipient language agentivity" indicates, borrowing occurs when a speaker incorporates lexical or structural elements from a foreign language into his or her native tongue (Van Coetsem 2000).

Fluent bilinguals or speakers who are more proficient in the target language than the source language are the main forces behind borrowing. Languages that have less intense contact tend to borrow lexical items more frequently than those that have more intense contact, but this is not always the case. If, for example, a suffix occurs on a word, it can be borrowed along with the word and used as a suffix on other words. Structures can spread from one language to another when

there is increasing contact, such as when languages are endangered, resulting in structural convergence. Source language agentivity, as proposed by Van Coetsem (2000), suggests that speakers who are fluent in both the source and target languages have a significant influence on the process of change. Other speakers of the target language then adopt the phonological and syntactic features of the dominant language. When several languages are found adjacent to one another and their structural qualities are shared, an SPRACHBUND (Trubetskoy 1928, cited in Thomason 2001) or linguistic area is created. The languages in question may or may not be at risk of extinction. The transfer of structural and lexical material from one language to another, or only from one language to another, is achievable for bilingual or multilingual speakers who are proficient in one language. Although words change in phonology when they are borrowed, it is conceivable for words to be borrowed while retaining their own phonology for different sounds to expand past the words initially acquired under vigorous interaction (Heath 1978, Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 84). Aspects of the receding language that are distinctly specified may be lost in the dominant language (Andersen 1982, Bullock and Gerfen 2004, , Palosaari and Campbell 2011).

If there are a big number of speakers and high social standing in the communities where the languages are spoken, it is more likely to occur. When two languages coexist in such a way that they complement one another's social functions, this is known as a complementary diglossic relationship (Blom and Gumperz 1972, Ferguson 1959). When it comes to high-stakes events, one language is used (referred to as "H") and the other is used (referred to as "P") (so-called low prestige functions, labelled L). Even non-official public usage, such as town hall meetings, might be classified as low-function (Blom and Gumperz 1972). Partial language shift can also be seen in this situation, which is when one language is utilised for all functions and then another language is used in some cases (Dimmendaal 1989, Weinreich 1953). This can be seen as a way to explain

why some parts of a language, such as numbers, may be replaced by the dominant language's earlier on in a language acquisition process. Efforts to document vulnerable areas should be prioritised first. In a diglossic situation, an endangered language has an advantage because each of the languages in contact has a specific function (Fishman 1967, 2001, 2002). In situations where two or more languages can be interchangeable, only one of them is required. Any language, no matter how small, can survive as long as it is restricted to a narrow range of tasks. It is common to employ a dominant language in the workplace and a minority language in the home; these are two distinct areas. However, in certain circumstances, particular events are the final time a language is often used before it is fully lost. Many endangered languages are solely used at home (e.g. Mithun 1989: 244).

Code-switching is a common linguistic strategy employed by people who are fluent in more than one language. Bilinguals who are fluent in both languages can frequently code switch, according to research. This code switching is governed by rules and has social significance (As an example, see for example Auer 1998 and 2000, Bentahila and Davies 1995, Clyne 1980 and 2003 and Grosjean 2008). According to a variety of theories, it has been established that switching between languages is facilitated or hindered by several factors. Inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching are the two types of switching between clauses and sentences (or code-mixing) by Muysken (2000). Switching within a single sentence can make it difficult to tell the difference between borrowing and intra-sentential switching. What happens when one language is employed in another's context—is it an instance of borrowing or code-switching? To some, it's important to distinguish between code-swapping and borrowing; to others, different sorts of material combination from each language are closely related. Language contact theory has been divided into two camps (e.g. Bakus 2005, Myers-Scotton 1993). Borrowings can be recognised as single

lexical items by speakers of the receiving language if they have been phonologically integrated into that language and acknowledged by every speakers as a portion of that language. "Code-switching" is the process of changing one's vocabulary and grammar from one language to another.

It is possible to swap between different languages' codes to send information (e.g. Backus 2004, 2005). A minority language may be endangered if code-switching is utilised as a tactic to shift the preference of speakers for one language over another. For speakers of endangered languages, code-switching occasionally results in the development of a new language, although in the majority of stable bilingual or multilingual environments, this is not the case.

2.2.2. Language Shift

An endangered language faces the greatest threat when its native speakers switch to the dominant contact language, which subsequently becomes the language of future generations. This is what happens when a community as a whole switches to another language. Before the paradigm change is fully realised, there are only a few more generations to go. Between 1950 and 1990, the number of people who can speak Breton fell by 80% as a result of it no longer being taught as a primary language for young kids (Hornsby 2008: 129-130). However, a generational shift could also occur. When a group decides to learn a new language, it's possible that its members will not acquire the new language's first-language features, but instead will simply incorporate aspects of their native tongue into it. For example, shift-induced interference (Thomason 2001; Thomason and Kaufman 1988) or substratum influence (Thomason and Kaufman 1988) can occur when a dominant speaker in a source language is transferred to the target language. This is yet another example of the agentivity of the original language (Van Coestem 2000). Even if initially neither group speaks the other's language, they can later create a dialect that reflects their distinctions, as was the case with English spoken in Ireland (Odlin 1991, 1997). Unless the groups socially integrate, there may be

numerous variations of the arriving language that can be spoken alongside or gradually replace an endangered language (Thomason 2001, Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Migration and colonisation have resulted in a wide range of widely spoken languages, such as English and other common currencies (e.g. Aboriginal English, Indian English). The characteristics of the speakers' past languages can be used to discern different kinds of the new language they have adopted or that is now a part of their vocabulary. Language Attrition is a phenomenon that occurs when a group decides to switch to a new language (also called Language Obsolescence). Once-obligatory rules may now be optional, marked characteristics may be substituted with unmarked features or employed more frequently than before, and morphological and syntactic patterns may be lowered if they are absent from the incoming language (Anderson 1982: 95, Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 186). There is a phenomenon known as "language attrition" in which some linguistic changes can occur more quickly than in other contexts of language interaction or internal change (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). According to Campbell and Muntzel 1989, O'Shannessy 2011, Palosaari and Campbell 2011), changes in the arriving language are not always compatible with trends in the native language.

2.3. Mechanisms of Contact-induced Changes

Psychological mentality, social interaction, and language use must all be taken into account in order to fully comprehend changes brought on by contact (Weinreich 1953: 3). Despite the fact that some language interactions are more common than others.

2.3.1. Linguistic Components in Contact-induced Change

How and how much do non-linguistic elements affect linguistic results and processes? According to some experts, the occurrence of a single point of comparison to a rule that assumes something is true renders the rule itself invalid. Patterns and tendencies are viewed as limitations by others, who acknowledge that social and psychological factors influence them. It is possible for the linguistic processes described in this chapter to take place in situations of language preservation, change, or creation. Depending on the situation, different factors are given different weights. Despite the common assumption that social-psychological factors can transcend language inclinations or restrictions, in some sociolinguistic circumstances, strong linguistic tendencies are observed to function (Thomason 2001: 11, Johanson 2002: 5, and Winford 2003: 53). Certain scenarios make it difficult to separate contact-induced changes in grammatical structure from those resulting from attrition processes (e.g. Grenoble 2000:119) and from those resulting from contact itself. It's not clear how much of the change in the second case can be attributed to direct contact between grammars. In many changing processes, typological similarity, transparency, and markedness all act as constraints (Weinreich 1953, Heath 1984, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, and Winford 2003). Typologically similar languages are more likely to have similar grammatical structures. Languages often use the same pattern when marking an element, which suggests it belongs to a well-established pattern or paradigm. Marked features are more difficult to master while studying a second language since they are less common and less regular in paradigms. Rather than evaluating markedness in isolation, it should be evaluated in relation to the language pairs studied and other languages as well. Marked traits may not be learnt successfully and may not be incorporated in the dominant language's production by the shifting group while learning a new language. By replacing less recognizable ones from the prevailing language, a

language's distinctive characteristics can be preserved (Anderson 1982; examples of Pipil are taken from Palosaari and Campbell 2011). The degree of clarity, or the integration of characteristics, determines how well morphemes are incorporated into their contexts. Syllabic, unbound morphemes are more likely to be transferred than bound, multifunctional, phonologically reduced, and unbound morphemes (Weinreich 1953, Heath 1984, Thomason 2001, and Winford 2003).

A functional category may exist in one language but not in another. From one language to another, one language may gain the category from the other, or the other may lose the category from the less dominant language (Winford 2003: 96). Younger Warlpiri speakers, for example, are less likely to use dual-person forms than older speakers, perhaps due to their exposure to English (Bavin 1989: 285). However, communication isn't necessarily necessary for an event to begin: It's possible that a category was lost as a result of internal modifications.

2.3.2. Social and Psychological Apparatuses in Contact-induced Change

To what extent contact-induced changes are influenced by social factors such as size, sociopolitical status and time spent in contact, the types of social interactions that speakers have with one another as well as their proficiency in both languages and their attitudes and ideologies are all major social factors (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Winford 2003). Languages in danger of extinction include those whose speakers are being forced to adopt a more dominant tongue or a regional common tongue (Grenoble 2011). Due to its status as a contact language, the lingua franca may place stress on the native tongues of other minorities as well. According to Fishman, a language can become dominant if its speakers believe it will bring them rewards or benefits, or if it fulfils a specific communication function (2001c). For speaking a particular language, one receives both practical and social benefits. People who view the language as a representation of vitality and modernism might boost its acceptance by the younger generation. It is common

practise for a language's speakers to expect that their native tongue will be used at official events, which elevates the language's status and broadens its use. In a geographical area, there may be multiple layers of dominance, which interact with other social forces, exerting pressure on one or more minority languages. Because they contact more regularly with speakers of dominant languages, using common language, than speakers of less dominant languages, small indigenous populations in isolated places may face greater pressure on their native languages from dominant languages. Participation in a broader social group is the incentive for using them. There are many reasons why dominant languages pose a threat to minority indigenous languages, including the fact that they have a large number of speakers.

Bilinguals have to be exceptionally versatile in terms of their cognitive skills since they must be able to handle a wide variety of situations and people. Convergence between two languages can be achieved by reducing the cognitive load of the speaker by regularising patterns and avoiding infrequent constructions (Silva-Corvalan 2008: 215). Using the speech system of only one language instead of multiple languages may reduce a bilingual speaker's cognitive load by reducing the number of possibilities available to them when talking in the other language(s) (Matras 2000). Over time, borrowing or switching could be ingrained in the endangered language.

2.3.3. Change: Convergence vs. Divergence

If you're having a conversation with someone, you're likely to notice similarities and differences between your speech and theirs. This theory created the ideas of convergence and divergence, which emphasise the similarities and differences between a speaker's speech style and that of an interlocutor's speech (Giles et al. 1977, Giles and Coupland 1991). Variables in language, accents, speech rate and intensity, vocal intensity and gestures all have a role in achieving communication convergence or divergence (Giles et al. 1991: 7). Contrarily, divergence denotes a

preference for the speech patterns of a social group other than that of the interlocutor, such as the speaker's own peer class, above those of the interlocutor. To demonstrate membership in a different group or to maintain one's own identity, a speaker may emphasise differences in style from their interlocutor (Giles et al. 1991: 37).

As Trudgill (1986) points out, long-term shifts in dialect and language may be linked to intergroup mechanisms of convergence and divergence (Trudgill 1986). (Giles et al. 1991). A degree of divergence is required when introducing a new linguistic style. However, once a shift has taken place, convergence may serve as a mechanism for further shifts in language. It is possible to reinforce new ways of speaking, such as code-switching, by converging with one's speech partner. Even though speakers in potentially unstable bilingual situations claim they want to preserve their native tongue, their everyday interactions reveal that they are frequently conversing in the incoming language. As a result of the need to conform to one's interlocutor's and one's own speech community's conventions, accommodation theory can explain why this might happen. Convergence occurs when speakers of an incoming language begin to speak the language in the same way that native speakers do. A change in the usage of an endangered language can be reversed if a speaker deviates from the community's interactional style, if the speaker's interlocutors follow suit. There hasn't been enough research into the social costs and benefits of deviating from community norms in language-endangerment situations.

2.3.4. How is Change Assessed?

Social and political concerns arise when a language has altered "quite so much" to be considered the very same language it used to be. How does a language that has experienced radical contact-induced modifications affect a community of speakers and non-speakers? Long-term

changes in a language can produce significant differences, but speakers and non-speakers alike may still regard them as the "same language." Changes brought about by contact can happen much more quickly and have a more negative impact on speakers and others than internal changes, which is why the new code's identity is still up for debate. Is "language A" still the dominant form of communication? Change in the way people communicate has the potential to endanger established languages, but it can also help keep them alive. Despite being structurally and lexically distinct from the historic languages, the speakers of the new mixed languages in northern Australia's small towns regard them as varieties of those languages. Members of the community appear to be accepting of the alterations because the new codes depart from traditional English and Kriol variations and incorporate many traditional linguistic characteristics. Those who speak a language that has undergone linguistic evolution may prefer to receive information from a fellow minority language rather than from a dominant one. Because of the strong contact between languages in linguistic areas, speakers may absorb structural elements from those other languages in the region.

There could be varying degrees of shift resistance within a given speech group. While some people don't mind appropriating vocabulary and sentence structures, others do. Because they are the most prominent, lexical elements are often the focus of opposition (Dorian 1994). The less foreign content a language is exposed to, the better it is at learning it (Dorian 1994: 479). If a new term is coined, it serves a communication purpose, therefore permitting new lexical and structural materials to enter the language may help to keep it alive in some situations. It is possible that younger speakers of the minority language will stop using it if they are discouraged from doing so because it incorporates words and phrases from other languages (Sallabank 2006: 46).

Speakers can be discouraged from learning and using the language if language structure usage is strictly controlled. Consequently, if there is a lot of change that older speakers do not like, the future of older and newer forms of the language will be less positive (Dorian 1994).

2.3.5. Contact-induced Change: Is it Unprevented?

There is already a shift in language use if people speak two or more languages. Occasionally, but not usually, one or both languages will undergo lexical or structural modifications as a result of the translation. Even though these languages are at risk of extinction, there has been a shift in language use, even if the structure or lexicon of the language has not changed. How much and what kind of change occurs is determined by social, psychological and linguistic elements that are all interconnected (Johanson 2002, Thomason 2003, and Backus 2004, 2005). Thomason and Kaufman have claimed that this is the case (Weinreich 1953 and Winford 2003). How difficult is it to effect social change by resisting development as a group with limited resources? Is it possible to accomplish this so that speakers of the minority language are recognised and rewarded? All of these questions are intertwined with one another and with the intergenerational dynamics of socioeconomic and political resources (O'Shannessy 2011), as well as with our awareness of our own personal speech styles and preferences. Individuals from different age groups and socioeconomic backgrounds will value languages and their corresponding linguistic forms differently depending on where they come from and how long they've been fluent in them. Although native speakers are aware that their language is in peril, they may lack confidence in their own abilities to take action. For many of today's youth, traditional languages are seen as archaic and relics of a bygone era (Moriarty 2007). Technology, global communication media and modern music have a strong influence on their taste in language, which they find more appealing. As a result of their involvement in the performance, young people have shown a greater interest in

traditional cultural knowledge (PawuKurlpurlurnu et al. 2008: 36). Many times, people who speak the dominant language in the region choose it reluctance over their own minority language for some institutional functions, like educational purposes, or even for personal use in the home because they believe it will give their children an economic and social advantage in terms of access to higher education, cutting-edge technology, and national and international information (Ladefoged 1992: 810). Another consideration is the availability of speakers' resources, rather than their attitudes. In the workplace and in administration, it is common to use the dominant language(s). Parents want governments to provide equal educational opportunities for children of all backgrounds, including those who do not speak their native tongue. Several studies have shown that students who participate in their first language instruction during their early years of schooling are more likely to succeed academically in their second language (Baker 2006, Collier and Thomas 2004, Krashen and McField 2005). There must be a major investment in local and community resources to maintain the formal teaching of minority languages (Coronel-Molina and McCarthy 2011). People may prefer to promote multiple languages, but they may be unable to do so because of the limited resources they have. There are numerous advantages to doing so when it is feasible, even if they are difficult to quantify. The organizational role of the language and greater opportunities for accessibility to and use of the language through textbooks and broadcast media are two examples.

2.4. Variation and Variability

Endangered language variation and change has been discussed in this section. Language endangerment and the structural changes and differences that it can produce in comparison to fully viable, non-endangered languages have been specifically taken into account.

2.4.1. Variation in Endangered Languages

Negative and positive sociolinguistic appraisals of obsolescent languages need not be connected with social characteristics such as socioeconomic level, sex and ethnicity." That is to say, in speech communities experiencing severe language obsolescence, variability does not always bear the same social meaning as it might elsewhere. Some of the "normal" or "natural" changes that occur in endangered languages can also occur in non-endangered situations (O'Shannessy 2011). The endangered Mam of Tuxtla Chico, for instance, has merged the uvular and velar consonants (as well as in a number of Mayan sub-tribes that are not in risk of extinction). As a result of a lack of contrast from the dominant language, the endangered language may have declined in use (in this case, Spanish). The amount of change in extinct languages can be increased, leading to a shift that happens far faster than it would in a balanced linguistic environment. Obsolete languages naturally undergo modifications (Fox 2005: 57).

2.4.2. Individual Variability, the Effect of Semi-speakers

More and more languages are being threatened because of a gradual fall in their speaker population and proficiency. More people are becoming semi-speakers, persons who have a working understanding of their mother tongue but are not fluent in it as the majority of the population advances toward the dominant language (O'Shannessy 2011). (Grenoble 2000) When it came to Jambun Dyirbal (Australia) speakers, Schmidt (1985a: 381) found that the degree of simplification of traditional Dyirbal could be used to describe variability, and that this continuum and the speakers' ages were correlated. "Each individual had his own grammatical system for Dyirbal communication, involving simplification of the traditional grammatical norm to a greater or lesser degree", says the author. Endangered languages may have a wider range of language variation than non-endangered languages, with potentially more kinds and more frequent variation. In the case

of a semi-viable language, some requirements that would normally apply to native speakers may no longer be necessary or applicable. Contrary to their unglottalized counterparts, Swadesh (1934, 1946) found Chitimacha's last two glottalized consonants very variable (while glottalized consonants do not differ from their plain counterparts).

2.5. Types of Change in Endangered Languages

Literature is rife with examples of dying languages that succumb to gradual death due to a shift in language-contact settings toward the dominant one. More and more people use the dominant language in previously non-dominant circumstances, a stage of intermediate bilingualism that involves learning both languages (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). Keeping in mind that age is the key determinant of one's proficiency in this situation is essential (but also by attitudes and other factors). When it comes to learning the extinct language, younger generations have a greater grasp of the prevailing language and are unable or reluctant to do so, if they are even taught it. "best" speakers, "fluent speakers of single sentences," "inserters of words," "understanders," "passive bilinguals," "creolization in reverse," and "deacquisition" are just some of the terms used to describe language death situations in which people learn a new language but are unable to speak it fluently. It's not a fluke that these varied words refer to various points of view and academic approaches on the subject of linguistic extinction (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). A dying language is predicted to undergo structural alteration in all components, including phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantical. This is the most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the dwindling number of languages. To predict the exact nature of changes that may emerge in the future, however, is far more difficult.

2.6. A Review of earlier works on Saura

There has been plenty of work done on few Munda languages like Santali, but very few studies are conducted on the Saura language. A Manual of So:ra: was published in 1931 by Ramamurti, a pioneer in the field. Additionally, he has published an English-Sora dictionary called The English-Sora: Dictionary (1986). Saura was noted in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India after that (Grierson 1968). The linguistic qualities of Saura are described by Anderson in his book The Munda Languages (2008). A chapter on Saura numerical can be found in Zide's book on Munda numerical studies. In addition, Starosta's PhD work is titled Sora syntax: generative approach to the Munda language (1976).

Ramamurti (1931) talks about Saura vowels, consonants, checked consonants, glottal sounds. He has also talked about length, stress, intonation and variation of speech sounds of Saura. He has shown the organic position of speech sounds. Grammatical outlines encompass all kinds of words and expressions, such as nouns and pronouns as well as adverbs and adjectives.

Anderson (2008) talks about the linguistic features of Saura. In phonology, they have talked about vowel and consonant inventory, suprasegmental phenomena (tone, register), syllable structure and phonotactics. Morphology includes nominal morphology under which, they have discussed number, case, person, numerals, adpositions, and derivation. Verbal morphology includes subject, object type, tense. Syntax of Saura includes simple sentences, complex sentence structure, relative-type clauses, and coordination. They have also dealt with semantics and discourse.

Mohanty (1997) has written a paper on loss of /o/ in Saura, Kui and Odia where he discusses about the loss of /o/ in all these three languages. He has attributed this characteristic as

an example of sublinguistic area. Mohanty (2010) has extensively discussed on Saura kinship terms and tense system. The paper is first of its kind on Saura. It tries to establish a relationship between the culture of the people and their grammar of the language. The paper tries to argue that language and culture have a common source of origin i.e. human mind.

The studies in the Saura language have only one category in terms of the topics of research i.e. grammatical description of Saura. A research of language use in the current setting that focuses on language extinction has not been done. "The present study" helps us to understand the Saura linguistic and sociolinguistic situation in a much better way.

2.7. Structural Aspect of Language Endangerment by Polosaari and Campbell

Many more languages from all over the world will need to be studied to see if these structural changes are typical of language death situations in general. According to Palosaari and Campbell (2011), dying languages may or may not undergo a variety of structural changes.

2.7.1. Overgeneralization of unmarked features

There are some aspects of language that are more difficult for children to pick up and more malleable than others. A common occurrence in language change is for less marked or unmarked words to be replaced by ones that are more widespread in other languages and hence easier to acquire. Meaning that contrasts that are difficult to learn or learn well may go unlearned. Campbell 1976c; Dressler 1981a; Campbell and Muntzel 1989; Palosaari and Campbell 2011; Campbell and Muntzel) for further information. Andersen's hypothesis (1), described above, predicts that bilingual speakers of a vulnerable language will distinguish phonology less than fully competent speakers. Considering the concept of "markedness," which argues that the marked member of

opposition is lost when distinctions are lost, we can further clarify this hypothesis. The merger of Tuxtla Chico Mam (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989) eliminates that which is diametrically opposing. This is not to say that the two ideas are incompatible; The tendency to diminish markedness does not always include Andersen's propensity to minimise oppositions not seen in the dominant language. For example, not all aspects of markedness loss may be covered by Anderson's overarching generalisation. Because of this, the latter theory can explain significant phenomena that entail subphonemic, allophonic variants rather than contrasts. This can also be applied to non-phonological phenomena, which is why it is worth noting. Although the two hypotheses differ in substance and spirit, they are not indistinguishable. Thus, Andersen's generalisation suggests that the decline in opposition in a threatened language is due to some structural characteristic of the dominant language (as opposed to a "internal" one). Even though Andersen's view is partially supported by the proposed markedness hypothesis, it suggests that there is another factor that contributes to language loss (i.e., 'internal' factors). While Andersen's approach to Tuxtla Chico Mam argues its marked character (unnaturalness, difficulty in pronunciation) may have contributed to it merging with unmarked k, the markedness view suggests its marked absence in dominant Spanish may have been the key driver. Other historical linguistics fields are increasingly using the term "multiple causation" to explain this apparent contradiction. Any one of these factors could have been sufficient to bring about the shift, but it's also possible, if not probable, that they all worked together to have a greater impact on the shift in the language. Because Tuxtla Chico Mam's q and k contrast is absent in hegemonic Spanish and because of Tuxtla Chico Mam's tendency to lessen markedness (q being marked), the language's decline may have been driven by multiple sources.

2.7.2. Overgeneralization of Marked Features

A widespread tendency to diminish or delete marked shapes may also be observed. However, the opposite seems to be more typical. Because they are unsure of their exact place in the dominant language, imperfect speakers often overuse the "weird" version of the language in ways that are improper for the language's healthy form, as if they were hogs. Changes in the obsolescence language's structure appear to be unique because there is no apparent analogue in the dominant language. When these situations are described as "acts of receptions," Hill (1983: 4) makes no reference of their markedness. When certain Xinca speakers misuse "glottalization," it appears to result from a misunderstood long-dead language and has nothing to do with Spanish at all, which is why "voiceless one" and "glottalization" are considered "internal acts of creation."

2.7.3. Loss or Reduction in Phonological Contrasts

Language contraction seems to involve fewer forms and oppositions almost by definition (Andersen 1989). According to some researchers, reductions like these are known as "agreement markers" According to Campbell and Muntzel (1989). This decrease can be attributed to a variety of factors, such as "simplification" or influence from another language (usually that of a nation or large group). Generally speaking, simplification and transfer are responsible for the majority of the linguistic effects of language contraction and mortality. Some examples of phonological reduction and merger, such as Pipil $ts > s$ and $V : > V$, have already been documented (Campbell and Muntzel 1989).

2.7.4. Acts of Reception

Hill claims that some structural alterations in extinct languages may be "externally motivated" (198:4). These "acts of reception" are "external impacts," according to Hill (198:4). The term "reception" is employed following two instances where the minority language is used "receives" or replaces native characteristics of the minority language with traits from the majority language that are highly regarded by its speakers that may be connected with traits of the dominant language that are deemed undesirable by the minority language speakers. For example, the dominant language may have an impact on minorities by encouraging them to acquire highly valued structural qualities that are utterly foreign to their own languages. This is a reiteration of the arguments put out by Palosaari and Campbell in their 2011 paper. Because of the sociolinguistic interpretation of these sounds in Spain, [š] and [f] may have changed in Teotihuacan Pipil. / has a highly stigmatised form in local Spanish, the prevalent language, which looks to be driving change. A local Spanish dialect's pronunciation has been influenced by its reception, and as a result, the minority language has evolved. There's evidence that the prestige variety of the native Pipil sound has altered due to Spanish conventions, resulting in an artificial change in sound.

2.8. Social and Cultural Consequences of Language Shift

According to linguists (e.g. Hale 1992: 6, Dorian 1999: 31-32, and Nettle & Romaine 2000) the cultural ramifications of losing one's native tongue are profound (e.g. Czaykowska-Higgins 2009: 32-33; Hinton 2002: 152-154). A number of hypotheses have been proposed regarding the ethnic effects of language loss, and empirical research in this area has focused on a variety of topics, including lexically expressed cultural knowledge, the dependence of communicative functions on linguistic form, and critical approaches to linguistic ideologies. Public language endangerment literature has found that widespread languages have caused a significant loss of cultural knowledge, particularly in regards to regional ecosystems and resource use (Nettle and

Romaine 2000: 55-77). The disruption of cultural transmission can be attributed to a change in language per se, according to this theory (Harrison 2007: 53). Although these arguments receive a lot of attention in public discussions about language change and preservation, very little research has been done to verify them. Language loss has been linked to a decrease in cultural knowledge, although it is not entirely clear whether this loss is due to language loss alone or is a result of larger sociopolitical processes that devalue and degrade the entire way of life for indigenous and minority populations (Rice 2007: 319). Even if cultural information, such as the capacity to recognise plant and animal species, persists in its status, worth, and utility, the question of whether it will be lost is still open. Little matter how the specific systems of knowledge, emotion, or expression are affected by a shift in a culture's language, there is no doubt that powerful language ideologies often form in circumstances of language shift. When a language is no longer used by the majority of the population, it can create an ideological dilemma for the group's sense of self (Fishman 1999: 449, Haarmann 1999: 63-64). "(McCarty and Zepeda, 1999) 207-208. When a particular community associates their language with valued cultural concepts, the sensation of crisis may be particularly severe (Fishman 1997). However, some members of the affected groups argue that sociocultural identity can be maintained in the face of language shifts.

2.9. Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the development of the discipline of language endangerment studies as a subfield of linguistics, as well as information on the significance of this kind of research that shaped the subject into what it is now. It thoroughly looks at research on language endangerment, language shift and language loss. Earlier work on Saura is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.0. The Data

The information in this dissertation was gathered through a series of field studies conducted in the Odisha district of Gajapati. Interviews with native speakers of Saura were used to gather the data.

3.1 Field Area

The field sites for the study were first decided before going for the field study. The field sites have been decided after several discussions with my supervisor. Gajapati district of Odisha has been chosen as the field site. We believed that, according to the nature of study, this would be the best location. Gajapati is mostly a tribal populated area.

To begin transcribing and translating audio recordings, I was required to travel about 80 kilometres to various villages, including Sarang, Lohangar, and others. There were only a few people in Gajapati who could and were willing to help me with this project. I began by working only with members of the Saura community's older generation. During my fieldwork, I was assisted by two people: Imani Gamango, a primary school teacher, and Srinivas Gamango, a Saura artist. My arrival time in the various villages of Gajapati district was unpredictable, which made visiting the older Saura-speaking residents difficult because they were only available for visits in the morning (mostly between 10:00 AM to 1 PM). I therefore decided that it made more sense practically to live near by the villages for some days where I would have contact not only with Imani Gamango and Srinivas Gamango but with other speakers.

3.2. Participant Payment and Consent

Members of the Saura community were enthusiastic about the field study, and it appeared to have a positive effect on them. Several mornings and afternoons, a small group of people gathered around my laptop to hear audio clips. Thus, they began to teach my use of Saura. However, I will always respect a person's right to decline to be recorded if they so want. Others were hesitant to be filmed because they were bashful, others were worried about their ability or competency, and yet others just had other responsibilities or priorities that prevented them from being recorded. Some members spend significant time working on their vegetable gardens, housework, and other local activities, while some other members have paid work. Interestingly, 60% of the observed interviewees were men; this might be because women tend to be more reserved and uncomfortable in social situations. Given that fluent and confident speakers were typically over the age of thirty, a wide range of demographics is represented. As a result of the generous time and interest shown by the Saura speakers who participated in the fieldwork, many did not expect compensation. Nevertheless, I made certain that each participant was compensated for their time and given a token of appreciation due to ethical considerations. I asked village leaders for advice on how much to charge and how to set a reasonable price. According to Woodbury (2003: 47), documenting linguistics requires a corpus to be ethical. To put it another way: It "should respect intellectual property, moral rights, individual and cultural sensitivities regarding access and use" (Austin and Grenoble 2007: 16). Informed consent should always be obtained before any data is recorded, archived, or disseminated. As a result, I was given permission to proceed. When conducting human research, it is essential to obtain informed consent.

3.3. Participants Selection

In order to investigate the grammatical aspect as well as language vitality of Saura, data have been collected from different blocks of Gajapati district of Odisha. They are Gumma, Nuagada, and Parlakhemundi blocks of Gajapati district. In 2014-15, 2016-17, and 2017-18, questionnaires and interviews were used to gather data. Are there any changes at distinct grammatical levels, like as phonology and morpho-syntax, which were the subject of questionnaires and various types of interviews. In addition, the interviews explored the ways in which tribal languages are used and passed down from generation to generation. A few minor alterations have been made to Labov's (1972) age range to make it more accurate. For this study, Labov divided the population into five age groups: 14–30; 31–45; 45–60; 61–75; and 76 years and older. For this study, the age limit was set at 61 and above because it was so difficult to find speakers over 70. Throughout a series of outings, we spoke with a total of 56 people (fourteen from each of the four generations).

3.4. Data Collection Methods

I gathered data for this thesis in a variety of approaches and from a range of sources, including participant recordings and notes on grammar and textual usage, unrecorded oral and written data, photographs, and information gleaned from informal interviews about a variety of language-related topics.

With a solid state digital audio recorder, WAV files at 48 khz and 24 bits were recorded for all audio recordings. Videos were shot on MiniDV camcorders for the purpose of archiving. The majority of the photos were taken with my own digital Canon camera, with a few exceptions, and were saved as JPEG files. It was common practise to use high-quality microphones because they could capture a wider area and reduce the risk of interference.

3.5. Questionnaire Construction

Two types of questionnaire are followed in the data collection procedure. They are the SPPEL questionnaire, the Lingua descriptive studies questionnaire with little modification based on the situation. The SPPEL of Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysore, has published the SPPEL questionnaire in a book format. The Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology's Department of Linguistics provides the Lingua descriptive studies questionnaire, which was created by Bernard Comrie and Norval Smith. Apart from these questionnaire, a self-developed questionnaire is also used to collect data where local context and environment and contemporary social and linguistic situation have played an important role.

3.6. Grammatical and Lexical Elicitation Recordings

Depending on the mechanism used to collect data, there are three sorts of communication events, according to Lüpke (2009: 62). Word lists, paradigm lists, and acceptability assessments are all examples of elicitation strategies. Remember that elicitations are only for the benefit of the researcher and are shaped by his or her personal linguistic preferences. There were 34.5 hours total documented on my final field trip, which included 10 hours in Parlakhemundi and 10.5 hours of lexical and grammatical sessions with the Gumma and Nuagada groups.

Images, objects and translations from Odia or English were employed at each place to elicit a basic wordlist of around 1200 words. Besides this, I elicited noun and verb morphology, as well as the building blocks of sentences. Data extraction sessions concentrated on types of tense, different aspects of it, and modality etc. My primary methods of elicitation included translation and back translation as well as grammaticality judgments and data manipulation. Most participants

in these sessions spoke Odia, so they were held in Odia. During my second field trip to Gajapati in 2016, the majority of the elicitation took place. I returned to Hyderabad between the two field excursions to review the data I had collected on the first outing. I was able to identify inconsistencies and gaps in my description of Saura through the process of analysing the data. In 2017, I went back to Gajapati to conduct more elicitation sessions in an effort to gather the necessary data. My knowledge of Saura sounds and basic grammatical structures had improved by this point, which was critical for the final round of data collection. Data analysis and subsequent planning and conducting of additional sessions were carried out during this field trip. Transliteration and back translation were some of the elicitation strategies used. Others included data manipulation, grammaticality judgements, and the use of visual stimuli such as photographs.

Elicitation sessions, usually with two to five speakers, were used to gather a variety of facts and viewpoints and thus to confirm plus the extra information as it was received. In the event that a speaker disagreed or was unsure about the facts, more speakers were brought in for clarification or elicitation. The elicitation sessions, a more organised method of learning and analysing languages, yielded useful insights into Saura.

3.7. Photographs

Some of the photographs are presented below which were taken during several fieldtrips.

Figure 3.1. A Saura Village Site



Figure 3.2. Saura Village people working together on a fine morning



Figure 3.3. Mr. Imani Gamango with his wife in front of their house



Figure 3.4. A Saura art by Mr. Srinivas Gamango



Figure 3.5. Roof of a traditional Saura House



Figure 3.6. A Saura Locality in Parlakhemundi



Figure 3.7. A traditional Saura kitchen stove



3.8. Data Processing

Accountability is an important characteristic in documenting languages since access to data allows for linguistic analysis evaluations to be made possible and expected. However, for evaluations and analysis to be possible, materials should be transparent (Woodbury 2003: 47). In fact, a vast corpus of primary data is "of little utility unless it is given in a format which ensures accessibility and to be available to a broad variety of users the main data needs to be supported with information of various kinds, which could be called the apparatus" (Himmelmann 2006: 11). Translated into a

language that is more widely understood, interlinear glosses, and remarks on linguistic or cultural characteristics may be included in this apparatus.

There is also an “uncontroversial need for metadata” (Himmelman 2006: 11). Metadata describes characteristics of events, participants, recordings and other data files and should be created for the documentation as a whole as well as for each session. In order to effectively archive and discover items, metadata is a critical component of language documentation. Proper care has been taken into consideration for processing of data.

3.8.1. Elicitation and Recordings

I kept both laptop and an additional hard disc in a different location to lessen the likelihood that I would lose any data. In addition, I burned CDs with all of the originals. After the videotapes were sent to Hyderabad for safekeeping, a copy was made on an external hard drive as well.

We kept detailed notes about our observations during the elicitation process. In the field, I photographed and saved these notes to an external hard drive. In order to make it easier to locate and analyse the data, all of the elicitation sessions' annotations and analyses have been put into Word documents.

3.8.2. Transcription and Translation

A Microsoft Word document contains all of the text that was captured during the various field trips, as well as the transcriptions that were made. There are annotations and analyses in Word for all of the elicitation recordings from the second field trip. It was done in the field for all of the transcriptions, translations, and annotations. Many hours were spent translating and transcribing text recordings into written form. It was greatly appreciated by all the literate speakers who assisted

me in the transcription and translation of data. The transcribing and translation process enriched my understanding of Saura since it allowed me to seek clarification on any semantic, linguistic, or cultural concerns that emerged.

3.8.3. Data Analysis and Presentation

It is based on all the information I gathered that I used to conduct a grammar analysis of Saura. I used elicited data in the grammatical description of Saura. Three lines of text are provided for each example: the original text in the first line, an explanation of each morpheme in turn, and a free translation in the third. When necessary, the morpheme, phrase, or clause under discussion appears in bold typeface in the language example line.

In documentary linguistics, archiving is a major concern because it ensures that materials will be accessible to future users. In addition to “keeping the data safe... [but also] letting others know what has been recorded”, it is essential to archive raw data (Bower 2008: 60). “Archiving requires making the recorded data, annotations, and metadata ready so that the information they contain is as explicit and informative as possible, encoding it for long-term accessibility, and securely storing it with a reliable organisation that can provide long-term curation” (Austin 2006: 100). Documentation outcomes from this thesis will be archived in future.

3.9. The Sociolinguistics Data: Participant’s Observation and informal interviews

Participant observation and informal interviews were employed to collect sociolinguistic data. In Gajapati in 2016, informal interviews were conducted with around twenty speakers of the community. The questions to the speakers include about their linguistic repertoire, their perception of their productive and receptive ability in a particular language, their language use in terms of

with whom, when and where they speak or are spoken to in a certain language both in the present day and past, and their opinion about the importance of a certain language and whether or not they liked it. Their opinions about other speech communities in Gajapati in particular and Odisha in general were also asked. I also tried to gather information on language attitudes by asking about code-switching, loan words, the perceived socioeconomic status of the community in relation to other nearby speech communities in Gajapati and adjacent districts. Attitudes towards modern culture, the attitudes of Odias towards Saura language were also enquired. First, I wanted to obtain knowledge of the community's social and economic operations before going on my first field trip. I also enquired about the Saura language history, about their multilingual and monolingual status etc. These informal communications helped me understand the current scenario in a much better way. Before I finished my first field trip, I had gathered material about the Saura-speaking community in Gajapati district, India, from sociolinguistics to sociocultural studies to ethnolinguistics. My second field trip allowed me to verify, update, and expand on what I'd learned the first time around. Individuals' names, gender, age, location of residence, degree of Saura proficiency (fluent speakers, L2/semi-speakers, or people who can only passively understand Saura), level of Odia proficiency (L1), and any other languages they know were gathered. Although I made every effort to be as exact as possible, some of the data may be incorrect or uncertain. I was unable to meet everyone, so some information was obtained from their relatives. While the competence of the speakers who took part in the audio recordings was self-evident, I had to rely on their own assessments of their own competence or the assessments of their families for the rest. The sociolinguistic data presented in this thesis is largely based on the observations of participants in the research. During my fieldwork, I kept three notebooks with data and impressions on language contact, language use, opinions toward languages, administration and pedagogical

policies, the historical context, the geographical sites and circumstances of the neighborhood, and the socio-cultural milieu.. I was extremely interested in all aspects of the culture and would actively seek out opportunities to learn more and get involved in activities, often to the amusement of community members.

3.10. Summary

In this chapter named research methodology, research methods, field area, data elicitation procedure, data backup, data analysis and presentation have been discussed. Different types of questionnaire, interviews and participants observations are few of the research methods which have been used to collect the data.

Chapter Four: Phonology

4.0. Introduction

Basic phonological structure, sound patterns of Saura have been discussed in detail in these chapters on the Saura sound system, which also includes an inventory of sounds (both phonemic and phonetic). A phonemic inventory is provided first and it has been substantiated by giving evidence for the phonemes proposed. After this syllables are being discussed. A list of potential onsets, codas, and other possibilities is presented to wrap up the explanation of the syllable structure. In 4.3, suprasegmental features are discussed. Finally in 4.4 and 4.5, assimilation and sound variations and change respectively are presented.

4.1. Phonemic and Phonetic Inventory

This section first outlines the vowel system followed by the consonant system.

4.1.1. Vowels

Five vowels make up the Saura vowel system, which is common of Munda languages. According to Mohanty (1997) Saura exhibits five vowel system. The author emphasizes on the heavy influence of areal typology on Saura vowel system. He has justified the loss of /o/ in few Odia dialects through this concept. The status of /ə/ is still unclear. It can be an allophone of /i/, /e/ and /a/. All the vowels exhibit vowel length but it is not phonemic in nature. Ramamurti (1931: 6) claims that Saura has phonemic vowel length, however the present study confirms that Saura, that is spoken today does not showcase vowel length as phonemic in nature. “Distinctive vowel length is not common in Munda languages” (Anderson 2008).

Table 4.1 shows the five vowels used in the Saura phoneme system.

Table 4.1 Description of “Vowel Phonemes”

Vowel	Description
/i/ (cardinal 1)	unrounded, front, close
/e/ (cardinal 2)	Unrounded, front, close-mid
/a/(cardinal 4)	Unrounded, front, open
/ɔ/ (cardinal 6)	Rounded, back, open-mid
/u/ (cardinal 8)	Rounded, back, close

An acoustic analysis has been performed in Praat to identify the vowels used in Saura. It is shown in Table 4.2 that each vowel's first and second formant frequencies (in Hertz) fall within a specific range of frequencies. Vowel frequencies that were not intended by the artist were recorded as a result of poor recording conditions. This allophone was found in acoustic analysis, although there was no consistency among speakers or unique situations in which this allophone was used. Rather, this allophone appears to be subject to a degree of randomness.

Table 4.2 Vowel Phonemes Frequency Analysis Results

Vowels	Formant 1	Formant 2
/i/	278-467 Hz	1916-2349 Hz
/e/	353-461 Hz	1597-2217 Hz
/a/	534-988 Hz	1383-1907 Hz
/ɔ/	379-591 Hz	951-1378 Hz
/u/	317-438 Hz	921-1689 Hz

The vowels are all found at the beginning of a word. Additionally, all of the vowels' long counterparts can be found at the beginning of a word. Table 4.3 confirms this.

Table 4.3 Vowels in Word Initial Position

Vowel	Saura	English
/ɔ/	ɔruban	‘evening’
/a/	alaŋ	‘tongue’
/e/	eŋɟum	‘axe’
/i/	irresai	‘brother-in-law’
/u/	uʔu	‘hair’
/i:/	i:nar	‘everyday’
/e:/	e:ndʒra	‘cucumber’
/a:/	a:tʊŋ	‘pumpkin’
/u:/	u:mur	‘smoke’
/ɔ:/	ɔ:ŋer	‘one human’

Table 4.4 shows the minimal pairs that support the vowel phonemic inventory presented in 4.1 above.

Table 4.4: Minimal Pairs: Vowels

Vowel Contrasts	Minimal Pairs	
/e/ /a/	/ede/ ‘attention’	/eda/ ‘promise’

/i/ /e/	/itte/ ‘to write’	/ette/ ‘to cut’
/ɔ/ /u/	/mɔʔt/ ‘eye’	/muʔt/ ‘nose’
/ɔ/ /i/	/aɟɔŋ/ ‘to dry’	/aɟiŋ/ ‘to freeze’
/a/ /ɔ/	/maɖa/ ‘ceiling’	/maɖɔ/ ‘fog’

4.1.1.1. Vowel Sequences

Vowel sequence are sounds formed by the combination of two vowels next to each other, in which both the sounds are clearly pronounced. Saura has five vowel sequences. They are mentioned below.

/ai/ - *jumtai* (I eat)

/au/ - *aute* (to grow),

saura (name of the language)

/i ɨɔ/ - *bi ɨɔ* (tomorrow)

/ae/ - *aerte* (will go) also pronounced as *ajerte*

/ui/ - *asui*(few)

4.1.2. Consonants

There are fifteen consonant phonemes and five extra phones in the Saura. The consonant phoneme inventory is thus quite small and like many Munda languages, pre-glottalized consonants are very common in Saura. Phonetic and phonemic consonant inventories are given below in table 4.5 and 4.6 respectively. The glottal stop is not contrastive in Saura. There are two types of articulation on this table: one is horizontal, which indicates where it happens, and one is vertical, showing how it

happens. When the sounds on the left and right are juxtaposed, there is a change in voicing. Word-initial evidence supports each of the fifteen consonant phonemes that have been proposed so far.

Table 4.8 shows all of the consonants that appear at the beginning of a word.

Table 4.5: Phonetic Inventory of Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d	ʈ ɖ	ɟ	k ɡ	ʔ
Nasal	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Flap	ɾ		ɽ			
Fricative		s				
Approximant		ɹ				
Lateral Approximant		l				
Glide	w			j		

Table 4.6: Phonemic Inventory of Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p b	t d		ɟ	k ɡ
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ
Flap		ɾ			
Fricative		s			
Approximant		l			
Glide	w			j	

There are five articulation points in Saura's stop series: bilabial, alveolar, palatals, and the velars and glottal. There are two phonemic glides in English: [j] and [w]. The vowel sound [w] is found in only a few words in the corpus. It is also the case with the other phones, which is why they have been kept in the phonetic inventory.

Below, Table 4.7 provides evidence for the phonemic inventory described in Table 4.5 above. The retroflex nasal [ɳ] and palatal stop [ɟ] have been used by younger generation only.

Table 4.7: Minimal Pairs: Consonants

Consonant Contrasts		Minimal Pairs	
/p/	/b/	bagu 'two'	padu 'itching'
/t/	/d/	te 'present and future TM'	de 'expresses disgust'
/k/	/g/	kuku 'to cough'	gugu 'to build'
/j/	/ɟ/	jujuŋ 'grand father'	ɟuɟuŋ 'grand mother'

All the consonants are found in word initial position.

Table 4.8: consonants in word-initial position

Consonant	Saura	English
p	pɔsiŋen	Child
b	bagu	Two
t	tataŋ	Father's elder brother
d	denoŋkudɟi	Heel
ɟ	ɟuɟuŋ	Mother's mother

k	kakeŋ	Elder sister
g	guŋgusiʔŋ	Cowshed
m	miŋal	Oil
n	nunukul	Kohlrabi
ɲ	ɲen	I
s	siŋer	Ginger
r	rəŋai	Winter
l	luʔt	Eat
j	Jujuŋ	Great grand father
ɖ	ɖaga	Sunny
w	wa:ŋ	Father

4.1.2.1. Allophones

Allophones /ɾ/ and [ɾ] are free to vary in the manner class, and the alveolar tap is occasionally trilled by some speakers. The retroflex [ɖ] has an allophone [ɖ]. It occurs mostly in inter-vocalic position.

- (1) ‘muɖa’ main
- (2) ‘kaɖu’ blind
- (3) ‘gaɖe’ limping

4.1.2.2. Checked Consonant

The final consonants of Saura words are indistinctly uttered. Plosives are not fully released. According to Ramamurti (1931) when b is pronounced, the occlusion only of the lips takes place;

the unexhausted breath (which is unvoiced) is let out through the nose; the b sound is however, indicated by the closed lips and the glide from the preceding vowel which coloredred, as it were, by the occlusion of the lips. Such a phenomenon is also observed in recent times. They are called checked consonants and are indicated by apostrophe's symbol of the side of letters which represent them. For example b',p',d'

b' – gab' (heard as 'ga') "sit"

p' -- bɔʔp' (heard as bɔʔɔ) "head"

d' -- pɔtud' (heard as 'pɔtu') "hole"

4.2. Syllable Structure

CV syllable is the most common and attested syllable in Saura. It contains both open and closed syllables. For example:

(4) /je/ – "red"

(5)/tar/ -- "white"

A Saura word can begin with CV or V. Complex onsets and complex codas are not attested in Saura. Table 4.9 below lists the syllables that were discovered in the corpus.

Table 4.9: A Summary of attested syllable shapes in Saura

No. of syllable	Syllable structure	Word
1	CV	/je/ 'red'
	CVV	/ bi ʔɔ/ 'tomorrow'
2	VC	/eŋ/ 'to fly'

	VCV	/a:ta/ ‘beak’
	VVC	/aɔn/ ‘child’
3	CVC	/Kud/ ‘to give birth’
	CVCC	/kaŋd#rum/ ‘a vegetable’
4	CCVC	/knar/ ‘wife’s elder sister

The features of the attested syllable structures will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.2.1. Simple Onset

This section provides an overview of the corpus' onset dispersion. Examples of words with simple onsets will be included in this section.

CV is the most often occurring syllable in the corpus. Following are the consonants in the corpus with onset position (table 4.10, below). Examples of attested onsets are provided in the following subsections.

Table 4.10: Consonants found in Onset Position

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p b	t d	ʈ ɖ	ɟ	k g
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ
Flap		ɾ			
Fricative		s			
Approximant		l			

Glide	w			j	
-------	---	--	--	---	--

4.2.1.1. Consonant

As we have seen consonants available in onset position in Table 4.10. Table 4.11 below shows examples of consonants in onset position from this section. Only a few words in the corpus use the velar nasal in an onset position. Older speakers consistently pronounce the velar nasal, whereas younger speakers tend to use /n/.

Table 4.11: Attested Consonant Onsets

Consonant	Saura	English	Consonant	Saura	English
p	pɔsijən	child	m	mijɔl	Oil
b	bagu	two	n	naɖa	
t	te	present and future TM	ɲ	ɲen	I
d	dirge	heel	s	siŋer	Ginger
ɖ	ɖaga	sunny	r	rɔŋai	Winter
ʃ	je:	red	l	luʔt	Ear
k	akeŋ	elder Sister	j	jujuŋ	Great Grand Father
g	ga	drink (v)	w	Wan	Where

4.2.3. Complex Onsets

There are extremely few complex onsets and very little of them are found in the present corpus. Very few complex onsets are found in Saura. It must be noted that only two examples are found in the corpus for complex onset. They are

6. knar ‘wife’s elder sister’

7. sriŋ ‘from’

As we can see that only two words are found, so it is very difficult to arrive at a conclusion regarding complex onsets. Detail study on this in future may lead to a conclusion.

4.2.4. Codas

A very small number of consonants such as /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, l, r, j, ʔ/ are found in word final position. As far as final syllable consonants are concerned, eleven have been documented. Table 4.12 shows an example of each. Alveolar voiced stop (bilabial), alveolar voiced stop (velar), and nasal (palatal) are all consonant phonemes that are not found in the final syllable. Additional to that, the labio-velar glide is not present at the coda. The coda is where the glottal stop is located. Codas that have been found in a few tokens appear in Table 4.12. There are a few coda positions where the letters [], [j], and [l] appear. There is a lot of variation in the coda. Clusters are not found at the end of sentences, as previously stated. However, Saura allows consonant clusters in word medial positions. So, Saura do have few complex codas.

4.2.4.1. Simple Coda

The coda distribution in the corpus is summarised in this section. Examples of words with simple codas will be included in this section. The following consonants in table 4.12 are found in coda position in the corpus.

Table 4.12: Consonants in Coda Position

Coda	Saura	English
/p/	ruḍup	Circle
/t/	muʔt	Nose
/k/	kəruk	Native
/m/	rapəḍəm	custard apple
/n/	təmban	Noon
/ŋ/	Umeŋ	Fast
/r/	agu:r	Ripe
/l/	Irtul	Weak
/j/	əṇḍrəj	Brinjal
/ʔ/	siʔ	Hand

[ŋ] is the most common coda of the nasals. Final-position consonant clusters are uncommon, as previously stated.

4.2.4.2. Complex Coda

Complex codas are very limited like complex onsets. Very few complex codas are found in Saura.

It must be noted that only three examples are found in the corpus for complex coda. They are:

8. ɔŋdɾɔj ‘brinjal’
9. kaŋdɾum ‘a vegetable’
10. eŋgra ‘cucumber’

The syllable structure of the above words are given below.

ɔŋdɾɔj → ɔŋd-rɔj

kaŋdɾum → kaŋd-rum

eŋgra → eŋg-ra

So, it will be VCCCVC → VCC#VC

4.3. Suprasegmental Features

The phonemes of Saura do not strongly exhibit features like the length or stress of a vowel however a little evidence shows a trochaic stress pattern. A more detailed acoustic study will be helpful in this regard.

4.3.1. Vowel Length

Despite the fact that Saura's vowel lengthening and shortening are not phonetically distinct, the data shows that both occur. A word's vowel length is determined by its prosodic structure, while vowel shortening is a function of the word structure. There's a trochaic stress pattern in the prosodic word. Examples 11-13 show that the predominant stress in prosodic words is on the first syllable. Highlighted in bold font is the emphasised syllable.

11. **sa**.ju ‘cold’

12. **ku**.ni ‘that’

13. **ga.te** ‘drink’

Priority stress in multisyllabic words occurs when one of the words has an open syllable. The stressed syllable is highlighted in bold in examples 14-16, which you can see. The second syllable (CVC) of each word is stressed in these examples. This implies that the syllables in CVC are particularly weighty because of the way they create stress in the vocal tract.

14. **ni.lim** ‘leech’

15. **ta.rel** ‘thread’

16. **gul.ji** ‘seven’

4.3.1.1. Long Vowels

Saura vowel length is not phonemic. Saura's long vowels are still present, but occasionally they are prolonged to increase the word's intensity of meaning. Frequently, lengthened vowels are uttered throughout older and younger generations in the Gajapati area.

Example (8) below shows how vowel length can be used to accentuate a word, but it can also be used to express irony. A colon marks the longer vowel in the second utterance of "slowly." The speaker here suggests that one should not eat fast because it might create some problem; instead one should eat food slowly to avoid any kind of problem. Using the term slow as a synonym for sluggish implies that eating should be done at a slower rate.

- (17) **jen** **lesa** **lesa:** **ga-l-ai**
 I slowly slowly eat-NPST-1SG
 I ate slowly.

The complete word or phrase does become higher in pitch, giving the speech a songlike quality.

4.3.1.2. Short Vowels

Closed syllables with unstressed and word-initial vowels are shorter than open syllables with unstressed and word-initial vowels. For instance, a closed syllable's vowel is shorter than an unclosed syllable's vowel at the same location when contrasted to other vowels. Vowel length in the closed syllable [di] is just .05 seconds, based on a recording of [dadi] 'mother's sister's husband'. In the second syllable of the word 'brother's wife', [buni], the vowel is .11 seconds long. This word [kapra] 'shoulder' has .04 seconds for the vowel [kap] and 0.10 for the vowel [ra] in its closed, stressed syllable [kap]. The length of vowels in open versus closed syllables could be examined in a controlled study in the future.

4.4. Assimilation

Saura exhibits two distinct modes of assimilation. As a first step, the sound of an adjacent word or stem is assimilated to that sound. Assimilation across morpheme boundaries is the second pattern. Various types of Saura word-internal assimilation are discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1. Nasalization

Vowels that come before a nasal stop are commonly nasalized across languages. The same is true in Saura. Vowels following a nasal are also nasalized, in addition to those preceding it. Because the nasalization of the following vowel is always the result of a nasal consonant. For example:

18. lãṇẽ 'today'

19. ṇãrãm 'day after tomorrow'

4.4.2. Glottalization

Vowels in the following samples have been glottalized, which means that the vowel has been shifted to the glottal end of the syllable.

(20) uʔu 'hair'

(21) bɔʔp' 'head'

(22) giʔ 'tooth'

(23) uʔleŋ 'brother's son'

(24) liptiʔr 'cloudy'

4.5. Phonological Variation and Change

Several pronunciation variations have been observed and confirmed as indicative of ongoing sound changes:

1. Although consonants /ɲ/ and /n/ can vary, the alveolar nasal is seen as a recent innovation used primarily by younger speakers.

(25) [ɲen] → [nen] 'I'

There could be various reasons to this change. One reason could be, as we all know, language tries to simplify things and /n/ is simpler than /ɲ/. Another reason could be the absence of /ɲ/ in Odia and Odia being the dominant language of the region has influence over it. While further investigation is outside this thesis' scope, the variation appears to be linked to the speaker's age.

2. Words like such as those in (26, 27), where the glottal stop is completely dropped, but this can also be considered "to be recent innovations used mainly by younger speakers".

(26) [boʔp] → [bɔb] ‘head’

(27) [siʔ] → [si] ‘hand’

Both the morphosyntax and phonology of these variant forms were identical, as were the semantic and pragmatic differences reported by speakers.

4.6. Summary

This chapter is on Saura phonology. There are five vowels and fifteen consonants in the Saura phoneme inventory. Checked consonants are there in Saura where final consonants of the words are indistinctly uttered. Plosives are not fully released. CV syllable is the most common and attested syllable in Saura. A Saura word can begin with CV or V syllable. There are four possible attested syllable types. It is not yet known whether duration or pitch plays a role in stress production and perception in Saura or not. Oral vowels are nasalized from adjoining nasal consonants. Simple onsets are found more compared to complex onset. Same goes with coda; complex codas are very rare to find. Vowel length is not phonemic in Saura. Finally, phonological processes including assimilation and glottalization have been explained.

Chapter 5: Morphosyntax

5.0. Introduction

Saura's noun and verb morphology have been examined in this chapter. In the section on noun morphology (5.1), you'll learn about attested noun shapes, inflectional strategies, how numbers are marked on nouns. In the section devoted to verb morphology, I'll go over the various elements that make up verb phrases (5.2).

5.1. Noun Morphology

The NP's semantic core and syntactic head can be found in nouns, which are part of the same word class. Demonstratives and quantifiers are examples of modifiers that may be placed before nouns, while pronominal forms are examples of modifiers that can be placed after a noun (e.g. a demonstrative pronoun, a personal pronoun, etc). This section deals with noun and pronouns and their morphological behavior. Nouns are covered in Section 5.1.2, whereas pronouns are the subject of Section 5.1.4.

5.1.1. Noun Stem

In Saura, nouns lack a distinctive form. According to their structural makeup, nouns can be monosyllabic or multisyllabic, as shown in Tables 5.1.a and 5.1.b, respectively.

Table 5.1.a. Monosyllabic Nouns

Saura	English Gloss
jen	I
Waŋ	Father

Jan	Mother
ɖaʔ	Water

Table 5.1.a shows that monosyllabic nouns have open or closed syllables. Table 5.1.b lists examples of multisyllabic nouns with CV, CVC, and other syllable combinations. Nouns with two or fewer syllables predominate over those with three or more.

Table 5.1.b. Multisyllabic Nouns

Saura	English gloss
jujuŋ	Grandfather
saju	Cold
jeru	Deep
uruŋ	Bamboo

5.1.2. Classification of Nouns

In Saura, most of the nouns exist as free forms. Since, it won't be possible to provide all the words here, a brief list of nouns related to different semantic domain such as flora, fauna, kinship terms and other day today items which are part of Saura life are presented below.

Table 5.1.c. Few Saura Nouns

English Name	Saura
--------------	-------

Tongue	alaŋ
Father's elder sister	awaŋ
Mother's brother	mamaŋ
Season	aɟam
Crow	kaka
Peacock	mara
Sunflower	doŋɟuŋ
Lotus	tumpeɟa

All the nouns in Saura have the ending 'n' and 'en', 'an' especially when they are in nominative case. 'n' is added to nouns ending in vowels, and 'en' or 'an' is added to nouns ending in consonants.

For example: (5.1) Crow /kaka-n/

Man /manɟa:-n/

Noon /tomb-an/

Forest /tulab-an/

Child /pɔsiɟ-en/

Pig /kambu-n/

5.1.2.1. Number

There are two types of number marking in Saura. One is singular and the other one is plural. Singular denotes a single entity and is zero marked whereas, plurality indicates two or more than

two entities. Plurality is marked by the suffix ‘nji’ where ‘n’ remains silent most of the time. The examples in (5.2) illustrate number marking in Saura.

(5.2) Singular Form	Plural Form
pəsijen (child)	pəsije-nji (children)
kurtan (horse)	kurta-nji (horses)
gajulin (bangle)	gajuli-nji (bangles)

If one plural marker is used, the use of the other plural marker is normally prohibited in the same construction. 'All,' for example, cannot be used with the plural marker in the same sentence. The examples in (5.3)-(5.4) below illustrate the various ways of pluralizing in Saura. Example (5.3) uses the indefinite quantifier's 'all' to denote plurality. In (5.4), the noun precedes a numeral that indicates the number of subjects. There are no grammatical plural markers like there were in example (5.3) for (5.4). Using an overt numeral and the plural particle at the same time is grammatically incorrect in Example (5.5).

(5.3) **səbɔɪŋ a-kambul patu:r**

All PL-book old

All the books are old

(5.4) **ʈebulan alenka bagu kambulan** ɖa-ku?

table on two book be-NPST

There are two books on the table.

(5.5) * **ʈebul-an alenka bagu kambulan-ji** ɖa-ku?

table on two book-PL be-NPST

There are two books on the table.

The word ‘ji’ is frequently used in the corpus to denote plurality on all nouns. There is no distinction between the plural markers of human and non-human nouns. According to Ramamurti

(1931), foreign words when used by Sauras, follow the above rule which is evident in the present data.

5.1.2.2. Case

In verb-final languages like Saura, postpositions are widespread. Particles show the syntactic and semantic obligations of the elements after their noun phrase complements. Table 5.2 provides an overview of the corpus' postpositions and the major function of each case marker. Alternatives to the basic form exist for several postpositions. Consultants might employ all of the different forms in the same area to create these shapes.

Table 5.2 Semantic Role Indexed by Postpositions

Category	Form	Alternative Form	Function of the Marker
Nominative	ϕ	ϕ	Nominative
Accusative	[adʼɔŋ]	ϕ	Accusative
Dative	[adʼɔŋ] [apsele] [asen]	[apʼsele]/ [asen]	Experiencer, Receipient/Possessor
Genitive	[ate]	ϕ	Possessor
Instrumental	[batte] [ampɔra]	ϕ	Instrument of Agent
Ablative	[seriŋ]	[serɔŋ]	Source

Locative	[mən]	[lijan]/ [alənka]	Location of
	[lijan]		Participants/Action
	[aluŋ]		

Examples of all the categories mentioned in Table 5.2 are given below.

(5.6) **anlen** Hyderabad ajer-b-a

We Hyderabad go-NPST-1PL

We will go to Hyderabad

(5.7) **jen anin-aḍəŋ** kəmbulan tiʔ-l-ai

I he/she-to book give-PST-1SG

I gave him/her a book

(5.8) **jen- apselesa** paŋ-āi

I – for tea bring-1SG

Bring me tea

(5.9) **anin anlen-asen** ɖarjen paŋ-t-ai

He/she we-for rice bring-NPST-3SG

He/she will bring rice for us.

(5.10) **jen-ate** abəi suŋʔan ɖakuʔ

I- gen one house be-NPST

I have a house

(5.11) **aman-batte** irbəŋsa ɖe:-l-e

You- INST bad be-PST-2SG

A bad thing happened to you

(5.12) **jen aman-ampəra** jir-t-ai

I you-with come-NPST-1SG

I'll come with you

(5.13) Namita **aman-seriŋ/serəŋ** laŋgi
 Namita you-than beautiful
 Namita is more beautiful than you

(5.14) **məŋ-len** kar ɬa-ku?
 With-we car be-NPST
 We have a car

5.1.2.3. Possession

Pronoun suffixes and prefixes are both used to express possession in Saura. Table 5.3 below lists the possessive pronouns.

Table 5.3 Possessive Forms

Pronouns	Possessive Forms
1 st Person Sg (ɲen)	buijaŋ-ɲen (my brother)
1 st Person Pl (anlen)	səɾəba-len (our farming land)
2 nd Person Sg (aman)	gəɾjaŋ-nəm (your village)
2 nd Person PL (ambin)	gəɾjaŋ-bin (your village)
3 rd Person Sg (anin)	a-bɔi (his/her book)
3 rd Person Plural (aninɟi)	a-pɔsiɟenɟi (their children)

5.1.3. Noun Phrase Structure

“A noun phrase (NP)” “is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun” (Kroeger 2005: 87). Demonstratives, Numerals, Adjectives, and Other Modifiers are all included in this section of the noun phrase.

5.1.3.1. Noun Phrase

In Saura, a noun phrase is made up of a noun and a variety of demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, and other modifiers that serve as the phrase's body. Demonstratives and numerals and adjectives always precede the noun. For example:

- (5.15) *nen-ate unʝi suɖa suʔŋ*
I – GEN four big house
My four big houses

In this construction, *ate* functions as a possessive marker. The template of a noun phrase in Saura is given in 5.16.

(5.16) [(Demonstrative) (Possessor) (Numeral) (Adverb (Adjective/Adjective Quantifier) Noun)]

5.1.3.2. Quantifiers

Nine quantifiers form a closed lexical class in Saura. As long as you use quantifiers, it doesn't matter if something is living or dead, animate or inanimate. A noun can be quantified by any of these forms, but they can also be used as stand-alone references to an antecedent. These are also called as adjective quantifiers or indefinite pronouns. It comes in the position of an adjective in the noun phrase template given in 5.16.

Table 5.4. Saura Quantifiers

English Gloss	Saura Quantifiers
<i>ateŋ</i>	much, many
<i>asoi</i>	few, less
<i>aur</i>	plenty, more

ḍiʔle	Every
tulali	Enough
sɔbbeĩ	all, Every
aʝi	Some
kuḍub	all, everything
butti	Any

Some of the examples of quantifiers are given below in (5.16-17).

(5.16) asoi jaʔan

Few fruits

Few fruits

(5.17) aur kɔnta

plenty banana

Plenty of banana

5.1.3.3. Numerals

Saura has a counting system up to twelve. After a long contact with Odia people and government officials, they have started using Odia numeral system for counting. The counting system of Saura is given in table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Numerals

English Gloss	Saura
one	boi

two	bagu
three	jagi
four	unji
five	mɔnlɔj
six	turu
seven	gulji
eight	tanji
nine	timji
ten	gɔlji
eleven	gɔlmui
twelve	migal
twenty	kuɖi

5.1.3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives, possessive pronouns/prefixes, numerals, and quantifiers all serve as nominal modifiers in the Saura language.. It is customary to place the possessive prefix (genitive) before the noun it modifies. In the examples (5.17–5.19), it is demonstrated.

(5.17) suɖa suʔŋ

big house

A big house

(5.18) ɲen-ate suʔŋ

i-GEN house

My house

(5.19) bagu suʔŋ

two house

Two houses

5.1.4. Noun Compounds

A compound noun is formed by combining two distinct words in Saura. Two noun stems or an adjective and a noun stem make up a compound. The prosodic form of each word remains the same throughout the text. what makes a compound is a combination of the two forms seen as one. There is a pattern in the compound's headedness as well. The following is the structure of a compound noun:

$\text{NOUN}_1 + \text{NOUN}_2 = \text{NOUN}_3 (\text{NOUN}_1 \text{NOUN}_2)$

For example,

(5.19) $\text{ta} \dot{\text{d}} \text{ɪ} \text{ŋ} \text{s} \text{ɪ} \text{ŋ} + \text{su} \text{ʔ} \text{ɪ} = \text{ta} \dot{\text{d}} \text{ɪ} \text{ŋ} \text{s} \text{ɪ} \text{ŋ} \text{su} \text{ʔ} \text{ɪ}$

Roof house Roof house

5.1.4. Pronouns

Pronouns are one of the most important lexical categories of any language. It is possible to replace pronouns instead of lexical nouns or adverbial clauses of a sentence in a particular context. It is possible to change the number of pronouns, and they can also be used as an argument or a postposition.

5.1.4.1. Personal Pronouns

First, second, and third-person pronouns are used in a deictic manner to refer to individuals. The pronoun distinguishes between singular and plural depending on the subject's gender. Like full

noun phrases, personal pronouns stand on their own and can be marked with case markers and postpositions just like any other noun. Table 5.5 provides an example of how personal pronouns are used.

Table 5.6. Saura Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	jen	anlen
2 nd Person	aman	ambin
3 rd Person	anin	aninji

There are personal pronouns in every noun position in a sentence. The verb reflects the agreement with the personal pronoun. For example,

- (5.20). aninji parlakhemundi jir-te-ji
 they parlakhemundi go-NPST-3PL
 They will go to Parlakhemundi

It has been observed that case markers are prefixed to the pronouns when occur in an object position. There are times when phonologically similar shortenings are formed by the pronoun and the independent forms. There are examples of independent and shortened forms in table 5.6, as well as in 5.21-22.

Table 5.7. Morphological forms of personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	jen/en/ijn	len

2 nd Person	nəm	Bin
3 rd Person	an	aŋi

(5.21) anin məŋ-len-serəŋ sanna

He/she ABL-we-from small

He/she is younger than me.

(5.22) anin məŋba-nəm siŋi apai-t-ai

He/she LOC-you-near letter send-NPST-3SG

He/she will send you a letter

5.1.4.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Deictic elements such as demonstratives and personal pronouns are “used to draw the listener's attention to specific areas or items during a speech scenario” (Diessel 1999). As the name implies, these pronouns are spatially contrastive, distinguishing between near and far referents. But demonstrative pronouns in Saura don't have proximity distinction. Adverbs are used to show proximity. Intonation also plays an important role in locating the object while using demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns in Saura are presented in table 5.7. below and Some of the examples of demonstrative pronouns are given in (5.22-25) below.

(5.22) kan/kani aboi suɖa ni:b

this one big tree

This is a big tree

(5.23) kun/kuni aboi suɖa ni:b

that one big tree

That is a big tree

(5.24) kanateji mandran-ji bənksa

- these People-PL good
 These people are good
 (5.25) kunateji ajaṇtan-ji
 Those cow-PL
 (5.26) aninji tiʔne ɖa-kuʔ-ji
 They here be-NPST-2PL
 They are here
 (5.27) mandṛan-ji tiʔti mai-lin-ji
 People-PL there gather-PST-3PL
 People gathered there

Table 5.8.Saura Demonstrative Pronouns

English Gloss	Saura
This	kan/kani
That	kun/kuni
These	kan/kani ateji
Those	kun/kuni ateji
Here	tiʔne
There	tiʔti

5.1.4.3. Interrogative Pronouns

Table 5.8 below lists the interrogative pronouns “who, what, when, why, where, how, and how much/many”.

Table 5.9. Interrogative Pronouns in Saura

English Gloss	Saura
---------------	-------

What	Itin
Where	wan
How	eŋagi
When	aŋãn
Whose/Who	butin
How much/many	ɖɛɽiŋan

In information questions, the constituents remain in the same order. Wherever the argument they are questioning is located, interrogative words tend to be found in the vicinity. Examples (5.28) and (5.31) demonstrate this.

(5.28) aman aɲum-nɔm itin ?
you name-GEN What
What is your name?

(5.29) aman suʔɛ-nɔm wan
you house-GEN where
Where is your house?

(5.30) aman aŋãn jir-t-e ?
you when go-NPST-2SG
When will you go?

(5.31) aman ɖeɽiŋan ɲaŋ-l-e ?
You how much get-PST-2SG
How much did you get?

5.3. Verb Morphology

In the previous section, the parts of a noun phrase and their morphology were discussed. In the same way, an overview of verb morphology and the elements that make up verb phrases are discussed in this section. It will be explained here how the many verb morphemes in a clause or phrase are coupled with the verb stem to form a sentence.

5.3.1. Verb Roots/stems

When a verb stem is inflected for tense, aspect and mood, it is known as an inflected verb stem; when it is not, it is known as an uninflected stem. A lot of verb stems in Saura are one-syllable. CV, VCV, and CVC are just some of the syllable shapes that verb stems can take. Examples of verb stems can be found in Table 5.9.

Table 5.10. Saura Verb Stems

English gloss	Saura
To drink	ga
To eat	jum
To play	and̪i
To work	bara
To give	ti²t
To get	neŋ
To go	jit

5.3.2. Agreement

Saura has two types of agreement and they are number and person agreement. ‘*e*’ and ‘*ai*’ are the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular marker. The plural marker is formed by combining both singular marker and plural marker. So ‘*e-ji*’ is the plural marker where ‘*e*’ is the singular marker and ‘*ji*’ is the plural marker. Saura has a different means of expressing plurality, which is to prefix the verb with ‘*a*.’ Some of the examples are illustrated below in (5.32-35).

(5.32) *nen jir-t-e*

t go-NPST-1SG

I go

(5.33) *anin-ji jir-t-e-ji*

they go-NPST-2SG-PL

They go

(5.34) *tanijen-(ji) jir-t-e-ji*

Cow-(PL) go-NPST-3SG-PL

Cows go

(5.35) *ambin a-jir-t-e*

You(PL) PL-go-NPST-2SG

You(PL) go

(5.36) *anlen a-jir-t-e*

We PL-go-NPST-1SG

We go

(5.37) *nen dʰɔŋ-nəm gudɨŋ-t-ai*

I DAT-you call-NPST-1SG

I’ll call you

5.3.3. TAM

Verbs in Saura carry tense information morphologically but not aspect information. It seems that the Saura' perception of time of the action does not have any aspect in it. Modality and evidence are indicated by suffixes that verbs take (see 3.4.5.1). There are two morphological marking of tense and no morphological markings for aspect in Saura as demonstrated by the examples (3.58–3.60).

5.3.3.1. Tense

Saura's finite morphology divides temporal events into the past and the future. The non-past and past temporal morphemes are listed below in (5.38-40).

(5.38) ramə kənten jum-**t-e**

Rama banana eat-NPST-3SG

Rama eats/is eating banana

(5.39) jən kənten jum-**t-ai**

I banana eat-NPST-1SG

I eat/am eating banana

(5.40) jən kənten jum-**l-ai**

I banana eat-PST-1SG

I ate/was eating banana

Past and non-past tenses are distinct in the Saura tense system. The past tense marker is 'l' and non-past tense marker is 't'. The agreement morpheme follows the tense morpheme on a finite verb (i.e. STEM-TENSE-AGREEMENT).

5.3.4. Infinitive Verb

The infinitive form of a verb has three suffix forms: 'bin, ban, and nan.' When asked for these forms in the contact language during elicitation sessions, the majority of speakers provide them. "The infinitive form of a verb" is briefly outlined below in (5.41-43) (5.41-43).

- (5.41) *pen eŋ-bin isum-t-ai*
I fly-INF want-NPST-1SG
I want to fly
- (5.42) *anin bara-ban njirr-et-e(d)*
He/she work-INF go-PST-2SG
He/she went to work
- (5.43) *aninji eŋda-nan isum-t-ai-ji*
They swim-INF Want-NPST-3SG-PL
They wants to swim

5.3.5. Negation

This section describes the negation of a verb by both adding preverbal negative marker 'a' or 'ir' and deleting the tense marker, the negation of imperatives with a negative infix 'dɔŋ' in the verb and finally negation of be verb by placing 'arika/agasa'.

5.3.5.1. Negation with prefix 'a' and 'ir'

The position of this negative element is preverbal. "To negate a declarative sentence, the structure in (5.44-45) is to be used".

- (5.44a) *pen gɔlɔm-t-ai*
I know-NPST-1SG
I know

(5.44b) *nen a-gələm-ai*

I NEG-know-1SG

I don't know

(5.45a) *nen dṛuban gaga-l-ai*

I yesterday eat-PST-1SG

I ate yesterday

(5.45b) *nen dṛuban ir-gagan-ai*

I yesterday NEG-eat-1SG

I didn't eat yesterday

This is a general strategy to negate the declarative sentence.

5.3.5.2. Negation with infix ‘*ḍəŋ*’

To negate an imperative sentence infix ‘*ḍəŋ*’ is used in the verb. In such constructions, the verb doesn't take any other affix other than number and person suffix. Sentence (5.46-47) demonstrate the the use of infix ‘*ḍəŋ*’ for negation.

(5.46a) *gən-ai*

Enter-2SG

Enter

(5.46b) *gən-ḍəŋ-ai*

Enter-NEG-2SG

Don't enter

(5.47a) *irr-ai*

Come-2SG

Come

(5.47b) *irr-ḍəŋ-ai*

Come-NEG-2SG

Don't come

5.3.5.3. Negation with ‘arika’/ ‘agasa’

Another way of expressing negation in Saura is by simply removing the ‘be’ and adding ‘not’ there. “In such cases, one has to employ ‘arika’/ ‘agasa’ to express negation”. This type of negation is expressed in sentence (5.48-49) below.

(5.48a) *nen pɔsiɲen-ʒi ɖaku?*

I child-PL is

I have children

(5.48b) *nen pɔsiɲen-ʒi arika/agasa*

I child-PL NEG

I don’t have children

(5.49a) *aniɲʒi tiʒne ɖaku-ʒi*

They here is-PL

They are here

(5.49b) *aniɲʒi tiʒne agasa-ʒi*

They here NEG-PL

They are not here

5.3.6. Noun Incorporation

Saura has a very interesting feature i.e. noun incorporation. A noun is being incorporated into the verb. The contracted forms of nouns and pronouns are incorporated in the verb. The verb becomes one compound word.

(5.50) *anin giɲ-iɲ-t-ai*

He/she see-1SG-NPST-3SG

He sees me.

Object incorporation has been found in the corpus. In order to understand how many type of noun incorporation are there, a detailed analysis is required and is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

5.3.7. Adverbs

Words which modifies non-noun, this type of word is regarded as an adverb (Schachter 1985: 20). In Saura, there is a separate word class for adverbs. This language's adverbs are nothing more than a list of lexical items. Adverbs are categorised as intensifiers and temporal adverbs in this study.

5.3.7.1. Intensifiers

These adverbs basically modify adjectives or verbs. There are very few adverbs available in this category. *maɖʔ* ‘very’ is one of them. Adjectives and verbs are frequently modified by this adverb.

For example:

- (5.51) *kina maɖʔsuda ʔebulan*
 this very big table
 This is a very big table

5.3.7.2. Temporal Adverbs

The adverbs of time are called temporal adverbs. It includes ‘now’, ‘today’, ‘tomorrow’, ‘yesterday’, ‘last year’ etc. These are shown in Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.11. Temporal Adverbs in Saura

English Gloss	Saura
Today	<i>lɔpẽ</i>

Yesterday	ḍruban
Tomorrow	biḍḍe
Last week	ajiretin apali
Day before yesterday	rumʔḍḥtan
Last year	ajḍretin amejnem
Many years	amḍḥ ajam

5.4. Simple Sentences

The word order in Saura is SOV like any other Indian languages. Declarative sentences in Saura follow the basic constituent order SV. In elicited sentences, this is the most common order of constituents. The following examples are primarily drawn from work done through the process of direct elicitation. It's illustrated in the following examples (5.52-53).

(5.52) *ḥen ḥum-t-ai*

I eat-NPST-1SG

I am eating/eat

(5.53) *anin ḥir-t-e*

He/she go-NPST-3SG

He/she will go

Transitive verbs are those that accept two arguments. SOV is the most common order for declarative sentences, with the agent (subjects) preceding the object and the verb preceding both its arguments in a declarative statement. As an illustration, consider the following: (5.54):

(5.54) *raman kḍnten ḥum-t-e*

rama banana eat-NPST-3SG

Rama eats banana

Ditransitive verbs are those that take three arguments. The same morphology as transitive verbs with two arguments is used to conjugate these verbs. The verb is preceded by all of the arguments. An illustration of this can be seen in the example (5.55) that follows.

(5.55) ꞑen anin-aɗɔŋ kambulan ti²i-l-ai

I he/she-DAT book give-PST-1SG

I gave him/her a book

5.5. Summary

Morphosyntax hands out with the systematic correspondence between the form and meaning of words. Thus, two major frameworks are involved when studying such regularities (i.e. inflection and word formation). Inflection deals with the expression of morphosyntactic properties while word formation concerns the coining of new (complex) words via different morphological processes (i.e. affixation, blending, compounding, etc.). Morphosyntax is also very relevant for the typology of words which takes different forms. Morphosyntactic processes are examined in the context of inflectional morphology: noun and verb morphology, respectively. Noun morphology includes noun stem, pluralisation of nouns, case marking, possession, noun phrase structure, adjectives, noun compounds, pronouns. In verb morphology, inflections on the verb stem such as tense, number, person, negation, incorporation have been discussed thoroughly.

Chapter 6: Language Vitality Assessment of Saura

6.0. Investigating Causes of Endangerment

With the influence of Odia and larger languages like Hindi and English, it is still one of Odisha's most populous tribal groups in terms of speakers. This section investigates the accuracy of this description by firstly considering language shift as a cause of endangerment and identifying the types and processes and motivations for language shift that are described in the general literature on language endangerment, before contextualising the Saura situation through an investigation of language shift in Odisha. Lastly, the Saura speech community's language endangerment and shift causes are investigated and demonstrate the complex interaction of factors that are not so easily accounted for by various distinctions.

6.1. Language Shift: Types, Processes and Motivations

In the absence of natural disasters, disease, or violence, all occurrences of language extinction or endangerment are the result of linguistic change. “a change in the repertoire of the multilingual group's domain-specific language use” might be defined as "language shift" (Matras 2005: 238). When this occurs, “partial or complete abandonment of a group's native tongue in favour of another” is common (Winford 2003: 15). A speech group or individual won't be able to switch from one language to another if they haven't been exposed to other languages. The kind of language shift that occurs in a context of linguistic contact depends on a variety of circumstances. Forced and voluntary linguistic shifts have been identified in the literature. But the distinction between the two isn't evident (Nettle and Romaine 2000; Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 183-186). The term "radical death" refers to when a dominant linguistic group makes the use of their language

mandatory and punishes the minority group for doing so (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). Because they don't want to be singled out for discrimination because of their language, minority language speakers often stop speaking their native tongue. Forced shift is typical of imperial settings, such as colonisation or conquests motivated by religious conflicts, in which “the vocabulary that is replacing it is that of encroaching powers that see themselves as superior and who want to spread their influence throughout other countries” (Brenzinger 1997: 281). All around the world, notably in Southern Africa, Brazil, and Australia, this type of environment has been the primary site of language endangerment (Brenzinger 1997: 281-282). However, the paradigm has shifted, and the majority of today's linguistic shifts are voluntarily undertaken. Community members begin to believe that speaking a language other than their own is in their best interest.” Both “bottom up” and “top down” (Nettle and Romaine 2000) are voluntary shift subtypes; these are also known as “bottom to top” and “gradual” (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). However, in the case of bottom-up shift, language dies out in daily life, but it is preserved in ceremonial or formal areas such as religion or education. For some, it is still possible to express oneself in the community's designated settings, even if only in memorised portions of a ceremony. For others, however, the language is completely lost. Due to the language's limited but esteemed fields of use, it is challenging to determine its vitality. In a top-down shift, official institutions and public spaces, such as government offices, courts, and the church, are the first to lose their language. At this point, the speech community moves to a more widely understood common lingua franca or regional tongue. After a while, the language is only used within the confines of the home. In “regional” or “global” contexts, voluntary language shift is more likely to occur (Brenzinger 1997). “In regional settings, ethnolinguistic minorities are characterised by a limited socio-historical horizon and language shifts” are caused by large-scale population movements; for example, “Various Nilotic, Cushitic,

and Bantu speaking people have migrated to East Africa during the past 5,000 years, frequently at the expense of indigenous populations and this has led to language changes and endangered species” (Brenzinger 1997: 278). In today's globalised world, when a modern state provides an environment for ethnolinguistic minorities, regional settings are becoming less common because of the spread of Western culture (Brenzinger 1997: 281). Social and economic pressures are widespread in a globalised society, and modern communication technology and educational systems have significantly contributed to the global dominance of a small number of languages (Brenzinger 1997: 281-282). This distinction between forced and voluntary shift may not be as clear-cut as it appears in practise. Language shift is slow and may go through numerous stages in instances when the speaker is making a conscious choice to transition from speaking one language to speaking another (Crystal 2000: 78-79). First and foremost, the speech community is under enormous pressure to speak the dominant language. Second, there is a period of bilingualism in which speakers' first language (L1) is primary and used for in-group interactions but speakers become increasingly proficient in the dominant language and use it for wider intergroup communication and/or for specific functions such as trade. The languages thus exist in a diglossic relationship, that is, there are “a speech community may have two or more varieties, and the linguistic behaviour domains are distributed in a way that is complementary to one another” (Schiffman 2000: 205). The stability of diglossic interactions depends on the stability of the linguistic communities. If the stability of a diglossic link between a minority language and a majority language is disturbed, diglossia can result in linguistic shift in those populations. In this third stage, the second language (L2), which was at first used for wider inter-group communication only, is adopted by an increasing number of speakers as their primary language and intrudes upon the first language (L1) in more and more domains. The value of the L1 decreases and consequently

so does the motivation to use it, leading to a breakdown of diglossia and the beginnings of language shift. It's only when they're older that they really start using and mastering the new L1 that they realise just how little they know and how little it matters to them in their daily lives. Eventually, the L1 is completely replaced by the dominant language and the L1 ceases to exist. This process is not discrete because minority groups are not undifferentiated, monolithic wholes and individual speakers may shift to varying extents at different times due to differences in attitude and experience. When a community decides to speak a language other than their own, the most important question is why they think it's in their best interest to do so. It is easy to say that "language changes are ultimately a result of changes in individual and societal beliefs and objectives" (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal 1992: 4) "because language attitudes are reflected in language use patterns" (Kulick 1992: 9). Adapting to a new environment where the use of one's native tongue is no longer advantageous to one's well-being necessitates "speakers abandoning their native tongue." One of the most common reasons people choose to change their native language is due to changes in their social and economic environment. A community's culture, economy, or governmental and institutional policies can all influence its speech community's demographics, as can changes in the community's demography. For this reason, detecting these changes in sociolinguistic characteristics that are distinctive to a certain language contact context is a tough undertaking.

6.1.1. Language shift in Odisha

Odisha is a multilingual state, and its speech communities are vulnerable to language change because of this. Due to linguistic change and extinction, this region is facing an unparalleled transition.. Since then, language endangerment has escalated, and in Odisha, virtually all of the tribal languages are endangered and some are predicted to disappear within the next few decades.

Odia's growing popularity poses a threat. Many communities are experiencing a rapid shift to Odia as the younger generation grows up speaking the language exclusively or with more confidence than their parents. The majority of people today are familiar with and use the Odia language. To facilitate communication among tribal members and others, Desia Odia (an Odian dialect) is frequently employed as a lingua franca. Knowledge of Odia provided significant economic advantages to the communities and they simply added Odia to their linguistic repertoire. A large mobility is to be seen among communities and therefore intermarriage are occurring (though not frequently) between people who did not have a local language in common from among their multilingual repertoires. Linguistically mixed marriages occurred mostly in major towns. It is rare to find communities like Saura that pride themselves on their language as a prominent emblem of their ethnicity.

A shift to Odia does not threaten identity in the same way English to other language in the world. There can be many reasons for the increased use of Odia. One of the reasons could be the increased mobility of tribal communities to population centres such as local towns. The second reason could be the three language formula educational policies that have either discouraged the use of tribal languages and promoted some local languages but consequently left others with lower prestige. The third reason could be the increased role and importance of electronic media which mostly uses English. Because of all these reasons, languages get sidelined and therefore losing prestige.

Factors supporting the shift to Odia includes the mixing of speakers from different language backgrounds due to population mobility (for education or economic prosperity) resulting in more interaction and more need for Odia as a lingua franca; Odia being used in the government,

religious institutions and education; and the growing importance of electronic media. These issues of language endangerment need to be studied in a large scale.

6.1.2. Language Shift in the Saura Community

Saura has mostly given way to Odia in the Saura community. This is substantiated by considering Saura and Odia spoken as a L1 in the community and the number of people who speak these two languages as a L1 reports that except the Older generation who belongs to the age group of 60 and above considers both Saura and Odia as their L1 which is a very recent development. A general increase in language shift and endangerment has occurred over the past two decades, with Odia the biggest concern. The Saura community is therefore not unique in shifting to Odia. Like the rest of tribal communities, sub-colonisation, recent globalisation and various state government policies on agriculture have introduced new economic bases in which Odia is dominant. To put it another way, Odia knowledge provides Saura speakers with significant economic benefits that are not available through Saura. Scholars around the world, however, have pointed out that economic effect on a language, without cultural or political influence, rarely leads to complete loss of the original tongue. Odia was historically less influential because it wasn't the language of the colonial power, which explains why. The aforementioned considerations undoubtedly contributed to the Saura speech community's decision to switch to Odia, but there are other factors that are unique to the Saura speech community. Saura is not represented in the media at all and therefore the increased role and importance of electronic media means that there is more exposure to Odia and other dominant languages like English and Saura loses prestige here.

6.1.3. Saura Specific Factors

The various factors discussed above contribute to shift to Odia across Odisha because they increase the exposure and need for Odia, and may also decrease the support and prestige of a language in a particular domain; however, there are languages in Odisha that are not completely endangered, even though there has been increased mobility to local towns or increased intermarriage, or even though the language might not be well represented in education or the media. That is, increased exposure and need for Odia is not a reason in itself to abandon Saura. Isn't it possible for linguistically diverse groups to simply add Odia to their linguistic repertoire? In light of Saura's diminished efficacy and subsequent demise, what has changed?

This is due to two factors: The Saura linguistic group is vulnerable since it has a tiny speaker base and has historically been a minority. People who speak Saura fluently, semi-fluently, or have some passive knowledge of the language dwell in a specific geographic location. It does not bode well for the future of Saura if most of its younger generation who falls into the age group of 14 to 30 years are either semi-speakers or possess passive knowledge of Saura. Parlakhemundi, Gajapati, has the largest percentage of semi-speakers and persons with passive knowledge of Saura. It's possible that the absence of a language from formal education or mass media will cause attitudes to shift. Since Saura is not used all the time in the church domain though it is supported by resources such as a bible translation. Many speakers even mentioned the difficulty in understanding the translated bible text. Some of them are not even acquainted with the diacritics used in the Bible. This trend has been accelerated by the fact that Saura is underrepresented in government institutions, which increases the number of fields in which it is not utilised or promoted. This, in turn, lowers Saura's status as a language of importance and relevance among speakers. In addition, a number of factors have impacted the Saura community's self-esteem. Some

members of the community do not view Saura as being as powerful as Odia due to its smaller number of speakers in comparison. Secondly, it appears that the Saura speech community has a low socioeconomic and motivational status. The language of Saura is not considered important. Many people in the community may believe that because Saura has no future, they should not speak it or teach it to their children. Few young fluent speakers exist, and those who are semi-fluent feel ashamed of their lack of ability, making it difficult to speak Saura. This, in turn, exacerbates the already dire situation. The speakers' feelings of shame also call into question how voluntary the shift to Odia is. Community members expressed the opinion that Saura is important because it is their culture, and without Saura they have no culture. Some even held the view that someone who does not speak Saura is not part of the community. It was also widely felt that Saura is useful when one wants to keep something secret from an outsider. The majority of speakers believed that Odia is valuable because it is used in travel, employment, local government offices, and other settings and is a state formal language and lingua franca. However, some speakers have an unfavourable opinion of Odia. If people were expressing their true views about the place, overt attitudes toward Saura and actual language behaviour might show a shift from ethnic identity to at least regional or country identity. Saura speakers' feelings toward their native tongue have changed due to a complicated interaction of causes. When it comes to their multilingual repertoire they've added Odia, but Saura has lost its importance and usefulness and is being phased out. A shift in attitudes might not occur if only one of the previously mentioned factors occurs. A single factor cannot explain the language shifts in the Saura speech community because the factors discussed above are all intertwined in a complex situation.

6.2. Evaluation of Assessment Frameworks

Having used the frameworks to assess the vitality status of Saura, it becomes apparent that there are an astounding number of different labels: Saura can be described as “severely endangered” (Mosley 2010), “threatened” and “shifting” (Lewis and Simons 2010) “definitely endangered” (Brenzinger et al. 2003). The reason why there is a common pitfalls with the assessment frameworks are a lack of clear definitions, and general criteria that make it unclear how literally the factors are to be taken. They also do not allow for the fact that individual speakers may shift to varying extents at different times. There was also an assumption that shifts was to a language of a “dominant” group, and all the frameworks applied only to situations of top-down shift. It was easier to understand the strengths and weaknesses of certain factors using the UNESCO framework (Brenzinger et al. 2003), Landweer's (2012) IEV, or the ELCat's LEI (Way and Lee 2013) than it was with Mosley's (2010) framework, GIDS (Fishman 1991), or EGIDS (Lewis and Simons 2010). However, Lewis (2006) found that in order to arrive at an appropriate assessment, additional data and better reporting were required. As a result, many evaluation frameworks fail to discriminate between the symptoms of language endangerment that can be immediately observed and the underlying reasons, which are more difficult to pinpoint and measure (Himmelmann 2010: 46). The following discussion makes this distinction for the factors discussed in the above assessment frameworks (see 1.1.1.) and evaluates the feasibility of identifying such factors.

6.2.1. Total Number of speakers

Several frameworks, including those by Mosely (2010), UNESCO (Brenzinger et al. 2003), Landweer (2012), and ELCat (Way and Lee 2013), all focus on the proportion of native speakers as a gauge of the health of a language's spoken population. If there are many people who speak it, it's assumed to be more important and more secure than if there are only a few people who speak

it. However, it is difficult to come up with accurate numbers. It is crucial to remember that the overall population of an ethnic group does not always include those who speak a traditional language. Second, the term "speaker" is open to interpretation. There are a number of issues to consider when determining the level of proficiency needed to be considered an official speaker. Is it possible to rely on someone else's opinion? A "safe" number of speakers has not been established in the literature even if a precise count of speakers could be determined. For safety reasons, Dixon (1991: 231) recommends that the number of persons who can speak a language should not go below 10,000, although Crystal (2000: 12) states that "most people would accept that a language spoken by fewer than 100 is in an exceedingly perilous condition. Because of the high number of individuals who speak Indian languages like Hindi and Tamil, are these numbers worthless for the Indian population?

“Small speech communities are more vulnerable to annihilation, although” and is more likely to merge with a neighbouring group, even the most widely spoken language could be in danger “a very small language could be absolutely secure as long as the community was operational and the surroundings was stable, but if there were significant external forces on it, it wouldn't be” (“Brenzinger et al. 2003: 8), even a language with a large number of speakers could be in danger “While a very little language may be completely safe as long as the community was functional and the environment was steady, if the external forces on it were great “ (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 41). There are languages which had high numbers of speakers but are now facing extinction, such as Breton in France. The total number of speakers of Saura according to Census of India (2011) is 4, 09,549 whereas the total number of speakers were 252,519 in 2001 census. The total number of speakers have increased by 69.19% and it is a huge increase. But the sudden

increase in the number doesn't actually show any different scenario of Saura. "A language's overall speaker population does not therefore reflect how endangered it is".

6.2.2. Speaker Proportion

To put it another way, a more secure language is one that has a greater proportion of its total population speaking it (Brenzinger et al. 2003), according to the UNESCO framework. However, it is not explicitly stated in Landweer (2012), but Landweer does point out that the language use of immigrants can either increase or decrease the number of speakers. You must collect information on the overall number of people speaking the language and the population in the locations where these speakers live in order to arrive at this metric accurately.. A speaker's proficiency can only be accurately evaluated if the speaker is first defined. As a result, the percentage of speakers matters far more than the total number of people at the event. "The most significant indication of a language's health is the proportion of members of an ethnic group to speakers of that group's native tongue" according to Brenzinger (1997: 276). Because of the lack of opportunities for speakers to use their native tongue in a group setting, non-speakers tend to overpower those who do speak it. It's a bit like this in the case of Sabar, where the conversation eventually turns to Odia.

6.2.3. Domains

"The range of contexts in which a language is used is seen to be a sign of its health" by many frameworks including GIDS (Fishman 1991), EGIDS (Lewis and Simons 2010), "UNESCO" (Brenzinger et al. 2003) and IEV (Landweer 2012). Traditional ways of life may be associated with "existing domains while modern ways of life may be associated with new domains". If a language is to be spoken, there has to be the opportunity to speak the language. If there are fewer

domains where the language is spoken, there is “the speakers have relatively little opportunity to speak their native tongue”. It is therefore widely accepted that “The target language will be reinforced and maintained more strongly in more domains when it is the preferred language” (Landweer 2012: 165). Himmelmann (2010: 46) claims that “both the number and quality of domains” is “one significant sign of the health of a language” and “one definition of language endangerment” as “a sharp drop in the volume and standard of areas where a particular language is employed” (Himmelmann 2010: 47). “Although the quality of domains is equally significant, the quantity is vital because various domains involve different registries”, that is, “a speech community's relevance of a particular domain within the larger language ecology based on the breadth and variety of linguistic behaviour present in that area” (Himmelmann 2010: 46). For example, it could be argued that speaking a language only once a week in church has less bearing on the health of the language than speaking it every day in school. A language's dominance within a domain must also be taken into account. For accurate results, it's necessary to make careful observations when looking into how the language is being used in specific settings. Some members of the Saura community may claim that Saura is used in the church, but closer inspection revealed that this was only the case on rare occasions when a song was performed in Saura. Saura is actually used in very few domains contrary to what the speakers overt attitude say about it.

6.2.3.1. Education Domain

A community may have a variety of educational domains, but schools are one of the most common. GIDS (Fishman 1991), EGIDS (Lewis and Simons 2010) and the UNESCO framework (Brenzinger et al. 2003) all mention school education in their discussion of established and emerging fields, as well as their discussion of whether or not education is a means of transmitting literacy. The more a language is spoken in the school setting, the more likely it is to be used.

Although the language may be endangered if it's not spoken in the school setting, this doesn't necessarily mean that it's in danger of extinction. There are many other factors to consider when looking at language health, such as education and literacy (Brenzinger et al. 2003). For example, as in Gajapati Primary School, a lack of resources can reflect a lack of support for language learning in the school setting, which can result in language shift. This would suggest that every culture has a designated educational setting and desires that their native tongue be recorded, which is not always the case. On the other hand, educational and literacy resources may not necessarily indicate the health of a language. Because of this, it's also problematic to use the absence or presence of materials to prove that language was used at the school. Material does not always mean that a language is being used in an educational context, however. There has been an effort to bring Saura into primary school education by few intellectuals. But as far as reality is concerned, it is not being taught properly in schools though teachers of Saura are being appointed. A strict policy and strong material perhaps can help this situation of Saura.

6.2.3.2. Intergenerational Language Transmission and Home Domain

The only method for determining the vitality of a language is intergenerational language transmission, according to the GIDS (Fishman, 1991) and EGIDS (Lewis and Simons, 2010) frameworks and the UNESCO guidelines (Brenzinger et al. 2003). However, Landweer (2012) considers domains, including the home, but does not mention it explicitly. Observations of child-adult interactions, in particular, may be necessary in order to pinpoint how the language is used in the home. Intergenerational language transmission, which is measured by classifying speakers by age group and determining whether or not speakers are present in the younger generation, can also be used to identify home domain usage. Language maintenance can be tested and predicted by

observing parent-child interactions, as interactions between family members are more likely to reveal the true choice between languages than in more formal situations. A parent's choice to not communicate in their own language may be consciously or subconsciously made by them, or their children may choose to communicate in a different language despite the fact that their parents are transmitting. As a result of a shift in the environment, these decisions would have been made. Intergenerational language transmission has been disrupted as a symptom. The contacts between primary caregivers and their children in the home setting have a significant role in intergenerational language transmission and the future of a language. There has to be a significant number of children who speaks the language. It has been observed that parents in Saura community speak to their children both in Saura and Odia where the frequency of Odia use is higher than Saura.

6.2.4. Government Policy, Prestige, Status and Policies

It has been suggested that UNESCO's framework (Brenzinger et al., 2003) looks at governmental/institutional policies to determine linguistic vitality and that Landweer (2012) looks at prestige and status on a local/regional/national scale as an indicator of linguistic vitality (Landweer, 2012). Also, according to Thomason (2001: 242), "another good indicator of safety is to see which languages are official in one or more nations because official state support is another way to look for "safe" languages". According to Grenoble and Whaley (2006), Although many safe languages have official status in countries, this does not necessarily mean that they are valued more highly. Many languages, however, are provided official protection even though they are not acknowledged as official languages. Even in multilingual countries with a wide range of languages, this is especially true. Just because two languages are legally equal doesn't guarantee their survival in the long run (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 13). A language's institutional attitudes can

also influence its shift, but these attitudes are not indicative of a language's decline. As Landweer states, “as a driving force for language maintenance and shift, the idea of inter-linguistic prestige is invoked” (2012: 168). Prestige is a cause, not an indicator, so it is confusing that Landweer includes prestige as an indicator. It is important to note that this is not one of UNESCO's six indicators of language health as one of their nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003). “Indeed the UNESCO framework” recognises that attitudes are a cause of endangerment, not an indication: “language minority may be motivated to organise their populations to preserve their languages by a state's linguistic ideology, or they may be forced to do so”. “These linguistic attitudes have the potential to be a potent factor for both language promotion and language loss” (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 12). Saura doesn't quite enjoy a positive attitude from the state government.

6.2.5. Community Attitudes and Identity

One of Landweer's (2012) indicators is “social outlook” which refers to describe the markers of cultural distinctiveness. “The value attached to a group's language, and ultimately their choice of language, can depend on how that group sees itself” (Landweer 2012: 168). There are six UNESCO indicators for linguistic vitality (Brenzinger et al. 2003), but this is not one of them. The framework takes into account how community members feel about their language (Brenzinger and colleagues 2003). When it comes to language use, community attitudes and societal pressures play an important role rather than government policy or societal norms (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 15). Because of a shift in attitudes, language changes are inevitable. There is no denying that positive community attitudes to a language are “extremely important for a language's long-term stability”; however, like institutional attitudes and perhaps more so, community attitudes are not a measure of language use and linguistic vitality. There has been no detailed study on Saura language attitude

till date. Several interactions with the speakers during the field study indicates that speakers maintain an overtly positive attitude towards Saura but a thorough study on it is required.

6.2.6. Economic Avenue and Acceptance

According to Landweer (2012), the eighth sign of ethnolinguistic vitality is “having access to a reliable and respectable economic foundation”. “understanding the economic benefits is one of the most prevalent reasons for people to switch from one language to another in a community”, Landweer (2012: 169) correctly states. As a matter of fact, Landweer (2012) describes this factor as a "indicator," but he calls it "motivation." Having access to a secure and respectable economic foundation has no bearing on the vitality of a language; rather, it suggests a potential reason for users' views, which in turn influence language use and choice. Economic prosperity can act as an instrumental motivation for a speech community. Most of the speakers said they are using Odia because it gives them more economic opportunities ultimately resulting to a good lifestyle.

6.2.7. Language Contact

Landweer (2012) considers contact with other language groups to be a factor in language endangerment. There are many factors to take into account while making this determination, such as whether or not a person is able to easily get to areas where they may be exposed to and/or compelled to utilise languages other than their own vernacular. Landweer (2012: 167) also considers social networks as a factor and argues that “Deep and diversified networks can safeguard speakers by separating them from pressures to change brought on by linguistic interaction”. Due to the fact that it is a precondition for language shift, human-to-human contact is a significant element in the decline of a language. Predicting the possibility of language endangerment can be made easier if we know what kind of language contact is taking place. Language shift is only one

possible effect of language contact, and it does not always lead to language change. A language's risk of extinction is not determined by the amount of contact it has with other languages. Thus, contact between Saura and Odia cannot be one of the factors for language endangerment.

6.2.8. Code-switching

Landweer's (2012) IEV is the only framework to consider "the frequency and type of code-switching as an indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality". "Code switching is used as a temporary marker of group identification to renegotiate role relationships within a communication context, and since language contact and use are mitigating factors against language change for that person, the frequency and type of code switching within a community of speakers' communication patterns has an impact on the strength of the vernacular code in that community" (Landweer 2012: 166).

Landweer (2012) distinguishes "inter-sentential" code-switching from "intra-sentential". "There is frequently inter-sentential code-switching at important communication borders". Diglossia or long-term bilingualism may be indicated by code-switching. As a general rule, intra-sentential code-switching is common in groups of people. When intra-sentential code-switches occur more frequently, they put the language at risk. The present findings suggest that fluent multilingual speakers of Saura tended to switch at intra-sentential level whereas non-fluent multilingual speakers switched between sentences. Because more research is needed, an ethnolinguistic viability assessment framework cannot yet account for the link between code-switching and language extinction.

6.3. Saura Speakers in Transition: the attributes of Language Endangerment

In the next century, Saura will be one of the 6000 to 7000 languages that will be extinct from the planet. As with any language, its disappearance would be a major loss to the field of linguistics, science and the community. As a result of a language shift to Odia, specifically a voluntary, top-down shift, Saura is in danger. Since so many factors are intertwined, It is quite challenging to carefully pinpoint the root causes of language loss. Environmental changes affect speaker attitudes, and those attitudes in turn influence the language used by the speaker. Economic and cultural changes are taking place in the Saura area. With so many different linguistic backgrounds, Desiya Odia and Odia have become more widely known and in demand as the lingua franca. The lack of or weak representation in institutions like schools, churches, and the media has led to the widespread use of In these areas, Saura's reputation is being tarnished. The number of Saura speakers has decreased, reaching its lowest point ever recorded due to a multitude of other issues. There are fewer opportunities to speak Saura because educational institutions do not support it. This has a negative impact on speakers' perceptions of economic opportunities in Saura. The idea that Saura is a weak and endangered language may have contributed to a shift in attitudes. Because of this shift, even if it was done subconsciously, the use of Odia is now even more prevalent. It's also a concern that intergenerational transmission is taking place. All domains are dominated by Odia, though Saura is spoken by some Saura people in these domains. But the frameworks presented here were not able to provide any further insight into the vitality status of Saura. In the process of creating new model frameworks, Saura's evaluation uncovered some flaws that must be addressed. Any assessment model should employ clear definitional criteria for each level. “Languages do not totally vanish from domains in a logical sequence”. So the quality, as well as number of domains should be considered. A good assessment model separates the individual

components of the assessment so that it is easier to find a level that is appropriate in all respects, and to identify where strengths and weaknesses lie. It is necessary to ensure that there is no bias towards a particular end of the scale so that the assessment model can be used to assess languages with a range of vitality statuses, from the more endangered to the safer languages. All language shifts are not top-down, and there is no need to assume that all speech communities will switch to the language of a "dominant" group in an effective assessment framework. Developing a model which is relevant to a diverse range of circumstances and cultures is certainly challenging but perhaps this will be possible with more studies of endangerment scenarios. Assessing Saura also emphasised the need for detail observations. To account for the complexities that a thorough evaluation may reveal but not necessitate it, an evaluation framework should accommodate those cases where it is not feasible. Although the existing frameworks were useful in highlighting some of the factors involved in situations where languages were endangered, they often confused indicators and causes of language endangerment. Finally, Language endangerment indicators and causes can be difficult to distinguish. One indicator of a language's vitality is the number of native speakers in a particular location, although other elements, such demographic changes, may also be at play. However, changes in domain utilisation can lead to changes in attitudes and language in addition to the quantity and quality of the domains being crucial indicators of vitality. A particular factor might even be "a symptom and a cause of language shift at the same time"; for example, a decrease in domains leads to intergenerational transmission ceasing, which is a symptom of shift, but at the same time will most likely cause demographic changes.

Despite the difficulty in separating symptoms and causes, it is nevertheless possible to do so. Language death, by any definition, means that the language is no longer being spoken. That's why it's so important that we take into account how much use is given to a language to determine

how close to death it is. The quantity and quality of domains offered, along with the percentage of speakers in the community, all contribute to a region's linguistic life. The more domains and speakers there are, the more likely it is that a language will be adopted. In order to arrive at an accurate conclusion, one must take into account both of these aspects. When a language is only spoken by a small number of people, it might not be extensively used. Intergenerational transmission is influenced by both the home and school environments. It is also an indicator because it shows how widely the language is used in these areas and how far it will go in the future. The Saura community's investigation into language endangerment has revealed that sociolinguistic variables are responsible for language endangerment. It has been described the ways these variables interact with each other in the Saura setting. The assessment of Saura's linguistic vitality status using the current assessment frameworks draws attention to the fact that would make a successful assessment model and the indicators that should be considered. When doing an assessment, it's crucial to distinguish between causes and symptoms because they can serve various functions. As a result, a two-way model for investigating both issues could be created. These models should emphasize on those languages that need documentation.

6.4. Summary

Saura is an endangered language, thus in order to better understand its decline, it explores the factors that led to its move to Odia and in the Saura community. It also applies and critically assesses linguistic vitality evaluation frameworks to Saura. The first in-depth analysis of the linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of the intricacies of language contact in the Saura language is provided by the language contact study, which also advances broader research on language contact and language endangerment.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.0. Introduction

Chapters one through three have attempted to sketch out some of the details of Saura's current state and linguistic usage. More than 4 million speakers of the endangered Munda language, Saura, can be found in India. This thesis describes some grammar levels and investigates language endangerment in this language. Previous chapters discussed various aspects of grammatical structure, including phonology, morphosyntax, and basic syntax.

The Saura language community is also examined in this thesis, as is language shift and extinction. It provides a thorough explanation of the sociolinguistic, cultural, geopolitical, and demographic environment in which the language is spoken. Let's now examine the findings in detail.

7.1. Findings

The goal of the thesis was to examine the linguistic life of Saura, which is listed as one of the most endangered languages. The thesis has also documented the phonology and morphosyntax of Saura. This is why different endangered language classification frameworks are being discussed thoroughly which include Endangered Language Framework by Moseley (2010), “Language Endangerment Criteria by Lewis et al (2014)”, Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and Lewis and Simons’s (2010) Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework (2003), “Landweer’s Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (IEV) (2012)” and “Catalogue of Endangered Languages Project’s (ELCat) Language Endangerment Index (LEI) (Way and Lee 2013)”. Field research on Saura gives us important information including demographic, geographic, historical,

sociolinguistic and genetic information on Saura. The thesis looked into why and how much Saura is on the verge of extinction. It also examined the reasons why people choose to speak Odia rather than their mother tongue as the primary language in their community. The language transition from Saura to Odia is being caused by a number of factors. One of the factors is the population mobility resulting in more need for Odia as a lingua franca. Some of the other factors are absence of Saura in media, not properly represented in the educational system, more number of semi-speakers in the age group of 14 to 30 years, low socio economic status, a belief by older generation that Saura is not going to be beneficial to their youngsters in future. It then critically evaluates linguistic vitality assessment frameworks to Saura. This work offers the first thorough analysis of the linguistic and sociolinguistic implications of contact in Saura, which will be useful for general research on language endangerment and linguistic interaction.

The thesis also gives a phonological sketch of Saura. It found out that “Saura phoneme inventory consists of fifteen consonants and five vowels”. Checked consonants are there in Saura where final consonants of the words are indistinctly uttered. Some of the plosives are not fully released. CV syllable is the most common and attested syllable in Saura. A Saura word can begin with CV or V syllable. There are four possible attested syllable types. Vowel length is not phonemic in Saura.

The thesis also gives morphosyntactic sketch of Saura. Nouns in Saura often ends in ‘n’, ‘en’, ‘an’ when they are in nominative case. The plural marker in Saura is /-ji/. Saura has nine quantifiers (see chapter 5). It has a counting system upto twelve. Nominal modifiers include adjectives, possessive pronouns, numerals, and quantifiers. When inflecting a verb for tense, aspect, or mood, the verb's stem must be changed. Uninflected stems are only present in verb forms with greater complexity. Verb stems in Saura mostly are monosyllabic. Saura has number and

person agreement on verb. Verbs carry tense information morphologically but not aspect information. Saura has two tenses such as past and non-past. Saura has three types of negation. It negates a sentence by adding ‘a’ and ‘ir’ to the verb. It negates an imperative sentence by adding infix ‘dɔŋ’. Negative word ‘arika’/ ‘agasa’ is used to negate a sentence as well. One of the most unique features of Munda languages is noun incorporation and Saura is no exception to this. The contracted form of a noun/pronoun gets incorporated into a verb. Adverbs play the role of intensifier in a sentence.

7.2. Concluding Remarks

The Saura people have maintained their population with surprising resilience in the past seventy to eighty years. The language may or may not continue to flourish in the next period of its history as it goes through a transition phase. Saura language studies are ongoing, and this thesis is a small step in that direction. We must begin by emphasising that Saura has the potential to remain a vibrant, living language for many years to come. Its current user base has the size and diversity to ensure its long-term viability. No one can guarantee this will happen on its own, though.

7.7. Implications for Future Research

Current research aimed to find out what was causing Sauran's language to be endangered and how to fix the problem. The result suggests that Saura is in a transition phase of language endangerment. It seems to be well maintaining the language in the present circumstances, but in order to keep this maintenance in place in “a lot of effort both from within the community and outside the community needs to be initiated”. The efforts of state and local governments, as well as elementary schools, may be critical in ensuring the survival of this language. The combination of in-depth grammatical analysis and social and sociolinguistic approaches may play an important role in the field of

language endangerment when studying language endangerment from linguistic and social perspectives. Examining the following points will help determine whether Saura truly is an endangered species. As a starting point, we need to work on the proper parameters that can identify a real speaker based on the total number of speakers. Real speaker must be established, and this is an obvious task to undertake. To begin with, grammatical scholars have paid insufficient attention to the differences between native speakers. By combining or averaging data for speaker groups, sociolinguistic studies frequently hide the variations between people's speech. The significance of individual variance in comprehending social and communicative components of language is starting to become clear to practitioners in both domains. The above-mentioned areas appear to be crucially understudied and in need of further investigation. Our understanding of endangered languages will be enhanced if we investigate these questions.

A foundation for future studies on endangered languages, language shifts, and language loss is expected to be laid out by this research. Specifically, the Saura language will be examined.

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Appendix 1: SPPEL QUESTIONNAIRE (Word List and Sentences)

Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages

Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

SENTENCE QUESTIONNAIRE

	Noun Phrase
	Noun + Noun
	The field investigator may also probe for the plural or singular pair of the object in the following phrases
1.	His house
2.	Your house
3.	Their son
4.	My child
5.	Our hands
6.	Their house
7.	Her eyes
8.	Her basket
9.	Two books of yours
10.	Its shed
	Noun + Adjective
	The field investigator may also probe for the plural or singular pair of the object in the following phrases. One may also collect the Noun + Adjective type phrases where the head noun is an animate/nonanimate, kinship/distant etc pair of the object here.
11.	The good boy
12.	The good girl
13.	The good child
14.	This good story
15.	The bad child
16.	The small child
17.	The big book
18.	The white horse
19.	The large house
20.	Dirty hand
21.	Big baskets, big books, white horses (etc more bare plurals)

22.	The clever boy
23.	The clever girl
	CASE, AGREEMENT and COINDEXING
	SENTENCES EXPRESSING CASE CATEGORY
	NOMINATIVE CASE
24.	The boy is playing
25.	The boy is playing with a ball
26.	The boy played well
27.	He stands there
28.	The child stands there
29.	The Government gives money to poor
30.	Ramu will not come tomorrow
31.	Mahesh ate the mango
32.	Mother will cook now
	ACCUSATIVE CASE
33.	We beat the cows
34.	He killed the bird yesterday
35.	They caught the thief in market
36.	The children caught the fish
37.	The hunter caught the deer
38.	The boy ate a banana
39.	The girl had eaten the meals
	INSTRUMENTAL CASE
40.	The boat is tied to the shore with rope
41.	Write with my pen
42.	Houses collapsed due to earthquake
43.	The tree is cut with axe
44.	The hair is cut with scissors
45.	The forest is destroyed by fire
46.	The children caught the fish with fishing rods
47.	Ram wrote the letter with my pen
48.	Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail
49.	I bought everything in ten rupees
	DATIVE CASE
50.	Go to my house
51.	Come to my house

52.	My son has gone to the school
53.	Go to the market
54.	Come to the bazar
55.	We shall go to the film
56.	Ram gave the book to Shyam.
57.	Sita served the food to the guests.
58.	We led the cows to the shed.
	ABLATIVE CASE
59.	He fell down from my window
60.	The leaves fall from the tree
61.	Tomorrow onwards the buses will not run
62.	He is on leave from tomorrow
63.	Rain starts from the month of July
64.	The boy took the book from the shelf
65.	Mohan bought the table from the market
66.	He jumped from the top of the house
	POSSESSIVE CASE
67.	These are my houses
68.	That is his knife
69.	Those are my books
70.	This man is my friend
71.	Don't turn the book's pages
	LOCATIVE CASE
72.	I am in my house
73.	My children are in the school
74.	The parrot is on the tree
75.	The book is on the table
76.	Come near the school
77.	Keep the money inside the bag
78.	He killed the bird in the garden
79.	They walked around the field
80.	The book is below the table
81.	The bird flew over the head
82.	Nobody is at home
	MORE SENTENCES OF CASE, AGREEMENT, COINDEXING
83.	I am sad
84.	Ram is hungry/thirsty/in pain
85.	Pick up the book and keep it on the table

86.	Give the horse the feed
87.	Wash the clothes please
88.	Ram wrote a letter to his mother yesterday
89.	Curd is made from milk
90.	Ravan fought with Ram
91.	The leaves fall from trees in autumn
92.	Give me some money for my daughter
93.	Flowers are blooming in the garden
94.	The book is on the table
95.	Clothes are kept on the top of the box
96.	Books are kept at the bottom of the box
97.	There is a garden behind my house
98.	There is a mango tree in front of my house
99.	Sister will go shopping only with her friends
100.	Ram's sister's wedding is tomorrow
101.	Ram's cap is blue
102.	Buy twenty-five rupees' sugar [ie for Rupees]
103.	Before went to her house I changed my clothes
104.	After coming back from the movie went to sleep
	POSTPOSITION
105.	I feel sorry for my son
106.	He came along with me
107.	He works under me
108.	From Tuesday midnight the buses stopped working
109.	The tree is on that side of the road
110.	The tree is on this side of the road
111.	I am near the tree
112.	I am far from the tree
113.	I am on the tree
114.	I am beside the tree
115.	He sleeps under the tree
116.	The dog came behind me
117.	The bird flew over the head
118.	He is before you in the line
	OTHERS (other types of pronoun) (potential/capability)
119.	Everything is lost
120.	All those you called have come

121.	Anybody can do this work
122.	Nobody can do this work
123.	Anyone can do this work
124.	No one can lift this stone
125.	None of them came for this marriage
126.	Everybody has to come for the meeting
127.	The man who died yesterday was a singer
128.	The woman who talked to you is my sister
129.	This is the man whom i met yesterday
130.	This is the dog that bit the boy
131.	This is the man whose shirt was stolen last night
132.	That is the place where the cows graze
	INCLUSIVE/EXCLUSIVE
	The field investigator may check for the dual number also
133.	Yesterday we had gone to see the movie (-addressee)
134.	Yesterday we had gone to see the movie (+addressee)
135.	Let us go now (-addressee)
136.	Let us go now (+addressee)
	VERB
	COMPOUND VERBS
137.	The old elephant died
138.	By the time papa came home his friend had left
139.	Give me the letter
140.	Get out!
141.	Please knit a sweater [for me]
142.	Please knit a sweater [for yourself]
143.	See Lakshmi sing!
144.	He sat down
	CONJUNCT VERBS/ CONVERBS
145.	Having eaten his meal papa went out for a stroll
146.	Read the letter loud (Hindi example)
147.	See the house properly (Hindi example)
148.	He did not do well having cheated his own brother
149.	Go and see (Hindi example)
150.	He hit me and ran away
	TENSE

	The following variants may be probed by the investigator for different person pronouns I Person - Singular, Dual, Plural, Inclusive Plural, Exclusive Plural etc II Person - Singular, Singular Honorific, Singular Non-honorific, Dual, Plural etc III Person - Masculine/Feminine/Neuter (all in their Singular and Plural forms) Honorific Proximate, Honorific Remote, Non-honorific Proximate, Non-honorific Remote
	SIMPLE PRESENT
151.	I see the bird
152.	We see the bird
153.	You see the bird
154.	He sees the bird
155.	She sees the bird
156.	It sees the bird
157.	They see the bird
158.	I go to the market
159.	We go to the market
160.	You go to the market
161.	He goes to the market
162.	She goes to the market
163.	It goes to the market
164.	They go to the market
165.	I come here
166.	We come here
167.	You come here
168.	He comes here
169.	She comes here
170.	It comes here
171.	They come here
172.	The child comes here
173.	The children come here
174.	The people go there
175.	All go there
176.	It flies over the head
	SIMPLE PAST
177.	I saw the bird
178.	We saw the bird
179.	You saw the bird
180.	He saw the bird

181.	She saw the bird
182.	It saw the bird
183.	They saw the bird
	SIMPLE FUTURE
184.	I will see the bird
185.	We will see the bird
186.	You will see the bird
187.	He will see the bird
188.	She will see the bird
189.	It will see the bird
190.	They will see the bird
	ASPECT
	PERFECT
	PRESENT PERFECT ASPECT
191.	I have seen the bird
192.	We have seen the bird
193.	You have seen the bird
194.	He has seen the bird
195.	She has seen the bird
196.	It has seen the bird
197.	They have seen the bird
	PAST PERFECT ASPECT
198.	I had seen the bird
199.	We had seen the bird
200.	You had seen the bird
201.	He had seen the bird
202.	She had seen the bird
203.	It had seen the bird
204.	They had seen the bird
	FUTURE PERFECT ASPECT
205.	I shall have seen the bird
206.	We shall have seen the bird
207.	You(sg) will have seen the bird
208.	He will have seen the bird
209.	She will have seen the bird
210.	It will have seen the bird
211.	They will have seen the bird

	CONTINUOUS
	PRESENT CONTINUOUS ASPECT
212.	I am coming here
213.	We are coming here
214.	You are coming here
215.	He is coming here
216.	She is coming here
217.	It is coming here
218.	They are coming here
	PAST CONTINUOUS ASPECT
219.	I was seeing the bird
220.	We were seeing the bird
221.	You were seeing the bird
222.	He was seeing the bird
223.	She was seeing the bird
224.	It was seeing the bird
225.	They were seeing the bird
	FUTURE CONTINUOUS ASPECT
226.	I will be seeing the moon
227.	We will be seeing the bird
228.	You will be seeing the moon
229.	He will be seeing the moon
230.	She will be seeing the moon
231.	It will be seeing the moon
232.	They will be seeing the moon
	PERFECT CONTINUOUS ASPECT
	PRESENT PERFECT CONTINUOUS ASPECT
233.	I have been seeing the bird
234.	We have been seeing the bird
235.	You have been seeing the bird
236.	He has been seeing the bird
237.	She has been seeing the bird
238.	It has been seeing the bird
239.	They have been seeing the bird
	PAST PERFECT CONTINUOUS ASPECT
240.	I had been seeing the bird
241.	We had been seeing the bird
242.	You had been seeing the bird

243.	He had been seeing the bird
244.	She had been seeing the bird
245.	It had been seeing the bird
246.	They had been seeing the bird
	FUTURE PERFECT CONTINUOUS ASPECT
247.	I shall have been seeing the bird
248.	We will have been seeing the bird
249.	You will have been seeing the bird
250.	He will have been seeing the bird
251.	She will have been seeing the bird
252.	It will have been seeing the bird
253.	They will have been seeing the bird
	HABITUAL
254.	I used to go to office at 9 o'clock
255.	We used to go to office at 9 o'clock
256.	You used to go to office at 9 o'clock
257.	He used to go to market (bazaar) at 9 o'clock
258.	She used to go to office at 9 o'clock
259.	It goes to the garden for grazing at 10 o'clock
260.	The sun rises in the east
261.	They go to field at 9 o'clock
	AUXILIARY
262.	I may come
263.	He may kill the bird
264.	I should come
265.	He might have gone before I reach them
266.	He may still come
267.	I should have done the work
268.	I could have done the work
	MOOD
	INDICATIVE
269.	He is in the house
270.	The children see me
271.	I go to the house
272.	The cows give mlk
273.	We ride the horses

274.	She stands there
275.	He reads a book
276.	The dog barks
277.	He gives me 5 rupees
	IMPERATIVE
278.	Call your daughter
279.	Remove the grass
280.	Close the door
281.	Come in
282.	Sit down/Please sit down
283.	Come after 4 O'clock
284.	Take your seat amongst the boys
285.	Bring some water
286.	Admission is prohibited
287.	Get lost!
288.	Read this book
289.	Bring the book back
290.	Go home
291.	Stand on the table
292.	Speak slowly
293.	Write the words neatly
	CONDITIONAL
294.	If he works hard he will succeed
295.	If the train is late we may catch it
296.	If you come in time we will examine this
297.	If I am well I will come tomorrow
298.	If I am there, you will have (some) support
299.	If you don't give me the sweets, I will cry
300.	If you will hit me I will cry
301.	If he had come earlier he would have seen the letter
302.	If he asks me will certainly tell the whole story
303.	If he can come then he should
304.	The paddy crops could have been very good if the rains were received in time
	OBLIGATORY
305.	You should eat two bananas
306.	Anyhow you must come
307.	That horse is to be sold
308.	He should write a book

309.	One should go to find a job
	OPTATIVE
310.	Let him go
311.	Let her go
312.	Let it go
313.	Let them all come
314.	Let some of you go and fetch the cow.
	HORTATIVE
315.	Let us go to Bangalore tommorrow
316.	We shall do that work
317.	shall we send the order
318.	shall we eat now
319.	shall we visit that hill
	INTERROGATIVE
320.	What is your name?
321.	Is she your sister ?
322.	Where are your children ?
323.	What do you eat ?
324.	How many children do you have?
325.	How old are you ?
326.	When do you get up ?
327.	Shall I go there ?
328.	Why are you going ?
329.	Who is he ?
330.	Whose horse is that ?
331.	Can you do it ?
332.	Which train will you get?
333.	Where do you stay?
334.	How are you?
335.	When are you going home?
336.	Why are you going to Delhi?
337.	Who is he/she?
338.	How much did you get?
339.	Have you eaten?
340.	Shall I come tomorrow?
341.	Did you see the papers today?
342.	Will you be cooking today at home?
343.	What do you think he was thinking?

344.	Which one is your brother?
	REFLEXIVE
345.	I ate it myself
346.	I made the kite myself
347.	We went there ourselves
348.	You wash the clothes yourself/yourselves
349.	She lifted the pot herself
350.	He studied the lessons himself
351.	It died by itself
352.	They built the house themselves
	TRANSITIVE & INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES
353.	Water boils
354.	I boil water
355.	He boils water
356.	You boil water
357.	We boil water
358.	They boil water
359.	Grapes grow
360.	We grow grapes
361.	They grow grapes
362.	She grows grapes
363.	The horse runs
364.	I run the horse
365.	We run the horse
366.	She runs the horse
367.	He sees the child
368.	I eat bread
369.	The boy falls
370.	the baby smiles
371.	Rama runs quickly
	SIMPLE/DECLARATIVE SENTENCES
372.	This is a house
373.	These men are tall
374.	That man is fat
375.	Those men are strong
376.	That girl is deaf
377.	Those girls are beautiful
378.	I like these five books

379.	The dog barks at the cat
380.	My sisters are here
381.	His children are young
382.	My name is Narayan
383.	I live in the village
384.	That is a horse
385.	This is my usual food
386.	I go there
387.	He comes to me
388.	She comes to our house
389.	They come to school
390.	We go there
391.	You go there
392.	Snake goes there
393.	Here is a cat
394.	There are two cows
395.	There are two big villages
396.	Sita is eating a ripe mango
397.	Ram cut the mango
398.	The children cut the mango with the knife
399.	Rizwan cut his fingers while cutting the mango
400.	Ruth ate the mango in the bus
401.	Salma ate the mango in the morning
402.	The child ate up all the sweets
403.	Ram is eating a Mango
	COMPLEX SENTENCES
404.	I shall go if he comes
405.	If horses had wings they would have flown
406.	I shall go after he comes
407.	He did the work before you did
408.	Although he was not hungry, he ate the meal
409.	I will stay here until you come
410.	He threw the ball as far away as he could
411.	If the police comes then the thief will be caught
412.	If you take the medicine (then) the disease will be cured
	COMPOUND SENTENCES

	COORDINATING SENTENCES
413.	Work in the day and sleep at night
414.	Some fish are big and some are small
415.	Here is a cat and a dog
416.	My foot slipped and I fell down
417.	I would have come yesterday but due to my ill health I did not come
418.	The siren blew at 8 O'Clock and people started working
419.	I could not find my fishing net so I did not go to the river today
420.	You return the money otherwise you will get a beating
421.	We did not receive the rain sufficiently hence the crops were not good.
422.	Rama asked Krishna to come but Krishna had no time.
	COMPARATIVE/CONTRASTING SENTENCES
423.	River water is cleaner than lake water
424.	The Ganga water is the cleanest
425.	Bombay weather is wet but Delhi weather is dry
426.	India is corrupt but Japan is not
427.	My uniform is whiter than his uniform
	EXCLAMATORY SENTENCES
428.	How tall you have grown!
429.	He seems still young!
430.	What a beautiful temple it is !
431.	What a beautiful rainbow in the sky !
	CAUSATION
432.	Mother fed the baby
433.	Mother made the ayaa [nurse] feed the baby
434.	Shila asked Ratna to make Sita rise
435.	The teacher made the child study
436.	The forest officer is making the wood-cutter cut the trees
437.	The sister is making the little brother sleep
438.	If he had made him study computers he would have got the job by now
439.	Alas, my parents had made me study science!
	PASSIVES
440.	Father got all the papers thrown away by the servant
441.	The girl is getting the varandah cleaned by the maid
442.	Trees were cut
443.	Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a bomb
444.	The bottle broke (by me)

445.	Rice is eaten in the Southern India
446.	The money has been taken by me
447.	It is said that the man is not trust-worthy.
448.	Your coat is being stitched
449.	The bread is eaten by him
450.	Money was given by the Govt. to the poor
451.	The book was being read by him
	INCAPABILITATIVES
452.	Because of cold, writing cannot be done by me
453.	The food cannot be eaten fast by the child
	NEGATIVES
454.	I don't go to school
455.	We will not go to Jaipur tomorrow
456.	He did not go to school yesterday
457.	The child did not hit his/her sister
458.	Because they did not study they failed in the exams
459.	Neither my mother came nor my sister
460.	The old elephant did not die
461.	This is not edible
462.	Do not go near the fire
463.	I should not have done the work
464.	He did not do the work
465.	She has not done the work
466.	They cannot do it
467.	You must not remain here
468.	I shall not come tomorrow
469.	These are not good words
470.	I have nothing with me
471.	It is impossible
472.	We have never seen you before
473.	That man has not come yet
474.	The work was not done
	COORDINATION (PHRASES)
475.	Ram and Sita both went to watch the movie
476.	Children ate and drank cold water
477.	Mary is beautiful but ill natured
478.	Sohail will help but not Reshma
	NON-FINITE FORMS

	INFINITIVES, COMPLEMENTS
479.	We go to the sea to catch fish
480.	He liked to eat fruit
481.	I told you to come
482.	Birds love to sing
483.	Many men desire to make money quickly
484.	Who does not like to eat well?
485.	Because of his coming back his mother could survive
486.	He told me that he was leaving the town soon
487.	She said that she likes to cook
488.	My sister told me that it rained heavily last night
	PARTICIPIAL NOUNS
489.	She collected the fallen fruits
490.	Printed books are easy to read
	VERBAL NOUN/GERUND
491.	Running is done by the horse
492.	Falling leaves look beautiful in Autumn
493.	Barking dogs seldom bite
494.	He is fond of playing cricket
495.	I bought a singing bird
496.	Swimming is good for health
497.	Smoking is dangerous to health
	RELATIVIZATION, PARTICIPIALIZATION, ADJECTIVES
498.	The boy who had fever died yesterday
499.	Call the boy who broke the glass
500.	Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday
501.	Throw away the broken branch
502.	The tail cut monkey was a nuisance
503.	The cap which was hung on the nail, fell
504.	The fevered boy died
505.	Call the glass-breaker boy
506.	Call the tea-drinker boy
507.	The hung cup fell down
508.	The innocent child
509.	The child is innocent
	ECHO-FORMATIONS
510.	Please have some tea, etc

511.	He has gone to buy some stationary, etc
512.	He got some chairs, etc on his marriage
513.	Sit, etc (imperative) [<i>try this with formal, informal and intimate forms</i>]
514.	I cannot walk, etc, (<i>Hindi example</i>)
515.	Why do you get angry, etc?
516.	Children go to study carrying bag, etc
517.	The throat does not go bad by singing, etc
	REDUPLICATION
518.	He was walking slowly slowly
519.	He came again and again
520.	What all did he eat?
521.	Who all came to the party?
522.	When when (how often) will you go to Ranchi?
523.	Where all Ram found Sita's ornaments?
524.	He got tired (of) sitting sitting
525.	I got bored writing letters
526.	She spoke while eating
527.	The child fell down while walking on the footpath
528.	While/As he was watching, the thieves ran away with the cash
529.	Give me hot hot coffee
530.	Red red apples are juicy
531.	Bring sweet sweet mangoes
532.	How are you going to jump over these high high hedges?
533.	Give me little little of every variety of sweets
534.	Don't come after me (<i>Hindi example</i>)
535.	Sometime or the other (<i>Hindi example</i>) he will come back to me
	CLASSIFIERS
536.	Two books were stolen
537.	Longish bamboo was lying there
538.	Round moon
539.	One girl/boy
	QUANTIFIERS
	INTENSIFIERS
	CLITICS (Different Types)

Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages

Central Institute of Indian Languages

(Ministry of Human Resource Development, Dept. of Secondary and Higher Education, Govt. of India)

Manasagangotri, Mysore -6

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FIELDWORK

Personal Profile of the Informant

1. Name of the respondent :
2. Sex :
3. Age :
4. Education :
5. Occupation :
6. Address
Residence :
Place of work :
7. Marital status :
8. If married, spouse's name : 9. Spouse's education : 10. Spouse's
occupation :
11. Parents' name :
Father :
Mother :
12. Parents' education :
Father :
Mother :
13. Parents' occupation :
Father :
Mother :
14. How many Brothers & Sisters :

Language Identification

- a. What is your Mother tongue?
- b. What are the other names of your mother tongue (if any)?
- c. What are the other languages do you know?
- d. Is your Language written down?
 - i. If yes, in what script?

Domains of Use:

1. What language do you speak at home?
 - 1.a With parents?
 - 1.b With grandparents?
 - 1.c With spouse?
 - 1.d With children?
 - 1.e With grandchildren?
 - 1.f With siblings?
 - 1.g With ancestors who have passed away?
 - 1.h With pets and livestock?
2. What language do you speak at school?
 - 2.a With the teacher in the classroom?
 - 2.b With the teacher outside the classroom?
 - 2.c With friends in the classroom?
 - 2.d With friends outside the classroom?
3. What language do you speak at a market?
 - 3.a With the same tribe/community merchant?
 - 3.b With other tribe/community merchant?
 - 3.c With an acquaintance?
4. What language do you speak at a place of worship?
 - 4.a Praying to gods?
 - 4.b Reciting or performing rituals?
 - 4.c Singing religious songs?
 - 4.d Talking with other worshippers?
 - 4.e For religious discussions at the place of worship?
5. What language do you speak to a stranger?
6. What language do you speak to the Healer/Native Doctor?
7. Is your language used in the mass media?
 - a. Radio
 - b. TV
 - c. News paper, Journals, etc...
 - d. Others

Ethno-Demographic:

1. How long did you live in this place?
2. When did you come to this place?
3. Where did you live before moving into this place?

Investigator Profile

1. Name of the investigator :
2. Date :
3. Place of the interview :
4. State :
District :
Zone :
Island :
Dialect Area :

WORDLIST

Natural Objects	
1.	air
2.	brass
3.	bronze
4.	brook
5.	cave
6.	clay
7.	cloud
8.	coal
9.	copper
10.	Coral
11.	darkness
12.	desert
13.	dew
14.	dust

15.	earth
16.	earthquake
17.	echo
18.	ember
19.	fire
20.	flood
21.	fog
22.	forest
23.	gold
24.	ground
25.	heat
26.	high tide
27.	hill
28.	ice
29.	lake
30.	lead
31.	lightning
32.	low tide
33.	magnet
34.	marble
35.	metal
36.	mica
37.	moon
38.	mountain
39.	mud
40.	nature
41.	night
42.	pebble
43.	planet
44.	pond
45.	rain
46.	river
47.	rock
48.	sand
49.	sea
50.	sky
51.	slope
52.	snow
53.	star
54.	stone
55.	storm
56.	stream
57.	sun

58.	sunrise
59.	sunset
60.	sunshine/light
61.	thunder
62.	tin
63.	valley
64.	water
65.	wave
66.	weather
67.	wind
68.	world
69.	Pronouns
70.	I
71.	me
72.	mine
73.	my
74.	myself
75.	we
76.	us
77.	our
78.	ourselves
79.	you
80.	your
81.	yours
82.	yourself
83.	yourselves
84.	he
85.	him
86.	himself
87.	his
88.	she
89.	her
90.	herself
91.	it
92.	its
93.	itself
94.	this
95.	that
96.	they
97.	their
98.	them
99.	themselves
100.	these

101.	those
102.	all
103.	someone
Mankind, Sex & Kinship Terms	
104.	baby
105.	bachelor
106.	blind (male, female)
107.	boy
108.	bride
109.	bridegroom
110.	brother (elder, younger)
111.	brother's wife
112.	brother's daughter
113.	brother's son
114.	brother's wife
115.	child
116.	childhood
117.	daughter
118.	daughter-in-law
119.	daughter-in-law's father
120.	daughter-in-law's mother
121.	daughter's daughter
122.	daughter's son
123.	daughter's son's daughter
124.	daughter's son's son
125.	elder/younger sister's husband
126.	family
127.	father
128.	father-in-law
129.	father's brother (elder,younger)
130.	father's brother's daughter
131.	father's brother's son
132.	father's brother's wife
133.	father's father
134.	father's mother
135.	father's sister (elder,younger)
136.	father's sister's daughter
137.	father's sister's son
138.	friend (he, she)
139.	girl
140.	grand daughter
141.	grand father (F)
142.	grand father (M)

143.	grand mother (F)
144.	grand mother (M)
145.	grand son
146.	guests
147.	husband
148.	husband's brother (elder, younger)
149.	husband's brother's wife
150.	husband's sister (elder, younger)
151.	husband's sister's husband
152.	king
153.	kingdom
154.	labourer
155.	male
156.	man (young, old)
157.	man/male
158.	marriage
159.	miser
160.	mother
161.	mother-in-law
162.	mother's brother
163.	mother's brother's daughter
164.	mother's brother's son
165.	mother's brother's wife
166.	mother's father
167.	mother's mother
168.	mother's sister
169.	mother's sister's daughter
170.	mother's sister's husband
171.	mother's sister's son
172.	parents
173.	patient
174.	prince
175.	princess
176.	prostitute
177.	queen
178.	race
179.	relatives
180.	short (man, woman)
181.	sister
182.	sister (elder, younger)
183.	sister, elder
184.	sister's husband
185.	sister-in-law (elder, younger)

186.	sister's daughter
187.	sister's son
188.	son
189.	son-in-law
190.	son-in-law's father
191.	son-in-law's mother
192.	son's daughter
193.	son's son
194.	spinster
195.	widow
196.	widower
197.	wife
198.	wife's brother (elder,younger)
199.	wife's elder/younger brother's wife
200.	wife's elder/younger sister's husband
201.	wife's sister (elder, younger)
202.	woman
Animals & Fauna	
203.	animal : tame/wild
204.	ant
205.	bark (Noun & Verb)
206.	beak
207.	bear
208.	bird
209.	buffalo (male, female)
210.	bug
211.	bull
212.	butterfly
213.	calf (male, female)
214.	camel
215.	cat
216.	cattle
217.	centipede
218.	chick
219.	claw
220.	cockroach
221.	conch
222.	cow
223.	crocodile
224.	crow
225.	deer
226.	dog
227.	donkey

228.	earthworm
229.	elephant (male, female)
230.	feather
231.	fish
232.	flock of birds
233.	fly
234.	fox
235.	goat
236.	honey bee
237.	horn
238.	horse
239.	house fly
240.	insect
241.	jackal
242.	leech
243.	lion
244.	lizard
245.	louse
246.	mare
247.	mithun
248.	mongoose
249.	monkey
250.	mosquito
251.	moth
252.	mouse
253.	nest
254.	peacock
255.	pig
256.	pony
257.	puppy
258.	rabbit
259.	rat
260.	rhinoceros
261.	scorpion
262.	sheep
263.	snail
264.	snake
265.	sparrow
266.	spider
267.	squirrel
268.	stick
269.	tail
270.	tiger

271.	toad
272.	tortoise
273.	trunk (of elephant)
274.	tusk
275.	wasp
276.	wing
277.	worm
278.	yak
Body Part, Bodily Condition & Function	
279.	ache/pain
280.	acidity
281.	ankle
282.	arm - right, left
283.	asthma
284.	back (of body)
285.	beard
286.	belly
287.	birth
288.	blood
289.	body
290.	bone
291.	breast
292.	breath
293.	breathe
294.	cataract
295.	cheek
296.	chest
297.	chicken pox
298.	chin
299.	cholera
300.	cold (ailment)
301.	corpse
302.	cough
303.	cripple (male, female)
304.	dead body
305.	deaf
306.	death
307.	diarrhoea
308.	diseases
309.	dog
310.	dumb (male, female)
311.	dwarf (male, female)
312.	ear

313.	elbow
314.	epilepsy
315.	eunuch
316.	eye
317.	eye-brow
318.	eyelid
319.	face
320.	fart
321.	fat (man, woman)
322.	female
323.	fever
324.	finger
325.	fist
326.	flesh
327.	foot
328.	forehead
329.	guts
330.	hair
331.	hand (left, right)
332.	head
333.	health
334.	heart
335.	heel
336.	hiccough/hiccup
337.	hip
338.	hunger
339.	ill
340.	insanity
341.	jaundice
342.	jaw
343.	knee
344.	lame (male, female)
345.	leg
346.	leprosy
347.	leucoderma
348.	life
349.	lips
350.	liver
351.	lung
352.	malaria
353.	moustache
354.	mouth
355.	muscle

356.	nail
357.	nausea
358.	neck
359.	nose
360.	pain
361.	palm (of hand)
362.	paralysis
363.	pig soft
364.	pimple
365.	pus
366.	rib
367.	ringworm (disease)
368.	saliva
369.	scab
370.	shoulder
371.	skeleton
372.	skin
373.	skin disease
374.	skull
375.	sleep
376.	small pox
377.	spine
378.	spit
379.	sprain
380.	stomach
381.	stool/shit
382.	strength
383.	sweat
384.	swelling
385.	tears
386.	teeth
387.	thigh
388.	thin
389.	thirst
390.	thumb
391.	toe
392.	tongue
393.	tooth
394.	tuberculosis
395.	tumour
396.	typhoid
397.	urine
398.	vein

399.	vomit
400.	waist
401.	weakness
402.	wrist
403.	yawn
Food, Drinks, Cooking & Utensils	
404.	ajwain
405.	aniseed (saunf)
406.	asafoetida
407.	ashes
408.	barley
409.	beef
410.	bel (sriphal)
411.	black pepper
412.	butter
413.	buttermilk
414.	<i>caklaa</i> (rolling board)
415.	cashew
416.	chilli
417.	cinnamun
418.	clove
419.	coconut
420.	coconut scraper
421.	coffee
422.	cooked rice
423.	cooking pot (metal, clay)
424.	cuminseed
425.	curd
426.	curry (veg, meat)
427.	dal (pulse)
428.	dhenki (husk)
429.	egg
430.	fat/grease
431.	fire
432.	fish
433.	flame
434.	flour
435.	flour (dry)
436.	flour (kneaded)
437.	food
438.	garlic
439.	ghee
440.	glass

441.	groundnut
442.	haldi (turmeric)
443.	hay
444.	hinge
445.	honey
446.	ice
447.	jaggery
448.	jar (for storing water)
449.	<i>jura</i> (bun)
450.	<i>kadhahi</i>
451.	kitchen
452.	knife
453.	ladle (made of steel or metal)
454.	lid
455.	liquor
456.	liquorice (joshthi madhu)
457.	maize (corn)
458.	matchstick
459.	meat/flesh
460.	methi
461.	milk
462.	mustard
463.	oil
464.	oven (tandoor)
465.	pan
466.	pan box/bag
467.	pea
468.	pestle
469.	pickle
470.	plate (metal)
471.	pomegrenate
472.	pot
473.	rice
474.	rice (cooked)
475.	rice (crushed)
476.	rice (husk)
477.	rice (paddy)
478.	rice (puffed)
479.	rice (raw)
480.	rolling board (for chapati)
481.	rolling pin (for chapati)
482.	<i>roti</i>
483.	salt

484.	smoke
485.	spice
486.	spoon
487.	steam
488.	strainer
489.	sugar
490.	sugar cane
491.	sweet potato
492.	tamarind
493.	taste
494.	<i>tawa</i>
495.	tea
496.	tongs
497.	turmeric
498.	utensils
499.	wheat
Clothing, Ornaments & Care	
500.	anklet
501.	bangles
502.	<i>bindi</i>
503.	blouse
504.	button
505.	cap
506.	cloth
507.	clothing
508.	coat
509.	comb
510.	crown
511.	cut (cloth)
512.	diamond
513.	dress (male / female)
514.	ear-ring
515.	emerald
516.	frock
517.	garland
518.	gem
519.	gold
520.	loin cloth
521.	mirror
522.	necklace
523.	nose-pin
524.	ointment
525.	pair of shoes

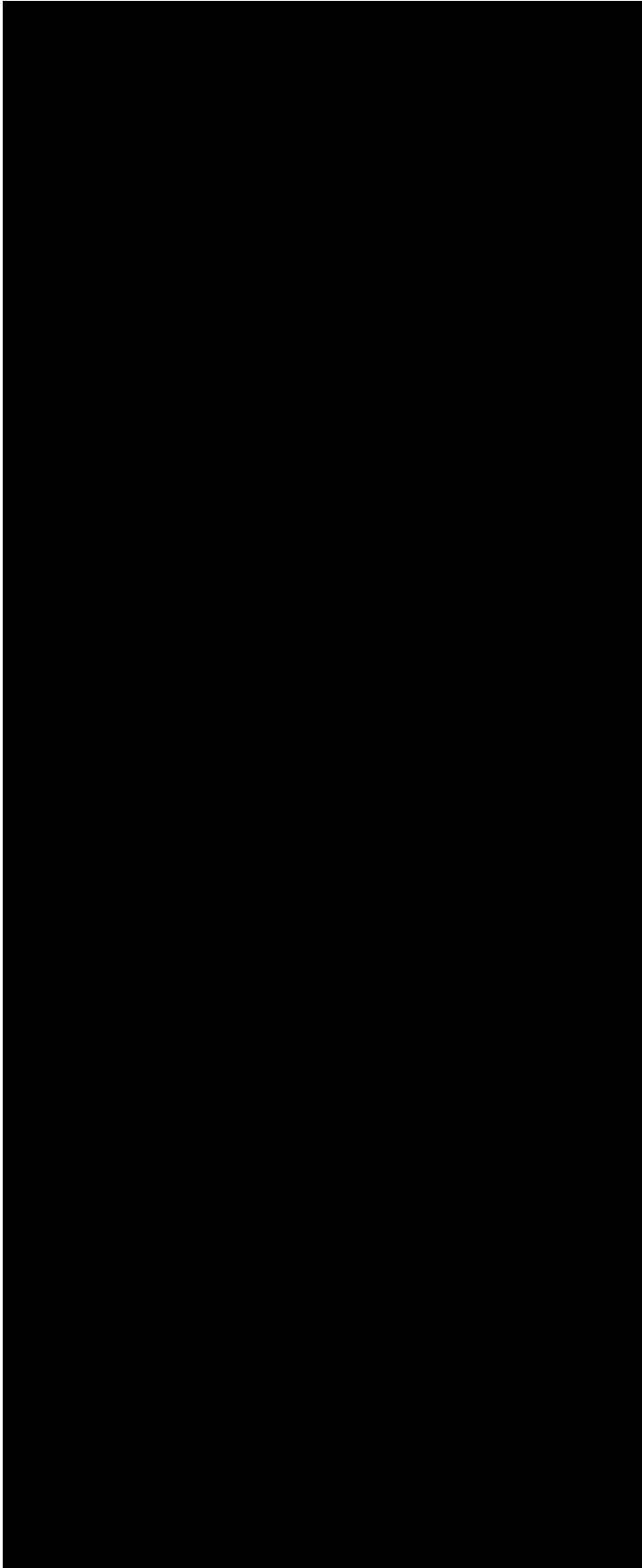
526.	pearl
527.	pebble
528.	rain hat (made of leaves)
529.	ring
530.	ruby
531.	sari
532.	scent (odour)
533.	scissors
534.	shawl
535.	<i>shikakai</i>
536.	shirt
537.	shoe
538.	silver
539.	soap
540.	socks
541.	spectacles
542.	thread
543.	to put on (clothes, ornaments, shoes)
544.	towel
545.	trousers
546.	turban
House, Parts of House	
547.	bathroom
548.	bolt
549.	boundary
550.	brick
551.	building
552.	ceiling
553.	cot
554.	courtyard
555.	cowshed
556.	door/entrance
557.	fence
558.	floor
559.	foundation
560.	house
561.	hut
562.	key
563.	lock
564.	mat
565.	mirror
566.	paint
567.	pillar

568.	roof
569.	room
570.	stair/step
571.	staircase
572.	steel
573.	swing
574.	verandah
575.	wall
576.	well (water)
577.	wooden/metal seat
578.	worship room
Vegetable & Flora	
579.	<i>amla</i>
580.	<i>babool</i>
581.	banana
582.	beans
583.	<i>brahmi</i> (hydrocotyle asiatica)
584.	brinjal
585.	cabbage
586.	carrot
587.	cauliflower
588.	chilly
589.	dry ginger
590.	flower
591.	forest
592.	fruit
593.	garlic
594.	<i>ghritkumari</i> (aloevera)
595.	ginger
596.	gourd
597.	grass
598.	green vegetable
599.	lady's finger
600.	leaf
601.	lime
602.	maize (corn)
603.	mango
604.	Medicinal herbs
605.	<i>neem</i>
606.	onion
607.	pea
608.	<i>peepul</i>
609.	petal

610.	potato
611.	<i>pudina</i>
612.	root
613.	sandalwood
614.	sweet potato
615.	tomato
616.	tree (varieties of tree)
617.	<i>tulsi</i>
618.	vegetable
619.	watermelon
620.	wood
Farming & Agriculture	
621.	arecanut / betel nut
622.	farmer
623.	field
624.	garden
625.	land
626.	paddy
627.	plant
628.	plough
629.	root
630.	rope
631.	saw
632.	seed
633.	shepherd
634.	spade
Farming & Agriculture	
635.	advocate
636.	barber
637.	beggar
638.	blacksmith
639.	boatman
640.	broker
641.	carpenter
642.	cashier
643.	clerk
644.	cobbler
645.	cook (male, female)
646.	coppersmith
647.	farmer
648.	gardener

649.	goldsmith
650.	grocer
651.	hawker
652.	hunter
653.	ironsmith
654.	landlord
655.	mason
656.	midwife
657.	milkman
658.	moneylender
659.	nurse
660.	pan seller
661.	police
662.	postman
663.	potter
664.	priest
665.	snake charmer
666.	sorcerer
667.	sweetmeat maker
668.	tailor
669.	teacher
670.	washer man
671.	weaver
672.	work
Transport	
673.	aeroplane
674.	boat
675.	bus
676.	car
677.	cart
678.	fuel
679.	horse coach
680.	road
681.	road (a.metal b.small)
682.	taxi
683.	train
Perception	
684.	aroma
685.	memory
686.	remember
687.	smell

688.	tasty
Emotion: Temperamental, Moral & Aesthetic	
689.	fear
690.	happiness
691.	hatred
692.	memory
693.	mercy
694.	pride
695.	shame
696.	sorrow
697.	sympathy
698.	temper
Education	
699.	book
700.	college
701.	education
702.	examination



744.	judgement
745.	law
746.	lock-up
747.	penalty
748.	Police Station
749.	prison
750.	prisoner
751.	property
752.	punishment
753.	security
754.	theft
755.	thief
756.	threat
757.	witness
Religion	
758.	festival
759.	bell
760.	demon
761.	god
762.	god
763.	goddess
764.	heaven
765.	holy place
766.	idol
767.	incense stick
768.	praise
769.	temple
770.	worship
Sports & Games	
771.	ball
772.	bat
773.	chess
774.	club
775.	cock-fight
776.	dice

777.	exercise
778.	gambling
779.	games
780.	<i>gilli danda</i>
781.	hide and seek
782.	hop-scotch (kitkit)
783.	<i>kabaddi</i>
784.	medal
785.	Play
786.	player
787.	saddle (camel, horse, elephant)
788.	sports-man
789.	toy
790.	wrestling
Entertainm ent	
791.	acting
792.	actor
793.	audience
794.	Bull- Fight
795.	clarion
796.	cymbals
797.	dance
798.	dancer
799.	doll
800.	drama
801.	drum (types of drum)
802.	flute
803.	kite
804.	music
805.	picture
806.	puppet show
807.	<i>sarangi</i>
808.	scene (drama)
809.	singer
810.	<i>sitar</i>

811.	song (folk / modern)
812.	stage
813.	<i>tambura</i>
814.	ticket
815.	tune
816.	village show (<i>yatra</i>)
Other Nouns	
817.	addition
818.	affection
819.	aluminium
820.	altar
821.	anvil
822.	ash
823.	attic
824.	axe
825.	back
826.	balance / scale
827.	basket
828.	bazaar
829.	blessing
830.	bridge (types of bridge)
831.	broom
832.	<i>bunch</i> of keys
833.	chair
834.	<i>charpoy</i>
835.	chop (fire wood)
836.	circle
837.	city
838.	coin
839.	cotton carder
840.	country
841.	<i>crowd</i> of people
842.	cry of x
843.	<i>dal</i>
844.	danger

845.	district
846.	division
847.	downwards
848.	draught
849.	end
850.	far
851.	fort
852.	<i>gang</i> of robbers
853.	habit
854.	<i>heap</i> of books
855.	<i>herd</i> of elephants
856.	hospital
857.	hunger
858.	iron
859.	joint
860.	language
861.	letter
862.	light
863.	lullaby
864.	medicine
865.	mine
866.	money
867.	multiplication
868.	nation
869.	needle
870.	newspaper
871.	noise
872.	palanquin
873.	paper
874.	person
875.	<i>pile</i> of papers
876.	plot, conspiracy
877.	price
878.	respect
879.	shade

880.	<i>shoal</i> of fishes
881.	shop
882.	square
883.	<i>stack</i> of hay
884.	state
885.	subtraction
886.	<i>swarm</i> of bees
887.	tent
888.	terrorism
889.	tobacco
890.	tongs
891.	tool
892.	touch
893.	towel
894.	town
895.	treatment
896.	triangle
897.	truth
898.	twin
899.	umbrella
900.	venom/poison
901.	vice
902.	village
903.	virtue
904.	wax candle
905.	well
906.	wet
907.	wire
Adposition s	
908.	all
909.	again
910.	alive
911.	alone
912.	already
913.	always

914.	bad
915.	badly
916.	bald
917.	beautiful
918.	big
919.	bitter
920.	black
921.	blind
922.	blue (colour of sky)
923.	blunt
924.	bluntly
925.	brave
926.	bright
927.	brown (colour of earth)
928.	cheap
929.	chisel
930.	clever
931.	cold
932.	costly
933.	cruely
934.	dead
935.	deaf
936.	dear
937.	deep
938.	dirty
939.	double
940.	down
941.	dry
942.	dull
943.	empty
944.	equal
945.	faint
946.	fair
947.	false
948.	fast (quick)

949.	few
950.	flat
951.	fresh
952.	front of
953.	full
954.	good
955.	greedy
956.	green (colour of leaf)
957.	half
958.	hard
959.	heavy
960.	here
961.	high
962.	honest
963.	hot
964.	how
965.	hungry
966.	ill
967.	illiterate
968.	innocent
969.	kind
970.	kindly
971.	last
972.	late
973.	lazy
974.	lean (man, woman)
975.	literate
976.	little
977.	lonely
978.	long
979.	loud
980.	loudly
981.	low
982.	mad
983.	many

984.	middle
985.	narrow
986.	naughty
987.	near
988.	neatly
989.	new
990.	not
991.	old
992.	opposite
993.	other
994.	otherwise
995.	over
996.	pale
997.	poor
998.	raw
999.	ready
1000.	red
1001.	rich
1002.	right (correct)
1003.	ripe
1004.	rotten
1005.	roughly
1006.	round
1007.	sharp
1008.	short
1009.	shy
1010.	slow
1011.	slowly
1012.	small
1013.	small
1014.	smart
1015.	smartly
1016.	smooth
1017.	so
1018.	sober

1019.	soft
1020.	some
1021.	sometimes
1022.	sour
1023.	still
1024.	straight
1025.	strong
1026.	suddenly
1027.	tall (man, woman)
1028.	then
1029.	there
1030.	thick
1031.	thin
1032.	tired
1033.	ugly
1034.	uncivilized
1035.	up
1036.	upside down
1037.	upwards
1038.	useful
1039.	warm
1040.	weak
1041.	well
1042.	wet
1043.	white
1044.	wicked
1045.	wide
1046.	wild
1047.	wise
1048.	yellow
1049.	yet
Directions & Measurements	
1050.	down
1051.	east
1052.	here

1053.	leftside
1054.	north
1055.	pound (e.g. grain)
1056.	quarter
1057.	rightside
1058.	south
1059.	straight
1060.	three fourth
1061.	towards
1062.	weight (weight measure)
1063.	west
Time & Seasons	
1064.	afternoon
1065.	daily
1066.	date
1067.	day
1068.	day after tomorrow
1069.	day before yesterday
1070.	evening
1071.	hour
1072.	midnight
1073.	month
1074.	rainy season
1075.	season
1076.	spring
1077.	summer
1078.	time
1079.	today
1080.	tomorrow
1081.	week
1082.	winter
1083.	year
1084.	yesterday
Functional Words	
1085.	across

1086.	after
1087.	afterwards
1088.	and
1089.	at
1090.	because
1091.	before
1092.	behind
1093.	between
1094.	but
1095.	by
1096.	during
1097.	for
1098.	from
1099.	if
1100.	in
1101.	into
1102.	like
1103.	near
1104.	of
1105.	or
1106.	out
1107.	out of
1108.	than
1109.	through
1110.	till
1111.	to
1112.	under
1113.	until
1114.	with
1115.	without
Interrogati ves	
1116.	how
1117.	what
1118.	when
1119.	where

1120.	which
1121.	who
1122.	whom
1123.	why
Numbers & Numerals	
1124.	one
1125.	two
1126.	three
1127.	four
1128.	five
1129.	six
1130.	seven
1131.	eight
1132.	nine
1133.	ten
1134.	eleven
1135.	twelve
1136.	thirteen
1137.	fourteen
1138.	fifteen
1139.	sixteen
1140.	seventeen
1141.	eighteen
1142.	nineteen
1143.	twenty
1144.	twenty one
1145.	twenty two
1146.	twenty three
1147.	twenty four
1148.	twenty five
1149.	twenty six
1150.	twenty seven
1151.	twenty eight
1152.	twenty nine
1153.	thirty

1154.	forty
1155.	fifty
1156.	sixty
1157.	seventy
1158.	eighty
1159.	ninety
1160.	hundred
1161.	thousand
1162.	first
1163.	second
1164.	third
1165.	fourth
1166.	one and a quarter
1167.	one and half
1168.	two and a half
1169.	three fourth
1170.	thrice
1171.	twice
Verbs	
1172.	to abandon
1173.	to abstain (refrain from)
1174.	to abuse
1175.	to act (take part in a drama)
1176.	to admit (one's fault or error)
1177.	to adopt (a child)
1178.	to alight (as a bird or butterfly)
1179.	to annoy
1180.	to answer
1181.	to appear (come into sight)
1182.	to approve
1183.	to arrange (put things in order)
1184.	to arrive (at a place)
1185.	to ascend, climb (a hill)
1186.	to ask (to question)
1187.	to ask for, some thing

1188.	to attack
1189.	to bargain
1190.	to bark (as a dog)
1191.	to bathe (one's self)
1192.	to be able
1193.	to be silent
1194.	to beat (a drum)
1195.	to beat (somebody)
1196.	to become
1197.	to belch
1198.	to believe
1199.	to bend (stick)
1200.	to bind
1201.	to bite
1202.	to bless (give a blessing)
1203.	to bloom (produce flowers)
1204.	to blow
1205.	to blow (with the mouth)
1206.	to boil (a method of cooking)
1207.	to boil (the water)
1208.	to bore (a hole)
1209.	to borrow
1210.	to bow (bend the body)
1211.	to break (a pot)
1212.	to break (stick)
1213.	to breathe
1214.	to brew (beer)
1215.	to bring (something to a place)
1216.	to build (a house)
1217.	to burn
1218.	to burn (as a fire, intrans)
1219.	to burn (trans)
1220.	to bury (a dead body)
1221.	to buy
1222.	to call

1223.	to carry (in hand)
1224.	to carry (on shoulder/ head)
1225.	to carve (a figure)
1226.	to catch (an animal in a trap)
1227.	to catch (chase and catch)
1228.	to celebrate
1229.	to change (alter)
1230.	to chant (mantras)
1231.	to chase (pursue with intent to catch)
1232.	to cheat
1233.	to chew (to food)
1234.	to choose (out of several)
1235.	to chop
1236.	to clap (the hands)
1237.	to clean
1238.	to climb (a tree)
1239.	to close (a bag)
1240.	to collapse (of a house)
1241.	to collect (debts)
1242.	to collect (scattered thing)
1243.	to collide (two moving bodies)
1244.	to comb (hair)
1245.	to come
1246.	to command (order some)
1247.	to compel
1248.	to complain
1249.	to confirm (opposite of deny)
1250.	to cook
1251.	to cough
1252.	to count
1253.	to cover
1254.	to crawl (as a baby)
1255.	to cringe (draw back in fear)
1256.	to cross, go across
1257.	to crush(oil seeds)

1258.	to cry (weep)
1259.	to cultivate (tend crop)
1260.	to cure (an illness)
1261.	to curved
1262.	to cut
1263.	to cut (hair)
1264.	to dance
1265.	to decay
1266.	to decide
1267.	to decorate
1268.	to decrease
1269.	to defeat
1270.	to defend
1271.	to demolish, wreck
1272.	to deny (having done something)
1273.	to descend (climb down)
1274.	to describe
1275.	to destroy
1276.	to die
1277.	to dig
1278.	to dig (a hole)
1279.	to dig up (root crops)
1280.	to dilute (add water)
1281.	to disappear
1282.	to disarrange (put out of order)
1283.	to discuss
1284.	to dislike
1285.	to disperse (go away from being together)
1286.	to dissolve
1287.	to do (nonspecific verb)
1288.	to doubt
1289.	to drag (a heavy object)
1290.	to draw (a picture)
1291.	to draw (water)

1292.	to dream
1293.	to drink
1294.	to drive(cattle or other animals)
1295.	to drown
1296.	to dry in sun
1297.	to dwell
1298.	to dye (cloth)
1299.	to earn
1300.	to eat
1301.	to embrace (each other)
1302.	to empty (a jar)
1303.	to encourage
1304.	to enter, go in
1305.	to erase
1306.	to escape (from a pursuer)
1307.	to examine
1308.	to expect
1309.	to explain
1310.	to extinguish (a fire)
1311.	to fade (lose colour)
1312.	to faint
1313.	to fall
1314.	to fall down
1315.	to fast
1316.	to fasten
1317.	to fear
1318.	to feed
1319.	to feel
1320.	to fetch water (go and get)
1321.	to fight
1322.	to fight (with each other)
1323.	to fill (a jar with water)
1324.	to find
1325.	to finish (doing something)
1326.	to float

1327.	to flow
1328.	to fly
1329.	to fly (as a bird)
1330.	to fold (arms)
1331.	to fold (cloth)
1332.	to follow (a person)
1333.	to forget
1334.	to forgive
1335.	to freeze
1336.	to frighten
1337.	to fry (deep,shallow)
1338.	to gamble
1339.	to gather together (assemble)
1340.	to get (come and get)
1341.	to get angry
1342.	to get up (arise)
1343.	to give
1344.	to go
1345.	to go around
1346.	to go out of (a house)
1347.	to gossip
1348.	to grab
1349.	to grasp
1350.	to graze (the cattle)
1351.	to greet
1352.	to grind
1353.	to grind (grain)
1354.	to guard
1355.	to guide (show the way)
1356.	to hang up (on a hook)
1357.	to happen
1358.	to harvest
1359.	to hate
1360.	to hear
1361.	to heat (eg. food)

1362.	to help
1363.	to hide
1364.	to hit
1365.	to hold
1366.	to hunt
1367.	to ignore
1368.	to imagine
1369.	to increase
1370.	to injure (a person)
1371.	to insist
1372.	to instruct
1373.	to insult
1374.	to investigate
1375.	to invite
1376.	to irrigate (crops)
1377.	to itch
1378.	to jerk (pull suddenly)
1379.	to joke
1380.	to judge
1381.	to jump
1382.	to keep
1383.	to kick
1384.	to kill
1385.	to kiss
1386.	to knead
1387.	to kneel
1388.	to kneel down (take a position)
1389.	to knit
1390.	to knock (on a door)
1391.	to knock down
1392.	to know
1393.	to laugh
1394.	to leak (as a pot)
1395.	to lean (against something)
1396.	to learn

1397.	to leave (something behind)
1398.	to lend
1399.	to lick
1400.	to lie (utter falsehood)
1401.	to lie down (assume a position)
1402.	to lift up
1403.	to like
1404.	to look
1405.	to lose (be defeated)
1406.	to lose (mislay)
1407.	to love
1408.	to make
1409.	to massage
1410.	to measure (volume)
1411.	to meet
1412.	to mend (a shoe)
1413.	to milk (a cow)
1414.	to miss (a target)
1415.	to mix
1416.	to mourn
1417.	to move (an object
1418.	to move (stir)
1419.	to mutter (speak indistinctly)
1420.	to name (give a name)
1421.	to need
1422.	to nod
1423.	to nurse (feed a baby)
1424.	to obey
1425.	to offer
1426.	to open
1427.	to overtake
1428.	to pack (into a box)
1429.	to pain
1430.	to paint
1431.	to peel (strip skin of fruit like banana)

1432.	to pick (fruit from tree)
1433.	to pick up (off ground)
1434.	to pierce
1435.	to pinch
1436.	to plant (roots or cuttings)
1437.	to play
1438.	to play (musical instrument)
1439.	to plead
1440.	to plough
1441.	to polish
1442.	to pour
1443.	to practise
1444.	to praise
1445.	to pray
1446.	to predict, foretell
1447.	to prepare
1448.	to press (with fingers)
1449.	to pretend
1450.	to prick (as a thorn)
1451.	to promise
1452.	to protect
1453.	to pull
1454.	to pull out (tooth)
1455.	to punish
1456.	to push
1457.	to put (in a place)
1458.	to put on (clothes, ornaments, shoes)
1459.	to quarrel
1460.	to raid
1461.	to rain
1462.	to raise
1463.	to read
1464.	to reap (grain)
1465.	to rebel
1466.	to recite (a poem or legend)

1467.	to refuse
1468.	to regret
1469.	to rejoice
1470.	to release (set free)
1471.	to remember
1472.	to remove (take away)
1473.	to repair (tool, etc)
1474.	to repeat
1475.	to request
1476.	to rescue
1477.	to respect
1478.	to rest
1479.	to return (give back)
1480.	to return, go back (to a place)
1481.	to ripen (as a fruit)
1482.	to rise, go upward
1483.	to roar
1484.	to roast
1485.	to rob
1486.	to roll (turn over and over)
1487.	to rub
1488.	to rule
1489.	to run
1490.	to run away, flee
1491.	to sacrifice
1492.	to satiate, to satisfy
1493.	to save
1494.	to say/tell
1495.	to scold
1496.	to scoop out
1497.	to scratch
1498.	to scream
1499.	to search (food while moving)
1500.	to search for
1501.	to season (add spice)

1502.	to see
1503.	to sell
1504.	to send (something or somebody)
1505.	to separate
1506.	to serve (food)
1507.	to serve (a master)
1508.	to set (a trap)
1509.	to set (on eggs)
1510.	to sew
1511.	to shake (to something)
1512.	to share
1513.	to sharpen (a knife)
1514.	to shave
1515.	to shine
1516.	to shiver
1517.	to shoot (a gun, a bow)
1518.	to shout
1519.	to show
1520.	to shrink
1521.	to shut
1522.	to sigh
1523.	to sin
1524.	to sing
1525.	to sink
1526.	to sit
1527.	to slap
1528.	to slaughter
1529.	to sleep
1530.	to slip (lose footing)
1531.	to smash
1532.	to smear
1533.	to smell
1534.	to smile
1535.	to smoke (tobacco)
1536.	to snap (fingers)

1537.	to sneeze
1538.	to soak
1539.	to sow (seed)
1540.	to speak
1541.	to spit
1542.	to split (wood)
1543.	to sprinkle (with water)
1544.	to sprout
1545.	to squeeze
1546.	to stab
1547.	to stagger
1548.	to stamp (with the feet)
1549.	to stand up
1550.	to stay (remain in a place)
1551.	to steal
1552.	to step on, tread on
1553.	to step over (an obstacle)
1554.	to stir (while cooking)
1555.	to stop
1556.	to stop (halt)
1557.	to strangle (kill by strangling)
1558.	to stretch (something)
1559.	to strike
1560.	to strike (a match, spark)
1561.	to study
1562.	to succeed
1563.	to surround
1564.	to sweep
1565.	to swell
1566.	to swim
1567.	to take down (from a hook)
1568.	to take off (clothing)
1569.	to talk, converse
1570.	to tan (leather)
1571.	to taste

1572.	to taste (eat a sample)
1573.	to tear, rip (cloth)
1574.	to tease
1575.	to tell (a story)
1576.	to tempt
1577.	to tender (an animal)
1578.	to thank
1579.	to thicken (soup or gravy)
1580.	to think
1581.	to thread (a needle)
1582.	to threaten
1583.	to throw
1584.	to tickle
1585.	to tie (hair)
1586.	to tie (knot)
1587.	to tighten
1588.	to tired
1589.	to torture
1590.	to touch
1591.	to trade, barter
1592.	to translate
1593.	to travel
1594.	to treat (an illness)
1595.	to trial
1596.	to trim (out off bits)
1597.	to trust
1598.	to try, attempt
1599.	to tune
1600.	to turn around (turn one's self)
1601.	to turn aside (divert someone)
1602.	to turn back
1603.	to turn over
1604.	to understand
1605.	to untie (a knot)
1606.	to use

1607.	to visit
1608.	to wait
1609.	to wake up
1610.	to walk (not run)
1611.	to wander
1612.	to want
1613.	to warn
1614.	to wash
1615.	to wash (clothes)
1616.	to waste, squander
1617.	to wave (the hand)
1618.	to wear (clothing)
1619.	to weave (cloth)
1620.	to wed, marry
1621.	to weigh
1622.	to welcome
1623.	to wet (make wet)
1624.	to whip
1625.	to whisper
1626.	to win
1627.	to wink
1628.	to winnow
1629.	to wipe off
1630.	to wither (as a plant)
1631.	to work
1632.	to worry
1633.	to worship
1634.	to wound (cause a wound)
1635.	to wrap up
1636.	to wrestle
1637.	to wring (clothes)
1638.	to write
1639.	to yawn

Appendix 2: Lingua Questionnaire

The Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire

2. Morphology

2.1. inflection

2.1.1. Noun-inflection

2.1.1.1. Which of the following means are used to express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases?

- 2.1.1.1.1. bound affixes
- 2.1.1.1.2. morphophonemic alternations alone (internal change)
- 2.1.1.1.3. clitic particles
- 2.1.1.1.4. pre-/postpositions
- 2.1.1.1.5. word order
- 2.1.1.1.6. derivational processes (e.g. adjectivalization)
- 2.1.1.1.7. other means - specify
- 2.1.1.1.8. combinations of the above

2.1.1.2. How are the following syntactic functions expressed? Give full details regarding the various means utilized, their conditioning, and their productivity.

2.1.1.2.1. subject of intransitive verb

2.1.1.2.1.1. subject is agent (has control over situation)

2.1.1.2.1.2. subject is not agent

(e.g. Bats as wo?e ÔI fell down (sc. and it was my own fault)Õ, agentive; but so wo?e ÔI fell down (sc. through no fault of my own)Õ, nonagentive)

2.1.1.2.2. subject of transitive verb

2.1.1.2.2.1. subject is agent

- 2.1.1.2.2. subject is not agent
- 2.1.1.2.3. subject of copular construction
- 2.1.1.2.4. direct object
 - 2.1.1.2.4.1. subject expressed as free element
 - 2.1.1.2.4.2. subject expressed as bound (affixal) element only
 - 2.1.1.2.4.3. subject unexpressed

(In some languages if there is no subject expressed the object will take a nominative case instead of an accusative case.)

- 2.1.1.2.5. indirect object (if there are several possibilities, describe any semantic differences)
- 2.1.1.2.6. object of comparison (e.g. *Ôhe is bigger than meÕ*)
- 2.1.1.2.7. object of equation (e.g. *Ôhe is as big as meÕ*)
- 2.1.1.2.8. other objects governed by verbs - list the possibilities and illustrate amply (we are concerned with the *ÔobjectsÕ* of verbs which are distinguished in some way, e.g. by case, from direct objects)
- 2.1.1.2.9. complement of copular construction
 - 2.1.1.2.9.1. defining, e.g. *Ôhe is a manÕ*
 - 2.1.1.2.9.2. identity, e.g. *Ôhe is JohnÕ*
 - 2.1.1.2.9.3. role, e.g. *Ôhe is a soldierÕ*
 - 2.1.1.2.9.4. other copular verbs, e.g. *ÔbecomeÕ*
- 2.1.1.2.10. subject-complement, e.g. *ÔI was made kingÕ*
- 2.1.1.2.11. object-complement, e.g. *Ôwe made him kingÕ*
- 2.1.1.2.12. objects governed by adjectives, e.g. *Ôhe is like his fatherÕ*, *Ôhe is different from his brotherÕ*. List the possibilities and illustrate them amply.
- 2.1.1.2.13. agent in passive/pseudopassive/impersonal constructions
- 2.1.1.2.14. topic (cf. section 1.12)
- 2.1.1.2.15. emphasized element (if specially marked) (cf. section 1.11)

2.1.1.3. Apply the questions of 2.1.1.2 to all types of nonfinite or nominalized verb. Note any differences from the situation with finite verbs. The following types of nonfinite or nominalized verb may occur:

- 2.1.1.3.1. *ÔabsoluteÕ* construction, e.g. *ÔJohn being a fool....Õ*
- 2.1.1.3.2. infinitive, e.g. *Ôfor me to go to heaven...Õ*
- 2.1.1.3.3. gerund (verbal noun), e.g. *ÔJohnÕs singing (of) two psalmsÕ*
- 2.1.1.3.4. nominalization, e.g. *ÔJohnÕs refusal (refusing) of the offerÕ*
- 2.1.1.4. How are the following nonlocal semantic functions expressed?

- 2.1.1.4.1. benefactive e.g. *ÔI did it for BillÕ*
- 2.1.1.4.2. source *ÔI heard it from BillÕ*, *Ôwool from a sheepÕ*
- 2.1.1.4.3. instrumental *ÔI hit him with a hammerÕ*
- 2.1.1.4.3a. negative instrumental *ÔI hit him without a hammerÕ*
- 2.1.1.4.4. comitative *ÔI went with BillÕ*
- 2.1.1.4.4a. negative comitative *ÔI went without BillÕ*

2.1.1.4.5. circumstance Ôa man with dirty handsÕ

2.1.1.4.5a. negative circumstance Ôa man without dirty handsÕ

2.1.1.4.6. possessive

If different types of possessive occur, give full details of all the various types. The following types of distinction seem to occur:

2.1.1.4.6.1. alienable-inalienable (sometimes different types of inalienable possession)

2.1.1.4.6.2. temporary-permanent

2.1.1.4.6.3. present-past

2.1.1.4.7. possessed (may well have no special marking)

2.1.1.4.7.1. Is there a distinction between alienable and inalienable possessed-ness? 2.1.1.4.8. quality
a man of/with humour

2.1.1.4.8a. negative quality a
man without humour

2.1.1.4.8b. reference quality the
honour of the man 2.1.1.4.9.

quantity a boat of a thousand

tons 2.1.1.4.9a. reference

quantity a pound of sugar

2.1.1.4.10. material a house of
bricks

This house is built of bricks.

2.1.1.4.10a. negative material

This house was built without bricks.

2.1.1.4.11. manner

He kissed her with verve.

2.1.1.4.11a. negative manner

He kissed her without verve.

2.1.1.4.12. cause exhausted
by his wounds

2.1.1.4.13. purpose I
used it for my work.

2.1.1.4.14. function

I used the stick as a club.

2.1.1.4.15. reference

I told him about the incident.

2.1.1.4.16. essive

I was in Berlin as a soldier.

2.1.1.4.17. translative

We appointed him as general. 2.1.1.4.18.

part-whole the head of the dog, the top of
the tree

2.1.1.4.19. partitive

2.1.1.4.19.1. partitive numeral

2.1.1.4.19.2. nonpartitive numeral Ôtwo boysÕ (if specially marked)

- 2.1.1.4.19.3. partitive quantifier Ôsome of the boysÕ
- 2.1.1.4.19.4. nonpartitive quantifier Ôsome boysÕ (if specially marked), Ôsomecheese Ô
- 2.1.1.4.19.5. partitive negative quantifier Ônone of the boysÕ
- 2.1.1.4.19.6. nonpartitive negative quantifier Ôno boysÕ (if specially marked), ÔnocheeseÕ
- 2.1.1.4.20. price ÔI bought it for two poundsÕ
- 2.1.1.4.21. value Ôa table worth five poundsÕ
- 2.1.1.4.22. distance ÔI chased him for a mileÕ
- 2.1.1.4.23. extent Ôa building a mile highÕ, Ôa car twelve feet longÕ
- 2.1.1.4.24. concessive Ôhe came despite the rainÕ
- 2.1.1.4.25. inclusion Ôeveryone including JohnÕ
- 2.1.1.4.26. exclusion Ôeveryone excluding/except JohnÕ
- 2.1.1.4.27. addition Ôthree people in addition to JohnÕ
- 2.1.1.4.28. vocative - is there a vocative particle, e.g. English O, and if so, is it obligatory?
- 2.1.1.4.29. citation form
- 2.1.1.4.30. label form (e.g. for shop-fronts, parcel-labels, etc.)

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2.1.1.5. How are the following local semantic functions expressed?

	Type of location	at rest	motion to	motion from	motion past
2.1.1.5.1.	general at	to	from	past	
2.1.1.5.2.	proximate	near (to)	near	from near	near
2.1.1.5.3.	interior in(side)	in(to)	out of	through	
2.1.1.5.4.	exterior	outside	up to	away from	past
2.1.1.5.5.	anterior in front of	in front of	from in front of	in front of	
2.1.1.5.6.	posterior	behind	behind from	behind	behind
2.1.1.5.7.	superior	above/over	above from	above	over
2.1.1.5.8.	superior-contact	on	on(to)	off	over
2.1.1.5.8a.	surface on	on(to)	off	over/across	
2.1.1.5.9.	inferior below/under	below/under	from under	under	
2.1.1.5.10.	inferior-contact	under	under from	under	
2.1.1.5.11.	lateral beside	beside	from beside	past	
2.1.1.5.12.	lateral-contact	on	on(to)	off	over, along
2.1.1.5.13.	citerior on this side of	to this side of	from this side of	on this side of	
2.1.1.5.14.	citerior-contact on this side of	to this side of	from this side of	on this side of	
2.1.1.5.15.	ulterior beyond	beyond	from beyond	beyond	
2.1.1.5.16.	ulterior-contact on the other side of	of/across	across from	across on the other side of	
2.1.1.5.17.	medial (2)	between	between	from between	between
2.1.1.5.18.	medial (3+)	among	among from	among	through
2.1.1.5.19.	circumferential -	-	-	round	

2.1.1.5.20.	citerior-anterior	opposite	opposite	from opposite on the other side
2.1.1.5.21.	interior (long object)		through/along	
2.1.1.5.22.	exterior (long object)		past/along	
2.1.1.5.23.	superior		along (above)	
2.1.1.5.24.	superior-contact (long object)		along (on top of)	
2.1.1.5.24a.	surface (long object)		along	
2.1.1.5.25.	inferior (long object)		along (under)	
2.1.1.5.26.	inferior-contact (long object)		along (under)	

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In types 21-26 we are concerned with motion past a long object in the direction of its length. As far as the first three columns are concerned there will normally be no difference from nonlong objects. The following questions concern motion past a long object in the direction at right angles to its length.

2.1.1.5.27. interior (long object) through/across

2.1.1.5.28. superior (long object) over

2.1.1.5.29. superior-contact (long object) over

2.1.1.5.29a. surface (long object) across

2.1.1.6. The following questions are concerned with location in time:

2.1.1.6.1. general

2.1.1.6.1.1. time of day Ôat 7 o'clockÕ

2.1.1.6.1.2. period of day Ôin the afternoonÕ

2.1.1.6.1.3. day of the week Ôon MondayÕ

2.1.1.6.1.4. month of the year Ôin JanuaryÕ

2.1.1.6.1.5. year Ôin 1976Õ

2.1.1.6.1.6. festivals Ôat ChristmasÕ

2.1.1.6.1.7. seasons Ôin springÕ

2.1.1.6.2. frequentative: is there a means of indicating the frequentative expressions corresponding to 2.1.1.6.1.1-4 (e.g. Ôon MondaysÕ)? 2.1.1.6.3. punctual-future ÔI'll be back in two hoursÕ

2.1.1.6.4. punctual-past ÔI was here two hours agoÕ

2.1.1.6.5. duration ÔI lived there for two yearsÕ, ÔI've arrived for a weekÕ

2.1.1.6.6. anterior-duration-past Ônothing happened until MondayÕ

2.1.1.6.7. anterior-duration-future Ônothing is going to happen until Monday Ô

2.1.1.6.8. posterior-duration-past Ônothing has happened since MondayÕ

2.1.1.6.9. posterior-duration-future ÔI'll be here after MondayÕ, ÔI'll be here from Monday (on)Õ

2.1.1.6.10. anterior-general ÔI've been here previous to MondayÕ

2.1.1.6.11. posterior-general ÔI'll be here subsequent to MondayÕ

2.1.1.6.12. point in period-past ÔlieÕs been here within the last 2 hoursÕ, ÔI've had five calls in the last hourÕ, ÔI've had five calls in an hourÕ

2.1.1.6.13. point in period-future Ôbe back within (the next) two hoursÕ

Note any restrictions between the occurrence of these temporal constructions and the tense/aspect of the verb.

All the questions in sections Z.1.1.4-6 should be answered with the following syntactic positions in mind:

a) as modifying (adverbial) element in a normal clause/sentence

b) as the complement of a copular (not cleft) construction c) as attributive element in a noun phrase.

If any of the categories above cannot occur in any of these contexts, please note this.

2.1.1.7. Does the language display double case-marking?

In other words, do nouns standing in a particular attributive relationship to another (head) noun exhibit, in addition to their own case-marking, case agreement with the head noun? If this is so, describe:

2.1.1.7.1. under what circumstances it occurs.

2.1.1.7.2. which combinations of cases are possible.

2.1.1.7.3. whether it is optional or obligatory to have the second case-marking.

2.1.1.7.4. any phonological variation resulting from the juxtaposition of the two case-markers.

2.1.1.8.1. Does the language have a number-marking system in nouns? If so, qualify this as e.g.

2.1.1.8.1.1. singular-plural

2.1.1.8.1.2. singular-dual-plural

2.1.1.8.1.3. singular-dual-trial-plural

2.1.1.8.1.4. singular-dual-paucal-plural

2.1.1.8.1.5. other - specify

Do different classes of nouns behave differently in this respect (e.g. animate versus inanimate)? 2.1.1.8.2.

Is the system of marking number obligatory or optional? In situations where numbermarking is not obligatory, is there always some disambiguating factor present?

2.1.1.8.3. If the language has no system of number-marking in the noun, does it have other means of indicating number, such as the use of a word meaning 'many', etc.?

2.1.1.8.4. Is there a distinction between a collective and a distributive plural or dual, etc.? Give details.

2.1.1.8.5. If collective nouns occur, is it possible to form singulatives from these? Do these have noncollective plurals in addition?

2.1.1.8.6. Describe in detail how the number distinctions marked in the noun are realized, i.e. list the various morphs (if identifiable) or changes, describing any phonological or morphological conditioning involved, and indicating the degree of productivity of the various processes.

2.1.1.8.7. Do foreign words retain their native number marking or are they integrated? If they are integrated, how does this proceed?

2.1.1.9. Are nouns divided into classes or genders?

2.1.1.9.1. If this is so, list the classes together with their distinguishing affixes or markers. Give examples of members of the various classes. Describe any phonologically or morphologically conditioned variation in the class/gender markers and indicate the relative productivity of the various formations.

2.1.1.9.2. If the answer to 2.1.1.9 is yes, give a characterization, if possible, of the class-meaning of each class. If this is not possible, indicate if there are any semantically associated groups of nouns which belong overwhelmingly to individual classes.

2.1.1.9.3. If the various noun-classes are not marked on the noun itself but on other elements of the sentence (e.g. numerals, prepositions, verbs, etc.), describe the system in the same way as requested in 2.1.1.9.1.

2.1.1.9.4. Does the language have classifiers?

In other words does it possess a closed class of nouns which function as the heads of noun phrases when enumeration is involved? If so, list the various classifiers (supplying also their gloss as normal nouns) and describe the semantic classes of nouns associated with each, illustrating amply. Are the classifiers marked for any other semantic feature, e.g. politeness, size? 2.1.1.9.5. Are loan-words from other languages

assigned to particular classes/genders on the basis of phonological or semantic criteria, or a mixture of both? Illustrate.

2.1.1.10. Is definiteness marked in noun phrases?

2.1.1.10.1. If so, describe how and where it is marked (e.g. separate word, affix on noun, affix on classifier, etc.), indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.10.2. Is the marking of definiteness in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.10.3. Does the form of the definiteness marker vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act?

2.1.1.10.4. Is this optional or obligatory? 2.1.1.10.5. Is definiteness indicated with

2.1.1.10.5.1. proper names?

2.1.1.10.5.2. abstract nouns?

Distinguish here between normal use and cases where two contrasting examples of the same noun are involved with different qualifications.

2.1.1.10.6. If so, is this obligatory or optional?

2.1.1.11. Is indefiniteness marked in noun phrases?

2.1.1.11.1. If so, describe how it is marked, indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.11.2. Is the marking of indefiniteness in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.11.3. Does the form of the indefiniteness marker vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act?

2.1.1.11.4. Is this optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.11.5. Is indefiniteness indicated with

2.1.1.11.5.1. nonsingular nouns?

2.1.1.11.5.2. mass nouns?

Distinguish here between the paradigm use of mass nouns and their use as count nouns indicating *ôsorts*.

2.1.1.11.6. If so, is this obligatory or optional?

2.1.1.12. Are referential and nonreferential indefiniteness distinguished, e.g. Persian *Hasan yek kita:b-ra: xarid* 'Hasan bought a specific book', *Hasan yek kita:b xarid* 'Hasan bought some book or other'?

2.1.1.12.1. If so, describe how the distinction is marked, indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.12.2. Is the marking of referentiality in the noun phrase optional or obligatory? 2.1.1.12.3. Is referentiality indicated with

2.1.1.12.3.1. nonsingular nouns?

2.1.1.12.3.2. mass nouns?

Distinguish here between the paradigm use of mass nouns and their use as count nouns indicating *ôsorts*.

2.1.1.12.4. If so, is this obligatory or optional?

2.1.1.13. Is genericness marked in noun phrases?

2.1.1.13.1. If so, describe how it is marked, indicating if there is more than one method the conditions under which the various methods are used.

2.1.1.13.2. Is the marking of genericness in the noun phrase optional or obligatory?

2.1.1.14. Are more important noun actors distinguished from less important (obviative) ones by any means? For example, affixation of either or both kinds of nouns? Is the distinction more than two-way?

- 2.1.1.14.1. If so, describe the affixation or other means involved, giving full details of any variation in the markers.
- 2.1.1.14.2. Does this only apply with animate (or pseudoanimate) nouns?
- 2.1.1.14.3. Does this system operate only when two possible actors are involved in the same sentence, or in some other unit, or are all animate nouns defined as more important and less important?
- 2.1.1.14.4. Is the system described optional or obligatory?

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2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

- 2.1.2.1.1. Do free pronouns occur in the language? Answer questions in 2.1.2.1.1 with respect to: subject, direct object, indirect object, other positions.
 - 2.1.2.1.1.1. Are free pronouns obligatory in all circumstances in
 - 2.1.2.1.1.1.1. the first person?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.1.2. the second person?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.1.3. the third person?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.2. Are free pronouns optional in all circumstances in
 - 2.1.2.1.1.2.1. the first person?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.2.2. the second person?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.2.3. the third person?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3. Do free pronouns occur
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.1. in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts in general?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.2. in contexts where the referent(s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.3. in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.4. in contexts with imperative verbs where the referent(s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.5. in answer to questions of the type $\hat{O}$ who is that? $\tilde{O}$, i.e. $\hat{O}$ (it is) $I\tilde{O}$?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.6. in cleft or pseudocleft constructions?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.3.7. If the conditions of occurrence of free pronouns do not correspond with any of the above, state them in as much detail as possible.
 - 2.1.2.1.1.4. If free pronouns occur in both emphatic and unemphatic contexts, is there a difference in either segmental (i.e. reduced versus unreduced) or suprasegmental (accented versus unaccented, tone variation, long vowel versus short vowel, etc.) structure?
 - 2.1.2.1.1.5. Are reduced pronouns restricted to particular positions in the sentence structure? If so, give details.
- 2.1.2.1.2. What person distinctions are made in the pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.1.2.1. 1st v. 2nd v. 3rd person
 - 2.1.2.1.2.2. 1st v. nonfirst person
 - 2.1.2.1.2.3. other - give details.
- 2.1.2.1.3. Does the language distinguish inclusion v. exclusion of the second person in the first person ($\hat{O}$ we including you $\tilde{O}$ v. $\hat{O}$ we excluding you $\tilde{O}$), or inclusion v. exclusion of the third person in the first or second person ($\hat{O}$ we including them $\tilde{O}$, $\hat{O}$ we excluding them $\tilde{O}$, $\hat{O}$ you including them $\tilde{O}$, $\hat{O}$ you excluding them $\tilde{O}$)? If so, describe for each whether we have
 - 2.1.2.1.3.1. inclusive v. exclusive
 - 2.1.2.1.3.2. inclusive only

- 2.1.2.1.3.3. exclusive only
- 2.1.2.1.3.4. inclusive v. exclusive & general
- 2.1.2.1.3.5. inclusive & general
- 2.1.2.1.3.6. exclusive & general
- 2.1.2.1.3.7. general only
- 2.1.2.1.4. Are pronouns marked for number?
- 2.1.2.1.4.1. Which of the following sets of distinctions occurs?
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.1. singular-plural
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.2. singular-dual-plural
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.3. singular-dual-trial-plural
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.4. singular-dual-trial-quadruple-plural
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.5. singular-paucal-plural
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.6. singular-dual-paucal-plural
- 2.1.2.1.4.1.7. other - give details
- 2.1.2.1.4.2. Is the marking of any particular number distinction optional in any instance? If a particular distinction is not made which other subcategory takes over?
- 2.1.2.1.4.3. Is there overlapping reference between any of the subcategories? For example, in some languages with a dual and plural, the plural may also be used where two objects or persons are concerned, as well as the dual. In other languages with a dual and plural, the plural has only the meaning of 'three or more'. Define in any case the reference of the plural subcategory in pronouns. Describe any features that determine the choice between the overlapping terms.
- 2.1.2.1.4.4. In some languages we have another kind of overlapping reference, where more than one term has unbounded reference, e.g. X = 'one', Y = 'two or more', Z = 'three or more'. Does this exist? If so, describe any factors that determine the choice of the overlapping terms.
- 2.1.2.1.4.5. If the language has a paucal what is the exact range of this?
- 2.1.2.1.4.6. Can pronouns be associated in noun phrases with numerals, e.g. 'We two (men)'? Are such formations distinct from true duals, trials etc. in any way? Is there any obvious limit on the association of pronouns and numerals, e.g. 'We three', 'We hundred thousand' where the second might not be possible in some languages?
- 2.1.2.1.4.7. Is there a distinction between collective and distributive plurals, duals, etc.?
- 2.1.2.1.4.8. Is there a distinction between different types of nonsingular such that one indicates that the referents include all the possible referents (however defined), whereas the other indicates that only a subset of the possible referents is involved?
- 2.1.2.1.5.1. Does the language mark the different status of various 3rd person actors referred to by pronouns as more important versus less important (obviative/4th person)? Is this compulsory?
- 2.1.2.1.5.2. Do further degrees of obviation exist in pronouns (5th person, etc.)?
- 2.1.2.1.6. Are different degrees of proximity to the participants in the speech act marked in third person pronouns? If so, is this optional or obligatory?
- 2.1.2.1.6.1. Which distinctions are made?
- 2.1.2.1.7. Are there special anaphoric third person pronouns?
- 2.1.2.1.7.1. Do clashes between natural gender and grammatical gender arise with pronouns used anaphorically? How are these resolved?
- 2.1.2.1.8. Are there gender/class distinctions in pronouns? If so, describe
- 2.1.2.1.8.1. In contradistinction to the gender of the referent, is the sex of the speaker or hearer distinguished? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.9. Are there special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional, or family relationships of the referents? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.9.1. Are there special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional, or family relationships of the speaker or hearer to the referents? If so, describe.

2.1.2.1.10. List all the forms arising from the intersection of the above-mentioned categories - person, inclusion, number, obviation, proximity, anaphoricity, gender/class, kinship/tribal affiliation - in the unmarked case and most neutral status form (if case or status is marked in the pronouns of the language). If the gender/class distinctions are very numerous, and the various forms reflecting these distinctions are regularly formed by some process or other, it is not necessary to give all the gender/class variants provided their formation is explicated. Give details of any variant or reduced forms.

2.1.2.1.11. Does the pronoun agree with the verb in tense? Give full details of any tense-marking in the pronouns. Do the same for any other verbal category marked in the pronoun.

2.1.2.1.12. Does the language mark status distinctions in the pronoun, e.g. familiar, honorific, etc.? Describe all nonneutral forms here, giving an indication of the degree of status of the relevant participants (speaker, hearer, or third person), or of the circumstances of use involved. 2.1.2.1.12.1. If in certain circumstances the use of titles or other nouns is preferred, describe the conditions under which this is so, and

2.1.2.1.12.1.1. give a complete list of the forms if only a small closed class is involved

2.1.2.1.12.1.2. if a large number of terms is involved, state whether an open or closed class is involved, describe any subclasses of significance, and give examples

2.1.2.1.12.2. Indicate if forms from the neutral system acquire a different reference as status forms. List these cases.

2.1.2.1.12.3. If the system of person/inclusion/number/obviation/proximity/anaphoricity/gender/class/kinship/tribal affiliation distinctions made among the status forms is different from those made in the neutral system, describe the differences.

2.1.2.1.13.1. Are there special nonspecific indefinite pronouns (e.g. English one, French on)? If so, give the forms, explaining any differences in their usage.

2.1.2.1.13.2. Are any forms from the personal system used also as nonspecific indefinite pronouns (cf. English you)?

2.1.2.1.13.3. Do any nouns have the function of nonspecific indefinite pronouns? Which?

2.1.2.1.14. Describe any system of specific indefinite pronouns (e.g. English someone).

2.1.2.1.15. Are there special emphatic pronouns?

2.1.2.1.15.1. If so, are there any distinctions made in degrees of emphasis? Describe these. 2.1.2.1.15.2. If the various emphatic forms are derived according to some regular process, describe this, giving examples; otherwise list all the forms. If different distinctions are made among the emphatic pronouns from those made among the normal pronouns list all the forms in any case.

2.1.2.1.15.3. Are there selective emphatic pronouns? I.e. pronouns with the meanings Ôwe, but especially IÔ, Ôyou, but especially thouÔ, Ôthey, but especially he/sheÔ. If so, describe the system in detail.

2.1.2.1.16. Do complex pronouns occur giving a combination of different types of reference (e.g. both subject and object reference)? If so, give all the possible forms and their meanings.

2.1.2.1.17. Are constructions of the type pronoun-noun possible where both elements have the same reference, e.g. we firemen... . If so, is this possible with all pronouns or only with some.

List those forms for which it is impossible.

2.1.2.1.18. Do constructions of the general type Ôwe (and) the priestÕ occur with the meaning ÔI and the priestÕ? If this phenomenon occurs in various numbers, dual, trial, etc., describe the meanings of the various types of combination.

2.1.2.1.18.1. Does this phenomenon also occur with pairs of pronouns, e.g. do constructions of the type Ôwe (and) thouÕ occur with the meaning ÔI and youÕ? If so, illustrate, describing any phonological changes occurring in the form of the pronouns. If there is a coordinating element present is this the normal coordinator for noun phrases?

2.1.2.1.19. Some languages have a sort of secondary pronoun system available, by which it is possible to specify in greater detail the precise composition of various nonsingular combinations of persons. In this system the different forms are constructed out of:

2.1.2.1.19.1. combinations of free pronouns (other than those produced by the ordinary means of coordination)

2.1.2.1.19.2. a free pronoun affixed with various pronominal affixes

2.1.2.1.19.3. other means.

If the language has such a system, describe the principles of its construction and list the various forms that occur, together with their meanings.

2.1.2.1.20. Is there a case system in pronouns?

2.1.2.1.20.1. If so, describe fully any deviations from that occurring with nouns, e.g.:

2.1.2.1.20.1.1. additional cases and their functions

2.1.2.1.20.1.2. absent cases

2.1.2.1.20.1.3. different uses of the cases

2.1.2.1.20.1.4. different markers for the cases

2.1.2.1.20.1.5. irregular forms of cases (give full details here, with paradigms if necessary)

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

2.1.2.2.1. Does the language have special reflexive pronouns, or common nouns used as reflexives?

2.1.2.2.2. If so, do these distinguish the following subcategories?

2.1.2.2.2.1. person

2.1.2.2.2.2. inclusion

2.1.2.2.2.3. number

2.1.2.2.2.4. obviation

2.1.2.2.2.5. proximity

2.1.2.2.2.6. anaphoricity

2.1.2.2.2.7. gender/class

2.1.2.2.2.8. kinship/tribal affiliation

2.1.2.2.2.9. status (for these see further 2.1.2.1)

2.1.2.2.3. Give all the forms resulting from the (intersection of the) above subcategories, unless the reflexive pronoun is derived from the personal pronoun by some regular process, in which case it is sufficient to describe the process and illustrate it amply. If there is just one reflexive, give it.

2.1.2.2.4. Are reflexive pronouns marked for case?

2.1.2.2.4.1. Is the means of expressing case in the reflexive the same as that used in the pronoun?

2.1.2.2.4.2. Describe any differences in detail.

2.1.2.2.5. If there is no reflexive pronoun, how is reflexivity expressed?

2.1.2.2.6. If there is a reflexive pronoun, are there also other ways of expressing reflexivity?

Specify.

- 2.1.2.2.7. Does the reflexive pronoun have other uses? Specify.
- 2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns
 - 2.1.2.3.1. Does the language have special reciprocal pronouns, or common nouns used as reciprocals?
 - 2.1.2.3.2. If so, do these distinguish the following subcategories?
 - 2.1.2.3.2.1. person
 - 2.1.2.3.2.2. inclusion
 - 2.1.2.3.2.3. number
 - 2.1.2.3.2.4. obviation
 - 2.1.2.3.2.5. proximity
 - 2.1.2.3.2.6. anaphoricity
 - 2.1.2.3.2.7. gender/class
 - 2.1.2.3.2.8. kinship/tribal affiliation
 - 2.1.2.3.2.9. status (for these see further 2.1.2.1)
 - 2.1.2.3.3. Give all the forms resulting from the (intersection of the) above subcategories, unless the reciprocal pronoun is derived from the personal pronoun by some regular process, in which case it is sufficient to describe the process and illustrate it amply. If there is just one reciprocal pronoun, give it.
 - 2.1.2.3.4. Are reciprocal pronouns marked for case?
 - 2.1.2.3.4.1. Is the means of expressing case in the reciprocal the same as in the noun?
 - 2.1.2.3.4.2. Describe any differences in detail.
 - 2.1.2.3.5. If there is no reciprocal pronoun, how is reciprocity expressed?
 - 2.1.2.3.6. If there is a reciprocal pronoun, are there also other ways of expressing reciprocity?
 - 2.1.2.3.7. Does the reciprocal pronoun have other uses? Specify.
- 2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns
 - 2.1.2.4.1. Does the language have special possessive pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.4.2. Is there a distinction made between the following types of possession?
 - 2.1.2.4.2.1. alienable/inalienable or subtypes of these
 - 2.1.2.4.2.2. temporary/permanent
 - 2.1.2.4.2.3. persons/animals/things
 - 2.1.2.4.2.4. present/past
 - 2.1.2.4.2.5. other
 - How are these distinctions marked?
 - 2.1.2.4.3. Give a list of all the possessive pronouns of all the above types, unless they are derived by a regular process from the personal pronouns, in which case describe this process and illustrate amply.
 - 2.1.2.4.4. Are possessive pronouns marked for case?
 - 2.1.2.4.4.1. If so, is the means of expressing case in the possessive pronoun the same as in the noun?
 - 2.1.2.4.4.2. Describe any differences in detail.
 - 2.1.2.4.5. If there is no possessive pronoun, how is possession expressed with pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.4.6. If there is a possessive pronoun, are there alternative ways of expressing possession with pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.4.7. Does the language have reflexive possessive pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.4.7.1. If so, describe them fully.
 - 2.1.2.4.8. Does the language have reciprocal possessive pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.4.8.1. If so, describe them fully.

- 2.1.2.4.9. Does the language have emphatic possessive pronouns?
- 2.1.2.4.9.1. If so, describe them fully.
- 2.1.2.4.10. Are there other types of possessive pronouns?
- 2.1.2.4.10.1. If so, describe them fully.
- 2.1.2.4.11. Can the above forms be used adjectivally (i.e. as a modifier of a nominal construction)?
- 2.1.2.4.11.1. Are there separate adjectival forms? If so, describe.
- 2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns
- 2.1.2.5.1. Which of the following parameters are involved in the demonstrative pronouns of the language?
- 2.1.2.5.1.1. relative distance from the speaker; specify the number of degrees of distance, and their approximate reference (e.g. near, middle distance, far)
- 2.1.2.5.1.2. relative distance from the hearer; specify the number of degrees of distance, and their approximate reference
- 2.1.2.5.1.3. relative distance from speaker and hearer; specify the number of degrees of distance, and their approximate reference
- 2.1.2.5.1.4. equidistance from speaker and hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.5. contact with the speaker
- 2.1.2.5.1.6. contact with the hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.7. behind speaker
- 2.1.2.5.1.8. behind hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.9. between speaker and hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.10. on other side of hearer from speaker
- 2.1.2.5.1.11. on other side of speaker from hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.12. equidistant from the speaker and some object
- 2.1.2.5.1.13. equidistant from the hearer and some object
- 2.1.2.5.1.14. on other side of some object from speaker
- 2.1.2.5.1.15. on other side of some object from hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.16. inside some object
- 2.1.2.5.1.17. outside some object
- 2.1.2.5.1.18. near some object
- 2.1.2.5.1.19. vertical orientation with respect to the speaker; specify the number of degrees of height, and their approximate reference (e.g. higher, level, lower)
- 2.1.2.5.1.20. other spatial relationship with speaker, hearer, or other reference point; specify
- 2.1.2.5.1.21. visible/invisible
- 2.1.2.5.1.21.1. to the speaker
- 2.1.2.5.1.21.2. to the hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.21.3. to both speaker and hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.21.4. to some other person
- 2.1.2.5.1.22. known/unknown
- 2.1.2.5.1.22.1. to the speaker
- 2.1.2.5.1.22.2. to the hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.22.3. to both speaker and hearer
- 2.1.2.5.1.22.4. to some other person
- 2.1.2.5.1.23. referred to in previous discourse

- 2.1.2.5.1.23.1. neutral
- 2.1.2.5.2.23.2. relative lapse of time, e.g. recently v. longer ago
- 2.1.2.5.1.24. time dimension; specify the number of degrees of relative time, and their approximate reference (e.g. future, present, past)
- 2.1.2.5.1.25. other parameters - specify
- 2.1.2.5.1.26. Is there a neutral demonstrative pronoun as distinct from a third person pronoun? If this is not the only demonstrative in the language, under what circumstances is it used?
- 2.1.2.5.2. Describe the various demonstrative pronouns resulting from the employment of the above parameters and their combinations, and give their meanings.
 Since many demonstrative pronouns with basically spatial reference will have various derived meanings (e.g. the pronoun meaning 'far from the speaker' may in some languages receive the derived meaning 'out of sight', etc.), it is desirable to give as full detail as possible on such usages. Try and distinguish between primary and secondary usages, if possible. If it is the case that many combinations of the above parameters are possible and that these involve series of affixes corresponding with particular parameters affixed to a few basic stems, it is sufficient (assuming the processes involved are regular) to describe the means of formation of these complex pronouns, giving ample illustration, and stating which combinations of the various parameters are possible.
- 2.1.2.5.3. Are there demonstrative pronouns part of whose phonological structure may vary iconically in proportion to the degree of distance involved? Is this a continuum, or is there a fixed number of discrete distinctions involved?
- 2.1.2.5.4. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for number?
 - 2.1.2.5.4.1. Is the means of expressing number in the demonstrative the same as that used with the noun?
 - 2.1.2.5.4.2. Describe any differences in full detail.
- 2.1.2.5.5. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for class/gender?
 - 2.1.2.5.5.1. Is the means of expressing class/gender in the demonstrative the same as that used in the noun?
 - 2.1.2.5.5.2. Describe any differences in full detail.
- 2.1.2.5.6. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for case?
 - 2.1.2.5.6.1. Is the means of expressing case in the demonstrative the same as that used in the noun?
 - 2.1.2.5.6.2. Describe any differences in detail.
- 2.1.2.5.7. Are any other grammatical categories marked in the demonstrative?
 - 2.1.2.5.7.1. If so, describe fully.
- 2.1.2.5.8. Can the above demonstrative pronouns all also be used adjectivally (attributively) or/and are there special adjectival forms?
 - 2.1.2.5.8.1. If so, describe fully all differences between the pronominal and adjectival forms.
- 2.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question words
 - 2.1.2.6.1. Does the language have interrogative pronouns?
 - 2.1.2.6.1.1. If so, which of the following types does it have? List the forms.
 - 2.1.2.6.1.1.1. general
 - 2.1.2.6.1.1.2. selective (from a group)
 - 2.1.2.6.1.1.3. other types - specify
 - Here follow
 - 2.1.2.6.1.2 (parallel to 2.1.2.5.4) through 2.1.2.6.1.6.1 (parallel to 2.1.2.5.8.1).
 - 2.1.2.6.2. List all other question words and their meanings. Specify whether different forms are used in direct and indirect questions.
- 2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

2.1.2.7.1. Does the language have special relative pronouns?

2.1.2.7.1.1. If so, which of the following types does it have? List the forms.

2.1.2.7.1.1.1. restrictive

2.1.2.7.1.1.2. nonrestrictive

2.1.2.7.1.1.3. other types - specify

Here follow

2.1.2.7.1.2 (parallel to 2.1.2.5.4) through 2.1.2.7.1.6.1 (parallel to 2.1.2.5.8.1).

2.1.2.7.2. List all other relative words and their meanings.

2.1.2.7.3. Do the words for *place* and *time* take relative pronouns, or relative words corresponding to *where* and *when*?

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2.1.3. Verb morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

2.1.3.1.1.1. Personal passive: Which of the following passive constructions exist, and how are they formed (here and throughout section 2.1.3.1, indicate both changes in the morphology of the verb and in the syntactic expression of the noun phrase arguments of the verb):

2.1.3.1.1.1.1. The direct object of the active appears as subject of the passive.

2.1.3.1.1.1.2. The indirect object of the active appears as subject of the passive.

2.1.3.1.1.1.3. Some other constituent of the active appears as subject of the passive.

2.1.3.1.1.2. Impersonal passive: Are there passive constructions where no constituent appears in subject position? If so, can these be formed, and how, from verbs which in the active have 2.1.3.1.1.2.1. a direct object?

2.1.3.1.1.2.2. an indirect object?

2.1.3.1.1.2.3. some other object?

2.1.3.1.1.2.4. no object?

2.1.3.1.1.3. For each of the above types, indicate whether it is possible for the subject of the active to be expressed in the passive construction, and if so, how. Are there different forms depending on whether or not the subject of the active is agentive?

2.1.3.1.1.4.1. Does the passive have the same tenses and aspects as the active? Specify any differences fully.

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. Is there a distinction between dynamic and static passive (e.g. the house is being built versus the house is (already) built)? Specify.

2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing the valency (number of arguments) of a verb: Does the language have means, other than the passive, of decreasing the valency of a verb, and if so, how? (Note in particular any similarities to passives.)

2.1.3.1.2.1. formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the subject of the transitive (e.g. the water is boiling from John is boiling the water)

2.1.3.1.2.2. formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the direct object (e.g. John is eating from John is eating fish)

2.1.3.1.2.3. formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object of the transitive as subject (e.g. John and Bill are fighting from John is fighting Bill)

2.1.3.1.2.4. other means of decreasing the valency of a verb

2.1.3.1.3. Means of increasing the valency of a verb: Does the language have means of increasing the valency of a verb, and if so, how? (One widespread pattern of valency-increasing is the relation between noncausative and causative.)

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. How is an intransitive verb made causative?

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. How is a transitive verb made causative?

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. How is a ditransitive verb (i.e. a verb with both direct and indirect object) made causative?

2.1.3.1.3.2. Is there any formal difference depending on the agentivity or otherwise of the causee?

2.1.3.1.3.3. Is it possible for the causee to be omitted? If so, can this lead to ambiguity (e.g. French *J'ai fait manger les cochons* (i) *J'ai* have made the pigs eat, (ii) *J'ai* have made someone eat the pigs)?

2.1.3.1.4. Are there special reflexive or reciprocal verb forms? Do these have any other uses? If so, describe. 2.1.3.2. Tense

Tense and aspect should be carefully distinguished in 2.1.3.2 and 2.1.3.3, though note should be made of forms that combine tense and aspect (e.g. the imperfect as combination of past tense and imperfective aspect), or that have both tense and aspect values (e.g. the pluperfect as past-in-the-past or perfect-in-the-past); similarly, some forms may have both tense and mood values. Distinguish absolute and relative tense. Absolute tenses involve a time specification relative to the present moment; relative tenses involve a time specification relative to some other specified point in time.

Indicate for each case whether tense specification is obligatory or optional.

2.1.3.2.1. Which of the following tenses are distinguished formally, and how?

2.1.3.2.1.1. universal (i.e. characteristic of all time, past, present, and future)

2.1.3.2.1.2. present

2.1.3.2.1.3. past

2.1.3.2.1.3.1. Is past further subdivided according to degree of remoteness?

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Are there also relative tenses, relative to a point in the past, i.e. pluperfect (past-in-the-past), future-in-the-past?

2.1.3.2.1.4. future

2.1.3.2.1.4.1. Does this form also have modal and/or aspectual values?

2.1.3.2.1.4.2. Is future further subdivided according to degree of remoteness?

2.1.3.2.1.4.3. Are there also relative tenses, relative to a point in the future, i.e. future perfect (past-in-the-future), future-in-the-future?

2.1.3.2.2. Do the same tense distinctions obtain in all moods and nonfinite forms? If not, indicate the differences.

2.1.3.2.3. To what extent are the tenses absolute, and to what extent relative? Answer with respect to each of the following criteria:

2.1.3.2.3.1. mood

2.1.3.2.3.2. finiteness

2.1.3.2.3.3. main versus subordinate clause

2.1.3.3. Aspect

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1. Is there a separate perfect aspect, i.e. distinct forms for indicating a past situation (event, process, state, act) that has present relevance? If so, how is it formed?

2.1.3.3.1.2. Which tenses does this form exist in (e.g. English present perfect I have seen, pluperfect (past perfect, perfect-in-the-past) I had seen, future perfect (perfect-in-the-future) I shall have seen)?

2.1.3.3.1.3. If there is a perfect aspect, which of the following can it indicate? Do any of the following have separate forms?

- 2.1.3.3.1.3.1. present result of a past situation
- 2.1.3.3.1.3.2. a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present (e.g. have you ever been to London ?)
- 2.1.3.3.1.3.3. a situation that began in the past and is still continuing (e.g. I have been waiting for an hour already)
- 2.1.3.3.1.3.4. any others (e.g. a situation completed a short time ago, a situation that will shortly be completed, etc.)
- 2.1.3.3.1.4. Are there similarities between the expression of perfect aspect and recent past tense?
- 2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation
- 2.1.3.3.2.1. Which of the following, if any, are marked formally, either (a) regularly for all verbs where applicable, (b) only for certain lexical items?
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.1. perfective (aoristic) aspect (a situation viewed in its totality, without distinguishing beginning, middle, and end)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.2. imperfective aspect (a situation viewed with respect to its internal constituency)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.3. habitual aspect (a situation characteristic of a considerable stretch of time, e.g. English I used to play chess)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.4. continuous aspect (nonhabitual imperfective aspect)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.5. progressive aspect (continuous aspect of a nonstative (dynamic) verb)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.6. ingressive aspect (beginning of a situation)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.7. terminative aspect (end of a situation)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.7.1. Is there a special form indicating the completion of another situation prior to the situation being described?
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.8. iterative aspect (repetition of a situation; note that habitual aspect (2.1.3.3.2.1.3) need not be iterative, e.g. the capital of Russia used to be St. Petersburg)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.9. semelfactive aspect (a single occurrence of a situation)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.10. punctual aspect (a situation that is viewed as not being able to be analyzed temporally, e.g. he coughed, referring to a single cough; contrast perfective aspect, where the situation is not analyzed, although there is no specification that it could not be)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.11. durative aspect (a situation that is viewed as necessarily lasting in time)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.12. simultaneous aspect (simultaneity with some other situation)
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.13. other aspects
- 2.1.3.3.2.1.14. Is there any way of indicating overtly a situation that leads to a logical conclusion (telic, accomplishment), as opposed to one that does not?

Thus English drink a gallon of water is telic (the action must come to an end when the gallon of water is consumed, and may not come to an end before then), and drink some water atelic (it can continue indefinitely, or stop at any time), although English makes no overt distinction here.

Is there a way of indicating that the logical conclusion of a telic situation has been reached?

- 2.1.3.3.2.2.1. What possibilities are there for combining different aspectual values?
- 2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Are there any restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with the various
- 2.1.3.3.2.2.2.1. voices?
- 2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. tenses?
- 2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3. moods?
- 2.1.3.3.2.2.2.4. finite and nonfinite forms?

2.1.3.4. Mood

Which of the following exist as distinct morphological categories, and how are they marked?

- 2.1.3.4.1. indicative (this will exist as a separate form only in contrast to one or more other moods)
- 2.1.3.4.2. conditional
- 2.1.3.4.3. imperative
 - 2.1.3.4.3.1. In which persons and numbers does the imperative have special forms?
- 2.1.3.4.4. optative (expression of a wish for something to come about)
- 2.1.3.4.5. intentional (intention to bring about some situation)
- 2.1.3.4.6. debitive (obligation to do something)
 - 2.1.3.4.6.1. Is any distinction made between moral and physical obligation?
 - 2.1.3.4.6.2. Is there any expression of different degrees of obligation?
- 2.1.3.4.7. potential (ability to do something)
 - 2.1.3.4.7.1. Is there any distinction between physical ability and permission?
 - 2.1.3.4.7.2. Is there a separate form for learned ability?
- 2.1.3.4.8. degree of certainty: are there ways in which the speaker can indicate the degree of certainty with which he makes an assertion (e.g. English he must be there, he is there, he may be there)?
- 2.1.3.4.9. authority for assertion: are there ways in which the speaker can indicate his authority for making an assertion, e.g. personal witnessing of situation, reliable secondhand information, unreliable secondhand information?
- 2.1.3.4.10. hortatory (encouraging)
- 2.1.3.4.11. monitory (warning)
- 2.1.3.4.12. narrative
- 2.1.3.4.13. consecutive (the situation being described follows on from some previously mentioned situation)
- 2.1.3.4.14. contingent (it is possible that...)
- 2.1.3.4.15. others - specify
- 2.1.3.5. Finite and nonfinite forms

Does the language distinguish finite and nonfinite verbal forms? List the forms and their uses, and indicate which forms have overt expression of the various:

 - 2.1.3.5.1. voices
 - 2.1.3.5.2. tenses
 - 2.1.3.5.3. aspects
 - 2.1.3.5.4. moods
- 2.1.3.6. Person/number/etc. (cf. 2.1.2.1)
 - 2.1.3.6.1. Which of the following (a) must be (b) may be coded in the verb?
 - 2.1.3.6.1.1. subject
 - 2.1.3.6.1.2. direct object
 - 2.1.3.6.1.3. indirect object
 - 2.1.3.6.1.4. benefactive
 - 2.1.3.6.1.5. other - specify
 - 2.1.3.6.2. For each of 2.1.3.6.1.1-5, how is agreement marked?
 - 2.1.3.6.2.1. marker on verb - give these in detail
 - 2.1.3.6.2.2. pronoun (a) clitic (b) nonclitic
 - 2.1.3.6.2.3. other - describe processes involved

- 2.1.3.6.3. If only certain members of each class 2.1.3.6.1.1-5 are coded in the verb, what are the conditioning factors, and how do they operate?
- 2.1.3.6.3.1. word order
- 2.1.3.6.3.2. topic/comment structure
- 2.1.3.6.3.3. definiteness of noun phrase
- 2.1.3.6.3.4. animacy of noun phrase
- 2.1.3.6.3.5. deletion (nonoccurrence) of noun phrase
- 2.1.3.6.3.6. other - specify
- 2.1.3.6.4. What features of the noun phrase are coded in the verb? Refer to the list of features for pronouns (2.1.2.1.2 ff.) and nouns (2.1.1.10 ff.).
- 2.1.3.6.5. How is coding affected by
- 2.1.3.6.5.1. discrepancy between syntactic and semantic features?
- 2.1.3.6.5.2. coordination of noun phrases of different agreement classes? 2.1.3.6.6. Is agreement the same for all
- 2.1.3.6.6.1. voices?
- 2.1.3.6.6.2. tenses?
- 2.1.3.6.6.3. aspects?
- 2.1.3.6.6.4. moods?
- 2.1.3.6.6.5. finite and nonfinite forms?
- Describe any differences.
- 2.1.3.6.7. Is identity or nonidentity between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following or preceding verb indicated? How?
- 2.1.3.6.7.1. With what degree of specificity (e.g. for person, number, etc.) is such agreement? 2.1.3.6.8. Are there special reflexive forms of the verb? If so, describe the formation of these forms in detail.
- 2.1.3.6.9. Are there special reciprocal forms of the verb? If so, describe the formation of these forms in detail.
- 2.1.3.6.10. Is there any distinction made between actions
- 2.1.3.6.10.1. towards the speaker?
- 2.1.3.6.10.2. away from the speaker?
- 2.1.3.6.10.3. towards the hearer?
- 2.1.3.6.10.4. away from the hearer?
- 2.1.3.6.10.5. towards a third person?
- 2.1.3.6.10.6. away from a third person?
- 2.1.3.6.10.7. other kinds of directionals?
- 2.1.3.6.11. Is a distinction made between different modes of body orientation, e.g. standing up, sitting down, with hands?
- 2.1.3.6.12.1. Does incorporation of the following elements take place? optionally/obligatorily
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.1. transitive noun subject
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.2. intransitive noun subject
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.3. noun direct object
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.4. noun indirect object
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.5. other nominal elements
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.6. adjectives; if so, referring to which argument?
- 2.1.3.6.12.1.7. adverbs; if so, which kinds?

2.1.3.6.12.1.8. pre-/postpositions

2.1.3.6.12.1.9. other elements - specify

2.1.3.6.12.2. For each of the above, describe the incorporation process, describing any changes that take place in the incorporated elements, any categories that are neutralized, and listing all irregular (suppletive or otherwise) incorporation forms.

2.1.3.7. If strings of verbs occur together in any construction, is there any change or loss of any features normally marked on the verb? Are any elements interposed?

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2.1.4. Adjectives

If the language has subclasses of adjectives that behave differently according to the various criteria below, please specify the subclasses, with any semantic or other correlates, and answer separately for each subclass; thus with verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives in Japanese.

Similarly if there are individual adjectives or groups of adjectives that behave aberrantly.

2.1.4.1. Is any distinction made between predicative and attributive forms of adjectives? If so, specify.

2.1.4.2. Is there any distinction between absolute (permanent, normal) and contingent (temporary, abnormal) state? If so, how is this distinction expressed?

2.1.4.3.1. Do (a) attributive (b) predicative adjectives agree with nouns in terms of the following categories, and if so, how?

2.1.4.3.1.1. number

2.1.4.3.1.2. person

2.1.4.3.1.3. gender/class

2.1.4.3.1.4. case

2.1.4.3.1.5. definiteness/indefiniteness

2.1.4.3.1.6. other - specify

2.1.4.3.2. Does agreement depend on

2.1.4.3.2.1. relative position of noun and adjective?

2.1.4.3.2.2. whether or not the noun is overtly expressed?

2.1.4.3.3. How is agreement affected by

2.1.4.3.3.1. conflict between grammatical and semantic category values?

2.1.4.3.3.2. agreement with coordinated nouns some of which belong to different classes?

2.1.4.4. How are the various kinds of comparison expressed?

2.1.4.4.1. equality (e.g. as tall as John)

2.1.4.4.2. comparative (e.g. taller than John)

2.1.4.4.3. superlative

2.1.4.4.3.1. compared to other entities (e.g. this river is the widest, i.e. wider than any other river) 2.1.4.4.3.2. compared to itself at other points/times (e.g. this river is widest here, i.e. compared to the same river at other points)

2.1.4.4.3.4. others - specify

2.1.4.5. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.4.5.1. in large measure (e.g. very tall)

2.1.4.5.2. in superabundance (e.g. too tall)

2.1.4.5.3. in small measure (e.g. rather tall)

- 2.1.4.5.4. others - specify
- 2.1.4.6. With predicative adjectives, are the categories that characterize the verbal morphology of the language
 - 2.1.4.6.1. expressed in the adjective morphology? If so, how?
 - 2.1.4.6.2. expressed by means of a copular verb?
- 2.1.5. Prepositions/postpositions
 - 2.1.5.1. Give all pre-/postpositions or pre-/postpositional usages not mentioned in 2.1.1 and list these exhaustively together with their grammatical effects.
 - 2.1.5.2. Do prepositions agree for any grammatical category with the nouns they govern?
 - 2.1.5.2.1. If so, describe the system fully.
 - 2.1.5.3. Do prepositions combine with the personal pronouns they govern to form series of personal forms? If so, describe all regularities and irregularities of the system.
 - 2.1.5.4. Do prepositions combine with the articles of the noun phrases they govern to form prepositional articles? If so, describe all regularities and irregularities of the system.
- 2.1.6. Numerals/quantifiers
 - 2.1.6.1. List the forms of the numerals used in counting, indicating the processes by which new numerals can be created for numbers between those expressed by separate forms.
 - 2.1.6.2. Are distinct cardinal numeral forms used as attributes? If so, specify.
 - 2.1.6.3. Are distinct numerals used for counting different kinds of objects? If so, specify.
 - 2.1.6.4. How are ordinal numerals formed?
 - 2.1.6.5. What other derivatives of numerals exist, and how are they formed?
 - 2.1.6.6. List all the quantifiers, giving as precise a translation (or explanation) as possible. Quantifiers are words like some, each, all, every, no, either, neither, both, other.
 - 2.1.6.6.1. List all quantifier compounds, e.g. English anyone, everybody, nothing, nowhere, whoever, Latin quivis, quicumque. Indicate all regularities and irregularities in form and meaning within the system.
 - 2.1.6.6.2. Is quantification expressed by any other means, e.g. reduplication of a noun to mean 'every...'?
 - 2.1.7. Adverbs
 - 2.1.7.1. How are various kinds of comparison expressed?
 - 2.1.7.1.1. equality (e.g. as quickly as)
 - 2.1.7.1.2. comparative (e.g. more quickly than)
 - 2.1.7.1.3. superlative (e.g. most quickly (of all))
 - 2.1.7.1.4. others - specify
 - 2.1.7.2. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?
 - 2.1.7.2.1. in large measure (e.g. very quickly)
 - 2.1.7.2.2. in superabundance (e.g. too quickly)
 - 2.1.7.2.3. in small measure (e.g. rather quickly)
 - 2.1.7.2.4. others - specify
 - 2.1.8. Clitics
 - 2.1.8.1. What kinds of clitic elements occur in the language?
 - 2.1.8.1.1. personal pronouns
 - 2.1.8.1.2. possessive pronouns
 - 2.1.8.1.3. reflexive pronouns
 - 2.1.8.1.4. reciprocal pronouns
 - 2.1.8.1.5. auxiliary verbs

- 2.1.8.1.6. sentence (modal, interrogative, negative) particles
- 2.1.8.1.7. sentence connectives
- 2.1.8.1.8. anaphoric particles
- 2.1.8.1.9. others - specify
- 2.1.8.2. What positions do these clitics occupy?
 - 2.1.8.2.1. preverbal
 - 2.1.8.2.2. postverbal
 - 2.1.8.2.3. sentence-final
 - 2.1.8.2.4. sentence-initial
 - 2.1.8.2.5. sentence-second position; if so, how is this defined (e.g. after first phonological word? after first phrasal constituent)?
 - 2.1.8.2.6. other positions - specify
- 2.1.8.3. What is the relative order of clitics?
- 2.1.8.4. Are there any restrictions on possible combinations of clitics?
- 2.1.8.5. Are there means of expressing the meaning of the excluded combinations?

Top

2.2. Derivational morphology

What possibilities exist for deriving members of one category from those of the same or another category? For each pair of categories, indicate the formal means of derivation, and their semantic correlates. Are any of these processes iterative (e.g. double diminutive, causative of causative)? Indicate the degree of productivity of each process, and of its semantic regularity.

- 2.2.1.1. nouns from nouns
- 2.2.1.2. nouns from verbs
 - 2.2.1.2.1. To what extent is the syntax of deverbal nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a nonderived noun?
- 2.2.1.3. nouns from adjectives
 - 2.2.1.3.1. To what extent is the syntax of deadjectival nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a nonderived noun?
- 2.2.1.4. nouns from adverbs
- 2.2.1.5. nouns from any other category
- 2.2.2.1. verbs from nouns
- 2.2.2.2. verbs from verbs (see also the section on voice, 2.1.3.1)
- 2.2.2.3. verbs from adjectives
- 2.2.2.4. verbs from adverbs
- 2.2.2.5. verbs from any other category
- 2.2.3.1. adjectives from nouns
- 2.2.3.2. adjectives from verbs
- 2.2.3.3. adjectives from adjectives
- 2.2.3.4. adjectives from adverbs
- 2.2.3.5. adjectives from any other category
- 2.2.4.1. adverbs from nouns

- 2.2.4.2. adverbs from verbs
- 2.2.4.3. adverbs from adjectives
- 2.2.4.4. adverbs from adverbs
- 2.2.4.5. adverbs from any other category
- 2.2.5. any other possibilities
- 2.2.6.1. Describe the possibilities for forming complex pre-/postpositions.
 - 2.2.6.1.1. two prepositions (distinguish genuine compound prepositions of the type on to from sequences resulting from cases where a preposition has as its argument a prepositional phrase, e.g. from behind. In English these can for example be distinguished by means of the modification, e.g. from ten yards behind the car, *on ten yards to the table)
 - 2.2.6.1.2. nominal formations, e.g. in front of
 - 2.2.6.1.3. verbal formations, e.g. depending on
 - 2.2.6.1.4. adjectival formations
 - 2.2.6.1.5. other types
- 2.2.6.2. Are there simple derived prepositions?
 - 2.2.6.2.1. denominal
 - 2.2.6.2.2. deverbal, e.g. given
 - 2.2.6.2.3. deadjectival, e.g. like
 - 2.2.6.2.4. others
- 2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

What possibilities exist for compounding members of the same or different categories, and what semantic value(s) does each have? Answer for each of the combinations in 2.2.1-5. Indicate whether the components of a compound word may themselves be compound (e.g. English blackboard eraser).

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3. Phonology

The following questions are concerned with the distinctive phonological units of the language, their phonetic realization, their distribution, and their morphophonological relationships with each other. All examples cited in section 3 should be glossed. The IPA phonetic symbols should be used for examples wherever they exist. Articulations not provided for in the IPA system may be represented by any standard typographic symbol not otherwise utilized in the description. Articulatory descriptions of phonetic elements should be made in terms of the double-naming system as far as the place of articulation is concerned. At least the following categories occur:

active articulator	passive articulator	traditional nomenclature
labio-	labial (bi)labial	labio-
dental	labiodental	denti-
dental	apico- labial	
apico- interdental	(inter)dental	apico-
dental dental	apico- alveolar	alveolar apico-
postalveolar	postalveolar/retroflex	apico-
palatal retroflex		
lamino-	interdental	(inter)dental

lamino-	dental	dental
lamino-	alveolar	alveolar
lamino-	postalveolar	palatoalveolar
sublamino-	palatal	retroflex
dorso-	postalveolar	alveolopalatal
dorso-	palatal	palatal
velar	dorso-	velar
pharyngeal	uvular	uvular
glottal	radico-	pharyngeal
	glottal	glottal

and also coarticulated combinations of these. The following secondary articulations may occur:

1. glottalization
2. pharyngealization
3. velarization
4. palatalization
5. labialization
6. nasalization
7. other
8. combinations thereof

As far as the manner of articulation is concerned, the following categories should be recognized: a. for nonsyllabics (consonants)

1. plosive (plain)
 2. affricate
 3. fricative
 4. approximant (approximation of two articulators without producing a turbulent airstream)
 5. trill (one articulator vibrating against another)
 6. tap (one articulator thrown against another)
 7. flap (one articulator striking another in passing)
 8. nasal
- b. for syllabics
1. vowel
 2. syllabic nasal
 3. syllabic fricative
 4. etc.

It will also be necessary to distinguish laterals.

Differences in voice onset may occur:

1. fully voiced
2. partially voiced
3. voiceless unaspirated
4. aspirated

5. others

Different types of voicing may occur:

1. ordinary voicing
2. creaky voice
3. breathy voice
4. murmur
5. others

Describe the airstream mechanisms as

1. pulmonic egressive
2. implosive (to be distinguished carefully from glottalized, i.e. with glottal constriction)
3. ejective (idem)
4. velaric ingressive
5. others

Top

3.1. Phonological units (segmental)

3.1.1. What are the distinctive segments of the language?

3.1.2. List the elements as follows, giving details of any significant allophony and phonetic realization: 3.1.2.1. nonsyllabics

3.1.2.1.1. plosives and affricates

3.1.3.1.2. fricatives

3.1.2.1.3. nasals (not nasalized or prenasalized elements, only true nasals)

3.1.2.1.4. liquids

3.1.2.1.5. glides/semivowels (describe the phonetic realization of semivowels in terms of vowel positions) 3.1.2.1.6. others

3.1.2.2. syllabics

3.1.2.2.1. vowels: plain, nasalized, glottalized, pharyngealized, etc. (significant degrees of these may occur)

3.1.2.2.2. others

3.1.2.3. Do any of the above occur only in recognizable (to the speakers) loanwords? Which?

3.1.2.4. Are there restrictions on the occurrence of any of the above units in any wordclasses? Which and where?

3.2. Phonotactics

3.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2.1.1. wordfinal consonants?

3.2.1.1.1. If so, describe any restrictions.

3.2.1.2. initial consonants?

3.2.1.2.1. If so, describe any restrictions.

3.2.2.1. Does the language admit 3.2.2.1.1. wordinitial consonant clusters?

- 3.2.2.1.2. wordfinal consonant clusters?
- 3.2.2.1.3. wordmedial consonant clusters?
- 3.2.2.2. Describe the possible
 - 3.2.2.2.1. wordinitial consonant clusters.
 - 3.2.2.2.2. wordfinal consonant clusters.
- 3.2.2.3. Describe the possible wordmedial consonant clusters if they differ from the product of the final and initial clusters.
- 3.2.3. Does the language admit
 - 3.2.3.1. wordfinal vowels?
 - 3.2.3.1.1. If so, describe any restrictions.
 - 3.2.3.2. wordinitial vowels?
 - 3.2.3.2.1. If so, describe any restrictions.
 - 3.2.3.3. sequences of (syllabic) vowels?
 - 3.2.3.3.1. If so, describe any restrictions.
- 3.2.4. Does the structure of lexical morphemes correspond with the possibilities for wordstructure? If not, how does it differ?
 - 3.2.5.1. Describe how medial units or clusters are assigned to syllables. Does this depend on morphological structure?
 - 3.2.5.2. What is the canonical syllable type?
 - 3.2.6.1. Are there any restrictions between word/syllable initial units or clusters and the following vowels or syllabic elements? Describe these
 - 3.2.6.2. Are there any restrictions between word/syllable final units or clusters and the preceding vowels or syllabic elements? Describe these
 - 3.2.6.3. Are there any restrictions between syllable initial units or clusters and syllable final units or clusters, or next-syllable initial units or clusters? Describe these.
 - 3.2.6.4. Are there any restrictions between the vowels or syllabics of successive syllables, in other words does the language display vowel harmony?

If so, does this apply across morpheme boundaries, or only within morphemes? Are there any exceptions to morpheme internal or crossmorpheme vowel harmony? If so, describe these.
 - 3.2.6.5. Does consonant harmony exist? If so, describe.
 - 3.2.6.6. Are there any other restrictions between adjacent or nonadjacent units or clusters? If so, describe these.
 - 3.2.6.7. Are there any differences between the phonotactic patterns allowed with different wordclasses? If so, describe these.

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3.3. Suprasegmentals

- 3.3.1. Are there distinctive degrees of length in 3.3.1.1. vowels?
 - 3.3.1.2. other syllabics?
 - 3.3.1.3. glides/semivowels?
 - 3.3.1.4. liquids?
 - 3.3.1.5. nasals?

3.3.1.6. fricatives?

3.3.1.7. stops and fricatives?

Illustrate for each of these the different degrees of length.

3.3.2.1. Does stress play any role in the language?

3.3.2.2. What is/are the phonetic correlate(s) of stress in the language?

3.3.2.3. Is there a distinction between different levels of stress (as opposed to nonstress)? If so, illustrate, indicating how the different stress levels are realized phonetically.

3.3.2.4. Is the position of stress constant, e.g. always on the first syllable, antepenultimate syllable, etc.? If so, illustrate.

3.3.2.5. If the position of the stress is not constant, is it forecastable solely in terms of the phonotactic structure of the word? If so describe the rules that determine its placement.

3.3.2.6. If not, is the situation the same as in 3.3.2.4-5 with the exception of a small number of forms? Give these. Are they recognizable loanwords?

3.3.2.7. For further questions on stress, see the section on morphophonology (3.5)

3.3.3.1. Does the language make a distinctive use of pitch (are there forms distinguished purely by pitch)?

3.3.3.2. Is pitch used to distinguish lexical items from one another?

3.3.3.3. Is the use of pitch distinctive for only a small portion of the vocabulary?

3.3.3.4. Is pitch used to distinguish morphologically different forms of the same word or lexeme?

3.3.3.5. What are the different tones (distinctive pitch types) within syllables?

3.3.3.5.1. level tones - list

3.3.3.5.2. contour tones - list

3.3.3.6. Are any of these tones restricted in their occurrence to particular types of syllabic element (e.g. contour tones only on long vowels)?

3.3.3.7. Are any of these tones restricted to occurring after particular types of nonsyllabic (consonant) or restricted to occurring before particular types of nonsyllabic (consonant) or subject to a combination of these restrictions? Describe.

3.3.3.8.1. List the tones occurring on monosyllables.

3.3.3.8.2. List the possible sequences of tones occurring with

3.3.3.8.2.1. bisyllables.

3.3.3.8.2.2. trisyllables.

3.3.3.8.2.3. quadrisyllables.

3.3.3.9. Is there any general principle governing the possibilities of tone-sequences with polysyllables?

3.3.3.10. Describe the interaction of tone and stress, if there is any. (Even if the language does not make distinctive use of pitch, describe the patterns of relative pitch height relative to the stressed elements in a word).

3.3.3.11.1. Does downdrift occur with

3.3.3.11.1.1. sequences of high tones?

3.3.3.11.1.2. sequences of low tones?

3.3.3.11.1.3. sequences of other tones?

3.3.3.11.1.4. alternate high and low tones?

3.3.3.11.1.5. other combinations?

3.3.3.11.2. Does updrift occur? If so, where?

3.3.3.11.3. If down-/updrift occurs with more than one type of sequence, does it proceed at the same rate or a different rate with different sequences?

3.3.3.12. For further questions on tone, see the section on morphophonology (3.5).

3.3.4.1. Describe the major types of intonation pattern having syntactic or semantic, rather than emotional, function, e.g. yes-no question, statement, etc.

3.3.4.2. In normal (noncontrastive, nonemphatic) intonation, where does the intonation peak come? How is this determined? Illustrate with different kinds of sentences. 3.3.4.3. Does the language make use of emphatic intonation? Illustrate fully.

3.3.4.4. Does the language make use of contrastive stress? Describe the effect on the intonation peak and illustrate. Can more than one element in a sentence be contrastively stressed?

Illustrate.

3.3.4.5. Within the major intonation types, are there subtypes with partially different patterns? Describe. Do these have any syntactic or semantic implications?

3.3.4.6. Describe the interaction of intonation patterns with the patterns in tone-height due to stress and tone phenomena.

3.3.4.7. Describe any effects on segmental units due to the position of the intonation peak or the type of intonation contour.

3.4. Morphophonology (segmental)

In sections 3.4 and 3.5, indicate the conditioning factors for the phenomena discussed.

3.4.1.1. Are there assimilatory processes in the phonology (morphophonology) of the language? Give at least details of such processes that involve alternations between different phonemes (indicating whether or not productive), and any others involving significant phonetic changes.

3.4.1.2. Are there dissimilatory processes? Give full details, including productivity.

3.4.1.3. Are there other alternations between segments? Describe all such alternations, giving details of the degree of productivity involved.

3.4.2. Are there metathesis processes? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity. 3.4.3. Are there processes of coalescence or split (syntagmatic) in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.4.1. Are there deletion processes in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.4.2. Are there insertion processes in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.5. Are there processes of reduplication (partial or complete) in the language? Give details of all such processes, indicating productivity.

3.4.6. Other processes.

NB: In the discussion of all the above processes, indicate whether recent loanwords undergo them or not.

3.5. Morphophonology (suprasegmental)

3.5.1.1. Is the stress constant under morphological processes and compounding?

3.5.1.2. If not, describe the various changes in stress-assignment and the types of process that inspire these changes exhaustively.

3.5.1.3. Is the position of the stress forecastable in terms of the phonological structure of the stem and the morphological and compounding processes it undergoes?

- 3.5.1.4. If not, is it the case that all instances are predictable except for a small number? If so, list these.
- 3.5.2.1. Is the tonal structure of the stem constant under processes of morphological change and compounding?
- 3.5.2.2. If not, describe the various changes that occur and the types of process that inspire them exhaustively.
- 3.5.2.3. List all forms with irregular tonal behaviour and illustrate the conditions under which they behave irregularly.
- 3.5.2.4.1. Does downstep or upstep occur and if so, under what circumstances?
- 3.5.2.4.2. Does double or multiple downstep/upstep occur? If so, in what circumstances?
- 3.5.3. Do particular types of intonation pattern cause any phonological change in the segmental elements they overlie? If so, describe fully

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5. Lexicon

5.1. Structured semantic fields

List the lexical items in the following semantic fields, with glosses or explanations, indicating the parameters that are relevant to the semantic distinctions made:

- 5.1.1. kinship terminology
 - 5.1.1.1. by blood
 - 5.1.1.2. by partial blood
 - 5.1.1.3. by marriage
 - 5.1.1.4. by adoption
 - 5.1.1.4.1. permanent/temporary
 - 5.1.1.4.2. religious/secular
 - 5.1.1.5. by fostering
 - 5.1.1.6. by affiliation
 - 5.1.1.7. other parameters

5.1.2. colour terminology

Distinguish basic colour terms and other colour terms that indicate finer distinctions within the basic terms. Where possible, for each colour term indicate (a) its approximate range (b) its locus (the most typical value referred to by that colour term).

- 5.1.3. body parts
- 5.1.4. cooking terminology
- 5.1.5. any other structured semantic fields

5.2. Basic vocabulary

Give the normal equivalent, in the language concerned, of the following items:

- 5.2.1. all
- 5.2.2. and
- 5.2.3. animal
- 5.2.4. ashes
- 5.2.5. at

5.2.6. back
5.2.7. bad
5.2.8. bark
5.2.9. because
5.2.10. belly
5.2.11. big
5.2.12. bird
5.2.13. bite
5.2.14. black
5.2.15. blood
5.2.16. blow
5.2.17. bone
5.2.18. breast
5.2.19. breathe
5.2.20. burn
5.2.21. child
5.2.22. claw
5.2.23. cloud
5.2.24. cold
5.2.25. come
5.2.26. count
5.2.27. cut
5.2.28. day
5.2.29. die

5.2.20. dig

5.2.31. dirty
5.2.32. dog
5.2.33. drink
5.2.34. dry
5.2.35. dull
5.2.36. dust
5.2.37. ear
5.2.38. earth
5.2.39. eat
5.2.40. egg
5.2.41. eye
5.2.42. fall
5.2.43. far
5.2.44. fat/grease
5.2.45. father
5.2.46. fear
5.2.47. feather

5.2.48. few
5.2.49. fight
5.2.50. fire
5.2.51. fish
5.2.52. five
5.2.53. float
5.2.54. flow
5.2.55. flower
5.2.56. fly
5.2.57. fog
5.2.58. foot
5.2.59. four
5.2.60. freeze
5.2.61. fruit
5.2.62. full
5.2.63. give
5.2.64. good
5.2.65. grass
5.2.66. green
5.2.67. guts
5.2.68. hair
5.2.69. hand
5.2.70. he
5.2.71. head
5.2.72. hear
5.2.73. heart
5.2.74. heavy
5.2.75. here
5.2.76. hit
5.2.77. hold/take
5.2.78. horn
5.2.79. how
5.2.80. hunt
5.2.81. husband
5.2.82. I
5.2.83. ice
5.2.84. if
5.2.85. in
5.2.86. kill
5.2.87. knee
5.2.88. know 5.2.89.
lake
5.2.90. laugh

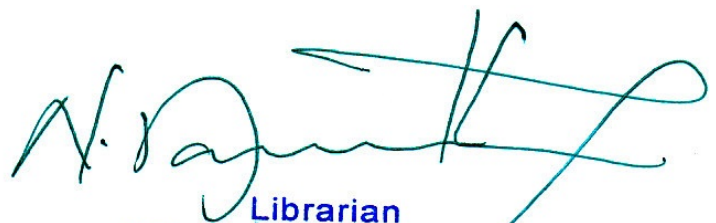
5.2.91. leaf
5.2.92. leftside
5.2.93. leg
5.2.94. lie (i.e. be in lying position)
5.2.95. live
5.2.96. liver
5.2.97. long
5.2.98. louse
5.2.99. man/male
5.2.100. many
5.2.101. meat/flesh
5.2.102. moon
5.2.103. mother
5.2.104. mountain
5.2.105. mouth
5.2.106. name
5.2.107. narrow
5.2.108. near
5.2.109. neck
5.2.110. new
5.2.111. night
5.2.112. nose
5.2.113. not
5.2.114. old
5.2.115. one
5.2.116. other
5.2.117. person
5.2.118. play
5.2.119. pull
5.2.120. push
5.2.121. rain
5.2.122. red
5.2.123. right/correct
5.2.124. rightside
5.2.125. river
5.2.126. road
5.2.127. root
5.2.128. rope
5.2.129. rotten
5.2.130. round
5.2.131. rub
5.2.132. salt
5.2.133. sand

5.2.134. say
5.2.135. scratch
5.2.136. sea
5.2.137. see
5.2.138. seed
5.2.139. sew
5.2.140. sharp
5.2.141. short
5.2.142. sing
5.2.143. sit
5.2.144. skin
5.2.145. sky
5.2.146. sleep
5.2.147. small
5.2.148. smell
5.2.149. smoke
5.2.150. smooth
5.2.151. snake
5.2.152. snow
5.2.153. some
5.2.154. spit
5.2.155. split
5.2.156. squeeze
5.2.157. stab/pierce
5.2.158. stand
5.2.159. star
5.2.160. stick
5.2.161. stone
5.2.162. straight
5.2.163. suck
5.2.164. sun
5.2.165. swell
5.2.166. swim
5.2.167. tail
5.2.168. that
5.2.169. there
5.2.170. they
5.2.171. thick
5.2.172. thin
5.2.173. think
5.2.174. this
5.2.175. thou
5.2.176. three

5.2.177. throw
5.2.178. tie
5.2.179. tongue
5.2.180. tooth
5.2.181. tree
5.2.182. turn
5.2.183. two
5.2.184. vomit
5.2.185. walk
5.2.186. warm
5.2.187. wash
5.2.188. water
5.2.189. we
5.2.190. wet
5.2.191. what
5.2.192. when
5.2.193. where
5.2.194. white
5.2.195. who
5.2.196. wide
5.2.197. wife
5.2.198. wind
5.2.199. wing
5.2.200. wipe
5.2.201. with
5.2.202. woman
5.2.203. woods
5.2.204. worm
5.2.205. ye
5.2.206. year
5.2.207. yellow

Addressing the Issues of Language Endangerment through Documentation: A Case Study of Saura

by Ankita Satapathy



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