Language Divergence Caused by LoC: A Case Study of District Kupwara (Jammu & Kashmir) and District Neelum (Azad Jammu & Kashmir)[1]

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Abstract

The Institute of Languages, University of Azad Jammu &Kashmir and the Department of Linguistics, Kashmir University, Srinagar, India jointly conducted the research with an aim to promote cross LoC (Line of Control) collaboration among the academics, and to explore areas yet unknown. The focus of the study was to document and analyze the scale and nature of linguistic divergence between the Hindko/Pahari[2] language varieties spoken on either side of Line of Control. Another objective of the present study was to analyze and determine the ongoing process of change and the attitude of the people towards the languages/language varieties spoken across the LoC. Moreover, the research aimed at facilitating interaction at academic level for better understanding of each other and establishing tradition of cross LoC research. For this purpose, language data, from six villages (three from Kupwara District[3] and three from Neelum District[4]), were collected and analyzed to determine the impact of the LoC on the languages/varieties spoken on either side of the LoC. This research precisely determines the nature and extent of linguistic variations resulting from the arbitrary partition of Jammu and Kashmir with hope to transform the conflicting zone into collaborative research zone.

1. Introduction

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the northern-most state of India and shares its boundaries with Pakistan in the West, China in the North, Tibet in the East, and Punjab in the South. The state lies between 32˚.17′ and 36˚.58′ North latitudes, and 73˚.26′ and 80˚.26′ East longitudes, and is studded in the transverse segment of Himalaya, known as the Punjab and Kashmir Himalaya. The state covers an area of 80,900 square miles and is mostly mountainous. From north to south, the state extends over a length of 400 miles, and from east to west, 300 miles. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is divided into three provinces: Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, which are geographically, ethnically and linguistically distinct. Ladakh province has the largest area and the Kashmir province has the highest population among the three provinces. High mountain ranges demarcate the Kashmir, Jammu and the Ladakh provinces.

Understanding the complex dynamics of language development in a multi-lingual state like Jammu and Kashmir is not only a challenging task but also important for creating informed opinion about the status of languages and their role in identity formation. Often described as a multi-storeyed edifice founded upon bonds of history and geography, the Jammu and Kashmir State presents a fascinating mosaic of cross-cultural interaction. The region stretching along the Kashmir province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is home to great ethno-linguistic diversity. A long history of language contact has obscured the

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[1] This study is the part of a research project jointly carried out by the academics from University of AJ&K, Muzaffarabad and University of Kashmir, Srinagar and funded by Conciliation Resources (CR), UK.
[2] The language variety spoken in the Neelum District is referred to as Hindko in some linguistic literature while Pahari in other
[3] Village Keran, Trehgaam andTitwal
[4] Village Tehjian, Keran and Mirpura

original linguistic characteristics of various languages spoken in the region, and sometimes it is almost impossible to tell which language has influenced which language. As is the case of other parts of the subcontinent, multilingualism is mostly a norm in this region especially in the areas of multi-ethnic contact. Language contact has been broadly defined as the co-occurrence of the two or more languages either at individual level (bilingualism) or at the societal level (bilingualism). In the language contact situation "two or more languages are said to be in contact if they are used alternatively by the same person. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact" (Weinreich 1953:1). Language contact process deals with how one language may influence or interfere with the other if they are in contact though may belong to different families. This is due to the nature of contact-induced influences that people change their linguistic habits if they are exposed to the other language. The use of more than one language is inevitable when people of different linguistic and cultural groups come in contact with each other. In order to interact closely, therefore, it is obvious for these languages to influence each other. However, language contact is not only understood as geographical contact, it could also be due to other reasons like trade, cultural, political and religious contacts. The principle situations pertinent to the process of language contact include interaction among mutually unintelligible linguistic communities; political reasons like colonization, annexations and invasions, migrations and eviction; globalization which include adopting language of wider communication for education, literacy, administration, media etc; religion; social mobility etc.

The linguistic inventory of the Kashmir valley comprises the languages and dialects belonging to different language families including Indo-Aryan, Dardic, Tibeto-Burman and language isolate. Thus, people speaking the languages Punjabi, Ladakhi, Shina, Pahari/Hindko coexist with Kashmiri speakers. The speakers of Burushaski, Pashtu and Tibetan equally add significance in shaping the linguistic compositeness of the valley. The speakers of these diverse and mutually unintelligible languages are socially situated in such a way that they have no option but exchange services and interact regularly with each other.

The linguistic history of the valley enunciates the fact that here in the valley most of the non-aboriginal languages had grown and flourished on the parallel lines in comparison with aboriginal languages of the soil. For example Sanskrit, the non-native language flourished tremendously in the valley till 13th century. Thus rich and qualitative literature was produced in Sanskrit language from the valley that dates back to 7th and 13th century. The notable bibliography on classical Sanskrit grammar, poetics and lexicographic works asserts the claim how the local scholarship of the valley enriched the Sanskrit language. As noted by Chatterjee, "Throughout the entire part of the first thousand years after Christ, Kashmir was within the orbit of Sanskrit, and Kashmiri scholars particularly during the second half of these thousand years, made their important contributions to Sanskrit literature; and the names of Damodara, Abihinavagupta Kalhan, Bilhana and others are pre-eminent in the history of Sanskrit literature." (2001: 31). The Kashmiri-Sanskrit linguistic contact became so profound that Sanskrit entered into the psyche of masses in Kashmir. The linguistic contact of this nature influenced Kashmiri language along different linguistic levels like word class, morphological paradigm, phonological system which resulted in forming a particular variety of Kashmiri language popularized as Sanskrit-Kashmiri. (Grierson 1968, Kachru 1969).

1.1 Line of Control

The term Line of Control (LoC) refers to the military control line between the Indian and Pakistani controlled parts of the former princely state of Kashmir and Jammu. It is a line which, to this day, does not constitute a legally recognized international boundary. It is *de facto* border shared by India and

Pakistan, dividing Kashmir controlled by India and Kashmir controlled by Pakistan. LoC has its roots in the ceasefire lines which were drawn up in 1948. Both Indian and Pakistani government in Shimla Agreement in 1972 formally accepted it.

Fig. 1.1. LoC

The Line of Control divided Kashmir into two parts and closed the Jhelum valley route, the only entrance and exit of the Kashmir Valley at that time. This territorial division, which to this day still exists, detached many villages and separated family members from each other. The target villages are situated along the line of control. Hindko is the widely language in all six villages.

1.2 Hindko

The Hindko language, spoken across the LoC in J&K is one of the ancient languages of South Asia.
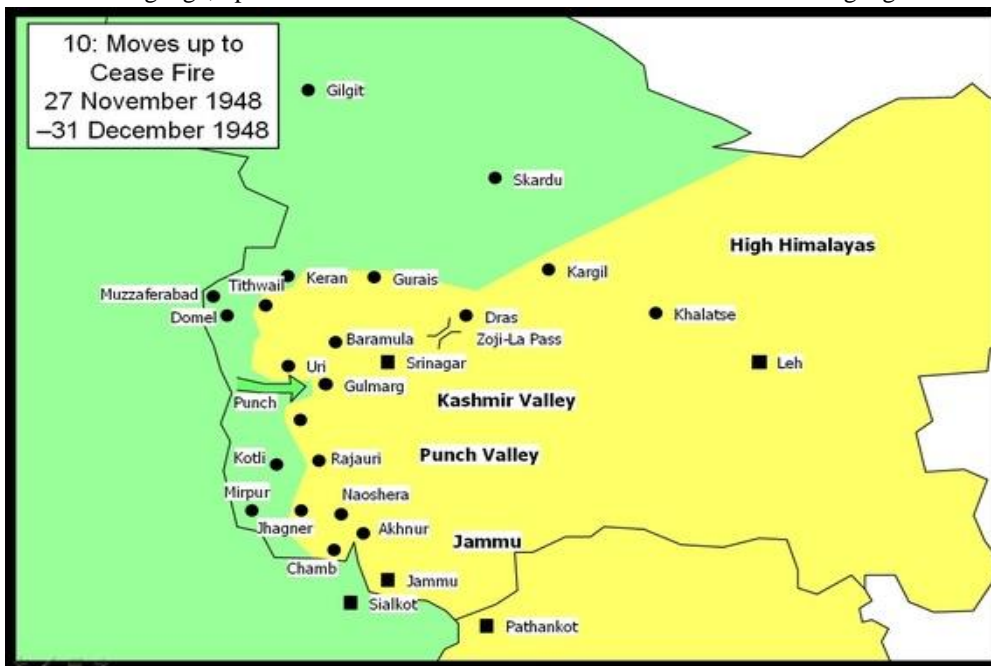
Linguistic theorists maintain that it is as old as other languages of the subcontinent. Along with the other languages of Subcontinent Hindko has also been diluted because of the historical fact that subcontinent had a chequered history in terms of indigenous and exogenous rulers who were hailing from different traditions as a consequence of that they introduced their respective languages along with scripts . There is no denial to this historical fact that the Hindko language is of Indo-Aryan nature. Grierson (1917) writes that the Hindko language falls into three main groups. In the extreme east there is Khaskura or Eastern Pahari, called Nepali, the Aryan Language spoken in Nepal, Next in Kumaon and Garhwal, we have the central pahari languages Kumaoni and Garwali. Finally in the west we have the west Pahari spoken in Jaunsar, Bawar, the Simla Hill, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chamba and western Kashmir.

Hindko is spoken by more than four million people. It is spoken as native language by 2.4% of the total population of Pakistan and is the widely spoken language of district Muzaffarabad and Neelum valley, Azad Jammu & Kashmir (Rehman & Baart, 2005).

Like other languages, the Hindko language also consists of variety of dialects. It is testifying that the language is being spoken by millions across the India Sub continent. Therefore there is no ground to contest the authenticity of the Hindko language. It has its age old history dating back to immemorial times (Grierson, 1917). Hindko speaking people are culturally and linguistically distinct from their plains dwelling Urdu, Punjabi, and Hindi-speaking neighbours. The present study is an attempt to find out the linguistics differences among Hindko speakers residing on both sides of LoC.

1.3 Research Objectives
To develop an environment of collaborative academic research among research scholars across LoC and start joint research initiatives by the academic institutions

To compare and contrast the research findings from either side of LoC through measuring morphological and syntactic features

To prepare a comprehensive report on the communication patterns and cross-LoC communication barriers

1.4 Significance of Study
The cross LoC interaction between academics apparently contributed towards developing peaceful environment in the conflict zone; it also instigated young researchers to use research as a peace building tool. The unique initiative is seen as step towards transforming the conflict zone into a research zone, and it may attract scholars from all around the globe, especially the developed world to join the initiative. This project provided an opportunity to those who never had been exposed to these training workshops. It also provided them an opportunity to visit Neelum valley and LoC which most of them had not visited before. The research assistants who were trained for the research project had never been to any such exposure before these workshops.

2.   Research Methodology
2.1 Research Design
Primary and secondary data were collected using qualitative and quantitative methods.

2.2 Sampling
From each village 10 informants were selected. Informant from the first and the every fifth household were selected for the questionnaire on the following lines:

- ✓ Age Group: The informants were grouped into four age groups: 8-20, 21-40, 41-60, 60+
- ✓ Gender: the male and the female were given equal representation i.e. 5 male and 5 female were selected from each village.
- ✓ Level of Education: non-literate, literate up to 5th grade (primary), 10th grade (Matric), graduates (B.A and B.Sc.) Postgraduates (M.A., M.Sc. and above)

2.3 Data Collection Tools

Standard wordlist, developed by the SIL International for language research, was used to find out the similarities and level of divergence among languages/ dialects spoken in the villages of Kupwara and Neelum. A list of one hundred sentences was also developed to find out the similarities and level of divergence.

Keeping in view the set targets of this joint venture, six villages were selected –three from the District Neelum and three from the District Kupwara- to determine variations evolved after the partition of the state.

Data collected through questionnaires were analyzed morphologically and syntactically to explore the similarities and differences among the language dialects.

3. Results and Discussion

The analysis of the data show that the Hindko language spoken along the LoC has been diverging. The divergence has resulted in considerable linguistic differences even within one village, divided by the LoC. The list of lexical items collected from six villages along LoC summarizes the linguistic variations in Table 3.1

Table 3.1. **Lexical variations**

Words/Phrases	Neelum	Kupwara
House	Gahr	kahr
Hen	murghi, kukri	kukRi
Handsome	khubsurat, piyara, sonRaN	khubsurat, sonRaN
Boy	laRka, gadra, nanDa	laRka, gadra
Village	graaN	graaN, nikriya
Children	bachay, gadray, jandak	bachay, gadray, nike
Lion	sher, seeN	sher, seeN, rich
Going	juldayaN, jul ray	ja rahe, jasan, jaan
Bird	chiRi, prinda	prinda
Looking for	tunDaaN, talash kardaN	loRiya
Morning	Subo	subo, niki loi
Quarrelling	laRday, kulday, kol darday	jagaRday, laRai karday
Earlier	pehleyaN, pehley	tade, pehley
Wind	chaTTi, hava,	thand, tufan
Tree	drakht, boota	boota
Cut	kapya, katya	kapya
Firewood	balnay diyaN lakRiyaN, saRnay wastay lukRiyaN, saRnay aastay lakRiyaN, saRnay diyaN lukRiyaN	lakRi, lakRi baal vastay
Stars	staray, taray	taray
In the jungle	banRaN bich, jangla bich	jangla vich
Can speak	bol kenday, bol sakday	bol sakday
Can write	likh kenday, likh sakday	likh sakday
About	baray vich, day mutalak	baray vich
With	sath, nal	nal
Time	wakt, dair	wakt, tem
Break	bahn dayo, toR choRo, pan choRo	toRo
Lift	uthao, cha kehno, chao	Chao
Sit	beh julo, betho, beho	bes, beth

Eldest	sab tou baRa, saryaN kolo baRa	baRa
Tea	cha, chaye	Cha
Marriage	biya, shadi	Biya
Slowly slowly	asta asta, ramaN ramaN nal	asta asta
Again and again	bar bar, var var, kaRi kaRi	kaRi kaRi
Hot	tapi, garam	tapi
Red	ratay, surkh	ratay
Apples	seb, chotay	Seb
Juicy	laziz, mazay dar	ras valay
Some time or the other	Kisay na kisay din, kaday na kaday, kadi na kadi	kaday na kaday, kaday
Call	bulao, tako	bulao, sado
Someone	kisa, kisi	kisi, koi
Like	acha, pasand, changa	acha, asal
Shirt	kameez, perni	kameez
Friend	dost, sangi	dost
Daughter	bachi, kuRi	bachi, gadri
Monkey	buznay, bandar	bandar
Near	kol, idar, neRay	idar, nazdik
Lie	kooR, chooth	kooR
Complete (finish)	Khatam	khatam, mukya, mukamal
Lying	letya da, lamaN hoya da, suta da	lamaN hoya da, suta da
Curry	tarkari, lotar, salan	daal, ras

Comparison of the lexical items in Table 3.1 shows that differences found at lexical level. Over 11% lexical variation between the varieties spoken across LoC were recorded during the survey. The comparison of the lexical items in the table above also indicates an obvious influence of Urdu upon the language of Neelum. The Hindko variety of Kupwara uses traditional Hindko vocabulary items while in Neelum a wide range of Urdu words have been adopted in daily conversation. The study further revealed that the severed parts of the state have also developed differences at morphological level. Examples 3.1a and 3.1b show difference in gender agreement for the same noun.

3.1a.	men	pen	aandi	(Kupwara)
	I	pen.sg.f	brought.sg.f.	
	'I bought a pen'			
3.1b.	men	pen	aanda	(Neelum)
	I	pen.sg.m	brought.sg.m.	
	'I bought a pen'			

The speakers in Kupwara treat pen as feminine while in speakers in Neelum it is treated as masculine.

The two varieties also show some differences at phonological level. The data show that the variety of stills retains voiced aspirated stops and affricates while the variety of Kupwara has replaced the voiced aspirated stops with voiceless stops accompanied by tone, for example: *ghar* 'home' (Neelum) will be kár 'home' (Kupwara).

The interviews of the elderly speakers on both sides revealed the linguistic variations across LoC evolved after the partition of the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir as they spoke same variety before the division and these differences are further growing with the passage of time.

4. Conclusion

The present research was carried out with an aim to determine linguistic variations evolved because of arbitrary division of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947.It was first ever endeavor to explore and document the impact of partition on linguistic heritage of the region. The research project was unique and innovative as along with accomplishing the task of research it provided an opportunity for the academicians to conduct collaborative research across LoC, which has laid foundation for collaborative research in other fields of inquiry. Though the project was conducted at small scale, it successfully established the tradition of joint research. The interaction among scholars of different disciplines and universities in the region has evolved. The research scholars from either side of LoC have started interacting and sharing online lectures through video conferencing. Moreover, other modes of modern communication such as skype, Viber, WhatsApp are being used to share research findings and interact. The increased interaction, apart from making discoveries, has opened up an opportunity for the people living on the either side of LoC to understand each other and make joint efforts for peace building. The idea of academic and research collaboration in conflict affected area such as Kashmir, provides an innovative approach towards facilitating and promoting the process of peace building. We hope to transform the conflicting zone along the LoC into a joint research zone and excel in the field of inquiry rather than piles of arms and ammunition and replace exchange for fire with exchange of research findings.

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Appendix-A
Questionnaire

1. Name_____
2. Age_____ years
3. Gender_____
4. Marital Status_____
5. Mother tongue_____
6. Village name_____
7. Profession_____
8. Education level_____

Questions

9. Do you speak your mother tongue with your family members?
10. Do you think your language is changing? Yes/No _____
11. Do you speak the same language as your grandfather did? Yes/No _____
12. If no, has it changed
    in vocabulary (words)?
    in meaning?
    in pronunciation?
13. What other language(s) can you speak if you are to interact with any guest who doesn't know your language?_____   _____   _____
14. Can you read and write in your language?
15. If yes, do you find enough literature in it?

Appendix-B
Example Sentences for the Fieldwork
Copular construction

1. This is a house.
2. These are houses.

Existential construction

3. That is a hen.
4. Those are two hens.
5. Those are three hens.

Attributive construction

6. Rashid is a handsome boy in our village.
7. Rashid is a very handsome boy in our village.

Predicative construction

8. My house is small.
9. Your house is very small.

Present tense

10. The children see me.
11. They see you (sg)
12. They see you (pl).

Present continuous

13. She is cleaning utensils.
14. We are not going for lion hunting.

Present perfect

15. My son has brought a pen.

16. She has gone to her relatives.
    Present perfect continuous
17. I have been looking for the bird, which I saw yesterday.
18. She has been in the kitchen since morning.
    Past tense
19. I caught a fish.
20. I caught it myself.
    Past continuous
21. I was not talking.
22. We were not quarrelling.
    Past perfect
23. We had constructed this house.

24. You (sg) had come here earlier
    Past perfect continuous
25. I had been seeing you (pl) from there.
26. He had been staying in this house during winters
    Future tense
27. I will not stay with you (sg)
28. We will help you (pl)
    Future continuous
29. Wind will be blowing.
30. It will be raining.
    Future perfect
31. If we had left early, we would have reached Muzaffarabad by now.
32. He would not have cut tree.
    Future perfect continuous
33. He would have not been saying in my house.
34. She would not have been collecting firewood.
    Habitual
35. Star shines.
36. Goats graze in the jungles.
    Obligatory mood
37. I should learn your (pl) language.
38. I must understand what you (sg) say.
    Possibility (and ability) mood
39. I can speak your language.
40. He could write your language
    Permissive mood
41. Let Junaid tell about accident.
42. Let my children go with you.
    Interrogative mood
43. How are you?
44. How are your children?
45. How long will you sleep?
    Imperative mood
46. Break it.

47. Lift it up.
48. Sit.

Active vs Passive voice
49. Sugar is purchased from market.
50. We purchase sugar from market.

Positive degree
51. I shall eat as much as I normally eat.
52. Rashid is as tall as Aqib.

Comparative degree
53. Rashid is taller than Farhan.
54. This hen lays more number of eggs than that hen

Superlative degree
55. Wasim is Waqar's eldest son.
56. Waqar is Saim's youngest son

Echo-Formations
57. Please have some tea, etc.
58. He got some chairs, etc on his marriage.

Reduplication
59. He was walking slowly slowly.
60. He comes again and again.
61. He got tired (of) sitting sitting.
62. Give me hot hot tea.
63. Red red apple are juicy.
64. Sometime or the other he will come back to me.

Relativization, Participialization, Adjectives
65. The boy who had fever died yesterday.
66. Call the boy who broke the glass day before yesterday.

Indefinite
67. Someone told me about this place.
68. I went somewhere.

Compound Verbs
69. le jaanaa 'to take away' (take and go)
70. paDhleenaa 'to read' (read and take)

Infinitives, Complements
71. I did not like your coming here.
72. Because of his coming back his mother could survive.

Possessive case
73. My hand
74. My fingers
75. My shirt
76. Their friends

Accusative case
77. Junaid gave me a book.
78. Junaid gave a book to me.

Locative case
79. My daughter is in the garden.
80. Monkey lives in the forest.

Direction

81. Come near
82. Up the hill
83. Down the hill

Co-ordinate Constructions

84. The teacher and a man are quarrelling.
85. This banana is big and ripened.

Subordinate construction

86. He was lying on the ground when I saw him.
87. It is well that he came.

Phatic communion

88. By my God's name I swear that I did not tell lie.
89. Wish you a Happy Eid.

Universal affirmative and negative

90. I have nothing with me to eat.
91. Everything is available here.
92. Do whatever you like.

Conditional construction

93. If Yasir works hard he will succeed in his life.
94. You can get your salary from the bank if you come in time.
95. We will take care of your friend if he is in difficulty.
96. Had we started the construction in time we could have completed by now.

Verbal participle construction

97. He is lying down and reading.
98. He came yesterday and went away.
99. Saba took, cleaned and cooked the daal.
100. Saba took the spoon and stirred the curry.

Appendix-C
Word List

English	Urdu
I	میں ، میں نےɛ̃mم
thou	تو/تو نےɪʊ
s/he	وہɔʊ، اسنے ، أُسنے/
we	ہم نے/ہم
you	, آپ،تم, تو نے تم نے ، آپ نے
they	انہوں نے، وہ
this	یہ
that	وہ
here	یہاں
there	وہاں
who	کون
what	کیا
where	کدھر، کہاں
when	کب
how	کیسے،کیسا،کیسی
not	نہ
all	سب،سارا
many	بہت/زیادہ
some	کچھ
few	تھوڑا
other	دوسرا
one	ایک
two	دو
three	تین
four	چار
five	پانچ
big	بڑا
long	لمبا
wide	چوڑا
thick	گھنا
heavy	بھاری۔/وزنی

small	چھوٹا
short	قد میں چھوٹا
narrow	تنگ
thin	پتلا
woman	عورت
man	مرد
person	شخص
child	بچہ
wife	بیوی
husband	خاوند
mother	ماں
father	باپ
animal	حیوان
fish	مچھلی
bird	پرندہ
dog	کتا
louse	جوں
snake	سانپ
worm	کیڑا
tree	درخت
forest	جنگل
stick	چھڑی
fruit	پھل
seed	بیج
leaf	پتا
root	جڑ
bark	چھال
flower	پھول
grass	گھاس
rope	رسہ ،رسی، سیلی
skin	چمڑا، چمڑی
meat	گوشت
blood	خون
bone	ہڈی

fat (n.)	چربی
egg	انڈا
horn	سینگ
tail	دم
feather	پر (کھم لیٹ)
hair	بال
head	سر
ear	کان
eye	آنکھ
nose	کان
mouth	مₙہūm
tooth	ḓɑ̃ṭدانت
tongue	زبان
fingernail	ناخنnɑxɑn
foot	پیرrɛp
leg	ٹانگṭɑ:ŋ
knee	ٹخنہ
hand	ہاتھ
wing	پر(اڑنے کیلئے)
belly	پیٹṭep
guts	انتڑیاں
neck	گردن
back	پشت
breast	سینہ
heart	دل
liver	جگر
drink!	پی
eat!	کھا
bite!	چبا
suck!	چوس
spit!	تھوک
vomit!	الٹی کر
blow	پھونک
breathe	سانس لے

laugh	ہنس
see	دیکھ
hear	سن
know	جان
think	سوچ
smell	سونگھ
fear	ڈر
sleep	سو
live	رہ
die	مر
kill	مار
fight	لڑ
hunt	شکار rak rakiʃ
hit	ٹھوکر
cut	کاٹ
split	چیر
stab	چھری مار
scratch	کھرج
dig	کھود
swim	تیر
fly	اڑ
walk	چل
come	آ
lie	لیٹ
sit	بیٹھ
stand	کھڑا ہو
turn	مڑ/گھوم
fall	گر
give	دے
hold	پکڑ
squeeze	نچوڑ
rub	مل
wash	دھو

wipe	صاف کر
pull	کھینچ
push	دھکیل
throw	پھینک
tie	باندھ
sew	سی لے
count	گن
say	کہہ
sing	گا
play	کھیل
float	تیر
flow	بہہ
freeze	جم
swell	سوجھ
sun	سورج
moon	چاند
star	ستارہ
water	پانی
rain	بارش
river	دریا
lake	جھیل
salt	نمک
stone	پتھر
sand	ریت
dust	مٹی
earth	زمین
cloud	بادل
fog	دھند
sky	آسمان
wind	ہوا
snow	برف
ice	سخت برف
smoke	دھواں
fire	آگ

ashes	سہاگہ
burn	جل
road	سڑک
mountain	پہاڑ
red	سرخ
green	سبز
yellow	زرد
white	سفید
black	کالا
night	رات
day	دن
year	سال
warm	گرم
cold	سرد
full	بھرا
new	نیا
old	بوڑھا
good	اچھا
bad	برا
rotten	گلاسڑا۔ ترکیادا
dirty	میلا
straight	سیدھا
round	گول
sharp	تیز
dull	کھنڈّا
smooth	ہموار
wet	گیلا
dry	خشک
correct	ٹھیک
near	نزدیک
far	دور
right	دائیاں
left	بائیاں
at	پر،سے

in	میں
with	ساتھ
and	اور
if	اگر
because	کیونکہ
name	