

A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Dogri Language, Jammu and Kashmir

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Preface

The field research for this survey took place in May 2004. We would like to thank Dr. Veena Gupta, Dr. Shashi Pathania, and the other faculty at Jammu University, for their assistance in planning and conducting this survey. They invited us to stay at the university guest house, they provided Dogri dictionaries and grammars, they gave us contacts in the villages and they gave us many insights as to how and where our research could best be done. Their dedication to the preservation and development of the Dogri language was inspiring.

We would also like to thank all of the villagers who gave their time to be subjects for our research. It takes patience and even a little bravery to sit down with a complete stranger and answer question after question about your mother tongue, yet we found people who were willing to help us in each village we went to. We could not have completed our work without their help.

We hope that this research will be useful and helpful to Dogri-speaking people.

Scott Turner

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1. Introduction

1.1. Purposes and goals

The Dogri language has been rapidly developing as a literary language in recent years. In December 2003, it was given official recognition on the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution. Several companies have already begun providing Dogri translation services over the Internet. It is being taught as a subject to school children throughout the Dogri speaking area, and the Department of Dogri at Jammu University is actively involved in standardising the language and promoting its use. In light of this situation, this survey was conducted to see if there is any way that SIL can help with the ongoing development of Dogri.

One question that needed evaluating was dialect variation within Dogri. Given the complex and rapidly varying linguistic situation in Jammu and Kashmir—where it is said, “The language changes every 20 kilometers”—is there consensus as to what the Dogri language is? The variety spoken in and around Samba township is considered to be the standard (Gupta and Pathania, personal communication)—can people in the whole area understand that variety? This survey investigated the extent to which the standard variety is accessible to Dogri speakers in other locations.

Since SIL is already carrying out a literary development project in the Kangri language, this survey also investigated the degree of relatedness between Dogri and Kangri. The purpose was to see to what extent the Kangri project could be expanded or carried out in parallel with the development work going on in Dogri.

Figure 1 is a summary of the methods used, and a description follows in the next section.

Figure 1: Overview of methods.

Study	Method	Brief Description	Focus	Sample Size
Language use and attitudes study	Sociolinguistic questionnaire	21 questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attitudes toward Dogri and Hindi Patterns of language use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 51 subjects from 5 locations
Dialect study	Lexical similarity comparison	210-item word list	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lexical similarity between Dogri varieties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 locations
	Dialect attitudes questionnaire	6 questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attitudes toward Dogri, Kangri, and Hindi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 51 subjects from 5 locations

1.1.1. Language use and attitudes study

The study of language use and attitudes was carried out by means of a sociolinguistic questionnaire, which was administered to fifty-one subjects at five test sites. The sites were located in the districts of Jammu, Kathua, Udhampur, and Reasi. Subjects were asked questions about which language they use in particular domains, as well as their attitudes toward Dogri and Hindi.

1.1.2. Dialect study

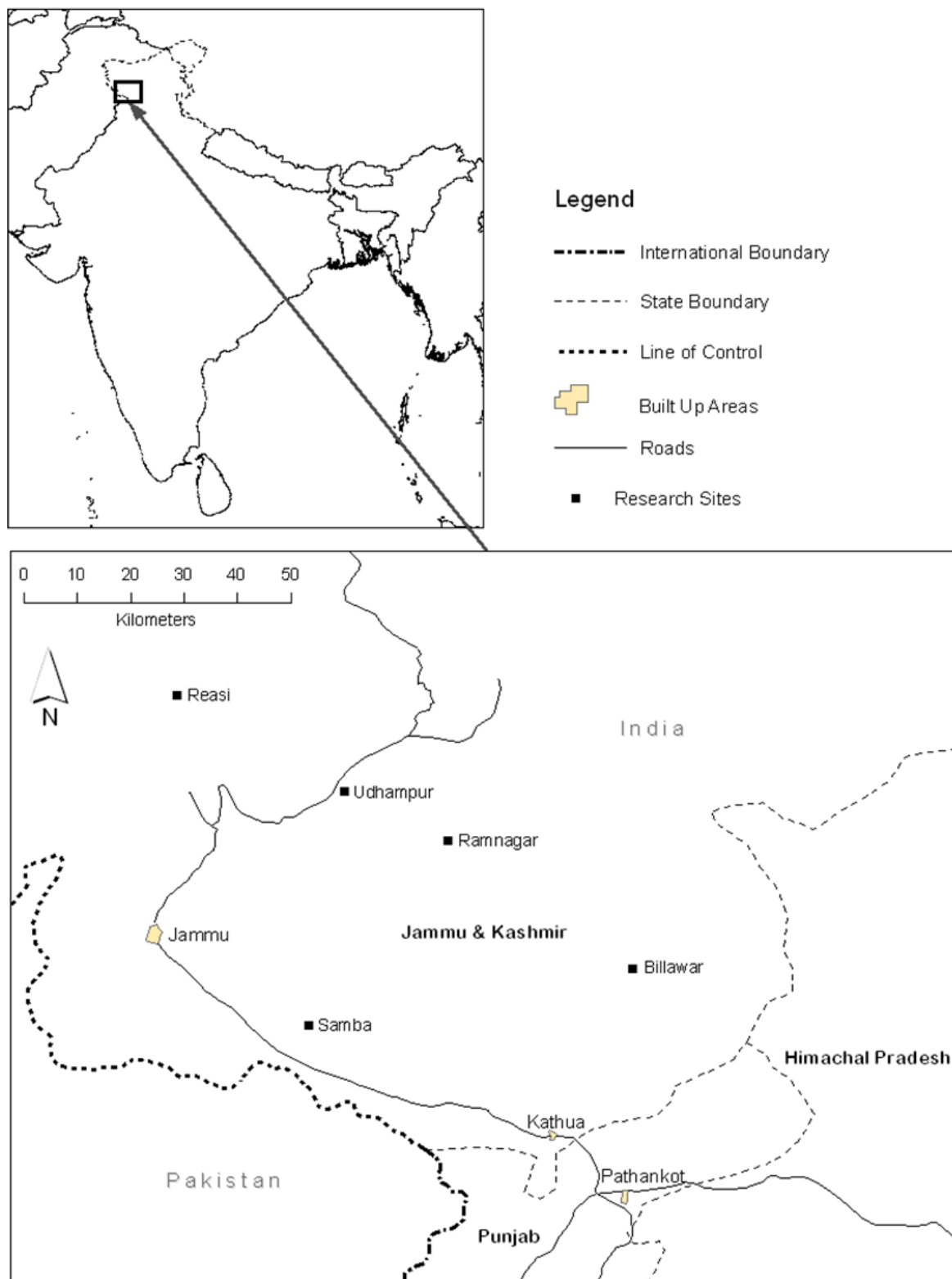
The study of the dialects of Dogri had two components. In order to obtain a broad overview of the linguistic relationship among various speech varieties, a word list of 210 vocabulary items was collected at the same five locations mentioned above. The analysis also included a Hindi word list that other researchers had previously collected. The words from all the locations were compared using a consistent counting methodology (described in Appendix B), and the percentage of similarity was calculated. Lexical similarity between Dogri and Kangri was not measured on this survey, because it would not be an important factor in decision making. The perceptions and attitudes of Dogri speakers were considered more important than lexical similarity.

A sociolinguistic questionnaire was also administered at the same times and places that the word lists were collected. This questionnaire contained six questions about the subjects' perceptions and attitudes toward the various varieties of Dogri and toward Kangri.

1.2. Geography

Dogri is spoken in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, in the districts of Jammu, Reasi, Udhampur, Kathua, and Poonch. This region is bordered by the plains on the south and west, but the elevation rises toward the northeast in the direction of Kashmir. The international border between India and Pakistan lies just west of Jammu city, while the Line of Control runs through Poonch district.

Map 1: Location of test sites



These maps should not be considered as an authority on the delimitation of boundaries or the spelling of place names.

1.3. People and history

Sometime in the 3rd millennium BC, peoples known as the Aryans began migrating from Central Asia into India, and eventually spread across all of North India from Pakistan to Bengal. One Aryan group called the Khashas settled in the mountain region between Kashmir and Nepal. The Khashas spoke an Old Indo-Aryan language related to Sanskrit.

The other major migration into the Jammu region was by Rajputs from the plains. The Rajputs are also an Aryan group, and they were originally known as Gujjars when they migrated into India around the 7th century AD. They settled in the regions of Punjab, Rajasthan, and Gujarat, and eventually established many small yet powerful kingdoms. From this time onward Rajputs were slowly and steadily migrating into the hill areas of Jammu as well, and merging with the local population (Grierson 1906:8-12). Those Rajputs who settled in the Jammu region became known as Dogras. The name Dogra comes from Duggar, which is another designation for the hill area of present-day Jammu state.

It is difficult to obtain precise figures on the number of Dogri speakers, since the 1991 Census of India did not include the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Language totals from the 2001 census were not yet available at the time of this writing. However, current estimates place the number of Dogri speakers at around 21 lakhs or 2.1 million (Grimes 2000). The great majority of these would be mother-tongue speakers, since few people learn Dogri as a second language.

1.4. Language

Dogri is part of the Indo-European language family, meaning that it is related to many of the languages spoken across the broad region from India to Europe. It is more specifically part of the Indo-Aryan family, which includes most languages of North India and Pakistan—Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Marathi, Oriya, and Bengali, to name a few.

Dogri is also classified as one of the Pahari languages, although the Dogra people themselves do not often use this terminology. To them, the word Pahari retains its original sense of “pertaining to the mountains.” So Dogri speakers near the plains refer to Dogras at higher elevations as “Pahari people” who speak a “Pahari language.” But from the standpoint of linguistic classification, Pahari refers to the group of Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the lower Himalayas from Nepal in the southeast to Kashmir in the northwest. There are three distinctive groupings within Pahari. The Eastern Pahari group includes Nepali and its related varieties which are spoken in Nepal. Central Pahari consists of Kumauni and Garhwali, spoken in the Indian state of Uttaranchal. The Western Pahari group includes the languages of Himachal Pradesh, plus Dogri, Bhadrawahi, and Kashmiri from the state of Jammu and Kashmir. All of the Pahari languages share many common grammatical features and lexical items. Some of these commonalities may come from the Khasha language, which was spoken by the earlier inhabitants of the region. Other shared features are due to the influence of the Rajputs. Even today Pahari shows a close relationship with the languages of Rajasthan, from which the Rajputs migrated (Grierson 1906:373).

According to Pushp and Warikoo (2004), the first mention of Dogri as a distinct language comes from a list of Indian languages compiled by Amir Khusru in the 13th century.

2. Language Use and Attitudes Study

2.1. Procedures

When people speak more than one language, there is usually a pattern to their choices of when to use each one. Certain languages are considered more appropriate for some situations than for others. On this survey, a study of language use was conducted in order to determine which language(s) the Dogra people use in various everyday situations. Comparing the responses of many people reveals a lot about the linguistic situation of the entire community. A study of language attitudes was carried out in order to discover how Dogra people feel about the different languages that they use. By studying people's perceptions of Dogri and Hindi and the role of each language in their future, it is possible to determine how positive (or negative) their attitudes are toward each language. This information about language use and attitudes then makes it possible to draw some conclusions about language vitality—how likely people are to continue speaking Dogri in the future.

The study of language use and attitudes was done by means of a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The questionnaires were administered orally at five locations. Usually the questions were asked in Hindi, except in a few cases when the subjects understood English. If the subjects did not understand either Hindi or English, then the questions were asked in Hindi and local people assisted by interpreting them into Dogri. The text of the questionnaire is found in Appendix C.

2.2. Discussion of sample

Subjects were selected to fill quotas based on three demographic categories: age, sex, and education. People below 40 years of age were considered young, while those 40 and over were considered old. People who had completed at least Class 5 were placed in the educated category, while those who had not completed up to Class 5 were considered uneducated. Figure 2 shows the numbers of subjects in each category. There were fifty-one subjects in all.

Figure 2: Questionnaire Subjects.

	Male	Female	Young	Old	Educated	Uneducated
N =	27	24	26	25	31	20

The five data sites were chosen based on the recommendation of Dogri scholars at Jammu University. The locations are evenly distributed geographically, and represent all of the more accessible portions of the Dogri speaking area—the districts of Jammu, Reasi, and Kathua, and part of Udhampur district. Dogri is also spoken in Poonch district and the higher elevations of Udhampur district. This survey did not cover Poonch district, because the threat of militants made it too dangerous to travel there. Data from Batote in Udhampur district was collected on a follow-up survey in April 2005 (see appendix A).

The best sampling method is the random sample, because its results can be generalized directly to the population as a whole. Unfortunately, limitations of time and resources made it impractical to conduct random sampling on this survey. Instead, test sites were selected according to the judgment of the

researchers, and subjects were chosen to fill the demographic quotas based on the convenience with which they were available for interview. This means that in order to generalize the findings, one must assume that people who were more difficult to find and interview would not have given greatly different answers than those who were actually chosen. Such an assumption may not be true in all cases. Therefore, in the analysis that follows, care has been taken to interpret the data with this limitation in mind.

2.3. Results

Except where otherwise noted, data will be presented for all fifty-one subjects combined. The results are given as a percentage of subjects who gave a particular response. Because people sometimes gave more than one response, the percentages for some of the questions are greater than 100 percent. In addition, when responses are notably different according to different locations or particular demographic factors, such as age or education, these variations will be highlighted.

All fifty-one subjects listed their mother tongue as Dogri. Of the forty-four subjects who were married, forty-three said that their spouse's mother tongue is also Dogri. The one exception was an older man who had lived for many years outside of Jammu and married a Marathi speaker from Gujarat.

Domains of language use

One way to measure language vitality is to ask about the domains, or social situations, in which people choose to use each language. On this survey, subjects were asked about six basic domains, and the results are summarized below.

Figure 3: Summary of responses to questions about domains of language use.

Question	Response			
	Dogri	Hindi	Sanskrit	Other ¹
Children²	84%	36%	-	-
Parents	98%	4%	-	-
Neighbors	96%	14%	-	-
Other villages	98%	16%	-	2%
Village children	90%	22%	-	-
Puja (worship)	67%	35%	10%	2%

Question Key:

Children = "What language do you speak with your children?"

Parents = "What language do you speak with your parents?"

Neighbors = "What language do you speak with your neighbors?"

Other villages = "What language do you speak with people from other villages?"

Village children = "What language do you speak with village children?"

Puja = "What language do you use in *puja* (religious worship)?"

This series of questions shows that Dogri is the language that the majority of Dogra people speak in home and village situations. Over 90 percent of the subjects speak Dogri with their parents, neighbors,

¹ Other answers: One person said he speaks English (in addition to Dogri and Hindi) with people from other villages. One subject who is a Muslim said he uses Arabic for religious worship.

² The number of subjects for this question is forty-four, since not all of the people interviewed have children. Of these, twenty-five were educated and nineteen uneducated.

village children, and people from other villages. For these questions, the results were the same regardless of whether the people were young or old, male or female, educated or uneducated. There were, however, two questions where the answers of educated and uneducated people were noticeably different. Results of those questions are summarized in Figures 4 and 5.

Figure 4: Summary of responses to the question, “What language do you speak with your children?”

	Dogri	Hindi
Overall	84%	36%
Educated	72%	56%
Uneducated	100%	11%

All uneducated people said they speak Dogri with their children, while 11 percent of them also speak Hindi. A lower percentage of educated people speak Dogri, though the proportion is still nearly three-quarters. The main difference is that more than half of educated people also speak Hindi with their children.

Figure 5: Summary of responses to the question, “What language do you use in puja (religious worship)?”

	Dogri	Hindi	Sanskrit	Arabic³
Overall	67%	35%	10%	2%
Educated	52%	52%	16%	3%
Uneducated	90%	10%	-	-

Roughly half of educated people speak Dogri in *puja* and half speak Hindi; an additional 16 percent reported using Sanskrit. Uneducated people, however, reported using Dogri over Hindi by an overwhelming majority.

There were twenty-one subjects (41 percent of the total sample) who gave Dogri as their only answer to all of the domains of language use questions. Seventeen of these twenty-one were uneducated, and they constitute 85 percent of all uneducated people.

Exposure to media

The next set of questions asked about people’s exposure to television, radio, books, and newspapers. The results are presented in Figures 6–8.

³ As mentioned in Note 1, this response came from one subject who is Muslim.

Figure 6: Summary of responses to questions about exposure to media.

	Yes	No
TV	82%	18%
Radio	75%	25%

Question Key:

TV = “Do you watch TV?”

Radio = “Do you listen to radio programs?”

Figure 7: Summary of responses to the follow-up question, “In what languages?”

	Dogri	Hindi	English	Punjabi	Urdu
TV	22%	80%	12%	12%	2%
Radio	59%	59%	6%	6%	4%

This question shows that the majority of subjects do watch TV and listen to radio. For TV, the language that they listen to most frequently is Hindi; only 22 percent of subjects reported watching Dogri programs on TV. On the radio, however, the numbers of people listening to Hindi and Dogri programs are equal at 59 percent. A small percentage of people said they watch TV or listen to radio in other languages.

Figure 8: Summary of responses to the question, “Have you seen any Dogri books or newspapers?”

Yes	No
43%	57%

Nearly half of the subjects have seen Dogri materials in print. Thirteen people specified books, while ten said that they had seen newspapers. One of those said the newspaper is monthly, so the news is old by the time they get it. Dogri writing is likely to increase now that Dogri is being taught as a subject in government schools and has official recognition as a Scheduled Language.

Language acquisition

The purpose of the next set of questions is to find out what language Dogra children are speaking. The results are presented in Figures 9 and 10.

Figure 9: Summary of responses to the question, “What language do children in this village speak first?”

Dogri	Hindi	Both Dogri and Hindi
82%	12%	6%

It appears that some children learn Hindi first, or grow up bilingual right from the start. But according to questionnaire responses, Dogri is the first language of the great majority of children. When including those who responded “Both Dogri and Hindi,” 88 percent of subjects say that children speak

Dogri first. One person in Udhampur specified that children learn Hindi first in Udhampur city, but Dogri first in the villages.

Figure 10: Summary of responses to the question, “What language do your children speak with their friends?”⁴

Dogri	Hindi	English
81%	40%	2%

The results of this question are clear in showing that the majority of children speak Dogri with their friends. Still, it appears that usage of Hindi is high as well, because 40 percent of subjects said that children speak Hindi with their friends. One person clarified that young people speak Hindi in school and Dogri at home. Another said that they speak Hindi in private school and Dogri in government school.

Language vitality

In a sense, all of the questions in this chapter deal with language vitality, because they are designed to discover whether or not the language is dying out. Most of the questions approach the topic indirectly by looking at the individual factors that combine to affect language vitality. However, the two questions in this section explicitly ask the subjects for their opinion on the future of the language. Results are expressed in Figures 11 and 12.

Figure 11: Summary of responses to the question, “When the children of this village grow up and have children, do you think those children will speak Dogri?”

Yes	No	Don’t know
86%	10%	4%

Figure 12: Summary of responses to the follow-up question, “Do you think this is good or bad?”

Of those who responded, “Yes, children will speak Pahari.” (N = 44)		
Good	Bad	Ok
95%	2%	2%

Of those who responded, “No, children will not speak Pahari.” (N = 5)		
Good	Bad	Doesn’t matter
40%	40%	20%

By far, the greatest number of subjects think that Dogri will continue to be spoken, and that this is a good thing. Three people apparently want Dogri to die out—one said that the next generation will continue speaking it and that this is bad, while two said that the next generation will not speak it and this is good. Still, these people constitute only 6 percent of the total number of subjects.

⁴ The number of subjects who answered this question was forty-eight, since three people said they do not have children. On the previous question that referred to children, seven people said that they do not have children. Some of these people must have answered this question in reference to other people’s children.

Of the people who think that Dogri will continue, three mentioned that their descendents would speak Hindi also. One thought that they would speak English in addition to Dogri.

Language attitudes

The following set of questions attempts to gauge people's general attitudes toward Dogri and Hindi, and see if they feel positively or negatively. Figure 13 displays the results, sorted by demographic category.

Figure 13: Summary of responses to questions about language preferences.

Question	Answer				
		Dogri	Hindi	Other	No opinion
Speak	Overall	84%	20%	4%	-
	Educated	81%	26%	6%	-
	Uneducated	90%	10%	-	-
	Young	77%	27%	4%	-
	Old	92%	12%	4%	-
Listen	Overall	76%	22%	6%	-
	Educated	68%	26%	6%	-
	Uneducated	90%	15%	5%	-
	Young	65%	31%	4%	-
	Old	88%	12%	8%	-
Hear songs	Overall	55%	33%	12%	6%
	Educated	45%	48%	9%	3%
	Uneducated	70%	10%	15%	10%
	Young	50%	46%	8%	-
	Old	60%	20%	16%	12%
Sing songs	Overall	59%	31%	4%	14%
	Educated	52%	42%	6%	10%
	Uneducated	70%	15%	-	20%
	Young	58%	42%	4%	4%
	Old	60%	20%	4%	24%

Question Key:

Speak = "In what language do you prefer to speak?"

Listen = "What language do you prefer to listen to?"

Hear songs = "In what language do you prefer to listen to songs?"

Sing songs = "In what language do you prefer to sing songs?"

The table shows that on the questions of speaking and listening, the answers of people from different demographic categories are not greatly different. As expected, older and uneducated people overwhelmingly favor Dogri in these situations, but the preferences of younger and educated people are only a little less strong. This is a very positive sign for the future of Dogri. Dogri had less of an edge on the questions about singing and listening to songs. In fact, among educated people, more of them prefer to listen to songs in Hindi than in Dogri. However, these domains are not such crucial indicators of the

future of the language, and they may reveal more about the quality of music that is available than about people's actual language preferences.

The next two questions ask even more directly about the relative value that people place on Hindi and Dogri.

Figure 14: Summary of responses to questions about language attitudes

Question		Answer			
		Yes	No	Both equal	No opinion
Equal	Overall	90%	6%	-	4%
	Educated	90%	6%	-	3%
	Uneducated	90%	5%	-	5%
	Young	88%	8%	-	4%
	Old	92%	4%	-	4%
Better	Overall	71%	14%	8%	8%
	Educated	68%	16%	10%	10%
	Uneducated	75%	10%	5%	10%
	Young	69%	15%	12%	4%
	Old	72%	12%	4%	12%

Question Key:

Equal = "Do you think Dogri is as good as Hindi?"

Better = "Is Dogri better than Hindi?"

The researchers recognize that this is not a precise question. What does it mean to say that one language is better than another? Still, this type of question can be useful as a rough tool in gauging people's feelings about each language. In this case, the most interesting revelation was that the answers were almost exactly the same across the demographic categories, and never varied by more than six percentage points. The question also elicited a number of insightful comments. One person who was not able to form an opinion explained that "Dogri is our mother tongue, and Hindi is the national language." Other responses were, "Yes better, to Dogras." "Yes, because we understand it." "Yes both are good, but we like Dogri better." "All languages are good." One of the dissenting voices answered, "No, because Hindi is spoken more."

Besides looking at the total percentages, it is also possible to compare each individual person's responses to each question and make a judgment about which statement they would support. Results of this interpretation are displayed in Figure 15.

Figure 15: Interpretation of responses to questions about language attitudes.

Dogri better	Hindi better	Both equal	No opinion
71%	6%	20%	4%

These results are shown as an aggregate total, since the different demographic categories came out very similarly. The great majority of subjects (over 90 percent) believe that Dogri is equal to or better than Hindi.

3. Dialect Study

3.1. Lexical similarity study

3.1.1. Procedures

One of the goals of this survey was to investigate the amount of language variation within the area where Dogri is spoken. The speech of different locations was compared by looking at the degree of similarity in the basic vocabulary. A list of 210 words was collected at five sites in the Jammu area. This list had been standardized by previous researchers, and the words were chosen to reflect a broad range of vocabulary domains. They included parts of the body, household items, objects in nature, common foods, family relations, numbers, simple adjectives, verbs, and pronouns.

The word lists were elicited in Hindi, and the words were transcribed phonetically in a data notebook. In order to make sure that the list represented more than just one person's opinion about which word was appropriate, it was either elicited from a small group of people, or was independently verified later with a second speaker from the same location. Words were compared using a consistent counting procedure documented in Blair (1990:28-9). Details are found in Appendix B. The percentage of similarity was calculated using a computer program called WordSurv (Version 5.0 beta). A word list from standard Hindi was also included in the comparison.

According to the procedures articulated by Blair, if two speech varieties are less than 60 percent similar, then they should be considered separate languages. One would not expect the speakers of those varieties to be able to understand each other.

3.1.2. Discussion of sample

The five data sites represent all of the more accessible portions of the Dogri speaking area—the districts of Jammu, Reasi, and Kathua, and part of Udhampur district. These particular sites were chosen because they are distributed at roughly equal distances throughout that region. Dogri is also spoken in Poonch district and the higher elevations of Udhampur district. This survey did not cover Poonch district, because the threat of militants made it too dangerous to travel there. Data from Batote in Udhampur district was collected on a follow-up survey in April 2005 (see Appendix D).

3.1.3. Results

The word lists show that the Dogri of all the test sites is very similar. All the percentages are well over the 60 percent threshold, so they may be considered as related varieties of the same language. Figures 16 and 17 display the data in chart form.

Figure 16: Lexical similarity between Dogri varieties

Reasi					
93	Ramnagar				
90	92	Udhampur			
87	87	86	Samba		
83	81	81	78	Billawar	
59	56	63	57	55	Hindi

Figure 17: Average lexical similarity to the other Dogri locations.

Reasi	88%
Ramnagar	88%
Udhampur	87%
Samba	85%
Billawar	81%

The three locations that are higher in the mountains—Reasi, Ramnagar, and Udhampur—are very similar to each other, all 90 percent or above. The figures for Samba are almost as high. The most divergent site is Billawar, which is only 78 percent similar to Samba and 81 percent to 83 percent similar to the other three sites.

If decisions are made based on linguistic factors alone, then the location with the highest average lexical similarity to all the others would normally be considered the best candidate for the reference dialect, or literary standard. Figure 17 shows that none of the test sites really stands out above the others in this regard. Any one could serve as the standard dialect, except probably for Billawar, which is considerably lower than the rest. Samba does not have the highest average, but it is only three percentage points behind the leaders, so on this basis it should work fine as the standard. These variations are probably too small to be statistically significant, given the imprecision of wordlist methodology.

3.2. Dialect attitude study

3.2.1. Procedures and sample

Besides the objective data of word lists, it is also important to consider people's subjective opinions and attitudes toward nearby dialects. This information was gathered by means of a questionnaire, which contained six questions about Dogri and Kangri and people's attitudes toward them. The dialect attitudes questionnaire was administered as part of the sociolinguistic questionnaire already discussed in Section 2. The sampling methods, test sites, and administration procedures were the same as those described in that section.

3.2.2. Results

The first set of questions asked, "Where do you think the best Dogri is spoken?" and the follow-up, "Why do you say this is the best Dogri?" There was no clear consensus about either of these questions. On the first one, four subjects had no opinion. Thirty-one percent named their own location,

with these responses distributed about evenly between the five sample sites. If people initially listed their own location, the researchers usually followed up by asking for the second-best location. What follows is a list of places that were mentioned as either the best or second best Dogri, by people who were not from that place. Some people gave more than one answer.

Figure 18: Responses to the question, “Where do you think the best Dogri is spoken?” (All subjects who named a location other than their own.)

Location	Number of Subjects
Jammu city or nearby	8
Mountain area	7
Villages	4
Himachal	4
Ramnagar	4
Jammu state	3
Udhampur	3
Basohli	3
Reasi	1
Chamba	1
All Jammu and Kashmir	1

It is interesting to note that no one mentioned Samba as a place where the best Dogri is spoken, except for one person who lived there. But many people did say, “Around Jammu city,” an area which would include Samba. In informal discussions, some people said that the only difference between the Dogri of Jammu and Samba is that in Jammu, people mix in more Hindi.

Fully 47 percent of the subjects had no opinion about why the variety of Dogri that they had mentioned was the best. Another 25 percent (thirteen subjects) gave basically meaningless answers such as, “We just like it,” or “Because it’s our mother tongue.” Only twelve subjects (24 percent) gave a specific reason why the Dogri of a particular location was the best. All these twelve responses are listed in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Responses to the question, “Why do you say that is the best Dogri?” (All subjects who gave a specific reason.)

Location	Reason
Himachal	The people are good
Himachal, Pahari areas, Chamba	More pure, here there is too much mixing
Basohli (dist. Kathua)	It’s simple
Basohli town	It’s easy
Ramnagar	Singhi Mandir is here
Here (Ramnagar)	It’s the largest tehsil (administrative division)
Here (Udhampur)	Maximum Dogri is spoken here
In villages, remote areas	Pure Dogri, because they’re uneducated
In villages	It’s pure in the villages; mixed in the cities
In Pahari area	More pure
In Pahari area	More pure
In Pahari area	Cities are mixed with Hindi, Punjabi

Even though only a few people said so explicitly, there seems to be a general opinion that better Dogri is spoken in the Pahari (mountain) areas. However, this preference does not seem to be based on variations within Dogri itself. People's only criticism of the Dogri from lower elevations is that it is mixed with Hindi and Punjabi.

The next section of the questionnaire was a series of questions about locations representing different speech varieties. All subjects were initially asked, "Have you ever met someone from location X?" If they answered yes, then they were asked three questions about the speech of that location. The results of these questions are displayed in Figures 20–22. The column on the left shows the place where the questionnaire was administered, and the row at the top shows the locations about which people were questioned.

Figure 20: Percentage of subjects answering "Yes" to the question, "When they were speaking their own language, were you able to understand?"

	Samba	Udhampur	Kathua	Jammu city
Samba		N = 7	N = 9	N = 11
Yes		86%	100%	100%
Udhampur	N = 7		N = 4	N = 9
Yes	100%		100%	100%
Billawar (Kathua)	N = 7	N = 6		N = 8
Yes	100%	100%		100%
Reasi	N = 6	N = 10	N = 6	N = 9
Yes	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ramnagar	N = 6	N = 9	N = 7	N = 10
Yes	100%	100%	100%	100%

N = Number of subjects who have met someone from that location.

The results of this question are so uniform that they are barely worth commenting on. All of the subjects said that they were able to understand the Dogri of every other location, except for one person in Samba who said he could not understand people from Udhampur when they talk among themselves. One other subject in Samba said she understands people from Jammu but usually speaks Hindi with them, while a man in Samba said the same thing about people from Kathua.

This is a powerful indication that there are no obstacles to intelligibility among the three districts covered on this survey. Everyone in that area is probably able to understand the Dogri of any other person in the area.

Figure 21: Summary of responses to the question, “Is their speech the same as yours, a little different, or very different?”⁵

	Samba N = 26	Udhampur N = 32	Kathua N = 26	Jammu city N = 47
Same	38%	66%	38%	57%
A little different	57%	31%	46%	36%
Very different	4%	3%	12%	2%

N = Number of subjects who have met someone from that location.

Like the previous question, this one also revealed a high degree of uniformity. Very few people described the speech of any location as “very different” from their own. Two people commented that the language of Samba is mixed with Punjabi. One said that the language of Jammu is mixed with Punjabi and Hindi. Two people in Udhampur said that the language of Jammu is only “very slightly different.” One person in Billawar said the speech of Udhampur is “a little different, but the same language.”

The dialect that the greatest number of people describe as the same as their own would generally be the best candidate for the literary standard. Judging by this alone, either Udhampur or Jammu city would serve as an admirable standard, since over half of the subjects described both as the same as their own. Samba is not far behind, since 38 percent of subjects said it was the same and 57 percent said it was only a little different. This question gives additional evidence that Billawar would not be a suitable standard, but it does not give a decisive edge to any of the remaining locations.

Figure 22: Percentage of subjects answering “Yes” to the question, “Did you like their speech?”

	Samba	Udhampur	Kathua	Jammu city
Samba		N = 7 86%	N = 9 100%	N = 11 100%
Udhampur	N = 7 71%		N = 4 100%	N = 9 100%
Billawar (Kathua)	N = 7 100%	N = 6 100%		N = 8 100%
Reasi	N = 6 100%	N = 10 100%	N = 6 83%	N = 9 100%
Ramnagar	N = 6 100%	N = 9 100%	N = 7 100%	N = 10 100%

N = Number of subjects who have met someone from that location.

This question revealed that there are no strong negative attitudes toward any of the dialects. Only a few subjects said that they did not like the speech of a given location, and a few more said that it was merely “ok” (*thik hai*). All of the locations received one or two such “less than positive” responses,

⁵ Several people were not able to formulate a definite opinion, so not all of the columns add up to 100 percent. Five subjects expressed the difference in terms of a percentage, between 1 percent and 3 percent. These have all been counted in the category “A little different.”

except for Jammu city, which was held in universally high regard. People who had already said that the speech of a given location was the same as their own were not asked this question, since it seemed redundant. Their answers were automatically recorded as “yes.”

Last of all, subjects were asked this same series of questions about the Kangri language, spoken in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh. Kangri and Dogri have sometimes been classified as dialects of the same language.⁶ Results are found in figure 23.

Figure 23: Summary of responses to questions about Kangri.

Question	Answer N = 19
Understand?	
No	16%
A little	26%
A lot	21%
Yes	37%
Difference?	
Same	11%
A little different	42%
Very different	21%
No opinion	21%
Like?	47%

N = Number of subjects who have met Kangri speakers.

Understand? = “When they were speaking their own language, how much could you understand?”

Difference? = “Is their language the same as yours, a little different, or very different?”

Like? = “Did you like their speech?”

On the question of understanding, several people gave their answer as a percentage. Those over 50 percent have been counted as “a lot,” and those below that as “a little.” This question shows that around half of Dogri speakers view Kangri as very similar to Dogri, with 21 percent saying it is very different. Over half of the subjects claimed they have difficulty understanding Kangri, with the rest saying that they have little or no problem understanding it. However, in the case of a large and well-established language such as Dogri, the attitudes of the speakers are a more important factor than simply intelligibility when evaluating whether two communities could share written materials. In light of this priority, it is important to note that less than half of the subjects claimed to like Kangri. Comments on this question included, “Not so much,” “It’s ok,” and “I like Dogri.” Since the Dogra people are not especially enamored with Kangri, and their positive attitudes toward Dogri are so strong (see section 2), it seems unlikely that Kangri literature would be of much use to Dogri speakers. All the evidence shows that Dogri materials would receive the best response.

⁶ E.g. Grimes, *Ethnologue*, 14th edition, 2000. The 15th edition (2005) lists Dogri and Kangri separately.

4. Summary of Findings

4.1. Language use and attitudes study

Responses to the sociolinguistic questionnaire show that the great majority of Dogra people speak Dogri in everyday situations. Over 90 percent of the subjects speak Dogri with their parents, neighbors, village children, and people from other villages. Most children learn Dogri first and speak it with their friends. Ninety-four percent of subjects want future generations to continue speaking Dogri. It did not matter whether people were young or old, male or female, educated or uneducated—almost all of the domains of use questions showed consistent results. The questionnaire also revealed strongly positive attitudes toward Dogri across all demographic categories. The most significant discovery may be the fact that positive attitudes are strong among both educated and uneducated, and among older and younger generations. The attitudes of younger and educated people are typically a signal to the direction that the community is moving in the future. If these people preferred Hindi and had stopped teaching Dogri to their children, this would be an indication that the entire community is shifting to Hindi. However, all the evidence clearly shows that this is not the case. Dogri is the primary language of the Dogra community and it will continue to be spoken for generations to come.

4.2. Dialect study

Word lists revealed a high degree of lexical similarity throughout the three districts that were surveyed. Questionnaires confirmed that the people in those areas have little or no difficulty understanding each other and they have no negative attitudes toward the speech of any location. The survey did not reveal any factors that would prevent people from accepting and using the standard variety of Dogri, spoken around Samba. Several people did say that the purest form of Dogri is spoken in the mountain areas, whereas closer to the plains, there is more mixing with Hindi and Punjabi. Based on comments like this, and on word lists and questionnaire data, it appears that Udampur and Ramnagar would have been viable alternative options to serve as the standard. However, most people also expressed favorable attitudes toward the standard language from Samba and Jammu city.

Over half the questionnaire subjects believe Kangri is very similar to Dogri, but some Dogri speakers have difficulty understanding it. Dogra people have strongly-positive attitudes in favor of Dogri and its development, and previous research has shown that Kangri speakers feel similarly about their own variety. Therefore, it appears that each group would be best served by its own distinctive materials.

5. Recommendations

There is a definite need for written materials in Dogri. The language is clearly not dying out, since the majority of people of all ages and education levels use it in basic, everyday situations. Most people also have strongly positive attitudes toward Dogri. The variety of Dogri spoken around Samba has already been recognized as the literary standard by Jammu University and other authorities. This variety is understandable and acceptable to Dogri speakers across a wide area. Therefore, it is important to continue the standardization program already begun by Jammu University and to promote the teaching of Dogri as a subject in government schools.

Appendix A: Data from Batote

Researched and compiled by:

Jeremy D. Brightbill
Alexander Kondakov
Joshua Trant
Scott D. Turner

August 2005

Introduction

The main survey of the Dogri language was conducted in May 2004. The intention was to include Batote as one of the test sites, since it is near the northern limit of the area where Dogri is spoken. However, it was not feasible to go there at that time. Even without Batote, the information collected on the main survey was quite conclusive for identifying the language development needs for Dogri. One year later, the researchers had an opportunity to stop in Batote while en route to another area. It was decided to administer questionnaires and collect a word list in Batote, to see if this data yielded any additional insight on the dialect situation within Dogri. The data was collected on 11 April 2005.

Procedures for word lists and questionnaires were the same as the previous survey. The full word list from Batote is presented in appendix B. The questionnaire was administered to a total of ten subjects, selected to fill demographic categories of age, sex, and education. People below 40 years of age were considered young, while those 40 and over were considered old. People who had completed at least Class 5 were placed in the educated category, while those who had not completed up to Class 5 were considered uneducated. The number of subjects in each demographic category is displayed in figure 1.

Figure 1: Questionnaire subjects in Batote.

	Male	Female	Young	Old	Educated	Uneducated
N =	5	5	5	5	8	2

Results

Wordlists

Figure 2 shows the lexical similarity between wordlists from Batote and the previous five locations. Figure 3 shows the average lexical similarity of each site with all other locations.

Figure 2: Lexical similarity between Dogri varieties⁷.

Reasi						
93	Ramnagar					
90	92	Udhampur				
84	89	90	Batote			
87	88	87	79	Samba		
83	81	81	76	78	Billawar	
59	56	64	58	57	55	Hindi

Figure 3: Average lexical similarity to the other Dogri locations.

Old		⇒	New	
Ramnagar	88%		Ramnagar	89%
Reasi	88%	Udhampur	88%	
Udhampur	87%	Reasi	87%	
Samba	85%	Samba	84%	
Billawar	81%	Batote	84%	
		Billawar	80%	

Figures 2 and 3 show that the word list from Batote is not greatly divergent from those of the other sites. Batote is most similar to Ramnagar and Udhampur, with percentages of around 90 percent. This high degree of similarity is not surprising, since those towns are closest to Batote geographically. Batote is less than 80 percent similar with Samba and Billawar, which are closer to the plains. The addition of Batote caused Ramnagar and Udhampur to rise by one percentage point in average lexical similarity with all other sites. The remaining sites, Reasi, Samba, and Billawar, all dropped by one percentage point.

According to the methods of analysis articulated by Frank Blair (1990:28-9), speech varieties that are less than 60 percent similar should be considered separate languages. Batote is well over 60 percent similar to all other Dogri locations that were surveyed; therefore, it is clearly not a separate language.

Dialect Questionnaire

The first set of questions asked subjects was where they think the best Dogri is spoken, and why they think that variety is the best. The results are displayed in figure 4.

⁷ In a few cases, lexical similarity figures between the other sites changed by one percentage point from the previous report. This is due to synonyms (usually Hindi loan-words) which were not counted previously, but had to be counted when they were given in Batote as the only word in use.

Figure 4: Responses to the question, “Where do you think the best Dogri is spoken?”

Location	Number of Subjects
Jammu	4
Batote	2
In the mountains	1
Udhampur	1
Himachal Pradesh	1
All equal	1

The main survey had shown that Dogra people everywhere have positive attitudes toward the speech around Jammu city, and the responses from Batote give additional confirmation of this. Four out of ten subjects specifically named Jammu as the place where the best Dogri is spoken. Other respondents named a wide variety of places, including Batote itself. But only three subjects gave linguistic reasons for why the speech of a particular location is the best. Two people said that the language of Jammu is “sweet” and one said that the language of Udhampur is “pure.” The other answers were comments like, “I just like it,” or, “The king was from Jammu.”

Subjects were then asked a series of questions about locations representing different speech varieties. All subjects were initially asked, “Have you ever met someone from location X?” If they answered yes, then they were asked three questions about the speech of that location. The results of these questions are displayed in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Responses to questions about the speech of specific locations.

	Udhampur N = 10	Doda N = 3	Jammu N = 10	Samba N = 5
Understand				
All	90%	33%	90%	80%
Half–most	10%	66%	10%	20%
Difference				
Same	40%		60%	80%
Little different	60%	33%	30%	20%
Very different ⁸		66%	10%	
Like	100%	33%	100%	100%

N = Number of subjects in Batote who have met someone from that location.

Understand = “When they were speaking their own language, were you able to understand?”

Difference = “Is their speech the same as yours, a little different, or very different?”

Like = “Do you like their speech?”

This question also revealed positive attitudes and good understanding of the language of Jammu. All ten subjects in Batote had met someone from Jammu, all of them said that they liked the language from there, and six claimed that the language is “the same” as their own. Five subjects had met someone from Samba, all of them liked the language, and four of them said it is the same as their own. It is

⁸ Two subjects said that the language of Doda is “50 percent different.” These have been counted as “Very different.”

interesting to note that a higher percentage of people said Jammu is the same as their own speech, rather than Udhampur, even though word lists showed that Udhampur is probably more similar to Batote than Jammu. People probably have non-linguistic reasons for identifying with the language of Jammu, such as the fact that it is the largest Dogri-speaking city and “the king lived there,” as quoted previously. But even if the reasons are non-linguistic, they are still important for indicating which variety of Dogri would be most widely accepted.

The most divergent responses were given to questions about Doda. This town is actually outside the main Dogri-speaking area. Its population is quite mixed, and the majority of people there speak Kashmiri, Bhadarwahi, or other languages, not Dogri. When the questionnaire was administered in Batote, it was usually necessary to clarify that the question meant only Dogra people from Doda, not Kashmiris or Bhadarwahis. Only three subjects in Batote had met Dogri-speakers from Doda. Two of those three said that the language is very different, which would be expected because it is a transitional area. However, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions from such a small sample.

A few subjects gave additional comments on these questions. Two people said that the language of Jammu is mixed with Punjabi and Urdu. One said that the language of Udhampur is mixed with Urdu. When asked informally about the boundaries of the Dogri-speaking area, several people said that Dogri is spoken as far as Assar to the east, on the road to Doda. To the north, Dogri is said to extend as far as Ramban, on the road to Srinagar.

Conclusions

The information from Batote on lexical similarity, dialect attitudes and reported comprehension of Dogri dialects does not change the conclusions of the previous phase of this sociolinguistic survey. Instead, it reinforces the finding that the language of Jammu is highly regarded by Dogri speakers in all locations, even the higher mountain areas. The standard literary dialect of Dogri is spoken in Samba, which is quite close to Jammu proper. Therefore, it appears that Dogri speakers in all areas will have no trouble accepting and using the standard dialect.

Appendix B: Batote Wordlist

Subject bio data

Name: Anil Kumar
 Birthplace: Batote
 Age: 32
 Sex: M
 Education: 10 + 2
 Date elicited: 11 April 2005

Wordlist

body	d̥ʒisəm	knife (small)	tʃʊri
head	sɪr	axe	kuarɪ
hair	bal	rope	rəs:i
face	mūh	thread	doɾ
eye	āk ^h	needle	sui
ear	ka	cloth	təl:e
nose	nak	ring	gūt ^h i
mouth	mūh	sun	sureḁʒ
tooth	dāt	moon	tʃād
tongue	d̥ʒib ^h	sky	əmbər
breast		star	tara
belly	tɪd̥	rain	bər ^h a
arm (whole)	bā	water	pani
elbow	aɾki	river	nədi
palm	təli	cloud	badəl
finger	ūgli	lightning	mɪlk
fingernail	nɛ, nɔ		terkman,
leg	lət ^h	rainbow	indrād ^h ənuʃ
skin	tʃəmɾi	wind	həva
bone	əḁḁi	stone	pət: ^h ər, d̥ʒən
heart	dɪl	path	rəsta
blood	k ^h un	sand	ret
urine		fire	əg
feces		smoke	tūa
village	grā	ash	soa
house	gər	mud	tʃikər
roof	sərn	dust	mɪɾ:i
door	pɪt ^h	gold	sona
firewood	bəsət ^h i	tree	buta
broom	boari	leaf	pət:ər
mortar (for grain)	kunḁi	root	d̥ʒil
pestle	kunḁa d̥ənḁa	thorn	kənḁa
hammer	t ^h oɾi	flower	ful

fruit	fəl	younger	
mango	əmb	sister	niki pæ:ŋ
banana	kela	son	put:ər
wheat	kəŋək	daughter	kuɾɪ
millet	dʒo	husband	kʰasəm
rice (cooked)	tʃɔl	wife	la:ɾi
potato	alu	boy	loɾə
eggplant	pət:a	girl	kuɾɪ
groundnut	mūgpʰəli	day	dɪn, tja:ɾə
chili	məɾtʃ	night	rati
turmeric	əldər	morning	bəɖ:ə, belə
garlic	tʰo:m	noon	doper
onion	pjadʒ, gənda	evening	sādʒ
cauliflower	pʰul gobʰi	yesterday	pɪtʃla kəl
tomato	təmaɾər	today	adʒ
cabbage	bənd gobʰi	tomorrow	kəl
oil	tel	week	əpta
salt	luŋ	month	min:ə
meat	mās	year	sa:l
fat	tʃərbi	old (things)	pəra:ŋə
fish	mətʃli	new	nama
chicken	kukri	good	ʃel
egg	əŋɖa	bad	gāde
cow	go	wet	gɪl:ə
buffalo	mɛ	dry	su:kə
milk	dudʰ	long	lam:ə
horns	sɪg	short	nɪka
tail	dumb	hot	tat:ə
goat	bəkri	cold	tʰāɖo
dog	kut:a	right	sadʒə
snake	səp	left	kʰəb:a
monkey	bəndər, məkəɾ, tolo	near	kaʃ, kol
mosquito	məʃər	far	dur
ant	pruli	big	bəɖ:ə
spider	gəld	small	nɪk:a
name	nā	heavy	pa:rə
man	mənukʰ	light	olə
woman	dʒənan:i	above	up:ər
child	bətʃ:a, dʒəkt	below	kʰal, tʰələ
father	pjo, bəb	white	tʃɪtʃ:ə
mother	mā, əm:a	black	ka:la
older brother	bəɖa pra	red	la:l, suərk
younger		one	ɛk
brother	nɪka pra	two	do
older sister	bəɖ:i pæ:ŋ	three	tre

four	tʃa:r	run!	dɔɾ, dɔɾɪje
five	pādʒ	go!	dʒao
six	tʃ ^h ɛ	come!	ao
seven	sat	speak!	bolo
eight	aɫ ^h	I (1 sg.)	aū
nine	no	you (2 sg. informal)	tū
ten	dəs	you (2 sg. formal)	tus
eleven	dʒarə	he (3 sg. masc)	o
twelve	ba:rə	she (3 sg. fem)	o
twenty	bi	we	əs
one hundred	so	we (two)	əs dɔvɛ
who?	kɔŋ	you (2 pl.)	tus lok
what?	kɛ	they (3 pl.)	vɛ
where?	kuɫ ^h ɛ		
when?	kəɔv, kɛlnv		
how many?	kɪn:a		
what kind?	kənɛja		
this	ɛ		
that	o		
these	jɛ		
those	o		
same (like)	ɛkɛnɪja		
different (other)	fərk, bak ^h rə		
whole (unbroken)	səbu:t		
broken (pot)	pədʒɪja		
few	kəɫ, keʃ		
many	dʒjadə		
all	sa:rɛ		
he is hungry	pok ^h lagi		
he is thirsty	trɛ lagi		
he is drinking	pija da		
he is sleeping	sut:əɔa		
it is burning	dʒələga		
it is flying	udrəvə		
he is listening	su:nədə		
it (the dog) bit	baɔɪja		
he lay down	lɛɫɛda		
he killed	marvɔɪja		
he died	mər gja		
he saw	dɪk ^h ɪja		
eat!	k ^h ajɛ		
sit down!	bo		
give!	dɛ, dɛo		
walk!	tʃəl		

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