



Language Ecology in Northeast India: An Overview

Dr. Biswajit Das

Associate Professor, Nowgong Girls' College, Nagaon.

Northeast India: A landscape

Northeast India consists of seven sisters, namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The region is one of the 34 Hot Spots (The Eastern Himalayas) and the richest biomes in the world. More than half of the total area of Northeast India is covered by forest. The region is full of mountains and equally river valleys. The hill peoples are mostly depending on Jhum cultivation and forest. They are expert hunters, trappers and fishermen. It should be noted that the hunting/trapping has been done with considerable prudence with many taboos and restrictions. This ethnopolitical region is diverse with approximately 225 tribes and approximately 220 languages (according to the 1971 census of India)

The languages of Northeast India belong to Indo-Aryan, Tai Kadai, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asian groups. Some other languages like Bengali, Nepali, and Hindi are also spoken in this region. Two Assamese language-based pidgins are also spoken in this region. The Nagamese is the lingua-franca of Nagaland and is widely used in Nagaland. The other pidgin Nefamese spoken in Arunachal Pradesh is replaced later by the Hindi. Though, more than two hundred of languages are spoken in this region, but none can claim as a lingua-franca. Assamese is one of the largest spoken languages of Northeast India and has great potentials for lingua-franca, though it is limited within the three-four states spoken mainly in Brahmaputra valley of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Nagaland.

A Linguistic Scenario: NE India

Northeast India is a very thinly populated region, though approximately 220 languages have spoken. The Tibeto-Burman group has large numbers of Languages and is spread throughout all seven states of Northeast India. Khasi, Kol, Munda, Santal etc. are Austric group of languages and are mainly spoken in Meghalaya and Assam. Ahom, Phake, Turung, Khamyang etc. belongs to the Tai Kadai group of languages and spoken mainly in Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

The official language and other languages/dialects are given below as stated by the Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region, Govt. of INDIA.

NAGALAND

Population (Census 2011)	19,80,602
Official Language	English
Other Languages/ Dialects	Each tribe in Nagaland has its own dialect. There are about 60 different spoken dialects that belong to the Tibeto - Burman family of languages/dialects. These dialects have no script of their own. Tribes speak to each other in 'Nagamese' a language which is an amalgamation of Assamese, and local dialects. It is the language of the market.

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Population (Census 2011)	13,82,611
Official Language	English
Other Languages/Dialects	The number and diversity of languages/dialects spoken in Arunachal Pradesh are not conclusively known. 30, possibly 50, distinct languages/dialects in addition to innumerable dialects and sub-dialects coinciding with tribal areas are in use. Some of them are Nyishi, Dafla, Miji, Adi, Gallong, Wancho, Tagin, Hill Miri, Mishui, Monpa, Nocte, Aka, Tangsa, Khamti. Vast majority of them belong to the Tibeto - Burman language family. Hindi is making constant inroads. Nefamese is used as a link language in some areas.

MANIPUR

Population (Census 2011)	27,21,756
Official Language	Meiteilon (Manipuri)
Other Languages/Dialects	29 different dialects are also in wide usage. 5 of them (in addition to Meiteilon which is taught up to postgraduate level) are recognized as medium of instruction in schools up to V. These are: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tangkhul 2. Hmar 3. Paite 4. Lushai 5. Thadou/Kuki

Meghalaya

Population (Census 2011)	29,64,001
Official Language	Khasi, Puar and Garo with English
Other Languages/Dialects	Garo has close affinity with Koch & Bodo language. It has many dialects e.g. Abeng or Aurbengh, Along, Akarve (or Alve) Matchi, Dual, Uibok, Chisak Megam or Lyngugam, Ruga, Gao-Ganching. Puan is spoken by Tribal group e.g. Khyniram, Bhoi, Puai and War.

Mizoram

Population (Census 2011)	10,91,014
Official Language	Mizo, English
Other Languages/Dialects	The main dialects of Mizoram are - Aso, Chho, Halam, 'Hinar', Lai, Lusei, Mara, Miu - Khumi, Paite and Thado - Kuki.

Tripura

Population (Census 2011)	36,71,032
Official Language	English and Bengali
Other Languages/Dialects	'Bengali' is the language used by the majority of people of Tripura. The other important language is 'Kok-Borok' or 'Tripuri' which belongs to the Tibeto - Burman group. The 'Tripuri' language uses the Bengali script. The dialect is Halam and sub-dialects are Rankhal and Chakma.

Assam

Population (Census 2011)	31,169,272
Official Language	Assamese, Bengali (in Barak Valley Districts), Bodo (in Bodo Territorial Council area) & English
Other Languages/Dialects	Other languages/dialects are Nepali, Dimasa, Mishing, Karbi, Rabha, Tiwa and sub-groups like Tai-Phake, Tai-Aiton, Tai- Khamti.

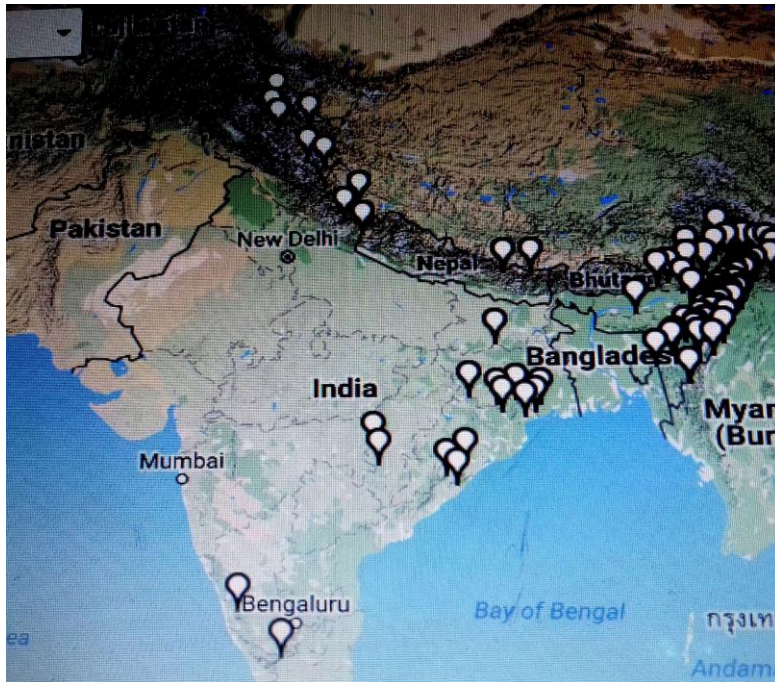
The Key Features of The Languages of the Northeast India:

The total numbers of population in North East India are 4, 46, 58,937 (**Census Report 2011**) against the 220 languages (approx.). Some of the noticeable features of the languages are:

1. Very limited speakers
2. Most of the languages are used only for intra-community communication
3. No script to write. (Except Assamese, Tai languages and Meitei)
4. The languages are not used in new domains.

5. Most of the communities are socio-economically poor.
6. The languages are mostly related to their agricultural and forest lives. So native languages are unable to express the new entities. Therefore, people who are distant from their traditional lives become isolated from their native languages.

According to UNESCO's *Atlas of World's Languages in Danger*, 197 languages of India are recognized as endangered language. Almost 90% of them are from Himalayan belt and half of them are from Northeast India. These are as shown them below:



Level of endangerment	Total number of speakers	location
Vulnerable		
Adi/ (Abor)	170000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: East Siang District, upper Siang
Angami	132000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Dimapur & Kohima
Ao	243000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Wokho and parts of Mokakchung District (Monseng dialect particularly endangered)
Apatani	35000 (Census Report, 2001)	Apatany valley, Lower Subansiri District
Bangni	20000 (Census Report, 2001)	Kurung Kumey District
Bishnupriya Manipuri	77545 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam, Tripura, Manipur
Bokar (Adi)	5000(Census Report, 2001)	Scattered in West Siang District
Chang	62000 (Census Report, 2001)	Tuensang District
Caona Menba	50000 (Census Report, 2001)	Monpa (Tawang)
Dimasa	112000 (Census Report, 2001)	Dima Hasao & Karbi Anglong
Galo/Gallong	35000 (Census Report, 2001)	Southern part of West Siang District
Hmar	50000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam: Dima Hasao, Cachar, Manipur; Mizoram; Tripura

Hrangkhol	19000 (Ethnologue 2000)	Tripura: Mostly in Dhalai District
Kabui/Kaboi/Kubai/Kuki-kubui	95000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur, Nagaland (Dimapur), Assam
Karbi	420000 (Census Report, 2001)	Karbi Anglong District, Assam
Khamti	13000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam (North Lakhimpur): Lohit Valley (Arunachal Pradesh)
Kheza	41000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Kohima & Phek District
Khiamngan	38000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Tuensang District
Khoirao	20000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Senapati District
Kokborak	695000 (Census Report, 2001)	Tripura & karimganj
Konyak	248000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Mon & Tuensang District
Lhota/ Lota	170000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Wokha District
Liangmai	34000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland : Kohima District
Mao	81000 (Ethnologue 1997)	Manipur: Senapati District: Nagaland: Kohima District
Maram	37000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Senapati & Imphal District
MaYing	22000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Chandel District
Meitei	12,50000 (Census Report, 2001)	Throughout but concentrated in Manipur
Miju	6700 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Lohit & Anjan District
MinyongLower	40000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: East Siang, east of Siyom river & north of Pasighat
Mizo	529000 (Census Report, 2001)	Throughout Mizoram; Manipur
Mzeime	29000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Tumenganj Dist.; Nagaland: Kohima Dist.
Nocte	33000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Tirap Dist.
Nruanghmei	61000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Tumenlung Dist. Nagaland: Kohima Dist.
Nyshi	21200 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Papum pere, Saubansiri, Kurung Kumey, Upper Subansiri
Padam (Adi)	20000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: East Siang Dist. & some ares of lower Dibang Valley
Paite	50000 (Ethnologue, 1991)	Manipur: Chutrachandpur; Mizoram: Aizwl
Phom	123000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Tuensang Dist.
Pochuri	17000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Phek Dist.
Rabha	150000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam: Goalpara, Kamrup
Rengma	61000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Kohima Dist.
Sangtam	84000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland : Tuensang Dist.
Sherdukpen	3000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh
Simi	104000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Zunheboto, Kohima, Mokakchung & Tuensang Dist.
Tagin	30000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Lower Subansiri, Upper Saubansiri
Tangkhum	142000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Ukhrul Dist.; Nagaland: Phek Dist.
Tanga	40000 (Census Report, 2001)	Changlang & Tirap Dist.
The do/ Kuki-Thado	191000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Chan del Dist.; Nagaland: Kohima Dist.
Tshangla	55000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Tawang & West Kameng Dist.

Wancho	49000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Changlang Dist.
Yimchungru	92000 (Census Report, 2001)	Nagaland: Tuensang Dist.
Zeme	34000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Tamenlang Dist.; Nagaland: Kohima Dist.
Definitely Endangered		
Aka/ Hruso/	4000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Bichum Valley and West Kameng
Bawm/Chin	14000 (Census Report, 2001)	Mizoram: Chhmtuipui, Lunglei & Aizwl; Tripura
Biete/Baite/ Bete	19000 (Ethnologue, 1997)	Assam: Karbi Anglong
Bori (Adi)	2000 (rough estimate)	Arunachal Pradesh: West-Siang Dist. & between Siang Siyom river valley
Dakpa/ Takpa	1000	Arunachal Pradesh: Tawang Dist.
Deori	28000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam: North Lakhimpur & Dhemaji Dist.
Gangte	15000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Southern Churrachandpur Dist.
Hill Miri	12000 (estimated)	Arunachal Pradesh: Lower Subansiri Dist.
Idu/Mishimi/ Chulikata Mishimi	11101 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Upper & Lower Dibang
Khamba/ KLhamba Khadi	350 (Census Report, 1987)	Arunachal Pradesh: West Siang Dist.South & Southeast of Tuting
Howa	1000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: West Kameng Dist.
Koch	31000 Kameng Dist	Meghalaya: West Garo hills Dist.; Assam; Tripura
Kom/Kom Rem	15000 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Churavhandpur, Tumenlong & Senapati Dist.
Koro	800-1000	Arunachal Pradesh: some areas of East Kameng Dist.
Maral Lakher/ Zao	22000 (Census Report, 2001)	Mizoram: Chhimuipui Dist.
Miji/ Dhammai	5000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: West Kameng Dist.
Milang (Adi)	2000 (Rough estimate)	Arunachal Pradesh: East Siang Dist.(mostly in the village of Millang)
Mising	550000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam: Noth Lakhimpur, Dhemaji, Sonitpur, Bikakhat & Majuli Dist.
Motuo Menba/ Eastern Monpa	9000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: West Siang Dist.
Moyon/Mayon/ Mayo	3700 (Census Report, 2001)	Manipur: Chandel Dist.
Pasi (Adi)	1000 (Rough estimate)	Arunachal Pradesh: West Siang Dist.
Singpho	5000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam & Arunachal Pradesh
Sulung	6000 (Census Report, 2001)	Arunachal Pradesh: Northeast Corner of East Kameng Dist.
Tiwa	26000 (Census Report, 2001)	Assam: Nagaon, Morigaon Dist.

Severely Endangered Languages		
Aiton/ Aitoniya	2000	Assam:
Mech	1000	Scattered in few villages in Jalpaiguri and Goalpara
Tai Phake	2000	Assam:
Critically Endangered Languages		
Mra/Tagin	300	Arunachal Pradesh: Two villages in Upper Subansiri river valley
Na (Nah)	300	Arunachal Pradesh: Na is spoken in 9 villages of Taksing Circle, Upper Subansiri District, Arunachal Pradesh
Khamyang	50	Assam: exist only one village called Pawoimukh in Tinsikia Dist
Turung	700 (Shift to Asomiya)	Assam: Jorhat, Golaghat and Karbi Anglong district
Tengam	100	Arunachal Pradesh: Upper Siang river valley

Extinct		
Ahom	No longer used in daily life. Used only in spiritual purposes	Assam

The above lists and figures have shown the fact of the languages of Northeast India. Most of the languages are spoken by fewer people and not used in intercommunity interactions because of their lack of mutual understanding. They have no option but to take a third language for intercommunity interactions. The third language comes through education or through dominant local groups. This way, people acquired two or three languages and use accordingly context and situation. Generally, it has been seen that the native language is used for intracommunity communication, the local dominant language is for intercommunity interactions and the third language is for academic, business or governmental issues. This way, multilingual societies are developed in Northeast India.

The lives of the people of Northeast India have been changed to some extent as it changed with the other parts of the world. This transformation needs to be paralleled in every aspect. If sustainability would not grow in every aspect, there might be a lacuna in transformation. The recent phenomenon is, most of the languages of the world are under threat. This means languages need to be changed with the transformation. If the community language lacks the ability to communicate, if the language is not used in education, not used in new domains, then people are compelled to use dominant languages for their education, wider interactions and for better opportunities. Thus, the use of an effective dominant language gets more power and the native one gradually becomes weaker. This process may reduce the ecological balance.

The causes of Language endangerment of Northeast India:

According to *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, the causes of language endangerment can be divided into four main categories

1. Natural disease

2. War and genocide
3. Overt repression
4. Cultural, Political and economic dominance

The first three one is situational. But the fourth one is common and probably the most influential. The fourth one can be subdivided into five common factors: -

i. **Economic:** Most of the people from hills are involved in shifting agricultural practice for their livelihood throughout the centuries. The practice is called Jhoom, an agricultural cycle of slash-and-burn, characterized by the alternation of cropping and fallow phases when secondary vegetation grows. This form of agriculture is considered to be well adapted to tropical climates and soils, and accessible to small farmers because of its low cost.

There are lots of limitations in Jhoom practices. The land distribute mechanism, slash and burn system causes deforestation makes the system unusual.

ii. **Cultural dominance:** The cultural domination is caused mainly by prestige issue. India is mostly influenced by the western culture from the colonial period. It has been gradually increased even after the post-colonial period. The modernity and globalization also encourage the people as they are now multicultural. The native culture is becoming few due to the gap between the cultural practice and new lifestyle. The cultural practices of hills are based on forest lives and agricultural practice. The modernization and urbanization processes compelled to change the lifestyle and, the result is, the processes take away people from the native language as well as people disconnected from their cultural practices.

iii. **Political:** The Government does not have language policy regarding the minority languages. One of the important aspects of the Indian political scenario is the representation of political participation mainly on caste, community and religion based. The minorities are always therefore isolated from the political participation and suppressed by the dominating groups. Therefore, minority people tend to assimilate with the major group for political or other governmental opportunities.

Moreover, very limited steps have been taking and implementing the policies for the minority language.

iv. **Historical:** The tribal people of Northeast India are still isolated from the mainstream India, except Assam. This is only because of their mongoloid looks. The area is underdeveloped in every aspect even after independence.

v. **Attitudinal:** The attitude towards their language is crucial for any languages. This is because of the languages of minorities are associated with poverty, illiteracy while the dominant language is associated with progress and power, prestige and opportunities.

In the context of Northeast India, I have added two more factors. The factors are:

vi. **Religion:** Christianity and Vaishnavism are one of the important factors for many communities for their cultural and language endangerment/ extinction. Most of the hill tribes are Christian by religion. In the nineteenth century, the process of Christianization was started by the American Baptist missionaries and now most of the people are Christian by religion in Meghalaya and Nagaland. The Vaishnavism Influenced mainly Manipur and Assam. In Manipur, one of the saints of Chaitanya of West Bengal came to Manipur in the eighteenth century and influenced the king. Vaishnavism was patronized by the king and people of Manipur have greatly influenced. Accordingly, the people of Brahmaputra valley of Assam have been greatly influenced by the Sankartdeva's Vaishnavism.

The Vaishnavism and Christianity have a great influenced on the people of Northeast India. Christianity encourages for the western culture and as well as the English language, Chaitanya's Vaishnavism encourages for the Bengali and Sankardeva's Vaishnavism encourages for the Assamese language.

vii. **Globalization:** Globalization is a complex phenomenon. Globalization mainly involves changes in economic structure which affects peoples' jobs, livelihoods and incomes. Moreover, globalization has many other aspects such as spreading knowledge, the advancement of technology etc. The increase in global connectivity is affecting the lives of people in different manners, cultures and social values.

There is another side of globalization, where indigenous people have suffered severely. The indigenous people are mostly affected where the global economy has occurred with extractive industries, and mega-hydroelectric dams without their prior consent and any protection of their livelihood, culture, and rights. This might have led to the effect on indigenous livelihoods, ecological degradation, and violation of human rights.

The economic globalization means a global market where capitalist can sell their products and people can access them. Language is one of the important elements of the capitalist economy, not only a medium of expression, but also a key tool for success, prosperity and status symbol. The Language is now a symbolic capital. (Brodie)

Languages are vanishing rapidly in multilingual countries, mainly those which are spoken by a very few people. More than half of the people of the world are bilinguals. In a multilingual society, there is always the existence of one or more dominant languages. This might be due to the medium of education, official language or dominant groups. In North-East India, there are more than 220 languages and most of them have very few speakers. They have no scripts to write and are used only for intro-community communication. In multilingual countries, the scenario is very similar to what we have seen in Northeast India. The world's 90% of languages are spoken by only 10% of the world's total population. Against this, 10% of the world's languages are spoken by 90% of the world's total population. This means that 90% of the total world's languages are the minority and the rest of the 10% are the major languages in terms of speaking. We can easily find out the truth that, a very few people spoken the most of the languages which indicates that these are minority languages. Most of the languages have very limited words, no script to write and not uses in the new domains. Naturally, people need one or more languages to need for inter-community communication and for education. People generally choose the local dominant language or such language, which is more powerful. Thus, minority languages are influenced and dominated by major languages. Most of the people use their first language for intro-community communication and dominant or major language is for inter-community communication.

One of the interesting facts is that the existence of two or three dominant languages might encounter in a multilingual society. As an example, we can mention the linguistic situation in Assam. There are lots of minority languages in Assam which are mainly used only for infra-community communication. Assamese is for inter-community communication and state language too. Hindi is the official language in India and is used mainly to communicate with the people who have been living outside Assam. English has recognized already as a global language. For greater communicative capacity, it has been recognized as language of the global economy and thus it creates more opportunity than any other language. English has, "the capacity to produce expressions for a particular market." (Loos)

The global economy makes people more competitive. And for that, people want to acquire the global language. People use English in academics, for official purposes, and even in daily life. Due to the minimal amount of uses the first language becomes endangered. It may be seen in the individual level first, and later, as a whole in society. This is because people think that English gives them opportunity, more status in a society.

Language endangerment is nowadays one of the serious matters of discussion for many linguists and social organizations. This is because, language extinct means loss of socio-political identity, traditional knowledge, and diversity. Language loss means loss of the world's biodiversity too. The loss of linguistic diversity is deeply interlinked with the bio-cultural diversity. This is because 'it suggests that the diversity of life is made up of diversity in nature, culture, and language.'

As mentioned earlier that these phenomena are seen basically in multilingual societies. Languages usually reach the point of crisis after being displaced by a socially, politically and economically dominant one. Gradually, minorities tend to shift to the dominant language. Language shift can be seen in two-way order: The first one is rapid, one or two generations and the second one take place gradually. It is a continuous process by over several generations. The process of language shift typically has seen in new generations. It indicates that the newer generations move up to using the dominant languages. The older people of the community use the ancestral language. This is because the people of the minority group of a region 'associating their disadvantaged social position with their culture, have come to believe that their languages are not worth retaining. They abandon their languages and cultures in hopes of overcoming discrimination, to secure a livelihood, and enhance social mobility, or to assimilate to the global marketplace.'

Language extinction is a matter of reasoning:

Languages are conduits of human heritage and convey unique cultures. The extinction means, irrecoverable loss of unique culture and ecological knowledge. Every language has a unique style of expression of experience towards their world. Languages are ways of interpreting the world, the wisdom of experiences transmitted by generation to generation. All these become lost with the extinction of language. In this matter, Harrison mentioned: "We lose ancient knowledge if we lose languages." Not only that, we have lost the understanding of patterns and functions of human knowledge. This way, loss of the world's diverse ecosystem too.

Language is an identity marker too. The cultural life expresses through the languages used by a certain community. Language loss means losing a culture and equally losing of an identity.

The most common factors of language endangerment in Northeast India are: very few community members, Lack of Writing systems, very limited vocabulary etc. Moreover, as mentioned earlier that the minority communities of Northeast India are from a poor economic background, and are socially less prestigious.

The Way we can save the languages:

Language can be survived through parallel bilingualism. No doubt that one cannot survive in the present world by being monolingual. People need to be bilingual and it's happened already. A positive attitude towards the native language may prevent this endangerment. We can use two languages simultaneously according to the situation. As Ellis and mac a' Ghobhainn (1971:144) observed: "A language cannot be saved by singing a few songs or having a word printed on a postage stamp. It cannot even be saved by getting 'official status' for it, or by getting it taught in schools. It saved by its use...".

Conclusion:

A Language's born and death is a common phenomenon. But, the rapid death of languages indicates that something is terribly imbalanced. Northeast India is a diversified region in terms of ethnicity, and language.

Therefore, the ecological balance is crucial for its sustainability. If, one of the components of this diversity becomes threatened, it indicates that the danger of the whole components.

Language is related to culture. Therefore, language death means, culture is lost. Death of culture means the thinking and lives of people has changed. The lives of the people have changed means the environment is changed. All the components are interrelated and therefore, it needs careful steps.

References:

1. Austin Peter K. , Sallabank Julia (Editors, 2011): *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, Cambridge University Press.
2. Bourdieu, p (1991): *Language and Symbolic Power*, Polity Press, Oxford.
3. Evans, Nicholas (2010): *Dying Words: Endangered Languages and What They Have to Tell U*; John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication.
4. Loose, E (2000): '*Language Choice, Linguistic Capital and Language Planning*', *Language problems and Language Planning*, Vol.24(1)
5. Moseley, Christopher (edited, 2007): *Encyclopaedia of the world's endangered languages*; Routledge 270 Madison Avenue, New York.
6. *Language Vitality and Endangerment*, UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, Document submitted to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages Paris, 10–12 March 2003.
7. Moseley, Christopher(2010): *UNESCO Interactive Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*; Published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

International Research Journal

IJNRD

Research Through Innovation