Chapter 6

Garhwali, an endangered Himalayan language

People, policies and struggle for recognition

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1 Introduction

Garhwali is a language spoken in the Garhwal region of the Uttarakhand state in the Central Himalayan mountain range and its foothills in India. The language belongs to the Central Pahari group of Northern Indo-Aryan languages. According to Moseley (2010), Garhwali belongs to the category of "vulnerable languages", the healthiest among categories of endangered languages after "definitely endangered", "severely endangered", and "critically endangered". However, it does not take long for a language to go down the path of critically endangered and eventually become extinct, especially when the number of speakers is low.

It is difficult to determine the exact number of Garhwali speakers, as different agencies give different accounts of this number. According to the 2001 census on languages in India, there are 2 267 314 Garhwali language speakers, while the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simon & Fenig, 2015) gives the number to be closer to 3 millions (2 920 000). If any of these numbers is correct, then Garhwali is in fact more widely spoken than some of the officially recognized languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India (n.d.). For example, officially recognized languages like Manipuri and Bodo only have 1.5 million and 1.4 million speakers respectively. However, even the UNESCO Atlas of World's Languages in Danger (Moseley, 2010), while relying on the data given by the census, expressed reservations about the authenticity of the number by saying that "it is not necessary that all those who live in the region speak the language. So, it may have to be a guess-work". Although difficult to rely on any number, but one can make a guess based on the percentage of rural/urban population in the state of Uttarakhand

which is 69.45 rural and 30.55 urban according to the 2011 census (Agrawal, 2011). In rural areas, the language is predominantly Garhwali. A conservative guess of the number of Garhwali speakers should be above a million and a half.

Although it is difficult to rely on any number, Garhwali is a potentially declining language for a number of reasons. Firstly, most people in Garhwal are bilingual in Garhwal and Hindi, but the official medium of instruction in Garhwal is either Hindi or English, which makes Garhwalis literate only in Hindi and/or English. Secondly, Garhwali is mainly a spoken language and does not have a strong written tradition. There is an abundance of oral folk literature but it has rarely been written down. There have been some attempts made to record the folk literature, but there is still a lot that remains to be documented. With the pressure of globalization, traditional folk artists are abandoning their trade and not transmitting it to the next generation. So along with the folk art, the language is also on the decline.

In this chapter, I will deal with the situation of Garhwali language, its status from the perspective of official recognition, its mutual intelligibility with the Hindi language, some achievements seen with the use of this language, and also the attitude of speakers towards their language, its decline in the era of modernization, people's efforts to keep it alive, and the struggle for its recognition and a promising future.

2 The language: Official status and mutual intelligibility with Hindi

2.1 Official status

It has been claimed that historically, the Garhwali language used to enjoy the status of an official language (Kaṭhoc, 2006). The Garhwal Kingdom, which has ruled the region more that 1 000 years before the Nepali invasion in early 19th century and the British colonial rule, used Garhwali along with Sanskrit for its official purposes. Some copper plate inscriptions, temple inscriptions and royal orders have Garhwali as the official language. Although the language of these inscriptions are archaic forms of Garhwali and are barely recognisable as the modern-day Garhwali or any of its regional variations, but scholars agree that this was the official language of the Garhwal Kingdom, and it is indeed Garhwali. Some examples of such inscriptions are provided by Kaṭhoc (2006), Rawat (2002), Bahuguṇā (1976) and others, showing that they were made up of a mix of Sanskrit and archaic Garhwali.

The description of languages in the 2001 census report (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2001) shows that there are 122 languages in India, out of which 22 are officially recognized as "scheduled languages", i.e. languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Each of those 122 languages has one or more "mother tongues" grouped under it. The Garhwali language is documented as a mother tongue grouped under Hindi language, one of the scheduled languages. This, in unofficial terms, means that it is considered to be a "dialect" of Hindi.

Although the word "dialect" is not used in the census report, in keeping with the political incorrectness associated with it, the term "mother tongue" in India is akin to

that of the term "dialect". As the labelling of a speech variety has always been matter of lively debates (one of which can be found in Blommaert [1999]), sometimes heated and furious, the authorities in India carefully called a language variety a "mother tongue" while publishing the 2001 census report. The term "mother tongue" implies emotional attachment to a language variety and at the same time it helps to avoid positioning the language variety on some hierarchical scale.

As mentioned in the previous section, the number of Garhwali speakers does not give a real picture of the disappointing situation with this language, but if one digs deeper, it is very easy to see that its transmission to the next generation is not a reflection of a healthy maintenance of the language, and that the declining number of speakers is accelerating. Several examples in other world languages have shown that it does not take more than a generation or two for a relatively healthy language to become endangered (Crystal, 2000).

Factors that accelerate the decline of the Garhwali language include the fact that it lacks any patronage from the federal or the state government, that there are no television or radio programmes, and that there is only one monthly newspaper that is published rather inconsistently. Furthermore, like any other language, Garhwali has different speech varieties, but no standard form has yet to be defined. This would be a problem if Garhwali does receive official recognition and becomes a school subject, as there will be a need to make textbooks for different class levels at school.

2.2 Intelligibility with Hindi

In the state of Uttarakhand where the Garhwal region belongs to, the literacy rate is very high for Indian standards. According to the 2011 census (Chandramouli, 2011), 79.63% of the population are considered literate, with the bulk of the illiterate people belonging mainly to the older generation. Almost every child goes to school, and since the education system is either in Hindi or English, Garhwali people are bilingual in Hindi and Garhwali or sometimes trilingual in Garhwali, Hindi and English. The language encyclopaedia of Ethnologue (Lewis, Simon & Fenig, 2015) also confirms the Garhwali-Hindi bilingualism of the people there.

Because of the high literacy rate through education in Hindi, every Garhwali speaker knows Hindi very well, even though Garhwali is not known to be very highly mutually intelligible with Hindi. In fact, both Garhwali and Hindi can be equally considered the first languages of most Garhwali speakers.

Conversely, a first language speaker of Hindi might only able to understand Garhwali as approximately as they would with any other recognized north Indian language such as Punjabi, Marathi, Gujarati or Sindhi. This has been confirmed by a very small-scale informal experiment with two native speakers of Hindi to measure the extent of intelligibility or understanding between Garhwali and Hindi. The two participants of the experiment were considered suitable candidates to represent Hindi speakers for this test, as they were teachers of Hindi as a foreign language at the National University of Singapore.

There were two parts to the experiment. In the first part, they had to watch a five-minute video clip from a Garhwali feature film, without being given any context of the scene being played to them. This was to ensure that the participants rely mainly on the audio and a little bit on the visual input to help them to create the context. After that, they were asked to narrate the situation and to translate, if possible, the dialogues that were played in the film. Their interpretation of the scene and translations of the dialogues were within the range of 40–50% accuracy. In the second part, they were made to listen to an audio recording of an interview in Garhwal. After listening to the recording once, they were required to explain the main points of the conversation. The experiment found that participants had a much harder time understanding the audio conversation than the film clip. Without the visual input, it seems that the intelligibility went down further.

There are a few limitations to this experiment. Firstly, it was not a real-life situation, requiring participants to take part in the conversation. Here, the participants simply had to concentrate to understand the conversation, putting extra effort to grasp the situation and recognize the meaning of the conversation in context. Secondly, the participants were educated ones and along with Hindi, both speak another Indian language as well: the first one also speaks Bhojpuri, an eastern "dialect" of Hindi, and the second one speaks Marathi, a recognized language (included in the Eighth Schedule, mentioned in the Introduction above), both of which are Indo-Aryan languages with vast vocabulary of cognates with Standard Hindi and Garhwali. They could have used resources from languages other than Hindi in comprehending the video and audio clips. In fact, during the evaluation, they did make comparisons between Garhwali with other languages too.

From the above, we can conclude that Garhwali is only up 50% intelligible for Hindi speakers, and that there is a one-way full intelligibility of Hindi for Garhwali speakers, because of the high literacy rate and the popularity of Hindi in the north of India.

3 Garhwali: Some achievements

3.1 Academia and documentation

Garhwali has not been caught in the radars of academics. Largely ignored by academia, Garhwali has not generated much interest for investigation, although there has been some research, done mostly by local linguists, on the Garhwali language in particular or the Garhwal region in general. These include the analysis of the syntactic structure of Garhwali by Chandola (1966), an overview linguistic study of Garhwali by Cātak (1966), the linguistic history of Uttarākhaṇḍa by Śarmā (1983), and a general study of the Garhwali language and literature by Bhatt (1976). A couple of research papers (Chandrasekhar, 1970; Christian & Christian, 1990; Claus, 2007) have also been published on the language structure of Garhwali or some of its varieties.

An initial attempt to describe the grammar of Garhwali in 1941 led to the publication of a Comparative Rameshwari Garhwali Grammar (Bhatt, 1941). Some 70 years later two more grammar books were published (Kukretī, 2010; Śarmā, 2011). The two new publications were a good effort by individual language enthusiasts, but as both of

them are not linguists and lack linguistic training, their works fall short of the full description of linguistic features of Garhwali. A Garhwali-Hindi dictionary (Varma & Negī, 1982) has also been published, along with a few collections of Garhwali proverbs, aphorisms and sayings (Kaṇḍari, 2003; Upreti, 1894; Vaiṣṇav, 2006). Apart from the above-mentioned works there has been some unpublished work done as part of doctoral dissertations in various Indian universities. One such dissertation is Garhwali bhasha ka aadhunik Bharatiya bhashaon se tulnatmak adhyayan [Comparative Analysis of Garhwali and Other Indo-Aryan Languages] by Nauṭiyāl (1987).

The Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson (1894–1928) also contains a gramophone recording of the biblical "Parable of the prodigal son", the transliteration in the Roman script and its English translation. These recording are available as open source material at the Digital South Asia Library of the University of Chicago (Digital South Asia Library, n.d.).

The Bible Society of India has published the New Testament in Garhwali in 1994, although there were some parts of bible translated into Garhwali already in 1895. The story of Jesus and the bible in audio and video format have also been published and can easily be found on the Internet at worldbibles.org Website (The Bible in Garhwali).

3.2 Folk literature, fiction and print media

Garhwali has an abundance of folk literature, some of which have been compiled and published by Oakley and Gairola (1988 (first published in 1935)). There are some 20 to 30 literary works written and published in Garhwali in the forms of poetry (for example, the work by Camolā [2006]), prose and drama (such as the collection of essays, dramas and stories by Bahuguṇā [1976]). There is even a publishing house named Winsar Publishing Company in Dehradun, the capital of the Uttarakhand state, which is devoted to the publication of books on the theme of Uttarakhand and Garhwal. So far, most of the books on Garhwal and Garhwali language in Garhwali, Hindi and English have been published by this company.

Apart from the 20–30 works of fiction in Garhwali, most of the literature of Garhwali is folklore that is passed orally from generation to generation, but rarely written down. The folk literature includes the stories of Ramayana, Mahabharata, Puranas and other Hindu scriptures, as well as songs that are sung and danced during social gatherings such as marriages, childbirths and village fairs. These singings and recitations are also performed during religious ceremonies. Apart from religious ceremonial texts, there are some folk stories, children's stories and lullabies in a mixed genre of prose and poetry. While many have been documented, a lot more still remain undocumented.

Finally, there have been some enthusiasts who started publication of newspapers, but because of financial difficulties and lack of enthusiasm from readers' part, they did not survive very long. A monthly newspaper is still published in Garhwali from Dehradun by Akhil Garhwal Sabha, an organization that promotes Garhwali language and culture.

3.3 Popular culture

Garhwali in pop culture has gained some positive reception. A renowned singer, Narendra Singh Negi, has produced more than 20 albums singing folklore and newly self-written lyrics. Inspired by him and the low cost of producing music albums, many Garhwali singers have also emerged on the Garhwali music scene. There have also been some 50 feature films made in Garhwali since the first Garhwali film in 1983. Despite the huge popularity of films and pop songs among both the speakers and listeners, the transmission of Garhwali to the next generation is not reflected in real life. This is because the Garhwali cinema scene, although relatively vibrant, is nothing compared to Bollywood. Since 1983, when the first Garhwali film Jagwal was released after a long wait, the Garhwali film industry has produced more than 50 films. The idea of a film in which the characters speak in the tongue of the people has fascinated them and intrigued them to live that experience by watching it at the cinema. The popularity at the initial stage of the industry has boosted the progress, which resulted in an average of 2 films every year. The trend is still quite strong.

In the mid-eighties of the last century with the low-cost production of cassettes-albums, a lot of marginalized languages were given an opportunity to present their folk music in the form of albums through inexpensive cassettes. The risk of losing money in investing in folk music of minority languages was substantially reduced. As a result of that, many minority languages started recording their folk music in abundance. Garhwali was also hit by such a wave then. A name that came out through the Garhwali folk music in those fruitful days was Narendra Singh Negi, a folk singer who became a household name in all Garhwali families. He started his career as a folk singer for the radio. Initially he sang folk songs but later he started writing and singing his own songs. The popularity of his songs is so huge now that he has been even invited by the Garhwalis of the diaspora from all over the world to perform. He has sung more than 200 songs so far, has also produced a few video albums and has sung for Garhwali films. His success has inspired a generation of young singers to take up a career in singing Garhwali songs and at the same time give their share of service for the Garhwali cause: Preetam Bharatwan, Meena Rana, Manglesh Dangwal and a few other names have started making their mark in Garhwali music scene.

4 People's perception of Garhwali and changes in linguistic demography

As represented in the official census, the status of Garhwali language is that of a dialect more than that of a proper language, although the official term used in the census is "mother tongue". This distinction between official languages and dialects (or mother tongues) is also reflected in the minds of the people. Although the common people make conversation with each other in Garhwali, they seem quite indifferent to a proposal of making it an official language, even if they do not oppose to it. To many of them, Garhwali is just a dialect and does need to be elevated to the status of a language. They do not see any practical reason for such a change. Knowledge of

Garhwali is not regarded as any special skill and the loss of it does not bother them at all. Instead, a key to a better life for them is the English language.

The people's perceptions of their language could be observed during the fieldwork of collecting samples of different idioms of Garhwali. When people were asked to participate in interviews in Garhwali, many could not understand the purpose of such interviews. Very often, when the interview started, even if they were asked the questions in Garhwali, their first instincts were to respond in Hindi or often to code-switch into Hindi. We specifically asked them to talk only in Garhwali, but still time and again, Hindi would take over; in some cases, this happened from the very moment microphone was given to them. They had not seen Garhwali taken so seriously that someone would like to record their speeches in it.

The cities adjacent to the plains of Hindi speaking areas such as Deharadun, Rishikesh and Kotdwar, which were, until a few decades ago, inhabited by Garhwalis and had distinct Garhwali characteristics, have lost entirely their "Garhwaliness" as one hears Hindi more often than Garhwali on the streets of these cities. This is true even for cities deep in the mountains of Garhwal, such as Shrinagar, Pauri and Tehri. One of the reasons for this was the migration of people from the "plains" (term used by the people from mountains of Uttarakhand to refer to the non-mountainous part of India, mainly outside of Uttararakhand), i.e. non-Garhwali speaking areas of India, inhabited mainly by Hindi speakers.

There is a non-linguistic reason for the change of linguistic demography in the Garhwal region. Before the secession from Uttar Pradesh in 2000, Uttarakhand was a part of it and all the laws of Uttar Pradesh were still applicable to it. Uttar Pradesh has a law of reservations i.e. affirmative action for people belonging to various castes or tribes (the so-called scheduled castes and scheduled tribes). According to that law, a certain percentage of government jobs had to go to people benefiting from the law of reservation. Sheth (1996) also lists the reservation policy as one of the main factors for the demand of a separate Uttarakhand state. Since the Uttarakhand state and the Garhwal region in that state do not have a big number of low caste population or scheduled tribes, a huge percentage of such jobs went to people from the plains of Uttar Pradesh, and that changed the ethnic demography of Garhwal. As these immigrants from the plains did not know Garhwali, and because all Garhwalis speak Hindi, the language of communication in the Garhwal region became Hindi. Needless to say, this language shift did not bother even the Garhwali people, who considered Garhwali as a dialect of Hindi and therefore a language of lower prestige.

In fact, before Uttarakhand became a separate state in 2000, there had been a plethora of reasons that led to the demand for having Uttarakhand as a separate state. Job losses to outsiders due to the law of reservation were among these reasons, but the linguistic shift from Garhwali to Hindi was never a reason.

Since the Garhwali language is considered to be a dialect (therefore hierarchically below standard Hindi) and mainly spoken in the countryside, a complex of inferiority is present in individuals who come from the villages to the cities and often have audible Garhwali accents when they speak standard Hindi. The lack of self-esteem as

a Garhwali and Garhwali language speaker in such cases is beautifully portrayed by Narendra Singh Negi in his Garhwali song Mere ko pahadi mat bolo, main Dehradunwala hoon [Don't Call Me a Person From Garhwal Mountains, I Am a City Boy From Deharadun] (Negī, Ab kadga khelyo, 2011). The song depicts a conversation between an old Garhwali man and a young Garhwali man. The old man wants to know about the young man's family background and the young man refuses to be called pahadi (a person from Garhwal mountains) and identifies himself instead as a Dehradunwala; a city boy from Dehradun, outright refusing his Garhwali background by speaking Hindi and showing his dislike for the Garhwali culture. With a little dose of humour the song in fact depicts a real mental stance of villagers from Garhwal.

A Garhwali family that moves to a city in Garhwal very often fails to transmit the language to the next generation. As mentioned earlier, that the demography of the cities of Garhwal has changed over time and Hindi has become a language of communication. The input of Garhwali for the children of a Garhwali family comes only from the parents, but the latter very often do not insist on the Garhwali language too much. The next generation is just reduced to that of passive listeners of the language, who do not speak it fluently, or even properly. The important point here is that this family has moved to a city in Garhwal, and not to a city of some other region, but yet the language loss is pretty much the same as if they had moved to a very distant place from Garhwal. The transmission of Garhwali to the next generation is preserved in the villages only. It might be interesting to note that a village where Garhwali still survives and is transmitted to the children and a city in Garhwal where the language loss is apparent do not have to be physically very far apart. They can be just a few kilometres away from each other, but the impact of modern life onto the language is so clearly visible in the preservation or loss of the language. Close to a city where Garhwali is not heard on the streets, a kilometre down the road, usually un-asphalted, there might lie a village where the sole language of communication amongst its people is Garhwali.

As mentioned above (Section 3), because of the low cost of production of films and music albums, the Garhwali scene has seen relatively large number of feature films in Garhwali and also music albums and their video depictions. Interestingly, the hierarchical relationship between Hindi and Garhwali is very much visible in Garhwali films too. All the disclaimers, captions, casting in Garhwali films are mainly in Hindi and sometimes in English too, but never in Garhwali. All the propaganda material, i.e. advertising, is done in Hindi. All the VCD or DVDs of Garhwali films and music albums use Hindi in their VCD and DVD packaging. The idea of Garhwali as just a spoken language is even in the minds of mother tongue speakers. Despite of abundance of folk literature, Garhwali has only rarely been a written language.

The world has so often seen this typical scenario of a language getting marginalized because of a lack of prestige and the spread of globalization in case of other endangered languages. It seems that Garhwali is yet another language going into the endangerment zone.

5 Struggle for recognition

Although Garhwali is spoken by at least a million and half people, there is not much enthusiasm to keep it alive among the common masses. There is only a small movement to keep the language and culture going and protecting it from dying in the near future. This can be seen with Akhil Garhwal Sabha (AGS), a non-profit organization based in Dehradun, which aims to raise awareness among young Garhwalis towards the preservation of the Garhwali culture and language. A monthly Garhwali newspaper, Rant Raibaar, is published by AGS, although its publication is not very regular. In June 2012, the organization held a two-week workshop on the Garhwali language, which provided some training on the language as well as some interesting lectures on the specificities of the language. AGS has a modest library where almost all the books in and on Garhwali can be found. The AGS has very close connections with the Winsar Publishing Company (see section 3.2), which has dedicated a big part of its publication repertoire on the Garhwali language and culture.

The educational policies in India are regulated by the state governments based on the directives given from the central government. One of the nationwide directives is the three-language formula in pre-university education, which recommends that the dominant language of the region and English should to be studied together with a third language. In the Garhwal region, after Hindi and English as the first or second language, it is mainly Sanskrit that is studied as the third language. If Garhwali gets recognized and included in the Eighth Schedule, it could replace Sanskrit or be offered along with Sanskrit as the third language, and students could then choose between Sanskrit and Garhwali. Currently, Sanskrit is learnt solely because it is offered as a part of three-language formula. An overwhelming majority of learners of Sanskrit do not actually continue with it. With Garhwali, which would have some practical social functions and more meaningful use in the society, a student would have more reasons to take it up as a third language. With official recognition, some funding would also be available for the development of Garhwali, through the publication of books, magazines and daily papers. This might also boost the spread of Garhwali through the electronic media, television and radio programs. The presence of Garhwali in official domains, media and schools would help Garhwalis regain some prestige for the language and take greater pride in their linguistic heritage.

Nonetheless, there has been some attempt to gain some recognition from the local governments. In July 2010, a member of parliament from Garhwal, Mr Satpal Maharaj, introduced a private member bill in the parliament to include Garhwali in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Joshi, 2011). In the heap of bureaucratic decisions to be made in the Parliament, private member bills are of very low importance and only 5% of them would ever get discussed while the rest of them would lapse without any discussion (Kumar, 2010). So was the fate of the bill on the Garhwali language, as it has not been discussed and has lapsed. The state government of Uttarakhand could also declare Garhwali as an official language, but this option has also not yet been explored or debated.

The Garhwali language struggle has another positive dimension. There are individuals and groups who enthusiastically promote Garhwali in social media. They are not as

such organized or funded by associations, communities or government organizations, but their individual zeal and love for Garhwali can be seen in their efforts to keep the Garhwali language and culture alive. There are quite a few Facebook pages, Web pages, blogs and Yahoo / Google groups that promote the Garhwali language and culture, keep such zealous activities going, and fight for the Garhwali cause in their own ways. Social media has given opportunities for people to spread their words and enthusiasm in promoting the language. With some official recognition, the enthusiasm for revival of Garhwali could pick up some pace and decline could be slowed down or hopefully even stopped.

However, a lot of work remains to be done before Garhwali gets into the official domain of the state. Very firstly, Garhwali has different many mutually intelligible speech varieties and a standard form needs to be accepted. Unofficially, scholars have accepted the Shrinagaria variant as the standard variety. If Garhwali gets recognized in future, a standard form with a full description of all the grammatical categories would need to be agreed upon and published for reference for its official use. If the language is introduced as a third language in Garhwal region, a curriculum for all the levels should be designed. The curriculum should include textbooks and grammar books for different levels.

There is another dimension of recognition process, which has not been explored, discussed or even talked about. The Indian constitution in article 345 also allows state governments through legislature to declare any one or more languages for official use in the state. These languages need not be in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian constitution. There have been precedents set by north-eastern states, in the cases of Kokborok in Tripura, Mizo in Mizoram, Khasi and Garo in Meghalaya, and even French in Puducherry (former known as Pondicherry). With the formation of the Uttarakhand state, this option seems feasible. As a big part of Uttarakhand does not speak Garhwali, some resistance could be expected from that part. If Hindi exists side by side with other languages, without limiting the rights of Hindi speakers, the possibility of giving state recognition to Garhwali could be achieved. So far, this option has not been explored yet.

6 Conclusion

The Garhwali language, like hundreds of languages in the world, is in the endangerment zone. Neglected by the state apparatus, theses languages are often victims of prejudice of being a language of low status in comparison to the dominant language of the region. Although spoken by a large percentage of the population in Garhwal the intergenerational transmission of the language is restricted to the rural area of the region. In urban Garhwal, the young generation grows up just hearing it, without a capability of reproducing it fluently.

If Garhwali manages to survive the intense pressure of globalization, in this case linguistic hindification of the region, it will have to fight on more than one front. Firstly, state recognition is very important in this respect. If there is reluctance on the part of the central government to include Garhwali into the Eighth Schedule of the Indian constitution, then that same constitution will also give freedom to the state

government to recognize it as a state language. This option has never been discussed. Secondly, the potential future recognition of the language will bring about many questions. For example, would a standard form have to be discussed and established? If the language is to be taught as a third language, a school curriculum needs to be prepared for all the levels of secondary school. It would have to be decided if the language be used in bureaucracy, and if so, how the shift from Hindi or English to Garhwali could be made? How can the language be used in electronic and digital media? Time slots in the state television and radio should be given to Garhwali.

All these measures can boost the status of Garhwali and improve the situation up to certain extent, but the real difference can be made and Garhwali can be brought on par with Hindi only when common Garhwalis in cities as well as in villages of Garhwal change their attitudes towards the language and start cherishing, preserving and maintaining their linguistic and cultural heritage.

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