Research Report on :-

Strategies to promote ethnic local Culture: A Case Study of Promoting Dogri Culture of Jammu Region

Email – mkanchan587@gmail.com Author Name - Kanchan Sonathara

Abstract

The purpose of the study is to gain in depth knowledge and promote the local ethnic culture of jammu region. Jammu region is rich in its culture, art and heritage. Each region has its own language, culture, cuisines and art forms. Different cultures have their own values and ethics. This particular research will help the duggar people to earn a living by promoting cultural tourism in the provision of jammu division. This study will play an important role to understand these values and rituals of dogri culture and to help the local people to promote and preserve their culture.

Keywords

Dogras, Jammu, Culture, Duggar,

INTRODUCTION

The Dogras or the duggar people, are an Indo-Aryan ethno-linguistic institution in India and Pakistan consisting of the Dogri language speakers. They stay predominantly inside the Jammu area of Jammu and Kashmir, and in adjacent areas of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, and northeastern Pakistan.

Dogra Rajputs dominated Jammu from the nineteenth century, when Gulab Singh turned into a hereditary Raja of Jammu by Ranjit Singh, whilst his brother Dhian Singh changed into the empire's top minister of Punjab, until October 1947. through the Treaty of Amritsar (1846), they received Kashmir as properly. The Dogra Regiment of the Indian army mainly includes Dogras from the Himachal Pradesh and Jammu place.

JAMMU DOGRAS

The Jammu Dogras traditionally inhabited the region among the slopes of the Shivalik variety of mountains, the sacred lakes of Saroyan sar and Mannsar but later spread over the whole Jammu vicinity. They generally speak Dogri and different dialects much like Dogri. Most of the people of the Dogra are fans of Hinduism, however a huge range in Jammu and Kashmir consider different religions. within the 16th and 17th centuries, a few Dogras embraced Islam.

These factors, collectively with the results of immigration into the vicinity, have resulted within the Dogra population of Jammu and Kashmir which include members of all 3 religions.

The Dogra dynasty emerged as a nearby power, especially after Rajput Maharaja Gulab Singh emerged as a warrior and his subjects acquired unique martial recognition from the British Raj.

The rule of Gulab Singh's Raj prolonged over the entire of the Jammu vicinity, a massive part of the Ladakh vicinity as early as March 1846, and a huge part of the Indian Punjab (now Himachal Pradesh). The Kashmir Valley changed into passed over to Gulab Singh through the British government, as a part of the territories ceded to the British government by way of Lahore nation in line with the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore dated nine March 1846. Below the Treaty of Amritsar within the same year, the Dogra king of Jammu and the state was thereafter known as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir nation (Raj), also thereafter referred as Kashmir country. The time period Dogra hence is comparable to the topics of Himachal Pradesh, some regions of Punjab and the whole region of Jammu that was dominated by Raja Gulab Singh as a part of the Dogra Raj regardless of the religion of the inhabitants.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

From 1846 to 1947, the Dogra family ruled Jammu and Kashmir as a Hindu Rajput dynasty. They traced their roots to Northern India's Ikshvaku (sun) Dynasty (the same extended family from which Lord Rama was born; he is thus the Dogras' kuldevta (circle of relations deity).

The Sikh Empire ruled over the Tibetan Buddhist kingdom of Ladakh, as well as the Emirates of Hunza, Gilgit, and Nagar, in addition to the Jammu region and Kashmir Valley. After the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1846, the British offered Gulab Singh, the chief minister, Kashmir and the title of 'Maharaja' as a prize for siding with them against the Sikhs.

Literature Review :-

A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Dogri Language, Jammu and Kashmir :-

According to Jeremy D. Brightbill Scott D. Turner the goal of this survey was to investigate how much variation is there in the areas where people speak dogri language. A survey was conducted and the languages spoken in the different regions of jammu were compared by looking at the degree of similarities in the general language of people. After the research it was concluded that if two languages are less than 60% similar to each other then they cannot be recognised as one language.

Arts and Crafts, Jammu and Kashmir - Land, People, Culture :- D. N. Saraf

According to D.N Saraf the Arts and Crafts of Jammu & Kashmir are well-known. This covers both well-known and lesser-known crafts in Jammu and Kashmir. This book is a comprehensive study that provides a wealth of information and visual documentation on Jammu, Kashmir Valley, and Ladakh, a beautiful part of India. A state with a rich craft and cultural heritage deserves to be more well-known in the context of its crafts, people, and culture. The book begins with a brief description of this relationship, which connects land to people and people to craft and culture. Because traditional skills coexist and change as conditions change, the book also covers some of the more important ones.

Ethnic identities and the dynamics of regional and sub-regional assertions in Jammu and Kashmir -

According to Aizaj Ashraf Wani this essay tries to analyze the dynamics of these assertions, their impact on state politics, and the role of different socio-political and historical variables in generating regional and sub-regional assertions in J&K without ignoring the relative importance of various identity markers.

Diversity in the Music of Jammu & Kashmir

According to kuldeep Raina this research focuses on the three locations of Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, all of which have a rich social legacy and music that define their true basis, societal stories, customs, and the life and situation of this region, but the music in Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh is distinct.

In terms of accent and style, there is a surprising amount of variance. Whatever the case may be, Jammu, Ladakh, and Kashmir are all part of the same train, with the same tunes. Regions are distinct from one another and are not interchangeable. The fundamental reason for this is due to the mind-boggling nature of the situation. Because of the land and social diversity, which is unexpected in nature, there are a range of traditions and dialects.

Religious terrorism -the latest threat (Juxtaposition of Jammu's Heritage - Living and vibrant versus dead and decaying)

According to Poonam chaudhary tangible and intangible cultural and built heritage of India is woven into the fabric of Indian culture. The sharing of common history, customs, and beliefs has given the people of India a sense of kinship and shared identity over the years. As a result, the heritage sites that dot the country are extremely important to the Indian people. Despite this, it is frequently seen that cultural heritage places are overlooked and neglected. Due to a general lack of interest in the preservation of India's cultural heritage monuments, they are exposed to dangers such as population pressures, poorly managed tourism, environmental degradation, vandalism, theft, religious extremism, and so on.

This paper was proposed to highlight the threat which is posed to the sites in Jammu region of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir by the recent phenomenon of terrorism fuelled by religious fundamentalism.

The researcher also suggests measures which need to be taken or already have been taken to protect the sites from the depredations.

Folk songs prevalent in the Duggar Area and their classification-

According to Mukesh Kumar Duggar Region of Jammu is noteworthy for being the only place in the state where Dogri is spoken as the primary language. The folk songs of this area serve as a mirror, reflecting Dugger's rich culture and traditions. Folk songs have aided in the popularization and effectiveness of the country's folk culture. Songs about culture, religion, festival, season, and bhakh are among the various genres of folk songs that depict the social and emotional aspects of this region's personal and social life.

The researcher is writing this article as per his personal experience, historical texts, flox musicians. So that he can explore the different music forms of dugger traditional music.

Objectives of study :-

- To gain in depth knowledge regarding the local ethnic culture of jammu region.
- To identify the respondents familiarity and understand the variation of dogri language and culture.
- To promote the local dogri culture and language of jammu region.

Research Methodology:

This Research is based on secondary data, with the goal of improving the conclusion and findings. The secondary data is collected from various sites, journals, magazines and other publications relevant to the dogri culture. The qualitative data is used in the research.

Waffling Aroma of Dogra Delicacies

The long voyage of traditional Dogra food, which evolved over time, is also documented in history books. The culinary habits of people in the neighboring states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab were clearly influenced by the local cuisine.

Dogra cuisine is notable for spicy, sweet, and tangy pickles, which are mostly vegetarian dishes with a few mouthwatering recipes of freshly cooked 'khatta (sour) meat' and chicken.

The perfect time to enjoy a magnificent feast and full course dinner with the finest pickles is during Dogra marriages and festivities.

While the bulk of Jammu's urban residents have replaced traditional delicacies with popular variations of sweet and spicy dishes found throughout India, the ruralites have kept the original flavors of the "**Dogra monarchs' Royal Kitchen**" to a large extent.

Dogra cuisines:-

It's the cuisine of the famed Dogra clan, who ruled Jammu and Kashmir in the late 1800s (then undivided India). The cuisine features a vast variety of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes with unusual flavorings and simple spice combinations. But it's the wide use of local goods that always strikes a chord with us.

Toda:- Toda is prepared from the maze, rice flour or bajra flour. Floor is mixed with warm water in order to make it soft. It is rubbed with the palm constantly. Then it is prepared in a traditional way with the tawa on fire. Mostly it is preferred with "saryan da saag" and curd.

Ambal:- Traditionally ambal is cooked during ceremonies like weddings or langar service. To cook ambal (Pumpkin , tamarind and jaggery) are required. It has sweet and tangy flavors and is preferred to eat with rice.

Rajma curry :- It is popularly known as red kidney beans. Cooked traditionally with onion and tomato gravy. It is served with basmati rice.

Kiyur :- It is prepared with refined flour (Maida) knitted loosely in pure desi ghee.

It is cooked on tawa by spreading it evenly, so that it can take the form of bread. It is served with sugar and curd.

Malpua :- Malpua is a North Indian delicacy consisting of sugar syrup-coated pancakes cooked with all-purpose flour, curd (yogurt), flavors, khoya (dried milk solids), and almonds. Malpua is a popular dish served at festivals and other events, as well as as a street meal. These syrup-dipped pancakes are a great treat, especially when served with Rabri! Soft and fluffy on the inside, crisp and lacy on the outside, these syrup-dipped pancakes are a true delight – especially when served with Rabri!

Babbroo:- Babbroo is a traditional Dogra delicacy made in Jammu region families for practically every important occasion, such as weddings or festivals.

Meethe Chawal :- Meethe chawal is cooked in Desi ghee with handfuls of almonds, raisins & cashew. It is prepared specially with basmati rice with a pinch of food color and is served hot.



Folk Dances of jammu region

Dogra Folk Dances :-

Jammu and Kashmir's folk dance is culturally diverse. We can divide cultures based on their influences because they are so diverse. The traditional dances of Jammu and Kashmir will be discussed in this article. Jammu's dance genres are quite distinct from those of Kashmir.

Because Hindus are the majority in this region, Hindu culture has a strong influence on Jammu's folk dances. Northern Indian folk dances are closely related to the dances. The following are the Jammu region's dance forms:

Dance of the Dogris

Dogri Dance, which is similar to Punjabi bhangra and Gidda, is the most popular folk dance in Jammu, among other folk dances of Jammu and Kashmir. Dogri folk dance is a Dogra's traditional dance (People who speak Dogri Language.) On Dogri Songs and Pakh, this folk dance is performed. Pakhs are a sort of Dogri song in which a group of men and women chant in a very high pitch while keeping one hand close to the ear.

Dogri Dance

In Dogri attire, the traditional garment of Jammu and Kashmir, this dance can be performed single or in groups. Others follow the leading dancer, who sings as well. Dholki and Chimta are the instruments used.

This Jammu and Kashmir folk dance is performed at every occasion, including festivals, weddings, and even joy.

Kud Dance

Kud Dance is done under the stars in the villages of the central Himalayas at night. On a cool night, 30 to 40 people perform the Kud folk dance around a bonfire. The atmosphere is so incredible that you can't even picture it.

The dance is a rhythmic dance performed to the accompaniment of traditional instruments such as flutes, drums, trumpets, and others.

Jagrana :-

In the Jammu region, Jagarna is a prominent dance form. It's a wedding dance of sorts. Only females are permitted to perform this dance at night, when the groom is on his way to the bride's residence with Bharat. Bharat is preferred by most men, whereas Jagarna is preferred by most women. Men are usually not permitted to watch this dance.

The dance is mainly performed on Dholki, and the lyrics are the focus of attention. The dancers are not professionally trained, and the dance has no specific steps. Anyone can dance and have a good time. This Jammu and Kashmir folk dance is well-known in Punjab and Jammu.

FOLK MUSIC RELATED TO THE DIFFERENT RITUALS OF DOGRA CULTURE

The Punjabi and Himachali languages have influenced the Dogri language, which is understandable given the proximity of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. Jammu's culture and music have also been influenced by these two locations. Himachali and Punjabi folk music and dances are similar.

Commonly sung and danced songs and dances, as well as musical creations. Like any other part of the world, countries.

The folk songs of Jammu are based on many festivals and occasions such as,Births, marriages, seasons, deaths, and other religious and societal celebrations are all examples of this.

Marriage geets :-

Sambandhit geet of Vivah (marriage) in the shape of suhag and ghodiyan.

Death geets:-

Lohini, palla, and kouttal songs are examples of Mrityu(death) sambandhit geet.

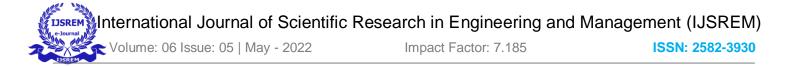
Religious geets :-

Religious geets are devotional songs. These songs have preachings. Below mentioned song is an example of religious geet:-

Uth Jaag Savere Ni Jinddiyen Sunn Santan De Vaani; Hunn Sat- Sang Kari Le Ni Jinddiye Mauj Batheri Maari.

Other than these, there are many other types of devotional songs in this region in which Shiv Mahima, Ram Bhakti, Krishna Bhakti, and Krishna and Gopiyan Ki Raasleela, and Aarti Related to gods and goddesses are beautifully explained.

Apart from these, there are many different types of devotional songs in duggar region which includes Shiv Mahima, Krishna Bhakti, and lord Krishna & Gopiyan ki Raasleela, and Aarti of god & goddesses are expressed beautifully.



Seasonal songs :-

Summer, Monsoon, Winter, and Spring are the four main seasons in the Dugger region. And there are many folk songs relating to these seasons in which we obtain descriptions of different seasons as well as descriptions of the customs associated with these seasons. Soha, Barsanti, and Siyala are examples of Hritu (Seasonal) songs. Among with these songs related to seasons and folk song related to summer is given below:-

Chadheya Mahina Basaakh Oo Rann- Mann Kanaka Pakkiyan; Syahadiye Jodiye Bo, Rann- Mann Kanaka Pakkiyan.iv

Festivals Geets:-

The practice of commemorating festivals has been practiced in the Dugger religion from ancient times. In their lives, these celebrations are extremely important. According to each region, these holidays are celebrated in a unique way. Their unique festivals that reflect the history, culture, and traditions of their respective regions. The following are some of the most popular festivals in the Dugger region:

(i) Baisakhi (ii) Dharm Dhyara (iii) Rootta- Raade (iv) Raksha Bandhan (v) Drubadi (vi) Bacchha- Dua (vii) Navaratri (viii) KarvaChauth (ix) Deepawali (x) BhaiyaDooj (xi) Tulsi Ka Vrat (xii) Lohri (xiii) Bhugge Ka Vrat (xiv) Basant Panchami (xv) Holi

On these festivals, duggars sing various types of folk songs. Below mentioned is an example of folk song which is sung during the eve of Baisaki.

Chadhye Baisakh Aayi Baisakhi; Lokeyen Maare Bhaangre Oo, Lokeyen Maare Bhaangre Oo.v

Other popular folk songs in the Jammu region are folk songs.

Jammu region's songs are in Dogri, and the following are some of the more popular folk songs:-

Pranay Sambandhit Geet (Love Related Songs) – In Dugger, there are a lot of love songs to listen to. These love songs contain songs about meeting, separation, relationships, and so on. There is a description of meetings in these songs. Separations, and so on Among these, here's an example of a meeting song:

Haye Bo Pyariye,Haye Bo Dulariye Tere Kanney Bolne da Chaa, O Mere Kanney Bol Lichchhaye.vi

Shram geet:-

Agriculture is still performed as a collective job in the Himalayan region of Dugger. Farmers used to do all of their work in a collective manner in ancient times, especially during the feudal system, whether it was agricultural work or a marriage ceremony. Mutual assistance and group tasks are still common in many Dugger regions, and there the People continue to sing group music.

Shram geet (primarily harvesting songs) and Pranay geet (romantic songs/love songs) are two types of geet. Sou, sohadi, and hains are all forms of Sou (Sharma,N.D,1982). The following is one of them:

Ae Khwaja Hoi Sa, Tere Jore Hoi Sa; Harami Kula Hoi Sa, Jor Nai Layi Hoi Sa.vii

Baal Geet:-

Khel Geet in Dugger are largely related to children. One of the children's songs among these is as follows: Pugganna, Dhaal, Kikli, Panktiyan, Sports Songs of Boys, Sports Songs of Girls, Songs for Playing Children like Loriyan, and khel (playing) songs are examples of Baal Geet.

Jhute- Jhulare, Mama Gilla Pyare, Mama Pinge Batai De; Hetha Badae De Paai De Aaunde Janda Jhute De.v

Musical instruments used in the folk songs of Jammu region

(tatt vadhya)king, saranga, (avnad vadhya) dhol, dholak, nagara, damama, tamak, dafaal, (ghan vadhya)jhanj, manjeera, ghanta,chimta, ghadiyal, thali, ghungroo, (sushir vadhya)bansuri, ransingha, turi, kahal, shankh etc..

Dogra Jewelry

Dogra women for gold kanthas and haras (chunky necklaces), gokhrus (heavy bracelets), jhumkas and balis (earnings) and arsi(a large finger ring with a small looking glass studded on it). Younger ones use trikkas and matha pattis (adornments for the forehead), besides rings and bangles. Chowk, a small dome like ornament for the head and the pair of phool (flower shaped ornaments) by the side of ears, have been important dogra ornaments. Some women in villages still use them. Each major town and village has its own goldsmith to cater to the needs of the people.

Type of the jewelry particulars mostly to the ruler areas of Jammu province is however made of pure silver or silver alloys these includes bracelet necklace earrings nose ring.

Festivals of jammu Dogras

India is known for celebrating religious and social holidays such as Lohri, Deepawali, and Raksha Bandhan. Similarly, Dogras, the majority of whom are farmers, are known for taking time off from their arduous, monotonous work to celebrate festivities such as Baisakhi, Janamashtami, Nag Panchami, Bash Dua, Drubari, and others. Each Dogra festival has its own social or religious value and tradition.

Strategies to promote ethnic local Culture

- Cultural legacy has a core territorial dimension, as evidenced by hard/tangible assets such as ancient ruins or modern monuments, as well as soft/intangible assets such as oral traditions or dialects.
- The government should play a role in cultural heritage management, protection, and safeguarding, but it also represents a chance to use such a unique endowment to benefit the local/regional economy and society.
- Cultural heritage is a resource that helps other policy sectors achieve their goals. It promotes sustainable tourism and the construction of cultural and creative industries clusters, for example; it generates local jobs; it promotes social inclusion within cities or territories; and it improves quality of life.
- Individual culture-related projects can be linked together under a shared planning framework to form an organized strategy.
- When new cultural products and services are founded on collaboration between several policy sectors (e.g., culture, social welfare, and health), employing a customer-centered approach within the local administration facilitates policy coordination and complementarity (especially in terms of funding). Nonetheless, such an approach necessitates adjustments in the workflow and organization of the public sector.
- The development of new cultural products and services is frequently accompanied by a recognition of art and culture's ability to favorably impact other areas.
- The promotion of the film and audiovisual industries in the Jammu area:-Promotion of regional cinematic and television events that reflect the region's cultural and creative heritage
- A branding campaign for long-term cultural tourism:-The transfer of administration (and, to a lesser extent, ownership) of the city's cultural assets to the local government might be a watershed moment for infrastructure restoration and valorisation, underlining the importance of administration in protecting and valuing cultural property.

- Create an institutional reference structure for cultural management When public authorities want to assign them a certain mission or role, they frequently encourage the formation of independent institutions/agencies.
- The city's municipal governments should assume direct ownership and a professional approach to the branding strategy's creation, implementation, and monitoring.
- The findings of this study will be used to help produce this opinion, which will highlight the benefits and boost elements of local and regional cultural development plans.

Conclusion

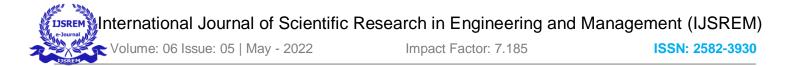
Based on the above research paper we came to know about the dogri culture, languages, cuisines and rituals. Some of the important points are as follows:-

- Jammu region has rich craft and cultural heritage which needs to be preserved and promoted.
- Duggar people have a rich social legacy and music that define their true basis, societal stories, customs, and the life and situation of this region, but the music in Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh is distinct.
- The ruralites have kept the original flavors of the "**Dogra monarchs' Royal Kitchen**" to a large extent which can be really helpful to promote the dogri cuisines.
- The practice of commemorating festivals has been practiced in the Dugger religion from ancient times. In their lives, these celebrations are extremely important.
- The Punjabi and Himachali languages have influenced the Dogri language, which is understandable given the proximity of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.
- The folk songs of Jammu are based on many festivals and occasions such as,Births, marriages, seasons, deaths, and other religious and societal celebration

References

Brightbill, J. D., & Turner, S. D. (2007). Download Limit Exceeded. SIL INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.521.5971&rep=rep1&type=pdf



Excelsior, D. (2021, 15 july). *Dogra Festival of Minjraan*. Jammu Kashmir Latest News | Tourism | Breaking News J&K. Retrieved April 21, 2022, from <u>https://www.dailyexcelsior.com/dogra-festival-of-minjraan/#:%7E:text=Similarly%2C%20Dogras%2C%20most%20of%20whom,%2C%20Bash%20Dua%2C%20D
rubari%20etc</u>

Wani, A. A. (2013, 6 february). Ethnic identities and the dynamics of regional and sub-regional assertions in JammuandKashmir.Taylor& Francis.RetrievedApril212022,fromhttps://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14631369.2013.764050

Chaudhary, P. (2011, January 21). Religious terrorism -the latest threat (Juxtaposition of Jammu's Heritage - Living and vibrant versus dead and decaying) - ICOMOS Open Archive: EPrints on Cultural Heritage. <u>Http://International.Icomos.Org/Madrid2002/Actas/3</u>.

Saraf, D. N. (1987, April). Arts and Crafts, Jammu and Kashmir. Google Books. https://www.google.co.in/books/edition/Arts_and_Crafts_Jammu_and_Kashmir/vQShV9jNzIUC?hl=en&gbpv=0

Kumar, M. (2018a, April 1). *Different types of Folk songs prevalent in the Dugger area and their classification*. <u>Http://Www.Jkhighereducation.Nic.in/Music/Vol_1_no_1/Jk_music_initiative_music_research_journal_vol_01_n</u> <u>o_01_april_2018.Pdf#page=92</u>.

Goswami, O. (1992). Dogri Lokvaarta Sarup Te Vishleshan. Jammu: Jammu Kashmir Art Cultural & Languages. Raina, K. (2018). *Diversity in the Music of Jammu and Kashmir*. JKMUSIC INITIATIVE. <u>http://jkhighereducation.nic.in/music/vol_1_no_1/jk_music_initiative_music_research_journal_vol_01_no_01_apri</u> 1 2018.pdf#page=48 Bashir, A., & Gupta, B. (2017). Intangible cultural heritage and experiential tourism: A Netnographic Analysis of tourists engaging in craft based tours in Jammu and Kashmir. JKMUSIC INITIATIVE. https://jothnbgu.in/article/jotVolXVIIIno22017.pdf#page=7

Soldi, R., Utma, M. A., Errico, B., & Cavallini, S. (2018). *How to design cultural development strategies to boost local and regional competitiveness and comparative advantage: overview of good practices*. www.Europa.Eu. https://cor.europa.eu/en/engage/studies/Documents/cultural-development-strategies/cultural-developmentstrategies.pdf

Goswami, O. (1995). Dogri Lok Geet. Jammu: Art Cultural & Languages of Jammu Kashmir.

European Commission (2012), Communication 'Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU', COM(2012) 537 final, Brussels, 26 September 2012.

Municipality of Alba Iulia (2017), Good Practice Summary – A branding initiative focused on cultural tourism, from concept to implementation and impact.

Group of Interlocutors for J&K. A New Compact with the People of Jammu and Kashmir. 2012.

Wani, Ali Mohammad. 1997. "Agrarian Structure of Kashmir under the Dogras.", University of Kashmir. PhD diss

Sufi, G. M. D. 1996. *Kashmir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, Vol. 2, New Delhi: Capital

Kumar, S. (2012). Jammu Lok Sangeet Ek Adhayan. Delhi: Faculty of music & fine arts university of delhi.

Nirmohi, P. S. (2003). Duggar K Lok Geet. Jammu: Sahitya Sangam Publication Jammu. Blair, Frank. Survey on a Shoestring: A Manual for Small-scale Language Surveys. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington. 1990