

In press: Proceedings of International Seminar on '*Himalayan History, Culture, Archaeology, Palaeoenvironment, Ethnography and Languages*', Himachal State Museum, Shimla, March 17-19, 2023.

Situating Lahul-Spiti and far west Garhwal in language dispersal

Maheshwar P. Joshi¹, Hari Chauhan², Vikas Baniyal², M.M. Joshi³, Piyush Bhatt⁴,
Prahlaad Singh Rawat¹ and Vijay Bahuguna⁵

Abstract

The Lahul-Spiti Division of Himachal Pradesh and adjoining far west Garhwal region of Uttarakhand enjoy unique place in the linguistic history of the Himalaya in that these two areas alone have preserved pre-Vedic Indo-Aryan in South Asia as evidenced in the extant dialects spoken in the Pattan Valley (Lahul-Spiti Division) and Bangan (far west Garhwal, Uttarakhand). These two regions have also been the habitats of the Neolithic folks, and occurrence of the named languages is a hallmark of the Neolithic. Based on recent studies in the linguistics and archaeology the present paper purports to show importance of these two areas in early dispersal of languages through the Himalayan route.

Introduction:

Scholars engaged in linguistic and genetic research have observed 'a remarkable similarity between the linguistic tree and the genetic tree'. These studies also suggest dispersal of language using humans from Africa to different parts of the Old World. And, in terms of language dispersal, Karakorum-Hindukush-Himalaya (HM) is a 'residual' zone, and together with the Caucasus, offers considerable language diversity owing to climatic, geographical, and political factors, which 'make it possible for a relatively small community to survive autonomously' (see for details, Joshi 2014; In press; 2019a; 2019b, and references therein). The linguistic profile of the HM runs as follows:

The greater Himalayan region is the principal meeting point for the two largest language families of the world, Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman. The same massifs have also been home to two smaller language families (Austroasiatic and Dravidian), and to two language isolates (Burushaski and Kusunda). Despite their physical prominence, the Himalayas constitute not so much an insurmountable barrier but rather a region of interaction between these various language families (Turin and Zeisler 2011: 1).

Elsewhere, one of us has discussed at length that the Middle Stone Age/Middle Palaeolithic lithic technology (Mode 3) exemplified by Levallois is considered as proxy for language. It was widely distributed in HM, therefore the forbears of the two language isolates of the HM, namely, Burushaski (central Hunza Valley, Karakorum, northern Pakistan) and Kusunda (Central and adjoining West Nepal) may have been related to the authors of Mode 3 tools found in proximity of the modern Burushaski and Kusunda speaking folks (Joshi 2019a; 2019b).

Commenting on language dispersal during the Holocene, geneticist Kivisild *et al* (2003: 216) observe:

Thus, according to these linguistic hypotheses, the ancestors of close to 100 per cent of the indigenous languages spoken in India today came to India during the Holocene... consequently, all the preceding pre-Neolithic languages were totally replaced. If this is indeed so, how extensive was the genetic replacement caused by these events?

Since emergence of all the named languages in HM is chronicled in the combine of the Holocene-Neolithic, in this paper we will collate pertinent archaeological data and extant languages spoken in the Lahul-Spiti and far west Garhwal (LSFWG) regions to situate them in language dispersal scenario. In an earlier paper we have pointed out that both the LSFVG regions formed part of the ‘Inner Asia Complex’ during the Neolithic (Joshi *et al* 2022). In the discussion that follows we will show noteworthy affinity between linguistic evidence and archaeological record from the LSFVG areas.

Linguistic evidence:

Simplistically said, the vast majority of the followers of Tibetan Buddhism inhabiting the Himayan region are placed in ‘Scheduled tribe’ category in India and bear the generic name ‘Bhotia’. And their language is termed as ‘Tibeto-Himalayan’ (see, Sharma 1989: General Introduction). The Tibeto-Himalayan language spoken in LSFVG includes ‘Stod, Spitian and Upper Kinnavri dialects in the state of Himachal Pradesh and Jad in the state of Uttar Pradesh’ [i.e., Uttarkashi District, Uttarakhand] (*Ibid*: 1-2). Elsewhere Sharma (2003) suggests that Munda is the sub-stratum of ‘Tibeto-Himalayan languages’. Interestingly, Munda is one of the ‘primary’ branches of Austroasiatic (Blust 2013: Ch. 11). Thus, Tibeto-Himalayan bears signature of the oldest language family of South Asia, and therefore some elements (substrate words of unknown origin) in it may have been handed down to posterity from the times when pre-named languages were in vogue in South Asia (see, Joshi 2019a). Obviously, this is an important issue in language dispersal and calls for in-depth study.

Another important issue concerning language dispersal vis-à-vis the LSFVG regions relates to Indo-Aryan. It is interesting to note that the LSFVG are the only regions in South Asia where pre-Vedic Old Indo-Aryan is still spoken as evidenced in the Pattan Valley (Lahul, Himachal Pradesh) (Sharma 1983), and in the Bangan area (Uttarkashi District, Uttarakhand) (Zoller 1988; 1989; 2007; 2008). More recently, while giving a brief account of three different classes of languages spoken in Kinnaur (adjacent to Lahul-Spiti area, Himachal Pradesh), Tobdan (2021: Ch. 13) draws our attention to the ‘Harijan’ (Scheduled caste) communities of Kinnaur who speak two very little known extant dialects exclusive to them. He notes:

Roghi-Kinnauri and Kalpa-Kinnauri which are traditionally known as Chamang and Domang may be placed among the class of Western Pahari languages. But they are archaic (*Ibid*: 191).

The above brief summary of linguistic profile of the LSFVG regions makes it clear that the two areas under reference have great potentials for language dispersal studies.

Archaeological evidence:

Recent archaeological explorations have brought to light interesting material culture which clearly shows human activities in the LSFVG regions from the prehistoric times (see, Chauhan *et al* 2017; Chauhan: Forthcoming; papers in Chauhan (ed) 2017; 2019; Joshi *et al* 2022; Joshi: Forthcoming-a; Joshi and Rawat: Forthcoming). In the present paper we will try to piece together those

objects which clearly exhibit symbolic behaviour of their users/authors bearing on language dispersal.

According to a rough estimate, there are some 3,000 petroglyph- and pictograph-bearing rocks in the LSFWG regions. There is no doubt that the carved/painted motifs on these rocks were meant for conveying messages of their authors. It is implied then that these messages were couched in some or the other language(s). At the outset, without attributing them to any language family, here we will take up two representative examples of pictographs and one that of petroglyph, which seem to carry phonetic value, and by extension on language dispersal, as will be clear from what follows.

Painted rock at Hudoli (Plate 1): There is a solitary example of perpendicular arrangement of painted motifs on a rock at Hudoli situated in the Kamal Valley, a small tributary of the Yamuna (District Uttarkashi, Uttarakhand).

Painted rock at Srag Phug (Hikkim), Spiti Valley, Himachal Pradesh (Plate 2): The Srag Phug rock paintings depict a perplexingly long band of motifs arranged horizontally.¹ We cannot say whether it forms one or more components, neither about its orientation from left to right or vice versa. What is central to the present study is that it shows repetition of certain motifs (see for details, Chauhan and Joshi 2017), and in the context of the Harappan script repetition of signs has been interpreted as ‘some sort of phonetic communication’ by Lal (1993: 52).

Petroglyph from Kyu Rud (Plate 3): The Kyu Rud petroglyph depicts two anthropomorphic figures one of which holds a ‘club’ (Dowad and Norbu 2017: 56). Somewhat similar representation described as ‘stylized human figure’ is also found at Tabo (Handa 2017: Plate 2). Interestingly, these figures are adorned with an elaborate headgear. In this connection Nauriyal’s observation is noteworthy in that the ‘male organ and horns are predominantly accentuated’ in the Kyu Rud figures, and that these figures hold ‘a device approximating a “*pasa* (?)” (a noose?)’ – one of the attributes of ‘Hindu god, Siva’. Furthermore, he has clubbed such-like figures together under the category of ‘horned deity’. Interestingly, he notes that one of the horned-anthropomorphs from Kyu Rud is ‘reminiscent of the seated horned-figure of a ‘*yogi*’ (horned-deity?)... from Mohenjo-daro... interpreted by some as representing ‘*pashupati*’ (the lord of beasts), an appellation of Lord Siva’ (see for details, Nauriyal 2017: 158-66). We will return to it later.

Symbiotic significance of the three archaeological examples mentioned above has already been discussed elsewhere (see, Joshi 2014: in press; Joshi *et al*: 2017; Chauhan and Joshi 2017; Nauriyal 2017), therefore in the following section of this essay we will give a brief account of the LSFWG regions in language dispersal in the light of more recent discoveries (Joshi *et al* 2021; Joshi *et al* 2022; Joshi: Forthcoming-a; Joshi and Rawat: Forthcoming).

¹ According to Dowad and Norbu (2017: 75), these paintings represent ‘Bon’ symbols ‘the crescent moon, three suns, seven swastikas of various kinds, four trees, two ibexes, the khyung (horned eagle), and water fowl’.

Discussion:

Recent archaeological investigations by Ota in Ladakh show human activities long before the Neolithic and the advent of the Harappan civilization (Ota 2018). In sum, Ota suggests ‘human occupation in this part of the subcontinent since terminal Pleistocene if not earlier’ (*Ibid*: 13). It is worthy of note that Ota’s excavations have also brought to light bone and lithic tools from different sites in Ladakh which were used as seasonal camping sites in course of transhumance. Ota notes:

Limited excavations have been carried out in two spots at a camping site located 22 km from village Sasoma on Sasoma-Saser La road. The evidence from this site has become a turning point in prehistoric investigations of Ladakh where for the first time such camping sites of Holocene period has been pushed back to c. 8,500 BCE based on AMS radiocarbon dates (*Ibid*: 17).

Ota also explored ‘the Leh-Manali highway between village Upshi on the Indus and Manali in Lahul (Himachal Pradesh)’ to trace probable expansion of these camping sites in adjoining Himachal Pradesh, where he discovered a camping site at village Upshi (*Ibid*: 15). Recent explorations in Lahul-Spiti division of Himachal Pradesh (see papers in Chauhan (ed.) 2017; Chauhan (ed.) 2019) lend remarkable support to Ota’s inquisitive explorations. Furthermore, circumstantial and inferred archaeological evidence indicates links of ‘the Inner Asia Complex’ (IAC) with the LSFWG regions (see, Joshi 2022; Joshi *et al* 2022), and that ‘the Northern Neolithic’ (NN, a component of the IAC) has played critical role in the making of the Harappan Civilization (see, Possehl 1999: Part Four).

Material culture as proxy for language has been widely discussed by scholars (see for details, Joshi 2019a, and references therein). We can only guess from the linguistic and archaeological sources reported from the LSFWG regions that they relate to speakers of diverse languages. In support of this suggestion we will cite few noteworthy examples.

1. Perpendicular arrangement of motifs: There is a solitary example of perpendicular arrangement of motifs located at Hudoli, (District Uttarkashi, far west Garhwal). It shows enigmatic creeper-like curvilinear lines painted in bluish grey in combination with hieroglyph-like characters arranged perpendicularly, as if representing some script.
2. Symbolic contents and linear arrangement of motifs with horizontal orientation: Preliminary study of the symbolic contents of the Spiti Valley petroglyphs and pictographs has already been done by several scholars (see papers in Chauhan ed. 2017). These studies indicate that ibex was the most popular animal carved on the rocks. Interestingly, Aas’s study of Taru Thang (Ladakh) petroglyphs reveals that about 80% of carvings represent ‘ibex (mountain goat)’. He credits ‘the Dardic speaking people’ of the trans-Himalaya to have preserved the mountain goat ‘as a symbol, stretching its origins back to prehistory and all the way up to present time’ (Aas 2008: 46). Handa (2017) notes that the ‘ibex-dominated engravings’ in the Spiti Valley are the earliest, and that they are associated with the Dardic community, particularly ‘the Minaro (the localised Dard community)’. He further adds that next to ibex in chronological order are the ‘Bonpa cult devices like swastika, sun, and *yonis*... integrated with the other cult devices’ found in the Spiti

Valley. In that case, the people associated with the Bonpa cult devices represented Tibeto-Himalayan speakers, for Bon originated in Tibet and it is deeply associated with Tibetan Buddhism.²

While studying the symbolic behaviour of the authors of the petroglyphs and rock paintings of the Spiti Valley, Chauhan and Joshi (2017) suggest that in Vedic literature ibex is associated with procreation (see, van Buitenen 1979: 30, fn. 12), it is a symbol of *kāma* (lust) (see, Samanta 1994), and as a sacrificial animal, ibex occupies significant place in Brahmanical mythology and rituals (Smith and Doniger 1989; Doniger 2014: 207 ff). Since Indo-Aryan and Dardic have common roots (see, Masica 1993: 20-21, 42-43), ibex may equally relate to the Indo-Aryan speakers. Circumstantial and inferred archaeological evidence in favour of Indo-Aryan speakers is available in two discrete sources (1) structured representation of horse and rider in the petroglyphs and pictographs of the Spiti Valley (see for details, Joshi 2017a), and (2) introduction of *bhāṅga* (hemp, *Cannabis sativa*) in South Asia from Central Asia via the Himalayan corridor by the Proto-Indo-European speaking folks as evidenced in the earliest occurrences of *Cannabis* in South Asia dated to between 4,000 and 3,100 BP: Indus Valley Civilization, samples of fibre (4,000 BP) and achene (3,600–3,300 BP), Lake Moriri (Ladakh), sample of *Cannabis*-type pollen 3,500 BP, Senuwar (Bihar) sample of achene 3,300–2,600 BP, and Lake Badanital (District Rudraprayag, Uttarakhand), sample of *Cannabis*-type pollen 3,100 BP. Obviously, Lake Moriri (Ladakh) and Badanital (Uttarakhand) finds of *Cannabis* are crucial to trace entry routes of this plant in South Asia as both the sites are situated in the neighbourhood of areas where pre-Vedic Old Indo-Aryan languages are still spoken (see for details, Joshi 2017b, and references therein). Thus, there is high probability that the aforesaid examples are intimately associated with the Indo-Aryan speakers.

Not only semiotics, horizontal arrangement of motifs in the petroglyphs and rock paintings also has a bearing on language dispersal, and relates to those people who were familiar with that mode of messaging. The only known contemporary society that used horizontal arrangement of signs and which interacted with the Himalayan societies is that of the Harappans. In connection to this, representation of male anthropomorphic figures wearing an elaborate headgear and the Srag Phug rock paintings depicting a perplexingly long horizontal band of motifs might shed some light on direct or indirect links between the Harappans and the LSFWG communities.

As for the male anthropomorphic figures, Nauriyal has shown their temporal and spatial distribution in the context of Harappan civilization, and its surrounding Neolithic-Chalcolithic cultures (Nauriyal 2017). What is central to the present study is that whereas in the Spiti Valley these figures, termed as ‘horned deity’ by Nauriyal, seem to be a component of the NN linked by the Burzahom Neolithic, recent discovery of a stone sculpture from far west Garhwal depicting a four-armed buffalo-headed ithyphallic figure

² In a recent study it has been claimed that the original language of the Bon religion was the now extinct Zhang Zhung language (see, Rajesh 2019).

dateable to *circa* 8th century CE, if not earlier (Plate 4), indicates that the Harappan tradition of the ‘horned deity’ exemplified by the famous Mohenjo-Daro seal depicting ‘proto Śiva Paśupati’ was fully alive. We have identified it as ‘Lord of Kedāra’ (see, Joshi *et al* 2021). Suggestive archaeological evidence of interaction of local inhabitants of far west Garhwal with the Harappans may be found in material remains from Bahadarabad (8 miles west of Hardwar) excavated by Y.D. Sharma in 1961(?). These include copper artefacts belonging to the Ganga Valley Copper Hoard culture and the OCP (Ochre-Coloured Pottery). According to the excavator the OCP bears affinity with the Bara-Harappan pottery (Sharma 1971-72: 41-42). Likewise, the Harappans procured timber wood from the Himalayan region which included ‘elm wood’ from the area of Dehradun eastward (Ratnagar 1982). One of us has discussed this issue in the light of subsequent archaeological discoveries (Joshi: Forthcoming-b).

In an earlier study we have summed up the importance of the Neolithic: ‘It is well known that the hallmarks of the Neolithic are pastoralism, agriculture, and sedentary village life which stem from selective pressures on the adaptive strategies of residually mobile hunter-gatherers. It was a process resulting in population growth, expansion of human communities, formation of network of the Neolithic settlements, and proliferation of the named language families’ (Joshi *et al* 2022). Therefore, expansion of the Neolithic in far west Garhwal presupposes presence of the named-language speaking folks and thereby language dispersal.

Concluding remarks:

The aforesaid brief discussion of the linguistic evidence coupled with material culture of the LSFWG strongly suggests presence of diverse language speakers in these regions. Thus, the perpendicular arrangement of signs at Hudoli is a unique example of external storage of a belief system for messaging which required spoken language. One of us has briefly discussed its importance in the prehistory of Himalayan languages elsewhere (see for details and further references, Joshi 2014: in press; Joshi *et al*: 2017). In sum, the Hudoli paintings appear to be ‘a prototype that inspired development of pictographic script and perpendicular alignment of characters. The Tibeto-Burman speakers learned it from the authors of Hudoli paintings and passed on the system to their counterparts in China. Alternatively, the Tibeto-Burman speakers themselves invented the characters and perpendicular alignment of motifs after settling in Hudoli area whence the style spread northwards in to China. It is difficult to surmise otherwise, for there is no resemblance between the Hudoli motifs and early Chinese characters’. We posit that the Chinese style of perpendicular arrangement of characters is later than the Hudoli example (see, Joshi 2019a: 113-14).

We believe that the horizontally arranged linear representations of the motifs coupled with representation of the anthropomorphic figure adorned with an elaborate headgear in the Spiti Valley petroglyphs and buffalo-headed four-armed deity from far west Garhwal have correspondences with the Harappan ‘Proto Śiva Paśupati’. But we have no conclusive evidence to name the language that the

Harappans spoke. However, while discussing the symbolic importance of the horse and rider, following Colin Renfrew one of us has suggested that the Harappans may have represented pre-Vedic early wave of Indo-Aryan speakers (Joshi 2017a). There is no doubt that the Harappan society was heterogeneous, which is the defining character of any civilization. Accordingly, it may be forwarded that the authors of the petroglyphs and pictographs showing horizontal arrangement of signs together with anthropomorphic figures wearing elaborate headgear, ibex and the horse and the rider mentioned above represented early wave of the pre-Vedic Indo-Aryan speakers. In sum, LSFWG regions are particularly important in the dispersal of Indo-Aryan, and need adequate attention of the specialists.

Bibliography:

- Aas, Lars Reinholt. 2008. *The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang. The Mountain Goat: A Religious and Social Symbol of the Dardic Speaking People of the Trans-Himalayas*. Bergen: University of Bergen.
- Blust, Robert. 2013. *The Austronesian Languages*. Revised Edition. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Chauhan, Hari (ed.). 2017. *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*. Shimla: State Museum.
- ____ (ed.). *Lahul-Spiti: An Archaeological and Historical Perspective*. Shimla: Himachal State Museum.
- ____. Forthcoming. *Prehistoric Spiti*.
- Chauhan, Hari and Maheshwar P. Joshi. 2017. Petroglyphs, rock paintings and symbolic behaviour: Recent discoveries in Himachal Pradesh (A preliminary study). In: Hari Chauhan (ed.), *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*: 14-39. Shimla: State Museum.
- Chauhan, Hari, Surender Kumar, Narendra Kumar and Vikas Baniyal. 2017. Newly discovered Palaeoliths from the Spiti Valley (Himachal Pradesh): A preliminary study. In: Hari Chauhan (ed.), *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*: 1-13. Shimla: State Museum.
- Doniger, Wendy. 2014. *On Hinduism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dowad, Michael and Tsering Norbu. 2017. Spiti River Valley rock art: A preliminary study. In: Hari Chauhan (ed.), *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*: 40-102. Shimla: State Museum.
- Handa, O.C. 2017. Cultic Significance of Trans-Himalayan petroglyphs with special reference to Spiti Valley. In: Hari Chauhan (ed.), *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*: 103-18. Shimla: State Museum.
- Joshi, Maheshwar P. 2017a. The horse and rider in the rock drawings of Spiti. In: Hari Chauhan (ed.), *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*: 119-50. Shimla: State Museum.
- ____. 2017b. The hemp cultivators of Uttarakhand and social complexity (with a special reference to the Rathis of Garhwal). *Acta Orientalia*, 78: 173–221.
- ____. 2019a. Cognitive archaeology: in search of the earliest syntactic language-users in Himalaya. *Gipani*, 4: 1-18.
- ____. 2019b. Material culture as proxy for language: the Himalayan evidence. *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 48: 91-138.
- ____. 2022. The Himalayan corridor and Central Asia: A preliminary study. In: Tarrek A Rather, Mohammad Ajmal Shah and Mumtaz A. Yatoo (edited), *Revisiting Himalayan Borderlands: A Bridge between India and Central Asia*. Srinagar: Centre of Central Asian Studies University of Kashmir.
- Joshi *et al* 2017: Joshi, Maheshwar P., Hari Chauhan, Vijay Bahuguna, D.N. Dimri and K.C. Nauriyal. 2017. Petroglyphs and rock paintings of Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh: A

- semiotic study. In: Sadasiba Pradhan and Dibisat B. Garnayak, *Rock Art in India*, Vol. II: 447-67. New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- Joshi *et al* 2021: M.P. Joshi, V. Bahuguna, P.S. Rawat, H. Chauhan, M.M. Joshi, and V.P. Rawat. Lord of Kedara: A unique sculpture from Uttarakhand Himalaya. *East and West*, New Series, 2 (1): 163-83.
- Joshi *et al* 2022: Joshi, Maheshwar P., Hari Chauhan, Prahlad Singh Rawat, Michael Dowad, Tsering Norbu, Vikas Banyal, Piyush Bhatt and Vijay Bahuguna. 2022. Neoliths from Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand: New evidence for the Inner Asia Complex?. In press: Proceedings of International Seminar on 'Himalayan History, Culture, Archaeology, Palaeoenvironment, Ethnography and Languages', Himachal State Museum Shimla, March 25-27, 2022.
- Joshi, Maheshwar P. Forthcoming-a. *Cognition and Archaeology: Global Perspective on Himalaya before the Neolithic (With a Special Reference to Petroglyphs and Rock Paintings)*.
 _____. Forthcoming-b. *Śiva's Himalayan āyatanas (Part 1): The Pañca-Kedāras of Uttarakhand*.
- Joshi, Maheshwar P. and Prahlad Singh Rawat: Forthcoming. *Preliminary Report on Archaeology of Rawain*.
- Kivisild, Toomas, Siiri Rootsi, Mait Metspalu, Ene Metspalu, Juri Parik, Katrin Kaldma, Esien Usanga, Sarabjit Mastana, Surinder S. Papiha and Richard Villems. 2003. In: Peter Bellwood and Colin Renfrew (eds.), *Examining the Farming/Language Dispersal Hypothesis*: 215-22. Cambridge: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
- Lal, B.B. 1993. Antecedents of the signs used in the Indus script: a discussion. In: G. Possehl (ed.), *South Asian Studies*: 45-55. New York: International Science Publisher.
- Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nauriyal, K.C. 2017. Reading the Spiti Petroglyphs: A preliminary study. In: Hari Chauhan (ed.), *Rediscovering Spiti: A Historical and Archaeological Study*: 151-77. Shimla: State Museum.
- Ota, S.B. 2018. Prehistory of Ladakh Himalayas, Jammu and Kashmir. *History Today*, 19: 10-20.
- Possehl, Gregory L. 1999. *Indus Age: The Beginning*. New Delhi: Oxford IBH Publishing Co. PVT. Ltd.
- Samanta, Suchitra. 1994. The "Self-Animal" and divine digestion: goat sacrifice to the Goddess Kālī in Bengal. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 53 (3): 779-803.
- Sharma, D.D. 1983. Preservation of Old Indo-Aryan dialects in the Mid-Himalayas. *Nepalese Linguistics*, 2: 45-51.
- _____. 1989. *Tibeto-Himalayan Languages of Uttarakhand*, [Part one]. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- _____. 2003. *Munda: Sub-stratum of Tibeto-Himalayan Languages*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Sharma, Y.D. 1971-72. Salvage of archaeological evidence from Bahadarabad. *Puratattva*, 5-6: Appendix A, 39-42.
- Smith, Brian K. and Wendy Doniger. 1989. Sacrifice and substitution: ritual mystification and mythical demystification. *Numen*, 36, (2): 189-224.
- Tobdan. 2021. *Ancient Lahul and Himalaya*. New Delhi: Kaveri Books.
- Turin, Mark and Bettina Zeisler. 2011. Introduction. In: Mark Turin and Bettina Zeisler (eds.), *Himalayan Languages and Linguistics: Studies in Phonology, Semantics, Morphology and Syntax*: 1-9. Leiden: Brill.
- van Buitenen, J.A.B. 1979. Ānanda, or all desires fulfilled. *History of Religions*, 19 (1): 27-36.
- Zoller, Claus Peter. 1988. Bericht über besondere Archaismen im Bangani, einer Western Pahari-Sprache. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 49:173-200.
- _____. 1989. Bericht über grammatische Archaismen im Bangani. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 50: 159-218.
- _____. 2007. Is Bangani a V2 Language? *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, 31: 83-141.
- _____. 2008. Genitive marking of subjects in West Pahari. *Acta Orientalia*, 69: 121-151.

Maheshwar P. Joshi¹ and Prahlad Singh Rawat¹ – Doon Library and Research Centre, Dehradun.
 Hari Chauhan² and Vikas Baniyal² – Himachal State Museum, Shimla.
 M.M. Joshi³ – Uttarakhand Open University, Haldwani (Nainital District).

Piyush Bhatt⁴ – Archaeological Survey of India.

Vijay Bahuguna⁵ – Government College, Dakpathar (Dehradun District).



Hudoli (Plate 1)



Srag Phug (Hikkim) Plate 2



\ Petroglyph, Kyu Rud (Plate 3)



Tabo (Handa 2017)



Buffalo-headed deity from far west Garhwal (Plate 4)