

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Background

This study attempts to analyze the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language spoken in Nepal in terms of its dialectal variations, language attitude, multilingualism, language choice and language contact. Maithili is an Indo-Aryan language. It is largely spoken in the south-eastern Tarai region of Nepal and also in India.¹ The number of Maithili speakers in Nepal is approximately 30, 92,530, which constitutes 11.7% of the country's total population and ranks first in the Tarai and second (i.e. next to Nepali) in the national context (Census, 2011). The data for this study have been obtained from the language respondents who are inhabitants of different villages of seven districts² such as Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari and Sarlahi and also from the previous studies on the language.

In both Nepal and India Maithili is predominantly used in all the contexts of role relationship of home domains within its speech community (Yadav, 1989, p. 225). It functions as *lingua franca* in communicating with non-Maithili speakers such as Hindi, Urdu and Nepali speakers in the region as well.

Maithili is rich in both oral and written traditions. It has been taught as a subject of study from school to university levels of education in both Nepal and India. In Nepal, there has been made some constitutional provisions for introducing all the mother tongues spoken in Nepal, including Maithili, as mediums of instruction at the primary level of education (The Constitution of Nepal, 2015).

Some attempts, though preliminary and sketchy in nature, have been made to describe the sociolinguistic study of the Maithili language. Thus, this study attempts to make an in-depth sociolinguistic description of the language to date.

¹ Maithili is a cross-border language, spoken mainly in Nepal and India, the two adjacent South Asian countries with a long tradition of geographical and cultural proximity. It is spoken by a total of about 35 million people (viz. 3.09 million people in Nepal as per census, 2011 and 31.90 million people in India (Lewis et.al. 2013), in the south-eastern Tarai region of Nepal and in the eastern and northern regions of the Bihar state of north India. According to the Sahitya Akademi, it is the 16th largest language group in India and it has 44th in the world.

² The detailed distribution of Maithili (as mother tongue and second language) speaking people presented in annex 2.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Except a few scanty attempts, no attempt has so far been made to describe the sociolinguistic aspect of the Maithili language comprehensively. Therefore, this study attempts to provide the overall picture of the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language. It tries to address the following main research questions:

- a) What are the regional and social varieties of Maithili?
- b) How does the speakers' attitude reflect towards the mother tongue in the Maithili speech communities?
- c) How do the Maithili speakers make choice of the languages in existing multilingual situations?
- d) Why is language contact situation crucial for the existing patterns of language use in the Maithili speech communities?

1.3 Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to analyze the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To examine the regional and social varieties of Maithili;
- b) To investigate the speakers' attitude towards their mother tongue;
- c) To analyze the language choice situation in the Maithili speech community; and
- d) To examine the patterns of language use in the language contact situation in the Maithili speech community.

1.4 Review of the literature

There exist a number of studies on the Maithili language. However, there are only a few works on the sociolinguistic aspect of the Maithili language. We have presented a review of these works in the chronological order.

The serious interest in Maithili linguistics began in the early 1880's when Sir George Abraham Grierson, and A. F. Rudolf Hoernle published a series of scholarly books and papers on Maithili. But, it was Colebrooke who, for the first time recognized Maithili (*Tirhutiya*, alternatively) in 1801 as an independent language spoken in

Mithila and some adjoining districts bounded by the river Cusi (Caysici) and Gandhac (Gandhacci) and by the mountains of Nepal. This brief account lacks main linguistic characteristics of the language.

Like Colebrooke (1801), Hoernle (1880) does not recognize Maithili as an independent language. It unjustifiably treats Maithili as a dialect of eastern Hindi without getting into a comparison between the two languages.

Grierson (1881) provides a preliminary sketch grammar of Maithili spoken only in the north Bihar of India, and not included the language spoken in the other parts of Bihar. This study simply presents a synchronic description of Maithili language.

Grierson (1882) provides an introduction to chrestomathy and vocabulary of Maithili spoken only in the north Bihar of India, and not included the language spoken in the other parts of Bihar. Regarding the vocabulary the author reports that it is the earliest wordlist of the Maithili language and contains all the words occurring in the chrestomathy of the greatest Maithili poet, Vidyapati (1360-1448).

The major contribution of Grierson (1883-87) is to provide the very extensive dialectal survey of the Bihari language. This study reports the basic information about the seven grammars of the dialects and sub-dialects of the Bihari language including Maithili.

Though Grierson (1887) recognizes Maithili as an independent language, Kellogg (1893) continues to treat Maithili as a dialect of Hindi. This work is one of the important works of Kellogg which lies in the copious, illustrations from Maithili, coupled with insightful philological notes.

Grierson (1903) analyzes the various dialects and sub-dialects of Maithili. This study mainly explains speaking area, number of speakers, literature, pronunciation and grammar of Maithili. It does not talk about the other sociolinguistic issues of Maithili.

Like Grierson (1883-87), Chatterji (1926) believes that Maithili belongs to the group of Magadhi Apabhramsa (called Magadhi Prakrit). Most Maithili linguists including Jha (1958), Mishra (1949), Jha, (1968), Jha (1974), and others agree with Chatterji's classification with some modifications. Such a classification enables Maithili scholars to emphasize two main points, i.e., Maithili is not a dialect of Hindi, and that Maithili is not a dialect of Bihari.

Jha (1941) is a synchronic study of the phonetics of Maithili according to the principles of modern descriptive linguistics. It includes only a Brahmin variety of Maithili and not other varieties. This study has presented fifty-six essential phonemes of Maithili.

Jha (1958) is an exhaustive diachronic description of Maithili. This study discusses the historical development of the Maithili sound system and provides diachronic explanations for the synchronic usage. However, this study does not specify the sources of the data used therein.

Davis (1973) analyzes sentences pattern in Maithili. This study presents a detailed description of the sentence types and Maithili phonemes with their orthographic representation. However, it is only the Brahmin dialect under focus in this study.

Trail (1973) is the collection of word lists on the basis of Swadesh 100 word list. It contains about 1700 words of Maithili. The wordlists collected here is spoken by the Brahmin speakers' especially in the Dhanusha district. This study has not included the other speakers except Brahmin.

Jha (1974) simply presents the regional classification of the Maithili language. The five regional dialects have been analyzed in this study. They are Central Maithili, Eastern Maithili, Southern Maithili, Western Maithili, and Northern or Nepali Maithili (spoken in Nepalese Tarai). It is very much based on Jha (1958).

Singh (1976) is a preliminary work on the dialect spoken in Begusarai district. This study simply analyzes the language variation in Begusrai Maithili from linguistic perspective. It lacks sociolinguistic information. The main focus of this study is to compare the Maithili language spoken by different castes especially living in the Begusarai district.

Yadav (1981) discusses some background notes about Maithili language and linguistics. However, this brief account lacks main sociolinguistic characteristics of the language.

Jha (1984) is a descriptive study of Maithili language of Nepal (spoken in Saptari district). This study presents only the analysis of phonology and morphology of the Maithili language. Besides, the theoretical part and the scope of the data are very weak.

Singh (1989) is a preliminary attempt to analyze the politeness strategies of the Maithili language (i.e. how to honor someone in Maithili). This study is only based on the secondary data. The main focus of the study is to present the level of honorificity while honoring someone in Maithili. This brief account lacks main sociolinguistic characteristics of this language.

Yadav (1989) is the first study in language planning in Nepal. This study mainly points out the problem of using mother tongues in Nepal including Maithili. However, this study does not present a detailed language planning of the Maithili language separately.

Singh (1991) discusses language development and nation building in multilingual contexts including Maithili language. However, this study is not included the data from the Maithili language spoken in Nepal and the sample of the population is also not mentioned clearly.

Singh (1993) presents a preliminary investigation of Maithili language development in the North Bihar, India. This study lacks sociolinguistics information but it deals with the language development from historical perspective. However, this study presents a brief linguistic description about this language.

Yadav (1996) has described the Maithili language in terms of grammatical analysis and extracted the grammatical rule. It is a reference grammar which includes the detailed analysis of phonology, morphology and syntax along with some sociolinguistic aspects.

Hugoniot (1997) is a sociolinguistic profile of the dialects of the Maithili language. This study analyzes mainly caste dialect variation and geographical dialect variation only from phonological perspective. Moreover, this study also includes dialect intelligibility, language attitudes and language uses of the Maithili language. However, the description of the study is not analytical.

Yadav (1998) is a preliminary study of the dialectal variations in the Maithili language. However, this study does not mention tools and methodology of the data collection. It discusses the dialect variations in the Maithili language, its social dialects and standard variety.

Bickel et al. (1999) explores the face vs. empathy: the social foundation of Maithili verb agreement. According to authors, “Maithili features one of the most complex

agreement systems of any Indo-Aryan language. Not only nominative and non-nominative subjects, but also objects, other core arguments, and even non-arguments are cross-referenced, allowing for a maximum of three participants encoded by the verb desinences. The categories reflected in the morphology are person, honorific degree, and, in the case of third persons, gender, spatial distance, and focus (p. 481).

Kumar (2001) deals with language shift from Maithili to Hindi. This study discusses mostly the gradual shift from Maithili to Hindi. So far as the present study is concerned, it does not view the shift from Maithili to Hindi as evidence for the danger of losing Maithili or losing respect for the mother tongue by its speakers.

Yadava (2001) presents a brief description of the Maithili language, origin and development of the language on the basis of language family. This study also talks about Maithili literature in brief.

Yadava (2003) presents language situation of Nepal based on 2001 Census data. It has mentioned 92 different languages spoken in Nepal including Maithili. This study includes some linguistic description of the Maithili language rather than sociolinguistic description. According to this study, among the languages spoken in Nepal, Maithili is one of the vital languages which ranks first in the Tarai and 2nd (after Nepali), in the National context.³

Yadava (2004) analyzes the pattern of language endangerment in Nepal mainly on the basis of five levels of endangerment defined by Wurm (1998)⁴. This study has been categorized the languages of Nepal into seven groups: safe languages (18), almost safe languages (15), potentially endangered languages (8), endangered languages (22), seriously endangered languages (12), moribund languages (7) and extinct/nearly extinct languages. Maithili has been categorized as a member of the group of educational because this language has a large number of speakers and it is used as medium of instruction or subject instruction.

³ For details see Yadava (2003).

⁴ The five levels of endangerment defined by Wurm (1998) may be summarized as follows:

- a. Potentially endangered (under heavy pressure from a large language and beginning to lose child speakers);
- b. Endangered (have few or no children learning the language and youngest good speakers are young adults);
- c. Seriously endangered (have the youngest good speaker's age 50 or older)';
- d. Moribund (have only handful or good speakers left, mostly very old);
- e. Extinct (have no speakers).

Sah (2008) presents a sociolinguistic profile of the Maithili language, spoken in Dhanusha district of Nepal. This study mostly deals with lexical variation, language use and language attitude, and bilingualism/ multilingualism. The sociolinguistic information based directly or indirectly on the nature of survey type; however this study may be reliable and useful for its further study.

Chaman (2009) is a study of code-mixing in Maithili language mostly spoken in Saptari district. The main focuses of this study is to find out the English, Nepali and Hindi codes mixing in the Maithili language.

Jha (2009) has suggested two types of language planning in Maithili, viz., status planning and corpus planning. Status planning includes the expansion language functions of Maithili to education, office and mass media. Corpus planning includes graphization, standardization and modernization of Maithili. They are indeed some basic strategies for the promotion of the Maithili language.

Sahu (2010) is a preliminary sociolinguistic study of Maithili spoken in Saptari by Dalits. This study includes domains of language use and attitude, multilingualism and social variation.

Yadav (2010) analyzes Maithili dialects spoken in Nepal. This study presents two types of dialects: geographical dialects and social dialects in the language from phonological perspective. However, the phonological description is not analytical. Moreover, this study does not mention tools for analysis.

Yadava and Mahato (2011) discusses language use and attitudes in Maithili. This report basically deals with the language use and attitudes and it has not included other sociolinguistic aspects as well. The result reveals that the attitude of the Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue is positive.

Yadav (2013) is a case study of language shift in Maithili speakers residing in the Kathmandu valley. This study presents the code-switching generally takes place at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, cases, verbs, absolute clauses and negativization. However, it is preliminary.

Yadava (2013) analyses linguistic context and the pattern of language endangerment in Nepal. In this study, the author deals with the situation of Nepal's languages and assesses language endangerment in Nepal using EGIDS (Fishman 1991, 2001),

including Maithili language. According to EGIDS the author lays Maithili in the educational level.

Asad (2014) presents a lexical comparison of Maithili and Bengali. The main objective of this study is to observe phonological and morphological variations in the basic and common lexical items of both Maithili and Bengali. The comparison reveals that there is great difference between them in terms of phonology and morphology, although both these languages genetically belong to the same Eastern Indo-Aryan language family.

Jha and Asad (2014) is a preliminary description of modern Maithili. This study focuses mainly on classifier, singularity, plurality as well as social variations.

Thakur and Yadav (2014) is the first comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of the Maithili language spoken in Nepal based on the data collected in 2009. However, the sample of population selected for this survey is very small in size and its description is not analytical. This survey aims at looking simply the sociolinguistic situation of Maithili. It presents just a brief description of domains of language use, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, language transmission, vitality and loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, language attitude, language resources and dialect variation.

Thakur (2014) analyzes social variations in the Maithili language. This study mainly discusses social variations based on the key variables phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. However, it is marked by some limitations.

Regmi (2015) is a study of the relationships among the major Indo-Aryan languages of Tarai in Nepal. This study analyzes both lexical and phonetic similarity among the major Indo-Aryan languages including Maithili. It lacks phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis of the language; however, it is one of the major contributions to sociolinguistics.

Yadav (2014) is a preliminary study of the role of Maithili in Nepalese education. The study discusses the role of Maithili in Nepalese education at various levels, analyses issues and finally suggests ways to sort them out. No doubt, this study lacks sociolinguistic information; however, it includes some information of multilingual education.

Yadava (2014) analyzes language use in Nepal based on 2011 Census data. This study presents a detailed linguistic description of the languages spoken in Nepal including Maithili language. However, it includes some sociolinguistic information as well.

Kumar (2017) is a preliminary sociolinguistic analysis of Begusarai Maithili. Most of the information in Kumar (2017) is very much similar to Singh (1976). This study mainly deals with the occurrence of a strong sociolinguistic relation between the language variation in Begusarai Maithili and the caste system.

Regmi (2021) presents a synopsis of a sociolinguistic survey of Maithili spoken in Nepal based on the Thakur and Yadav (2014). It presents the sociolinguistic situation of Maithili in terms of its domains of language use, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, language transmission, vitality and loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, language attitude, language resources and dialect variation and provides some ways to uplift the language for its sustainable use.

To sum up, the previous works so far reviewed have sketchily touched upon different sociolinguistic aspects in the Maithili language. None of them has employed an integrative approach (synchronic, diachronic and language typology) to explain the sociolinguistic features of the language. Some major works such as Grierson (1903), Jha (1958), Jha (1974), Hugoniot (1997), Yadav (1990), Yadav (1998), Yadava (2011), Asad (2014), Thakur and Yadav (2014), Thakur (2014), and Regmi (2015) has undoubtedly raised many issues such as dialectal variation, language contact and language attitude. However, such issues have to be comprehensively dealt with an integrative approach which is rich in theory, methodology and praxis.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study, which attempts to present a comprehensive study of the Maithili language spoken in Nepal from sociolinguistic perspective, is of great significance from different points of view:

- a) This study will lay the foundation for a much more extensive research on different sociolinguistic aspects of the Maithili language.
- b) The findings of this study will encourage the native speakers to expand the use of the language for its development and promotion.
- c) The findings of this study will help concerned authorities to make plans for implementing the mother tongue-based multilingual education in Maithili which shows both social and regional variations.
- d) This study will contribute to bring into light the real situation of the language as well the questions of ethno-linguistic identity of the speakers.
- e) This study will also be useful for researchers, linguists, general readers, and community members as a whole.

1.6 Research methodology

This is a field-based study of the Maithili language. It is based on both quantitative and qualitative methods. As this study is mainly based on the quantitative method, the interview is essential as a data source. It is expected to provide reliable data in terms of variation and the social significance of natural everyday speech (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974 and Macaulay 1977). The Participatory Methods (PMs) as tools are used to collect qualitative data for this study. Basic sentences are used to collect qualitative data to see syntactic variations in the sentences as well (Yadav 1996 and Yadava 1997). Research methodology has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.7 Limitations of the study

This study is basically limited to the sociolinguistic analysis of the Maithili language spoken in Nepal.⁵ This study particularly presents a contemporary analysis of the Maithili language from sociolinguistic perspective and not the historical perspective. Wordlist (405), Basic sentences, sociolinguistic questionnaire A, sociolinguistic questionnaire B, participatory methods were the tools used. The respondents were selected by using random sampling techniques among the 72 respondents from language communities with two different sexes (male and female), age groups (15-60+), different levels of education and some illiterate speakers also selected as well.

⁵ According to Hugonit (1997) Maithili is spoken in Nepal and India, the average percentage of all the Brahmin to non-Brahmin word list comparisons is 91 percent.

1.8 Organization of the study

This study has been organized into eight chapters. Chapter 1 briefly describes the background of study, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, review of literature, significance of the study and limitations of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the research methodology of the present study. Chapter 3 discusses the regional variations in Maithili. In chapter 4, we look at the social variations in Maithili. Chapter 5 presents the attitude of the Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue. In chapter 6, we analyze multilingualism and language choice in the Maithili speech community. Chapter 7 deals with the sociolinguistic aspect of language contact situation in Maithili community. In chapter 8, we present the summary of the major findings and conclusions of the study. The annexes include Maps of Maithili speaking area of Nepal and India, Distribution of Maithili (as mother tongue and second language) speaking people in Nepal, 405 wordlist (a and b), Basic sentences, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire ‘A’, Sociolinguistic Questionnaire ‘B’, List of Maithili vowels and consonants, and analyzed Maithili text.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the theoretical framework and research design as well as ethical considerations of the study. It consists of three sections. Section 2.1 deals with the theoretical framework used in the study. In section 2.2, we briefly discuss the research designs of the study. Section 2.3 presents some ethical considerations made in the study.

2.1 Theoretical framework

In the following sub-sections, we briefly discuss the framework used in the analysis of major themes, viz., dialectal variations, language attitude, multilingualism, language choice and contact.

2.1.1 Dialectal variations

Every language may have a number of variations, especially in the way it is spoken. There are mainly two types of dialectal variations: social and regional variations. Indeed, social variations are more important than regional ones in the sociolinguistic study. However, it is necessary to look at the types of regional variations in the language to understand the various procedures used in the studies of social variation. Regional variations are the varieties of a language spoken by the people living in different geographical area (Wardhaugh, 2000, p. 40). Its differences arise for various reasons. One factor is the influence of geography itself. A river, a mountain range or an expanse of barren land can serve to keep two populations apart and another factor is the ongoing change in a language. Wolfram and Schilling (2016, p. 125) notes that, American English regionally varies in terms of vocabulary, pronunciation, syntax and language use.

Another important aspect in sociolinguistic study is concerned with language variation and its relationship to social context. There are a number of social factors contributing to variations in language use. Labov (1966) is the first work to provide concepts and theoretical frameworks in the study of such variations. However, an early study of variation can be traced to the writing of Gumperz (1958). This study

has demonstrated that language variation in a group of children may be influenced by social factors such as gender and social status. This study has faced some sort of problem. This is because of the fact that the society investigated by him was roughly differentiated on the basis of caste membership. During his survey he selected a village called Khalapur as a place for data collection. But in Khalapur the villagers fairly used Hindi in their daily communication in various social contexts. Similarly, Gumperz (1917, p. 158) further studied about social variation in which he divided Khalapur by profound differences in ritual status, wealth, political power, occupation and education, affecting every aspect of daily interaction. Thus it has been observed that the ritual parameters provide 31 districts recognized caste groups, comprised of 90% of Hindus and only 10% of Muslims. The rank of castes is in the following order: Brahmin, Rajputs and Merchants are at the top and untouchable castes whereas Chamars are at the bottom. But on the basis of wealth and political power, Rajputs occupy the better position in the society than Brahmins. Though at present, education is in the reach of all groups of the society equally, but the fact cannot be denied that the majority of students of higher education come from Rajputs and upper caste groups.

No doubt, Labov (1966) has influenced linguistic study of change of variation till the date. In this study, socio-linguistic interviews were the basic elicitation technique used for primary data collection. Labov (1966, pp. 40-42) has developed the concept of sociolinguistic variable which is basically “a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing”. Labov’s study of sound change in 1961 on Martha’s Vineyard is generally considered to be the starting point for studying the language with reference to its social context. In this study, he logically described the existence of systematic differences between the speakers in their use of certain linguistic variables (Labov, 1972: chapters 1 and 2). He focused his attention on the fact as to how the natives of Martha’s Vineyard pronounced the vowels in two sets of words *out, house, trout and while, pie, night*. It has been observed that there occurred centralization of first part of the diphthongs as [au] to [eu] and [ai] to [ei] and the centering was more noticeable in the first set of the words than in the second set. Labov (1972, p. 181) also held the view that “internal structural pressures and sociolinguistic pressures act in systematic alternation in the mechanism of linguistic change”. After Martha’s Vineyard, he worked on an entirely different kind of community in New York City. In this city in

1966 Labov wanted to try out some hypothesis which he had already formulated about the use of a single linguistic variable (*r*). This variable represents the presence or absence of (*r*): [*r*] versus (*r*): [∅] of a consonantal construction corresponding to the letter in the words like *farm* and *fair*. Labov (1972, p. 44) states “we begin with the general hypothesis suggested by exploratory interviews: if any two subgroups of New York City speech is the characteristic feature of the younger people than the older ones”. The same feature was found more likely at the end of the word like *floor* and before the consonants like *fourth* (Labov, 1972, p. 57). He tested his hypothesis by collecting the data from three departmental stores in New York City. The three departmental stores Labov visited were Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy’s, and S. Klein. The differential ranking of these stores has been illustrated based on their locations. Trudgill (1974) is an excellent example of the ‘classical Labovian Method’, using the structured interviews. The town selected was the Norwich, the native town of Trudgill. As a result, it was very easy for him to collect data as he was fully aware of the social structure and accent of Norwich people. While pursuing his study, Trudgill himself used the Norwich accent in interviewing his respondents. In his study of Norwich, England, Trudgill investigated sixteen phonological variables. He stratified the Norwich speech community into five social classes: Middle Class, Lower Middle Class, Upper Working Class, Middle Working class and Lower Working Class. His analysis of variables (*ŋ*), (*t*) and (*h*) show that the occurrence of their variants in the words like *singing*, *better* and *hammer*.

These studies have revealed the fact that variation within language can be distinguished not only by their vocabulary but also by differences in grammatical and phonological structure of the language. Such as the speaker may use (*r*) to differentiate *source* and *sauce*, which would then appear phonemically as /sors/ vs /sohs/ etc.

2.1.2 Language attitude

Meyerhoff (2006) rightly notes, “Language provides many windows on speakers’ attitudes to themselves and others. Our everyday speech encodes a surprising amount of information on our attitudes”. (p. 55)

Language and attitude cannot be separated from one other since language has its own function in the use (Fasold, 1984, p. 148). Attitude is an aspect that human should

have to understand each other in communication. Some language attitude studies are strictly limited to attitudes toward the language itself. However, most of the concept of language attitudes includes attitudes towards speakers of a particular language; if the definition is even further broadened, it can allow all kinds of behavior concerning language to be treated (e.g. attitudes toward language maintenance and planning efforts). Mereno (1998) suggested a wider definition of language attitudes:

Language attitude is a manifestation of the social attitude of the individuals, distinguished by focus and specific reference to both language and its use in society; and when discussing 'language' any type of linguistic variety is included. (p. 179)

This definition highlights the fact that language attitudes do not strictly refer to general languages, but include all linguistic varieties. Moreover, attitudes toward language use also form part of the concept.

The study of language attitudes has been based on two theoretical approaches: the behaviorist approach and the mentalist approach. According to Fasold (1984, pp. 147-148), the behaviorist perspective attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations. Moreover, he notes that this viewpoint makes study easier to undertake, since it requires no self reports or indirect inferences. It is only necessary to observe, tabulate, and analyze overt behavior. However, we agree with Agheysi and Fishman (1970, p. 138) who observed earlier that attitudes of this type would not be quite as interesting as they would be if they were defined mentalistically, because they cannot be used to predict other behavior. However, Fasold (1984) argues that the more straightforward behaviorist approach, in which attitudes is just one kind of responses to a stimulus, certainly cannot be ruled out.

On the other hand, under the mentalist perspective attitudes are views as an internal and mental state which may give rise to certain forms of behavior. It can be described as 'an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 16 and Fasold, 1984, p. 147). This study adopted mentalist view because most of the studies on language attitudes are based on this perspective. Baker (1992, p. 11) notes that attitudes are learned predispositions, and are not inherited. They are relatively stable and are affected by experiences. Moreover, he said that different language related objects are explored as the

representatives of language attitudes. However, there can be various possible relations among the attitudes toward these different objects. These attitudes might be identical, strongly correlated, might overlap to a certain extent or might not even be associated. There could be cases when a favorable attitude toward a language coexists with an unfavorable attitude towards its speakers or vice-versa. Ryan and Giles (1982, p. 7) defines language attitudes as “any affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or speakers”. It is important to mention that though the mentalist view has been widely used by language attitudes researchers, it poses significant research problems because internal, mental states cannot be directly observed, but have to be inferred from behavior or from self reported data which are often of questionable validity (Fasold, 1984).

Under the mentalist approach, two methods are primarily employed for exploring language attitudes. They are the questionnaire/interview and the matched guise technique. However, this study used only questionnaire/interview technique to collect the data.

2.1.3 Multilingualism and language choice

In recent years, multilingualism is a common phenomenon all over the world. According to *Ethnologue* (2020), there are almost 7,117 languages in the world. It is not only that there are more languages than countries but also that the number of speakers of the different languages are unevenly distributed, meaning that speakers of smaller languages need to speak other languages in their daily life. Li (2008, p. 4) notes that, “anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)”. The European Commission (2007, p. 6) suggested a well-known definition of multilingualism: “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives”.

The research on multilingualism has changed a great deal over the past two decades because globalization has introduced immense changes in social-cultural values, in linguistic diversity, and in understanding communication worldwide. Blommaert (2010) pinpoints that process of globalization have resulted in new strategies and patterns of language use in situational contexts, known as super-diversity, which

stretches the limits for understanding multilingualism and dynamism of language change (Blommaert 2010). Blommaert states:

several social characterize super-diversity, such as ethnicity of language users, development of social classes and groups of language use, economics, mobility and alike. (p. 9)

Thus, current global tendencies have built up well-established linguistic repertoires in which local and lingua-franca strategies and approaches are combined. Heller (2011, p. 20) considers it to be an “intensified and compressed circulation of people, goods and information”.

The research on multilingualism has been approached from different perspectives in sociolinguistics.

To analyze some of the latest contributions concerning multilingualism, the study has posed the following research question: What characterizes the language use in a social interaction in a multilingual context?

Under the multilingual society, language choice may be determined by the presence of a bilingualism situation (Fishman, 1968, p. 21). According to Gal (1978, p. 1), the analysis of language choice in bi/multilingual settings remains a crucial endeavor in sociolinguistic study. Early attempts by linguists and sociologists at describing language use in general quantitative terms have failed to account for the evident heterogeneity across communities, individuals and occasions. Theoretically refined tools are needed to explain why language X is used in situation x, and why language Y is used in situation y. Contrary to the widely assumed belief that language use is unsystematic, sociolinguistics has held as axiomatic that "A speaker's choice between varieties is also structured. It is systematically linked to social relationships, events or situations." Therefore, one of the fundamental issues in socially oriented linguistic disciplines is why a given linguistic variety is chosen to be used in a particular array of situations, while another variety is preferred in other circumstances.

Language choice has been further defined by Decker and Grummitt (2012, p. 23) identify three categories that encompassed language choice studies: 1) Restricted language choice; 2) Negotiated language choice; and 3) Free language choice. According to them, restricted language choice is a little or no ability to control the

impact of sociolinguistic factors affecting the norms of their language. Similarly, negotiated language choice is an interaction that gives the people a measure of control over the social factors which influence their language choices. Interaction often takes the form of personal involvement, perhaps through meeting to buy goods in a market or getting a job working alongside speakers of another language. Likewise, in the free language choice, community holds the most unrestricted control over their language use choices. The influences at the Free Level come from within and control of them rests with the people themselves.

In our modern societies, language planning confronts a situation wherein human rights have become inclusive in theory but remain exclusive in practice, often deploying languages or language varieties as pretexts for exclusion (<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>). Language planning “as an activity whereby goals are established, means are selected and outcomes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner” in order to provide solution to language problems (Rubin, 1971, p. 217). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3), “language policy is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned language change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities.”

2.1.4 Language contact

Language serves as an appropriate medium of interaction for society and society matrix in which the language is emerged so they show very close relationships. When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other. Matras (2009, p. i) states that “language contact occurs when speakers of different languages interact and their influence each other”. Weinreich (1953) takes the view of language contact as language communities in contact. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) also note that “languages are a product of, and a vehicle for, communication among people”, but as a counter-balance to others (they quote Derek Bickerton) who argue against social forces changing some level(s) of language.

Among the dimensions of language contact to consider are the ones related to the nature of the communities involved (which we will level as community), nature of the language being studied (language) and type of study.

Language contact occurs in a variety of phenomena, including patterns of language use, intergeneration transmission, and language maintenance. The most common products are code-switching and mixed language (language shift).

Table 2.1 presents a summary of the frameworks with different aspects of sociolinguistics.

Table 2:1: A summary of the frameworks with different aspects of sociolinguistics

	Major aspects of sociolinguistics	Major frameworks used in the study	Remarks
1.	Dialectal variations	Labov (1966) and (1972), Gumperz (1958) and Trudgill (1958)	Some aspects of this study follow William Labov's approach as well as Gumperz and Trudgill.
2.	Language attitude	Fasold (1984), Meyerhoff (2009), Agheyisi and Fishman (1970)	-
3.	Multilingualism and language choice	(Fishman 1978), Gal (1987), Decker and Grummitt (2012), and (Rubin 1971)	The language planning is not completely based on Rubin (1971), there is also mentioned theoretical concept inside the chapter.
4.	Language contact	Matras (2009), Weinreich (1953), and Thomason and Kaufman (1988)	-

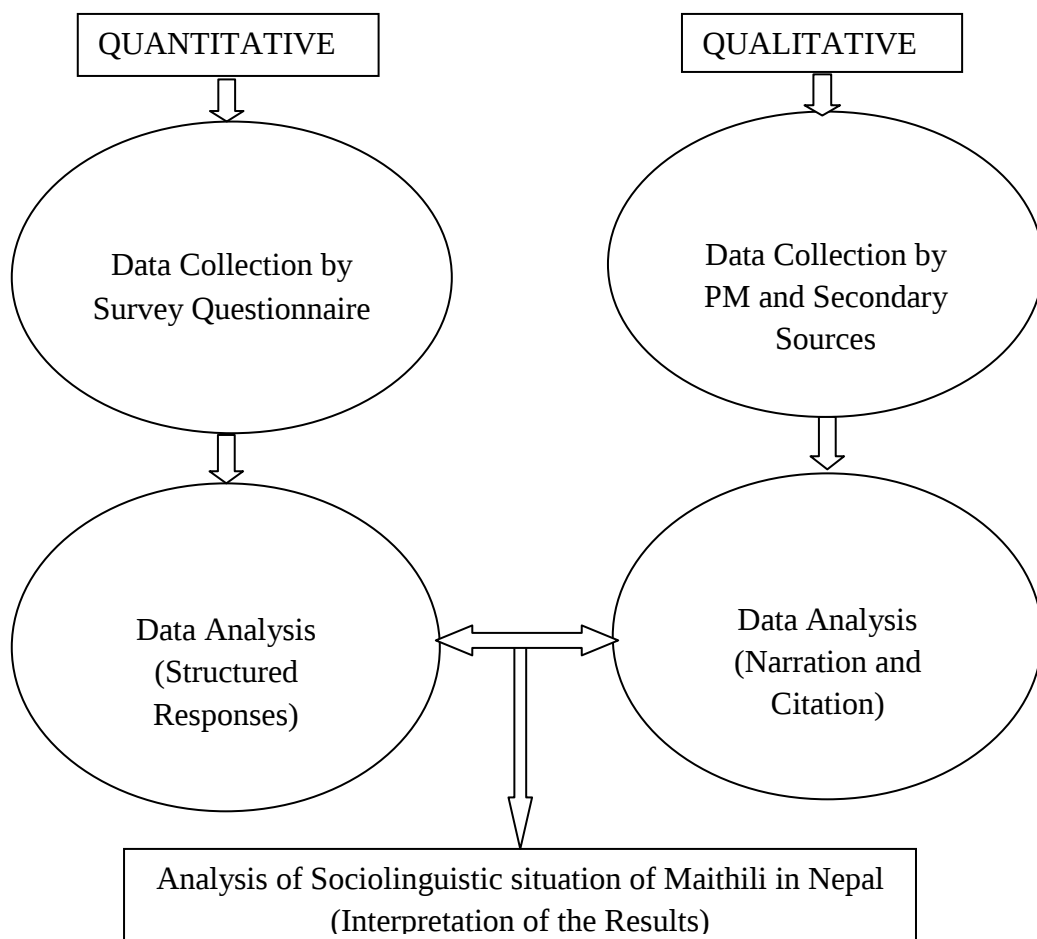
2.2 Research design

This is a field-based study. It has employed a mixed research design both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection based on purposive sampling. For the quantitative data we used interviews technique which is a part of quantitative research techniques. As this study is mainly based on the quantitative technique, the interview is essential as a data source. It is expected to provide reliable data in terms of variation and the social significance of natural everyday speech (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974 and Macaulay 1977). The Participatory Methods (PMs) as tools are used to collect qualitative data for this study follows the Hasselbring (2009)

approach¹. Basic sentences as tool is used to collect qualitative data to see syntactic variations in the sentences as well (Yadav 1996 and Yadava 1997). Moreover, spoken and elicited data are also used for acquiring qualitative data.

Diagram 2.1 briefly presents the conceptual framework to be employed for undertaking the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language:

Diagram 2.1: Conceptual framework



It is to be noted here that this study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. However, it primarily focuses on primary data, collected during the field survey.

¹ Hasselbring (2009) points out the first four tools (i.e. Domains of Language Use, Bi/Multilingualism, Dialect Mapping and Appreciative Inquiry) helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language whereas this tool helped them think about future possibilities.

2.2.1 Methods of gathering data

Five tools/methods were employed to gather data in this study. The pilot study² has shown that relying on one tool does not provide sufficient and reliable data. As one source might provide controlled, and thus comparable data, while the other source is more spontaneous. The choice of interview is essential to collect spontaneous data, while participatory methods are used to provide controlled data which could easily be compared between social groups. The questionnaires are based on the social reaction towards language. Among the questionnaires, three sets of questionnaires are developed in the proposal for Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2008)³, and two are developed by the researcher himself. Each prepared list of questions in the questionnaire was designed to allow interviewers to gather information regarding specific sociolinguistic issues. The full questionnaires can be found in Annexes 3 (a-d). The questionnaires were written in both English and Nepali; however, Nepali and Maithili were the languages used for all interviews. Table 2.1 lists the objectives of the study and their relevant method(s) to be employed to help to fulfill them. Each of these methods/tools is described in detail in (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e).

² All the tools were verified by a pilot study conducted in southeastern Tarai region among the Maithili speech community in 2016 and modified before they were administered in the research field. Pre-testing of tools helped to remove the questions that were not relevant to the objectives and coverage of the study. It also strengthened the research' data collection skills. For piloting the tools, the researcher surveyed 12 respondents and conducted one PM including 3 personal interviews.

³ Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LinSuN) was conducted under the auspices of the Central Department Linguistics, Tribhuvan University and National Planning Commission, Government of Nepal from 6th March 2009 to 9th January 2018. Its main goal was to produce a sociolinguistic profile for each of the languages of Nepal that includes a mapping of languages and dialects.

Figure 2.1: Overview of the study objectives and tools

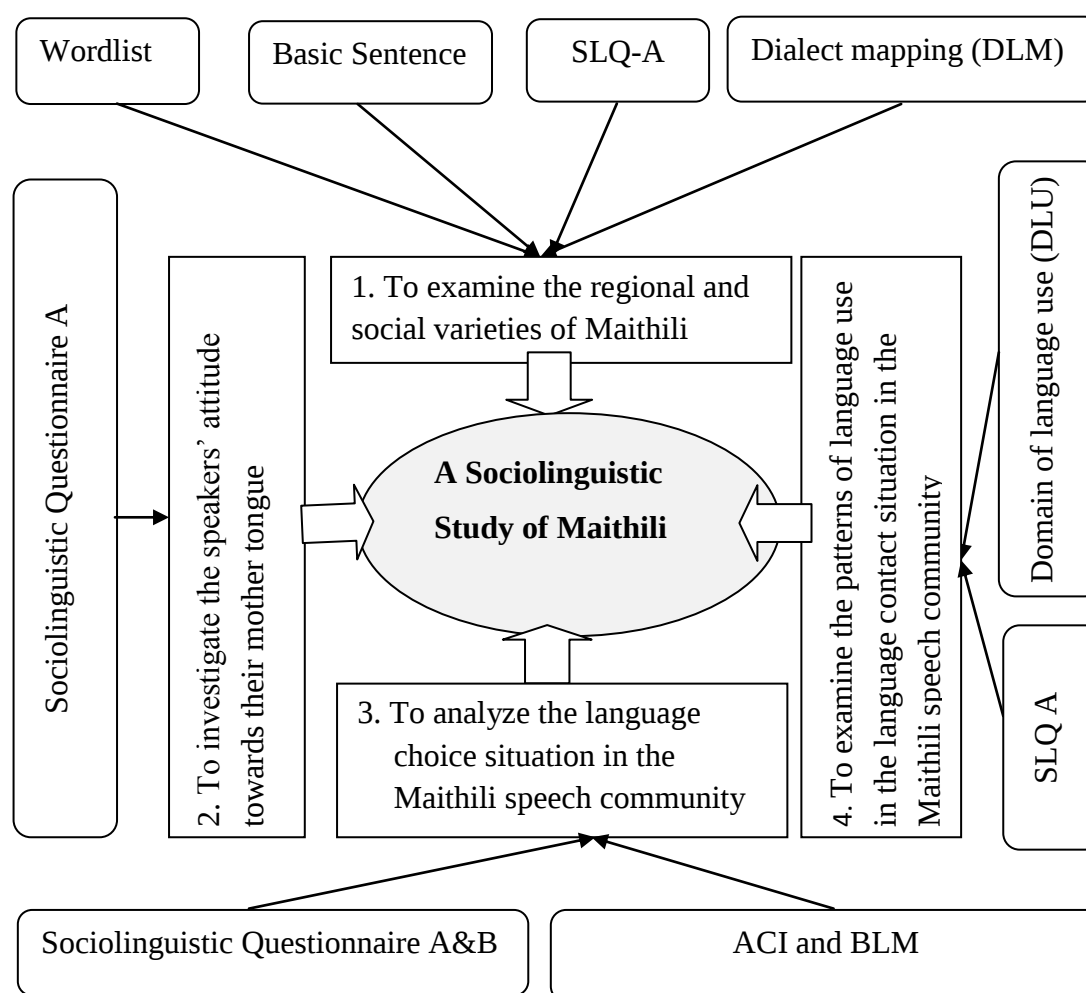


Figure 2.1 shows that the objectives of the study and their relevant tools consist of Wordlist, Basic Sentence (BS), Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ), and Participatory Method (PM). The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire (SLQ) consists of two sets: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B. Participatory Method (PM) comprises four tools: Domains of Language Use (DLM), Bi/Multilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI).

(a) Wordlist

The standardized 405 wordlist has been used to study the degree of lexical similarity among the speech varieties. This wordlist is primarily based on 210 wordlist used by Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2008). Besides, the wordlist also owes to the wordlist (Abbi, 2001). In order to find out the similarity of different speech varieties, there have been proposed various methods. The guideline which is outlined by Blair (1990, pp. 31-32) has been used.

(b) Basic sentences

A basic sentence is one of the tools which is designed to find out the syntactic variation in the language. It includes some sentences based on S-V and S-O-V order. In addition, it also includes participial constructions, honorifics after names, case markings, and conjunctions (Yadav, 1996 & Yadava, 1997).⁴

(c) Sociolinguistic questionnaire A (SLQ A)

Sociolinguistic questionnaire (A) is one of the most important tools to collect various types of sociolinguistic information. This set, consisting of 115 questions, intended to be administered to the individuals of the speech community. The main purpose of this set is to gather information from the individuals about the dialect variation, language attitudes, multilingualism, language development, the subjects of language use, language vitality, language maintenance and language shift. The opinions from the individuals are often influenced by factors such as location, education, age and sex (LinSuN, 2008).

(d) Sociolinguistic questionnaire B (SLQ B)

This set contains 21 questions administered on language activist or head. The main purpose of this set of questions is to assess the language maintenance, language vitality and their attitudes towards their languages and their readiness for language development. This set was administered to at least two participants in each study point in Maithili (LinSuN, 2008).

(e) Participatory method

Participatory method is one of the best method in which the participants are involved to discuss in groups (Hasselbring, 2009). Participatory methods used during the field study are: Dialect Mapping (DLM), Bi/multilingualism (BLM), Appreciative Inquiry (ACI), and Domains of language use (DLU).

(i) Dialect Mapping (DLM)

This tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Maithili. The Maithili participants in group were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each village where Maithili is spoken and

⁴ This tool was designed myself.

placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. Then they were asked to use the loops of string to show which villages speak the same as others. Next they used the number to show the ranking from easiest to understand the most difficult. They are advised to use colored plastic to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

(ii) Bi/Multilingualism (BLM)

This tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in Maithili, Nepali and Hindi by different subsets of the Maithili community. In this community, Nepali is the most dominant language which is used for communicating with outsiders. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Maithili people who speak Maithili well and the other the Maithili people who speak Nepali and Hindi well. The overlapped area represents those who speak these languages well. The participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke Nepali well. For each group they also discussed whether they also spoke Maithili ‘well’ or not ‘so well’. Then they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Maithili people that spoke Maithili ‘well’. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

(iii) Appreciative Inquiry (ACI)

This tool was employed to gather information about the dreams and aspirations for the language the Maithili community members have in different survey points. In this tool, the participants were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud about their language or culture. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Maithili language and culture, express they “dream” about how they can make their language or culture even better. They were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

These tools helped the participants to verbalize things they have already known intuitively about their language whereas this tool helped them to think about future possibilities.

(iv) Domains of language use

This tool was employed in order to help the Maithili speakers to think about and visualize the languages which they speak in various situations. In this tool, the language participants discussed and thought about the situations in which they use the language of wider communication (LWC) and wrote them on pieces of paper. Then they wrote down the situations in which they use their mother tongue, Maithili and the situations in which they use both LWC and their mother tongue. After that, they were asked to place the labels LWC, Nepali/Hindi, and both LWC and Maithili. Then, they were asked to organize the labels in each category according to the situations which occurred daily and those occurred less than often. At last, the participants concluded by discussing if they would like to use each language in any other situations.

2.2.2 Data collection

This study employs sociolinguistic data. The sociolinguistic data was obtained from language informant by means of a structured questionnaire compiled by the researcher.

(a) Selection of the field site

We chose the data collection sites for this research particularly based on its core area. According to Census 2011 the Maithili language is largely spoken in the south-eastern Tarai region of Nepal.⁵ Its core areas consist of seven districts viz. Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, and Sarlahi. The distribution of Maithili (as mother tongue and second language) speaking people is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Distribution of Maithili speaking people in the seven districts

S.N.	Districts	Mother tongue	Second language
1.	Morang	2,28,215	21,531
2.	Sunsari	2,15,804	45,155
3.	Saptari	5,05,897	19,194
4.	Siraha	5,46,925	24,872
5.	Dhanusha	6,47,433	21,678
6.	Mahottari	5,06,696	22,646
7.	Sarlahi	1,63,537	29,474

Source: CBS (2012)

⁵ According to Yadava (2014, p. 56), Maithili speaking core areas are the 6 districts of the eastern and central Tarai (Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, and Sarlahi) while it occupies second position in Morang and Nawalparasi, and is also spoken significantly in the four central Tarai districts (Rautahat, Bara, Parsa and Rupandehi).

(b) Selection of the informants and location

The informants/respondents of the study belong to different social groups of the same Maithili speech community. This speech community is broadly grouped into two social strata Brahmin and Non-Brahmin.⁶ However, there exist striking variations among the Non-Brahmin. Thus, in this study, the Non-Brahmin has been further categorized into two sub-groups: Non-Brahmin 1 and Non-Brahmin 2. More specifically, Brahmin includes the castes (Bahun, Deo, Karn, kyasth, etc), Brahmin 1 includes the castes (Yadav, Sah, Mandal, Mahato, etc) and Brahmin 2 includes the castes (Ram, Das, Muhasar, Paswan, etc.). The researcher had himself been to all these places for data collection. The research is based on a sample population of 75 respondents of different sexes and different ages (15-60+) and of different levels of education. Of these 72 were Maithili speakers and 3 were non-Maithili speakers viz., Angika, Magahi and Bajjika. According to the Census of Nepal, 2011, Angika is spoken by 18,555 (0.07%) speakers as their mother tongue in the districts of Morang and Sunsari. Similarly, Magahi is the mother tongue of 35, 614 (0.13%) speakers. It is largely spoken in Dhanusha, Mahottari, Morang, Sarlahi, Sunsari, Saptari and Siraha districts. Likewise, Bajjika is the mother tongue of 793,416 (2.99%) speakers mainly spoken in Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahottari and Bara districts.

Table 2.3 shows the number of respondents selected from each of the sites.

Table 2.3: Distribution of the participants in the study

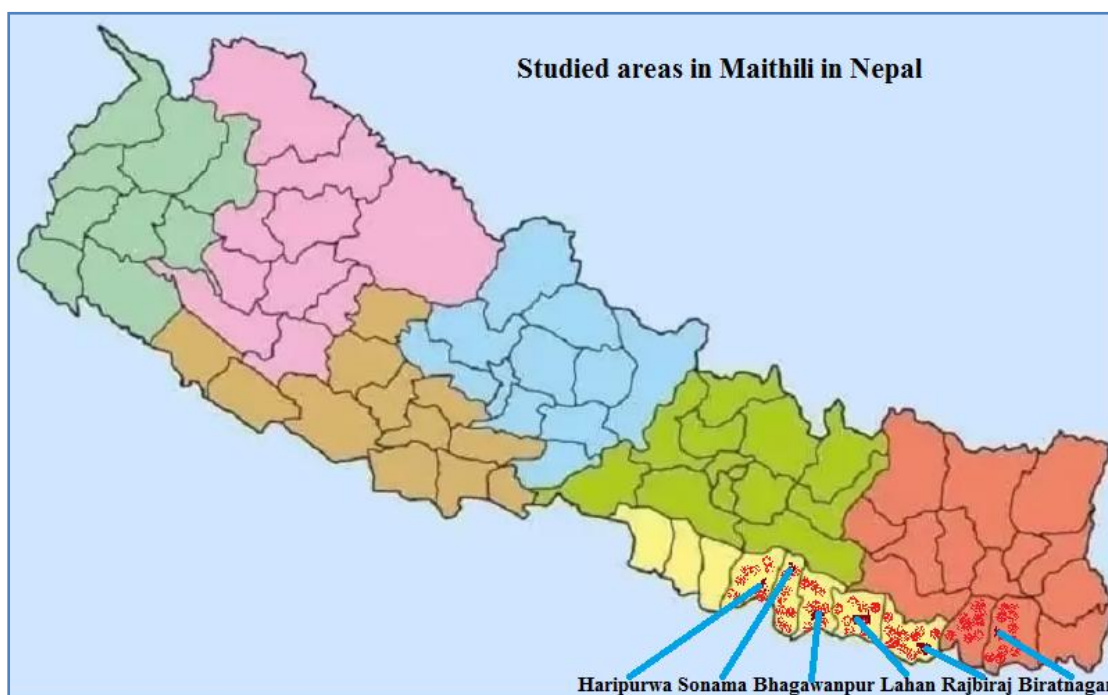
	Data points	Number of respondents	
		Maithili	Others
1.	Biratnagar, (Sunsari and Morang)	12	1, Angika
2.	Rajbiraj, Saptari	12	-
3.	Lahan, Siraha	12	-
4.	Bhagawanpur, Dhanusha	12	1, Magahi
5.	Sonama, Mahottari	12	-
6.	Haripurwa, Sarlahi	12	1, Bajjika
		Total=72	Total=3

Table 2.3 presents the selected six Maithili speaking areas including Sunsari. Moreover, it also presents the Angika, Magahi and Bajjika.

⁶ Basically, Brahmin seems to be a high variety of Maithili whereas Non-Brahmin 1 middle and Non-Brahmin 2 low variety of the language. In the government record, Non-Brahmin 1 and Non-Brahmin 2 lie OBC and Dalit category respectively.

Similarly, Map 2.1 presents the study implemented districts in Nepal.

Map 2.1: The locations of the study area in Maithili



Source: myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com

(c) Presentation and data analysis

The collected responses were organized in a computer database. They were analyzed using tables and figure whenever necessary.

The procedures for wordlist data entry and analyses through the use of Cog, a tool by SIL for comparing languages using lexicostatistics and comparative linguisticss techniques has been used.⁷ It is a very useful tool for automating much of the process of comparing word lists from different varieties. This tool further provides a framework for experimenting with different techniques for language variety comparison. It consists of three compontents: Input, Compare and Analyze. These components help to produce results by automating many of the steps of the word list comparison process. In short, there are seven steps for wordlist comparison: IPA-based segmentation (i.e., splitting words into segments automatically), syllabification (i.e., marking syllabes automaticaly), stem identification (i.e., identifying prefixes and suffixes so that they can be ignored during comparison), word alignment (i.e.,

⁷ http://www.sil.org/resources/software_fonts/cog OR <http://sillsdev.github.io/cog/>.
Previously, Wordsurv was used as a tool for comprison (Wimbish, 1989).

aligning segments between word pairs), sound correspondence identification (i.e., identifying sound correspondences and the environments in which they occur automatically), cognate identification (i.e., providing various methods for identifying cognates) and lexical/phonetic similarity (i.e., calculating lexical/phonetic similarity for multiple language varieties/languages).

To analyze the questionnaires (be developed later) SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences; a computer software) developed by Pallant (2005) in his 'SPSS Survival Manual' has been used. It is a Windows based program that can be used to perform data entry and analysis and to create tables and graphs. SPSS is capable of handling large amounts of data and can perform all of the analyses covered in the text. It is commonly used in the Social Sciences.

2.3 Ethical considerations

The issues of ethical consideration in sociolinguistic fieldwork have received surprisingly little direct attention in recent years. This term is well defined and discussed in Rice (2004). More specifically, the issues of choice of language informants, informed consent, disclosure of purpose of the study and source of funding and relations to indigenous communities, organization, individual consultants, and local scholars are the major concerned topics of ethical consideration. We made a co-operative and helpful relationship with speech communities concerning all of the above issues. As this is a field based study, the participants were selected based on the researcher's judgment. This was due to the potentially invasive nature of the research design and the explorative characteristics of the pilot study. Respondents were informed about the study and were required to give their oral consent for their participation. All participants gave informed oral consent to take part in the study. The following ethical guidelines were put into place for the research period:

1. The dignity and wellbeing of respondents was protected at all times.
2. The research data remained confidential throughout the study and the researcher obtained the respondents' permission to use their real names in the research study.

CHAPTER 3

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

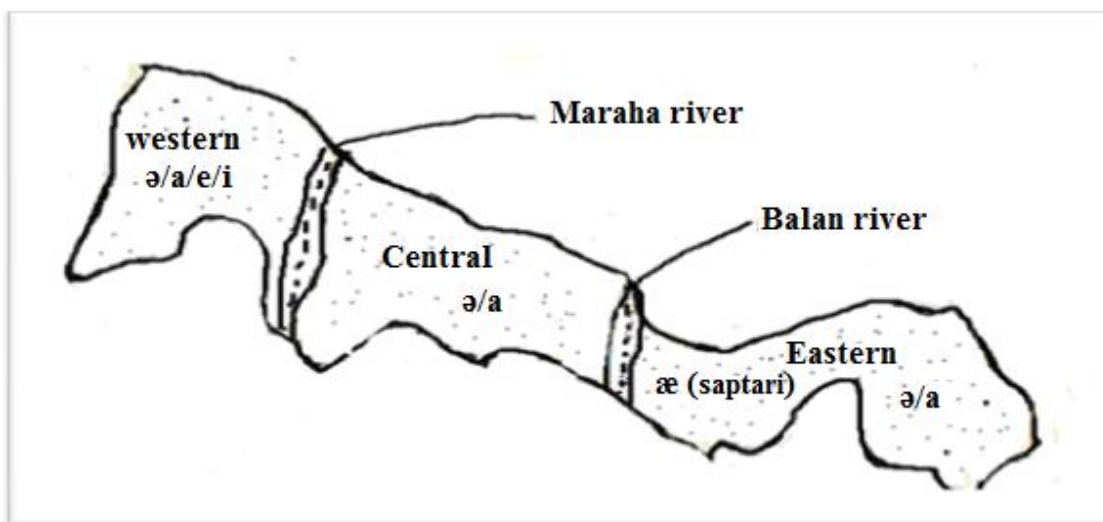
3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the regional variations in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon in Maithili.¹ It consists of five sections. In section 3.1, we analyze the regional variations at the phonological level in Maithili. In section 3.2, we look at such variations at the morphological level in the language. Section 3.3 looks at the variations at the syntactic level. In section 3.4, we deal with the variations at lexical level including lexical similarity and phonetic similarity. Section 3.5 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Phonological variation

Phonology is one of the crucial factors for the regional variations in Maithili. In this section, first of all, we present a tentative three isoglosses of the Maithili speaking area (see Figure 3.1) where majority of the Maithili speakers have been residing since ancient times. Then, we look at the variations in this area in the use of vowels.

Figure 3.1: Intersecting isoglosses in the Maithili speaking area



¹ Some intersecting isoglosses in the Maithili speaking area which is prepared by the researcher self based on the different concepts mentioned in the website (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Isogloss>).

Figure 3.1 shows three linguistic boundaries separated by two rivers (Balan River and Maraha River)² which differ with respect to some phonological features such as /ə/, /a/, /æ/, /e/ and /i/.

3.1.1 Eastern area

Maithili has two forms in the eastern area. They are attested form and innovated form. The innovation form is confined to its own area, while attested form is used throughout the Maithili speaking area. These levels are distinguished by different realization of phonological features such as /ə/, /a/ and /æ/. The following differences occur in some monosyllabic words, basically with CV canon. They are discussed as follows:

- (i) The mid central vowel /ə/ is found in the attested form of eastern area whereas the low front vowel /æ/ is found in the innovated form as in (1).

(1) /ə/ → /æ/

The examples are as follows:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(2) a.	<i>lə</i>	<i>læ</i>	‘take’
b.	<i>bhə</i>	<i>bhæ</i>	‘finish’
c.	<i>də</i>	<i>dæ</i>	‘give’
d.	<i>kə</i>	<i>kæ</i>	‘do’

Examples (2a-d) present the different realizations of the two vowels /ə/ and /æ/ in the eastern area. The mid central vowel /ə/ is generally found in the attested form whereas the low front vowel /æ/ is used in the innovated form. The frequency of /æ/ (as in innovated form) is very high in comparison to /ə/ in this region.

- (ii) In the attested form of eastern dialect, the low central vowel /a/ is used in some monosyllabic words. However, the low front vowel /æ/ is usually employed as the innovated form as in (3).

(3) /a/ → /æ/

² Balan River is a small river which is situated between Saptari district and Siraha district whereas Maraha River is situated between Mahottari district and Saralahi district.

Such examples are as follows:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(4) a.	<i>kha</i>	<i>khæ</i>	‘eat’
b.	<i>na</i>	<i>næ</i>	‘take bathe’

Like examples (2a-d), examples (4a-b) present the occurrence of two vowels /a/ and /æ/ in the attested form and innovated form of the language, respectively. In comparison to /a/, the low front vowel /æ/ is mostly used in this area.

3.1.2 Central area

Phonologically, Maithili has only one level in the central area. It is attested form. The following are the examples:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(5) a.	<i>lə</i>	<i>ø</i>	‘take’
b.	<i>bhə</i>	<i>ø</i>	‘finish’
c.	<i>də</i>	<i>ø</i>	‘give’
d.	<i>kə</i>	<i>ø</i>	‘do’
e.	<i>kha</i>	<i>ø</i>	‘eat’
f.	<i>na</i>	<i>ø</i>	‘take bathe’

3.1.3 Western area

Like eastern area, Maithili has two levels in the western area as well. They are attested form and innovated form. These levels are distinguished by different realization of some phonological features such as /ə/, /a/ and /e/. The following differences occur in some monosyllabic words, basically with CV canon. They are discussed as follows:

- (i) The mid central vowel /ə/ is found in the attested form of western area whereas the mid front vowel /e/ is found in the innovated form as in (6).

(6) /ə/ → /e/

Following are the examples:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(7) a.	<i>lə</i>	<i>le</i>	‘take’
b.	<i>bhə</i>	<i>bhe</i>	‘finish’
c.	<i>də</i>	<i>de</i>	‘give’
d.	<i>kə</i>	<i>ke</i>	‘do’

It is to be noted here that the mid central vowel /ə/ is substituted by the mid front vowel /e/ in this area.

(ii) The low central vowel /a/ is found in the attested form of western area whereas the mid front vowel /e/ and high front vowel /i/ is found in the innovated form respectively as in (8).

(8) /a/ → /e/ and /i/

The examples are as follows:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(9) a.	<i>kha</i>	<i>khe</i>	‘eat’
b.	<i>na</i>	<i>ne/ni</i>	‘take bath’

In example (9a), the attested form has /a/ and innovated form has /e/. However, the frequency of /e/ is high in this area. In addition, example (9b) shows that in the place of /e/, /i/ is also used in the western area as the innovated form. However, it is rarely used.

On the basis of the preceding list of phonological differences, Maithili may regionally be divided into three regional dialects. They are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Regional dialects of Maithili on the basis of phonological differences

Vowels	Eastern dialect	Central dialect	Western dialect
ə	√	√	√
a	√	√	√
æ	√	×	×
e	×	×	√
i	×	×	√

Table 3.1 shows the regional variations of the Maithili language based on the different realizations of some phonological features such as /ə/, /a/, /æ/, /e/ and /i/. The two vowels /ə/ and /a/ are generally found in the attested form of the language which is used throughout the Maithili speaking area. However, the vowel /æ/ is usually used in the innovated form, confined to its own area, only in the eastern area and vowels /e/ and /i/ are used in the innovated form in the western area.

3.2 Morphological variation

Like phonology, morphology is another important factor for the regional variations in Maithili. In this section, at first, we present the basic auxiliary verbs as the reference for looking at the morphological variations in the language as well as a tentative three isoglosses of the Maithili speaking area (see figure 3.2). Then, we analyze the variations in the use of auxiliary verbs and pronouns.

3.2.1 Auxiliary verbs

According to Yadav (1996, p. 217), the auxiliary verb in Maithili is *ch-* ‘to be’ which has a large number of suppletive stem alternants as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: List of Maithili auxiliary verbs

ch-	present tense	past tense	future tense
	ch-	ch-	ho-
	<i>əich</i>	<i>rəh-</i>	<i>rəh-</i>
	<i>thik</i>	-	-
	<i>h-</i>	-	-

Source: Yadav (1996, p. 217)

Table 3.2 presents the list of auxiliary verbs used in the Maithili language. Among them *ch*-forms are quite regular and systematic in their distribution. They are used in present and past tense forms-both honorific and nonhonorific. Consider the following examples:

- (10) *həm ch-i* (Yadav, 1996, p. 218)
1SG AUX-PRS-(1)
‘I am.’
- (11) *əhã ch-əl-əhũ*
You (H) AUX-PST-(2H)
‘You were.’
- (12) *tõ ke ch-e?*
2SG (NH) who AUX-PRS-(2NH)

Examples (10-12) present the different use of auxiliary verbs in the both honorific and nonhonorific Maithili sentences.

3.2.2 Maithili speaking areas

Maithili speaking area may be tentatively divided into three areas to look at the morphological variations in the language. It is presented as in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Intersecting isoglosses in the Maithili speaking area

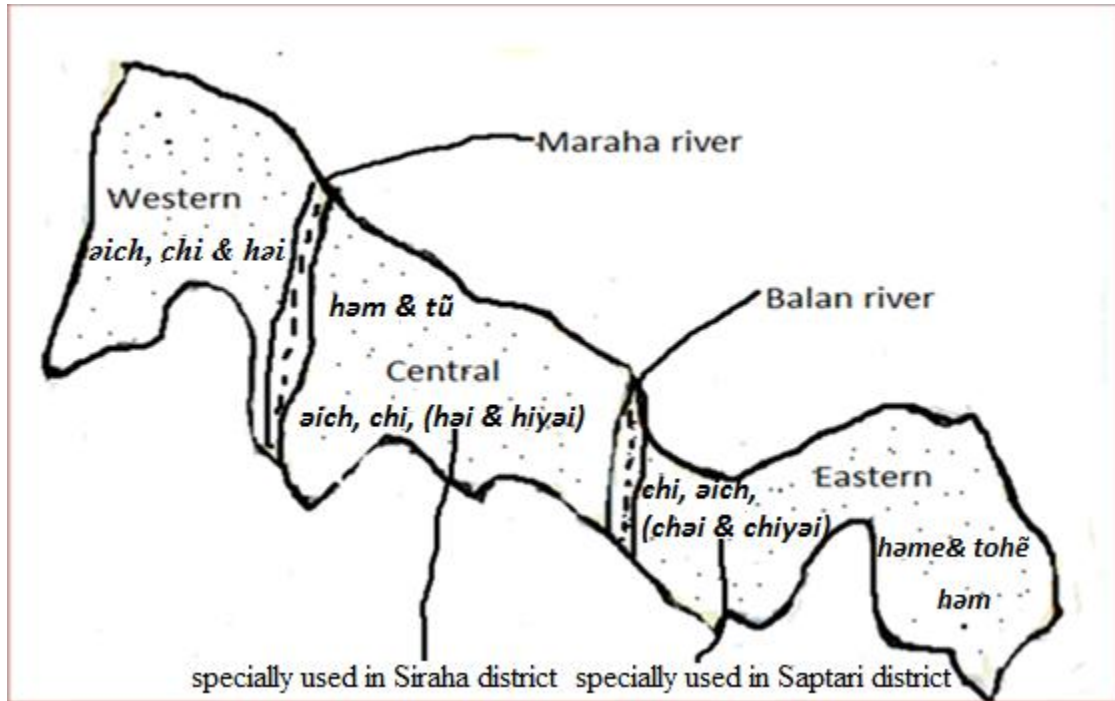


Figure 3.2 shows three linguistic boundaries separated by two rivers (Balan River and Maraha River) which differ with respect to the use of auxiliary verbs (*chāi*, *chiyāi*, *hāi* & *hiyāi*) and, pronouns (*hām* and *tohē*).

3.2.3 Eastern area

Within the eastern area, Maithili exhibits a number of interesting examples of variations in the domains of auxiliary verbs and pronouns. They are discussed as follows:

- (i) The consonant *ch* in auxiliary verb –*āich*, and –*chi*, is used in the attested form whereas *chāi*/and *chiyāi* is used in the innovated form as in (13).

(13)	Attested form	Innovated form
	<i>chi/āich</i>	<i>chāi/chiyāi</i>

Some examples are as follows:

- (14) a. Attested form
həm kisan chi
 həm kisan ch-i
 1SG farmer AUX-PRS-(1)
- b. Innovated form
həm kisan chiyəi
 həm kisan ch-iyəi
 1SG farmer AUX-PRS-(1)
 ‘I am a farmer.’
- c. Attested form
ṭebul pər kələm əich
 ṭebul pər kələm əi-ch
 table on pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
- d. Innovated form
ṭebul pər kələm chəi
 ṭebul pər kələm ch-əi
 table on pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘There is a pen on the table.’

In examples (14a) and (14c), the attested form has the auxiliary verbs *chi* and *əich*. In examples (14b) and (14d), the innovated form has the auxiliary verbs *chiyəi* and *chəi* which is mostly used in the Saptari district; both are therefore part of the eastern area.

(ii) *həm* ‘1SG’ and *tõ/tũ* ‘2SG’ a personal pronoun, is commonly used by all the Maithili speakers residing in Nepal. However, *həme* ‘I’ and *tohẽ* ‘you’ are considered as old forms. They are still broadly used in the eastern area as in (15).

(15) *həme/tohẽ* → *həm/(tõ/tũ)*

The examples are as follows:

- (16) a. *həm vidyarthi chi*
 həm vidyarthi ch-i
 1SG student AUX-PRS-(1)
- b. *həme vidyarthi chiyəi*
 həme vidyarthi ch-iyəi
 1SG student AUX-PRS-(1)
 ‘I am a student.’

- c. *tõ/tũ* *ke* *che?*
 tõ/tũ *ke* *ch-e?*
 2SG (NH) who AUX-PRS-(2NH)
- d. *tohẽ* *ke* *chi?*
 tohẽ *ke* *ch-i?*
 2SG (NH) who AUX-PRS-(2NH)
- ‘Who are you?’

Examples (16a-b) present the different use of *həm* and *həme* whereas examples (16c-d) present the different use of *tõ/tũ* and *tohẽ*.

3.2.4 Central area

Within the central area, the consonant *ch* in auxiliary verb *-əich*, and *-chi*, is used as the attested form whereas *həi/* and *hiyəi* is used as the innovated form as in (17).

- (17) **Attested form** **Innovated form**
 chi/əich *həi/ /hiyəi*

Some examples are:

- (18) a. Attested form
 ṭebul pər kələm əich
 ṭebul pər kələm əi-ch
 table on pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
- b. Innovated form
 ṭebul pər kələm həi
 ṭebul pər kələm h-əi
 table on pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘There is a pen on the table.’
- c. Attested form
 həm kisan chi
 həm kisan ch-i
 1SG farmer AUX-PRS-(1)
 ‘I am a farmer.’
- d. Innovated form
 həm kisan hiyəi
 həm kisan h-iyəi
 1SG farmer AUX-PRS-(1)
 ‘I am a farmer.’

In examples (18a) and (18c), the attested form has the auxiliary verbs *chi* and *əich*. In examples (18b) and (18d), the innovated form has the auxiliary verbs *həi* and *hiyəi*. Among them, *hiyəi* is specially used in the Siraha district of the central area.

3.2.5 Western area

In the central area, the consonant *ch* in auxiliary verb *–əich*, and *–chi*, is used in the attested form whereas *həi* is used as the innovated form as in (19).

(19)	Attested form	Innovated form
	<i>chi/əich</i>	<i>həi</i>

Following are the examples:

- (20) a. Attested form

<i>ṭebul</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>kələm</i>	<i>əich</i>
<i>ṭebul</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>kələm</i>	<i>əi-ch</i>
table	on	pen	AUX-PRS-(3NH)

b. Innovated form

<i>ṭebul</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>kələm</i>	<i>həi</i>
<i>ṭebul</i>	<i>pər</i>	<i>kələm</i>	<i>h-əi</i>
table	on	pen	AUX-PRS-(3NH)

‘There is a pen on the table.’

c. Attested form

<i>həm</i>	<i>kisan</i>	<i>chi</i>
<i>həm</i>	<i>kisan</i>	<i>ch-i</i>
1SG	farmer	AUX-PRS-(1)

‘I am a farmer.’

In examples (20a) and (20c), the attested form has the auxiliary verbs *chi* and *əich*. In example (20b), the innovated form has the auxiliary verbs *həi*, which is mostly used in the western area of Mahottari and Sarlahi districts as in central area.

On the basis of the preceding list of morphological differences, Maithili may regionally be divided into two major regional dialects including western area. They are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Morphological differences between the three dialects

	Eastern dialect	Central dialect	Western dialect
Auxiliary			
<i>chi/əich</i>	√	√	√
<i>chəi</i>	√	×	×
<i>chiyəi</i>	√	×	×
<i>həi</i>	×	√	√
<i>hiyəi</i>	×	√	×
Personal pronouns	-	-	-
<i>həm, tō/tũ</i>	√	√	√
<i>həme/ tohẽ</i>	√	×	×

Table 3.3 shows the regional variations of the Maithili language based on the different use of auxiliary verbs (*chəi*, *chiyəi*, *həi* & *hiyəi*) and, pronouns (*həme* and *tohẽ*). The auxiliary verb *chi/əich* is used throughout the Maithili speaking area. However, the *chəi/chiyəi* usually used in the innovated form, confined to its own area, only in the eastern area whereas as the auxiliary very *həi* is used in the innovated form both in the central and western area. But, the auxiliary verb *hiyəi* is used in the innovated form only in the central area. Similarly, the personal pronouns *həm* (I) and *tō/tũ* (you) pronoun, is commonly used by all the Maithili speakers residing in the study area. However, *həme* (I) and *tohẽ* (you) are considered as old forms. They are still broadly used in the eastern area.

3.3 Syntactic variation

Maithili regionally varies in the domain of syntax too. The basic unmarked word order of the constituents of the clauses in Maithili is SOV. However, OSV, OVS, VSO, VOS and SVO are also fairly attested. Maithili exhibits some intersecting examples of variations (see Figure 3.3) in the sentences.

Figure 3.3: Intersecting isoglosses in the Maithili speaking area

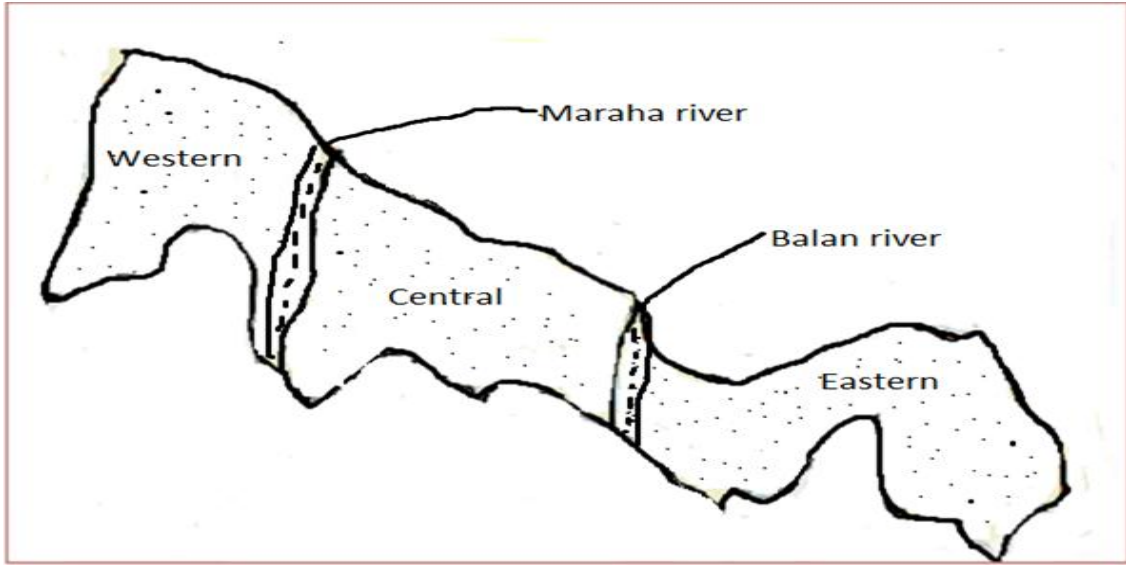


Figure 3.3 shows three linguistic boundaries separated by two rivers (Balan River and Maraha River) which differ with respect to syntactic variations.

Consider the following examples:

- (21) a. *həm am kinəb* SOV
 həm am kin-əb
 1SG mango buy-FUT-(1)
 b. *am həm kinəb* OSV
 ‘I will buy a mango.’
 c. *am kin-əb həm* OVS
 mango buy-FUT-(1) 1SG
 d. *kin-əb həm am* VSO
 buy-FUT-(1) 1SG mango
 e. *kin-əb am həm* VOS
 buy-FUT-(1) mango 1SG
 f. *həm kin-əb am* SVO
 1SG buy-FUT-(1) mango

3.3.1 Eastern area

There are two types of sentences found in the eastern area of the Maithili speaking area of Nepal. It is presented as in (22).

- (22) a. Attested form
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>okra</i> | <i>duṭa</i> | <i>bəkri</i> | <i>chəik</i> |
| ok-ra | du-ṭa | bəkri | ch-əik |
| 3NH-ACC/DAT | two-CLF | goat | AUX-PRS-(3NH) |
- ‘He has two goats.’
- b. Innovated form
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>okra</i> | <i>duṭa</i> | <i>bəkri</i> | <i>chəi</i> |
| ok-ra | du-ṭa | bəkri | ch-əi |
| 3NH-ACC/DAT | two-CLF | goat | AUX-PRS-(3NH) |
- ‘He has two goats.’

The examples (22a) presents a sentence which is used by Maithili speakers as attested form whereas (22b) presents the sentence which is used as innovated form. However, both sentences are being used in the eastern area.

3.3.2 Central area

In central area, there are two types of sentences found in the Maithili language. It is presented as in (23).

- (23) a. Attested form
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>okra</i> | <i>duṭa</i> | <i>bəkri</i> | <i>chəik</i> |
| ok-ra | du-ṭa | bəkri | ch-əik |
| 3NH-ACC/DAT | two-CLF | goat | AUX-PRS-(3NH) |
- ‘He has two goats.’
- b. Innovated form
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>okra</i> | <i>duṭa</i> | <i>bəkri</i> | <i>həi</i> |
| ok-ra | du-ṭa | bəkri | h-əi |
| 3NH-ACC/DAT | two-CLF | goat | AUX-PRS-(3NH) |
- ‘He has two goats.’

The examples (23a) and (23b) present the sentences differently used by the Maithili speakers living in the central area. Example (23a) presents the sentence used as attested form in this area whereas (23b) presents the sentence used as innovated in the same area.

3.3.3 Western area

There are two types of sentences found in the western region of the Maithili speaking area of Nepal. It is presented as in (24).

- (24) a. Attested form
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>okra</i> | <i>duṭa</i> | <i>bəkri</i> | <i>chəik</i> |
| ok-ra | du-ṭa | bəkri | ch-əik |
| 3NH-ACC/DAT | two-CLF | goat | AUX-PRS-(3NH) |
- ‘He has two goats.’
- b. Innovated form
- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>okra</i> | <i>duṭa</i> | <i>bəkri</i> | <i>həi</i> |
| ok-ra | du-ṭa | bəkri | h-əi |
| 3NH-ACC/DAT | two-CLF | goat | AUX-PRS-(3NH) |
- ‘He has two goats.’

It is to be noted here that the examples (24a) and (24b) are the sentences used in the western area as in the central area.

On the basis of the preceding list of syntactic differences, Maithili may regionally be divided into two major regional dialects: eastern and western dialects.

3.4 Lexical variation

Lexical variation is one of the key aspects of regional variations which help us to determine the lexical differences between the words spoken the different places in the region. This is the case of Maithili where speakers of the Maithili speaking area (see Figure 3.4) show some variations in some words from those of the outskirts. In this section, first of all, we present evaluation criteria as the reference for looking at the lexical similarity in the words (405 wordlist). Then, we look at the variations in some words in general and with COG³, a tool for comparing languages using lexicostatistics and comparative linguistics techniques. It can be used to automate much of the process of comparing wordlists from different language varieties.

³ http://www.sil.org/resources/software_fonts/cog OR <http://sillsdev.github.io/cog/>. Previously, Wordsurv was used as a tool for comparison (Wimbish, 1989)

Figure 3.4: Intersecting isoglosses in the Maithili speaking area

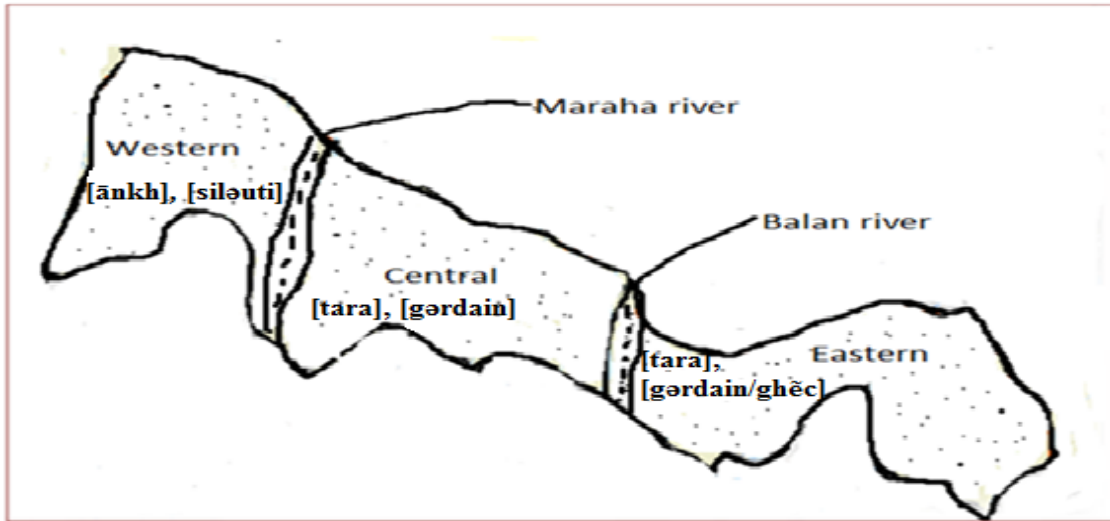


Figure 3.4 shows three linguistic boundaries separated by two rivers (Balan River and Maraha River) which differ with respect to lexical words. Among them some lexical words we have mentioned in this figure such as *ānkh*, *siləuti*, *tara* and *gərdain/ghêc*.

3.4.1 Evaluation criteria

Setting criteria for the evaluation of the lexical similarities exhibited by the languages or dialects is not an easy task. Table 3.4 presents some criteria for the evaluation of lexical similarity in the language under comparison (Blair, 1990, pp. 26-33 and Regmi, 2015, p. 125).

Table 3.4: Evaluation criteria

	Lexical similarity %	Evaluation	Remarks
1.	60% similarity	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
2.	Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	
3.	60% or more similarity	Different languages or dialects of the same language	
4.	Higher than 85% similarity	Speech varieties likely to be related dialects	
5.	Higher than 95% similarity	Same language	

Generally, in the literature, the 60% has been used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity. The 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using this method, the speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different languages and varieties.

3.4.2 Wordlist comparison in general

(I) Most of the lexical items are commonly used in the eastern dialect; however, some lexical words are different as well. Consider the following examples:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(25) a.	<i>ānikh</i>	-	‘eye’
b.	<i>tāregān</i>	<i>tara</i>	‘star’
c.	<i>silaut</i>	-	‘mortar’
d.	<i>ghēt</i>	<i>gārdain/ghēc</i>	‘neck’

It is to be noted here that the lexical item *tara* ‘star’ is commonly used in the eastern area however *tāregān* ‘star’ is a attested form. In addition, the lexical item *gārdain/ghēc* ‘neck’ is used by the majority of the Maithili speakers of the eastern area but the attested form is *ghēt*. It may be the influence of the Hindi language (Decker and Grummitt, 2012, pp. 115-116).

(II) Most of the lexical items are commonly used in the central dialect; however, some lexical words are different as well. Consider the following examples:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(26) a.	<i>ānikh</i>	-	‘eye’
b.	<i>tāregān</i>	<i>tara</i>	‘star’
c.	<i>silaut</i>	-	‘mortar’
d.	<i>ghēt</i>	<i>gārdain</i>	‘neck’

Like in eastern area, the lexical items *tara* ‘star’ and *gārdain* are commonly used by the Maithili speakers.

(III) Most of the lexical items are commonly used in the western dialect; however, some lexical words are different as well. Consider the following examples:

	Attested form	Innovated form	
(27) a.	<i>ānikh</i>	<i>ānkh</i>	‘eye’
b.	<i>tāregān</i>	-	‘star’
c.	<i>silaut</i>	<i>silauti</i>	‘mortar’
d.	<i>ghēt</i>	-	‘neck’

Examples (27a) and (27c) show that the lexical items *ānikh* ‘eye’ and *silaut* ‘mortar’ are commonly used in the eastern area and central area whereas in the western area the case is different. In this area *ānkh* and *silauti* are commonly used instead of *ānikh* and *silaut*.

The different realizations of lexical items lead us to summarize that Maithili has regionally three dialects as in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Lexical differences between three dialects

Lexicon	Eastern	Central	Western
<i>ānikh</i>	<i>ānikh</i>	<i>ānikh</i>	×
<i>ānkh</i>	×	×	√
<i>ghēt</i>	√	√	√
<i>silaut</i>	√	√	×
<i>silauti</i>	×	×	√
<i>tara</i>	√	√	×
<i>gārdain/ghēc</i>	√	×	×

Table 3.5 shows the regional variations of the Maithili language based on lexical words used in these areas. The lexical words *ghēt* is generally found in the attested form of the language which is used throughout the Maithili speaking area. However, the lexical words *ānikh*, *ghēt*, *silaut* and *tara*, is used in the eastern area and central area, whereas *ānkh* and *silauti* is only used in the western area. And the lexical word *gārdain/ghēc* is only used in the eastern area.

3.4.3 Wordlist comparison in detail

Here, we compare and analyze the 405 wordlist⁴ (data collected from three social groups, viz. *Brahmin*, *Non-Brahmin1* and *Non-Brahmin 2*) of Maithili speaking people. In this section, first, we look minutely at lexical and phonetic similarity matrix and their evaluation on the basis of the criteria set in Table 3.4. Then, we present the hierarchical and network relations, and global correspondences of these varieties.

(I) Lexical similarity matrix

Lexical and phonetic similarity is determined by calculating the percentage of words used by different members of the same speech community (Blair, 1990, p. 3). In linguistics, generally a lexical similarity of 1 (or 100%) is meant to be a total overlap between vocabularies, where 0 means there are common words in the languages or dialects under question (Regmi, 2015, p. 125).

Table 3.6 presents the lexical similarity matrix of the Maithili language spoken in the three regions: eastern, central and western regions in Tarai.

Table 3.6: Lexical similarity matrix (in %)

	MBB	SBHB	SJMNB2	SKNB1	SHB	SHNB1	MGNB2	DHKNB1	SHNB2
MBB		90	90	84	86	82	86	85	84
SBHB	90		88	85	83	83	84	83	84
SJMNB2	90	88		94	90	87	86	88	85
SKNB1	84	85	94		88	88	86	87	87
SHB	86	83	90	88		93	90	87	86
SHNB1	82	83	87	88	93		90	89	89
MGNB2	86	84	86	86	90	90		89	88
DHKNB1	85	83	88	87	87	89	89		87
SHNB2	84	84	85	87	86	89	88	87	

⁴ The wordlist collected from different area based on different social groups are named Morang, Biratnagar, Brahmin (MBB), Saptari, Jaumani Madhepura, Non-Brahmin2 (SJMNB2), Saptari, Kachan, Non-Brahmin1 (SKNB1), Siraha, Bhagwanpur, Brahmin (SBHB), Dhanusha, Kisanpur, Non-Brahmin1 (DHKNB1, Mahottari, Gaushala, Non-Brahmin2 (MGNB2), Sarlahi, Haripurwa, Brahmin (SHB). Sarlahi, Haripurwa, Non-Brahmin1 (SHNB1), Sarlahi, Haripurwa, Non-Brahmin2 (SHNB2).

Table 3.6 shows the lexical similarity percentages between nine wordlists collected in different places near the eastern, central and western Maithili speaking area of Tarai. The most important percentages to observe are those between the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin wordlists. In an attempt to control for possible caste-related dialect differences in the Maithili speaking area, three wordlists were collected from three dialects area based on the social groups, viz., Brahmin, Non-Brahmin1 and Non-Brahmin 2. There is 82% to 94% lexical similarity among the three dialects. Moreover, the lexical similarity percentages of the word list gleaned in the eastern dialect range from 84% to 90%. Such similarity percentages range from 83% to 90% in the central dialect whereas in the western dialect, the similarity percentages range from 86% to 93%.

(a) Hierarchical relations

The collected data from different places in the Maithili speaking area based on the three social groups present an interesting picture of relationships among themselves. Such picture may be presented as hierarchical relations. The analyzed results of a comparison given in Table 3.6 may be visualized by a hierarchical graph. Such graph displays the genetic relatedness of languages varieties based on computed lexical similarity. Such relatedness can be displayed either a dendrogram, a hierarchical graph which displays the rooted trees or a tree. There are two methods for computing the tree: UPGMA (Unweighted Pair Group Method with Arithmetic Mean) and Neighbor-joining. The UPGMA method, which has been used extensively in bioinformatics and comparative linguistics to construct a rooted tree based on a pair-wise similarity matrix, is a simple agglomerative (bottom-up) hierarchical clustering method. In this method at each step, the nearest two clusters are combined into a higher-level cluster.

Figure 3.5: Lexical similarity (clustering method: UPGMA) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree

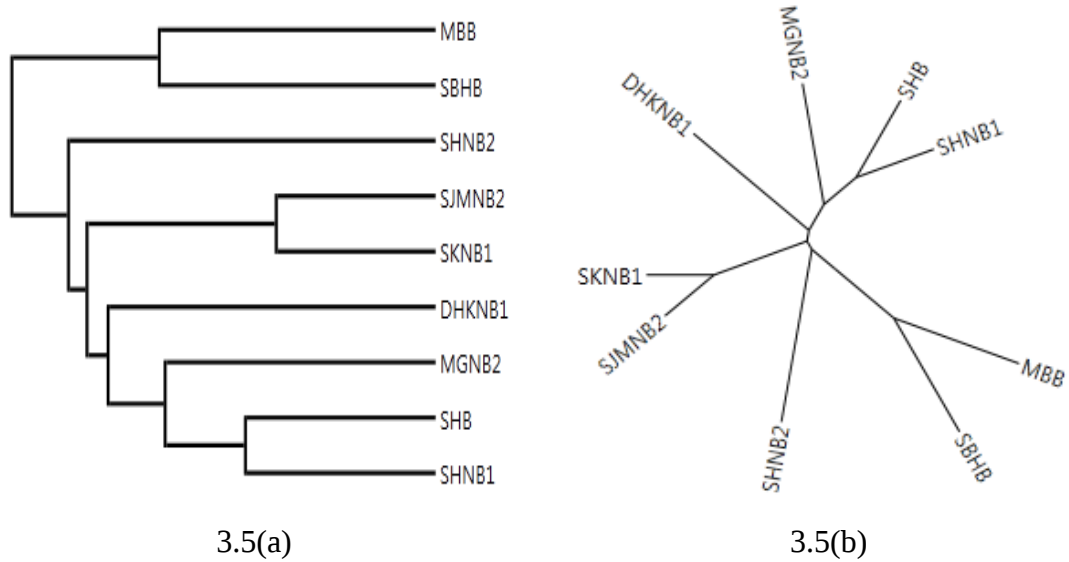


Figure 3.5 shows that two speech varieties of Maithili: Morang Biratanagar Brahmin (MBB) and Siraha Bhagawanpur Brahmin (SBB) are closer to each other than other varieties. Similarly, Sarlahi Haripurwa Brahmin (SHB) and Sarlahi Haripurwa Non-Brahmin1 (SHNB1) are very closer to each other.

Figure 3.6: Lexical similarity (clustering method: Neighbour-joining) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree

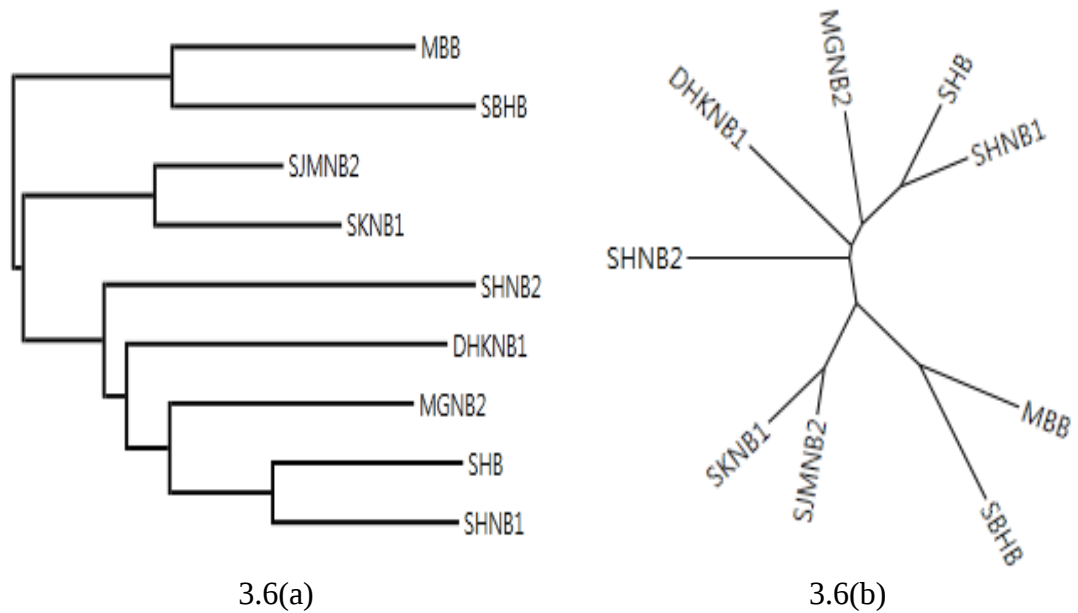
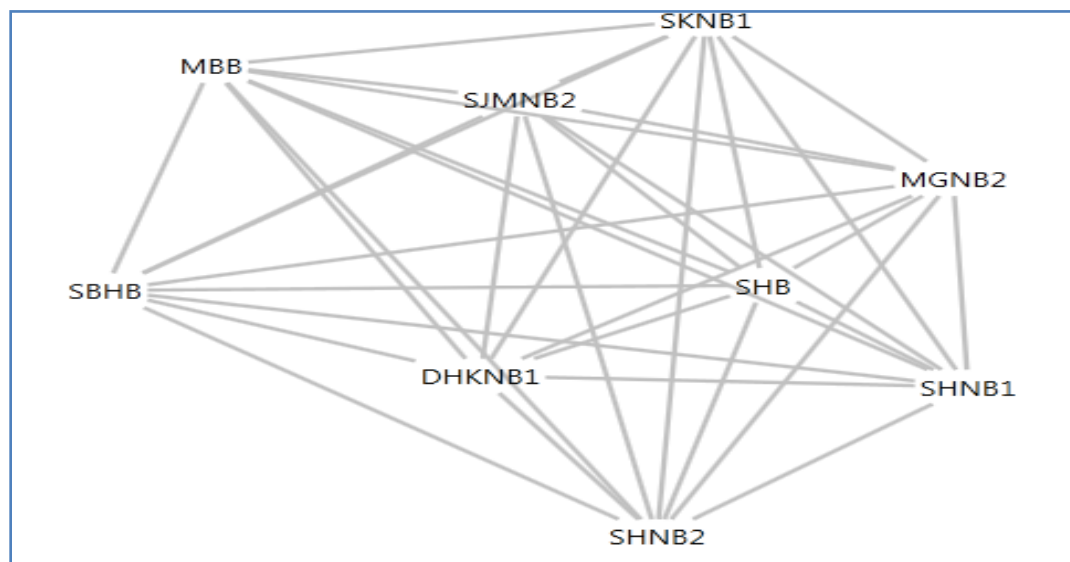


Figure 3.6 shows a little bit different situation in two speech varieties of Maithili: Morang Biratanagar Brahmin (MBB) and Siraha Bhagawanpur Brahmin (SBB) are closer to each other than other varieties. Similarly, Saptari Kachan Non-Brahmin1 and Saptari Jaumani Madhepura Non-Brahmin2 are closer to each other than other varieties. And rest of the very close varieties is SHB2, DKB1, MGB2, SHB and SHB1.

(b) Network relations

Maithili presents a complex network relationship among target social groups. Figure 3.7 presents the clusters of similar varieties at the lexical level (threshold 60%).

Figure 3.7: Lexical similarities network graph in Maithili



It is to be noted here that the (SJMNB2, SKNB1 and MBB), (SBHB and DHKNB1) and (SHB, SHNB1 and NGNB2) are near to each other regionally.

(II) Phonetic similarity matrix

Like lexical similarity, phonetic similarity is also determined by calculating the percentage of words used by different members of the same speech community. Unlike lexical similarity, phonetic similarity matrix, on the basis of phonetically similar sounds, assesses relatedness of the varieties under question. As in lexical similarity, phonetic similarity of 1 (or 100%) is meant to be a total overlap between segments, where 0 means there are no common sound segments in the dialects under question.

Table 3.7 presents the phonetic similarity matrix of the Maithili language used by three social groups.

Table 3.7: Phonetic similarity matrix (in %)

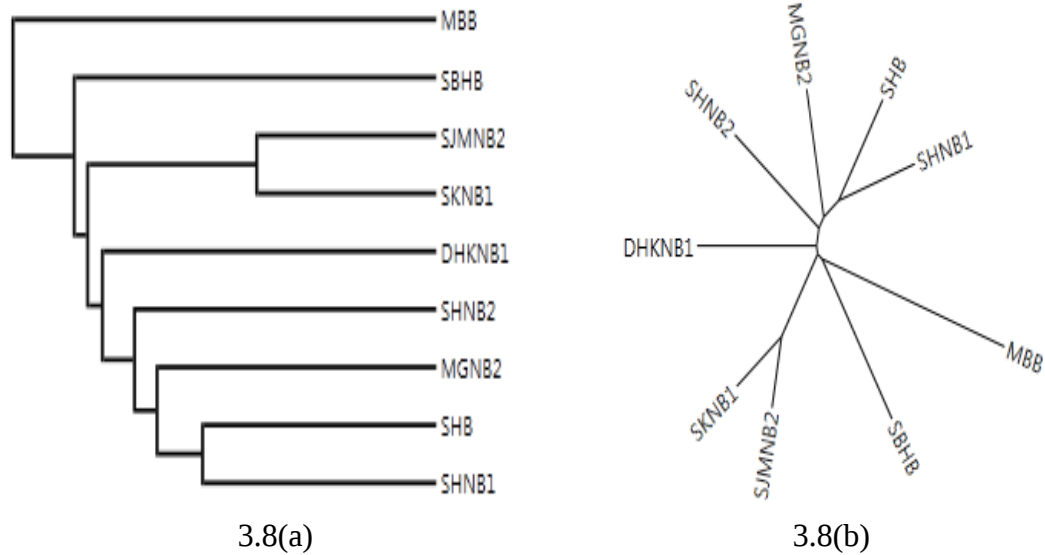
	MBB	SJMN2	SKNB1	SHB	SHNB1	SHNB2	MGNB2	DHKNB1	SBHB
MBB		86	85	83	82	81	80	83	86
SJMN2	86		93	87	86	86	83	85	86
SKNB1	85	93		88	87	86	85	87	86
SHB	83	87	88		91	86	89	85	86
SHNB1	82	86	87	91		89	89	87	85
SHNB2	81	86	86	86	89		89	87	86
MGNB2	80	83	85	89	89	89		88	85
DHKNB1	83	85	87	85	87	87	88		86
SBHB	86	86	86	86	85	86	85	86	

Table 3.7 presents the phonetic similarity percentages of the language spoken in the three different regions by different social groups. There is 83% to 86% phonetic similarity among the three dialects. Moreover, the phonetic similarity percentages of the word list gleaned in the eastern dialect range from 85% to 93%. Such similarity percentages range from 86% to 88% in the central dialect whereas in the western dialect, the similarity percentages range from 86% to 91%.

(a) Hierarchical relations

As at the lexical level, these speech varieties related to three regions (eastern, central and western) present interesting hierarchical relations among themselves. Such relationship may be presented by dendrogram and network graph. Figure 3.8 presents phonetic similarity (clustering method: UPGMA) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree.

Figure 3.8: Phonetic similarity (clustering method: UPGMA) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree



While using neighbor-joining technique of clustering method, we find a same picture of the relationship among the speech varieties.

Figure 3.9 presents phonetic similarity (clustering method: Neighbor-joining) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree.

Figure 3.9: Phonetic similarity (clustering method: Neighbour-joining) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree

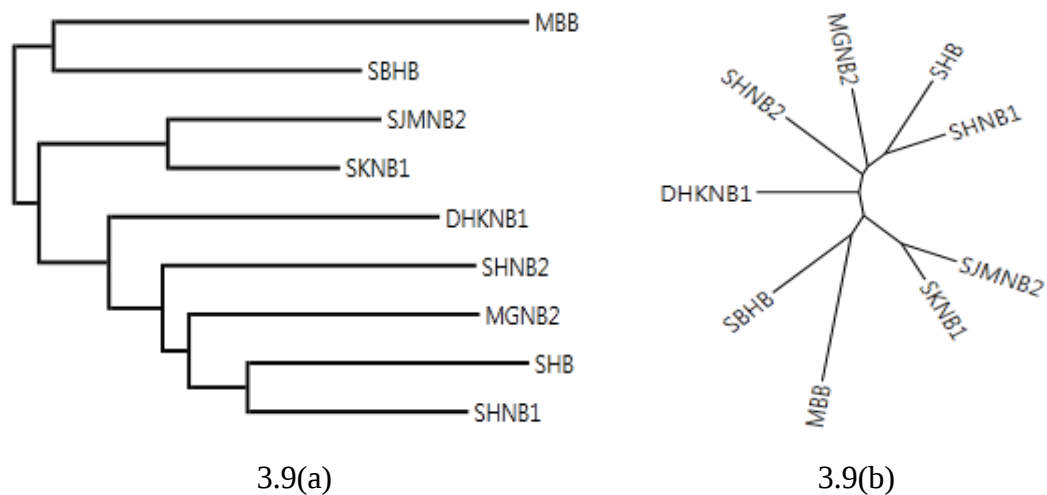


Figure 3.9 show almost the same phonetic similarity situation while using (clustering method: Neighbor-joining) matrix in hierarchical graph (a) dendrogram (b) tree

(b) Network relations

Figure 3.10 presents the clusters of similar the varieties at phonetic level (threshold 60%).

Figure 3.10: Clusters of similar varieties at phonetic level

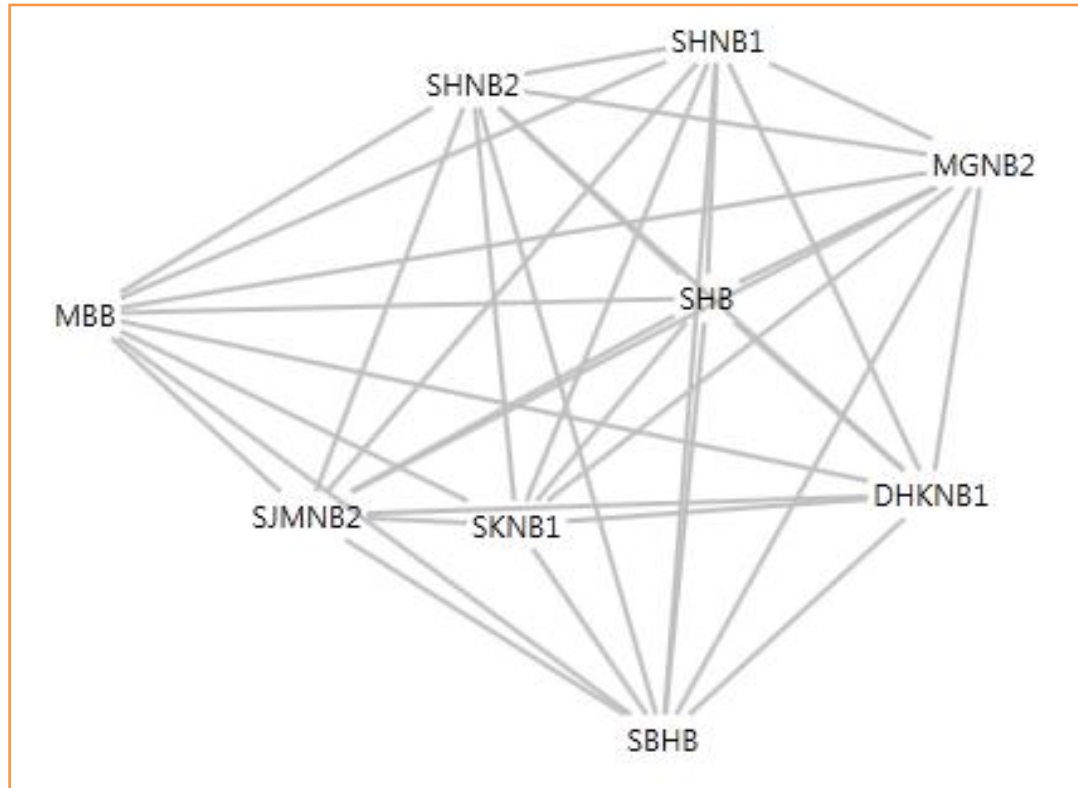
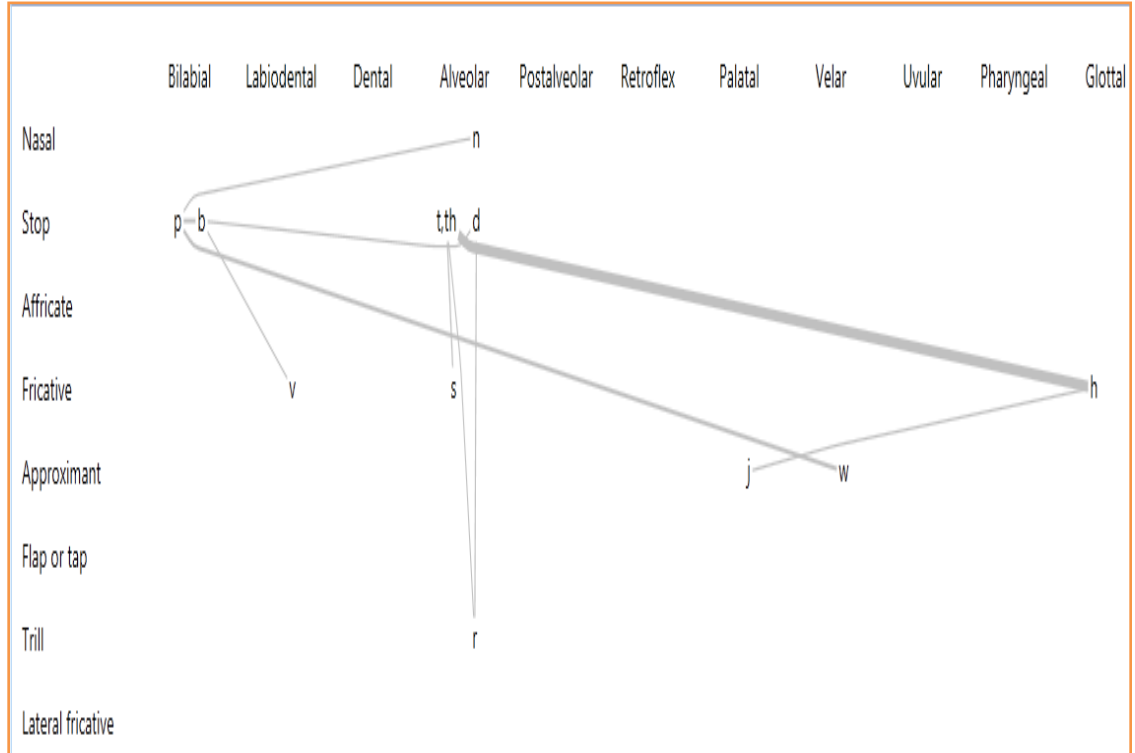


Figure 3.10 has shown all the nine reported speeches through the network graph under study. In this network graph, the similar varieties such as (SJMNB2, SKNB1 and MBB), (SBHB and DHKNB1) and (SHB, SHNB1 and NGNB2) are tending to cluster together. Moreover, the edges are drawn between varieties that meet specified similarity threshold.

(c) Global correspondences

In this study, we have tried to show the global correspondences at the onset position. The global correspondences diagram 3.1 displays all of the segments that occur in onset position across all wordlists collected from three dialectal areas based on the social groups: Brahmin and Non-Brahmin under comparison.

Diagram 3.1: Global correspondence of Maithili phonemes in onset positions



In diagram 3.1, the consonant segments that occur in onset position across the varieties are laid out by place of articulation and manner of articulation. In this chart, the edges indicate that at least one correspondence has occurred between those two segments. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences.

Similarly, diagram 3.2 presents the different phonemes in their nucleus position. A number of phonemes have occurred in the nucleus position i.e. IPA vowel chart (column headers are backness; rows are height of the tongue).

Diagram 3.2: Global correspondence of Maithili phonemes in nucleus positions

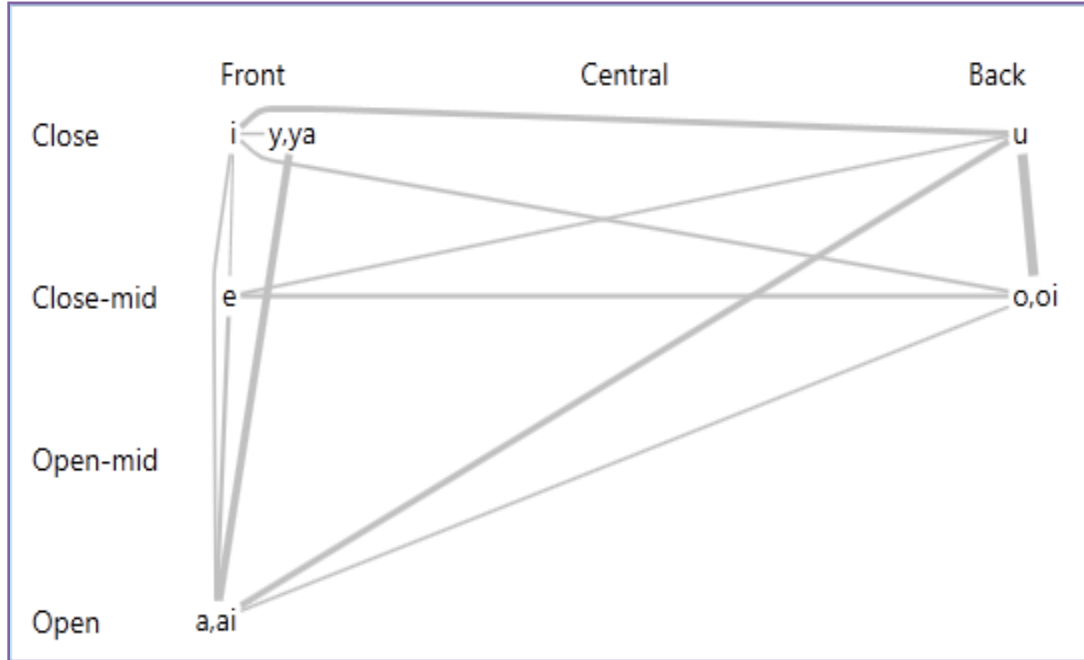


Diagram 3.2 shows the vowel phonemes of the Maithili language as spoken in the three dialectal areas: eastern, central and western in nucleus position of the syllables. The thickness of the edge indicates the number of correspondences.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have presented regional variations of the Maithili language as spoken particularly in the Tarai region of Nepal, in the districts of Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari and Sarlahi. We analyzed these variations in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. In Maithili, there are mainly three regional dialects: eastern dialect, central dialect and western dialect, but in some context we found only two regional dialects: eastern dialect and western dialect. The phonological features such as /ə/ and /a/ are commonly used in the attested form in the three dialects whereas /æ/ is used in the innovated form in the eastern dialect and, (/e/ and /i/) is used in the innovated form in the western dialect. The consonant *ch* in auxiliary verb-*əich*, and *-chi*, is used in the attested form in the three dialects whereas the auxiliary very /*chəi*/, /*chiyəi*/ is used in the innovated form in the eastern dialect (especially in the Saptari district), /*həi*/ and /*hiyəi*/ in the central dialect (especially in the Siraha district), and /*həi*/ in the western dialect as well. In the case of pronoun, /*həme/tohē* is only found in the eastern dialect as

an innovated form not found in the central and western dialect. In the syntactic level, there is only a little difference we found among the three regional dialects. *həm* ‘1SG’ and *tõ/tũ* ‘you’ a personal pronoun, is commonly used by all the Maithili speakers residing in Tarai. However, *həme* ‘I’ and *tohẽ* ‘you’ is considered as old form, is still broadly used in the eastern area. There is a little different we found in the syntactic level in the Maithili language spoken in the Tarai which is based on the auxiliary verb. The lexical similarity percentages of the word list gleaned in the eastern dialect range from 84% to 90%. Such similarity percentages range from 83% to 90% in the central dialect whereas in the western dialect, the similarity percentages range from 86% to 93%.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.0 Outline

This chapter attempts to investigate language attitudes in the Maithili speech community. It is organized into nine sections. Section 5.1 deals the general description about language and attitude. In section 5.2, we present Maithili speakers' attitudes towards the languages they speak. Section 5.3 investigates the feeling of the Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue. In section 5.4, we look at the problems of the Maithili speakers as native speakers of Maithili. Section 5.5 presents the differences in the use of language between two generations. In section 5.6, we deal with feeling about children's marriage with native and non-native speakers. Section 5.7 looks at the first language of the children. In section 5.8, we present the grandchildren's language. Finally, section 5.9 summarizes the major findings of the chapter.

5.1 Language and attitude

Maithili speech community is more or less a multilingual community.¹ In this community, Nepali and Hindi are languages of wider communication. However, most of the Maithili speakers can also speak Tharu, Bhojpuri and languages. In order to investigate the participants' attitude² towards their mother tongue and the other languages, 72 questions were posed.

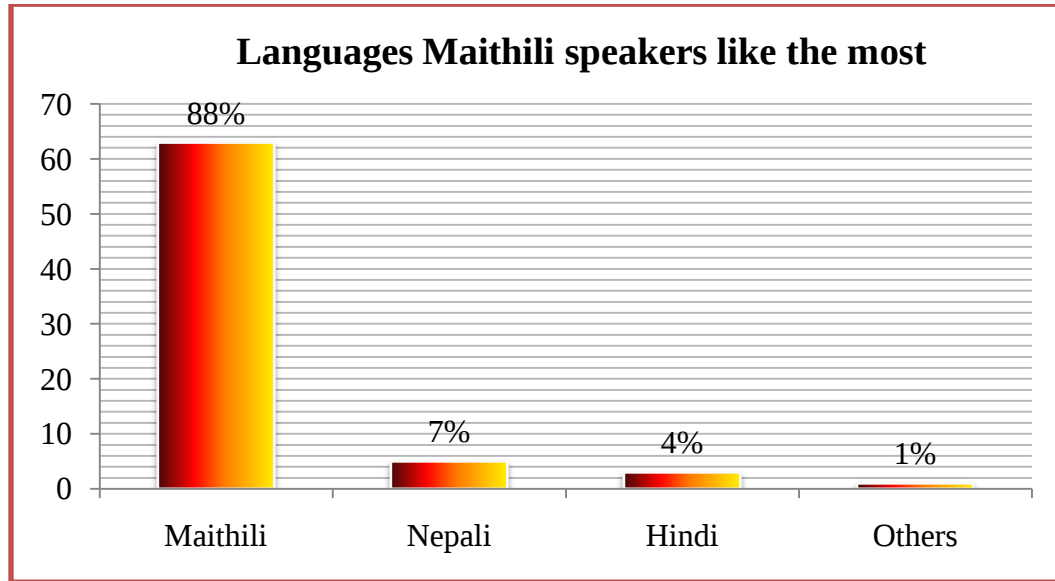
5.2 Maithili speakers' attitudes towards the languages they speak

The first question was asked regarding language attitudes, "Among the languages you speak, which do you like most?" Figure 5.1 presents the overall responses about the languages they like most.

¹ For details see chapter 6

² One of the methodological debates regarding the study of language attitudes concerns the use of direct and indirect methodology. In this study, we use direct methodology where the use of questionnaires, particularly those that offer written to 'open' questions, involves choosing or deciding rationally (Obiols 2002).

Figure 5.1: Languages they like most



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.1 shows among the languages that they speak around 88% respondents responded that they love their mother tongue (Maithili) the most; while 7% respondents responded that they love Nepali the most and 4% of the respondents responded that they love Hindi the most. However, rest of the (1%) respondents responded that they love others than Maithili, Nepali and Hindi.

Moreover, Table 5.1 (a-e) presents the distribution of the responses to what languages they love most by social groups, age, sex, and education.

Table 5.1a: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most by social groups (n=72)³

		Brahmin (n=24)	Non-Brahmin1 (n=24)	Non-Brahmin 2 (n=24)	Total
1.	Maithili	92%	88	84%	88%
2.	Nepali	4%	8%	8%	7%
3.	Hindi	4%	4%	4%	5%
4.	Thethi	-	-	4%	1%

Source: Field study (2016)

³ According to the national census 2011, Thethi is not a separate mother tongue. It is just an alternative name of Maithili language. Although some local people reported that Thethi is their mother tongue.

In terms of social groups, the percentage of Brahmin is slightly more than that of Non-Brahmin¹ and Non-Brahmin 2 in response to Maithili which they love most. However, of the total, 7%, 5% and 1% responded that they love Nepali, Hindi and Thethi respectively.

Table 5.1b: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most by age (n=72)

		Young (n=24)	Middle (n=24)	Old (n=24)	Total
1.	Maithili	79%	88%	96%	88%
2.	Nepali	17%	4%	-	7%
3.	Hindi	4%	8%	-	5%
4.	Thethi	-	-	4%	1%

Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of age, the percentage of old is more than that of the middle aged and young in response to Maithili which they love most. Similarly, the percentage of middle aged is more than that of the young in response to Maithili which they love most. However, in the case of Nepali and Hindi, a wider communication language, is different.

Table 5.1c: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most by sex (n=72)

		Male (n=36)	Female (n=36)	Total
1.	Maithili	83%	91%	88%
2.	Nepali	11%	3%	7%
3.	Hindi	6%	3%	5%
4.	Thethi	-	3%	1%

Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of sex, the percentage of female is more than that of male in response to Maithili which they love most. But in the case of Nepali and Hindi, a wider communication language, the situation seems to be different.

Table 5.1d: Distribution of the responses to what languages they love most by education (n=72)

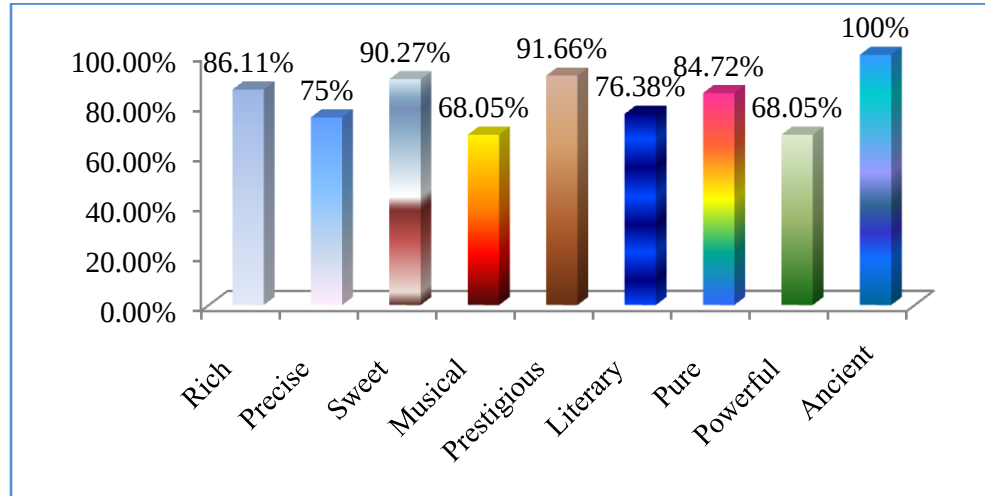
		Educated (n=48)	Uneducated (n=24)	Total
1.	Maithili	85%	92%	88%
2.	Nepali	11%	-	7%
3.	Hindi	4%	4%	5%
4.	Thet̪hi	-	4%	1%

Source: Field study (2016)

Like sex, the percentage of uneducated is more than that of educated in response to Maithili which they love most.

In order to understand the participants' attitudes towards their mother tongue and the other languages, first of all, the respondents were asked the reasons for using Maithili, their mother tongue. There are various responses from the different respondents which are presented in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Responses to why they like their mother tongue the most (n=72)



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.2 shows all the respondents said that their mother tongue, Maithili is ancient in comparison to other languages which are spoken by the respondents as well. More than 86% of the respondents said that their mother tongue is rich whereas 75% of the respondents said that their mother tongue is precise. Similarly, 90.27% of the respondents

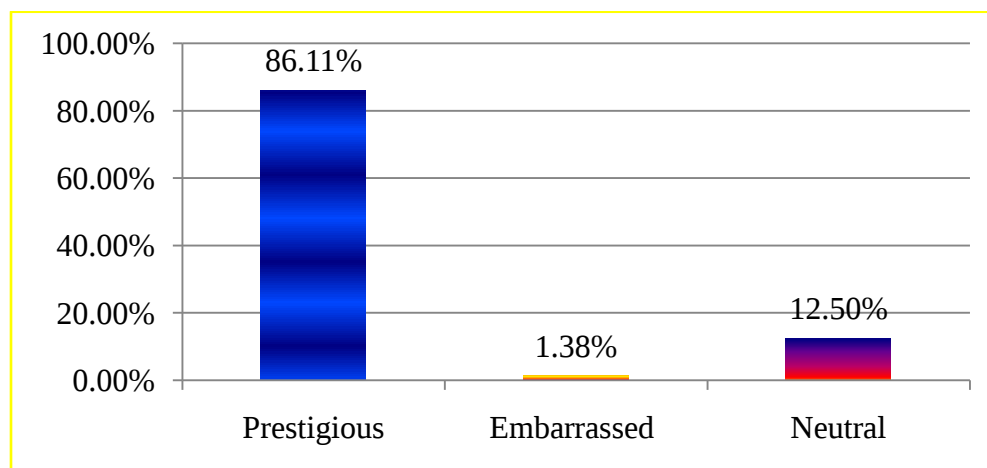
said that their mother tongue is sweet. Likewise, 68.05% respondents said that their mother tongue is musical (melodious) and 91.66% said that their mother tongue is more prestigious than other languages. Similarly, 76.38% of the respondents said that their mother tongue is literary whereas 84.72% of the respondents said that their mother tongue is pure. Moreover, 68.05% of the respondents said that their mother tongue is powerful in comparison to others.

Similarly, we asked the respondents about their reasons for using Nepali, the official and contact language of Nepal and Hindi, the lingua franca of the Tarai. The respondents responded that they could not get any opportunity without learning Nepali language. But in the case of Hindi, they responded that it is a language which is used for the wider communication. They indicated that without learning Hindi they won't be able to enjoy Hindi movies, find difficulty in bargaining, reading and working in India.

5.3 Feelings of the Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue

No doubt, Maithili speakers have very positive attitudes towards their mother tongue in general. In order to understand the respondents' attitudes towards their mother tongue, we asked people how they feel about speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. The result is presented in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Feelings of the respondents while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language (n=72)



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.3 shows 86.11% of the respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. Similarly, 12.5% respondents responded that they are neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. And rest of the 1.38% of the respondents responded that they feel embarrassed when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages.

Table 5.2 (a-d) presents the feelings of the respondents while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages, in terms of social groups, age, sex and education.

Table 5.2a: Feelings of the respondents while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language by social groups (n=72)

		Brahmin (n=24)	Non-Brahmin1 (n=24)	Non-Brahmin2 (n=24)	Total
1.	Prestigious	92%	88%	79%	86.11%
2.	Embarrassed	-	-	4%	1.38%
3.	Neutral	8%	12%	17%	12.5%

Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of social groups, 92% of the Brahmin respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and the 8% said that they feel neutral. Similarly, 88% of the Non-Brahmin1 respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and rest of the 12% said that they feel natural. Likewise, 79% of the Non-Brahmin2 respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while 4% said that they feel embarrassed and rest of the 17% replied that they feel neutral.

Table 5.2b: Feelings of the respondents while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language by age (n=72)

		Young (n=24)	Middle (n=24)	Old (n=24)	Total
1.	Prestigious	91.66%	87.5%	79.16%	86.11%
2.	Embarrassed	4.16%	-	-	1.38%
3.	Neutral	4.16%	12.5%	20.83%	12.5%

Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of age, more 91% of the young aged respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while the same percentage 4.16% said that they feel embarrassed and neutral. Similarly, more than 87% of the middle aged respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language and rest of the more than 12% said that they feel neutral. Likewise, more than 79% of the old aged respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while more than 20% said that they feel neutral.

Table 5.2c: Feelings of the respondents while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language by sex (n=72)

		Male (n=36)	Female (n=36)	Total
1.	Prestigious	92%	81%	86.11%
2.	Embarrassed	-	3%	1.38%
3.	Neutral	8%	16%	12.5%

Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of sex, 92% of the male respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while 8% said that they feel neutral. Similarly, 81% of the female respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while 16% said that they feel neutral and rest of the 3% said that they feel embarrassed.

Table 5.2d: Feelings of the respondents while speaking the mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language by education (n=72)

		Educated (n=48)	Uneducated (n=24)	Total
1.	Prestigious	94%	71%	86.11%
2.	Embarrassed	-	4%	1.38%
3.	Neutral	6%	25%	12.5%

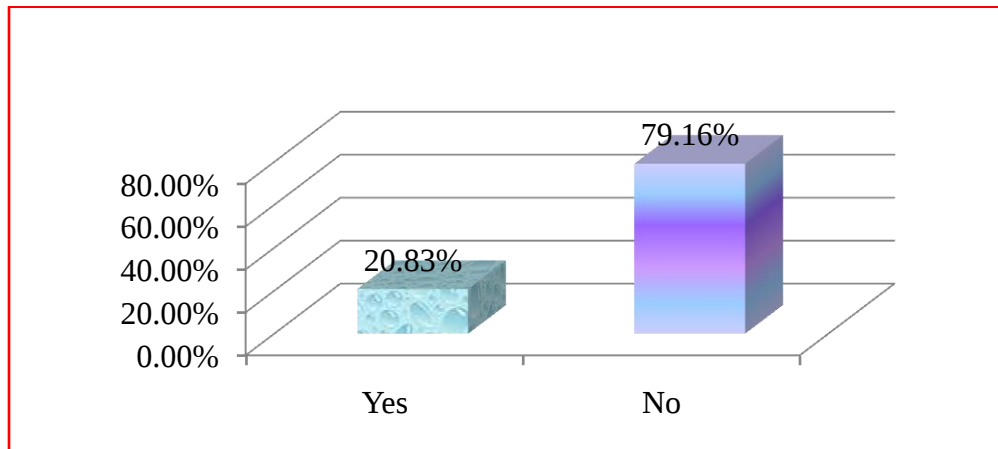
Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of education, 94% of the educated respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while 6% said that they feel neutral. Similarly, 71% of the uneducated respondents responded that they feel prestigious while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language while 25% said that they feel neutral and rest of the 4% said that they feel embarrassed.

5.4 Problems realized as a native speaker of Maithili

A set of questions were administered to the respondents in order to understand their problem as a native speaker of the Maithili language. Figure 5.4 presents the situation related to such responses.

Figure 5.4: Having problems as native speakers of Maithili

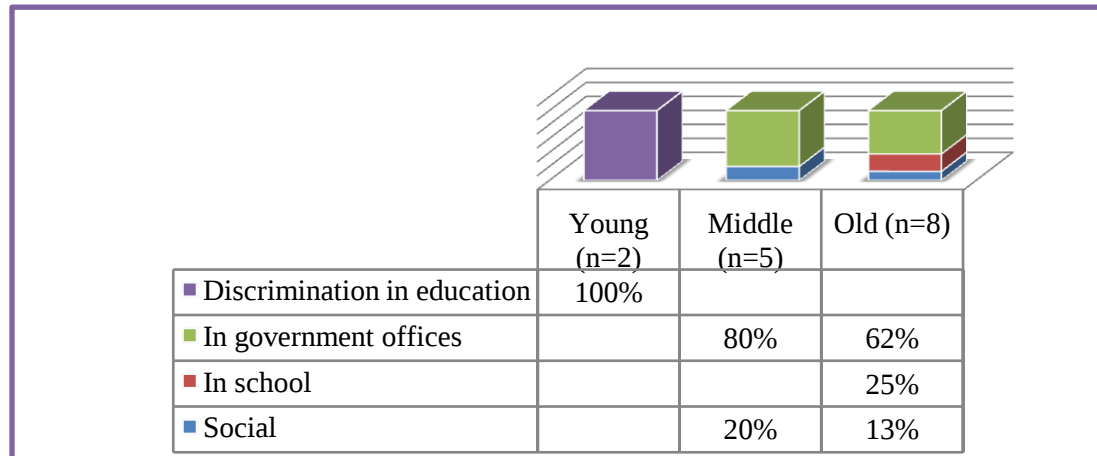


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.4 shows that most of the respondents had no problems because of being a native speaker of Maithili. Only 20.83% respondents said that they had some problems.

Regarding the question, ‘Have you had any problems as a native speaker of Maithili?’ 20.83% of the respondents said that ‘Yes’. Then we again asked question ‘if yes, what kind of problems have you ever had?’ Figure 5.5 presents the list of the problems and their frequencies.

Figure 5.5: Kinds of problems the respondents had because of being native speakers (n=15)



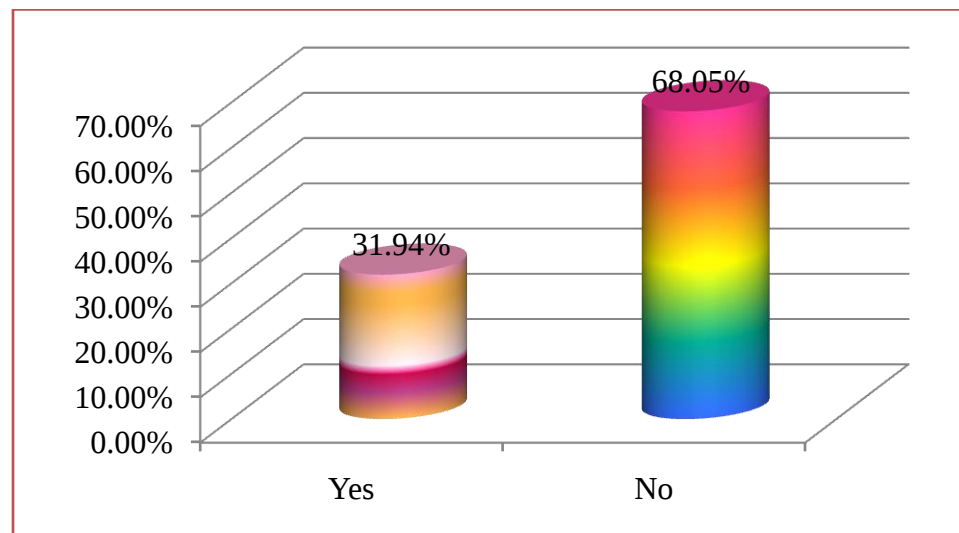
Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.5 show that all young respondents had only discrimination in education. They had problems to write and understand Nepali; therefore, they could not get good marks sometimes in the subject of Nepali either in school or in other fields. Similarly, most of the middle aged respondents reported that they had problems in government offices and only one had social problem. But in the case of old age people, the most of the respondents responded that they had problems in government offices as middle aged respondents are facing. However, some of them have problems in school and a very few have problems in social issues.

5.5 Differences in the use of language between two generations

The respondents when they were asked do they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandfather. Around 69% of the respondents said that the language spoken by them is not different from their grandfather’s language. Figure 5.6 presents the responses of the respondents to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandfather.

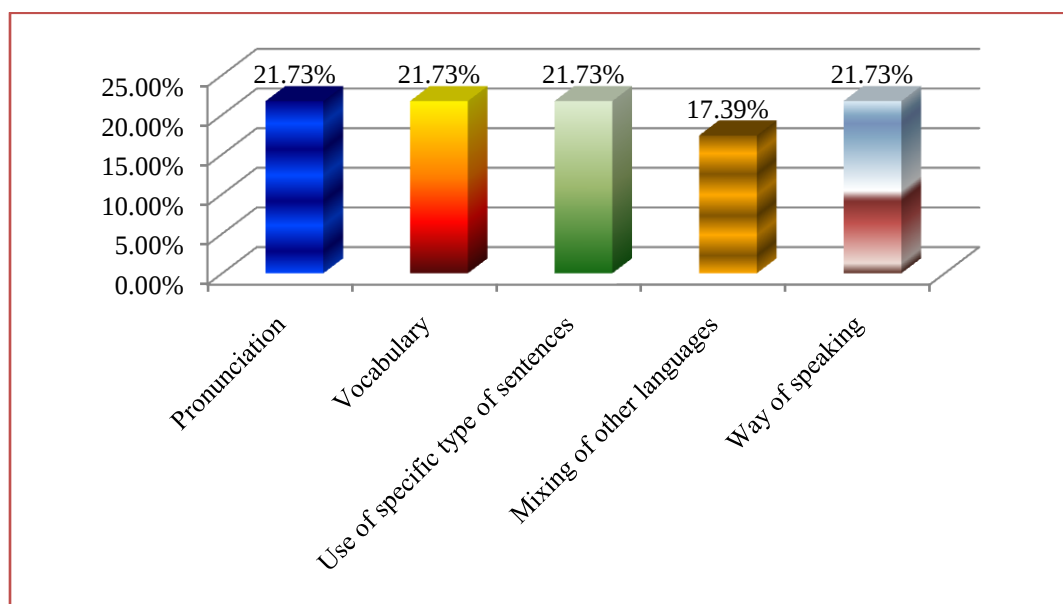
Figure 5.6: Responses to if they think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandfather's language (n=72)



Source: Field study (2016)

Those who replied that the language they speak is different from the language their grandfather used to speak were asked in what respects the language is different. Figure 5.7 presents how the language is different from their grandfather.

Figure 5.7: The changing factors of language

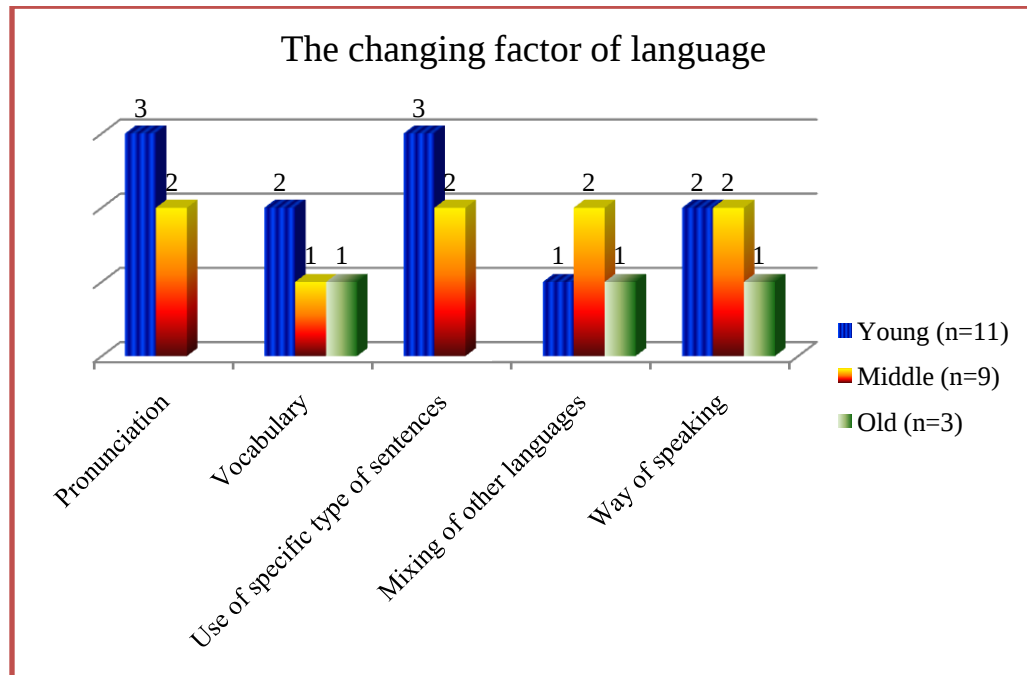


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.7 shows that more than 21% of the respondents said that the language is different with respect to pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific type of sentences and the way of speaking whereas around 18% of the respondents said that the language is different because it is being impacted by other languages.

Moreover, figure 5.8 presents changing factors of the language by age.

Figure 5.8: The changing factors of language by age



Source: Field study (2016)

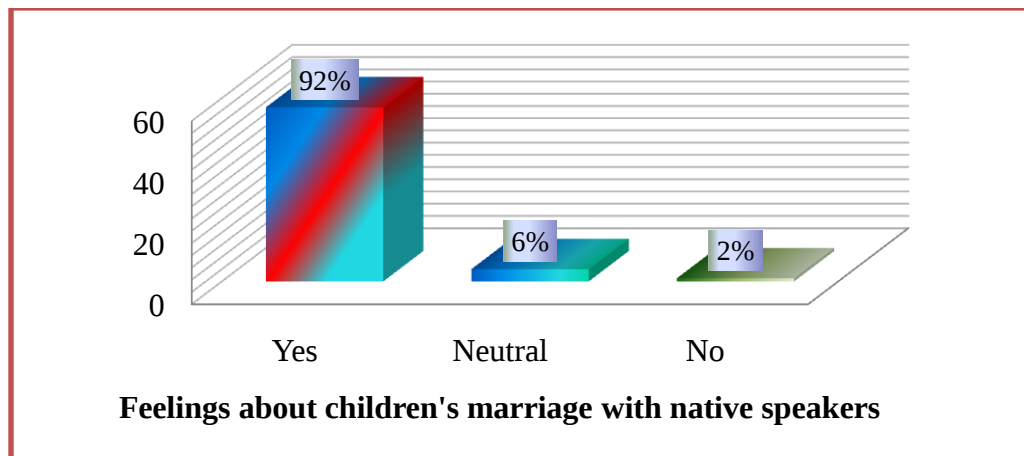
Figure 5.8 shows that out of the total respondents from Maithili speech community who said that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, more than 27% speakers of young age responded that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in pronunciation and the use of specific type of sentences. Likewise, more than 18% respondents said that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in the use of vocabulary and way of speaking. Rest of the more than 9% said that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents from in the missing of other languages. Similarly, more than 22% speakers of middle age responded that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in pronunciation, use of specific type of sentences, mixing of other languages and way of speaking and rest

of the 11% said that different in the use of vocabulary. Likewise, more than 33% of the old age respondents said that their language is different from their grandparents in terms of using vocabulary, mixing or other languages and way of speaking.

5.6 Feelings about children's marriage with native and non-native speakers

One question that was directly designed to ask to assess attitudes was, 'Would you like it if your son/daughter were to marry someone who spoke only Maithili?' in response, 92% of the respondents stated that they would like it if their son/daughter were to marry someone who spoke only Maithili. Look at Figure 5.9 for a much clear picture of the situation in the Maithili community.

Figure 5.9: Feelings about children's marriage with native speakers (n=62)

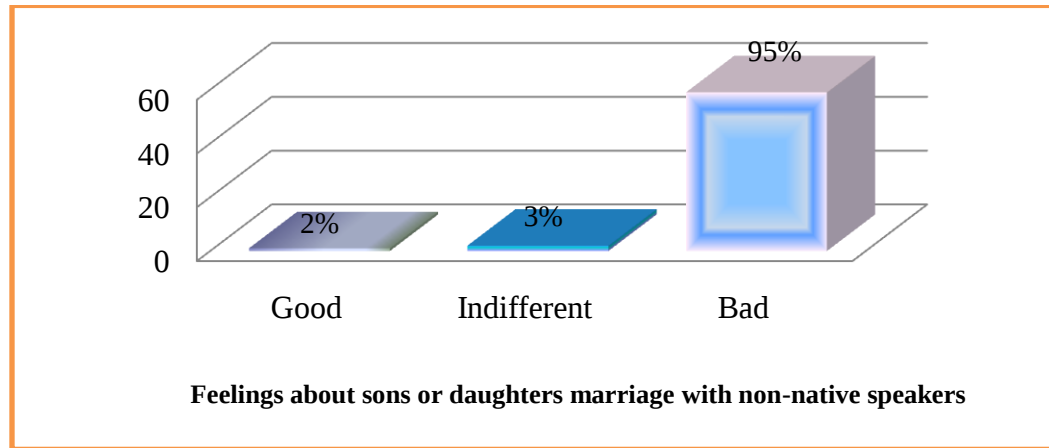


Source: Field study (2016)

Of the respondents, 92% respondents said that they like their son or daughter married someone who only speaks their mother tongue whereas 6% of the respondents did not reply. Only 2% of the respondents responded that they did not like their son or daughter married someone who only speaks their mother tongue.

When the respondents were asked to give response to show how they would feel if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their language. Regarding the question, most of the respondents said they feel bad, some of them feel indifferent and a very few feel good. Figure 5.10 presents the feelings of the respondents if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language.

Figure 5.10: Feelings of the respondents if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language (n=62)

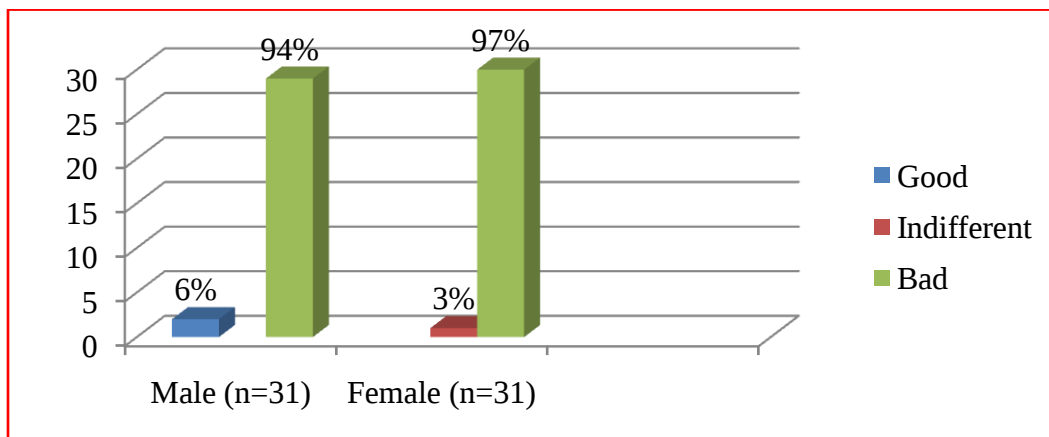


Source: Field study (2016)

Of the respondents, almost all feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. However, 3% of the respondents feel indifferent and only 2% of the respondents reported that they feel good if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language.

Likewise, Figure 5.11 presents feelings of the respondents if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language by sex (n=62).

Figure 5.11: Feelings of the respondents if their sons or daughters married someone who does not know their language by sex (n=62)



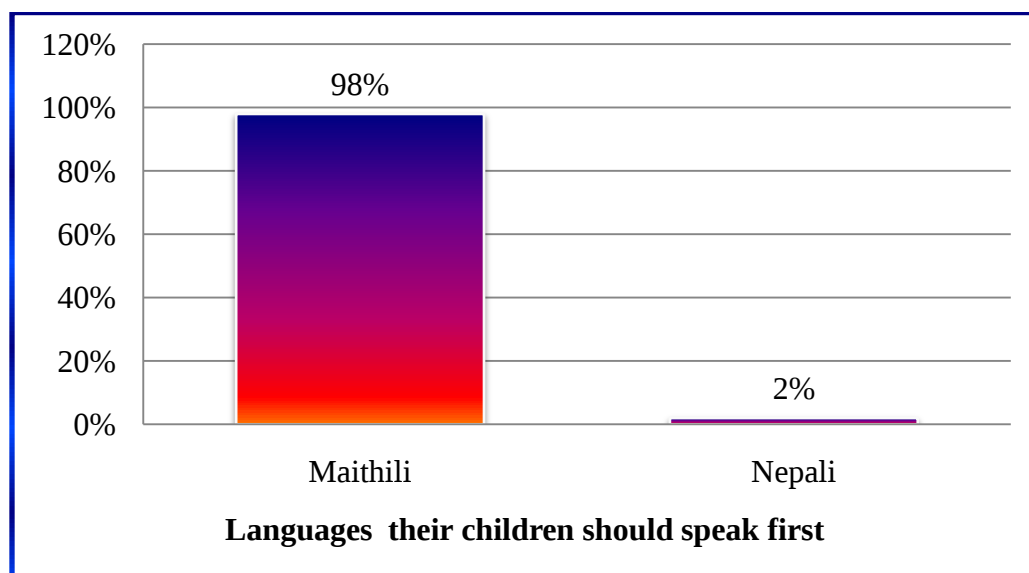
Source: Field study (2016)

In terms of sex, of the respondents 94% male feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. However, 6% of the respondents reported that they feel good if their sons or daughters married someone who did not know their language. But in the case of female, it is a little bit different; of the female respondents 97% feel bad if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. And rest of the 3 reported that they feel indifferent if their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue.

5.7 First language of the children

When all the respondents were asked what language their children should speak first, except one, all the respondents said that their children should speak their mother tongue, the Maithili language. Figure 5.12 presents the distribution of the respondents with respect to that question.

Figure 5.12: Responses to what language their children should speak first (n=72)

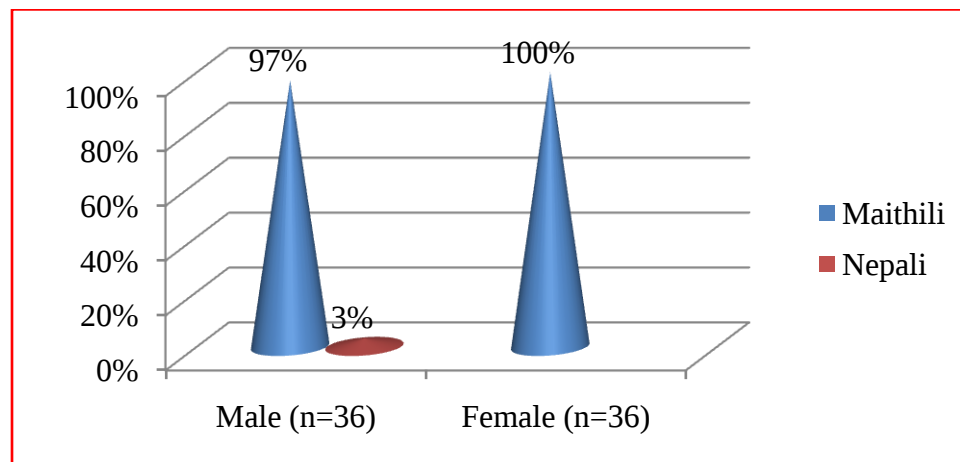


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.12 shows 98% of the respondents responded that their children should speak Maithili first. However, 2% of the respondents showed their preference to Nepali.

Likewise, figure 5.13 presents the responses to what language their children should speak first by sex.

Figure 5.13: Responses to what language their children should speak first by sex (n=72)

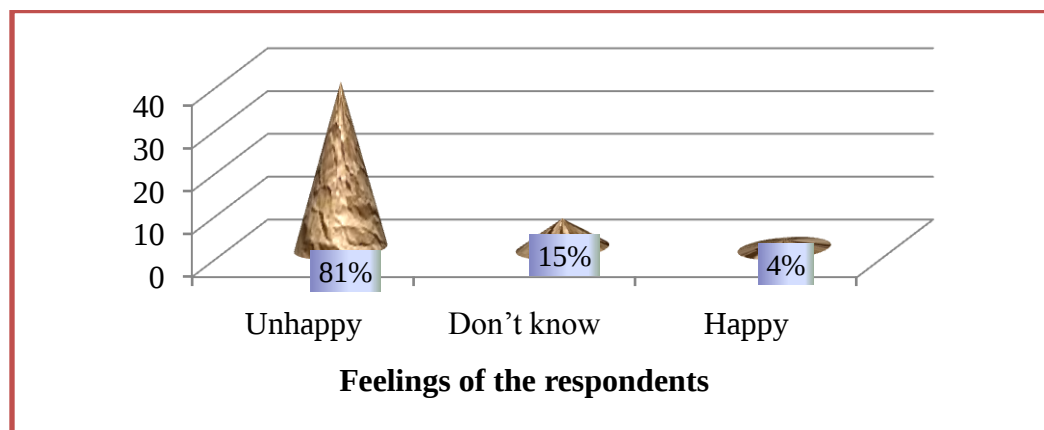


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.13 shows that all the female respondents responded that their children should speak Maithili first. But only 97% male responded that their children should speak Maithili first. However, 3% male respondents reported that their children should speak Nepali first.

Similarly, in response to if a young aged Maithili speaker spoke only other languages than Maithili at home; would you be happy or unhappy about it? Figure 5.14 presents the feelings of the respondents.

Figure 5.14: The feelings of the respondents (n=48)

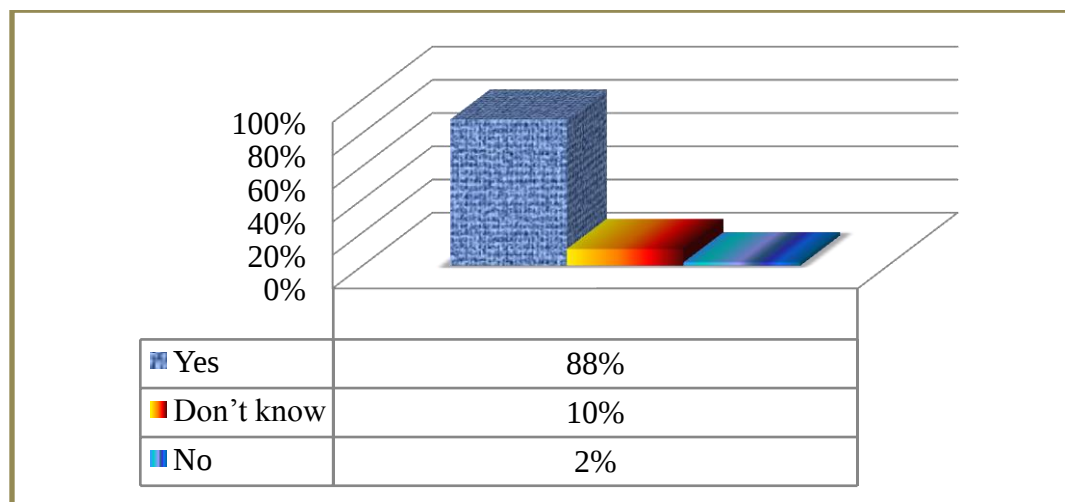


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.14 shows the mixed responses about a young aged Maithili speaker spoke only other languages than Maithili at home. Of the respondents, 81% said that they feel unhappy when their young aged Maithili speaker spoke only other languages than Maithili at home whereas 15% of the respondents said that they did not know about this. Only 4% of the respondents said that they feel happy when their young aged Maithili speaker spoke only other languages than Maithili at home.

We asked, “Are the Maithili young aged speakers proud of their language?” In overall, most of the respondents (88%) said yes. Look at figure 5.15 for a much clear picture of the situation in Maithili community.

Figure 5.15: The feelings of the young aged respondents towards their mother tongue (n=48)



Source: Field study (2016)

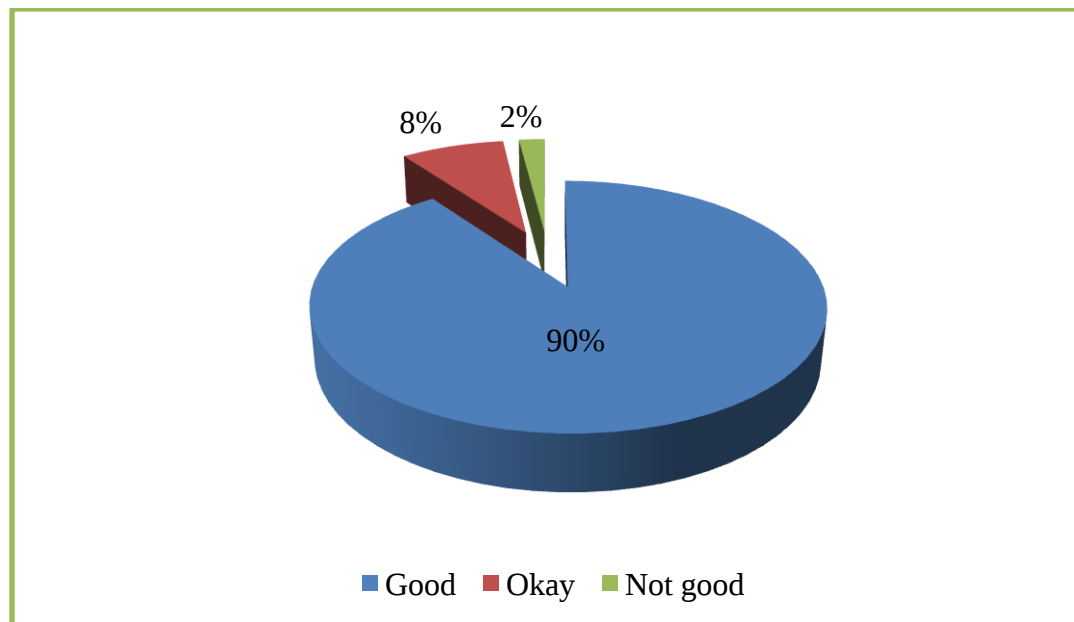
Figure 5.15 shows that 88% of the respondents responded that their young aged generation speaker felt proud of their language whereas 15% said that they don't know about that. However, 2% of the respondents replied that 'No'.

5.8 Grandchildren's language

Maithili speakers are positive towards their language and culture. Most of the Maithili speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language.

The respondents are asked what they would feel if the children of the present would speak their language, most of the respondents said that they would feel good if the children speak their mother tongue. Figure 5.16 presents the responses of the question.

Figure 5.16: Feelings of the speakers if their grand-children will speak their language (n=72)

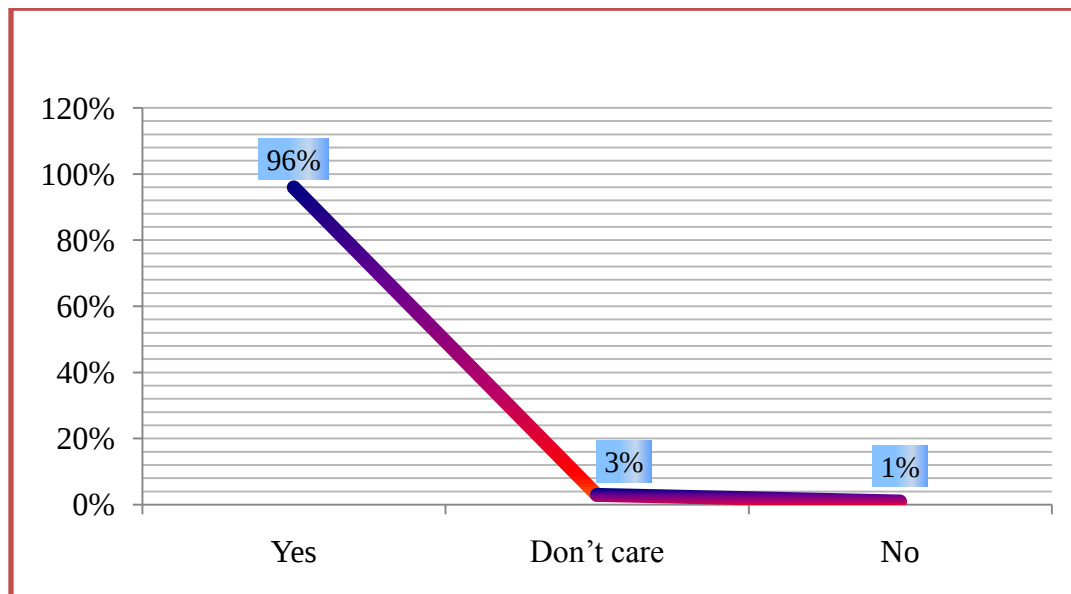


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.16 shows that out of the total respondents most of the respondents (90%) responded that they would feel good if their grandchildren will speak their language whereas 8% replied okay. Only 2% respondents responded that would feel not good if their grandchildren will speak their language. It shows that they have highly positive attitude towards their language.

The final question is not directly related to language, but seeks to assess the participants' attitude towards their Maithili identity, and their perception of their cultural heritage. When asked, "Do you want your children to learn and follow Maithili customs/traditions?" In overall, most of the respondents responded that they follow Maithili customs/traditions. Figure 5.17 presents the feelings of the respondents about customs/traditions of Maithili.

Figure 5.17: Feelings of the respondents about Maithili customs/traditions (n=72)



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 5.17 shows the feelings of the respondents about the Maithili customs and traditions. When we asked whether they want their children to learn and follow Maithili customs/traditions, an overwhelming 96% of the respondents responded in the positive, 3% said that the children were doing so, but not thoroughly, and 1% replied in the negative.

5.9 Summary

In this chapter, we looked at language attitudes in Maithili. In this speech community, there is an extremely positive attitude towards the mother tongue. All people love their language the most. Most of the Maithili speakers said that their mother tongue is rich, precise, sweet, musical (melodious), more prestigious, pure, ancient, literary and powerful in comparison to other languages. In this community more than two-third of people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages and only a few respondents said that they had problems because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue/first language and the problems they face are discrimination in education, government offices, school and social activities. The language spoken by them is different from their grandfather's in

terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, use of specific type of sentences, mixing of other languages and the way of speaking. In the Maithili speech community, a great number of people feel bad if their son and daughter married someone who did not know their language. Except a very few respondents, almost all the people are convinced that their children should first speak their mother tongue. In this community, a greater number of people feel happy if their children speak their mother tongue and feel unhappy if their children do not speak their mother tongue. Almost all people are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue and follow Maithili customs/traditions in future.

CHAPTER 6

MULTILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with multilingualism and language choice in the Maithili speech community. It consists of seven sections. Section 6.1 presents an overview of linguistic diversity in Nepal. In section 6.2, we critically evaluate language use and language policy in Nepal. Section 6.3 deals with linguistic context and multilingualism in Maithili community. Section 6.4 discusses the choice in the Maithili speech community. Section 6.5 presents the views/dreams of the Maithili community about its language development. In section 6.6, we suggest the language planning strategies for the development of the Maithili language. Section 6.7 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

6.1 Linguistic diversity in Nepal

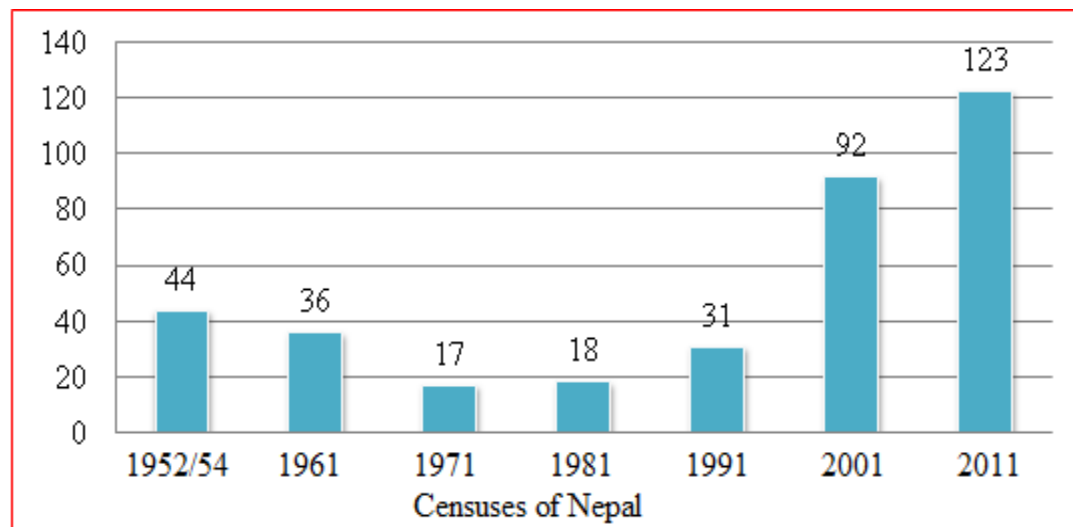
In addition to having geographic, socio-political and economic diversities, Nepal is a multilingual and multicultural country. This country, with a population of 26,494,504 (Census, 2011), possesses a striking linguistic plurality. It comprises a relatively small area of 147,181 square kilometres with a length of 885 kilometres from east to west and a mean breadth of 193 kilometres from north to south. However, its topography is rich and varied (Yadava, 2013, p. 260). Inhabiting the different climatic and ecological zones with a high level of biodiversity per unit area (viz. over 5,400 species of higher plants and 850 species of birds, 2.2% and 9.4% of the world's totals, respectively (Shrestha and Vimal, 1993, p. 3), it is matched by a similar rate of linguistic and cultural variation. Nepal is populated by 126 officially recognized castes and ethnic groups practicing ten different religious faiths (viz. Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Kirat, Christianity, Prakriti, Bon, Jainism, Bahai and Sikhism, and are estimated to speak approximately 123 languages officially recognized by the state (CBS, 2012, p. 4).

The existing linguistic diversity in the Nepalese communities could be seen as jeopardizing communication between different speech communities (Yadava, 2013, p. 260). In reality, this is not true. Languages spoken in the Tarai, a huge plain part of Nepal

inhabited by half of Nepal's total population (viz. 50.15%, CBS, 2012), are continuously related from the perspective of intelligibility. It is difficult to demarcate where one language ends and another begins. Thus, people living in two immediate vicinities can understand each other's language. However, residents living at the extremes of two languages cannot communicate and use Nepali, an official language, and Hindi as the *lingua franca*.

In order to understand Nepal's linguistic diversity precisely, we naturally ask: How many languages are spoken in Nepal? There is no accurate answer to it. However, there have been made a number of attempts to enumerate the languages spoken in this country as mother tongues. One of the major attempts is the enumeration of languages in the various censuses. Since the 1952/54 census languages have consistently been reported. But their number shows variation in these censuses. Except 'other', 'unknown' and 'not stated' languages, there were recorded 44 (1952/54), 36 (1961), 17 (1971), 18 (1981), 31 (1991), and 92 (2001) languages in the last six censuses but their figures have now increased to 123 (2011). Figure 6.1 presents a comparison of census enumeration of the languages (1952/54-2011).

Figure 6.1: A comparison of census enumerations of languages (1952/54-2011).



The preservation of linguistic diversity is crucial to humanity. Crystal, 2000 argues that “if the development of multiple cultures is so important then the role of languages becomes critical, for cultures are chiefly transmitted through spoken and written

languages” (p. 34). In the powerfully written *Vanishing Voices*, Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine make an explicit link between language survival and environment issues: the extinction of languages is part of the larger picture of near-total collapse of the worldwide ecosystem (Yadava and Turin, 2006, pp. 6-46). Besides, various languages serve as symbols of ethnic identity and each speech community wants to preserve and promote its language. UNESCO (2003) notes that “for a multilingual approach to work, governments must see linguistic diversity as a boon and not a problem to be dealt with.” As languages serve as fundamental means of communication and interpersonal relationship, linguistic diversity needs to be looked upon as a societal resource to be planned for its full utilization. It transpires from these provisos that the multilingual setting confers on Nepal a distinctive position on the linguistic map of the world and renders it as one of the most fascinating areas of linguistic research and social resources.

More or less Nepalese society is multilingual society. In this society, Nepali is learnt as a second language by the other speech communities for diverse purposes (to use in education, study, administration, etc). Multilingualism is a necessity for day-to-day communication in several regions of Nepal. Maithili speech community is no exception. In the Terai region Maithili is the major language on the basis of the number of speakers. Tharu spreads from Jhapa to Kanchanpur, and Awadhi, Urdu, and Rajbanshi are also major languages. Tamang, Limbu and Magar are also spoken in a few districts of the Terai. Table 6.1 presents the mother tongue population in different census.

Table 6.1: Maithili mother tongue population in different censuses

	Census year	Total population	Percentage	No. of languages
1.	1952/54	1024780	12.44 %	44
2.	1961	1130402	12.10%	36
3.	1971	1327242	11.49%	17
4.	1981	1668309	11.11%	18
5.	1991	2191900	11.85%	31
6.	2001	2,800,000	12.3%	92
7.	2011	3,092,530	11.70%	123

Table 6.1 presents the total number of Maithili speakers reported in different censuses as mother tongue. Comparing to the previous census (2001) and the current census (2011) though Maithili speakers have obviously increased in number but decreased in

percentage, viz. 2,800,000 (12.3%; 2001 census) and 3,092,530 (11.7%; 2011 census). A cursory look reveals that it may be mainly because of the rise of Angika, Magahi and Bajjika linguistic identity.

6.2 Language use and policy

Despite being multicultural and multilingual, Nepal enshrined 'ethnic', instead of 'civic', nationalism in its task of nation-building (Oakes, 2001). It has been reflected in various regimes in the country. Following the Gorkha conquest, what was Gorkhali or Khas, the language of ruling elites, also spoken by hill people as lingua franca or mother tongue, assumed the new nomenclature 'Nepali' with an intent to transform it into the national and official language. Rana regime further perpetuated this 'one nation-one language' policy. This was a deliberate plan to eliminate all but one language, viz. Nepali. This is evident from the fact that Newar and Hindi language movements were suppressed.

In 1957, Nepali was prescribed as a medium of instruction. In 1961 the National System of Education promoted the use of only Nepali in administration, education and media, in line with the Panchayat slogan 'one language, one dress, one country'. In 1964, Nepali Company Act was passed directing all companies to keep their records in English or Nepali.

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 recognized languages other than Nepali and made the following provisions:

- 1) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official language.(*Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 6.1*)
- 2) All languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal. (*Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 6.2*)

In addition, the Constitution also made a provision for the use of mother tongues in primary education (*Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 18.2*). It also guaranteed Nepalese a fundamental right to preserve their culture, scripts and their languages (*Constitution of Nepal, Part 1, Article 26.2*) (Yadava and Grove, 1994 p. 37).

The recommendation for the use of minority languages in local administration was later enacted into a law, the *Local Self-Governance Act* of 1999 which deputed local bodies the right to preserve and promote local languages. However, on June 1, 1999, the Supreme Court declared that the decisions of these local bodies to use regional languages were unconstitutional and illegal.

To achieve the EFA/Nepal (2004-9) goals, a policy of transitional multilingual education policy has been endorsed. Accordingly, a child will learn through his/her mother tongue and gradually switch to a lingua franca/an official language and finally learn a foreign language (e.g. English) for broader communications and access to science and technology (Fishman 1968, p. 698).

The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007), an outcome of the *Janāndolan II*, incorporated the following provisions for languages:

- (1) Each community shall have the right to get basic education in their mother tongue as provided for in the law.
- (2) Each community residing in Nepal shall have the right to preserve and promote its language, script, culture, cultural civility and heritage. (*Interim Constitution of Nepal* (2007), *Part 3, Article 17*)

Likewise, *Constitution of Nepal, 2015* has clearly stated the following provisions.

- 1) Languages of the nation: All languages spoken as the mother tongues in Nepal are the languages of the nation. (*Part one, Article 6*)
- 2) Office language: (1) The Nepali language in the *Devanagari* script shall be the official language of Nepal.
- 3) A State may, by a State law, determine one or more than one languages of the nation spoken by a majority of people within the State as its official language(s), in addition to the Nepali language.
- 4) Other matters relating to language shall be as decided by the Government of Nepal, on recommendation of the Language Commission. (*Part 1 Article 7*)

None of the communities reported their languages to be used as medium of instruction in schools where their children are studying. At most of the places, Nepali was reported medium of instruction and at a few places the slot was taken by English. In case of Urdu speakers, the language is the medium only at Madrasa and other religious schools.

Except Rajbanshi and Uranw/Jhangad languages, all language respondents urged need for native languages as medium of instruction for primary education.

Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Tharu languages were reported to be used as medium of study and/or as a subject of study in elementary education whereas Hindi and Maithili were reported to be used in higher education (Yadava 2011, p. 5).

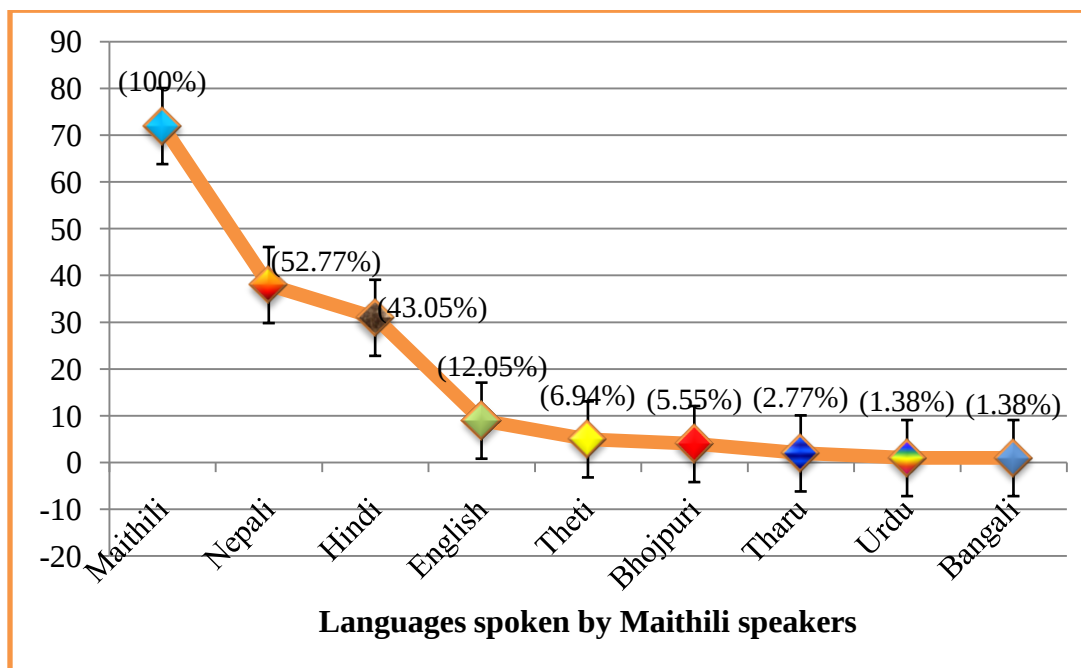
6.3 Linguistic context and multilingualism

Multilingualism is a new phenomenon in Nepalese context. It has been in practice in Nepal for almost half a decade. The Tarai, a huge plain part of Nepal, inhabited by half of Nepal's total population (viz. 50.15%, CBS 2012), is not immune from this Characteristics. In the Tarai, there are large multilingual areas encompassing many language groups each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is multilingual; he knows three, four, or more languages (Thakur and Yadav, 2014, p. 44). In this section, we assess the situation of multilingualism and proficiency of the languages including mother tongue in the Maithili speech community.

6.3.1 Multilingualism in Maithili community

To understand the current situation of multilingualism in Maithili community, we asked respondents what languages they could speak. Figure 6.2 shows a general picture of multilingualism in Maithili speech community.

Figure 6.2: Languages spoken by Maithili speakers



Source: Field study (2016)

It is to be noted here that multilingualism is a very common phenomenon in all the language communities of Nepal. There is no exception in Maithili community. In this community, normally an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of a number of languages, viz. Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, English, Thethi, Bhojpuri etc. Figure 6.2 shows that of the respondents, around 53% are bilingual in their mother tongue and Nepali. In this speech community, 43.05% of the total respondents are bilingual in Hindi whereas 6.94%, 5.55% and 2.77% are bilingual in Thethi, Bhojpuri and Tharu respectively. In this speech community, only insignificant number of speakers can speak and understand Urdu, and Bangali. Really, a significant number of respondents (i.e., 2.5%), mainly having formal education can speak English too.

Likewise, Table 6.2 presents the situation of multilingualism in the Maithili speaking families.

Table 6.2: Situation of multilingualism in Maithili speaking families (n=72)

Languages	Family members				
	Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother	Spouse
Nepali	11.11%	4.16%	30.55%	15.27%	26.38%
Hindi	20.83%	9.72%	25%	16.66%	23.61%
Thethi	2.77%	1.38%	-	-	-
Bhojpuri	-	-	1.38%	-	1.38%
Tharu	-	-	1.38%	-	-
Bajjika	-	-	-	-	1.38%
Magahi	-	-	1.38%	-	-
English	-	-	5.55%	1.38%	2.77%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.2 shows that more than 20% and 11% respondents' grandfathers are bilingual in Hindi and Nepali languages respectively. And rest of the grandfathers is bilingual in Theti. Similarly, 9.72% and 4.16% respondents' grandmothers are bilingual in Hindi and Nepali whereas 1.38% are bilingual in Thethi. Likewise, 30.55% and 25% respondents' fathers are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi respectively while more than 5% are bilingual in English. A very few percentage of the respondents' fathers are bilingual in Bhojpuri, Tharu and Magahi. In the same way, almost the same percent of respondents' mothers are bilingual in Hindi and Nepali whereas more than 1% mothers are bilingual in English too. At last, 26.38% and 23.61% respondents' spouses are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi whereas more than 2% spouses are bilingual in English as well. Rests of the 1.38% spouses are bilingual in Bhojpuri and Bajjika.

Similarly, Table 6.3 presents the distribution of the responses to the question: What other languages are known to their children.

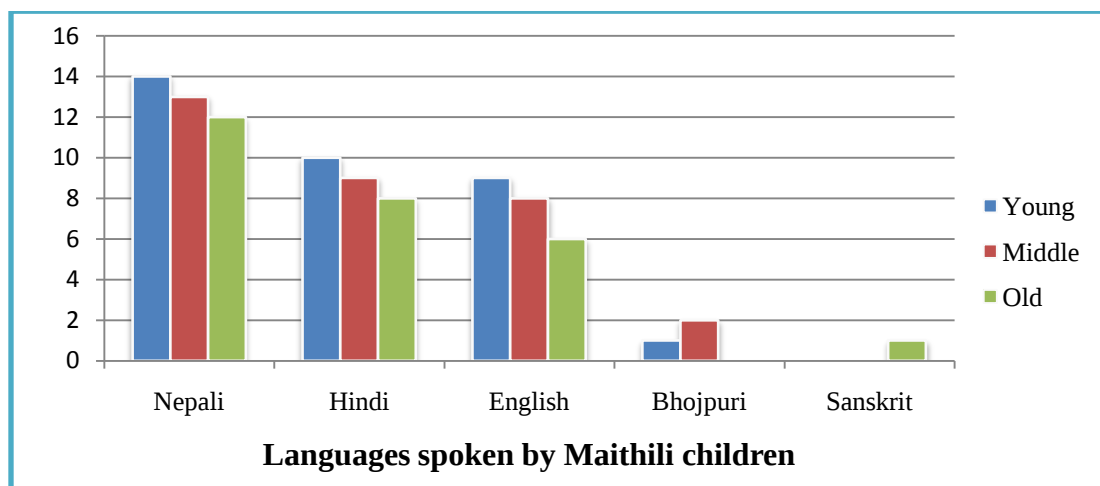
Table 6.3: Other languages spoken by Maithili children (n=65)

Languages	Young (n=17)	Middle (n=24)	Old (n=24)	Total
Nepali	82.35%	54.16%	50%	60%
Hindi	58.82%	37.5%	33.33%	41.53%
English	52.94%	33.33%	25%	35.38%
Bhojpuri	5.88%	8.33%	-	4.61%
Sanskrit	-	-	4.16%	1.53%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.3 shows that majority of the children are bilingual in Nepali and Hindi. Of the respondents, 60% and around 42% children are multilingual in Nepali and Hindi. Moreover, more than 35% children are bilingual in English whereas 4.16% and 1.53% children are bilingual in Bhojpuri and Sanskrit, respectively. It can also be shown through Figure 6.3 to make much clearer.

Figure 6.3: Languages spoken by Maithili children



As we saw in the situation the Maithili speakers, they are more or less multilingual in Maithili, Nepali, Hindi and others. Besides, all the Maithili speakers can use Maithili in their inter-personal communication. However, the choice of the language use is, in most cases, ascertained by the domains of the language use.

6.3.2 Proficiency of the language

Language proficiency is the degree of ability of an individual in listening, speaking, reading and writing in the language. Such skill may be evaluated in terms of three degrees: good, some and only a little (Stem, 1991, pp. 341-356).

A set of questions were administered to the respondents in order to understand their proficiency¹ of the Maithili language and their reported abilities in other languages.

First of all, we asked respondents how proficient they were their mother tongue. Table 6.4 presents the proficiency of Maithili speakers in their mother tongue in all the four skills of language such as understanding, speaking, reading and writing.

¹ For details see chapter 2.

Table 6.4: Proficiency of the Maithili speakers in their mother tongue (n=72)²

	Young (n=24)		Middle (n=24)		Old (n=24)	
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Good	Average
Understanding	100%	-	100%	-	100%	-
Speaking	100%	-	100%	-	100%	-
Reading	18.75%	81.25%	31.25%	68.75%	6.25%	87.5%
Writing	12.5%	18.75%	18.75%	37.5%	6.25%	18.75%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.4 shows that all the respondents understand and speak their mother tongue well. In the case of reading, around 19% respondents responded that they can read their mother tongue well whereas more than 79% respondents said that they can read their mother tongue only in average. Similarly, more than 12% respondents said that they can write their mother tongue well while 25% of the respondents responded that they can write their mother tongue in average.

Similarly, we asked respondents how proficient they were in Nepali, an official language of Nepal. Table 6.5 presents the proficiency of Maithili speakers in Nepali in all the four skills of language such as understanding, speaking, reading and writing.

Table 6.5: Proficiency of the Maithili speakers in the Nepali language (n=38)

	Young (n=20)		Middle (n=11)		Old (n=7)	
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Good	Average
Understanding	85%	15%	90%	10%	43%	57%
Speaking	80%	20%	82%	18%	57%	43%
Reading	75%	25%	64%	36%	29%	71%
Writing	60%	40%	45%	55%	14%	86%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.5 shows that a greater number of young respondents understand and speak Nepali well whereas some respondents said that they understand and speak Nepali in average. Similarly, in reading and writing 75% and 60% of the young aged respondents said that

² The selected respondents are seventy-two (n=72). Of the respondents only forty-eight (n=48) can read and write.

they can read and write Nepali well whereas 25% and 40% of the young aged respondents replied that they could read and write Nepali in average. Likewise, 90%, 82%, 64% and 45% of the middle aged respondents responded that they can understand, speak, read and write Nepali well while 10%, 18%, 36% and 55% of the respondents replied that they can understand, speak, read and write Nepali in average. At last, 43%, 57%, 29% and 14% old aged respondents said that they can understand, speak, read and write Nepali well while 57%, 43%, 71% and 86% respondents replied that they can understand, speak, read and write Nepali average.

Similarly, we asked respondents how proficient they are in Hindi, lingua franca of Tarai. Table 6.6 presents the proficiency of Maithili speakers in Hindi in all the four skills of language such as understanding, speaking, reading and writing.

Table 6.6: Proficiency of the Maithili speakers in the Hindi language (n=31)

	Young (n=8)		Middle (n=13)		Old (n=10)	
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Good	Average
Understanding	88%	12%	85%	15%	60%	40%
Speaking	63%	37%	77%	23%	40%	60%
Reading	75%	25%	85%	15%	20%	80%
Writing	38%	62%	62%	38%	10%	90%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.6 shows that a greater number of three age group respondents understand and speak Hindi well. Similarly, in reading and writing middle aged group respondents are better than young aged and old one.

6.4 Language choice

Under the multilingual society, language choice plays a vital role in sociolinguistic study of a language. This section mainly discusses various aspects of language choice based on Decker and Grummitt (2012). It identifies three categories that encompassed language choice studies: restricted language choice, negotiated language choice, and free language choice.³

³ For detail see Chapter 2

As Maithili speech community is a multilingual community, almost all the speakers of the Maithili know more than two or three languages. Table 6.7 presents language use by domains and language choice on the basis of the study carried in the field. The total number of the respondents was 72.

Table 6.7: Language use by domains and language choice

Domains of language	Language choice					
	Maithili (n=72)		Nepali (n=38)		Hindi (n=31)	
	Always	Usually	Always	Usually	Always	Usually
With parents	100%	-	-	100%	-	100%
With relatives	100%	-	-	100%	3%	97%
With spouse	100%	-	3%	97%	7%	93%
With own children	100%	-	26%	74%	10%	90%
With village friends	100%	-	21%	79%	16%	84%
With village leaders	100%	-	11%	89%	19%	81%
While buying things at the market	90%	10%	13%	87%	6%	94%
With government officials	28%	72%	71%	29%	-	100%
While observing religious performances	15%	85%	11%	89%	65%	35%
While singing songs	21%	79%	29%	71%	65%	35%
While expressing your deepest feelings	89%	11%	18%	82%	19%	81%
While making jokes and telling stories	28%	72%	42%	58%	68%	32%
While talking about the political matters	69%	31%	32%	68%	10%	90%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.7 shows that in most of the domains of language the Maithili speakers always use their mother tongue. And they also usually use Nepali and Hindi. But in some proper cases they usually use their mother tongue and always use Nepali as well as Hindi. Figure 6.4 presents the situation more clearly.

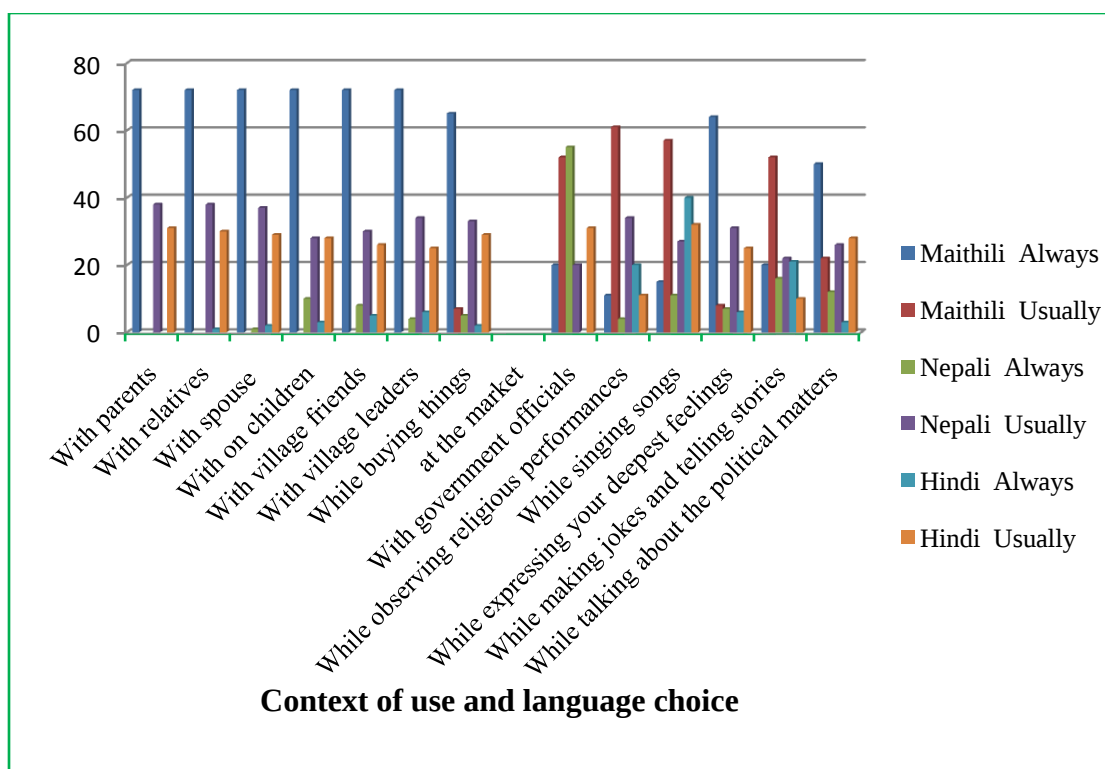


Figure 6.4: Context of use and language choice

6.4.1 Restricted language choice

Restricted language choice is a little or no ability to control the impact of sociolinguistic factors affecting the norms of their language (Decker and Grummitt 2012, p. 23). In order to understand the attitudes towards language choices, we selected only 12 respondents based on their knowledge about the languages they speak. The first question was asked all the respondents “Among the languages you reported which one is your restricted language choice?” Almost all the respondents said that Nepali is their restricted language choice. Again, we asked participants why they think Nepali is their restricted language choice. Table 6.8 presents the situation related to such responses.

**Table 6.8: The factors which influence language use choices in restricted level
(n=12)**

	Affecting Factors	Responses	Percentage
1.	Government language policies on local speech community	10	83.33%
2.	National and international economic policies and trends	7	58.33%
3.	Socio-political conflicts and environmental disasters on speech community	9	75%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.8 shows more than 83% respondents thought that government language policies influence the language choice of their speech community whereas as 58.33% thought their language choice affected by the national and international economic policies and trends. And 75% of the respondents thought that their language choice is influenced by socio-political conflicts and environmental disaster on speech community.

6.4.2 Negotiated language choice

Unlike the Restricted level, this interaction gives the people a measure of control over the social factors which influence their language choices. Interaction often takes the form of personal involvement, perhaps through meeting to buy goods in a market or getting a job, working alongside speakers of another language (Decker and Grummitt 2012, p. 48). To understand their opinions about Negotiated language choice, they were asked question, “Among the languages you reported which one is your negotiated language choice?” Almost all the respondents said that their mother, Nepali and Hindi are their negotiated language choice. Again, we asked participants why they think these languages are their negotiated language choice. Table 6.9 presents the situation related to such responses.

Table 6.9: The factors which influence language use choices in negotiated level (n=12)

	Affecting Factors	Responses	Percentage
1.	Multilingualism	12	100%
2.	The impact on language vitality	6	50%
3.	Social networks	4	33.33%
4.	Importance of economics and education	8	66.66%
5.	The importance of motivation and attitudes	7	58.33%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.9 shows that 100% respondents think that multilingualism influence the language choice of their speech community in the negotiated level whereas 50% responded their language choice affected by the impact on language vitality. Similarly, more than 33% of the respondents responded that their language choice is influenced by social networks and 66% of the respondents responded that their language choice is affected by the importance of economics and education. And, more than 58% of the respondents responded that their language is affected by the importance of motivation and attitudes.

6.4.3 Free language choice

Finally, the question was asked to all the respondents “Among the languages you reported which one is your free language choice?” Almost all the respondents said that their mother, Nepali and Hindi are their free language choice. Again, we asked participants why they think these languages are their free language choice⁴. Table 6.10 presents the situation related to such responses.

Table 6.10: The factors which influence language use choices in free level (n=12)

	Affecting Factors	Responses	Percentage
1.	Within speech community	12	100%
2.	Self-identity	11	91.66%
3.	Attitudes	12	100%
4.	Socialization	10	83.33%

Source: Field study (2016)

⁴In the free language choice, community holds the most unrestricted control over their language use choices. The influences at the Free Level come from within and control of them rests with the people themselves (Decker and Grummitt, 2012, pp. 115-116).

It is to be noted here that all the respondents said that the reported languages they use as a free language choice because there is no any restriction to control the interaction between the different speakers of the same speech community. Of the respondents 100% respondents thought that their free language choice is used specially within speech community whereas more than 91% of the respondents said that their free language choice related to self-identity and 100% of the respondents said that their free language choice is depend on speakers' attitudes. And, more than 83% respondents said that their free language choice related to socialization.

6.5 Language development

Generally, “language development is a result of a series of on-going, planned actions that community takes to ensure that their language repertoire continues to serve their changing social, cultural, political, economic, and spiritual needs and goals” (Decker and Grummitt 2012, p. 1). In this section, we try to examine the views about language development in the Maithili speech community by employing mainly two tools⁵: Appreciative Inquiry and Sociolinguistic Questionnaire C.

6.5.1 Dreams and aspirations of the community

As mentioned in chapter 2, this tool is designed to help the participants to think about future possibilities about their language. In the study, this participatory tool was used only in study points: eastern region, central region and western region where majority of the Maithili speakers live. It was conducted in these points in a group of participants of different demographic categories of sex, age and educational status. The participants in these points were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud of their language or culture. They were asked to write down the ‘good things’ in a piece of paper and placed them serially in the floor. Then they were asked to, based on those good things in Maithili language and culture, they say, “dreamed” about how they could make their language or culture even better. After having received their responses in the group they were advised to categorize the dreams from the easiest to the most difficult, specify which ones were most important and to choose a few to start on developing plans such as

⁵ For detailed information about these tools, see chapter 2.

who else should be involved, what the first step should be and what resources they needed.

By using this participatory tool, a lot of information about the dreams and aspirations of the Maithili community members for the development their language as well as their culture was gathered. In response to the question “What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?” Table 6.11 presents the responses in the key study points.

Table 6.11: Things in Maithili that make the speakers feel happy or proud (n-36)

	Different things in the language	Percentage
1.	Distinct language	100%
2.	Distinct culture and identity	86.11%
3.	Sweetness of the language	75%
4.	Prestigious and pure	80.55%
5.	Easy to communicate	97.22%
6.	Literary in comparison to other languages	58.33%
7.	World famous Mithila painting	55.55%
8.	Distinct songs	72.22%
9.	Distinct festivals	63.88%
10.	Written literature	50%
11.	Distinct life style	77.77%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.11 shows that all the respondents responded they feel proud of being the native speakers of their mother tongue, Maithili as it is distinct language. Similarly, more than 86% Maithili speakers responded that they feel proud that their language has distinct culture and identity and 75% of the respondents said that they feel proud because their language is prestigious and pure. Likewise, over 97% respondents said that their language is very comfortable to communicate each other and with others whereas more than 58% respondents responded that their language is literary in comparison to other languages. In the same way, of the respondents around 56% respondents replied that they have world famous Mithila painting to feel proud and 72.22% respondents responded that they have distinct songs in their mother tongue to feel proud. At last, of the respondents 63.88%, 50% and 77.77% respondents responded that they have distinct festivals, written literature and distinct life style respectively to feel proud of their mother tongue.

Moreover, some of the participants in the participatory methods responded that they feel happy and proud of their mother tongue because it is their ancestral language, it is known to everybody in the Maithili speech community, it is spoken by dozens of castes as their mother tongue, there are riddles, proverbs, it is rich kinship terms, rich in word formation, highly honorific language, it is taught up to Ph.D. level in Tribhuvan University, and up to bachelor level in Nepal Sanskrit University, it is also taught in different universities in India up to Ph.D. level; use of particles, use of classifiers, huge number of speakers live in both Nepal and India, it is considered the language of the god, etc.

Similarly, in response to the question “What are the dreams for your mother tongue or how could you make your language even better?” they responded that their dreams for the development of their mother tongue, Maithili are: language development, globalization, should be used in administration, language promotion, everybody should speak, should be used in media, language preservation, richness, dignity, popularity, language improvement, should be used as the medium of instruction in primary level of education, standard grammar and dictionary, book publication, language equity, province on the basis of the Maithili language, film making, museum, employment, national language identity, should be used in Public Service Commission examination, organizations, establishment of research centre, preservation of Maithili folk literature, etc.

6.5.2 Views of the village heads/language activists

In this section, we try to evaluate the views of the village heads/language activists about the way they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue. It was administered to 12 respondents in total. There were two very important questions regarding the preservation and promotion of the language. They are:

- a) Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?
- b) In what ways you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

All the respondents said that there must be done something immediately to promote and preserve their language. However, the responses to the ways they could do vary in some cases in the Maithili community. Table 6.12 presents the responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Maithili.

Table 6.12: Responses to the ways of preservation and promotion the mother tongue in Maithili (n=12)

	Different views of the village heads/language activists	Responses	
		Can	Can't
1.	by devising the script	92%	8%
2.	by making the spelling system systematic	100%	-
3.	by compiling a dictionary	100%	-
4.	by writing grammar	92%	8%
5.	by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	100%	-
6.	by writing and publishing textbooks	100%	-
7.	by publishing newspapers	100%	-
8.	by making use of the language in administration	92%	8%
9.	by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level	100%	-

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.12 shows that all the respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of mother tongue by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling a dictionary, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing newspapers and by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level. Similarly, 90% of the respondents replied that they could support the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by devising the script, by writing grammar and by making use of the language in administration. Only, 10% of the respondents replied that they could not preserve their mother tongue by devising the script, by writing grammar and by making use of the language in administration.

Similarly, in response to the question “In your opinion, what things are to be done for the development of your language?” Most of the Maithili mother tongue speakers responded

that the things that are to be done for the development of their language are: the Maithili language should be used in education, use of language in administration, use in mass media, awareness programs, mention in constitution, establishment of organizations, language preservation and promotion, Maithili museum, street play, use of language in day to day communication, publication of Maithili books, encouragement, simplification in the writing system of Maithili, etc.

6.5.3 Involvement of the people and others

In response to the question, “To materialize your dreams who could be the people and others to be involved?” Table 6.13 presents the responses provided by the Maithili speakers in key study points.

Table 6.13: Involvement of the people and others to materialize their dream (n=36)

	Different stakeholders	Percentage
1.	Community	30.55%
2.	Educated persons	86.11%
3.	Political parties	55.55%
4.	Government	41.66%
5.	Other organizations	22.22%
6.	Linguists	8.33%
7.	Central Department of Maithili, TU	2.77%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.13 shows that around 31% respondents of Maithili speech community reported to materialize their dreams there should be the involvement of community, whereas the highest percentage (86.11%) respondents responded that the educated persons should be involved to materialize their dreams. Likewise, more than 55% respondents responded that there should be the involvement of the political parties and, around 42% responded that there should be the involvement of the government. Similarly, more than 22% respondents responded that to materialize their dreams there should be the involvement of other organization and more than 8% said that there should be the involvement of linguists. Only more than 2% respondents said that to materialize their dreams there should be the involvement of Linguists and Central Department of Maithili, Tribhuvan University (TU).

Similarly, in response to the question, “To promote your language what the community can do itself?” Table 6.14 presents the responses provided by Maithili (mother tongue) speakers in the key study points.

Table 6.14: Community responsibility to promote their language (n=36)

	Responsibility of community members	Percentage
1.	Mother tongue use in all home domains and with family members	100%
2.	Language use in school and college	41.66%
3.	Language use in education	55.55%
4.	Language use in media	30.55%
5.	Maithili Academy and research center should be established	13.88%
6.	Language use in public meeting	86.11%
7.	Language use in film production	47.22%
8.	Language use in literary creation	30.55%
9.	Language use in administration	52.77%
10.	Language use in provincial level	88.88%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.14 shows that 100% responded to promote their language all the members of Maithili speech community everybody should speak or use their language in almost all the domains. Similarly, around 42% of them responded that their community should use their language in school and college. Likewise, more than 55% respondents said that their community should use their language in education and more than 30% said that they should use their language in media. Similarly, more that 13% Maithili speakers responded to promote their language Maithili Academy and Maithili research centre should be established and more than 86% responded that the members of Maithili speech community should use the language in public meetings. In the same way, more than 47% and 30% responded that films should be produced in the Maithili language; and create literary works respectively. Similarly, more than 52% respondents said that their community should use their language in administration and around 89% said that they should use their language in provincial states.

Similarly, in response to the question, “To promote your language what the Government and non-government sectors should do?” Table 6.15 presents the responses provided by the Maithili speakers in the key study points.

Table 6.15: What the Government and NGOs should do to promote Maithili? (n=36)

	Different stakeholders	Percentage
1.	Use in administration as the official language	69.44%
2.	Use in education	72.22%
3.	Use in national newspapers and electronic media	38.88%
4.	Language preservation and promotion	30.55%
5.	Legal recognition of the language	25%
6.	Publicity	13.88%
7.	Language development	11.11%
8.	Reward and encouragement	16.66%
9.	Literary improvement	8.33%
10.	Publication	5.55%
11.	Linguistic human right	2.77%
12.	Use in Public Service Commission examination	5.55%
13.	Training	8.33%
14.	Exhibition	5.78%
15.	Maithili Academy	5.55%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 6.15 shows that of the respondents more than 69% responded to promote the Maithili language the government and non-government organizations should use the language in administration and 72% respondents said that the language should be used in education. Similarly, of the respondents more than 38% responded to promote the language the government and other non-government organizations should use the language in national newspapers and electronic media and more than 30% respondents said that the government and non-government organizations should preserve their language and culture. Likewise, around 25% of the respondents responded that the government and non-government organizations should use legal reorganization of the language whereas, around 14% said to promote their language the government and non-government organizations should make publicity. Similarly, more that 11% respondents said that the government and non-government organizations should develop the Maithili

language while around 17% said that the government and non-government organizations should encourage the language. Similarly, more than 8% of the represents said that the government and non-government organizations should focus on literary improvement and training. In the same way, more than 5% respondents said that the government and non-government organizations should also focus on publication, Public Service Commission examination, exhibition and Maithili Academy.

6.6 Language planning

In this section, we attempt to suggest some language planning strategies for the development of the Maithili language. Language planning “as an activity whereby goals are established, means are selected and out-comes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner” in order to provide solution to language problems (Rubin and Jurnudd, 1971). According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 3), “language is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities.” In order to fulfill the aspirations of the Maithili speaking communities, a systematic language planning with appropriate strategies is needed. There are two major strategies of language planning, viz., status planning and corpus planning. They are briefly discussed as follows:

6.6.1 Status planning

Yadav (1989, p. 85) affirms the target of status planning of Maithili includes the functions extended to the domains of education, administration and mass media. Maithili is mainly used family and intra-community’s communication (Jha, 2009). Thus, Maithili has to be uplifted to the three language functions, viz., education, office and mass media. They are briefly discussed as follows:

(a) Educational function

Maithili is a written language. It has a long history of written tradition. However, except in some levels of higher education, Maithili has not been used in the basic education in the community. The community as a whole aspires for educating its children in its mother tongue. However, for some years, Maithili, as an optional subject, has been introduced at

the primary education (Jha, 2009). There is lack of proper textbooks, teachers and proper management. Jha (2009) further notes that implementation is very weak and ineffective. Thus, Maithili has to be used in the basic education within the framework of mother tongue based multilingual education for the cognitive development of the children and increasing and sustaining language vitality.

(b) Official function

Jha (2009) notes Maithili was the official language of larger Mithila under the Karnat dynasty. During the Malla dynasty, Maithili was used as an official language. After the unification of Nepal, Nepali was recognized only the official language of Nepal. The constitution of Nepal promulgated in 2015 has granted the right to use the mother languages of Nepal as the official language of the province as well as local levels in addition to Nepali. With this spirit, Maithili has to be used as official language of the province as well as local levels.

(c) Mass media

Jha (2009) notes Maithili has not yet been effectively used in mass media. At present, some attempts have been made on behalf of the community. Janakpur FM, Radio Maithila and Radio Janakpur are some attempts in this respect. Jha (2009) suggests that Maithili has to be accommodated in the government control mass media. The speech community has strongly demanded that Maithili has to be properly and effectively used in the local, provincial and central mass media with the spirit of multilingualism in Nepal and the Maithili speaking community.

6.6.2 Corpus planning

Corpus planning includes graphization, standardization and modernization (Ferguson, 1968, p. 28). The corpus planning is needed for extending the language use in different domains, viz., education, office and mass media.

(a) Graphization

Graphization is one of the strategies of corpus planning. It mainly includes determining the script, spelling (orthography), rules of punctuation, word-division (Jha, 2009).

Maithili has its own script called ‘Mithilakshar’⁶. However, Devanagari script is most widely used in writing Maithili. Devanagari script has been adapted for writing both Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Jha (2009) notes Devanagari has been accepted for the ease in writing in computer and printing. It is to be noted that Mithilakshar has to be conserved for its historical importance. At the same time, Devanagari script needs to be adapted for the accommodated the sound systems of the Maithili language.

(b) Standardization

According Haugen (1966, pp. 32-34), there are four steps of standardization, viz., selection of norm, codification of norm, elaboration function and acceptance of norm. It has been almost accepted that Maithili has both social and regional variations without hindering mutual intelligibility among the speakers. However, it has to be standardized for writing and education. The Brahmin variety is normally considered as standard Maithili which has been codified in grammar and dictionary. It is only a part of the story. Another part of the story is that with the consent of the speech community, either taking reference of a particular variety or by amalgamating social as well as regional varieties, standardization process has to be accelerated under the collaboration or coordination of a recognized institution. A standard dictionary, grammar and textbooks based on standard languages may be produced in the language.

(c) Modernization

By modernization, we mean the development of expanded vocabulary in order to equip the language for the communication of modern science and technology and modern disciplines. Maithili also requires modernization to be expanded to further domains of language use. In Maithili, we can enlarge its vocabulary either by building new terms from its own sources or by giving new meanings to the existing terms or by creating terms based on the roots of Maithili or by borrowing words from foreign languages like

⁶ Maithili script is called *Mithilakshar* which is originated from *Brahmi* via the proto-Bengali script and its similar to the modern Bengali and Oriya writing systems. This script is now almost abandoned. For the sake of easy in learnability and printing, it has been gradually replaced by the Devanagari script (Jha 1971). List of the *Mithilakshar* available in the annexes (7a-b).

English, German, etc. Many words may be borrowed from Sanskrit which is rich in vocabulary of traditional technology (Jha, 2009).

6.7 Summary

In this chapter, we assessed the situation of multilingualism and language choice in the Maithili speech community. Maithili community is fairly multilingual community. In this community, an individual or a group of speakers may have a choice of mainly three languages, viz., Maithili, Nepali and Hindi. Some Maithili speakers also can speak languages like Theti, Bhojpuri, Urdu, Bangali, Sanskrit and English. All the respondents are very much proficient in their mother tongue as they are all good in understanding and speaking their mother tongue while literate Maithili speakers are good in reading and writing their mother tongue. Similarly, some of them are also proficient in Nepali and Hindi languages and a significant numbers of Maithili speakers who have formal education are proficient in English as well. Moreover, this chapter also discussed dreams and plans of the speech community for language development. The dreams of the Maithili community for the development of their mother tongue are language development, globalization, should be used in administration, language promotion, everybody should speak, should be used in media, language preservation, richness, dignity, popularity, language improvement, should be used as the medium of instruction in primary level of education, standard grammar and dictionary, book publication, language equity, province on the basis of the Maithili language, film making, museum, employment, national language identity, should be used in Public Service Commission examination, organizations, establishment of research centre, preservation of Maithili folk literature, etc. To promote the language all the members of Maithili community want to use their mother tongue use in all domains, in education, in administration, in mass media etc. Moreover, they also want to establish Maithili Academy and Maithili research centre. Apart from this, they want to use their mother tongue use in administration, in education, in media, develop their language, mention the language in constitution, and provide access to the government policy with the help of the government and non-government organizations. All the village heads/language activists are convinced that they could preserve their mother tongue by devising the script, by writing and publishing

textbooks, by publishing newspapers, by making the spelling systematic, by compiling dictionary, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing grammar, by making use of the language in administration, and by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level of education. The status of Maithili should be elevated by using it in various domains outlined above and its corpus should, accordingly, be developed to meet its requirements conducting various research and other activities in the language. Such a planning of Maithili will definitely bring about a great change in the Maithili society. It can help to educate the Maithili speakers by virtue of which their socio-economic mobility can be geared up. Also, it can help to manage conflicts by eliminating linguistically based inequality and discrimination fossilized in Nepalese context and by fostering instrumental attachments to the nation, creates job opportunities for the Maithili in the field of education and in the government and other offices, promote creativity, and open the door to a decent life. All these can happen only when the entire Maithili speaking community shows its genuine loyalty towards the language and its awareness of the linguistic rights.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION

7.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the sociolinguistic aspect of language contact¹ situation in the Maithili speech community. It consists of five sections. Section 7.1 examines the patterns of language use in Maithili. In section 7.2, we deal with intergenerational transmission of the language. Section 7.3 looks at language maintenance in Maithili. In section 7.4, we discuss the situation of language shift in Maithili. Section 7.5 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

7.1. Patterns of language use

Patterns of language use attempts to describe which languages or speech varieties members of a community use in different social situation or contexts (Hilty and Mitchell, 2012, p. 31). In this section, we look at language use to discover in what domains² Maithili is used.

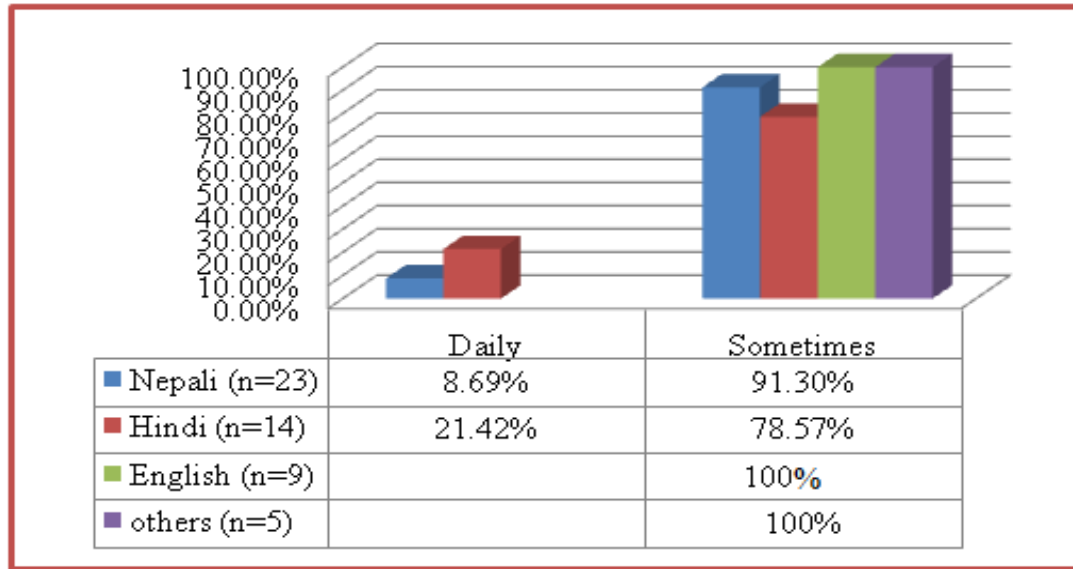
7.1.1 Frequency of language use

First of all, we asked respondents about frequency of use their mother tongue and the other languages in their daily life. All the respondents said that they use their mother tongue daily. However, they may shift to a language of wider communication according to their needs and contexts. Figure 7.1 presents the patterns of language use as a contact language.

¹ During the last few decades, language contact is a common phenomenon of Nepal. Most of the societies in today's world are multilingual. Maithili speech community is not away from that fact. Language contact occurs in a variety of phenomena including patters of language use, intergenerational transmission, language maintenance and language shift. We discuss these phenomena based on the ideas Weinreich (1953), Thomanson and Kaufman (1988), and Wheeler (2007). For detail information see chapter 2.

² Gautam (2021) is a study which is based on the Maithili speakers residing in the Kathmandu Valley. It maintains that Maithili is less used by the Maithili speakers in the Kathmandu Valley. But the present study is focus on the Maithili speaking areas in Tarai.

Figure 7.1: Language used as contact languages (n=51)



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.1 presents mixed responses and suggests that respondents are mostly multilingual speakers. In response to, “How often do you use Nepali?” Overall, more than 45% of respondents said they use Nepali sometimes. Only around 9% respondents said that they use Nepali daily. Similarly, more than 78% of the respondents said that they use Hindi sometimes whereas around 22% respondents said that they use Hindi daily. Moreover, all the respondents said that they use English and others sometimes (all the respondents are literate in English and other languages). It suggests that there is emerging a stable bi/multilingualism in Maithili speech community.

This section basically deals with the patterns of language contact focusing on the various domains of language use among the Maithili speakers living in southeastern Tarai region.

7.1.2 Personal activities

The domains in which the languages are most frequently used in the personal activities include like counting, singing, joking, bargaining/shopping/marketing, storytelling, discussing/debate, praying, quarrelling, abusing (scolding/using taboo words), telling stories to children, singing at home, family gatherings and village meeting. Table 7.1 presents the languages most frequently used in different domains.

Table 7.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains (n=72)

Domains		Languages				
		Own	Nepali	Hindi	English	Others
Counting		55	10	1	6	-
		76.38%	13.88%	1.38%	8.33%	-
Singing		45	4	21	1	1 (B)
		62.5%	5.55%	29.16%	1.38%	1.38%
Joking		63	5	3	-	1 (B)
		87.5%	6.94%	4.16%	-	1.38%
Bargaining/shopping /marketing		65	6	1	-	-
		90.27%	8.33%	1.38%	-	-
Story telling Discussing/debate		63	5	4	-	-
		87.5%	6.94%	5.55%	-	-
Praying		71	1	-	-	-
		98.61%	1.38%	-	-	-
Quarrelling		69	2	1	-	-
		95.83%	2.77%	1.38%	-	-
Abusing (scolding/using taboo words)		69	2	1	-	-
		95.83%	2.77%	1.38%	-	-
Telling stories to children		62	10	-	-	-
		86.11%	13.88%	-	-	-
Singing at home		45	2	24	-	1 (B)
		62.5	2.77%	33.33%	-	1.38%
Family gatherings		69	2	1	-	-
		95.83%	2.77%	1.38%	-	-
Village meetings		69	3	-	-	-
		95.83%	4.16%	-	-	-

B= Bhojpuri

Source: Field study (2016)

The information in Table 7.1 displays that there is no striking evidence of the Maithili speakers shifting towards Nepali and Hindi usage among themselves. Although the sample includes young speaker, the results show that only a very significant percentage of the total respondents are using Nepali.

7.1.3 Patterns of language use at home

Regarding the patterns of language use at home, a high percentage of respondents said that they use mother tongue with their family members in daily life. However, some of them (as in age category) reported that they use other languages instead of mother tongue. Table 7.2 illustrates how this specific language use varies according to the respondents' age.

Table 7.2: Languages most frequently used with family members (n=72)

Domains	Young (n=24)			Middle (n=24)			Old (n=24)
	Maithili	Nepali	Hindi	Maithili	Thethi	Nepali	Maithili
Grandpa	87.5%	-	-	75%	4.16%	-	8.33%
Grandma	83.33%	-	-	79.16%	8.33%	-	12.5%
Father	79.16%	12.5%	-	62.5%	-	-	20.83%
Mother	87.5%	8.33%	4.16%	54.16%	-	-	12.5%
Spouse	33.33%	-	4.16%	91.66%	4.16%	-	83.33%
Children	25%	8.33%	-	95.83%	-	4.16%	100%

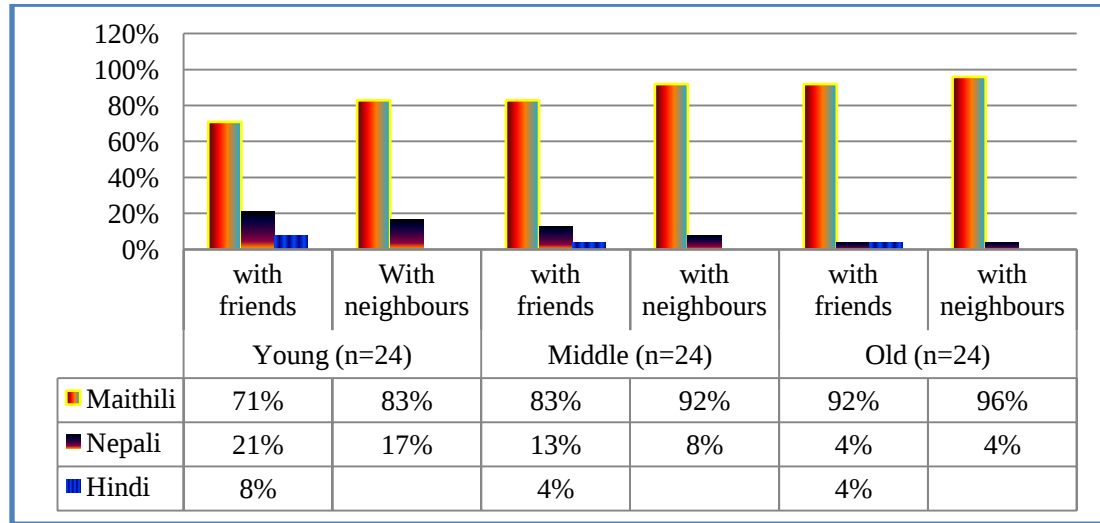
Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.2 demonstrates that all the old-aged respondents used their mother tongue with their family whereas almost all the middle-aged respondents used their mother tongue Maithili and Thehti and occasionally do they also use Nepali with their children. While young respondents use their mother tongue mostly with their grandpa and grandma but in the other case it is a little bit different. Except their mother tongue they use Nepali and occasionally Hind as well. This language shift among younger children may also be due to impact of Nepali used as a medium of instruction in school education and Hindi due to the impact of Hindi movies, serials, songs etc.

7.1.4 Neighbour and friendship domain

In the domain of neighbour and friendship, a high percentage of respondents said that they speak Maithili with Maithili speaking neighbors and friends. Figure 7.2 demonstrates the patterns of language used with neighbours and friends.

Figure 7.2: Patterns of language used with friends and neighbours (n=72)



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.2 shows that Maithili language is highly used in the two domains in comparison to Nepali and Hindi. The influence of Nepali and Hindi is not high in the Maithili speaking area because they constitute minority in the Maithili speaking area. However, Nepali is used talking with friends and neighbours more than Hindi because of education and official language of Nepal.

7.1.5 Media and entertainment domain

Maithili community also presents an interesting pattern of language use in the domains media related activities. Table 7.3 presents the trend of language use in the activities under the domain of media and entertainment.

Table 7.3: Patterns of language use in media and entertainment

Activities	n=72	Languages				
		Maithili	Nepali	Hindi	English	Others
Listening Radio/News		53%	35%	14%	13%	3%
Listening Music		39%	14%	35%	21%	28%
Watching News		4.16%	44.44%	42%	4.16%	1.38%
Watching film		13%	15.27%	63%	4.16%	10%
Reading Newspaper		3%	29.16%	7%	4.16%	-

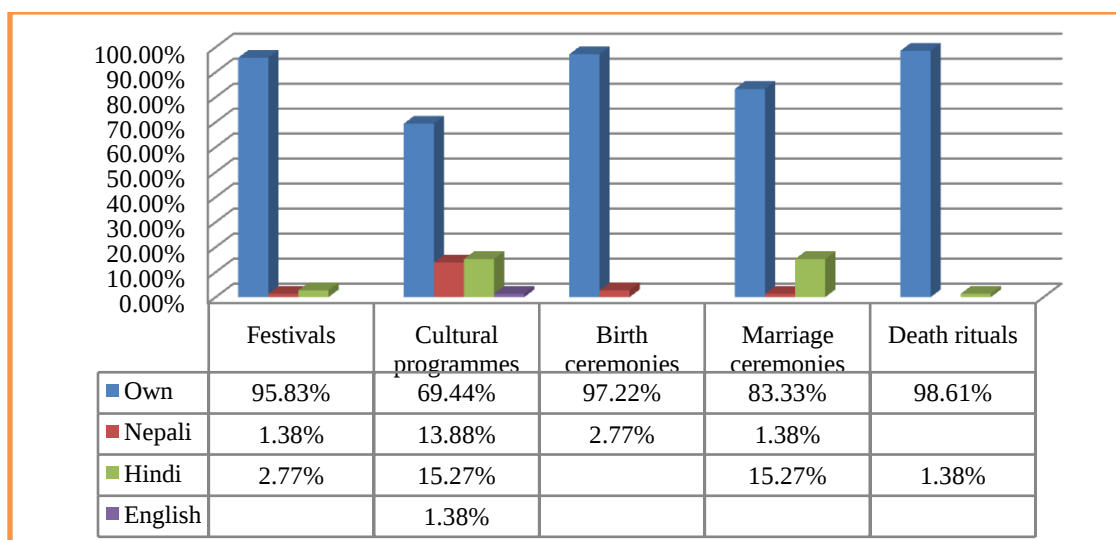
Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.3 shows that Maithili is frequently used as medium in different media and entertainment such as listening radio/news, listening music, watching news, watching film and reading newspaper. Besides, Maithili they prefer to watch Hindi programmes.

7.1.6 Festivals and cultural activities

In the process of data collection most of the respondents said that they have been celebrating many festivals since long. Among them some of the major festivals celebrated in Maithili speech communities are *Chhath*, *Jitiya*, *Chaurachan* etc. Moreover, they do some cultural activities as well. Figure 7.3 shows the trend of language use among Maithili mother tongue speakers in such activities.

Figure 7.3: Patterns of language use in festivals and cultural activities



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.3 shows that most of the people use their own mother tongue in festivals and cultural activities. However, some of the respondents reported that they use Hindi. This is because most of their relatives are from India. Only a few said that they use Nepali and very few said they use English.

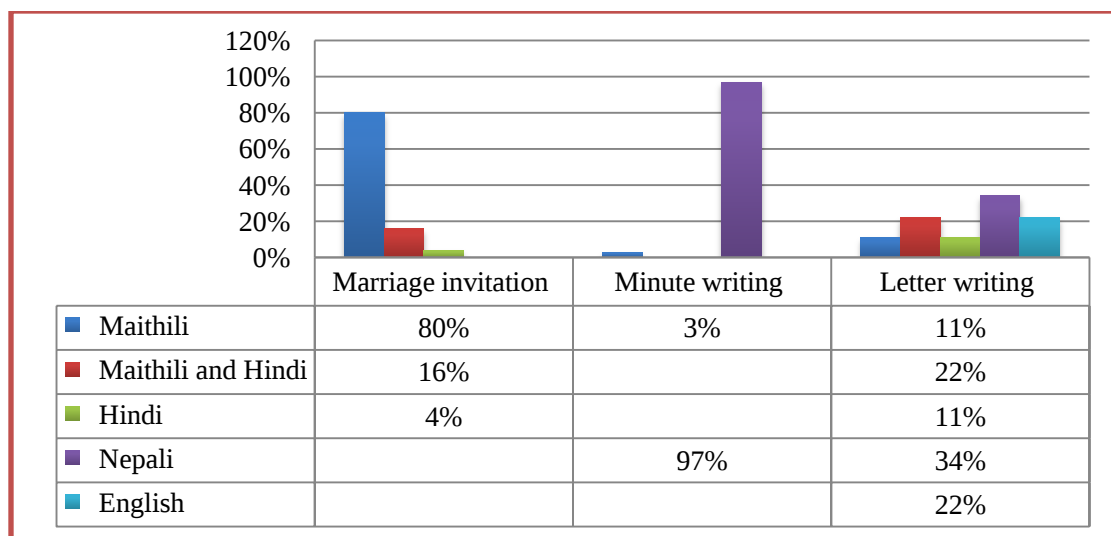
7.1.7 Formal and informal activities

The situations are those activities in which people use various languages and do different activities in both formal and informal way.

During the interview we asked respondents what languages they use for writing face book status, SMS and email. Of the 28 respondents, 54% respondents reported that they use Maithili. The next most common reported language was English (33%). Even 11% respondents reported that they use Nepali. Only a few respondents (2%) reported that they use Hindi.

Next, we asked the respondents what languages they use in marriage invitation, minute writing and letter writing. Figure 7.4 presents the responses of the respondents.

Figure 7.4: Patterns of language use in marriage invitation, minute writing and letter writing



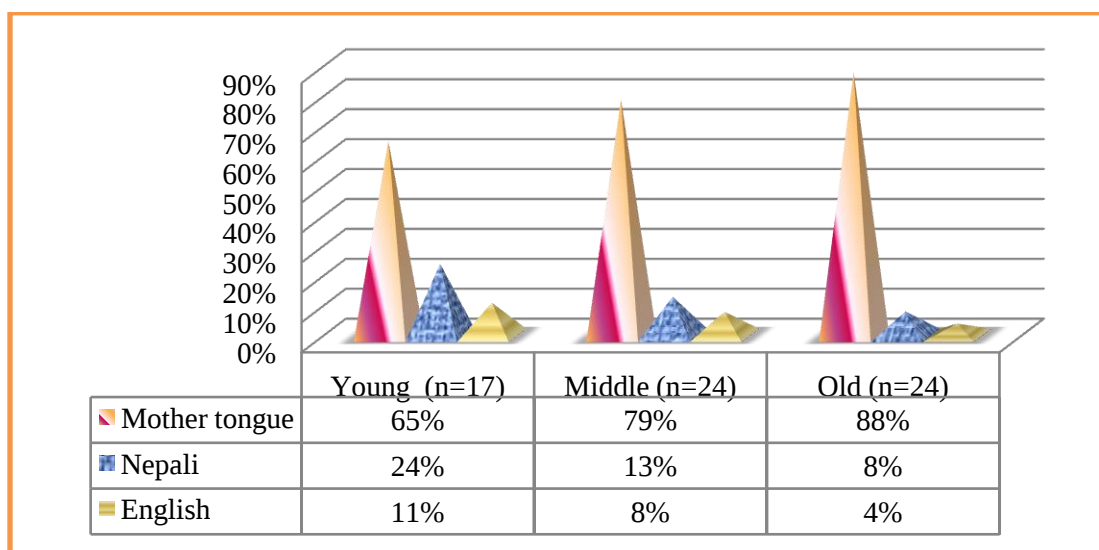
Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.4 shows that 80% of the respondents said that they use their own mother tongue for marriage invitations. However, some (16%) of them said that they use their mother tongue and Hindi. Only 4% of the respondents said that they use only Hindi. But in the case of minute writing, of the respondents, 97% said that they use Nepali. Only 3% of the respondents said that they use Maithili. This is because Nepali is the official language of Nepal. Likewise, in the case of letter writing, of the respondents 34% said that they use Nepali, 22% said that they use Maithili and Hindi, and English, whereas 11% said that they use only Maithili as well as Hindi.

7.1.8 Patterns of language use in education

The use of mother tongue is vital in achieving better education as learning takes place through a familiar language (Yadav 2014, p. 1). There has been made a constitutional provision for introducing all the mother tongues spoken in Nepal, including Maithili³, as medium of instruction at the primary level of education. Generally, children gradually go on shifting to the language of the medium of instruction if their mother tongue is not used in education especially at primary level. We asked respondents which language they preferred for their children's medium of instruction at primary level. The highest percentage of the respondents said that they would like their children to learn in the medium of Maithili. In addition, they also prefer their children to learn in medium of Nepali, the official language of country and in the medium of English, the international language as the impact of globalization. Figure 7.5 presents the distribution of the respondents with respect to that question.

Figure 7.5: The preference for medium of instruction at primary level



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.5 shows the attitudes of Maithili speakers regarding their preferences to languages medium of instruction at primary level. Most of the respondents prefer to have primary education in mother tongue. However, in the comparison to middle aged and old

³ Maithili has been taught as a subject of study from school to university level of education in Nepal.

aged, a slightly more percentage of young aged have responded that they prefer Nepali as their children's medium of instruction at the primary level. There are also some respondents who prefer English as the medium of instruction for children at primary level.

7.1.9 Participatory method (PM) results

Domains of Language Use are a specific participatory method tool which was used in each of the selected spots. Though there were some variations in results according to location, overall, the trends were very similar.

Maithili people often use the mother tongue most frequently in different domains. They are at home; with family, in meeting, during discussions, working together, talking on the phone, expressing deep feelings, thoughts or concepts sharing secrets. Moreover, they use mother tongue while discussing about their rights and preservation of the Maithili community.

Some given domains in which Maithili speakers often use Nepali language were: in schools, classes, government offices, hospitals and at health posts, writing letter, meeting strangers and going to other places for employment.

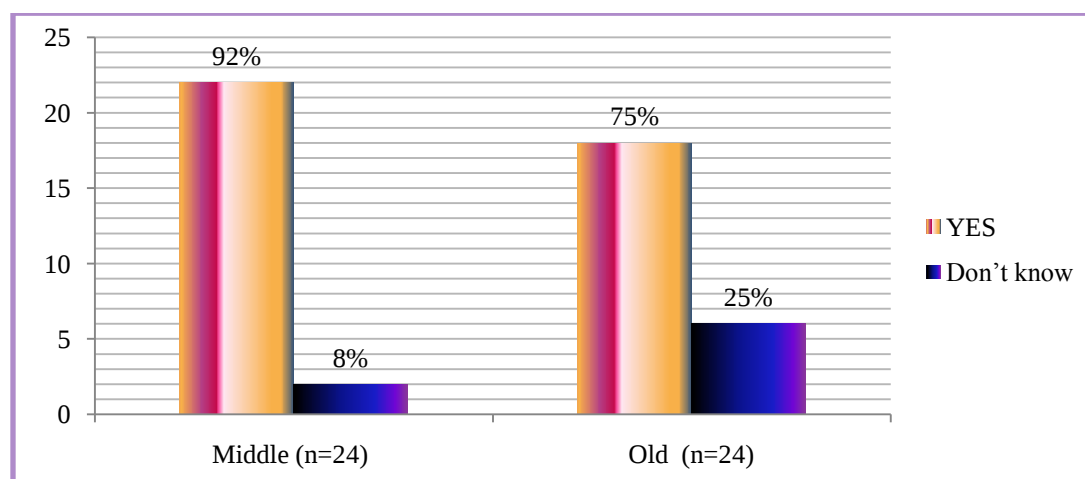
In all locations, people expressed that Maithili is the most suitable medium for expressing their innermost feelings.

7.2 Intergenerational transmission of language

Intergenerational transmission of language simply refers to how continuously particular language is being transmitted from generation to generation. To evaluate the language transmission, first of all we asked, "Do all your kids speak your mother tongue (MT)?" all the respondents responded that their children spoke their mother tongue.

In response to the question 'Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married? and do you think they will speak your mother tongue even in old age? The reported responses from the selected respondents are presented in Figure 7.6.

Figure 7.6: The situation of language transfer

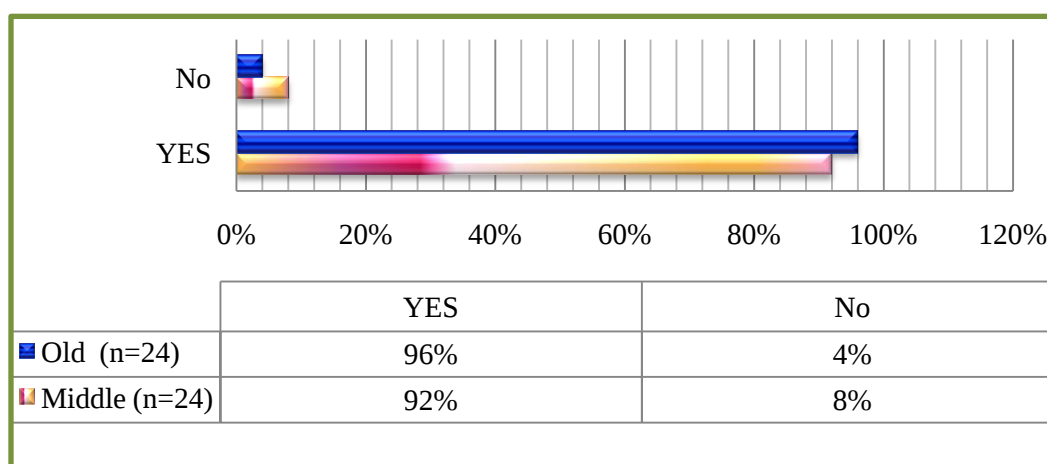


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.6 shows that the highest percentage of respondents (both middle aged and old aged people) have reported that their children would speak their mother tongue in their young age and old age. However, a very few respondents of both aged people said that they didn't have any idea about it.

Likewise, in response to the question 'Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?' Figure 7.7 presents the responses provided by the respondents.

Figure 7.7: Language transmission situation in younger generation

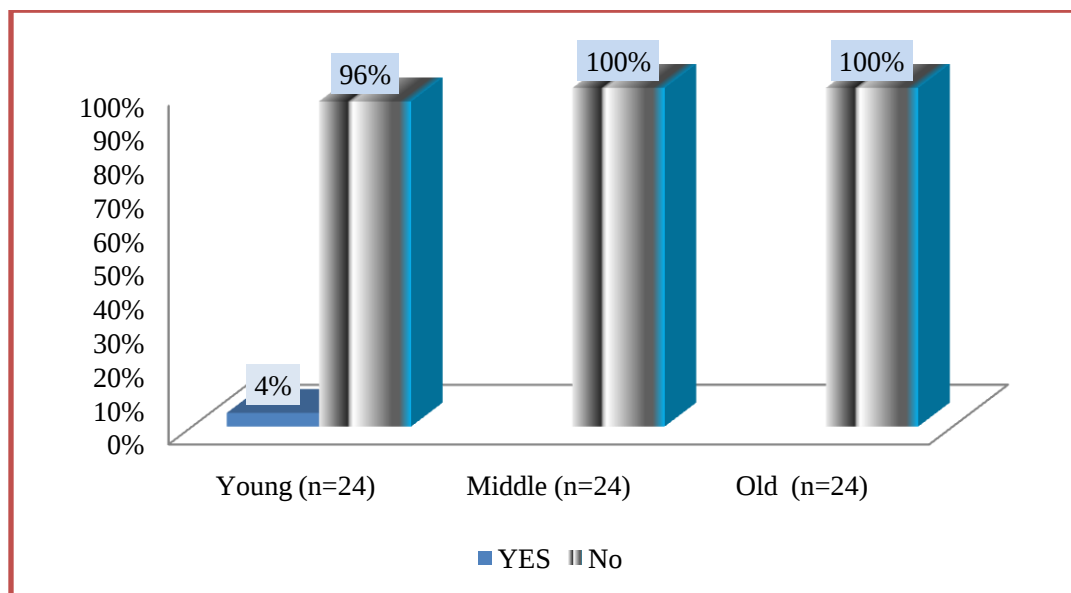


Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.7 shows that out of 23 old aged respondents most of them (i.e. 96%) said that young aged people in their village/town speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken and only 4% said that the young aged people of their village/town do not speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken. Similarly, 92% middle aged respondents mentioned that most of the young aged people in their village/town speak their mother tongue it ought to be spoken and 8% responded that they do not speak their mother tongue well, the way it out to be spoken.

Finally, we asked, “Is there inter-caste marriage in your community?” almost all the respondents have reported that ‘no’. Figure 7.8 shows their opinion on the inter-caste marriage.

Figure 7.8: Status of inter-caste marriage (n=72)



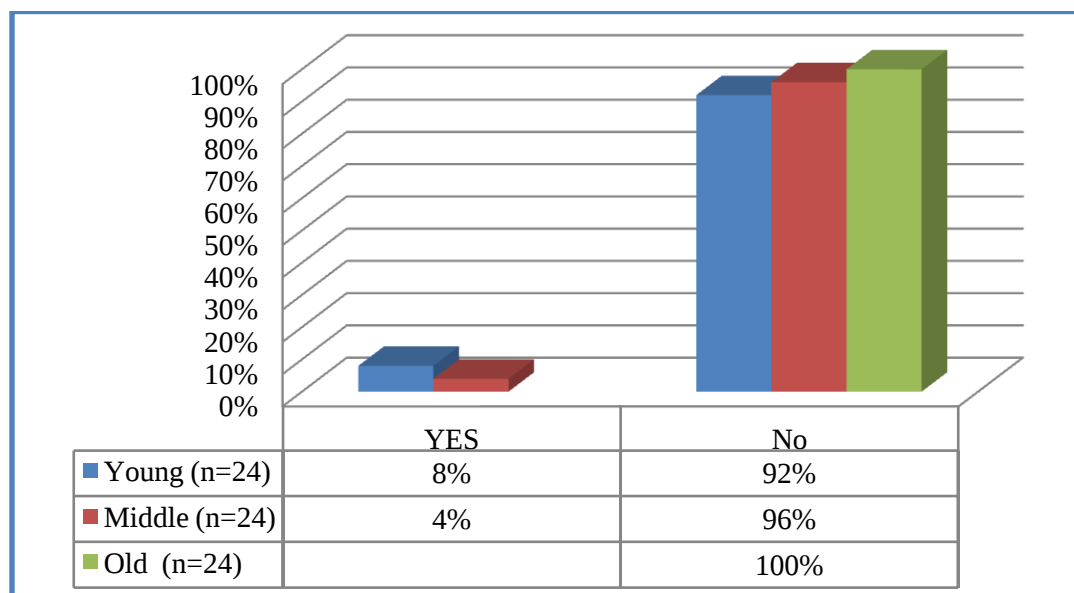
Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.8 shows that almost all respondents from three age groups have reported that there is no tradition of inter-caste marriage system in their community. Only one respondent belongs to young aged group has accounted that there is an emerging trend of inter-caste marriage in the community.

7.3 Language maintenance

Language maintenance is the degree to which an individual or group continues to use of their language especially in a bilingual/multilingual setting. To elicit information about the maintenance of the language, the questionnaire was administered to 72 speakers of Maithili. In response to the question “Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he stops speaking the native language?” Figure 7.9 shows their opinion about mother tongue.

Figure 7.9: The situation of mother tongue speakers



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.9 shows 100% of the old respondents said that they do not recognize a native speaker of their language who stopped speaking their native language. However, some of the young and middle aged respondents even said that they recognize some native speakers who do not speak their mother tongue.

In response to the question ‘Is your mother tongue taught at school or college?’ the respondents responded in other way. Table 7.4 presents the result of the responses on language taught at school or college.

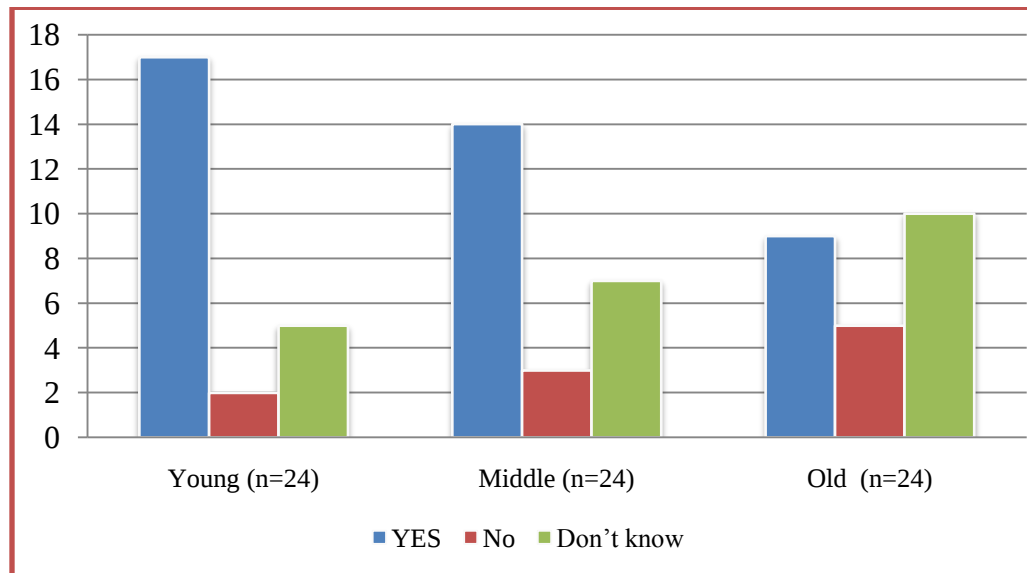
Table 7.4: Mother tongue taught at school or college

	YES	No	Don't know
Young (n=24)	71%	8%	21%
Middle (n=24)	58%	13%	29%
Old (n=24)	38%	21%	42%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.4 shows that most of the young respondents said that their mother tongue is taught at school or college. However, a few respondents responded as ‘no’ or ‘don’t know’. But most of the old respondents said that they don’t know about the mother tongue teaching at school or college. Figure 7.10 presents the situation more clearly.

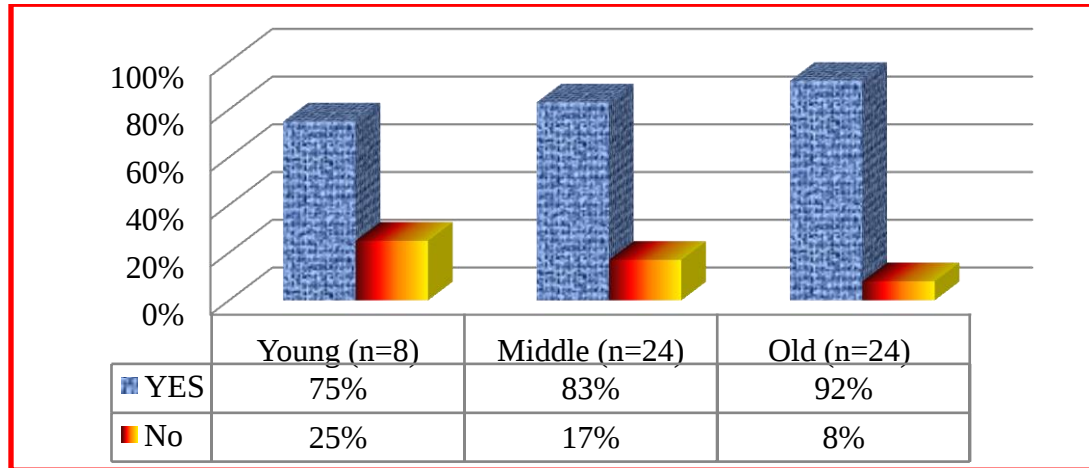
Figure 7.10: Mother tongue taught at school or college



Source: Field study (2016)

We asked, “Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?” Overall, almost all the respondents responded that they would like their children learn/study in their mother tongue, Maithili. Figure 7.11 presents the enthusiasm of the children’s learning/studying in their mother tongue.

Figure 7.11: Opinion on like/dislike in learning/studying in mother tongue



Source: Field study (2016)

Figure 7.11 presents mixed responses and suggested that most of the respondents have positive attitude towards their mother tongue education, therefore, they like their children learn/study in their mother tongue. However, some respondents do not like their children learn/study in their mother tongue because they think their children do not get job studying only the mother tongue. Therefore, they like other languages to be taught besides mother tongue such as Nepali and English.

Finally, we asked, “If schools are opened for teaching your language how you will support it?” the responses are presented in table 7.5.

Table 7.5: The responses to show the respondents would support if schools are opened for teaching their language (n=72)

	If schools are opened for teaching your language how will you support it:	No. of responses	Percentage
1.	by sending children	54	75%
2.	by encouraging other people to send their children	50	69.44%
3.	by providing financial help	41	57%
4.	by teaching	11	15.27%
5.	by helping with the school	39	54.16%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.5 presents the respondents opinion towards mother tongue school. Of the respondents, 75% respondents are ready to support the mother tongue based schools by sending their own children to the schools whereas more than 69% respondents ready to encourage other to send their children. Similarly, 57% respondents are eager to provide the financial support whereas more than 15% respondents responded that they would be ready to teach their language if the schools are opened. In the same way, around 55% respondents are ready to help the schools in the other way.

7.4 Language shift⁴

As we have seen in the three sections above, the result shows Maithili speech community in common is seen to have maintained their language very well. However, the rate of shifting towards other languages is also alarming.

Regarding the question “Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your mother tongue?” Table 7.6 presents the responses of the Maithili speakers view about language shift.

Table 7.6: Code mixing/code switching while speaking Maithili (n=72)

	Yes	No	Don't care
Young (n=24)	21 (88%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)
Middle (n=24)	18 (75%)	4 (17%)	2 (8%)
Old (n=24)	14 (58%)	9 (38%)	1 (4%)

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.6 shows that out of the total young respondents 88% responded that they generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking mother tongue whereas only 8% said that they do not mix or switch to languages while speaking their language and rest of the 4% responded they do not care whether they mix or switch to other languages. Similarly, 75% respondents of middle age said that they generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language whereas 17% responded that they do not

⁴ Language shift is a purely contact phenomenon where language A is replaced (partially or completely) by language B to the extent that the former becomes dysfunctional in one or more domains of its use (Pandharipande 1992).

generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue and 8% responded that they do not care whether they mix/switch to other language. Likewise, 58% respondents of old age generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue, whereas 38% do not mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue, and 4% responded that they do not care whether they mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue. Figure 7.12 makes it more explicit.

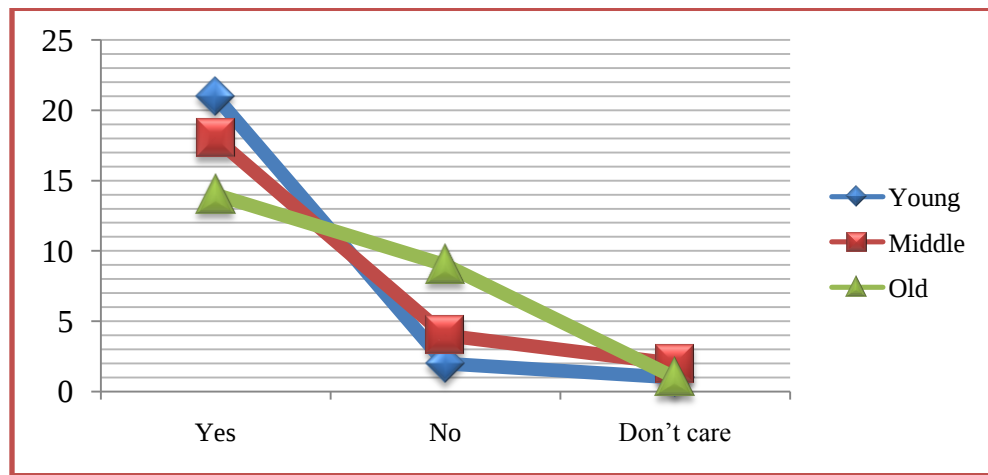


Figure 7.12: Code mixing/code switching while speaking Maithili

Table 7.7 presents the attitudinal responses to the question: Why they mix/switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue.

Table 7.7: Reasons for code mixing/code switching to other languages (n=53)

	Situation of code mixing in Maithili	Young (n=21)	Middle (n=18)	Old (n=14)
1.	Appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages	71.42%	27.77%	7.14%
2.	It is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages	61.9%	22.22%	14.28%
3.	It is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/words from other languages	14.28%	27.77%	14.28%
4.	Others	-	11.11%	21.42%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.7 shows that out of the total respondents from Maithili speech community, 71% young, 28% middle, and 7% old speakers responded that they mix/switch to other languages because appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages than their mother tongue. Similarly, 62% young, 22% middle aged and 14% old respondents replied that they mix or switch to other languages because it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages. Likewise, 14% respondents of young, 28% of middle aged and 14% of old respondents responded that they mix or switch to other languages because it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/words from other languages. Similarly, 11% middle and 21% old respondents responded that there are other reasons for which they mix or switch to other languages.

Similarly, in response to the question ‘How do you think about mixing words from other languages?’ Table 7.8 presents the attitudinal responses provided by the respondents.

Table 7.8: Responses about mixing words from other languages (n=72)

	Speakers’ response about missing words	Young (n=24)	Middle (n=24)	Old (n=24)
1.	It will enrich your language	33.33%	12.5%	8.33%
2.	It will spoil the beauty and purity of your MT	45.83%	66.66%	70.83%
3.	It will make your language more intelligible	29.16%	20.83%	16.66%
4.	Others	16.66%	29.16%	12.5%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.8 shows that around 34% young, 13% middle aged and 9% old respondents responded that they think mixing words from other languages will enrich their language whereas 46% young, 67% middle, and 71% respondents think that it will spoil the beauty and purity of their mother tongue. Similarly, 30% young, 21 middle, and 17 old respondents think that mixing words from other languages will make their language more intelligible. Moreover, 17% young, 30% middle, and 13% old respondents think that there are some other effects to the language. This analysis can be shown through the figure 7.13.

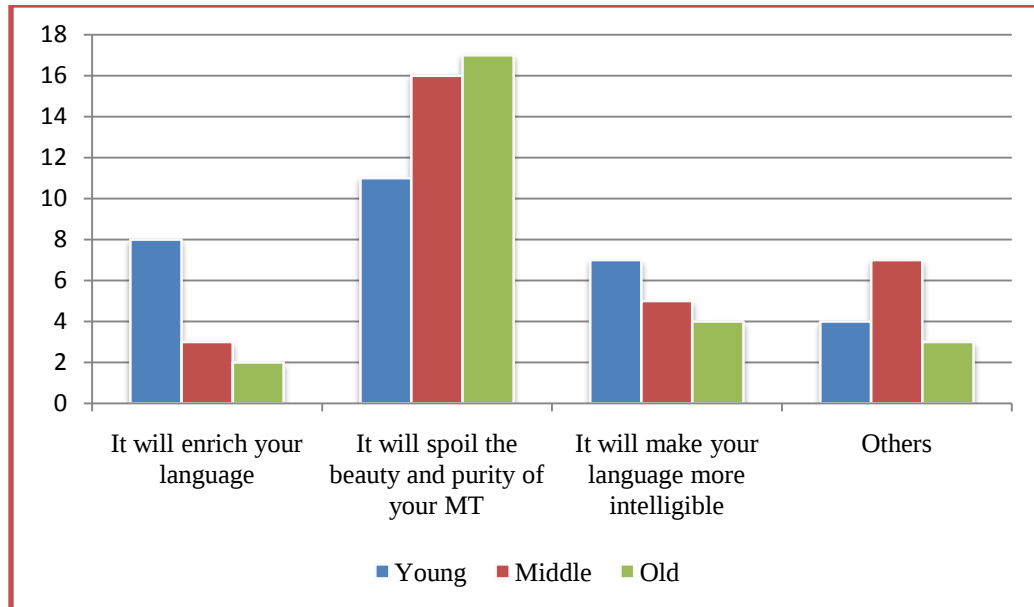


Figure 7.13: Responses about mixing words from other languages

Similarly, in responses to the question ‘Do your children mix other languages more than you do?’ Table 7.9 presents the attitudinal responses provided by the respondents.

Table 7.9: Mixing of other language by the children (n=65)

	Yes	No	Don't know
Young (n=17)	70.58%	11.76%	17.64%
Middle (n=24)	79.16%	12.5%	8.33%
Old (n=24)	87.5%	4.16%	8.33%

Source: Field study (2016)

Table 7.9 shows that around 71% young, 80% middle, and 87% old respondents responded think that their children mix other languages more than they do. Similarly, 12% young, 13% middle aged and 5% old respondents said that their children do not mix other languages more than they do. And remaining 18% young, 9% middle, and the same percentage old respondents responded that they do not know whether their children mix other languages or not. Figure 7.14 presents the situation more clearly.

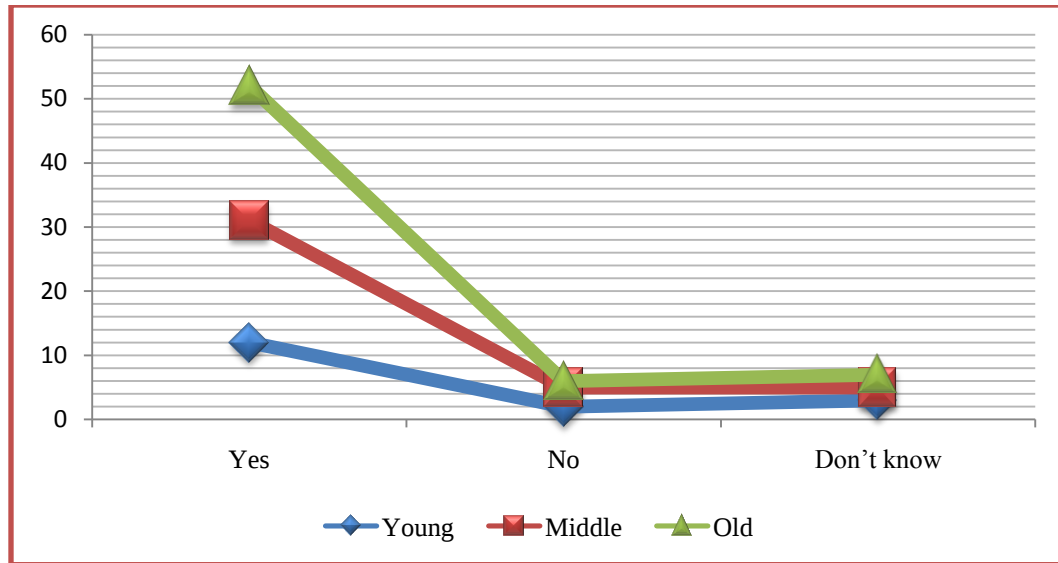


Figure 7.14: Mixing of other languages by the children

This section briefly deals with language shift referring to the languages such as Nepali, official language of Nepal, Hindi and English as well.

7.4.1 The shift from Maithili to Nepali

The shifted variety of Maithili is termed *Maithili-Nepali*, and uncontaminated Maithili is called *Maithili*. The items in focus are in italics.

Following are the examples:

Maithili :

- (1) *həmər bhaiya/bhaiji iskuləme/mə əich*
 ham-ər bhaiya/bhaiji iskul-me/mə əi-ch
 1SG-GEN brother-NOM school-LOC AUX-PRS-(1)
 ‘My brother is in the school.’

Maithili-Nepali:

- (2) *həmər daju iskuləme/mə əich*
 həm-ər daju iskul-me/mə əi-ch
 1SG-GEN brother-NOM school-LOC AUX-PRS-(1)
 ‘My brother is in the school.’

Maithili :

- (3) *kebar/kebari kholu*
kebar/kebari khol-u
 door open-IMP-(2H)
 ‘Please open the door.’

Maithili-Nepali:

- (4) *dhoka kholu*
dhoka khol-u
 door open-IMP-(2H)
 ‘Please open the door.’

In the Maithili-Nepali examples (2) and (4), Maithili nouns *bhaiya/bhaiji* ‘brother’ and *kebar/kebari* ‘door’ are expected in place of the Nepali nouns *dadzu* ‘brother’ and *dhoka* ‘door’. The Maithili examples in (1) and (3) are illustrative. Nouns are not easily borrowed into a language from guest code. The very presence of the Nepali nouns *dadzu* ‘brother’ and *dhoka* ‘door’ in the place of Maithili nouns *bhaiya/bhaiji* ‘brother’ and *kebar/kebari* ‘door’ in the normal speech of Maithili speakers shows the shift in progress. The shift is purely the result of contact by native Maithili speakers with Nepali speakers.

Maithili :

- (5) *aike din me nik netakə dzəzurət əich*
aike din me nik netakə dzəzurət əi-ch
 Today day LOC good leader need-PRT AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Today, there is the need of good leaders.’

Maithili-Nepali:

- (6) *aike din me əsəl netakə dzəzurət əich*
aike din me əsəl netakə dzəzurət əi-ch
 Today day LOC good leader need-PRT AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Today, there is the need of good leaders.’
- (7) *tərai/mədhesək besi jənta gərib əich*
tərai/mədhes-ək besi jənta gərib əi-ch
 Tarai/Madhes-GEN almost people poor AUX-PRES-(3NH)
 ‘Most of the people in Tarai/Madhes are poor.’
- (8) *tərai/mədhesək ədhikās jənta gərib əich*
tərai/mədhes-ək ədhikās jənta gərib əi-ch
 Tarai/Madhes-GEN almost people poor AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Most of the people in Tarai/Madhes are poor.’

Examples (5-8) show that Maithili speakers use Nepali adjective *səl* ‘good’ and *adhikās* ‘almost’ instead of the uncontaminated Maithili forms *nik* ‘good’ and *besi* ‘almost’.

Maithili :

- (9) *Rajesh bides sə ghər elai*
Rajesh bides sə ghər e-lai
Rajesh foreign country from home return-PST-(3NH)
 ‘Rajesh returned from foreign country.’

Maithili-Nepali:

- (10) *Rajesh bides sə ghər phərkəlai*
Rajesh bides sə ghər phərkə-lai
Rajesh foreign country from home return-PST-(3NH)
 ‘Rajesh returned home from foreign country.’
- (11) *khuniya goli mairke bhaig gel*
khuniya goli mairke bhaig ge-l
Murderer gun shoot run AUX-PST-(3NH)
 ‘Murderer ran away after shooting’
- (12) *khuniya goli mairke phərar bhe-l*
khuniya goli mairke phərar bhe-l
Murderer goli mairke run AUX-PST-(3NH)
 ‘Murderer ran away after shooting.’

Note that in examples (9-12) the effect of contact of Maithili speakers with Nepali is such that lexical items are being replaced. Instead of Maithili *elai* ‘return’ and *bhaig gel* ‘run away’, Maithili speakers use Nepali *phərkəlai* ‘return’ and *phərar bhe-l* ‘run away’.

Maithili :

- (13) *vidharthi səb raserəs pədhait əich*
vidharthi səb raserəs pədh-əit əi-ch
Student-NOM all slowly read-PROG AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Students are reading slowly.’

Maithili-Nepali:

- (14) *vidharthi səb bistarai pədhait əich*
vidharthi səb bistarai pədh-əit əi-ch
Student-NOM all slowly read-PROG AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Students are reading slowly.’

Maithili :

- (15) *əhã kətə jai chi*
əhã kətə ja-i ch-i
you (H) where go-PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)
'Where are you going?'

Maithili-Nepali:

- (16) *əhã kəhã jai chi*
əhã kəhã ja-i ch-i
you (H) where go-PROG AUX-PRS-(2H)
'Where are you going?'

Maithili speakers in regular contact with Nepali in their day-to-day life in formal domains shift at the adverbs. Instead of Maithili *raseras* 'slowly' and *kətə* 'where', Maithili speakers use Nepali *bistarai* 'slowly' and *kəhã* 'where'.

7.4.2 The shift from Maithili to Hindi

The shifted variety of Maithili is termed *Maithili-Hindi*, and uncontaminated Maithili is called *Maithili*. The items in focus are in italics.

Following are the examples:

Maithili :

- (17) *jebi me kələm chəi*
jebi me kələm ch-əi
pocket LOC pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
'The pen is in the pocket.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (18) *jeb me kələm chəi*
jeb me kələm ch-əi
pocket LOC pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
'The pen is in the pocket.'

Maithili :

- (19) *həmṛā təregən dekhai delək*
həm-rā təregən dekhai de-l-ək
1SG-DAT stars visible give-PST-(1)
'I saw stars.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (20) *həm-ra tārā dekhai delək*
həm-ra tārā dekhai de-l-ək
 1SG-DAT stars visible give-PST-(1)
 ‘I saw stars.’ (Mishara 1990, p. 107)

Examples (17-20) illustrate that Maithili speakers use Hindi nouns *jeb* ‘pocket’ and *tātā* ‘stars’ in the place of Maithili nouns *jebi* ‘pocket’ and *təregən* ‘stars’.

Let us consider some more evidences in favor of the shift from Maithili to Hindi in the following examples:

Maithili :

- (21) *ek ṭā āmək pāt lāu*
ek ṭā ām-ək pāt lā-u
 one classifier mango-GEN leaf bring-IMP-(3NH)
 ‘Please bring a mango leaf.’

Maithili-Hindi:

- (22) *ek ṭā āmke pətṭe lāu*
ek ṭā ām-ke pətṭe lā-u
 one classifier mango-GEN leaf bring-IMP-(3NH)
 ‘Please bring a mango leaf.’

It is to be noted here that Maithili speakers in effective contact with Hindi in their day to day life in formal domains shift at the phrasal level, too. Instead of Maithili *ām-ək pāt* ‘mango leaf’ as in (21), Maithili speakers use Hindi *am-ke pətṭe* ‘mango leaf’ as in (22).

Maithili :

- (23) *nariyəlke gachi bəhut nəmhər əich*
nariyəl-ke gachi bəhut nəmhər əi-ch
 coconut-GEN tree very long AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘The coconut tree is very long.’

Maithili-Hindi:

- (24) *nariyəlke gachi bəhut ləmba əich*
nariyəl-ke gachi bəhut ləmba əi-ch
 coconut-GEN tree very long AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘The coconut tree is very long.’

Maithili :

- (25) *sona bəhut məhəg əich*
sona bəhut məhəg əi-ch
gold very expensive AUX-PRS-(3NH)
'The gold is very expensive.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (26) *sona bəhut məhəga əich*
sona bəhut məhəga əi-ch
gold very expensive AUX-PRS-(3NH)
'The gold is very expensive.'

Examples (23-26) show that the Hindi adjectives *lamba* 'long' and *məhəga* 'expensive' are used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *nəmhər* 'long' and *məhəg* 'expensive'.

Maithili :

- (27) *əhā baisu* (Kumar 2001, p. 136)
əhā bais-u
you (H) sit-IMP -(2H)
'Please be seated.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (28) *əhā baiṭhu*
əhā baiṭh-u
you (H) sit-IMP-(2H)
'Please be seated.'

Examples (27-28) show that the Hindi verb stem *baiṭh* 'sit' is used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *bais* 'sit', whereas the system morpheme is still from Maithili. It is to be noted that in examples (27) and (28) the effect of contact of Maithili speakers with Hindi is such that lexical items are being replaced. The occurrence is demonstrated by examples (29-30), in which the Hindi verb *bol* 'tell' and *bhej* 'send' are used in place of Maithili *baj* 'tell' and *pəṭha* 'send', respectively.

Maithili :

- (29) *baju kəkəra pəṭhau*
baj-u kəkəra pəṭha-u
say-IMP who send-IMP
'Tell me please, whom should I send?'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (30) *bolu kəkəra bheju*
bol-u kəkəra bhej-u
say-IMP who send-IMP
‘Tell me please, whom should I send?’

Examples (31-34) illustrate that Maithili speakers use Hindi adverbs *kəhā* ‘where’ and *dhiredhire* ‘slowly’ instead of the uncontaminated Maithili forms *kətə* ‘where’ and *rəserəs* ‘slowly’.

Maithili :

- (31) *əhā kətə jai chi*
əhā kətə ja-i ch-i
you (H) where go-PROG AUX-PRS-(2H)
‘Where are you going?’

Maithili-Hindi:

- (32) *əhā kəhā jai chi*
əhā kəhā ja-i ch-i
you (H) where go-PROG AUX-PRS-(2H)
‘Where are you going?’

Maithili :

- (33) *rəserəs cəlu*
rəserəs cəl-u
slowly walk-IMP-(2H)
‘Please walk slowly.’

Maithili-Hindi:

- (34) *dhiredhire cəlu*
dhiredhire cəl-u
slowly walk-IMP (2H)
‘Please walk slowly.’

7.4.3 The shift from Maithili to English

In the use of the Maithili language sometimes English nouns are mixed to show themselves prestigious and sometimes because the speakers do not find appropriate equivalent in their mother tongue.

Maithili :

- (35) *gaḍike speed kəm kəru*
gaḍi-ke speed kəm kər-u
bus-GEN speed slow do-IMP-(2H)
‘Please, slow down the speed of the bus.’

Maithili-English:

- (36) *buske speed kəm kəru*
bus-ke speed kəm kər-u
bus-GEN speed slow do-IMP-(2H)
‘Please, slow down the speed of the bus.’

Maithili :

- (37) *jebi me kələm chəi*
jebi me kələm ch-əi
pocket LOC pen AUX-PRS-(3NH)
‘The pen is in the pocket.’

Maithili-English:

- (38) *jeb me pen chəi*
jeb me pen ch-əi
pocket LOC pen AUX-PRS- (3NH)
‘The pen is in the pocket.’

Examples (35-36) show that the English noun *bus* ‘bus’ is used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *gadi* ‘bus’. It is to be noted that in examples (35) and (36) the effect of contact of Maithili speakers with English is such that lexical items are being replaced. The occurrence is demonstrated by examples (37-38), in which the English noun *pen* ‘pen’ is used in place of Maithili *kələm* ‘pen’.

Maithili :

- (39) *hunkər bhai tez əich*
hun-k-ər bhai tez əi-ch
3SG (H)-GEN brother talent AUX-PRS-(3H)
‘His brother is talent.’

Maithili-English:

- (40) *hunkər bhai talent əich*
hun-k-ər bhai talent əi-ch
3SG (H)-GEN brother talent AUX-PRS-(3H)
‘His brother is talent.’

Maithili :

- (41) *həmər beṭa sunədər əich*
həm-ər beṭa sunədər əi-ch
ISG-GEN son handsome AUX-PRS-(3NH)
'My son is handsome.'

Maithili-English:

- (42) *həmər beṭa həndəsəm əich*
həm-ər beṭa həndəsəm əi-ch
ISG-GEN son handsome AUX-PRS-(3NH)
'My son is handsome.'

Examples (39-42) show that the English adjectives *tailent* 'talent' and *həndəsəm* 'handsome' are used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *tez* 'talent' and *sundər* 'handsome'.

Maithili :

- (43) *əhā ke mobāil bigərəl əich*
əhā- ke mobāil bigərəl əi-ch
you (H)-GEN mobile break-PRS AUX-PRS-(3H)
'Your mobile is broken.'

Maithili-English:

- (44) *əhāke mobāil distərəb əich*
əhā- ke mobāil distərəb əi-ch
you (H)-GEN mobile break-PST AUX-PRS-(3H)
'Your mobile is broken.'

It is to be noted here that examples (43-44) show the English verb *distərəb* 'break' is used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *bigərəl* 'break'.

Let us consider some more evidences in favor of the shift from Maithili to English in the following examples:

Maithili :

- (45) *həmər bhai prəṭhəm srenisə SEE utirn*
bhel
həm-ər bhai prəṭhəm sreni-sə SEE utirn
1SG-GEN brother first division- ABL SEE pass-PRS
bhe-l
AUX-PST-(3NH)
'My brother has passed SEE in the first division.'

Maithili-English:

- (46) *həmər bhai prəthəm srenisə SEE pas*
bhel
həm-ər bhai prəthəm sreni-sə SEE pas
 1SG-GEN brother first division- ABL SEE pass-PRS
bhe-l
 AUX-PST-(3NH)
 ‘My brother has passed SEE in the first division.’

Examples (45-46) illustrate that Maithili speakers use English verb *pas* ‘pass’ instead of the uncontaminated Maithili form *utirn* ‘pass’.

Maithili :

- (47) *Rajaram bəhut jorsə dəurəi chəi*
Rajaram bəhut jorsə dəurəi ch-əi
Rajaram very fast run-PRS AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Rajaram runs very fast.’

Maithili-English:

- (48) *Rajaram bəhut fasət dəurəi chəi*
Rajaram bəhut fasət dəurəi ch-əi
Rajaram very fast run-PRS AUX-PRS-(3NH)
 ‘Rajaram runs very fast.’

It is to be noted here that Maithili speakers in regular contact with English, use *fasət* ‘fast’ instead of Maithili adverb *jorsə* ‘fast’ as in example (47), Maithili speakers use English *fasət* ‘fast’ as in example (48).

Let us see some more evidences in favor of the shift from Maithili to English in the following examples:

Maithili :

- (49) *Bikash gət bərs MBS pas ken chəl*
Bikash gət bərs MBS pas ken ch-əl
Bikash last year MBS pass-PRS do AUX-PST-(3NH)
 ‘Bikash has passed MBS last year.’

Maithili-English:

- (50) *Bikash lasəṭ iyər MBS pas ken chəl*
Bikash lasəṭ iyər MBS pas ken ch-əl
Bikash last year MBS pass-PRS do AUX-PST (3NH)
 ‘Bikash passed MBS last year.’

Examples (49-50) show that the English adverb *lasət iyər* ‘last year’ is used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *gət bərs* ‘last year’.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the sociolinguistic aspect of language contact situation in the Maithili speech community. Maithili speakers extensively tend to use their mother tongue in all the general domains of language. They use it while counting, singing, joking, shopping/marketing, storytelling, debating, praying, talking to servant, abusing, singing at home, family gathering, meeting, invitation for marriage, dreaming, talking to friends, playing, and in public meeting. Moreover, Maithili is frequently used in media and entertaining activities, festivals and cultural activities, and informal activities such as facebook status, SMS and email writing. However, they sometimes switch to languages of wider communication, according to their needs and contexts. More specifically, they make mixed uses of Maithili, Nepali and Hindi as contact languages but educated speakers also tend to use English in some context. Most of the parents like their children to learn in the medium of Maithili. They also prefer their children to learn in medium of Nepali, the official language and English, the international language. Maithili language is being transmitted to the new generation very well. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue very well. However, the rate of shifting towards other languages is also alarming. Maithili speakers generally mix or switch to other languages (i.e. Nepali, Hindi and sometimes English) while speaking their mother tongue. The shift from Maithili to other languages is unintentional and purely the result of contact. Maithili speakers are not shifting to Nepali and Hindi deliberately. Rather their regular and frequent interaction with Nepali and Hindi is influencing the shift at the formal level. Nepali is used by Maithili speakers in all functional domains, as it is the only official language of Nepal including Tarai region (the native place of Maithili speakers). Similarly, Hindi is the lingua franca after Nepali in the Tarai. But the shift from Maithili to English is the influence of English medium school.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

8.0 Outline

This chapter presents a summary of the major findings and conclusion of this study. It consists of two sections. Section 8.1, presents the summary of the major findings of the study. In section 8.2, we present a conclusion of the study.

8.1 Summary of the major findings

This study aims at presenting the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language in terms of its dialectal variations (viz., regional and social variations), language attitude, multilingualism, language choice and language contact. The major findings of the study are presented as follows:

8.1.1 Regional variations

- a) In the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, there are three regional dialects in Maithili, viz., eastern dialect, central dialect, and western dialect. However, in some contexts, [i.e., auxiliaries (*chiyāi* ‘eastern’ and *hāi* ‘central’), pronouns (*hāme* ‘eastern’ and *hām* ‘central’)] etc., this study has found only two regional dialects viz., eastern dialect and western dialect.
- b) The vowels such as /ə/ and /a/ are commonly used in the attested form in the three dialects whereas /æ/ is used in the innovated form in the eastern dialect and, (/e/ and /i/) is used in the innovated form in the western dialect.
- c) The consonant *ch* in auxiliary verb-*əich*, and *-chi*, is used in the attested form in the three dialects whereas the auxiliary verb /*chāi*/, /*chiyāi*/ is used in the innovated form in the eastern dialect (especially in the Saptari district), /*hāi*/ and /*hiyāi*/ in the central dialect (especially in the Siraha district), and /*hāi*/ in the western dialect as well.
- d) The pronoun, /*hāme/tohẽ* is only found in the eastern dialect as an innovated form not found in the central and western dialect.

- e) There is 82% to 94% lexical similarity among the three dialects. Moreover, the lexical similarity percentages of the word list gleaned in the eastern dialect range from 84% to 90%. Such similarity percentages range from 83% to 90% in the central dialect whereas in the western dialect, the similarity percentages range from 86% to 93%.

8.1.2 Social variations

- a) There are mainly two social varieties (i.e. Brahmin and Non-Brahmin) in the Maithili language reflected in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. But in some contexts, this study has established three social varieties viz., Brahmin, Non-Brahmin1 and Non-Brahmin 2.
- b) The vowel phonemes /ə/, /a/, /e/ of Brahmin variety are changed into /æ/ in Non-Brahmin variety of Maithili. However, in some cases, vowel /æ/, of the Non-Brahmin variety, is also used in Brahmin variety instead of /e/. Moreover, vowel /u/ of Brahmin variety is changed into /ə/ in the Non-Brahmin variety.
- c) The consonant phonemes /l/, /r/, /n/, y, and [+n] of the Brahmin variety are changed to [l/-r/], [/n/ and /r/-l/], [/y/-g/ and /h/] and [+n/-n/] in the Non-Brahmin variety, respectively.
- d) There are also a number of morphological differences in this language among these social groups. The process in making nouns plural, Brahmin use 'səb/səbh' as plural markers whereas Non-Brahmin use plural markers 'səb/aur/aru' as the suffixes respectively.
- e) In the process of making nouns plural, Brahmin use *səb*, *səbh*, *lokəin* and *gən* as plural markers whereas Non-Brahmin use plural markers *səb*, *aur* and *aru* as suffixes, respectively.
- f) Similarly, Maithili exhibits a number of interesting examples of social variations in cases constrained by different social groups.
- g) The accusative-dative case in Maithili is marked by the postposition *ke/kē*. Of them, Brahmin used *kē* as accusative-dative marker whereas *ke* is used by Non-Brahmin.

- h) In the same way, the instrumental case in Maithili is marked by the postpositions *suh* as *sã*, *sə* and *se* whereas the ablative case in Maithili is marked by the postpositions such as *sã*, *sə* and *se*.
- i) Likewise, the genitive case is marked by the case marker *ək/k* depending on the noun phrase. In addition, the genitive case marker *ke* has been found being mostly used in Non-Brahmin variety.
- j) The locative case in Maithili is marked by the use of the postpositions such as *me*, *pər*, *mə*, *pə* and *pe* as well.
- k) In Maithili, honorificity is very complex. It exhibits a number of interesting examples of social variations in sentences. To honor the people in Maithili, the honorific pronoun/verb is very often used in the Brahmin community whereas it is rarely found in the Non-Brahmin community.
- l) The coordinator *a* has various realizations in Maithili complex sentences used by the speakers of the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin community. In Brahmin, *a*, *aor*, *ebəm*, and *tətha* (as a coordinator) are used to conjoin sentences, however, *a* and *aur* (as a coordinator) are used in the Non-Brahmin community.
- m) In this language when two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction *muda*, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exists between the two conjuncts. The Brahmin use *muda* ‘but’, whereas Non-Brahmin use *lekin*.
- n) The language spoken by the three major social groups are mutually intelligible to each other. There is 82% to 92% lexical similarity among these social groups.

8.1.3 Language attitude

- a) In Maithili speech community there is an extremely positive attitude towards their mother tongue. All people like their language.
- b) Moreover, more than two-third of people feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages and only a few respondents said that they had problems because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue/first language and the problems they faces are discrimination in education, government offices, school and social.

- c) In the Maithili speech community, a greater number of people feel bad if their son and daughter married someone who does not know their language. Almost all people are fully confident that their children would speak the mother tongue in future.
- d) In the Maithili speech community, except a very few respondents, almost all the people are convinced that their children should first speak their mother tongue.

8.1.4 Multilingualism and language choice

- a) Maithili is fairly a multilingual community. In this community, an individual can speak or understand the languages, viz., Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, English, Theti, Bhojpuri, Tharu, Urdu, Bangali and Sanskrit.
- b) All the respondents are very much proficient in their mother tongue as they are all good in understanding and speaking their mother tongue while literate Maithili speakers are good in reading and writing their mother tongue.
- c) Moreover, most of them have good proficiency in Nepali and Hindi languages and a significant numbers of Maithili speakers mainly having formal education have good proficiency in English as well.
- d) In this community, the other languages known to the grandparents, parents and spouse are Nepali and Hindi. Of the respondents, 60% have replied that Nepali is spoken by their children whereas more than 41% of the respondents said that Hindi is spoken by their children.
- e) In addition, of the respondents 35.4% have replied that their children know English. It is because they study or have studied in English Medium Schools.

8.1.5 Language contact situation

- a) Maithili speakers tend to extensively use their mother tongue in all the general domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, shopping/marketing, storytelling, debating, praying, talking to servant, abusing, singing at home, family gathering, meeting, invitation for marriage, dreaming, talking to friends, playing, and public meeting.

- b) Moreover, Maithili is frequently used in media and entertaining activities, festivals and cultural activities, and informal activities such as composing facebook status, SMS and writing emails.
- c) Maithili speakers make mixed uses of Maithili, Nepali and Hindi as contact languages but educated speakers also tend to use English in this context. Most of the parents like their children learn in the medium of Maithili.
- d) They prefer their children learn in medium of Nepali, the official language and English, the international language.
- e) The Maithili speech community is seen to have maintained intergenerational transmission of their language. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue very well. However, the rate of shifting towards other languages is also not ignored.
- f) The shift from Maithili to other languages is unintentional and purely the result of contact. Maithili speakers are not deliberately shifting to Nepali and Hindi. Their regular and frequent interaction with Nepali and Hindi is influencing the shift at the formal level instead.
- g) Nepali is used by Maithili speakers in all functional domains, as it is the single official language of Nepal. Similarly, Hindi is the lingua franca after Nepali in the Tarai. But the shift from Maithili to English is the influence of English medium education systems.

8.2 Conclusion

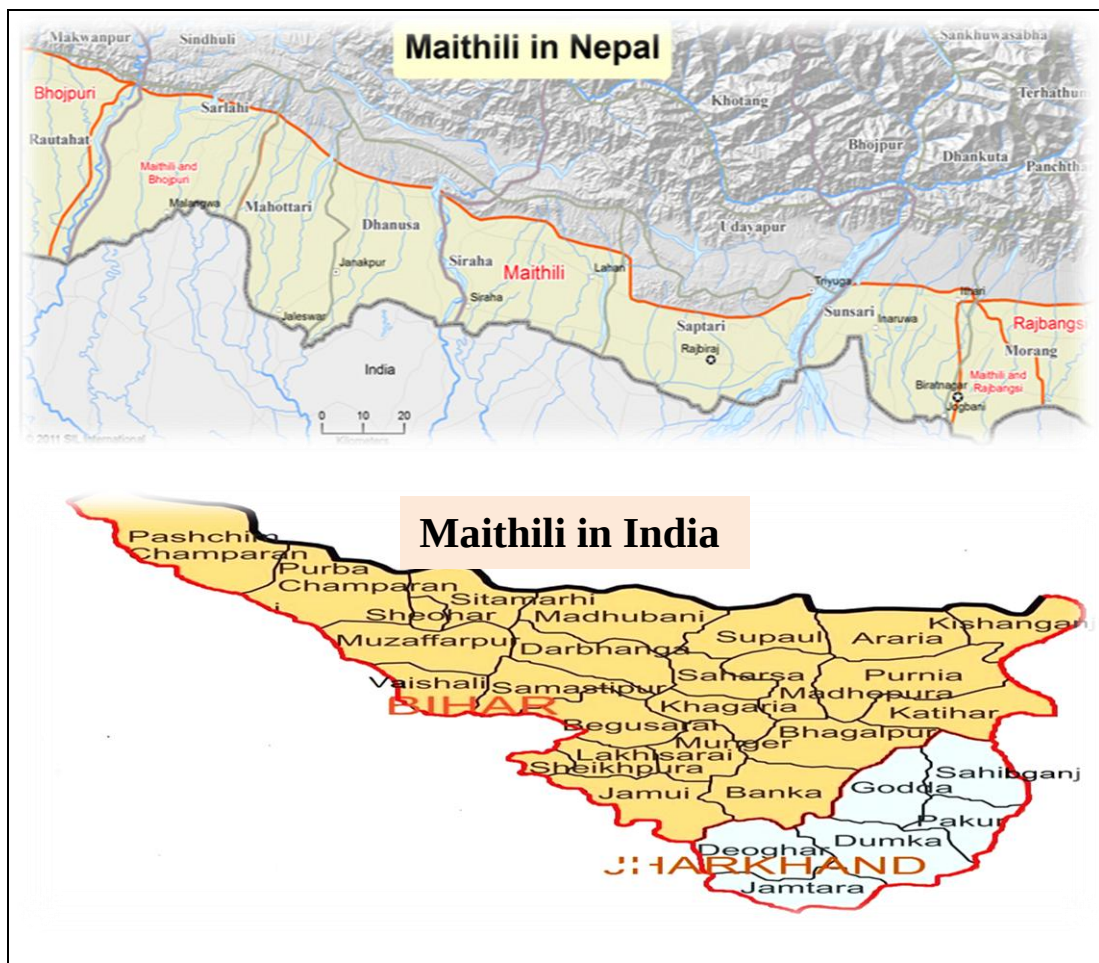
In this study, we have analyzed the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language in terms of its dialectal variations, language attitude, multilingualism, language choice and language contact. The result reveals that Maithili speakers tend to frequently use their mother tongue in almost all the social domains with positive attitudes. However, they sometimes switch to a language of wider communication, according to their needs and contexts. Moreover, Maithili speakers make mixed uses of Maithili, Nepali and Hindi as contact languages but educated speakers also tend to use English in this context. This language also shows regional and social variations. Such variations may be attested in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. In Maithili, there are mainly two

regional dialects: eastern and western. But in some contexts, this study also found three regional dialects, viz. eastern, central and western. However, most of the sociolinguistic features of western dialect seem to be similar with central dialect. There are mainly two social varieties: Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, in the language. However, in some contexts, this study found three social varieties: Brahmin, Non-Brahmin1 and Non-Brahmin 2 as well. Honorificity is very complex in the Brahmin variety of Maithili whereas it is rarely found in Non-Brahmin (except some high educated people) variety of the language. However, this study has rarely found high honorificity in the Brahmin variety as well. In addition, this study has also compared three wordlists and some basic sentences collected from Angika, Magahi and Bajjika people with Maithili data. The Maithili language spoken by Brahmin, Non-Brahmin1 and Non-Brahmin2 speakers as well as Angika, Magahi and Bajjika speakers in the study areas are mutually intelligible to each others. In other words, there is a 79% to 90% similarity among these speakers in this study.

To sum up, Maithili is spoken in a broader area of Tarai of Nepal, exhibits both regional and social variation; however, such variations do not hinder any mutual intelligibility among the speakers. Moreover, language attitude among the Maithili speakers has shaped the patterns of language choice and language shift which require being studied in detail in the context of multilingualism in the area.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Maps of the Maithili speaking area of Nepal and India



Annex 2: Distribution of the Maithili (as mother tongue and second language) speaking people in Nepal

Districts		Use as a mother tongue (n=3,092,530)	Use as a second language (n=195, 287)
1.	Taplejung	238	28
2.	Panchathar	568	52
3.	Ilam	903	74
4.	Jhapa	45038	1324
5.	Morang	228215	21531
6.	Sunsari	215804	45155
7.	Dhankuta	904	23
8.	Terhathum	267	18
9.	Sankhauwasabha	493	32

10.	Bhojpur	351	57
11.	Solukhumbu	760	17
12.	Okhaldhunga	484	24
13.	Khotang	667	49
14.	Udayapur	12583	390
15.	Saptari	505897	19194
16.	Siraha	546925	24872
17.	Dhanusha	647433	21678
18.	Mahottari	506696	22646
19.	Sarlahai	163537	29474
20.	Sindhuli	4887	119
21.	Ramechhap	503	35
22.	Dolkha	470	33
23.	Sindhupalchok	634	59
24.	Kavrepalanchok	1046	58
25.	Lalitpur	11905	481
26.	Bhaktapur	3340	227
27.	Kathmandu	36929	2222
28.	Nuwakot	439	44
29.	Rasuwa	151	-
30.	Dhading	449	23
31.	Makwanpur	2817	134
32.	Rautahat	20582	2603
33.	Bara	26255	330
34.	Parsa	30653	633
35.	Chitawan	3572	262
36.	Gorkha	158	29
37.	Lamjung	156	21
38.	Tanahu	415	33
39.	Syangja	196	46
40.	Kaski	2579	181
41.	Manang	18	-
42.	Mustang	34	-
43.	Myagdi	122	-
44.	Parbat	245	11
45.	Baglung	94	37
46.	Gulmi	76	17
47.	Palpa	209	23
48.	Nawalparasi	12297	64
49.	Rupandehi	31138	197
50.	Kapilbastu	4878	77
51.	Arghakhanchi	42	20
52.	Pyuthan	79	-
53.	Rolpa	124	-
54.	Rukum	61	14

55.	Salyan	44	13
56.	Dang	666	56
57.	Banke	4804	111
58.	Bardiya	1850	48
59.	Surkhet	503	35
60.	Dailekh	97	28
61.	Jajarkot	70	15
62.	Dolpa	25	-
63.	Jumla	85	22
64.	Kalikot	84	15
65.	Mugu	34	-
66.	Humla	57	-
67.	Bajura	75	15
68.	Bajhang	22	-
69.	Achham	223	26
70.	Doti	264	11
71.	Kailali	6799	90
72.	Kanchanpur	1206	21
73.	Dadeldhura	159	-
74.	Baitadi	73	34
75.	Darchula	74	-

Annex 3a: 405 wordlist

S.N.	English	Nepali	Maithili
1.	body	शरीर	देह/शरीर/अंग
2.	head	टाउको	कपार
3.	hair	कपाल	केस
4.	face	अनुहार	चेहरा/अनुहार
5.	eye	आँखा	आँखि
6.	eye-brow	आँखिभौँ	भतरूइयाँ
7.	ear	कान	कान
8.	nose	नाक	नाक
9.	mouth	मुख	मुँह
10.	lip	ओठ	ठोर/ओठ
11.	tooth	दाँत	दाँत
12.	tongue	जिब्रो	जी/जीभ
13.	neck	घाँटी	गर्देन
14.	chest	छाती	छाती
15.	breast	स्तन	चुचि/स्तन/छाती

16.	belly/stomach	पेट	पेट
17.	waist	कम्मर	डॉर/कम्मर
18.	arm	हात	हाथ
19.	elbow	कुइनो	कहुनि
20.	finger	औलो	औरी
21.	thumb	बूढी औलो	औठा
22.	fingernail	नड	नह
23.	palm	हत्केलो	तरहथि
24.	claw	पन्जा	पन्जा
25.	leg	खुट्टो	टाङ्ग
26.	knee	घुँडा	ठेहुन
27.	foot	खुट्टा	पएर
28.	skin	छाला	चमरा/छाला
29.	bone	हाड	हाड/हड्डी
30.	heart	मुटु	दिल/हृदय
31.	blood	रगत	लहु/खुन/रगत
32.	cough	खाँसी	खोंखि/खाँसी
33.	fever	ज्वरो	जर/बोखार
34.	urine	पिसाब	मुत/लगहि/पेशाब
35.	feces	दिसा	गुँह
36.	village	गाउँ	गाम
37.	house	घर	घर
38.	roof	छानो	चार/छपर
39.	door	ढोका	केबार/फट्क
40.	bazaar	बजार	हटिया/बजार/हाट
41.	forest	जङ्गल	वन/जंगल
42.	book	किताब	पुस्तक/किताब
43.	corpse	लास	मुर्दा/लाश
44.	farmer	किसान	किसान/खेतिहर
45.	fog	कुइरो	धोइन/धोनहि
46.	medicine	औषधि	दवाई/औषधि
47.	money	रकम	रूपैया/पैसा
48.	earning	कमाई	आम्दनी
49.	shop	पसल	दोकान

50.	tailor	दमाई	दर्जी
51.	teacher	शिक्षक	मास्टर/शिक्षक/गुरुजी
52.	priest	पुजारी	पुरहित/पंडित/बाभन
53.	firewood	दाउरा	जरना
54.	broom	कुचो	बर्नि/बारहैन/झाडु
55.	stick (for walking)	लौरो	लाट्टी
56.	rolling board	बेलना	बेलना
57.	rolling pin	चकला	चकला
58.	mortar	सिलौटो	सिलौठ
59.	pestle	लोहोरो	लोरहि
60.	hammar	हथौडा	हथौरी
61.	knife	चक्रु	चक्रु/छूरा
62.	sickle	हँसिया	हसुआ\हँसु
63.	axe	बन्चरो	कुरहैर
64.	rope	डोरी	जोरी/सस्सा
65.	tongs	चिम्टा	चुटा
66.	spoon	चमचा	चमच
67.	thread	धागो	धागा
68.	needle	सियो	सुइया
69.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	लुगा/कपडा
70.	bangle	चूडी	चूडी
71.	blouse	चोलो	आङ्गि/ब्लाउज
72.	shirt	कमिज	अंगा/कमिज
73.	sari	सारी	साडी
74.	shawl	दोसल्ला	चादर/चदैर
75.	ring	औँठी	औँठी
76.	gold	सुन	सोन
77.	silver	चाँदी	चानि/चाँदी
78.	brass	पितल	पितर/पितैर
79.	copper	तामा	ताम
80.	mirror	ऐना	ऐना/दर्पण
81.	comb	काइँयो	ककहि/कंही
82.	nose-pin	फुली	फुलिया/ठोप
83.	necklace	हार	हार

84.	earth	पृथ्वी	धर्ती/पृथ्वी
85.	air	हावा	हवा
86.	sun	घाम	सूर्य/रौद
87.	moon	चन्द्रमा	चाँद
88.	star	तारो	तारा
89.	sky	आकाश	अकाश
90.	rain	वर्षा	पानि/वर्षा
91.	water	पानी	पानि
92.	pond	पोखरी	पोखरि
93.	river	नदी	लदि/नदी
94.	flood	बाढी	बाढि
95.	cloud	बादल	मेघ
96.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	बिजली/विजलोका
97.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	इन्द्रधनुष/पैनसिखा
98.	wind	बतास	बिहाडि
99.	stone	ढुङ्गो	पत्थर
100.	path/road	बाटो	डगहर/डगर/सडक/रोड
101.	sand	बालुवा	बाउल/बालु
102.	fire	आगो	आगि
103.	smoke	धुवाँ	धुवाँ
104.	ash	खरानी	छाउर
105.	soil/clay	माटो	माटि
106.	mud	हिलो	थाल/किचड
107.	dust	धुलो	गर्दा/धुला
108.	tree	रुख	गाछ/वृक्ष
109.	leaf	पात	पात/पता
110.	root	जरो	जैर
111.	seed	बिउ	विया/बीज
112.	bark	छिलका	छौलका
113.	thorn	काँडो	काँट
114.	flower	फूल	फूल
115.	fruit	फलफूल	फल
116.	mango	आँप	आम
117.	banana	कोला (केरा)	केला/केरा

118.	wheat	गहुँ	गहुँम/गेहुँ
119.	flour	पिठो	चिकस/आँटा
120.	barley	जौ	जौ
121.	maize	मकै	मकै
122.	sugar cane	उखु	उँइख/गन्ना
123.	sweet potato	शगरखण्ड	अलुवा
124.	food	खाना	भोजन/खाना
125.	rice (crushed)	भात	भात
126.	rice (husk)	चामल	चाउर/चावल
127.	rice (paddy)	धान	धान
128.	rice (puffed)	चिउरा	चुरा
129.	vegetable (cooked)	तरकारी	तरकारि/तिमन/सब्जी
130.	potato	आलु	अलहु/आलू
131.	ginger	अदुवा	आदि
132.	eggplant	भन्टा	भंटा/बैगन
133.	groundnut	बदाम	बदाम/मूँमफली
134.	coconut	नरिवल	नारियर
135.	chili	खुर्सानी	मिरचाई
136.	turmeric	बेसार	हर्दि/हल्दी
137.	garlic	लसुन	रसुन/लहसुन
138.	onion	प्याज	पियाउज/प्याज
139.	cauliflower	काउली	फूलकोबि
140.	tomato	गोलभेंडा	टमाटर
141.	cabbage	बन्दा	बन्हाकोबि/पतकोबि
142.	cucumber	काँक्रो	खिरा
143.	salt	नून	नून
144.	sugar	चिनी	चिनी
145.	tea	चिया	चाह/चाय
146.	oil	तेल	तेल
147.	meat	मासु	मांस
148.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	चर्बी
149.	fish	माछो	माछ
150.	chicken (generic)	कुखुरा	मुर्गा
151.	egg (from chicken)	फुल	अण्डा/डिमा

152.	animal	जनावर	जानवर
153.	donkey	गधा	गधहा
154.	elephant	हाथी	हाथी
155.	cow	गाई	गाय
156.	buffalo	भैंसी	भैंस/महिस
157.	bull	साँढे	सरहा/साँढ
158.	milk	दुध	दूध
159.	honey	मह	मौध/मधु
160.	horn	सिङ	सिङ
161.	tail	पुच्छर	नङ्गरि
162.	goat	बाख्रो	छागर/छगरा
163.	sheep	भेडा	भेंडा
164.	dog	कुकुर	कुता
165.	cat	बिरालो	बिलाइ
166.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	साँप
167.	monkey	बाँदर	बानर
168.	mosquito	लामखुट्टे	मच्छर
169.	ant	कमिलो	चुट्टी
170.	spider	माकुरो	मोकरा/मकड़ा
171.	crow	काग	कौवा
172.	sparrow	भङ्गेरो	बुलबुल
173.	wing	पखेटा	पाँखि
174.	mouse	मुसो	मुस
175.	butterfly	पुतली	टुकलि
176.	louse	जुम्रा	ढिल
177.	person	व्यक्ति	आदमी
178.	man	मान्छे	मरद/आदमी/मनुष्य
179.	woman	आइमाई	मौगि
180.	child (below 10yrs old)	बच्चा	बच्चा
181.	boy (below 10 years old)	केटो	छोडा/लडका
182.	Girl (below 10 years old)	केटी	छोड़ी/लडकी
183.	father	बाबा	बाप/बाउ/पिता

184.	mother	आमा	मया/माइ/माता
185.	older brother	दाजु	भैया
186.	younger brother	भाइ	बौवा
187.	older sister	दिदी	दैया
188.	younger sister	बहिनी	दैया
189.	son	छोरो	पुत्र/बेटा
190.	daughter	छोरी	पुत्री/बेटी
191.	husband	लोगने (श्रीमान्)	घरबला/पति
192.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	घरबाली/पत्नी
193.	sister's husband	भिनाजु	बहनोई
194.	grandfather	हजुरबुबा	बाबा/दादा
195.	grandmother	हजुरआमा	दादि/मैयाँ
196.	grandson	नाति	नाति/पोता
197.	brother's wife	भाउजू	भौजी
198.	granddaughter	नातिनी	नातिनि/पोती
199.	father's older brother	ठुलो बाबु	काका
200.	father's younger brother	सानो बाबु	काका
201.	father's older sister	फुपू	दिदि
202.	father's younger sister	फुपू	दिदि
203.	mother's older brother	मामा	मामा
204.	mother's younger brother	मामा	मामा
205.	mother's older sister	ठुली आमा	मौसि
206.	mother's younger sister	सानी आमा	मौसि
207.	friend	साथी	दोस/यार/मिता
208.	name	नाम	नाम
209.	language	भाषा	भाषा
210.	night	रात	राति
211.	day	दिन	दिन
212.	morning	बिहान	भोर/अनगुत/बिहान
213.	afternoon	मध्यान्ह	दुपहर/कलौबेर
214.	evening	साँझ	साँझ

215.	today	आज	आइ
216.	yesterday	हिजो	काल्हि
217.	tomorrow	भोलि	काल्हि
218.	week	हप्ता (साता)	हप्ता
219.	month	महिना	महीना
220.	year	वर्ष	साल/वर्ष
221.	big	ठुलो	बड
222.	small	सानो	छोट
223.	heavy	गह्रौ	भाडी
224.	light	हलुका	हलुक
225.	old	पुरानो	पुरान/पुरना
226.	new	नयाँ	लभका/नया
227.	good	राम्रो (असल)	नीक/बढियाँ
228.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	खराब
229.	wet	भिजेको	भीजल
230.	dry	सुख्खा	सुखा
231.	long	लामो	नम्हार
232.	short	छोटो	छोट
233.	thin	पातलो	पातर
234.	hot	तातो	धिपल/गर्म/गरम
235.	cold (ailment)	शीतल	ठरल/ठंढा
236.	rotten	सडेको	सडल
237.	broken	फुटेको	फुटल/भाँङ्गल/टुटल
238.	right	दाहिने	दहीना/दायाँ
239.	right side	दाँयापट्टि	दहीना भाग
240.	left side	बायापट्टि	बमा भाग/बायाँ
241.	blind	अन्धो	आन्हर/अन्धा
242.	brave	बहादुर	वीर
243.	cheap	सस्तो	सस्ता
244.	costly	महँगो	महँगा
245.	curse	सराप	सराप/श्राप/शाप
246.	deaf	बहिरो	बहीर
247.	dirty	फोहोर	गन्दा/मैल
248.	drizzle	सिमसिम	सिमसिम

249.	dull	मन्दबुद्धि	सुस्त
250.	enemy	शत्रु	दुश्मन/शत्रु
251.	fear	भय	डर/भय/त्रास
252.	hard	कडा	कड़ा/कठोर
253.	high	अग्लो	उँच्च
254.	hungry	भोकाएको	भूखल
255.	lazy	अल्छी	कोढ़िया/सुस्त
256.	live	जिउँदो	जीवित
257.	lonely	एक्लो	असगरे
258.	mad	बौलाहा	पागल
259.	narrow	साँगुरो	सकेत/सङ्कीर्ण
260.	sharp	तिखो	धरगर/तिक्ष्ण
261.	smell	गन्ध	गन्ध
262.	smooth	चिप्लो	चीकन
263.	straight	सोझो	सीधा
264.	upside down	उल्टोपाल्टो	उलटपलट
265.	warm	तातो	धिपल/गर्म
266.	wide	चौडा	फैल/चौड़ा
267.	empty	खालि	खाली
268.	full	भरिलो	भरल/पूर्ण
269.	halves	आधा	अधहा/आधा
270.	few, a little	थोरै	किछु
271.	many	धेरै	बहुत/अधिक
272.	some	केही	किछु/कनेक
273.	all	सबै	सभ
274.	equal (same amount)	बराबर	बराबर/समान
275.	similar (in quality)	उस्तै	ओहने
276.	different	फरक (अलग)	अलग/भिन्न
277.	one	एक	एक
278.	two	दुई	दू
279.	three	तीन	तीन
280.	four	चार	चारि
281.	five	पाँच	पाँच

282.	six	छ	छ
283.	seven	सात	सात
284.	eight	आठ	आठ
285.	nine	नौ	नौ
286.	ten	दश	दस
287.	eleven	एघार	एगारह
288.	twelve	बाह	बारह
289.	twenty	बिस	बीस
290.	one hundred	एक सय	एक सय
291.	white	सेतो	उज्जर
292.	black	कालो	कारी
293.	red	रातो	लाल
294.	green	हरियो	हरियर
295.	behind	पछाडि	पछा
296.	near	नजिक	लग/नजदीक
297.	far	टाढा	दूर
298.	here	यहाँ	एतअ
299.	there	त्यहाँ	ओतअ
300.	above	माथि	उपर
301.	below	तल	तर/नीचा
302.	with	साथमा	सँग/साथ
303.	up	माथि	उपर
304.	round	गोल	गोल
305.	down	तल	तर/नीचा
306.	front of	अगाडि	सामने
307.	who ?	को	के
308.	whose ?	कसको	ककर
309.	what ?	के	की\कथि
310.	why ?	किन	किएक
311.	where ?	कहाँ	कतऽ
312.	when ?	कहिले	कखनि
313.	which ?	कुन	कोन
314.	how ?	कसरी	केना
315.	this	यो	ई

316.	these	यिनीहरू	ईसब
317.	that	त्यो	उ
318.	those	उनीहरू	उसब
319.	daily	दिनहुँ	सबदिन/हरदम/दैनिक
320.	sometimes	कहिलेकाहीँ	कहियो कहियो/कहियो काल
321.	other	अर्को	दोसर/अन्य
322.	bathe	नुहाउनु	नेहाएब
323.	begin	सुरु गर्नु	सुरु करब
324.	breathe	सास फेर्नु	साँस लेब
325.	fall	लड्नु	खसब/गिरब
326.	float	तैरनु	तैरब
327.	flow	बगनु	बगब
328.	freeze	जम्नु	जमब
329.	pain	दुख्े	दुखाएब
330.	remember	सम्झनु	याद करब
331.	swim	पौडी खेलनु	हेलब
332.	think	सोच्नु	सोचब/विचारब
333.	thirst	तिर्खाउनु	प्यास लगब
334.	to be hungry	भोक लागनु	भूख लागब
335.	turn	घुम्नु	घुमब
336.	go	जानु	जाएब
337.	come	आउनु	आएब
338.	abuse	गाली गर्नु	गारि पढब
339.	die	मर्नु	मरब
340.	sleep	सुत्नु	सुतब
341.	lie	पल्टनु	पल्टब
342.	sit	बस्नु	बैठब
343.	stand	उभ्नु	ठाढ हएब
344.	walk	हिँड्नु	चलब
345.	fly	उड्नु	उडब
346.	run	दौड्नु	दौडब
347.	laugh	हाँस्नु	हाँसब
348.	cry	कराउनु	चिचिआएब
349.	vomit	बान्ता गर्नु	बोकरब

350.	spit	थुक्नु	थूकब
351.	burn	डढाउनु	जलाएब
352.	buy	किन्नु	किनब
353.	count	गन्नु	गनब
354.	dig	खन्नु	खुनब
355.	earn	कमाउनु	कमाएब
356.	feed	खाउनु	खुआएब
357.	fight	लड्नु	लडब
358.	hit	हान्नु	मारब
359.	hold	समाह्नु	पकडब
360.	know	जान्नु	जानब/बुझब
361.	paint	रंग लगाउनु	रंगब
362.	play	खेल्नु	खेलब
363.	pull	तान्नु	तानब
364.	push	धकेल्नु	धकेलब
365.	rub	घोट्नु	रगडब
366.	sell	बेच्नु	बेचब
367.	sew	सिउनु	सिअब
368.	sing	गाउनु	गाएब
369.	speak	बोल्नु	बाजब
370.	squeeze	निचोर्नु	गाडब
371.	stab	छुरा हान्नु	छुरी भोकब
372.	suck	चुस्नु	चुसब
373.	teach	पढाउनु	पढाएब
374.	tie	बाँध्नु	बान्हब
375.	worship	पूजा गर्नु	पूजब
376.	write	लेख्नु	लिखब
377.	eat	खान्नु	खाएब
378.	bite	टोक्नु	काटब
379.	drink	पिउनु	पिअब
380.	give	दिनु	देब
381.	kill	मार्नु	मारब
382.	cut	काट्नु	काटब
383.	throw	फर्काउनु	फेकब

384.	say	भन्नुक	कहब
385.	hear	सुनु	सुनब
386.	see	देखु	देखब
387.	look	हेर्नु	देखब
388.	wash	धुनु	धोएब
389.	I	म	हम
390.	me	मेरो	हमर
391.	you (plural)	तिमीहरू	तुँ\अहाँ_सब
392.	you (nh)	तँ	तुँ
393.	your (nh)	तिम्रो	तोहर
394.	you (mh)	तँ	तों
395.	your (mh)	तिम्रो	तोहर
396.	you (h)	तपाईं	अहाँ
397.	your (h)	तपाईंको	अहाँक
398.	you (hh)	हजुर	अपने
399.	your (hh)	हजुरको	अपनेक
400.	he/she (nh)	ऊ/उनी	उ
401.	his/her (nh)	उनका/उनकी	ओकर
402.	he/she (h)	वहाँ	ओ
403.	his/her (h)	वहाँको	हुनक
404.	they	उनीहरू	उ/ओसब
405.	their	उनीहरूको	ओकर/हुनक-सबक

Annex 3b: 405 wordlist of Maithili

dēh	Brahmin, Biratanagar
dēh	Brahmin, Saptari
dēh	Brahmin, Dhanusa
dēh	Brahmin, Siraha
dēh	Brahmin, Mahottari
śārīr	Brahmin, Sarlahi
śārīr	Non-Brahmin 1, Biratanagar
dēh	Non-Brahmin 1, Saptari
dēh	Non-Brahmin 21 Dhanusa
dēh	Non-Brahmin 1, Siraha
dēh	Non-Brahmin 1 Saralahi
dēh	Non-Brahmin 1, Mahottari
dēh	Non-Brahmin 2, Biratanagar
dēh	Non-Brahmin 2, Saptari
dēh	Non-Brahmin 2, Siraha
dēh	Non-Brahmin 2, Dhanusa
dēh	Non-Brahmin 2, Mahottari
dēh	Non-Brahmin 2, Saralahi

chāṭī	gərdən	jīb	dānt	ōṭh	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəum	āikh	mūh	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	gərdəin	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	pepani	āikh	mūh	kes	məṭhā
chāṭī	kənṭh	jūu	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəum	āikh	mūh	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	gəḷā	jīb	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āikh	mūh	kes	math
chāṭī	gərdən	jūu	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āikh	mūh	kes	məṭhā/mūrī
chāṭī	ghēṇṭ	jūu	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āṇkh	cehərā	kes	math
chāṭī	ghēṇṭ	jībḥ	dānt	ṭhōr	mūkh	nāk	kān	raū	āikh	mūh	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	gərdəin	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəum	āikh	mūh	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	kənṭh	jūu	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āikh	mūh	kes	məṭhā
chāṭī	gərdəin/ghēṇṭ	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bəurəni	āikh	mūh	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	ghēṇṭ	jībḥ	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āṇkh	mūh	kes	məṭhā
chāṭī	ghēṇṭ/ghānti	jūu	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āikh	cehərā	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	ghēnc	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūkh/ mūh	nāk	kān	bəurəni	āikh	mukh	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	gərdən	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	pepəni	āikh	cehərā	kes	kəpār
chāṭī	ghēṇṭ	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bəurəni	āikh	mūh	kes	kəpār/məṭhā
chāṭī	ghēṇṭ	jūu	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəum	āikh	mūh/ ehərā	kes	math
chāṭī	gərdən	jībḥ	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bhəū	āṇkh	mūh	kes	məṭhā/ mūrī
chāṭī	gərdən	jī	dānt	ṭhōr	mūh	nāk	kān	bəurəni	āṇkh	mūh	kes/ bāl	məṭhā/ mūrī

ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	ṭheppəɪ	həθeli	nəh	əʊṭhā	aŋguri	kohni	hāth	kəməɾ	pēt	iətən
ṭhehun	pəɐ/ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi:	nəh	əʊṭhā	aŋguri	kehumi	hat	dār	pēt	dudh
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	āŋuṭha	aaŋur/aauri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehunā	pəɐ	hāth	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	pəɐ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	āŋgutha	aŋguri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəŋ	əʊṭhā	aŋguri	kuhina	hāth	dār	pēt	chātī
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kahuni	hāth	dār	pēt	cuccī/chātī
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾəhathi	ləh	əʊṭhā	āuŋri	kahuni	hāth	dār	pēt	dudh
ṭhehunā	pəɐ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	neuh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kehumi	hāth	kəməɾ	pēt	sətən
ṭhehuna	gōɪ/lāt	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nehu	əʊṭhā	əuri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	ṭheppəɪ	təɾhəθi	nəh	beŋṭhā	aŋguri	kahuni	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	beŋṭhā	aŋguri	kahuni	hāth	dār	pēt	cuccī
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kauhami	hāth	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehun	ṭaŋ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	aaŋari	kehumi	hat	dār	pēt	sətən
ṭhehuna	gōɪ	pəŋjā	təɾhəθi	nehu	əʊṭhā	aaŋari	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	chātī
ṭhehuna	ṭaŋ	ṭheppəɪ	təɾhəθi	nəh	əʊṭhā	əuri	kehumi	hāth	dār	pēt	dudh/sətən

gaũ	pəikhana	pesa:b	jər	khonkhi	khun	hɾɔyɔ	həɖdi:	cəməɾə	təɾəbā
gām	gũh	mūt	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəleja/kōr	həɖdi:	cəməɾə	təɾəbā
gaũ	disa:	pisa:p	bokhar	khonkhi	sonit/khun	kəreji	həɖdi:	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gām	pəikhana	pisa:b	jər	sardi	khun	kəreja	həɖi	chələ	təɾəbā
gām	pəikhana	ləghusənka	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəreja	həɖi	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gaũ	disa:	pisa:p	bukhar	khonkhi	khun	mutu:	həɖdi:	chələ	təɾəbā
gaũ	pəikhana, disa:	pesa:p/mūt	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	mutu:	hār	chələ	təɾəbā
gām	gũh	mūt/ləgəhī	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	mutu:	hār	cəməɾi/chələ	təɾəbā
gām	disa:	pisa:p	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəreji	həɖdi:	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gām	jhəɾā	ləgəhī	bokhar/jər	khonkhi/sardi	khun/ləhu	kəreja	həɖi	chələ	təɾəbā
gaũ	jhəɾā	pisa:p	bokhar	khānsi	khun	kəreja	həɖdi:	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gaũ/gām	jhəɾā	pesa:p	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəleja	həɖi	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gām	gũh	mūt	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəleja	həɖdi:	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gām	gũh	mūt	bokhar/jər	khokhi	khun	mutu:	həɖdi:	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gām	jhəɾā	pisab	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəleja	həɖdi:	cəməɾā	təɾəbā
gaũ	jhəɾā	pesab/ləgəhī	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəreja	həɖdi:	cəməɾi	təɾəbā
gaũ	gũh	pisap	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	kəreja	həɖdi:	cəməɾā	təɾəbā
gaũ	məidan	pisap	bokhar	khonkhi	khun	mutu:	həɖdi:	cəməɾā	təɾəbā

dəbāi	dhuin	kisān	lās	kitāb	jəŋgəl	bəzār	dhokā	chat	ghər
dəbāi	kuhēs	girəhəst	ləhās/murədā	kitāb	jəŋgəl/ban	hətiyā	kebāri	chat/cār	ghər
dəbāi	dhōnəhī	kisān	murədā	kitāp	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebār	cār	ghər
dəbāi	dhōnəhī	kisān	murədā	kitāb	jəŋgəl	hətiyā / bəzār	kebār	chər	ghər
dəbāi	dhuin	girəhəst	lās	pustək	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebāri	cār	ghər
dəbāi	dhūni	girəhəst	lās	kitāb	jəŋgəl	hāt	kebāri	oriyani	ghər
dəbāi	dhuin, kuhēs	kisān	lās	kitāb	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebār	channa	ghər
dəbāi	dhoin	girəhəst	ləhās	kitāp	ban	bəzār	kebār	chat	ghər
dəbāi	dhōnəhī	kisān	murədā	kitāp	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebār	cār	ghər
dəbāi	dhōnəhī	girəhəst	ləhās	kitāp	jəŋgəl	hətiyā/ bəzār	kebār	chat/cār	ghər
dəbāi	dhūn	kisān	lās	kitāp	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebāri	chapər	ghər
dəbāi	dhuni	kisān	ləhās	kitāp	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebāri	chapəri/chapər	ghər
dəbāi	kuhēs	girəhəst	murədā	kitāb	jəŋgəl	hətiyā	kebāri	chapər	ghər
dəbāi	kuhēs/dhoin	kisān	ləhās	kitāp	bon	bəzār	kebār	chapər	ghər
dəbāi	dhōnəhī	girəhəst	murədā	kitāb	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebār	chapər	ghər
goti	dhōnəhī	kisān	ləhās	kitāb	jəŋgəl	hāt	kebāri	cār	ghər
dəbāi	dhuin	kisān	murədā	kitāb	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebāri	chapər	ghər
dəbāi	dhuni/ kuhā	kisān	murədā	kitāb	jəŋgəl	bəzār	kebāri	chapər	ghər

lāthi	baṛhəin/jhaṛu	jārein	puṛohit	sikshak	dərji	dukān	kəmai	pəisā
lāthi/chəṛi	barni	jəlabən/jəronā	pujari	guruji	dərji	dukān	kəmai	pāi:
lāthi	baṛhəin	jārein	pandiji	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	rupaiyā/paisa
lāthi	baṛhəin	jəlabən	pandiji/ puṛohit	māster	dərji	dōkān	āmədəni	dhəuwā
lāthi	baṛəni	jārein	pujari	guruji	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	rupaiyā
lāthi	baṛhəin	jəronā	pandiji	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	rəkəm
lāthi	baṛhəin	jəronā	puṛohit	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	rəkəm
lāthi	barni	jəronā	bavana	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	pəisā/ təkā
lāthi	baṛhəin	jārein	pujegəri	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai:	rupaiya/paisa
lāthi	barni	jama	puṛohit	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	paisa/ rupaiya
lāthi	baṛhəin	jarana	pujari	māster	dərji	pəsol	kəmai	rupaiya
lāthi	baṛhəin	jadana	pandit	māster	dərji	dukān	kəmai	dhauwa/rupaiya/paisa
lāthi	barani	jarana	pandit	māster	dərji	dukān	kəmai	paisa
lāthi	borhain	jəlawən/ jama	pujegəri	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	paisa/ taka, rupaiya
lāthi	jhaṛu	jama	pujegəri	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	paisa
lāthi	jhaṛu	jarana	pandiji	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	paisa
lāthi	badhani/jhadu	jarana	pandit	māster	dərji	dōkān	kəmai	dhauwa
lāthi	badhani/jhaṛu	jama/ lakadi	pandiji	māster	dərji	dōkān	dhəndhā	rupaiya/paisa

dhaga/ tag	cheməc	chimətā	ḍori	kuṛḥəiṛ	kəchiyā	cəkku:	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
suta	cheməc	chuttā	joṛi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dora	cheməs	chimətā	jəuri	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməchā	chuttā	rəssi	teṇari	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəha	siləutā	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməc	chuttā	ḍori	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loedh	siləuti	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməc	chuttā	jəuri	kuṛḥəiṛ/ teṇari	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməchā	chimətā	ḍori	teṇari	kəchiyā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməs	chuttā	joṛi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dora	cheməc	sərsi	rəssi	kurahair	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməs	chuttā	rəssi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dora	cheməs	chuttā	rəssi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləuti	chəkələ	belənā
dora	cheməs	sərsi	rəssi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləuti	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməs	chuttā	doir	kuṛḥəiṛ	kəchiyā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməchā	chuttā	joṛi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	ʃakku	həṭḥəurā	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dora	cheməs	chuttā	rəssā	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	ʃakku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dora	cheməs	chuttā	pəhəgā	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	ʃakku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləut	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməs	sərsi	joṛi	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	ʃakku	həṭḥəuri	lodhiya	siləuti	chəkələ	belənā
dhaga	cheməchā	chuttā	pəghā	kuṛḥəiṛ	hāsuā	cəkku	həṭḥəuri	loṛəhi	siləutāā	chəkələ	belənā

tām	pitər	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	dosellā	sāri	kəmiŋ	bəlauj	chuŋi	ləta kəpəra	suiya
tām	pitəir	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	oŋhnā	sāri	kurta	əŋgiya/əŋgi	chuŋi:	kəpəra/nūwa	suiya
tāmā	pitər	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	chədəir	nūwa	short	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitəl	cāndi	sōnā	ēūthi	chādər	sāri	əŋgā	bəlauj	chuŋi:	kəpəra	suiya
tām	pitər	cāndi	sōnā	ēūthi	chādər	sāri	əŋgā	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitəir ya	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	oŋhnā	sāri	short	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	sui
tāmā	pitəl	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	sāl	sāri	kəmiŋ	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tām	pitəir	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	oŋhnā	sari:	əŋgā	bəlauj	chuŋi:	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitər	cāndi	sōnā	ēūthi	chədəir/pəlija	nūwa	short	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tām	pitəir	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	oŋhnā	sāri	short	āŋgi/bəlauj	chuŋi:	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitəl	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	chādər	sāri	short	jhulā	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitəir	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	sāl/palija	nūwa	jəmma	bəlauj/jhulā	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitəir	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	chədəir	sāri	jəmma	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tām	pitəir	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	oŋhnā	sari:	əŋga/ jəmma	əŋgiya/bəlau j	chuŋi:	nūwa	suiya
tām	pitəl	cāndi	sun	ēūthi	chādər	sāri	short	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tām	pitəl	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	chədəir	sāri	fəlanshort	bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitər	cānī	sōnā	ēūthi	chādər	nūwa	jəma	jhulā/bəlauj	chuŋi	kəpəra	suiya
tāmā	pitər	cāndi	sōnā	ēūthi	palija/ saləga	sāri	jəmma	bəlauj	chuŋi:	kəpəra	suiya

pānī	bərsā	ākās	tārā	cānd	rauda	havā	pr̥thvī	hār	fuli	kāgəhī	əinā
pain	bərsāt	ākās	tārā	cānd	rauda	havā	dhərtī	hār	fuliā	kāgəhī	əinā
pain	pani	ākās	tārā	cānd	rəud	havā	dhərtī	hār	ṭhop	kəkəbā	əinā
pain	pani	megh	tārā	cānd	rəud	havā	dhərtī	hār	butta	kəkəhī	dərpən
pain	megh	ākās	tārā	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	hār	ṭhop	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	megh	ākās	təregən	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	gəlasət	ṭhop	kāgəhī	əinā
pain	bərsā	ākās	tārā	ca:n	rəud	havā	pr̥thvī	hār	fuli	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	pain	ākās	tārā	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	moti	fuliā	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	bāris	ākās	tārā	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	hār	ṭhop	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	pani	ākās	tārā	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	moti	chəūk	kəkəhī	əinā/ dərpən
pani	megh	ākās	tārā	cəndā	dhup	havā	dhərtī	hār	laŋ	kāgəhī	əinā
pani	bāris/ megh	ākās	tārā	cəndrma	rəud	havā	pr̥thvī/dhərtī	hār	ṭhop	kāgəhī	əinā
pain	bərsā	ākās	tārā	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	hāri	nekmini	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	bəḍəri/ pain	ākās	tārā/tāro	ca:n	rəud	havā	dhərtī	hāri	fuliā	kəkəhī	əinā/əna
pain	pani	ākās	tārā	ijoriya	rəuda	havā	duniā	hāri	chəūk	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	bərsā	megh	tārā	cəndrma	rəud	havā	dhərtī	mala	chəūk	kāgəhī	əinā
pain	megh	ākās	təregən	cəndrma	rəud	havā	dhərtī	nekles	nekəti	kəkəhī	əinā
pain	pani	ākās	tārā	cəndrma	rəud	havā	jəmin	mala	kheitələ	kəkəhī	əinā

bāul	bāt	pəthər	havāhūri	sətrəŋji	bijələkā chəmkəl	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bāul	rəstā/dəgəhər	pəthər	bihāir	indrədhənu/pəinsokha	bijəlī chhətəkəl	mēgh	bādhi	nədi	pokheir
bāul	rəstā	pəthəl	bihāir	pəinsokha	bijələkā chəmkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pəthər	tufān	pəinsokha	mēgh chəmkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pāthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	ləukā ləukəb	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā/səṛək	pəthəl	āndhi	pəinsokha	ləukā ləukəichəi	mēgh	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pəthəl	havābihāir	sətrəŋji	tərka tərəkəichəi	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bāul	rəstā	pəthəl	bihāir	pəinsokha	bijəlī chəmkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	lədi	pokheir
bāul	rəstā	pəthəl	huṛī	sətrəŋji	ləukā ləukəl	mēgh	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bāul	rəstā	pəthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	mēgh chəmkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	lədi/dhār	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pəthəl	bihāir	pəinsokha	ləukā ləukəl	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pāthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	ləukā ləukəl	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	peṛā	pəthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	tərka tərəkəichəi	bādəl	bāir	lədi	pokheir
bāul	rəstā/peṛā	pāthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	bijəlī chəmkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	lədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pəthəl	bihāir	pəinsokha	bijəlī chəmkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	lədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pəthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	ṭhənk ṭhənkəichəi	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	rəstā	pəthəl	bihāir	pəinsokha	tərka tərəkəichəi	bādəl	bāir	nədi	pokheir
bālū	peṛā	pəthər	bihāir	pəinsokha	tərka tərəkəichəi	mēgh	bāir	nədi	pokheir

phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	dhul	kiccəɹ	māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch/vrkʂ	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āigi
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	khoich	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chuləkā/ dhəllā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāchi	gərdā	thāl	māṭi/māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chəllā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāchi	dhurā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūiyā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chəuləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūiyā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	bōkrā	biyā	jəir	pāṭi	gāchi	dhulā	kiccəɹ	māṭi	rākh	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chəuləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūiyā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kātā	chiləkā	bijhən	sir	pətā	gāchi	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	rākh	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāchi	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	rākh	dhūwā	āigi
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chəuləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāchi	dhurā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūiyā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chəuləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gaṭhi	garda	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūiyā	āigi
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chəuləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūwa	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāch	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	chaur	dhūwā	āig
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chiləkā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāchi	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	rākh	dhūwā	āigi
phəlpʰul	phul	kāt	chuləkā/ dhəllā	biyā	jəir	pətā	gāchi	gərdā	thāl	māṭi	rākh	dhūwā	āig

curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	sakṛakṇond	ketāri	mākai	jəu	ānta	gehū	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	bhojən	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	kusiār/uīkh	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	bhojən	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	sakṛakṇond	ketāri	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kelā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh/ketāri	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jə	ānta	gehū	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jə	ānta/cīkəs	gəhum	kelā	ām
curā	dhān	chābəl	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	ketāri	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kelā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	ketāri	mākai	jə	ānta/cīkəs	gəhum	kerā/kelā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	uīkh	mākai	jəu	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām
curā	dhān	cāur	bhāt	khānā	əluwā	ketāri	mākai	jə	ānta	gəhum	kerā	ām

fulkobi	pyāj	ləsun	həldi/hərəid	mərcāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəttā	ādi	ālu	tərəkāri
kobi	piyāuj	ləhsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəttā/bəigən	ādi	əllu	tərəkāri
fulkobi	piyāuj	ləhsun	hərəid	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəntā	ādi	əllu	tərəkāri
fulkobi	piyāuj	ləsun	hərđi/hərəid	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən/bhəntā	ādi	əllu	tərəkāri
kobi	piyāuj	ləhsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəntā	ādi	əllu	sabaji
kobi	piyāj	ləsun	besār	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəntā	ādi	ālu	tərəkāri
kobi/fulkobi	piyāj	ləsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	əllu	tərəkāri
kobi	piyāuj	ləhsun	hərđi	mərcāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	əlhu	tərəkāri
ƣhatakobi	piyāuj	ləsun	həldi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	ālu	səbjī
kobi	piyāuj	ləsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən/bhəntā	ādi	əlhu	tərəkāri/timən
kobi	piyāj	ləsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	məmphəli	bhəntā	ādi	ālu	tərəkāri
fulkobi	piyāj	ləhsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəntā	ādi	ālu	tərəkāri
kobi	piyāuj	ləsun	hərđi	mərcāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	əlhu	tərəkāri
kobi	piyāuj	rəsun	hərđi	mərcāi	nariyar	bədām	bəigən	ādi	alan u	tərəkāri
kobi	piyāuj	ləsun	hərđi	mərcāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	əllu	tərəkāri
fulkobi	piyāuj	ləsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	əllu	tərəkāri
fulkobi	piyāj	ləsun	hərđi	mircāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bhəntā	ādi	ālu	səbjī
fulkobi	piyāuj	rəsun	hərđi	mərcāi	nāriyəl	bədām	bəigən	ādi	ālu	tərəkāri

jənābər	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	səkkər	nun	khirā	bəndā	təmatər
māljal	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāh	cinī	nun/nimək	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
māljal	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
jənābər	əndā	murgā	māch	tel	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
jānbər	əndā	murgā	māch	tel	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	non	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
jənābər	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
gyāmāl	əndā	murgā	māch	boso	māsu	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā	təmatər
jānbər	əndā	murgā	māch	tel	māus	tel	cāh	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
jənābər	əndā	murgā	məchəli	tel	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	namək	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
gaimāl	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bənhā kobi	təmatər
jənābər	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
māljal	əndā	murgā	māch	tel	māus	tel	cāh	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
māljal	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
dimmə	dimmā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māsu	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	kobi	gol bhəntā
janbar	əndā	murgā	māch	tel	māus	tel	cāh	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
jənābər	əndā	murgā	māch	cərbī	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
māljal	əndā	murgā	māch	tel	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər
māljal	əndā	murgā	məchəli	tel	māus	tel	cāy	cinī	nun	khirā	munā kobi	təmatər
māljal/jənābər	əndā	murgā	məchəli	tel	māns	tel	cāh	cinī	nun	khirā	bəndā kobi	təmatər

bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	chāgər	nāŋəir	siŋ	məudh	dudh	dhəkərā	məhīs	gāyā	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	chāgər	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōis	gāyā	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	chāgər	nāŋəir	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	məhīs	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kukur	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sādh	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri/nāŋəir	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sādh	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nāŋəir	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sādh	bhəōisi	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	chāgər/bokā	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nāŋəir	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	ləŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōisi	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōisi/məhi	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	ləŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōisi	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sādhīyā	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	puchəri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	dhākər	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nāŋəir	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōis	gyā	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	chāgər	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kutta	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sərḥā	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kutta	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sādhīya	bhəōisi	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā
bilāi	kuttā	bheṛā	khəsi	nəŋri	siŋ	məudh	dudh	sādhīya	bhəōis	gāi	hāthī	gədəhā

ādāmi	mənuṣ	dhil	titəli	mus	pāikh	bhəŋgera	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	ciṭṭi	məchhər	bānər	sāp
ādāmi	ādāmi	dhil	titəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
ādāmi	ādāmi	dhil	putəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
mərəd	ādāmi/lok	dhil	tikəli	mus	pāikh	bhəŋgera	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
ādāmi	byəkṭi	dhil	putəli	musā	pāikh	bhəŋgera	kāg	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
ādāmi	ādāmi	dhil	putəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
ādāmi	ādāmi	dhil	tikəli	mus	pəŋkhā	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
mərəd	ādāmi	dhil	tikəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
ādāmi	ādāmi	dhil	putəli	mus	pəŋkh	bəgedi	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
mərəd	ādāmi/lok	dhil	tukəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bānər	sāp
aadmi	ādāmi	dhil	titəli	mus	pāikh	mu:dusa	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
aadmi	ādāmi	dhil	putəli	musā	pāikh	bhəŋgera	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
log/marad	ādāmi	dhil	tikəli	mus	den	menā/bhəŋgerā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	ciṭṭi	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
marad	ādāmi	dhil	tikəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	ḡutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
aadmi	ādāmi	dhil	tukəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
aadmi	ādāmi	dhil	tukəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
log	ādāmi	dhil	putəli	musā	pāikh	bəgəri	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər	sāp
aadmi	ādāmi	dhil	putəli	mus	pāikh	bəgərā	kəuwā	məkəɪrā	cutti	məchhər	bāndər/ bāder	sāp

bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	mā	bābū	bī/bəciyā	ā/baccā	baccā	jəni jāit
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	mæ	bāp/bābū	ləṛəkī/chəurī	ləṛəkā/chəurā	baccā	jəni jāit/āuret
bəhin	didī	bhai	bhāiji	mā	bābū	ləṛəkī	bəuwā	nenā	jənāni
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	bābū	chəurī	chəurā	dhīyāputā	maugi
bəhin	didī	bhai	bhāiya/ bhāiji	mæ	bābū	ləṛəkī	ləṛəkā	baccā	jəni jāit
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	bābū	ləṛəkī	ləṛəkā	baccā	məhilā/jəni jāit
bəhin	dai	bhæ	bheiya	mæ	bāu	chəurī	chəurā	baccā	āimāi/məhilā
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	mæ	bābū	chəurī	chəurā	baccā	maugi
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	pāpā	ləṛəkī	ləṛəkā	baccā	istri
bəhin	daiya	bhai	bheiya	mæ	bābū	chəurī	chəurā	baccā	maugi
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	bābū	ləṛəkī	ləṛəkā	baccā	jəni
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	mæ	bāp	chəurī/ləṛəkī	chəurā/ləṛəkā	dhīyāputā	məhilā
bəhin	didī/daiya	bhai	bheiya	māiya	bāp	chəurī	chəurā	baccā	jəni jāit
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	mæ	bābū	buccī	bəuwā	baccā	jani jāit/maugi
bəhin	daiya	bhai	bheiya	mæ	bābū	chəurī	chəurā	baccā	jəni jāit
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	bābū	ləṛəkī	ləṛəkā	baccā	jəni jāit
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	bābū	chəurī	chəurā	dhīyāputā	jəni jāit
bəhin	didī	bhai	bheiya	māi	bābū	chəurī	chəurā	dhīyāputā	jəni jāit

nāti	dādi	bābā/dādā	oḥājī	istri	pēti	beṭi/chaurī	beṭā/chaurā
potā	dādi	bābā/dādā	bəhnoi	gharbali/patani/istri	gherbələ/pēti	kənkirbī/beṭi	kənkirbā/beṭā
nāit	dai	bābā	jhājī	patani	pēti	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	maīya	bābā	vinaju	patni	pēti	beṭi	beṭā
nāti	dai	bābā	bəhnoi	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
potā	dai	bābā	jnaḥ/ojənaḥ/ misəraji	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
nāit/potā	dādi	dādā	bəhnoi/ jījaji	maugi (kaniya)	munsā (məṛəd)	beṭi	beṭā
potā	dādi	bābā/dādā	jīja	gharbali	gherbələ/sāṭy	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	dādi	dādā	jīja	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	dādi/maīya	bābā	pāhun	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
potā	dai	bābā	bəhnoi	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi/bēcīyā	beṭā
nāit	dai	bābā	pāhun	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	dādi	dādā	pāhun	maugi	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
potā	dādi	bābā/dādā	bəhnoi	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	maīya	bābā	pāhun	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	dāi	bābā	pāhun	dulhin	dulhā	beṭi	beṭā
nāit	dāi	bābā	pāhun	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā
nāti	dāi	bābā	pāhun	gharbali	gherbələ	beṭi	beṭā

məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	chotəkā kākā	bərkā kākā	nətəni	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	kākā	bərkā bābu	poti	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	chotəkī pisi	bərkī pisi	chotəkā kākā	bərkā kākā	nātin	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	kākā	bərkā bābu	nātin	bhəuji/vābi
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	kākā	kākā	nətəni	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā/pisi	phuwā/pisi	kākā	kākā	poti	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phupu/didi	phupu/didi	kākā	dādā	nātin/poti	bhəuji
bərkā məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	kākā	bərkā bābu	poti	bhəuji
bərkī mai	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	chotəkā pāpā	bərkā pāpā	nātin	bhəujāi
məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	kākā/dādā	bərkā bābu	nātin	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	kākā	kākā	poti	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	kākā	kākā	nətəni	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	kākā	bərkā bāp	nətəni	bhəuji
bərkā məusi	məmə	məmə	didi/phupu	didi/phupu	chotəkā bābu	bərkā bābu	poti	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	didi	didi	chotəkā bābu	bərkā bābu	nātin	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	kākā	kākā	nātin	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	kākā	kākā	nətəni	bhəuji
məusi	məmə	məmə	phuwā	phuwā	kākā	kākā	nətəni	bhəuji

kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāiti	bhāsā	nām	səŋji	məusi
kālhi	āi	sānjh/əber	dupəhər	bhor/bihān/bhinsər	din	rāiti	bhāsā	nām	dōs	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nāu	səŋji	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	səheli	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəheriyā	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	səŋji/mitā	məusi
kālhi	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	sāthi	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bihān	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	sāthi	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh/əber	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	səheli	chotəkā məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	subəh	din	rāit	bhāsā	nāu	dōs	chotəki mai
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	dōs	məusi
kālhi	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	səber	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	sāthi	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	beriyā/dupəhər	bihān/bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	dōs/sāthi	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bihān	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	səŋji	məusi
kālhi	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	səŋji	chotəkā məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	dōs	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	mitā	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	dōs	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām	dōs	məusi
kāli	āi	sānjh	dupəhər	bhor	din	rāit	bhāsā	nām/nāu	dōs/pātnər	məusi

nīenik/khērāb	bēriyā/nik	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəṛəs	məhinā	seṭā	kāli
khērāb	nik	nəbhəkā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bərkh/sāl	məhinā	heṭā	kālhi
nēinik	nik	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəris	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
nēinik	bēriyā	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭ	nəmhar	sāl/bəṛəs	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāb	nimən	nəyā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	sāl	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāb	nik	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭ	bəṛəkā	sāl	məhinā	heṭā	bihān
nēinik	nik	nəyā	purənā	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəṛəs	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāp	nik	ləbhəkā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭ	nəmhar	sāl	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāb	nimən	ləbhəkā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəris	məhinā	seṭāh	kāli
nēinik	cikən	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭ	nəmhar	bəris	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāb	bēriyā	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəṛəs	məhinā	heṭā	bihān
khērāb	bēriyā	nəyā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəṛəs	məhinā	heṭā	bihān
khērāb	bēriyā	nəyā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	bəṛəs	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāb/nēinik	nik/bēriyā	nəb/ləbhəkā	purān	hēluk	bhārī	choṭ	nəmhar	bərkh/sāl	məhinā	heṭā	kalhi
khērāb	cikən	ləbhəkā	purənā	hēluk	bhārī	choṭ	bəṛəkā	sāl	məhinā	heṭā	kalhi
nēinimən	bēriyā	nējā	purān	hēluk	bhəiger	choṭ	nəmhar	sāl	məhinā	heṭā	kāli
khērāb	bēriyā	nəyā	purənā	həulā	bhārī	choṭ	nəmhar	bəṛəs	məhinā	heṭā	bihān
nēinimən	nimən	nējā	purənā	hēluk	bhirāh	choṭakā	bəṛəkā	sāl	məhinā	heṭā	bihān

dāhin bhāg	dāhin	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	dhipəl	pāter	niktā	nəmher/ləmbā	sukhəl	itəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈerəl	gərem/dhipəl	pāter	choṭe	nəmher	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā dis	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	tāpet	pāter	choṭe	nəmher	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	dhipəl	pāter	choṭe	nəmher/ləmbā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā dis	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem/ tāpet	pāter	choṭe	nəmmā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā sāid	dəyā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem	pāter	choṭe	nəmher	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndā	gərem	pāter	choṭakā	ləmbā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem	pāter	choṭe	ləmbā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəyādisən	dəyā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem	dubār	choṭakā	beɹakā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	dhipəl	pāter	choṭe	ləmbā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəyā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem	pāter	choṭe	beɹakā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndā	dhipəl	pāter	choṭakā	nəmher	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndā	dhipəl	pāter	choṭe	ləmbā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem	pāter	choṭe	ləmbā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈerəl	gərem	pāter	choṭe	nəmher	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndāh	gərem	peṭelā	choṭe	nəmher	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bhāg	dəhinā	phutəl	gələl	ʈəndā	gərem	pāter	choṭe	beɹakā	sukhəl	bhijəl
dəhinā bəgəl	dəhinā	phutəl	səɹəl	ʈəndā	gərem	pāterkā	choṭakā	nəmmər/ beɹakā	sukhəl	bhijəl

dusmən	dhimmər	phohərā	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	vīr	ānhər	bām bhāg
dusmən	bəkləl	jhisi	gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəyā bhāg
dusmən	bəkləl/ əlbəukā	jhimjhim	maila/gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	vīr	ānhər	bəmmā dis
dusmən	sust	kənəkəni	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust	tipirtipir	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	vīr	ānhər	bhāg dis
dusmən	ghuskəl	tipirtipir	māil	bəhir	sərāp	məhəgā	səstā	himətəgər	ānhər	bəyā sāid
dusmən	ghuskəl	jhəri	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəgā	səstā	vīr	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust dimāg	jhisi/tipirtipir	gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	murkh	jhisi	gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	pəhəlmān	ānhər	bəyādisən
dusmən	sust	tiptip	gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust	jhisi	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəyā bhāgg
dusmən	sust	bunibuni	phohər	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəgā	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
chəndāl	lətiyā	phisirphisir	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəgā	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust dimāg	bunibuni	gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust	phuhi	gəndā	bəhir	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust	jhisi	phohər	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəg	səstā	bəhādur	əndhā	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	buddhu	jhisi	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəgā	səstā	bəukār	ānhər	bəmmā bhāg
dusmən	sust	jhisi	gəndā	bəhirā	sərāp	məhəgā	səstā	bəukār	ānhər	bəyā bəgəl

məhək	dhərəgər	säker	pägel	əsgər	jibit	äləsi	bhükhəl	upər	kəṛä	dər
məhək	tēj	səket	pägel/betäh	əsgər	jindä	äləsi	bhükhəl	üc	səket	dər
gəndh	dhərəgər	səket	betäh	əsgərə	jibit	äskəti/körhiyā	bhükhael	üc	kəṛä	dər
məhək	dhərəgər	səket	betäh	əsgərə	jindä	äskəti	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər
gəndh	tēj	səket	pägel	əsgərə	jibit	äskəti	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər/bhəy
məhək	suilər	səket	pägel	əkälä	jindä	körhiyā	bhükhael	üc	kəṛä	dər
gəndh	dhər	chotä	pägel	əsgərə	jindä	bekəmmä	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər
məhək	dhərəgər	səket	pägel	əsgərə	jindä	körhiyā	bhükhəl	üc	səket	dər
gəndh	dhərəgər	səket	betäh	əkəle	jiyət	körhiyā	bhükhael	üc	kəṛä	dər
məhək	dhərəgər	səket	pägel/betähwa	əsgərə	jiyət	körhiyā	bhükhəl	upər	kəṛä	dər
gəndh	tēj	chotä	pägel	əkəle	jindä	körhiyā	bhükhael	üc	kəṛä	dər
məhək	tēj	sutuki	pägel	əkälä	jindä	sust	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər
durgəndh	dhərəgər	säker	pägel	əsgərə	jite	körhiyā	bhükhəl	üc	səkt	dər
məhək	dhərəgər	səket	pägel/betäh	əsgər	jiyət	körhiyā	bhükhəl	üc	səket/ kəṛəgər/kəṛä	dər
məhək	dhərəgər	səket	betäh	əsgər	jite	körhiyā	bhükhəl	upər	səket	dər
məhək	dhərəgər	səket	betäh/sənkəhā	əsgər	jindä	körhiyā	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər
məhək	tēj	səket	pägel	əsgərə	jindä	äləsi	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər
məhək	tēj	səket	pägel	əsgərə	jindä	sust	bhükhəl	üc	kəṛä	dər

kətəne	bəhut	kəm	kəniktā	bhərəl	khāli	cākər	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sīdhā	picchər
kuch	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	phail	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sīdhā	picchər/picchəlāh
kəthu	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cākər	gərəm	unīṭapuntā	sojh	picchər
ekdəm kəm	bəhut	kəm/kəinke	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cauṛa	gərəm	unīṭa	sīdhā	picchər
kenəke	bəhute	kenəke	ādḥā	bhərəl	khəliyā	cauṛa	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sojh	picchər
kəinke	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cauṛa	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sojh	picchər
kəniye	bəhute	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cauṛa	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sīdhā	picchər
ekrəti	bəhut	kəniye	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	caurgər	dhipəl	unīṭapuntā	sīdhā/sojh	picchəlāh
kuch	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	phail	gərəm	unṭəlpuntəl	sojh	picchər
kəniye	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cākər	gərəm	unīṭapuntā	sīdhā	picchər
kəinke	bəhute	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cauṛa	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sīdhā	cipəlo
kuch/kəinke	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cauṛa	gərəm	ulətāpuleṭā	sīdhā	pihul
kənhe	bəhut	kənhe	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cākər	gərəm	ulətəl	sojh	picchər
kəniye	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	caurgər	gərəm	ulətāsuleṭā	sīdhā	cipəlāah
kəm	besi	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	phail	gərəm	unīṭa	sojh	picchər
kəinke	bəhut	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cauṛā	gərəm	ulətāsuleṭā	sīdhā	cipəlāah
kəniye	bəhute	kəm	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cākər	gərəm	ulətāsuleṭā	sojh	picchər
tənke	bəhute	tənkā	ādḥā	bhərəl	khāli	cākər	gərəm	ulətāsuleṭā	sīdhā	picchəlāh

egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cairi	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohinā	bərābəri	səb
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	əntər	ohinā	bərābəir	purai/səbtāa
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābəir	səb
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	fərək	ekə rəṇ	bərābəir	səb
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	əntər	ohəne	bərābər	səbhe
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābəri	səb
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cairi/cair	tin	ḍui/ḍu	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābəri	səbai
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	ḍui	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābəir	səb
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābəri	səb
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	fərək	ohəne	bərābəir	jəmmā
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābər	səbhe
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chəo	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	fərək	ohəne	bərābər	purā
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ekai rəṇ	bərābəir	purā
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohine	bərābəir	səb
egārə	dəs	nə	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ek rəṇ	bərābəir	səbtā
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg/fərək	ohəne	bərābəir	səb
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chə	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābər	səb
egārə	dəs	nəu	āṭh	sāt	chəo	pāc	cair	tin	du	ek	ələg	ohəne	bərābəir	səbhe

ničā	upər	oithām	ət/əithām	dūrə	ləg	pāchu	hərā	lāl	kərikbā	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	oməhər	eməhər	dūrə	ləg	pəchā	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchā	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchā/pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	oiyə	əiyə	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	barəh
ničā	upər	oməhər	eməhər	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otəh	ət	dūrə	etə	pāchu	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek so	bis	bārə
ničā	upəri	oni	yən	dūrə	nejdik	pichāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	one	ene	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərā	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	uhā	ehā/yhā	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	bārə
ničā/tər	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	āij	dūrəh	ləg	pāchu	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	otə	ət	dūrə	ləg	pəchāri	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek sə	bis	bārə
ničā	uc	otəh	ət	dūrə	ləg	pichā	hərā	lāl	kāri	ujər	səy	bis	bārə
ničā	upər	uhā	ehəme	dūrə	ləg	pichā	hərīər	lāl	kāri	ujər	ek səy	bis	bārə

u	isəb	i	konā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kiyā	ki	kekər	ke	āgu	tər	gol	upər	sāthe
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kiyā	ki	kekər	ke	əgā	nicā	gol	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenākə	kon	kəhiya	kətə	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgā	nicā	gol	upər	səŋe
u	isəb	i	kenāke	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəthile/kenā	kəthi	kəkər	ke	əgāri	nicā	gol	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgā	nicā	gol	upər	səŋe
u	isəb	i	kenā	kathi	kəhiya	kəhās	kəilə	kəthi	kəkər	ke	āge	nicā	gol	upəri	səŋe
u	isəb	i	kenakə	kon	kəhiya	kətə	kiyā	kəthi	kəkər	ke	əgāri	nicā	gol	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenāke	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəthile	ki/kəthi	kəkər	ke	əgāri	tər	gol	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	āge	nicā	gol	upəri	səŋe
u	isəb	i	kenāke	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəthile	kəthi	kəkər	ke	əgāri	nicā/tər	gol	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kəhā	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgā	nicā	gol	upəri	sāthme
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	keni	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgāri	nicā	gol	upər	jəure
u	isəb	i	kenākə	kon	kəhiya	kətə	kiyā	kəthi	kekər	ke	āgu	tər	golka	upər	səŋe
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəthile	ki/kəthi	kəkər	ke	əgāri	nicā/tər	gol	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgā	nicā	gol	upər	ekai jəgəh
u	isəb	i	kenāke	kon	kəkhən	kət	kəthile	kəthi	kəkər	ke	āgu	nicā	golka	upər	səŋme
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kət	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgāri	nicā	gol	upər	sāth
u	isəb	i	kenā	kon	kəhiya	kəhmā	kəilə	kəthi	kekər	ke	əgā	nicā	golka	upər	jəure

jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns ferəb	surū kərəb	snān kərəb	dosər	kəhiyokəhiyo	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	girpərəb	sāns ferəliyəi	suru kərəichi	snān kərəb	dosər	kəhiyokəhiyo	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	dəhəb	kəhis pərəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	girəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	snān kərəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	larəb	sāns ferəbəi	surū kərəbi	nehebəi	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəhis pərəb	sāns ferəliyəi	suru kərəichi	snān kərəbəi	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	təirəb	kəhis pərəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns lebəi	surū kərəbi	nehebəi	dosər	kəhiyokəhiyo	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	təirəb	kəşəb	sāns lebəi	surū kərəbi	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokəhiyo	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	chətłäib	girəb	sās leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəbhikəbhi	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	girəbəi	sāns ferəbəi	surū kərəbi	ləhebəi	dosər	kəhiyokəhiyo	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns ferəb	surū kərəbi	ləhebai	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin/ dindine	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	girpərəb	sāns lebəi	surū kərəbi	nehebəi	āur	kəhiyokəhiyo	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns ferəb/sāns ləichi	suruwat kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	hələb	kəşəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəbhikəbhi	səbdin	usəb
jəməb	bəgəb	təirəb	kəhis pərəb	sāns leb	surū kərəb	nəhəb	dosər	kəhiyokāl	səbdin	usəb

thūkəb	ulti kərab	cikrab	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	uṯəb	bəisəb	kərot fərəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	kənəb	hāsəb	dəurabai	urəb	ləṯəb	khəṯā heb	bəisəb	uṯəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	ciciəb	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	ṯəṯā heb	bəisəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	bokrab	kənəb	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	ṯəṯā heb	bəisəb	ghuim jāib	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	ulti kərab	cicəyāib	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	ṯəṯā heb	bəithəb	ultəb	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	ulti kərab	kənəb	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	ṯəṯā heb	bəisəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	ciciəb	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	khəṯā heb	bəisəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	ulti kərab	ciciəb	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	ləṯəb	uṯəb	bəisəb	ghuim jāib	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	ciciəb	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	ṯəṯā heb	bəisəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ok kərab	ciciəb	hāsəbəi	dəurabai	urəb	cələb	uṯəb	bəisəb	kər ghumb	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	ulti kərab	kənəb	hāsəb	dəure:	urəb	cələb	uṯəb	bəisəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	cicəyāib	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	cələb	uṯəb	bəisəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	bəprəhāir kātəb	hāsəbəi	dəurabai	urəb	cələb	khəṯā heb	bəithəb	pəltəb	sutəb
thūkəb	bokrab	cicəyāib	hāsəbəi	dəurabai	urəb	ləṯəb	khəṯā heb	bəithəb	untəb	sutəb
thūkəb	ok kərab	ciciəb	hāsəbəi	dəurabai	urəb	cələb	uṯəb	bəithəb	kər ghumb	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	ulti kərab	kənəb	hāsəbəi	dəurabai	urəb	cələb	khəṯā heb/ṯəṯəb	bəithəb	kər ghumb	sutəb
thūkəb	ulti kərab	cicəyāib	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	jəb	uṯəb	bəisəb	kərot fərəb	sutəb
thūk phəkəb	ulti kərab	cikrab	hāsəb	dəurab	urəb	jəb	uṯəb	bəithəb	pəltəb	sutəb

raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
rəŋəb	jənəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuwāib	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ kəɾəb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	korəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ kəɾəb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	korəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
rəŋəb	jənəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuwāib	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuwāib	kəməb	khənəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb/ taməb	gənəb	kinəb	jələb
raŋ kəɾəb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuyāb	kəməb	korəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
rəŋəb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuwāib	kəməb	khənəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	jənəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuwāib	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
rəŋəb	jənəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	ɖəhəba
rəŋəb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	jənəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
rəŋəb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	jənəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	ləɾəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb
raŋ ləgæb	bujhəb	pəkɾəb	mərəb	jhəgrəb	khuyāb	kəməb	khunəb	gənəb	kinəb	jəɾəb

bānhəb	pəɹhəb	tənəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	ghəsəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā ghopəb	gārəb	boləb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	sibəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	khicəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	thēləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā mārə	gārəb	boləb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	ghəsəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā hənəb	gārəb	boləb	gəb	siyab	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	thēləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	chura vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	chura vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	sibəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	chura vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	ghəsəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	chura vokəb	gārəb	boləb	gəb	siyab	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā hənəb	gārəb	boləb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	khicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	ghəsəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	boləb	gəb	siyab	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	ghicəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	ghəsəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	boləb	gəb	siyəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb
bānhəb	pəɹhəb	cusəb	churā vokəb	gārəb	bājəb	gābəb	sibəb	becəb	rəgrəb	dhəkləb	tənəb	kheləb

tākəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	piyəb	dhərəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	piyəb	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb/pitəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	piyəb	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahabai	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	piyəb	kātəb	khāib	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunnai	kahanai	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	dhərəb	khāib	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunabai	kahabai	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khāib	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunabai	kahabai	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khāib	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunab	kahab	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	piyəb	kātəb	khəb	likhəb	pujā kərəb
dekhəb	dekhəb	sunəb	kahəb	phekəb	kātəb	mārəb	deb	pib	kātəb	khāib	likhəb	pujā kərəb

usəbke	usəb	hunkər
okərā-āurke	usəb	unkər
hunkā-səbke	hinkāsəb/hunkāsəb	unkər
osəbke	osəb	hunkā
okərā-səbke	usəb	nunkər/ unkər
okərā-səbke	usəb	hunkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
okərā-səbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
okərā-āurke	okərā-āur	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər
usəbke	isəb	unkər
usəbke	usəb	unkər

Annex 4: Basic sentences

A. S-V
१. हम सुतैत छी/सुतलौह/सुतब।
२. तूँ सुतैत छए/सुतलए/सुतबए।
३. तों सुतैत छह/सुतलह/सुतबह।
४. अहाँ सुतैत छी/सुतलौह/सुतब।
५. अपने सुतैत जाइत छए/सुतल गेल /सुतल जेतए।
६. उ सुतैत अछि/सुतल/सुतत।
७. ओ सुतैत छथि/सुतलथि-सुतलीह(स्त्री.)/सुतताह-सुततीह(स्त्री.)।
B. S-O-V
१. हम तोरा(2nh) पढ़ैबौ।
२. तूँ (2nh) हमरा पढ़ैबए।
३. हम तोरा(2mh) पढ़ैबह।
४. तों(2mh) हमरा पढ़ैबह।
५. हम अहाँकँ पढ़ाएब।
६. अहाँ हमरा पढ़ाएब।
७. हम अपनेकँ पढ़ाएब।
८. अपने हमरा पढ़ाओल जेतए।
९. हम ओकरा पढ़ैबए।
१०. उ हमरा पढ़ैतए।

११. हम हुनका पढ़ेबन्हि।
१२. ओ हमरा पढ़ौताह। पढ़ौतीह(स्त्री.)।
C. Participial constructions
१. हम खेलैत सुतलौंह।
२. हम खेलिकऽ सुतलौंह।
D. Honorifics after names
१. जी, बाबू, मालिक, मास्टर, सर,.....
C. Case markings
१. हरी मोहनकेँ पिटलक।
२. हरी मोहनकेँ एक गोट किताब देलक।
३. हम घरसँ अएलौंह।
४. हम घरदिश गेलौंह।
५. हम अहाँक घरपर गेलौंह।
६. हरी रामक किताब किनलक।
७. रामक घर बढ़ियाँ अछि।
F. Conjunctions
और, आर, आ, तथा, एवं

Annex 5: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire A

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

1. Name of the investigator(s):

- (a) Mr./ Ms.....
- (b) Mr./Ms.....
- (c) Mr./Ms.....
- (d) Mr./Ms.....
- (e) Mr./Ms.....

(Mention other names if required)

2. Medium of the interview:.....

3. Date(s): Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day.....Month

Year.....AD

Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day.....Month

Year.....AD

Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day.....Month

Year.....AD

Day..... Month.....Year.....VS/ Day.....Month
 Year.....AD

(Mention other dates if required)

4. Place of interview :

(a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town(c)
 VDC/Municipality.....
 (d) District..... (e) Zone.....

5. Language consultant(s):

Name	Tag (e.g. 5a, 5b)	Address
(a).....		
(b).....		
(c).....		
(d).....		
(e).....		

(Mention other if required)

6. Sex: (a) ☐ Male (b) ☐ Female (c) ☐ Others

7. Age group:

(a) (i) ☐ 15-34 (ii) ☐ 35-60 (iii) ☐ 60+
 (b) (i) ☐ 15-34 (ii) ☐ 35-60 (iii) ☐ 60+
 (c) (i) ☐ 15-34 (ii) ☐ 35-60 (iii) ☐ 60+
 (d) (i) ☐ 15-34 (ii) ☐ 35-60 (iii) ☐ 60+
 (e) (i) ☐ 15-34 (ii) ☐ 35-60 (iii) ☐ 60+

8. Marital status: (a) ☐ Married (b) ☐ Unmarried (c) ☐ Other

9. Caste/ethnic group:

10. (a) What name does the Government/others use for you?

(b) What would you prefer to call yourself?

11. Religion:

(a) ☐ Hinduism (b) ☐ Buddhism (c) ☐ Kirant (d) ☐
 Christianity (e) ☐ Jain (f) ☐ Islam (g) ☐ Shamanism (h) ☐
 Other

12. Place of origin:

13. What type of family system do you have?

- (a) ☐ Nuclear (b) ☐ Joint

14. Education:

- (a) ☐ Preliterate (b) ☐ Literate (c) ☐ Primary (d) ☐ Lower Secondary
(e) ☐ Secondary (f) ☐ Higher (specify degree).....

15. Occupation:

- (a) Your..... (b) Family's..... (c) Ancestral.....

16. Place of birth:

- (a) Ward No..... (b) Village/Town.....
(c) VDC/municipality..... (d) District..... (d)
Zone.....

17. Your mother's first language (mother tongue).....

18. Your father's first language (mother tongue).....

19. First language/mother tongue of your husband/ wife

20. Mother tongue or first language of your children

21. Your first language /mother tongue's name:

- (a) Given by the native..... (b) Given by the nonnative.....
(c) Different names of the language if any
(i)..... (ii)
(iii)..... (iv)

22. Other ethnic groups residing in your area or localities:

- (a)..... (b)
(c)..... (d)

23. Other languages spoken in your villages or localities:

-
- (a)..... (b).....
(c)..... (d).....

24. What languages are spoken in neighboring villages?

- (a)
(b).....
(c).....
(d).....

25. Have you migrated?

(a) If yes, earlier place

(i) Ward

No.....

(ii) Village/Town.....

(iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District (v) Zone.....

(b) Number of years.....

(c) Migrated: ☐ single or ☐ group

26. Which other ethnic or linguistic groups have common marital relationship with your ethnic group?

(a) Ethnic group: (i).....

(ii)..... (iii).....

(b) Linguistic group

(i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....

B. Dialect mapping

27. Are people of your community concentrated or dispersed?

(a) ☐ Concentrated (b) ☐ Dispersed

28. Where do people speak this language exactly the same as you?

(a) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

(b) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

(c) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

29. In which places do people speak this language a little bit differently?

(a) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

(b) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

(c) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....

(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

30. Where do people speak this language so differently that it is difficult for you to understand them?

- (a) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....
(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....
- (b) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....
(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....
- (c) (i) Ward No..... (ii) Village/Town..... (iii) VDC/municipality.....
(iv) District..... (v) Zone.....

31. Which variety do you understand ...

- (a) best?.....
- (b) second best?.....

32. Which variety should be used as the one for writing or recording so that all the others will understand well?

C. Language resources

33. Tick the resources that are available in your language:

- (a) ☐ Oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc)
- (b) ☐ Script
- (c) ☐ Phonemic inventory
- (d) ☐ Grammar
- (e) ☐ Dictionary
- (f) ☐ Textbooks
- (g) ☐ Literacy materials
- (h) ☐ Newspapers
- (i) ☐ Magazines
- (j) ☐ Films
- (k) ☐ Telefilms
- (l) ☐ CD/ DVD
- (m) ☐ Written literature
- (n) ☐ Other.....

34. Which of the following factors has/have directly influenced the growth or threatened the future of the language?

- (a) ☐ Migration
- (b) ☐ Temporary labor
- (c) ☐ Deportations
- (d) ☐ Wars
- (e) ☐ Others.....

35. Is there any kind of organization or body which promotes the knowledge and/ or use of the language? If yes, tell them to name those organizations.

- (a) (b).....
- (c)..... (d).....

36 And, what kinds of activities does this perform?

- (a) ☐ Cultural
- (b) ☐ Linguistic
- (c) ☐ Other.....

37. What is/are the major festival(s) in your speech community?

- (a).....
- (b).....
- (c).....
- (d).....

D. Mother tongue proficiency or bi/multilingualism

38. First language/mother tongue you learnt to speak:

39. How proficient are you in your mother tongue/first language? Estimate your level (Good-G, Average-A, Little-L).

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	☐	☐	☐
(b) Speak	☐	☐	☐
(c) Read	☐	☐	☐
(d) Write	☐	☐	☐

40. What other languages do you speak?

- (a)..... (b).....
(c)..... (d).....

41. How proficient are you in other languages? Estimate your level (Good, Average, Little)

(i) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	☐	☐	☐
(b) Speak	☐	☐	☐
(c) Read	☐	☐	☐
(d) Write	☐	☐	☐

(ii) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	☐	☐	☐
(b) Speak	☐	☐	☐
(c) Read	☐	☐	☐
(d) Write	☐	☐	☐

(iii) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	☐	☐	☐
(b) Speak	☐	☐	☐
(c) Read	☐	☐	☐
(d) Write	☐	☐	☐

(iv) *Language name*

	<i>G</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>L</i>
(a) Understand	☐	☐	☐
(b) Speak	☐	☐	☐
(c) Read	☐	☐	☐
(d) Write	☐	☐	☐

42. Where did you learn the languages other than your mother tongue/first language?

<i>Language name</i>	<i>Where</i>	<i>How</i>
(a).....		
(b).....		
(c).....		
(d).....		

43. Other languages known to your grandfather:

(a).....	(b).....
(c).....	(d).....

44. Other languages known to your grandmother:

(a).....	(b).....
(c).....	(d).....

45. Other Languages known to your father:

(a).....	(b).....
(c).....	(d).....

46. Other Languages known to your mother:

(a).....	(b).....
(c).....	(d).....

47. Other Languages known to your spouse:

(a).....	(b).....
(c).....	(d).....

48. Other Languages known to your sons/ daughters:

(a).....	(b).....
(c).....	(d).....

49. Scripts you can:

(a) Read :

(i)
(ii).....
(iii).....
(iv).....

(b) Write:

(i)

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

50. Languages from which you can translate into other languages

(a).....(b).....

(c).....(d).....

51. Languages to which you can translate from other languages

(a).....(b).....

(c).....(d).....

52. When a small child first goes to school, can (s)he understand everything his/her Nepali speaking teacher says?

(a) ☐ Yes (d) ☐ A little bit (c) ☐ No

53. If not, at what age will he/she be able to understand everything?

.....

54. Which types of L1 people speak language of wider communication (LWC) well ?

(a)(b).....

(c)(d).....

55. Which L1 people speak L1 well, but do not speak LWC well?

(a)(b).....

(c)(d)

56. Do you think the number of L1 speaker or LWC is increasing in your community?

(a) ☐ L1 speakers (b) ☐ LWC speakers

E. Domain of language use

57. Which language do you use most frequently for the following purposes?

(a) Counting.....

(b) Singing.....

(c) Joking

(d) Bargaining/ Shopping/ Marketing.....

(e) Singing

- (f) Story telling.....
- (g) Discussing/debate
- (h) Praying.....
- (i) Talking to household helpers.....
- (j) Abusing.....

58. Languages most frequently used at home in the following situations:

- (a) talking about education matters (like school, admission, studies, teacher, etc.)
 - (i) Grandfather:
 - (ii) Grandmother:
 - (iii) Father:
 - (iv) Mother:
 - (v) Spouse:
 - (vi) Children:
- (b) talking about social events (like festivals, election, ceremonies, etc.)
 - (i) Grandfather:
 - (ii) Grandmother:
 - (iii) Father:
 - (iv) Mother:
 - (v) Spouse:
 - (vi) Children:
- (c) Discussing family matters (like marriage, savings, spending, etc.)
 - (i) Grandfather:
 - (ii) Grandmother:
 - (iii) Father:
 - (iv) Mother:
 - (v) Spouse:
 - (vi) Children:

59. Which language do you use?

- (a) telling stories to children:.....
- (b) singing at home:.....
- (c) learning/teaching nursery rhymes:.....

- (d) talking to playmates:.....
- (e) talking to a household helper:.....
- (f) in marriage invitations:.....
- (g) writing minutes in community meetings:.....
- (h) in dreaming:.....
- (i) in family gathering:.....
- (j) in public meetings:.....

60. How often do you use your mother tongue?

- (a) ☐ Every day (b) ☐ Every week (c) ☐ Every month (d) ☐ Never

61. How often do you use the language of wider communication (LWC)?

- (a) ☐ Every day (b) ☐ Every week (c) ☐ Every month (d) ☐ Never

62. Which language do you use to communicate with speakers of other languages in Nepalese context?

.....

63. While writing letters or telephoning to family members:

- (a) grandfather:.....
- (b) grandmother:.....
- (c) father
- (d) mother:.....
- (e) spouse:.....
- (f) children:.....

64. Which language do you use

- (a) when a group of friends belonging to different language groups visit you at home?

.....

- (b) to talk to neighbors belonging to different language groups?

.....

65. Which language is most frequently used in the following radio or TV programs?

- (a) News:.....
- (b) Folk songs:.....
- (c) Film songs:.....
- (d) Tele films

(e) Public speech:.....

66. What languages do you prefer for your children's mediums of instruction at school?

(a) Primary level:.....

(b) Lower secondary level:.....

(c) Secondary Level:.....

(d) Higher education:.....

F. Language endangerment

67 Is the language currently endangered?

(a) ☐ Yes

(b) ☐ No

(c) ☐ Not known

68 If yes, what can be the causes? (Please tick any one or the number of causes you think have endangered your language.)

(a) ☐ Lack of intergenerational language transmission

(b) ☐ Very low proportion of the speakers within the total population of the country

(c) ☐ Loss of existing language domains

(d) ☐ Lack of response to the new domains and media

(e) ☐ Lack of materials for language education and literacy

(f) ☐ Government and institutional language attitudes and policies including official status and use in isolation

(g) ☐ Community members' pessimistic attitude towards their own languages

(h) ☐ Low amount and quality of documentation

(i) ☐ Low economic and socio-economic status of the speakers

(j) ☐ Lack of access in opportunities

(k) ☐ Lack of motivation

(l) ☐ Old age of speakers

(m) ☐ Migration to urban areas and foreign countries for job or education

69. What is the position of your language in terms of endangerment?

(a) ☐ Potentially endangered

(b) ☐ Endangered

(c) ☐ Seriously endangered

(d) ☐ Moribund

(e) ☐ Extinct/nearly extinct

G. Language, transmission and vitality

70. Do all your children speak your language?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

71. Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

72. If the same children will grow old?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

73. Is the language passed down effectively to the new generations?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

74. Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

H. Language loyalty

75. Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

76. How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?

- (a) ☐ Good (b) ☐ Bad

77. Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

78. If yes, why?

- (a).....
(b).....
(c).....
(d).....

79. If not, why not?

- (a).....
(b).....
(c).....

(d).....

I. Language maintenance and shift

80. What languages did you speak when you were a child?

(a) at home..... (b) with friends..... (c) with neighbors.....

81. Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

82. Is your mother tongue taught at school or college?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

83. Is there the language teacher to teach your mother tongue?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

84. Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

85. If schools are opened for teaching your language will you support it:

- (a) by sending your children?
- (b) by encouraging other members to send their children?
- (c) by providing financial help?
- (d) by providing self service?
- (e) other.....

86. Is there any school run by your community to teach your mother tongue?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

87. If your community has published newspapers, magazines and/or books, do you subscribe to them?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

88. Who will read the publications in your language? Your____

(a) ☐ Father (b) ☐ Mother (c) ☐ Self (d) ☐ Spouse
(e) ☐ Children (f) ☐ Other

89. How often do you listen to radio program broadcast in your language? (If there is radio broadcast in the respondent's first language)?

(a) ☐ Always (b) ☐ Usually (c) ☐ Sometimes
(d) ☐ Hardly (e) ☐ Never (f) ☐ No programs

90. How often do you watch TV programs in your language? (If there is TV telecast in the respondent's first language)

- (a) ☐ Always (b) ☐ Usually (c) ☐ Sometimes
(d) ☐ Hardly (e) ☐ Never (f) ☐ No programs

91. What languages do your children speak?

- (a) at home..... (b) with friends.....
(c) with neighbors..... (d) at school.....

J. Code mixing

92. Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

93. If yes, give reasons:

- (a) appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages
(b) it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages
(c) it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/ words from other languages
(d) any other.....

94. How do you think about mixing words from other languages?

- (a) it will enrich your language
(b) it will spoil the beauty and purity of your language
(c) it will make your language more intelligible
(d) any other.....

95. Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

96. If yes, in terms:

- (a) pronunciation
(b) vocabulary
(c) use of specific type of sentences
(d) mixing of other languages
(e) way of speaking

97. Do your children mix other languages more than you do?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

K. Language attitude

98. How do you feel about your mother tongue against other tongues?

- (a) ☐ Rich (b) ☐ Precise (c) ☐ Sweet
- (d) ☐ Musical (e) ☐ Harsh (f) ☐ Prestigious
- (g) ☐ Literary (h) ☐ Pure (i) ☐ Ancient
- (k) ☐ Powerful

99. How do you consider your mother tongue useful against other tongues in following terms?

- (a) ☐ Jobs (b) ☐ Business (c) ☐ Social mobility
- (d) ☐ Literature (e) ☐ Medium of instruction (f) ☐ Science and technology

100. When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel...

- (a) ☐ Prestigious
- (b) ☐ Embarrassed
- (c) ☐ Neutral

101. Have you ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of your mother tongue/first language?

102. If yes, what kinds of problems have you ever had?

- (a) ☐ Social discrimination.
- (b) ☐ Political discrimination.
- (c) ☐ Economic discrimination.
- (d) ☐ Hostile confrontation.
- (e) ☐ Discrimination in education.
- (f) ☐ Social pressure.
- (g) ☐ Political pressure.
- (h) ☐ Economic pressure.
- (i) ☐ Other

103. Would you like your son or daughter to marry someone who does not know your language?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

104. When the children of your village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?

- (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

105. How do you feel about this?

- (a) ☐ Good. (b) ☐ Bad (c) ☐ Indifferent

106. What language should your children speak first?

107. What are the two languages the first language people speak most?

- (a) (b)

108. Among the languages that you speak which one do you love the most?

.....

L. Appreciative enquiry

109. What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?

- (a)..... (b).....
(c) (d).....
(e)..... (f).....

110. What are the dreams for your mother tongue?

- (a).....
(b).....
(c)..... (d).....

111. To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?

- (a) ☐ Government (b) ☐ Community (c) ☐ Other.....

112. To preserve and promote your language what the community can do itself?

- (a)..... (b).....
(c) (d).....

113. To preserve and promote your language what the Government and non-government should do?

- (a).....
(b).....
(c)
(d).....

114. How can you support for the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

- (a) by devising the script
- (b) by making the spelling system systematic
- (c) by compiling dictionary
- (d) by writing grammar
- (e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue
- (f) by writing and publishing textbooks
- (g) by publishing newspapers
- (h) by making use of the language in administration
- (i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level

115. In your opinion, what things are to be done for the development of your language?

- (a).....
- (b).....
- (c)
- (d)..... -

Annex 6: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire B

(For Language Activist or Village Head)

Notes:

Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.

Introduce yourself first: My/our name is I/we am from Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University. I am a research assistant of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. I am here to learn about your language and its situation. We will share the information given by you with others. Are you willing to help us?

INFORMED CONSENT: Given: ☐ Not Given: ☐

A. Meta data (Baseline information)

Question	Answer
Interview Number	
Date	Day..... Month..... Year..... VS Day..... Month Year..... AD
Place of Interview	Ward No: Village/Town: VDC/Municipality: District: Zone: GPS Coordinates:EN
Interviewer Name	(a) (b)

5. Name of language consultant:

6. (Ask if needed) Sex: (a) ☐ Male (b) ☐ Female (c) ☐ Other

 7. Age:
 8. Caste:
 9. Ethnic group:
 10. Your mother tongue's name:
 11. Name given by the nonnative speakers for your language
 12. Different names of the language if any?
 (i)..... (ii)
 (iii)..... (iv)
 13. Your mother's mother tongue.....
 14. Your father's mother tongue.....
 15. What village were you born in?
 (a) Ward No..... (b)Village/Town..... (c)VDC/municipality.....
 16. Where do you live now?
 17. How many years have you lived here?

18. Other ethnic groups residing in your area: (enter below)

19. Other languages spoken by those groups: (enter below)

	18. Ethnic Group:	19. Language:
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		
e.		
f.		

20. Should anything be done to preserve or promote your mother tongue?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

21. (If "Yes"): In what ways do you think you can support the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?

(a) by devising the script?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(b) by making the spelling system systematic?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(c) by compiling dictionary?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(d) by writing grammar?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(e) by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(f) by writing and publishing textbooks?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(g) by publishing newspapers?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

(h) by making use of the language in administration?

(a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No

- (i) by making use of the language in the medium of instruction at primary level?
 (a) ☐ Yes (b) ☐ No
 (j) in any other ways?

Annex 7a: List of vowels in Maithili (Source: Yadava 2017, p. 37)

Mithilakshar	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
Devnagari	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ

Annex 7b: List of consonants Maithili (Source: Yadava 2017, p. 38)

	स्पर्शी (Stop)					अनुनासिक (Nasal)		अन्तःस्थ (Approximant)				संघर्षी (Fricative)		
घोषत्व→	अघोष			घोष								अघोष	घोष	
प्राणत्व→	अल्प- प्राण		महा- प्राण			अल्प- प्राण		महा- प्राण		अल्पप्राण			महा प्राण	
कण्ठ्य Guttural	क	क	ख	ख		ग	ग	घ	घ	ङ	ङ		ह	ह
तालव्य Palatal	च	च	छ	छ	ज	ज	झ	झ	ञ	ञ	य	य	श	श
मूर्धन्य Retroflex	ट	ट	ठ	ठ	ड	ड	ढ	ढ	ण	ण	र	र	ष	ष
दन्त्य Dental	त	त	थ	थ	द	द	ध	ध	न	न	ल	ल	स	स
ओष्ठ्य Labial	प	प	फ	फ	ब	ब	भ	भ	म	म	व			व

Annex 8: Sample analyzed texts

Text A: Frog story 1¹

- (1) *ek-ṭa ləḍəkā ch-əl jəkərā ləg ek-ṭa kukur*
 one-CLF boy AUX- PST.3NH 3SG-DAT with one-CLF dog
ā ek-ṭa pālātu beṇ ch-əl
 and one-CLF pet frog AUX- PST.3NH
 ‘Once up on a time, there was a boy who had a dog and a pet frog.’
- (2) *o apənā bedərum-me ek-ṭa bəḍhəkā jār- me*
 he (H) his own bedroom- LOC one-CLF big jar- LOC
beṇ-ke rakhāne ch-əl
 frog- GEN put AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘He kept the frog in a large jar in his bedroom.’

¹ This is a Brahmin variety text taken from Indresh Thakur, (Janakpur, Dhanusha).

- (3) *ek rāit jakhən o ā okər kukur*
 one night this time he (H) and he (NH) dog
sutəl ch-əl beŋ jārš bāhər nikəl ge-l
 sleep AUX- PST.3NH frog from jar outside come go-PST.3NH
 ‘One night while he and his dog were sleeping, the frog climbed out of the jar.’
- (4) *o khuləl khiḍkiš bāhər kuid ge-l*
 he (H) open from window outside jump go-PST.3NH
 He jumped out of an open window.
- (5) *jakhən agilā din bhoṛ me ləḍəkā ā*
 this time next day morning in boy and
kukur jāgəl tə osəb dekh-l-ək je jār
 dog wake up then they see-PST.3NH COMP jar
khāli ch-əik
 empty AUX-PRS.3NH
 ‘When the boy and the dog woke up the next morning, they saw that the jar was empty.’
- (6) *ləḍəkā səb jəgəh beŋ-ke khoj-l-ək*
 boy all place frog- GEN find out-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy looked everywhere for the frog.’
- (7) *kukur seho beŋ-ke khoj-l-ək*
 dog too frog- GEN find out-PST.3NH
 The dog looked for the frog too.
- (8) *jakhən kukur jār-me dekh-ke kosis kəe-l-ək*
 this time dog jar- LOC look- ACC/DAT try do-PST.3NH
tə okər muḍi aṭəik ge-l-əik
 then his head stuck go-PST.3NH
 ‘When the dog tried to look in the jar, he got his head stuck.’
- (9) *ləḍəkā khuləl khiḍkiš āwaj de-l-ək beŋ tu*
 boy open from window from give-PST.3NH frog you
kəhā ch-e?
 where AUX -PRS.2NH
 ‘The boy called out the open window, “Frog, where are you?”
- (10) *kukur jhuikək khiḍkiš muḍi bāhər nikāl-l-ək*
 dog bend from window head outside extract-PST.3NH
ā ekhəno okar muḍi jārme phəsəle ch-əl
 and now his head in the jar stuck AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog leaned out the window with the jar still stuck on his head.’
- (11) *jār etek bhāri ch-əl ki kukur muḍi bhəre*
 jar so heavy AUX-PST.3NH COMP dog head on
khiḍkiš bāhərs khəis paḍ-əl
 from window outside fall down lie-PST.3NH
 ‘The jar was so heavy that the dog fell out of the window headfirst.’

- (12) *o* *ʔhik* *ch-əik* *se* *sunisəchit* *kər-bāk- lel*
 he (H) alright AUX-PRS.3NH COMP sure do (verbal noun)
kukur *ke* *uthe-l-ək*
 dog ACC/DAT pick up-PST. 3NH
 ‘The boy picked up the dog to make sure he was ok.’
- (13) *kukur* *ke* *choʔ* *nəi* *lāgəl* *ch-əl* *mudā*
 dog ACC/DAT hurt not feel AUX-PST.3NH but
jār *phuiʔ* *gel* *ch-əl*
 jar smash go AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog wasn’t hurt but the jar was smashed.’
- (14) *ləḍəkā* *ā* *kukur* *beñ* *ke* *bāhər* *khoj-l-ək*
 boy and dog frog ACC/DAT outside search-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy and the dog looked outside for the frog.’
- (15) *ləḍəkā* *beŋ- ke* *āwaj* *de-l-ək*
 boy frog-ACC/DAT sund give-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy called for the frog.’
- (16) *o* *jəmin* *me* *ek-ʔa* *bihur* *me* *āwaj*
 he (H) ground LOC one-CLF hole LOC sound
de-l-ək *jakhənki* *kukur* *məḍhumāchi-k* *chət* *me*
 give-PST.3NH when dog bee-GEN beehive LOC
məḍhumāchi *pər* *bhuk-əl*
 bee on bark-PST.3NH
 ‘He called down a hole in the ground while the dog barked at some bees in a beehive.’
- (17) *ek-ʔa* *gophər* *bihurš* *bāhər* *nikəl-əl* *ā* *ləḍəkā*
 one-CLF gopher from hole outside go-PST.3NH and boy
ke *nāk* *pər* *kāiʔ* *le-l-ək*
 ACC/DAT nose on bite take-PST.3NH
 ‘A gopher popped out of the hole and bit the boy right on his nose.’
- (18) *ehi bich* *kukur* *ekhəno* *məḍhumāchi* *ke* *dukh*
 meanwhile dog now bee ACC/DAT bother
də-rəhəl *ch-əl* *gāch* *pər* *kud-əit* *ch-əl* *ā*
 give-PORG AUX-PST.3NH tree on jump-IMPF AUX-PST.3NH and
okərā-səb *pər* *bhuk-əit* *ch-əl*
 he (NH)- PL on bark- IMPF AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘Meanwhile, the dog was still bothering the bees, jumping up on the tree and barking at them.’
- (19) *məḍhumāchi-k* *khotā* *nichā* *khəis* *paḍ-əl* *ā* *səb-ʔa*
 bee-GEN beehive ground fell down lie-PST.3NH and all- CLF
məḍhumāchi *uiḍ* *ge-l*
 bee fly go-PST.3NH
 ‘The beehive fell down and all of the bees flew out.’

- (20) *apən ghər toḍ-bāk kārən mādhumāchi-səb kukur pər*
his home ruin-PROG cause bee-PL dog on
khisæl ch-əl
angry AUX-PST.3NH
‘The bees were angry at the dog for ruining their home.’
- (21) *ləḍəkā kukur pər kono dhyæn nai də-rəhəl*
boy dog on any attention not give- PORG
ch-əl
AUX-PST.3NH
‘The boy wasn’t paying any attention to the dog.’
- (22) *o gāch-me ek-ṭa nāməhər bihur pər dhyān*
he (H) tree- LOC ek-CLF large hole on attention
dine ch-əl
give AUX-PST.3NH
‘He had noticed a large hole in a tree.’
- (23) *ehilel o gāch pər chəidh ge-l ā*
so he (H) tree on climb go-PST.3NH and
bihur-me āwaj de-l-ək
hole-LOC sound give-PST.3NH
‘So he climbed up the tree and called down the hole.’
- (24) *achānək ek-ṭa ullu bihurṣ bāhər jhəpəṭā mār-l-ək*
sudden one-CLF owl from hole out of swoop beat-PST.3NH
ā ləḍəkā ke jamin pər khəsā de-l-ək
and boy- CLF ACC/DAT ground on fell give-PST.3NH
‘All of a sudden an owl swooped out of the hole and knocked the boy to the ground.’
- (25) *kukur ləḍəkāk pāchu tejiṣ bhāg-əl kiekət mādhumāchi*
dog boy behind fast run-PST.3NH becuse bee
okārā kkihāir-rəhəl ch-l-ək
he (NH) chase-PROG AUX-PST.3NH
‘The dog ran past the boy as fast as he could because the bees were chasing him.’
- (26) *ullu oi ləḍəkā-ke bədhəkā chəttān dhəir kkihār-l-ək*
owl that boy- GEN large rock all the way chase-PST.3NH
‘The owl chased the boy all the way to a large rock.’
- (27) *ləḍəkā chəttān pər chəidh ge-l ā pherṣ*
boy rock on climb go-PST.3NH and again
apənāke āwaj de-l-ək
himself sound give-PST.3NH
‘The boy climbed up on the rock and called again for his frog.’
- (28) *o dāidh-səb pəkərəne ch-əl tāki khəisne pəḍe*
he (H) branch-PL catch AUX-PST.3NH that’s why fall down
‘He held onto some branches so he wouldn’t fall.’
- (29) *mudā dāidh-səb basəṭəbme dāidh nai ch-əl*
but branch-PL really branch not AUX-PST.3NH
‘But the branches weren’t really branches!’

- (30) *o-səb hərin-ək siŋ ch-əl*
 he (H)-PL deer-GEN antler AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘They were deer antlers.’
- (31) *hərin ləḍəkā-ke apənā siŋ-pər uṭhā-ləl-ək*
 deer boy- GEN his head-on pick up-PST.3NH
 ‘The deer picked up the boy on his head.’
- (32) *hərin apənā siŋ-pər ekhəno ləḍəkāk lək bhāig-rəhəl*
 deer his head-on now boy take run-PROG
ch-əl
 AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The deer started running with the boy still on his head.’
- (33) *kukur seho səñge bhāg-əl*
 dog too with run-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog ran along too.’
- (34) *o-səb ek-ṭa chəṭṭān-ke nḍadik pəhūch-rəhəl ch-əl*
 he (H). PL ek-CLF rock-GEN near reach-PROG AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘They were getting close to a cliff.’
- (35) *hərin achānek ruik ge-l ā ləḍəkā āor kukur*
 deer sudden stop go-PST.3NH and boy or dog
chəṭṭān-k kinār pər khəis paḍ-əl
 rock-GEN edge on fall down lie-PST.3NH
 ‘The deer stopped suddenly and the boy and the dog fell over the edge of the cliff.’
- (36) *chəṭṭān-k nichā ek-ṭa pokhəir ch-əl*
 rock-GEN ground ek-CLF pond AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘There was a pond below the cliff.’
- (37) *o-səb ek dosərke upər chəpḍhəbṣ̃ khəs-əl*
 he (H)- PL one another top fast fall down-PST.3NH
 ‘They landed with a splash right on top of one another.’
- (38) *o-səb ek-ṭa pərichit āwaj sun-l-ək*
 he (H). PL one-CLF familiar sound hear-PST.3NH
 ‘They heard a familiar sound.’
- (39) *ləḍəkā kukur-ke ekəḍəm sānt rəh-bāk-ləl kəh-l-ək*
 boy dog-GEN very quiet keep- (verbal noun) tell-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy told the dog to be very quiet.’
- (40) *o-səb reñk bāhər əl ā dheñke pāchu dekh-l-ək*
 he (H)-PL crep outside come and log behind look-PST.3NH
 ‘They crept up and looked behind a big log.’
- (41) *ot o-səb ləḍəkā-k pālətu beŋ bheṭ-əl*
 there he (H)-PL boy-GEN pet frog find-PST.3NH
 ‘There they found the boy’s pet frog.’
- (42) *okrā səñ okər mæ beŋ ch-əl*
 he (NH) with he (NH) mother frog AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘He had a mother frog with him.’

- (43) *okrā ləg kichu bəchchā beñ-səb ch-əl ā*
 he (NH) near some baby frog-PL AUX-PST.3NH and
ohimeṣ ek-ṭa ləḍəkā pər kuid ge-l
 among them one-CLF boy on jump go-PST.3NH
 ‘They had some baby frogs and one of them jumped toward the boy.’
- (44) *bəchchā beṇ- ke ləḍəkā pəsād ch-əl ā okər*
 baby frog-GEN boy like AUX-PST.3NH and he (NH)
nəb pālətu bən chāh-əit ch-əl
 new pet be want-IMPF AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The baby frog liked the boy and wanted to be his new pet.’
- (45) *ləḍəkā ā kukur ghər lə jeb-āk-lel*
 boy and dog home take go (verbal noun)
ek-ṭa beṇ pāib khus ch-əl
 one-CLF frog take happy AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy and the dog were happy to have a new pet frog to take home.’
- (46) *jəkhən o-səb chəl lāg-əl tə ləḍəkā apən*
 when he (H)-PL walk go-PST then boy his
hāth hilelək ā apən purənā beṇ ā
 hand wave and own old frog and
okar pəribār-ke guḍbāi kəh-l-ək
 he (NH) family-GEN goodbye say-PST. 3NH
 ‘As they walked away the boy waved and said “goodbye” to his old frog and his family.’

Text B: Frog story 2²

- (1) *ek-ṭa ləḍəkā che-lai jəkərā lə ek-ṭa kutā*
 one-CLF boy AUX- PST.3NH 3SG-DAT with one-CLF dog
ā ek-ṭa pālətu beṇ che-lai
 and one-CLF pet frog AUX- PST.3NH
 ‘There once was a boy who had a dog and a pet frog.’
- (2) *u apənā bedərum-me ek-ṭa bədhəkā jār- mə*
 he (NH) his own bedroom - LOC one-CLF big jar- LOC
beṇ-ke rakhən chæ-l
 frog- GEN put AUX- PST.3NH
 ‘He kept the frog in a large jar in his bedroom.’
- (3) *ek rāit jakhən u ā okər kutā*
 one night this time he (NH) and he (NH) dog
sutəl che-lai beṇ jārs bāhər nikəl ge-lai
 sleep AUX- PST.3NH frog from jar outside come go-PST.3NH
 ‘One night while he and his dog were sleeping, the frog climbed out of the jar.’

² This is a Non-Brahmin variety text taken from Uma Kant Sah, (Rajbiraj, Saptari).

- (4) *u khuləl khiḍkis bāhər kuid ge-l*
 he_(NH) open from window outside jump go-PST.3NH
 ‘He jumped out of an open window.’
- (5) *jakhən dosər din bhoṛ me ləḍəkā ā*
 this time next day morning in boy and
kutā jāgəl tə usəb dekh-l-ək je jār
 dog wake up then they see-PST.3NH COMP jar
khāli ch-əi
 empty AUX-PRS.3NH
 ‘When the boy and the dog woke up the next morning, they saw that the jar was empty.’
- (6) *ləḍəkā səb jəgəh beṇ-ke khoj-l-ək*
 boy all place frog-GEN find out-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy looked everywhere for the frog.’
- (7) *kuṭā seho beṇ-ke khoj-l-ək*
 dog too frog-GEN find out-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog looked for the frog too.’
- (8) *jakhəin kutā jār-me dekhəi-ke kosis kər-l-ək*
 this time dog jar-LOC look-ACC/DAT try do-PST.3NH
tə okər muḍi aṭəik ge-l-əi
 then his head stuck go-PST.3NH
 ‘When the dog tried to look in the jar, he got his head stuck.’
- (9) *ləḍəkā khuləl khiḍkis āwaj de-l-kəi beṇ tu*
 boy open from window from give-PST.3NH frog you
kətə ch-i?
 where AUX-PRS.2NH
 ‘The boy called out the open window, “Frog, where are you?”’
- (10) *kutā jhuikək khiḍkis muḍi bāhər nikāl-l-ək*
 dog bend from window head outside extract-PST.3NH
ā ekhəno okər muḍi jārme phəsəle che-l-əi
 and now his head in the jar stuck AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog leaned out the window with the jar still stuck on his head.’
- (11) *jār etek bhāri che-l-əi ki kuṭā muḍi bhəre*
 jar so heavy AUX-PST.3NH COMP dog head on
khiḍkis bāhər khəis par-ləi
 from window outside fall down lie-PST.3NH
 ‘The jar was so heavy that the dog fell out of the window headfirst.’
- (12) *u ṭhik ch-əi se sunisəchit kər-bāk- lel*
 he_(NH) alright AUX-PRS.3NH COMP sure do (verbal noun)
kuṭā ke uthe-l-ək
 dog ACC/DAT pick up-PST. 3NH
 ‘The boy picked up the dog to make sure he was ok.’

- (13) *kutā ke choʃ nai ləgəl che-l-əi lekin*
 dog ACC/DAT hurt not feel AUX-PST.3NH but
jār phuiʃ gel che-l-əi
 jar smash go AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog wasn’t hurt but the jar was smashed.’
- (14) *ləḍəkā ā kutā beñ ke bāhər khoj-l-kəi*
 boy and dog frog ACC/DAT outside search-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy and the dog looked outside for the frog.’
- (15) *ləḍəkā beŋ-ke āwaj de-l-kəi*
 boy frog-ACC/DAT sund give-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy called for the frog.’
- (16) *u jəmin mə ek-ʃa bhur mə āwaj*
 he (NH) ground LOC one-CLF hole LOC sound
de-l-kəi jakhənki kutā mādhumāchi-k chət me
 give-PST.3NH when dog bee-GEN beehive LOC
mādhumāchi pə bhuk-əl
 bee on bark-PST.3NH
 ‘He called down a hole in the ground while the dog barked at some bees in a beehive.’
- (17) *ek-ʃa gophər bhurs bāhər nikəl-əl ā ləḍəkā*
 one-CLF gopher from hole outside go-PST.3NH and boy
ke nāk pə kəiʃ le-l-ək
 ACC/DAT nose on bite take-PST.3NH
 ‘A gopher popped out of the hole and bit the boy right on his nose.’
- (18) *ehi bich kuʃā ekhəno mādhumāchi ke dukh*
 meanwhile dog now bee ACC/DAT bother
də-rəhəl che-ləi gāch pə kud-əi che-ləi ā
 give-PORG AUX-PST.3NH tree on jump-IMPF AUX-PST.3NH and
okərā-səb pər bhuk-əi che-ləi
 he (NH)- PL on bark- IMPF AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘Meanwhile, the dog was still bothering the bees, jumping up on the tree and barking at them.’
- (19) *mādhumāchi-k khotā nichā khəis paḍ-əl ā səb-ʃa*
 bee-GEN beehive ground fell down lie-PST.3NH and all- CLF
mādhumāchi uiḍ ge-ləi
 bee fly go-PST.3NH
 ‘The beehive fell down and all of the bees flew out.’
- (20) *apən ghər toḍ-bāk kārən mādhumāchi-səb kutā pə*
 his home ruin-PROG cause bee-PL dog on
khisəl che-ləi
 angry AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The bees were angry at the dog for ruining their home.’

- (21) *ləḍəkā kuṭā pə kono dhyæn nai də-rəhəl*
 boy dog on any attention not give- PORG
che-ləi
 AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy wasn’t paying any attention to the dog.’
- (22) *u gāch-me ek-ṭa nəməhər bhur pər dhyān*
 he (NH) tree- LOC ek-CLF large hole on attention
den che-ləi
 give AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘He had noticed a large hole in a tree.’
- (23) *ehilel u gāch pə chəidh ge-ləi ā*
 so he (NH) tree on climb go-PST.3NH and
bihur-me āwaj de-l-kəi
 hole-LOC sound give-PST.3NH
 ‘So he climbed up the tree and called down the hole.’
- (24) *achānək ek-ṭa ullu bihurs bāhər jhəpətā mār-l-kəi*
 sudden one-CLF owl from hole out of swoop beat-PST.3NH
ā ləḍəkā k jəmin pə khəsā de-l-kəi
 and boy- CLF ACC/DAT ground on fell give-PST.3NH
 ‘All of a sudden an owl swooped out of the hole and knocked the boy to the ground.’
- (25) *kutā ləḍəkāk pāchu tejis bhāg-əl kiyaki mādhumāchi*
 dog boy behind fast run-PST.3NH because bee
okārā khihāir-rəhəl che-l-əi
 he (NH) chase-PROG AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog ran past the boy as fast as he could because the bees were chasing him.’
- (26) *ullu oi ləḍəkā-ke bədhəkā chəttān dhəir khihār-l-kəi*
 owl that boy- GEN large rock all the way chase-PST.3NH
 ‘The owl chased the boy all the way to a large rock.’
- (27) *ləḍəkā chəttān pə chəidh ge-ləi ā phers*
 boy rock on climb go-PST.3NH and again
apənāke āwaj de-l-kəi
 himself sound give-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy climbed up on the rock and called again for his frog.’
- (28) *u dāidh-səb pəkərəne che-ləi tāki khəisne pəḍe*
 he (NH) branch-PL catch AUX-PST.3NH that’s why fall down
 ‘He held onto some branches so he wouldn’t fall.’
- (29) *lekin dāidh-səb basətəbm dāidh nai ch-ləi*
 but branch-PL really branch not AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘But the branches weren’t really branches!’
- (30) *u-səb hərin-k siṅ che-ləi*
 he (NH)-PL deer-GEN antler AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘They were deer antlers.’

- (31) *hərin ləḍəkā-ke apənā siṛ-pə uṭhā-lel-kəi*
 deer boy- GEN his head-on pick up-PST.3NH
 ‘The deer picked up the boy on his head.’
- (32) *hərin apənā siṛ-pə ekhəno ləḍəkāk læk bhāig-rəhəl*
 deer his head-on now boy take run-PROG
che-ləi
 AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The deer started running with the boy still on his head.’
- (33) *kutā seho sǎnge bhāg-ləi*
 dog too with run-PST.3NH
 ‘The dog ran along too.’
- (34) *u-səb ek-ṭa chəttān-k nǝdɪk pəhūch-rəhəl che-ləi*
 he (NH)- PL ek-CLF rock-GEN near reach-PROG AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘They were getting close to a cliff.’
- (35) *hərin achānek ruik ge-ləi ā ləḍəkā āor kutā*
 deer sudden stop go-PST.3NH and boy or dog
chəttān-k kinār pə khəis par-ləi
 rock-GEN edge on fall down lie-PST.3NH
 ‘The deer stopped suddenly and the boy and the dog fell over the edge of the cliff.’
- (36) *chəttān-k nichā ek-ṭa pokhəir che-ləi*
 rock-GEN ground ek-CLF pond AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘There was a pond below the cliff.’
- (37) *u-səb ek dosərke upər chəpdəs khəs-əl*
 he (NH)- PL one another top fast fall down-PST.3NH
 ‘They landed with a splash right on top of one another.’
- (38) *u-səb ek-ṭa pərichit āwaj sun-l-ək*
 he (NH). PL one-CLF familiar sound hear-PST.3NH
 ‘They heard a familiar sound.’
- (39) *ləḍəkā kutā -k ekədəm sǎnt rəh-bāk-lel kəh-l-kəi*
 boy dog-GEN very quiet keep- (verbal noun) tell-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy told the dog to be very quiet.’
- (40) *u-səb reñk bāhər æl ā dheñke pāchu dekh-l-kəi*
 he (NH)-PL crep outside come and log behind look-PST.3NH
 ‘They crept up and looked behind a big log.’
- (41) *ot u-səb ləḍəkā-k pālətu beṇ bheṭ-ləi*
 there he (NH)-PL boy-GEN pet frog find-PST.3NH
 ‘There they found the boy’s pet frog.’
- (42) *okrā sǎñ okər mæ beṇ che-ləi*
 he (NH) with he (NH) mother frog AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘He had a mother frog with him.’

- (43) *okrā lə kuch bəchchā beñ-səb che-ləi ā*
 he (NH) near some baby frog-PL AUX-PST.3NH and
ohimes ek-ṭa ləḍəkā pə kuid ge-ləi
 among them one-CLF boy on jump go-PST.3NH
 ‘They had some baby frogs and one of them jumped toward the boy.’
- (44) *bəchchā beṇ- ke ləḍəkā pəsād che-ləi ā okər*
 baby frog-GEN boy like AUX-PST.3NH and he (NH)
nəb pālətu bən chāh-əi che-ləi
 new pet be want-IMPF AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The baby frog liked the boy and wanted to be his new pet.’
- (45) *ləḍəkā ā kutā ghər lə jeb-āk-lel*
 boy and dog home take go (verbal noun)
ek-ṭa beṇ pāib khus ch-ləi
 one-CLF frog take happy AUX-PST.3NH
 ‘The boy and the dog were happy to have a new pet frog to take home.’
- (46) *jəkhən u-səb chəl ləg-ləi tə ləḍəkā apən*
 when he (NH)-PL walk go-PST then boy his
hāth hilelkəi ā apən purənā beṇ ā
 hand wave and own old frog and
okər pəribār-ke guḍbāi kəh-l-kəi
 he (NH) family-GEN goodbye say-PST. 3NH
 ‘As they walked away the boy waved and said “goodbye” to his old frog and his family.’

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