

# CHAPTER 1

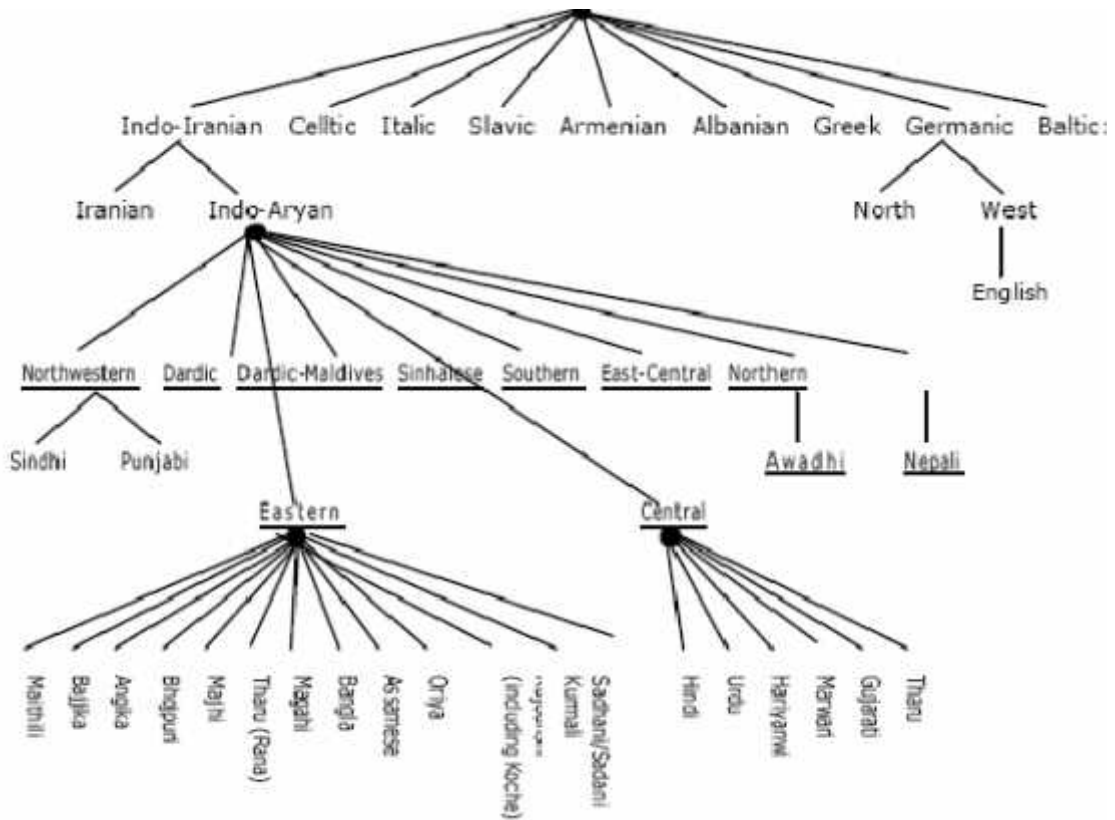
## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

As its name implies, Maithili is, properly speaking, a language of Mithila, the prehistoric ancient kingdom, which was ruled by king Janak or Sita (Lord Ram's wife). This region was also called *Tairabhukti*, the ancient name of Tirhut comprising both Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar, India. Mithila is now a region located in the south-eastern part of Nepal Terai and northern-eastern Bihar (India), where its speakers have been residing since the ancient times. It has also been alternatively called *Mithilaa Bhaakhaa*, *Tirhutiyaa*, *Degaatim Gaunvari*, *Thethi*, *Avahata* or *Apabhramsa*.

There has been some controversy regarding the genetic affiliation of Maithili. According to Grierson (1981, 1903) and others, this language belongs to the Eastern subgroup of the Indo-Aryan group within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family besides Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese. Jeffers (1976; as cited in Yadav (1996:5)), however, places Maithili among "Bihari languages", along with Bhojpuri and Magadhi. Maithili, thus, forms a subgroup with Bhojpuri and Magadhi and is linguistically closer to Assamese, Bangla, and Oriya than to its more contiguous languages, namely, Hindi and Nepali, which belong to the Central and Western subgroups of Indo-Aryan. Yadava (2003: 145) presents the classification of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken in Nepal, which is given in the figure 1, shows that Maithili is one of the languages of Eastern group of Indo-Aryan family.

## Indo-European Languages



**Figure1: Genetic classification of Indo-European languages of Nepal, Yadava (2003)**

Maithili is an Indo-Aryan language. Maithili also flourished as a court language in the Kathmandu Valley during Malla period. Several literary works (especially dramas and songs) and inscriptions in Maithili are still preserved at the National Archives in Kathmandu (Yadava, 1999: 6). The Maithili speakers started residing in the Kathmandu Valley for educational and professional motives.

This study attempts to investigate the code-switching of the Maithili speakers residing in the Kathmandu Valley. According to the government of Nepal CBS report of 2011, the total number of the Maithili speakers has been estimated to be 52, 174. They are found to be scattered all over the Valley. The Maithili speakers are found to be scattered over Balkhu, Kalimati, New Baneshwor, Kupondol, Maitidevi, Lokanthali and other areas of the Kathmandu Valley.

The regular and frequent interaction of the Maithili speakers with the Nepali speakers is influencing the switch. Nepali is used by the Maithili speakers in almost all functional domains, as it is the official language of Nepal. The use of Nepali in functional domains provides a suitable environment for the switch at the structural level.

Code-switching stands as a linguistic behavior which takes place when languages come into contact. However, it stays distinct from other language contact phenomena such as bilingualism, borrowings, pidgins, creoles, calques and language interference.

A language can be replaced gradually by another, a socially more powerful code, with a minimum of structural change whether this affects grammar, phonology, or lexicon is known as structural dimensions of the code-switching. Examples (1-12) show that the Maithili speakers use Nepali noun *jhol* 'soup', verb *pug* 'arrive', adverb *kāhā* 'where', adjective *bu* 'old', preposition *sāng* 'with', and negation *nā* 'not' instead of the (standard) Maithili noun *jhor* 'soup', verb *pāhūc* 'arrive', adverb *kātā* 'where', adjective *burh* 'old', preposition *sath* 'with', and negation *nāi* 'not'.

### **Noun**

#### **Maithili:**

1. maus-ə-k      jhor

meat-GENIT soup

'The soup of the meat.'

#### **Maithili-Nepali:**

2. mas-ke      jhol

meat-GENIT soup

'The soup of the meat.'

### **Verb**

**Maithili:**

3. pəhũc ge-l-ah

arrive go-PST-(3H)

‘He arrived.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

4. pug ge-l-ah

arrive go-PST-(3H)

‘He arrived.’

**Adverb**

**Maithili**

5. kətə ja rəhəl ch-i

where go PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)

‘Where are you going?’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

6. kəhã ja rəhəl ch-i

where go PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)

‘Where are you going?’

**Adjective**

**Maithili:**

7. baba buṛh bhə ge-l-ah tæ̃

grandfather old become go-PST-(3H) so

məkəi pəc-əit ch-əinh

maize not digest-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH+3H)

‘The grandfather is old so he cannot digest maize.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

8. bababu bhə ge-l-ah tæ̃

grandfather old become go-PST-(3H) so

məkəi pəc-əit ch-əinh

maize not digest-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH+3H)

‘The grandfather is old so he cannot digest maize.’

**Preposition**

**Maithili:**

9. kək-ra sath əe-l-əh

who-ACC/DAT with come-PST-(2MH)

‘With whom did you come?’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

10. kək-ra səng əe-l-əh

who-ACC/DAT with come-PST-(2MH)

‘With whom did you come?’

**Negation**

**Maithili:**

11. nokər nə æ-l

Servant NEG come-PST-(3NH)

‘The servant didn’t come.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

12. nokər nə æ-l

Servant NEG come-PST-(3NH)

‘The servant didn’t come.’

In spite of being the mother tongue of more the 16 million people, the use of Maithili is confined to a restricted domain. The domains of language use can be broadly divided into two, i.e., formal and informal situations. Formal situations include schools, offices, public speeches, meeting with strangers, etc., whereas informal situations include religious gatherings, family meetings, meeting with friends. The use of Maithili is restricted to informal situations only. The distinction between the two domains is such that in a formal situation even two Maithili speakers switch over to Nepali. Nepali enjoys the same position in the Maithili-Nepali relationship that English enjoys in the Nepali-English relationship in Nepal.

To show the ongoing switch, two types of Maithili has been taken into account i.e. the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili. People who are not in effective contact with Nepali, that is to say the people, who do not take part in the formal domains, use standard Maithili. Even those who are in effective and regular contact with Nepali can use the standard Maithili, but that would be a deliberate attempt on their part. Otherwise, people who are in effective and regular contact with Nepali will always use the switched variety of Maithili. The switch in the outside (formal) domain is quite obvious. The interference of Nepali at home (informal) domain is also felt. The high frequency of occurrence of the switched variety of Maithili and unconstrained convergence, this is an ideal case of code-switching.

According to Rosamina Lowi (2005), “Code-switching is viewed as bilingual/ multilingual practice that is used not only as a conversational tool, but also as a way to establish, maintain and delineate ethnic boundaries and identities”.

Code-switching is “(sometimes code-shifting or, within a language, style-shifting), for example, can be illustrated by the switch BILINGUAL OR BIDIALECTAL speakers may make (depending on who they are talking to, or where they are) between STANDARD and regional forms of English, between Welsh and English in parts of Wales, or between occupational and domestic varieties” Crystal(2003:79).

“Second languages are used by men or working women mostly only for commerce, social interaction outside the home. In cities, some may use Hindi, Nepali or English even at home and with other Maithili, Bhojpuri or Bengali are used with friends from those groups. Bilingual ability varies greatly, from being limited to using them for trade, to being highly fluent” Gordon(2005:475).

The number of Nepali speakers has been increasing not only because of population growth, but also because of education, urbanization, migration and intermarriage. Individuals moving to the urban areas for educational or professional motives go through a transitional stage of bilingualism with Nepali increasingly replacing their mother tongue. This trend leads to a decrease in the number of speakers of several languages (e.g., Maithili, Thakali, Gurung, Sherpa, some Rai languages). In other cases, the decrease is upset because of a population increase in the indigenous language areas (Watters 2005; as cited in Toba et al(2005)).

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Since little has been made in the study of code-switching, the domains of the use of Maithili are decreasing day by day. The problems of this study are as follows:

- a. How are the domains of the Maithili language use in the Kathmandu Valley?
- b. How are the various linguistic differences between the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili?
- c. How are the possible sociolinguistic features of code-switching in the Maithili language as it is spoken in the valley?
- d. Why are the various linguistic changes taking due to code-switching?

## **1.3 Objectives of the study**

The main objective of the study is to present a sociolinguistic analysis of the “code-switching in the Maithili speakers” spoken in the Kathmandu Valley. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a. To explore the various domains of language use by the Maithili speaking people;
- b. To compare the switched variety of Maithili with the standard Maithili;
- c. To find out the various processes of code-switching with respect to mixing, borrowing, etc; and
- d. To find out the various linguistic changes due to code-switching.

#### **1.4 Review of literature**

To the best of my knowledge no research has been carried out on the case study of the code-switching in the Maithili speakers residing in the Kathmandu Valley of a few related works are nonetheless described in brief as follows:

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) present an important new framework for the historical analysis of all degrees of contact-induced language change, including both extreme cases and the cases where normal transmission is not disrupted. In this framework, the primary determinants are social factors such as the occurrence (or not) of language shift, and the secondary determinants are linguistic factors such as markedness and typological distance. The authors argue that structural interference can be far more pervasive than it has traditionally been thought, that mixed languages do, in fact, exist and that the standard genetic model applies to language passed on in a normal way but not to mixed languages - which include, but are not confined to, pidgins and creoles. Moreover, rough predictions can be made about the types and extent of interference to be expected under varying social and linguistic conditions. A mixed language, they maintain, is not descended from any language in the standard genetic sense.

Yadav (1990) has presented the study variation in the use of Nepali, English, Hindi, Newar and Maithili in the family, and among friends, neighbors and in similar other domains in terms of Brahmin/ Chhetri, Newar and Maithili ethnic groups. He has explored the range of attitude towards the use of Nepali, English, Hindi, Newar and Maithili in the domains of family, social, professional, recreational, educational, cultural and similar other sociolinguistic roles like national identity, national integration, social mobility, instrumental function, ethnic identity etc.



and has also presented the symbolic significance of these languages. Language skills and language preferences, functional role of these languages in education and the language policy of the present government have been dealt.

Hill (1993) has provided an overview on structure and practice in language shift where Jane suggests that research on language shift must combine ethnographic and linguistic skills and methods. Attention to a wide range of cultural and social factors, ranging from a close study of language ideologies to attention to the local political economy, is also necessary. Jane has also discussed major factors in every case of language obsolescence.

Kumar (2001) has investigated the language shift from a minority language, Maithili, to a majority language, Hindi. He has demonstrated the gradual shift of Maithili speakers to Hindi. The use of Hindi by Maithili speakers in most of the functional domains facilitates the formal shift from Maithili to Hindi. The researcher has discussed both the formal and functional status of each language in India and then analyzed a sample of some daily-used structures among the native speakers of Maithili in the state of Bihar in India. He has concluded that “the shift from Maithili to Hindi is unintentional and purely the result of contact....Hindi is used by Maithili speakers in all functional domains”. (p.139)

Thompson (2001) has focused on linguistic results of contact rather than on the sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics of language in contact. This book is aimed at readers who have a basic knowledge of linguistics, so that they know what phonemes, morphemes, relative clauses and language families are. It presents the focus on linguistic results. It explains the language contact, the people in contact situations, how long it is in practice, where language contact is and what happens to languages in contact.

Ncoko et al (2002) have presented code-switching as an important interactional resource in South Africa's multilingual and multicultural society. They have investigated the incidence of code-switching in primary schools and examined the speakers' motivations for employing code-switching. The data is drawn from conversations in both formal (classroom) and informal (playground) situations and the discussion is informal by current theoretical frameworks in code-switching research. These implications of code-switching for education in South Africa are considered.

Kansakar (2005) has provided an overview of the complex linguistic and ethnic diversity of Nepal and various problems that arise from this situation. He has focused on three aspects of multilingualism in Nepal, namely the distribution of dominant and minority languages, language contact and language use and language endangerment due to rapid decline and extinction of languages spoken by minority groups.

Lee (2005), in a sociolinguistic survey of Bayung Rai, deals with bilingualism, mother tongue literacy, language loss and revitalization. It also includes the wordlist that compares among Bayung, sunuwar, Thulung and Wambule which indicates that Bayung wordlist shares about 48%, 39% and 33% of likely cognates with Sunuwar, Thulung and Wambule ones respectively.

Toba et al (2005) presents a number of factors leading to the language shift i.e. population growth, education, urbanization, migration and intermarriage. This trend leads to a decrease in the number of speakers of several languages (e.g., Maithili, Thakali, Gurung, Sherpa, some Rai languages).

Pradhan (2006) makes an attempt to analyze the factors contributing to the language shift of Newars in the Kathmandu Valley. She also describes language attitudes of the speakers and discusses steps taken for language maintenance.

Shah (2008) presents a sociolinguistic profile of the Maithili language of Dhanusha district. He discusses bilingualism, multilingualism and informal interaction in his research work. It includes a wordlist that compares words chosen by higher, middle and lower caste speakers of Maithili. He also discusses the language use and attitude of the Maithili speakers.

Penelope (2009) has explained the code-switching and language contact phenomena. He has investigated different social factors involved in code-switching and has tried to show the case of code-switching in conversation. The grammatical aspects of code-switching as well as the psychological approaches of code-switching have been presented in details. He has also presented the scenario of acquiring code-switching in children and has concluded to convey the knowledge related to the code-switching.

Mishra and Rahman (2013) have investigated the present scenario that Gulgulia speakers widely show traits of code-switching, not just in the outside domain but also in the home domains. They have tried to research a socio-linguistic analysis of contact between Gulgulia, Hindi and Khortha

etc. which seeks to determine the social, psychological and linguistic factors that constraint the use of Gulgulia language in day-to-day communication of the Gulgulia people. They investigated the multilingual contact phenomenon as a pathway for code-switching motivated by language contact phenomenon and have tried to illustrate how code-switching is influenced by a combination of language internal and language external (contact) motivations. They have addressed the issues of contact-induced language change in the most genuine use of the language.

### **1.5 Research methodology**

This research is mainly based on the field work carried out in the Kathmandu Valley. Primary data were collected in the field through interviews, general observations, and participatory observations with the Maithili speakers residing in the Valley.

The Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) and the Markedness Model proposed by Myers-Scotton and other models have been used while conducting the case study of the Kathmandu Valley.

The data was collected in Balkhu, Kalimati, New Baneshwor, Kupondol, Maitidevi, Lokanthali and other areas of the Kathmandu Valley where the Maithili community tends to reside.

The study was conducted by categorizing the respondents into three age groups: (1) 15- 34 (2) 35-59 (3) 60 above

SIL sociolinguistic questionnaire was used to collect the primary data as well as one hundred Maithili sentences were elicited to meet the objectives of the study.

The collected data was analyzed and compared utterances of the so-called Standard Maithili.

Library work was also carried out for the systematic organization of the materials collected through different sources.

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

Maithili is one of the refined and rich languages of Nepal. It is reasonable to conduct a study on the “code-switching in the Maithili speakers” as seen in the Maithili speaker residents of the Valley. It will be significant for future researchers in sociolinguistic studies to see the relation between the languages spoken in the same areas. Despite the increasing descriptive research on the Maithili language/dialects over the last few decades, nothing has been done in the area of code-switching. Hence, the present study is pertinent. It will make the Maithili speakers aware of their language switch. This awareness will result in activities leading to language and culture preservation.

### **1.7 Limitations of the study**

The study is strictly limited to the aspect of lexical variation and/or lexical substitution of code-switching observed in the Maithili speakers residing in the Valley. It does not analyze their dialects and sociolects. The data was collected only with 40 language consultants in the Kathmandu Valley for the case study.

### **1.8 Organization of the study**

This study has been organized into six chapters. Chapter one is the introduction of the study itself. Chapter two includes the sociolinguistic and demographic profile of the Maithili people. Chapter three presents the theoretical framework. Chapter four tries to explain code-switching and its dimensions, types, factors and impacts. Chapter five analyzes structural-functional tendencies of code-switching with examples. Chapter six presents the summary and conclusion of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

#### 2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we discuss the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language. This chapter is organized into eight sections. Section 2.1 deals with the Maithil people. In section 2.2, we present demographics. Section 2.3 deals with status of the Maithili language. In section 2.4, we discuss the level of standardization. Section 2.5 presents writing script and practices. In Section 2.6, we present the use of contact language. Section 2.7 discusses the language of wider communication (LWC). Section 2.8 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

#### 2.1 The Maithil people

As its name implies, Maithili is, properly speaking, a language of Mithila, the prehistoric ancient kingdom, which was ruled by king Janak or Sita (Lord Ram's wife). This region was also called *Tairabhukti*, the ancient name of Tirhut comprising both Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar, India. Mithila is now a region located in the south-eastern part of Nepal Terai and northern-eastern Bihar (India), where its speakers have been residing since the ancient times. It has also been alternatively called *Mithilaa Bhaakhaa*, *Tirhutiyaa*, *Degaatim Gaunvari*, *Thethi*, *Avahata* or *Apabhramsa*.

Maithili is an Indo-Aryan language. Maithili also flourished as a court language in the Kathmandu Valley during Malla period. Several literary works (especially dramas and songs) and inscriptions in Maithili are still preserved at the National Archives in Kathmandu (Yadava, 1999: 6).

#### 2.2 Demographics

The Maithili language is spoken mainly in the northeastern part of Bihar and eastern part of Nepal's Terai region. There are also Maithili speaking minorities adjoining Indian states like West Bengal, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh and the central Nepal's Terai.

There have been reported 31,900,000 (2000 census) and 3,092,530 (2011 census) Maithili speakers in India and Nepal, respectively, totaling 34,992,530. Maithili ranks 31<sup>st</sup> among the world's languages in terms of number of speakers (Website: Ethnologue).

Besides, the Maithili language is also spoken by many others as a second language in India and Nepal. In Nepal, it is the language of approximately 11.7 percent of the total population and figures second in terms of the number of speakers- next only to Nepali, the only official language. According to the government of Nepal CBS report of 2011, the total number of the Maithili speakers residing in the Valley has been estimated to be 52,174. They are found to be scattered all over the Valley. The Maithili speakers are found to be scattered over Balkhu, Kalimati, New Baneshwor, Kupondol, Maitidevi, Lokanthali and other areas of the Kathmandu valley. Their distribution is presented in the table below.

Table1: Population of the Maithili speakers in the Kathmandu Valley (CBS 2011)		
Kathmandu	Lalitpur	Bhaktapur
36,929	11,905	3340

### 2.3 Status of the Maithili language

Quite recently, *The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007)*, an outcome of the *Andolan II*, makes the following provisions for languages:

- (1) All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.
- (2) The Nepali language in *Devanagari* script shall be the official language.
- (3) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2), it shall not be deemed to have hindered to use the mother language in local bodies and offices. State shall translate the languages so used to an official.

(Source: *The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007), Part I, Article 5*)

Despite all these liberal provisions, there seems to have lack of commitment on the part of the government and Nepali alone has continued to be used as an official language for all practical purposes.

Quite optimistically, Committee for Determining the Basis for Cultural and Social Solidarity at the Constitution Assembly has recommended for using Nepali as an official language for the

time being and exploring other alternative languages in central, provincial and local government offices after the implementation of the new constitution through the formation of the Language Commission.

## **2.4 Level of standardization**

Maithili has a long tradition of written literature as a result, the language used by great Maithili writers has been accepted as standard. Besides, Maithili is rich in vocabulary and has standard dictionaries and grammars. It has, however, been realized that the colloquial Maithili be recognized as standard as it has been used by most of its speakers. It would be a political anachronism to accept the variety of Maithili used by a few elites as the standard Maithili.

## **2.5 Writing script and practices**

Previously, Maithili had its own script, called *Mithilakshar* or *Tirhuta*, which originated from *Brahmi* (of the third century B.C. Asokan inscription) via the proto-Bengali script and its similar to the modern Bengali and Oriya writing systems. Besides the *Mithilakshar* script, the *Kaithi* script was also used by *kayasthas* (belonging to a caste of writers and clerks), especially in keeping written records at government and private levels. These two scripts are now almost abandoned. For the sake of ease in learnability and printing (and also perhaps under the influence of the Hindi writing system), they have been gradually replaced by the *Devanagari* script used in writing Hindi, Nepali and some other languages of both Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman stocks spoken in adjoining areas (Jha, 1971).

In addition to written texts, Maithili has an enormous stock of oral literature in the forms of folktales in both prose and verse, ballads, songs, etc. Of them the ballads of *Ras Lila* (expressing the love between Radha and Krishna) and *Salhes* (a prehistoric king) are well known specimens. Maithili speech community is more or less multilingual. Consequently, it has been influenced by the languages in contact, viz. Hindi/Urdu in India and Nepali/Hindi in Nepal.

## **2.6 Use of contact language**

In response to the question “which is your contact language and how much do you use it?”, that was asked to the Maithili speakers, most of the respondents were found to be using the Nepali language. Table 2 shows the result in number.

**Table 2: Use of contact language in daily lives**

		Age			Sex		Literacy	
		A1 n=17	A2 n=17	A3 n=6	M n=20	F n=20	Literate n=27	Illiterate n=13
Daily	N	11(65%)	10(59%)	1(17%)	9(45%)	12(60%)	10(37%)	10(77%)
	M	4(24%)		1(17%)	1(5%)	5(25%)	4(15%)	2(15%)
	h/n		4(24%)		3(15%)		2(8%)	
	n/m		1(6%)		1(5%)		4(15%)	
	H			3(50%)	3(15%)			1(8%)
Sometimes	Bh	1(6%)			1(5%)	1(5%)	1(4%)	
	h/n						1(4%)	
	h/m							
	N					1(5%)	1(4%)	
	M							
	H							
	n/m							
Never								
NR		1(6%)	2(12%)	1(17%)	2(10%)	1(5%)	4(15%)	

Table 2 presents that 52.5% of the Maithili speaking people (male 22.5% and female 30%) use the Nepali language daily as a contact language. Likewise, 15% of the Maithili speakers use the Maithili language daily as a contact language. So, the first contact language of the Maithili speakers of the Valley is the Nepali language. The second contact language is their own mother tongue and the last contact language for them is Hindi in their day-to-day life. Sometimes they also use the Bhojpurilanguage as a contact language.



## **2.7 Language of wider communication (LWC)**

In Maithili speaking area, Maithili prevails as the language of wider communication as most of non-Maithili speakers are also found proficient in this language. However, some educated speakers tend to use Hindi as LWC. Presently, there is a growing tendency among young educated speakers to use Nepali instead of Maithili and Hindi since they mostly receive education through Nepali medium(Yadava, 2012).

## **2.8Summary**

In this chapter, we discussed the Maithili people, demographics, status of the Maithili language, level of standardization, their writing script and practices, use of the contact language in the Valley and the language of wider communication (LWC). This chapter has presented the detailed information of the Maithili people and their practices.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.0 Outline

This chapter consists of two sections. In section 3.1, we present the theoretical framework in order to know the various linguistic changes due to the code-switching in the Maithili speakers residing in the Valley. Section 3.2 summarizes this chapter.

#### 3.1 Theoretical framework

Recent work in the field of the study of code-switching shows new trends that may reformulate the entire domain of the study. However, there are many questions that still require explanations. They are: what is meant by the term *code-switching* and which type of code-switching is believed to have taken place? The term code-switching is often used differently by different researchers – some hold that it refers only to inter-sentential mixing (Kieswetter, 1995; as cited in Ncoko et al (2000: 227)) while others use it as a broad term referring to both inter- and intra-sentential mixing (Mysers-Scotton, 1993a; as cited in Ncoko et al (2000: 227)). In this study, the latter definition of the code-switching is preferred.

Mysers-Scotton (1988, 1992, 1993b, 1993c), one of the authorities on code-switching, defines it as the use of two or more languages in the same conversation. These languages are termed either the matrix language or the embedded language. She uses the Matrix Language Frame Model and the Markedness Model to explain the motivation and the functions of code-switching. According to the Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF), the matrix language provides the morphosyntactic frame for code-switched utterances, and constitutes the majority of morphemes in the given conversation. The choice of the matrix language is highly influenced by psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors. Thus, the matrix language is the dominant language used when code-switching. There could be one or more embedded language(s) contributing to the code-switching utterances. The embedded language is the secondary language used in a code-switching context (Mysers-Scotton, 1988; as cited in Ncoko et al (2000: 228)). The MLF Model identifies the semantic and syntactical constraints, determining where the speaker may code-switch within a sentence.

According to the Markedness Model, making a choice to code-switch at times carries extra-social meaning since the choice of languages used not only conveys the semantic content of the words, but also certain other messages. The motivation to employ a certain code is socio-psychologically driven. A code can either be marked or unmarked. The unmarked code for code-switching is the normal, expected one for a particular situation. It is neutral and carries no extra-social meaning. A marked code, however, usually carries extra-social meaning in that the speakers' code-switching also conveys a meta-message beyond the semantic content of the words (Kieswetter, 1995; as cited in Ncoko et al(2000: 228)). Code choice is also seen as being governed by the speakers' relationship and their goals regarding their social position. All linguistic choices are seen as negotiating some rights and obligations (RO) balances which are based on the norms of the community of the speakers. The RO balances are based on what is expected or unmarked for speakers engaged in a particular conversation. This model is largely speaker-oriented as the speaker tries to negotiate his/her position in a conversational context. A contrasting model is the speech accommodation model (Giles et al, 1987; as cited in Ncoko et al(2000: 228)) which is hearer-oriented mode where the speaker alters his/her speech to accommodate the hearer's position in the conversational context.

Kamwangamalu (1998; as cited in Ncoko et al(2000: 228)) asserts that code-switching is a dynamic phenomenon which cannot be explained only in terms of social negotiations of rights and obligations or in terms of power relationships, but should be examined in terms of the social context in which it is used. He suggests that in addition to a 'we-code' (the language used with one's in-group members) and a 'they-code' (the language associated with more formal, out-group relations) proposed by Gumperz (1974, 1982; as cited in Kamwangamalu(1998)), there should be a 'code-in-between', which is used as a neutral strategy which enables the speaker to achieve goals, which may or may not be political. Whether a language may be defined as a 'we-code', 'they-code' or 'code-in-between', depends on the context and social goals one wishes to achieve in a given speech situation. Kieswetter (1995; as cited in Ncoko et al(2000: 228-229)) provides a comprehensive list of social variables that can be negotiated by code-switching. The list includes variables such as: identity, interpersonal relationships, social positions, group solidarity, ethnic identity, exploring new relationships, status, levels of education, authority, neutrality, distancing or intimacy. Taking in consideration of these social variables, this research

aimed to explore the effect of the Nepali language upon the Maithili language setting on the occurrence of code-switching between the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili.

### **3.2 Summary**

The chapter dealt with the theoretical framework keeping in view to overcoming the problem related to code-switching of the Maithili speakers residing in the Valley. The various linguistic changes due to code-switch were found out with the help of the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework is the essential tool which is helpful in the case study.

## CHAPTER 4

### CODE-SWITCHING: DIMENSIONS, TYPES, FACTORS AND IMPACTS

#### 4.0 Outline

This chapter is organized into five sections. In section 4.1, we discuss code-switching and its dimensions. Section 4.2 presents the types of code-switching. In section 4.3, we discuss factors responsible for code-switching in the Maithili speakers. Section 4.4 discusses the impact of code-switching to the existence of the Maithili language use in future. In section 4.5, we summarize the findings of this chapter.

#### 4.1 Code-switching and its dimensions

Code-switching stands as a linguistic behavior which takes place when languages come into contact. However, it stays distinct from other language contact phenomena such as bilingualism, borrowings, pidgins, creoles, calques and language interference. According to Rosamina Lowi (2005), “Code-switching is viewed as bilingual/ multilingual practice that is used not only as a conversational tool, but also as a way to establish, maintain and delineate ethnic boundaries and identities”. Code-switching is also referred as code mixing, code-shifting or code-changing and has been defined as the act of “alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (Poplack, 1980:583; as cited in Mishra and Rahman(2013)). It is the tendency of the speakers to practice code-switching generally, when they are competent in two languages simultaneously. Code-switching and Code-mixing have been considered as two separate concepts. On the one hand where code-switching refers to the alternate use of sentences from two languages in a single discourse, code-mixing refers to the alternate use of constituents from two languages within a sentence.

The present study presents the two-fold dimension of code-switching i.e. the functional and structural dimensions which are explained below: Functional dimension is a shift in language behavior from one domain to another. It is the tendency of individuals to adapt to different varieties, codes and styles and keep switching over from one code to another depending upon the domain. Language behavior gets influenced by an individual’s social intimacy, social relationship, social distance and the situation of the speaker and the hearer. The speaker does

not initiate his/her way or style of language use, rather it is the context which determines the varieties according to the situations.

The functional dimensions of the switch in the Maithili speakers show that the domains of Maithili use are getting reduced. Nepali is used by the Maithili speakers in functional domains (formal situations) which are enforcing the code-switching. It has also been argued that Nepali is sometimes used also in informal communications. That is to say, the frequent and regular interactions of the Maithili speakers with Nepali is influencing the switch in the Maithili speakers. Thus, on the basis of arguments like limited domains of Maithili use, day-by-day reduction of the domains of Maithili use, and the influence of these at the structural level, we argue that Maithili is highly influenced by Nepali and the phenomenon is code-switching.

In structural dimensions, the data presented for the discussion of the switch in the Maithili speakers show the differences between the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili. They demonstrate the gradual shift at the structural level. The differences between the structures of the standard Maithili and the switched variety could be taken to represent the phenomenon of switched code in which the Maithili speakers are mixing Nepali. But in literature, it has been argued that switching does not take place at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, genitive case, verbs, adverbs, Maithili absolute clauses and negativization. The data presented in this research for discussion show that in the switched variety of Maithili, speakers are code-switching at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, genitive case, verbs, adverbs, Maithili absolute clauses and negativization.

The code-switching in the Maithili speakers spoken in the Kathmandu Valley is purely the result of contact. The regular and frequent interaction with Nepali is influencing the switch at the structural level. Nepali is used by the Maithili speakers in almost all functional domains, as it is the official language of Nepal. The use of Nepali in functional domains provides a suitable environment for the switch at the structural level, which can be viewed as a case of code-switching. Since the switch is taking place at different levels of grammar, this is an ideal case of code-switching. The Maithili speakers are using the switched variety of Maithili which is the result of the language contact with Nepali speaking people.

It is the structural dimension that gives birth to phenomena such as code-switching and it is the functional dimension that motivates such phenomena. It is important to understand the multilingual context of Nepal in order to understand the nature and function of code-switching. Nepal is a multilingual country with one official language. The languages spoken in Nepal belong to four major language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. Typologically, the languages can be divided into two groups: verb final (SOV) and verb medial (SVO). The languages considered in this study, Maithili and Nepali belong to the Indo-Aryan family. Both languages are verb-final (SOV) languages. Nepal's multilingualism lies not only in a number of languages but also in the fact that the verbal repertoire of most of the speech communities consists of at least two languages. Of the 75 districts in Nepal, there is hardly any in which only one language is used in all sociolinguistic contexts.

#### **4.2 Code-switching: types**

Code-switching in Nepal is taking place in various sociolinguistic contexts. The code-switching is of different types. The major types of code-switching are as follows:

- a. Intersentential switching:** The intersentential switching occurs outside the sentence or the clause level (i.e. at sentence or clause boundaries). It is sometimes called "extra-sentential" switching.
- b. Intra-sentential switching:** The intra-sentential switching occurs within a sentence or a clause.
- c. Tag-switching:** The tag-switching is the switching of either a tag phrase or a word, or both, from language-B to language-A, (common intra-sentential switches).
- d. Intra-word switching:** The intra-word switching occurs within a word, itself, such as at a morpheme boundary.

They vary in their nature and function. To show the ongoing switch, the two types of Maithili have been taken into account i.e. standard Maithili and the shifted variety of Maithili. People who are not in effective contact with Nepali, that is to say the people who do not take part in the formal domains, use standard Maithili. Even those who are in effective and regular contact with Nepali can use standard Maithili, but that would be a deliberate attempt on their part. Otherwise,

people who are in effective and regular contact with Nepali will always use the switched variety of Maithili.

### **4.3 Factors responsible for code-switching in the Maithili speakers**

In Maithili community, the members deliberately switch their codes to the language to which the business, education, communication are conducted to, the researcher found three factors that contribute most in the Maithili language switching.

Language attitude

Language status

Subconscious linguistic behavior

#### **a. Language attitude**

Though the members of the Maithili community exhibit a very positive attitude towards their language and wish to see it promoted, yet the members mostly need to revert to the use of dominant languages for earning their livelihood as communication in dominant languages fetches them more profit as more and more public relation could be established.

At times, there is even conscious display of knowledge of Nepali, Hindi extensively and English, too, at minor lexical levels. The more they bring words from dominant language in their communication, the more they are inflected by the Nepali language. The code-switching in the Maithili speakers spoken in the Kathmandu Valley is purely the result of contact.

#### **b. Language status**

When a language fails to attain any kind of recognition, its survival is hardly achieved. Maithili is confined just within their own community having negligible prestige in the society. Although Maithili is widely spoken by the community members in informal situation, it is always a second choice in the formal situation. When a language stands as a second choice in most of the situations, its survival gradually gets difficult. That is to say that the language is used less and less and finally language shift gets unavoidable.



### **c.Subconscious linguistic behavior**

Maithili speakers exhibit patterns of code-switching out of habit and subconsciously switch codes with another speakers. Such situations could be found in their informal interactions and formal community discussions etc. It is subconscious because most people are unaware that they have switched and amazingly, none is capable to make even few sentences without bringing in one or two Nepali, Hindi, at times and English (extremely basic words like time, computer etc.) words or expressions.

### **4.4 The Impact of code-switching to the existence of the Maithili language in future**

Maithili community showing traits of code-switching is basically a linguistic phenomenon. This phenomenon is actually prevalent in all multilingual societies. It facilitates the need to communicate with other people who speak different languages. If this phenomenon exists temporarily, the language which is undergoing the shift is not in a position to be endangered. However, if this shifting takes place continuously or permanently, then this may be threatening for the host language.

If we apply the criteria in the Maithili context, where we see that code-switching is not just invading in the outside social domain but it is also creeping in the home domains which declares negative impact on the Maithili existence. If the next generation adapt themselves of not using Maithili in major walks of life and domains, this would pose danger to the Maithili (language) existence. If no preventive and proper action is taken to check this to happen, it is quite relevant to say that the Maithili language will vanish in future.

### **4.5 Summary**

We could undoubtedly conclude that code-switching has become an integral part of the Maithil life and several factors are responsible for this. It is necessary for the linguists to work in a coordinated fashion in order to combat the issue of code-switching. The government should take initiatives with regard to language planning, new policy initiatives, public awareness for the promotion and preservation of the Maithili status and language in order to overcome the future threat of the language shift. This would, thereby, help reduce the incidence of code-switching among the Maithil people as well as help in the upliftment of the community and preservation of the language in the long run.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CODE-SWITCHING: AN ANALYSIS**

#### **5.0 Outline**

This chapter attempts to analyze the switch in the Maithili speakers between the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili. This chapter consists of two sections. In section 5.1, we analyze structural functional tendencies in the code-switching. Section 5.2 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

#### **5.1 Structural functional tendencies in code-switching**

##### **5.1.1 A focus on structure**

When a language is undergoing switch, its structural aspects do not remain intact even though this holds also true for 'normal' language change. From a purely linguistic point of view, one has to find out which particular changes are due to the influence of the dominant language and which could be explained otherwise. Furthermore, the kind and amount of structural transformations related to switch are not the same in all sociolinguistic situations. A language can be influenced gradually by another, a socially more powerful code, with a minimum of structural change whether this affects grammar, phonology, or lexicon. On contrary, significant changes may take place in the structure of the receding code, and new linguistic patterns may emerge that do not fit unproblematically the inherited schemes that have been used until recently to explain dynamic linguistic phenomena.

A focus on structure in sociolinguistic situations diagnosed as exemplifying code-switching shows both methodological and theoretical strengths and weaknesses. For both, the communities and the researcher, it is a gain to be able to discover which exactly is the fate of linguistic structure and how the latter is being remodeled in various directions under the impact of switching conditions. Furthermore, questions concerning the complexity or non-complexity of language structure and its functional adequacy as well as language universals are issues that fall within the area of interests of those engaged in the study of code-switching, in a parallel manner to the research being conducted by students of pidgin and creole languages who raise similar queries. But a focus on structure can pre-empt in an empirically impermissible way the study of

code-switching since it frequently serves as a criterion the satisfaction of which influences the final interpretation of the situation (Tsitsipis, 1999). For example, in the Kathmandu Valley, if code-switching were to be diagnosed on the basis of the traditional domains of syntax-grammar or phonology the dynamic of switch would be invisible to the sociolinguistic student of this particular community. That is, no switch could be attested as occurring there. However, we can see in this study, switch does occur. The lesson from the description and analysis below is that praxis and function aspects of linguistic switch is indispensable to a complete study of such dynamic phenomena, the more so, since the study of linguistic switch can both make contributions to and be influenced by broader considerations in anthropology and sociology. A narrow focus on structure, particularly if examined in relative isolation from the praxis trajectory of the communities, can erase from view the most interesting aspects of the phenomenon, and become detrimental to any attempt to embed code-switching in the matrix of the political economy of language. In order therefore to give a more thorough picture of this specific kind of sociolinguistic change and to turn to its recent understanding as a form of sociocultural praxis, one has to discuss its functional aspects, too.

In the case of the Maithili language as spoken in the Kathmandu Valley for many centuries, important changes have occurred, most of them due to contact with the dominant national language, Nepali. The functional dimensions have influenced the phenomena such as code-switching. The structures discussed below maintain the differences between the switched variety of Maithili and the standard Maithili, code switching and mixing. On the basis of the data presented in this study, we can argue that the phenomenon could always be called code-switching. However, on the basis of arguments such as high frequency of occurrence of the switched variety of Maithili, and unconstrained convergence, this is an ideal case of code-switching which ultimately leads to language shift. The switch has taken place at almost all levels of grammar. This study discusses the switch only at the different syntactic levels. The following examples show the switch from Maithili to Nepali. The switched variety of Maithili is termed as *Maithili-Nepali*, and the standard Maithili is called *Maithili*. The items in focus are in italics.

### 5.1.1.1 Code- switching in nominal system

#### 5.1.1.1.1 Noun

In (1), (3), (5), (7), (9), (11), (13), (15), (17) and (19) we have Maithili noun *gam* 'village', *sətru* 'enemy', *jhor* 'soup', *kaj* 'work', *həua* 'money', *sətrənji* 'carpet', *pain* 'water', *rait* 'night', *rəud* 'sunshine' and *təregən* 'stars' where as in (2), (4), (6), (8), (10), (12), (14), (16) (18) and (20) we have Nepali noun *gāo* 'village', *dusmən* 'enemy', *jhol* 'soup', *kam* 'work', *pəisa* 'money', *gələica* 'carpet', *pani* 'water', *rat* 'night' *gham* 'sunshine' and *tara* 'stars'. The use of the switched variety of Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the switch from Maithili to Nepali and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

#### Maithili:

1.o gam choir de-l-əinh

he(H) village leave give-PST-(3H)

'He left the village.'

#### Maithili-Nepali:

2. o gāo choir de-l-əinh

he(H) village leave give-PST-(3H)

'He left the village.'

#### Maithili:

3. sətru sə bəc-i

enemy INSTR fall-PST-(3NH)

'One should keep away from the enemy.'

#### Maithili-Nepali:

4. dushman sə bac-u

enemy INSTR fall-PST-(3NH)

‘One should keep away from the enemy.’

**Maithili:**

5. maus-ək jhor

meat-GENIT soup

‘The soup of the meat.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

6. mas-ək jhol

meat-GENIT soup

‘The soup of the meat.’

**Maithili:**

7. ok-ra sã kaj nehĩ cəl-ət

that-ACC/DAT INSTR work not walk-FUT-(3NH)

‘He (e.g., that boy, that servant) will not do.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

8. ok-ra sã kam nehĩ cəl-ət

that-ACC/DAT INSTR work not walk-FUT-(3NH)

‘He (e.g., that boy, that servant) will not do.’

**Maithili:**

9. i toh-ər hæua bhe-l-əh

this you(MH)-GENIT money become-PST-(3NH+2MH)

‘This is your money.’ (Lit.: This became your money.)

**Maithili-Nepali:**

10. i toh-ər pəisa bhe-l-əh

this you(MH)-GENIT money become-PST-(3NH+2MH)

‘This is your money.’ (Lit.: This became your money.)

**Maithili:**

11. sətɾənʒi \*həʃ-ae-l

carpet move-PASS-PST-(3NH)

‘The carpet was removed.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

12. gələica \*həʃ-ae-l

carpet move-PASS-PST-(3NH)

‘The carpet was removed.’

**Maithili:**

13. nokər pain ən-əit əich

servant water bring-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)

‘The servant brings the water.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

14. nokər pani ən-əit əich

servant water bring-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)

‘The servant brings the water.’

**Maithili:**

15. hebhəgban u rait-e me məir ja-e

VOC(3H) God he (NH) night in die go-OPT-(3NH)

‘May he die overnight, o Lord!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

16. he bhəgban u rat-e me mər ja-e

VOC(3H) God he (NH) night in die go-OPT-(3NH)

‘May he die overnight, o Lord!’

**Maithili:**

17. hun-ka sã rəud dis nəi

he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR sunshine toward not

tak-əl ge-l-əinh

look-PSTPCPLgo-PST-(3NH+3H)

‘He was not able to look out into the sun.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

18. hun-ka sã gham dis nəi

he(H)-ACC/DAT INSTR sunshine toward not

tak-əlge-l-əinh

look-PSTPCPLgo-PST-(3NH+3H)

‘He was not able to look out into the sun.’

**Maithili:**

19. həmr-a teregən dekhai delak

I-DAT stars visible give-PST

‘I saw stars’ (Lit- I happened to see stars.)

**Maithili-Nepali:**

20. həmr- a tara dekhai delak

I-DAT stars visible give-PST

‘I saw stars’ (Lit- I happened to see stars.)

**5.1.1.1.2 Noun phrase**

Maithili speakers in effective contact with Nepali in their day-to-day life in formal domains switch at the phrasal level, too. Instead of Maithili noun phrase *am- k laṭhi* ‘mango stick’, *sita- ək begər* ‘without Sita’ and *bə kal* ‘long time’ as in example (21), (23) and (25), Maithili speakers use Nepali *am-ke l ṭhi* ‘mango stick’, *sita-ke bahek* ‘without Sita’ and *bəhut sāmā(y)ə* ‘long time’ as in example (22) and (24) and (26).

**Maithili:**

21. ek ṭā am-ə-k laṭhi la-u

one CLAS mango-GENIT stick bring-IMP (formal)

‘Please bring a mango stick.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**



22. ek am-ke l thi la-u  
one CLAS mango-GENIT stick bring IMP (formal)

‘Please bring a mango stick.’

**Maithili:**

23. sita-ə-k begər i kaj nēi hæ-t  
Sita-GENIT without this work not be-FUT-(3NH)

‘This task won’t be accomplished without Sita.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

24. sita-ke bahek i kam nēi hæ-t  
Sita-GENIT without this work not be-FUT-(3NH)

‘This task won’t be accomplished without Sita.’

**Maithili:**

25. bə kal dhərī hām səb əhā-k baṭ joh-əl-aũ  
very time until I all your-GENIT way/path wait-PST-1PL

‘We waited for you a long time.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

26. bəhut sāmə(y)e dhərī hām səb əhā-ke baṭ dekh-əl- əũ  
very time until I all your-GENIT way/path see-PST-1PL

‘We waited for you a long time.’

**5.1.1.1.3 Pronoun**

The switch can also be seen at the level of functional categories like relative pronouns. Maithili does not have relative pronouns as in example (27). The regular contact of its speaker with Nepali has influenced the switch at the level of functional category too. In the switched variety, the Maithili speakers use a relative pronoun such as *je* ‘who’ as illustrated in example in (28).

**Maithili:**

27. ek    ṭa       bæcca   nəb   a   ga

one CLAS boy    new shirt

pəhirne sojha æ-la

wearing front come-PST-3NH

‘A boy (who was) wearing a new shirt appeared.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

28. ek    ṭa       bæcca   je   nəya   kəmīz

one CLAS boy    who new shirt

pəhirne ch-al       samne       æ-la

wearing come-PST in front of come-PST-3NH

‘A boy who was wearing a new shirt appeared.’

It is difficult to predict at this stage of research whether the use of *je* ‘who’ in Maithili is influenced by the Nepali relative pronoun *jo* ‘who’ or is just the functional extension of the complimentizer *je* ‘that’ which is already there in Maithili. The Nepali complimentizer is *ki* ‘that’.

**5.1.1.1.4 Locative adverbial clause**

The Maithili locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *jətə* ‘where’ in examples (29) and (31) which is replaced by Nepali *jəhā* ‘where’ in examples (30) and (32).

**Maithili:**

29. jətə paṭhæ-b həm jæ-b  
where send-FUT-(2H+1) I go-FUT-(1)

‘I will go where you send me.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

30. jəhā paṭhæ-b həm jæ-b  
where send-FUT-(2H+1) I go-FUT-(1)

‘I will go where you send me.’

**Maithili:**

31. həmoḥi ṭham jæ-b jətə  
I there that place go-FUT-(1) where

həm-ra kəh-əb

I-ACC/DAT say-FUT-(2H+1)

‘I will go there where you ask me to.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

32. həm oḥiṭham jæ-b jəhā

I there that place go-FUT-(1) where

həm-ra kəh-əb

I-ACC/DAT say-FUT-(2H+1)

‘I will go there where you ask me to.’

The Maithili locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *jətə* ‘where’ in examples (29) and (31) which is replaced by Nepali *jəhã* ‘where’ in examples (30) and (32). This shows the code-switching at the level of subordinator.

### 5.1.1.1.5 Adjective

In (33), (35), (37), (39) and (41) we have Maithili adjectives *burh* ‘old’, *bimar* ‘ill’, *baukar* ‘strong’, *era* ‘fear’ and *prəsənn* ‘happy’ where as in (34), (36), (38), (40) and (42) we have Nepali adjectives *bu* ‘old’, *bimari* ‘ill’, *bālman* ‘strong’, *ra* ‘fear’ and *khus* ‘happy’. The use of the switched variety of Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the code-switching from Maithili to Nepali and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

#### Maithili:

33. baba            burh bhə            ge-l-ah            tæ̃  
 grandfather old    become go-PST-(3H) so  
 məkəi pəc-əit                            ch-əinh  
 maize not digest-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH+3H)

‘The grandfather is old so he cannot digest maize.’

#### Maithili-Nepali:

34. baba            bu    bhə            ge-l-ah            tæ̃  
 grandfather old    become go-PST-(3H) so  
 məkəi pəc-əit                            ch-əinh  
 maize not digest-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH+3H)

‘The grandfather is old so he cannot digest maize.’

#### Maithili:

35. o            bimar əich

he(NH) ill be-PRES-(3NH)

‘He is ill.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

36. o birami əich

he(NH) ill be-PRES-(3NH)

‘He is ill.’

**Maithili:**

37. tō bəukar ch-əh

you(MH) strong be-PRES-(2MH)

‘You are strong.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

38. tō bəlman ch-əh

you(MH) strong be-PRES-(2MH)

‘You are strong.’

**Maithili:**

39. nəi era-u

not fear-IMP-(2H)

‘Do not be afraid.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

40. nə ra-u

not fear-IMP-(2H)

‘Do not be afraid.’

**Maithili:**

41. həm india sã bərabər phon kər-əit

i India from regularly phone do-IMPERF

ch-i jahi sã ki həm-ər mæ prəsənn rəh-əith

AUX-PRES-(1) sothat I-GENIT mother happy be-OPT-(3H+1)

‘I call from India regularly so that my mother be happy.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

42. həm indiasã bərabər phon kər-əit

i India from regularly phone do-IMPERF

ch-ijahi sã ki həm-ər mæ khus rəh-əith

AUX-PRES-(1) sothat I-GENIT motherhappy be-OPT-(3H+1)

‘I call from India regularly so that my mother be happy.’

Again, the Maithili adjective phrase *bər nīk* ‘very beautiful’ has been partially replaced by a Nepali adjective phrase *bər sundər* ‘very beautiful’ in (43-45). The gradual shift is obvious here. First it was replaced by *bər sundər* ‘very beautiful’, as in (44), and later by *bəhūt sundər* ‘very beautiful’, as in (45).

**Maithili:**

43. bər nīk phul chə-i

very beautiful flower AUX-PRES-(3SG)

‘It’s a beautiful flower.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

44. bər sundər phul chə-i

very beautiful flower AUX-PRES-(3SG)

‘It’s a beautiful flower.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

45. bəhũtsundər      phūl    chə-i  
very    beautiful    flower    AUX-PRES-(3SG)

‘It’s a beautiful flower.’

Note that in (44) the phrase *bəṛ sundər* ‘very beautiful’ consists of two lexical items: *bəṛ* ‘very’ and *sundər* ‘beautiful’. Here *bəṛ* ‘very’ is a Maithili item whereas *sundər* ‘beautiful’ is Nepali. In (45), the phrase *bəhũt sundər* ‘very beautiful’ is Nepali.

### 5.1.1.1.6 Preposition

In (46) and (48) we have Maithili preposition *sath* ‘with’ and *sojha* ‘before’ whereas in (47) and (49) we have Nepali preposition *səng* ‘with’ and *əga i* ‘before’. The use of the switched variety of Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the switch from Maithili to Nepali and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

#### Maithili:

46. kək-ra            sath    əe-l-əh  
who-ACC/DAT    with    come-PST-(2MH)

‘With whom did you come?’

#### Maithili-Nepali:

47. kək-ra            səng    əe-l-əh  
who-ACC/DAT    with    come-PST-(2MH)

‘With whom did you come?’

#### Maithili:

48. həm-ra            sojha    me    nəi    a-u  
I-ACC/DAT    before    not    come-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t come to me.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

49. hām-ra əga i me nəia-u

I-ACC/DAT before not come-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t come to me.’

**5.1.1.1.7 Genitive case**

In examples (50), (52) and (54) we have Maithili genitive case marker *k* whereas in examples (51), (53) and (55) we have Nepali genitive case marker *ke*. The use of the switched variety of Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the switch also in genitive case and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

**Maithili:**

50. bə kal dhərī hām səb əhā-k baṭ joh-əl-aũ

very time until I all your-GENIT way/path wait-PST-1PL

‘We waited for you a long time.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

51. bəhut sāmə(y)ə dhərī hām səb əhā-ke baṭ dekh-əl- əũ

very time until I all your-GENIT way/path wait-PST-1PL

‘We waited for you a long time.’

**Maithili:**

52. ek ṭa am-ə-k laṭhi la-u

one CLAS mango-GENIT stick bring-IMP (formal)

‘Please bring a mango stick.’



### Maithili-Nepali:

53. ek a am-ke l thi la-u  
one CLAS mango-GENIT stick bring IMP (formal)  
'Please bring a mango stick.'

### Maithili:

54. sita-ə-k begər i kaj nəi hæ-t  
sita-GENIT without this work not be-FUT-(3NH)  
'This task won't be accomplished without Sita.'

### Maithili-Nepali:

55. sita-ke bahek i kam nəi hæ-t  
sita-GENIT without this work not be-FUT-(3NH)  
'This task won't be accomplished without Sita.'

Note that the genitive case marker in Maithili is *k* while the same markers in Nepali are *ko/ka/ki/ke/ro/ra/ri/no/na/ni* which vary in agreement with the number and gender of the following noun. We have Maithili genitive *k* in examples (50), (52) and (54) but in the switched variety of Maithili we have the Nepali genitive *ke* in example (51), (53) and (55).

## 5.1.1.2 Code-switching in verbal system

### 5.1.1.2.1 Verb

In examples (56), (58), (60), and (62) we have Maithili verb *ṭahl* 'walk', *pəhūc* 'arrive', *prānam* 'greet' and *khās* 'fall' whereas in examples (57), (59) (61) and (63) we have Nepali verb *ghum* 'walk', *pug* 'arrive', *nāmāste* 'greet' and *khās* 'fall'. The use of the switched variety of

Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the switch also in verb and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

**Maithili:**

56. ṭəhl-əl kər-u

walk-PERF do-IMP-(2H)

‘Walk (regularly)!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

57. ghum-əl kər-u

walk-PERF do-IMP-(2H)

‘Walk (regularly)!’

**Maithili:**

58. pəhũc ge-l-ah

arrive go-PST-(3H)

‘He arrived.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

59. pug ge-l-ah

arrive go-PST-(3H)

‘He arrived.’

**Maithili: (Complex Verb)**

60. o prənam kəe-l-əinh

he(H) greeting do-PST-(3H)

‘He greeted.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

61. o nəmæste kæ-l-əinh

he(H) greeting do-PST-(3H)

‘He greeted.’

**Maithili:**

62. o khəis peṛ-l-ah a hun-k-ər

he(H) fall lie-PST-(3H) and he(H)-GENIT

haṛ tuiṭ ge-l-əinh

bone break go-PST-(3NH+3H)

‘He fell down and (consequently) broke his bone.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

63. okhəs peṛ-l-ah a hun-k-ər

he(H) fall lie-PST-(3H) and he(H)-GENIT

haṛ tuiṭ ge-l-əinh

bone break go-PST-(3NH+3H)

‘He fell down and (consequently) broke his bone.’

Examples (65), (67) and (69) demonstrate that the Nepali verb stem *bol* ‘tell’, *bhej* ‘send’, *suna* ‘say’, *ghuma* ‘walk’ is used by the Maithili speakers instead of Maithili verb stem as in examples (64), (66) and (68) we have *baj* ‘tell’, *pəṭha* ‘send’, *kəh* ‘say’, *təhla* ‘walk’. Note that in

examples (64-69) the effect of contact of the Maithili speakers with Nepali is such that lexical items are being replaced.

**Maithili:**

64. baj-u        k k ra    p ha-u

say-IMPwho        send-IMP (formal)

‘Tell me please, whom should I send.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

65. bol-u        k k rabhej -u

say-IMPwho        send-IMP

‘Tell me please, whom should I send.’

**Maithili:**

66. baj-u        k k ra    k h-u

say-IMPwho        say-IMP

‘Tell me please, whom should I say.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

67. bol- uk k ra suna -u

say-IMPwho        say-IMP

‘Tell me please, whom should I say.’

**Maithili:**

68. baj-u k k rat hla-u

say-IMPwho        walk-IMP

‘Tell me please, whom should I help to walk.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

69. bol- uk k raghuma -u

say-IMPwho walk-IMP

‘Tell me please, whom should I help to walk.’

**5.1.1.2.2 Adverb**

Examples (70-79) show that the Maithili speakers use Nepali adverbs *jəhã* ‘where’, *kəhã* ‘where’, *por* ‘last year’, *əga i* ‘before’ and *dhayan* ‘carefully’ instead of the (standard) Maithili form *jətə* ‘where’ *kətə* ‘where’, *pəurkã* ‘last year’, *pəhine* ‘before’ and *hosiyari* ‘carefully’.

**Maithili:**

70. jətə əhã jə-b tətə hem-hũ

where you(H) go-FUT-(2H) there I-EMPH

‘Where you go, I go (there) too.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

71. jəhã əhã jə-b tətə hem-hũ

where you(H) go-FUT-(2H) there I-EMPH

‘Where you go, I go (there) too.’

**Maithili**

72. kətə ja rəhəl ch-i

where go PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)

‘Where are you going?’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

73. kəhã ja rəhəl ch-i

where go PROG AUX-PRES-(2H)

‘Where are you going?’

**Maithili:**

74. pəurkā (sal) bə dhan bhe-l-əik

last year a lot paddy become-PST-(3NH)

‘Last year the paddy crop was extremely good.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

75. por (sal) bə dhan bhe-l-əik

last year a lot paddy become-PST-(3NH)

‘Last year the paddy crop was extremely good.’

**Maithili:**

76. o pəhine aib ge-l-ah

he(H) first come go-PST-(3H)

‘He arrived early.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

77. o əgari aib ge-l-ah

he(H) first come go-PST-(3H)

‘He arrived early.’

**Maithili**

78. hosiyarisē kaj kər-əb

carefully INSTR work do-FUT-(2H)

‘Do the job carefully.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

79. dhəyan sã kam kər-əb

carefully INSTR work do-FUT-(2H)

‘Do the job carefully.’

In the Maithili-Nepali examples (71), (73), (75), (77) and (79), Maithili adverbs *jətə* ‘where’, *kətə* ‘where’, *pəurkã* ‘last year’, *pəhine* ‘before’ and *hosiyari* ‘carefully’ are expected in place of the Nepali adverb *jəhã* ‘where’, *kəhã* ‘where’, *por* ‘last year’, *əga i* ‘before’ and *dhəyan* ‘carefully’. The Maithili example in (70), (72), (74), (76) and (78) are illustrative. Adverbs are not easily borrowed into a language from the guest code. The very presence of the Nepali adverbs *jəhã* ‘where’, *kəhã* ‘where’, *por* ‘last year’, *əga i* ‘before’ and *dhəyan* ‘carefully’ in place of Maithili adverbs *jətə* ‘where’, *kətə* ‘where’, *pəurkã* ‘last year’, *pəhine* ‘before’ and *hosiyari* ‘carefully’ in the normal speech of the Maithili speakers show the switch in progress. The code-switching is purely the result of contact by the native speakers of Maithili with Nepali.

### 5.1.1.2.3 Maithili absolutive clauses

The Maithili absolutive clauses are formed by adding the conjunctive/ absolutive particle *kə* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause. Absolutive clauses convey a number of different meanings.

#### (a) Temporal sequence

In Maithili temporal sequence, clause is formed by adding conjunctive/ absolutive particle *kə* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause in examples (80) and (82) and it is replaced by Nepali temporal sequence that is formed by adding the conjunctive/ absolutive *ke* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause in examples (81) and (83). It conveys a number of different meanings. This code-switching is the result of contact by the native speakers of Maithili with Nepali.

#### Maithili:

80. jən jəlkhei kha kə æ-l

laborer breakfast eat CP come-PST-(3NH)

‘Having eaten the breakfast, the laborer(s) came.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

81. jən jəlkhəi kha ke æ-l

laborer breakfast eat CP come-PST-(3NH)

‘Having eaten the breakfast, the laborer(s) came.’

**Maithili:**

82. o nəha kə bhojən kəe-l-əith

he(H) bathe CP meal do-PST-(3H)

‘Having bathed, he ate (his meal).’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

83. o nəha ke bhojən kəe-l-əith

he(H) bathe CP meal do-PST-(3H)

‘Having bathed, he ate (his meal).’

**(b) Manner**

Examples (84) and (86) demonstrate the Maithili manner clause which is formed by adding conjunctive/ absolutive particle *kə* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause and it is replaced by Nepali manner clause that is formed by adding the conjunctive/ absolutive *ke* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause in examples (85) and (87). It conveys a number of different meanings. It takes place because of the contact situation.

**Maithili:**

84. radha səb sə hāis kə gəp kər-əit ch-əith

Radha all from laugh CP talk do-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)

‘Radha talks to everyone smilingly/ pleasantly.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

85. radhasəb sə hāis ke gəp kər-əit ch-əith



Radha all from laugh CP talkdo-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)

‘Radha talks to everyone smilingly/ pleasantly.’

**Maithili:**

86. mægikainkhij kə səb ke pətia de-l-ək

Woman cry CP allACC/DAT convince give-PST-(3NH+3NH)

‘The woman convinced all by crying piteously.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

87. mægikainkhij ke səb ke pətia de-l-ək

woman cry CP all ACC/DAT convince give-PST-(3NH+3NH)

‘The woman convinced all by crying piteously.’

**(c) Concessive**

The Maithili concessive clause which is formed by adding conjunctive/ absolute particle *kə* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause in examples (88) and (90) and it is replaced by Nepali concessive clause that is formed by adding the conjunctive/ absolute *ke* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause in examples (89) and (91). It conveys a number of different meanings. It is due to contact phenomenon.

**Maithili:**

88. rajendər dos-o bhə kə həm-ra sə

rajendra friend-EMPH be CP I-ACC/DAT from

jhəgra kəe-l-ək

quarrel do-PST-(3NH)

‘Rajendra quarreled with me even though he was my friend.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

89. rajendər dos-o            bhə ke həm-ra            sə

rajendra friend-EMPH be CP I-ACC/DAT from

jhəgrakəe-l-ək

quarreldo-PST-(3NH)

‘Rajendra quarreled with me even though he was my friend.’

**Maithili:**

90. o            həm-ra            dekhi-o            kə nəi ʈok-l-əinh

he(H) I-ACC/DAT see-EMPH CP not speak-PST-(3H+1)

‘He didn’t speak to me even though he saw me.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

91. o            həm-ra            dekhi-o            ke nəi ʈok-l-əinh

he(H) I-ACC/DAT see-EMPH CP not speak-PST-(3H+1)

‘He didn’t speak to me even though he saw me.’

**(d) Causal**

Example (92) demonstrates the Maithili causal clause which is formed by adding conjunctive/ absolute particle *kə* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause and it is replaced by Nepali causal clause that is formed by adding the conjunctive/ absolute *ke* to the verb stem of the subordinate clause in examples (93). The use of the switched variety of Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the code-switching from Maithili to Nepali and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

**Maithili:**

92. gita uib kə məir ge-l-əik

Gita drown CP die go-PST-(3NH)

'Gita died of drowning.'

**Maithili-Nepali:**

93. gita uib ke məir ge-l-əik

Gita drown CP die go-PST-(3NH)

'Gita died of drowning.'

Note that the use of the Nepali causal clause *ke* in the switched variety of Maithili is the evidence of code-switching at the clause level.

### **5.1.1.3 Code-switching in grammatical system**

#### **5.1.1.3.1 Negativization**

A negative clause is “one which asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does not hold. Negative clauses usually occur in the context of some presupposition, functioning to negate or counter assert that presupposition” (Payne, 1997: 282)”. Examples

**Maithili:**

94. chōṛa nāi sut-əit əich

boy NEG sleep-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)

'The boy does not sleep.'

Yadav(1996: 305)

**Maithili-Nepali:**

95. chɔ̃ʀa nə sut-əit əich

boy NEG sleep-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3NH)

‘The boy does not sleep.’

**Maithili:**

96. nokər nəi æ-l

servant NEG come-PST-(3NH)

‘The servant didn’t come.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

97. nokər nə æ-l

servant NEG come-PST-(3NH)

‘The servant didn’t come.’

**Maithili:**

98. sabun almari me nəi əich

soap almira in NEG be-PRES-(3NH)

‘The soap is not in the almira.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

99. sabun almari me nə əich

soap almira in NEG be-PRES-(3NH)

‘The soap is not in the almira.’

**Maithili:**

100. omurkh nāi ch-əith

he(H) fool NEG be-PRES-(3H)

‘He is not a fool.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

101. omurkh nə ch-əith

he(H) fool NEG be-PRES-(3H)

‘He is not a fool.’

In Maithili, negation is standardly indicated by the use of the particle *nāi* ‘not’ in examples (94), (96), (98) and (100) which is replaced by the Nepali particle *nə* ‘not’ in examples (95), (97), (99) and (101). The same invariant particle is used in all negative sentences irrespective of the sentence type and the form of the predicate. The switch is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

**(a) Negative imperative**

In examples (103), (105), (107), (109), (111) and (113) we have *nə* ‘not’, the Nepali negative imperative which is in place of the Maithili negative imperative *nāi* ‘not’, as in (102), (104), (106), (108), (110) and (112).

**Maithili:**

102. nājja-u

notgo-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t go!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

103. nəja-u

notgo-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t go!’

**Maithili:**

104. nəi j-o

not go-IMP-(2NH)

‘Don’t go!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

105. nə j-o

not go-IMP-(2NH)

‘Don’t go!’

**Maithili:**

106. nəia-u

notcome-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t come!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

107. nəa-u

not come-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t come!’

**Maithili:**

108. nəi həṭ-o

notmove-IMP-(2NH)

‘Don’t move!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

109. nəhəṭ-o

notmove-IMP-(2NH)

‘Don’t move!’

**Maithili:**

110. nəihəṭ-u

notmove-IMP-(2NH)

‘Don’t move!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

111. nəhəṭ-u

notmove-IMP-(2NH)

‘Don’t move!’

**Maithili:**

112. i nəi kha-u

this not eat-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t eat it!’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

113. i nə kha-u

this not eat-IMP-(2H)

‘Don’t eat it!’

The Maithili presents negative imperative where the negative particle *nəi* ‘not’ is in preverbal position, and the verb is in its imperative form as in (102), (104), (106), (108), (110) and (112) which is replaced by the Nepali negative particle *nə* ‘not’ as in examples (103), (105), (107), (109), (111) and (113). The use of the switched variety of Maithili in the following examples are the evidences of the code-switching from Maithili to Nepali and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Nepali.

### **(b) Negative disjunction**

In examples (115), (117), (119), (121), (123) and (125), negative disjunction is formed by the use of iterated particles *nə...nə* ‘neither ...nor’ in Nepali which is in place of the Maithili negative disjunction *ne...ne* ‘neither ...nor’; the iterated particles express the idea that none of the alternatives provided in the disjuncts is available, as in examples (114), (116), (118), (120), (122) and (124).

#### **Maithili:**

114. [NP *ne nun ne tel*] *kiuch nəi əinh*  
neither salt nor oil something not be-PRES-(3NH+1)

‘I have nothing - neither salt nor oil.’

#### **Maithili-Nepali:**

115. [NP *nə nun nə tel*] *kiuch nə əinh*  
neither salt nor oil something not be-PRES-(3NH+1)

‘I have nothing - neither salt nor oil.’

#### **Maithili:**

116. [AP *ne lal ne piər*] *kono nəi bheṭ-əl*  
neither red nor yellow any not meet- PST-(3NH+1)

‘I got none – neither red nor yellow.’



**Maithili-Nepali:**

117. [AP nə lal nə piər] kono nə bheṭ-əl

neither red nor yellow any not meet- PST-(3NH+1)

‘I got none – neither red nor yellow.’

**Maithili:**

118. [PP ne to-ra ne ok-ra]

neither you(NH)-ACC/DAT nor he(NH)-ACC/DAT

kəkro nāi de-b-əuk

anyone not give-FUT-(1+2NH)

‘I will give to no one – neither to you nor to him.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

119. [PP nə to-ra nə ok-ra]

neither you(NH)-ACC/DAT nor he(NH)-ACC/DAT

kəkro nə de-b-əuk

anyone not give-FUT-(1+2NH)

‘I will give to no one – neither to you nor to him.’

**Maithili:**

120. nesita əe-l-ah ne rakes

neither sita come-PST-(3H) nor rakesh

‘Neither Sita nor Rakesh came.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

121. nəsita əe-l-ah nə rakes

neither Sita come-PST-(3H) nor Rakesh

‘Neither Sita nor Rakesh came.’

**Maithili:**

122. aihəm ne cah pi-l-əhũ ne kɔphi

today I neither tea drink-PST-(1) nor coffee

‘Today I drank neither tea nor coffee.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

123. ai həm nə cah pi-l-əhũ nə kɔphi

today I neither tea drink-PST-(1) nor coffee

‘Today I drank neither tea nor coffee.’

**Maithili:**

124. hun-ka ne dhən ch-əinh

he(H)-ACC/DAT neither wealth be-PRES-(3NH+3H)

ne rup ne bidya

nor beauty nor education

‘He has neither wealth nor beauty nor education.’

**Maithili-Nepali:**

125. hun-ka nə dhən ch-əinh

he(H)-ACC/DAT neither wealth be-PRES-(3NH+3H)

nə rup nə bidya

nor beauty nor education

‘He has neither wealth nor beauty nor education.’

In examples (114), (116), (118), (120), (122) and (124), Maithili presents the negative disjunction which is formed by the use of iterated particles *ne....ne* ‘neither ...nor’ which is replaced by the Nepali negative disjunction *nə....nə* ‘neither ...nor’ which has clearly been presented in the examples (115), (117),(119), (121), (123) and (125).

### (c) *ne....ne* sentence

A *ne....ne* sentence in Maithili may also be analyzable as *ne.... a ne* ‘not...and not/ not...and also not’ in example (126) which is replaced by *nə.... a nə* ‘not...and not/ not...and also not’ in example (127).

#### Maithili:

126. neo sigreṭ piḃ-əit ch-əith  
neither he(H) cigarette drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)  
a ne supari kha-it ch-əith  
and nor betel nut eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)  
‘Neither does he smoke nor chew betel nut.’

#### Maithili-Nepali:

127. nəo sigreṭ piḃ-əit ch-əith  
neither he(H) cigarette drink-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)  
a nə kəsəli kha-it ch-əith  
and nor betel nut eat-IMPERF AUX-PRES-(3H)  
‘Neither does he smoke nor chew betel nut.’

In example (126) *ne....ne* sentence in Maithili, it may also be analyzable as *ne.... a ne* ‘not...and not/ not...and also not’ which is replaced by *nə.... a nə* ‘not...and not/ not...and also not’ in example (127). The use of the Nepali *nə.... a nə* ‘not...and not/ not...and also not’ in place of *ne.... a ne* ‘not...and not/ not...and also not’ is the evidence of the code-switching at *ne....ne* sentence level.

### **5.1.2 A focus on function**

Crucially related to the discovery of reduced structural resources that a language undergoing switch is provided with, is the so-called functional adequacy of the restricted code. Even though speakers of a switching language turn to the dominant one when it comes to their referential needs, such an observation, by no means, exhausts the problems of function. The receding language retains various degrees of its former symbolic capital, and is used in a variety of specialized social contexts, becoming primarily the code for the expression of solidarity. But it is wrong not to see both the dominant and the receding language(s) as involved in the processes of communicative activities and as being linked to each other in complex symbolic formations that transcend referential requirements and extend to the indexical (socio-symbolic) grounding of the codes of the communities’ repertoires.

Judging the socio-pragmatic adequacy of a code by extrapolating from its structural impoverishment can lead the researcher astray and negatively affect speakers’ emotional and ideological sensitivities and sensibilities. In the Maithili-Nepali bilingual communities of the Kathmandu Valley low-proficiency speakers of the Maithili language, equipped with a very restricted version of Nepali, make an extremely creative and innovative use of the limited resources they can tap for the satisfaction of complex communicative goals in their interactions with fluent speakers and with outsiders. Actually such uses, emerging out of framed activities such as ironic, humorous, critical, subversive ones etc., constitute important metacommunicative and metalinguistic ideologies (on which more below) . In the Kathmandu Valley, language, has been undergoing transformation in use and function as a complex outcome of the parameters of the modern time. The upcoming Mithila state, and the active response by community members in a process of restructuring the self and society will lead to language preservation.

Nepali is the official language of Nepal and also the medium of instruction in schools and offices. In spite of being the mother tongue of more than 16 million people, the use of Maithili is confined to a restricted domain. The domains of language use can broadly be divided into two, i.e., formal and informal situations. Formal situations include schools, offices, public speeches, meeting with strangers, etc., whereas informal situations include religious gatherings, family meetings and meeting with friends.

### **1. Code-switching in the home domain**

Members use a type of code with their family-members which is more informal, casual and simple. They speak Maithili among themselves. However, during their informal talks, they show traits of code-switching particularly at the lexical level. When the reason was asked for such a lexical shift, they responded the investigator that they are in contact with the Nepali language. The Maithili speakers keep on code-switching for the professional, educational and communication motives. In their course of contact, they pick words from other dominant languages and make them an integral part of their mother-tongue. They are very much prone to acquire this trait of code-switching.

### **2. Code-switching in the social domain**

Members use Maithili with minor traits of lexical code-switching in the social domain involving their own community members. The Maithili community arranges get-together on different occasions. Thus, on such occasions, the Maithili language is a means of communication among the members. However, during occasions like some campaigns or processions, they largely proclaim their needs and demands in the dominant language so that their voice could reach the maximum.

### **3. Code-switching in the outside domain**

Members, generally, switch their codes from Maithili to other dominant languages during earning their livelihood i.e. while working in office, acquiring education etc. Sometimes or often they switch over to from one language to another in order to communicate in education sectors, offices, and businesses and thus they happen to learn dominant language in different contexts. The switch in the outside (formal) domain is quite obvious.

The use of Maithili is restricted to informal situations only. The distinction between the two domains is such that in a formal situation even two Maithili speakers switch over to Nepali. Nepali enjoys the same position in the Maithili-Nepali relationship that English enjoys in the Nepali-English relationship in Nepal.

In almost all formal situations, native speakers of Maithili use Nepali. After a careful observation of all the formal domains, we have concluded that two Maithili speakers discussing politics, business, or any topic that would normally take place in formal situations invariably switch to Nepali or Hindi. That is to say, Nepali being the marker of prestige is replacing Maithili even in some informal domains. Although even today they demand the inclusion of Maithili in the Constitution of Nepal, at the same time there is no resistance against Nepali. One can even go so far as to say that native speakers of Maithili want education in Nepali or English rather than in Maithili, and still they demand the status of a national official language for Maithili. Maithili is their identity-marker. This is the language that reflects their culture in their speech. The reason why the speakers of Maithili want education in Nepali or English is that they do not want to be separated from the mainstream. Apart from the facts discussed above, mass migration to the cities, urbanization and industrialization are playing an effective role in the code-switching from Maithili to Nepali. These factors are very effective in restricting the domains of the use of Maithili. Nepali interferes even in informal domains like family (home) and meeting with friends but native speakers still use standard Maithili in religious gatherings. The reason this is so is that religion is a very strong aspect of the society and culture of the Maithili speakers.

We discuss below two types of Maithili to show the ongoing switch in the Maithili speakers. They are standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili. People who are not in effective contact with Nepali, that is to say, the people who do not take part in the formal domains, use standard Maithili. Even those who are in effective and regular contact with Nepali can use standard Maithili, but that would be a deliberate attempt on their part. Otherwise, people who are in effective and regular contact with Nepali will always use the shifted variety of Maithili. In my opinion, and in the opinion of some native speakers of Maithili, the situation of Maithili in the Maithili speaking community is not the situation of the language of the migrated communities. The only factor that motivates the selection of Nepali is again the use of Nepali in most of the functional domains. The situation of the Maithili speakers in case of migration is totally different because Nepali is already there in certain domains.

Media, too, plays a great role in accelerating the code-switching. It could be used as an argument in favor of the effective contact of the Maithili speakers with Nepali. There are a very few journals published in Maithili in the Valley itself. If there are some, they are either weekly, fortnightly, or monthly. A number of FM radios and TV channels broadcast regular programs in the medium of Maithili. There are not many radio and television programs in Maithili in comparison to Nepali. The radio Nepal, in the Kathmandu valley, broadcasts news in Maithili. Thus, newspapers and magazines that the Maithili speakers get to read are in Nepali. That is how Maithili is gradually switching/ leaning towards Nepali. The domains of the use of Maithili are being reduced. The shift in the outside (formal) domain is quite obvious. The interference of Nepali in the home (informal) domain can also be felt. The frequency of occurrence of the switched variety of Maithili and the availability of less publications in the Maithili language are influencing the switch.

## **5.2 Summary**

The data presented for the discussion of the switch in the Maithili speakers showed the differences between the standard Maithili and the shifted variety of Maithili. They demonstrated the gradual switch at the structural level. The differences between the structures of the standard Maithili and the shifted variety of Maithili could be taken to represent the phenomenon of mixed/ switched code in which the Maithili speakers are mixing Nepali. But in literature, code-switching does not take place at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, genitive case, verbs, adverbs, Maithili absolute clauses and negativization. The data presented in this research for discussion showed that in the switched variety of Maithili, speakers are code-switching at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, genitive case, verbs, adverbs, Maithili absolute clauses and negativization. On the other hand, the functional dimensions of the switch in the Maithili speakers exhibited that the domains of Maithili use are being reduced. Nepali is used by the Maithili speakers in functional domains (formal situations) which are enforcing the switch. It has also been argued that Nepali is also sometimes used in informal communications. That is to say, the frequent and regular interaction of the Maithili speakers with Nepali is influencing the code-switching in the Maithili speakers. Thus, on the basis of arguments like limited domains of Maithili use, day-by-day reduction of the domains of Maithili use, and the

influence of these at the structural level, we argued that Maithili is highly influenced by Nepali and this phenomenon is code-switching.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

On the basis of the present sociolinguistic study of the Maithili people residing in the Kathmandu Valley, we attempted to investigate the code-switching of the Maithili speakers. Maithili is an Indo-Aryan language. According to the government of Nepal CBS report of 2011, the total number of Maithili speakers has been estimated to be 52,174. They are found to be scattered all



over the Valley. The Maithili speakers are found to be scattered over Balkhu, Kalimati, New Baneshwor, Kupondol, Maitidevi, Lokanthali and other areas of the Valley.

The study provided the information about the Maithili people, demographics, status of the Maithili language, level of standardization, their writing script and practices, use of the contact language in the Valley and the language of wider communication (LWC).

The application of the theoretical framework keeping in view to overcoming the problem related to code-switching in the Maithili speakers residing in the Kathmandu Valley helped to find out the various linguistic changes due to code-switching.

The present study presented the two-fold dimensions of code-switching i.e., the functional and formal. It is the formal dimension that gives birth to phenomena such as code-switching and it is the functional dimension that motivates such phenomena. Code-switching in Nepal is taking place in various sociolinguistic contexts. The code-switchings are of different types. They are intersentential, intra-sentential, tag-switching and intra-word switching. They vary in their nature and function. To show the ongoing switch, the two types of Maithili have been taken into account i.e. the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili. The code-switching has become an integral part of the Maithil life and several factors are responsible for this. It is necessary for the linguists to work in a co-ordinated fashion in order to combat the issue of code-switching. The government should take initiatives with regard to language planning, new policy initiatives, public awareness for the promotion and preservation of the Maithili status and language in order to overcome the future threat of language shift. This would, thereby, help reduce the incidence of code-switching among the Maithil people as well as help in the upliftment of the community and preservation of the language in the long run.

The data presented for the discussion of the switch in the Maithili speakers showed the differences between the standard Maithili and the switched variety of Maithili. They demonstrated the gradual switch at the structural level. The differences between the structures of the standard Maithili and the switched variety could be taken to represent the phenomenon of switched code in which the Maithili speakers are mixing Nepali. But in literature, it was argued that code-switching does not take place at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, genitive case, verbs, adverbs, Maithili absolute clauses and negativization. The data presented in this research for discussion showed that in the

switched variety of Maithili, speakers are switching at the level of nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, locative adverbial clauses, adjectives, prepositions, genitive case, verbs, adverbs, Maithili absolute clauses and negativization. On the other hand, the functional dimensions of the switch in the Maithili speakers showed that the domains of Maithili use are being reduced. Nepali is used by the Maithili speakers in functional domains (formal situations) which are enforcing the switch. It was also argued that Nepali is also sometimes used in informal communications. That is to say, the frequent and regular interactions of the Maithili speakers with Nepali are influencing the switch in the Maithili speakers and if not checked on time it will ultimately lead to language shift. Thus, on the basis of arguments like limited domains of Maithili use, day-by-day reduction of the domains of Maithili use, and the influence of these at the structural level, we argued that Maithili is highly influenced by Nepali and the phenomenon is code-switching. The code-switching in the Maithili speakers spoken in the Valley is purely the result of contact.

To conclude, when a language fails to attain any kind of recognition, its survival is hardly achieved. Maithili is confined just within their own community having negligible prestige in the society. Although Maithili is widely spoken by the community members in informal situation, it is always a second choice in the formal situation. When a language stands as a second choice in most of the situations, its survival gradually gets difficult. That is to say, the language is used less and less and finally language shift gets unavoidable.

Maithili community showing traits of code-switching is basically a linguistic phenomenon. This phenomenon is actually prevalent in all multilingual societies. It facilitates the need to communicate with other people who speak different languages. If this phenomenon exists temporarily, the language which is undergoing the shift is not in a position to be endangered. However, if this shifting takes place continuously or permanently, then this may be threatening for the host language. If the next generation adapt themselves of not using Maithili in major walks of life and domains, this would pose danger to the Maithili (language) existence. If no preventive and proper action is taken to check this to happen, it is quite relevant to say that the Maithili language will vanish the days to come.

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## **ANNEXES**

### **ANNEX 1**

#### **The name list of the Maithili language consultants residing in the Kathmandu Valley**

SN	Name	Sex	Age	Education	District from
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1	Mr. Chulai Ray	M	63	Master	Sarlahi
2	Mr. Mamta Jha	F	61	Master	Siraha
3	Mr. Nagendra Sah	M	45	Master	Sarlahi
4	Mr. Radhe Shyam Sah	M	36	Master	Sarlahi
5	Mr. Lakhan Bhandari	M	37	Preliterate	Sunsari
6	Ms. Sumintra Yadav	F	34	SLC	Sarlahi
7	Ms. Kabita Mishra	F	32	SLC	Saptari
8	Mr. Nagendra Yadav	M	50	Master	Sarlahi
9	Ms. Susma Karn	F	51	Master	Dhanusha
10	Mr. Gyanendra Yadav	M	25	Master	Sarlahi
11	Mr. Bholu Bhandari	M	18	Preliterate	Sarlahi
12	Mr. Janak Dhari Thakur	M	25	Preliterate	Dhanusha
13	Mr. Krishna Jung Sah	M	19	Preliterate	Sarlahi
14	Mr. Ram Babu Yadav	M	46	SLC	Sarlahi
15	Mr. Rabindra Mahato	M	62	Preliterate	Mahottari
16	Mr. Ashok Yadav	M	45	Master	Saptari
17	Mr. Manoj Karn	M	30	Master	Siraha
18	Mr. Rabindra Jha	M	25	Master	Siraha
19	Mr. Shyam Mahto	M	24	Master	Siraha
20	Mr. Rakesh Singh	M	40	Preliterate	Sarlahi

21	Ms. Anuja Jha	F	39	Preliterate	Sarlahi
22	Mr. Bijay Jha	M	36	Master	Dhanusha
23	Mr. Dilip Kumar Yadav	M	25	Master	Siraha
24	Ms. Rukhmini Jha	F	60	SLC	Dhanusha
25	Ms. Lalita Devi Yadav	F	56	Preliterate	Sarlahi
26	Ms. Sabita Yadav	F	23	B.Ed.	Sarlahi
27	Ms. Sunita Sah	F	28	Master	Siraha
28	Ms. Mira Pandit	F	35	Preliterate	Dhanusha
29	Ms. Rani Yadav	F	25	SLC	Siraha
30	Ms. Laxminiya Devi	F	61	Preliterate	Sarlahi
31	Ms. Sanjhariya Devi	F	17	Preliterate	Sarlahi
32	Ms. Sikila Jha	F	35	Preliterate	Dhanusha
33	Ms. Rina Yadav	F	36	Master	Mahottari
34	Ms. Sakunta Pandit	F	35	Lower Sec.	Sarlahi
35	Ms. Tina Singh	F	36	Master	Saptari
36	Ms. Shobha Thakur	F	34	SLC	Mahottari
37	Ms. Dukhiya Paswan	F	35	Preliterate	Sarlahi
38	Ms. Binita Karn	F	38	SLC	Dhanusha
39	Ms. Rinku Yadav	F	34	Preliterate	Sarlahi
40	Mr. Rabindra Das	M	35	Master	Dhanusha



## ANNEX 2

### Checklist

Literate						Illiterate					
Male			Female			Male			Female		
A1	A2	A3	A1	A2	A3	A1	A2	A3	A1	A2	A3

6	5	3	6	6	1	2	3	1	3	3	1
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A1=17; A2=17;A3=6; Literate: 27, Illiterate: 13; Male: 20; Female: 20

### ANNEX 3

#### Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

#### (Code-Switching)

#### Baseline Information

Question	Answer
----------	--------

1. Number of the interview	
2. Date	Day..... Month.....Year.....B.S
3. Place of interview	(a) Ward No..... (b) Village/ Town..... (c) VDC/ Municipality..... (d) District..... (e) Zone.....
4. Name of the investigators	(a) Mr. /Ms..... (b) Mr. /Ms..... (c) Mr. /Ms..... (d) Mr. /Ms..... (e) Mr. /Ms.....
5. Medium of the interview	.....
6. Medium of the interaction	.....
7. Name of bilingualism	.....

8. Language consultant (s).....

9. Sex

(a)  Male (b)  Female (c)  Other

10. Age:.....

11. Occupation: .....
12. Can you read and write?  
 (a)  Yes (b)  No
13. Yes, then how can you read and write?  
 (a)  Directly (b)  Indirectly
14. If directly then which level passed?  
 (a)  Primary (b)  Lower Secondary  
 (c)  Secondary (d)  Higher (specify degree).....
15. Marital Status  
 (a)  Married (b)  Unmarried
16. If married then have you got children?  
 (a)  Yes (b)  No
17. Caste.....
18. Ethnic group.....
19. Religion  
 (a)  Hinduism (b)  Buddhism (c)  Kirant  
 (d)  Christianity (e)  Jain (f)  Islam  
 (g)  Shamanism (h)  Other
20. Your mother tongue name.....
21. What say your language the people of other language community?  
 .....
22. Is this language known by other name? (What is other name of this language )
23. Your mother's mother tongue.....
24. Your father's mother tongue.....

25. Your husband / wife mother tongue.....

26. Where is your birth place place/ village?

(a) Ward No..... (b) Village/ Town.....

(c) VDC/ Municipality..... (d) District .....

(e) Zone.....

27. Now, where do you live?

(a) Ward No..... (b) Village/ Town.....

(c) District ..... (d) Zone.....

28. How long have you lived here?.....

29. Have you lived anywhere more than a year?

(a) [ ] Yes (b) [ ] No

30. If Yes then

(a) Where..... (b) When.....

(a) How long.....

31. How many languages do you know?

32. Which language do you use:

(a) in the pub,

(b) with God,

(c) in the shops,

(d) for the community meetings/friends,

(e) in the streets,

- (f) with your parents,
- (g) with your grandparents,
- (h) brothers and sisters
- (i) to the strangers
- (j) in formal occasions
- (k) in informal occasions
- (l) in your office/work place

33. TV program of which language do you watch mostly?

- (a) Nepali (b) Maithili (c) English (d) Hindi

34. How are you regarded as by the Nepali speakers around you when you speak Maithili with your Maithil friends and relatives?

- (a) odd (b) normal (c) respectful (d) do not care at all

35. Does your use of Maithili made you seem odd to your friends so that you refused to use Maithili even at home?

36. Do you like or refuse to speak Maithili under any circumstances?

37. Do you think you are isolated and odd in the eyes of others because you speak Maithili?

38. Do you feel any pressure to use/speak Nepali from the society you live in?

- (a) Yes (b) No (c) to some extent (d) not at all

39. Are you proud of your bilingualism/multilingualism?

40. Do you see your language as an important symbol of ethnic identity?

- (a) Yes (b) No (c) I don't know

41. Do you feel easy while you are using Nepali than while you are using Maithili?

42. Do you feel that Maithili language is under threat as a result of the economic condition of the Nepali?

43. What do you think are the causes of your code-switching?

- a) bilingualism/multilingualism
- b) displacement
- c) Profession
- d) for academic excellence
- e) for social well-being (making friends/socialization)

44. Which language do you like the best?

- a) a) Nepali, b) Maithili, c) English

45. How often do you use your mother tongue?

46. Which is your contact language and how much do you use it?

47. Sentences

1. əhã kətə ja-it ch-i ?

2. əhã bais-u

3. baj-u kəkəra paṭha-u

4. ek ṭā am-ke pəṭṭa la-u

5. bə kal dhərī həm əhã -k baṭ joh-əl-aũ

6. ek ṭa bæcca nəb a gā pəhirne sojha æ-la

7. həmər-ā taregən dekhai delak

8. bəṛ nīk phūlchə-i

9. həmər-a ek bīghā jəmīn ə-i

10. bəis-əlja-ᵛ

11. bəis-u ne
12. nokər pain ən-əit əich
13. həm rakes kē dekh-əl-iəinh
14. rakes mohən kē həs-ɔ-əinh
15. maʃtər mira kē sor par-əl-khinh
16. həm ohi am kē tor-l-əhũ
17. nəi era-u
18. sətru sə bəc-i
19. mə cəkku sə am soh-l-əinh
20. maus-ək jhor
21. dosər chɔɾa ke bəja-u
22. i pāc-o-ɾa lal sari
23. ok-ra sə kaj nehĩ cəl-ət
24. i ke bəj-l-ah?
25. pain əpna me bəha-u
26. otb-e khərca bhe-l?
27. etn-o bat nəi baj-ə sək-l-əhũ?
28. ena nəi baj-i
29. nəi j-o
30. i nəi kha-u
31. he bhəgban u rait-e me məir ja-e
32. tō bəukar ch-əh



33. i toh-ər həua bhe-l-əh
34. hun-ka həm-ra me/ to-ra me/ ok-ra me biswas ch-əinh
35. o həs-əit bəj-l-ah
36. o həis -kə bej-l-ah
37. pəhūc ge-l-ah
38. əhā hun-k-ər kaj kə d-iəunh
39. pain gərəm bhə rəhəl əich
40. sətṛəñji \*həṭ-əe-l
41. həm i nədi hel-ə sək-əit ch-i
42. o bimar əich
43. o həs-əit bej-l-ah
44. hosiyaṛi sē kaj kər-əb
45. pəurkā (sal) bə dhan bhe-l-əik
46. o pəhine aib ge-l-ah
47. jətə əhā jə-b tətə hem-hū
48. kətə ja rəhəl ch-i?
49. sita-ji-k begər i kaj nəi hə-t
50. həm-ra sojha me nəi a-u
51. kək-ra sath əe-l-əh?
52. nəi ja-u
53. nəi j-o
54. nəi a-o

55. n̄ai a-u
56. n̄ai h̄əṭ-o
57. n̄ai h̄əṭ-u
58. ṭəhl-əl k̄ər-u
59. lok s̄əb b̄əis ge-l
60. əpna s̄əb n̄ai t̄əhl-i
61. h̄əm n̄ai t̄əhl-əit ch-i
62. ch̄ōṛa n̄ai sut-əit əich
63. n̄ai j-o!
64. n̄ai ja-u!
65. sabun almari me n̄ai əich
66. o murkh n̄ai ch-əith
67. t̄ō budhiyar n̄ai ch-əh
68. kaṭhmandu n̄ai cel-əb?
- 69.a. nok̄ər bhaig
- b. \*nok̄ər bhaig n̄ai ge-l
70. nok̄ər n̄ai bhag-əl
71. rakes bh̄ənsiya ke maus cik̄h-ɔ-l-əinh
72. malik nok̄ər s̄ə j̄ən s̄ə k̄het j̄ɔt-bɔ-l-əinh
73. a. o t̄əhl-əit ch-əith
- b. hun-ka s̄ə n̄ai t̄əhl-a-it ch-əinh
- c. hun-ka s̄ə n̄ai t̄əhl-əl ja-it ch-əinh

74. o prənam kəe-l-əinh
75. hun-ka sã rəud dis nəi tak-əl ge-l-əinh
76. [ s o khəis pəɾ-l-ah a hun-k-ər haɾ ʈuiɾ ge-l-əinh]
77. [NP ne nun ne tel] kiuch nəi əinh
78. [AP ne lal ne piər] kono nəi bheɾ-əl
79. [PP ne to-ra ne ok-ra] kəkro nəi de-b-əuk
80. [s ne sita əe-l-ah ne rakes ]
81. [s ai həm ne cah pi-l-əhũ ne kɔphi]
82. [s hun-ka ne dhən ch-əinh ne rup ne bidya ]
83. [ne o sigreɾ pib-əit ch-əith a ne supari kha-it ch-əith]
84. u dhər də baj-əl [ ai nəi rəh-əb]
85. nepal ja-e sə pəhinə-hĩ əhã nepali sikh-l-əhũ
86. o gam choir de-l-əinh
87. baba buɾh bhə ge-l-ah tæĩ məkəi pəc-əit ch-əinh
88. jətə paɾhæ-b həm jæ-b
89. həua səiɾh ge-l tahi sã gam aib ge-l-əhũ
90. ətek chalhi kha le-l-əith je bhəir rait pəɾ dukha-it ch-əl-əinh
91. həm india sã bərabər phon kər-əit ch-i jahi sã ki həm-ər balək prəsənn  
rəh-əith
92. məugi bəj-əit bej-əit bol-əit kan-ə lag-əl
93. o təhl-əit təhl-əit ghum-əit khəis pəɾ-l-ah
94. jən jəlkhəi kha kə əe-l

95. o nāha kə bhojən kəe-l-əith

96. radha səb sə hāis kə gəp kər-əit ch-əith

97. māugi kainkhij kə səb ke pətia de-l-ək

98. rajendər dos-o bhə kə hām-ra səjhəgra kəe-l-ək

99. o hām-ra dekhi-o kə nēi ʈok-l-əinh

100. gita uib kə mair ge-l-əik