

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF MAITHILI

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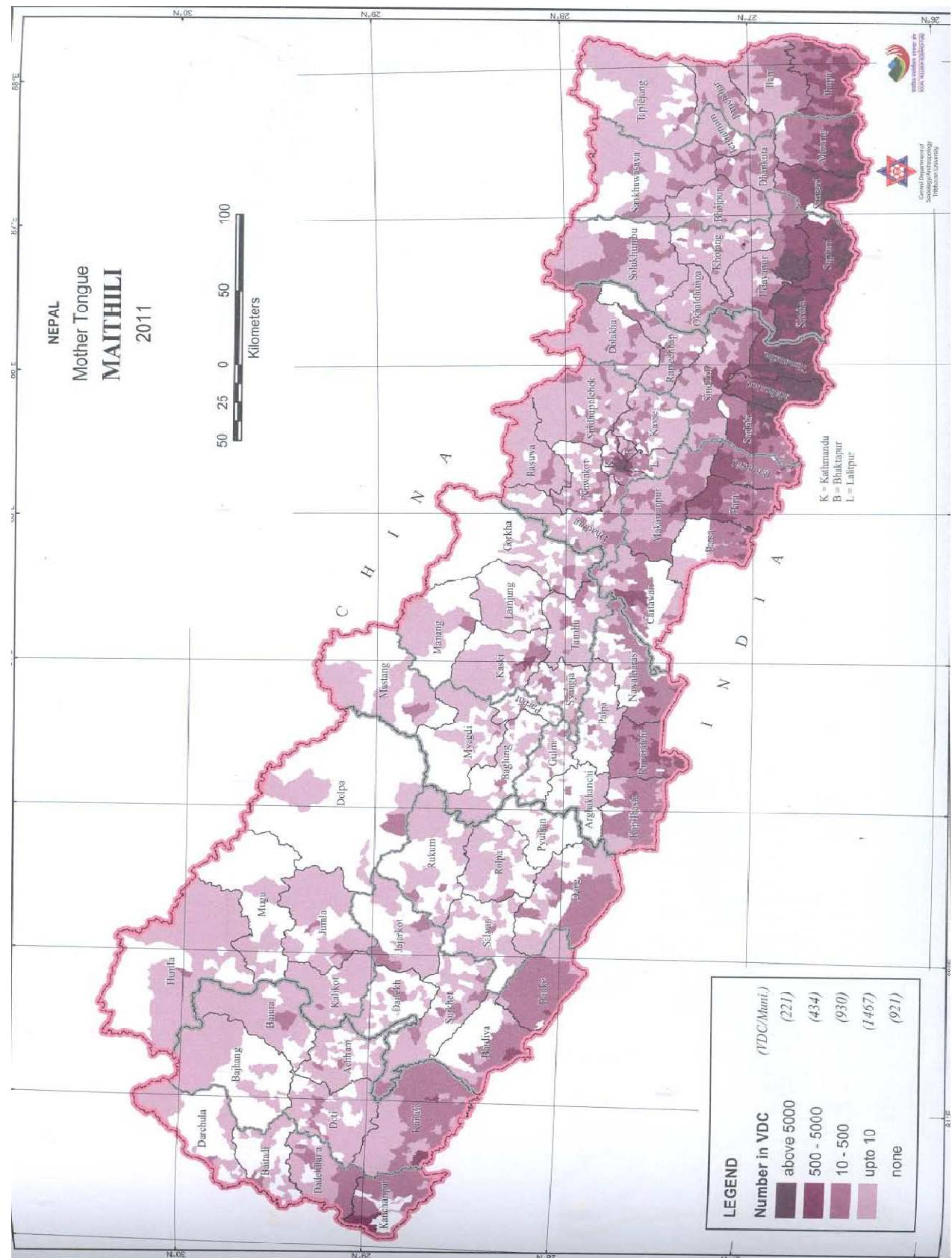
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Linguistic map of Maithili



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Background

This is a report of a sociolinguistic survey of Maithili, an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in the eastern and central Tarai region of Nepal. This report includes a brief description of the Maithili language, domains of language use in Maithili, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, language transmission, vitality and loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, language attitude, language resources and language development, and dialectal variations.

The number of Maithili speakers in Nepal is 3,092,530, which constitutes 11.7% of the total population of Nepal and ranks second, next only to the Nepali language (Census 2011). According to the Sahitya Akademi it is the 16th largest language group in India and it has 44th in the world. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_languages_by_number_of_native_speakers). It is also included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India as the 20th major language of the country. Maithili is spoken in two adjoining South Asian countries Nepal and India by about 35 million people in total, comprising 3.09 million people in Nepal as per census, 2011 and 31.90 million people in India (Lewis et.al. 2013).

This chapter deals with general background of the Maithili language in general. In this chapter, we briefly, present the background of the language, its geography, its speakers, naming and origin of the language, linguistic affiliation of the language, demography and distribution, review of earlier works, the purpose and goals of the study, and organization of this study.

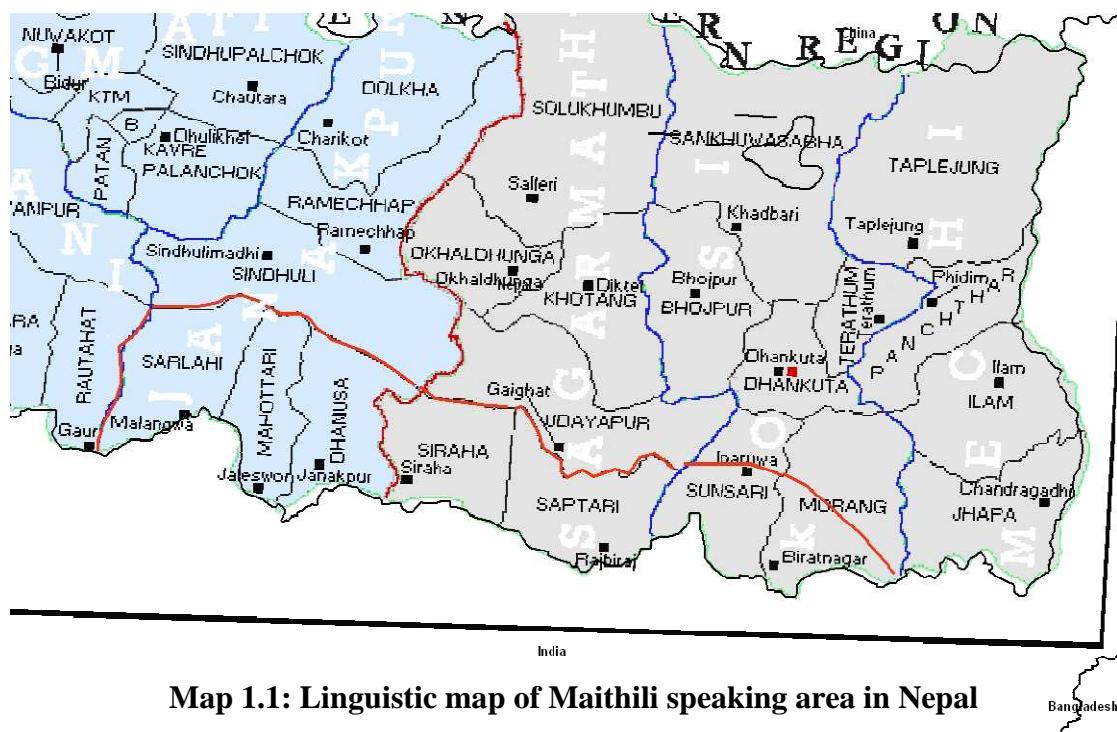
1.2 Geography

The Maithili-speaking people call their land Mithila. Most of Mithila is located in the state of Bihar in northern India. It encompasses a large area of the plains in north Bihar. It also extends into the central and eastern part of the Tarai in Nepal. If there is any significant change in elevation in the whole of the region, we are not aware of it. Tradition holds that Mithila is bounded on the north by the Himalayan foot-hills, and in the south, east, and west by the Ganges, Kosi, and Gandak rivers respectively (Jha 1958: 1). The language borders, though, according to reports of many educated

Maithili speakers, do not match the traditional eastern, western and southern boundaries. On the west the Maithili area does not extend all the way to the Gandak, but ends somewhere in the vicinity of the town of Muzaffarpur. In the east it extends past the Kosi to somewhere in the western part of Purnia district. The Maithili-speaking area also extends south of the Ganges and is spoken in large parts of the districts of Munger and Bhagalpur. The cultural and linguistic center of Mithila is universally considered to be the towns of Madhubani and Darbhanga. These towns are also located at the approximate geographic center of Mithila.

Maithili is a cross-border language. It is spoken across the border on both sides in Nepal and India. To be precise, it is spoken in the districts of Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, and Rautahat of Nepal; and Madhubani, Darbhanga, Sitamarhi, Saharsa, Madhepura, Purnea, East-Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, Vaishali, and Begusarai districts of the Bihar state of India. “Maithili is bordered on the south by Magahi, the language to which it is most closely related. To the west its neighbor is Bhojpuri; to the east, Bengali; and to the north, Nepali” (Hugoniot 1997). Maithili linguistics and literature are taught at the L. N. Mithila University in Darbhanga and Tribhuwan University, Nepal.

The downside red line boundary in the following map displays this distribution of Maithili in Nepal (Yadava and Mahato: 2011):



1.3 People

Estimates of the population of Mithila vary, but they center on the figure of 35 million. For the purposes of this study, there are two basic factors to note regarding the Maithili people and their culture. The first is that the conservative Maithil Brahmins still bear a strong influence over the language and culture of Mithila. Grierson described them thus: "Mithila, a country with an ancient history, traditions of which it retains to the present day, is a land under the domination of a set of Brahmins extraordinarily devoted to the mint, anise and cumin of the law (1905: 4)." The influence of the Brahmins over the language has been strengthened by a history of literary prowess. "For centuries the Pundits of Mithila have been famous for their learning, and more than one Sanskrit work of authority has been written by them ... Nor was the field of vernacular literature neglected by them" (Grierson, 1905: 17). This literature is believed to date back at least 1000 years and includes the famous poet, Vidyapati Thakur, who wrote many works in both Sanskrit and the vernacular (Jha 1958: 36-37).

Maithili is spoken by a wide variety of castes 'high' and 'low'. It is also spoken by the people of all ages. In Mithila, especially, the Brahmin caste has always been associated with superior linguistic ability. A large part of this study focuses on the differences in speech between disparate castes. The comparisons made are bilateral comparisons between Brahmin speech and the speech of members of various non-Brahmin castes. The linguistic significance of caste in the Maithili milieu makes such comparisons relevant, if not indispensable, to any sociolinguistic study of the Maithili language.

This subsection includes caste/ethnicity of the Maithili speakers, their religion, literacy in Maithili speech community, and the occupation of Maithili speakers.

1.3.1 Caste/ethnic groups

The people of Maithili speech community live in eastern and central parts of Nepalese Tarai. It is a community of different caste and ethnic groups. Maithili speech community is a community of large number of caste/ethnic groups. It is a regional language spoken in 9 districts of Nepalese Tarai. All the castes/ethnic groups residing in Maithili speaking districts speak the language as their mother tongue. To be specific, the Maithili language is spoken by Brahman (Tarai), Bhumihar, Kayastha,

Rajput, Yadav, Teli, Sudhi, Chamar, Koiri, Kurmi, Sanyasi, Dhanuk, Musahar/Sada, Dusadh/Pasawan, Sonar, Kewat, Kathabaniyan, Malah, Kalwar, Hajam, Kanu, Lohar, Tatma, Khatwe, Dhobi, Nuniya, Kumhar, Halwai, Badai, Bantar/Sardar, Kahar, Bin, Gaderi/bhendihar, Chidimar, Mali, Dom, Kamar, Halkhor, Dhankar, Rajdhob, Amat, Dev, Khang, Musalman, etc. castes as their mother tongue. Their socio-cultural existence was influenced by Hindu culture.

1.3.2 Religion

There are ten types of religion categories reported in the census of 2011. Hinduism is followed by 81.3 percent (21,551,492) of the total population of the country. With the exception of a small Muslim minority, the rest of the populations of Maithili speech community are following Hinduism. Most of the Maithili speakers are following Hinduism and only a few are following Islam and Christianity. In the process of data collection most of the respondents said that they are following Hinduism as their religion. The major festivals celebrated in the Maithili speech community are Chaurchan, Jitiya, Dashain, Sukhratri, Bhatridwitiya, Chhath, Tila Sankraint, Holi, Jursital, and many other Hindu festivals. Some of the major festivals celebrated in Maithili speech communities are introduced as follows.

Chhath: Chhaith is an ancient Hindu festival and only Vedic Festival dedicated to the Hindu Sun God, Surya and Chhathi Maiya (ancient Vedic Goddess Usha). The Chhath Puja is performed in order to thank Surya for sustaining life on earth and to request the granting of certain wishes. Chhath puja is performed on *Kartika Shukla Shashthi*, which is the sixth day of the month of Kartika in the Nepali Calendar. This falls typically in the month of October or November in the Gregorian English Calendar. It is also celebrated in the summer (March–April), on Chaitra Shashthi, some days after Holi; this event is called *Chaiti Chhath*.

Jitiya: Jitiya (also Jivitputrika or Jiutiya) is a festival in which *Nirjala* (without water) vrata throughout a day and night, is observed by mothers for the wellbeing of their children. A three day long festival is celebrated from seventh to ninth lunar day of Krishna-Paksha in Ashvin month. A three day long festival is celebrated from the seventh to the ninth lunar day of Krishna Paksha in the month of Ashwin that falls generally in September. The first day, the day before Jitiya is known as Nahai-khai. On that day mothers take food only after having their bath. On Jitiya day, a strict fast

is observed without water. This is called *Khar Jitiya* (khar is dry hay). On the third day, the fast ends with *Paaran* (taking the first food of the day). The festival is celebrated mainly in the Mithilanchal regions of Nepal and Bihar, Jharkhand and Eastern Uttar Pradesh of India. This festival shows great love and extreme affection of mothers towards their children. The mother keeps a very strict fast, without a drop of water thinking of their children.

Holi: Holi (also known as Phaguwa in Maithili and Bhojpuri) is a spring festival also known as the festival of colours or the festival of love. It is an ancient Hindu religious festival which has become popular with non-Hindus in many parts of South Asia, as well as people of other communities outside Asia. It is primarily observed in India, Nepal, and other regions of the world with significant populations of Hindus or people of Indian origin. Holi is an important festival to Hindus. It is celebrated at the end of the winter season on the last full moon day of the lunar month Phalgun which usually falls in March, sometimes in late February. On the eve of Holi, typically at or after sunset, the pyre is lit, signifying *Holika Dahan*. The ritual symbolizes the victory of good over evil. People gather around the fire, sing and dance.

Tila Sankranti: Tila Sankranti (Makar Sankranti) is one of the most auspicious occasions of the Hindus and is celebrated in almost all the parts of the country with great devotion. It is the festival whose date always falls on the same day every year i.e., the 1st of Magh (14th or January with just a few exceptions when it is celebrated either on 13th or 15th of January). In this festival people take holly bath known as *Makar Snan* in the nearby ponds or river early in the morning. They eat *ghee*, *khichdi* (porridge), *tilba* (sweet made up of Teel), *lai* (sweet made up of fried rice), *churlai* (sweet made up of beaten rice) etc.

Dipawali: Dipawali or Diwali, one of the biggest festivals of Hindus, is celebrated in the month of Kartika (October-November) on the new moon night, Dipawali literally means row of lamps or as it is popularly known, the 'festival of lights that removes the darkness of night. It is an important and popular festival in one form or the other. As a matter of fact it is a five-day long festival, but the main celebration takes place on the day of Dipawali. One myth says that on this auspicious day 'Lakshmi', the goddess of wealth and good fortune, roams about and visits the houses of people. So, people tidy

up their houses, establishments and shops and decorate them lavishly with lights to welcome the goddess. On the night she is worshipped with great devotion.

1.3.3 Literacy

Overall literacy rate (for population aged 5 years and above) of the country in the census 2011 has increased to 65.9. Male literacy rate is 75.1% compared to female literacy rate of 57.4%. The highest literacy rate is reported in Kathmandu district (86.3 %) and lowest in Rautahat (41.7%). Generally speaking, literacy rate in Maithili speech community is good. Women are deprived of formal education, though this seems to be changing with the younger generations. Literacy rate of the Maithili speakers in the first language is about 20% and in second language it varies from 35% to 60%. The educated people of Maithili speech community can read Nepali, Hindi or English. If they can read Nepali or Hindi they can read Maithili as well.



Photograph 1.1: Maithili speaking children are studying Maithili in a school

The survey has estimated the general trends of literacy in this speech community. Table 1.1 presents the situation literacy in Maithili speech communities in the key survey points.

Table 1.1: Literacy in Maithili speech community

Literacy (N=37)			
Preliterate	Primary level	Secondary level	Higher education
10 (27%)	3 (8%)	9 (24%)	15 (41%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 1.1 shows out of the total respondents of the Maithili speech community, 27% are preliterate whereas remaining 73% male are literate. Among the literate respondents, 8% have completed primary level education, 24% have completed secondary level education and others 41% responded that they have completed higher education.

1.3.4 Occupation

The majority of Maithili speakers are involved in farming and live in villages as were their ancestors before them for as long as can be remembered. Rice is the main crop and its cultivation occupies the most of the villagers' time.



Photograph 1.2: Maithili people are planting paddy

The main occupations of the Maithili speakers are agriculture i.e., farming, and many other caste-wise occupations like barber, blacksmith, goldsmith, confectioner, mason, washer man, cobbler, fishing, potter, etc. These days Maithili speaking people are also involved in government jobs, teaching, NGOs and INGOs, business, social works,

journalism, laborer, etc. Similarly, most of the female respondents of this community are housewives.

1.4 Language

1.4.1 Naming and origin of the language

The term Maithili comes from Mithila, which was an independent state in ancient times. As its name implies, Maithili is properly spoken in Mithila, the prehistoric ancient kingdom, which was ruled by the king Janak and was the birthplace of Janaki or Sita (Lord Ram's wife). This region was also called Tairabhukuti, the ancient name of Tirhut comprising both Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts of Bihar, India and the language spoken in this region was also known as Tirhutiya. The Maithili language has also different alternate names as *Apabhramsa*, Bihari, Dehati, Maitili, Maitli, Methli, Tirahutia, Tirhuti, Tirhutia as well as it has a number of dialects such as Bajjika, Bantar, Barei, Barmeli, Dehati, Kawar, Kyabrat, Makrana, Musar, Tati, Thenthia (Eppele et.al., 2012).

Like other Indo-Aryan languages, Maithili is believed to have evolved from Vedic and Classical Sanskrit through several intermediate stages of *Magadhi Prakrit*, Proto-Maithili and *Apabhramshas*. It emerged as a distinct modern Indo-Aryan language between 1000 and 1200AD.

Maithili has a long rich tradition of written literature in both India and Nepal. The earliest written record can be traced back as early as *Vernaratnakara*, the oldest text in Maithili written by Jyotirisvara Kavisekharacharya in the 14th century. The most famous Maithili writer is Vidyapati Thakur, popularly known as Mahakavi Vidyapati. A part from being a great Sanskrit writer, he composed melodious poems and songs in Maithili, entitled *Vidyapati Padavali*, which mainly deals with the love between Radha and Krishna. It is this anthology of poems that has made him popular and immortal to the present day.

During 13th to 15th centuries Maithili enjoyed the highest social status throughout its area and even outside it. It was the vehicle of all sorts of social activities. It was the mother tongue of the then royal families in the Karnata and Oinibar dynasties in Mithila, Malla dynasty in Nepal and Sen Dynasty in Morang. The most of the kings of these dynasties composed poems and dramas in it and liberally patronized its writers. In its peak period it also served as a

lingua franca throughout the north-eastern region comprising Nepal, Assam, Bengal, Orissa and south-eastern Bihar. It was the most effective vehicle in spread of Neo-Vaisnavism in the above said regions. (Jha, D.1993: xi)

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.

In the present context there have been literary writings in all literary genres, especially poetry, plays, and fiction, from both Indian and Nepalese writers. Apart from literature, Maithili writers have also been contributing to other fields like culture, history, journalism, linguistics, etc. In addition to written texts, Maithili has an enormous stock of oral literature in the forms of folktales in prose and verse, ballads, songs, etc. Among them the ballads of Ras Lila (expressing the love between Radha and Krishna) and Salhes (a prehistoric king) are well known specimens.

In both Nepal and India, Maithili has been taught as a subject of study from school to university levels of education. Especially in India, however, it has been hampered by the lack of official recognition as a medium of instruction. In Nepal, there has been made a constitutional provision for introducing all the mother tongues spoken in Nepal, including Maithili, as medium of instruction at the primary level of education.

This is, no doubt, a welcome step for their promotion, but in spite of speakers' zeal there has not been much headway in this regard in the dearth of official initiatives and basic requirements like teaching/reading materials and trained manpower.

Maithili is taught as a subject in some of the schools of Dhanusha, Mahottari, Siraha, and Saptari districts and Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) has also published some text books of Maithili from grade I to Grade V. It is also taught as an optional subject in grade 9 and 10.



Photograph 1.3: Some of the Maithili text books and reference materials

Maithili is also taught as such in the Indian universities of Kolkata, Patna, Bihar, Bhagalpur, Mithila and Benares, and the Tribhuvan University and Nepal Sanskrit University of Nepal. In some older literature an alternate name for Maithili, "Tirhutia" is referred to. This name, however, is seldom encountered today. In this report, it will always be referred to simply as Maithili.

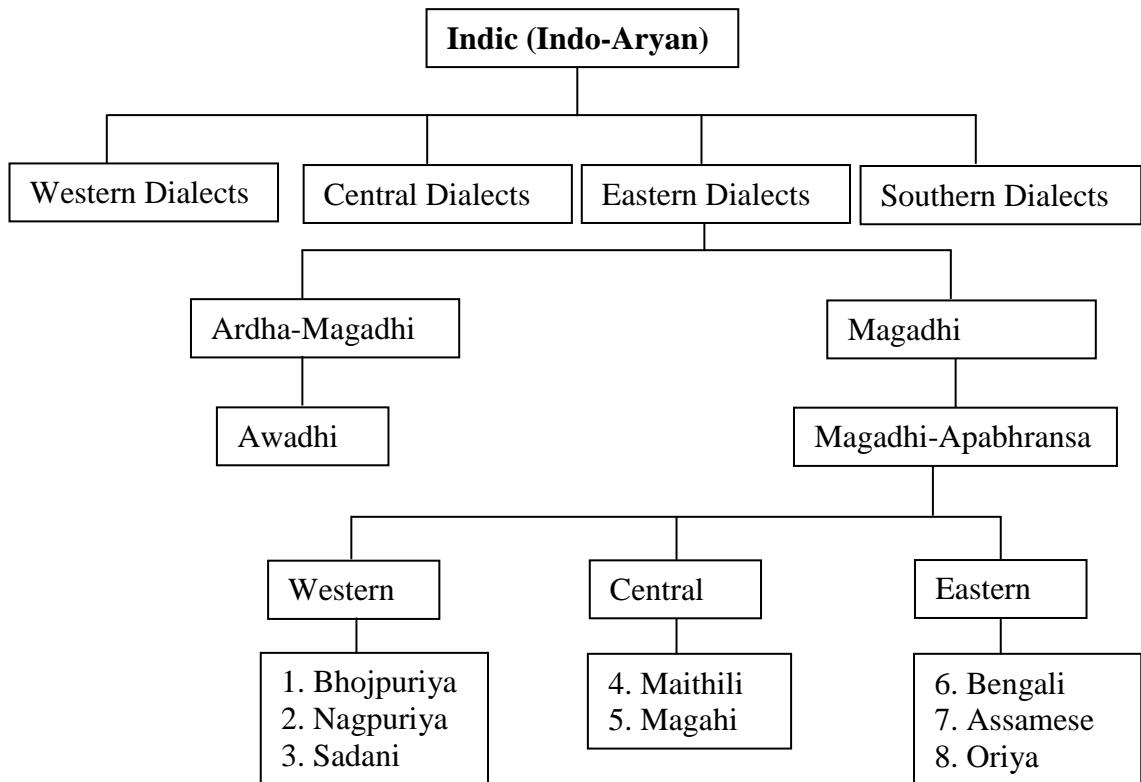
1.4.2 Linguistic affiliation

Grierson classifies Maithili as Bihari, Eastern zone, Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian, Indo-European (LSI V, II: 1). Grierson grouped Maithili with Bhojpuri and Magahi under the same general classification, "Bihari". This is somewhat misleading since Maithili and Magahi are much closer to each other than either is to Bhojpuri (Yadav, 1984: 3). Grierson's term "Bihari" is also misleading because he often refers to it as a language rather than a genetic classification. We have interpreted the references in Grierson to the "Bihari" language as general references to all three languages in the Bihari grouping; Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Magahi. Grierson explains that the peoples who speak the Bihari languages are historically connected to the peoples to their west.

Like Grierson (1883a), Chatterji (1926) believes that Maithili belongs to the group of Magadhi Apabhramsa (called Magadhi Prakrit by Grierson). Most Maithili linguists agree with Chatterji's classification with some modifications. Such a classification enables Maithili scholars to emphasize two main points, i.e., Maithili is not a dialect

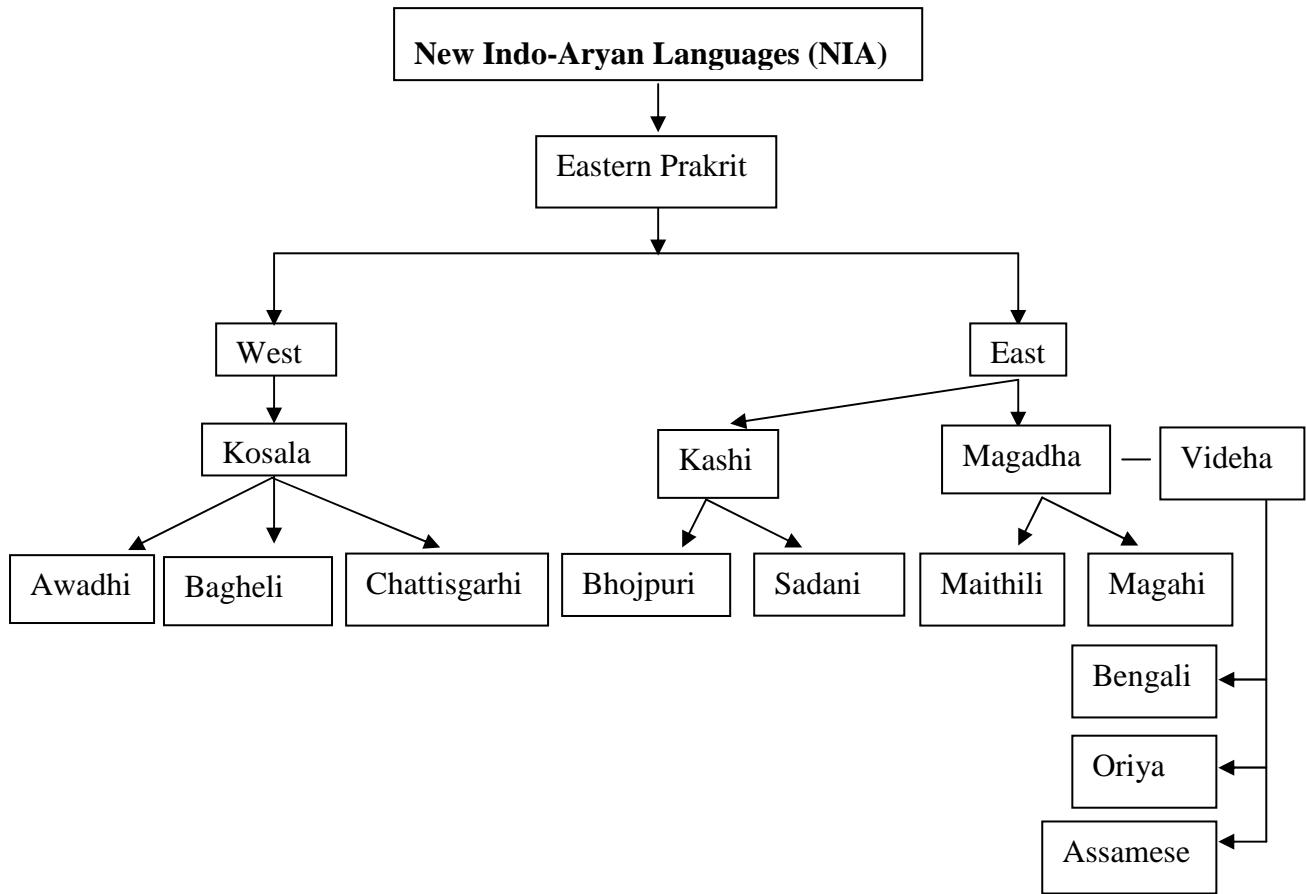
of Hindi, and that Maithili is not a dialect of Bihari. The genetic affiliation of the Maithili language made by Chatterji (1926) is presented in the Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Division of NIA languages, showing mainly the languages of North India



Most native Maithili scholars, including Mishra (1949), Jha (1958), Jha (1968, 1974), seem to go along with Chatterji's classification, with some minor modifications. Another, more recent classification, is similar to Grierson's only more specific. In this classification Maithili is grouped only with Magahi at the lowest level of classification. They are grouped under the term Magadha. The rest of the classification is as follows: Indo- European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Eastern Prakrit, East (Jha, 1958). Genetic affiliation of the Maithili language made by Jha (1958), which is very often quoted in the Maithili texts, is shown in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2: Genetic relation of Maithili to other NIA languages of Eastern India



More recently, in a study based on the strict principles of historical and comparative linguistics, Jeffers (1976) has attempted to establish the position of the 'Bihari' languages (i.e. Maithili, Maghi and Bhojpuri) within the Indo-Aryan family. He concluded that

... on the basis of the criterion of shared phonological innovation, Bihari cannot be considered a branch of the eastern group of Indo-Aryan languages which includes Bengali, Assamese, & Oriya, as has traditionally been assumed. The only phonological innovations which Bihari shows with languages in its geographic vicinity must be assumed to represent reflexes of phonological changes which affected a large MIA (Middle Indo-Aryan) dialect region which incorporated, at least, East and West Hindi, Bihari, and the Eastern languages (p.224).

To sum up, it is quite possible that the genetic classification problems that have arisen stem from the fact that there exists a dialect chain, or continuum, and therefore, it is difficult or least arbitrary, to treat the genetic classification of Maithili within the stammbaum model.

The origin of the Maithili language is traced back between the beginning of 9th century and the end of the 12th century. The development of the language is divided into 3 eras.

Ancient era: The ancient age for the development of the Maithili language is 1200 AD to 1600 AD. The first literary personality of this period was Jyotirishwar. His literary work *Varnaratnakar* is in prose which deals with the different components of folklife of the Maithil people and culture. In this era there was another great literary personality, the poet laurite Vidyapati, who was considered as the full moon in the Maithili literature.

Middle era: Linguistically, the middle era of Maithili language starts from 1600 AD and ends around 1800 AD. In this period there were a number of followers of Vidyapati. Their writings were affected by Sanskrit instead of being contemporary Maithili. In this era, the language was flourished in Malla dynasty in Nepal. There are a number of plays, poetries, songs, and records available in Maithili of Malla period.

Modern era: The modern era for the development of the Maithili language starts around 1800 AD. There was rapid growth for development of the language in this period. The writers of this period started to write in colloquial language i.e. instead of the literary one.

1.4.3 Dialects

Being a cross-border language and having contact with different languages, Maithili exhibits different dialectal variations in India and Nepal. According to Grierson (1903), Maithili is divided into six dialects. These dialects are briefly described as follows:

Standard Maithili: This dialect of Maithili is spoken in central Darbhanga and northern Darbhanga. It is mainly spoken by Maithil Brahman and other high castes. It is also spoken in other surrounding districts such as Madhuwani, Uttar Bhagalpur, and Supaul districts of Indian state of Bihar.

Southern Standard Maithili: This dialect is spoken in Samastipur, Uttari Munger, Bhagalpur, and Madhepura regions.

Eastern Maithili: This variety of Maithili is spoken in the central and western part of the Purniya district.

Chhika Chhiki Boli: This variety of Maithili is spoken in the southern region of the Ganga River. It is mainly spoken in the eastern part of Southern Munger, Southern Bhagalpur, and in northern and western part of Santhal Pargana.

Western Maithili: This dialect of the Maithili language is spoken in Muzaffarpur district and eastern part of the Champaran district.

Jolaha Boli: Most of the Muslims people in Darbhanga are speaking Maithili. They speak this language a little bit differently and mix Arabi and Pharsi words. The number of Jolaha within the Muslim community is in majority. So, this variety of Maithili is known as Jolaha Boli.

According to Jha (1958: 5-6), there exist seven regional dialects of Maithili in India. They are the Standard Maithili, Southern Maithili, Eastern Maithili, Chhika Chhiki Boli, Western Maithili, Jolha Boli, and the central colloquial dialects. Of them, Standard Maithili is spoken in the north of Darbhanga district (Bihar state, India), which now forms the part of the Madhubani district. Similarly, according to the regional classification, there are five dialects of the Maithili language. They are Central Maithili, Eastern Maithili, Southern Maithili, Western Maithili, and Northern or Nepali Maithili (spoken in Nepalese Tarai).

It may, however, be said that Maithili exhibits social variations in its pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar in terms of the speaker's caste, sex, education, interpersonal relationship, and other social factors. It may, however, be said that Maithili exhibits social variations in its pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar in terms of the speaker's caste, sex, education, interpersonal relationship, and other social factors.

1.5 Demography and distribution

The Maithili language is spoken by about 35 million people mainly in the northeastern part of Indian state of Bihar and the eastern part of Nepalese Tarai region. It is also used marginally in adjoining Indian states like West Bengal, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. In Nepal, it is the language of approximately 11.7 percent (approximately 3 million) of the total population and figures second in terms of the number of speakers next only to Nepali, the official language of the nation, spoken by a 44.6% of the total population (CBS 2011). Table 1.1 presents the district-wise distribution of the Maithili speakers in Nepal.

Table 1.2: District-wise distribution of Maithili speakers

Development Regions	Districts (the districts having more than 1,000 speakers)	No. of native speakers
Central Development Region	Jhapa	45,038
	Morang	2,28,215
	Sunsari	2,15,804
	Saptari	5,05,897
	Sirha	5,46,925
	Udayapur	12,583
Central Development Region	Dhanusa	6,47,433
	Mahottari	5,06,696
	Sarlahi	1,63,537
	Sindhuli	4,887
	Kathmandu	36,929
	Lalitpur	11,905
	Bhaktapur	3,340
	Kabhrepalanchok	1,046
	Rautahat	20,582
	Bara	26,255
	Parsa	30,635
	Chitwan	3,542
Western Development Region	Makwanpur	2,817
	Kaski	2,579
	Nawalparasi	12,297
	Rupandehi	31,138
Mid Western Region	Kapilvastu	4,878
	Banke	4,804
Far Western Region	Bardiya	1,850
	Kailali	6,799
	Kanchanpur	1,206

Source: National census report, 2011

1.6 Previous research works in Maithili

References to Maithili (then spelt Mithelee or Mythili) as a language date back to as early as 1801. However, serious interest in Maithili linguistics began in the early 1880's when Sir George Abraham Grierson, and A.F, Rudolf Hoernle published a series of scholarly books and papers on Maithili. In 1880, Hoernle published a book entitled "A comparative grammar of Gaudian language with special reference to eastern Hindi", in which he treated Maithili as a dialect of eastern Hindi. Hoernle, however, did recognize the fact that Maithili exhibits more "unmistakable similarities" to Bengali and Nepali than Hindi.

In 1881, Grierson published *An Introduction to Maithili Language of North Bihar Part I*. It is the most complete synchronic description of Maithili to date. It is based heavily upon Maithili forms obtained from translations of Hindi and Sanskrit forms by "the pundits, village school Masters and educated native gentlemen of Northern Mithila."

In 1882, Grierson published *An Introduction to Maithili Language of North Bihar Part II*. It is perhaps the earliest wordlist of the Maithili language and contains all the words occurring in the 'Chrestomathy' of the greatest Maithili poet, Vidyapati (1360-1448). The major contribution of Grierson, however, lies in the very extensive dialectal survey of what he called Bihari published during (1883-87) as the *Seven grammars of the dialects and subdialects of the Bihari language* (Part I: Introductory; Part II: Bhojpuri dialect; Part III: Magadhi dialect of south Patna and Gaya; Part IV: Maithili-Bhojpuri dialect; Part V: South Maithili dialect; Part VI: 'South Maithili-Magadhi dialect; Part VII: South Maithili-Bengali dialect; and Part VIII: Maithili-Bengali dialect). During this period there appeared Hoernle and Grierson's *A comparative dictionary of Bihari language* (part I 1885, part II 1889; only two parts published).

What is curious is that in spite of Grierson's tireless effort to establish Maithili: as a language separate from Bengali and Hindi, Kellogg (1893) continues to treat Maithili as a dialect of Hindi. The importance of Kellogg's work lies in the copious, illustrations from Maithili, coupled with insightful philological notes.

Grierson (1903) discusses a brief introduction to the Maithili language, its dialects and sub-dialects in brief. He also presents a grammar sketch of the language.

Jha (1958) is the most exhaustive diachronic description of Maithili. In this work the author has undertaken to trace the history of Maithili from the old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period and labored assiduously to assign Sanskrit etymologies to practically all forms of Maithili. The author has discussed the formation of the Maithili language in details. In this work he talks on declension of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, syntax etc.

In recent years, a number of Sanskrit grammars, masquerading as Maithili grammars, have been published in north India. A two volume history of Maithili literature has also been published by Mishra (1947, 1969). In Nepal linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics have recently published two papers on Maithili syntax, both written in the tagmemic framework (Davis 1973; Williams 1973) and a wordlist (Trail 1973). A paryayavaci savdakos (Dictionary of synonyms) of 14 languages of Nepal, including Maithili, has also been published by Royal Nepal Academy B.S.2030/1973-74).

Jha (1974) provides a description of the development of the Maithili language and its present structure. In this work the author has talked about the life style of Mithila and its geographical, social, cultural situation, and linguistic situation. He also talks about phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language in details. This work is very important for the study and doing research in the Maithili language.

Jha (1979) is a pedagogical grammar of the Maithili language. This work is divided into two parts. In the first part of this work, the author talks on various grammatical topics of the language. In the second part, he discusses about Maithili idioms, proverbs, essays, letter writing, etc.

Yadava (1983) is a doctoral dissertation submitted to CIEFL, Hyderabad in which the author has made a comparative study of movement rules in Maithili and English.

Jha (1984) is a descriptive study of the Maithili language of Nepal submitted as Ph.D. dissertation to Pune University.

Jha (1984) is a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Essex. This study presents an account of some phonetic and phonological aspect of a variety of the standard dialect of Maithili.

Yadav (1996) is a reference grammar of the Maithili language. In this work the author describes the language linguistically. He also presents a brief introduction to the language, its phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax in details.

Yadava (1999 ed.) discusses various aspects of Maithili language, literature and culture. Similarly, Yadava (2000) discusses a brief introduction to the Maithili language, origin and development of the language on the basis of language family. He also talks about Maithili literature in brief.

Thakur (2005) carried out a research on ‘Relativization in English and Maithili: a comparative study’. He found that the Maithili language has four types of relative clauses regarding the position of the relative clause with respect to the head: postnominal, prenominal, internally headed and headless. He also found that correlative construction is commonly found in Maithili relativization.

There are a number of works available in the area of Maithili language and linguistics which are not mentioned above. Here, we would like to list some of the major works of the Maithili language in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: List of previous works available in Maithili language and linguistics

1.	Jha, Subhadra.	(1941)	“Maithili phonetics”
2.	Jha, Dinbandhu.	(1946)	<i>Maithili bhasha vidyotan</i> (Maithili Grammar)
3.	Jha, Dinbandhu	(1950)	<i>Maithili Dhatupatha</i> (Maithili root verbs)
4.	Jha, Govind.	(1958)	“Verb conjugation in Maithili”
5.	Jha, Govind	(1963)	<i>Laghu vidyotan</i> (Concise Maithili grammar)
6.	Jha, Bh.	(1970)	<i>Maithili bhasha: aitihasik tatha bhasavaijananik vivechna</i> (The Maithili language: historical and linguistic analysis)
7.	Jha, Ramanath.	(1971)	<i>Mithila bhasha prakasha</i> (Maithili grammar)
8.	Williams, J.	(1973)	<i>Clause patterns in Maithili</i>
9.	Jeffers, R.	(1976)	“The position of the Bihari dialects in Indo-Aryan”
10.	Jha, Dayanand.	(1976)	<i>Maithili vyakaran evam rahana</i> (Maithili grammar and composition)
11.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(1976)	“Generative phonology and the aspirated consonants of colloquial Maithili”
12.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(1979)	“The influence of aspiration on vowel duration in Maithili”

13.	Jha, Govind.	(1979)	<i>Uchchatar Maithili vyakaran</i> (Higher Maithili grammar)
14.	Singh, Uday Narayan	(1979)	<i>Some aspects of Maithili syntax: a transformational-generative approach.</i>
15.	Singh, Uday Narayan	(1980)	“Relative clauses formation in Maithili”
16.	Yadava, Y.P.	(1980)	<i>Time, tense, and aspect in English and Maithili</i>
17.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(1981)	“Maithili language and linguistics: Some background notes”
18.	Yadava, Y.P.	(1981)	“Question movement in Maithili and binding conditions”
19.	Yadava Y.P.	(1982)	“Maithili sentences: a transformational analysis”
20.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(1984)	“Maithili phonology reconsidered”
21.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(1984)	<i>Maithili Phonetics and Phonology</i>
22.	Jha, S.K.	(1984)	<i>A study of some phonetic and phonological aspects of Maithili</i>
23.	Thakur, S. and N. Mishra.	(1985)	<i>Maithili bhasa vijnan</i> (Maithili linguistics)
24.	Bimal, Rajendra P.	(1986)	<i>A comparative study of the Morphology of Maithili, Nepali and Hindi languages</i>
25.	Mishra, D.N.	(1986)	<i>Maithili bhasha shastra</i> (Maithili linguistics)
26.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(1986)	“Acoustic correlates of word stress in Maithili”
27.	Yadav, M.	(1987)	<i>Reflexivization in English and Maithili</i>
28.	Stump, George T. and Ramawatar Yadav	(1988)	“Maithili verb agreement and the control agreement principle”
29.	Yadav, D.N.	(1988)	<i>Compound verbs in Maithili</i>
30.	Hugoniot, K.	(1997)	<i>A sociolinguistic profile of the dialects of Maithili</i>
31.	Jha, S.K.	(2001)	<i>Maithili: some aspects of its phonetics and phonology</i>
32.	Yadava, Y.P.	(2003)	“Maithili”
33.	Yadav, Ramawatar.	(2004)	“On diachronic origins of converbs in Maithili”

34.	Yadava, Y.P.	(2004)	“Non-nominative subjects in Maithili”
35.	Yadava, Y.P.	(2005)	“Sequential converbal construction in Indo-Aryan”
36.	Yadava, Y.P.	(2007)	“Raising from a tensed clause and linguistic theory: evidence from Maithili”
37.	Yadav, Surya Prasad.	(2011)	<i>Complementation in Maithili</i>
38.	Thakur, Indresh.	(2013)	“Relativization in Maithili”

1.7 Purpose and goals

The main purpose of this study is to present the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language. The specific goals /objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To look at the vitality of the Maithili language by investigating the patterns of language use in certain domains;
- b) To assess the mother tongue proficiency and extent of community bi/multilingualism of Maithili mother tongue speakers;
- c) To look at language transmission, vitality, loyalty, maintenance and shift in the Maithili speech community.
- d) To evaluate the code mixing in the language and the attitudes of the Maithili speakers towards their language;
- e) To gather information regarding the resources available in the language and language development for the implementation of mother-tongue based multilingual education in Maithili; and
- f) To examine the dialectal variation by assessing the levels of lexical similarity among the selected varieties in the language.

1.8 Organization of the study

This report is organized into eleven chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory one that presents general background information about the language including the purpose and goals of the study. In chapter 2, we deal with the research methodology used in the survey.

Chapter 3 deals with the domains of language use in the Maithili. In chapter 4, we look at the mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Maithili. In chapter 5, we look at language transmission, vitality and loyalty. Similarly, in chapter 6, we

discuss language maintenance and shift in the Maithili speech community. Similarly, chapter 7 deals with code mixing in the use of the Maithili language. In chapter 8, we present the attitude of the Maithili mother tongue speakers towards their mother tongue and chapter 9 deals with language resources that make them feel proud, their dreams and plans of the speech community for language development of their mother tongue. In chapter 10, we look at dialectal variation and lexical similarity among the key survey points in Maithili. In chapter 11, we present the summary of the major findings and some recommendations for the development of the language. The annex includes sociolinguistic questionnaire and wordlist used in the survey.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals, in detail, with the research methodology employed in the sociolinguistic survey of Maithili. It is organized into five sections. Section 2.1 presents an overview of the major goals of the survey, the research methods /tools used, a brief description of the methods/tools including the major focus of the tools in the survey. In section 2.3, we discuss the different types of research tools, their basic characteristics and the ways they were employed in the survey. Section 2.4 deals with the survey points, sample size and collection of data. In section 2.5, we deal with the limitations of the survey in relation to time, access, area, methods and informants.

2.1 Overview

In order to accomplish the goals of the survey, different methods were used. Table 2.1 below displays the survey goal, the research method used, a brief description of the method and the focus of that method.

Table 2.1: Overview of survey goals and methods

Survey goal(s)	Research tools	Brief description	Focus
Study which languages Maithili speakers use in certain domains as well as language attitudes and vitality.	Sociolinguistic Questionnaires	115 questions (37 questionnaires)	1. Domains of language use and language attitudes 2. Mother tongue proficiency and bilingualism 3. Language transmission, vitality, and loyalty 4. Language maintenance and shift 5. Code mixing 6. Language attitude 7. Language resources
	Participatory	The four tools: DLU ,	Domain of language use

	methods	BLM, DLM and ACI be used in a group of at least eight to twelve participants of mixed category	Dialect mapping Multilingualism Appreciative enquiry
Assess the levels of lexical similarity among selected Maithili varieties.	Word lists	Lexical comparison of 210 words (42 word list)	Lexical variation among selected Maithili language varieties

2.2 Research Methods

2.2.1 Questionnaires

Purpose and description: A questionnaire is a list of questions asked by the researchers in order to collect various types of information. For statistical purposes, it is asked in the same manner each time.

Procedure: A questionnaire consisting of 115 questions was developed in order to investigate reported language use among native Maithili speakers, as well as the opinions they express on the subjects of language use, language attitudes, bilingualism, language vitality, loyalty, maintenance, code mixing, and language development and dialectal variation.

The questionnaire was administered either by the researchers in Nepali or in Maithili. When it was administered in Maithili, the answers were translated into Nepali. The researchers then translated the answers and recorded them in English while analyzing the data. After the data collection the answers were entered into a database and analyzed for general patterns and trends that would contribute to fulfilling the research goals.

Sampling: The villages in which questionnaires were administered were chosen according to location. The main factors were varying levels of remoteness and the need to represent all large areas where Maithili people live. In order to get a range of opinions, which are often influenced by factors such as education, age and gender, people with differing combinations of these variables were chosen to answer the

questionnaire. A minimum of 12 people was needed in each location in order to complete the sample.

Advantages: This method is easy to get genuine information from the respondents. It also allows for a variety of people's opinions to be expressed on the issues being researched.

Disadvantages: Answers given by the subject can be influenced by what the person believes the researcher wants to hear rather than what he actually thinks or knows. It was quite time consuming.

2.2.2 Word lists

Purpose and description: Wordlists containing 210 items are taken, compared and used to calculate approximate lexical similarity percentages between various language varieties.

Procedure: For each item on the word list, the researcher elicited, in Nepali, the local Maithili word from a Maithili mother tongue speaker. The responses were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Afterwards, the words were entered into the computer software popularly known as WordSurv (word survey) and the lexical items were compared in order to determine similarities and differences among the varieties sampled. This tool provides an initial indication of possible dialect groupings in Maithili.

Sampling: Villages were chosen based on previous knowledge of where differing language varieties were thought to be spoken. In each village, one person was selected as the word list source based on several factors. The person had to have been born in the village or in the near vicinity, had to speak Maithili as his/her mother tongue and should not have lived outside the village for extended periods of time.

Advantages: Wordlist collection and analysis is an efficient way to give an initial indication of possible dialect groupings.

Disadvantages: Above a certain level, intelligibility between dialects cannot be conclusively stated based solely on lexical similarity percentages.

2.2.3 Participatory methods

We have used a set of four participatory tools with the groups of Maithili participants in the above mentioned districts. The tools include Domains of Language Use (DLU),

Bilingualism (BLM), Dialect Mapping (DLM) and Appreciative Inquiry (ACI). The main purpose of these tools is to help the speech community to think about the dialects of Maithili, how bilingual Maithili speaking people are, in which situations they use their mother tongue and what their dreams and aspirations are for the development of their language.

For participatory methods, each tool is equipped with well-written step-by-step procedures for the facilitators in the group. There are four criteria for the successful implementation of the participatory tools:

- a) The group must consist of eight to twelve participants of mixed category of the speech community. Furthermore, it is desirable that there be several women and men in each group having of all ages (15 years and older) in the group with several older, middle aged and younger participants.
- b) The participant must belong to the target mother tongue and his/her; at least, one parent must be from the target language.
- c) The participants must be grown up in the survey point and must have lived here now. If s/he has lived elsewhere it should not be more than five years and s/he must have lived in the village for the past five years.

Each tool involves the members of the speech community in group discussion on the sociolinguistic situation of their language. The purpose and procedure of each tool is discussed in short below.

(i) Domains of language use

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

(ii) Dialect mapping (DLM)

The main purpose of dialect mapping tool is to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties of Maithili. Participants in the group of 8 to 12 were asked to write on a separate sheet the name of each district and major towns where Maithili is spoken and placed them on the floor to present the geographical location. Then, they were asked to use loops of string to show which districts or towns spoke the same as others. Next, they used the number to show the ranking from easier to understand to most difficult. They were advised to use colored plastic tokens to mark those they understand very well, average and poorly.

(iii) Bi/multilingualism

We used this tool to help the community members to think about and visualize the levels of fluency in both Maithili and Nepali, the language of wider communication (LWC) by different subsets of the Maithili speech community. The participants were asked to use two overlapping circles, one representing the Maithili people who speak mother tongue well and the other the Maithili speakers who speak LWC well. The overlapped area represents those who speak both the languages well. Then, the participants were advised to write down the names of subgroups of people that spoke LWC well. For each group they also discussed whether they also speak mother tongue well or not so well. Then, they were asked to place them in the appropriate location in circles. After having done this they were advised to write down the names of the subgroups of Maithili speakers who spoke their mother tongue well. At the end, they discussed which of the three circle sections had the most people, which was increasing and how they felt about that.

(iv) Appreciative inquiry

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

Hasselbring (2009 as cited in Regmi 2011:21) points out that the first three tools helped the participants to verbalize things they already knew intuitively about their language whereas this tool helped them to think about future possibilities.

2.3 Sampling

Prior to the administration of this questionnaire, three districts of central development region (Dhanusha, Mahottari, and Sarlahi) and four districts of eastern development region (Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, and Siraha) were selected as survey area on the basis of pre-information about the Maithili community. All the Maithili speakers residing in this zone are the population of the study. The area of study can be shown through the table below.

Table 2.2: Key survey points in the study of Maithili language

Districts	Survey points
Dhanusha	Janakpur-4, 8, 9, and 12; Mahuwa Khajuri-1 and 2; Nanupatti-8 Mahuliya; Dhabauli-6, 2; and Bharatpur-4
Sarlahi	Chotaul-2, Laxmipur-3, Goraita-2, Malanwa-1, Bharsar-9
Mahottari	Aurhi-9 and 6
Morang	Biratnagar-18 and 16, Rangeli-3
Sunsari	Hairnagara-2, Babiya-2, Bhokraha-7, and Inarwa-2
Siraha	Bidyanagar-4, Devipur-6, and Basbitta-6
Saptari	Rupnagar-6
Kathmandu	Baneshwor

2.4 Limitations of the study

This study is limited to only a sociolinguistic survey of the Maithili language. For this study only 4 districts (Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, and Kathmandu) of Central Development Region and 4 districts (Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, and Siraha) of Eastern Development Region were selected and this study is based on the Maithili language

spoken in these districts. This survey has not incorporated other districts than mentioned above. Although, literacy and sex are very important factors for the sociolinguistic survey, they are not incorporated in this research. Sociolinguistic questionnaires, participatory methods and wordlists are administrated as survey tools to collect the data.

CHAPTER 3

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with domains of language use in Maithili. It consists of seven sections. Section 3.1 deals with language use in general domain. In section, 3.2, we present the patterns of language use at home. Similarly, in section 3.3 we present the frequency of language use in certain domains. Section 3.4 deals with patterns of language use in media and television. In section 3.5, we discuss medium of instruction school. Likewise, in section 3.6, we present the participatory methods used in the survey and in section 3.7 we present a brief summary of this chapter.

3.1 Language use

Language use refers to the use of a particular language in specific social contexts, called domains, in which a particular language is used. Its vibrant use makes a language vital. It also refers to a context ‘in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another’. Domains of language evaluate the vitality of the language. As Maithili is a well studied as well as second most widely spoken language of the nation, it is used in all the domains of daily communication and in all the common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, shopping/marketing, storytelling, debate, praying, talking to servant, abusing, singing at home, family gathering, meeting, invitation for marriage, dreaming, talking to friends, playing, and public meeting.

3.1.1 Overall patterns of language use

Table 3.1 presents overall uses of Maithili and other languages in various domains as reported by its selected native speakers in the survey points.

Table 3.1: Languages most frequently used in different domains in total

Domains	Language used by native speakers (N=50)			
	Own	LWC	Thethi	No response
Counting	37 (74%)	-	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Singing	36 (72%)	H-1 (2%)	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Joking	37 (74%)	-	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Marketing	37 (74%)	-	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Story telling	37 (74%)	-	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Discussion	37 (74%)	-	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Praying	36 (72%)	S-1 (2%)	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Talking with Workers	37 (74%)	-	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Scolding	36 (72%)	M+H-1 (2%)	7 (14%)	6 (12%)
Talking with Friends	37 (74%)	-	6 (12%)	7 (14%)
Playing	37 (74%)	-	6 (12%)	7 (14%)
Marriage Invitation	22 (44%)	N+H-1 (2%) H-7 (14%) H+T+N-2 (4%)	2 (4%)	15 (30%)
Minute writing	11 (22%)	N-32 (64%)	1 (2%)	6 (12%)
Dreaming	37 (74%)	-	6 (12%)	7 (14%)
Family Gathering	37 (74%)	-	6 (12%)	7 (14%)
Public meeting	37 (74%)	N-1 (2%)	5 (10%)	7 (14%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

(S=Sanskrit, H=Hindi, M=Maithili, N=Nepali)

Table 3.1 shows the frequency of language use in 16 social contexts or domains of Maithili speaking community. Most of the selected informants (84%-88%) responded that they invariably speak mother tongue (Maithili) in almost all the social contexts or domains such as counting, singing, joking, marketing, storytelling, discussion, praying, playing, talking with workers and so on. In only one of the domains, viz. for marriage invitation, some respondents (44%) reported the use of Maithili while others informed about the mixed use of Maithili, Hindi and Nepali. The mixed use of languages may be due to facilitating communication for invited guests from mixed language communities. One of the respondents also reported the use of Hindi along with Maithili in the domain of scolding. It has, however, been observed during conversation with Maithili speakers that they sometimes switch to Hindi in abusing and scolding. As language of wider communication (LWC) one of the respondents reported the use Hindi and Sanskrit each. Of these informants 14% (7) have responded that they use Thenthī. Thenthī ('a rustic, colloquial speech') is an alternate name for Maithili in some parts of Sarlahi district. However, there has been an attempt by some activists to treat it as an independent language. For this reason the responses on Thenthī have been included within Maithili. In this study 12% (6) questionnaires are left blank as they were used for participatory method (henceforth, PM) tools.

Similarly, Table 3.2 presents overall uses of Maithili and other languages in various domains by age as reported by its selected native speakers in the survey points.

Table 3.2: Languages most frequently used in different domains by age

N=33	Age								
	Younger n= 8			Middle n=16			Old n=9		
Domains	Own	Lwc	NR	Own	Lwc	NR	Own	Lwc	N.R
Counting	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Singing	6 (75%)	H-2 (25%)	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Joking	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Marketing	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Story telling	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Discussion	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Praying	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Talking with Workers	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Scolding	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Talking with Friends	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Playing	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Marriage Invitation	2 (25%)	N-1 H-3 (38%)	2 (25%)	11 (68%)	H-3 (19%)	2 (13%)	5 (56%)	H-2 HM-1 (22%)	1 (6%)
Minute writing	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	2 (25%)	4 (25%)	8 (50%)	4 (25%)	2 (22%)	6 (67%)	1 (6%)
Dreaming	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Family Gathering	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-
Public meeting	8 (100%)	-	-	16 (100%)	-	-	9 (100%)	-	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 3.2 shows strong preference for using their mother tongues in all social contexts by respondents of all age groups. However, this tendency appears stronger in older respondents than in younger ones. It may be due to the consequence of existing use of Nepali/and English as media of instruction in school education. It shows that there is a tendency emerging among younger generation of the Maithili community shifting to Nepali as LWC, for only the official language, for purposes such as wider communication and getting employment.

It has been observed that respondents' gender and education do not trigger any variation language use and match with the findings made in the case of age.

3.2 Patterns of language use at home

Regarding the patterns of language use in domains such as educational, social and family matters while talking with family members at home the overall data indicate that most Maithili speakers (80%-86%) were consistent in using their mother tongue in these domains. However, some of them (12%) reported that they use Thenthil (instead of Maithili), an alternate name for the language.



Photograph 3.1: An interaction with language activists and journalists in Biratnagar

Table 3.1 illustrates how this specific language use varies according to the respondents' age.

Table 3.3: Languages most frequently used with different family members by age

N=33	Age				
	Family members	A1 (n=8)		A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Grandfather	Own	Thenthi	NR	Own	Own
Grandmother	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	-	16 (100%)	9 (100%)
Father	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	-	16 (100%)	9 (100%)
Mother	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	-	16 (100%)	9 (100%)
Spouse	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	16 (100%)	9 (100%)
Children	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	16 (100%)	9 (100%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 3.3 demonstrates that all the middle-aged and old respondents use their mother tongue with their family members while younger respondents have some preferences for languages other than their mother tongue. This language shift among younger children may also be due to impact of Nepali used as medium of instruction in school education. The data analyzed in terms of education and gender also support the finding in the table above, viz. according to age.



Photograph 3.2: Collecting sociolinguistic data from a participant in Janakpur

3.3 Frequency of language use

All of the respondents reported that they usually speak their mother tongue but they may shift to a language of wider communication (LWC) according to their needs and contexts. Table 3.4 presents the use of contact language in different situations.

Table 3.4: Contact language/s in Maithili speech community by age

Language used as contact language in general											
A1 (n=8)	Situational	Hindi	N-H	Nepali	N-E						
	4 (50%)	1 (12.5%)	1 (12.5%)	1 (12.5%)	1 (12.5%)						
A2 (n=16)	Situational	M-H-N	N-H	Nepali	M	No response					
	3 (19%)	1 (6%)	2 (12.5%)	5 (31%)	1 (6%)	4 (25%)					
A3 (n=9)	Situational	N-M	Nepali	No response							
	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	2 (22%)	4 (44%)							
Language used with guests other than native speaker											
A1 (n=8)	Situational	Nepali	No response								
	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	2 (25%)								
A2 (n=16)	Situational	Nepali	Maithili	N-H	No response						
	4 (25%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6%)	7 (44%)						
A3 (n=9)	Situational	M+Sign	Hindi	No res							
	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	6 (67%)							
Language used with neighbors other than native neighbor											
A1 (n=8)	Situational	Nepali	No response								
	1 (12.5%)	3 (37.5%)	1* (12.5%) 3 (37.5%)								
A2 (n=16)	Situational	Nepali	Maithili	No response							
	4 (25%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	8 (50%)							
A3 (n=9)	Situational	No response									
		1 (11%)	6 (67%) 2*(22%)								

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 3.4 shows the mixed responses and suggests that respondents are mostly multilingual speakers. Of these respondents 24% (12) opined that they use a language according to situations. Quite a few (20%) reported that they use Nepali. Very few of them (2 to 4%) said that they use Hindi and Nepali along with their mother tongue Maithili. It suggests that there is emerging a stable bi-/multilingualism in Maithili

speaking community. The data analyzed in terms of education and gender also support the finding.

Table 3.4 also shows distinct variations in the use of contact languages according to age. Majority of younger people (50%) reported that their use of contact languages depends on specific situations whereas the rest of them were evenly distributed for Hindi, Nepali, and Hindi cum Nepali. One of three, however, informed that s/he uses English along with Nepali as a contact language. Middle-aged and older respondents were found less in using contact languages. In addition to Maithili, they also used Nepali and Hindi as contact languages to some extent.

According to data analyzed in terms of education, literate respondents prefer the situational use of contact languages along with Nepali, Hindi and English but they do not use Maithili as a contact language. Illiterate respondents, however, are restricted to use only Hindi and Maithili as contact languages. It suggests that literate Maithili speakers are getting proficient in more languages than illiterate ones. The reason may be education through Nepali and English medium. Similarly, according to data analyzed in terms of gender, male respondents mostly prefer situational use of contact languages and also Nepali though a few of them use Hindi, Maithili and English as contact languages. Some female respondents, on the other hand, use Nepali, Maithili and Hindi individually or in a mixed way. Most of them, however, did not reply; maybe they do not know these languages as contact languages or may not be familiar with them.

3.4 Patterns of language use in media and television

As Maithili is a well developed language, it is the most frequently used language in the field of mass media. In response to the question “Which language is most frequently used in different radio or TV programs?” Table 4.5 presents the responses of the respondents from different survey point.

Table 3.5: Languages used in media and television

Language (N=50)	News	Folk music	Film	Radio	Public meeting
Maithili	38 (76%)	39 (78%)	30 (60%)	33 (66%)	32 (64%)
Nepali	3 (6%)	1 (2%)		1 (2%)	
Thenthī	-	2 (4%)	1(2%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
Hindi	-	-	8(16%)	2(4%)	1 (2%)
N-M	1 (2%)	-	-	1(2%)	-
H-M	-	-	1(2%)	1(2%)	5 (10%)
H-N	-	-	1(2%)	2(4%)	-
H-M-B	-	-	1(2%)	-	-
M-H-N	-	-	-	-	1(2%)
No Res.	8 (16%)	8 (16%)	8 (16%)	8 (16%)	8 (16%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 3.5 shows that Maithili is frequently used as medium in different media such as news, folk songs, film, radio, and public meetings. This is because Maithili is the second largest language of Nepal having its own media and TV programmes. Secondly, besides Maithili they prefer to watch Hindi Programs. Only a few6% says they use Nepali for News. It can also be shown through the figure below.

3.5 Medium of instruction at school

Most of the parents like their children to learn in the medium of Maithili. But, in recent time they also prefer their children to learn in medium of Nepali, the official language of the nation and in the medium of English, the international language as the whole world is being globalized. Table 3.6 presents the responses of the respondents of Maithili speech community for the question “What languages do you prefer for your children's mediums of instruction at school?”

Table 3.6: Preference of languages for medium of instruction in education

Language	Primary	Lower	Secondary	Higher
Maithili	37 (74%)	-	4 (8%)	-
Thenthili	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	-	-
English	-	-	-	2 (4%)
M-E-N	-	8 (16%)	20 (40%)	30 (60%)
M-Th-E-N	-	3 (6%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)
Th-N-E	-	3 (6%)	2(4%)	3 (6%)
N	-	1 (2%)	-	-
M-N	-	11 (22%)	10 (20%)	-
M-E	-	-	-	1(2%)
E-N	-	-	-	1(2%)
No Res.	7 (14%)	7 (14%)	11 (22%)	11 (22%)
N=50				

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 3.6 shows the attitude of Maithili speakers regarding their preferences to languages as medium of instruction at different levels of school education. Most of the respondents (82%) prefer to have primary education in their own mother tongue, Maithili. However, this percentage has decreased with the increase of educational levels. At Lower Secondary level, 34% prefer to have mother tongue as medium of instruction while only 8% would like to continue it at secondary level of education.

3.6 Participatory methods

In order to examine the domains of language use in the Maithili speech community, domains of language use, a participatory tool in a group of at least eight and more participants of mixed category was administered in all the reference points of the survey. The picture of domains of language use tool used in the Nepali speech community presents the use of different languages in different situations and with different types of people.



Photograph 3.3: Discussion on domains of language use

The major findings from this participatory method are as follows:

1. Maithili, the mother tongue, is used in the family, talking with friends, in day to day communication, with neighbors, in most of the household works, as a medium of instruction in some primary schools in Maithili spoken area, in farming, in different ritual songs, in worshiping gods, storytelling, etc.
2. They use the Nepali language, the language of wider communication, in the government offices, as a language of wider communication with non-Maithili speakers of hill community. Similarly, they use Hindi while talking to Hindi speakers, in watching movies, while talking to Indian nationalities, listening to Hindi music for entertainment and talking to non-Maithili speakers of Madheshi community. They use English while studying English, while talking to English mother tongue speakers, and while talking to foreigners. Likewise they use Sanskrit for ritual works and worshiping Gods.

3. They use both Maithili and Nepali; the language of wider communication (LWC) in government and non-government offices, in the government schools, trainings, district headquarters, in NGO and INGO offices, general assemblies and business, etc.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed domains of language use in Maithili. Maithili is used in all the domains of daily communication and in all the common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, shopping/marketing, storytelling, debate, praying, talking to servant, abusing, singing at home, family gathering, meeting, invitation for marriage, dreaming, talking to friends, playing, and public meeting. There is also a tendency emerging among younger generation of Maithili community to gradually shift to Nepali and Hindi as LWC in certain domains. Most of the Maithili speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members while talking about educational, social, and family matters. Majority of Maithili speakers use their own mother tongue Maithili, Nepali, and Hindi languages as contact language depending on situations while some of the educated speakers also use English as a contact language while talking with foreigners. Maithili is very frequently used in different media such as news, folksongs, film, radio, and public meetings. It is also used in different FMs and Television channels. Most of the parents like their children to learn in the medium of Maithili. They also prefer their children to learn in medium of Nepali, the official language and English, the international language.

CHAPTER 4

MOTHER TONGUE PROFICIENCY AND BI/MULTILINGUALISM

4.0 Outline

This chapter deals with mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Maithili. It is organized into three sections. Section 4.1 examines mother tongue proficiency in the Maithili language. In section 4.2 we discuss bilingualism or multilingualism of Maithili speakers in different languages, multilingualism in Maithili family, script and translation. In section 4.3, we present the summary of this chapter.

4.1 Mother tongue proficiency

Mother tongue proficiency (in speaking, reading and writing) has been measured in terms of three degrees: very well, some and only a little. SLQ was administered in the informants from the selected reference points of survey in the Maithili language.



Photograph 4.1: Collecting sociolinguistic data in Khajuri, Dhanusha

Table 4.1 presents the mother tongue proficiency of the Maithili speakers in their mother tongue.

Table 4.1: First language/mother tongue they learnt to speak by age

Mother tongue	N=33		
	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
	8 (100%)	16 (100%)	9 (100%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.1 shows that all the respondents from three age groups have reported that they learn their own mother tongue i.e. Maithili as their first language.

Similarly, Table 4.2 presents the proficiency of Maithili speakers in their mother tongue in all the four skills of language: understanding, speaking, reading, and writing.

Table: 4.2 Proficiency of Maithili speakers in their mother tongue by age

How proficient are you in your mother tongue/first language?	N=33				
	A1 (n=8)		A2 (n=16)		A3 (n=9)
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Good
Understanding	8 (100%)	-	16 (100%)	-	9 (100%)
Speaking	8 (100%)	-	16 (100%)	-	9 (100%)
Reading	6 (75%)	1 (13%)	16 (100%)	-	5 (56%)
Writing	6 (75%)	1 (13%)	12 (75%)	1 (6%)	5 (56%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.2 shows that all the respondents have reported that they are very much proficient in their mother tongue as they are all good in understanding and speaking their mother tongue. Similarly, Table 4.2 shows that 75% younger (A1), 100% middle (A2) and 56% old (A3) are good and only 13% younger (A1) are average in reading their mother tongue. Likewise, 75% younger (A1), 75% middle (A2) and 56% old (A3) are good where as 13% younger (A1) and 6% middle (A2) are average in writing their mother tongue.

4.2 Bi/multilingualism

Bilingualism is often dependent on such factors as age, sex, education, and frequency of contact with speakers of other languages. Therefore, the bilingual ability of one person does not tell us much about the ability of others in a community. Table 4.3 presents the situation of multilingualism in Maithili speech community.

Table 4.3: Bi/multilingualism in Maithili speech community by Age

What other languages do you speak?	N=33		
	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Nepali	8 (100%)	13 (82%)	7 (78%)
Hindi	7 (88%)	14 (88%)	7 (78%)
English	6 (75%)	9 (56%)	4 (44%)
Bhojpuri	3 (38%)	7 (44%)	1 (11%)
Awadhi	-	1 (6%)	-
Tharu	1 (13%)	1 (6%)	-
Uraw	1 (13%)	-	-
Bangali	-	1 (6%)	-
Urdu	-	1 (6%)	-
Sanskrit	-	1 (6%)	1 (11%)
No response	-	1 (6%)	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.3 shows that most the Maithili speakers are bi/multilingual as they speak two or more than two languages. They speak their own mother tongue Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, English, Bhojpuri, and so on. Table 4.3 also displays that all the respondents of A1 age group, 82% of A2 age group, and 78% of A3 age group are bilingual in Nepali. Similarly, 88% Maithili speakers of A1 age group, 88% of A2 age group, and 78% of A3 age group are bilingual in Hindi. Likewise, 75% speakers of A1 age group, 56% of A2 age group, and 44% of A3 age group are bilingual in English. Similarly, 38% Maithili speakers of A1 age group, 44% of A2 age group, and 11% of

A3 age group are bilingual in Bhojpuri language. Likewise, 13% speakers of A1 age group are bilingual in Tharu and Udranw languages; 6% speakers of A2 age group are bilingual in Awadhi Tharu, Bengali, Urdu, and Sanskrit languages; and only one speaker of A3 age group is bilingual in Sanskrit.

4.2.1 Language proficiency in Maithili

As mentioned above in Table 4.3, majority of Maithili speakers are bilingual in Nepali. Proficiency of the Maithili speakers in the use of Nepali is presented in the Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Proficiency of Maithili speakers in Nepali by age

How proficient are you in Nepali?	N=33						
	A1 (n=8)		A2 (n=16)		A3 (n=9)		
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Good	Average	
Understand	7 (87%)	1 (13%)	14 (88%)	1 (6%)	6 (67%)	-	
Speak	7 (87%)	1 (13%)	15 (94%)	-	6 (67%)	1 (11%)	
Read	7 (87%)	-	12 (75%)	-	4 (44%)	1 (11%)	
Write	7 (87%)	-	12 (75%)	1 (6%)	4 (44%)	1 (11%)	

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 3.4 shows that out of the total respondents of A1 age group 87% responded that they are good in all the four skills of language use, and only 13% of them are average in understanding and speaking Nepali. Similarly, 88% and 94% respondents of A2 age group are good in understanding and speaking Nepali respectively; and 75% Maithili speakers of this age group can read and write in Nepali. Likewise, only 6% Maithili speakers are average in understanding and writing Nepali. Likewise, 67% Maithili respondents of A3 age group are good in understanding and speaking Nepali, and 44% speakers of this age group are good in reading and writing Nepali. Similarly, only one respondents of this age group i.e. 11% are average in speaking, reading and writing Nepali.

4.2.2 Language proficiency in Hindi

As mentioned earlier in Table 4.3, majority of Maithili speakers are bilingual in Hindi. Table 4.5 presents the proficiency of the Maithili speakers in the use of the Hindi language.

Table 4.5: Proficiency of Maithili speakers in the use of Hindi by age

How proficient are you in Hindi?	N=33					
	A1 (n=8)		A2 (n=16)		A3 (n=9)	
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Good	Average
Understanding	4 (50%)	3 (38%)	13 (81%)	-	6 (67%)	-
Speaking	3 (38%)	4 (50%)	11 (69%)	2 (13%)	5 (56%)	1 (11%)
Reading	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	11 (69%)	1 (6%)	3 (33%)	1 (11%)
Writing	4 (50%)	1 (13%)	11 (69%)	1 (6%)	3 (33%)	1 (11%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.5 shows that out of the total A1 respondents who are bilingual in Hindi, 50% are good in understanding, reading, writing; and 38% speakers are good in speaking the Hindi language. Similarly, 38% speakers of A1 age group are average in understanding Hindi, 50% are average in speaking, 25% are average in reading, and 13% are average in writing. Likewise out of the total A2 age group respondents who are bilingual in Hindi, 81% respondents are good in understanding; and 69% are good in speaking, reading, and writing Hindi. Similarly, 13% speakers of this age group are average in speaking Hindi, and 6% speakers are average in reading and writing Hindi. Similarly, 67% speakers of A3 age group are good in understanding Hindi, 56% are good in speaking; and 33% are good in reading and writing. Likewise, 11% Maithili speakers are average in speaking, reading, and writing Hindi.

4.2.3 Language proficiency in English

As mentioned earlier in Table 4.3, only a few Maithili speakers are bilingual in English. Table 4.6 presents the proficiency of the Maithili speakers in the use of the English language.

Table 4.6: Proficiency of Maithili speakers in the use of English by age

How proficient are you in English?	N=33					
	A1 (n=8)		A2 (n=16)			A3 (n=9)
	Good	Average	Good	Average	Poor	Good
Understanding	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	3 (38%)	3 (19%)	-	3 (33%)
Speaking	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	3 (19%)	1 (6%)	3 (33%)
Reading	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	3 (19%)	-	3 (33%)
Writing	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	3 (38%)	3 (19%)	-	3 (33%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.6 shows that out of the total respondents of A1 age group 50% responded that they have good proficiency in all the four skills of the English language and 25% have average proficiency in all the four skills of language i.e. understanding, speaking, reading, and writing. Similarly, 38% Maithili speakers of A2 age group have good proficiency in understanding and writing English, 25% have good proficiency in speaking and 50% have good proficiency in reading English. Similarly, 19% speakers of this age group have average proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing English; and only 6% Maithili speakers have poor proficiency in speaking English. Similarly, 33% speakers of A3 age group have good proficiency in English. From this analysis we can conclude that majority of Maithili speakers belong to A1 age group are proficient in English and some of the speakers of A2 and A3 age groups too are proficient in using English.

4.2.4 Language proficiency in Bhojpuri

As mentioned earlier in Table 4.3, only a few Maithili speakers are bilingual in Bhojpuri. Table 4.7 below presents the proficiency of the Maithili speakers in the use of the Bhojpuri language.

Table 4.7: Proficiency in the use of Bhojpuri by age

<i>How proficient are you in Bhojpuri?</i>	N =33				
	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)			A3 (n=9)
	Good	Good	Average	Poor	Good
Understanding	1 (13%)	3 (19%)	1 (6%)	-	1 (11%)
Speaking	-	3 (19%)	-	1 (6%)	1 (11%)
Reading	-	3 (19%)	-	1 (6%)	-
Writing	-	3 (19%)	-	1 (6%)	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.7 shows that only 13% speakers of A1 age group have good proficiency in understanding Bhojpuri. Similarly, 19% Maithili speakers of A2 age group have good proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing Bhojpuri; only 6% have average proficiency in understanding Bhojpuri; and 6% speakers of this age group have poor proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing Bhojpuri. Likewise, 11% Maithili speakers of A3 age group have good proficiency in understanding and speaking.

4.2.5 Multilingualism in Maithili family

As mentioned earlier in the Table 4.3, majority of the Maithili speakers are bi/multilingual in some major languages like Hindi and Nepali. The same is the case of multilingualism in the family members of the Maithili speech community.

Table 4.8 presents the situation of multilingualism in Maithili speaking families.

Table 4.8: Situation of multilingualism in Maithili speaking families

Other languages known to your family members	N=33					
	Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother	Spouse	Children
Hindi	13 (39%)	8 (24%)	17 (52%)	14 (42%)	17 (52%)	24 (73%)
Nepali	4 (12%)	2 (6%)	14 (42%)	6 (18%)	18 (55%)	24 (73%)
Bhojpuri	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	3 (9%)	3 (9%)	6 (18%)	4 (12%)
Bajjika	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	4 (12%)	1 (3%)	-	-
Tharu	-	-	1 (3%)	-	-	-
Magahi	-	-	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	-	-
English	-	-	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	5 (15%)	17 (52%)
Sanskrit	2 (6%)	-	1 (3%)	-	1 (3%)	2 (6%)
Chapariya	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	-	-	-
Uranw	1 (3%)	-	-	-	-	-
Santhali	-	-	1 (3%)	-	-	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.8 shows that out of the total 33 respondents, 39% and 12% respondents' grandfathers are bilingual in Hindi and Nepali languages, respectively. Similarly, 6% Maithili speakers' grandfathers are bilingual in Bhojpuri and Sanskrit; and 3%'s grandfathers are bilingual in Bajjika, Chapariya, and Uranw languages. Similarly, 24%, 6%, and 9% Maithili speakers' grandmothers are bilingual in Hindi, Nepali and Bhojpuri languages respectively; and only 3%'s grandmothers are bilingual in Bajjika and Chapariya languages. Likewise, 52%, 42%, 9%, and 12% respondents' fathers are bilingual in Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpuri, and Bajjika languages respectively; 3%'s fathers are bilingual in Tharu, Magahi, English, Sanskrit, Chapariya, and Santhali languages. Similarly, 42%, 18%, and 9% Maithili speakers' mothers can speak Hindi, Nepali, and Bhojpuri languages respectively; and 3%'s mothers are bilingual in Bajjika, Magahi, and English languages. In the same way, 52%, 55%, 18%, 15%, and 3% Maithili speakers' spouses can speak Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpuri, English, and Sanskrit languages respectively. Similarly, 73%, 73%, 12%, 52% and 6% Maithili

speakers' children can speak Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpuri, English, and Sanskrit languages, respectively. From this analysis we can conclude that most of family members of Maithili speech community are bilingual in Hindi and Nepali languages. Similarly the use of Nepali as a second language is increasing as most of the respondents said that their spouse and children are bilingual in Nepali.

4.2.6 Scripts and translation

Maithili language is written by using Devanagari script. Almost all the literate Maithili speakers can read and write in Devanagari script. Similarly, some educated Maithili speakers can also read and write in Roman script. Table 4.9 presents the scripts Maithili speakers can read and write.

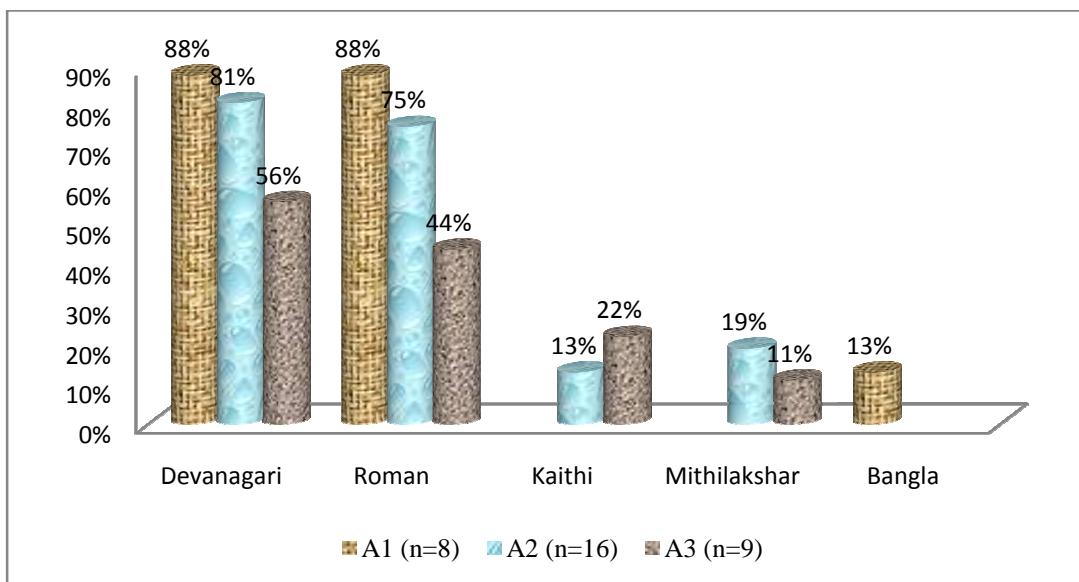
Table 4.9: Scripts Maithili speakers can read and write by age

N=33	Devanagari	Roman	Kaithi	Mithilakshar	Bangla
A1 (n=8)	7 (88%)	7 (88%)	-	-	1 (13%)
A2 (n=16)	13 (81%)	12 (75%)	2 (13%)	3 (19%)	-
A3 (n=9)	5 (56%)	4 (44%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.9 shows that out of the total A1 Maithili speakers 88% can read and write Devnagari and Roman scripts; and 13% can also read and write Bangla script. Similarly, out of the total A2 Maithili respondents 81%, 75%, 13%, and 19% can read and write Devanagari, Roman, Kaithi, and Mithilakshar scripts, respectively. Likewise, 56%, 44%, 12%, and 11% Maithili speakers of A3 age group can read and write Devanagari, Roman, Kaithi, and Mithilakshar scripts respectively. This situation can also be shown through the Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Scripts Maithili speakers can read and write



Similarly, in response to the question “Languages to which you can translate from your mother tongue” Table 4.10 presents the data from the Maithili native speakers in the survey points.

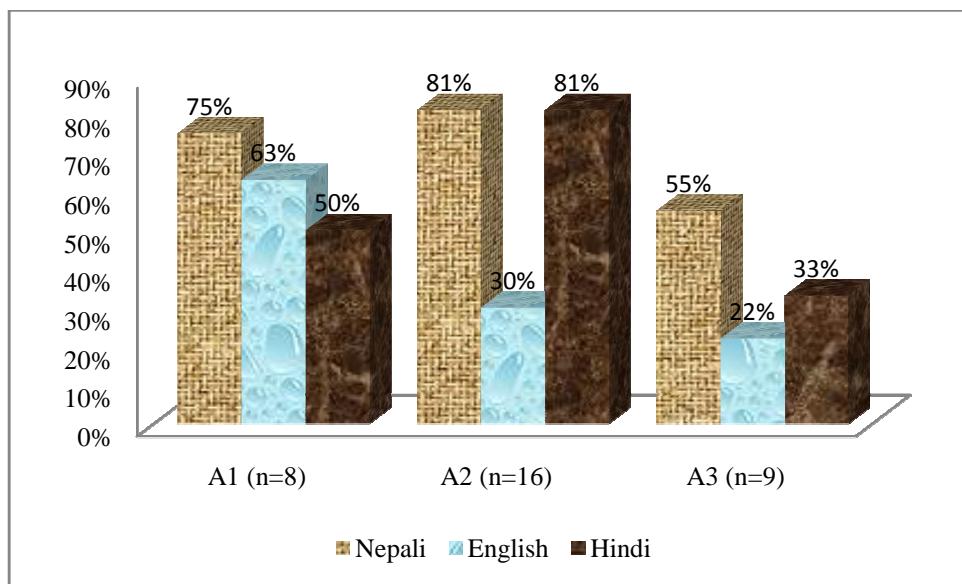
Table 4.10: Translated from and to mother tongue by age

N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Nepali	6 (75%)	13 (81%)	5 (55%)
English	5 (63%)	5 (30%)	2 (22%)
Hindi	4 (50%)	13 (81%)	3 (33%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.10 shows that out of the total respondents of A1 age group 75%, 63% and 50% responded that they can translate Nepali, English and Hindi respectively from and to their mother tongue. Similarly, out of the total A2 Maithili speakers 81%, 30%, and 81% can translate Nepali, English, and Hindi from and to their mother tongue. Likewise, 55%, 22%, and 33% speakers of A3 age group can translate Nepali, English, and Hindi languages respectively from and to their mother tongue. Figure 4.2 below makes this analysis clearer.

Figure 4.2: Language to which Maithili speakers can translate



4.2.7 Understanding of the language

As all the Maithili speaking children speak only their mother tongue at home, they do have difficulties in understanding Nepali when they first go to school. Table 4.11 presents the levels of understanding of Nepali when a Maithili speaking child first goes to school.

Table 4.11: Understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school by age

N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Understand All	-	2 (13%)	-
Understand a little	6 (75%)	12 (63%)	7 (78%)
Don't understand at all	2 (25%)	2 (13%)	2 (22%)

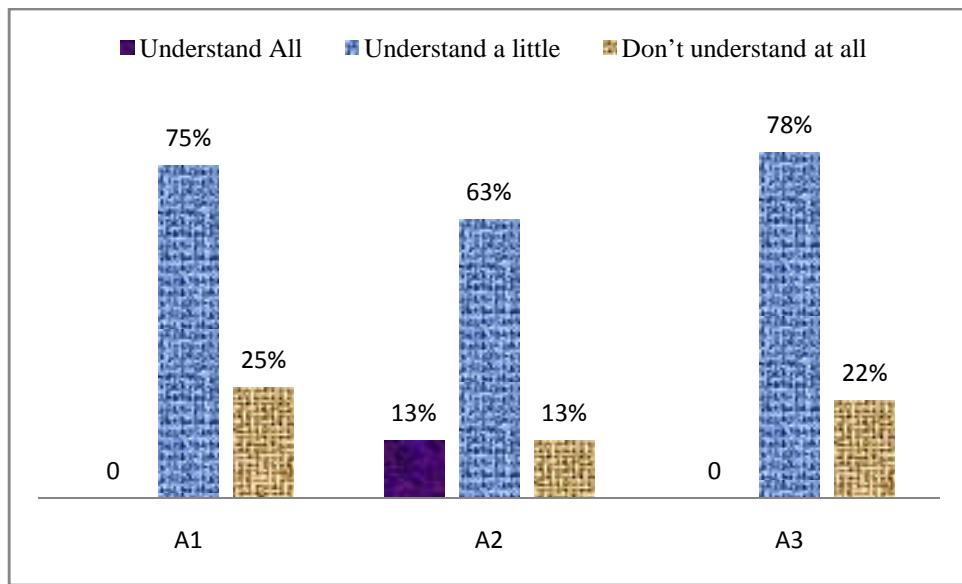
Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 4.11 shows that only 13% Maithili speakers of A2 age group respondent responded that their children can understand everything their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school. Similarly, 75% A1 respondents, 63% A2 respondents, and 78% A3 respondents said that their children understand only a little their Nepali speaking teacher when their children first go to school. Likewise, 25%

A1 respondents, 13% A2 respondents, and 22% A3 respondents said that their children don't understand at all their Nepali speaking teacher say when their children first go to school. From this analysis we can conclude that most of the Maithili speaking children understand only a little their Nepali speaking teacher when they first go to school.

This analysis can also be shown through the figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Levels of understanding of Nepali when a small child first goes to school



4.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism in Maithili speech community. All the respondents learn their own mother tongue i.e. Maithili as their first language. They are very much proficient in their mother tongue as they are all good in understanding and speaking their mother tongue. Literate Maithili speakers are good in reading and writing their mother tongue. Most the Maithili speakers are bi/multilingual as they speak their own mother tongue Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, English, Bhojpuri, and so on. Most of them have good proficiency in Hindi and Nepali languages. Only educated Maithili speakers have good proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing English. Similarly, some of the Maithili speakers responded that their family members are also bilingual in Nepali, Hindi, English, Bhojpuri, Bajjika and Sanskrit languages.

Most of the literate Maithili speakers can read and write Devnagari script and only educated speakers can read and write Roman script. Similarly, some speakers of A2 and A3 age group can also read and write Bangla, Kaithi, and Mithilakshar scripts. Similarly, most of the respondents can translate Nepali and Hindi from and to their mother tongue; and only some educated speakers can also translate English from and to their mother tongue. Likewise, most of the Maithili speakers responded that their children cannot understand everything their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION, VITALITY AND LOYALTY

5.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language transmission, vitality and loyalty. It is organized into four sections. Section 5.1 presents language transmission in Maithili. Similarly, section 5.2 deals with language vitality in Maithili and section 5.3 presents language loyalty in the Maithili speech community, and in section 5.4, we present the summary of this chapter.

5.1 Language transmission

The Maithili speech community has maintained their language transmission. The rate of shifting toward other languages is not found. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. In response to the question ‘Do all your kids speak your mother tongue (MT)?’ all the respondents responded that their children speak their mother tongue. It shows that there is 100% transmission of the Maithili from the older generation to the younger generation.

Similarly, in response to the question ‘Is language transmission of your language satisfactory in your new generation?’ all the respondents responded that language transmission of Maithili is satisfactory in their new generation. It shows that the transmission of the Maithili from the older generation to the younger generation is satisfactory.

5.2 Language vitality

In the Maithili community, all the speakers of the community use their language as mother tongue. In response to the question ‘Do you think that your language will be spoken when the young children now will grow up and get married?’ all the respondents responded that their children will speak their mother tongue, Maithili, even after they get married. Similarly, in response to the question ‘Do you think the same kids will speak your mother tongue even in old age?’ all the respondents responded that their children will speak their mother tongue even they become old.

Likewise, in response to the question ‘Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?’ Table 5.1 presents the responses provided by the respondents in the key survey point.

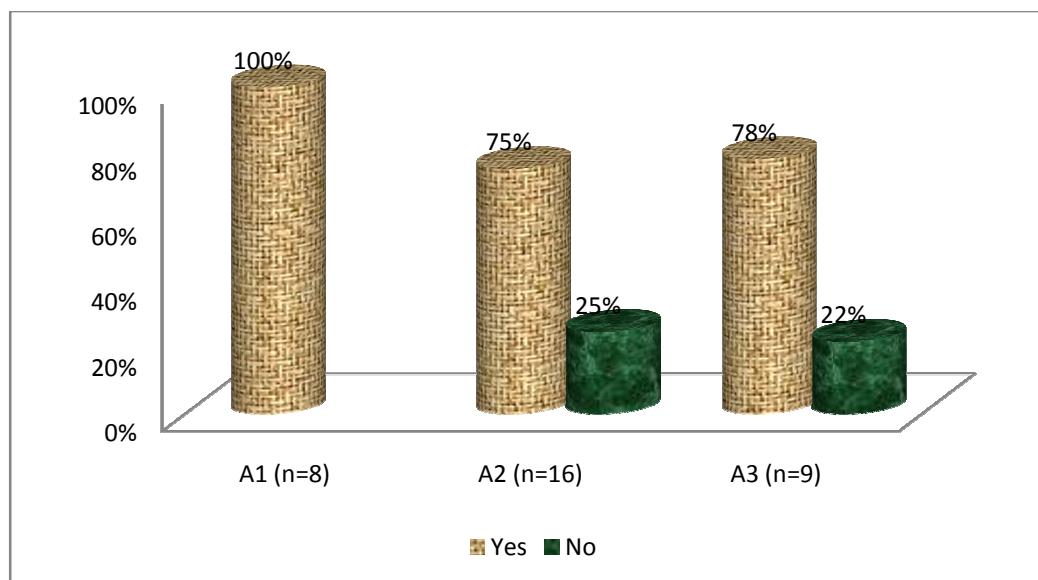
Table 5.1: The way of speaking mother tongue by the younger generation by age

N=33	'Do young people in your village/town speak your language well, the way it ought to be spoken?'	
	Yes	No
A1 (n=8)	8 (100%)	-
A2 (n=16)	12 (75%)	4 (25%)
A3 (n=9)	7 (78%)	2 (22%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 5.1 shows that all the respondents of A1 age group responded that young people in their village/town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. Similarly, out of the total A2 respondents 75% responded that young people of their village/town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken while remaining 25% said that they do not speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. Likewise, 78% respondents of A3 age group responded that young people of their village/town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken while remaining 22% said that they do not speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. Figure 5.1 makes this analysis much clearer.

Figure 5.1: The way of speaking mother tongue by the younger generation



5.3 Language loyalty

In response to the question ‘Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?’ Table 5.2 presents the responses of the Maithili mother tongue speakers from the key survey points.

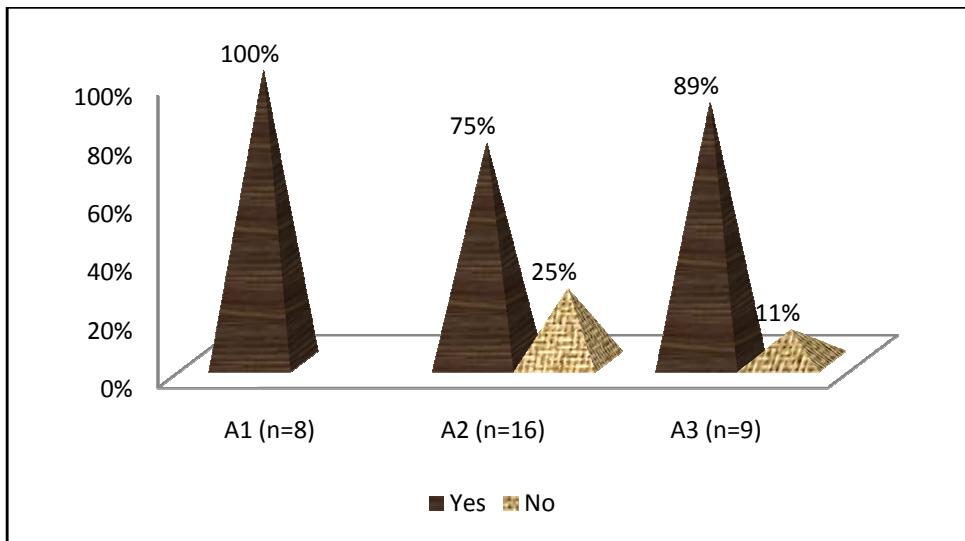
Table 5.2: Acceptance of the speakers when the left speaking their MT by age

N=33	Do you recognize a native speaker of your language even if s/he has stopped speaking the native language?	
	Accept	Don't accept
A1 (n=8)	8 (100%)	
A2 (n=16)	12 (75%)	4 (25%)
A3 (n=9)	8 (89%)	1 (11%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 5.2 shows that all the A1 respondents i.e. 100% responded that they accept the mother tongue speakers to those who have left speaking their mother tongue. Similarly, out of the total A2 respondents 75% said that they accept the mother tongue speakers to those who have left speaking their mother tongue, whereas other 25% said that they do not accept mother tongue speakers to those who have left speaking their mother tongue. In the same way, 89% of the total A3 respondents said that they accept the mother tongue speakers to those who have left speaking their mother tongue while 11% do not. This analysis can also be shown through Figure 5.2 below to make it more explicit.

Figure 5.2: Recognition of Maithili speakers even they the left speaking their MT



Similarly, in response to the question 'How do you feel when your language community left speaking your MT? Table 5.3 presents the responses provided by the Maithili mother tongue speakers in the key survey point.

Table 5.3: Feeling of the Maithili speakers when their speech community left speaking MT by age

N=33	How do you feel when you hear young people of your own community speaking other languages instead of their first language?	
	Good	Bad
A1 (n=8)	-	8 (100%)
A2 (n=16)	-	16 (100%)
A3 (n=9)	-	9 (100%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 5.6 shows that all the respondents of Maithili speech community feel bad when they hear young people of their own speech community speaking other languages instead of their first language. Likewise, in response to the question 'Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?' all the respondents including A1, A2, and A3 responded that they encourage the younger generation of their speech community to speak their native language.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have presented language transmission, vitality, and loyalty of the Maithili language. The Maithili speech community is seen to have maintained their language transmission. The rate of shifting toward other languages is not found. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue. There is 100% transmission of the Maithili language from the older generation to the younger generation. All the respondents responded that their children will speak their mother tongue, Maithili, even after they get married; and even they become old. The young people in their village/town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken. They also accept the mother tongue speakers to those who have left speaking their mother tongue and only a few respondents responded that they do not accept mother tongue speakers to those who have left speaking their mother tongue. They feel bad when they hear young people of their own speech community speaking other languages instead of their first language. They also encourage the younger generation of their speech community to speak their native language.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language maintenance and shift. It consists of three sections. Section 6.1 presents language spoken in the childhood by Maithili speakers. Similarly, in section 6.2, we present the situation of other languages at their home. Likewise, section 6.3 presents the summary this chapter.

6.1 Language spoken in the childhood

In response to the question ‘What languages did you speak in your childhood?’ Table 6.1 presents the responses provided by the Maithili speakers in the key survey point.

Table 6.1: Languages spoken by Maithili speakers in their childhood by age

<i>What languages did you speak when you were a child?</i>		Maithili	Maithili/Nepali	Maithili/Hindi	Nepali
A1(8)	At home	8 (100%)	-	-	-
	With friends	5 (63%)	3 (37%)	-	-
	With neighbors	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	-	-
A2 (16)	At home	16 (100%)	-	-	-
	With friends	12 (75%)	1 (6%)	2 (13%)	1 (6%)
	With neighbors	14 (88%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	-
A3 (9)	At home	9 (100%)	-	-	-
	With friends	7 (78%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	-
	With neighbors	9 (100%)	-	-	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 6.1 shows that all the A1 respondents of Maithili speech community used only their mother tongue at home in their childhood. Similarly, 63% respondents of this age group used their mother tongue with their friends and 37% used both their mother tongue and Nepali with their friends. Likewise, 75% respondent of this age group used Maithili with their neighbors, and 25% used both their mother tongue and Nepali with their neighbors in their childhood.

Similarly, all the A2 respondents of Maithili speech community used only their mother tongue at home in their childhood. Likewise, 75% respondents used their mother tongue, Maithili, with their friends, 6% used both Maithili and Nepali, 13% used both Maithili and Hindi, and 6% used only Nepali with their friends in their childhood. Similarly, 88% Maithili respondents used their mother tongue with their neighbors in their childhood, 6% used both Maithili and Nepali, and 6% used both Maithili and Hindi languages. Likewise, all the respondents of A3 age group used only their mother tongue at home and with their neighbors in their childhood. Similarly, 78% speakers of A3 age group used Maithili with their friends, 11% used both Maithili and Nepali, and 11% used both Maithili and Hindi languages with their friends in their childhood.

6.2 Use of other languages at home

Table 6.2 presents the responses provided to the question 'Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?' by the Maithili speakers from the key survey points.

Table 6.2: Use of other languages at home by age

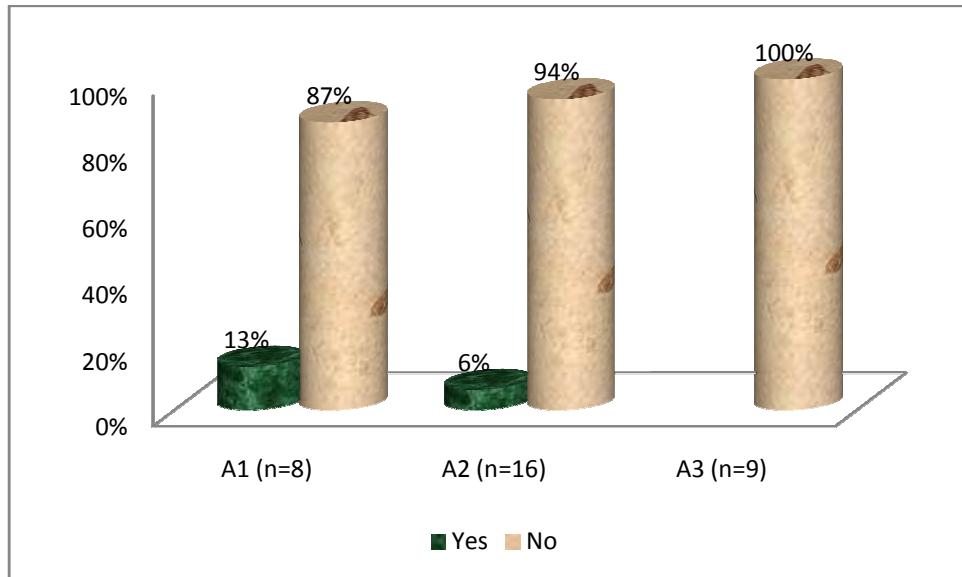
N=33	Is the use of language other than mother tongue increasing at home?	
	Yes	No
A1 (n=8)	1 (13%)	7 (87%)
A2 (n=16)	1 (6%)	15 (94%)
A3 (n=9)	-	9 (100%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 6.2 shows that out of the total A1 and A2 age groups respondents only one respondent responded that use of the language other than mother tongue is increasing at home whereas 87% respondents said that use of the language other than mother tongue is not increasing at their home. Similarly, 94% respondents of A2 age group said that use of the language other than their mother tongue is not increasing at their home. Likewise, all the respondents of A3 age group said that the use of language

other than mother tongue is not increasing at home. Figure 6.1 makes this analysis more explicit.

Figure 6.1: Use of other languages at home by age?



Similarly, Table 6.3 presents the likeness of the children's learning/studying in their mother tongue.

Table 6.3: Likeness of the children's learning/studying in mother tongue by age

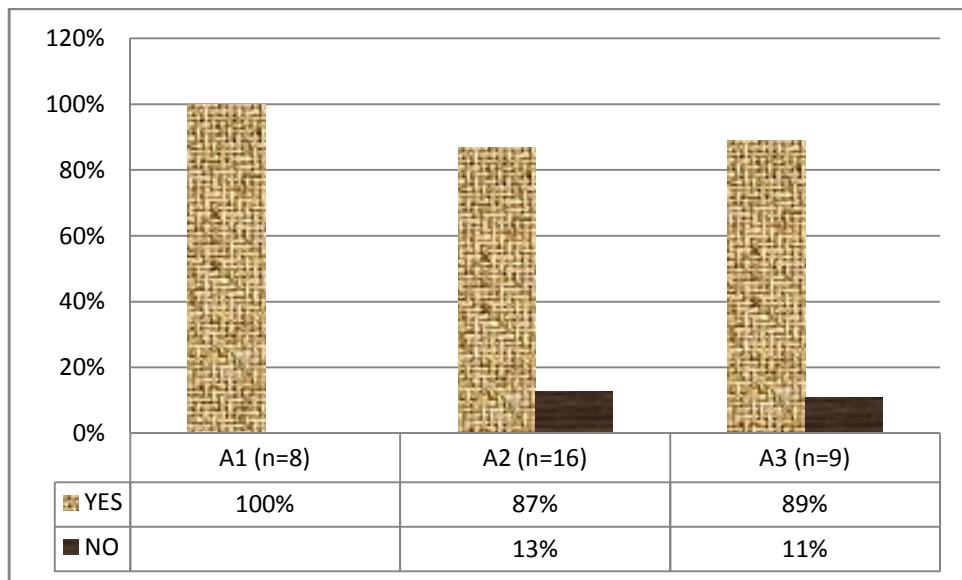
N=33	Do you like your children learn/study in mother tongue?	
	YES	NO
A1 (n=8)	8 (100%)	-
A2 (n=16)	14 (87%)	2 (13%)
A3 (n=9)	8 (89%)	1 (11%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 6.3 shows that all the respondents of A1 age group in Maithili speech community want to educate their children through their mother tongue, Maithili. Similarly, 87% respondents of A2 age group like their children's learn/study in their mother tongue whereas remaining 13% respondents of this group responded that they do not like their children learn/study in their mother tongue. Similarly, 89% respondents of A3 age group like their children's learn/study in their mother tongue

and the remaining 11% do not want their children to educate through their mother tongue. This analysis can also be shown through the figure 6.2 to make it clearer.

Figure 6.2: Likeness of the children's learning/studying in mother tongue



6.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed language maintenance and shift in Maithili speech community. Most of the respondents of Maithili speech community used only their mother tongue at home, with their friends, and in their neighborhood in their childhood whereas some of the respondents said they used Nepali and Hindi with their friends and neighbors in their childhood. Use of the language other than mother tongue is not increasing at home. Most of the Maithili speakers want to educate their children through their mother tongue, Maithili and only a few respondents said that they do not like their children learn/study in their mother tongue.

CHAPTER 7

CODE MIXING

7.0 Outline

Chapter 7 deals with code mixing in the Maithili language in general. It consists of 3 sections. Section 7.1 presents code mixing in the Maithili language and section 7.2 deals with differences in the use of language between two generations in Maithili speech community. Similarly in section 7.3, we present the summary of this chapter.

7.1 Code mixing in Maithili

Maithili mother tongue speakers generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue. In response to the question 'Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?' Table 7.1 presents responses provided by the Maithili mother tongue speakers in the key survey points.

Table 7.1: Code mixing/code switching while speaking Maithili by age

N=33	Do you generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking your language?		
	Yes	No	Don't care
A1 (n=8)	7 (87%)	1 (13%)	-
A2 (n=16)	9 (56%)	6 (38%)	1 (6%)
A3 (n=9)	5 (56%)	3 (33%)	1 (11%)

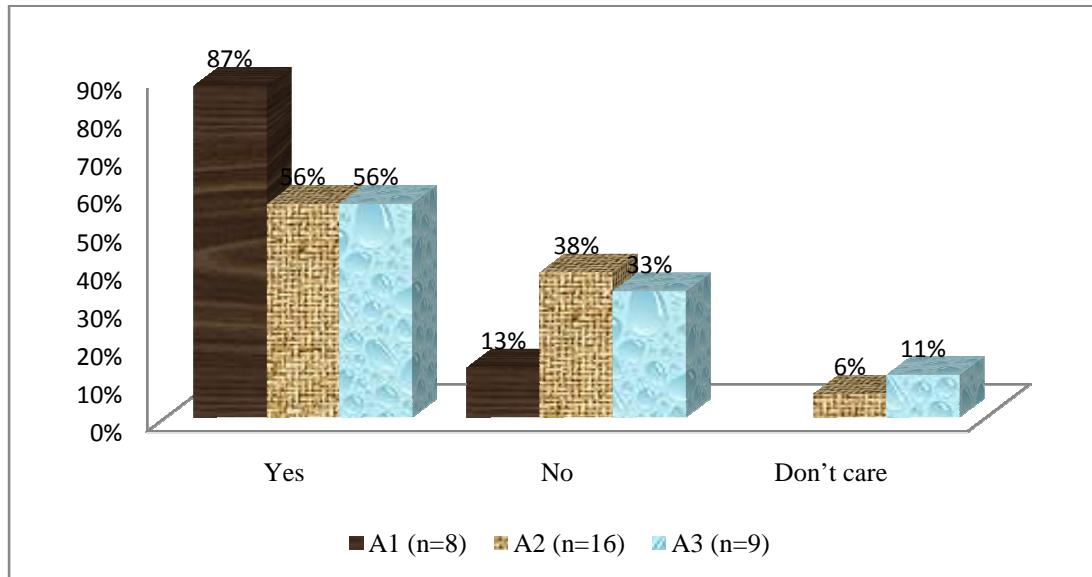
Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 7.1 shows that out of the total A1 respondents of Maithili speech community 88% responded that they generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue and only 13% said that they do not mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language.

Similarly, 56% respondents of A2 age group said that they generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language whereas 38% responded that they do not generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue and 6% responded that they do not care whether they mix/switch to other languages or

not. Likewise, 56% respondents of A3 age group generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue whereas 33% do not mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue, and 11% responded that they do not care whether they mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue. Figure 7.1 makes it more explicit.

Figure 7.1: Code mixing/code switching while speaking Maithili by age



The reasons behind why they mix/switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue are presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Reasons for code mixing/code switching to other languages by age

N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages	7 (88%)	2 (13%)	2 (22%)
It is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages	5 (63%)	3 (19%)	2 (22%)
It is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/words from other languages	1 (13%)	4 (25%)	3 (33%)
Others	-	5 (31%)	4 (44%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 7.2 shows that out of the total respondents from Maithili speech community, 88% A1, 13% A2, and 22% A3 speakers responded that they mix/switch to other languages because appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages than their mother tongue. Similarly, 63% A1, 19% A2, and 22% A3 respondents replied that they mix or switch to other languages because it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages. Likewise, 13% speakers of A1 age group, 25% of A2, and 33% of A3 age group responded that they mix or switch to other languages because it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/ words from other languages. Similarly, 31% A2 and 44% A3 respondents responded that there are other reasons for which they mix or switch to other languages.

Similarly, in response to the question ‘How do you think about mixing words from other languages?’ Table 7.3 presents the responses provided by the responds from the key survey point.

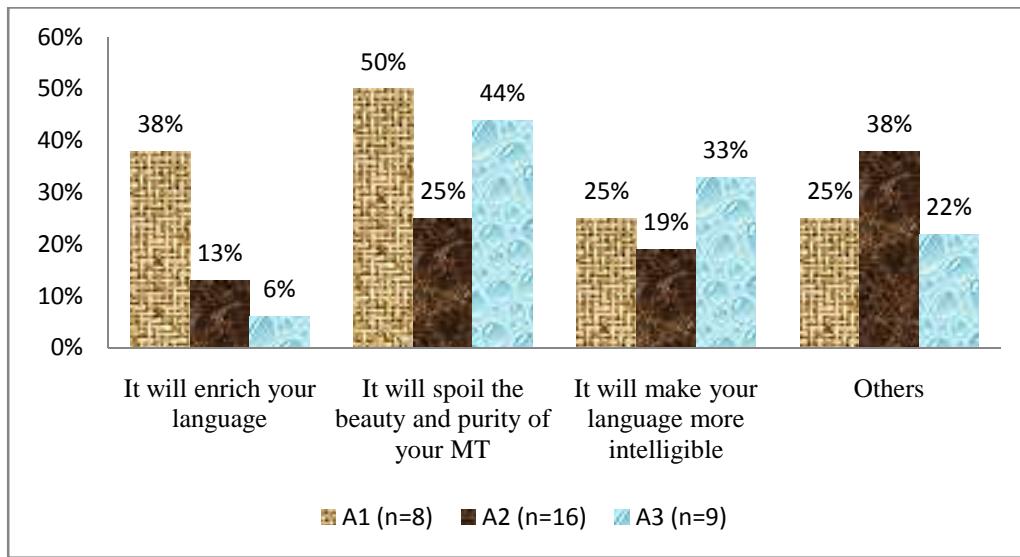
Table 7.3: Thinking about mixing words from other languages by age

N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
It will enrich your language	3 (38%)	1 (13%)	1 (6%)
It will spoil the beauty and purity of your MT	4 (50%)	4 (25%)	4 (44%)
It will make your language more intelligible	2 (25%)	3 (19%)	3 (33%)
Others	2 (25%)	6 (38%)	2 (22%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 7.3 shows that out of the total respondents 38% A1, 13% A2, and 6% A3 responded that they think mixing words from other languages will enrich their language whereas 50% A1, 25% A2, and 44% A3 respondents think that it will spoil the beauty and purity of their mother tongue. Similarly, 25% respondents of A1 age group, 19% of A2 age group, and 33% of A3 age group think that mixing words from other languages will make their language more intelligible, and 25% respondents of A1 age group, 38% of A2 age group, and 22% of A3 age group think that there are some other effects to the language. This analysis can also be shown through the figure 7.2 below to make it more explicit.

Figure 7.2: Thinking about mixing words from other languages



Similarly, Table 7.4 presents the responses to the question ‘Do your children mix other languages more than you do?’ provided by Maithili mother tongue speakers in the key survey points.

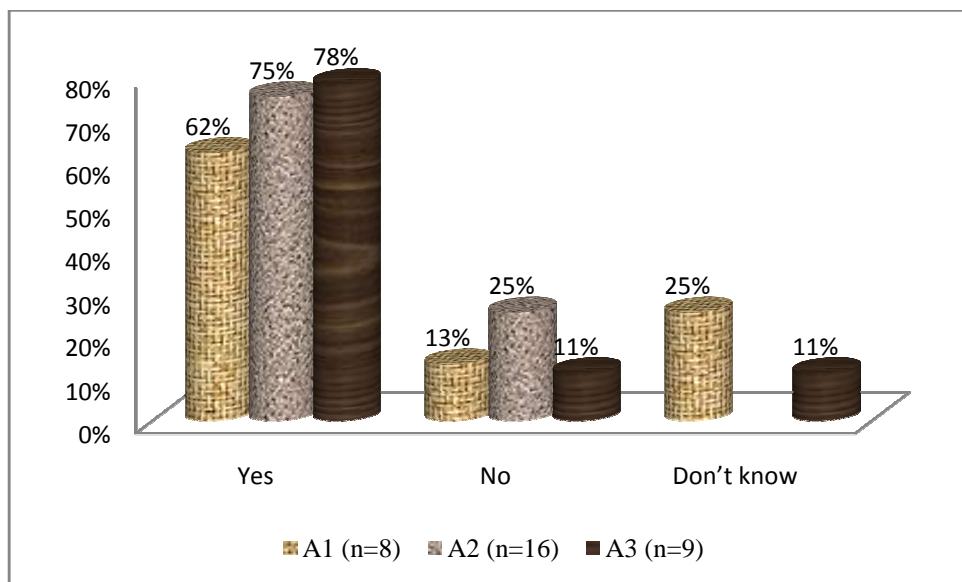
Table 7.4: Mixing of other language by the children by age

N=33	Do your children mix other languages more than you do?		
	Yes	No	Don't know
A1 (n=8)	5 (62%)	1 (13%)	2 (25%)
A2 (n=16)	12 (75%)	4 (25%)	-
A3 (n=9)	7 (78%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 7.4 shows that out of the total respondents 65% A1, 75% A2, and 78% A3 speakers responded that their children mix other languages more than they do. Similarly, 13% A1, 25% A2, and 11% A3 Maithili respondents said that their children do not mix other languages more than they do. Likewise, 25% A1 and 11% A3 speakers responded that they do not know whether their children mix other languages more than they do or not. This analysis can also be shown through Figure 7.3 to make it much clearer.

Figure 7.3: Mixing of other language by the children by age



7.2 Differences in the use of language between two generations

In response to the question 'Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?' Table 7.5 presents the responses provided by the mother tongue Maithili speakers in the key survey points.

Table 7.5: Differences between the languages spoken by two generations by age

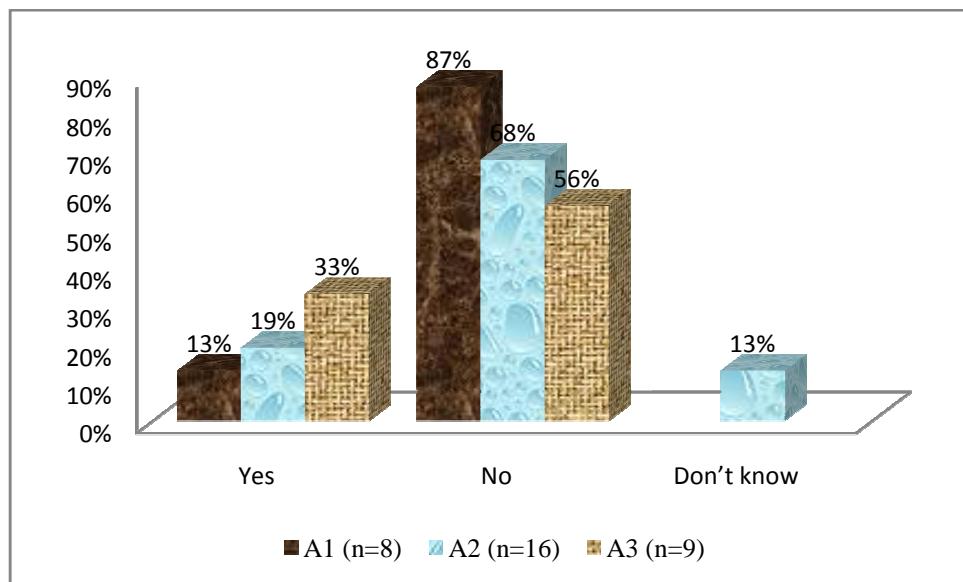
N=33	Do you think that the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?		
	Yes	No	Don't know
A1 (n=8)	1 (13%)	7 (87%)	-
A2 (n=16)	3 (19%)	11 (68%)	2 (13%)
A3 (n=9)	3 (33%)	5 (56%)	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 7.5 shows that out of the total respondents of Maithili speech community 13% A1 age group speakers, 9% A2 group speakers, and 33% A3 group speakers think that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents. Similarly, 87% A1 respondents, 68% A2 respondents, and 56% A3 respondents think that the language spoken by them is not different from their grandparents; and only 13 % A2

respondents said they do not know whether there are differences between the language spoken by them and their grandparents. Figure 7.4 makes this analysis more explicit.

Figure 7.4: Differences between the languages spoken by two generations by age



Regarding the responses in Table 7.5, 'If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?' Table 7.6 presents the responses provided by the Maithili speakers in the key survey points.

Table 7.6: The ways of differences in language between two generations by age

<i>If yes, how do you think the language spoken by you is different from your grandparents?</i>			
N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Pronunciation	-	2 (13%)	5 (56%)
Vocabulary	1 (13%)	2 (13%)	3 (33%)
Use of specific type of sentences	-	1 (6%)	3 (33%)
Mixing of other languages	-	2 (13%)	3 (33%)
Way of speaking	-	-	2 (22%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 7.6 shows that out of the total respondents from Maithili speech community who said that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents, 13% speakers of A1 age group responded that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents is different in the use of vocabulary. Similarly, 13% respondents of A2 age group said that the differentiation is in pronunciation, in the use of vocabulary, and in mixing of other languages; and 6% responded that their language varies in the use of specific types of sentences.

Likewise, 56% A3 respondents said that their language is different from their grandparents in pronunciation whereas 33% speakers of this group responded that their language varies from their parents in terms of using vocabulary, using of specific type of sentences, and mixing or other languages. Similarly, 22% respondents of A3 age group said that their language differentiate from their grandparents in terms of the way of speaking.

7.3 Summary

This chapter dealt with code mixing in Maithili. Most of the Maithili speakers generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue only a few respondents said that they do not mix or switch to other languages while speaking their language. They mix or switch to other languages because appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages than their mother tongue, it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages, it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/ words from other languages, and there are other reasons for which they mix or switch to other languages. There are mix responses from the respondents about code mixing. They think mixing words from other languages will enrich their language, it will spoil the beauty and purity of their mother tongue, mixing words from other languages will make their language more intelligible, and there are some other effects to the language. Maithili children mix other languages more than the older generation do. Only a few respondents said that the language spoken by them is different from their grandparents. The language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in the use of vocabulary, in pronunciation, in the use of vocabulary, in mixing of other languages, and in the use of specific types of sentences.

CHAPTER 8

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with language attitude of the Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue. It consists of seven sections. Section 8.1 deals with the usefulness of Maithili against other languages. Similarly, in section 8.2, we present the feeling of the Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue and in the section 8.3, we present the problem of the Maithili speakers because of being a native speaker of Maithili. Likewise, section 8.4 deals with feelings about children's marriage with non-Maithili speakers. In section 8.5, we present the language used by the children of the present children and in section 8.6, we present the first language their children should speak first and in section 8.7, we summarize the major findings of the language.

8.1 Usefulness of Maithili against other languages

Maithili is one of the very rich languages among the languages of Nepal. Maithili speakers have positive attitude towards their language. In response to the question, "How do you feel about your mother tongue against other tongues?" Table 8.1 presents the responses of Maithili speakers from the key survey points.

Table 8.1: Feeling of Maithili speakers towards their language against other languages by age

N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Rich	6 (75%)	13 (81%)	7 (78%)
Precise	6 (75%)	13 (81%)	6 (67%)
Sweet	6 (75%)	13 (81%)	6 (67%)
Musical	6 (75%)	12 (75%)	6 (67%)
Prestigious	5 (61%)	10 (63%)	7 (78%)
Literary	6 (75%)	9 (56%)	5 (56%)
Pure	7 (87%)	12 (75%)	7 (78%)
Powerful	3 (37%)	4 (25%)	5 (56%)
Ancient	7 (87%)	12 (75%)	7 (78%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.1 shows that out of the total Maithili respondents 75% respondents of A1 age group responded that their mother tongue Maithili is rich, precise, sweet, musical, and literary in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 61% Maithili speakers said that their language is more prestigious in comparison to other languages. Likewise, 87% respondents responded that their language is pure and ancient in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 81% Maithili speakers of A2 age group responded that their mother tongue is pure, precise, and sweet in comparison to other languages; and 75% respondents of this age group said that their language is musical, pure, and ancient in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 63% said that their language is prestigious, 56% said that their language is literary, and 25% said that their language is powerful in comparison to other languages.

Likewise, 78% respondents of A3 age group responded that their mother tongue, Maithili is rich, prestigious, pure, and ancient in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 67% respondents of this age group said that their language is precise, sweet, and musical; and 56% responded that their language is literary and powerful in comparison to other languages.

Maithili is very much useful against other languages in the context of Tarai. In course of study most of the Maithili speakers responded that their language is useful against other languages in doing business, social mobility, literature, and medium of instruction. In response to the question 'How do you consider your mother tongue useful against other tongues in following terms?' Table 8.2 presents the responses provided by the Maithili mother tongue speakers in the key survey points.

Table 8.2: Usefulness of Maithili against other languages by age

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Jobs	2 (25%)	3 (19%)	1 (11%)
Business	6 (75%)	13 (81%)	5 (56%)
Social mobility	7 (87%)	12 (75%)	4 (44%)
Literature	6 (75%)	14 (87%)	6 (67%)
Medium of instruction	3 (37%)	5 (31%)	2 (22%)
Science and Technology	1 (13%)	2 (13%)	
Don't know	2 (25%)	6 (38%)	3 (33%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.2 shows that out of the total respondents of the Maithili speech community 25% A1 speakers, 19% A2 speakers, and 11% A3 speakers responded that their mother tongue, Maithili is useful against other languages in getting jobs. Similarly, 75% respondents of A1 age group, 81% of A2 age group, and 56% of A3 age group responded that their language is useful against other languages in business.

Likewise, 87% A1, 75% A2 and 44% A3 respondents responded that their mother tongue, Maithili is useful against other languages in terms of social mobility. Similarly, 75% A1, 87% A2, and 67% A3 speakers responded that their mother tongue is useful against other languages in terms of literature. In the same way, 37% A1, 31% A2, and 22% A3 respondents said that their language is useful against other languages as it is used as medium of instruction in education. Similarly, 13% both A1 and A2 respondents said that their mother tongue is useful against other tongues in terms of science and technology. Similarly, 25% A1, 38% A2, and 33% A3 respondents said that they do not have idea about the usefulness of language against other languages.

8.2 Feeling of Maithili speakers towards their mother tongue

In general, Maithili speakers have very positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. In response to the question ‘When you speak your mother tongue in the presence of the speaker of the dominant language what do you feel?’ Table 8.3 presents the responses of Maithili speakers of the key survey points.

Table 8.3: Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence the dominant languages speakers

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Prestigious	7 (87%)	12 (75%)	6 (67%)
Embarrassed	-	-	-
Neutral	1 (13%)	4 (25%)	3 (33%)

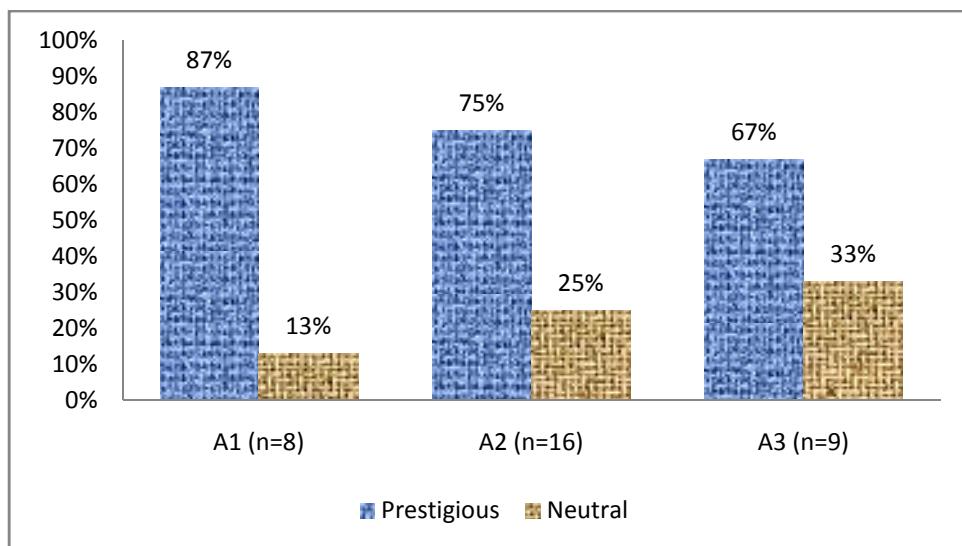
Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.3 shows that out of the total respondents 87% respondents of A1 age group, 75% of A2 age group, and 67% of A3 age group responded that they feel prestigious

when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. Similarly, 13% A1, 25% A2, and 33% A3 respondents responded that they neither feel prestigious nor embarrassed i.e. they are neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages.

Figure 8.1 can present the feeling of Maithili speakers while speaking their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages.

Figure 8.1 Feeling of speaking mother tongue in the presence the dominant languages speakers



8.3 Problem because of being a native speaker of Maithili

In response to the question “Have you ever had any problem because of being a native speaker of your mother tongue?” the Maithili native speakers have provided the responses as presented in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Maithili

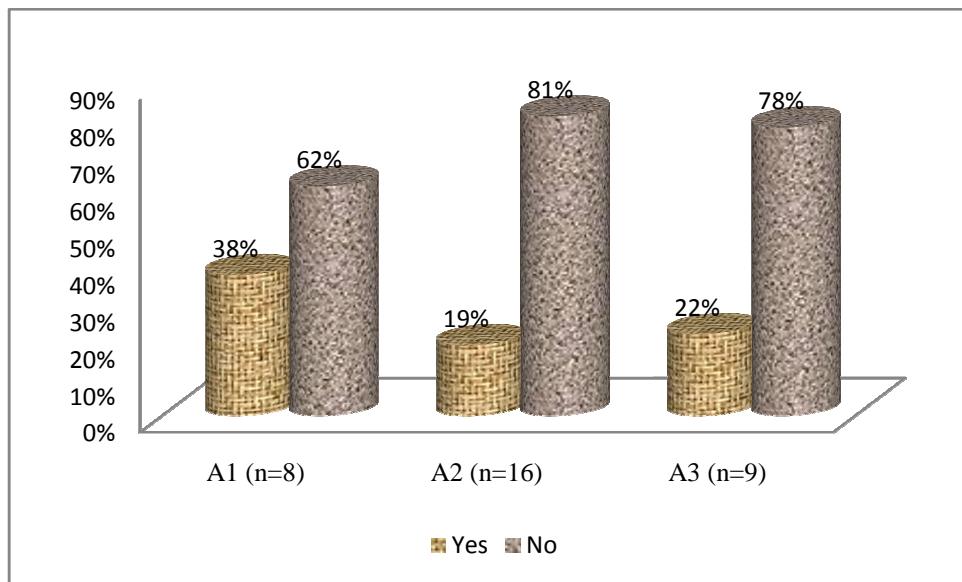
	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Yes	3 (38%)	3 (19%)	2 (22%)
No	5 (62%)	13 (81%)	7 (78%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.4 shows that 38% respondents of A1 age group, 19% of A2 age group, and 22% of A3 age group responded that they had problems because of being the native

speaker of their mother tongue/first language whereas remaining 62% respondents of A1 age group, 81% of A2 age group, and 78% of A3 age group said they did not have problems because of being the native speakers of their mother tongue/first language. This can also be shown through the figure 8.2 below.

Figure 8.2: Having problems because of being a native speaker of Maithili by age



Similarly, in response to the question ‘If yes, what kinds of problems have you ever had?’ based on the table 8.3 most of the respondents said that they have faced social discrimination, political discrimination, economical discrimination, hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure, and economic pressure, psychological pressure, and problems government offices.

8.4 Feeling about children’s marriage with non-Maithili speakers

Maithili speakers do not like their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue. Regarding the question, ‘Would you like your son or daughter to marry someone who does not know your language?’ all the respondents of Maithili speech community responded that they do not like their son or daughter to marry someone who does not know their mother tongue.

8.5 Grandchildren’s language

Maithili speakers are positive towards their language and culture. Most of the Maithili speakers said that their grandchildren will speak their language. Table 8.5 presents the responses in the key survey points regarding the question ‘When the children of your

village grow up and have children do you think those children might speak your language?"

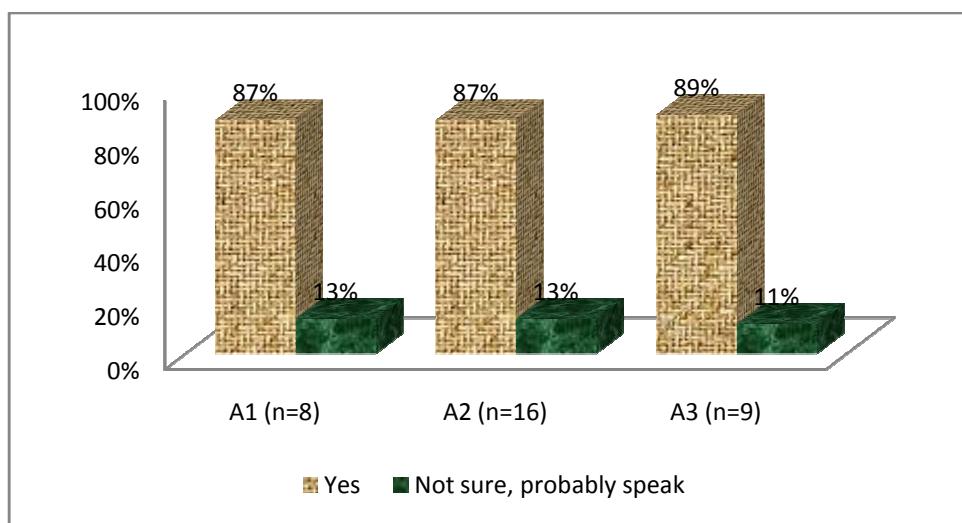
Table 8.5: Projection of language spoken by the children of the present Maithili by age children

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Yes	7 (87%)	14 (87%)	8 (89%)
Not sure, probably speak	1 (13%)	2 (13%)	1 (11%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.5 shows that out of the total participants 87% respondents of A1 and A2 age group, and 89% of A3 age group said that when the present children of their village/town grow up and have children they think that those children might speak their language. Similarly, 13% speakers of A1 age group, 13% of A2 age group, and 11% of A3 age group responded that they are not sure whether those children will speak their mother tongue and also said that probably the those children will speak their mother tongue. This analysis can also be shown through the figure 8.3 below.

Figure 8.3: Language spoken by the children of the present Maithili children



Similarly, regarding the question, "If yes, how do you feel about this?" all the respondents responded that they feel good if those children will speak their language. This shows that Maithili speakers are very much positive towards their language.

8.6 First language of the children

Since Maithili speakers have positive attitudes towards their language, they said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Maithili, first. In response to the question “What language should your children speak first?” all the Maithili respondents said that their children should speak their own mother tongue first.

Similarly, in response to the question ‘What are the two languages the first language people speak most?’ Table 8.6 presents the responses of the language participants in the key survey points in Maithili.

Table 8.6: The two languages the Maithili speaking people speak most by age

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Maithili+Nepali	5 (61%)	8 (50%)	4 (44%)
Maithili+ Hindi	1 (13%)	3 (19%)	2 (22%)
Maithili+English	1 (13%)	2 (13%)	
Maithili only	1 (13%)	3 (19%)	3 (33%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.6 shows that out of the total respondents of Maithili speech community, 61% A1 speakers, 50% A2 speakers, and 44% A3 speakers responded that Maithili and Nepali are the two languages that the first language people speak most. Similarly, 13% respondents of A1 age group, 19% of A2 age group, and 22% of A3 age group responded that the first language people speak Maithili and Hindi languages most. Likewise, 13% both A1 and A2 speakers responded that Maithili and English are the two languages that Maithili speaking people speak most. Similarly, 13% respondents of A1 age group, 19% of A2 age group, and 33% of A3 age group responded that the first language people speak only their mother tongue, Maithili.

Maithili speakers have positive attitude towards their language as most of the speakers responded that they love their own mother tongue most. In response to the question ‘Among the languages that you speak, which one do you love the most?’ Table 8.7 presents the responses provided by Maithili speakers in the key survey points.

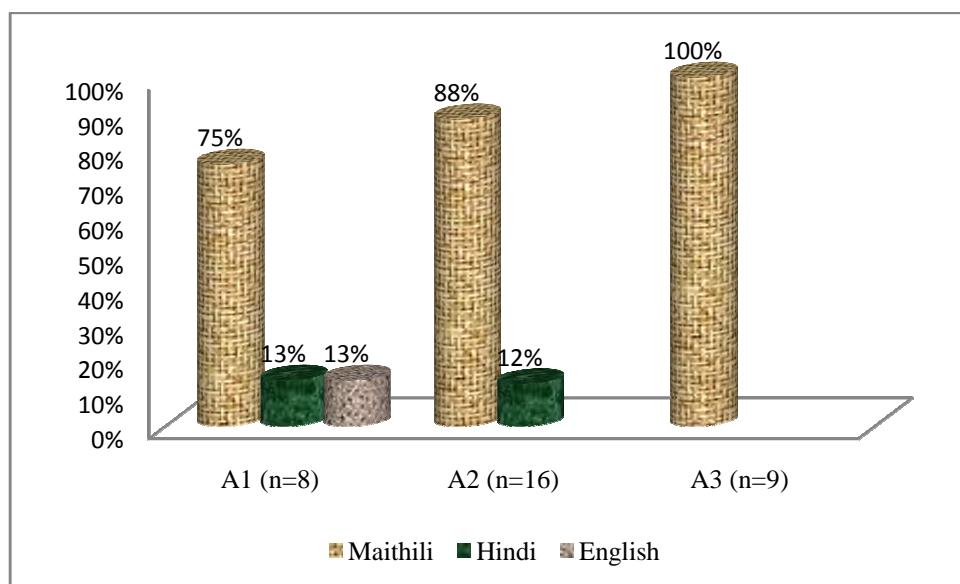
Table 8.7: Language/s Maithili speakers love the most

	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Maithili	6 (75%)	14 (88%)	9 (100%)
Hindi	1 (13%)	2 (12%)	-
English	1 (13%)	-	-

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 8.7 shows that out of the total respondents from the Maithili speech community, 75% of A1 age group, 88% of A2 age group, and 100% of A3 age group responded that among the languages that they speak, they love Maithili, their mother tongue most. Similarly, 13% A1, and 12% A2 respondents responded that among the languages they speak, they love Hindi the most and only one respondent from A1 age love the English language most. This analysis can also be shown through the figure 8.4 below to make it more explicit.

Figure 8.4: Language/s Maithili speakers love the most



8.7 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the attitude of the Maithili speakers towards their language. Most of the Maithili speakers said that their mother tongue, Maithili is rich, precise, sweet, musical, more prestigious, pure, ancient, literary and powerful in

comparison to other languages. Maithili is very much useful against other languages in the context of Tarai. In course of study most of the Maithili speakers responded that their language is useful against other languages in doing business, social mobility, literature, and medium of instruction; and a few respondents said that they do not have idea about the usefulness of language against other languages. Most of the Maithili speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages and only very few respondents said that they neither feel prestigious nor embarrassed i.e. they are neutral when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages. Only a few respondents said that they had problems because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue/first language and the problems they faces are social discrimination, political discrimination, economical discrimination, hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure, and economic pressure, psychological pressure, and problems government offices. Maithili speakers do not like their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue.

Most of the Maithili speakers said that when the present children of their village/town grow up and have children they think that those children might speak their language and all the respondents responded that they feel good if those children will speak their language. They said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Maithili, first. Majority of Maithili speakers said that Maithili and Nepali are the two languages that the first language people speak most. Similarly, some of the respondents said that the first language people speak Maithili and Hindi languages most. Among the languages that they speak, they love Maithili, their mother tongue most and some of the respondents responded that they love Hindi the most and only one respondent from A1 age love the English language most.

CHAPTER 9

LANGUAGE RESOURCES AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

9.0 Outline

This chapter presents the situation of language resources and examines the views about language development in Maithili. It consists of four sections. Section 9.1 presents the language resources available in Maithili. In section 9.2, we examine appreciative inquiry which includes the good things in the language that make them feel proud of, and views/dreams about language development in Maithili speech community. Similarly, section 9.3 presents the involvement of the people for the development of Maithili language. In section 9.4, we discuss preservation and promotion of the Maithili language. In section 9.5, we present the summary of the findings of this chapter.

9.1 Language resources

The resources available in the Maithili include oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc), script, phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines, films, telefilms, CD/DVD, written literature etc. All preliterate people reported that language resources available in Maithili are oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc), films, telefilms, CD/DVD. Similarly, some respondents reported that there are books, newspapers, magazines and written materials in Maithili. But they have not seen them yet. Likewise, most of the literate people responded that all the resources mentioned above are available in the Maithili language and only a few literate people express their view that they do not know about the script and phonemic inventory available in their language. Table 9.1 presents the availability of organizations working for the preservation and promotion of the knowledge and use of Maithili.

Table 9.1: Organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Maithili

<i>Is there any kind of organization or body which promotes the knowledge and/ or use of the language?</i>			
N=33	A1 (n=8)	A2 (n=16)	A3 (n=9)
Yes	4 (50%)	9 (56%)	5 (56%)
No	2 (25%)	3 (19%)	2 (22%)
Don't know	2 (25%)	4 (25%)	2 (22%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 9.1 shows that out of total Maithili respondents 50% A1, 56% A2, and 56% A3 speakers said that there are some organizations to promote the knowledge and use of Maithili whereas 25% A1 speakers, 19% A2 speakers, and 22% A3 speakers responded that there is not any organization for the promotion of Maithili language and culture. Similarly, 25% A1 speakers, 25% A2 speakers, and 22% A3 speakers said that they do not have any idea whether there are organizations to promote the knowledge and use of their language or not.

There are some organizations or bodies which promotes the knowledge and/or use of the Maithili language. Some of them are Nepal Maithil Samaj, Kathmandu; Mithila Natya Kala Parisad, Janakpur; Akriti, Janakpur; Ramanand Yuba Club, Janakpur; Maithili Academy, Janakpur; Maithili Janasewa Kendrs, Saptari; Maithili Sahitya Parishad, Rajbiraj; and Purbanchal Maithili Yuba Sanjal, Biratnagar. These organizations perform cultural, social, and linguistic activities.

9.2 Appreciative inquiry

In the survey, a participatory tool known as appreciative inquiry was used in all key survey points. The main purpose of this tool was to gather information about the dreams and aspirations of the Maithili speech community members for the development of their language and culture. It was conducted in each point in a group of participants of different demographic categories of age, sex, and educational status. The participants in each key point were asked to describe things that made them feel happy or proud of their language or culture. In response to the question “What are the

things in your language that make you feel proud of?" Table 9.2 presents the responses of the Maithili speakers in the key survey points.

Table 9.2: Things in Maithili that make the speakers feel happy or proud

<i>What are the things in your language that make you feel proud of?</i>	N=50
Rich and precise	22 (44%)
Sweet in comparison to other languages	40 (80%)
Musical	29 (58%)
Prestigious and pure	22 (44%)
Literary in comparison to other languages	31 (62%)
Ancient	32 (64%)
Powerful	22 (44%)
Grammars	4 (8%)
Script	2 (4%)
World famous Maithila painting	3 (6%)
Easy to communicate	4 (8%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 9.2 shows that out of the total respondents of the Maithili speech community, 44% responded that they feel proud of being the native speakers of their mother tongue, Maithili as it is a rich and precise language; prestigious and pure language; and also powerful language in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 80% Maithili speakers responded that they feel proud of their language as it is sweet in comparison to other languages, and 58% responded that their language is musical. Likewise, 62% Maithili respondents said that they feel happy and proud because their language literary and 64% responded that their language is ancient in comparison to other languages. Similarly, 8% respondents responded that they feel proud and happy because there are grammars in their language and their language is easy to communicate. Similarly, 4% Maithili respondents said that they feel proud and happy because there is a separate script for writing their language, and 6% responded that there are world famous Mithila paintings that express their language and culture.

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



Photograph 9.1: Participation of Maithili speakers in appreciative inquiry in Siraha

Similarly, in response to the question “What are the dreams for your mother tongue or how you could make your language even better?” they responded that their dreams for the development of their mother tongue, Maithili are: language development, globalization, should be used in administration, language promotion, everybody should speak, should be used in media, language preservation, richness, dignity, popularity, language improvement, should be used as the medium of instruction in primary level of education, standard grammar and dictionary, book publication,

language equity, province on the basis of the Maithili language, film making, museum, employment, national language identity, should be used in Public Service Commission examination, organizations, establishment of research centre, preservation of Maithili folk literature, etc.

9.3 Involvement of the people

To materialize their dreams there are the involvement of different organizations and authorities.

कैं जनै	कस्ले जनै	काहिले शुद्ध जनै
१) पछा पाइ	← सरकार + सामुदाय	→ तत्कालैष्ट
२) मैथिली संस्थानी विकास	← सरकार	→ दुई महिना पछि
३) जनचैतनाको उचारउसार	← स्थानीय सामुदाय	→ तत्कालै
४) सञ्चारको विकास	← स्थानीय सामुदाय + सरकार	→ तिन वा चार महिना पछि

Photograph 9.2: Appreciative inquiry of Maithili in Rangeli, Morang

In response to the question “To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?” Table 9.3 presents the responses provided by the Maithili speakers in key survey points.

Table 9.3: Involvement of the people to materialize their dream

<i>To materialize your dreams who could be the people to be involved?</i>	N=48
Government	40 (80%)
Community	41 (82%)
Other organizations	8 (16%)
Political parties	6 (12%)
Educated persons	3 (6%)
Linguists	2 (4%)
Central Department of Maithili, TU	2 (4%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 9.3 shows that 80% respondents of Maithili speech community said that to materialize their dreams there should be the involvement of government. Similarly, 82% speakers responded that the Maithili community should be involved to materialize their dreams. Likewise, 16% respondents responded that there should be the involvement of the organizations other than government and community. Similarly, 16% responded that there should be the involvement of political parties, and 6% said that there should be the involvement of educated persons for the development of Maithili language. Likewise, 4% respondents said that to materialize their dreams there should be the involvement of Linguists and Central Department of Maithili, Tribhuvan University (TU).

Similarly, in response to the question “To promote your language what the community can do itself?” Table 9.4 presents the responses provided by Maithili mother tongue speakers in the key survey points.

Table 9.4: Community can do itself to promote their language

<i>To promote your language what the community can do itself?</i>	N=50
All the members of speech community should use their language in all the domains of language use	18 (36%)
Use in education	17 (34%)
Awareness campaign	7 (14%)
Use in media	7 (14%)
Maithili Academy and research center should be established	4 (8%)
Public meeting	3 (6%)
Language development	4 (8%)
Film production	2 (4%)
Literary creation	3 (6%)
Language preservation and promotion	11 (22%)
Use in administration	4 (8%)
Struggle	1 (2%)
Provincial states	1 (2%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 9.4 shows that out of the total respondents of the Maithili speech community, 34% responded that to promote their language all the members of Maithili speech community everybody should speak or use their language in almost all the domains of language. Similarly, 34% of them responded that their community should use their language in education. Likewise, 14% respondents said that to promote their language their community should conduct awareness campaign and use the language in media. Similarly, 8% Maithili speakers responded that to promote their language Maithili Academy and Maithili research centre should be established, work for language development, use in administration. Similarly, 6% responded that the members of Maithili speech community should the language in public meetings, and create literary

works. Likewise, 4% responded that films should be produced in the Maithili language; and 22% said that Maithili speakers should work for the preservation and promotion of the language. Similarly, 2% Maithili speakers responded that to promote their language they should struggle for the development of the language and also struggle for the provincial state.

Similarly, in response to the question “To promote your language what the Government and non-government should do?” Table 9.5 presents the responses provided by the Maithili speakers in the key survey points.

Table 9.5: What the Government and NGOs should do to promote Maithili

<i>To promote your language what the Government and non-government should do?</i>	N=50
Use in administration as the official language in Maithili zones	22 (44%)
Use in education	28 (56%)
Use in national newspapers and electronic media	13(26%)
Language preservation and promotion	6 (12%)
Legal recognition of the language	2 (4%)
Publicity	4 (8%)
Language development	3 (6%)
Reward and encouragement	4 (8%)
Literary improvement	1 (2%)
Publication	1 (2%)
Linguistic human right	1 (2%)
Use in Public Service Commission examination	1 (2%)
Training	1 (2%)
Exhibition	1 (2%)
Maithili Academy	1 (2%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 9.5 shows that out of the total respondents 44% responded that to promote the Maithili language the government and non-government organizations should use the language in administration. Similarly, 56% respondents said that the language should be used in education by government and other non-government organizations. Likewise 26% respondents said that the language should be used in newspaper and electronic media and 12% respondents said that the government and non-government organizations should preserve their language and culture. Similarly, 8% responded that to promote their language the government and non-government organizations should make publicity and encourage the language. Similarly, 6% respondents said that the government and non-government organizations should develop the Maithili language. Similarly, only 2% respondents said that to promote the Maithili language the government and non-government organizations should focus on literary improvement, publications, linguistic human rights, use of the language in Public Service Commission examination, training and exhibition in the language, and to establish Maithili Academy.

9.4 Preservation and promotion of Maithili

Different persons can support for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue differently. In response to the question “How can you support for the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?” Table 9.5 presents the responses of the Maithili mother tongue speakers in the key survey points.

Table 9.5: Support for the preservation and promotion of Maithili

<i>How can you support for the preservation and promotion of your mother tongue?</i>	N=50
by devising the script	23 (46%)
by making the spelling system systematic	22 (44%)
by compiling a dictionary	22 (44%)
by writing grammar	21 (42%)
by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue	22 (44%)
by writing and publishing textbooks	23 (46%)
by publishing newspapers	23 (46%)
by making use of the language in administration	25 (50%)
by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level	25 (50%)

Source: Field visit, Linguistic Survey of Nepal (2009)

Table 9.5 shows that out of the total respondents 46% respondents said that they can support for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by devising the script, by writing and publishing textbooks, and by publishing newspapers. Similarly, 44% speakers responded that they can support for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, and by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue. Likewise, 42% respondents said that they can preserve and promote their language by writing grammar. Similarly, 50% respondents responded that they can support for the preservation and promotion of their language by making use of the language in administration, and by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level of education.

Similarly, in response to the question “In your opinion, what things are to be done for the development of your language?” most of the Maithili mother tongue speakers responded that the things that are done for the development of their language are: the Maithili language should be used in education, use of language in administration, use in mass media, awareness programs, mention in constitution, establishment of organizations, language preservation and promotion, Maithili museum, street play,

use of language in day to day communication, publication of Maithili books, encouragement, simplification in the writing system of Maithili, etc.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed language resources and language development. The resources available in Maithili include oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc), script, phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines, films, telefilms, CD/DVD, written literature etc. They feel happy and proud of their mother tongue, Maithili because it is their ancestral language, rich, precise, prestigious, pure, known to everybody in the Maithili speech community, spoken by dozens of castes as their mother tongue, riddles, proverbs, rich kinship terms, rich in word formation, honorificity, taught up to Ph.D. level, use of particles, use of classifiers, huge number of speakers in both Nepal and India, language of the god, etc. The dreams for the development of their mother tongue are: language development, globalization, use in administration, use in media, language preservation, richness, dignity, popularity, language improvement, medium of instruction in primary level, grammar and dictionary, book publication, language equity, province on the basis of the Maithili language, film, museum, national language identity, use in Public Service Commission examination, research centre, etc. To materialize these dreams there should be the involvement of government, their own community, political parties, educated people, linguists, and Central Department of Maithili, Tribhuvan University (TU).

To promote the language all the members of Maithili speech community should use it in all the domains of language, in education, awareness campaign, Maithili Academy and Maithili research centre should be established, use in administration. The government and non-government organizations should use the language in administration, in education, in media, develop their language, mention the language in constitution, and provide access to the government policy. Maithili speakers can support for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by devising the script, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing newspapers, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing grammar, by making use of the language in administration, and by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level of education.

CHAPTER 10

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

10.0 Outline

This chapter deals with dialectal variation in Maithili. It consists of four sections. In section 10.1, we discuss wordlist comparison which includes methodology of finding lexical variation, evaluation criteria, and lexical similarity among the Maithili varieties. Similarly, section 10.2 deals with dialectal variations in Maithili, and in section 10.3 we present participatory methods used in the survey to find out the possible dialects of the language. Similarly, in section 10.4, we present the summary of this chapter.

10.1 Wordlist comparison

The wordlist consists of 210 words have been compared to estimate the level of lexical similarity among the surveyed districts along with social variation between Brahmin and non Brahmin. In this section, we deal with the data, methodology of lexical similarity study and present the lexical similarity study result.

10.1.1 Methodology

The methodology consists of the collection of wordlists and tool used in the analysis of the wordlists. First, the standardized wordlist of 210 words were elicited in the survey points, from the mother tongue speakers (grown up in the target locality, representing different sex, age, and literacy), compiled them with phonetic transcriptions and cross-checked from other speakers from the same site (See Annex C for 210 wordlist). In each key point, at least six sets of wordlists were administered.

Secondly, the words from the wordlists were entered into the Wordsurv (Wimbish, 1989), a tool primarily used to determine the genetic relationship of the language or dialects, is used to identify the potential linguistic or genetic relationship between the different varieties of the Maithili language. Thirdly, the words from the selected wordlist are aligned on the basis of phonetic similarities and dissimilarities. Then the lexical similarity percentages are calculated in Wordsurv.

10.1.2 Evaluation criteria

The 60% has been generally used as a cutoff point for the evaluation of lexical similarity (Regmi, 2011). However, the 60% threshold may not always be a strict cutoff point. Using such a method, the speech varieties having a lexical similarity of less than 60% are evaluated as different languages. However, languages or dialects with around 60% or greater lexical similarity should be tested for intelligibility using another tool referred to as Recorded Text Test (RTT). The attitudes and the perceptions of the speakers are also important factors. Table 10.1 presents the evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages between the wordlists.

Table 10.1: Evaluation criteria of the lexical similarity percentages

Lexical similarity %	Evaluation	Remarks
60% similarity	A cutoff point/threshold for the evaluation	May not always be a strict cutoff point
Less than 60% similarity	Different languages	
60% or more similarity	Different languages or dialects of the same language	Intelligibility testing is required by using RTT
Higher than 85% similarity	Speech varieties likely to be related dialects	
Higher than 95% similarity	Same language	

10.1.3 Lexical similarity among the Maithili varieties

Maithili is spoken in a vast stretch of geographical location. However, especially in Sarlahi, Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari, and Morang districts, this language generally does not show any variation as such.



Photograph 10.1: Recording and transcribing wordlist in Bharatpur-4, Dhanusha

The lexical similarity in Maithili used in these districts along with social varieties ranges from 76% to 86%. Table 10.2 presents the situation of lexical similarity comparison in the Maithili language.

Table 10.2: Lexical similarity comparison in Maithili among different varieties

Variety	Morang B	Morang O	Saptari B	Saptari O	Dhanusha B	Dhanusha O	Sarlahi B	Sarlahi O
Morang B	100%	83%	86%	77%	83%	80%	82%	79%
Morang O	83%	100%	81%	76%	80%	79%	81%	81%
Saptari B	86%	81%	100%	82%	86%	81%	82%	80%
Saptari O	77%	76%	82%	100%	78%	78%	78%	81%
Dhanusha B	83%	80%	86%	78%	100%	83%	81%	79%
Dhanusha O	80%	79%	81%	78%	83%	100%	86%	83%
Sarlahi B	82%	81%	82%	78%	81%	86%	100%	84%
Sarlahi O	79%	81%	80%	81%	79%	83%	84%	100%

B=Brahmin, O= Others (Non-Brahmin)

Table 10.2 shows that the Maithili language spoken by the Brahmin community in Morang has 83% lexical similarity with Morang non-Brahmins and Dhanusha Brahmins; 86% lexical similarity with Saptari Brahmins; 77% with Saptari non-Brahmins; 80% with Dhanusha non-Brahmins; 82% with Sarlahi Brahmins; and 79% with Sarlahi non-Brahmins. Similarly, Morang non-Brahmin variety has 83% lexical similarity with Morang Brahmin; 81% with Saptari Brahmin, Sarlahi Brahmin, and Sarlahi non-Brahmin speech varieties; 76% with Saptari non-Brahmin; 80% with Dhanusha Brahmin; and 79% with Dhanusha non-Brahmin speech varieties. Likewise, the Maithili variety spoken by Brahmin speakers in Saptari district has 86% lexical similarity with Morang Brahmin and Dhanusha Brahmin; 81% with Morang non-Brahmin and Dhanusha non-Brahmin; 82% with Saptari non-Brahmin and Sarlahi Brahmin; and 80% with Sarlahi non-Brahmins. Similarly, Saptari non-Brahmin speech variety has 77% lexical similarity with Morang Brahmin; 76% with Morang non-Brahmins; 82% with Saptari non-Brahmin; 78% with Dhanusha Brahmin, Dhansha non-Brahmin, and Sarlahi Brahmin; and 81% with Sarlahi non-Brahmin speech varieties.

In the same way, the Maithili language spoken by the Brahmin speech community in Dhanusha has 83% lexical similarity with Mornag Brahmin and Dhanusha non-Brahmin; 80% with Morang non-Brahmin; 86% with Saptari Brahmin; 78% with Saptari non-Brahmin; 81% with Sarlahi Brahmin; and 79% with Sarlahi non-Brahmin speech varieties. Similarly, Dhanusha non-Brahmin speech variety has 80% lexical similarity with Morang Brahmin; 79% with Morang non-Brahmin; 81% with Saptari Brahmin; 78% with Saptari non-Brahmin; 83% with Dhanusha Brahmin and Sarlahi non-Brahmin; and 86% with Dhanusha non-Brahmin speech varieties. Likewise, Sarlahi Brahmin speech variety has 82% lexical similarity with Morang Brahmin and Saptari Brahmin; 81% with Morang non-Brahmin and Dhanusha Brahmin; 78% with Saptari non-Brahmin; 86% with Dhanusha non-Brahmin; and 84% with Sarlahi non-Brahmin speech varieties. In the same way, Sarlahi non-Brahmin speech variety has 79% lexical similarity with Morang Brahmin and Dhanusha Brahmin speech varieties; 81% with Morang non-Brahmin and Saptari non-Brahmin; 80% with Saptari Brahmin; 83% with Dhanusha non-Brahmin; and 84% with Sarlahi Brahmin speech varieties.

From this analysis, it can be concluded that the varieties of the Maithili languages spoken in all these districts both Brahmin and non-Brahmin varieties are mutually intelligible to each other. There is not any dialectal variation among these varieties.

10.2 Dialectal variation

In common the Maithili is spoken in Rautahat to Jhapa districts of Nepal and in the adjoining districts of Bihar state of India. In Nepal a preliminary study reveals that there are three regional dialects: eastern (Morang and Sunsari districts), central (Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha and eastern Mohattari districts) and western (western Mahottari, Sarlahi and eastern Rautahat districts). However, the Census Report 2011 shows that in Sarlahi and Rautahat districts there are the majority of Bajjika speakers. There are approximately two social dialects of Maithili in Nepal: Brahmin and non-Brahmin although there are also observable some ethnic variations. These variations are, however, just approximations and need to be verified with a sociolinguistic study.

In response to the question “Where do people speak this language exactly the same as you?” the respondents of Dhanusha district express their view as the Maithili language spoken in western Siraha, Mahottari, Saptari, and Morang, seems exactly the same. And only 1 respondent from Dhanusha said that the language of the whole Maithili region is the same.



Photograph 10.2: Participation of Maithili speakers in dialect mapping method in Khajuri, Dhanusha

Similarly, respondents from Morang said that the language spoken in Sunsari, Dhanusha, and in adjoining border area of India Arariya is the same. Likewise, respondents from Saptari district said that the language spoken in Morang, Sunsari, Saptari and Dhanusha is the same. Similarly, respondents from Sunsari district responded that the language spoken in Morang, Saptari, and Dhanusha is the same. Likewise, respondents from Siraha responded that the language spoken in Siraha, Saptari, Dhanusha, and Mahottari is the same. Similarly, respondents from Mahottari district said that the language spoken in Dhanusha, Mahottari, and Siraha is the same; and respondents from Sarlahi express their opinion that the language spoken in Dhanusha, Siraha, Mahottari, and northern Bihar, India is the same.



Photograph 10.3: Interaction with participants on dialect mapping tool in Sarlahi

Similarly, in response to the question, “In which places do people speak this language a little bit differently?” most of the respondents from Dhanusha district responded that the Maithili language spoken in Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang, Mohattari Jhapa and Madhubani district of Bihar is a little bit different from theirs. Similarly, a few respondents from Morang say that the language spoken in Saptari, Siraha, Jhapa, Dhanusha; and Madhyapur and Saharsa of India is a little bit different. Likewise, respondents from Saptari express their view that the language spoken in Siraha, Morang, and Dhanusha is a little bit different. Similarly, respondents from Sunsari say that the language spoken in Siraha, Jhapa, Dhanusha, Mahottari and Sarlahi is a little bit different. Similarly, the respondents from Siraha said that the language spoken in Saptari, Morang, Sunsari, Sarlahi and Rautahat is a little bit different and the respondents from Mahottari responded that the language spoken in Siraha, Sarlahi, Saptari, and Sunsari is a little bit different. Likewise, the

respondents from Sarlahi say that the language spoken in Rauthat, Bara, Parsa, Siraha, Saptari, Morang, Mahottari, Sunsari and Dhanusha is a little bit different.

In response to the question “Where do people speak this language so differently that it is difficult for you to understand them?” most of the Maithili respondents from all the survey points responded that there is not any variety of Maithili spoken so differently that is difficult to understand.

Similarly, in response to the question “Which variety do you understand best?” Table 10.3 presents the responses of Maithili respondents from the key survey points.

Table 10.3: Language variety they understand best

Varieties	N=50
All the Maithili varieties	30 (60%)
Their own local Maithili variety	10 (20%)
Janakpur variety	5 (10%)
Understand all the varieties but don't know which is the best one	5 (10%)

Table 10.3 shows that majority of Maithili respondents said that they understand all the Maithili varieties equally best. Similarly, 20% respondents responded that they understand their own local Maithili varieties best. Likewise, 10% responded that they understand the Maithili language spoken in Janakpur best. Similarly, 10% Maithili respondents responded that they understand all the varieties but they don't know which variety they understand best.

In response to the question “Which variety should be used as the one for writing or recording so that all the others will understand well?” Table 10.4 presents the responses provided by the Maithili native speakers in the key survey points.

Table 10.4: Speech variety for writing or recording

Varieties	N=50
Any Maithili variety	22 (44%)
Janakpur variety	12 (24%)
Their own local variety	10 (20%)
Don't know	6 (12%)

Table 10.4 shows that out of the total Maithili respondents 44% responded that any Maithili variety can be used for writing or recording so that all the Maithili speakers will understand well. Similarly, 24% Maithili speakers responded that the Maithili language spoken in Janakpur should be used as the one for writing or recording so that all the others will understand well. Likewise, 20% respondents said that their own local variety should be used for writing and recording so that all the others will understand well. Similarly, 12% respondents responded that they do not know which variety should be used for writing or recording the Maithili language.

10.3 Participatory methods

In order to examine dialects among the Maithili varieties, the dialect mapping, a participatory tool was administered in all the reference points of the survey in Maithili speech community. The dialect mapping tool was used to help the community members to think about and visualize the different varieties, if any in the Maithili language. The participants in group of 8 to 12 in each survey point were asked to write on a separate sheet of paper the name of each district and town where Maithili is spoken as mother tongue and placed them on the floor to represent the geographical location. The pictures of dialect mapping tools used in the survey points present the dialectal variation of the Maithili language.



Photograph 10.4: Dialect mapping in Bharsar, Sarlahai



Photograph 10.5: Dialect mapping in Harinagra, Mahottari



Photograph 10.6: Dialect mapping in Rangeli, Morang



Photograph 10.7: Dialect mapping in Biratnagar, Morang

Table 10.5: Degree of similarity in the forms of the speech in different places

Survey points	Group A	Group B	Group C
Sarlahi	Sarlahi, Rautahat, Sitamadhi	Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptari, Sunsari, Morang	Bara, Parsa, Muzzafarpur
Mahottari	Mahottari, Dhanusha, Siraha, Saptari, Morang, Sarlahi, Sitamadhi, Darbhanga	Rautahat, Jhapa, Saharsa, Muzzafarpur, Purniya	Bara, Parsa
Dhanusha	Dhanusha, Siraha, Mohattari, Saptari, Morang	Sarlahi, Sunsari, Jhapa, Madhuwani, Darbhanga	Rautahat, Bara, Parsa
Siraha	Siraha, Saptari, Morang, Dhanusha	Sunsari, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Jhapa	
Saptati	Saptati, Sunsari, Morang, Dhanusha	Siraha, Mahottari, Sarlahi	Rautahat
Sunsari	Sunsari, Morang, Saptari, Dhanusha	Siraha, Jhapa, Mahottari, Sarlahi	
Morang	Morang, Sunsari, Dhanusha, and adjoining districts in India	Saptari, Siraha, Jhapa, and Madhyapur and Saharsa districts of Bihar, India	Rautahat, Bara, Parsa

Participants in all the survey points responded that the district in the group A is exactly the same with their speech variety. Similarly, there are some lexical variations with the speech varieties spoken in group B. Likewise; they have some difficulties in understanding the speech varieties in the district of group C.

10.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed dialectal variation in Maithili. The lexical similarity in Maithili used in these districts along with social varieties ranges from 76% to 86%. Maithili spoken in these survey sites are mutually intelligible to each other. There is not any dialectal variation among these varieties. Most of the respondents express their views as the Maithili language spoken in all the survey points seem exactly the same. Similarly, most of the Maithili respondents from all the survey points responded that there is not any variety of Maithili spoken so differently that is

difficult to understand. Majority of Maithili respondents said that they understand all the Maithili varieties equally well. Majority of the respondents said that the Maithili language spoken in Janakpur should be used for writing or recording so that all the Maithili speakers will understand well. Similarly, some of the respondents responded that any Maithili variety can be used as the one for writing or recording, and some of them said that their own local variety should be used for writing and recording.

CHAPTER 11

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 Major findings

The main aim of this study was to look at the sociolinguistic situation of the Maithili language, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Nepal. This survey has gathered a good deal of information on the description of Maithili, domains of language use, mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism, language transmission, vitality and loyalty, language maintenance and shift, code mixing, language attitude, language resources and development, and dialectal variation in the Maithili language.

The major findings of this survey are presented as follows:

1. Maithili is one of the Major languages in Indo-Aryan language family. The term Maithili comes from Mithila, which was an independent state in ancient times. As its name implies, Maithili is properly spoken in Mithila, the prehistoric ancient kingdom. It has also different alternate names as Apabhramsa, Bihari, Dehati, Maitili, Maitli, Methli, Tirahutia, Tirhuti, Tirhutia as well as it has a number of dialects such as Bajjika, Bantar, Barei, Barmeli, Dehati, Kawar, Kyabrat, Makrana, Musar, Tati, and Thenthia.
2. The number of Maithili speakers in Nepal is 3,092,530, which constitutes 11.7% of the total population of Nepal and ranks second, next only to the Nepali language (Census 2011). According to the Sahitya Akademi it is the 16th largest language group in India and it has 44th in the world. It is spoken in the districts of Morang, Sunsari, Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, and Rautahat of Nepal; and Madhubani, Darbhanga, Sitamarhi, Saharsa, Madhepura, Purnea, East-Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, Vaishali, and Begusarai districts of the Bihar state of India.
3. It is spoken by Brahman (Tarai), Bhumihar, Kayastha, Rajput, Yadav, Dev, Teli, Sudhi, Chamar, Koiri, Kurmi, Sanyasi, Dhanuk, Amat, Musahar/Sada, Dusadh/Pasawan, Sonar, Kewat, Kathabaniyan, Malah, Kalwar, Hajam, Kanu, Lohar, Tatma, Khatwe, Dhobi, Nuniya, Kumhar, Halwai, Badai, Bantar/Sardar, Kahar, Bin, Gaderi/Bhendihar, Chidimar, Mali, Dom, Kamar, Halkhor, Dhankar, Rajdhob, Khang, Musalman, etc. castes as their mother tongue.

4. With the exception of a small Muslim minority, the rest of the populations of Maithili speech community are following Hinduism. The major festivals celebrated in the Maithili speech community are Chaurchan, Jitiya, Dashain, Sukhratri, Bhatridwitiya, Chhaith, Tila Sankraint, Holi, Jursital, and many other Hindu festivals.
5. Preliminary studies reveal that there are three regional dialects: eastern (Morang and Sunsari districts), central (Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha and eastern Mohattari districts) and western (western Mahottari, Sarlahi and eastern Rauthat districts). There are approximately two social dialects of Maithili in Nepal: Brahmin and non-Brahmin.
6. Maithili is used in all the domains of daily communication and in all the common domains of language use such as counting, singing, joking, shopping/marketing, storytelling, debate, praying, talking to servant, abusing, singing at home, family gathering, meeting, invitation for marriage, dreaming, talking to friends, playing, and public meeting.
7. Most of the Maithili speakers use only their mother tongue with their family members while talking about educational, social, and family matters. Majority of Maithili speakers use their own mother tongue Maithili, Nepali, and Hindi languages as contact languages depending on the situations.
8. It is very frequently used in different media such as news, folksongs, film, radio, and public meetings. It is also used in different FMs and Television channels. Most of the parents like their children to learn in the medium of Maithili in primary education.
9. All the Maithili speakers are very much proficient in their mother tongue as they are all good in understanding and speaking their mother tongue. Literate Maithili speakers are good in reading and writing their mother tongue.
10. Most the Maithili speakers are bi/multilingual as they speak their own mother tongue Maithili, Nepali, Hindi, English, Bhojpuri, and so on. Most of them have good proficiency in Hindi and Nepali languages. Only educated Maithili speakers have good proficiency in listening, speaking, reading, and writing English.
11. Most of the literate Maithili speakers can read and write Devnagari script and only educated speakers can read and write Roman script and only a few

speakers can read and write Mithilakshar, Kaithi, and Bangla scripts. Educated Maithili speakers can translate Nepali, Hindi, and English from and to their mother tongue.

12. Most of the Maithili speakers responded that their children cannot understand everything their Nepali speaking teacher says when they first go to school.
13. The Maithili speech community has maintained their language transmission. The rate of shifting toward other languages is not found. There is 100% transmission of the Maithili language from the older generation to the younger generation. Even small children of the community speak their mother tongue.
14. Maithili children will speak their mother tongue, Maithili, even after they get married; and even they become old. The young people in their village/town speak their language well, the way it ought to be spoken.
15. They feel bad when they hear young people of their own speech community speaking other languages instead of their first language. They also encourage the younger generation of their speech community to speak their native language.
16. Maithili speakers used only their mother tongue at home, with their friends, and in their neighborhood in their childhood whereas some of the respondents said they used Nepali and Hindi with their friends and neighbors in their childhood. Use of the language other than mother tongue is not increasing at home.
17. Most of the Maithili speakers want to educate their children through their mother tongue, Maithili and only a few respondents said that they like their children learn/study in Nepali and English languages.
18. Maithili speakers generally mix or switch to other languages while speaking their mother tongue. They mix or switch to other languages because appropriate words and phrases are easily available for objects and ideas in other languages than their mother tongue, it is easy to talk on certain topics in other languages, it is a symbol of prestige to use sentences/ words from other languages.
19. They think mixing words from other languages will enrich their language, it will spoil the beauty and purity of their mother tongue, mixing words from other languages will make their language more intelligible, and there are some other effects to the language.

20. Maithili children mix other languages more than the older generation do. The language spoken by them is different from their grandparents in the use of vocabulary, in pronunciation, in the use of vocabulary, in mixing of other languages, and in the use of specific types of sentences.
21. Most of the Maithili speakers said that their mother tongue, Maithili is rich, precise, sweet, musical, more prestigious, pure, ancient, literary and powerful in comparison to other languages. It is useful against other languages in doing business, social mobility, literature, and medium of instruction.
22. Most of the Maithili speakers feel prestigious when they speak their mother tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant languages and only very few respondents said that they neither feel prestigious nor embarrassed i.e. they are neutral.
23. They had problems because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue/first language and the problems they faces are social discrimination, political discrimination, economical discrimination, hostile confrontation, discrimination in education, social pressure, political pressure, and economic pressure, psychological pressure, and problems government offices. Maithili speakers do not like their son or daughter married someone who does not know their mother tongue.
24. They think that the children of the present children those children might speak their language and they feel good if those children will speak their language. They said that their children should speak their mother tongue, Maithili, first.
25. Majority of Maithili speakers said that Maithili and Nepali are the two languages that the first language people speak most. Similarly, some of the respondents said that the first language people speak Maithili and Hindi languages most.
26. Among the languages that they speak, they love Maithili, their mother tongue most and some of the respondents responded that they love Hindi the most.
27. The resources available in Maithili include oral literature (folk tales, songs, religious literature, etc), script, phonemic inventory, grammar, dictionary, textbooks, literacy materials, newspapers, magazines, films, telefilms, CD/DVD, written literature etc.

28. There are some organizations or bodies which promote the knowledge and/or use of the Maithili language and these organizations perform cultural, social, and linguistic activities.
29. They feel happy and proud of their mother tongue, Maithili because it is their ancestral language, rich, precise, prestigious, pure, known to everybody in the Maithili speech community, spoken by dozens of castes as their mother tongue, riddles, proverbs, rich kinship terms, rich in word formation, honorificity, taught up to Ph.D. level in Tribhuvan University, and up to bachelor level in Nepal Sanskrit University, taught in different universities in India up to Ph.D. level; use of particles, use of classifiers, huge number of speakers in both Nepal and India, language of the god, etc.
30. The dreams for the development of their mother tongue, Maithili are: language development, globalization, should be used in administration, language promotion, everybody should speak, should be used in media, language preservation, richness, dignity, popularity, language improvement, should be used as the medium of instruction in primary level of education, standard grammar and dictionary, book publication, language equity, province on the basis of the Maithili language, film making, museum, employment, national language identity, should be used in Public Service Commission examination, organizations, establishment of research centre, preservation of Maithili folk literature, etc.
31. To materialize these dreams there should be the involvement of government, their own community, the organizations other than government and community, political parties, educated people, linguists, and Central Department of Maithili, Tribhuvan University (TU).
32. Maithili speakers can support for the preservation and promotion of their mother tongue by devising the script, by writing and publishing textbooks, by publishing newspapers, by making the spelling system systematic, by compiling dictionary, by encouraging people to write literature in mother tongue, by writing grammar, by making use of the language in administration, and by making use of Maithili as medium of instruction at primary level of education.

33. The lexical similarity in Maithili used in the surveyed districts along with social varieties ranges from 76% to 86%. Maithili spoken in these survey sites are mutually intelligible to each other. There is not any dialectal variation among these varieties.

34. Most of the respondents express their views as the Maithili language spoken in all the survey points seem more or less the same. There is not any variety of Maithili spoken so differently that is difficult to understand to the Maithili speakers of all the surveyed districts.

35. They understand all the varieties of Maithili equally well. Maithili variety spoken in Janakpur should be used for writing or recording so that all the Maithili speakers will understand well whereas some of the respondents responded that any Maithili variety can be used as the one for writing or recording, and some of them said that their own local variety should be used for writing and recording.

11.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings, the following recommendations are put forward for the promotion and development of the Maithili language:

- a) Maithili children face difficulty in basic education because of their unfamiliarity with the textbooks in Nepali. Similarly, the Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) has also guaranteed the right of mother tongue based multilingual education. Therefore, schools should immediately be facilitated financially and logically from the concerned sectors to run multilingual education in the true spirit of the constitution.
- b) Textbooks should be developed in such a way that they embody the local needs and local settings.
- c) Unless the domains of language use are broadened the language cannot be preserved. The Maithili speech community should be made aware of the importance of the use of their mother tongue and encouraged to transmit their mother tongue to the younger generation through advocacy.
- d) In this speech community, still in rural areas, most of the speakers are monolingual, especially the women over 50 in the age and since most of the women are pre-literate. Therefore, by means of non-formal education in their

mother tongue, the literacy classes must be conducted to uplift those pre-literates.

- e) Non-formal education program should be carried out in the mother tongue preparing the suitable reading materials addressing the local needs and incorporating the culture, tradition and knowledge.
- f) The government should immediately address the efforts and grievances of the Maithili speech community.
- g) Specific language programs such as compiling bilingual and monolingual dictionaries and writing grammars should be immediately launched.
- h) Maithili exhibits dialectal variation as the least similarity between the two places of the survey is found 76%. But the respondents reported their language varies in some districts. Therefore, Recorded Text Test (RTT) is required to evaluate the intelligibility among the key points.
- i) The most important ‘dreams’ which they would like to get realized immediately and to start on planning are the establishment of mother tongue teaching schools for the beginners at primary level and development of textbook and curriculum for mother tongue education. The concerned authorities should take immediate step to help them realizing their dreams.

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ANNEXES

Annex A: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

नेपालको भाषिक सर्वेक्षण
त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय
कीर्तिपुर, काठमाडौं, नेपाल
राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, नेपाल सरकारको
सहयोगमा सञ्चालित
समाजभाषावैज्ञानिक प्रश्नावली
२०६६

कोड नं.....

विकल्प छनौटका लागि दिइएको भित्र चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस् ।

(क) आधारभूत सूचना

१. अनुसन्धाता(हरू) को नामः

(क) श्री.....	(आवश्यकताअनुसार अरु नाम थप गर्न सकिने)
(ख) श्री.....
(ग) श्री.....
(घ) श्री.....
(ङ) श्री.....

२. अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा :

३. अन्तर्वार्ताको मिति :

(क) वर्ष (वि.सं.)	महिना.....	गते.....	/तारिख.....	महिना.....	वर्ष.....	(सन्)
(ख) वर्ष (वि.सं.)	महिना.....	गते.....	/तारिख.....	महिना.....	वर्ष.....	(सन्)
(ग) वर्ष (वि.सं.)	महिना.....	गते.....	/तारिख.....	महिना.....	वर्ष.....	(सन्)

(आवश्यकताअनुसार अरु प्रकारका मिति उल्लेख गर्न सकिने)

४. अन्तर्वार्ताको स्थान :

(क) वडा नं.....	(ख) गाउँ/नगर.....	(ग) गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
(घ) जिल्ला.....	(ङ) अञ्चल.....	

५. भाषासूचक (हरू) :

<u>नाम</u>	<u>संकेत (उदा. ५क, ५ख... आदि)</u>	<u>ठेगाना</u>
(क).....	<input type="text"/>
(ख).....	<input type="text"/>
(ग).....	<input type="text"/>
(घ).....	<input type="text"/>
(ङ).....	<input type="text"/>

(आवश्यकताअनुसार अरु नाम थप गर्न सकिने)

६. लिङ्ग :

(क) पुरुष (ख) महिला (ग) अन्य

७. उमेर समूह :

(क)	(अ) <input type="checkbox"/> ६-१४	(आ) <input type="checkbox"/> १५-३४	(इ) <input type="checkbox"/> ३५-६०	(ई) <input type="checkbox"/> ६० भन्दामाथि
(ख)	(अ) <input type="checkbox"/> ६-१४	(आ) <input type="checkbox"/> १५-३४	(इ) <input type="checkbox"/> ३५-६०	(ई) <input type="checkbox"/> ६० भन्दामाथि
(ग)	(अ) <input type="checkbox"/> ६-१४	(आ) <input type="checkbox"/> १५-३४	(इ) <input type="checkbox"/> ३५-६०	(ई) <input type="checkbox"/> ६० भन्दामाथि
(घ)	(अ) <input type="checkbox"/> ६-१४	(आ) <input type="checkbox"/> १५-३४	(इ) <input type="checkbox"/> ३५-६०	(ई) <input type="checkbox"/> ६० भन्दामाथि
(ङ)	(अ) <input type="checkbox"/> ६-१४	(आ) <input type="checkbox"/> १५-३४	(इ) <input type="checkbox"/> ३५-६०	(ई) <input type="checkbox"/> ६० भन्दामाथि

८. वैवाहिक अवस्था :

(क) विवाहित (ख) अविवाहित (ग) अन्य

९. जात/जाति समूह.....

१०. (क) सरकारी कर्मचारी वा अन्य जातजातिका मानिसहरूले तपाईंलाई कुन जातको भनेर बोलाउँछन् वा चिन्छन् ? (क) (ख)
(ग) (घ)

(ख) तपाईं आफूलाई कुन जातको भनी चिनाउन चाहनुहुन्छ ?

११. तपाईंको धर्म :

(क) <input type="checkbox"/> हिन्दू	(ख) <input type="checkbox"/> बौद्ध	(ग) <input type="checkbox"/> किरात	(घ) <input type="checkbox"/> इस्लाम	(ङ) <input type="checkbox"/> जैन
(च) <input type="checkbox"/> इसाई	(छ) <input type="checkbox"/> प्रकृतिपूजक	(ज) <input type="checkbox"/> अन्य.....		

१२. पैतृक थलो / मूलथलो

१३. पारिवारिक संरचना :

(क) एकल (ख) संयुक्त

१४. शिक्षा :

(क) <input type="checkbox"/> पूर्व साक्षर	(ख) <input type="checkbox"/> साक्षर	(ग) <input type="checkbox"/> प्राथमिक तह	(घ) <input type="checkbox"/> निम्नमाध्यमिक
(ङ) <input type="checkbox"/> माध्यमिक तह	(च) <input type="checkbox"/> उच्च तह	(छ) <input type="checkbox"/> अन्य.....	(तह उल्लेख गर्ने)

१५. पेशा :

(क) तपाईंको	(ख) (विवाहित भए) श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीको.....
(ग) घरपरिवारको	(घ) पुख्यौली पेशा

१६. तपाईंको जन्मस्थान :

(क) वडा नं (ख) गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका (ग) जिल्ला..... (घ) अञ्चल.....

१७. तपाईंकी आमाको पहिलो भाषा (मातृभाषा)

१८. तपाईंका बुबाको पहिलो भाषा (मातृभाषा)

१९. तपाईंका श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीको पहिलो भाषा (मातृभाषा).....

२०. तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरूको पहिलो भाषा/मातृभाषा

२१. तपाईंको पहिलोभाषा/मातृभाषाको नाम :

(क) यही भाषा बोल्नेहरूले भन्ने (ख) अन्य भाषा बोल्नेहरूले भन्ने.....

(ग) यस भाषाका फरकफरक नाम भए :

(अ).....(आ)(इ)

२२. तपाईंको गाउँ/छरछिमेकमा बसोबास गर्ने अन्य जातजातिहरू

(क).....(ख).....

(ग).....(घ).....

२३. तपाईंको छरछिमेकमा बसोबास गर्ने अन्य भाषाभाषीहरू

(क).....(ख).....

(ग).....(घ).....

२४. तपाईंको आसपासका गाउँहरूमा कुन कुन भाषा बोलिन्छन् ?

(क).....(ख).....

(ग).....(घ).....

२५. तपाईं बसाइँ सर्नुभएको हो ?

(क) हो (ख) होइन

(अ) हो भने पहिले कहाँ बस्नुहुन्थ्यो ?

गाउँ/नगर..... जिल्ला..... अञ्चल.....

(आ) बसाइँ सर्नुभएको कति वर्ष भयो ?

(इ) तपाईंको परिवारमात्र यस ठाउँमा बसाइँ सरी आएको हो कि अन्य परिवार पनि आएका थिए ?

.....

२६. तपाईंको जातिका मानिसहरूले अरु कुन जातजाति र भाषाभाषीका मानिसहरूसँग विहे गर्ने गरेका छन् ?

(क) जातजाति : (अ)(आ).....(इ).....

(ख) भाषाभाषी : (अ)(आ).....(इ).....

(ख) भाषिकागत सीमा निर्धारण (**Dialect mapping**)

२७. तपाईंको समुदायका यही भाषा बोल्ने मानिसहरू एकै ठाउँमा बसेका छन् कि बेगलाबेगलै ठाउँमा छरिएर बसेका छन् ?

(क) एकै ठाउँमा बसेका छन् (ख) छरिएर बसेका छन्

२८. अरु कुनकुन ठाउँका मानिसहरूले तपाईंको मातृभाषा ठ्याक्कै तपाईंकै जसरी बोल्छन् ?

(क) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....
(ख) वडागाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....
(ग) वडागाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....

२९. कुनकुन ठाउँका मानिसहरूले तपाईंको भाषा अलि बेग्लै किसिमले बोल्छन् ?

(क) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....(ड) अञ्चल.....
(ख) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....(ड) अञ्चल.....
(ग) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....

३०. तपाईंको भाषा कुनकुन ठाउँका मानिसहरूले तपाईंलाई नै बुझ्न गाहो पर्ने गरी बोल्दछन् ?

(क) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....
(ख) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....
(ग) वडा नं.....गाउँ/नगर.....गा.वि.स./नगरपालिका.....
जिल्ला.....अञ्चल.....

३१. कुन ठाउँमा बोलिने भेद/भाषिका तपाईं सबैभन्दा बढी बुझ्नुहुन्छ ?

(क)(ख)

३२. लेखन र रेकर्डिङ्का लागि यस भाषाका ठाउँअनुसारका भेदहरूमध्ये कुनचाहिँलाई प्रयोग गर्दा सबैले राम्रोसँग बुझ्लान् ?

(ग) भाषिक सामग्री (Language resources)

३३. तपाईंको भाषामा तलका मध्ये कुनकुन सामग्रीहरू उपलब्ध छन् ? भएकामा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस् ।

(क) मौखिक साहित्य (लोककथा, लोकगीत, धार्मिक साहित्य आदि) (ख) लिपि
(ग) वर्णमालाको पुस्तक (घ) व्याकरणको पुस्तक (ड) शब्दकोषको पुस्तक
(च) पाठ्यपुस्तक (छ) साहित्यिक सामग्री (कथा, उपन्यास, कविता आदि) (छ) समाचारपत्र
(ज) पत्रिका (झ) सिनेमा (झ) टेलि चलचित्र (ट) सि.डि.,डि.भि.डि. (ठ) अन्य कुनै

३४. तल उल्लेख गरिएका कारणले तपाईंको भाषाको विकास वा भविष्यमाथि प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा असर पारेका छन् ?

(क) वसाइँ सराइ (ख) अस्थायी मजदुरी (ग) गाउँ वा देशनिकाला (घ) लडाइँ वा भैभगडा (ड) अन्य कुनै :

३५. तपाईंको भाषा सिकाउने वा भाषाको विकास र प्रयोगमा लागिपरेका कुनै संघसंस्था वा निकायहरू छन् ?

(क) छन् (ख) छैनन्
छन् भने ती संघसंस्थाहरूको नाम बताइदिनुहोस् ।
(अ)..... (आ).....
(इ)..... (ई).....

३६. ती संस्थाहरूले केकस्ता काम गरेका छन् ?

(क) सांस्कृतिक (ख) भाषिक (ग) अरु कुनै भए :

३७. तपाईंहरू आफ्नो भाषिक समुदायमा कुनकुन चाडपर्व मनाउनुहुन्छ ?

(क)..... (ख).....
(ग)..... (घ).....

(घ) मातृभाषामा दक्षता, द्वै/बहुभाषिकता (**Mother tongue proficiency and bi/multilingualism**)

३८. तपाईंले सबैभन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा बोल्न जान्नु भयो ?

३९. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषामा बोल्न कत्तिको सिपालु/दक्ष हुनु हुन्छ? तपाईंको दक्षता तलका विकल्पबाट छान्नु होस् ।

राम्रो	ठिकिठिकै	अलिअलिमात्र
(क) बुभ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ख) बोल्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ग) पढ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(घ) लेख्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

४०. तपाईं अरु कुन कुन भाषा जान्नु हुन्छ ?

(क)..... (ख).....
(ग)..... (घ).....

४१. अरु भाषामा तपाईं कत्तिको दक्ष/सिपालु हुनुहुन्छ ?

भाषाको नाम

राम्रो	ठिकिठिकै	अलिअलिमात्र
(क) बुभ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ख) बोल्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ग) पढ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(घ) लेख्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

भाषाको नाम

	राम्रो	ठिकठिकै	अलिअलिमात्र
(क) बुझ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ख) बोल्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ग) पढ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(घ) लेख्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

भाषाको नाम

	राम्रो	ठिकठिकै	अलिअलिमात्र
(क) बुझ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ख) बोल्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(ग) पढ्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(घ) लेख्न	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

४२. यी भाषाहरू (मातृभाषाबाहेक) तपाईंले कहाँ र कसरी सिक्नुभयो ?

(क) भाषाको नाम :..... कहाँ..... कसरी.....
(ख) भाषाको नाम :..... कहाँ..... कसरी.....
(ग) भाषाको नाम :..... कहाँ..... कसरी.....

४३. तपाईंका हजुरबुवाले अरु कुनकुन भाषा बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....(घ).....

४४. तपाईंकी हजुरआमाले अरु कुनकुन भाषा बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....(घ).....

४५. तपाईंका बुवाले अरु कुनकुन भाषा बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....(घ).....

४६. तपाईंकी आमाले अरु कुनकुन भाषा बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....(घ).....

४७. तपाईंका श्रीमान् वा श्रीमतीले अरु कुनकुन भाषा बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....(घ).....

४८. तपाईंका छोराछोरीले अरु कुनकुन भाषा बोल्न ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....(घ).....

४९. कुनकुन लिपिमा लेखिएको कुरा तपाईं पढ्न र लेख्न सक्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) पढ्न :

(अ).....(आ).....(इ).....

(ख) लेख्न :

(अ).....(आ).....(इ).....

५०. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषाबाट अन्य कुनकुन भाषाहरूमा अनुवाद गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ ?

मातृभाषाबाट

(क)(ख).....(ग).....मा

५१. तपाईं अन्य कुनकुन भाषाबाट तापाईंको मातृभाषामा अनुवाद गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....(ग).....

५२. तपाईंको समुदायका भर्खर स्कूल जान थालेका साना नानीहरूले शिक्षकशिक्षिकाहरूले कक्षामा नेपालीमा

भनेका सबै कुरा बुझ्दछन् ?

(क) सबै बुझ्दछन् (ख) अलिअलि बुझ्दछन् (ग) बुझ्दैनन्

५३. बुझ्दैनन् भने कति समयपछि उनीहरू बुझ्नसक्ने हुन्छन् ?(अनुमानित)

५४. तपाईंको मातृभाषाका समुदायका कस्ता खाले मानिसहरूले आफ्नो भाषाभन्दा सम्पर्क भाषा (व्यापक सञ्चारको भाषा) राम्ररी बोल्दछन् ?

(क).....(ख).....

(ग).....(घ).....

५५. कस्ताखाले मातृभाषीले सम्पर्क भाषाभन्दा आफ्नै मातृभाषा राम्ररी बोल्छन् ?

(क).....(ख)

(ग).....(घ).....

५६. तपाईंको समुदायमा मातृभाषा बोल्नेहरूको संख्या बढ्दै गएको छ कि सम्पर्क भाषा बोल्नेहरूको संख्या बढ्दै गइरहेको छ ?

(क) मातृभाषा (ख) सम्पर्क भाषा

(ड) भाषाको प्रयोग (Domains of language use)

५७. तल उल्लेख गरिएका कामहरू गर्दा तपाईं सबैभन्दा बढी कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) गन्ती गर्दा

(ख) गीत गाउँदा.....

(ग) ठटटा गर्दा.....

(घ) हाटबजार गर्दा/मोलतोल गर्दा.....

(ड) कथा भन्दा.....

(च) छलफल/वादविवाद गर्दा.....

(छ) प्रार्थना गर्दा.....
 (ज) घरका कामदारहरूसँग कुराकानी गर्दा.....
 (झ) कसैलाई गाली गर्दा.....

५८. तपाईंका घरमा निम्नलिखित विषयमा कुराकानी हुँदा सबैभन्दा बढी प्रयोग हुने भाषा कुन हो ?

(क) विद्यालय, भर्ना, पढाइ, जस्ता शिक्षासम्बन्धी विषयमा कुराकानी गर्दा
 (अ) हजुरबुवासँग.....
 (आ) हजुरआमासँग.....
 (इ) बुवासँग.....
 (ई) आमासँग.....
 (उ) श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीसँग

(ख) चाडपर्व, चुनाव, मेला, बजारजस्ता सामाजिक विषयमा कुराकानी गर्दा
 (अ) हजुरबुवासँग.....
 (आ) हजुरआमासँग.....
 (इ) बुवासँग.....
 (ई) आमासँग.....
 (उ) श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीसँग.....
 (ऊ) बालबालिकासँग

(ग) विवाह, घरखर्च, बचत, कामको बाँडफाँडजस्ता पारिवारिक विषयमा कुराकानी गर्दा
 (अ) हजुरबुवासँग.....
 (आ) हजुरआमासँग.....
 (इ) बुवासँग.....
 (ई) आमासँग.....
 (उ) श्रीमान्/श्रीमतीसँग

(ऊ) बालबालिकासँग

५९. निम्नलिखित अवस्थामा तपाईं कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) केटाकेटीलाई कथा सुनाउँदा

(ख) घरमा गीत गाउँदा

(ग) बालगीत गाउँदा वा सिकाउँदा.....

(घ) साथीभाइसँग गफगाफ गर्दा

(ड) खेल खेल्दा.....

(च) घरमा काम गर्ने मानिससँग कुराकानी गर्दा.....

(छ) बिहेको निम्तो गर्नु पर्दा

(ज) समुदायको बैठकमा भएका निर्णयहरू लेख्नु पर्दा.....

(झ) सपना देख्दा

(ञ) पारिवारिक जमघटमा.....

(ट) सार्वजनिक सभामा.....

६०. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा कत्तिको बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) दिनदिनै (ख) हप्ताहप्तामा (ग) कहिलेकाहीं मात्र (घ) कहिल्यै बोल्दिन

६१. तपाईं नेपाली वा अरु कुनै सम्पर्क भाषा कत्तिको बोल्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) दिनदिनै (ख) हप्ताहप्तामा (ग) कहिलेकाहीं मात्र (घ) कहिल्यै बोल्दिन

६२. नेपालका अन्य भाषा बोल्ने मानिसहरूसँग कुराकानी गर्नु पर्दा तपाईं कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ?

.....

६३. तल उल्लेख भएका परिवारका सदस्यहरूलाई चिठी लेख्नु पर्दा वा टेलिफोनमा कुराकानी गर्दा तपाईं कुन भाषाको प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) हजुरबुबालाई/सँग.....(ख) हजुरआमालाई/सँग.....

(ग) बुबालाई/सँग.....(घ) आमालाई/सँग.....

(ङ) श्रीमान् वा श्रीमतीलाई /सँग(च) छोराछोरीलाई/सँग

६४. निम्नलिखित अवस्थामा तपाईं कुन भाषा प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) तपाईंले बोल्नेभन्दा बेगलै भाषा बोल्ने साथीहरू तपाईंका घरमा आए भने

(ख) तपाईंले बोल्नेभन्दा बेगलै भाषा बोल्ने छरछिमेकीहरूसँग

६५. रेडियो वा टेलिभिजनमा निम्नलिखित कार्यक्रमहरूमा कुन भाषाको बढी प्रयोग हुन्छ ?

(क) समाचार.....(ख) लोकगीत.....(ग) सिनेमाका गीत.....

(घ) रेडियो नाटक वा टेलिचलचित्र.....(ड) सार्वजनिक भाषण.....

६६. तपाईंका नानीहरूले विद्यालयका विभिन्न तहमा कुन भाषामा पढ्न पाए हुन्थ्यो भन्ने लाग्छ ?

(क) प्राथमिक तहमा(ख) निम्नमाध्यमिक तहमा

(ग) माध्यमिक तहमा.....(घ) उच्चतहमा.....

(च) भाषिक सङ्कटावस्था (Language endangerment)

६७. के तपाईंको भाषा अहिले लोप हुने अवस्थामा छ ?

(क) छ (ख) छैन (ग) थाहा छैन

६८. यदि छ भने यसका कारणहरू केके होलान् ? तल दिइएका मध्ये तपाईंलाई लागेका कारणमा चिन्ह लगाउनुहोस् ।

(क) पुरानो पुस्ताबाट नयाँ पुस्तामा भाषा सर्ने प्रक्रियाको अभाव

(ख) भाषाका वहुसंख्यक वक्ताहरू अर्कैं भाषा बोल्न थालेकाले

(ग) देशको कुल जनसंख्यामध्ये यो भाषा बोल्नेहरूको संख्या अत्यन्तै कम भएकाले

(घ) भाषा प्रयोग हुने प्रचलित विषय-क्षेत्र घट्टै गएकाले

(ङ) सञ्चार माध्यममा पहुँच नभएकाले

(च) भाषा सिकाइ र साक्षरता कार्यक्रमका लागि सामग्री नभएकाले

(छ) भाषिक अभिवृति र भाषानीतिसम्बन्धी सरकारी उदासीनताले

(ज) आफ्नै भाषाप्रति सम्बन्धित समुदाय उदासीन भएकाले

(झ) भाषाको अभिलेखीकरण नभएकाले

(ञ) भाषाका वक्ताहरूको सामाजिक-आर्थिक अवस्था कमजोर भएकाले

(ट) कुनै पनि काम वा अवसर नपाइने भएकाले

(ठ) भाषाप्रति आकर्षणको अभाव भएकाले

(ड) अधिकांश वक्ताहरू पाको उमेरका मात्र भएकाले

(ढ) शिक्षा र रोजगारीका लागि शहरतिर लाग्ने वा विदेश जाने प्रवृत्ति बढेकाले

६९. भाषिक सङ्कटका दृष्टिले तपाईंको भाषाको अवस्था के छ ?

(क) सम्भावित सङ्कटावस्था

(ख) सङ्कटावस्था

(ग) गम्भीर सङ्कटावस्था

(घ) मरणासन्न अवस्था

(ङ) मतप्रायः/लोप भद्रसकेको

(छ) भाषिक हस्तान्तरण र जीवन्तता (Language transmission and vitality)

७०. तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरू सबैले मातभाषा बोल्छन् ?

(क) बोल्द्यन (ख) बोल्दैनन

७१. तपाईंको समदायका साना केटाकेटीहरू ठला भएर विहे गरिसकेपछि पनि यो भाषा बोल्दून भन्ने लाग्छ ?

(क) लारच्छ (ख) लारदैन

७२. तिनै केटाकेटीहरू बढ़ा भएपछि नि ?

(क) बोल्छन (ख) बोल्दैनन

७३. तपाईंको भाषा नयाँ पस्तामा सन्तोषजनक रूपमा हस्तान्तरण होदैछ ?

(क) छ
(ख) छैन

७४. तपाईंको सम्दायका युवायुवतीहरूले यो भाषा जति राम्री बोल्न् पर्ने हो त्यति नै राम्री बोल्छन् ?

(क) बोल्छन (ख) बोल्दैनन

(ज) भाषिक बफादारी (Language loyalty)

७५. आफ्नो मातृभाषा बोल्न छाडेका तपाईंको भाषिक समुदायका मानिसहरूलाई मातृभाषीको मान्यता दिनुहुन्छ ?

(क) मान्यता दिन्छ (ख) मान्यता दिन्न

७६. तपाईंकै भाषिक समुदायका युवाहरूले आफ्नो भाषा नबोलेर अर्कै भाषा बोलेको सुन्दा कस्तो लाग्छ ?

(क) राम्रो (ख) नराम्रो

७७. तपाईं आफ्नो समुदायका युवाहरूलाई मातृभाषा सिक्न भन्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) भन्छ (क) भन्दिन

७८. भन्नुहुन्छ भने किन ?

(क)..... (ख).....

(ग)..... (घ).....

७९. भन्नुहुन्न भने किन ?

(क)..... (ख).....

(ग)..... (घ).....

(भ) भाषिक निरन्तरता र अपसरण (Language maintenance and shift)

८०. तपाईं केटाकेटी छँदा कुनकुन भाषा बोल्नुहुन्थ्यो ?

(क) आफ्नै घरमा.....,.....,.....
(ख) साथीभाइसँग.....,.....,.....
(ग) छिमेकीहरूसँग.....,.....,.....

८१. तपाईंका घरमा मातृभाषाबाहेक अरु कुनै भाषाको प्रयोग बढौदै गएको छ ?

(क) छ (ख) छैन

८२. स्कूल वा क्याम्पसमा तपाईंको मातृभाषाको पढाइ हुन्छ ?

(क) हुन्छ (ख) हुँदैन

८३. तपाईंको मातृभाषा पढाउने शिक्षकहरू हुनुहुन्छ ?

(क) हुनुहुन्छ (ख) हुनुहुन्न

८४. तपाईं आफ्ना नानीहरूले मातृभाषामै पढन लेख्न जानुन भने चाहनुहुन्छ ?

(क) चाहन्छ (ख) चाँहन्न

८५. तपाईंको मातृभाषामा पढाइ हुने विद्यालय खोलियो भने तपाईं के कस्तो सहयोग गर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) केटाकेटीलाई पढन पठाएर
(ख) समुदायका अरु मानिसहरूलाई आफ्ना नानीहरू पठाउन प्रोत्साहित गरेर
(ग) आर्थिक सहयोग गरेर
(घ) स्वयंसेवक भई काम गरेर
(ङ) अन्य प्रकारले

८६. तपाईंको समुदायले आफ्नो मातृभाषा पढाउने उद्देश्यले कुनै विद्यालय सञ्चालन गरेको छ ?

(क) छ

(ख) छैन

८७. तपाईंको समुदायले प्रकाशित गरेका मातृभाषाका समाचार पत्र, पत्रिका वा पुस्तकहरू तपाईं किन्तुहुन्छ ?

(क) किन्न्छु

(ख) किन्दिन

८८. मातृभाषाका सामग्रीहरू घरमा अरु कक्षले पढ्छन् ?

(क) हजुरबुवा (ख) हजुरआमा

(ग) बुवा (घ) आमा

(ङ) आफै

(च) श्रीमान्/श्रीमती

(छ) छोराछोरीहरू (ज) अन्य

८९. रेडियोबाट मातृभाषामा सामग्रीहरू प्रसारित हुन्छन् भने तपाईं कतिको सुन्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) सर्वै

(ख) धेरैजसो

(ग) कहिलेकाहौं

(घ) ज्यादै कम

(ङ) सुन्दिन

(च) कार्यक्रम नै छैनन्

९०. टेलिभिजनबाट मातृभाषामा सामग्रीहरू प्रसारित हुन्छन् भने तपाईं कतिको हेर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) सर्वै

(ख) धेरैजसो

(ग) कहिलेकाहौं

(घ) ज्यादै कम

(ङ) हेर्दिन

(च) कार्यक्रम नै छैनन्

९१. तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरू कुन कुन भाषा बोल्न्छन् ?

(क) घरमा

(अ)..... (आ) (इ).....

(ख) साथीसँगीसँग

(अ)..... (आ) (इ).....

(ग) छिमेकीहरूसँग

(अ)..... (आ) (इ).....

(घ) स्कूलमा

(अ)..... (आ) (इ).....

(ब) **भाषा मिश्रण (Code mixing)**

९२. तपाईं आफ्नो मातृभाषा बोल्दाबोल्दै अर्को भाषाका शब्दहरू मिसाउने वा अर्को भाषामा बोल्न सुरु गर्ने गर्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) गर्दु

(ख) गर्दिन

९३. यदि त्यसो गर्नुहुन्छ भने त्यसका कारणहरू केके हुन सक्छन् ?

(क) अर्को भाषामा कुनै वस्तु वा भावलाई बुझाउने शब्दहरू सजिलै भेटिन्छन् ।

(ख) कतिपय विषयमा कुरा गर्दा अर्को भाषा बढी सजिलो हुन्छ ।

(ग) अन्य भाषाका शब्द वा वाक्य मिसाएर बोल्दा इज्जत बढाउन् ।

(घ) अरु कुनै कारण ?

९४. अन्य भाषाका शब्दहरू मिसाएर बोलेको तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ ?

(क) यसले आफ्नो मातृभाषालाई नै समृद्ध बनाउँछ ।

(ख) यसो गर्दा मातृभाषाको शुद्धता र सुन्दरतामा असर पुग्छ ।

(ग) यसो गर्दा भाषा अभ्य बढी बुझ्न सकिने खालको हुन्छ ।

(घ) अन्य कैनै कारण ?

१५. तपाईंले बोल्ने भाषा र तपाईंका हजरबाआमाले बोल्ने उही भाषामा भिन्नता भएभै लाग्छ ?

१६. यदि लाग्छ भने कूनकून करामा

- (क) उच्चारण
- (ख) शब्दभण्डार
- (ग) कतिपय वाक्यगठनमा
- (घ) अन्य भाषाका शब्दहरू मिसाउने कुरामा
- (ङ) बोल्ने तरीका/लवजमा

१७. तपाईंका नानीहरूले आफ्नो मातभाषा बोल्दा अन्य भाषाका शब्दहरू तपाईंले भन्दा बढी मिसाउँछन् ?

(क) मिसाउँछन (ख) मिसाउँदैनन

(ट) भाषिक अभिवृत्ति (Language attitude)

९८. अरु भाषाका तुलनामा तपाईंलाई आफुनो मातृभाषा कस्तो लाग्छ ?

(क) समृद्ध (ख) छोटो/छरितो (ग) मिठो (घ) सद्गीतमय (ड) अति ठाडो र रुखो
 (च) बढी इज्जत भएको (छ) साहित्यिक (ज) शुद्ध/चोखो (झ) शक्तिशाली (झ) प्राचीन

९९. अरु भाषाका तुलनामा तपाईंलाई आफ्नो भाषा कत्तिको उपयोगी लाग्छ ? तल लेखिएका बुँदालाई आधार बनाई भन्नुहोस् ।

(क) जागीर वा रोजगारी (ख) व्यापार (ग) सामाजिक गतिशीलता (घ) साहित्य
(ड) पठनपाठनको माध्यम (च) विज्ञान र प्रविधि

१००. नेपाली वा अंग्रेजी भाषा बोल्ने मानिसहरूका बीचमा तपाईंलाई आफ्नो मातुभाषा बोल्दा कस्तो लाग्छ ?

(क) प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ेजस्तो लाग्छ (ख) अप्टयारो लाग्छ (ग) त्यस्तो केही लाग्दैन

१०१. आफुनो मातभाषा बोलेकै कारण तपाईंले कनै समस्या भोग्न परेको छ ?

(ਕ) ਛੁ (ਖ) ਛੈਨ

१०२. छ भने, निम्नमध्ये केकस्तो समस्या परेको छ ?

(अ) सामाजिक पक्षपात (आ) राजनीतिक भेदभाव (इ) आर्थिक पक्षपात
(ई) शत्रुतापूर्ण व्यवहार (उ) शिक्षामा पक्षपात (ऊ) सामाजिक दबाव (ए) राजनीतिक
दबाव (ऐ) आर्थिक दबाव (ओ) अरु कुनै

१०३. तपाईंको मातृभाषा बोल्न नजान्ने मान्छेसित तपाईंका छोरा वा छोरीले विवाह गरेको तपाईंलाई मन पर्छ कि
पर्दैन ?

(क) मन पर्छ (ख) मन पर्दैन

१०४. तपाईंको समुदायका अहिलेका केटाकेटीहरू ठूला भएपछि तिनीहरूका पनि छोराछोरी हुन्छन्, के तिनीहरूले
यो भाषा बोल्न सक्लान् ?

(क) सक्लान् (ख) सक्दैनन् होला

१०५. यदि सक्दैनन् भने यो कुरा तपाईंलाई कस्तो लाग्छ ?

(क) रामो (ख) ठिकै (ग) नराम्रो

१०६. तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरूले सबैभन्दा पहिले कुन भाषा सिक्नु पर्छ ?

१०७. कुनकुन दुईवटा भाषा तपाईं सबैभन्दा बढी बोल्नु हुन्छ ?

(क)..... (ख).....

१०८. तपाईंले बोल्ने भाषाहरूमध्ये कुन भाषा सबैभन्दा बढी मन पर्छ ?

(ठ) प्रशंसामूलक सोधखोज (Appreciative enquiry)

१०९. तपाईंको भाषामा त्यस्ता केके कुराहरू छन् जसबाट तपाईंलाई गौरवको अनुभव हुन्छ ?

(क)..... (ख)..... (ग).....
(घ)..... (ङ)..... (च).....
(छ)..... (ज).....

११०. तपाईंले आफ्नो मातृभाषाप्रति केकस्ता आकाङ्क्षा राख्नुभएको छ ?

(क)..... (ख).....
(ग)..... (घ).....

१११. ती आकाङ्क्षाहरू पूरा गर्न कक्सको संलग्नता आवश्यक छ ?

(क) सरकार (ख) समुदाय (ग).....
(घ)..... (ङ)..... (च).....

११२. यस भाषालाई समृद्ध पार्न समुदाय आफैले केके गर्न सक्छ ?

(क)..... (ख).....
(ग)..... (घ).....
(ङ)..... (च).....

११३. यस भाषालाई समृद्ध पार्न सरकारी वा अन्य निकायले केके गर्नुपर्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....
(ग).....(घ).....
(घ).....(ङ).....
(च).....

११४. तपाईंको भाषाको विकासका लागि तपाईं केकस्ता काममा सहयोग गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ ?

(क) लिपि विकासका लागि काम गरेर
(ख) हिज्जेलाई व्यवस्थित गरेर
(ग) कोश बनाएर
(घ) व्याकरण लेखेर
(ङ) साहित्य लेखेर
(च) पाठ्यपुस्तक लेखेर
(छ) पत्रपत्रिका निकालेर
(ज) प्रशासनमा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर
(झ) प्राथमिक शिक्षामा प्रयोग गर्न लगाएर

११५. मातृभाषाको विकासका लागि केकस्ता काम गर्न आवश्यक ठान्नुहुन्छ ?

(क).....(ख).....
(ग)(घ).....

☺ धन्यवाद ☺

Annex B: Wordlist

नेपालको भाषिक सर्वेक्षण

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय
कीर्तिपुर, काठमाडौं, नेपाल
राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, नेपाल सरकारको
सहयोगमा सञ्चालित

२१० शब्दसूची

अनुसन्धाताहरूको नाम मिति:.....

(१)
(२)
(३)
(४)
(५)

भाषासूचक(हरू)को नाम

(१)
(२)
(३)
(४)
(५)

स्थान: जिल्ला: गाविस/नगरपालिका: वडा न:

गाँउ/टोल.....

भाषको नाम: अन्तर्वार्ताको माध्यमभाषा:

क्र. सं.	अङ्ग्रेजी	नेपाली	भाषा:.....
1.	body	शरीर	
2.	head	टाउको	
3.	hair	कपाल	
4.	face	अनुहार	
5.	eye	आँखा	

6.	ear	कान	
7.	nose	नाक	
8.	mouth	मुख	
9.	teeth	दाँत	
10.	tongue	जिब्रो	
11.	breast	स्तन	
12.	belly	पेट	
13.	arm/ hand	हात	
14.	elbow	कुइनो	
15.	palm	हत्केला	
16.	finger	आँला	
17.	fingernail	नड	
18.	leg	खुट्टा	
19.	skin	छाला	
20.	bone	हाड	
21.	heart	मुट्ट	
22.	blood	रगत	
23.	urine	पिसाब	
24.	feces	दिसा	
25.	village	गाउँ	
26.	house	घर	
27.	roof	छानो	
28.	door	ढोका	
29.	firewood	दाउरा	
30.	broom	कुचो	
31.	mortar	सिलौटो	
32.	pestle	लोहोरो	
33.	hammer	हथौडा	

34.	knife	चक्रु	
35.	axe	बच्चरे	
36.	rope	डोरी	
37.	thread	धागो	
38.	needle	सियो	
39.	cloth	लुगा (कपडा)	
40.	ring	ओँठी	
41.	sun	घाम	
42.	moon	चन्द्रमा	
43.	sky	आकाश	
44.	star	तारा	
45.	rain	वर्षा	
46.	water	पानी	
47.	river	नदी	
48.	cloud	बादल	
49.	lightening	बिजुली चम्कनु	
50.	rainbow	इन्द्रेणी	
51.	wind	बतास	
52.	stone	ढुङ्गा	
53.	path	बाटो	
54.	sand	बालुवा	
55.	fire	आगो	
56.	smoke	धुवाँ	
57.	ash	खरानी	
58.	mud	माटो	
59.	dust	धुलो	
60.	gold	सुन	
61.	tree	रुख	

62.	leaf	पात	
63.	root	जरा	
64.	thorn	काँडो	
65.	flower	फूल	
66.	fruit	फलफूल	
67.	mango	आँप	
68.	banana	केरा	
69.	wheat(husked)	गाहुँ	
70.	barley	जौ	
71.	rice (husked)	चामल	
72.	potato	आलु	
73.	eggplant	भण्टा	
74.	groundnut	बदाम	
75.	chili	खुर्सनी	
76.	turmeric	बेसार	
77.	garlic	लसुन	
78.	onion	प्याज	
79.	cauliflower	काउली	
80.	Tomato	गोलभेंडा	
81.	cabbage	बन्दा	
82.	oil	तेल	
83.	salt	नुन	
84.	meat	मासु	
85.	fat (of meat)	बोसो	
86.	fish	माछा	
87.	chicken	चल्ला	
88.	egg	अण्डा	
89.	cow	गाई	

90.	buffalo	भैसी	
91.	milk	दुध	
92.	horns	सिंड	
93.	tail	पुच्छर	
94.	goat	बाखो	
95.	dog	कुकुर	
96.	snake	सर्प (साँप)	
97.	monkey	बाँदर	
98.	mosquito	लामखुटे	
99.	ant	कमिला	
100.	spider	माकुरा	
101.	name	नाम	
102.	man	मान्दे	
103.	woman	आइमाई	
104.	child	बच्चा	
105.	father	बाबा	
106.	mother	आमा	
107.	older brother	दाजु	
108.	younger brother	भाइ	
109.	older sister	दिदी	
110.	younger sister	बहिनी	
111.	son	छोरो	
112.	daughter	छोरी	
113.	husband	लोगने (श्रीमान)	
114.	wife	स्वास्नी (श्रीमती)	
115.	boy	केटो	
116.	girl	केटी	
117.	day	दिन	

118.	night	रात	
119.	morning	विहान	
120.	noon	मध्यान्ह	
121.	evening	साँझ	
122.	yesterday	हिजो	
123.	today	आज	
124.	tomorrow	भोली	
125.	week	हप्सा (साता)	
126.	month	महिना	
127.	year	वर्ष	
128.	old	बूढो	
129.	new	नयाँ	
130.	good	राम्रो (असल)	
131.	bad	नराम्रो (खराब)	
132.	wet	चिसो	
133.	dry	सुख्खा	
134.	long	लामो	
135.	short	छोटो	
136.	hot	तातो	
137.	cold	चिसो	
138.	right	दाहिने	
139.	left	देव्रे	
140.	near	नजिक	
141.	far	टाढा	
142.	big	ठूलो	
143.	small	सानो	
144.	heavy	गहैं	
145.	light	हलुका	

146.	above	माथि	
147.	below	तल	
148.	white	सेतो	
149.	black	कालो	
150.	red	रातो	
151.	one	एक	
152.	two	दुई	
153.	three	तीन	
154.	four	चार	
155.	five	पाँच	
156.	six	छ	
157.	seven	सात	
158.	eight	आठ	
159.	nine	नौ	
160.	ten	दश	
161.	eleven	एघार	
162.	twelve	बाह	
163.	twenty	बीस	
164.	one hundred	एक सय	
165.	who	को	
166.	what	के	
167.	where	कहाँ	
168.	when	कहिले	
169.	how many	कति	
170.	which	कुन	
171.	this	यो	
172.	that	त्यो	
173.	these	यिनीहरू	

174.	those	उनीहरू	
175.	same	उही	
176.	different	फरक (अलग)	
177.	whole	सबै	
178.	broken	फुटेको	
179.	few	थोरै	
180.	many	धेरै	
181.	all	सबै	
182.	to eat	खानु	
183.	to bite	टोक्नु	
184.	to be hungry	भोकाउनु	
185.	to drink	पिउनु	
186.	to be thirsty	तिर्खाउनु	
187.	to sleep	सुल्नु	
188.	to lie	पलट्नु	
189.	to sit	बस्नु	
190.	to give	दिनु	
191.	to burn	डढाउनु	
192.	to die	मर्नु	
193.	to kill	मार्नु	
194.	to fly	उड्नु	
195.	to walk	हिँड्नु	
196.	to run	दौड्नु	
197.	to go	जानु	
198.	to come	आउनु	
199.	to speak	बोल्नु	
200.	to hear	सुल्नु	
201.	to look	हेर्नु	

202.	I	ਮ	
203.	you (informal)	ਤੁੰ	
204.	you (formal)	ਤਪਾਈ	
205.	he	ਉ	
206.	she	ਉਨੀ	
207.	we (inclusive)	ਹਾਮੀ (ਸਮਾਵੇਖੀ)	
208.	we (exclusive)	ਹਾਮੀ (ਅਸਮਾਵੇਖੀ)	
209.	you (plural)	ਤਿਮੀਹਰੂ	
210.	they	ਉਨੀਹਰੂ	