

ejv nq superposed variety | eZ@vfb mvajmZ HwZnmwK ~šZ ntj l Zv GtKevtB j š ntq hvqwb | tmRb' c0Z' mK Rxeṭbi K_vevZfQ Avgvṭ' i c0qB i'btZ nq wbtā³ aiṭbi wgtk' mzi e'envi | thgb :

- K. ej wQbv hvBtZ w gybv |
- L. tmvRv nBqv Lvovl bv nBtj wUve |
- M. ewnti i Nṭi eṭm _vṭKv |
- N. PzPvc eimqv _vṭKv (eṭm _vṭKv Aṭ_ṣ)

D`vniṭYi wbtāiL Ask_ṭjv mvajmZi | mvaviY fvlve`envi Kvix Gifc wgtkY Kṭi _vṭKb Ges fvl weÁvbxv Gi i xZv m=útk'c0k0KiṭZ cvṭib | wKš-Avgiv Rwb fvlvi Ab`Zg c0vb KvR ntjv Ávcb ev c0KvK Kiv | wKš' GLvṭb tmlU thgb evav cvṭ'Q bv, ṭZgwb tkṭZvi cṭṭ' fveMṭṭYi Ašivq l nṭ'Q bv | eis AṭbK mgq tkṭZv Zv Dcṭfvm Kṭib | mvaviYZ mvayl Pwj ZimZi wgtk'Yi KviY_ṭjv wṭkṭY Kṭij ṭ'Lv hvq e³vi fvlvi mzi AÁZv, AmZK'gṭbvfve, Aí wkvṭZ ṭj vKṭ' i mṭ½ fvevwbgtq ṭ'Q' ṭeva BZ'w' |

2. c0Z Ges AvÁwj K fvlvi wgtkY

0ṭhvRbvš-fvlv0 wKsev 0Language is graphically localised' A_ev Gṭṭ'ṭ'ṭ' ṭMvcj nvj `vṭi Dv³ ṭšYxq- 0ṭṭvṭk ṭṭvṭk fvlv wfbœnq0(gmbi³4vqvb, 1985) GB wfbœvB AvÁwj K fvlv | mgvRfvl weÁvbx DBwj qvg ṭj ef (gYvj bv_, 1999 ṭ_ṭK D×Z) hvṭK ej ṭQb fvlv wṭṭ'ṭ' i B ṭ'KwZ. (A sub variety of a Language)

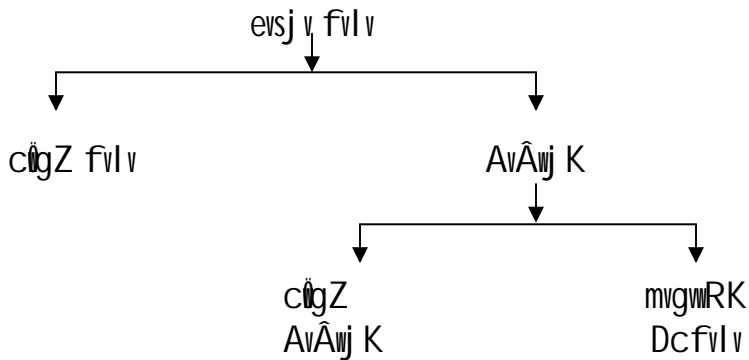
mvaviY RbkṭZ AvṭQ th, c0Z cvṭ gyBj Ašiv Dcflv e`jvq | GLb Aek` GZUv cv_ṭ' ṭbBṆ AvaybK cṭṭ' i eṭ' ṭj ṭZ AvÁwj K Dcflv cv_ṭ' ṭjv ewx cvṭ'Q bv | Zey Dcflv ṭjv j š nqwb | Avi GB DcflvB evṭṭq wṭ'Q GK evsjvi gṭa` AṭbK evsjv j wṭṭ' AvṭQ, thgb AvṭQ GK BstivRi gṭa` AṭbK BstivR | fvl weÁvbxv gṭb Kṭib 0fvlv0 i aviYvUv GKUv abstract ev Kiv Z aviYv, Dcflv ntjv R'vš- c0Z' ṭ'ṭ, ṭúo e'eüZ fvlv | g'v gYvj (cweṭ, 2003 ṭ_ṭK D×Z) GB K_vUvṭKB evṭṭq wṭṭ'ṭ' b Ṇ 0 The real and natural life of Language is in its dialects" eṭj (cweṭ mi Kvi, 2003) |

mvaviYfvṭe Dcflv ej ṭZ tevSṭbv nq GKwU ṭ'ṭki wvfbœṭ'ṭ' AÁṭj e'eüZ fvlvṭK ev AvÁwj K fvlvṭK | Zṭe GLb Dcflv káwU AvÁwj K fvlv ṭ'ṭ' i c0ZB wṭ' R Kṭi bv, eis wvfbœṭ'kYx l ṭckvi fvlvi c0Z wṭ' R Kṭi _vṭK |

thgb- DvKṭj i fvlv, Avgjvi fvlv, wkvṭKṭi fvlv, wvfbœAcivaxi fvlv BZ'w' | dv_ṭb(1960) Dcflv m=útk' eṭj b 0Dcflv nṭ'Q ṭKvb fvlvi GK ev GKwaK `ewṭ'ṭ' i ṭ'Q, th_ṭjvṭZ we`gvb _vṭK GK_ṭ'Q mvaviY `ewkó", hv Zvṭ' i ṭ'ZšṭKṭi ṭ'q fvlvi Ab'vb" `ewṭ'ṭ' ṭ_ṭK Ges H `ewkó" ṭjvṭK fvlv K ev Afvlv K ṭ'ṭ' e'envi Kiv hvq GKkiṭc | A_ṭ' Dcflv nṭ'Q ṭKvb e'vcK fvlvÁṭj fvlv wṭṭ'ṭ' i AvÁwj K ifc, th_ṭjvi gṭa` we`gvb _vṭK bvbv cv_ṭ', wKš' Zv ci `úi tevaMg | ci `úi tevaMg'Zv nviṭj Zv cwiYZ nq wfbœfvlvq (úgvqy, 1985) | Avevi RweKv, ṭckv l Ab'vb" bvbvṭṭ' i wvfbœṭ' th `ewṭ'ṭ' l wfbœv j ṭ' Kiv hvq tmlUṭK ejv nq mvgwRK Dcflv (sociolect) | A_ṭ' mgvṭRvcfvlv ntjv fvlvi wṭkl evj hv ṭKvṭb wṭkl mvgwRK ṭkYx e'envi Kṭi _vṭK | ṭKvṭb wṭkl mvgwRK ṭkYxi fvlv ṭ'ewkó" i mgvvi ntjv mgvṭRvcfvlv (gYvj, 1999) | mgvṭR Avgiv th ṭkYṭZ evm Kiw0Ṇ A_ṭ' wZK mṭṭ'gZvi gvb`ṭe, (D'PweE, ga'weE, wbaeE) wkvṭi wṭmṭe (D'PwkvṭZ, mvaviY wkvṭZ, ṭ'f wkvṭZ) BZ'w' c0Z' KwU ṭkYxi fvlv Avj v`v Avj v`v evsjv nṭq hvṭ'Q | thgb- BstivR wgvwqṭgi evsjv, ms`ZRxeṭ' i evsjv, wkvṭZ ga'weEi evsjv, Aí wkvṭṭ'Zi evsjv, wkvṭv_ṭ' i Kṭj Rxq evsjv, ew`evmṭ' i evsjv, Avgjvi evsjv, wvfbœAcivaxi evsjv, KwU Rxexi evsjv, DvKṭj i evsjv BZ'w' | fvlvi wBv`ṭkYxPwi ṭ' bv_vKṭj l wvfbœṭ'kYxi gvbṭj i fvlv wṭ' wfbœv qvq fvlvi Pwi ṭ' l Avj v`v nṭq hvṭ'Q | ZvQvov, ṭkYx mṭṭ'Z fvlvi fvgKv LṭB ṭ' i ZcYṭ' th e'w³ GKwU fvlvi i'ayejvi `ṭ'Zv ARṭ Kṭi tm ṭj Lvi `ṭ'Zv ARṭKvixi GK`ṭ wṭP | Avevi th e'w³ ṭKvṭb fvlvq mvmvZ" mṭṭ' KiṭZ cvṭi Zvi `vb mvaviY ṭj Lvov Rvbv ṭjvṭKi l cṭi | Gfvṭe ṭkYx mṭṭ'Z Avgiv fvlvi fvgKv j ṭ' Kw | Ab'w`ṭK ṭkYx cwi eZṭ ntj B fvlvi cweZṭ nṭe Zv bq Ges ṭkYxPwi ṭ' memgq fvlvPwi ṭ' i wṭ'ṭ' wYṭ'K l bq |

th ṭKvb AÁṭj i wkvṭZ ṭkYxi ṭjvṭṭ' i mṭ½ Zvṭ' i ṭ'ṭ' AÁṭj i KṭK, w'bgRij cṭ'Z mvaviY ṭkYxi gvbṭj i gṭa` fvlvi GKUv cv_ṭ' j ṭ' Kiv hvq | mvaviYZ wkvṭZ ṭjvṭKi GKUv AvKlṭ' _vṭK fvlvi c0Z ifci c0Z | Zviv mva'gZ ṭPov Kṭib fvlvi gvb ev c0Z ifcU AvqE KiṭZ | wKš' Zvṭ' i ARvṭš-B AvÁwj K fvlvi D'Pvi YMZ wKQy `ewkó" ṭ_ṭK hvq Zvṭ' i evṭṭb thLv ṭ_ṭK Zviv c0qB tewṭṭq AvmṭZ cvṭib bv | G aiṭbi D'Pi YMZ `ewkó"ṭK Jcflv K ṭ'vaxb wṭ'ṭ' (dialectal free variation) ejv nq | D`vniY`ṭc epEi gqgbwmsn ṭRjvi wṭ' kvj `vbvq l Ab'vb" wKQy AÁṭj meṭṭṭq tewk cv_ṭ' ṭ' Lv hvq 0e0 Ges 0o0 aYvb `wṭ' D'Pvi ṭ'Y | AwaKvsk ṭjvṭKB GgbwK wkvṭZ e'w³ i v l

D'Pga" m0y -fa'nb 0e0 tK waga" m0y -fa'nb 0ae0 ifc D'PviY Kte
 _vtK| thgb:elaka>aelaha, bela>bæla, lekha>læha,
 khela>khæla BZ'w | GKBfvte D'P ga" c0vr -fa'nb 0o' tK ,
 D'PmseZ c0vr -fa'nb 'u' ifc D'PviY Kivi c0YZv Awak cwi jwqZ|
 thgb: gol >gul, cor>cur, roja>ruja, doba>duba BZ'w | GKB
 flvvi a'vbi GB D'PviYMZ wfb0zv AvAwj K cfvtei Kvi tY ntq _vtK| Gme
 cfvte t_tK gY ntZ c0qvRb mPZbZv Ges PpP Abkj cwi tek, hv mevi
 cft jvf Kiv mnR ntq l tV bv| wKs' Zvicti l AAj wfvEK wkvqZ tkYx
 AvAwj K flvvi wfvbomvgrK c0Ztetk emevm Kti gvb ev c0Z flvvi c0Z
 Avs'w KZv ev AvM0ni Kvi tY AvAwj K Urtb gvbflvvi th Avti KwU ifc Mvb
 Ktib Kvtj Kvtj H ifcUB H AAjtj i Rb" GKU c0Z ifc wntmte weteP"
 ntq l tV| hvtk ejv thtZ cvti urban standard ev bMwi K gvbflvvi | Avgiv
 GtK c0Z flvvi wtkl ifc ev 0c0Z AvAwj K0 ej tZ cwi | evsj vflvvi
 tftt GB wPt wtk t' Lvfbv thtZ cvti Gfvte:



-vbnvq GKB flvq GB th ^evPt" ^Zwi nq, Zv KLtbv KLtbv tKvtbv AAjtj i
 flv gvbwPt tK RuUj Kti Ztj |

flv wgtkY (code mixing) mw0tZ Dcflvvi e'envi Kvixi fvgKv tbB ej tj B
 Ptj | KviY Dcflv e'envi Kvixi MY memgq GKUv AvUtcSti Xt0, wbnvR0e
 -Zt0Z0I RoZvnbfvte flv e'envi Ktib| mgm'v t' Lv t' q c0Z Ges
 AvAwj K wgtkZ flv e'envi Kvixi tftt | KviY wZv Zv Kgtftt, mvs-wZK
 cwi g0tj, c0vmtb, wkvqZ gvb t' i gbbkxj Avtj vPbvq, Ab" kni t_tK AvMZ

AwZw_ ev eUyevUtei mtz wbr ^wkvqZ fve l mYwPtvtai cwi Pq w tZ wMtq
 c0Z evsj vq K_v ejvi tP0v Ktib| ej vevuj " Awakvsk mgq Zv nq Jcfwv K
 ^evPt" | wKs' wZv Zvi wZv tbi Ni-Mp-wj nvU-evRvi cfvZ c0Ztetk th
 flvvi e'envi KtitZ ^0> ^teva Ktib Zv ntjv Zvi gj- AvAwj K flvvi | A_P
 wZv th wkvqZ GB Ansteva KLtbv mPZb KLtbv AmPZbfvte ZvtK c0Z
 evsjvi k0fvEvti i wtk tvtj t' q| Gfvte Zvi e'eüZ flvvi Awakvsk mgqB
 ntq l tV c0Z l AvAwj K flvvi wgtkY | gYvj bv_ mgvRflv w0vbx tj eftK
 (gYvj , 1999:132) mg_0 Kti etj b N 0tevanq tKvtbv wgtk' ev RuUj mgvRi
 cft metPtq ev-em0Z ^w0kvY nt'Q Dcflv mvgwRK tKvtbv Dcwi cbe
 (superposed/superordinate) gvb' flvvi mtz m0wKZ Kti t' Lv Ges
 Dcflv mgtK tm flvvi Avl Zvq Zv ^Kvi Kti tbi qv0

Avgiv Rvb Av wvgrK t0vctUi mxgveZv KwUtg mevi cft tKvtbv flvvi
 c0ZifcU AvqE Kiv m0e nq bv| Xiv kni emv Kitz Avmv gvb tKvtbv
 c0Z0vth fvZ'ntq AvM c0Z evsj v wLteb, Zvici e'emv ev PvKw L0tZ
 tei nteb Ggb nvm'Ki ^we w00q tK Kite bv| GKRb gvb flvvi
 tftMwv K mxgvti Lvtk ^ti tvtj w tZ cvtib| wKs' Zvicti l t_tK hvq Zvi
 gvbwmK mxgvti Lvi K_v| 0Avcbvi emw wK t0vqvLwv 0' wKsev 0Avcbvi K_vq
 ewi kvBj ^Uvb Avt00| tftt wtk t' Ggb weeZKi Dw3 i tb jwZ ntZ nq
 AtbKtK | A_P e3v Zvi fvecKvtk KZUv ^0> ^teva Ktitjv tmU Mfvi fvte
 Dcj w0 Ktitj Kvtiv cft Ggb Dw3 Kiv m0e bq | mwZ'Kvi At_0Ggb wgtk'
 c0Zw0vq e3vi flvvi GKw tK jvf Kti MwZgqZv Ab'w tK ntq DfV
 ^evPt' gqZv | 0flvvi tftMwv K mxgv (geographically localised) M0Y Ki "K
 Avi bvB Ki "K, gvbwmK mxgvti M0Y Kti Ges Zvi gvtSB Zvi tK' wvFM Ges
 tK' wZM KvRvi Y m0wK' Mto DfV0 (0gvqly, 1985) |

3. wtk flvvi wgtkY

w0fwv K ev eUfwv K cwi wZtZ flvxi flvfvEvte GKwK flvvi mnve'tbi
 dtj tKvtWi miY (code shifting) ntZ cvti (gYvj , 1999) | flv w0vth
 tKwmiY ^yKg ntZ cvti | tKw wgtkY (code mixing) Ges tKw cwi eZ0
 (code switching) | K_v ejvi mgq GKflvvi mtz Aci flvvi e'vKiYMZ
 wfvb0e ^ti th m0wZcY wgtkY NtU, tmU nt'Q tKw wgtkY | tKw wgtkY mvavi YZ
 AmPZbfvte NtU _vtK | Ab'w tK tKw cwi eZ0 mPZbfvte NtU _vtK | Rb
 tmvqvtbi gftZ- 'Refers to instances when speakers switch between

codes (Languages, Language varieties) in the course of a conversation. Switches may involve different amounts of speech and different Linguistic units- from several consecutive utterances to individual words and morphemes'...(Swan et al. 2004).

GKRb e'w³ h^w GtKi AwAk fvlv Rvtbb Ges tmlU h^w cw^w wZ Abgv^{ti} Avj v`v Avj v`v e'envi Kivi 'lgZv ivtLb ZLb tmlU^tK ej v nq tKwW cw^w eZ⁰ | A_ f^r tKwW wgtk'Y ntjv GtKi AwAk fvlvi wgtk'Y NuU^tq evK^w 'Zwi Kiv | Avi tKwW cw^w eZ⁰ ntjv e³vi fvlwU^tK cw^w eZ⁰ Kti tdjv | thgbNⁿ actually Avwg GKwU c'Y⁰ w^tqUv^{ti} K_v fivwQ | I am sorry, Avgvi late ntq tMj | 'Sunday evening G P^tj Avmly, Avgiv movie t`Ltev, and we will have dinner together, never mind, I don't like it if you miss' G ai^tbi tKwW wgtk'Y Ges tKwW cw^w eZ⁰ wetkl Kti K^t_vcK_bvfwEK tKwW cw^w eZ⁰ (conversational code switching) c'q memgq Kti w^wK | mgvRfvlwAw^tbi `w^tZ GuU w^wKZ.welq | cw^w_exi AtbK fvlvq wetkl Kti w^wRb¹ (pidgin) I t^tl^j² (creole) fvlvi t^tl^t GB fvlv wgtk'Yi 'i'Zi Acwi mxg |

w^wUk fvi^tZ c'q `k eQi evsjv fvlvflv AA^tj w^wfvlK cw^w wZ w^wg^w wQ | c'f^y fvlv BstiwRi Aw^wacZ'ev^t i g^ta^w t^tkl evsjvflv w^wngvq w^wq k^wfV^wi mg^x K^ti^tQ bvbv NvZ-c'Zⁿv^tZ, eU BstiwR k^w AvZ^wKi^tYi g^wa^tg | GKBfvt^e ev^wij I GKUv `xNR^vjxb w^wfvlK cw^w wZ^tZ evm Kti g^tbi fve c'k^wK Ki^tZ w^wU^tq ARvt^sB w^wtL w^wtq^tQ fvlvmit^Yi g^tZv GKwU gj⁻evb c'q^wqv | ejv ev^uj^w fvlvmit^Yi c_ atⁱB k^w AvExKi^tYi KivRwU GuU^tq hvq | wet^w k^w k^w nVr Kti evsjv Aw^wfv^tb w^wvb cv^te bv | Gi GKUv `xNR^vjxb e'envi v^wK^tZ n^te fvlvmit^Y c'q^wqv | BstiwRmn Av^wie, dvi^wm c'f^wZ fvlvi AtbK k^w Gfvt^eB ntq D^tv^tQ Avgv^t i w^wR⁻^ m^wu⁻ | h^w I AvRK^vj cw^w fvlK m^wg^wv^tK mnR Kivi Rb^w c'p^z BstiwR k^w evsjvflvq AvZ^wKZ. n^t'Q | h^w t^tLv hvq fvlvmit^Yi bvtg μ g^wMZ gj⁻fvlvi w^wP^zz NU^tQ Zvnt^j fvlv c'q^wYI (language death) NU^tZ cv^ti Ges D^me n^tZ cv^ti m^wu^Yg^wKwU bZ^b fvlvi | m^we^z Ggb Avk^wv t^tKB tKv^tbv Kvi^tY evsjv BstiwR w^wg^wkt^q K_v ej^tZ i^tbtj m^w n c'k^wK K^tib m^tPZb g^wb^y | KviY fvlvi c'z g^wb^y i Ab^ym GZB Mfxi th, fvlv e'env^ti mg^wb^w cw^w eZ⁰ t^tLv w^tj Zv w^wtq bvbv w^wZ^tK⁰ m^wo nq | ZvB fvi^tZ w^w Ges BstiwR w^wg^wkt^q th w^wsvj k fvlv 'Zwi n^t'Qⁿ Zvi w^wt^x c'Zer^w I n^t'Q c'Zw^wbqZ | c^we^wl miKvi (2003) c^wo^ge^tz

wgtk'wzi D`vniY w^tq etj tQbN BstiwR evnt^{bi} BkK^zj cov t^tq hLb etj 'Rw^wbm, Kij iv^t w^wU^wf^tZ Ggb GKUv d^wv^wUv g^wU^w AvB n^ww^wUz^wm BU&Aj & n^wU^wU^wo- ZLb Zv^t iB ew^woi Kvt^{ri} t^tq nq^tZv ej tQ 'Av^w w^w Aw^wEi^tejvq Avghv^tv t^tBL^tZ Rvt^e | 'ZviB cvovq gv^w vb nq^tZv ej tQ, 'l me (GB `s⁻m BstiwR s - Gi Avl qvt^r) tcv^tdmi -Ui ev^s bv, Av^wcb h^wg t^tvK nb, tdi G Mij^tZ X^wteb t^tZv te^wgv cv^te t^te! (c^we^wl, 2003 : 115) |

th tKv^tbv fvlvq cw^w fvlv thgb w^wKZ, tZg^wb FYKZ.k^wal (loan word) mgvR w^wKZ | FYKZ.k^wal^tv c'k^wZc^tq Avgv^t i l^waxical gap ci^tYi Rb^w Avn^wiZ ev e'e^uZ nq | thgbNⁿtU^wjt^wb (telephone), K^wu^uD^wvi (computer), tU^wjt^wfb (television) BZ^w | w^wK^s fvlv wgtk'Yi t^tl^t fvlvi w^wKZ.k^w v^wK^tZI Ab^w fvlvi k^w e'envi Kiv n^t'Q ev K_v ejvi mg^w Avgiv d^wq d^wq 'GKUv BstiwR k^w ev evK^w etj t^tuj AKvi^tY | Gi KviY fvlvZw^wE^k, gb^ww^wE^k `B-B n^tZ cv^ti | gb^ww^wE^k KviY mg^wni g^ta^w c^wvb K^tqKwU ntjv :

- K. t^tzvi g^tb^wth^wm AvKI⁰ Kiv |
- L. t^tzvi Kvt^Q e³e^tK kw³kvj x Kiv |
- N. w^wt^{ri} c^we^wZ^w c'k^wk Kiv BZ^w |

GLvtb Avgiv fvlvZw^wE^k KviYUvB e^wL^v Kivi tP^ov Ki^tev | fvlvZw^wE^k Kvi^tYi g^ta^w fvlvi evK^wMvb ev k^wibg^w c'q^wqv Ab^wZg | G Kvi^tYB GK fvlvi g^ta^w Ab^w fvlvi w^wfb^wet^wk^wYxi k^w Ab^wet^wki m^wh^wm cv^q | thgbNⁿ evsjv fvlvi evK^w MV^tbi GKUv mvavi Y i^wz ntjvNⁿ SOV (wet^wkl^w+wet^wkl^w+w^wqv) |

- K. m^wRb fvZ Lvq |
- L. Avcbvt^k gvQ tL^tZ ejv n^tq^tQ/ etj tQ |
- M. Avcbvt^k t^tdv /Kj e^wvK Ki^tZ etj tQ/ ejv n^tq^tQ |

GLvtb t^tdv/ Kj e^wvK k^wU^wi e'envi j^tYxq | mv^wc'kZK mg^tq G ai^tbi k^tai e'envi ew^x t^tq^tQ | thgbNⁿ Avgv^tK GKUv w^wg^wUv Kj w^w | Gi tKv^tbv evsjv cw^w fvlv t^tB | GuU Avgv^t i l^waxical gap | w^wK^s ev^tK^w k^wU wet^wkl^w w^wnt^{te} Vvq t^tq^tQ | G^wov evsjv fvlvi Dcm^m, c'z^wq c'f^wZi e'envi I wgtk'fvlvi c'f^wev^rvZ | thgb:

- K. Z^wg w^wt^u w^wU^tq et^wmvⁿB^ti^wR (seat)+ G
- L. Z^wg tem^ti Mvb MvB^te bvⁿ dvi^wm 'te⁰ + m^tji

M. teUvBtg Avmte bNdvim 0fe0+BstiwR (time)+G
 N. I qvi Kviti teZb wtz nteN BstiwR (worker)+i
 Gme 0s-t_k tLv hv"Q th, wgtkz K_v evji mthm fvlv wtrB
 Avgv i w tqtQ, Zvi Af s+xY mSMVtbi bvbv thvMmfi gva'tg| wKs'
 eZgvtb evsjvi m1/2 BstiwRi ht_0 wgtkY NUtQ| Gi KvY nt"Q Ntii tfZi
 evsjv BstiwR wgtkY K_veyZP Pij, BstiwRtZ Abgvb Pij, weAvctb wet'wk
 ctY"i e'envi, AvtQ BUvittBU, B-tgBj, Rb, mSvb vtK wet'ik Ges t'ik
 mSfbiv BstiwR gva'tg covtkvbv KitQ| dtj e'tj hv"Q Zt i fvlv Ges
 GKw bZb wgtkz v Mto DVtQ|

4. wgtkz civeRtbZ wgtkY

AvRKij tUw wtkb bUtk Ges DcvcKt'i c0gZ, AvAwj K Ges BstiwR
 fvlvq wgtkz K_v ejlv GKUv c0v ntq wotqtQ Ges GtZ eZgvtb
 evsj vflvi vfwek MwZtZ ht_0 kw³ c0qm Kiv nt"Q| thgbN0wqv wfdqvm⁰
 GLb vviU nte Avcbt' i tdfwvU wgdwRK t0M0g, wfdqvm⁰GKUzAtcYv
 Ki"b, ewk t0M0g t' t'eb tetKi ci, bUtki msjvc t'v Gi Kg N wK KiQ,
 tZvti KBw bv GBv bv KitZ, Avgv i AvM ej Q bv tKb&BZ" w | GQrov evU,
 tmv weKR, mvctvR, Btg, tbv, W, I tK BZ" w tZv evsj vflvi m1/2 wgtk
 tM0g| mevB GLb ejtZ f'j hv"Q wKs', KvY, KvRB, ai"b, BZ" w mY i
 evsj v t'v| bZb cRtbi gta' fvlvi GB bZb ifcU Atpk t'v wtrB|
 Gid'j c0s0g Dcflvi mswgtkY Mto DvtQ gvb' Dcflv| GQrov
 evsj vt'ki wewfbaAj t_k wewfbaAvAwj K Dcflv fvlv ivRavbtZ Gtm
 emem Kivi dtj Lg m² f'vte t'gsk fvlvi GKUv cwi eZ0 c0uqv BwZgta'
 mPZ ntqtQ|

eURwZK t'k I eURwZK msvwZK mswgtkY Atpk fvlvi B AvR tenj
 Ae-v| bvbv cwi eZ0 bi ga' w t'g Atpk fvlv B AvR bZb ifc M0Y KitiQ|
 wYce⁰Gwkv i v0' t'v gta' Zwgg I msnjt' i fvlv c0g wej'bi ct_|
 Zviv wtrRi fvlvi PvBtZ BstiwRtK i"Z; w t'Q| Avevi fvi t'Zi wRfvlvi
 m1/2 BstiwRi wgtkY GK bZb fvlvi Rb' wtrB| GgZvevq Avgiv fvlvi
 msiY (language maintenance), bmk fvlv mityi (language shift)
 ct'Gw AvR GKw eo c0k wktq'bi dtj BstiwRtK Avgiv AvR M0Y Kivi
 K_v ejw wKB, wKs' Zv c0qRbtK AwZug Kti Avgv i wR fvlvi Aw-Z;
 i'v t'q' m'gk A s'vq ntq wotqtQ| mZiv Avgiv wtrRi fvlvi tfZi
 BstiwRtK hv' Gfite vb Kti w t'Z wK, Zvntj f'el'iz tm Avevi evsjvi
 ka'fiv I c'web wtk mwi t'q t' te bv, Zv wv0Z Kti ejv hvq bv|

Dcmsnvi

tKv'bv fvlvi B GKw Awfba' eipT'nb, Awegk' m'ysnZ ifc vtK bv| evsjv fvlv
 Zvi e'wZug bq| mv=c0ZK mg'q c'vckjx fvlvi gnvZ', wgtkz, msev'cT

BZ" w i cive evsjvtK wgtkZ KitZ mrvh' KitQ| Avmtj fvlv wgtkYi wclqv
 meRbx| wKs' Ac0qRbxq wgtkY KZUv iKvi? tKbbv Ac0qRbxq wgtkYi dtj
 fvlvi we-t e'j NtU Ges t'g'w KZ; nviq | ZvB B'0wZ fvlvi e'j bv NuUq eis
 fvlvi c0qRbxq e'j NuUq Zvi wFZt' i tms' h'Aw'vi KitZ nte| hv' Avgiv
 tmU KitZ mg_0nB, Zvntj fvlv wgtkY Avgv i Rb' Lg tenk 0gwK' t'fc ntq w'vte
 bv| m'ev'w cweT miKv' i (2003) g'Z 0fvlv e'env' i bvbv c0s0g t'q'it (c0vfm,
 SMOV, BstiwR Avtbi evnv' t' w' t'q evsjvi gta' BstiwR K_v ka' wtr'c Kti)
 fvlvi weKw. ev wgtkY GKUzAvaUz' Lv w t'j l hZ'Y chs-fvlvi gj- f'le Ges Zvt' i
 RbtMv0x msnZ vtK ZZ'Y fvlvi t'gsk ifc wtrB Lg tenk wP's' Kivi wKytbB|
 f'le Avi RbtMv0xi wet"Q' NUtj B wP's' thgb ntq'w Bw' t' i t'q'it (cweT,
 2003)0|

Urkv

1. e'emv-ewYR' ev Ab'tKv'bv Kvity kn' i e' t' i wewfba' fvlvi gvt'v iv GKt' ntj
 hLb GtK Act' i fvlv Rvtb bv, ZLb m'wZ t'q'it m'Avctbi Rb' Zviv
 wtrR' i fvlv t'0to w t'g wgtkZ fvlvq K_v etj, ZLb w'wRtbi D'w' nq| GwU
 Kvi l gvZ'v bq, GwU gj-Z wZxq fvlv| A_ w' w' t'k' D' t'k' e'env' fvlv|
2. w'wRb hLb Atc'Y wKZ. w' i Zv jvf Kti gvZ'v wKsev c0g fvlv w'vte GK
 cRb' t_k Avt'K cRt' m'Aw' Z ntZ vtK Ges c0Z0v t'ctZ vtK, ZLb
 ZvtK t'vq etj |

M0c'wA

0gvt' AvR' . 1984. *evjv fvlv c0g LE*. XvKv: evsjv GKv'Wgx|
 gY'j bv. 1999. *fvlv l mgvR*. Kvj KvZv: bq' D' wM|

c0g t'P'saj. 1985. e' fvlv e'bvq m'v'evsjv l i t' d' m'v' fvlv. *evjv fvlv, wZxq LE*
 [m'uv.] 0gvt' AvR' . XvKv: evsjv GKv'Wgx. c.,385-386

ew'gP' a'P' t'c'v'vq. 1985. ev'v'j v fvlv. *evjv fvlv, wZxq LE*. [m'uv.] 0gvt'
 AvR' . XvKv: evsjv GKv'Wgx. c.,363-371

gubi v'v'v'v. 1985. XvKv B Dcflv : Aw' q'ev' c'Z' Aj . *evjv fvlv, wZxq LE*.
 [m'uv.] 0gvt' AvR' . XvKv: evsjv GKv'Wgx. c.,313-335

mi Kvi, cweT 2003. *fvlv'c0g fvlv'v'v'v*. Kj KvZv: t' R c'v'w' wks|

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