

evsj v flvq ugk'i xMZi c0qm: mv꠰c0ZK c0YZv

mij gv bvmi xb

mnKvi x Aa'vcK, fvl vweAvb vefvM, XvKv vek'ij q

Abstract

As a social phenomenon, language is frequently influenced by different social codes, orders, and customs of society. Apart from the structural variety of language, many social dimensions of languages, develop over the time, occur. Nowadays Bengali- a rich language of south Asia- is encountering such social dimensional changes, as it interacts with its complex socio-cultural components. More elaborately, Bengali exhibits frequently different sociolinguistic characteristics such as code switching and code mixing, bilingualism and multilingualism, social dialect and dialectal free variation, language maintenance and language shift. This paper provides a brief description of sociolinguistic terms mentioned above from the point of view of the recent changes in Bengali.

Key words: speech community, sociolect, code switching code mixing, code shifting, language shift

cw_exi wewfbc fvlvAtji th tKvfbv fvl vm꠰c0 vtiqi (speech community) fvevewbgvtqi Rb" GKwU gvb fvlv cPuj Z_vKtj I fvl vU e"envti i t'it bvbv "ewPĀ" j qI Kiv hvq | fvlvi GB "ewPĀ" Mto I tV AvAñj K e"eavb, mvgwRK " iweb'vm, agxq, ivR%anZK, b'tMv0x, wj %MZ BZ'vw" Kvi tY | GB Kvi Y_tj v fvlvtK bvbv fvtel c'fweZ Kivi dtj GKwU fvlvi wfbewfbc ewPĀ" cwi j wq | Z nq | gwbtji eúglyx ev"eZv Ges "Kxq Dc j wá c'Kvk Kivi Rb" fwl K wfbzvi c0qvRb nq Ges c0ZubqZ Zvi e"envil Avgiv t'LtZ cvB | c0ZwU fvlvi thgb AšubñZ kw³ AvtQ, tZgnb GKwU fvlvi c0ZwU ixMZil GK ai tbi AšubñZ ZvrchAvtQ | GB AšubñZ kw³ I ZvrcthP " t'fc Dc j wá i Rb" Avgiv GKwU fvlvi "ewPĀ"gg ifc c0qm Kti _vntK | Avmtj fvlv gvĀB bvbv "ewPĀ"i AwaKvi x | Ggb t'Kvfbv fvlv tB thU mvgwMK fvtē GK I ALĒ |

thme Kvi tY GB "ewPĀ" NtU tmiU I eū I wewPĀ | mvgRfvlvweAvbxt' i KvqZ vi "iZ; Avi I tenk | Zt'i gtZ gtbweAvbx thgb GKRb e"i gta AvPi Y I gtbvMZ eū mEvi Aw'Z; Awe"vi Ktib, GKBFvte mvgRfvlvweAvbx I GKRb e"i gta AtbK c'Kvi mvgRm꠰úK"LR cvb | thgb, GKB e"i KLBl Kvtiv cfyKLBl Kvtiv DaYzb KgRZP, tm KLBl AwffveK, wk'qK, mvgRtmeK, ag'PviK, 'j tbZv, Avevi KLBl wBKU ev cig AvZwq, eUz wkse v kI" | tm KLBl Riebml'x, KLBl "Rb gvĀ | eū "weikó GB mgt'R hLb GKRb e"i tK Pj vtdiv Ki tZ nq, ZLb tm Ablyvqx eū ex fvlvi ZtK wbg'Y I AvqE Kti wbtZ nq | A_w wewfbc e'w wZtZ wfbewfbc mvgwRK " iweb'vm Ablyvqx Aweivg c'wvq Pj tZ _vtK fvlv e"envti i bvbvgvĀ j qI Yxq | evsj vflv v Zvi e"wZwg bq | evsj vflvq wewfbc fwl K wfbz'v ev "ewPĀ" Mto I Vvi t'cQtb Dti E'thvM" Kvi Y_tj v nti v :

1. mvayl Pj wZ i xMZi ugk'Y
2. c0Z I AvAñj K fvlvi ugk'Y
3. wē'wk fvlvi ugk'Y
4. wgvwqvi c'fveRwbZ ugk'Y

1/ mvayl Puj Z i xMZi ugk'Y

cw_exi AtbK fvlvi gtZv evsj v fvlvq "wZ; i xMZ c'Puj Z AvtQñ mvaymZ I Puj Z i xMZ | GB "Z; i "ewkto'i Kvi tYB c0_tPšajx (1868-1946) Puj Zi xMZtK 0e½ fvlv0 Ges mvaymZtK 0evyevsj v I itd mvafvlv0 etj w'wYZ Kti tQb (c0_1985) | Ab'w' tK ew'agP>" P'tAvca"vq (1838-1894) G't i GKwU tK mvafvlv, AcivtK Aciv fvlv wntmte Dti E' Kti tQb (ew'agP>" 1985) | ixMZ wdi mt'½ wewwiz cwipq bv _vKtj I mvayiy Avb m꠰úbe e"i gvĀB G "tqi e"envit'qĀ I w'wqic' "ewkó" m꠰útk'Kgtewk AvZ | evsj v e'vKiv i cw'ZMY GB "B i xMZtK "Z; i xMZ wntmte w'wYZ Ktib Ges wj wLZifci t'qĀ I GB "B i xMZi ugk'Y tK "tYxq w'wYZ Kti 0_i "P'ev xi Acivta cix'v i LvZvq AgvR0x b'tK ZB'thvM'0 wbgq Avtvc Ktib | A_w "w fvlvi gh'v Avj'v Avj'v | mvayiy Kt_vcK_b ev mvgwRK thvM'thvM i'v i t'qĀ mvaymZ GLb e"eUz nq bv | Ebwesk I wesk kzvaxi ga'fvm chs- mvayl Puj tZi th t'qĀ w'fvrB wQj eZ'vtb Zv HwZnvmK "wZgvĀ | Puj Z ixMZ GLb fvlvi met'qĀ GKwacZ' wewi Kti tQ | Zely t'qĀ w'kt i mvaymZi e"envi GLBl Avgiv j qI Kti _vntK | mvaymZ GKmgq wj wLZ t'qĀ Ges f' a I w'w'ZRtbi fvlv wntmte gh'v cvl qvi AwaKvi AR0 Kti wQj Ges GB i xMZi GKwU m꠰ybRbK fvlv Aeqel Mto D'tvQj | tmRb" GB ixMZtK

ejv nq superposed variety | eZ0vfb mvajmZ HwZnmwK 7šZ ntj I Zv GtKevtiB j 8 ntq hvqvb | tmRb' c0Z'wnK Rxeṭbi K_vevZfQ Avgvṭ' i c0qB i'btZ nq vbtā³ aiṭbi vqkfi mzi e'envi | thgb :

- K. ej vQbv hvBtZ w gybv |
- L. tmvRv nBqv Lvovl bv nBtj wUve |
- M. evnti i Nti etm vṭKv |
- N. PzPvc eimqv vṭKv (etm vṭKv At_9)

D'vniṭyi vbtāiL Ask_ṭjv mvajmzi | mvaviY fvlve'envi Kvix Gifc vqkY Kṭi vṭKb Ges fvl we'Avbxi v Gi i xZv m=útk'c0k0KiṭZ cvṭib | wKš-Avgiv Rwb fvlvi Ab'Zg c0vb KvR ntjv Avcb ev c0kv Kiv | wKš' GLvṭb tmlU thgb evav cvṭ'Q bv, ṭZgwb tkṭZvi cṭṭṭ fveMṭṭyi Ašivq | nt'Q bv | eis AtbK mgq tkṭZv Zv Dcṭfvm Kṭib | mvaviYZ mvayl Pwj Zimzi vqkṭyi KviY_ṭjv vṭKṭY Kṭj ṭ'Lv hvq e³vi fvlvi mzi AAZv, AmZK'gṭbvfve, Aí wkvṭZ ṭj vKṭ' i mṭ½ fvevnbogṭq ṭ'Q' ṭeva BZ'w |

2. c0Z Ges Av'Avj K fvlvi vqkY

0thvRvš-fvlv0 wKsev 0Language is graphically localised' A_ev Gṭṭṭṭṭṭ ṭMvcj nvj ṭṭi i Dv³ ṭš Yxq- 0ṭṭvṭk ṭṭvṭk fvlv wfbœnq0(gmbi³vqvb, 1985) GB wfbœvB Av'Avj K fvlv | mgvRfvl we'Avb DBwj qvg ṭj ef (gYvj bv_, 1999 ṭ_ṭK DxZ) hvṭK ej ṭQb fvlv w'vṭṭṭṭ i B ṭ'KwZ. (A sub variety of a Language)

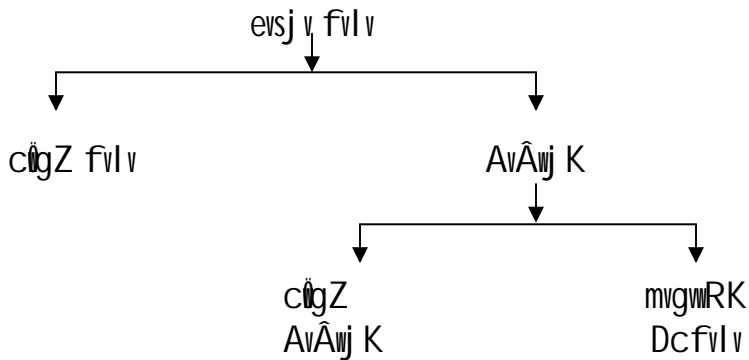
mvaviY RbkiZ AvṭQ th, c0Z cvṭ gyBj Aš' Dcflv e' jvq | GLb Aek' GZUv cv_ṭ' ṭbBṆ AvaybK cṭṭṭṭ i eṭ šj ṭZ Av'Avj K Dcflv cv_ṭ' ṭjv evx cvṭ'Q bv | Zey Dcflv ṭjv j 8 nqvb | Avi GB DcflvB evṭṭṭṭ w ṭ'Q GK evsjvi gṭa' AtbK evsjv j vKṭq AvṭQ, thgb AvṭQ GK BstivRi gṭa' AtbK BstivR | fvl we'Avbxi v gṭb Kṭib 0fvlv0 i aviYvUv GKUv abstract ev Kiv Z aviYv, Dcflv ntjv R'vš- c0Z'ṭṭ, ṭúo e'euZ fvlv | g'v gYvj (cweṭ, 2003 ṭ_ṭK DxZ) GB K_vUvṭKB evṭṭṭṭ w ṭqṭṭj b Ṇ 0 The real and natural life of Language is in its dialects' ṭj (cweṭ mi Kvi, 2003) |

mvaviYfvṭe Dcflv ej ṭZ tevSṭṭv nq GKwU ṭ'ṭki w'vfbœṭṭṭ' AAṭj e'euZ fvlvṭK ev Av'Avj K fvlvṭK | Zṭe GLb Dcflv k0wU Av'Avj K fvlv ṭ'vṭṭṭṭ i c0ZB vṭṭ' R Kṭi bv, eis w'vfbœṭṭṭ' I ṭckvi fvlvi c0Z vṭṭ' R Kṭi vṭK |

thgb- DvKṭj i fvlv, Avgjvi fvlv, wkvṭṭKṭi fvlv, w'vfbœAcivaxi fvlv BZ'w | dv_ṭṭ(1960) Dcflv m=útk'0ṭj b 0Dcflv nt'Q ṭKvb fvlvi GK ev GKwaK ṭ'vṭṭṭṭ' i ṭ'Q, th_ṭjvṭZ we'ṭṭṭ vṭK GK_ṭ'Q mvaviY ṭ'vṭṭṭ, hv Zvṭ' i ṭ'ZšṭKṭi ṭ'q fvlvi Ab'vb ṭ'vṭṭṭ ṭ_ṭK Ges H ṭ'vṭṭṭ ṭjvṭK fvlv K ev Afvlv K ṭ'ṭṭṭ e'envi Kiv hvq GKkiṭc | A_ṭ' Dcflv nt'Q ṭKvb e'vcK fvlv Ṃṭj fvlv w'vṭṭṭ i Av'Avj K ifc, th_ṭjvi gṭa' we'ṭṭṭ vṭK bvbv cv_ṭ', wKš' Zv ci ṭ'úi tevaMg | ci ṭ'úi tevaMg'Zv nviṭj Zv cwiYZ nq wfbœfvlvq (úgvqy, 1985) | Avevi RvveKv, ṭckv I Ab'vb' bvbvṭṭṭ i w'vṭṭṭ th ṭ'vṭṭṭ I w'vṭṭṭ j ṭṭ Kiv hvq tmlUṭK ejv nq mvgnvRK Dcflv (sociolect) | A_ṭ' mgvṭRvcflv ntjv fvlvi vṭkl evj hv ṭKvṭv vṭkl mvgnvRK ṭkYx e'envi Kṭi vṭK | ṭKvṭv vṭkl mvgnvRK ṭkYxi fvlv ṭ'vṭṭṭ i mgvvi ntjv mgvṭRvcflv (gYvj, 1999) | mgvṭR Avgiv th ṭkYṭZ evm Kiw0Ṇ A_ṭ'v0ZK mṭṭṭṭṭṭ gvb'ṭṭ, (D'PveṂ, ga'weṂ, vbaeṂ) wkvṭṭi vntmṭe (D'PvkvṭZ, mvaviY wkvṭZ, ṭ'vkvṭZ) BZ'w' c0Z'KwU ṭkYxi fvlv Avj v v Avj v v evsjv ntq hvṭ'Q | thgb- BstivR wgvWqvṭgi evsjv, ms'ZRvxeṭ' i evsjv, wkvṭZ ga'vṭṭṭ i evsjv, Aí wkvṭṭṭ i evsjv, wkvṭṭ' i Kṭj Rvq evsjv, ev'evmṭ' i evsjv, Avgjvi evsjv, w'vfbœAcivaxi evsjv, KwU Rvxi evsjv, DvKṭj i evsjv BZ'w | fvlvi vB R'ṭkYxPwi ṭ'bv vKṭj I w'vfbœṭṭṭṭ gvbṭj i fvlv vṭṭṭ wfbœv qvq fvlvi Pwi ṭ' I Avj v v ntq hvṭ'Q | ZvQvov, ṭkYx mṭṭṭZ fvlvi fvgKv LvB ṭ' i ZcYṭṭ th e'w³ GKwU fvlvi i'avejvi ṭ'ṭZv ARṭ Kṭi tm ṭj Lvi ṭ'ṭZv ARṭKvixi GK'ṭ vṭṭṭ | Avevi th e'w³ ṭKvṭv fvlvq mvvz' mṭṭṭ KṭjZ cvṭi Zvi ṭvb mvaviY ṭj Lvov Rvbv ṭjvṭKṭi I cṭi | Gfvṭe ṭkYx mṭṭṭZ Avgiv fvlvi fvgKv j ṭṭ Kw | Ab'w ṭK ṭkYx cwi eZṭ ntj B fvlvi cweZṭ nṭe Zv bq Ges ṭkYxPwi ṭ' memgq fvlvPwi ṭ'ṭ i vṭṭṭ vBvYqK I bq |

th ṭKvb AAṭj i wkvṭZ ṭkYxi ṭjvṭṭ' i mṭ½ Zvṭ' i ṭ'ṭṭ AAṭj i KṭK, w'bgRij cṭṭṭ mvaviY ṭkYxi gvbṭj i gṭa' fvlvi GKUv cv_ṭ' j ṭṭ Kiv hvq | mvaviYZ wkvṭZ ṭjvṭKṭi GKUv AvKlṭ vṭK fvlvi c0Z ifci c0Z | Zviv mva'gZ ṭP0v Kṭib fvlvi gvb ev c0Z ifcU AvqṂ KṭjZ | wKš' Zvṭ' i ARvṭš-B Av'Avj K fvlvi D'Pvi YMZ wKQy ṭ'vṭṭṭ ṭ_ṭK hvq Zvṭ' i evṭṭṭ thLv ṭ_ṭK Zviv c0qB tevṭṭṭ AvmṭZ cvṭib bv | G aiṭbi D'Pi YMZ ṭ'vṭṭṭ ṭK Jcflv K ṭ'vaxb'vṭṭṭ (dialectal free variation) ejv nq | D'vniY'ṭc evṂṂ gqgbvmsn ṭRjvi wṭ kvj ṭvbvq I Ab'vb' wKQy AAṭj vṭṭṭṭṭṭ cv_ṭ' ṭ'Lv hvq 0e0 Ges 0o0 avṭb ṭ'ṭ D'Pvi ṭY | AvvKvsk ṭjvṭK B GgbwK wkvṭZ e'w³ i v |

D"PGA" m=ly -fa'nb 0e0 tK waga" m=ly -fa'nb 0ae0 ifc D"PviY Kte
 _vtK| thgb:elaka>aelaha, bela>bæla, lekha>læha,
 khela>khæla BZ"ww | 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"ww | GKB
 flvvi a'vbi GB D"PviYMZ wfbzv AvAwj K cfvtei Kvi tY ntq _vtK| Gme
 cfve t_tK gy ntZ c0qvRb mPZbZv Ges PVP Abkj cwi tek, hv mevi
 cfj 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
 AvSwi 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| hvK ej v thZ cvti urban standard ev bMwi K gvbflvvi | Avgiv
 GtK c0Z flvvi wtkl ifc ev 0c0Z AvAwj K0 ej tZ cwi | evsj vflvvi
 tqtT GB wPT wtk t' Lvfbv thZ cvti Gfvte:



-vbnbvqx GKB flvq GB th "wPT" ^Zwi nq, Zv KLtbv KLtbv tKvtbv AAjtj i
 flv gvbwPT tK RuUj Kti Ztj |

flv wgtkY (code mixing) mw0Z Dcflvvi e'envi Kvixi fvgKv tbB ej tj B
 Ptj | KviY Dcflv e'envi Kvixi MY memgq GKUv AvUtcSti Xt0, wbnvRq
 -Zt0Z0I RoZvnbfvte flv e'envi Ktib| mgm'v t' Lv t' q c0Z Ges
 AvAwj K wgtkZ flv e'envi Kvixi tqtT | KviY wZv Zv KgtqtT, mvs-wZK
 cwi gEtj, c0vmtb, wkvqZ gvb t' i gbbkxj Avtj vPbvq, Ab" kni t_tK AvMZ

AwZw_ ev eUyevUtei mtz wBR^wkvqZ fve l mjwPtevtai cwi Pq w tZ wMtq
 c0Z evsj vq K_v ejvi tP0v Ktib| ej vevuj " Awakvsk mgq Zv nq Jcfwv K
 "ewPT" | wKs' wZv Zvi wZv tbi Ni-Mp-wj nvU-evRvi cfvZ c0Ztetk th
 flvvi e'envi Kitz "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 wAvbx tj eftK
 (gyvj, 1999:132) mg_0 Kti etj b N 0tevanq tKvtbv wgtk' ev RuUj mgvRi
 cfj 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 tcvctUi mxgve xZv KwUtg mevi cfj tKvtbv flvvi
 c0Z ifcU AvqE Kiv m0e nq bv| Xiv kni emv Kitz Avmv gvb tKvtbv
 c0Z0tb fvZ0ntq AvM c0Z evsj v wLteb, Zvici e'emv ev PvKwi L0Z
 tei nteb Ggb nvm'Ki `we w0q tK Kite bv| GKRB gvb flvvi
 tftMwj K mxgti LvK `ti tvtj w tZ cvtib| wKs' Zvicti l t_tK hvq Zvi
 gvbwmK mxgti Lvi K_v| 0Avcbvi emw wK tbrqvLwj 0' wKsev 0Avcbvi K_vq
 ewi kvBj +Uvb Avt00| tqtT wtk t' Ggb weeZKi Dw3 i tb jwZ ntZ nq
 AtbKtK | A_P e3v Zvi fvecKvtK KZUv "0" teva Kiti jv tmu Mfvi fvte
 Dcj w0 Kiti Kvtiv cfj Ggb Dw3 Kiv m0e bq | mwZ'Kvi At_0Ggb wgtk'
 c0Z wqvq e3vi flvvi GKw tK jvf Kti MwZgqZv Ab' w tK ntq DfV
 "ewPT" gqZv | 0flvvi tftMwj K mxgv (geographically localised) M0Y Ki "K
 Avi bvB Ki "K, gvbwmK mxgv l M0Y Kti Ges Zvi gvtSB Zvi tK' wvFM Ges
 tK' wZM KvRvi Y m0wK' Mto DfV0 (0gvqj, 1985) |

3. wtk flvvi wgtkY

w0fwv K ev eüfwv K cwi wZtZ flvxi flvfvEvte GKwK flvvi mnve'tbi
 dtj tKvtwi miY (code shifting) ntZ cvti (gyvj, 1999) | flv wAvtb
 tKwmiY `jKg ntZ cvti | tKw wgtkY (code mixing) Ges tKw cwi eZ0
 (code switching) | K_v ejvi mgq GKflvvi mtz Aci flvvi e'vKiYMZ
 wfvbw' ti th mZvZcY 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 gtZ- '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 Rvfb Ges tmlU h^w cwiw^wZ Abgv^wi Avj^vv Avj^vv e^wenvi Kivi ɳlgZv i^wLb ZLb tmlU^wK ej^v nq tKw cwi eZ⁰ | A^w tKw wɔkY ntjv GtKi AwAk fvlvi wɔkY NmU^wq evK^w ^Zwi Kiv| Avi tKw cwi eZ⁰ ntjv e³vi fvlmlU^wK cwi eZ⁰ Kti tdjv | thgbⁿ actually AvwG GKwU cY⁰ w^w t^wUv^wi K^v fvenQ | I am sorry, Avgvi late ntq tMj | ōsunday evening G P^w Avmly, Avgiv movie t^w Ltev, and we will have dinner together, never mind, I don't like it if you miss' G ai^wbi tKw wɔkY Ges tKw cwi eZ⁰ wɛtkl Kti K^wvcK^w b^ww^wEk tKw cwi eZ⁰ (conversational code switching) cɔq memgq Kti ^wwK | mgvR fvlv w^wAv^wbi ^wwtZ GuU ^wwKZ. w^welq | c^wexi A^wtk fvlvq wɛtkl Kti w^wRb¹ (pidgin) I t^wUj² (creole) fvlvi t^wUj^w GB fvlv wɔkɪzi ^wi^wZi Acwi mxg |

w^wUk fvi^wZ cɔq ^wky eQi evsjv fvlvflv AA^wtj w^wfmlK cwiw^wZ w^wg^wvb w^wUj | c^wiy fvlv BstiwRi Aw^wacZ^wev^wi g^wa^w t^wt^wKl evsjvflv ^wUw^wg^wvq ^wɳq k^wf^wUvi mg^w K^wt^wQ b^wvb NvZ-c^wŌZ^wN^wtZ, e^w BstiwR k^w AvZ^wKi^wYi g^wa^wtg | GKbfv^wte ev^wUw^w I GKUv ^wxN^wR^wvj^wxb w^wfmlK cwiw^wZ^wtZ evm Kti g^wbi fve c^wkvk K^wtZ w^wM^wtq AR^wv^wSB w^wktL w^wtq^wQ fvlv^wmi^wYi g^wtZv GKwU g^w-^wevb c^wU^wqv | ej^v ev^wUj^w fvlv^wmi^wYi c^w a^wt^wB k^w Av^wEx^wKi^wYi K^wv^wR^wU Gu^wM^wtq hvq | w^wt^w w^w k^w k^w n^wV^wr Kti evsjv Aw^wf^wav^wtb ^wvb cv^wte bv | Gi GKUv ^wxN^wR^wvj^wxb e^wenvi ^wvK^wtZ n^wte fvlv^wmi^wY c^wU^wqv | BstiwRmn Av^wi^wve, dvi^wmm c^wU^wZ fvlvi A^wtk k^w G^wf^wteB ntq D^wt^wQ Avg^wv^wi w^wR^w ^^w m^wu^w | h^w I Av^wR^wvj cwi fmlK m^wgm^wv^wK mnR Kivi Rb^w c^wŌ^w BstiwR k^w evsjvflvq AvZ^wKZ. n^wQ | h^w t^w Lv hvq fvlv^wmi^wYi b^wvtg ^wUw^wMZ g^w-fvlvi ^wvbP^wZ^w NU^wQ Z^wntj fvlv c^wU^wYI (language death) NU^wZ cv^wi Ges D^wme n^wZ cv^wi m^wu^wY^wGKwU bZ^w fvlvi | m^wu^wZ Ggb Av^wk^w t^wt^wKB tKv^wbv K^wv^wY evsjv BstiwR w^wU^wktq K^w v^w ej^w tZ i^wbtj m^w n^w c^wkvk K^wt^wb m^wtPZ^w b^wvb | K^wv^wY fvlvi c^wŌ^w g^wvb^w i Ab^wY^wM GZB M^wf^wi th, fvlv e^wenv^wi m^wgv^w cwi eZ⁰ t^w Lv w^w t^w Zv w^wtq b^wvb w^wZ^wt^wK^w m^wU^w nq | ZvB fvi^wZ w^w Ges BstiwR w^wU^wktq th w^wsvj k fvlv ^Zwi n^wQ^w Zvi w^w t^w x^w c^wŌ^w Z^wer^w I n^wQ c^wŌ^w Z^wvbqZ | c^wU^w mi^w K^wi (2003) c^wŌ^w g^wt^wz^wi

wɔkɪzi D^w vniY w^w t^wq etj t^wQ^w BstiwR ev^wtb^wi BkK^w cov tg^wtq hLb etj ōRw^wbm, K^wv i^wt^w w^wU^wf^wtZ Ggb GKUv d^wv^wUv g^wU^w w^wUj AvB n^ww^w&Uz^wm BU&Aj & n^wU^wg^wŌ- ZLb Z^wv^w i^wB ew^woi K^wv^wRi tg^wtq nq^wZv ej^w t^w ōAv^w w^w Aw^wE^wi t^wej^wq Avg^wh^wv^w t^w BL^wtZ R^wte | ō ZviB cvovq gv^w vb nq^wZv ej^w t^w, ōl me (GB ^wš^w-m BstiwR s - Gi Av^wl qv^wR) t^wcv^wtdmi -Ui ew^w S^w bv, Av^wcv^wb h^wvg t^wvK nb, tdi G M^wvj tZ X^wteb tZv te^wgv cv^wte t^w e! (c^wU^w, 2003 : 115) |

th tKv^wbv fvlvq cwi fvlv thgb ^wwKZ, tZg^wvb FYKZ. k^wāl (loan word) mgvR ^wwKZ | FYKZ. k^wāM^wtj^w v c^wKZ^wt^wUj Avg^wv^wi laxical gap c^wt^wYi Rb^w Av^wniZ ev e^we^wU^wZ nq | thgbⁿ t^wUj^w t^wdvb (telephone), K^wu^wDU^wi (computer), t^wUj^w w^wfb (television) BZ^w w^w | w^wK^w fvlv wɔkɪzi t^wUj^w fvlvi ^wwKZ. k^wā ^wvK^wtZ Ab^w fvlvi k^w e^wenvi Kiv n^wQ ev K^w v^w ej^w vi mgq Avgiv d^wU^w d^wU^w ^wGKUv BstiwR k^w ev evK^w etj t^wUj AK^wv^wY | Gi K^wv^wY fvlvZ^wW^wE^wK, gb^wW^wE^wK ^wB- B n^wZ cv^wi | gb^wW^wE^wK K^wv^wY m^wg^wni g^wa^w c^wvb K^wtqK^wU ntj v :

- K. t^wktZvi g^wtb^wh^wm Av^wKI^w Kiv |
- L. t^wktZvi K^wv^wQ e³e^wt^wK k^wU^wkvj^w Kiv |
- N. w^wtb^wRi c^wU^wZ^w c^wkvk Kiv BZ^w w^w |

GL^wv^wb Avgiv fvlvZ^wW^wE^wK K^wv^wYU^wvB e^wvL^wv Kivi t^wP^wv Ki^wtev | fvlvZ^wW^wE^wK K^wv^wYi g^wa^w fvlvi evK^wM^wvB ev k^wā^wbg^w c^wU^wqv Ab^wZg | G K^wv^wYB GK fvlvi g^wa^w Ab^w fvlvi w^wfb^wct^wky^wxi k^wā Ab^wg^wŌ^wet^wki m^wh^wm cvq | thgbⁿ evsjv fvlvi evK^w M^wv^wbi GKUv m^wv^wY i^wU^wZ ntj v^w SOV (w^wtkl^w+w^wtkl^w+w^wU^wqv) |

- K. m^wRb f^wvZ Lvq |
- L. Av^wcv^wt^wK gv^wQ tL^wtZ ej^v n^wtq^wQ/ etj t^wQ |
- M. Av^wcv^wt^wK t^wdvb /Kj e^wvK Ki^wtZ etj t^wQ/ ej^v n^wtq^wQ |

GL^wv^wb t^wdvb/ Kj e^wvK k^wā^wU^wi e^wenvi j^wU^wY^wq | mv^wɔc^wzk mg^wtq G ai^wbi kt^wai e^wenvi ew^w t^wct^wq^w | thgbⁿ Avg^wv^wK GKUv w^wgm^wW^w Kj w^w m | Gi tKv^wbv evsjv cwi fvlv tb^w | GuU Avg^wv^wi laxical gap | w^wK^w ev^wt^wK k^wā^wU^w w^wtkl^w w^wnt^wte V^wq t^wct^wq^w | G^wov evsjv fvlvi D^wcm^w, c^wŌ^w q c^wU^wZi e^wenvi I wɔkɪzi c^wU^w R^wvZ | thgb:

- K. Z^wg w^wt^wU w^wM^wtq et^wm^wv^wB^wt^wi^wR (seat)+ G
- L. Z^wg tem^wji M^wvB M^wv^wte b^wv^w dvi^wmm ōte^w + m^wji

M. teUvBtg Avmte bNdvim 0fe0+BstiwR (time)+G
 N. I qvi Kviti teZb wtz nteN BstiwR (worker)+ti
 Gme 0s-t_k tLv hv"Q th, wgtkz K_v evji mthvM fvlv wbtRB
 Avgvti w tqtQ, Zvi Afstxy mSMVtbi bvbv thvMmfi gva'tg| wKs'
 eZgvtb evsjvi mtz BstiwRi ht_0 wgtkY NUtQ| Gi KvY nt"Q Ntii tfZi
 evsjv BstiwR wgtkY K_vezP Pij, BstiwRtZ Abgvb Pij, weAvctb wet'wk
 ctY"i e'envi, AvtQ BUvittBU, B-tgBj, Rb, mSvb vtK wet'ik Ges t'ik
 mstbiv BstiwR gva'tg covtkvbv KitQ| dtj e'tj hv"Q Zti fvlv Ges
 GKwU bZb wgtkzsj v Mto DVtQ|

4. wgtkz civeRtbZ wgtkY

AvRKvj tUvj wtkb bUtk Ges DcvcKti c0gZ, AvAwj K Ges BstiwR
 fvlvq wgtkz K_v ejlv GKUv clv ntq wotq Ges GtZ eZgvb
 evsj vflvi vfwek MwZtZ ht_0 kw³ c0qm Kiv nt"Q| thgbN0wqv wfdqvm⁰
 GLb vviU nte Avcbti tdfwvU wgdwRK t0M0g, wfdqvm⁰GKUzAtcYv
 Ki"b, ewk t0M0g t'ltb tetKi ci, bUtki msjvc t'v Gi Kg N wK KiQ,
 tZvti KBwQ bv GBv bv KitZ, Avgvti AvM ej Q bv tKb&BZ"v | GQrov evU,
 tmv weKR, mvctvR, Btg, tbv, W, I tK BZ"v tZv evsj vflvi mtz wgtk
 tM0g| mevB GLb ejtZ f'j hv"Q wKs', KvY, KvRB, ai"b, BZ"v m'j
 evsj v'jv| bZb cRtbi gta' fvlvi GB bZb ifcU Atpk tgb wbt"Qb|
 Gid'j c0sq Dcflvi mswgtkY Mto DvtQ gvb' Dcflv| GQrov
 evsj vt'ki wewfbaAj t_k wewfbaAvAwj K Dcflvflvix ivRavbtZ Gtm
 emem Kivi dtj Lg m² fvtg t0MLK fvlvi GKUv cwi eZ0 c0qu BwZgta'
 mPZ ntqtQ|

eURwZK t'k I eURwZK msvwZK mswgtkY Atpk fvlviB AvR tenj
 Ae-v| bvbv cwieZ0bi ga' w t'g Atpk fvlvB AvR bZb ifc M0Y KitiQ|
 wYceGwkviv ivo' t'jvi gta' Zwgg I msnjxt'i fvlv c0g wej'bi ct_|
 Zviv wbtRi fvlvi PvBtZ BstiwRtK i"Zi w t'Q| Avevi fviZl wRfvlvi
 mtz BstiwRi wgtkY GK bZb fvlvi Rb' wbt"Q| GgZvevq Avgiv fvlvi
 msiY (language maintenance), bmk fvlv m'yi (language shift)
 ct'GwU AvR GKwU eo c0k wktq'bi dtj BstiwRtK Avgiv AvR M0Y Kivi
 K_v ejwQ wKB, wKs' Zv c0qRbtK AwZug Kti Avgvti wR fvlvi Aw-Zi
 i'vi t'it'j gk AStiq ntq wotq| mZiv Avgiv wbtRi fvlvi tfZi
 BstiwRtK hv' Gfite vb Kti w t'Z wK, Zvtj fvel'iz tm Avevi evsjvi
 ka'fivEvi I c'web'vmtK mwi t'q t'fe bv, Zv w0Z Kti ejv hvq bv|

Dcmsnvi

tKv'bv fvlviB GKwU Awfba' eipT'nb, Awegk' m'ysnZ ifc vtK bv| evsjv fvlvi
 Zvi e'wZug bq| mv=c0ZK mgta' cZvckjx fvlvi gnvZf, wgtkz, msev'cT

BZ"v i cive evsjvtK wgtkZ KitZ mrvh' KitQ| Avmtj fvlv wgtkYi wclqu
 meRbx| wKs' Ac0qRbxq wgtkY KZUv iKvi? tKbbv Ac0qRbxq wgtkYi dtj
 fvlvi we-t e'j NtU Ges t0w'j KZ;nvivq | ZvB B'0wGZ fvlvi e'j bv NuUq eis
 fvlvi c0qRbxq e'j NuUq Zvi wFZtii tms' h'Awe'vi KitZ nte| hv' Avgiv
 tmU KitZ mg_0nB, Zvtj fvlv wgtkY Avgvti Rb' Lg tenk 0gwK' t'fc ntq wote
 bv| mte'wi cweT miKvii (2003) gtZ 0fvlv e'envii bvbv c0sq t'it' (c0vfm,
 SMovq, BstiwR Avtbi evnv' t'w'ltq evsjvi gta' BstiwR K_v ka' wbt'ic Kti)
 fvlvi weKwZ ev wgtkY GKUzAvaUz' Lv w t'j l hZ'Y chs-fvlvi gj- fLE Ges Zvti
 RbtMv0x msnZ vtK ZZ'Y fvlvi t0MLK ifc wbtq Lg tenk wPst' Kivi wKQy'vB|
 fLE Avi RbtMv0xi wet"Q' NUtjB wPst' thgb ntq'j Bw' t' t'it' (cweT,
 2003)0|

Urkv

1. e'emv-ewYR' ev Ab'tKv'bv Kvity kn' e' ti wewfba' fvlvi gvt'iv GKt' ntj
 hLb GtK Actii fvlv Rvtb bv, ZLb m'wGZ t'it' msAvctbi Rb' Zviv
 wbtRt' i fvlv t0to w t'g wgtkZ fvlvq K_v etj, ZLb wcvRtbi D"e nq| GwU
 Kvi l gvZfvlv bq, GwU gj-Z w0Zxq fvlv| A_0' wet'k D't'ik' e'env' fvlv|
2. wcvRb hLb Atc'YwKZ. w' iZv jvf Kti gvZfvlv wKsev c0g fvlv wnt'ite GK
 cRb' t_k Avt'K cRt' m'Awii Z ntZ vtK Ges c0Z0v t'it' vtK, ZLb
 ZvtK t'raj etj |

M0cwi

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 [m'uv.] 0gvqy AvRv'. XvKv: evsjv GKvtWgx. c.,385-386

ew'gP' P't'icva'vq. 1985. ev'vjv fvlv. *evjv fvlv, w0Zxq LE*. [m'uv.] 0gvqy
 AvRv'. XvKv: evsjv GKvtWgx. c.,363-371

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 [m'uv.] 0gvqy AvRv'. XvKv: evsjv GKvtWgx. c.,313-335

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