

ASPECTS OF MULTILINGUALISM IN NAGALAND

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO NAGALAND UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN
LINGUISTICS**

BY

ZEVINEINUO TSOLO

Under the Supervision of

Dr. PANGERSENLA WALLING



DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

NAGALAND UNIVERSITY

KOHIMA CAMPUS

MERIEMA, NAGALAND- 797004

2022

**Nagaland University
Department of Linguistics
Kohima Campus, Meriema
Nagaland-797004**

DECLARATION

I **Zevineinuo Tsolo** hereby declare that this thesis entitled **Aspects of Multilingualism in Nagaland** submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. Pangersengla Walling**, Associate Professor, Nagaland University.

I also declare that this is my original work and it has not been submitted previously in parts or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Date:

Zevineinuo Tsolo

Place:

Ph.D/LIN/00041



**Nagaland University
Department of Linguistics
Kohima Campus, Meriema
Nagaland- 797004**

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This is to certify that the thesis entitled **Aspects of Multilingualism in Nagaland** submitted by Zevineinuo Tsolo bearing Reg. No: Ph.D/LIN/00041 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics is a bonafide work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

The thesis has not been submitted previously in parts or in full to this or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Dr. Pangersengla Walling

Supervisor

Dated:

Place:

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NAGALAND



विश्वविद्यालय
UNIVERSITY

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Headquarters: Lumami, Kohima Campus, Meriema – 797001

Department of Linguistics

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Supervisor: Dr. Pangersangla Walling

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Dr. Pangersangla Walling

Supervisor

Dated:

Place:

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List of Abbreviations

2SG	-Second Person Singular
ACC	- Accusative
AdvPr	-Adverbial Phrase
ART	-Article
CON	-Conjunction
CONNEC	-Connective
DAT	-Dative
DEF	-Definite
Det	-Determiner
EMPH	-Emphatic
EXIST	-Exist
FUT	-Future
GEN	-Genitive
IMP	-Imperative
LOC	-Locative
NEG	-Negative
NOM	-Nominalizer
PF	-Perfective
Pl	-Plural
PM	- Pragmatic marker
Poss	-Possession
Pp	-Post Position
PROG	-Progressive

PrPf	-Present perfect
Pst	-Past tense
PuRoP	- Purposive marker
QP	-Question particles
SP	-Simple Present
L1	- First Language
L2	- Second Language
NBSE	- Nagaland Board of School Education

Map



CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AN OUTLINE OF NAGALAND

Nagaland, the sixteenth state of Indian union, came into being on December 1, 1963. According to 2011 census the Nagaland population was around 1,980,602. The state has an area of 16,527 sq km, extending on the north-east frontiers of the country. It is bounded by Arunachal Pradesh in the north, Assam in west, Manipur in south and Burma (Myanmar) in the east. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. The altitude varies between 194 meters and 3048 meters. The territory of the state is mostly hilly except some plain areas in Dimapur. The peaks of Nagaland vary in height from 350 meters to 3000 meters above the sea level. The highest peak is Saramati with a height of 3,826 meters. The Dhansiri is the largest river of the state that flows through North Cachar and Kohima before it finally flows into the Brahmaputra in Assam.

The state consists of 16 administrative districts viz. Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Wokha, Zunheboto, Tuensang, Mon, Kiphire, Longleng, Dimapur, Peren, Tsemenyu, Shamator, Niuland, Chumukedima, and Noklak. Nagaland is also inhabited by 17 tribes, (Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Dimasa kachari, Khiamniungan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Tikhir, Yimchunger /Yimkhiung and Zeliang), and other sub-tribes. Tikhir tribe was recognized as a major Naga tribe in January 2022, before its recognition it was considered a sub-tribe of Yimchunger. Kohima is the capital of the state and Dimapur is the state's commercial city and also known as the 'Gateway of Nagaland.'

Many Nagas and Scholars have different theories, myths and legends about the origin of the Nagas. The origination of the Nagas remained debatable issues till date. Analyzing and studying different views and theories, one need to go deeper into these legends and theories to reconstruct the Naga History. One of the most referred works on the origin of the Nagas is Hutton (1969). According to him, the Khezhakenoma legend, the Angami, Semas, and the Lothas are believed to be sub-tribes from Khezhakenoma

village. It is said that the village had a large stone slab having magical properties. Paddy spread on it to be dried doubled in quantity by evening. The three sons of the couple who owned the stone used it by rotation. One day there was a quarrel between the sons as to whose turn it was. The couple, fearing bloodshed, broke eggs on the stone, covered it with brush-wood, laid faggots about it, and set the whole on fire. The stone burst with a crack like thunder, the spirit went up to heaven in a cloud of smoke, and the virtue of the stone departed. The three sons separated and became the ancestors of the Angami, Lotha and Sema tribes, while from the parents who remained are descended the seven kezami village. According to another legend, to which the western Angamis subscribe was that, the first man evolved from a lake called *Themiakelhuzie* near Khonoma. The Rengmas believed that until recently they and the Lotha formed one tribe whereas, the Aos and Phoms traces their origin to the *Lungterok* (six stones) on the *Chongliemdi* hill, which is located in Tuensang district in the present day.

1.2. LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF NAGALAND

Multilingualism is common phenomenon in a diverse culture and speech community. Multilingualism is the use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group of speakers such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation. Nagaland is a multilingual state where there are a variety of language spoken such as, the indigenous Naga languages, English, Hindi, Nepali, Bengali, Bihari, Assamese, Manipuri, Malayalam, Oriya, Garo, Adhivasi, Kachari, among others. All the 17 tribes of Nagaland have their own language. In Naga society, the home language is the native language in the rural areas. In urban areas, especially in Kohima and Dimapur, the native languages along with Nagamese is used as home language. Over the recent years, English is found popularly used in within the family as home language. Sachdeva (2001) has rightly pointed out that Nagaland as mini-India in terms of the linguistic diversity. There are varieties of languages spoken in Nagaland but none of the languages is spoken by the majority as each and every tribe has its own language. So, there is a need for a common language for communication across different linguistic groups on the one hand and between the people and the state on the other. English is the chosen official language of the state but it has certain limitations because it is not the language of the masses. Nagamese is used as a common means of

communication with the other ethnic group. It is the only alternative means of communication in day-to-day interaction. Borrowing of lexical items from other languages is found in all the indigenous. These borrowed words are often nativized. Code-switching and code-mixing is also very common. Speakers would randomly code-switch and code-mix from one language to another consciously and unconsciously.

Linguistic and ethnic diversity is the hallmark of Nagaland where each village is said to have its own dialect, there are dialectal variations within the same language group. Most of the language of each tribe is called after the tribe's name except Tenyidie, kuzhale and Liangmai. Nagaland government have recognized 18 languages viz, Ao, Tenyidie, Sema, Lotha, Chokri, khezha, Pochury, Chang, Sangtam, Konyak, Khamniungan, Zeme, Liangmai, Phom, Nsongkhwe, Ntenyi,

English was introduced in the Naga society by the American Christian Missionaries and the British Colonial Administration. Since Nagas did not have a common language, English was declared as the official language of the state. English is used as the medium of instruction in all academic institutions. Hindi, the official language of the country has been adopted in the state and is taught as a compulsory subject in schools as part of three language policy of the central government.

Nagamese, also known as broken Assamese which is a mixture of Hindi, Bengali, Nepali, Oriya, English etc coated with Naga accent emerge as the lingua franca of the common people. It is used for inter-tribal trade and cross-cultural language for communication in the state. The British administrators along with the American missionaries used Assamese as a lingua franca to communicate with the Nagas. The Nagas learned what is known as the broken Assamese for the purpose of trade, this language was also used among the Nagas to communicate between since they did not have a common language. Communication among the Naga tribes and with the neighboring states was through Naga-Assamese i.e., Nagamese which serve as the lingua franca of the Naga people in particular. It was necessitated because of the needs of the multi-glut for interaction with the neighboring states.

1.3. THE LANGUAGE FAMILY

All the native languages of the Nagas are classified under Tibeto- Burman language family. Tibeto-Burman is the sub-branch of Sino-Tibetan language family which is one of the largest and most populous language family in the world. Sino-Tibetan language family consists of Chinese and Tibeto-Burman languages, including many languages of Southeast Asia.

Benedict (1972) and Robert Shafer (1955) made the classification of Indo-Tibetan languages. Benedict classified the Sino-Tibetan languages into two branches- Chinese (Sinitic) and Tibeto- Karen. He again classified the Tibeto-Karen into Karen and Tibeto-Burman as shown in the figure below.

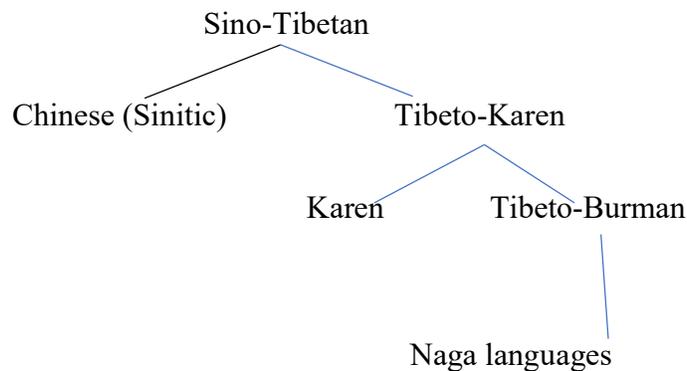
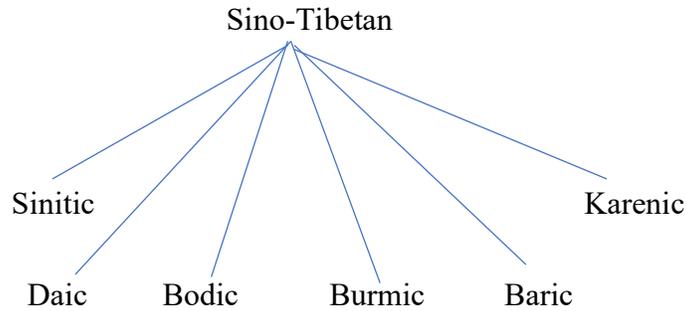


Figure 1.1 Benedicts classification of Sino-Tibetan (1972)

Shaffer (1955) classified the Sino-Tibetan family into six main branches, (i)Sinitic (ii) Daic (iii)Bodic (iv) Burmic (v) Baric and (iv) Karenic. He placed Sinitic (Chinese) on the same level as the other branches of Sino-Tibetan languages. The Karenic branches include the areas of central and southern Burma, Baric branch includes Assam. Burmic branch includes the area of Indo-Burma frontier, Burma, Indo-China, East Tibet and south west China. Bodoic branch includes the areas of western Himalaya through

Nepal and into Assam, Tibet and western China. The Diac branch includes the areas of western China, Thailand and parts of Burma. The figure is shown below.



Figure

1.2 Shaffers classification of Sino-Tibetan (1955)

Benedict (1972) classifies the Tibeto-Burman family into seven primary branches, (i) Tibetan-Kanuari, (ii) Bahing- Vayu, (iii) Abor-Miri-Dafla, (iv) Kaching, (v) Burmese Lolo, (vi) Boro-Garo (the Konyak language of Nagas comes under this group), (vii) Kuki- Naga. The Tibeto-Burman consists of around 200- 300 languages in the following.

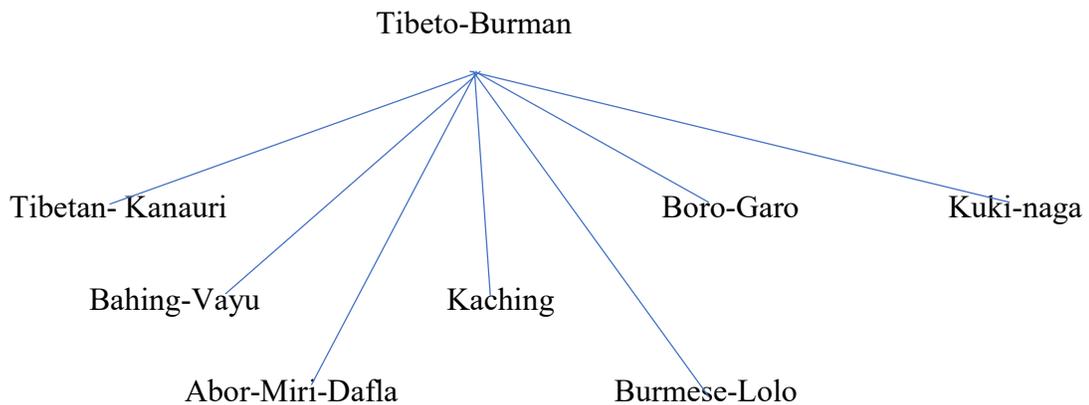


Figure 1.3. Benedict's classification of Tibeto-Burman languages (1972)

The Naga languages are differently classified by different scholars. Grierson (1903) claims that Naga group of languages comprises a long series of dialects, which mutually differ from each other. He placed Naga languages under the Assamese- Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. They are on the whole closely related to the Tibetan than to Burmese. He sub-groups the Naga languages he studied into three: (i) Western group (ii) Central group (iii) Eastern group.

Western group: This group consists of Angami, Sema, Rengma, Chokri and Khezha. Of these Angami has four major dialects namely northern, western, southern and central.

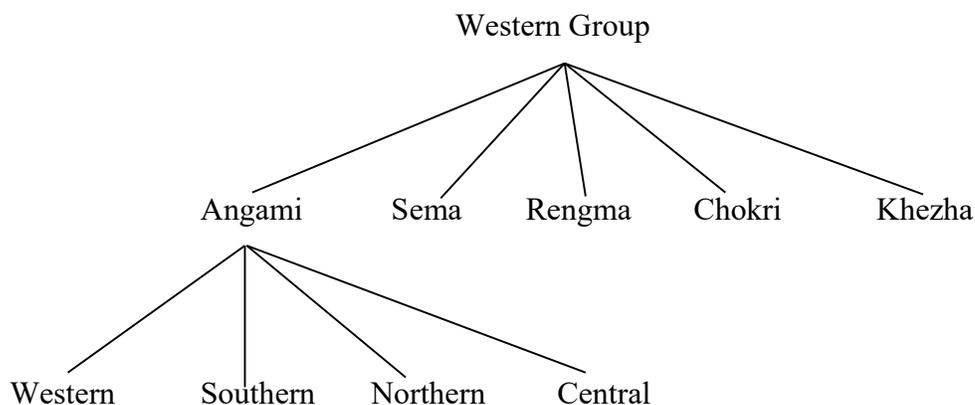
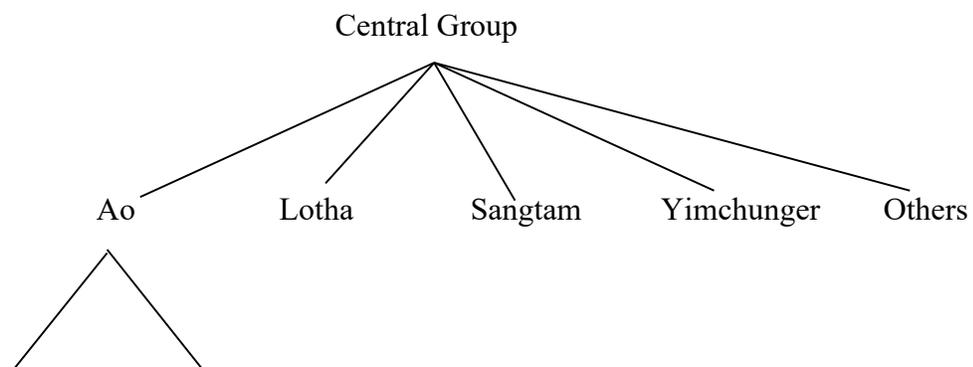


Figure 1.4. Grierson classification of Naga languages (1903), Western Group.

Central group: This group includes Ao, Lotha, Sangtam, Yimchunger and a few other languages. Of these Ao has two dialects Mongsen and Chungli.



Mongsen Chungli

Figure 1.5. Grierson classification of Naga languages (1903), Central Group.

Eastern group: This group consists of Konyak, Phom, chang and a few other languages spoken outside Naga Hills.

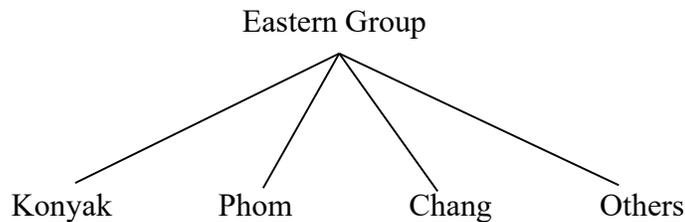


Figure 1.6. Grierson classification of Naga languages (1903), Eastern Group.

1.4. THE SCRIPT

The Nagas have no script of their own. However, legends tell that Nagas had scripts. There are two particular legends. According to one, it is said that in the beginning the Deity gave a script of reading and writing both to the Nagas in the hill and plainsmen of Assam. The latter were given stone or paper to record their writings whereas the Nagas were given a script written on animal skin. One day their pet dog found it and ate it up which came to an early end owing to its edible qualities. In the other version, one day while the father and mother were working in the field, the children felt hungry. They took the script, which is written on animal skin, burn it and ate it up, resulting in the loss of the script forever.

Roman script was introduced in the last quarters of the 19th century by the American Christian missionaries, in which they translated Bible tracts and later on even the whole Bible. The script was introduced first to the Ao community (1872) and then to the Angami community (1889). The Nagas who were converted to Christians and received education from the American Baptist missionaries were the earliest educated Nagas. The missionaries who first published the Ao primer in 1887 are Edward Winter Clark and his wife, Mary J. Mead. A school was established in 1878 at Molung (Molungkimong village) in Mokokchung district and catered to the people from the northern part of Nagaland. While Nagas from the southern part had educational facilities at the mission centre established by Reverend Charles Dewitt King at Kohima in 1880. However, it was Dr. Sidney White Revenburg and his wife Hattie, who settled at Kohima in 1887, and introduce the Roman script to the southern Nagas (probably in 1884). Ever since, the Roman script is used till today.

1.5. LINGUISTIC FEATURES

All the languages of the Nagas fall under the Tibeto-Burman language family which is a branch of the Sino-Tibetan. There are some common linguistic features (Kuolie, 2015), shared by the Naga languages. Phonologically all the Naga languages are tonal. The same words pronounced in different tones has different meaning. The phonemic structure can be divided into two- segmental phonemes and suprasegmental phonemes. Segmental phonemes shows the presence of six vowels, */i,e,ə,a,o,u/* with the exception of Lianglad where no central vowel is found. The front vowels are */i,e/*, *ə,a/* are central vowels and */u,o/* are back vowels. Diphthongs are formed by a combination of the following, */ie, ei, ou, uo/* with the exception of Khiamniungan that uses */ao,ai,ia,au/* and Konyak in which */ai, ao, ia, ui, əo, ea, eo, oi/* are used.

Morphologically the Naga languages show a uniformity of pattern at nominal bases. The nominal base of a lexicon shows monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic structures. The word formation process of all the Naga languages, particularly with reference to compound nouns, shows a uniformity of pattern. The base form of the monosyllabic words or the nucleus in case of disyllabic words are retained to form a

compound word, except in certain cases. The languages are agglutinative in nature showing varying degree of inflections usually expressed by affixes without changing the roots. There are lots of phonological and lexical variation in all the languages.

Syntactically, the word order of all the Naga languages has verb final typology (SOV). In other words, in a sentence structure, the subject is followed by the object and the verb occurs in the final position. All the Naga languages follow post position before the verb. The determiner as well as the indefinite article follows the noun. The determiner follows the adjective if an adjective occurs within a noun phrase. The adjective within a noun phrase comes after the head noun. In interrogative structure the subject occurs before the direct question word. There are two types of questions where one is a direct question and the other is question particle. The occurrence of a direct question word is always accompanied by a question particle that occurs in the final position in all cases.

1.6. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Every tribe of Nagaland has their own language which is incoherent to the other tribes. In 1967, the Nagaland Assembly declared English as the official language of the state and is the medium of instruction in Nagaland. Despite increasing literacy and spread of education, English is not the language of the majority, as a result, the usage of English is not seen in all the domain. A pidgin of Assamese called Nagamese is the most common and perhaps, the most popular lingua franca, in commercial centers and major villages in the state. It is used for interlingual situations involving inter-tribal communication and at times for outgroups communication. Hindi is also gaining a lot of popularity among children. Families where there are intra-tribal marriages, more than one Naga languages are used as home language. Thus, almost all Nagas speak more than one language. Nagaland is undoubtedly one of the most complex sociolinguistic settings, wherein, several genetically related but often mutually unintelligible languages are spoken. Besides, English Nagamese is used to cater to the communicative needs of a society interested not only in preserving the linguistic identity of each tribal group at the micro level, but also forging a unity across them and evolving a Naga identity at the macro level which transcends those differences. The diversity and the nature of multilingual in Nagaland, will contribute to the

existing research in the field. Multilingualism in Naga society is seen to be complex in its aspects. There is a need to study the aspects of multilingualism in Nagaland as it has many facets. Nagaland being an abode of mixture of diverse linguistics where there is so much to study. Nagaland as the home of multilingualism is a perfect example to study and understand the facets of multilingualism and its importance. The sub-themes under multilingualism and its origin need to be mentioned and studies which will pave the way of future references.

1.7. OBJECTIVES

This research will focus on the multilingualism in Naga society particularly in the urban area of Kohima district of Nagaland. The aims and objectives are stated below:

The first objective is to study the nature of multilingualism in Nagaland. It will examine the language people speak at home, the number of languages a person knows besides his/her mother tongue and how one acquires more than two or more languages.

The second objective is to discover the domain of usage of these languages. The language used in market place, the work/institution place, the medium of instructions in educational institutions, official letters and while sending texts and write letters to relatives/friends. Thus, the usage of several languages by a person or community will be examined.

The third objective is to study the usage of code-switching and code-mixing while communicating in both formal and non -formal settings.

Nagamese cannot be ignored when it comes to communication in Nagaland. Thus, the fourth objective is to study the status of Nagamese; the process of creolization and impact of Nagamese in Naga society.

The fifth objective is to examine the borrowing words, since Nagaland has come to contact with many languages and culture there can be many borrowed words which has become a part of our vocabulary.

Finally, the sixth objective is to examine the status of the languages used in Nagaland; social status, political status and educational status will be taken into consideration.

1.8. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Multilingualism is not just a matter of number of languages but is more importantly a matter of functional and political relation between languages. It is therefore important to understand the structure of multilingualism. Almost all countries in the world are multilingual but they differ in structuring their languages. The freedom of choice of language at the individual level, on the other hand, is determined by the knowledge of language of people one interacts with.

This particular study that has been built upon the conceptual framework of the various studies on multilingual by different scholars will highlight the importance of multilingualism in Nagaland. The study will also provide information on the usage of code-switching and code-mixing by various speakers. Furthermore, the study intends to highlight the extent to which pidgin and creole language like Nagamese is adopted as common language between speakers whose native languages are different.

1.9. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

Scientific methods are basically alike for all sciences. As Pearson (1900) remarks, 'The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material'. Sociolinguistics being a social science, its method of research is similar to those of other social sciences. The method used in this study is qualitative research. The data were collected from the native speakers of different language taking into consideration their age, gender and educational qualification. A voice recorder and video camera were used to document the data.

1.9.1. FIELD SITE

Kohima town is chosen as the field site of the study. Kohima is the state capital where we see a huge mixture of people in the town. Kohima being the capital of the state and with more of facilities and the state secretariat in it, people from other district have moved in with different reasons. The facilities and development that Kohima provides in the form of education, shopping choices, offices, etc has indeed lured the people inside the town. All the tribes reside within the town which makes it easier for the field work. The mixture of the people in the town has encouraged the study to go into deeper understanding of multilingualism in Kohima Town. For the study, 300 people from different Naga tribes were taken as respondents. The method for selecting respondent was based on random sampling. However, the study will also employ purposive sampling whereby all the tribes will be categorically included.

1.9.2. DATA COLLECTION

The data for this research were collected through observational studies, interviews, questionnaires. The observational method was carried out by getting in touch with the target people to get an impression of the problem. There was a systematic observation under controlled conditions. The investigator participated by taking part in whatever she is studying in order to gain insight of the problem. By using this method, the group or the target people was observed in its natural behavior. Thus, through this participation, together with the opportunity for very intimate observation, the investigator has gained insights. Non-participant observation was also used, without actual participation but simply observes them from a distance so that it helps the investigator to observe even minute things.

Interview method is also used to gather the data. The interview is a conversation with a purpose. Free interview method was used where the interviewer talks to the respondent freely in a very friendly atmosphere. Here the questions are open ended, i.e., the respondents are encouraged to talk as freely as possible. Both structured and unstructured questions were used. Structured questions are pre-set questions whereas unstructured questions are open –ended. The respondents consist of different class of

people viz, teachers, pastor, politicians, businessmen (both local and non-local), daily wage earner etc where the usage of Nagamese is interviewed.

Questionnaire were used as an important tool in obtaining the important information in a particular field of enquiry. Questionnaire refers to a device for securing answers to questions, by using a form which the respondent fills in by him/her. Data were collected by putting questions to the target people i.e., the informants. They are asked to fill up the questionnaires prepared by the investigator carefully and intelligibly. The respondents were chosen taking into consideration gender, age group, languages, place, educational background, medium of educational instruction, no. of dialects/ languages respondents know and places from where the respondents learn other languages etc. Out of 155 respondents 72 (46%) are male and 83 (53%) are female as shown in Figure 1.7. As the data indicates majority of the respondents are female. In almost all colleges and universities female enrollment is higher as compared to male in Nagaland, this is the reason why female respondents are more than male.

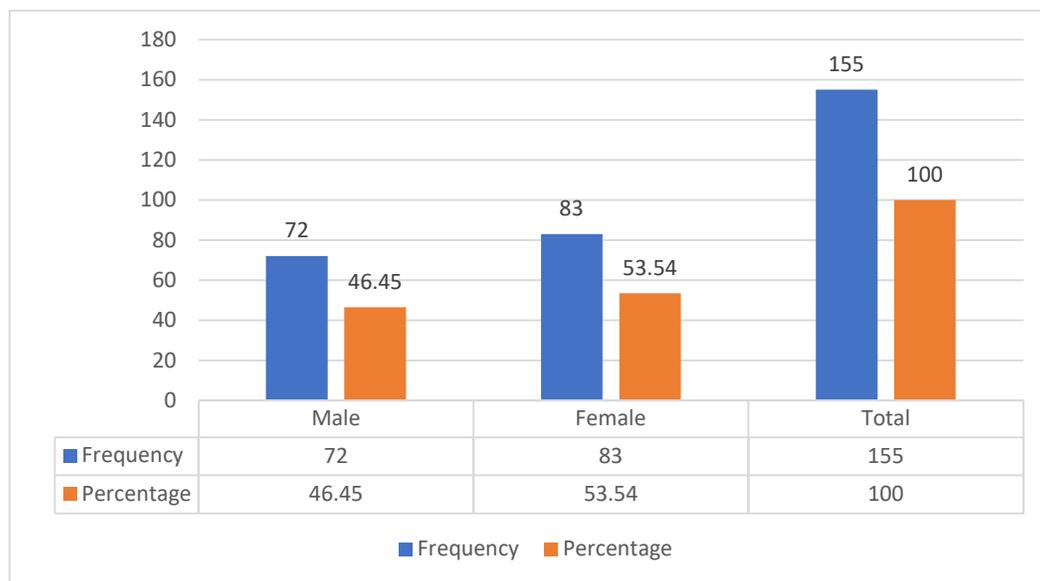


Figure 1.7. Gender of the informants

Figure 1.8. shows that 89.03 % are from the age group 20- 30 and 10.96 % are from the age group 31-40. Here in the study, I have focussed more on the age group of 20-30 because this is the age where they are lively, dynamic and full of life, they mingle with diverse people or friends who speak different number of languages. At this age group people are adventurous to learn new things and develop interest and positive attitude towards learning new language and so on.

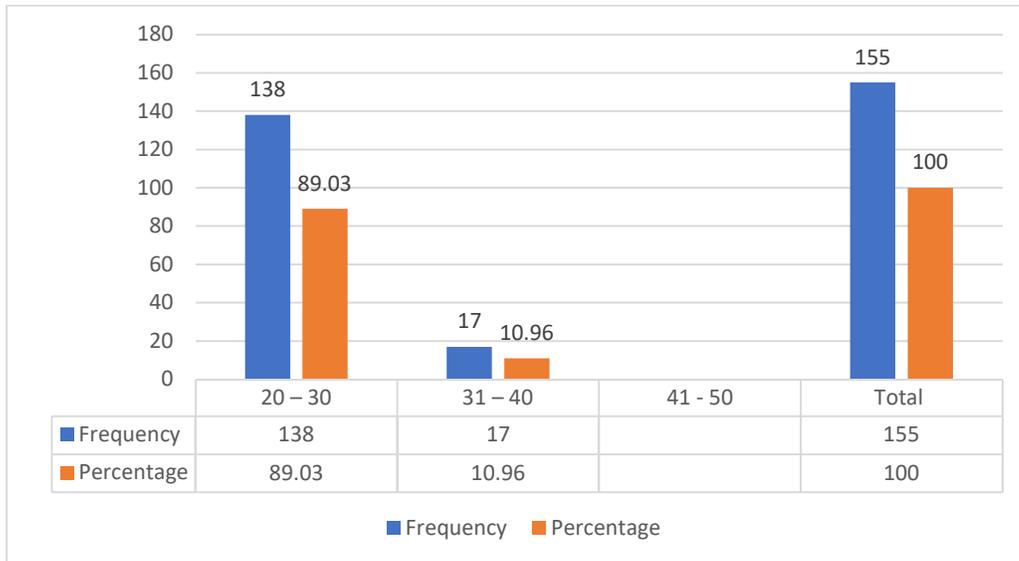


Figure 1.8. Age group of the respondents

Figure 1.9. indicates the different languages of the respondents. Nagaland have 18 recognised languages and the table below shows the number of informants for each language.

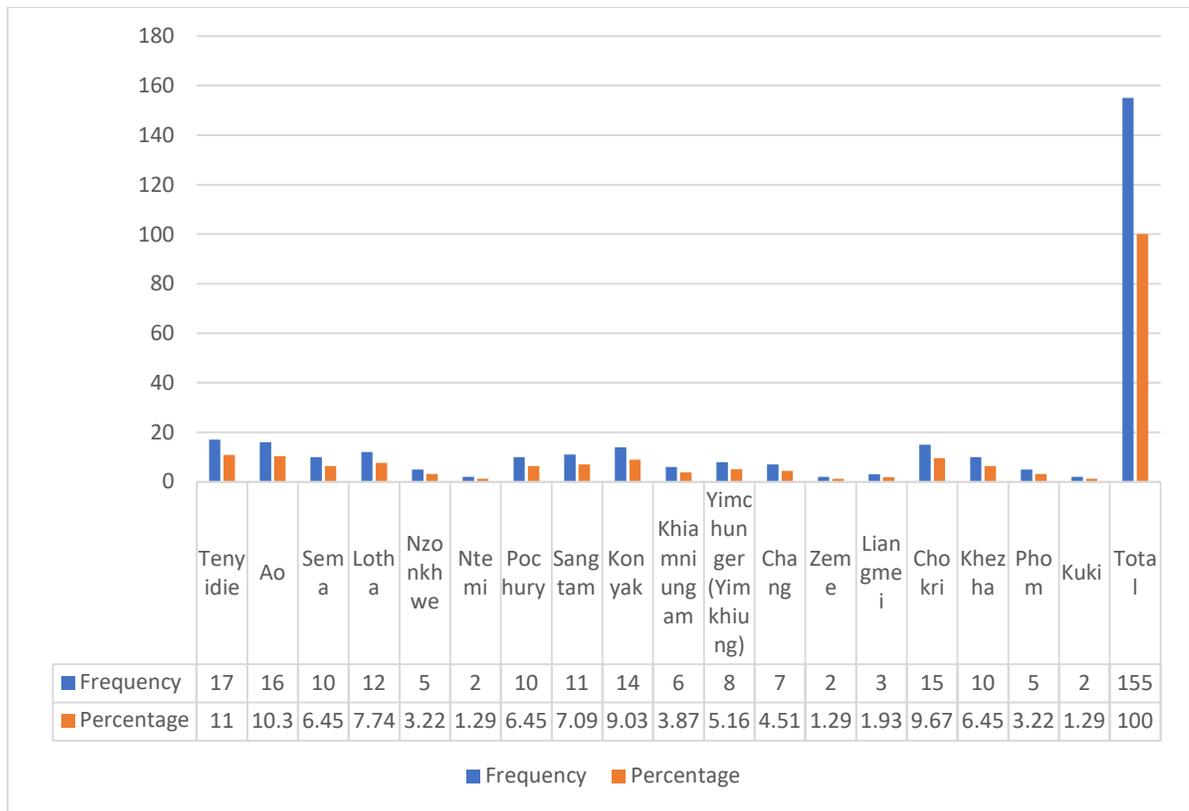


Figure 1.9. Languages of the respondents

The main aim of this figure 1.10 is to have an understanding of the background of the respondents. As indicated in the table majority i.e., 82.58% are from urban settings and their educational background are mainly from private institutions.

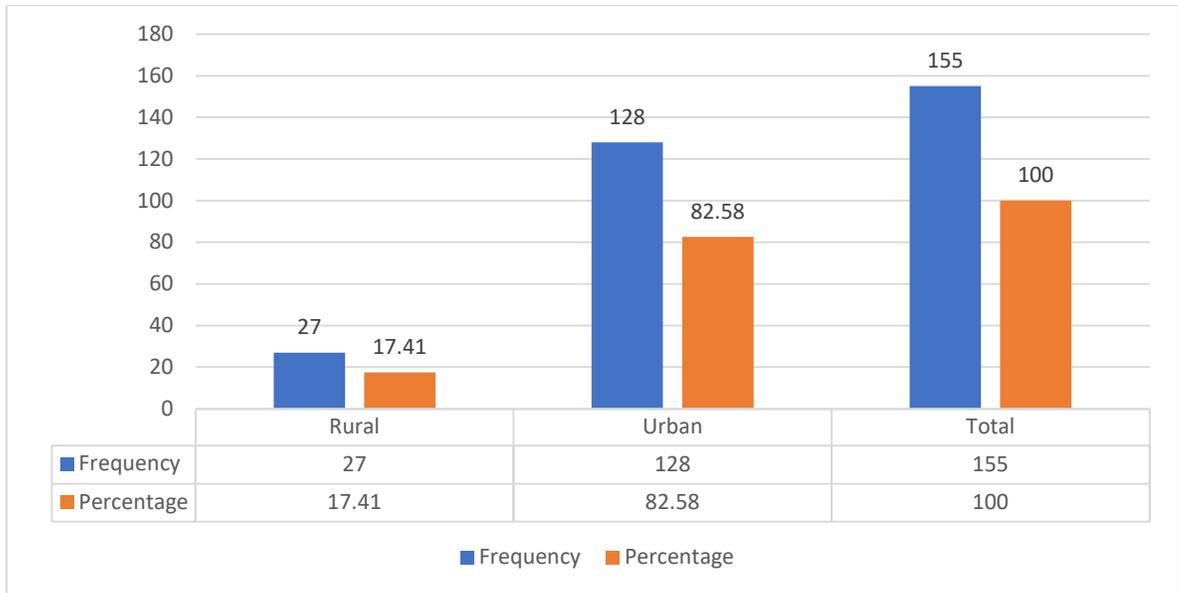


Figure 1.10. Respondents rural and urban background

Figure 1.11. shows the educational background of the respondents. The table indicates that all the respondents are literate. Majority of the respondents are undergraduate students (BA level) i.e., 77 respondents. Post graduate level consist of 68 respondents, 6 higher secondary and 4 research scholars.

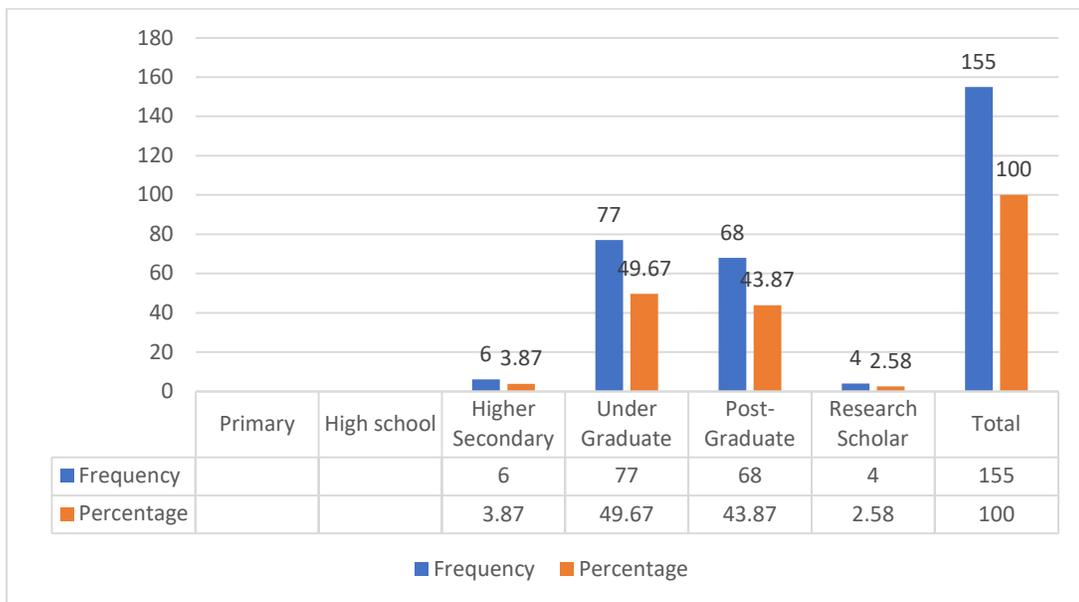


Figure 1.11. Educational background of the respondents

In 1976, the Nagaland Assembly proclaimed English as the official language of the state and it is also the medium of educational instruction. All the respondents are from English background. Some of the respondents take mother tongue as the second languages in schools and colleges instead of alternative English but English is the preferred form of communication.

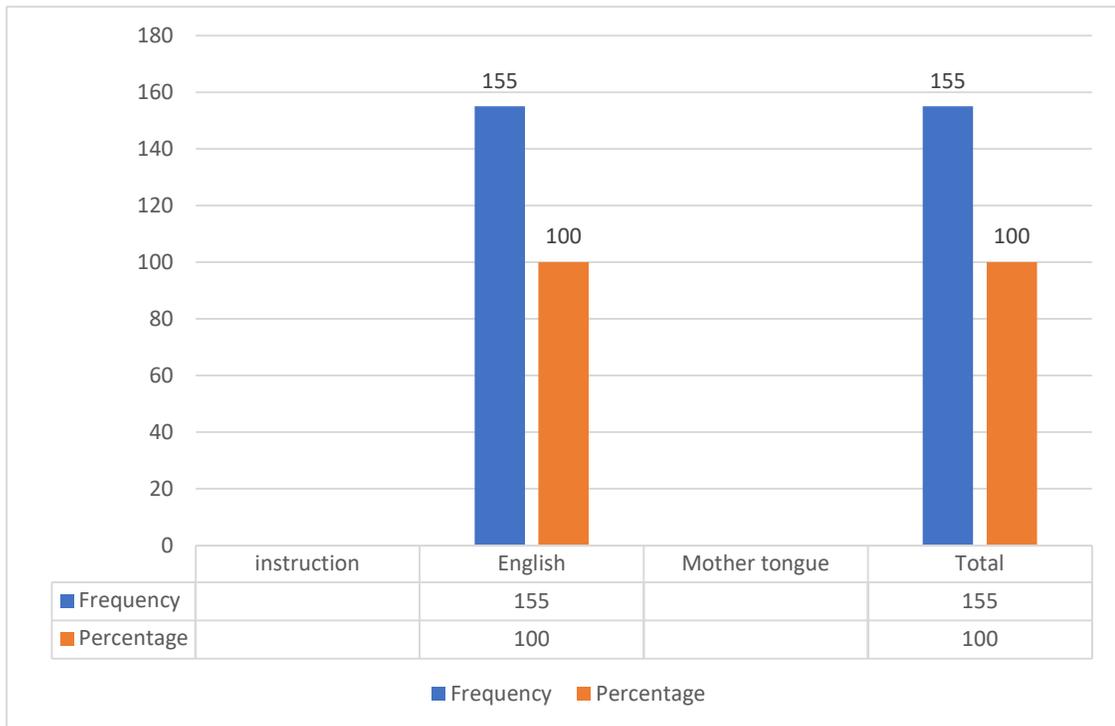


Figure 1.12. Medium of educational instructions of the respondents

Figure 1.13. shows that all the respondents are multilingual speakers where they can speak and understand their own mother tongue, Nagamese and English. Majority of them can speak and understand Hindi and one knows Korean, in the table I have shown as others. One of the respondents says he knows a little bit of Korean. Though this was something very strange in our society where the respondents were born and brought up from Nagaland, where both the father and mother are from Naga community. The reason behind this may be due to the influence of Korean movie with English subtitle. Many youngsters have Korean fans whom they know through watching Korean movie and this is how the language became familiar to them.

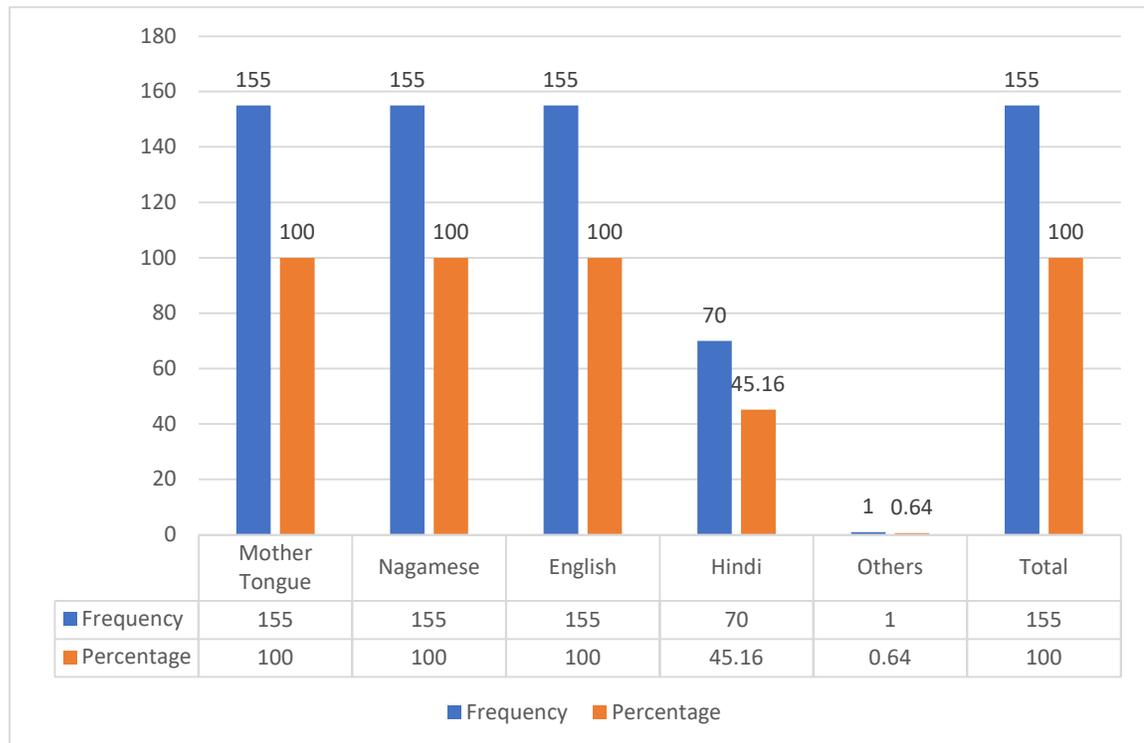


Figure 1.13. no. of dialects respondents knows

Figure 1.14. indicates the places from where the respondents have learnt other languages apart from mother tongue. As the table shows clearly majority of the respondents learn English and Hindi from schools through formal education and watching television. Since Nagamese is the lingua franca of the state the respondents learn it through friends, schools, towns and cities etc. Other languages are learned through friends and television.

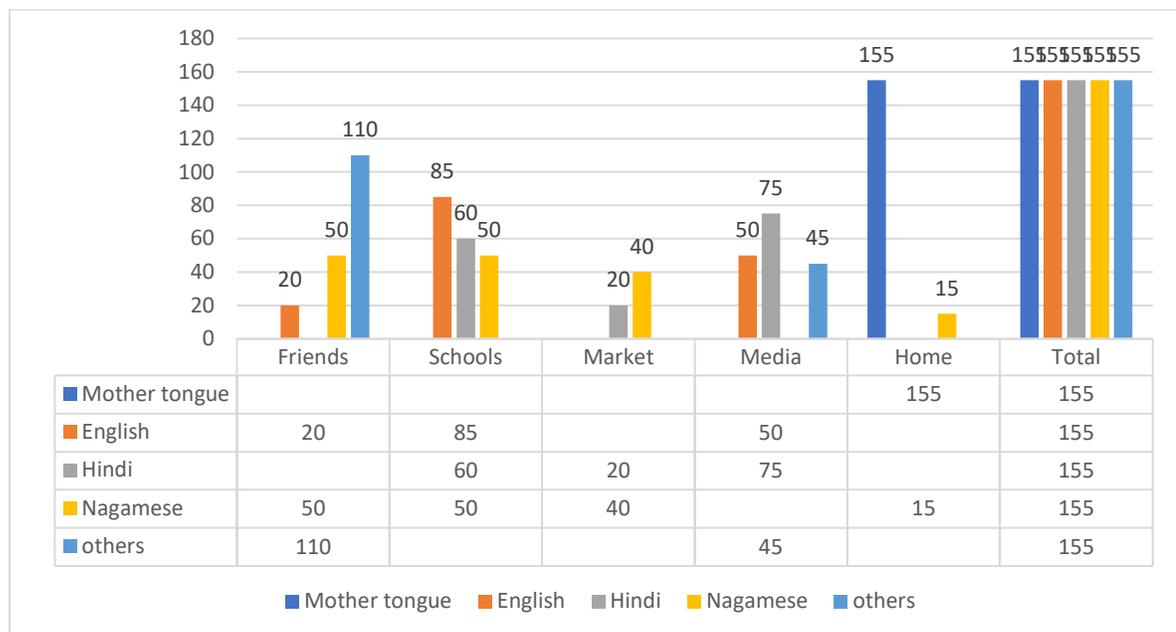


Figure 1.14. Places from where the respondents learn other languages apart from MT

1.10. CHAPTERIZATION OF THE THESIS

Basing on the objectives of the study the whole thesis is divided into six (6) chapters including introduction and conclusion.

CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION

The first chapter is the Introduction. This chapter gives a brief highlight of the thesis. It contextualizes the themes of the research by introducing various concepts that have been employed in the thesis. The chapter also present research problem and specified the objective of the study. An important component of every thesis is significance of the study and the extent to which it has been different from other studies. This chapter provides the detailed account of methods employed for the research. The chapter concluded with brief sketch of the thesis and a note on the limitation of the study.

CHAPTER 2-REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The second chapter on Review of Literature deals with different books, journals and research articles relating on Multilingualism in India and also outside India. This chapter brings in the different ideas, debates and concept by various scholars and linguist regarding Multilingualism. It not only focusses on one specific area but also argues various gaps and understanding of multilingualism. Some specific books and articles on Naga languages were also review for guidance and better answers of the study.

CHAPTER 3- CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

The third chapter was on code mixing and code switching. This chapter tries to bring about the different occasions and scenario where young people use code switching and code mixing. The main highlight of the chapter is to show the manner in which the Nagas code-switch and code-mix while communicating. This chapter mostly studied on young people how they use different languages in their daily conversations both in formal and informal sector.

CHAPTER 4- BORROWING

The fourth chapter on borrowing deals with the types and nature of borrowing among different tribes of Nagaland. The reason of the borrowed words are discussed with examples. The impact of foreigners and the cultural factor are also one cause for the borrowed words in Nagaland. This chapter will also highlight the origin of the borrowed words.

CHAPTER 5- NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE

The fifth chapter is on non- native language. It highlights how pidgins and creoles languages like Nagamese have become as one of the main means of communication among the Nagas. The chapter also highlights on the usage of English and Hindi in Naga society. Hindi as a subject and the problems faced by the students are discussed. The reason for the emergence of Nagamese as creoles in Naga society is studied. The usage of non-native language in family and outside the family, usage of Nagamese in formal and informal setting, etc are studied in this chapter. The usage of Nagamese in Naga society especially in Kohima town is studied among college students and also others.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

This is the final chapter. It summarizes the major findings of the thesis.

CHAPTER- 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews books, articles on topics related to multilingualism. Multilingualism is not just a matter of number of languages but is more importantly a matter of functional and political relation between languages. It is therefore important to understand the structure of multilingualism.

2.2. MULTILINGUALISM

The term “multilingualism” is defined by Dawson and Phelan (2016) as a situation in which communities of speakers share two or more languages and use them in everyday life. For example, in India, many people speak their regional language as well as Hindi, the most widely spoken of the country’s indigenous official languages. Most educated speakers also speak English, which is also an official language of India.

An interesting paper on multilingualism of Nagaland was in the form of a paper presented on multilingualism by Kuolie (2017). He asserts Nagas are multilingual as they

use mother tongue as home language, Nagamese as street language and English as instructional/office language. He pointed out that actual multilingualism that encountered Naga society is due to the influence of colonial administration and its strongest supporting forces, especially the spread of Christianity and western education. Naga social change towards modernity is an outcome of growing multilingualism in the society

2.2.1. DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE TO MULTILINGUALISM

Multilingualism can be studied from different perspective. As Sridhar (2009) has pointed out it can be studied both as an individual and as a societal phenomenon. To him individual phenomenon, issues such as how one acquires two or more languages in childhood or later, how these languages are represented in the mind, and how they are accessed for speaking and writing for comprehension become central. When it is viewed as a societal phenomenon, one is concerned with its institutional dimensions, that is, with issues such as the status and roles of the languages in a given society, attitudes toward languages, determinants of language choice, the symbolic and practical uses of languages, and the correlations between language use and social factors such as ethnicity, religion and class.

Dawson and Phelan (2016) assert that Societal multilingualism is sometimes used in a broader sense to refer to the use of two or more languages within the same country. If we equate society with country, we have to conclude that almost all countries in the world, if not all of them, are multilingual. He further put forth the main reasons leading to multilingualism is migration, cultural contact and annexation. Other reasons include the commercial, scientific, and technological dependence of the speakers of certain languages on the speakers of other languages.

Hudson (1996) is of the view that in multilingual community the different languages are always used in different circumstances, and the choice is always controlled by social rules. This also indicates the sociolinguistic phenomenon where it is related to society and culture of that particular place. Typically, one language is reserved exclusively for use at home and another in the wider community (for example, market place, school,

church, work etc.). Because of this linguistic division, each individual could expect to switch codes (i.e., languages) several times in the course of a day.

2.2.3. REASONS FOR MULTILINGUALISM

Sridhar (2009) further put forth that the most obvious factor leading to multilingualism is migration. When speakers of one language settle in an area where another language is used and over the years continue to maintain their own language, the result is multilingualism. Another cause of societal multilingualism is cultural contact. When a society imports and assimilates the cultural institutions (example religion or literature) of another society over the years multilingualism may result. The third reason is annexation, as in the case of French-and Spanish-speaking parts of the United States, and colonialism, as in many parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Where colonial languages such as Spanish, French and especially English became entrenched and continue to play crucial roles long after the cessation of colonial rule. Other reasons include the commercial, scientific, and technological dependence of the speakers of certain languages on the speakers of other languages.

Other reasons which is included in Sridhar's view and argument on colonial languages and annexation can also be applied in Naga languages. With the coming of western education and English as the official language of the Naga people, one can also place and see the reasons for multilingualism in Nagaland.

2.2.4. NARRATIVE AND NASCENT VIEWS

Anamalai (2022), narrates that multilingualism is a pattern of speech without language boundaries. He is of the view that language boundaries then become constructs by language experts, political mobilizers and educational and media planners. In his narratives he is fully aware of the kind of politics that can be played in the name of language. He says that his first awareness of the politics of the language was in his high school when he realized that learning Hindi could not be made mandatory and that two languages Tamil and Hindi could be in conflict. The emerging view of multiple languages in the political arena of a country was one of competition between languages for power.

He sums up his narrative by giving his own autobiographical by saying that this story of becoming language-conscious is unique to a person growing up in a multilingual environment and it could be non-existent for a monolingual person. According to him this evolution of the language consciousness of a multilingual is a gradual, complex and conflicting process, which happens over their whole life. Moreover, this evolution does not deny equilibrium between the many languages in a multilingual environment and harmony in the consciousness of languages in multilingual speakers.

Pandit's (1972) illustration of a day in the linguistic life of a spice merchant in India is a classic example of a multilinguals verbal repertoire. He talks about a Gujarati spice merchant in Bombay uses kathiawadi (his dialect of Gujarati) with his family, Marathi (the local language) in the vegetable market, Kacchi and Konkani in trading circles, Hindi or Hindustani with the milkman and at the train station, and even English on formal occasions. Such a person may not be highly educated or well versed in linguistic rules, but knows enough to be able to use the languages for his purpose. An important characteristic of multilingualism pointed out by Pandit's example is the fact that multilingualism do not necessarily have a perfect or natively like command of all the languages in their verbal repertoire.

According to Mohanty (2022) multilingualism needs to be regarded as a dynamic and functional skill- a totality and not as a static knowledge of number of languages (p.204). He mentions about his own experiences of growing up in a multilingual society, progressively modulated by many encounters in diverse sociocultural and linguistic settings, along with his personal evolution through decades of studies of multilingualism leads to compelling view of multilingualism as a first language. Mohanty's description of his early life in the holy city of Puri echoes the experience of many authors. Linguistic diversity was an integral part of this small town where the inhabitants consist of speakers of Odia, Bengali, Telegu, Hindi, Urdu and other languages. He was never conscious of the fact that he grew up moving effortlessly between languages. His home itself was a multilingual space where in addition to Odia, Urdu and Bengali would be used. Individual multilingualism was connected to social issues for him too

2.3. CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

Malik (1994) defines the term code-switching and code-Mixing as a common characteristic of a multilingual speech. This sociolinguistic phenomenon has helped in a transition of the norms of British and American English to local English. Hence the code-switch or code-mixed varieties help in the process of nativization and indigenization of English. Nativization or indigenization is a process by which language use and learning in such situations gradually moves from an external to an internal norm i.e. the adaptation of a language may undergo change when it is used in a different cultural and social situation.

Sridhar (1996) states that, when two or more languages exist in a particular community, speakers frequently switch from one language to another. This phenomenon that Sridhar has pointed out has attracted a great deal of research attention in the last two decades. Mabule.D.R. (2015) states that there are many reasons why people code switch and one of the reasons may be what the participants want to project in order to identify themselves as members of certain social groups and to negotiate their position in interpersonal relations.

2.3.1. DEFINITIONS OF CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

The term code switching has been defined by several scholars. Among them are, Hymes (1974) defines code switching as a common term for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles. While Bokamba (1989) defines code switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech events. Hasselmo (1972:261) defines code Switching as the resolution of linguistic tension between two languages through the utilization of elements from one language to the other language. Trudgil (1982:145) on the other hand preferred to use code switching as switching from one language variety to another when the situation demands. Hymes (1974) defines code switching as a common term for alternative use of two or more languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles. Scotten and Ury (1977) proposed that Code switching is the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or

interaction. The Cambridge Dictionary of Linguistics (2013) defined Code Switching as switching between two languages or dialects in the same conversation, usually dependent on social or other contextual factors. Whereas, Maschler (1998: 125) defines code mixing or a mixed code as “using two languages such that a third, new code emerges, in which elements from the two languages are incorporated into a structurally definable pattern”. In other words, the code-mixing hypothesis states that when two code switched languages constitute the appearance of a third code it has structural characteristics special to that new code. Furthermore, Meyerhoff (2006:115-116) argues that code mixing generally refers to alternations between varieties, or codes, within a clause or phrase. Often elicits more strongly negative evaluations than alternations or code switching across clauses.

2.3.2. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

Riley (2000) defines code-mixing as a fluent bilingual talking to another fluent bilingual changes' language without any change at all in the situation. This kind of alternation is called code-mixing. According to him the purpose of code-mixing seems to be to symbolize a somewhat ambiguous situation for which neither language on its own would be quite right. Whereas Lance (1975) characterized code-switching as random. He thinks that there are perhaps no syntactic restrictions on where the code-switching can occur.

According to Wardhaugh (1992:107-108), conversational code-mixing involves the deliberate mixing of two languages without an associated topic change. He indicates that code-mixing is usually used as a solidarity marker in multilingual communities. Code mixing is expressions in which a mixture of the grammar of one language and another language is used without altering the grammar of the first language used. . Hudson (1996) is of the view that Code switching as an inevitable consequence of multilingualism. According to the circumstances the speakers who speak more than one language deliberately choose the languages. Generally, speakers choose a language which the other person can understand.

Malik (1994) states that code-switching is a communicative strategy in a linguistic situation where two or more languages co-exist within the bounds of one society, or are kept in constant contact by politically and economically determined interests. The speaker switches from one communicative code to another under situations and normatively defined conditions. Whereas according to Wardhaugh (1992:107-108), “conversational code-mixing involves the deliberate mixing of two languages without an associated topic change”. He indicates that code-mixing is usually used as a solidarity marker in multilingual communities. Code mixing is expressions in which a mixture of the grammar of one language and another language is used without altering the grammar of the first language used.

2.3.3. TYPES OF CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

There are many types of code switching. Poplak (1980) has given three types of code switching namely tag switching, inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential. In tag switching a tag in one language is inserted into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language. In inter-sentential code-switching, the language switch is done at sentence boundaries. In intra-sentential code-switching, the shift is done in the middle of a sentence, with no interruptions, hesitations, or pauses indicating a shift. It often happens within one sentence or even a one phrase.

Musken (2000) categories code mixing into three namely insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. In insertion the process of code mixing is conceived as something borrowing. Alternation views the constraint on mixing in terms of capability or equivalence of the language involved at the switch point. Congruent lexicalization underlies the study of style shifting and dialect/standard variation rather than bilingual language proper use.

Stockwell (2002) asserts that most individuals have a repertoire of codes available to them. According to him, when a speaker moves from one domain into another, and changes their code as a result, this is situational code-switching. However, sometimes a speaker can deliberately change codes in the middle of a situation, in order to indicate to

the hearer that they consider a new domain to be in operation. This is called metaphorical code-switching and can be seen in the teenage boy's usage to differentiate 'joke time' from 'conversation time'.

2.3.4. DIFFERENT VIEWS ON CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

Different scholars have conducted a study on code switching and code mixing, the different views stimulate based on their study. Gingras (1974) gave the description of Spanish-English intrasentential code-switching. Here he claims that code-switching may occur at any point within the main clause and the utterance remains grammatical by both L1 and L2 standards. Structures in discourse to which a rule from L1 but not from L2 must categorically apply were found to be avoided as switch points by the balanced bilingual. Whereas. Recent researchers and investigators agree that code switching is a rule governed activity, despite the fact that there is little agreement on the precise nature of the rules involved.

Verma (1976) made a preliminary attempt to illustrate certain aspects of Hindi-English code-switching. He has focused mainly on three important points- first, there are two types of competence i.e, grammatical/ linguistics competence and communicative competence. Secondly, the choices are situationally determined i.e, shifts in situations require shifts in language varieties. Thirdly, he considers different types of Hindi-English code switching and different degrees of mixtures.

Fernado (1977) describes the language situation of Sri Lanka and examined the factors governing the language choice of Sinhalese bilinguals while attempting to correlate such factors with domains and role relations. She also examined the way in which such correlations reflect social differences in Sri Lankan society. The use of two languages by the same speaker almost inevitably affects the forms of the languages so used. She finds that the choice of English rather than Sinhala by Sinhalese bilinguals in various domains, particularly the personal ones, constitutes the most striking indicator of differences in education and social background and is thus the single most powerful class indicator in Sri Lanka. The degree to which an individual's English reflects mother tongue interference is

another indication of social class. The Sinhalese bilinguals by virtue of choosing another language (i.e, English) and speaking it in a particular way in specific domains, particularly the personal ones, demonstrates his/her membership past and present of a given social group i.e 'elitist' or 'non-elitist'.

Mabule.D.R. (2015) says that code-switching and code -mixing are commonly used throughout the world. Both occur when two languages are used spontaneously in one clause or utterance. He views Code switching as a complex process, which involves different levels of switching or mixing in accordance to with proficiency in the languages used. According to him, Code switching and code mixing are phenomena which occur regularly in multilingual communities reflecting social group memberships.

2.4. BORROWING

The term borrowing was defined by Trask (1997) as the process by which a word which exist in one language is copied into another language. For example, English has borrowed 'castle' from Norman French, 'ballet' from modern French, 'vanila' from Spanish, 'soprano' from Italian and 'kayak' from Eskimo. While Durkin (2014), referred the term borrowing to a process of transferring a linguistic feature from foreign language to interest language; while the term Loan is also referring to a process of transferring a linguistic feature but the transferring is from interest language to foreign language. Trask R.L (1997) also views such borrowings as loan words.

Riley (2000) claims that another way in which different languages may become mixed up with each other is through the process of borrowing. He is of the view that borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is 'borrowed' from one language to become part of the other language. Everyday examples abound- words for foods, plants, institutions, music and so on, which most people can recognize as borrowings (or loan words), and for which they can even name the source language. According to him many words have been borrowed from Latin, Greek and French, words like money, car, church and letter can all be traced to borrowings from these languages, but none of us are aware of this and use them like any other English word, without any trace of foreign

associations. However, it is also important to recognize that borrowings can keep their foreign associations for a very long time, whether or not we recognize them as loans. According to Dawson and Phelan (2016) speakers of languages are frequently coming into contact with speakers of other languages, which create a variety of contact situations, where each language comes out with a potentially different result. Such contact may be caused by trade, conquest, migration or other factors. For instance, two thousand years ago, the expansion of the Roman Empire throughout Europe led to contact between Latin and a variety of local languages, many of which did not survive the contact that is, they were replaced by Latin, and, as a result, people no longer spoke the local languages.

2.4.1 DEFINITIONS OF BORROWING

There are so many definitions of Borrowing that have been defined by different linguist. Thomson and Kaufman (1988) define that, borrowing refers to the incorporation of foreign features into groups native language by speakers of that language. Haugen (1952) defined as the analyses of linguistic borrowing are the major reference point for the field of borrowing. He termed borrowing as the use of language forms from two languages is not a random mixing, a speaker either switches rapidly from one to other, or switches only for word, phrase or sentences. Hock & Joseph (2009) term borrowing as an adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect (p.24) which is one of the common effects of linguistic contacts. According to McArthur (1992) borrowing is taking a word or phrase from one language into another, or from one variety of a language into another (p.141). The author also states that borrowing can also occur between different variants of the same language. Graddol (2000) asserts the process of borrowing as language A uses and ends up absorbing a linguistic item or feature which was a part of language B, and which language A did not have. (p.33).

Sergiivna, B.I., Volodymyrivna, B. I., &Yakivna, M.S. (2020) says that there are no limits to borrowing lexical items from one language to another. According to them every language may benefit from another language vocabulary stock. There are some languages which serve more as source language for others and there are some languages who are almost addicted to such loans. It is believed by linguists that there are over 120

different languages that contributed over centuries to the enrichment of the English vocabulary stock. However, it is learnt that the two main language- contributors to the English vocabulary stock are Latin and French. Kachru (1998), says that there is transference of linguistic items from one language to another due to borrowing of words. The power and the authority are of two language English and Hindi.

2.4.2. REASONS OF BORROWING

Stranzy (2005) emphasizes that borrowing often implies two reasons either reasons of necessity or reasons of prestige. The reason behind necessity is that sometimes we come across new or unknown concept which we cannot express in our mother tongue so we borrow terms, words and other names of new ideas from other languages to our native language so that the act of communication is preserved. Another reason is prestige, when we look at the English language in the post- conquest period, it was treated as inferior to the French language, which was the language of wealth, educated members of upper society. French language became the official language in England after the Norman conquest in 1066. French was the language of the nobility and the court. Therefore, French was perceived as a higher or prestige language.

While Kadim (2016) mentioned Svobodová (1998) who referred to a number of terminology reasons behind borrowing foreign words into the native language:

- a) Terminologically, there is no equivalent existent of the borrowed word in the recipient language of the speaker.
- b) International communication especially in the academic world which require international effort to ease transmission of important information.
- c) Using foreign terms instead of native terms is a very common way of trendiness and lifestyle.

Bacescu (2015) adds another two factors of borrowing foreign terminology as:

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a) A new media communication has been imposed a new lexical term in the year (1989) as: calques, borrowings, semantic developments, domestic creations, ...etc.

b) Emerging 'Globalization' as a process that has been created by capitalism development or what we called market economy. For this reason, market economy language was English as a global and dominant Language.

Goswami (2003) observes that as a community change, there is a constant demand for new words-to express new concepts or attitudes, to denote new objects or institutions and so on. A community goes on changing, learning from other communities or expanding its own activities in the field of commerce or culture. So, the isolated and conservative community has to borrow words to indicate new ideas or objects. Dawson and Phelan (2016) assert that all over the world English is used as a second language, frequently without there being any social contact between native speakers of English and the second-language learners. This kind of language contact is becoming more common due to globalization.

2.4.3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BORROWING AND LOANWORDS

Goswami (2003) differentiate between borrowing and loanword as there has been common misunderstanding of using and understanding borrowing and loanwords as same. Loan words can be termed as referring to a process of transferring a linguistic feature but the transferring is from interest language to foreign language. On the other hand, when a community learn from other community in the field of culture, they have to borrow words to indicate new ideas. (Jafaar, Buragohain, Haroon 2019). It can be a continuous contact between two or more different speaking groups or communities, where the people used each other words to refer some things or ways of thinking. This is a natural result of language contact exerts a profound impact on both vocabulary enrichment and mutual understanding of cultures (Shen 2009).

2.4.4. DIFFERENT TYPES OF BORROWING

Hughes (2000) have highlighted different kinds of borrowing. According to Hughes, the different kinds of borrowing are Guest words, Foreign words, Loan words and calques.

- i) Guest words- words which remain their original meaning, orthography and pronunciation. For example, the Italian word “diva” was adopted into English as “diva.”
- ii) Foreign words- words that are only partially assimilated to the recipient language though sometimes are challenging to be recognized as borrowings.
- iii) Loanwords- words incorporated into the recipient language to a great extent so it is almost impossible to identify them as borrowings, like the word’s “street” or “bishop.” Such loan words virtually become native words and sometimes are mistreated as ones.
- iv) Calques- words called loan translations, as they involve rendition from one language to another, like “world view” translated literally from German “weltanschauung.” By the way, the terms (“a guest word,” “a foreign word,” and “a loan word”) constitute examples of calques themselves, as they are translated literally from German words “Gastwort,” “Fremdwort” and “Lehnwort”.

Dawson and Phelan (2016) classified borrowing into Lexical and Structural borrowing. Lexical in simple term can be understood as the borrowing of words and phrases and borrowing of phonological, morphological or syntactic patterns as structural borrowing. One can also understand lexical borrowing as taking up of individual words into one or the other language which can be sometimes term as loanwords. According to them some of the grammatical function words do not tend to be borrowed as most languages already have such words. For example, words like a, the, my, you, in, by, is, etc, are not borrowed words as these words are already there in many languages.

But one will also notice that both core vocabulary and function words are borrowed occasionally. When a language adopts new sounds from a language after its contact with another language, we can term it as Phonological borrowing. On the other

hand, the adoption of morphological element by one language due to the influence of another language can be term as Morphological borrowing. In morphological borrowing one will find that words are borrowed along with an attached affix. Syntactic borrowing can be understood in which one language might be borrowed into another language replacing some words in the native language.

Winford (2003) distinguished the common types of borrowing into three, they are lexical borrowing, loan shifts and loan translation.

- i) Lexical borrowing: Lexical borrowing is a word where one language is adapted for use in another language or the new language acquires the loan words or loan blends. It is interesting to mention that the English language has been described by Crystal (1995) as an “insatiable borrower.” More than 120 languages of the world have serves as the source for the contemporary vocabulary of English. Today English is serving as an important donor language- the leading source of borrowing to many other languages. The example of this phenomenon in the English language is borrowing from French, such as *rendezvous* (Winford 45). One more example of the loan words is the Dutch *corner* (Winford 45). Another example is loan blends originating from Pennsylvania German, such as *basic* (Winford 45).
- ii) Loan Shift: Loan Shift is a borrowing that appears in use in the new language as a result of loan shifts. Another illustration is the case of phonological resemblance being the basic for shift in semantics in such English word as *humorous* in parallel with Portuguese word *humoroso* (Winford 45). Evaluation of the particular loan shifts examples narrated above suggest s a conclusion that in the case of lexical borrowing, the lower language will borrow a word with the semantic connotation absent in this language from the upper language, where people have already faced certain phenomenon and came up with the lexical term for it. By further examining these loan shifts and historical context in which they came into use, one may observe what cultural, political, social or other factors have influenced such shift (Kemmer par.5). Overall, loan shifts in language take place when the borrower is not willing to accept the

donor's lexical material fully but is trying to adopt the new borrowing to the peculiarities of one's language (Kemmer par.5)

- iii) Loan Translation- Loan translation is the phenomenon of borrowing through direct translation (Winford 44). In other words, Loan translation are that phenomenon that takes place when the loan item is a composite form in the upper language and the borrower creates a parallel composite structure from one's language material (Kemmer par.7).For example- German word 'Skyscraper' used in English till today due to the emergence of this technological breakthrough in their territory.

When two languages come into contact, the language shifts occur with lexical and phonetic borrowings. These languages contact takes place in different situation where the groups of different languages interact. Colonization, trade, migration, etc could be a situation where speakers of one language adopt words from another which can be referred as the source of language. So, this process of adoption of words from a source language can be term as borrowing. The result of two cultural contact between two different distinct language groups explain the nature of language borrowing which also has numerous factors impacting both the languages.

Marmiené (2015) gave another type of borrowings classification. She classified borrowing according to the degree of assimilation, like:

- a) Completely assimilation borrowings, in this kind of borrowing, we do not look or feel to the borrowed word as a foreign word in the language, such as the French word (sport) and the native word (start) but we feel them as native words instead.
- b) Partly assimilation borrowings are sub-grouped into the following: i) borrowings non-assimilation semantically (ii) borrowings non-assimilation grammatically (iii) borrowings non-assimilation phonetically (iv) borrowings partly assimilation graphically
- c) Non-assimilation borrowings are those kind of borrowings used by English individuals rather rarely and are non-assimilation, such as the words: (addio) borrowed from Italian language, (tete-a-tete) borrowed from French language, (dolce vita) borrowed from Italian language, (duende) borrowed from Spanish language, etc. She even added another borrowings classification due to the language from which they were borrowed, such as

Latin or Romanic borrowings, Arabic borrowings, Italian borrowings, French borrowings, Russian borrowings, Spanish borrowings, German borrowings, Scandinavian borrowings, etc.

2.5. PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Nichols (2009) states that Pidgins and Creoles are linked in a continuum of language development. Pidgins come into being because they are needed during times of population upheaval, when normal mechanisms of language transmission are disrupted. No one sits down and decides to create a pidgin. It comes into being through the interaction of large numbers of people who speak several different languages and who have little reason or opportunity to learn another one of the many languages spoken in the contact situation. Typically, pidgins arise when people of many language backgrounds engage in extensive trading or forced labor, often in coastal areas near major seaports. They appear when massive population dislocation and movement take place. In these dynamic situations, there is too much going on for the small number of interpreters to cope with.

Peter Stockwell (2002) asserts that every pidgin becomes a creole as soon as it is learned as the first language of a new generation. In these circumstances, pidgins rapidly develop a wider range of phonemes, a larger vocabulary, more complex syntax and a greater range of stylistic options to the point at which the creole can be used in every context and to express every requirement of the speaker. However, not all pidgin becomes a creole, and sometimes a pidgin and a creole can co-exist in urban and rural locations.

2.5.1. DEFINITIONS OF PIDGINS

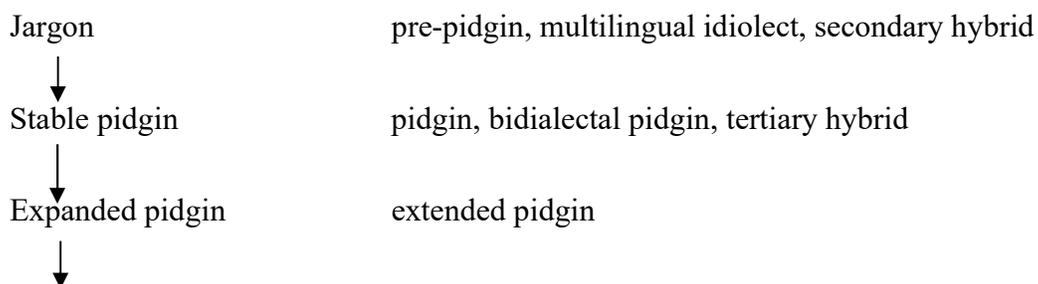
The term pidgin has been defined by different scholars and linguist. Some of the definitions are as follows:

According to Bloomfield (1933), “A variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced...The resultant language must be native to no one”.

UNESCO (1963) has defined pidgin as “A language which has arisen as the result of contact between peoples of different languages, usually formed from mixing of the languages”.

According to Hall (1966), when “Two or more people use a language in a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side. Such a language is a ‘pidgin’. According to Hymes (1971), “Pidgins arise as makeshift adaptations, reduced in structure and use, no one’s first language; creoles are pidgins that become primary languages”. Samarin (1971) is of the view that “Any consistent reduction of the functioning of a language both in its grammar and in its use as a process of pidginization”.

Mühlhauser (1986) proposes his own definition of pidgin as pidgins are examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. He also points out that pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers, they are social rather than individual solutions, and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability. Mühlhauser’s implicit in this definition is the assumption that there are qualitatively different stages in the development of a pidgin. These have been given labels by a number of scholars. Here Mühlhauser gave his own preferred labels, side by side with others commonly in use.



Creole

Figure 2.1. Mühlhauser's stages of development of a pidgin (1986)

2.5.2. CREOLE

Todd (1974 pp. 3) defined creole by saying that a creole arises when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a speech-community. Thus, Creole in a simple understanding can be define as a language that comes from a simplified or simple version of another language, or the mix of two or more languages. Collins dictionary define creole as a creole is a language that has developed from a mixture of different languages and has become the main language in a particular place.

2.5.3. DEVELOPMENT OF PIDGIN LANGUAGES

Crystal (2010) states that a pidgin is a system of communication which has grown up among people who do not share a common language, but who want to talk to each other, for trading or other reasons. Pidgins have been variously called 'makeshift', 'marginal' or 'mixed' languages. They are the native language of no one, but they are nonetheless a main means of communication for millions of people, and a major focus of interest to those who study the way language change. A pidgin is not a language which has broken down, nor is it the result of baby talk, laziness, corruption, primitive thought processes or mental deficiency. On the contrary, pidgins are demonstrably creative adaptations of natural languages, with a structure and rules of their own. They provide the clearest evidence of language being created and shaped by society for its own ends, as people adapt to new social circumstances.

He further argues that some pidgins have become so useful as a means of communication between languages that they have developed a more formal role, as regular auxiliary languages. They may even be given official status by a community, as lingua franca. These cases are known as 'expanded pidgins', because of the way in which they have added extra forms to cope with the needs of their users, and have come to be used in a much wider range of situations than previously. In time these languages may come to be

used on the radio, in the press, and may even develop a literature of their own. Some of the most widely used expanded pidgins are krio (in Sierra Leone), Nigerian Pidgin English, And Bislama (in Vanuatu). In Papua New Guinea, the local pidgin (Tok Pisin) is the most widely used language in the country. Nagamese which is spoken widely in Nagaland can be called as expanded pidgin as well, though it is not recognized as the official language of the state.

Dawson and Phelan (2016) Speakers of mutually unintelligible languages who are brought together (perhaps by social, economic, or political forces), and need to communicate with one another, develop various ways of overcoming the barriers to communication. One solution is for all of the speakers to learn one another's languages, but this is not always practical. Another solution is to create pidgin languages. These are languages that typically develop in trading centers or in areas under industrialization, where the opportunities for trade and work attract large numbers of people with different native tongues. Thus, the etymology of pidgin should come as no surprise: the word pidgin is actually a pidginized form of the English word business. Pidgin languages develop whenever speakers of different languages do not share a language in common but need to communicate

2.5.4. REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Harris (1986) is of the view that pidgin emerge due to the lack of effective bilingualism, communication and restricted access to the target language. Pidgin is thus an additional language to a native language. Due to the lack of proper vocabulary, it is sometimes called or considered as "broken". For instance, Nagamese can be called a broken Assamese or broken Bengali. A creole on the other hand can develop from a pidgin language if certain social conditions come into play. When playmates or trading partners, servants, begin their own families in circumstances where their first language is not spoken, a pidgin that they both know may become the language they use at home.

R.A. Hudson (1980) says that the reason for wanting to communicate with members of other communities is often trade, a pidgin may be what is called a trade

language, but not all pidgins are restricted to being used as trade languages, nor are all trade languages pidgins. A pidgin is a variety specially created for the purpose of communicating with some other group, and not used by any community for communication among themselves. Each pidgin is of course specially constructed to suit the needs of its users, which means that it has to have the terminology and constructions needed in whatever kinds of contact normally arise between the communities, but need not go beyond these demands to anticipate the odd occasion on which other kinds of situation arise. A pidgin which has acquired native speakers is called a Creole Language, or Creole, and the process whereby a pidgin turns into a creole is called 'creolisation'.

Harris (1986) summarizes the three conditions needed for emergence of a pidgin language are lack of effective bilingualism, need to communicate and restricted access to the target language.

The rise of Nagamese in Nagaland can be traced out due to different reasons. Economic reason can be one of the starting communications between Nagas and Assamese through trading relations. Before the colonial period, Nagas depended on their own means of economic resources except for common salt. Many Naga villages were known to consume *keziedzü* (local flavouring agent found in certain springs/ wells) in lieu of common salt but this was not sufficient for the whole village community. This is one of the reasons Nagas would undertake the long journey to commercial towns in Assam to buy common salt for themselves and other villagers (through barter system). The traditional Angamis were known to have gone to Golaghat, and the Aos to Jorhat to buy salt, this could be one of the reasons of the origins of Nagamese. The Nagas learned what is known as the 'broken' Assamese (as stated by Harris, 1986) for the purpose of trade; this language was also used among the Nagas to communicate between since they did not have a common language.

2.5.5. NAGA PIDGIN

Origins of the Naga Pidgin, Nagamese, is not definitely or clearly known much. One of the earliest references to the contact of the Nagas with the non- Nagas is through

the work of Bronson (1839) who states that the Nagas who were in daily transaction and relations with the Abors borrowing their songs. Mackenzie (1884) whose inferences are based on the records of 1840, is of the view that, the Nagas who lived near Jaipur, Namsang, Panidwar and the Bordwar Nagas lived chiefly by manufacturing salt, which they retailed to the people of the plains. Lt. Briggs (1841) mentions that “on arrival at the Lotha Naga Hills, about 70 Nagas came down, many of them knowing Assamese”. John Butler (1855) on the other hand reports the barter trading among the Nagas and the plains especially between the Rengmas and the people of Nowgong. It was also found that, Nagas had been trekking long distances from different villages to Sibsagar and other trade centers before the British settled in Naga Hills.

Hutton (1921) says about the Naga Pidgin as the Assamese language is used in the Naga Hills, i.e., Naga pidgin is peculiarly well adapted for the reproduction of Naga idioms, as a vehicle of interpretation. It makes a far better lingua franca for the Hills than Hindustani or English would, the substitution of which for Assamese (Naga Pidgin) has been occasionally suggested. Haimendorf (1936) states that fortunately many people including children spoke fluently Nagamese, i.e., the Naga Pidgin the lingua franca of the entire Naga Hills. With increased mobility of the Nagas and also owing to the increased and constant contact with the non- Nagas, the Naga Pidgin in recent years has gained wide currency both area-wise and age-wise. Now, one can unhesitatingly agree with Haimendorf (1936) that the Naga Pidgin has become the defacto lingua franca of Nagaland.

Nagamese as a pidgin according to Sreedhar (1974) is that Naga Pidgin popularly known in the early days as Naga-Assamese and now as Nagamese is the de facto lingua franca of Nagaland. He also states that, Nagas in Nagaland speak many mutually unintelligible verbal codes for usage. Over a century, Nagas were in contact with the Assamese, where the Assamese were more civilized and economically superior. Scholars are of the view that, the Naga Pidgin (Nagamese) might have originated during the early contacts of the Nagas with the Assamese. One could also agree that, the Naga Pidgin got stabilized because, later on, it was used mostly for inter- lingual communication between the Nagas speaking different languages. In Nagaland, the Naga Pidgin carries the maximum functional load (Sreedhar 1973), and it is the only language that is understood

in the entire length and breadth of Nagaland. He states that, the Naga Pidgin meets with all the requirements for the title of a Pidgin language.

Mintz's work on the prerequisites of Whinnom to claim the title of Pidgin, one can say that Naga Pidgin have the similar situation. The source language in the case of Naga Pidgin is Assamese. Earlier this Pidgin was known as Naga-Assamese and now popularly called Nagamese.

2.5.6. THEORIES OF ORIGIN OF PIDGIN

Two main theories regarding the origin of Pidgin can be categorize as polygenetic and monogenetic theory. This is briefly discussed below:

The Polygenetic theory was propounded by Hall in 1942. This theory states that "each Pidgin and Creole is the result of the separate process of development. That is, each pidgin and Creole is genetically related to the corresponding source language from which it diverged under specific sociolinguistic situation" (Sreedhar 1974, p.4). According to this theory, the pidgin and creole started as a kind of 'baby talk' as "each pidgin and Creole began as a sort of 'baby talk' in other words an easy language used by masters, plantation owners and merchants to communicate with their servants, slaves and customers" (Sreedhar 1974, p.4). This is also a situation where the speakers knowingly or deliberately speak in a very simplified manner of the language by avoiding the grammatical inflections and reducing the number of phonological, morphological and syntactic oppositions, and by limiting the vocabulary. This eventually led the speaker to have a better communication with the other speaker in a fluent manner. This shows that, this happens between two groups of people who have different language and does not have a common language between them, where communication happens in a casual manner and short-term interactions. For instances, when two people does not have a common language, the short-term language happens between a tourist and the guide or the shopkeeper. To have a conversation they started to have communication in a simplified manner to understand each other. Or, when a foreign tourist visits Nagaland, they also tried to speak with the

shopkeepers or taxi drivers in a very simple and with missed 'easy words' or 'Baby talk' (according to Sreedhar) for a better communication.

Hall (1962) also claims that the "Pidgin normally owes its origin to relatively casual, short -term contact between groups which do not have a common language in between 'A new Pidgin is likely to arise', whenever guide meets tourists, employer meets employee or shopkeeper meets customer, if they do not have a language in common" (Sreedhar 1974, p.4).

Therefore, the Polygenetic Theory have both linguistic groups which may become bilinguals, i.e., each linguistic group may learn the language of each other. This type of pidgin will be found in locations bordering two linguistic areas. Here, both the linguistic groups may become bilinguals, i.e., each linguistic group may learn the language of the other.

The second theory was Monogenetic theory which was propounded by Whinnom (1968). He talks about the dominant and the other who is less dominant. Wherever there is a dominant group, there is the influence of that particular language. Here in this theory the pidgin originates when the language of the dominant is borrowed and used as a language in the process of communication. It also happens in a situation where it is also a meeting ground of two or more mutually unintelligible linguistic groups. Among these two or more groups one of them must be a dominant alien, the one which supplies most of the vocabulary. According to Whinnom, a Pidgin once formed may again play another part in the formation of other Pidgins. An example of this is the case of Naga pidgin. Mintz (1971) claims on the socio-cultural background of the Carribean pidgin that they were produced under peculiar historical circumstances, which includes repopulation of the empty lands by more than two different groups, one of them smaller and socially dominant, while others socially subordinate, speaking more than two languages" (Sreedhar 1974, p.5). Whinnom's prerequisites for the birth of a Pidgin and Mintz's socio-cultural background of the Carribean pidgin find a close parallel.

CHAPTER - 3

CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the usage of code switching and code mixing in Naga society. The main objective of this chapter is to find out the different types of code switching and code mixing and how they function in different occasions and places. The discussion focuses more on sociolinguistics point of view on the relationship between language and the context. In this study, languages are taken as the object of study and as a part of social property. The types and functions of the languages use by the people in Kohima across different languages can be seen through the attitude of the people towards users of languages and their change of languages.

3.2. Code switching and code mixing

Code switching and code mixing is very common in multilingual societies and is usually used by speakers who are proficient in various languages. Nagaland is one of the most linguistically diverse state in India. Apart from the recognize languages of Nagaland, many Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese, Nepali, Bengali, Hindi, etc are spoken by migrant groups. Nagamese is the lingua franca of the state with English as its official language. Thus, English and Nagamese serve as a common language and a means of communication among the people of Nagaland. The Naga speakers randomly switch from their mother tongue to Nagamese or English and vice versa. They normally start the conversation in mother tongue then to English and Nagamese and back to the first language and so on. The conversation runs smoothly though the speakers are unaware that they are mixing the language. Lots of code switching and code mixing can be seen in daily conversation, formally and informally. There are many circumstances where code switching is used. The following examples of code switching were collected from super market Kohima town. It's an informal conversation. The examples are as follows:

English-Tenyidie

1. I saw you yesterday, *n zepfũ ze kedzieteshũ tuo*
I so ju jesterdei, n zepfə ze kedzietejə tyɔ
I saw you yesterday, you girlfriend with holding FUT
'I saw you yesterday, holding your girlfriend hand.'

Tenyidie-English

2. *ule a rei n ngu* but I pretend like I didn't see you
ule a ri n ŋu but I pritend laik I didn't si ju
yes i too you saw but i pretend like I didn't see you
'Yes I saw you too but I pretended like I didn't see you'

English-Nagamese

3. Come lets go and have tea *nah puri khabo*
kam lets go an hav ti: na puri k^habo
come lets go and have tea or puri eat-FUT
'Come let's go and have tea or eat puri'

Nagamese-English

4. *Puri khabo* I don't want to drink tea
Puri k^habo I don wan to drink ti:
puri eat-FUT I don't want to drink tea
'Eat puri I dont want to drink tea'

Ao-Hindi

5. *Oi arung chu*, chai pilu
Ui aruŋ ʃuʔ, ʃai pilu
Hey come EMPH, tea drink

‘Hey come, drink tea’

Tenyidie-Nagamese

6. *Vorlie galho* bishi bhal ase deh agi

vorlie gal^{ho} bi^{fi} b^{hal} ase de ad^{zi}

come galho very tasty EXIST is today

‘Come, galho is very tasty today’

3.2.1. TYPES OF CODE SWITCHING

The types of code switching can be based on the reason why people switch their language. There are different types of code switching are discussed in literature (Wardhaugh 2010, Bloom and Gumper 1972, Poplack 1980). Based on this literature, we shall explore the types of code switching in Naga lanaguges. Situational code switching refers to a language change by a speaker depending on contextual factors which have nothing to do with the topic but with the given situation. Such cases happen after a formal or serious discussion, when a speaker switch from the standard language to the local dialect to enquire about family matters. This eases the seriousness of the preceding contexts. The sentences below are examples of situational switching. The switched happened in response to a change in situation, to a change in the topic of conversation or the setting.

Tenyidie-Nagamese

7. *re modi kinu ba leshö phrölie.* kot jabo agi

re modi kinu ba le^{šə} phr^əlie. kot jabo ad^{zi}

Roaming instead home sit book study. QP going-FUT today

‘Study at home instead of roaming, where are you going today?’

8. I have never seen a serious patient like this. *A mhapuo n ketso nyö ba*

I hav never seen a serius pafient laik dis. A m^hapo n kesto nə ba
 I have never seen a serious patient like this. I something you ask want PROG
 ‘I have never seen a serious patient like this. I’ve got something to ask you’.

Metaphorical code-switching points to the topic and the contents of the communicative process as the main reason for language choice. The alternance of code often encodes personal and social values that add interpersonal closeness or distance. This kind of switch has a stylistic or textual function, for example, to signal a quotation, to mark emphasis, to indicate the punch line of a joke, or to signal a change in tone from the serious to the comic. Code switching is thus not random but functionally motivated. The following examples are collected from a conversation while waiting for the doctor in hospital Kohima.

Nagamese- English

9. *Khali poisa tu dhuni nahoi* but health is also wealth
 k^hali poisa tu d^huni nahoi but health is also wealth
 only money is wealth not but health is also wealth
 ‘Money alone is not wealth but health is also wealth.’

Tenyidie- English

10. *mhakesimia pucv* prevention is better than cure
 m^hakesimia pufə prevenʃion is beter den cure
 intellectuals says prevention is better than cure
 ‘The intellectuals says prevention is better than cure’

A type of code switching is tag switching, where a tag in one language is inserted into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language. The example below, is a discussion among the teachers about a bright student from one of the schools in Kohima the tag switching is observe in the beginning of the sentence.

English-Tenyidie

11. You know, *puo mephrv se mu mecie se*
 ju nou, po mep^hrə se mu meʃie se

you know he/she smart very CON brilliant very
'You know he/she is very smart and very brilliant'

12. I mean, *puo vor nyü ba*

I min, po vor nə ba
I mean, he come wants PROG
'I mean he wants to come'

English-Tenyidie

13. I have ordered the book through online *derei vo chülie mo bazolo*

I hav ordərd de buk thru onlin deri vɔ ʃəlie mo bazolo
I have ordered the book trough online but go pick NEG yet to
'I have ordered the book through online but I am yet to go and pick it up'

Switchers use expressions from second language even when equivalents exist in their mother tongue. They feel that these expressions come naturally to them. Their equivalents in the mother tongue might sound formal because they belong to a formal register in the mother tongue. Sumi-Nagamese

14. *ipu wo cheni ke, jaikene taikē loi lobi*

ipu wo ʃeni ke, dʒaikene taikē loi lobi
Father come coming CON, go-CONNec he pick up
'My father is coming so go and pick him up'

In intra-sentential switching of different types occur within the clause or sentence boundary. Unlike inter-sentential switching, intra-switching occurs within the sentence. This is illustrated in the sentence below:

Tenyidie-English

15. Interview *lanu* they have come

interview lanu dei hav kum

Interview for they have come
'They have come here for the interview'

Ao-English

16. *ya kəm pa* promotion *ango*
Ja kəm pa prəmoufən aŋo
Last year he promotion got
'Last year, he got promotion'

3.2.4. FUNCTIONS OF CODE SWITCHING

Code switch has several functions (Zentella, 1985). Some function of code switching has been examined in this unit. The functions of the code switching are seen between different age groups, urban areas, education and gender. One of the informant's helper has been exposed to English. She is a fluent speaker of English though never went to school. She uttered the sentence (--); an English sentence with a Tenyidie word. On being asked what is *ufi* in English, she replied that she do not know. The code switching was used to hide her knowledge in second language:

English-Tenyidie

17. he is so over smart that sometimes he looks *ufi* type
he is so over smart dat somtaims he luks ufə taips
he is so over smart that sometimes he looks fed-up types
'He is so over smart that sometimes he looks fed-up types'

Parents and children conversation contains a lot of code switching. Code switching was usually found to be used to gather attention and control of the situation. It was found that parents code switch more than children. An example is presented below:

Tenyidie-English

18. no a die ze lie please
no a die ze lie pliz
you I word obey IMP please

‘Please obey my word’

Another function of Code switching during a specific situation to align speakers with others in specific situations. The speaker intends to show a sense of belonging or togetherness.

English-Tenyidie

19. I am one of the board member of this school *mu a kemevi kekra ngu lie ba*

I am one of de bord member of dis skul CON a kemevi kekra ŋu

I am one of the board member of this school and I gain lots get *lie ba*

IMP PGOG

‘I am one of the board member of this school and I’m gaining a lot’

3.2.5. REASONS FOR CODE SWITCHING

Some of the reason for the speakers to switch their code can vary from situation. In this research around seven reasons are found. First, there is a lack of facility when we look into the Naga context. As Lalita Malik (1994) mentioned about the lack of facility as one of the reasons of code switching in a multilingual speaker when talking about a particular topic, the same scenario can be seen in Naga context. It was also found that there is a problem in finding an appropriate expression or translation for a particular vocabulary when needed in a particular situation. Example

English-Nagamese

20. Come lets go for a walk this evening *ni/nah*

kum let’s go for a wɔk dis evenin ni

come let’s go for a walk this evening QP

‘Come, let’s go for a walk this evening’

Second, the incompetent between two speakers can be another reason for code switching. This lack of registral competence among the people lead to code switching where a speaker does not know the terms in two languages which leads to code switching.

Among the Nagas in Kohima, one will come across frequently the code switch with young boys and girls from English to Nagamese or vice versa if they were to discuss about a movie from a particular community. Example

English-Nagamese

21. I was watching Korean movie last night and you know in the end it was so monduk

I was watʃɪn Korean muvi las nait and ju nou in de end it was

I was watching Korean movie last night and you know in the end it was so *monduk*

so heartache

‘I was watching Korean movie last night and you know in the end it was so heartache’

Third, code switching is also seen mostly when a speaker wanted to emphasize and amplify to a point. Gal (1979) also reports in several instances that, it helps a speaker where a switch is normally done at the end of an argument help to terminate the interaction. Example

English-Nagamese

22. I visited one of my friends in hospital yesterday and I feel so pity to her *tai bishi* *bimar ase*

I visited one of mai fren in hospital jesterdae and I fil so piti to her tai

I visited one of my friend in hospital yesterday and I feel so pity to her she biʃi bimar ase

very sick EXIST

‘I visited one of my friends in hospital yesterday and I feel so pity to her she is very sick’

Fourth, another reason for code switching is the habitual expression of the speaker. This occurs in fixed phrases of greeting and parting, commands and requests, invitations, thanks and discourse markers. In the given example, the mother gives short

commands to her children in English, “Don’t do that...” and the rest of her speech in Nagamese. It signals that the mother is angry. Example

English-Nagamese

23. don’t do that *nahoile lathi dibo dey*
don’t do dat nahoile lat^{hi} di- bo dei
don’t do that else stick give-FUT ok
‘Don’t do that or else you get stick’

Fifth, code switching is done to show one’s identity with a group. According to Di Pietro (1977) the Italian immigrants would tell a joke in English and give the punch line in Italian, not only because it was better said in that language but also to stress the fact that they all belong to the same minority group, with shared values and experiences. Identity here plays an important role code switching takes its part. Example

English-Tenyidie

24. I saw him yesterday, *puo rei uko kehou nu vor*
I sou him jesterdae, po ri uko kehu nu vor
I saw him yesterday, he also our meeting Pp come
‘I saw him yesterday, he also came to our meeting’

Sixth, to address different audience- Code switching is also used when there are two or more kinds of people i.e., people knowing a different language. For instance, in the Nagamese news the news reader use Nagamese but in between switches to English for the people who do not know Nagamese or vice versa. Example

English-Nagamese

25. northeast *te five days nishena heavy rain hobo koishe*
northist te five deys nijena hevy rain ho-bo kojfe

northeast in five days like heavy rain will-FUT be-Pst
'There will be heavy rain in Northeast for five days'

Seventh, another reason for code switching is the way in which the speaker gets attention. For instance, in Advertisements (both written and spoken) in India, code switching is used to attract the attention of the readers/listeners. In English newspaper when the reader looks at a strange word i.e., Hindi, they automatically read that as they are more familiar with Hindi. Example

English-Hindi

26. nagaland government to continue with the *Swachh Bharat Mission*
nagaland government to kontinju wit de swaf̃ b^harat mij̃ion
nagaland government to continue with the swacch bharat mission
'Nagaland government to continue with the Clean India Mission'

3.3. CODE MIXING

Code Mixing on other hand usually occurs when the speakers use both languages together. It is also in a situation where both the speakers switch between two languages to the extend, they change from one tongue to the other in the course of a single utterance. This can happen in different level of languages which involves in grammatical and phonological level. The following are some of the examples of code mixing in informal conversation.

English-Nagamese

27. come on *etu sal tu* let's have a reunion
kum on itu sal tu lets hav a rijunion
come on this year ART lets have a reunion
'come on lets have a reunion this year'

English-Tenyidie-Nagamese

28. I know that *uko keze* colleague *chü keba ki rei* they were like best
friends na chare types

I no dat uko keze koli:g tʃə keba ki ri dey wer laik
 I know that we together colleague do stay DAT too they were like
 best friends na tʃare tɪps
 best friens never leave types
 ‘I know that when we were together as colleague, they were like best friend never
 leave each other types’

Khezha-English-Nagamese

29. *nyen school choti dele tuition lo wo de*
 nɛn skul cʰoti dele tuiʃion lo wo de
 I school holiday if tuition in go will
 ‘If the school gets over, I’ll go for tuition’

Chokri-Nagamese-English

30. *Khwe uko garilö ride tatomo?*
 Kʰwe ukɔ ɡarilø ride tɑtɔmɔ?
 Come we vehicle travel run
 ‘Come lets go for a ride’

Khiamniungan-English

31. *Sam hao sustain yang kiutsön apa lou noin*
 sɑm hau sustain jɑŋ kiutsøn ʌpa lu nɔin
 us all sustain do give He only there
 ‘He is the only one who sustain us’

Sangtam-English

32. *Batol yo quality tsö tsara mah*
 Batol yo kuality tsə tsara ma
 bottol GEN quality Det good not

‘The quality of the bottle is not good’

3.3.2. REASONS FOR CODE-MIXING

One of the basic factors and the reason why people use code mixing is because of bilingualism or multilingualism. Code mixing occurs more when people speak more than one language. Speaker and partner speaking is another reason for the code mixing. It is also found that the process of expressing ideas by using more than one language between two participants during conversation leads to better understanding of both the speakers. Another reason for code mixing is the social community. Every individual lives in a particular community which is either monolingual or bilingual. We also found that most of the communities are bilingual or multilingual where the interaction is done in different languages whereby, it directly influences the individual in a community.

Different Situation and status of society can be another reason for code mixing. This can happen in any given situation where it becomes habitual in the later stage. With education and modern world emerging fast, young people tend to speak more of foreign words rather than one’s language. Lack of vocabulary among the Naga community is another reason in Naga context. The less vocabulary faced by the Nagas also compel them to mixed the code of language in their conversation. The inability to find an appropriate word in Naga languages makes people to change the word and phrase in another language.

3.3.3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

Code switching occurs when the speaker shifted their language from one language to another and it is switch essentially between sentences. Switching the code occurs when there is more than one language in communication between speakers. The speaker uses his/her ability in another language, style, dialect or anything it served by the speaker depends on the address in different occasions. Code mixing on the other hand entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another. To get the right effect the

speakers balanced the two languages against each other as a kind of linguistic cocktail, a few words of one language, then a few words of the other, then back to the first and so on.

Adekunle (1990:240) says that human beings are always involved in numerous efforts to make language a more effective tool of communication. Whereas code mixing is usually the infusion of single words or items from the donor language into the first language construction. According to Bentahila and Davies (1985) code switching has sometimes been used to register the bilingual's ability to choose one or the other of these two languages in a particular situation. Code mixing on the other hand is the random alternation of two languages within a sentence. The basic difference between code switching and code mixing is the composition of the elements intermingled and the arrangement of such intermingling.

Code switching and code mixing are usually viewed as natural linguistic behaviour of the people in the society. For instance, there are three parties who understand the common language English, and there are two participants who share a common L1 and they speak in their L1 which the third party may not understand. In this situation code switching and code mixing is used to serve linguistic function as well as socio cultural one. Code switching and code-mixing is used in all the languages of Nagaland in different occasions and places, day to day conversation and so on. Some of the examples of code switching are as follows:

Sumi-Nagamese

33. *Aki hupa ye sunder ase*

Aki hupa je sunder ase

House that top beautiful EXIST

'That house is beautiful'

34. *O shikimithiva de*

O ʃikimit^hiva de
2 SG thanks okay
'Thank you okay'

English-Sumi

35. Sometimes *no ghi akömla shi masa*
Sometimes no yi akimla ʃi masa
Sometimes 2SG also work do should
'Sometimes you should also work'

Hindi-Khezha

36. Raja *mörasih tsuro mü tsoro*
Raja mörasi tsuro mü tsoro
King chilly eat or not
'Do you eat king chilly?'

Khezha-English

37. *Nyen teachers day nye tsali kele tshöde sheru mesäa*
nen tʃɪfərs dey nje tsali kele tsəde ʃeru mesəa
I teachers day on song one sing like-that think
'I think I'll sing one song on teacher's day.'

Tenyidie-Nagamese

38. *Niepu hau bishi sunder*
Niepu hau bishi sunder
Flower this over beautiful
'This flower is very beautiful'

English-Khiamniungan

39. Mixed feelings *no iküshi- n*
mix filiŋs nɔi kəʃi- n
mix feelings there come Pst
'It was a mixed feelings'

Some of the examples of code mixing are-

Khezha-English

40. *Non a red shirt ngomoi?*
Non a red fert ŋomoi?
You I red shirt see-QP
'Did you see my red shirt?'

Chokri-English

41. *Utü pöu ko pastor prübato*
Utə piu kɔ pɑstɔr prəbɑtɔ
time give our pastor gave
'Time shall be given to our pastor'

English-Khezha

42. *Headmaster puzön teachers day nye wo mosübi shia*
Headmaster puzən tɪfərs dey nje wo mosə bi ʃia
Headmaster told teachers day on come must compulsory to
'Headmaster told its compulsory to attend teacher's day'

Lotha-English

43. *Nzansi surf-ji apiya*
nzäsi surf-ji apiya
Please surf give
'Please give me the surf'

Ao-Nagamese

44. *Junger no, saka over smart aseti*
ʃuŋ-er nuʔ, saka ovər sma:rt aseti

Good-nom PM, but over smart SP
'Good but he/she is over smart'

Ao-English

45. jaŋʔ la kɔfi aŋəm- irestran -i ao
Yesterday she coffee drink-PuRoP restaurant-LOC go
'Yesterday she went to restaurant to drink coffee'

3.4. CONTEXTS OF CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING

There are different contexts of code switching and code mixing. We broadly divide the context to formal and informal situations. We shall examine them in the following sections.

3.4.1. FORMAL SETTING

In formal setting especially in Church sermons young speakers uses a lot of code switching and code mixing. They switch from one language to another in a very fluent way while delivering their speech. The following examples are taken from different church sermons like local church and Nagamese church.

Code switching: Tenyidie-English

46. *Jisu tekuo kepfe keviu zo, hau meye se.* I am the good shepherd
dʒi:su tekɔ kefe keviu zo, hau meje se. I æm de gudʃepərd
Jesus lamb guard good AdvPr, this popular very. I am the good shepherd
'Jesus is the good shepherd, this is very popular. I am the good shepherd'

47. *Jesus died for our sins we rei sōla kelakelie ngulie vi-te*
dʒi:zəs daɪd fɔr aʊr sɪns we ri sɔlə kelakelie ŋulie vi te
Jesus died for our sins we too so salvation get can-PF
'Jesus died for our sins so we can get salvation'

Nagamese-English

48. *Isor koishe* that we are very special
 Isor koife dat we are veri speſjal
 God says that we are very special
 ‘God says that we are very special’

49. *Isor laga kotha te koishe* I will never leave you nor forsake you
 Isor laga kot^ha te koife I will never liv ju nor forsak ju
 God of-GEN word LOC says I will never leave nor forsake you
 ‘The word of God says, I will never leave you nor forsake you’

50. One word from God can change your life *itu koi ase*
 wan word from God can tſeinge jor life itu koi ase
 one word from God can change your life this tell EXIST
 ‘One word of God can change your life, I’m telling this’

Code mixing: English-Tenyidie

51. good friday *mu* easter *teiu nu* youth camp *ba mu* campers 70 *ki kepekrolie*
 gud fraidei mu i:stər tiu nu jut kʌm ba mu kʌmpers 70
 good friday CON easter time Pp youth camp PROG- CON campers 70
 ki kepekrolie
 DAT get together
 ‘During Good Friday and Easter there is a youth camp and around 70 campers
 attended’

52. next Sunday *lirɔ* mission Sunday *sɔla* missionary *ko la mhakevi chü tuo*
 neks tsʌnde lirɔ miʃən sʌndeɪ sɔla miʃəneri kɔ la m^hakevi tʃə tyɔ
 next Sunday CON mission Sunday so missionary PL for good works do FUT
 ‘Next Sunday is mission Sunday so we will do good works/will for the
 missionaries’

53. *nko* fasting program *hau* campers *ko la rübei zo*
 nkɔ fæstiŋ prɔgram hau kʌmpers kɔ la rəbi zɔ

We fasting program this campers PL for only AdvPr
'This fasting program is only for the campers'

English -Nagamese

54. Jesus *laga* grace goodness *to hosa ase, apuni janibo aro* celebrate *kuribo*

Jisus laga grace goodness to hosa ase apuni džani-bo aro
Jesus of-GEN grace goodness is real EXIST you know-FUT and
celebrat kuribo

celebrate do- FUT

'Jesus grace and goodness is real, you will know and do celebrate it'

55. she heard the name of jesus huni shie that jesus is coming bimar khan nimete

je herd de name of džisus huni jie dat džisus is comin bimar
she heard the name of jesus heard-Pst that jesus is coming sick
k^han nimete

PL for

'She heard the name of Jesus heard that Jesus is coming for the sick people.'

56. He alone knows your plan, Isor he ami khan laga plan jane

He alon nows jor plan, isor he ami k^han laga plan jane

He alone knows your plan, jesus only our Pst GEN plan knows

'He alone knows your plan, only Jesus knows our plan'

3.4.2. INFORMAL SETTING

Lots of code switching and code mixing takes place in informal situation too like in the market place when we look at the conversation between the shopkeeper and the customer, we can see numerous examples where they randomly switch as well as mix from one language to another. Family is also another example where informal conversation takes place in mother tongue, English and Nagamese. Public transportation is another example where people use code switching and code mixing. In public transportation mostly Nagamese is used because most of the drivers may not know English and the passengers are from different community and the people are comfortable to speak in Nagamese. The

following examples are collected from different places like in the market place, in public transportation conversation between driver and passenger regarding taxi fare and home conversation.

Code switching-code mixing: English-Nagamese

Place: Market place

English-Nagamese

57. Customer - sweater price *kiman ase dukan malik*
swətər prais kiman ase, dukan malik
sweater price what- QP EXIST, shop owner
'Shopkeeper what is the price of the sweater?'
58. Shopkeeper- *price tu 1500 ase hoilebi don't worry komti kuridibo*
prais tu 1500 ase hōilebi dəŋ wəri kōmti kuridibō
price DEF 1500 EXIST but don't worry less make-FUT
'The price is 1500 but don't worry ill make it less'
59. Shopkeeper- *ahi ke ne lobi discount 50% or buy 1 get 1 free*
ahi ke ne lōbi diskaunt 50% ɔ:r bai 1 get 1 fri:
Come CON take discount 50% or buy 1 get 1 free
'Come and take at 50% discount or buy 1 get 1 free.'
60. Customer- *after discount kiman hobo price tu*
a:ftər diskaunt kiman hōbō prais tu
after discount how much FUT price is
'After discount how much the price is?'
61. Shopkeeper- *lobi eman discount te di ase ami*
lōbi iman diskaunt te di ase ami

take much discount this giving EXIST I
'Take it I am giving at heavy discount.'

62. Customer- *saman ar price tu match nai*
Saman aru prais tu majf nai
Products CON price DEF match NEG
'The products and the price don't match.'

Place: Home

Tenyidie-Nagamese

63. *Azuo chai banabi na cha krienyü thorte*
Azo tfai banabi na tfa krienyə thorte
Mother tea make tea drink want have to
'Mother make tea I want to have tea'

64. Okay biscuit *sa tuo me?*
ɔ:kei biskit sa tyɔ me?
okay biscuits also FUT QP?
'Okay also with biscuits'

Place: Public transportation

Nagamese-English

65. *gari bara kiman ase? 100 na 200'*
gari bara kiman ase? 100 na 200
vehicle fare how EXIST? 100 or 200
'How much is vehicle fare? 100 or 200.'

66. Normally tri junction *tok tu 150 loithake*
nɔ:rməli trai dʒʌŋkʃən tɔk tu 150 lɔitʰake
Normally tri juncktion till there 150 take usually
'Normally till tri junction we usually take 150'

3.5. CONCLUSION

The study has focused on code switching and code mixing among the speakers of Kohima. It is found that code switching and code mixing is common everywhere, it is used in both formal and informal situation. It is also found that the younger generation uses more code switching and mixing in conversation. One of the main reasons why people code switch and code mixed a lot is that majority of the speakers are multilingual and they switch the language unconsciously. Here, this doesn't mean that they do not know the language but it's so frequent that they change the language unknowingly. Also, when the speaker did not find similar word in mother tongue, they randomly switch to English knowingly or unknowingly. Lots of code switching and mixing takes place in conversation where there is less vocabulary or no vocabulary in the mother tongue. Code switching and code mixing is unavoidable in the current situation today. It functions in all the languages of Nagaland.

CHAPTER-4

BORROWING

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Borrowing is a process in which some words are adapted from one language to another. This process enriches a language. Borrowing lexical items from other languages is as old as the existence of human language. Due to the social, political, economic and cultural reasons, language borrowing occurs in all societies. When the host society dominates the minority ethnic groups, the language assimilation and language shift happen. As pointed out in the previous chapters, Nagaland is a multilingual state and has come into contact with many languages and culture there are many borrowed words which has become a part of our vocabulary. This chapter will examine and identify words borrowed by Naga languages from languages like English, Assamese, Hindi, Nagamese, among others. Most borrowed words in the Naga society are transferred through oral or through immediate contact between the peoples. Not much word is borrowed through written speech or indirect contact through books, documents etc.

4.2. Borrowing in Naga society

Borrowing occurs when two languages come into contact. The Nagas were headhunters and did not have much contact with the outside world till the 19th century.

Every village was a republic by itself. Oral history mentions some limited account of contact with the people of the plain areas, most probably, the present-day Assam. The coming of the British administration and American missionaries in the 1860's, exposed the Nagas to outside world and other languages. The Nagas encountered major language contact for the first time than. Traditionally, Nagas were followers of different folk religion, when they converted to Christianity, there were many religious concepts which could not be described in their languages. The spread of western education, and Christianity brought social change in the Naga society. So, it was at this time that the Nagas encountered actual multilingualism. Assamese and English were used besides the native languages. During this period many Assamese words were borrowed. The vocabulary in Naga languages could not explain many new concepts relating to religion, education and administration. This requirement was fulfilled through borrowed words and coinage of new words. Some early borrowed words are as follows:

chhabi	'key'
baji	'time'
kotari	'knife'
chaku	'knife'
kambal	'blanket'

With the continued influence of western culture and modernization many new trends have entered in Naga society which results in borrowing words and loanwords. There are various reasons for borrowing a term from another language and to absorb it in one's language. A common one is need, often a word is missing to express a certain idea or to describe items or objects, e.g., new flora and fauna. This fact makes it necessary to adopt a new word. Another reason is the problem of an equivalent translation of a term or phrase which expresses a special feeling or mood. The growth of scientific development, modernization and advancement in technologies has influenced the culture in many ways and has led to borrowing many lexical items.

4.2.1. BORROWING OF RELIGIOUS WORDS

Many religious words have been coined in the native languages. However, these words are not exclusively used, it was found that in many churches and religious gatherings

that borrowed religious terminology words are used randomly. The word of ‘Jesus’ appears to be nativized alternating between ‘jisu’, ‘Isu’, ‘jiso’. ‘easu’ and ‘Yisu’ among the Naga tribes. Due to the insufficient vocabulary in native languages and less knowledge about the foreign religion and others, it is found that many words are borrowed directly without even translating in native languages. The educated or uneducated can easily follow most borrowed words as it has been a frequent usage among native people. Translated Bible and hymnal have used a lot of Loan translated words. In most Naga languages, the following word are used as it is without translation or coinage.

Christmas	Jihova	baptism	pulpit
Good Friday	halleluyah	pastor	choir
Easter	Revival	Deacon	messiah
Missionary	Bible	cross	apostle
evangelist	amen	bishop	hosanna

Table 4.1. Religious words

Along with the Christianity, unconsciously there are cultural borrowing. Cultural borrowing is one reason in Naga society where lots of words are borrowed from western culture. These words fill the gaps in the languages because the concepts are new to the language culture. Practices relating to words such as ‘bridesmaid’, ‘best-man’, ‘flower girls’, ‘wedding cake’, ‘bridal shower’, ‘easter eggs’, ‘Christmas trees’, ‘wedding ring’ among others are incorporated in the Naga culture in the present days.

4.2.2. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND ELECTRONIC DEVICES

Many words are borrowed directly in their original form in Naga society especially terms which are associated to musical instrument, electronic device and utensils. However, some words may undergo sound changes due to dialectal variations in the society. Some words in this category are as follows:

Musical instrument	Electronic device
guitar	Radio
piano	TV (television)
violin	washing machine
drum	fan
harp	phone
flute	computer
ukulele	camera
trumpet	calculator

Table 4.2. Musical instrument, electronics devices

4.2.3. ACADEMICS

The establishments of social institutions like schools, colleges and universities have led to borrowed many words and it becomes part of the local languages. These words related to academics are borrowed directly from English and used in conversation because there is no equivalent of such words in the Naga language and the people are more comfortable to use the borrowed words. Some words are given below:

admission	whiteboard	result
fee	hostel	pass
tuition	degree	fail
department	exam	class

Table 4.3. Words related to education

4.2.4. POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

Many words based on politics and administration has been borrowed. The political and administration system introduced by the British pre-independence and the democratic system post-independence brought in many alien words for the tribal community. These words were not a part of the traditional culture of the Nagas. Thus,

many administrative and political words from English, Hindi and Assamese were borrowed.

Words	Source Language
election	English
vote	English
candidate	English
constituency	English
panchayat	Hindi
goan bura	Assamese
deobashi	Assamese

Table 4.4. Political and administration terminology

4.2.5. ECONOMY

Economic development is another reason why many words are borrowed. The construction of roads and bridges, the exposure to trade, business, the banking system and the development of economy has led to many words to be borrowed.

English	Indo-Aryan	Hindi	Assamese
bank	baki 'credit'		
budget	poisa/ paisa 'money'		
loan	Dolung 'bridge'		
deposit	Kuwa 'well'		

Table 4.5. Words used in economics

4.2.6. UTENSILS

Tradition of cooking food was simple. The utensils were also simply made of were made of bamboos, wood, canes and clay. Modern technologies have not only

replaced the kitchen but many words that have been borrowed has become household daily words. Some are as follows:

Utensils	
pressure cooker	rice cooker
oven	blender
gas stove	fridge
fork	jug

Table 4.6. words related to utensils

4.2.7. VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

The Naga languages borrowed a lot of words belonging to vegetables and fruits directly. All these borrowing words has blended with the Naga languages phonologically and lexically. The tables below shows that many words are borrowed from Hindi rather than English. One of the reasons for borrowing lots of Hindi words can be because, the early business men till today are mainly non-locals, also these vegetables are imported from outside the state. Since these vegetables are foreign to Nagas, they do not have native names for most of it.

Cont...

Languages	Vegetables				
English	Cabbage	Potato	Carrot	Bittergourd	Mint
Hindi	gobhi	aloo	carrot	kerela	pudina
Ao	kupi	alu	kerot	k ^h ara	pudina
Chokri	kɔbi	ɬlu	mɔɬ	kəɾɛɬ	budiniɬ
Khezha	kɔbi	alu	kerot	k ^h uzənɛji	puɖ ^h in ^h a
Khiamniungan	kobi	ɬlu	kerot	kiankhu	lausɬŋ
Lotha	kopi	alo	kerot	Kerela	pudina
Sumi	kopi	alu	Mulaakuhu	kerela	pilak ^h i
Tenyidie	kɔbi	alu	kerot	kerela	pudina

Languages	Vegetables					
English	Cauli flower	Broccoli	Squash	Tomato	Onion	Coriander leaf
Hindi	phulgobhi	Broccoli	Iskus	Tamatar	Pyaj	Dhania
Ao	fulg ^h ɔbi	prɔkɔli	skwaʃ	pijana	pijas	tunia
Chokri	pulkɔbi	brɔkɔli	iskus	bɔŋʌise	piʌs	duniʌ
Khezha	kɔbipa	brɔkɔli	kalamtʃɛ	daŋɔtʃɛ	pijas	d ^h unija
Khiamniungan	kobi	prɔkɔli	aukian	pijəna	pijʌs	tujia
Lotha	pul kopi	prɔkɔli	esəkos	p ^h era	pjaz	d ^h oni
Sumi	p ^h ul kopi	brɔkɔli	iskos	bekna	piaz	d ^h anja
Tenyidie	P ^h ulkɔbi	brɔkɔli	iskus	biejeno	pias	dunia

Table 4.7. Borrowed vegetables name

Based on the data collected, many vegetable words are borrowed. Khezha have their native word for bitter gourd, squash and cauliflower, Khiamniungan have native word for bitter gourd, squash and mint and Sumi have their own native word for mint. These borrowed words are pronounced with the native accent and tone. The word for tomatoes appears to be originated from the Assamese word ‘Bengena’ meaning ‘eggplant’.

The list collected for fruits shows that there is less uniformity of borrowing pattern amongst the Naga languages. All Naga language appears to have their own native term for banana, grapes and pomegranate. Most of the borrowed English words are apple, plum and watermelon. This can be observed in the table given below:

Languages	Fruits				
English	Apple	Banana	Gauva	Grapes	Jackfruit
Hindi	Seb	Kela	Amdrood	Angoor	Katahal
Ao	epel	səmumu	mɔtram	tsəmənatsə	pɔloŋ
Chokri	tʃɛp ^h ɔ	tik ^h wəse	midurʌm	k ^h ubəse	kɔt ^h ʌr

Khezha	kapɔtʃɛ	ŋantʃɛ	butakadutʃɛtʃi	k ^h ubətʃɛ	kɔt ^h al
Khiamiungan	epel	liʃep	muturam	Sai:nauʃep	pulɔŋ
Lotha	æpəl	jot ^h i	motaram	dʒəŋjɪrot ^h i	toŋʒɔt ^h i
Sumi	puk ^h ot ^h iakuŋou	autʃo	muduram	atsait ^h i	kot ^h ar
Tenyidie	epəl	tefesi	muduram	k ^h ube	kɔt ^h al

Cont...

Languages	Fruits				
English	Mango	Papaya	Pineapple	Plum	Pomegranate
Hindi	Aam	Popeeta	Annaras	Aloobukhara	Anar
Ao	titiʔ	mamazə	tʃiruʔ	plum	tʃarəm
Chokri	amuse	kɔpita	anərs	plɔse	tirələse
Khezha	bɔbvətʃi	papita	anaras	mɛkrɔtʃɛ	tarɔtʃɛ
Khiamiungan	am	ŋauʃep	puʃep	pələm	sasaʃep
Lotha	tsəpjoŋt ^h i	kopita	liʃat ^h i	plum	tsarəat ^h i
Sumi	muʒot ^h i	kopta	aŋaɪazi	plam	k ^h ayatu
Tenyidie	am	kɔbita	anaras	plum	duram

Table 4.8. Borrowed fruits name

Chokri, Khezha and Sumi have their own native words for apple, perhaps this could be a coined word as apples are not native to these tribal groups. Khezha have the coinage word for plum and the rest of the tribe use the English word plum with different lexical variation. Khezha, Khiamiungan and Lotha have their own native word for watermelon. While Ao and Khiamiungan have their own word for papaya, all the other languages use Popeeta ‘papaya’. Ao, Khiamiungan and Lotha have native words for jackfruit. The word for ‘papaya’ is same in Ao and Khiamiungan; at this point, we cannot give a proper explanation for this. Most languages has borrowed the word ‘aam’ from Hindi whereas Ao, Khezha, Sema and Lotha have their native word for Aam/mango. The term for guava used by most of the tribe are similar however the source of the origin of this word is unknown.

4.2.8. KINSHIP

The Nagas has a rich kinship terminology. It is both classificatory and descriptive in nature. Clan system is very rich and has influenced the kinship and address terms. However, having such rich tradition, many words which define the same kinship relation has been borrowed. This is interesting because if a community has a rich kinship terminology it is least likely to be replaced or borrowed from another language. As discussed in Dawson and Phelan (2016), words related to familial relations like father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt etc, tend not to be borrowed because these are generally no need because if a language exists, it usually already has these words for they are so universal in nature. Interestingly, the questionnaire which was used to collect data did not show any borrowed kinship words. However, the data from the observation method and the natural data shows a list of borrowed kinship terminology. In most of the Naga society, using borrowed kinship terminology is often rebuked and looked down. Nevertheless, borrowed kinship terminology used, borrowed kinship terminology found in Naga society are as follows:

English	Hindi	Assamese
Mummy	ama	kokai ‘brother’
Daddy	papa	dada ‘brother’
uncle, aunt/aunty cousin		didi ‘sister’

4.3. INTER-TRIBAL BORROWED WORDS

The state of Nagaland has seventeen recognized tribes. These tribes have co-existed for many years. We have not come across much inter-tribal borrowings. The minimal list of borrowed words withing the Naga tribes is interesting. The Nagas has borrowed so much from other non-native language but not from each other. The borrowed words in this category are mostly belonging to food category, as shown below:

Tribe	Word	Meaning
Konyak	Ang	‘king’
Ao	tsümar	‘People from plain areas’
Sumi	axone	‘cuisine’
Angami	galho	‘cuisine’

Ao	anishi	'cuisine'
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Table 4.9. Some inter-tribal borrowings

The minimal amount of borrowing within the Naga languages maybe because of it cultural and traditional affinity they share. Most of the words in each language can be translated to the other. Each Naga tribe has a food they identify with. For instance, 'galho' is a pan Angami cuisine. There is no equal translation of this dish in other tribes. Henceforth, it is borrowed in other Naga languages. Likewise, 'Ang' is the word for 'chief'. Only Konyaks has Angs. Therefore, it is borrowed by other groups. There is synonymous word for 'tsümar' –'people of the plain areas', in some Naga languages. However, this word is borrowed and used by many other tribes.

4.4. NARROWING OF MEANING

There is a narrowing of meaning with some borrowed words in Naga context. The word 'engage' has wide meaning such as 'to get involved', 'to do something', 'to take part', etc. The meaning of the word 'engage' has been borrowed and carries just one meaning - 'engage' to be marriage.

In dictionaries, the word 'iron' is defined as "a strong, hard magnetic silvery-grey metal", "used as a material for construction and manufacturing", and "a tool or implement now or originally made of iron." The word 'iron' is a borrowed word with a narrowed meaning. This word is used with just the meaning "a tool to smoothen cloth."

The word "light" has different meaning such as "any device serving as a source of illumination", "a condition of spiritual awareness", "a person regarded very fondly", "a device for lighting or igniting fuel or charges or fires", "bright colour" etc. The word 'light' has been borrowed with a narrowed meaning where it is just used only for "electricity".

The word "gas" has several meanings too, it stands for "the state of matter distinguished from the solid and liquid states", "the ability to diffuse readily", "attack with gas, subject to gas fumes" etc. However, this word is used just with the meaning "a fossil fuel in the gaseous state used for cooking".

4.5. DIRECT AND INDIRECT BORROWING

The data on lexical borrowing in the Naga languages shows that it is direct borrowing. Direct borrowing is the entry of words in the recipient language through oral speech. This usually happens at the early stages of language contact. Borrowing can also be done through written texts. Such kind of borrowing is known as indirect borrowing. Thought, in Naga languages, the borrowed words are all instances of direct borrowing it can be broadly divided into categories. The first group are those words which are used without a change in the spelling. There are numerous examples of this type of borrowing of finance, education, religion and economic terminology. Some examples are: bank, loan, interest, pass, fail, exam, etc.

The second group is where there is some phonological difference. The borrowed is slightly different. Many words of fruits and vegetables falls under this category. For instance, the word for ‘coriander’ in Hindi is ‘dhania’. All Naga languages has borrowed this term from Hindi. In Hindi the initial sound is voiced. Some Naga languages do not have voiced sound. Therefore, the initial sound in this word is replace by voiceless (Ao, Khamniungan, Lotha)

Hindi	Ao	Chokri	Khezha	Khamniungan	Lotha	Sumi	Tenyidie
Dhania	tunia	duniʌ	d ^h unija	tunjia	t ^h oni	d ^h anja	dunia

An example of nativisation is seen in the word *cauliflower* in Khezha. Like all the Naga languages this word is been borrowed from Hindi ‘phul-gobhi’. However, Khezha has borrowed only the second word ‘gobhi’ and compound it with their native word ‘pa’ resulting in the word ‘kɔbipa’. However, the word “pa” stands for flower which is a translation of the Hindi word ‘phul’.

Epenthesis is seen in many the borrowed words. Epenthesis is the process of addition of one or more sounds to a word, especially in the beginning syllable, or in the ending syllable or in-between two syllabic sounds in a word. The added sound is usually a vowel. The added vowel does not change the meaning of the word.

kettle	kettle-i
dal	dal-i
box	box-a
bus	bus-ü
gas	gas-ü
squash	i-skus
school	i-skul

4.6. CONCLUSION

Usage of frequent borrowed words among the Nagas in Kohima town is found not only in market place but also in schools, colleges, offices, institutions, etc. In religious sphere, many borrowed words from Italian origin are used as the main words. Lexically many words are borrowed and also used in market places and public places.

The borrowed words collected in this research, shows that there is a great influence of English. As English is the official language there is a prestige associated with it. Mixing of English borrowed words is a sign of being educated and of higher class in the society. The major reason to use borrowed words is due to the lack of native language of equivalent words for the new object or concept. This supported the need to specify the appropriate meaning, to distinguish some shades of meaning through attaching them to different words. Some native speakers pointed out that new concepts can be explained using the native languages but it doing so they end up using long discourse to explain a concept. Here, borrowed words are preferred.

CHAPTER – 5

NON-NATIVE LANGUAGES IN NAGALAND

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Non- native languages have been playing a vital role among the languages of the Nagas. This has contributed to the linguistic diversity and multilingualism in Nagaland. In this research, we are identifying non-native languages as those which are not indigenous to any tribes of Nagaland. We will examine the usage of the non- native languages like

English, Hindi and Nagamese. Unlike the Naga languages which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language group, English is an Indo-European language, Hindi Indo Aryan and Nagamese rooted its origin in Indo Aryan languages. There are other non-native languages spoken by small number of speakers in Nagaland, these languages have no significant impact on the multilingualism within the indigenous communities. We will also explore the degree to which language learners use their non-native language outside the classroom and for their day-to-day activities. A major discussion in this chapter will be on Nagamese. The status of Nagamese, impact of Nagamese in Naga society will be analysed.

5.2. ENGLISH

The history of English language in Nagaland started around 1860s. Christianity, introduction of modern education, British administration all contributed to the presence, growth and development of English language. Many Nagas irrespective of whether they are educated or not, can communicate and understand English. One will also agree that even the vegetable vendors can speak and understand English. Today, tourist do not find difficulty to communicate as Nagas in general understand English. English has a huge impact in Naga society socially, politically, economically, and in education.

In many modern Naga family's English language has become the first language. This is irrespective of whether the couple has an inter-tribal, intra tribal marriage. Educated parents prefers English as this language is the school language and language of education. Children as young as 3 years speaks English rather than their mother tongue. This could be due to the influence of media.

5.2.1. OFFICIAL STATUS

Nagaland attained its statehood in 1963 and in 1967, English was recognized as the official language and the medium of educational instruction by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly. English was declared as the official language of Nagaland. The declaration of English as the official language itself describes its status in the state English. All official communication such as letters, applications, notifications and government

advertisement are written in English. The medium for communication for interviews for jobs are done in English.

5.2.3. LANGUAGE EDUCATION

English is used as a medium of instruction as well as a subject in schools. Govt Schools in primary levels are encouraged to use mother tongue for instructions. In urban area, English is the preferred medium of instructions in schools starting from kindergarten. English is used as a medium of instruction in colleges and universities.

The three-language formula which was a part of the National Education Policy in 1968 was implemented in Nagaland. Being a non-Hindi speaking state English, Hindi, and one Indian language was to be taught. However, the students of Nagaland were given another option: the option to choose between their mother tongue or a paper known as Alternative English. Going by this one could argue that English is treated equivalent to the mother tongue. In one of my surveys on the preference of English and mother tongue as a subject, it was found that majority of the students opted for Alternative English paper. The popularity of English is observed over their MIL subject. Table 5.1 is based on the survey, where 100 students from class VIII from different schools in Kohima participated. The students were from mix tribal communities.

Optional Papers	Percentage of takers	Native language of the students
Alternative English	80%	Mixture of all tribes
MIL	20%	Tenyidie speakers

Table 5.1. Survey on students opting between alternative English and MIL. (Source Field work).

This might be a biased survey since the survey was done in Tenyidie speaking district. However, the number of students opting for MIL was also very low compared to

the number of schools in all major districts of Nagaland. The data in table 5.2. is based on government schools only. This supports the popularity of English as a subject over the native languages.

District	Languages	Number of Govt schools approx.	Number of students opting for MIL in govt. schools in 2021 class 10 exam
Mokokchung	Ao	96 schools	1162
Zunheboto	Sumi	145 schools	444
Wokha	Lotha	93 schools	816
Kohima	Tenyidie	96 schools	1631

Table 5.2. Students opting for MIL in government schools in class 10 exam, 2021. (Source NBSE)

5.2.4. LANGUAGE OF THE MEDIA

Types of language used in media plays a vital role in passing information to its readers. In Nagaland media use different language to reached out to its readers in different forms such as print, verbal and visual. The languages mainly used by different media in Nagaland are English, Nagamese, and vernaculars. English newspaper is widely circulated and read by the majority of people in Nagaland when compared with other vernacular newspapers. There are five daily English newspaper viz. Nagaland Post, Eastern Mirror, Morung Express, Nagaland Page, Mokokchung Times. In radio, languages used are English, Nagamese, Hindi and vernacular. In Doordarshan, English language is mainly used. Apart from this there are also English and Nagamese movies.

The existence of English language in our society has connected the Naga society to the global world impacting our society in many ways. Though we cannot proclaim English as the language of the masses but it does reveal mass attitudinal support and can be seen as an important factor on gaining prestige and has become a professional necessity. Many young people use English as a convenient language to communicate even outside

the formal platform. Out of 300 informants, all preferred English and considered it as prestigious to speak, read and write good English.

5.3. HINDI

Hindi language belongs to Indo- European language family and is the preferred official language of India. Hindi is spoken in India as a first language by nearly 425 million people and as a second language by some 120 million and more. Hindi has a rocky start in Nagaland. It was taken as a language that threaten the identity of the indigenous people. Over the years it is getting accepted. Hindi is showing its prominence in Naga society though not very frequently use like English language. There are no newspapers in Hindi published in the state. There are no Hindi programs either in the radio or tv channels based in Nagaland. People in Nagaland have started to informally learn and understand Hindi as a language in schools. Hindi is sometimes used in marker place, especially while communicating with non- locals. There is also Hindi church in Nagaland where all the sermons are conducted in Hindi.

In this research it was found that 48.39% of the informants learned to speak Hindi through Hindi films, and other television shows. Hindi as a subject is taught in the school from class 1 as such, 38.71% stated that they learn Hindi from school. 12.9% learn Hindi from market and other places. This category include respondent having interaction with other non-native especially people who are from main land India (figure 5.1).

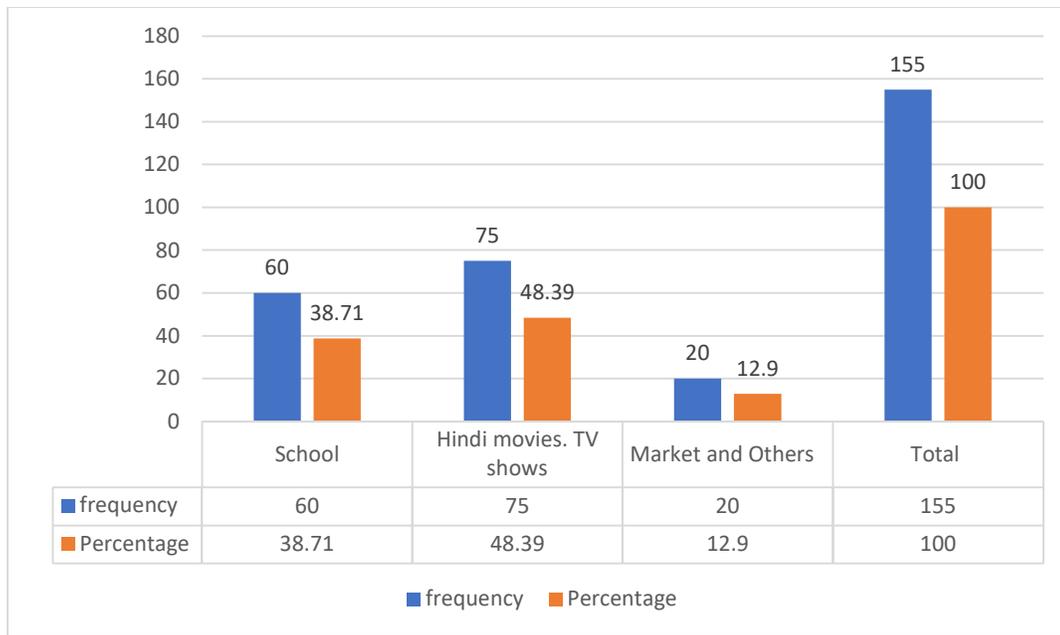


Figure 5.1. Source of learning Hindi

5.3.1. HINDI EDUCATION

Hindi as a compulsory subject till class 8. The text books are simplified so as to meet the needs of the students. Many students struggle to get through this paper. A questionnaire on Hindi as a subject was circulated among 60 students of class VI of different schools in Jotsoma area. It was found that 50 students take private home tuition to clear their Hindi exams. The problems the students encountered was issues in scripts and phonology. Out of 60 students 55 of them face problem in script and 56 students face sounds or phonological issue.

In order to encourage Hindi languages, the Government is trying its best to help the people by introducing various Hindi institutes and short-term courses for Nagas. These Hindi institutes and schools have helped and promoted Hindi as a language in Nagaland with many Nagas as Hindi instructors and teachers. Five colleges in Dimapur are offering Hindi (MIL) in the undergraduate level. Nagaland University which is a central university under the Government of India also offers MA and Diploma in Hindi. The number of applicants in the university in Hindi remains in single digit.

5.3.2. MOTIVATION TO LEARN HINDI

A questionnaire focusing on the importance of Hindi was circulated among people belonging to different class of the Naga society. This was done to find out which section has the most motivation to learn Hindi. It was found that Hindi was most popular with professionals and students who lived outside NE region. The second group were the business class and third were the politicians.

These days, there are young Nagas who can communicate fluently in Hindi, both formally and informally. Fifty youths who studies and work outside the region were interviewed. According to them a good knowledge of Hindi is important as it helps them to integrate and feels accepted. They understand the rest of the country. The motivation to learn Hindi is seen in people who are in business. Knowledge of Hindi has also helped the local business people as they have to communication with other people outside Nagaland. Politicians in Nagaland has also expressed the importance to speak and understand Hindi. Thus, we can conclude that, Hindi is not given a stepmotherly treatment in the state. There are many efforts from the government to help its growth and many sections of the society is also realizing the importance and need to know the language.

Based on the data provided by 155 college going on students, 70 i.e. 45.16%, respondents knows Hindi. The figure indicates that 25 people can speak Hindi fluently to certain level, 15 people can read Hindi, 5 people can write and 25 people can understand though they cannot speak, read or write. Today many people can speak and understand Hindi because it is taught in schools as a subject. Beside this Hindi films, songs, news channel etc are another source which help in understanding Hindi better.

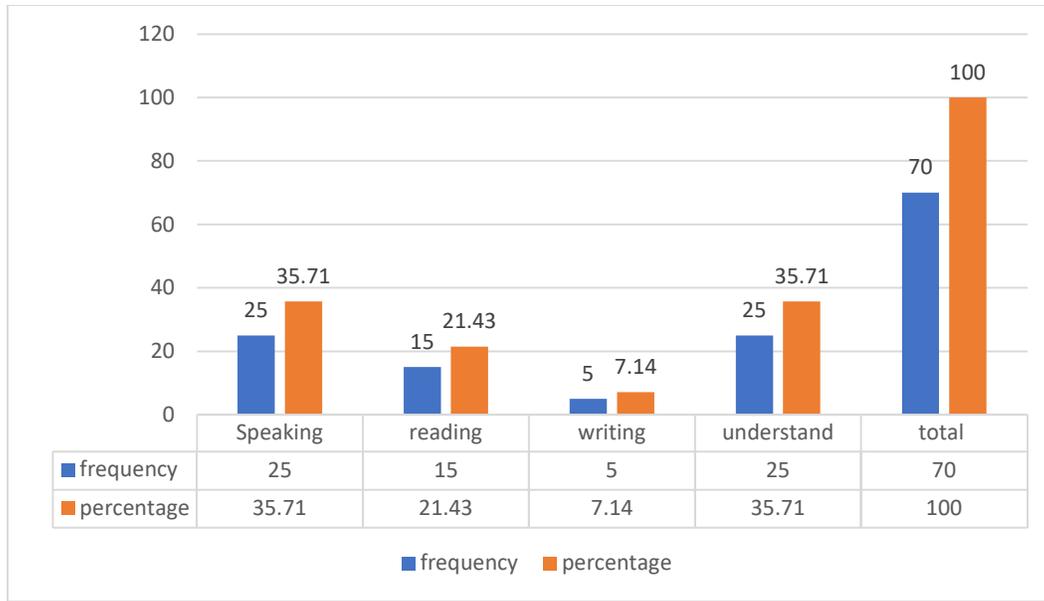


Figure 5.2. Knowledge of Hindi

5.4. NAGAMESE

Nagamese is a spoken variety in Nagaland, which is common to all. One will also find that, there is no gap between educated and uneducated, high and low status etc. Uneducated people who do not know English can also understand and communicate in Nagamese with each other.

5.4.1. DEVELOPMENT OF NAGAMESE

Although the Nagaland government has adopted English as the official language, Nagamese has also occupied the same status in government administration and other publicity medias (like oral and electronic) unofficially. Nobody can deny the importance of Nagamese in Nagaland as it is the only language which is used for inter-tribal communication and communication with the non- Nagas.

The origin of Nagamese in Nagaland can be traced out due to different reasons. Economic reason can be one of the starting communications between Nagas and Assamese through trading relations. Nagamese evolved as the Nagas were maintaining a regular contact with the Assamese speakers over a long period of time. In fact, it goes back to the

era of Ahom king. The socio-political contact and trade between the Nagas and the Assamese helped the formation of Nagamese. The Ahom kingdom has brought a far-reaching relationship with the Nagas marked, in turn, by hostility and friendship. The first tribal people with whom the Ahoms came into contact was the eastern Nagas. Since the historical period the Nagas had a constant contact with the Assamese speakers of the plains till now. Perhaps, the lifelong relation of Assamese with the Nagas has not only helped to develop Nagamese but also helped the Nagas to contribute some elements to the life of Assamese.

The language of a Naga tribe varies from village to village often leading to unintelligibility between the language varieties. Historically, the multiplicity of Naga languages is explained by the living conditions in the past, when villages were isolated and there was little of friendly inter-communication between them. Every area, therefore, evolved its own vehicle of expression. Another reason for the spread of Nagamese is because of the foreigners. The British administrators along with the American missionaries started using Assamese as a lingua franca to communicate with the Nagas as Nagas could not read and write English initially. A new language called 'Nagamese' has evolved and is popularly used in Naga society. There is no gap between educated and uneducated in speaking Nagamese. Some families, who have inter-tribal marriages, use Nagamese as their language at home. In other words, it is growing towards gaining the status of mother tongue of many Naga tribe.

5.5. PIDGIN TO CREOLE

Nagamese is often known as Naga Pidgin as it has developed amongst the Naga people who do not share a common language, but were in constant contact. Nagamese is a mixture of Assamese, Hindi, Nepali and other Aryan languages. Based on the definition of pidgin (see Chapter 2), the origin of Nagamese is pidgin. A pidgin which has acquired native speakers is called a Creole. Looking at the Naga context, Nagamese has emerged from the pidgin status to a creole. There are many inter-tribal marriages, where the husband and the wife speak un-intelligible variety. Children from such marriages speak

Nagamese as their mother tongue. This can be understood better by the case study which have been taken in two different situations.

The first case study was done in Kohima town, here both the father and mother belong to the same tribe i.e., Angami and they work in office. At home they communicate with each other in Angami only. However, the daughter of the family started to speak in Nagamese where it became her first language. Though she understands Angami she replies in Nagamese whenever a question is asked to her. The reason behind this is due to the linguistic environment in which the child is exposed. It is found that the family employs household helpers who is non-local. In this case the only medium of communication is Nagamese and the child spent most of the time with the helper during the day, so this led to the development of Nagamese to creole.

Another case study is conducted in Kohima again, here the parents belong to two different tribes. The mother of the family is uneducated so Nagamese is used for communication at home. It is found that Nagamese became the child's first language since both the parents speak different language. Because of increasing inter-tribal marriage among the Naga community Nagamese is rapidly gaining the status of mother tongue in many families. In other words, it is being creolized in many families especially in urban areas.

5.5.1. CONTEXTS OF NAGAMESE USAGE

In the past, the Naga communities lived in isolation. The formation of the state of Nagaland, roads have been constructed resulting in the increased mobility of the Nagas to different parts of the state. The formation of the state also gives rise to employment opportunities in the state government at all levels of administration. These developments have resulted in inter-lingual contacts amongst different groups of Nagas in a much wider scale than in the past. This communication can be in different situations. This is supported by an interview taken during my fieldwork, which are presented below:

Ms. Avino¹ works as a receptionist at a private hospital in Kohima. At the work place she used Nagamese while interacting with the patients or visitors for better easily accessible understanding. Kohima being a multilingual town people from different tribes and communities visit the hospital and Nagamese being the lingua franca is the most appropriate language to be used. With educated people like priests, nuns or military personnel's English is the preferred language. But majority of the people continue to communicate in Nagamese.

¹ To maintain the confidentiality, all the name of the respondents has been changed.

Ms. Mary worked in NGO's for about 8 years. As a social worker her job is to create awareness and sensitize the village people or the public about the prevention measures of communicable diseases like HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis B, Hepatitis C, Ebola etc. Since the society comprises people from different background Nagamese is mainly used because this is the only language which is common to all especially in rural areas.

Though English is officially the medium of instruction and taught in schools, probably because of the lack of good control in that language, the educated Nagas use Nagamese when talking with their counterparts both in the office and outside. For instance,

Mr. Albert, age 40, a post-graduate, works in office as a government employee for around 10 years. Though English is the official language to be used in office Nagamese is predominantly used especially with visitors and lower grades. However, even among the educated colleagues Nagamese is used along with English as code switching is frequent between these two languages. Thus, Nagamese is used even when the speaker and listener know English. Nagamese is mainly used among the Nagas because all the tribes of Nagaland speak different language and it is impossible to master or learn all the language.

Another situation/ example is Mr. Kevi was an active politician in Kohima. He says that the reason behind speaking Nagamese to the public in political matters is to share ideas efficiently and better understanding. Since most of the people understand Nagamese and the society comprise of both literate/educated and illiterate/uneducated population, it is more comfortable to use Nagamese. Even during election campaign most of the politician preferred to give their speech in Nagamese as they want to connect with the people better

The non-Nagas population may be broadly classified into various professional groups like the business community, the armed forces, the General Engineering Road Force (GREF), the medical personal, the school teachers and the administrative staffs at various levels. Nagamese is the only convenient medium of communication for them to speak with the Nagas belonging to different linguistic groups. instance,

Dr. John works both in government and private hospital in Kohima. He says that majority of his patients who visit his clinics speaks Nagamese. The patients seem to be more articulate in Nagamese than in English when they explain their problems. One will also find that not all the Non- Nagas or Nagas understand English or Hindi, thus Nagamese is used. Nagamese is used especially in the business transactions.

Mrs.Kanchi, a daily wage earner, is a Nepali lady from Nepal who came to Nagaland at the age of 35 years. She was 53 years old at the time of interview (February 2022). When she first came to Nagaland, she could not speak or understand Nagamese. But slowly she could understand and speak fluently after a period of about one year. When asked how she learnt the language she says that Nagamese is easy to learn. Her ability to learn Nagamese quickly could be because Nagamese is a mixture of Nepali too.

For people involved in business like miss carol who is a vegetable vendor, Nagamese is the main language for communication. This is regardless of whether the customer is local or non-local. In some instances, Nagamese is used among the same tribe or community due to failure in identifying the others tribal or dialectal background. Another example is Mr. Amrit Kumar who prefers to attend Nagamese church for the ease of understanding the message in the church as in Nagamese churches all the activities (preaching, singing, interaction etc) are conducted or delivered in Nagamese.

Nagamese is used not only for contacts with the Nagas but also for contacts between non- Nagas belonging to different linguistics groups. The entry of a large number of new people from all walks of life into Nagaland not only enlarged the base of Nagamese but also resulted in enlarging the vocabulary of Nagamese from different sources. The Marwaris business community is considered responsible for the introduction of Hindi words in Nagamese. The present trend, more dominant among the young educated Nagas, is to replace the existing Assamese vocabulary of Nagamese with English or Hindi words. Thus, the vocabulary of the Naga Pidgin consists of words from Assamese, English, Hindi and some Naga languages.

Another Example is Mr. David, a pastor of non-local Nagamese church says that all the members of his church are from different community like Adivasi, Nepali, Garo, Kachari, Karbi and Ranchi etc where Nagamese is one language where everyone understands. There is also mix marriage between two different community or those who marry other tribes because inter-marriage has become common these days. In all the church activities like prayer meeting, preaching the gospel to non-Christian friends wanting to know the word of God Nagamese is the most appropriate language to be used because they cannot understand English and other Naga languages. The pastor also says that however it is a blessing that everyone knows Nagamese and we enjoyed singing, reading Bible and preaching the gospel in Nagamese language.

Another example is Mr. Raju, A non-Naga Vegetable vendors he sells vegetables in Kohima town. He deals with different types of customers daily be it local people or non- local people. However, the language that he use is only Nagamese even if he interacts with the non-local people. When ask why? He says that whatever be the situation Nagamese is the most comfortable language because this is known to all and easy to interact with the customers.

As these three contact situations are frequent in their day-to-day life, necessarily, Nagamese takes the advantage of rapid development in Nagaland. Nagamese is considered as a common lingua-franca in Nagaland and the Nagas treat it as their most vital language for inter-communication.

5.6. DOMAINS OF NAGAMESE IN NAGALAND

Nagamese has become an inter-tribe communication language. Nagamese is used as a means of communication when different tribes come together for commercial purpose in all major cities and towns of the state where there is mixed population. We can take the instances of the market place.

5.6.1. FORMAL PLATFORM

It is also used for religious service because of inter-tribal marriage who have language problems with the local church or for non-local people who do not know the local language. In many church Nagamese is used as interpreters besides local dialect and English. It is spoken in schools and colleges. It is used as resources in the classroom because it is necessary for teachers to understand student as quickly as possible and to explain subject matters better. The classroom combines children from many different background and cultures where it compels the teacher to explain in Nagamese though it is not encouraged. It is used in political and government spheres. It is used in conducting parliament meetings. It is also used in the State Assembly, particularly during the question hour.

5.6.2. MEDIA

It is used in mass media including news and radio station. There is also a daily feature program on All India Radio for the village people called “*bostimanu* program” where they highlight and update with the latest events and news to the village people who don’t know English. Besides this they also give some awareness program regarding family planning, awareness on HIV/AIDS, prevention and precautions on health etc Nagamese newspaper named “*Nagamese Khobor*” which is world’s first and only Nagamese newspaper was launched by H. Lemei Phom on December 01, 2013. A number of youtube channel has emerge in Nagamese to have a better connection with local people. Dreamz Unlimited a youtube channel which was formed in 2008 is an entertainment company based in Dimapur that primarily produces short videos on You Tube and also produces feature films in Nagamese. It is mainly based on contemporary social issues. Together they switch between presenting plays on stage and short acts on You Tube.

Hornbill TV is a 24-hour news television channel is the first satellite TV channel in Nagaland. The channel is run by Pure Entertainment Group and broadcasts news in English and Nagamese, current affair programme and talk shows. NLTV Nagaland –*Sob Manu Laga Awaz* is the second Nagamese News Channel after Hornbill TV. Through this news channel the masses even the illiterate who don’t understand English can update with the latest information and happenings in the state and the country as well.

A good number of Nagamese songs, films and shot documentary are developed, books and Bibles are also available. A Nagamese Literature Committee of Nagaland has been constituted by the Nagamese Baptist churches, Dimapur, under the Nagaland Baptist Council of Churches.

5.6.3. INFORMAL PLATFORM

It is used within the healthcare system between doctor, nurse and patient communication. It is the preferred form of communication since all the patients are not literate or fluent with English, they feel comfortable to explain their health problems in Nagamese. It is also the preferred form of communication in mixed household where the

first language is not spoken by both the couple. Since the mates do not speak each other's native language, they continue to use Nagamese as their home language.

5.7. NAGAMESE AS A RESOURCE IN THE CLASSROOM

There are some schools where Nagamese is used for a better understanding and learning. Here the question arises why Nagamese is used as a resource in the classroom especially in government schools? First, it is essential for the teachers to understand students as quickly as possible. Without that understanding, the teaching and learning loop cannot be completed. This understanding includes both the words and the intent of an utterance, where the classrooms include children from many different backgrounds and cultures.

Ms. Elina, a government school teacher in Kohima says that most of the children come from lower background majority non-locals whose parents are illiterate, labourers and daily wages. So, in order to make the students understand the lesson the teachers have to teach using the textbook in English and explain from Nagamese. In lower classes Nagamese is usually used and later in higher classes English is stressed. When the teacher asks difficult questions the student response in Nagamese but when a simple question is asked, they can somehow response in English. These language problems create more workload to teachers as they have to teach in two languages, English and Nagamese.

Those who argue for the use of pidgins and creoles in the classroom maintain that early education succeeds best if conducted in the child's native language. It is also learnt that a child who wishes to obtain higher education or to move beyond his or her local community must learn a language of wider communication, time spent on learning to read and write in the pidgin or creole of the local community is time wasted they argued. Nichols (1996) further added that even if pidgins and creoles are not officially used in the classroom, the teachers of student who speak them need to understand more about them. Vasquez, Pease- Alvarez and Shannon (1994) have so eloquently argued, teachers must know something about the language and cultures of their students in order to develop relevant curricula. Nagamese is mostly used when class has a mixture of students from different tribes. Nagamese is used freely among the teachers who belong to different

linguistic area. This situation is found to exist in almost all the villages and towns where there are mixed populations.

Ms. Martha, another government school teacher claims that in government school's explanations have to be done in three languages i.e., English, Nagamese and native language but most of the time explanation needed in Nagamese. The reason behind this is most of the children are from lower background. With the pandemic there is total lockdown for two years and this have affected the students a lot both in reading and writing. Since majority of the students' parents are uneducated the teachers have to teach in a spoon-feeding way by knowing the weakness of the child and identifying which area should be focused.

5.8. ROLE OF NAGAMESE

Though Nagamese is used widely by the people for convenient, we also find that there are some advantages and disadvantages. Nagamese is the only common means of communication for many people and it represent the basic communication medium for all the Nagas in Nagaland.

It is the only language that is used for inter-tribal communication. Since most of the Naga languages are mutually unintelligible and there is no tribal language which is widely understood by people from other tribes. So, it is the language of the Nagas and the people of Nagaland. Nagas shall continue to speak Nagamese since this is the only common language for communication. It is the basic communication medium for all the Nagas and non-Nagas too. Nagamese is easy to learn and even the non-locals can learn the language very fast.

Ngamese can unite the Nagas through Nagamese. Nagamese brought peace, harmony, unity and greater development in Naga society by breaking the greatest barrier among the Naga tribes which was disintegrated due to language barrier during the time of our forefather. Nagamese language is the only lingua franca in Nagaland which brings in a mode of communication and unity amongst different communities of the State and creates National integration.

As Nagamese has become more and more popular, this could endanger tribal language or mother tongue, English and Hindi. Children as young as five years are more fluent in Nagamese than in their mother tongue. This can be overcome through proper language planning and development of the native languages.

5.9. CONCLUSION

English, Nagamese and Hindi are the three major non-native languages in Nagaland. English is used in all domains, formal and informal. It is the language of the educated. Nagamese is a language variety which cannot be neglected. It serves as the language of the masses. Even the illiterate or uneducated people can speak and understand Nagamese. Nagamese became the first language to many children whose parents or grandparents speak different language. The usage of Nagamese is restricted more in informal domains. It cannot be used for official communication. Comparatively, English books, newspapers and magazine are more popular among the Nagas. Hindi on the other hand is gaining popularity in Nagaland. People started to learn and understand Hindi through various channels though scripts and sounds is still a problem for them. Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools and setting of Hindi institutes and short-term courses have helped and promoted Hindi as a language in Nagaland.

CHAPTER – 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This research started with an objective to examine the multilingualism in Nagaland. In doing so, we have looked into the different domain of language usage in the Naga society. Code switching and code mixing was found to be a very important feature. The impact of non-native languages in the Naga multilingualism cannot be ignored. Hence it has been also discussed. Nagaland has come to contact with many languages and culture many borrowed words which has become a part of our vocabulary has been pointed out in this work. In the preceding sections, we summarize the major topic discussed in this dissertation.

6.2 MULTILINGUALISM

There is not much research carried out in multilingualism in Nagaland. Nagaland comprises of many tribes speaking different dialects and languages. There is

mutual unintelligibility of the languages spoken by the tribal groups. To understand the different aspects of multilingualism it is important to study and examine the structures of multilingualism in Nagaland. This research has specifically focused in Kohima town where there is a mixed of people from all the tribes of Nagaland. Though college students were the main respondents, school children, people of the middle age participated as informants. The source of data were though interviews, questionnaires and observations.

According to the study, few findings were found in regard to usage and domain of different languages. First, all the respondents claimed to know their mother tongue; however, they had fluency issues in all the skills, i.e., speaking, reading and writing. The chart below shows that 70% can speak mother tongue fluently, 50% can read smoothly and 35% can write.

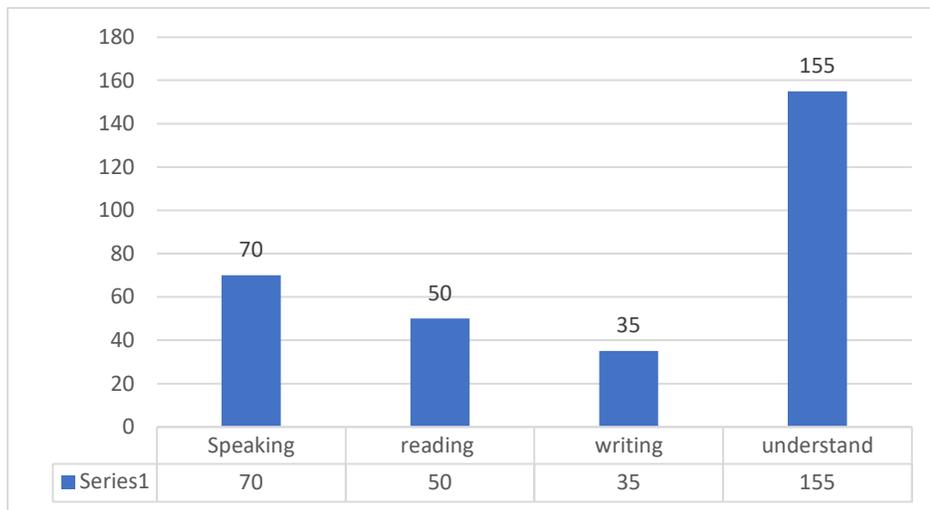


Figure 6.1. Knowledge of Mother Tongue

Though the respondents know their mother tongue the level of speaking, reading and writing is limited because of the influence of English language and Nagamese. In many families especially the educated parents, they prefer to communicate in English which makes English as the home language. Similarly in some families where the baby sitters are non-local or people from different tribe, they communicate in Nagamese. This is the reason why they lack behind in speaking reading and writing.

Second, all the respondents know their mother tongue and two more Languages i.e., Nagamese and English. Third, knowledge of Hindi has improved. Many people can understand Hindi. A good number can speak fluently to a certain level. Beside this Hindi films, songs, news channel etc are another source which help in understanding Hindi better. Fourth, there were also respondent who claimed to know Korean.

6.3. LANGUAGE LEARNING

All respondent claimed to have learned their Mother Tongue from home. Home is the place where each and every individual is brought up and acquire one’s own mother tongue through interaction with parents and others. Some respondent could not say where and when they learned and start speaking Nagamese. Some claimed that they learn Nagamese from Market place, schools, neighbours, home and friends. All respondent learned English from school and educational institutions, friends and media. English is also learned from media such as television, you tube, social media. Hindi is learned from school and media. Media also plays an important role in spreading knowledge of Hindi.

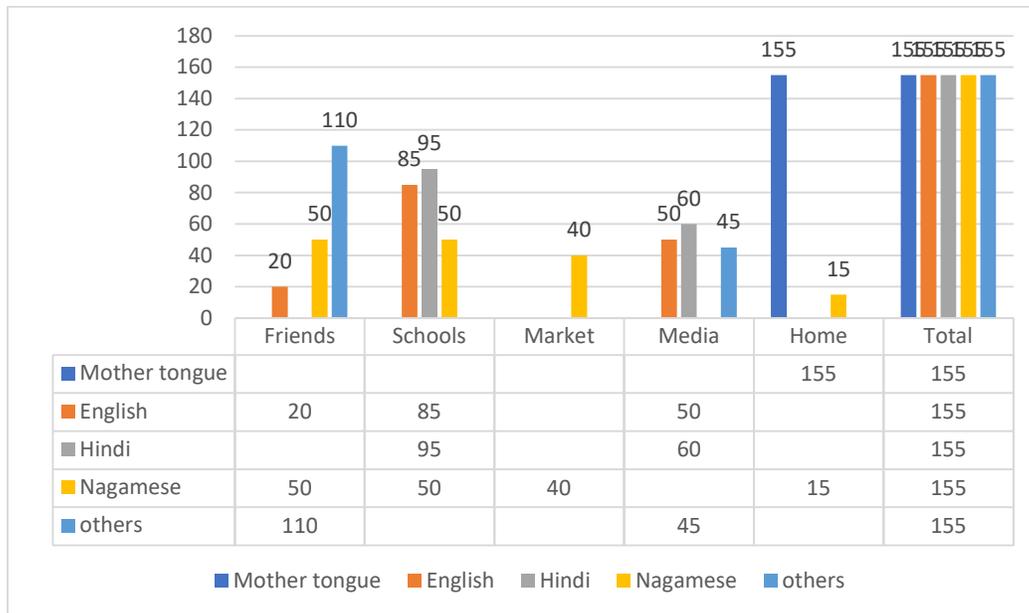


Figure 6.2. Places of learning the language

6.4. CODE SWITCHING AND MIXING

This research has also found that the usage of code-switching and code-mixing while communicating in both formal and non-formal settings by multilingual speakers can use different languages in any given situations. In Kohima town it was found that code switching and code mixing is common everywhere, it is used in both formal and informal situation. Some of the finding from the study regarding the code- switching and code mixing are:

Firstly, Younger generation especially college and school students age group between 20 to 30 use more code switching and mixing in the conversation as compared to elderly group. Secondly, more than 50% of the respondent prefer to use more of their mother tongue, though they frequently follow code mixing in their conversation. Thirdly, it was also found that, frequent code switching and mixing takes place in conversation where there is less vocabulary or no vocabulary in the mother tongue. Fourthly, Code switching and code mixing was found mostly among young people in market place, church, family, informal communications, etc.

One main reason why people code switch and code mixed a lot is that majority of the speakers are multilingual and they switch the language unconsciously. Also, when the speaker did not find similar word in mother tongue, they randomly switch to English knowingly or unknowingly. Code switching and code mixing is unavoidable in the current situation today. It functions in all the languages of Nagaland.

6.5. BORROWING

With the contact of many languages and cultures, Nagaland has faced many borrowed words which have become a part of our vocabulary. The limited vocabulary in Naga society has welcomed the borrowed words from different region and places unknowingly the origin of the words and place. The coming of British administrator and the Christian Missionaries has introduced western education whereby, there is a change in culture and change in society. Borrowing was seen both directly and indirectly, where many words are borrowed and became part of daily vocabulary. It was also found from the study that, borrowed foreign words and culture witnesses a fast-moving trend with the

introduction of western Education. With the influence of western culture and modernization many new trends have entered in Naga society which results in borrowing words and loanwords. These words are borrowed due to social, political, religious and cultural influences from outsiders. From the study it was found that, the usage of frequent borrowed words among the Nagas in Kohima town is found not only in market place but also in schools, colleges, offices, institutions, etc. It was also found that, due to limited Naga vocabulary, borrowed words are used in both political and social platforms.

6.6. NAGAMESE 'THE NAGA PIGIN'

Nagamese as a pidgin has become an important language of the state. It has also become a language which cannot be neglected in our society because it serves as the language of the masses. Nagamese has become a language which connects the illiterate and the literate world. Nagamese has gain prominence in religious platforms, market places, public gatherings etc. Today due to increase inter-tribal marriage and mix family especially in urban areas, Nagamese began to develop as a child's first language in many families. The process of creolization of Nagamese among Naga society has been in a rapid move.

6.7. CONCLUSION

The study shows that one cannot clearly categorise the languages in Nagaland as having specific social or political or in educational purpose. English continues to hold a status in formal settings especially in educational institutions and offices. Nagamese as a pidgin has been gaining prominence and has become one of the languages used extensively in market places and social gatherings. The native languages still hold a good position when we look into the religious gatherings, though there are emerging English and Nagamese fellowships. The usage of Hindi is not seen much when we look into Nagaland except in military, Hindi classes, some offices, etc. In a linguistically complex state like Nagaland, proper language planning needs to be done. Many research and documentation for individual tribal languages is required. Young People should be encouraged to use their mother tongue along with their fluency in English and Nagamese.

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Appendix I
Department of Linguistics
Nagaland University.

Interview Scheduled

The purpose of this field work is to prepare a comprehensive report on **Multilingualism in Nagaland: A Case Study** and I seek your valuable co-operation in this matter. By furnishing information sought in this schedule, you will be contributing to the cause of the

advancement of knowledge and understanding of Naga languages. **You can be rest assured, that, any information given by you will be treated confidential** and your name will not be published or disclosed anywhere.

I. Personal Information

- a). Name -
- b). Age -
- c). Gender -
- d). Tribe -
- e). Place of Birth
Town/City/Village -
- f). Where do you live now
Town/City/Village -
- g). How long have you lived in your current location -

II. Educational Background

Standard	Govt./ Private	Rural /Urban	English/ Mother Tongue
Primary			
High school			
+2			
Degree			
Post-graduate			
M.Phil			
Ph.D			

III. How many languages/dialects do you know? Please specify them.

IV. Apart from your mother tongue (language/dialects) how and from where did you learn other languages?

V. Information about the languages/ dialects that you know

	Languages/ Dialects	Age that you first	Place you learned it	Your current degree of mastery of language

		Learned it	(home, school, office, neighbor etc.)					
					Highly fluent	Fluent	Some mastery	Not at all
First language/ dialects				Understand				
				Speak				
				Read				
				Write				
					Highly fluent	Fluent	Some mastery	Not at all
Second language/ dialects	Understand			Understand				
	Speak			Speak				
	Read			Read				
	Write			Write				
					Highly fluent	Fluent	Some mastery	Not at all
Third language/ dialects				Understand				
				Speak				
				Read				
				Write				
					Highly fluent	Fluent	Some mastery	Not at all
Fourth language/ dialects				Understand				
				Speak				
				Read				
				Write				
Any other languages that are used where you live/work but which you don't know								

VI. Language usage

a. Which language do you use when you communicate with these people and in these institutions (you can add more than one or two languages)?

With your mother -

With your father -

- With your siblings -
- With your grandparents -
- With your spouse (if married) -
- With your relatives -
- With your neighbor -
- With your friends -
- With your maid -
- Sending text messages to your family -
- Sending text messages to your friends -
- In social media (Facebook, WhatsAapp) -
- Praying in a place of worship -
- In your house -
- At your work place -
- At the market -
- At the office (Govt., Pvt., bank etc,) -
- In educational institution -
- In educational institution with classmates –
- On public transportation -
- Reading newspaper, magazines etc. -
- Listening to radio -

VII. Information about our parents and the languages they use

	Mother	Father
Age (approximately)		
Tribe		
First language/dialects		
Second language/dialects		
Education qualification		
Profession (before retirement)		
Where they are raised		
Where they lives now		
Which language they used at home		
With their spouse		
With their children		
At work		
With their relatives		
With others		

VIII. Attitudes towards language

	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It is important to master parent's languages					
It is important to master one's native (local) languages.					
If you are a member of a tribe, you should be able to use the language of that tribe					
It is important to master the official language of your state					
Do you think nagamese should be the official language of Nagaland?					
It is important to learn more than one language apart from one's mother tongue					

IX. Students opting between Alternative English or MIL

Alternative English-

MIL -

X. Sources from where Hindi is learnt

From where did you learn Hindi?

- a) School
- b) Hindi movies and TV shows
- c) Market and others

XI. Knowledge of Hindi

Your knowledge on Hindi up to which level?

- a) Speaking
- b) b) reading
- c) c) writing
- d) d) Understanding

Appendix- II

Name of the tribe-

Vegetables

<u>English</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
Cabbage	Gobhi
Potato	Aloo
Carrot	Carrot
Bitter gourd	Kerela
Coriander leaf	Dhania
Mint	Pudina
Cauliflower	Phul Gobhi
Broccoli	Broccoli
Squash	Iskus
Tomato	Tamatar
Onion	Pyaj

Fruits

<u>English</u>	<u>Hindi</u>
Apple	Seb
Mango	Aam
Plum	Aloobukhara

Gauva	Amdrood
Papaya	Popeeta
Jackfruit	Katahal
Watermelon	Tarbooj
Pomegranate	Anar
Grapes	Angoor
Banana	Kela
Pineapple	Annaras

Kinship terms

Father

Mother

Husband/ wife

Uncle – Paternal

Maternal

Aunt

Elder/ younger Brother

Elder/ younger Sister

Cousin

In laws

Grandfather

Grandmother

Terms/ Vocabulary used within Nagaland

Ang

Goan Bura

Deobashi

Kilonser

Ato-Kilonser

Kilo kilonser

Kuknalim

Midan kilonser

Leacy

Religious terms

Pastor

Deacon

Deaconess

Chairman

Secretary

Treasurer

Halleluyah

Jihovah

Jisu

Revival

Cross

Bible

Baptism

Church

Appendix III
Borrowing of English words

1. Borrowed words from Scandinavian

Scandinavian-English	Naga vocabulary
Clumsy	Clumsy
Egg	Egg
Garden	Garden
Law	Law
window	window

2. Borrowed words from France

France- English	Naga vocabulary
cartoon	cartun
color	Kolor
fork	fork
minister	minister
Suit	suit

Company	Compani
Painter	Painter

3. **Borrowed words from Latin.**

Latin - English	Naga Vocabulary
Agenda	Agenda
Pope	Pope
Memento	Memento
Sponsor	Sponsor
Propaganda	Propaganda
Data	Data
Diet	Diet

4. **Borrowed words from Greek**

Greek- English	Naga Vocabulary
Comedy	Comedy
episode	episode
zoology	zoology
Philosophy	Philosophy
Physics	Physics
democracy	democracy
Pneumonia	Pneumonia

5. **Borrowed words from Spanish**

Spanish - English	Naga Vocabulary
Plaza	Plaza
Guerrilla	Gorila
Adobe	Adobe
Chocolate	choklate
Cocoa	Cocoa

Barbecue	Barbekiu
Vanilla	venila
Guitar	Gidar
Bonanza	Bonanza

6. Borrowed words from German

German- English	Naga Vocabulary
Hamburger	Hamburger
Noodles	Noodles
Kindergarden	Kindergarden
Loafer	Lofer
Poke	Pok

7. Borrowed words from Italian

Italian - English	Naga Vocabulary
Alto	Alto
Solo	Solo
Trio	Trio
Tempo	Tempo
Violin	Violin
Concerto	Concert
Piano	Piano
Motto	Motto
Novel	Novel

Opera	Opera
Soprano	Soprano
Balcony	Balcony

8. **Borrowed words from South Asian Languages**

Hindi, Tamil, Sanskrit- English	Naga Vocabulary
Chutney	Basmati
Yoga	Yoga
Pajamas	pyjama
Shampoo	Shampoo
Dhoti	Dhoti
Ganja	Ganja

Karma	Karma
Pundit	pandit
Khaki	Khaki
Poori	Puri
Hijara	Hijara
Verandah	veranda
Bangle	Bangle