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Lexicon in milky: An outcome of multilingualism

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Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to focus on the position of Milky with respect to Urdu and Bhojpuri with which it exists. We provide an analysis of the lexicon of Milky following a comparative framework. We also discussed a brief analysis of Urdu and Bhojpuri lexicon. The lexicon of Milky is discussed by drawing a comparison with Urdu and Bhojpuri. This is done to show nature of relationship Milky shares with Urdu and Bhojpuri.

Keywords: Lexicon, multilingualism, milky, urdu and bhojpuri

1. Introduction

This study focuses on the speech of a community, referred to as Shaikh community in Siwan District of Bihar. In Siwan District of Bihar, a particular Shaikh community is referred to as the “Milky Shaikhs”. The Milky Shaikhs use the term “Milky” to refer to themselves and their language. The members of this community believe that their speech emerged from Persian and Arabic, and is a variety of Urdu. The milky speech community is in close bilingualism with Bhojpuri speech community in the same region. Through a linguistic analysis of lexicon of Milky, this paper tries to search whether Milky is actually a variety of Urdu or is similar to Bhojpuri or is a mixed variety.

This study intends to see what happens when languages or dialects which are typologically quite identical comes in contact with each other. The significance of this study lies in the fact that this study will contribute to our understanding of Multilingualism. This will also help in unfolding various issues regarding linguistic perception of speakers and theirs language, and the linguistic reality.

1.1 Lexicon in Milky

This paper presents a detailed discussion on the lexicon of Milky. Milky shares its lexicon with Urdu, Bhojpuri and other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages existing in the region. Even though a large percentage of lexical content in Urdu is from Persian and Arabic source, it shares many of its lexicon with Bhojpuri as these are both Indo-Aryan languages.

1.1.1 Milky Kinship terms

The kinship terms in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky are given in table 1.1(a). There is a significant correspondence between the kinship terms used among the speakers across the three speech communities, that is, Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky. In table 1.1(a), kinship terms from (1) to (17) are exactly same across the three speech varieties, Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky. The kinship terms in (18) to (32) are more or less similar in three speech varieties though with a little phonological changes. For instance ‘p^ho^hpa’ ‘father’s sister’s husband’ in Urdu is realized as ‘p^ho^hp^ha’ in Bhojpuri and ‘p^ho^hpp^ha’ in Milky, ‘behen’ ‘sister’ in Urdu is ‘bohin’ or ‘b^ho^hmā’ in Bhojpuri and ‘b^ho^hin’ in Milky. There are some terms as in example (33) to (39) that Milky shares with Urdu and not Bhojpuri. On the other hand, there are a few kinship terms which Milky shares with Bhojpuri and not Urdu as shown as in (40) to (48).¹ Milky speakers use a few affinal kinship terms, such as, ‘jes^ho^hr’ ‘wife’s elder sister’, ‘b^hasur’ ‘husband’s elder brother, which is neither found in Urdu nor in Bhojpuri. Despite the fact that nearly 75% (39/53) of the kinship terms Milky shares with Urdu, many terms in Urdu that are from Arabic source, such as, wāld^hh, ‘mother’, wālid’ ‘father’, wālid^hen ‘parents and ‘*o*lād’ ‘Children’ are not found in Milky.

¹ Though the Urdu term for husband ‘m^hyā’ is used in Milky too. But it is used in very formal contexts. The more commonly used term is ‘m^her^hd’ that is used in Bhojpuri.

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Table 1(a): Kinship terms in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky

Sl	Urdu	Bhojpuri	Milky	Gloss
1	beḡā	beḡā	beḡā	Son
2	nānā	nānā	nānā	Grand-father (maternal)
3	nāni	nāni	nāni	Grand-mother (maternal)
4	b ^h ātījī	b ^h ātījī	b ^h ātījī	Brother's daughter (Niece)
5	b ^h ātījā	b ^h ātījā	b ^h ātījā	Brother's son (Nephew)
6	sās	sās/sāsōī	sās	Wife's mother
7	sāsor	sāsor/sāsorā	sāsor	wife's father
8	sāmd ^h ān	sāmd ^h ān/sāmd ^h in	sāmd ^h ān/sāmd ^h in	Son's mother-in-law
9	sāmd ^h i	sāmd ^h i	sāmd ^h i	Son's father-in-law
10	sālī	sālī	sālī	Wife's younger sister
11	sār ^h u	sār ^h u	sār ^h u	Wife's sister's husband
12	nāndoi	nāndoi	nāndoi	Husband's sister's husband
13	dewār	dewār	dewār	Husband's younger brother
14	dewrāni	dewrāni	dewrāni	Husband's younger brother's wife
15	jeḡ ^h āni	jeḡ ^h āni	jeḡ ^h āni	Husband's elder brother's wife
16	potā	potā	potā	Son's son
17	potī	potī	potī	Son's daughter
18	cācā	cācā	cācā/ābbā	Father's younger brother
19	sāl ^h āj	sār ^h āj	sār ^h āj	Wife's brother's wife
20	sālā	sār	sālā	Wife's brother
21	p ^h ōpā	p ^h ōpā	p ^h ōppā	Father's sister's husband
22	p ^h ōp ^h i	p ^h ōwā/bowā	p ^h up ^h u	Father's sister
23	cāci	c ^h ōḡki māi/ cācāni/cāciyā	cācci/cācāni	Father's younger brother's wife
24	behen	boh ^h m/didi/bāhmā	āppi/āpā/bāji/ bāhin	Sister
25	b ^h āi	b ^h āiyā	b ^h āijān/ b ^h āiyā	Brother
26	c ^h ōtā b ^h āi	nān ^h kā b ^h āiyā	c ^h ōḡkā b ^h āijān/ b ^h āiyā	Younger brother
27	b ^h āi bāhān	b ^h āi boh ^h m	b ^h āi bāhin	Siblings
28	wāldāh/ ammi	māi	āmmi/āmmā	Mother
29	ābbo/ wālid	bāboji/bābā	bāp/ābbo/ābbā	Father
30	beḡi	d ^h i ^h yā/biḡiyā	beḡi	Daughter
31	nānād	nāndi	nānād	Husband's sister
32	māmū	māmā	māmū	Mother's brother
33	dādā	bābā	dādā	Grand-father (paternal)
34	dādi	āji/āi	dādi	Grand-mother (paternal)
35	behnoi	jijā	bōhnoi	Sister's husband
36	b ^h ābi	b ^h āoji	b ^h āb ^h i	Brother's wife
37	dāmād	pāhōn/pāhōnā	dāmād	Daughter's husband
38	k ^h ālo	māosā	k ^h ālo	Mother's sister's husband
39	k ^h ālā	māosi	k ^h ālā	Mother's sister
40	b ^h āñjī	b ^h āne/b ^h āqini	b ^h āqini	Sister daughter (Niece)
41	b ^h āñjā	b ^h āne/ b ^h āqinā	b ^h āqinā	Sister's son (Nephew)
42	šāohār/miyā	mārdā/mārād/ b ^h ātār	mīyā/mārād	Husband
43	bāhu	pātoh/ bāhori	pātoh	Daughter-in-law
44	nāwāsā	nāti	nāti	Daughter's son
45	nāwāsi	nātin	nātni	Daughter's daughter
46	bācce/āolād	lāikān/lāikā	lārikāsān	Children
47	tāyā	tāo/bār ^h kā cācā/ bār ^h kā ābbā	bār ^h ke ābbā/bār ^h ke ābbu	Father's elder brother
48	tāi	bār ^h ki māi	bār ^h i āmmi/bār ^h ki āmmā	Father's elder brother's wife
49	ḡeḡ ^h sās	ḡeḡ ^h sās	jesḡār	Wife's elder sister
50	jeḡ ^h	jeḡ ^h	b ^h ās ^h ur	Husband's elder brother
51	k ^h āwāind	māoḡi	meh ^h rāru/dōlhin	Wife
52	wālidān	māi bāp	māhtāri bāp	Parents

1.1.2 Body-Parts in Milky

In this section, we discuss the terms referring to the body-parts in Milky. The list of terms referring to body-parts in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky is given in table 1.2(a) indicates that a large numbers of terms referring to body-parts are shared among Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky. The names of body-parts, such as, *gurdā* 'kidney', *eḡi* 'feet' *dār^hi* 'beard' cited in example (1) to (47) in table 1.2(a) are approximately same in all the three varieties that are discussed. However, there are a few terms where the variations in the three languages are reflected. For instance, the terms listed in (48) to (58) are the ones that are alike in Milky and Urdu but

Bhojpuri. Table 1.2(a) also suggests that there are about twenty percent terms referring to body-parts that are identical in Milky and Bhojpuri. These terms listed in (59) to (73) are the ones where we observe that Milky affiliates with Bhojpuri and diverges from Urdu. We also observe that many of the Urdu terms have many variant forms, such as, '*rok^hsār ~ gāl*' 'cheeks', '*c^hāšm ~ āk^h*' 'eyes'. The alternates from Indic sources, which are cognates in many Indo-Aryan languages, have perhaps made their entry into Urdu in recent times. Even though eighty-one percent of the lexicon referring to body-parts are more or less identical in Milky and Urdu, it is interesting to note that the Urdu words such

as 'jism' 'body', 'c'həsm' 'eyes', 'rok^hsr', cheeks', wārid 'vein' 'jigar' 'liver' are conspicuously absent in Milky.

Table 2(a): Body-Parts in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky

Sl	Urdu	Bhojpuri	Milky	Gloss
1	hāt ^h	hāt ^h	hāt ^h	Hand
2	sināh/c'hāti	c'hāti/ sinā	c'hāti/sinā	Chest
3	kull ^h ā/ḡoṛ/ḡoṛ ^h ā /sorhān	kul ^h ā	kull ^h ā/ḡoṛ	Hip
4	nāk/beni/ānf	nāk	nāk	Nose
5	dāhān/mūh	mūh	Mūh	Mouth
6	geso/bāl	bār	bāl	Hair
7	ḡoṣ/kān	kān	kān	Ear
8	kānd ^h ā	kān ^h ā	kānd ^h ā	Shoulder
9	eṛi	eṛi	eṛi	Feet
10	peśāni/māt ^h ā	lālāt/māt ^h ā	māt ^h ā/peśāni	Forehead
11	kānpātṭi/śāḡikāh	kānpātṭi	kānpātṭi	Temple
12	potli	potli	potli	Pupil
13	dāt	dāt	dāt	Teeth
14	nās/rāḡ/wārid	nās/rāḡ	nās/rāḡ	Vein
15	gurdā	gurdā	gurdā	Kidney
16	riṛ ^h ki hādḡḡi	riṛ ^h ke hādḡḡi	riṛ ^h ki hādḡḡi	Rib
17	pēṛu/nāfcā	pēṛu	pēṛu	Pelvis
18	kāmār/kolhā	kāmār/kolhā	kāmār/kolhā	Waist
19	dār ^h i	dār ^h i	dār ^h i	Beard
20	ḡ ^h ōsā/mukkā/ḡoṣṭ /muff ^h i	ḡ ^h ōsā/mukkā/ muff ^h i	ḡ ^h ōsā/mukkā/ muff ^h i	Fist
21	mōc ^h /bāru:t	mōc ^h	mōc ^h	Mustache
22	riṛ ^h ki hādḡḡi	riṛ ^h ke hādḡḡi	riṛ ^h ki hādḡḡi	Spine
23	nāf/d ^h ōṛi/nāb ^h i/ sōṛi/nāṛi	d ^h eṛokī/nāb ^h i/d ^h ōṛi	d ^h ōṛi/nāb ^h i	Navel
24	əḡḡoṛ ^h ā	əḡḡoṛ ^h ā	əḡḡoṛ ^h ā	Thumb
25	āk ^h /cāśm	āk ^h i	āk ^h	Eye
26	cehrā	mūhi/surāt	mōh/surāt/cehrā	Face
27	dāndān/dāndāne	dāt	dāt	Teeth
28	t ^h oḡḡi/t ^h oḡḡi	t ^h oṛi	t ^h uḡḡi	Chin
29	piṛ ^h	piṛ ^h i	piṛ ^h	Back
30	jāḡ ^h	jāḡ ^h i	jāḡ ^h	Thigh
31	asab/pātṭ ^h ā	ḡoṛ ^h ā	pātṭ ^h ā/ḡoṛ ^h	Muscle
32	pāsli/pājri	pāsoli	pāsli/pājri	Rib
33	kāk ^h /bāḡāl/ḡosā	kāk ^h i	kāk ^h /bāḡāl	Armpit
34	p ^h eṛ ^h ārā	p ^h eṛ ^h ārā	p ^h eṛ ^h ārā	Lungs
35	k ^h opri	k ^h ōpāri	k ^h ōpāri	Head
36	kulhe ki hādḡḡi/ tozi hādḡḡi	kollāh ke hādḡḡi	kollāh ki hādḡḡi	
37	hālāk	hālāk/t ^h eṛ ^h owā	hālāk/t ^h eṛ ^h owā	Wind-pipe
38	cāmṛi/k ^h āl/jild	cāmṛā	cāmṛā/k ^h āl	Skin
39	kāmār	kāmāri	kāmār	Waist
40	nāk ^h on	noh	nāk ^h on	Nail
41	āḡḡoṣṭ/ōḡli	āḡuri	āḡuli	Finger
42	zobān/jiv	jib ^h	jābān	Tongue
43	bāzo/sād/bāh	bāhi	bāh	Arm
44	hādḡḡi/istāk ^h wān	hādḡḡi	hādḡḡi	Bone
45	kāoṛi/lāozātāl hālāk /ḡāle ki ḡilṭi	kāoṛi	ḡilṭi	Tonsil
46	bāzo	bāhi/musārī	bāh	Arm
47	āt/ātṭi	ātāri	ātṭi	Intestine
48	sār	mūṛi:/kāpār	si:r	Head
49	b ^h āḡ	b ^h owā	b ^h āḡ	Eyebrow
50	pāḡ/pār	ḡoṛ	pāḡ/pār	Foot
51	hāt ^h eli	pānjā	hāt ^h eli	Palm
52	ṭāḡ	ḡoṛ	ṭāḡ	Leg
53	ḡārdān	nāreṭi	ḡārdān	Neck
54	kālāi	ḡāṭṭā	kālāi	Wrist
55	peḡṭā/pālāk/ ḡālāfe jism	bārāoni	pāpni/pālāk	Eyelid
56	kālā	ḡāl	kālā	Forearm
57	kālā	jābārā	kālā	Jaw
58	tālā/tālvā/yāḡānāh /kāfpā	tāroi	tālvā	Sole
59	jism/bādān	deh	Deh	Body
60	lāb	hōt ^h	hoṭ ^h	Lip
61	śānā/k ^h āwā	kānd ^h ā	kānd ^h ā	Shoulder
62	mārḡāk/ārniz/kohni	kehoni	kehoni	Elbow
63	ḡ ^h oṭnā	t ^h ehonā	t ^h ehonā	Knee

64	ʃek ^h nā/kæb/ɡoʃā	ɡoʃ ^h i	ɡoʃ ^h i	Ankle
65	rok ^h sār	gāl	gāl	Cheek
66	ʃikām/medā	peʃ	peʃ	Stomach
67	kālb	dil	Dil	Heart
68	q ^h ācā/k ^h ākā	kāṅkāl	kāṅkāl	Skeleton
69	bāzo	bāhi/musārī	bāh	Arm
70	rān/jāno/sānt ^h āl	jāq ^h i	jāq ^h	Thigh
71	jiqār	kārejā	kālejā	Liver
72	ɡuʃ ^h ne ki hāq ^h ī	ʃ ^h ehunā ke hāq ^h ī	ʃ ^h ehonā ki hāq ^h ī	kneecap
73	sikām	kōk ^h i	kōk ^h	Pelvis

1.1.3 Food-items in Milky

Table 1.3(a) provides the list of food items and cuisine commonly used among the Milky population. It is to be mentioned that Milky population shares these items with the Urdu and Bhojpuri speaking population living in the same region. However, the list of items in this table 1.3(a) shows that though milky speakers share these food items with Urdu and Bhojpuri speech community, the names are not necessarily same across the three communities. The names of food items (1) to (20) in table 1.3(a) are shared by the speakers of Milky, Urdu and Bhojpuri. This suggests that about forty-nine percent (that is 20/41) of these culinary terms are shared by the three speech communities in question. The items in (21) – (28) presents the series of food items that Milky shows affinity with Urdu. It can be said that approximately twenty percent (8/41) terms referring to food-items are common only between Milky and Urdu

speakers. Items ranging from (29)-(35) present the terminologies which are alike in Milky and Bhojpuri. Such terminologies constitute only seventeen percent of the lexical terms relating to cuisine. There are also a few terms that is different in all the three varieties. Such terms as in (36) – (41) constitute only fifteen percent of the total lexical terms relating to food items. A close look at table 1.3(a) points out that most of the parallel lexical terms (referring to food items) as in (1) - (16) are the ones that are from Middle East as a result of Islamic rule in India. In addition, it is to be mentioned that these items generally form part of festival feasts. These words are part of the present day pan Indian cuisine. Indian cuisine encompasses a wide variety both native and non-native due to historical facts. Nevertheless, some of these terms in Milky conform to the phonological patterns of Bhojpuri such as /ʃ/ > /s/ as in *sīr kurmā*, *ɡost*.

Table 3(a): Food-items in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky

Sl	Urdu	Bhojpuri	Milky	Gloss
1	biryāni	biryāni	biryāni	A special dish cooked with rice and meat
2	ch ^h olā b ^h ātorā	ch ^h olā bātorā	ch ^h olā bātorā	A kind of puffy tortilla with chickpea
3	jālebi	jālebi	jālebi	A type of sweetmeat
4	roʃi	roʃi	roʃi	Flat bread
5	rāsiyāo	rāsiyāo	rāsiyāo	Sweet dish
6	k ^h ir	k ^h ir	k ^h ir	Rice Pudding
7	rāhām/ mālidā	mālidā	mālidā	A type of sweetmeat
8	p ^h irni	p ^h irni	p ^h irni	Sweet dish used as dessert
9	kimā	kimā	kimā	Minced meat
10	šīr k ^h ormā	sīr k ^h ormā	sīr k ^h ormā	Sweet dish made of vermicelli
11	bægāni	bægāni	bægāni	Brinjal fritters
12	gājā	gājā	gājā	A kind of sweetmeat
13	ɡošt	ɡost	ɡost	Meat
14	k ^h icṛā	k ^h icṛā	k ^h icṛā	Rice and pulses cooked together.
15	jārdā	jārdā	jārdā	Sweet rice
16	k ^h emāmi sewāi	kemāmi sewāi	kemāmi sewāi	A sweet dish made of vermicelli
17	dāl piṭṭ ^h ā	dāl piṭṭ ^h i/da:l ke doləhin	dāl piṭṭ ^h ā	Steamed rice dumplings with savory filling
18	hiṣṭo	iṣṭo	hiṣṭo	Stew
19	loṅlātti	loṅlāttā	loṅlāttī	A type of sweet-meat
20	peyāzi	piyājowā	peyājī	Onion Fritters
21	pākāoṛā	p ^h olāoṛī	pākāoṛa	Fritters
22	ketli	kātāri	ketli	A type of sweet dish
23	ɡolāb jāmon	kārikkā rāsgollā	ɡolāb jāmon	A type of sweet- meat
24	b ^h ujiyā	tārkāri	b ^h ujīya	Potatoes fried with cumin seeds
25	kāsār	q ^h oṛī/sāṭ ^h oṛā	kāsār	A sweet meat made up of wheat flour and jaggery
26	liṭṭī	b ^h āori	liṭṭi	Snacks
27	k ^h āstā	ʃ ^h ekowā	k ^h āstā	A sweet meat
28	tehri	k ^h icṛī	tāhāri	Vegetable Fried Rice
29	koftā	mūṭ ^h iyā	mūṭ ^h iyā	Meatball
30	mālpowā	powā/gulgullā/ pāpārā	powā/gulgullā	Sweet pancake
31	rāitā	ʃākkār	ʃākkār	Salad with yogurt
32	sāmosā	siṅg ^h ārā	siṅg ^h ārā	A kind of snacks
33	ch ^h olā cānā	ɡ ^h oq ^h oni	ɡ ^h oq ^h oni	A dish made of dried peas
34	ɡojiyā	ɡoʃ ^h iyā/ paḍ:ṛākiyā	pāḍ:ṛākiyā	A type of sweet-meat
35	nāmāk pārā	nmki	nmkin	Salty snacks made of flour.

36	ālo: p̄arāṭḥā	b ^h āb ^h āri/p ^h ārāṭḥā	b ^h āri roṭi	Flat bread mixed with potato
37	besān kā p̄arāṭḥā	b ^h āb ^h āri/mākoni/dāl ke puṛi	b ^h āri roti	Flat bread made of chick pea flour
38	puṛiḥā	uṭḥā	bāp ^h āuri	A snacks made of steamed rice flour
39	pāni: puṛi	p ^h ockā/p ^h olki	gol gāppā	A kind of snacks
40	śākār pālā	k ^h ormā	rewāṭi	A kind of snacks
41	k ^h āzā	lākt ^h ā/k ^h ājā	k ^h ājuli	A kind of snacks

1.1.4 Parts of a house in Milky

The names of various parts of a house are given in table 1.4(a). The lexical items listed in (1) – (10) in table 1.4(a) are common across the three speech communities. It is noted that in this lexical category there are about thirty-six percent words illustrated in (11) to (20) which are common between only Urdu and Bhojpuri. Milky differs from Urdu and Bhojpuri in naming these terms listed in (11) to (20). Nevertheless, there are five terms in this category, such as, *kāmra* ‘room’, *siṛḥi* ‘staircase’, *k^hāpṛāil* ‘shed’ *dālān*

‘atrium’, *koṭḥāri* ‘front-room as in (21) to (25) which are identical in Milky and Bhojpuri. There are also three terms cited in (26) to (28) which are different in all the three language varieties. It may be said in this category the distance between Milky and Urdu is greater than the distance between Bhojpuri and Urdu. Instead of following the Urdu pattern of suffixing ‘*khānā*’ to refer to place, Milky prefers the use of ‘*g^hār*’ ‘house’ as in *rāsoig^hār* ‘kitchen’, *āsnāg^hār* ‘bathroom’.

Table 4(a): Parts of the house in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky

Sl	Urdu	Bhojpuri	Milky	Gloss
1	kāmra	kāmra	kāmra	Room
2	c ^h ājjā/gunḥā	c ^h ājjā	c ^h ājjā	Balcony
3	c ^h āt/sakāf	c ^h āt	c ^h āt	Roof
4	cābutārā./bā.m/māhtā.bi	cābutārā.	cābutārā.	Terrace
5	c ^h āt (āndār se)	c ^h āt (āndār se)	c ^h āt (āndār se)	Ceiling
6	āhātā/āqān/sehān	āqān/ sehān	āqān	Courtyard
7	tāk	tāk ^h	tāk ^h	Alcove
8	bāb/dār/dār wājā/kāwāṛ	dār wājā/kāwāṛi	ke wāṛi/dowāri	Door
9	k ^h iṛki/dārici	k ^h iṛki/dārici	jāṅlā/dāricci	Window
10	fāsīl/diwār/ rāok	dewāl	diwāl	Wall
11	bāwārci k ^h ānā	bāwārci k ^h ānā	rāsoiyā/rāsoig ^h ār	Kitchen
12	tāh k ^h ānā	tāh k ^h ānā	b ^h oiyā d ^h āri	Basement
13	gusol k ^h ānā	gusol k ^h ānā	āsnāg ^h ār	Bathroom
14	ātiśdān/cemni	cemni	d ^h ōwākes/d ^h ōwā p ^h ekni	Chimney
15	fārs/tāh	fārs/jāmīn	b ^h oiyā	Floor
16	cāubārā/bālā. k ^h ānā	cāubārā	bārjā	Attic
17	dālān	dālān	doghā	Hall
18	nemāt k ^h ānā/tošā k ^h ānā	nemāt k ^h ānā	rāsoig ^h ār	Pantry
19	j ^h ōpāri	j ^h ōpāri/pālāni	mārāi/p ^h o:s	Hut
20	deoji/bārāmdā/rāwāk	bārāndā	osārā	Porch
21	ārāmgāh/k ^h wābgāh	kāmra	kāmra	Bed room
22	jīnā	siṛḥi	siṛḥi	Staircase
23	c ^h āppār/c ^h āpṛāil	k ^h āpṛāil	k ^h āpṛāil	Shed
24	zof/utāk ^h /āiwān	dālān	dālān	Atrium
25	bāṭḥāk/sāmne kā kāmra	koṭḥāri	nāoqol/koṭḥāri	Front-room
26	bāyṭulk ^h ālā	gālli	k ^h ōṛi/k ^h ōḍḍi/pæk ^h ānā/sāndās	Toilet
27	koṭḥā/iṭāri/pirc ^h ti/bālāi kāmra	dotāllā	koṭḥā	Loft
28	gujār gāh/	bārāmdā/gāliyārā	k ^h ori/nāoqol	Corridor

1.1.5 Kitchen-wares in Milky

The kitchen-wares in the three speech communities Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky co-existing in the same region are quite similar. Hence, we look at the terminologies that are used to refer to such kitchen items in table 1.5(a). In this category of lexicon as well, we do find a pattern. There are approximately fifty-nine percent terms, (20/34), that are akin in the three speech communities: Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky. These terms are listed in (1) to (20) in table 1.5(a). Unlike other categories, in this category, there are only two

terms *gāmlā* ‘big bowl’ and *rāhi* ‘wooden spinner’ which clubs Milky with Urdu only. These two terms are not part of Bhojpuri speech. On the other hand, there are twenty-three percent kitchen items (see example (23) to (30) in table 1.5(a) that are shared between Milky and Bhojpuri. These terms such as *koppī*, ‘funnel’ *hāṛiyā*, ‘cooking vessel’ *jāta* ‘hand operated flour mill’, reflects the proximity between Milky with Bhojpuri. Nevertheless, there exists a few terms cited (31) to (34) which shows disagreements in the three languages.

Table 5(a): Kitchen-wares in Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky

Sl	Urdu	Bhojpuri	Milky	Gloss
1	cāpār	dāb/c ^h āpār/dāo	c ^h ōṛā/cāpār	Cleaver
2	prešār kokār	kokār	kokār	Pressure- cooker
3	c ^h ālīni	c ^h ālīni/c ^h ānāoṭā	c ^h ālīni	Strainer

4	kāfgir	kāp ^h gīr	kāp ^h gir	metal spatula
5	deq̄cī	deq̄ācī	deq̄cī	Iron or nonstick wok
6	ok ^h āl	ok ^h ār	ok ^h āli	Wooden mortar and pestle
7	cāmmāc	cāmāc/cāmācā	cāmmāc	Spoon
8	cākō/c ^h oṛī	c ^h oṛī	c ^h oṛī	Knife
9	ketli	ketāli	ketli	kettle
10	pāhsol	pāhāsol	pāhsol	Bengali cutting tool
11	pātili	pāтели	pāтели	tope
12	piṛ ^h ā	piṛāhi/peṛ ^h ā	piṛ ^h ā/pāṛi	Low stool
13	cul ^h ā	col ^h i	cul ^h ā	Hearth
14	dāstānāh	dāstānā	dāstānā	Glove
15	mākrāj/kācci	kāici	kāici	Scissors
16	belān cāuki	belnā cāuki	belnā cāuki	Rolling pin and board
17	c ^h āl ⁿ ī	c ^h ānānī	c ^h ānānī	Sieve/strainer
18	gālās	gilās	gilās	Glass
19	c ^h ānoṛjā	c ^h ānoṛjā	c ^h ānoṛjā	Perforated spoon
20	kārāhi	kārāhi/kārāhi	kārāhi	Iron kadai
21	gāmlā	ṭāgārī	gāmlā	Big bowl
22	rāhi	māṭ ^h āni	rāhi/dāl g ^h oṛni	Wooden spinner
23	kef	koppi	koppi	Funnel
24	tāslā	kārāhi	kārāhi	Pan
25	hānḍī	hārīyā	hārīyā	Cooking Vessel
26	cākki/	dāri/jātā	jātā	Hand operated flour mill
27	sīl pāt ^h ār	silwāt loṛ ^h ā/sīl bāṭṭā	sīl loṛ ^h ā	Indian stone grinder
28	pāoni	kāl ^h ol	kār ^h ol	Ladle to serve liquid item
29	bāḍānā	loṛjā	loṛjā	Pot for holding water
30	hāon dāstāh	koṛāni	kuṛni	Mortar and pestle
31	tāslā	tās	senih	Iron or nonstick flat pan
32	rākābi	c ^h ipā/ ^h āriyā	pāleṭ	Platter
33	gošt ki cākki	gos perni	gos kuffi	Meat grinder
34	dāst pānāh	siōṭ ^h ā	cmṭā	Pincers to hold hot utensils

Conclusion

In this paper we have analyzed some of the lexical terms including semantic and cultural items [2]. A total of 684 lexical terms covering kinship, body-parts, cuisine, house-parts and kitchen-wares from Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky were considered for analysis. The distribution of the basic lexical items across Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky throws light on certain patterns in their distribution. The patterns can be categorized in five types: (i) Type 1: Terms are identical or phonologically very similar across the three speech varieties, Urdu, Bhojpuri and Milky, (ii) Type 2: Lexical terms shared only between Milky and Urdu, (iii) Type 3: Lexical terms are alike in Milky and Bhojpuri, (iv) Type 4: Lexical terms are parallel in Urdu and Bhojpuri and (v) Type 5: There is no similarities between the three languages. Table 6(a): Shows the distribution of lexical terms belonging to different semantic categories across the various patterns or types that emerged in this study.

Table 6(a): Distribution of lexical terms across the five patterns

Patterns	Kinship N%	Body-Parts N%	Food N%	House-Parts N%	Kitchen N%	Total N%
Type 1	32 61.5	47 64.3	20 48.7	10 35.7	20 58.8	129 56.5
Type 2	7 13.4	11 15	8 19.5	-	2 4.8	28 12.2
Type 3	9 17.3	15 20.5	7 17	5 17.8	8 23.5	44 19.2
Type 4	2 3.8	-	-	10 35.7	-	12 5.2
Type 5	2 3.8	-	6 14.6	3 10.7	4 11.7	15 6.5
Total	52	73	41	28	34	228

The distribution of lexical terms across the different patterns suggests a number of things regarding Milky. The highest

percentage (56.5%) of lexical terms in Milky are shared with both Urdu and Milky. This may be because of common genetic heritage of these three languages (See Cambell 2003) [6]. The second highest percent (19.2) shows the affinity between Bhojpuri and Milky. This is followed by the terms between Urdu and Milky. There are about 6.5 percent terms that are different in all the three languages. The extent of similarity between Milky and Bhojpuri cannot be due to pure chance (Campbell 2003, Satyanath and Laskar 2008) [7, 29]. It is also interesting to note that a small fraction of lexicon Milky does not share with either Urdu or Milky. This sheds light on the fact that there is a thin line dividing Milky from Bhojpuri.

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² Some of the food items are part of Indian culture and hence parallel translations/equivalents cannot be provided.

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